

historians of netherlandish art

NEWSLETTER

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

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Rubens in 2004

*Exhibitions in London, St. Petersburg, Lille, Antwerp, Braunschweig, Valenciennes,
and Greenwich (CT)*

From the President

HNA never stands still. During the last six months we have managed to set up a Listserv. We can now send out emails to the entire membership, informing you of events, of recent postings to the website, and much more. We hope you will use this Listserv frequently – to ask for help with research and pedagogical questions, to announce position openings, to broadcast other matters of interest. Just send your text to our administrator Kristin Belkin: kbelkin@aol.co. (You may still post on the Message Board if you prefer.)

The website itself is changing. Now that we have reached the end of the year, you will find additions to the Book Review section, a refreshed New Titles list, and an updated Bibliography of Recent Articles (on the website only). For the reviews we thank not only the writers but the various field editors responsible for inviting submissions. The new list of recent articles is the work of Adriaen Waiboer and Anna Tummers, both of whom have mined journals and year-books at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie for entries of interest to members. Please urge your grad students to join HNA so as to take advantage of this terrific resource; they receive a discounted rate for membership. And please send Anna citations to your latest article to make sure the bibliography continues to be comprehensive: J.C.Tummers@uva.nl (before April). Once again we thank Kristin for an excellent *Newsletter*. This edition is a singular accomplishment in light of the demands of her current project, an exhibition on Rubens as a Collector that will open in Antwerp in March 2004, co-curated by Fiona Healy, the HNA European Treasurer.

In the coming months, we may see another change. HNA has engaged in talks with the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie about closer cooperation between our two organizations. While HNA and the RKD are very different entities, we share a multitude of common interests. Specifically, the RKD has offered to maintain our website. In the long run, the cooperation could well become beneficial both in terms of various types of other technical support and of more efficient gathering of information. Most activities of HNA and the RKD will remain entirely independent of one another, of course. For example, the *Newsletter*, including the *Review of Books*, will continue to be published and posted by Kristin Belkin in New Jersey, and Kristin will continue to handle all sorts of other administrative functions for our organization.

Please vote to elect new members to the HNA Board. For the first time our listing of nominees contains helpful biographical sketches (a brainchild of the nominating committee). Access these names on the website under 'HNA News: 2004 Ballot.' Please send your choices to Kristin by January 25, 2004.

When is our next international gathering? We are planning a conference in Washington DC. in early November 2006. This meeting is timed for the opening of what promises to be a fascinating exhibition on early Netherlandish diptychs, curated by John Hand at the National Gallery. We are very grateful to Aneta Georgievska-Shine and Quint Gregory for agreeing to organize this conference.

Finally a word about a more immediate gathering of HNA members. The annual reception will take place at the Sheraton Hotel, Seattle, on Thursday February 19, 2004, at 5:30pm. Members will also be present at many CAA events, but particularly at the HNA-sponsored session on February 20, 'The Long Legacy of the Devotio Moderna,' chaired by Nanette Salomon, with papers by five members, and with discussant HNA Vice President Ellen Konowitz. Hope to see you there,

With my best wishes for the New Year,

Alison Kettering

Carleton College

In Memoriam

Leonard J. Slatkes (1930-2003)

Leonard J. Slatkes, Professor of Art History at Queens College and Distinguished Professor at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, a leading expert in the field of Dutch art history, died suddenly of a heart attack on August 22 in New York City. He was 73.

Leonard was best known for his many publications on the Dutch followers of Caravaggio. His first book, on Dirck van Baburen, published in 1965, remains the standard work on that artist. In collaboration with the Dutch art historian Albert Blankert, he conceived and wrote the catalogue of the major exhibition on Hendrik Terbrugghen held at Utrecht and Braunschweig in 1986-1987. Leonard also published a complete catalogue of Rembrandt's paintings in 1992 as well as books on Vermeer (1981, 2nd ed. 1996) and catalogues on seventeenth-century Dutch printmakers. Numerous articles extended his interests to the work of Hieronymus Bosch, Caravaggio's iconography, the development of nocturnal scenes in painting, and many other subjects. One theme that ties together much of his research is the exchange of artistic ideas between Italy and the Netherlands.

Leonard loved to be in The Netherlands. His close ties with the country were formed when he earned his PhD at the University of Utrecht in 1962 under the direction of Jan van Gelder. This followed an MA from Oberlin College received in 1954 and a BFA degree from Syracuse University where he graduated *cum laude* in 1952. Between 1954 and 1956 Leonard served in the US Army at the United Nations Command Military Armistice Commission, Panmunjom, Korea.

Leonard Slatkes was an inspiring teacher as well as a distinguished scholar. After teaching at the University of Chicago and the University of Pittsburgh he joined the faculty of Queens College in 1966 where he remained until his death. He combined his position at Queens with an appointment to the Faculty of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Leonard was known for captivating lectures that introduced many students to the delights of art history and attracted a good number to the field of Dutch and Flemish art. His lectures about Honthorst, Terbrugghen, and Baburen opened a window onto a magical world that we did not even know existed. He communicated a deep appreciation of painting that carried over as well into his expertise as a connoisseur, for which he was consulted by art dealers and auction houses such as Christie's and Sotheby's.

Leonard was a jovial and satirical character, fitting some of the pictures he enjoyed talking and writing about. He is survived by his sister Beverly Wasserman.

Jeffrey Muller
Brown University

HNA News

HNA at CAA, Seattle 2004

The HNA-sponsored session, 'The Long Legacy of the *Devotio Moderna*,' is chaired by Nanette Salomon (CUNY, College of Staten Island). For detailed information check the CAA website: collegart.org

The HNA Business Meeting and Reception takes place Thursday, February 19, 2004, 5:30pm.

Personalia

Till-Holger Borchert has been named chief curator of the Groeningemuseum and Arentshuis, Bruges.

Walter Gibson presented the Gerson lecture at the University of Groningen, November 20, 2003: *The Art of Laughter in the Age of Bosch and Bruegel*.

Emilie Gordenker is the new Curator for Early Netherlandish, Dutch and Flemish Art at the National Gallery of Scotland.

Paul Huvenne, director of the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp, has been made a *Chevalier dans l'ordre des Arts et Lettres* by the French government.

Nadine Orenstein has been promoted to Curator in the Department of Drawings and Prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Corine Schleif and **Volker Schier** have been awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities collaborative grant for a facsimile and interactive CD-ROM on the 'Geese Book,' a 16th-century gradual from Nuremberg now in the Morgan Library (Ms. M 905).

Stanton Thomas has accepted a teaching position in the Art Department of Edinboro State University, Edinboro, Pennsylvania.

Achim Timmermann has joined the faculty of the European College of Liberal Arts in Berlin.

Hugo Van der Velden was appointed to the Department of Art History and Architecture at Harvard University.

Exhibitions

United States

Pursuits and Pleasures: Baroque Paintings from the Detroit Institute of Arts. Kalamazoo Institute of Arts, Kalamazoo, Michigan, September 27, 2003 – January 4, 2004. Includes works by Jacob van Ruisdael and Frans Snyders.

Painted Prayers: Medieval and Renaissance Books of Hours from the Morgan Library. Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, October 12, 2003 – January 18, 2004; J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, October 18, 2005 – January 8, 2006. With a catalogue by Roger Wieck (published by Braziller, 1997).

Hendrick Goltzius, Dutch Master (1558-1617): Drawings, Prints and Paintings. The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, October 18, 2003 – January 4, 2004. The exhibition was shown in Amsterdam and New York. With catalogue by Jan Piet Filedt Kok, Huigen Leeftang, Ger Luijten, Larry Nichols, Nadine Orenstein, Michiel Plomp, and Marijn Schapelhoeman. To be reviewed.

Rembrandt's Journey: Painter, Draftsman, Etcher. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, October 26, 2003 – January 18, 2004. Curators: Cliff Ackley, Ronni Baer, Tom Rasseur. With a catalogue by the exhibition curators and William W. Robinson.

Images in Light: Newly Acquired Stained Glass. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, October 28, 2003 – April 4, 2004. Gothic and Renaissance stained-glass windows, most from northern Europe.

Casting Characters: Portraits and Studies of Heads. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, November 4, 2003 – February 1, 2004. Includes drawings by Goltzius and Jordaens.

The Morrison Triptych: A Visiting Masterpiece. Philadelphia Museum of Art, November 6, 2003 – June 11, 2004. Early sixteenth-century Netherlandish triptych on loan from the Toledo Museum of Art.

Renaissance to Rococo: Masterpieces from the Collection of the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford. The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida, January 29 – April 25, 2004; Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, May 23 – September 5, 2004; Frist Center for the Visual Arts, Nashville, Tennessee, May 19 – August 21, 2005; Mint Museum of Art, Charlotte, North Carolina, September 17, 2005 – January 8, 2006. Includes *Boy with a Hat* by Michael Sweerts and Frans Hals's *Portrait of Joseph Coymans*.

Love Letters: Dutch Genre Paintings in the Age of Vermeer. Bruce Museum, Greenwich, Connecticut, January 31 – May 2, 2004. Curated by Peter C. Sutton, with a catalogue including essays by Peter C. Sutton, Lisa Vergara and Ann Jensen Adams, as well as contributions by Jennifer Kilian and Marjorie E. Wieseman. The exhibition comes from The National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

The Unfinished Print. The Frick Collection, New York, June 2 – August 15, 2004. This is a smaller version of the exhibition curated by Peter Parshall, featuring works by Rembrandt, and on view at the National Gallery in Washington in 2001. With catalogue.

Rubens Oil Sketches from North American Collections. Bruce Museum of Arts and Sciences, Greenwich, Connecticut, September 17, 2004 – January 2, 2005; Berkeley Art Museum, Berkeley, California, January 26 – April 24, 2005; Cincinnati Art Museum, May 20 – August 28, 2005. Curated by Betsy Wieseman and Peter Sutton; with catalogue by the two curators, with a contribution by Nico Van Hout.

Rubens Drawings. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, opens **January 2005**. After the New York showing, the exhibition will go to the Albertina, Vienna. Curated by Anne-Marie Logan; with catalogue.

European Bronzes from the Quentin Collection. The Frick Collection, New York, September 28, 2004 – January 2, 2005. Includes works by Hendrick de Keyser and other northern sculptors. With a catalogue by Patricia Wengraf and Manfred Leithe-Jasper.

Gerard ter Borch. National Gallery of Art, Washington, November 7, 2004 – January 30, 2005; Detroit Institute of Arts, February 27 – May 22, 2005. Catalogue by Alison Kettering, Betsy Wieseman and Arthur Wheelock.

Austria and Germany

Wunderwerk: Göttliche Ordnung und vermessene Welt: Der Goldschmied und Kupferstecher Antonius Eisenhoit und die Hofkunst um 1600. Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Paderborn, September 14, 2003 – January 11, 2004. With a catalogue edited by Christoph Stiegemann (published by Philipp von Zabern, Mainz).

Isabella Rubens [Rubens's first wife]. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, until January 18, 2004.

Aderlass und Seelentrost. Die Überlieferung deutscher Texte im Spiegel Berliner Handschriften und Inkunabeln. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, November 13, 2003 – February 15, 2004. With catalogue edited by Peter Jörg Becker & Eev Overgaauw.

Stadt–Land–Fluss. Die flämische Landschaft, 1520-1700. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, December 23, 2003 – April 12, 2004; Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, May 8 – August 1, 2004. With catalogue by Klaus Ertz.

Genre Painting during the Age of Frans Hals. Kunsthalle, Hamburg, February 12 – May 16, 2004. With catalogue.

Pan and Syrinx, an Erotic Chase. Depictions by Peter Paul Rubens, Jan Brueghel the Elder and their Contemporaries. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Museen, Kassel, March 18 – June 13, 2004. Curator: Bernhard Schnackenburg. With catalogue.

Rembrandt. Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Radierungen. Albertina, Vienna, April 2 – July 4, 2004.

Carel Fabritius (1622-1654). Staatliches Museum, Schwerin, May 14 – August 29, 2004.

Rubens and the Baroque Passions. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, August – October 2004. Curated by Jochen Luckhardt, Nils Büttner, Ulrich Heinen, Andreas Vetter and Barbara Welzel. With catalogue.

Rembrandt, Rubens, Tizian, Vermeer: The Czernin Collection. Johann Rudolf Count Czernin of Chudenitz, a Contemporary of Mozart. Residenzgalerie, Salzburg, 2006.

Belgium

Rubens e l'Italia: Het doopsel van Christus in het Koninklijk Museum. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp. *This exhibition, previously announced, has unfortunately been cancelled.*

A House of Art: Rubens as Collector. Rubenshuis, Antwerp, March 6 – June 13, 2004. Curated by Kristin Lohse Belkin and Fiona Healy. With catalogue, with an introductory essay by Jeffrey Muller. www.rubens2004.be

Van Delacroix tot Courbet. Rubens ter discussie. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, March 6 – June 13, 2004. Juxtaposing French paintings from the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Lille and the art of the Flemish Rubenesque tradition. www.rubens2004.be

De uitvinding van het landschap. Vlaamse landschapschilderkunst van Patinir tot Rubens. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, May 8 – August 1, 2004. Coming from Essen and Vienna. www.rubens2004.be

Copyright Rubens. Rubens en de grafiek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, June 12 – September 12, 2004. In collaboration with the Musée du Québec. Curator: Nico Van Hout. www.rubens2004.be

Het Catharijneconvent te gast. Gruuthuse Museum, Brugge, January 2 – April 1, 2004.

Rubens, Jordaens en van Dijk: tekeningen van de Vlaamse meesters. Arentshuis, Brugge, May 15 – July 31, 2004.

England

Peter Paul Rubens: A Touch of Brilliance. Oil Sketches and Related Works from The State Hermitage Museum and the Courtauld Institute Gallery. Hermitage Rooms, Somerset House, London, September 20, 2003 – February 8, 2004. Curated by Joanna Woodall, Ernst Vegelin van Claerbergen, Natalya Gritsay, and Alexey Larionov. The catalogue, which includes a handlist is published by Prestel Verlag for the Hermitage Development Trust and the Courtauld Institute of Art, 2003. ISBN PB 3-7913-6009-4, £25.

Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe. The Royal Academy, London, November 25, 2003 – February 22, 2004. The exhibition originated at the Getty.

Bosch and Bruegel: Inventions, Enigmas and Variations. The National Gallery, London, January 24 – April 4, 2004. Curated by Lorne Campbell.

Dürer and the Virgin in the Garden. The National Gallery, London, March 24 – June 20, 2004.

France

Dürer and German Engravings. Musée Condé, Chantilly, until January 5, 2004.

Rembrandt and School from the Hermitage Collections. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, October 3, 2003 – January 15, 2004.

La peinture hollandaise du XVIIe siècle. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Strasbourg, November 22, 2003 – March 15, 2004.

Reflets du siècle d'or hollandais: les eaux-fortes de Rembrandt du Musée Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis à Amsterdam. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Strasbourg, November 22, 2003 – February 12, 2004.

Rubens universel. Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille, March 6 – June 14, 2004. With catalogue. For the symposium, see under *Conferences to Attend*.

Watteau and Rubens. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, March 15 – June 2004. Curated by Martin Eidelberg. With catalogue.

Italy

Leonardo, Antonello, Van Eyck: Three Renaissance Masterpieces. Biblioteca Reale, Torino, March 9, 2003 – March 7, 2004 (Wednesdays and Sundays only, by appointment). The exhibition features the *Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame* and a computer terminal allowing the visitor to “page through” the manuscript.

The Netherlands

Rijksmuseum aan de Maas. Bonnefanten Museum, Maastricht, March 12, 2002 – December 31, 2007. Includes works by Gerard David, Jan Brueghel, Anthony van Dyck, Jacob Jordaens, Hendrick Goltzius, Pieter Brueghel the Younger, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Joachim Beuckelaer and Pieter Aertsen.

Etchings by Rembrandt. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam Schiphol, September 2003 – January 4, 2004. Fourteen etchings from the collection of the Rijksmuseum.

Baardmannen en puntneuzen. Vorm, functie en betekenis van gezichtskruiken, 1500-1700. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, September 19, 2003 – March 21, 2004. With publication, Waanders, Zwolle, ISBN 90-400-8702-4, euro 12.50. The exhibition opened at the Drents Museum, Assen.

Satire and Jest: Dutch Genre Painting in Haarlem in the Age of Frans Hals. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, September 20, 2003 – January 10, 2004; Kunsthalle, Hamburg, February 1 – May 1, 2004. Curators: Pieter Biesboer, Martina Sitt. With a catalogue (Waanders).

Liefde uit de Hermitage. Die Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam, December 12, 2003 – April 18, 2004. Includes a family portrait (1621) by Van Dyck and a *Garden of Love* attributed to Karel van Mander. With a catalogue (Waanders).

Vis: stillezens in de Nederlanden, 1550-1700. Centraal Museum, Utrecht, February 1 – April 1, 2004.

The Court of the Winter King. Haags Historisch Museum, The Hague, December 6, 2003 – March 14, 2004. Organized in conjunction with the Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, Augsburg. With a publication by Simon Groenveld.

Albert Eckhout. Mauritshuis, The Hague, April 1 – June 1, 2004. The artist who accompanied Johan Maurits von Nassau to Brazil.

Spain

Anton Van Dyck y el arte del grabado. Fundación Carlos Ambers, Madrid, October 15, 2003 – January 11, 2004. In collaboration with the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. The exhibition is a slightly different version of the one shown in Antwerp and Amsterdam, 1999-2000. The catalogue is by Carl Depauw and Ger Luijten.

The Achilles-series by Peter Paul Rubens. Museo del Prado, Madrid, December 9, 2003 – February 2004. Coming from the Boijmans Museum, Rotterdam. Catalogue with contributions by Alexander Vergara, Friso Lammertse, Fiona Healy, Guy Delmarcel.

Other Countries

Japan

Dutch Art in the Age of Frans Hals from the Collection of the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem. Toyohashi City Museum of Art and History, Toyohashi, December 6, 2003 – January 18, 2004; Sakura City Museum of Art, January 24, 2004 – March 7, 2004.

