

## Abstracts of Antwerp Conference Papers

### **THE MAKING OF ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS IN FLANDERS BETWEEN 1420 AND 1530**

Chairs: Gregory Clark (University of the South, Sewanee), Margret Goehring (SUNY Geneseo), Anne Margreet As-Vijvers (Independent Scholar)

The past decade has been an exciting one for students of book painting in Flanders from the time of Philip the Good to the death of Margaret of Austria. Those ten years saw the publication of monographs on the illuminators Willem Vrelant (1997), the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook (1997), and the Master of the Ghent Privileges (2000); studies on manuscript centers like Valenciennes (1996) and Amiens (1999); and important catalogues for exhibitions mounted in Paris in 1993 (*Manuscrits A peintures en France 1440-1520*), in Cambridge in 1993 (*Splendours of Flanders*), in St. Petersburg and Florence in 1996 (*Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts 1475-1550*), and in Arras in 2000 (*Arras A la fin du Moyen Age*). These and many other publications were complemented in 1998 by Maurits Smeyers's magisterial overview *Vlaamse miniaturen van de 8ste tot het midden van de 16de eeuw*.

This wealth of new writing has both enlarged our understanding of Flemish book painting and raised new methodological questions. In order both to showcase and critically to examine this surge of scholarly activity, the present session will offer a forum for recent research on manuscript illumination in francophone and netherlandophone Flanders from 1420 to 1530. While all methodological approaches are welcome, we especially encourage speakers to consider such issues as the definition of Flemish manuscript production as a distinct regional practice, the character of workshop organization, the transmission of models, patterns of patronage, and the impact of changing devotional practices.

### **Jason's Story: Artistic Transmission and Public Performance in Burgundian Manuscript Illumination**

Lisa Deam, Valparaiso University

In one of the most striking miniatures in the magisterial chronicle, the *Fleur des Histoires* (Brussels, Royal Library, ms. 9231-9232), Jason battles the fire-breathing bulls and defeats the dragon before finally conquering the Golden Fleece (fol. 109v). Jason's presence in this manuscript is not surprising. The *Fleur des Histoires* was owned and probably made for Duke Philip the Good himself, who named his chivalric order after the Greek hero and took him as a crusading model. It is more surprising, however, to find that Jason's story suggests a new way of viewing the function and audience of secular manuscript imagery in the Burgundian Netherlands.

It is often assumed that manuscript illumination forms a private treasury of imagery, devotional or instructive, for its privileged owner. Yet the *Fleur's* Jason miniature recalls, and perhaps used as sources, the most large-scale and public of media: its multi-scene composition resembles not only tapestry design, but also the Jason entremets

performed at the *Feast of the Pheasant* in 1459. The implications of these 'sources' are wide-ranging. In addition to raising questions of artistic transmission, such sources suggest that the *Fleur des Histoires* engenders a public rather than a private mode of viewing. Like the multiple scenes in tapestries and performances, its expansive miniatures were meant to be collectively viewed, perhaps alongside a public reading of its text. The *Fleur's* Jason miniature may have even recalled to courtly viewers the performance at Lille and exacted a similar, publicly declared crusading zeal.

The *Fleur des Histoires* thus alters our conception of Burgundian manuscript imagery. Rather than an intimate pictorial resource for Philip the Good, the *Fleur* was a repository of popular stories whose imagery recalled and enhanced the forms of public art. What better way for a ducal chronicle to reinforce the memory of the court's most important stories?

### **Gerard David/Not Gerard David? On the Use of Patterns in Two Exceptional Miniatures**

Diane Scillia, Kent State University

Attributions of miniatures to Gerard David have long been a source of debate among scholars. We have no documents attesting to his execution of miniatures, only the problematic miniatures themselves. Some scholars, therefore, hold that Gerard David painted specific miniatures despite the lack of archival evidence to support this conclusion; while others argue, from the same lack of documentary and archival materials, that he did not paint miniatures himself only oversaw their production by others. From Winkler (1913) and Schoene (1937) to the recent works by Brinkmann (1997), Ainsworth (1998) and Smeyers (1999), the small corpus of miniatures given to Gerard David has not varied very much, even if each scholar mentioned (and others not mentioned), amended it to suit his or her own needs. What remains, as we see in Smeyers's text, is the unresolved labeling of these miniatures to 'Gerard David or his workshop.'

As Ainsworth and others have shown, patterns played a large role in David's production of panels made for ad hoc sale and for export. Patterns must have also played a large role in the production of miniatures now given to Gerard David and his workshop. With the help of the newer technologies, Ainsworth and others have developed a set of criteria to use in determining whether David painted a specified panel or if it was produced in his workshop under his direction. I will use some of these same criteria in my examination of two specific miniatures attributed to Gerard David.

Focusing on the *St. Elizabeth in Hungary* (fol. 197v) in the *Hours of Isabella the Catholic* (The Cleveland Museum of Art, 63.256), c.1495-1500, and on the *Annunciation* (f. 39v) in the *Croy Hours* (Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1858), c.1505-1510, I will show how David used existing patterns, modifying, re-working and re-vitalizing them. Moreover, in certain miniatures given to David, we can see exact parallels to the actual brush strokes and colors he used in his accepted panels. Additional ties can be seen to drawings now in Frankfurt, Cracow and Hamburg. Gerard David's miniatures A? i.e. those he painted himself A? are 'creative variations' of his

contemporary panel compositions. This may further help us in firmly establishing categories within Gerard David's 'workshop production,' specifically: (1) those miniatures he painted himself, (2) those painted by collaborators under his supervision, and (3) those made by other miniaturists after patterns he produced.

### **Creation by Variation: The Uses of Models in Ghent- Bruges Marginal Decoration**

Anne Margreet W. As-Vijvers, Independent Scholar

In my paper I hope to have demonstrated that the so-called Master of the David Scenes in the *Grimani Breviary*, a Flemish illuminator active around 1500, played a key role in the production of books of hours with various and spectacular border decoration. My focus was on the so-called 'Brukenthal Breviary,' actually an abundantly illustrated book of hours, which is kept in the collection of the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu (Romania). The miniatures can be ascribed to the Master of the David Scenes and several other illuminators. The rich marginal decoration includes the typical Ghent-Bruges border, consisting of flowers depicted in trompe-l'oeil (as if they are strewn upon a gold background), as well as several other types. The spacious architectural borders of the manuscript at the text incipits are a well-known hallmark of the David Master's workshop. My subject, however, was the decoration of the text pages, each of which is provided with a one-sided border in the outer margin, and freestanding, single motifs in the upper and lower margins.

The illuminators solved the extraordinary task of decorating every page of the 315 folios of the *Brukenthal Breviary* by exploring several model sources. They derived motifs from models for the usual Ghent-Bruges border decoration which fills up the four sides around the text area, from historiated borders (such as calendar illustrations), from subsidiary elements in miniatures (e.g. the lion of St. Mark), from models for earlier types of marginal decoration consisting of acanthus leaves interspersed with flowers and drolleries, from playing cards and other engravings. The illuminators concentrated on those motifs which were easy to isolate from the context of larger border designs or illustrations. There is evidence for the use of tracing and other methods of reproduction, and for the existence of model drawings as well as models in full colour. The illuminators made a deliberate choice which motifs were appropriate for each margin, using simple flowers or buds for the narrow upper margin, more complicated flowers and several other motifs in the side margins, and mammals and drolleries in the spacious lower margins. The marginal motifs display a preference for diversity. The working method of the illuminators was to make variations on existing marginal motifs, in the process of which the models were adapted and changed, and sometimes got obscured. At the same time, there was the (opposite) tendency to a standardization of the motifs and the processes by which the variations were made.

