

## **Abstracts of Amsterdam 2010 Conference Papers**

**Thursday, May 27, 2010**

### **PARAGONE, SYMBIOSIS: RELATIONS BETWEEN PAINTING AND SCULPTURE IN NETHERLANDISH ART**

*Chair:* **Lynn F. Jacobs** (University of Arkansas)

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#### **Early Netherlandish Painting and Sculpture: A Paragone?**

Early Netherlandish painters faced an artistic world in which painting arguably occupied a less prestigious position than sculpture, metalwork, tapestry and embroidery. Despite his much vaunted position as painter and 'varlet de chambre' of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, there is no evidence that Jan van Eyck undertook a single large-scale commission from his employer, while the published ducal accounts record large sums spent on other artistic projects. In building their immense reputations, and putting early Netherlandish painting on the cultural map of north-west Europe, Van Eyck, the Master of Flemalle and Rogier van der Weyden all had to establish their art in relation to other media. This paper aims to gather together some visual and documentary threads relating to the relative importance of painting and sculpture up to the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century.

For example, it seems no accident that one of Jan van Eyck's most virtuoso works, the *Annunciation* diptych in the Museo Thyssen Bornemisza in Madrid, evokes alabaster statues at exactly the time that fellow Bruges sculptor and ducal employee Gilles de Backere was working on the alabaster tomb of Michelle of France for Philip the Good. What evidence is there for a visual competition with sculpture in early Netherlandish painting? Around the same time, Jacques Daret was commissioned to paint shutters for an alabaster altarpiece for the Abbot of St. Vaast, Arras. Was this a chance commission or is there evidence within the Flémalle group for other paintings that might have served as shutters for carved altarpieces? And Rogier van der Weyden's references to sculpture may also be ripe for re-examination following the exhibitions of 2009.

The second thread of the paper focuses on documentary evidence. For example, the circumstances of the demise of the Antwerp Masons' Guild in favour of the Guild of Saint Luke are still not well known; the status of sculptors compared with painters within Bruges remains problematic. While it is often accepted that painters were paid more than carvers, documents show that this was not always the case. Around 1440, the future priorities of painting and sculpture may have been quite unclear to their practitioners.

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### **Designs for Sculpture: A New Look at Drawings from Rogier van der Weyden's Workshop**

The paper deals with the relationship between 15<sup>th</sup>-century sculpture and the innovative visual language of Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400-1464). Much has already been published on this topic, but it is remarkable that the relationship is mostly illustrated with examples of sculpture dating from after the master's death, merely offering evidence for the so-called influence of Van der Weyden's painting on later sculpture. Little attention has been given to the direct and active contribution of Van der Weyden to the sculpture of his own time. Documents indicating his activity as a designer of sculpture are rare, but several of his workshop drawings do confirm that this was a vital aspect of his career. As most drawings have been studied by painting specialists, the connections with sculpture has been given little attention. However in this paper several drawings will be related to existing sculptures, for which the design seems to have been specially created. Other works can also be seen as designs for sculpture because of intrinsic elements, such as the technique, the style or the iconography of the drawing. A new consideration of this material, from a sculptural point of view, reveals insights into the workshop practices of Van der Weyden and the exchange of models between painters and sculptors.

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### **Something Old, Something New: Classical Sculpture as an Impetus for New Artistic Ideas in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Art**

This paper aims to show why and how classical sculpture – such as the *Laocoon* discovered shortly after 1500 – was used as a source by some 16<sup>th</sup>-century Flemish artists.

From early onwards, some enterprising artists made it clear that imitation and emulation of antiquity needed to be seen in the context of competition with classical sculptors or artists, as well as with their contemporaries. Artists from Barend van Orley and Michiel Coxcie to Frans Floris and Ambrosius Francken eagerly took up the gauntlet that was thrown to them from the classical age.

Sculptures such as the *Laocoon* incited artists to rethink and rephrase the position, shape and movement of the human figure in the two-dimensional space of tapestries, paintings and prints. They present a visual record of how antique sculptures – or parts of them – were transposed, imitated and emulated in a complex system of cultural

referencing and show how artists visualised anew some biblical or mythological stories from the first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

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### **Painter-Sculptor Collaboration vs. Competition in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp**

Traditionally, Antwerp's heyday of painting in the 17th century coincides with Rubens's lifetime. Inversely, the heyday of sculpture was after Rubens's death, which was heralded by a few 20th-century authors as a precondition for sculptural production to develop, let alone to thrive. Paradoxically, these same authors saw Rubens as the prime introducer of the "Baroque" (whatever definition of this concept is chosen) in Antwerp sculpture.

Without dwelling too long on these historiographic issues, this paper proposes to analyse a few case studies of altarpieces designed by Rubens and by sculptors after Rubens's death to investigate questions of how collaborations between painters and sculptors affected the design of altarpieces, 2D vs. 3D, polychromy, marble vs. paint, local vs. foreign inspiration. This will be contextualised within the shifts in patronage, taste and theological emphases, that occurred in Antwerp during the 17th century, leading to the question about the social and economic standing of painters and sculptors in 17th-century Antwerp.

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### **CULTURAL TRANSMISSION AND ARTISTIC EXCHANGES IN THE LOW COUNTRIES DURING THE LONG SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

Chairs: **Karolien De Clippel** (Universiteit Utrecht) and **Filip Vermeyleen** (Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam)

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### **Local Landscapes at a Crossroads: Claes Visscher's 1612 Copies of the Small Landscape Prints**

In 1612, Claes Jansz. Visscher produced a copied edition of the so-called *Small Landscape* prints, which had originally been published by Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp in the mid-sixteenth century. Given how many old Flemish landscape plates Visscher came to possess and the wide array of new landscape designs, his own included, that he

published, it is curious that he made such an effort to reproduce these particular prints. Visscher must have deemed them significant enough to warrant being copied and sufficiently difficult to obtain in Amsterdam to prove commercially viable, despite the fact that the original plates had been reissued in Antwerp by Philips Galle in 1601 and Theodoor Galle some years thereafter.

This paper explores the transformative trajectory of the *Small Landscapes* as they migrated north through Visscher's copies. With the benefit of historical hindsight, we can easily trace the impact of Visscher's version of the *Small Landscapes* on the development of a local rustic landscape tradition in Holland. However, in 1612 the series, marketed as the work of Bruegel, was cast as retrospective rather than forward-looking. A close comparative study of Visscher's copies with Cock's original prints reveals the subtle ways that Visscher framed the series as a nostalgic invocation of a peaceful Flemish countryside, by that time a region devastated by the ravages of war and a territory lost to the United Provinces.

At the same time, disseminated within Northern markets and explicitly addressed to fellow artists, this series of native Flemish views provided a catalyst for the articulation of a pioneering, specifically Dutch landscape idiom at a moment of nascent political and cultural confidence during the years of the Twelve Years Truce. Old and new at once, Visscher's copies of the *Small Landscapes* occupied a critical artistic fulcrum between the South and the North, between the past and the future, and between tradition and innovation. By exploring the nuanced position of the *Small Landscapes* in their Dutch incarnation, this paper sheds light on the complex pathways of artistic transmission and translation that both connected and distinguished the Southern and Northern Netherlands in the early decades of the seventeenth century.

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### **Frans Hals van Antwerpen: A Case Study in Dutch-Flemish Artistic and Cultural Exchange**

As Gustav Waagen, director of the Berlin Museums in the 1850s wrote of Frans Hals: "In my opinion, the value of this painter in the history of Dutch art has never been sufficiently appreciated. He was the first who introduced the broad manner of Rubens into Holland." One hundred fifty years later, Waagen's lament remains true. Despite the undeniable formal similarities, Hals's engagement with Peter Paul Rubens and seventeenth-century Flemish painting amazingly has been only sporadically noted and has never been critically examined. In this paper, I will map Hals's consistent and enduring engagement with southern Netherlandish art and consider the artistic and economic motivations for Hals's emulation of Flemish painting. As a result, I propose a reorientation of our understanding of Hals and his art as well as his aesthetic and business strategies.

The case of Antwerp native Hals also illuminates several key, but underappreciated features of Dutch-Flemish cultural and artistic exchanges. I will argue that Hals's embrace of Flemish aesthetics developed from his direct experience with works by Rubens, Van Dyck, and Jordaens. Not only did Hals spend three months in Antwerp in 1616 at a formative phase of his career, but paintings by Rubens, Van Dyck, and Jordaens are documented in the the Dutch Republic. Eric Jan Sluiter has argued for the impact of cheap exports from the southern Netherlands, but these are high-end paintings by the most esteemed artists, painters who garnered some of the highest prices in the Dutch market. Moreover, wealthy Haarlem citizens, many of whom were Flemish immigrants, valued high-end Flemish painting *and* patronized Hals. For example, Hals painted a portrait of the prominent collector Claes Duyst van Voorhout which conveys several elements similar to Rubensian *tronies*, one of which is documented as having been in Voorhout's collection. I will argue that clients like Van Voorhout played active roles in the transfer northward of Flemish art and its aesthetics. The qualities and elements that Hals assimilated from Rubens and other Flemish sources may have held particular appeal for the residents of Haarlem as the city had extensive ties with the southern Netherlands. After all, fifty-one percent of the population of Haarlem in 1622 was either a first or second generation Flemish immigrant.

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### **Going South: Selling Flemish Art to Dutchmen and Dutchmen Selling Flemish Art to Flemings**

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### **Exchanging Works of Art between Courtly Neighbours: Brussels and The Hague (1600-1695)**

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## **GLOBAL BAROQUE: THE NETHERLANDISH IMAGE IN ASIA, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAS**

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## **At Home in Bijapur: Cornelis Claesz. Heda and Dutch Art in India**

17<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch artists, we know, traveled long distances in their newly expanding world. Artists like Frans Post, Aelbert Eeckhout, Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt, Maria Sibylla Merian, and Philips Angel made their careers capitalizing on exotic journeys to far-flung locations in South America, Africa, and the Mideast. Art historians are familiar with these intrepid artists, and their images of exotic flora, fauna, and locales which sold to collectors across Europe. This paper will focus instead upon a Dutch artist who made his career in India, and examine the complex ways that Dutch art operated in Indian court cultures.

Archival and travel records, letters and VOC documents give tantalizing glimpses of several Dutch artists active in the Persian and Indian courts between 1610 and 1675. This paper follows the career of one of the first to arrive in the Indian subcontinent: Cornelis Claesz. Heda. Heda was a member of the Haarlem school who made his way to central India in 1610 and served as a court artist to Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II of the kingdom of Bijapur. Although his original destination was Isfahan and his original intention was to work for Shah Abbas of Persia, Heda found an ideal situation and an ideal patron in Bijapur. He also built connections with the Dutch East India Company, and embarked on trading ventures, providing political and diplomatic assistance to the VOC and its agents in the region.

Though none of his paintings survive, Heda's presence in Bijapur suggests a conduit for the arrival of western imagery, visible in select pieces of Bijapuri court art. In these works, the impact of an artist trained in western European figurative styles (and one presumably conversant with humanist and classicizing discourses), as well as the availability of western prints, can be detected. These images reveal the awareness of western conventions for representing bodies along with a multitude of observed details about the oddities of western (and other foreign) costumes, commodities, and behaviors. This paper aims to explore the meanings and permutations of the Bijapuri translation of western imagery, examining several examples of wall paintings and manuscript illuminations from the period. In each case, the images manipulate western elements, tweaking them to fit into a specifically Bijapuri visual culture. In the Bijapuri images, the western elements are melded into a metaphorically rich layering of visual and poetic associations, a transformation well suited to the Adil Shahi culture of *nauras* ("new flavors," an eclectic mix of music, art, pleasure, and commerce).

What role did Heda play in Bijapuri art, then? He may have provided Bijapuri artists with certain kinds of material, which were then reformulated into the Bijapuri visual idiom of the time. But the visual evidence also suggests a rethinking of Heda's career in the Adil Shahi court is in order. Deborah Hutton has shown that Ibrahim's unique court culture of *nauras* functioned as an astute form of political maneuvering in a pan-Indian and international setting. This paper will argue that Heda's unique career in Bijapur, and the particular approach to western imagery found in Bijapuri art, should be

connected to Ibrahim's political and cultural agendas. Heda was a valuable artist, who produced exotic commodities of western paintings. But Heda was also valuable as a vehicle for political displays of power. His presence at court conveyed Ibrahim's status as an enlightened patron and a ruler with control over other cultures. Both Heda and the western-nuanced imagery of Bijapur can be seen as manifestation of the *nauras* of Bijapur, Ibrahim's special cultural environment which was the basis of its political, economic, and spiritual power.

In the past decade, scholars of encounter studies have reframed the orientalizing narrative of the West's "discovery" of the East. The Victoria and Albert show *Encounters* (2004) codified the revisionist approach of texts such as Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton's *Global Interests* (2000) and ushered in an era of scholarship of world trade and cultural exchange. Heda's career in Bijapur reveals that there is more at hand for scholars than mapping the conduits of influence from western objects and artists on eastern states (a common approach to the Mughal art patronage, for example). Instead, Heda's experiences in Bijapur open a window into the layers of meaning – economic, political, and artistic – that a western artist (or object, or detail) might convey for the local culture. In the context of Ibrahim's self-conscious art patronage, Heda also served as a powerful commodity in the ongoing competition between rival courts in India and abroad. Heda's success in Bijapur, and the manipulation of western art evident in Bijapuri visual culture, thus provides an opportunity to explore in greater detail the complexity of the visual conversation between West and East at the beginning of a global age.

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### **The Poetry of Netherlandish Prints in Early Modern China**

Although China extended its artistic influence to the Netherlands through the export of a variety of material goods, among these porcelain, lacquer, woodcarving, and textile, the circulation of Netherlandish art in China was promoted primarily through printed imagery. European Jesuits brought illustrated editions of the *Life of Christ* (*Vita Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*) and other religious texts, containing engravings by Hieronymus Wierix, Hendrik Goltzius, and Johannes Strandanus among others, to China and oversaw the translation of these works into a Chinese visual and textual language. In addition, even Dutch orders for Chinese decorated export wares were often negotiated through printed imagery, as Dutch engravings of cityscapes, mythological narratives, and historical events became the templates for Chinese porcelain painters.

To more fully understand the influences of Netherlandish engravings within China, we must see the circulation of these images not as an isolated occurrence but rather as part of a larger transformation of print culture in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. This was a period in which print in China became both a site for repositioning the social status of a rising merchant class, facilitating the distribution of elite imagery to common

viewers, and a means of undermining the very authority the images sought to assert, calling into question the mimesis or “realism” of print illustrations. Chen Hongshou, in particular, manipulated his training as an elite painter to create woodblock prints that direct the viewer’s attention to the easily fractured illusionism of the representational form, in the process finding a means to articulate his own disenfranchised social status.

