Migrating Motifs

Sacred Iconographies, Inventions and Adaptations between Northern and Southern Europe (c. 1470–1530)

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1. Migrating Motifs. An Introduction.

'La professione [...] tutta era, sì come portava quel tempo,

in lavoro di Fiandra e lo colorire di quel paese.'[1]

When comparing two paintings portraying the figure of a blessing Christ, both their similarities and their differences become immediately apparent (figs. 1.1 and 1.2). In both paintings, Christ raises his right hand in a blessing gesture, with his index and middle finger

Fig. 1.1. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing*, 1481, oil on panel, 35,1 x 25,1 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Fig. 1.2. Antonello da Messina, *Christ Blessing*, 1465, oil on panel, 38,7 x 29,8 cm. London, National Gallery.

[1] Remark by Pietro Summonte (1463–1526) in his brief account of painting in Naples from 1524, regarding Colantonio (c. 1420–after 1460): 'La professione del Colantonio tutta era, sì come portava quel tempo, in lavoro di Fiandra e lo colorire di quell paese.' Derived from Fausto Nicolini, *L'Arte napoletana del Rinascimento e la lettera di Pietro Summonte a Marcantonio Michiel*, Naples: Ricciardi, 1925, p. 160. Translation: 'As was the custom at the time, Colantonio's profession was entirely working in the Flemish manner and in the colouring of that country.' Francis Ames-Lewis, 'Sources and Documents for the Use of the Oil Medium in Fifteenth-Century Italian Painting', in *Cultural Exchange between the Low Countries and Italy (1400-1600)*, ed. by Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes, Turnhout: Brepols, 2007, 47–62 (p. 51).

raised, while his left hand rests on either the bottom of the frame or a parapet, creating the illusion that it protrudes out of the painting. Though similar in composition, the figure's facial features and other stylistic details hint to the fact that the paintings were made by two individual artists from different countries. One of the paintings was created by Hans Memling (c. 1430–1494), a painter active in the Netherlands, while the other was painted by the Italian Antonello da Messina (c. 1430–1479). Inscribed on the top centre of the original frame, Memling's version is dated 1481. In Antonello's composition, the painted *cartellino* bears an inscription in Latin, which can be translated as: 'In the year 1465 of the eighth indiction Antonello da Messina painted me.'[2] Both versions refer to an archetype that is nowadays lost, but which is generally accepted as being invented by Rogier van der Weyden (c. 1399/1400–

Fig. 1.3. Petrus Christus, *Head of Christ*, c. 1445, oil on parchment, laid down on panel, 14,9 x 10,8 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 1.4. Gerard David, *Salvator Mundi*, c. 1500, oil on panel, 46 x 33,6 cm. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

[2] 'Mille simo quatricentessimo sexstage / simo quinto viije Indi Antonellus / Messaneus me pinxit.' Translation from the online catalogue entry of the National Gallery, London: <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/antonello-da-messina-christ-blessing> (Accessed 21-06-2021).

1464). The iconographical invention of the blessing Christ relates to two other compositions: the *Salvator Mundi* and the *Vera Icon*. The latter was a prevalent image in the Netherlands, showing the head of Christ, which originated from the oeuvre of Jan van Eyck (c. 1390–1441) and was copied numerous times, with extant versions nowadays in Berlin, Munich and New York, amongst others (fig. 1.3).[3] The *Salvator Mundi* portrays Christ at half-length, with his right hand in a blessing gesture and his left hand resting on a globe, versions of which are known by Antonello da Messina, Gerard David (c. 1460–1523) and Quinten Metsys (1466–1530), amongst others (fig. 1.4).

In his 1976 article entitled 'Fifteenth-Century Pictures of the Blessing Christ, Based on Rogier van der Weyden', art historian Jan Białostocki compiled a corpus of paintings portraying the blessing Christ without the globe, imitating the same prototype as Hans Memling and Antonello da Messina.[4] His starting point was Max J. Friedländer's

Fig. 1.5. Robert Campin, *Blessing Christ and Praying Virgin*, c. 1424, oil and gold on panel, 29 x 46 cm. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

[3] For more information on this composition and its copies, see Miyako Sugiyama, 'Replicating the sanctity of the Holy Face: Jan van Eyck's "Head of Christ"', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 39:1/2 (2017), pp. 5–14.
[4] Jan Białostocki, 'Fifteenth-Century Pictures of the Blessing Christ, Based on Rogier van der Weyden', *Gesta* 15:1/2 (1976), pp. 313–20.

groundbreaking *Die altniederländische Malerei*, a pioneering fourteen-volume survey on early Netherlandish art and its artists. In the second volume on Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle from 1924, Friedländer labelled a series of paintings 'Der segnende Christus in Halbfigur', grouping them under *Nachahmungen und Kopien nach Rogier*.[5]

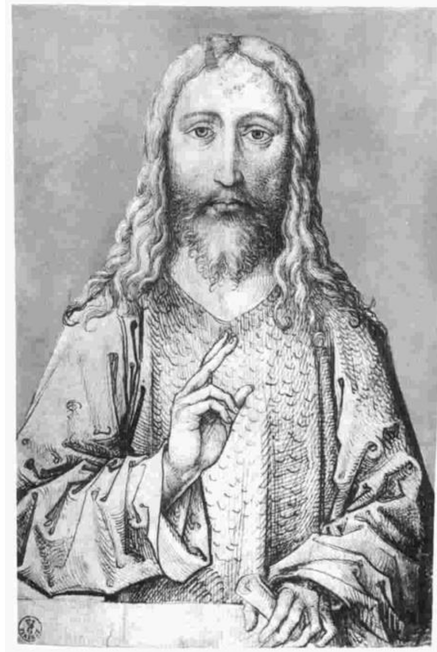

Fig. 1.6. Martin Schongauer, *Blessing Christ*, c. 1470, pen in black and brown on paper, 21,3 x 14,5 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe.

Although the archetype imitated by this series of copies is not identified by either Friedländer or Białostocki, and remains unknown today, it can be judged from the number of copies by both known and anonymous masters that the original version must have been a successful and widespread invention. Strikingly, some of the great masters of the fifteenth century from both north and south of the Alps are among the known masters imitating the archetype. In addition to Hans Memling and Antonello da Messina, variants are known by Robert Campin (c. 1378–1444), Martin Schongauer (c. 1450–1491), and Gerard David, both as painted and drawn versions (figs. 1.5, 1.6 and 1.7). Białostocki added several works to Friedländer's corpus, expanding the geography of the invention to the German Upper Rhenish region (fig. 1.8).

Fig. 1.7. Gerard David, *Christ Blessing*, c. 1500-05, oil on panel, 12,1 x 8,9 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[5] Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, 14 vols (1–11: Berlin: Paul Cassirer, 1924–1934; 12–14: Leiden, Sijthoff, 1935–1937), II: Rogier van der Weyden und der Meister von Flémalle (1924), pp. 119–138, especially p. 137.

Fig. 1.8. School of Rogier van der Weyden, *Christ Giving the Blessing*, date unknown, oil on panel, 36 x 26,5 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Moreover, with Antonello da Messina's version of *Christ Blessing*, the invention reached Italy already at the end of the fifteenth century, where the iconography was translated into an Italian version, rather than a one-on-one copy. But how can this phenomenon be explained? The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Europe are characterized by the high mobility of both artists and artworks. In Italy, there appears to have been a market and demand for Northern European paintings relatively early in the fifteenth century. In a letter from 1460, the Florentine noblewoman Alessandra Strozzi (c. 1408–c. 1471) writes to her son Lorenzo (1432–1479) in Bruges about the Netherlandish paintings in her private collection that she is seeking to sell for a profit. She mentions one particular work, a Netherlandish 'Holy Face', which she will keep. She describes it as 'una divota figura e bella.'[6] This characterisation is one of the scarce records of Florentine responses to Netherlandish painting from the fifteenth century, and illustrates the value that was attached to these foreign works at the time.

In general, Southern and Northern European regions were characterized by distinct aesthetic ideals, but during the fifteenth century, artistic exchange and the circulation of artistic inventions and materials expanded at a surprisingly high pace, partly enabled by the recent invention of printmaking.[7] This resulted in the reproduction of artworks in a high

[6] 'A devout figure and beautiful.' Derived from Ames-Lewis, 'Sources and Documents', p. 56.
[7] Susanna Burghartz, Lucas Burkart and Christine Göttler, 'Introduction: "Sites of Mediation" in Early Modern Europe and Beyond. A Working Perspective', in *Sites of Mediation. Connected History of Places, Processes, and Objects in Europe and Beyond 1450-1650*, ed. by Susanna Burghartz, Lucas Burkart and Christine Göttler, Leiden: Brill, 2016, 1–22 (p.7). Moreover, the distinct aesthetic characterizations become clear when comparing contemporary sources, such as Bartholomeo Facio (before 1410–1457), *De viris illustribus*, 1456, as well as

frequency, enabling a lively artistic exchange from the Southern European regions of contemporary Italy and Spain to the Northern European regions of contemporary Germany and the Netherlands and vice versa. Already during the fifteenth century, artistic production was subject to international influences. Major factors included the migration of artists, designers and craftspeople, in addition to the migration of artworks and artistic inventions.[8] The diffusion of art throughout Europe was generated by several causes, among them merchants who ordered prints and paintings for private purposes or in order to sell them as ware, and groups of artists who undertook sojourns or settled abroad.[9] Both artists and artworks appear to have a distinct potential in bringing people and imaginaries into contact and foster cross-cultural exchange.

This exchange and connectivity between different geographic regions becomes especially clear when investigating iconographical motifs of artworks. As is suggested by the term, a motif can be explained as a recurring thematic element or repeated design. It is an important and recognizable element or feature of a work of art, that is typically repeated in other compositions. Returning to the example of *Christ Blessing*, both the novel compositional invention and the isolated concept of Christ's hands and its repetition in various paintings from different periods and regions can be identified as a motif. By focusing on these details, it is evident that similar-looking motifs recur during similar timespans north and south of the Alps, suggesting that there must have been an exchange and migration in both directions.

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written accounts by Ciriaco d'Ancona (1391–c. 1453), Giorgio Vasari's (1511–1574) 1550 and 1568 editions of *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, and Karel van Mander's (1548–1606) *Het Schilder-Boeck* from 1604.

[8] Stephan R. Epstein, 'Transferring Technical Knowledge and Innovating in Europe, C.1200–C.1800', in *Technology, Skills and the Pre-Modern Economy in the East and the West. Essays dedicated to the memory of S.R. Epstein*, ed. by Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten van Zanden, Leiden: Brill, 2013, 25–68.

[9] Stephanie Porras, *Art of the Northern Renaissance. Courts, Commerce and Devotion*, London: Laurence King Publishing, 2018, pp. 101 and 111–12.

The study of iconography, which intrinsically focuses on the fragmented detail, has a long history and can be exemplified by the work of the scholar Erwin Panofsky, who, in his 1934 article on Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait*, broke down the entire composition into smaller elements of the work. In general, in traditional studies of iconography, the text is seen as the source for the image, which in turn serves as an illustration of said source.[10] For example, in his article, Panofsky explained details present on Van Eyck's painting with notions from Catholic dogmas and texts by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), amongst others.[11] He interpreted multiple elements of the painting individually, to eventually propose a synthetic argument in which all of these smaller elements fitted together.[12] In doing so, he explained the subject matter of the *Arnolfini Portrait* by looking at its details instead of the larger, comprehensive composition.

This approach related to the practice of connoisseurship practiced around 1900 by, amongst others, Giovanni Morelli and Bernard Berenson. In their studies, these scholars also focused on fragments or details of paintings, namely the hands or ears in paintings by artists like Fra Filippo Lippi (c. 1406–1469) and Sandro Botticelli (c. 1445–1510), in order to recognize and attribute paintings to certain artists.[13] In line with this practice, it became a common practice in art historical research from the nineteenth century to combine a document-based art historical research with iconographical investigations, as is evidenced by the work of Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle and Joseph Archer Crowe, who together wrote

[10] For more on the notions of iconography, see for example Daniela Bohde, 'Mary Magdalene at the Foot of the Cross. Iconography and the Semantics of Place', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 61:1 (2019), pp. 3–44, specifically pp. 3–5.
[11] Erwin Panofsky, 'Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait', *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 64:372 (1934), pp. 117–27.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Giovanni Morelli, *Italian Painters: Critical Studies of Their Works*, 2 vols (London: Murray, 1892–1893), transl. from German by Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes, I: The Borghese and Doria-Pamfili Galleries in Rome (1892). For a comprehensive overview on this practice, see Nina Rowe, 'The Detail as Fragment of a Social Past', in *Field Notes on the Visual Arts. Seventy-Five Short Essays*, ed. by Karen Lang, Bristol: Intellect, 2019, 139–41 (p. 140).

many important studies on Italian and Flemish art, printing drawings of details next to their written investigations, in order to visualize their findings.[14]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the scholar Aby Warburg worked on a theory revolving around image motifs and their historic models, concentrating on the Florentine artist Sandro Botticelli. In his research, Warburg compared a drawing from the circle of Botticelli to an antique sarcophagus, stating:

> 'Die beiden Modellstudien nebenan zeigen, wie ein Künstler des XV.J. sich aus einem Originalwerk des Alterthums das heraussucht, was ihn interessirt [*sic*]. In diesem Fall nichts weiter als einerseits das oval geschwellte Gewandstück, das er als Shawl (dessen Ende von der 1. Schulter zur r. Hüfte herabgeht) ergänzte, um sich das Motiv verständlich zu machen, und andererseits der Haarputz der Frauenfigur, den er mit frei flatterndem Schopf (von dem auf dem Vorbild nichts zu sehen ist) versah, sicherlich in der Meinung, recht antikisch zu sein.'[15]

Later, during the first half of the twentieth century, the art historical theory regarding the detail expanded, taking into account fragments, quotations, enlargements and more, influenced by contemporary media such as photography and film.[16] This is again illustrated by the work of Warburg, who created the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* during the 1920s. In this atlas, Warburg traced visual themes, patterns, and details from antiquity to the sixteenth

[14] See for example Joseph A. Crowe and Giovanni B. Cavalcaselle, *The Early Flemish Painters. Notices of their Lives and Works*, London: J. Murray, 1857.

[15] Aby M. Warburg, 'Sandro Botticellis "Geburt der Venus" und "Frühling". Eine Untersuchung über die Vorstellungen von der Antike in der italienischen Frührenaissance (1893)', in Aby M. Warburg, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen*, ed. by Dieter Wuttke, Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1980, 11–64 (p. 16).

[16] Sigrid Weigel, '"Nichts weiter als". Das Detail in den Kulturtheorien der Moderne: Warburg, Freud, Benjamin', in *"Der liebe Gott steckt im Detail". Mikrostrukturen des Wissens*, ed. by Wolfgang Schäffner, Sigrid Weigel and Thomas Macho, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2003, 91–111 (p. 111).

century in Europe and beyond, by juxtaposing photographs of both entire works and details.[17] In doing so, Warburg rearranged canonized images and broke free from the restraints of only comparing artworks from a similar geographical area and period.

Photography was an essential component in the art historical practices of Warburg. He practiced it himself, and collected photographs from contemporary illustrated journals.[18] He brought his collected images together in his photographic library, where he initially ordered the represented artworks according to a system focusing on subject matter.[19] Moreover, he employed photographs to visualize his art historical method, by selecting, cutting out, decontextualizing, serializing, and reproducing parts of the photographs of artworks.[20] In doing so, Warburg was able to imitate the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century process of reproduction, and to draw attention to the transmission of gestures and pictorial dynamics from the antiquity to the Italian Renaissance. This practice of focusing on details and investigating them as representational for a whole, had the potential to demonstrate connections between the present and past. Moreover, it served as a mark of an artist searching for solutions and inventions to contend with contemporary demands and expectations, marking the choice and placement of a certain iconographical detail as a conscious or unconscious decision that related to the contemporary artistic practices.

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[17] Ibid; Anke te Heesen, 'Exposition Imaginaire. On Aby Warburg's use of display panels', in *Image Journeys. The Warburg Institute and a British Art History* (Munich, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 30 May–21 June 2019), ed. by Joanne W. Anderson, Mick Finch and Johannes von Müller, Passau: Dietmar Klinger Verlag, 2019, 13–28; Neville Rowley, 'Eine Berliner Reise durch Aby Warburgs Bilderatlas Mnemosyne/A Berlin Jouney through Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas', in *Zwischen Kosmos und Pathos. Berliner Werke aus Aby Warburgs Bilderatlas Mnemosyne/Between Cosmos and Pathos. Berlin Works from Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen, 2 April–28 June 2020), ed. by Neville Rowley and Jörg Völlnagel, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2020, 42–103.

[18] Philippe Despoix and Roxanne Lapidus, '"Translatio" and Remediation: Aby Warburg, Image Migration and Photographic Reproduction', *SubStance* 44:2 (2015), pp. 129–50 (p. 130).

[19] For more information about the order of Warburg's photographic library and its history, see Katia Mazzucco, '(Photographic) Subject-matter: Fritz Saxl Indexing *Mnemosyne* – A Stratigraphy of the Warburg Institute Photographic Collection's System', *Visual Resources. An International Journal on Images and Their Uses* 30:3 (themed volume: Classifying Content: Photographic Collections and Theories of Thematic Ordering) (2014), pp. 201–21.

[20] Despoix and Lapidus, '"Translatio" and Remediation', p. 131.

The employment of iconographical and visual motifs, their interconnectedness across geographies and their mobility are the subject of the present study. Contrary to the more traditional practice of using distinct motifs as an explanation of the entire work, the present study employs the investigation of motifs as a method of demonstrating and interpreting the connections and migration patterns present during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the success and acceptance of certain motifs as conventions. When investigating motifs and their interrelations in different geographic regions, their migration can often be traced through the itineraries of travelling artworks rather than travelling people. In these instances, the artwork – whether a painting, print, sculpture or the like – becomes an intermediary and serves a mediating role. The term 'mediation' has been defined in various possible manners since the Middle Ages, including 'agency or action as an intermediary; indirect conveyance or communication through an intermediary; and serving as an intermediate agent or a medium of transmission.'[21] When dealing with migrating iconographical or visual motifs, it seems that the materiality of the mediating art object effects the pace and the scope of specific migrations. In order to successfully discuss the various characteristics of mobile motifs, the manners of migration and materiality, the present research project is subdivided into three case studies, all focusing on different aspects relevant to the processes of migration and adaptation.

1.1. An Introduction to the Case Studies

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, artistic production was subject to international trends and tendencies. The diffusion of art throughout Europe was generated by several causes, and all three case studies investigated in the present research highlight one of these causes, whether relating to patronage, materiality, or competition among artists and patrons,

[21] Burghartz, Burkart and Göttler, 'Introduction', p. 1. For the definitions, see Merriam-Webster: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mediation> (Accessed 23-06-2021).

in order to provide better insights into the processes and factors playing a role in the migration of iconographies and visual motifs. Moreover, to investigate the role of the materiality of the mediating art object, and the effects of this on the pace and the scope of specific migrations, each case study highlights a different medium or genre, such as panel paintings destined for private purposes, drawings and designs produced in the artist's workshop, printed cycles and large triptychs destined as altarpieces.

The open market and its impact on the artistic production between roughly 1470 and 1530 will be another focal point of the present research. During this period, the market for paintings and the novel medium of the print thrived. For example, there was an increase in workshops in the city of Antwerp, and artists had efficiently organized, normalized and serialized their production. Workshops adapted their production to the tendencies of the market, creating a notion of a so-called supply and demand. As a result, the dissemination and adaptation of iconographical motifs happened fast and wide. In addition to Antwerp, this trend can be observed in other major artistic centres of this period as well. The impact of the expansion of these centres, as well as their interconnectedness, plays a pivotal role in all three case studies and in the larger discussion of migrating motifs and their materiality.

The three cases all show different gradations of knowledge on the different manners and components of migration. In some cases, the artistic centres where the inventions were produced and where they migrated to are the only details that are known. In other cases, the artist that produced the archetype is generally accepted, but the actual archetype is no longer extant, much like the abovementioned case of *Christ Blessing*. In again a different case, the moment of arrival, the manner of migration and the place it was installed is known.

Lastly, contrary to many recent studies on migration and mobility in art history, the period discussed here is relatively early. By focusing on the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, this study takes into account many of the contemporary impactful

inventions and developments, such as the printing press and artistic production for an open market. Mostly ranging from between 1470 and 1530, the three cases all happen relatively simultaneously, and although they share many similarities, they all show different sides of the phenomenon of migrating motifs, thus aiming to provide a more comprehensive image of this phenomenon over the same period of time.

1.1.1. From south to north: the Holy Infants Embracing

The first case study discusses the motif of the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*. This invention, showing two naked infants seated and locked in an embrace, was created in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century – more specifically in Milan. During the fifteenth century, the representation of John the Baptist as an infant and a peer of Christ is most notably present on the typical Florentine *tondo*, round paintings destined for private devotion. As these *tondi* were tied to local customs, it is striking that this motif spread across Italy, and migrated to the Netherlands from the end of the fifteenth century onwards. From Florence, the invention of the infant Baptist was brought to the artistic milieu of Milan by Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), whose circle of followers painted various versions of the isolated motif of the Holy Infants Embracing. From there, the isolated motif migrated first to Mechelen, and finally destination to Antwerp.

Although the exact moment of migration is not documented, there are several important moments in the motif's itinerary that can be pinpointed. For example, in Milan, Leonardo da Vinci included a variation of it in his altarpiece known as the *Virgin of the Rocks*, which was a prestigious project for the San Francesco Grande, a congregation associated with the Sforza court. It was thus displayed in a public location, and the motif still had a religious connotation, since it was part of the composition of an altarpiece. The subsequent paintings produced with the isolated motif as its main subject, were predominantly

destined for the private sphere. The migration from Italy to the Netherlands happened through the entry of a painting by one of Leonardo's followers into the prestigious collection of Margaret of Austria (1480–1530). As a result of the association with the prestigious Habsburg and Sforza courts, the demand for these works grew on the art market of Antwerp, resulting in the rapid production of these works within several Antwerp workshops. Through the analysis of these aspects specific to this migrating motif, this case study discusses a migration from south to north, in which the role of the patrons – courts, diplomats and merchants – and the role of the art market are significant. Moreover, it discusses the transformations of form and function this motif undergoes along the different stations of its migration, ultimately resulting in not only a stylistic transformation, but also a transformation of the meaning attached to it.

1.1.2. From north to south: Martin Schongauer's **Engraved Passion**

The second case study focuses on the so-called *Engraved Passion* by Martin Schongauer, a printed cycle depicting twelve scenes from the Passion of Christ. Produced as single leafs, which can both function as a singular print and as a cycle, these engravings were in high demand shortly after their production. The invention of the printing press enabled an unprecedented circulation of these prints – a characteristic specific to this medium. Although the exact itineraries of these engravings are hard to determine, their rapid dissemination from Germany to the Netherlands, Italy and Spain is undeniable. In these geographical regions, these prints are adapted and transformed into various media, among them print, painting, and fresco.

This case discusses a series of motifs, all part of the same cycle, that travelled mainly from Northern to Southern Europe, either via Germany or via the Netherlands. A significant part of this case is dedicated to the role of the market, merchants, and trading routes. By outlining the different connections between artistic centres such as Frankfurt am Main,

Antwerp, Venice and Zaragoza, this case discusses how these connections enabled a swift diffusion and migration of printed material, resulting in a widespread presence of Schongauer's inventions in Europe. Strikingly, adaptations and translations of Schongauer's printed cycle in Italy and Spain seem to be taking place both in large artistic centres and smaller villages and peripheral areas.

Contrary to the previous case, which discusses the movement and mobility of a motif derived from a painted composition, this case shows that with motifs migrating via printed material, the diffusion appears to be more widespread and not limited to large artistic centres. During the previous decades, it has been argued that new techniques and compositional innovations predominantly developed in populous cities with a large density of artists and competition, while in the peripheral cities and territories artistic development was characterized by a certain delay and artists produced their works in a more derivative manner, partly because of the lack of competition.[22] However, it seems that with this case, the novel inventions circulated across the different regions and there is hardly any delay detectable.[23] This case takes into account how this circulation of Schongauer's printed cycle worked, and how the medium of engraving played a role in this dynamic.

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[22] For more information on the definition of artistic centres and peripheral territories and their distincion, see for example: Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, 'Centro e periferia', in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, 12 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1979–1989) I: Materiali e problemi. Questioni e metodi, ed. by Giovanni Previtali (1979), 283–352; Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia nella storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan: Officina Libraria, 2019; Nicolas Bock, 'Center or Periphery? Artistic Migration, Models, Taste and Standards', in *"Napoli è tutto il mondo". Neapolitan Art and Culture from Humanism to the Enlightenment*, ed. by Livio Pestilli, Ingrid D. Rowland and Sebastian Schütze, Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2003, 11–36; Giuseppe Bertini, 'Center and Periphery: Art Patronage in Renaissance Piacenza and Parma', in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy. Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. by Charles M. Rosenberg, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 71–137. In recent years, this distinction has been contested in various art historical publications. See for example Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, Chicago/London: Univserity of Chicago Press, 2004, and, more recently, Chiara Franceschini (ed.), *Sacred Images and Normativity: Contested Forms in Early Modern Art*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2020.

[23] For more on this, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, 'Introduction: Reintroducing Circulations: Historiography and the Project of Global Art History', in *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, ed. by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, 1–22.

This case also considers to what extent the fame of the artist is an important factor in the successful migration of their inventions. By taking into account contemporary descriptions of Schongauer and his inventions, a comparison is made between the knowledge of Schongauer as an artist and his output in Italy and Spain respectively, and how this did or did not affect the migration and adaptation of his passion cycle. Lastly, the case discusses the differences between copies and adaptations, and how these distinctions can often be related to smaller details rather than entire compositions.

1.1.3. A documented migration: the Portinari Altarpiece

When discussing the migration of artistic inventions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there is one example that is most frequently cited in modern scholarship, and it is easily understood why. The Portinari Altarpiece is a large triptych, produced by the Ghent artist Hugo van der Goes (c. 1440–1482), of which the physical migration is well-documented and can be easily mapped through a reconstruction from contemporary sources. Exceptional in this case is that the exact moment of arrival in Florence, a different artistic environment, is known. Even though its migration from north to south is one of the most frequently cited examples of migrating art, more often than not a systematic analysis of the altarpiece's various iconographic details and their adaptation by Florentine artists is lacking.

The central focus of this case is therefore the translation of the triptych's iconographical and visual motifs into Florentine painting, working from the exterior and the larger elements of the Portinari Altarpiece to the interior and the smaller details. Starting from the triptych format, it subsequently discusses the adaptation of the grisaille on the outer wings, the continuous narrative in the landscape background on the interior, the shepherds, the flower still life and the sheaf of grain. Through this analysis, it becomes apparent that the adaptations are almost never exact copies of the entire composition. More often than not, the

details of the large triptych are consciously selected by Florentine artists, and adapted in their own compositions. By systematically analysing these characteristics and comparing the Netherlandish prototype to its Florentine translation, this case investigates the manners of adaptation, and reassesses which of the iconographical and visual details of the altarpiece proved to have a lasting impact on Florentine artistic production, and which did not.

1.2. Linguistic Distinctions

When discussing migrating motifs, questions of language, definitions and terminology immediately arise. The many different distinctions between mobility, travelling and migration and their often overlapping definitions have the potential to muddy the waters of this field of research. This problem of language and terminology will be the subject of the following sections, in which the terms employed throughout this study are defined, and the considerations that went into the process of choosing between the many terms available are outlined. Starting with the term 'migration', the sections will subsequently discuss the different terms describing the processes that happen during and after migration between different geographical areas, in order to eventually provide an outlined and demarcated frame of reference for the case studies analysed in chapter two, three and four.

1.2.1. Migrare – Wanderung – Migration

The present research and its three case studies is part of a larger movement in recent art historical research. In tracing people's patterns of movement in and through different geographic regions – whether as artists, commissioners, merchants, or the like – the highly mobile nature of many communities from the medieval to the early modern period is striking. The term 'migration' has come to the fore in recent investigations of the cultural effects of not only the mobility of people, but also the companying stream of images, objects and ideas

between different geographic areas.[24] The term is derived from the Latin *migrare*, which translates as ‘to migrate’, ‘to wander’, or ‘to roam’. In German scholarship, the term ‘Migration’ has come into use only relatively recently, since before the twentieth century, the more commonly used term was ‘Wanderung’.[25]

In the present research, focusing on the diffusion of iconographical motifs between different geographical regions through the mediation of physical art objects, the term migration is used to identify an intentional movement between different geographies. In principle, studies that track the spatial and temporal migration of artworks or motifs differ from those that investigate these artworks only in one point. They follow the objects and motifs over diverse geographical distances and concentrate on the moment when those objects or motifs cross categorical boundaries, such as nation, culture or religion. In doing so, they are generally looking at their ‘global’ or ‘nomadic’ life.[26] What the present research has in common with these previous studies is the interest in the stations at which objects and motifs come to a halt, and how the reception of the motif and its transformation happens in this new environment. However, the term nomadic or wandering object implicates that the object or motif in question is moving without intention, and is roaming across the European continent aimlessly.[27] With the current study, it will be demonstrated that in the case of fifteenth-

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[24] Examples are: Sven Dupré and Geert Vanpaemel (eds.), *Low Countries Studies on the Circulation of Natural Knowledge*, 3 vols (Zurich/Berlin/Münster: LIT, 2011-2012), III: Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries, ed. by Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré (2012); Burghartz, Burkart and Göttler (eds.), *Sites of Mediation*; Christine Göttler and Mia M. Mochizuki, *The Nomadic Object. The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, Leiden: Brill, 2018; Lucy Wrapson et al. (eds.), *Migrants. Art, Artists, Materials and Ideas Crossing Borders*, London: Archetype Publications Ltd in association with the Hamilton Kerr Institute, University of Cambridge, 2019.

[25] Kathrin Wagner, ‘The Migrant Artist in Early Modern Times’, in *Artists and Migration 1400-1850: Britain, Europe and beyond*, ed. by Kathrin Wagner, Jessica David and Matej Klemenčič, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, 2–20 (p. 3).

[26] Uwe Fleckner and Elena Tolstichin, ‘Das Leben der Wandernden. Haupt-, Neben- und Irrwege (auto)mobiler Kunstwerke’, in *Das verirrte Kunstwerk. Bedeutung, Funktion und Manipulation von “Bilderfahrzeugen” in der Diaspora*, ed. by Uwe Fleckner and Elena Tolstichin, Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2020, 1–27 (p. 16).

[27] According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, the term ‘nomadic’ is defined as ‘roaming about from place to place aimlessly, frequently, or without a fixed pattern of movement’ and ‘wandering’ as ‘characterized by aimless, slow, or pointless movement’. For further reference, see: <https://www.merriam-

century motifs, the migration was often far from unintentional. It is therefore distinct from these previous studies, and identifies the mobility of motifs between different geographies with the term 'migration' instead of terms such as 'wandering' or 'nomadic' objects.

The aim of the present research project is to provide new insights into the effects of the mobility of both artworks and artists, and the link between migration and materiality. The traditional iconographical approach to religious themes will be complemented by novel perspectives on the phenomenon and its interaction with the rise of major centres of art production, and a related art market, the role of prints and printing in the diffusion and circulation of themes and motifs, and the supra-regional networks of commissioners and prospective buyers and owners. By examining the dynamics and relationships between artists, courts, religious institutions, and lay individuals on both local and continental levels, new insights into the exchange, contact and connectivity between different artists and workshops are provided. Moreover, the project will take into account the material and materiality of the mediating objects through which the iconographical motifs travel. By mapping patterns of migration and the different characteristics inherent to distinct media, the project aims to shed light on the role of materiality on the migration of iconographical motifs, and how different materials result in different patterns of adaptation, effectively determining the pace and scope of distinct motif migrations.

1.2.2. Migrating artists versus migrating objects

A distinction has to be made between migrating artists and migrating artworks. In the past three decades, the phenomenon of the migrating artist has been addressed many times in art historical research.[28] Drawing from the fields of history, politics and social sciences, art

webster.com/dictionary/nomadic> and <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/wandering> (Accessed 23-06-2021).

[28] Nils Büttner and Esther Meier (eds.), *Grenzüberschreitung. Deutsch-niederländischer Kunst- und Künstleraustausch im 17. Jahrhundert*, Marburg: Jonas, 2011; Frits Scholten, Joana Woodall and Dulcia Meijers

historians have tried to divide different types of artistic migrations into separate categories, making a distinction between a journey and a migration, and classifying artistic migrants as local migrants, short-journey migrants, long-journey migrants, migrants by stages, temporary migrants, and more.[29] This system of categories was originally adapted for artist migrations by Kathrin Wagner in 2012. Employing these groupings, which were distinguished in the 1885 'Laws of Migration' by Ernst Georg Ravenstein and in Charles Tilly's 'Transplanted Networks', published in 1991, Wagner classified two groups of movements of migration: those that have an economic function and can be related to the employment market and the law of supply and demand, and those that are politically, sociologically or culturally motivated.[30]

Additionally, Wagner analysed travelling and migrating artists with help of the Artist-Migration-Model, a model adapted from Rudolf Heberle classifying the movement of artists under either voluntary, half-voluntary or coerced migration.[31] Voluntary migration often related to artists' wishes to improve their skills and seek better fortune, while coerced migration was often linked to political or religious persecution. Lastly, half-voluntary migration existed when the artist was sent by an authority, or the migration was partly motivated with the wish to improve his career and partly enforced by political or religious circumstances in the place of origin.[32] These classifications have been applied by many art

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(eds.), *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 63 (themed volume: Art and Migration. Netherlandish artists on the move. 1400-1750), Leiden: Brill, 2014; Uwe Fleckner (ed.), *Der Künstler in der Fremde. Migration, Reise, Exil*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015; Kathrin Wagner, Jessica David and Matej Klemenčič (eds.) *Artists and Migration 1400-1850. Britain, Europe and Beyond*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017; Andreas Tacke et al. (eds.), *Künstlerreisen. Fallbeispiele vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2020.

[29] Wagner, 'The Migrant Artist', p. 3.

[30] Wagner, 'The Migrant Artist', p. 4. The classifications used by Wagner can be found in Ernst Georg Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 48:2 (1885), pp. 167–235; Charles Tilly, 'Transplanted Networks', in *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*, ed. by Virginia Yans-Mclaughlin, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 79–95.

[31] Wagner, 'The Migrant Artist', pp. 17–18. For Rudolf Heberle's theory, see his 'Theorie der Wanderungen. Soziologische Betrachtungen', *Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft* 75:1 (1955), pp. 1–23.

[32] Wagner, 'The Migrant Artist', pp. 17–18.

historians after Wagner, including Birgit Ulrike Münch in 2020.[33] Although she acknowledged the practicality of the system introduced by Wagner, Münch pointed out the problems with regard to the differentiation between and determination of voluntary and half-voluntary migration.[34] She also indicated that an artist's migration is not synonymous to an artist's sojourn or travel, although they are often applied interchangeably in scholarly literature. Illustrating the problem with artists travelling from Nuremberg to Venice during the early fifteenth century, Münch pointed out that artists immediately adopting an Italian name upon arrival in Venice are often characterised in literature as 'travellers', while the permanent or long-term stay would allow for the term 'migration' to be used.

Albeit not exact, something similar can be said for migrating artworks and motifs. The distinction between travelling and migrating is quite similar to the distinction between a nomadic and a migrating object, in that in both cases, migrating artists and objects implicate an intentional move and long-term stay in the place of arrival. In the case of migrating motifs, travelling or migrating artists play a significant role. One artist who forms an important link between Italy, the

Fig. 1.9. Albrecht Dürer, *Madonna with the Siskin*, 1506, oil on panel, 93,5 x 78,9 cm. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen.

[33] Birgit Ulrike Münch, 'Soll ich bleiben, soll ich gehen? Antwerpen als kulturelles (Transfer-)Zentrum – Arbeitsbedingungen und Migrationsbewegungen flämischer Künstler', in *Peter Paul Rubens und der Barock im Norden* (Paderborn, Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum, 24 July–25 October 2020), ed. by Christoph Stiegemann, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag GmbH & Co KG, 2020, 44–55.
[34] Münch, 'Soll ich bleiben', p. 44.

Netherlands and Germany is Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), who travelled to Italy twice, between 1494–1495 and 1505–1507.[35] Several of his drawings from the end of the fifteenth century show Venetian subjects. A case in point is a leaf from the Vienna Albertina, which shows a young woman wearing a fashionable Venetian costume.[36] Additionally, Dürer produced paintings clearly impacted by Venetian artists like Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430–1516) in terms of style, visual details and use of colour, such as the *Haller Madonna* and the *Madonna with the Siskin* (fig. 1.9).[37] Moreover, the German artist also adapted iconographical motifs present in Italian artworks, such as the infant John the Baptist, who he added in the lower right corner of the composition of the *Madonna with the Siskin*. Dürer brought this painting back with him to Nuremberg in 1507, successfully transferring a painting that can be linked to Italian inventions into Northern Europe.

Although the mobility of artists is important to take into account when investigating migrating iconographical motifs between 1450 and 1550, more often than not it proves extraordinarily fruitful to look at objects – whether in the form of paintings, prints, drawings or the like – as a vehicle of migration. When investigating the mobility of artworks and motifs and the adaptation and translation of these motifs from one geography to another, the groundbreaking scholarship of Aby Warburg proves a conducive starting point.

[35] Dürer's first sojourn to Italy between 1494 and 1495 is still a point of debate. However, in addition to written documents, several of his drawings speak in favour of such a stay. See Bernd Roeck, 'Venezia e la Germania: contatti commerciali e stimoli intellettuali', in *Il Rinascimento a Venezia e la pittura del Nord ai tempi di Bellini, Dürer, Tiziano* (Venice, Palazzo Grassi, 5 September 1999–9 January 2000), ed. by Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown, Milan: Bompiani, 1999, 44–55 (p. 48); Bernard Aikema and Andrew John Martin (eds.), *Dürer e il Rinascimento tra Germania e Italia* (Milan, Palazzo Reale, 21 February–24 June 2018), Milan: 24 ORE Cultura, 2018; Manuel Teget-Welz, 'Wir waren schon da! Deutsche Künstler vor Dürer in der Republik Venedig', in *Künstlerreisen. Fallbeispiele vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Andreas Tacke et al., Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2020, 10–25 (p. 10).
[36] Teget-Welz, 'Wir waren schon da!', p. 10.
[37] Ludwig Grote, *Albrecht Dürer. Reisen nach Venedig*, München and New York: Prestel-Verlag, 1998.

1.2.3. Aby Warburg and his **Bilderfahrzeuge**

> 'Der flandrische Teppich ist der erste noch kolossalische Typus des automobilen Bilderfahrzeuges, der, von der Wand losgelöst, nicht nur in seiner Beweglichtkeit, sondern auch in seiner auf vervielfältigende Reproduktion des Bildinhaltes angelegten Technik ein Vorläufer ist des bildbedruckten Papierblättchens, d. h. des Kupferstiches und des Holzschnittes, die den Austausch der Ausdruckswerte zwischen Norden und Süden erst zu einem vitalen Vorgang im Kreislaufprozeß der europäischen Stilbildung machten.'[38]

With this quote, derived from the 1929 introduction of the fragmentary *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* in which he discussed tapestries that moved with the nobility from court to court as moveable pieces of furniture, Aby Warburg introduced the term 'Automobile Bilderfahrzeuge', roughly translated into English as automobile or self-moving image vehicles. This term is representative for an important subject within Warburg's research, namely the transport or dissemination of visual information. Devoting a significant part of his research to the investigation of image wanderings and migrations through space and time, Warburg applied the neologism of the 'automobile or self-moving image vehicle', because the causes for their relocation are inscribed in the genre and material characteristics relevant to them, but also because their successful invention, their iconographical content and their material value would sometimes trigger global desires that on the one hand led to a global

[38] Aby M. Warburg, 'MNEMOSYNE. Einleitung [1929]', in Aby M. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften. Der Bilderatlas MNEMOSYNE*, ed. by Martin Warnke and Claudia Brink, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2003, 3–6 (p. 5).

trade and on the other hand sent them on their travels through reproductions in the form of copies and adaptations.[39]

Warburg took into account both motifs and the artworks themselves as mobile or migrating objects. Works of art have always been mobile. They leave the workshops of, for example, painters or sculptors to be moved into their public or private environments, fulfilling their functions, and to be added to collections all over the world. Travelling or migrating artists carry artworks with them, successfully moving the objects into new surroundings, and sometimes produce their own work in these novel environments, resulting in a hybridity in design in terms of topics, styles, genres, media and materials from different geographical contexts. Warburg characterized prints, leaflets, coins, medals and tapestries as works genuinely designed as movable objects. They circulate on their own accord, and in this way reach new spheres of activity. This is exemplified by prints used as cartoons for paintings, or as book illustrations, in addition to their purpose as a single-leaf art object. Similarly, works deployed as diplomatic gifts from court to court, move from one state to another.[40]

In characterizing an image as self-moving, Warburg focused not on who was responsible for the transport of a passive image, but on the dynamics of an active image that moves on its own both temporarily and spatially, mostly in a modified, often inverted form.[41] With this arguably more mechanical model of cause and effect, the previous idea of a controlled or otherwise deliberate motif migration, which in older art historical historiography had been introduced with terms such as ‘influence’ and ‘copy’, is reduced in importance. The methodological consequences of Warburg's conception of self-moving images are complex and manifold: The migration of an iconographical motif, such as the previously mentioned *Christ Blessing*, from Northern to Southern Europe concerns a mutually receptive process, in

[39] Uwe Fleckner and Elena Tolstichin (eds.), *Das verirrte Kunstwerk. Bedeutung, Funktion und Manipulation von “Bilderfahrzeugen” in der Diaspora*, Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2020, p. ix.
[40] Fleckner and Tolstichin, ‘Das Leben der Wandernden’, p. 5.
[41] Ibid., pp. 3–4.

which the work itself has a decisive share due to the attractiveness of its subject and its formal design.[42] In other cases, when for example the migration of an iconographical motif results in a change in its interpretation, it could be argued that the motif got lost during the process, but yet the work of art in the context of its new use of, for example, religious images placed in a picture cabinet, a library or bedroom, freed itself from its strict religious association and is thus almost revitalized. According to Warburg, the motif spreads its messages depending on the viewer who sees it and changes it, and in the process almost inevitably shifts or negates the work's purpose that may have originally been intended.[43]

1.3. Modalities of Transmission and Artistic Choices

Aby Warburg's definition of migrating motifs, whether religious or classical, remains effective today and seems especially fitting for the present research. In this study, when investigating migrating religious inventions, the term *Bilderfahrzeug* is more fitting than, for example, the term 'nomadic object'.[44] On the other hand, the definition given to the term *Bilderfahrzeug* and its implications, make it clear that the mobility of iconographical motifs is often intentional, and that the migration of these motifs between Northern and Southern Europe is more often than not characterized by simultaneity, contradictions and change of meaning, interdependence, revaluation and constantly changing models. Moreover, where the present study differs from Warburg's concept, is that in his writings, Warburg seems to put less importance on the material of the object through which the motif migrates.

[42] Ibid., p. 4.
[43] Ibid.
[44] As mentioned, the term nomadic seems to implicate that objects are moving with the purpose of wandering rather than arriving at a certain destination. For more on this distinction, see also Margit Kern, 'Local Chiefs, Spanish "Encomenderos" and the Passion of Christ. Translation Processes in Religious Art of the Early Modern Period in New Spain (Modern Day Mexico)', in *Das verirrte Kunstwerk. Bedeutung, Funktion und Manipulation von "Bilderfahrzeugen" in der Diaspora*, ed. by Uwe Fleckner and Elena Tolstichin, Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2020, 200–14.

According to Warburg, coins, prints or tapestries, although vastly different in material characteristics, all function in a similar way. The present study argues instead that the materiality of the object through which the iconographical motif migrates is significant, specifically because it influences the speed and reach of its mobility. A woodcut or an engraving, through their material characteristics, are inherently more mobile than a painting on panel. Prints can be carried in one's coat pocket, take only little space when stored as cargo by merchants, and are easily send from one place to another, whereas it takes more preparation for motifs on a heavy oak panel to become mobile. This results in different manners of migration, and also in distinct manners in the resulting scope, frequency and concentration of the motif's translation, adaptation or transformation at its destination.

However, generally, when investigating migrating iconographical motifs, it becomes clear that all artworks, in their essence, are mobile concepts. They are often the results of mixed cultural origins, and almost always change location at least once in their so-called 'life', even if it is only from the artist's workshop to the commissioner's private residence. The characterizations outlined in the previous sections all serve as nuances of the same principle, namely the movement of someone or something from one geographical region to another. In this present study, the actual act of movement and arrival has been identified as migration, specifically because in the cases investigated, the movement has always been intentional rather than aimless. However, when discussing the processes of transmission of a motif either during the migration from point A to point B or after arriving at their final destination, there are several distinctions to be made between different terminologies, and the following sections serve as a definition list of the terms used throughout the present research.

1.3.1. Copy

The term 'copy' implicates that a prototype is repeated and followed exactly from one artwork to another. The phenomenon of a copy is already present during the earliest periods of art history. In the Netherlands from the end of the fifteenth century onward, the production of copies was at a height, with several famous masters being copied continuously. Artists who were copied most often were, amongst others, Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden. The previously mentioned *Christ Blessing* by Rogier van der Weyden or the *Holy Face* by Jan van Eyck are telling examples of this practice. The most attractive compositions of these masters were copied for several reasons, and this production of copies was stimulated by social, economic, religious and artistic factors.

The idea that a copy is less valuable than an artwork by the master himself, proves to be a product of a mindset formed at the end of the nineteenth century. Scholars were fixated on finding the 'original' version in a set of repetitions. This perception of copies is not in line with the incentives of their production during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During this period, copies were frequently commissioned for various reasons: the association of the copied image with a renowned collection or collector, the connection with a celebrated icon, or the spiritual meaning and value of an image as decoration.[45]

The practice of copying can also be seen when iconographical motifs migrate from one region to another. This becomes especially clear when comparing the *Christ Blessing* by Antonello da Messina and by Hans Memling. In the painting by Antonello, layers of paint have thinned over time, which has revealed the underdrawing in several places in the composition, amongst others in Christ's raised right hand. Just above his index and middle finger, an outline of the initial position of the hand has become visible (fig. 1.10). Instead of

[45] Maryan W. Ainsworth and Keith Christiansen, *From Van Eyck to Bruegel. Early Netherlandish Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York: Abrams, 1998, p. 9.

Fig. 1.10. Antonello da Messina, *Detail of Christ Blessing*, 1465. London, National Gallery.

Fig. 1.11. Hans Memling, *Detail of Christ Blessing*, 1481. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

the painted foreshortened alignment of the fingers, the initial design shows the fingers behind one another. This composition follows the versions produced by Memling, amonst others, and it therefore seems likely that before changing it to the final arrangement, Antonello intended to copy the Netherlandish example more faithfully (fig. 1.11).

Occassionally, a contract for a commissioned work of art would expressly state that the work had to resemble an already extant work. Few of such contracts for panel paintings have survived. A case in point is the contract from 1444, which stated that the Ghent painter Nabur Martins (active 1435–1454) had to paint a panel representing the *Last Judgment*, for which he had to follow the *Last Judgment* hanging in the baker's guild as a prototype.[46] Although a document like this does not always survive, a copy as a reference to another successful composition or an artwork from a prestigious collection also recurs when investigating migrating motifs.

[46] '[…] een tavereel ghemaect up de divisie vanden Jugemente, noch so goed van weercke ende pourtraituren dan tavereel es vanden Jugemente hanghende inde backershuus, in de camere.' Derived from Jeltje Dijkstra, 'Origineel en kopie. Een onderzoek naar de navolging van de Meester van Flémalle en Rogier van der Weyden' (doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 1990), p. 210.

These references to other works and the desire for copies in a broader sense were probably a result of a desire for facsimiles of the original.[47] In the case of panel paintings, it is probable that the artist would compose his composition from drawings, which enabled the painter to show his patron different designs and drawings, from which said patron could select the desired motifs or the entire composition. These designs are worth considering when researching both migrating motifs and their copies, as they would stay in a workshop for pupils and employees to use, and could easily travel from one workshop to another. As a result, the production of copies of certain compositions or motifs could continue well after the initial inventor's death.

The use of designs and patterns to construct a composition relates to the idea of product and process innovation, which was first introduced in art historical research by John Michael Montias, who focused his art historical research on the influence of economic factors on the production on art.[48] Especially the idea of process innovation is important to take into consideration when studying late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century copies. Process innovation can be roughly explained as the lowering of production costs without altering the appearance and nature of the final object. This phenomenon can be well applied to migrating motifs and their reproduction upon their arrival. An example of process innovation is the use of pounced patterns and templates. These materials were used in several Netherlandish workshops, for example in the workshops of Hans Memling and Gerard David, as well as multiple Italian workshops, such as the ones of Andrea del Verrocchio (c. 1435–1488) and Leonardo da Vinci. The use of these materials reduced the time spent on one painting and as such reduced the costs.[49] This cost-cutting strategy or process innovation resulted in the

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[47] Stephan Kemperdick, 'The workshop and its working materials', in *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden* (Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, 21 November 2008–1 March 2009), ed. by Stephan Kemperdick and Jochen Sander, Ostfildern: Cantz, 2008, 95–115 (p. 103).
[48] John M. Montias, 'Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art', *Art History* 10 (1987), pp. 455–66 and John M. Montias, 'The Influence of Economic Factors on Style', *De zeventiende eeuw* 6:1 (1990), pp. 51–56.
[49] Montias, 'Cost and Value', pp. 456–57.

production of countless repeated compositions, and in the specialization of workshops in certain types of genres or styles. Moreover, it enabled a widespread dissemination of visual motifs with relative ease, since patterns and designs were easily transferred from one workshop to another.

In addition to commissions, increasingly more copies were made for sale on the open market around the turn of the century. At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, art markets known as the *Pand* were held in Southern Netherlandish cities such as Bruges and Antwerp, and large commercial centres such as Florence and Venice in Italy, and Salamanca and Zaragoza in Spain organized their own luxury markets.[50] As a result of these emerging art markets, artists and their workshops started to create standardized, ready-made compositions that were stalled and displayed in their workshop-windows. These compositions could be bought right away, or could be personalized by adding donor portraits or coats of arms. This copying practice and rapid production can also be seen with migrating iconographical motifs, when an iconography from one geographical region is copied into regional artworks virtually unaltered.

1.3.2. Quotation

Another mode of constructing a composition, relating to the practice of copying, can be done by the means of inserting quotations or citations. Known in German as a 'Bildzitat', the practice relates to literary practices, in which quoting can be understood as referring or repeating a precedent.[51] In art, a quotation often relates to a recognizable motif that is repeated in a composition either with a meaning relating to the original, or a completely different

[50] Ainsworth and Christiansen, *From Van Eyck to Bruegel*, p. 211.
[51] For a general introduction to the term *Bildzitat*, see Christian Krausch, 'Das Bildzitat. Zum Begriff und zur Verwendung in der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts', (doctoral dissertation, Reinish-Westfälischen Technischen Hochschule, Aachen, 1995).

interpretation, and already during the fourteenth century, it was a subject of debate.[52] Copying and quoting were general practices for artists of the fifteenth century both north and south of the Alps.[53] Figural types or poses would be repeated in new compositions, often lightly adjusted in position, but only sparsely altered in look.

A famous example of a repeated quotation is the figure of the horse tamer, or *Dioscuros*. Originating in antiquity, the figure of the Dioscuros is often represented as a victorious figure, of which the most famous examples are the Dioscuri of Monte Cavallo in Rome.[54] Interestingly, the figure shows up in many Italian compositions of the fifteenth

Fig. 1.12. Sandro Botticelli, *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1478–82, tempera and oil on panel, 68 x 102 cm. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art.

[52] Leah R. Clark, 'Replication, Quotation and the "Original" in Quattrocento Collecting Practices', in *The Challenge of the Object*, 4 vols (ed. by G. Ulrich Großmann and Petra Krutisch, Passau: Passavia Druckservice GmbH, 2013), I, 136–40 (p. 136).
[53] Ibid., p. 139.
[54] Roberta J. M. Olson, 'Botticelli's Horsetamer: A Quotation from Antiquity which Reaffirms a Roman Date for the Washington *Adoration*', *Studies in the History of Art. National Gallery of Art* 8 (1978), pp. 7–22.

century, with each artist quoting the figure in a unique way. Sandro Botticelli added this figure to the crowds depicted in at least two of his paintings of the *Adoration of the Magi*, while Andrea Mantegna (c. 1431–1506) composed his own version in a painted sculptural roundel in the background of the central panel of his San Zeno altarpiece (figs. 1.12 and 1.13).

In the present research, this practice of quotation becomes most clear in the first case study, where Leonardo da Vinci probably quoted several antique sculptures of putti from the collection of the Medici for his composition of the *Virgin of the Rocks*. Subsequently, the isolated infants Christ and John the Baptist were copied from Italian prototypes by Joos van Cleve (c. 1485/90–c. 1540/41) and his workshop, which was then quoted by Pieter Aertsen (c. 1508/09–75) in his painting *The Pancake Bakery*. Arguably different than the quotation of the Dioscuros, the quotations in the first case study change meaning several times. Whereas the infants are still recognized as sacred figures in Italy, they are increasingly less recognized as such in the Netherlands, and it is unclear whether it was intended as a sacred quotation in the composition by Aertsen.

Another form of quotation becomes clear in the second case study, where certain elements and figural types from the prints from Martin Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* are quoted in Spanish compositions for retablos. In seventeenth-century writings by, for example, Francisco

Fig. 1.13. Andrea Mantegna, *The Virgin and Child (central panel of the San Zeno polyptych)*, 1456–59, oil on panel, 212 x 460 cm (entire altarpiece). Verona, Basilica of San Zeno.

Pacheco (1564–1644), the use of prints in the production of new compositions is justified.[55] Such practices can be seen in the works of Pacheco himself, but also in the works of his pupil Alonso Cano (1601–1667).[56] However, two centuries prior, this practice can already be observed. Maestro Bartolomé (c. 1450–1493) selected specific details from Schongauer's engravings, such as the figure of Annas who points his finger towards Christ in *Christ Before Annas*, and added them to compositions with different subjects. For example, the figure of Annas is included in a panel showing *Christ Among the Doctors*, and the figure of Saint John from Schongauer's *Saint John on Patmos* reappears in Maestro Bartolomé's *Transfiguration*.

1.3.3. Transformation or translation?

Different from a copy or quotation is a transformation or a translation. These terms indicate a certain change a motif goes through either along the route or after arriving at its destination, and on a certain level these terms function as each other's synonyms. The term translation derives from the Latin *translatio*, which can be defined as 'to transfer or transport from one place or state to another', or, when referring to writing practices, 'conveying the meaning of one language into another', or 'the employment of a word in an unusual way in order to convey a metaphorical meaning.'[57] In the first two definitions, there is a sense of change. Transferring or transporting something from one place or state to another entails that the thing in question changes, either its location or its characteristics. When conveying the meaning of one language into another, the word in question has to be altered in order to make sense in the

[55] Justifications can be found throughout Pacheco's *Arte de la Pintura* of 1638. See for example the first chapter of the third book, entitled 'De los rasguños, debuxos y cartones, y de las varias maneras de usarlos.' For further reference, see Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, 1638, 2 vols (ed. by Francisco J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid: Insituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1956).
[56] For more on the practices of Alonso Cano, see Zahira Véliz, 'Quotation in the Drawing Practice of Alonso Cano', *Master Drawings* 37:4 (1999), pp. 373–93.
[57] For more on these definitions, see Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré, 'Introduction', in *Low Countries Studies on the Circulation of Natural Knowledge*, ed. by Sven Dupré and Geert Vanpaemel, 3 vols, (Zurich/Berlin/Münster: LIT, 2011-2012), III: Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries, ed. by Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré (2012), 3–17 (p. 6).

language it is conveyed into. In the latter definition – the employment of a word in a metaphorical way – this sense of change is absent. It seems that with this practice, the original is used unaltered, because there is no better option or the action of transforming is not possible.

In the present research, the term translation is interpreted with the first two definitions, used interchangeably with transformation, and therefore differs from a copy. Concretely, it is used when a motif, migrating from one geographical location to another, undergoes an alteration in the process. Translation indicates the process of change from original to adopted state, all the while retaining a reflection of the original.[58] A translated motif enjoys a complex and manifold relation with its source, both resembling and differing from the original. For example, when Antonello da Messina altered the position of Christ's hands in his *Christ Blessing* into a more foreshortened position, he transformed the Netherlandish image known to us through the multiple versions by Robert Campin and Hans Memling, amongst others. In doing so, the final version by Antonello cannot be identified as a strict copy, but rather classifies as a translation of the original. When investigating migrating motifs, it is more likely that the motif in question undergoes a translation or transformation, than that it is copied exactly. To return to the linguistic comparison of the word: whenever people from different geographic backgrounds interact with each other to convey information or knowledge, transformations take place.[59] This is also detectable in migrating motifs. Even at a glance, it is clear that the rendering of the figure of Christ in Memling's painting is stylistically different from Antonello's rendering.

[58] Iain Boyd Whyte, 'On Appropriation', in *Field Notes on the Visual Arts. Seventy-Five Short Essays*, ed. by Karen Lang, Bristol: Intellect, 2019, 77–79 (p. 78).
[59] Ibid., p. 10.

1.3.4. Imitation, adaptation, and emulation

In line with transformation and translation, the change migrating motifs undergo during their itinerary from one place to another can be characterized as imitations and adaptations. An adaptation can be defined as the process of changing to suit different conditions, or, in biology, an adjustment to different environmental conditions.[60] When transferring this definition to visual motifs, an adaptation can be understood in a similar way as a translation. The motif, during or after its migration, is altered in order to fit better into their new environment, either in terms of style, or as adjustments in their iconographies. In practice, this results in the difference in appearance of the abovementioned two figures of Christ, or in the inclusion or omission of attributes to make a figure more or less recognizable. This practice

Fig. 1.14. Bernardino de' Conti, *Madonna with the Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, 1522, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera.

Fig. 1.15. Joos van Cleve, *Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, c. 1515–20, oil on panel, 74,5 x 57,6 cm. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago.

[60] Compare the definitions provided by Merriam-Webster: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/adaptation> (Accessed 30-06-2021).

becomes clear when comparing two paintings with a similar motif, namely the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing* (figs. 1.14 and 1.15). In the first version, the motif is added to a painting of the Madonna by Bernardino de' Conti (c. 1450–1525). Christ and the Baptist are adorned with a cruciform and a round halo respectively, identifying the figures and the subject. In the second version, painted by Joos van Cleve, these attributes are absent. The version by de' Conti was probably commissioned by a doctor in theology. This suggests that an iconographical motif was adjusted on request, or made more fitting depending the destination.[61]

Imitations and emulations are defined in a different way. The terms could be explained by the Latin literary terms of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*.[62] In his *Ciceronianus* of 1528, Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), explains the difference between *imitatio* and *aemulatio* as follows: 'An imitator, however, desires to say not so much the same things as similar ones – in fact sometimes not even similar, but rather equal things. But the emulator strives to speak better, if he can.'[63] The Italian humanist Antonio Poliziano (1454–1494) developed this idea further, most notably pointing out that when artists construct a composition, it is important to employ a wide variety of models and develop a personal style, while simultaneously disguising the sources.[64]

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[61] More on the case of the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing* can be found in chapter 2 of this dissertation.
[62] For recent contributions regarding emulation, the literary term *aemulatio* and the concept of competition among artists, see Jan-Dirk Müller et al. (eds.), *Aemulatio. Kulturen des Wettstreits in Text und Bild (1450–1620)*, Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2011, especially the contribution by Maurice Saß, 'Ungleicher Wettkampf. Nationalkodierende und regionalspezifische Bewertungsmaßstäbe im transalpinen Kulturaustausch', 75–133.
[63] Latin original: 'Imitator autem non tam eadem dicere studet quam similia, imo ne similia quidem interdum, sed paria magis. Aemulator vero contendit etiam melius dicere, si possit.' Derived from: Desiderius Erasmus, *Dialogus Ciceronianus: Sive de optimo genere dicendi*, 1528, Leiden: Joannis Maire, 1643, p. 226. Translation from G.W. Pigman III, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly* 33:1 (1980), pp. 1–32 (p. 25), who extracted it from Desiderius Erasmus, *Il Ciceroniano o dello stile migliore*, 1528, transl. by Angiolo Gambaro, Brescia: La Scuola Editrice, 1965, p. 302.
[64] Paula Nuttall, 'From Reiteration to Dialogue: Filippino's Responses to Netherlandish Painting', in *Filippino Lippi. Beauty, Invention and Intelligence*, ed. by Paula Nuttall, Geoffrey Nuttall and Michael W. Kwakkelstein, Leiden: Brill, 2020, 186–206, (p. 200).

Judging from these definitions, it seems therefore that an imitation can be explained in a similar way as transformation, translation and adaptation, and can as such be seen as compatible and synonymous to these terms. This is not the case with emulation. Following the explanation of Erasmus, an emulation contains the intention of improving the original or the prototype. Although there are indications that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, artists strove for emulation, by altering and transforming the prototype, it is a problematic term to use when discussing the transfer of motifs from one geography to another. This is because it is difficult, if not impossible, to judge which rendering is more successful than the other. Indeed, there are arguments to be made in favour of Antonello da Messina's position of the hands in his *Christ Blessing*, but this inclination is not easily detached from personal preference and taste. Moreover, a rendering that is deemed more successful in one geographic region, might not be construed as such in another. Defining one rendering of an iconographical motif as an emulation of its prototype would therefore be unproductive.