Poland

Dutch and Flemish Drawings of the 15th-18th Centuries from Polish Collections. National Museum, Warsaw, March 12 – May 4, 2004.

Russia

Peter Paul Rubens: A Touch of Brilliance. Hermitage, St. Petersburg, September 20, 2003 – February 8, 2004. Previously seen Somerset House, London.

Turkey

The Ambassador, the Sultan and the Artist: An audience in Istanbul, Topkapi Museum, Istanbul, December 15, 2003 — April 15, 2004. Exhibition from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; with a catalogue.

Museum News

Brussels – Royal Museums of Fine Art: Recent cleaning of a seventeenth-century family portrait (in the collection since 1882 and variously attributed to Govert Flinck, Jacob I van Oost, and Michael Sweerts) revealed the signature of Jan de Herdt.

Brussels – Royal Museums of Fine Art: *The Deposition* (1605) by Wenzel Coebergher, painted for the high altar of the Sint-Gorikskerk in Brussels, has recently been restored.

Brussels – Royal Museums of Fine Art: The museum has acquired two red-chalk drawings after Raphael's frescoes in the Villa Farnesina, by the Antwerp painter Pieter Van Lint.

Cambridge, MA – Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University: The museum opened a long-term installation on October 4, 2003, entitled 'Rubens and His Collaborators.' Included in the exhibition are two oil sketches—*Neptune Calming the Tempest* and *Hercules Strangling the Nemean Lion*.

London – National Gallery: The Gallery has acquired a still life by Balthasar van der Ast, *Flowers in a Vase with Shells and Insects*, on loan to the Gallery since 1996.

London – National Gallery: *A Massacre of the Innocents* (ca. 1611-12) by Rubens has been lent to the Gallery from a private collection.

London – National Gallery: Three paintings from Washington's National Gallery of Art will be on display during the temporary closure of the Dutch and Flemish galleries in Washington. Judith Leyster's *Self-Portrait* (ca. 1630), Frans Hals's *Portrait of Willem Coymans* of 1645, and Jan Steen's *Dancing Couple* of 1633 will be in London until the summer of 2004.

Moscow – Rubens's *Tarquin and Lucretia*, formerly in Potsdam-Sanssouci and believed to have been stolen by a Soviet officer in 1945, was found in Moscow in August. Russian and German leaders are said to be discussing its return.

Raleigh, NC – North Carolina Museum of Art: The museum will be adapting two permanent galleries as a 17th-c. Flemish *kunstkamer*, for the display of Northern European art, curiosities, and small-scale classical sculpture.

Washington, DC – The National Gallery of Art: The Dutch and Flemish galleries will be closed due to a Facilities Management project, approximately until May 2004. There will be a small selection of paintings on view in an alternate gallery. Unfortunately, paintings in storage cannot be viewed.

Washington, DC – The National Gallery of Art: Adriaen Coorte's *Still Life with Asparagus and Red Currants* (1696), recently acquired by the Gallery, was part of an exhibition of the artist's work (closed September 28, 2003).

Surinam – The State Collection of the Republic of Suriname, Paramaribo: A landscape by Jacob van Ruisdael, given to the Republic by the Queen of the Netherlands in 1975, has been restored by Kees Schreuder, who works for the Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg (SRAL).

Scholarly Activities

Conferences to Attend

United States

College Art Association

92nd Annual Conference, Seattle, February 18-21, 2004.

Sessions related to HNA:

Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes (Stavanger University, Norway), Cultural Exchange between the Netherlands and Italy, 1400-1530.

Lynette Bosch (State University of New York, Geneseo), Cultural Crossing: Spain, Portugal, Italy, the Netherlands, and the Americas.

Caroline Bruzelius (Duke), Courts and Court Style Revisited: A Session in Memory of Harvey Stahl.

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann (Princeton), The Central European Diaspora.

Nanette Salomon (CUNY, College of Staten Island), The Long Legacy of the *Devotio Moderna*. (Sponsored by the Historians of Netherlandish Art.)

Superstition

University of Miami, Miami, February 19-21, 2004.

Includes sessions on Abjection, Fate and Destiny, The Supernatural, Fear and Loathing, Animism and Shamanism, Magical and Sacred Numbers, Idolatry, Folklore, Witchcraft, Healing Practices, Power of the Unknown, The Nature of evidence, proof, and belief. For more information, contact Prof. Michelle Warren c/o Aaron Merideth, (a.merideth@miami.edu).

Europe

Le Rubens en Europe

Lille and Arras, April 1-2, 2004. With viewing of the Rubens exhibitions in Lille and Antwerp, March 31 and April 3, respectively (see under *Exhibitions*).

Pascal Bertrand (Pau), La conception de la tapisserie. Dialogue Rubens et Vouet et Rubens et Pierre de Cortone.

Marion Boudon (Tours), Rubens modèle pour les sculpteurs: Rubens et Duquesnoy.

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann (Princeton), Rubens et la peinture de l'Europe centrale au XVIIIe siècle.

Lyckle de Vries (Groningen), History or Allegory? Rubens, De Laire and the hierarchy of subjects and genres.

Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann (New York), Rubens et Rembrandt

Michèle-Caroline Heck (Lille3), Rubens à travers la biographie, la conception de l'art et l'oeuvre de Joachim von Sandrart.

Jacqueline Lichtenstein (Paris X), Le Rubénisme et l'invention de la modernité.

Gaëtane Maes (Lille 3), Rubens vu par ses biographes français au XVIIIe siècle.

Aline Magnien (Amiens), L'influence de Rubens dans l'élaboration de la théorie de la sculpture en France au XVIIIe siècle: le rendu de la chair et de la vie par le coloris et le clair-obscur.

Alexis Merle du Bourg (Rennes), Rubens dans les collections françaises au XVIIe siècle.

Christian Michel (Paris X), Y a-t-il eu une querelle du rubénisme? Rubens et l'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture.

Patrick Michel (Bordeaux), Rubens et les collectionneurs français au XVIIIe siècle: contribution à l'histoire d'une réception.

Jeffrey Muller (Brown University, Providence), Rubens in the Churches of Antwerp, Guide Books and the Secularization of Religious Art: 17th-18th Centuries.

Thomas Puttfarcken (Essex), Titian – Rubens – de Piles.

Sophie Raux (Lille3), Rubens et les dessins de Fragonard.

Hans Vredeman de Vries und die Folgen/Hans Vredeman de Vries and his Influence

Weserrenaissance-Museum Schloss Brake, Lemgo, in collaboration with Historyczne Miasta Gdanska, January 30-February 1, 2004.

Arnold Bartetzky (Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig), Hans Vredemans geschweifte Beschlagwerkgiebel. Zur Aneignung und Verbreitung des Motivs in der Architektur Mittel- und Nordeuropas.

Angelica Dülberg (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Dresden), Zwei Deckenmalereien in Sachsen unter dem Einfluss von Hans Vredeman de Vries.

Ria Fabri (Antwerpen), The 'Vredeman de Vries' Furniture: Origins, problems and replicas.

Christine Fritsch-Hammes (Pennsylvania State University), "Architectura Moderna Ofte Bouwinge van onsen Tyd."

Thomas Fusenig (Essen), Grimmer, Neefs und Co. – Die Genealogie der Antwerpener Architekturmaler am Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts.

Michael Gnehm (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zurich), Die 'alte und neue manier' in Vredeman de Vries's Perspektive.

Anja Grebe (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg), Die Möbelentwürfe von Hans Vredeman de Vries: Zwischen Schreinerentwürfen und Sammlerwerk.

Ursula Härting (Hamm), Vredeman's Möbel und Vasen in flämischen Gemälden.

Jeremy Howarth (Buckingham), The Influence of Hans Vredeman de Vries on Hendrick van Steenwyck I and II

Hugo Johannsen (Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen), Hans Vredeman de Vries and Denmark. The significance of his graphic oeuvre for architecture, arts and crafts in Denmark.

Krista de Jonge (Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven), Vredeman de Vries as a Propagator of Architectural Novelties.

Krista Kodres (Estonische Kunstakademie, Tallinn), Vredemanism: Trademark of the workshop of Arent Passer in Reval (Estonia).

Lubomir Konecny (Univerzita Karlova/Academy of Sciences, Prague), Paul and Hans Vredeman de Vries, the Five Senses, and the Five Architectural Orders.

David Kunzle (University of California, Los Angeles), Hans Vredeman de Vries and the Propaganda of the French Religious Wars.

Walter Liedtke (Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York), Vredeman de Vries and the Dutch Architectural Painters (keynote contribution).

Piet Lombaerde (University Association, Antwerpen), New Representation Techniques of the Object: Vredeman de Vries and Jan van Schille.

Sergiusz Michalski (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen), Vredeman de Vries und van den Blockes 'Apotheose Danzigs.'

Ivan Muchka (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague), Die Inspirationsquellen der Grabdenkmäler der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts in den böhmischen Ländern.

Piotr Oszezanowski (University of Wrocław), Hans Vredeman de Vries and Silesian Art in the Age of Mannerism.

Axel Rüger (National Gallery, London), Indebted to Hans Vredeman de Vries? The case of the architectural painter Bartholomeus van Bassen.

Barbara Uppenkamp (Hamburg), Die Aedicula-Bekrönung des Kanzelaufgangs aus der Hamburger Petri-Kirche.

Joost Vander Auwera (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels), The Collaboration between Paul Vredeman de Vries and Sebastiaen Vrancx (Antwerp 1573-1647).

Anthony Wells-Cole (Temple Newsam House, Leeds), "Barbarous and Ungraceful Ornaments?" Hans Vredeman de Vries and his influence in England.

Petra Sophia Zimmermann (Cologne), Hans Vredeman de Vries und die Folgen in der Architekturlehre.

Registration until January 15, 2004.

Michael Bischoff, Weserrenaissance-Museum Schloss Brake, PO Box 820, D-32638 Lemgo, Tel.: 0 52 61 94 50 15, bischoff.wrm@t-online.de.

Neue Forschungen zu Adam Elsheimer und seinem römischen Kreis

Biblioteca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome, February 26-27, 2004.

Part of a series of conferences and lectures on the subject: "Rom und der Norden. Wege und Formen des künstlerischen Austauschs."

Dutch and Flemish Art in Poland.

Codart Zeven. Utrecht, March 7-9, 2004.

Past Conferences

United States

Mencía de Mendoza: Renaissance Collector and Patron

Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, September 2-4, 2003.

Dagmar Eichberger (University of Heidelberg), The Art of Living: Margaret of Austria's principal residence and her considered display of collectible objects.

Paul Vandenbroeck (Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp), 16th c. Aesthetic Reception of Bosch.

Thomas Kren (The J. Paul Getty Museum), Simon Bening and Mencía de Mendoza: A Review of the Evidence.

Maryan W. Ainsworth (Metropolitan Museum of Art), A "Van Orley" for Mencía.

Mari-Tere Alvarez (The J. Paul Getty Museum), Who's Who—A Mysterious Gossaert Portrait.

Europe and Japan

Picturing Poverty: Imagery of the Outcast and Marginal in Early Modern Europe

An interdisciplinary two-day conference at King's College, Aberdeen (Scotland), May 2-4, 2003.

Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes (Stavanger University College, Norway), Choosing Poverty: Images of Saint Jerome in Sixteenth-Century Northern Europe.

Antony Kelly (University of London, University College), Hard-Hearted Laughter: Representations of Peasants and Outcasts in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting.

Joyce Goggin (University of Amsterdam), Poverty and Painting: Picturing Card Players in the Seventeenth Century

M.A. Katritzky (University of Oxford/Open University), "Monsieur Peeckelhaering", ca.1630: Frans Hals, Jan Steen and the English Players.

Christelijk Cultureel Erfgoed: vorming tot Christen

Katholieke Universiteit, Nijmegen, June 6, 2003

Anneke Welle (Nijmegen), De "Stokvis Connectie": laat-middeleeuwse altaarretabels uit Utrecht in Noorwegen.

Katja Boertjes (Nijmegen), Middeleeuwse pelgrimsampullen: kleine souvenirs van grote reizen.

Jos Koldewij (Nijmegen), Gezwoeren bij kruis en evangelie: laat-middeleeuwse Kruisigingsminiaturen,

Rob Dückers (Nijmegen), Handschriftenproductie en handschriftengebruik in het Overkwartier van het hertogdom Gelre: een eerste verkenning,

Kees van der Ploeg (Groningen/Nijmegen), Van veelbetekenende zuil tot betekenisloze pijler: veranderingen in het symbolische gehalte van middeleeuwse architectuur.

Dresdner Arbeitsgespräch: Imitation Artis—Formen künstlerischer Aneignung in der Frühen Neuzeit

Dresden, June 27-28, 2003.

Reindert Falkenburg (Leiden), Auto-Ikonoklasmus im Werk Hieronymus Bosch.

Gregor Weber (Dresden), Die Ellipse im Zitat. Johannes Vermeers Gebrauch des Bild-im-Bilds.

Thomas Ketelsen (Dresden), Stil als Erbschaft? Rembrandt und seine Schule.

Werner Busch (Berlin), Rembrandts Muschel – Nachahmung der Natur? Ein methodisches Lehrstück.

Cacilie Weissert (Stuttgart), Satire und Parodie in der niederländischen Malerei des 16. Jahrhunderts.

Rembrandt Symposium

National Western Museum, Tokyo, September 13-14, 2003. Organized in conjunction with the exhibition *Rembrandt: The Bible, Mythology and Ancient History*, September 13 – December 14, 2003.

Jan Kelch (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), Rembrandt Today.

Akira Kofuku (National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo), Rembrandt or an Idiosyncratic Artist. Introduction to the Exhibition.

Taco Dibbits (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), The Reception of Rembrandt's *Holy Family by Night*. 1722 to Today.

Volker Manuth (Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen), Rembrandt, his Patrons and the Bible.

Jonathan Bikker (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), Imitation and Originality in the History Paintings of Rembrandt's Pupils.

David de Witt (The Agnes Etherington Art Center, Queen's University, Kingston), Aert de Gelder, Jan Steen, and Houbraken's Perfect Picture.

Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato (Meiji University, Tokyo), Roles of Tronies in the History Paintings of Rembrandt.

Akihiro Ozaki (Tohoku University, Sendai), Rembrandt's Nudes: A Study of *Danae*.

Marten Jan Bok (University of Amsterdam), The Market for Dutch History Paintings.

Toshiharu Nakamura (Kyoto University), Rembrandt's *Blinding of Samson*: A Work for Artistic Emulation with Rubens?

Sculpture and Devotion in the Rhineland

A half-day conference in Cologne, organized by the Schnütgen Museum and the Low Countries Sculpture Society, at the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne, September 22, 2003. The museum presented a new acquisition: a Brussels altarpiece by Jan Borreman.

Yao-Fen You (University of Michigan), Vernacular Copies of Antwerp Altarpieces in the Rhineland: A Case Study of the Rhynern Passion Retable.

Marieke van Vlierden (Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht), Sculpture and Devotion: Some Examples from the Collections of the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht.

Silke Eberhardt (Cologne), Unbekannte Schönheiten. Kölner Bildwerke des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts im Schnütgen Museum.

Lucas Cranach der Ältere

International conference on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of Cranach's death. Organized by the Stiftung Luthergedenkstätten in Sachsen-Anhalt, Wittenberg, September 25-28, 2003.

Dieter Koeplin (Basel/Universität Freiburg i. B.), Zu einigen Werken Cranachs und Begriffen wie Freier Wille, Gnade und Liebe Gottes.

Sabine Heiser (Universität Paderborn), Überlegungen zum Wiener Frühwerk Lucas Cranachs d. Ä.

Heiner Borggreffe (Weserrenaissance-Museum Schloss Brake, Lemgo), Die Cuspinian-Bildnisse von Lucas Cranach d. Ä.

Iris Ritschel (Leipzig), Eine ikonographische Kühnheit auf Pergament.

Ulrich Kuder (Universität Kiel), "Adam und Eva" bei Cranach.

Edgar Bierende (Universität Bern/München), Cranachs d. Ä. "Venus und Amor" im Kontext des humanistischen Diskurses zur germanisch-deutschen "Vorzeit" und der Frage nach der fürstlichen Abstammung.

Eckhard Kluth (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden), Kurfürst Johann Friedrich von Sachsen und Lucas Cranach. Zum Verhältnis Politik und Kunst in der Frühen Neuzeit.

Karin Kolb (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister), Zur Dresdener Herkulesfolge von Lucas Cranach d. J. aus dem Jahre 1551.

Franz Matsche (Universität Bamberg), "Nympha super ripam Danubii" – Woher stammt Cranachs Quellennymphe? Zu Cranachs Antikenkenntnis und humanistischem Umfeld.

Gerhard Weilandt (Hamburg), Das Bild des Fürsten als frommer Mann. Cranachs erstes Porträt Friedrichs des Weisen von 1507 im sakralen Kontext.

Dieter Koeplin (Basel/Universität Freiburg i. B.), Friedrich der Weise und die nicht millionenschwere Kaiserkrone in der Hand.

Andrea Thiele (Halle/Saale), Der Altar der Pfarrkirche von Kade bei Genthin – Ein Retabel aus der Cranach-Werkstatt.

Miriam Hübner (Berlin), Lucas Cranach d. Ä. und der Bildtypus "Gesetz und Gnade" in der dänischen Reformation.

Thomas Packeiser (Dresden), Bekenntnisbild einer "christlichen Stadt"- Widerstreitende Bildlichkeit im geöffneten Wittenberger "Abendmahlsaltar."

Michael Böhlitz (Leipzig), Der Weimarer Cranach-Altar im Kontext von Religion und Geschichte. Ein ernestinisches Denkmal der Reformation.

Irene Roch-Lemmer (Halle/Saale), Anmerkungen zu dem Dessauer Abendmahlsbild von Lucas Cranach d. J.

Doreen Zerbe (Leipzig), Bekenntnis und Memoria. Die Epitaph-Gemälde der Cranach-Werkstatt in Wittenberg als Zeugen lutherischer Erinnerungskultur.

Berthold Hinz (Universität Kassel), Cranach: Bildthemen und Werkstattpraxis.

Sabine Schwarz (Karlsruhe), Das Rundbildnis bei Lucas Cranach d. Ä. Ein unternehmerischer Versuch.

