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The Drawings of Philips van den Bossche

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Visitors to Prague Castle can purchase postcards and coffee mugs showing a panoramic View of Prague, the source of which is a famous print published in 1606 by Aegidius Sadeler the Younger (c. 1570–1629) after a design by Philips van den Bossche (fl. 1604–15).

The View of Prague (Fig. 1) comprises nine separate etched plates by Hans Wechter the Elder (c. 1550–after 1606), which when combined total more than three meters in length. Over a hundred places in the city are keyed by number, all of them described in a separately printed legend. The image as a whole gives a beautiful impression of both the size and splendor of the city of Prague during the reign of Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612). Even today, the print is an important icon of the city, and reproductions of it are a standard feature of the decoration of many a local Czech hotel.

However famous this print may be, its designer is a mere footnote in the history of art. The reason for this lies in the fact that his works are scarce and considered mainly a curiosity rather than high art. The only monographic article on Van den Bossche was written more than a century ago, by Heinrich Modern in 1902. Although nowadays we may find Van den Bossche’s drawings less exciting than those of other Rudolphine artists such as Paulus van Vianen (c. 1570–1613), Roelandt Savery (1576–1639), or Pieter Stevens (c. 1567–after 1624), it seems useful to reproduce them together here, along with the few known biographical facts about him.

There is no documentary evidence of Philips van den Bossche’s activity before 1604. It is not known where or when he was born or died. He must, however, have come from the Low Countries. As his name indicates, he was probably a native of ‘s-Hertogenbosch in the northern part of the duchy of Brabant. Like other contemporary Flemish artists, he may have gone south to the more important artistic centers of Brussels, Antwerp, or Mechelen. After training in the tradition of such landscapists as Hans Bol (1534–1593) and Gillis van Coninxloo III (1544–1607), Philips must have traveled to Central Europe instead of the northern Netherlands (as did Bol and Coninxloo). As is well known, Hapsburg and other sources of patronage in Central European cities such as Augsburg, Munich, Salzburg, and Prague attracted many Netherlandish artists around 1600.

Van den Bossche is first documented in Prague between 1604 and 1612, working as the imperial embroiderer. After that, he is known to have worked in Augsburg in 1615.

The first mention of Van den Bossche is found in the accounts of the imperial court at Prague. As was noted by Heinrich Modern, the artist entered the service of Rudolf II on 1 July 1604 as an imperial Camer-Seidensticker (court embroiderer). His salary was set at 30 guilders...
per month.' Apparently the artist had just arrived in Prague, since he received another 150 guilders for moving expenses on 13 September 1604. This rate was generous, as was his monthly allowance—more than practically any other artist received at the Rudolphine court. The accounts of the following years, however, indicate that Philips never received the total annual salary of 360 guilders. He earned 240 guilders in 1605, 180 guilders in 1606, and 420 guilders in 1607. (The significantly larger amount in the last year may have had something to do with his designs for the View of Prague of 1606.) In 1608 he received 180 guilders, 120 guilders in 1609. The next two years he was paid nothing. The last mention of him occurs in 1612, when he earned 120 guilders. In late January of that year he received another 30 guilders and 42 crowns for "expenses." This last amount may be connected with the death of Rudolf II on 20 January 1612 and the period of his lying-in-state before his burial on 5 February.

An important source for our knowledge of the work of Philips van den Bossche is the inventory of Rudolf II’s Kunstкамmer, drawn up between 1606 and 1611. It mentions, among other things, “Ein klein tafelin von Philip von Bösch ob: tapezier, ist unser frauw und Joseph in einer klein er landschaft, ligt in einem flüterlin von lindenholtz, von seiden mit der nadel” (“a small, silk needlework scene by Philips van den Bossche, uphol-

sterer, Our Lady and Joseph in a small landscape, in a lime wood case”). Another work by the imperial needleworker was “Ein klein tafelin von seiden, mit der nadel gemacht von Phil: von Posch, ein versuchung st. Anthonii” (“a small scene of silk, made with the needle by Philips van den Bossche, a temptation of St. Anthony”). From this inventory it is also clear that Van den Bossche had a daughter, Elisabeth, who worked at the imperial court with her husband, H. Cappelman. So far only one surviving work of embroidery has been published with an attribution to Philips van den Bossche, a small tabernacle with a colored wax relief of a Pietà in the British Museum, London (Fig. 2). It is a three-dimensional reproduction of a well-known painting by Willem Key (c. 1515/16–1568) in the Alte Pinakotheke, Munich. The background of the relief is particularly interesting, for it shows an embroidered landscape with figures, a castle, and Mt. Golgotha. The handling of the landscape and figures (which do not appear in Key’s painting) is very similar to that of the extant drawings by Van den Bossche reproduced in the present catalogue.

