Antoni Waterloo (1609 – 1690)

Tájkarcok

Landscape Etchings

Kiállítás a Keresztény Múzeum gyűjteményéből
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INTRODUCTION

Hallmarked by such outstanding talents as Rembrandt and Vermeer, the seventeenth century was the Golden Age of Dutch art. Antoni Waterloo (1609–1690) was one of the successful artists of that period; today, however, his name is hardly known to the wider public. Because of the modest number of paintings that are verifiably his, we must look to his graphics – to the almost 140 etchings and several drawings that are left to us – to evaluate his art. Waterloo belongs to the so-called *peintre-graveur* group of artists; a painter who etched his own original compositions instead of executing reproductions, like several other artists did. Almost all of his surviving works are landscapes.

His landscape representations are not dramatic or special, his aim being to portray the land faithfully, to capture the atmosphere of the moment rather than to glorify nature. He becomes endlessly absorbed in studying trees and their foliage or in the changing shades of light playing on the landscape. In his best etchings, he portrays the land in a perfectly harmonious way. Waterloo's depictions of forests and trees in particular became very popular amongst contemporary artists as well as with the succeeding generations. His influence extended beyond his own age to inform the work of landscape artists in later centuries.

In the more than five thousand sheets of graphic art which comprise the collection of the Christian Museum, Waterloo's etchings number over one hundred. The material selected for the exhibition affords the wider audience its first glimpse of the characteristic world of an almost forgotten artist.

fig. 1.
Bartholomeus van der Helst
PORTRAIT OF WATERLOO
drawing, 36,1 × 30,2 cm
black chalk, heightened
with white on brownish paper
Stockholm,
The National Museum of Fine Arts
Inv.no. NM THC 3234

ARTISTIC LIFE IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HOLLAND

In the 1560s, the developing war of independence began to disrupt the unity of the Netherlands, which at that time belonged to the Spanish crown. The victory of the Utrecht Union founded by the Dutch provinces led to secession from Spain and to the creation of an independent Dutch state (1581). Whereas in the south, Flanders – present-day Belgium – remained under the authority of the Catholic Spanish King, in the north an independent republic was formed in which middle class citizens and peasants made up the main fabric of society. The evolution of early capitalism in Holland provided ample opportunity for the development of trade and industry, resulting in relative welfare for the entire society. The middle classes, mainly traders, took the lead in politics, economy and culture. Economic growth, political freedom and religious tolerance contributed greatly to the fact that Holland could maintain a leading role in seventeenth century European art.

Except for the art produced by a group of artists gathering around Rembrandt, there was no religious art in Protestant Holland since Protestants do not decorate their churches with figurative representation. Neither, in the absence of an absolute ruler so typical of a feudal state, was there any court art. Artists worked more in response to the market than to specific commissions from their mainly middle class customers. This created distinct artistic categories, including portraits, landscapes, genre paintings, still lifes and animal depictions. Paintings became merchandise, objects of everyday life. The public demand for paintings is well reflected in the account of the English traveller Peter Mundy: "Amsterdam, 1640: As far as the art of painting and people's love of pictures are concerned, there is nobody who could surpass them. (...) They all strive to decorate their houses with precious pieces, especially the front rooms facing the street. Butcher and baker shops are also nicely decorated, and blacksmiths and shoemakers often keep a nice painting in their workshops. The citizens of this country have a generally appreciative attitude towards paintings; it is their pastime."[1]

Scholarly research and technical inventions placed the study of the world's physical reality at the centre of intellectual life. In keeping with a realistic approach that had a centuries-long tradition in the Netherlands, simple everyday themes were emphasized in art. Man's relationship to the world had changed. Svetlana Alpers writes: "In Holland the visual culture was central to the life of society. One might say that the eye was a central means of self-representation and visual experience a central mode of self-consciousness. If the theater was the arena in which the England of Elizabeth most fully represented itself to itself, images played that role for Dutch. (...) They are printed in books, woven into the cloth of tapestries or table linens, painted onto tiles, and of course framed on walls. And everything is pictured – from insects and flowers to Brazilian natives in full life-size to the domestic arrangements of the Amsterdammers. The maps printed in Holland describe the world and Europe to itself."[2]

Throughout the seventeenth century, the supply of paintings increased to meet the growing demand. Statistics indicate that during this period there were some 2,000 painters in Holland[3] and that somewhere between seven and fourteen million paintings were produced.[4] This abundant supply resulted in low prices, which in turn determined the lifestyle of painters. While successful artists in Italy or Flanders were very well paid and enjoyed a very high status in society, in Holland the majority of even the leading artists lived in modest circumstances and belonged to the craftsman stratum of society. Many painters supplemented their income

by dealing in art while others tried their luck in different fields. The landscape artist Jan van Goyen, for instance, whose paintings are now housed in museums as precious treasures, obtained a more significant income from trading in tulip bulbs than from the sale of his paintings.

Dealing in art was a booming trade in the Netherlands, both at home and abroad, and paintings became important merchandise in Holland. Sales were handled not only by professional art dealers but also by private individuals and by the artists themselves. Art works were considered to be a form of investment. In addition to auctions, sales exhibitions were organized at various town hall stock exchanges, in shopping concourses and markets. Art fairs, organized in Antwerp since 1540, had a great tradition in the Netherlands, some of them lasting for several days or even weeks. Conditions of sales and auctions were regulated by city and guild provisions. Painters had their own Saint Luke Guild with local offices operating independently in each town. If an artist, even a master, moved to a different town, he was required to apply to the local Guild for permits to settle down and sell his paintings in the new location. The Guild also regulated education, and artists studied in the master's workshop rather than at schools or academies. Students usually began their studies at the age of 12–14, became assistants some three years later and independent artists by the age of 20. Many studied with several different masters to perfect their technical skills. Drawing was an important element in their curriculum. To begin, a student copied drawings and engravings, then paintings and sculptures. After these, drawing from a live model was eventually permitted. The concept was that through copying other works, a student could build up his own set of tools based upon the motifs with which he became acquainted so that later he would be able to create original works.

