

historians of netherlandish art

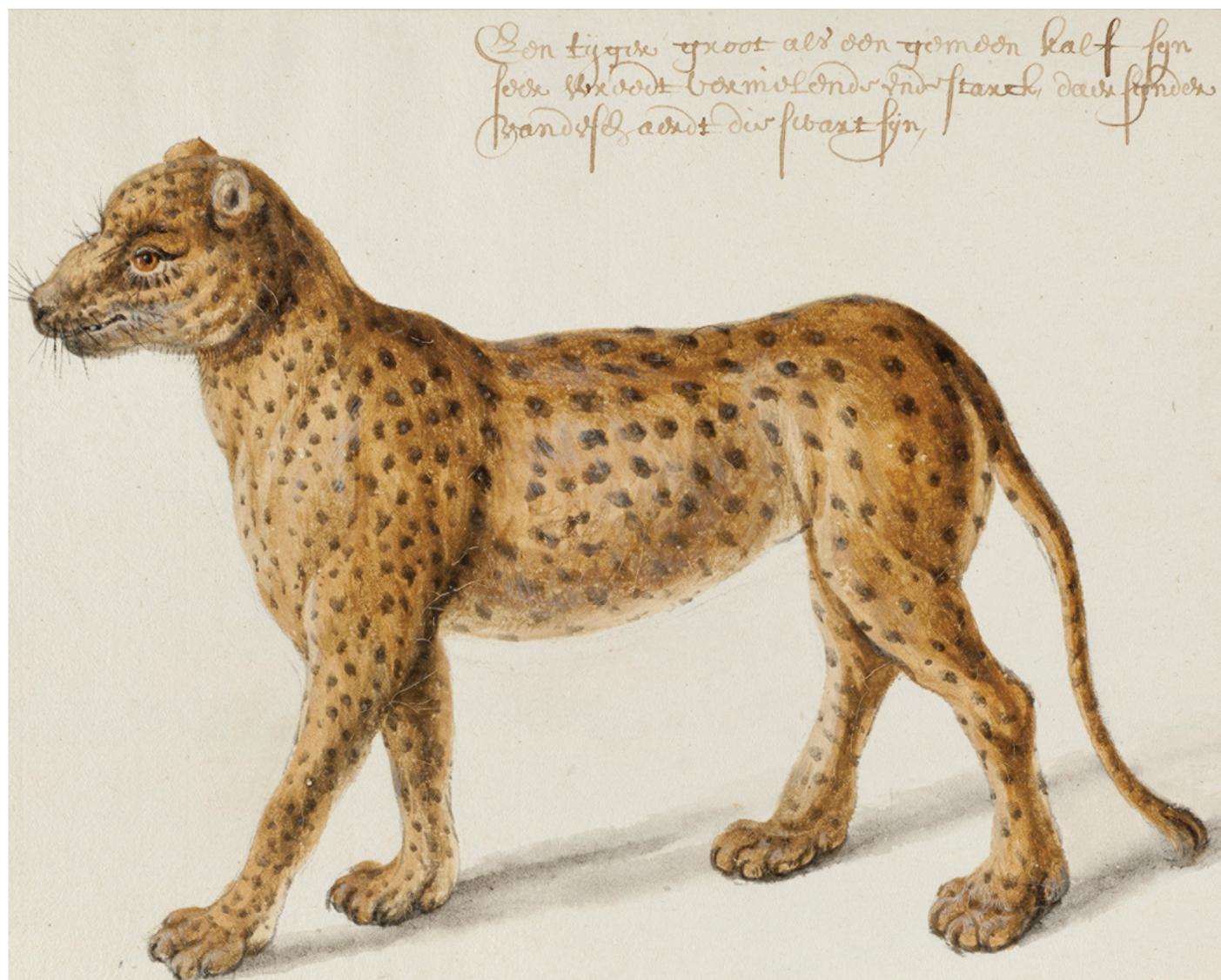
NEWSLETTER

AND REVIEW OF BOOKS

Dedicated to the Study of Netherlandish, German and Franco-Flemish Art and Architecture, 1350-1750

Vol. 33, No. 2

November 2016



Frans Post (1612-1680), *Jaguar*, ca. 1638-43. Watercolor and gouache, pen and black ink over graphite.
Translated inscription: *A tiger, as large as a common calf, they are very ferocious and strong, of this species there are some that are black.* Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, inv. no. 53004667

Exhibited in *Frans Post. Dieren in Brazilië*.
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, October 7, 2016 – January 8, 2017

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HNA Newsletter

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NEWSLETTER

From the President

Dear colleagues,

As this is my last letter as president of this amazing organization, I would like to thank you all for contributing to it: our members, who very often contribute dues higher than the basic level; our administrator, Kristin Belkin; our European treasurer and liaison, Fiona Healy; and our present and past board members. Being president of HNA does not end with the election of a successor president. I would like to thank Stephanie Dickey, our immediate past president, who continued to devote considerable time and effort to HNA matters after her term ended.

Warm thanks are due to Alison Kettering and her extraordinarily capable editorial board and staff of the JHNA, and the authors who write its articles, for making this journal pre-eminent in the field. My gratitude also goes to our conference organizers for 2014: Michael Zell and his team at Boston University and the staff at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, and Paul Crenshaw, who as vice-president of HNA was instrumental in many endeavors. For the next conference in 2018, Max Martens and Koen Jonckheere and their team in Ghent and Bruges deserve thanks and praise as well.

It has been an adventure and delight to work with you, in planning and completing various projects. We were happy to meet in Boston during the RSA Conference, March 31-April 2, 2016, and in Bruges at SCSC, August 18-20. We are grateful to the Netherland America Foundation, the Consulate General of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the General Representation of the Government of Flanders to the USA, who have contributed to our receptions at conferences. We are fortunate to offer our members discounts to the publishers Brill (the discount code was sent around on the listserve) and Davaco (titles from the *Aetas Aurea* series were sent around on the listserve).

We are looking ahead to February, when the College Art Association meets in New York City. Our reception will be Friday, February 17, at Syracuse University's Lubin House, 11 East 61 Street, 5:30-7:00. We hope to see you there!

We are also looking ahead to the Ghent 2018 conference, which will take place Thursday, May 24 to Saturday, May 26, primarily at Het Pand in Ghent but also in Bruges. A call for session and workshop proposals will go out shortly. Please note that the deadline for submitting proposals is not so distant, January 31, 2017.

The slate for elections for president and vice-president will be posted in November, with voting taking place soon. Please participate in the election.

And as ever, I thank you for supporting HNA in its ongoing activities by paying dues, which are our primary source of

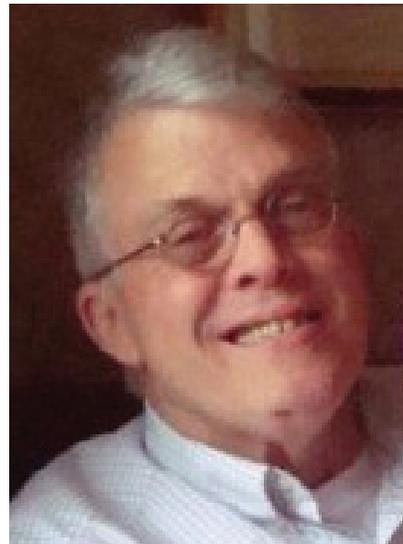
income, contributing at an additional level. Encourage colleagues and students to join our thriving organization. Our website (www.hnanews.org) keeps up with the events and our journal (www.jhna.org) informs us about the latest research. And don't forget to like us on Facebook!

Amy Golahny

email: golahny@lycoming.edu

In Memoriam

David Ross Smith
(1946-2016)



Ross Smith, professor emeritus of art history at the University of New Hampshire, passed away at the age of 70 at his home in Bangor, Maine, on July 30, 2016. A noted scholar of Northern Renaissance and Baroque art, David received his M.A. from Columbia University in 1971, and both his M.Phil. and Ph.D. from the same institution in 1978. He taught his main fields of expertise, as well as courses in Rococo and Greek and Roman art with fervor at UNH from 1979 until his retirement in 2015 after 36 years of service. Early in his career, he taught at Bates College.

David received his bachelor's degree from Washington University in Saint Louis, where his father, Norris Kelly Smith, was himself a professor of art history. Ever a strong pres-

ence, Norris Smith spurred in David a powerful work ethic and drive. The result can be seen in David's copious scholarly output, comprising journal articles, exhibition essays, catalogue entries, book chapters, and books.

Although he viewed humanism as a continuous thread that connected the Western tradition across the millennia, David was acutely sensitive to social change that occurred over time, particularly during the early modern period. His wide-ranging intellectual curiosity led him to read across disciplines, among them literary criticism, anthropology, history and beyond, evidenced in his probing scholarship. He often remarked that such catholic interests were what was needed in traditional Dutch art historical scholarship. In the classroom and in conversation, he often talked about his intended magnum opus, "Privacy and Civilization," recently completed, and in the process of being published. It promises to be an important contribution to the field. His 1982 book, *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture* (UMI Research Press), a revision of his dissertation, remains a touchstone in Golden Age Dutch portraiture studies. More recently, his edited volume *Parody and Festivity in Early Modern Art: Essays on Comedy as Social Vision* (Ashgate, 2012; reviewed in this journal April 2014) explored his deep-rooted interest in comedy as a form of socially redeeming laughter that is rooted in community. Carnival was in his blood. He was born on Twelfth Night, as he liked to point out, and was known to delight in celebrating the festival with students. His glee at these events was absolutely infectious.

Unceasingly generous with his time, his knowledge and his library, David was also liberal with his criticism. His unwavering push for colleagues and students to be better, stronger, more, at times could wear thin but, as David liked to note, his demanding nature was in keeping with his deeply ingrained protestant (Presbyterian) morality. This quirky, and somewhat anti-modern, contrary streak meant he still manually typed – on a typewriter! – his letters and notes as recently as 1997. He believed (and 'preached') that hard work and suffering kept you honest and earned you merit. No doubt this personality trait kept him climbing mountains, especially New Hampshire's 4,000-footers, and hiking with him was a special, delightful pastime.

Those lucky enough to have studied with David (or, 'DRS' as he signed everything) will never forget him sitting at the front of the classroom, yard-long wooden pointer in hand, delivering riveting lectures, sans notes – eyes routinely closed – channeling his muse and sharing art history wisdom for hours. This was punctuated at times by his strolling in front of the screen, *whacking* at images for effect. The classroom sign behind reading: "Do not touch the screen with *anything*" just made this more comically endearing. Then there was the sign on his office door, "If it ain't Baroque, don't fix it!", together with his collection of cut-out New Yorker cartoons, yellowed with age. More than one of us became art historians because of David's love of teaching and entertaining audiences. He will be deeply missed.

Kimberlee A. Cloutier-Blizzard
Simmons College, Boston

HNA News

HNA Fellowship 2017-2018

We urge members to apply for the 2017-18 Fellowship. Scholars of any nationality who have been HNA members in good standing for at least two years are eligible to apply. The topic of the research project must be within the field of Northern European art ca. 1400-1800. Up to \$2,000 may be requested for purposes such as travel to collections or research facilities, purchase of photographs or reproduction rights, or subvention of a publication. Preference will be given to projects nearing completion (such as books under contract). Winners will be notified in February 2016, with funds to be distributed by April. The application should consist of: (1) a short description of project (1-2 pp); (2) budget; (3) list of further funds applied/received for the same project; and (4) current c.v. A selection from a recent publication may be included but is not required. Pre-dissertation applicants must include a letter of recommendation from their advisor.

Applications should be sent, preferably via e-mail, by **December 14, 2016**, to Paul Crenshaw, Vice-President, Historians of Netherlandish Art. E-mail: paul.crenshaw@providence.edu; Postal address: Providence College, 1 Cummingham Square, Providence RI 02918-0001.

Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art (JHNA)

The *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* (www.jhna.org) announces its next submission deadline, **March 1, 2017**. Please consult the journal's Submission Guidelines.

JHNA is an open-access, peer-reviewed journal published twice per year. Articles focus on art produced in the Netherlands (north and south) during the early modern period (c. 1400-c. 1750), and in other countries and later periods as they relate to this earlier art. This includes studies of painting, sculpture, graphic arts, tapestry, architecture, and decoration, from the perspectives of art history, art conservation, museum studies, historiography, technical studies, and collecting history. Book and exhibition reviews, however, will continue to be published in the HNA Newsletter.

The deadline for submission of articles is **March 1, 2017**.

Alison M. Kettering, Editor-in-Chief
Mark Trowbridge, Associate Editor
Dagmar Eichberger, Associate Editor
Jacquelyn Coutré, Associate Editor

HNA at CAA New York, February 15-18, 2017

The HNA-sponsored session is "The Netherlands and Global Baroque," chaired by Caroline Fowler (Yale).

Adam Eaker (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Suriname on Display.

Christina An (Boston University), Art beyond Price or Place: Vermeer, Asia, and the Poetics of Painting.

Marsely Kehoe (Michigan State University), A Global Dutch Architecture?: Hybridity in Curaçao's Eighteenth-Century Merchant Homes.

The HNA Reception will take place on Friday, February 17, 2016, at Syracuse University's Lubin House, 11 East 61 Street, 5:30-7:00 pm.

Personalia

Erik Löffler (1967-2016), Curator of Dutch and Flemish Old Master Drawings and Prints at the RKD passed away on May 28, 2016.

Simon Levie (1925-2016), former director of the Rijksmuseum and co-founder of the Rembrandt Research Project, passed away July 12, 2016.

Marisa Bass, formerly Washington University, St. Louis, has been appointed Assistant Professor in the Department of the History of Art, Yale University.

Lorne Campbell received an honorary doctorate from the Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven.

Alan Chong, former director of the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore, has been appointed Director of the Currier Museum of Art, Manchester, NH.

Taco Dibbitts has been appointed the new director of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Previously he held the position of Director of Collections at the Rijksmuseum.

Christine Göttler, University of Bern, has completed a fellowship in residence at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Amsterdam.

Katja Kleinert has been appointed Curator of Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Paintings at the Gemäldegalerie Berlin, a position previously held by Bernd Lindemann who retired as director and curator. Until September 1, 2016, Kleinert held the position of Research Associate at the Gemäldegalerie.

Anna Koopstra has been appointed Simon Sainsbury Curatorial Assistant for Paintings before 1500 at the National Gallery, London. She is also an Associate Caroline Villers Research Fellow at the Courtauld Institute, London, working on Hendrik van Steenwijck.

Keith Moxey, Barnard College, New York, has been named a 2016-17 Guest Scholar by the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, California. He will research "Temporalities of Art History."

Corine Schleif, Arizona State University, is a recipient of the 2015-16 Berlin Prize. She is currently John P. Birkelund Fellow in the Humanities at the American Academy in Berlin, where she is completing the book *Bending Stone: Adam Kraft and the Sculpting of Art's History*.

Eric Jan Sluijter and **Gerdien Verschoor** presented the first of the newly established biennial Frans Hals Lecture on September 1, 2016. The two presentations took place in the Grote or St. Bavo's Church where Hals is buried. The Hals lecture consists of two parts: a scholarly analysis of the artist's work, followed by a fictional story about the life or a work of Hals.

Katlijne Van der Stighelen, Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, was awarded the 11th Frans Drijvers Prize on October 1, 2016. The prize is named after the socially active Flemish priest Frans Drijvers (1858-1914).

Mariët Westermann has been promoted to executive vice-president for programs and research at the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, New York.

Arthur Wheelock Jr., National Gallery of Art, Washington, is featured as Curator in the Spotlight in *Codart eZine*, 8, 2016.

Exhibitions

United States and Canada

Johannes Vermeer's *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, September 19, 2015 – December 1, 2016. The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, has lent the picture to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the landmark exhibition Johannes Vermeer of 1995-1996. The painting is on view alongside the Vermeer paintings from the Gallery's own collection. Previously shown at the Timken Museum of Art, San Diego.

Singular Figures: Portraits and Character Studies in Northern Baroque Painting. Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, Kingston, ON, January 9 – December 4, 2016. Co-curated by Stephanie Dickey and Jacquelyn N. Coutré.

Pages from the Past: Illuminated Manuscripts in Boston-Area Collections. McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College ("The Art of Illumination"); Houghton Library at Harvard University ("Cloister and Cathedral: The Church and the Book in the Middle Ages"), September 10 – December 11, 2016; Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum ("The Italian Renaissance Book"), September 22, 2016 – January 15, 2017. The exhibition is curated and the accompanying catalogue edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger (Harvard University), William Stoneman (Harvard University), Lisa Fagin Davis (Medieval Academy of America), Anne-Marie Eze (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum), and Nancy Netzer (Boston College). An international conference linked to the exhibition with one day at each of the three venues took place on November 3-5, 2016.

From Drawings to Paintings in the Age of Rembrandt. National Gallery of Art, Washington, October 4, 2016 – January 2, 2017; Fondation Custodia Frits Lugt, Paris, February 3 – May 7, 2017 (see below).

Recent Acquisitions of Dutch and Flemish Drawings Celebrated at the National Gallery of Art. National Gallery of Art, Washington, July 3, 2016 – January 2, 2017.

Hans Memling: Portraiture, Piety, and a Reunited Altarpiece. Morgan Library & Museum, New York, September 2,

2016 – January 8, 2017. The Morgan's inner wings of Memling's *Triptych of Jan Crabbe* are reunited with the central panel, now owned by the Musei Civici in Vicenza and the outer wings from the Groeningemuseum, Bruges. With publication ed. by John Marciari, with essays by Maryan Ainsworth, Till-Holger Borchert, Noël Geirnaert, John Marciari, Gianluca Poldi and Giovanni C.F. Villa, and Ilona van Tuinen. London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2016. ISBN 978-1-911300-08-3.

Martin Luther and the Art of the Reformation. Minneapolis Institute of Art, October 30, 2016 – January 15, 2017.

Law and Grace. Pitts Theology Library, Emory University, Atlanta, October 10, 2016 – January 16, 2017.

Word and Image: Martin Luther's Reformation. Morgan Library and Museum, New York, October 7, 2016 – January 22, 2017.

Small Wonders: Gothic Boxwood Miniatures. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, November 5, 2016 – January 22, 2017; Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, February 21 – May 2017; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, opens June 15, 2017. With catalogue and scholarly publication by Frits Scholten.

Civic Pride: Dutch Group Portraits from Amsterdam. National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, March 10, 2012 – March 11, 2017. Two group portraits by Govert Flinck and Bartholomeus van der Helst on long-term loan from the Rijksmuseum and the Amsterdam Museum.

Masterpieces from the Golden Age of Dutch Art: The Rose-Marie and Eijk van Otterloo Collection. Yale Art Gallery, New Haven, October 2014–2017.

The Mysterious Landscapes of Hercules Segers. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, February – May 2017. Previously at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Divine Encounter: Rembrandt's Abraham and the Angels. The Frick Collection, New York, May 30 – August 20, 2017. Organized by Joanna Sheers Seidenstein; with publication.

Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry. National Gallery of Art, Washington, October 22, 2017 – January 21, 2018. Previously at the Musée du Louvre, Paris, and the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

Europe and Other Countries

Austria

Rembrandt unter der Farbe. Residenzgalerie, Salzburg, November 12, 2016 – June 26, 2017.

Bruegel. Albertina, Vienna, September 8 – December 3, 2017.

Rubens: Metamorphosen. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, **October 18, 2017 – January 14, 2018.** The exhibition will include *Venus Frigida* from the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, which is being restored in Vienna while the Antwerp museum is closed.

Pieter Bruegel d.Ä.: Ausstellung anlässlich des 450. Todesjahres von Pieter Bruegel d.Ä. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, **October 23, 2018 – January 27, 2019.** Curators: Elke Oberthaler, Sabine Pénot.

Belgium

Reunion. From Quinten Matsys to Peter Paul Rubens. Masterpieces from the Royal Museum Reunited in the Cathedral. Antwerp Cathedral, until 2017.

Voor God en Geld. Gouden tijd van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. Provinciaal Cultuurcentrum Caermersklooster, Ghent, June 17, 2016 – January 1, 2017. With catalogue by Katharina Van Cauteren and Fernand Huts, *The Birth of Capitalism. The Golden Age of Flanders*, Tiel: Uitg. Lannoo N.V., 2016. ISBN 978-94-014-3735-6, EUR 45.

Op zoek naar Utopia. Museum M, Leuven, October 20, 2016 – January 17, 2017. See also the conference, KU Leuven, January 11-13, 2017.

The Art of Law: Three Centuries of Justice Depicted. Groeningemuseum, Bruges, October 28, 2016 – February 5, 2017. Themes related to justice as expressed in artworks of various media from 1500 to 1800. Accompanied by a conference (see under Conferences).

Het paradijs op aarde. Vlaamse landschapsschilderkunst van Bruegel tot Rubens. Rockoxhuis, Antwerp, March 24 – June 2, 2017. Previously in Dresden, see below.

Memling in Context. Een vernieuwende blik op Hans Memlings schilderijen in het Sint-Janshospitaal. Museum Sint-Janshospitaal, Damme, May 11 – October 8, 2017.

Bruegelland. Stedelijk Museum Wuyts-Van Campen en Baron Caroly, Lier, June 18, 2011 – **December 31, 2017.**

Pieter Pourbus and the Claeissens Family. Painting in Bruges in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century. Groeningemuseum, Bruges, **October 12, 2017 – January 21, 2018.** A workshop in preparation of the exhibition took place September 15, 2016. For the program see under Past Conferences.

Call for Justice. Art and Law in the Burgundian Low Countries. Museum Hof van Busleyden, Mechelen, March 23 – June 24, 2018. In collaboration with the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.

De eeuw van Bruegel. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, **July 1 – December 31, 2019.** Curator: Manfred Sellink.

England and Scotland

Master Strokes: Dutch and Flemish Drawings from the Golden Age. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, May 14 – November 13, 2016.

Sensation: Rembrandt's First Paintings. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, September 16 – November 27, 2016; Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, opening December 1, 2016. The four known paintings of Rembrandt's earliest paintings of the *Five Senses*. Three of the paintings – *Smell*, *Touch* and *Hearing* – were on view at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, May 11 – August 28, 2016.

Reformation to Revolution. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, December 1, 2011 – December 31, 2016.

Adriaen van de Velde: Master of the Dutch Golden Age. Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, October 12, 2016 – January 15, 2017. The exhibition opened at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. With publication: Bart Cornelis and Marijn Schapelhou-

man, *Adriaen van de Velde: Dutch Master of Landscape*, London: Paul Holberton, 2016. ISBN 978-1-907372-96-4, £35.

Am I Rembrandt? Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, November 8, 2016 – March 5, 2017.

Portrait of the Artist. Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, London, November 4, 2016 – April 23, 2017.

The Young Rembrandt. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, July 12 – October 28, 2018; Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, November 17, 2018 – March 3, 2019.

Finland

Asetelma. Elama tarjottimella (Still Life – Life on a Plate). Sinebrychoffin Taldemuseo, Helsinki, September 29 – December 31, 2016.

Caesar van Everdingen – Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt. Sinebrychoffin Taldemuseo, Helsinki, February 2 – May 14, 2017. Previously at the Stedelijk Museum, Alkmaar.

France

L'Odysée des Animaux. Musée de Flandre, Cassel, October 8, 2016 – January 22, 2017. With catalogue by Cécile Laffon, *L'Odysée des Animaux. Les Peintres animaliers flamands au XVII^e siècle*. Ghent: Snoeck Ducaju & Zoon, 2016. ISBN 978-94-6161-338-7, EUR 35.

Rembrandt intime. Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, September 16, 2016 – January 23, 2017. Curators: Emmanuel Starcky, Peter Schatborn, Pierre Curie. With catalogue by Claire Durand-Ruel and Jacques-Sylvain Klein, Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 2016. ISBN 978-94-6230-145-0, EUR 40.

