Imagining the Antique

The use and origin of antique motifs in the visual arts of the Low Countries
1480 ~ 1530

Part I: Text

Universiteit Utrecht

Research Master Art History

Oliver Kik (3324974)

Supervisor: Prof. dr. Koen Ottenheym

Acknowledgements

This research master thesis explores potential common ground between traditional art history – with a dominant focus on painting and sculpture – and architectural history. The origin for starting this project that tries to break, or at least loosen, these disciplinary boundaries goes some years back when I was studying art history at Ghent University; for understandable reasons students had to choose between working on a thesis in either architectural history or visual arts. It was difficult making this decision. On one hand, I always had an avid interest in architectural history. On the other hand I was wildly enthusiastic about fifteenth- and sixteenth century visual arts so I choose visual arts. But as it goes wild old loves, they always stay put somewhere in the back of your head as small pilot light eager to blaze up brightly at some unexpected moment. This moment occurred now, when writing the research master thesis at Utrecht University as I tried to combine these two interests by looking into the representation of antique architecture in sixteenth-century visual arts.

During the year working on this thesis I have more than ever experienced how art historical research (as any other project) is something that is carried by the intellectual and emotional support of many people. For the help in the retrieval of the numerous photographs I would particularly like to thank Jeroen Giltaij of the *Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen*, Stijn Alsteens of the *Metropolitan Museum of New York*, Elisabeth Hoier of the *National Museum of Stockholm*, Rebecca Duffeix of the *Musées des Beaux-Arts de Lyon* and Abbie Vandivere of the research project 'the Impact of Oil'. I am also very much indebted to dr. Dirk van de Vijver for introducing me into the subject by providing me with a first list of literature and for the constructive and critical conversations. My supervisor, prof. dr. Koen Ottenheym, who's advice and support was of great value to this research. Patiently, he always answered any question on technical architecture-related matters and provided me with some new approaches and constructive criticism on the subject accompanied with many cups of coffee. I would also like to thank Huigen Leeflang, curator of the prints department of the *Rijksmuseum of Amsterdam*, for introducing me to the world of the prints during my internship there. His passion for prints was an inspiration and made me realize more than before the indispensible value of the printed image in visual culture. For the same reason I am also indebted to Ger Luijten, chief curator of prints, whose warm conversations on prints and this thesis subject I will not likely forget. The comments and insightful points of view of prof. dr. Krista de Jonge, (K.U.Leuven) during a conversation on the subject have also largely contributed to the preparation of this thesis. She has also given me the wonderful prospect of

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Front page illustration: Georg Lemberger, *Title page of Martin Luther's 'Auslegung der Evengelien'*, publ. by Johann Grunenberg, Wittenberg 1528, Woodcut, 22,8 x 14,9 cm, British Museum, inv. 1895.0122.176.

1 Introduction

The question of style and its changes is one of the keystone issues of art history. It is one that should be treated with the greatest care and a continuous awareness of its artificial post factum construction. Nevertheless one can hardly deny that Netherlandish painting underwent a formal transformation in the early sixteenth century. During this period the fifteenth century tradition of Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden and Gerard David was gradually combined with a growing interest for antique aesthetics and humanist iconography. An important aspect in this stylistic shift was the introduction of new 'Italianate' ornaments and motifs in the visual arts. During the first quarter of the sixteenth-century Netherlandish painting is characterised by a gradual influx of a wide range of Italianate motifs such as putti, coffered ceilings, ox-heads, classical columns, decorative friezes and pilasters among other elements.

The main goal of this thesis is to examine some of these antique architectural motifs in the visual arts of the Low Countries between 1480 and 1530. Is it possible to determine a set of ornamental form that were used in Netherlandish workshops to shape the idea of antiquity and if so what was the visual source material in constructing this idea? By answering these questions I hope to add stylistic information to the corpus of architectural language that was introduced in the Low Countries at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which for now has mostly been the study subject of architectural historians. On a second level, this is also a modest attempt to contribute to the ongoing debate on the workshop practice and the distribution of certain models in painters' workshops. It should be stressed that this thesis does not attempt to provide the reader with a overall image of these models. It is merely set up as a methodological test case to investigate the possibilities of using antique decorative motifs as an objective research tool.

Terminology

In some literature the new style that arose in the Low Countries around 1500 in artist's workshops is described as *Romanism*, obviously referring to the artists who began studying Roman Antiquity in the eternal city.[1] However, in contemporary sixteenth-century literature the name Romanist was used for people of nobility who had travelled to Rome as a pilgrimage to the Holy graves of Sts. Peter and. Paul.[2] Also, for the specific period that is the focus of this study, only

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[1] See for example: Hoogewerff 1912; Friedländer 1922; Dacos & Meijer 1995; Ainworth 2006; Hendrikman 2008.
[2] Dacos 1980, pp. 161-165.

Jan Gossaert and later Jan van Scorel undertook this journey for artistic purposes. Applying a term like Romanism automatically creates semantic limits of seeing the phenomenon strictly as a one-way-traffic of Italian influences and blocks out the other trajectories. I would also like to avoid using the more common term *Renaissance* for several reasons. First of all, the term involuntarily implies the regeneration of a certain form of antiquity. When applied to the Low Countries one can start wondering what antiquity it was that they tried to regenerate? Using the term Renaissance bears the inevitable association with the Italian phenomenon and applying it to the Low countries automatically implies a practice of cultural transitions and exchange. This traditional way of thinking that dates back to Vasari that implies an overwhelming dominance of Italian art, was carried on throughout most part of the nineteenth and twentieth century by prominent scholars like Jacob Burckhardt and later Johan Huizinga. In their wake many scholars adopted this Hegelian point of view where the medieval 'gothic' (and more local) formal language was gradually being replaced by an Italian progressive language of Renaissance.[3] Although this offers the opportunity to create a clear image of a stylistic process, the reality is often more complex. As I hope to show in this research thesis that the use of new architectural and ornament in visual arts is more the story of assimilation rather than the mere copying or borrowing of Italian forms. It will be discussed as an assimilation out of which an individual architectural language is constructed, rather than to speak of only literal influences.

Also the concept of Renaissance and its complex historiography, despite of Panofsky's defence of the subject, has become one of the most questioned terms in art history. Especially among social and economic historians and their art historical epigones it became more fashionable to speak of Early Modern period. Out of a fear being carried away into these - though challenging also rather endless - discussions on defining and re-defining the concept of Renaissance, I opted to identify the new style as *antique*. In keeping with Krista De Jonge's use of the word antique, it avoids contradiction with the sixteenth-century view on Netherlandish art.[4] In contemporary sixteenth-century documents two specific terms reoccur in order to distinguish what today would be called Renaissance and Gothic. In a court trail in 1537 the Antwerp sculptors Willem van der Borcht and Claudius Floris declared that they were the only ones at that moment who were able to design in the antique manner (*antijcse wercken)*.[5] Another, in literature often quoted, example is the case of the commission of bronze choir screens for the Utrecht Cathedral in 1519. When the carpenter Gregorius Wellemans was told to make a wooden model

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[3] Van Balen 1930; Horst 1930; Roggen & Leurs 1939, p. 511-525; Leurs 1946; Kuyper 1994; Dacos & Meijer 1995; Tijs 1999.
[4] See, for example, De Jonge & Ottenheym 2007, pp. 21-23; De Jonge 2008.
[5] Hurx 2009, pp. 11-12.

after the first design (*patroen*) of painter Hendrick de Zwart, it was explicitly mentioned that he should 'avoid anything which is modern style and improve it thoroughly in an antique manner'.[6] Modern in this case was used to describe the new type of gothic architecture that later would be identified as the co-called 'flamboyant gothic' mostly spread in Brabant by the famous Keldemans architects. Its most glorious manifestations are the north tower of the Antwerp cathedral, the Ghent town hall or the tower of the St. Rombout church in Mechelen. Although the term modern was treated somewhat pejoratively in the last example, both antique and modern coexisted in a harmonious way.[7] Besides the term Antique I also make frequent use of the term Italianate. The difference between these is subtle. Antique implies an attempt of the artist to give his composition the appearance of antiquity. Even if the artist has very little knowledge of what real antiquity might actually look like. Italianate on the other hand is less contemporary and is just used to describe motives and element that look like or refer to the formal pictorial language of 'Italian Renaissance'. In contrast to the term Antique, Italalianate does not imply a conscious awareness by the artist of the Italianate nature.

Historiography

Research of antique motifs in the Low Countries is not new. It has always been an indispensable subject of architectural historians when studying the introduction of Renaissance in the Netherlands.[8] A recent example are the numerous that publications of Krista De Jonge on the introduction of the antique in the Low Countries addressed many relevant questions on the roles of architects and the Habsburg patronage in the dissemination of antique decorative forms.[9] She gives an overview of the various artists who contributed to the introduction of this architectural language such as sculptors Jean Mone, Jacques Du Broeucq and the changing attitude towards architects since the coming of Italian military architects Thommaso Vincidor or Alessandro Pasqualini. Although some examples of tapestries and miniature painting are touched upon briefly, the phenomenon of antique motifs in visual art is not a part of this corpus. In fact the number of publications that attempt to address the question of representation of antique

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[6] Coster 1909; Meischke 1988, p. 188; Vroom 1964, p. 174;Van Miegroet 2001, pp. 153-171; Ottenheym 2003, pp. 212-213; De Jonge & Ottenheym 2007, p. 22; De Jonge 2008, pp. 269-270; Mensger 2008, pp. 195-196.

[7] On this Netherlandish stylistic pluralism see Silver 1987; Kavaler 2000; Kavaler 2006; Mensger 2008; De Jonge 2008.

[8] Van Balen 1930; Vandevivere & Périer-d'Ieteren 1973; Tijs 1999; Van den Boogert 1998; Bers & Doose 1999; De Jonge & Ottenheym 2007.

[9] De Jonge 1994; De Jonge 1997; De Jonge 2002a; De Jonge 2002 2002b; De Jonge & Ottenheym 2007; De Jonge 2008.

architecture in sixteenth-century visual art before 1530 is limited. This comes as a surprise regarding the countless publications that have appeared on the relationship between Italy and the Low Countries.[10] Early examples were two books by Hoogewerff on sixteenth-century Romanists and Flemish painters' contacts with the Italian Renaissance.[11] They were authoritative studies that contributed extensively to the knowledge of how artist got acquainted with Italy and how it influenced northern art. Although some relevant notifications of ornamental and architectural features were made, they are treated in a rather concise manner and they are surely not the main concern of Hoogewerff. Antique architecture is treated with more attention in Max J. Friedländer's influential magnus opus *Die Altniederländischen Malerei.[12]* In the volume on Gossaert, for example, he makes some substantial comparisons between the architectural structures that dominate many of his paintings such as the Prague *St. Luke.*[13] However, in his elaborate and still admirable overview of Netherlandish painting the author could not afford to go to deep into the architectural details. Of more relevance for our study of antique architecture is the publication of Carl Horst in 1930.[14] More than half of his study on Renaissance architecture of the Low Countries is devoted to the phenomenon in the visual arts. It describes the evolution of various forms and types of antique or Italianate architectural elements in painting, stained-glass windows and sculpture and it still counts as the most complete study on painted renaissance architecture in the Low Countries. This present thesis hopes to be an update of this work. Even though Horst book covers a wide range of art works, the publication seems to be lacking a systematic structure to deal with the accumulation of visual material. Also, it is somewhat outdated after eighty years of research on Netherlandish art. Clearly following Horst's example was De Jong in 1934.[15] In his dissertation he tried to sketch the evolution of the architectural backgrounds in painting of the fifteenth- and sixteenth centuries. However, this research was mainly focused on the question of whether the architectural backgrounds were depicting existing buildings or not. With this narrow focus, issues regarding a stylistic evolution or the visual sources of the artists were being overlooked. Looking at the visualisation of architecture from a different angle was Meischke. In a famous article he offers an overview of the development of the architectural design in the Low Countries from the late Middle Ages until the sixteenth century. He discusses various topics such as contemporary terminology of the designs, the relationship between architect and commissioner, methods of representation and the definition of the architect. A short paragraph is

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[10] For example: De Jong; Dacos & Meijer 1995; Aikema 1999; Belozerskaya 2002; Nuttall 2004.
[11] Hoogewerf 1912; Hoogewerf 1935.
[12] Friedländer 1924-37.
[13] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, pp. 29-31.
[14] Horst 1930, pp. 1-87.
[15] De Jong 1934.

also devoted to the role of painters and visual artists in the process of architectural design.[16] Painters Jan Gossaert, Jan van Scorel and sculptor Jacques Du Broeucq are shortly mentioned for their influence on the architectural drawings. Also very useful is the recent Habilitationsschrift of Stephan Hoppe.[17] With various examples he approaches the interpretation that was given to the concept of antiquity during the fifteenth century until the beginning of the sixteenth century. He concludes that Romanesque elements in the paintings of for example Van Eyck are not only used as a juxtaposition of old times and modernity, but as an evocation of a intellectual concept of Ancient History. In this sense it forms a prologue for the present research to the sixteenth century visualisation of the antique and it provides a methodological guideline. The relationship between spread of the antique style in connection to Habsburg patronage was also addressed in the dissertation of Bob van de Boogert.[18] He focussed on the ways antique forms and festive decoration were used in order in the cultural propaganda of Charles V and his Court. The period between 1500 and 1530 however is hardly being discussed. This is characteristic for the small historiographic tradition on antique forms in Netherlandish visual arts, which mostly sets off only after 1540 with the research for example on the influence of Serlio's Books on Architecture on the genre paintings of Joachim Beuckelaer and Pieter Aersten.[19] It is with the persona of Hans Vredemann de Vries (1527-1606) that scholarly interest in the intertwining of architecture and painting is risen, which resulted in a stream of publications on the various aspects of this artist as a designer, architect, garden architect, engineer and painter.[20] Although the immense influence and importance of this artist for the later building tradition can hardly be underestimated, it has somewhat led to an overshadowing of the previous period. With the exception of a few publications, the scholarly challenges and possibilities of the dense relationship between painting and architecture for the first quarter of the sixteenth century is still rather underappreciated.

Research Limits

In defining the research area the period of 1480-1530 was chosen. Around 1480 the first antique ornamental motifs appeared in Bruges in the work of Hans Memling and thus functions as a starting point of the research. Also historically the 1480's mark a new political era in the Low Countries as the Burgundian reign ended with the reckless death of Charles the Bold on the

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[16] Meischke 1988, pp. 188-196.
[17] Hoppe 2008a; Hoppe 2009.
[18] Van den Boogert 1998.
[19] Lunsingh-Scheurleer 1946; Emmens 1973; Moxey 1976; Moxey 1997; Jansen 2006.
[20] This is just selection of the relevant publications of the last decade: Fuhring 2002; Borggrefe 2002; Stenvert 2004; Borggrefe & Lüpkes 2005; Lombaerde 2005; Heuer 2009.

battlefield near Nancy in 1477. The subsequent marriage between Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy in 1478 was the start of the long period of Habsburg reign in the Netherlands The new patronage would be accompanied by novel cultural tastes.[21] The other chronological limit is set at 1530 in order to fully examine the first generation of artists in the Low Countries that introduced these antique forms in their art in the first third of the sixteenth century. During the 1530's many of these pivotal artists died. Jan de Beer died in 1528, Adriaen van Overbeke around 1529, Quinten Metsys was deceased in 1531, Jan Gossaert in 1532 and Lucas van Leyden in 1533.[22] After their death a new generation of artists (e.g. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Lambert Lombard, Michiel Coxie, Maarten van Heemskerck, Cornelis Bos) who were often trained in the workshops of these earlier artists. They took over and renewed the architectural motifs and inventions of their forerunners as more and more artist and motifs started crossing the Alps. However, the focus of this research is on the introduction of this ornamental language by this first generation of which only a few artists had encountered antiquity in Italy. The decade witnessed not only the loss of these significant artists. On November 30th 1530 Margaret of Austria, regent of the Low Countries, dictated her will to her nephew emperor Charles V and died the next day. It is no coincidence that the researched period is akin to her years of birth and death. As patron of arts she played a tremendous role in the spread of the taste for the antique and commissioned works by the major artist of her time like Gossaert, Conrad Meit and Bernard van Orley.[23] A third reason for choosing 1530 to end the researched period is related to the building practice. As mentioned above, this study aims at contributing to the corpus of architectural motifs of renaissance architecture in the Low Countries. Focussing on this early period of the sixteenth century offers the opportunity to look at the ornamental language before it was fully applied in monumental architecture by the late 1520's and 1530's.[24] For some of these buildings like the church tower of Yselstein (1532) and the palace of Henry III of Nassau in Breda (1536) Italian architects such as Tommaso Vincidor, Alessandro Pasquelini and Donato de Boni were attracted to the Low Countries.[25] The sources for antique architectural language eventually got even more uniformed with the illustrated publication of Serlio's Fourth Book on Architecture which was being translated in Dutch by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in 1539 as *Generale Regelen der Architecturen*.[26]

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[21] Blockmans & Prevenier 1997, pp.251-258.
[22] Joos van Cleve and Bernard van Orley both lived until 1541 but they are key figures in this early style.
[23] Duverger 1980; Eichberger 2002; Eichberger 2003; Eichberger 2005.
[24] See § 4.2, pp.59-64 for a more detailed discussion of antique building practice in the Low Countries.
[25] De Jonge 1994; De Jonge 2002; Van den Heuvel 1991, pp. 23-32. De Boni only designed military works.
[26] De la Fontaine Verwey 1958; Marlier 1966; De la Fontaine Verwey 1976; Rolf 1978; Offerhaus 1988; Bury 1989;De Jonge 1998; De Jonge 2002a; De Jonge 2002b; Deswarte-Rosa 2004; De Jonge 2007.

The same year he published a popular version of Vitruvius in pocket format. With these publications the four classical orders were introduced in the Low Counties and the source material for architectural representation in the visual arts became more uniform.

Defining the geographical boundaries of the research turned out to be more difficult. The initial idea for the thesis was to limit the research area to the Antwerp workshops only, still enclosing a large number of artists. Already during the first stages of the research it turned out that geographical boundaries are just as relative for the researcher as they are for the research subject. Because of the sometimes underestimated mobility of Netherlandish artists and the accessibility of models and motifs through the new medium of printed images, the study of art history within their local urban environment is determined to become an artificial one. I share this view with scholars like DaCosta Kaufmann who also argued that the political and cultural boundaries of art are highly complex and fluid.[27] Therefore this research examines the works of art produced in the cities of, Bruges, Antwerp, Brussels, Mechelen and Amsterdam also in order to blur out the anachronistic boundary between northern and southern Netherlands that is still apparent in literature. Still a large part of the studied paintings are from Antwerp workshops. This is mainly because Antwerp was during the sixteenth century the city with the highest amount of workshops and at the crossroads of Netherlandish, German and Italian cultural spheres. Extending the geographical borders has many advantages yet it considerably enlarges the amount of work since the studied works of art suddenly doubled. Reminding me to the fact that this is 'just' a master thesis and not yet a dissertation I chose to single out three motifs that could function as case studies for the introduction of antique architectural forms in the Low Countries.

Thesis structure

The thesis consists of two case studies and an epilogue. The focus of the first chapter is on the use of an ornamental motif of putti and garlands, that was introduced in the Bruges workshops of Hans Memling and Gerard David. Questions on the spread, workshop practices, the origin and the cultural meaning will be addressed to offer a comprehensive case study of the diffusion of a very popular motif. As this chapter deals with the spread of an ornamental feature, the second chapter will concentrate on a motif of a more architectural nature. Palace-like structure that can be noticed in the Adoration scenes that grew in popularity in the first quarter of the sixteenth century will be examined for their use of stock models. The gradual change of this

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[27] DaCosta Kaufmann 2004.

architecture from a sober stable to an antique palace ruin raises some important questions on the sources and motivations of these pictorial build-overs. Also questioned in the chapter is the role of Jan Gossaert in the spread of new architectural motifs in the Low Countries. In both chapter one and two aspects of travelling artist, the upcoming and influence of the printed image, the role and taste of patronage, the evolution of the local art market (in Bruges and Antwerp) and the changing character of artist's role will be considered as trajectories in order to explain this formal change in early sixteenth century Netherlandish art.

As the first two chapters try to look at the subject matter from the point of view of visual arts, the third and final chapter attempts to treat the painted architecture from a more architectural 'perspective'. This is intended as a small epilogue where some questions will be raised on the relationship between this visual and fictional architecture and the building practice of the antique that only started about two decades after the spread of this vocabulary in visual arts, about the 1520's. In this chapter more questions will be asked than answered, offering new research possibilities that will probably be further examined in a forthcoming PhD. research project.

Methodology

This thesis has no intention of providing the reader with the entire corpus of works of art produced between 1480 and 1530 in which antique motifs appeared. It ought to be clear that this is a very selective presentation of architectural elements in visual art during the studied period. However, an attempt was made to include as many works of art produced by the major workshops in order to create a representative image of the global production. The main focus will be on paintings. Since the sixteenth-century artist was not only a painter but often also responsible for the design of festive decorations, tapestry, stained-glass windows, prints, sculpture and metalwork the original idea for the thesis was to incorporate these different types of media as well.[28] Although other these media are briefly touched upon, the main focus is still on painting. However, it should be kept in mind that the discussed motifs that appeared in these panel paintings also abundantly present on these other media. The largest group of paintings in the thesis belongs to the so-called Antwerp Mannerists. This was a group of mostly anonymous artists working in Antwerp between 1500 and 1530, constructed by the renowned art historian Max Jacob Friedländer in 1915 and later fully worked out as a separate volume in his famous

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[28] On the limited role of paintings as luxury goods in the fifteenth- and sixteenth century Low Countries: Wilson 1998; Bloom 2006.

Altniederlandische Malerei.[29] Ever since he classified a rather heterogeneous group of Antwerp painters and their workshops under the term 'Antwerp Mannerism', it has become a highly problematic and complex subject of research. During a recent exhibition in Antwerp and Maastricht in 2005, scholars attempted to bring some order in these groups.[30] It was an impressive research project that provided a large amount of new information and on the topic. Yet the group and the term Antwerp Mannerism remained intact even though its artificial character was acknowledged. This defines and limits the research area semantically. Just as the 'Flemish Primitives' are neither Flemish nor primitive, Antwerp Mannerism is neither a strictly Antwerp phenomenon nor can one speak of a mannerism of some sort. In fact when Friedländer applied it for the first time, mannerism was meant in a rather pejorative way, juxtaposing it to the more positive term 'style' which inclined creativity and innovation.[31] Given the various stylistic similarities between this group of painters and northern workshops like those of Jan Mostaert (Haarlem), Jan Wellens de Cock (Antwerp/Leiden) and Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (Amsterdam) it seems more attainable to speak of a more widespread phenomenon than is suggested in the term Antwerp Mannerism. Even though Paul Vandenbroeck recently proposed the new term 'Late Gothic Mannerism', I maintain Antwerp Mannerism in order to avoid confusion with other terms as for example Matt Kavaler's 'Gothic Renaissance'.[32] This research should be considered as a methodological exercise in using architectural elements and ornamental motifs as an objective accessory in providing information on workshop practices. Comparable research has been done for example by Goddard as he re-attributed works of the Master of Frankfurt using the brocade patterns in painted dresses and wall hangings.[33] Another example is the current research of Paul van den Akker (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) where the antique cuirasses in the works of Antwerp Mannerists are being examined.[34] Deconstructing works by focussing only on their decorative and architectural elements enables a form of research without the complexity of attribution based on subjective style analyses. In the specific context of sixteenth-century art production the idea of individualised workshops seems rather unattainable. Even Friedländer complained about the complexity of these workshops when he said that he was not able to make any distinction between some Antwerp Mannerists.[35] These constructed groups can form an obstruction when looking at art production in a broader perspective. Concentrating

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[29] Friedländer 1915; Friedländer 1921; Friedländer 1924-37.
[30] Van den Brink & Martens 2005.
[31] Born 2005, pp. 23-30.
[32] Vandenbroeck 2004-2005, pp. 301-329; Kavaler 2000; Kavaler 2006.
[33] Goddard 1984.
[34] Research presented at the annual NIKI (Dutch University Institute for Art History in Florence) Symposium: 'The reception of the Antique in Dutch art and Architecture' November 16th 2009.
[35] Friedländer 1924-32, vol. XI, p. 56; Van den Brink 2001, p. 13.

on individual motives rather than artists might help in shedding some light over the idea of antique in the Low Countries and on copying practices in these workshops. The method followed in this study is a combination of stylistic and iconographical analysis with the socio-economical approach of the art market production. It is hoped that through such a method we might come closer to understanding the ways the antique was interpreted and how it progressed in early sixteenth century art. It should be stressed that this thesis does not attempt to provide the reader with a concise image of antique models. It is merely set up as a methodological test case to investigate the possibilities of using antique decorative motifs as an objective research tool. As mentioned in discussing the thesis structure, only two motifs will be deconstructed here as case studies. But it should be clear that these are only two words in a vast and rich stylistic vocabulary. The antique elements in the oeuvre of Jan Gossaert or Bernard van Orley in itself offer enough material for a large dissertation. Considering the obvious limits of a master thesis one is obliged to limit things down; in this way this essay functions as a teaser that touches upon the numerous possibilities of this subject.

2 Putti and Garlands: 'A touch of Italy'

2.1 The Motif

Between September 1487 and February 1488 the Bruges painter Gerard David received an advance payment of four pounds for a painting on wood of the *Jugement ende Vonnesse Ons Liefs Heeren*, destined to hang in the alderman's chambers of the town hall.[36] More than ten years later, between 1498 and 1499, he received another payment for the completion of a large painting for that same chamber.[37] Both documents refer most likely to the commission of the two panels of *The Justice of Cambyses*, now in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges (fig. 1). In most literature, the main reason for this long waiting period between the first payment and the actual finishing of the panel in 1498 is of a political and diplomatic nature related to the recognition of the reign of Maximilian I by the city of Bruges.[38] The first payment in 1487 may have referred to a Last Judgement[39] or perhaps the episode of Christ before Pilate[40]. David later changed the subject as a moral example for political reasons. The changing of the subject also had some relevant cultural implications. Instead of referring to a more traditional Last Judgement or other Biblical judgement scene, a scene from classical history was chosen.[41] It seems that the choice of subject is more an indication of a growing interest for antiquity rather than a political *exemplum iustitiae*. The Justice of Cambyses tale is mentioned in both Herodotus *Historiae* and Valerius Maximus' *Facti et dicti memorabilia*. However, it is more likely that the scenes in the two panels depended more on medieval traditions such as the Gesta Romanorum; a Latin collection of anecdotes and tales that was probably compiled by the end of the 13th century.[42] During the second half of the Fifteenth century subjects related to antiquity started to emerge with Burgundian nobility,

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[36] Stadsarchief Brugge, Stadsrekeningen september 1487-February 1488, fol. 177r, 126v. First published by Weale 1865, p. 230; Janssens de Bisthoven 1981, p. 123; Van Miegroet 1989, p. 332, doc. 2; Van der Velden 1995, pp. 44-45; Ainsworth 1998, p. 60.