Not long after the emperor’s death in 1612, Van den Bossche must have left Prague and settled in Augsburg. From the beginning of 1614, he appears regularly in the correspondence between the Augsburg patrician Philipp Hainhofer (1578–1647) and Duke Philipp II of Pommern-Stettin (1573–1618) and Duke August
the Younger of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579–1666). These letters indicate that Van den Bossche was in close contact with Hainhofer. The fact that Hainhofer had already been interested in the work (or the fame) of Philips at an earlier stage is clear from a passage in his diary of 1611: “Zu Prag soll ein sainenstückher sein, welcher schone Landschafflin von seidin neet, habe zu Frankfurst etwaß von Ihme gesehen, so mir wol gefallet, aber sehr theor gewest…” (“In Prague there must be an embroiderer who sews beautiful landscapes of silk. I have seen something by him in Frankfurt that pleased me, but it was very expensive.”). Hainhofer acted as an art agent for both dukes and commissioned Van den Bossche to make several embroidered pieces for the now lost Stammbuch of Duke Philipp II. This Stammbuch was an initiative of the duke himself, who invited his aristocratic friends each to submit a page to what was in effect an illustrated bible. The purpose of this project was to create a book with scenes from the Old and the New Testament, together with the heraldic arms of the duke’s donor friends. In addition, the book would become a portfolio of the works of famous artists of the time. Like Philips van den Bossche, most of these artists are little known today, Hans Bol and Paul Bril (c. 1554–1626) being the main exceptions. Most of the information about Van den Bossche’s period in Augsburg is related to his embroidered work for the Stammbuch and derives from...
Hainhofer’s correspondence and diary. 16

Since the *Stammbuch* of Duke Philipp II is lost, Van den Bossche is now known mainly for the group of about a dozen drawings attributed to him. Only limited attention has been paid to these works. Heinrich Modern published one landscape drawing that was in his own collection at the time (cat. no. 5). On the basis of this sheet, Wolfgang Wegner attributed a drawing in Weimar and one in Munich (cat. nos. 7 and 10) to Van den Bossche. He also mentioned drawings in Rotterdam and Dresden (cat. nos. 4 and 8). In 1982 Teréz Gerszi attributed the sheet in Göttingen to the artist (cat. no. 6), and she proposed his name for the drawing in Berlin (cat. no. 9). Another signed and dated drawing from Berlin (cat. no. 3) was included, with an entry written by her, in the 1988 catalogue of the first of two large exhibitions devoted to art in Prague around 1600, as was the drawing from Weimar (cat. no. 7). In the larger exhibition in Prague in 1997, Van den Bossche was represented by five drawings (cat. nos. 3–4, 6–7, and

Although most of Van den Bossche’s drawings have been published, they have never been brought together. In doing so, we see that most of the time his draftsmanship is easily distinguishable from that of other Rudolphine artists such as Van Vianen, Savery, or Stevens. His short, often straight pen lines give his drawings a somewhat flat appearance. One can imagine that this style of drawing was prompted by Van den Bossche’s professional activities as an embroiderer, the penstrokes anticipating the short, straight stitches of silk threads that he used to produce his own compositions. Compositionally, the drawings conform perfectly to the contemporary northern taste for wooded and panoramic landscapes in the tradition of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1525/30[?]-1569). In one or two instances, it seems clear that Van den Bossche was directly familiar with the drawings of fellow artists such as Stevens (see cat. no. 3) and Savery (see cat. no. 13). Probably the many prints after drawings by these artists by engravers such as the members of the Sadeler family or Isaak Major (c. 1576–1630/36) also played an important role in providing Van den Bossche with both compositional and stylistic inspiration.