1.3.5. Influence

Possibly one of the most controversial terms within scholarly debate is 'influence'. The word is derived from the Latin *influere*, which literally means inflowing, like a river into a sea.[65] During the Middle Ages, the word gained another meaning, relating it to the aim of identifying a cause, and implied the existence of an agent that shapes and guides.[66] From the nineteenth century onwards, the term 'influence' has been used widely in art history, most often to identify a source or archetype for a specific detail of an artwork. In many instances where the term is used, there is an absence of specificity, and it is rarely satisfactory as an

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[65] Kirk Ambrose, 'Influence', *Studies in Iconography* 33 (themed issue: Medieval Art History Today – Critical Terms) (2012), pp. 197–206 (p. 197).
[66] Ibid.

explanation for the visual appearance of a work of art. Moreover, the term seems to implicate a passive process, and lacking of an active choice by, for example, the artist or patron.

It must therefore come as no surprise that during the second half of the twentieth century, art historians such as Michael Baxandall expressed dissatisfaction about the use of the term as an explanation for art historical phenomena. In his 1985 *Patterns of Intention*, Baxandall separated two explanations of the term, and pointed out that contrary to the common explanation of influence as a cause, it can only be identified as a source.[67] He opposed the term by explaining it as follows:

> 'To say that X influenced Y in some matter is to beg the question of cause without quite appearing to do so. After all, if X is the sort of fact that acts on people, there seems no pressing need to ask why Y was acted on: the implication is that X simply is that kind of fact – "influential". Yet when Y has recourse to or assimilates himself to or otherwise refers to X there are causes: responding to circumstances Y makes an intentional selection from an array of resources in the history of his craft. Of course, circumstances can be fairly peremptory. If Y is apprentice in the fifteenth-century workshop of X they will urge him to refer to X for a time, and X will dominate the array of resources that presents itself to Y at that moment; dispositions acquired in this early situation may well stay with Y, even if in odd or inverted forms. Also there are cultures – most obviously various medieval cultures – in which adherence to existing types and styles is very well thought of. But then in both cases there are questions to be asked about the institutional or ideological frameworks in which these things were so: these are causes of Y referring to X.'[68]

[67] Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, pp. 58–59.
[68] Ibid., pp. 59–60.

As can be read in the quotation, Baxandall opposes the passive nature that is tied to influence. This resistance against the term can partly be explained by the fact that Baxandall's art historical research predominantly focuses on a period from which relatively much information has survived. For example, he deals with Florentine artists from the fifteenth century, who were working in an environment with much competition, and where artistic choices were often documented, conscious, and active choices. It is therefore not surprising that Baxandall deems a passive term such as influence unsatisfactory. This opposition has been prevalent in art historical research ever since, especially in studies tracking the temporal and spatial migration of artworks. A definition that is in line with Baxandall's opposition of influence as a working term was given by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner in 1985, when they discussed the phenomenon they coined as 'transferts culturels' in their research project on cultural exchange between France and Germany in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[69] In their research, similar to previously mentioned definitions, Espagne and Werner explained reception processes of foreign cultural goods not as passively suffered acceptances, but rather as productive processes in which the adaptation of objects, motifs, ideas or practices are selective, and therefore active.

Contrary to this opposition, Kirk Ambrose advocated for a more expansive interpretation of influence in his article from 2012. Focusing on Romanesque sculpture and architecture, and taking into account the explanation of the term given by Thomas Aquinas, Ambrose argued that the typically expansive medieval definitions of influence as causality could 'potentially provide a vehicle for thinking in innovative terms about artistic production.'[70] In his *De Principiis Naturae*, Aquinas described four categories of causality when discussing art, namely the material cause, the efficient cause – being the artist –, the

[69] Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, 'Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhunder. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S.', *Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte* 13 (1985), pp. 502–10.
[70] Ambrose, 'Influence', p. 202.

formal cause – being the shape of the artwork –, and the functional cause. In his writings, Aquinas embraced the multiplicity of causes, namely function and material, exerting influence on the outcome of the eventual artwork.[71] Applying this system to Romanesque working methods, Ambrose supported the use of influence in this diversified and flexible usage manner, and argued that this term might have 'the potential to inform the discipline of art history, broadly construed.'[72]

In this study, the terms influence and influential are only rarely included in the discussion of specific migrating motifs. This explicit choice stems from the idea that the actions taking place during a motif's itinerary from one geography to another are active and conscious. In a way, the migration of visual or iconographical motifs is subject to the material, efficient, formal, and functional cause as explained Aquinas and used in the article by Ambrose. However, in his exposition, Ambrose applied this theory on the art production of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, of which indeed scant information survives about individual agents, such as the artist or the patron, and of which it becomes problematic to talk about the artistic production in terms of intentions of a designer.[73]

During the focal period of this dissertation – the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries –, much more information is available on artists, their working methods, and their patrons. The actual processes of change and modification taking place in either the motif's region of origin or at its destination during this period are in most cases conscious choices by either the patrons or the artists of the artworks depicting the motif in question. One last possibility to describe these processes is with the term 'appropriation'. This term, however, having received a more negative connotation over the years, contains a sense of hierarchy.[74] As has been

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[71] Kirk Ambrose, 'Appropriation and Influence', in *Field Notes on the Visual Arts. Seventy-Five Short Essays*, ed. by Karen Lang, Bristol: Intellect, 2019, 49–52 (p. 52).
[72] Ambrose, 'Influence', p. 204.
[73] Ibid., p. 199.
[74] Ambrose, 'Appropriation and Influence', p. 50.

argued above, this hierarchy seems to be absent when discussing the mobility of iconographical or visual inventions between Northern and Southern Europe. Therefore, in the present research, following Baxandall, Espagne, Werner, and even Warburg, the choice for active and specific terms such as transformation, adaptation and imitation over influence has been intentional.

1.4. Conclusion

The present research focuses on the geography and visual normativity of a selected series of iconographies, visual motifs and objects that migrated between Northern and Southern Europe.[75] By taking into account the open market, the changes in subject matter and the notion of supply and demand, the project will provide a more comprehensive understanding of artistic connections across Europe in terms of iconographical inventions. The aim is to provide new insights into the effects of the mobility of both artworks and artists, and the link between migration and materiality. By examining the dynamics and relationships between artists, courts, religious institutions, and lay individuals on both local and continental levels, new insights into the exchange, contact and connectivity between different artists and workshops are provided. Moreover, by highlighting different aspects in three separate case studies, this study aims to provide comprehensive distinctions between the different manners of mobility, and insights into the processes taking pace during and after migration. Every

[75] Visual normativity, and the visual reactions to novel inventions have only sparsely been the subject of exhaustive research. This subject that has been a focus of the ERC funded project *The Normativity of Sacred Images in Early Modern Art (SACRIMA)*, in the framework of which the research presented in this dissertation has been conducted. At its core, *SACRIMA* investigates three questions regarding this issue, namely what norms are produced by images during the production and reception of art objects? 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? A first exploration of these questions has been published in the first volume of the edited series *SACRIMA: The Normativity of Sacred Images in Early Modern Europe*: *Sacred Images and Normativity: Contested Forms in Early Modern Art*. The research presented in this dissertation is also embedded in these three questions, and aims to provide insight in the processes and effects relating to visual normativity. For further reference, see Chiara Franceschini, 'Introduction. Images as Norms in Europe and Beyond: A Research Program', in *Sacred Images and Normativity: Contested Forms in Early Modern Art* ed. by Chiara Franceschini, Turnhout: Brepols, 2020, 12–27.

cases study explores the role of materiality in the migration of iconographical inventions, and discusses the practicality of grouping works of art under their geographic origin, i.e. nationality. Through the analysis of these representative cases of migrating motifs, the project's aim is to ultimately provide new insights of artistic connections between Southern and Northern Europe.

2. ‘Ung autre tableau de deux petits enffans, embrassant et baisant l’ung l’autre.’ The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing

The Royal Collection Trust houses a compelling Leonardesque painting. (fig. 2.1). Two naked children are seated on the ground in a mountainous landscape, locked in an embrace and kissing each other. The landscape is embellished with rich botanical details. The figures bear no visable attributes, nor are there any other clues revealing the identity of the two infants. The painting was listed as a ‘Christ & St. John of the painting of Leonardo da Vinci’, when it was part of the seventy-two paintings purchased in 1660 for the collection of Charles II of England (1630–1685) from the Breda art dealer William Frizell (dates unknown). Although the royal inventory of 1666 subsequently describes the painting as ‘Leonard De Vince. Two Boyes naked. A landskip. Dutch Present’, it is now generally accepted as a painting depicting the infants Christ and John the Baptist, painted by the Milanese artist Marco d’Oggiono (c. 1475/77–1530).[76] The representation of the Holy Infants Embracing is prevalent in Northern Italian art of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, but the isolated motif of the two infants occurs most frequently in the Southern Netherlands during the same period. At the end of the fifteenth century, this isolated motif originated in Milan with Leonardo da Vinci, from where it subsequently migrated to Mechelen into the collection of Margaret of Austria, and from Mechelen to Antwerp through the painter Joos van Cleve. This chapter will investigate the different causes of this migration, as well as the changes in iconography and meaning along the route.

[76] Rufus Bird and Martin Clayton, *Charles II. Art & Power* (London, Buckingham Palace, Queen’s Gallery, 8 December 2017–13 May 2018; Edinburgh, Holyroodhouse Palace, Queen’s Gallery, November 2018), London: Royal Collection Trust, 2017, p. 170.

Fig. 2.1. Marco d’Oggiono, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, c. 1500-30, oil on panel, 64,3 x 48,1 cm. Windsor, Royal Collection Trust.

2.1. A Milanese Invention: **Gesù Bambino e San Giovannino abbracciati**

The origins of the isolated motif of the Holy Infants Embracing can be traced back to Milan. It is one of the best-known examples of *leonardismo* originating from this city towards the end of the fifteenth century, and the version by Marco d'Oggiono is probably most famous.[77] Not much is known about the life and work of this artist. Supposedly born near Lake Como, he was first recorded in Milan in a contract of 1487, when he took on Protasio Crivelli (d. after 1516) as his apprentice in the art of painting miniatures.[78] By this time, d'Oggiono likely was a qualified master with a workshop of his own. Already during his lifetime, d'Oggiono was praised as a talented and diligent artist by the Milanese Cesare Cesariano (1475–1543) and P. Morigi (dates unknown).[79] Today, he is best known as an artist who was part of a group of Milanese painters that adopted the manner of Leonardo, after the latter arrived in Milan from Florence in the 1480s, appropriating Leonardo's painterly effects, and adapting his compositional motifs.[80] This group of artists contributed to a wide diffusion of Leonardo's inventions, not only in Northern Italy but across Europe.

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[77] The terms *leonardismo*, together with *leonardeschi* and 'Leonardesque', have had a rather negative connotation in art historical research from the twentieth century. Over the years, the Milanese followers of Leonardo have received little scholarship. The first extensive research was done by Wilhelm Suida in 1929, and it was not until the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century that research into this group of artists increased, when exhibitions of Leonardo da Vinci started to include his followers and adapters. The current publication will avoid the term *leonardeschi* as much as possible, since these Milanese artists were not mere adaptors or followers, but were responsible for the large production and diffusion of Leonardo's artistic inventions across Europe from the end of the fifteenth century onwards.

[78] *Leonardo da Vinci. Painter at the Court of Milan* (London, The National Gallery, 9 November 2011–5 February 2012), ed. by Luke Syson and Larry Keith, London: National Gallery Co., 2011, p. 214.

[79] Wilhelm Suida, *Leonardo und sein Kreis*, München: Verlag F. Bruckmann A.G., 1929, p. 202: Cesare Cesariano: 'maxima et diligente praticha universale di Marcho de Oglono'; P. Morigi: 'Marcio de Oggiona che non fu pittor da sprezzarsi verso i tempo di Carlo V.'

[80] He became associated with Leonardo da Vinci in the 1490s, when he purportedly lived in the house of the Florentine artist. There are two notes by Leonardo, dated 1490 and 1491, from which can be deduced that both Marco d'Oggiono and Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio (c. 1466/67–1516), another Milanese Leonardesque painter, were trained or working in Leonardo's workshop. For more information, see Marika Spring, Antonio Mazzotta, Ashok Roy, Rachel Billinge and David Peggie, 'Painting Practice in Milan in the 1490s: The Influence of Leonardo', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 32 (themed volume: Leonardo da Vinci: Pupil, Painter and Master) (2011), pp. 78–112 (specifically p. 78). In his note of 1491, Leonardo describes an incident in his studio which involved d'Oggiono and Boltraffio, and one of Leonardo's new assistants, Salaì (1480–1524), providing a *terminus post quem* for d'Oggiono's association with Leonardo's workshop. In addition to d'Oggiono, Boltraffio and Salaì, well-known Leonardesque artists were Cesare da Sesto (1477–1523), Giampietrino (active 1495–1549), Bernardino Luini (c. 1480/1482–1532), and Andrea Solario (c. 1460–c. 1524). See Andrea Bayer, 'North of the Apennines. Sixteenth-Century Italian Painting in Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 60:4 (2003), 1, 6–64 (specifically p. 14).

The exact date of Leonardo da Vinci's move from Florence to Milan is unknown. The *Codice Magliabechiano*, a manuscript containing biographical information about Florentine artists, written between 1536 and the 1540s by an author referred to as Anonimo Gaddiano, reports that Leonardo went to Milan in his thirtieth year – that is in 1482.[81] This date is not contradicted by the first written documentation of Leonardo in Milan on 25 April 1483, when he, together with the brothers Giovanni Ambrogio (c. 1455–c. 1508) and Evangelista de Predis (c. 1440–c. 1491), was commissioned to gild and colour a sculpted polylptych by Giacomo del Maino (before 1469–c. 1503/1505) for the chapel of the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception at the church of San Francesco Grande.[82] This was a fundamental commission for Leonardo, as many of Milan's leading courtiers were members of the confraternity. It thus provided the artist with a potential new network of clients.[83] Moreover, working with Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis presented the newly-arrived Leonardo with connections to both the mercantile community and the household of Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan (1452–1508), since during the 1480s, de Predis had already established strong connections with both. In 1482 for example, during a visit to Ferrara, de Predis was explicitly described as 'the artist of the most illustrious Lord Ludovico Sforza.'[84]

In addition to the gilding and colouring work for the polyptych by Giacomo del Maino, Leonardo and the de Predis brothers were instructed to supply five pictures for the altarpiece, including a Virgin and Child with Angels. This was to become the altarpiece nowadays known as the *Virgin of the Rocks*, of which two versions are still extant in Paris and London (figs. 2.2 and 2.3). The Louvre *Virgin of the Rocks* shows the kneeling Virgin Mary, a

[81] Kenneth Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci*, New York: Viking, 1988, p. 82.
[82] Syson and Keith, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 21.
[83] Ibid.
[84] 'depintore de lo illustrissimo Signore Ludovico Sforza'. Evelyn S. Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995, p. 262.

seated angel and the infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist in a rocky landscape with botanical details. The angel has one arm around the infant Christ, while the Virgin has one hand on the shoulder of the infant John, and the other hand outstretched. The inclusion of the infant Saint John the Baptist may have been something Leonardo took with him from Florence, a city that venerated the Baptist as its patron saint. Contrary to the artistic production in Milan, the motif of the infant Baptist was ubiquitous in devotional Florentine paintings in the period Leonardo resided there, even though this iconography originates not from the synoptic gospels, but from apocryphal sources.

Fig. 2.2. Leonardo da Vinci, *The Virgin of the Rocks*, c. 1483–94, oil on canvas, 199,5 x 122 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 2.3. Leonardo da Vinci, *The Virgin of the Rocks*, between 1491 and 1499 and from 1506 until 1508, oil on panel, 189,5 x 120 cm. London, The National Gallery.

2.1.1. Florence, the Infant Baptist and Leonardo's artistic training

The apocryphal texts regarding the infant John the Baptist detail a specific scene from Christ's infancy, in which Christ and the Baptist meet in the desert. This meeting happens during a better-known episode from Christ's infancy, namely the Flight into Egypt. This scene is often traced back to the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, where it serves as the final scene in the Nativity of Christ. However, this Gospel does not mention the meeting between the two infants. Instead, accounts of this specific moment can be retraced to sources describing the infancy of the Baptist, such as the Song of Zacharias, or the *Benedictus*, which was sung at Lauds in the morning and refers to his exceptional birth.[85] Additionally, a Slavonic text titled 'The Story of the Birth of John the Precursor and of the Killing of his Father Zachariah' is a significant text that probably inspired the depictions of the infant Baptist.[86] This text narrates the story of the Baptist, who, after he and his mother Elizabeth had fled from the soldiers of Herod, was brought into the care of the Archangel Uriel when he was about five years old. The angel subsequently brought him to the Holy Family during their flight to Egypt. This Eastern legend of the infancy of the Baptist was commonly known in Florence through the text 'The Life of Saint John the Baptist' by Fra Domenico Cavalca (c. 1270–1342).[87]

Cavalca was a Dominican Friar who lived in Pisa for the greater part of his life, but his writings were prevalent throughout Tuscany, including Florence.[88] His vernacular devotional treatises were widely read by the contemporary Florentine laity and clergy.[89] His adaptation

[85] Roberta J. M. Olson, 'Botticelli's *Madonna of the Magnificat*: New discoveries about its iconography, patron, and serial repetition', in *Sandro Botticelli (1445-1510). Artist and Entrepreneur in Renaissance Florence*, ed. by Gert Jan van der Sman & Irene Mariani, Florence: Centro Di, 2015, 121–56 (p. 125). More information about apocryphal sources describing the infancy of Christ and John the Baptist can be found in Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, 'Giovaninno Battista. A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism', *The Art Bulletin* 37:2 (1955), 85–101, and Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, 'Giovannino Battista: A Supplement', *The Art Bulletin*, 42:4 (1961), 319–26.
[86] Lavin, 'Giovaninno Battista', p. 85.
[87] Domenico Cavalca, *Volgarizzamento delle Vite de' SS. Padri*, ed. by Domenico Maria Manni, 6 vols (Milan: Silvestri, 1830), I: Vita di S. Giovambatista, pp. 290–383.
[88] Daniel R. Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence. The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality*, Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989, p. 101.
[89] Ibid.

of the infancy of John the Baptist was part of the *Volgarizzamento delle vite dei SS. Padri*, which was written by Cavalca between 1320 and 1342.[90] In his text, two additional moments from the infancy of the Baptist are recounted, one being the meeting between the family of the Baptist and the Holy Family, before the latter flees into Egypt, and the other being the meeting between the infant John and the Holy Family on their return from Egypt.[91] These additional descriptions are most likely derived from the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, a text now attributed to Pseudo-Bonaventure.[92]

The explanation for the presence of the infant saint in Florentine art is generally presented by scholars as a result of the increased importance attached to naturalism in fifteenth-century Italian art, as well as a result of Florentine interest in childhood, and of the so-called didactic function of a relatively novel art of painting, the *tondo*.[93] A tondo is a typical Florentine circular painting, usually with a bold, gilded frame, intended for the domestic setting. Most tondi depict religious subjects, with the Virgin and the Christ Child as most important protagonists. The majority of these devotional tondi were commissioned by lay individuals.[94] According to various contemporary Italian humanists and members of the clergy, attempts to shape a child should start right at birth and one way to do so was through sense impressions.[95] Paintings were a good way of exposing children to beneficial model images, more specifically to those images in which young boys were able to mirror themselves with the Christ Child and the infant John the Baptist.[96] Thus, objects depicting

[90] Cavalca, *Volgarizzamento delle Vite de' SS. Padri*.
[91] Ibid., pp. 290-383.
[92] Saint Bonaventure, *Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, trans. by. Rev. Edward Yates, London: J.P. Coghlan, 1773. Pseudo-Bonaventure can possibly be identified as Johannes de Caulibus. For more on this, see Sarah McNamer, 'The Origins of the Meditationes vitae Christi', *Speculum* 84:4 (2009), pp. 905–55.
[93] Lavin, 'Giovannino Battista', p. 85.
[94] Roberta .J.M. Olson, *The Florentine Tondo*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 83.
[95] More information about this phenomenon can be found in Maya Corry, 'Delight in Painted Companions: Shaping the Soul from Birth in Early Modern Italy', in *Domestic Devotions in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Maya Corry, Marco Faini and Alessia Meneghin, Leiden: Brill, 2019, 310–41.
[96] Jacqueline M. Musacchio, *Art. Marriage & Family in the Florentine Renaissance Palace*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008, p. 209.

these infants were understood as both objects of devotion and as role models for children.

Paintings portraying the Virgin with these two infant saints were produced continuously by the most notable Florentine artists, including Piero di Cosimo (1462–1522), Sandro Botticelli, and Lorenzo di Credi (c. 1459–1537) (fig. 2.4). Many of these artists were associated with Leonardo da Vinci's master Andrea del Verrocchio, and there is no doubt that during his years in Verrocchio's workshop, Leonardo came into contact with the motif of the infant John the Baptist.[97] During this period, Leonardo was probably familiar with very famous contemporary artworks depicting Adorations or the Holy Family with the infant Baptist, like Fra Filippo Lippi's *Adoration in the Forest* (fig. 2.5). This panel was commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici Il Vecchio (1389–1464) and was destined for the Magi chapel in the Palazzo Medici Riccardi.[98]

Fig. 2.4. Lorenzo di Credi, *Madonna Adoring the Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist and an Angel*, early 1490s, oil on panel, 91,4 cm diameter. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 2.5. Fra Filippo Lippi, *Madonna Adoring the Child with the Infant John the Baptist and Saint Bernard, also known as the Adoration in the Forest*, c. 1459, oil on panel, 129,4 x 118,6 cm. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen.

[97] For the most recent research on Andrea del Verrochio, see Francesco Caglioti and Andrea De Marchi, *Verrocchio, il maestro di Leonardo* (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, 9 March–14 July 2019), Venice: Marsilio, 2019.
[98] Syson and Keith, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 26.

In general, there are few documented facts known about the artistic training and early life of Leonardo da Vinci. The artist's name appears in the tax returns of his father in 1469, in which it is stated that Leonardo still lived in his place of birth Vinci.[99] From the few subsequent documents about the early life of Leonardo, it can be deduced that he was associated with Verrocchio's workshop for an unusually long time.[100] Leonardo's training as an artist has only briefly been touched upon by well-known early-modern biographers of Leonardo such as Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574). In the first version of his *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* from 1550, Vasari writes that in Leonardo 'fashion, beauty, grace, and talent are reunited beyond measure in supernatural fashion', and that 'his every action is so divine, that, surpassing all other men, it makes itself clearly known as a thing bestowed by God, and not acquired by human art.'[101] Furthermore, Vasari mentions that Leonardo was apprenticed in the workshop of Andrea del Verrocchio, but downplays its importance almost immediately.[102]

It is likely that by 1476, Leonardo was no longer a pupil or apprentice of Verrocchio, but instead worked as a subcontractor or an assistant.[103] It was common for a large workshop such as Verrocchio's, operating in a major artistic centre like Florence, to employ or sub-contract artists like Leonardo.[104] His long association with Verrocchio allowed Leonardo to

[99] Windt, *Andrea del Verrocchio*, p. 29.
[100] Jill Dunkerton, 'Leonardo in Verrocchio's Workshop: Re-examining the Technical Evidence', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 32 (themed volume: Leonardo da Vinci: Pupil, Painter and Master) (2011), pp. 4–31 (p. 4).
[101] 'Grandissimi doni si veggono piovere da gli influssi celesti ne' corpi umani molte volte naturalmente; e sopra naturali tavolta strabocchevolmente accozzarsi in un corpo solo bellezza, grazia e virtú, in una maniera che dovunque si volge quel tale, ciascuna sua azzione è tanto divina, che lasciandosi dietro tutti gli altri uomini, manifestamente si fa conoscere per cosa (come ella è) largita da Dio, e non acquistata per arte umana. Questo lo videro gli uomini in Lionardo da Vinci.' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piú eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri. Nell' edizione per i tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino, Firenze 1550*, ed. by Luciano Bellosi and Aldo Rossi, Turin: Einaudi, 1986, p. 545.
[102] 'Acconciossi per via di Ser Piero duo zio nella sua fanciullezza a l'arte con Andrea del Verrocchio, il quale faccendo una tavola dove San Giovanni battezzava Cristo, Lionardo lavorò uno angelo, che teneva alcune vesti; e benché fosse giovanetto, lo condusse di tal maniera, che molto meglio de le figure d'Andrea stava l'angelo di Lionardo.' Vasari, *Le vite*, 1550 (1986), p. 547.
[103] Laurence B. Kanter, *Leonardo. Discoveries from Verrocchio's Studio. Early Paintings and New Attributions*, New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 2018, p. 38.
[104] Dunkerton, 'Leonardo in Verrocchio's Workshop', p. 6.

overlap with another apprentice, Lorenzo di Credi. In the 1550 version of the 'Life of Lorenzo di Credi', Vasari writes that Lorenzo was a 'companion, dear friend, and *molto dimestico* of Leonardo da Vinci, with whom, under Andrea del Verrocchio, for a long time they studied together the art.'[105] In the extended, second edition of 1568, Vasari added that Pietro Perugino (c. 1446–1523) was also a companion, friend and fellow pupil.[106] These artists are known to have painted the motif of the infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist, and it is therefore even more plausible that Leonardo da Vinci was surrounded by this motif during his early years as an artist.

It is also in Verrocchio's workshop that Leonardo probably adapted some of the artistic practices of his master, and probably used similar models for his own compositions. For example, works by Verrocchio show that he drew inspiration from classical sculptures and reliefs for his own sculptures. It has even been claimed that Verrocchio had 'the most sophisticated knowledge of ancient art of any Florentine artist of his generation, and he conceived many of his sculptures in direct response to classical statuary.'[107] The interest of Verrocchio in the antique makes it plausible that he incorporated the study of classical sculpture in his teachings. Moreover, it has been suggested that he kept original classical sculptures and casts in his workshop.[108] Leonardo seems to have been receptive to the idea of studying these classical inventions, as echoes of ancient sculptures can be detected in his early works.[109] In addition to the possible presence of classical sculpture in Verrocchio's workshop, the antiquities exhibited in the Medici sculpture garden, where Leonardo reportedly studied as a youth, must have served as models for him as well. An example of this can be found in the

[105] 'Fu compagno, caro amico e molto dimestico di Lionardo da Vinci, che insieme, sotto Andrea del Verrocchio, lungo tempo impararono l'arte.' Vasari, *Le vite*, 1550 (1986), p. 677.
[106] Dunkerton, 'Leonardo in Verrocchio's Workshop', p. 4.
[107] Michael W. Kwakkelstein, 'The young Leonardo and the Antique', in *'Aux Quatre Vents'. A Festschrift for Bert W. Meijer*, ed. by Anton W. A. Boschloo, Edward Grasman and Gert Jan van der Sman, Florence: Centro Di, 2002, 25–32 (p. 25).
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.

cross-legged Christ Child in both versions of the *Virgin of the Rocks*, which is based on an antique marble statue of a boy with a goose, owned by Lorenzo I de' Medici (1449–1492), and nowadays in the Galleria degli Uffizi.[110]

Another technique which Leonardo adapted from Verrocchio is the use of pouncing for transferring complete or partial cartoons onto the panel as the underdrawing of a painting. During the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, cartoons were commonly used in artist's workshops as a way of transferring designs from paper to panel. The use of partial cartoons, such as designs for heads or hands, are known to have been used in the works of Verrocchio and his workshop, and it is very plausible that Leonardo encountered this method here (fig. 2.6).[111]

That Leonardo was familiar with and employed pouncing becomes evident when looking at the infrared reflectography of the Louvre *Virgin of the Rocks*, in which it can be observed that Leonardo constructed the underdrawing with partial cartoons in combination

Fig. 2.6. Andrea del Verrocchio, *Head of an Angel*, c. 1465–75, silver point drawing, 18,5 x 16 cm. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett der Staatliche Museen.

Fig. 2.7. Leonardo da Vinci, *Head of an Infant*, c. 1482/83, drawing, 16,9 x 14 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

[110] Syson and Keith, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 27.
[111] Spring, Mazzotta, Roy, Billinge and Peggie, 'Painting Practice in Milan', p. 81.

with more freely drawn elements. Notably, one of the design elements for the Louvre *Virgin of the Rocks* survives in the form of a cartoon of the head of the infant John the Baptist (fig. 2.7). This cartoon has been pricked for transfer and shows signs of tracing incisions. The contours align perfectly with the painted version in the Louvre composition, making it the only surviving working tool that can be linked to an extant painting in Leonardo's oeuvre.[112]

2.2. From Florence to Milan

Shortly after his training in Florence, Leonardo da Vinci moved to Milan. The motivation for Leonardo to move to this city remains unclear. The *Codice Magliabechiano* states that he was sent by Lorenzo I de' Medici to present Ludovico Sforza with a silver lyre in the form of a horse's head. This is repeated in the 1550 'Life of Leonardo da Vinci' by Vasari. The exact relationship between Leonardo and Lorenzo de' Medici is not entirely clear. However, the *Codice Magliabechiano* mentions that Leonardo was promoted as 'da giovane' by Lorenzo and that he studied in the Medici sculpture garden at San Marco, which suggests that Leonardo would have been employed by the Medici directly.[113]

In art history as well as economic history, it has been recognized that during the early modern period, technical knowledge travelled with people instead of on paper. Through the physical migration of artisans from one region to the other, new industries could be created and distinct techniques could be disseminated more widely.[114] Reasons for craftsmen to migrate to other regions could be economic crises, war, political or religious persecution, or epidemics.[115] Alternatively, artisans migrated when their economic or social position was

[112] Syson and Keith, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 64.
[113] Franziska Windt, *Andrea del Verrocchio und Leonardo da Vinci. Zusammenarbeit in Skulptur und Malerei*, Münster: Rhema Verlag, 2003, p. 30 .
[114] Luca Molà, 'States and crafts: relocating technical skills in Renaissance Italy', in *The Material Renaissance*, ed. by Michelle O'Malley and Evelyn S. Welch, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007, 133–53 (p. 133).
[115] Ibid.

insufficient, and hoped it would improve by transferring their know-how to a place where it would be better appreciated. This last reason was likely another motive for Leonardo to move from Florence to Milan. At the end of the fifteenth century, Florence was characterized by a highly competitive environment among artists, with a large number of workshops. In 1472, there were at least thirty figure painters practicing, in addition to eighty-four workshops for wood-carving, fifty-four for stonework and forty-four for metalwork.[116] The artistic environment was different in Milan, and it is possible that Leonardo deemed it more profitable for him to move to this city.

Another plausible motivation for Leonardo's move could have been that during the first years of his reign, Ludovico Sforza saw the Florentine duke Lorenzo as an example.[117] In 1480, Ludovico had seized the regency of Milan from his sister-in-law, Bona of Savoy (1449–1503). With no legal right to the dukedom, because his nephew Gian Galeazzo Sforza (1469–1494) was next in line after the assassination of his brother Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1444–1476), Ludovico based his claim as the new Milanese duke on his virtues as a ruler, which were expressed through his employment of painters, among other things.[118]

Painters working for the Sforza dukes traditionally formed teams to undertake certain commissions. The works executed by these groups of artists were expected to be visually harmonious; individual styles were no longer to be recognized. By eliminating the authorial voices of the individual master painters, credit for the splendour of art would be given to the patron, creating a sort of 'alla Sforzesca' stylistic language.[119] Gian Galeazzo Sforza, the rightful heir to the dukedom, had principally employed the Milanese Ambrogio Bergognone

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[116] Peter Burke, 'Antwerp, a Metropolis in Europe', in: *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis, 16th – 17th Century* (Antwerp, Hessenhuis, 25 June–10 October 1993), ed. by Jan Van der Stock, Ghent: Martial & Snoeck, 1993, 49–58 (p. 50).
[117] Syson and Keith, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 26.
[118] Luke Syson, 'Leonardo and Leonardism in Sforza Milan', in *Artists at Court. Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550*, ed. by Stephen J. Campbell, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004, 106–123 (p. 108).
[119] Ibid., p. 107.

(c. 1470s–1523/1524), creating a certain 'Bergognesque' style to be identified with him. Ludovico Sforza, on the other hand, pursued a different style. His political ties with Florence were strong, because when Ludovico was exiled to Pisa in 1477, Lorenzo de' Medici had welcomed him and the two had forged a friendship.[120]

Ludovico probably wanted to continue the precedent set by his brother Galeazzo Maria Sforza, but wished to distinguish himself as a patron.[121] Ludovico continuously attempted to promote Milan as a rich cultural centre, and Lorenzo de' Medici could have become a role model for his genius of government and his cultural patronage, amongst other things. There exists a considerable amount of diplomatic correspondence between Milan and Florence, with which can be demonstrated that the circulation of ideas through sending plans and designs or recommending artists was quite considerable.[122] Ludovico's choice of artists and writers from Florence could have therefore been politically significant. Further proof of this idea can be found in the fact that Tuscan was promoted as the language of the Milanese court – ridding itself from the 'inelegant' Lombard dialect.[123]

Another fact demonstrating Ludovico's interest in Florentine culture is an undated and unsigned document from circa 1490, describing the works of Sandro Botticelli, Filippino Lippi (1457–1504), Perugino and Domenico Ghirlandaio (1448–1494). This text was presumably intended for Ludovico, who at the time was searching for painters to decorate the Certosa di Pavia.[124] It is most probably written by the Milanese ambassador in Florence, in

[120] Katy Blatt, *Leonardo da Vinci and The Virgin of the Rocks. One Painter, Two Virgins, Twenty-Five Years*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, p. 27.
[121] Syson, 'Leonardo and Leonardism', p. 108.
[122] Dorothea Nolde, Elena Svalduz and Maria José del Río Barredo, 'City courts as places of cultural transfer', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Donatella Calabi et al., 4 vols (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006–2007), II: Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700, ed. by Donatella Calabi and Stephen T. Christensen (2007), 254–85 (p. 279).
[123] Ibid.
[124] Michelle O'Malley, *Painting under Pressure. Fame, Reputation and Demand in Renaissance Florence*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2013, p. 13.

order to give his employer an idea of what was to be expected, would he employ these artists.[125] The text reads:

> 'Sandro Botticelli, an excellent painter both on panel and on wall. His things have a virile air and are done with the best method and complete proportion. Filippino, son of the very good painter Fra Filippo Lippi: a pupil of the above-mentioned Botticelli and son of the most outstanding master of his time. His things have a sweeter air than Botticelli's; I do not think they have as much skill. Perugino, an exceptional master, and particularly on walls. His things have an angelic air, and very sweet. Domenico Ghirlandaio, a good master on panels and even more so on walls. His things have a good air, and he is an expeditious man and one who gets through much work. All these masters have made proof of themselves in the chapel of Pope Sixtus V, except Filippino. All of them later also in the Spedaletto of Lorenzo il Magnifico, and the palm of victory is pretty much in doubt.'[126]

Eventually, Ludovico only commissioned Perugino with painting an altarpiece for the Certosa.[127] These cultural initiatives by Ludovico could partly explain the move of Leonardo da Vinci to the city. All Leonardo had to do to make Ludovico Sforza one of his patrons, was to continue his artistic practices in Milan, and to do this in a recognizably Florentine manner.

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[125] Ibid.

[126] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, p. 26. The original Italian reads: 'Sandro de Botticello pictore Excellen[mo] in tavola et in muro: le cose sue hano aria virile et sono cum optima ragione et integra proportione. Philippino di Frati Philippo optimo: Discipulo del sopra dicto et figliolo del piu singulare maestro di tempo suoi: le sue cose hano aria piu dolce: non credo habiano tanta arte. El Perusino Maestro singulare: et maxime in muro: le sue cose hano aria angelica, et molto dolce. Dominico de Grilandaio bono maestro in tavola et piu in muro: le cose sue hano bona aria, et e homo expeditivo, et che conduce assai lavaro: Tutti questi predicti maestri hano facto prova di loro ne la capella di papa syxto excepto che philippino. Ma tutti poi allospedaletto del M[co] Laur[o] et la palma e quasi ambigua.'

[127] Syson, 'Leonardo and Leonardism', p. 109.

This may be one of the reasons for him to include the infant Baptist in his composition of the *Virgin of the Rocks*.

As mentioned above, one of his first known commissions in Milan was that of the gilding and colouring of a sculpted polyptych, and supplying five pictures for the altarpiece together with Ambrogio and Evangelista de Predis, one of which being the *Virgin of the Rocks*. Of the two surviving versions, it is generally accepted that the first altarpiece Leonardo painted is the one now in the Louvre. This version was plausibly finished by December 1484. After finishing it, Leonardo and the de Predis brothers found that the agreed upon fee for the painting was too low, and the panel was presumably sold to a third party around 1491.[128] At around the same time, a replacement appears to have been started. This altarpiece was probably installed in the chapel by 1503, but was also the subject of a payment dispute in 1506. Leonardo himself was not present in Milan between 1501 and 1506, but after his return, the project seems to have been restarted, with the painting considered finished and paid for in 1508.[129] This is the version nowadays in the London National Gallery, which came to the museum directly from the Church of San Francesco Grande (fig. 2.3).[130]

Like the Louvre version, the National Gallery *Virgin of the Rocks* was developed through a combination of mechanical transfer with the help of pouncing of partial cartoons and freehand drawing.[131] Parts of the two versions match almost perfectly, while the positioning of individual elements vary. Differences between the two versions are the omission of the pointing hand of the angel, and the addition of John the Baptist's attributes of the cross and camel skin in the London painting (figs. 2.2 and 2.3).

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[128] Larry Keith, Ashok Roy, Rachel Morrison and Peter Schade, 'Leonardo da Vinci's *Virgin of the Rocks*: Treatment, Technique and Display', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 32 (themed volume: Leonardo da Vinci: Pupil, Painter and Master) (2011), pp. 32–56 (p. 32).
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Keith and Syson, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 68.

Fig. 2.8. Leonardo da Vinci, *Compositional Sketches for the Virgin Adoring the Christ Child, with and without the Infant St. John the Baptist; Diagram of a Perspectival Projection (recto); Slight Doodles (verso)*, c. 1480–85, silverpoint drawing, 19,3 x 16,2 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

With the help of infrared reflectography, it has been discovered that beneath the painted surface of the National Gallery *Virgin of the Rocks* an initial composition of an *Adoration of the Christ Child* or *Nativity* had been designed. This composition shows the Virgin holding one hand to her breast while the other arm is extended. The head and left hand of the Virgin have been constructed with the help of some sort of mechanical transfer from cartoons.[132] The composition of this *Adoration* is related to studies by Leonardo nowadays kept in the English Royal Collection and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 2.8).

2.2.1. Leonardo's Milanese workshop and the diffusion of **leonardismo**

The revelation of this composition beneath the painted surface of the National Gallery *Virgin of the Rocks* is significant to take into account when studying the practices of Leonardo's Milanese workshop. It appears that Leonardo brought the techniques and artistic practices he had learned during his time in the workshop of Verrocchio with him to Milan and passed them along to his followers, since the designs of the Virgin's head and left hand are reproduced in other works by Leonardo, but more importantly, is repeated multiple times by his Milanese followers.

As mentioned, Milan had a long tradition of established artists collaborating for a certain commission. Upon arriving in Milan, Leonardo adopted this working method. He

[132] Ibid., p. 66.

apparently had very few pupils, with some sources registering Giovanni Francesco Boltraffio (c. 1466/67–1516) as his only student.[133] As mentioned before, Marco d'Oggiono was affiliated with Leonardo, but only after he himself was already an established artist, which would furthermore confirm the idea that Leonardo adopted the Milanese working manner of collaboration. This form of collaboration was probably done to manage the workload and to maintain professional relations. Moreover, Leonardo was one of the first artists to employ replication, as is evidenced by the two versions of the *Virgin of the Rocks*.[134] This practice was continued by his workshop and later generations, encouraging the production of numerous copies and replications of Leonardesque inventions.[135] Ludovico Sforza may have profited from these circumstances when he established *leonardismo* as his court style.[136] Consequently, the art of Leonardo would become associated with Ludovico's rule, and could be applied for works commissioned by his courtiers and supporters.[137] As a result, painters already working in Milan learned Leonardo's technique and assimilated his style, by reemploying his motifs and repeating his compositions numerous times. The reuse and repetition of compositions by artists associated with Leonardo could furthermore have been a result of the latter's working and training methods. When investigating panel paintings made by Leonardo's followers with infrared reflectography, it becomes apparent that many compositions were constructed with the use of traced cartoons.[138]

Multiple designs by Leonardo have circulated among his pupils and apprentices, as

[133] Syson, 'Leonardo and Leonardism', p. 111.
[134] More information about Leonardo's workshop practice can be found in Keith and Syson, *Leonardo da Vinci*, as well as in Charles Robertson, 'Leonardo da Vinci: London', *The Burlington Magazine* 154:1307 (2012), pp. 132–33, and Michel Menu (ed.), *Leonardo da Vinci's Technical Practice. Paintings, Drawing and Influence*, Paris: Hermann Éditeurs, 2014.
[135] Thereza Wells, 'The *Madonna of the Yarnwinder*: conservation history and the painting's influence', in *Leonardo da Vinci's Technical Practice. Paintings, Drawings and Influence*, ed. by Michel Menu, Paris: Hermann Éditeurs, 2014, 101–13 (p. 109).
[136] Luke Syson, 'Leonardo and Leonardism', p. 110.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Larry Keith and Ashok Roy, 'Giampietrino, Boltraffio, and the Influence of Leonardo', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 17 (1996), 4–19 (pp. 6–7).

well as the artists associated with him. The composition found underneath the National Gallery painting and on the drawing from the Metropolitan Museum for example, has been used in paintings by artists like Salaì (1480–1524), Cesare da Sesto (1477–1523) and Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina (c. 1475–1536) (fig. 2.9). Yáñez came into contact with the art of Leonardo, and worked together with the artist, during his stay in Florence around 1500. He is one of the artists responsible for transferring Leonardo's artistic inventions to Spain.[139] The composition was a innovative way to portray the *Nativity*, and this novelty in pose and composition may explain the appeal and the numerous repetitions of the design by Leonardo's followers.[140] A second example of an influential Leonardesque invention is the *Virgin of the Rocks* itself. This composition appears to have been repeated by the Milanese artist Cesare Magni (1492–1534), as well as Marco d'Oggiono and numerous anonymous artists (fig. 2.10).

Fig. 2.9. Fernando Yañez de la Almedina, *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John*, c. 1505, oil and tempera on panel, 78,4 x 64,1 cm. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art.

Fig. 2.10. Cesare Magni, *The Madonna of the Rocks*, c. 1520–25, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte.

A third composition notable for its repetitions is the *Madonna of the Yarnwinder* (fig. 2.11). This painting by Leonardo was commissioned by

[139] Dan Ewing, 'Joos van Cleve und Leonardo: Italienische Kunst in niederländischer Übersetzung', in *Joos van Cleve. Leonardo des nordens*, ed. by Peter van den Brink (Aachen, Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, 17 March-26 June 2011), Stuttgart: Belser Verlag, 2011, 112-31 (p. 114).
[140] Suida, *Leonardo und sein Kreis*, p. 51.

Fig. 2.11. Attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, *Madonna of the Yarnwinder (The Buccleuch Madonna)*, c. 1501, oil on panel, 48,3 x 36,9 cm. Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland.

Fig. 2.12. Attributed to Fernando Yañez de la Almedina, *Madonna of the Yarnwinder*, 16th century, oil on panel, 62 x 48,8 cm. Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland.

the French royal secretary of state Florimond Robertet (1458–1527) in 1501.[141] Fra Pietro da Novellara (dates unknown), agent for Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua (1474–1539) in her attempts to secure a painting by Leonardo, wrote to his client that he saw 'a little picture that Leonardo is doing for one Robertet, a favourite of the King of France.'[142] Like the *Virgin of the Rocks*, two versions attributed to Leonardo exist. His composition appealed to many artists both within as well as outside of Italy, as is confirmed by examples from Netherlandish art, as well as Spanish examples from the first decade of the sixteenth century (fig. 2.12).

The structure and degree of collaboration between Leonardo and the members of his Milanese workshop is not entirely clear. During this period, it was common practice for a master painter to delegate and share the workload with his employees, but the origins of Leonardo's workshop were different from most Milanese workshops at the end of the

[141] Ewing, 'Joos van Cleve und Leonardo', p. 113.
[142] Keith and Syson, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 72.

fifteenth century. When Leonardo moved to Milan, he needed to quickly establish a well-functioning workshop, in order to appeal to and provide for a large clientele. Milan was, like other large Italian cities of the time such as Florence or Venice, a place with numerous patrician households. While the Sforza court was an imperative commissioner, artists needed to appeal to the city and the wealthy noblemen in order to be able to survive.[143] Upon his arrival, Leonardo needed to set up a workshop that could meet all demands and was capable of producing paintings, sculptures and courtly entertainments.[144]

The reuse and repetition of compositions among Leonardo's followers could have been a result of his working and training methods. Furthermore, like Verrocchio, Leonardo stressed the importance of drawing, or *disegno*.[145] He would have recommended to his pupils to make reproductions of his own drawings and maybe even each other's. This is in line with a more common practice, which started in the fourteenth century and is described in the famous *Il libro dell'arte* by Cennino Cennini (c. 1360–before 1427). In chapter twenty-seven of his book, Cennini writes:

> 'But you need to press ahead so that you can press on along the path of this discipline. You have made your prepared papers: it is time to draw. This is the way you should do it: once you have got used to drawing for a while in the way that I described to you above (that is, on a tablet), strive and delight always to copy the best things that you can find, made by the hand of great masters. And if you are in a place where there

[143] Welch, *Art and Authority*, p. 246.
[144] Keith and Syson, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 72. Marco d'Oggiono had taken his own apprentice in 1487, which would point to the idea that he was already a master painter himself. This is similar to Perugino, who was also fully trained when he entered Verrocchio's workshop.
[145] Keith and Syson, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 214.

have been many good masters, so much the better for you. But I give you this advice: be careful always to pick out the best and the one that has the best reputation.'[146]

Leonardo's pupils probably followed this advice. They imitated his drawing technique, with some pupils even copying his left-handed hatchings. Finished drawings by Leonardo would circulate, to be used and reused by Leonardo himself as well as his circle. The same probably happened with the drawings by Leonardo's pupils. Drawings of hands and heads, as well as drawings of the body of the Christ Child would be disseminated among his followers.

Fig. 2.13. Leonardo da Vinci, *The Virgin and Child with a child and a cat, two studies of a child and a cat, and the Christ child and infant Baptist embracing*, c. 1490–1500, pen and ink over red chalk with touches of wash, 20,2 x 15,1 cm. Windsor, Royal Collection Trust.

Fig. 2.14. Giampietrino, *Madonna and Child with Young Saint John the Baptist and Saint Elisabeth*, between 1510–40, oil on panel, 65,4 x 53,5 cm. Private Collection.

Fig. 2.15. Giuseppe Longhi, *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist, before a landscape, in a tondo (La Madonna del Lago)*, 1825, engraving, 37 x 31,7 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[146] 'Pure a tte e di bisongnio si seguiti innanzi accio che possi segh / uitare il viaggio della detta scienza tu ai fatto le tue / carte tinte emestieri disegnire de tenere questo modo avendo prima / usato untenpo ildisegniare chome ti dissi di sopra cioe in tavoletta / affatichati e dilettati di retrar senpre le miglior chose che trovar / puoi per mano fatte di gran maestre e sse / se in luogho dove molti / buon maestri sieno stati tanto meglio atte maperchonsiglio io / tido ghuarda dipigliar senpre il miglior e quello che a maggior / fama eseghuitando […].' Cennino Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte. A new English translation and commentary with Italian transcription*, trans. by Lara Broecke, London: Archetype Publications Ltd, 2015, p. 47.

2.2.2. Incorporated or isolated: The Holy Infants Embracing

The embracing infants Christ and John the Baptist is one of the motifs that circulated among Leonardo's followers and their contemporaries. Although an exact version of the isolated motif of the Holy Infants Embracing by Leonardo himself does not survive, it is plausible that an advanced compositional study by the artist existed, which circulated among his Milanese followers. For example, a variant of the motif survives on the bottom right corner of a study sheet now in the British Royal Collection (fig. 2.13).[147] The motif of the Holy Infants Embracing occurred in different forms in various compositions, either together with the Virgin or the Holy Family, or isolated as a singular motif. Most of these copies were executed on small panels, which suggests that they were intended for a domestic setting, rather than a clerical or public one. Additionally, the numerous extant copies hint at a high demand and a profitable market for these motifs in Milan.

Compositions that include a Virgin or a Holy Family together with the infants embracing were executed by artists like Bernardino Luini (c. 1480/82–1532) and Giampietrino (active 1495–1549) (fig. 2.14). Marco d'Oggiono also painted a variant, called the *Madonna del Lago*, or Madonna of the Lake. An engraving from 1825 suggests that this painting by d'Oggiono is derived from a now lost version by Leonardo himself, as it is inscribed with 'Leonardo inv. Marco d'Oggiono pinx.' (fig. 2.15).[148]

There are also some hybrid versions or pastiches of the *Virgin of the Rocks* and the Holy Infants Embracing, such as the versions painted by Marco d'Oggiono and Bernardino de' Conti (fig. 2.16). This variation shows the Madonna in a similar rocky landscape as the

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[147] <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/27/collection/912564/the-virgin-and-child-with-a-child-and-a-cat-two-studies-of-a-child-and-a-cat-and> (Accessed 11-06-2019). When Leonardo da Vinci was summoned to the court of Francis I as a court painter, he was accompanied to France by Francesco Melzi (1491/1493–ca 1570). Leonardo brought his drawings, notebooks and around 500 paintings. Many of these works, this sheet probably included, were purportedly bequeathed to Melzi by Leonardo upon the latter's death.

[148] Verena Beckmann & Johann Willibald Jakob, *Das Mysterium La Madonna del Lago. Leonardo da Vinci, Raffael, Ferrando Spagnolo, Marco d'Oggiono, Guiseppe Longhi*, Bonn: Köllen Druck+Verlag, 2015, p. 168. The painting by Marco d'Oggiono is kept at the Museum & Gallery at Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina.

Virgin of the Rocks, but omits the seated angel and replaces it by the two holy infants locked in an embrace. The panel by de' Conti is dated 1522 and is possibly connected to the painting commissioned in the same year by Archangelo Pagani, a Milanese doctor in theology and monk resident in the monastery of San Francesco Grande. In the contract, a hybrid version of the *Virgin of the Rocks* and the Holy Infants Embracing is described as 'in quo, seu super quo, picta est figura beate virginis Marie cum filio, et figura sancti Johannis Baptiste.'[149]

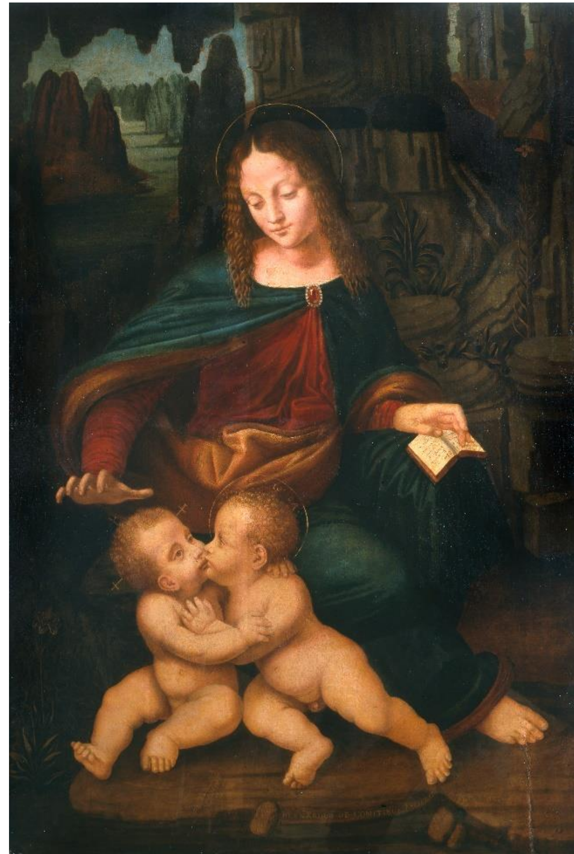

Fig. 2.16. Bernardino de' Conti, *The Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, 1522, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera.

In addition to the adaptation of compositions, the abovementioned paintings also showed stylistic similarities with Leonardo. The facial features of the figures, as well as the position of the legs of the two infants can be easily linked to paintings and drawings by Leonardo himself. The extent to which paintings by Leonardo's followers were identified as by the artist himself, already during the sixteenth century, is illustrated by the fact that a painting by Bernardino Luini presented to the Spanish King Philip II (1527–1598) by Cosimo

[149] 'On which is depicted the Virgin Mary with her son, and the figure of Saint John the Baptist.' Cited from the document written by notary Bernardino Manara, 4 July 1522, and kept in the Archivio di Stato di Milano, filza 7678. Reproduced in Janice Shell and Grazioso Sironi, 'Documents for Copies of the *Cenacolo* and the *Virgin of the Rocks* by Bramantino, Marco d'Oggiono, Bernardino de' Conti and Cesare Magni', *Raccolta Vinciana*, 23 (1989), 103–17 (p. 115, doc. 3).

I de' Medici (1519–1574) in April 1574, was attributed to Leonardo when it first appeared in the documents of El Escorial.[150]

The isolated variation of the Holy Infants Embracing is repeated numerous times by Lombard artists around 1500, attesting to the demand for these artworks during this period. The isolation of the motif enabled artists to produce even smaller paintings, which could be easily reproduced for the market. There are multiple surviving versions by artists like Bernardino Luini and Marco d'Oggiono, as well as by other anonymous Lombard artists. In addition to works produced for the open market, artists were also commissioned to paint this isolated version. In 1513, Marco d'Oggiono received a commission, of which the contract explicitly stipulated the painting depict a 'Gesù Bambino e San Giovannino abbracciati'.[151] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, this isolated motif of the Holy Infants Embracing

Fig. 2.17. Albrecht Dürer, *Infant Christ*, 1495, pen and black ink, heightened with white, 17,2 x 21,5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 2.18. School of Leonardo, *Body of an Infant Turning to the Left*, date unknown, metal point heightened with white on blue paper, 42,6 x 25,5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

[150] The provenance of this painting is derived from the Museo Nacional del Prado, the museum currently housing the painting. <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/sagrada-familia/52b0d09e-77e5-4af6-9ea7-50d981399069?searchid=5e62ab9d-f388-6e66-1b30-daa2f61a451c> (Accessed 30-06-2020).

[151] Franco Moro, 'Spunti sulla diffusione di un tema leonardesco tra Italia e Fiandra sino a Lanino', in *I leonardeschi a Milano: fortuna e collezionismo*, ed. by Maria Teresa Fiorio and Pietro C. Marani, Milan: Electa, 1991, 120–40 (p. 125).

crossed borders and migrated from Northern Italy to the Southern Netherlands via various ties between Italy and the Northern European regions.

2.3. From Milan to Mechelen: **Deux petitz josnes enffans**

In the case of the Holy Infants Embracing, an important link between Italy and the Netherlands and Germany is Albrecht Dürer. Travelling to Italy twice, Dürer probably came into contact with the motif of the infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist on one of his sojourns. A clue for this can be found in the drawing of a reclining infant Christ, which seems closely linked to a drawing from the school of Leonardo (figs. 2.17 and 2.18).[152]

After crossing the Italian border, the isolated motif of the two embracing children received the strongest reception in the Netherlands, and its repetition concentrated Antwerp during the first half of the sixteenth century. It occurs in the work of Netherlandish artists Jan Gossaert (1478–1532) and Quinten Metsys, and the workshop most firmly associated with the motif is that of Joos van Cleve. When comparing the many versions produced by Van Cleve and his workshop with the version by Marco d'Oggiono, the similarities in the posture of the two infants are unmistakable. Since the numerous adaptations by Van Cleve's workshop are so closely related to the painting by d'Oggiono, the latter was presumably the archetype for this motif in the Netherlands. The translation of this motif from Italy to the Netherlands was most probably mediated through a painting present in Mechelen. But how did the painted motif travel across the Alps and end up in Mechelen, to subsequently be adapted by Netherlandish artists?

To understand the circumstances in which this motif migrated northwards, it is worthwhile to look into the provenance of the d'Oggiono painting. As mentioned earlier, the

[152] Simone Ferrari, 'Bramante, Leonardo e Dürer', in *Forestieri a Milano. Riflessioni su Bramante e Leonardo alla corte di Ludovico il Moro*, ed. by Simone Ferrari & Alberto Cottino, Busto Arsizio (VA): Nomos Edizioni, 2013, 153–88 (p. 169).

painting came into the British Royal Collection in 1660, when it was inventoried as a 'Christ & St. John of the painting of Leonardo da Vinci.' At this time, the painting cost 1500 florins, which made it the most expensive painting from the collection of seventy-two bought from William Frizell.[153] Frizell was a Breda art dealer, which could indicate that the painting by d'Oggiono had a Dutch provenance before coming into the collection of King Charles II.[154] Even though the two entries are more than a century apart, it seems probable that the painting by d'Oggiono was the same painting in the collection of Margaret of Austria, Governor and Regent of the Habsburg Netherlands from 1507 until 1515 and again from 1519 until 1530, amongst others because of her strong ties with Italy and her interest in Italian Renaissance art.[155]

2.3.1. Margaret of Austria and Italy

Before becoming Governor and Regent of the Habsburg Netherlands, Margaret of Austria had roamed different courts of Europe. In 1501, Margaret married her third husband Philibert II of Savoy (1475–1504), granting her the title Duchess of Savoy. During this marriage, Margaret took up the reins of power and displayed a great talent and interest in politics. She surrounded herself with advisors from Piedmont and Savoy, namely Mercurino di Gattinara (1465–1530), Louis Barangier (d. 1519) and Laurent de Gorrevaud (d. 1529), who remained in her company when she later became regent.[156]

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[153] Brian Reade, 'William Frizell and the Royal Collection', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 89:528 (1947), 70–75 (p. 74).
[154] Ibid., p. 73.
[155] Emperor Maximilian I named Margaret of Austria Regent and Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands for the first time in 1507, shortly after the death of his only son Philip the Handsome (1478-1506). Dagmar Eichberger, '*Car il me semble que vois aimez bien les carboncles.* Die Schätze Margaretes von Österreich und Maximilians I.', in *Von Umgang mit Schätzen*, ed. by Elisabeth Vavra, Kornelia Holzner-Tobisch and Thomas Kühtreiber, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007, 139–52 (p. 139).
[156] Dagmar Eichberger, 'Margareta of Austria. A Princess with Ambition and Political Insight', in *Women of Distinction. Margaret of York. Margaret of Austria* (Mechelen, Lamot, 17 September–18 December 2005), ed. by Dagmar Eichberger, Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, 49–55 (p. 50).

Margaret was able to receive so many responsibilities as governor and regent because of her ancestry. She was the daughter of Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) and Duchess Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482). Contrary to her father, Margaret was accepted as Netherlandish early on, and was thus accepted as Regent of the Habsburg Netherlands quite easily.[157] She had her court in Mechelen, which was called the *Hof van Savoyen* (Court of Savoy).[158] Under her rule, the Hof van Savoyen became a political centre where leading representatives of the state government, the administration and the church gathered.[159]

Margaret had many ties with Italy. During her stay in the Duchy of Savoy as wife of Philibert II, Margaret was able to get acquainted with Northern Italian art. This was accomplished through a stay in Turin, as well as through the gifts she received during this period.[160] Several of these gifts Margaret received from Bona of Savoy, the aunt of Philibert II. Bona bequeathed to Philibert and Margaret a gospel book and a verse of the *Life of Saint Catharine*, both in Italian and inherited from her mother Bianca Maria Visconti (1425–1468), as well as a *Consolatory Epistle* by Gian Mario Filelfo (1426–1480), and most importantly the *Sforza Hours*.[161] This book was illuminated by the Milanese Giovan Pietro Birago

Fig. 2.19. Gerard Horenbout, *Visitation*, c. 1519–20, book illumination. London, British Library, Add. MS 34294, fol. 61r.

[157] Dagmar Eichberger, 'Eine kluge Witwe mit Kunstverstand. Erzherzogin Margarete von Österreich (1480-1530)', in *Frauen. Kunst und Macht. Drei Frauen aus dem Hause Habsburg*, ed. by Sabine Haag, Dagmar Eichberger and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, Vienna: KHM-Museumsverband, 2018, 25–35 (p. 25).

[158] *Women of Distinction. Margaret of York. Margaret of Austria* (Mechelen, Lamot, 17 September–18 December 2005), ed. by Dagmar Eichberger, Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, p. 259.

[159] Eichberger, 'Eine kluge Witwe', p. 29.

[160] Ibid., p. 26.

[161] Anne-Marie Legaré, '"La librairye de Madame". Two Princesses and their Libraries', in: *Women of Distinction. Margaret of York. Margaret of Austria* (Mechelen, Lamot, 17 September–18 December 2005), ed. by Dagmar Eichberger, Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, 207–19 (p. 217).

(active 1471–1513), who had left it unfinished.[162] Margaret received the book of hours in 1504, and she commissioned the Netherlandish painter and illuminator Gerard Horenbout (c. 1465–1540) with completing the illuminations.[163] In the illumination depicting the *Visitation*, Horenbout used Margaret's likeness for the figure of Elizabeth (fig. 2.19).