From Drawings to Paintings in the Age of Rembrandt. Fondation Custodia Frits Lugt, Paris, February 3 – May 7, 2017. Previously at the National Gallery of Art, Washington (see above).

Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry. Musée du Louvre, Paris, February 20 – May 22, 2017; National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, June 17 – September 17, 2017; National Gallery of Art, Washington, October 22, 2017 – January 21, 2018. Curators: Blaise Ducos, Adriaan Waiboer, Arthur Wheelock. With catalogue.

Francis I and Netherlandish Art. Musée du Louvre, Paris, October 18, 2017 – January 15, 2018. Curated by Cécile Scaillière. The catalogue has contributions by Peter van den Brink and Dan Ewing.

Rubens. Princely Portraits. Musée du Luxembourg, Paris, October 2017 – January 2018.

Germany

Rembrandts Schatten. England und die Schwarze Kunst. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, September 18, 2016 – January 8, 2017.

Das Paradies auf Erden: Landschaften von Bruegel bis Rubens. Kunsthalle im Lipsiusbau, Dresden, October 1, 2016 – January 15, 2017; Rockoxhuis, Antwerp, March 24 – June 2, 2017.

Bilderwelten – Buchmalerei zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, March 2, 2016

– January 17, 2017. Catalogue ed. by Claudia Fabian, Lucerne, Quaternio Verlag.

Bührle von Dürer bis van Gogh. Sammlung Bührle trifft Wallraf. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Cologne, September 23, 2016 – January 29, 2017.

Heilige Nacht. Die Weihnachtsgeschichte und ihre Bilderwelt. Liebighaus Skulpturensammlung, Frankfurt, October 12, 2016 – January 29, 2017.

Hieronymus Bosch und seine Bilderwelt im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, November 9, 2016 – February 19, 2017.

Blood & Tears. Albrecht Bouts and the Image of the Passion. Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, March 8 – June 11, 2017. Previously at the Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Luxembourg, October 7, 2016 – February 12, 2017 (see below).

Ireland

Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, June 17 – September 17, 2017; National Gallery of Art, Washington, October 22, 2017 – January 21, 2018. Previously at the Musée du Louvre, Paris (see above).

Italy

Brueghel. Capolavori dell'arte fiamminga. Reggia di Venaria Reale, Turin, September 21, 2016 – February 19, 2017.

Luxembourg

Blood & Tears. Albrecht Bouts and the Image of the Passion. Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Luxembourg, October 7, 2016 – February 12, 2017; Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, March 8 – June 11, 2017.

The Netherlands

Hollanders van de Gouden Eeuw. Hermitage Amsterdam, November 29, 2014 – December 31, 2016.

Rembrandt's Head of Christ from a Private Collection. Museum Het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, on loan since July 8, 2016. The painting was part of the 2011 exhibition "Rembrandt and the Face of Jesus" in Paris and Philadelphia.

At Home in Holland. Vermeer and His Contemporaries from the British Royal Collection. Mauritshuis, The Hague, September 29, 2016 – January 8, 2017. Previously at Buckingham Palace, London, November 13, 2015 – February 14, 2016, and Queen's Gallery, Edinburgh, March 14 – July 24, 2016. Catalogue reviewed in this issue.

Frans Post. Dieren in Brazilië. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, October 7, 2016 – January 8, 2017. With catalogue, ISBN 978-94-91714-91-7, EUR 20. For the symposium held in conjunction with the exhibition, see under Conferences.

Hercules Segers Wonderland. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, October 7, 2016 – January 8, 2017; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, February – May, 2017.

In de ban van Hercules Segers – Rembrandt en de Modernen. Museum Het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, October 7, 2016 – January 8, 2017. With catalogue by Mireille Cornelis, Zwolle: WBOOKS, ISBN 978-94-6258-173-9, EUR 30.

Praag rond 1600. Kunst en wetenschap aan het hof van Rudolf II. Prentenkabinet Universiteit Leiden, September 29, 2016 – January 10, 2017.

Beauty Rules: Gerard de Lairese en de maakbare schoonheid. Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede, September 11, 2016 – January 22, 2017.

Vleidend penseel: Caesar van Everdingen (1616-1678). Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, September 24, 2016 – January 22, 2017; Sinebrychoffin Taldemuseo, Helsinki, February 2 – May 14, 2017. With catalogue by Christi Klinkert and Yvonne Bleyerveld, Zwolle: Uitgeverij de Kunst, 2016. ISBN 978-94-6262-093-3, EUR 25.

Gevonden! Het laatste schuttersstuk ontdekt. Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft, August 26, 2016 – January 29, 2017. The fifth schuttersstuk recently discovered at auction in Paris.

Hollandse Meesters uit Boedapest. Het Szépművészeti Múzeum op reis. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, November 12, 2016 – February 12, 2017.

Slow Food. Stillevens uit de Gouden Eeuw. Mauritshuis, The Hague, March 9 – June 25, 2017.

Aert Schouman (1710-1792). Dordrechts Museum, Dordrecht, February 20 – September 17, 2017.

Trompe l'oeil: gezichtsbedrog in de Gouden Eeuw. Dordrechts Museum, Dordrecht, January 1 – December 31, 2017.

Emanuel de Witte. Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, September 23, 2017 – January 21, 2018.

The Young Rembrandt. Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, November 17, 2018 – March 3, 2019. Previously at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (see above).

De Atlassen. Het Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam, April 1, 2014 – April 1, 2018.

Allart van Everdingen. First Painter of Scandinavian Landscapes. Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, September 1, 2019 – January 31, 2020.

Poland

Gonzales Coques, Interior with Figures in a Picture Gallery. Muzeum Lazienki Królewskie, Warsaw, July 1 – November 30, 2016.

Portugal

The Global City: Lisbon in the Renaissance. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, November 25, 2016 – March 25, 2017. Based on the book *The Global City: On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon*, ed. by Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and K.J.P. Lowe, Paul Holberton, London.

Russia

Fascination of Reality. Dutch Burger House Interiors of the 17th Century. Pushkin State Museum of fine Arts, Moscow, October 11, 2016 – January 10, 2017.

Sweden

Konstnären. Moderna Museet, Malmö, October 8, 2016 – February 19, 2017. Previously at the Konstakademien, Stockholm, February 11 – September 11, 2016. The role of the artist from Rubens and Rembrandt to contemporary artists.

Switzerland

Bestechend gestochen. Das unternehmen Hendrick Goltzius. Kunstmuseum Basel, August 20 – November 13, 2016. With catalogue by Ariane Mensger, Hirmer Verlag.

Archäologie des Heils. Das Christusbild im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Kunstmuseum Basel, September 10, 2016 – January 8, 2017. With catalogue with contributions by Bodo Brinkmann, Katharina Georgi and Andreas Rüfenacht, Kunstverlag Josef Fink.

Exhibition Review

Hieronymus Bosch, Visions of Genius. Het Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch, February 13 – May 8, 2016.

Bosch. The 5th Centenary Exhibition. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, May 31 – September 11, 2016.

Even those of us who have been around for a couple of scholarly generations have just seen the greatest exhibition in our field of a lifetime, both in 's-Hertogenbosch and Madrid, cooperative yet competing installations, whose differences will become clear. Certainly other exhibitions rival these, especially Flémalle/Campin (Berlin-Frankfurt), Jan Gossart [sic] (New York), or, to include less-familiar media, two tapestry exhibitions (New York) and one big prints exhibitions, *Grand Scale* (full bias disclosure: organized in part by me). And I should also note at the outset that I contributed an essay to the Prado catalogue. But I want to evaluate these two exhibitions and the research behind them while noting some issues that remain outstanding in Bosch scholarship even after these milestone events.

Of course, the anniversary of Bosch's 1516 death triggered these exhibitions, not to mention a flood of new books and even films. But to lead up to these installations, serious technical examination at both sites produced new infrared examinations of the paintings, so that now underdrawing and preliminary layouts can be considered as part of Bosch's working procedures, within his workshop process. Yes, workshop process. Bosch came from a multi-generational van Aken family of painters, and even as inventor of his unique vision – albeit so often copied and even faked afterwards – he surely had assistants in his productions. Yet the urge remains – even more so with underdrawings newly available – to produce a definitive *catalogue raisonné* that separates wheat from chaff, particularly by the Bosch Research and Conservation Project in the Netherlands. They systematically visited all available and plausible Bosch at-

tributions with the latest equipment and examined them under consistent conditions. Only the Prado and the Vienna Akademie (a major omission from both exhibitions) reserved their own rights to study their own objects; the critical results of the former appear in the current catalogue, whereas the latter, long reserved by curator Renata Trnek, still have not been published. The obvious presence of multiple hands on the surface of the large Vienna *Last Judgment* triptych makes it a critical omission from both the exhibitions and from these well produced catalogue publications, despite the best efforts of both organizers.

What do we know now about Bosch? Several principal arguments emerge from the Dutch BRCP group: 1) that the essential aspect of Bosch's working method is his drawing, both as underdrawing and brushwork, which in turn together, they claim, 2) secure a core group of paintings as authentic works, not some broader "Groupe Bosch" as the KIK/IRPA would designate. As a result, they assign a very small number of paintings to the workshop and even fewer drawings. Perhaps some of this urge to assert Bosch's mastership comes in reaction to Fritz Koreny's recent (2012) emphasis on firm distinctions among the corpus of drawings and on discerning several workshop masters linked to specific core works, especially the Prado *Haywain*. Curiously, the Dutch team finds almost no major distinctions within the underdrawings, even for those of the widely noted "left-handed master" of the Washington-Paris-New Haven-Rotterdam panels. To my eye, the micro-distinctions of Boschian drawings by Koreny emerged more clearly in the underdrawings than in the drawings themselves, but the Dutch team lumps together underdrawings as if there were no basic differences, which seems extreme in its own right. To be determined after further examination of catalogues and originals . . .

But any responsible curator will advise caution in putting too much stress on the evaluation of authenticity chiefly from underdrawings. After all, the most careful preliminary drawing could prompt clarity for delegated workshop execution, or the sketchiest suggestion could prompt improvisation on the surface for an assured master – not to mention the relative differences among parts, such as main figures, still-life items, and landscape backgrounds. And who is to say that Bosch did not have specialists in his studio who laid down his inventive monsters for him, like the eagle in Rubens's *Prometheus* (Philadelphia)? Another surface element, all-but-ignored in both catalogues but newly revealed by the restored *Garden of Earthly Delights* as well as by the Lisbon *St. Anthony*, is Bosch's fascination with animal forms, often extremely well modeled and precise, whether as monsters or as giants; lesser attention to animals might suggest workshop execution as a result.

And can't a well drafted underdrawing be executed instead by the workshop? This process seems clear to me in the Bruges *Last Judgment*, a beautifully signed work that jointly exalted as original by both exhibitions, but one that still comes across as a flatly painted pastiche of earlier motifs. Additionally, the much-ballyhooed "rediscovery" of the Kansas City *Saint Anthony* as an "original" rather than a restored fragment (previously considered workshop by its museum) really adds very little to the oeuvre, though both exhibitions included it.

Where one really sees Bosch's unique greatness is in his grisailles (Berlin *St. John*; Madrid *Adoration*; Lisbon *St. Anthony*). There we see him painting wet-in-wet and truly drawing with the brush. Some great drawings, especially the *Tree Man* (Albertina) and *Owl's Nest* (Rotterdam) show Bosch's distinc-

tive, novel contribution to the finished independent drawing, whereas some of his individual figure sketches – the two-sided Berlin *Monsters* or Albertina *Grotesque with Man in a Basket* – show his ability to improvise figures in fine, scratchy linework (especially the charming infants frolicking on the latter sheet). All institutions that own Bosch drawings are to be praised for their generosity, and in Den Bosch the drawings, nearly complete, were clustered together, making distinctions among them – especially to separate imitators from originals – easy to evaluate (by contrast, in Madrid the drawings were distributed within the paintings according to themes, so separated from each other, making comparisons more difficult). A few drawings also emerged as anomalous, especially the multi-layered British Museum *Entombment*, whose figure types are truly Boschian but whose final effect, seemingly reworked by Bosch himself, remains inconsistent with the lighter appearance of the rest of the oeuvre. Or the exquisite *Oriental in a Landscape* (Berlin), which uniquely uses chalk, pen, brush, and white body color.

But what is also obvious from the cumulative effect of the painted works, shown to spectacular effects in both installations, is how Bosch's overall painting technique shifted imagery from the prevailing fine detail and refined glazes of Flemish naturalism to a bolder shaping of figures and settings in subtle color tones with accents. Bosch set Dutch painting on the course of its seventeenth-century tonal processes, even if his imagery still extends a late-medieval, fifteenth-century legacy. Moreover, it is also clear from the basic narrative of Northern art, but newly evident now, that his atmospheric settings inspired Patinir's career in particular and the Netherlandish landscape genre in general. Further, his novel representations of worldly sinfulness helped spark genre themes, as shown in last fall's exhibition in Rotterdam ("Van Bosch tot Bruegel. Het begin van de genreschilderkunst") by Peter van der Coelen and Friso Lammertse.

Now to review the installations themselves. 's-Hertogenbosch used large vitrines, well-lighted from below, which clearly displayed colors on newly restored painting surfaces. One colleague noted that this presentation turned the pictures into images, almost like giant slides, but to me they produced vivid, consistent display in meaningful small clusters. In contrast to the almost rectilinear, clustered layout of Den Bosch, Madrid built its display organically around its own celebrated triptychs (of which only the *Haywain* was sent north), creatively showing them open and mounted on curvilinear bases, so that one could easily survey both the front and the back in sequence. Additionally, Madrid placed a helpful photo reproduction of the closed exteriors between their open wings, so that each viewer could see the entire composition as well as the separated original wings. Drawings, however, chiefly provided an accompaniment to the paintings in Madrid, whereas in Den Bosch they formed a separate and well presented group in their own right, emphasizing Bosch as draughtsman.

Both exhibitions chose to organize all works by theme, beginning with the Life of Christ, then Saints, and finally "The World and Last Things," to use the Prado segmentation. Of course, this layout has the virtue, especially for the general public, of providing some framework for assessing Bosch's preoccupations and purposes, and in fairness most monographs, including my own, are organized along similar lines. However, great confusion also can result from this choice, particularly concerning Bosch chronology, even for a relative dating or

clustering of pictures – still a basically neglected approach to his oeuvre. Some almost comical results could emerge, such as the hanging in the Prado, where the small-figured Vienna wing of *Christ Carrying the Cross* (dated in the catalogue ca. 1505/10-1516, a date usually linked to the – newly disattributed – Ghent *Carrying of the Cross*) was placed near the large-figured Escorial *Carrying of the Cross* (dated ca. 1500), a work close in concept (and hanging) to the London *Christ Mocked* (here also dated ca. 1500). These two works with the same subject are utterly different in figural conception, spatial layout, relation to the viewer, and any other conceivable criterion, so much so that they almost seem to be works by different artists, yet they still hung together because of the thematic organization.

How can we begin to make sense of Bosch's development, even in terms of relative chronology? A century ago Ludwig von Baldass suggested using landscape as a criterion, and these shows reveal that his view has much merit. Start with the luminous atmospheric blue horizon of the newly-restored (and newly promoted over its Escorial replica) Prado *Haywain* (or for that matter even the Bruges *Last Judgment Paradise wing*), where thinly painted veils of color recede into deep distance. Similar distances are delicately sketched in both the mature *Tree Man* and the *Owls' Nest* drawings. Then contrast such presumably late landscape constructions with the arbitrary flat screens of the Prado *Garden* (or its closely related set of dotted trees behind the Lázaro Galdiano *John the Baptist*), which still deserve the old-fashioned designation of *coulisses*. Incidentally, this kind of comparison also reveals how the cleaning of overpaint from the Louvre *Ship of Fools* has essentially now stripped off most of that landscape background.

Much work remains to be done on this kind of Bosch development of form, but close consideration makes clear that the Berlin *Evangelist* and Lázaro Galdiano *Baptist* cannot belong together, as first proposed in the 2001 Rotterdam Bosch exhibition (repeated in Den Bosch but questioned in Madrid), not least because of their contrasting landscape layouts. There are other major differences between them, notably the delicate grisaille reverse found only on the Berlin panel. Also among the findings of the infrared inspection is a newly-revealed donor beneath the overpainted evil plant on the *Baptist*. Another test case: what about the *Calvary with Donor* (Brussels), inexplicably withheld from both venues, a work often dated early because of its conservative layout, and whose figures and colors show close affinities with the *Garden*.

Indeed, because of our confidence in both the heraldry and family history of their patrons, the mid 1490s dates of both the Prado *Adoration* and of its related workshop *Ecce Homo* triptych have caused most Bosch datings to be posed relative to that "fixed" point. Not even a relative chronology is obtainable from these two exhibition catalogues, nor is any attempt made to clarify Bosch's development, even if consensus seems to fasten on both the New York *Adoration of the Magi* (still strangely inconsistent in its parts to my eye) and the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* as the earliest works. My previous support for the Philadelphia *Magi* as early, based on the awkward presentation of space, now seems unfounded, and workshop participation seems likely, yet the high quality of the two standing magi merits consideration as authentic (in contrast to the adjacent weakness of the much-restored Joseph, and amidst widespread condition issues in the panel). But for both New York and Philadelphia panels, how credible is finding multiple hands, where both Bosch and assistants would work together on fairly small pieces?

Good lighting and careful conservation now reveal how much these paintings have been subjected to damage over time, in part due to their thin, often improvised, paint layers. We now can see more clearly how much some of these works have suffered, even masterpieces such as the Rotterdam *Saint Christopher*. But we can be grateful to all lenders of these panels for their generosity in allowing the ingathering of Bosch works at both exhibitions, with the notable exceptions of the Vienna Akademie and Brussels. Because of the new emphasis on underdrawings (especially in Den Bosch) and on distinguishing between the master and his workshop or even his later followers (e.g. the Bruges *Job* triptych, Rotterdam *Marriage at Cana*, or Saint-Germain-en-Laye *Conjurer*), lost works did not come under consideration, though several come to mind, such as the *Christ among the Doctors* (best replicated at Opocno chateau and the Louvre). And while it was not the charge of these exhibitions, the replicas of extant works, especially of the Prado *Adoration* and the Lisbon *Saint Anthony*, deserve a renewed examination, extending the research on Bosch *Rezeption* by Gerd Unverfehrt (1980), to consider how lifetime replication by the workshop fits into the diffusion of Bosch compositions. The true *catalogue raisonné* still remains to be written.

But what a feast, especially in Madrid, which claimed that only three paintings were lacking (!), and the drawings too were also fully represented. Perhaps the marketing-driven title of the Den Bosch venue, *Visions of Genius*, most clearly reveals the prevailing notion that Bosch himself – master Jheronimus rather than Groupe Bosch – was the true driving force and could be readily defined – in underdrawings and drawings as well as in paint surfaces – despite his own documented family of professional painters. With the new technical studies (except Vienna's *Last Judgment*) available at last in these catalogues, and soon to be online in high resolution, we can take Bosch studies to a new level with much truly fresh material. Our gratitude must be boundless, for such a pair of exhibition experiences and for their printed legacies.

Larry Silver

University of Pennsylvania

Museum and other News

Amersfoort

Four Dutch cultural institutions – Dutch Open Air Museum, Paleis Het Loo museum, the Rijksmuseum and Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands – are joining forces to build a new depository for the national collections under their management. The new Netherlands Collection Centre (CCNL) will be built in Amersfoort. It will house 675,000 objects. It is scheduled to open in 2020.

Amsterdam

A series of *The Passion of Christ* by Adriaen van de Velde has been returned to Museum Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder, coinciding with the exhibition in the Rijksmuseum which closed

September 25, 2016. The paintings were made in 1664 for the attic church. They later were moved to an Augustine church in the north of Amsterdam. One of the paintings, *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, has been in the museum since its restoration in 2013. The other four scenes will be restored in the future. (From *Codart News*, June 2016)

The Last Judgement by Lucas van Leyden is temporarily on view at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, while Museum De Lakenhal is closed for renovations.

The Rijksmuseum has attributed six works to Hercules Segers. Only twelve of his paintings were known until now. The research was conducted by Pieter Roelofs and Huigen Leeftang, co-curators of the exhibition "Hercules Segers Wonderland" (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, October 7, 2016 – January 8, 2017), with help from Arie Wallert from the University of Amsterdam. (From *Codart News*, September 2016)

The National Maritime Museum (Scheepvaartmuseum) has purchased *View of the River IJ with 's Lands Zeemagazijn* by Reinier Nooms (1623/24-1664).

Antwerp

The Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, and the Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, are planning an exhibition in 2020-21 to commemorate Dürer's journey to Aachen and the Netherlands in 1520-21.

The Rubenshuis acquired a modello for *Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes* by Jan Boeckhorst (c. 1604-1668). The acquisition was made possible with funds from the Friends of the Rubenshuis.

The new Plantin-Moretus Museum opened September 30, 2016.

Barnard Castle, County Durham

The Bowes Museum acquired *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin and Child* by Dieric Bouts. After conservation, the painting will be displayed at the Bowes, followed by the National Gallery, York and Bristol. It will then become part of the Bowes' permanent collection. (From *Codart News*, July 2016)

Bruges

The Groeningemuseum has received on loan a previously unknown altarpiece by the Bruges Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy. The master is an anonymous painter who by some is associated with the 15th-century painter François van der Putte. The *Triptych with the Lamentation*, owned by a Spanish collector, will be in Bruges for three years. <http://vlaamseperimitieven.vlaamsekunstcollectie.be/en/news-masterpiece-for-musea-brugge>

Cardiff

Rembrandt's *Portrait of Catrina Hooghsaet* has gone on view at the National Museum of Wales for three years. It was housed at Penrhyn Castle in North Wales until last year when it was sold to a private collector. It has now been offered to the museum as a long-term loan.

Haarlem

In the Noord-Hollands Archief 34 completely unknown drawings by Frans Post (1612-1680) have been discovered. It has always been suspected that the flora and fauna in his paintings of Brazil produced after his return to Haarlem were based on drawings made there but until now not a single animal or plant study by him was known. This sensational discovery is published in the September issue of *Master Drawings*. The drawings are also on view in the Frans Post exhibition at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, October 7, 2016 – January 8, 2017. (From *Codart News*, September 2016)



Six-Banded Armadillo. Inscription in translation: TATVPEBA. A kind of armored pig. Good to eat, tastes like a chicken.

Leuven

M-Museum acquired a rare early work by Jan de Caumont (1577-1659), one of the greatest 17th-century glass painters in the Low Countries. The panel shows Margaretha Vekemans and her daughter, kneeling with their patron saints, Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary. Vekemans was the wife of Alexander van den Broeck, administrator of the Antwerp municipal treasury. They were important sponsors of the ceremonial entry into Antwerp of the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand in 1635.

New York

The Metropolitan Museum of Art put on view in April of this year *Fish Market* by Joachim Beuckelaer which entered the collection in 2015. Previously in a private Belgian collection, the still life was only known through copies. The museum also acquired Jan Gossart's *Christ Carrying the Cross* through the generosity of Ambassador J. William Middendorf II and additional purchase funds of the Met.

The Frick collection has announced a gift of portrait medals from Stephen K. and Janie Woo Scher, considered the greatest medals collection in private hands. The medals range from the 15th to the 19th century and include designs by Pisanello, Guillaume Dupré and Hans Reinhardt. A selection will be on show in a spring/summer exhibition opening in May 2017.

St. Petersburg

In June the Hermitage Museum presented *The Resurrection of Christ* (ca. 1610-1611) by Peter Paul Rubens. The painting has been newly restored after eighty years in storage.

