CHIARA FRANCESCHINI (ED.), SACRED IMAGES AND NORMATIVITY. CONTESTED FORMS IN EARLY MODERN ART

Sacrima Series: The Normativity of Sacred Images in Early Modern Europe 1, Turnhout: Brepols 2022, 320 pages with 97 color and 37 b/w ill., ISBN 978-2-503-58466-9 (Hardback) / ISBN 978-2-503-59346-3 (E-book).



Reviewed by Linda Mueller

In the broad sense, the normative pertains to anything that falls under the category of the evaluative (something is good or bad), the deontic (something is permissible, required, or forbidden), the reason-giving (something is favored or justified), or the fitting (something is apt or suitable). Derivatives of the neo-Latin "normalis" and "normativus", borrowing from classical Latin "norma", a builder's square, the terms "norm", "normal", and "normative" began to make an appearance in the intellectual, scientific, political, and philosophical discourses in the Romance and Germanic languages in eighteenth-century continental Europe. While "normal" together with its fatal antonym "abnormal" shaped the medical, biological, pedagogical, and industrial debates throughout the long nineteenth century, joining further taxonomies of othering in the cultural and scientific construction of classification and knowledge systems as

Normative, in: Terence Cuneo, A Dictionary of Ethics, Oxford 2020.

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well as in the moral justification of imperialist expansion, state formation, and state administration, the sister terms "norm" and "normative" proliferated in the adjacent legal and juridical discourses. It is worth keeping in mind that these neologisms were produced in a world of legal and normative thinking in which humans could be seen as legal property and in which legal and normative typologies could be used to systematize the natural world and with it human variety or race according to markers such as governed "by law" (Europeans), "by custom" (Indigenous peoples of the Americas), "by opinion" (Asians), and "by the arbitrary will of the master" (Africans), as stated in early publications on taxonomy and nomenclature and rulebooks, such as Linnaeus's Systema Naturae (1758).² "Normativity" (or "normativeness") eventually began to be distinguished from what is now known as "normalism" and became a concept when emerging disciplines centered on significant but puzzling social phenomena of human life and interactions across the social sciences and the humanities, especially in law and the many fields of philosophical inquiry - including ethics, aesthetics, epistemology, rationality, and semantics.³ Cross-disciplinary at heart, then, the complex and thorny early historiography of the normative invites any present-day (art) historical study on the normative to include groups who were historically excluded from or forced into the legal, normative, and juridical monistic frameworks in Europe and, starting with Europeans' increasing contact with cultures on other continents in the sixteenth century, in the global arena.

Recently, normativity as an operative concept has experienced a major revival in historical scholarship of the premodern period.⁴ Once used within national frameworks to explore the legal and juridical past of Europe, often promoting the hegemony of either civil or common law, today the historical disciplines in the West

See David Bindman, Ape to Apollo. Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century, London 2002, 61-62.

3

See Eric Hilgendorf, Was heißt normativ? Zu einigen Bedeutungsnuancen einer Modevokabel, in: Matthias Mahlmann (ed.), Gesellschaft und Gerechtigkeit. Festschrift für Hubert Rottleuthner, Baden-Baden 2011, 45–61; Normative, normativity, normativeness, in: Oxford English Dictionary (OED), Oxford 32003; Jürgen Link, Normal/Normalista/Normalismus, in: Karlheinz Barck, Martin Fontius, and Wolfgang Thierse (eds.), Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Studien zu einem historischen Wörterbuch, vol. 4, Stuttgart/Weimar 2002, 538–562; Peter Railton, Normative Force and Normative Freedom. Hume and Kant, but not Hume versus Kant, in: Jonathan Dancy (ed.), Normativity, Oxford/Malden, MA 2002, 1–33.

