**PROGRAM HNA Conference 2022**

*Thursday 2 June 2022, Amsterdam*
*Morning (09:30 – 10:30)*

**Dis/abilities in Early Modern Netherlandish Art**

SESSION ORGANIZERS

**Barbara A. Kaminska**, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville

**Bert Watteeuw**, Rubens House | Rubenianum, Antwerp

Netherlandish art has a very rich iconography of sensory and motor disability. This session invites papers that explore, expand and interpret this corpus in novel ways. It aims at analyzing contexts in which the disabled are depicted in secular and religious images, and examining visual strategies adopted in those images to express socioreligious, legal, and economic anxieties caused by the presence of the disabled in the increasingly urban, mercantile, and work-oriented communities. We invite potential speakers to consider how visual arts negotiated the often negative approaches to the disabled and chronically ill members of society with the Christian call to charity in an era when the traditional distinction between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor was gradually becoming obsolete. Further, questions of collecting and market for those images shall be addressed, along with the impact of sixteenth-century religious reformations on the approaches to the disabled and the poor. We also want to draw attention to the careers of artists with disability in the early modern period. Finally, this session aims at investigating methodologies relevant to the study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century iconography of disability. While in recent years disability studies have become an important area of research in social sciences and humanities, their methodological and theoretical approaches, often grounded in postcolonialism, are yet to produce satisfying and non- anachronistic readings of early modern imagery. Conversely, studies published by social, cultural, and medical historians are often sparsely, poorly, and repetitively illustrated. Art historians have a unique contribution to make by bringing to light a broad and diverse visual discourse on disability and to an admittedly smaller yet important group of historic representations of and by individual people with a disability. Similarly, we want to call attention to the relative absence of exhibitions dedicated to disability. While museums themselves have vastly improved physical accessibility, they often struggle with actually engaging people with a disability through content-driven methods. Scholarship in this area is meaningful. It impacts current debates on diversity and inclusion, not just within the confines of academia and the museum world, but in society at large. Together, museum curators and art historians are well equipped to sensitively interpret the generalized visual discourse on disability as they are keenly aware of the specific objectives of differing image types, and can recover unique

faces and voices from history through a much more in-depth knowledge of collections. While, as outlined above, we invite papers on a broad range of subjects related to the representation of disability in the early modern Netherlandish art, preference will be given to those papers which discuss unpublished images and case- studies, and explore the careers of artists with a disability.

## Indeterminacy in Netherlandish Visual Arts and Culture (1400-1800)

SESSION ORGANIZERS

**GEMCA – Group for Early Modern Cultural Analysis, UCLouvain**

**Ralph Dekoninck**

**Ingrid Falque**

**Caroline Heering**

The art of the Netherlands in the early modern period is full of works whose meaning is not revealed at first glance, or whose interpretations by art historians have revealed all the ambiguity. Just think of Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait*, Quinten Massys' *Money Changer and his Wife* or Johannes Vermeer's *Art of Painting* to name only a few famous examples which have been deciphered by scholars in turn from a moralizing, allegorical, spiritual or profane perspective. All the interpretations that have been forged on these works are but one reflection of the way ambiguity is cultivated in all registers of early modern Netherlandish visual culture. Double images, illusionism, visual games, framing devices, plays between different levels of reality, the indeterminacy of pictorial spaces, emblematic and rebus are other key components of this taste for ambivalence.

In this session, we would like to invite papers that will explore early modern Netherlandish visual arts and culture in the light of the concept of "indeterminacy", understood as "the character of something undefined, unestablished, not precisely outlined" (Dario Gamboni, Potential Images. Ambiguity and Indeterminacy in Modern Art, 2002, 13), and its variations of ambiguity (the character of what is open to several interpretations) and ambivalence (the character of what has two opposing components). These concepts can be applied to different, yet intimately related, registers:

- that of the images themselves and their internal functioning: i.e. their iconography, composition, formal language which can be read in different ways);
- that of the experience and use of images at the time of their reception: how do we define and understand the relationship between these images and their producers, patrons and beholders, depending notably on where and how they were gazed and used (private or public spaces, in an intimate or distant relation...)?;
- and finally that of the interpretative layers that have been superimposed up to the present day by art historians: it is sufficient to think of the many debates that the paintings mentioned above have provoked in the course of time.