Stockholm

Nationalmuseum Stockholm has acquired a large game still life by Jan Weenix: *Still Life with a Dead Swan, a Peacock and a Dog next to a Fountain*, 1684. The painting belonged to the Swedish diplomat Karl Bergsten and now has been reunited with those parts of his collection previously in the museum. (*Codart News*, September 2016)

Ukraine

Paintings by Rubens, Tintoretto and others that were stolen from the Castelvecchio Museum in Verona last year have been found in Ukraine in March of this year. The paintings include *Portrait of a Lady* by Rubens and a male portrait by Tintoretto, as well as works by Pisanello, Bellini, and Hans de Jode. *The Conversion of Saul* by Giulio Licinio was damaged during the robbery but has been successfully restored. (From *Codart News*, May 2016)

Scholarly Activities

Conferences

United States and Canada

Wood, Stone, Flesh. Netherlandish Sixteenth-Century Sculpture and Its Social Relevance

Emmanuel College 119, University of Toronto, November 18, 2016.

Crrs.ca/sculpture

Registration: woodstoneflesh.eventbrite.ca

Barbara Baert (University of Leuven)

Franciszek Skibiński (Nikolaus Copernicus University, Torun)

Ethan Matt Kavalier (University of Toronto)

Tara Bissett (University of Toronto)

Elizabeth R. Mattison (University of Toronto)

CAA Annual Conference

New York, February 15-18, 2017.

HNA-sponsored session:

The Netherlands and Global Baroque, chair Caroline Fowler (Yale).

Adam Eaker (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Suriname on Display.

Christina An (Boston University), Art beyond Price or Place: Vermeer, Asia, and the Poetics of Painting.

Marsely Kehoe (Michigan State University), A Global Dutch Architecture?: Hybridity in Curaçao's Eighteenth-Century Merchant Homes.

RSA Annual Conference

Chicago, March 30-April 1, 2017.

HNA-sponsored sessions:

Questions of the Flesh, chair Tianna Uchacz (University of Toronto).

What's New about Old Women? ... in Netherlandish Art, chair Frima Hofrichter (Pratt Institute).

Art and the Thirty Years War, chair Susan Maxwell (University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh).

Congress on Medieval Studies

Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, May 11-14, 2017.

Europe

Frans Post Symposium

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, November 22, 2016. In conjunction with the exhibition "Frans Post. Animals in Brazil," October 7, 2016 – January 8, 2017.

Chaired by Jane Turner (Rijksmuseum) and Pedro Corrêa do Lago (author of the catalogue raisonné of Frans Post)

Alexander de Bruin (Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem) Rumble from the Brazilian Jungle at the Noord-Hollands Archief.

Frits Duparc (formerly Mauritshuis, The Hague) Beastly; Post, Eckhout, Markgraf and Wagner in Brazil.

Oscar Hefting (New Holland Foundation/Nederlands Vestingmuseum, Naarden) In the Footsteps of Frans Post. The Search for Locations where Frans Post Positioned Himself in Brazil.

Quentin Buvelot (Mauritshuis, The Hague) Drawings by Albert Eckhout.

Katharina Schmidt-Loske (Forschungsmuseum Alexander Koenig, Bonn) and **Kurt Wettengl** (Technical University, Dortmund) Animals and Plants on the Frame of the Olinda Painting in the Rijksmuseum.

Rebecca Parker Brienen (Oklahoma State University), Closing Remarks: Albert Eckhout, Frans Post, and Natural History Illustration, 1996-2016.

Medieval Sculpture Production Centres

Study Day Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, November 23, 2016. Organized by Ards, M-Museum, Leuven, and the Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum.

For more information www.ards.be

Genre Painting from the Northern and Southern Netherlands, 16th-18th Century

RKD and Mauritshuis, The Hague, December 16, 2016.

Imaging Utopia: New Perspectives on Northern Renaissance Art

XXth Symposium for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting.

Illuminare - Centre for the Study of Medieval Art, University of Leuven, January 11-13, 2017.

The Art of Law. Artistic Representations and Iconography of Law & Justice in Context from the Middle Ages to the First World War

Bruges, January 16-18, 2017. In conjunction with the exhibition "The Art of Law: Three Centuries of Justice Depicted," Groeningemuseum, Bruges, October 28, 2016 – February 5, 2017.

Flandes by Substitution. Copies of Flemish Masters in the Hispanic World (1500-1700)

Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium, Brussels, February 9-10, 2017.

CODART twintig

Warsaw, May 21-23, 2017.

Max J. Friedländer (1867-1958): Art Historian, Museum Director, Connoisseur

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, June 8, 2017. International symposium on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Max J. Friedländer's birth, organized by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam and the RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague, in collaboration with the University of Bamberg and the CVNK (Contactgroep Vroege Nederlandse Kunst/Network for Specialists in Early Netherlandish Art).

HNA Conference

Het Pand, Ghent, and Bruges, **May 24-26, 2018.**

Organized by Max Martens and Koen Jonckheere.

The Bruegel Success Story: Creative Process, Imitation Emulation, Workshop Organization and Business Strategies

Symposium XXI for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, **September 12-14, 2018.**

Past Conferences

Listed are only those conference papers that came to my attention too late to be included in the section "Future Conferences" in the printed version of the Newsletter (in most cases, however, they were listed on the website). They are mentioned here to inform readers of new developments in the field and of the scholarly activities of the membership.

Van Boek tot Byte

Rubenianum, Antwerp, April 21, 2016. On the occasion of the project 'Digitizing the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwigo Burchard* (2013-2016).'

Lieneke Nijkamp (Rubenianum), Voorbeelden uit de VS: een inleiding op het Online Scholarly Catalogue Initiative (OSCI) van de Getty Foundation.

Gwen Parry (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), De toekomst van de kunstexpert: online publiceren in tijden van toe-eigening.

Nynke van der Wal (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam), Bestandscatalogus online: voorbeeld uit de praktijk.

Milou Goverde (Mauritshuis, The Hague), Bestandscatalogus van genreschildereijen van het Mauritshuis: van papier naar muisklik.

Evi Bert (M HKA) and **Anja Isabel Schneider** (KU Leuven), *Alian Sekula – Ship of Fools / The Docker's Museum: Onderzoek & Ontsluiting.*

Barbara Dierickx (Packed), *Musea en Wikidata.*

Pascal Ennaert (Vlaamse Kunstcollectie vzw), Hergebruik van museale data en de weg naar een gelaagd licentiemodel binnen de Vlaamse Kunstcollectie vzw.

Hans Deraeve (Brepols Publishers), De wetenschappelijke uitgever als *facilitator* in een evoluerende omgeving.

Karen De Meyst (Rubenianum), Omwenteling van een oeuvre-catalogus: Digitizing the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*.

Sytske Weidema (RKD), The Rembrandt Database en A *Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*.

Erik Buelincks and **Bart Fransen** (KIK), Het KIK online: BALaT en Friedländer 3.0.

Autopsie eines Gesamtkunstwerks. Das Chorbuch der Münchner Jahrhunderthochzeit von 1568

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft, Vienna, April 21-23, 2016.

Andreas Pfisterer (University of Würzburg), "Gratia sola Dei" im musikalischen Gattungskontext.

Andrea Gottdang (University of Salzburg), Formatvorlage, Copy & Paste: Richard von Genua und das Layout von Mus. Hs. 2129.

Dagmar Eichberger (University of Heidelberg), *Icones Illustrium Feminarum Veteris Testamenti* – tugendhafte Töchter, Ehefrauen, Mütter und Witwen.

Bernhold Schmid (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich), Ornamentum Decus Exemplar Et Speculum omnium mulierum Susanna. Mus. Hs. 2129 und Daniels Erzählung von Susanna.

Philipp Weiss (Munich), Nicolò Stopios "Gratia sola Dei" im Kontext neulateinischer Epithalamiendichtung.

Björn R. Tammen (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna), Die Erzählung von Tobias und Sara: 'Fragwürdiges' zu Richard von Genua und Mus.ms. B der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek.

Katelijne Schiltz (University of Regensburg), Intermedialität und emblematische Strukturen in Mus. Hs. 2129.

Birgit Lodes (University of Vienna), Richards Drollerien.

America and the Art of Flanders: Collecting Paintings by Rubens, Van Dyck, and Their Circles

Center for the History of Collecting, Frick Collection, May 13-14, 2016.

Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (National Gallery of Art, Washington), Pleasure and Prestige: The Complex History of Collecting Flemish Art in America (keynote).

Lance Humphries (Mount Vernon Place Conservancy, Baltimore), Before Modern Connoisseurship: Robert Gilmore, Jr.'s Quest for Flemish Paintings in the Early Republic.

Margaret Laster (New-York Historical Society), The Taste for Flemish Art in Early Nineteenth-Century New York.

Adam Eaker (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), The American Van Dyck.

Adam Eaker (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), Building a Flemish Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Esmée Quodbach (Center for the History of Collecting, Frick Art Reference Library), "Never a dull picture": John G. Johnson Collects Flemish Art.

George Keyes (Curator Emeritus, Detroit Institute of Arts), Collecting Flemish Paintings in the Midwest, from Detroit to Minneapolis.

Dennis Weller (North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh), Creating an Acquired Taste: The Influence of Wilhelm Valentiner and Others.

Louisa Wood Ruby (Frick Art Reference Library), A Family Affair: Bruegel and Sons in America.

Betsy Wieseman (National Gallery, London), Collecting Rubens in America.

Alexandra Libby (National Gallery of Art, Washington), From Personal Treasures to Public Gifts: Building the Flemish Painting Collection at the National Gallery of Art.

Anne Woollett (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), Collecting Flemish Paintings in Southern California: Then and Now.

Thomas Leysen, Collector of Flemish Paintings, Antwerp, in conversation with Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr.

Shaped by Nature, Forged by Art. Image, Object, Knowledge, and Commerce in Early Modern Europe

Northwestern University, May 21, 2016. Organized by Claudia Swan.

Marisa Bass (Yale University), Insect Artifice: The Origins of Entomology in the Early Modern Netherlands.

Stephanie Dickey (Queen's University), Glycera's Gardens: Painting, Flowers, and the Rivalry of Art and Nature.

Robert Felte (University of Hamburg), Arts and Craft in Nature's Workshop. Consequences of a Widespread Topos.

Jessica Keating (Carleton College), From this Love Springs: Nicolas Pfaff's Goblet of Rhinoceros Horn.

Marisa Mandabach (Harvard University), Mythologizing Matter: Images of Spontaneous Generation in Rubens.

José Ramon Marcaida (University of Cambridge), Pictorial Wit and Still Life Painting in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain.

Met liefde en zorg bijeengebracht

Symposium on the occasion of the presentation of the publication *Collectie Neutelings: Vier eeuwen middeleeuwse sculptuur*, Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht, May 28, 2016.

Ingmar Reesing, Handzame heiligen: de Bijbel in een notendop.

Bieke van der Mark, Twee bronzenleeuwen in het Rijksmuseum, een kunsthistorische detective.

Lars Hendrikman, De heilsgeschiedenis van A tot Z, en wat er zoal mis ging.

Henk van Os, Een verzameling herinneringen.

Imagining the Low Countries

AANS Annual Conference, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, June 2-4, 2016.

Marsely Kehoe (Michigan State University), Tidying up the Past: Reimagining Willemstad, Curaçao, as a Dutch City.

Glenn Benge (Temple University, Philadelphia), Hieronymus Bosch and His Books: *The Garden of Earthly Delights* as Chronicle, Admonition and Allegory.

Leslie Blacksberg (Eastern Kentucky University), Imagining the *Ghent Altarpiece* in Spain.

Megan Blocksom (University of Kansas), Procession, Pride and Politics in the *Medicea hospes: A Dutch Festival Book for a French Queen*.

Lawrence Goedde (University of Virginia), Visions of the Sea and Sea-Faring in Two Dutch Golden Age Marine Paintings.

Rebecca Brienen (Oklahoma State University), Frans Post's *Brazilian Landscape* (1665) in the Detroit Institute of Arts: A New Framework for Interpretation.

Shelley Perlove (University of Michigan), Rembrandt's *Visitation: The Dawn of Christianity and the African Servant*.

Amy Golahny (Lycoming College), Pieter Lastman at the DIA: David's Sentence for Uriah.

Jun Nakamura (University of Michigan), Lines and Boats, Boats and Lines.

Erin Travers (UC Santa Barbara), Jacob van der Gracht's *Anatomie for Artists*.

Paragons and Paper Bags. Early Modern Prints from the Consumer's Perspective

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, June 9, 2016.

Antony Griffiths (formerly British Museum, London), The Surviving Print, the Ephemeral Print and the Print Historian; keynote.

Lothar Schmitt (Zentralbibliothek Zürich/ETH Zürich), Crazy Little Thing Called "Paste Print".

Frederike Steinhoff (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome), Woodblock Prints Applied to Cassoni.

Jeroen Luyckx (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam / Illuminare, KU Leuven), Portraits for the Common People? The Hand-Coloured Woodcut of Hans Liefvrick (c. 1515-1573) Reconsidered.

Petra Maciot (Antwerp), Papering the Parlour. The Use and Reuse of Printed Paper in 16th-Century Interiors in Antwerp.

Karen Bowen (University of Antwerp), From Connoisseurs and Devout Clerics to Common Consumers en masse: The Demand for Prints from Antwerp at the Turn of the 17th Century.

Kathryn M. Rudy (University of St Andrews), Cut, Pasted, and Cut Again: The Original Function and Later Collection of Early Prints in Western Europe; keynote.

Naomi Lebens (Courtauld Institute of Art / British Museum, London), Prints in Play: Games and Their Afterlives.

Madeleine C. Viljoen (New York Public Library), Inked Gems and Printed Jewels.

Audrey Adamczak (University of Paris – Sorbonne / Paris Catholic University), From Copperplate to Satin Fabric: Portrait Print on Silk in XVIIth-Century France.

Joyce Zelen (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam / Radboud University Nijmegen), A Manuscript Filled with the Erotic Print Clippings of Adrian Beverland (1650-1716).

Fleur Rosa de Carvalho (Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam), From the Private Print to the Popular Poster and Back: The Reception of the Graphic Arts in Fin-de-Siècle France (1890-1905).

Hating the World, Despising the Arts? Christian Ambivalence toward Art and Architecture in Early Modern Europe

International workshop of the research project "Solitudes: Withdrawal and Engagement in the Long Seventeenth Century", University of Copenhagen, June 22-23, 2016.

Sven Rune Havsteen and **Eelco Nagelsmit** (Copenhagen), The Temple and the Labyrinth: Emblematic Roadmaps of Withdrawal and Engagement.

Maarten Delbeke (Ghent) and **Ralph Dekoninck** (Louvain), Between Humility and Opulence. Miracle-working Statues of the Virgin in the 17th-Century Southern Netherlands.

Hendrik Ziegler (Reims), Louis XIV Idolatrous: The Huguenots' Fight through the Arts.

Walter Melion (Atlanta), Eyes Enlivened and Heart Softened: The Visual Rhetoric of *Gebedenboek Ruusbroecgenootschap* HS 452.

Mette Birkedal Bruun, Introduction to the SOLITUDES-Project and Its Collaborative and Interdisciplinary Workform.

Eelco Nagelsmit, Presentation of Places, Materials, Approaches, Results, and Questions Raised

Sven Rune Havsteen, The Aesthetics of Simplicity.

Lars Nørgaard, Spiritual Direction and Visual Exegesis.

Sixteenth-Century Society Conference

Bruges, August 18-20, 2016.

Papers by or of interest to HNA members:

H. Perry Chapman (University of Delaware), Marketing Styles: Rembrandt and Dou.

Jessica Weiss (Metropolitan State University, Denver), The Financial Successes of the Netherlandish Painter Juan de Flandes in Castile.

Natasja Peeters (Royal Army Museum Brussels), Painters and Paper in 16th-Century Antwerp. Archival Sources and Economic Aspects of Art.

Amy Morris (University of Nebraska at Omaha), The Joslyn's "Virgin and Child with Saints Catherine and Agnes" and Female Spirituality.

Walter Melion (Emory University), Hendrick Goltzius's Method of Exegetical Allegory in his Scriptural Prints of the 1570s.

Martha Peacock (Brigham Young University), Witchcraft and Ambivalence in Cornelis van Oostanen's "Saul and the Witch of Endor".

Marjorie Plummer (Western Kentucky University), A View from the Choir: Sharing Sacred Space in Pluriconfessional Convents in Lower Saxony and Westphalia.

K. Bevin Butler (Arizona State University), Unraveling *Nonnenarbeit*: Historiography and New Perspectives on Wool Embroideries from Kloster Lüne.

Julie Hotchin (Australian National University), Clothing the Saints: Creating Spiritual Intimacy in Northern German Convents, c. 1500.

Andrea Gatti (Warburg Institute), The Schneeberg Altarpiece by Lucas Cranach and the Rejection of Italian Illusionism in Protestant Painting at the Time of Martin Luther.

Jane Carroll (Dartmouth College), Memory and Salvation in the Tapestry of *Der Busanti* (The Buzzard).

Elena FitzPatrick Sifford (Louisiana State University), Sixteenth-Century Mexican Painted Manuscripts and the First Images of Africans in the Americas.

Jamie Richardson (Bryn Mawr College), Interior of a Picture Gallery (c.1615 and c.1650) as Posthumous Dialogue.

Miriam Kirch (University of North Alabama), Art, Collecting, and Display in the Sixteenth-Century Patrician House: Evidence from Frankfurt am Main.

John Cunnally (Iowa State University), Contorniates as Renaissance Collectibles.

Merlijn Hurx (Utrecht University), 'To spend as little as possible'. The impact of Burgundian Administrative Procedures on Architectural Planning in the Low Countries.

Sanne Maekelberg (KU Leuven), The Prince's Court at Bruges (1395-1468), a Burgundian Model for Ducal Residences?

Krista De Jonge (KU Leuven), 'Burgundian palaces'? Urban Residences of the Nobility in the Low Countries (1450-1530).

Benjamin Binstock (Cooper Union), An Unrecognized Leonardo da Vinci Sculpture in America? The Alexander Relief in the Washington National Gallery.

Leopoldine Prosperetti (Towson University), Sonia Sylva: A Collaborative Painting by Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel and the Mystique of the Forest of Soignes.

Dénes Harai (ENS-CNRS-Université Paris 1), The Presence of the Imperial Past: The Equestrian Portrait of Charles V of Spain (1621).

Molly Phelps (Case Western Reserve University), Realized Intentions: Technique and Transformation in Rembrandt's *The Meeting of Christ with Martha and Mary after the Death of Lazarus*.

Hannelore Magnus (KU Leuven), Courting on Canvas - Love in Flemish Elegant Genre Paintings (1650-1690).

Linda Neagley (Rice University), Juxtaposition as a Visual Strategy in the Early Sixteenth Century: The Parvis of the Cathedral of Rouen.

Matt Kavalier (University of Toronto), Renaissance Gothic and Informe.

Robert Bork (The University of Iowa), Reframing the Latest Gothic Architecture.

Steven Thiry (University of Antwerp), Receiving a Duke, Summoning the King. Ambiguous Sovereignty and Symbolic Alliance Building in the Duke of Anjou's Solemn Entries in the Low Countries (1582).

Sophie Verreyken (KU Leuven), Courted? Local Elites and Royal Entourages in the Southern Netherlands of the Seventeenth Century.

Hans Cools (Fryske Akademy - Royal Netherlands Academy of Science), The Funeral Processions of the Frisian Stadholders in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century.

Cynthia Osiecki (University of Greifswald / Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, Rijksmuseum), Does the Floris-Style Exist? Developing a New Methodology for Studying 16th-Century Netherlandish Sculpture in the Baltic Sea Region.

Lindsay Sheedy (Washington University in St. Louis), Sancta Maria, mater Dei: A Reconstruction of Michelangelo's Bruges Madonna in situ.

Haohao Lu (Indiana University), Games and Erotic Desire in the Patronage of Margaret of Austria.

Jacquelyn Coutre (Agnes Etherington Art Centre), Jan Lievens at Court: The Painter, a Connoisseur, and the House of Orange.

Saskia Beranek (University of Pittsburgh), Court Space as Social Space: Orange Court Portraiture as a Spatial Mechanism.

Donna Sadler (Agnes Scott College), Touching Heaven: Seeing the Late Medieval Retable through the Eyes of Faith.

Vibeke Olson (University of North Carolina Wilmington), Your Own Personal Jesus: Simulacra and Haptic Piety in Late Medieval Devotional Art.

Laura Gelfand (Utah State University), Why Can't I Touch It?: Visualizing the Haptic, Verisimilitude in Jan van Eyck's Paintings.

Sarah Blick (Kenyon College), Maps, Strange Plants, and Performative Prayer at the Font Canopy at St. Botolph's Trunch, Norfolk.

Diane Wolfthal (Rice University), Crossing Borders: A Newly Discovered *Rape of the Sabines* by Hendrik van Balen.

Aysha Pollnitz (Grinnell College), Translating Humanist Education for New Spain, 1537-1585.

Andrew Laird (Brown University), Aztec Humanists: Uses of Classical Learning by Indigenous Nahua Authors in Colonial Mexico (1550-1620).

Harriet Sonne de Torrens (University of Toronto Mississauga), A Composite 15th- to 16th-Century Triptych in Brittany: Two Lost Panels by Hans Memling?

Yoko Hiraoka (Meijigakuin University), The Identification of the Patron of the Triptych with the Miracles of Christ of The National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne.

Randi Klebanoff (Carleton University), Naturalism and Instrumental Vision in Northern Renaissance Art.

Joaneath Spicer (Walters Art Museum), Opening Netherlandish Prayer Nuts (1500-1530) in the Hand: Not as Obvious as it Seems.

Lynn Jacobs (University of Arkansas), Strategies of Intimacy in Netherlandish Triptychs.

Andrea Pearson (American University), Intimacy as Persuasive Play in Early Netherlandish Art.

Koenraad Jonckheere (Ghent University), Framing the Truth.

Samuel Mareel (Ghent University), Ritual, Rhetoric and Representation. The Maundy Thursday Gathering of the Bruges Chamber of Rhetoric The Holy Ghost.

Anne-Laure Van Bruaene (Ghent University), Piety and Politics on the Eve of the Reformation. Bruges and the Devotion of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary.

Miyako Sugiyama (Ghent University), Displaying the Illuminated Texts: A Case Study of the Holy Sacrament Chapel in the Church of St Saviour, Bruges.

Ingrid Falque (Université catholique de Louvain), Spiritual Reform, Use and Functions of Images in Books Produced for the Abbey of St. Martin at Tournai. The Case of Gilles Li Muisis' Manuscripts.

Klara Broekhuijsen (University of Amsterdam), Press to Pen. Meditating the Life of Christ: Text and Image in a Prayer Cycle in The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms 135 E 19.

Anna Dlabacova (Université catholique de Louvain), Caressed, Caught and Crucified: Performative Reading through Text and Image in an Antwerp Incunable on Christ's Childhood.

Jessica Buskirk (Technische Universität Dresden), Heraldry in the Early Netherlandish Portrait: The Other Side of the Coin.

Xander Van Eck (Izmir University of Economics), Elburga van den Boetelaar, Patron of the Stained-Glass Window with Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (1561) by Wouter Crabeth at Gouda's Sint-Janskerk.

Betrijs Wolters van der Wey (Independent scholar), Militia Guilds Competing through Art Commissions: The Win-Win Situation of the Exemption System.

Tamar Cholcman (Tel Aviv University), The Emblem, the Civic Event, the Book, and the Literati.

Ivo Raband (University of Bern), Civic and Archducal Emblems: 'Owning' a Joyous Entry.

Sara Smart (University of Exeter), Fashioning the Great Elector: The Emblematic Portrayal of Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg in the Triumphal Entries of 1677 and 1678.

