

Print Quarterly Publications

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Source: *Print Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (SEPTEMBER 2017), pp. 282-297

Published by: Print Quarterly Publications

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45137302>

Accessed: 19-11-2024 11:37 UTC

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Print Prices in Antwerp Rubens and his Contemporaries

Karen L. Bowen

When trying to ascertain what printmakers charged for their works in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries we are usually limited to inventory valuations of prints, rare surviving stock lists, or occasional isolated records of print sales. While it is possible in some cases to identify which image is being sold, the prints are more often referred to in bulk or described too imprecisely to be identified with certainty. Such is the case in Gerdien Wuestman's 1998 study of seventeenth-century prices for prints after Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), primarily from the northern Netherlands.¹ The problem also afflicts numerous seventeenth-century inventories as well as sales of prints from the southern Netherlands around the turn of the seventeenth century.² In all cases, one is usually left trying to infer general patterns of distribution and prices from disparate, exceptional examples.

The business records of the Plantin-Moretus press of Antwerp – one of the leading book publishing and printing businesses in Europe in the early modern period – provide an unexpected opportunity to formulate a more extensive, consistently documented overview of the print market in Antwerp in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is possible because the managers of the press periodically sold prints and maps in addition to the books that made them famous. Through their documentation we can reconstruct the purchasing trends of particular clients and identify common or uncommon acquisitions. Furthermore, the sale of individual prints can be traced and their prices evaluated. Although an account of such dealings by the press's founder, Christopher Plantin (1520–89), has already been published, little is known of the role played by his successors, the Moretuses, in this area.³ This is of par-

ticular importance when one considers that early seventeenth-century Antwerp was still home to numerous renowned artists and printmakers. Although the immediate and immense popularity of prints after Rubens and Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) is known, it also becomes clear that sundry local and international buyers purchased large quantities of smaller devotional images. These latter items were mainly produced by printmakers in Antwerp, some of whom, such as Cornelis Galle I (1576–1650), his son Cornelius II (1615–78) and their ateliers, are traditionally better known for their work after Rubens.⁴

While research on this broader topic is ongoing, the present article focuses on the sale of individual prints after van Dyck, Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678) and Rubens between 1632 and 1640, from the first recorded purchase of individual prints to the year of Rubens's death. One earlier shipment of 'printen van Rubbens', sent to a Capuchin monastery in Geldern in 1627, is known but it is not clear which prints were sent.⁵ Forty-one purchased prints – most of these after Rubens, with several others after van Dyck or Jordaens – are considered here, as well as five orders placed for Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova* (palaces of Genoa), the first volume of which was written, illustrated and published by the artist in Antwerp in 1622; the second volume may well have been published later and without Rubens's direct involvement. Each sale is transcribed in the accompanying Appendix and the prints are identified whenever possible.

These orders were placed by six individuals: Hieronymus van Winghe (1559–1637?), a canon from Tournai, and five booksellers, specifically Jan Leonard (active c. 1619–71) and Guillaume Vierpont (active c.

1. G. Wuestman, 'Prijzen van Rubensgrafiek in de zeventiende eeuw', *Delineavit et Sculpsit*, XIX, 1998, pp. 1–7.
2. E. Duverger's series *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels, 1984–2009, available online via the Getty Search Gateway; J. van Grieken, 'Establishing and Marketing a Publisher's List', *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print*, Brussels, 2013, pp. 22–29; and A. Diels, 'De insolvente boedelkamer van de Antwerpse prenthandelaar Jan-Baptist Vrients', *Delineavit et Sculpsit*, XXI, 2000, pp. 1–22.

3. A. J. J. Delen, 'Christoffel Plantin als prentenhandelaar', *De Gulden Passer*, n. s. x, 1932, pp. 1–24, and, for essentially the same text in French: A. J. J. Delen, *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les provinces belges des origines jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Part II, Paris and Brussels, 1935, pp. 149–70.
4. A. K. L. Thijs, *Antwerpen internationaal uitgeverscentrum van devotieprenten, 17de–18de eeuw* = *Miscellanea Neerlandica*, VII, Leuven, 1993.
5. Museum Plantin-Moretus Archive (hereafter MPM Arch.) 234, *Journal 1627*, fol. 142^v.

1628–43) from Brussels, Jan Ouwerx (active c. 1616–45) from Liège, Caspar Forster (1574–1652) from Danzig and Humphrey Robinson (active 1624–70) from London. Leonard, Vierpont and Ouwerx were long-standing clients of the Plantin-Moretus press who regularly bought modest quantities of books.⁶ While these orders included illustrated texts and Leonard also periodically purchased various maps, they rarely bought prints such as these. Consequently, it seems most likely that Leonard's two purchases in 1632 of Rubens's *Battle of the Amazons*, Vierpont's isolated 1635 purchase of Rubens's companion portraits of Philip IV and his wife (figs. 207 and 208) and Ouwerx's solitary purchase in 1636 of a print of the *Crucifixion* after van Dyck were all most likely made at the request of specific clients.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from the purchases by Forster, who started work as a bookseller in 1617 and benefited from contacts with the Polish court.⁷ His dealings with the Moretuses, however, were concentrated between 1636 and 1645, when his son Georg began assisting him with his business. In this period, Forster systematically placed exceptionally large orders for illustrated books, including periodic purchases of Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova*, for shipment to Danzig, from where they were presumably distributed further.⁸ The number of copies bought and the relative cost of each precludes them from being destined for his own personal library. Most likely there was a recurring demand for this work among his clients, as Forster indicated himself when he first asked about Rubens's *Palazzi* in 1637 on behalf of an unnamed high-ranking church official.⁹

Robinson was a major player in the London book trade, known not only for his diverse publications but also as an important importer of books from the Continent.¹⁰ His dealings with the Moretuses were limited to between 1631 and 1640 and usually consisted of large orders of books for shipment back to England.¹¹ While he rarely requested prints after Flemish masters, when he did so in November 1640 he took several impressions of each image. This suggests that he was not placing an order for one particular client, but was testing the interest in such prints among his clients generally.