Within this turbulent Chinese print world, Netherlandish engravings played a important role in encouraging elite Chinese artists and viewers to test the limits of print’s mimetic boundaries, focusing attention instead on the medium’s possibilities as a poetic and meditative, rather than a narrative, tool. Through an examination of two contemporary illustrated texts, Zhang Shenzhi’s 1639 edition of *Xixiang ji* (*The Romance of the West Chamber*), illustrated by Chen Hongshou, and the 1640 Beijing *Jincheng shuxiang*, a visual and literary translation of the Jesuit devotional text *Life of Christ*, this paper seeks to overturn a conventional argument of “East/West” artistic contact in the early modern period. Rather than asserting that chiaroscuro, one point perspective, and renditions of naturalistic detail in Netherlandish prints made them more convincing and “realistic” to the Chinese, I suggest that the meditative structure of the *Life of Christ*, as it was translated visually in the *Jincheng shuxiang* and referenced in works such as *The West Chamber*, helped to transform print in China from a reproductive tool to an independent art form.

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### **"How Tasty Was My Flemish Man": Karel van Mander’s Concepts of ‘*Nae het leven*’ and ‘*Uyt den gheest*’ and the Depiction of ‘Cannibals’ and Native Indians in Dutch Brazil**

One of the most complex concepts established by Karel van Mander in his *Schilder-Boeck* (1604) is undoubtedly the notion of “*nae het leven*,” usually translated with the English expression “from life”. The concept has been generally interpreted in opposition to another of Van Mander’s influential categories, namely the notion of “*uyt den gheest*,” literally “from the spirit”. According to the most diffused reading of these terms, the making of an image “*nae het leven*” implies a direct contact with the natural – or artificial – model that should be rendered in a painting, drawing or print. In opposition to this immediate method of registering “life” (*leven*), an image done “*uyt den gheest*” would be, on the contrary, the result of a process in which the forms come, more subjectively, from the artist’s mind or, as the term itself seems to stress, from an inward “spirit” (*gheest*). This explanation, however, assumes too uncritically that the final products of these modes of representation should create two radically different kinds of images: a more “naturalistic” one, in the first case, and a less “realistic” one, in the second.

In this paper, I shall provide a new interpretation of such a “conceptual diptych”. Consequently, the main goal of my paper will be to provide a more articulated



understanding of these terms in order to verify their effective hermeneutic reliability in the study of artworks produced in the Netherlands (and not only in the Netherlands) in the seventeenth century. I will start my analysis with a close reading of some verses by Van Mander from the *Grondt der edel vrij schilder-const* related to these two categories in the attempt to demonstrate that they should not be considered as similarly engaging structures of visual persuasion, equally present in any pictorial work. Far from interpreting them as indicative of essentially separated modes of representation, I shall claim their symmetry as categories adopted by Van Mander to better describe contiguous stages within an analogous process of pictorial “invention,” culminating in the codification of a common visual lexicon: namely, the “Foundations” of the *Schilder-const*. Therefore, I shall address my attention to the analysis of how these two categories might have played a relevant role in the representations of “cannibals” by Theodor de Bry, in the prints for *America Tertia Pars* (1592), and Albert Aeckhout, in the series of “portraits” and “stories” depicting native Indians, executed in Brazil between 1637 and 1644, when the artist was in the service of the General Governor of Dutch Brazil, Count Maurits van Nassau-Singen.

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### **Fortifying the Global Baroque: Dutch Forts as *Lieux de Mémoire***

Among the most durable material legacies of early modern Dutch presence in Asia, Africa, and the Americas are the many fortifications built by the great trading companies all across their sprawling global network. As massive earthworks, one can see them to this day even on Google-Earth. From satellite altitude, one is struck by the scope and scale of this particular genre of Netherlandish architectural production – yet it is one that does remain largely “outside mainstream historiography.”

To touch upon a few of the topics invited for this session, certainly there were artistic problems to be navigated: building materials often had to be improvised, like the bizarre mortar devised for Tainan’s Fort Zeelandia of oyster shells, sugar, and glutinous rice. And the structures themselves frequently copied models back in the Netherlands, like Cape Town’s Fort of Good Hope (erected between 1666 and 1679), whose belfry bears a distinct resemblance to the one topping the new Town Hall in Amsterdam just completed in 1665.

But how did they fare, these outposts so *very* far beyond Netherlandish borders? In fact it is their sheer scale and durability that oblige us to pursue that question *beyond* concerns of iconography or design or production, to the plane of sociological interaction with the communities they inhabited (or encompassed) – and still do today. One is invariably impressed with the presence they still command within the lives of the communities that now surround them, so we are prompted as well to pursue that question even beyond the early modern period and into the present.

When it comes to the question of the “effects of Netherlandish art taken overseas,” these major investments in military architecture naturally made an impact nothing short of profound, and they continue to do so in a wide variety of ways, whether they live on in various states of ruin or restoration. It is most of all their function as potent *lieux de mémoire* that invokes Pierre Nora’s seminal theorization from his eponymous project, to embrace “a history in multiple voices . . . less interested in causes than in effects; . . . less interested in ‘what actually happened’ than in its perpetual re-use and misuse, its influence on successive presents; less interested in traditions than in the way in which traditions are constituted and passed on.” (Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: xxiv).

The afterlives of these structures are as complex and fraught as they are diverse: as museums (sometimes commemorating independence from the very rule the structures were initially erected to defend); as tourist attractions redeployed for other uses (like the slaving forts along Ghana’s coast now offering bed-and-breakfast); as bastions that now protect those they once rebuffed (like the ramparts in Galle that sheltered all those fortunate enough to dwell within from the full force of the 2004 tsunami). This study will indeed consider “the impact of the Netherlandish image” abroad – but not only in the sense of visual but also of mental image, the *mentalité* among the people in these many and far-flung places who have lived for so many centuries with these stolid architectural remains.

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## **SESSION IN HONOUR OF CAROL PURTLE**

*Chair: Diane Wolfthal* (Rice University, Houston)

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**Joaneath Spicer**, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Looking with Jan van Eyck and Robert Campin: The Painter’s Perspective

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**Jan van Eyck’s lost *Virgin and Child with Canon Nicolas van Maelbeke* Reconsidered**

Surprisingly little is known about the original function and use of early Flemish portraits. This lecture examines the possible relationship between form and function of fifteenth-century portraits in Flanders, and tries to raise the question if those portrait panels were – in the eyes of the contemporary beholders – understood as “portraits” or were perceived primarily within the context of their specific functions, i.e. memorial

representations, epitaphs etc. The paper further examines the hypothesis that such portraits by the first generation of Early Netherlandish painters – especially those by Jan van Eyck – intentionally adopted formal aspects from different pictorial media to accordingly underline portraits' intended function visually.

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### **The Arenberg *Lamentation* Reconsidered**

This paper offers a reassessment of the “Arenberg Lamentation” (Detroit Institute of Arts), a masterpiece of Netherlandish sculpture of the second half of the fifteenth century. Despite the losses it has suffered, most scholars who have written about the work have acclaimed it as the most “Rogierian” of surviving Brussels sculpture and probably the earliest extant adaptation of a lost and extremely influential painted composition by Rogier van der Weyden. But the sculpture is much more than a variation of a Rogierian invention. While the *Lamentation's* large scale alone sets it firmly apart from the body of surviving sculpture, new data (including Raman and XRF analysis of pigments and support) concerning its construction, assemblage, and original polychrome surface demonstrate that it is an important and fascinating document for the study of Netherlandish sculptural practice and processes. Recent technical and material study of the three pieces of which it is comprised has revealed, for example, the degree to which carved wood sculpture was at this time as much an additive as a subtractive process. As part of the larger project to consider the *Lamentation* on its own merits, I will attempt to reconstruct its original appearance. The opportunity to study the sculpture's backside has raised many interesting questions concerning the configuration of the angel's wings (now lost) and the depth of the *casse* in which it may have been housed. Any speculations concerning the sculptural group's original presentation or the appearance of the figures missing on the right must take into account a well-known drawing of the same composition in the Louvre. While the Detroit sculpture and Louvre drawing certainly go back to the same, presumably Rogierian model, the drawing is neither a preparatory study for the sculpture nor a copy after it. The relationship between the two, and the use of the drawing in assessing the original appearance of the sculpture, is more complicated than previously assumed, and needs to be revisited, especially in view of hitherto unknown material information.

More broadly, this paper will update and revise the conclusions formed by Nicole Verhaegen when she was invited to Detroit to study and publish the *Lamentation* on the occasion of its acquisition in 1961. Her 1962 publication remains to this day the only sustained, in-depth study of the work.

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## **Unveiling the Veil. A Study into the Making and Meaning of Painted Semitransparent Textiles: Italy and the Low Countries, 1400-1500**

The painted diaphanous veil has multi-layered and at times also contradictory functions: it is used to show off costly fabrics, to highlight and create eroticism when the veil covers parts of the body that it really wants to accentuate and yet it is also depicted to convey modesty and chastity. Alongside its intricate iconography, the depiction of semi-transparent veils posed technical problems for painters through the ages and required complex paint systems. It was in the fifteenth century that the potential of oil came to be fully exploited to create the visual illusion of transparency, in the centuries before however, one can also witness sophisticated depictions of semitransparent objects with protein based paint. Although the veil has been the subject of recent cultural and iconographical studies (Hills 2006, Endres 2005, Krüger 2001 and Wolf 2002), it is usually overlooked that meaning and making cannot be separated when studying the history of such an important motif in panel painting. In this lecture I want to show how technical innovations heightened the iconographical potential of the motif and, vice versa, how the demand for the visually convincing representation of diaphanous fabrics stimulated technical refinement. I will analyze this relation on three levels.

Firstly, by combining new, non-invasive technical analysis (macro-photography) with existing technical analysis of paintings including Rogier van der Weyden's *Portrait of a Young Woman* (Berlin), The Master of Flémalle's *Saint Veronica* (Frankfurt), Jan Gossart's *Virgin and Child* (Madrid), Filippo Lippi's *Virgin and Child* (Berlin), etc. The results will show how techniques for painting veils evolve and change through a period of a hundred years and how painters eventually developed technical "short-cuts" to represent the most essential features of semi-transparency. Secondly, on the level of representation I will look at the iconographical functions of the veil and connect these to the painterly execution of the motif. Finally, I will show how the terminology for transparency in contemporary art technical and art theoretical sources is directly related to painting techniques. Thus, the term 'velatura' used in Italian treatises can be traced to the depictions of veils in protein-based media, whereas terminology in Northern treatises is clearly based on the characteristics of oil paint.

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## **ANTWERP AND ITS BOUNDARIES 1550-1570**

*Chairs:* **Ethan Matt Kavaler** (University of Toronto) and **Todd Richardson** (University of Memphis)

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## **Frans Floris's Italian Travels and the Transformation of Art in Antwerp**

In his 1567 *Descrittione di Tutti I Paesi Bassi ...* Lodovico Guiccaridini praised Frans Floris as a master of “*inventione & disegno*.” These two terms, which refer to the intellectual qualities of the painter, were frequently used in the Italian discourse on art but had never before been applied to the work of a Flemish Painter. This paper seeks to reexamine how – and why – Floris used the experience of his Italian travels (between 1541 and 1546) to effect a renewal of the visual arts in his native Antwerp in which erudition became central to the painter’s profession.

By presenting unpublished drawings and archival material, my talk will not only specify what Floris saw and recorded in Italy, but also for the first time explore his direct contact with major Italian artists and their active studios that greatly influenced his subsequent style and his practice of *disegno* as both a practical apparatus and an act of intellectual expression. Floris’s quest for the elements of good *inventio* in the visual culture of the Italian peninsula derives from his formation in the humanist milieu of the Liège *pictor doctus* Lambert Lombard, who not only guided Floris’s itinerary in Italy but who also influenced his project to transform the status of the artist and the visual arts in the North based upon an Italian model. Through visual and textual evidence the paper will also address Floris’s contact with a theory of art that, while current in Italy during the years of his travels, was at the time only appreciated by a small circle of northern humanists gathered around Lombard. Floris was not the first northerner to come into contact with Italian Cinquecento art theory, but he was singular in devising a means to give these ideas practical and lasting application in the formation of a formidable artistic enterprise in Antwerp.

The paper concludes with an analysis of Floris’s complex professional portrait of 1562 (Paris, Musée du Louvre), an unusual allegory on the Trinity, but also a self-reflexive exegesis on Floris’s earlier travels to the Peninsula and his role as mediator between Netherlandish and Italian culture that allowed for a rebirth of the conception and praxis of painting in the North.

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### **Italianate Netherlandish Art or Netherlandish Italianate Art: Some Notes on the Paradox of Talent**

One of the most complex problems in Renaissance art is the international mobility of art and artists. Ever since Rogier van der Weyden made a pilgrimage to Rome in the middle of the fifteenth century, hundreds of northern artists traveled to the Italian peninsula. Painters and sculptors from all over Europe left their home countries, most of them for Italy. Vice versa, several Italian, French or German artists sojourned in the North, Dürer being the most famous example. Some stayed abroad for merely a month; others never returned. Some made fabulous careers; others disappeared into oblivion.

In general Art History considers the most talented and influential Antwerp painters those who went to Italy: Gossaert, Coecke, Floris, Bruegel, De Vos, etc – think of how art historical overviews are always constructed. In most cases, these artistic tourists were indeed gifted. But how about the talented painters who did not leave Antwerp for Italy and did not study ‘the ancients’ or the Renaissance personally on the peninsula? In this lecture I will argue that some of the most talented painters were not incited to leave home because they were immediately successful (in economic terms). Would a young gifted painter have taken the risk of leaving for Italy if he received an important commission, for instance to paint a major altarpiece, the moment he became a free master?

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### **Producing the Vernacular: Antwerp, Cultural Archaeology and the Figure of the Peasant**

For two days in 1520, extreme low tides exposed a ruined structure in the vicinity of Katwijk, a seaside village near Leiden. First described by Cornelius Aurelius, Abraham Ortelius would also depict the site, which he called the Arx Britannica, in his very first published map, executed between 1566-68 in Antwerp; this map would be incorporated in the 1581 and subsequent editions of Ludovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*. The antique ruins of Katwijk, far to the north of Antwerp, were described and promoted by mid-sixteenth-century humanists based in the city on the Schelde as representative of the Low Countries' unique historic cultural identity. The 1550s and 60s in Antwerp saw an explosion of printed histories and maps of the Low Countries, etymological research into place-names and Netherlandish dialects, as well as the publication of Dutch dictionaries and grammars. Thus, the concept of the ‘vernacular’ was produced by both centrifugal and centripetal forces concentrated upon Antwerp, the mercantile, intellectual and publishing centre of the Low Countries, but also a manifestly multi-cultural city, with an international outlook.