  Considering artworks through the prism of indeterminacy will enable us to unlock the potentialities of images without confining them to single interpretations or compartmentalize them in specific genres, that are side-effect of traditional

iconographical approach. Instead, it will allow us to grasp the polysemy and richness of the images. On a more general level, this approach will also allow to reconsider the relationships between form and meaning, but also between genres or between the profane and the sacred, and therefore invite us to consider the process of indeterminacy as a participant in the power of artworks.

**SESSION 1: "Pensive Images"**
**SESSION CHAIR**
Ralph Dekoninck
**RESPONDENT**
**Reindert Falkenburg**, NYU Abu Dhabi

**SPEAKERS**
**Bret Rothstein**, Indiana University
***"You Can't Bluff Someone Who's Not Paying Attention"***
This paper begins with the so-called Washington, D.C., *Ill-Matched Couple* by Quinten Massys, which it discusses in relation to a number of other contemporaneous depictions of the subject. This painting is deceptively difficult, insofar as it lays out its moral a little too neatly. Think, for instance, of the stark – in truth, rather obvious – contrast between hungry, comely youth and withered, avaricious age. The visual disjunction of the couple is unmistakable. Interestingly, though, Massys seems to perturb that neatness with subtle wit, as in the ambiguous intertwining of the couples' foreground arms. Most distressing, perhaps, is that deck of cards, placed face-up and oriented for maximum legibility, perhaps even trustworthiness. Although it initially reads as a kind of full disclosure, this detail more than any other calls into question the very possibility of perceiving the painting accurately. For, in the early sixteenth century no less than today, playing cards were not simply emblematic of risk. They could be instrumental in creating it, particularly when deployed shrewdly and dexterously. Card sharps abounded at the time, with some of their techniques surviving in legal records, educational texts, and eventually popular writing. Placing those cards in the extreme foreground and arranging them as if for our use, Massys seems to be taunting us. After all, what could be simpler, more accessible than a stack of printed images governed by a strict set of categories (suits, numbers) and subjected to commonly-agreed local rules? The answer, it turns out, is that in the hands of a true virtuoso, pretty much anything. For in those hands, playing cards could be made to conform to a hidden order that seemed to defy comprehension. Counting cards, performing a handful of simple mathematical calculations, or even just top- or bottom-dealing could cause them to behave in ways seemingly almost supernatural. Under such circumstances, those simple, entirely legible pieces of stock could become what the late close-up magician Ricky Jay once called "weapons" that could, in the case of a painting such as the Washington Massys, destabilize the viewing subject and force him to reflect on what he thought he understood. (After all, if I can't trust that deck of cards, which someone else has clearly laid out for me, how can I

possibly trust other, no less obvious aspects of the painting?). Drawing on contemporaneous accounts of trickery, I seek to reframe an important subset of early sixteenth-century moralizing imagery. While painting and prints of the time indisputably stood in a close, reciprocal relationship with rhetoric, something else appears to be at stake in a number of Netherlandish depictions of Ill-Matched Lovers. In their scruffy, slightly disreputable air, I suggest, these images offer a kind of street-level account of depiction, not as eloquence, but rather as a form of con artistry dedicated to setting the devout and reflective soul in motion.

**Lisa Pincus**, Rhode Island School of Design

***Willing indeterminacy: Representation as Meaning in Carel Fabritius's The Sentry***

Indeterminacy in representation presupposes a sufficiency of meaning, and while some scholars seek the closure of unitary interpretation when facing it, others adopt the tack of open-ended ambiguity, puzzles, and puns taken by Dutch artists themselves. Most of the latter admit of meaning or subject, obscure or ambiguous though it may be. How, then, should we understand images considered to be devoid of meaning, accused of falling outside any system of interpretation? Such is the case in Carel Fabritius's *The Sentry*, 1654, whose charge of meaninglessness casts it outside the realm of signification, with a result that little attempt has been made to analyze critically this frankly baffling painting. *The Sentry* so successfully resists interpretation because its indeterminacy is itself overdetermined. Fabritius deliberately uses the tools of realism to unreal ends which means that the painting's strangeness reveals itself only slowly. The seated figure of the sentry, the protagonist and the most finely rendered passage of the painting, sprawls on his bench, absorbed in his activity—sleeping, perhaps, or loading his musket, a previously noted ambiguity. Other potentially interpretable moments include the truncated figure of St Antony Abbot on the stone relief of the archway, its decapitation cutting its iconographic force. The bottom half of a bisected gentleman striding along the dike wall, revealed upon the painting's 2005 conservation, can be understood to stride either to the left or to the right. And the broadsheets on the column, though tantalizing, are too indistinct to signify specifically. Lastly, the sentry's dog sits at attention in contrast to its derelict master but to what end we can't know. The preoccupied sentry, ostensibly a clavis interpretandi, refuses a reciprocal exchange with the viewer, foreclosing connection. These observations exhaust the usual sources of interpretation. Then there's the painting's form. Famed for his mastery of perspective, Fabritius upends its conventions, confusing rather than clarifying spatial relations. Elements are depicted only partially; relations between them dissolve into shadow or smears of color; perpendicular and parallel relations are uncertain; the composition seemingly invites circulation but trades layered surfaces for perspectival depth obscuring views into or through space. Against logic, the painter arrays a pair monumental, historically resonant elements—the city gate and the column—with the nonfunctional column obstructing passage through an open gate constructed for the purpose of movement. Though it stimulates the eye, the indeterminate nature of *The Sentry* permits neither the