THE IMITATION OF NATURE AND THE REPRESENTATION OF LANDSCAPE

By the fifteenth century, Flemish art already differed from Italian art in the sense that it strongly emphasized worldly elements and strove to present the human environment in a naturalistic way. This approach perpetuated in the seventeenth century real life themes preferred by Dutch artists. In Dutch art, emphasis was placed more upon representing the familiar and the unchanging than the ephemeral. This is why the art of painting from Van Eyck to Vermeer seems so continuous. "While the Italians moved (...) to distinguish between what we can simply refer to as the real and the ideal, or between images done after life and those also shaped by judgment or by concepts in the mind, the Dutch hardly ever relaxed their representational assumptions. (...) Their term *naer het leven* (after life) and *uyt den geest* (from the mind or spirit), as employed by Van Mander and other northern writers who came after him, do not involve distinctions between real and ideal, between physical and mental, but rather distinguish between different sources of visual perception. While *naer het leven* refers to everything visible in the world, *uyt den geest* refers to images of the world as they are stored mnemonically in the mind. Certain surprising formulations both verbal and pictorial result from this. First, unlike

their Italian counterparts (and unlike the entire academic tradition that followed), the Dutch did not restrict *naer het leven* to the notion of drawing after the live model, but used it to denote drawing after anything in the world presented to the eyes. A drawing after an antique statue (...) could be done *naer het leven*. Perhaps we have in this an explanation of the making and high appreciation accorded those curious northern works such as Goltzius's prints after Dürer's *Meisterstücke*, in which the artist mimics deceptively the works of an earlier master. These prints (...) are renderings of *art* done, as it were, "after life". Goltzius's prints could, however, have as well been done *uyt den geest*, because working out of the mind was itself considered not a selection process or a matter of judgment, but a matter of mirroring. (...) The concept of the mind as a place for storing visual images was of course a common one at that time. But it was in the north of Europe that artists *pictured* such a state of mind. For better or for worse, depending on one's view, the general lack of what we might call an ideal or elevated style and the tendency toward a descriptive approach to the representation of even elevated subject matter are due to this representational practice."[5]

The "descriptive" approach is strongly exemplified in landscape representation where the imitation of nature, the exact evocation of events and the meticulous representation of detail are all-important elements. These characteristics are reaching back to the roots of Netherlandish painting. In the miniatures of the *Très riches Heures du duc de Berry,* created by the Limbourg brothers at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the castles in the background of the pictures symbolizing the twelve months are locations still identifiable today. The landscapes of this calendar serve only as backgrounds, human environments, scenes of everyday working life or leisure. A little later, around 1435, Jan van Eyck's background to his *The Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* matures into a tremendous landscape in its own right, unique in that period.

In the paintings of the next century more and more space is given over to the landscape and we also begin to encounter examples of original landscapes. In *Saint Jerome in a Rocky Landscape* by Joachim Patinir (ca. 1520), the main theme is virtually dwarfed by the imaginary terrain, with Saint Jerome a mere *staffage* figure in the composition. By the middle of the sixteenth century, landscape painting had developed as a distinct category in the Netherlands. With a few exceptions, fantastic or idealized motifs were typical of these early pictures. The realistic landscape drawings of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, created between 1551 and 1554 while travelling through the Alps, belong to this category.

In 1559 and 1561 respectively, Hieronymus Cock published two "after real life" series[6] comprising forty-four etchings of village landscapes around Antwerp, possibly the first realistic landscapes of his own surroundings created by a Netherlandish artist. At first, the drawings after which the etchings were made were believed to be the work of artists such as Bruegel or Cornelis Cort; today they are considered to be the work of an unknown artist called the "Master of the Small Landscape."[7]

Towards the end of the century, mainly for economic and religious reasons, artists such as Hans Bol, Gillis van Coninxloo, David Vinckboons and their peers were fleeing Flanders. They went on to exercise great influence in the Northern Netherlands, where there was almost no landscape painting tradition. They achieved considerable success with their Biblical and mythological scenes set in idealized landscapes and with their allegorical representations of the seasons and months. Their fame was largely due to the prints made after their compositions by artists such as Flemish Nicolaes de Bruyn and the Dutchman Hessel Gerritsz.

Before the arrival of the Flemish artists only a few Dutch artists chose the countryside for their theme, using mainly Italianate motifs.

Examples of two quite different approaches in landscape representation are evident at the beginning of the seventeenth century, one based on the artist's imagination and the other on reality.[8] The first realistic Dutch landscapes are believed to be Hendrick Goltzius's representations from around 1603 of the dunes surrounding Haarlem. These drawings already indicate that the artist's relationship to the landscape has changed. The essence of the new attitude was to take a more realistic approach and to expedite the discovery of the Dutch landscape in art. This new approach was initially represented in drawings and etchings, and only later in paintings. In seventeenth century Holland, graphic art not only achieved an equal status with painting but also attained its finest flowering. Almost all the notable Dutch painters also produced works of the graphic arts. Many artists drew exclusively for the market and watercolours were also popular among art collectors. Hendrick Avercamp was one of the first artists to produce watercolours specifically for the market. Etching[9] became the most popular graphic technique since it was easier to learn than engraving and allowed painters to use a drawing technique. Etching was used more for original artistic composition, engraving for reproductions.

The Haarlem artists Esaias van de Velde, Willem Buytewech and Hercules Segers and the Amsterdammer Claes Jansz. Visscher followed in the footsteps of Goltzius and were responsible for making significant advances in finding novel solutions in landscape composition. They were the pioneers of Dutch landscape etching. Visscher published a series of twelve etchings of the Haarlem environs around 1612. He was one of the first artists to present Dutch landscape with topographical faithfulness, using drawings he had made a few years earlier.

Line drawing and unified light across the landscape are typical of etchings. Both Van de Velde and Buytewech produced similar works, the latter being the first to etch landscape compositions without a human figure. By virtue of his special technique, the characteristic prints created by Hercules Segers are different from the work of his peers. Around 1630, the style in landscape painting had changed. Painters following the example of Jan van Goyen began to use fewer colours and the range was nearly reduced to a single tint. This change also influenced graphics. The style of representation became less like line drawing and more like painting. Instead of even lighting, light and dark contrasts became typical.