Among those who purchased prints after Flemish masters from the Moretuses, van Winghe is the only private collector. A wealthy individual with diverse interests, van Winghe had periodically ordered a variety of books from the Moretuses in the 1610s and 1630s. For his print purchases, he had most likely relied upon the established Antwerp engraver and print dealer Theodore Galle, a relative of the Moretuses, up until Galle's death in 1633. He may have subsequently turned to Galle's widow, Catherina Moretus, until her death in 1636.¹² In 1637, while van Winghe was amending his will, he placed four detailed orders for prints with the Moretuses (for one such order, see fig. 209).¹³ These orders are unusual among the Moretuses' records for their focus on prodigious works by well-known, contemporary Flemish artists and for their specificity.

Consequently, while van Winghe's purchases may not be as representative of the Moretuses' business dealings as the orders placed by booksellers, they may well indicate the types of prints that interested knowledgeable collectors at this time and the prices they were willing to pay. The additional, exceptional orders for comparable prints placed by the Moretuses' conventional bookseller clients remain valuable for the extra information they provide, particularly in terms of how one should interpret the prices noted. For example, the sales to the foreigners Forster and Robinson document the long-standing practice in the Moretuses' accounts of not discounting special items like prints, even when the regular books, noted separately in the same record, were subject to a general discount. Moreover, long-standing local clients were typically charged the best (lowest) price, without any mark-up. Thus, when the prices such clients paid generally agree with those charged to van Winghe, they probably represent a common, bottom-end resale value.

The question arises as to which types of prints these buyers sought. Aside from Forster's five orders of Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova* and Leonard's purchases of Rubens's multi-sheet portrayal of the *Battle of the Amazons*, impressions of 39 individual single-sheet prints were bought, of which the vast majority, 22, featured designs by Rubens, while just five were after Jordaens

6. For their transactions see the folios listed in the indices to MPM Arch. 132, *Grand livre, 1618–1629*; 133, *Grand livre, 1629–1655*; and 321, *Grand livre, 1655–1671*.

7. I. Heitjan, 'Kaspar und Georg Förster, Buchhändler und Verleger zu Danzig im 17. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, xv, 1975, cols. 337–434.

8. MPM Arch. 133, op. cit., fols. 209, 262 and 282.

9. MPM Arch. 82, *Correspondence*, p. 73, Forster refers to a 'primas' in '... promisi enim primati cuidam ...'.

10. H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at*

work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667, London, 1907, pp. 155–56; and J. Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, iv, Cambridge, 2002, p. 163.

11. MPM Arch. 753, *Libraires étrangers, 1629–1638*, fol. 121; and 754, *Libraires étrangers, 1638–1656*, fol. 65.

12. K. L. Bowen, 'Hieronymus van Winghe and Collecting Prints from the Southern Netherlands in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Curieux d'estampes: Collections et collectionneurs de gravures en Europe (1500–1815)*, forthcoming.

13. Fig. 209 is taken from MPM Arch. 245, *Journal 1637*, fol. 139f.



207. Paulus Pontius after Peter Paul Rubens, *Philip IV*, 1632, engraving, 447 x 333 mm (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Print Room).

and three after van Dyck. The remaining nine prints, all of which were bought by van Winghe in addition to prints after Rubens, Jordans and van Dyck, are isolated examples of other contemporary artists' work. Indeed, the majority of the 39 prints ordered appear to date from the 1630s. Only three – all engravings after Rubens that van Winghe purchased on 7 October 1637 – clearly date prior to 1630, namely: *St Michael Fighting the Rebel Angel* by Lucas Vorsterman I (1595–c. 1675) from 1621, the *Pentecost* of 1627 by Paulus Pontius (1603–

58) and the *Assumption of the Virgin* of 1624, also by Pontius. Just a few others, like the etching *Turkish Prince on Horseback* by Pieter Soutman (c. 1597–1657) after Rubens which van Winghe purchased on 2 September 1637, may have been completed in the 1620s (fig. 212).¹⁴ Moreover, these dated purchases provide a useful terminus ante quem for numerous other images, in particular the engravings by Marinus Robyn van der Goes (c. 1606–39) and several others by Schelte A. Bolswert (c. 1586–1659).

14. Fig. 212 is inv. S. 7462, an impression of the second state, with only Elsheimer cited in the inscription on the plate and not

Soutman or Rubens.



208. Paulus Pontius after Peter Paul Rubens, *Elisabeth de Bourbon*, 1632, engraving, 446 x 336 mm (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Print Room).

Although the prints requested are remarkably diverse, ranging from contemporary portraits and genre to mythological figures and religious subjects, this last group is by far the largest. Comprising a few images of saints in addition to numerous scenes from the life of Christ and of the Virgin, specific subjects were rarely ordered more than once. Consequently, the three distinct sales of prints of the *Crucifixion*, two of which were after van Dyck, stand out. One of the latter was sold to Ouwerx in 1636 without any reference to an engraver,

although he paid the same exceptionally high price of 48 stuivers that was charged a year later to van Winghe when he bought Bolswert's rendition of this subject after van Dyck (fig. 210). Whether or not Ouwerx purchased the same engraving as van Winghe, the fact that two of the three *Crucifixions* sold by the Moretuses in this period were after van Dyck suggests that the latter's conception of the subject was especially popular, if not yet iconic.¹⁵

Despite the predominance in these orders of three

¹⁵ For prints after van Dyck, see J. van der Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw: Van Kunst tot Kastpapier*, Rotterdam, 2006, pp. 102–03, nos.

143–44. My thanks to Nadine Orenstein for this reference.

A Moni Hieronymus de Winghe		
Chanoine a Tournay.		
betwen van kintens in hout gesneden.		
1	Maria met Engelen int wout	— 15
1	Susanna	— 12
1	Hercules	— 10
1	Satyr met eenen dronckaer	— 8
1	Tentatie van Christus	— 8
1	Croninghe van Maria	— 8
1	S. Jan met Christus	— 6
		<hr/>
		— 37

209. Sale of Seven Woodcuts by Christoffel Jegher after Peter Paul Rubens to Hieronymus van Winghe, 12 September 1637 (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus).

famous designers – Rubens, Jordaens and van Dyck – a striking variety of printmakers is represented. The three who recur the most are: Christoffel Jegher (1596–c. 1653), with seven woodcuts after Rubens, purchased on 12 September 1637 by van Winghe (fig. 209), Pontius, with five engravings after Rubens, and Bolswert, with possibly as many as six engravings after diverse designers. One cannot, however, simply conclude that images executed by Jegher, Pontius and Bolswert were more popular than comparable images by other printmakers. As Rubens's clear preference for Jegher for woodcut renditions of his compositions makes clear, the choice of the printmaker often lay with the designer.