narrative closure nor spatial logic to satisfy a viewer's anticipated curiosity. Stripped of these structures, *The Sentry* poses questions about the tools of its own representation. The viewer can't successfully ask what the picture means because it concerns its own making, the meaning forged in the viewer's own self-reflective engagement, the kind of meta-pictorial experience that is the work of representation itself. Fabritius's sly joke is that we need to be far more attentive than is his sentry in order to gain the paintings many rewards.

**Mateusz Kapustka**, University of Zurich

***Stilled Lives. Portraying the Genre in Cornelis Bisschop's Interior with Jacket on a Chair of c. 1660***

The painting *Interior with Jacket on a Chair* of c. 1660 (SMPK Berlin) by Cornelis Bisschop, one of the 'minor masters' of the Golden Age, has been hitherto analyzed mostly in respect of the representative components of the Netherlandish genre painting. The research focus was set either on the historically verifiable elements of the domestic interior scene, or, the supposed use of camera obscura for drawing the exact perspective, or, the artistic reflection of the contemporary culture of things—textiles, furniture, and paintings—as visual carriers of civic prosperity in the Republic. Furthermore, Hanneke Grootenboer recently proposed a new term "pensive image," which goes beyond such symbolical ascriptions and assumes painting as a form of visual thinking, related more to philosophical reflexion beyond the realm of interpretation, than to a secondary representation of an object or a scene (cf. the lecture at FU Berlin in 2019, book forthcoming in Dec. 2020). The paper initiates a critical dialogue with this preliminarily formulated thesis and points on the basis of Bisschop's canvas to the very limitations of the iconological and socio-historical interpretation of Netherlandish interior scenes. The painting will be analyzed in terms of images' sovereign self-reference regarding the blurred boundaries of dialectically intertwined artistic genres. In comparison to such remarkably suspended, anachronistic vestigial animation of past presence in the Netherlandish painting of the 17th c., like that by Samuel van Hoogstraten in his famous *View of an Interior / The Slippers* of 1655-62, Bisschop's canvas reveals its very distinction as an artificial, inherently pictorial discourse on the staging of stillness, materiality, and space in art. Although equipped with material vestiges of domestic life, this painting shows a section of a household deprived of any animated presence and does allude to the invisible, neither in terms of timely delay, nor advanced spatial extension. It initiates, instead, an immanent painterly dialogue between the objects depicted put in the role of generic terms of particular artistic genres, including the antechamber, the cast-off garment, the still-life painting, and the seascape. The *Interior with Jacket*, as visibly representative as it is, thus reveals itself at the very second glance as a thoughtful frontal construction of pictorial notions beyond both the quest for mimetic veracity and the mere painterly illusion. In his canvas, Bisschop, a portrait painter who was well acquainted with the ambiguous and multi-layered features of painting as staged presentation (cf. his *Self-Portrait*, or, the trompe l'oeil of his *Boy Asleep In a Chair*), thus delivers a comprehensive commentary on what

contemporary art is made of. The main question goes consequently beyond the established categories of a genre and reads as follows: Can an interior be portrayed as a still-life? In this way, the *Interior with Jacket*, one-of-a-kind, contributes today to the topical issue of possible theoretical re-definitions of 'still-life' as a genre, brought to perfection by the Netherlandish artists. Its criteria would transcend the hitherto art-historical taxonomization of objects represented and rather more intensely relate to the then contemporary practical modes of showing mastery through sophisticated ostentation of painterly self-awareness.