In addition to Italian advisors, Margaret also had multiple Italian merchants tied to her court. Tommaso Bombelli (dates unknown) was connected to Margaret's court as *argentier*. He was a Florentine merchant, who lived and worked in Antwerp, and who was ordered by Margaret in September 1523 to come to Brussels.[164] In the diaries Albrecht Dürer kept during his sojourn in the Netherlands between 1520 and 1521, he writes that he had drawn three sword handles for Bombelli. This is a clue that Bombelli was also a known figure in the Antwerp art scene, since Dürer regularly made sketches for Antwerp goldsmiths, and these three drawings could possibly have been goldsmith designs.[165]

Margaret also had several Italian artists working at her court. One was the Florentine sculptor Pietro Torrigiani (1472–1528). This artist was commissioned with repairing the terracotta bust of Mary of England, of which the neck had been broken.[166] On April 26, 1510, a report was sent to Diego Flores (dates unknown), Margaret's treasurer, which stated that the carver and inventor 'Pierre Tourrissan' was to be paid 30 gold coins for various services. It appears therefore, that Torrigiani was affiliated with Margaret's court for more than just repairing the terracotta bust. Another artist was Jacopo de' Barbari (c. 1460/1470–c. 1516). De' Barbari was a successful painter and engraver from Venice, who worked at various courts

[162] Ibid.
[163] Michaela Krieger, 'Der Meister Jakobs IV. von Schottland, Gerard Horenbout und die Sforza Hours', *Codices Manuscripti* 59 (2007), 13–34 (p. 13).
[164] Dagmar Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst, Wirken durch Kunst. Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002, p. 289.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid., p. 290.

and remained almost exclusively north of the Alps after 1500.[167] He worked in the service of Margaret's father, Maximilian I, as well as Elector of Saxony Frederick the Wise (1463–1525), Duke Henry V of Mecklenburg (1479–1552) and Elector of Brandenburg Joachim I Nestor (1484–1535). From 1510 onwards, de' Barbari succeeded in his acquisition of a lifetime position as court painter for Margaret of Austria. He is referred to as 'paintre de Madame' and 'nostre bien aimé paintre et varlet de chambre' in documents, and he was paid for the first time on 12 August 1510.[168] Lastly, Margaret also had regular contact with Italian diplomatic representatives and with Italians based in the Netherlands for professional purposes. One example, who might have played a role in the transferral of the painting of the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing* to Mechelen, is Antonio Siciliano, who stayed at Margaret's court in March 1513.

2.3.2. Margaret's inventories

Towards the end of her life, Margaret had an extensive collection of artworks and precious objects. She owned approximately 176 paintings, 380 books and manuscripts, 130 tapestries and fifty-two sculptures, in addition to prints, drawings, jewellery, exotica, furniture and decorative tableware.[169] Her collection came into existence through a combination of her own commissions, inheritances and gifts, in addition to objects purchased with the help of agents, and objects acquired from collectors who had decided to sell off parts of their collection. Margaret took a great interest in documenting her collection, and there are two important inventories still extant today, one from 1516 and one constructed between 1523 and 1524.

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[167] Federica Veratelli, 'Jacopo de' Barbari alla corte di Margherita d'Austria (ca. 1510-1516). Il *milieu* Italiano, qualche aggiustamento e una notizia inedita', *Venezia Cinquecento. Studi di storia dell'arte e della cultura* 21:42 (2011), 61–73 (p. 64).
[168] Ibid.
[169] Dagmar Eichberger, 'Margaret of Austria and the Documentation of her Collection in Mechelen', in *Los inventarios de Carlos V y la familia imperial*, ed. by : Fernando Checa Cremades, 3 vols (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2010), III, 2351–64 (p. 2352).

The first page of the inventory from 1516 states that the inventory was drawn up 'en presence de madame' (in the presence of Her Ladyship).[170] This indicates that Margaret actively took part in inventorying all moveable objects in her possession. Margaret was probably not present when her second inventory was made. She signed the document on 17 April 1524 in Antwerp, not in Mechelen, and she is not mentioned as being present in the document anywhere.[171] This may explain why the descriptions of the same artworks in both inventories differ. This is exemplified by the fact that in the inventory of 1516, the names of the artist are given much more frequently than in the second inventory.[172]

Both her inventories contain evaluations of the artworks in question. Terms by which the objects are categorized in the 1516 inventory are, for instance 'bien vieux', 'fort anticque', 'de bonne paincture' and 'de bonne main'.[173] In the second inventory, the terms are even more differentiated: 'beau et grant', 'fort belle facon', 'fort bien faict', 'fort exquis', and 'riche'.[174] In her first inventory only the library is indicated as a specific location, while in her second inventory most of her paintings are hanging in her bedchamber ('seconde chambre de chemynée').[175] From her inventories, it appears that Margaret had a very well-informed taste, and owned paintings from artists that were considered the best of their time. The only Italian artist mentioned by name is her court painter Jacopo de' Barbari, but there is no doubt that there were more Italian paintings in her collection.[176]

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[170] The first page of the inventory from 1516 reads: 'Jnuentoire de painctures fait a Malines le xvij^e de juillet xv^c xbj en presence de madame monsieur le conte de Montreuel et monsieur de Montbaillon'. Inventory of paintings of Margaret of Austria, 17 July 1516. Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille (hereafter ADNL), Chambre des Comptes de Lille, no. 123904, fol. 1. Transcription from *Los inventarios de Carlos V y la familia imperial*, ed. by Fernando Checa Cremades, 3 vols (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2010), III, p. 2393.
[171] Eichberger, 'Margaret of Austria', p. 2353.
[172] Names appearing in the 1516 inventory are, for example: Jacques Barbaris, Maistre Hans (Hans Memling), Rrogier (Rogier van der Weyden), Dierick (Dieric Bouts (c. 1415-75)), and paintre Johannes (Jan van Eyck).
[173] Eichberger, 'Margaret of Austria', p. 2353.
[174] Ibid., pp. 2353–54.
[175] Inventory of tableware, jewellery, tapestries, paintings and other objects of Margaret of Austria, 9 July 1523 and 17 April 1524, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter BNF), Paris, Cinq Cents de Colbert, 128, fol. 65. Transcription from Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios de Carlos V*, III, p. 2450.
[176] It appears that Margaret's collecting activity was neither exclusively fixed to Burgundy nor to Italy. Her collection is characterized by stylistic diversity and internationality. Dagmar Eichberger, 'Stilpluralismus und Internationalität am Hofe Margaretes von Österreich (1506-1530)', in *Wege zur Renaissance. Beobachtungen zu*

One specific painted panel from Margaret's inventory probably ended up in her collection due to her interest in and ties with Italy, and is of particular interest for the migration of the motif of the Holy Infants Embracing from Italy to the Netherlands. In the first inventory of 1516, this panel is described as depicting two small children who kiss each other.[177] In the inventory drawn up between 1523 and 1524, the panel is described similarly, although with more extensive details: 'Item vng aultre tableau de deux petit enffans, embrassant et baisant l'ung l'autre sur l'arbette fort, bien fait'.[178] In both inventories the compiler does not give the name or the nationality of the artist. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace the painting back to Marco d'Oggiono.

In addition to the earlier mentioned provenance, there are several arguments for identifying the panel in the collection of Margaret of Austria with the painting by Marco d'Oggiono. A strong hint for identifying Margaret's painting with the Italian artist, and not as a version by an Antwerp adapter, rests in the dates of the Italian and Antwerp versions. The painting was in the collection of Margaret as early as 1516, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the composition. When looking at the Antwerp variants, none is dated before 1520.[179] According to Larry Silver, the version by Quinten Metsys now in Devonshire appears to be a workshop copy rather than a painting by Metsys himself, and could not have been made before 1520 (fig. 2.20).[180] Something similar seems to be the case with the versions made by Joos van Cleve.

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den Angfängen neuzeitlicher Kunstauffassung im Rheinland und den Nachbargebieten um 1500, ed. by Norbert Nußbaum and Claudia Euskirchen, Cologne: SH-Verlag, 2003, 261–83.

[177] 'Les paincture estans en la librairye de Madame. Premierment, ung tableau de deux petitz josnes enffans qui se baisant l'ung a l'autre'. Inventory of paintings of Margaret of Austria, 17 July 1516. ADNL, Chambre des Comptes de Lille, no. 123904, fol. 3v. Transcription from Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios de Carlos V*, III, p. 2393.

[178] Inventory of tableware, jewellery, tapestries, paintings and other objects of Margaret of Austria, 9 July 1523 and 17 April 1524, BNF, Paris, Cinq Cents de Colbert, 128, fol. 73. Transcription from Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios de Carlos V*, III, p. 2452.

[179] Jochen Sander, 'Leonardo in Antwerpen. Joos van Cleves "Christus- und Johannesknabe, einander umarmend"', *Städel-Jahrbuch*, 15 (1995), 175–84 (p. 176).

[180] Larry Silver, *The Paintings of Quentin Massys with Catalogue Raisonné*, Oxford: Phaidon, 1984, pp. 221–22.

Fig. 2.20. Quinten Metsys, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, before 1530, oil on panel, 34,3 x 45,7 cm. Chatsworth House, Devonshire Collection.

None of the many versions by Van Cleve includes a date on the painting itself. However, due to the general assumption that Van Cleve painted his versions after a lost version by Leonardo da Vinci himself, many scholars usually date Van Cleve's series of the Holy Infants Embracing between 1529 and 1535, the date of his presumed visit to the court of King Francis I of France (1494–1547).[181] One reason for this assumption is a document from 2 December 1529, mentioning a 'portraictz deux enfans eulx baisans ensemble', which was sold by the Antwerp art dealer Jehan Dubois (dates unknown) to Francis I for sixty-seven *livres* and eight *sols*.[182] This was most likely a version painted by an Antwerp artist. Dubois was a prominent local art dealer, and due to Van Cleve's reputation and specialisation in this composition it is likely that is was a version from his workshop.[183] Even when investigating the versions by Van Cleve or his workshop stylistically closest to d'Oggiono's panel, and partly matching the description in the 1523-1524 inventory of 'sur l'arbette', a date before 1516 seems implausible (figs. 2.21 and 2.22).[184] This means that the painting in the collection of Margaret of Austria is not likely to be a version by Van Cleve. In contrast with the Metsys and Van Cleve versions, the possible date of the painting by Marco d'Oggiono favours this panel as being the one in Margaret's collection. According to the

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[181] Micha Leeflang, *Joos van Cleve. A Sixteenth-Century Antwerp Artist and his Workshop*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, p. 178.
[182] Cécile Scailliérez, *François Ier et l'Art des Pays-Bas* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 18 October 2017–15 January 2018), Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2017, p. 295.
[183] Leeflang, *Joos van Cleve*, p. 178.
[184] The painting by d'Oggiono seems to be the only version documented in the Netherlands in which the two children are seated on a lawn, without any other artistic details, as stated in Margaret's 1523–1524 inventory. Laura Traversi, 'Il tema dei "due fanciulli che si baciano e abbracciano" tra "leonardismo italiano" e "leonardismo fiammingo"', *Raccolta Vinciana* 27 (1997), 373–473 (p. 390).

Fig. 2.21. Joos van Cleve and Workshop, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, c. 1515–20, oil on panel, 97,2 x 59 cm. Private Collection.

Fig. 2.22. Joos van Cleve, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, after 1516, oil on panel, 104 x 74 cm. Private collection.

abovementioned document, d'Oggiono received a commission for a painting depicting 'Gesù Bambino e San Giovannino abbracciati' as early as 1513, making it plausible that d'Oggiono was already painting this motif before this date.[185]

Additional arguments support Margaret's painting's Milanese origins. Margaret had several ties with this city and its court. Her father, Emperor Maximilian I, was married to Bianca Maria Sforza (1472–1510), the niece of Ludovico Sforza. Since 1492, Ludovico had very actively promoted his niece as second wife of Maximilian.[186] By negotiating the marriage of his niece, Ludovico secured the support of Emperor Maximilian for his claim to the Sforza duchy.[187] With his investiture of a dowry of 400.000 ducats, Ludovico obtained full

[185] Moro, 'Spunti sulla diffusione', p. 125.
[186] Syson, 'Leonardo and Leonardism', p. 113.
[187] Ibid., p. 108.

legitimacy as the Duke of Milan.[188] In Margaret's inventory, objects from the collection of Ludovico Sforza can be identified, such as a bed of state with red velour and silver ornaments.[189] This could have been a gift from the Milanese duke, or she could have purchased it after the duke's death in 1508. Another link between the Sforza Duchy and the Habsburg Netherlands is the fact that Ludovico's son Massimiliano Sforza was sent to the Netherlands during his youth, and subsequently lived in exile in the Holy Roman Empire until he became Duke of Milan in 1512.[190]

During the marriage of Bianca Maria and Maximilian, *leonardismo* had become the unofficial court style of Ludovico. As mentioned, the art of Leonardo and his followers was identified with Ludovico's rule, and was adopted for works commissioned by his courtiers and supporters. The tradition of exchanging gifts between courts was practiced on the most diverse occasions and varied in nature, but it appears that some similar sort of exchange happened between Milan and Mechelen.[191] As mentioned earlier, Margaret received the *Sforza Hours* from Bona of Savoy, who had been married to Galeazzo Maria Sforza and had been Duchess consort and Regent of Milan. Margaret gave this manuscript to her nephew Charles V (1500–1558), on the occasion of his coronation as Holy Roman Empire.[192]

The panel depicting the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing* in her collection could also have been one of the various gifts presented to her on one of the many diplomatic occasions between the Netherlands and Milan. In general, artistic taste seems to have been affected by political alliances, and ambassadors and other diplomatic figures played

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[188] Stefano Meschini, 'Luigi XII, Massimiliano I e la Lombardia', in *L'architettura militare nell'età di Leonardo. 'Guerre milanesi' e diffusione del bastione in Italia e in Europa*, ed. by Marino Viganò, Bellinzona: Edizioni Casagrande SA, 2008, 25–64 (p. 36).
[189] Dagmar Eichberger, 'Eine kluge Witwe', p. 26.
[190] Jozef Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens betreffende het Breviarium Grimani', *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 1 (1938), pp. 19–30 (p. 20).
[191] On the culture of exchanging gifts at the court of Margaret of Austria, see: Dagmar Eichberger, 'The Culture of Gifts. A Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective', in *Women of Distinction. Margaret of York. Margaret of Austria* (Mechelen, Lamot, 17 September–18 December 2005), ed. by Dagmar Eichberger, Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, 287–95.
[192] Eichberger, 'The Culture of Gifts', p. 291.

a role in the circulation of drawings, models and workforce.[193] In this case, one of the diplomatic contacts who could have brought the panel with the Holy Infants Embracing to Mechelen is Antonio Siciliano, chamberlain and secretary of Massimiliano Sforza who stayed at Margaret's court in 1513.[194] A letter sent from Massimiliano Sforza to Margaret on 2 March 1513, shows that Siciliano was sent to the Mechelen court on a diplomatic mission, with a high recommendation from the Milanese duke.[195] It is plausible that Antonio Siciliano brought gifts with him on this mission, and one of these gifts could have been a Milanese Holy Infants Embracing.

In general, the influential people surrounding Margaret of Austria, such as her father Maximilian I and her nephew Charles V, were interested in the history of Roman and Greek rulers, and they emulated these examples in many ways. Margaret appears to have joined this trend, by inviting Italian artists and courtiers, and by collecting Italian art.[196] The inventories of Margaret's collection suggest that she particularly valued Italian art from around 1500, which would also fit the idea that her version of the Holy Infants Embracing is the one by Marco d'Oggiono. In addition, the desire for art by Leonardo and his followers was characteristic for many courts, such as the Mantuan court of Isabella d'Este.[197] It is possible that Margaret wanted to follow this courtly trend by owning a painting in this style, which, in

[193] Nolde, Svalduz and Río Barredo, 'City courts', p. 279.
[194] Carmello Trasselli, 'Sulla economia siciliana del quattrocento', *Archivio Storico Messinese*, 40:33 (1982), pp. 5–30 (p. 29).
[195] Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens', p. 28: 'Très haulte et très exellente princesse… Madame, j'envoye par delà mon très chier et bien amé chambellan, escuier Anthoine Cecilian, porteur de ceste, pour aucuns mes affaires, auquel j'ai donné charge Vous visiter et faire mes deues salutacion et humble recommandacion en Vous offrant mon bon voulloir et léal service. Madame, il pourroit estre que, pour la briesve expedition desdites mes affaires, ledit Anthoine auroit besoing d'aide ou faveur. Par quoy Vous prie bien affectueusement l'avoir pour recommandé et pour l'amour de moy luy voulloir donner assistance et Vous me ferés honneur et singulier plaisir… Milan, le 2 mars 1513 / Votre humble cousin et très obeisant serviteur / Maximilian, duc de Milan. / [reverse] A très haulte et très excellente princesse, madame Marguerite d'Autrice', in ADNL, B 18864 n 31259.
[196] Eichberger, 'Stilpluralismus', p. 271.
[197] Cristina Acidini, Roberto Bellucci and Cecilia Frosinini, 'New hypotheses on the *Madonna of the Yarnwinder* series', in *Leonardo da Vinci's Technical Practice: Paintings, Drawings and Influence*, ed. by Michel Menu, Paris: Hermann Éditeurs, 2014, 114–25 (p. 114).

addition to the possibility of receiving the painting as a gift, she could also have bought with the help of agents.

A final important fact is that in recent years, multiple versions of Van Cleve's Holy Infants Embracing have been investigated with infrared reflectography (fig. 2.23).[198] These showed that almost all preparatory underdrawings had been made with a cartoon. The outlines of the figures of the two infants on the paintings by Van Cleve correspond precisely with those on the painting by Marco d'Oggiono. It has been ruled out in terms of date that Van Cleve painted a version of the Holy Infants Embracing before d'Oggiono, and therefore the only possibility enabling the precise match of d'Oggiono's painting with Van Cleve, is that Van Cleve saw the Italian painting somewhere, most probably in Margaret's collection. All in all, by taking into account the descriptions of the painting in Margaret's inventories, the dating of both the Antwerp and the Italian Holy Infants Embracing, the collecting practices of Margaret of Austria and contemporary courtly customs, it seems more plausible that the painting described in both of her inventories from 1516 and 1523–1524 is Marco d'Oggiono's version.

Fig. 2.23. Joos van Cleve and Workshop, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, c. 1520–35, oil on panel, 74,7 x 57,6 cm. Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago.

[198] The most recent interpretations of the IRR investigation of the Van Cleve panels can be found in Leeflang, *Joos van Cleve*.

2.4. From Mechelen to Antwerp: **Schaepken met naeckte kinderen**

From the collection of Margaret of Austria, the motif of the two embracing infants found its way to Antwerp. More specifically, it became one of the signature paintings associated with the workshop of Joos van Cleve. With at least six pupils and even more journeymen and assistants, Van Cleve had one of the most productive workshops of Antwerp during the first half of the sixteenth century.[199] In addition to paintings with the subject of the Holy Infants Embracing, Van Cleve and his workshop produced additional Leonardesque paintings, and around twenty percent of his artistic output can be related to Leonardo and his followers.[200]

Few primary documents about Van Cleve survive. The artist is mentioned eight times in the Antwerp *Liggeren* or ledgers, a list of members of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke, in addition to a few remarks in documents of the Antwerp municipal officers, the 'Schepenregisters'.[201] Van Cleve became a master painter in Antwerp in 1511, and five years later he took on Claes van Brugghe (dates unknown) as his first student. In total, Van Cleve trained five pupils, in addition to his son Cornelis van Cleve (1520–1567).[202] In 1519, Van Cleve became chairman of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke, together with the glass artist Simon van Dale (dates unknown). He extended his position into the following year, when he was joined by the painter Jan Wellens de Cock (c. 1480/1490–1527). Chairman of the Guild of Saint Luke was an important function, only given to highly regarded members, meaning that Joos van Cleve must have been an important and well-known figure in Antwerp's artistic

[199] Ewing, 'Joos van Cleve und Leonardo', p. 115.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Unless mentioned otherwise, remarks on Van Cleve's students and his role as *deken* or chairman of the Guild of St. Luke are derived from: Micha Leeflang, '"Uytnemende Schilder van Antwerpen". Joos van Cleve: atelier, productie en werkmethoden' (dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2007), pp. 21–29.
[202] Although Cornelis van Cleve is not registered as a pupil of his father, it was common practice. He was probably not registered because when a son became a pupil of his father, he was not obligated to pay a contribution to the guild. Micha Leeflang, 'Joos van Cleve and his Assistants. Questions of Identity by "Faults or Virtues" (Fehler oder Tugenden)?', in *Invisible Hands? The Role and Status of the Painter's Journeyman in the Low Countries c. 1450-1650*, ed. by Natasja Peeters, Leuven: Peeters, 2007, 67–82 (p. 68).

milieu by 1519. This is confirmed by the fact that the artist received many important commissions. One of his most prominent patrons was the French King Francis I. On 17 February 1533, Van Cleve permitted the Antwerp art dealer Joris Vezeleer (c. 1493–1570) to receive a payment on his behalf for the supply of three paintings. Van Cleve was commissioned a portrait of Francis (fig. 2.24), a panel portraying *Lucretia* and a painting depicting *Joseph*.[203] In addition, it is fairly certain that Francis I also owned one of the panels depicting the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*.

Fig. 2.24. Joos van Cleve, *Portrait of Francis I, King of France*, c. 1532–33, oil on panel, 72,1 x 59,2 cm. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Between 1529 and 1535, Van Cleve is not mentioned in the documents of the Guild of Saint Luke. This has led to the assumption that Van Cleve resided at the French court during this period.[204] If this was the case, it is likely that Van Cleve personally saw paintings by Leonardo da Vinci. The French king had contracted Leonardo as his court painter during the last years of the latter's life, and Leonardo had brought paintings with him to France. Among the paintings present at the French court were Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* (1503), *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* (c. 1503) and *St. John the Baptist* (1513).[205] The Louvre *Virgin of the Rocks* might have been in the French royal collection during this period as well. However, this painting is not mentioned as part of the collection before 1625 when it was recorded by

[203] Leeflang, '"Uytnemende Schilder van Antwerpen"', p. 29.
[204] There are no primary documents available confirming this invitation or his stay in France.
[205] All three paintings are currently kept at the Musée du Louvre in Paris.

Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657), and it is not known where the painting was before this date.[206]

Instead of encountering Leonardo's art in France, it is more likely that Van Cleve already came into contact with Leonardesque inventions during his earliest years in Antwerp. During the first half of the sixteenth century, this city grew to one of the largest international trading metropoles in Europe, and developed a network of international trade. The influx and exchange of goods and art grew, and the communities of international merchants increased.[207] Illustrative of the situation in Antwerp during the early sixteenth century and the ease with which Italian art could be acquired are the descriptions found in Albrecht Dürer's diaries of his Netherlandish sojourn between 1520 and 1521. On 3 September 1520, Dürer met with Tommaso Vincidor (1493–1536), a pupil of Raphael (1483–1520) who was sent to Antwerp by Pope Leo X (1475–1521) to oversee the manufacture of the tapestries depicting Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* for the Sistine Chapel.[208] Supposedly, Tommaso Vincidor had Raphael's designs with him, which Dürer was able to see. On 11 February 1521, Dürer mentions that he met the Florentine Tommaso Bombelli. A little while later, he discusses the art he bought and traded with different people. Among these entries, he mentions buying Italian art from Jacob Tierick for three guilders.[209]

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[206] Syson and Keith, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 165.

[207] Ewing, 'Joos van Cleve und Leonardo', p. 114.

[208] *Albrecht Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlass*, ed. by Hans Rupprich, 3 vols (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956–1969), I: Autobiografische Schriften / Briefwechsel / Dichtungen; Beischriften, Notizen und Gutachten; Zeugnisse zum persönlichen Leben (1956), p. 158: 'Jtem des Raphael von Vrbins ding ist nach sein todt als verzogen. Aber seiner discipuln einer mit nahmen Thomas Polonier, ein guter mahler, der hat mich begerth zu sehn. So ist er zu mir kommen und hat mir ein gulden ring geschenckt, antiga, gar mit ein guten geschniten stain, ist 5 gulden werth.'

[209] *Albrecht Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlass*, I, p. 165: 'Am montag zu nacht hat mich faßnacht geladen herr Lupes zu dem grossen pancket, welcher biß 2 uhr wehret, und was fast köstlich. Jtem herr Lorenz Sterck hat mir ein spaniolischen pelcz geschenckt. Und auff dem obgemelten fest warn gar viel köstlicher mummers und sonderlich Tomasin Pombelli [Tomasso Bombelli]. […] Jch hab 3 gulden dem Jan Türcken für welsch kunst geben.' Jan Türcken should probably be identified as Jacob Tierick, who published sixty-four leaves depicting the Passion of Christ in 1513. *Welsch kunst* is translated into modern English as Italian art. Welsch was used in early modern times to identify Italy and France.

Dürer was only a visitor in Antwerp, but nonetheless came into contact with many Italian artists, merchants and diplomats, and was able to acquire Italian artworks rather easily. During the first half of the sixteenth century, Antwerp thrived as a commercial centre, and international merchants introduced its citizens to their respective industries. Especially the Italian merchant community was strongly represented in Antwerp, with merchants from Genoa, Lucca, Florence and Milan introducing the city to the Italian banking system, their commercial techniques, Italian Renaissance artistic inventions and Italian luxury industries.[210] Antwerp's growth as an international market and harbour enabled local artists to remain informed about the latest trends and international demands in art. For example, when Spanish monasteries developed a taste for smaller altarpieces, the artistic community in Antwerp was able to respond to this demand quickly, and shipped several works to Spain.[211] It is not hard to imagine how easy it must have been for residents of Antwerp to come into contact with Italian art, more specifically the art of Leonardo and his followers.

The introduction of Italian art in the Southern Netherlands had already happened through artists like Rogier van der Weyden and Petrus Christus (c. 1410/1420–1475/1476), who had applied the rules of perspective in their artworks, as well as some Italian inventions such as the *Sacra Conversazione*.[212] Hans Memling was indebted to Italian art, mainly through his prevailing clientele of Italian commissioners, and Gerard David incorporated Italian Renaissance architectural elements in his compositions.[213] One artist possibly

[210] Bruno Blondé, Oscar Gelderblom & Peter Stabel, 'Foreign merchant communities in Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam, c. 1350-1650', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Donatella Calabi et al., 4 vols (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006-2007), II: Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700, ed. by Donatella Calabi and Stephen T. Christensen (2007), 154–74 (p. 168).
[211] Filip Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market. Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age*, in *Studies in Urban European History (1100-1800) (SEUH)*, ed. by M. Boone and A.L. Van Bruaene, 56 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003–2021), 2, 2003, pp. 17–18.
[212] Maryan W. Ainsworth, *Gerard David. Purity of Vision in an Age of Transition*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998, pp. 298–99.
[213] Ibid., p. 299.

responsible for the introduction of the inventions of Leonardo da Vinci and his followers in Bruges and Antwerp was an apprentice of Gerard David, the Lombard Ambrosius Benson (c. 1495/1500–1550). Benson moved from Italy to Bruges in 1519, where he joined David's workshop. Some of his paintings clearly show his Italian origins, such as the *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist* (fig. 2.25). It is quite possible that he had a part in introducing David to Italian, or more specific Lombard art. For example, there are parallels between David's paintings of the *Virgin and Child with the Milk Soup* and Bernardino de' Conti's *Madonna Suckling the Child* (figs. 2.26 and 2.27). David joined the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke in 1515.[214] It is probable that he continued his Italianate compositions for the Antwerp art market. The interest in the art of Leonardo was already present in the Southern Netherlands towards the end of the fifteenth century, which could have been a demand that David took advantage of. This demand only increased in the subsequent period, and during the sixteenth century, it was answered predominantly by Joos van Cleve and his workshop.

Fig. 2.25. Ambrosius Benson, *The Holy Family and Saint John the Baptist*, 1527, oil on panel, 83 x 65,5 cm. Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

Two compositions by Van Cleve are indebted to inventions by Leonardo and his followers, namely the *Madonna of the Cherries* and the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, both of which were probably painted from 1520 onward (fig. 2.28). Of the

[214] Suzanne Sulzberger, 'L'influence de Léonard de Vinci et ses Répercussions à Anvers', *Arte Lombarda* 1 (1955), pp. 105–11 (p. 105).

Fig. 2.26. Gerard David, *Madonna and Child with the Milk Soup*, c. 1510–15, oil on panel, 41 x 32 cm. Genoa, Musei di Strada Nova.

Fig. 2.27. Bernardino de' Conti, *Madonna del Latte*, c. 1500–10, oil on panel, 45,3 x 62,1 cm. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara.

first composition, no less than twenty-nine versions by Van Cleve survive. In context, there was only one composition more in demand in Antwerp during this period, namely the *Adoration of the Magi* from the workshop of Jan de Beer (c. 1475–1528), of which forty-five copies are known today.[215] The prototype for the *Madonna of the Cherries* was probably a version by the Milanese Giampietrino (fig. 2.29). [216] Van Cleve modified the Italian example by exchanging the Italian landscape for a more Netherlandish one, inspired by the Antwerp landscape painters of his time. As mentioned, the model for the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing* was probably the version by Marco d'Oggiono in the collection of Margaret of Austria. Margaret of Austria regularly extended invitations to artists and diplomats to come and admire her art collection.[217] One of the artists invited by Margaret was

[215] Ewing, 'Joos van Cleve und Leonardo', p. 116.
[216] The outlines of the figures on Van Cleve's versions match exactly with those of Giampietrino, and it is therefore generally accepted that Van Cleve traced the latter's painting and subsequently made a cartoon of this tracing, enabling him to reproduce the composition numerous times.
[217] Leeflang, *Joos van Cleve*, p. 79.

Fig. 2.28. Joos van Cleve and Workshop, *Madonna of the Cherries*, between 1525–49, oil on panel, 71 x 51 cm. Private collection.

Fig. 2.29. Giampietrino, *Madonna of the Cherries*, between 1508–10, oil on panel, 64,8 x 49 cm. Private collection.

Dürer. In the account in his travel diary, Dürer mentions being invited by Margaret to view her entire collection. He claims that he saw forty of the best oil paintings he had ever seen.[218] It is unclear whether or not Joos van Cleve was ever invited by Margaret to visit her collection, but due to his reputation this seems likely.[219] Further research into the many different variants of the Holy Infants Embracing by Joos van Cleve and his workshop show that the outlines of the figures match in both the vertical and horizontal renditions, confirming that Van Cleve used patterns or cartoons during the production of these paintings, which he either pounced or traced for the transfer of figures. The delineation of the fingers and the toes of the two infants on the painting by Van Cleve corresponds precisely with those on the

[218] *Albrecht Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlass*, I, p. 173: 'Jch bin auch beÿ frau Margareth gewest und hab sie mein kaÿser sehen lassen vnd ir den schencken wollen. Aber do sie ein solchen mißfall darinnen hett, do führet ich ihn wieder weg. Und den freÿdag wis mir frau Margaret all jhr schön ding; darunter sahe jch beÿ 40 klainer täfelein van öhlfarben, der gleichen jch von reinigkeith und guth darzu nie gesehen hab.'

[219] The connections between Joos van Cleve and Margaret of Austria are suggested by the fact that Van Cleve painted the portrait of Margaret's father, Maximilian I of Austria.

painting by Marco d'Oggiono, which could only have been possible if Van Cleve traced d'Oggiono's painting in Mechelen.[220]

2.4.1. A technique for serial production

Already in the fourteenth century, in chapter twenty-three of his *Il libro dell'arte*, Cennino Cennini describes the technique with which artists could replicate their examples one on one, with the help of tracing paper:

> '[…] place this tracing paper over the figure or drawing, stuck lightly in four corners with a little red or green wax. Instantly, due to the transparency of the tracing paper, the figure or drawing beneath appears in such a way and form that you can see it clearly. So then take a finely cut quill, or a fine brush of fine vair and you can go around tracing the outlines and extreme points of the drawing beneath in ink, and touching in a few shadows here and there likewise, depending on what you can see and do. And then, removing the paper, you can touch in a few whites and reliefs on top as the fancy takes you.'[221]

This practice of pouncing and tracing had been used by Leonardo. North of the Alps, the use of cartoons in the underdrawings of paintings had been used by many Netherlandish artists as well. For example, Gerard David was already using it as a routine workshop practice by the first decade of the sixteenth century, especially in many of his paintings depicting the

[220] *Northern European and Spanish Paintings before 1600 in the Art Institute of Chicago*, ed. by Martha Wolff, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008, p. 163 and Leeflang, *Joos van Cleve*, p. 85.
[221] Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, p. 44. Italian original: 'su metti questa carta lucida insulla fighura over di / sengnio attachata gientilmente in quattro canti conu pocho / di ciera rossa o verde disubito per lo lustro della carta lucida tra / sparre lafighura over disengnio di sotto informa e in modo / che l vedi chiaro allora togli o ppenna tenperata ben sottile / o ppennel sottile di vaio sottile econinchiosro puoi andare / ricerchando icontorni elle stremita del disengnio di sotto e cchosi / gieneralmente tocchando alchuno onbre si chome a tte / e possibile potere vedere efare e llevando poi la carta / poi tocchare dalchuni bianchetti et rilievi si chome tu ai i / piacieri su.'

Virgin and Child and the *Adoration of the Magi*.[222] Jan Gossaert, a contemporary of Van Cleve, probably learned this technique from David when they worked together in Bruges between 1509 and 1515.[223] Gossaert employed it in the *Deesis* (between 1510 and 1520), a composition derived from the famous *Ghent Altarpiece* by Jan and Hubert van Eyck (c. 1366–1426). Gossaert had traced four heads from the altarpiece, in addition to a cartoon for the decorative canopy, which he transferred onto panel and painted in oil.[224] When Raphael's cartoons for the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries arrived in Brussels, the practice and the use of cartoons became even more widely known in the Netherlands.[225] Van Cleve probably knew David and Gossaert, as they were all known figures in the artistic scene of Antwerp, and he was probably also aware of the manufacture of Raphael's tapestry series, since this was a famous commission already in the sixteenth century.

It is therefore very probable that Van Cleve encountered the practice somewhere during the early years of his career. When investigating the two most extensive series by Van Cleve with infrared reflectography, the *Madonna of the Cherries* and the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, it becomes apparent that Van Cleve applied the tracing and pricking of cartoons for transferring the figures. With a transparent or pricked cartoon, it was possible to vary in composition. The application of this practice becomes clear when comparing different versions of the *Madonna of the Cherries*, which are each other's mirrored images. By using cartoons, a rapid workshop production was enabled, which would explain the existence of the approximately twenty-nine versions of the *Madonna of the Cherries* and the approximately eighteen versions of the Holy Infants Embracing.

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[222] Ainsworth, *Gerard David*, p. 293.
[223] Maryan W. Ainsworth, 'Observations concerning Gossart's Working Methods', in *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures. Jan Gossart's Renaissance. The Complete Works*, ed. by Maryan W. Ainsworth (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5 October 2010–7 January 2011), New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010, 69–88 (p. 74).
[224] Ibid., p. 77.
[225] *Tapestry in the Renaissance. Art and Magnificence* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12 March–19 June 2002), ed. by Thomas P. Campbell, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010, pp. 233–43.

The isolated motif of the two children embracing was also painted by other Antwerp artists. Quinten Metsys is known for emulating Leonardo's studies of grotesques in his own paintings.[226] He supposedly also painted a *Madonna of the Cherries*, which unfortunately is now lost. In his versions of the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, Metsys painted the two infants inside a bedroom of a bourgeois household (fig. 2.20).[227] Supposedly, Gossaert, or more likely someone from his circle, also composed his own version of the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, this time placing them in a Netherlandish landscape (fig. 2.30).

Fig. 2.30. Attributed to Jan Gossaert, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, 16th century, oil on panel, 31,5 x 43. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

2.4.2. A market for the Holy Infants Embracing

As mentioned, there are approximately eighteen versions of the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing* associated with Van Cleve's workshop still extant today. Determining a chronology among these versions proves problematic, since none of the paintings were dated on the panel, and no dates of commissions are known today. There are many variations between the different versions. Not only was the format diversified by both horizontal and vertical compositions, but there are also differences in execution and levels of detail.[228] Overall, it seems that the vertical versions were executed in a higher quality, suggesting that

[226] Silver, *The Paintings of Quentin Massys*, p. 179.
[227] Ibid., p. 180.
[228] Horizontal compositions are nowadays kept at Utrecht and Weimar, and vertical compositions can be found in the collections of Antwerp, Chicago and Brussels, amongst others.

these paintings had a larger contribution by Joos van Cleve himself.[229] The smaller horizontal versions on the other hand, are more likely to have been executed by workshop assistants, since they were executed more swiftly and less detailed. This would suggest that these paintings were intended for the open market, possibly produced on speculation and for a less wealthy clientele.[230] Another striking characteristic of these paintings by Van Cleve is that all versions appear to have been made in pairs. There is no conclusive explanation for this, but it could be that Van Cleve and his assistants worked on two panels simultaneously, or that as soon as one painting was finished and sold, a copy of it was made, in order to continuously provide the same type of painting.[231]

One version by Van Cleve remains closest to the version by Marco d'Oggiono, which also exists in two renderings (figs. 2.21 and 2.22). Contrary to later versions in which Van Cleve replaced the Italian landscape with a more Netherlandish landscape, the landscape in these versions remained close to d'Oggiono's rendering. A striking difference from the Italian panel is the addition of the arch, with elaborate architectural details and animals perched on the ledge. This arch functions as a frame, and this framing by Van Cleve could also point to the fact that his paintings were done after the version by d'Oggiono. In a way, the frame functions as a border between the Italian artistic invention, and Van Cleve's own artistry. This practice of painting frames was prevalent in illuminations from the fifteenth century onwards, as can be observed in the *Breviarium Grimani*, produced in either Ghent or Bruges around 1520, and in the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy* from circa 1477. In book illumination, the frame often functions as a dividing line between formal and content areas, separating the sacred scene from the illuminator's own artistry.[232] In Van Cleve's painting, it might have functioned

[229] Leeflang, *Joos van Cleve*, p. 76.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid., p. 81.
[232] Fridericke Conrad, 'Rahmen und Ränder. Funktionsbestimmung und medienreflexive Techniken rahmender Elemente in der Buckmalerei um 1500', in *Rahmen und Frames. Dispositionen des visuellen in der Kunst der*

as a separation between a valued artistic invention, the painting from Margaret of Austria's collection, and his own artistic inventions. With the border, Van Cleve could show his own artistic talent, including illusionistic details such as the bird, the fly and the butterfly that appear in the foreground, while framing an image that was not his own invention.

The popularity of the Holy Infants Embracing among patrons from the higher classes of society is attested by the only painting in the series of which the original owner is known (fig. 2.23). This painting is the only version which depicts coats of arms, to be identified with those of Pompeius Occo (1483–1537) and his wife Gerbrich Claesdr (1491–1558).[233] Occo was a German merchant from Augsburg, who around 1511 lived in Amsterdam as an agent for the Augsburg Fugger family, and worked as the banker for King Christian II of Denmark (1481–1559).[234] His house in Amsterdam was called 'Het Paradijs' (Paradise), which housed a large library that served as an international meeting place for merchants, humanists, artists, and more.[235] Occo did not commission the painting from Van Cleve, since the coats of arms depicted on the architecture of the painting do not appear in the underdrawing. They are therefore added later, suggesting that he may have bought an already completed version, and requested that the coats of arms were added, or that he received the painting as a gift.[236] Occo possibly saw the painting by d'Oggiono in the collection of Margaret of Austria, since he acted as an advisor and negotiation leader for Margaret on several occasions, and was directly involved with the regent's court as negotiator for the payment of the dowry of Isabella of Austria (1501–1526), Margaret's niece, following her marriage to Christian II of Denmark.[237]

Vormoderne, ed. by Daniela Wagner and Fridericke Conrad, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2018, 23–40 (p. 33).

[233] Wolff, *Northern European and Spanish Paintings*, p. 165.

[234] Leeflang, *Joos van Cleve*, p. 83.

[235] Yvonne Bleyerveld, 'Introduction', in *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700. Jacob Cornelisz*, comp. by Yvonne Bleyerveld, ed. by Huigen Leeflang, Oudekerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2019, xxi–lxii (p. xliv).

[236] Wolff, *Northern European and Spanish Paintings*, p. 165.

[237] Ewing, 'Joos van Cleve und Leonardo', p. 121.

This may have sparked the desire of owning a similar painting to the one in the collection of Margaret.

Another clue to the success of the motif among collectors from the beginning of the sixteenth century until well into the seventeenth century is a painting by David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690), who was the court painter and curator of the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Habsburg (1614–1662).[238] One of his paintings depicts the archducal gallery, in which on the left half of the composition, directly above the *Nativity at Night* placed on the ground, a picture of the Holy Infants Embracing is depicted (fig. 2.31). Teniers even included the name of the presumed artist on the frame of the painting: Bernard van Orley (1487–1541). This alleged version by Van Orley is no longer extant, but it is very plausible that he did paint his own version, since he was the court painter of Margaret of Austria and must have seen the painting by Marco d'Oggiono first hand.

No commissions for the Holy Infants Embracing survive, suggesting that they were all painted for the open market. Van Cleve was able to paint so many variants by organizing his workshop efficiently. He hired multiple workshop assistants and employed practices to make the production of his paintings as fast and as smooth as possible.[239] The production of a series of works depicting the same subject was done for several reasons. Some of these works were made in response to commissions, but others were intended from the outset for serial production. Producing such works enabled the artist to appeal to the lower as well as the higher end of the market and to supply for both demands.[240] These paintings were of economic importance for the workshop, since they not only provided income, but also

[238] Laura Traversi & Jørgen Wadum, 'Un tableau avec *Deux Enfants S'Embrassant* au Mauritshuis', in: Hélène Verougstraete and Roger Van Schoute, *La Peinture dans les Pays-Bas au 16e Siècle. Pratiques d'Atelier. Infrarouges et autres Méthodes d'Investigation*, Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1999, 99–109 (pp. 106–7).
[239] Leeflang, *Joos van Cleve*, p. 85.
[240] O'Malley, *Painting under Pressure*, p. 195.

Fig. 2.31. David Teniers the Younger, *Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and the Artist in the Archducal Picture Gallery in Brussels*, 1653, oil on canvas, 70,9 x 87,6 cm. Private collection.

increased the visibility and therefore popularity of the painter. This seems to have been the case with Van Cleve's workshop as well.

With Antwerp's economic growth, increases in incomes of its citizens had stimulated a growth in demand on the domestic market in the Southern Netherlands, which in turn resulted in the flourishing of the Antwerp art market.[241] Like Florence and Venice, Antwerp had developed an art market and hosted regular exhibitions of paintings, carved altarpieces and other luxury items in the so-called bi-annual *Panden*.[242] In order to be able to answer the

[241] Herman van der Wee & Jan Materné, 'Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis, 16th – 17th Century* (Antwerp, Hessenhuis, 25 June–10 October 1993), ed. by Jan Van der Stock, Ghent: Martial & Snoeck, 1993, 19–32 (p. 23).
[242] From 1530 onwards, exhibitions of paintings were held in a permanent gallery called the *Pand*. Filip Vermeylen, 'The Art of the Dealer. Marketing Paintings in Early Modern Antwerp', in *Your Humble Servant.*

demand for artworks in Antwerp, artists started to incorporate several strategies, like producing standardized, ready-made compositions such as the Holy Infants Embracing.[243]

The shift from painting on commission to painting for the market, and the introduction of serial production, triggered specialization within a workshop, where certain pupils or employees worked on specific subjects or details of a painting.[244] Moreover, it initiated process innovation in terms of the development of materials with which the reproduction of paintings could be enhanced. This was also the case in the workshop of Van Cleve, who, as mentioned, used cartoons to smoothly and swiftly produce multiple paintings of the same subject. Another innovation employed in the workshop of Van Cleve was the use of standardized panel formats. As mentioned before, Van Cleve produced vertical and horizontal versions of the Holy Infants Embracing. Among these two formats, there is little variation in size, confirming the employment of standardized panels.[245]

Patterns and model drawings probably circulated among various workshops of masters acquainted with each other. Unfortunately, not many designs or pattern sheets survive today. The fact that only a few of these drawings remain is due to their functional role in workshops from the fifteenth century onward. The sheets were used repeatedly, which eventually destroyed the drawings. Those were simply replaced by substitutes, which in turn were used until they were no longer functional.[246] In addition, working drawings were often fragmentary, making them less attractive for collectors than highly finished designs. The idea that patterns and model drawings circulated is reinforced by the fact that in the case of the Holy Infants Embracing, Van Cleve as well as Quinten Metsys and Jan Gossaert painted this

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Agents in Early Modern Europe, ed. by Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Noldus, Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006, 109–28 (p. 110).

[243] *From Van Eyck to Bruegel. Early Netherlandish Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. by Maryan W. Ainsworth and Keith Christiansen, New York: Abrams, 1998, p. 211.

[244] Alfons K. L. Thijs, 'Antwerp's Luxury Industries: the Pursuit of Profit and Artistic Sensitivity', in *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis, 16th – 17th Century* (Antwerp, Hessenhuis, 25 June–10 October 1993), ed. by Jan Van der Stock (Antwerp, Hessenhuis, 25 June–10 October 1993), Ghent: Martial & Snoeck, 1993, 105–14 (p. 106).

[245] Leeflang, *Joos van Cleve*, p. 170.

[246] Ainsworth and Christiansen, *From Van Eyck to Bruegel*, p. 278.

motif. By concentrating on series of popular compositions for sale on the open market, Van Cleve was well-equipped to answer the high demand for paintings in Antwerp during the first half of the sixteenth century. These series make up around forty-five percent of Van Cleve's known oeuvre.[247] Furthermore, around thirty percent of his known oeuvre was made with the aid of cartoons, either traced or pounced, which allowed him to employ many pupils and journeymen, while still producing stylistically coherent paintings.[248]

In the past couple of decades, extensive research has been conducted into the scope of the market for domestic paintings in Antwerp. Maximiliaan Martens and Natasja Peeters have investigated the inventory registers of the city, concluding that the average Antwerp household owned approximately five paintings between 1530 and 1560.[249] Through this research, it becomes clear that in addition to an increase in the foreign demand for paintings in Antwerp, the demand from the local middle class grew as well. During the early sixteenth century, New Testament scenes and devotional images, categories in which the Holy Infants Embracing can also be placed, were best represented in Antwerp inventories. Subjects like the 'tafereel vanden rosier' (Virgin of the Rosary) and the 'mare' (Annunciation) were mentioned in inventories regularly, as well as a 'schaepken met naeckte kinderen' (landscape with naked children).[250] In conjunction with previous and later descriptions, this entry can only be identified with a painting of the Infants Christ and John the Baptist Embracing.

2.5. Migration as an Accelerator of a Change in Meaning

When Marco d'Oggiono received the commission for a painting in 1513, the subject was explicitly identified as 'Gesù Bambino e San Giovannino abbracciati', therefore identifying it

[247] Leeflang, *Joos van Cleve*, p. 195.
[248] Ibid., p. 197.
[249] Maximiliaan P. J. Martens & Natasja Peeters, 'Paintings in Antwerp Houses (1532-1567)', in: Neil De Marchi & Hans J. Van Miegroet, *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450-1750*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2006, 35–53 (p. 42).
[250] Ibid., p. 41.

as a religious subject. In addition, in the early sixteenth century, Bernardino de' Conti was paid by a Milanese doctor in theology, who lived in the confraternity of the San Francesco Grande, for a painting with 'beate virginis Marie cum filio, et figura sancti Johannis Baptiste.'[251] Contrary to these descriptions, when d'Oggiono's painting is first recorded in the 1516 inventory of the collection of Margaret of Austria, it is described as 'two infants embracing and kissing each other.' Here, the association with a religious subject seems to have been completely abandoned, which is an important notion, as it illustrates the change in interpretation of the subject that happened during the migration of the motif from Italy to the Netherlands.

When looking at both inventories made of Margaret of Austria's collection, the religious subjects are described most precise.[252] For example, in the inventory of 1523–1524, descriptions of religious subjects include: 'Our Lady', 'Our Lord', 'Saint Anthony', 'Saint Nicholas', and many more.[253] Margaret was known for her pronounced devotion of the Virgin Mary, which she expressed in many ways, not in the least in her collection of paintings.[254] She devoted herself to the seven joys and seven sorrows of the Virgin, and owned many devotional books and relics.[255] Furthermore, the veneration of the Passion of Christ was as important to her as her devotion for the Virgin. For example, she donated a precious silver shrine for the Holy Shroud of Christ, then present in Chambery, and she displayed her best artworks in her stately bedchamber, such as an *Ecce Homo* by Jan Mostaert (c. 1474–1552/1553), a *Crucifixion* by Rogier van der Weyden, and pictures by Juan de Flandes (c. 1465–1519) and Michel Sittow (c. 1468–1525).[256]

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[251] Shell and Sironi, 'Documents for Copies', p. 115, doc. 3.
[252] Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, p. 286.
[253] 'Nostre Dame', 'Nostre Seigneur', 'sainct Anthoine', 'sainct Nicolás'. Inventory of tableware, jewellery, tapestries, paintings and other objects of Margaret of Austria, 9 July 1523 and 17 April 1524, BNF, Paris, Cinq Cents de Colbert, 128, fols. 72, 72v & 73. Transcription from Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios de Carlos V*, p. 2452.
[254] Eichberger, 'Eine kluge Witwe', p. 32.
[255] Ibid.
[256] Ibid.

In addition, she owned several artistic objects representing the infant Christ. For example, she owned two small sculptures, one made from wood ('ung petit Jhesus, taillé en bois'), and one made from gold and enamel ('Item, ung petit Jesus, esmaillé de blanc, aussi sur ung coussin d'or, esmaillé de verd').[257] She also possessed a marble figure of Christ which she had received as a gift from her advisor Laurent de Gorrevaud ('Plus recue ung Jesus taillé en marbre, venant du gouverneur de Bresse'). Her interest in collecting works with this subject, and the fact that these objects were identified as Christ in her written inventories, makes it all the more surprising that the painting by d'Oggiono was not identified as such.[258]

The fact that the children depicted on the painting in the collection of Margaret of Austria were no longer identified as Christ and Saint John the Baptist, indicates that this painting was not only valued for its religious content. It seems more likely that the painting was valued for its artistic and novel quality, as well as its association with one of the most sought-after artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Leonardo da Vinci. As has been shown, his art was associated with Sforza Milan, a major metropolis and cultural capital of the fifteenth century, and many ties existed between Margaret's court and Milan. Capital cities and courts were highly influential in the diffusion and demand for art depicting specific subjects in a specific style. Margaret therefore probably desired to own this painting for its association with Leonardo, and not primarily for its religious value.

In turn, the demand for this motif in Antwerp was probably a result of a desire among the people from all layers of society to own such a painting and to associate themselves with Margaret's prestigious court. Since the production of this series was so extensive, with versions of both higher and lower quality, the motif was probably recognised by many. That the motif was no longer associated with a religious subject, but instead was valued for its

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[257] Eichberger, *Women of Distinction*, p. 271.
[258] Margaret of Austria was present when the first inventory of her collection was composed in 1516, suggesting that she was aware of the subjects represented in her collection and even helping identifying them.

artistic qualities, is also confirmed by the fact that textual sources describing the meeting of the infants Christ and John the Baptist were not as popular in the Netherlands as they were in Italy.[259] This is furthermore confirmed by the description of these types of paintings in Antwerp inventories as a 'schaepken met naeckte kinderen', not mentioning the identity of either of the two infants depicted.

Fig. 2.32. After Joos van Cleve, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, between 1525–49, oil on panel, 56 x 56 cm. Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte.

However, the association of the motif with a religious subject was not completely abandoned in Antwerp. Van Cleve and his workshop produced several versions where a dove was included above the two infants, representing the Holy Spirit (fig. 2.32). These versions were probably intended for private devotion and favoured by more religious buyers.[260] Nonetheless, it seems that with the migration of the motif from Italy to the Netherlands, the association of the image with a religious subject had turned into an association with prestige and artistic quality.

The isolated motif of the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing* travelled a long way from Southern to Northern Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth

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[259] An additional interpretation of Antwerp renderings of the *Infants Christ and St John the Baptist Embracing* as both an expression of spiritual desire and a condemnation of same-sex practices has been proposed by Andrea Pearson in 2015. For more information on this subject, see Andrea Pearson, 'Visuality, Morality, and Same-Sex Desire: Images of the Infants Christ and St. John the Baptist in Early Netherlandish Art', *Art History*, 38:3 (2015), pp. 434–61, and Andrea Pearson, *Gardens of Love and the Limits of Morality in Early Netherlandish Art*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019, specifically chapter 6: *Kissing Kids*, 227–96.
[260] Ewing, 'Joos van Cleve und Leonardo', p. 122.

centuries. Along the way, the motif of the Holy Infants Embracing changed its meaning, but also its function several times. In Florence, where the iconography of the infant John the Baptist originated, the motif was still predominantly employed in compositions of paintings intended for the domestic sphere. When Leonardo introduced the motif in Milan, he did so with a painting intended for an entirely different use and setting, namely an altarpiece. This meant that the motif was no longer intended for private devotion or didactic purposes, but instead was used in a strictly religious environment. When Leonardo's followers assimilated the motif, it was again mostly used in paintings intended for the domestic market, but it had lost its didactic function. Lastly, when the motif migrated to the Southern Netherlands, it appears to have lost its religious association altogether.

Additionally, Van Cleve's framing of his proposed earliest versions of the Holy Infants Embracing (figs. 2.21 and 2.22), created distance between the original Italian composition and Van Cleve's own artistic invention. Through the addition of frames and trompe l'oeil adornments, Van Cleve reframed the sacred subject into an artistic object, and added value to the composition not for its content, but for its artistic novelty. Some thirty years later, Pieter Aertsen included the head of one of the infants in his genre painting *The Pancake Bakery* (fig. 2.33). This seems an ironic quotation, since instead of embracing a holy infant, the figure, depicted with slightly exaggerated cheeks, now grabs a pancake, and is focused on earthly things instead of sacred subjects. Another interpretation was first posed by Todd M. Richardson, who identified the pancake as resembling the host, and as such argued that the artist was commenting on the theological debate regarding the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.[261] Whether this inclusion of the head of the holy infant is a commentary on Van Cleve's paintings from a generation earlier, or a clever way to incorporate a sacred, familiar

[261] For more on this, see Todd M. Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Art Discourse in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011, p. 6. Additional discussions on this point can be found in Pearson, *Gardens of Love*, pp. 290–92.

Fig. 2.33. Pieter Aertsen, *The Pancake Bakery*, 1560, oil on panel, 86 x 170 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.

motif into a painting depicting a novel genre painting, Aertsen's addition confirms that the figure in itself was well-known, and was probably still very present in Antwerp. This is furthermore reinforced by the obiquitous descriptions of these paintings in Antwerp inventories between 1530 and 1560, as landscapes with naked children.[262]

The migration of this motif from south to north happened through a series of linked causes. As is often the case, courtly practice and diplomatic contacts seem to have been accelerators of this migration. A novel iconography, invented by the sought-after Leonardo da Vinci, sparked the interest of many and resulted in the desire of courts, as well as patrician households, to own a painting depicting the motif. Strikingly in this case, the novelty of the sacred iconography was lost during its migration, transitioning the desire for this specific painting for its religious association, to a desire for its stylistic details and prestigious affiliations. It appears therefore, that with its migration, the motif not only changed its objective, but also its subject.

[262] Martens and Peeters, 'Paintings in Antwerp Houses (1532–1567)', p. 42.

3. *Portable Passion. Southern European Adaptations of Martin Schongauer's* Engraved Passion

According to Giorgio Vasari's 1568 biography of the artist in his *Le vite de più eccelenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) copied a print by 'Martino Tedesco' when he was still a pupil in the workshop of Domenico Ghirlandaio.[263] In this text, we can read how Michelangelo reproduced a composition representing a 'Diavoli battano Santo Antonio' in drawing, in such a manner that the difference between the copy and the original could not be detected. Subsequently, he produced a painted version, after studying

Fig. 3.1. Martin Schongauer, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, c. 1470–75, engraving, 31,1 x 22,9 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.2. Michelangelo Buonarroti, *The Torment of Saint Anthony*, c. 1487–88, tempera and oil on panel, 47 x 33,7 cm. Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum.

[263] 'Per che in Michelagnolo faceva ogni dì frutti più divini [che umani], come apertamente cominciò a dimostrarsi nel ritratto che e' fece d'una carta di Martino Tedesco stampata, che gli dette nome grandissimo. Imperò che, essendo venuta allora in Firenze una storia del detto Martino, quando i Diavoli battano Santo Antonio, stampata in rame, Michelagnolo la ritrasse di penna, di maniera che non era conosciuta, e quella

the different colours for the devils.[264] The composition by 'Martino Tedesco' discussed by Vasari was the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, an engraving by the German Martin Schongauer, created between 1470 and 1475 (fig. 3.1). Michelangelo's copy is his earliest known work, and was painted by him when he was only twelve or thirteen years old (fig. 3.2).[265] When comparing the engraving with the painting, it becomes clear that little was altered from the original composition. The engraved design was one of Schongauer's most famous inventions, and must have been readily available in Italy shortly after its creation, since one of the most famous Italian artists of the period already copied it at the end of the fifteenth century.

However, repetitions of Schongauer's inventions are not limited to this instance. One figure reoccurs multiple times in different geographic areas, and can also be traced back to the engraved work of the German artist. The figure of a kneeling soldier who shields his eyes with his arm, while exclaiming in surprise and turning away from the scene before him, is repeated almost exactly in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art from Germany, the

Fig. 3.3. Martin Schongauer, *Resurrection (detail)*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,4 x 11,5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.4. Netherlandish, *The Crucifixion of Christ (detail)*, c. 1520, oil on panel, 181 x 178 cm. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen.

Fig. 3.5. Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo, *Resurrection (detail)*, 1496, fresco, dimensions unknown. Provesano, Main Chapel of the Church of San Leonardo.

Fig. 3.6. Maestro Bartolomé, *Resurrection (detail)*, c. 1480–88, oil on panel, 153,5 x 109,3 cm. Tucson, The University of Arizona Museum of Art.

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medesima con i colori dipinse: dove, per contrafare alcune strane forme di Diavoli, andava a comperare pesci che avevano scaglie bizarre di colori; e quivi dimostrò in questa cosa tanto valore che e' ne acquistò e credito e nome.' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, 1568, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini, 6 vols (1–3: Florence: Sansoni, 1966–1971; 4–6: Florence, S.P.E.S., 1976–1987), VI (1987), p. 8.

[264] Ibid.

[265] For more on the painting by Michelangelo, see Everett Fahy, 'An Overlooked Michelangelo?', *Nuovi Studi* 14:15 (2009), pp. 51–67.

Netherlands, Italy, and Spain (figs. 3.3–3.6). When comparing a Netherlandish altarpiece from 1520 to an Italian fresco from 1496 in the Church of San Leonardo in Provesano, the similarities are undeniable. When subsequently comparing the Italian and Netherlandish examples of the motif to a panel of the so-called *Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, the same soldier in a similar pose can be detected. How can this be explained?

All three examples refer to a motif included in an engraving from one of the most famous printed passion cycles from the end of the fifteenth century, namely Martin Schongauer's *Engraved Passion*. This cycle consists of twelve engravings, and portrays the Passion and Resurrection of Christ (figs. 3.7–3.18). This series has survived in at least thirty complete sets, and some of its individual prints in as many as seventy impressions.[266] The large amount of impressions over a long period of time attests to the appeal, the large popularity and the demand these prints enjoyed. This is further confirmed by the fact that they resurface beyond Germany's borders, either in printed, painted or sculpted form. This chapter will explore the multiple ways in which these prints circulated and were adapted by artists from both Northern and Southern Europe. It will map the various migration routes from Germany to the Netherlands, Italy and Spain, and investigate the causes of this migration across the European continent. Furthermore, it will address the manners of translation of these prints into different media, and the transformation the various motifs endured when they were adapted into new compositions and new media.

[266] Jane Campbell Hutchinson, 'Schongauer copies and forgeries in the graphic arts', in *Le beau Martin. Etudes et mises au point*, ed. by Albert Châtelet, Colmar: Musée d'Unterlinden, 1994, 115–26 (p. 116).