Simultaneous to this explosion of vernacular texts and histories, Antwerp's art market also saw a boom in the production of peasant scenes, depicting rural villagers at work and, more often, at play. In this paper, I will argue that the figure of the peasant in the work of artists like Pieter Bruegel the Elder, was linked to the representation of peasant custom in historical, chorographical and early ethnographic writing published in Antwerp. In both pictorial and textual representation, the peasant acted as a metaphoric vehicle, a type of living archaeological record and embodiment of local history. Crucially, Antwerp was the centre for the production of both vernacular peasant imagery and the numerous maps, dictionaries and histories of the Low Countries – many of which, like Ortelius's own map of Katwijk, explicitly referred to peasants and/or peasant custom. While the interest in collecting customs and costumes was part of a pan-European interest in the local, and the fascination with the antique history of Northern Europe was indebted to the resurgent popularity of Tacitus's *Germania*; Antwerp began to

produce a uniquely ‘Netherlandish’ vernacular history and cultural identity. Peasant imagery thus represented a particular strain of Antwerp’s production of a vernacular culture – a product that proved so successful it would lead to the establishment of a Bruegelian peasant image industry in the years following the Dutch Revolt.

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## **Drinking with the Prodigal – Jan van Hemessen’s Brothel Scenes and Italian Art Theory**

The Antwerp painter Jan van Hemessen was one of the most vigorous Romanists of his day. Although he never traveled to Italy, his paintings reveal an intimate knowledge of ancient and Italian sculpture and painting that he must have acquired through the drawings and prints of his colleagues. Despite his overall affirmative stance toward the Italian Renaissance, between 1536 and 1543, Van Hemessen painted three pictures which – on closer inspection – can be characterized as mocking Italian ideals of painting and composition. *The Prodigal Son Among the Whores* (Brussels) is the first grand-scale painting of this subject in Netherlandish art, whereas the other two (Karlsruhe and Hartford) feature a male protagonist who can be identified as *Elckerlijck* or Everyman in a brothel (a theme that is closely linked to the theme of the Prodigal).

These images have usually been understood as warnings about the dangers of drinking and gambling (most forcefully in Konrad Renger’s *Lockere Gesellschaft*, 1970). Beyond the straightforward moral message, art historians have found Van Hemessen’s paintings irritating, put off by the artist’s apparent failure to integrate the figures into the pictorial space in a correct fashion, and they have diagnosed this lack of a proper sense for classical composition as “mannerism.” Indeed, certain limbs are difficult to visually connect with a particular body while other bodies find themselves in (nearly) impossible postures.

In my paper, I will demonstrate that these ‘defects’ of Van Hemessen’s paintings are not to be understood as evidence for the artist’s “mannerist” incompetence but rather as a mindful choice to productively disturb the viewer’s perception of the picture. To this end, Van Hemessen seems to have consciously contradicted several of Alberti’s rules of composition while taking some of them all too seriously. Reindert Falkenburg has analyzed a similar phenomenon in the work of Pieter Aertsen, focusing on the aspect of artistic self-reflection in the mode of irony. To characterize Van Hemessen’s work from such a purely artistic perspective – as aiming towards the autonomy of art – is highly insufficient. I want to argue instead that Van Hemessen’s mocking of Albertian rules has fundamental epistemological and ethical implications. While Alberti’s concept of the image is meant to offer distance and clarity to the viewer in order to allow him free, unimpeded judgment of the represented events (thus providing direct access to truth), Van Hemessen does everything to make such a clear reading impossible by deconstructing the physical integrity and spatial homogeneity of his compositions (and

thus refuses to offer any certainties). The Albertian image constitutes a free and self-determined individual (a humanistic “vir bonus”). Van Hemessen’s paintings, in contrast, entrap the viewer in sinful situations – he is forced to join the prodigal at the brothel’s table – in order to create a palpable awareness for the pitfalls of (sensual) perception.

Hence, as I will argue, Van Hemessen is much more than a second-rate follower of Italian art. Rather than just imitating a Renaissance idiom, he is making conscious use of Italianate “vocabulary” in order to make complex visual arguments. Consequently, the meta-pictorial dimension of Van Hemessen’s paintings should not be understood as a merely self-reflexive art theoretical claim but as a refined medium for investigating Reformation topics like the debate on free will.

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## MUNICH AT THE CROSSROADS: FOREIGN ARTISTS IN COUNTER-REFORMATION BAVARIA

*Chair:* **Susan Maxwell** (University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh)

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### **The Impact of Dürer on the Art Scene in Munich around 1600**

Around 1600, the ducal palace in Munich was home not only to the *Antiquarium*, the *Kunstammer*, with its collection of *artificialia*, *naturalia* and other curiosities, as well as the *Hofbibliothek*, it also housed an important collection of paintings, which Maximilian I partly transferred into his *Kammerngalerie*. But the dukes of Bavaria did not only collect one of the largest Early Modern cabinets of art and curiosities of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, they also attracted and gathered some of the most renowned artists at their court. During the successive reigns of Wilhelm V, Albrecht V and Maximilian I, Munich became the focus of the international art world north of the Alps, replacing even its main competitor Prague after the death of the Habsburg emperor Rudolf II in 1612. The Wittelsbach court was not only a melting pot of artists from different countries, primarily from Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, and Italy, it also sat at the crossroads of styles and influences from different times, cultures and of diverse media, especially of painting and printing.

The paradigmatic figure was the Nuremberg painter Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528): The Bavarian dukes, and especially Maximilian I, managed to assemble one of the largest collections of works by the “German Apelles” after that of Rudolf II, which formed the starting point for what could be called a unique kind of “productive retrospective.” Much more than in Prague, the German and Netherlandish artists in Munich used Dürer as an



inspiration for their own work, thus creating a particular “retrospective style,” which united Düreresque and “altdeutsche” with modern Mannerist and Early Baroque features. In my paper, I would like to examine the multiple impact of the retrospective “Dürer-style” on the art patronage and production in Munich around 1600, including both artistic as well as political and representational issues, taking into consideration the development of connoisseurship, the art market with its experts, agents and networks, the multiplication of models and ideas via prints, and finally the genre of artistic pastiches and capriccios.

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### **Hendrick Goltzius’s Visit to Munich**

Goltzius’s sojourn in Rome brought new directions to that artist’s life and work, and by extension, to Dutch Mannerism. However, Munich, which Goltzius visited on both ends of his journey, was until recently treated as a brief stopping point, rather than as a destination of its own. While the engravings Goltzius made in connection with Munich (e.g., the *Meisterstiche*) are among his most significant and most thoroughly examined works, the possibility of deeper and more prolonged influences on Goltzius by individuals or artworks at the Bavarian Court begs further exploration.

After all, the Munich court artists encountered by Goltzius in 1590 were an elite and cosmopolitan group of Netherlanders, Germans and Italians, who had been trained by leading Italian mannerists. It could be argued that Friedrich Sustris and Pieter Candid, former assistants of Giorgio Vasari and members of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno, exposed Goltzius to tenets of academic art theory which found fertile ground among the Dutch Mannerists. In addition, meeting and lodging with Johan I Sadeler – at the time probably the most highly reputed Flemish engraver – was significant enough to appear in Van Mander’s biography of Goltzius and in a letter of Dominicus Lampsonius (recently elucidated by Thea Vignau). The exchange had broader implications for both engravers: for example, not only for the themes and possible intentions behind Goltzius’s series of *The Life of the Virgin* and *The Nine Muses*, but, as I’ve argued elsewhere, in his increasing tendency in the 1590s to develop prints and drawings for the high-end market of court patronage. It also led Johan, as well as his brother, Raphael I Sadeler, and their protégé, Aegidius Sadeler, to explore new directions in their careers and works.

In analyzing texts and images connected with Goltzius’s visit, this paper addresses the question of reciprocal influences between Goltzius and certain artists at the court of Duke Wilhelm V. In line with the central theme of this panel, it evaluates Munich’s position among artistic centers around 1590, and calls for an understanding of Northern European artistic developments as products of complex international exchanges extending beyond the binary paradigm of the Netherlands and Italy.

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### **To ‘Inflame a Love of Virtue’: Christoph Schwarz’s *Mary Altarpiece* for the Jesuit College in Munich**

In 1580 Wilhelm V, duke of Bavaria (r. 1579-97, d. 1626), commissioned Christoph Schwarz to paint an altarpiece for the aula or great hall of the Jesuit college in Munich. The resulting *Mary Altarpiece*, completed a year later, proved to be the opening artistic salvo in Wilhelm’s intense campaign to transform his capital into a bulwark of the Catholic Reformation. Schwarz’s painting, today in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, is little known as it was intended for the college rather than for the Jesuits’ sumptuous church of St. Michael’s, which the duke constructed between c. 1583 and 1597. I wish to examine the *Mary Altarpiece* within the context of its original setting in the multi-purpose aula, the most spacious hall (44 x 21 m.) in the college before it was demolished in 1592 to permit a larger choir for St. Michael’s. Contemporary accounts provide clues to the altarpiece’s function, reception, and primary audiences. The latter included the Jesuits, their students, and the members of Marian sodality who met in this room. If this was a test, Schwarz passed since Duke Wilhelm hired him to create the high altar of St. Michael’s, among other works. Schwarz received related commissions to paint for the Jesuits in Augsburg.

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### **Italian Artists at the Munich Court**

The leading artists of Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, Friedrich Sustris, Hubert Gerhard and Peter Candid, were presented a few years ago at a Munich exhibition as “Netherlandish artists at the Munich court.” Concerning Gerhard, one may argue that his sculptural style was part Netherlandish and he himself a follower of Giambologna; his bronze casting expertise was in any case Florentine. Sustris, on the other hand, was born and trained in Italy. Wilhelm V was no collector and perhaps no connoisseur in the sense of having developed a personal taste for painting or sculpture. He did not ask Gerhard to create small bronzes for his *Kunstkammer* nor did he look for Italian small bronzes as did Emperor Rudolf II. He did not buy modern paintings from Venice or Florence or antiquities in Italy. To our knowledge, he did not build up a personal picture gallery like the *Kammerngalerie* his son would later create. Nevertheless, Munich became an important destination for artists from Italy who were hoping to find patronage at the Bavarian court. We can observe at the Munich court how an artistic boom inspired the lesser nobility and intellectuals to imitate the duke (Schwarzenberg, Meermann). All this attracted artists from elsewhere: Hans von Aachen, the Sadeler family, Paul van Vianen, and Hendrick Goltzius. The importance of Italian artists, and especially of

artists trained in Italy, in creating a court style under Wilhelm V is therefore of great importance in the development of a late Renaissance style.

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## **SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS OF ART MARKETS AND ART WORLDS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES**

*Chairs:* **Marten Jan Bok** (Universiteit van Amsterdam) and **Harm Nijboer** (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

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### **Social Ties, Professional Benefits: Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) and Artistic Collaboration in Utrecht**

Using as a case study friendship albums – blank books in which the owner collects entries, such as signatures, texts, or images, from friends and acquaintances – this paper will employ elements of Social Network Analysis to identify personal and professional ties connecting Utrecht artist Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) and his circle. The discussion will argue that artists of Bloemaert's generation and that of his students worked diligently to create a unified network, or at least the appearance thereof, through artistic collaboration present in the albums and later in larger shared projects. Such social bonds and a willingness to work together benefited the city's artistic community as a whole, bringing strength and stability to the profession as Utrecht buckled under the strain of the Dutch revolt against Spain.

The method used here begins with a work of art, in this case friendship albums, and proceeds to trace systematically the links connecting the artists and patrons involved. Of the two albums examined here, the first belonged to lawyer and historian Arnout van Buchell (1565-1641) and contains late sixteenth-century contributions from Utrecht artists, including a drawing of a putto by Bloemaert. A construction of the network of figures involved, which includes identifying their individual political and religious views as well as relations that exist among them, reveals that they put aside fundamental ideological differences during a period of intense civic discord to work together on the album. Not coincidentally, professional unity was crucial for Utrecht artists at this time, for in 1611 they asserted their allegiance through the formation of an independent guild. The second album, compiled from 1613-20 by Wijbrand de Geest, a Bloemaert student, holds works by members of the Bloemaert studio. A drawing by Quintijanus de Waerdt demonstrates that expressions of camaraderie among artists extended to the following generation: accompanying his drawing of an ox, symbol of the St. Luke Guild, is a poem that describes Utrecht artists feasting together to "strengthen love." Joint efforts and expressions of solidarity such as the albums reinforced social bonds as they united the

local artistic community seeking to assert its professional identity in a divisive period in Utrecht's history.

Moving beyond the albums, the conclusion will show that the willingness of Utrecht artists to work together and keep their network strong took many different forms. They held their community together during times of trouble through the creation of artists' organizations, a drawing school, and diverse collaborative artistic projects that successfully attracted civic, religious, and court commissions at the highest level of contemporary European patronage.

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### **History Painting with Biblical Subjects and Their Owners**

As part of the research project "Economic and Artistic Competition in the Amsterdam Art Market, c. 1630-1690, History Painting in Rembrandt's Time," set up at the University of Amsterdam, I am studying "Religious History Painting in Amsterdam, c. 1635-1690: The Choice of the Public." Thus I approach the idea of the social network not from the side of the artists/producers and their strategies for marketing their products but from the other side. The success of product innovation by artists depends on the acceptance by the consumers. Especially for history paintings with biblical subjects it is of particular interest, why they are valued: primarily for the (possibly religious) meaning of the image, for the cultural prestige that is associated with a particular artist or other reason?

Until now art historians mostly assumed that the choice of biblical subjects is related to the denomination of the owners and thus have a specific religious function. Attempts to link certain images clearly to a particular denomination have not provided satisfactory results. So in the first place I will neglect this supposition. More obvious is the assumption of different profiles of social networks that are characterized by the combination of different choices for objects, socio-economic backgrounds and cultural and social capital. A good example for possible results of this kind of analysis is provided by Bourdieu's study of the different lifestyles within the French social elite in the 60s: *La distinction. Critique social du jugement*. Another methodological model is given by Hugo Liu's social network analysis of the profiles in the social network-site MySpace: "Social Network Profiles as Taste Performances" (*Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13 (2008) 252-275). As starting point for my research I use John Michael Montias's database with Amsterdam inventories because it provides the most comprehensive material for analysis of the social upper class. Each inventory reads like a 'taste statement' of the former owners, who express their status, prestige and identification with a social group by the combination of various items ("interest tokens"). As a result I can ask questions about what different group profiles from the Amsterdam inventories emerge and what characterizes them. The biblical subjects will have my special attention. During this presentation I will present the first results of my analysis.