ANTONI WATERLOO

The etcher Antoni Waterloo belonged to the next generation, but only one of his prints is dated: 1637. This sheet was probably one of the first etchings by the then 28 year old artist. This indicates that only the aforementioned Visscher, Buytewech, Segers and the Van de Velde brothers made original composition etchings before Waterloo. It is possible that their work, together perhaps with the landscape etchings created in Italy in the thirties by the French artist Claude Lorrain, served as models for the new trend. Many of Waterloo's peers

created etched landscapes, among them Johannes Brosterhuysen, Bartholomeus Breenbergh, Herman van Swanevelt, Rembrandt, Herman Saftleven and Jan Both, but these were all done later.[10] By 1640, Waterloo had already made several etchings, and these are mentioned in his marriage settlement on 13 May of that year. [11]

In several official documents Waterloo is referred to as a painter, but in reality he produced mainly drawings and etchings, and he was a publisher and an art dealer. Most of his paintings are also landscapes and some of his more noted pictures are to be found in public collections (e.g. Alte Pinakothek, Munich; Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha), although many others, either unsigned or bearing the initials "AW", are also attributed to him.[12] Not a lot is known about him, because only a few periods of his life are recorded. He was born in Lille in 1609 and his family probably took refuge in Holland from Protestant persecution. He first lived in Leiden, then, from 1621, in Amsterdam. In 1640, he married Cattharijn Stevens van der Dorp, the widow of the painter and art dealer Elias Homis. In 1653, he lived in Leeuwarden and two years later in Maarssen. In 1678, four years after the death of his wife, he retired to live in the St. Jobsgasthuis almshouse in Utrecht. He died in 1690 at the – for those times, unusually advanced – age of 81.

Waterloo was presumably self-taught. We do not know his masters, but there were many artists in his family and among his friends. His mother, Magdalena Vaillant, was an aunt of Wallerant Vaillant, the best known member of the famous Vaillant engraving family. Throughout his life, Waterloo travelled a great deal, both in Holland and abroad. He made countless drawings that help to identify the course of his journeys. It is difficult to arrange them in a chronological order because he hardly ever dated them. We know from these drawings that he visited the areas around the German cities of Bentheim and Cleves, later Hamburg, Altona and their surroundings, and he also reached Danzig. Dates in some pages of his sketch book indicate that this longer journey took place around 1660. It is possible that he also took a trip along the river Rhine, a traditional route for artists in those times, since he made several drawings of the countryside and towns along the river. His well-known panoramic picture of Augsburg suggests that he also travelled in southern Germany. Although there is an Italian influence in several of his works, it has not been established that he had actually visited that country. It is quite possible that, like many of his peers, he worked from sketches made by other artists.

The scope of Waterloo's interests was relatively narrow but he cannot be regarded as specializing in a single theme. In those days artists often concentrated primarily on one subject.[13] Waterloo's main themes are forest landscapes and trees. Only two of his known etchings do not feature trees (Cat. nos. 1, 3). He also created etchings of river-banks and mountains, and of Biblical and mythological scenes placed in a landscape setting. According to Stubbe's definition, the artist represented most of these *paysages intimes,* these intimate landscapes, in their natural simplicity without any idealistic or dramatic effects.[14] Freedberg points out that a hallmark of Waterloo's art is the very modesty of his chosen scenes. He did not exclude anything as being unworthy of representation unless he considered it to be too extreme or too tragic. He strove to record even the most insignificant details of his environment.[15] While the majority of the earlier landscape etchers portrayed typical Dutch landscapes (houses with their characteristic gables, windmills, canals with bridges arching over them), Waterloo, apart from a few exceptions, almost never represented these in their entirety, preferring to narrow down this familiar world into the most minute details. Adam Bartsch points to the small forest nooks, the banks of a stream lush with green ferns, a lonely cliff, an isolated village by a canal

or a hermit hut in the plains as the elements of Waterloo's microcosm.[16] The feeling of intimacy and the subtle forms of his world lend special charm to his prints.[17] Few of Waterloo's etchings are "only" about nature (Cat. nos. 11, 12, 32), since most of them contain human figures or such human creations as houses, ships, bridges and distant church towers. People are merely *staffage* figures, sketchy and without any real character, mere elements of the atmosphere. They are still there, however, perhaps as reminders that human beings are only a minute part of nature.

Waterloo, like his peers, recorded his initial impressions in drawings. Artists in the seventeenth century did not paint outside their atelier but they did make their drawings outdoors. At first most drawings were made with pen and ink, but around 1620 Esaias van de Velde began to work with crayons as the most suitable medium for making quick sketches. There are known drawings by Waterloo in both pen and colour crayon, many of them completely finished landscape compositions. He probably intended these for sale. He based most of his etchings upon his drawings, and several of his sketches are still to be found in public and private collections (Cat. nos. 1/a, 2/a, 4/a, 6/a, 8/a, 13/a, 20/a). In preparing the copper plates he frequently used drypoint[18] and engraving[19] techniques to supplement etching. He often used a burin to deepen the lines of the tree trunks and branches, and sometimes used the drypoint technique for the foliage and the smaller branches. The combination of these different techniques contributed greatly to the harmonious representation of the landscape. Mixing the three techniques, however, also had its downside since the plate did not wear evenly during printing. The fine etched details wore off sooner than the more deeply engraved lines, thereby breaking up the unity of the composition. Prints like these fail to convey the effect originally intended by the artist.

In general, Waterloo did not date his works so it is difficult to judge when he created them. As already mentioned, the only etching he dated (H. 139)[20] was made in 1637, and today this is accepted as Waterloo's first well-known etching.[21] *The Banishment of Hagar and Ishmael* (Cat. no. 42.), based upon Pieter Holsteyn's Bible illustration and published in 1659, was probably one of his last works.[22] The two above mentioned dates indicate only that he certainly made other etchings between 1637 and 1659. A drawing dated 1679[23] demonstrates that his artistic creativity continued into his old age, although no etchings are known from this later period.