Fig. 3.7. Martin Schongauer, *Agony in the Garden*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,3 x 11,4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Fig. 3.8. Martin Schongauer, *Taking of Christ*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,3 x 11,4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Fig. 3.9. Martin Schongauer, *Christ Before Annas*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16 x 11,2 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.10. Martin Schongauer, *Flagellation*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,4 x 11,5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Fig. 3.11. Martin Schongauer, *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,1 x 11,3 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.12. Martin Schongauer, *Ecce Homo*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,2 x 11,2 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.13. Martin Schongauer, *Christ Before Pilate*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,1 x 11,3 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.14. Martin Schongauer, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,2 x 11,4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

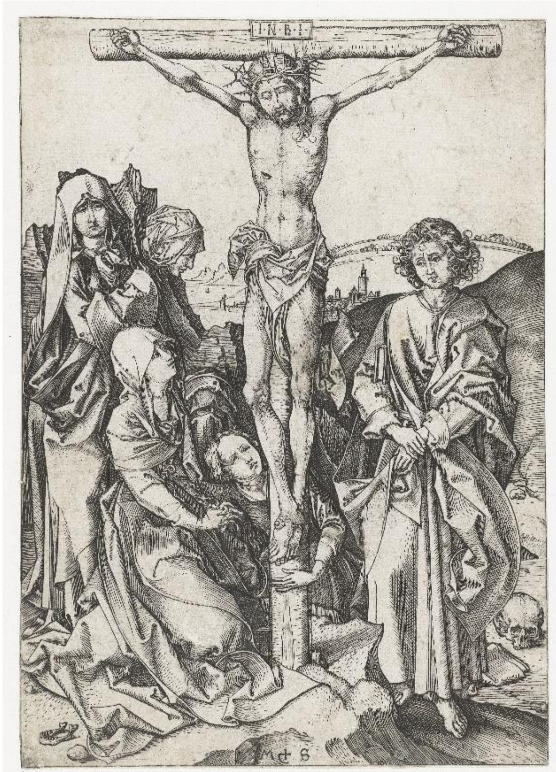

Fig. 3.15. Martin Schongauer, *The Crucifixion*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,3 x 11,6 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Fig. 3.16. Martin Schongauer, *Entombment*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,4 x 11,5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.17. Martin Schongauer, *Descent into Limbo*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,5 x 11,6 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

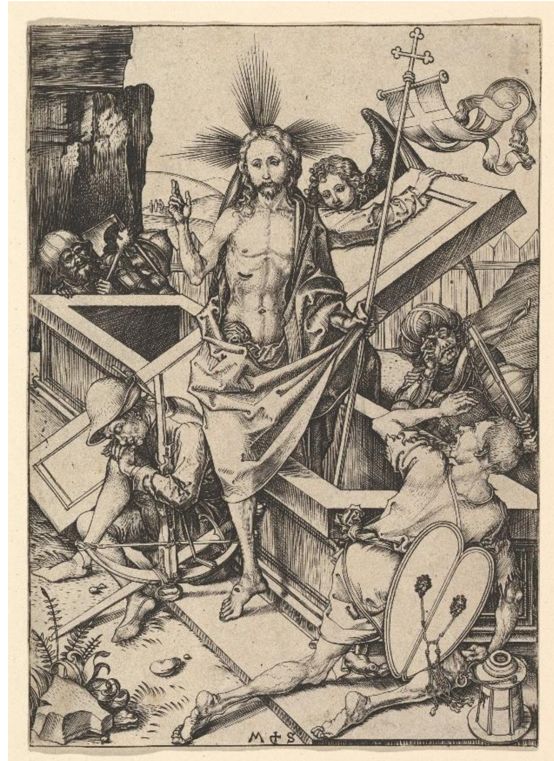

Fig. 3.18. Martin Schongauer, *Resurrection*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,4 x 11,5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

3.1. The German Origin: Schongauer's Life and Career

When the German Martin Schongauer died in 1491, he was an established artist with a successful career. Already during his lifetime, he acquired several nicknames, most famously 'Pictorum Gloria' and 'Hübsch Martin'.[267] He came from a family of goldsmiths, and produced most of his work in Colmar between 1470 and 1488.[268] In addition to his father, his two brothers Paul and Jörg were also goldsmiths, and his brother Ludwig (c. 1440–1494) was a painter and engraver like him.[269]

Very little contemporary primary sources regarding Martin Schongauer exist. He is first mentioned in 1465, in the registration book of the University of Leipzig, as 'Martinus Schöngawer de Colmar X'.[270] In most sources, he is identified as a painter, for example in 1488, when he is described as 'Martinus Schongouwer pictorum gloria' in a document concerning anniversary masses at the Church of Saint Martin in Colmar.[271] The nickname 'Hübsch Martin' is used by several artists of a later generation. It resurfaces on a portrait by Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531), an artist from Augsburg. In the upper left corner, an inscription reads: 'Hipsch Martin

Fig. 3.19. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Portrait of Martin Schongauer (?)*, c. 1520, oil on panel, 29 x 21,5 cm. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.

[267] Fritz Koreny, 'Martin Schongauer as a Draftsman: A Reassessment', *Master Drawings* 34:2 (1996), pp. 123–47 (p. 123).
[268] Ulrike Heinrichs, *Martin Schongauer. Maler und Kupferstecher. Kunst und Wissenschaft unter dem Primat des Sehens*, München/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007, p. 54.
[269] Ibid., p. 56.
[270] Julius Baum, *Martin Schongauer*, Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., 1948, p. 66, no. 6.
[271] 'Martinus Schongouwer pictorum Gloria legauit v ß [solildos] p[ro] Aniuers° [anniversario] suo et addidit 19 ß [solidos] 7 d[enarios] ad Ann^{m} paternu[m] a q [antequam] habuit mis [minus] A [anniversarium]. Obijt in die Purificatos [purificationis] Marie anno …. Lxxxviii°.' Quoted from Baum, *Martin Schongauer*, p. 69, no 15.

Schongaver, Maler' (fig. 3.19). That Burgkmair knew Schongauer personally, is further suggested by an inscription on the reverse of the portrait, stating: '[I]ch se[i]n junger Hans b[u]rgmair jm jar 1488.'[272] This inscription is the only information known about Schongauer's workshop.

Fig. 3.20. Martin Schongauer, *Christ as Teacher*, 1469 (?), pen and black ink drawing, 20,7 x 12,4 cm. London, British Museum.

Schongauer produced both painted and printed work. Few drawings survive, with a varying degree of agreement among scholars about the exact amount. Interestingly, some attributions of the drawings are owed to Albrecht Dürer, who intended to meet Schongauer in Colmar, but arrived in the city in 1492, one year after the latter's death.[273] Dürer did meet with Martin's brothers, who continued Schongauer's workshop after his death, and it is probably from them that Dürer received several drawings by the Colmar master.[274] It is because of Dürer that we know the drawings were by Schongauer, for he inscribed one of them with the text: 'Das hat hubsch Martin gemacht jm 1469 jor' (fig. 3.20).[275] On other drawings he added Schongauer's monogram and the date.

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[272] Heinrichs, *Martin Schongauer*, p. 58.

[273] Giovanni Maria Fara, 'Biografia e ritratto di Martin Schongauer nell'arte e nella letteratura italiana fra XVI e XVII secolo', in *Intorno al ritratto. Origini, sviluppi e transformazioni*, ed. by Fabrizio Crivello and Laura Zamparo, Turin: Accademia University Press, 2019, 191–96 (p. 192).

[274] Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008, p. 348.

[275] Fritz Koreny, 'A Coloured Flower Study by Martin Schongauer and the Development of Nature from van der Weyden to Dürer', *The Burlington Magazine* 133:1062 (1991), pp. 588–97 (p. 590).

The first inscription is all the more striking, since Dürer dates the drawing two years before he himself was born, indicating that he probably received this information from Schongauer's brothers.[276]

Schongauer's printed oeuvre survives in around one hundred and sixteen works.[277] He was one of the earliest engravers to sign works with a monogram: 'M+S'. He probably adopted this signing practice from goldsmiths, since the monogram is based on their hallmark.[278] These types of signatures on prints were initially intended as a quality guarantee.[279] The change of the monogram from quality mark to signature gradually started with Schongauer, for whom the monogram became a medium of recognisability, a custom that was adapted by later artists like Israhel van Meckenem (c. 1445–1503) and Albrecht Dürer. However, during the fifteenth century, engravings were generally not dated by the artist, and as a result, none of Schongauer's prints have a date.[280]

Fig. 3.21. Martin Schongauer, *Death of the Virgin*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 25,5 x 16,8 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[276] Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, p. 348.
[277] Pantxika Béguerie-De Paepe and Magali Haas, *Martin Schongauer*, Colmar: Musée Unterlinden, 2018, p. 112.
[278] Stephanie Porras, *Art of the Northern Renaissance. Courts, Commerce and Devotion*, London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd., 2018, p. 100.
[279] Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, p. 347.
[280] Ibid.

The majority of Schongauer's engravings depict religious subjects, with some of the best-known and most replicated engravings being the large *Christ Carrying the Cross*, the *Death of the Virgin*, and the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (figs. 3.1 and 3.21). He also produced ornament prints, intended as models for various craftsmen, ranging from woodcarvers to goldsmiths.[281] Not long after 1440, when the engraving emerged as an artistic medium, the print started to serve the purpose of models for craftsmen and artists, similar to the model book and the model drawing.[282] Model books were widely used by artists when constructing their compositions. Certain parts of compositions as well as individual figures were reused multiple times in both the same as well as different workshops, sometimes for several decades. This indicates that there must have been a form of exchange among workshops, and that successful inventions had a long lifespan. An engraved print played a significant role in this practice of repetition. Being produced through the aid of a copper plate, which is a dense and tough material, the engraved composition experienced no visible wear when printing the first hundred impressions.[283] This resulted in the quick and vast reproduction of successful inventions and the gradual replacement of drawn model sheets by relatively inexpensive prints with modern motifs.[284] Engravings by Schongauer were also used for this purpose, and were copied by other artists shortly after their issue, remaining in vogue long after their initial invention.

[281] Alan Shestack, *The Complete Engravings of Martin Schongauer*, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963, p. VI.
[282] Alexandra Onuf, 'From print to paint and back again. Painting practices and print culture in early modern Antwerp', in *Visual Culture in Early Modernity*, ed. by Allison Levy, 72 vols (London/New York: Routledge, 2009–2021), 51: Prints in Translation, 1450–1750, ed. by Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Edward H. Wouk (2017), 19–41 (pp. 19–21).
[283] Ad Stijnman, *Engravings and Etching 1400-2000. A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes*, London: Archetype Publ., 2012, p. 25.
[284] Fritz Koreny, 'Riemenschneider and the Graphic Arts', *Studies in the History of Art* 65 (2004), pp. 98–111 (p. 104). In 1601, Philips Galle (1537–1612) marketed his edition of the *Small Landscapes* with 'In Pictorum gratiam' – for the benefit of painters, hinting to this continued purpose of prints as models. For further reference, see Onuf, 'From print to paint', p. 21.

Moreover, it is very likely that during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, buyers started to collect prints. One German example of this can be found in the Nuremberg Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514). Schedel was a medical doctor and a humanist, and owned a large library. Additionally, he acquired hundreds of prints, which he often pasted into books as illustrations.[285] The German Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547) also owned a collection of prints, both separate leafs and prints pasted or bound into books. In Italy during the fifteenth century, the notary Jacopo Rubieri (dates unknown) pasted prints next to his notes, often without a relationship between the text and the image.[286] In general, it is not surprising that in most of the early collections, the prints were pasted into books, since one of the purposes of prints was to function as a cheaper alternative for the more expensive book illuminations. During the sixteenth century, prints became increasingly valued as an autonomous art object, and were collected as such. Examples of this are again found in Italy, where the Venetian collector Gabriele Vendramin (d. 1552) owned an impressive collection of books, drawings, woodcuts and engravings, amongst others. This collection was described by Marcantonio Michiel (1484–1552) in 1530, and from this text it can be deduced that the prints were stored in various manners, either bound in books, preserved in rolls or framed, with woodcuts and engravings both together and separately.[287] The most extensive collection of printed material from this period, however, can be found in Spain, where the son of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), Ferdinand (1488–1539), owned both an extensive library and a separate print collection, consisting of over three thousand prints.[288]

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[285] Mark P. McDonald, 'Assembling the Columbus Print Collection', in *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus 1488-1539*, ed. by Mark P. McDonald, 2 vols (London: The British Museum Press, 2004), 1: History and Commentary, 145–67 (p. 145).
[286] Biblioteca Classense, *Fifteenth Century Italian Woodcuts From Biblioteca Classense in Ravenna*, Ravenna: Longo Publisher, 1989, p. 7.
[287] McDonald, 'Assembling the Columbus Print Collection', p. 147.
[288] Ibid, and Mark P. McDonald, 'The Lost Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539)', in *Profane Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Elaine C. Block, Frédéric Billiet and Paul Hardwick, 5 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009–2020), I: Images in Marginal Arts of the Middle Ages, ed. by Elaine C. Block (2009), 285–300.

During the approximately twenty years that Schongauer produced art, he purportedly employed many apprentices in his workshop, who replicated their master's style and motifs, and as such enlarged the scope of his production. After Schongauer's death in 1491, his workshop in Colmar was initially continued by his brother Ludwig Schongauer, who inherited Martin's copperplates. His other brother Paul Schongauer returned to Colmar in the following year. As a goldsmith, he may have contributed to restoring and refreshing the plates, enabling the continued production of Martin's prints, since the demand for his engravings remained significant long after his death.[289]

The diffusion of these engravings across Europe happened fast and easy, since they were transported relatively uncomplicatedly and were quick to reproduce. During the fifteenth century, prints were often sold by merchants and traveling artists, as well as sold on markets, fairs and religious festivals.[290] This occurred both within and outside of Germany, enabling the diffusion of Schongauer's prints across the continent. Illustrative for the large production and the popularity Schongauer enjoyed is the large number of surviving prints. Generally, an average of five impressions of a fifteenth-century engraving survives. In the case of Schongauer's engravings, this average is thirty impressions.[291] This indicates that his prints must have been some of the most frequently produced and widely distributed of his time, which is also demonstrated by the numerous times artists used motifs and details from his engravings for their own artworks. The number of copies after Schongauer is impressive. In the Hollstein volume on his prints, 477 different engravings and metalcuts from before 1600 are identified, which are supplemented with some woodcuts and engravings of a later date.

[289] Stephan Kemperdick, *Martin Schongauer. Eine Monographie*, Petersberg: Imhof Verlag, 2004, p. 247.
[290] Shestack, *The Complete Engravings of Martin Schongauer*, p. VI.
[291] *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400-1700. Volume XLIX: Ludwig Schongauer to Martin Schongauer*, comp. by Lothar Schmitt, ed. by Nicholas Stogdon, Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Publishers, 1999, p. xxxiv.

All except eight compositions are copied by at least one artist after Schongauer, and many of the works are copied multiple times.[292]

3.1.1. Printed passion cycles

Part of Schongauer's printed oeuvre consists of series, among them the *Wise and Foolish Virgins* and the *Apostles*. The production of a series was done in the print medium from its initial invention as an artistic medium onwards. This probably relates to the fact that the earliest applications of prints were as book illustrations, and as such replaced the more costly illuminations.[293] In the case of passion cycles, the precedent could already be found in the form of series of illuminations in psalters and books of hours, portraying Christ's Passion.[294] Most often, the images included moments from Christ's torture, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection.[295] However, the exact amount of images and the choice for scenes was not designated, resulting in different series with varying moments depicted. This practice of portraying the life of Christ through a series of images continued in the medium of the woodcut and the engraving. The small format of woodcuts made them especially suitable as book illustrations, and they were often printed simultaneously with the text.[296] Initially and contrary to woodcuts, engravings were usually printed separately from the text. Nonetheless,

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[292] Kemperdick, *Martin Schongauer*, p. 260.

[293] Peter Schmidt, 'The Multiple Image: The Beginnings of Printmaking, between Old Theories and New Approaches', in *Origins of European Printmaking. Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public* (Washington, National Gallery of Art, 4 September–27 November 2005, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 14 December 2005–19 March 2006), ed. by Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005, 37–56 (p. 46); Ingrid Ciulisová, 'Stiche als Gebrauchsobjekte. Zur Verbreitung von Schongauers Grafik in Mittelosteuropa', in *Van Eyck bis Dürer. Altniederländische Meister und die Malerei in Mitteleuropa 1430-1530* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum, 29 October 2010–30 January 2011), ed. by Till-Holger Borchert, Stuttgart: Belser, 2010, 113–21 (p. 114).

[294] Examples of such series can be found in the Peterborough Psalter, c. 1300, Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels, ms. 9961-62 and in Jacob van Maerlant's (c. 1225–1291) *Rijmbijbel* produced in c. 1325, Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels, ms. 19545.

[295] See for example Judith Oliver, 'Between Flanders and Paris: Originality and Quotation in the Montebourg Psalter', *Getty Research Journal* 10 (2018), pp. 17–36 (pp. 18–23).

[296] Yvonne Bleyerveld, 'Introduction', in *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700. Jacob Cornelisz*, comp. by Yvonne Bleyerveld, ed. by Huigen Leeflang, Oudekerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2019, xxi–lxii (p. xxvi).

Fig. 3.22. Israhel van Meckenem, *Lamentation*, c. 1475–85, engraving pasted in a prayer book, 21,4 x 15,3 cm. London, British Museum.

they were regularly inserted into books as illustrations, by pasting them on the page at a later stage.[297] This practice can be seen in a Latin prayer book kept in the British Museum, where a number of Israhel van Meckenem's passion prints are pasted on separate pages facing the complementary text (fig. 3.22).[298]

In general, shortly after the invention of the engraving, passion cycles became significant commodities of print production. In Northern Europe, the subject of Christ's Passion continued to be one of the most frequently portrayed themes on early prints. Almost every artist working in the medium produced at least one cycle, and often artists produced multiple. Among the earliest German printmakers who produced such cycles were the Master of the Playing Cards, the Master of 1446, the Master of the Nuremberg Passion and the

[297] Engraved images on copper were only printed together with texts on woodblocks later in the fifteenth century. An example of this is the *Stöger Passion*. See Schmidt, 'The Multiple Image', p. 46.
[298] McDonald, 'Assembling the Columbus Print Collection', p. 145.

Master E. S. (active c. 1450–1467).[299] Towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, well-known artists like Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533), one of the most productive printmakers of the Northern Netherlands, each produced three passion cycles. This genre appealed to several markets, and extensive Passion iconography became a primary subject in different artistic genres. Buyers could use them for private devotional purposes, and artists could employ them as models for their own compositions. Since prints were used as models for other artists from from their inception onwards, it is reasonable to assume that many printmakers turned to this subject and reissued cycles that were in demand, resulting in a more certain chance of success, and in the wide diffusion of the inventions from the cycle in question.

Martin Schongauer designed only one cycle, but his *Engraved Passion*, probably produced around 1480, seems to have resonated greatly with contemporary artists, as well as artists from later generations. The fact that this series has survived in at least thirty complete sets, and some of its individual prints in as many as seventy impressions, attests to this allure. The specific iconographical and visual traditions of these cycles is hard to determine, and varies between artists.[300] As mentioned, both the events portrayed in the cycles and the

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[299] Dates of the Master of the Playing Cards, the Master of 1446 and the Master of the Nuremberg Passion are unknown.

[300] Art historical research into the elaborate Passion iconography emerging during the fourteenth and fifteenth century has only been conducted sporadically over the past century. The first to undertake the effort of connecting novel iconographies to texts was James H. Marrow, in his *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative*, Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert Publishing Company, 1979. A different approach, focusing more on the visual tradition and its connection to issues of the choice and use of Passion imagery, was employed by Hans Belting in his book *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter. Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion*, Berlin: Mann, 1981. This exemplified by the following quote from the introduction: 'Es kommt darauf an, die Untersuchung offenzuhalten für die Frage nach der Wahl und Gebrauchsweise des religiösen Bildes ganz allgemein. Auf diese Weise läßt sich eine Perspektive für die strukturellen Veränderungen gewinnen, die das Bild zwischen Mittelalter und Renaissance geprägt haben.' (pp. 16–17). This focus on the use and practices surrounding images of Christ's Passion was further explored by Frank O. Büttner in his *Imitatio Pietatis. Motive der christlichen Ikonographie als Modelle zur Verähnlichung*, Berlin: Mann, 1983, as can be read in the following quote: 'Erhielt der Gläubige in einer bildlichen Darstellung zusammen mit dem Andachtsinhalt auch ein Exempel der *pietas* vor Augen gestellt, so wird man zunächst zwischen zwei Konzepten des Bildinhalts wie der aszetischen Wirkung unterscheiden. Es gibt Szenen, in denen es die Hauptgestalt ist, die den Gläubigen zur *conformitas* als dem Ziel seiner Andacht aufforderte, das ist durchweg der Fall in Darstellungen der *pietas Christi*. Weiter gibt es Szenen, in denen die exemplarisch verstandene Gestalt sich ihrerseits einem Andachtsgegenstand gegenüber befindet und über das Vorbild, das sie

number of engravings within one series differ per artist. Martin Schongauer's version is the first to introduce subjects such as *Christ before Annas*, *Ecce Homo* and the *Descent into Limbo*. Contrary to some of his predecessors, Schongauer did not include *The Disrobing of Christ*, the *Descent from the Cross* and *Noli Me Tangere*.[301]

One contemporary of Schongauer who also produced a passion cycle was Israhel van Meckenem. Van Meckenem is one of the first engravers who consciously explored the commercial advantages of the print in a systematic and inventive way.[302] It is not exactly clear how Van Meckenem distributed his engravings, but it is likely that he sold them on the art markets of the period. That he was successful in distributing his engravings is attested by the fact that his engravings are recorded from Spain to the Baltic area.[303] An important part of his artistic production is the issue of engraved copies after other masters.[304] Van Meckenem acquired and reworked plates from several other printmakers, which he then issued under his own name, including inventions by Martin Schongauer.[305] Van Meckenem's own engraved passion cycle is characterized by the larger format in comparison with Schongauer, and by the multiple different moments from the Passion depicted simultaneously on the same print. Van Meckenem's prints were frequently used as book illustrations in prayer books of the clergy and the nobility, for example in books used by the French monarchy.[306]

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zu dessen Verehrung gab, dem Betrachter diesen Andachtsinhalt vermittelte, so beispielsweise in der *Anbetung der Magier*.' (p. 2).

[301] Albert Châtelet, 'Die Stiche Martin Schongauers', in: *Der hübsche Martin. Kupferstiche und Zeichnungen von Martin Schongauer (ca. 1450-1491)* (Colmar, Unterlinden Museum, 13 September–1 December 1991), ed. by Fedja Anzelewsky, Colmar: Unterlinden Museum, 1991, 239–426 (p. 370).

[302] David Landau and Peter W. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, p. 56.

[303] Ibid., p. 57.

[304] His oeuvre has been estimated on 800 engravings, of which 500 are still extant today. Noteworthy is the fact that a large part of the extant prints, at least 260, are copies after other masters. For example, Van Meckenem copied 157 inventions by the Master E. S., of whom he supposedly was a pupil, forty-seven by Martin Schongauer, and even four by Albrecht Dürer.

[305] Christof Metzger, 'Multiplikator des Ruhmes. Israhel van Meckenems Kopien vor dem Hintergrund spätmittelalterlicher Traditionsgebundenheit', in *Israhel van Meckenem (um 1440/45-1503). Kupferstiche – Der Münchner Bestand* (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 14 September–26 November 2006), ed. by Achim Riether, Munich: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 2006, 38–48 (p. 38).

[306] Fritz O. Schuppisser, 'Passionsfolgen im frühen Kupferstich nördlich der Alpen vor Dürer. Ein Beitrag zur Illustration der spätmittelalterlichen Passionsliteratur', *Das Münster* 44 (1991), pp. 60–61.

The specific use and application of these passion prints, besides book illumination, is not entirely clear. Multiple different customs have been attached to them. The more narrative nature of passion cycles seems to be linked to a literary development during the fourteenth century, when the story of Christ's Passion was greatly expanded with descriptive details, which were not reported in the canonical gospels.[307] However, the development in art from single-subject artworks and simple compositions based on the canonical gospels to more elaborate narrative scenes, such as the compositions from passion cycles, is hard to pinpoint and seems to have happened less quickly and less clearly outlined than in literature.[308]

Generally, the emergence of printed passion cycles seems to be linked with the emergence of passion liturgy and the rise of devotion to the suffering Christ during the fourteenth century.[309] This resulted in an enormous expansion of descriptions of moments from Christ's Passion, and the addition of scenes that were until then unknown in Christian tradition. Texts like the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* from the late thirteenth century and the *Vita Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony (d. 1377) printed in the early fourteenth century are the first comprehensive texts describing the story of the Passion, adding to the canonical story and elaborating on many details. These texts were translated into vernacular German and Dutch later on in the fourteenth century, which culminated in increasingly more elaborate texts in Germany and the Netherlands during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, encouraging readers to vividly imagine the scenes of the Passion. Descriptions of the scenes became more detailed, and an imagined sense of movement between the episodes was added to the

[307] Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, p. 1.
[308] Ibid., p. 2.
[309] Ibid., p. 1. For more about the emergence and dissemination of devotional literature, novel manners of devotion and mass pilgrimage, see Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel. Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1999, especially chapter 1: '"A Shameful Place": The Rise of Calvary', 41–68.

narrative.[310] In many of these texts, readers were urged to imagine themselves present with Christ, moving together with him from scene to scene.[311]

Fig. 3.23. Jacob Cornelisz, *Ecce Homo, part of the stomme passye met Storien wt den bijbel ende Evangelien tot LXXX Fighuren toe*, c. 1530, woodcut, 11,1 x 8,1 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

One additional author that was leading in the development of this type of devotion was the German Dominican mystic Heinrich Suso (1295–1366), whose writings record his own devotion to the Passion, making his way through the monastery and imagining himself following Christ on the path to Calvary, something that would later become known as the *Stations of the Cross*.[312] In almost all of these texts, illustrations were inserted both in the form of simple woodcuts and of more elaborate engravings. Interestingly, prints from Martin Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* were used for this purpose as well. For example, in 1487, Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* were printed in Middle Dutch by Gheraert Leeu (c. 1450–1492) in Antwerp. In this text, entitled *T'boeck van den leuen ons heeren ihesu christe*, prints by Schongauer served as illustrations.[313] This practice continued during the sixteenth century, when for example sixty-two woodcuts from the *Small Passion* by the Amsterdam

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[310] Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, *In the Footsteps of Christ. Hans Memling's Passion Narratives and the Devotional Imagination in the Early Modern Netherlands*, in *Proteus: Studies in Early Modern Identity Formation*, ed. by Todd M. Richardson, 7 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008–2018), 5, 2013, p. 128.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid., p. 129. Additionally, José van Aelst writes that Suso's text gained immense popularity in the Netherlands during the fifteenth century. The text was translated into the vernacular, and today at least 112 manuscripts exist. For further reference, see José van Aelst, *Vruchten van de Passie. De laatmiddeleeuwse passieliteratuur verkend aan de hand van Suso's* Honderd artikelen, Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2011, p. 46.
[313] Max Lehrs, *Martin Schongauer. The Complete Engravings*, San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 2005, p. 131.

artist Jacob Cornelisz (c. 1475–1533) were inserted in the *Passio domini nostri*, a small book published on 2 April 1523 (fig. 3.23). In general, it seems that the literary developments in passion liturgy and the production of prints are closely related.

3.1.2. A preference for Schongauer?

In addition to book illustrations, Martin Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* served as a model for many artists working in different media composing their own renditions of Passion scenes, during his lifetime as well as the century after his death.[314] The twelve leaves of the *Engraved Passion* were copied by contemporary printmakers shortly after they were produced in the fifteenth century, like Wenzel von Olmütz (active 1481–1497) in Moravia, the Monogrammist b. g. (active 1470–1490) in Frankfurt am Main and Israhel van Meckenem. Von Olmütz's copy of the *Agony in the Garden* follows Schongauer's example exactly, but is of an overall lesser quality and Schongauer's monogram is replaced by a 'W' (fig. 3.24). Around 1500 the frequency of use and re-use of Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* increased significantly.

Within Germany, Schongauer's prints were used as models for prints, paintings, book illustrations and sculptures. For example, his *Christ Before Annas* was adapted by the Monogrammist AG (active 1470–1490) and transformed into a *Christ Before Pilate* (figs. 3.9 and 3.25). One of the best known examples of a German artist adapting Schongauer's inventions is Tilman Riemenschneider (c. 1460–1531). Riemenschneider and his workshop frequently used prints from Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* as models, such as the *Agony in the Garden* and the *Resurrection*, which Riemenschneider adapted for his famous *Heilig-Kreuz-Altar* in the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Rothenburg (fig. 3.26).[315] Although he

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[314] Fritz Koreny, '"Per Universam Europam": German Prints and Printmaking before 1500', in *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus 1488-1539*, ed. by Mark P. McDonald, 2 vols (London: The British Museum Press, 2004), 1: History and Commentary, 168–74 (p. 169).

[315] Koreny, 'Riemenschneider', p. 105.

Fig. 3.24. Wenzel von Olmütz, *Agony in the Garden*, end of the fifteenth century, engraving, 16,1 x 11,4 cm. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

Fig. 3.25. Monogrammist AG, *Christ Before Pilate*, second half of the fifteenth century, engraving, 14,4 x 10,6 cm. London, British Museum.

made significant changes, Schongauer's original can still be recognized, especially in the sleeping apostles on the left wing depicting the *Agony in the Garden* and the recoiling soldier on the right wing portraying the *Resurrection*.

The adaptation of printed motifs from the end of the fifteenth century onwards was not exclusively reserved for Schongauer's *Engraved Passion*. Both earlier and later passion cycles were used by artists from different disciplines, like the ones by Master E. S. and Israhel van Meckenem. However, it seems that due to the fact that Van Meckenem's prints were often inserted into books as illustrations, their use as models for artists in other media was less significant. On the other hand, like Schongauer's cycle, Dürer's passion cycles were adapted

Fig. 3.26. Tilman Riemenschneider, *Heilig-Kreuz-Altar*, c. 1505–08, carved altarpiece, dimensions unknown. Detwang, Rothenburg, Church of Saints Peter and Paul.

repeatedly as well.[316] Interestingly, the increase in adaptations from Dürer's prints coincides with the moment that Schongauer's prints became increasingly less available.

Like Schongauer, Dürer's prints were ubiquitous in Europe during the early sixteenth century. His prints were sold at markets, like the *Buchmesse* in Frankfurt am Main. As was the case with Schongauer's prints, the prices for these leafs were relatively low, not more than a pair of shoes.[317] This made the prints available for a wide and varied clientele. However, there is a significant difference between Schongauer's and Dürer's passion cycle. In addition to single leafs, Dürer reissued many of his print series during the first decades of the sixteenth century as small booklets. Both Dürer's *Small Passion* and *Large Passion* were bound like

[316] On the availability of Dürer's prints across Europe, see for example Marieke von Bernstoff, 'Embedded Images of Dürer. On the Transmission of a Visual Quotation', in *Dürer, l'Italia e l'Europa*, ed. by Sybille Ebert-Schifferer and Kristina Herrmann Fiore, Milan: Silvana Editoriale Spa, 2011, 152–68.
[317] Jordan Kantor, *Dürer's Passions. Essay* (Cambridge MA, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Museums, 9 September–3 December 2000), Cambridge MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 2000, p. 15.

this, and many of them had a frontispiece depicting a *Christ on the Cold Stone*. These groups of prints were often used for daily devotion, allowing the owner to browse through them and follow the narrative. There is no evidence that Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* was ever issued like a booklet in this manner. In the case of Schongauer, it is more likely that they were only sold separately as single sheets, resulting in the possibility for buyers to only purchase part of the series.

This was not only the case for Schongauer's series, as is illustrated again by the collection of Ferdinand Columbus. In the inventory of his collection, many instances can be found where only parts of series are mentioned. For example, he owned twenty of the twenty-one prints of the *Passion of Christ* by the Monogrammist S (dates unknown), and he owned three of the six prints of Hans Sebald Beham's (1500–1550) *Female Saints*.[318] The plausible explanation for this is that at the moment Columbus bought his prints, these series were not offered in their entirety, but only part-series were available.[319] The fact that Dürer's prints were additionally distributed as a printed book may have contributed to the fact that they were less often used as direct models, since the value of a book would be perceived higher than a single printed leaf, and the destruction caused by the use of the print as a model would be objectionable. It is likely that some customers

Fig. 3.27. Albrecht Dürer, *Glorification of the Virgin, from The Life of the Virgin, Latin Edition*, 1511, woodcut, 44,1 x 30,5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[318] McDonald, 'Assembling the Columbus Print Collection', p. 158.
[319] Ibid.

bought his prints more specifically for aesthetic pleasure, and valued them too highly to use them as models and risk damage.

One final difference between Schongauer and Dürer, which could also partly explain the difference in number of adaptations of the inventions of the two artists at the turn of the century, is the way in which Dürer was actively opposing copyists of his writings and artistic inventions. He is one of the first artists known to be concerned with an early notion of copyright, which is illustrated by the colophon of his complete edition of the *Life of the Virgin*, the *Large Passion* and the *Small Passion* (fig. 3.27). In this text, printed on the last leaf of this edition from 1511, he writes: 'Beware, you envious thieves of the work and invention of others, keep your thoughtless hands from these works of ours.'[320] One well-known case in point is the lawsuit in Venice which Dürer filed against the Italian engraver Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480–1534), for producing engraved copies of his woodcuts.[321] Even though Raimondi was allowed to continue the production of Dürer's prints, he had to remove the famous 'AD' monogram, which he replaced with an empty wooden panel.[322]

A similar case was filed against an anonymous copyist of Dürer's prints in Nuremburg in 1512. Again, in the decision of the council, the real crime seemed to have lied in falsely advertising copies as originals, and the copyist had to remove Dürer's monogram.[323] Even after the Dürer's death, his wife Agnes waged several legal battles against her husband's students and followers that copied his images.[324] In these cases, the courts protected Dürer's trademark, but not prohibited the reproduction of his images. The rulings opposed

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[320] Translation derived from Joseph L. Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, Chicago/London: Chicago University Press, 1993, p. 213.
[321] For more information on Marcantonio Raimondi and his printing practices, especially his collaboration with Raphael and the prints he produced after paintings, see Anne Bloemacher, *Raffael und Raimondi. Produktion und Intention der frühen Druckgraphik nach Raffael*, Berlin/Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2016.
[322] Porras, *Art of the Northern Renaissance*, p. 133; Bloemacher, *Raffael und Raimondi*, p. 161.
[323] Joseph L. Koerner, 'Albrecht Dürer: A Sixteenth-Century *Influenza*', in *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy. The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist*, ed. by Giulia Bartrum, London: The British Museum Press, 2002, 18–38 (p. 25).
[324] Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture*, p. 214.

counterfeiting, which was interpreted as 'making something appear other than it is.' Copying the monogram claimed that the images were in fact by Dürer, while in reality they were not.[325]

The fact that Dürer opposed many who copied his artistic inventions might have contributed to the continued use and demand for Schongauer's inventions, and to the delayed surge of adaptations from Dürer's inventions from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, sometimes called the 'Dürer Renaissance'. This term has been used by modern day scholars to describe the period roughly between 1570 and 1630, when there was a noticeably heightened interest in Dürer's work, which resulted in the increased production of copies of his prints, drawings and paintings.[326] This increase coincided with the decreasing number of available inventions by Schongauer, as can be read in Karel van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* from 1604. In his biography of Dürer, Van Mander erroneously writes that Dürer learned the profession of painting and engraving from 'Hupse Marten'. Further on in his text, he correctly identifies several of Schongauer's engravings, among them the large *Carrying of the Cross* and the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*. He then goes on telling us that those prints by Schongauer are nowadays hard to come by, and are only hardly ever seen.[327]

It seems therefore that the demand for Dürer's works became dominant when Schongauer's prints became increasingly less available from 1550 onwards. However, that the demand for Schongauer engravings was high before this moment is affirmed by the continuous reproduction of the inventions engravings from the second half of the fifteenth

[325] Koerner, 'Albrecht Dürer', p. 25.
[326] Giulia Bartrum (ed.), *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy. The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist*, London: The British Museum Press, 2002, p. 266.
[327] 'Hy heeft oock de Const gheleert by den Hupse Marten, te weten, schilderen, en snijden. Van desen Hupse Marten weet ick ons niet veel besonders te verhalen, dan dat hy nae sulcken tijt een groot Meester is gheweest, in ordinantie en teyckeninghe, ghelijck als eenighe weynigh Printen van hem uytghecomen noch ghetuygen. Onder ander en besonder een Cruys-draginghe, een dry Coninghen, Mary-beelden, Antonij becoringhe, en dergelijcke, die men weynich meer becomt, oft siet', Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, fol. 208r.

century onwards. In addition to German production, there are indications that his prints were also issued outside of Germany, and that they were widely distributed across Europe.

3.1.3. Written testimonies of Schongauer's fame

One of the indications that Schongauer's inventions were present all over Europe can be found in the *Epitome rerum Germanicarum* written by Jakob Wimpheling (1450–1528) in 1505, almost fifteen years after Schongauer's death. In chapter sixty-eight of this book, Wimpheling writes about Schongauer's skill in painting, and the diffusion of these paintings as far as Italy, Spain, France and Great Britain.[328] Subsequently, Schongauer is mentioned as 'singularem pingendi gratiam' in the *Rerum Germanicarum Libri III* by Beatus Rhenanus

Fig. 3.28. *Plock Bible*, titel page, 1541. Berlin, Stadtmuseum, inv. no. XIII 387.

[328] 'Quid de Martino Schon Columbariensi dicam, qui in hac arte tam fuit eximius, ut eius depictae tabulae in Italiam, in Hispaniam, in Galliam, in Britanniam et alia mundi loca abductae sint. Extant Comulbariae in templo

(1485–1547), published in Basel in 1531.[329] These types of written accounts continued well into the sixteenth century, when Schongauer's fame was described by, amongst others, the Netherlandish Jean Lemaire de Belges (c. 1473–c. 1525) and Lambert Lombard (c. 1505–1566), the Italians Giorgio Vasari and Ascanio Condivi (1525–1574), and the Spanish Jusepe Martínez (1600–1682).

One hint of the *longue durée* of the popularity of Schongauer's inventions is the inscription in the so-called 'Luther's Bible' from 1541, which belonged to Hans Plock (dates unknown), a silk sticker at the court of Albrecht von Brandenburg (1490–1545) in Halle. Plock had inserted various drawings and prints from different artists into the bible, one of them being the engraved *Death of the Virgin* by Schongauer (fig. 3.28). Beneath the image, Plock noted that he chose the engraving because, when he was young, this was considered the most beautiful work of art created in Germany.[330] In addition to these written accounts, the circulation of Schongauer's prints outside of Germany well after his death confirm the continuous popularity and demand for his prints.

3.2. Moving West: Schongauer in the Netherlands

From the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, printmakers seem to have adjusted to their role as producers of models for the other arts. Their modified compositions and figural

D. Martini et S. Francisci, praeterea Selestadii apud Praedicatores in ara quae divo Sebastiano sacra est, imagines huius manu depictae, ad quas effingendas exprimandasque pictores ipsi certatim confluant, et, si bonis artificibus et pictoribus fides adhibenda est, nihil elegantius, nihil amabilius a quaque depingi reddique poterit.' Jakob Wimpheling, *Epitome rerum Germanicarum*, Hannover, 1505. Cited in Kemperdick, *Martin Schongauer*, p. 278, doc. 1505 (1532).

[329] 'Habuit etiam Apellem suum Martinum illum qui ob singularem pingendi gratiam Belli cognomen meruit, et huius germanos fratres duos Paulem atque Georgium aurifices aeque praestantes.' Beatus Rhenanus Selestadiensis, *Rerum Germanicarum Libri III,* Basel, 1531. Cited in Kemperdick, *Martin Schongauer*, p. 279, doc. 1531.

[330] 'Diese figur ist in meiner jugent vor das beste kunstschduck geachtt wordenn das im theutschen land ist aus gangen, der halben ich es auch in meine bibel han geleimbt nit von wegen der hystorien sie kan war sein vnd auch nit sein'. Cited from Jeroen Stumpel, '"Meisterstiche" und andere. Medium und Motiv in Dürers Kunst des Kupferstichs', in *Dürer. Kunst – Künstler – Kontext*, (Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum, 23 October 2013–2 February 2014), ed. by Jochen Sander, Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2013, 250–57 (p. 252). Further information about the Plock Bible: Stadtmuseum Berlin Collection Online <https://sammlung-online.stadtmuseum.de/Details/Index/488979> (Accessed 18-05-2020).

types were traded among painters' workshops in Germany, but soon expanded along the Upper Rhine into the Southern Netherlands. It became a custom for painters, illuminators and sculptors to rely on printed materials for artistic inventions. Printers in turn anticipated this need for models, by producing prints specifically for the use of artists working in a different medium. An example of this is the passion cycle by Lucas van Leyden, who designed his series in the form of roundels, to serve as models for glass painters (fig. 3.29).[331]

Fig. 3.29. Lucas van Leyden, *Taking of Christ*, 1509, engraving, 28,5 cm diameter. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Similar to the situation in Germany, Schongauer's inventions were adapted by Netherlandish painters, sculptors and book and print publishers alike. The adaptations varied from individual figural types to entire compositions. One example of a painted adaptation of Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* is the *Ecce Homo* by the anonymous Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes (active early sixteenth century) (figs. 3.12 and 3.30). Although the people in the crowd differ from Schongauer's example, Christ and Pilate are copied one on one, with the same positions of the hands of

Fig. 3.30. Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes, *Ecce Homo*, c. 1510, oil on panel, 93,4 x 41,5 cm. London, The National Gallery.

[331] Porras, *Art of the Northern Renaissance*, p. 139.

both figures, the distinctive hat of Pilate and the folds of the drapery of both figures replicated.

Another group of artists that benefited from the inventions made by Schongauer, were the Netherlandish illuminators. Bruges was one of the centres where Schongauer's prints reverberated in the artistic scene. During the fifteenth century, it was one of the centres with a large print market, and Simon Bening (c. 1483–1561), an illuminator originally from Bruges, seems to have profited from this situation.[332] He assimilated Schongauer's prints on multiple different occasions for various of his own projects. He used both entire compositions, like in the *Christ Before Annas* from the Stein Quadriptych and the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* from the Book of Hours of Isabella of Portugal, and single details, such as the recoiling soldier in the *Resurrection* illumination from the same book of hours (figs. 3.31, 3.32 and 3.33).

Adaptations of details and figural types from Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* can also be seen in larger painted altarpieces, such as a large rectangular Netherlandish panel depicting a Populous Mount Calvary (fig. 3.34). Here, several details from various prints are used in a

Fig. 3.31. Simon Bening, *Christ Before Annas*, c. 1525, illumination, 6,8 x 5,2 cm. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Stein Quadriptych.

Fig. 3.32. Simon Bening, *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, c. 1530, illumination, 16,7 x 11 cm. San Marino, Huntington Library, Hours of Isabella of Portugal.

Fig. 3.33. Simon Bening, *Resurrection*, c. 1530, illumination, 16,7 x 11 cm. San Marino, Huntington Library, Hours of Isabella of Portugal.

[332] Kemperdick, *Martin Schongauer*, pp. 263-264.

Fig. 3.34. Netherlandish, *The Crucifixion of Christ*, c. 1520, oil on panel, 181 x 178 cm. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen.

new, larger composition. One detail that stands out immediately is again the kneeling soldier, depicted in the foreground, which occurred in the introduction to this chapter, in Riemenschneider's altarpiece, and in Bening's illuminations. This reuse of compositional details continued well into the sixteenth century. For the distribution of the prints in the Netherlands during the sixteenth century, Bruges and later Antwerp played a pivotal role.

3.2.1. Printing for the Netherlandish market. A continuous production of Schongauer's prints

Around 1505, Jean Lemaire de Belges, famous poet, historian, and librarian at the court of Margaret of Austria, wrote *La Couronne Margaritique*, a poem in which he mentions Martin Schongauer as one of the great Northern European artists of his time. Lemaire groups him together with Rogier van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes and Jean Fouquet (c. 1420–1481), amongst others.[333] The fact that he writes that Schongauer came from Frankfurt, could be attributed to the fact that Frankfurt am Main was the most significant centre of export for Schongauer's prints. The trade in printed material blossomed on the aforementioned *Buchmesse*, and from there many prints were exported to the Netherlands.

By the early sixteenth century both the mercantile and the artistic centre of the Netherlands was concentrated in Antwerp. A special feature of the Antwerp art scene, enhancing its position as an artistic and commercial centre, was the market known as the *Onser Liever Vrouwen Pand* or Our Lady's *Pand*.[334] This market was located in the courtyard of the Church of Our Lady, and it was the first location to be constructed exclusively for the exhibition and sale of artworks.[335] Our Lady's Pand displayed and sold art during the Antwerp fairs between 1460 and 1560. Artists rented space in stalls, from which the public could purchase paintings, sculptures, prints, and even parts of or entire altarpieces. Furthermore, during the first half of the sixteenth century, Antwerp thrived as a commercial centre, and

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[333] 'Ne peut fuyr, que tout ne leur desploye / Car l'un di ceux estoit maistre Roger, / L'autre Fouquet, en qui tant loz et employe. / Hughes de Gand, qui tant eut les tretz netz / Y fut aussi, et Dieric de Louvain / Avec le Roy des peintres Johannes, / Duquel les faits parfaits et mignonnetz / Ne tomberont jamais et oubly vain: / Ne, si je fusse un peu bon escrivain, / De Marmion, Prince d'enluminure / Dont le nom croist, comme paste en levain, / Par les effects de sa noble tournure. / Il y survint de Bruges maistre Hans / Et de Frankfort, maister Hughes Martin / Tous deux ouvriers tres clers et triomphans.' Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La Couronne Margaritique*, Hs. Cod. 3441, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien. Cited in Kemperdick, *Martin Schongauer*, p. 278, doc. 1505.

[334] Filip Vermeylen, 'The Art of the Dealer. Marketing Paintings in Early Modern Antwerp', in *Your Humble Servant. Agents in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek & Badeloch Noldus, Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006, 109–28 (p. 109).

[335] Dan Ewing, 'Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's Pand', *The Art Bulletin* 72:4 (1990), pp. 558–84 (p. 558).

housed merchants from Germany, England, France, Italy and Spain, providing artists with a very diverse clientele.[336] In 1532, the New Bourse opened. This exchange combined financial, wholesale commodity and retail luxury markets under one roof.[337] Eight years later, in 1540, the city opened a *Schilderspand* or Painters' Pand on the second-floor gallery of the Bourse, where artists, dealers and publishers settled, shifting the centre of art marketing in Antwerp from Our Lady's Pand to the Bourse.[338] The Bourse functioned as a permanent art market which was opened daily. As mentioned in chapter two of this thesis, from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, the demand for uncommissioned artworks in Antwerp was unprecedented. In order to be able to answer this high demand, artists produced standardized, ready-made compositions, and copied and replicated successful compositions. This shift from painting on commission to painting for the market thus initiated the serial production of artworks.

During this period of innovation, the interest in and demand for Martin Schongauer's prints, in part to use for replicating purposes, remained significant. This demand was supplied by several print publishers across Antwerp, who reissued prints from the previous century on a regular basis. One publisher playing a crucial role in this production is the Antwerp Hieronymus Cock (1518–1570). Cock was one of the key print publishers in Antwerp and Northern Europe during the sixteenth century, and his dominance on the print market can be compared to that of Christopher Plantin (1520–1589) and his publishing house 'The Golden Compass' in book publishing.[339] Cock cleverly responded to the continuing demand for Schongauer's work, by having the young engraver Hieronymus Wierix (1553–1619) copy the

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[336] Filip Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market. Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age*, in *Studies in Urban European History (1100-1800) (SEUH)*, ed. by Marc Boone and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, 56 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003–2021), 2, 2003, pp. 80–3.
[337] Ewing, 'Marketing Art', p. 577.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Larry Silver, 'Graven Images. Reproductive Engravings as Visual Models', in *Graven Images. The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem 1540-1640* (Evanston IL, Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, 6 May–27 June 1993, Chapel Hill NC, Ackland Art Museum, 15 August–26 September 1993), ed. by Timothy A. Riggs and Larry Silver, Evanston IL: Northwestern University Press, 1993, 1–46 (p. 17).

Fig. 3.35. Hieronymus Wierix after Martin Schongauer, *Crucifixion*, 1563, engraving in the first state, with the publishing mark of Hieronymus Cock, 28,1 x 18,7 cm. London, The British Museum.

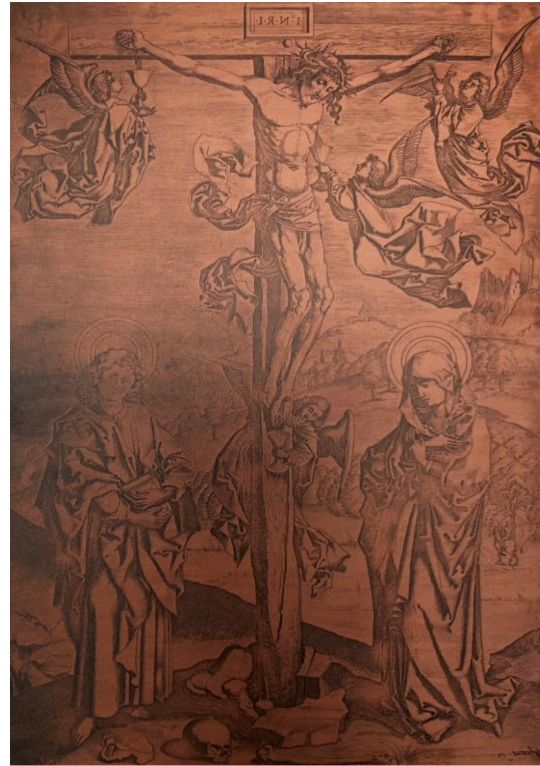

Fig. 3.36. Hieronymus Wierix after Martin Schongauer, *Crucifixion*, engraved copperplate, third state with the signature of Julius Goltzius, 29,2 x 19,2 cm. Ghent, Bisschoppelijk Sint-Paulusseminarie.

prints by Schongauer (figs. 3.35 and 3.36).[340] Wierix engraved the composition on a new copper plate, in which he removed the monogram of Schongauer and instead added the name of Hieronymus Cock. Subsequently, the plate was adjusted several times, mostly in the signature. Nowadays, the plate is engraved with the name and the publishing address of Julius Goltzius (d. after 1595) indicating that this plate was used at least until the late sixteenth century.

Goltzius probably obtained the plate from the collection of Hieronymus Cock. This collection was sold in 1600 after the death of Cock's widow Volcxken Diericx (c. 1525–1600), but the specific plate could have been sold by Diericx at an earlier point.[341] The

340 Joris Van Grieken, Ger Luijten and Jan Van der Stock, *Hieronymus Cock. De renaissance in prent* (Leuven, Museum M, 14 March–9 June 2013, Paris, Fondation Custodia, 18 September–15 December 2013), Brussel/Leuven: Mercatorfonds in cooperation with Illuminare – Studiecentrum voor Middeleeuwse Kunst (KU Leuven), 2013, p. 84.
341 Van Grieken, Luijten and Van der Stock, *Hieronymus Cock*, p. 84.

collection consisted of 1607 copper plates, and the inventory from 1601 describes it in extensive detail. Several copperplates depicting compositions of famous fifteenth- and sixteenth-century artists are specified, such as a copperplate with a composition by Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530), copperplates portraying the *Seven Virtues* by Raphael, a copperplate with the *Descent from the Cross* by Rogier van der Weyden, and multiple inventions by Albrecht Dürer.[342] Even though Schongauer is not mentioned by name, several entries in the inventory can be attached to his artistic production, such as a copperplate of the 'five Wise and five Foolish Virgins' and 'twelve copperplates with a rounded top of the Passion of Our Lord'.[343] One last Antwerp print publisher worth mentioning in the context of the continuous production of Schongauer's engravings is Adriaen Huybrechts I (c. 1550–after 1614). He was an Antwerp engraver, art dealer and publisher, and a member of St. Luke's guild since 1573. He specialized in religious art and he

Fig. 3.37. Adriaen Huybrechts I, *Agony in the Garden*, 1584, engraving, 16,5 x 11,4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

[342] 'Een coperen plaete van Sint-Jans Doopinge van Andries del Sardo'; 'Acht coperen plaetkens van de 7 Duechden nae Raphaël'; 'Een coperen plate van een Affneminge Ons Heeren van Mr. Rogier'; 'Een coperen plaete van een Crucifix ende seker personagiën van Aelbert Dure ghetrocken metten pinsoene'; 'Vyff coperen plaetkens van vyff Apostelkens nae Alber Dure'. Derived from the inventory of Volcxken Diericx: '1601, 1 Maart – Uittreksel uit de inventaris van de nagelaten goederen van Volcxken Diericx, weduwe van Hiëronymus Wellens alias Cocx en van Lambrecht Bottin. Zij is overleden op 23 december 1600 in haar woning "In de Vier Winden", gelegen op de hoek tegenover de Arenbergstraat lopende naar de Schuttershoven.' Reproduced in Erik Duverger (ed.), *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, in *Fontes Historiae Artis Neerlandicae. Bronnen voor de kunstgeschiedenis van de Nederlanden*, 14 vols (Brussel: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1984–2009), 1: 1600-1617 (1984), pp. 25–37.

[343] 'Een coperen plaete van de 5 Wyse ende 5 Dwaese Maechden'; 'Twaalf coperen plaetkens boven ront van de Passie Ons Heeren'. Derived from the inventory of Volcxken Diericx, reproduced in Duverger, *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen*, pp. 25–37.

copied Schongauer's entire passion cycle, signing only the first print of the series and dating it 1584 (fig. 3.37).[344]

Many print publishers set up shop near the Painter's Pand in the Antwerp Bourse. For example, Hieronymus Cock located his publishing house *In De Vier Winden*, also known as *Aux Quatre Vents*, 'bij de Nieuwe Beurs' (at the New Bourse).[345] This enabled him to readily answer the demand for prints, and to stay informed about the trends and shifts in the preferences of the customers. Additionally, prints were sold by so-called painter-dealers located in the Bourse itself. The inventory of one of the shops in the Painters' Pand, that of painter-dealer Jan van Kessel (dates unknown), included six hundred paintings, more than eighty prints, maps, copper plates, and several bundles of drawings and prints.[346] Another painter-dealer, Bartholomeus de Momper (dates unknown), purchased a stock of prints, books, maps and more with the intention of selling them at the Bourse.[347]

The continuous production of Schongauer's engravings by multiple different print publishers was fuelled by a lasting interest during the sixteenth century in art from the previous century. As such, the motives for Cock and Huybrechts to

Fig. 3.38. Cornelis Cort after Rogier van der Weyden, *Descent from the Cross*, 1565, engraving, 32 x 40,6 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

[344] Jane Campbell Hutchinson (ed.), *The Illustrated Bartsch. Early German Artists. Martin Schongauer, Ludwig Schongauer and Copyists*, Norwalk (CT): Abaris Books Ltd., 1996, p. 11.
[345] Ewing, 'Marketing Art', p. 579.
[346] Jean Denucé, *De Antwerpsche 'konstkamers'. Inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen*, in *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst*, 5 vols (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1931–1949), 2 (1932), p.12.
[347] Ibid.

produce these archaic prints must primarily be seen as commercial.[348] The prints would have appealed to a diverse clientele, among them viewers with conservative tastes. The inclusion of Latin texts below some of the engravings, like the famous Rogierian *Descend from the Cross* by Cornelis Cort (1533–1578), emphasizing the suffering of Christ, suggests that the composition could be used in its traditional devotional context (fig. 3.38).

The fact that these prints were continuously available for buyers during the first half of the sixteenth century, is also confirmed by the exceptional inventory of Ferdinand Columbus. Columbus' print collection consisted of as many as 3204 prints.[349] What is remarkable in his case, is that seventy percent of his print collection was produced by German artists, many of them printers who were active a century prior, such as the Master E. S. and Israhel van Meckenem, indicating that these prints were still readily available when Columbus began collecting, which was probably during his 1520 trip through Europe.[350]

Moreover, particularly revealing of the attitude towards local art from the past of both print publishers and painter-dealers is the letter that the Liège painter Lambert Lombard wrote to Giorgio Vasari in 1565. Lombard belonged to the circle of artists who frequently collaborated with Hieronymus Cock during the 1550s and 1560s. In this letter, he writes:

> '[…] Since that time the engraver Bel Martino showed up in Germany, and although he did not abolish the technique of Rogier, his master, he could not match his wonderful colouring. Apart from that, he used by preference the burin, and made

[348] Joris Van Grieken, '"Rogerij Belgae Inventum". Rogier van der Weyden's Late Reception in Prints (c. 1550-1600)', in *Rogier van der Weyden in context. Papers presented at the Seventeenth Symposium for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting*, ed. by Lorne Campbell, Jan Van der Stock, Catherine Reynolds and Lieve Watteeuw, Paris: Peeters, 2012, 353–64, (p. 356).

[349] Mark P. McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus. Renaissance Collector (1488–1539)* (London, British Museum, 9 February–5 June 2005), London: British Museum Press, 2005, p. 13.

[350] Ibid., p. 23. See also the transcribed inventory of Ferdinand Columbus in Mark P. McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus 1488-1539*, 2 vols (London: The British Museum Press, 2004), 2: Inventory Catalogue.

engravings that were considered masterpieces in his time, and still today are highly praised by artists. These prints, despite their dry character, look rather good'.[351]

Fig. 3.39. Anonymous artist, *Entombment*, c. 1550, oil on paper mounted on oak, 17,5 x 12,1 cm. London, The National Gallery.

As Lombard states, prints by Schongauer were still popular in the mid-sixteenth century, most notably in Antwerp. That the prints were also employed as models for painters, is attested by multiple artworks with the same composition, and fits in the larger practice of the time. Returning to the printing practices of Hieronymus Cock, many of his title pages from the series he printed state that the prints were intended 'in pictorum usum', or 'in gratiam pictorum': for the benefit of painters.[352] That the prints by Schongauer were also used in this manner, is confirmed by the many Antwerp painters who produced cheap devotional works for the open market, based on his engravings. This was done in various ways. One was to paste the engraving by Schongauer on a panel, to then colour it in. An example of this is the small panel nowadays in the London National Gallery, which copies the *Entombment* from the *Engraved Passion* (fig. 3.39). Another

Fig. 3.40. Martin Schongauer, *Death of the Virgin (detail with pounce holes)*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 26,5 x 17,1 cm. Düsseldorf, Kupferstichkabinett, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast.

[351] 'In Germania si leuo [leuò] poi vn Bel Martino, tagliatore in rame, il quale non abandono [abandonò] la maniera di Rogiero, suo maestro, ma non arriuo [arriuò] pero alla bontà del colorire, che haueua Rogiero, per esser piu vsato all' intaglio delle sue stampe che pareuano miraculose in quel tempo; et hogi sono anchora in bona reputatione tra i nostri mansueti artefici, perche anchora che le chose sue siano secche, pero hanno qualche bon garbo.' Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Cart. Art. II.V. Nr. 3, Liège, 27 April 1565. Cited in *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*, ed. by Karl Frey and Herman Walther Frey, 3 vols (Munich: Müller, 1923–1940), II (1930), 163–67, doc. XDIII (p. 165).

[352] For more information on this, see Boudewijn Bakker, '"Pictores Adeste!" Hieronymus Cock Recommending his Print Series', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 33:1/2 (2007/2008), pp. 53–66.

technique was transferring the model through pouncing or tracing. Many of the engravings by Schongauer used for such purposes are nowadays no longer extant, since they were employed until they were too damaged, or were in such bad shape that collectors were no longer interested in them. However, a few examples survive, such as the *Death of the Virgin* nowadays in Düsseldorf. Their function as a model is proved by the fact that these prints were pricked along the contours, as is visible for example along the contours of the drapery and the feet of the figure (fig. 3.40).

3.2.2. The international reach of the Antwerp art market

The commercial growth of Antwerp was a result of several factors: English merchants used the city as a gateway to the east for the export of cloth, Portuguese merchants came to the city to supply Europeans with Indian spices and merchants from Southern Germany came to trade silver for spices and cloth. As a result, Antwerp became a melting pot of merchants from Germany, England, France, Italy and Spain, who introduced the citizens to all different kinds of industries.[353] Antwerp's growth as an international market and harbour enabled artists to remain informed about the latest trends and international demands in art.[354]

One primary source illustrative of the international character of Antwerp during the sixteenth century is Lodovico Guicciardini's (1521–1589) account in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, printed in 1567. In his description of Antwerp, Guicciardini writes that 'The works of painters are not only widespread in these countries, but in the whole world, since paintings are the subject of great commerce.'[355] As can be read from this quote, the artistic

[353] Bruno Blondé, Oscar Gelderblom and Peter Stabel, 'Foreign merchant communities in Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam, c. 1350-1650', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Donatella Calabi et al., 4 vols (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006-2007), II: Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700, ed. by Donatella Calabi and Stephen T. Christensen (2007), 154–74 (p. 168).
[354] Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market*, pp. 17–18.
[355] 'L'opere de' quali pittori sono sparse non solamente per tutti questi paesi, ma sparse ancora per la maggior' parte del mondo, perche se ne fa mercantia di non piccola importanza.' Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altramenti detti Germania Inferiore. Con piu carte di Geographia del paese, & col ritratto naturale di piu terre principali*, Antwerp: Guglielmo Silvio, 1567, p. 100.

production in Antwerp was exported to many countries outside of Europe. When analysing the export registers of between 1543 and 1545, it becomes clear that of all the countries importing art from Antwerp, the Iberian Peninsula was by far the most prominent. The Spanish and Portuguese made up for thirty-four percent of the export, while nine percent went to Italy, twenty-four percent to Germany, and eighteen percent to England.[356]

The nine percent to Italy paints a distorted picture. The export of art seems to have been part of the regular transcontinental trade between the Netherlands and Italy, and shipments to cities like Genoa, Milan, Pavia, Rome and Venice probably happened more frequently.[357] Moreover, many Netherlandish merchants and artists travelled to Italy during the sixteenth century, which must have contributed to the export from Northern to Southern Europe. The amount of Northern European art in Italy must have therefore been high. Illustrative for the situation is the account of Marcantonio Michiel in his *Notizie d'opere del disegno*, which he wrote between 1521 and 1543. He describes a large amount of paintings present in the Veneto, and that no less than thirty percent of them were of northern origin.[358]

Objects that were intrinsically suitable for export were prints. Their high production rate and the fact that they were easily transportable, made them one of the key factors for the migration and adaptation of certain artistic inventions. Merchants and traveling artists were able to carry them with them on their sojourn, and they were easily sold or exchanged along the route. The fact that Schongauer's prints were continuously produced in lively commercial centres in both the Netherlands and Germany, and that a large part of the production was intended for export, all contributed to the migration of Schongauer's prints to Southern Europe, more specifically to Northern Italy and Spain.

[356] Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market*, p. 82.
[357] Ibid., p. 83.
[358] For more information about this, see Lorne Campbell, 'Notes on Netherlandish Pictures in the Veneto in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *The Burlington Magazine* 123:941 (1981), pp. 467–73 (pp. 471–72).