See, among others, Manuel Bastias Saavedra (ed.), Norms beyond Empire. Law-Making and Local Normativities in Iberian Asia, 1500–1800, Leiden 2021 (07.01.2022); Tamar Herzog, Colonial Law. Early Modern Normativity in Spanish America, in: Jörg Tellkamp (ed.), A Companion to Early Modern Iberian Imperial Political and Social Thought, Leiden 2020, 105–127; Benedetta Albani, Otto Danwerth, and Pilar Mejia (eds.), Normatividades e instituciones eclesiásticas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, siglos XVI–XIX, Berlin 2020; Benedetta Albani, Otto Danwerth, and Thomas Duve (eds.), Normatividades e instituciones eclesiásticas en el virreinato del Perú, siglos XVI–XIX, Baltimore, MD 2020; eid., Normatividades e instituciones eclesiásticas en la Nueva Espana, siglos XVI–XIX, Frankfurt am Main 2018; Andreas Fahrmeir and Annette Imhausen (eds.), Die Vielfalt Normativer Ordnungen. Konflikte und Dynamik in historischer und ethnologischer Perspektive, Frankfurt am Main 2013; Lauren A. Benton, Law and Colonial Cultures. Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900, Cambridge

embrace their transnational pasts and, with these pasts, pluralist concepts of law and normativity, which have been developed by anthropologists, ethnologists, legal historians, and theorists since the 1980s.⁵ Propelled by postcolonial legal theory, the politics of recognition and belonging, the field of conflict resolution, and contemporary legal pluralisms in former European colonies (with intersections with constitutional, state-centric, indigenous, and international laws), the field of global legal history has been at the forefront in developing inclusive frameworks to explore premodern normative regimes in Europe and those landscapes affected by imperialist expansion. Itself an idea of the nineteenth century (as is ethnological jurisprudence), the legal pluralist paradigm has been redefined as a history of the production and distribution of multinormative knowledge through cultural translation, paying attention to the dialectics of "glocalization" and the history of empires. This redefinition has proven successful, not least because studies have emphasized the interactions among different forms of normativity and the cacophony of multiple systems of law (or normative disorders), especially in those decentralized sites where norms historically clashed and were forced, negotiated, and mediated. However, new ecological and geopolitical realities have long triggered a reconsideration of the limits of legal pluralism and have prompted the question of what can possibly be next not only in terms of global governance but also in terms of legal polycentricity as a historical paradigm.

While the broad field of early modern art history has been quick in adopting operative concepts - such as "hybridity" - that derive from similar methodological contexts, it has been more hesitant when it comes to normativity (perhaps for good reason). That is not to say that the field has not produced excellent contributions that concern premodern normativity and the visual realm. It has done so even if (or precisely because) these contributions operate with dissimilar but related concepts in search of alternatives to established terms, such as "authority". Triggering a much-needed "archival turn", historians and art historians of Africa and precolonial and viceregal Latin America have offered some of the most critical lessons, including that non-orthodox, alternative literacies and other graphic systems of recordkeeping, oral histories, and material objects that store knowledge provide insights into the mutual influences and encounters between European and indigenous conceptions of law and the normative, offering notions that escaped

See, among others, Jacques Vanderlinden, Les pluralismes juridiques, Brussels 2013; Warwick Tie, Legal Pluralism. Towards a Multicultural Conception of Law, Aldershot/Brookfield, VT 1999; both authors provide helpful overviews of key texts on legal polycentricity.

See Thomas Duve, Rechtsgeschichte als Geschichte von Normativitätswissen?, in: Rechtsgeschichte – Legal History 29, 2021, 41–68 (07.01.2022); id., What Is Global Legal History?, in: Comparative Legal History 8/2, 2020, 73–115 (07.01.2022); for an alternative approach towards legal pluralism, see Richard J. Ross and Lauren Benton (eds.), Legal Pluralism and Empires. 1500–1850, New York 2013.

European taxonomies and visual modes of capturing.⁷ Recent books continue to deepen this strand of research,⁸ while other studies, no less ambitious, have enriched our understanding of evidence, factuality, fictionality, witnessing, the intertwinement of forensic and religious truth in art-making and reception in different arenas of early modern interconfessional and cross-ethnic Europe,⁹ or have focused on the efforts to establish visual and cultural standards of measurement before the meter.¹⁰ And yet, building on these achievements, there is still plenty to explore, especially in the many folds of the "glocal".