[37] Stadsarchief Brugge, Stadsrekeningen September 1498-September 1499, fol. 66r-67v. First published by Weale 1863, p. 230; Janssens de Bisthoven 1981, p. 123; Van Miegroet 1989, p. 332, doc. 2; Van der Velden 1995, pp. 44-45; Ainsworth 1998, p. 60.

[38] The political interpretation was first made by Waele (1863, p. 223,226) and was supported by Van Miegroet 1989, p. 143-175. Ainworth (1998, p. 62, 72) however, is suspicious about this theory and claims that it the choice for this subject refers to an older medieval tradition that is consistent with the general theme of the administration of fair and unbiased judgements.

[39] This argument is supported by the fact that in 1388-99 Bruges had paid its city painter Jan Coene for a Last Judgement for the same room in Bruges' town hall. Van der Velde (1995, p. 44, n. 10,12) believes that the first payment refers to a replacement of the old panels.

[40] Siret 1869, pp.51-53; Ainsworth 1998, p. 60.

[41] It should be pointed out that this was not a novelty since it was preceded by Rogier van der Weyden's *Herkinbald and Trajanus* panels for the town hall of Brussels ca. 1450 (lost the bombardment of Brussels by the troops of Louis XIV in 1695) and Dirk Bouts' *Justice of Emperor Otto III*, dated 1480 (Brussel, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België).

[42] Van Miegroet 1989, p. 234; Van der Velden 1995a, pp. 8-9; Ainsworth 1998, p. 60.

influenced by the commissions made by Dukes Philip the Good (1396/1419 – 1467) and Charles the Bold (1433/ 1467 – 1477). The Burgundian Dukes commissioned large tapestry cycles about the tales of Alexander the Great, Hannibal or Julius Caesar in which they identified themselves and their own merits and aspirations.[43] Although the exact origin of these stories was also often a medieval courtly tradition rather than classical texts, the growing interest in these subjects ought to be interpreted as a balance between chivalric traditions and humanist interests. The change in Gerard David's commission from a Biblical to a more classical subject matter reflexes this taste as it was emulated by other parts of society. Technical observation of the panels through infrared reflectography and X-radiographs has indicated some substantial modifications to the left panel (*The Arrest of Sisamnes*) made during the painting process. X-radiographs of the painting indicate various alterations in the background composition (fig. 2). The originally intended setting seems to have had a more standard throne with baldachin and wall tapestries on the sides, much similar to the official Burgundian throne rooms as they can be seen in various frontispiece miniatures. In the painting stage, however, David apparently abandoned these traditional settings to replace them with more antique elements: two sculpted tondi and garlands which are held up by putti.[44] He also included the coats of arms of Philip the Fair and Joan of Castile and dated the painting 1498. Because of these last two elements the alterations must have occurred between October 1496 (the date the wedding between Philip the Fair and Joan of Castile) and 1498. With the substantial revision of the decoration of the historical setting, Gerard David not only updated the scene to the contemporary historical events but also in a formal style in providing a historicising environment for a story that took place in antiquity. As the antique elements were included together with the coats of arms of the royal couple they may have also referred to the humanist interest at the Burgundian-Habsburg court. By including the sculpted putti and garlands (which are repeated in the right panel of the *Flaying of Sisamnes* as well) the artist deliberately chose a specific model that had already proven its purpose.

Almost twenty years earlier Gerard David's highly regarded predecessor, Hans Memling, introduced these festoon pulling putti in three different paintings which soon became one of the more popular decorative motifs in late fifteenth- century painting. The motif can be described as an archway of two polished columns of red marble each that carry a pair of putti, stretching out garlands of luxurious leafs, flowers and pieces of fruit. Both swags are held up a third pair of

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[43] On Burgundian tapestry cycles: Smith 1979, 91-111; Smith 1989; Rapp Buri & Stucky-Schrürer 2001; Campbell 2002; Belozerskaya 2002. The most prolific example of Burgundian reference to antiquity, was perhaps the founding of the Order of the Gulden Fleece in 1430, by Philip the Good.
[44] The tondi were based upon bronze copies of antique intaglio's that ware part of the Medici-collection. Van Miegroet 1989, p. 160.

angels in the moulding of the arch. The arch is topped off with two prefigurative scenes. On the left hand side *Kaïn and Abel* and on the right *Samson and the Lion*, representing Christ both as victim and as conqueror.[45] They are carried by peculiar turned columns. The first use of the motif was probably in the central panel of the *Pagagnotti Triptych* (Florence, Uffizi, fig. 3).[46] With help of the coats of arms on the exterior of the side panels Rohlmann was able to identify the patron of this triptych as the Florentine Bishop Benedetto Pagagnotti.[47] He was a figure of considerable importance and had close ties to both the Strozzi and the Medici families[48]. Even though the work itself is not dated, clear assumptions can be made as it was quoted early after its arrival by other Florentine artists. The watermill and the landscape on the right of the Virgin, are echoed in the wing panels of Filippino Lippi's *Saint Benedict and Apollonia* and *Saints Paul and Frediano* (Pasedena, Norton Simon Foundation), which were commissioned for a church in Lucca in 1482, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the Memling triptych.[49] Recently Lane argued an even earlier date since it also influenced Ghirlandaio's *San Giusto Altarpiece* of 1479.[50] This dates the introduction of the putti-garland motif in Netherlandish painting to 1478 at the latest.

Contemporary to the *Pagagnotti Triptych*, Memling re-used the putti and garlands in the central panel of the *Triptych of the Enthroned Virgin* (Vienna, Kunshistorisches Museum), dated around 1479-80 (fig. 4).[51] Dirk De Vos proposed that the donor on the right of the Virgin is that of Jan Crabbe, abbot of the Duinen Abbey in Koksijde, who had commissioned another triptych with from Memling some years earlier.[52] This proposal was convincingly refuted by Lorne Campbell. Lane later suggested that it might have been an Italian patron due to the Italianate motifs.[53] The composition is a compounding of various previous of Memling's composition as it combines elements of the *St.-Johnaltarpiece* (Brugge, Sint-Janshospitaal) and the Donne Tryptich.[54] The *Kain and Abel* and the *Samson and the lion* that appear in the archway of the *Pagagnotti Triptych* have been replaced by respectively *the Offering of Isaac* and *the Offering of Jefta's daughter*.[55] As a result both sculpted groups symbolise the sacrifice of Christ. A third example of the motif within

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[45] De Vos 1994, p. 318, n. 7. According to De Vos the prefigurative sculpture form a symbolic juxtaposition against the putti arch. He does not provide any arguments for this suggestion.
[46] Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 1024. De Vos 1994, no. 89; Lane 2008, pp. 203-204, no. 35.
[47] Rohlmann 1990, pp. 68-69, 71; Rohlmann 1993, p. 244; Rohmann 1995, p. 439; Campbell 1998, 366-368; Lane 2008, p. 203.
[48] Rohlmann 1990, p. 74; Rohlmann 1990, pp. 441-443; Campbell 1998, p. 367.
[49] Nuttall 2004, p. 133.
[50] Lane 2008, p. 204, 224.
[51] Vienna, Kunsthistorische Museum, inv. GG_939. Friedländer 1971, vol. VIa, no.9; De vos 1994, no. 53; Lane 2008, no. 70.
[52] De Vos 1994, pp. 215-216.
[53] Campbell 1995, p. 254; Lane 2008, p. 318.
[54] Lane 2008, pp. 317-318.
[55] Birkmeyer's (1961, p. 231) identification of the left scene as *the beheading of St. John* was refuted by Lievens-De Waeg (1991, p. 183) who identified it as *the offering of Jefta's daughter*.

Memling's oeuvre is the *Triptych of the Resurrection* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), dated 1490 (fig. 5).[56] Although the main scene differs from that in the two earlier panels, the antique framing shows more similarities to the *Pagagnotti Triptych* than to the Vienna Madonna since the prefigurative sculptures are the same. In fact, they bear an even greater relevance since the Resurrection of Christ symbolises more directly his sacrifice and triumph over evil. Even though there is no documentary or iconographical evidence concerning the commission of the triptych it is highly likely that it was part of an Italian collection. It was acquired by the Louvre in 1857 in an auction of the Vallardi collection.[57] This Milanese art collection was mainly focussed on Italian art and the presence of this triptych might point towards the fact that it was already in Italy before it became part of the Vallardi collection. Also the presence of the specific putti-garland motif in the central panel made some authors suggest an Italian patron.[58] Of the works that are attributed to Memling himself, these are the three paintings that make an elaborate use of the same model with festoons and putti.

2.2 The Origin

Friedländer describes the putti-garland motif in the three Memling triptychs as carrying 'a touch of Italy and the Renaissance (…) that must have reached the master from the South in some way'.[59] Another canonical art historian, Erwin Panofsky, states that the elements were Milanese rather than Florentine, but did not mention a specific artist in Milan that could have been the example of Memling's putti.[60] Despite this, many suggestions have been given about the origin of this first appearance of an Italianate motif in Netherlandish art.[61] There is no documentary evidence of Memling travelling to Italy, even though it was suggested by Malfatti, it seems very unlikely.[62] If there was such a trip, it must have been between 1464 (the year that he acquired citizenship of Bruges) and 1478 (the first use of the motif in the *Pagagnotti triptych*).

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[56] Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 248. Friedländer 1971, vol. VIa, no. 7; De Vos 1994, no. 74; Comblen-Sonkes & Lorenz 1995, pp. 220-237; Lane 2008, no. 59.

[57] *Catalogue de tableuax ancines, fresques et dessins des Ecoles italienne & flamande proveneant de la célèbre collection Vallardi, de Milan, dont la Vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu Hôtel des Commisssaires-priseurs, rue Druot 5, grande salle n. 5, le 20 mars* 1857, Paris 1857. Comblen-Sonkes & Lorenz 1995, p. 226.

[58] Lane 2008, p. 199. The presence of Saint Sebastian made Wauters (1893, pp. 89-81) propose that it was painted for the chapel of the Archers Guild of Bruges, whose patron is Saint Sebastian. Yet no other documentary evidence is given to harden this argument. Also the small size of the triptych makes this assumption highly unlikely.

[59] Friedländer 1971, vol. VIa, p. 20.

[60] Panosky 1953, p.349.

[61] Lorentz (1995, n. 217) mentions some minor Italiante elements in *The Virgin and Chancellor Rolin* of Jan van Eyck and in *Portrait of a young Man* of Petrus Christus (London, National Gallery). However, their Italian origin is questionable and not as eye-catching as in these three Memling Triptychs.

[62] Malfatti 1997, pp. 105-113.

However this is an incredibly productive period for the painter as he received many mayor career defining commissions such as the *Last Judgement Triptych* (Gdaňsk, Muzeum Narodowe) painted between 1466 and 1471 and the *St.-John Altarpiece* between 1474 an 1479.[63] It was not until 1480 that he took his first apprentice so he would have to have been present in his workshop, leaving little spear time for an Italy trip.[64] In order to understand the origin of the motif and the way Memling might have gotten acquainted to it is necessary to have a closer look at similar motifs with putti carrying garlands in Italy that might have functioned as a possible source. In literature three theories on the Italian origin have been proposed.

The putti first found its full expression in Florentine Quattrocento art in Donatello's art, as he was inspired by depiction Amor figures and genii on Roman sarcophagi.[65] In Italian contracts and documents a putto is described as a *spiritello*. After this introduction it soon became ubiquities in the formal language of Quattrocento ornamentation throughout the Italian peninsula. In context to the quest for Memling's motif, the importance of the *Cavalcanti Annunciation* in the Santa Croce in Florence – dated between 1428 and 1433[66] - is not to be underestimated (fig. 6). Three pairs of putti are being placed in a similar position as we have seen in the Memling triptychs. Not only are the terracotta paired putti on the sides alike, also the two on top show appear to be an antecedent of the ones that pull up the garland in the moulding of the arch. This resemblance has led some authors to propose this tabernacle as the direct influence to Memling's motif.[67] Obviously this leads to some difficulties concerning the way that Memling got access to the Florentine sculpture, since the possibility of an Italian voyage is unlikely. The influence of the Donatello sculpture can be only of an indirect nature. I will come back to this further on.

A second suggestion was made by Lorenz, who rightly mentions that putti carrying garlands appeared north of the Alps in book illumination, before Memling applied it in 1478.[68] Jean Fouquet - who had travelled to Italy between 1444 and 1446 – uses a variety of antique forms among which are putti in the presentation image of *The Book of Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, dated between 1453 and 1460.[69] On top of an antique wall with Corinthian pilasters and

[63] De Vos 1994, no. 4, no. 31.

[64] Vanden Haute 1913, p. 28; De Vos 1994, pp. 440-441 ; Borchert 2005, p. 14 ; Lane 2008, pp. 95-96.

[65] Bode 1890, p. 95; On the antique origin of the putti and garlands and their inspiration to Donatallo, especially see Pope-Hennessey 1993, p. 86-87; Rosenhauer 1993, pp.101-102; Dempsey 2001, pp. 8-61.

[66] Janson 1963, p. 103.

[67] Kaemmerer 1899, p. 132; Rohlmann 1994, p. 69.

[68] Comblen-Sonkes and Lorentz 1995, pp. 231; Lorentz 1995, pp. 77-79.

[69] Chantilly, Musée Condé, Sterling and Schaefer 1971, ill. 4,5, 13; Scheafer 1994, pp. 40-139.

architraves a series of naked putti are holding up the coats of arms of the patron, connected by a string of garlands (fig. 7). During Fouquet's journey to Italy it is almost certain that he passed through Florence since many elements and compositions of Florentine masters such as Fra Angelico, Pierro della Francesca, Masaccio and Domenico Veneziano have been found in his oeuvre.[70] In Rome, he even became a good friend of Filarete who called him a *buen maestro maxime a retrarre del naturale*.[71] In his miniatures and paintings he covers a range of antique architectural motifs that can be associated with Quattrocento art and Roman antiquity such as the Pantheon or elements of the Forum Romanum. In fact, if one interprets fifteenth–century art production as a result of a Franco-Burgundian cultural patronage that exceeded geographical and political borders, it would be fair to see not Memling but Foucquet as the introducer of antique forms in Northern visual arts. But this raises the question whether Fouquet really was the Prometeus who carried the fire of Italy to the north? How far did his stylistic authority reach to be of any influence on Memling two decades later? [72] Most of his commissions came from the French court (Charles VII and Louis XI) and nobility which provided him with the privilege of becoming a court artist (*valet de chambre)*, comparable to the position of Jan van Eyck at the court of Philip the Good.[73] At his workshop in Tours he specialised in luxurious illuminated manuscripts which became part of a private library of the commissioner. This does, however, provide no evidence that it might not have influenced Flemish artists such as Memling or contemporaries. For instance, the way that the famous the artists of the *Grimani Brevary* (1490-1510) quote – almost copy – the even more eminent *Très Riches heures du Duc de Berry* of the Limbourg brothers, illustrates how well-known some miniatures were. Yet it seems that the putti that were used in the miniatures of Fouquet go back to a different source than those on top of the Memling archways. Although is plausible that Fouquet witnessed Donatello's tabernacle, it was clearly not the source of inspiration for the golden angels that carry the shields of Etienne Chevalier, as Lorentz proposed.[74] A more probable explanation is offered by Schaefer who connected the motif to a drawing in Berlin that was most likely a sheet of a sketchbook from the workshop of Benozzo Gozzoli.[75] Two almost identical putti carry lush garlands on their shoulders (fig. 8).

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[70] On Foucquet's encounters with Italian artists see: Perls 1940, pp. 14-17;Sterling 1988; Scheafer 1994, pp. 24-39.
[71] Perls 1940, p. 14; Schaefer 1994, p. 27.
[72] On antique elements in Fouquet's miniatures see: Evans 1985; Sterling 1988; Châtelet 1993; Laclotte 1995; Beltramini 2001; Malafarina 2007.
[73] Perls 1940, p. 18.
[74] Lorentz 1995, p. 78.
[75] Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, SMPK, inv. KdZ 5578. Degenhart & Schmidt 1968, I.2, no. 464; Schaefer 1994, p. 30; Schulze Altcappenberg 1995, pp. 213-214, no. 63r. The same type was widespread in Italy and originated more directly from Roman sarcophagi such as the so-called Garland Sarcophagus (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); Dempsey 2001, p. 12.

The Berlin drawing might have been used in 1484 for Gozzoli's *The Meeting of Salomon and Sheba*, a fresco in the Camposanto in Pisa. Here the same putti were integrated into the architectural setting as they become a decorative feature in the arcaded gallery.[76] Fouquet might have been in contact with Gozzoli when the latter was assisting Fra Angelico with the fresco of the St. Laurence Chapel in the Vatican. Fouquet referred to this fresco in some of his miniatures.[77] In relationship to the Memling motif, the nature of celebratory chain of foliage, fruit or flowers swinging in loops on the putti's shoulders is of such a different nature that it must have been derived from other examples that were more closely related to the Donatello model.

Quite a few authors have also proposed Mantegna (1431-1506) as a possible source for Memling's putti-garland decoration.[78] Mantegna's love for putti and all forms of antique decoration is omnipresent in throughout his artistic career. Although he makes frequent use of putti and garlands, the exact composition were three couples of putti create a decorative archway for the scene as we saw with Memling is nowhere to be found in his oeuvre. However, closely related to this model is the *San Zeno Altarpiece* in Verona (fig. 9).[79] In the central panel of the impressive altarpiece, dated 1457-60, two similar garlands fall down to the sides from the top centre, adding an illusionistic level of dept to the scene. Although no chubby little angels are pulling up the strings of fruit and flowers, they do appear in the background. In a sculpted frieze, which in its resemblance of a sarcophagus reminds us of the antique origin of the putti, two putti are holding up a festoon. Also the main subject, an enthroned Virgin, is akin to two of the three Memling triptychs with the motif. However, when Mantegna integrated his swags and putti, he did so in reference to a firm artistic language that was becoming a tradition in Padua ateliers. During his years of artistic training Mantegna was an apprentice (and adopted son) of Francesco Squarcione between 1440 and 1444.[80] It is probably here that Mantegna got acquainted with the garlands. Mantegna's fascination for antiquity and ancient statues was inherited from his master who was well-known for his large collection of antique statues which were imported from Tuscany, Rome and Greece.[81] The workshop was the breeding ground for an entire generation of painters such as Cosimo Tura and Niccolo Pizzolo, who were trained in copying and studying

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[76] The fresco cannot have functioned as the visual source of Fouquet as it was finished in 1484, four years after Fouquet's death.
[77] Schaefer 1994, p. 29.
[78] Müntz 1898, p. 478; Aschenheim 1910, pp. 3-5; Horst 1930, p. 11;Lorentz 1995, p. 79.
[79] De Marchi 2008, pp. 153-157.
[80] Vasari 1568 (2007), p. 275; Cavazzini & Galli 2008, p. 55.
[81] *Ibid.*

after these statues and fragments.[82] Antique decorative elements characterize most of these painters' works. One of the two paintings that have been attributed to Squarcione is his *Virgin and Child*, dated ca. 1450 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie) shows how he also combined the Virgin with the hanging garlands (fig.10).[83] Squarcione's use of garlands and putti can probably be best explained by Donatello's presence in Padua in 1443, when he was commissioned the famous equestrian statue of condottiere Gattamelata.[84] During his stay Donatello had frequent contacts with Squarcione's workshop. It is exactly the Donetello motif with the three pairs of putti carrying garland that re-appears in the works of Squarcione's pupils. In the *Virgin and Child* of Giorgio Schiavone (London, National Gallery), the virgin is presented half-length under a triumphant arch, decorated with *boukrania* (ox heads) in the corners (fig. 11). While one vegetative coil hangs from their horns, another one elegantly falls down from a pair of putti – whose feet can be noticed on the keystone of the arch – to be collected by the music playing angels on top of the pilasters at the sides. It clearly refers to Donatello or other sculptors who drew from his artistic repertoire such as Giovanni di Francesco da Pisa, who was documented as a sculptor in Padua between 1447 and 1448.[85] A terracotta bas-relief of this artist, dated 1450-55, (Vaduz, Samlung des Fürsten von Liechtenstein) functioned as the model for Schiavone (fig. 12).[86] He used the motif of the bas-relief and added a second garland with the ox heads. A second version of the painting is now in Turin. Here more distance is taken from the original terracotta model (fig. 13). Also other pupils of the Squarcione workshop eagerly made use it Marco Zoppo (1433-1478). Though supplied with lesser and larger pieces of fruit, his *Virgin and Child* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) refers to the same model (fig. 14). It would be safe to state that it is here in Padua, within the tradition that was established by Donatello and later repetitively used in the Squarcione workshop that we eventually find the design that would be used by Memling twenty years later.

The possibility of the origin of the motif inevitably brings us back to the main question on how Memling might have gotten in contact with it. Since there is no documentary evidence one can't do but to speculate. As noted by Panofsky, Memling could have known motifs of this kind in drawings or paintings brought to Bruges by his Italian patrons.[87] Martens calculated that

[82] Cavazzini & Galli 2008, n. 4.
[83] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie.
[84] Muraro 1968, pp. 387-390.
[85] Agosti & Thiébaut 2008, pp. 88-92.
[86] On the relationship between Giovanni da Pisa and Schiavone, see Kokole 1990, pp. 50-56.
[87] Panofsky 1953, p. 349.

22,3 % of Memling's works were commissioned by Italian patrons. [88] Is it possible that they might have brought these works of the Padua school to Flanders? The first known Italian patron was Angelo Tani (1415-1492), director of the Bruges branch of the Medici bank until 1465, who commissioned the *Last Judgement Triptych* for his burial chapel in Fiesole.[89] However, both Tani and his more famous successor of the Bruges branch, Tomasso Portinari (1428-1501) were Florentine. A more logical possibility lies with another Italian patron of Memling, the Venetian humanist Bernardo Bembo (1433-1519).[90] He owned Memling's *Diptych of Saints John the Baptist and Veronica* (Washington, National Gallery of Art), lived in the Veneto and had close contact with many intellectuals and artists in the region.[91] It is known that Bernardo Bembo was a passionate art collector and it is safe to assume that he would have owned works of the region. Even though no inventory of this collection survived it is possible to have a vague impression of the content and focus of this collection His son, the celebrated humanist, poet and later cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470- 1547) inherited his father's collection and it was described by Marcantonio Michiel in his *Notizia* during the late 1520's or early 1530's.[92] Besides the Memling panel, two works of Mantegna and a sculpture of a sleeping putto are recorded in the inventory of Pietro Bembo's house in Padua giving some clear indications that he shared the taste for decorative garlands and putti. The inventory doesn't only provide clues concerning the collection; it also gives us useful information on the connection between Bernardo Bembo and Hans Memling. In a description of a portrait by a certain Jacometto of Bernardo's son Carlo, Bernardo is described as Ambassador: "*Il ritratto di M. Carlo Bembo puttino fu di mano di Jacometto, fatto allhora chel nacque, essendo M. Bernardo ambassator al Duca Carlo circha el 1472*".[93] Indeed, between 1471 and 1474 Bernardo Bembo was appointed as Venetian ambassador at the court of Charles the Bold. Campbell suggested that it was probably during this stay in Bruges that might have acquired the diptych, which was affirmed by dendrochronological analysis.[94] During a stay in the Netherlands

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[88] Martens 1997, p. 40. This percentage was reconsidered by Lane (2008, p. 115) and taken up to 25,3%. On Memling and his Italian patrons, see also Rohlmann 1997, p. 93; Nuttall 2004; Nuttall 2005, Lane 2008, pp. 199-217.

[89] Lane 2008, pp. 129-133, no. 29.

[90] On Bernardo Bembo, see Ventura and Pecoraro, 'Bembo, Bernardo', in *Dizionario bibliografico degli Italiani*, vol. 8, pp. 103-109; Giannetto 1985.

[91] On the identification of the Memling Diptych as part of Bembo's collection, see Hand & Wolff 1986, pp. 193-201.

[92] Frimmel 1988, pp. 20-25; Williamson 1969, p. 21-28; Fletcher 1981a. For the date of the *Notizia*, see Fletcher 1981b, pp. 602-605; Schmitter 2003, p. 571.

[93] "The Portrait of Messer Carlo Bembo, as a baby, was made by Giacometto at birth of the former, Messer Bernardo being then an ambassador at the Court of the Duke Charles, about the year 1472". Frimmel 1988, p. 22; Williamson 1969, p. 24.