3.3. From North to South: Schongauer in Italy

Artists in Italy started to produce engravings around the same time as in Germany. These prints can be subdivided into roughly three groups: devotional images, ornamental prints for the use of craftsmen, and small *niello* prints.[359] These practices can be closely related to the printing practices in Northern Europe, where the earliest German prints also mainly consisted of devotional images and ornamental prints. According to Giorgio Vasari, one of the first Italian artists working in the medium of engraving and *niello* was the Florentine Maso Finiguerra (1426–1464) (fig. 3.41).[360] Although nowadays it has become clear that German artists were the first to employ the woodcut and engraving as an artistic medium, Vasari incorrectly attributes the invention of engraving as a printing medium to Finiguerra in his second edition of the *Vite* of 1568.[361] Aside from Florence, prints were produced and sold in Padua, Mantua, Venice and Ferrara.[362]

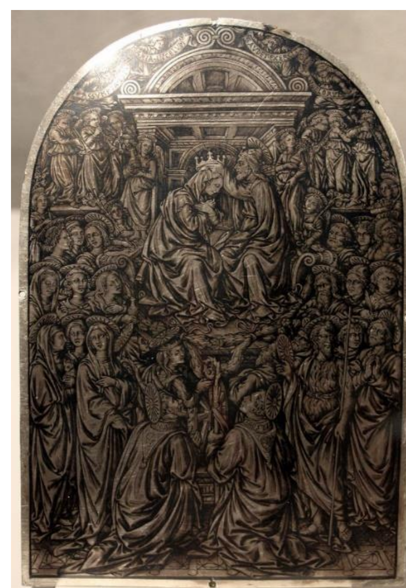

Fig. 3.41. Maso Finiguerra, *Coronation of the Virgin*, 1452, niello, dimensions unknown. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.

Distinct from German practices, Italian artists appear to have developed the medium of the engraving as an extension of painting early on.[363] Prints were generally

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[359] David Landau, 'Mantegna as Printmaker', in *Andrea Mantegna* (London, Royal Academy of Arts, 17 January–5 April 1992, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 9 May–12 July 1992), ed. by Jane Martineau, Milan: Electa, 1992, 43–54 (p. 44).

[360] A *niello* was an engraving made with a burin, usually on a silver plate, of which the hollows produced by the burin were filled up with a black compound of silver, lead and sulphur. The design created was of much higher contrast than a regular engraving. This technique was intended for many objects, including paxes, crucifixes and reliquaries. Another artist, aside from Maso Finiguerra, working in this technique was Anontio Pollauiolo (c. 1433–1498). For further reference, see Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching*, p. 41–43.

[361] 'Il principio dunque dell'intagliare le stampe venne da Maso Finiguerra fiorentino, circa gl'anni di nostra salute 1460, perché costui tutte le cose che intagliò in argento, per empierle di niello, le improntò con terra, e, gittatovi sopra solfo liquifatto, vennero improntate e ripiene di fumo […]'. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, 5 vols (ed. by Enrico Mattioda, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2017–2021), III, ed. by Enrico Mattioda (2017), p. 448–49.

[362] Landau, 'Mantegna as Printmaker', p. 44.

[363] Landau & Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, p. 65.

larger, and artists more often than not incorporated pictorial devices, such as a tonal system and compositional details, which suggest that they were intended as autonomous artworks rather than models, and that they were displayed in similar ways as paintings, on the walls of houses or monastery cells, even though the exact placement cannot be determined for certain.[364] This indication that there was little distinction between painting and print, and that therefore prints were probably valued higher in Italy, might have resulted in a less frequent use of the printed medium as models, and consequently might partly explain why adaptations from Italian prints are less commonplace than adaptations from German prints.

Andrea Mantegna is one of the earliest Italian artists successfully exploring and employing the medium of engraving. Vasari praises him as a master in engraving figures, and writes that with this medium, Mantegna was able to show the world his inventions, hinting at a wide diffusion of his prints.[365] Contrary to Schongauer, documents survive that shed light on the working process of Mantegna in relation to engraving. For example, in a surviving contract from 1475, it is stated that Mantegna wants certain drawings to be engraved by the goldsmith Gian Marco Cavalli (before 1454–in or after 1508).[366] This indicates that Mantegna probably did not engrave the copper plates himself, but instead drew designs which he had

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[364] Ibid.

[365] 'Mostrò costui con miglior modo come nella pittura si potesse fare gli scorti delle figure al di sotto in su, il che fu certo invenzione difficile e capricciosa; e si dilettò ancora, come si è detto, d'intagliare in rame le stampe delle figure, che è commodità veramente singularissima, e mediante la quale ha potuto vedere il mondo non solamente la Baccaneria, la Battaglia de' mostri marini, il Deposto di croce, il Sepelimento di Cristo, la Resurressione con Longino e con Sant'Andrea, opere di esso Mantegna, ma le maniere ancora di tutti gl'artifici che sono stati.' Derived from Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite*, II (2018), p. 427.

[366] 'Cum ciò sia cossa che el spectabible et prudente homo messer Andrea Mantegna voglia fare taliare designi in stampa per stampare etc. son venuti ali patti et compositione infrascripte tra esso messer Andrea et Zohanne Marcho di Cavalli da Viadana zoè'. Derived from Andrea Canova, 'Gian Marco Cavalli incisore per Andrea Mantegna e altre notizie sull'oreficeria e la tipografia a Mantova nel XV secolo', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 42 (2001), pp. 149–79 (p. 150). See also Andrea Canova, 'Mantegna ha davvero inciso? Nuovi documenti', *Grafica d'arte. Revista di storia dell'incisione antica e moderna e storia del disegno* 12:47 (2001), pp. 3–11; Andrea Canova, 'Andrea Mantegna e Gian Marco Cavalli: nuovi documenti mantovani', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 43 (2002), pp. 201–29; Suzanne Boorsch, 'Mantegna and Engraving: what we know, what we don't know, and a few hypotheses', in *Andrea Mantegna Impronta del Genio. Convegno internazionale di studi*, ed. by Rodolfo Signorini, Viviana Rebonato and Sara Tammaccaro, 2 vols (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2010), I, 415–37 (p. 417).

engraved by other specialists. Further on in the contract, it is stated that Cavalli must return the engraved plate and the drawing to Mantegna after it was finished.[367]

Before producing his own prints, Mantegna must have witnessed the production of prints early on in his career in the Northern Italian regions, and he probably started creating designs for prints during the 1460s, which is evidenced by several drawings.[368] Mantegna's earliest prints depict religious subjects and were produced between 1460 and 1470.[369] It has been suggested that these prints formed part of a passion cycle, similar to the northern custom.[370] Two scenes, the *Descent from the Cross* and the *Entombment with Four Birds*, were engraved on the recto and verso of the same copper plate and constituted a pair, further strengthening the idea that these two prints formed part of a cycle (figs. 3.42 and 3.43). Additional hints in favour of this suggestion are the fact that the dimensions are almost identical, and that both designs have a rocky foreground, figures of the same size and similar looking landscapes. These early prints can often be closely related to Mantegna's German contemporaries, such as the Master E. S. Especially the technique is close to that of the prints by German artists, again suggesting that he must have seen these already early in his career. Two other engravings have been linked to Mantegna's suggested passion cycle, namely the *Descent into Limbo* and the *Flagellation* (figs. 3.44 and 3.45). However, pivotal scenes from

[367] 'item promete dicto Zohanne Marcho, incontinente fatto la stampa di chadauno designo, consignare essa stampa a ditto messer Andrea cum el designo over carta, promettendo dicto messer Andrea per el simille a dicto Zohanne Marcho conservarli et non stampare né lassar stampare zenza saputa di detto Zohanne Marcho sotto la pena et obligatione preditte. Et iuraverunt predictae partes predicta omnia et singula attendere sub obligationem et penam predictas et dictus Iohannes Marchus iuravit se minorem vigintinquinque annorum'. Derived from Canova, 'Gian Marco Cavalli', p. 151. See also Landau & Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, p. 65, and Sarah Vowles and Dagmar Korbacher, 'Skizziert und umrissen. Zum graphischen Werk von Mantegna und Bellini', in *Mantegna & Bellini. Meister der Renaissance* (London, The National Gallery, 1 October 2018–27 January 2019, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, 1 March–30 June 2019), ed. by Caroline Campbell et al., Munich, by arrangement with National Gallery Company, London: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2018, 68–87 (p. 79).
[368] David Ekserdjian, 'Disegni e incisioni in Mantegna: invenzioni e diffusione', in *Andrea Mantegna. Rivivere l'antico. Construire il moderno* (Turin, Palazzo Madama, 12 December 2019–4 May 2020), ed. by Sandrina Bandera, Howard Burns and Vincenzo Farinella, Turin: Marsilio, 2019, 218–25 (p. 219).
[369] Ibid.
[370] For more information, see Augusto Gentili, 'Mantegna. L'Incisione e la *Discesa al Limbo*', *Civiltà Mantovana. Rivista trimestrale* 27:5 (1992), pp. 53–75.

Fig. 3.42. Andrea Mantegna, *Descent from the Cross*, c. 1465, engraving, 42,5 x 35,2 cm. Sydney, Art Gallery NSW.

Fig. 3.43. Andrea Mantegna, *Entombment with Four Birds*, c. 1465–80, engraving, 44,2 x 33,2 cm. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

Fig. 3.44. Workshop of Andrea Mantegna, *Flagellation*, c. 1475–80, engraving, 38,6 x 29,5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.45. Workshop of Andrea Mantegna, *Descent into Limbo*, c. 1465–80, engraving, 43 x 33,2 cm. Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil.

the Passion, such as the Crucifxion, by Mantegna do not survive from this period, implying that the cycle was never completed. The reason for this is not entirely clear.[371]

Mantegna's subsequent print production marks a notable departure from his German contemporaries. Contrary to them, Mantegna turned to mythological subjects for some of his most ambitious prints, like the *Battle of the Sea Gods* and the *Bacchanals* (fig. 3.46). One big additional difference with his German contemporaries, is that Mantegna was seemingly less concerned with the scope and dissemination of his print production. There are very few impressions of his prints extant nowadays, and already during Mantegna's lifetime it appears to have been difficult to acquire his prints. However, he must have been a sought-after engraver, which is confirmed by the fact that Albrecht Dürer regarded Mantegna, together with Antonio Pollaiuolo (c. 1429–1498), as one of the best engravers of his time.[372] Dürer got acquainted with his work during his sojourns to Italy, and he regarded the prints by Mantegna

Fig. 3.46. Andrea Mantegna, *Battle of the Sea Gods (right portion)*, c. 1485–88, engraving, 26,8 x 39,3 cm. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.47. Albrecht Dürer, *Battle of the Sea Gods*, 1494, pen drawing, 28,9 x 38,1 cm. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

[371] The prints have been related to inventions conceived and partly made by Mantegna for the Capella di San Giorgio in Mantua, on the basis of similarities in landscape and composition. See *Andrea Mantegna. Rivivere l'antico. Construire il moderno* (Turin, Palazzo Madama, 12 December 2019–4 May 2020), ed. by Sandrina Bandera, Howard Burns and Vincenzo Farinella, Turin: Marsilio, 2019, pp. 230–31.
[372] Wolfgang Holler, 'Andrea Mantegna und die Druckgraphik', in *Andrea Mantegna. Die Heilige Familie*, (Dresden, Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, 12 May–23 July 2006), Dresden: Michel Sandstein Verlag and Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 2006, 53–64 (p. 55).

to represent the novel *modo antico* – the rediscovery of the antique in Italian art of the fifteenth century.[373] However, Dürer was unable to purchase Mantegna's prints for his own collection, and was instead forced to draw copies himself (fig. 3.47).[374]

In general, adaptations from Mantegna's inventions seem to have happened far more often from his paintings hanging in public places. These paintings functioned as models for other artists more frequently than his prints, also hinting at a different treatment of Mantegna's prints than for example Schongauer's or Dürer's. In addition to much less impressions, prints possibly had a different status in Italy, and were more highly valued as artistic objects than their German counterparts. This might be a possible reason why, contrary to Mantegna's printed inventions, Schongauer's motifs were regularly adapted into different media by Italian artists. Some of the earliest examples of the adaptation and transformation of Schongauer's prints in Italy can be seen in the same medium, already during the German artist's lifetime. The earliest Italian adaptation of Schongauer was probably done by Baccio Baldini (c. 1436–1487), a Florentine artist who transformed the print depicting *Christ Before Pilate* from the *Engraved Passion* into the prophet Daniel, no later than 1487 (figs. 3.13 and 3.48). His rendition survives in a contemporary copy by Francesco Rosselli (1445–before 1513). Another example of an adaptation of Schongauer's design for another engraving, even more exact than the first case, can be found in the oeuvre of Nicoletto

Fig. 3.48. Francesco Rosselli after Baccio Baldini, *Daniel*, c. 1480–90, engraving, 17,8 x 10,8 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[373] Ibid.
[374] Landau & Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, p. 69.

Fig. 3.49. Martin Schongauer, *Nativity*, fifteenth century, engraving, 25,4 x 16,8 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.50. Nicoletto da Modena, *Nativity*, c. 1500–10, engraving, 25 x 18,2 cm. London, British Museum.

Fig. 3.51. Master of the Death of the Virgin, *Death of the Virgin*, c. 1510–15, tin-glazed majolica, 26,3 cm diameter. London, British Museum.

Fig. 3.52. Israhel van Meckenem, *Death of the Virgin*, c. 1455–1503, engraving, 24,5 x 16,5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

da Modena (c. 1500–c. 1520), an artist of whom not much is known.[375] He copied the *Nativity* by Schongauer, changing only minor details (figs. 3.49 and 3.50).

Another medium in which Schonaguer's prints were adapted was the typical Italian earthenware of the sixteenth century, namely majolica.[376] The production of these items was concentrated in the town of Faenza in Emilia Romagna. One example is the deep plate of earthenware that shows a coloured copy of the *Death of the Virgin* (fig. 3.51). Interestingly, the composition is mirrored from Schongauer's print, indicating that for this copy, not the original but the copy by Israhel van Meckenem was used, since his print also shows an inverted version of Schongauer's invention (fig. 3.52).

Most adaptations happened in Northern Italy, specifically in Lombardy and the Veneto, and Schongauer's inventions seem to have been present in this area shortly after their creation. Similar to the situation in Germany and the Netherlands, Italian artists translated Schongauer's prints into various other media, like painting and illuminations. Some of the high profile adaptations of Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* were the miniatures produced by Giovan Pietro Birago for the *Sforza Hours*, a commission the artist received from Bona of Savoy, Duchess consort and Regent of Milan. For his illuminations, produced around 1490, Birago relied heavily on Schongauer's prints from the *Engraved Passion*. His use of Schongauer's prints is comparable to the way Simon Bening adapted the engravings in Bruges, and appears therefore to be in line with a more common practice of using prints as patterns for illuminations. Rather than precisely copying the prints by Schongauer, Birago adapted the compositions slightly, inserting his own figural types and changing various poses of the depicted figures (fig. 3.53). Contrary to Schongauer's examples, he also added multiple

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[375] Mark Evans, 'German prints and Milanese miniatures: Influences on – and from – Giovan Pietro Birago', *Apollo* 153:469 (2001), pp. 3–12 (p. 5).

[376] *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy. The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist*, ed. by Giulia Bartrum, London: The British Museum Press, 2002, p. 239.

Fig. 3.53. Giovan Pietro Birago, *Agony in the Garden*, c. 1490, miniature from the *Sforza Hours*, fol. 145v, 13,1 x 9,3 cm. London, British Library.

Fig. 3.54. Giovan Pietro Birago, *Taking of Christ*, c. 1490, miniature from the *Sforza Hours*, fol. 147v, 13,1 x 9,3 cm. London, British Library.

moments of the story of the Passion on the same illumination (fig. 3.54). It is likely that Birago had multiple sheets from the *Engraved Passion* to choose from.[377]

Remarkable in these miniatures is that in addition to transforming Schongauer's compositions slightly, Birago also combined elements from different prints by well-known masters. For example, he seems to have combined Schongauer's print with inventions by Andrea Mantegna. The most striking example of this is the miniature depicting the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*. Schongauer's version of this subject was one of the most copied prints from his oeuvre, and was well known far beyond the borders of Germany. However, in his miniature, Birago chose not to copy this print exactly, but to combine its composition with details from Mantegna's *Descent into Limbo*, specifically for the demons (figs. 3.1, 3.45 and

[377] Evans, 'German prints', p. 4.

3.55). This suggests that both Northern European and Italian prints were used as models for new compositions, and that the combining of prints with different origins was done freely.[378]

Fig. 3.55. Giovan Pietro Birago, *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, c. 1490, miniature from the *Sforza Hours*, fol. 202v, 13,1 x 9,3 cm. London, British Library.

This combination of prints also confirms the fact that prints in part replaced the drawn models and model books for artists. By selecting specific compositional details and iconographical motifs from distinct prints, and combining these into a new composition, it relates closely to the practice of selecting motifs from a model book for a novel composition. This in part explains how an artist like Birago, who produced his miniatures in an environment where both Mantegna's and Schongauer's prints must have been well-known, could have combined characteristics of both artists in his own composition.

Adaptations of Schongauer's inventions also happened in paintings. One of the most significant Lombard painters of the fifteenth century, Vincenzo Foppa (c. 1430–c. 1515) reworked some of Schongauer's prints in his paintings during the second half of the fifteenth century.[379] This seems to have been a common practice for other Northern Italian painters as well, like Gottardo Scotti (active 1457–1481) and Lorenzo Fasolo (1463–1518), of whom a

[378] Cristina Quattrini, 'Modelli seriali nella miniature milanese del secondo Quattrocento e dei primi anni del Cinquecento' in *L'utilizzo dei modelli seriali nella produzione figurative lombarda nell'età di Mantegna*, ed. by Marco Collareta and Francesca Tasso, Milan: Settore Musei, 2012, 121–32 (p. 123).
[379] Valentina Catalucci, 'La fortuna del "Bel Martino" in Lombardia', in *L'utilizzo dei modelli seriali nella produzione figurative lombarda nell'età di Mantegna*, ed. by Marco Collareta and Francesca Tasso, Milan: Settore Musei, 2012, 72–92 (p. 74).

painting referring to Schongauer's *Christ Crowned with Thorns* is nowadays at the Museo Poldi Pezzoli in Milan.[380]

Fig. 3.56. Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo, *Frescoes of the Main Chapel*, 1496, dimensions unknown. Provesano, Church of San Leonardo.

Lastly, a significant novel form of adaptation happens in Italian fresco painting, resulting in the small-format prints being enlarged significantly. Of the prints used for these purposes, Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* is among the ones assimilated most often. The German engravings are translated both into single frescoes, as well as entire cycles. An example of the latter can be found in the Church of San Leonardo in Provesano. Here, Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo (1450–1511) transformed five prints from the *Engraved Passion* into frescoes on the left wall of the main chapel of the church (fig. 3.56). The scenes include the *Flagellation*, *Christ Before Pilate*, the *Carrying of the Cross*, the *Entombment* and the *Resurrection*, and all follow the prototype relatively closely, with only a few adjustments. Da Tolmezzo adapted the print of the *Resurrection* an additional time, in a rectangular fresco for the Church of San Gregorio in Aviano, in which the engraving has been reworked from a vertical to a horizontal format

[380] Ibid.

Fig. 3.57. Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo, *Resurrection*, 1497, fresco, dimensions unknown. Castel d'Aviano, Church of San Gregorio.

(fig. 3.57). In this case, relatively much has been changed by the Italian artist, and only the details that are most recognizable in the German print are copies, such as the reclining soldier on the right foreground and Christ stepping out of his tomb.

Two other examples of single frescoes copying Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* can be found in Pavia and Conegliano. In Pavia, the fresco is located in the Convent of Santa Maria Teodote. The internal walls of the church of this convent are completely frescoed, all of which stem from the early sixteenth century, executed by the so-called Maestro delle Storie di Sant'Agnese (active between 1506–1530).[381] The episodes depicted on these frescoes range from saints, to the Doctors of the Church and the story of the Passion. From this last cycle, the fresco depicting the *Agony in the Garden* relies heavily on the print by Schongauer (fig. 3.58). Interesting in this case is that for the other episodes of the Passion, for which a version by

[381] Ibid., p. 76.

Schongauer also existed, the artist decided against using this prototype, either by choice or by lack of availability.

Fig. 3.58. Maestro delle Storie di Sant'Agnese, *Agony in the Garden*, 16° Century, fresco, dimensions unknown. Pavia, Church of Santa Maria Teodote.

A last case proves to be another interesting example of Italian artists choosing and combining motifs from different prints for their own composition. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Andrea Previtali (c. 1480–1528) and Francesco da Milano (active 1502–1548) adapted Schongauer's *Taking of Christ* in Conegliano for one of the frescoes of the Sala dei Battuti, a meeting room for members of this congregation (fig. 3.59). The internal walls of this room are adorned with a cycle of separate, rectangular frescoes. What becomes clear when investigating the *Taking of Christ* is that multiple models have been applied within the same fresco.[382] The group of Christ and his captors was copied from the engraving by Schongauer with the same subject, while the figures of Peter and Malchus in the foreground do not resemble to figures in Schongauer's print. They are instead copied from the woodcut with the same subject from Albrecht Dürer's *Small Passion*, produced between 1508 and 1511 (fig. 3.60). The ways in which Christ is bound and pulled by his robe and hair have been taken directly from Schongauer's print, while the position of Peter's raised right hand, ready to strike, and the way in which Malchus pulls his robe and lifts a lantern corresponds with Dürer's woodcut (figs. 3.8, 3.59 and 3.60).

As mentioned earlier, many of Dürer's print series were combined into a booklet and sold as such. However, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Dürer's prints from his cycles were also sold separately as single leafs. This was done for several reasons, one being

[382] László Mészáros, *Italien sieht Dürer. Zur Wirkung der deutschen Druckgraphik auf die italienische Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Erlangen: Verlag Palm & Enke, 1983, p. 79.

that the production of a cycle often happened over a longer period of time, as was the case with the *Small Passion*. In order to generate income, the finished prints were already sold before the entire series was finished. This was also done, for example, with prints from

Dürer's *Engraved Passion*, produced between 1507 and 1512. As a result, artists and other prospective buyers were able to select the prints they wanted and only buy these, instead of buying the entire, bound cycle. For artists, this opened up the possibility to buy and select prints that were attractive for their own compositions, to subsequently use as models, again similar to a model book.

Fig. 3.59. Andrea Previtali and Francesco da Milano, *Taking of Christ*, c. 1500, fresco, dimensions unknown. Conegliano, Sala dei Battuti.

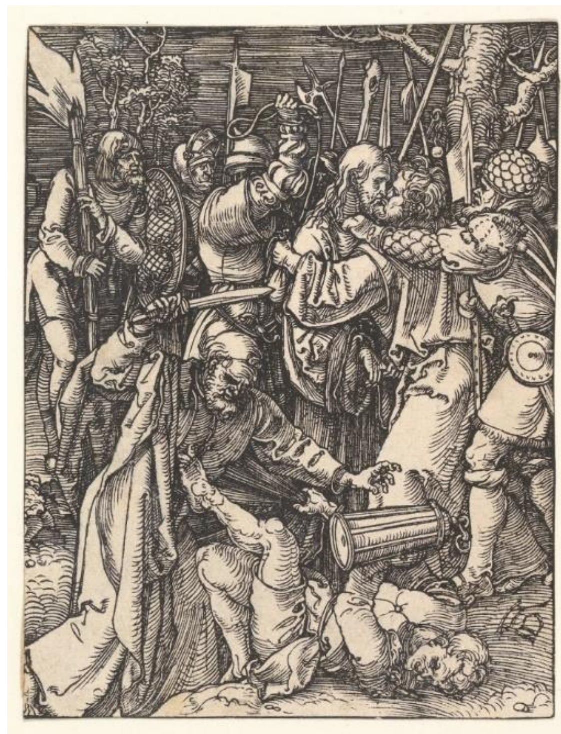

Fig. 3.60. Albrecht Dürer, *Betrayal of Christ, from the Small Passion*, c. 1509, woodcut, 12,7 x 9,0 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

3.3.1. Acquiring German prints in Italy

From these examples, it appears that Schongauer's prints must have been relatively easily accessible in Italy, and specifically in the northern regions. Strikingly, many

adaptations of the *Engraved Passion* happen in small cities and villages like Provesano, Conegliano and Aviano. The theory that in general, novel techniques and innovations often happened in major cities, while in minor or peripheral cities, artists often worked in a derivative style and manner, has been contested over the past years.[383] However, in the Italian cases of adaptations of the *Engraved Passion* discussed here, artists from for example Provesano and Conegliano were likely to look at the economically and artistically more developed centres of Milan and Venice for their materials.[384] During the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, these cities were indeed established lively artistic environments, with a considerably large print production, and it seems likely that from here, Schongauer's prints were distributed to the cities and towns in the region under their rule.

One possible source of influx was the presence of German merchants, students, artists and printers in this area at the end of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. For example, at the University of Pavia, where Schongauer's *Agony in the Garden* was transformed into a fresco, a large German community was established.[385] In Lombardy in general, German printers Leonard Pachel (c. 1451–1511), Christophorus Valdarfer (d. c. 1489) and Uldericus Scinzenzeller (dates unknown) were active from the 1470s onwards.[386]

[383] Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg were two of the first art historians to deal with questions of the definition, evaluation and functioning of artistic centres, and the differences in artistic practice between major artistic centres and minor peripheral cities. For further reference, see Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, 'Centro e periferia', in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, 12 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1979–1989), I: Materiali e problemi. Questioni e metodi, ed. by Giovanni Previtali (1979), 283–352; Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia nella storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan: Officina Libraria, 2019; Nicolas Bock, 'Center or Periphery? Artistic Migration, Models, Taste and Standards', in *"Napoli è tutto il mondo". Neapolitan Art and Culture from Humanism to the Enlightenment*, ed. by Livio Pestilli, Ingrid D. Rowland and Sebastian Schütze, Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2003, 11–36; Giuseppe Bertini, 'Center and Periphery: Art Patronage in Renaissance Piacenza and Parma', in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy. Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. by Charles M. Rosenberg, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 71–137. In recent years, this distinction has been contested in various art historical publications. See for example Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, Chicago/London: Univserity of Chicago Press, 2004, and, more recently, Chiara Franceschini (ed.), *Sacred Images and Normativity: Contested Forms in Early Modern Art*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2020.
[384] Giuseppe Bertini, 'Center and Periphery', p. 71.
[385] This situation was similar in other cities with universities, amongst others in Ferrara and Padua, where Mantegna might have benefitted from this.
[386] Catalucci, 'La fortuna del "Bel Martino"', p. 76.

Valdarfer also had an office in Venice, and it might be through these printing presses that artists were able to acquire German prints, specifically Schongauer's inventions.

Another plausible way in which the German engravings entered Italy is through the trading connections between Italy, Germany and the Netherlands, and the resulting merchant routes along which prints were easily transported from one geographic area to another. Northern Italy is traditionally considered as one of the most urbanised regions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Around 1500, Milan and Venice both had populations of more than 100.000, which was a considerable amount, comparing it to the 60.000 inhabitants of Florence or the 50.000 inhabitants of Rome during the same period.[387] This also resulted in Venice and Milan having two of the largest art markets in Italy during this period. Milan furthermore had strong commercial links with Nuremberg and Augsburg, both centres with extensive printing activities, and Lombard merchants were one of the most prominent groups of merchants in the Low Countries.[388]

Indispensable for the commerce between Germany and Northern Italy were fairs and markets, among others the ones in Ferrara and Pavia, where German merchants exchanged wares with merchants from Venice and Milan.[389] In addition, a direct mercantile connection between Venice and German commercial centres can be traced from the twelfth century onwards.[390] Nuremberg was an important commercial centre during this period, and merchants from all over Southern Germany settled in the city, making it a mercantile hub for

[387] Peter Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants. The Flemish Urban Network in the Late Middle Ages*, Leuven/Apeldoorn: Garant, 1997, p. 72; Peter Burke, 'Antwerp, a Metropolis in Europe', in *Antwerp. Story of a Metropolis* (Antwerp, Hessenhuis, 25 June–10 October 1993), ed. by Jan Van der Stock, Ghent: Martial & Snoeck, 1993, 49–58 (p. 50).
[388] Evans, 'German prints', p. 3.
[389] J. Wesley Hoffmann, 'The Fondaco Dei Tedeschi: The Medium of Venetian-German Trade', *Journal of Political Economy* 40:2 (1932), pp. 244–52 (p. 245).
[390] Marco Veronesi, *Oberdeutsche Kaufleute in Genua, 1350-1490. Institutionen, Strategien, Kollektive*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 2014, p. 1.

people from Franconia and Bavaria. From Nuremberg, merchants travelled along several trading routes to Venice, most often carrying linen and other luxury goods.[391]

This trade between Germany and Venice was organised through the establishment of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* in Venice. German merchants were required to conduct all their trading activities in Venice through this *Fondaco*, as well as eat and sleep in the building during their stay in the city. This resulted in a concentrated centre of German merchants, but also in restrictions, such as the prohibition to contribute to trade over sea.[392] These restrictions resulted in the shift of German merchants to other Italian cities with significant markets, such as Milan and Genoa. From here, the trading connections between Northern and Southern Europe expanded, and from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the *Große Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft* is of great importance in the mercantile relations between Genoa and Milan, the Iberian Peninsula, German cities and the Netherlands.[393] Trade happened both by land and by sea, and ranged from metals to linen. It was intensively used for the trade in luxury goods, and many of the cities along the various merchant routes between Northern and Southern Europe housed significant art markets. It is therefore very probable that these mercantile connections contributed greatly to the influx of printed material into the Northern Italian region. An indication of the import of prints to Italy, specifically Florence, can be read in Vasari's 1568 version of the 'Life of Gherardo, Illuminator of Florence'. In it, Vasari writes that during Gherardo del Fora's (1445–1497) time, certain prints in the German manner by 'Martin' and by Albrecht Dürer were brought to Florence, and that said Gherardo copied these prints.[394]

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[391] Hoffmann, 'The Fondaco Dei Tedeschi', p. 247.
[392] Mark Häberlein, 'Der *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* und der Italienhandel oberdeutscher Kaufleute', in *Bayern und Italien. Kontinuität und Wandel ihrer traditionellen Bindungen*, ed. by Hans-Michael Körner and Florian Schuller, Lindenberg im Allgäu: Kunstverlag Josef Fink, 2010, 124–39 (p. 126).
[393] Veronesi, *Oberdeutsche Kaufleute*, p. 121.
[394] 'Mentre che Gherardo andava queste cose lavorando, furono recate in Fiorenza alcune stampe di maniera tedesca fatte da Martino e da Alberto Duro; per che, piacendogli molto quella sorte d'intaglio, si mise col bulino a intagliare, e ritrasse alcune di quelle carte benissimo, come si può veder in certi pezzi che ne sono nel nostro

Not only important German printing communities like Nuremberg and Frankfurt am Main exported Schongauer prints to Italy. That the Netherlandish market played a pivotal role in this diffusion can be deduced from Italian written accounts regarding Martin Schongauer from the sixteenth century. Not many contemporary Italian sources exist from before this period, and the information about him seems to have been limited. This is exemplified in the first version from 1550 of the earlier-mentioned biography of Michelangelo Buonarroti in the *Vite*. In this version, Vasari misattributes the famous *Temptation of Saint Anthony* to Albrecht Dürer.[395] This is rectified by Ascanio Condivi in his biography of Michelangelo from 1553, where he rightly attributes the engraving that Michelangelo copied to Schongauer, although he calls him 'Martino d'Ollandia'.[396] In his 1568 version of the *Vite*, after correspondence with the aforementioned Lambert Lombard, Vasari also attributes the engraving to Schongauer and calls him 'Martino Tedesco', but in the same book describes him as an Antwerp artist in the biography of Marcantonio Raimondi.[397]

The fact that Vasari writes that Schongauer was an Antwerp artist, who 'sent large numbers of prints to Italy', is striking and important to take into account when considering

libro, insieme con alcuni disegni di mano del medesimo'. Gherardo la Fora was a Florentine illuminator and engraver. Derived from Vasari, *Le vite*, II (2018), p. 363.

[395] '[…] perché in Michele Agnolo faceva ogni dí frutti piú divini che umani, come apertamente cominciò a dimostrarsi nel ritratto che e' fece d'una carta di Alberto Durero, che gli dette nome grandissimo. Imperoché, essendo venuta in Firenze una istoria del detto Alberto, quando i diavoli battono Santo Antonio, stampata in rame, Michele Agnolo la ritrasse di penna, di maniera che non era conosciuta, e quella medesima coi colori dipinse […]' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piú eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri. Nell' edizione per i tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino, Firenze 1550*, ed. by Luciano Bellosi and Aldo Rossi, Turin: Einaudi, 1986, p. 882.

[396] 'Et essendogli messa inanzi dal Granacci una carta stampata, dove era ritratta la storia di santo Antonio quand' è battuto da' Diavoli, della qual era autore un Martino d'Ollandia, huomo per quel tempo valente, la fece in una tavola di legno et accomodato dal medesimo di colori et di pennegli, talmente la compose et distinse, che non solamente porse maraviglia à chiunche la vedde, ma ancho in vidia, come alcuni vogliano, à Domenico, piu pregiato Pittore di quella età, come in altre cose di poi si puote manifestamente conoscere', Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, Rome, 1553, ed. by Charles Davis, Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek der Universität Heidelberg, 2009, pp. 13–14.

[397] 'Passata poi questa invenzione in Fiandra, un Martino, che allora era tenuto in Anversa eccellente pittore, fece molte cose e mandò in Italia gran numero di disegni stampati, i quali tutti erano contrasegnati in questo modo: .M.C. [*sic*] […] Dopo questo Martino cominciò Alberto Duro in Anversa, con più disegno e miglior giudizio e con più belle invenzioni […].' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, 5 vols (ed. by Enrico Mattioda, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2017–2021), III, ed. by Enrico Mattioda (2017), pp. 449–50.

how Schongauer's inventions acquired fame in Italy.[398] Both this account, and the description of Schongauer by Condivi as 'Martino d'Ollandia' suggests that the route Schongauer's prints travelled ran for a significant part via the Netherlands. Italy continued to be a notable importer of Northern European paintings, especially during the period that Vasari and Condivi wrote their biographies. A regular transcontinental trade between Italy and the Netherlands existed already during the fifteenth century, and merchants travelling by land visited many important commercial centres along the way, such as Antwerp, Constance and Frankfurt am Main. Import of art products, especially cheap and lightweight prints, into Italy could therefore also have happened through travelling merchants carrying wares with them on their way to the different regions.

3.4. North to South or South to South? Schongauer's Inventions in Spain

In addition to the situation in Italy, the mercantile connections between the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and Spain also played a pivotal role in the occurrence of Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* on the Iberian Peninsula, and more specifically in the regions of Aragon and Castile. When the aforementioned *Große Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft* established offices in Genoa, this city became part of trading routes already existing between Spain and Lombardy, and between Ravensburg, Milan, Barcelona, Valencia, Genoa and Bruges (fig. 3.61).[399] Trading flows were established in both ways, both to and from Spain. These connections between cities proved to be invaluable for the diffusion of all sorts of artistic inventions, not in the least the compositions by Martin Schongauer.

In addition to German and Netherlandish connections, some of the Schongauer prints might have entered Spain via Italy. As has been established, several German print publishers had their workshops in Milan and Venice. These centres were connected to Spain via sea

[398] Ibid.
[399] Veronesi, *Oberdeutsche Kaufleute*, p. 121.

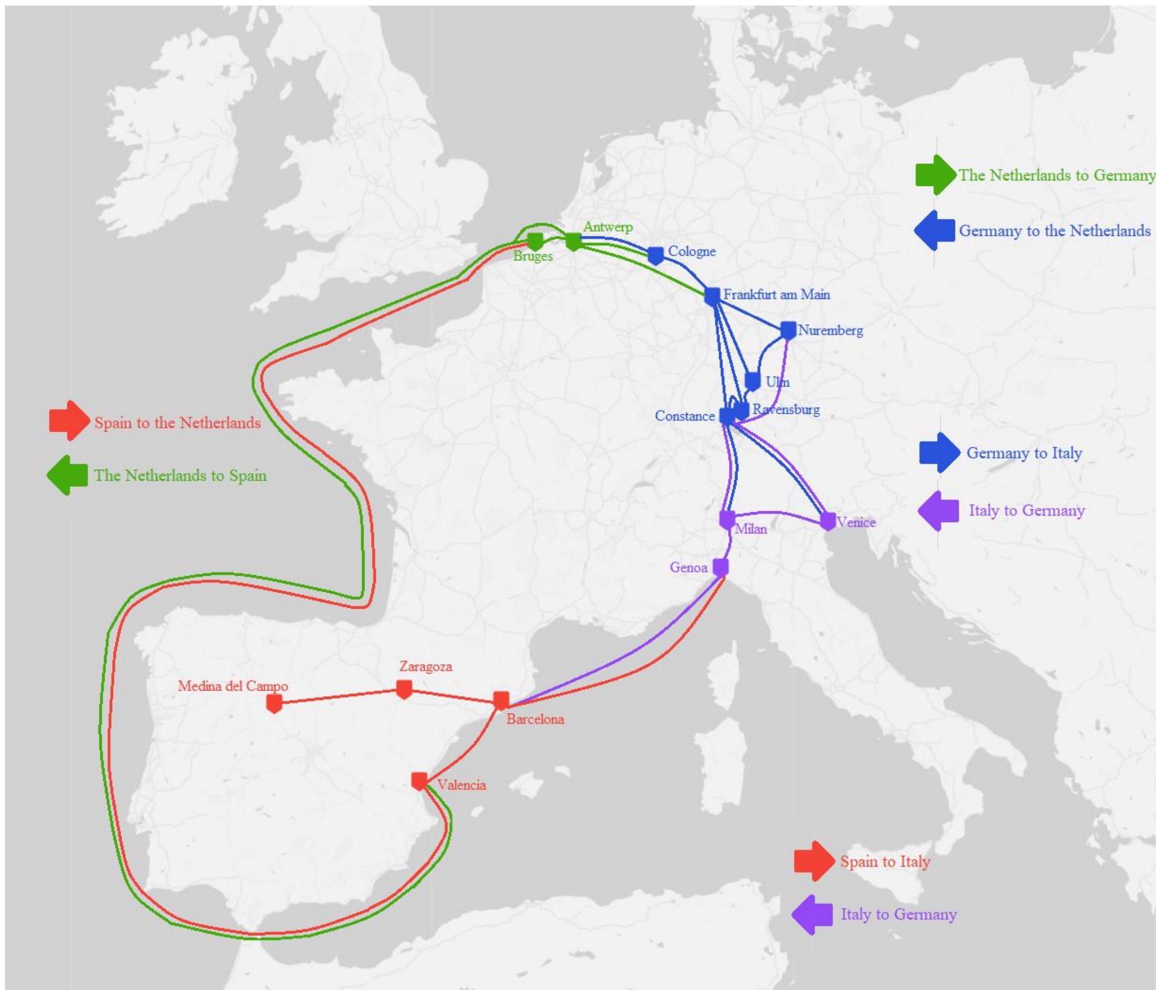

Fig. 3.61. Map with the trading routes of the *Große Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft* in different directions.

through the port of Genoa, and it might be that cases of prints together with other art objects were exported to the Iberian Peninsula, and then transported across the mainland to large commercial centres like Zaragoza, Burgos, and Medina del Campo.

Lastly, Spain organized many important fairs, during which printers from different nationalities sold their ware. The most famous duty free-fair was held in Medina del Campo in Castile, and Zaragoza in Aragon was another important commercial centre.[400] Here, many illustrated books and printed materials were sold to a Castilian and Aragonese clientele, and a significant percentage of these materials had a Northern European origin. In addition to

[400] Amanda W. Dotseth, 'Maestro Bartolomé's Use of Prints in the Altarpiece of Ciudad Rodrigo', in *Fernando Gallego and his Workshop. The Altarpiece from Ciudad Rodrigo* (Dallas TX, Meadows Museum, 29 March–27 July 2008), ed. by A.W. Dotseth, B.C. Anderson and M.A. Roglán, Dallas TX: Meadows Museum SMU, 2008, 117–45 (p. 119).

foreign artworks and prints being sold on these markets, many German and Netherlandish printers set up their workshop in Castilian and Aragonese cities, bringing with them German single leaf engravings and book illustrations, and continuing the production of German prints, including the ones by Schongauer.

3.4.1. Translations of Schongauer's engravings into other media

The presence of Schongauer's engravings in both Aragon and Castile had a significant impact on the artistic production in various different media in both regions, shortly after the original engravings were produced. By far the most adaptations occurred in Spanish panel painting, more specifically in the smaller panels destined to be part of large *retablos*. Interestingly, similar to the fresco cycles in Italy, not one single retablo survives in which all twelve sheets of the *Engraved Passion* are reproduced.[401]

From the end of the fifteenth century onwards, panels painted by Fernando Gallego (c. 1440–1507) and Maestro Bartolomé in Castile, and by Bartolomé Bermejo (c. 1440–c. 1501), Martín Bernat (c. 1450–1505), Miguel Jiménez (recorded 1462–1505), and Pedro Díaz de Oviedo (active 1487–1510) in Aragon all show adaptations from Schongauer's *Engraved Passion*. When discussing these Spanish artists, and the possible ways in which they might have acquired these prints and familiarized themselves with Schongauer's inventions, their place of work and residence is significant. In Castile, both the fairs and art markets, as well as the presence of an important university in Salamanca, appear to have played an important role in the availability of Schongauer's passion cycle for local artists. In Aragon, the presence of Schongauer's inventions was reinforced by local printing workshops, mostly operated by German publishers.

[401] Ana Galilea Antón, 'Martin Schongauer y su importancia en la pintura hispanoflamenca', in *La pintura gótica hispano flamenco. Bartolomé Bermejo y su època*, (Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 26 February–11 May 2003, Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 9 June–31 August 2003), ed. by Francesc Ruiz Quesada, Barcelona, 2003, 87–98, (p. 95).

3.4.1.1. Schongauer in Castile

Both Fernando Gallego and Maestro Bartolomé worked in Salamanca. The city's location on the southern pilgrimage route and commercial road to Santiago de Compostela, as well as its location near Medina del Campo, Castile's longest running duty-free fair, enabled the artists to acquire German and Netherlandish prints. Additionally, Salamanca had a university that not only purchased foreign books, but also stimulated the city's own printing industry. By the early sixteenth century, eleven printers were registered in Salamanca, which is a considerable number.[402] When looking at one of the most ambitious commissions Fernando Gallego received, the altarpiece for the cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo, a small city in Castile, the number of quotations from engravings by Schongauer is striking. For this commission, Gallego worked together with Maestro Bartolomé. This was the second instance in which the two joined forces, since they also worked together on the retablo for the church of Santa Maria in Trujillo.[403] In recent years, the different panels from the altarpiece of Ciudad Rodrigo have been ascribed to either Gallego or Maestro Bartolomé. Especially in the panels painted by Bartolomé, the reliance on Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* becomes evident.

Bartolomé repeated individual figures from Schongauer's prints in his own compositions, regardless of the subject matter of the engraving.[404] An example of this can be found in the figure of John the Evangelist on the *Transfiguration* panel, which is quoted from the engraving of *Saint John on Patmos* by Schongauer (figs. 3.62 and 3.63). Other examples are the figure of Annas from Schongauer's *Christ Before Annas* reappearing in Maestro Bartolomé's *Christ Among the Doctors* (figs. 3.9 and 3.64). Quotations with the same subject

[402] Dotseth, 'Maestro Bartolomé', p. 120.
[403] Claire Barry, 'Observations on workshop practice in fifteenth-century Castile: the altarpiece from the cathedral at Ciudad Rodrigo by Fernando Gallego and his workshop', in *Studying Old Master Paintings. Technology and Practice*. *The National Gallery Technical Bulletin 30th Anniversary Conference Postprints*, ed. by Marika Spring et al., London: Archetype Publications in association with The National Gallery, 2011, 80–88 (p. 80).
[404] Dotseth, 'Maestro Bartolomé', p. 122.

Fig. 3.62. Martin Schongauer, *Saint John on Patmos*, c. 1475–80, engraving, 11,3 x 5,9 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.63. Maestro Bartolomé, *Transfiguration*, c. 1480–88, oil on panel, 153,5 x 109,3 cm. Tucson, The University of Arizona Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.64. Maestro Bartolomé, *Christ Among the Doctors*, c. 1480–88, oil on panel, 153,5 x 109,3 cm. Tucson, The University of Arizona Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.65. Maestro Bartolomé, *Resurrection*, c. 1480–88, oil on panel, 153,5 x 109,3 cm. Tucson, The University of Arizona Museum of Art.

happen from Schongauer's *Resurrection* on the panel portraying the same subject (figs. 3.18 and 3.65). The treatment of Schongauer's engraving for the panel by Maestro Bartolomé is intriguing, and might be telling for the way in which Spanish artists employed prints for their own compositions. In both compositions, the recoiling soldier discussed in the introduction of this chapter is included. In Schongauer's print, the soldier shields his eyes from the scene before him, namely Christ rising from his grave. In the composition by Maestro Bartolomé, virtually the only detail copied unaltered from Schongauer's engraving is the soldier. This figure is placed in a different place in the composition, which results in an awkward composition. The soldier seems to ignore what happens right in front of him, namely Christ's resurrection, and instead shields his face for something that seemingly happens outside the visible composition, unknown to the viewer of the painting (fig. 3.66). This suggests that Maestro Bartolomé copied Schongauer's motif directly from the print, and that he might have used part of the print as a cartoon, shuffling the composition, but losing the original intention of the engraved figure in the process.

3.4.1.2. Schongauer in Aragon

In addition to Castile, there are many more examples of artists adapting Schongauer's engravings to be found in Aragon during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Here, the prints were again predominantly used for painting, but also for reliefs, murals and sculptures.[405] An example of such a mural can be found in Alquézar, in the province of Huesca, where in the monastery of the Colegiata de Santa María La Mayor the Schongauer's *Christ Before Pilate* is used for a composition of the same subject from circa 1500 (fig. 3.66). Not far from Alquézar, Zaragoza was already a powerful commercial centre as early as the fifteenth century. During the sixteenth century it became one of the most important artistic and cultural centres.

[405] Carmen Morte García, '*Que se haga al modo y manera de [...]*: Copy and Interpretation in the Visual Arts in Aragón during the 16th Century', in: Maddalena Bellavitis (eds.), *Making Copies in European Art 1400-1600. Shifting Tastes, Modes of Transmission, and Changing Contexts*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018, 387–426 (p. 396).

Characteristic for this period is the considerable number of German printers settling in the city, among them the brothers Pablo (d. after 1505) and Juan Hurus (dates unknown).

According to a notarial document, Pablo Hurus, also known as Pablo de Constanza, ran a printing workshop in Zaragoza since at least 15 March 1476.[406] There are several additional documents recording his printing activities. For example, on 4 April 1478, Hurus signed a contract for the delivery of seventy-nine bibles in Spanish, on paper and on parchment, enriched with illustrations to be chosen by the printer.[407] It appears that for such illustrations of his publications, he often used Schongauer's prints. According to Max Lehrs, Hurus used nine prints from Schongauers *Engraved Passion* as illustrations for Andrés de Li's (d. after 1512) *Thesoro de la Passion*, printed in 1494. Four years later, in 1498, Hurus reused some of these as illustrations of the Spanish version of Bernhard von Breidenbach's (c. 1440–1497) *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam – Viaje de la tierra sancta*.[408] This practice is similar to what happened in Germany and the Netherlands during this period, as is exemplified by the case of the aforementioned passion tractate printed by Gheraert Leeu.

Fig. 3.66. Anonymous artist, *Christ Before Pilate*, sixteenth century, mural, dimensions unknown. Alquézar, Cloister of the Collegiate Church of Santa María La Mayor.

How Hurus possibly acquired the prints by Schongauer for his own printing production, can in part be explained by the way in which he came to settle and set up shop in

[406] María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, 'Influencia de Martín Schongauer en la pintura gótica aragonesa, nuevas reflexiones', *Artigrama* 32 (2017), pp. 41–70 (p. 48).
[407] Ibid., p. 49.
[408] Lehrs, *Martin Schongauer*, p. 121.

Zaragoza. Pablo Hurus, together with his brothers Mauricio (dates unknown) and Juan, had close ties with the aforementioned *Große Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft*.[409] They appeared to have travelled in the company of this mercantile society, and probably ended up in Spain during one of these trips. Additionally, there are records of Pablo Hurus travelling back and forth between Zaragoza and his hometown of Constance, where Schongauer's prints were still actively produced and sold on the markets. It is probably through these close contacts with Germany and the *Große Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft* that Hurus was able to acquire Schongauer's engravings.

Hurus' printing activities made Schongauer's inventions easily available for Aragonese painters, who adapted many of his prints in their compositions from the end of the fifteenth century onwards. For example, Hurus had close ties with the artists Martín Bernat and Miguel Jiménez, and he probably provided them with Schongauer's prints.[410] The connection between Hurus and the two painters is confirmed by the fact that Hurus acts as a witness in a contract, in which it is described that Bernat and Jiménez are to carry out the altarpiece for the chapel of San Pedro in the

Fig. 3.67. Martín Bernat and Miguel Jiménez, *Christ Before Annas*, c. 1481–87, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Teruel, Cathedral of Blesa.

[409] Lacarra Ducay, 'Influencia de Martín Schongauer', pp. 50–1.
[410] Galilea Antón, 'Martin Schongauer', p. 93.

Cathedral of San Salvador in Zaragoza.[411]

Several panels by both Bernat and Jiménez show adaptations of Schongauer's engravings. One example is the retablo of the Holy Cross, painted for the cathedral of Blesa, a small municipality located in the province of Teruel, Aragon. In the panel portraying *Christ Before Annas*, the print with the same subject from the *Engraved Passion* is followed very closely, most notably in the way Christ's hands are bound, in the way Annas points to Christ, and in the inclusion of the figure wearing the white turban (figs. 3.9 and 3.67). Even though several motifs are copied almost exact, many of the figures depicted on the panel are stylistically different from Schongauer's version. For example, the facial features depicted by Schongauer are almost caricature-like, while the wrinkled and contorted faces are transformed into more smooth versions in the Spanish painting, and as such the two are clearly distinguishable.

A last artist using and adapting prints by Schongauer in Aragon is Pedro Dìaz de Oviedo. One of the better known commissions this artist received, was to paint the panels for the main altarpiece for the Cathedral of Tudela in the region of Huesca. The first contract for this commission was drawn up in 1489, and Dìaz de Oviedo worked on it until 1494. Two panels of the retablo show adaptations from Schongauer's *Engraved Passion*. One is the panel depicting the *Flagellation*, and the other is *Christ Before Pilate* (figs. 3.10, 3.13, 3.68 and 3.69). In the *Flagellation* by Dìaz de Oviedo, the composition by Schongauer is changed almost unrecognizably. However, one figure remains close to the original German invention, namely the tormentor on the left half of the composition. Comparable to Schongauer's figure, this flagellator pulls Christ's hair and is standing in a similar position, ready to strike Christ again. In the second Spanish panel, portraying *Christ Before Pilate*, the print by Schongauer is followed more closely. Little is changed about the composition and the position of the

[411] Nuria Ortiz Valero, *Martín Bernat, Pintor de Retablos, Documentado en Zaragoza entre 1450 y 1505*, Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico" (C.S.I.C), 2013, pp. 50–51.

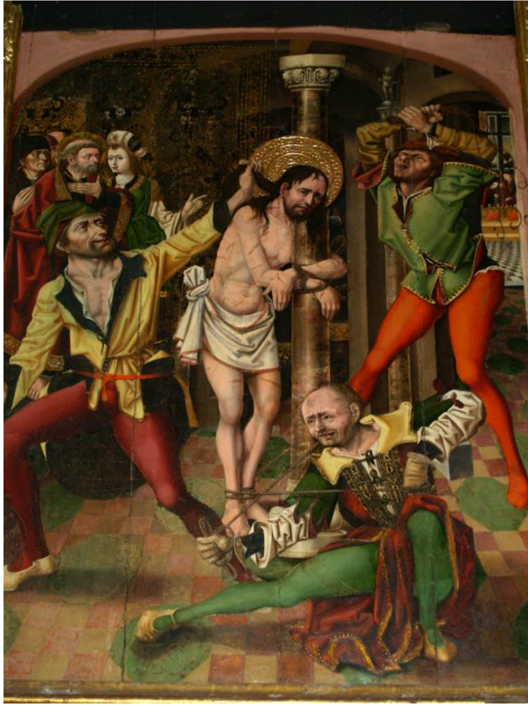

Fig. 3.68. Pedro Dìaz de Oviedo, *Flagellation*, 1489–94, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Tudela, Cathedral.

Fig. 3.69. Pedro Dìaz de Oviedo, *Christ Before Pilate*, 1489–94, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Tudela, Cathedral.

figures. For example, the throne on which Pilate sits is replicated one on one, including the two dogs in the foreground. Christ, his captor, the figure pouring water, and the figures in the background are all copied unaltered as well. The only differences between the print and the painting are, again, stylistically. Similar to the case of Bernat and Jiménez, the clothes and facial features are distinct between the German and the Spanish version.

From these examples, it becomes clear that Schongauer's prints were not only adapted in the larger commercial centres of Aragon like Zaragoza, but also reoccur in smaller municipalities such as Blesa and Tudela. The printing of Schongauer's inventions by German printers in Aragon continued after Pablo Hurus. On March 21, 1499, Lope Appentegger, together with Leonardo Huiz and his partner Jorge Coci, bought Hurus' printing press, including all the materials from his workshops, for 450 florins.[412] They continued the press

[412] The dates of birth and death of Lope Appentegger, Leonardo Huiz and Jorge Coci are unknown.

for an additional four years, and Coci is known to have printed Dürer's inventions during this period, in addition to Schongauer's engravings.[413]

3.4.2. Painting copies for the Spanish market

From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, a new type of export from Antwerp to Spain with regard to Schongauer's inventions emerged. The German's engravings were replicated on small painted panels, which were intended for export from the outset. Most of this export can be attributed to one particular artist of whom the extant oeuvre consists predominantly of painted copies after Schongauer, namely Marcellus Coffermans (active 1549–1578). Coffermans is a relatively unknown Netherlandish artist from the sixteenth century, who became a master painter in Antwerp in 1549, and who worked in this city until approximately 1578.[414] Little is known about his life before his first appearance in the Antwerp ledgers in 1549, but archival documents from the city of Helmond suggest that Coffermans originated from this city, which is furthermore confirmed by a signature on one of his earliest known paintings.

Coffermans worked in an archaic painting style, and adapted works from both Netherlandish and German artists from the fifteenth century, of which the copies after Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* are best known. Of the twelve original sheets by Schongauer, Coffermans is known to have copied seven, all with virtually the same measurements as the corresponding engraving. Almost all subjects have multiple versions, signifying that Coffermans and his workshop executed multiple copies of the same subject. He probably realized this rapid production by using the techniques of pouncing and tracing. That these panels were quickly produced, becomes also apparent when taking into account the omission

[413] Lacarra Ducay, 'Influencia de Martín Schongauer', p. 50.
[414] Marc Rudolf de Vrij, *Marcellus Coffermans*, Amsterdam: M.R.V. Publishers, 2003, pp. 15-16.

Fig. 3.70. Marcellus Coffermans and workshop, *Triptych with the Agony in the Garden*, second half of the 16th century, oil on panel, 19,5 x 30,5 cm. Private collection.

of most of the details from Schongauer's prints, and instead focussing on the main subject, thus enabling an expeditious production of multiple panels depicting the same subject.

As Coffermans' works are typified by their relatively small (print) size and almost always portrayed religious subjects, it appears that Coffermans was specialized in paintings that were well-suited for export. Coffermans probably supplied an existing demand for inventions by Schongauer, which supposedly grew during the second half of the sixteenth century due to the decreasing amount of original prints available, as was noted in the aforementioned written account by Karel van Mander. Moreover, Coffermans also answered to a more general demand for altarpieces, both large and small, in the typical Northern European form of diptychs and triptychs. These formats seem to have been employed for both paintings destined for domestic settings and public purposes. They were used as domestic

altars or as aids for private devotion, as well as displayed in churches and city halls.[415] During the sixteenth century, the production of both diptychs and triptychs increased considerably in the Low Countries and the production for a foreign clientele was already established a century prior. Part of the production was intended for foreign merchants residing in the Netherlands. On the other hand these paintings were produced specifically for export to foreign regions. This increase in the export of triptychs and diptychs during the sixteenth century was part of a general expansion of the international trade in Netherlandish luxury goods. One characteristic of these art forms, specifically of diptychs, was the relatively small format of the works, making them easily transportable, which was also done by bringing the artworks to mass, for example.[416]

Coffermans combined the demand for Schongauer and diptychs and triptychs in his own artistic production, probably with the intention of selling them as portable altarpieces.

Fig. 3.71. Marcellus Coffermans, *Diptych with the Agony in the Garden and the Crucifixion*, 16th century, oil on panel, 12 x 9 cm. Private Collection.

Fig. 3.72. Marcellus Coffermans, *Death of the Virgin*, c. 1560–70, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Seville, Cathedral.

[415] John Oliver Hand, Catherine A. Metzger and Ron Spronk, *Prayers and Portraits. Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych*, (Washington, National Gallery of Art, 12 November 2006–4 February 2007, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 3 March–27 May 2007, in association with Cambridge MA), New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2006, p. 4.
[416] Lynn F. Jacobs, *Opening Doors. The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012, p. 18.

The wings could be shut, enabling an easy transportation, and making them functional for travellers as a substitute altarpiece for their daily prayers. It is very likely that the paintings by Coffermans after the Schongauer prints were executed in larger quantities, to be arranged according to the wishes of the potential clients. This becomes even more probable considering that the known paintings by Coffermans have been preserved in various forms and combinations. For example, a painting by Coffermans and his workshop copying the *Agony in the Garden* print by Schongauer figures as a centrepiece of a triptych and as a wing of a diptych, while a painting depicting the *Death of the Virgin* survives as a single panel (figs. 3.70, 3.71 and 3.72). Lastly, many other combinations for diptychs survive (fig. 3.73). A striking example of this pairing of panels is the *Resurrection* and the *Descent into Limbo*. These panels are nowadays still extant in at least two versions each, both paired as diptychs (fig. 3.74).

A large part of Coffermans' works has an early foreign provenance, which also hints to his commercial aim of painting for a foreign clientele.[417] A triptych nowadays in Medina del Campo was recorded as being in Spain as early as 1571, which means it had found its way here already during Coffermans' lifetime (fig. 3.75). This portable triptych was supposedly in the collection of Simón Ruiz (1525–1597), whose inventory describes a triptych that can be identified as one painted by Marcellus Coffermans.[418] Ruiz founded the hospital in Medina del Campo, to which his art collection was bequeathed after his death in 1597.[419] Another painting arriving in Spain already during the artist's lifetime is a panel nowadays in the

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[417] For more on this, see Marie Grappasoni, 'Les Copies de Marcellus Coffermans pour le Marché Espagnol', in *Copies of Flemish Masters in the Hispanic World (1500–1700)*, ed. by Eduardo Lamas and David García Cueto, Turnhout, Brepols, 135–48.

[418] Henri Lapeyre, *Une familie de marchands. Les Ruiz*, Paris: Colin, 1955, p. 374; <https://www.museoferias.net/triptico-la-sagrada-familia-santo-domingo-san-francisco/> (Accessed 22-01-2020).

[419] De Vrij, *Marcellus Coffermans*, p. 42.

Fig. 3.73. Marcellus Coffermans, *Diptych with the Carrying of the Cross and the Taking of Christ*, second half of the 16th century, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Private collection.

Fig. 3.74. Marcellus Coffermans, *Diptych with the Resurrection and the Descent into Limbo*, second half of the sixteenth century, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.

Fig. 3.75. Marcellus Coffermans, *Triptych of the Holy Family with Saints Dominic and Francis*, c. 1570, oil on panel, central panel: 106,5 x 88,5, wings: 79,5 x 34,5 cm. Medina del Campo, Fundación Simón Ruiz.

Fig. 3.76. Marcellus Coffermans, *Virgen de Belén*, c. 1560, oil on panel, 102 x 74 cm. Seville, Iglesia de la Anunciación.

Fig. 3.77. Francisco Pacheco, *Virgen de Belén*, 1590, oil on copper, dimensions unknown. Granada, Catedral de Granada.

collection of the Monasterio de las Descalzes Reales in Madrid. It entered the convent as part of the bequest from the estate of Joanna of Austria (1547–1578), regent of Spain, in 1578.[420] Her collection contained many Dutch and Flemish paintings, which were all bequeathed to the convent after her death.

Two other examples of paintings by Coffermans that were already in Spain during the sixteenth century can be found in Seville. One is the painting nowadays in the University Cathedral in Seville (fig. 3.76). This painting was copied by Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644) in 1590, which is nowadays in Granada, and thus the painting must have been in Seville before that year (fig. 3.77).[421] The other painting is the previously mentioned panel copying Schongauer's *Death of the Virgin*, which is currently still housed in the Cathedral of Seville (fig. 3.73).[422]

3.5. Comparing Written Accounts of Schongauer

The adaptation of Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* in Northern and Southern Europe shortly after its invention happened in several different ways, as has been shown by the various examples from the Netherlands, Italy and Spain. Figural details as well as entire compositions were adapted. This was done for compositions with both the same and different subjects. Moreover, the prints were copied without significant changes, as well as adapted into new compositions. Contrary to his contemporaries and the artists from a generation later, there is no information available regarding the marketing strategies for the dissemination of Schongauer's workshop production, other than the purported standard sales on art fairs and markets. Nonetheless, judging from the copies produced by generations after Schongauer, the

[420] Manuel Fernandez Alvarez, *Charles V. Elected Emperor and Heriditary Ruler*, Stuttgart/Zurich: Belser Verlag, 1977, pp. 114, 123–24, 173, 182–84.
[421] <http://www.patrimonioartistico.us.es/objeto.jsp?id=1543&tipo=v> (Accessed 22-01-2020). The panel is signed on the small white plaquette in the lower left corner: F. PACHECVS EXPIN / XIT. A + DMDXC.
[422] Galilea Antón, 'Martin Schongauer', p. 91.

prints from his *Engraved Passion* must have remained available over a longer period after the artist's death, both as original reprints and copies by for example Israhel van Meckenem and Wenzel von Olmütz.