Hanne Kolind Poulsen (Danish Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, Copenhagen), Between Likeness, Convention and Iconicity: Cranach's Portraits and Luther's Thoughts on Images.

Sabine Fastert (Munich), Die Familienbilder von Lucas Cranach. Vom Privatporträt zum Propagandamedium.

Art Dealers and Their Networks: The Dissemination of Netherlandish Paintings during the Ancien Régime

Rubensianum, Antwerp, November 29, 2003

Neil De Marchi and **Hans Van Miegroet** (Duke University), Value in Context: The price of paintings and painters in 15th-century Florence and Bruges.

Joost Van der Auwera (Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Brussels), All in the Family: Abraham Janssen (1571/75-Antwerp 1632) and his relations in the Antwerp art trade.

Filip Vermeylen (Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders), Rubens for Sale: Auctions in Antwerp during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Marten Jan Bok (University of Amsterdam), Trading Art within the Low Countries: An overview.

John Michael Montias (Yale University), Further Remarks on Dutch dealers.

Koenraad Jonckheere (University of Amsterdam), Providing Courts with Art: The role of the Amsterdam merchant Jan van Beuningen (1667-1720) as diplomat and art dealer.

Ewa Manikowska (University of Warsaw), Two Markets Compared: Buying pictures in Italy and in German and Dutch cities during the second half of the 18th century.

Michael North (University of Greifswald), Flemish Paintings on the German Art Market in the 18th Century.

Agents, Auctions and Dealers: The Mechanisms of the Art Market, 1660-1830.

The Wallace Collection, London, December 12-13, 2003. The art market from 1660-1830, the economic background of its development, the networks set up by agents and dealers, and the mechanisms devised to attract clients and create markets.

David Connell (Burton Constable Foundation, East Yorkshire), John Anderson, John Bouttats: Eighteenth-Century dealers in Antwerp and London.

Malcolm Baker (Victoria and Albert Museum), The Auction of Small Sculptures in Early Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam.

Thomas Ketelsen (Dresden), The Acquisition Policy of the Dresden Cabinet of Prints and Drawings in the Eighteenth Century.

Opportunities

Call for Papers: Conferences

Crown and Veil: The Art of Female Monasticism

Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn, and Ruhrlandmuseum, Essen. In connection with the exhibition, "Crown and Veil: The Art of Female Monasticism in the Middle Ages" (March 17 - June 26, 2005, Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn, and Ruhrlandmuseum, Essen), an international, interdisciplinary colloquium will take place on May 18-22, 2005 in Bonn and Essen. The colloquium will address four themes: Forms of Life, Images and Spaces, Artistic Production in Convents, and The Cloister and Lay Culture. Abstracts (no more than 3000 characters) should be submitted by **March 1, 2004** to: For themes prior to 1200, to Prof. Dr. Hedwig Röckelein: hroecklein@gwdg.de

For themes from 1200 to 1530, to Prof. Dr. Jeffrey Hamburger:
jhamburger@fas.harvard.edu
Details on the exhibition and the proposed areas of discussion can be found at the following websites:
<http://www.ruhrlandmuseum.de/>
http://www.bundeskunsthalle.de/ausstellungen/frauenkloester/index_e.htm

The Future of the Past

University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, June 3-6, 2004.

The American Association for Netherlandic Studies is pleased to announce the twelfth Interdisciplinary Conference on Netherlandic Studies (ICNS) to be held 3-6 June 2004, at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, MN, with a pre-conference workshop on the teaching of Dutch language and Dutch and Flemish literature and culture on June 2-3, 2004.

Proposals for papers relating to all aspects of Dutch and Flemish society, history, and culture are welcome.

We especially invite proposals in the following areas: Medieval Studies, Early Modern Studies, History of Philosophy and Science, Film Studies, Gender Studies, and Urban Studies.

Proposals should not be longer than 350 words in length and should be submitted by 16 January 2004.

Papers must be based on original, unpublished research and presentations should be no longer than 20-25 minutes, allowing for discussion.

Selected papers will be published in the series Publications of the American Association for Netherlandic Studies (PAANS).

Please send the abstract to:

ICNS Program Committee, Department of German, Scandinavian and Dutch, University of Minnesota, 205 Folwell Hall, Minneapolis, MN 55455; further information is available at <http://esc.cla.umn.edu/ICNS.htm>

HNA Review of Books

Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

Gregory T. Clark, *The Spitz Master. A Parisian Book of Hours*. Los Angeles: Getty Museum Studies on Art, 2003. 98 pp, 65 illus., 41 color illus. ISBN 0-89236-712-1.

After his death in 1416, Jean, Duke of Berry, was remembered throughout the fifteenth century as a patron of the arts. Readers of Froissart, for example, learned that Jean was fond of speaking with his artists at the château at Mehun, "one of the most beautiful houses in the world." Jean's patronage remained such a byword for quality that in 1451, Antonio Astesano could find no higher praise for the windows of the chapel at the château of Coucy than to note that they had been paid for by the duke (see the poetic prologue to Book III of Astesano's *Heroic Epistles*, presented to Jean, count of Angoulême, in Le Roux de Lincy and L. M. Tisserand, eds., *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, Paris, 1867, p. 556).

Like their patron, the Limbourg brothers died in 1416; however, the Duke's official painters experienced little of his posthumous fame. They are not mentioned in contemporary chronicles, nor cited in later praises of the Duke. This situation is not particularly surprising, given the prevailing anonymity of artistic production at this point (though it is worth remembering that the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* were listed as the "Hours of Pucelle" in the Duke of Berry's own inventories, compiled some eight decades after Pucelle's death). More surprising than history's forgetting the Limbourgs' name is artists' neglect of their work. Few art historians today would doubt that the Limbourg brothers were among the most significant artists to paint in France between Jean Pucelle and Jean Fouquet. But while the individual innovations of Pucelle and Fouquet were quickly taken up and imitated by the artists of the next generation, the Limbourg Brothers had significantly less impact, and it was the Paris-based Boucicaut Master whose patterns circulated most widely in the years between 1410 and 1430. This isolation makes them seem like a lofty peak, set apart from the main currents of artistic production in these years.

This description of the Limbourgs as an isolated summit derives from L.M.J. Delaissé's famous review of Millard Meiss's *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, in which Delaissé complained that Meiss's "aristocratic approach" distorted the period by defining it through its supreme achievements. "I cannot see ... that one can explore a chain of mountains by jumping from one peak to another; it can only be done by climbing the knolls, hills and heights which are crowned by the peaks" (*Art Bulletin*, 52, 1970, p. 209).

In his later volume on the Limbourg Brothers, however, Meiss did demonstrate a connection between the Limbourgs and subsequent artists, citing three books of hours from around 1420 that contained illuminations by an artist familiar with the Limbourgs' compositions: the *Hours of Charlotte of Savoy* (now at the Morgan Library), a second book at the Musée Condé in Chantilly, and a third, the artist's most important, in the collection of the Spitz family in Chicago. This manuscript was purchased by the Getty Museum in 1994, and is now published in a facsimile with commentary by Gregory T. Clark. Clark's text is divided into four chapters: a short introduction that defines a book of hours; an image by image overview of the book's miniatures; an analysis of the book's illuminators; and a chapter on the manuscript's place in French illumination.

The second section aims at a general audience, as Clark discusses the composition and iconography of each scene in great detail. Clark's text will be a useful introduction to the field for students and a terrific complement to the broader coverage of the genre provided in Roger Wieck's *Time Sanctified and Painted Prayers*, both cited in the useful guide to additional reading at the end of the book. If much of this material will be familiar to scholars, Clark's attentive reading of the images also leads to many original and valuable contributions. Take the picture prefacing the book's gospel passages: it is divided into four rectangular compartments, two on top and two below, with an evangelist in each one. The author observes that if we read the four from left to right and top to bottom, their order differs from that in the Bible, or in the Gospel sequences that follow. Ingeniously, he notes that the picture orders the evangelists in heraldic terms, moving from top left to bottom right, and then from top right to bottom left. Clark also has good things to say about the burial scene that prefaces the Office of the Dead, making the very plausible suggestion that the miniature's cemetery refers to the cemetery of the Innocents in Paris. If he is correct, this would be the earliest extant image of the cemetery, thus adding it to the list of famous Parisian sites portrayed in contemporary painting (like Notre-Dame and the Sainte-Chapelle, painted by both the Limbourgs and the Boucicaut Master).

In the next two sections, Clark studies the three illuminators who

worked on the book. The Spitz Master dominates, painting 18 of the book's 22 miniatures, the remainder divided equally between the Master of the Harvard Hannibal and the Master of the Hours of François de Guise, who also painted the three historiated initials. This was not a one-time partnership: the Spitz Master's Chantilly hours include pictures by the Harvard Hannibal Master, and the Guise Master had a hand in the *Hours of Charlotte of Savoy*.

Clark devotes the bulk of his discussion to the Spitz Master. Indeed, the facsimile is all but a catalogue raisonnée, reproducing in color twenty-nine of the thirty-six extant miniatures by the Spitz Master. Clark analyzes the artist in terms of a contest between three dimensional form and surface pattern, following an approach developed most fully by Otto Pächt. Clark notes the painter's tendency to flatten the deep compositions of the Limbourg brothers, emphasizing the decorative unity of the two-dimensional page over the illusion of a space projecting behind the page. The author argues that this emphasis on surface emerged over time, providing him with a means to place the Spitz Master's books in chronological order. While his ordering is plausible, it remains hypothetical, as the three manuscripts have no internal evidence for their dating. Clark supports his thesis by noting that the 'conservative' return to two-dimensional decoration is a common feature of Parisian painting from around 1420 to the 1440s, citing the Bedford Master as the dominant example. He also cautiously suggests that Parisian painters may have altered their style to cater to the tastes of English patrons, buying books in Paris during Bedford's regency there. Making an interesting parallel with Meiss' controversial linkage of the Black Death's trauma and later trecento painting's retreat from Giotto's spatial advances, Clark also ventures that more traditional, less innovative styles may have been reassuring to a society under stress. These ideas deserve a fuller airing, so it is good to know that Clark's next project is an investigation of Parisian illumination during the English occupation of the city, a period neglected in comparison to the decades on either side.

By providing us with such complete coverage of a previously little-known artist, Clark's book also raises a series of interrelated questions. First, who was the Spitz Master and how did he know the Limbourgs' work? Clark makes a convincing case that it was transmitted through sketches, and not from the original manuscripts. First, the Spitz Master's work includes compositions from both the *Belles Heures* and the *Très Riches Heures*, the latter a work in progress at the time of the Limbourgs' death. Second, while his compositions are often quite similar to theirs, his colors differ from the originals, suggesting that they derive from drawings. It is worth remembering that Pol, Jean and Hermann had a younger brother Arnold, living in Nijmegen and apprenticed – as they had been earlier – to a goldsmith at the time of their deaths. Meiss suggested that Arnold might have been the Master of St. Jerome, another artist familiar with Limbourg compositions. Meiss also published a document revealing that the Limbourgs' estate was collected in Bourges, and transferred by Arnold and his sister Margaret to Theoderic Neven, Arnold's brother-in-law (and probably Margaret's husband.) Did this estate include the artists' sketchbooks?

One might also ask whether the Spitz Master's ability to quote the Limbourgs was recognized by his employers, who might have prized the echoes of the artists, their patron, or both. For while the Limbourgs had comparatively less impact than the Boucicaut Master, their work was appreciated after their death. Yolande of Aragon, for example, purchased the *Belles Heures* (though she paid well under half its appraised value). The scribe Gilbert de Mets also remembered them; his *Description de la ville de Paris* was written in Grandmont around 1434, but recalls an earlier Paris graced by such eminent figures as "Laurent de Premierfait, the poet Gobert, the sovereign scribe who composed the art of writing and of cutting pens; and his disciples who for their good penmanship were retained by princes,

like the young Flamel by the duke of Berry [and] many artful workers like ... the three brother illuminators," this last an unmistakable reference to the Limbourgs.

However his patrons felt, the Spitz Master certainly prized the Limbourgs: of the twenty-nine miniatures reproduced, fourteen (almost half) derive from known Limbourg compositions. The surviving manuscripts also suggest that he restricted access to the compositions: while he worked with at least three artists, none of them ever quote the Limbourg compositions. Patternbooks and models like this could be considered proprietary; in 1398, for example, John of Holland accused Jacquemart de Hesdin of stealing patterns (though these were actual material objects, like the paints Jacquemart is also alleged to have stolen; thus, Jacquemart is accused of theft, not plagiarism). Was the Spitz Master similarly jealous of his pattern book, believing that it gave him a marketing advantage? Or were his colleagues content with their own patterns?

Such questions can now be approached in a new way thanks to this facsimile. By carefully positioning the Spitz Master's relationship to his admired predecessors, and by appreciating rather than deriding his departures from them, Clark takes a major step towards Delaisse's desire for a more comprehensive account of the period. He has given us a better mapping that reveals a richer terrain.

Erik Inglis

Oberlin College

Thomas Kren, Scott McKendrick et al., *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*. [Cat. exh. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, June 17 – September 7, 2003; The Royal Academy, London, November 25, 2003 – February 22, 2004.] Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003. 575 pp, 232 color and 153 b&w illus. ISBN 0-89236-703-2 (hardcover), ISBN 0-89236-704-0 (paperback).

The exhibition 'Illuminating the Renaissance' celebrates the flowering of Flemish manuscript illumination between c.1470 and 1560, a century in which illuminators achieved remarkable mastery of color, light, texture, space, and emotional impact, just before handmade books lost out to printed volumes. The show is a considerable achievement. Thomas Kren, the curator of manuscripts at the Getty Museum, and Scott McKendrick, his counterpart at the British Library, secured loans of major manuscripts from this period, bringing together more than 130 objects from around the world. The exhibited works, comprising devotional and secular books, are of the highest quality. The show's major themes are the relationship between manuscript illuminators and painters, the role of court patronage, the emergence of personal libraries, and the international demand for Flemish illumination.

A comprehensive, richly illustrated, and excellently produced catalogue brings up to date this crucial field of art history and moves it forward. Conceived as a successor to Delaisse's 1959 volume accompanying the exhibition *La Miniature flamande: Le Mécénat de Philip le Bon*, it is also organized roughly chronologically. Divided into five parts, it, and the exhibition, approach the material via individual illuminators. This review treats the catalogue and the exhibition in Los Angeles.

Part 1, 'From Panel to Parchment and Back: Painters as Illuminators before 1470' reviews developments in manuscript decoration during the reign of Philip the Good and stresses the permeable boundaries between illuminators and painters in that period. All artists showcased here appear to have worked in both

media, even if only occasionally. The greatest treasure is the presentation miniature in the *Chronique de Hainaut* generally attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, an image of great power and refinement that echoes the magnificence and pomp of the Burgundian court. Also on view is a leaf from the *Turin-Milan Hours* depicting an Eyckean *Christ Blessing*; Petrus Christus's *Head of Christ* painted on parchment in oil in a miniaturist style and his *Trinity* illumination in the *Hours of Paul van Overvelt*; and a series of works by Simon Marmion: *The Mass of St. Gregory* and *The Lamentation* panels (the latter owned by Margaret of York), leaves from the *Breviary of Charles the Bold*, and several pages from *Visions du Chevalier Tondal*.

Part 2, 'A Spirit of Naturalism,' expanded in the catalogue as 'Revolution and Transformation: Painting in Devotional Manuscripts, circa 1467-1485,' examines the new style of Flemish illumination that emerged in the 1470s and transformed both miniatures and borders by applying the naturalistic effects of oil painting to book decoration. The Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy was a major figure in this development. His works convey richly textured details, subtle atmospheric effects, and profound emotion. He is represented in the show by such manuscripts as the *Prayer Book of Charles the Bold* and the *Hours of Engelbert of Nassau* on which he collaborated with Lieven van Lathem, Simon Marmion, and various assistants. Kren adds to his oeuvre several previously overlooked miniatures including ten images in the Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Livre des fais d'Alexandre le grant* produced for Charles the Bold, and a miniature in the recently re-discovered *Trivulzio Hours*.

The most subtle and exquisite miniatures in this section are those by the Master of the Houghton Miniatures. To his oeuvre Kren adds the miniatures in the *Huth Hours* such as *The Disputation of Saint Barbara* set in a meticulously detailed Flemish cityscape; two leaves from a devotional book one of which shows David wearing a bright yellow robe arranged in a sweeping curve, kneeling in prayer in a meadow in front of a Flemish town on a river under the sky darkening just after sunset; and a sheet with 14 heads, drawn with pen and brush on paper, of men of different ages, facial types, and ethnicities posed in a variety of attitudes and moods. The work of the Master of the *Houghton Miniatures* closely resembles in style, tonality, compositions, and psychological complexity Hugo van der Goes's paintings. *Saint Anthony Abbot in the Wilderness* in the *Emerson-White Hours* looks very Goesian in his lilac robe, absorbed in reading while seated on a rock in the foreground of a deep, atmospheric landscape.

The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian is represented by the *London Hours of William Lord Hastings*, and an elegant frontispiece to the *Légende de Saint Adrien* showing Louis XI and Charlotte of Savoy, guarded by angels, praying before the carved and polychromed altar of Saint Adrien; coral and pearl paternosters decorate the margins of the page. The talent of the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, who developed more elaborate and naturalistic borders around his illuminations, can be admired in the *Hours of Jean Carpetin* and the *Crohin-La Fontaine Hours*. Simon Marmion's continued accomplishments are illustrated by the *Last Judgment* miniature in the *Hours of Charlotte of Bourbon-Montpelier*: Christ surrounded by brown, yellow and red circles of cherubim and angels hovers above the ghostly men and women floating up toward him out of the darkness of hell. *St. Jerome and a Donor*, probably the left wing of a diptych or triptych, demonstrates Marmion's activities as a painter.