[94] Campbell 1981b, p. 471; Lane 2008, p. 202. Mainly on stylistic grounds De Vos (1994, p. 205) proposed a later date of 1480-84 and postulated the hypothesis that the diptych might have been commissioned by Jan Floreins, a friar in the monastery of the Hospital of Saint John in Bruges. For the dendrochronological analysis, see Kein in Hand & Wolff 1986, p. 260, no. 10.

it is likely that a humanist collector brought along works of art from his region to feel connected with Veneto. Since the gap between 1474 (the last year of the ambassadorship of Bembo) and 1478 (the latest possible date for the *Pagagnotti Triptych*) is rather small, I would like to argue that Memling's putti and garland motif is an adaptation or perhaps even a copy after a work of art from Padua.[95] The nature of this visual source could either be a painting of a master like Mantegna, Schiavone or Zoppo, trained in the Squarcione workshop or perhaps a bas relief of Giovanni da Pisa. Besides the above discussed sculpture in the Lichtenstein collection two other exact copies still exist of the bas-relief; in Berlin (Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie) and Detroit (Institute of Arts). The three works are identical in size and details which is an indication of the popularity and the marketability of these bas-reliefs. It is not unlikely that a similar bas-relief was in the possession of Bembo for private devotion in the Low Countries where it served as the example for Memling. It was not uncommon for Italians to import sculptural motifs of the homeland into the Burgundian Netherlands. When Bembo's fellow-countryman, Tomasso Portinari bought the Bruges house of Pieter Bladelin in 1472, he added two tondi with the portraits of Lorenzo de Medici and Clarice Orsini that were sculpted by a local Bruges artist, but were of Florentine design.[96] Even more comparable to the Bembo case is a terracotta relief with *Virgin and Child* of Luca della Robia that the same Portinari imported from Florence in 1474 to place in his private chapel in St.-Jacobs church in Bruges (fig. 15).[97] Even though there are also the possibilities that comparable triple paired putti with garlands reached the Memling workshop through more intangible nature such as festive decorations for Joyous Entries like Aschenheim proposed, the presence of a Veneto collector in Bruges who commissioned a work by Memling provides a firm option for the source of the putti-garlands motif in the three Memling triptychs.[98]

2.3 Workshop practices and the Diffusion of Models

Ever since Campbell published an article on the fifteenth-century art market in the southern Netherlands, the subject of the artist's workshop gained a great deal of attention.[99] A painter's atelier now can no longer be seen as the creative breading ground of one individual genius, separated from other artists. The late fifteenth century workshop in Bruges was an

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[95] If one agrees that Bembo served as the provider of the model for Memling's putti-garlands motif, we could even date the Pagagnotti triptych – and in addition the two other triptychs - as early as 1474.
[96] Claeys 1988; Buyle 1989; De Jonge 2002, p. 35.
[97] Martens 1992, p. 532-536; Martens 1994, 54, no. 226.
[98] Aschenheim 1910, p. 6.
[99] Campbell 1976; Campbell 1981a.

economized production system which was attuned to the demand of an expanding market with a suppression of stylistic individuality.[100] The practice of copying art works and using stock patterns was a very common a practice and an indispensable element within this economic system.[101] As we already noticed with the commissioners of Memling and David, the foreign demand for Netherlandish painting grew rapidly which lead to an increase of standardised types and models (often based upon famous examples of Rogier van der Weyden and Robert Campin) for the market. The success of an apprentice often relied more on how closely he could imitate his master, rather than on his originality.[102] This was not only the case in Bruges but could be considered as a more or less general attitude within workshops, as was also illustrated above by the way Paduan pupils of Squarcione remained loyal to their master's style and inventions. The soul and identity of a workshop was mostly shaped by the stock of patterns –drawings and later prints - that were applied in preparation of the painting.[103] From these designs apprentices and assistants copied works and they were also valuable for buyers who chose of the artist's stock of patterns. In literature, their enormous value is often emphasized by legal documents in which they are mentioned such as the will of the Brussels painter Vrancke van der Stockt made up in 1489.[104] His two sons, both painters, inherited all his unfinished pictures (*tafelen)* as well as patterns (*patroonen*) and drawings (*alle bewerpen).*[105] The subject matter of these drawings could vary from single figures to entire compositions, fabric designs or also architectural ornaments. In relationship to the connection between the Memling and David workshop one often quoted court case is of a particular interest here. In 1519-20 Ambrosius Benson accused Gerard David of withholding two boxes with paint material that were the property of Benson. The main focus of the discussion was on the patterns (*patronen*) in these trunks associated with panel painting and book illumination of Adrian Isenbrant. These patterns were claimed by Benson as his property.[106] This court case does not only underline the value of patterns, it also shows that they were transported from one workshop to the other. Although jealously disputed in this particular case, the models were frequently rented or lent out among artist within the collegial structure of the St.-Luke Guild.[107] When it comes to the manner in which the patterns were transported to the

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[100] Campbell 1981a, p. 52. On the changing art market in Bruges, especially see Stabel 2006.
[101] On the practice of copying, see Campbell 1976, pp. 188-198; Van Asperen de Boer, Faries and Filledt Kok 1986, pp. 85-106; Wilson 1990; Dijkstra 1990; Wilson 1998; Van den Brink 2001; Leeflang 2004-2005.
[102] Lane 2008, p. 110.
[103] Campbell 1981a, p. 53; Wilson 1990, p. 525; Martens 1994, p. 10.
[104] First published in Goetschalckx 1903, p. 241. See also Campbell 1976, p. 195.
[105] *Ibid.*
[106] First published in Parmentier 1937. See also Campbell 1981a, p. 54; Wilson 1990, p. 525; Ainsworth 1933, pp. 11-12; Wilson 1998, pp. 155-157; Ainsworth 1998, p. 7; Martens 1998, pp. 58, 63; Van den Brink 2001, p. 17.
[107] Campbell 1981a, p. 53.

panel, an often used technique was pouncing.[108] The significant contours of the design are pricked after which the drawing is than placed on the panel underground were it is dusted with a cloth bag filled with charcoal dust. After the removal of the perforated drawing, the small dots of dust remain on the surface.[109] The potential of the pouncing technique lay in the ability to reproduce specific motifs in an efficient manner. The above mentioned Adriaan Isenbrant, for instance, made frequent use of pouncing in the ornamental framework of his *Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows* (1521) in the Our Lady church in Bruges (fig. 16). In the infrared-reflectography of the work several pouncing dots were found in the elaborate architectural niche.[110] The use of pouncing cloth or cartoons also allowed the artist to mirror a motif on both sides, creating a perfect symmetry. [111] The panel is a perfect example of the copying practice that characterised the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century workshops as Isenbrant incorporated visual examples of Gerard David, Dürer and Rogier.[112] Technical analysis has shown that also Memling and Gerard David made frequent use of pouncing in order to reproduce faces or contours of drapery folds.[113]

2.3.1   Workshop practices in the Memling panels

In the context of these copying practices it is interesting to have a comparative look at Memling's three triptychs with putti-garland motif and in addition some deviant copies. Although all three arches might seem similar at first glance, there are some minor differences between them. When making a general comparative conclusions we could say that the *Pagagnotti-* and the *Resurrection triptych* are more closely related to each other and that the Vienna triptych is a more freely variation on them. Their resemblance is most obvious in the prefigurative statues that top the antique archways. In both of them the iconography of *Kain killing Abel* and *Samson killing the lion*. Besides a different use of colour in creating either golden or marble sculptures, both depictions of *Kain killing Abel* are identical in the tow panels. The same can be said for the other prefigurative statues, only they are mirrored once more. Also the decorative crockets around the archway are similarly formed as fleur-de-lis. In the *Vienna triptych* the statues have been replaced

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[108] On pouncing, see; Arndt 1961; Sonkes 1969; Taubert, 1975; Périer-D'Ieteren 1982-83; Wilson 1990, p. 523; Van den Brink 2001, p. 16
[109] Wilson 1990, p. 523.
[110] Martens 1998, p. 60, no. 40b
[111] The application of pouncing techniques to copy architectural elements was a common practice in Italy. See Bambach 1999, pp. 28, 76-77, 138-140, 181-185 with further literature.
[112] Martens 1998, p. 60.
[113] Périer-d'Ieteren 1982-1983, pp. 81-88.

by those of *the Offering of Isaac* and *the Offering of Jefta's daughter* and the moulding of the archway is decorated by gothic knobs.[114]

The subtle divergence between the three archways indicates that there was no such thing as one standard drawing of the antique archway, but rather suggests that a set pattern drawings of small parts of it were used in the workshop by Memling and his assistants. These might have been loose drawings or perhaps sheets in a sketchbook. Technical examination gives some answers on the manner these drawing were transported on to the painted panels. Unfortunately only the Resurrection triptych underwent an infrared-reflectography so far.[115] The underdrawings, executed in charcoal, are so insufficiently visible that they do not provide us with any additional information on the working method for the decorated arch. Only some lines indicate the placing of the arch.[116] There are no noticeable pouncing dots in the underdrawing. It seems that Memling's underdrawings for the archways were prepared by loosely copying the stock drawings or by tracing them. This assumption is strengthened by the lightness of the underdrawing, suggesting that a sketch on paper sufficed as a guide for the painted image. Yet a definite conclusion on the manner that Memling reproduced the elements can only be stated after the technical analysis of all three Memling panels.

2.3.2 Copies after the Memling model

Rapidly Memling's putti-garland motif became a frequently copied decorative element in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century art production in Bruges and Antwerp where it became a common way for artist to give expression to the idea of Renaissance in the Low Countries. This will be exemplified in some of the following works. As it was already pointed out at the beginning of the chapter, the putti-garland motif was adopted by Gerard David. Besides the *Judgement of Cambyses* (fig. 1) he used the decorative model more faithfully in the *Sedano Triptych* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, fig. 17).[117] The triptych was a commission made by Juan de Sedano, a Castilian merchant who lived in Bruges.[118] Based on stylistic, iconographical and technical analysis the work was painted between 1490 and 1495.[119] Van Miegroet assumed that the triptych was originally started by Memling, but who – due to his old age – passed the commission on to

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[114] See note 55.
[115] Comblen-Sonkes & Lorentz 1995, pp. 120-237.
[116] *Ibid.,* p. 221.
[117] Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. R.F. 588. Van Miegroet 1989, pp. 281-282; Ainsworth 1998, pp. 160-165.
[118] Hulin de Loo 1902, p. 33.
[119] Adhémar 1962, pp. 101-113; Benesch 1971, p. 6; Mirimonde 1976, pp. 25-82; Périer-d'Ieteren 1982, p. 86; Van Miegroet 1989, p. 282; Ainsworth 1998, pp. 160-167, 174.

Gerard David.[120] Although this hypothesis seems plausible, the Memling motif is just one of the many references to older masters in the triptych. The outside wings pay tribute to Jan van Eyck's Adam and Eve from the Ghent Altarpiece and so does the enthroned Virgin and Child, which is a variation on the *Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum), which was displayed in the chapel of Saints Peter and Paul in the Sint Donaaskerk at that time.[121] The music playing angels on both sides of the Virgin refer to a composition of Robert Campin.[122] Again, it is a perfect example of how late fifteenth century artist sought after a balance between artistic tradition and formal innovation. David doubtlessly aimed at identifying himself as the successor of a rich - particularly Eyckian - legacy combined with an up-to-date putti arch framing.[123] The motif of putti pulling garlands is not a literal copy of the Memling versions and as a third putto has been added in each marble column. During the technical examination, performed by Maryan Ainsworth, no signs of pouncing or tracing in the underdrawing were revealed.[124] Much similar to the observations made in the copying technique in the three Memling triptychs, the model was copied freely with the aid of sketches and drawings.[125] Much similar to the observations made in the copying technique in the three Memling triptychs. Although no written documents are available to provide us with an unambiguous answer on the availability of this model, some suggestions can be made. In 1494, the same year of Memling's death, Gerard David moved his atelier to the street were also Memling had his flourishing business.[126] This increases the possibility that David had access to Memling's models which is also suggested by the use of other Memling models throughout his oeuvre.[127] When comparing the positions of the putti in the Sedano triptych to those of Memling, none of the latter seems to have been used as an exact example. The closest resemblance is to be found in a mirrored version of Memling's Vienna triptych (fig. 4), which could be the main inspiration for David's rather liberal adaptation.[128] This

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[120] Van Miegroet 1989, pp. 124-125, 282.
[121] Bodenhausen 1905, p. 111; Adhémar 1962, p. 102; Van Miegroet 1989, p. 281, Ainsworth 1998, p. 164.
[122] Panofsky 1953, p. 352.
[123] Ainsworth 1998, p. 160, 165.
[124] Ainsworth 1997, p. 107.
[125] The same can be stated about the rendering of the motif in the *Judgement of Cambyses*, as the foreshortened perspective replaced the frontal viewing point.
[126] De Vos 1988, p. 142.
[127] Ainsworth 1993.
[128] Even though there is some resemblance, there are some significant differences such as the pose of the left pulling putto on the Sedano triptych, who misses the slightly bent knee that created the dynamic effect in the composition.

argument is supported by the immense influence of the putti motif in the Vienna Triptych on all later versions.[129]

The *Triptych of the Enthroned Virgin with Christian de Hondt* (Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, fig. 18), is an almost exact copy of the Vienna triptych, only with a replacement of the donor worshiping the Virgin.[130] Since Christian de Hondt only become abbot of the Cistercian abbey Ter Duinen in 1495, the work must have been executed after Memling's death one year earlier. De Hondt was a patron who often requested religious panels with explicit reference to the fifteenth century tradition as he also commissioned a devotional diptych, attributed to the Master of 1499, were the left wing is a copy of Jan van Eyck's *Virgin in the Church*).[131] Friedländer claimed that this anonymous master might have been active in Bruges at the turn of the century.[132] In fact, the drapery, pose and facial characteristics of the two donor portraits are so similar that they might have been made by one and the same hand. This is, of course, merely a assumption that can only be affirmed by thorough technical comparison of both panels. Another variant that is still closely related to the Memling prototype in Vienna, is the *Enthroned Virgin* in the Nationalmuseum of Stockholm (fig. 19).[133] As with the Paris variation, the model of the Vienna triptych is faithfully copied, only the donor is replaced by a second angel. The pose of the virgin and the child, the landscape with winding road and the putti-garland archway are entirely similar to the Vienna triptych. Only the patterns in the carpet and the baldachin have been altered. The depiction of the virgin is executed by an artist that was far less experienced and talented than that of the *Triptych of the Enthroned Virgin with Christian de Hondt*. The use of the pastel colours such as the also suggests a later date of about 1500.

While both the Stockholm Virgin and the Virgin with Christian de Hondt literally refer to the central panel of the Vienna Triptych, there is also a second group of paintings where the motif of the putti and garlands is applied with small variations in the main scene and with some greater distance to the original model. This group can be centred around the Master of the Morrison triptych, named after the early sixteenth century Morrison Triptych, now in the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio (fig. 20). Even though the basic elements are present – the Child reaching for the apple, the lute playing angel, the landscape in the background - some clear changes have been made. Besides the disappearance of the baldachin behind the Virgin's back, the most visible

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[129] For an overview of most variations on the putti-garland motif, see Lievens-De Waeg 1991, pp. 189-190.
[130] The donor depicted in the Vienna triptych was identified as Jan Crabbe. Technical analysis has shown that this figure was painting layer of a later date (Lane 2008, p. 318). Cf. note 53
[131] Koninklijk Museum voor Schone kunsten Antwerpen, inv. 255 & 256.
[132] Friedländer 1971, vol. 4, p. 43.
[133] Nationalmuseum Stockholm, inv. NM 1460.

alteration is to be found in the decorative archway framing the central panel. Where in the Memling triptych – and its related copies – the putti stand on slim columns of coloured marble, they are now placed upon wider versions with decorative vertical tracery. Not only the column on which they are standing, also the one they are circled around has widened and lost part of its elegance. Most remarkable difference is the modification made in the moulding of the archway, as the flying top putti have been replaced by a sitting couple. They are perched in a niche formed as a peculiar bulge-like prolonging of the archway. Also added to this version, is a balcony with tracery recalling elements of the gothic style that was promoted by the Keldermans family during this period.[134] Another version, closely related to the Morrison Triptych is a triptych in the museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon (fig. 21).[135] Here as well, the columns of the decorative archway are wider and decorated with different kinds of marble. As in the Morrison Triptych, a more spatial approach to the scene is chosen by omitting the vertical baldachin. The centre window is filled up with gothic tracery that divides the window frame into two other smaller ones, topped off with what appears to be a quarter foil. The tapestry baldachin is replaced by a bell-shaped version. The top of the archway is cut off by the panel frame and making the third pair of putti invisible. Since the landscape in the Morrison Triptych is still dependent on Memling's Vienna triptych and the Lisbon version does not, it seems possible that the artist of the Lisbon triptych had only access to the Morrison Triptych or a similar copy. Although the Lisbon Virgin does not share the same elegance and refinement as the Morrison Triptych, it was recognised in literature as part of the same workshop at the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[136] The identification of the ornamental archway with its many decorative additions confirms this. Even though the basic elements are still present – two columns supporting an equal amount of putti pulling strings of flowers and fruit – a range of both gothic and other Italianate forms are added. This approach of restyling the feature seems to be more common in Antwerp workshops, as also the Master of the Morrison Triptych is usually placed in Antwerp.[137] Bruges masters stayed more loyal to the conventional Memling prototype. Ambrosius Benson, for example, used the putti-garland motif as well in a triptych, now in the cathedral of Segovia, dated around 1520 (fig .22). In contrast to Memling or David, the motif does not function as an

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[134] On the use of this decorative style in Early Netherlandish painting, especially see Silver 1987; Kavaler 2000; Kavaler 2006.

[135] Museu Nacional de Arte Antige, inv. 1277.

[136] Friedländer 1971, vol 7, no. 84; Lievens-De Waeg 1991, p. 191.

[137] Friedländer (1924, p. 192) identified the Master of the Morrison Triptych as a certain 'Ardriaen', a pupil of Metsys in the guild records in 1495 and 1503. Valentiner (1958) identified the Master of the Morrison Triptych as the Antwerp painter Simon van Herlam. This painter was mentioned in the Antwerp Guild records from 1502 to 1524 and was probably the teacher. His argument for this identification, however, seem rather doubtful as they are only based upon 'somewhat heavy Dutch traits characteristics' in the Morrison Triptych.

archway to frame the enthroned virgin, but becomes a part of the throne itself. When focussing on the motif in the central panel itself, however, it is a more purified one where all elements are reduced to their basic forms without exuberant additions. By doing so, Benson perhaps identifies himself more with his Bruges predecessors like Memling and his master David. It seems that Antwerp Artists, like also the Master of the Holy Blood, derived more from the original model. In the *Virgin Enthroned* that was attributed to the latter, the more traditional columns have been replaced by rectangular pilasters with decorative pilasters with fantasy capitals as they became en vogue in the beginning of the sixteenth century (fig. 23).[138] With its open centre window behind the virgin it recalls the more spatial composition of the works centred around the Master of the Morrison Triptych. Attributed to the same hand is a small panel of *St. Luke painting the Virgin* (fig. 24), now part of the collection of Harvard University, dated about 1520.[139] The same motif of pairs of putti pulling up garlands is used in a very liberal manner. The vegetative string is no longer pulled up from the top. The centre pair of angels is placed at the same level as the ones at the sides, showing one of the many possible variations on the motif. The biggest difference is of course the change of the main theme as the enthroned virgin has taken place for St. Luke. Also the intrinsic function of the motif has shifted as it became a part of the architectural setting, dividing the room into two separate spaces. An explanation for the different ways of treating the motif between Antwerp and Bruges seems to be caused by the ways these cities or their painters guilds tried to characterise themselves. Although Antwerp had a thriving art market from the middle of the Fifteenth century, there was no artistic legacy on which artist could rely.[140] Therefore Antwerp artists at the turn of the century much relied on popular Bruges motifs and models, of which Rogier van der Weyden, Hans Memling and Gerard David appear to have been the most popular ones. In order to distinguish themselves, they reshaped the decorative elements in a much more elaborate manner, also perhaps underlining the fact that they had become a new centre of commerce and cultural exchanges.

2.3.3 Variations on a theme

The impact of the putti-garland motif stretches further than the above mentioned subtle variations on Memling's double paired putti archway. Very early, around the turn of the century, the motif became a general part of the artists decorative vocabulary that can be noticed in almost every workshop in the Low Countries. It provides an interesting case to study the diffusion of

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[138] Antwerpen, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 535
[139] Fogg Art Museum, Harvard Art Museums, inv. 1910.6
[140] On Antwerp's early role as an Art Market, see Ewing 1990, p. 561; Vermeylen 2003, p. 14-19.

architectural models and the accessibility of them. By way of illustration some of the more prominent early-sixteenth century artists will be discussed. A panel of Quinten Metsys (ca. 1460-1530), depicting a *Standing Madonna in the Church with angels* – iconographically recalling the still very popular and frequently copied Van Eyck's *Madonna in the Church* in Berlin combined with Robert Campin's no lost prototype of *Virgin and Child in an Apse* [141] - is framed by an arch with antique elements, of which the garland pulling putti is the most prominent one. There are two versions of the painting. One in the collection of Courtauld Institute (fig. 25) and the other in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon (fig. 26).[142] In his catalogue raisonné, Larry Silver rightfully acknowledged the archway as a borrowing of Memling and Gerard David.[143] Immediately behind the Italianate archway, Metsys adds a second one with sculptures of Old testament prophets, glorifying the theological meaning of the Virgin as the fulfilment of the biblical prophecy and the embodiment of the Church. By adding this second arch, Metsys skilfully combines a traditional depiction of an archway as church portal that was introduced by Rogier van der Weyden in for example his Miraflores Triptych, with the more modern Italianate arch version. Besides the difference in colour in some elements – most remarkably in Mary's dress – the most eye-catching alterations are to be found in the framing decoration, as the base pilasters in the Lyon version are provided with ornamental ox-heads and candelabra motifs. In 1929 Friedländer called the Lyon version the original by Metsys and the Courtauld panel a 'precise replica'.[144] Baldass and Panofsky later turned things around and described the Courtauld Madonna as the original and the Lyon version as its replica, based upon the architectural setting of the archway which is more a product of later taste in the latter one.[145] Baldass dates the Courtauld Madonna even in the first decade of the century due to its 'gothic' forms. However this system of dating based upon the changes of decorative styles within the individual artsist career is now a rather outdated Hegelian line of thinking. Since it was very common to use both a more archaic as more modern elements at the same time within the same workshop, it seems very well possible that both panels originated in the Metsys workshop at the same time. Even just because of practical reasons is seems logical that one would not repeat the same composition ten or twenty years later. The elegant balancing of tradition and innovation is something that characterises all early-sixteenth century workshops. The forms and type of decoration in the Lyon Madonna - the candelabra, ox-heads, acanthus-

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[141] Both Jan Gossaert as the Master of 1499 painted a copy of this panel, commissioned by respectively Antonio Siciliano and Christian de Hondt, cf. pp. 28-29. On the serial production of replicas and variations on Campin's panel, see Dijkstra 1990; Ainsworth 1996, p. 149-158; Campbell 1998, pp. 22, 102.
[142] Courtauld Gallery, inv. P. 1978.PG.245 (acquired from the collection of Count A. Seilern); Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon, inv. A.2908.
[143] Silver 1984, p. 77.
[144] Friedländer 1924-37, vol. 7, p. 31.
[145] Baldass 1933, p. 138; Panofsky 1953, p. 353.

forms - suggests a later date in Metsys' oeuvre, around the early1520's. And even though the Courtauld Madonna lacks these decorative elements it could be dated around the same time.[146] In the Lyon Madonna the moulding of the archway is also decorated with the same knobs as in Memling's Vienna triptych suggesting that Metsys was very well aware of the original motif either by witnessing it or by other Antwerp masters who used the motif more faithfully such as the Master of the Morrison Triptych.

Metsys' Antwerp contemporary Joos van Cleve (1464-1540) skilfully integrated the putti and garlands into the Munich *Death of the Virgin Triptych*, dated 1523-24 (fig. 27).[147] In the central panel Van Cleve spreads the elements of the original motif over the composition. The door opening on the right, which leads the eye of the viewer into an open square is again decorated with the familiar element. As with Mestys, the number of putti is limited to only one per side, and there is no sign of the putto who pulls up the festoon on top of the archway. This third angel can be noticed on the left of the panel as the artist intelligently integrated this element in order to top off the niche. Van Cleve re-used the motif again in the his Vienna *Virgin Enthroned*, which in its general composition is more related to Memling's Vienna triptych (fig. 28).[148] The putti no longer function as a part of a framing archway but have become one of the many antique elements in the panel as the Madonna is seated underneath a marble vaulted baldachin with a cassette-ceiling, Corinthian-like columns, pilasters with candelabra decoration, and profile busts in medallions (the latter were also combined with the putti in the *Death of the Virgin triptych*).

A third and last example of an artist who uses the motif to a great extent was the Amsterdam painter (and designer of woodcuts) Jacob Cornelisz. Van Oostzanen. (1470-1533). A fine example is the *Madonna with Child and Angels* in Rotterdam, dated around 1512-16 (fig. 29).[149] As the Virgin and child are almost surrounded by putti, the element of putti pulling up garlands could not be omitted by the artist. A similar phenomenon can be noticed in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in Chicago, dated 1515 (fig. 30).[150] In an almost surreal way, the adoration scenes is overwhelmed by angels who are playing various instruments. Again two angels on an architrave are holding up a garland in honour of the joyful event that has taken place underneath them.

It would get us to far to provide an exhaustive overview of all panels were the motif of putti pulling garlands are being used within the architectural setting of the painting. The example

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[146] Silver also argues for a later as he described a striking similarity between the rendering of the face of the Courtauld Madonna and those in the Antwerp *Lamantation*. Silver 1984, p. 207.
[147] Munich, Alte Pinakothek, ;on the dating, see Hand 2004, p. 69.
[148] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 938
[149] Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen.
[150] Chicago, Art Institute, inv. 1983.375

of Van Oostzanen indicates that the spread of the motif was not limited to Bruges or Antwerp workshops only but by the first decade of the sixteenth century was already spread throughout the Low Countries. Besides the examples of Metsys, Van Cleve and Cornelisz. Van Oostzanen the motif occurs in the Low Countries in the oeuvre of Adriaen van Overbeke (fig. 30), Bernard van Orley (fig. 31), The Antwerp Master of the Van Grooten Adoration (fig. 32), The Master of 1518 (fig. 33) and the circle around Lanceloot Blondeel (fig. 34). To name just some. Although most mentioned examples are panel paintings, the motif was applied in book illumination very soon as well. Strange is the absence of the motif in the printed and painted oeuvre of 'Renaissance' protagonists such as Jan Gossaert and Lucas van Leyden. Gossaert, being one of the only artist that had actually been to Rome, constructed his own architectural language, and contributed in his own way to the antique vocabulary, more than any other artist (cf. § 3).