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CATALOGUE

The following catalogue contains all the known drawings attributable to Van den Bossche. They are organized into three groups. The first consists of signed and dated sheets placed in chronological order. These are followed by unsigned drawings that can be given to Van den Bossche on strong stylistic grounds; although similarities to works from the first group can sometimes be pointed out, no attempt has been made to date the unsigned sheets. The checklist concludes with a drawing for which the attribution is less certain. References are as Van den Bossche unless otherwise noted.

Figure 3

PHILIPS VAN DEN BOSSCHE

Landscape with Cephalus and Procris
(cat. no. 1)

Location Unknown

SIGNED AND DATED DRAWINGS

1

Fig. 3

Landscape with Cephalus and Procris
1605

Location unknown.

Gouache (?); 170 x 220 mm. Signed and dated at lower left, PHILIPS VAN DEN BOS FECIT / 1605.


This sheet disappeared after the sale of the collection of Adolf von Beckerath in 1916.17 It is known only through the reproduction in the auction catalogue (in which the signature and date are clearly legible). A highly finished, colored drawing, it was almost certainly intended as an independent work of art.18
Forest Landscape with Six People Conversing
160[3 or 7?]

Vienna, Albertina, inv. no. 8182.
Pen and brown ink on vellum; 160 x 130 mm.
Signed and dated on a stone at lower left, in brown ink, phil... van / den bos / fecit / 160[3 or 7?].
PROV.: Albert, Duke of Sachsen-Teschen, Vienna (Lugt 174).

The composition is unusual for Van den Bossche, featuring a more panoramic conception of the landscape and handling reminiscent of the work of Roelandt Savery.

As Gerszi pointed out, an almost identical motif of a rock arch appears in several drawings by Pieter Stevens, for example one in the Albertina, Vienna," suggesting that the two artists knew each other's work. Stylistic similarities to the work of artists such as Stevens, Savery, and Van Vianen have long been recognized, but the presence of common motifs in their drawings is a rarer occurrence (see also cat. no. 13). A painted Wooded Landscape by Stevens in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen," shows a similar group of hunters and the motif of the rock arch.

Stormy Landscape with Lightening
1615

Rotterdam, on loan to the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (inv. no. N 53) from the State of the Netherlands (ex-collection Franz Koenigs), under the official care of the Instituut Collectie Nederland (Dutch Institute for Cultural Heritage).
Pen and black ink, framing line in pen and brown (iron-gall) ink, with border in black and pink wash; 179 x 218 mm (full sheet), 157 x 187 mm (design area). Signed and dated at lower right, in pen and black ink, philips van den bosche
Figure 5

PHILIPS VAN DEN BOSSCHE

Mountain Landscape with a Hunting Scene (cat. no. 3)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett
Figure 6
PHILIPS VAN DEN BOSSCHE
Stormy Landscape with Lightning (cat. no. 4)
State of the Netherlands (on loan to the Museum Boymans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam)

fecit 1615.

PROV.: Franz Koenigs, Haarlem (L. Suppl. 1023), 1924; D. G. van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1940; Stichting Museum Boymans–van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1941.


5
Landscape with a Shepherd and the Sun Breaking through the Clouds
1615

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, inv. no. F 20225, f°.

Pen and dark gray ink on vellum; 146 x 184 mm. Signed and dated at lower right, in black ink, philips van den bossche fecit 1615.

PROV.: G. E. Habich, Kassel; his sale, Stuttgart, Gutekunst, 27–29 April 1899, lot 110 (to Artaria for 42 DM); K. A. Artaria (dealer) for Heinrich Modern, Vienna; W. H. Schab (dealer), New York, 1972; C. G. Boerner (dealer), Düsseldorf; acquired from Jean Willems (dealer), Brussels, 1973.

LIT.: Modern 1902, pp. 50–53.

