

lungen mit Adelsprovenienz oder aus dem Kontext der alten Kunstakademien nicht untypische Akzentsetzung auf Vollständigkeit im Sinne einer Bestandsvertretung des Künstlers und seiner bekanntesten Reproduzenten. Weitaus weniger Augenmerk wurde anscheinend auf frühe Abzüge und damit auf erstklassige Druckqualität gelegt; wahrscheinlich waren solche Stücke für viele der im Fundus zusammengefloßenen alten Sammlungen kaum noch greifbar oder bezahlbar. Was Raimondi und seinen Kreis angeht, bestimmen Abzüge des späteren 17. und 18. Jh.s das Bild, also Drucke mit den Verlegeradressen der de Rossi und des kurz vor der französischen Revolution tätigen Carlo Losi (letzterer verdient übrigens mehr Beachtung; sein Sortiment war neben dem der *Calcografia camerale* das wohl umfangreichste und den historischen Kanon

der römischen Graphik am meisten prägende – ein Studium der erhaltenen gedruckten Lagerlisten steht aus, wäre jedoch für die Geschmacksgeschichte des späteren 18. Jh.s höchst ertragreich). Erst die in den 1950er Jahren hinzugekommenen Geschenke der Max-Kade-Foundation New York sowie einige rezente Ankäufe haben das Qualitätsniveau der Sammlung in der Staatsgalerie nachhaltig verbessert.

Unter den deutschen graphischen Sammlungen ist Stuttgart sicher nicht das wichtigste Repositorium von Raffael-Reproduktionen, kann aber wegen der Schwerfälligkeit der meisten anderen Institute wieder einmal punkten: Eine solche Übersicht über Verbreitung und Einfluß der Inventionen Raffaels im europäischen Bilddruck fehlte bisher in deutscher Sprache.

Eckhard Leuschner

HANS VREDEMAN DE VRIES

Hans Vredeman de Vries und die Renaissance im Norden

Exhibition catalogue Weserrenaissance-Museum, Lemgo, edited by HEINER BORGGREVE, VERA LÜPKES, PAUL HUVENNE, and BEN VAN BENEDEN. With THOMAS FUSENIG and BARBARA UPPENKAMP. München, Hirmer Verlag 2002. 399 p. with illustrations in colour and b/w, € 55,-. ISBN 3-7774-9470-4

PETRA SOPHIA ZIMMERMANN

Die Architectura von Hans Vredeman de Vries

Entwicklung der Renaissancearchitektur in Mitteleuropa.

München and Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag 2002, 262 p, with illustrations in b/w, € 49,80. ISBN 3-422-06370-6

Hans Vredeman de Vries (before October 1526-1609), son of a German officer, is probably the most influential artist ever as far as the spread of Renaissance architecture and ornament in Northern and Central Europe is concerned. Two northernmost cities, Leeuwarden in Netherlands' Frisia and Hamburg witnessed the beginning (hence the addition De Vries, the Frisian, in his name) and the end of his life. In

the meanwhile he travelled thousands of miles between Kollum in Frisia, Mechlin, Antwerp, Liège, a few cities of the Holy Roman Empire as Aix-la-Chapelle, Wolfenbüttel, Danzig (now Gdansk) and Prague, and at the end of his life back to Amsterdam and The Hague in the young Dutch Republic. His itinerary was determined partly by the political and religious events of the time, and partly by his search for

new commissions. One surprising thing about his wanderings is the fact, that he never got further south than Prague. The eye-opener in his case was not the confrontation with ancient ruins in Rome, but an extract from the architectural treatises of Vitruvius and the fourth book of the Italian architect Sebastiano Serlio on classical orders, which he read (and copied) in the 1539 translations of Pieter Coecke. Details on Vredeman's life like these we know from Karel van Mander. When the latter's *Schilder-boeck* was published in 1604, Vredeman was the oldest Netherlandish painter still in life, and accordingly the chapter on living artists starts with him (fols 265a-267a). He was a versatile person, not only architect and author of very practical treatises, but also fortifications engineer, painter, rhetorician and last but not least, designer for all possible fields of the decorative arts. His stimulating work gave rise in 2002 to two new publications in Germany: the first devoted to his overall oeuvre, and the second to his work as an architectural theorist.