Part 3, 'Reviving the Past' in the exhibition and 'Painting in Manuscripts of Vernacular Texts, circa 1467-1485' in the catalogue, focuses on secular books. In the days of Philip the Good, Flemish illuminators illustrated a great number of late medieval prose romances. After his death, chronicles and other historical texts became more popular and lavishly adorned. This shift echoed the

growing interest of the French-speaking nobility in ancient and modern history. One of the most beautiful miniatures here depicts Alexander taking the hand of Roxanne painted by the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy in Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Livre des fais d'Alexandre le grant*. The scene echoes the splendor of the Burgundian court, and the 30 richly dressed virgins from whom Alexander selects his bride convey its high sartorial standards.

Loyset Liédet's work is showcased by miniatures from *Histoire de Charles Martel* illuminated for Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. Lieven van Lathem decorated Louis of Gruuthuse's copy of the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies* with richly detailed narratives framed by opulent three-sided floral borders. He also produced the extensive sequence of images illustrating the story of Jason in Raoul Lefèvre's *Histoire de Jason*. In one dramatic scene Medea kills Jason's sons during a palace banquet. Flying atop three smoldering dragons, she throws the diners, servants, and musicians into a terrified scramble. The Master of Anthony of Burgundy's vivid depiction of *Bal des Ardens* in Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* is another tour de force in handling space, light, and emotional drama. The Master of the London Wavrin, named for the first time here after the miniatures he painted c.1475 in Edward IV's copy of volume 1 of Jean de Wavrin's *Croniques d'Angleterre*, was particularly gifted in creating extensive atmospheric landscapes in which he set his narratives. These views, shown from high horizon lines and ending in snow-capped mountains, produce a highly poetic effect. At the beginning of the *Trojan Descent of Brutus* this master painted a precocious independent landscape – a beautiful vista without any narrative action.

Kren also highlights here the work of the Master of the Getty Froissart, who has received almost no scholarly attention. In the Getty's copy of book 3 of Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*, produced in Bruges c.1480, this artist painted subtly lit interiors, spacious landscapes, and lively figures in varied poses and costumes. In one miniature the soldiers of Brabant enter Ravenstein under the dark sky with clouds tinted by the beginning sunrise. Another magical miniature in this section is by the hand of the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian: in *La Chronique des haulx et nobles princes de Cleves* the Knight of the Swan arrives in a boat drawn by the white bird at the castle of Beatrice who gazes upon him from a window, her golden dress contrasting with the gray stonework of her home. The subtle details and coolly elegant color-scheme of this refined miniature are heightened by the vigorous gold acanthus-leaf border enlivened by flowers and birds.

Part 4, 'Illumination under the Hapsburgs,' or 'Consolidation and Renewal: Manuscript Painting under the Hapsburgs, circa 1485-1510' in the catalogue, highlights the emergence of the Master of James IV of Scotland and the influential role of Gerard David as an illuminator. Both artists painted miniatures in the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary, partly exhibited here. Starting around the turn of the century the Master of James IV of Scotland began to paint large miniatures on both leaves of an opening, reducing the role of the text and increasing the significance of pictorial elements. He doubled the length of pictorial cycles in the Hours of the Virgin and the Hours of the Passion, giving these narratives a more vivid aspect. Overall, there is a greater focus on devotional books in this period, and more than ever Flemish illuminated manuscripts were produced for export in response to keen international demand.

Among such books exhibited in the show is the *Breviary of Isabella of Castille* and the *Hours of Isabella of Castille* richly decorated by the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, Gerard David, the Master of James IV of Scotland, and others. Gerard David's achievements are represented by his miniatures, devotional panels, and a drawing of female heads and hands. The Hours of James IV of Scotland, which gave the name to the master, show his talent at its best in the exceptionally accomplished full-page portrait of the

Scottish king kneeling in prayer before the altarpiece with an image of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*. Simon Marmion, meanwhile, painted the much imitated half-length miniatures in the book of hours called *La Flora*. By cropping the scenes to dramatic close-ups he magnified their emotional power. The miniatures of the Master of the Lübeck Bible are filled with a sense of movement and excitement. In his *Pentecost* in the *Carondelet Breviary* figures with distinctive faces appear at odd angles and in exaggerated poses. Elsewhere he favors dramatic foreshortening and strangely telescoped perspective. These features make his work idiosyncratic and strangely compelling. The Master of the David Scenes in the *Grimany Breviary*, in his turn, produced the enchanting image of Joanna of Castille praying to the Virgin and Child on the adjacent page of the *Hours of Joanna of Castille*, and a similar composition showing a beautiful young patroness in a half-length view on the recto praying to a full-page dramatic close-up of the *Lamentation* on the verso of the *Ince-Blundell Hours*.

Perhaps the most arresting miniature in this section is by the Master of the Prayer Book of Around 1500 in the *Holkham Virgil*, one of the most elegant fifteenth-century manuscripts of a classical text produced in Northern Europe (made for Jan Crabbe, abbot of the Abbey of Ter Duinen near Bruges in 1473, it was enhanced two decades later by the next owner, a man of De Baenst family of Bruges, with the two full-page miniatures). The miniature opening the *Georgics* takes the viewer through the poems by presenting a succession of subjects from Books 1 through 4. In the foreground we see plowing and sowing; further back, the tending of trees and vines; still farther, the rearing of horses, cattle, sheep and goats; and in the background, bee-keeping, with bees almost the size of cats.

Part 5, 'New Directions in Manuscript Painting, circa 1510-1561' treats further evolution of landscape, more elaborate narrative cycles, the influence of Mannerism, and the emergence of portraiture as a genre. One outstanding manuscript here is the *Spinola Hours*, illuminated by the Master of James IV of Scotland with exceptional landscapes and borders that continue and develop the narratives of the central miniatures. In the *Office of the Dead* the central scene depicts the Mass for the deceased in a church interior, the right border shows the outside of the building, and the bottom border its crypt with a tomb. Gerard Horenbout, identified by many scholars with the Master of James IV of Scotland, was responsible for the luminous full-page miniatures in the *Milanese Hours of Bona Sforza* painted with great refinement, perfectly balanced compositions, and deep volumetric spaces. But the primary figure in this section is Simon Bening who took the depiction of atmospheric landscapes in books to new levels of depth, subtlety, and expressiveness. His outdoor vistas in the calendar pages are compared to Bruegel's *Landscape with a Magpie on the Gallows*. A marvelous colorist, Bening, like Bruegel, keenly observed how the natural world changes throughout the year.

Bening illuminated the magnificent *Brandenburg Prayer Book* with a narrative of the life of Christ, often showing nocturnal scenes enacted under flickering light: the *Denial of St. Peter* takes place in the darkened interior courtyard illuminated only by the hearth at its center. With the help of his workshop, Bening painted the *Stein Quadriptych* – 64 miniatures presenting the lives of the Virgin and Christ in dramatic close-ups knit together into proto-cinematic sequences. In the calendar section of the *Da Costa Hours* he observed with great subtlety the activities of the months, conveying a precise sense of the seasons and weather conditions. In the leaves from the *Hennessy Hours* his calendar scenes are still more original and expressive: set in deeply receding and highly detailed landscapes, they show aristocratic men engaged in leisure pursuits, rather than peasants carrying out labors. In February a group of riders in the countryside pauses at a stream to water their horses; in June a tournament unfolds in the city square. In other miniatures from this

manuscript Bening plays with Mannerist elements, adapting figures from engravings after Michelangelo and Raphael. Bening also illuminated leaves for a monumental genealogy of the Royal Houses of Spain and Portugal (after preparatory drawings by Antonio de Holanda) where each figure is individualized by its demeanor, costume, and distinct activity. A superb portraitist, Bening produced independent illuminated likenesses, such as those of Henry III, the Count of Nassau (the chamberlain of Charles V Habsburg) and his wife Mencia de Mendoza.

A new artist introduced in this section is the Master of Cardinal Wolsey, named after the patron of the impressive gospel-lectionary and epistle-lectionary previously attributed to the Horenbouts. This master combined the atmospheric landscapes and naturalistic figure modeling of Ghent and Bruges illuminations with Mannerist elements such as excessively dramatic gestures, agitated brushwork, and muscular putti in the borders.

These are only a few of the masterpieces assembled for the show at the Getty. At the Royal Academy many other works that did not travel to Los Angeles will be on view, and books that were present in America will be turned to different pages. Thus the London exhibition will complement and augment this splendid array.

The catalogue not only offers new attributions and detailed up-to-date discussions of masters and all the miniatures exhibited in both Los Angeles and London, but includes three interpretative essays. Catherine Reynolds in her 'Illuminators and the Painters' Guilds' demonstrates that the fifteenth-century Netherlands had no guilds overseeing the book trade, and with the exception of Bruges, only in the second half of the fifteenth century did painters attempt to bring illuminators under their control. Their concern was the trade in single-leaf miniatures that evolved as part of a mechanism for efficiently supplying the huge markets at home and abroad with standard devotional texts, particularly Books of Hours. Instead of painting larger miniatures directly in manuscripts, artists prefabricated miniatures on separate pages that could be inserted into books. These single-leaf illuminations encroached on the territory of painters. Illuminators remained largely outside guild control until the second half of the fifteenth century, Reynolds suggests, because in the Netherlands levels of literacy were exceptionally high, and the techniques and materials of writing were too widespread to be easily regulated. Nor were writing, and its attendant illumination, entirely separate from creative scholarship or literary activity. Besides, religious houses – then still major centers of scholarship and commercial book production – were exempt from guild supervision. Finally, Reynolds notes, illumination was a more easily learned technique than oil painting. In Bruges and Tournai it took two years to become an illuminator and four a painter. Painters would inevitably acquire the skills for illuminating and could engage in both activities, whereas illuminators could not with their more limited expertise.

In 'Illuminators and Painters: Artistic Exchanges and Interrelationships' Thomas Kren and Maryan W. Ainsworth explore how illuminators provided sources and points of departure for painters, rather than only the other way around as is most commonly assumed. They suggest that Bosch drew inspiration from Simon Marmion; that Gerard David borrowed compositions and motifs from the leading illuminators; that Lieven von Latham's atmospheric landscapes were the forbearers of Joachim Patinir's paintings; and that Bruegel was inspired by the iconography of Bening's calendar pages. Kren and Ainsworth emphasize the reciprocity of exchanges between the two arts and their practitioners, especially given that families of artists were often linked through marriage and social networks and worked in a range of interrelated media.

Scott McKendrick in 'Reviving the Past: Illustrated Manuscripts of Secular Vernacular Texts, 1467-1500' discusses the production and

consumption of such books in the Netherlands and France, and contrasts their lavish embellishment with the decorative sobriety of Italian manuscripts of classical texts. McKendrick suggests that secular vernacular texts were so popular in the Burgundian court milieu because in addition to expressing the prestige and cultivation of their owners, such volumes played a crucial role in patterns of friendship and social patronage. Often elaborately personalized through the addition of the arms, devices, and mottoes, these books also served as markers in the lives of elites. McKendrick addresses the role of historical texts in instructing nobility in political skills and examples of virtuous actions that led to honor. Northern European nobles, contrary to Italians, he argues, sought to understand the present and their place in it by reference to the past couched in contemporary idiom. Hence Flemish miniatures in secular vernacular tomes made no attempt at *all' antica* reconstruction, and consumers showed no signs of wanting such an approach. By casting their past in present guise, readers identified with it more immediately. McKendrick cautions against using miniatures in vernacular texts as "snapshots" of the era, however: they are often mined as sources for period costume, warfare, and daily life, and their true significance gets distorted. He notes that naturalistic details are often intended as idealizations. By focusing on images we lose sight of the specific and programmatic texts which they glossed. It would have been useful had McKendrick dwelled more on the different types of secular texts: chronicles vs. romances, classical histories vs. morality manuals.

The catalogue ends with an appendix of scribe bibliographies, bibliographies to the catalogue entries, a list of cited publications that runs to 29 triple-columned pages, and indexes of names and works of art. A major scholarly achievement, the volume will certainly become a primary tool in the field of Flemish manuscripts, and a lasting record of a fundamental exhibition.

Marina Belozerskaya
Santa Monica, CA

Karl Schade, *Ad excitandum devotionis affectum. Kleine Triptychen in der altniederländischen Malerei*. Weimar: VDG, Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2001. 432 pp, 151 b&w illus. ISBN 3-89739-214-3.

Ad excitandum devotionis affectum, "to arouse the affect of devotion." Thus reads the main title of this German-language study on small Netherlandish triptychs, for which Karl Schade was awarded his doctoral degree at the Freie Universität in Berlin in 1999. The quotation, borrowed from the Dominican Thomas Aquinas, relates to his ideas about the use of images as an aid to individual prayer and meditation. Aquinas believed devotion was evoked better by images than by words. Presumably, notions like these had an important influence on the private use of devotional objects. The small triptych, with wings that open and close, was one such devotional object, and is the focus of this book.

Analyzing the question of how the form and content of such triptychs relate to their use, Schade must first propose a method of distinguishing a work intended for private devotion from one that functioned within the church liturgy. Since most surviving triptychs display no clear references to their original use and archival documents are rare, the author resorted to formal criteria: only triptychs with a maximum height of 60 cm. (23.6 inches) were selected. The resulting inventory consists of no less than 154 triptychs, and provides an interesting overview of the various forms and subjects that appeared between c.1400 and c.1530. While this method would seem to effectively exclude triptychs that originally functioned as altarpieces, the selection process is not decisive. It would have been

helpful, then, if Schade had addressed the possibility that certain small triptychs were placed on side-chapel altars or hung on church walls or pillars as epitaphs.

The first part of Schade's study is devoted to the development of the small, early Netherlandish triptych. The author presents a broad survey of artists and the triptychs they executed, reviews information on their (possible) patrons, and offers observations on stylistic development, subject matter, and iconographic content. Given the important function of the triptych as a devotional object, however, it would have been interesting and useful if more attention had been given to the origin of the devotional image, in general, the monastic background against which it developed, and the various forms in which it appeared. Like Aquinas, other medieval authors, such as Bonaventure, the Pseudo-Bonaventure, and Thomas à Kempis, exerted a prominent influence through their writings on the use of images, both as material objects and as supports to individual prayer and meditation. As Schade correctly points out, small triptychs made out of ivory or precious metals were among the early predecessors of the painted wooden triptych. It is unfortunate, however, that he draws hardly any parallels with contemporary variants, such as the diptych, which, like the small triptych in many cases, also functioned as a devotional object and featured movable wings.

More interesting is the second part of this dissertation, which deals with the various kinds of patrons, functions, and forms of the triptych. Here Schade makes use of a valuable source: a 1505 inventory of the property of Cornelis Haveloes, 'auditeur ordinaire' in Brussels, in which several triptychs are mentioned. Placed in or on sideboards, the triptychs cited among Haveloes's property were effectively part of his home's furnishings. One of the works, depicting Haveloes in adoration of the Virgin, had been designated for his grave ("Item een geschildert tavereel van houte met twee doerkens van onser lieven Vrouwen, ende dair inne gekonterfeyt is die voirsch. wylen Cornelys Haveloes, d'welck hy begeert heeft geset te worden ter plaetsen daer by begraven is"). This arrangement suggests that the use of such objects as devotional triptychs underwent dramatic change. But Schade offers the reader little insight as to how this source relates to the book's assumption that small triptychs were intended for private devotion. We may well assume that the shift in use, indicated by Haveloes's triptych, occurred more often than in this case alone.

A focus of the second part of this study is the phenomenon of private devotion, and the influence of Thomas Aquinas on the use of images. Devotional images were intended to arouse the viewer's senses, to help him remember and empathize with the life and sufferings of Christ, the Virgin and the saints. As Schade makes clear, the disclosure (i.e. opening) of the triptych could initiate not only prayer and meditation, but can be interpreted as the revelation of a vision as well. Given the meaning and context of private devotion in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, however, it would have been helpful if Schade had related the subjects represented – ranging from narrative scenes of the life and passion of Christ to half-figure representations of the Virgin and Child – to contemporary prayers. For they often express a similar emphasis on Christ's human suffering – a typical feature of early Netherlandish painting since the spread of such texts as the Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.

In addition to characterizing the triptych's role as a means of both veiling and revealing, this study also distinguishes between the different 'spheres of existence' ('Daseinssphären'), contrasted in the subjects represented on the wings and those on the central panel. The central panel alone, according to Schade, is reserved for representations of the divine, prompting the author's comparison of the triptych's wings with the progressive steps of viewing an image and the central panel with its final culmination, i.e. inward contemplation. This process is illustrated in a text addressed to the monks of a

Benedictine monastery by the German philosopher and cardinal Nicholas of Cusa. Two problems emerge from this comparison. First, the image submitted by Nicholas to accompany this text was a single-panelled painting, not a triptych. Second, it is not justifiably supported to assume, on the basis of this single source, that the outer and inner wings always functioned as an introduction, culminating in the central panel; nor does it stand that the wings of triptychs never bear subjects representing the divine. Many surviving works contradict the framework proposed by Schade. While the crucifixion depicted on the central panel of a Passion triptych, for example, is indeed intended as the complex climax, it does not express a lesser or greater degree of divinity than the Passion scenes on the wings. Furthermore, the descent from the cross, typically represented on the right wing, hardly classifies as an introduction.

With *Ad excitandum devotionis affectum*, Karl Schade has given us a valuable source of information on small Netherlandish triptychs and devotional practice. His study would have carried more weight and been more useful, however, if more attention had been given to the devotional content of specific subjects, and if more support had been marshalled from contemporary written sources.

Suzanne Laemers

Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD)

Sixteenth Century

Katharina Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*. Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002. 419 pp, 228 b&w illus., 20 color plates. ISBN 3-422-06383-8.

After long domination by Dürer's Nuremberg in art history, Augsburg at last is getting its scholarly due. The first signs appeared with the burst of research on Jörg Breu by both Pia Cuneo (1998) and Andrew Morrall (2001), and Augsburg also loomed large in the massive exhibition, *Renaissance Venice and the North* (1999). Now a full-scale, well researched, attractively produced volume on Hans Holbein the Elder restores Augsburg's godfather figure to his rightful place in German art around the turn of the sixteenth century. The senior painter can finally be appreciated for something other than his parenthood of Hans Holbein the Younger. The other Augsburg Hans – Burgkmair – also receives consideration in comparisons.

