

bei der Beurteilung seiner Tätigkeit als Bildhauer wurde angerissen. Die deutliche Abgrenzung Maderns gegenüber einer Abhängigkeit von westlichen Traditionen zugunsten einer ‚parlerisch‘ geprägten Schulung seiner Formenwelt, die Ringshausen seit der Erstfassung seiner Arbeit stets vertreten hat, ist auch im Lichte der aktuellen Forschung und der erneuten stilistischen Einordnung in der vorliegenden Monographie gerechtfertigt.<sup>40</sup> Gewünscht hätte man sich vielleicht noch ein Kapitel zur beträchtlichen Wirkungsgeschichte des Frankfurter Meisters am Mittelrhein und darüber hinaus, um auch die eingangs zitierte Arbeit Fischers von 1962 auf einen aktuellen Forschungsstand zu heben, vielleicht eine zu vermessene Forderung für eine Werkmeister-Monographie. Im Hinblick auf die ausführlichen Stilvergleiche wäre allerdings eine üppigere Ausstattung vor allem mit etwas großformatigeren Abbildungen wünschenswert gewesen.<sup>41</sup>

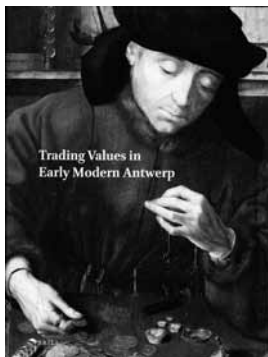
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40 Vgl. auch den Versuch einer ausführlichen Begründung und den Widerspruch gegenüber den Thesen von Fischer in G. Ringshausen, „Die spätgotische Architektur in Deutschland unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Beziehungen zu Burgund im Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts“, in: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 17, 1973, S. 63–78.

41 Einige kleine Mängel: Besonders im ersten Teil der Arbeit fehlt eine sorgfältigere Redaktion; dort finden sich vor allem häufiger falsche Hinweise auf die Abbildungen, z. B. S. 108, S. 225, S. 259, S. 266, S. 269; außerdem: S. 375 (Anm. 20): „Heften“ statt „Helten“ bzw. S. 253 (Anm. 45): Kurztitel „U. Schubert, Mauerwerk“ fehlt im Literaturverzeichnis. Wenig professionell gestaltet sich auch das Seitenlayout an manchen Stellen, so vor allem zwischen Seite 159 und 160.



**Christine Göttler, Bart Ramakers und Joanna Woodall (Hrsg.); Trading values in early modern Antwerp. Waarden en waarden in vroegmodern Antwerpen** (Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek 64); Leiden: Brill 2014; 399 S., 180 farb. Abb.; ISBN 978-90-04-27215-6; € 120

This volume reflects the results of two multidisciplinary workshops that took place between 2012 and 2014. The project was organized by Christine Göttler, Bart Ramakers and Joanna Woodall, who also edited the book and contributed a joint introduction as well as a chapter each. From the outset, the project refreshingly questioned the periodisation of Antwerp’s history into a ‘before’ and an ‘after’, a ‘golden age’ and a ‘declining city’ and suggested that Antwerp’s perceived decline is a matter of perspective. Thus the book’s time frame (1566–1585) covers both the relatively well-studied ‘golden ages’ as well as the time usually left out in studies on the art and culture of Antwerp – the years of political upheaval in the latter half of the sixteenth century. According to the editors, the world city Ant-

werp makes a great object of study “for those scholars who are interested in the transferring and translation of knowledge, of art and literature, of music and of economics in early modern Europe”(16).

The inclusion of other media than painting into the studies (i.e. books of all kinds, glass, prints, drama, interior design, costume, architecture, objects of luxury and of everyday use) is more implicit, but none the less noteworthy, and thus shaping an image of Antwerp and its inhabitants that is as multifaceted as the diamond that was the sixteenth-century metaphor for the city itself. Thanks to the chronological approach of the book, the reader is never lost in the sheer quantity of information and sources treated throughout the book. Thus, mainly historians of art, but also historians of literature, economics, political philosophy, science and material culture, expertly show how the constant adaptation of the citizens, merchants and artists, the social elite, to the new historical circumstances of each episode in Antwerp’s history, led to a high identification of the inhabitants of Antwerp with their city and culture.