2.3.4 Meaning and patronage

In an article on the arch motif in Early Netherlandish painting, Karl Birkmeyer described the evolution of the motif from its origin with Rogier van der Weyden to the application of it by Memling. He stated that what had once been an element of profound symbolism in relationship to the main scene, had been reduced to a mere decorative element without any meaning by the end of the century. In result, his judgement on the putti-garland motif is a rather negative one:

> *"In Memling's case, it is merely a decorative feature, a pure design element which can be used or can be left out, or can be replaced by other architectural props, such as columns, baldachins, loggias, and others. Memling's art marks a standstill within the development of painting in the later fifteenth century."*[151]

Perhaps it is true that juxtaposed with Rogier's or Petrus Christus' complex symbolic layers, the arches might seem as shallow decorative features deprived from any intrinsic meaning. However, beside this 'hidden symbolism' within the picture the innovative arch motif might also represent an external meaning in the ways that is gives information on a changing taste of patrons and the evolving art market. The deliberate choice of Memling to replace the former church portal arch by one based upon Italian sources is one that is not just made due to the fact that Memling was an artist who thought of beauty as an escape in order to cover up emptiness and vagueness, but an indication of ingenious economical thinking in an financial climate that was characterised by a growing foreign demand for devotional panels and the establishment of a mass market for

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[151] Birkmeyer 1961, p. 110.

paintings in Bruges by the end of the fifteenth century.[152] When we assume that the *Pagagnotti Triptych* was the first work in which this Italian motif was first used, it seems that it was initially intended to address the wishes of an Italian costumer. Also the commissioning of the *Resurrection Triptych* and later the *Sedano Triptych* point to the direction of reaching the cultural taste of foreign costumers. Very soon however – during the 1490's – local nobility and wealthy patrons showed a growing interest for the Italian motif as was the case with the commissioner of Memling's *Vienna triptych*. The many copies after this specific triptych suggest that it did not leave Bruges and was thus probably a local commission for a chapel, accessible and viewable for other artists. This argument is also enhanced since the kneeling portrait of the abbot of the Ter Duinen abbey, Jan Crabbe, was added to the central panel in a later paint stage. The work was also described in the inventory of Margaret of Austria in 1516.[153] As this triptych became part of the collection in Mechelen, the Memling original in the Ter Duinen Abbey was most likely replaced by later copy that showed not Jan Crabbe but Christian de Hondt as its donor (fig. 18).

As indicated by the presence of the Vienna triptych in Margaret of Austria's collection, the preference of this specific Italianate motif was adopted by the Burgundian and Habsburg nobility. The changes made in the final painting stage of *the Judgement of Cambyses* indicated this 'claiming' of the motif by the Burgundian-Habsburg court. The coats of arms of Philip the Handsome and Joan of Castile were inserted in order to commemorate their marriage and triumphal entry into the city of Bruges in 1497.[154] It seems plausible that the addition of the Italianate motif is part of this homage of the city's aldermen to royal couple as an association of the Burgundian dynasty to antiquity. The diptych was to hang in a semi-public space – the court room of the Alderman's chamber – and was thus more accessible for wider audience. Comparable works of art with such a public character were the festive decorations during Joyous Entries. On this important political occasions the city showed its loyalty to their ruler who consolidated the city privileges. During the joyous entry of duke Philips the Good in Ghent in 1458, for example, large *tableaux vivants* with the lives of Caesar and (especially) Alexander the Great were displayed.[155] As already mentioned above, large and luxurious tapestry cycles displaying the Trojan war, Julius Caesar, Gideon and Alexander the Great were the most profound commissions of the Burgundian dukes as they played a crucial part in an identification strategy in order to justify their reign. Also in these tapestries attempts to make the scenery look

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[152] On the phenomenon of the commercialization of the Bruges art market by the end of the Fifteenth century, see Wilson 1998; Stabel 2006.
[153] De Vos 1994, p. 216; Eichberger 2002, pp. 99, 217-219.
[154] Ainsworth 1998, pp. 72-73.
[155] Martens 2002, p. 30.

more 'antique' were made by introducing some clothing details that were uncommon to traditional Burgundian fashion. An example of this is to be found in a preparation design (petit patron) for a cycle of Alexander Tapestries commissioned by Philips the Good in 1459 (fig. 35).[156] Amidst Flemish architecture and Burgundian court dresses, the armoury of one of the enemy soldiers is designed with knee- and shoulder plates shaped like lion heads. These elements reoccur in almost all Burgundian tapestry cycles with ancient themes, produced in Tournai and Brussels. In fifteenth-century sources these features were already described as *all' antica*.[157] It seems possible that Gerard David, in integrating these motifs of Italian origin (also the medallions in the painting were based upon antique intaglio's in the Medici collection), referred to this older but still very vivid tradition of assimilation and identification of the Burgundian court to their antique legacy. In this perspective the putti-garland motif exceeds its purely decorative meaning. It is not an element that lack any sort of deeper iconography. Instead, implies 'a semantic of style', as it was recently described by Ariane Mensger.[158] The self-aware *choice* of the artist (and his patron) for a particular style bears meaning in itself. Members of the Burgundian court had been key figures in the introduction of new artistic typologies during the second part of the fifteenth century. The interest of the Burgundian dukes Philip the Good and Charles the Bold for antiquity was shared by prominent families such as the Lannoy, Lalaing, Glymes or Berlaimont as they provided an intellectual basis for the appreciation of antique forms in the Low Countries.[159] During the sixteenth century this process of association of antique form with the Habsburg court culture would grow stronger under the reign of Margaret of Austria and Charles V.[160] An early, and in literature often shown example of the application of the antique garland motif is that of the Joyous Entry of Charles in Bruges on the 18th of March 1515.[161] Court historian Remy Dupuys described the festive events in a book that was provided with woodcuts of the decoration, published the same year as the events took place. The triumphal arch financed by the Lombardian merchants is a reflection of the motif as the string of flowers still is centrally attached in the middle of the arch (fig. 35). The arch is being described by Dupuys as '... faictes chascun pour ung arc triumphal a lantique et selon quesoient coustume pour honorer leurs princes victorieux'.[162] In a 1524 engraving of the Antwerp artist Dirk Vellert the form of the arch is repeated (including the medallions and candelabra decoration) but the original putti are being restored in the composition (fig. 36), indicating that the arch of the Lombardians was not

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[156] Bern, Historisches Museum.
[157] Franke 1998, p. 131
[158] Mensger 2008, p. 193, note 6.
[159] Belozerskaya 2002; De Jonge 2003, pp. 188- 194.
[160] Duverger 1980; Eichberger 2002.
[161] Van den Boogert 1992, p. 72; Van den Boogert 1993, p. 238; De Jonge 2008.
[162] Dupuys 1515, Wenen Österreichische Nationalbibliotek, ms. 2591, fol. E.v.v.

inspired on a design that the merchants themselves imported from Italy but on a motif that had already proven its popularity with Habsburg nobility and other foreign merchants. Therefore the role that has been given to the decoration of the Triumphant Entry of 1515 in most literature seems to be overstated as it is merely one of the many applications on a twenty-five year old model. Naturally the public character of the decoration might have been a stimulus for the further spread of these forms.

The innumerable works of art that incorporated the motif indicate its immense marketability. In a cultural climate of growing interest in antiquity by Humanist, the search for antique looking elements grew extensively. In this respect the demand was answered by the introduction of these putti. They represented more than just a novel decorative feature. It was the expression of a desire to formulate imagery in antique matter and soon became a idiom of antiquity. An indication that the motif was rather perceived as a representation of an idea of antiquity comes from a later source. Four chimneypieces in the Coudenberg Palace of Brussels were decorated in the antique manner, based upon the designs of Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Part of this decoration were some putti ('diversche naecte kinderkens') holding op the crown and coats of arms of the emperor. They are described as part of 'several other anique figures'.[163] As already touched upon above with the mentioning of the all'antica motifs in Burgundian tapestry, the search for a way to formally express an idea of antiquity is an old one. As Stephan Hoppe as recently argued, also painters like Jan van Eyck or Rogier van der Weyden incorporated Romanesque architecture into their scenery as a way to represent antiquity as opposed to the use of gothic style for modernity.[164] The same goal was aimed for in some woodcuts and engravings of Dürer and Lucas van Leyden by using vegetation and branches as ornament of an ancient Roman past.[165] The introduction of this putti motif is a following step in a long process in this quest for an individual antique formal language. Within this language it was one of the first words of a vocabulary that would soon grow as other elements were assimilated. It is remarkable that when by the first decade of the sixteenth century more antique ornaments were introduced into Netherlandish visual arts, the putti-garland motif remained one of the most frequently used stock motifs until ca. 1540.[166] The sheer number of imitations and variations on the motif illustrate the

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[163] Algemeen Rijksarchief Brussel, *Rekenkamer* 4228, fols. 147v – 148r.; Roggen 1953, p. 220; De Jonge 2008, p. 21.
[164] Hoppe 2003; Hoppe 2008a.
[165] Hoppe 2008b., pp. 90-92.
[166] Stock motifs as ready-made pictorial components were applied to a great extend at the beginning of the sixteenth century to reduce costs and stimulate the higher production in a commercialized paint market. Hand 1978, pp. 134-135; Goddard 1984, pp, 110-112; Kolb 1998, pp. 184-189; Ewing 2004-2005, pp. 280-286.

ongoing success story that was stimulated by the open market situation.[167] Over time the element become recognisable and familiar, which enhanced its marketability in a rapidly expanding market for paintings and luxury articles; especially in Antwerp.

[167] Silver 1999, p. 43.

3   Shaping the Antique – Vitruvius, Bramante and Gossaert

Where the late fifteenth century painting only had a very limited number of antique or Italianate elements, the beginning of the sixteenth century saw the rapid emergence of antique elements in architectural backgrounds. New motifs appeared and became parts of a richly colored pallet of antique shapes. In the following chapter the pivotal roles in this evolution of Bramante and Habsburg court painter Jan Gossaert (1478 – 1532) will be examined. The focus on these two artists comes from the question on the sources of the new architectural language in the north and the different trajectories of its origin. In this part, I would like to make the suggestion that some important features of Bramante's architecture are to be distinguished in many architectural backgrounds of northern (mostly Antwerp) paintings and drawings. Different trajectories on this diffusion will be explored; through personal contact with the architecture itself and through the use of printed images. First I will discuss the architectural language of Gossaert and how he defined antiquity in relationship to architectural treatises.

3.1   Gossaert's 'Italienische Reise'

Jan Gossaert holds the unique position as the first Netherlandish artist who travelled to Italy to study the antiques.[168] Between October 1508 and July 1509, the artist accompanied his patron Philips of Burgundy (1465-1524) on a diplomatic meeting with 'Renaissance pope' Julius II, probably also passing through Trent, Verona and Florence.[169] As many patrons in the Burgundian-Habsburg aristocracy Philip of Burgundy took a lively interest in Roman antiquity, and commissioned Gossaert to make drawings of the ancient monuments.[170] Only a few of these sketches still exist; the most famous is most likely his drawing of the Colosseum.[171] According to the patron's biographer, Gerardus Noviomagus, Philips had a profound fascination for architecture and especially for the antique building manner: *'In conversations on architecture, he had great knowledge of dimensions, proportions and symmetry. On bases, columns, architraves, cornices and other matters of this kind, he argued so well that one would be able to believe that he quoted Vitruvius.'[172]* This interest of Philips of Burgundy in antique building manners is strongly reflected in the works of

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[168] Although Rogier van der Weyden travelled to Rome in 1450, the journey did not contribute to any substantial style changes in the north. There is also the case of Justus van Ghent who worked for the da Montefeltre family in Urbino, but there is no proof that he returned to the Netherlands afterwards.

[169] Noviomagus 1529, p. 223; Van Mander 1604, fol. 225v., 03-06; Wauters 1904, pp. 290-306; Van Gelder 1942; Pauwels, Hoetinck & Herzog 1965, p. 16; Sterk 1980, pp. 21-22, 99-101; Dacos & Meijer 1995, pp. 17-20; Mensger 2002, p. 17; Heringuez 2008, pp. 207-211.

[170] Prinsen 1901, pp. 232-233.

[171] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 12918.

[172] Prinsen 1901, p.232.

his court painter, matter that has been widely reflected upon in literature. The *Neptune and Amphitrite*, painted for his patron's palace in Souburg in 1516, now in Berlin (fig. 37).[173] The two life-size deities are placed in contraposto (based upon famous Dürer's 1504 *Adam and Eve* engraving and Jacobo de' Barbari's *Mar and Venus*)[174] inside what appears to a cella of a Doric temple. Research on the sources used by Gossaert indicate an intelligent combination of antiquity, architectural treatises, humanist literature and the artist's own creativity. With its rectangular room, the rows of massive Doric columns and the architraves with triglyphs the artist seems to be aiming towards a archaeological correctness of a Doric temple as it was described by Vitruvius(IV.3.2). The Roman engineer instructs the reader to place the triglyphs directly above the columns and to alternate them with a metope of exactly the same size. Indeed the triglyphs on the right and left in the picture are placed above the column and the blank space between the frontal triglyphs is more or less the same as their width. Of course there are many deviations noticeable to the Vitruvian example. The base of the Doric columns is an uncommon element in the orthodox Greek Doric manner (with a shaft that rests immediately on the stylobate) but rater comes close to the Roman Doric variant with a base that consists of subsequently a plinth, lower torus, fillets, trochilos and upper torus. The most remarkable divergence is the placing of bucranea underneath the triglyphs instead of between them (if they should be interpreted as metopes).[175] It is generally agreed that Gossaert made use of the earliest illustrated edition of Vitruvius' treatise, published by Fra Giocondo in Venice in 1511 (fig. 38 & 39) in which the bucranea clearly function as metope.[176] Especially the capitals with the egg-and-dart motif show a striking resemblance to the woodcuts in this Vitruvius edition. In an article on the antique origins of the architecture in this painting, Sadja Herzog looked into Roman monuments that might have inspired Gossaert for the creation of this setting. He suggested that the temple might have been the visualization of the temple of Zeus at Olympia described by Pausinias.[177] However this text was only published in Venice in 1516 and it is there is now substantial reason to hang on this reference.[178] The combination of the bucranea and the triglyphs would be an interpretation of Virtuvius' description of the origin of the orders as part of ritual offerings. The bucranea are ornamental reminders of the skulls of animal sacrifices placed between the beams of the temple (IV.2.2.).[179] Another visual source of Gossaert would be the Basilica Aemalia, on the Forum

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[173] Belin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 648.
[174] Herzog 1968, p. 28; Mensger 2002, p. 73.
[175] On the use of bucranea, see Lemerle 1996.
[176] Sterk 1980, pp. 118-122; Tijs 1999, p. 13; Mensger 2002, pp. 82-84; Heringuez 2008, p. 116; Kavaler (manuscript) 2010, p. 7.
[177] Herzog 1968, p. 34.
[178] Heringuez 2008, note 26.
[179] On the Vitruvius origin mythology, especially see: Hersey 1987, pp. 74-77.

Romanum.[180] Unfortunately this building was partially destroyed and its ornaments reused in other monuments in 1503 to make room for the Palazzo Adriano Castellesi. Drawings made by Sangallo, shortly before the destruction of the basilica, show an resemblance to (fig. 40). The use of Bucranea as metope, the ionic based Doric column and the egg-and-dart form in the capital are all present in the drawings. It is possible that these elements were still present at the building site when Gossaert visited Rome in 1509, that he saw similar columns in monuments or that he knew them of comparable drawings.[181] Of course, it is also very likely that the woodcuts of Fra Giocondo's Vitruvius publication had this monument in mind. Probably Gossaert's example must have been on paper (drawings or the Vitruvius edition) since he interpreted the bucranea as real skulls rather than its sculpted imitations. The amount of sources that Gossaert used –his own drawings (and perhaps memories), engravings, Vitruvius' text, literary texts[182], book illustrations – are indication on how he constructed his own new architectural language out of an existent vocabulary. He never slavishly applied the Vitruvian rules but adapted them to a new esthetic where ornaments could be combined more freely, much like the *en vogue* flamboyant gothic forms that he used in his other panels. This does not, however, imply a mindless copy-pasting of elements just for the decorative cheer of it. The ways that Gossaert applied these different antique motifs reveals a great sense of understanding of the antique Vitruvian building manners and intelligence. He willingly chooses not to strict follow the treatise which allows the artist the experiment with a rich pallet of forms and construct an individual consistent typology. Although bucranea might be misplaced according to Vitruvian rules, they are not used at random either. They clearly function only in the decoration of friezes, mostly in temple settings. In his *Hercules and Deianira[183]*, painted a year later than the other couple of mythology, the ox skulls - again real ones instead of sculpted versions - are neatly positioned in a frieze above the deities heads (fig. 41). They are placed in a similar marble frieze in Gossaert's *Danaë*, between an architrave and a cornice with guttae (fig. 42).[184] The bucranea only appear outside the temple context in a design drawing for a *funerary monument of Isabella of Austria*, dated 1528 (fig. 43).[185] But here also, they are positioned as some sort of metope in between ornamental strips with foliage work and

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[180] Herzog 1968, p. 29; Ghisetti-Giavarina 1983; Heringuez 2008, p. 114-115.

[181] Herzog (1968, pp. 29-31) notes that similar columns were used in the Arcus Augusti and the temple of Hercules Victor on the Forum Boarium.

[182] Kavaler (2010, p. 8) suggest knowledge and representation of Francesco Collona's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* , printed in Venice in 1499, in Gossaert's *Neptune and Amphitrite*.

[183] The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham.

[184] Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 38. The semi-cylindrical architectural structure surrounded by Composite columns has often been compared to that of the Vesta temple in Tivoli and the Vesta temple on the Forum Romanum but, as with the *Neptune and Amphitrite*, the edifice is no literal copy. Herzog 1968, pp. 37-38; Silver 1986, p. 20; Mensger 2002, p.181; Heringuez 2008, p.115.

[185] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 4646.

mascarons. They are still strictly architectural features rather than a mere decorative addition. This more decorative function is given to the bucranea's twin brother: the rams-head. In the funerary monument they are twice incorporated into the bulged columns that separate the Virtue Allegories from each other. Another random example of Gossaert's use of rams-heads is a Madonna and Child, dated between 1527 and 1530, now in Bilbao.[186] Here they also carry garlands as they decorate the base of a bronze or golden column. They furthermore appear in vases, pedestals and other objects in a much more decorative nature than the consistent function of bucranea. The same consistency can also be found in his use of orders. The same Roman Doric order that was discussed in the *Neptune and Amphitrite*, is applied in the Brussels *Venus and Amor*, dated 1521 (fig. 44) [187] and a late woodcut of *Hercules and Deianira* (fig. 45).[188] The latter also makes use of the same egg-and-dart moulding in the pilaster on the far right hand side. Once Gossaert returned from Italy he hardly drew on the fantasy architecture that was used in for example *August and the Tiburtine Sybille*. He constructed a pseudo-Vitruvian system with a firm order in his placement of guttae, columns or cornices. The intelligent and systematic handling of architecture becomes clear through comparison with a contemporary skilled artist as Bernard van Orley. In his altarpiece of the *Legend of Sts. Thomas and Matthew* – one of his earliest altarpieces, finished shortly after the completion of his apprenticeship in his father's workshop in Brussels around 1512 – there is also a large variety of architectural styles and structures (fig. 46).[189] The prominent role of the architecture in the panels might be connected to commissioners since the work was ordered by the stone-cutters guild. Represented are the legends of the Apostles St. Thomas (on the left being threatened by King Gondophares of India) and the calling of St. Matthew (on the right). The narrative of the central panel is symmetrically structured by the two antique looking edifices.[190] In comparison with Gossaert's works around the same time, the architecture seems less consistently build up and more a random mixture of Lombardian elements.[191] The legend of St. Thomas is located under a opulently decorated loggia, functioning as a polychrome architectural baldachin for the action. Each column starts with a double square base upon which a clustered column is placed. The capital has a peculiar form with volutes that

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[186] Bilbao, Museos de Bellas Artes y de Arte Moderno, inv. 69/110.

[187] Brussels,

[188] Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, RP-P-1912-361.

[189] Central Panel: Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 992; Shutters: Brussel, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. 1435-36.

[190] The use of an architectural framework to structure the story in separate scenes and stages had become a common appliance during the late decades of the fifteenth century as in for example the Memling's *Scenes from the Passion of Christ* (ca. 1471) or the Brussels Master of the Saint Catherine Legend.

[191] Van Orley's later architectural style became more mature and consistent in for example the *Triptych of the Virtue of Patience*, 1521 (Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België).

are far from anything Ionic (fig. 47).[192] Much more than for example Gossaert's *Prague St. Luke* (fig. 49), painted in 1513, this setting is a strange amalgamate of anything antique-looking (volutes, portrait busts, garlands, cassettes, frontons) not withstanding any system.

3.2 Ruining St.-Peter's: Bramante's Architectural Vocabulary in the North

3.2.1 Gossaert and Bramante

So far, it is only stated that Gossaert solely referred to antique sources for his architectural compositions. But could there also have been an interest in contemporary architecture by Gossaert as well? During his audience with the pope, Philips of Burgundy and his painter must have been more than impressed by the building site of the new St.-Peter of which the construction had only started three years earlier, on April 18th 1506.[193] Without any question Gossaert witnessed the construction site of Bramante's innovating church at the Vatican. At the time of the diplomatic visit, work had begun on the four main piers at the central crossing (that was still part of Bramante's original centralized plan with Greek cross inscribed in a square) and the arches between them which would later support Michelangelo's dome.[194] A drawing by Maarten van Heemskerck might give an impression of the view that Gossaert and his patron might have had when visiting the Vatican (fig. 48).[195] Although this drawing is dated shortly before 1536, it closely resembles the 1509 situation since the works on the basilica only progressed slowly after the death of Julius II and Bramante, respectively in 1513 and 1514. Furthermore, the constructions were halted for a long period due to the Sacco di Roma in 1527.[196] Given the fact that Gossaert and his humanist patron shared a fascination for both antique as Italian contemporary architecture, chances are high that the artist also made sketches after the building site. A careful look at some of the paintings and drawings suggests this. Ariane Mensger already briefly suggested that the architecture that Gossaert used in his paintings recalls that of the early Bramante.[197] In most literature it is stated that the Roman Antiquities witnessed by Gossaert had very little effect on his work for the first five or six years after his return to the

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[192] These volute consoles appeared in late quattrocento Florence and Pienza and were introduced in building practice in the north by Tomasso Vincidor in the palace of Henry III of Nassau. They were also applied in the Antwerp town hall in 1564. Van Wezel 1999, p. 362. Also see § 4.1.

[193] Bruschi 1969, p. 146

[194] *Ibid.*

[195] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett

[196] Tronzo 2005, p. 79.

[197] Mengser 2002, p. 46, note 25.

Low Countries.[198] His *St. Luke,* now at the National Gallery of Prague, is being regarded as one of the earliest paintings in which the artists applied his Italian sources (fig. 49).[199] Although the poses of the main characters are obviously based upon Rogier van der Weyden's composition with the same subject (Boston, National Gallery), the surrounding architecture is indeed innovating. The panel was commissioned between 1513 and 1515 as an altarpiece for the painters guild in the church of St. Rumbold in Mechelen.[200] The Virgin poses in a richly decorated 'Italianate' palace that at first sight seems to be a hotchpotch of various antique elements. The masculine statue on the sculpted base on the left of the painting is based on a sketch that he made after the Hercules Boarium that was standing on the Forum Boarium near Circus Maximus at that time.[201] Also the charming putto playing with a goose on the left can be associated at a fashionable Hellenistic sculpture of which existed at least tree copies in Roman Gardens in the beginning of the sixteenth century.[202] In his unparalleled style, Friendländer criticized the architectural setting as 'the ostentatious showroom of some barbarian who has accumulated art treasures from foreign parts without knowing anything about them'.[203] Indeed the mix of different elements does have an unbalanced effect, but with the idea of Gossaert's visit to the Vatican in mind, the architecture is less inconsistent than it first appears to be. From a large room with the protagonists, the viewer's gaze is led outside trough a hallway with coffered ceiling. Interesting is the portico of this hallway which is decorated with a scallop-shell vault, preceded by a coffered round arch. It is precisely this motif that is also characteristic for Bramante's architecture. On another drawing made during Maarten van Heemskerck's Italian journey, the interior of St. Peter's is shown (fig. 50).[204] The crossing piers of the newly erected St. Peter are towering up from the nave of the old one, which can be seen on the sides. Here too, the coffered vaulting is combined with shellwork.[205] Considering the fact that all other antique elements - ornaments and statues – in Gossaert's Prague *St. Luke* were literally copied after objects witnessed during his stay in Rome, it would not be unlikely to suggest that also the larger architectural setting was inspired by drawings that he made while visiting the Vatican with his

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[198] Friedländer 1971, vol. 8, p. 48; Duverger 1931, p. 129; Pauwels, Hoetinck & Herzog 1965, p. 24; Gibson 1974, p.289; Silver 1989, pp. 64-66.

[199] Pauwels, Hoetinck & Herzog 1965, p. 87; Heringuez 2008, p. 110.

[200] Mensger 2002, p. 62.

[201] London, Collection of Lord Wharton. Pauwels, Hoetinck & Herzog 1965, p. 251, no. 47; De Jong 1968, pp. 57-61.

[202] Hülsen 1917, p. 18, 34, 58; Mensger 2002, p. 64.

[203] Friedländer 1971, vol. 8, p. 29.

[204] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 79 D 2a, fol. 52r. I would like to thank Prof. dr. Krista de Jonge for pointing me towards this drawing.

[205] Bramante used this motif quite often. He most likely first encountered it in Piero della Francesca's *Brera Alterpiece*, painted around 1470 painted for the church of San Bernardino in Urbino. Bruschi 1969 (1977), p. 23; Borsi 1989, pp. 143-147.

patron. Sometime after the St. Luke, Gossaert would re-use the combination of coffered arch and shell motif much more elaborately in the shutters of the *Descent from the Cross*, in Toledo, Ohio (figs. 51 & 52).[206] It was most likely a commission for the chapel of the De Salamanca family in the St. Donatian church in Bruges, where it had to rival with Jan van Eyck's *Van der Paele Madonna.*[207] The shutters are a remarkable showcase of architectural and ornamental display as the figures of outer wings – depicting the Annunciation – are standing in a 'Flamboyant' gothic niche and those on the inner wings – Ss. Peter and John are situated in niches in antique style. The architectural framework of both inner panels are mirrored replicas of each other.[208] In the central panel of the triptych various references have been noticed to Italian artists such as Raphael, Mantegna and Marcantonio.[209] The quotation of one of the most praised Italian architects would not be unusual. A vague impression that Gossaert's possible sketches on St. Peter's construction site can perhaps be obtained by having a closer look at a drawing in the Lehman collection in New York which has been attributed to Gossaert or his circle (fig. 53).[210] The Lehman drawing seems to be a preparation drawing for an Adoration scene. The figures in the foreground almost disappear in the overwhelming perceptively displayed architectural constructions that surround them. Again the accuracy of capturing the classical architectural language is astounding. The structure of the front arch is exemplary: a free standing column with volute capital, an architrave, followed by a frieze and topped off by a cornice with guttae. The arch itself is also coffered, similar to the two discussed Gossaert paintings. Despite the marvel of its displayed architecture, the artist also shows depicted unfinished parts of the edifice in the left hand side. Walls in front of a second large coffered arch are only half built. Iconographically this might still be interpreted as the ruins of Judaïsm taking place for the coming of Christianity, but on a purely pictorial level it strongly resembles the construction site of the new St. Peter's.[211] The subsequent elements in which the archway is constructed is, of course, not strictly Bramantesque; it follows Vitruvian

[206] The central panel is now in St.-Petersburg, Hermitage.