The relationship between the single motifs and the codicological structure of the text block is particularly revealing. Motifs taken from the same model source were usually applied within one gathering, or even on the same bifolio. The single motifs indicate that the bifolio was the working unit. In some cases the distribution of the motifs suggests a common source for apparently related motifs. One of the most remarkable findings is

that the *Huth Hours* (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 38126) must have been available as a direct source for the single motifs of the *Brukenthal Breviary*. The single motifs in the *Brukenthal Breviary* were copied after the miniatures (executed by three different artists: Simon Marmion, the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, and perhaps Jan Provost) as well as the border decoration of the *Huth Hours*, in the course of which the motifs taken from one page of the *Huth Hours* ended up on one bifolio of the *Brukenthal Breviary*. This suggests that the *Brukenthal Breviary* was the first manuscript made by the David Master and his co-illuminators using single motifs as a decoration system.

Their second manuscript with single motifs appears to have been the Hours of Joanna of Castile (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18852). While here the repertory of single motifs re-appears exactly, there is no relationship between the structure of the gatherings of Joanna's Hours and the *Huth Hours*, as in the *Brukenthal Breviary*. Furthermore, the full border in the outer margin was replaced by a single motif, thus changing the decoration system into three single motifs per page.

The David Master was responsible for a number of other codices decorated with single motifs, the majority of which is decorated with three motifs per page. From the evidence it appears that the David Master must have been the person who owned the models for the single motifs. The idea spread beyond his workshop, but the characteristic repertory belonged to him. It was carefully kept over decades and made available to his co-illuminators when necessary. In conclusion, the workshop of the Master of the David Scenes successfully specialized in manuscripts with rich and special border decoration, and their efforts were appreciated by a rich and wealthy clientele.

The subject of this paper comes from my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, *Randversiering in Gents-Brugse manuscripten. De Meester van de Davidsca* University of Amsterdam 2002.

### **The Flemish Book and its Reasons**

Anne H. van Buren, emerita, Tufts University

The recent burgeoning of publications on manuscripts from the region that has become modern Belgium during the fifteenth century invites a redefinition of the character of these luxurious books. This character is demonstrated through a series of comparisons with coeval books made in France and in Holland. While the French books are cool, aristocratic, and formal and the Dutch examples warm, iconographically inventive, and painterly, those from the southern Low Countries are big, bold, and impressive. Aside from the usual liturgical books, many contain a historical text, written in the new, large and legible Burgundian *bastarda*, applied in dark black ink, and illustrated by numerous miniatures, narrative scenes of large and energetic figures in naturalistic settings, all painted in deeply saturated colors, juxtaposed and frequently contrasted. These books were made to be read aloud and their miniatures to be shown and discussed.

The reasons for this style can be found in the function of these books. From the moment of Duke Philip the Good's commission, in 1446, of splendid copies of three histories of his territories in support of his claim to have four of his provinces raised to the rank of a kingdom under the German Empire, many of his books and those made for his courtiers were instruments of propaganda for their territorial and crusading interests. In addition the volumes exhibit the magnificence so assiduously cultivated by Philip and his court and imitated by some of the wealthier townsmen. Another, and unique, factor is the simultaneous phenomenal development in the realm of panel painting, from Robert Campin to Gerard David, some of whom also worked in manuscripts and whose works were repeatedly copied by illuminators. Finally an increasing systematization in the execution of the decoration's specialization among participating artists, a practical distribution of tasks, and a regular use of models and patterns produced a uniform, polished decoration of the highest quality. The results were so successful that books made in the southern Low Countries found eager customers at home and abroad, as far as England, Holland, Germany, Italy, and Spain.

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### **ANTWERP ARTISTS AND GERMAN PATRONS**

Chair: Jeffrey Chipps Smith, University of Texas, Austin

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Antwerp developed into one of Europe's foremost cultural centers. The city went from being the site of an important if regional fair to becoming the home to a large and remarkably diverse community of painters, sculptors, and printmakers. This session assessed Antwerp's particular relationship with civic, corporate, and individual patrons in the German-speaking lands. Papers were invited that focused on specific projects, artist-patron relationships, marketing, issues of aesthetic preferences and the commercializing of individual styles (such as Rubens's), the luring of Antwerp's artists to Germany, and other related topics.

### **The Marketing of Antwerp Sculpted Altarpieces in Germany**

Lynn F. Jacobs, University of Arkansas

Netherlandish carved altarpieces were frequently exported as part of the luxury trade that was a key element of the economy of the Lowlands in the late middle ages and early Renaissance. Germany seems to have been the leading export market for this art form, for some 108 of the about 350 surviving Netherlandish carved altarpieces are presently in Germany. The majority of the works exported to Germany were produced in Antwerp's specifically 63%, with 12% from Brussels and 25% either not yet localized or attributed to other centers, thereby making Antwerp the main producer for the main export center. Antwerp altarpieces were sold mainly in the Northwestern areas of Germany, the North Rhineland and Westfalia, during the period between 1500 and 1530. The buyers of these works are largely not known, though documentation and other forms of evidence allow us to link seven to monasteries, one to a church body, one to a religious confraternity, one to an aristocrat and one to a canon. A surprisingly high number of the Antwerp retables exported to Germany, perhaps between 42 and 54%



appear to have been purchased on commission, rather than on the open market. Commissions thus may have played a more important role in the Antwerp export trade than previously thought.

My concern in this paper was to examine two retables in detail (specifically, Waase and Vreden) in order to shed more light on what the commissions reveal about the tastes of the German buyers. Although often commissioning patrons sought works that were more lavish and complex than those produced on spec (particularly double-winged examples), the most common reason that Germans commissioned Antwerp retables, rather than buying them ready-made, was to have altarpieces with iconographic content more specifically suited to their personal needs. In the case of Waase of c.1515-20 A? originally made for the Hanseatic town of Stralsund A? the retable combines parts produced on spec (a formulaic Passion grouping on the upper register) with parts produced to order (scenes of the life of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury on the lower register). The Becket scenes must reflect the particular devotional interests of the as-yet unidentified buyer, interests that may have been conditioned by the strength of the cult of St. Thomas Becket in the Hanseatic towns, or perhaps by the relevance of the theme (i.e., St. Thomas' struggle for the rights of the church over those of the ruler) for the citizens of Stralsund, whose city council was often at odds with its ruler. I argued that the pre-fab and individually tailored sections of this retable work together to emphasize the power of the church and its sacraments, especially the Eucharist, thereby demonstrating how well mixed-mode production could satisfy the needs of and reflect the tastes of the buyer.

The second work examined, the retable of Vreden of c.1520, was a fully commissioned product, which not only was extremely lavish A? it has double wings and even a double-winged predella A? but also has highly individualized iconography throughout. The closed view of the retable focuses on specific saints venerated in Vreden, while the first and second openings, take on a distinctly theological slant, most evident in the placement of the Crucifixion (in the center of the sculpted caisse) above the Last Supper, and the Nativity. This juxtaposition associates Christ's sacrifice on the cross with that on the altar occurring in the celebration of the mass. Such an iconographic grouping is unique within Antwerp carved altarpieces, and its didactic and theological character must reflect the patron's values, indeed even his clerical status (evidenced also by the kneeling deacon in the Circumcision scene who is likely to be a donor portrait). This cleric's interest in this iconographic approach may have been spurred not only by his religious vocation, but also by a specific desire to affirm the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist in the face of Reformation challenges, challenges that would ultimately end German purchases of Antwerp carved altarpieces.