It appears that numerous factors, ranging from the designer, the subject and the print medium, to size and, presumably, quality of the impression, were considered when determining the price of individual impressions. This becomes evident when examining Tables 1–3, in which all of the prints listed in the Appendix that could be identified with reasonable certainty are arranged according to their monetary value and then, within a given value, according to size. The most expensive prints (all engravings) are listed in Table 1. It is not surprising that Vorsterman's six-sheet rendition of Rubens's *Battle of the Amazons* tops the chart at 70 stuivers. Of the remaining single-sheet images, the 48 stuivers charged for van Dyck's *Crucifixion*, at least one of which (if not both) was engraved by Bolswert, lead the rest by far.

But what were these prints worth in real terms? For

comparison, in the late 1630s a master mason in Antwerp was paid 24 stuivers for a full summer day's work, while a small book of hours printed by the Plantin-Moretus press with woodcut illustrations cost fourteen stuivers.¹⁶ Consequently, the price of this one print after van Dyck was equivalent to two full days of work by a local mason and was worth more than three of the Moretuses' small books of hours. There is an exceptionally large difference of twelve to eighteen stuivers between this particular image by van Dyck and the next six most expensive prints – all engravings of religious subjects. Valued between 30 and 36 stuivers per image these prints consist of five engravings after Rubens by three distinct artists, in addition to the only other image after van Dyck sold by the Moretuses: an engraving of *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, also by Bolswert. The twelve stuivers difference in price between Bolswert's two engravings after van Dyck may be due to the relative popularity of the two subjects, the quality of the impressions concerned and their relative size, as Bolswert's engraving of the *Crucifixion* is significantly larger than the other print: about 630 by 445 mm as compared to approximately 590 by 430 mm.

Table 2 comprises nine engravings that sold for 18 to 25 stuivers per print, the equivalent of one day's wage, or less, for a mason. This group consists of exceptionally large engravings after Jordaens (fig. 211), in addition to prints after Rubens. The subjects here are also more varied, with an unspecified rendition of Rubens's *Lion Hunt*

16. E. Scholliers, 'Peilingen naar de conjunctuur en de koopkracht', *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw*, Antwerp, 1989, p. 155. For examples

of book prices in this period, see MPM Manuscript 39, *Catalogue des éditions plantiniennes 1590–1651*, folios dated 1636–39.



210. Schelte à Bolswert after Anthony van Dyck, *Christ on the Cross*, c. 1630–35, engraving, 629 x 445 mm (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Print Room).



211. Marinus Robyn van der Goes after Jacob Jordaens, *Martyrdom of St Apollonia*, c. 1630–37, engraving, 656 x 468 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet).

and two mythological subjects after Jordaens, as well as diverse religious images. A wide range of engravers is represented here, including most of those who made the more expensive prints listed in Table 1. In Table 3, the print prices range from fifteen stuivers to just one stuiver per impression. The subjects here are far more disparate than in either of the preceding groups. They comprise both conventional and less common religious images, in addition to mythological subjects and portraits ranging from regal to ostentatiously vulgar.

A full range of contemporary printmaking techniques is also evident in this final group, Table 3. The few etchings ordered by van Winghe on 2 September 1637 are the least expensive prints by far at one to four stuivers per print (see, for example, fig. 212). At the upper end stand Jegher's remarkably large woodcut of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 213) and the last few engravings after Rubens in this sample. In between, at six to twelve stuivers per print, are several additional woodcuts by Jegher after Rubens, as well as a few engravings after other designers.

As a comparison of Tables 1–3 makes clear, among prints after van Dyck, Rubens and Jordaens, the medium and the relative size of the image were considered when determining the print's value. The most sought-after engravings cost two to three times more than the large, popular woodcuts after Rubens, while etchings, even when made after designs by Rubens, cost less than any of the cited woodcuts by Jegher. Within a given medium, the general principle of charging more the larger the image apparently prevailed. This relationship, however, was not absolute, as Rubens's *Raising of Lazarus* engraved by Boëtius Bolswert (c. 1580–1633; Table 1) and, in particular, Jordaens's *Martyrdom of St Apollonia* engraved by van der Goes (Table 2) make clear. For, despite being the largest prints in this sample, these sold for three-quarters to less than half of what was charged for van Dyck's *Crucifixion*. While some of this price difference might be accounted for by the relative quality of the impressions, preferences for specific designers and subjects most likely also played a role.

The question remains as to what extent the prices charged by the Moretuses reflect common market prices for these images versus their own potentially marked-up charges. Their dealings in single-sheet prints after Rubens shed some light on this. Among

such sales are two orders for the *Adoration of the Magi* engraved by Nicolaes Lauwers (1600–52; fig. 214). One impression was bought by van Winghe on 7 October 1637 for 30 stuivers and three years later, on 10 November 1640, the London bookseller Robinson purchased three impressions of the same print at 34 stuivers per print. The use in both sales records of the word 'in-trantes', taken from the start of the lettering on the Lauwers print (none of the other prints of this subject after Rubens has this inscription), confirms that both men purchased impressions of the same print. The marked increase in selling price over three years may indicate the relative quality of the impressions sold, or it may reflect an increased demand for potentially ever scarcer (original?) impressions following Rubens's death earlier in 1640. Or it may suggest a shift in the Moretuses' own assessment of the market for such works and their decision (at least in the case of this one foreign bookseller) to add to their own profit margin.