[207] Maréchal 1963, pp. 11-15; Pauwels, Hoetinck & Herzog 1965, p. 113.

[208] The IRR photographs of the panels show a mechanical style of underdrawing in the architectural components in contrast to the figures, which are drawn with a more loose hand. It seems plausible that architecture was traced and then mirrored after the same model. I would like to thank Stijn Alsteens for providing me with the photographic material before publication of the catalogue of the upcoming Gossaert exhibition in New York and London.

[209] Friedländer 1971, vol. 8, p. 29; Pauwels, Hoetinck & Herzog 1965, p. 114.

[210] New York, Metropolitan Museum of New York, The Robert Lehman Collection, inv. 1975.I.823. The drawing was traditionally attributed to Lucas van Leyden, based upon the *L* added later to the architectural base at the lower right. Baldass (1915, p. 224) and Friedländer attributed it to Bernard van Orley. Rosenberg (1938, pp. 42-43) first attributed it to Gossaert based upon the similarities to the group of figures in a drawing in the Louvre. This attribution was maintained in the 1965 exhibition catalogue (Pauwels, Hoetinck & Herzog 1965, pp; 275-276). It was strongly questioned by Lugt (1968, p. 27) and more recently by Haverkamp-Begemann (1999, p. 124) based upon the unsteady drawing style. They stated that is was probably a work of an artist of his circle.

[211] Similar ruins can be spotted in the background of Gossaert's *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1527, Museos de Bellas Artes y de Arte Moderno, Bilbao.

rules of building orders quite closely. The architectural setting of the drawing is very complicated but it does seem that the depicted building is technically possible in reality. The front area leads up to a second central area that is connected on the left with the unfinished or ruined section. This makes it feasible to assume that the Adoration itself takes place in an apse of the central crossing of a building that is being erected, much similar to what Gossaert and his patron saw during their papal audience. With this I do not intend to state that Gossaert drew this sheet during or shortly after his journey to Italy.[212] The work may be of an artist in his circle or workshop who had access to Gossaert's drawings and sketches. As we will see later on, the importation of Bramantesque architectural language would shape pictorial architecture in other workshops. The idea of integrating Bramante's architecture into painting was not new and by 1509 already a common practice in Italy.[213] Lombardian artists as Pinturicchio or Perugino made frequent use of Bramante's architectural settings in their fresco's and paintings.[214] Without any doubt, the most famous example of this practice is Raphael's architectural framework for the *School of Athens* on the east wall of the Stanza della Segnatura.[215] The group of philosophers and scientist are placed beneath an open dome that is being held up by giant piers that strongly reflect Bramante's building site a few yards from the fresco cycles.[216] By choosing Bramante's architecture Raphael was able to refer both to classical Vitruvian as contemporary architecture as a unity between Antiquity and Christianity. Raphael commenced working on the fresco sometime late in 1508.[217] This also the time that the audience of Philip of Burgundy took place, which was on February 13th 1509. This means that there is a distant possibility that Gossaert might have actually seen the *School of Athens* while Raphael was working on it. This might then have inspired the young artist to do a similar thing back home.

3.2.2 The Prevedari Print

There is also another visual source that influenced the depiction of Bramantesque architecture in visual art in the Low Countries trough the relatively young medium of artistic engravings. In 1481 the Milanese engraver Bernardo Prevedari was commissioned by the painter Matteo de' Fedeli to

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[212] This was suggested in the 1965 exhibition catalogue (Pauwels, Hoetinck & Herzog 1965, p. 276).

[213] Bramante's own architectural style was also deeply influenced by architectural painting by, for instance, Mantegna or Piero della Francesca. Borsi 1989, p. 143-151.

[214] Bruschi 1969, p. 15-25.

[215] On Raphael's interpretation of Bramante's architecture, see Frommel 1984, p. 18; Borsi 1989, pp. 16-18; Lieberman 1997, pp. 64-84.

[216] This was already suggested by Vasari (1568 (1965)), p. 234, who even stated that Bramante drew the architectural background for the fresco. Lieberman (1997, p. 73) questioned this link and suggested the ruins of the early fourth-century Basilica of Maxentius as Raphael's visual source of inspiration.

[217] Raphael received de First payment for the cycle in January 1509.

create an engraving after an architectural drawing of Bramante (fig. 54).[218] With its size of six copper plates it was the largest engraving conceived until that time.[219] It is also regarded as the first tangible design by Bramante. Prevedari's engraving is a perspective representation of Renaissance architecture that heralds the inventions that would later be brought in to practice with the new St. Peter's. A series of subsequent barrel vaults leads to an apse with coffered arch and a niche with shell motif. On the far foreground large piers are carrying a twelve-sided copula with oculi. When reconstructing the building in three dimensions one would obtain a large building with a central dome and four arms of equal length forming a cross inscribed in a square.[220] The print helped spreading Bramante's artistic idiom. A very rare example of the usage of the print in constructing the architectural background of a panel painting can be found in Spain. A painting by Alejo Fernandéz (ca. 1475 – 1545) in Madrid, representing the *Flagellation of Christ*, copies rather literally the architectural outlines of the Prevedari print in a mirrored version (fig. 55).[221] This mirroring might be caused by reversing the image during the copying process from the original print onto the copper plate. The underdrawing of the *Flagellation* has been transmitted by pouncing technique, clearly indicating that an engraved version was used as model.[222] Later, in the painting phase the artist slightly adjusted the architectural background by adding some structures that were not in the original print.

A drawing in the collection of the British Museum, depicting *The Trial of Moses*, certifies that there was a general awareness of the Prevedari print in the north as well (fig. 56).[223] The drawing, traditionally attributed to Jan de Beer, is terribly worn out and difficult to read. It can be dated between 1511 and 1519 (a quotation of the drawing in the illuminations of the French artist Godefroy le Batave serves as *terminus ante quem*).[224] A contemporary copy after this drawing in the collection of the Earl of Leicester helps reading the general composition but shows some omissions in the architectural features (fig. 57). In the architectural background of the London drawing two dominant (architectural) models in the Low Countries were cunningly combined. The heavy beamed ceiling of the room is borrowed from Dürer's 1511 woodcut *The Presentation in the Temple*, from his popular *Life of the Virgin* series.[225] Numerous other references were made to this woodcut and the influence of the entire Dürer series in the Low Countries can hardly be

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[218] Bruschi 1969, pp. 31-34; Borsi 1989, pp. 155-162.
[219] Landau & Parshall 1996, p. 199.
[220] Bruschi 1969, p. 32.
[221] Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. 1925. Iñiguez 1946, p. 12; Marquez 1953; Padrón 1984, p.61.
[222] Also the size of the architecture in the painting and the print are equal; Garrido 1993, p. 37.
[223] London, British Museum inv. Oo,9.4. Beets attributed the drawing to the Antwerp artist Dirk Vellert and described the subject as *The judgment of Salomon* (Beets 1908, p. 167). Ewing (1978, p. 324) later re-titled it. Orth 1989, p. 83, note 54.
[224] Orth 1989, p. 83.
[225] Bartsch, no. 88.

underestimated. His graphics were a quintessential part of the working models of practically every Antwerp workshop.[226] The second bay, with the cross vaulted ceiling pierced by oculi, does not appear on the Dürer woodcut but is literally taken over from the Prevedari print. With close examination of the drawing, one notices that even the hatchings of the original engraving have been faithfully copied in the drawing. Myra Orth has shown that these drawings were not limited to the Antwerp workshops but were used in French book illumination of the so-called 1520's Hours workshop. This drawing (or copies after it like the one in the Leicester collection) served as model for stained glass windows in Paris in 1531[227] and book illumination in Tours[228]. A second – even more literal – pictorial quotation of the Milanese print has been noticed in *The Presnetation in the temple* of the Franco-Flemish master of St.-Gilles, in Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen (fig. 58).[229] The availability of an architectural model such as the Prevedari print resulted in a radical change of the depiction of Adoration scenes in Antwerp at the turn of the century.[230] In order to fully understand the change it seems necessary to have short flash-back to the situation and iconographic traditions in the fifteenth century.

3.2.2.1   Adoration scenes: A Fifteenth-century prologue

The architectural setting of Adoration scenes in most part of the fifteenth century Netherlandish painting are stables. This is faithful to the description in the Gospel of Luke (2:7) where it is stated that Christ was born and laid in a manger because there was no place at the inn. In Jacques Daret's *Adoration of the Magi*, which originally hung in the Chapel of the Virgin at the Abbey of St.-Vaast in Arras, the joyful event takes place in a dilapidated stable with crumbling plaster, worm-riddled woodwork and a poorly attached roof (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Gemäldegalerie, fig. 59).[231] This iconography was standardized since the fourteenth century in Book illumination and sculpted capitals and would remain dominant during the fifteenth

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[226] Another random example of the use of this Dürer woodcut is *The Death of the Virgin* by the Master of Amiens (Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. 119). The main reference for Dürer's influence in the Netherlands is still Held 1931. For brief list of other examples of Dürer prints as source material by Antwerp artists, see Goddard 2004-2005, p. 124, note 3.

[227] Beets 1907, fig. 394.

[228] Orth 1983; Orth (1989, p. 83) assumed that the frequent use of the sheet of paper as a model drawing might be the cause for its poor condition today. On the use and diffusion of workshop drawings in early sixteenth-century workshops, especially see Van den Brink 2004-2005

[229] Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen ; The link between this panel and the Prevedari print was first made by Orth 1983, note 59.

[230] Another, later example of the use of the Prevedari print in the north is in Lomdert Lombard's *Scenes of the Life of St. Dionysius*, ca. 1528, (Liège, Musée d'art Wallon); Denhaene 1990, p. 48.

[231] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 542; Kemperdick & Sander 2009, pp. 246-257 (with further literature).

century.[232] Various copies and variations on the composition – in itself inspired by the *Nativity* of his teacher Robert Campin[233] - during the early sixteenth century are indicators for its pictorial authority. An Adoration panel of a Netherlandish master, probably in the proximity of the studio of Jacob Cornelisz. Van Oostzanen (fig. 60), now in the collection of the Fitzwilliam museum in Cambridge, shows the a similar composition based upon a 1460 drawing after a now lost work of Jacques Daret.[234] With Rogier van der Weyden's there is a first shift noticeable from the wooden stable to the implementation of stone elements. The *Bladelin Altarpiece*, named after its donor Pieter Bladelin (treasured of the Order of the Golden Fleece and founder of the city of Middelburg in East Flanders[235]), features an equally shabby stable but at least stone building is provided for the birth of Christ (fig. 61).[236] Although less introspective, just like Daret's Adoration the general layout of this composition also refers to Campin's *Nativity*. Painted towards the end of the 1440's, the architectural setting is composed out of Romanesque round arched windows in the background and a similar larger column on the foreground. The Romanesque elements can easily be explained by Erwin Panofsky's famous architectural dualism; where the Romanesque elements represent the times of the Old Testament as opposed to gothic elements which symbolize the new tidings of the coming Christ.[237] The fact that Romanesque architecture is being used in *the* crucial scene representing Christ birth in not necessarily contradictory. In this situation the Romanesque elements are in state of ruins exactly because of the arrival of the savior. The old synagogue of Judaism (often interpreted as the House of David) is replaced by the Church of Christianity.[238] A more elaborate use of a similar setting by the same artist is the marvelous *Columba Altarpiece* (fig. 62).[239] Now at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, it was commissioned between 1452 and 1456 by Johan Rick to hang in the St.-Mary Chapel in the Sankt Columba Church in Cologne.[240] The architectural structure takes a more prominent position as it covers more of the painted surface. The round and sober arches behind the Adoration give rhythm to the figures and divides the panel. More interesting is the introduction of a unambiguous reference to a church architecture by fitting in the ruins of a vaulted arch that rises up from above the wooden roof structure. In continuing Panofsky's iconographical explanation,

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[232] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

[233] Dijon, Museé des Beaux-Arts, inv. 150.

[234] Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. M. 19. The mentioned drawing in the collection of the Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 2403; Kemperdick & Sander 2009, pp. 258-261.

[235] Not to be confused with the Dutch Middelburg, capital of the province of Zeeland.

[236] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 535.

[237] Panofsky 1953, pp. 134-140.

[238] *Ibid.*; Hall 2006, p. 300. On the notion of the House of David, see Blum 1969, p. 79.

[239] Monballieu 1964, pp. 103-111; Vey 1968, pp.7-10; Davies 1972, pp. 227-228; Kulenkampf 1990, pp. 9-46; Martens 1996, p. 21; De Vos 1999, pp. 281-282; Campbell 2009, pp. 113-116;

[240] Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. WAF 1189.

the downfall of Judaism is being highlighted even more. It is this ambiguity – a middle way between the tumbledown stable and the architectural church ruin -that would be maintained by later generations of the fifteenth century.[241]

3.2.2.2 Sixteenth century innovations: of arches and domes

A more radical change in the architectural setting of Adoration scenes occurs at the turn of the sixteenth century. The fragile balance between stable and stone structure is quite quickly abandoned as the stable element disappears almost completely. Especially in the context Antwerp accumulation of Adoration panels for the open market, a dominant type of architecture appears; an overwhelming church ruin mostly decorated with antique motifs such as grotesque decorated pilasters[242], arches with cassette elements and sometimes, of course, putti carrying garlands.[243] A fine example is the *Adoration of the Magi* by the co-called Pseudo Blesius, at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (fig. 63).[244] The panel was Friedländer's point of departure in constructing his groups of Antwerp Mannerists as he saw some close affinities with Jan de Beer, who became part of the Antwerp Painters Guild in 1504.[245] According to Friedländer the panel is one of the earliest works of this Mannerist typology and he dates it as early as 1505-07. This early date was recently affirmed by Ewing and Van den Brink who dated it around 1510.[246] The architectural facet of the painting is so elaborate that it forms a major protagonist in the scene.[247] The Adoration occurs in

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[241] Other examples are: Hugo van der Goes, *Portinari Altarpiece*, ca. 1475, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi; Gerard David, *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1500, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België; Dirk Bouts, *Adoration Triptych,* ca. 1470, Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

[242] The ornamental strips on pilasters and friezes that decorate most of the early-sixteenth century Netherlandish panels probably refers to ornamental prints of German and Italian origin. Many publications and albums with ornamental prints were designed for various crafts, ranging from metalwork, sculpture, tapestry design to panel painting. On ornamental prints and drawings, see De Jong & De Groot 1988; Fuhring & Speelberg 2009.On the use of ornamental prints by Antwerp Mannersists, see Goddard 2004-2005, pp. 131-132.

[243] On the early sixteenth- century Antwerp art market, Adoration scenes were tremendously popular with a production that reached up to a thousand between 1500 and 1530 (Vermeylen 1999, p. 18; Vermeylen 2001, p. 48; Vermeylen 2000, p. 194). As foreign travellers bringing wealthy gifts to the newborn Christ, the Magi are the ultimate representations of the long-distance trade that was responsible for the city's flourishing. On the equation Magi/merchants, especially see Ewing 2004-2005.

[244] Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 708.; Van den Brink & Martens 2005, cat. no. 17 (with further literature).

[245] Friedländer 1921.

[246] This date was based upon the decorative elements and the architecture in relationship to a later version of the panel in Madrid (Museo del Prado) and the *Rheinhold Altarpiece* by Joos van Cleve (Warchau, National Museum). Van den Brink & Martens 2005, p. 54-55, note 19.

[247] It should be stressed that the composition was made more vertically with the addition of 23 cm on top of the panel. The original composition in the Adoration reached until the top of the front archway. This gives the composition a more horizontal shape. This change occurred probably during the seventeenth century when it was adapted to contemporary taste. A similar intervention was made, for

what appears to be nave of a richly decorated church ruin with three subsequent bays opening in a Patinir-like landscape with rough rocks and another building with intriguing architectural features. On the foreground a soldier rests upon a part of a broken off pillar with a decorated grotesque pattern. It is only a shadow of its intact counterpart on the right and left. The left pillars are separated by a marble column with acanthus capitals, suggesting an alteration of pillar and column throughout the entire nave. On the same side, a crumbled down round vault with classical cassettes in the molding reaches into the viewer's world. On the right hand side a small portico extents the building; perhaps once a part of the side aisle? The state of decline is accentuated by the numerous branches sticking out from between the stones. Many other early sixteenth-century Adoration scenes are all somewhat similar in their basic architectural structure. Stephen Goddard recently mentioned about this similarity that *'the ruinous structures that feature in so many Antwerp Mannerist paintings (…) are of very special interest in regard to possible printed sources. (…) The overall impression is that the Antwerp Mannerists drew deeply from the fount of prints by Dürer and other artists who were active from the 1480's into the 1510's.'*[248] As a result of his focus on German prints, he relates the above described Adoration scenes to the engravings and woodcuts of Dürer, Altdorfer and the Master I.A.M. of Zwolle.[249] However, when comparing these architectural backgrounds to the a mirrored version of the Prevedari print (Fernandez' *Flagellation* also made use of a reversed image) , there are some striking resemblances in the succession of three subsequent bays, the coffered archways and especially in the broken off coffered arch at the left hand side of the painting. Reconsidering the painting in its original size (23 cm shorter on top) one notices that it is framed off just right at the molding of the front vaulting, much similar to the composition in the print. The combination of these individual elements strongly suggests a knowledge of the Prevedari print by this Antwerp artist. When browsing through works of art of early sixteenth century Antwerp artist it becomes clear that the Italian print was standardized stock model used in an economized market with a rapidly growing demand for Adoration scenes. Though less faithful to the original print in its more gothic and vertical set-up, the architectural setting in the *Adoration of the Magi* of the Master of the Antwerp Adoration shows the same basic structure: a nave with three bays, and the crumbled down coffered arch entering the viewers field (fig. 64).[250] The group of early sixteenth-century Netherlandish paintings connected to the Italian

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example, to Jan van Scorel's *Mary Magdalene*, (Amsterdam Rijksmuseum). Eikemeier 1986, p. 47; Van den Brink & Martens 2005, p. 54.
[248] Goddard 2004-2005, p. 131.
[249] Indeed some of the discussed works in this article, such as the Joos van Cleve *Adoration of the Magi* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) and an Adoration of Jan de Beer (Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera), are much more related to that in Dürer prints.
[250] Many resemblances in the work with that of Pseudo-Blesius already made Friedländer suggest that The Master of the Antwerp Adoration was active in this workshop (Friedländer 1971, vol. 11, p. 26).

Bramantesque print can be extended by another *Adoration* scene by the Master of the Antwerp Adoration (fig. 65) and an Adoration attributed to The Master of the Martyrdom of the Two Saint Johns (fig. 66).[251] The latter has a more centralized composition but clearly refers to the print in round niche with shell-motif. The medallions in the spandrels of the front vault in the print are now placed on the upper sides of the niche in the panel. The sculptural frieze that runs through the interior is familiar as well. Of course, all these elements – coffered vaults, shell-work, decorated pilasters or oculi - do appear individually in other works of early sixteenth century artist but the specific combination of them in this setting points strongly towards the Prevedari print as the original model of the architectural background of many of these Adoration scenes.[252]

In Joos van Cleve's *Adoration of the Magi*, the sacred event takes place in a building that is again very similar to the one in the above described paintings and the Prevedari print (fig. 67).[253] The structure of the edifice is now reduced to one barrel-vault and a oculus with small decorative balustrade. The key altarpiece of the so-called Master of the Salomon triptych, dated 1521, is a comparable example the insertion of a dome structure with a same balustrade into the architectural setting (fig. 68).[254] Though the rest of the ornamentation and architecture is distinctively different from the Prevedari-linked works, the oculus shows some remarkable similarities to the previous work by Joos van Cleve. A recently re-discovered triptych of the anonymous Master of the Salomon Triptych eliminates all doubts on the awareness of the Prevedari print (or perhaps drawings or other panels after it) in this specific workshop. In his *Adoration of the Magi*, the artist clearly makes use of some key features of the print such the broken-off vault on the middle and the combination of rib-vaulting incised with oculi in the second bay (fig. 69). Friedländer placed this northern master in the artistic circle in or around Leiden.[255] This argument was mostly based upon the use of a Lucas van Leyden woodcut in the *Salomon Triptych*.[256] The enormous mobility of prints however, especially those of Lucas van Leyden, should by no means indicate that this artist was working in Leiden. In fact, the entire architectural composition shows some astonishing similarities to an above mentioned Adoration by the Master of the Antwerp Adoration (fig. 65).

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[251] Present location unknown. Friedländer 1971, vol. 11, pp. 34, 73, no. 62, pl. 64; Auctioned: Christie's, London, July 10, 1987, no. 55.
[252] Research on the collection of photographic reproductions in the RKD ended up with a preliminary list of 56 works that follow a same basic architectural structure.
[253] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie.
[254] Den Haag, Mauritshuis, inv. 433.
[255] Friedländer 1933, vol. 8, p. 55-56; Broos 1993, pp. 356-363, 396; Van Suchtelen, Bruijnen & Buijsen 1997, pp. 70-75, no. 7; Van den Brink & Martens 2005, p. 186, no. 78.
[256] The print was a part of his small series of the *Vrouwenlisten*, printed ca; 1517. Filedt-Kok 1978, pp. 49-61; Hollstein 1996, no. 184.

The introduction of this dome-like architecture is one that needs some more attention. It was an architectural element still completely absent in Netherlandish architecture that would only come into full practice during the Counter-Reformation architecture. In northern painted architecture however, the earliest dated panel showing this element is Quinten Metsys' central panel of his *St. Anne Altarpiece*, signed and dated in 1509 (fig. 70).[257] The cupola structure with pendentives in the middle and the two coffered barrel-vaults in each side divides the picture into three parts. and provides the scene with a threefold balanced rhythm that accentuates the middle group of Mary, St. Anne and the holy Child. Metsys paid great attention to the execution of architecture during the painting stages. Recent examinations of the underdrawings by Martens revealed a series of detailed construction lines in the architectural components of the triptych. The drawn lines are even cut into the underground layers to give a geometrical precision to the painted edifice.[258] The architecture has often been compared to that in Italian painting of the 1490's, especially that of Perugino.[259] Indeed there is a very strong resemblance between Metsys' altarpiece and, for example, Perugino's 1493 *Madonna and Saints*, now in the Uffizi in Florence (fig. 71). Although Italian motifs are present throughout his work, no clear evidence can be found of Quinten Metsys ever taking a journey to Italy. Most of these borrowings of, for example, Leonardo Da Vinci, Marcantonio or Dürer reached the workshop through figurative prints. Thanks to the new medium a large variety of Italian compositions became accessible on a large scale. The borrowing of Perugino's architectural composition seems plausible as also Metsys' Antwerp colleague Joos van Cleve referred to Perugino's *Lamantation* (Florence, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti) in his own *Lamantation Altarpiece* (Frankfurt am Mein, Städelsches Kunstinstitut).[260] The exact ways of this cultural transmission still remain unclear since there is no evidence of any reproductive prints after these Perugino paintings to be found today. By referring to the Perugino architectural backgrounds, Metsys indirectly quoted Bramante.[261] Perugino's architectural

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[257] Brussel, Koninklijk museum voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. 299. Silver 1984, no. 10.

[258] Information provided by Maximilaan Martens on a lecture during the 'Vlac- Contactforum Current Research in early sixteenth-century northern painting', organized by the Flemish Academic Centre for Science and the Arts on June 2nd 2010. No illustration could be provided since these research results are still to be published.

[259] Broadley (1961, p. 105) suggested Perugino's Dublin *Pieta* (Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland). De Bosque (1975, p. 95) suggested Cima da Conegliano's 1491 *John the Baptist with Saints* (Venice, Santa Maria dell' Orto) as possible source. Silver (1984, pp. 202-203) added Perugino's 1491 altar of Guiliano della Rovere (Rome, Villa Albani) and the *Madonna and Saints* Florence Galleria degli Uffizi) to the list of plausible sources.

[260] Hand 2004, pp. 71-72. On Perugino and the north, also see Wood 1989, pp. 7-18.

[261] In Bramante's early years, when working at the court of Federigo da Montefeltor in Urbino, he mainly designed architectural backgrounds for fresco walls in the Ducal Palace along with painters such as Piero della Francesca and Perugino. A suggestion of a continuation of the collaboration between Bramante and Perugino after his stay apprenticeship in Urbino is found somewhat later. After supervising the fortifications of Crevola, Bramante was being looked for by Lodovico Sforza for a more detailed report of these constructions. On 11 December 1493, Giovanni Stefano Castiglioni, on

backgrounds are deeply saturated with Bramante's architectural convictions such as the love for centralized structures or the use of Lombardian ornaments.[262] Even if Metsys' direct visual example would be Perugino, the general idea behind it would be close to Bramante and his artistic circle. The link between Metsys's cupola architecture and Bramante could also be through direct contact with Gossaert himself. Gossaert was working in Antwerp since 1503 as he was registered in the Guild records of the city.[263] In 1505 and 1507 had had two apprentices.[264] He returned from Rome in June 1509.[265] Metsys (who was already registered in Antwerp since 1491)[266] received the commission for the St. Anne Altarpiece in 1507 from the Confraternity of St. Anne in Louvain for the brotherhood chapel in the church of St. Peter and completed it in 1509.[267] This creates a period of six to five months that Metsys might have gotten in contact with Gossaert's drawings and sketches of St. Peter and used them in his first datable altarpiece. Since the exterior of the left shutter depicts the north tower of the Antwerp church of Our-Lady, the triptych could be considered a painted representation of two buildings that were highly anticipated both locally and internationally.[268] Yet such a theory can only be suggested as a vague possibility without any factual evidence. An easier way to explain this particular dome would again be the Prevedari print. But this too is rather unsatisfactory since the twelve-sided cupola in the print is of a somewhat different nature than the smooth dome with pendentives, used by Metsys. It is a different model of a different origin which also circulated within Antwerp workshops as is indicated by an Antwerp drawing in the British Museum where the same cupola type is used to support a nativity scene (fig. 72).[269] The spread of this alternative version of cupola architecture, however, can hardly be compared to that of the Prevedari print in panel painting. The latter helped in the dispersal of a Bramantesque vocabulary in northern workshops, especially in the Antwerp Adoration scenes. The swift adoption of this model is to be comprehended as a result of the play of multiple factors. First there is the fortunate position of Antwerp in the global economy at the turn of the century when trade gradually shifted from a Mediterranean to a transatlantic one. The city soon became the stocking market of Indian spices for the Portuguese trading ships (from 1496 onwards)[270], a gateway to the East for the English

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Loduvico's behalf, mentions that Bramante he was looking for Bramante somewhere in Tuscany, 'perhaps in the company of Perugino, or someone else notable for pictures or sculpture'.Bruschi 1969, pp. 59-62.