Hans Vredeman de Vries und die Renaissance im Norden is the result of a cooperation among art historians from seven countries, worthy the artist's international career. Although it was meant to accompany the exhibition in the Weserrenaissance-Museum Schloß Brake in Lemgo, held between May 26 and August 25 (and on its next stage in Antwerp until early December 2002), the book has certainly more to it than a mere catalogue. Thirteen introductory essays highlight the life, work and influence of the artist, whose work was decisive even for the development of the Weserrenaissance itself. Heiner Borggreffe and his museum staff called on a number of people involved in the Vredeman research or in related fields, among whom renowned professors in art history – in alphabetical order DaCosta Kaufmann from Princeton, Van de Velde from Antwerp and Ilja Veldman from Amsterdam, – the ornament specialist Peter Fuhring from Paris and

the architectural historian Petra Zimmermann from Cologne, whose own book is also subject to this review. The result is, that for the first time the various fields of Vredeman's activity are discussed in one, richly illustrated publication.

The first chapter attempts to come to the most reliable study of the artist's life with the help of long known and recently published documents. Borggreffe combines in his biography all available information to come to better defined dates of Vredeman's life.

The data given by him and Zimmermann, respectively 1526-1609 and 1527-1606, typify the controversy among art historians on this subject. The two dates of birth based on respectively a document from October 1560 stating the age of the artist as 34 years old (p. 31, note 25), and on the mention of his age as 77 in the artist's portrait published by Hondius in 1604 (fig. on p. 184), can only be reconciliated if the artist was born before October 1526. The problem of the date of death is solved by documents. Notwithstanding the absence of the customary dedication in the 1606 publication of the book of architecture, in August 1607 the artist is still reported alive, living in Hamburg, and only two years later is there talk of his estate (pp. 29-30).

Also Vredeman's stay in Antwerp is better defined now. After his first short stay in 1548-49 he only returned in 1564, which means that for nine years he maintained contacts from Mechlin with Antwerp publishers. The role Antwerp, the artistic capital *par excellence* of Northern Europe, played in his career, justifies the essay by DaCosta Kaufmann on the importance of the city and his artists for Europe and the world.

Interest in the work of Vredeman focussed in the past on his place either in architectural history or in history of art, above all painting. His print designs, published in Antwerp between 1555 and 1586 are evaluated now in two essays. Ilja Veldman elaborates the chronological role played by publishers, such as Gerard de Jode, Hieronymus Cock, and Philips Galle in disseminating Vredeman's ideas. The prints mentioning his name and concerning a wide range of fields – furniture, sculpture, vases, fountains and wells, not to

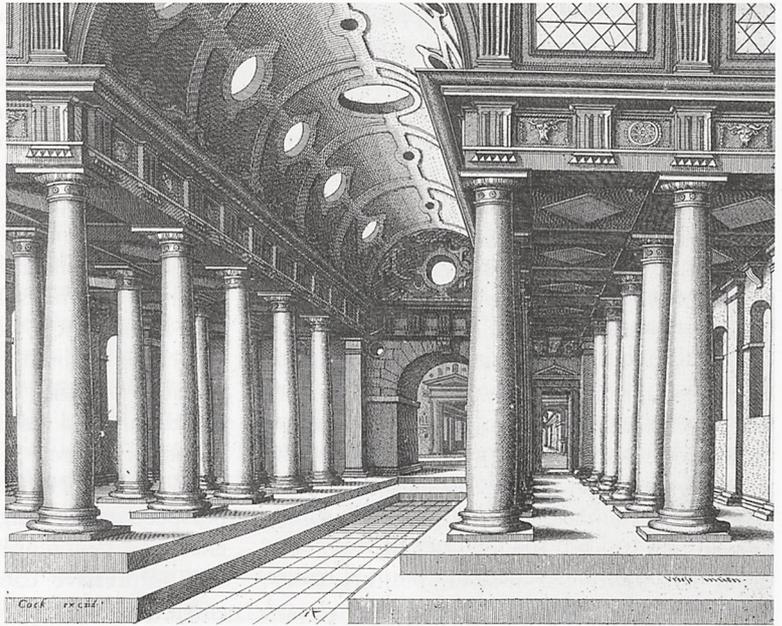


Fig. 1
Sheet no. 17 of the
Scenographiae, 1560,
Van Doetecum brothers
from design by Hans
Vredeman de Vries,
published by
Hieronymus Cock in
Antwerp