A concluding consideration of the Moretuses' sale of Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova* confirms that at least on one occasion they did add varying profit margins. The Moretuses' initial sale of this work to Forster in 1637 was noted, like all their other contemporaneous sales of prints after Rubens, without any reference to their supplier. Their accounts from 1641, however, reveal that they purchased copies of this publication from the painter Jacques Moermans (1602–53), who is identified as a 'marchand des images' on one occasion.¹⁷ In his final testament from 27 May 1640 Rubens had declared that Moermans, along with Frans Snyders (1579–1657) and Jan Wildens (c. 1585–1653), should oversee the sale of various unspecified works of art left in his estate.¹⁸ Records clearly document Moermans's sale of prints and drawings for Rubens and his widow, but also, on at least one occasion, payments to others to have new impressions of unspecified prints pulled for 'Advocaet Rubens', which may refer to Rubens's son Albert, who had studied law.¹⁹

In 1641 Moermans consistently charged three florins ten stuivers for the first part of the *Palazzi di Genova*, five florins ten stuivers for the second, and the simple sum of these two amounts (nine florins) for a 'complete' set of the two volumes.²⁰ When dealing with foreign booksellers, the Moretuses generally resold these volumes at a slightly higher, but variable rate. Specifically, while

17. MPM Arch. 249, *Journal 1641*, fol. 134^v (23 October 1641).

18. Duverger, op. cit., IV, 1989 pp. 345–47, with a partial transcription.

19. P. Génard, 'De Natlatenschap van P. P. Rubens [or] La Succession de P. P. Rubens', in *Antwerpsch archievenblad* [or] *Bulletin des Archives d'Anvers*, II, Antwerp, 1865, pp. 69–179, including references to Moermans's activities on pp. 87, 94–96, 128, 141 and 147–48,

especially p. 96. Some of these records are also transcribed in Duverger, op. cit., V, 1991, pp. 263–84. Moermans's services are also mentioned in A. Diels, *The Shadow of Rubens: Print Publishing in 17th-Century Antwerp*, London and Turnhout, 2009, p. 165.

20. MPM Arch. 249, *Journal 1641*, fols. 85^r (18 July 1641), 134^v (23 October 1641) and 165^v (23 December 1641).



212. Pieter Soutman after Pieter Paul Rubens after Adam Elsheimer, *Turkish Prince on Horseback*, c. 1620–25, etching, 325 x 226 mm (London, British Museum).

Forster and Christophorus Schedelius (or Krzysztof Schedel) from Cracow (active c. 1634–62) usually paid nine florins ten stuivers for two volumes, Jan Everdsen van Doorn from Utrecht (active 1611–43) paid as much as ten florins for them.²¹ In 1642, however, Leonard was treated to a simple resale at Moermans's original nine florins price.²² This makes clear that, depending upon the client, the Moretuses would occasionally include a profit margin of five to ten per cent in their resale prices. They may have been similarly subjective when

selling single-sheet prints after Rubens and his contemporaries, which would, for example, account for the price difference in their sales of Lauwers's print of the *Adoration of the Magi*.

A sale of prints to Forster in November 1642 may be of even greater significance when evaluating trends in the prices charged for prints after Rubens.²³ In this case, yet another copy of the two volumes of the *Palazzi di Genova*, now at Moermans's base price of nine florins per set, introduces a list of ten prints that are identified

21. MPM Arch. 249, *Journal 1641*, fol. 14^r (9 February 1641) for the sale to van Doorn; fols. 135^v–136^v (26 October 1641) for the sale to Schedelius; and fols. 166^r–167^r (24 December 1641) for a sale to

Forster, in addition to those noted in the Appendix.

22. MPM Arch. 250, *Journal 1642*, fol. 108^v (5 July 1642).

23. MPM Arch. 250, *Journal 1642*, fols. 191^r–192^r (29 November 1642).



213. Christoffel Jegher after Peter Paul Rubens, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, c. 1633–36, woodcut, 475 x 598 mm (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Print Room).

solely by their subject, without any reference to the artists involved or an inscription identifying precisely which rendition of the subject was sent. It is only the price of these images – 30 stuivers per print on average – that suggests that they may also be prints after Rubens. The simple flat rate of one and a half florins (the equivalent of 30 stuivers) applied to eight of the ten prints listed, however, is in striking contrast with the subtle price differentiation evident among the various prints listed in Tables 1–3, in which only one of the 23 prints after Rubens actually sold for exactly 30 stuivers. Thus, this sale, made a little more than two years following Rubens's death, may confirm the start, at least within this market for prints after Flemish masters, of a more generic valuation.

This case study of the Moretuses's dealings in prints demonstrates the immense advantage of analysing data

from such an extensive, carefully kept set of business records. At first glance, individual sales document both the personal whims of specific local collectors, as well as the international appeal of prints by esteemed contemporary Flemish artists. In addition, this information supports basic conclusions concerning the importance of artists, subjects, print technique and the size of the images for determining print prices, as well as the relative affordability of such images. But, the sum of these sales records, noted within a single, well-documented accounting system, also provides a fruitful broader perspective for studies of print prices. The example highlighted here of the speed with which contemporary market prices charged during Rubens's lifetime might shift just a couple years following his death, itself represents a valuable point of departure for future, more extensive discussions of the trade in prints.

Appendix

Transcription of sales of prints after van Dyck, Jordaens and Rubens, arranged alphabetically according to buyer for the period 1632 to 1640. The currency cited is the Brabant florin or guilder, abbreviated as 'fl.', which equals 20 patars or stuivers, abbreviated as 'st.' Amounts originally listed in florins and stuivers have also been reduced to a single amount per print in stuivers.

CASPAR FORSTER, BOOKSELLER IN DANZIG

1 August 1637 (MPM Arch 245, *Journal 1637*, fols. 120^v–121^r): a large order of books worth fl. 994 st. 10, with the Rubens edition:

'1 Palazzi de Genova de Rubbens' [1 Palazzi di Genova by Rubens] fl. 5 st. 0 [= 100 st.]