[262] Frommel 2008, p. 84.

[263] Rombouts & Van Lerius 1864-76, vol. 1, p. 53.

[264] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63, 66.

[265] Duverger 1968, p. 18; Mensger 2002, p. 17.

[266] Rombouts & Van Lerius 1864-76, vol. 1, p. 43.

[267] Silver 1984, p. 201.

[268] The tower would only be finished in 1520.

[269] London, British Museum, inv. 1860,0616.65.

[270] Everaert 1991

cloth trade and it also kept its older ties with the European *Hinterland* through transports of luxury goods with the Hanze nations in Germany.[271] With this overnight commercial blooming: Antwerp attracted buyers from the Hanseatic Leage, Spain, Portugal, Italy and even the Near East.[272] The growing of the Antwerp marked implied a grand scale continuation of the serial painting production; a process that had already started in Bruges by the end of the fifteenth century in the workshops of Gerard David, Memling and Isenbrandt (cf. § 2.2).[273] Secondly, within this mounting practice of using stock models and iconographical stereotypes the role of drawings as the formal recourses of workshops was slowly but surely taken over by printed images.[274] The important role of prints as a primary source for the diffusion of pictorial ideas can hardly be underestimated. Thirdly, as indicated in the first part of this thesis, artist were eagerly looking for different methods of visualising the antique, often stimulated by their humanist patrons of Habsburg aristocracy. Almost simultaneously this new fashionable taste would be taken over by the civil classes on the art market, enlarging the demand for antique architecture on a much wider scale. It is in this cultural and socio-economic climate that the Prevedari print was enthusiastically welcomed. But why should the Prevedari print, first published in 1482, only be assimilated during the first decade of the fifteenth century, since this quest of anything antique looking was already present during the second half of the fifteenth century? In his article on the use of prints in early-sixteenth century Antwerp workshops, Goddard gives an answer to this question. He notices that many Antwerp artists and their corporate workshops turned to the German prints of Schongauer, Dürer, Cranach the Elder or Burgkmeir, printed and published from as early as the 1480's.[275] The answer for this is to be found in the organisation of the Antwerp print market, or better to say, the lack of it, since there is so real evidence of any *peintre-graveur* working in Antwerp between 1480 and 1520. The first known printmakers in the city were Gossaert and Vellert in the early 1520's.[276] This made Antwerp painters and designers dependent of - especially German - import. Although most of the present prints in the Low Countries rolled off the printing presses of German artists, there are some examples of Italian prints that were used in northern works such as the use of Marcantonio's engravings in the late printed oeuvre of Lucas van Leyden.[277] Another example are the prints of Jacabo de' Barbari, who was in service of

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[271] Literature on Antwerp's economic rise is considerable. Further bibliographic references can be found in Voet 1973; Honig 1998; Vermeylen 2000; Vermeylen 2003.
[272] On contacts between Antwerp and the Near East, see Hamilton 2001.
[273] Dijkstra 1990; Wilson 1990, Part III ; Martens 1998; Stabel 2006.
[274] The omnipresence of Dürer engravings and woodcuts in Netherlandish ateliers is perhaps the clearest indication for this shift of media paradigms.
[275] Goddard 2004-2005, pp. 125-126.
[276] Van der Stock 1998, p. 107.
[277] Filedt-Kok 1978, pp. 45- 48; Silver & Smith1978. This artistic development of Lucas was, however, only in the late 1520's and early 1530's.

Margaret of Austria in Mechelen around 1510.[278] In his profound study on the Antwerp print market, Jan van der Stock states that very early on prints were sold in the streets but also in the *Our Lady's Pand* in Antwerp.[279] Until the opening of the *Schilderspand* in the new edifice of the new Bourse in 1540, the Our Lady's Pand was the most thriving open market for paintings in the city.[280] This was also the place where many of the altarpieces and panels of Antwerp painters were being sold. Possibly copies of the Prevedari print were distributed here. The number of copies might even have been limited since many of the described artists who included it in their architectural setting were all living and working in the same neighbourhood - geographically centred around the area of Kipdorp and in the perish of St. Jacobs-Church - in a semi-cooperative system of visual exchange of models.[281]

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[278] Duverger 1931, pp. 146-149; Levenson 1978; Ferrari 2006, pp. 35-64
[279] Van der Stock 1998, pp. 131-133.
[280] Ewing 1990; Vermeylen 2000, pp. 205-212; Vermeylen 2003, pp. 19-28; Vermeylen 2007.
[281] Leeflang 2004-2005; Martens 2004-2005.

4 Between Imagination and Reality – Antique architectural background and the building practice in the Low Countries

Fortis Imaginatio generat Casum

(Michel de Montaigne, *De la force de l'imagination*, *Essais,* 1580)

Although the first Italianate or antique elements first appeared in Bruges workshop in the 1480's it is not until the late 1520 and early 1530's that these visual ideas would be brought into practice in monumental edifices in the Low Countries. In most literature the pioneering role of Renaissance architecture in this region is taken by buildings such as such as the Yselstein church tower (1532-35), The *Nieuwe Griffie* of Bruges (1534-37), *Huis de Zalm* in Mechelen (1530) or the Palace of Henry III of Nassau in Breda (1536).[282] Incorporating the vast production of painted architecture not only enlarges the corpus of antique architecture in the Low countries but offers possibilities of understanding certain changes in the organisation of the sixteenth century building practice. The focus of this chapter will be on this relationship between the designing of painted architecture and the antique designing practice in the Low Countries.

4.1 Norm and Form: Formal similarities between painted and real Antique architecture

Since the language of Antique ornament and architecture was already present for two decades in the visual arts before it was put in into the building practice, it seems to make sense that the stylistic language of these painters and designers became the same one as the one applied in the early antique architecture in the Low Countries. An good example for this is the above mentioned *Nieuwe Griffie* in Bruges (1534-37), designed by Jean Wallot (fig. 73). With its balanced composition, ornamented friezes, medallions and Doric Columns it represents one of the earliest built manifestations of the new style.[283] Often it has been compared to the sculptural ideas of Jean Mone.[284] Interesting in respect to the above discussed paintings are the Doric columns (fig. 74). As with Gossaert the capitals are garnished with an egg-dart motif. Most likely both Gossaert and Wallot made use of the same Fra Giocondo edition of Vitruvius (1511) in shaping the capital

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[282] Van Wezel 1999, pp. 109-116; Tijs 1999.

[283] The present look of the building is far more exuberant in its ornamentation then it originally was due to a far going restoration by Louis Delacenserie in 1877- 1883. On this 'restoration', see Norro 1971, pp. 91-107.

[284] Roggen 1953, p. 228; Vandevivere & D'Ieteren 1973, p. 30; De Jonge 2002, p. 39;De Jonge & Ottenheym 2007, p. 34.

(fig. 75). They both spoke the same architectural language although it was not their mother tongue. More peculiar, however, are the similarities between the so-called 'fantasy architecture' of Bernard van Orley and an Italian architect as Tommaso Vincidor of Bologna. In 1530 the Italian architect was contacted by Henry III of Nassau to design his palace in Breda, which would be built in 1536.[285] It is a much praised example of pure Renaissance architecture in the north and a showcase of the Habsburg way of identifying themselves with the antique forms. The palace is built around a centre arcaded courtyard with medallions, much like the Italian Palazzi designed by Brunelleschi and Michelozzo. The courtyard is constructed of three arcades with superposing orders.[286] Interesting here is the Ionic arcade in the first floor, which has an addition of a volute console between the Ionic capital and the architrave (fig. 76). For the origin of this element Van Wezel refers to other fifteenth-century examples in Florence (Santa Croce and San Lorenzo), Fiesole and Pienza.[287] An illustration of it also appeared in Cesariano's 1521 Italian translation of Vitruvius. The palace of Henry III of Nassau is the first known example of this typology in the north. When having a second look at the above discussed *Legend of Sts. Thomas and Matthew* of Bernard van Orley, painted around 1513 (fig. 47) it seems that the specific element of the volute console was already introduced in the Low Countries.[288] In Breda, the two volutes are separated by a square that is placed underneath them in Orley's painted version. Still, one cannot ignore the strong similarities between the two capitals. Of course, I do not wish to imply that an Italian architect as Vincidor had to rely on a Netherlandish artist for designing antique architecture. It does suggest that the element of the double volute console was already part of the architectural language long before Vincidor used it. Perhaps it was the personal preference of Henry III to incorporate this element because of the familiarity with it in the Low Countries. It is not unthinkable that the patron was already familiar with this motif through Van Orley or comparable designs. As an artist, Van Orley had strong ties to the the Habsburg court, and made tapestry cartoons depicting the genealogy of the House of Nassau in the early 1530's (at the same time of the commissioning of the palace).[289] Better known is the commission for the stained glass windows in the Brussels St.-Gudele church which glorifies Charles V and the Habsburg court. It is also well known that Henry III, like many of the Habsburg nobility, had a profound interest in antique architecture as he often praised the Italian palaces built in Spain during his sojourn there

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[285] Especially see Van Wezel 1999.
[286] The Corinthian arcade on the third level, was demolished in 1827. Van Wezel 1999, p. 367.
[287] Van Wezel 1999, p. 362.
[288] The visual source for these volute capitals with Van Orley is still uncertain.
[289] Fock 1969; Duverger 1971; Fock 1975; Fock 1995.

(1522-1530).[290] In letters between Henry III and Tommaso Vincidor show that the commissioner played himself played an important role in the overall design of the building.[291] A third well known example of early antique buildings in the Low Countries is the palace of Érard de la Marck, prince-bishop of Liège (1521-1538).[292] Here not an Italian architect but the local 'bouwmeester' Arnold van Mulcken was responsible for the design (probably in correspondence with de la Marck who had travelled to Italy and France). The building consist of two arcaded courtyards with capricious columns. Their stalwart shapes are nothing like the more smooth Italian shapes in the Breda palace (fig. 77). Their fantastic nature does have some counterpart in painting. Perhaps not in the pseudo-Vitruvian architectural vocabulary of Gossaert but in the free inventions of other Antwerp painters. The same Lombardian candelabra columns with bulged base appear throughout the visual arts of especially early-sixteenth century Antwerp painters. An extreme example of this is Jan de Beer's Adoration of the Magi (fig. 78). The bulged shaft of the centre column seems like an awkward parody on the antique fashion. The robustness of the Liège columns bear an almost equal intricate nature. With this very brief look at these buildings it seems possible to state that there is a close formal relationship between the painted and real architecture as both relied on the same limited antique vocabulary. This correlation can be explained by taking a closer look at the changes in the building practice and guild structure as both the role of the 'architect' and painter underwent a slight shift.

4.2   Designing architecture in the Low Countries: the painter-designer.

In literature, the arrival of new forms and styles in the Low Countries is often associated with a new interpretation of the idea of the profession of architect. Until the beginning of the sixteenth century, this profession was non-existent.[293] The design of important public buildings was part of a community of people involved with the different aspects of the realisation of the edifice grouped under the stone-cutters guild often supervised by a *bouwmeester* or *werkmeester*. The latter was most often one of the many guild member with more responsibility in the general building project but can hardly be compared to the modern concept of architect. He overlooks the working process, gives advice and is often also active as a sculptor of ornamental stonework such as capitals, pinnacles of consoles. There was no specific training in becoming a bouwmeester

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[290] The element of the double volute console does appear in the many renaissance palaces in Spain, but these were only built after the completion of Breda palace. Van Wezel 1999, pp. 59-64.
[291] *Ibid.* , p. 79.
[292] Forgeur 1965; Timmers 1980, pp. 283-289.
[293] Gerritsen 2006; Ottenheym 2009.

(mostly they were the more experienced guild members) and there was no clear distinction between designing and executing. The traditional view in literature quite often bouldly juxtaposes this late medieval concept of guild-organised design practice to a sixteenth-century liberal interpretation of the independent architect. Herman de la Fontaine Verwey and Ruud Meischke stated that the profession of the architect as a person who strictly designs as an intellectual occupation was only introduced in the Low Countries with the publication of Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Dutch translation of Vitruvius as *Die Inventie der Colommen met haren coronementen ende maten* in 1539.[294] Before the publication of the small book – in octavo format - the term was not known in the building practice. The connotation that had been given to the term as a radical mentality change towards designing architecture was recently questioned by Merlijn Hurx, who claimed that the new term architect meant no radical change in the building practice and that what had once been called *bouwmeester* (or a similar term) was just a literal translation of the word *opperwerkman* into Greek, without any substantial shift in the profession itself.[295] Also part of this discussion is the role that traditionally is given to Italian architects in the Low Countries. If Coecke's translation introduced the term architect, the Italians gave meaning to it. These foreign architects - mostly worked under the direct patronage of Habsburg rulers and were thus not submitted to the strict guild regulations and spread the idea of architecture as a free art, as Alberti had described it.[296] This created an image in literature that with the arrival of Italian architects and engineers the monopoly of the guild system was undermined resulting in an adaptation of this new attitude by local 'architects' who placed themselves outside this system.[297] Besides their profound influence on the military architectural practice I think that the role of these Italian architects should be nuanced as the presence of people designing architecture from outside the stone-cutters and carpenters guild ought to be nuanced.

In the influential article that started the discussion on the role of architects and the evolution architectural design in the fifteenth- and sixteenth century, Meischke already briefly touched upon the important role of painters as the transporters of new forms and their role in the building practice.[298] The function that they had in the changing attitude towards the designing of architecture can hardly be underestimated. Painters were very well grounded in the novel artistic vocabulary of the antique and the role of designing of this sort of ornamentation grew rapidly within the workshops. I would like to support Meischke's argument that painters – together with

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[294] De la Fontaine Verwey 1976, pp; Rolf 1978; 166-194; Meischke 1988, p. 183.
[295] Hurx 2009, p. 13.
[296] De Jonge & Ottenheym, 2007, p. 26.
[297] De Jonge 2002, p. 41.
[298] Meischke 1988, pp. 188-196.

sculptors[299] - played an important part in the introduction of this language in the building practice, not only in terms of ornamental typology but also in the professional shift of execution of the architectural design. At the turn of the century the design of architecture and monumental sculpture was greatly indebted to painter and his workshop thanks to their familiarity with the new architectural vocabulary. This is also reflected in the prominent role of architecture and ornament in early sixteenth century painting. Of course, also in Netherlandish painting of the fifteenth century the architectural setting of the scene was represented with a significant amount of detail and care. This is in fact one of the many praised features of the so-called Flemish Primitives. In Rogier van der Weyden's *Seven Sacraments Altarpiece*, painted ca. 1440-45, the interior of the Gothic cathedral (a combination of St.- Gudele in Brussels and Tournai cathedral) takes a very prominent place (fig. 79).[300] However, the gilded arches, aisles, chapels and choir serve as a guiding frame to structure the subsequent sacraments from birth to death and provides the picture with an deep iconographic sub-layer. Despite its detail and marvel the architecture does not dominate the liturgical narrative but instead regulates it into a balanced composition. This cannot be said about the Brussels triptych with *The Life of Mary Magdalene*, by the Master of 1518 (fig. 80).[301] The central panel, depicting Christ in the House of Simon, has an exuberant display of architectural that combines Gossaert's antique language with flamboyant gothic forms. The position between architecture and narrative has shifted completely. The scene with Mary Magdalene becomes subordinate to the environment where the artist tries to display his knowledge of fashionable antique and modern styles.[302] A look in the *Berlin Sketchbook* indicates the importance of the ornamental design and innovations in the early sixteenth-century workshop.[303] This very rare and early sketchbook contains 48 folia with workshop drawings that are usually associated with the Amsterdam workshop of Jacob Cornelisz. Van Oostzanen, dated around 1520.[304] With its large amount of pages it provides a unique look inside the working practices of the atelier. When browsing through the sketchbook no less than 41% of all drawings (both prepatory as reproductive) are related to the architectural set-up of paintings. This ranges from exercises in perspective and ornamental details to complete worked out architectural set pieces – both in *antiecse* style as in *modern*. Painters were so well trained in architectural design,

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[299] Painters gradually also became more responsible for sculpted design, as in for example Jan Gossaert's design for the Funerary monument of Isabella of Austria.

[300] Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 393, 394, 395.

[301] Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. 329.

[302] The aim for the fashionable of Antwerp Mannerist is also displayed in the handling of exotic clothing: You 2004-2005.

[303] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 75 C 2; Many thanks to Ilona van Tuinen for sharing some of the early information of her research on the sketchbook of an anticipated forthcoming publication.

[304] Carroll 1987.

that the designing of real edifices only sounds as the logical next step. The expertise of painters on architectural and sculptural matters is shown in the documents concerning the commission of a copper choir screen in a chapel at the Utrecht cathedral in 1519.[305] As already shortly mentioned in the introduction (cf. pp. 6-7), a certain Hendrik die Zwart of Gouda was selected to make the designs for these screens, secondly a 1:1 model would be made 'in an antique manner, avoiding anything which is modern' by Gregorius Wellemans of Antwerp. This model would be cast and executed in bronze by 'Geelgieter' Jan van den Eynden in Mechelen. However the screens were never executed, probably because works were delayed due to a conflict. This conflict was caused by Van den Eynde who complained that Wellemans failed to avoid 'obsoleteness and filled the model with too much of small works'. The conflict is often quoted in literature as a pinpoint moment when a clear distinction between antique and modern was used. But just as interesting in relationship to the changing roles of artist in the guild structures is the fact that the painter Jan Gossaert was eventually called in as advisor. Not a mason, sculptor (*beeldsnijder)* or bronze smith but a painter. Already during the fifteenth century it was very common to ask for a second opinion from an outsider on large expensive commissions, but this was in all cases this was someone related to building sites (mostly other *bouwmeesters*).[306] The fact that Gossaert was consulted should not only explained by his close ties to the commissioner of the choir screens – Philips of Burgundy who was bishop of Utrecht since 1517 – but also because of his pioneering role in antique architectural vocabulary. Though this is still no real evidence of painters designing real architecture, it becomes more and more clear that commissioners relied more and more on painter's expertise in architectural projects. This would explain the many court cases concerning the crossing of guild boundaries that arise during the first decades of the sixteenth century. A trial that is repeatedly mentioned in literature also deals with works on Utrecht cathedral.[307] In 1542 the sculptor and work master *(werkmeester)* had a conflict with his colleague the city carpenter Willem van Noort. What started off as a negligible financial dispute ended with a discussion on the role of architect and the more traditional function of the *bouwmeester* as a member of stone-cutters guild. Van Noort was accused of designing architecture even though he was not a member of the guild. Both parties were allowed to collect witnesses from outside Utrecht. During the process these witnesses repeatedly declared that 'besides sculptors *(steenhoudere oft cleynstekere)* there had been many precedents where plans were designed by other painters such as painters and other people of such nature'.[308] Even though the creation

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[305] See note 6.
[306] Meischke 1988, p. 167-170.
[307] Documents published in Muller 1881-1882; Miedema 1980, p. 75; Hurx 2009, pp. 4-6.
[308] Muller 1881-1882, p. 235.

of architectural design is recognized as being a part of the responsibilities of the stone-cutters guild they are not the only ones allowed to do so, because 'all sorts of artists who were no member of the guild like artists, gold smiths and carpenters had always made such designs'.[309] The document is often mentioned in the context of the acceptance of the new term of architect with its neoplatonic distinction between designing architecture and executing it but it also reveals prominent information about the changing roles of painters.[310] This was due to the fact that many of Van Noort's witnesses included a great number of Italian architects that were active in the Low Countries: Tommasso Vincidor of Bologna and Donato de' Boni of Verona. Also Vitruvius and Alberti were quoted during the case. This shows of a great humanist interest, but I agree with Hurx that not too much weight ought to be put in this fact.[311] The nature of the dispute is grounded on threat felt by the members of the stone-cutters guild as the other artists (mostly associated with the St.-Luke Guild) were gradually taking over their designing practice over which they have had control for centuries. This was not due to a changing idea of the profession of the architect stimulated by Italian architects and treatises but a result of these artists increasing qualifications in designing this architecture and ornamental sculptures.[312] Similar contemporary conflicts that resulted due to a challenging of the existing guild tasks can be noticed , for example, in with the arrival of printed images. In his detailed study of the introduction of printmaking in Antwerp, Jan van der Stock, mentions several court trials were print makers were ordered to join the St.-Luke guild.[313] What follows in the court cases is a reflective dispute on the definition of a painter and his craft. There's a significant similarity between these first printers and the designing painters. Due to their activities that could not be strictly defined by the existing rigid guild regulations both professions saw themselves in a position overlapping several guild tasks, and thus almost unwillingly they became free art.

The prominent role that artist had acquired in the designing of architecture is reflected on the title page of Pieter Coecke van Aelst's *Inventie der Collommen* in 1539. It is addressed to 'painters, sculptors, stonecutters and all who derive pleasure from the antique edifices'.[314] It should be no coincidence that painters and sculptors are mentioned before the profession that once was solely responsible for architecture. Van Aelst - himself a painter and designer of sculpture and architecture – aimed for the new group of artists with knowledge of the antique.

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[309] Muller 1881-1882, p. 236.

[310] De la Fontaine Verwey 1975, pp. 58-59; Miedema 1980, p. 75; De Jonge 1994, pp. 363-383; De Jonge 2002a; De Jonge 2002b; Ottenheym 2003; De Jonge & Ottenheym 2007, p. 26

[311] Van den Heuvel 1991, p. 47; Gerritsen 2006; Hurx 2009, pp. 8, 13.

[312] Even Vincidor was originally trained in Raphael's workshop as a painter. Dacos 1980.

[313] Van der Stock 1998, pp. 27-39.

[314] Forssman 1956, pp. 59-60; Miedema 1980, p. 73; De Jonge 1998, p. 285.

The trend that was set by the first generation of 1500-30 was carried on by a second generation of painter-designers as it became a custom. Many characteristic renaissance edifices – e.g. St. Jacob of Liège (Lombert Lombard) or the Antwerp Town Hall (Cornelis Floris and Paludanus) - in the Low Countries between 1530 and 1570 would mostly be carried out by artists who were trained as painters or/and sculptors. A change of attitude can only be seen in the preface of Hans Vredeman de Vries' publication of his treatise *Architectura,* published in 1577. As a clear reference to Pieter Coecke's earlier publication the work is destined for 'building masters, masons, stonecutters, carpenters, sculptors and all lovers of antique architecture'.[315] Painters are absent and the accent is on the professions that were once associated to the guild system. It could be a signal for the real arrival of the humanist definition of the independent architect who designs architect as a profession on its self.

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[315] Rolf 1978, p. 31; De Jonge 1998, p. 288.

5   Conclusions

In conclusion we can state that the of antique motifs that early sixteenth-century Netherlandish artists applied in constructing architectural backgrounds were less fantasised that it is generally assumed. Quite often they were based upon Roman Antiquity and Italian contemporary architecture. Moreover, the limited amount of antique sources made northern artist dependent on a relatively concise group of models that were originally combined and anticipated into an own architectural language. These models were diffused through the different workshops.

Ever since the beginning of Netherlandish painting in the ateliers of Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, artist have been attempting to represent antiquity in historical and biblical subjects. It was only with the introduction of the motif of three pairs of putti holding up a string of garlands in 1478 at Hans Memling's workshop that artists and patrons would consciously be making use of an ornamental element that originated from a certain Italian origin: the Paduan workshops around Squarcione. Most probably it was imported into the Netherlands by the Venetian ambassador Bernardo Bembo. Very soon the motif would be embraced and spread throughout workshops until the late 1530's. Before 1500 it mostly stayed within the Bruges workshops of Memling, David and followers where the model was loyally copied with free hand in many of the copies. The most influential of the three triptychs that applied the motif was the Vienna triptych and probably served as a basis for other workshops in copying it. After 1500 the motif was adopted by Antwerp workshop – probably due to the stream of immigrant artist who moved from Bruges – were artist like Quinten Metsys or Joos van Cleve creatively reworked it. Though most panels that feature the putti-garland motif originated in Antwerp workshops, it was spread throughout the Low Countries as it became the very first word in a new vocabulary of painters to give meaning and expression to the antique.

We have noticed that at the beginning of the sixteenth century more new motifs and workshop models could be spread more easily through the new medium of prints. An interesting case is the influence of the Prevedari print which spread the architectural language of Bramante in the Low Countries as it was quickly adapted by Antwerp painters.. As fifteenth century masters sought for way of in embodying ancient history and historicizing the narrative in symbolic ways by the implementation of Romanesque architectural features, they were quickly replaced by antique versions because more accurate pictorial sources became available.[316] The Prevedari print in itself is not a design for actual architecture but is a depiction of a ruin as well. This made it easier for northern artist, unaware of real antique ruins, to read the print as a truthful portrayal of

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[316] Hoppe 2003; Hoppe 2008a.

the ancient way of building, which resulted in a very individual northern interpretation of antiquity in the same way that Romanesque architecture had fulfilled this role earlier. Next to the more commercialized Antwerp workshop practice, a court painter like Gossaert was also influenced by Bramante's architectural style. He, however, intelligently combined the witnessed architecture in Rome with his knowledge of Vitruvius and his own inventiveness. Both the 'Antwerp Mannerist' and Gossaert made use of an architectural language of the antique, be it on a different (overlapping) levels. Although Gossaert imported Bramantesque elements into his work, based upon his own experiences this had little influence on the Bramantesque nature of architectural backgrounds of contemporary artists. The latter relied on the Prevedari print. The architecture in early sixteenth-century painting that is too often described as purely fantasy architecture now seems to have more precise and archeologically correct origins though Italian prints, Fra Giocondo's illustrated Vitruvius edition and Gossaert's sketches.