forget gardens and ornament prints in general – were the best ‘letter of recommendation’ anyone could have wished, once the artist decided to leave the city forever. It is interesting to read how he switched from one publisher to another, depending on their rising or falling stars, and to realise how innovative Galle was by (probably) commissioning and publishing in 1583 the first ever garden designs in the North. Peter Fuhring, who supplemented the 1967 dissertation by the late Hans Mielke with new research on the prints for the Hollstein volumes XLVII–XLVIII, gives an in-depth analysis of the types of ornament invented by the artist. Within the customary division of his oeuvre in antique, universal and ‘modern’, i.e. typically Renaissance ornament, he draws attention to a virtually unknown aspect within the last category, namely graining (*Fladern*, pp. 66–67). This technique of *trompe l’œil* painting or of applying coloured prints to for example ceilings in imitation of grained wood was represented by Vredeman in six prints from three series.

The artist’s work as architect in Antwerp and during his wandering years is the subject of the following studies: as theorist by Zimmermann (see below), as author of the temporary constructions for triumphal entries in Antwerp by Van de Velde, and as fortifications engineer by Lombaerde and Van den Heuvel. When the books on architecture are understood as books about applied ornament, the influence of the artist is enormous. The essays by Uppenkamp (general influence) and Muchka (focussed on Bohemian architecture) are devoted to this aspect, while the first author also discusses some examples of the widely varying uses of pattern books in the field of the decorative arts. Indeed, Vredeman’s compositions went through many editions and were almost permanently available on the market as a source for others.

The *Leitmotiv* within the artist’s oeuvre, the one that pervades all his paintings and designs with architectural decor is perspective. The consequent and didactic manner in which his self-developed method to combine mathematics

with painting and drawing appears in his work led to the spread of perspectival skills in the Netherlands. In a learned essay by Dubourg Glatigny the artist's most important publications in this field, *Scenographiae* from 1560 and *Artis perspektivae* from 1568 are discussed in a European context, just like *Perspective* from 1604-05, where for the first time the illustrations were accompanied by a commentary. Vredeman's mastery of perspective must have come to full effect in his *trompe l'œil* wall paintings. Lifesize decorations with illusionistic perspective were executed by him for illustrious patrons, like Rudolf II in Prague. As unfortunately none of these survive – cat. 144 and a large format painting by Hendrick van Steenwijck, illustrated on p. 164, are all to keep the memory of this genre – the discussion of Vredeman's painted oeuvre has to remain restricted to the stylistic and iconographic aspects of his easel paintings. As to the share of painted Serlian architecture, Borggreve rightly recalls the influence of Venetian painters and the works by Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer in Antwerp. Another Antwerp contemporary, Lambert van Noort (c. 1520-1570/71), could also have been mentioned in this context, as his paintings and especially window designs show experiments with architecture in perspective from 1555 on, the date of the first known drawing by Vredeman in this field (cat. 28 and my monograph on Van Noort, Brussels 1995). Especially the stained glass windows from Van Noort's designs, executed before 1563 for churches in Amsterdam and Gouda, are perfect illustrations of the art of perspective, paired to a correct use of Serlian architecture. That discoveries in Vredeman's oeuvre are still possible, is attested by his painting *Uriah receiving the letter in David's palace* (cat. 125). This panel from c. 1570 in a private collection was executed in cooperation with a figure painter, i. c. Gillis Mostaert. This practice is characteristic for Vredeman's approach during most of his career, with his son Paul becoming his most

important collaborator later on. With joint efforts father and son painted in 1594-95 an impressive series for the Council's Grand Chamber in the Gdansk City Hall. The seven paintings, exceptionally all on show, are commented on in an essay by Krzysztof Gronowicz, curator of the Historical Museum of Gdansk. Finally, in the last chapter of the introduction the influence of easel paintings by the Vredemans is followed as far as the 18th century. It is well known, that Vredeman de Vries is credited with the invention of architectural painting as a specialisation. One could only add his impact on the realistic tradition of church- and domestic interiors in 17th-century Holland, where the rules of perspective, although still present, are softened by a new sense of atmosphere.