This is most likely the first part of Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova*, namely, the *Palazzi Antichi*, which comprises 72 plates with plans and elevations attributed to the engraver Nicolaes Ryckemans (active 1616–36), after drawings collected by Rubens of villas and palaces built in the latter sixteenth century in or near Genoa. This volume must have been completed by 4 May 1622, when the Moretuses charged Rubens 5 fl. for binding a copy of it.²⁴ The second part, the *Palazzi Moderni*, with 67 plates with plans and elevations of an additional diverse selection of buildings constructed between 1540 and 1620, may not have been completed until 1640, when sales of the second part, in addition to sales of the two volumes together at nearly double the price noted here, appear for the first time in the Moretus's accounts, as noted below. Literature: H. Rott, *Palazzi di Genova: Architectural Drawings and Engravings = Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, Part XXII, translated by M. Robertson, London and Turnhout, 2002, pp. 17–20.

22 March 1640 (MPM Arch. 248: *Journal 1640*, fols. 39^v–41^v): a large order of books worth more than fl. 1864, in addition to other illustrated works by other publishers for fl. 89 st. 8, and the following editions from Rubens for fl. 36 st. 5:

'2 Palazzi de Genoa complet' [2 Palazzi di Genova, complete] fl. 19 st. 0 [= 380 st.] [= 190 st. per set]

'3 ___ parte 2da apart' [3 [idem] 2nd vol. apart] fl. 17 st. 5 [= 345 st.] [= 115 st. per 2nd vol.]

See the first sale to Forster for the identification of this publication.

23 June 1640 (MPM Arch. 248: *Journal 1640*, fol. 89^r): a large order of books worth more than fl. 400, and the edition from Rubens for fl. 9 st. 10:

'1 Palazzi di Genoa Parte 1a et 2a fo netto' [1 Palazzi di Genova 1st and 2nd vols., together] fl. 9 st. 10 [= 190 st. per set] See the first sale to Forster for the identification of this publication.

25 August 1640 (MPM Arch. 248: *Journal 1640*, fol. 119^v): a large order of books worth approximately fl. 486, and the editions from Rubens for fl. 28 st. 4:

'3 Palazzi di Genoa complet 2 voll.' [3 Palazzi di Genova, complete 2 vols.] fl. 28 st. 4 [= 564 st.] [= 188 st. per set]

24. MPM Arch. 229, *Journal 1622*, fol. 60^r (4 May 1622): 'Petrus Paulus

See the first sale to Forster for the identification of this publication.

JAN LEONARD, BOOKSELLER IN BRUSSELS

27 October 1632 (MPM Arch. 240: *Journal 1632*, fol. 157^v): an order of several books for fl. 20 st. 8, and the print:

'1 Guerres de Amasones f Rubens nto' [1 Battle of the Amazons f^o net] fl. 3 st. 10 [= 70 st.]

This is most likely Lucas Vorsterman I after Rubens, *The Battle of the Amazons*, 1623, six engraved plates, 423 x 364 to 428 x 420 mm. Literature: C. Schuckman, *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700*, edited by D. de Hoop Scheffer, Roosendaal, 1993, XLIII (hereafter Hollstein, XLIII), pp. 96–97, no. 100.

5 November 1632 (MPM Arch. 240: *Journal 1632*, fol. 157^v): an order of several books for fl. 27 st. 6, and the print:

'1 La Bataille des Amasones netto' [1 Battle of the Amazons net] fl. 3 st. 10 [= 70 st.]

This is most likely the same print as above, Vorsterman after Rubens, *The Battle of the Amazons*.

JAN OUWERX, BOOKSELLER IN LIÈGE

11 September 1636 (MPM Arch. 244: *Journal 1636*, fol. 129^v): an order of several books for fl. 9 st. 18, and the print:

'1 Crucifix van Dyck' [1 Crucifixion by van Dyck] fl. 2 st. 8 [= 48 st.]

This cannot be identified exactly. For van Dyck's various prints of the *Crucifixion*, see S. Turner, *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700: Anthony van Dyck*, edited by Carl Depauw, Rotterdam, 2002 (hereafter New Hollstein van Dyck), Part VII, pp. 68–115, nos. 524–35.

HUMPHRY ROBINSON, BOOKSELLER IN LONDON

10 November 1640 (MPM Arch. 248: *Journal 1640*, fol. 155^r): a large order of books worth approximately fl. 277, followed by a few works by other publishers for fl. 10 st. 2, as well as the following prints for fl. 14 st. 19:

'9 figures de Rubens ascavoir' [9 figures by Rubens, namely]

'3 Lazare Veni foras' [3 'Lazare veni foras'] fl. 5 st. 2 [= 102 st.] [= 34 st. per print]

Boëtius Adamsz. Bolswert after Rubens, *Raising of Lazarus*, c. 1620–33, engraving, 650 x 495 mm, is the only known rendition of this subject after Rubens with the inscription 'Lazare veni foras'. Literature: F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, Amsterdam,

Rubens debet binsel van Palazzi di genova f dore ... fl. 5 ___ o'.



214. Nicolaes Lauwers after Peter Paul Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1630–35, engraving, 606 x 450 mm (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Print Room).

[1950], III (hereafter Hollstein, III), p. 61, no. 6.

'3 Tres Reges intrantes' [3 Three kings 'intrantes'] fl. 5 st. 2 [= 102 st.] [= 34 st. per print]

Nicolaes Lauwers after P. P. Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1630–35, engraving, 606 x 450 mm (fig. 214), is the only known rendition of this subject after Rubens with an inscription beginning with 'Intrantes'. Literature: F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, Amsterdam, [1953], X (hereafter Hollstein, X), p. 41, no. 1.

'3 Pugna Leonum' [3 Fighting lions] fl. 3 st. 15 [= 75 st.] [= 25 st. per print]

This may refer to any of the prints made after Rubens's compositions of lion hunts, see, for example, those listed in M. E. Dutuit, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, VI = *Écoles flamande et hollandaise*, III, Paris and London, 1885 (hereafter Dutuit, VI), pp. 244–48, nos. 1–4, 22 and 25.

**GUILLAUME VIERPONT, BOOKSELLER IN BRUSSELS
7 February 1635 (MPM Arch. 243, *Journal 1635*, fol. 16^v): the prints:**

'1 Effigies vanden Coninch van Spanien met syn huysvrouw van Rubens & Pontius' [1 portrait of the king of Spain and his wife, by Rubens and Pontius] fl. 1 st. 8 [= 28 st.]