Chiara Franceschini is to be congratulated for having identified this lacuna. Her newly launched Brepols series, "SACRIMA", sets out to discuss normativity along the lines of sacred images in early modern European art and from a "multicentric global perspective" (p. 15). We now have the first edited volume of this series in print, which focuses on contested forms in early modern art. That the series insists on the pairing of sacred art and normativity must be accepted as is, even if this choice limits the debate regarding early modern visual normativity, excluding a vast but critical array of non-religious visual and material objects, large-scale civic architecture and urban structures, and other records of premodern legal cultures that, in the long run, cannot be accommodated under the leitmotif "SACRIMA". Mapping out the conceptual framework of the series and its first volume, the foreword and introduction teach us that images and objects were often challenged "by competing agencies" (p. 11) but that artists and objects also "impose[d] their own rules and standards through the reiteration or challenging of established visual traditions, styles, iconographies, immaterialities, reproductions, and reframings" (p. 11). Therefore, the project sets

See, among others, Joanne Rappaport and Thomas Cummins, Beyond the Lettered City. Indigenous Literacies in the Andes, Durham, NC 2012; Elizabeth Hill Boone and Gary Urton (eds.), Their Way of Writing. Scripts, Signs, and Pictographies in Pre-Columbian Americas, Washington, DC 2011; Katheryn Burns, Into the Archive. Writing and Power in Colonial Peru, Durham, NC/London 2010; Angel Rama, The Lettered City, Durham, NC/London 1996; Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter D. Mignolo (eds.), Writing Without Words. Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes, Durham, NC/London 1994.

8

See Aaron M. Hyman, Rubens in Repeat. The Logic of the Copy in Colonial Latin America, Los Angeles, CA 2021, here 1–28, see Christine Göttler's review in this journal.

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See Felipe Pereda, Crime and Illusion. The Art of Truth in the Spanish Golden Age, London/Turnhout 2018 (published in Spanish in 2017); Carolin Behrmann, Tyrann und Märtyrer. Bild und Ideengeschichte des Rechts um 1600, Berlin/Boston, MA 2015; ead. and Elisabeth Priedl (eds.), Autopsia. Blut- und Augenzeugen. Extreme Bilder des Christlichen Martyriums, Munich 2014.

10

See Emanuele Lugli, The Making of Measure and the Promise of Sameness, Chicago, IL 2019; a thought-provoking read in tandem with Andrew James Hamilton, Scale and the Incas, Princeton, NJ 2018; see Alexander Nagel, On Scale. Three recent books on scale throw a sharp light on attempts at human-based measurements (review of Andrew James Hamilton, Scale and the Incas, Princeton, NJ 2018, Zachary Horton, The Cosmic Zoom. Scale, Knowledge, and Mediation, Chicago/London 2020, and Emanuele Lugli, The Making of Measure and the Promise of Sameness, Chicago 2019), in: The Brooklyn Rail. Critical Perspectives on Arts, Politics, and Culture, May 2021, 86 (14.03.2023).

out to reverse "the paradigms of studies on censorship and iconoclasm", which appear too "focused on the passivity of images against external attacks" (p. 11). This common reproach will not be accepted by every reader. We do live in a world that is shaped by censorship and iconoclasm and the academic studies of these phenomena in the past and the lived experiences of prosecuted artists who dealt with these things in the present are worthy of consideration. Instead, the series concentrates on "the active role and capacity of the image as agent – either in actual legal processes or, more generally, on the creation of new visual standards and social behaviors" (p. 11). A study of "the multi-layered normative power of images, objects, and art" (p. 11) (image normativity, in short), the series centers on three questions:

In the production and reception of art objects, which are the norms produced and perpetuated by the images themselves [...]? How do these norms relate with norms imposed on images by external agents [...]? How does artistic transfer enable or activate a fluid geography of visual norms? (p. 14).

Elsewhere, we read "when, how, where, and why does a formal artistic language become normative?" (p. 17).

Packed with many impressive attempts to reapproach notions of the period, its normative landscapes, and the (Catholic) sacred image, and doubtlessly ambitious (many of the posed questions pertain to no less than the field of image and reception history and theory), the introduction regrettably makes very little fuss about normativity itself, its linguistic equivalents in the many languages of the period, or its early or recent historiography. Instead, the introduction pulls back the normative into the realm of twentiethcentury formalist literary and artistic theory, namely Gombrich's Norm and Form (1966), which is read through Freedberg's The Power of Images (1989). 11 As a result, pluralist ideas are projected on and ascribed to the (non-miraculous and non-votive Catholic) sacred image itself rather than the plural European legal environment (including Roman, Jewish, and Islamic law), 12 its colonial spheres (with intersections with colonial and indigenous law), the legal status and identity of artists (including female and disabled makers, who were deprived of legal subjectivity), or the plethora of legal personnel in premodern Europe and its Atlantic and Pacific jurisdictions (including gadis; muftis; rabbis; Latin notaries, lawyers, judges, and scribes trained in Europe; and personnel trained in overseas settlements, such as the Hispanic escribanos públicos, to