The impressive catalogue proper with 213 entries, again the result of an international cooperation, is divided into five categories, based partly on content (Vitruvianism, *Scenographia*), partly on medium (Prints), and partly on chronology (Antwerp, Cities in exile). A complex oeuvre like that of Vredeman is not easily classified, and indeed, various items fit in more than one category. The organisers wished to incorporate not only the exhibits, but to publish a complete oeuvre-catalogue including paintings, of which the present whereabouts are unknown. Besides, some works by precursors, contemporaries, and many more by followers are also described, just like a few documents. Once chosen for such a wide context, it would have been interesting to retrace the roots of Vredeman's *trompe-l'œil* wall paintings to monumental stained glass, especially in view of his mastery of the craft of glass painting, as stated by Van Mander.

The only attempt to include stained glass (cat. 25 with erroneous title and illustration; the left section actually crowns the right piece) is less fortunate, because it concerns a work by Dirck Crabeth from 1543 for a private house in Leiden. More relevant for Vredeman's work on monumental scale and also more accessible are the windows in Brussels cathedral (transept and

Chapel of the Holy Sacrament of Miracles from the late 1530s and early 1540s; cf. *Corpus Vitrearum*, Belgium, vol. III, Gent 1974, cat. nos. 7-12). Their designs by Barent van Orley and Pieter Coecke address the same issues in which Vredeman de Vries was so much interested, the representation of Renaissance architecture in perspective, albeit as a decor for figural scenes.

Another point of criticism concerns the inaccuracies around the first available Dutch editions of Serlio (cat. 7; book III appeared already in 1546, as rightly mentioned in Zimmermann, p. 165). In another entry (no. 35) it is suggested as if Serlio's theory of perspective and the important closing images with stage-settings of the comic, tragic and satirical scenes, actually in his book II, had already been included in the 1539 Dutch edition (of book IV). The description of prints is at times erroneous, when the works of Wierix and Goltzius are called etchings, instead of engravings (cat. nos. 22, 54). Moreover, cat. 22 was executed not by Hieronymus Wierix, a mistake occurring already with Mielke, but by Johannes (as on p. 56). A quick check of the Persons register reveals also some shortcomings; both Wierixes are missing, just like for example De Witte and Houckgeest. The provenance of paintings supplies on the other hand useful information, and the attentive reader can find on the same page 377 supplementary information to the Vredeman oeuvre, not announced in the content: paintings not any more considered as works by Hans and additional paintings by Paul.

The numerous illustrations in black-and-white and colour are of good quality, save an exception like fig. 9 on p. 166. The choice of illustrations seems somehow at times arbitrary. The discussion of the 1539 edition of Serlio's fourth book (cat. 7) is for example accompanied by the title-page of the third book of the 1606 Amsterdam edition from the collection of the Weserrenaissance-Museum itself, instead of the required edition in the Herzog August Bibliothek of nearby Wolfenbüttel (cf. fig. 77 in Zimmermann). And when in the text the attention is drawn to the fact, that Vrede-

man's clumsy figures from his design drawings were systematically left out when his inventions were turned into print, as all attention had to be focussed on the perspectivic rendering of architecture, one would expect a matching illustration (cf. cat. nos. 29-30 and the present fig. 1 as a counterpart to the signed drawing *Christ and the doctors*, cat. 291). In general, a more careful layout with the corresponding text and illustration of the catalogue entries on the same page, or closer by, would have facilitated the reader's task.