A generation ago Holbein the Elder enjoyed a flurry of attention in the monograph by Norbert Lieb and Alfred Stange (1960; same publisher!) as well as in an accompanying exhibition in Augsburg (1965), followed by Bruno Bushart's study (1987). This larger new monograph by Krause, professor at Philipps-University, Marburg, builds upon those firm foundations. She considers all media and subjects by this versatile master: manuscript illuminations, drawings in ink and metalpoint, icon panels, large-scale retables, and portraits. Her organization is roughly chronological, but her approach remains flexible, dictated by the works themselves. She certainly is not committed either to a notion of a singular genius or even to his being some passive "reflection" of a transition period (medieval to Renaissance, Catholic to Lutheran). Holbein the Elder, however, often is marked by his interaction with the art of others, including engraver Israhel van Meckenem and Netherlandish painters, and his ongoing rivalry and response to Burgkmair are also topics with their own segments. This study is not a traditional life-and-works or catalogued distinction between master and studio. Instead, Krause explores contexts of both production (especially with preparatory drawings)

and consumption, including local guild and artistic competition as well as collaborations, often lost in such monographs.

Holbein the Elder was primarily a painter, chiefly creating Catholic images in a prosperous imperial city that would adopt the Reformation in 1537. Krause draws connections to prior art in Augsburg as well as neighboring Ulm, especially Zeitblom (though these latter links are more scattered) and persuasively claims early Holbein designs for some undated lower Rhenish prints of Meckenem, including the 'Marienleben' and Apostles series and two-sheet *Mass of St. Gregory*. In a confident, contemporary voice she interprets the Netherlandish connection to a culminating training experience (like Breu as well as Dürer), perhaps aligned with the Augsburg commercial network in Bruges, rather than a romantic notion of a "wandering apprentice." She is often quite contextual, especially in a section localizing the portraits, drawings and paintings, as documents of Augsburg.

While a concluding section considers Holbein's treatment of religious art within a wider context, perhaps the most stimulating and original discussion involves style choices for Holbein. Krause does not consider the 'welsch', or Italianate style, whether Renaissance or antique (related to Peutingier's ancient "Augusta"), to be an inevitability, and she credits Burgkmair with much of its absorption by the older master. The pictorial rhetoric of using the novel for the sacred doubtless gradually acquired momentum by the teens. Earlier, however, Holbein often imported a Netherlandish idiom, probably prized by his patrons, who associated it with Burgundian luxury and cultural prestige-as well as the marital alliance forged by Emperor Maximilian, powerful patron and favorite of Augsburgers.

This kind of sophisticated analysis builds upon the ground sketched by Morrall for Breu and promises much for the consideration of early sixteenth century Augsburg and a wider German visual culture. Krause's book is filled with such observations as well as particulars concerning individual works, such as the painted Passion cycles (there is no catalogue, though there is a chronology). This attractive and intelligent volume deserves the attention of all scholars of the period and region.

Larry Silver

University of Pennsylvania

Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist*. With contributions by Günter Grass, Joseph L. Koerner, and Ute Kuhlemann. [Cat. exh. The British Museum, London, December 5, 2002 – March 23, 2003.] London: British Museum Press, 2002, 320 pp, 85 col. and 267 b&w illus. ISBN 0-7141-2633-0.

What rotten luck to be an artist born after Albrecht Dürer! Artists of the fifteenth century, especially printmakers, are forgiven technical inadequacies and creative shortcomings because Dürer had not yet forged the artistic path. After Dürer, however, artists, critics, collectors, and curators have been forced to do battle with the artist's legacy. Neil MacGregor, director of the British Museum, presents the dual goals of the exhibition and catalogue, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist*, in the book's preface: "to present the development of Dürer as a graphic artist" and to examine "his astonishing artistic afterlife, the absorption and adaptation of his work by artists through the centuries." The catalogue includes four short essays: "Dürer Viewed by his Contemporaries," by Giulia Bartrum; "Albrecht Dürer: a Sixteenth-Century Influenza," by Joseph Koerner; "The Celebration of Dürer in Germany during the

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” by Ute Kuhlemann; and “On Stasis in Progress: Variations on Dürer’s Engraving Melencolia I,” by Günther Grass. The remainder of the book comprises twelve chapters with catalogue entries, the first half laid out through a chronology of Dürer’s life and work (à la Panofsky) and the second half chronologically ordered by the artist’s legacy, from his lifetime through the nineteenth century.

The legacy detailed in the book is that of artistic transmission – the influence of Dürer’s prints and drawings on his artistic heirs. The great strength of the catalogue is the wide range of artists and artworks it documents. It includes the work of ceramicists, goldsmiths, metalworkers, painters, and sculptors, from Europe and Asia over four centuries. And what better collection to draw these objects from than that of the British Museum, replete with its vast collection of prints and drawings, as well as hordes of work in other media. Chapter 11 “Dürer’s Rhinoceros” best demonstrates the stated objective of the book. It uses Dürer’s 1515 woodcut of the Indian beast as a case study of the afterlife of a single artwork by the artist. The survey of Dürer’s rhinoceros begins with the artist’s drawing of the animal, one of the treasures of the BM’s collection. The selection of depictions then meanders across countries (the Netherlands, Italy, France, and England), as well as centuries and media, including delftware and German porcelain. Dürer’s depiction of the rhinoceros was the model for images of the animal for centuries after its creation, from prints to pots. The inclusion of examples from the ‘minor arts’ was an eye opener for me as a print specialist. I was astounded by the scope of Dürer’s influence beyond painting and the graphic arts.

But the chapter of Dürer’s rhinoceros also points towards a limitation that pervades the book. The survey of rhinoceros images begs the question of why Dürer’s anatomically incorrect representation of the animal came to have such an important afterlife, in fact achieve iconic status? What is it about this woodcut and other of Dürer’s prints that fostered their repeated replication? Was it simply the technical and creative genius they demonstrate? Or were there other forces at work promulgating Dürer’s legacy? Koerner’s essay best confronts this question. It is a provocative account of Dürer’s influence on his contemporaries – those who through the unfortunate course of history will always be compared to him. He chalks up the appeal of copying Dürer’s prints to the combination of three factors: the ease of duplicating images through printmaking, the establishment and recognition of Dürer’s monogram/trademark, and the artist’s great skill, primarily the desire of other artists to co-opt it. (He also makes the astounding claim that in the 1500 self-portrait, he sees Dürer holding his left hand in the shape of his monogram, AD. Is this the legacy of Michael Fried’s argument that the figures in Courbet’s painting, *The Stonebreakers*, take the shape of the artist’s initials, GC?)

Although the show and catalogue were intended to delineate the artistic transmission of Dürer’s designs, it also includes numerous references to the critical reception and the history of collecting his work. Essays on Dürer’s reception in Italy and the Dürer Renaissance would have been welcome additions to the book. Both are discussed in the introductions to the chapters and the catalogue essays, but neither is addressed in a comprehensive manner. Because there is no essay in English on the Dürer Renaissance, it seems like a missed opportunity. This, however, is probably more a consequence of the climate of inclusivity that pervades public art museums today. Because the catalogue is geared towards a general museum readership, it demands the reiteration of basic biographic and iconographic information and cannot be the forum for bigger, more theoretical questions.

Susan Dackerman

Baltimore Museum of Art

Edgar Bierende, *Lucas Cranach d. Ä. und der deutsche Humanismus. Tafelmalerei im Kontext von Rhetorik, Chroniken und Fürstenspiegeln*. Munich-Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002. 518 pp, 111 illus. (all b&w), ISBN 3-422-06339-0.

Lucas Cranach at last is coming into his own. After being considered by Melanchthon – and to our own day – as the least distinguished artist of the familiar German triad with Dürer and “Grünwald”, the artist of Wittenberg can no longer be dismissed as “simple” rather than “grand” in style. Nor is he chiefly to be taken as the visual Reformer, closely associated with Luther. With the appearance in print of this well-researched Basel dissertation, Cranach now is fully reinscribed into an intellectual environment, his neglected mythologies seriously revalued. In the first extended study of the artist’s origins since Dieter Koepplin’s own Basel dissertation a generation ago (1973), Bierende also treats Cranach’s ties to humanists and cultural politics with the seriousness usually accorded to Dürer (especially in the studies by Dieter Wuttke).

The early Cranach chiefly receives attention here. This is the innovative painter associated with the nascent Danube School forest settings, with chiaroscuro woodcut techniques, and with innovative mythological iconography. Bierende associates Cranach with the contemporary burst of learned activity in Germany for chronicles and wider historical consciousness, which fused both ancient and Christian ancestry, as charted by Frank Borhardt (1971). The legendary ancestry of the German nation and of the Habsburg genealogy provided an ideological foundation and ongoing continuity for both the claims of Empire as well as for moral renewal in the new century.

Cranach would have first encountered these claims in his Vienna stay (1501-1504). His “Danube” landscapes distinguish him from Dürer, and Bierende draws links to earlier models, chiefly the urban Upper Rhenish masters E.S. and Gerhart van Leyden. He enjoys pontificating about inadequate art-historical models and methods, e.g. the genius of individuals or national schools, but he still attends closely to individual works. He also forces analogies between the presentation of pictures, such as the Vienna *Crucifixion*, to rhetoric, specifically as advanced by Conrad Celtis. Indeed, he claims that Cranach did strive (Melanchthon was right) for a simple style in an effort to evoke – together with the contemporary humanist authors – a positive, primitive Germanic or Christian past, which would accord with the emerging Habsburg cultural claims, advanced by young Emperor Maximilian I. In this vein, he reads the Vienna *Crucifixion* as laden with positive, even allegorical, references to the Emperor and also sees Gerhaert’s tomb of Frederick III in Vienna as a Germanic rival to antique forms as well as a model for Cranach’s own visual rhetoric of liveliness and presence. He makes the unexpected but powerful comparison between the young Cranach and Veit Stoss’s *Crucifixions*, both works striving for effects of archaism.

While some of this argument is pushed hard, I agree in his important situating of Cranach (more plausibly for other early works, as I have also discussed) as immersed within the complex of Maximilianic ideology. This was the accomplishment that the artist brought back to his extended role at the court in Wittenberg, where Frederick the Wise soon became the principal rival to the Emperor. Renovation and Reformation are the twin hallmarks of this invented court of Saxony. Here the apposite textual comparisons come from Meinhard’s *Mirror of Princes* and Spalatin’s *Chronicle*. The repertoire of repeated subjects again links Germanic antiquity and myth through adaptation of classical antiquity and models, with the gods serving as euhemeristic models of princely morality.

Thus Bierende sees a consistency in what Cranach offered to his patrons and wider audiences, both in Vienna and Wittenberg – a

visual contribution to the emerging humanistic culture of Germanic antiquity and spirituality. If his analysis of the Wittenberg imagery remains thinner, this book certainly goes a long way to recuperating Lucas Cranach, especially his mythologies, within the German version of a would-be “Northern Renaissance.”

Larry Silver

University of Pennsylvania

***The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: Cornelis Cort.* Compiled by Manfred Sellink, edited by Huigen Leeftang. 3 vols. Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2000. Part 1: 279 pp, 290 b&w illus. ISBN 90-75607-27-X. Part 2: 241 pp, 230 b&w illus, ISBN 90-75607-41-3. Part 3: 295 pp, 226 b&w illus. ISBN 90-75607-41-5.**

These and the following volumes reflect the Hollstein series’ significant contributions to the study of late sixteenth- to early seventeenth- century printmaking, with catalogues that are definitive for the artists whose works they present. This is not only because they give expansive, new coverage of artists whose catalogues appeared as earlier multi-artist volumes, but also because all of the volumes contain substantial introductions which revise our picture of the artists’ careers.

The three fully illustrated and carefully indexed volumes on Cornelis Cort give us a very different picture of this engraver from that presented by the original 1948 Hollstein volume (V: Cornelisz. – Dou), in which a list of 289 works, eleven of these illustrated, were sandwiched in among the catalogues of seven other figures. The current catalogue was compiled by Manfred Sellink with the help of Hans van der Windt and Sandra Tatsakis. Sellink began his work on Cort while at the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam. His catalogue for the 1994 exhibition at that museum was undoubtedly the most important contribution on the artist since the 1948 monograph by J.C.J. Bierens de Haan, who also compiled the first Hollstein volume. Additions to the literature on Cort have also come via publications on reproductive prints after Titian, the Zuccari, Polidoro da Caravaggio, and other sixteenth-century Italian artists. A leading figure in the era often regarded as the golden age of reproductive engraving, Cort was highly influential for Northern and Italian engravers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. His engravings were also major vehicles for the dissemination of artistic ideas between Italy and Northern Europe.

Sellink’s catalogue has fully revised that of Bierens de Haan, and the engravings given to Cort (including tentative attributions) now number 235 items. These are fully illustrated, with thorough descriptions of states and editions. In several entries, detail photographs show inscriptions and signatures found in particular states and versions. The entries also make reference to a wider range of collections than is often found in this print catalogue series, including Philadelphia, San Francisco, Bologna, Florence, El Escorial, and Zagreb. In addition, Sellink and his assistants have made a careful survey of copies after Cort’s prints – and copies abound, with lists of six to ten in many cases. This is a striking set of data that not only reaffirms that we are not alone in our era of Napster.com appropriation, but also points to how important Cort’s prints were as study pieces for other engravers.

What emerges from the catalogue, however, is that Cort’s oeuvre is still in flux. The uneven character of the works tentatively attributed to Cort (part III, nos. 231-235) and the attributions given to the rejected prints (R 1-48) reveal how much more we need to learn

about so many engravers from Cort’s time and the generation following. One example is cat. R 30, *Saint Jerome in the Desert*, which is in fact a drawn-upon proof state by Pieter de Jode I. De Jode spent much of the 1590s in Italy, tapping into the same imagery found in the works of other engravers in this larger group. Completed states, signed “Petrus de Iode fecit et excudit” are found in the Metropolitan Museum and other collections. Finally, Cort’s preparatory drawings for a few prints are mentioned but not illustrated. Given how little has been published about his activity as a draftsman, it would have been useful to include plates of the drawings connected with prints.

***The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: Karel van Mander.* Compiled by Marjolein Leesberg, edited by Huigen Leeftang and Christiaan Schuckman. Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 1999. 330 pp, 224 b&w illus. ISBN 90-75607-35-0.**

The New Hollstein volume on Karel van Mander I is, as Christiaan Schuckman notes, “the first comprehensive monographic discussion of Van Mander’s involvement in printmaking” (p. vii). As the prints record his original compositions, it is also a rich record of his creative activity. Its author, Marjolein Leesberg, built this extensive catalogue out of earlier lists of prints compiled by Elisabeth Valentiner and Hessel Miedema. Working from masters research on Van Mander as a painter [published in part in *Simiolus*, 22 (1993-94)], Leesberg has contributed a substantial introduction, focussing on Van Mander’s relationship to print patrons, engravers, authors and publishers, and the artistic and intellectual influences on his print compositions. The introduction situates Van Mander’s designs for printmaking among the graphic activities of his contemporaries in Haarlem (chiefly, Cornelis Ketel, Cornelis van Haarlem, Goltzius and his circle, Gillis van Breen) and explores his connections with the engravers and publishers working in Amsterdam, Leiden and The Hague (Harmen Muller, Jacques de Gheyn and Hendrick Hondius).

Many interesting observations are made along the way: for example, that Cornelis Ketel’s allegories express ideas that resurface in Van Mander’s theoretical writings (p. xvi). One hopes that the author will explore this issue in a separate publication. To give another example, Danzig was the site for publishing a Dutch bible that was illegal in the Low Countries (p. xxxix). This is a point worthy of reflection, given the degree to which Netherlandish art history follows modern political and cultural boundaries.

Following the introduction are two appendices that move this volume beyond the ordinary domain of print catalogues. One is an illustrated discussion of Van Mander’s surviving drawings for prints. This is an all-too-rare addition to a print catalogue but such an important contribution, because it not only helps us in formulating a picture of Van Mander as a draftsman, but it is also so valuable for those who study drawings made for engravings. The other appendix contains transcriptions and translations of the print inscriptions, making accessible texts which are not always legible, even in the finest photoreproductions. However, here and there, small errors surface: for example, *Latro* (p. lxxv, no. no. 27) means thief, not murderer; and *virtus* (p. lxxv, no. 96), with its all-encompassing connotations of moral excellence, is translated here as “courage.” It is an issue to be aware of when working with students on this material.

The author was unable to travel through much of this project, but the coverage of European collections is very good, thanks to her extensive correspondence with colleagues. Jerusalem is also included, as well as two East Coast US collections. However, other important US collections, such as the Philadelphia Museum and the New York Public Library, are not included.

***The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: The Muller Dynasty.* 3 vols.**

Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Publishers, 1999.

Part 1: *Jan Ewoutsz. and Harmen Jansz. Muller.* Compiled by Jan Piet Filedt Kok, introduction by Harriet Stroomberg, edited by Ger Luijten and Christiaan Schuckman. 268 pp, 199 b w illus. ISBN 99-75607-34-2.

Part 2: *Jan Harmensz. Muller.* Compiled by Jan Piet Filedt Kok, appendix by Erik Hinterding, edited by Ger Luijten and Christiaan Schuckman. 329 pp, 308 b w illus. ISBN 99-75607-33-4.

Part 3: *The Production of Illustrated Books.* Compiled by Harriet Stroomberg, edited by Ger Luijten and Christiaan Schuckman. 339 pp, 620 b&w illus. ISBN 90-75607-38-5.

The dedicated research of a team of scholars, these volumes cover four generations of the Muller family of printmakers and publishers, who worked in Amsterdam, from c.1535 through the seventeenth century. The activities of this dynasty were so broad that they span much of the history of Renaissance and Baroque printmaking in the Netherlands, from the expansive woodcuts after Cornelis Anthonisz., to extensive engraved cycles after Maerten van Heemskerck, devotional and allegorical prints, the mannerist extravaganzas of Jan Muller, and finally portraits, maps, ornament prints, and illustrated books on many subjects.