## Heraldic Imagination in the Netherlands, 1500-1800

SESSION ORGANIZER

**Marika Keblusek**, Leiden Centre for the Arts in Society (LUCAS), Leiden

Originally hereditary symbols of the medieval noble elite, from the late-14th century onwards crests, coat of arms and blazons were increasingly altered, added to and custom made for members of other, emancipatory social groups, most notably the urban elites. Merchants, for example, formed a fast growing, powerful professional segment of early modern European society – especially in the Netherlands. The increasing awareness of their personal and collective identity is evident in their visual branding and representation: not only in commissioned portraits, but in the adaptation of crests and devices which were publicly visible on a variety of media and platforms. In fact, heraldic imagery embodies much more than an individual's or corporate coat of arms. The powerful tradition of heraldic emblems is reflected in the use of blazons and crests by literary and artistic groups and institutions, such as chambers of rhetoricans, or painters' associations. Other, closely related visual emblems which act as identity markers are, for example, printers' devices, trademarks, logos, monograms or even calligraphic signatures.

This session aims to explore how early modern individuals and groups branded themselves through their heraldic presentation on contemporary social media and materials. We will focus on early modern branding through personalised heraldic imagery, which may have been displayed on wooden and stone shields in churches and houses; on painted portraits; in stained glass and windows; engraved in silver, gold, precious stones and glass work; embroidered on linen; pressed on book bindings; hand-painted in manuscripts like alba amicorum (friendship books) and on ceramics – indeed, on every material and (semi-)public medium thinkable.

Papers may focus on various aspects of the heraldic imagination, discussing how this visual personal and collective branding functioned in the Netherlands between 1500 and 1800. How innovative was the transformation of heraldic culture from the late medieval age into early modern times? How and why did it take place? Who were responsible for designing new coats of arms? In other words, how did this visual language of the self in everyday

surroundings develop and how, in time, did this multimedia manifestation of personal and collective identities undergo a process of formalisation, authentication and the creation of types and stock images?

This session welcomes curators and scholars to address pictorial and material elements of heraldic culture in the context of art history, material history, emblem history, and heritage studies.

**SPEAKERS**

**Margreet Brandsma**, Leiden University

***Personalised Heraldic Representation by a Late Medieval Princess: Margaret of Burgundy***

Medieval heraldic representation is strongly associated with male members of noble families. On the battlefield and during tournaments they could be identified by their family's coat of arms and impressive helmet signs, which were registered pictorially in armorials by heralds. Nowadays we can still admire these, even online, and get a glimpse of which knightly individuals were present at important events, and how the public could recognize them. An association with today's society columns in magazines or pictures on social media easily comes to mind.

But knights in shining armour were not the only attendees of medieval tournaments. Miniatures in medieval chronicles, as well as the accompanying text, show that the presence of ladies in the audience was indispensable. These ladies are less well represented in armorials, but they did communicate their identity through heraldic presentation, as well as personalised imagery. The use of personal symbols in addition to traditional coats of arms was not invented by Renaissance princesses, but had its roots in an earlier period. The blazon of a medieval princess consisted of a combination of the coat of arms of her father and her husband, which reflected her dual identity. A medieval noble marriage was usually not a matter of love or personal affection, but a political union between two dynasties. After her marriage, a noble lady had to put the interest of her husband's dynasty first, but still represented her family of origin as well. In an era of conflict, this was a complicated position to be in, and required well-considered communication strategies.

Margaret of Burgundy (1374-1441) is a good example of a late medieval princess in a discordant dynastic situation. As a result of her marriage with the count of Holland, the Northern part of the Netherlands became encapsulated by the Burgundian dynasty, but only after many battles had been fought by her and her daughter Jacqueline of Bavaria (Jacoba van Beieren). This paper will concentrate on how Margaret of Burgundy expressed her identity through personalised heraldic imagery, for instance by adding '*marguerites*', referring to her first name. Different media, such as seals, an armorial, glass windows, silverware and a wooden shield near her funeral monument, will be brought forward as

examples of how she moulded traditional dynastic representations to a more personalised brand.