The workings of this process of adaptation and appropriation, and also translation, become increasingly clear with each chapter. ‘Trading values’ should thus be understood not only in their economical but also in a metaphorical sense, in which immaterial values are transferred to objects in various ways, i.e. through collecting, reading, writing, translating, publishing. This, of course, leads to the inclusion of more than just the object and its maker(s): the studies all include patrons, buyers, readers, viewers in their analyses – thus all agents that are involved in the process of translation and value-exchange. This wide-ranging approach also led to the inclusion of spaces in which these transactions were made, be it the chambers of rhetoric that offered a place for members of all kinds of social standing and occupation to mix and perform, the *constcamers* as sites of performative production and consumption of material and symbolical value, or the laboratories and workshops of art as spaces shared by scholars, craftsmen and artists alike.

The book begins in a chronological order with an analysis by Joanna Woodall of Quentin Matsys’s painting *Man weighing gold coins and his wife* from 1514. Through a sensitive and informed interpretation, Woodall relocates this painting in a religious context pointing beyond worldly material wealth. Taking contemporary notions of wealth and marriage into account, she offers a potential ideal viewer or owner of the painting and finds them in an Erasmian humanist milieu: Woodall shows that it was more than likely a wedding gift for Antwerp’s city registrar Pieter Gillis and his wife Cornelia Sandrien, taking place in 1514. Ultimately, the viewer is asked to negotiate multiple possibilities of readings and consequences, having to balance, to weigh up, material wealth with spiritual well-being. The painting by Matsys can thus be seen as a stimulus to a dialogue, an essential early modern mode or process of thinking.

Material wealth, or rather prosperity, is also of interest to Lodovico Guicciardini in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, 1567), a seminal text for the historiography of the city published internationally in German, Dutch, French, English, Latin and Spanish between 1567 and 1622 and later republished in numerous editions. Historian Arjan van Dixhoorn suggests reading it as a utopian vision and a philosophical



Filippo Gridolfi (attr.), *Glass vessel*, c. 1600,  
serpentine glass (142)

inquiry into the nature of prosperity, power and greatness of Belgica with Antwerp as a model city. While Guicciardini stresses the importance of free trade in the second edition of the *Descrittione* published in 1581 by Plantin, he included in his description a great number of arts and crafts in Antwerp and, in a newly added conclusion, stressed the importance of unrestricted foreign trade and the production of goods to a healthy communal 'body'. The virtuous cycle of trade could, according to Van Dixhoorn, be seen as a "recipe for the perfection of nations and for the furthering and securing of their prosperity" (79); the virtues of labour created a strong community that was able to withstand corruption and threats.

In his chapter on *Printing vernacular translations in sixteenth-century Antwerp* Hubert Meeus draws attention to the fact that not solely the original, authorised editions of a work contributed to the dissemination of knowledge. During most of the sixteenth century, Antwerp was a very international publishing town: its publishers printed only 40% of the books in Latin, roughly a quarter in Dutch, 15% in French, and the rest in Hebrew and Greek, as well as other foreign vernaculars. On the one hand, the many translated editions of works, whether authorised or unauthorised, attest to their value to contemporary readers and publishers – the demand obviously being high enough to invest into new editions. On the other hand, the translations had a great role in bringing knowledge, previously only accessible to the learned few, to a wider audience. New concepts, but also vocabulary connected to these new concepts, got a wider circulation through vernacular translations.

Meeus's chapter shows how important it is to consider translations in the studies of early modern texts. The translators very often did not only translate in the stricter sense of the word, but also changed the text; they abridged or updated the books, thus taking away or adding additional information for their readers. Through



Artist unknown, *The Canaanite woman*,  
1640, woodcut (290)

these changes it is also possible to gather those points that were deemed most worthy and that were most important to contemporary thought – be it some parts of the text, or the illustrations. Meeus also shows to a great extent the importance of printers and publishers in disseminating knowledge, while modern scholarship usually focuses exclusively on authors. The topic of authorship, in itself a complex matter, is far more complicated when further agents are identified as playing an important role in the production of text.

The chapter on *The value of glass and the translation of artisanal knowledge in early modern Antwerp* by the historian of science Sven Dupré investigates how value was transferred to objects made from a material which in itself was not valuable. He suggests that ‘books of secrets’ played a central role in the transformation of glass into a luxury commodity. While these books published on the making of glass seemed to convey ‘secrets’ or recipes of glass making, they were not intended for the experts, the artisans crafting the commodity. Instead, they were intended for a learned community of patrons, merchants, and artists: connoisseurs. The books drew on the analogy of the Philosopher’s Stone with glass making and thus invoked the language and imagery of alchemical transmutations. It was through this intellectual connection with alchemy that the making of glass was especially appreciated. Thus it was not only the design of the glass products, or their imitating precious stones and being imbued with and thought as reflecting moral values – the process of glass-making itself, as communicated by countless ‘books of secrets’, was an important part in generating the value of glass-ware.