### **Crossing Confessional Lines in Georg Mack the Elder's Painted Version of Hieronymus Wiericx's *Trinity***

Walter S. Melion, The Johns Hopkins University

Engraved by Hieronymus Wiericx after a design by Crispin van den Broeck, *The Trinity* depicts a variant of the subject known as the Throne of Mercy, in which God the Father, accompanied by the Holy Spirit, proffers the broken body of Christ the Man of

Sorrows. Seated on the shroud and worshiped by angels, Jesus is offered by God in a liturgy of eternal sacrifice, his wounds and semi-recumbent pose alluding to the crucifixion, his other attributes confirming the resurrection that secures the promise of salvation. First issued by the Antwerp print publisher Hans van Luyck, and later hand-colored by Georg Mack the Elder of Nuremberg, the print was likely executed between 1580 and 1588, when Wiericx worked closely with several Antwerp publishers, among them Hans Lieftrinck, Jean-Baptiste Vrints, and Van Luyck. Whereas the Throne of Mercy commonly invokes the Supplices prayer of the Canon of the Mass, Van den Broeck and Wiericx illustrate Isaiah 42 (the print's inscription paraphrases the opening line), adapting the traditional iconography to a scriptural text not usually associated with the Trinity. Mack enhances the relation between image and text by leaving Christ's body largely uncolored, allowing the paper and Wiericx's finely incised lines to describe the incarnate Son's sacrificial body. The scriptural basis of these pictorial effects, or rather, the attempt to base traditional iconography in Scripture, must be understood in terms of the contested status of Trinitarian imagery following the promulgation of the Tridentine decrees (accepted in the Spanish Netherlands by a series of provincial and diocesan synods convened between 1565 and 1574), but also in terms of Lutheran dogmatics, based on the crucial distinction between Law and Gospel, first promulgated in the Second Book of Isaiah.

According to Luther, Scripture initially turns from teaching the Law to prophesying the Gospel, the consoling ministry of the Word, in Isaiah 40-43, where the promised redemption of sin through the sacrifice of Christ is especially set forth in the Servant Song of Isaiah 42. Although The Trinity answers to Catholic concerns about the orthodoxy of images, it can yet be seen to operate across confessional lines, accommodating both Catholic and Lutheran readings, appealing to various constituencies in Antwerp and Nuremberg. The print's ecumenical character, undoubtedly apparent to Mack in Lutheran Nuremberg, would have made it especially valuable to Van Luyck, who could thereby market his commodity to a wider audience. In turn, Mack's judicious coloring, while not suppressing the print's potentially Catholic elements, heightens its Lutheran complexion, presenting Christ as the instrument of divine love expressed in the Godhead's giving of itself to restore and justify humankind.

### **Engraving the Mirrors of Princes: A Jan Sadeler in Munich**

Dorothy Limouze, St. Lawrence University

Jan I Sadeler (1550-1600) forged a remarkable career, breaking through guild barriers to change his family's profession from weapons ornamentation to printmaking; rising (even as a newcomer to Antwerp) through the ranks of the latter trade, so that he came to outprice and even outclass his peers. Sadeler maintained his shop and reputation through periods of political, religious, and economic instability in Antwerp, and he emigrated not once, but twice, from Antwerp, when circumstances demanded it. In both cases sustaining and even strengthening his family business. Well before his cousin Aegidius came to the notice of Emperor Rudolf II, he secured an invitation to the court of Wilhelm V of Bavaria, leaving Frankfurt, where he and his brother Raphael had a fledgling business, for Munich. Moving to Munich with his cousin, Aegidius II Sadeler

(1568-1628), Jan abandoned the company of religious and political refugees for a comfortable post at an orthodox Catholic court. A A

The Sadeler's ability to flourish in disparate environments is reflected in the diverse makeup of their prints. Those made in Munich from 1590 to 1595 show particular ingenuity. Departures from the subjects engraved in Frankfurt, they fit together in a program of princely glorification with references to the religious, political and cultural strategies of the Wittelsbachs. A striking leitmotif in Munich prints by Jan and his cousin Aegidius is the theme of princely virtue, an embodiment of the Catholic Humanist principles on which both Wilhelm V and Maximilian were educated. Panofsky first identified the connection between Jan's notable *Choice of Hercules* (after Friedrich Sustris) and the young Maximilian, and Thea Vignau Wilberg and I have interpreted as allegories of *Erziehung* Aegidius's well known trio of *Hermathena*, *Occasio* and *Praemium*, made in collaboration with Joris Hoefnagel and Hans von Aachen. Aegidius Sadeler's noted engraving after Hans von Aachen's design, of *Minerva Leading Pictura to the Circle of the Liberal Arts*, was also engraved in Munich and dedicated to Maximilian. Nonetheless, there is a tendency to see these prints of humanist character as anomalies among the broader artistic enterprise at the Munich court, with its dominant Jesuit presence in the 1580's and 1590's. The engraving of *Minerva Leading Pictura* is, in fact, generally connected with the tolerant and learned court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague.

This talk seeks to reinforce the connections between these engraved allegories of princely virtue and the program of education of the young Maximilian, designed by Wilhelm V with the help of Jesuit advisors and Jesuit educated scholars. Evidence for this interpretation comes from Maximilian's early involvement in classically-based Jesuit dramas; his exposure to Aristotle, Horace, Cicero and other Greek and Latin writers A through Petraeus, Fickler, and other mentors; and the mythological topoi found in laudatory texts written for the dedication of the Jesuit Michaelskirche.

### ***Rhetorica caelestis: Jacob Bidermann, Jeremias Drexel and the Sadeler's at the Court of Maximilian I in Munich***

Christine Göttler, University of Washington

Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria stands out as a Counter Reformation prince. In his program of reform, the Jesuits played a major role. In this paper I present two episodes in the collaboration between Raphael Sadeler and the Jesuits at the Munich court and discuss the different ways in which Sadeler's inventions moved across various media, pictorial genres, and techniques.

My first example is a set of four prints showing death and three disembodied souls experiencing purgatory, hell, and heaven; the series can be dated around 1604. This curious, unprecedented iconography was inspired by the epigrams of the young Jesuit writer and dramatist Jacob Bidermann (1578-1639), which Sadeler used as captions without mentioning the author's name. My second case is about the illustrations designed by Raphael Sadeler for Jeremias Drexel's best selling book *De aeternitate considerationes*: this approximately 500 page work was first published in Latin in



Munich in 1620. Drexel, a Lutheran convert, became preacher to Maximilian's court in 1615, and was, with his 31 books, one of the most widely published authors of his time. Both Sadeler's book illustrations as well as his series of prints reference texts, while the texts themselves contain multiple allusions to pictures, emblems and both visual and perceptual conceits. In fact, Bidermann's epigrams refer to printed images (be they imaginary or actual) as a starting point for meditation. While Sadeler's series of the *Last Things* employs the medieval tradition of meditative poetry to promote a form of self-examination that would eventually lead to a general confession, his illustrations for Drexel's *De aeternitate considerationes* extend Ignatian devices of meditation beyond confessional boundaries to a larger public. Copies of Raphael Sadeler's series of four prints seem to have been distributed mainly among the clerical and secular elite; Drexel's book, however, was mass-produced.