**Anna Dlabacova**, Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society

*Branding Books. Early Netherlandish Printers and their Printers' Marks, c. 1470-1520*
One feature that sets the early printed book apart from the manuscript is the printer's mark or device. Included in most printed books right from the beginning of printing, printers' marks disseminated various forms of heraldic imagery amongst large and new groups of readers. While heraldic imagery – if present at all – in manuscripts would generally point to the commissioner or owner of the book, printer's marks conveyed a message about maker. Moreover, printers generally disposed of several marks, seemingly allowing them to adjust the message from book to book and through time as their business grew and changed. Throughout his career, Gerard Leeu (d. 1492), for example, used five different devices, all with different coats of arms. This paper focuses on the role of heraldic imagery in the design of early Netherlandish printer's marks and the ways in which they (co-)shaped the identity of a printer, a city, and possibly also communities of readers.

**Frances Hughes**, University of Cambridge

*Heraldic Prints and the Ornamental Imagination in the Early Sixteenth Century*
This paper will explore the depiction of imaginative heraldic motifs in ornamental imagery from the early sixteenth century. Art historians have tended to interpret coats of arms as a distinctly medieval brand of image that was at odds with 'Renaissance' culture, using the adjective 'heraldic' to connote social and artistic conservatism. However, heraldry was such an ubiquitous part of late medieval and early modern visual culture that almost all artisans would have had some experience representing coats of arms. Indeed, due to the importance of heraldic display, coats of arms were central arenas for the development and transmission of new ornamental and stylistic repertoires, for instance the introduction of classicising putti as shield bearers. My paper will therefore consider the relationship between artistic identity, ornamental innovation and heraldic imagery in the Netherlands in the early sixteenth century.

Artists responded to a new emphasis on ornamental invention by blending fictive heraldry with other ornamental topics, like classicising putti or grotesque vegetation. Ornamental designs were circulated to much wider audiences on printed sheets, which untethered motifs from the margins of luxurious illuminated manuscripts and endowed them with a new, semi-autonomous status. Similarly, printed coats of arms separated heraldry from the group dynamics of the medieval armorial and allowed them to circulate more readily as objects of aesthetic interest, no longer bound to the heraldic knowledge of small localities. Innovative printmakers such as Lucas van Leyden relished heraldry as an appropriate topic

for showcasing their capacity for ornamental invention, as well as for positioning their practice within a pedigree of famous artists, including Albrecht Du̇rer.

My paper will argue that heraldry became a key means for artists to express their individual authorial identity in relation to communal, civic identities. For example, across Northern Europe, guilds of painters displayed a common shield containing three miniature escutcheons, visually tying their artistic identity to the heraldic. Many Netherlandish artists incorporated this shield into their ornamental designs, using it both as a sign of their profession and as a generic 'filler' for empty cartouches. Heraldry was not simply a utilitarian visual sign system; in first few decades of the sixteenth century, it was increasingly treated as a generic type of ornamental motif ripe for artistic manipulation. My doctoral research is focussed on the 'heraldic imagination' in German-speaking regions, including the depiction of heraldry in the work of Albrecht Du̇rer, Niklaus Manuel and Sebald Beham. In this paper, I will foreground the heraldic innovations of their Netherlandish counterparts, demonstrating how coats of arms became a vehicle for the transmission of ornamental invention in the Northern Renaissance.

## Intermedial Collaborations in Artistic Processes

SESSION ORGANIZERS

**Elizabeth Rice Mattison**, University of Toronto

**Laura Tillery**, Hamilton College

Art-making in the early modern period necessitated the collaboration of artists. Beyond assistants helping a master in the workshop, artists also worked together between media. Such coordination across materials might transform a cartoon into a tapestry of gold, silk, and wool threads; painters completed the highly sought-after carved altarpieces produced in Brussels and Antwerp, both through the addition of wings and the application of polychromy to sculpture. This panel explores collaborative and intermedial encounters in Northern Europe, c. 1400–1700, which brought together two or more artists or art forms. Consideration of such coordination between materials challenges the deeply entrenched disciplinary tendency to prioritize the solitary artist and self-contained material. The competition between the arts, especially painting and sculpture, in early modern art has been the subject of much critical study, and collaborations between famous painters, like Jan Brueghel and Peter Paul Rubens, have recently received attention. In contrast, this panel seeks to consider the ways in which both artists and objects worked across and between different media: how the interactivity of artists, named and unnamed, differed from solitary practice, and how artists variously employed media, including mixed media, multimedia, transmedia, and intermedia.