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## **Mapping Demand: Art Consumption of Nobles and Would-Be Nobles in Fifteenth-Century Flanders**

This contribution will discuss the use of Social Network Analysis to map the demand side for art production in the late medieval Low Countries. The main issue concerns the social status of the patrons of well-known painters active in the Burgundian Low Countries. Established historiography has had a strong tendency to distinguish between patterns of conspicuous consumption of ‘nobles’ and ‘burghers.’ However, this perspective does little justice to the social reality of nobility in late medieval society, since the social composition of the nobility was in a constant state of flux. Every decade, a considerable number of established noble families disappeared due to impoverishment, emigration or a lack of male heirs. Yet in the long run, the nobility did not die out because its ranks were constantly replenished by distinguished burghers, for whom obtaining a noble status was the highest social distinction imaginable. This process of perpetually renewing the nobility is important for understanding late medieval art production, because many important art patrons occupied a grey area between noble and burgher status. This lecture would focus on two case studies involving families that succeeded in joining the ranks of the Flemish nobility in the later Middle Ages, namely the Bruges Van Nieuwenhove family (best-known for Maarten van Nieuwenhove, patron of a Memling diptych) and the families Vijd and Borluut from Ghent (the donors of the Van Eyck *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*).

For various reasons, Social Network Analysis provides a fruitful approach to questions concerning the social status of the patrons of Flemish painters. This methodology is often applied in a heuristic sense; the economic, social and political activities of donors are frequently studied and subsequently used to guess the social status of those art patrons. However, this contribution would pursue a more analytical application of Social Network Analysis, using the recent reconstruction of the Flemish nobility between 1350 and 1500 to create an in-depth analysis of the degree of social endogamy of the chosen case-studies. For ambitious burghers, marriages with members of established noble families were crucial to shore up their own claims to nobility. As such, the fifteenth-century ennoblement of the Borluut and Van Nieuwenhove families was closely tied to a shift in their marriage patterns, in which they showed a growing preference for noble spouses over their traditional marriage partners from the urban elites. This shift was connected to a broader process, in which the established nobility of Flanders – traditionally a landholding aristocracy - became increasingly active in urban society. In 1350-1375, approximately 12% of the nobility participated in the government of a city, which increased to at least 44% in 1476-1500. As a consequence, the social composition of the Flemish urban elite became far more heterogeneous in the later Middle Ages, as the urbanized nobility established social ties with the civic elite of cities

such as Ghent and Bruges. In short, many artists produced their paintings for a social milieu which was increasingly shaped by processes of social mobility.

The marriage patterns described above were the central strategy in a larger campaign of social performance deployed by ambitious burgher families. Our paper will explore how paintings, although they were almost always religious in function, played a role in social mobility. The exterior wings of the *Ghent Altarpiece* portray Jodocus Vijd and his wife Elisabeth Borluut in poses of ideal piety. These likenesses would have been displayed to anyone who visited the Vijd chapel, and the large size and aesthetic ambition of the altarpiece guaranteed that visitors would be legion. The commission of the altarpiece made the donors' affluence and model devotion (as marked in the donor portraits) more visible in the community in which they lived. In contrast, the *Diptych of Maarten van Nieuwenhove* is a relatively small ensemble that remained in the possession of the Van Nieuwenhove family until the seventeenth century, out of the public eye. Nevertheless, the sophistication of the diptych's imagery and the fineness of its execution indicate that it was intended to raise the profile of its sitter in a manner comparable to the *Ghent Altarpiece*, albeit in a much more selective and limited fashion. Although both paintings undoubtedly operated in the social realm, we will argue against the prevailing idea that the social ambition manifested by the paintings somehow conflicts with their religious function. Instead, we will interpret the donor portraits' twofold iconography of worldly and spiritual achievement as constituting idealized likenesses of people on their way up. For members of the Van Nieuwenhove, Vijd, and Borluut families, and the fluid society in which they lived, the attainment of religious perfection, like that of social success, was a question of strategic effort and striking the right pose.

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### **Rembrandt's Gifts: A Case Study of Actor Network Theory**

Social Network Analysis is doubtless a productive tool for tracking and elucidating networks of social relations involved in the production, distribution, and reception of art. Moreover the close interaction between artistic production and the market economy of early capitalist Holland presents an ideal subject for Social Network Analysis. Yet this theoretical model's exclusive emphasis on the social interdependencies that tie together individuals or organizations runs the risk of depreciating or suppressing altogether the dynamic role that material objects can play in the creation and maintenance of social networks. If artworks are conceived as passive, inert responses to underlying economic and social forces, including those rather loosely defined as the early modern art market, they are denied the possibility of shaping, not merely reflecting economic and social relations. Actor Network Theory, however, offers an alternative and I think promising model for investigating the social characteristics of art worlds while giving appropriate primacy to the artwork as the central object of study. Known by the acronym ANT, this theoretical approach highlights the agency of things or material objects in the constitution of networks of social interaction. ANT thus allows us to imagine and

explore the possibility of artworks – especially ambitious, complicated artworks – as active participants or ‘actants’ in their social fields. Seen from this perspective, social networks serve not as backgrounds or contexts that help explain certain characteristics of art, but rather as foregrounds comprised of sets of social relations or assemblies woven together and mediated by the art objects around which they coalesce. Embracing artworks as types of agents permits us to rethink the means by which we track interdependencies between all ‘actors’ involved in a given art world and reaffirms art’s inseparability from the society for which it was produced.

I propose to apply concepts and techniques from Bruno Latour’s recent publications on Actor Network Theory, Alfred Gell’s important study *Art and Agency*, and the Maussian paradigm of the gift to explore a discrete phenomenon at the nexus of art and society in seventeenth-century Holland: Rembrandt’s presentation of artworks in the form of gifts and his creation of works designed to operate as gifts among networks of favored patrons, collectors, and familiars. Mapping the arc of Rembrandt’s gift exchanges not only elucidates the social interdependencies and reciprocal obligations he initiated and sustained with patrons, clients, and intimates, but also sheds light on the ‘transactional lives’ of his artworks and their capacity to focus distinct fields of social relations. I begin by studying Rembrandt’s gift giving of the 1630s and 1640s, when he courted powerful patrons in The Hague and Amsterdam, in the context of the rituals of courtly gift behavior. I then explore the interrelationship between Rembrandt’s gift giving and his artistic practice from the later 1640s through the 1660s, when his audience was largely comprised of art-lovers, gentlemen-dealers, and poets of the well-to-do burger class with whom he maintained close relations. Rembrandt’s later art, I argue, was in large part animated by the particular, intimate forms of address involved in gift exchange. The more intimate and regular exchanges characteristic of Rembrandt’s personal patronage relationships are both reflected and materially constituted in the distinctive artworks he circulated within these circles. As gifts, these works exerted an exceptional agency within Rembrandt’s milieu and participated actively in new forms of elite sociability emerging in the Dutch Republic in the mid-seventeenth century.

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Friday, May 28, 2010

## **COLLECTING AND DISPLAYING DUTCH AND FLEMISH ART IN GERMAN PRINCELY RESIDENCES**

Chair: Gero Seelig (Staatliches Museum Schwerin, Schwerin)

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**Collecting and Displaying Dutch and Flemish Art in the Imperial Collections of Leopold I: *Kunstammer*, Treasury, and Picture Gallery**

The paper addresses the distribution and presentation of the Imperial collections of Leopold I, whereby Dutch art or attributions to Dutch artists will be given particular attention.

Under Leopold I, the Habsburg art collections were located in several places: in Vienna, various areas in the palace and the Stallburg were accessible. The groupings included the treasury, in which paintings were also exhibited, and the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, largely regarded as a *Kunst-kammer*, which he had bequeathed to his nephew Leopold I in 1664. Ambras castle in Tyrol housed the collection of Archduke Ferdinand, purchased by Rudolf II in 1605, from which individual artworks were brought to Vienna during this period. A significant picture gallery was also to be found in Prague castle. The arrangement and display of objects will be presented based on descriptions and inventories. Likewise of interest is how the works were received by visitors.

Which paintings were shown in Vienna, and which in Prague? Which paintings were presented in the treasury, and were they placed in relation to the decorative arts and treasury objects exhibited nearby? What was brought from Ambras to Vienna? How are the installations prior to the new organization of the art collections under Karl VI, who centralized these in Vienna and thus clearly performed certain valuations, to be assessed? – a number of the paintings kept until then in Vienna were sent to Prague.

With regard to collections history, the transformation from the all-inclusive *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* to the development of specific collection emphases and their presentation is to be investigated.

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### **Dutch Brazil in the Princely *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*: Civilization and Culture on a Carved Coconut Cup**

On the basis of a coconut cup executed in mid 17th-century Dutch Brazil, my paper will focus on the significance of artefacts from the New World in the North European princely *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*. The cup, which is adorned with carved representations of South American natives, belongs to a group of ethnographic and art objects brought back to Europe after Johan Maurits van Nassau's expedition to Brazil. Through his collecting activity and gifts to Protestant rulers such as the King of Denmark or the Elector of Brandenburg, Johan Maurits greatly contributed to establishing the image of the Dutch State as civilizing power in the context of the 17th-century princely collection. The coconut cup gives several clues about the message conveyed by Dutch-Brazilian collection items. While the artefacts displayed in the princely *Kunst-kammer*, as for example the turned ivories, often represent the ruler's ability as craftsman and on a symbolic level as leader who is able to "shape" society, the coconut cup and the similar pieces once kept in the *Kunst-kammer* in Dresden and in



Copenhagen convey a political as well as a religious and specifically protestant message that I propose to examine closely.

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## **From Church to Collection: Flemish Altarpieces in the Gallery of Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz**

Rarely has a work undergone such radical change in the course of being received into a collection as the altarpiece, moving from the functional context of a sacred space to rooms whose characteristics consist of museum-like presentation. The general view of regarding altarpieces in galleries as decontextualized ignores the fact that the works' new contexts are not annihilated but rather newly constituted in these new locations. The sacred image does not lose meaning but acquires its own voice in the chorus of collected works that expresses its new relevance. Taking these deliberations as starting point, it is the intention of this paper to investigate the Flemish altarpieces in the collection of Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz in Düsseldorf. Three questions present themselves as most relevant:

1. **Process of acquisition:** The negotiations concerning Rubens's altarpieces from the Jesuit church in Neuburg (commissioned by Johann Wilhelm's grandfather, Wolfgang Wilhelm) are well known. Only the intervention of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries decided the outcome of the tenacious struggle for the desired works in favor of Johann Wilhelm. The acquisition process of other altarpieces, for example those by Caspar de Crayer, remains to be investigated.
2. **Reasons for acquisitions:** In most cases, the process of acquisition discloses the reasons for acquiring a particular work. It has been shown that the transfer of Italian sacred works (or sacred works in Italy) into private collections frequently was the result of their having been rejected by church authorities (Rubens, Caravaggio) or their artistic character (Raphael). In the former instance, the works entered the private collections before their erection in their respective churches, in the latter, decades after the work's function in the church. Other motives may have been the desire to complete the collection (style, artist, genre) or the piousness of the collector.
3. **Presentation in the collection:** It generally has been assumed that the owner of altarpieces wanted to contribute to the re-catholization efforts (Korthals Altes 2003; Baumgärtel 2006). As far as concerns the Düsseldorf collection, this needs to be examined at hand of collection catalogues, the hanging of the paintings and the commentaries of visitors. Without a doubt, situating altarpieces within the context of a gallery opened new semantic connections. However, in regard to Johann Wilhelm's collection it remains to be clarified if these connections strengthened the religious assertions or neutralized them. A comparison with Italian sacred works might shed light on the position and meaning of the Flemish altarpieces in the Düsseldorf gallery.

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## **THRESHOLDS – PORTALS – PORCHES – GATES. FACING SPATIAL BOUNDARIES IN EARLY MODERN AMSTERDAM**

Chair: **Freek Schmidt** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

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### **Suspensions in Space: Sight, the Body and Liminality in Painted Church Interiors of Amsterdam**

Seventeenth-century Dutch paintings of church interiors by Emanuel de Witte contain a series of visual thresholds that communicate, reinforce, and negotiate social and religious order and boundaries. In each version of the church paintings, one is led into a conceptualized architectural site where choir screens, a preacher's pulpit, tomb gates, and massive white columns coalesce to visually and spatially separate, situate, and/or manipulate the bodily movement of the depicted figures.

An example of how spatial boundaries operated to control sight, the body and access to information may be seen in De Witte's *Interior of a Protestant Church in Amsterdam* (1669, Amsterdam). This painting is one of several completed by De Witte which portrays a Protestant church interior with stark white walls, monumental columns, dynamic angles and a suggestion of narrative through social interaction. De Witte's employment of architectonic forms within the composition inadvertently constructs visual thresholds that both optically disrupt and physically demarcate. There are physical boundaries which restrict, obscure and deny the viewer access to "see" behind and beyond the architectural forms, thereby creating a break in visibility, and hence full legibility of the painted church space. The manipulation of the access to sight and knowledge creates a distinction between those who can "see" and those who cannot. This restriction of visual access and withholding of knowledge lends itself to a hierarchy within a space that, initially, appears to be comprised of homogenous Dutch burghers.

My essay will take a closer look at these spatial boundaries and liminalities and explore the ways in which they were perceived and interpreted by the seventeenth-century Dutch urban dweller. Examples of the spatial dialectics that will be explored are: private vs. public, sacred vs. profane, verticality vs. horizontality, legibility vs. illegibility. I suggest that what the viewers perceived through these architectural delineations and bodily situations became a social grid that effectively mapped out their social and cultural identity.

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## **The Disappearance of the Choir in Protestant Church Architecture and the Cases of the Amsterdam Zuiderkerk and Westerkerk**

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### **Off Limits: Pieter de Hooch in (and outside) Delft and Amsterdam**

After his pioneering years as a young, experimenting painter in Delft (1654-1660), Pieter de Hooch, like so many other painters in this period, moved, probably around April 1660, to the booming city of Amsterdam with its extensive art market. There De Hooch settled outside the city's ramparts, probably because the painter could not afford to rent a house in the city itself. He and his expanding family first lived along the so-called "Engelse pad", later on "Regulierspad". Thanks to the recent research of Jaap Evert Abrahamse (*De Grote Uitleg van Amsterdam*, 2010), we have come to know more about the living conditions there. Buildings along these old paths, leading along small canals to and from the city, consisted of cottages, garden and play houses, and simple dwellings. These were swallowed up by the rapidly expanding city in the course of the 1660s. This was probably the reason why De Hooch had to move in 1666 to Kattenburg, an industrial area in the eastern part of the city. By 1668 the painter seems to have settled finally in a proper, albeit simple, residential area within the city itself, in Konijnenstraat, in "het Nieuwe Werck" ("Jordaan").

De Hooch is known for his ingeniously constructed and beautifully lit interiors, usually with a view into a second or third ground, which often lies outside the house. Already in his Delft years De Hooch seems to have been fascinated by all kinds of spatial articulation, within and outside the house. There, the city wall plays an important role in some of his paintings. Other pictures from his Delft years seem to reflect the physical characteristics of De Hooch's own living conditions in the type of lower middle-class house of his father-in-law he lived in, along Binnenwatersloot in Delft.

I argue, that some of the artistic choices De Hooch made during his early Amsterdam years, reflect aspects of his personal spatial experiences along the Amsterdam "paths". He repeatedly took some of the constituent elements of an apparently very simple house with a small garden as a setting for several of his paintings of this period. They may give a unique, albeit artistically reshaped and socially gentrified, image of some of the buildings and of life along the Amsterdam paths in the early 1660s. If this is true, the date assigned to some of the works by De Hooch (Sutton 1980, nrs. 40-42) should be slightly reconsidered.