The similarities between cat. nos. 4 and 5 suggest that the drawings may have been intended as pendants. Both sheets are drawn on vellum in a finer, more meticulous manner than other drawings by Van den Bossche. Their dimensions are close, and both are dated 1615. Moreover, the weather plays an important role in the iconography of both scenes. In the Rotterdam sheet, the heavily clouded sky is almost entirely black, while the mountain in the left background is being lashed by rain and a church tower is seen burning after having been struck by lightening. In the foreground on the right, three figures shelter from the storm, while a fourth points at the branch of a tree that blows dangerously in the wind. In the Brussels drawing, by contrast, all is quiet and bucolic. At the upper left, the sun breaks through the clouds and there is no sign of wind. In the right foreground, a shepherd sits quietly with his wife while his flock grazes nearby.

Modern suggested that Van den Bossche presented cat. no. 5 to Philipp Hainhofer, who, on 4 March 1615, wrote about the artist in his diary: "...und, so er weil hat, will er noch etwas mit der Feder reyssen oder eine Visier machen" ("...and, if he has time, he still wants to dash off something in pen or make a sketch"). This remark relates to Van den Bossche’s work for the Stammbuch of...
Phillip II of Pommern-Stettin. When the artist finished the pieces for August the Younger in May 1614, the heraldic weapons of the donors were unfinished. Apparently not wishing to complete them, he suggested that Hainhofer submit a flowerpiece by his daughter Elisabeth instead. In compensation, he would make him a drawing. With this offer, Van den Bossche hoped that he would receive the original sum of money agreed for the assignment. Since both drawings are highly finished and dated 1615, it is indeed possible that one or both were gifts to Hainhofer. Conclusive proof, however, is lacking.

UNSIGNED DRAWINGS

6

Fragment of a Design for a “View of Prague”
c. 1605

Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität, Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. H. 355.
Pen and brown ink, with blue wash; the contours of two buildings on the recto traced in black chalk on the verso; irregularly trimmed on bottom and both sides. 324 x 232 mm (at widest points).

PROV.: Bequeathed to the university by Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1770.


EXH.: Prague 1997, no. V.7b, repr.

Although it is neither signed nor dated, this drawing is unquestionably by Van den Bossche and must have been made shortly before 1606. It corresponds with the right part of the seventh and the left part of the eighth copperplate of the large View of Prague from that year (Fig. 9). Dorothy Limouze (see Prague 1997) stressed the topographical accuracy of the print. A comparison between the print and its preparatory drawing, however, shows that the etcher exercised considerable artistic license in reproducing the scene. To create a more panoramic frieze, the image was stretched. Although all the individual elements in the drawing were faithfully reproduced, the print shows far more open space between the buildings. This manipulation improved the legibility of the scene (one can
decipher every object). It also imparted a greater sense of grandeur to the view. This is particularly well illustrated in the large market place, which has grown significantly and has more piles of timber. Important sources for Van den Bossche's design were the panoramic View of Prague from 1562 by Jan Kozel (fl. sixteenth century) and Michael Peterle (1527–1588) and another panoramic view from 1601 by Johann Willenberg (fl. early seventeenth century).^{22}

7

Old Water Mill in a Forest

Weimar, Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar, Schlossmuseum, inv. no. KK 5425.
Pen and brown ink; 105 x 134 mm.
Prov.: Rochlitz collection.

8

River Landscape with Two Figures on the Right

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. no. C 1874.
Pen and brown ink; 112 x 161 mm.
Prov.: Acquired before 1756.

According to Gerszi (see Prague 1997), this drawing was made when Van den Bossche was working in Augsburg. Since the sheet is not dated,


Stylistically this drawing is comparable to the sheet in Dresden (cat. no. 8).

Fig. 10

Old Water Mill in a Forest

Weimar, Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar, Schlossmuseum, inv. no. KK 5425.
Pen and brown ink; 105 x 134 mm.
Prov.: Rochlitz collection.

Fig. 11

River Landscape with Two Figures on the Right

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. no. C 1874.
Pen and brown ink; 112 x 161 mm.
Prov.: Acquired before 1756.