THE VARIOUS EDITIONS OF WATERLOO'S ETCHINGS

There have been several editions of Waterloo's etchings, and the history of the original copper plates is traceable all the way through to the middle of the nineteenth century. The plates were probably retouched several times. What we know today about the various editions is based mainly on the research carried out by Peter Morse and Christiaan Schuckman.[24]

The etchings were first published by the artist himself, as indicated on several prints by the "ex" marks (*excudit* – published by). The first editions of Waterloo's prints were issued in sets of six or twelve, a well established and common form in the seventeenth century. The exact dates of the editions are unknown, but

if we accept 1637 as the date of an early plate then this establishes the dates of publication as being later than this. Waterloo wound up his publishing activities in 1678 at the latest, at which point he retired from business and transferred all his outstanding credits to his son.[25]

The next edition is linked with the name Cornelis Danckerts II. The title-page of the album[26] published by him in Amsterdam mentions 136 Waterloo etchings but the date of publication is not given. The address of Danckerts' shop, however, is noted, an establishment which functioned in the same location between approximately 1696 and 1717, indicating that this edition was published after Waterloo's death in 1690.

An auction catalogue of March 1713, containing copper plates and impressions of Waterloo, somewhat answers the question about what happened to the plates in the period between the artist's death and the Danckerts publication. This catalogue reveals that the material for sale was formerly owned by Justus Danckerts, the father of Cornelis. According to several unpublished documents, it is likely that Waterloo's plates came into the possession of Justus Danckerts somewhere around 1675–1678. It is possible that he published Waterloo's etchings while the latter was still alive. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the watermarks on some of the Johannes Visscher prints published by Justus are the same as those on the early Waterloo editions. Since Danckerts did not identify himself on the prints as the publisher, it is very difficult to differentiate between the Waterloo and the Justus Danckerts editions.[27] It is likely that Cornelis Danckerts bought 136 copper plates by Waterloo at the auction. In this case, the publication of the album bearing the name Cornelis Danckerts II can be placed somewhere between March, 1713, and the death of Cornelis in July, 1717. If the album was published under an earlier publishing agreement, then this would have come about sometime between the opening of the shop in 1696 and the auction in 1713.

The next edition to be published was produced by the Dutch Ottens brothers, who probably bought 48 copper plates after the death of Cornelis Danckerts II in 1717. Neither the Dutch nor the French title-page of the Waterloo album[28] published by them mention either a publisher or a date, but they are identified on some of the prints as "R. & I. Ottens ex." This edition would have come out some time between 1726 and 1750, since Reinier and Joshua Ottens became partners in October, 1726, their partnership lasting all the way until Reinier's death in 1750. After his brother's death, Joshua continued his publishing business in association with Reinier's son, Reinier Ottens Jr., until 1765. Their publications were marked with the names "Joshua & Reinier Ottens."

In November, 1759, Jean de Bary's collection of 42 Waterloo copper plates was purchased by Joshua Ottens, bringing his collection of Waterloo plates up to 90. It is likely that these plates were used to produce other editions, but in the absence of a publisher's mark they cannot be identified. They were sold by Joshua's widow Johanna de Lindt at an auction in 1784. The catalogue refers to 88 Waterloo copper plates, bought by the dealer Jan Yver and sold on to a Frenchman, Pierre-Francois Basan.

Basan, the greatest print dealer in Paris, published two Waterloo albums. The first contained 80 etchings and was published between 1784 and 1788 in collaboration with his business partner, Etienne-Léon Poignant.[29] The second[30] contained 88 etchings and was published in 1788–89 after his break with Poignant. The stocklist of the shop run by Basan's sons reveal that 88 Waterloo plates and etchings were sold to Auguste Jean some time between 1803 and 1810.

The Waterloo album published by Jean (apart from the name "Jean", its title-page is identical to Basan's second edition) contains 136 etchings, 88 from the Basan publication, the rest from earlier editions. It is unlikely that Jean made new prints from the plates since the etchings he had bought from Basan would have been sufficient to meet the demand. The changing taste of early nineteenth century collectors did not really favour Waterloo's etchings.

The album[31] containing four Waterloo etchings published by Amsterdammer Willem van Vliet in 1820 represents a very interesting interlude in the history of the plates. (Cat. no. 36. originates from this album.) These prints were made from the original copper plates. This is rather unusual, given that prints from these plates were last published in the Danckerts edition at the beginning of the 1700s.

After Jean's death in 1832, Waterloo etchings and 88 copper plates were still listed in his widow's stock-list. It is possible that these plates were part of the stock sold in part or in its entirety to Parisian dealer Auguste Bernard in 1846. It is certainly very probable that Waterloo's plates did indeed pass into Bernard's possession.

The Waterloo plates do not surface again until 1868, when the English etcher Philip Gilbert Hamerton published an album entitled *Etchings & Etchers*,[32] illustrated with original etchings. This album featured Waterloo's etching *Walker with Dog Near a Wood* (Cat. no. 29). This print was undoubtedly made from the original copper plate. Hamerton was very tight-lipped about its origin. He only disclosed that he had bought it from a Parisian dealer who owned more Waterloo plates. It is possible that this dealer was Bernard.

Since then nothing further is known about the fate of Waterloo's plates or about any later editions of his etchings. Indeed, as our account makes clear, we lost track of most of the plates following the Cornelis Danckerts II edition. A possible reason for this could be the poor condition of the plates. Waterloo's technique made retouching necessary after a short time, and theoretically this may have already begun in Justus Danckerts's workshop. After a while it would simply not be worth retouching the plates any more and they would lose their market value. In spite of this, it is always possible that a few plates could resurface somewhere, as with the unexpected appearance of Waterloo's works in the Willem van Vliet edition, but – for now at least – it seems that the plates are lost forever.