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### **Building Up and Tearing Down: Images of Demolished Buildings and Their Role in Defining Urban Identity**

The built structures that protected Amsterdam's borders in the seventeenth century were designed to endure, their monumental and often classicizing forms reflecting the city's pride in its independence and success. Many of these buildings were captured in images. Artists also devoted much attention, however, to border structures that did not endure. Demolished as borders and political will changed, the buildings disappeared from the landscape, yet remained fixed in the public's gaze through the production of images, sometimes dozens of a single structure. This paper looks at two cases in Amsterdam of demolished structures that held the interest of artists and viewers long after they ceased to exist.

The Heiligewegspoort, rebuilt in 1636 and demolished in 1664, and the twin Blockhouses on the Amstel river, built in 1651 and demolished in 1654, protected Amsterdam from military attack and defined its borders. The buildings' removals altered the physical relationship between insider and outsider in the city and thus touched issues of individual and community identity as well as urban planning. The paper argues that the numerous images produced shortly before and after the buildings' demolitions question and subvert Amsterdam's authority in urban planning. The images prevented the erasure of the buildings from public memory and thus preserved a remnant of the experience of these border-regions before they were changed. The paper expands and complicates the well-established relationship between urban pride and cityscape imagery by exploring how seventeenth-century viewers used images like these to construct memories of shifting border areas and to manage their experiences of the changing urban environment.

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### **BENDING AND BREACHING THE BOUNDARIES OF GENDER**

*Chair:* **Martha Moffitt Peacock** (Brigham Young University)

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### **A Priestly Vocation for the Mother of God: Blurring Gender Boundaries in Northern Renaissance Visual Culture**

In analyzing the many "gender boundaries" that delineated the roles and behavior of fifteenth-century men and women in Northern Europe, it would seem that no institution

could have a more impenetrable code of conduct than the Church. Yet sometimes even the Church's most non-negotiable boundaries could be surprisingly porous. In fact, meditative exercises often required the devout to imaginatively "transgress" societal constructs, allowing celibate nuns to give birth, married mothers to envision themselves chastely wed to God, and even men to be brides and bearers of Christ. The inspiration for many of these devotional "transgressions" was the Madonna, who is herself both virgin and mother. Although sometimes dismissed as a hopelessly unattainable exemplar for women, the Blessed Virgin and her paradoxical attributes become realistic and relatable within the mystical world of meditation and devotion. This paper discusses the gender "transgressions" of the Madonna and her devotees in two paintings from the first half of the fifteenth century – the Amiens *Priesthood of the Virgin* and Robert Campin's *Betrothal of the Virgin*. Appropriately, both panels position Mary "the Mediatrix" at the border between opposing spheres – bridging Jew and Christian, male and female, priest and lay – as if the Mother of God herself were a porous, anthropomorphic boundary through which the faithful could pass to be unified with God.

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### **The Nun that Rocked the Cradle: Devotional Cradles as Markers of Female Prestige in the Late Middle Ages**

Amidst the abundant production of chalices, reliquaries, and altarpieces that were made for public, male-directed worship in the Late Middle Ages, there were also intimate devotional objects that women could use to guide the religious experience. In particular, the Jéseau objects, small Belgian cradles elaborately built as a place for equally opulent Jesus dolls to lie, present an interesting case study into the female place in medieval religious life.

Nuns across Northern Europe recorded their transcendental experiences when privately worshipping the Jéseau. These accounts describe the Christ child doll coming to life, allowing the nun to rock, bathe, and suckle him. The nuns inhabited a world where they were both virgin and mother, much like their ultimate example, the mother of Christ. Traditional scholarship regarding the cradles maintains that the primary motivation for cradle veneration was a biological manifestation of a repressed maternal desire from childless nuns. However, this study will show that through the religious and cultural contexts of the fourteenth century, the women who owned the cradles were able to create a place of prominence within a patriarchal Catholic community. In a religion run by male clerics, priests and friars, many fourteenth-century female mystics who worshipped these devotional cradles and dolls were raised as exemplars of true discipleship and ultimately achieved unprecedented authority in the Church.

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## **Gerard Hoet's *Portrait of Anna Elisabeth van Reede* and the Construction of Identity**

Gerard Hoet's *Portrait of Anna Elisabeth van Reede*, c. 1678 (Slot Zuylen, Oud Zuilen) depicts the assertive sitter standing in the midst of a verdant garden, wearing pearls, a lace bodice, and a vibrantly patterned dressing gown. This work is one of three portraits created by the artist depicting this sitter, a wealthy woman whose family owned extensive property and exercised significant political influence. In this paper, an abbreviated version of a dissertation chapter, I will focus on how Hoet and Anna created a multi-faceted identity for the sitter, casting her as both male and female. While the general tenor of the image and its place within the pictorial history of Dutch portraiture speak to the work's function as a status symbol and evocation of female virtues, this paper will argue that the painting is neither a generalized expression of status nor a simple representation of the virtues of womanhood. Rather, through the integration of the selected costume with the established conventions of portraiture, Hoet and Anna created an image presenting an identity that traverses gender boundaries, one that could speak to multiple audiences, including the sitter, her family, her new merchant class neighbors, and the frequent political visitors to her home, such as members of the House of Orange. When considered within wider familial, personal, political, and historical contexts, the painting speaks to the fluidity of gender and the lack of division between the public and private realms in the specific social context in which Anna lived.

As befitting Anna's station, the painting employs the conventions of portraiture typically associated with Anthony van Dyck's portraits of aristocratic women, while incorporating standard elements of more contemporary portraits, as seen in the female portraits of Nicolaes Maes and Caspar Netscher. However, Anna's dress acts as a striking departure from the typical costume of a female sitter and speaks to the ability of this work to challenge traditional conceptions of gender. Hoet portrays Anna wearing a japonsche rock or Japanese robe. Although both men and women wore this type of dress in the latter decades of the seventeenth century, portraitists do not typically depict female sitters sporting this garment, as male merchants, scholars, or noble men more often wear the costume. Further, within Hoet's surviving oeuvre, including his other portraits of Anna, no other woman wears this type of garment or is shown in the full-length portraiture mode evocative of Van Dyck. Indeed, in Hoet's portrait of Anna's immediate family, she is clothed in typical female dress, while her

husband wears a Japanese robe. Hoet synthesizes the conventions of noble female portraiture with those of portrayals of men in his depiction of a landed, gentrified woman from Utrecht, establishing an identity for the sitter that is both male and female. In addition, the use of the Japanese robe also permits the portrait to function in the public and private spheres, as it could be seen as an appropriate garment in which to receive guests, while also acting as a dressing gown, suitable for the private family sphere.

Lastly, the portrait's forming an identity for the sitter that is both male and female, public and private, becomes clear when considering the role of the Japanese robe as a gift. Two different episodes of gifting in the history of the Van Reede family provided opportunity for the arrival of an item as rare as a Japanese robe into Anna's hands. By depicting the sitter clad in a garment that alludes to gifting, Hoet attests to Anna's place within a network of male gift exchange in the diplomatic, international realm, while also alluding to her role within her competitive family, as the possible recipient of such a gift from a relative. Engaging issues of gender, gift exchange, and public/private contexts, the portrait constructs a fluctuating gender identity that likely suited the tastes and goals of this self-assured sitter, as she attempted to secure a powerful role in her family and community.

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### **Bending and Breaching the Boundaries of Flower Painting: An Investigation into the Careers of Hans Simon Holtzbecker and Maria Sibylla Merian, Two Unusual Flower Painters**

Flower painting is one of the few fields in art production where women traditionally have been able to work without causing too much fuss and trouble. It has been considered a relatively safe area for women. Here you did not meet naked figures or immoral stories (as in other genres, history painting for example) that could harm or question the precious virtue of the women artists. In flower painting women only had to relate to the beauty of Nature in various arrangements.

Moreover, flower painting could be executed in small, manageable sizes that did not demand extensive workshop facilities. No traditional apprenticeship was considered necessary because women working within the field could be trained in the workshop of their fathers/brothers/husbands – and they could at the same time take care of other, considered more important duties, such as housekeeping, children and husbands' needs for service. Neither theoretical nor humanistic education was regarded as necessary in connection with flower painting, as 'only' imitation of flowers was on the agenda. And no study tours to the art centres of Europe were relevant either. Thus, there was no danger that the soul of the flower painting woman (or perhaps more importantly her virtue) was damaged by acquired knowledge and vision. All in all, flower painting as genre was perfectly suited for creative women whose work was not meant to result in (public) careers but rather to function as spare-time occupations or hobbies.

Although most men worked in other and more prestigious, high-status genres, some men, for example Hans Simon Holtzbecker (before 1649-1671), specialized in flower painting. And some women, for example Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717), carried flower painting far beyond what contemporary society would expect (and could accept) from a woman.

The aim of my paper is to discuss Merian and Holtzbecker, as artists who crossed the boundaries and to see them in relation to their time and in relation to each. How was it possible for Merian, considering the restricted conditions for women artists at that time, to establish for herself a brilliant career based on scientific research, at times executed in such far away places as South America? And why did Holtzbecker specialize in this most feminine genre producing nothing but beautiful, luxurious and extremely costly botany books for North German princes and wealthy merchants?

Did they have something in common – in spite of the fact that they belonged to two different generations (Holtzbecker was somewhat older than Merian), lived in different parts of Europe, and very likely did not know each other's work – something in common that is hard to see through the conventions about how gender systems operated in art at that time, which is exactly what this session wants to question?

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## **MANIPULATING THE OBJECT: SIMULTANEOUS READINGS AND EXPERIENCES**

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## **Images that Come to Life: Miracles of the Virgin and the *Vierges ouvrantes***

The miracles of the Virgin, several recounted since the Early Middle Ages, reached an apex in extensive written collections of the 12<sup>th</sup> and especially the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries (Gautier de Coinci, Alfonso X el Sabio, Caesarius of Heisterbach, Vincent de Beauvais, Jacobus de Voragine, et al.). Numerous tales revolve around animated images that come to life when someone gazes at them, prays to them, touches them or strikes them. Many of these manuscripts are illustrated as well, providing us with a plethora of representations of miraculous Marian images in various formats, especially wooden sculptures and painted icons. Around 1200, images of the Virgin begin to be created that were actually intended to be manipulated much more easily, not requiring an actual miracle to animate them. These sculptures, often in small format and known as *Vierges ouvrantes* or Shrine Madonnas, flourished especially in the 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. They appear, when closed, to be “standard” sculptures of the Virgin holding the Christ Child, perhaps the quintessential image of the Gothic period. When opened, a much more diverse iconography is displayed in Mary's interior, usually featuring the Throne of Mercy Trinity, and sometimes scenes of Christ's Passion. This paper seeks to compare a selection of miracle tales revolving around animated images with a few examples of the *Vierges ouvrantes*. Can the iconography of the interior of the “open” *Vierges*



*ouvrantes* elucidate their function or purpose? As far as I know, there are no representations of *Vierges ouvrantes* in illustrations of miracles of Virgin manuscripts. Although both provide a more intimate access to the Virgin's body (in the absence of primary bodily relics due to her Assumption), I will argue that the miracles of the Virgin rely much more on visuality and the gaze, whereas the *Vierges ouvrantes* fulfill much more tactile devotional needs.

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### **Experiencing Gold in Early Netherlandish Paintings**

The generation of Jan van Eyck, Robert Campin/Master of Flémalle, and Rogier van der Weyden instigated major changes in the use of gold in painting. Previous paintings on panel, as well as subsequent 15th-century panels inspired by Netherlandish art in countries such as Germany and Spain, made significant use of gold leaf or its imitations like painted tin foil, particularly for backgrounds and halos. In the new forms of early Netherlandish painting, gold backgrounds and halos virtually disappeared, even while painted imitation of goldwork and other precious materials proliferated. Gold did not disappear entirely, however, and artists in the first generation of early Netherlandish painting appear to have been particularly interested in experimenting with the visual impact and potential meaning of real gold versus its mimicry in oil paint.

That fact is difficult to appreciate when viewing works in reproduction, since it is virtually impossible to distinguish in typical photographic reproductions if and where actual gold is used. When encountering panels as physical objects, however, viewers can experiment with different viewing angles, distances, and lighting to discover moments when light catches and reflects from real metal elements, creating a powerful visual experience that can enhance interpretation as well as aesthetic response. Drawing on first-hand experience, this paper will examine specific cases where artists including Rogier and those in the Flémalle circle experimented with the visual effects of gold and its potential meanings for viewers. To give one example, in the famous Campin/Flémalle *Nativity* in Dijon the artist distinguished between the two midwives in using real gold on the faithful midwife's clothing, but only oil paint imitating gold on the doubting midwife's hems. The distinction between the two figures is striking when viewed in proper lighting conditions, and was clearly designed to enhance viewers' understanding of the scene. This and similar cases will be explored in the context of hypothetical viewing experiences in the 15th-century Netherlands.

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### **Relational Experience, Tapestry, and Animation**

My paper considers the experiential mechanics of tapestry at the Burgundian court. Typically displayed such that the entire environment of the courtly hall was defined as a singular ideological space, tapestries comprised a fundamentally public, and thus social, medium. At once both occasional and habitual, tapestry visually delimited the daily experiences of the Burgundian dukes, and supplied an almost inescapable visual frame for the physical activities of the court. The architectonic character of the medium makes it difficult to imagine that tapestry was intended to be experienced and interpreted autonomously: its vast scale necessarily produced situations in which bodies, furniture, and other objects occluded portions of tapestry's visual field, which itself was often determined by the contiguous display of multiple textiles comprising a series. My arguments take up the possibility that the relational aesthetics precipitated from such physical juxtapositions were not accidental, but rather constituted one of the primary means by which the Burgundian court signaled its identity.

Monumental tapestries depicting classical and historical narratives supplied a programmatic visual field whose content was designed to publicly authorize the conduct that took place immediately in front of them, validating the present by representing a continuum of lived experience. Through the display of such narratives, for example, Charles the Bold was construed as both the living descendant and contemporary embodiment of their celebrated protagonists. Thus, he might be simultaneously figured as both the heir of Alexander and his physical (if not literal) incarnation. At the same time, Charles's presence before a tapestry depicting the story of Alexander served to animate the image, forcefully connecting its representational content to the duke's body. Despite the limited mimetic capacity of tapestries, then, we might nevertheless picture the duke mirrored, creating a double representation that powerfully reinforced his identity before a public audience. The reflexive mechanics of this interrelationship between tapestry and the physical person of the duke might be pushed still further, however. The sheer material resplendence that characterized most Burgundian tapestries also forged a metonymic link to the person of the duke through the material correspondences between the textiles that adorned the walls and those that clothed the man. It is possible to imagine that, on those occasions when the duke donned his most elaborate robes of state (often woven, it should be noted, of the same stuffs as tapestry), he appeared to have almost literally stepped out of the tapestry, thus blurring *representation* (the narratives depicted in the tapestries themselves) and *presentation* (the duke's physical enactment of his role as sovereign).