Amanda Herrin (Institute of Fine Arts, NYU), The Artist-Exegete in Late Sixteenth-Century Antwerp: Maarten de Vos's "Five Senses" and Luther's *Analogia Fidei*.

Alison Stewart (University of Nebraska-Lincoln), Printing Books and Images in Frankfurt am Main around 1530. Reexamining Sebald Beham, Christian Egenolff, and Their New Home.

Alexandra Onuf (University of Hartford), Local Views: Hans van Luyck's Landscape Prints in the Early-Modern Netherlands.

Ellen Konowitz (SUNY New Paltz), Aporia and Some Netherlandish Prints.

Barbara Haeger (Ohio State University), Cornelis à Lapide and the Genesis of Rubens's Design for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp.

Mårten Snickare (Stockholm University), The *Kunstkammer* and the Siting of Europe in the Early Modern World.

Inga Elmqvist Söderlund (Department of Culture and Aesthetics), Siting the Treasury and *Kunstkammer* in Stockholm Castle.

Peter Gillgren (Stockholm University), Siting Renaissance Sculpture: Sigismund's Easter Celebrations in Stockholm 1594.

Saskia Limbach (University of St. Andrews), Banning Luther. A Re-Discovered Broadsheet Version of *Exsurge domine*.

Andrew Pettegree (St. Andrews), Lucas Cranach and the Printed Book.

Drew Thomas (University of St. Andrews), Cashing in on Counterfeits: Fraud in the Reformation Print Industry.

Eelco Nagelsmit (University of Copenhagen), Catholicity in Contest: The Calced Carmelites and Their Patrons in Antwerp and Brussels.

Gwendoline De Muelenaere (Université Catholique de Louvain), Thesis Engravings Dedicated to Archduke Leopold William of Austria (1647-1656).

Marieke Van Wamel (Radboud University Nijmegen), Hidden Patronage: The Donor Portraits of Jheronimus Bosch.

Amy Newhouse (University of Arizona), The Buffered Altar: Diseased Bodies and the Holy Communion in Early Modern Nuremberg.

Jeroen Luyckx (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), True Faith and Good Commerce. The Religious Prints Published by Hans I and Hans II Lieftrinck.

Joris Van Grieken (Royal Library of Belgium), The Printmaking Paradox: Growth in Times of Recession. Print Publishing during the Antwerp Crisis.

Robrecht Janssen (Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage), A Desperate Artist? Crispin van den Broeck and Dordrecht.

Gregory Clark (University of the South), The Huntington Library Hours of Isabella of Portugal, Simon Bening, and Iberian Book Painting in the Early Sixteenth Century.

Leslie Blackberg (Eastern Kentucky University), What Did Vincenzo Sauli Want? A Fresh Perspective on Gerard David's *Cervoara Altarpiece*.

Daniele Mignanego (Università degli Studi di Genova), Technical Investigation on the San Pancrazio Triptych [Adriaen Isenbrandt] in Genoa: New Achievements.

Lise Constant & Muriel Damien (Université Catholique de Louvain), Framing the Miraculous Image: Baroque Altarpieces as Support of Miracle-Working Statues of the Virgin in the Southern Netherlands.

Femke Spielberg (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), Ornament, Origin and Identity in the Renaissance and Renaissance Scholarship.

Astrid Harth (University of Ghent), Reframing Ornaments and Decorative Motifs: The Importance of an Abundant Style in Early 16th-Century Netherlandish Copying Practices.

Colin Eisler (Institute of Fine Arts, NYU), Jan van Eyck's "Talking Pictures".

Daan van Heesch (KU Leuven), The Errant Prophet: Artistic Practice and Paracelsian Alchemy in the Notebooks of Paulus de Kempnaer.

Catharine Ingersoll (Virginia Military Institute), Access Granted: Hans Wertinger's Landscapes and Intimate Viewing at the Landshut Court of Ludwig X.

Judith Noorman (University of Amsterdam), "In her honor's defense." Intimacy, Honor, and Dutch Paintings of Prostitutes and Mistresses.

Kerry Bourbié (Museum of Fine Arts Houston), Intimate Moments and Public Identity: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Memorial Albums.

Jessica Maier (Mount Holyoke College), Contested Sites: Sixteenth-Century Newsmaps and Depictions of Battle.

Lieve De Kesel (Ghent University), Panel Paintings versus Illuminated Manuscripts: Evidence of Originality in Manuscripts with Miniatures Attributed to Gerard David, Gerard Horenbout, and Simon Bening.

Tianna Uchacz (University of Toronto), Local Frames of Reference: Grotesque Framing Devices in Mid Sixteenth-Century Bruges Art.

Oliver Kik (KU Leuven), Pulling Some Strings: Putti and Garlands in the Work of Hans Memling.

Jeroen Vandommele (University of Utrecht), Virtue in Toiling Hands. The Farmer as a Moral Archetype in 16th-Century Antwerp Literature.

Katrien Lichtert (Ludens), Bruegel, Brouwer, Their Peasants and the Public.

Alexandra van Dongen & Lucinda Timmermans (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam), Conversation Pieces. Peasant Scenes on 16th-Century Tableware.

Anne Dubois (Université Catholique de Louvain), Colard Mansion and the Printer of Flavius Josephus: Two Collaborators in Bruges?

Ludo Vandamme (Public Library Bruges), Colard Mansion, het librariërgilde en de organisatie van het Brugse boekendrukkerij in de tweede helft van de 15de eeuw.

Evelien Hauwaerts (Public Library Bruges), About Manuscripts Related to Colard Mansion.

Evelien de Wilde (Groeningemuseum / The Flemish Research Centre for the Arts of the Burgundian Netherlands), Colard Mansion and 15th-Century Engraving in the Southern Netherlands.

Puzzling Art: Painting and Cultural Identity in Sixteenth-Century Bruges

Groeningemuseum, Bruges, September 15, 2016.

Heidi Deneweth (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Brugge in de zestiende eeuw.

Brecht Dewilde (KU Leuven) and **Anne van Oosterwijk** (Groeningemuseum Brugge), De schildersfamilie Claeissens en de stand van het onderzoek.

Paul Huvenne (emeritus KMSKA / Universiteit Antwerpen), Pieter Pourbus en Lancelot Blondeel en de stand van het onderzoek.

Ana Diéguez Rodríguez (Instituto Moll, Madrid), Brugse exportkunst naar Spanje.

Whose Nudes? Painting, Collecting, Displaying the Body in Early Modern Europe

Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, September 23, 2016.

Hilliard Goldfarb (Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal), Titian's *Europa*: When a Nude Is More than a Nude— But Not That Much More.

Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio (University of Vermont), Uncovering the Uncovered: The Nude in Spanish Sculpture Collections.

Tianna Uchacz (University of Toronto), Erotic Heroic: Masculinity, the Male Nude, and the Clash of Conventions in Netherlandish Art around 1550.

Alejandro Vergara (Museo Nacional del Prado), Exempt from Indecency: Rubens's Nudes for the Spanish King.

Katlijne Van der Stighelen (KU Leuven), Michaelina Woutiers in the Company of Bacchus: The Power of Unruly Self-Representation.

Architectural Painting in the 16th and 17th Century

Rubenianum, Antwerp, October 10, 2016. Organized in conjunction with the exhibition "Divine Interiors", Museum Mayer van den Bergh, June 18 – October 16, 2016.

Thomas Fusenig (University of Münster), Hans Vredeman de Vries as Painter of Illusionistic Wall Paintings in Antwerp.

Anna Koopstra (National Gallery, London), New Insights on Hendrik van Steenwijck the Younger's Use of Prints as Sources.

Joost Van der Auwera (Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium) and **Claire Baisier** (Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp), Sebastiaan Vrancx als architectuurschilder: nieuwe toeschrijvingen.

Bernard Vermet (Stichting Cultuur Inventarisatie, Amsterdam), Bartholomeus van Bassen, tussen Noord en Zuid.

Lorne Darnell (Leiden University), An Uncanny Likeness: Pieter Saenredam, Hans Vredeman de Vries and the Gothic in Perspective.

Almut Pollmer-Schmidt (Städel Museum, Frankfurt), Antwerpen, Frankfurt, Delft. Kircheninterieurs als Medien des konfessionellen Diskurses.

Rutger Steenmeijer (Antwerp), Architectuurschilderkunst en de restauratie van monumentale kerken in Antwerpen.

Lotte Gielen & Jeroen van Omme (Mindscape 3D), De mogelijkheden van 3D en virtuele realiteit in publiekswerking.

Wolfgang Cilleßen (Historisches Museum Frankfurt), Kerkinterieurs uit Frankfurt: de zaak Johann Ludwig Ernst Morgenstern.

Bernd Ebert (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, München), A Church Interior by Jacobus Vrel.

Literaire canonvorming in de vroegmoderne tijd

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, October 13, 2016.

Lieke van Deinsen, Inleiding over Panpoëticon Batavum-project.

Lotte Jensen, Vaderlandsliefde, nationale identiteit en de literaire canon.

Riet Schenkeveld, Hoe Pan is het Poëticon?

Wood Science and Technology II: Microclimates for Panel Paintings

Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht, October 20-21, 2016.

Jørgen Wadum (CATS, Denmark), The History and Objectives for Microclimate-Frames for Paintings.

Luca Uzielli (GESAAF University of Florence), Behaviour of Panel Paintings Deriving from Micro Environment Climate Fluctuations.

Jean-Albert Glatigny (Belgium), Microclimate-Frames: Designs and Materials.

Sara Mateu (Belgium), Making Microclimate Marvelseal® Envelopes.

Roger Groves (TU Delft), The Netherlands Influence of the Microclimate Air Quality on Material Degradation.

Lynne Harrison (The National Gallery, London), UK Protecting Paintings at the National Gallery.

Kristina Holl, Katrin Janis, Max Rahrig, Ilaria Bonaduce, Ralf Kilian (Fraunhofer-Institut für Bauphysik IBP, Stuttgart), Hygrothermal Simulation of the Temperature and Moisture Distribution Inside Panel Paintings.

Kristina Holl, Katrin Janis, Max Rahrig (Bayerische Schlösserverwaltung), Monitoring of Microclimate Changes on Wooden Panels in Linderhof Palace.

David Thickett, Marianne Odlyha, Alessia Coccato, Terje Grontoft, Ilaria Bonaduce, Peter Vandenabeele, Maria Perla Colombini (English Heritage, UK) Advances in Microclimate Frame Research.

Thomas Bobak & Ray Marchant (Simon Bobak Studios, London), Adapting Frames for Microclimates.

Roman Kozłowski, Arkadiusz Kupczak, Łukasz Lasyk, Artur Działo, Łukasz Bratasz, Michał Łukomski (The Jerzy Haber Institute of Catalysis and Surface Chemistry, Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow), HERIE - a Web-Based Software for Assessing Risk of Climate-Induced Damage to Painted Wood.

Rita Gomez & Vincent Beltran (J. Paul Getty Museum and Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles), Microclimate Handling Boxes for Transport: Development and Case Studies.

Stephanie Carlton & Michael Field (The Royal Collection, UK), Framing Panels within Microclimates. An Overview and Case Study from The Royal Collection.

Kate Seymour, Sara Mateu, Jos van Och, Jean Albert Glatigny, Anne van Grevenstein (SRAL, Maastricht), Dilemmas about Relocation of the *Ghent Altarpiece*.

historians of netherlandish art

Review of Books

General editor: Kristin Lohse Belkin

Area editors: *Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*: Henry Lutikhuisen; *Sixteenth Century*: Larry Silver; *Seventeenth-Century Flemish*: Anne-Marie Logan; *Seventeenth-Century Dutch*: David Levine; *German Art*: Larry Silver

Fifteenth Century

Kathryn M. Rudy, *Postcards on Parchment: The Social Lives of Medieval Books*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. 362 pp. ISBN 978-0-300-20989-1.

This is a book about the permeability of medieval manuscripts and their transformation into something more responsive to their owners' lives and concerns. It uses the author's extensive experience with the books of religious women and men in the Netherlands – which deserve to dominate the discussion, since devotional literature in Dutch fed the appetite for personal books and the books in turn provided safekeeping for the images it inspired – to explore larger issues. Anticipating the eighteenth-century phenomenon of owners "grangerizing" a book (the term refers to extra-illustration attached to James Granger's popular 1769 *Biographical History of England*), Kathryn Rudy's medieval readers personalized their books, with their own choice of pasted-in prints and annotations. Her study is both provocative and well documented, generously illustrated and appealingly written, with a lively awareness of the medieval practices that are likely to draw in non-specialists as well.

In the Introduction, Rudy introduces the term she has chosen, "parchment paintings," and deftly distinguishes them from miniatures that would have been supplied contemporaneously with the copying out of the text. Physical clues include a different quality of parchment support, an informative inscription, images that are either borderless or uniformly framed so as to serve equally as verso or recto, images that are appreciably later in date, smaller or larger (trimmed down) than the rest of the book, and placed at the end of gatherings or inserted in defiance of the logic of the text. More subtle indicators include scribe-friendly images that incorporate words to form an independent devotional unit, images that rely on easy-to-copy geometric forms, and images probably copied by many different hands from a prototype. The book industry had by the fifteenth century already developed the efficient practice of disentangling the contributions of scribe from illuminator and would produce exquisite independent paintings on parchment in the next century; the amateur scribes and painters Rudy investigates were working on a less aesthetically sophisticated level but with even greater freedom.

The first part of the study, *The Medieval Backdrop*, positions the painting on parchment in relation to three related formats: miniatures, panel paintings, and single-leaf woodcuts. It includes the parchment paintings of one of the format's "early adopters," Matthew Paris, a monk at St. Albans. His images of the Holy Face, a cult image that reproduced the iconic relic housed at St. Peter's in Rome, suggests that the drive to create and circulate such painted images was motivated by belief in the efficacy of miraculous images. English artists and their brethren elsewhere in Europe also created cycles of images that we sometimes find bound into psalter, but that were not necessarily dependent on a particular text.

Rudy discusses two groups of works from the Netherlands, the scrapbook-like Wiesbaden Codex and the more finished examples by the Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle. But we also learn of quirkier examples such as the leaf bearing a sketch of nine beard variants that was added to a twelfth-century treatise stoutly defending their acceptability for monks, the *Apologia de Barbis ad Conversos*, and the charming enclosed-garden dioramas (*besloten hofjes*) crafted by nuns in Malines. Part II, *The Parchment Painting as Gift*, uses five clusters of stylistically related works to suggest the function of these images in the lives of literate Netherlandish men and women who had access to paint and brush but wielded them without the benefit of professional training. While the images under discussion served to bind individuals through the perennial obligations of gift-exchange, they also testified to the formation of a corporate identity. Part III, *The Many Functions of the Parchment Painting*, expands on the second to take in parchment paintings made by professionals and those working outside the Netherlands. Part IV, *The Limits of the Parchment Painting*, serves as a conclusion by bringing our attention back to the superb single miniatures of the sixteenth century mentioned in the Introduction, which scholars have often mischaracterized as cuttings from manuscripts. It discusses familiar examples of small parchment paintings executed by well-known professional miniaturists (Simon Bening's 1558 self-portrait is the penultimate figure), tracks the incursion of prints in manuscripts, and suggests how much the practice of adding prints to a manuscript owed to the tradition of hand-painted images on parchment, in large part the province of inventive amateurs

Postcards on Parchment: The Social Lives of Medieval Books touches on a number of trends in scholarship, in collections, and in the way people regard unique works and their simula-cra. The title builds on the concept of the "social life of things," the title of a collection of essays edited by anthropologist Arjun Appadurai in 1986, and more recently applied to the field of manuscript study in works such as *The Social Life of Illumination: Manuscripts, Images and Communities in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by Joyce Coleman, Mark Cruse, and Kathryn A. Smith. Rudy's book shares with essays such as Rowan Watson's "The Illuminated Manuscript in the Age of Photographic Repro-

duction" and Elaine Treharne's "Fleshing Out the Text: The Transcendent Manuscript in the Digital Age" (both ultimately responding to Walter Benjamin's classic essay) a fascination with unique works of art, at a time when we are more and more capable of turning out convincing facsimiles.

The drive to digitize handmade books has succeeded admirably. It has made it possible for anyone regardless of experience or training to peer into manuscripts no curator would justify actually making available: thanks to the Bibliothèque Nationale's online program, Gallica, for example, I can squint at a digital image of brushstrokes in the Vivian Bible, a Carolingian masterpiece hundreds of years out of my research area, and I need no justification other than curiosity. As a result of this digital bounty, scholars who might at one time have required access to the manuscript itself can be referred to a high-quality image. It is ironic, but not all that surprising, that the scholarly focus on materiality should come at a time in the history of manuscript studies when a personal experience of the book has become less and less necessary as it becomes administratively less and less permissible. Screen culture has us pressing our noses against the window, admittedly seeing at closer hand, but cut off from the medieval reader's fuller sensory experience of handmade books. What Kathryn Rudy's investigation offers is the benefit of her searching familiarity with the manuscripts that testify to "devotional accretion" (in Eamon Duffy's happy phrase) – images one copies assiduously, prays over, shares with others, venerates by touching and kissing, and manipulates to create something new and deeply personal.

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Susan Urbach, *Early Netherlandish Paintings. Szépművészeti Múzeum Budapest, Old Masters' Gallery Catalogues. With Ágota Varga, technical examinations by András Fáy (Distinguished Contributions to the Study of the Arts in the Burgundian Netherlands)*. 2 vols. London/ Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, an Imprint of Brepols Publishers, 2015. Vol. I: 271 pp, 174 color, 115 b&w illus. Vol. II: 327 pp, 174 color, 115 b&w illus. ISBN Vol. I: 978-1-909400-09-2. ISBN Vol. II: 978-1-909400-29-0.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, private individuals acquired many of the Netherlandish paintings presently housed in Budapest's Szépművészeti Múzeum, though collectors generally prized Spanish and Italian masters over their northern European counterparts. Nevertheless, any great connoisseur would seek leading lights of early German and Netherlandish schools, especially marquee names, such as Lucas van Leyden, Lucas Cranach, and Albrecht Dürer, as Ágota Varga describes in her essay on Hungarian collecting in this latest addition to the Szépművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Fine Arts) of Budapest's *Old Masters' Gallery* series. Although many attributions have since been revised, the Budapest collection retains its fair share of masterpieces, including works by Hans Memling, Bernard van Orley, and Petrus Christus. Moreover, many copies hold a special interest.

This two-volume catalogue documents forty-nine Netherlandish works produced between roughly 1450 and 1540. It follows two other critical catalogues in the series: *Dutch and Flemish Portraits 1600-1800* (Rudi Ekkart, 2011) and *Dutch and Flemish Still Lifes 1600-1800* (Ildikó Ember, 2011; both reviewed in this journal April 2014). A planned future publication will address Netherlandish paintings from 1540 to 1600. Susan (Zsuzsa) Urbach helmed the project and wrote entries on each work. As Urbach explains in her introduction, techniques for the technical study of artworks have opened up new topics, especially in Netherlandish painting. The Museum previously released a complete collection catalogue (1991, Vol. I; 2000, Vol. II), a valuable annotated visual checklist; however, Urbach and her co-contributors here serve more extensive scholarship on these Budapest works in an erudite, user-friendly format.

Each entry documents provenance, references, exhibitions, iconography, and the history of attribution. Entries also provide technical notes that include available infrared reflectography mosaics plus Peter Klein's dendrochronological examination. High-quality reproductions permit viewers to examine compositions front and back and relevant details in normal light and infrared. Seals and other panel features are included as detail shots. Catalogue entries are organized alphabetically by artist; in the case of copies or questionable attributions, entries are listed under the most closely associated artist.

Christ Carrying the Cross (Cat. 11), now recognized as a copy after Jan van Eyck, exemplifies Urbach's fine entries. Color plates present both front and back of the panel. Important underdrawing details are juxtaposed with their full-color images, allowing productive comparison. Urbach has compiled over a century of scholarly references on this much-discussed picture – each reference entry with a parenthetical summary of proposed attribution and date; within this list, she includes valuable communication with scholars drawn from curatorial records. Technical examination of the underdrawing reveals that the painter closely followed a preliminary sketch in a liquid medium and focused on the outlines of figures with little interior modeling. These factors suggest the artist copied a preexisting composition. Dating of the wooden panel further affirms that the painting is a copy, produced no earlier than 1508, well after Van Eyck's death in 1441. Urbach highlights productive paths for future research, such as the still cryptic inscriptions on the clothing and horse tack of two of Christ's tormentors. Several hypotheses have been put forth regarding the identity of these figures, as none can easily be recognized as Pilate or the centurion. Andor Pigler associated them with famous public figures of Van Eyck's age, including King Sigismund of Hungary, Sigismund's advisor Filippo Scolari (known as Pippo Spano), and John III, Duke of Bavaria. As Urbach notes, however, one cannot even be certain that these are portraits, nor can one easily imagine that these Christian men would want to be associated with Christ's persecutors.

One of the most fascinating works in the Budapest collection is a 1:1 scale copy of the central panel of Hieronymus Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych (Prado, Madrid). The Spanish royal collection famously included several early Netherlandish paintings on linen – *lienzos* but these were disposed of when their condition deteriorated. The Budapest copy (Cat. 3), intriguingly, has a linen canvas support and matches the Prado panel remarkably well. Despite its ruined state, including evidence of rolling and folding, the painting still bears a strong likeness to the original. Figures not only match their Ma-

drid counterparts in scale and placement, but also in color, suggesting that the Budapest work was completed in front of the Prado triptych or its preparatory design. Pigments and painting technique show that the artist of the copy worked in a similar manner and with the same materials as Bosch. Though no underdrawing has been found, making it difficult to pinpoint copying method, Urbach convincingly argues that it came from Bosch's workshop shortly after the artist's death in 1516. These stimulating findings would have been underlined by pairing a detail of the Budapest painting with the same portion of the Prado panel, thus bringing forth their similarities visually and not just textually. However, the numerous recent publications on Bosch celebrating the 500th anniversary of his death make such images readily available.

Familiar motifs and wholesale compositions from early Netherlandish painters, such as Rogier van der Weyden, remained popular in the decades after their creation. Several Budapest works permit study of how these compositions were modified and recycled. Some examples include a copy of the popular Hugo van der Goes *Lamentation* (Cat. 15; original in Vienna), painted on the same scale as the original but on copper, a support especially popular in the early seventeenth century; and a copy after Quentin Massys's *Ecce Homo* (Palazzo Ducale, Venice; Cat. 26), notable for the quality of execution but also for a tiny portrait on the nail of Christ's right index finger.

Technical study has allowed better understanding of art-making within the workshops of early Netherlandish masters. Recent scholarship makes workshop production a key element in the study of an artist's oeuvre. Examples include the culminating website and publication of the Bosch Research and Conservation Project or the thoughtful essays on the role of drawings in Van Eyck's workshop prompted by the rediscovery of an Eyckian *Crucifixion* drawing (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 2015). Such discussions will undoubtedly profit from the information in the Szépművészeti Múzeum's latest catalogue. Urbach has produced a publication that will long serve as a valuable reference work for scholars of both Netherlandish painting and the history of collecting of European Old Masters.

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Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *An Allegory of Divine Love: The Netherlandish Blockbook Canticum Canticorum (Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series, 10)*. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2014. viii, 238 pp, 207 col. and b&w illus. ISBN: 978-0-916101-79-4.

An Allegory of Divine Love emerged out of the author and her husband Irving Lavin's *The Liturgy of Love: Images from the Song of Songs in the Art of Cimabue, Michelangelo, and Rembrandt*, The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures, vol. XIV (The Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, 2001). Lavin became interested in the *Canticum Canticorum* blockbook, dated ca. 1465-70, while working on Cimabue's *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Apse of San Francesco, Assisi, which she read as the marriage of Christ and Mary as Ecclesia. Returning to the blockbook years later, Lavin brings to it her well-known skills as an iconographer.