Several comprehensive catalogues of Waterloo's etchings have been published.[33] The first, listing 136 works, was compiled by Adam Bartsch in 1795, and the last by Christiaan Schuckman in the 1997 Hollstein series. The latter features 139 etchings, thanks to research carried out by art historians since the eighteenth century which supplemented Waterloo's oeuvre catalogue with three more pieces.

Two-thirds of the 43 etchings exhibited were printed in the second half of the eighteenth century and originate from the Basan editions. The remaining one third was published in the seventeenth century by Waterloo, Justus Danckerts and Cornelis Danckerts II. The state[34] of the etching and the watermark[35] are important elements in differentiating between the two groups.

We based our assessment of Waterloo's etchings on the oeuvre catalogue of the Hollstein edition.[36] Each edition is characterized by the state of the etchings. Basan retouched most of the Waterloo plates, resulting in an altered state on the proofs, and this helps to identify the prints. In the catalogue we indicate those prints where watermarks can be found separately.

In certain prints there are “Arms of Amsterdam” and “Foolscap” watermarks that indicate Waterloo or Danckerts editions. In other prints there are mainly word inscriptions, more characteristic of the Basan editions.[37]

Notes

[1] The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, London, 1925. Garas 1967. p. 144.
[2] Alpers 1983. p. xxv.
[3] Garas 1967. p. 19.
[4] Leeflang 2000. p. 242.
[5] Alpers 1983. pp. 40–41.
[6] “Vele ende seer fraeye ghe-/ leghentheden van diverssche Dorpshuysinghen, Hoe-/ ven, Velden, Straten, ende dyer ghlycken, met/ alderhande Beestken verciert. Al te samen ghe-/ conterfeyt naer dleven, ende meest rontom/ Antwerpen gheleghen sijnde.” At present it is impossible to decide how the etchings were divided between the two editions.
[7] The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2001. p. 296.
[8] Freedberg 1980. p. 11. Freedberg points out that the two types are not completely separate from each other. Many realistic motifs were combined with fictional landscapes in the imaginary compositions, and many of the landscapes do not exist in the realistic form portrayed.
[9] A smooth copper plate is covered with a wax layer, into which the composition is etched with a needle before being immersed in a bowl of acid. The acid will corrode the plate along the etched lines where there is no protective wax layer, and after cleaning the surface the plate is covered with paint and wiped clean. A damp sheet of paper is then pressed over it and the paint in the cavities sticks to the paper, thus revealing the lines of the art work.
[10] The first dated landscape etching by Rembrandt is 1641. Brosterhuysen’s and Saftleven’s first etchings date back to 1640.
[11] Kahn-Gerzon 1992. pp. 94–95.
[12] Turner 1996. vol. 32. p. 907.
[13] Adriaen van Ostade, Cornelis Bega and Cornelis Dusart created etchings with peasant themes, Paulus Potter and Pieter van Laer etched animal representations. Whereas Nicolaes Berchem, Karel du Jardin and Adriaen van de Velde portrayed mainly Italian peasant scenes, the main themes of Reinier Nooms and Ludolf Backhuyzen were ships.
[14] Stubbe 1983. p. 24.
[15] Freedberg 1980. p. 56.
[16] Bartsch 1795. p. 4.
[17] Bradley 1918. p. 116.
[18] A similar method to etching but the lines are scratched directly into the plate with a sharp needle.
[19] The lines of the composition are engraved into the plate with a burin.
[20] The serial number of the Hollstein catalogue, see: Schuckman 1997.
[21] This etching is not listed in Bartsch’s catalogue. It was included later in the graphic oeuvre, catalogued by Dutuit.
[22] Schuckman 1997. p. 20.
[23] Stubbe 1983. p. 11.
[24] The chapter is based upon the following works: Schuckman 1997. pp. 11–20., Schuckman 1993. pp. 68–75., Morse 1992. pp. X–XVII.
[25] The date of the transfer 12 April 1678, see: Schuckman 1997. p. 31.
[26] “Het geheele werk van der vermaarden landschap schilder Anthoni Waterloo: bestaande in hondert en ses-en-dartig verscheyde Landeschappen, alle door hem zelf Konstig geteekent en in’t Koper gemaakt. Zeer dienstig voor alle landschapschilders en liefhebbers van de teekenkonst”
[27] Schuckman 1993. p. 73.
[28] “Receuil des Paisages d’ Antoine Waterlo gravées par lui meme. / Verzameling van Landschappen alle zelfs geinventeerd, en ge-est door Antoni Waterlo”
[29] “Suite de Quatre-Vingt Paysages, de différentes grandeurs, composés et gravé a l’eau-forte Par Ant. Waterloo peintre Hollandois”
[30] The text on the title-page is almost completely identical to the title of the previous edition: “Suite de Quatre-Vingt-Huit Paysages, de différentes grandeurs, composés et gravé a l’eau-forte, Par Ant. Waterloo peintre Hollandais”
[31] “Bosch-en Landgezichten, Romeinsche en Grieksche Oudheden, Bouwvallen, enz. naar Anthony Waterloo en andere meesters; tot voorbeelden en schetsen voor Teekenaren en Schilders, in XVI. Platen”, – Amsterdam, Willem van Vliet, 1820
[32] Hamerton 1868
[33] Bartsch 1795, Dutuit 1885, Wessely 1891, Morse 1992, Schuckman 1997
[34] If, because the artist or someone else changed the cooper plate by adding or taking away something from the composition, a particular engraving or etching has several variants; this is indicated by the word “state” (état) in the catalogues. The change can either be immediately visible – a missing figure, for example, or the addition of a new element in the landscape – or it can be very subtle, such as a change of a line.
[35] In the old days only handmade paper was produced. Various shapes were fashioned on the screen, thereby creating a craftsman’s watermark, a kind of quality trademark, although very often no watermark is found on the engraving paper. This is because the sheets of paper generally measured 50×70 cm or 30×50 cm and if the printing size was smaller than these the paper had to be trimmed to the right size. Sometimes, therefore, there would either be no watermark at all or just a partial one.
[36] Schuckman 1997
[37] Morse 1992. pp. XVII–XVIII., Schuckman 1997. p. 20.