I suggest that the mirroring of conduct signaled by the physical engagement with tapestries ultimately identifies conduct itself – the animated body – as the definitive medium of aristocratic visual culture. The choreographed artifice of dress, performative display, and noble behavior were central to the articulation of public identity and social hierarchy, for which the hanging of tapestries played a complementary, yet subordinate role by serving as both precedents and prompts for the somatic activities of the court. To wit, the scenographic exhibition of tapestry supplied a material and symbolic framework before which the real, living bodies of the court served as principal signifying images.

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## **Beyond the Borders: Seeing/Reading the *Gheeraerts Map of Bruges***

*“The person who knows one of their cities will know them all, since they are exactly alike insofar as the terrain permits.”* [1] – Thomas More, *Utopia*

The wish to distinguish itself, in a non-Utopian fashion, is held to be the impetus for the commission given by the City of Bruges to Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder to create a map of the city. Most scholars concur that the map was meant to serve as an advertisement of prosperity and economic development, an outline of the traditional and affluent relationship with trade that Bruges held through its canal links with the sea. [2] Critics point to the careful delineation of the waterways, a suggestion of exaggeration in the width of the main canals, and the timely concerns over declines in shipping activities and conclude that the Gheeraerts *Map of Bruges* was a visual attempt to convince its audience that Bruges was still an ideal city, standing above others such as Antwerp, Ghent and Brussels, despite the recent challenges to its superior status. [3] From a theoretical point of view, this justification of the city commission is a satisfying one, offering a plausible purpose for the 1561 commission, and suggesting a reasonable interpretation of the multitude of details that are depicted on this map.

However, in this present-day utopia of GPS devices and Google Maps, neatly displayed on computer monitors and quickly and cleanly printed on easily-handled sheets of paper, questions arise concerning the physical experience of viewing/reading the Gheeraerts map in the mid-sixteenth century. At 100cm x 180.5cm, created from ten etched and engraved copper plates, this map represents a formidable challenge in terms of display and legibility. [4] Although a tourist to Bruges today may use a miniature version of the Gheeraerts map to wander around the historic centre of the city, clearly no one in the sixteenth century would think of using a nearly two-metre square map as a transportable guide to the city (the original is mounted in a wall case in the Stedelijke Musea). But does this scale mean that the Gheeraerts map is merely ornamental? Rarely discussed in cartographic scholarship, although featured in a number of art historical publications, no documentary evidence has remained to indicate how this specific work was originally viewed. [5] However, through comparison of surviving late sixteenth-century wall maps, as well as a highly interesting set of instructions for map assemblage given by Gerardus Mercator, one may begin to consider the possibilities for the original viewing contexts of the Gheeraerts map. Maps of this size were sometimes indeed displayed on walls – but often were pasted into albums or meant to be published in a book-like format. [6] A close consideration of such issues as the use of diverse perspectives, contemporary reading practices, the granting of exclusive copyright to Gheeraerts as the map’s creator, the inclusion of significant inscriptions, and the rare use of the etching medium itself, provides significant data regarding the intended audience and the viewing experience of this object. Indeed, is it possible that the very meaning of this map changes depending on the format of its display: I will argue that interpretation is dependent upon the physical relationship between the reader/viewer and the map itself. When scrutinized at close quarters in sections held in one’s hands,

like the reading of a book, it is clear that multiple interpretations present themselves. The Gheeraerts map is not merely a decorative advertisement for economic development, but may be seen instead as an artistic portrait, celebrating the artistic past, present and future of Bruges. The degree of delicate detail, the types of imagery provided, and the use of specific symbols and letters to create a key all construct a different picture when held in one's hands, rather than simply viewed on a wall.

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[1] Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, Book II. Ed. E. Surtz, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964, p. 63. ["*Vrbium qui unam norit, omnes nouerit. ita sunt inter sequatenus loci natura nó obstat omnino similes.*"] in Latin edition of 1518, Basel, fol. 75.]

[2] W. Blockmans, "Fondans en melancolie de povreté': Living and Working in Bruges 1482-1584" in *Bruges and the Renaissance: Memling to Pourbus*. Ed. M.J. Martens. Brugge: Stedelijke Musea, 1998, pp. 28-29. etc. See also A. Schouteet, *De sestiende-eeuwsche schilder en graveur Marcus Gerards*, 1941. Reprint and trans. M. Cumberlege, M.B.Z. –Brugge-Zeebrugge Port Authorities and Koninklijke Gidsenbond Brugge en West-Vlaanderen. Brugge: 1985, pp. 40-42.

[3] P. Huvenne, "Bruges: A Solid Image" in *Bruges and the Renaissance*, p. 22. Huvenne quotes from Adrianus Barlandu's account of 1527, praising Bruges above these other cities.

[4] By the end of the sixteenth century, the wall map had become a popular format, offered in both coloured and non-coloured versions. Due to low survival rates and lack of scholarly attention, these maps are only just beginning to be seriously studied. See *The History of Cartography Volume Three: Cartography in the European Renaissance Part Two*, Ed. D. Woodward. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008, pp. 1341-1350.

[5] The Gheeraerts map, and indeed map-making in Bruges itself, is essentially absent from *The History of Cartography Volume Three* (see above for full citation), suggesting that there is much work to be done yet in this area. It is mentioned in Juergen Schultz's landmark study of the De Barbari map of Venice, as one of the four great city view maps of the High Renaissance. Juergen Schultz, "Jacopo de'Barbari's *View of Venice*: Map-Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. LX, No. 3 (September 1978), 425-474, p. 433.

[6] *History of Cartography Volume Three*, pp. 13-43.

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## TRANSGRESSING MATERIALS

*Chairs:* **Ann-Sophie Lehmann** (Universiteit Utrecht), **Maximiliaan P. J. Martens** (Universiteit Gent) and **Jeroen Stumpel** (Universiteit Utrecht)

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### **The Print and the Plate: From Silver to Copper and Back**

It is widely believed that intaglio printing has its origin in the workshops of 15<sup>th</sup>-century armorers and goldsmiths. In order to preserve a decorative pattern engraved on a work as a workshop model, they started to print it with ink on paper. As a result the first engravings must have been impressions from objects in precious metal or steel. In this process it was the ‘matrix’ itself that was meant as a finished object while the ‘impression’ had only a rather ephemeral status.

As intaglio engraving developed as an independent art this process started to work in the opposite way. The impression became the marketable finished product, while the plate used for printing – no longer in precious metal – was valued in a strictly economical way, depending on the amount of impressions that could be pulled of it.

Intaglio plates in themselves – however often made with great skill and artistry – never seem to have been objects of artistic appreciation. Nevertheless there are some examples from the Netherlands dating from the second half of the sixteenth-century that indicate that there must have been some renewed interest in the artistry of the engraved surface.

Some of these ‘engraved pieces’ – often virtuoso works in the form of a portrait or allegory – were executed in silver, a material essentially inappropriate for pulling large numbers of impressions from it, but laden with the aura of durability, preciousness and numerous other symbolic associations. In this more noble material they possibly functioned as mementos. Once again printmakers operated along the boundaries of goldsmiths’ work, seemingly inspired by coins, medals, and ex-votos which mostly were executed in precious metal. In this contribution the role and status of such ‘engraved pieces’, and their relationship with the (rare) impressions on paper that have been made of them, will be investigated. In this context the question will be posed to which extent these “showpieces” are symptomatic for the emancipation of printmaking, and specifically intaglio engraving, as an artistic branch, which is so typical for the Netherlands in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century.

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## Quinten Metsys and the Dynamics of Vision

This paper will explore why Quinten Metsys was considered the founding father of Antwerp painting by one of his first 17<sup>th</sup>-century biographers, Alexander van Fornenberg. An overview of his oeuvre attests that his religious works relied heavily on 15<sup>th</sup>-century models, with the exception of the *Saint Anne Altarpiece* (Brussels) and the wings of the *Saint John Triptych* (Antwerp), which show strong influences of Leonardo and Dürer.

Today scholars recognize Metsys's genius especially for his invention of genre painting. However, equally worthy of his genius is the technical aspect of his painting. The examination of a few of his autograph works reveals that he renewed the technique of 15<sup>th</sup>-century Flemish oil painting. The use of a thin translucent priming applied with large, wide and rapid brush strokes over chalk ground and the practice of alternating areas with thick paint layers with areas of less density, or those so slightly tinted that the chalk ground remains visible, contribute to the extraordinary sense of space in Metsys's pictures. The variety of tactile textures (brocades, jewelry, silks, damask) and the reflection of light on the surface are accomplished by his subtle handling of the brush and his refined technique. His dexterity and rapidity in rendering materials baffle the observer. Close scrutiny of the paint surface reveals the use of *graffito* technique, blotted wet glazes and the application of *impasto* 3D-effects. However, none of these can be observed consciously from a normal distance, but they act as visual stimuli that create dynamics in viewing his pictures.

Moreover, the animation of the paint surface seems to be correlated to the degree of its narrative content. In Metsys's iconic works nothing interrupts the almost enamel-like surface of the flesh tones, but in more narrative paintings, these visual stimuli are omnipresent. In following the great 15<sup>th</sup>-century painters, it seems that Metsys wanted to transcend them in talent through the mastery of his technique (*aemulatio*). Similarly, his skill in rendering materials shows his desire to achieve the most illusionistic effects, as e.g. in painting goldsmiths' work. Here, in contrast with the smooth surface, *impasto* effects enhance the rendering of three-dimensional suggestions (*imitatio*).

Van Fornenberg, who praised the brilliance of Metsys's palette, the richness of his details, his dexterity, care and a certain roughness in the handling of the brush, noticed the master's singularity. Indeed, in comparison with his contemporaries, such as Joachim Patinir, Joos van Cleve and Goswin van der Weyden, Metsys really created a new vision of representing the world. Looking at his work in retrospect, his biographer would have been aware of how Metsys's achievements influenced Pieter Bruegel the Elder fifty years later.

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## Bruegel's Transgressions: Watercolor and Oil in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp

Pieter Bruegel the Elder was the last major artist trained in the three traditional painting techniques of the late medieval Netherlandish guild: oil on panel, manuscript illumination, and glue-size on linen. The latter technique, known in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century as *waterverf op doeck*, is an aqueous technique in which pigments bound with animal glue soluble in water were applied directly to finely woven, sized textiles with no ground. The paint surface could not be varnished, making it extremely fragile. Only four glue-size paintings by Bruegel have survived: *The Parable of the Blind*, *The Misanthrope* (both Naples, Museo di Capodimonte), the recently discovered *Wine of St. Martin's Day* (Spain, private collection), and the problematic *Adoration of the Magi* (Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België). While the rest of Bruegel's surviving paintings are executed in oil, the more durable and therefore better-known technique of the Netherlandish school, documents indicate that he executed more works (now lost) in the glue-size technique.

Drawing from new archival and documentary sources, this paper proposes that the Netherlandish technique of glue-size painting on linen constitutes an important precedent for Bruegel's innovative monumental oil paintings of everyday life. This paper puts forth the following claims:

- 1) *Waterverf* painting constituted a major independent secular domestic tradition from the Early Netherlandish heritage that was undergoing a theoretical, socio-economic, and functional reassessment in Bruegel's time.
- 2) Bruegel's stylistic and technical development as an oil painter from 1559 to 1568 shows a reconstitution of all three traditional Netherlandish techniques into a new, dominant mode of monumental oil painting.
- 3) Bruegel's landscapes *a guazzo* (the Italian term for the glue-size technique of the *ultramontani*) in the inventory of Giulio Clovio, which modern scholarship has mistaken for gouaches, were glue-size cloth paintings, and thus distinct from, albeit related to, the aqueous miniature paintings on parchment or ivory assigned to Bruegel in the same inventory. Hans Bol also specialized in both aqueous techniques.
- 4) Not only the subject matter, but also the distinct handling and standard format of Bruegel's monumental oil paintings on panel are indebted to *waterverf* cloth painting, particularly from the Boschian tradition, a thesis first proposed by Glück (1910) and supported with new documents.
- 5) The Italian provenance of *The Parable of the Blind*, *The Misanthrope* and *The Wine of St. Martin* – all painted in the late 1560s when Bruegel lived in Brussels – reflects a longstanding interest in Netherlandish glue-size cloth paintings by wealthy Italian patrons. The elongated horizontal format of *The Parable of the Blind* was typical of watercolors that were displayed above eye level. The unusual square format of *The*

*Misanthrope* – the only Bruegel painting with text, a feature of the glue-size tradition – could be explained by its function as a chimney piece.

6) Bruegel's training in the *waterverf* tradition (not only miniatures but also larger cloth paintings) probably came from Mayken Verhulst, a famous miniaturist and Bruegel's mother-in-law, and Pieter Coecke van Aelst, who in 1544 and 1545 employed tapestry cartoonists and watercolorists – including his in-laws Anthonis Bessemer and Christoffel Verhulst – from Mechelen, a center of decorative cloth painting.

7) Bruegel's only public commission reported by Van Mander, a representation of the new canal for the Brussels magistrates, is historically associated with *waterverf* and landscape painting.

8) Bruegel's monumental oil paintings for Jonghelinck can thus be viewed as a product innovation, employing the cloth *dobbel-doeck* format for panel paintings. Frans Floris's *tweedobbeldoeck* paintings for Jonghelinck were oil paintings on canvas, in the new, Italian manner.

9) The politics of technique, and of *groot/klein* and *net/rouw*, was a matter of local theoretical concern in the 1560s, and is a topic of Bruegel's drawing, *The Painter and Connoisseur*.

If the Eyckian “invention” of the notational technology of oil painting on panel launched one of the most significant material and theoretical revolutions in the history of art, watercolor on canvas also played an important role. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the traditions of oil painting and canvas had converged so that canvas itself was almost a synonym for the easel painting of everyday life.

This paper draws from an analysis of archival, documentary, and art theoretical sources presented in my dissertation on Bruegel's practice and the specific circumstances and critical appraisal of traditional techniques in the 1550s and 1560s – a period during which the economics of production and consumption were rapidly changing (Harvard University, spring 2011). Research was funded by a Rousseau Fellowship from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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### **On *reflexykonst* and the Aesthetics of Transformation in Still Life**

The emergence of still life as a distinct genre of easel painting arguably marks a significant watershed in the material history of Netherlandish art. It was near the turn of the seventeenth century that the capacity of painting to simulate and subsume other material media into its representational purview took on a particular aesthetic value and became a salient focus of both a new pictorial form and an emerging critical discourse



on art. On the one hand, a novel form of painting developed that, among other things, ingeniously described finely crafted objects and examples of nature's artistry and transformed them for visual consumption. On the other, vernacular writers devised rhetorical formulae that commended such works not only for the verisimilitude with which they rendered objects but also for their ability to transform paint into other materials, whether turning base pigments into gold and pearls, or making paper and stone out of colors. Van Mander's elaboration of the critical term *reflexykonst*, a category of pictorial skill grounded in natural processes of reflection and refraction, drew on the authority of nature to ascribe special value to the painter's ability to differentiate and simulate the optical properties of diverse materials. *Reflexykonst* not only placed an aesthetic premium on the painter's skill in the depiction of reflections; it also spurred pictorial inventions that mimicked and reflected upon nature's transformative artistry. Through the display of skill in *reflexykonst* accomplished painters as Pieter Claesz, Jan de Heem, and Willem Kalf lent both descriptive specificity and visual interest to their pictures, revealing how light changes the appearance of objects and conversely how the reflective properties of diverse materials affect the behavior of light.