11

An overview of this Warburgian intellectual thread and visual agency is provided by Carolin Behrmann in the chapter "Law, Visual Studies, and Image History", in: Simon Stern, Maksymilian Del Mar, and Bernadette Meyler (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Law and Humanities*, New York 2020, 38–64 (16.04.2023).

mention but a few).¹³ The dominating and forced conceptual focus on "the multi-layered normative power of images" in the book results in an envisioned normative and legal premodern world in which images of crucifixes have the power to crucify other images (p. 60–62) rather than, say, European delegates or representatives of the Inquisitions, indigenous law, or visual culture. However, how appropriate is it to relinquish agency to images and shift responsibility to them in the problematic historical legal and (non-legal) normative spheres?

Beyond this specific interpretation of plurality or multiplicity, unfortunately, the introduction also remains vague when it comes to developing a circumspect and forward-looking methodological framework and the instruments that would be adequate for exploring the posed questions from a global perspective, preferably by overcoming the view of Christian art produced abroad as a mere long durée of European art-making. In part, this is because the intellectual journey of the introduction hardly makes it to the global Catholic arenas in terms of its historiographical horizons, but also, as already mentioned, simply in terms of identifying landscapes and actors, as well as commonalities and/or discrepancies of the historical conditions that informed premodern norms. In concert with recent publications from the field of global legal history and global art history, Francisco Bethencourt's The Inquisition. A Global History (1995) or Ilona Katzew's Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World (2011), both thematically compatible with the publication, would have offered guidance in this regard. 14

That said, within its scope, the volume does do a wonderful job of breaking open the canon by considering many little-known but relevant and insightful visual and textual materials that were unearthed from European (especially Italian) archives that are rarely used by art historians, such as the Archivio del Dicastero per la Dottrina della Fede (ADDF) in Rome. There is much to admire about the fourteen thrilling case studies featured in the volume, written by a group that includes emerging, mid-career, and established scholars. These case studies offer a kaleidoscopic panorama of art-making, the period's reception of art, and art-making's multiple entanglements with notions of the normative in Catholic Europe. The essays are organized into four meaningful and timely thematic sections, each of which contributes to ongoing debates in the field. These sections include "Images and Trials", "Contested Portraits", "The Norm and the Copy", and "Pictorial and Material Depths".

See, among others, Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *La venta de oficios en Indias, 1492-1606*, Madrid 1972.

See Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition. A Global History, 1478–1834*, Cambridge/New York 2009 (originally published in French in 1995); *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* (exh. cat. Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Antropología), ed. by Ilona Katzew and Luisa Elena Alcalá, Los Angeles,

CA/New Haven, CT 2011.

"Images and Trials" opens with an essay by Yoshie Kojima on fumi-e, which are (well-discussed) trampled plaquettes of imported (and later replicated) Christian devotional images from early modern Japan that were used by the Japanese Inquisition to identify and persecute "hidden" Christians. This essay constitutes the volume's only contribution on Catholic art outside of Europe. Chiara Franceschini then tackles the intriguing case of the Roman Inquisition's interest in the crucifixes made by Innocenzo da Petralia. While her interpretation of the involved documents is debatable, she offers the first transcription of an ekphrastic notarial report and demonstrates in exemplary ways the importance of the visual material in inquisitional archives, which she has been a leading pioneer in unearthing. Next is a nuanced contribution by Cloe Cavero de Carondelet on how the judicial origins of religious cults affected the ways in which the sanctity of victims of ritual murder was visually established, demonstrating how sacred images could convey legal, forensic, and religious truth. What follows is a well-informed piece on how post-Tridentine censorship affected the dissemination of the little-known imagery of the Seven Archangels in Rome, brought to us by Escardiel González Estévez. Overall, this section successfully entertains ideas from the field of the history of science and joins recent efforts to show the ways in which artists' lives intersected with courts and tribunals in Italy, including Caravaggio a Roma (2011), Sarah McPhee's Bernini's Beloved (2012), Letizia Treves's and Sheila Barker's works on Artemisia Gentileschi (2020 and 2021, respectively), and a newly launched series from the University Roma Tre and the De Luca Editori d'Arte on artists on trial (Artisti in tribunale), the first volume of which is Patrizia Cavazzini's Porta virtutis. Il processo a Federica Zuccari (2021). ¹⁵ An engagement with this literature on the editorial level might have inspired the inclusion of a contribution that would have centered on those incapacitated and yet entangled in the described legal sphere (such as a female or disabled artist) or on a case involving Islamic or Jewish legal actors or courts in Catholic Europe. 16