In respect to the wonderful exhibition with a wealth of exhibits just one remark. Once the painters, who worked in collaboration with the artist, are mentioned by name, why are the names of the engravers and etchers, who translated Vredeman's designs on to the copper plate, omitted? The artist owes his fame exactly to these able craftsmen, in the first place the Van Doetecum brothers, but also to other Antwerp artists such as Frans Huys, Pieter van der Borcht and later Hendrick Hondius. They and the publishers were the ones, who immortalised the artist's designs. The omission can furthermore mislead the visitor, who credits Vredeman with the design and execution as well of the prints.

Petra Zimmermann, already cited above a number of times, based her catalogue essay on Vitruvianism and the *Architectura* of Vredeman de Vries on her thesis (*Habilitation* in 2000), which was published halfway the exhibition under the title *Die Architectura von Hans Vredeman de Vries. Entwicklung der Renaissancearchitektur in Mitteleuropa*. Her thorough study is a detailed analysis of the architectural theory of the artist in the light of a broader Serlian tradition. She follows him from Antwerp to Wolfenbüttel, Gdansk and Prague, where Vredeman was as architect and engineer also involved with fortification works and city planning. Her historiographic overview of earlier publications on Vredeman de Vries is a welcome addition to the short note summing up some titles in the Lemgo

catalogue (p. 31, note 1). Thanks to her careful bibliographical research (cf. pp. 71-74) we know now for sure that the first edition published by Gerard de Jode in 1577 in Antwerp only appeared in German and French, although based on a Dutch manuscript, and that 1581 is the correct date for the first Dutch edition, unlike generally believed until now. She spotted several undescribed examples of the first German edition, although the one from the City Library of Antwerp, on show in Antwerp as an addition to the catalogue, escaped her attention. From her analysis of text and plates she argues, that the heritage of Serlio was adapted by Vredeman to the specific need of Netherlandish and German architecture, and that it was exactly his lack of knowledge from first hand of the ancient art and Italian Renaissance which enabled him to do so. The *Architectura* is further discussed in respect to previous architectural prints by Vredeman, to his later treatise *Perspective* from 1604-05, and in the context of 16th century European authors and building practice. In the supplement there is a reprint of the first German edition from 1577, and the text only of the first Dutch edition from 1581. Although there was already a reprint of the 1581 German version (Hildesheim/New York, 1973), her decision is justi-

fied by differences in the text between the various editions (pp. 82-83). After all, Vredeman could not implement his theory into practice; the only building, which can directly be attributed to him, is the Chancellery at Wolfenbüttel. Nevertheless, the numerous reissues of his books and prints and the indirect and wide use others made of them can serve to him as a (posthumous) comfort. Whether Hans Vredeman de Vries should be considered as a painter and draftsman, whose imaginative power made it possible for him to work also on other fields (Lemgo cat. p. 30), or whether he was an architect and engineer, who only produced monumental and easel paintings when architectural commissions failed (Zimmermann, p. 54), is a question of lesser importance, which is moreover inconsistent with the reality of the 16th century. What matters is the extraordinarily richness of his varied oeuvre, without which the face of Renaissance art in Northern and Central Europe would have been different. The Vredeman literature fares well with both publications, however distinct they may be. The Lemgo catalogue provides an insight at one glance into the diverse activities of the artist, while Zimmermann's specialised study is a tribute to the 'Vitruvius of the North'.

Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman

UTE ENGEL

Die Kathedrale von Worcester

Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien, Bd. 88. München, Deutscher Kunstverlag 2000. 367 S., 24 Pläne, 220 s/w-Abb. € 75,80. ISBN 3-422-06305-6

Trotz des hervorragenden Überblicks von Günter Kowa (*Architektur der Englischen Gotik*, Köln 1990) spielt die gotische Architektur Englands in der deutschen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung eine untergeordnete Rolle. Zu weit reicht der Schatten, den die französischen Kathedralen über alle Nachbarregionen zu werfen scheinen. In welcher Weise

aber auch ein Bau aus der westlichsten Provinz Englands unsere Kenntnis über den mittelalterlichen Kirchenbau und die Inszenierung einer königlichen Grablege bereichern kann, zeigt das Beispiel der Kathedrale von Worcester, der Ute Engel eine Monographie gewidmet hat. Mit diesem Buch liegt nun erstmals eine umfassende Abhandlung über den Bau vor,