CATALOGUE

The identification of Waterloo's etchings is based on the Hollstein catalogue (Vol. L.), to which the „H" numbers in the present catalogue refer.
Dimensions are given in cm and refer to the length and width of the copper plate. Height precedes width.
The drawings in the catalogue are by Antoni Waterloo.
All works belong to the collection of the Christian Museum unless otherwise specified.

WATERSIDE SCENES

Waterloo's etchings portraying watersides are presumed to date from the early phase of his working life. They do not evince the characteristic forest themes of his later work, although their ambience does foreshadow them. He etched two sets of twelve prints depicting mainly seashores and river estuaries. He probably created them between 1637 and 1640.[1]

Because of its significance in history and trading, the depiction of the sea had great importance in Dutch art. Pieter Bruegel the Elder was also a pioneer in this regard, and landscape artists Hendrick Vroom and Cornelis Claes Wieringen followed in his footsteps in the decades around 1600.[2] They established the foundation for realistic seascape painting that was later brought to perfection in the middle of the century by artists such as Simon de Vlieger, Willem van de Velde and Ludolf Backhuyzen. While these painters tended to represent lively sea battles or busy harbours, Waterloo, like Reinier Zeeman, preferred the serene calm of the quiet coastlines. His prints can be compared with the etchings of Jan van de Cappelle and Simon de Vlieger in the way they depict the effects of gentle light on water and sky. The majority of Waterloo's early etchings can be compared to the waterside drawings created by Jan van Goyen in the 1630s and 1640s.[3] Although Van Goyen himself never produced any etchings, his representation of unified shades and atmospheric effects also had an influence on landscape graphics.[4]

Several of Waterloo's drawings served as preliminary sketches for his etchings. The drawing related to his etching *Cart on a Road Near the Coast* (Cat. no. 1) is the property of the British Museum (Cat. no. 1/a). For a long time, the town in the background of the composition was thought to be Scheveningen, a coastal town in the Hague, but later this theory had to be dropped because of inconsistencies in the church tower. Waterloo's drawing was made from the same perspective as his print, although the sketch is lighter, softer, the shades are greyer and the sky less detailed than in the etching. The drawing related to his etching *Two Pointed Towers* (Cat. no. 4) can also be found in the collection of the British Museum (Cat. no. 4/a).

For a long time, the drawing for the print *Churchyard Near a Waterside* (Cat. no. 2) was believed to be by Jan van Goyen; it is still found in the collection of the Kunsthalle in Hamburg (Cat. no. 2/a) catalogued under his name. Waterloo's drawing for his etching *The Well* (Cat. no. 6) was auctioned in Amsterdam by Christie's (Cat. no. 6/a). Waterloo's rendition of subtly translucent air and sunshine transform his artistic motifs – the light playing on the walls of the buildings, the detail reflected in the water, sails fading away in the mist – into an enchanting ambience. These fascinating works of art also capture the characteristic harbour buildings with their towers, the winches, the watchman cabins, and the people fishing and loading.

MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPES

In addition to their appreciation of the Dutch plains, Waterloo and his contemporaries were particularly attracted by the varied configuration of the terrain and the special ambience of the mountainous areas of

neighbouring countries. Indeed, inspired by the gigantic prints capturing the experience of Bruegel's crossing of the Alps, mountain landscapes were among the favourite subjects of landscape artists as early as the sixteenth century. This influence can be perceived in the works of Gillis van Coninxloo, Jacob and Roelandt Savery, Hendrick Goltzius and Jacob de Gheyn. Bruegel's naturalistic drawings of the Alps project a more intimate feeling. These drawings became accessible in Holland through the works of Hans Bol and David Vinckboons amongst others.[5] The discovery of the hills of the Rhineland ensured that that area became the most attractive destination second only to Italy for the artists of that time, as evidenced in the prints of Herman Saftleven, Willem Buytewech and Herman Naiwincx. Allaert van Everdingen, on the other hand, achieved popularity with his prints featuring the Scandinavian motifs encountered during his journey through Norway and Sweden. Waterloo was also a frequent traveller, and, given that he portrayed several towns along the Rhine (Arnheim, Nijmegen, Rhenen) in his drawings, he must have considered his trip to that region as one of his most memorable journeys. The majority of the mountainous landscapes exhibited here (Cat. nos. 10, 11, 12, 14), however, are presumably from the area between Liege and Dinant along the river Meuse in the south of present-day Belgium.[6]

Waterloo was captivated by the dynamism and variety of rock formations making up a mountainous landscape. He captured the majestic scenery of scrubby cliffs, bare rocks and wild waterfalls in many of his series. In contrast with his more simple and intimate landscapes, these representations are heroic rather than idealized or dramatic. In the absence of human figures, the massive natural elements express their own innate power; at other times, nature is embellished by romantic buildings with people overshadowed by rocks.

Just as he hardly ever represented large, comprehensive landscapes, so also are minutely detailed studies of nature missing from his etchings. His motifs are always organically connected with their environment. The unusual natural phenomena depicted in his print *The Pierced Rock* (Cat. no. 13), for example, does not stand alone but is represented as part and parcel of its surroundings. Waterloo was not overly interested in the structure of the rock or in its material, but rather in the ensemble of its scale and the plants growing wild from the gorges, which, together with the resting *staffage* figure, creates an intimate feeling. His pictures are not naturalistic representations but compositions full of ambience. "Human wonder at nature, not the recording of the land, is the artist's concern."[7]

PANORAMIC PICTURES

Waterloo's few panoramic pictures have a special place alongside the narrower perspective of his more usual compositions. The former were not typical of him and such rare compositions cannot be topographically defined, with the exception of three prints from a set of six etchings (Cat. nos. 15, 16, 17) recognizably depicting the town of Rhenen. The unusual character of these prints is perhaps explained by the fact that they are not original Waterloo compositions, but produced from Johannes Ruischer's plates reworked and published by Waterloo. Ruischer was a seventeenth century landscape etcher, a student of Hercules Segers, who used

his master's typical Dutch landscape motifs without imitating his special ambience and unique technical solutions.[8] Waterloo used Ruischer's compositions, and one of his numerous drawings of Rhenen bears witness to the fact that he also visited that location himself (Cat. no. 16/a).