Modern studies that view still life through the lens of realism have tended to stress the imitative at the expense of the transformational dimensions of the work of pictorial description, emphasizing still life's production of painted surrogates of desirable objects but giving little attention to an emerging aesthetics of transformative artistry to which both the new genre and the vernacular art literature richly attests. This paper seeks to show how that aesthetic operates in several works by Willem Kalf that both exemplify his mastery of *reflexykonst* and pictorially comment upon the value of transformative artistry. Each picture features a masterfully crafted object that is itself the product of multiple material translations – a gold gilt jug based on a print after a painting by Polidoro da Caravaggio, the ceremonial drinking horn of the Amsterdam St. Sebastian's Guild, and a chased silver pitcher by Christian van Vianen in the fluid auricular style whose fluid melding of forms visualized the theme of material metamorphosis. Analyses of these pictures aim to show the how Kalf's choice of objects and mode of depicting them focus attention on the painter's transformative artistry, and on the added value generated through material transformations, whether wrought by nature's artistry, human ingenuity, or ideally both. In these works *reflexykonst* figures not only as a medium of representation but also as an analogue of the transformational artistry materialized in his subjects.

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## LANGUAGES OF ART IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1550-1750

*Chair: Thijs Weststeijn* (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

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## Touching Up on Our Understanding of *geretuckeert* by and around Rembrandt

This paper presents an intriguing newly-discovered early inscription on an impression of Rembrandt's *Hundred Guilder Print* that claims, among other things, "Deze prent met de eigen hand is Geretouckeed Rembrandt." This paper suggests that in this instance the term *geretuckeert* is used to refer to the unusual degree of plate-tone that Rembrandt applied to this particular impression. In order to better understand the evolution of the term, the paper re-examines its use in 17th-century artistic literature and workshop practice, with special emphasis on its use by and around Rembrandt. (Time permitting, an examination of similar terms in other 17th-century languages will be explored.) The term has been much discussed over the years because it was used by Rembrandt himself on a number of occasions, for seemingly different purposes. Three of the four so-called *Oriental Heads* employ the term in the signature, suggesting that it refers to a dialogue between these works and the similar prints by Jan Lievens. It also appears at least six times in the artist's 1656 inventory with respect to paintings. Other examples show that it was used to refer to Rembrandt's teaching practice of working over a drawing or painting by a pupil. A similar term was used on a painted version of *The Sacrifice of Abraham*. The study expects to clarify whether the term is peculiar to Rembrandt's practice, or was at least more apropos to Rembrandt's practice than in the workshop practice of his contemporaries.

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## The Concept of *reddering* in Seventeenth-Century Painting: Theory and Practice

In my paper I shall examine a concept which has not been discussed by scholars of Dutch art to date, although it was used in art theoretical treatises of the seventeenth century and was frequently put into practice in the art of the time. The concept deserves attention because it helps us understand how artists of the Golden Age approached the problem of creating spatial illusion in paintings.

*Reddering* was a word employed by Netherlandish writers of art theory to describe an arrangement of light and shade contrasting over the different grounds of a picture, thus evoking a sense of spatial recession. Nowadays the word is mainly used in the sense of "rescuing" or "saving" but in the seventeenth century it was also used to mean "arrangement", "regulation" or "clearing". In art theory the word is closely related to *houding*, the harmonious arrangement of colour in a spatial context, but since it is exclusively used in the context of light and shadow, it should be seen as a part of *houding*, rather than as identical with it.

The main feature of *reddering* is that lit parts are made to alternate with dark ones. The idea originally derives from Leonardo da Vinci: Willem Goeree, who introduced the

term *reddering* in his book on drawing in 1668, took up Leonardo's advice to contrast lit parts of objects with a dark background and vice versa in order to detach objects or figures from their background and bring an impression of relief into a picture. Goeree expanded Leonardo's advice into a more complex concept of spatial recession which integrated more grounds than simply the fore- and background.

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### **"Proteus oft Vertumnus te wesen in de Const": Erasmus, Goltzius and Van Mander on the Problem of Artistic Imitation**

My paper will focus on the problem of artistic imitation. While fifteenth-century thinkers like Leon Battista Alberti or Leonardo da Vinci neglected the topic because their main interest was the imitation of nature, in the sixteenth century, it became the most important theoretical challenge for art. The primary reason for this reorientation is the collection of Pope Julius II. Julius's collection served as an artistic canon that was reproduced in part by the engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi. Artists all over Europe thereby were introduced to the new aesthetics of Michelangelo and Raphael, and they were expected to know the most famous antique works of art such as the *Laocoön* and the *Apollo Belvedere*.

*Imitatio artis* as imitation of other artists or works of art opened up new possibilities for the interpretation of art. It offered not only a new theory of artistic production but also a new theory of judgement. The viewer could easily make a comparison between the latest solution to a given artistic problem and the previous one, and this enhanced the appreciation of new aesthetic invention. For instance, from this point forward, the Laocoon was not only a famous model but also the standard to which all other representations of pathos were compared. *Imitatio artis* was at the same time a dynamic model of artistic evolution. Following early rhetorical theory, in order for imitation to be truly successful, imitation had to move beyond mere reproduction and become emulation. Finally, the concept of imitation demanded not only the reproduction of natural but rather artificial things. The ideal of *imitatio artis* as it was practiced in the sixteenth century belongs to the sphere of beauty. Raphael was not simply an imitator of life but rather a creator of elegance and grace.

Despite the assertions of theory, *imitatio artis* was a not problem that could simply be solved by rules or models. If the imitation was too close to the model, the work became a mere copy. But if a work did not follow a model at all, it lost the framework in which it could be judged and possibly esteemed. Moreover every quotation of a previous motif is a mixture of past and present, so that the question arises whether the contemporary moment is only a place for repetition of the past or has a right of its own. Here starts the so-called "querelle des anciens et des modernes" which leads in the Netherlands to Erasmus's "Ciceronianus" of 1528.

In this context, Karel van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* offers a very interesting illustration of the problems of interpretation; in the *Grondt*, he names numerous artistic models and precepts but in the *Levens*, he criticizes artists who did not have enough courage to establish their own manner. I argue that the role of imitation in Van Mander is related to the problem of modernity and Erasmus's position formulated in the named dialogue. In my paper, there will be a reflection on Van Mander's approach to imitation by first contextualizing it in terms of sixteenth-century *imitatio artis* in general, starting with artists like Albrecht Dürer and Michelangelo and their pictorial contributions to the problem, before looking more closely at his discussion of Hendrick Goltzius's famous play with imitation in his so-called "Meisterstiche" to give a new interpretation of this series.

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### **"In sensus cadentem imaginem": Defining the Apprehensible Image in Cornelis Galle's *Life of Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola* of 1610**

Meditative treatises and spiritual biographies provide a rich source of image theory, marshalling terminology for the kinds and degrees of visual image that were utilized to facilitate spiritual exercises centred on the reformation of the soul. Such exercises often entailed visualizing the soul as a pictorial image whose similitude or dissimilitude to Christ incarnate, the living *imago Dei*, the votary was encouraged to measure. The exercitant was often cast in the role of a picturer whose meditative prayer takes the form of a print, drawing, or painting executed upon paper, panel, or canvas. The representational properties of such prayerful images, in particular their capacity to function as instruments of corporeal and spiritual sight, engaging the full spectrum of exterior and interior senses, constitutes a central topic of the many illustrated Jesuit meditative texts published in Antwerp at the turn of the seventeenth century for dissemination throughout the Low Countries. Among these publications, Cornelis Galle's *Vita beati sancti patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu fundatoris* (*Life of Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Society of Jesus*), consisting of sixteen magnificently engraved large oblong images, furnishes an especially rich lexicon for the kinds and degrees of sacred image that Ignatius, as the ideal meditator, is seen to behold as he progresses in sanctity. The form and function of such images, and the manner and meaning of their viewing, constitute prosopographical markers through which the Jesuit vocation is defined, and this is why their status as objects of beholding proved so important to the argument of the *Vita* and to the ongoing campaign for canonization.

Commissioned by Pedro de Ribadeneyra, on whose *Vida del P. M. Ignacio de Loyola* (1583) the prints are based, the series commends Ignatius's ability to pray efficaciously by means of his external and internal senses. The plates subtly differentiate between the kinds and degrees of prayer in which he engaged, as well as the visions he was given to behold in the form of images anchored in the paradigm of the pictorial

image. He is shown seeing with bodily eyes, while also discerning things apprehensible only to interior vision, and he also exemplifies the paradox of seeing and not seeing, for fully opened to spiritual things, the eyes of his soul are sometimes darkened to sensible shapes and figures (*ibi mentis ei oculi aperti, atque illuminati sunt, non ita quidem, ut speciem aliquam, aut in sensus cadentem imaginem videret, sed ut permulta optime intelligeret*). Yet another plate portrays the complex experience of internally apprehending a figurative image that yet signifies to Ignatius externally (*quasi specie quadam visibili id significante exterius, quod interius percipiebat*). Responding to Juan de Mesa's painted *Life of Ignatius*, likewise commissioned by Ribadeneyra, Galle and his team of skilled engravers attempted to exemplify and differentiate the full spectrum of images deployed by Ignatius to shore up the meditative life. Asking how and why these sensory and extra-sensory distinctions were represented, my paper proposes to ascertain in the *Vita beati sancti patris Ignatii Loyolae* a wellspring of sacred image theory that complements the more discursive art theoretical texts usually consulted as art historical sources.

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## **POROUS BORDERS: THE DUTCH REPUBLIC AND EUROPE**

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### **A Courtly Art Comes to The Hague: Portrait Miniatures at the Court of Elizabeth of Bohemia**

This talk examines the transportation or translation of a specific artistic tradition – in this instance, the painted portrait miniature – from its original context to a new environment, and the various factors that determine whether it adapts, survives, withers or thrives.

Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of King James VI and Anne of Denmark, was born in Scotland in 1596. She married Frederick V, Elector Palatinate, in February 1613 and departed for a new life in Germany soon after. After a brief and disastrous reign as the King and Queen of Bohemia, the couple fled to the Netherlands and established a residence in The Hague in 1621. Frederick died in 1632, but Elizabeth remained in The Hague until 1661 when, following the restoration of her nephew Charles II, she finally returned to England. She died only a few months later.

Extravagant and sociable, Frederick and Elizabeth – “The Winter King and Queen” – were at the centre of court culture in The Hague. Yet as theirs was a court in exile and without a kingdom, beneath the frivolity they were engaged in an urgent quest to

represent and reiterate the legitimacy of their claim to the Bohemian throne, and to Frederick's hereditary territories in the Palatinate. One of the most important means of projecting and disseminating an appropriately powerful image was, of course, through portraiture. The couple patronized the Delft portraitist Michiel van Miereveld as early as 1622 but, frustrated by his notorious delinquency and desiring a more elegant and *au courant* image, by the end of the decade they had turned to Gerrit Honthorst. Countless copies and replicas of portraits by Miereveld and Honthorst soon found their way to distant friends, relations, courts and courtiers. Yet alongside these conventional life-sized portraits (and unlike any of her elite Dutch contemporaries), Elizabeth was actively engaged in commissioning (and collecting) portrait miniatures. The predilection for diminutive, private likenesses had been an ingrained tradition at the English court, and was still a useful means of securing and strengthening bonds of love and allegiance.

This paper briefly discusses the importance of portrait miniatures at the Bohemian court in The Hague, the various miniature painters Elizabeth patronized, the iconography and presentation of miniature likenesses of Elizabeth, Frederick and their children, and the documentary evidence for the strategic distribution of miniatures of the Bohemian royal family. It closes with a consideration of the impact and afterlife of Elizabeth's taste for portrait miniatures on artistic traditions in The Hague and elsewhere in The Netherlands.

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### **Giovanni Panini in the Tradition of the Dutch Italianates**

As a consequence of the exhibition in 1993 in Braunschweig of the paintings by Giovanni Pannini in the Louvre, we may re-evaluate this artist's relationship to his predecessors in Rome. Most pertinently, Pannini's capricci, vedute, and festivities may be linked to the earlier Dutch painters in Rome, generally known as the Italianates. These three genres were invented around 1640 by Herman van Swanevelt, Pieter van Laer and other Bamboccianti, and by Jan Asselijn, and later by Johannes Lingelbach. Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin also painted landscapes with architecture that were decisive for Pannini.

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### **Grand Tour avant la Lettre? Hoogstraten in England**

Of the Dutch artists of the Golden Age who undertook important travels, one of the most outstanding is Samuel van Hoogstraten. This is true not only with regard to the extent of his travels within his own country, but more especially to those to foreign countries. His

sojourn in Vienna from 1651-55 was interrupted by a visit to Rome in 1652/53, and from 1662-67 he lived in England. Most importantly, he reflected upon these experiences beyond the borders of his native country in his book *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* of 1678 and in other written sources.

My contribution will look at Hoogstraten's importance for the English perception of the world beyond its borders, something that has hitherto not been thoroughly considered. When Hoogstraten moved to England and settled there for half a decade, he was perceived as someone who had visited the most desirable foreign places – long before the Grand Tour had become a 'must' for every English gentleman. Those major "English" paintings by Hoogstraten that are still extant convey exactly the kinds of experiences which were only to be acquired in foreign places. Hoogstraten's arrival coincided with a period of cultural change: at a time when Thomas Howard and others were about to begin constructing great houses in the Palladian style, Hoogstraten painted monumental architectural views. These never show a precise location, but were conceived more as *capricci*. Some such scenes were of his native Holland, depicted in an exaggerated classical manner, as can be seen in the painting today in The Hague, which was probably destined for his own residence in London. Others were of Italy, and although they catered to the English imagination in representing what constituted the most beautiful and interesting features of the Italian countryside and its famous monuments, Hoogstraten rendered his scenes in an excessively monumental and fantastical fashion.

In this sense, the Dutchman in London made great use of his Grand Tour to the Emperor in Vienna and the Pope in Rome. While he himself had first-hand knowledge of the marvels of the cities he had visited, what he presented to his English audience, as yet largely unfamiliar with the sights, was a work of his imagination. Thus his role was instrumental in arousing the desire of English patrons to see, possess and emulate the wonders of those foreign places, though of course as we know the English interest was geared more towards Italian architecture, particularly that of Palladio, and sculpture than Dutch painting.