In this latter case, the prints by Raphael Sadeler serve as a means to advocate Drexel's concept of a humble language of the heart in prayer and meditation. The introspective view (by far not unusual for manuals of prayer and meditation) is further developed in Drexel's *Rhetorica Caelestis*, a rhetorical treatise published in 1636. Here Drexel promotes, in accordance with Augustine, a rhetoric of prayer as an internal dialogue with God, thus distinguishing his "celestial eloquence" (which focuses on the inner movements of the heart) from the rhetorical devices and artifices of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian (directed toward the outer movements of the tongue).

### **The German Mission: Joos de Momper's Landscapes of Devotion**

Catherine Levesque, College of William and Mary

This paper situates Joos de Momper's paintings of mountainous landscapes within the context of a northern landscape type promoted by the prelates and rulers associated with the *Congregatio Germanica*. From this viewpoint in which Trent could be considered (to quote one Roman cardinal) as the 'gateway to Germany,' the heroic landscape type most closely associated with Northern (especially Netherlandish) artists provided an alternative to a Reformed cartography.

The starkly differentiated perspectives articulated by the Swiss reformer Pierre Viret in the *Mappamonde Nouvelle Papistique*, 1566, and the landscape views presented in the map gallery created for Pope Gregory XIII provide background for subsequent developments. Indeed Viret's 'Mountains of Images,' 'Mountains of Idols,' and 'Mountains of Relics' (in Province IIII: service of the saints) are explicitly associated with the pilgrimages, holy places, and hermitages that become significant motifs in later landscapes such as those by De Momper. These later works, I believe, go beyond the generalized suggestion of a Catholic cultural landscape to suggest the 'German Mission.' The mountainous settings, in this context, specifically evoke the contested regions of Switzerland and Savoy. Notably, a number of the most prominent patrons of Netherlandish landscape were associated with the German Mission. The most influential, Carlo and Federico Borromeo, were cardinal-protectors of the Spanish Netherlands as well as of the Missions in Switzerland and Savoy. Carlo Borromeo's trip to Switzerland in the 1570's initiated the subsequent Capuchin missions of the next decades. The emphasis on the display of the Eucharist and the Implements of the

Passion so prominent in De Momper's grotto paintings were the devotions most closely associated with the Capuchins. Indeed, the grotto landscapes that appear in a number of paintings are strikingly similar to the area around Arlesheim (near Basel) and Solothurn, the sites of two important Capuchin Missions.

Not only clerics but also secular rulers associated with the *Congregatio Germanica* were supporters of the Capuchins and their devotions; a number of these individuals also showed a marked predilection for mountainous and wilderness scenery. For example, both Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria and the Archduke Maximilian II of the Tyrol built hermitages. According to Philipp Hainhofer, one could even, in Duke Wilhelm's grotto, see painted and printed representations of the Fathers and hermits. The Capuchins (and the *Congregatio Germanica*) also played an important role in the Spanish Netherlands. In 1585 Alexander Farnese invited the Capuchins to the Spanish Netherlands. The links between politics and devotion continue to be important in subsequent decades. In 1620 the Archduke Albert was named Prefect of the Confraternity of the Cross an order founded by Cardinal Albergati, at the urging of a Capuchin, Father Hyacinthe of Casal, to aid recent converts and their families. Other prominent members included the Hohenzollern, the Dukes of Lorraine and Bavaria, and the electors of Cologne, Mainz, and Treves. Once again, the devotions centered on the Forty Hours Devotion and the Passion.

Though the political implications of devotional landscapes provides a significant institutional context, devotional practices, sermons, and poetry which draw on imagery of mountains and grottos provides a richer framework for understanding its significance within that context. The taste for mountainous and forested landscape paintings in the circle of the Archdukes can certainly be linked to their wider support for the eremitical life most dramatically exemplified by their help in founding the *Saintes Deserts* of the Carmelites (Marlagne 1619). Both Albert and Isabella had paintings of hermits in their private rooms and oratories. Isabella, after Albert's death, even built a hermitage by the Capuchin convent at Tervueren. Such devotions can also be documented in the small shrines and sanctuaries associated primarily with Capuchin and Carmelite establishments (Sanderus's *Flandria Illustrata and Corographiae sacre Brabantiae*). These monuments and related landscape paintings and prints take on a deeper significance when viewed in light of grotto and mountain imagery in devotions (such as the Forty Hours) and devotional poetry as well as in the contemporary accounts of Capuchin missions and traditions associated with the Capuchin and Carmelite orders. It is at the least intriguing that such materials with their emphasis on evocative stimuli to a system of mental prayer aimed at leading the individual to a consciousness of the divine consistently refer to remote mountaintops and grottoes. Such sources suggest the devotional role of landscapes such as De Momper's and indicate how these epic landscapes came to be associated with fantasy and the sublime.

Chair: Hans Vlieghe, KU Leuven and Centrum voor de Vlaamse Kunst van de 16de en de 17de Eeuw (Rubenianum), Antwerp

This session will focus on the 'not-so-uniqueness' of a large part of seventeenth-century art production, whereby questions of procedures of production (studio practices) as well as market strategies (commercial intentions) may be studied, separately or in conjunction. An object-centered approach will be given precedence. It is hoped that at least some of the great artists of the period (e.g. Rubens, Rembrandt) will be represented, but preferably as seen in a new perspective; at the same time, some attention should be given to that enormous bulk of production of secondary (and even lower) art which hardly ever forms part of art historical scrutiny. This also was a historical reality and should be treated as such.

The session would benefit from contributions from other fields besides painting, e.g. sculpture and tapestry. On the whole, works of art of lesser artistic merit are given a podium here, but only in so far as they refer back to the 'Great Art' which served as their exemplar. Derivatives may testify to the 'potency' of the 'original.'

### **Completion and Replication: Deference to Rubens's Original in the Versions of *Deborah Kip, Wife of Sir Balthasar Gerbier, and her Children***

Melanie Gifford and Arthur Wheelock Jr., National Gallery of Art, Washington

The paper uses the results of technical study of Rubens's so-called 'Gerbier Family Portrait' to relate to the artist's *Allegory of Peace* (National Gallery, London), and to the replica of the 'Gerbier Family' (English Royal Collection, London). The technical work is proving fruitful in distinguishing original from variant from derivative, and in assigning hands to the several paintings and to passages within the paintings.

Specifically, there is evidence that the Washington painting was begun by Rubens and finished by another hand. Who this artist was, and whether it was the same person who began the Royal Collection replica, is currently under investigation. This, of course, sheds light on the sometimes problematic attribution. It also sheds light on the attitudes towards Rubens's original work shown by the artist(s) who copied and/or completed his composition. Some of the unevenness of the Washington picture is due not only to the fact that two artists worked on it, but because some of the faces are less complete than others. The artist who completed the painting respectfully worked around the faces A? but while Rubens had brought some to completion, others still show only the paint of his first lay-in.