According to Gerszi (see Prague 1997), this drawing was made when Van den Bossche was working in Augsburg. Since the sheet is not dated,
Figure 10

PHILIPS VAN DEN BOSSCHE

Old Water Mill in a Forest (cat. no. 7)

Weimar, Kunstammlungen zu Weimar, Schlossmuseum
Figure 11

PHILIPS VAN DEN BOSSCHE

River Landscape with Two Figures on the Right (cat. no. 8)

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett
this assumption must have been based on stylistic grounds and, in my opinion, is not entirely convincing. The drawing is rather different from the two signed and dated sheets from 1615 (cat. nos. 4 and 5). There is, however, a strong connection with the drawing from Weimar (cat. no. 7), and both are comparable to the signed and dated drawing of 1609 from Berlin (cat. no. 3).

Having been previously attributed to Roelandt Savery and Paulus van Vianen, this drawing is now universally given by scholars to Philips van den Bossche.
**PHILIPS VAN DEN BOSSCHE**

River Landscape with Four Women on the Right
(cat. no. 10)

*Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 2110.*

Pen and brown ink; 105 x 136 mm.


This drawing is executed in a somewhat more detailed manner than the sheets from Weimar and Dresden (cat. nos. 7 and 8). This suggests a connection with the possible pair of pendants dated 1615 in Rotterdam and Brussels (cat. nos. 4 and 5).

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**Mountain Landscape with Figures beside a River**

*Location unknown.*

Pen and brown ink, with brown and gray washes; 324 x 423 mm.

Prov.: Benjamin West, London (L. 419); sale, Amsterdam, Sotheby Mak van Waay, 29 October 1979, lot 204, repr.

Gerszi’s attribution of this drawing to Van den Bossche is recorded in the 1979 sale catalogue. The standing man on the right is comparable to the male figure in the drawing in Vienna (cat. no. 2). As far as the composition and the execution are concerned, there are some similarities to the Munich drawing (cat. no. 10).

12 Fig. 15
Landscape with Three Figures on the Right and a Hut and Two Figures on the Left

Location unknown.
Pen and brown ink; 102 x 124 mm.
PROV.: Sale, London, Sotheby’s, 1 July 1971, lot 89 (as R. Savery); Bernard Houthakker (dealer), Amsterdam, 1973; Chr. Beauchamp, Amsterdam; sale, Amsterdam, Christie’s, 12 November 1990, lot 63, repr.
EXH.: Amsterdam 1973, no. 47 (as Paulus van Vianen).

An Zwollo was the first to attribute this drawing to Van den Bossche. Gerszi noted the resemblance with the drawing in Munich (cat. no. 10). Stylistically however, there seem to be more similarities to the sheets at Weimar and Dresden (cat. nos. 7 and 8).
Figure 15

PHILIPS VAN DEN BOSSCHE

Landscape with Three Figures on the Right and a Hut and Two Figures on the Left (cat. no. 12)

Location Unknown
Figure 16

PHILIPS VAN DEN BOSSCHE (?)

Landscape with Tobias and the Angel (cat. no. 13)

State of the Netherlands (on loan to the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam)
According to an inscription on the mount, J. Q. van Regteren Altena attributed the drawing to Van den Bossche. Stylistically, however, this sheet differs from other drawings securely given to the artist. The hatching is contoured in places, whereas Van den Bossche almost always used short, straight, and flat strokes. This drawing is also more atmospheric—with the swamplike wooded landscape strikingly evoked—while drawings by Van den Bossche are generally rather flat. Nonetheless, the foliage of the trees shows some resemblance to that of the tree in the signed drawing in Rotterdam (cat. no. 4). (The drawing is reproduced in color on the back cover of this issue to enable readers to weigh up the pros and cons of Altena’s attribution and to prompt alternative suggestions.)

An almost identical drawing is preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, under the name of Roelandt Savery.25

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

LITERATURE


2. Each of the nine sheets measures 473 x 355 mm, as does the accompanying printed legend. The Illustrated Bartisch mentions only six copperplates, thus the overall measurements of the print are incorrect.