The *Canticum Canticorum* exists in two editions (the second with recut blocks and a Dutch title). Lavin's study begins with an introduction, followed by a sheet-by-sheet description and analysis of the book, and a conclusion. Back matter includes a summary of the physical history of the blockbook, select bibliography, a scriptural index, and the index to Lavin's book itself. In her introduction, Lavin argues that the blockbook is based on a *cento* (i.e. a poem composed of complete lines or fragments of lines from another poem). The creator(s) of this inventive patchwork poem mined the Song of Songs for phrases and lines allegorized to relate to Christian theology and liturgy, and then commissioned some individual or workshop to illustrate the Latin text appearing in large banderoles. Given the sparse evidence, Lavin wisely does not dwell on trying to attribute the book's design to major painters, but states some previous theories suggesting Rogier van der Weyden, Dirk Bouts, Petrus Christus, or Hans Memling as the main designer. Her interest is primarily in the woodcuts' meaning. Denys the Carthusian's contemporary commentary on the Song of Songs serves as the basis for the three aspects of Mary's symbolic identity depicted in the woodcuts: she is the Virgin Bride and Mother of Christ, the human soul seeking the love of God, and the Church. This establishes the interpretive threads that will occur in the lengthy sheet-by-sheet section of her book. Lavin takes the order of the sheets as bound in four copies (first editions in the Paris and Munich state libraries, and in the Pierpont Morgan Library, and one second edition in the British Museum) to represent the designer's intention, and builds her interpretation on this order.

In the body of her book, divided into eight sections, one for each sheet, Lavin addresses each image (four to a sheet) in turn, moving from the upper left frame on the sheet to the lower right one. Each individual scene is illustrated with a large plate from a 1949 facsimile of the blockbook, which give no sense of the subtlety of the cutting and the pale ink, as do the reproductions of the Morgan Library's first-edition copy that appear in sheet form at the beginning of each section. Although the facsimile images are sharper, I do not see the need for them. Lavin's text for each individual image is divided into a literal description, a section she calls "visual parallels," translations of the inscriptions of the banderoles, a section of medieval commentaries on the biblical verses plus those of a modern commentator (Marvin Pope, *The Song of Songs: A New Translation and Commentary*, Doubleday, 1977), and finally her own brief analysis. I found this approach disjointed and overly rigid. Continuing the essay format of her introduction to build her thesis on the progression and meaning of the allegorized narrative would have made for a much more satisfying reading experience. Could major themes like Christ and the Bride's courtship, their sorrowful absences from each other, and the Bride's education (with Christ as her teacher) in her complex theological role have been the subjects of chapters, for instance?

Sometimes the medieval commentators on the Song of Songs, chosen by Lavin for their temporal proximity to the blockbook (Denys the Carthusian, Giles of Rome, and Nicholas of Lyra), aid understanding, but sometimes their intricate allegorical extrapolations from the biblical text stray far from direct relevance to the images; different commentators may have been more helpful at times. Perhaps the oddest part of Lavin's book, however, is her "visual parallels" sections, which needed serious winnowing. Comparative images illustrating passages from the Song of Songs in the *Bible Moralisée*, the *Rothschild Canticles*, and the damaged murals in the convent in Chelmo,

Poland make sense because of their direct relationship with the blockbook in subject matter. Also, comparative images of iconographic motifs (e.g. the *Gnadenstuhl*, Christ and Ecclesia, the Bed of Solomon, the Coronation of the Virgin) that were inventively adapted by the designer of the blockbook to express Marian iconography are useful. However, the numerous large color plates of northern European and Italian paintings used as visual parallels to poses, gestures, or spatial and architectural settings that are quite legible in the woodcuts themselves are puzzling and distract from Lavin's main thesis. One example of this, among many others, is the inclusion of two full-page color plates of the Visitation by respectively Rogier van der Weyden and Ghirlandaio, as analogies to woodcut scenes of Christ and Mary greeting each other. This approach makes for a colorful book, but often these large plates of paintings overshadow the more delicate prints and add little or nothing to the central argument.

In a surprisingly brief conclusion, Lavin stresses the fact that the *Canticum Canticorum* blockbook establishes a narrative that does not exist in the Song of Songs itself or in any previous set of images: the story of Mary's maturation into her theological role. If Mary is the soul as well, then the story also had very broad popular appeal to lay souls seeking the love of Christ (although reading the banderoles would require knowledge of Latin and its abbreviations). As Lavin notes, however, the theology of Mary in the blockbook suggests a Franciscan context, and one of its functions could have been to educate nuns of the Poor Clares. Lavin might have explored the gendered aspects of this function further in her conclusion. As we know, particularly from Jeffrey Hamburger's work, male spiritual counselors often educated nuns, and this may be echoed in the images in which Christ teaches his Bride. The issue of how these gendered roles of nun and counselor may have affected these images could have been explored more thoroughly in the conclusion.

An Allegory of Divine Love establishes, via an essentially Panofskian methodology centered on Christian theological texts, an iconographic interpretation of the blockbook that provides a foundation for further work. With more evidence, scholars might speculate further on the book's function and context, perhaps tying it more closely to specific convents. For an excellent example of this kind of work, see Ursula Weekes, "Convents as Patrons and Producers of Woodcuts in the Low Countries around 1500," in *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Peter Parshall, National Gallery of Art, 2009, 258-75. Lavin cites this superlative anthology, but does not mine its many insights on the function and uses of early woodcuts as thoroughly as she could have. And, finally, Lavin assumes a seamless bond between the intense eroticism of the biblical text and its allegorical interpretation, and this premise itself is open to challenge. Since the human figures in allegories do not always behave according to orthodox or expected meanings (see *Early Modern Visual Allegory: Embodying Meaning*, ed. Cristelle Baskins and Lisa Rosenthal, Routledge, 2007), scholars may be able to develop alternative interpretations of the blockbook's images. Recent biblical scholarship dealing with gender in the Song of Songs (too prolific to cite here) may provide art historians with models for taking a second look at these remarkable images.

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Sixteenth Century

Myra D. Orth, *Renaissance Manuscripts: The Sixteenth Century (A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France, 4)*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2015. 2 vols., 720 pp, 55 color pls., 321 b&w illus. ISBN 978-1-87250-130-7.

This extensive, two-volume study is the third installment of the *Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France*, published by Harvey Miller. It joins Walter Cahn's *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century* (1996) and Alison Stones's *Gothic Manuscripts: 1260-1320* (Part 1 and 2, 2013-2014) as an essential part of every manuscript scholar's library. This publication is the first to provide a comprehensive guide to Renaissance illumination, so often relegated to a secondary place behind its medieval forebears, and to establish book illumination as a central medium in France during the sixteenth century.

The circumstances of this publication have been somewhat fraught since Orth passed away in 2002 with much of the final text and catalogue completed. In the intervening twelve years, much new research in the field has been conducted, and manuscripts have inevitably changed hands. As the editors, Christian Heck, Sandra Hindman, and Elly Miller, note in their foreword to the text, little change has been made to Orth's original text except to update bibliography and present locations. Some of these changes have been incorporated into the catalogue entries themselves, while bibliography produced between 2002 and the present has been given its own separate section, following the catalogue entries in volume two. Despite these challenges in getting this study to press, this survey will undoubtedly be the foundation for many future studies and the first source of information for art historians and historians of the book interested in late medieval and Renaissance France.

The first volume begins with the Publisher's Foreword detailing the conditions and challenges of completing Orth's magisterial work, followed by short tributes to Orth and her career by her colleague at the Getty Museum, Thomas Kren, and her adviser at NYU's Institute of Fine Arts, Colin Eisler. Volume one begins with the author's Introduction, which details the conditions of manuscript production in sixteenth-century France: increased political and artistic contact with Italy, the religious turmoil of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and the intellectual culture of French humanism. She also discusses issues specific to the history of the book: the complex and intertwined worlds of printing and illumination; the division of labor among *libraires*, scribes, and artists; artistic centers in courts and cities, such as Paris and Rouen; and the formation of large and impressive libraries among the royalty and upper nobility. A series of short essays in volume one provide crucial information on several aspects of sixteenth-century manuscript production and reception, each drawn from Orth's career-long investigation of the period. Her discussions of Noël Bellemare and his followers and of the role of illuminated borders draw heavily on previously published articles, but here are revised and updated.

Volume two contains the bulk of the catalogue comprising 100 entries of manuscripts ranging in date from 1515, the ascension of the Renaissance prince François I through 1574. The scholarly apparatus of the catalogue is impressive. Each entry begins with technical information about the binding, collation, miniatures, text decoration, frames and border types,

textual content, and script. Orth's entries are characterized not only by a keen attention to the fundamentals of visual analysis and iconography, but they also contain a wealth of information about the book's historical context and conditions of production, relating the book to relevant comparanda. The focus of the one hundred entries is emphatically Parisian and concentrates particularly on artists working for royalty and other influential court patrons, beginning with court painters Godefroy le Batave and the Master of Claude of France. A handful of entries are devoted to important artists based in Lyons (nos. 65-68) and Rouen (nos. 69-77), though the rest concentrate on Paris and its courtly connections. Within this concentration, the so-called "Bellemare Group," one collective is named for a number of Parisian manuscript painters stylistically connected to Noël Bellmare, formerly known as the 1520s Hours Workshop.

Throughout the entries, Orth identifies the hands of individual illuminators, both named and anonymous, and one of her central contributions is dividing such artists into recognizable stylistic groups, which are generally tied to regional production, emphasizing the collaborative nature of many high-level court products. Another strength of the study is Orth's ability to examine manuscripts in terms of style and iconography while also discussing the particular translation of the manuscript's text, its place within the historical intellectual and artistic climate of the day. Orth explores in particular the various conditions of manuscript production in sixteenth-century France. Though by this time the illustrated printed book had gained a significant foothold in France, manuscript illumination became increasingly innovative, as patrons of means continued the native tradition of the hand-made versus the printed.

The study of manuscripts in the age of print necessitates a reexamination of traditional modes of inquiry. For example, as Orth notes, traditional liturgical evidence for Books of Hours in the age of print is no longer useful. Specifically, the Books of Hours attributed to the Bellemare Group are particularly difficult to assign to a specific patron and localization. Furthermore, the worlds of print and illumination increasingly overlapped and are entangled, as illuminated miniatures often present direct stylistic links to Hours printed by Geoffroy Tory and others (no. 47).

Though the nature of the survey format inherently limits Orth's ability to communicate her extensive knowledge of the subject, in many cases her few pages of text collect essential information and provide new interpretations of manuscripts. Many manuscripts that Orth documents are well known to specialists of the period, but have never been so thoroughly catalogued as here. François I's three volumes of François Demoulin's *Les Commentaires de la Guerre de Gallique*, illuminated early in the king's reign by Godefroy le Batave and Jean Clouet are a prime example (nos. 3-5). Materially and aesthetically impressive, they also attest to a political context in France in which the king stood to inherit the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire following the death of Emperor Maximilian I. Orth's expertise on the work of Le Batave is evident here and in several other entries, and she completes the essential work of synthesizing previous scholarship while also advancing comparisons to other contemporary manuscripts, woodcuts, and printed books. At the other end of the century, for the stunning Book of Hours owned by Queen Catherine de Médicis (no. 100), Orth highlights the book's role as a tool of dynastic memory for the royal family and also examines in detail the artistic context of

the manuscripts many portrait miniatures, executed by such luminaries as Corneille de Lyon and Nicholas Hilliard, among many more by the workshop of François Clouet.

These two volumes, extensively illustrated with more than three hundred black and white figures, include many supplemental images of comparative works, plus fifty-five large-scale color plates. Orth's careful consideration and cataloguing of frames and borders throughout the entries ensure that when manuscript pages are reproduced, they appear in their entirety and without cropping. One of this study's great contributions to the future of the field is to contextualize each image within a larger matrix of many different media – manuscript illumination must be considered in relation to print culture, drawings produced at court, and tapestry and stained glass designs. Both the entries and illustrations emphasize the multifaceted inter-relationships between patrons, dedicatees, artists, and media. To this end, Orth includes a wealth of helpful reference material that includes biographies of artists, scribes, authors, translators, patrons, and dedicatees. The study also appends a glossary of specialized terminology and indices of iconography, book types, and provenance.

Any scholar of French visual culture in the sixteenth century will reference this study with great frequency. These volumes address an extremely understudied topic, and will promote a wide variety of new explorations, particularly including artistic milieux outside the royal circle and Paris. As the culmination of Myra Orth's body of perceptive, incisive, and thorough work on sixteenth-century French manuscript illumination, this study is an invaluable addition to our understanding of the early modern book and its vital cultural context.

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Arthur J. DiFuria, ed., *Genre Imagery in Early Modern Northern Europe: New Perspectives (Visual Culture in Early Modernity)*. London/New York: Routledge (Ashgate), 2016. xx, 216 pp, 64 b&w illus. ISBN 978-1-4724-4914-6.

Genre Imagery in Early Modern Northern Europe: New Perspectives arrives at a rich moment in the study of the playful, complex pictures best known as genre scenes. Several current and upcoming exhibitions and symposia focus on early modern genre imagery, including an exhibition from the UK's Royal Collection Trust, a conference at the RKD, and the eagerly anticipated and methodically researched 2017-19 exhibition "Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry."

Arthur J. DiFuria's edited volume offers a welcome and important collection of new viewpoints on the origins of these pictures and their social functions within early modern culture. Notably, it aims to move beyond the interpretive binary of genre images as either "slices of life" or "repositories of 'disguised symbols,'" especially prevalent in the study of Netherlandish art, in search of more nuanced interpretations. The book revisits the major theoretical arguments about genre as an artistic category in its introduction and offers alternative modes of interpreting genre imagery through seven case studies by contributors Amy Golahny, Martha Hollander, Jessen Kelly, Alison Kettering, Annette LeZotte, Sheila D. Muller, and Irene

Schaudies. The visual material discussed ranges from the early sixteenth to the late seventeenth century.

DiFuria suggests that the continuing resonance of early modern genre imagery stems from its ability to appear “real” while simultaneously drawing upon a vast array of textual, cultural, and symbolic sources. “Genre’s grafting of the everyday onto the meaningful – and vice versa – also suggests something with more far-reaching implications for our understanding of how people used pictures in the Early Modern Netherlands.” At the same time that viewers could interpret genre scenes based on their daily lived experiences, these images could “condition their audiences to see the everyday with a pictorialized gaze.” In some ways, *Genre Imagery in Early Modern Northern Europe: New Perspectives* complements Angela Vanhaelen and Bronwen Wilson’s edited volume *The Erotics of Looking: Early Modern Netherlandish Art* from 2013. Both collections of essays privilege the beholder’s active role in the experience of viewing early modern art. As the essays in the present volume reveal, this participatory aspect was often most overt in genre scenes, wherein the viewer’s own world was reflected, even if it appeared in purposefully skewed or transmuted forms.

Several of the essays delve into highly specific political and cultural contexts in which the pictures they analyze were produced. Kelly’s study of Lucas van Leyden’s pictures of card games links the rise of game-playing with the origins of genre painting as interrelated forms of interactive play. Especially convincing are Kelly’s arguments that Van Leyden’s paintings take time-based, ephemeral games of chance and fix them so that viewers could linger over the uncertain futures of the games and, by extension, of life. Schaudies, in “Jacques Jordaens’s *Twelfth Night* Politics,” explores reference to kingship and good governance in Jordaens’s images to paint a vivid picture of the political machinations of the Northern and Southern Netherlands during the 1630s-40s. Muller locates Gerrit van Honthorst’s captivating painting, *The Merry Fiddler* within his social circles and networks of friendship in Utrecht and explores how they, in turn, were informed by his experiences with productive sociability in Rome.

Gender and class overtly inform several authors’ arguments and feature implicitly throughout the volume. LeZotte picks up on Elizabeth Honig’s key work on the interplay of economics, morality, and judgement in imagery of Antwerp market scenes. LeZotte argues that the women portrayed in these market scenes play vital mediating roles as purveyors and guides in ways that echo the physical presence and actual roles of women in sixteenth-century marketplaces. Hollander’s analysis of fragile early modern masculinity, as pictured in Adriaen van de Venne’s *Cavalier at a Dressing Table*, is, like its subject, both amusing and thought-provoking. Her findings about the fashion wars of the 1620s and 1630s enrich her arguments that Van de Venne’s foppish cavalier is both a response to traditional allegorical precedents of vanity and a time-sensitive social critique of male extravagance.

Another prominent thread in the volume is the instability of the borders between genre images and other artistic categories. Golahny’s discussion of Rembrandt and “everyday life” focuses on evidence for his everyday habits and how he transformed his observations of mundane life into imaginative hybrid compositions of history and genre. Kettering, through the example of the hybrid of rustic still lifes and Dutch farmstead pictures, makes a much broader claim for the multivalent roles of objects in Netherlandish images. As Kettering writes in

a footnote, this issue of hybrid genres that destabilize traditional hierarchies of painting would bubble up in the eighteenth century, when genre subjects were firmly demoted as feminine and therefore frivolous. Future studies might grapple with how critiques of genre pictures in the seventeenth century either prefigured or diverged from the class-conscious and gendered criticisms of the eighteenth century. More broadly, genre as a category seems to be most precisely defined, and its provocative links with gender and class clearest, when it is criticized. All of these essays deal with class and gender in genre imagery perceptively, but the volume as a whole does not fully consider this issue as a potential defining element of the category.

E. Melanie Gifford’s technical art history studies for “Vermeer and Masters of Genre Painting” encourage additional avenues for future research. The authors in *Genre Imagery in Early Modern Northern Europe* refer frequently to the social connections that underlie the compositional, stylistic, and subject choices made by early modern artists. Further collaboration between technical study and historical inquiry could reveal more about how artists’ interactions with one other relate to the innovations that mark genre imagery of the era.

On this note, the authors’ mutual sensitivity to details of facture is obscured by the publisher’s unfortunate use of black and white illustrations. Internet searches can provide the needed color images; however, this lapse creates an unnecessary distance from the intricate relationships between text and image celebrated in the volume. Nevertheless, *Genre Imagery in Early Modern Northern Europe: New Perspectives* will stimulate many new questions about the slippery category of “genre” and act as a resource for both students and established scholars.

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Matthijs IJssink and Jos Koldeweij, *Hieronymus Bosch, Visions of Genius*. [Cat. exh. Het Noordbrabant Museum, ‘s-Hertogenbosch, February 13 – May 8, 2016.] Brussels: Mercatorfonds, distributed by Yale University Press, New Haven/London, 2016. 192 pp, 140 col. illus. ISBN 978-0-300-22013-1.

Pilar Silva Maroto, *Bosch. The 5th Centenary Exhibition*. [Cat. exh. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, May 31 – September 11, 2016.] Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2016. 399 pp, fully illustrated. ISBN 978-84-8480-317-1.

Matthijs IJssink, Jos Koldeweij, Ron Spronk, Luuc Hoogstede, Robert Erdmann, Rik Klein Gotink, Hanneke Nap, and Daan Veldhuizen, *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman. Catalogue raisonné*. Brussels: Mercatorfonds, distributed by Yale University Press, New Haven/London, 2016. 608 pp, 850 col. illus. ISBN 978-030-022014-8.

Luuc Hoogstede, Ron Spronk, Robert Erdmann, Matthijs IJssink, Jos Koldeweij, Hanneke Naap, and Daan Veldhuizen, *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman. Technical Studies*. Brussels: Mercatorfonds, dis-

tributed by Yale University Press, New Haven/London, 2016. 460 pp, 500 col. illus. ISBN 978-94-6230-115-3.

Even those of us who have been around for a couple of scholarly generations have just seen the greatest exhibition in our field of a lifetime, both in 's-Hertogenbosch and Madrid, cooperative yet competing installations, whose differences will become clear. Certainly other exhibitions rival these, especially Flémalle/Campin (Berlin-Frankfurt), Jan Gossart [sic] (New York), or, to include less-familiar media, two tapestry exhibitions (New York) and one big prints exhibitions, *Grand Scale* (full bias disclosure: organized in part by me). And I should also note at the outset that I contributed an essay to the Prado catalogue. But I want to evaluate these two exhibitions and the research behind them while noting some issues that remain outstanding in Bosch scholarship even after these milestone events.

Of course, the anniversary of Bosch's 1516 death triggered these exhibitions, not to mention a flood of new books and even films. But to lead up to these installations, serious technical examination at both sites produced new infrared examinations of the paintings, so that now underdrawing and preliminary layouts can be considered as part of Bosch's working procedures, within his workshop process. Yes, workshop process. Bosch came from a multi-generational van Aken family of painters, and even as inventor of his unique vision – albeit so often copied and even faked afterwards – he surely had assistants in his productions. Yet the urge remains – even more so with underdrawings newly available – to produce a definitive *catalogue raisonné* that separates wheat from chaff, particularly by the Bosch Research and Conservation Project in the Netherlands. They systematically visited all available and plausible Bosch attributions with the latest equipment and examined them under consistent conditions. Only the Prado and the Vienna Akademie (a major omission from both exhibitions) reserved their own rights to study their own objects; the critical results of the former appear in the current catalogue, whereas the latter, long reserved by curator Renata Trnek, still have not been published. The obvious presence of multiple hands on the surface of the large Vienna *Last Judgment* triptych makes it a critical omission from both the exhibitions and from these well produced catalogue publications, despite the best efforts of both organizers.

What do we know now about Bosch? Several principal arguments emerge from the Dutch BRCP group: 1) that the essential aspect of Bosch's working method is his drawing, both as underdrawing and brushwork, which in turn together, they claim, 2) secure a core group of paintings as authentic works, not some broader "Groupe Bosch" as the KIK/IRPA would designate. As a result, they assign a very small number of paintings to the workshop and even fewer drawings. Perhaps some of this urge to assert Bosch's mastership comes in reaction to Fritz Koreny's recent (2012) emphasis on firm distinctions among the corpus of drawings and on discerning several workshop masters linked to specific core works, especially the Prado *Haywain*. Curiously, the Dutch team finds almost no major distinctions within the underdrawings, even for those of the widely noted "left-handed master" of the Washington-Paris-New Haven-Rotterdam panels. To my eye, the micro-distinctions of Boschian drawings by Koreny emerged more clearly in the underdrawings than in the drawings themselves, but the Dutch team lumps together underdrawings as if there were no basic differences, which seems extreme in its own

right. To be determined after further examination of catalogues and originals . . .

But any responsible curator will advise caution in putting too much stress on the evaluation of authenticity chiefly from underdrawings. After all, the most careful preliminary drawing could prompt clarity for delegated workshop execution, or the sketchiest suggestion could prompt improvisation on the surface for an assured master – not to mention the relative differences among parts, such as main figures, still-life items, and landscape backgrounds. And who is to say that Bosch did not have specialists in his studio who laid down his inventive monsters for him, like the eagle in Rubens's *Prometheus* (Philadelphia)? Another surface element, all-but-ignored in both catalogues but newly revealed by the restored *Garden of Earthly Delights* as well as by the Lisbon *St. Anthony*, is Bosch's fascination with animal forms, often extremely well modeled and precise, whether as monsters or as giants; lesser attention to animals might suggest workshop execution as a result.

And can't a well drafted underdrawing be executed instead by the workshop? This process seems clear to me in the Bruges *Last Judgment*, a beautifully signed work that jointly exalts as original by both exhibitions, but one that still comes across as a flatly painted pastiche of earlier motifs. Additionally, the much-ballyhooed "rediscovery" of the Kansas City *Saint Anthony* as an "original" rather than a restored fragment (previously considered workshop by its museum) really adds very little to the oeuvre, though both exhibitions included it.