This is also confirmed by the fact that they occur in sixteenth-century collections. As mentioned, the *Death of the Virgin* was pasted into the Plock Bible in 1541, which was approximately seventy years after its production. The previously mentioned Ferdinand Columbus also owned this print by Schongauer. Furthermore, he owned several copies after prints by Schongauer, such as the copy of *Christ Before Annas* by Monogrammist IC, and the adaptation of *Christ Before Annas* into a *Christ Before Pilate* by Monogrammist AG (figs. 3.25 and 3.78).[423] Surprisingly, Columbus did not own original sheets from the *Engraved Passion* with Martin Schongauer's monogram. This was probably due to the fact that Schongauer's prints were greatly desired across Europe during the period Columbus bought his prints, and were therefore hard to come by.[424] Moreover, the copies by, for example, Israhel van Meckenem were of such high quality, that they probably sufficed as substitutes. As has been investigated by Mark McDonald, it is more likely that Columbus bought his

Fig. 3.78. Monogrammist IC, *Christ Before Annas*, c. 1480–1500, engraving, 16,1 x 11,3 cm. London, British Museum.

[423] McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus*, 2, p. 60.
[424] Koreny, '"Per Universam Europam"', p. 172.

prints during his travels across Europe instead of in his hometown of Seville.[425] Columbus' first European sojourn took place in 1520, suggesting that Schongauer's inventions, most likely in copied form, were printed around this time, and probably were so continually from its initial production until at least the mid-sixteenth century.

Although Schongauer's prints must have been printed throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, most contemporary artists and biographers knew relatively little about him as an artist. The closer the date of the written source to the production date of Schongauer's *Engraved Passion*, the more accurate the information was. The same goes for the geographic origins of the written source. The closer the writer lived to Colmar, the more accurate the source. For example, Jakob Wimpheling in the Alsace and Jean Lemaire de Belges in Mechelen are still able to identify Schongauer as a German artist from the fifteenth century with a wide reach across Europe. Conversely, Giorgio Vasari misattributed the engraved *Temptation of Saint Anthony* to Albrecht Dürer in the first version of the *Vite*. However, this is corrected after contact with Lambert Lombard in Antwerp. It seems that in the period between the first and second edition of his book, Vasari is able to acquire information about Schongauer's artistic production. He became aware of the continued production and availability of his prints in Italy, for in 1568 he is able to identify more than forty-two percent of Schongauer's engraved oeuvre without mistakes.[426]

In later accounts of the seventeenth century, the knowledge about the German artist diminished even further. In his *Schilder-Boeck* from 1604, the Karel van Mander wrote about Albrecht Dürer that:

> 'Hy heeft oock de Const gheleert by den Hupse Marten, te weten, schilderen, en snijden. Van desen Hupse Marten weet ick ons niet veel besonders te verhalen, dan dat

[425] McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus*, p. 25.
[426] Fara, 'Biografia e ritratto di Martin Schongauer', p. 195.

hy nae sulcken tijt een groot Meester is gheweest, in ordinantie en teyckeninghe, ghelijck als eenighe weynigh Printen van hem uytghecomen noch ghetuygen. Onder ander en besonder een Cruys-draginghe, een dry Coninghen, Mary-beelden, Antonij becoringhe, en dergelijcke, die men weynich meer becomt, oft siet'[427]

In short, Van Mander made several mistakes in his text, including the error that Dürer learned the trade of painting and engraving from Schongauer. Van Mander admitted that he knew only little about Schongauer, except for a couple of prints depicting the *Carrying of the Cross*, the *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, as well as images of the Virgin. What is of particular interest, is that Van Mander mentions that these prints were hard to come by, suggesting that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Schongauer's inventions were increasingly less reproduced in Northern Europe.

The situation in Spain was remarkably different. The interest in and circulation of Schongauer's prints in Spain continued well into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The knowledge of the German artist in Spain was relatively good, as is confirmed by a text written by Jusepe Martinez around 1675. In it, he writes:

'This exercise [of engraving, *red.*] had its origins in Germany, and the first to start engraving was a great painter of those times called Bel Martino, the teachter of Albrecht Dürer, who, on seeing that this innovation was well received, abandoned painting and began working exclusively in this medium, doing things of wonderful repute. His disciple Albrecht Dürer, however, soon went well beyond him and brought

[427] Van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 208r. Translation: 'He also learned the arts from "Hupse Marten", namely painting and cutting. I don't know much about this "Hupse Marten", except that he used to be a grand master in ordonance and drawing, as some prints by his hand still show. Among them are an exceptional Carrying of the Cross, the Three Magi, images of the Virgin, and Saint Anthony tormented, and more, which are hard to come by and hardly seen.'

> the technique to perfection, particularly in engravings […] With this example of creating prints the Flemish and Italian nations flourished, as can be seen. The French, being envious of the earnings this might attract, began to copy the abovementioned works […] Out of curiosity, I asked a French merchant who used to bring in a huge number of prints from France as well as Flanders, how much profit he made on them from Spain. He replied that it was not much, but something over 4000 ducats, which caused me great pain: to see how through lack of application on the part of our nation, and because there is no support for this kind of work, the flow of these profits to foreigners cannot be prevented.’[428]

In his account of Schongauer, Martínez included the prevailing misconception that Schongauer was Dürer’s teacher, thereby following his predecessors and contemporaries in both the Netherlands and Italy. What can be deduced from the second part of this citation, is that the influx of prints from Northern European regions was still very present during the seventeenth century, hinting at a continued demand for printed material on the Iberian

[428] ‘Este exercicio se començó en sus principios en Alemania, y el primero que gravó fue un gran pintor de aquellos tiempos llamado el bon Martino, que fue maestro de Alberto Durero, el qual, viendo ser bien recebida esta invención, dexó la pintura y obró por este camino, donde hizo cosas de admirable estimación. Siguiole en esto su discípulo Alberto Durero con tan grandes ventajas que puso en el ultimo grado esta profession, y en particular en las estampas de buril, que hasta aora ninguno le a excedido. Y, si decirse puede, más crédito ganó con sus estampas que con sus pinturas, con ser mui excelentes. […] Con este exemplar la nación flamenco e italiana creció en tanta abundancia como se vee. Codiciosos los franceses de lo interesable de la ganancia, dieron en copier las obras de los arriva dichos, pero tan estropiadas y tan mal formadas que más causavan irisión que devoción y, no obstante esto, sacaron de España interesses mui crecidos hasta que a entrado el verdadero conocimiento. Y, acabándosse esta mina de despacho, han vuelto a estudiar de nuebo assí en pintura como en este exercicio, que han hecho cosas admirables en tanto grado que muchos mercaderes han tomado por su cuenta hacer graver infinidad de estampas, que en España las han vendido como han querido. Por curiosidad pregunté a un mercader francés que hacía traer, assí de Francia como de Flandes, gran copia de estampas, qué tanto interesse sacava de España de estas impressions. Me respondió que no era mucho, pero que passavan de quarentamil ducados cada un año, cosa que me causó gran dolor por ver que por poca aplicación de esta nuestra nación, y por no hallar appoio en este exercicio, no se atajan estas ganancias a los estrangeros. Y lo que más es de sentir, el no salir a la luz por este camino los lucidos ingenious de España.’ Jusepe Martínez, *Discursos Practicables del Nobilísimo Arte de la Pintura*, ed. by María Elena Manrique Ara, Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2008, pp. 190–92. English translation from Jusepe Martínez, *Practical Discourses on the Most Noble Art of Painting*, ed. by Zahira Véliz, transl. by David McGrath and Zahira Véliz, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2017, p. 150.

Peninsula. Although it is not explicitly mentioned, it might be that part of this import of printed material were prints from the oeuvre of Schongauer.

Concluding from this, it seems that Germany, Italy and the Netherlands experienced a substantial impact from Schongauer's prints, and that the engravings circulated wide and far shortly after their production, resulting in many copies and adaptations, as well as a considerable amount of written accounts about the artist. However, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the interest in reprinting these engravings seems to diminish, which could be attributed to both the deterioration of the original and copied copper plates, as well as the increasing interest in Albrecht Dürer and his inventions. As a result, artworks from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards increasingly show little to no association with Schongauer's engravings, and writers and biographers from both the Netherlands and Italy know increasingly less about the artist. Surprisingly, the situation in Spain seems to be the exception to this rule. Possibly in part because of the continuous export of painted copies of Schongauer's engravings by Coffermans, Spanish writers remain relatively well-informed about Schongauer and his artistic production, with only a few errors in texts by, for example, Jusepe Martínez. The *longue durée* of Schongauer's inventions is therefore visible in both writing and artistic production on the Iberian Peninsula, making it the geographic region where the German's impact was experienced the longest.

3.6. Copyright and the Production of Copies after Prints

Schongauer's passion cycle appealed to a large and diverse audience already at the end of the fifteenth century, and the application of his printed inventions as models for other artists was practiced from the outset. The fact that the diffusion of his prints happened so rapidly, might in part be explained by the fact that copying his prints was relatively effortless. Already at the end of the fifteenth century, artists like Wenzel von Olmütz and Israhel van Meckenem were

able to copy the engravings and substituting Schongauer's monogram for their own without consequence. This practice continued well into the sixteenth century, with copies by Hieronymus Wierix, Adriaen Huybrechts I and Julius Goltzius, all adding their own signature.

These engraved copies undoubtedly contributed to the wide diffusion of his inventions. Additionally, the difference between Schongauer and other famous contemporary engravers such as Andrea Mantegna and Albrecht Dürer in terms of their wide diffusion and multiple adaptations can be explained by some of the earliest notions of copyright. In addition to Dürer's endeavours, the earliest known case of protecting one's own invention in the art of printmaking has been recorded in the previously mentioned contract between Schongauer's contemporary Andrea Mantegna and the engraver Gian Marco Cavalli. In this contract from 5 April 1475, in addition to commissioning Cavalli with engraving his designs into copper plates, Mantegna stated that Cavalli was not allowed to show these designs to anyone, unless permission was given by the artist himself, 'sotto pena di ducati cento.'[429] Furthermore, he was not allowed to print, give away or sell any prints without Mantegna's permission.[430]

Contrary to Mantegna and Dürer, there is no record or indication that Schongauer actively impeded other artists from copying his inventions. It seems that in his case, the notion of copyright posed less of an issue. On the other hand, Dürer seems to be aware of the authorship of Schongauer's inventions, as is evidenced by the previously mentioned fact that he wrote 'this was made by hubsch Martin in the year 1469' on one of the drawings by Schongauer in his possession. What is also interesting here, is that the so-called 'Dürer Renaissance', the phenomenon of an increased demand and interest in Dürer's inventions, is dated almost exactly around the time that the demand for and adaptation of Schongauer decreased – towards the end of the sixteenth century. At this time, both the availability of

[429] 'Under the penalty of one hundred ducats'. Derived from Canova, 'Gian Marco Cavalli', p. 150. See also Giovanni Romano, 'Mantegna incisore', *Artibus et Historiae* 31:62 (2010), pp. 131–35 (p. 131).
[430] Boorsch, 'Mantegna and Engraving', p. 417.

Schongauer's work was low and artists were no longer actively opposed when using Dürer's inventions, resulting in the shift to a dominance in Dürer adaptations.

This is not to say that Dürer's compositional and figural motifs were not used in the period prior. The adaptations of both Schongauer and Dürer happened simultaneously, as is illustrated by the previously mentioned case of the fresco of the *Taking of Christ* in the Sala dei Battuti in Congeliano (fig. 3.59). Additionally, prints by local artists such as Andrea Mantegna were adapted and sometimes combined with Schongauer as well, indicating that these prints coexisted rather effortlessly. However, over a long span of time, there is a hinting preference for Schongauer.

3.7. The Migration and Translation of Passion Cycles, and the Exceptionality of Schongauer

Returning to the origins of the print as an artistic medium, it has become clear that passion cycles were part of print production from the very beginning. As mentioned, virtually every artist working in the print medium produced at least one such a cycle or series, and many produced several. Prints and specifically the production of passion cycles can be related to the transition in passion liturgy from the sparse accounts of Christ's Passion in the canonical gospels to more extensive narratives, describing Christ's tormentors in great detail and adding moments to the story that were previously unknown. The relationship between these two developments is confirmed by the fact that passion cycles sometimes consisted of over sixty prints, and the fact that the scenes included in the cycle were not fixed. Furthermore, prints from passion cycles were often inserted into these printed texts, and as such strengthened their narrative nature with detailed images. This close relationship between the production and distribution of books and prints is confirmed by the famous collection of Ferdinand Columbus. Evidence from documents from his library and inventories supports the idea that

prints were sold alongside books, and that book publishers often produced and distributed prints as well, as is also the case in Zaragoza with the publishing house of the Hurus brothers.[431] Contrary to books, the printed passion cycles were relatively cheap and easily distributed. As a result, these prints were ubiquitous in Europe from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, and probably contributed to the increase in the devotion to the suffering Christ, and the increasingly more narrative nature of the story of the Passion.[432]

Interestingly, the adaptations into different media in Southern Europe often happened in artistic genres that also consisted of multiple images forming a cycle, such as Italian fresco cycles, and panel paintings destined for Spanish retablos. As has been demonstrated, Schongauer's inventions were available all across Europe from the end of the fifteenth century onwards. In addition to copyists like Israhel van Meckenem, and subsequently print publishers like Hieronymus Cock printing and selling Schongauer's inventions on a regular basis, the existence of print markets connecting Northern Europe to Southern Europe played a significant role in the mobility of the *Engraved Passion*. The activities of the *Große Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft* were essential for the diffusion of Schongauer's engravings in both Italy and Spain, and German print publishers who were member of this merchant company that set up shop in for example Zaragoza and Milan have contributed greatly to the availability of the German's inventions for Spanish and Italian artists. This widespread accessibility of Schongauer's prints meant that his compositions reappeared across the European continent, and were available for the employment of countless of artists, resulting in a shared artistic idiom which was not limited to one geography.

What sets Schongauer apart from his contemporaries and subsequent artists like Dürer, is that his compositions, with the elaborate modelling of the figures through hatching and cross-hatching, proved incredibly advantageous models for both sculptors and painters to

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[431] McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus*, p. 20.
[432] Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, p. 1.

apply in their own medium. The prints and their designs therefore seem to have been translated into different media rather effortlessly. The fact that Schongauer's prints furthermore focused on depicting one event elaborately, instead of including multiple scenes in one composition, increased the appeal for artists from other media to adapt them into their own compositions. Moreover, Schongauer was likely aware of the application of the print medium as models for other artists, as is indicated by his prints of models for goldsmiths. From there, it is only a small step to produce prints for the purpose of models for painters, illuminators or sculptors. It proves difficult to conclusively determine the most attractive compositions by Schongauer, amongst others because of inevitable losses and the lack of comprehensive databases. However, by compiling the known copies and adaptations of Schongauer's *Engraved Passion*, it seems that several of the twelve prints were reproduced more often, such as *Christ Before Pilate* and the *Resurrection*. Arguably, these prints show the most expressive and innovative inventions in the poses of the figures, thus making them attractive for artists conceiving their own compositions.

Similarly in Italy and Spain, it appears that the adaptations of Schongauer happened in both larger artistic centres and smaller towns. For example, both artists working in larger university cities, like the Maestro delle Storie di Sant'Agnese in Pavia and Maestro Bartolomé in Salamanca, and artists producing work for smaller cities, like Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo in Provesano and Pedro Dìaz de Oviedo in Tudela, used Schongauer's compositions and motifs for their own artworks. It is likely that in both countries, the diffusion of the German's *Engraved Passion* happened from larger influential artistic centres such as Milan, Venice, and Zaragoza, and from there reached the outskirts of the regions of Lombardy, the Veneto, Castile, Aragon and more. In the duration of this preference for Schongauer, there appears to be a difference between Italy and Spain. In Italy, the number of adaptations of Schongauer declines from the first half of the sixteenth century onwards. This might be partly explained

by the fact that Dürer visited Italy twice during his artistic career, once between 1494 and 1495 and once between 1505 and 1507. During both these trips, Dürer was already active in the medium of the woodcut and the engraving, and he also acknowledged the importance of the medium for promoting purposes.[433] It is likely, therefore, that from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards, Dürer's inventions were available in Italy in abundance, and although some were sued by the artist for reproducing his compositions, it was impossible for Dürer to keep track of every Italian artist adapting his inventions.

Additionally, Italian artists themselves explored the medium of engraving for their own artistic endeavours. Mantegna, in addition to artists like Baccio Baldini and Antonio Pollaiuolo, produced engravings as autonomous artworks. In Spain, however, this was not done by local artists, as can be read in the aforementioned comments by Jusepe Martínez in 1675. Schongauer's prints were a continued source for book publishers and artists, and they were repeatedly employed by print publishers like Pablo Hurus, and brought here with the aid of mercantile connections. Most of the print publishers settled in Spain in a period during which Schongauer's engravings were still prevalent in Northern Europe, and this, in addition to the fact that Dürer never travelled to the Iberian Peninsula, may have contributed to the continued dominance of Schongauer.

This difference between Italy and Spain also expresses itself in terms of types of adaptations and in terms of recognisability, which becomes most clear when comparing Italian and Spanish adaptations of Schongauer's *Resurrection* and *Christ Before Pilate* respectively (figs. 3.56, 3.57, 3.65 and 3.69). In Italy, the employment of Schongauer's inventions seems to have been done more freely. For example, in the fresco of the *Resurrection* in Aviano, the composition is changed from vertical to horizontal. The only detail from Schongauer's print that has been copied exactly is the kneeling soldier. In Spain,

[433] Béguerie-De Paepe and Haas, *Martin Schongauer*, p. 112.

the adaptations are often more exact. In Pedro Díaz de Oviedo's *Christ Before Pilate*, the composition itself is not altered, and the smaller details, such as the two dogs in the foreground, are copied in painting. In general these exact copies are found less often in Italy than in Spain. The combination of multiple prints that was done in Italian compositions is also something that cannot be found on the Iberian Peninsula.

This is partly explained by the different painting practices in Italy and Spain. In Spain, artists were often commissioned to copy already existing images in their paintings, while in Italy, this was ofen not explicitly stated.[434] Moreover, as can be read from Italian texts and treatises from the fifteenth century, artists were encouraged to employ a wide variety of models, to combine various elements from different artworks for their own composition, and to conceal their sources in order to remain original.[435] This practice is exemplified by the combinations made by Birago in his illumination of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, and in Andrea Previtali and Francesco da Milano's fresco of the *Taking of Christ* in Conegliano (figs. 3.55 and 3.59).

An additional explanation could be the fact that in Italy, more prints by different artists were available. The practice of using prints as models was not different in Italy and Spain, as can be seen in the *Resurrection* by Maestro Bartolomé (fig. 3.65). However, Italy experienced a far more extensive domestic print production. In Spain, the prints were almost always export products from foreign markets, which probably resulted in a limited availability for Spanish artists. This is also confirmed by the fact that collectors such as Ferdinand Columbus bought their prints abroad, instead of on local markets.

[434] Ana María Calvo Manuel, 'From Workshop Master to the Artist's Individuality', in: Maddalena Bellavitis (eds.), *Making Copies in European Art 1400-1600. Shifting Tastes, Modes of Transmission, and Changing Contexts*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018, 358–74 (p. 362).

[435] Paula Nuttall, 'From Reiteration to Dialogue: Filippino's Responses to Netherlandish Painting', in *Filippino Lippi. Beauty, Invention and Intelligence*, ed. by Paula Nuttall, Geoffrey Nuttall and Michael W. Kwakkelstein, Leiden: Brill, 2020, 186–206 (p. 200).

What remains an important question in the research of the adaptations of Schongauer's engravings, is whether or not his inventions were still recognized as Schongauer or not in Southern Europe. It seems that in Italy, there was relatively little knowledge about the artistic practices of the Colmar artist, illustrated again by Vasari's accounts. This was different in Spain, where Jusepe Martínez is still informed about the German artist and his artistic output.[436] Whereas Karel van Mander in Haarlem at the beginning of the seventeenth century is more or less unable to give us any information about Schongauer, Martínez is still relatively well-informed. Even though there are no contemporary written sources describing paintings, murals or sculptures in Spain or identifying certain elements as Schongauer's inventions, it is reasonable to assume that knowledge of the Colmar artist was more extensive in Spain than in Italy. This can also in part be attributed to the fact that the composition and figural motifs by Schongauer were not obscured by combining them with inventions by other artists, and as such were still easily comparable and identifiable with Schongauer's prints, whether as paintings, murals or sculptures. Moreover, the practice of commissioning an artwork and specifically explicating the desire of it looking like a certain model, was a more common practice in Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

This is illustrated by certain disclosures in contracts for altarpieces. In them, comments and references to models in the form of other extant works can be found, based on the iconography accepted by, for example, the Church and contemporary taste.[437] Commissioners or donors demanded for artists to work 'al modo y manera' of exiting models, implying that they were interested in the association of their artworks with a certain style or artist.[438] Prints were omnipresent in the workshop of Spanish artists, illustrated by the data of

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[436] Seventy percent of Columbus' collection consists of prints from a German origin, in addition to twenty percent Italian prints and ten percent Netherlandish prints. According to Mark McDonald, Columbus was knowledgeable about the quality of prints, and he specifically bought those that were highly valued. See McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus*, pp. 27–8.
[437] Calvo Manuel, 'From Workshop Master', p. 362.
[438] Carmen Morte García, '*Que se haga*', p. 387.

the workshop of Flemish sculptors Guillaume de Bolduch (dates unknown) and Paulo de Elberemberg (dates unknown), who were both former members of the workshop of Damiá Forment (c. 1475/1480–1540). From a document dated 9 April 1532, it becomes clear that they possessed 'sixty-six dozen prints and parchments, with drawings of images or figures.'[439] In general, these prints in artists' workshops, of which surely a certain percentage must have been engravings by Schongauer, functioned as models to which commissioners and donors could refer. Even though there is no exact contract in which Schongauer is mentioned by name, it is likely that his prints, and more specifically his *Engraved Passion*, were referenced as models, especially when considering the multiple adaptations of his inventions in various retablos.

That Schongauer's art did not lose its appeal for over a century in both the Netherlands and Spain is confirmed by the passing of the copperplates through several publishers' collections, until well into the seventeenth century, as well as the continued printing activities of workshops run by publishers with a German and Netherlandish origin in Spain. Moreover, the connections between the Antwerp print market and the Iberian Peninsula suggests the continued presence of Schongauer in the latter geographic region. The artistic medium of the retablo, remaining a dominant genre during the sixteenth century, was specifically convenient for the employment of Schongauer's prints, and these altarpieces, consisting of multiple smaller painted panels, were extremely suitable for these adaptations.

The case of Marcellus Coffermans also shows that the demand and interest in fifteenth-century Northern European art in Spain remained unchanged during the sixteenth century, and that Coffermans cleverly took advantage of this continued demand, by specifically producing easily reproducible panels for export. Instead of a continued production of Schongauer's motifs by local artists, costumers turned to Northern European artists

[439] 'sesenta y seis docenas de grabados y pergaminos, donde había debuxos de ymatges o de figures […]'. Cited from Morte García, '*Que se haga*', p. 396.

producing archaic artworks. This might be seen as an attempt to own highly valued foreign artworks, instead of having a local artist repeating the invention from a century prior. Thus, the fact that an artist from the Netherlands painted these panels must have added to the value of the panel for the Spanish market. This notion would also explain the fact that, contrary to Spanish art history, Coffermans is an almost forgotten artist in Dutch and Flemish art history. As a result of this aspiration to own artworks produced by Northern European artists, regardless of whether or not they were actually by a fifteenth-centuury Netherlandish or German artist or merely by one imitating them, Coffermans ran a highly profitable workshop. His artistic production provides a clear illustration of the circumstances under which the migration of archaic art occurred in Europe during the sixteenth century.

This case of Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* proves that the medium of the print was by far the most suitable medium for the rapid and wide-spread diffusion of compositions and motifs. In line with the already existing tradition of printmakers composing passion cycles, this narrative invention of presenting several distinct moments from Christ's Passion was disseminated throughout Europe, partly through Schongauer's *Engraved Passion*. Interestingly, these prints were adapted into media where this narrative aspect was also present. Judging from the different manners of adaptation throughout Europe, this case of the migration of Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* furthermore confirms that the prints were often employed similar to model books. Certain motifs were chosen and others were omitted, and they were both adapted into an artist's own composition, as well as copied one on one, much like a cartoon. With his cycle, Schongauer was the first to introduce iconographies such as *Christ Before Annas* and *Ecce Homo*. From the initial production onwards, his prints were used as models by artists working with all different types of media, resulting in the adaptation of both entire compositions as well as smaller figural elements, such as the recoiling soldier from the *Resurrection*, into paintings, frescoes, sculptures and book illustrations (figs. 3.3–

3.6). The diffusion of these prints via the different types of routes, resulted not only in the assimilation of his compositional motifs, but also in the introduction of subjects such as *Christ Before Annas* in Castile and Aragon. The difference in recognisability between Italy and Spain did not prevent the diffusion of these iconographies, resulting in the migration of them from Northern Europe to Southern Europe and the translation of the motifs from print to panel, wall and stone.

4. *An Altarpiece as Matrix? The Impact of Hugo van der Goes' Portinari Altarpiece on Florentine Artists between 1483-1510*

The triptych from the Florentine Galleria degli Uffizi known today as the Portinari Altarpiece by the Ghent artist Hugo van der Goes is one of the most famous examples of an intentionally migrating artwork (fig. 4.1). Its journey from the Southern Netherlands to Florence is relatively well-documented, something that is rare for this period. The itinerary of the altarpiece, the exact date of arrival in Florence, and its installation in an important church of this city have been established. Commissioned and sent to Florence by the banker Tommaso Portinari (c. 1424–1501), the triptych was by far the largest Netherlandish altarpiece present in fifteenth-century Florence when it was installed in the *cappella maggiore* of Sant'Egidio, the Portinari family chapel in the hospital church of Santa Maria Nuova.[440] In its opened state,

Fig. 4.1. Hugo van der Goes*, The Adoration of the Shepherds, better known as the Portinari Altarpiece,* c. 1476–78, oil on panel, 274 x 652 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

[440] The hospital of Santa Maria Nuova was founded in 1288 by Tommaso Portinari's ancestor, Folco di Ricovero Portinari (c. 1222 – 1289). On 23 June 1288, the hospital was fully instituted, with a chapel located on the site also known as Santa Maria Nuova. This complex was expanded in 1296 with the addition of the adjacent cloister of Sant'Egidio. By this time, the hospital had two churches. The first – more a chapel than a church – was named Santa Maria Nuova and was located in the original hospital building completed before Folco's death. The chapel was erected at the end of the men's ward and as such was visible to the patients, who could take part in Mass from their beds. The church of Sant'Egidio served as the principal chapel for the entire hospital, providing a place for daily prayers for both those tending to the sick and for visitors and family members. It was in this latter

it shows the *Adoration of the Shepherds* on the central panel and the donor portraits with their accompanying patron saints on the wings. When closed, the outer wings portray the *Annunciation* in grisaille.

The Portinari Altarpiece is one of the few works present in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century that has a triptych format and contains both novel iconographical inventions, portraiture and grisaille painting. Moreover, contrary to works from the collections of the Medici and other prominent Florentine families, the Portinari Altarpiece was displayed in a public space. It was accessible for different audiences, including local artists, from its installation until the twentieth century, when it was transferred to the Galleria degli Uffizi.[441] Around the turn of the twentieth century, Aby Warburg was one of the first to recognize the influx of Northern European artworks in Medici Florence, and the way in which these works had an impact on the local artistic practices, stating that: 'Die von den Bildern, welche die Vertreter der Medici in Brügge in ihre Heimat entsandten, ausgehende künstlerische Eigenart mußte daher […] vertiefend auf die italienische Malerei einwirken.'[442] In his article from 1917, Fritz Knapp expanded on the ideas posed by Warburg, and focused on Hugo van der Goes, trying to reconstruct with considerate detail the impact of the Portinari Altarpiece on Florentine artists from the end of the fifteenth century onwards.[443]

In recent years, several publications have re-examined the migration and adaptation of Van der Goes' triptych. Barbara Lane explored the connection between Tommaso Portinari

church that Portinari's family chapel, the *cappella maggiore*, was located. For more information, see Julia I. Miller, 'Miraculous Childbirth and the Portinari Altarpiece', *The Art Bulletin* 77:2 (1995), pp. 249–61 (p. 255); John Henderson, 'Healing the body and saving the soul: hospitals in Renaissance Florence', *Renaissance Studies* 15:2 (2001), pp. 188–216 (p. 207).

[441] The Portinari Altarpiece, together with 17 other artworks from the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, entered the collection of the Uffizi on 1 April 1900. For more information, see Elisabeth Dhanens, *Hugo van der Goes*, Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds, 1998, pp. 266-67.

[442] Aby M. Warburg, 'Flandrische Kunst und florentinische Frührenaissance. Studien (1902)', in *Aby Warburg. Gesammelte Schriften. Band 1: Die Erneuerung der heidnische Antike. Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance*, ed. by Horst Bredekamp and Michael Diers, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998, 185–206 (p. 205).

[443] Fritz Knapp, 'Hugo van der Goes' Portinari-Altar und sein Einfluß auf Lionardo da Vinci, Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, Piero di Cosimo u. a.', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 2:5/6 (1917), pp. 194–210.

and his predecessor at the Bruges branch of the Medici bank, Angelo di Jacopo Tani (c. 1415–1492). She convincingly detailed the rivalry between the two Florentines, and explored how, amongst other things, Portinari's aspirations to outdo his predecessor led to the commission of the Portinari Altarpiece.[444] Additionally, the triptych and its commissioner have been the central focus in research carried out by scholars such as Bernhard Ridderbos and Michael Rohlmann, culminating in the publication accompanying the invaluable exhibition *Firenze e gli antichi Paesi Bassi 1430-1530. Dialoghi tra artisti: da Jan van Eyck a Ghirlandaio, da Memling a Raffaello* at the Palazzo Pitti in 2008.[445] Simultaneously, Margaret L. Koster and John Henderson investigated the role of the hospital setting in the commission and subsequent presentation of the altarpiece.[446] Lastly, important recent investigations on the impact of the Portinari Altarpiece on well-known Florentine contemporary artists have been carried out by Paula Nuttall.[447]

Even though the corpus of scholarship on the Portinari Altarpiece has grown extensively from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, only occasionally are the

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[444] Barbara G. Lane, 'The Patron and the Pirate: The Mystery of Memling's Gdansk *Last Judgment*', *The Art Bulletin* 73:4 (1991), pp. 623–40.

[445] For further reference, see the essays by Bernhard Ridderbos and Michael Rohlmann in the exhibition catalogue *Firenze e gli antichi Paesi Bassi 1430-1530. Dialoghi tra artisti: da Jan van Eyck a Ghirlandaio, da Memling a Raffaello.*. (Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, 20 June–26 October 2008), ed. by Bert W. Meijer, Livorno: Sillabe s.r.l., 2008, 38–65 and 66–83, as well as Michael Rohlmann, 'Zitate flämischer Landschaftsmotive in Florentiner Quattrocentomalerei', in *Italienische Frührenaissance und nordeuropäisches Spätmittelalter. Kunst der frühen Neuzeit im europäischen Zusammenhang*, ed. by Joachim Poeschke, Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1993, 235–58; Michael Rohlmann, *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild. Altniederländische Tafelmalerei im Florenz des Quattrocento*, Alfter: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1994; Michael Rohlmann, 'Flanders and Italy, Flanders and Florence. Early Netherlandish painting in Italy and its particular influence on Florentine art: an overview', in *Italy and the Low Countries – Artistic relations. The fifteenth century*, ed. by Victor M. Schmidt et al., Florence: Centro Di, 1999, 39–68.

[446] See for example Margaret L. Koster, *Hugo van der Goes and the Procedures of Art and Salvation*, London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008; Henderson, 'Healing the body', pp. 188–216; John Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital. Healing the Body and Healing the Soul*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

[447] See for example Paula Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence. The Impact of Netherlandish Painting 1400-1500*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004; Paula Nuttall, *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting* (San Marino, The Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, 28 September 2013–13 January 2014), San Marino: The Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, 2013; Paula Nuttall, 'Piero di Cosimo and Netherlandish Painting', in *Piero di Cosimo. Painter of Faith and Fable*, ed. by Dennis Geronimus and Michael W. Kwakkelstein, Leiden: Brill, 2018, 210–35; Paula Nuttall, 'From Reiteration to Dialogue: Filippino's Responses to Netherlandish Painting', in *Filippino Lippi. Beauty, Invention and Intelligence*, ed. by Paula Nuttall, Geoffrey Nuttall and Michael W. Kwakkelstein, Leiden: Brill, 2020, 186–206.

artistic details of the altarpiece and their resonance in Italian contemporary art studied systematically. The aim of this chapter is therefore to provide a systematic analysis of the iconographical characteristics present in the altarpiece, and their adaptations in Florentine art. In doing so, this study explores the impact of the Portinari Altarpiece as a source for Florentine artistic production from the end of the fifteenth century onwards.

The shipment of this Netherlandish altarpiece to Florence should be seen as part of a larger increase in Netherlandish works in Italy, and specifically Florence, during the fifteenth century. Paintings by Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memling were present in the most prestigious Italian collections of the time, and these artists received the highest praises by various contemporary writers. In his *De viris illustribus* of 1456, the Italian humanist Bartolomeo Facio (before 1410–1457) admired the work of Jan van Eyck for its realism, writing that his figures had 'hair surpassing reality', and that he painted 'a ray of sun that you would take to be real sunlight.'[448] Additionally, the antiquarian Ciriaco d'Ancona (1391–c. 1453) praised Rogier van der Weyden for his expressivity and his beautiful figures upon seeing paintings by the Brussels master at the court of Leonello d'Este (1407–1450), Marquis of Ferrara.[449]

Italian courts sought to own works by Rogier van der Weyden, or sent their own court artists to train in his workshop. Leonello d'Este supposedly owned at least two works by Van der Weyden, a *Deposition* and a *Fall of Man*, and sent payments for various additional works

[448] 'Eius est tabula insignis in penetralibus Alphonsi Regis, in qua est Maria Virgo ipsa venustate ac verecundia notabilis, Gabriel Angelus Dei filium ex ea nasciturum annuntians excellenti pulchritudine capillis veros vincentibus, Joannes Baptista vitae sanctitatem, et austeritatem admirabilem praeseferens, Hieronymus viventi persimilis, Bibliotheca mirae artis, quippe quae, si paulum ab ea discedas, videatur introrsus recedere, et totos libros pandere, quorum capita modo appropinquanti appareant. In eiusdem tabulae exteriori parte pictus est Baptista Lomellinus, cuius fuit ipsa tabula, cui solam vocem deesse judices, et mulier, quam amabat praestanti forma, et ipsa, qualis erat, ad unguem expressa, inter quos Solis radius veluti per rimam illabebatur, quem verum Solem putes.' Passage from Bartholomeo Facio, *De viris illustribus*, 1456, Florence: Cajetanus Tanzini, 1745, p. 46.

[449] Ciriaco d'Ancona was a widely travelled antiquarian who purportedly saw a *Deposition* and a *Fall of Man* by Van der Weyden in 1449. Keith Christiansen, 'The View from Italy', in: Maryan W. Ainsworth and Keith Christiansen, *From Van Eyck to Bruegel. Early Netherlandish Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York: Abrams, 1998, 39–62 (p. 48).

to Brussels in 1450.[450] The Duke of Milan Francesco Sforza I (1401–1466) sent his court artist Zanetto Bugatto (1433–1476) to Brussels to work with Van der Weyden between 1460 and 1463, probably to elevate the level of portraiture in Milan.[451] Additionally, Alessandro Sforza (1409–1473), Francesco's brother and Duke of Pesaro, travelled to the Netherlands in 1458 and had himself portrayed by the Brussels master.[452] Taking the praises of Italian humanists and courts into account, Rogier van der Weyden was probably the most admired and well-known Netherlandish artist in Italy during the fifteenth century.

A generation later, Hans Memling was in high demand with Italian patrons. Memling, who had become a citizen of Bruges on 30 January 1465, purportedly had been an associate of Van der Weyden and his workshop.[453] Memling's style and subject matter is closely related to Van der Weyden, and it is therefore not surprising that Italian patrons, after the death of the Brussels master, turned to Memling for their commissions. Taking into account contemporary written accounts, it becomes apparent that both Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memling were probably the best known Netherlandish artists in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A detail that confirms this, is the fact that in the years following his death, Rogier van der Weyden's name is the one that is attached to Netherlandish artworks in Italy most often. One striking example of this is a description written by Marcantonio Michiel in his *Notizie d'opere del disegno*, a collection of notes on contemporary art collections in Venice,

[450] Martin Davies, *Rogier van der Weyden. An Essay, with a Critical Catalogue of Paintings Assigned to Him and to Robert Campin*, London: Phaidon, 1972, p. 188. In the documents, Van der Weyden is both called 'Rogier of Brussels' and 'Rogier of Bruges'.
[451] Christiansen, 'The View from Italy', p. 41.
[452] Ibid. Alessandro Sforza had been educated at the court of Ferrara under Leonello d'Este, where he purportedly also came into contact with Netherlandish art, specifically that of Rogier van der Weyden.
[453] Memling's training in the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden cannot be confirmed by any documentation. Since Memling was born in Seligenstadt, it seems more likely that he received his training in Germany. This is also confirmed by the affinity of his style to fifteenth-century Cologne painting, in particular to the work of Stefan Lochner (c. 1410 – 1451). It seems therefore more likely that Memling entered the workshop of Van der Weyden as a journeyman, instead of a pupil. See Barbara G. Lane, 'The Question of Memling's Training', in *Memling Studies. Proceedings of the International Colloquium (Bruges, 10-12 November 1994)*, ed. by Hélène Verougstraete, Roger Van Schoute and Maurits Smeyers, Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1997, 53–70.

Padua, and Milan, among others. In 1530, Michiel visited Gabriel Vendramin's collection in Venice, where he saw two panels he described as:

> 'El quadretto in tauola a oglio del S. Antonio cun el retratto de M. Antonio Siciliano intiero, fo de mano de … maestro Ponentino, opera ex[cellent]e et max[im]e le teste. / El quadretto in tavola della nostra donna sola cun el puttino in brazzo, in piedi, in un tempio Ponentino, cun la corona in testa, fo de mano de Rugerio da Brugies, et è opera a oglio perfettissima.[454]'

These two panels can be identified as the diptych nowadays kept at the Galleria Doria Pamphilj (fig. 4.2). Painted by Jan Gossaert, the left panel, described by Michiel as 'nostra donna sola cun el puttino in brazzo', is a copy of Jan van Eyck's *Madonna in the Church*, nowadays in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie. It seems strange in this case that Michiel attributed the panel to 'Rugerio da Brugies' – Rogier van der Weyden –, instead of Van Eyck, certainly

Fig. 4.2. Attributed to Jan Gossaert, *Doria-Pamphilj Diptych*, c. 1510–15, oil on panel, each panel: 40 x 22 cm. Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj.

[454] Lorne Campbell, 'Notes on Netherlandish Pictures in the Veneto in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *The Burlington Magazine* 123:941 (1981), pp. 467–73 (pp. 471–72).

when taking into account that half a century prior, both artists were considered the best Netherlandish painters, and Van Eyck was still known by name.[455]

Additionally, during the 1520s, Michiel described a diptych in Padua from the collection of Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) as follows:

> 'El quadretto in due portelle del San Zuan Baptista vestito, cun lagnello che siede in un paese da una parte, et la nostra donna cun el puttino da laltra in un altro paese, furona de man de Zuan Memlingo, lanno 1470, in salvo el vero.'[456]

It is striking that Memling is here mentioned by name, while a high-quality copy after Van Eyck is wrongfully attributed to Rogier van der Weyden. This reinforces the idea that Van der Weyden's fame prevailed in Italy long after his death, more so than that of Jan van Eyck, and that owning a work by his hand was attached to a high level of prestige. Perhaps Memling was seen as Van der Weyden's successor, making him a sought-after artist in Italy as well.

In Florence, the situation was not much different. In line with earlier praises for Van der Weyden's art by Ciriaco d'Ancona and Bartolomeo Facio, the Florentine Antonio di Pietro Averlino, better known as Filarete (1400–1469) described the ideal way to decorate a palace in the ninth book of his *Il trattato d'architettura* (1461–1464), citing the artists that would fulfil this task most satisfyingly. He wrote:

> 'Si vorebbe vedere se nelle parti oltramonti ne fusse nessune buono, dove n'era uno valentissimo, il quale si chiamava maestro Giovanni da Bruggia, e lui ancora è morto. Parmi ci sia uno maestro Ruggieri, che è vantaggiato ancora.'[457]

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[455] Rogier van der Weyden was often erroneously described as coming from Bruges.
[456] Campbell, 'Notes on Netherlandish Pictures', p. 471.
[457] Antonio Averlino, detto Il Filarete, *Trattato di Architettura*, 1461–1464, ed. by Anna Maria Finoli and Liliana Grassi, 2 vols (Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1972), I, p. 265.

Filarete deems the Brussels master as one of the best-suited Northern European artists to hang in a palace. Not surprisingly, the Medici family purportedly owned Van der Weyden's *Lamentation of Christ*, painted after a work with the same subject by Fra Angelico (c. 1395–1455), in addition to many more paintings with a Netherlandish origin (fig. 4.3).[458] When studying the well-researched inventory of the Villa Careggi of 1482, made up after the death of Lucrezia Tornabuoni (1427–1482), and the inventory of 1492 covering all the Medici properties, made up after the death of Lorenzo I de' Medici, this abundance is evident.[459] At Careggi, the paintings with a Netherlandish origin – characterized by the scribe as *fiandresco* – accounted for seventy-five percent of the entire collection.[460] Two works from the Medici collection worth mentioning here were Jan van Eyck's *Saint Jerome in his Study* and the *Raising of Lazarus*, painted by Nicolas Froment (c. 1435–c. 1486) and kept in the Franciscan monastery of Bosco ai Frati (figs. 4.4 and 4.5).[461] The

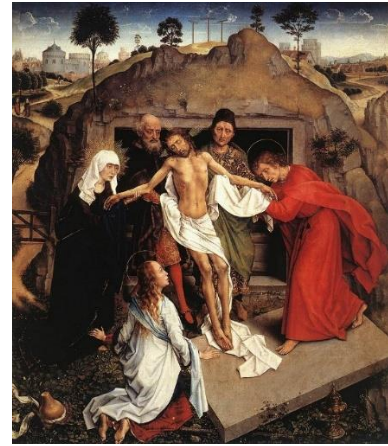

Fig. 4.3. Rogier van der Weyden, *Lamentation of Christ*, c. 1460–63, oil on panel, 110 x 96 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Fig. 4.4. Follower of Jan van Eyck, *Saint Jerome in his Study*, c. 1435, oil on linen on panel, 20,6 x 13,3 cm. Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts.

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458 Emil K.J. Reznicek, 'Enkele Gegevens uit de Vijftiende Eeuw over de Vlaamse Schilderkunst in Florence', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger. Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 2 vols (Gent: Uitgeverij Vereniging voor de Geschiedenis der Textielkunsten, 1968), I, 83–91 (p. 85). In the inventory of 1492, made up after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, the following description of a painting can probably be identified with Rogier van der Weyden's *Entombment of Christ*: 'Una tavola d'altare chon cornicie dorate atorno dipintovi drento el sepolcro del nostro Signore et nostro Signore schonfitto di crocie et cinque altre fighure tutte chommesse in un telaio con pilastri achanalati a uso di marmo et peduccie et capitelli dorati chon architrave fregio di diamanti […].'

459 Paula Nuttall, 'The Medici and Netherlandish painting', in *The Early Medici and their Artists*, ed. by Francis Ames-Lewis, Birckbeck College: Department of History of Art, 1995, 135–52 (p. 135).

460 Ibid.

461 Ibid., p. 137.

Fig. 4.5. Nicolas Froment, *The Raising of Lazarus*, 1461, oil on panel, 175 x 268 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

former is no longer extant, but probably looked similar to the painting of the same subject nowadays in Detroit.

In addition to the Netherlandish works present in the prestigious collection of the Medici, multiple works were present in the collections of some of the most prominent Florentine families during the fifteenth century. Northern European art was sought-after by both Florentine locals and expats living in the Southern Netherlands, resulting in the export of artworks from north to south. Hans Memling stands out in this respect, who produced most of his paintings either for local expats or Italian patrons, resulting in an abundance of works present in Florence during the second half of the fifteenth century.[462] (fig. 4.6).

[462] Maximiliaan P.J. Martens, 'Hans Memling and His Patrons: A Cliometrical Approach', in *Memling Studies. Proceedings of the International Colloquium (Bruges, 10-12 November 1994)*, ed. by Hélène Verougstraete, Roger Van Schoute and Maurits Smeyers, Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1997, 35–41 (p. 37). Examples of such works present in Florence were the Pagagnotti Triptych, the *Man of Sorrows Blessing* and the *Portrait of a Young Man* from the Robert Lehmann Collection.

Within this corpus of Netherlandish artworks in fifteenth-century Florence, the Portinari Altarpiece occupies a special position. Contrary to the aforementioned artists, Hugo van der Goes is a relatively unknown name within contemporary writing. The arrival of the monumental triptych in Florence is described in great detail. On the 28th of May 1483, the Portinari Altarpiece arrived at the Porta San Frediano in Florence.[463] It was carried by sixteen men from the river Arno through the city to Sant'Egidio, which must have been a spectacle and certainly left an impression on the spectators.[464] The subsequent installation of the triptych on the main altar in Sant'Egidio is documented in the hospital records as: 'la tavola d'altare che mandò Tomaxo Portinarj da Bruggia, la quale giunse a salvamento oggj questo di 28 di Maggio 1483 ringraziato sia Idio.'[465] As can be read, this description focuses on the patron and does not mention Van der Goes by name. With its placement in the *cappella maggiore*, the altarpiece completed a fresco cycle painted by some of the most highly esteemed Italian artists of the fifteenth century, who according to Vasari were specifically chosen by the Portinari family, namely Domenico Veneziano (c. 1410–1461), Andrea del Castagno (c. 1419–1457), and Alesso Baldovinetti (1427–1499).[466]

Fig. 4.6. Hans Memling, *Portrait of a Young Man*, c. 1472–75, oil on panel, 40 x 29 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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[463] Rohlmann, *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild*, p. 53.
[464] Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, p. 128; Bianca Hatfield Strens, 'L'Arrivo del trittico Portinari a Firenze', *Commentari* 19 (1968), pp. 315–19.
[465] Rohlmann, *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild*, p. 53.
[466] 'Per lo che, acquistato grazia con la casa de' Portinari e con lo spedalingo, fu datogli a dipignere una parte della cappella maggiore.' Derived from Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, 5 vols (ed. by Enrico Mattioda, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2017–2021), II, ed. by Vincenzo Capotu et al., (2018), p. 270. Contrary to the general assumption, this chapel was not the site where the painters' Compagnia di San Luca gathered. This misunderstanding is easily explained, since the chapel which the Compagnia used was the main chapel of the male ward of the hospital, known as the 'Chiesa di Santa Maria Nuova', and not the 'Cappella Maggiore della Chiesa di Sancto Gidio di questo spedale'. For more information, see Anna Padoa

Knowledge about Van der Goes decreases over the years. When Francesco Albertini (c. 1469–after 1510) writes his *Memoriale di molte statue e pitture della città di Firenze* in 1510, he notes that the panel in Santa Maria Nuova is of a Flemish origin.[467] Forty years later, when Giorgio Vasari mentions Van der Goes in his *Vite*, he wrongfully calls him 'Ugo d'Anversa'.[468] Around the same time, in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* from 1567, Lodovico Guicciardini also calls him 'Ugo d'Anversa', and describes him as the artist 'che fece la bellissima tavola, che si vede a Firenze in Santa Maria nuova.'[469] In later years, the altarpiece is attributed to Italian artists, among them Andrea del Castagno and Alesso Baldovinetti. This happens for the first time in 1677, when in Giovanni Cinelli's (dates unknown) edition of Francesco Bocchi's (1548–1613/1618) *Le Bellezze della città di Firenze* it is written that 'in the church there was a panel on the high altar by Andrea del Castagno, removed, and placed in the choir to give way to the *ciborium* there, which one can see at present […] in the chapel of Sant'Egidio there was a panel by Alesso Baldovinetti, which is no longer there.'[470] There never was a panel by either Andrea del Castagno or Alesso Baldovinetti present in the chapel, which would mean that Van der Goes' altarpiece was

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Rizzo, 'Luca della Robbia e Verrocchio. Un nuovo documento e una nuova interpretazione iconografica del tabernacolo di Peretola', *MKIF* 38 (1994), pp. 4–50; Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, p. 120.

[467] 'La capella maiore è mezza di Andreino, et mezza di Dominico Veneto, benchè alcune figure dinanzi sieno per mano di Alexo Bal. In decta chiesa sono due tavole di frate Philip. et una [*scil.* tavola] fiamminghа.' Francesco Albertini, *Memoriale di Molte Statue e Pitture della Città di Firenze*, Florence: Antonio Tubini, 1510, ed. by Luigi Mussini and Luisa Piaggio, Florence: Cellini, 1863, p. 13.

[468] In the first edition of 1550, Vasari mentions Ugo d'Anversa as the author of the altarpiece in Santa Maria Nuova in chapter 21: 'Del dipingere a olio, in tavola e su tele.' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piú eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri. Nell' edizione per i tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino, Firenze 1550*, ed. by Luciano Bellosi and Aldo Rossi, Turin: Einaudi, 1986, p. 68. In the second edition of 1568, he mentions him together with other Flemish artists, in his chapter 'Di Diversi artefici italiani e fiamminghi.' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini, 6 vols (1–3: Florence: Sansoni, 1966–1971; 4–6: Florence, S.P.E.S., 1976–1987), VI (1987), p. 224.

[469] Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di Tutti i Paesi Bassi, altramenti detti Germania Inferiore. Con piu carte di Geographia del paese, & col ritratto naturale di piu terre principali*, Antwerp: Guglielmo Silvio, 1567, p. 98.

[470] Koster, *Hugo van der Goes*, p. 129.

mistakenly attributed to a local artist, and that already in the seventeenth century, the northern origin of the Portinari Altarpiece had been forgotten.[471]

Despite the limited contemporary written knowledge of Hugo van der Goes in Florence, the impact of the altarpiece on Florentine artists is visually identifiable, and the impact of the triptych can be seen in Florentine contemporary adaptations. Although the Portinari Altarpiece as a whole must have impressed the viewer as a masterpiece, distinct artistic and iconographical details from the triptych were translated by contemporary local artists into their own compositions. One artist stands out in this respect. In multiple works dating from the 1480s and 1490s, Domenico Ghirlandaio translated details from the triptych into his own artistic idiom, resulting in works that are both recognizably Florentine and Netherlandish at the same time. However, Ghirlandaio was not exceptional in this respect, and artists like Piero di Cosimo, Luca Signorelli (c. 1441/1445–1523) and Lorenzo di Credi all rendered their own interpretations of Hugo van der Goes' inventions. This makes the Portinari Altarpiece an ideal case study for investigating the migration and adaptation of iconographical and visual motifs.

The central focus of this chapter will be the translation of the triptych's motifs by Florentine artists, working from the exterior and the larger elements of the Portinari Altarpiece to the interior and the smaller details. Starting from the tripartite format, this chapter will subsequently investigate the adaptation of the grisaille on the outer wings, the continuous narrative in the landscape background on the interior, the shepherds, the flower still life and the sheaf of wheat. By systematically analysing these characteristics and comparing the Netherlandish prototype to its Florentine translations, this chapter investigates the manners of adaptation, and reassesses which of the details on the altarpiece proved to have a lasting impact on Florentine artistic production, and which did not.

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[471] For more accounts on the Portinari Altarpiece and its presumed artist, see Koster, *Hugo van der Goes*, pp. 129–31.

4.1. The Artist and the Commissioner

Hugo van der Goes has a relatively small surviving oeuvre, of which most of the works are monumental altarpieces. Some of his most famous works are the so-called *Monforte Altarpiece* and the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, both nowadays in Berlin, and the Bruges *Death of the Virgin*. Contrary to Rogier van der Weyden and Jan van Eyck, Hugo van der Goes was never contracted as a court artist. Instead, his patrons were wealthy burghers, the Ghent city council and religious orders.[472] Although the exact amount of commissions Van der Goes received is unclear, those that are known are notably prestigious. His best-known client is Tommaso Portinari. Portinari's commission occupies an exceptional place in Van der Goes' oeuvre, because it is the only documented work. Nonetheless, an exact date of execution is not known.

The commission of the altarpiece is often related to an endowment made by Portinari in 1472. After the death of his brother Pigello (1421–1468) in 1468, Tommaso became the principal patron of Santa Maria Nuova, and soon afterwards he sent large sums of money to the Florentine hospital.[473] In 1472, Tommaso paid 700 gold florins 'for the love of god and his soul', and for two masses to be said every morning for his salvation, one in the chapel of Sant'Egidio and one at the altar of the 'Vergine Maria Annunziata de'Servi di Firenze' – the Santissima Annunziata.[474] This endowment further guaranteed his interment in the family vault at the *cappella maggiore* in Sant'Egidio. It is very probable that this occasion led him to commission artworks for the decoration of his family chapel.[475] The inclusion of Tommaso's children on the wings of the Portinari Altarpiece have led scholars to suggest a commission

[472] Dhanens, *Hugo van der Goes*, p. 42.
[473] Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, p. 128.
[474] 'per l'amor di Dio et per l'anima sua.' Rohlmann, *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild*, pp. 61–62.
[475] Rohlmann, *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild*, p. 62.

date between 1474 and 1476.[476] Van der Goes presumably finished the altarpiece before 1478, the year in which the artist left Ghent to live in the enclosed environment of the Rooklooster Abbey, an Augustinian priory located in the Zoniënwoud near Brussels.[477]

Contrary to Van der Goes' life in Ghent, of which only a few contemporary documents have survived, his life and activities in the monastery are fairly well documented by Gaspar Ofhuys (c. 1456–1523), a fellow novice who entered the priory at the same time as Van der Goes. Ofhuys writes:

> 'As a painter he enjoyed so great a reputation that people used to say he had no equal this side of the Alps. […] since he was a great expert in the art of painting he often received visitors of high rank, including the most illustrious Archduke Maximilian; all of them had a great desire to inspect his pictures.'[478]

Strikingly, both in the text written by Ofhuys and in texts by later Southern Netherlandish chroniclers, the existence of the Portinari Altarpiece is not mentioned. Ofhuys seems unaware

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[476] This is based on the year of birth of Pigello Portinari, Tommaso's youngest son, which lies between 1474 and 1476, and who is included on left wing of the altarpiece without his patron saint. See Dhanens, *Hugo van der Goes*, p. 257.

[477] Dhanens, *Hugo van der Goes*, p. 52. The priory, together with multiple other Augustinian priories located in its vicinity, became part of the Congregation of Windesheim in the year 1412–1413. The Congregation of Windesheim was part of the Modern Devotion, founded by Geert Grote (1340–1384). Followers of Grote and the Modern Devotion focused on salvation of the soul and believed in a sober way of living. As with various other religious movements, the Virgin Mary was the patron of the Modern Devotion. The brothers of the movement were called *Brothers of the Common Life*, who lived an ascetic life, and prioritized meditation on the life and suffering of Christ. For more information about Hugo van der Goes and the Modern Devotion, see Henk van Os, *Gebed in schoonheid. Schatten van privé-devotie in Europa 1300-1500* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 26 November 1994 – 26 Februari 1995), Zwolle: Waanders, 1994; Bernhard Ridderbos, 'Hugo van der Goes's 'Death of the Virgin' and the Modern Devotion: an analysis of a creative process', *Oud Holland* 120:1/2 (2007), pp. 1–30; Bernhard Ridderbos, *Schilderkunst in de Bourgondische Nederlanden*, Zwolle: WBOOKS, 2014.

[478] Entire Latin quote, derived from Dhanens, *Hugo van der Goes*, p. 392, doc. 31: 'Hic tam famosus erat in arte pictoria, ut citra montes sibi similis, ut aiebant, temporibus illis non inveniebatur. Pariter novicii fuimus ipse et ego hoc scribens. In eius investitione et noviciatu, ipse pater prior Thomas plurima solatium mundanorum attinentia permittebat, propter melius tamen, quia magnus inter mundanos fuerat, que magis ad pompan huius seculi inducebant, quam ad penitentie et humilitatis viam. Quod minime aliquibus placebat dicentibus: Novicii non sunt exaltandi sed humiliandi. Et quia excellens valde erat in ymaginibus depingendis a magnatibus et pluribus etiam ab illustrissimo archiduce Maximiliano visitabatur.' English translation: Wolfgang Stechow, *Northern Renaissance Art 1400-1600. Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs (NJ): Prentice-Hall, 1966, p. 16.

of this altarpiece, which would further confirm that it was left behind in Ghent by Van der Goes in 1478, to be shipped to Florence, and would furthermore provide a *terminus ante quem* for the date of completion.

One final detail of the circumstances surrounding Portinari's commission from Van der Goes that is worth mentioning is the competition that existed among employees of the Medici bank, and the position of Tommaso Portinari within this system. Tommaso was a successful banker, who came from an influential Florentine family. His father Folco d'Adoardo Portinari (c. 1386–1431) had been manager of the Florentine branch of the Medici bank, and his brother Pigello Portinari was the manager of the Milan branch.[479] Around 1455, Tommaso was sent to work under Angelo Tani at the Bruges branch.[480] When Tani travelled to Florence in 1464 to report on the status of the Bruges firm, Tommaso used his absence to his advantage, and negotiated for the position of branch manager with the Medici, as Tani's successor.[481] Tommaso's contract was approved on 6 August 1465, and as branch manager, he approved risky loans to Charles the Bold (1433–1477), Duke of Burgundy, which eventually led to his downfall and the collapse of the Medici bank in Bruges.[482]

Portinari was an exceptional commissioner of Netherlandish art, especially when compared to his fellow countrymen of similar status, most importantly his predecessor Angelo Tani. During his time as branch manager in Bruges, Tani was an important patron of Hans Memling.[483] He was the first Italian expat to commission a large altarpiece from a

[479] Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, p. 118.
[480] Lane, 'The Patron and the Pirate', p. 623.
[481] Diane Wolfthal, 'Florentine Bankers, Flemish Friars, and the Patronage of the Portinari Altarpiece', in *Cultural Exchange between the Low Countries and Italy*, ed. by Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes, Turnhout: Brepols, 2007, 1–21 (p. 1).
[482] Lane, 'The Patron and the Pirate', p. 633.
[483] Till-Holger Borchert (ed.), *Memling. Rinascimento fiammingo*, (Rome, Scuderie del Quirinale, 11 October 2014 – 18 January 2015), Milan: Skira Editore, 2014, p. 80.

Fig. 4.7. Hans Memling, *The Last Judgment*, c. 1466–73, oil on panel, 223 x 306 cm. Gdansk, National Museum.

Netherlandish artist, with the intention of sending it to Italy.[484] By the end of 1467, he commissioned the triptych depicting the *Last Judgment* from Memling, an altarpiece destined for Tani's family chapel in the Badia Fiesolana (fig. 4.7). The Badia Fiesolana was founded by the Medici, who divided four of its chapels among the managers of their offices. The first chapel was given to Tani. The second chapel went to the Martelli family, directors of the branches in Rome and Venice. The third was given to Francesco Sassetti (1421–1490), who started as the manager of the Geneva branch, and later became the general director in Florence. The fourth and last chapel went to Tommaso's older brother Pigello Portinari.[485]

[484] Paula Nuttall, 'Memlinc's *Last Judgment*, Angelo Tani and the Florentine colony at Bruges', in *Polish and English responses to French art and architecture. Contrasts and similarities*, ed. by Francis Ames-Lewis, University of London: Department of History of Art Birkbeck College, 1995, pp. 155–65 (p. 162).
[485] Rohlmann, *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild*, p. 48.

Fig. 4.8. Hans Memling, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, c. 1470–71, oil on panel, 56,7 x 92,2 cm. Turin, Galleria Sabauda.

When comparing Tani and Portinari as commissioners of Netherlandish art, Portinari stands out in terms of volume. In addition to the altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes, Tommaso commissioned additional artworks with Hans Memling. In fact, his first commissions of Netherlandish art were from this artist instead of Van der Goes. The first painting was probably commissioned around 1470, dating around the wedding of Tommaso and Maria Baroncelli (b. 1456).[486] The panel depicts the Passion of Christ in the form of a continuous narrative, together with the two donor portraits of Tommaso and Maria (fig. 4.8). On this panel, the two commissioners are depicted as two small figures kneeling in the lower left and right corners. Around the same time, the couple was portrayed in half-length by Memling (figs. 4.9 and 4.10). These portraits probably served as the wings of a triptych, showing the *Virgin and Child* on the central panel.[487]

[486] Koster, *Hugo van der Goes*, p. 117.
[487] This central panel is lost. For more information on this, see the catalogue entry on the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York:

Figs. 4.9 and 4.10. Hans Memling, *Portraits of Tommaso di Folco Portinari and Maria Maddalena Baroncelli*, c. 1470–80, oil on panel, each wing: 44,1 x 33,7 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Judging from these details, the different managers from the branches of the Medici bank probably viewed each other as competition, and were well aware of each other's endeavours. During the 1460s, shortly after the completion of the Badia Fiesolana, different branch managers set out to decorate their assigned chapels, and Tani commissioned Memling, an artist associated with the famous Rogier van der Weyden, with an altarpiece for this chapel. It seems that every aspect of Portinari's undertaking of installing and adorning a family chapel can be characterized with the purpose of outdoing his predecessor. His chapel was within the city walls of Florence, and the altarpiece he commissioned from Hugo van der Goes was almost twice as large. Portinari also outdid Tani in terms of volume, by not only commissioning one altarpiece from Van der Goes, but additional portraits and smaller devotional works from Hans Memling to decorate his family chapel as well.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437056?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=Hans+Memling&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=3> (Accessed 15-03-2021).