The first volume contains the catalogues of the founder of the dynasty and one of Amsterdam's first publishers, Jan Ewoutsz. Muller, as well as that of his son, the engraver and publisher Harmen Jansz. Muller, who made prints after Heemskerck, Stradanus and other artists for the Hieronymus Cock and other Antwerp printing houses. This volume contains many gems of early to mid-sixteenth century printmaking of the genres mentioned above. These include such rarities as Harmen Muller's large engraving of Fortuna poised between a city in prosperity and one under attack (vol. 1, cat. 82; with only one known impression, in Dresden) and a monumental woodcut Lottery Print published by the same artist, with an abstract composition of money bags and gold vessels below an architectural fantasy (cat. 136).

Volume 2 of the series focuses on the famous mannerist engraver, Jan Muller, and it is a significant product of Jan Piet Filedt Kok's longstanding research on the group of graphic artists around Hendrick Goltzius. Questions of attribution among that circle are explored, particularly in relation to prints from the c.1588-89 that were formerly given to Jakob Matham. Muller's work for the Prague artists Bartholomaeus Spranger and Hans von Aachen is also discussed: Muller even served as an art agent (mistranslated on p. 11 as 'confidant') to Rudolf II, attempting to acquire for the emperor Lucas van Leiden's *Last Judgement* triptych. Additional information which underscores the importance of these contacts for Muller lies in his drawing of the *Holy Family by Candlelight* (p. 19, fig. 6; Vienna, Albertina). While this has been described by the author as influenced by Ligozzi and other Italian draftsmen, it is in fact based on Hans von Aachen's various compositions of this subject, the most important being his altarpiece for the Church of the Gesù in Rome. This volume also presents the results of Filedt Kok's study of Muller's proof states, of which around 170 have been identified. In addition, an index presents radiographs of watermarks, which the author has studied to determine the provenances of extant impressions and identify those belonging to Muller's bequest to his descendents.

The third volume on the Muller dynasty deals exclusively with their production of illustrated books. In this case, the early members of the family, Jan Ewoutsz. and Harmen Jansz., and the brother-in-

law and nephew of Jan Muller, Cornelis Dircksz. Cool and Cornelis Cornelisz. Cool, were the key participants in this sphere of activity. While the book illustrations could not be reproduced in their entirety, the author, Harriet Stroomberg, has meticulously catalogued both the volumes and their respective plates by two sets of numbers: necessary because of the reuse of blocks for more than one book. Once again, wonderful and unusual material surfaces in this catalogue, from a book of geomancy, physiognomy and chiromancy (*Dat grote planeten boeck*, cat. 71); to treatises on herbs, garden design and distilleries (cat. 80, 81, 98); to Willem van Schouten's account of his journey to the West Indies, the Tierra del Fuego, and New Guinea (cat. 112); and finally to an edition of *Thijl Ulen Spieghel*, with woodcuts of his adventures (cat. 91).

Dorothy Limouze

St. Lawrence University

Frits Scholten, *Willem van Tetrode, Sculptor (c. 1525-1580). Guglielmo Fiammingo scultore.* [Cat. exh. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, March 6 – May 25, 2003; Frick Collection, New York, June 24 – September 7, 2003.] Zwolle: Waanders, 2003). 143 pp, 120 illustrations, many in color. ISBN 90-400-87814.

Late sixteenth-century writers on the arts in Italy and Holland alike extolled Willem de Tetrode as one of the preeminent European sculptors of his day. Yet because many of his most important works have been lost or destroyed – and also, perhaps, because art historians have given Dutch sculpture as a whole little attention – it is only very recently that Tetrode's artistic identity has begun to come into focus. Most of the objects in the 2003 Tetrode exhibitions in Amsterdam and New York are given to the artist on the basis of recently advanced stylistic arguments that tie the manner of those works, directly or indirectly, to the sculptor's only surviving documented statues: the bronze reductions of famous antiquities that Tetrode is known to have made in 1559 for Count Niccolò Orsini of Pitigliano. The ideas are fresh enough that a show such as this one would have been inconceivable even twenty years ago. It provided the best opportunity the public is likely to have for some time to evaluate the work of this understudied master.

The earliest records of Tetrode's activities relate to his undertakings in the workshop of Benvenuto Cellini in Florence between 1548 and 1551. New research, carried out in preparation for the exhibition, confirms the recent suggestion that, though Cellini had many assistants working on bronzes in these years, Tetrode himself acted exclusively as a marble sculptor. As Frits Scholten, the exhibition's curator, points out in his catalogue essay, the documents relating to this period imply that Tetrode, in contrast to others in the Cellini shop, had not been trained as a metalsmith. It is easy to imagine that, were it not for the iconoclastic demolition of church decorations in Delft in 1573, Tetrode would be best known today for monumental works in stone.

This makes it all the more noteworthy that nearly every statue in the exhibition was bronze. What roles are we to imagine Tetrode to have had in their production? In the catalogue, Emile van Binnebeke quotes an intriguing 1560 letter by Chiappino Vitelli, who wrote that the Orsini bronzes "were cast by [Tetrode]" (82). By contrast, the catalogue's informative essay on casting technique, researched collaboratively by four of the most knowledgeable people currently working on the subject and written by Francesca Bewer, notes that Tetrode worked with a professional founder when making the Orsini statues (101), and refers more generally to "sculptor-founder team[s]" (108) responsible for other works. Adding to the unclarity here are the

dates given in the captions to the Tetrode works illustrated in the catalogue's essays. As the entries at the end of the catalogue reveal, those dates are, on the whole, not the dates its authors associate with the making of the bronzes, but rather the dates of sometimes much earlier presumed models (none of which is documented, and none of which survives) on which the bronzes are based. Should we conclude, then, that Tetrode exemplifies a seemingly new late sixteenth-century professional possibility – of making a career primarily as a modeler? As visitors to the exhibitions could see, finally, the bronzes associated with Tetrode also vary dramatically. Some are masterpieces of metalworking, while others – including a number of the Orsini bronzes – are poorly cast and hastily finished. Where there are multiples, significant differences are often visibly apparent: the surface modeling of the Hamburg *Bacchus* lacks the delicacy of its Cambridge double, and the two figures are strikingly different in size. In cases where it is possible to see original patination, this, too, can differ sharply from work to work. What, in these cases, is the genealogical relationship between the versions?

That it is now possible even to formulate questions along these lines is a great credit to Scholten. Between this exhibition and the splendid Adriaen de Vries show of 2000, Scholten has done more to advance the study of Dutch sculpture than anyone in recent memory.

Michael Cole

University of Pennsylvania

Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman, Xander van Eck, and Henny van Dolder-De Wit, *Het Geheim van Gouda: De cartons van de Goudse Glazen*. [Cat. exh. Museum het Catherina Gasthuis, Gouda, 16 March 16 – June 16, 2002.] Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2002. 157 pp, col. and b&w illus. ISBN 90-5730-1679.

Gouda's Sint-Janskerk's famous sixteenth-century cycle of monumental stained-glass windows was produced by several teams of artists over the course of about fifty years. Less well known than the windows are their full-scale cartoons. They have been carefully preserved in good condition by the church itself, which has used them as guides for restoration work on the glass.

Het Geheim van Gouda exhibited these impressive drawings at the city's Museum het Catherina Gasthuis, next to the church, in 2002. The exhibition included both restored drawings and others not yet restored, as well as some colored sheets made after the finished windows and several *vidimi* (small-scale contract drawings). The exhibition coincided with the 2002 publication of volume II from the set devoted to the Gouda glass in the *Corpus Vitrearum Medi Aevi* series (volume I appeared in 1997, volume III in 2000; the authors include two of the writers of the present catalogue, Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman and Xander van Eck).

The Gouda glazing program presents a unique opportunity to consider large-scale cartoons in relation to their finished windows. While the Gouda cartoons have been discussed in the *Corpus Vitrearum* series in connection with the windows – and one was exhibited in the 1986 *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm* exhibition in Amsterdam – this exhibition is the first recent effort to bring them out of the shadows of the glass. These beautiful large drawings, described by the catalogue as Gouda's secret treasure because they have been virtually inaccessible until now, emerge as fascinating working tools for sixteenth-century stained-glass production as well as remarkable works of art in their own right.

Four essays by three authors analyze the history, subjects, production, and preservation of the cartoons. Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-

Zeman, who has written extensively on the Gouda glass, provided two of the essays. In the first, she examines the history of the two glazing programs, the patrons, the meaning of the imagery, and the function and use of the cartoons. Her second essay surveys the various artists involved with the commission, excluding the two main figures of Dirck and Wouter Crabeth. Xander van Eck treats these latter two, the renowned "broeders en rivalen." Finally, Henny van Dolder-de Wit discusses the technique. Using the working drawings, he describes how the cartoons were copied and preserved. In addition to these essays, detailed catalogue entries by van Ruyven-Zeman and van Eck analyze the exhibited cartoons.

The Gouda windows were produced in two clearly defined campaigns. The first began almost immediately after a 1552 fire devastated many of the church's earlier windows, and continued until the Protestant reform of 1571. After an interruption of more than twenty years, the window cycle was completed in a second campaign, lasting from the early 1590s to 1604. Predictably, the window's patrons and subjects differ in the two campaigns. In the earlier set, the donors were mainly high-ranking clergy and secular individuals, including Philip II of Spain. Subjects include Old and New Testament analogies (although the subjects vary from those of the standard medieval typological formulae), scenes from the life of Christ, and representations of John the Baptist as Christ's precursor. The sponsors of the second campaign were administrative authorities, such as the States of Holland and individual Dutch cities, and the windows mainly depict historical or allegorical themes, including biblical subjects as moral exempla.

The cartoons produced during this long glazing project document differences in the various glaziers working methods. Dirck and Wouter Crabeth, who produced a large part of the first series of windows, involved themselves in each stage of production – from *vidimus* through cartoon to finished window. Other artists of the first campaign divided some of the work, however; for instance Lambert van Noort furnished cartoons, while Digman Meynaert executed windows. In the second campaign artists generally maintained this systematic division of labor. The drawings' character changes with the methods of work: the Crabeths and other artists who executed windows from their own designs produced freer and looser drawings, while cartoons intended for use by someone other than the draughtsman required a more clear and detailed style. The cartoons also display how working drawings can differ significantly in style. We find Dirck Crabeth's grand approach related to Raphael, Jan van Scorel, and Jan Swart; the younger Wouters rapid, expressive sheets recall Frans Floris; Lambert van Noort produced powerful architectural settings, and Joachim Wtewael's draughtsmanship is a tour-de-force.

While the Gouda drawings can be impressive and subtle as works of art, they never lose their character of working tools. For instance, they employ time-saving devices typical of cartoons: when background architecture or ornament is to be repeated in reverse, the drawings provide them only once; cartouches and quarterings are left empty to be filled by the glass-painters.

By focusing attention on the spectacular cartoons in Gouda, the exhibit succeeds in presenting stained-glass design as a significant category of Netherlandish art. The handsomely produced volume illustrates all the cartoons and provides color illustrations of the windows. By introducing these cartoons to a wider audience, the catalogue's authors have both expanded our knowledge of the artists who made them, and deepened our appreciation of the famous windows for which they were drawn.

Ellen Konowitz

SUNY New Paltz

Seventeenth-Century German

Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002. XVIII, 261 pp, 200 b&w illus. ISBN 0-691-09072-6.

The effects of the Reformation have dominated scholarship on later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century art in Germany. Both iconoclasm and the devastation of the Thirty Years' War created the impression that the many German principalities and states were a cultural wasteland during this period. What little remained by 1648 was deemed to belong to the age of Albrecht Dürer (d. 1528). The general impression thus has long been that an artistic and cultural void existed until the onset of a derivative late Baroque style in southern Germany. Jeffrey Chipps Smith's latest book, *Sensuous Worship*, provides a welcome corrective to this impression by revealing the Counter-Reformation response to a dire religious situation for the Catholic church. Like Smith's *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance* (1994), this book allows for a more balanced view of a period often overlooked in art history.

Despite a large body of literature on the Jesuits, there has been little exploration of their concerted use of imagery, often in the form of prints, to reform spiritual practices in Europe north of the Alps. *Sensuous Worship* studies the Jesuits' artistic response to the task of reclaiming and re-educating territories lost to the Reformation. Chapter I deals with the introduction of the Jesuits to Germany and explains the problems faced by Catholicism as it tried to counter near-extinction in German speaking lands. Despite the bleak situation, early Jesuits perceived a unique opportunity to educate a broad cross-section of society and grasped the important pedagogical role that imagery would play in promoting the Catholic faith.

In Chapter II, Smith describes the way that Jesuit images function as textbooks. Determined publishing efforts began with illustrations for Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* and continued with works that included Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* and Antoine Susquet's *Via Vitae Aeternae*. These publications make clear that vision is the most important of human senses. Ignatius believed that the ability to turn sensual experience into spiritual understanding required training and the intervention of an advisor. Ignatius's followers more fully realized the usefulness of the printed image as an aid in this training, resulting in the production of prints with a decidedly Jesuit pedagogy. What distinguishes Jesuit works from other, earlier, meditative texts is the emphasis on the image over the written word. Smith provides ample illustrations of prints punctuated with sequential letters that correspond to short explanations included at the bottom of the sheet. This guidance becomes almost audible, as if a pointer were hitting a blackboard, as the letters lead the viewer through the image to the culminating lesson. In the Jesuit lesson, the text supports the image rather than overpowering it. The image remains the prevalent medium of instruction.

Jesuit prints combine traditional iconography recognizable to all, such as the Nativity (p. 43) with a new iconography that includes such images as Christ descending into limbo through the crust of the earth (p. 45), urging the exercitant to imagine the actual event. For the Jesuits, the question was not whether to employ art at all, as it was for many Protestants, but rather how best to use it for teaching the precepts of Christian worship. Ignatius tied "sensual stimulation and mental reflection" together (p. 49), so that vision and action could both lead to understanding. Despite their sometimes contrived

compositions and overt pedanticism, these prints visually prepared the viewer for the next step in attaining spiritual insight, entry into the physical church.

The Jesuit church combined theater, music and art to create a sensual experience. For this reason, the adornment of the church was an important aspect of Jesuit worship. In Chapters 4 and 5, Smith takes the church of St. Michael's in Munich as a case study for experience and meaning within the Jesuit setting. St. Michael's, the first newly constructed Jesuit church north of the Alps, was an enormous undertaking in both political and financial terms. The combination of an engaged patron, Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, as well as a talented pool of artists and architects, meant that the new church became a bulwark of Catholicism in the North. While St. Michael's Church was tied to the political and religious aspirations of the Counter Reformation dukes of Bavaria, its legacy has been a powerful visual reminder of the presence of the Jesuits in southern Germany. The exterior of the church, adorned with statues of the patron and his ancestors, stood as a political statement of legitimacy, but the interior of the church was completely engaged in the task of directing the worshipper in the pious exercises.

The question of Rome's role in controlling Jesuit church building was most notably studied by Rudolf Wittkower, but it bears revisiting, as Smith brings a new dimension to the old question of whether there is a specifically Jesuit art. Approval for new buildings came from Jesuit headquarters in Rome, but there was no prescribed style. The adornments of the church, the prints and the altarpieces must certainly be labeled Jesuit, although not on a stylistic basis, a phenomenon Chipps Smith studies in a chapter devoted to the Church of Mariä Himmelfahrt in Cologne. The Jesuits were insistently not a monastic order and wanted their colleges and churches built in the center of cities. This meant that older buildings might be appropriated to the purposes of the order and that new structures had to fit into existing city plans. The frequent confessional shifts in many localities meant that older churches might go from Protestant back into Catholic hands, but where new churches were built, they were adapted to regional architectural styles and the aesthetic preferences of individual patrons. The progress of Jesuit church building was one of assimilation, not subjugation.

Based on Ignatius's insistence on the stimulation of the senses, the Jesuits in Germany understood how to harness the power of the visual. Often employing artists from within the order, they produced altarpieces, reliquary collections, sculptural programs and, most neglected until now, an expansive amount of printed materials. In *Sensuous Worship*, Jeffrey Chipps Smith adeptly leads the reader through the complexities of Jesuit teaching and worship. Their response to the volatile religious situation in sixteenth-century Germany reveals the Jesuit order's astute understanding of the power of art and architecture.

Susan Maxwell

Virginia Commonwealth University

Seventeenth-Century Flemish

Piet Lombaerde, ed. *The Reception of P. P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova during the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems. With contributions by Werner Oechslin, Piet Lombaerde, Frans Baudouin, Clara Altavista, Konrad Ottenheim, John Newman, Charles Hind, Claude N. Mignot, Ulrich Schütte, Joris Snaet. (Architectura Moderna, vol. 1) Turnhout: Brepols, 2002. 262 pp, ISBN 2-503-51301-8.*

The development of the architectural treatise in Renaissance Europe has become a popular area of research, drawing on scholarship in the history of publication, printing, reading, and a host of allied disciplines. Yet only a handful of books have received the lion's share of attention: Alberti's *De re architectura*, Serlio's multi-volumed treatise, Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura* and various editions of Vitruvius. This lopsided scholarship may be due to the availability of English translations of these works. Yet, the choice of texts suggests a more general bias toward publications that had a profound effect on the built architecture of later generations. This collection of essays on Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova*, produced in 2 volumes, and published in Antwerp from 1622, confounds such a simple formula.

In a two day symposium, and now in this publication, Piet Lombaerde brought together leading European scholars to ask the question: what was the influence of Rubens's publication? These essays offer varied and, for the most part hesitant, answers. By examining contemporary building in Genoa and Antwerp, the general conclusion is that even when Rubens was directly involved in the building project, no direct line of influence can be shown between the book and the buildings. Joris Snaet looks at the Jesuit churches of Antwerp and Brussels, and concludes that while the Jesuit architecture of Genoa was relevant for the Low Countries, Rubens's publication seems to have had no direct relevance. The illustrations did not show, or contain enough details, for them to be used in the design process. If this is the case, then should Rubens's treatise be catalogued a publishing failure and relegated to the artist's minor works? The resistance to the direct use of the book in the Southern Netherlands may have been due to the difficult economic conditions that curtailed private building, as Konrad Ottenheim points out in his insightful essay. In the Northern Netherlands, however, the book had a wider effect and more immediate appeal to Huygens, Van Campen and Pieter Post who drew on the Rubens's models for plans as well as architectural details.