Where one really sees Bosch's unique greatness is in his grisailles (Berlin *St. John*; Madrid *Adoration*; Lisbon *St. Anthony*). There we see him painting wet-in-wet and truly drawing with the brush. Some great drawings, especially the *Tree Man* (Albertina) and *Owl's Nest* (Rotterdam) show Bosch's distinctive, novel contribution to the finished independent drawing, whereas some of his individual figure sketches – the two-sided Berlin *Monsters* or Albertina *Grotesque with Man in a Basket* – show his ability to improvise figures in fine, scratchy linework (especially the charming infants frolicking on the latter sheet). All institutions that own Bosch drawings are to be praised for their generosity, and in Den Bosch the drawings, nearly complete, were clustered together, making distinctions among them – especially to separate imitators from originals – easy to evaluate (by contrast, in Madrid the drawings were distributed within the paintings according to themes, so separated from each other, making comparisons more difficult). A few drawings also emerged as anomalous, especially the multi-layered British Museum *Entombment*, whose figure types are truly Boschian but whose final effect, seemingly reworked by Bosch himself, remains inconsistent with the lighter appearance of the rest of the oeuvre. Or the exquisite *Oriental in a Landscape* (Berlin), which uniquely uses chalk, pen, brush, and white body color.

But what is also obvious from the cumulative effect of the painted works, shown to spectacular effects in both installations, is how Bosch's overall painting technique shifted imagery from the prevailing fine detail and refined glazes of Flemish naturalism to a bolder shaping of figures and settings in subtle color tones with accents. Bosch set Dutch painting on the course of its seventeenth-century tonal processes, even if his imagery still extends a late-medieval, fifteenth-century legacy. Moreover, it is also clear from the basic narrative of Northern art, but newly evident now, that his atmospheric settings inspired Patinir's career in particular and the Netherlandish

landscape genre in general. Further, his novel representations of worldly sinfulness helped spark genre themes, as shown in last fall's exhibition in Rotterdam ("Van Bosch tot Bruegel. Het begin van de genreschilderkunst") by Peter van der Coelen and Friso Lammertse.

Now to review the installations themselves. 'S-Hertogenbosch used large vitrines, well-lighted from below, which clearly displayed colors on newly restored painting surfaces. One colleague noted that this presentation turned the pictures into images, almost like giant slides, but to me they produced vivid, consistent display in meaningful small clusters. In contrast to the almost rectilinear, clustered layout of Den Bosch, Madrid built its display organically around its own celebrated triptychs (of which only the *Haywain* was sent north), creatively showing them open and mounted on curvilinear bases, so that one could easily survey both the front and the back in sequence. Additionally, Madrid placed a helpful photo reproduction of the closed exteriors between their open wings, so that each viewer could see the entire composition as well as the separated original wings. Drawings, however, chiefly provided an accompaniment to the paintings in Madrid, whereas in Den Bosch they formed a separate and well presented group in their own right, emphasizing Bosch as draughtsman.

Both exhibitions chose to organize all works by theme, beginning with the Life of Christ, then Saints, and finally "The World and Last Things," to use the Prado segmentation. Of course, this layout has the virtue, especially for the general public, of providing some framework for assessing Bosch's preoccupations and purposes, and in fairness most monographs, including my own, are organized along similar lines. However, great confusion also can result from this choice, particularly concerning Bosch chronology, even for a relative dating or clustering of pictures – still a basically neglected approach to his oeuvre. Some almost comical results could emerge, such as the hanging in the Prado, where the small-figured Vienna wing of *Christ Carrying the Cross* (dated in the catalogue ca. 1505/10-1516, a date usually linked to the – newly disattributed – Ghent *Carrying of the Cross*) was placed near the large-figured Escorial *Carrying of the Cross* (dated ca. 1500), a work close in concept (and hanging) to the London *Christ Mocked* (here also dated ca. 1500). These two works with the same subject are utterly different in figural conception, spatial layout, relation to the viewer, and any other conceivable criterion, so much so that they almost seem to be works by different artists, yet they still hung together because of the thematic organization.

How can we begin to make sense of Bosch's development, even in terms of relative chronology? A century ago Ludwig von Baldass suggested using landscape as a criterion, and these shows reveal that his view has much merit. Start with the luminous atmospheric blue horizon of the newly-restored (and newly promoted over its Escorial replica) Prado *Haywain* (or for that matter even the Bruges *Last Judgment Paradise wing*), where thinly painted veils of color recede into deep distance. Similar distances are delicately sketched in both the mature *Tree Man* and the *Owls' Nest* drawings. Then contrast such presumably late landscape constructions with the arbitrary flat screens of the Prado *Garden* (or its closely related set of dotted trees behind the Lázaro Galdiano *John the Baptist*), which still deserve the old-fashioned designation of *coulisses*. Incidentally, this kind of comparison also reveals how the cleaning of overpaint from the Louvre *Ship of Fools* has essentially now stripped off most of that landscape background.

Much work remains to be done on this kind of Bosch development of form, but close consideration makes clear that the Berlin *Evangelist* and Lázaro Galdiano *Baptist* cannot belong together, as first proposed in the 2001 Rotterdam Bosch exhibition (repeated in Den Bosch but questioned in Madrid), not least because of their contrasting landscape layouts. There are other major differences between them, notably the delicate grisaille reverse found only on the Berlin panel. Also among the findings of the infrared inspection is a newly-revealed donor beneath the overpainted evil plant on the *Baptist*. Another test case: what about the *Calvary with Donor* (Brussels), inexplicably withheld from both venues, a work often dated early because of its conservative layout, and whose figures and colors show close affinities with the *Garden*.

Indeed, because of our confidence in both the heraldry and family history of their patrons, the mid 1490s dates of both the Prado *Adoration* and of its related workshop *Ecce Homo* triptych have caused most Bosch datings to be posed relative to that "fixed" point. Not even a relative chronology is obtainable from these two exhibition catalogues, nor is any attempt made to clarify Bosch's development, even if consensus seems to fasten on both the New York *Adoration of the Magi* (still strangely inconsistent in its parts to my eye) and the Frankfurt *Ecce Homo* as the earliest works. My previous support for the Philadelphia *Magi* as early, based on the awkward presentation of space, now seems unfounded, and workshop participation seems likely, yet the high quality of the two standing magi merits consideration as authentic (in contrast to the adjacent weakness of the much-restored Joseph, and amidst widespread condition issues in the panel). But for both New York and Philadelphia panels, how credible is finding multiple hands, where both Bosch and assistants would work together on fairly small pieces?

Good lighting and careful conservation now reveal how much these paintings have been subjected to damage over time, in part due to their thin, often improvised, paint layers. We now can see more clearly how much some of these works have suffered, even masterpieces such as the Rotterdam *Saint Christopher*. But we can be grateful to all lenders of these panels for their generosity in allowing the ingathering of Bosch works at both exhibitions, with the notable exceptions of the Vienna Akademie and Brussels. Because of the new emphasis on underdrawings (especially in Den Bosch) and on distinguishing between the master and his workshop or even his later followers (e.g. the Bruges *Job* triptych, Rotterdam *Marriage at Cana*, or Saint-Germain-en-Laye *Conjurer*), lost works did not come under consideration, though several come to mind, such as the *Christ among the Doctors* (best replicated at Opcno chateau and the Louvre). And while it was not the charge of these exhibitions, the replicas of extant works, especially of the Prado *Adoration* and the Lisbon *Saint Anthony*, deserve a renewed examination, extending the research on Bosch *Rezeption* by Gerd Unverfehrt (1980), to consider how lifetime replication by the workshop fits into the diffusion of Bosch compositions. The true *catalogue raisonné* still remains to be written.

But what a feast, especially in Madrid, which claimed that only three paintings were lacking (!), and the drawings too were also fully represented. Perhaps the marketing-driven title of the Den Bosch venue, *Visions of Genius*, most clearly reveals the prevailing notion that Bosch himself – master Jheronimus rather than Groupe Bosch – was the true driving force and could be readily defined – in underdrawings and drawings as well as in paint surfaces – despite his own documented family

of professional painters. With the new technical studies (except Vienna's *Last Judgment*) available at last in these catalogues, and soon to be online in high resolution, we can take Bosch studies to a new level with much truly fresh material. Our gratitude must be boundless, for such a pair of exhibition experiences and for their printed legacies.

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Daantje Meuwissen, *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen (ca. 1475-1533). De Renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar. With contributions by Peter van den Brink et al. [Cat. exh. Amsterdam Museum; Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar; Sint Laurenskerk, Alkmaar, March 15 – June 29, 2014.] Zwolle: Waanders, 2014. 319 pp, fully illustrated. ISBN 978-94-91196-96-6.*

In northern Europe, the early sixteenth-century art world was crowded with artists of extraordinary talent: Jan Gossart, Bonaert van Orley, and Lucas van Leyden in the Low Countries, as well as Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach the Elder, and Hans Holbein the Younger in the Germanic countries. Yet Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen has too often been missing from that list. In 2014, the Amsterdam Museum and the Stedelijk Museum in Alkmaar set out to rectify that omission through two related exhibitions that focused on Jacob, his artistic family, and their workshop.

The catalogue that accompanied these shows is sumptuously illustrated, reproducing every work in color, including the prints and drawings selected. Especially noteworthy is how the vivid images of many newly-cleaned works change our perceptions of Jacob as a colorist. His palette now appears brighter and more saturated. The Naples *Nativity with the Boelen Family* (cat. no. 13), for example, no longer seems murky, but instead has a joyous glow now of crimson, azure, and gold. The result of such riches is to give those uninitiated in his art a chance to understand the beauty of Jacob Cornelisz's aesthetic.

This intended evangelism on behalf of Jacob, stated in the foreword, is limited by the catalogue's availability only in Dutch. While specialists in the field will be able to use the volume to familiarize themselves with the state of Jacob scholarship, a vast number of potential readers will be left in the dark. For enlightenment, that group may turn to the twelve pages of English summary at the end of the catalogue.

Between the catalogue's covers the current research on Jacob Cornelisz is arranged in short – some, exceedingly short – chapters that are, in turn, divided into topics, making the volume easy to negotiate. The content, however, is more summary than scholarly. For those academics who follow Jacob Cornelisz research, much information will be familiar. The catalogue's greatest contribution is arguably its interweaving of recent archival discoveries within the discussion. Special attention has been paid to the social structures of Amsterdam, especially Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen's connections to the Catholic institutions of that city and its surroundings. The reader is left with a deeper understanding of Amsterdam as a highly religious city with growing trade and a ship-building industry that gave its citizens a wider world view.

The text also builds upon the archival discoveries of I.H. van Eeghen and of S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, placing Jacob within a wider artistic community, which included at least one brother, as well as sons and nephews, and a grandson. The influence of this artistic dynasty was felt well into the sixteenth century. In addition to family, Jacob's workshop trained several artists, the most famous of whom was Jan van Scorel. This large atelier allows the authors to address the question of workshop production and to point out, correctly, that multiple hands should be acknowledged as present in almost all works at this time. New and better technical investigations have increased our understanding of how workshop members collaborated, and with that knowledge has come ambiguity about "authorship." The problem, I would suggest, is that we have made the term "workshop" a derogatory label that seems to diminish a painting's artistic importance. Instead, we should use the term to indicate the complexity and collaborative nature of artistic creation. The catalogue is best at opening up discussions about such broader issues.

One outstanding example of a work created by multiple hands under Jacob Cornelisz's direction is the *Last Judgment* ceiling in the St. Lawrence church in Alkmaar. That church was the third venue of the exhibition, and the reinstallation of its painted wooden ceiling was a highlight. The work was found in the Rijksmuseum's storage, but now it has been newly restored, presenting a rare chance to see a Dutch handling of the popular subject in monumental scale across the vast vaults of the apse. Andrea van Leerdam's informative essay on this ceiling and others known or conjectured to be by Jacob, considers both the teamwork and the aesthetic needed to create such large-scale works.

This beautiful catalogue meets its intended goal and functions as an introduction to the first recorded artist in Amsterdam. May cultural historians and reception theorists find further inspiration in this volume to broaden our understanding of Jacob Cornelisz.

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Wim de Groot, ed., *The Seventh Window: The King's Window Donated by Philip II and Mary Tudor to Sint Janskerk in Gouda (1557)*. Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 2005. 304 pp, numerous color illus. ISBN 978-90-6550-822-8.

The Seventh Window is an anthology conceptualized and edited by Wim de Groot, which brings together twenty-one scholars from various fields and countries to ruminate over one of King Philip II of Spain's lasting artistic legacies in the Netherlands: his stained glass window donated in 1557 to Sint Janskerk in Gouda. Depicting the dedication of the Temple of King Solomon in the upper register, King Philip and Queen Mary kneeling before the Last Supper in the middle, and a cartouche in the lowest register, this tripartite window has garnered little art-historical attention until this impressive volume. The book is conceived in two sections: first, the cultural and political landscape of the decade preceding the King's commission; second, more art-historically-minded, the production and donation of the window itself and its afterlife. Because of the diverse approaches in the volume, the book presents an all-

encompassing study of the window and the events and people that led to its commission and execution. In a Netherlandish context, King Philip II is often discussed in conjunction with the Spanish oppression that spurred the Revolt of the Netherlands; this book, however, presents a view into the early years of Philip's sovereignty of the Netherlands, when the city of Gouda was still Catholic and loyal to their distant ruler.

Spared by the glass-shattering iconoclasts of 1566 and preserved by caretakers throughout the past five hundred years, Gouda's Sint Janskerk holds a unique position as the only church in the Netherlands that still has the majority of its sixteenth- and seventeenth-century windows *in situ*, with their cartoons preserved in the archives. Because of Dirck Crabeth's original cartoon and Christoffel Pierson's 1675 drawings of the King's window, restorers have been able to keep the window true to its original form and design. Indeed, while restoring Crabeth's cartoon, Wim de Groot was inspired to create a book entirely focused on this well-preserved window and its drawings.

In the first section of the book, Geoffrey Parker sets out the political history of Philip II at the time of the commission and his predilection for Solomonic imagery. Estrella Cavero Saiz devotes a chapter to the transition between the reign of Charles V and his son Philip II. She reads the window as a multivalent representation: Philip's marriage to Mary Tudor (she, too, is represented at the Last Supper scene); unity against the Ottomans; and political friction with France. Glyn Redworth's chapter views the balance of power between Mary and Philip, who ruled as "co-monarchs" of England. Other essays focus on the relationship between Philip and the city of Gouda, noting that the King did not visit the city on his tour of the Netherlands. Yet, as Koen Goudriaan argues, the city authorities secured the stained glass commission with Philip to solidify a good relationship with their absent ruler. Corrie Ridderikhoff and Lucy Schlüter's chapter decodes Erasmian elements in the window. Even Sint Janskerk is treated as a subject in a few chapters: selections review its architectural similarities to Gothic cathedrals and chart its history through fire, new building campaigns, other natural disasters, and wartime. Finally, Marloes Biermans reimagines the aural environment of the church at the time of the commission.

The second section focuses more narrowly on the history of stained glass commissions, the subject matter of the window, and finally the process of execution. Jan van Damme explicates the procedure of requesting a royal donation for a stained glass window, noting the long history of Burgundian dukes and Habsburg rulers commissioning windows, and he brings to light the role that Viglius van Aytta specifically played in planning the symbolism of the window. Several authors further extrapolate the symbolic program of the window: Juan Rafael de la Cuadra Blanco discusses how Philip II viewed himself as the second Solomon (shown to great effect at the Escorial Palace); Wim de Groot convincingly argues that the dedication of the temple of Solomon stands as a metaphor for the succession of Charles V to Philip II.

Other authors take up the depiction of the Last Supper in later chapters, arguing that the scene presents Philip II's ardent belief in the Eucharist and the miracle of transubstantiation. Rebecca Zorach offers an anthropological view of the Eucharist scene and interprets the vertical axis of the window as a sign of masculine genealogy, of sacrifice, and of movement between the earthly and spiritual. Andrea C. Gasten shifts attention

from the sacramental scene to the inspiration and sources for the representations of Philip and Mary.

Peter Fuhring presents Dirck Crabeth as an innovator of strapwork, and through speculative calculations, Wim de Groot argues that Crabeth was well paid for his work – at least for a craftsman. The procedures for creating a stained glass window are discussed by Joost M.A. Caen. He notes the uniqueness of the Crabeth brothers, who participated at all levels of creation: the design, cartoon, drawing, and execution. The book ends with a chapter on the history of the conservation of the window.

One of the best aspects of this anthology is the breadth of this multidisciplinary study, prompted by a single significant object. Examined from multiple angles and perspectives, the book presents an enlightening 360-degree view of the window. As noted by Wim de Groot in his preface, the characters of Dirck Crabeth and his brother Wouter are at times elusive. The shadowy Crabeth brothers do emerge in the last four chapters of the book, but more could be said regarding their style and how the King's window compares to their other commissions. The reader should note, however, that Wim de Groot promises another book devoted solely to the Crabeth brothers.

If the *Seventh Window* had been even longer, more could be written about how a viewer encounters the window and how the surrounding stained glass in the church molds the worship experience. In the seventeenth century, for instance, moments from the Dutch Revolt were memorialized in glass at Sint Janskerk, creating a symbolic program at philosophical odds with Philip's statement for Catholicism and monarchy. Readers will be pleased to find English transcriptions of all Latin texts in the window, and laudable reproductions of the windows and their drawings in both the book and a complimentary CD.

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Richard J. Tuttle, *The Neptune Fountain in Bologna: Bronze, Marble, & Water in the Making of a Papal City*. Edited by Nadja Aksamija and Francesco Ceccarelli (VISTAS, *Virtual Images of Sculpture in Time and Space*, 2). London: Harvey Miller Publishers, an imprint of Brepols Publishers, Turnhout, 2015. 248 pp, 150 color illus. ISBN 978-1-909400-24-5.

Published posthumously, Richard Tuttle's excellent analysis of Giambologna's *Neptune Fountain* in Bologna is insightful, well written, and beautifully illustrated. Its focus on a single monument, examined in the context of its city, makes it a useful tool not just for historians of art and architecture, but also for students of urban history, engineering, and patronage. Designed to be read in conjunction with a website that offers photographs from the book that can be enlarged for enhanced study, the volume affords a rich opportunity to experience this important monument. Still in manuscript form when Tuttle died in 2009, the book was brought to completion for publication by Nadja Aksamija and Francesco Ceccarelli; thanks are owed to them and also to Hester Diamond, John Landau, and Fabrizio Moretti who founded VISTAS, an organization devoted to the study of sculpture, which provided the website and supported the publication of the book.

Giambologna, the acknowledged giant of sixteenth-century Florentine art, has engendered numerous specialized studies. As the consummate court artist, his contributions to the history of art certainly include his large-scale marble sculptures, foremost among them the quintessential embodiment of mannerist sculpture, *Rape of a Sabine* in the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. He designed several large-scale bronzes as memorable civic monuments, led by the equestrian statue of Cosimo I de' Medici and the Bologna Fountain. For museum-goers, his often-replicated designs for small-scale sculptures, highly prized by his contemporaries, have been the subject of several noteworthy exhibitions over the last years. Most of his work, it should be noted, was collaborative. Yet few other publications on Giambologna offer such well-rounded discussion of the combined effort to produce a single work as Tuttle has achieved in this book.

The five chapters begin with a discussion of the patron of the fountain, Pier Donato Cesi, and his relationship to Bologna. The second chapter, the core of the publication, focuses on the design evolution for the fountain and the roles played by each collaborator, the painter/architect (and engineer) Tommaso Laureti and Giambologna himself. The third chapter illuminates the iconography, extracting valuable information from documents related to the donor and putting it in the context of other Cesi commissions. The fourth chapter explains the hydraulics and engineering, bringing the Fontana Vecchia and its design into the discussion. The last chapter focuses on the monument within its urban context and surrounding piazza. Also extremely valuable is the appendix of related documents, including contracts and correspondence, as well as portions of Laureti's *Fountain Handbook*.

Much scholarship about Giambologna has already dealt with issues of fabricating the bronzes and of workshop practice. In contrast, Tuttle's book offers no discussion of either casting or finishing the bronzes that adorn the fountain. Instead, Tuttle's chapter on the evolution of the fountain clarifies the design contributions that each artist made to the finished work. The fountain is still quite often described as a work "by Giambologna." Tuttle's discussion should counter any lingering tendency to assume that Giambologna was the primary inventor. The author has flushed out Laureti's role with documentary references that identify him as the initial designer, buttressed by the fact that when the design was developed enough so that materials could be ordered, Giambologna was still in Florence and therefore not yet involved. Tuttle includes a useful discussion of eight drawings, attributed to Laureti by Mariette already in the eighteenth century, as a series of meditations on fountain design that illuminate Laureti as the ideator of the fountain form.

The section of Chapter 2 where Tuttle elaborates Giambologna's contribution to the design by outlining exactly how the sculptor adapted individual elements to the overall form, is one of the volume's great achievements. Few descriptive analyses of Giambologna's work are better than where Tuttle elaborates how the sculptor adapted bronzes to the architectural framework, and he enumerates each element that make up the ensemble. Tuttle gives real insight into Giambologna as a designer, an artist who had an incredible sense of form and movement. The author also provides the reader with a full understanding of Giambologna's achievement in creating the figure of Neptune, of his genius in originating a powerful, meaningful pose successfully adapted to the whole. Tuttle's

attentive descriptions and powers of observation make this section a true pleasure to read. The following chapter on the meaning of the sculptural ensemble, primarily the significance of Neptune, relates the fountain to two other important sculptures commissioned by the Cesi, since all are interpreted in a manuscript that Cesi composed. This section builds upon some of Tuttle's other published work, yet it is still a significant contribution to Giambologna studies.

Many readers will find the fourth chapter on hydraulic engineering to be one of the most important contributions of the book. For this reader, however, the argument could have been better correlated to the accompanying maps and diagrams, because of confusion among the various sections of water conduit being described. While the website adds beautiful high-resolution photographs of the fountain, it would have been useful to have some of these diagrams available for enlargement and greater scrutiny in order to facilitate the argument. Those diagrams are not always adequately labeled, and some terms are not explained. Discussion of the accompanying public fountain is also especially interesting and valuable. The photographs, on the whole, are excellent. It would also have helped to coordinate some photo views with the maps and diagrams, since the spectator's location vis-à-vis the fountain is not always clear. The description in Chapter 2 of the corner elements at the level of the escutcheons was difficult to follow without a good photograph that matched the text (The one on the website (2.42) is not the one that appears in the book).

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Seventeenth-Century Flemish

Neil De Marchi and Sophie Raux, eds., *Moving Pictures. Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th-18th Centuries (Studies in European Urban History, 1100-1800, 34)*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014. xiii, 324 pp, b&w illus. ISBN 978-2-503-54808-1.

A detail of Jean-Antoine Watteau's well-known painting *Gersaint's Shopsign* (1720) figures on the cover of this volume. The painting depicts the shop of the art dealer Edme-François Gersaint as a site of noble trade – as a setting where connoisseurs are entertained. The image bore little resemblance to Gersaint's actual shop located on Paris' Pont Notre-Dame, a site that was in fact associated with cheap and bad pictures throughout the eighteenth century. Diderot for instance, vehemently criticized the Pont Notre-Dame as a place where talent was destructed and ignorant buyers were deceived to buy bad pictures from corrupted traders. The dissonance between Diderot's judgement and Watteau's painting relates to one of the central issues in this book: the tension between beauty and profit, between artistic and economic interests.