The early sixteenth-century painters generated and anticipated an antique language in a way that they were able to claim it, resulting in shift in the designing practice. The painter gradually became a painter-designer which would further develop with the generation of Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Lombert Lombert. The first generation of artist between 1480 and 1530 - who were the protagonists of this research - prepared the ground for the acceptance of the antique before it could be manifested into the building practice. Since architecture is one of the most expensive manners of artistic expression and painting (or prints) one of the cheapest, these painters workshops functioned as laboratories of the antique. This way forms could be adjusted more efficiently to the commercial market and the capricious humanist taste. The three dimensional edifices that would be erected in the late 1520's and 30's reflected this taste and forms of their two dimensional predecessors.

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis could only cover a very small aspect of the subject of representation of antique architecture in early sixteenth-century Netherlandish art. Only a two clear antique models have been examined here, but it must be clear that they are only a small part of the antique architectural language of the early sixteenth-century Netherlandish artist. Still, the number of the different elements is still rather limited before the late 1530's and they function as stock figures which were added to the scenery in the most original ways. The ornaments can be briefly summarized as shell-niches, coffered vaulting, bulged columns, antique medals, putti, garlands, architraves, triglyphs, pilasters decorated with grotesque motifs, bucranea and goat skulls. The origins of many of the latter elements is still unclear and can perhaps be examined in a similar way to have a full insight into the ornamental toolbox of the early sixteenth-century Netherlandish artist. Nevertheless, I hope to have touched upon the potential

of treating the antique architectural language through the visual arts. The use and spread of the Prevedari print in Antwerp workshops already gives an indication of the importance of printed images in the diffusion of models. Besides this more or less traditional relationship between Italy and the low countries, an important role in the story of stylistic spread of new ornaments goes to German prints as they functioned as a gateway between the northern Italy (Veneto and Lombardy) and the low Countries.[317] Though the influence of artist such as Schongauer, Cranach and of course Dürer has been widely recognized, their contribution to ornamental and architectural language is something that still needs some profound scholarly research. Also the dense relationship between painters, sculptors and architectural designers ought to be researched more insightfully as it was only touched upon in the final chapter. Hopefully this could be supplemented with other studies.

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[317] Aikema 1999.

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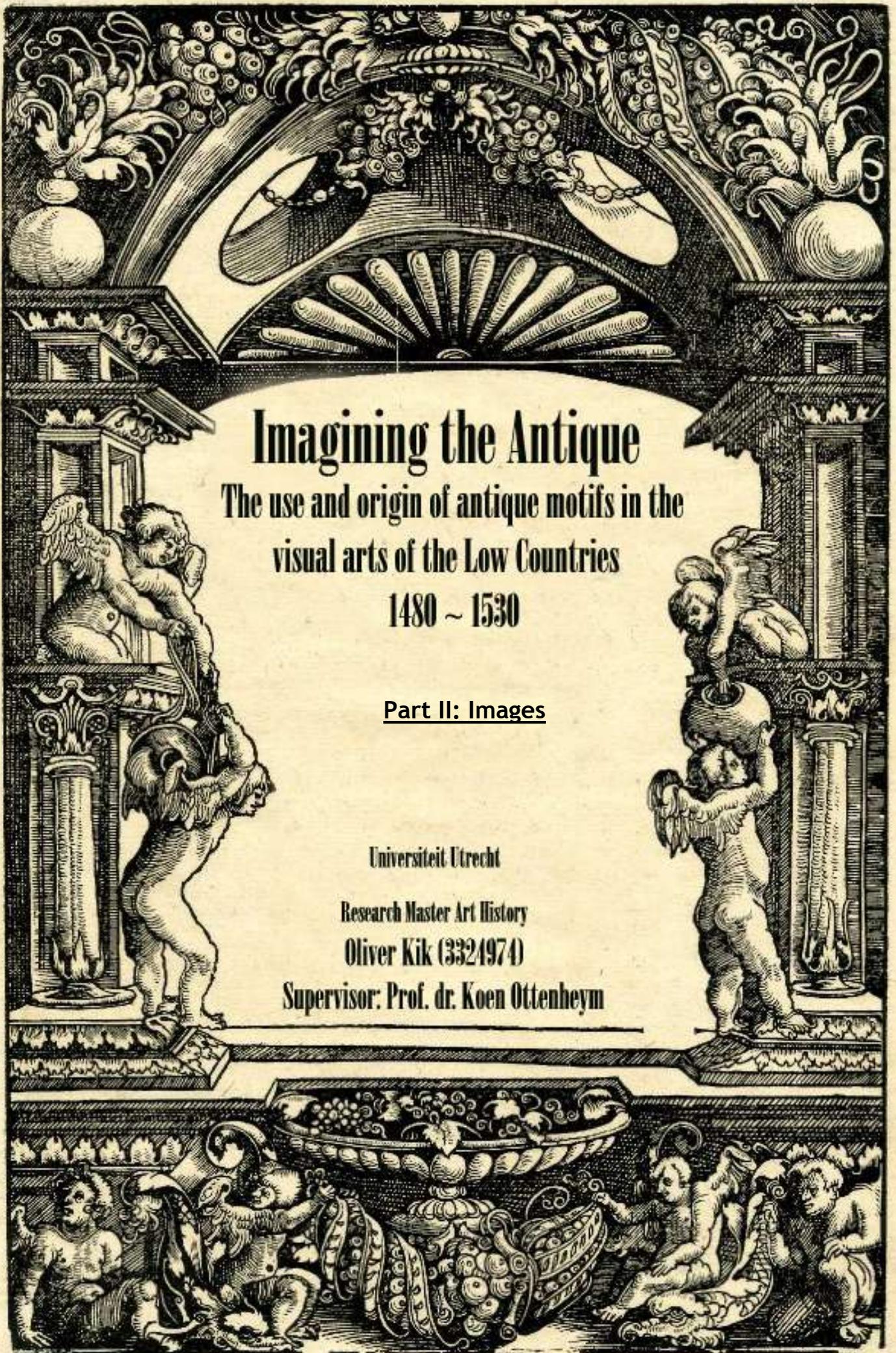
Imagining the Antique
The use and origin of antique motifs in the visual arts of the Low Countries
1480 ~ 1530

Part II: Images

Universiteit Utrecht

Research Master Art History

Oliver Kik (3324974)

Supervisor: Prof. dr. Koen Ottenheym

Academic year: 2009-2010

1. Gerard David, *Judgement of Cambyses (left panel)*, 1498, Brugge, Stedelijke Musea, Groeningemuseum

2. X-Radiograph of Figure 1 with indications of the underdrawing (as in Ainsworth 1998)

3. Hans Memling, *Pagagnotti Triptych* (central panel), ca. 1478, Firenze Galleria degli Uffizi

4. Hans Memling, *Triptych of the Enthroned Virgin*, ca. 1480, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

5. Hans Memling, *Resurrection Triptych*, ca. 1490, Paris, Musée du Louvre

6. Donatello, *Cavalcanti Annunciation* (detail), ca. 1428-1433, Florence, Santa Croce

7. Jean Foucquet, *Book of Hours of Etienne Chévalier*, fol. 2r, ca. 1453-1460, Cantilly, Musée Condé

8. Benozzo Gozzolli, *Sketch of putti carrying garlands*, ca. 1450, Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 5578

9. Andrea Mangegna, *San Zeno Altarpiece* (central panel), ca. 1457-1460, Verona
Basilica di San Zeno

10. Francesco Squarcione, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1440-44, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

11. Giorgio Sciavone, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1454-60, London National Gallery

12. Giorgio Sciavone, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1460, Turin Galleria Sabauda

13. Giovanni di Francesco da Pisa, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1450-55, Vaduz, Sammlung des Fürsten von Liechtenstein

14. Marco Zoppo, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1455, Paris, Musée du Louvre

15. Lucca della Robia, *Tondo with Virgin and Child*, ca. 1450, Terracotta, Bruges, St. Jacob Church

16. Adrian Isenbrandt, *Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows* (IRR detail), Bruges, Our Lady's Church,
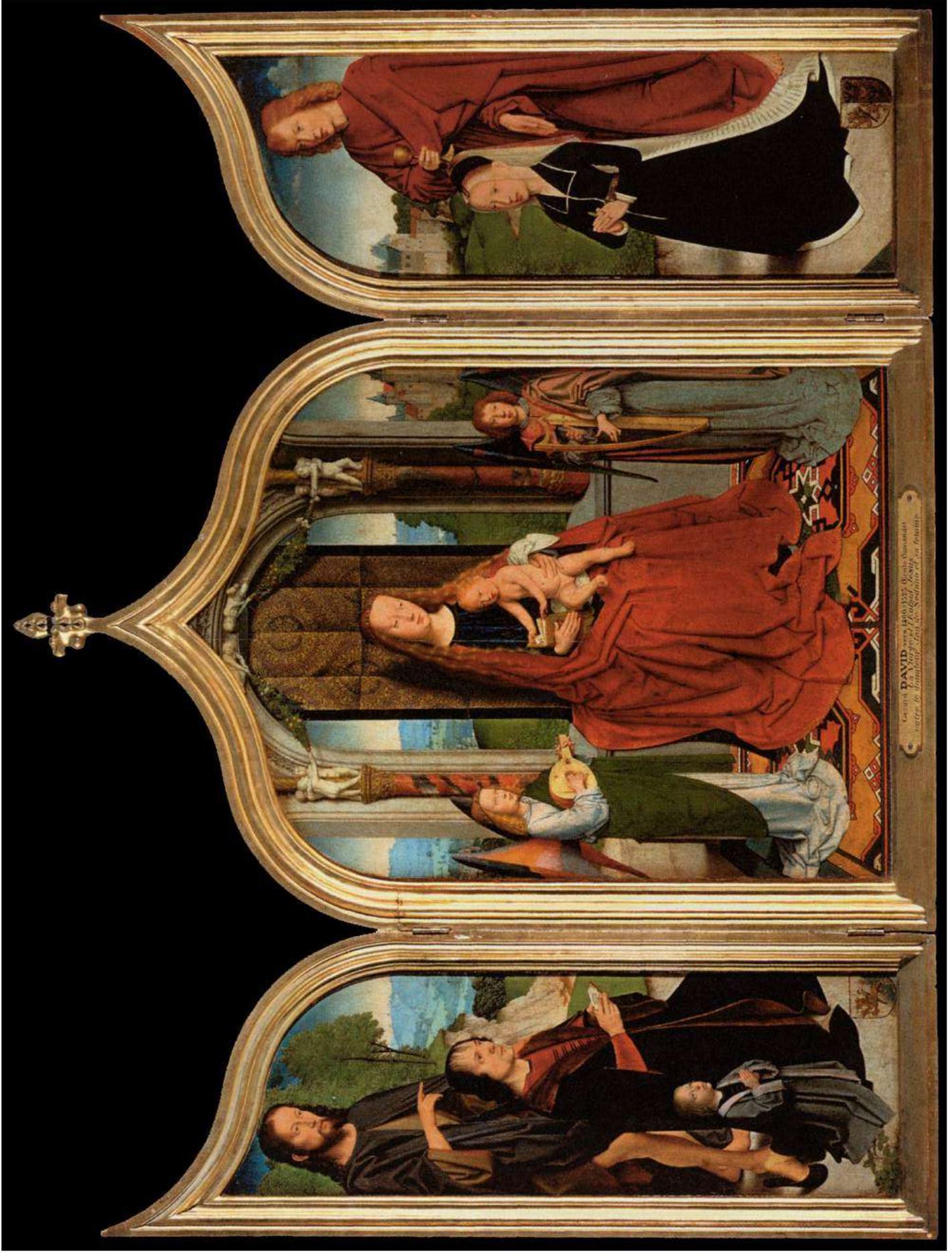
17. Gerard David, *Sedano Triptych*, ca. 1490-05, Paris, Musée du Louvre

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18. Memling (copy), *Triptych of Virgin Enthroned with Christian de Hondt* (central panel), ca. 1495, Oil on panel, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais

19. Memling (copy), *Virgin Enthroned*, ca. 1500, Oil on Panel, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum

20. Master of the Morrison Triptych, *The Morrison Triptych* (central panel), ca. 1500, Oil on Panel, Tolodo (Ohio), Museum of Arts

21. Master of the Morrison Triptych, *Virgin and Child with music playing angels*, ca. 1500-10, Oil on Panel, Lisbon, Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga
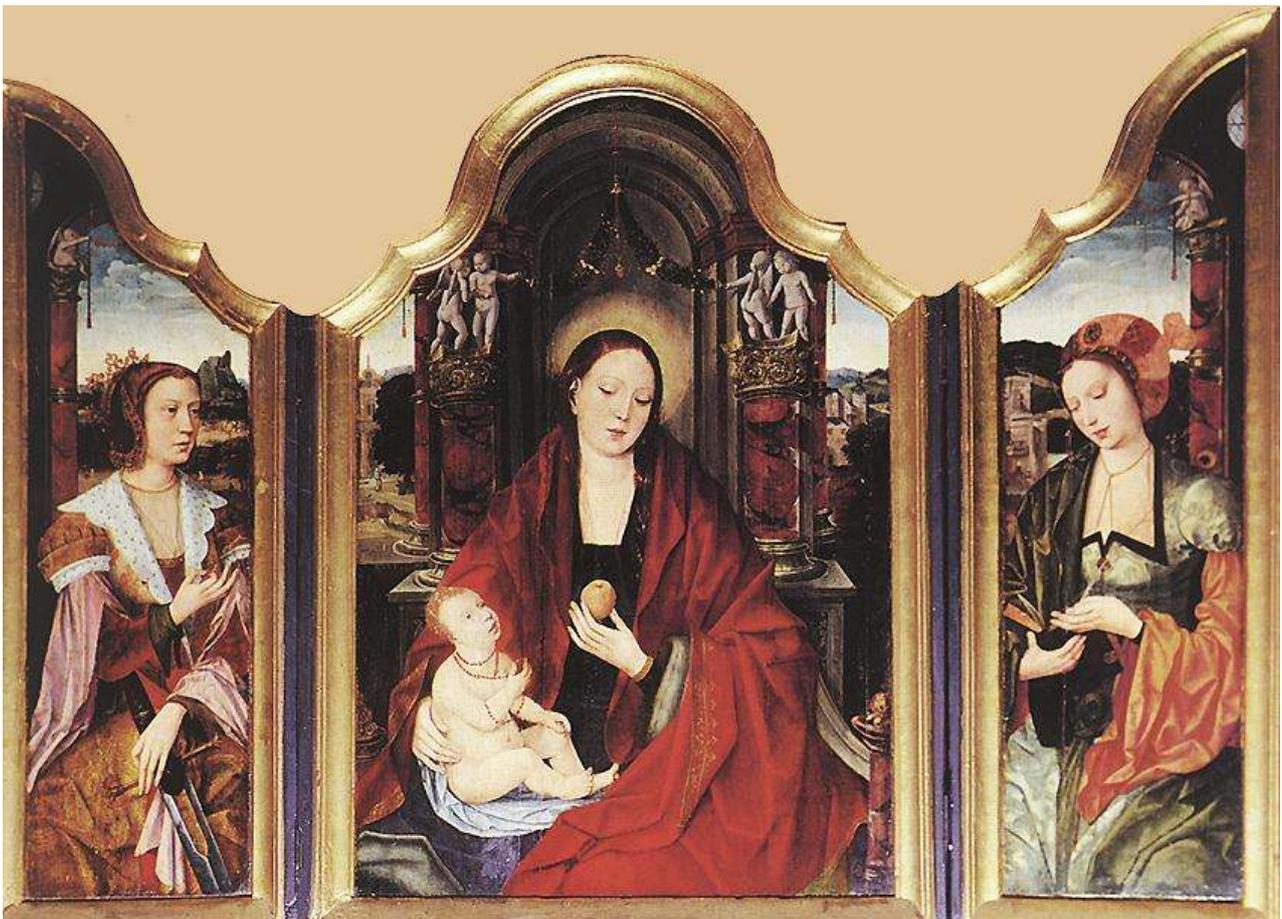
22. Ambrosius Benson, *Virgin Enthroned*, ca. 1520, Oil on Panel, Segovia, Catedral de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción y de San Frutos

23. Meester van het Heilig Bloed, *Virgin Enthroned*, ca. 1510, Oil on Panel, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

24. Meester van het Heilig Bloed, *St. Luke painting the Virgin*, ca. 1520, Oil on Panel, Harvard, Fogg Art Museum

25. Quinten Metsys, *Standing Madonna*, ca. 1520, Oil on Panel, London, Courtauld Institute

26. Quinten Metsys, *Standing Madonna*, ca. 1520, Oil on Panel, Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

27. Joos van Cleve, *Death of the Virgin Triptych* (central panel), ca. 1523-24, Oil on Panel, Munich, Musée Alte Pinakothek

28. Joos van Cleve, *Triptych of the Enthroned Virgin* , ca. 1530, Oil on Panel, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

30. Jacob Cornelisz. Van Oostzanen, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, ca. 1515, Chicago, Institute of Arts

29. Jacob Cornelisz. Van Oostzanen, *Virgin with Child and Angels*, ca. 1512-16, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen

32. Bernard van Orley, *Presentation in the Temple* , ca. 1520, Rome, Art Gallery Cesare Lampronti

31. Adriaan van Overbeke, *St. Anna Altarpiece* (detail) , 1513-14, Kempen, Propsteikirche

33. Master of the Van Grooten Adoration, *Last Supper Triptych* , ca. 1515-20, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

34. Lanceloot Blondeel (Workshop), *Scenes of the Lives of Sts. Jacob and John* , 1525, Brugge, Groeningemuseum

34. Anonymous (Tournai), *Battle against Darius* (detail) , 1459, Bern, Historisches Museum

35. Remy Dupuis, *Triumphal Arch of Joyous Entry Charles V* , 1515, Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana, Th. 916:1

36. Dirk Vellert, *Virgin and Child and St. Bernard* , 1524, London, British Museum
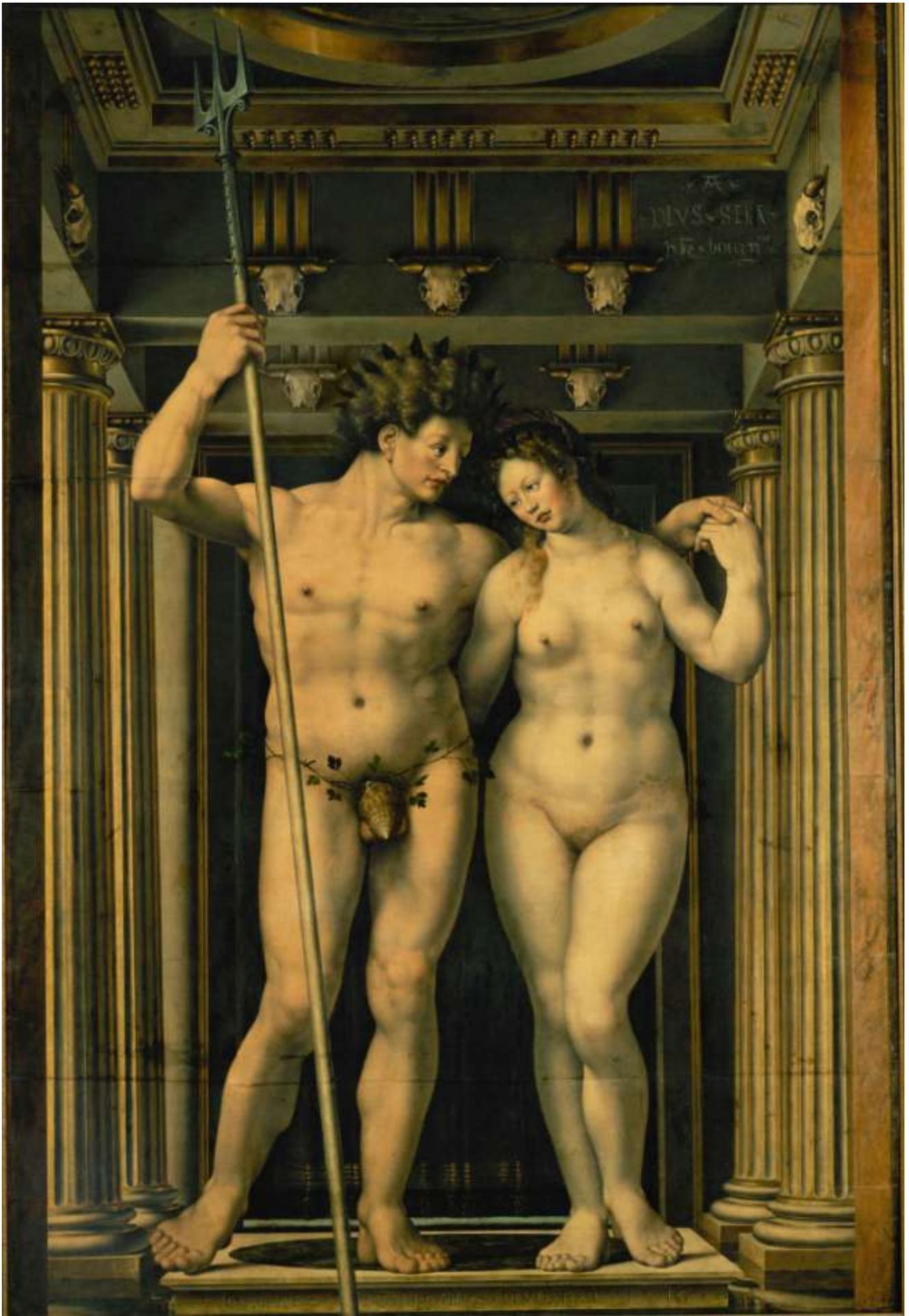
37. Jan Gossaert, *Neptune and Aphitrite*, 1516, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

39. Anonymous, *Doric Capital*, Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, published by Fra Giocondo, Venice 1511, fol. 36v, Utrecht, University Library

38. Anonymous, *Doric Temple Fronton*, Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, published by Fra Giocondo, Venice 1511, fol. 37r, Utrecht, University Library

41. Jan Gossaer, *Hercules and Deianira*, 1517, Birmingham, The Barber Istitute of Fine Arts
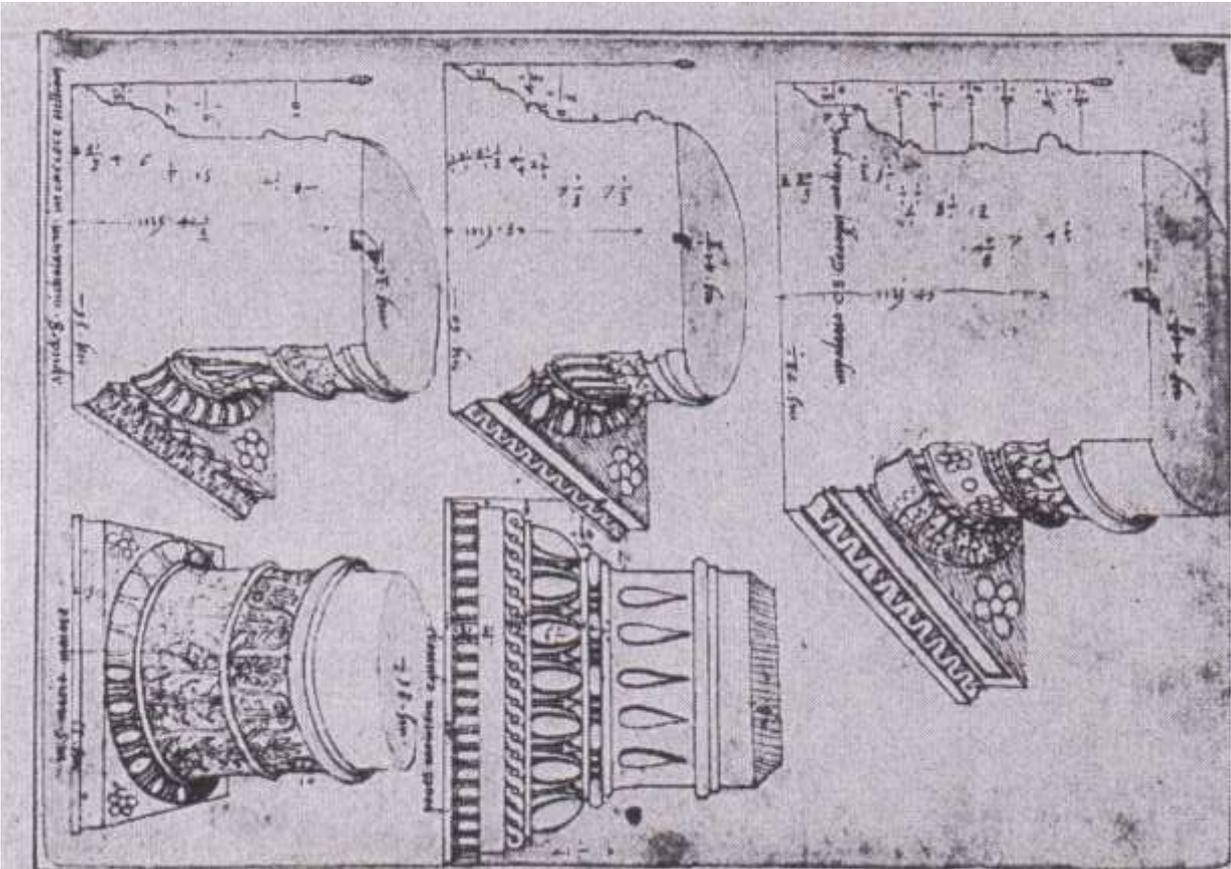
40. Anonymous, *Codex Coner*, Series I, fol. 90v, ca. 1500, London, Soane Museum

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42. Jan Gossaert, *Danae*, 1527, Munich, Alte Pinakothek

43. Jan Gossaert, *Design for Funerary Monument of Isabella of Austria*, ca. 1527, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett

44. Jan Gossaert, *Venus and Amor*, 1521, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten.

45. Bernard van Orley, *The Legend of Sts. Thomas and Matthew*, (central panel) 1512, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

46. Bernard van Orley, *The Legend of Sts. Thomas and Matthew,* (detail) 1512, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

47. Bernard van Orley, *The Legend of Sts. Thomas and Matthew,* (detail) 1512, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

48. Maarten van Heemskerck, *St. Peter's under construction,* ca. 1536, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Heemskerck-album, vol. I, fol. 15r.