4. Data on the appointment and payments of Van den Bosche in Prague derive from Modern 1902, pp. 50–51.

5. Paulus van Vianen, for example, earned 20 guilders per month (see Gersz 1982, p. 12, and Ter Molen 1984, p. 23, n. 274). Pieter Stevens earned 8 guilders per month (see Zwollo 1968, p. 124), and Giuseppe Arcimboldo (c. 1527–1593), 20 guilders (see Francine-Claire Legrand and Félix Sluys, Arcimboldo et les arcimboldeques, Paris, 1955, p. 35). Joseph Heintz the Elder (1564–1609), Hans van Aachen (1552–1615), and Bartholomaeus Spranger (1546–1611)—the best paid artists at Rudolf’s court—all started on a monthly allowance of 15 guilders, an amount that was later raised to 45 guilders (see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II, Chicago, 1988, pp. 133 and 249).

6. See Bauer and Haupt 1976, no. 626.

7. See Bauer and Haupt 1976, no. 635. Three more works by Philips van den Bosche are mentioned in the inventory (nos. 618, 632, and 636).

8. According to the inventory, Elisabeth made an embroi-
extremely rare and interesting example of embroidery—which I hope to publish elsewhere—can be attributed to Phillips van den Bosche on the basis of both style and a contemporary letter that was pasted onto the back of the work.


16. “Die Sündflut von Seide genehet” (“The Flood, sewn in silk;” see Döring [ed.] 1894, p. 285, no. 4). Presumably this embroidery was by Van den Bosche, judging by a note from Hainhofer on 19 February 1614 stating that the artist was preparing an embroidery representing “A Samaritan” for the widow Grabow. (Why this should have been replaced by a scene of The Flood and what happened to the original Samaritan remain unknown.) The inventory also mentions that Van den Bosche produced the contribution by the Lüneburg widow of Scharnebeck, “Wie die jünger Ahren ausstreffen am Sabbath / von Seiden genehet. von Philip Bosch” (“How the young ears of corn ripen on the Sabbath, sewn in silk, by Philip Bosch;” see Döring [ed.] 1894, p. 289, no. 56). Apart from the references to Van den Bosche in connection with the Stammbuch, his name is cited two more times in the correspondence between Hainhofer and August the Younger. In a letter from 1639, Hainhofer offers the duke a “schönes auf hayden seiten gerechtes, vorn bemahnten Philipp von Bosch mit Span: seyden genehetes quadretto…” (“a beautiful little scene, minutely embroidered in silk and worked on both sides, by the famous Philipps von Bossch”), a piece that according to Hainhofer was “very well suited for the collection of a duchess.” It is unknown whether or not Van den Bosche was still working at the time. In an undated letter to August the Younger, Hainhofer describes a large table, of which the top was decorated with precious stones and painted scenes by Hans Rottenhammer the Elder (1564/65–1625). The tabletop was supported by legs in which drawers and doors were fitted and filled with art objects. One of the drawers contained a pin cushion by Philips van den Bosche, “küsseln, welches von keyser Rudolphi berührten Seydensticker, dem Philipps Bosch, ein dor und Landschäfflin von gefarber Seyden genehet, umbhero mit gold gesticket ist, eingefühlte Nadeln darein zustekken” (“a cushion into which threaded needles are stuck, by Philips Bosch, the famous embroiderer to Emperor Rudolf, depicting a village landscape sewn in colored silks, with gold threads;’’ see Gobiet [ed.] 1984, pp. 655, 842). For Hainhofer’s diary, see Modern 1902, p. 52.

17. Many of the works on paper from Beckerath’s sale were bought by the Kupferstickkabinett in Berlin. Miniatures like this one, however, were not. I am grateful to Holm Bevers for this information.

18. Another finished work of art, a Landscape with Judith and Tamar, 130 x 190 mm, appeared in a sale, Berlin, Lepke, 22 May 1911, lot 20 (“Pergamentminiatur von höchste feiner Durchführung. Unter am Rande mit Goldcharakteren bezeichnet ‘F. Bos.’”), repr. It seems that the attribution was that of a former owner, not a signature. The present location of this drawing is unknown.

19. Inv. no. 13.396; see Zwollo 1968, fig. 208.

20. Inv. no. 4879; see Zwollo 1968, fig. 207.

21. See Modern 1902, p. 52.

22. See Prague 1997, nos. III.237 and V.4, both repr. The upper part of the woodcut by Kozel and Peterle was adopted quite literally by Van den Bosche.

23. Inv. no. 6026. Brown chalk; 323 x 241 mm; see the photo at the R.K.D., The Hague.