4.1.1. Tommaso Portinari and Angelo Tani

Tani's *Last Judgment* bears similarities to Rogier van der Weyden's *Last Judgment*, a polyptych commissioned by the Chancellor of Burgundy Nicholas Rolin (1376–1462) and destined for the almshouse Hôtel-Dieu in Beaune.[488] It is possible that Tani knew this altarpiece by Van der Weyden, and that he wanted to have a version or copy of the painting for his own chapel.[489] If indeed the commission of Tani's altarpiece can be dated around the second half of the 1460s, it is unlikely, if not impossible, that Tani commissioned this work from Van der Weyden himself, who died in 1464. It seems logical then, that Tani turned to an artist associated with Van der Weyden. If he indeed had been trained in Van der Weyden's workshop, Memling probably owned drawings relating to Rogier's workshop, among them possibly drawings of the Beaune *Last Judgment*.[490]

This becomes even more plausible when investigating the underdrawing in Memling's altarpiece. Memling adapted Rogier van der Weyden's manner of underdrawing, and composed his works in a similar manner, which would indicate that he was familiar with Van der Weyden's painting processes.[491] In the underdrawing of Memling's *Last Judgment*, the figure of Christ has almost no modifications, which stands in stark contrast to the rest of the underdrawing. This suggests that Memling used a pattern for this figure.[492] Comparing the figures on both paintings, it becomes clear that the pose of Christ, with his left hand raised in blessing and his right palm turned down, in addition to the draperies and the position of the

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[488] The painting is nowadays still in the collection of the Hospices de Beaune.

[489] In her article in 1991, Barbara G. Lane explores this option. For more information, see Lane, 'The Patron and the Pirate', pp. 624–29.

[490] It seems more likely that Memling entered the workshop of Van der Weyden as a journeyman, instead of a pupil. See Lane, 'The Question of Memling's Training', pp. 53–70.

[491] For more on this, see Molly Faries, 'The Underdrawing of Memling's *Last Judgment Altarpiece*', in *Memling Studies. Proceedings of the International Colloquium (Bruges, 10-12 November 1994)*, ed. by Hélène Verougstraete, Roger Van Schoute and Maurits Smeyers, Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1997, 243–59.

[492] Memling used preparatory drawings and patterns from the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden more often, amongst others in his *Triptych of Jan Floreins* (Bruges, Sint-Janshospitaal) and in his *Adoration of the Magi Triptych* (Madrid, Museo del Prado), where he quoted details from Van der Weyden's *Columba Altarpiece* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek). For more information, see Barbara G. Lane, 'The Question of Memling's Training', pp. 55–60.

feet, match very closely. Other similarities between both altarpieces furthermore point to the association of Memling with Rogier van der Weyden's work.

The fact that these two altarpieces are so closely related, and that Tani probably commissioned his triptych with the work of Rogier van der Weyden in mind, is interesting when considering Tani's choice for Memling for the altarpiece of his family chapel. In addition to Tani's access to Memling's artistic output in Bruges, the fame of both artists in Italy may have played a role in Tani's choice. As previously mentioned, Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memling were among the most admired and well-known Netherlandish artists in Italy, and this might have been an additional motivation for Tani to commission his triptych with Memling.

When looking at the circumstances surrounding Memling's *Last Judgment* after Tani's move from Bruges back to Florence, the rivalry between the two Florentines becomes even more apparent. The triptych was probably finished by the end of the 1460s, but remained in Bruges long after Tani had returned to Florence. As a result, the responsibility for the payment and shipment of Memling's triptych fell on Portinari.[493] In the years following, Portinari's position of power in the Bruges branch of the Medici bank became increasingly stronger, while Tani's position became increasingly less significant. It might therefore be that Tani was unable to complete the payment for the altarpiece, and that Portinari instead took over. This would in part explain why Portinari handled the transport of the *Last Judgment* to Florence.[494] The painting was transported on a galley operated by the Medici bank in April 1473, which was captured in the English Channel by the Hanseatic privateer Paul Beneke (early 1400s–c. 1480). Beneke subsequently transported Memling's altarpiece to Gdansk,

[493] Although the contract for the *Last Judgment* is no longer extant, it is plausible that the payment for the altarpiece was done in installments, as was customary during this period. Lane, 'The Patron and the Pirate', p. 635.
[494] Based on similarities between the figure depicted on the scale in the *Last Judgment* and Memling's portraits of Portinari, the assumption is that this figure portrays Tommaso Portinari. This would serve as an extra argument in favour of the theory that the altarpiece was in Portinari's possession around 1470.

where it remains today.[495] Portinari went to great lengths to retrieve the altarpiece, with even Pope Sixtus IV intervening on behalf of the Medici, but was unsuccessful in the end.[496]

A possible explanation as to why Portinari was so set on retrieving the altarpiece, might have been that it was his property at this time.[497] It would make sense that around 1468 Portinari sought to own the altarpiece, given the fact that the care for his family chapel in Florence was now his responsibility. Since this was the main chapel of a hospital church, the association of Memling's *Last Judgment* with Rogier van der Weyden's Beaune Altarpiece, which also adorned a chapel in one of the most famous hospital churches of the time, might have increased Portinari's desire to own this triptych. The loss of Memling's *Last Judgment* in 1473 furthermore strengthens the proposed date of commission of Hugo van der Goes' *Adoration of the Shepherds*, namely between 1473 and 1474.

Whether this is true or not, it seems that with this commission from Van der Goes, Portinari tried to outdo his predecessor. Contrary to Tani's chapel, which was a side chapel in the Badia Fiesolana outside the city of Florence, Portinari's was the main chapel in a church that was centrally located in the city. The altarpiece he commissioned with Van der Goes is furthermore twice the size in width in its opened state. But why did Portinari turn to Hugo van

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[495] Paula Nuttall, 'Memlinc's *Last Judgement*', p. 158.

[496] 'Sane dilectorum filiorum Laurentii et Iuliani de Medicis ac Anthonii de Martellis et Francisci Saxeti , nec non Francisci de Carnesechis ac Francisci Sermathei, civium et mercatorum florentinorum, nobis nuper exhibita lamentabilis querela continebat, quod alias decursis iam quatuor annis vel circa , dum mercancie et bona eorumdem civium et nonnullorum aliorum mercatorum in duabus triremibus ex Flandrie partibus versus Angliam veherentur, dilectus filius Polus Behcnk laicus loci de Gdanck Wladislavien dioc. perrata maritimus, qui cum quadam navi ipsius tricentis hominibus vel circa et bellicis instrumentis ad maritimas concertaciones et navalia bella cum favore et subsidio dilectorum filiorum Bremen civitatis ac Staden. Gdanczk aliorumque opidorum Bremen et Wladislavien dioces. de Hanza nuncupatorum - per mare in partibus illis discurrebat, et qui cum eo erant in prefata navi eius socii et stipendiarii ac perrate, prefatum Franciscum Sermathei alterius dictarum triremium dominum et patronum, et illos qui secum erant, in nautas et mercatores hostiliter invaserunt; et invadendo, ex his qui in eadem triremi erant tredecim Florentinos miserrime interfecerunt, et centum vel circa crudeliter vulneraverunt, mercancias et bona, que in eadem triremi erant, precii et comunis existimacionis triginta millium florenorum auri vel circa, vi et violencia rapuerunt, et ex illis unam comunitatibus et universitatibus predictis et in eadem navi agentibus pro illis consignarunt; reliquam vero - inter ipsos invasores, prout iis visum fuit, diviserunt ac Franciscum patronum et nonnullos alios captivarunt ac in compedibus et ferris in navi predicta posuerunt, et reliquis vulneratis et non vulneratis, bonis omnibus spoliatis, in littore maris semimortuis derelictis, bona et ipsos sic captos cum eadem triremi quo voluerunt ad partes eorum esportaverunt, et in eorum utilitatem converterunt.' Derived from Alfredo Reumont, 'Di alcune relazioni Fiorentini colla città di Danzica', *Archivio Storico Italiano* 13:1 (1861), pp. 37–47 (p. 42).

[497] Lane, 'The Patron and the Pirate', pp. 635–38.

der Goes instead of Hans Memling for his altarpiece, even when he had already commissioned Memling with works during the early 1470s? Although the choice for a particular artist is often a culmination of circumstances and the commission of an artwork relies on many factors, one reason could be that after succeeding Tani as Bruges branch manager, Portinari wanted to distance himself from the association with his predecessor. Instead of commissioning Memling with another altarpiece like Tani had done, he might have chosen another leading artist from the region. Another theory for Portinari's choice of artist is that contrary to Memling, Hugo van der Goes was an artist whose work was characterized by a sympathy for the poor.[498] Whereas Memling depicted his Madonna's as the Queen of Heaven, Van der Goes painted her in a more humble fashion.

This latter theory is further strengthened by the fact that Portinari, in his artistic commissions, remained close to a more common tendency among Florentine bankers in his choice for religious subject matter.[499] In general during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the banking profession was associated with sin, specifically with making profit from loans or usury, and was attacked in many sermons.[500] It has been argued that bankers sought ways to counteract these sins. An example of this can be found in the close circle of Portinari, namely his cousin Bernardo di Giovanni Portinari (1407–1455), who had trained Tommaso during the 1440s. Bernardo composed a will in 1436, in which he explicitly showed remorse about his banking activities and the fact that as a result, he acquired large amounts of money from a

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[498] This theory is extensively discussed in Diane Wolfthal, 'Florentine Bankers, Flemish Friars, and the Patronage of the Portinari Altarpiece', in *Cultural Exchange between the Low Countries and Italy (1400–1600)*, ed. by Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes, Turnhout: Brepols, 2007, 1–21.
[499] Ibid., p. 3.
[500] A.D. Fraser Jenkins, 'Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970), pp. 162–70 (p. 162); Margaret Carroll, '"In the Name of God and Profit": Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait', *Representations* 44 (1993), pp. 96–132 (p. 106); Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance. The Patron's Oeuvre*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2000, p. 442 no. 20.

Florentine commune. Therefore, for the relief of his conscience, he ordered that the money and credits he owed to these people should be fully refunded, repaid and restored.[501]

In general, the way for bankers to counteract their sins was through acts of charity, often by donating artworks to the church or by commissioning chapels. One famous example of a chapel that was possibly built with this intention is the Scrovegni chapel in Padua.[502] Many of the scenes portrayed in this chapel by Giotto di Bondone (c. 1267–1337) focus on the sins commonly associated with bankers, such as the pursuit of wealth.[503] Moreover, the way in which Giotto placed the patron Enrico Scrovegni (d. 1336) in the vicinity of other usurers in the *Last Judgment*, while holding the Scrovegni chapel in his hands as a donation, hints to the idea of salvation through this donation.[504] Other examples of commissions that have been associated with counteracting the sins of bankers are the *Arnolfini Portrait* by Jan van Eyck, and multiple commissions by Cosimo de' Medici Il Vecchio. Especially the latter's role as a patron of the Observants, an order that wanted to return to the strict and original rules, including poverty, has been connected to Cosimo's wish to clear his conscience. For

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[501] 'Item dixit dictus testator se ipsum diu acquisivisse super monte Pisarum comunis Florentie a quam pluribus et diversis personis quam plura et multas quantitates pecunie et credita, quas quantitates et credita postea exegit; de quibus quantitatibus et creditis dixit constare per libros ipsius testatoris. Et quia ipse testator dubitat ne conscientia sua pro predictis sit gravata eapropter pro exhoneratione conscientie sue iuxit et voluit huiusmodi personis a quibus aliquid emisset vel acquisivisset pro denariis et credits acquisitis super dicto monte di Pisa reddi et solvi et restitui omne id quod de iure restitui deberet et in quo conscientia sua est gravata prout gravata esset.' Derived from Wolfthal, 'Florentine Bankers', p. 17.

[502] Anna Derbes and Mark Sandona, 'Barren Metal and the Fruitful Womb: The Program of Giotto's Arena Chapel in Padua', *The Art Bulletin* 80:2 (1998), pp. 274–91 (especially pp. 277–78). Whether the chapel's programme should by understood in light of the money lending practices of the Scrovegni is a debated subject. For more information on the subjects, compare Ursula Schlegel, 'On the Picture Program of the Arena Chapel', in *The Arena Chapel and the Genius of Giotto. Padua*, ed. by Andrew Ladis, Padua, 1998, 42–64; Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, *The Usurer's Heart. Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni, and the Arena Chapel in Padua*, University Park: Penn State University Press, 2008; Benjamin G. Kohl, 'Giotto and His Lay Patrons', in *The Cambridge Companion to Giotto,* ed. by Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 176–96; Silvana Collodo, 'Origini e fortuna della famiglia Scrovegni', in *Il secolo di Giotto nel Veneto*, ed. by Giovanna Valenzano and Federica Toniolo, Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2007, 47–80, with Laura Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel. Art, Architecture & Experience*, London: Harvey Miller, 2008; Chiara Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico. Giotto e la Cappella Scrovegni*, Turin: Einaudi, 2008.

[503] Examples of this are the *Payment of Judas*, the *Damnation of Judas*, and the *Expulsion from the Temple*.

[504] Daniela Bohde, 'Mary Magdalene at the Foot of the Cross. Iconography and the Semantics of Place', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 61:1 (2019), pp. 3–44 (p. 27).

example, he rebuilt the convent of San Marco in Florence for the Dominican Observants, and constructed the earlier-mentioned monastery of Bosco ai Frati for the Franciscan Observants.

From what can be deduced from primary sources, Portinari was also concerned with his salvation and troubled by his profession. In the first place, this could have been the reason for him to donate the many Netherlandish artworks to Sant'Egidio, and for the abovementioned payment for two masses every morning 'per l'amor di Dio et per l'anima sua', in 1472.[505] But the question remains why he chose Hugo van der Goes for his altarpiece. This might have to do with the earlier mentioned association of Van der Goes with the depiction of poverty, and how the emphasis on poverty in the Portinari Altarpiece might have been used to counteract the negative associations linked to his profession. This association can be seen in several details of the altarpiece.

First of all, it is expressed in the simple dress of the Virgin, kneeling on the earth. The fact that the altarpiece shows the *Adoration of the Shepherds* instead of the more common Florentine subject of the time – the *Adoration of the Magi* –, can also be related to this. From the fifteenth century onwards, the *Adoration of the Magi* was associated with the Medici.[506] For example, Cosimo de' Medici took part in the procession that took place during the 'Festa de' Magi', or the Feast of the Epiphany.[507] Moreover, the Confraternity of the Magi was closely linked to the Medici family, and in many of the contemporary paintings depicting the *Adoration of the Magi*, the three kings represented Cosimo and his descendants.[508] As such, from 1470 onwards, the figures of the Magi had became representatives of the Medici, and the subject was thus often applied in altarpieces destined for the family. In addition to a fresco

[505] Rohlmann, *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild*, pp. 61–62.
[506] Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press, 2019, p. 423.
[507] Rab Hatfield, 'The Compagnia de' Magi', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970), pp. 107–61 (p. 136).
[508] Trexler, *Public Life*, p. 423–24.

cycle in the Palazzo Medici Riccardi by Benozzo Gozzoli (c. 1421–1497), the Medici owned at least four additional paintings and a wall-hanging representing the Magi by 1492.[509] Correspondingly, the Medici and other rich Florentines identified themselves with biblical figures who were wealthy rulers, but who, by bringing gifts to the Christ Child, used their wealth wisely.[510]

Fig. 4.11. Hugo van der Goes, *The Portinari Altarpiece. Detail: Annunciation of the Shepherds,* c. 1476–78, oil on panel, 274 x 652 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

The sentiment of the Portinari Altarpiece can be interpreted differently. The Annunciation of the Shepherds that is portrayed in the background, and the portrayal of one of the pages of the Magi asking for directions to the Christ Child from an older shepherd or peasant, hints to the idealization of poverty and to the idea that only the poor know the way to the true faith (figs. 4.11 and 4.12).[511] The fact that this altarpiece combines a focus on poverty through the depicted figures with a richness in size and splendid colours of the altarpiece itself, makes it an ideal donation to the church for Portinari's salvation.

Fig. 4.12. Hugo van der Goes, *The Portinari Altarpiece. Detail: Magi,* c. 1476–78, oil on panel, 274 x 652 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

A last explanation for the choice for Hugo van der Goes might be that during his years as the Bruges branch manager, Portinari was recorded

[509] Hatfield, 'The Compagnia', pp. 136–37.
[510] Jill Burke, *Changing Patrons. Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence*, University Park (PA): The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004, pp. 112–13.
[511] Wolfthal, 'Florentine Bankers', p. 6. This idea might be related to the convictions of Cosimo de' Medici, and his patronage of both the Dominican and Franciscan Observants.

as Charles the Bold's consul, and during the wedding of the Burgundian duke and Margaret of York (1446–1503) in 1468, he marched at the head of the Florentine delegation.[512] It is also here that he probably met Hugo van der Goes, who provided the decorations for this event.[513] Portinari's familiarity with the Burgundian court and its culture may have led him to commission the altarpiece for his family chapel from the Ghent artist. Van der Goes' association with, amongst others, Charles the Bold and later on Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, was probably enough reason for Portinari to turn to Van der Goes instead of Memling, even if Van der Goes was not an official court artist. In addition to the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, there are hints in favour of the idea that Portinari commissioned Van der Goes with another altarpiece, this time for St James's Church in Bruges, where he was patron of the choir and high altar from 1470 onwards. The strongest hint for this is that the chronicler Marcus van Vaernewijck (1516–1569) reports that the best work by Van der Goes can be seen on the high altar of this church, which is repeated in the diary of Albrecht Dürer's travels in the Netherlands and by Karel van Mander.[514]

Portinari's commission seems to have been done with the altarpiece's eventual destination in mind. This would explain why Portinari did not commission another *Last Judgment* after the loss of Memling's altarpiece, but instead wanted a Marian subject for the

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[512] Koster, *Hugo van der Goes*, p. 108.
[513] Ibid.
[514] Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Den spieghel der Nederlandscher audtheyt*, Ghent: Gheeraert van Salenson, 1568. Derived from the printed edition in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent (inv. no. BIB.G.000033), reproduced in Laurens Kleine Deters, '"Paintings that can give great joy to the lovers of art": Marcus van Vaernewijck's notes about art and artists (1568)', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 42:1/2 (2020), pp. 89–145 (p. 130). Chapter IV, 60, fol. 132v: 'ende bysondere het alder beste werck van Meester Hughe / is te ziene in sinte Iacobs kercke.'; *Albrecht Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlass*, ed. by Hans Rupprich, 3 vols (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956–1969), I: Autobiografische Schriften / Briefwechsel / Dichtungen; Beischriften, Notizen und Gutachten; Zeugnisse zum persönlichen Leben (1956), p. 168: 7 April 1521, Bruges: 'Darnach fuhrten sie mich gen S. Jacob und liessen mich sehen die köstlichen gemähle von Rudiger und Hugo, die sind beede groß maister gewest.'; Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, 204r: 'Noch is van desen constigen Meester, onder ander fraey dingen, die te Brugghe my onbekent moghen wesen, een Tafel, die men acht van zijn uytnemenste en alderbeste werck te wesen dat hy oyt dede, in de Kercke van S. Iacobs te Brugghe, en is een Altaer-tafel, wesende een Crucifix, met de Moordenaers, Marie, en ander dinghen, dat welcke alles soo levendigh, en met sulcken vlijt ghedaen is, dat het niet alleen t'ghemeen volck, maer alle verstandighe gheesten in onser Const grootlijck moet behagen.'

altarpiece. With its placement in the *cappella maggiore* of Sant'Egidio, the Portinari Altarpiece completed the aforementioned fresco cycle painted by Domenico Veneziano, Andrea del Castagno, and Alesso Baldovinetti.[515] This cycle portrayed the *Life of the Virgin*, and although its preservation today is poor, the exact scenes are known through the description of Giorgio Vasari in the second edition of his *Vite* of 1568, in the 'Life of Andrea dal Castagno of Mugello and Domenico Viniziano'.[516] Between 1438 and 1445, Domenico Veneziano painted the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, the *Birth of the Virgin*, and the *Engagement of Mary and Joseph* on the left wall, while on the right wall Andrea del Castagno painted the *Annunciation*, the *Virgin in the Temple*, the *Death of the Virgin* and the *Assumption* between 1451 and 1453. In 1461, Alesso Baldovinetti finished the fresco of the *Engagement* and added frescoes portraying the life of Saint Giles, the patron saint of the church.

Vasari described the *Annunciation* painted by Andrea del Castagno as being very beautiful, because 'avere egli in quell'opera dipinto l'Angelo in aria, il che non si era insino allora usato.'[517] The description of this angel seems remarkably similar to the floating angels on the interior of Van der Goes' triptych. His altarpiece would fit perfectly within this fresco cycle, complementing the *Annunciation* by Andrea del Castagno with his own rendering on the outer wings, and continuing the cycle with the scenes on the interior of the triptych.[518] The interior scenes would furthermore portray the most important moments from the Virgin's life: scenes of her motherhood. Before the arrival of Van der Goes' altarpiece, this gap was supposedly filled by an altarpiece from the hand of Lorenzo Monaco (c. 1370–1425),

[515] Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, p. 120.
[516] Vasari, *Le vite*, II (2018), pp. 271–72.
[517] 'For in that work he painted the Angel in the air, which had never been done up to that time.' Italian transcription from Vasari, *Le vite*, II (2018), p. 271; English translation from Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, transl. by Gaston du C. de Vere, ed. by David Ekserdjian, 2 vols (New York: Knopf, 1996), I, p. 451.
[518] Rohlmann, *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild*, p. 53.

depicting the *Adoration of the Magi*.[519] With the Portinari Altarpiece as its replacement, the cycle was even more elaborate than before.

4.2. Adapting the Portinari Altarpiece

The placement of the Portinari Altarpiece on the main altar of a public church, made it easily accessible for Florentines, including contemporary artists. This enabled local painters to employ this novelty as an artistic source for their own compositions. The way in which specific details of the altarpiece were employed by Florentine artists ranges from almost exact copies to adaptations or distant references. Moreover, artists adapted larger artistic qualities of the altarpiece, such as the triptych-format, as well as smaller iconographical details, like the still life elements present in the main composition of the *Adoration*.

4.2.1. The triptych format

In its opened state, the Portinari Altarpiece measures 5.86 metres across. With the choir of Sant'Egidio only measuring 6.45 metres in width, it would have obscured parts of the fresco cycle when opened. However, little is known about the liturgical function of the altarpiece in Florence.[520] In Northern Europe, the triptych was a common format employed for altarpieces. Like the Portinari Altarpiece, a general triptych comprised three parts: the central panel and two hinged, folding wings. The width of the wings measured half that of the central section, thus covering the central panel entirely when closed. Unlike the central section, of which the reverse usually remained unpainted, the wings were painted on both the front and back – that is, the interior and the exterior of the triptych – the latter typically in grisaille. In Northern

[519] Henderson, 'Healing the body', p. 199. This altarpiece was probably the painting nowadays in the Galleria degli Uffizi. Lorenzo Monaco was affiliated with the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova on more occasions, illuminating a number of liturgical books for Sant'Egidio. In addition, he was payed for a 'tavola per l'altare di Sancto Egidio'. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova 5049, 218v; Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova 5050, f. 218v. The total sum was around 182 gold florins, a substantial amount for an altarpiece.
[520] Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, p. 128.

Europe, it was custom to display a triptych in its closed state for most days, and to only open it on particular feast days.[521] However, this custom did not exist as such in Italy, and it is therefore unclear whether the Portinari Altarpiece was normally displayed opened or closed.

Fig. 4.13. Bernardo Daddi, *Triptych with the Crucifixion*, 1338, tempera, silver and gold on panel, 58 x 59 cm. Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland.

But how novel was this tripartite format south of the Alps exactly? Triptychs had been produced in Italy before the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece. The format had been employed for smaller portable altarpieces by, for example, Bernardo Daddi (c. 1280–1348), as well as on a more monumental scale, such as Fra Angelico's Linaioli Altarpiece (figs. 4.13 and 4.14). However, these Italian triptychs are not one on one comparable to the Northern European types and differ in both programme and form. The most significant difference in programme is the importance of a figurative decoration on the outer wings. In northern examples, these wings usually depicted saints, Christ or an *Annunciation* in grisaille.[522] In Italy, the shutters, if present, served primarily as protection for the central panel, and showed decorative patterns, such as marble imitations.[523] As such, these triptychs did not serve a liturgical purpose when closed. Before the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece in Florence, there were already several Netherlandish triptychs present in the city. One of these is the aforementioned *Raising of Lazarus* by Nicholas Froment (fig. 4.7). The format was thus not entirely novel.

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[521] Ibid.
[522] Victor M. Schmidt, *Painted Piety. Panel Paintings for Personal Devotion in Tuscany, 1250-1400*, Florence: Centro Di, 2005, p. 56.
[523] Ibid., p. 58.

Contrary to Italian portable altarpieces, where the triptych remained a leading format, triptychs did not seem to gain preference as a format for altarpieces in Florence, and artists were not commissioned to execute altarpieces in this manner. This did not change after the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece, by far the largest example to be placed in such a public space inside the city of Florence. As a result, Florentine artists continued to employ the standard form of the *pala*, a single-field altarpiece, dominant in Florence since the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[524]

Fig. 4.14. Fra Angelico, *Linaioli Tabernacle*, 1432, tempera on panel, 260 x 330 cm. Florence, Museo Nazionale di San Marco.

Although the triptych format of the Portinari Altarpiece was not adapted by contemporary Italian artists in the form of a central panel with hinged wings that would cover the central image when closed, one custom related to this manner of covering was already present in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During this period, canvases painted with a particular type of tempera (*tempera magra* or *a guazzo*) would be used to cover paintings on the high altar, in order to protect the altarpieces from dust, light

[524] Scott Nethersole, *Devotion by Design. Italian Altarpieces before 1500*, (London, The National Gallery, 6 July–2 October 2011), London: National Gallery Company, 2011, p. 39.

and moisture.[525] So although the execution is different, the practice of covering an altarpiece was already known in Italy when the Portinari Altarpiece arrived in Florence.

Fig. 4.15. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Interior of the Sassetti Chapel*, between 1483–86. Florence, Basilica of Santa Trinità.

When focusing on the winged format, one Florentine artist stands out for his own rendered version of of wings. As mentioned, multiple aspects of the Portinari Altarpiece had a lasting impact on Domenico Ghirlandaio, and were reiterated by him in his own work. This can be seen most clearly in the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinità. For this chapel, Francesco Sassetti, head of the Medici bank, commissioned both the fresco decorations and the single-panel altarpiece from Ghirlandaio. For the altarpiece, Ghirlandaio rendered his own interpretation of wings portraying donors. Instead of employing the triptych format in panel, Ghirlandaio depicted the two patrons in fresco, flanking the *pala* altarpiece and thus creating the illusion of wings (fig. 4.15). Additionally, Ghirlandaio employed a similar adaptation for the portraits of Giovanni Tornabuoni (1428–1497) and Francesca Pitti (dates unknown) in prayer in the Tornabuoni Chapel in Santa Maria Novella.[526]

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[525] Alessandro Nova, 'Hangings, Curtains, and Shutters of Sixteenth-Century Lombard Altarpieces', in *Italian Altarpieces 1250-1550. Function and Design*, ed. by Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, 177–200 (p. 177).

[526] Ronald G. Kecks, *Domenico Ghirlandaio und die Malerei der Florentiner Renaissance*, München/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2000, p. 320. Giovanni Tornabuoni was the successor of Francesco Sassetti as head of the Medici bank.

Despite this application, it seems that the winged triptych format had little impact on Florentine artistic production, and it is rarely adapted for altarpieces after the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece in 1483. This might in part be explained by the fact that the function of the wings was not as clearly outlined as it was in the Netherlands. In Florence at the end of the sixteenth century, the Portinari Altarpiece was moved from the high altar to the backside of the choir, where it was displayed in its opened state.[527] At the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, the triptych was relocated a second time, this time above the portal of the church, and again displayed opened. Finally, at the end of the eighteenth century, the triptych was dismembered and the central panel hung at one side of the nave, while the wings hung on the opposite side. It seems therefore, that the wings were not used in

Fig. 4.16. Hugo van der Goes, *The Portinari Altarpiece (Closed)*, c. 1476–78, oil on panel. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

[527] Information about the relocation of the altarpiece is derived from Rohlmann, *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild*, p. 53.

the same way as they would have been in the Netherlands, and that the triptych was shown in its opened state more often.

Fig. 4.17. Giotto di Bondone, *The Seven Virtues: Charity*, 1306, fresco, 120 x 55 cm. Padua, Cappella degli Scrovegni.

4.2.2. The grisaille **Annunciation**

The application of grisaille on the outer wings of triptychs was already present in, for example, the Ghent Altarpiece by the Van Eyck brothers and the previously-mentioned Beaune Altarpiece by Rogier van der Weyden. In the case of the Portinari Altarpiece, the wings depict an *Annunciation* (fig. 4.16). In his composition, Van der Goes plays with the illusion of painted stone, convincingly imitating marble while rendering figures that at the time would have been impossible to be replicated in actual marble. The artist depicted the Virgin on the left outer wing and the angel on the right, which is an inversion of the common narrative, normally moving from left to right. This detail reveals Hugo van der Goes' origin, since it was a common feature in Ghent art of the time.[528] The application of grisaille in the Portinari Altarpiece also provides a culminating effect between the monochrome on exterior and the colourful depiction on interior.[529]

Like the triptych format, the monochrome depiction of figures was not new in Italy. Both north and south of the Alps, the monochrome was initially used in painted frames and bases.[530] In the early fourteenth century, Giotto di Bondone employed this for his figures of

[528] Dhanens, *Hugo van der Goes*, pp. 270–73.
[529] Schmidt, *Painted Piety*, p. 56.
[530] Jennifer Sliwka, 'Monochromie und das Sakrale', in *Black & White. Von Dürer bis Elíasson* (London, The National Gallery, 30 October 2017–18 February 2018, Düsseldorf, Museum Kunstpalast, 22 March–15 July 2018), ed. by Lelia Packer and Jennifer Sliwka, Munich: Hirmer, 2017, 27–49 (p. 40).

the *Vices* and *Virtues* in the Scrovegni chapel (fig. 4.17).[531] In Florence artists like Taddeo Gaddi (c. 1290–1366) applied it. However, before the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece, it was exclusively done in fresco painting in Florence. After 1483, it appears both in painting and fresco, but most painted grisailles relate more closely to the tradition already present in Italy, than the one brought to Florence by northern examples. A striking example is Luca Signorelli's *Madonna and Child* which has a painted marble frame (fig. 4.18). This frame shows two writing prophets in round niches, with the figure of John the Baptist in between. Although the relationship between this work and the Portinari Altarpiece is distant at best, and still relates to the initial practice of employing grisaille for painted frames, the rendering of the figures and their shadows seems to refer to the manner in which the Ghent artist imitated sculpture.

Fig. 4.18. Luca Signorelli, *Madonna and Child*, first quarter of the sixteenth century, tempera on panel, 170 x 115 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

When focusing on *Annunciation* scenes on the outer wings of triptychs and diptychs, relating more directly to Van der Goes' prototype, few examples can be mentioned. After the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece, one workshop seems to have employed the grisaille *Annunciation* on the outside of smaller, portable altarpieces. Mariotto Albertinelli (1474–1515) had been a pupil in the workshop of Cosimo Rosselli (1439–1507) together with Fra

[531] Lelia Packer and Jennifer Sliwka (eds.), *Black & White. Von Dürer bis Elíasson* (London, The National Gallery, 30 October 2017–18 February 2018, Düsseldorf, Museum Kunstpalast, 22 March–15 July 2018), Munich: Hirmer, 2017, pp. 108–9.

Fig. 4.19. Mariotto Albertinelli, *Triptych with the Madonna and Child, closed*, 1500, tempera and oil on panel, 21,6 x 30,4 cm (opened). Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli.

Fig. 4.20. Fra Bartolommeo, *Two Panels of the Del Pugliese Tabernacle*, c. 1500, tempera on panel, 9 x 19,5 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Bartolommeo (1473–1517). The two pupils worked together in their own workshop between 1494 and 1500. Both Albertinelli and Fra Bartolommeo included a monochrome *Annunciation* on the outer wings of portable altarpieces, following northern models (figs. 4.19 and 4.20).[532] Even though the narrative of these *Annunciations* is in the standard form from left to right, and the rendering of the figures does not resemble statues, it seems that this application can be related to the Portinari Altarpiece.

Fra Bartolommeo certainly knew the Portinari Altarpiece, since he painted a fresco of the *Last Judgment* for the Santa Maria Nuova in 1499, when the triptych was already installed on the high altar. His *Annunciation* scene is included on the reverse of a diptych commissioned by Piero del Pugliese (1430–1498), showing the *Nativity* and the *Presentation in the Temple* on the inside. Both Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli interpreted the grisaille differently than Van der Goes, as it does not resemble or try to imitate marble, but rather shows the event in 'black and white'. Altogether, it seems therefore that the correlation between the arrival of Van der Goes' altarpiece in Florence and the employment of grisaille in

[532] Rohlmann, 'Flanders and Italy', p. 49.

Florentine painting can be distinguished predominantly in portable altarpieces. These monochrome *Annunciations* are rather variations or reworkings of the Netherlandish prototype, and as a result can be characterized as translations or adaptations of the model, rather than imitations or copies.[533]

4.2.3. The continuous narrative background

Moving to the interior of the altarpiece, the most extensive invention that is translated into Florentine art is the rendering of a continuous narrative in the landscape background. This phenomenon shows successive episodes of a single story, depicted together in the same picture plane with or without the repetition of figures. Landscape backgrounds are an integral part of Netherlandish painting, and artists like Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden

Fig. 4.21. Fra Bartolommeo, *Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist*, c. 1497, oil on gold and panel, 58,4 x 43,8 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 4.22. Workshop of Lorenzo di Credi, *Madonna and Child*, c. 1490–1500, tempera possibly mixed with oil on panel, 76,2 x 53,3 cm. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

[533] Ibid.

included landscapes as backgrounds in their compositions. These landscapes often contained decorative elements, such as watermills, small villages and pilgrims en route. This type of landscape background was continued by Hans Memling, whose watermill in the Pagagnotti Triptych was famously copied by Fra Bartolommeo and Lorenzo di Credi (figs. 4.21 and 4.22).

Hugo van der Goes' landscape background differs from this tradition, and the Portinari Altarpiece is one of the exceptional cases in which the landscape is filled with different scenes relating to the main subject. Starting on the left wing, the narrative winds across the three panels, to eventually end on the right wing. On the left wing, Joseph supports a pregnant Mary, walking in front of a donkey and coming down a mountain (fig. 4.23). The story then unwinds, with the midwives standing at a gate and the Annunciation of the Shepherds behind the main scene of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* on the central panel, and the arrival of the Magi on the right wing (figs. 4.24, 4.11 and 4.12). These smaller scenes, in addition to expanding the main narrative of the triptych with additional episodes, also enlarge the overall narrative shown on the frescoed walls of the chapel, depicting scenes that were not represented in this cycle.

Fig. 4.23. Hugo van der Goes, *The Portinari Altarpiece. Detail: Mary and Joseph,* c. 1476–78, oil on panel, 274 x 652 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Fig. 4.24. Hugo van der Goes, *The Portinari Altarpiece. Detail: Midwives,* c. 1476–78, oil on panel, 274 x 652 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Continuous narrative landscapes are first and predominantly found in manuscript illumination produced in the second half of the fifteenth century in the Southern Netherlands and Northern France, but can also be found in early German engravings and Northern European altarpieces depicting a populous Mount Calvary.[534] That Van der Goes might have picked up this compositional invention from illuminators becomes more plausible when taking into account his close contacts with this group of artists in Ghent. Together with Justus van Gent (c. 1410–c. 1480), Van der Goes had been a sponsor of Alexander Bening (d. 1519) when the latter entered the Ghent painters' guild. In addition, Alexander Bening married Katherine van der Goes, either Hugo's sister or niece, and was the father of Simon Bening.[535] Both Alexander and Simon were predominantly active as illuminators, and it is likely that Van der Goes collaborated with them on occasion. It might be that he adapted the invention of continuous narrative from one of these artists.

One of the Italian artists employing the pictorial device of continuous narrative before the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece in Florence was Benozzo Gozzoli, pupil of Fra Angelico. He is best known for his earlier-mentioned frescoes of the procession of the Magi for the Medici chapel in Palazzo Medici Riccardi. Examples of continuous narrative in the oeuvre of Gozzoli can be found in the frescoes in San Gimignano, depicting the life of Saint Augustine, where multiple moments are shown on the same picture plane. Another is the

[534] An example of this is the Brussels *La Fleur des Histoires*, a manuscript dating between 1450 and 1458 and from the collection of the Burgundian Duke Philip the Good (1396–1467). In nearly eighty percent of the miniatures from the *Fleur*, the landscape is filled with multiple historical events, depicted in various geographical settings and buildings. The placement of these events in different locations within a single miniature enables it to show multiple events separated by time, much like Van der Goes does in his altarpiece. The *Fleur* is furthermore interesting when discussing this invention by Van der Goes, since several of the miniatures displaying continuous narrative were painted by the artist Simon Marmion (c. 1425–1489). These two artists probably knew each other's work, and the relationship between Marmion and Van der Goes is illustrated by the Marmion's workshop copy of the latter's *Death of the Virgin*. For further reference, see Lisa Deam, 'Landscape into History: The Miniatures of the *Fleur des Histoires* (Brussels, B.R. ms. 9231-9232)', in *Regions and Landscapes. Reality and Imagination in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Ainsworth and Tom Scott, Bern: Peter Lang, 2000, 113–37 (p. 119).

[535] Maryan W. Ainsworth, '"Diverse patterns pertaining to the crafts of painters or illuminators": Gerard David and the Bening Workshop', *Master Drawings* 41:3 (themed issue: Early Netherlandish Drawings) (2003), pp. 240–65 (p. 241). Dates of birth and death of Katherine van der Goes are unknown, and whether she was Hugo's sister or niece remains unclear as well.

Fig. 4.25. Benozzo Gozzoli, *The Feast of Herod and the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*, 1461–62, tempera on panel, 23,8 x 34,5 cm. Washington, National Gallery of Art.

Descent from the Cross from the collection of Museo Horne in Florence, and the last is *The Feast of Herod and the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (fig. 4.25). In the latter, the beheading of Saint John the Baptist is depicted on the left half of the composition, while in the middle Salome dances in front of Herod, and in the background, the head of the Baptist is presented to Herodias.

It proves difficult to determine where exactly the pictorial device of continuous narrative in landscape backgrounds originated. Even though Gozzoli employed it in his compositions, it is not seen often with other Italian artists from the fifteenth century, and it seems that there was an upsurge in the application of it in altarpieces painted by Florentine artists shortly after the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece in 1483. Almost all leading workshops produced works depicting smaller narratives in a landscape background, relating to the main subject. One artist worth mentioning here, is again Domenico Ghirlandaio. In his

Fig. 4.26. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1485, distemper on panel, 167 x 167 cm. Florence, Basilica of Santa Trinità.

altarpiece for the Sassetti Chapel showing the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Ghirlandaio relied most heavily on the artistic inventions of Van der Goes (fig. 4.26). In this composition, Ghirlandaio included a form of continuous narrative. In the left upper corner, the Annunciation of the Shepherds is shown, with shepherds in a landscape and an angel flowing in to announce the birth of Christ.

But this is not the only instance in which the artist employed this compositional motif. Between 1485 and 1488, Ghirlandaio painted an altarpiece depicting the *Adoration of the Magi* for the Florentine Ospedale degli Innocenti (fig. 4.27). This *pala* was commissioned by

Francesco di Giovanni Tesori, prior of the Ospedale, who signed a detailed contract with Ghirlandaio regarding the commission of an altarpiece for the high altar of the annexed church of Santa Maria degli Innocenti.[536] This altarpiece portrays the *Adoration of the Magi* as its central scene, but in the left and right background, smaller narratives are depicted. On the left half of the composition, the Massacre of the Innocents is shown, referring to the name of the hospital, while on the right side of the panel again the Annunciation of the Shepherds is

Fig. 4.27. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1485–88, tempera on panel, 285 x 243 cm. Florence, Ospedale degli Innocenti.

[536] Michael Rohlmann, 'Luoghi del paragone. La ricezione del Trittico Portinari nell'arte fiorentina', in *Firenze e gli antichi Paesi Bassi 1430-1530. Dialoghi tra artisti: da Jan van Eyck a Ghirlandaio, da Memling a Raffaello..*, ed. by Bert W. Meijer, Livorno: Sillabe s.r.l., 2008, 66–83 (p. 75). The dates of birth and death of Francesco di Giovanni Tesori are unknown.

depicted, similar to Van der Goes' rendering.

For this same location, Piero di Cosimo, together with Andrea della Robbia (1435–1525), produced an altarpiece for the politician Piero del Pugliese, in which references to the Portinari Altarpiece can also be detected (figs. 4.28 and 4.29). This is the second instance in which a painting commissioned by Del Pugliese referenced the Portinari Altarpiece, the first being the monochrome *Annunciation* on the outside of the diptych painted by Fra Bartolommeo. It might therefore be that the Portinari Altarpiece was explicitly mentioned by the patron as a model, but unfortunately, no contracts survive. In the background of his *Sacra Conversazione*, Piero di Cosimo included a group consisting of a figure seated on a donkey and a figure leading them along the road. This might refer to the Flight into Egypt, and could be a variant of Joseph and Mary coming down the mountain in Van der Goes' altarpiece. Another parallel between the Portinari Altarpiece and the altarpiece for Piero del Pugliese, consisting of a novel interpretation of the format, can be found in the following. As mentioned, it was a

Fig. 4.28. Piero di Cosimo, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, 1493, oil and tempera on panel, 203 x 197 cm. Florence, Ospedale degli Innocenti.

Fig. 4.29. Andrea della Robbia, *Annunciation*, date unknown, terracotta, dimensions unknown. Florence, Ospedale degli Innocenti.

Fig. 4.30. Piero di Cosimo, *Nativity with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, c. 1495–1505, oil on canvas, 145,7 cm diameter. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art.

common Italian practice to cover altarpieces with either a canvas or a cloth when it was not used for liturgical practices. When Piero's altarpiece was covered, the only image visible was the terracotta sculpture of the *Annunciation* by Andrea della Robbia, crowning the painted panel (fig. 4.29). This again is reminiscent of the situation surrounding the Portinari Altarpiece, where the closed state of the triptych also only showed an *Annunciation*, this time in imitated sculpture. It is therefore highly likely that the Portinari Altarpiece served as a model in the commission by Del Pugliese, but that both Piero di Cosimo and Andrea della Robbia were given the freedom to interpret the aspects of this Netherlandish triptych in their own manner. Although completely different in terms of execution, the result is remarkably similar.

This is not the only instance where Piero di Cosimo included continuous narrative as a compositional motif. Several of his *tondi* show narrative scenes in the background. One example is the tondo depicting the *Nativity*, nowadays at the National Gallery of Art in Washington (fig. 4.30). In this composition, Piero included the Arrival of the Magi on the left side of the background, similar to Van der Goes' rendering. In addition to works destined for the private sphere, Piero also included continuous narrative in additional altarpieces. Two examples worth mentioning here, are the *Immaculate Conception*, painted for the Tedaldi chapel in the Santissima Annunziata, and the *Visitation*, destined for the church of Santo

Spirito (figs. 4.31 and 4.32). In the *Immaculate Conception*, Piero included two additional scenes in the background. On the left, he rendered a Nativity, which seems an adaptation from Van der Goes' main scene, showing the Virgin and Joseph in a kneeled position and the Christ Child lying on the ground. On the right, Piero portrayed a Flight into Egypt.

In the Santo Spirito *Visitation*, Piero included the Adoration of the Shepherds on the left and the Massacre of the Innocents on the right. The Adoration scene again seems to refer to the Portinari Adoration. Both the Virgin and Joseph are kneeling and hunched over the Christ Child, who lies on Mary's blue robe. From the right, the shepherds enter the scene. The shepherd standing closest holds his hands in a prayer position, similar to Van der Goes' version. The Massacre of the Innocents can be related to Ghirlandaio's rendering in the altarpiece for the Ospedale degli Innocenti, which Piero di Cosimo certainly knew.

A last example worth mentioning here is the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, an altarpiece painted by Lorenzo di Credi for the nuns of Santa Chiara in Florence (fig. 4.33). In addition to

Fig. 4.31. Piero di Cosimo, *Immaculate Conception*, 1485–1505, tempera on panel, 206 x 172 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Fig. 4.32. Piero di Cosimo, *Visitation with Saint Nicholas and Saint Anthony Abbot*, c. 1489–90, oil on panel, 184,2 x 188,6 cm. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art.

the rendering of the shepherds, which will be discussed in more detail later on, Lorenzo added a small narrative scene in the right background. Here, he depicted the Annunciation of the Shepherds, relating it to both Van der Goes' inclusion of the scene and Ghirlandaio's versions for the Sassetti Chapel and the main altarpiece in the Ospedale degli Innocenti.

Fig. 4.33. Lorenzo di Credi, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1510, oil on panel, 224 x 196 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

4.2.4. The shepherds

One of the most characteristic artistic inventions by Hugo van der Goes is the way in which he depicted the male figure. Sometimes called the 'proletarian type', Van der Goes paid special attention to the strong and detailed facial features, with hollow cheeks and prominent cheekbones.[537] In multiple artworks, including the Portinari Altarpiece, Van der Goes painted peasants and shepherds as coarse figures, with emphasis on their muscular hands. Moreover, he repeated these figures in several of his compositions, as is

Fig. 4.34. Hugo van der Goes, *Death of the Virgin*, c. 1472–80, oil on panel, 147,8 x 122,5 cm. Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

[537] Dhanens, *Hugo van der Goes*, pp. 157, 245, 279; Benoît Boëlens van Waesberghe, *European Master Drawings Unveiled. Van der Goes. Michelangelo. Van Goyen. Fragonard and other masters from Belgian Collections*, (Rotterdam, Kunsthal, 29 September–8 December 2002), Ghent/Amsterdam: Ludion, 2002, p. 14.

evidenced by the repetition of the older male figure on the right inner wing of the Portinari Altarpiece, showing a page of the Magi the way to the Christ Child. This figure is repeated behind the bed in the composition of Van der Goes' *Death of the Virgin* (fig. 4.34). These figural types cannot be traced back to any predecessors, and it is most likely that with the instalment of the Portinari Altarpiece in Sant'Egidio, this was the first example of this figural type in Florence.[538]

Not surprisingly, this type also serves as the most recognisable element from the triptych when investigating the assimilation of details from the Portinari Altarpiece by Florentine artists. Not only is this figure easily recognizable and is the Portinari Altarpiece undoubtedly the source for Florentine artists, it also relates to the fact that the scene of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in its entirety was less common as a subject for Florentine altarpieces before 1483. Instead, the chronologically later scene of the *Adoration of the Magi* was much more regularly painted, something that can be explained by the earlier-mentioned fact that it was a subject closely associated with the Medici.[539] After the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece, the increase in paintings depicting the *Adoration of the Shepherds* is evident, which directly resulted in to the increase of this 'Goesian' figural type in Florentine art.

The best-known adaptation is Domenico Ghirlandaio's version of the shepherds on the Sassetti Altarpiece, and it has become a standard art historical example of the influence of Van der Goes' altarpiece in Florence (fig. 4.26). However, these figures are far from copies of Van der Goes' original. Contrary to Van der Goes' figures, who appear to be in motion and stumbling into the scene, Ghirlandaio's shepherds are more static. The Florentine figures do not stand out for their ruggedness or ugliness, like their Flemish prototypes do. The figure that

[538] Ibid.
[539] Burke, *Changing Patrons*, pp. 112–13; Trexler, *Public Life*, p. 423–24; Hatfield, 'The Compagnia de' Magi', p. 136–37.

Fig. 4.35. Workshop of Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Nativity*, 1486, oil on panel, 27 x 65,5 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.

is closest comparable, is the shepherd in the foreground of Ghirlandaio's altarpiece. In both the nothern and the Florentine example, this shepherd kneels with downcast eyes, gazing towards the Christ Child and holding his hands in a prayer position. Contrary to Van der Goes, the left shepherd in Ghirlandaio's composition acts as a mediator, guiding the gaze of both the other shepherds and the viewer to the central image, by pointing towards the Christ Child. Ghirlandaio painted this subject at least one additional time, on the *predella* of a lost altarpiece. This altarpiece was commissioned by Filippo Strozzi the Elder (1428–1491) between 1487 and 1488, who was the branch manager of the Medici bank in Naples (fig. 4.35).[540] The scene depicted on this panel is a combination of the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Shepherds, in which Filippo Strozzi appears in the guise of one of the shepherds on the right half of the panel.

However, this is not the only instance in which a Florentine artist rendered his own version of shepherds. Returning to the altarpiece painted for Santa Chiara, Lorenzo di Credi rendered his own version of the figures on the left side of the composition (fig. 4.33). Here again, the shepherds seem to have been adapted from Van der Goes' prototype, but not copied

[540] Burke, *Changing Patrons*, p. 110.

Fig. 4.36. Luca Signorelli, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1490–1510, oil on panel, 17,1 x 64,8 cm. London, National Gallery.

one on one. Interestingly, the figure closest to its northern example is, again, the kneeling shepherd, this time placed closest to the Christ Child. The positions of the hands are similar to that of the shepherd in Van der Goes' and Ghirlandaio's example. For this figure, Lorenzo di Credi remained closer to the prototype, since the pose of his figure, kneeling on one knee, corresponds to Van der Goes' rendering. This pose is repeated by Luca Signorelli, who includes the group of three shepherds in his composition of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 4.36). The two shepherds in the front kneel in a similar way and hold their hands in the same pose, referring back to the previously mentioned examples.

A last example is the *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Piero di Cosimo, formerly in Berlin, but unfortunately destroyed in 1945 (fig. 4.37). Instead of three shepherds, Piero depicted two, surrounding Joseph. The shepherd in the foreground kneels and takes off his straw hat. This hat is similar to the hat that the right shepherd holds to his chest in Van der Goes' composition, and it is probable that Piero adapted this motif from the Portinari Altarpiece.[541] Additionally, the pose of the standing shepherds, with his hands together in prayer, resembles both the Netherlandish and Florentine renderings of the figural type.

[541] Bert W. Meijer, 'Piero di Cosimo e l'arte del Nord', in *Piero di Cosimo 1462-1522. Pittore eccentrico fra Rinascimento e Maniera* (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 23 June–27 September 2015), ed. by Elena Capretti et al., Florence: Giunti Editore S.p.A., 2015, 134–47 (p. 139)

This notable increase of altarpieces and paintings depicting the *Adoration of the Shepherds* possibly suggests that, contrary to the *Adoration of the Magi*, the former composition became a subject that was associated with bankers and banking families. As mentioned, many bankers were concerned for their soul, and a way to counteract their sins was through acts of charity, often by donating artworks to the church or commissioning chapels. The *Adoration of the Shepherds* was a subject that focused on poverty and humility, and as such might have appealed to the bankers as a subject for their altarpieces. In addition to Portinari, Francesco Sassetti and Filippo Strozzi also commissioned altarpieces with this subject, and all three acted as managers of the Medici bank. In Strozzi's case, he even had himself portrayed as one of the shepherds, and as such humbled himself. The sentiment of the Portinari Altarpiece, as well as the Italian versions of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, can be interpreted as idealizations of poverty, and as such could have become a special theme for bankers, which perfectly portrayed their humility.[542]

Fig. 4.37. Piero di Cosimo, *Nativity*, c. 1510, oil on panel, 132 x 147 cm. Lost in 1945, formerly Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen.

4.2.5. Still life

One last detail from the Portinari Altarpiece that has received much scholarly attention is the flower still life on the foreground of the central panel (fig. 4.38). One of the most extensive

[542] Wolfthal, 'Florentine Bankers', p. 6.

articles discussing this detail was written by Robert A. Koch, in which he discussed the symbolism represented by both the flowers and the vases.[543] The flowers in the Portinari Altarpiece are in line with a fifteenth-century Flemish tradition. Artists like Robert Campin, Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden included flower still lifes in their works. The flowers on Van der Goes' triptych are easily identifiable, and all except the fire lily are commonly depicted in fifteenth-century painting.[544]

Fig. 4.38. Hugo van der Goes, *The Portinari Altarpiece. Detail: Still Life,* c. 1476–78, oil on panel, 274 x 652 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

In the Portinari Altarpiece, the left vase is a Spanish *albarello*, containing lilies and irises. Two of these irises are white, which is the variety *Florentina*, resembling the city of Florence, and one is a blueish purple, which is the variety *Germanica*.[545] On the right, a vase from Venetian ripple glass contains a blue columbine and three crimson carnation blossoms. Additionally, twenty violets are strewn across the ground, of which seventeen are blue and three are white. The flowers are thought to reference multiple aspects of the Virgin, such as her humility, the sword that pierces the Mater Dolorosa, and the Seven Sorrows.[546] If interpreted this way, the flowers can be seen as the healing power of religion, while the glass and earthenware vases can be interpreted as referring to physical medicine. The *albarello* was one of the most common containers used for storing medicine in a hospital's apothecary's workshop, while the Venetian ripple glass would refer to the vessels from which patients drank.[547] Although the insertion of a flower still life motif was already done by Italian artists before the arrival of the

[543] Robert A. Koch, 'Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altar', *The Art Bulletin* 46:1 (1964), pp. 70–77.
[544] Ibid., p. 71.
[545] Information about the identification of the flowers is derived from Koch, 'Flower Symbolism', pp. 70–77.
[546] Henderson, 'Healing the body', p. 202.
[547] Ibid.

Portinari Altarpiece in Florence, Hugo van der Goes' version differs from these precedents in the choice of vases.[548]

This symbolic inclusion of flowers in the composition of the Portinari Altarpiece inspired Florentine artists to render their own versions. One famous example is the Bardi Altarpiece by Sandro Botticelli, nowadays in Berlin, but originally painted for the Bardi chapel in Santo Spirito in Florence. This painting was finished in 1485, so only two years after Van der Goes' triptych was placed on the main altar of Sant'Egidio. In the Bardi Altarpiece, Botticelli included four vases containing various flowers, amongst others the white lily. Across the vases and attached to the flowers, multiple banderoles with liturgical texts are depicted, connecting the flowers with the respective liturgy.[549] This suggests that the contemporary Florentine viewer might have been aware of the symbolic character of the flowers, thus interpreting the flowers in the Portinari Altarpiece as such as well.[550]

Fig. 4.39. Luca Signorelli, *Pala Sant'Onofrio*, 1484, tempera on panel, 221 x 189 cm. Perugia, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.

Various other Florentine artists portrayed flower still lifes, resembling the Flemish prototype more closely. One example can be found in Luca Signorelli's altarpiece of 1484,

548 Rohlmann, 'Luoghi del paragone', p. 66.
549 Koster, *Hugo van der Goes*, p. 143.
550 Ibid., p. 144.

which was displayed in the Cathedral of Perugia (fig. 4.39). In this composition, portraying a *Sacra Conversazione*, Signorelli included a small glass tumbler with flowers, similar in placement and form to Van der Goes' rendition. Although flower still lifes were already inserted into compositions of the Virgin, such as the *Sacra Conversazione* or the *Annunciation*, Van der Goes is the first to display the flowers in a clear glass vase, and it is highly probable that Signorelli adapted the motif from this altarpiece, arriving in his native city only a year prior to finishing his altarpiece.[551] Similar to the flowers strewn across the foreground of the Portinari Altarpiece, Piero di Cosimo depicted blossoms and sprigs of flowers in his previously mentioned *Sacra Conversazione* for the Ospedale degli Innocenti and *Visitation* for Santo Spirito.

One other aspect from the Portinari Altarpiece regularly adapted by Florentine artists is the sheaf of wheat, depicted behind the flower still life. When comparing works that are nowadays accepted as autograph works by Hugo van der Goes, several elements reoccur multiple times, in earlier as well as later works, and the sheaf of grain is one of these details. It is associated with the Eucharist, the body of Christ, and occurs in both the Portinari Altarpiece and the later Berlin *Adoration of the Shepherds*.[552] In the Netherlands, this motif was copied by followers of Van der Goes in later paintings, and as such was probably a motif associated with the Ghent artist. It seems that in Florence, the Portinari Altarpiece was the first introduction of this detail.

In all of the abovementioned Florentine paintings depicting a *Nativity* or an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, this motif is copied or adapted. Luca Signorelli, in his *Adoration of the Shepherds* currently in the London National Gallery, employed the motif as a pillow for the Christ Child, instead of depicting it as a still life element (fig. 4. 36). This rendering remains

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[551] Rohlmann, 'Luoghi del paragone', p. 66.

[552] Barbara G. Lane, '"Ecce Panis Angelorum": The Manger as Altar in Hugo's Berlin *Nativity*', *The Art Bulletin* 57:4 (1975), pp. 476–86 (p. 479). John 6:51-52: 'I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give for the life of the world is my flesh.'

close to the prototype. In most cases, however, the sheaf of wheat is depicted underneath the blue robe of the Virgin, which together serve as a pillow for the Christ Child. This version can be seen in Piero di Cosimo's Washington *Nativity* and Berlin *Adoration of the Shepherds*, as well as Lorenzo di Credi's Santa Chiara Altarpiece (figs. 4.30, 4.33 and 4.37).

To conclude, we return to the chapel with which this analysis started, namely the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinità (fig. 4.26). In his *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Ghirlandaio rendered his own version of Van der Goes' still life, incorporating both the flower element and the sheaf of grain, but transforming them into a completely different composition. In the central foreground of the altarpiece, Ghirlandaio painted a goldfinch, referring to the Passion of Christ, a small stone, translated into Italian as *sasso* – which most probably refers to the commissioner Sassetti –, and an iris on the far right, symbolising the Virgin's sorrow and referring to Van der Goes' inclusion of the flower.[553] Ghirlandaio did not omit the sheaf of wheat, but depicted it underneath the robe of the Virgin, similar to the previously mentioned versions by Piero di Cosimo and Lorenzo di Credi. Nonetheless, this could have still served as a reference to the Eucharist. The combination of the Passion of Christ and the Eucharist is not unique, and would have made sense to the contemporary viewer.

It seems that the motif of the sheaf of grain appealed to Ghirlandaio, or at least his workshop. It is repeated in the aforementioned *Nativity* from his workshop, painted for Filippo Strozzi in 1486 (fig. 4.35).[554] On this panel, Mary is kneeling in adoration towards the Christ Child, with her hands in prayer and downcast eyes, positioned on hay. Joseph is seated on the left side of the composition, and on the right, a shepherd is depicted in profile, in a position similar to Van der Goes' kneeled shepherd. The other two shepherds are inserted into

[553] Paula Nuttall, 'Domenico Ghirlandaio and northern art; , *Apollo* 143:412 (1996), pp. 16–22 (p. 20).
[554] Information regarding this painting is derived from the website of Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen: <https://www.boijmans.nl/collectie/kunstwerken/3858/de-geboorte-van-christus> (Accessed 07-02-2021).

the composition as well, one exiting a stable on the right and one on the left, during the Annunciation.

4.3. Comparing Sources

Taking into account the previously mentioned works by Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memling present in Florence, the question arises whether the Portinari Altarpiece played an exceptional role within the Florentine artistic milieu as a source, or rather fits into a larger corpus of Northern European artistic sources from which Florentine artists drew simultaneously. Although the systematic investigation of the different details from Van der Goes' altarpiece shows that many of the artistic details from the triptych were adapted or translated by contemporary Florentine artists, this was not strictly limited to the Portinari Altarpiece. Looking more closely to the artistic production of the leading Florentine workshops between 1470 and 1510, it becomes apparent that other Northern European artworks served as sources for both entire compositions and smaller motifs as well, sometimes even in tandem with the adaptations from the Portinari Altarpiece.

This can be seen most clearly in the oeuvre of Domenico Ghirlandaio. Even though his works produced at the end of the fifteenth century show the most adaptations from the Portinari Altarpiece in comparison to his local contemporaries, it can be argued that the works by Hans Memling present in Florence served an ever bigger artistic source for Ghirlandaio to draw from. For example, even though it is true that Van der Goes' altarpiece is the first instance where continuous narrative was introduced to the Florentine viewer on such a monumental scale, landscape backgrounds were already included in Florentine portraiture and religious painting fairly frequently. For a *Madonna and Child* (fig. 4.40), Ghirlandaio did not refer to Hugo van der Goes for his landscape background, but instead adapted the background

of Memling's *Portrait of a Young Man*, which shows a landscape vista behind a marble column (fig. 4.6).

Moreover, Ghirlandaio seems to have been interested in Northern European art already at an early stage of his career. When the artist received the commission for a fresco in the Church of Ognissanti by the Vespucci family in 1480, he adapted one of the most prized possessions from the collection of the Medici: Jan van Eyck's *Saint Jerome in his Study* (fig. 4.41). The close similarity between Ghirlandaio's fresco and the painting by a follower of Van Eyck in Detroit confirms that the Florentine must have seen the Medici painting (fig. 4.4). Additionally, Ghirlandaio referenced another work that was supposedly in the Medici collection, namely Van der Weyden's *Lamentation of Christ*. He painted this fresco for the same Vespucci family chapel, and rendered several of his figures after the northern example.[555]

Additionally, Ghirlandaio employed printed material by contemporary Northern European artists of Van der Goes in his workshop. This is evidenced by the well-known passage from the life of

Fig. 4.40. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Madonna and Child*, c. 1475–80, oil on panel, 78,7 x 55,5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

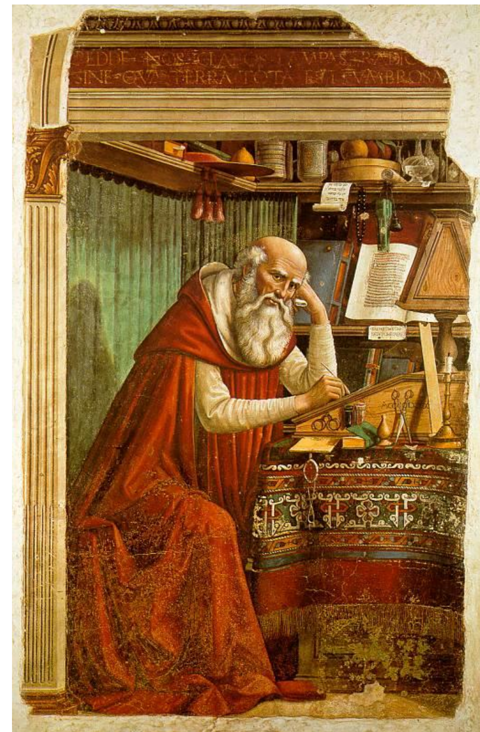

Fig. 4.41. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Saint Jerome in his Study*, 1480, fresco, 184 x 119 cm. Florence, Church of Ognissanti.