Ever since the groundbreaking work of John Michael Montias, art historians have investigated the economic strategies employed by painters. For good reasons, then, this book opens with a discussion of the work of Montias. The joining together of artistic and economic interests is indeed at the core of the eleven essays following the Introduction by editors Neil De Marchi and Sophie Raux. The demystification of art that fol-

lowed from the work of Montias and others who investigated the economic aspects of art production and art trade was a welcome change from earlier research, but, as De Marchi and Raux emphasize, art objects are quite unlike ordinary commodities in one crucial respect: "They are unique, or at least plausibly presentable as such, and it is in the interest of artists, dealers and auction houses to stress that uniqueness" (2). The authors of this volume, in one way or another, all consider the interests and expected behavior of various players on the art market.

The volume is the result of a four-year international research collaboration entitled *Art Markets in Europe 1300-1800. Emergence, Development, Networks*. In the book, the timespan is somewhat limited to the sixteenth to eighteenth century, while there is also a strong geographical focus on Europe's major centres of art trade. The period saw a change from primary to secondary markets, a more international art market, and a much greater mobility of artists, dealers, and goods. Throughout the book, the emphasis on the Southern Netherlands is most noticeable: the region's art production and trade with other parts of Europe (the Northern Netherlands, France, and Northern and Southern Italy) are discussed in a great number of chapters (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11). The rising art markets of Paris and London are discussed in detail in chapters 3, 8, 9, and 10.

In the opening chapter, Koenraad Brosens discusses the export of tapestry from Brussels over three centuries (1450-1750). Because the production of tapestry was capital intensive, the Brussels' *tapissiers* relied on different institutions and strategies to control risks. Crucial was the foundation of the tapestry *pan-den* in Brussels and Antwerp, which simultaneously provided better information and credit. Brosens draws an interesting parallel between the tapestry *pan-den* and the general commodity exchanges in the Low Countries, while also highlighting differences between the market for tapestry and paintings.

Throughout the seventeenth century, Antwerp artists produced a surplus in painting. Neil De Marchi, Sandra Van Ginhoven, and Hans J. Van Miegroet investigate the possible size of the painting surplus by combining evidence from a range of sources (both on the supply and demand side). This chapter not only offers methodological innovation, but also concrete numbers based upon very cautious calculations: for the period 1630-1680, painting surplus in Antwerp ranged from 1.8 to 2.5 times local demand, which comes down to around 2,522 paintings a year. Consequently, actors were looking for new markets and new strategies to export paintings all the time. A number of legal and illegal ways in which paintings were distributed outside Antwerp come up in the following chapters.

Sophie Raux discusses the variety of strategies employed by painter-dealers from Brabant to export paintings, such as fairs, auctions and lotteries, as well as the opposition from local painters who saw their production threatened by the influx from outside of town. One captivating way in which Antwerp paintings reached other parts of Europe was via lotteries. Raux provides a detailed account on how and by whom lotteries were organized in the Spanish Netherlands and North-Western France, while Mickaël Szanto suggests that through this channel, possibly thousands of Flemish paintings reached France (where, from 1606, the king sold rights for lotteries). Szanto's chapter deals mainly with the changing fate of the abovementioned Pont Notre-Dame, which appears to have been the site with the greatest concentration of pictures in eighteenth-century Europe (the Flemish dominance was long gone by then), comparable only to the position of Antwerp's *Schilderspand* in

the second half of the sixteenth century. And even though the Paris bridge slowly acquired a bad reputation, the site also became a place "of a double freedom" (91): freedom of creation (from academic dictates) and freedom of judgement (from connoisseurial presumptions).

Natalia Gozzano and Isabella Ceccheni consider the flow of paintings from the Southern Netherlands to Italy – respectively to Southern Italy (Sicily in particular) and Northern Italy. The flow in this direction was far from impressive, even though trade networks and trade routes were well established, both over sea and over land (the latter was of particular importance for the trade with Northern Italy). Both authors draw a similar conclusion: there were so many Flemish immigrant artists living in Italy that there was no point in buying imported (and hence relatively more expensive) Flemish paintings. Gozzano shows in detail Flemish merchants' networks in Italian port cities. Most Flemish dealers in Italy, even those who at some point acquired the name of art dealer, were ship owners for whom the trade in paintings was but small and subordinate to the trade in other goods. Furthermore, as Cecchini argues, Italian buyers were surely interested in 'Flemish' style paintings, but they also wanted adjustments to local subjects and a local manner.

Artworks from the Southern Netherlands not only traveled to the South but also to the North. Claartje Rasterhoff and Filip Vermeylen uncovered archival material from the Zeeland Toll, through which they examine the export of art goods from Antwerp to the Dutch Republic (for the period 1628-1695). Cautious calculations render a number of around 500 paintings per year on average (although the actual number, they acknowledge, may have been even higher – around 625). Not all these paintings were for consumption in the Dutch Republic; a good number was probably on its way to destinations farther to the North or East. Interestingly, they also discuss the flow of tapestries, books, and harpsichords.

Patrick Michel, Charlotte Guichard, and Bénédicte Miyamoto focus on the rising art markets and auction houses of Paris and London in the eighteenth century. Michel discusses the flocks of English and Russian buyers in Paris and the consequential worries of French commentators about the loss of great works of art. The maturation of the Paris art market in this period was exemplified by the figure of the dealer-expert. One of them was Jean-Baptiste Lebrun, whose archives of annotated sales catalogues are investigated by Guichard. She concludes that Paris was a dealer's market where a tight network of professionals increasingly supplanted the private bidding of *amateurs*. Whereas Paris dealers fashioned themselves as gentlemen of good taste, British auctioneers fashioned themselves as honest merchants, not necessarily claiming artistic knowledge. Miyamoto discusses this self-fashioning of dealer-auctioneers in London, who were responding to buyers' tastes more than imposing taste (again, a "freedom of taste"). Based upon Christie's archive of auction catalogues from 1767 to 1779, a detailed account of British taste comes to the fore. In the final essay Dries Lyna stresses that all European art markets shifted from primary to secondary markets in the eighteenth century, among other things as a result of changing consumer patterns. Contrary to the received view, Southern Netherlandish dealers played an active and international role as they acquired paintings at local auctions and then resold them in other European cities.

The authors of this volume are to be praised for the wide range of newly uncovered source material, which has not only yielded an array of new factual details but also new analyses of those facts. Although well chosen, the concentration on major European trade centers would have benefitted from more geographical variation. The chapters provide detailed and nuanced analyses of economic strategies used by players on the art markets, while the comparisons between the art market and other markets are thought provoking and among the highlights of the volume. Overall, issues of taste and connoisseurship are eloquently integrated with strategies of trade and profit. Despite a slight emphasis on economic interests, the book lives up to the promise made in the Introduction: artworks are like other commodities, while they are also quite unique. The authors themselves have indeed demonstrated “freedom of creation” and “freedom of taste” by integrating in a new and fresh manner different types of sources and analyses.

Marlise Rijks
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Elizabeth McGrath, Gregory Martin, Fiona Healy, Bert Schepers, Carl Van de Velde and Karolien De Clippel, Rubens. Mythological Subjects: Achilles to the Graces (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part XI [1]). London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, an Imprint of Brepols Publishers, 2016. 2 vols. ISBN 978-1-909400-47-4.

The publication of the first volume on Rubens’s mythological paintings is another milestone for the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, arguably the longest and most exhaustive *catalogue raisonné* project of our time. Encompassing entries on paintings, preparatory studies and other related works on mythological subjects from A to G (*Achilles to the Graces*), it is the fruit of the labor of six international scholars: Elizabeth McGrath, Gregory Martin, Fiona Healy, Bert Schepers, Carl Van de Velde and Karolien De Clippel. As such, it marks a departure from earlier volumes in this project, typically assigned to, and written by individual authors. This decision on the part of the editorial board was surely not motivated only by the sheer number of works by Rubens and his studio in this genre, though the very fact that its five hundred pages cover only mythological stories from A to G does say a lot.

Anyone writing on Rubens knows what it takes to give due justice to the complexity of his work. In addition to being so prolific and running an active studio practice throughout his career, his singular capacity to absorb, internalize and interpret the visual and literary canon requires an equally singular determination to trace and understand the ways in which he used that canon. This challenge has only become greater for more recent contributors to the *catalogue raisonné*, whose origins go back to the 1960 bequest of the immense documentation and photo archive assembled by the Rubens scholar Dr. Ludwig Burchard. The first of the projected twenty-nine parts came out in 1968. Judging by the pace of the publication of the parts to date, the last of the remaining volumes will likely take us beyond 2020, the year set as a goal for the completion of this project.

An excellent introduction by Elizabeth McGrath, whose importance to Rubens scholarship needs no introduction,

sets the tone for the volume under review. With characteristic erudition, she leads the reader towards the artist’s approach to classical myths as shaped by broader context of their reception in early modern Europe. Yet as she notes, due to the collaborative nature of this project, she could only provide us with an “impressionistic preliminary to the subject,” since she wrote her essay before being able to read the final entries, and certainly well before she could read any of the material forthcoming in the two volumes that will address paintings on mythological subjects from H to Z (II: H-O; III: P-Z). Despite this disclaimer, this is another contribution of the kind we have learned to anticipate from McGrath, who impresses no less with her visual sensitivity than her deep knowledge of the classical tradition.

The catalogue entries are organized into smaller alphabetical units, with one author typically writing on a group of related works based on a mythological character, story, or a *topos*. Gregory Martin, who writes one of the largest sections within the present volume, opens the catalogue entries with Achilles. Though he discusses a single painting, the Prado *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* and two related works, his entry runs to fourteen very dense pages of description and documentation. Similarly, his section on the stories of Diana later in the volume (Cats. 24-36, pp. 302-384) brings together a wealth of material that could easily serve as a basis for a monographic study on the subject.

The same thoroughness and attention to detail characterizes the work of the other contributors, lending additional support to the notion that the remaining parts of the *Corpus Rubenianum* might be better served by similar team endeavor. Carl Van de Velde writes on Aeneas and Dido. Bert Schepers takes on the subject of the Amazons, which held particular fascination for Rubens, especially early on in his career. Karolien De Clippel contributes to the section on Bacchus. Fiona Healy deals with several mythological narratives that inspired Rubens throughout his life, including Andromeda, Apollo and Daphne, Danaë, and Erichthonius. McGrath herself writes the entries on Boreas and Orithyia, Ganymede, and the Three Graces, and co-authors a few other entries with Martin and Schepers.

Some of the boundaries between these groupings do get blurry. The entries on Bacchus, discussed by three authors (De Clippel, Martin, McGrath), lead to some repetitions and internal dissonances that could have been avoided by a more judicious distribution. Nonetheless, the benefits of this collaborative approach far outweigh the occasional weakness.

On the whole, this volume is another testimony to the scholarly energy it takes to survey and summarize the critical legacy of an artist like Rubens. Thus when Schepers discusses a lost painting of the Amazons (Cat. 5), his description extends to a modest half page of text, but it is followed by five even more dense pages of provenance data and notes. Similarly, in his entry on the extant version on the subject from Potsdam (Cat. 5a) we get two pages of citations concerning provenance and literature, seven pages of descriptive text and additional seven with notes. This is impressive cataloguing work by any standards, though it was certainly helped by the fact that Schepers has been working as a researcher at the Rubenianum since 2002. Yet as we follow the incredibly detailed accounts on the ‘lives’ of these works from one collection to another, or the comments and opinions that have been voiced about them over time, we are sometimes left wanting for more input regarding their meanings.

Some of the contributors manage to bring in that personal perspective more fully than others. Healy's discussions of works based on Andromeda and Erichthonius are good examples of entries that go beyond the customary expectations concerning a *catalogue raisonné* to include a number of original observations. Similarly, Martin's focus on the works featuring Diana and/or her companions allows him to write insightfully and persuasively about what these compositions may mean, and how they convey those meanings. Last but not least, McGrath closes this volume on a particularly high note with her discussion of works involving the Three Graces motif, especially the monumental painting from the Prado from about 1638 (Cat. 45).

Notwithstanding the long time it took to bring this study of Rubens's mythological paintings out, it will be essential to anyone interested in further research into his approach to classical mythology. I am saying this as someone who wrote a dissertation on several of Rubens's mythological paintings back in 1999, published as a book in 2009, without access to any comparable reference work on the subject. We can only hope that the next volumes (H-Z) will not take as long to write and produce.

Allow me to conclude with the unavoidable question: the future of similar endeavors. Any *catalogue raisonné* is inherently a work in progress, especially one dedicated to an artist whose oeuvre keeps generating new commentary, whether through journal articles and books, or through exhibition catalogues. For all of the energy that went into this volume, its longevity as a standard reference necessitates a continuous updating, hopefully through a digital edition. At the moment, all of the volumes of Rubens's *catalogue raisonné* published at least 15 years ago can be downloaded in pdf format from the site of the Rubenianum. A step in the right direction, this move towards the digital environment will eventually lead to a *Corpus Rubenianum* that can be continuously updated and enriched, and thus truly preserve the legacy of Dr. Burchard and the many stellar contributors to this project over the decades.

Aneta Georgievska-Shine

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Erin Griffey, *On Display: Henrietta Maria and the Materials of Magnificence at the Stuart Court*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2015. 371 pp, 131 col. and b&w illus. ISBN 978-0-300-21400-0.

Erin Griffey in this attractive book fills out our picture of Queen Henrietta Maria, the valiant but controversial consort of King Charles I of Great Britain, by describing the material culture that she created to express and enhance her exalted position primarily at the English but then also at the French, court. She follows Caroline Hibbard who has worked up much of this painting by charting the devoted role she played in support of her husband and then her son. The performance of Hibbard's task was long overdue thanks to a blinkered historiography that either ignored the protagonist or cast her career in a malign light: she was 'after all' both Catholic and French. Griffey highlights these characteristics in her praiseworthy elaboration of a yet further dimension to her heroine's career.

The evidence required for Griffey to fulfil her task lay chiefly in inventories, some already known, others tracked

down by her, which itemized Henrietta Maria's possessions at various stages of her career, and in household and building accounts of the English bureaucracy. These clerical mines of information have been studied with painstaking thoroughness – no mean achievement in itself – and skilfully interpreted. Her fascination with the material is everywhere apparent down to spelling idiosyncrasies, her not infrequent repetition of which may seem jejune. Indeed if any fault can be found in Griffey's achievement, it lies in the copy editing, which if it had been more vigorously applied would have made her book an (even) better read.

The book itself is handsomely produced and amply illustrated, often in color, although several redundant details are reproduced. Of the reproductions those after portraits of Henrietta Maria by Van Dyck are of course for the great part familiar. But the images of a silver (surely gilt) ewer and basin in Moscow, part of her trousseau brought to England in 1625, provide the chief visual evidence of the magnificence that surrounded the Queen. The illustration of a miserable old photograph of a chair, footstool and stools of the period at Knole in Kent hardly makes up for the inevitable paucity of images of contemporary luxury goods. But more furniture of the period could easily have been tracked down at Knole itself and at the Kremlin armoury where the famous Jacobean carriage is preserved.

Such a conveyance would not have been unlike those in the "Ameublement de l'escurie de la Reine", itemized in the trousseau and to be seen trundling through the French countryside on its way to London in June 1625 following the Queen's wedding by proxy outside Notre Dame, Paris. This and the trousseau itself are well described and, for once, we hear nothing of the Duke of Buckingham's unseemly cavortings. The contents of the trousseau are presented in an Appendix, which is followed by the list of items the Dowager Queen most likely took with her to France from her refurbished London palace, Somerset House, in 1665 and by her estate inventory taken at her country seat in Colombes, her nunnery at Chaillot and her Paris apartment in 1669. These inventories or lists are incredibly detailed and give in themselves an evocative and precise idea of the surroundings in which the Queen lived.

Most likely little attention at court was paid to the amateurish prints of the royal couple produced by English second-raters; but Griffey discusses them none the less, along with Van Dyck's fluent representations which gave the Queen a European standing. She analyses the sequence with sensitivity, although it is hard to believe that Van Dyck would have countenanced her sexually suggestive analysis of the Mytens double portrait he was asked to improve on. More grounded and significant is the difference she detects between the appearance concocted by Van Dyck and the Queen's preferences, as can be inferred from her household accounts: "... the bills show that her garments were much more richly laced than Van Dyck's portraits suggest, and more often adorned with spangles and ribbons. But by far the biggest omission in Van Dyck's portraits as a whole is embroidery" Perhaps as she suggests Van Dyck had not time for the fashionable accessories on which the Queen lavished expenditure on a regular basis, and perhaps she set more store by his art than she regretted their absence in her portraits.

Taking her cue from Hibbard, Griffey points out that Van Dyck was named as "principalle Paynter" to both the King and Queen, and it is to be imagined that she let her feelings

and wishes known to him as she did to Inigo Jones, an even more important figure at court but of less international repute. Henrietta Maria was to be an early patron of Christopher Wren, but for the majority of the servants who catered to her taste, for instance Charles Gentile, her embroiderer, her tailor George Gillon and her upholsterer Ralph Grinder (or Grynder who was quite prominent in the Commonwealth sales of the royal collection) we know very little. And even those who assisted her – like the long serving Henry Browne Under Housekeeper at Somerset House and her Mistress of the Robes and then First Lady of Honor, Susan Feilding, Lady Denbigh – remain shrouded in obscurity (of the Duchess of Richmond, *pace* Hibbard, also in her entourage, we are told nothing).

Lady Denbigh was converted to Catholicism; she was one of those, not a few, who responded positively to the Queen's proselytizing (though Tobie Matthew was not among them as Griffey asserts, he had converted long before her arrival in England). This activity, troublesome for her husband and her son, reached its height in the second half of the 1630s and in the first of the 1660s. Central to her earlier efforts was the chapel for Catholic worship, which Jones designed for her at Somerset House; in the accounts of her treasurer Sir Richard Wynn for 1630-35, preserved in Aberystwyth, is noted a ceiling painting for it, measuring 7.3 x 3.6 m. of the *Assumption of the Virgin* by the barely known 'Goodricke' (i.e. Matthew Gooderick, active 1617-?died 1645) – a work which might have very slightly prepared visitors for Rubens's overwhelming *Apotheosis of King James I* soon to arrive in Whitehall. Some time earlier Francis Cleyn had painted for the ceiling of the Cabinet room "figures of the Arts seated upon clouds," showing that the type of idea for decorating the Whitehall ceiling, mooted at the time, had quite a wide currency at court.

Indeed, in considering Henrietta Maria's image and physical surroundings during the some forty-five years of her public life, Griffey touches on a whole range of topics and this not including her digressions into the predilections of her predecessor as royal consort, Anne of Denmark, and of her husband's nemesis, Oliver Cromwell. But here we learn mainly of material matters concerning the Queen in most intimate detail, of her spirited spending on fancy goods during the prosperous times in her life and of the frenetic bouts of decoration and movement of items – from French-style beds to paintings – from palace to palace in and around London and across the Channel. All this took place as the backdrop to great and traumatic political events, and was listed by dedicated servants required to keep a record of Henrietta Maria's consuming involvement with the 'stuff' and appearance of her households.

Gregory Martin

London

Seventeenth-Century Dutch

Desmond Shawe-Taylor and Quentin Buvelot, *Masters of the Everyday. Dutch Artists in the Age of Vermeer.* [Cat. exh. The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, London, November 13, 2015 – February 14, 2016; The Queen's Gallery, Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh, March 11 – July 17, 2016; Mauritshuis, The Hague,

September 29, 2016 – January 8, 2017.] London: Royal Collection Trust, 2015. 176 pp, 150 color plates. ISBN 978-1-909741-19-5.

The British Royal family holds one of the world's greatest private collections of seventeenth-century Dutch painting. Over the years, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II has been particularly generous in allowing parts of this collection to be placed on public display in the Queen's Galleries at Buckingham Palace in London and in the Palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh. The present exhibition on Dutch genre painting, *Masters of the Everyday. Dutch Artists in the Age of Vermeer*, thus follows upon earlier shows dedicated to Dutch landscape painting (2010-2011), and to Golden-Age pictures in general (2004-2005). *Masters of the Everyday*, featuring twenty-seven beautiful pictures by some of the most outstanding Dutch masters of the seventeenth century, has been enthusiastically received by the British press; indeed, one newspaper called it "simply ravishing." The accompanying catalogue is equally splendid: comprehensive, lavishly illustrated entries on all twenty-seven works in the exhibition follow introductory essays by its two curators, Desmond Shawe-Taylor and Quentin Buvelot.

Desmond Shawe-Taylor's essay, "'The 'Broad-Bottomed Dutch School': Royal Taste and Netherlandish Painting,'" explores the vicissitudes of taste that have affected the English response to Netherlandish painting – Dutch and Flemish paintings generally were lumped together under this rubric – in the centuries proceeding the Golden Age. As the author demonstrates, the ever-fluctuating state of Anglo-Dutch relations, the widespread British perception of the technical perfection of continental art, changing aesthetic ideals, evolving market conditions, the tragic political and economic consequences of the French Revolution, and even the rise of the British novel during the nineteenth century all played roles in influencing English views of Dutch art in general and in structuring the acquisition habits of the Royal family vis-à-vis Dutch pictures in particular. Shawe-Taylor's overview of the development of the Dutch painting collection is a fascinating one, with his discussion of Charles Wild's early nineteenth-century watercolors of various rooms adorned with pictures in the Prince Regent's now-demolished residence, Carlton House, providing a highlight for this reviewer.

Quentin Buvelot's contribution, "Scenes of Everyday Life? Some Reflections on Dutch Genre Painting in the Seventeenth Century," first traces the socio-economic and pictorial origins of Dutch genre painting before the discussion shifts to the extraordinary pictures produced in the wake of the Treaty of Münster (1648), at which time the genre would reach its thematic and technical zenith. In certain respects, this essay will prove less useful for Dutch genre painting specialists as it rehashes well-trodden terrain, but it does provide a suitable and informative introduction for lay readers. Buvelot takes a cautious approach to interpreting the genre paintings presented in his essay, appealing in the end, to "a little common sense" and an "attentive eye" and, of course, "a certain knowledge of seventeenth-century art and culture" (45) when attempting to decipher them. This caution is carried through in the catalogue entries themselves.

As noted above, the exhibition is comprised of twenty-seven Dutch genre paintings. Jan Steen is particularly well represented (six works in total) and the show includes some of the true icons of the genre, among them two extraordinary panels by Godefridus Schalcken and Johannes Vermeer's celebrated

Lady at the Virginals with a Gentleman. But other, less familiar pictures are also on view, such as Willem van Mieris's *Neglected Lute*, Karel Dujardin's engaging portrayal of peasants playing morra and Hendrick Pot's astonishing *Lady and Gentleman in an Interior*, "A Startling Introduction." Apart from a Hendrick ter Brugghen's canvas portraying a laughing musician, Gerrit Dou's stunning yet comparatively early *Girl Chopping Onions*, and two intriguing works by Isack van Ostade and the understudied Pot, all of the pictures on display postdate the Treaty of Münster. And, with the exception of the pictures by Ter Brugghen, Pot, and the aforementioned canvas by Vermeer, all were acquired in the early nineteenth century by George IV, mostly during his years as the Prince Regent (1811-1819). Notwithstanding Shawe-Taylor's informative introduction then, *Masters of the Everyday* is largely focused upon the acquisitions and hence the taste of just one Royal during a circumscribed time period, the core of whose collection was built upon the purchase of pictures hitherto in French and Dutch possession.

The authorship of the catalogue entries themselves was almost evenly divided between Buvelot and Shawe-Taylor. Buvelot, who has published extensively on Dutch seventeenth-century genre painting, tends to focus on interpretive analysis, bolstering his arguments with the frequent citations of scholarship in this field. Shawe-Taylor, by comparison, is generally less attentive to problems of interpretation that preoccupy Dutch genre painting specialists, even if his identification of the potential historical and literary underpinnings of Pot's *Lady and Gentleman in an Interior* is masterful. Shawe-Taylor's entries are compelling for the subtlety of his visual analyses (especially as they pertain to qualities of color and light) and the eloquent manner in which he articulates them. Lastly, one senses in this catalogue, as well as in the exhibition itself, the influence of Sir Christopher White, whose landmark book of 1982, *Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, has just been reissued in a revised and enlarged edition by the Royal Collection Trust.