Companion pieces, Paulus Pontius after Peter Paul Rubens, *Philip IV*, 1632, engraving, 447 x 333 mm, and *Elisabeth de Bourbon*, 1632, engraving, 446 x 336 mm (figs. 207 and 208). Literature: I. M. Veldman and D. de Hoop Scheffer, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, edited by K. G. Boon, Amsterdam, 1976, XVII (hereafter Hollstein, XVII), pp. 171 and 187, nos. 73 and 109.

**HIERONYMUS VAN WINGHE, CANON IN TOURNAI
13 August 1637 (MPM Arch. 245: *Journal 1637*, fol. 127^v): the following prints for a total of fl. 4 st. 17:**

'1 figure van Apollonia f van Jordaens' [1 figure of Apollonia in folio by Jordaens] fl. 1 st. 2 [= st. 22]

Marinus Robyn van der Goes after Jacob Jordaens, *Martyrdom of St Apollonia*, c. 1630–37, engraving, 656 x 468 mm (fig. 211). Literature: F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, Amsterdam, [1954], XI (hereafter Hollstein, XI), p. 170, no. 10.

'1 Argus f van Jordaens' [1 figure of Argus in folio by Jordaens] st. 18

This is most likely Schelte Adamsz. Bolswert after Jacob Jordaens, *Mercury and Argus*, c. 1630–37, engraving, 420 x 522 mm. Literature: Hollstein, III, op. cit., p. 85, no. 284.

'1 kersnacht van Jordaens' [1 Nativity by Jordaens] st. 18
This is most likely Pieter de Jode II after Jacob Jordaens, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1628–37, engraving, 436 x 537 mm. On 2 September 1637 van Winghe purchased another engraving of this subject after Jordaens, at a slightly lower price and where the printmaker is identified as Marinus Robyn van der Goes (see below). Literature: F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, Amsterdam, [1953], IX (hereafter Hollstein, IX), p. 210, no. 2.

'1 Effigies van Piccolomini 4^o van Segers' [1 portrait of Piccolomini] st. 6

Lucas Vorsterman I after Gerard Seghers, *Portrait of Ottavio*

Piccolomini, c. 1634–37, engraving, 240 x 177 mm. Literature: Hollstein, XLIII, op. cit., p. 207, no. 196.

'1 Mariae belt van Quellinus Bolswarts' [1 image of the Virgin by Quellinus and Bolswert] st. 12

This may refer to Schelte Adamsz. Bolswert after Erasmus Quellinus I, *Virgin and Child*, c. 1600–37, engraving, 429 x 318 mm. Literature: Hollstein, III, op. cit., p. 77, no. 171.

'3 conterfeijssel van Prins Cardinal Reyne mere @ Hertog van Nieuborgh van Jode gesneden' [3 portraits: of the Prince Cardinal (Ferdinand of Austria), the Queen Mother (Marie de Medici), and the Duke of Neuburg (Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg), engraved by de Jode] st. 3 [= 1 st. per print]

Given that these portraits were grouped together, it is likely that they were of comparable scale, technique and price, namely, a mere 1 st. each. Although there are too many prints of the first two individuals to identify these images with certainty, the portrait of the Duke of Neuburg is most likely Pieter de Jode II, *Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg*, engraving and etching, 139 x 100 mm. An impression of this print is in the Germanische Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Paul Wolfgang Merkel'sche Familienstiftung, inv. MP 26375a, Kapsel no. 321.

'1 Marien belt van Quellinus, p Does' [1 image of the Virgin by Quellinus and Does] st. 6

This may refer to Antony van der Does after Erasmus Quellinus I, *Virgin and Child in a Landscape*, c. 1619–37, engraving, 283 x 212 mm. Literature: F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, Amsterdam, [1951], V, p. 245, no. 3.

'1 Belegerin van Breda f' [1 siege of Breda in folio] st. 12
Too inexpensive for a book, this record is not specific enough to be linked with one of the numerous images of this battle.

2 September 1637 (MPM Arch. 245: *Journal 1637*, fol. 135^v): the following prints for a total of fl. 2 st. 17½:

'1 Crooninghe van ons L. Heere van Dijk Bolsw.' [1 Christ crowned with thorns by van Dyck and Bolswert] fl. 1 st. 16 [= st. 36]

Schelte Adamsz. Bolswert after Anthony van Dyck, *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, c. 1630–35, engraving, 589 x 430 mm. Literature: New Hollstein van Dyck, op. cit., Part VII, p. 34, no. 521.

'1 Kersnacht van Jordaens sculpt. Marino' [1 Nativity by Jordaens engraved by Marino] st. 12

Marinus Robyn van der Goes after Jacob Jordaens, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1620–37, engraving, 465 x 382 mm. On 13 August 1637 van Winghe had bought another engraving of this subject after Jordaens at a slightly higher price, but without any reference to a specific printmaker (see above). Literature: Hollstein, XI, op. cit., p. 169, no. 1.

'1 Turcksche Ruyterye gebeten, Adam Elshamer' [1 Turkish knight, etched, Adam Elsheimer] st. 4

Pieter Soutman after P. P. Rubens's drawing after Adam Elsheimer, *Turkish Prince on Horseback*, c. 1620–25, etching, 325 x 226 mm (fig. 212). Literature: G. S. Keys and C. de Hoop Scheffer, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, edited by K. G. Boon, Amsterdam, 1983, XXVII, p. 230, no. 16, state II.

'1 Bischops myteringe gebeten, Rubeny' [1 Bishop mitre, etched, Rubens] st. 4

Although this may refer to an etching after one of Rubens's paintings of the *Martyrdom of St Livinus* (or St Lieven), there are no known prints that match this record in terms of dating and technique. See Dutuit, VI, op. cit., p. 123, no. 36, which post-dates this record.

'1 Tronie gapende gebeten van Peeter Breugel' [Yawning man, etched after Pieter Brueghel] st. 1 ½

This is most likely an anonymous artist after Pieter Brueghel I (formerly attributed to Lucas Vorsterman I), *Yawning Peasant*, etching, 208 x 207 mm. Literature: Hollstein, III, op. cit., p. 312, no. 278; rejected as a work by Lucas Vorsterman I in Hollstein, XLIII, op. cit., p. 243, no. 130.