The development of panoramic pictures and topographical townscapes is interwoven with the progress in cartography that in the sixteenth century was already an activity requiring extensive education. Seventeenth-century artists were often employed to draw maps. Thanks to the Amsterdammer publisher, printmaker and map draughtsman Claes Jansz. Visscher, there was a great deal of interest in topographical townscapes. Topographical prints were often published in series and most of the prints were sold by professional publishers. Artists played a key role in developing the mapping method into landscape representation, and the wide landscapes painted by Jan van Goyen, Jacob van Ruisdael and Philips Koninck, together with the graphics of Herman Safteven and Roelant Roghman, were especially significant in this connection. Mapping was an educational tool as well as providing frequent motivation for travel. "Used broadly, mapping characterizes an impulse to record or describe the land in pictures that was shared at the time by surveyors, artists, printers, and the general public in the Netherlands."[9]

The reworked prints by Waterloo represent the town of Rhenen from different points of view: from a hilltop with the tower of the church of Saint Cunera dominating the city, and from the tower with the town laid out wide before our eyes and stretching far into the distance.

In the print depicting the town along the Rhine (Cat. no. 15), the viewer's perspective is so elevated that the landscape indeed seems like a map. "The artist tries to capture the great sweep of the flat Dutch land, farms, towns, and church towers all marked out on this great expense." In these representations "surface and extend are emphasized at expense of volume and solidity." And, although this kind of landscape is misleadingly called a bird's-eye view, "a phrase that describes not a real viewer's or artist's position but rather the manner in which the surface of the earth has been transformed onto a flat, two-dimensional surface. It does not suppose a locater viewer. And despite the tiny figures just visible at the bottom edge, this landscape can virtually be said to be without people."[10] On Ruischer's original print of the landscape, the towering dark area and the figures in the front of the scene are completely absent. They were added later by Waterloo, and these small *staffage* figures, so characteristic of his ambience, bring Ruischer's monumental, lonely and deserted, almost unearthly landscape to life.

On the other two Rhenen etchings (Cat. nos. 16, 17) the artist lowered the horizon so as to show more sky, clouds and light effects. Waterloo reworked certain features – the foreground, the sky and various small details – in the interest of achieving a more powerful representation of the buildings and a richer soil and vegetation texture. Ruischer's original state of the print depicting a village hidden in a valley is not known, only Waterloo's reworked version (Cat. no. 17).

The other two prints presented (Cat. nos. 18, 19) are Waterloo's original compositions, but their locations are not identifiable, although such specific elements as the water mill (Cat. no. 19) suggest that they certainly portray actual places. His mountain landscape (Cat. no. 18) was probably inspired by the same rocky environment seen in other series especially dedicated to this kind of scenery.

FOREST LANDSCAPES

Forest landscapes and the representation of trees were central to Waterloo's choice of subject matter. He was especially interested in groups of trees with thick foliage, protruding dry twigs and interwoven trunks, and he represented them on many of his prints so effectively that he came to be regarded as a real master of tree branches and leaves. "Waterloo's real subject is the forest and he became a true master of it," writes Adam Bartsch. "Above all, he represented foliage in a unique and wonderful style."[11] His life's work consists mainly of a variety of forest representations and the prints exhibited here are from many different series.

The representation of forests was quite popular in Waterloo's time. By the late sixteenth century, Flemish masters were producing idealized and imaginary forest scenes exhibiting a brilliant portrayal of rich tree foliage and dynamically twisted branches. At the same time, alongside the grand representation of the whole tree, the depiction of picturesque details such as broken branches or fallen trunks is also remarkable, albeit often serving only as commonplace decorative purposes no matter how attractive.[12]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Jacob Savery's etchings still owed a lot to the former approach, although with his more distilled forms he returned to the much more relaxed approach of Bruegel. The uprooted trees portrayed by his brother Roelandt Savery appear as independent elements, as do Abraham Bloemaert's representations of twisted tree branches.

Around the middle of the seventeenth century in particular, trees began to play a key role in landscape etchings. They appear as important elements in the monumental works of Rembrandt and Hercules Segers. Parallel with this development, a small group of artists was formed, whose body of work concentrated almost exclusively on the trees themselves rather than just representing them as dominant elements in their landscapes. Such pictures broke new ground by concentrating on the foliage, on the characteristics of the branches and the trunk, on expressing their very consciousness, often to the complete exclusion of the environment in which the trees actually flourished. The earliest steps in this direction are represented by the extremely rare prints of Johannes Brosterhuysen and Claes van Beresteyn, and its climax is embodied in the powerful etchings of gnarled trees depicted by Jacob van Ruisdael.[13] The work of Waterloo, Adriaen Verboom and Herman Naiwincx was greatly influenced by Ruisdael. Allaert van Everdingen's serene and restrained creations are also similar to Waterloo's both in their choice of theme and manner of representation.

Waterloo's trees, however, never stand alone. Although he favours small-framed, close-view types of pictures, the intrinsic significance of his trees is nearly always subordinate to their organic unity with their surroundings and with the people represented therein. Sometimes it feels as if the active or observing figures in his forest landscapes represent elements in an anecdote. It is as if, despite the fact that his prints are undeniably touched by a pantheistic feeling, he is wary of representing the natural power of the somewhat unsettling "empty" land or tree motif. As a result, only a few of his etchings are completely devoid of people, but even then some man-made creation – church tower, forest hut or chapel – is in evidence, and the trees are one with nature in an idealized way.

In contrast to the calm ambience of their settings, Waterloo strives for dynamic effect in the representation of tree trunks and foliage. He obviously finds joy in expressing the unrestrained play of light, the vibrant

and brilliant interplay of sun and foliage, artistic achievements that are a natural extension of his characteristic technique (Cat. nos. 22, 23, 24, 37, 38). In some of his prints, on the other hand, he creates a more restrained effect by virtue of a simpler, more linear representation of branches and leaves (Cat. nos. 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33).