Wayne Franits

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Karina H. Corrigan, Jan van Campen, and Femke Diercks, with Janet C. Blyberg, eds., *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age*. [Cat. exh. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, October 17, 2015 – January 17, 2016; Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA, February 27 – June 5, 2016.] Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, distributed by Yale University Press, 2015. 356 pp, 112 illus. ISBN 978-0-875-77229-5.

In 1665, Jacob Jansz. Coeman, a Dutch painter working in Batavia (present day Jakarta), painted a portrait of a family group (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). He shows the merchant Pieter Cnoll, his wife, Cornelia van Nijenrode, and their two daughters in a landscape. Two dark-complexioned attendants, a man and woman, accompany them. This painting exemplifies aspects of the entanglement of various Asian peoples and the Dutch from the early seventeenth century onwards. The first two hundred years of that entanglement forms the subject of this exhibition.

Cnoll was a Dutch employee of the leading joint stock company of the Dutch Republic, the Vereenigde Oost-Indische

Compagnie (the United East India Company or VOC) at its principal port in southeast Asia. By the time Coeman painted this portrait, the Dutch maritime trading network in Asia included ports in present-day Iran, India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Cambodia, Vietnam, Taiwan, and southern Japan (from 1641 onwards restricted to an enclave at Nagasaki). Batavia, on the north coast of the island of Java, was its hub.

Cornelia van Nijenrode (the name is variously spelled) embodies Japanese and Dutch entanglement at its most intimate. Her dress is characteristically Dutch, but her delicate, pale features are not. Her father was a VOC official, Cornelis van Nijenrode, who traded in Hirado in southern Japan. While there, he had two daughters with two different Japanese women. He acknowledged them, provided for them in his will, and arranged for them to be brought to Batavia after his death in 1633, where Cornelia, raised Dutch, married Pieter Cnoll in 1652. They had nine children, including the two daughters depicted in Coeman's portrait. Only one of their children – the sole son – survived into young adulthood.

The two attendants in Coeman's painting are among the couple's slaves, who numbered between forty and fifty. Although the Dutch did not generally enslave southeast Asians themselves, they bought slaves from predominantly Muslim traders who captured non-Muslims in coastal raids. The woman holding the fruit basket is unidentified, but because the man holds a furled umbrella, he is likely Cnoll's most favored attendant who in public shaded his master with an open umbrella. This practice signified high status, an Asian convention adopted by the Dutch. A tradition recorded by Indonesian historians identifies him as Untung Surapati, one of a number of young Native men who acquired armed followings through their military exploits in conflicts among Javanese rulers in which the VOC regularly took part. He allegedly embarked on this martial career following Cnoll's death in 1672, but to identify this young man as a 'freedom fighter' against the Dutch, as he is described in the exhibition, is a simplistic anachronism.

Nonetheless, Coeman's painting is a portal to the complex world of social intermixture that followed the arrival of the Dutch in maritime Asia. The painting was the subject of a recent article by Jean Gelman Taylor ("Meditations on a Portrait from Seventeenth-Century Batavia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 37, 2006, pp. 23-41) not referred to in the entry in the catalogue accompanying the exhibition. Taylor, an Australian historian of Indonesia, writes: "Coeman's portrait obliges us to recall history's voiceless, the skilled and the unskilled labouring classes of Europe and of Asia, and the great interlocking of life and fortune that global trade produced" (28). The curators of the present exhibition, Karina Corrigan, Jan van Campen, and Femke Diercks, have chosen to focus only selectively on aspects of the entanglements of what historian Sven Beckert characterizes as 'war capitalism.' This is the phase of capitalism preceding industrialization that functions through explicit violence of the kind that underwrote nearly all the VOC's endeavors. Violence and the threat of violence are mentioned but not emphasized by the curators who focus almost exclusively on consumption rather than also taking account of conditions of production (by 'history's voiceless') and exchange. They acknowledge two instances of the violence that allowed the Dutch to consume Asian goods. Both concern the senior VOC official, Jan Pietersz. Coen whose portrait, attributed to Jacob Waben (Westfries Museum, Hoorn) is in the exhibition. The la-

bel notes that in 1619, Coen's VOC fleet laid waste the Javanese town where he subsequently built Batavia and its fort. Further, the curators state that in pursuit of a monopoly in the nutmeg and mace trade, in 1621 Coen's troops slaughtered thousands of the inhabitants of the Banda Islands, where nutmeg was grown. This massacre is commemorated in a narrative dance filmed some years ago on one of the islands, which is included in the exhibition as a video with a commentary by Indonesian scholar, Tamalia Alisjahbana. Hers is a rare Asian voice in the presentation of the exhibition. The inclusion of this video, produced by the Peabody Essex Museum is laudable.

In spite of a sizeable catalogue, this project explores no discernable research agenda. Rather, the exhibition is a lavishly attractive presentation of a selection of goods loosely tied to Dutch people characterized under such rubrics as 'Networkers,' 'Tastemakers,' 'Thought Leaders,' 'Fashionistas,' and 'Innovators.' Many of these goods are indeed spectacular, including silver, ceramics, textiles (Chinese embroidered silks, and Indian painted cottons), clothing, lacquer work, mother-of-pearl, rare hardwoods, and ivory. There are also plenty of seventeenth-century Dutch oil paintings that depict such items. The two organizing museums have drawn on their varied holdings in all these media and forms. They have also secured generous loans from many other museums internationally, as well as from private collections. The result is a plethora of luxury goods, most of which were acquired for or made for the European market controlled by the VOC, and focused on the city where its operating capital was raised, Amsterdam. But to characterize the complex social encounters, whether by turns agonistic or mutually satisfying, among the various peoples involved – of whom the Dutch were only one – as little more than an opportunity for Europeans to indulge in luxury admixed with a little learning, is banal. One does not have to be steeped in post-colonial theory to acknowledge that one person's luxury is another's misery.

The spices of the east – cinnamon, cloves, and pepper – that enticed Europeans to the southeast Asian islands are packed in open glass cylinders in the exhibition's foyer. Their scents evocatively greet the visitor. One might be forgiven, though, for imagining that those heady perfumes can never mask the reek of blood that emanates from so many of the items on display within. Yet worthwhile histories of entanglement are far more complex and equivocal than such a dramatically negative response might suggest. They are also far more complex than the simple tale of European consumption presented here allows. This is in many ways a disappointing exhibition, dominated by a long superseded historical mythology of a Dutch 'Golden Age' – golden only to the beneficiaries of war capitalism, past and present. Even so, the exhibition provides an opportunity to view many significant surviving items that speak to cultural entanglement, even if almost exclusively from the perspective of the wealthy of Amsterdam.

Ivan Gaskell

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Nicolette Sluijter-Seijffert, *Cornelis van Poelenburch, 1594/5-1667: The Paintings*. Trans. Jennifer M. Kilian and Katy Kist (OCULI. *Studies in the Arts of the Low Countries*, 15). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing,

2016. xi, 408 pp, 195 color, 176 b&w illus. ISBN 978-90-2724-976-8.

Cornelis van Poelenburch frequently signed his works Poelenburch or van Poelenburch but more often with the monogram C.P. Born in Utrecht between January 21, 1594 and January 21, 1595, he was the illegitimate son of an apparently well-to-do family. His father, nothing less than canon at Utrecht cathedral, died as early as January 6, 1596. Most probably Cornelis studied between 1607 and 1611 with Abraham Bloemaert, a Catholic like himself. Certain is his visit to Rome in 1617 where he stayed no longer than the beginning of 1627, and where as a member of the Bentvueghels he was known as *cornelis van Wtrech Alias Satir* and *Cornelius poulenburc Alias Satiro*, sobriquets most likely inspired by his bacchic and arcadian subjects. A visit to Florence is documented before 1621. (Poelenburch's topographical drawings *Bastille on the Banks of the Rhine* in my view may indicate his route to or from Italy.) There are differing assumptions about the year of Poelenburch's return to Utrecht, which may have occurred as early as before 1625, but definitely no later than the beginning of 1627. On May 30, 1629 he married Jacomina van Steenre. Courtly commissions since 1627 by the States of Utrecht for and by the Winter King Frederick V and his wife, Elizabeth Stuart who, having been driven out of Bohemia, were residing at The Hague since 1621, paved the way to London. In 1637 King Charles I, brother of Elizabeth Stuart, invited Cornelis to England where he remained, with brief interruptions, until 1641. Back in Utrecht at the beginning of 1642, he lived together with his wife at Oude Munsterkerkhof until his death in 1667.

The present publication is the fruit of its author's long engagement with Poelenburch, one reaching back to a 1984 *proefschrift* carried out under the supervision of Anton W.A. Boschloo and Albert Blankert. The book begins with an account of the literature devoted to Poelenburch and his reception over the past centuries. This part is followed by a biographical account, an assessment of Cornelis's position in the art market in the seventeenth century, and an overview of landscape painting from ca. 1590-1620. The final chapter treats issues pertaining to attribution, dating, chronology, and subject matter. The volume includes an extensive catalogue of Poelenburch's paintings.

The book throws light on Poelenburch's Italian and Netherlandish patrons, which include several Roman cardinals, Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici in Florence, the Dutch stadholder Frederik Hendrik and his consort Amalia von Solms, King Frederick V and his wife, Elizabeth Stuart, King Charles I of England, and Baron Willem Vincent van Wyttenhorst and his wife Wilhelmina (who in their residence in Utrecht had 57 paintings by Poelenburch). Especially revealing is the information about the prices of these acquisitions, multi-figure paintings of biblical or mythological subjects being the most expensive.

The catalogue of 290 paintings is divided into following subjects: 1-96 religious; 97-148 mythological; 149-158 classical history and literature; 159-186 landscapes with nymphs; 187-243 landscapes [with small-figure staffage]; 244-290 portraits and miscellaneous. Accordingly, Poelenburch is categorized as a cabinet painter whose smallest painting measures 9 x 5 cm, the largest 66 x 85 cm. Among the smallest paintings should be counted the very individualistic bust and half-length portraits as well as the pictures on the drawers of an elaborately decorated cabinet once in the possession of Alethea Talbot, Countess

of Arundel, perhaps a gift from Elizabeth Stuart in 1636. 40% of the 290 accepted pictures are on panel, only three on canvas, with copper the most favored medium. Infrared-reflectography examination of Poelenburch's paintings as well as an earlier study on the collaboration between Poelenburch and Alexander Keirincx (N. Sluijter-Seiffert and M. Wolters in *Oud Holland*, 121, 2009) reveal that the artist rarely used chalk for his under-drawings of landscapes but laid down his compositions with the brush and thin glazes which cannot be detected with IRR. Sluijter-Seiffert's assertion that Cornelis inserted his figures into ready-made landscapes is surprising in view of the practice by Flemish small-scale figure painters of placing staffage into reserved, limited areas of their panels and canvases.

Since the collaboration between landscape and small-figure painters in the Northern Netherlands was relatively rare, it is possible that Poelenburch indeed set his staffage figures into finished landscapes, which however would not permit the term collaboration. For the present reviewer who is working on an oeuvre catalogue of the Flemish painter Alexander Keirincx (1600-1652), a specialist in forest landscapes, the statement that Poelenburch often collaborated with Keirincx was of special importance. The latter, a pupil of Abraham Govaerts in Antwerp, resided in Amsterdam from 1632 until his death in 1652, interrupted by a period in London from 1637 to 1641, where he lived next door to Poelenburch. Both painters were then receiving support from Charles I. Earlier the two artists were in contact with Frederik Hendrik and Amalia von Solms in whose private apartments hung three landscapes by Keirincx with "naakte vrouwtjes" by Poelenburch, as we learn from the stadholder's inventory. Sluijter-Seiffert lists more than seventeen paintings with small figures in "mannerist old fashioned style" with landscapes by Keirincx; more are documented in inventories. In addition, it is of particular interest to encounter also the list of works by other specialist painters with figures by Poelenburch: Bartholomäus van Bassen, Jan Both, Dirk van Delen, Nicolaes de Giselaer, Willem de Heusch, Charles de Hooch, Alexander Keirincx, Herman Saffleven, Roelant Savery, Hendrik van Steenwijck II, J. Ph. Van Thielen, Adam Willaerts und Cornelis Adamsz Willaerts (Appendix V, 184-288). Poelenburch also inserted into Paulus Potter's fourteen-part *Punishment of a Hunter* (St. Petersburg) his own *Diana and Actaeon* (Cat. 141).

Beyond the 290 autograph works listed in the catalogue, we find many pictures in inventories described as painted in Poelenburch's manner. His pupils are first mentioned in Houbraken's *Groote schouburgh* of 1753; in vol. I, Dirk van der Lisse, Daniel Vertangen, François Verwilt, Warnard van Rysen, his "nephew" Willem van Steenree, and in vol. III, Johan van Haensbergen, who devoted himself exclusively to portraiture after the 1660s. Cornelis's best pupil was without a doubt Dirk van der Lisse (1607-1669).

Especially revealing are numerous *ricordi* done by assistants in red chalk which not only record compositions but apparently were intended for the art market. Sluijter-Seiffert's brief and succinct characterizations of subjects, techniques and styles of Poelenburch's pupils and followers, Cornelis Willaerts, Jan Linsen, Toussaint Gelton, Claes Tol, Gerrit van Bronckhorst, Abraham van Cuylenborch, and Gerard Hoet I, help to establish the difference between pupil and master. The author's conclusion that for several decades there flourished a Poelenburch school of classically inspired Italianate landscapes with satyrs and nymphs in ruins and grottos with little differences in stylistic characteristics is convincing. Poelenburch's Italian

experience, as Sluijter-Seiffert argues in detail, especially his familiarity with landscape painting from Rome and Florence of the 1590s to 1620s by Bril, the Carracci, Elsheimer, Saraceni, Tassi, Filippo Napoletano and the Netherlandish Italianates from Haarlem and Utrecht, resulted in his brightly lit, broad landscapes, sometimes suffused with pink light.

Cornelis van Poelenburch, 1594/5-1667: The Paintings, is an illuminating, clearly structured and definitive monograph on the artist, enriched by the publication of relevant early inventories, by a catalogue raisonné of the paintings by and after Cornelis van Poelenburch up to 1750, and by an index of names of persons and works of art.

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(Translated by Kristin Belkin)

German Art

Renate Eikelmann, ed., *Bella Figura: Europäische Kunst in Süddeutschland um 1600*. [Cat. exh. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, February 6 – May 25, 2015.] Munich: Hirmer, 2015. 420 pp, fully illustrated. ISBN 978-3-7774-2358-6.

Bronze sculpture of the late sixteenth century tends to be associated with Italy, specifically with the work of Giambologna, so an exhibition of bronzes originating mostly from southern Germany challenges long-standing assumptions about sculpture north of the Alps. The 2015 exhibition at the Bavarian State Museum in Munich brought together an astonishing number of close to eighty bronzes by Giambologna and many of his most talented students, including Hubert Gerhard and Adriaen de Vries. Also included were preparatory drawings, engravings, archival documents, as well as a guidebook, *Merkur und Bavaria. Städteführer zu den Bronzen der Spätrenaissance in München und Augsburg*, which allowed for a self-guided tour of works still *in situ*. In addition to ample illustrations throughout the accompanying essays, the catalogue contains seventy-eight color plates, enhanced by numerous details and multiple views that simulate the experience of the Mannerist *figura serpentinata*.

Five essays provide a comprehensive narrative to the exhibition, beginning with Dorothea Diemer's overview of sculpture in Munich and Augsburg around 1600. Diemer, author of a definitive 2004 monograph on the sculptors Hubert Gerhard and Carlo del Palagio, summarizes bronze casting north of the Alps. As Diemer notes in her essay, large-scale bronze casting is expensive and requires technical expertise that only such wealthy and powerful patrons as the Bavarian dukes or the Augsburg banking family, the Fuggers, could have underwritten. Diemer's essay admittedly revisits material covered in her Gerhard/del Palagio monograph, but her summary of this little-known field is essential to understanding the unique confluence of patronage and artistic talent that fostered a unique period of intense productivity of bronze sculpture in Germany. From the *Wittelsbach Fountain*, the *Perseus Fountain*, and the flying figure of *Mercury*, all in the Residenz, to the imposing *St. Michael Defeating Satan* on the façade of St. Michael's Church, to

the multi-figured Wittelsbach grave monument in the Frauenkirche, the prodigious volume and quality of public art from the Munich workshop is staggering when brought together in this one volume.

While most of the ruling elite exchanged small *Kunstkammer* objects, one of the most notable gifts to the Wittelsbach family came from the Medici, who presented their cousins north of the Alps with a life-sized crucified Christ by Giambologna that still hangs in St. Michael's Church. The Bavarian connection to the Medici was cemented by the marriage of Johanna of Austria, sister-in-law to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, to Francesco de' Medici in 1565. This magnificent wedding, attended by both the young Duke Ferdinand of Bavaria and the collector and Augsburg banker Hans Fugger, proved to be the catalyst for a decades-long relationship with the workshop of Giambologna, whose students Hubert Gerhard and Adrian de Vries then wound up working for the ducal court in Munich and the imperial court in Prague, respectively.

A second generation of German sculptors, including Hans Reichle and Hans Krumper, would be sent to Florence by Duke Maximilian I in order to provide the Munich court with its own crop of bronze specialists. Because of patronage by the Fugger family and the Wittelsbach dukes, Gerhard's influence spread rapidly, resulting in commissions for major civic fountains from the city council of Augsburg and numerous private commissions throughout southern German cities and estates.

The center of the exhibit was Giambologna's *Flying Mercury* (1580), on loan from the Bargello in Florence. The second essay, by Jens Ludwig Burk, deals exhaustively with issues of influence and style, seeking out every iteration, both large and *Kunstkammer*-sized, of the flying messenger of the gods that brought the genius of Giambologna into the hands of the northern collectors. Dimitrios Zikos's essay takes a close look at the influence of Giambologna on art in Bavaria, tracing artistic connections as well as the equally important exchange of gifts and artists that resulted from diplomacy and 'Kunstpolitik.' Sylvia Wölfle examines the central role that Hans Fugger played in introducing an Italianate villa style to Germany. The classicizing bronze fountain that he commissioned for the courtyard at his castle at Kirchheim not only reflected his wealth and erudition but also demonstrated his aristocratic ambitions.

In the final essay, Christian Quaeitzsch discusses reception and dispersion of the Munich bronzes over the next several centuries. Along with his brother Ferdinand I, the reigning Duke William I was the main force behind Wittelsbach patronage of large-scale bronzes. When he resigned in 1597, due in great part to his enormous debt, his son Maximilian I took on a nearly bankrupt state that saw the dismissal of almost all foreign artists who had made up a vibrant artistic scene in Munich in the 1590's. But Maximilian, an astute and passionate patron of the arts himself, well understood the power of art to convey the prestige and influence of his dynasty. Nevertheless, rather than commission new works, Maximilian repurposed his father's and his uncle's personal memorials to new roles that would emphasize dynasty over personal biography.

Under Maximilian I, an ostentatious bronze grave ensemble for his father, Wilhelm V, was recast as a monument to the dynastic founder, Otto III. A multi-faceted fountain that had graced the courtyard of his uncle Ferdinand's city palace was moved to the courtyard of the Munich Residenz, and the dramatically rearing equestrian statue (lost) at its center was

replaced by a much less dynamic standing figure of Otto III. While Quaeitzsch makes a good case that the changes reflected Maximilian's new emphasis on dynasty, one might wonder if, given the loss of Hubert Gerhard due to budget cuts, reinstalling the precariously balanced equestrian was simply beyond the technical abilities of the next generation.

The occupation of Munich by Swedish troops during the Thirty Years War could easily have been the end of many of these works, but it is a testament to the value that Maximilian placed on them as markers of the wealth and prestige of his capital city that he had the foresight to evacuate them to safety. Despite losses due to looting or the melting down of bronzes, the sheer number of surviving civic monuments and private objects attests to a sophisticated network of patronage, princely exchange, and artistic influence that spread out from Florence and found fertile ground in Munich. The ties between Florence, Munich, Augsburg, Innsbruck, and Prague created an intricately connected world of elite patronage in this most elite of mediums. Yet as several of the essays reveal, while family connections played a large part in this brief period of incredible productivity, it was also the obsession and will of the Bavarian dukes and the Fugger family that created a brief but potent flowering of the art of bronze casting in southern Germany around 1600.

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New Titles

Ainsworth, Maryan (ed.), *Workshop Practice in Early Netherlandish Painting. Case Studies from Van Eyck through Gossart* (*Me fecit*, 10). Turnhout: Brepols, 2016. ISBN 978-2-503-56668-9, EUR 100.

Alting van Gesau, Sylvia, Mayken Jonkman and Aukje Vergeest, *Kunsthandel Frans Buffa & Zonen. Schoonheid te koop*. Zwolle: Uigeverij de Kunst, 2016. ISBN 978-94-6262-092-6, EUR 25.

As-Vijvers, Anne Margreet W., *Tuliba Collection. Catalogue of Manuscripts and Miniatures from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Perk: Paul Van Wassenhove, 2014. ISBN 978-90-902869-7-6, EUR 159.

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Baisier, Claire (ed.), with contributions by Thomas Fusenig, Ulrich Heinen, Ursula Härting et al., *Divine Interiors. Experience Churches in the Age of Rubens*. Wommelgem: BAI, 2016. ISBN 978-90-8586-726-5. – Exhibition Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, June 18 – October 16, 2016.

Begheyn-Huisman, Marja, *Behouden vaart. Het antependium van het Nijmeegse schippersgilde*. Ed. by Rob Dückers (*Museumstukken*, 13). Nijmegen: Museum Het Valkhof, 2016. ISBN 978-90-6829-111-7, EUR 19.

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Bikker, Jonathan, Marten and Oopjen. *Two Monumental Portraits by Rembrandt*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2016. ISBN 978-94-91714-83-2, EUR 20. – Exhibition Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, July 2 – October 2, 2016.

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Borchert, Till-Holger, *St. John's Hospital, Bruges*. Antwerp: Ludion, 2016. ISBN 978-94-91819-57-5, EUR 12.

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Brown, Cynthia J., and Anne-Marie Legaré (eds.), *Les Femmes, la culture et les arts en Europe entre Moyen âge et Renaissance. Women, Art and Culture in Medieval and Early Renaissance Europe (Texte, Codex & Contexte, XIX)*, Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2016.

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Carpreau, Peter, *Auctioning 17th-Century Dutch and Flemish Painting. An Inquiry into the Evolution of Taste for Baroque Paintings from the Low Countries (17th-21st century) (Collectors and Dealers, 2)*. London: Harvey Miller / Turnhout: Brepols, 2016. ISBN 978-1-909400-48-1, EUR 191.

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Daly, Peter M., and G. Richard Dimler, S.J., *The Jesuit Emblem in the European Context (Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series, 14)*. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2016. ISBN 978-0-91610-188-6.

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De Meûter, Ingrid, *Vlaamse wandtapijten – Productie en handel. De Oudenaardse familie Van Verren (1680-1740)*. Ghent: Provincie Oost-Vlaanderen, 2016. ISBN 978-90-7431-193-9, EUR 45.

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Kooijmans, Tim, *Tulpenburgh. Buitenplaats aan de Amstel (Reeks Nederlandse Kastelen, 7)*. Utrecht: Stichting Matrijs, 2016. ISBN 978-90-5345-508-1, EUR 15.

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Zumaya, Diva, *Catholic Visual Culture and Devotional Experience in the Seventeenth-Century Northern Netherlands*. UC Santa Barbara, A. Adams

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