Rather than considering audiences' reception of objects resulting from intermedial collaboration, this panel focuses on the creation of these works. Papers will examine the structures that enabled or prevented the production of objects that crossed the boundaries of a single material. The panel seeks to understand the processes that led to the collaboration of art makers across media in early modern Northern Europe.

Proposed topics may include, but are not limited to:

- Studies of multimedia, transmedia, or intermedia objects that explore relationships across and between media. Examples might include painted and carved altarpieces, stained glass and architecture, books and their covers, or the painting of musical instruments;
- Combining, blending, and fusing of media in the visual and performing arts, such as civic rituals or pageants;
- Tracing of artistic processes that require the cooperation of numerous makers, including the collaborative endeavors of print designers and block cutters or woodworkers' models for metalwork;
- Artistic self-consciousness or response to fellow artists;
- The role of institutions, guilds, and patrons in fostering or limiting collaborations and combinations of media;
- Consideration of the historiographic implications of interartistic and intermedial experiments and the development of the canon of Netherlandish art.

**SPEAKERS**
**Ruth Ezra**, University of Southern California
***Inside Out and In Hand: the Practitioner's View on the Callimachus Epitaph***

The Callimachus Epitaph, a bronze relief installed in Krakow's Dominican Church in memory of Filippo Buonaccorsi, necessitated the collaboration of two Nuremberg artists: the carver Veit Stoss, who is assumed to have provided the wood model; and the Rotschmied, or brass founder, Hermann Vischer the Younger, who is assumed to have led the casting at his family's foundry. (The work is undocumented.) This paper reconstructs the steps Vischer took to cast Stoss's model through an indirect lost-wax process. I demonstrate how the guiding forms of the carver's wood prototype manifested a thought style, or sculptural intelligence, convergent with the founder's actions. Whereas less obstinate model-makers would have simplified their designs to streamline Vischer's difficult and time-consuming task of building piece-molds around undercuts, I argue that Stoss prevailed upon his smith to rise to the technical challenge of reproducing, without paraphrase, almost exactly the same upturned drapery pattern that the carver himself had executed not in wood, but in stone a few years prior with the Volckamer Monument (1499). The payoff for Vischer was that the undercut hollows effected spatially expansive illusions and self-reflective technical

revelations in the cast. Such passages advertise the virtuosity of modeler and founder, both of whom create fabric as "thin as paper." In closing, I consider Stoss's reception of his own work in bronze, speculating as to what lessons he took from the collaboration with Vischer that he then applied to later projects.

**Daan van Heesch**, Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels

***Weaving Bosch and Bruegel: Cross-Craft Adaptation in a Brussels Tapestry Series (c. 1560)***

The four Brussels tapestries "after" Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450-1516) in San Lorenzo de El Escorial are undoubtedly among the most remarkable and conspicuous survivals of the painter's near-cult status among the European elite. This well-documented case has received ample attention in scholarship, but much less known is the fact that the aristocratic Bosch craze also inspired other Brussels workshops to experiment with the legacy of the popular painter in the luxurious medium of tapestry.

This paper deals with several fragmentary sets of a History of Hercules series, first woven in the workshop of Frans Schavaert in about 1560. Central to this study are the medallions in the borders of the Brussels tapestries – woven "marginalia" picturing monsters, drunkards, quacks, beggars, tramps, thieves, fools and other outcasts of society. Curiously themed to the weird and the wonderful, the images will be shown to derive from Bosch and his followers, Pieter Bruegel the Elder most notably among them. While the border designs clearly evince a knowledge of the famous Bosch tapestries, most motifs will be argued to originate from less-conspicuous forms of art, such as prints, cloth paintings and even decorated trenchers. This treasure trove of Bosch-inspired imagery has not yet been fully documented nor interpreted and is absent from the vast literature on the master and his afterlife in Netherlandish art. The History of Hercules series cuts across media that are usually kept separate and raises intriguing questions about the process of cross-craft adaptation.

The present paper looks at the cross-media aesthetics of the Hercules tapestries, the origins of the visual marginalia and the various ways in which the source material was translated in the weaving process. Painted prints, tapestried trenchers and other intermedial crossings challenge the traditional hierarchies of artistic media and induce us to reconsider the facile dichotomy between the "high" and the "low" in the early modern arts.