In their chapter on early modern kitchens Inneke Baatsen, Bruno Blondé and Julie De Groot show the importance of research on historical and socio-economic contexts to the evaluation of visual sources. Rather than inferring socio-economic realities

from the paintings and prints then in circulation, the authors look at archival evidence of inventories and confiscation documents from the period 1567–70. Their contextualised quantitative research shows very clearly how much early modern depictions have to be taken with caution and certainly cannot be taken literally or as evidence of a presumed historical reality. Kitchen scenes by painters like Pieter Aertsen and Joachim de Beuckelaer became increasingly popular during the sixteenth century, especially in Antwerp. While these scenes have to appeal directly to the viewer, and thus have to show rooms easily recognisable as kitchens, the findings of Baatsen, Blondé and De Groot suggest a much more diversified use of kitchens than suggested by the visual ‘evidence’. The multitude of objects other than cooking utensils that were found to be inside kitchens throughout a variety of house-sizes across the social strata, suggest that the kitchen was a room used across different gender, social and age groups. Furthermore, it was used in a variety of ways for sleeping, playing, socialising, and eating besides the mere preparation of food. This work is fundamental for the re-evaluation of kitchen scenes in paintings and prints, informing art historians with much needed background knowledge in order to help interpret the symbolism and the rhetoric of these paintings.

Another popular topic for paintings was the Tower of Babel. In his chapter *An allegory of artistic choice in times of trouble* Koenraad Jonckhere adds a further aspect to the various existing interpretations of Pieter Bruegel’s *Tower of Babel* from 1563, now in Vienna, by contextualising it with contemporary debates on idolatry and iconoclasm.

In his discussion on these debates, in which he focuses on the views of man-made objects and architecture, he draws on Lutheran, Calvinist and other Reformers’ writings, on contemporary prints and book illustrations, as well as the old theological discussions that preceded them. Thus his reading of the painting as a rhetorical *quaestio* does not impose one interpretation onto it; he rather offers a wider variety of issues to consider than merely the problem of royal and political hubris. For Jonckhere the Tower of Babel combines three prominent, contemporary issues in Antwerp that were to be discussed among its beholders: the issue of building churches, thus the relations between architecture and idolatry (including the building of Our Lady in Antwerp); the issue of the *Bilderfrage* and the hubris inherent in (religious) art; and the dispute of the relations between local and Roman antiquity. Not least, because these were issues that, out of necessity, occupied painters in the 1550s and 1560s in Antwerp, He argues that the painting is an allegorical question about the choices an Antwerp painter “had to make in an age of fierce debates on the nature and validity of art and architecture” (208) not least because these were issues that, out of necessity, occupied painters in the 1550s and 1560s in Antwerp. The introduction of the rhetorical *quaestio* is appropriate as it shows that the viewing of a painting also means debating these kinds of issues, a debate that Bruegel does not resolve in the painting.

In *Wit in painting, color in words: Gillis Mostaert’s depictions of fires* Christine Göttler considers the paintings of fire, as exemplified by Gillis Mostaert’s paintings, in their art theoretical, cultural and historical context. She identifies three elements that

make the paintings of fire such an enormous success in the art market of the sixteenth and the beginning seventeenth century. One of these elements is the contemporary literature on art that identifies Gillis Mostaert with a decidedly Flemish tradition of painting, closely connected to Bruegel the Elder and Hieronymus Bosch. He is repeatedly mentioned in both the Dutch and the Italian contemporary literature. Göttler suggests that it was this regional identity that made him interesting for collectors, be they from Antwerp or from other countries (mostly Portugal and Spain).

Another element is the preference for nocturnal scenes with various lightings, especially fire, that contributed to his success. Karel van Mander dedicated the central part of his didactic poem *Het schilder-boeck* (1604) to this sort of 'reflexy-const' in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Van Mander associated the mastery of the arts with the depiction of reflections and at the same time imbedded the art of reflection into a larger discourse. By bringing forth examples from Antiquity he authorised the rising interest in light and shade, whilst emphasising that subjects with light as their central issue served as exercises for learning how to create images that elicit a strong emotional response in the viewer.

A third element that is important in understanding the success of the genre was the historical reality. Many of the paintings of fire showed violence in the countryside, which, according to Göttler, most of the populace of the Southern Netherlands had experienced in the recent history. Thus the images of fires served to build a memory of contemporary history and were at the same time an example for an art that was able to incite an emotional fire in its viewers. Of particular interest is the opposition of images of fire and the iconoclastic fire that is used in depictions of *constcamers* with 'iconoclastic donkeys,' thus placing these images in the debate of the power of images.