12 September 1637 (MPM Arch. 245: *Journal 1637*, fol. 139^r; fig. 209): the following prints for a total of fl. 3 st. 7:

'A Monsr. Hieronymus de Winghe Chanoine a Tournai, belden van Rubbens in hout gesneden ... van Christoffel Jegers' [To Mr Hieronymus van Winghe, canon at Tournai, images by Rubens cut in wood ... by Christoffel Jegher]

'1 Maria met Engelen int wout' [1 Virgin with angels in the woods] st. 15

Christoffel Jegher after Peter Paul Rubens, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, c. 1633–36, woodcut, 475 x 598 mm (fig. 213). Literature: Hollstein, IX, op. cit., p. 182, no. 4.

'1 Susanna' [1 Susanna] st. 12

Christoffel Jegher after Peter Paul Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*, c. 1633–36, woodcut, 443 x 573 mm. Literature: Hollstein, IX, op. cit., p. 181, no. 1.

'1 Hercules' [1 Hercules] st. 10

Christoffel Jegher after Peter Paul Rubens, *Hercules and the Hydra*, c. 1633–36, woodcut, 600 x 357 mm. Literature: Hollstein, IX, op. cit., p. 187, no. 15.

'1 Satyrs met eenen dronckaert' [1 Satyrs with a drunkard] st. 8

Christoffel Jegher after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Drunken Silenus*, c. 1630, woodcut, 440 x 333 mm. Literature: Hollstein, IX, op. cit., p. 188, no. 16.

'1 Tentatie van Christus' [1 Temptation of Christ] st. 8

Christoffel Jegher after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Temptation of Christ*, 1633, woodcut, 325 x 435 mm. Literature: Hollstein, IX, op. cit., p. 184, no. 6.

'1 Crooninghe van Maria' [1 Coronation of the Virgin] st. 8

Christoffel Jegher after Peter Paul Rubens, *Coronation of the Virgin*, 1633, woodcut, 340 x 445 mm. Literature: Hollstein, IX, op. cit., p. 186, no. 10.

'1 St. Jan met Christus' [1 St John with Christ] st. 6

Christoffel Jegher after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Infant Christ and the Infant John the Baptist*, c. 1632–36, woodcut, 339 x 452 mm. Literature: Hollstein, IX, op. cit., p. 183, no. 5.

7 October 1637 (MPM Arch. 245: *Journal 1637*, fol. 152^r): the following prints for a total of fl. 14 st. 2:

'1 Crucifix van van Dijck sculpt. Bolswert' [1 Crucifixion by van Dyck, engraved by Bolswert] fl. 2 st. 8 [= st. 48]

Schelte Adamsz. Bolswert after Anthony van Dyck, *Christ on the Cross* c. 1630–35, engraving, 629 x 45 mm (fig. 210). Literature: New Hollstein van Dyck, Part VII, op. cit., p. 101, no. 534.

'1 Drij Coninghen van Lauwers Rub. intrantes in dom.' [1 Three Kings by Lauwers, Rubens, 'intrantes in dom'] fl. 1 st. 10 [= st. 30]

Nicolaes Lauwers after Peter Paul Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1630–35, engraving, 606 x 450 mm (fig. 214). Literature: Hollstein, X, op. cit., p. 41, no. 1

'1 Vlught in Egijpten, Marinus Rub. Joseph Consurg.' [1 Flight into Egypt, Marinus, Rubens 'Joseph Consurg.'] st. 18
Marinus Robyn van der Goes after Peter Paul Rubens, *Flight into Egypt*, c. 1620–37, engraving, 376 x 458 mm. Literature: Hollstein, XI, op. cit., p. 169, no. 4.

'1 Crucifix sonder Moordenaers Pontius, Rub. Clamans' [1 Crucifixion without the murderers, Pontius, Rubens, 'Clamans'] fl. 1 [= st. 20]

Paulus Pontius after Peter Paul Rubens, *Christ on the Cross*, 1631, engraving, 605 x 383 mm. Literature: Hollstein, XVII, op. cit., p. 150, no. 11.

'1 Val van Lucifer. Voesterman Rub.' [1 Fall of Lucifer, Vorsterman, Rubens] fl. 1 st. 4 [= st. 24]

Lucas Vorsterman I after Peter Paul Rubens, *St Michael Fighting the Rebel Angels*, 1621, engraving, 565 x 435 mm. Literature: Hollstein, XLIII, op. cit., p. 88, no. 92.

'1 Assumptio. Pontius. Rub.' [1 Assumption, Pontius, Rubens] fl. 1 st. 16 [= st. 36]

Paulus Pontius after Peter Paul Rubens, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1624, engraving, 640 x 438 mm. Literature: Hollstein, XVII, op. cit., p. 156, no. 26.

'1 Pentecostes. Pontius. Rub. animis illabere' [1 Pentecost, Pontius, Rubens 'animis illabere'] fl. 1 st. 16 [= st. 36]

Paulus Pontius after Peter Paul Rubens, *Pentecost*, 1627, engraving, 595 x 423 mm. Literature: Hollstein, XVII, op. cit., p. 153, no. 19.

'1 S. Pauli bekeeringhe Bolswert. Rub.' [1 Conversion of St Paul, Bolswert, Rubens] fl. 1 st. 4 [= st. 24]

Schelte Adamsz. Bolswert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Conversion of St Paul*, c. 1630–37, engraving, 447 x 598 mm. Literature: Hollstein, III, op. cit., p. 80, no. 196.

'1 S. Anna met Maria. Bolswert. Rub. Audi filia' [1 St Anne with the Virgin, Bolswert, Rubens, 'Audi filia'] st. 15

Schelte Adamsz. Bolswert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Education of the Virgin*, c. 1630–37, engraving and etching, 446 x 327 mm. Literature: Hollstein, III, op. cit., p. 83, no. 260.