**Lara Yeager-Crasselt**, The Leiden Collection, New York

***"Portraits, Patterns, and Designs": Collaboration at the Pilgrimage Church of Scherpenheuvel and the Brussels Court in the Seventeenth Century***

The completion of the pilgrimage church of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel outside of Brussels in 1627 marked the end of a nearly two decade-long building project under the patronage of

the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. The church stood as a monument to the revitalization of Catholicism in the Southern Netherlands and was a symbol of Habsburg power in the region. The artist responsible for this complex project was Wenzel Coebergher (1557/1561–1634), who, though trained as a painter, had been appointed to the Brussels court in 1605 as the archduke's "architect and engineer." Coebergher's supervisory role at Scherpenheuvel paralleled his duties at court, which included overseeing "anything related to architecture, painting and the other arts [. . .] and full power to make portraits, patterns and designs." For this ambitious project, Coebergher supplied drawings for the architectural and sculptural programs and commissioned a series of seven altarpieces depicting the life of the Virgin from Theodoor van Loon, as well as sculptures for the church's interior and exterior from Robrecht de Nole. With Coebergher as the guiding force, the church not only succeeded in realizing a unified vision of painting, sculpture, and architecture, but it also embraced a collaborative artistic model that was indicative of the patterns of artistic practice in seventeenth-century Brussels.

This paper investigates the building and artistic program of Scherpenheuvel and Coebergher's role within it through the lens of intellectual and practical collaboration. It examines the mechanisms in place in Brussels and at the Habsburg court that structured and validated this kind of large-scale, multimedia project, as well as those that guided smaller commissions in the city. Coebergher's collaborations with artists who worked both within and outside of the court throughout his tenure—among them Jérôme Duquesnoy the Elder, Antoon Sallaert and Jacques Francquart— provide new insight into the dynamics that shaped Brussels' distinctive artistic character. While Scherpenheuvel and Coebergher's architectural contributions have been the subject of monographic studies (De Maeyer 1955, Meganck 1998, Duerloo and Wingmans 2002, and Duerloo 2008), as well as, more recently, the altarpieces of Theodoor van Loon (Van Sprang 2018), the collaborative and intermedial processes integral to the church's making—and the varied roles of its artists—remain understudied. By investigating Scherpenheuvel in this broader context, this paper carries implications for our understanding of Brussels' place within the Flemish canon and the paradigm of artistic collaboration that has long been defined by Antwerp alone.

**ANKK Sponsored Session: Netherlandish Mobility in Times of Crisis (1500–1700)**
SESSION ORGANIZERS

**Madeline Delbé**, Bonn University **Sabrina Lind**, Ghent University

RESPONDENT

**Birgit Ulrike Münch**, Bonn University

Pandemics, wars, economic declines, religious or political persecution, natural catastrophes, famine – crises such as these are not limited to our present days but have always had an impact on the life and work of different social groups, amongst them artists. In line with the

increasing number of debates and projects on the mobility of artists in (art) historical research, this session considers an aspect of artists' mobility that has not yet been comprehensively investigated: mobility through crisis. As is often the case, the particularities of our own historical moment encourage us to renew our attention to related circumstances in the past.

This session aims to provide a forum for inquiries into the life and work of artists and other actors in the Northern and Southern Netherlands in the period from 1500 until 1700 whose mobility was directly affected by different kinds of crisis. By addressing upheavals such as the Iconoclastic Fury (1566), the Fall of Antwerp (1585), military training and war preparation, as well as the Disaster Year (1672), it focuses both the ways in which crises did – or at times did not – affect artists' private, social, and professional lives. Hence, it faces different crises, taking into account factors that either promoted migration or the lingering and coping with the changed circumstances that impaired the artists' working conditions in one way or another. Since the latter were determined not only by the crisis itself but also by patrons and guilds, the mobility of the artists will also be analyzed in regard to their entanglement with various actors, reacting to the crises individually. By doing so, this panel aims to foster a discussion on this specific kind of artists' mobility and, consequently, to inviting further research on single case studies as well as on methodological issues and theoretical questions.

**SPEAKERS**

**Suzanne Duff**, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island

***Fine Tuning: The Antwerp Harpsichord Makers' Proposal to the Saint Luke's Guild During the Turbulent Sixteenth Century***

Artists living in Antwerp during the second half of the sixteenth century faced several periods of socio-economic upheaval. Many emigrated after pivotal moments like the Iconoclastic Fury (1566) and the Fall of Antwerp (1585). But some also chose to stay. After 1585 when the population dropped by half within four years, data suggests that artists left the city in lower numbers than the rest of the population, aware of the professional challenges they would face by relocating. My presentation will investigate how the harpsichord makers negotiated with Antwerp's artists' guild, the Saint Luke's Guild, during this period to not only survive in this challenging environment, but also prosper and even increase their status.