Art historian Stephanie Porras interprets the print in the cultural and religious context of instability in the 1570s and 1580s in Antwerp in *Copies, cannibals and conquerors: Maarten de Vos's The big fish eat the small*. In her reading of the print, she suggests various interpretations resulting from her studies of the contemporary colonial, artistic and religious discourses. De Vos's visualisation of the Dutch proverb 'The big fish eat the small' is derived from Pieter Bruegel's 1557 engraving and is one of a series of Bruegel-inspired prints published by Johannes Baptista Vrint at the end of the sixteenth century. In contrast to the other prints, showing comedic scenes with almost caricature-like protagonists, De Vos's *The big fish eat the small* is a combination of various styles and iconographies. The Bruegelian citation only occupies one half of the image; in the other half, De Vos included a cannibal feast in the Romanist tradition of Heemskerck and a battle scene, thus changing the focus from the critique of the wealthy to general human consumption. For Stephanie Porras this 'bricolage' shows a strategic ambiguity, echoed by the slightly different subscriptions in Latin, Dutch and French, which "exposes the deep-rooted anxieties of this tumultuous period – when Antwerp itself was at risk of being consumed by outside forces" (268).

In *A graphic koiné for a new religious value: The visual translatability of the Evangelicae historiae imagines* Ralph Dekoninck analyses a print series engraved by the Wierix brothers for the Jesuits and their international legacy. He strives to understand the conditions



Unknown engraver after Maarten de Vos,  
*The big fish eat the small*, c. 1580,  
 engraving (250)

for this cultural transfer, which he attributes to the universal visual language, developed for and by the Jesuits. Formal aspects like simplicity of style, the historical plausibility of the images and the principle of decorum are explained in this chapter in their historical context. The chapter highlights how images travel through space and time and the importance of books and prints in that process. For Dekoninck the images have a clarity of expression, resulting from a balanced composition that was narrowed down by the treatment of the subject over time and thus almost constitute a 'universal language'. This chapter emphasises Antwerp's important role in the dissemination of images throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through its engravers.

In *Sophonisba's dress: Costume, tragedy and value on the Antwerp stage* (c. 1615–1630), Bart Ramakers discusses the strong relationship between poetry and painting that was not only invoked in the writings of poets and art theoreticians during the seventeenth century and in the paintings of artists like Rubens, but also lived in the form of Antwerp's chambers of rhetoric and their staging of (Senecan) tragedies. It was not only the closeness of the chambers with the guild of St. Luke, one of them being enclosed within the guild itself at the beginning of the century, but also the social networks that met in and through the chambers. For Ramakers the closeness also lies in the two genres history painting and tragedy. Those two genres had indeed a lot in common, both explained by Van Niulandt in the letter of dedication for *Sophonisba* as expressing the 'truth of history'. Through this theatre historical chapter, the eyes are not only opened to the practices of staging tragedies in the first half of the century in Antwerp, but also to the importance of costumes on both the stage and in society. Ramakers beautifully illustrates the culture of patronage and gift giving in an almost-aristocratic society, in which conspicuous consumption was celebrated among the learned burghers of the city through theatrical productions.

In her chapter *The diamond of the Netherlands: Histories of Antwerp in the seventeenth century* Raingard Esser discusses the (mostly Jesuit) historiography of Antwerp which builds on the work of Lodovico Guicciardini half a century earlier. In the seventeenth-century texts Antwerp is still praised as a trading centre of the world, but its

importance as a cultural centre and a city in which new artefacts are created is increasingly emphasised. Some Jesuit authors, though not all of them, portray Antwerp as a holy site and a bastion of the Counter-Reformation (especially Carolus Scribani SJ, 351). However, internationalism remained a trademark of Antwerp's fame, long after the closure of the Scheldt, which is mostly shown through the international impact of Antwerp's painters, such as Rubens and Van Dyck. Thus, especially in Daniel Papebroch's *Annales Antverpienses* (3500 manuscript pages listing notable events in Antwerp from its foundation to the year 1700, which were used by the Jesuits but remained unpublished until the nineteenth century), Antwerp was depicted as a vibrant and international city in which international influences were transformed into buildings, artworks and texts of the highest international calibre, replacing the emphasis on the great merchant houses put in the Guicciardini text. This chapter is certainly important for the study of any cultural artefact that was produced in Antwerp during this time frame. The construction of Antwerp's image through the cultural exchange and the artistic production in the city should be considered when dealing with artefacts from this period. Most artists were probably aware of their city's image as Guicciardini's text was so widely spread and translated in so many languages. In the arts, which were representational in any case, this self-conception might be important to the interpretations of many objects.