'1 Philemon en Baucis. Lauwers [Bolswert crossed out] Jordaens Accubuer' [1 Philemon and Baucis, Lauwers, Jordaens, 'Accubuer'] fl. 1 st. 2 [= st. 22]

Nicolaes Lauwers after Jacob Jordaens, *Jupiter and Mercury in the Home of Philemon and Baucis*, c. 1630, engraving, 484 x 554 mm. Literature: Hollstein, X, op. cit., p. 41, no. 17.

'1 Helena sittende. Voestermans. Veroner.' [1 Seated Helen, Vorsterman, Veronese] st. 9

Lucas Vorsterman I, after Paolo Caliari, called Veronese, *St Helena, Mother of Constantine the Great*, engraving, 350 x 242 mm. Literature: Hollstein, XLIII, op. cit., p. 79, no. 81.

Table 1: Prints sold for 30 stuivers or more

Price	Subject	Designer	Printmaker	Medium	Size in mm	Buyer
70 st.	<i>Battle of the Amazons</i>	Rubens	L. Vorsterman I	engraving	6 sheets: 423 x 364 to 428 x 420	J. Leonard 1632
48 st.	<i>Crucifixion</i>	Van Dyck		engraving	unknown	J. Ouwerx 1636
48 st.	<i>Crucifixion</i>	Van Dyck	S. Bolswert	engraving	629 x 445	H. Winghe 1637
36 st.	<i>Assumption of the Virgin</i>	Rubens	P. Pontius	engraving	640 x 438	H. Winghe 1637
36 st.	<i>Pentecost</i>	Rubens	P. Pontius	engraving	595 x 423	H. Winghe 1637
36 st.	<i>Christ Crowned with Thorns</i>	Van Dyck	S. Bolswert	engraving	589 x 430	H. Winghe 1637
34 st.	<i>Raising of Lazarus</i>	Rubens	B. Bolswert	engraving	650 x 495	H. Robinson 1640
34 st.	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	Rubens	N. Lauwers	engraving	606 x 450	H. Robinson 1640
30 st.	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	Rubens	N. Lauwers	engraving	606 x 450	H. Winghe 1637

Table 2: Prints sold for 18–25 stuivers

Price	Subject	Designer	Printmaker	Medium	Size in mm	Buyer
25 st.	<i>Fighting Lions</i>	Rubens			unknown	H. Robinson 1640
24 st.	<i>Conversion of St Paul</i>	Rubens	S. Bolswert	engraving	447 x 598	H. Winghe 1637
24 st.	<i>St Michael Fighting the Rebel Angels</i>	Rubens	L. Vorsterman I	engraving	565 x 435	H. Winghe 1637
22 st.	<i>Martyrdom of St Apollonia</i>	Jordaens	M. R. van der Goes	engraving	656 x 468	H. Winghe 1637
22 st.	<i>Jupiter and Mercury with Philemon and Baucus</i>	Jordaens	N. Lauwers	engraving	484 x 554	H. Winghe 1637
20 st.	<i>Crucifixion</i>	Rubens	P. Pontius	engraving	605 x 383	H. Winghe 1637
18 st.	<i>Adoration of the Shepherds</i>	Jordaens	P. de Jode II	engraving	436 x 537	H. Winghe 1637
18 st.	<i>Mercury and Argus</i>	Jordaens	S. Bolswert	engraving	420 x 522	H. Winghe 1637
18 st.	<i>Flight into Egypt</i>	Rubens	M. R. van der Goes	engraving	376 x 458	H. Winghe 1637

Table 3: Prints sold for 1–15 stuivers

Price	Subject	Designer	Printmaker	Medium	Size in mm	Buyer
15 st.	<i>Rest on the Flight into Egypt</i>	Rubens	C. Jegher	woodcut	475 x 598	H. Winghe 1637
15 st.	<i>Education of the Virgin</i>	Rubens	S. Bolswert	engraving	446 x 327	H. Winghe 1637
14 st.	<i>Philip IV</i>	Rubens	P. Pontius	engraving	447 x 333	G. Vierpont 1635
14 st.	<i>Elisabeth de Bourbon</i>	Rubens	P. Pontius	engraving	446 x 336	G. Vierpont 1635
12 st.	<i>Susanna and the Elders</i>	Rubens	C. Jegher	woodcut	443 x 573	H. Winghe 1637
12 st.	<i>Adoration of the Shepherds</i>	Jordaens	M. R. van der Goes	engraving	465 x 382	H. Winghe 1637
12 st.	<i>Virgin</i>	Quellinus	S.? Bolswert	engraving	429 x 318	H. Winghe 1637
10 st.	<i>Hercules</i>	Rubens	C. Jegher	woodcut	600 x 357	H. Winghe 1637
9 st.	<i>St Helena, Mother of Constantine</i>	Veronese	L. Vorsterman I	engraving	350 x 242	H. Winghe 1637
8 st.	<i>Coronation of the Virgin</i>	Rubens	C. Jegher	woodcut	340 x 445	H. Winghe 1637
8 st.	<i>Drunken Silenus</i>	Rubens	C. Jegher	woodcut	440 x 333	H. Winghe 1637
8 st.	<i>Temptation of Christ</i>	Rubens	C. Jegher	woodcut	325 x 435	H. Winghe 1637
6 st.	<i>Infants Christ and St John</i>	Rubens	C. Jegher	woodcut	339 x 452	H. Winghe 1637
6 st.	<i>Virgin</i>	Quellinus	A. van der Does	engraving	283 x 212	H. Winghe 1637
6 st.	<i>Ottavio Piccolomini</i>	G. Seghers	L. Vorsterman I	engraving	240 x 177	H. Winghe 1637
4 st.	<i>Turkish Prince on Horseback</i>	Rubens and Elsheimer	P. Soutman	etching	325 x 226	H. Winghe 1637
4 st.	<i>Martyrdom of a Bishop</i>	Rubens		etching	unknown	H. Winghe 1637
1.5 st.	<i>Yawning Peasant</i>	P. Brueghel		etching	208 x 207	H. Winghe 1637
1 st.	<i>Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg</i>		P. de Jode II	engraving and etching	139 x 100	H. Winghe 1637