The development of landscape art owes a great deal to the literary and theoretical pursuits of Karel van Mander, who dedicated an entire chapter to landscapes in his famous "Schilder-Boeck".[14] In the chapter dealing with the foundations of the art of painting, Van Mander writes about the tree nymphs, the tree-dwelling fairies. With this poetic simile he makes the point that the enchanting, goddess-like representation of trees can beautify the whole landscape and so urges painters to exercise the utmost care in creating a naturalistic depiction of tree trunks and foliage. Waterloo's trees and forests evoke a similarly poetic feeling that always remains idyllic, avoiding the dramatic poetry so present in the landscapes of Coninxloo, Vinckboons and Roelandt Savery and remaining faithful to the calm and relaxed criteria defined by Van Mander.[15]

MYTHOLOGICAL AND BIBLICAL REPRESENTATIONS

The final phase of Waterloo's last known creative period concluded with scenes from Greek mythology and the Old Testament in which the landscapes served as a frame. He dedicated two sets of six prints to these subjects, the first evoking selected scenes from the poem *Metamorphoses* by Ovid; the latter, stories from the Old Testament.

The adaptation of "Biblical landscapes" in Dutch art, inspired mainly by well-known episodes from the Old Testament, goes back to Flemish influence and especially to the example of Abraham Bloemaert. Human figures are sometimes important in these compositions with the landscape serving only as a background, while at other times it is the land that occupies the literary foreground with the characters portrayed only as *staffage* figures.

In Antwerp, Hieronymus Cock published several prints from the works of Hans Bol, Matthys Cock, Lucas van Gassel and others in the 1550s, and, as the biggest publisher of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, showed special interest in landscape representation. This was particularly true of series in which mythological scenes were included along with Biblical episodes. The stories in these prints are merely secondary to the central theme, which is undoubtedly the land.

At the end of the sixteenth century, Gillis van Coninxloo, David Vinckboons and those contemporaries of theirs who were disseminating Flemish landscapes to the North often included *staffage* figures in their landscapes, sometimes under the "pretext" of a scene from the Old Testament.

The development of Dutch religious landscape art was influenced by Flemish artists and the Swiss-German Matthaeus Merian the Elder whose prints of Biblical scenes greatly emphasized landscape representation. Not long after the publication of his "Picture Bible" in 1625 in Frankfurt, several publishers in Amsterdam issued copies of it.

From then on Biblical *staffage* figures and groups were to be found in the realistic Dutch landscapes as

well as in Flemish representations, as for example in the works of Claes Jansz. Visscher and Jan van de Velde II. Herman van Swanevelt also published several series of forest landscapes with less than significant Biblical and mythological figures in the background.[16]

With the spread of Protestantism, religious representations became increasingly rare towards the middle of the century, by which time they were only to be found in the work of Werner van den Valckert, Willem Buytewech and Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, and later in that of Rembrandt and his students. It is presumed that towards the end of his artistic career Waterloo created one series each of scenes from the Old Testament and mythology respectively.

"The stories of the Old and the New Testament lived on in Protestant Holland with morality-forming liveliness. The Biblical scenes brought the concept of good and evil, true and false, to life and made it understandable to everybody." This kind of representation was intended to teach true humanity: "it gave expression to forgiveness and remorse and the eternal human motifs of cruelty and pain."[17] Waterloo's etchings stand out more by virtue of their epic character and atmospheric content than their exemplary nature or symbolic power. In his later, large prints Waterloo depicts "an imaginary land in tune with the atmosphere they evoke."[18] As with the Dutch masters working in Italy during the century, his expression becomes even more refined and classicizing. Whereas in Holland an attitude of national tradition and everyday themes dominated, in Italy several artists remained true to a centuries long tradition.[19]

Waterloo travelled a great deal, but it is by no means certain that he had been to Italy. He presumably drew upon the works of those of his contemporaries – Bartholomeus Breenbergh, Herman van Swanevelt, Jan Both, Jan Asselyn, Claes Berchem – who had been there. His style became consequently more dramatic, his delineation more lively, as opposed to the calm and meditative ambience of his earlier etchings. By virtue of their central positions, his figures, the main characters of the stories, are here more definite and expressive. In a sense, the refined and idealized nature of these compositions is a retrograde step in his life's work, although in essence he was able to create a synthesis between realistic and classicizing tendencies.

Notes

1 Schuckman 1997. p. 334.
2 Gerszi 1976. p. 20.
3 Ackley 1980-81. p. 170.
4 Freedberg 1980. pp. 56–57. The tonality of Jan van Goyen's painting is particularly well reflected in the silvery shades of Simon de Vlieger's etchings.
5 Gerszi 1982. p. 19.
6 Bradley 1918. p. 112. This view is held by Dr. August Sträter from Aachen, a collector of nineteenth-century works of the graphics arts.
7 Alpers 1983. p. 141.
8 De Groot 1979. p. 8.
9 Alpers 1983. p. 147.
10 Alpers 1983. pp. 139–141.
11 Bartsch 1795. p. 4.
12 Freedberg 1980. p. 23.
13 Freedberg 1980. p. 57.
14 De Groot 1979. pp. 1–2. Van Mander advised young artists to search for peace and quiet in the countryside, where they would also be able to find material for their motifs. Above all, their landscape art should constitute an independent pleasurable genre, as opposed to the high expectations of religious or mythological painting. The first edition of Schilder-Boeck was published in Haarlem in 1604.
15 Stubbe 1983. pp. 22–23.
16 Van der Coelen 1996-97. pp. 23–27.
17 Gerszi 1976. p. 9.
18 Bradley 1918. p. 128.
19 Waterloo's landscapes representing mythological scenes with an Italian influence show the Dutch nobility's attraction to the classical style. While Dutch Baroque art is commonly related to the genre of folkloric representation, several Dutch artists, among them Jan Asselyn and Jan Both, worked in an Italianate classical manner at this time.

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