The limited moments when it is possible to trace the direct borrowing from Rubens's treatise into built architecture, however, misses the greater importance of this publication in the history of the architectural treatise. As Rubens writes "Al Benigno Lettore" (translated into English in this collection of essays), Genoa is a worthy model of architecture because it is a "Republic of noblemen, which has resulted in the extraordinarily beautiful character of their buildings." He includes the houses of the Genoese professional classes, bankers and merchants, because this type of building will have the greatest relevance to his readers in cities north of the Alps, particularly in Antwerp where a rebuilding was underway. Throughout the treatise Rubens stresses the practical and functional role of palaces within the city. Their general layout, therefore, is more important than the details of their ornament. As a painter Rubens emphasized the general effect of the façade rather than any precise measurements or specifics on construction. He does not include the

names of the owners because, as he points out, all these elements can change; and he is not interested in glorifying the patrons of Genoa but constructing a useful model for his Netherlandish cities.

Given Rubens's aim at widening the architectural horizons of Northern readers, it is not surprising that the book did not make an immediate impact on architectural design. Ottenheim makes the point that Rubens intended to show design models, and that the specifics of the materials used or the size of the rooms did not matter. Yet the essay does not fully explore what is implied here: that for Rubens design was as much about political and national schemes as architectural plans. The significance of Rubens's treatise does not lie in its usefulness as a pattern book but its explicit belief that the architectural traditions of Genoa would be of civic as well as aesthetic use to northern builders.

Builders in France were no more eager to use the book as a guide for design, as Claude Mignot shows in his all-too-brief essay. Yet the book assumed an important role as a diplomatic gift, and thus made its way into the collections of major architects and patrons.

This is the first volume of the series, *Architectura Moderna*, dedicated to architectural exchanges in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The publication of this volume on Rubens's treatise, and its reception, marks an auspicious beginning to studies that examine the interactions across national boundaries. The extensive bibliography, illustrations of all the plates from *Palazzi di Genova*, and translations of primary texts ensure the volume's importance for architectural historians and Rubens scholars alike.

Christy Anderson
Yale University

Mårten Snickare (ed.), *Tessin. Nicodemus Tessin the Younger. Royal Architect and Visionary (Nationalmuseum Skriftserie, N.S. 16). Stockholm: Nationalmuseum; Värnamo: Fälth & Hässler, 2002. 239 pp, 99 illus. ISBN 91-7100-671-0.*

The Millennium in Sweden also saw the start of several publications and of an exhibition on the Royal architect, Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654-1728). To celebrate its tercentenary, the Bank of Sweden generously sponsored edited facsimiles of Tessin's publications and notebooks. Three generations of the Tessin family had a lasting impact on the architecture of Sweden and Scandinavia, for it was they who introduced the classical style to a country that was still very rural and undeveloped. Nicodemus Tessin the Younger was undoubtedly the most famous, and in the present book his work is examined on the basis of new research and from varied viewpoints. The existing monograph on Tessin by Ragnar Josephson was published already in 1930-31 and thus in need of updating.

Tessin's role as architect to the royal court is analyzed in the first chapter by Göran Lindahl. He makes the interesting observation that Tessin the Younger, following Bernini's example, understood that his work as architect to the Swedish king could advance his own social position. The queen mother Hedvig Eleonora, her son the future king Karl XI and his wife Ulrika Eleonora, were all powerful figures who held Tessin in high esteem and were eager to engage him for their respective courts.

The article by Mårten Snickare and Marin Olin touches on the subject of Tessin as a collector of books, engravings and drawings, and as the organizer of court ceremonies. His was one of the largest graphic collections in Europe and contained more than a thousand drawings and engravings of royal ceremonies and festivities. Tessin actually produced a catalogue of his collection of books, engravings

and drawings on architecture, gardening, hydraulics, painting, sculpture etc., which he published in 1712. The catalogue of his books opens with lists of the architectural treatises he owned by Vitruvius, Alberti, Serlio, Palladio, Vignola etc. Also very interesting is his collection of engravings and drawings of houses and palaces belonging to architects and artists, including Rubens's house in Antwerp, Bernini's palace in Rome, and Giulio Romano's in Mantua.

Börje Magnusson discusses in his very interesting article the importance of Tessin's journeys in Europe. The "great works of Rome" were of the "greatest service" to his country, as Tessin wrote. Rome was indeed the most important destination of his first study trip from 1673 to 1677. He accompanied the Marquis del Monte, the envoy of Queen Christina in Stockholm, on the journey through Denmark, Germany and Austria. In Rome he was received by his half-brother, the architect Abraham Wijnants. Above all, Tessin wished to discover the work of Bernini. A treatise by Carlo Fontana was copied in his studio and appeared very useful for building practices. Drawings based on studies *in situ* were produced of the Chapel of the Ecstasy of Saint Teresa (S. Maria della Vittoria) and of the cupola of the church of S. Carlo Borromeo. A number of drawings were sent home and, perhaps due to this fact, he was appointed in March 1676 as Royal Architect, while he was still in Rome. One year later, he left the eternal city and continued his journey to Florence, Bologna, Venice and the Po valley. Only six months after his return to Sweden, he travelled to France to "apply himself to landscape gardening".

Tessin's third and last journey occurred in 1687-88. Now, he travelled as a well-established Royal Architect. This time he could afford to buy engravings and books, and to commission drawings. The main information from this journey is found in two notebooks and in an extensive correspondence. Not only information about building practice, but also about the incumbents of important offices, incomes, expenditure and luxury goods. Tessin paid particular attention to the interior of palaces, to the typical furniture for various seasons, the use of 'guarderobes' and the existence of bedchambers and beds of state. In June 1688 he returned to Sweden.

Johan Mårtelius ("Tessin's High Aim") believes that Tessin's projects demonstrate his preference for height, not only illustrated by his different arrangements of columns on façades, but also in his decoration of staircases. At the royal palace of Drottningholm, begun by his father, Tessin completed the interior in the 1680s with a monumental staircase that dominates the central interior space and offers a complete view of the gardens from the upper hall. At the palace of Steninge, north of Stockholm, the massive staircase shaped even the entire interior. In the case of the Royal Palace in Stockholm, the eastern and western stairwells are designed to link three storeys and are accessible from central, horizontal and vertical positions. The flights of stairs and landings also form three units in depth. Tessin also paid great attention to the staircase in his own palace. He presented it as a sequence, from the façade without columns, through the central axis running through the summer dining room out into the garden. All the above mentioned examples of staircases and their structural details are illustrated in this article by excellent photographs by John Kimmich.

One chapter, written by the editor himself, is devoted to Tessin's involvement in projects for three royal palaces. The author clearly explains how in late seventeenth-Europe it was no long the pope but the absolute monarchs who became the new patrons of great (royal) palaces and of the layout of capital cities. Tessin's first commission for a royal palace came in 1693 when Christian V of Denmark sought advice about the building of a new palace on the site where the summer residence of Sophia Amalienborg had stood. Tessin's design consisted of a palace, with two main façades, one directed to the garden, and the other to the courtyard. Again, Bernini's model (his

third scheme of 1665) for the Louvre was Tessin's reference. But the palace was never built. From 1688, after his second journey to Italy, Tessin started to produce plans for the transformation of the old Castle of the Three Crowns in Stockholm. The architect tried to convince Carl XI to build an entirely new palace. Only after the disastrous fire of 1697 was he requested to submit his plans to Carl XII. Due to wars into which Carl XII was drawn, the Royal Palace was only completed long after Tessin's death. Characteristic for Tessin's architecture is the cubic form of the building, consisting of four wings of equal height, and lower projecting sections. Particularly interesting is the fact that this Palace became the nucleus of a system of sites and relates perfectly with other city buildings and with the water surfaces. Tessin's overall plan from 1713 is very meaningful in this regard. The third and last design for a royal palace was his prestigious project for the Louvre in Paris. Tessin finished his design in the autumn of 1704, from which a large model was made by Göran Törnquist in Paris. We see again a modern architect at work. As he had done with the old castle in Stockholm, Tessin, clearly inspired by Bernini's first sketch for the Louvre, proposed a 'tabula rasa' and to replace the old Square Court by a circular courtyard. Later, at the request of Louis XIV, Tessin's wooden model was placed next to Bernini's in the Louvre, thus acknowledging on a European level Tessin's importance. From then on, he was considered by the most powerful monarch of the day to be equal to Bernini, or even his successor.

The next chapter, by Bo Vahlne, is devoted to interior decoration. It seems that Tessin's unpublished treatise on Interior Decoration was intended to be finalized by his son Carl Gustaf, who was expected to add examples of contemporary interior design. The first section in his book is devoted to fixtures, the second to the rooms with collections of art, and the concluding third deals with wall-coverings and furniture. As we can read in a letter to his son, Tessin was convinced that he was the first person to devote a whole book to interior design.

Linda Hendriksson pays attention to Tessin's little known manuscript on landscape gardening: 'Remarques touchent les Jardins de propriété et premierement de leur Situation'. It is one of the earliest treatises on Baroque gardens. Interesting is the author's remark that this manuscript is "more down-to-earth . . . and often adapted to Swedish circumstances." Five conditions for a good garden seemed essential to Tessin: the correct position, good soil, water, view and an appropriate location. Most of the examples he cites, such as Versailles, Meudon, Chantilly etc. had been visited by him. It is also worth mentioning that though there was a certain rivalry between him and the royal gardener Johan Hårleman, they nevertheless collaborated on projects at Drottningholm, Rosersberg, Karlberg and Steninge, but it is unclear how the work was divided between them. Tessin created in the garden of his own palace an ideal model that was characterized by symmetry, modest dimensions, intimacy, refinement, illusionary perspectives, a grotto, orangeries with painted scenes on the walls etc. Many of these elements, though on a larger scale and with a more explicit reference to Versailles, can be found in the gardens at Drottningholm. In addition to these official projects, he was also involved in drawing up plans for private gardens at Steninge Palace, and even in France at Roissy-en-France for Comte d'Avaux, the French envoy to Sweden.

Martin Olin describes the paradoxical situation surrounding church buildings. Tessin was indeed commissioned to design protestant churches, which were inspired by the Jesuit style and examples in Counter-Reformation Rome. Nevertheless, this contextual contradiction is not so evident in style, because the Swedish church accepts images of saints and is not as austere as the Calvinist. Tessin's task was to unite Rome's ecclesiastical architecture with Lutheran orthodoxy, Swedish traditions and the demands of the

monarchy. After completing his project for the Royal Palace, he made elaborate plans for a Royal Coronation and Funerary Church facing the centre of the Palace. He decided on a magnificent domed church, inspired by Italian Baroque architecture. But this never got beyond the theoretical state. After 1688 Tessin was involved in building a church for Carl XI's favourite residence at Kungsör. It was a small centralised church on an octagonal plan, with transepts at the four points of the compass. The central space was domed and surmounted by a large lantern. Tessin used Bernini's church of S. Maria Assunta at Ariccia (near Rome) as model. For the newly founded naval arsenal of Karlskrona, the royal architect designed two churches. Because the Great Northern War, other projects for churches by Tessin were realized only after his death.

In a final but by no means conclusive chapter that unfortunately lacks the maps necessary to understand its content, Rebecka Millhagen described Tessin's legacy on later Swedish architecture and for the urban development of Stockholm. Unfortunately, the author undertook only a superficial analysis of one of the most interesting aspects, namely the influence of Tessin's somewhat abstract form of classicism (as, for instance, in the Royal Palace) on the architecture of Gunnar Asplund (especially on his City Library of 1920).

Although not all nine chapters of this book are equally relevant, this monograph on Nicodemus Tessin the Younger is most useful for those scholars and students concerned with royal architecture in Sweden during the second half of the seventeenth century, and especially with the way Baroque architecture was introduced and interpreted in that country.

Piet Lombaerde

Higher Institute of Architectural Sciences, Antwerp

Seventeenth-Century Dutch

David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier, The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550-1672 (History of Warfare)*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2002 662 pp, 19 color plates (including details), 318 b&w illus. ISBN 90-04-12369-5.

It is a rare book on early modern Netherlandish art that opens with a denunciation of US human rights abuses and military policies. Prof. Kunzle immediately warns the reader of his partisan stance. (One can only imagine what he might have added to this preface after the US invasion of Iraq.) Clearly, the author's declared political views have driven much of his research. A major focus of the book concerns civilian suffering at the hands of the military, and a major portion of the images were generated, Kunzle asserts, by the "experience and hatred of war." The iconography of military cruelty presented here stretches from Bruegel to Rubens and beyond. But the first illustration is a poster protesting the war in Vietnam.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I discusses works by Bruegel, Heemskerck, Cornelis van Haarlem, Goltzius, and many others, showing their connections to sixteenth-century literature and to the Dutch Revolt. Kunzle focuses on depictions of the Massacre of the Innocents and on related scenes of ambush and plunder. For the most part he interprets these representations as reflecting and expressing popular concerns – and the artists' own concerns – about military practices, though at one point he adds the caveat that it would be "rash" to claim that the works "were viewed in terms of contempo-

rary military behavior." Part II shifts to the seventeenth century. Against the background of the Thirty Years War and Eighty Years War, Kunzle treats battle pictures and scenes of pillage, banditry, and guardrooms by Flemish and Dutch artists. He concludes this section with a chapter on Rubens's contributions to the "artistic propaganda machine." Disputing mainstream historians' identification of Rubens as a "man of peace," Kunzle interprets the paintings in light of the causes and powers that the artist served. After surveying the political utility that Rubens's patrons found in his religious and allegorical subjects, not to mention his rape scenes and hunts, the author concludes that this "lackey of Spain" shared his patrons' blindness to common human suffering. The chapters of Part III cluster loosely under the rubric of the ironically named "good soldier," often taken as equivalent to the "courtier" in the book's title. Following a chapter on patriotic siege prints, the author moves to depictions in art and literature of the Continenence of Scipio – a subject prized as a political model and particularly useful for presenting military might as generous rather than heartless. He then treats Dutch civic guard portraits, interpreting them as reassuring myths of bourgeois power. His final chapter focuses on Gerard ter Borch's paintings with military themes.

Such a brief and necessarily over-simplified summary hardly does justice to this long (627 text pages) and profusely illustrated (321 plates) text, with its unexpected juxtapositions and sidebars. Such breadth of coverage of military-related themes gives occasion for many insights. For example, we find an excursus on the seductive still lifes with military paraphernalia that are often inserted into guard-room pictures, a sub-genre that has received little attention heretofore. Kunzle makes perceptive comments on the compromised visual enjoyment offered by such objects: the viewer is placed in a position of complicity with the plundering soldiers. In the chapter on siege prints, he observes that these works, in their "scientific" precision, are as representative of Dutch culture as Rubens's history paintings are of Flemish culture. He sets these prints in the context of actual siege practice and of current publishing, concluding that such prints were appreciated not only for their technical accuracy but also for their legitimization of war. They offered a patriotically motivated "redemption," as it were, of the soldier and of war itself. Clearly an impressive amount of research went into this particular subject as well as into much else in the book. At the very least, the book offers a mine of information in English that will be new to most readers.

However, those readers will also be disturbed by the sloppiness of the book's writing, proofing, and production. The need for professional editing is evident throughout. Someone should have spotted the typos and insisted on tightening the argumentation. The text is long-winded, sometimes reading like a first draft. The captions to the illustrations, though highly useful when short, are often unwieldy in length, yet omit such information as collection and size. The list of illustrations contains inaccuracies, as does more than one footnote. More problematic, to my mind, is the author's tendency to prefer iconographic descriptions over pointed analyses of the works he treats, a failure to discuss the nature of the images as political or socio-cultural constructions. Too often the text simply juxtaposes discussions of historical occurrences with descriptions of paintings, as if the images passively illustrated the history. Readers might also have welcomed a more self-conscious examination of the author's interpretive approach, that is, a probing of the ideological positions that underlie his contribution to the social history of art. The author states his allegiance to seeing art as a "mirror and tool of political consciousness," yet in many instances the complicated relationships among artists, their art, their audience, and contemporary politics need to be scrutinized with greater care.

More specifically, I must mention the final chapter on paintings with military themes by Gerard ter Borch, a subject on which I have

published earlier (see below). Kunzle intelligently groups the pictures into four categories. His key painting for the category of carousing soldiers, however, has recently been firmly attributed to Caspar Netscher after the discovery of a signature (*Soldiers Carousing in an Inn*, 1658, Philadelphia, Johnson Collection). The sections on courting and letter-writing military figures – instances of the soldier as “courtier” – include valuable commentary on the trumpeter’s role in the military and on the instrument itself. But they also include statements that are merely asserted rather than argued or supported. These are not the only instances of unsupported speculation. Discussing Ter Borch’s politics, Kunzle suggests that the artist domesticated the soldier in part as a reaction to the disorder caused by local political tensions. Shortly thereafter, he posits a motivation for the supposed weaknesses and evident hieraticism in Ter Borch’s 1667 group portrait of the Deventer Town Council, imagining a thinly veiled attack on the institution and the characters of its members. (One is reminded of how Hals’s late Regents portraits were once interpreted). His discussions of the artist and of these works seldom lack nuance or complexity, but too frequently they make claims that seem less than well-founded.

Despite these reservations, I find a lot to admire in a book driven by such passion. As Kunzle remarks at one point, “Van Mander would not have approved of the book we write here.” By that he refers to Van Mander’s avowed non-partisanship, the political neutrality he espoused in his writing. Many early twenty-first-century readers will most definitely value this politically inspired book by David Kunzle, not least for the partisan clarity of his judgments.

Alison M. Kettering
Carleton College

Note: For further discussion of military themes in the art of Gerard ter Borch, see my “Gerard ter Borch’s Military Men: Masculinity Transformed,” in *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*, A.K. Wheelock, Jr. and A. Seeff, eds. (symposium, Center for Renaissance and Baroque Art, U. of Maryland, 1993), Newark, DE, 2000, 100-119 (please note errata: the first two illustration captions are reversed). Also “‘War Painting’ in the Netherlands after the Peace of Münster and Osnabrück,” in: *Proceedings of the Colloquium, 1648: L’art, la guerre et la paix en Europe*, Paris, Louvre, November 20-21, 1998, Paris, 1999, 513-539.