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### **"Not curious but courtly in appearance": Cornelis de Bruyn (1652-1726), Dutch Artist and International Traveler**

Cornelis de Bruyn, one of the Dutch Republic's most extraordinary artist-travelers, has long been overlooked by scholars of early modern Dutch art, in part because his career extends into the much maligned eighteenth century, but also because the majority of his paintings are now known only through drawings and prints. Widely acclaimed during his lifetime, serving patrons that included William III, Tsar Peter of Russia, and Amsterdam burgomaster and VOC director Nicolaas Witsen, he is best known today for his images of Persepolis. De Bruyn was nonetheless much more than a recorder of exotic

locations. His career is punctuated by two periods of international travel: the first started as a traditional Grand Tour, but lasted eighteen years and was divided into residencies in Italy, Egypt, and Turkey. His second trip, which extended to Russia and the East Indies, lasted eight years. My focus here will be on the period from 1674 to 1700, which includes De Bruyn's first international adventure and the successes he enjoyed upon his return to the Dutch Republic. When British court artist Gottfried Kneller painted Cornelis de Bruyn's portrait (now in the Rijksmuseum) during the latter's trip to England in 1700, it perfectly presented how the Dutch painter wanted others to see him: as a stylish and sophisticated man of taste and learning. As will become clear, travel was an essential ingredient in De Bruyn's scholarly and artistic self-fashioning.

De Bruyn was born in The Hague, where he trained under Theodoor van der Schuer, a classicizing artist who included William III among his courtly patrons. De Bruyn set off on his Grand Tour with fellow artist Pieter van der Hulst, arriving in Rome in 1674, where both became members of the *schildersbent* (De Bruyn was christened "Adonis"). After two years in Rome, De Bruyn was again on the move, sailing first to the Aegean Islands, and then to Smyrna and Constantinople in Turkey. A pattern of travel punctuated by long stays in various cities continued in Egypt and throughout the Levant until 1684, which found De Bruyn again in Italy. He stayed in Venice for eight years, working in the studio of the German baroque painter Johaan Karl Loth, and it was not until 1692 that he returned to the Dutch Republic. He arrived home in The Hague in 1693, a world traveler and highly trained artist in the Italianate tradition, his travel chests full of drawings, paintings, and a journal describing his long journey.

De Bruyn was very well received upon his return to the Dutch Republic. He became a member of both the Accademie van de Teyken-Const and Pictura in The Hague and his paintings (Turkish themes are especially well documented) entered the homes of wealthy and influential collectors, from Witsen in Amsterdam to William III in The Hague. In addition, De Bruyn completed an ambitious and successful account of his travels, *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn door de vermaardste deelen van Klein Asia* (Delft 1698), which included hundreds of fine engravings based on his drawings, from a view of Constantinople to a "baptism" ceremony of the Schildersbent in Rome.

Study of De Bruyn's work and life sheds light on the continued importance of Italy to Dutch artists in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and demonstrates the great variety of motivations (financial, artistic, social, and intellectual) that drove artists from the Dutch Republic to travel and live abroad during this period.

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## THE SHIFTING BOUNDARIES OF MUSEUM COLLECTING AND DISPLAY IN THE NETHERLANDS (1800 TO THE PRESENT)

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## **Dutch and Flemish Art in the Nineteenth-Century National Museums of The Netherlands (Amsterdam) and Belgium (Antwerp and Brussels)**

Whether 19th-century nationalism or the “preference for the own people and rejection of the foreign” (Van Dale dictionary definition of nationalism) influenced the acquisitions of 17th-century Dutch and Flemish masters by the national museums of Belgium and the Netherlands is the central question of this paper. A comparison of the number of Dutch and Flemish masters in the museums of Amsterdam and Brussels, based on collection catalogues from the beginning and the end of the 19th century, seems to confirm the influence of nationalistic feelings in acquisition policies – art works by Flemish masters appear in the largest numbers in Brussels, the Dutch masters in Amsterdam. Yet a more nuanced reality goes behind the figures.

Although the Rijksmuseum and the Brussels museum were organized on different levels before the Belgian Revolution (1830) – the former nationally and the latter municipally – both made acquisitions from the 17th-century Northern as well as Southern Netherlandish schools of painting, and for both Rubens was the champion of these schools. After the Belgian Revolution a nationalistic “rejection of the foreign” remained out of the question. The Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Brussels, which became the state museum in 1842, was even very eager to buy Dutch masterpieces in order to enforce its status as a young Belgian institution. The Amsterdam museum kept on acquiring Flemish paintings, either via bequests, or, after the acquisition stop imposed by the government had been lifted in 1870, through purchase. This phenomenon can be explained by the belief held by most 19th-century art theorists: *l'Ecole flamande et l'Ecole hollandaise sont des branches de la même famille*. Both branches and the different genres they excelled at (Flemish school: history paintings; Dutch school: landscapes and genre scenes) were to be represented in the overview of the history of art that the Amsterdam and the Brussels museum wished to offer their visitors.

It is remarkable that the best example of this notion of the oneness of the Dutch and Flemish schools is the most municipal museum of the three that I will discuss, the museum of Antwerp. Its acquisition policy mainly focused on Antwerp 17th-century masters, especially Rubens, Van Dyck and Jordans. Yet in 1860 Génard, city archivist with close ties to the museum board, complained about the lack of what we today call Dutch masters. About 30 years after Belgian Independence and in spite of strong Antwerp patriotic feelings the principle that both the Flemish genres as well as those of *son ancien frère du nord* could not lack in the museum lived on. The unification of both schools of painting is also reflected in 19th-century private collections in the Netherlands and Belgium.

Rather than contemporary politics, art theoretical concepts explain the purchases of paintings from both Netherlandish schools. Art works were principally bought for their

artistic value - whatever the master's country of origin - and because they were affordable within limited budgets. However, at the end of the 19th century nationalistic considerations did influence museum display. Due to increasing complaints about, among other things, the lack of space, the museums were urged to build new accommodations for their treasures. In these newly built temples of arts (which opened in Brussels in 1880, in Amsterdam in 1885 and in Antwerp in 1890) national schools were shown separately and the rooms with national painter heroes – Rembrandt for the Netherlands and Rubens for Belgium – became the climaxes of the museum tours.

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### **The Plans of the Dutch Royal Society of Antiquaries for an "Amsterdam Museum", 1877-1880**

Beginning in the 1830s many Dutch cities and towns founded museums where the local population and tourists could admire the municipal collections of historical objects and art. Amsterdam, surprisingly, was very late in founding such a museum: the Amsterdam Historical Museum was founded in a former City Weigh house only in 1926, after an important and very rich exhibition celebrating the city's 650th birthday had been held the year before. At the time the municipal art and historical collections were on loan to the Rijksmuseum, as well as the Stedelijk Museum and the Municipal Archives.

Forty-nine years earlier, in 1876, the impact of an equally large exhibition on the occasion of Amsterdam's 600<sup>th</sup> birthday had been even greater: over 4,000 objects, on loan from the city, municipal organisations and, in particularly large number, from a very large group of private owners, showed the public for the first time the richness of Amsterdam's art and historical collections. When, in October of the same year, the exhibition had to close, several citizens were united in their opinion that this was intolerable. The Royal Society of Antiquaries (KOG, a national society founded in 1858), and an important participant in the exhibition of 1876, became the motor behind a short lived "Amsterdamsch Museum". Sadly, for lack of visitors, this museum had to close its doors already at the end of June 1877.

Several board members of the KOG did not give up their desire to found a museum or at least a permanent exhibition on the history of Amsterdam. Up until the end of September 1880 the board tried to somehow find a way to realize this ambition, even if it meant becoming a "museum within a museum", in the Rijksmuseum. This last idea proved to be a bridge too far, as architect Cuypers who was at the time also a curator of the KOG, pointed out in one of the last meetings on the subject.

In my paper I will use this case study to demonstrate how in the period between 1876 and 1884, just before the opening of the new Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the boundaries between the national and the municipal in art and history were explored, also by the authorities in charge. In the end, the Rijksmuseum, with its important loans

from the city, partly took on the role of municipal history museum. Later, this became painfully clear when the city had to withdraw many of its loans from the Rijksmuseum, on behalf of the new Amsterdam Historical Museum, which opened in 1975.

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### **Foreign Masters in Dutch Museums: by Choice or Chance?**

This paper deals with the collecting of foreign old master paintings, mainly Italian, in Dutch museums in the 20th century. Whereas in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century some attempts were made by the Rijksmuseum and the Mauritshuis to acquire foreign masters, during the second half of the century Dutch museums focused their attention almost exclusively on acquiring Dutch paintings. This however changed after 1919 when the Ministry of Culture set up the so-called Museumcommissie, the purpose of which was to analyze the most important Dutch Museums and to come up with several proposals to improve the situation. The committee came to the rather revolutionary conclusion by proposing, for the first time, that museums should purchase foreign masters in large quantities.

In the following years some important foreign paintings were indeed acquired. In 1920 the so-called Rembrandt-Syndicaat was founded, an initiative of the Vereniging Rembrandt, in which 16 wealthy Dutchmen cooperated to buy, as they wrote “old paintings by painters who are not Dutch”. In 1922 the Syndicaat was dissolved, but not before purchasing six paintings, of which the most important was Goya’s *Portrait of Ramon Satue*. The interest in acquiring foreign masters continued for some time, and when, for example, the collection of the Grand-duke of Oldenburg (Germany) came on the market in 1923, the Rijksmuseum managed to acquire 16 Italian paintings, among them a Madonna by Fra Angelico.

In the period between the First and Second World Wars, private collectors rather than museums played an important role as instigators for collecting Italian art in the Netherlands; the most important parts of the collections of Otto Lanz and Edwin vom Rath, both in Amsterdam, became the property of the Rijksmuseum after the Second World War. The famous art dealer Jacques Goudstikker was also very influential in promoting foreign old masters in Holland. One of his most important clients was the Rotterdam merchant D.G. van Beuningen and the largest part of his collection (with paintings by Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto) was acquired by the Museum Boymans in 1958.

In addition to these collectors, others, mainly from Germany (like Franz Koenigs, Von Pannwitz, Gutmann and Mannheimer), also showed a keen interest in foreign painting. The presence of this international group of collectors in conjunction with the new ideas of the directors of the Rijksmuseum and Museum Boymans (Schmidt Degener and Hannema) formed fertile ground to promote a change in the collecting habits of the

Dutch museums. The new directors abhorred the way their predecessors had collected in a historical and nationalistic way and instead propagated the acquisition of foreign old masters. But if one looks at what they actually acquired, one has to say that their intentions were not matched by deeds. If they really had to make a choice between a Dutch master or a foreign one, they chose the former. After the Second World War the group of international collectors had disappeared completely. Nevertheless, in the 1950s and 60s both the Rijksmuseum and the Boymans regularly bought foreign old masters. The Rijksmuseum purchased for example a Carlo Cereza (1964) and a Giovanni Lanfranco (1967) and the Boymans works by Cavallino (1961), Giuseppe Recco (1963), Cerquozzi (1963), and Baschenis (1964). However, in the 1970s this interest seems to have disappeared almost completely, although the Museum Boymans received in 1976 the bequest of the gentleman-dealer Vitale Bloch with works by Mola, Guercino and Cavallino. It is only recently that both the Museum Boymans Van Beuningen and the Rijksmuseum have started to acquire Italian paintings again.

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### **Theophile Thoré (William Bürger) and the Borders of the Netherlands**

This paper is about the borders of the Netherlands and the question whether or not the Dutch and Flemish schools were considered to be one school of painting by the two national Dutch art museums (Rijksmuseum and Mauritshuis) in the nineteenth century and in the modernist work of Théophile Thoré, *Musées de la Hollande*, 2 vols. (1858-1860), in which the four most important Dutch museums of the time were discussed (Rijksmuseum; Mauritshuis; Museum Van der Hoop, Amsterdam and Museum Boijmans, Rotterdam). Thoré used the pseudonym W. Burger (or citizen), which was exemplary for his republican points of view. A left-wing art critic and art historian, Thoré took part in the 1848 revolt in Paris, after which he lived in exile. He wrote several publications about Dutch and Flemish painting collections in Belgium, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and Germany. Thoré's republicanism colored his ideas on art. Moreover, he idealized the Dutch Republic; but his main goal was to change contemporary art in France. Thoré thought that paintings were a kind of photography, or, at least, that paintings should be the same as photographs. As a result he was opposed to the depiction of mythological and biblical scenes as these subjects did not occur in real life. Contemporary painters should depict scenes of everyday life, just as the Dutch had done two centuries earlier.

The sharp division Thoré insisted upon between the Northern and Southern schools of Netherlandish painting was based on his argument that after the Union of Utrecht in 1579 the 17 Provinces were divided; the Northern Provinces and the Southern ones went their separate ways and developed their own individual schools of painting. This came about because, according to him, in the North a free market economy developed, while in the South painters were dependant upon the patronage of the aristocracy and Catholic Church. Most other writers on art at the time, including the Dutch ones,

followed in the long tradition of Karel van Mander and made no distinction between the Dutch and Flemish schools in their publications. More importantly, Dutch and Flemish paintings were hung side by side on the walls of the Dutch national art museums.

At the time of the opening of the first national art museum in 1800 in one wing of Huis ten Bosch (House in the Woods), near The Hague, it was clear that Rubens was considered to be a more important master than Rembrandt, as he was the better history painter: classicism reigned in the Dutch museum. This notion remained in effect even after the national art collection moved to the Amsterdam Royal Palace (formerly the Town Hall; 1808-1817) and later to the Trippenhuys (1817-1885).

It seems that Thoré's ideas were, however, shared later in the century by P.J.H. Cuypers, architect of the new Rijksmuseum building that opened in 1885: Rubens is not present in the decorations of his museum, but Rembrandt occupies centre stage. *The Syndics*, for example, was given the place of honor in the large decorative ceramic plaque on the exterior of the building. In the decoration program of the exterior, which was dedicated to the patrons and painters of the Northern Netherlands, it was Jan van Eyck, working for Jan van Beieren in The Hague, who was depicted, but not Rubens.

Rembrandt's *Nightwatch* became the centerpiece of the museum's presentation; it was given a status comparable to an altarpiece in an Italian church, with the rest of the building designed around it. On the other hand, the Flemish paintings that had hung side by side with the Dutch paintings in the Trippenhuys, were hung in Cuypers' building in the International room, together with the few French, Italian and Spanish paintings owned by the museum. The question remains, whether this was the result of Thoré's influence, or had Dutch chauvinism finally made its appearance. Whatever the case, Thoré's left-wing republicanism was certainly not shared by any 19<sup>th</sup>- or 20<sup>th</sup>-century director of the Rijksmuseum.

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