### **The Girl in the Window: Rembrandt's *Kitchenmaid* and its Followers in Seventeenth-Century European Art**

Görel Cavalli-Björkman, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

Ever since the Rembrandt exhibition in Stockholm in 1992, where some of the artist's and his pupils' paintings on the subject of the 'Kitchenmaid' were assembled (Stockholm, Dulwich, Washington), I have collected material on derivatives on this theme in Dutch, Flemish, Spanish, English and French art, mostly of the seventeenth

but also eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The theme can be analyzed from different perspectives: The Importance of Rembrandt as an artistic example; The Iconography of the subject; Questions concerning reality versus illusion; Sources in antiquity; and others.

### **The 'Cabinet des PA?res du DA(C)sert' in the ChA?teau Gaillard in Vannes (Morbihan)**

Thomas Fusenig, Weserrenaissance-Museum, Lemgo

Besides the well-known winter room in Rosenborg castle in Copenhagen, exists a second, quite unknown example of a picture room, which was entirely produced in Antwerp. A room in the ChA?teau Gaillard in Vannes, the Cabinet des PA?res du DA(C)sert, is completely decorated with 57 small oak panels and eight huge canvases. Vannes is a small harbour town at the Golfe de Morbihan (Brittany/France). ChA?teau Gaillard is an old residence in the historic center of the city, which today is the seat of the MusA(C)e archA(C)ologique.

Most compositions derive from three engraved series by Maarten de Vos ('Solitudo sive Vitae Foeminarum Anachoritarum,' 'Solitudo sive Vitae Patrum Eremicolarum,' and 'Oraculum Anachoreticum'). Several figures stem from Abraham Bloemaert's woodcut series 'Sacra Eremus ascetarum' and 'Sacra Eremus ascetiarum,' also published in Antwerp. The inscriptions on the pictures follow the Bloemaert edition of 1619, which marks a *terminus post quem* for the decoration. An engraving by Jan van de Velde the Younger and one by Bloemaert were models for two canvases, which are A? like the smaller pictures on wood A? of mediocre quality and stylistically old-fashioned.

The sheer volume of the commission as well as the fact that the prints were mostly published in Antwerp, points to this city as place of origin of the Vannes pictures. The room was not produced by a single artist but by a well organized workshop or network of artisans. It is possible to separate at least four distinct hands which co-operated. This mode of manufacture, which led to a huge output, correlates well with documents on the export of paintings from Antwerp, mainly to the Iberian Peninsula in the first half of the seventeenth century. Ships from Brittany were the most important cargo vessels on this route. Painted cabinets and harpsichord lids show a quite similar, standardized look.

The Vannes room illustrates the importance of Antwerp and/or Southern Netherlands as centers of artistic/artisan production. At the same time it demonstrates Antwerp's influence on the artistic periphery by means of engravings and/or mass production of pictures. It is instructive to see that at the beginning of the Age of Rubens engravings of (mainly) the sixteenth century were still part of the 'Antwerpen rA(C)ertoire.' This was the environment in which later, towards the end of the seventeenth century, copies after compositions by Rubens and Van Dyck flourished.

### **The Dissemination of Bruegel Imagery in the Southern Netherlands during the Seventeenth Century**

Karolien De Clippel (KU Leuven) and Filip Vermeulen (University of Antwerp)

During the sixteenth century, Pieter Bruegel the Elder had been the architect of a number of pictorial themes which enjoyed immediate and enduring popularity. These compositions included peasant scenes, depictions of the seasons, proverbs and visions of heaven and hell. During the seventeenth century, many of these types continued to be produced and disseminated A? not in the least by various members of the Bruegel dynasty A? and found their way to local collections or to the international art market.

This paper examines the consumption of Bruegel imagery during the seventeenth century in the Southern Netherlands. In a first quantitative part, we will screen probate inventories, visual sources and other contemporary evidence for the presence of these particular types of genre iconography in the Flemish home. In this respect, we will emphasize that Bruegel images were not only produced in the form of paintings, but also through other media such as prints and drawings, painted household objects (e.g. plates, mugs, etc.) and sculpture.

Subsequently, we will pursue a more qualitative approach in investigating the way in which these images were reproduced. Were Bruegel compositions and/or motifs simply and literally copied or were they subject to modifications and alterations in response to the changing taste of seventeenth-century society? In other words, to what extent did new categories of images emerge from these copying and emulation practices? In addition, we will address issues of agency and audience A? who produced Bruegel derivatives and who bought them?

In short, this paper seeks to gauge the presence of a specific kind of genre iconography in seventeenth-century private ownership, and survey the different media through which these were reproduced and collected. What was the power of these highly recognizable types/images insofar as they continued to form part of the visual vocabulary of the Southern Netherlandish artistic production?

### **David Teniers II's Theatre of Imitation**

Joanna Woodall, Courtauld Institute

David Teniers II's small copies in oil after the Italian pictures of his patron, the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, form the primary focus of this paper. My discussion is concerned with the values that can be attached to these little works during a period in which the status of the copy was contested, as an aspect of the broader crisis in visual representation articulated by iconoclasm. On one hand, there was a concept of the copy derived from the icon, in which the authority of the sacred model is disseminated through faithful imitation. On the other, there was the emergent, 'modern' view of the copy as an empty, mechanical reproduction opposed to a unique, authored original.

Teniers's copies have been discussed largely in terms of the mechanical process whereby their Italian models were reproduced in the prints illustrating the *Theatrum Pictorium*, the catalogue of the Archduke's collections published in 1658-60. My paper begins by substantiating this explanation, using research on a collection of fourteen Teniers copies in the Courtauld Institute Galleries. This investigation was undertaken by Helen Smith for her 1998 Final Year Project in the Institute's Department of



Conservation and will be published here with her kind permission and approval. Material features of the copies, such as the presence of regularly spaced pin-holes and inscriptions visible in infra-red light, elucidate their role in producing the *Theatrum* illustrations.

Yet close attention to the material and visual properties of the copies raises as many questions as it answers, in that some features of Teniers's works seem irrelevant to the task of transforming their painted models into prints. For instance, their duplication of the colors of the originals seems at best superfluous and at worst a hindrance to the production of the spare graphic language of the etched and engraved *Theatrum* illustrations. Compare, for example, the *grisailles* produced by Rubens in preparation for prints. Secondly, the distinctive technique and style of the copies, which are consistently identifiable with Teniers rather than referring to his Italian models, are difficult to explain exclusively as a means of producing transparent reproductions. Furthermore, the high quality and preservation of the copies, which suggest that they are autograph, indicate that they were invested with significance beyond their technical use in translating a design from one place to another. Far from being empty copies, they begin to acquire the character of the oil sketch, replete with the value of an author intimately and creatively engaged with the subject or object of his interest.

The engagement here is with Italy, and my paper argues that the sketch-like character of the copies places Teniers not in the realm of mechanical reproduction but amongst the ambitious northern painters for whom a personal dialogue with this locus of authority was a way of defining their own art. Teniers's extraordinary group of paintings of Leopold Wilhelm's collection, which show mostly Italian works, can be seen to enact a similar dialogue, and there is a print in the *Theatrum Pictorium* which is extremely reminiscent of these compositions. I suggest that, by personally imitating the world of Italian art in all its material variety and specificity, and by transporting this world into the symbolic spaces of the Flemish connoisseur's cabinet, the Antwerp artist's studio and finally the *Theatrum Pictorium*, a commemorative volume of prints published at his own expense, Teniers 'translated' the prestigious values associated with Italian art into his own, Netherlandish terms of reference. This can be seen as part of his effort to combine the position of a noble artist at an international court with his identity as an Antwerp citizen. It also raises broader questions about two prevalent concepts of artists' relationship to established models of authority: mindless subservience and progressive supersedence.