49. Jan Gossaert, *St Luke drawing the Virgin*, ca. 1513, Prague, National Gallery.
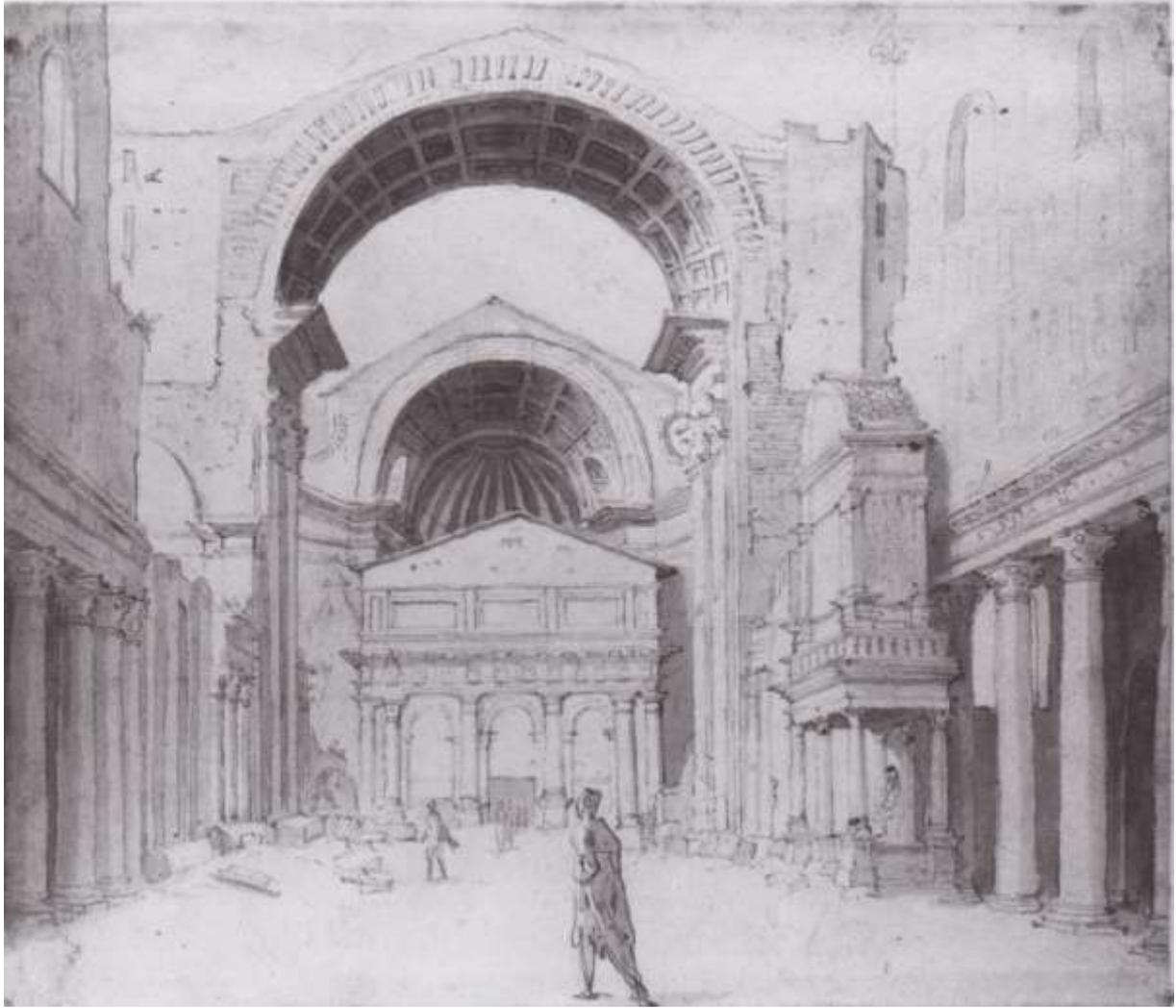
50. Maarten van Heemskerck, *St. Peter's crossing and piers,* ca. 1536, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, 79 D 2a, fol. 52r

52. Jan Gossaert, *Annunciation*(outer side panels), 1521, Oil on panel, Toledo Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art

51. Jan Gossaert, *Sts. John and Peter* (inner side panels), 1521, Oil on Panel, Toledo Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art

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53. Jan Gossaert (workshop), *Adoration of the Magi,* ca. 1510, Pen and ink on paper,
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Lehman Collection)
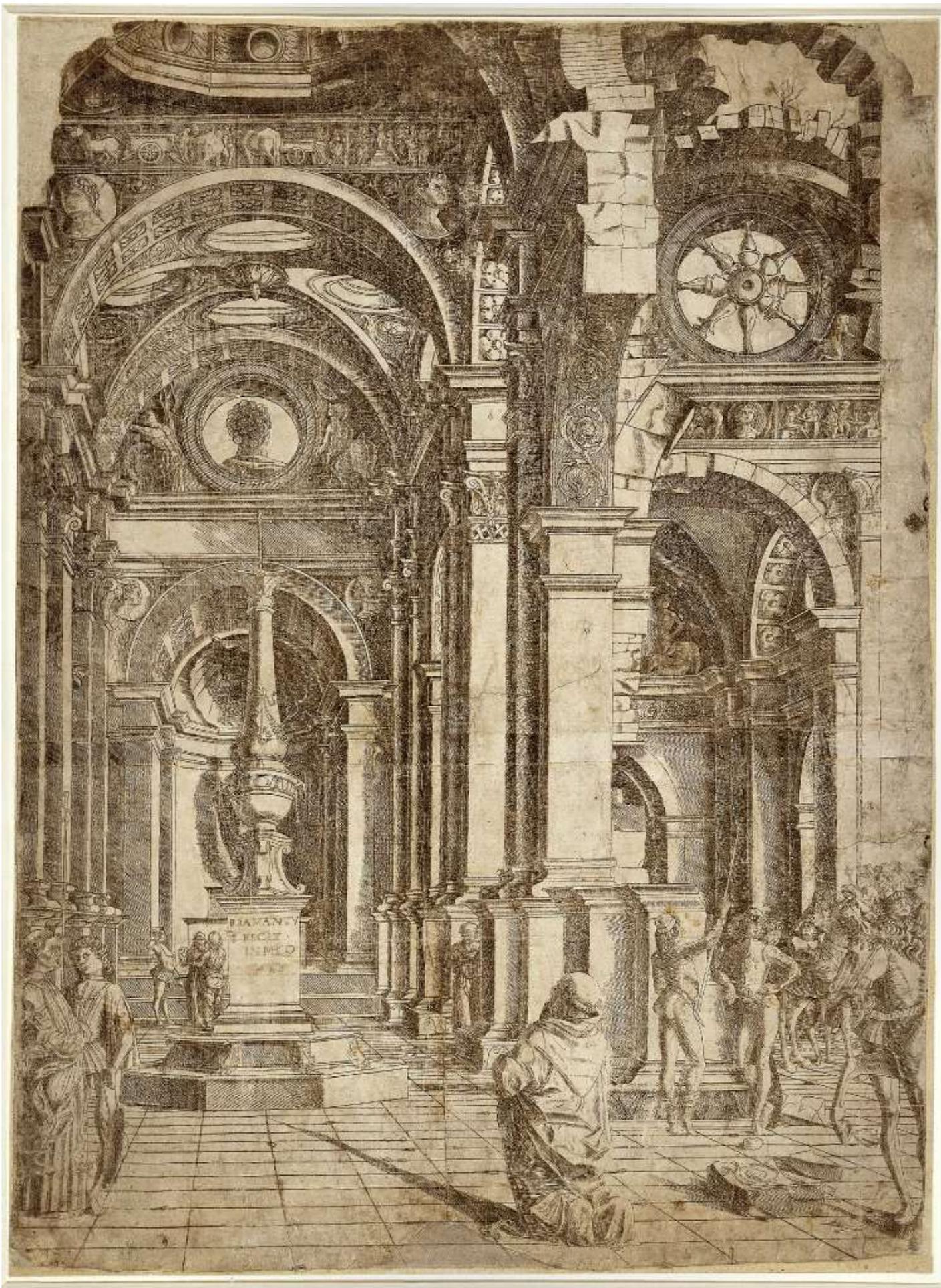
54. Bernardo Prevedari, *Interior of a Ruined Church,* 1481, Engraving, London, British Museum
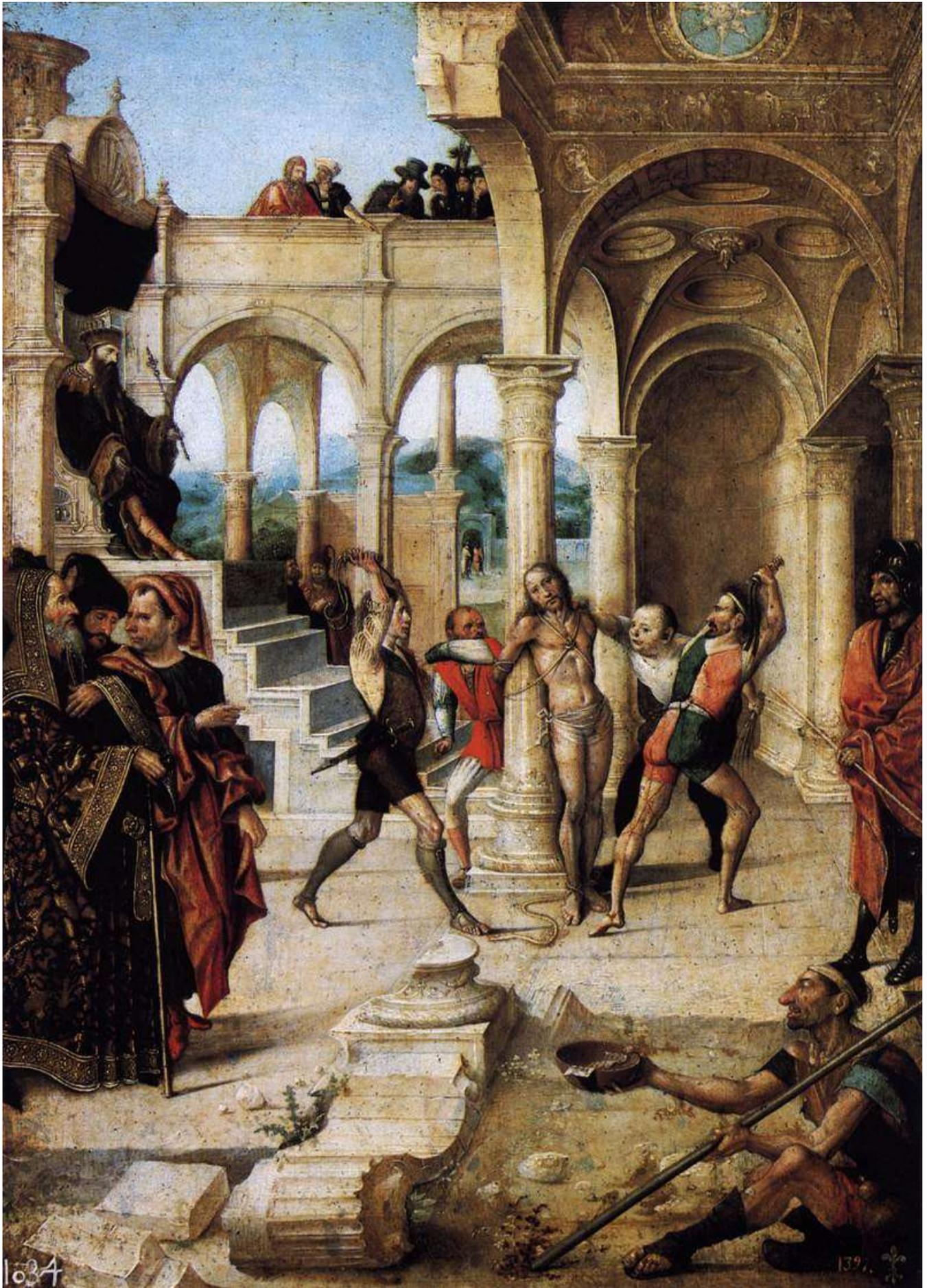
55. Alejo Fernandéz, *Flagellalation of Christ*, ca. 1515, Oil on panel, Madrid, Museo del Prado

56. Jan de Beer, *The Trail of Mozes,* 1511-1519, Pen and ink on paper, London, British Museum

57. Jan de Beer (workshop), *The Trail of Mozes,* 1511-1519, Pen and ink on paper, London, Collecion Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall
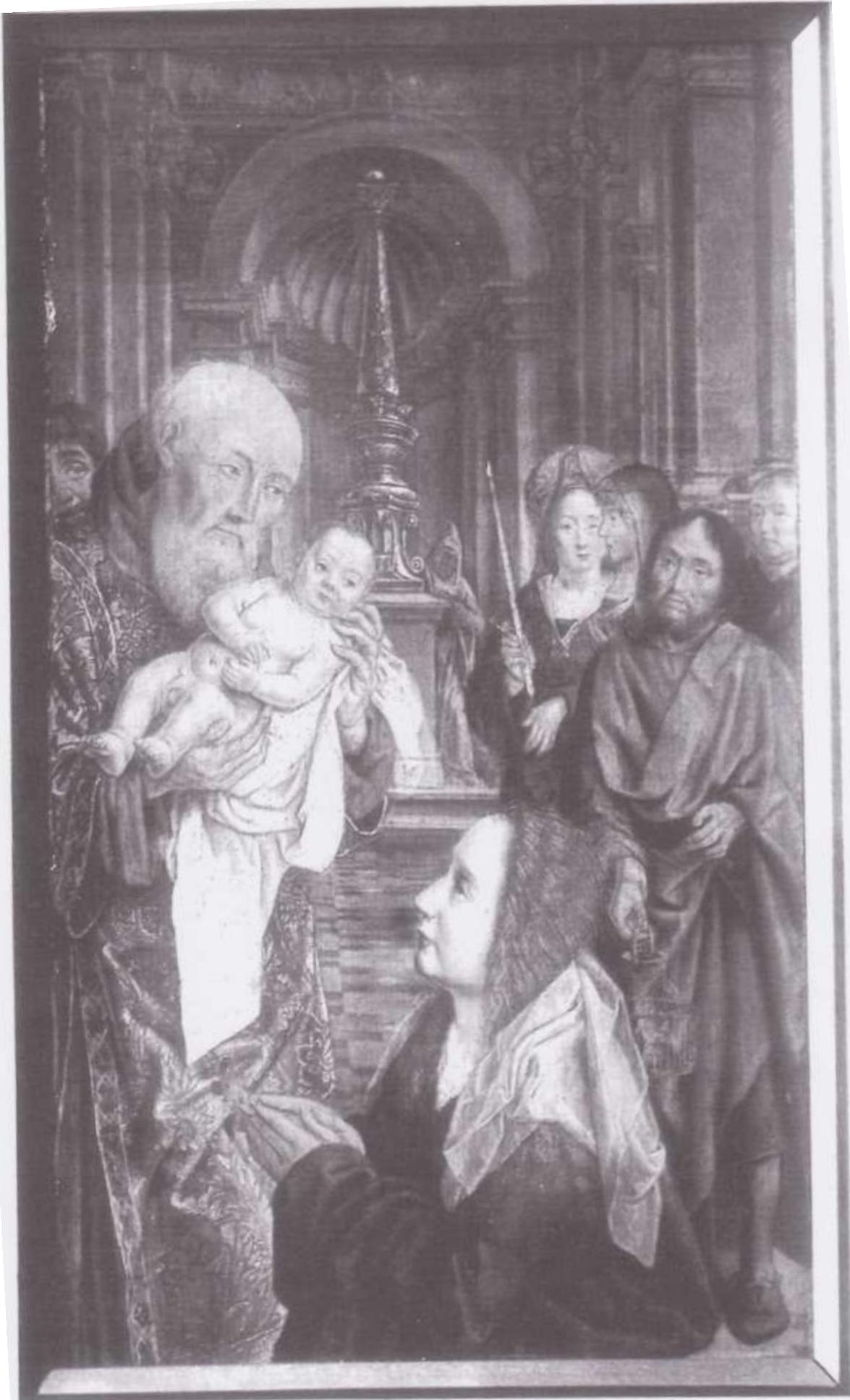
58.Master of St. -Gilles *Presentation in the Temple,* ca. 1510, Oil on Panel, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen

60. Jacob Cornelisz. Van Oostzanen, *Adoration of the Magi*, ca.1520, Oil on Panel
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

59. Jacques Daret, *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1435, Oil on Panel
Berlin, Stätliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie.

62 .Rogier van der Weyden, *Columba Altarpiece* (central panel), ca. 1452-56, Oil on Panel, Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

61 .Rogier van der Weyden, *Bladelin Altarpiece* (central panel), ca. 1445-50, Oil on Panel, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie.

63. Pseudo-Blesius, *Adoration of the Magi,* ca. 1505-10, Oil on Panel, Munich, Alte Pinakothek

64. Master of the Antwerp Adoration, *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1515, Oil on Panel, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen

65. Pseudo-Blesius, *Adoration of the Magi,* ca. 1515, Oil on Panel, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België.

66. Master of the Martyrdom of the two Saint Johns, *Adoration of the Magi,* ca. 1515, Oil on Panel,
Private Collection.

67. Joos van Cleve, *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1522, Oil on Panel, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

68. .Master of Salomon Triptych, *Salomo riptych*, ca. 1521, Oil on Panel, Den Haag, Mauristhuis

69. . Master of Salomon Triptych, *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1515, Oil on Panel, Location Unknown

70. Quinten Metsys, *St. Anne Alterpiece* (central panel), 1509, Oil on Panel, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België.
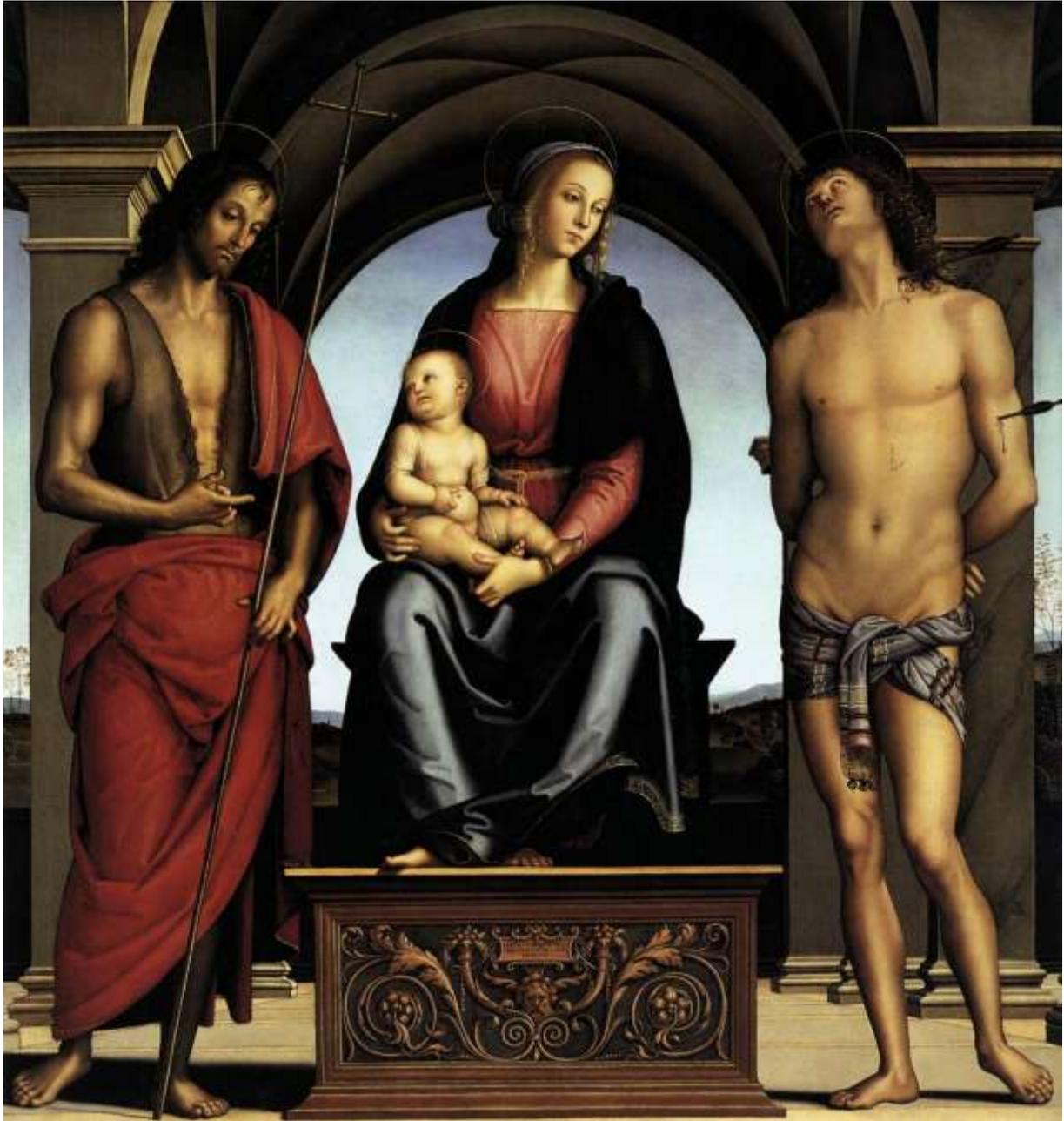
71. Pietro Perugino, *Madonna an Saints,* 1493, Oil on Panel, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

72. Anonymous, *Adoration of the Magi,* 1515-1530, Pen and ink on paper, London, British Museum.

73. Jean Wallot, *Nieuwe Griffie,* 1534-39, Brugge.

74. Jean Wallot, *Nieuwe Griffie* (detail)*,* 1534-39, Brugge.

75. Jan Gossaert, *Neptune and Aphitrite* (detail), 1516, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

76. Tommaso Vincidor, *Palace of Henry III of Nassau* (detail)*, 1536, Breda.

77. Arnold van Mulcken, *Columns of Palace of the Prince-bishop,* 1521-38, Luik.

78. Jan de Beer, *Adoration of the Magi,* ca. 1520, Oil on Panel, Château d'Ecouen, Musée de la Renaissance
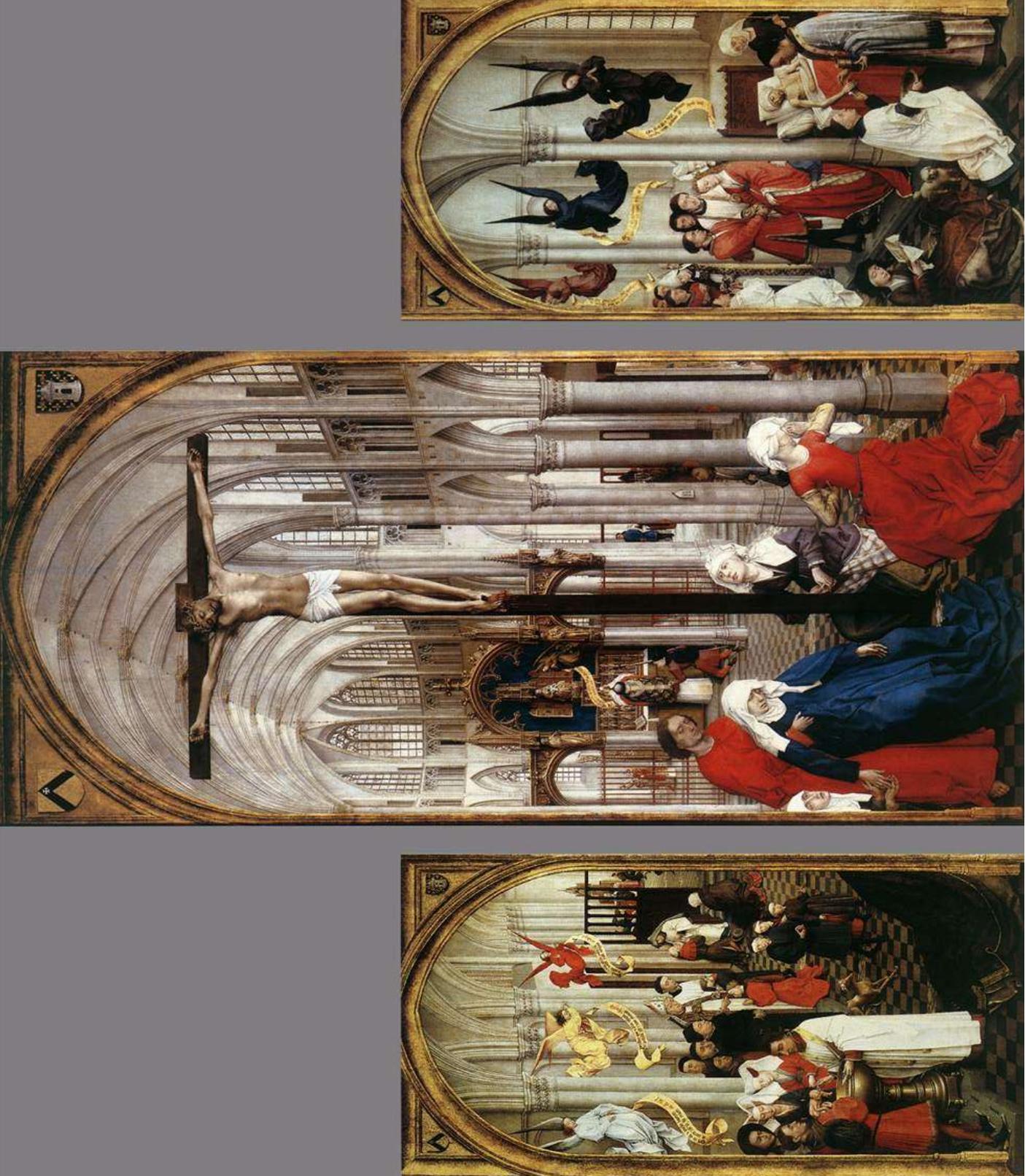
79. Rogier van der Weyden, *Seven Sacrament Altarpiece*, ca. 1450-55, Oil on Panel, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

79. Master of 1518, *The Life of Mary Magdalene,* ca. 1520, Oil on Panel, Brussel, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België.