In the last essay to the volume, *The right hand of Pictura's perfection: Cornelis de Bie's Het gulden cabinet and Antwerp art in the 1660s*, art historian Sarah Joan Moran powerfully demonstrates that the artists and *liefhebbers* of Antwerp did not look back to a golden past, but instead were convinced that their city still was capable of producing the best artists of the world. She proposes taking Cornelis de Bie's eccentric text on its own terms, instead of imposing categories on it, in which – as a historiographical text – it doesn't 'behave' as a historiographical text. She looks at the text as is introduced by its title page by Abraham van Diepenbeeck: the image shows that painting and poetry, together with love, conquer war – an allegory that incidentally was used only two years prior to publication in the visual tableau by Erasmus Quellinus II, celebrating the marriage between the Habsburg and the Bourbon houses and thus the peace treaty signed on 5 November 1659. In an analysis that examines all parts of De Bie's publication with equal interest, Moran shows that the book is conceived as a 'cabinet' in which the representational capacities of the visual arts and individual painters (mostly from Antwerp) were displayed. For her, the historical moment of the book's publication is also telling, as it was the time in which the guild of St. Luke was undertaking negotiations concerning the building of their own Academy of Art. Correspondingly, the dean of the painter's guild, David Teniers II, tried to convince Philip IV that the Academy was the only way to bring the arts back to their former lustre.

The two terms, around which this book revolves, are 'translation' and 'value'. For the authors and editors, translation is not understood as a mere reproduction of an original; that is to say not the imitation is crucial but the exchange that happens in a complex process of translation. Although the word 'value' is overused in this book, when



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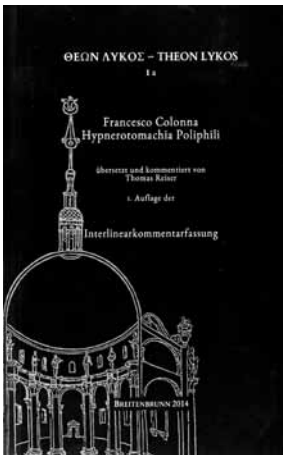


sometimes words like 'knowledge' or 'worth' would have been more to the point, the different values that are denoted in the various chapters are indeed useful to scholars in the humanities. The chapters emphasise the various processes around objects, be they books, paintings or glassware, opening up the spectrum and offering a great point of departure for future discussions.

This book is an outstanding example of discussing cultural artefacts and customs within their culture contexts, an approach which has not been applied rigorously enough in the past. The rich material in this book with its focus on a wider time-frame and the wide material it covers, will help contextualise many artefacts. Emphasising the continuity rather than the disruption in the production and exchange of values in Antwerp, the contributions show the vast possibilities of further research in these mostly neglected areas. The focus, however, lies far too often on central figures and well-known names, on the 'golden age', ignoring the many artisans and masters who came before and after these landmarks and shaped the world within which, with which and against which these renowned people worked. Apart from its scientific merit, this book is a joy to read from beginning to end, each chapter well written and well structured, each with fascinating insights and a very useful bibliography – thus highly recommendable to any scholar working on the early modern Netherlands.

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**Francesco Colonna; *Hypererotomachia Poliphili*.** Interlinearfassung; Übersetzt und kommentiert von Thomas Reiser; Wunsiedel: Reiser 2014; 708 S.; ISBN 978-1-499-20611-1; € 32,95

Hierzulande ist Francesco Colonnas *Hypererotomachia Poliphili*, die 1499 bei Aldo Manuzio in Venedig erstmals verlegt wurde, vergleichsweise spät rezipiert worden. Viel rasanter verlief die Rezeption in Frankreich und England. Im Umfeld Königs Franz I. entstand eine französische Übersetzung oder besser Nachdichtung, deren Ausgabe sehr luxuriös gestaltet war. Für damalige Verhältnisse handelt es sich um einen Bestseller, wozu vielleicht auch der eingängigere Titel *Le Songe de Poliphile* beitrug, der sich bis heute auch in deutschen Publikationen hält. Dieser Titel war es wohl auch, der Colonnas Geschichte eines von leidenschaftlichen Trieben in einen Wald geratenen Jünglings, der sich auf seinem Weg zu läutern lernt und in die Freuden der geistigen Liebe initiiert wird, für die französischen Romantiker so anziehend machte. Charles Nodier verfasste bekanntlich eine Erzählung, die sich vornehmlich dem