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## **THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ARTS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY**

Chairs: Dirk Van de Vijver (KU Leuven) and Daniel Rabreau (UniversitA(C) de ParisI PanthA(C)on-Sorbonne)

In 1989, Daniel Rabreau and Bruno Tollon organized an international colloquium: 'Le Progrès des Arts (1763-1815: mythe culturel, des origines de la Révolution à la fin de l'Empire' (published 1992). For the Low Countries, a comparable approach, treating architecture, painting and sculpture together, is absent in the historical research of eighteenth-century art and culture. This session intends to discuss explicitly the question of the relationship between the arts and artists of different disciplines, which is absolutely necessary for a better understanding of all the challenges posed by artistic production.

Although in the past artists had worked on programs which needed the combined deployment of architecture, sculpture and painting, the eighteenth century saw the emergence of new organizations which renewed these relationships and even took them to another level, e.g. the foundation of 'academies' (drawing schools) and of learned and artistic societies. From that moment onwards, architects, painters and sculptors took lessons and taught their crafts in the same institutions, or discussed and exhibited their works in the same societies and in the same Salons. These forms of informal exchange of 'artistic knowledge' require close study. Artistic concepts specific to one branch now tend to migrate to other disciplines: e.g. 'poetics' and the picturesque invade architecture and gardens. The 'union of the arts' in the service of urban, public and private programs still needs multidisciplinary research, uniting specialists of architecture, sculpture and painting and concentrating specifically on iconological analysis.

### **The Painter, the Sculptor, the Architect and the Engraver in the New Artistic Institutions at the End of the Eighteenth Century**

Christophe Loir, Université Libre de Bruxelles

On March 20 and November 13, 1773, the Empress Maria-Theresa published edicts that freed artists from the tutelage of the guilds. This measure reveals the transformation in the status of painters, sculptors, engravers and architects at the end of the eighteenth century in the Austrian Low Countries. There is a clear distinction between the artists and the craftsmen as well as between the liberal arts and the mechanical arts. This liberalization implied that the artist was obliged to give up any manual and commercial activities. It favored an institutional artistic world reform. From this, the academies would develop, artistic societies would arise as artists' new sociability, and the fine arts salons would make it possible for artists to exhibit and sometimes to sell their works without having a shop. At the end of the eighteenth century, typical institutions of modern artistic world are set up.

### **Professional or Amateur. Jacob Otten Husly between Architecture and Painting**

Freek Schmidt, KNAW

During the first half of the eighteenth century in the Republic of the United Provinces architecture was absent from intellectual life and in fact, was not considered a fashionable thing to discuss in public, nor a subject for polite conversation. However, during the second half of the eighteenth century a new group of interested laymen came

to the fore, and gradually established a new circle in which discussions on the arts in the broadest sense began to take place. Within this circle, architecture received special attention. Through the erection of academies and learned societies the interested public came together showing an interest, not only in acquiring 'good taste,' but also in a reassessment of the history of art and architecture and its interrelations. In these circles, amateurs and dilettantes exchanged knowledge with artists and architects on a much larger scale than had ever been the case in the Republic.

From the mid-sixties onwards, one figure played a decisive role in the spreading of architectural knowledge among these amateurs. Jacob Otten Husly began his career as a stucco-worker and designer of decorative plaster-work but quickly became a successful architect and spokesman for the Amsterdam Academy of Drawing (Amsterdamse stadstekenacademie) and learned societies. His fame is based especially on his work as an architect, most notably of the building of Felix Meritis (1787) in Amsterdam. His career and work have recently been the subject of a monograph, and several articles focusing on some of his lesser known architectural projects. Furthermore, he has been viewed as an architectural theorist. However, contrary to established opinion, there are sources that seem to indicate that his first love actually was painting. In my paper I would like to demonstrate that this preference of the architect for painting has been overlooked, leading to misinterpretations of his work and career, and subsequently, demand a reassessment of the place of architecture in the union of the arts in eighteenth-century Dutch society.

### **The Splitting Power of Sculpture. A Dutch Classification of the Visual Arts and Poetry in Late Eighteenth-Century Art Theory**

Peter C. Sondereren, Department of Art and Culture, University of Amsterdam

When the separation, or reunification, of the visual arts and poetry is subject of discussion in art history one name always returns as the main theoretical reference point: that of the eighteenth century German philosopher and writer Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. His *Laokoon oder A?ber die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie*, published in 1766, has indeed become a very influential text, that even now seems to have nothing left of its referential power. This last effect is mainly caused by the use of Lessing's theory by one of the main prophets of Modernism, Clement Greenberg. His search for purity in modern art A? especially in painting A? could find a clear-cut theoretical distinction in Lessing's book.

The 'Lessing-doctrine,' however, i.e. the view that the difference between the visual arts and poetry is largely based on their exclusive relation towards, respectively, space and time, has obscured the fact that Lessing's system did hardly do justice to the differences that existed between the visual arts themselves. In his view sculpture and painting were one of the same kind.

In my paper I should like therefore to draw attention to another interesting point of view that came to the fore at exactly the same time but in a different country. This alternative theory became visible in the early writings of the Dutch philosopher and aesthetician Frans Hemsterhuis. His *Lettre sur la sculpture*, written in 1765, shows a

concise but profound and original vision of art. Hemsterhuis did not only come, independently, to almost the same distinction between poetry and the visual arts as Lessing, but he also took an important step by differentiating between the principles of painting and sculpture. Lessing never could have taken this step, because he was stuck in a textual or literary approach of the visual arts. Hemsterhuis, however, moved his eye also to important visual and formal differences.

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## **PAINTERS' WORKSHOPS IN THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY NETHERLANDS**

Chair: Molly Faries, Indiana University and Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

This session is intended to reveal key issues that have arisen in recent investigations into the painter's workshop: the recognition that the workshop is an entity larger than the surviving works; new visual material, specifically that provided by technical studies (e.g. infrared reflectography); encouragement of more synthetic interpretations. Various questions can be pursued, such as the extent and range of shop production, the amount and types of collaboration, the fundamental importance of copies and compositional replicas, and actual practices related to the creation and repeated use of workshop models. Shop routine can also be related to historical contexts, such as a particularly large commission or the opportunities provided by the art market, collecting, and export.

The session will focus on the sixteenth century and centers of artistic commerce such as Antwerp, though some painters had multiple workshops in more than one city. The activities of the Antwerp mannerists and related retable production is a central concern in this period. As yet the investigation of serial production is still in its beginning stages, but information does exist that can shed light on the possible uses of cartoons, either for replication in one shop or for rental out to several shops. A good amount of technical documentation exists for the mid-century shops of Aertsen and Bueckelaer, although other production strategies, such as 'prestige collaboration' require further investigation. Painting specialties, such as landscape painting, or copies after Hieronymus Bosch, also provide interesting material for the point of view represented by this session.

### **Demystifying the Process: Practice in Early Sixteenth-Century Antwerp Painter's Workshops. The Underdrawing of the Reinhold-Altarpiece by Joos van Cleve and his Assistants**

Micha Leeflang (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen) and Peter van den Brink (Bonnenfantemuseum)

In May 1516 the Reinhold-altarpiece, now in the National Museum in Warsaw, was installed in the Church of Our Lady in Gdansk. The altarpiece was commissioned by the brotherhood of Saint Reinold and has a sculpted interior with painted wings by Joos van Cleve and his workshop. The style of the painted wings is very recognisable as an

Antwerp product. The bright colors and the twisted positions of the figures are typical for what Friedländer called 'the Antwerp Mannerists.'