Their success was predicated on an earlier effort, in 1557, to become an official subgroup (*natie*) within the guild. I argue organizing the craft within the guild facilitated the formation of a city-wide production network that made it possible to withstand future periods of instability. The network divided labor across workshops allowing various skill levels to work together to produce higher quantities of instruments for export while maintaining quality. As

part of the guild, they could also more easily collaborate with painters, and standardizations developed toward efficiency and secure transportation led to a unique local style that heightened recognition in a global marketplace.

Hans Ruckers (1533/40-1598) utilized this Antwerp network to found a dynasty that defined Antwerp as a center for harpsichord production. Recognizing the possibilities of organizing as a group within the guild, other crafts petitioned for a *natie*, including the embroiderers in 1586, whose profession flourished during the early seventeenth century. This case study illustrates one example of how craftsmen in Antwerp during the sixteenth century turned to the Saint Luke's Guild for order and protection and relied on that during times of crises.

**Stefano Rinaldi**, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

***Military Training and Artistic Exchange. Traveling from Tuscany to the Low Countries during the Dutch Revolt***

In Early Modern Europe, war, with all its horrors, was not usually the intended destination of traveling artists. For a young engineer, however, an experience on the battlefield could represent an important professional opportunity, granting first-hand knowledge of the most advanced developments in military architecture and technology. Building on those premises, the paper will frame the training and career mechanisms of Tuscan engineers at the beginning of the 17th century as a vehicle of artistic exchange with the North. After a first theoretical education, many young engineers would volunteer for a period of military service in Flanders or Germany, before coming back to Tuscany to serve the Grand Dukes as military or civilian architects and engineers.

The Florentine court architect Giulio Parigi (1571–1635) appears to have played a central role in fostering this form of professional mobility through his informal school of architecture, engineering, and landscape drawing. Attended by Tuscan artists and engineers alongside young foreign aristocrats, this unofficial yet influential institution allowed its pupils to integrate into an interdisciplinary and international network, helping advance their later military career abroad. Given the close connection between engineering and art (especially in the form of landscape drawing) in Parigi's teaching, it will be argued that this particular context helps explain the travels of artists like Remigio Cantagallina, Baccio del Bianco or even Jacques Callot.

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***Avoiding Disaster. Artists from the Dutch Republic on the Move in 1672–1679***

In the Disaster Year 1672, the Dutch War began, which would last until 1679: the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands was attacked by England, France and the Dioceses of Münster and Cologne. The chaos was complete and public life was completely disrupted. In many

Dutch cities, artistic life almost came to a standstill and the already waning art market collapsed. To create new opportunities, artists had to be resourceful. However, because no one could predict how the situation would develop, there was a big gambling element in this. Artists migrated on a large scale, within and outside the Republic, where they stayed for short or longer periods, with varying degrees of success. The initiatives they took were usually focused on the short term - one step at a time - and related not only to unsafe situations, but also to finding clients.

Arnold Houbraken writes about Gerard Hoet I (1648-1733): "Finally came the disastrous year of 1672, which stopped everything in its tracks, so that Hoet went to The Hague". By coincidence he came into contact with a French (!) colonel, with whom he traveled to his army camp in Rees near Cleves, to work for him there. Hoet found three young colleagues from occupied Utrecht: Jan van Bunnik, Justus van Nijpoort and Andries de With. From there the foursome fanned out in different directions: De With probably went back to Utrecht, Hoet went to Paris for a short time and then settled in Utrecht, Jan van Bunnik did not return home until 12 years later, after he had worked in Germany, Italy and France and Justus van Nijpoort found employment in Slovenia, Austria and Bohemia, where he died 20 years later in Olomouc.

In this paper I will investigate patterns in the (foreign) mobility of Dutch artists triggered by the Disaster Year. Is it true that artists from Utrecht became more adrift than artists from other cities? Charles II of England and Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg made it clear that Dutch artists were very welcome. But what about the opportunities for Dutch artists in other regions, such as France or Scandinavia? And did Dutch artists still travel to Italy to further their education, or was this luxury the first to be cut back?