"Contested Portraits" begins with a strong contribution by Mattia Biffis, who excavates the fascinating case of Andrea Casali, which involves issues of imposture, legal evidence, and the reception of portraiture in the artistic and legal ambient of early sev-

15

See Caravaggio a Roma. Una vita dal vero (exh. cat. Rome, Archivio di Stato), ed. by Eugenio Lo Sardo, Michele Di Sivo, and Orietta Verdi, Rome 2011; Sarah McPhee, Bernini's Beloved. A Portrait of Constanza Piccolomini, New Haven, CT 2012; Letizia Treves, Artemisia, London 2020; Sheila Barker, Artemisia Gentileschi, Los Angeles, CA 2022; Patrizia Cavazzini, Porta virtutis. Il processo a Federico Zuccari, Rome 2020; see also, Peter M. Lukehart, review of Patrizia Cavazzini, Porta virtutis. Il processo a Federico Zuccari, Rome 2020, in: Storia dell'arte 1/2, 2021, 320–323.

16

An intriguing case involving the legal reasoning of a rabbi, image-making and breaking in fifteenth-century Mantua has recently been addressed by Tamara Morsel-Eisenberg and Joseph Leo Koerner in eid., Iconoclash in Northern Italy circa 1500, in: Critical Inquiry 48/1, 2021, 94–125; see also Jenny Ponzo, The Model of Mary between Islam and Catholicism. The Figurativization of Normative Principles in the Intercultural Exchange, in:

International Journal of Legal Discourse 5/2, 2020 (07.01.2022).

enteenth-century Bologna and Rome. Equipped with a sharp eye for issues of decorum and semantics in portraiture, James Hall then discusses the background of a papal ban on saintly portraits of non-saints, including the rise of the pseudo-halo and saintly masquerades. Next is Nina Niedermeier's piece on the legal term pia fraus, its ethical implications, and its importance for our understanding of the period's reception of ritratti rubati, portraits taken of still-living venerated saints. Finally, Steffen Zierholz considers the meta-pictorial strategies employed by print makers and painters in representing Ignatius of Loyola as an exemplary Jesuit. Including a contribution that would have complicated the European lens on issues of identity by (for instance) focusing on the topic of hybrid cultural identity in colonial art would have given this section additional depth and relevance.¹⁷

"The Norm and the Copy" starts with an essay by Antonia Putzger, who is interested in an altarpiece by Ulrich Arp, its modified copies, their reception, and their installation in royal collections. Erin Giffin then examines insightful changes in the plethora of replicas of the Santa Casa di Loreto (especially at San Clemente in Venice), a contribution that has recently been updated through a global lens by a conference that she co-organized at the Courtauld Institute of Art. 18 Sebastiano del Piombo expert Piers Baker-Bates subsequently shares his expertise on copies of Sebastiano's inventions in Italy and Spain, their meaning for the status of the sacred image, and the processes of their dissemination.¹⁹ More could have been written on Bernardo Bitti's reception of Sebastiano, especially because this section lacks a contribution on processes of translation and copying of European conventions by indigenous, colonial, or immigrant artists in the larger Catholic world. Such a contribution would have ascribed (artistic) agency also to them and those who commented on or commissioned copies beyond what is described in the introduction as "the period between Leon Battista Alberti and Antonio Palomino" (p. 18).20

17

See, among many, Suzanne Preston Blier, Imaging Otherness in Ivory. African Portrayals of the Portuguese ca. 1492, in: *The Art Bulletin 75/3*, 1993, 375–396; Diana Fane (ed.), *Converging Cultures. Art and Identity in Spanish America*, New York 1996; Eduardo de Jesús Douglas, Our Fathers, Our Mothers. Painting an Indian Genealogy in New Spain, in: Contested Visions, 117–132; Adam Jasienski, *In the Guise of Holiness. Sanctity and Portraiture in the Early Modern Hispanic World*, diss., Harvard University, 2016.