The tremendously detailed and linear underdrawing of the inner wings shows a specific working method and is very reminiscent of woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer. The use of volumetric hatchings and broad curly contour lines is quite similar to the woodcut technique. The underdrawing functioned most likely as a guide for the commissioners, but it was also necessary for workshop collaboration.

By comparison with later works from the group of Joos van Cleve it seems clear that the underdrawing of the inner wings in the 'woodcut convention' formed the basis of the working method used in the workshop. As Peter van den Brink discussed in his part of this lecture, underdrawing made in the workshop was a

In many parts of the Reinhold-altarpiece, but more importantly also in his working method, Joos van Cleve was inspired by the woodcuts of Dürer. In his underdrawing Joos van Cleve could show his commissioners, that his skills equaled those of Dürer. The integration of Dürer's graphic method was a conscious decision the artist took as he established his own workshop. The influence by prints of Dürer was widespread in Antwerp, and Joos van Cleve was adapting to Antwerp taste. He seems to have participated in and benefited from the growing influence of Dürer.

### **Evolution in the Workshop Practices of Bernard van Orley**

Maryan Ainsworth, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Although Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons that arrived in Brussels in 1516 indeed influenced the direction of Van Orley's art, the assimilation of the Italian's style was not immediate. A close examination of Van Orley's work (drawings, paintings, and underdrawings) shows that it was not until Raphael's workshop assistant Tommaso Vincidor arrived on the scene in 1520 that Italian workshop practices were embraced by Van Orley, suggesting direct contact between the two artists. These newly introduced working methods include but are not limited to the increased use of model drawings, the "cut and paste" method of merging various models into a single composition, the first clear appearance of methods of transfer in Van Orley's work, the inception of the production of replicas, collaboration of two or more artists on the same work, and the introduction of Raphael's drawing style and technique in the Van Orley studio.

### **Creativity and Efficiency: The Use of Cartoons and Patterns in Paintings by Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer**

Margreet Wolters, RKD

This paper discusses a number of market scenes by Pieter Aertsen and by his nephew and pupil Joachim Beuckelaer in which the same motifs occur again and again; and focuses on the working methods both painters used to repeat these forms.

In the case of Pieter Aertsen, Yvette Bruijnen established the use of partial cartoons, to transfer certain motifs in a mechanical way and on exactly the same scale (published in



1994). Additional research with infrared reflectography presented in this paper, on the one hand confirmed her findings, and on the other hand shed new light on this particular practice.

In some market scenes with 'Ecce Homo' Beuckelaer rearranged comparable motifs as well. For these works Beuckelaer must have used a stock of patterns that were transferred freehand. The motifs differ in shape and in size, and research with IRR revealed an ongoing creative process. The working methods of master and pupil were obviously different in these paintings thus demonstrating that workshop practices did not have to be alike.

### **Artists by Numbers. Quantifying Artist's Trades in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp**

M.P.J. Martens and N. Peeters, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

The lecture focuses on a quantitative analysis of the Saint-Luke ledgers (Liggeren) from 1500 to 1570. This will show the evolution of the artist's trades: the admission of free masters, the training of pupils; the size of the workshops and lastly the principal developments in artists' careers. Some attention will be given to the practical problems which surface when working with prosopographical databases, e.g. the standardization of names.

The study of workshop practices focuses specifically on two events in the lives of artists: the possibility of becoming a master (establishing a workshop), and the possibility of accepting a first pupil (extending a workshop). The paper thus provides a clearer image of the economic dynamics of the artist's existence in sixteenth-century Antwerp.

### **Early Experiments in Renaissance Architecture in the Low Countries. Introduction**

Krista De Jonge (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven) and Jean Guillaume (Centre d'Etudes SupA(C)rieures de la Renaissance, Tours)

With the international conference, 'Les dA(C)but de la Renaissance' (Centre d'Etudes SupA(C)rieures de la Renaissance, Tours, June 1994), Jean Guillaume raised a most important issue which remains relevant for the Low Countries, most of all because the use of the dichotomy 'gothic,renaissance' in the characterization of Netherlandish architecture of the first half of the sixteenth century remains extremely problematic.

From the early 1520's to the 1560's, many parts of Europe shared a strong preference for an 'antique' repertory of forms, based on the diffusion of engraved models (mainly of Northern Italian origin), not yet subject to Vitruvian rule. Attempts to integrate some of its elements A? baluster, 'ringed' column shaft A? into Vitruvian theory gave rise to original interpretations, as seen in Sagredo's *Medidas del romano* (1526) or Cesarino's Vitruvius edition (1521). In the sophisticated urban context of the Low Countries, this 'antique' repertory was mostly the province of the sculptors and not of the traditional building crafts, which in due time gave rise to court cases in which the process of

designing architecture was discussed in modern terms for the first time. Within this milieu originated some of the finest 'antique werken' still known.

This session would discuss this 'Early Renaissance' production within a European context. No form of 'architecture' will be excluded, be it three-dimensional or imaginary (two-dimensional illusion). Issues to be addressed include: Coexistence with the 'gothic'; the use of model books; relation with other non-Italian 'Renaissance.'

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Krista De Jonge (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

The reign of Charles V saw some fundamental changes in the arts of the Low Countries. In 1539, the publication of Serlio's *Fourth Book* translated into Flemish by Pieter Coecke van Aelst and his publication of a Vitruvian-based, pocket-size manual called *Die Inventie der colommen* marked the end of a first period of change. 'Architecture' was now defined as an intellectual activity, which a noble patron could now be interested in without loss of status. 'Architecture' in the antique manner was also subject to rules, which clearly set down how to construct correctly the new forms in the antique repertory.

This session wants to have a closer look at that first period of creativity coinciding with the first decades of the sixteenth century, which has been all too often undervalued in standard overviews of the Netherlandish Renaissance. Twentieth-century architectural historians of the period usually adopted the yardstick of Italianism to judge these works, and sometimes even a truly inappropriate Vasarian perspective. The question, however, is not whether these first experiments in the 'antique manner' were 'correct' according to the norms Serlio and Coecke set out, or even according to contemporary Italian practice, but whether the traditional concept of 'Renaissance' is capable of encompassing the whole of the architectural productivity and inventiveness in the Low Countries at the time. There the answer must be a categorical 'no.' Nor does the label of 'Renaissance' adequately cover the peaceful coexistence, or indeed the conscious combination of the new-fangled 'antique' repertory with the so-called Brabantine gothic A? a hugely successful, regional variant characterized by its high level of abstraction A? and the latest fashion in gothic, i.e. the flamboyant with its elaborate geometric patterns and complex decorative forms.

From the early 1520's to the 1560's, many parts of Europe shared a strong preference for 'antique' forms of North Italian provenance, not yet subject to Vitruvian rule, and situated outside the quest for archaeological 'correctness' which motivated their Roman and Florentine counterparts. Similar experiments in the 'antique' manner can thus be found close by in Northern France, especially in Normandy, and in Spain, which offered a privileged market for artists and works of art from the North. The terms 'indigenous' and 'national' should not be used overmuch when analyzing the earliest experiments in Renaissance architecture in the Low Countries, since these only take on their full

meaning within an international context of influence and exchange, with the Low Countries at the crossroads.