Amy Golahny, *Rembrandt’s Reading. The Artist’s Bookshelf of Ancient Poetry and History*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003. 283 pp. 8 color plates, 64 b&w illus. ISBN 90-5356-609-0.

What did Rembrandt know, and how did he know it? This variant on the classic Water-gate interrogation forms the basic inquiry of this stimulating new essay by Amy Golahny, Professor at Lycoming College, Williamsport Pennsylvania. The author is a respected Rembrandt scholar, whose work has appeared in leading journals and recent anthologies on the artist and on mythology. Moreover, she has earned the gratitude of many HNA members for her leadership role in the American Association of Netherlandic Studies. Thus there are many reasons to be glad for this new contribution on Rembrandt’s utilization of classical sources.

Golahny uses two major moments of Rembrandt’s career as the focus of her study. First she examines the early results of training under Lastman, then she features the clues gained by close inspection of the 1656 inventory and its “books of various sizes.” For the most part, the works of art elucidated comprise mythological subjects and classical histories, and there is also some attention to Lastman’s oeuvre as well as works by the workshop and pupils of Rembrandt.

However, for the attentive student of Golahny’s own work (I consider myself such an admirer), there are few surprises. Her insights into the mythologies have for the most part been previously published. Her fine study of the Berlin *Proserpina* already appeared in the Penn State volume, *Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (1988); her Lastman material in *Dutch Crossing* (1996) and *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* (1998); her study of Homer and Vulcan in the Gardner Museum conference, published 2002, etc. She has made good use of more recent studies, such as Paul Crenshaw’s NYU dissertation (2000) on “Rembrandt’s Bankruptcy” and Stefan Grohé on the artist’s “mythological histories” (1996), as well as basic references like Broos on the artistic models for Rembrandt. But there are also notable omissions here. In a book dedicated to Rembrandt’s rethinking of classical narratives, there is no contribution to the ongoing dialogues that attempt to discern the subject of the 1626 “History Painting” (Leiden, Lakenhal), whose classical gestures and costumes stand closer to Lastman than any other early painting. She also fails to incorporate the impressive *Minerva in her Study* (1635; Otto Naumann, Ltd.), even as she offers attentive analysis of the Prado *Artemisia* (1634; in a reprise of her article in *Oud Holland*, 2000) and presents the New York *Bellona* (1633). This kind of selective attention undercuts the deeper, more lasting kind of contribution to Rembrandt scholarship, which might have built upon her earlier insights by period or classical subjects. Indeed, there is also no mention of the later Rembrandt images of Minerva, particularly the *Minerva in her Study*, whose patron in the context of an *album amicorum* was Jan Six (1652; discussed admirably but outside this context by Nicola Courtright in her 1996 *Art Bulletin* article). Because of the presence of books and study in both the painting and the drawing as well as Golahny’s extended evocation of Six as a learned interlocutor for Rembrandt, this omission is regrettable.

There are many helpful pointers here for both the specialist scholar and the Rembrandt novice, beginning with an introduction on “book culture” in Rembrandt’s Holland and concluding with a discussion of “artist’s libraries.” In general, Golahny builds upon the foundations of Jan Bialostocki’s worthy essays (“Books of Wisdom and Books of Vanity” plus “The *Doctus artifex* and the Library of the Artist in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries,” reprinted in *The Message of Images*, 1988) and often follows the careful methods employed by Christian Tümpel for the religious images. Indeed, she affirms Tümpel’s own insistence on the importance of Flavius Josephus for Old Testament scenes from Jewish history, as well as his use of pictorial models – especially prints – as important Rembrandt sources for the classical and mythic histories considered here.

Golahny aptly reminds us of the importance of certain earlier printmakers, especially Tempesta, and illustrators of source books, principally Tobias Stimmer, for the formulations and variations of subjects achieved by Rembrandt. In an ongoing contribution of this volume, she does note numerous examples where the artist made careful readings of more than one source text (Homer, Ovid, Livy, Valerius Maximus, and their recent vernacular translations and adaptations) in order to explain the artist’s choice of specific details of costume or staging.

If there is a criticism of this useful and welcome book, it is that this vitally important topic makes the reader hungry for more – more examples, more visual models (and more illustrations of those), more consideration of circumstances, patrons, or advisers (such as Jan Six, whose *album amicorum* offers a convergence of all three). One wishes for more systematic examination of various topics, often connected to periods and phases of Rembrandt’s art, broached here but not plumbed: the relation to Lastman (such as the overlooked Stechow essay in *Oud Holland*, 1969, as well as the fuller studies by Astrid and Christian Tümpel); the flurry of mythological subjects, some in rivalry to Rubens in the early 1630s (akin to the Gardner

Museum exhibition, *Rembrandt Creates Rembrandt*, 2000-01); the developing image of the Temple in Jerusalem, based on visual sources and other "historical" reconstructions, such as one illustrated book she cites (pp. 81-88) by Bernardino Amico da Gallipoli (1609; 1620); plus the obviously familiar rivalry in terms of both cultural prominence and erudition with Vondel, including the Amsterdam City Hall program.

The virtue of Golahny's new book, and her published articles that form its core, is to raise such ongoing and valuable questions, while offering numerous well-researched examples that contribute to lasting answers for them.

Larry Silver

University of Pennsylvania

Alan Chong and Michael Zell, eds., *Rethinking Rembrandt* Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (Fenway Court, vol. 30). Zwolle: Waanders, 2002, 264 pp, 7 color plates, 99 b&w illus. ISBN 90-400-9673-2.

Symposia are snapshots of the state of a field. Rembrandt research offers notable examples, especially the great international anniversary gathering, *Rembrandt after Three Hundred Years* (Chicago, 1969). Now, a generation later, another symposium (October 2000) by leading, often younger, Rembrandt scholars, mostly Americans, generates a volume to accompany Alan Chong's fine focus exhibition, *Rembrandt Creates Rembrandt, Art and Ambition in Leiden 1629-1631*. Its very title (with the second name in italics) suggests the concept (broached by Stephen Greenblatt) of 'self-fashioning,' the construction of identity. Meanwhile, the Rembrandt Research Project (and its discontents), a rich social and documentary history (led by Gary Schwartz), and a latter-day return to pictorial interpretation, often inflected by gender concerns, have all reshaped our vision of the artist, and these varied essays exemplify those contemporary approaches.

Only Catherine Scallen really engages with the Rembrandt Research Project – but through method. She offers a flashback of a hundred years to the crystallization of Rembrandt connoisseurship in the 1890s, the lively era of Bode, Bredius, and Hofstede de Groot. Her assessment of their limits also should serve as a cautionary tale for modern debaters about attribution, even as she reminds us that issues of working method and workshop participation were already raised back then. In the process, she reminds us of the seminal role of Rembrandt images in establishing connoisseurship as an early cornerstone of art historical practice, not to mention both art publishing and blockbuster exhibitions, even prior to the new technical evidence that has flourished since 1969.

Ivan Gaskell ponders master-pupil links in discussing how Rembrandt and Dou pursued 'an evolving relationship.' He stresses their differences and intentional divergence, even while using the same motifs, such as fictive curtains and efforts at *trompe l'oeil*. Charles Ford considers the diverse self-portraits as a construct ('oeuvre'), a false, modern category that fetishizes a modern 'Rembrandt' – in contrast to several contemporary categories, such as *tronies*. His compact essay, analytically historiographical (L. de Vries, Raupp, Chapman, van de Wetering) is also critical, fully undermining (without explicitly mentioning) the recent exhibition, *Rembrandt by Himself* (1999-2000) as a problematic, self-confirming reading.

Many of the essays, however, focus on the social connections and behavior of Rembrandt. Some fundamentally draw upon documents. Paul Crenshaw revisits the 1656 bankruptcy and adds fresh information about the financial supporters and timing of this

legal declaration. This complex network of Rembrandt clients combines Gary Schwartz's documentation with Svetlana Alpers's autonomous 'self-fashioning,' as the scandals – of his own making – with his two female consorts are read here against the estrangement of the artist from the patrician Jan Six. John Michael Montias, most senior of the contributors, also uses archives to discuss clients (e.g. art in exchange for shares with another bankrupt, Marten van den Broeck). He clarifies their connections to Rembrandt as individual buyers at the Orphan Chamber bankruptcy auction. In the process he underscores earlier Rembrandt ties to Amsterdam Reformed (Counter-Remonstrant) preachers.

Poised between the documentary and the social approaches to Rembrandt is Michael Zell's interpretive study of social behavior, "The Gift among Friends: Rembrandt's Art in the Network of his Patronal and Social Relations." Zell also attempts to navigate between Schwartz's networks and Alpers's autonomy by using the social theory of the gift, derived from Marcel Mauss. Such social exchange permits and personalizes mutual obligation and spans a range of clients from courtly patrons (esp. Huygens) to Amsterdam collectors, friends (the Six albums) and (Alpers's territory, but now see Crenshaw) creditors. In keeping with the renewed recent interest in Rembrandt prints, Zell also notes the importance of celebrated individual etchings as a form of exchange, "small editions for a select, discriminating audience," as well as the artist's choice of sitters for portrait prints. He ends with a thoughtful discussion of Jeremias de Decker and Rembrandt's gifts of art, including a portrait, reciprocated by the poet's verses.

A more interpretive and lengthy essay begins the volume, incorporating documentary evidence about Rembrandt's marriage and his images in all three media. Stephanie Dickey perceptively analyzes the 'poetics of portraiture' through the varied, creative images of Saskia, "disguised by costume, attributes, or the acting of a role" – a neglected complement to the more celebrated self-portraits sequence (and to Charles Ford's essay, displaced much later in the anthology). She properly notes how, like Rubens, Rembrandt's feminine ideal overlaps with the features of his beloved, which fosters his rich conflation of history, genre, and portraiture (even Petrarchan idealization or arcadian fantasies) in representing her. Rich, topical comparisons to other depictions of women (and wives) in roles, such as portraits *historiées*, reveal Saskia's visible identity, even while posing as a model in costume, within an intimate, companionate marriage.

Margaret Carroll revisits the *Nightwatch*, subject of her dissertation (1976), and as usual she rethinks received wisdom. In this case, she challenges prior observations of coordinated action by the militia company and instead finds both centrifugal movements and dangerous, non-drill behavior by individuals. She considers the tensions between Amsterdam's peace party and the stadhouder's militarism, embodied as well as the artist's mysterious *Concord of the State*. Social and historical analysis reinforces and frames her careful observation of details in a familiar picture.

The remaining essays provide interpretations of individual 'histories.' Rodney Nevitt considers the neglected *Wedding Feast of Samson* (1638), adducing Dutch contemporary nuptial festivities (and literary texts, e.g. Cats) in relation to this staging of a biblical event. Thus beyond its exotic elements (considered by Slatkes) he shows how this painting also owes a debt to the pictorial tradition underlying Bruegel's lively peasant weddings. Nevitt observes within wedding decorum how the brazen gaze of the bride violates norms of demure behavior and raises moral questions (cf. Bal) as she engages the viewer. Amy Golahny reinterprets a mythological drawing, *Vulcan's Net*, in relation to both learned texts as well as Renaissance prints (Raphael/Coxcie, Goltzius). At once classical as well as comic, the scene unfolds before varied gods, identified in the analysis, with

varied human responses. She notes the dependence on Homeric narrative (via Coornhert's translation) and relates this image to later Rembrandt engagements with the bard, as well as his to adoption – and subversion – of Italian models (the subject of her dissertation, 1984).

Clearly we have come a long way from Kenneth Clark's Rembrandt or the 1969 symposium. Where once we heard Bialostocki on Iconography, Held on Classical Subjects, and Rosenberg on Drawings Connoisseurship, we now 'rethink' Rembrandt less as an individual and more as an imbedded Dutchman, imbricated within the market, politics, society, and local history. If we worry less about issues of authenticity, which dominated the period between the two symposia, and if we are more likely to pursue case studies than produce authoritative syntheses, we now offer close analysis of documents or Dutch texts or patronage circles, which also made our 'Rembrandt' together with the artist's self-fashioning.

Larry Silver

University of Pennsylvania

Paul Huys Janssen, *Caesar van Everdingen (1616/17-1678)*. Translated by Diane L. Webb. Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 2002 (Aetas Aurea, XVII). 216 pp, 21 color plates, 134 b&w illus. ISBN 90-70288-47-8.

Paul Huys Janssen's substantial new monograph on Caesar van Everdingen is a much-needed expansion of the literature on this important artist. Everdingen has been recognized as a key classical artist ever since the 1980-81 exhibition "Gods, Saints and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt" at the National Gallery in Washington. Everdingen's preeminent status among the group known as the Haarlem Classicists can be seen in the inclusion of his works in major surveys and textbooks, such as Bob Haak's *The Golden Age* (1984), and Seymour Slive's new *Pelican* (1995). Recent exhibitions of classical art, including Albert Blankert's "Dutch Classicism" (1999, Rotterdam and Frankfurt) have highlighted Everdingen's crucial role in the movement of Dutch art to a more classical style during the middle of the seventeenth century.

Given this popular attention and acclaim, it remains a surprise that the sole catalogue of Caesar van Everdingen's paintings – until now – was an unpublished master's thesis (written at Utrecht by D. van der Poel). Janssen's book is the first major catalogue raisonné of the artist, and is a worthy follower to the pioneering study of the artist by Vitale Bloch in 1936. Like Bloch, Janssen treats the works with great sensitivity to nuances of style and subject. He also adds invaluable archival information, creating a remarkably full and complete image of the artist and his milieu.

Caesar van Everdingen's career brings together many of the most central and significant artists and patrons of the seventeenth century, including Salomon de Braij, Pieter de Grebber, Jacob van Campen, and Pieter Post, as well as Constantijn Huygens, Amalia van Solms, and a multitude of civic figures and bodies. He was active in his home town of Alkmaar, and also executed major commissions in Amersfoort, Haarlem, The Hague, and Halfweg.

In the text portion of the volume, Paul Huys Janssen succinctly surveys Caesar van Everdingen's working career. He pulls together all of the published biographical information from archival sources, including the new research added by Irene van Thiel-Stroman in the Dutch Classicism exhibition of 1999. Janssen adds a significant set of new documents unearthed in his own foray into the notarial archives at Alkmaar – from accounts of a barroom brawl and other disputes in which the artist was involved to new information about Everdingen's

comfortable financial situation. Janssen's lucid account of the interwoven familial relationships of the Everdingens gives a fascinating picture of how the social fabric of the time functioned, and how the practical business of art was conducted in a tight-knit local environment. All of Janssen's references are summarized and transcribed in the appendix, providing an invaluable source for further research.

Particularly interesting in Janssen's study of Everdingen's early career is his treatment of two debated issues: firstly, whether Everdingen should be listed, as Houbraken asserts, as a pupil of Jan Gerritsz. Van Bronckhorst of Utrecht, and secondly, the role of pupils in Everdingen's own shop. Using both stylistic and archival materials, and drawing on his knowledge of artistic training in the period, Janssen persuasively argues the case for Everdingen having an advanced apprenticeship with Van Bronckhorst in the years 1637-38/9. The artist's first major commission, for the Organ shutters of the Sint-Laurenskerk at Alkmaar, was received shortly after this apprenticeship ended, and may mark the artist's entry into the world of practicing artists. If so, this was certainly a grand entrance. Everdingen's organ shutters enjoyed immediate popular success, witnessed by the bonus granted to the artist shortly after installation. More importantly, that project, on which Everdingen collaborated with Jacob van Campen, introduced the artist to a wider circle of painters, and to a more updated style. Janssen convincingly argues that Everdingen's relationship with Jacob van Campen was one of the most important factors in the artist's career. Not only did Van Campen introduce Everdingen to other classical artists, he made it possible for Everdingen to receive other major commissions, such as the paintings for the Oranjezaal at Huis Ten Bosch, and the work for the Halfweg Water Board (with Pieter Post).

However, the question of why the burgomasters would have chosen the relatively inexperienced Everdingen for such a major commission is incompletely addressed by the author. Janssen's interest lies in the activities of the artist rather than those of his patrons and audience. While this approach is certainly appropriate for a monograph, further study of the connection between the classical style and the kind of elite patrons for whom Everdingen worked would have been welcome. Also missing here is a substantive discussion of the issues surrounding Everdingen's participation in collaborative projects (such as the Alkmaar organ panels, the Halfweg *Count William II Conferring the Charter on the Water Board of Rijnland in 1255*, and the Oranjezaal). However, Janssen's book provides rich material for further study in this vein, by clearly documenting Everdingen's autograph paintings, establishing his stylistic approach, and providing information about his portraits and commissions.

How Everdingen's studio operated is a question appropriately raised by Janssen. The existence of contemporary copies of the artist's better-known paintings (such as the *Allegory of Winter*, in Southampton and Amsterdam) has long been known. Rather than merely debate the attribution of the works, as previous writers were content to do, Janssen re-evaluates the information known about the workings of Everdingen's shop. Logically, he concludes that even without specific documentation identifying Everdingen's apprentices, the material evidence suggests that the master had several helpers, who occupied themselves producing copies. Drawing upon Pieter Schatborn's identification of a set of related academic drawings from Haarlem in this period (*Figuurstudies, Nederlandse tekeningen uit de 17de eeuw*, 1981), Janssen intriguingly suggests that the master may have participated with the other Haarlem Classicists in "a kind of drawing academy" in the 1640s and 1650s.

Janssen's catalogue raisonné is an adept and thorough treatment of the paintings. The author's long experience with these paintings, especially the works remaining in the Alkmaar Stedelijk Museum, is

abundantly apparent, and he lucidly separates the autograph from rejected works. Lastly, the book is lavishly illustrated and well organized. It will prove to be an essential resource not only on Dutch Classicism, but also for a more complete understanding of Dutch art in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Rebecca Tucker

The Colorado College

New Titles

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For information contact Kristin Belkin, 23 South Adelaide Ave, Highland Park NJ 08904; 732-937 83 94; kbelkin@aol.com, or Fiona Healy, Marc-Chagall-Straße 68, D-55127 Mainz, Germany; FionaHealy@aol.com

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23 S. Adelaide Avenue, Highland Park NJ 08904

Telephone/Fax: (732) 937-8394

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