18

The Itinerant Shrine. Art, History, and the Multiple Geographies of the Holy House of Loreto, June 30–July 1, 2022, The Courtauld Institute of Art, organized by Matteo Chirumbolo, Erin Giffin, and Antongiulio Sorgini.

19

For a different take on his reception, see Felipe Pereda, True Painting and the Challenge of Hypocrisy, in: Mercedes García-Arenal (ed.), *After Conversion. Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, Leiden 2016, 358–394.

20

See, for instance, Christa Irwin, Catholic Presence and Power. Jesuit Painter Bernardo Bitti at Lake Titicaca in Peru, in: *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 6, 2019, 270–293.

"Pictorial and Material Depths" opens with an essay by Josephine Neil, who offers a reading of the pictorial rendering of divine grace in Hendrick Ter Brugghen's Crucifixion from c. 1625, which she puts in dialogue with similar renderings by Francisco de Zurbarán, Matthias Grünewald, and Alonso Cano. Livia Stoenescu then considers Cano's take on medieval legends, specifically in his Miracle of the Well, and the media specificity of such narratives in sculpture and painting in the context of the debate on contested images in seventeenth-century Spain. Looping back nicely to the first section of the book, Todd P. Olson concludes the section by discussing the intertwinement of theology, geology, and catastrophe in the art and history of the Certosa di San Martino in Naples, focusing on Ribera's paintings for the Certosa. He successfully portrays Naples as a site for both the formation of early modern geology and a shift from sacred to secular epistemologies, where the sacred or secular origins of lithic forms were contested (as evidenced by Ferrente Imperato's posthumous charge of heresy for his Dell'Historia Naturale (1599)). For a multicentric perspective, a piece on the clashing, merging, or changing of notions of sacred materials in precontact versus colonial landscapes could have been added.

Overall, this series recalls the Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series published by Saint Joseph's University Press (eighteen volumes and counting) and is similar in character to certain edited volumes, such as The Agency of Things in Medieval and Early Modern Art. Materials, Power and Manipulation (2018).²¹ Its first volume will be most appreciated by those interested in Catholic sacred art and Catholic visual norms in Catholic Europe.²² The professional editing and modern layout of the volume enable smooth and enjoyable reading. The illustrations are of high quality. In two instances in which authors allude to copies by colonial artists, the images are neither included nor discussed in depth (p. 97 and 218). While some authors might have done so elsewhere, this is a missed opportunity for the volume, as any book about image normativity projects a normative visual canon itself. The volume closes with an appendix that includes a bibliography (organized into two sections: one covers sources before 1899, and the other covers sources after 1899) and two welcome indexes with names and places. The bibliography is insular in character, as it contains many of the same issues raised above, such as a lack of literature on the early and most recent historiography of normativity, on the Inquisition as a global phenomenon, and literature that throws light on the normative

21

Graczyna Jurkowlaniec, Ika Matyjaszkiewicz, and Zuzanna Sarnecka (eds.), The Agency of Things in Medieval and Early Modern Art. Materials, Power and Manipulation, London 2018.

22

For extra-European perspectives, see, among others, Du Jourdain au Congo. Art et christianisme en Afrique centrale / Crossing Rivers. From the Jordan to the Congo, Art and Christianity in Central Africa (exh. cat. Paris, Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac), ed. by John Kelly Thornton, Steve-Régis N'Sondé, and Julien Volper, Paris 2016; Christianity in Asia. Sacred Art and Visual Splendour (exh. cat. Singapore, Asian Civilisations Museum), ed. by Alan Chong and Pedro Moura Carvalho et al., Honolulu, HI 2016.

and/or sacred art from extra-European perspectives. In addition, some classics are missing, such as Anton Boschloo's *The Limits of Artistic Freedom* (2008).²³

Ultimately, one can only thank the editor and authors for a stimulating collection of fascinating case studies, each of which is approached in creative and interesting ways. This timely series has the potential to unearth a significant amount of relevant visual and textual material in the years to come and will fine-tune our understanding of clashing and fusing norms in the Catholic visual realm in Europe – and maybe even elsewhere. Only time will tell whether it meets its potential and will help to catch up on the dazzling lead of other disciplines in the discussion of premodern normative polycentricity in a global perspective.