This session is indebted to the following events: the international congress on 'Les débuts de la Renaissance en Europe,' organized by Jean Guillaume in 1994 at the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance at Tours and the subsequent study trip in Belgium in 1995; the session on 'Constructing "Antique" and "Modern" in the 16th-century Netherlands', convened by Hans Van Miegroet at the 16th-Century Studies Conference at St. Louis in 1999; the symposium on 'Théorie des arts et création artistique dans l'Europe du Nord du XVIe au début du XVIIIe siècle,' co-organized by Yves Pauwels and Frédérique Lemerle at Lille in the year 2000, and finally, 'Zu den Anfängen neuzeitlicher Kunstauffassung im Rheinland und den Nachbargebieten um 1500.' This session is also the coda to the 'Vlaams-Nederlands Comité Research Project Unity and Discontinuity in the Architecture of the Low Countries 1530-1700,' led by Koen Ottenheim (Utrecht) and the convenor.

### **Renaissance Gothic at Brou as a Court Style**

Matt Kavalier, University of Toronto

The church that Margaret of Austria erected at Brou helped fashion an identity for herself before an elite European audience. Rather than look to the patrons of Italianate design or back to Burgundian glory, Margaret sought comparison with other leaders of her day. The Bourbons and the Spanish monarchs were judged more appropriate models, and their magnificent Late Gothic creations established a discourse on dynastic greatness.

At Brou Margaret acknowledged the contemporary vogue for Renaissance forms yet concentrated on an inventive program of Gothic decoration. Rich and abundant, it creates an atmosphere of wealth and power, while allowing for a new means of orientation. Distinctive tracery motifs, which register from afar, act as markers of identity, geometrical signatures and multivalent signs of the church, the patron, and the artist. Memorable like musical melody, they comprised a system of ordering that acknowledged a hierarchy of locations. The church, the tombs, and the other furnishings at Brou should be seen in this context, as an authoritative statement in a vital mode of design that situated Margaret of Austria at the forefront of artistic and political life of Europe.

### **Cesariano, Sagredo and the Language of Architectural Ornament in the Low Countries from 1530 Onwards**

Yves Pauwels, Université de Lille 3 et Charles de Gaulle

During the Renaissance, the architecture of the Low Countries naturally sought inspiration in Italian models, and especially in well-known treatises, as, for instance, the ones of Alberti and Serlio. These constitute the most important sources used by Pieter Coecke van Aelst for his *Inventie der Colommen* of 1539, even before Coecke gave new impulse to the diffusion of antique formal repertory thanks to his translations of Serlio's books. Less evident, but unmistakable nevertheless, is the influence of texts, which have

often been considered of secondary importance, e.g. the Vitruvius edition by Cesare Cesariano (Como 1521) and the Spanish treatise by Diego de Sagredo, the *Medidas del Romano* (Toledo, 1526), through the intermediary of the French translation, *Raison d'architecture antique*, republished several times from 1536 onwards. Coecke fleetingly refers to both in his work. Maybe the impact of these works cannot be called fundamental, but it allows us to explain the presence of specific ornamental details, which, integrated into the Serlian vocabulary, confer a picturesque and original touch upon Netherlandish ornament.

Pedestals decorated with a frieze under the crowning cornice, Corinthian capitals with ram's heads instead of proper corner volutes, and column shafts cut in a particular way are elements for which, separately, precedents could be found in contemporary Lombard architecture, but it seems equally satisfying to seek the reason for their popularity in the 'picturesque' treatises we have mentioned. At the same time, the impact of Sagredo's treatise (and to a certain degree, of Cesariano's, which, as must be recalled here, was widely read and imitated by the generation of the 'aguilas,' who pioneered Spanish Renaissance architecture), reveals to what extent the Low Countries were influenced by Spain, where 'classical' architecture was adopted precociously, at a very early stage. It seems evident that the close political relationships between the Low Countries and the Iberian Peninsula also had repercussions for artistic exchange, and that Netherlandish artists (e.g. Jean Mone in Barcelona) and Netherlandish patrons travelling in Spain, as well as the Spanish presence in Flanders caused two artistic spheres, close to each other as to taste, if not geographically, to come into contact with each other. Other ornamental details bear witness to the closeness of these relationships: the very decorative treatment of column shafts, the use of ringed columns, and the combination of a (Doric) frieze with triglyphs and metopes with Corinthian capitals, are all motifs which, in spite of their Italian origin, are characteristic for the Spanish use of the classical orders; their presence in the Low Countries can be naturally explained by the link between the two countries.

### **Stained Glass in the Southern Netherlands, 1510-1550: The Quest for the Renaissance. Hesitations and Affirmations**

Isabelle Lecocq. Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels

The five stained glass windows in the apse of the cathedral Saints-Michael-and-Gudula at Brussels (1524-1530), constitute an exceptional ensemble which illustrates the introduction of the Renaissance style into the Low Countries. They were donated by prestigious patrons, e.g. the emperor Maximilian, Margaret of Austria, regent of the Low Countries, and other members of the Habsburg family. They all conform to the same type of composition. Members of the imperial family are shown kneeling in prayer before a saint, in front of a curtain and below a baldachin. Above this, a towering canopy is decorated with floating banners. In the three central windows (1524-1530), the three-bay architectural framework seems rather sober. Mixed in amongst Renaissance ornamental motifs (columns in the shape of a baluster, scrollwork, medallions with profile portraits, etc.), gothic motifs (lancet windows and trefoil arches) can still be discovered. In the two outermost windows (1527-1530), the composition remains the same, but accumulated ornamental motifs lead to greater confusion, and the formal

repertory shows greater variety. A number of new motifs is integrated into the canopies, as, for instance, pediments, shell motifs, and moldings.

There is still a problem concerning the attribution of these windows. They have been realized following models which could be qualified as 'gothico-renaissant'; Jan Van Roome, of Brussels, is one of the best representatives of this style. Works attributed to him with certainty, on the basis of archival documents, show great complexity, especially in the architectural framework, conceived in a very ornamental manner. For instance, in the seals realized after his designs, balusters are used as ornament rather than as structural supports<sup>A?</sup>; they appear in the same role in the windows of the apse of Saint Michael's.

The window donated by Philip the Handsome and Johanna of Castile can be related to an unpublished drawing, bound in with a manuscript in the Royal Library at Brussels (MS G.1556, Fonds Goethals), and which evidently is a rejected design. There are important differences, especially in the architectural backdrop and ornament. The drawing shows a more legible composition. The use of vertical elements is significant in this perspective. In the window, the architecture is rhythmically subdivided by balusters, seven in number, which in some cases no longer fulfill their original function as structural supports, because they are used as pendants. In the drawing, the vertical elements (pilasters rather than balusters, it seems), on the contrary are less in number and more discreet. Their primary role is to underscore the architectural structure. The ornamental repertory is clearly different. Gothic reminiscences, still present in the window, as for instance cabbage leaves, can no longer be found in the drawing, where markedly Italianate ornament, as for instance shell motifs, abound. This analysis shows that the gothic tradition was not abandoned in a linear fashion. The quest for a new language was conducted in parallel on many fronts. Amongst the routes explored at the time, some were withheld, others not. Thus the gothic style progressively merged into the Renaissance style, more rapidly or more reluctantly, depending on the personal sensibility of the patrons.

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