[555] Kecks, *Domenico Ghirlandaio*, p. 83.

Michelangelo Buonarroti, in which Vasari writes that during his time as a pupil in the workshop of Ghirlandaio, Michelangelo copied Martin Schongauer's *Temptation of Saint Anthony*.[556] Lastly, Ghirlandaio copied the *Man of Sorrows Blessing* by Hans Memling. In this copy the only difference between the copy and the prototype is the medium in which it is painted (figs. 4.42 and 4.43).[557] These works were all produced around the same time that

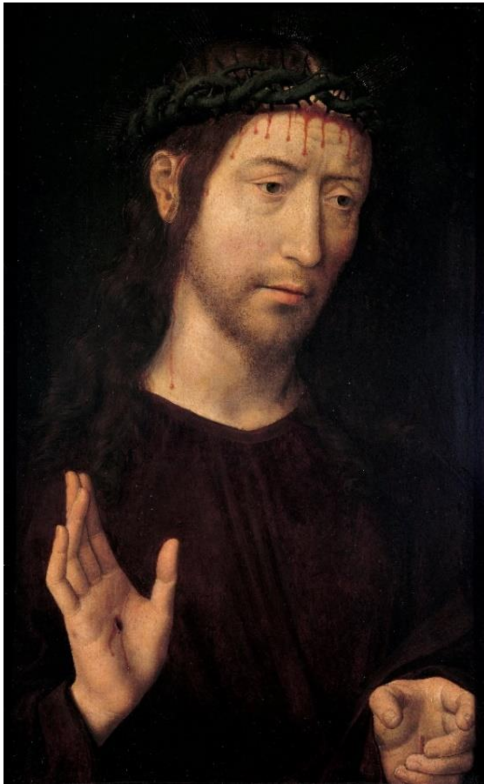

Fig. 4.42. Hans Memling, *Man of Sorrows Blessing*, c. 1480–90, oil on panel, 53,4 x 39,1 cm. Genoa, Musei di Strada Nuova.

Fig. 4.43. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Man of Sorrows Blessing*, c. 1490, tempera on panel, 54,3 x 33,7 cm. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917.

[556] Vasari wrongfully attributes the engraving to Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). '[…] perché in Michele Agnolo faceva ogni dí frutti piú divini che umani, come apertamente cominciò a dimostrarsi nel ritratto che e' fece d'una carta di Alberto Durero, che gli dette nome grandissimo. Imperoché, essendo venuta in Firenze una istoria del detto Alberto, quando i diavoli battono Santo Antonio, stampata in rame, Michele Agnolo la ritrasse di penna, di maniera che non era conosciuta, e quella medesima coi colori dipinse […]', Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite*, 1550 (1986), p. 882. This anecdote is later repeated by Ascanio Condivi (1525–1574), who mentions Ghirlandaio by name and rightfully attributes the engraving to Martin Schongauer. 'Et essendogli messa inanzi dal Granacci una carta stampata, dove era ritratta la storia di santo Antonio quand' è battuto da Diavoli, della qual era autore un Martino d'Ollandia, huomo per quel tempo valente, la fece in una tavola di legno et accomodato dal medesimo di colori et di pennegli, talmente la compose e distinse, che non solamente porse maraviglia à chiunche la vedde, ma ancho in vidia, come alcuni vogliano, a Domenico, piu pregiato Pittore di quella età, come in altre cose di poi si puote manifestamente conoscere.' Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, Rome, 1553, ed. by Charles Davis, Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek der Universität Heidelberg, 2009, pp. 13–14.

[557] Ghirlandaio painted his copy in tempera. Paula Nuttall, 'Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting: Relationships and Responses', in *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting*, (San Marino, The Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, 28 September 2013–13 January 2014), San Marino: The Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, 2013, 14–51 (p. 31).

Ghirlandaio adapted motifs from the Portinari Altarpiece to varying degrees.

Returning to the lost Berlin *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Piero di Cosimo provides a last interesting example where, in the same composition, motifs from the Portinari Altarpiece were adapted together with motifs from other Northern European artworks (fig. 4.37). In addition to Piero's translation of Van der Goes' shepherds on the left, he adapted the cow lying in the stable on the right from an engraving by Ludwig Schongauer, the brother of Martin (fig. 4.44). This suggests that the employment of Northern European engravings in Florentine workshops was a common practice, and in this case was used in tandem with the adaptation of motifs from a painted northern example for the construction of Piero's composition.

4.4. A Reassessment

Judging from these cases, the presence of an abundance of Netherlandish art in Florence before and after the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece cannot be underestimated. Paintings by Hans Memling, Rogier van der Weyden, Jan van Eyck and lesser known Netherlandish artists were highly desirable, present in some of the most esteemed collections, and works from these workshops were imported from the Netherlands fairly frequently. As a result, the large altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes was not an exceptional example of Netherlandish art in Florence. Nonetheless, its placement in a public church resulted in multiple adaptations by contemporary Florentine artists. Even though the adaptations of

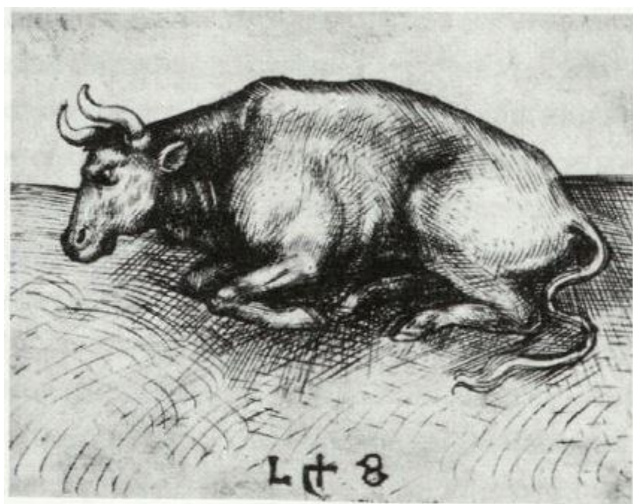

Fig. 4.44. Ludwig Schongauer, *Cow*, date unknown, engraving, dimensions unknown. Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel.

different details of the Portinari Altarpiece were never exact copies, but were rather altered to fit into a Florentine idiom, the various details are in most cases easily traced back to the Netherlandish prototype.

This transformation of compositional motifs into a more local style is in line with the more general practice of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Florentine artists. When composing images, artists often quoted and transformed prototypes alongside the application of patterns and models.[558] In the case of Netherlandish paintings, Florentine artists adapted various details in a variety of ways. The role of these Northern European artworks as artistic sources is multifaceted, and the adaptations range from copies of entire compositions or citations of specific motifs, to variations or reworkings of the theme or the models.[559] This practice of transforming the Netherlandish motifs into a recognizably Florentine style could be seen as Florentine artists striving to emulate the northern prototype. This approach is often related to the literary terms of *imitatio, variatio*, and *aemulatio*. These distinctions could partly explain the simultaneous copying of both details and entire compositions of Hans Memling and inventions from German engravings, as well as adapting or translating of the motifs from Hugo van der Goes' altarpiece.

The fact that the details of the Portinari Altarpiece were never exactly copied possibly relates to another notable fact. Whereas Hans Memling was still known by name during the sixteenth century, the name Hugo van der Goes is virtually unknown in Italian contemporary writing. When Albertini writes his guide of Florence in 1510, he describes the altarpiece as Flemish.[560] Later in the sixteenth century, Vasari wrongfully calls him 'Ugo d'Anversa' and in the seventeenth century, the altarpiece is attributed to Italian artists. Consequently, soon after the arrival of the Portinari Altarpiece in Florence, its Netherlandish origin was virtually

[558] Rohlmann, 'Zitate flämischer Landschaftsmotive', pp. 241–42.
[559] Rohlmann, 'Flanders and Italy', p. 49.
[560] Albertini, *Memoriale*, p. 13.

forgotten. As such, it seems unlikely that commissioners referred to this triptych for its association with Van der Goes. Strikingly, in Netherlandish writings, the existence of the Portinari Altarpiece is not acknowledged. There are only a few written records regarding Van der Goes' life and work in general, and the chroniclers who do write about him, Lucas d'Heere (1534–1584) and Marcus van Vaernewijck, fail to mention the important commission the artist received from Tommaso Portinari.[561] Even though they did know Vasari's *Vite* and supposedly read these biographies before writing their own, they did not identify 'Ugo d'Anversa' as Hugo van der Goes and failed to link the Portinari Altarpiece to the oeuvre of the Ghent artist.[562] Even Gaspar Ofhuys, Van der Goes' fellow novice at Rooklooster Abbey, seems unaware of the prestigious commission. This seems all the more striking, since Lodovico Guicciardini, when writing about the Netherlands and its artists, still knows that a certain 'Ugo d'Anversa' painted the altarpiece in Santa Maria Nuova.[563]

What becomes clear from the systematic analysis of the various motifs from the Portinari Altarpiece, and the analysis of additional Northern European works in Florence, is that the citations of different motifs from the Portinari Altarpiece are generally translations rather than exact copies. This fits a enduring tradition present in Florence, where artists often gathered and reworked details from contemporary and ancient artworks for their own compositions, and by doing so possibly strove to emulate the prototype. The fact that Hugo van der Goes as author of the Portinari Altarpiece was forgotten shortly after its arrival in Florence, and that the triptych instead was soon characterized as a work by a local artist, makes the treatment of details from the altarpiece even more understandable and fitting with this common local practice. Nonetheless, despite the abundance of Northern European source material available to Florentine artists during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and

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[561] Dhanens, *Hugo van der Goes*, p. 396, docs. 38–41.
[562] Ibid., p. 17; Kleine Deters, '"Paintings that can give great joy"', pp. 89–145.
[563] Guicciardini, *Descrittone di Tutti i Paesi Bassi*, p. 98.

although the transformations most of the motifs went through when adapted by Florentine artists, the impact of the Portinari Altarpiece on their artistic production is to this day clearly distinguishable.

5. Conclusion

This dissertation started out with the comparison between a Netherlandish and an Italian portrait of a blessing Christ which looked remarkably similar (figs. 5.1 and 5.2). Completed only approximately fifteen years apart, the composition and iconography of the paintings are identical. Even though the two artists, Hans Memling and Antonello da Messina, never met, the iconographical invention of the figure of Christ with his right hand in a blessing gesture and his left hand resting on the frame or parapet migrated from Northern to Southern Europe, and was successfully repeated by leading artists from both regions.

This case proved to be highly illustrative of this dissertation's main subject, namely the manner in which visual motifs migrated across Europe, and were adapted by local artists during the relatively short time span of approximately sixty years. In some cases, the

Fig. 5.1. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing*, 1481, oil on panel, 35,1 x 25,1 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 5.2. Antonello da Messina, Portrait of Christ Blessing, 1465, oil on panel, 38,7 x 29,8 cm. London, National Gallery.

migration resulted in a completely different interpretation of the motif in the region of arrival, or a loss of meaning altogether. It has therefore been more constructive in these cases to define these motifs as visual instead of iconographical, even though initially, they often had an iconographical meaning attached to them, such as, for example, the blessing Christ or the infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist from the first case study.

Contrary to many recent art historical studies on mobility and migration, the focus of this dissertation was relatively early, roughly between 1470 and 1530, with few exceptions both earlier and later. By taking distinct iconographies and visual motifs as the focal point, the exchange and connectivity between regions north and south of the Alps has become especially clear, since similar-looking motifs recur during similar timespans in both geographical areas. In general, the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries can be defined as a highly mobile period, both in terms of artists and artisans, such as Albrecht Dürer's sojourns to Italy and the Netherlands, and in terms of artworks. With this research project, it has become clear that the mobility of visual motifs benefits from both. By mapping the itineraries of motifs, the connections and migration patterns present in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can be clearly demonstrated.

The aim of this dissertation outlined in the introduction was to provide a more comprehensive understanding of artistic connections across Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by employing visual motifs and details as a method of demonstrating connectivity. Through the examination of both the national and international exchanges between artists, courts, merchants and bankers, better insight into the networks of migration, the manners of transmission and the links between workshops was provided, and different migration patterns were mapped in both northern and southern directions. Moreover, by taking into account materiality and contemporary descriptions of both artists and artworks, the aim was to discuss the various media-specific characteristics of migrating motifs.

Different Gradations in Alteration

The migration of artists and artworks both nationally and internationally was significant in the diffusion of iconographies and motifs, but was also subject to various causes. This was exemplified in the first case study, with the migration of Leonardo da Vinci from Florence to Milan. There, he introduced the motif of the infant Saint John the Baptist into the Milanese artistic environment, and as such initiated the transition of this motif from a locally concentrated iconography to a widely recognizable motif across European borders. In general, the migration and subsequent adaptation of visual motifs during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries happened in different gradations. In some cases, the entire composition was adapted, while in other cases only small details from the invention were translated.

This difference can be illustrated by juxtaposing the first and the third case study. In the first case study, the motif of the Holy Infants Embracing was isolated from Milanese compositions, and copied exactly into Netherlandish compositions by Joos van Cleve and his workshop, with only small differences detectable in terms of style. In the third case study, only smaller compositional details, such as the Annunciation to the Shepherds, derived from the background of Van der Goes' Portinari Altarpiece, were adapted by Florentine artists and transferred into their own compositions. In both cases, it is likely that the transferring of the motif happened through the intermediary of a drawing or cartoon. None of these sheets survive for either case, but with the help of infrared reflectography, the use of these artistic materials is confirmed in the case of the Holy Infants Embracing. The migration of these motifs thus also entailed the transferral of them into different media.

This translation into different media also resulted in differences in manner of adaptation. This is clearly illustrated in the second case study, where the adaptation of Martin Schongauer's *Engraved Passion* happened both in the same medium of engraving and in the media of fresco and panel painting. Interestingly, when investigating the Italian engravings in

which the German example is adapted, the prototype is often translated into a new subject. When Baccio Baldini produced his engraving of Daniel, he extracted the elements of the throne and rendered the pose of the figure after Schongauer's engraving of *Christ Before Pilate*. In transforming the figure of Pilate, he changed the subject from a frequently included scene in passion cycles into a figure that was often included in other types of print cycles, namely that of Prophets and Sibyls (figs. 5.3).

Fig. 5.3. Francesco Rosselli after Baccio Baldini, *Daniel*, c. 1480–90, engraving, 17,8 x 10,8 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

As mentioned, both in Italy and Spain, the prints by Martin Schongauer were copied in their entirety into a different medium, either in fresco or panel painting, changing very little in the composition and the design of the original German print. Contrary to what seems to happen when the Schongauer's motifs are adapted in the same medium, the subject and interpretation of the artwork often remains unchanged when Schongauer's print is used for its construction. For example, in the fresco cycle in Provesano, Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo copied five prints from the *Engraved Passion*, employing its narrative nature for his own purposes and successfully transmitting these narrative devices into a new medium. In Spain, something similar can be detected in panel painting destined to form one large *retablo*. Pedro Díaz de Oviedo, for example, adapted two prints from the *Engraved Passion*, of which his *Christ Before Pilate* is an almost exact copy. It seems, therefore, that the type of medium plays a role in the manner and the degree to which the original compositions are altered.

Changing Interpretations

In extension to this phenomenon where the same visual motifs are altered to fit compositions with different subjects, a change of meaning or subject can often be detected along migration routes. This is a phenomenon that is illustrated most clearly by the first and second case study. As mentioned, Baccio Baldini altered the composition of Schongauer's *Christ Before Pilate* in such a way that it no longer represented a scene from Christ's Passion, but instead depicted the prophet Daniel. Moreover, with this change, the motif of Pilate washing his hands became part of not a passion cycle, but instead a cycle of twenty-four Prophets and twelve Sibyls. Like Christ's Passion, this was a common subject for printed cycles, but, contrary to a cycle of Saints, Wise and Foolish Virgins, and Apostles, Schongauer himself never composed such a cycle of Prophets and Sibyls. This lack of direct prototypes from the oeuvre of Schongauer might explain in part why the print depicting Pilate was used for the figure of Daniel by Baldini. On the other hand, the composition, with the twisted body pose, might have been attractive regardless of the actual subject, and as such have been enough reason for Baldini to adapt it into his own composition.

Another example of this change of meaning, or interpretation, of a visual motif is the isolated motif of the Holy Infants Embracing. As has been mapped in the first case study, this motif was described in contemporary documents in several different geographic areas. In Milan, where the motif originated, it was still identified as a sacred subject, and was also commissioned as such. However, after crossing the Alps and entering the collection of Margaret of Austria, the motif lost this connotation altogether, and only rarely seems to be interpreted as sacred. Even though Margaret owned statues of the infant Christ, and had them categorized as such in her inventories, the painting representing the Holy Infants Embracing was characterized as 'Deux petitz josnes enffans', indicating that the painting was not recognized or appreciated for its original sacred subject matter, but for something else instead.

In consequence of both the changes or losses of subject matter in the first and second case studies, the action of migration from one geographic region to another did not only result in the transmission of a visual motif or invention into a new environment, but additionally often also entailed a topic transformation.

Collecting Data of Mobile Motifs

The mapping of the itineraries of the visual motifs presented in this dissertation, is indebted to the work of Aby Warburg, amongst others. The notions that were first proposed by Warburg, such as *Wanderstraße* or migratory paths of gestures stemming from antiquity and recurring in fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian art, have been adapted for the present research. For Warburg, the relatively novel medium of photography was invaluable and an essential component in his scholarly endeavours.[564] Especially for his *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, a project visualizing the 'Nachleben der Antike' on which he worked continuously, he collected illustrations and photographs, and reproduced both entire works of art and artistic details in his own photo laboratory.[565] He developed his theories with the help of this medium, and arranged the reproductions of multiple works of art in such a way that it became a map or atlas of gestures transforming through art history.[566]

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[564] See for example Katia Mazzucco, 'Images on the Move: Some Notes on the Bibliothek Warburg Bildersammlung (Hamburg) and the Warburg Institute Photographic Collection (London)', *Art Libraries Journal* 28:4 (2013), pp. 16–24 (p. 17); Amanda Du Preez, 'Approaching Aby Warburg and Digital Art History. Thinking Through Images', in *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History*, ed. by Kathryn Brown, New York/London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2020, 374–85 (p. 378); Andrew Benjamin, 'Empathy and Gesture: Aby Warburg in *La cappella Sassetti*', in *Fragmentation of the Photographic Image in the Digital Age*, ed. by Daniel Rubinstein, New York: Routledge, 2020, 157–70; Neville Rowley and Jörg Völlnagel (eds.), *Zwischen Kosmos und Pathos. Berliner Werke aus Aby Warburgs Bilderatlas Mnemosyne/Between Cosmos and Pathos. Berlin Works from Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen, 2 April–28 June 2020), Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2020.

[565] Jörg Völlnagel, 'Museum Total. Von der Utopie einer grenzenlosen Sammlung/The Total Museum: On the Utopis of a Limitless Collection', in *Zwischen Kosmos und Pathos. Berliner Werke aus Aby Warburgs Bilderatlas Mnemosyne/Between Cosmos and Pathos. Berlin Works from Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen, 2 April–28 June 2020), ed. by Neville Rowley and Jörg Völlnagel, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2020, 16–41 (p. 16).

[566] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004, pp. 68–69.

In the present research, reproductions of artworks have been vital in replicating the migratory paths of distinct visual motifs. The field has developed enormously from the early days of photography until now, where digital databases provide incredibly rich sources for art historical research.[567] Although searching for images with the help of words can cause problems, since algorithms are still not always capable of identifying images correctly with the use of words, the present research has benefited greatly from focusing on motifs rooted in iconography. By focusing on motifs with a sacred meaning attached to them, the search for comparable images was expedited enormously with the aid of *Iconclass*. This classification system, developed by the RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History in the 1950s, enables searching digital picture libraries, online museum collections and more for the specific motif in question.[568] However, when the motif loses its meaning during its migration, it becomes unfindable with *Iconclass* classifications. For example, when Pieter Aertsen quoted one of the infants from Joos van Cleve in his *Pancake Bakery*, the motif was no longer associated with the sacred subject whatsoever, and it would not appear through a search of digital databases with the help of *Iconclass*.[569] It is therefore an enhancement, but not a replacement for physical research in picture libraries. Altogether, the sources have increased significantly from the time that Warburg was conducting his research, and the results from the approach presented in this dissertation and in the work of Warburg are significantly different.

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[567] On the functions of digital databases for art historical research, as well as the conjunction between physical and digital archives, see for example Du Preez, 'Approaching Aby Warburg', 374–85; Chiara Franceschini and Katia Mazzucco, 'Introduction', *Visual Resources. An International Journal on Images and Their Uses* 30:3 (themed volume: Classifying Content: Photographic Collections and Theories of Thematic Ordering) (2014), pp. 171–80; Rembrandt Duits, 'A New Resource Based on Old Principles. The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database', in *Visual Resources. An International Journal on Images and Their Uses* 30:3 (themed volume: Classifying Content: Photographic Collections and Theories of Thematic Ordering) (2014), pp. 263–75.

[568] <http://www.iconclass.org/help/outline> (Accessed 16-09-2021).

[569] On this difficulty of finding artworks in digital databases on the basis of written iconographic descriptions, see Colum Hourihane, 'Classifying Subject Matter in Medieval Art. The Index of Christian Art at Princeton University', in *Visual Resources. An International Journal on Images and Their Uses* 30:3 (themed volume: Classifying Content: Photographic Collections and Theories of Thematic Ordering) (2014), pp. 255–62 (pp. 259–60).

Media-Specificity and the Different Gradations of Diffusion

The intermediary material through which the motif migrated, played a role in the manner of adaptation and alteration in the region of destination. Additionally, the materiality of the object is significant and influential in the scope and concentration of the diffusion of the visual motifs. Returning to Aby Warburg's body of work, it appears that in his research, the type of medium, whether it was a wax imprint, a coin, an engraving or even a tapestry, was to some extent of less importance. Focal were the techniques of reproduction in tracing the transmission of images across space and time. In other words, imprinted objects, i.e. prints, coins and more, and the notion of reproduction was the very condition of the creation of a new and singular artwork.[570]

It has become clear in the present research that during this period – the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries –, different media resulted in different manners of diffusion, and as such the mobility of a motif can be seen as media-specific. In the two cases where the motifs migrated from painting to painting, the resulting adaptations seem to have happened in distinct centres or hubs of production. For example, when Leonardo introduced the motif of the infant John the Baptist in Milan, the reproduction of this invention concentrated predominantly in this city (fig. 5.4). In the map visualizing the itinerary of the motif of the Holy Infants Embracing, it becomes clear that the repetition of this invention concentrated in Milan and was incorporated in different types of compositions. When Marco d'Oggiono's version migrated to Mechelen, the isolated invention is what appealed to Joos van Cleve, and it is exactly this that he replicated within his own workshop. The concentration in Milan is in a way replicated in Antwerp, where Van Cleve ran his workshop. Paintings

[570] Philippe Despoix and Roxanne Lapidus, '"Translatio" and Remediation: Aby Warburg, Image Migration and Photographic Reproduction', *SubStance* 44:2 (2015), pp. 129–50 (p. 130).

Fig. 5.4. Map of the itinerary of the *Holy Infants Embracing* from Milan to Mechelen and subsequently Antwerp. Prototype of the Sacrima Digital Atlas.

were bought or commissioned by patrons from different cities and regions, such as Joos van Cleve's version bought by the Amsterdam-based Pompeius Occo, but this did not result in a subsequent relocation of the concentrated reproduction to, for example, Amsterdam. In general, both in the first and the third case study, it appears that with the migration of painted motifs, adaptations only rarely happened in areas outside of the large artistic centres.

The situation is different when printed motifs migrated. Although there are many distinctions to be made in the manner of adaptation in both geographies, the diffusion of engraved motifs happened similarly in Italy and Spain during this period. Contrary to painted motifs, adaptations and translations of engraved inventions emerge both in the large artistic

centres and the smaller cities and towns relatively simultaneously (figs. 5.5 and 5.6). This is exemplified by the adapted leafs of the *Engraved Passion* for the fresco cycle in Provesano, and for the small panels as part of a *retablo* in Tudela. In the maps illustrating the adaptations of Schongauer's engravings, it becomes clear that the diffusion of the *Engraved Passion* purportedly happened from larger influential artistic centres such as Milan, Venice, and Zaragoza, and from there reached the outskirts of the regions under their rule – Lombardy, the Veneto, and Aragon respectively. The ceaseless circulation of these prints, and the fact that artists continued to adapt successful prototypes, models and motifs that were already proven to be lucrative over longer timespans, attests to the demand and attraction of the inventions. In these cases, it becomes clear that the print and its connected European market served as a mediator, or facilitator, for the diffusion of these artistic inventions. Rather than it being a dominant prototype, the printed composition was adapted by artists in an individual manner, and as such Italian or Spanish adaptations of the same print by Martin Schongauer differ greatly in terms of interpretation and style.[571]

Another important notion is the mobile nature specific to different media. The medium of engraving is inherently much more mobile than the painted medium. Moreover, the transmission of painted motifs often happened with the aid of drawings and cartoons. Although these drawings and cartoons could potentially also travel more easily, since they are light and small, it appears to have happened significantly less. On the contrary, the circulation of models and model books was rather limited, and often only rotated between a distinct group of artists within one workshop.[572] This can be explained by the fact that these designs were not attractive for potential buyers, and more importantly were often kept in workshops

[571] More on the circulation of artistic inventions and the processes attached to it can be found in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, 'Introduction: Reintroducing Circulations: Historiography and the Project of Global Art History', in *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, ed. by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, 1–22.

[572] Caroline O. Fowler, '"Res Papirae": Mantegna's Paper Things', *The Art Bulletin* 99:1 (2017), pp. 8–35 (pp. 16–17).

Fig. 5.5. Map illustrating the Italian and Spanish adaptations of *Christ Before Pilate*, the seventh print from Martin Schongauer's *Engraved Passion*. Prototype of the Sacrima Digital Atlas.

Fig. 5.6. Map illustrating the Netherlandish, Italian and Spanish adaptations of the *Resurrection*, the twelfth print from Martin Schongauer's *Engraved Passion*. Prototype of the Sacrima Digital Atlas.

to be used until they were so damaged that they would be discarded. Conversely, engravings had value as an artistic object, and their mobile nature resulted in a new form of circulation that was much more widespread. Whereas drawn designs were always made with the intention of translating them into a new medium, either painted, sculpted or illuminated, engravings carried their design in the intended medium, and as such were principally regarded as a mobile autonomous artwork.[573] It seems, therefore, that although engravings would often be used as models, drawn models would only rarely be regarded as autonomous art objects.

As a result, engravings had an appeal for merchants to sell as ware, and would regularly be carried from one region to another along merchant routes. Drawings and designs on the other hand would either remain in one workshop or circulate among workshops in the same area, and only rarely leave the city they were created in. Therefore, engravings inherently had a far wider reach than painted or drawn designs, and, consequently, motifs reproduced in this medium would be adapted much more frequently than painted visual motifs.

Misattribution, Nationality and the Value of Traditional Art Historical Frames

One question that has arisen from the different case studies presented here is whether or not the notion of nationality, and the characterisation of artists or artworks by their distinct origins, is still a useful framework when investigating migrating motifs. Two of the case studies showed intentional migrations, where the painting was sent to a different geographical area for a reason. Hugo van der Goes' Portinari Altarpiece was sent to Florence to adorn a family chapel, and the transferral of Marco d'Oggiono's *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing* to Mechelen can be linked to diplomatic relations between the Sforza and Habsburg courts. As such, the migrations and subsequent adaptations in different artistic

[573] Ibid., p. 17.

milieus are the result of conscious diffusion, where patrons played an active role in associating themselves with art from a geographic region different from their own.

The distinctions between different geographic regions, and the characteristics that can be attached to art and artists coming from these respective regions, have been an important subject in art history ever since its earliest endeavours. For example, Giorgio Vasari acknowledged both the differences and the interrelations between Italian and German art. This becomes clear, for example, when consulting the 'Life of Jacopo Pontormo' from his *Vite*. In it, Vasari writes how Jacopo Pontormo (1494–1557) adapted prints by Albrecht Dürer for his own compositions for the frescoes of the Certosa del Galluzzo.[574] Vasari does not deem the act itself as intrinsically bad, but the fact that he did not transform the German engraved inventions into a composition more fitting of the Italian idiom is what he considers wrong.[575] He even goes as far as to state that Pontormo was ignorant of the fact that Germans and Flemings came to learn the Italian manner, and not the other way around.[576]

However, when consulting additional fifteenth- and sixteenth-century writings, an image emerges which questions the actual importance attached to the exact geographic origins of an artwork. This has been exemplified with the case in Florence, where shortly after its

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[574] For recent contributions regarding Albrecht Dürer and Italy, see Bernard Aikema and Andrew John Martin (eds.), *Dürer e il Rinascimento tra Germania e Italia* (Milan, Palazzo Reale, 21 February–24 June 2018), Milan: 24 ORE Cultura, 2018.

[575] 'Et essendo non molto inanzi dell'Alemagna venuto a Firenze un gran numero di carte stampate e molto sottilmente state intagliate col bulino da Alberto Duro, eccellentissimo pittore tedesco e raro intagliatore di stampe in rame e legno, e fra l'altre molte storie grandi e piccole della Passione di Gesù Cristo - nelle quali era tutta quella perfezzione e bontà nell'intaglio di bulino che è possibile far mai, per bellezza, varietà d'abiti et invenzione -, pensò Iacopo, avendo a fare ne' canti di que' chiostri istorie della Passione del Salvatore, di servirsi dell'invenzioni sopradette d'Alberto Duro, con ferma credenza d'avere non solo a sodisfare a se stesso, ma alla maggior parte degl'artefici di Firenze, i quali tutti a una voce, di comune giudizio e consenso, predicavano la bellezza di queste stampe e l'eccellenza d'Alberto. Messosi, dunque, Iacopo a imitare quella maniera, cercando dare alle figure sue nell'aria delle teste quella prontezza e varietà che avea dato loro Alberto, la prese tanto gagliardamente, che la vaghezza della sua prima maniera, la quale gli era stata data dalla natura tutta piena di dolcezza e di grazia, venne alterata da quel nuovo studio e fatica, e cotanto offesa dall'accidente di quella tedesca, che non si conosce in tutte quest'opere, comeché tutte sien belle, se non poco di quel buono e grazia che egli aveva insino allora dato a tutte le sue figure.' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini, 6 vols (1–3: Florence: Sansoni, 1966–1971; 4–6: Florence, S.P.E.S., 1976–1987), V (1984), pp. 319–20.

[576] 'Or non sapeva il Puntormo che i tedeschi e' fiamminghi vengono in queste parti per imparare la maniera italiana, che egli con tanta fatica cercò, come cattiva, d'abandonare?' Vasari, *Le vite*, V (1984), p. 320.

arrival, the Portinari Altarpiece was no longer recognized as being by Hugo van der Goes from Ghent. Information that was well-known locally, for example that Van der Goes entered the Rooklooster Abbey as a lay brother in 1478, was never common knowledge in Italy. In the first decades after the arrival of the altarpiece in Florence, it is described as being a Flemish panel painting ('una [*scil.* tavola] fiammingha'), and by Vasari in 1550 as being by the hand of 'Ugo d'Anversa'.[577] The fact that this latter description was incorrect, did not seem to matter and was not rectified in Vasari's 1568 edition of the *Vite*. Additionally, already during the seventeenth century, the triptych was attributed to local Italian artists like Andrea del Castagno and Alesso Baldovinetti.[578]

This is not the only example where the contemporary knowledge of geographical origins is less than complete. In sixteenth-century Venice, Marcantonio Michiel wrongfully classified Rogier van der Weyden as coming from Bruges, even though less than a century prior, the Milanese Zanetto Bugatto was sent to Brussels, not Bruges, by the Sforza court to train under the Netherlandish artist. Moreover, Michiel misattributed a copy of one of the most famous paintings by Jan van Eyck, the *Madonna in the Church*, as being by this 'Rugerio da Brugies', without making any association to Van Eyck.[579] This seems especially noteworthy since, judging from the writings by the Italians Bartolomeo Facio, Ciriaco d'Ancona, and Filarete, Van Eyck and Van der Weyden were still widely known south of the

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[577] This description can be found in Francesco Albertini's *Memoriale di Molte Statue e Pitture della Città di Firenze* from 1510: 'La capella maiore è mezza di Andreino, et mezza di Dominico Veneto, benchè alcune figure dinanzi sieno per mano di Alexo Bal. In decta chiesa sono due tavole di frate Philip. et una fiammingha.' Francesco Albertini, *Memoriale di Molte Statue e Pitture della Città di Firenze*, Florence: Antonio Tubini, 1510, ed. by Luigi Mussini and Luisa Piaggio, Florence: Cellini, 1863, p. 13. In the first edition of 1550, Vasari mentions Ugo d'Anversa as the author of the altarpiece in Santa Maria Nuova in chapter 21: 'Del dipingere a olio, in tavola e su tele.' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piú eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri. Nell' edizione per i tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino, Firenze 1550*, ed. by Luciano Bellosi and Aldo Rossi, Turin: Einaudi, 1986, p. 68. In the second edition of 1568, he mentions him together with other Flemish artists, in his chapter 'Di Diversi artefici italiani e fiamminghi.' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini, 6 vols (1–3: Florence: Sansoni, 1966–1971; 4–6: Florence, S.P.E.S., 1976–1987), VI (1987), p. 224.

[578] Margaret L. Koster, *Hugo van der Goes and the Procedures of Art and Salvation*, London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008, p. 129.

[579] Lorne Campbell, "Notes on Netherlandish Pictures in the Veneto in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *The Burlington Magazine* 123:941 (1981), pp. 467–73 (pp. 471–72).

Alps a century prior.[580] A last example can be found in contemporary writings concerning Martin Schongauer. In 1553, Ascanio Condivi, when describing the famous instance in which Michelangelo copied Schongauer's *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, wrongfully calls Schongauer 'Martino d'Ollandia'.[581] Subsequently in 1568, Vasari attributes the same engraving to 'Martino Tedesco', but still erroneously places him in Antwerp.[582]

It seems, therefore, that the exact geographical origins of distinct motifs did not play a significant role, and that a general notion of being 'd'Anversa', 'd'Ollandia', or 'Tedesco' was sufficient for artists and commissioners to associate themselves with the motif. Moreover, in the case of the *Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, the association with the artist Leonardo da Vinci seems to have been the deciding factor in the motif's diffusion from Southern to Northern Europe. The association with a certain artist, regardless of their geographical origins, seems to weigh heavier in this case, which is not exceptional. An important hint for this can also be found in collection inventories, where often the name of the artist is given but their nationality is missing, such as 'maistre Jacques Barbaris' (Jacopo de' Barbari), 'meistre Hans' (Hans Memling), and 'de la main de Johannes' (Jan van Eyck) in the inventories of Margaret of Austria.[583]

Altogether, it seems that the notion of nationality was less significant during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than it has been in art historical research from the nineteenth century until now. This importance attached to geography and nationality is a result of developments happening in the field of art history at the end of the nineteenth and the

[580] See for example Bartolomeo Facio, *De Viris Illustribus*, 1456; Ciriaco d'Ancona's descriptions of a *Deposition* and a *Fall of Man* by Rogier van der Weyden in the collection of Leonello d'Este in 1449; Antonio Averlino, detto Il Filarete, *Trattato di Architettura*, 1461–1464, ed. by Anna Maria Finoli and Liliana Grassi, 2 vols (Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1972), I, pp. 265–71.
[581] Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, Rome, 1553, ed. by Charles Davis, Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek der Universität Heidelberg, 2009, pp. 13–14.
[582] Vasari, *Le vite*, V (1984), pp. 3–4.
[583] Inventory of paintings of Margaret of Austria, 17 July 1516. Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, Chambre des Comptes de Lille, no. 123904, fols. 1–5. Transcription from *Los inventarios de Carlos V y la familia imperial*, ed. by Fernando Checa Cremades, 3 vols (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2010), III, pp. 2391–93.

beginning of the twentieth century.[584] During this period, the interest in attaching art to particular places, and as such identifying groups of artworks as being produced by 'schools' grew significantly, and appears in the works of, for example, Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, and Bernard Berenson, cited in the introduction of this dissertation.[585]

This idea of nationality has persevered during the twentieth century. For example, in his Hamburg photographic library, Aby Warburg did not entirely let go of topography, and classified his images with categories like 'Mantuan Engravings' and 'Flemish Tapestries'.[586] In later publications, art historians have often tried to pinpoint the characteristics of a certain geography. A famous example of this is Michael Baxandall's publication on German limewood sculpture.[587] More recenty, publications such as 'What is German about the German Renaissance' by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Claire Farago's '"Vision Itself Has Its History": "Race," Nation, and Renaissance Art History' and 'The "Global Turn" in Art History: Why, When, and How Does It Matter?' argued that this practice is inherent in many works by late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century art historians.[588] However, already during the second half of the twentieth century, and certainly in recent years, this idea of identifying certain artistic qualities with specific nationalities, or 'claiming' artists and artworks as belonging to certain geographic regions has been considered as increasingly

[584] DaCosta Kaufmann, Dossin and Joyeux-Prunel, 'Introduction', pp. 2–7.
[585] For more on the historiography of nationality and geography in art history, see DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, chapter two, pp. 43–57.
[586] For more on the classification of Warburg's library, see Franceschini and Mazzucco's introduction to 'Classifying Content', pp. 171–80. See also Despoix and Lapidus, '"Translatio" and Remediation', p. 130; Du Preez, 'Approaching Aby Warburg', 374–85.
[587] Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1980.
[588] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, 'What is German about the German Renaissance', in *Artistic Innovations and Cultural Zones*, ed. by Ingrid Ciulisová, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2014, 257–83; Claire J. Farago, '"Vision Itself Has Its History": "Race," Nation, and Renaissance Art History', in *Reframing the Renaissance. Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed by Claire J. Farago, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1995, 67–88; Claire J. Farago, 'The "Global Turn" in Art History: Why, When, and How Does It Matter?', in *The Globalization of Renaissance Art. A Critical Review*, ed. by Daniel Savoy, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017, 299–313.

problematic. For example, the Isenheim Altarpiece by Matthias Grünewald (c. 1470–1528) has consistently been considered German in scholarly art historical literature, even though Isenheim was only part of Germany for approximately fifty years since the seventeenth century.[589]

Taking this into account, it seems that the form of misattribution or displacement of the origins of artworks that is detectable between the last decades of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, is not all that different from the way in which art historians and other scholars at times claim artworks and artists as from their personal geographic region. With the present research, making a distinction between historical and contemporary thoughts on nationality and geography, it has become clear that even though it appears to have been less of value in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century writing, it is a useful tool for demonstrating the artistic connections between different geographic regions during this period. Moreover, it provides an indication of the reception of foreign works. The notion of nationality is therefore effective insofar that it is an aid to map itineraries and migrations, and a framework within which the reception of foreign works can be illustrated, but is less appropriate as a cause or explanation of mobile motifs.

Mobile Motifs: A General Method?

In the introduction of this dissertation, the method used when investigating migrating motifs was described as follows: contrary to the more traditional iconographical practice of employing motifs to explain the entire work, the present study focuses on visual motifs as a method of demonstrating and interpreting the connections and migration patterns present

[589] DaCosta Kaufmann, 'What is German', p. 259. Another famous example can be found in the artist Veit Stoss (c. 1445/1450–1533), and whether he should be seen as a Polish or German artist. See for example Thomas Eser, 'Veit Stoß – Ein polnischer Schwabe wird Nürnberger', in *Von Nah und Fern. Zuwanderer in die Reichsstadt Nürnberg* (Nuremberg, Stadtmuseum Fembohaus, 29 March–10 August 2014), ed. by Brigitte Korn, Michael Diefenbacher and Steven M. Zahlaus, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag GmbH, 2014, 85–90.

during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The present research aimed to investigate cross-cultural interactions across the European continent via multiple routes, enabled by various mediators such as merchants, patrons and the Early Modern art market. It has done so by focusing on iconographies and visual motifs, with a specific focus on modalities of transmission and the change or even loss of meaning along the motif's migration. Over the past decades, investigating images in their European or global context has come to the fore in art historical research. This shift in focus has posed multiple questions relating to the circulation of knowledge, cultural translation and the role of artists and artworks as mediators.

In recent years, the application of this 'global' approach in art history, as well as the mutual exchange of inventions between autonomous regions and to what extent one region impacted the other, has been the subject of many investigations. Focus has been on the connections between many different regions, such as on the Mediterranean and questions regarding identity, cultures and interactions, which is exemplified, amongst others, in Elisabeth A. Fraser's *The Mobility of People and Things in the Early Modern Mediterranean* and Emanuele Lugli's book chapter 'Linking the Mediterranean: The Construction of Trading Networks in 14th and 15th –century Italy'. On the other hand, globalism and the employment of this concept as an art historical method has been the subject of many groundbreaking scholarly publications, among them Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's *Toward a Geography of Art*, and his edited volume *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré's *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries*, and the themed volume *Netherlandish Art in its Global Context* of the Netherlandish Yearbook for History of Art.[590]

[590] *The Mobility of People and Things in the Early Modern Mediterranean. The Art of Travel*, ed. by Elisabeth A. Fraser, New York/London: Routledge, 2020; Emanuele Lugli, 'Linking the Mediterranean: The Construction of Trading Networks in 14th and 15th-century Italy', in *The Globalization of Renaissance Art. A Critical Review*, ed. by Daniel Savoy, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017, 158–85; DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2015; *Low Countries Studies on the Circulation of Natural Knowledge*, ed. by Sven Dupré and Geert Vanpaemel, 3 vols, (Zurich/Berlin/Münster: LIT, 2011-2012), III: *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. by Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré (2012); *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, ed. by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North, Amsterdam: Amsterdam

In the latter's introduction, which discusses the relationship between Netherlandish art and its reception in China, Thijs Weststeijn has shown that Netherlandish prints did not meet passive recipients in China, but were adapted and interpreted in ways they were not intended.[591] When prints by Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) depicting Christ's Passion were used by the Jesuits in China as visual aids in spreading their faith, they were instead interpreted locally as evidence for Christ's rebellious leadership and the Virgin's immorality.[592]

What has become clear from the present research is that this change of intention or a change of subject matter also happened between regions that were culturally much more closely related. For example, when the painting of the Holy Infants Embracing entered the collection of Margaret of Austria, its description in the two inventories reveals that the subject matter was no longer recognized as a sacred subject. In its originating region, Milan, it was still recognized as such, as is evidenced by, again, contemporary commissions and descriptions. Additionally, adaptations and translations of motifs sometimes resulted in a completely new interpretation of a visual invention. This practice becomes clear, for example, when comparing the engraving of *Christ Before Pilate* by Martin Schongauer to the engraved *Daniel* by Baccio Baldini, but also when comparing Schongauer's *Christ Before Annas* and Maestro Bartolomé's painted panel of *Christ Among the Doctors*.

As such, the intentional change of subject matter, or the different interpretation of an image, was not only characteristic for practices happening on the other side of the globe, or between vastly different cultures, but was also present across European borders during the fifteenth century. Moreover, these circumstances are not only a symptom of a period where

University Press, 2014; *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 66 (themed volume: Netherlandish Art in its Global Context), ed. by Thijs Weststeijn, Eric Jorink and Frits Scholten, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016.

[591] Thijs Weststeijn, 'Introduction: Global art history and the Netherlands', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 66 (themed volume: Netherlandish Art in its Global Context) (2016), pp. 6–27.

[592] Ibid., p. 8.

global expansion was more present, for example with the Dutch East India Company (VOC) or the undertakings by the Jesuits, but can be distinguished already during earlier periods.[593] As argued by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, the first era that can be characterized as one of globalization is the sixteenth century.[594] Before circa 1500, not all inhabited continents of the world and their artistic production, products, materials and people were connected. However, when focusing on artistic exchange and the dissemination of images, the present study has shown that during the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, there is rich material within European borders that has to be investigated in terms of cross-cultural connections and transmissions. It seems that even among regions that are culturally significantly less different than, for example, Islamic regions and the Mediterranean, transmissions of visual motifs happened vast and wide and their migrations often entailed changes in meaning and interpretation.

Warburg's aforementioned notion of *Wanderstraße* has been an informative method in the present research. It has been applied in a different manner, namely for investigating the transmission of visual motifs that were developed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and were diffused and adapted across Europe in a relatively short time span. Whether as a motif recurring on both a sixteenth-century Italian and Netherlandish panel painting, transmitted with the aid of drawings and cartoons, or recurring on a fifteenth-century engraving and a sixteenth century fresco, the presented analysis of artworks from all media has aimed to map and investigate the connections and migration patterns present in Europe between 1470 and 1530. Whereas Warburg's aim was to reconstruct the 'afterlife' of pagan antiquity in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, through the construction of his

[593] For more on this matter, see for example Alicia Walker, 'Globalism', *Studies in Iconography* 33 (themed volume: Medieval Art History Today—Critical Terms) (2012), pp. 183–96.
[594] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Ranges of Response: Asian Appropriation of European Art and Culture', in *The Globalization of Renaissance Art. A Critical Review*, ed. by Daniel Savoy, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017, 95–130 (p. 97).

Wanderkarten, the aims of the present research were to demonstrate the mobility and success of distinct contemporary inventions regardless of their geographic origins.

In the current research, it has become clear that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, artists were tightly connected with their contemporaries across the European continent, adapting and transforming visual motifs that were created by their contemporaries. The mapping of these mobile motifs has shown that successful novel inventions travelled wide and far shortly after their creation, at a pace that cannot be underestimated. As such, the visual maps have a completely different outcome than Warburg's *Bilderatlas*. Traditionally, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have been characterized with the dawn of inventions such as printmaking and serial production, notions that accelerated the mobility and migration during the sixteenth century. However, it has become clear with the three case studies presented here, that already during the second half of the fifteenth century, artists from different geographic regions were much more strongly interlinked than previously acknowledged, and visual motifs effortlessly migrated across Europe, resulting in normative images across the continent and similar ways of expression in regions divided by borders.[595] As such, the research has provided insights into artistic choices, connections and exchange.

In conclusion, it is clear that the focus on migrating visual motifs is particularly suitable when investigating the most important notions of the present research – migration, mobility and connectivity across the European continent during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Furthermore, it has provided new insights into the effects of the mobility of both artworks and artists, and the link between migration and materiality. Although migration patterns differ between specific media, the hubs and clouds of adaptations that result from a motif's migration provide better insight in artistic production of the period, as well as

[595] For more on the exploration of normative images from a pan-European and global perspective, see Chiara Franceschini (ed.) *Sacred Images and Normativity: Contested Forms in Early Modern Art*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2020, especially her introduction to the volume, 12–27.

connections between various regions. By taking into account the open market, the changes in interpretation and the notion of supply and demand, the presented research has mapped artistic connections across Europe in terms of iconographical inventions and the resulting visual motifs. The method used has proven fruitful for further research, and expanding the scope and focus of the present research through the incorporation of additional sacred visual motifs, as well as profane and antique motifs, has the potential to provide an even more exhaustive survey of European artistic practices, and of the world of images that arose across the continent around 1500.

6. Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert waren süd- und nordeuropäische Regionen von unterschiedlichen Stilen und ästhetischen Idealen geprägt. In dieser Zeit vollzog sich der künstlerische Austausch manchmal in überraschend hohem Tempo, was teilweise durch die Erfindung der Druckgrafik ermöglicht wurde. Dies führte dazu, dass Kunstwerke in hoher Frequenz reproduziert wurden, was einen regen künstlerischen Austausch von den südeuropäischen Regionen Italiens und Spaniens in die nordeuropäischen Regionen Deutschlands und der Niederlande und umgekehrt ermöglichte. Bereits im 15. Jahrhundert war die künstlerische Produktion internationalen Einflüssen unterworfen. Wesentliche Faktoren waren die Migration von Künstlern und Handwerkern sowie die Migration von Kunstwerken und künstlerischen Erfindungen. Die Verbreitung der Kunst in ganz Europa kennt verschiedene Ursachen, unter anderem Kaufleute, die Drucke und Gemälde für private Zwecke oder als Ware bestellten, und Künstler, die sich im Ausland niederließen. Sowohl Künstler als auch Kunstwerke scheinen ein ausgeprägtes Potenzial zu haben, Menschen und Visionäre in Kontakt zu bringen und den interkulturellen Austausch zu fördern. Dieser Austausch und die Verbindungen zwischen verschiedenen geografischen Regionen wird besonders deutlich, wenn man ikonografische Motive von Kunstwerken untersucht. Durch die Konzentration auf diese Details wird deutlich, dass ähnlich aussehende Motive in ähnlichen Zeiträumen nördlich und südlich der Alpen wiederkehren, was darauf hindeutet, dass es einen Austausch und eine Wanderung in beide Richtungen gegeben haben muss.

Die Anwendung ikonografischer Details, ihre geografische Vernetzung und ihre Mobilität sind Gegenstand der vorliegenden Studie. Im Gegensatz zu der eher traditionellen Praxis, ikonografische Motive als Erklärung für das gesamte Werk heranzuziehen, werden in der vorliegenden Studie ikonografische Motive als Methode zur Darstellung und

Interpretation der Verbindungen und Migrationsmuster des fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhunderts verwendet. Aufbauend auf den Theorien, die u. a. von Aby M. Warburg erstmals vorgestellt wurden. Bei der Untersuchung ikonografischer Motive und ihrer Wechselbeziehungen in verschiedenen geografischen Regionen lässt sich ihre Wanderung oft nicht auf reisenden Individuen, sondern auf den Reiserouten von wandernden Kunstwerken verfolgen. In diesen Fällen hat das Kunstwerk – ob Gemälde, Druckgrafik, Skulptur oder ähnliches – eine vermittelnde Funktion. Im Umgang mit wandernden ikonografischen Motiven scheint die Materialität des vermittelnden Kunstobjekts das Tempo und den Umfang spezifischer Migrationen zu beeinflussen. Um die unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen wandernder ikonografischer Motive, Migrationsweisen und Materialität erfolgreich diskutieren zu können, gliedert sich das vorliegende Forschungsprojekt in drei Fallstudien, die alle unterschiedliche Aspekte der Migrations- und Anpassungsprozesse thematisieren.

Im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert war die künstlerische Produktion internationalen Strömungen und Tendenzen unterworfen. Die Verbreitung von Kunst in ganz Europa hat mehrere Ursachen. Alle drei Fallstudien beleuchten eine dieser Ursachen, sei es in Bezug auf Mäzenatentum, Materialität oder Konkurrenz zwischen Künstlern und Mäzenen, um mehr Einblicke in die Prozesse und Faktoren zu geben, welche entscheidenden Rollen in der Migration ikonografischer Motive spielten. Um darüber hinaus die Bedeutung der Materialität des vermittelnden Kunstobjekts und deren Auswirkungen auf das Tempo und den Umfang spezifischer Migrationen zu untersuchen, beleuchtet jede Fallstudie ein anderes Medium oder Genre, wie zum Beispiel Tafelbilder für private Zwecke, Zeichnungen und Entwürfe aus der Werkstatt des Künstlers, gedruckte ikonografische Zyklen und große Triptychen, die als Altarbilder bestimmt sind.

Der freie Markt und seine Auswirkungen auf die künstlerische Produktion zwischen 1450 und 1550 werden einen weiteren Schwerpunkt der vorliegenden Forschung bilden. In

dieser Zeit florierte der Markt für Gemälde und das neue Medium der Druckgrafik. Beispielsweise gab es in der Stadt Antwerpen eine Zunahme von Werkstätten, und Künstler hatten ihre Produktion effizient organisiert, standardisiert und serialisiert. Werkstätten passten ihre Produktion den Markttendenzen an und schufen so eine Vorstellung von Angebot und Nachfrage. Infolgedessen erfolgte die Verbreitung und Anpassung ikonografischer Motive schnell und weitreichend. Neben Antwerpen ist dieser Trend auch in anderen großen Kunstzentren dieser Zeit zu beobachten. Die Auswirkungen der Erweiterung dieser Zentren sowie ihre Vernetzung spielen in allen drei Fallstudien und in der größeren Diskussion um migrierende ikonografische Motive und deren Materialität eine zentrale Rolle. Alle zeigen sie unterschiedliche Wissensabstufungen über die verschiedenen Arten und Komponenten der Migration. In einigen Fällen sind nur die künstlerischen Zentren bekannt, in denen die Erfindungen entstanden und wohin sie wanderten. In anderen Fällen ist der Künstler, der den Archetyp hervorgebracht hat, bekannt oder allgemein anerkannt, aber der eigentliche Archetyp ist nicht mehr vorhanden. In einem anderen Fall ist der Zeitpunkt der Ankunft, die Art der Migration und der Ort der Installation bekannt.

Im Gegensatz zu vielen neueren Studien über Migration und Mobilität in der Kunstgeschichte ist der in dieser Studie behandelte Zeitraum relativ früh. Durch die Fokussierung auf das 15. Jahrhundert und die erste Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts berücksichtigt die Studie viele der zeitgenössischen einflussreichen Erfindungen und Entwicklungen, wie der Buchdruck und die künstlerische Produktion für einen offenen Markt. Die drei Fälle, die größtenteils zwischen 1450 und 1520 angesiedelt sind, ereignen sich alle relativ zeitgleich. Obwohl sie viele Gemeinsamkeiten haben, zeigen sie alle unterschiedliche Seiten der wandernden Ikonografien, um so ein umfassenderes Bild dieses Phänomens im gleichen Zeitraum zu liefern von Zeit.

In der ersten Fallstudie wird das ikonografische Motiv der Christus- und Johannesknabe, einander umarmend, erörtert. Diese Erfindung, die zwei nackte Säuglinge in einer Umarmung sitzend zeigt, wurde Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts in Italien, spezifisch in Mailand, entwickelt. Die Darstellung von Johannes dem Täufer als Säugling und dem gleichaltrigen Christi ist vor allem auf dem typischen florentinischen *Tondo* präsent – runden Gemälden, die für die private Andacht bestimmt sind. Da diese *Tondi* an lokale Bräuche gebunden waren, ist es auffällig, dass sich diese Ikonografie in ganz Italien verbreitete und ab dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts nach Nordeuropa wanderte. Von Florenz aus wurde die Erfindung des Johannesknabe von Leonardo da Vinci in das künstlerische Milieu Mailands gebracht, dessen Anhängerkreis verschiedene Versionen des isolierten Motivs der sich umarmenden Heiligen Kinder malte. Von dort wanderte das Motiv in die Niederlande, von Mechelen nach Antwerpen. Obwohl der genaue Zeitpunkt der Migration nicht dokumentiert ist, lassen sich einige wichtige Momente im Reiseverlauf des Motivs lokalisieren. Durch die Analyse verschiedener motivspezifischer Aspekte wird in dieser Fallstudie eine Migration von Süd nach Nord diskutiert, bei der die Rolle der Mäzene – Höfe, Diplomaten und Kaufleute – und die Rolle des Kunstmarktes wesentlich sind. Darüber hinaus sollen die Transformationen von Form und Funktion diskutiert werden, welche dieses Motiv entlang der verschiedenen Stationen seiner Wanderung durchläuft, die letztendlich nicht nur zu einer stilistischen Transformation, sondern auch zu einer Bedeutungstransformation führen.

Die zweite Fallstudie konzentriert sich auf die sogenannte *Gravierte Passion* von Martin Schongauer, einen gedruckten Zyklus mit zwölf Szenen aus der Passion Christi. Als Einzelblätter produziert, die sowohl als Einzeldruck als auch als Zyklus fungieren können, erfreuten sich diese Stiche schon kurz nach ihrer Herstellung großer Nachfrage. Die Erfindung des Druckgrafiks ermöglichte eine beispiellose Verbreitung dieser Werke, was eine Besonderheit dieses Mediums ist. Obwohl die genauen Reiserouten dieser Drucke schwer zu

bestimmen sind, ist ihre Verbreitung von Deutschland in die Niederlande, Italien und Spanien unbestreitbar. In diesen geografischen Regionen werden diese Werke angepasst und in verschiedene Medien umgewandelt, darunter Malerei und Fresko. Ein wesentlicher Teil dieses Falls ist der Rolle des Marktes, der Händler und der Handelsrouten gewidmet. Anhand der unterschiedlichen Verbindungen zwischen künstlerischen Zentren, wie Frankfurt am Main, Antwerpen, Venedig und Saragossa, wird in dieser Studie erörtert, wie diese Verbindungen eine schnelle Verbreitung und Migration von Druckmedien ermöglichten, was zu einer weit verbreiteten Präsenz von Schongauers Erfindungen in Europa führte. Bemerkenswerterweise scheinen Bearbeitungen und Übersetzungen von Schongauers gedrucktem Zyklus in Italien und Spanien sowohl in großen künstlerischen Zentren als auch in kleineren Dörfern und Randgebieten stattzufinden. Im Gegensatz zum vorherigen Fall, der die Bewegung und Mobilität eines aus einer gemalten Komposition abgeleiteten Motivs diskutiert, zeigt dieser Fall, dass bei Motiven, die über Druckmedien wandern, die Verbreitung weiter begünstigt und nicht auf große künstlerische Zentren beschränkt zu sein scheint. Schließlich wird in diesem Fall untersucht, inwieweit der Künstler einen wichtigen Beitrag zur erfolgreichen Migration seiner Erfindungen leistet. Unter Berücksichtigung zeitgenössischer Beschreibungen der *Gravierten Passion* und weiterer Erfindungen wird ein Vergleich zwischen dem Wissen Schongauers und seinem künstlerischen Schaffen in Italien bzw. Spanien gezogen und ob und wie sich dies auf die Migration und Adaption seines Passionszyklus auswirkt.

Die dritte Fallstudie betrifft den Portinari-Altar, ein großes Triptychon des Genter Künstlers Hugo van der Goes, dessen physische Migration gut dokumentiert ist und durch eine Rekonstruktion aus zeitgenössischen Quellen kartiert werden kann. Außergewöhnlich ist in diesem Fall, dass der genaue Zeitpunkt der Ankunft in Florenz bekannt ist. Diese Wanderung von Nord nach Süd ist eines der am häufigsten zitierten Beispiele wandernder

Kunst, doch fehlt es meistens an einer systematischen Analyse der verschiedenen ikonografischen Details des Altars und ihrer Bearbeitung durch florentinische Künstler. Im Mittelpunkt dieses Falles steht daher die Übersetzung der ikonografischen Motive des Triptychons in die florentinische Malerei, wobei vom Äußeren und den größeren Elementen des Portinari-Altars bis zum Inneren und den kleineren Details gearbeitet wird. Durch diese Analyse wird deutlich, dass es sich bei den Bearbeitungen fast nie um exakte Kopien der gesamten Komposition handelt. Ikonografische Details des großen Triptychons werden von Florentiner Künstlern meist bewusst gewählt und in eigenen Kompositionen adaptiert. Durch die systematische Analyse dieser Merkmale und den Vergleich des nordischen Vorbilds mit seiner florentinischen Übersetzung untersucht dieser Fall die Arten der Anpassung und bewertet neu, welche der ikonografischen Details des Altarbildes sich als tiefgreifend auf die florentinische Kunstproduktion erwiesen haben und welche nicht.

Insgesamt zeigt die vorliegende Dissertation die verschiedenen Aspekte der Migration von ikonografischen Motiven. Der erste Aspekt ist die unterschiedlichen Abstufungen der Veränderung während und nach der Migration des Motivs. In einigen Fällen wurde die gesamte Komposition benutzt, in anderen Fällen wurden nur kleine Details aus der Erfindung übersetzt. Darüber hinaus führte die Übersetzung in verschiedene Medien auch zu Unterschieden in der Art der Adaption. Der zweite Aspekt ist die Rolle der Materialität in den unterschiedlichen Diffusionsabstufungen eines ikonografischen Motivs. Die Materialität des Objekts ist signifikant und einflussreich in Umfang und Konzentration der Verbreitung der Motive. In der vorliegenden Forschung wird deutlich, dass am Ende des 15. und Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts unterschiedliche Medien zu unterschiedlichen Verbreitungsweisen führten. In den beiden Fällen, in denen die Motive von Malerei zu Malerei wanderten, scheinen die daraus resultierenden Anpassungen in unterschiedlichen Zentren der Produktion stattgefunden zu haben. Mit anderen Worten, es scheint, dass mit der Migration gemalter Motive

Anpassungen in Randgebieten außerhalb der großen künstlerischen Zentren nur noch selten stattgefunden haben.

Anders ist es, wenn das Motiv auf Stichen wanderte. Obwohl es in beiden Ländern viele Unterschiede in der Art der Anpassung gibt, scheint die Verbreitung gravierter ikonografischer Motive in dieser Zeit in Italien und Spanien ähnlich zu erfolgen. Im Gegensatz zu gemalten Motiven tauchen sowohl in den großen künstlerischen Zentren als auch in den kleineren, peripheren Städten und Dörfern Adaptionen und Übersetzungen druckgrafischer Erfindungen auf. Im Allgemeinen kamen neue Techniken und Innovationen oft in Großstädten vor, während Künstler in kleineren oder peripheren Städten oft in einem abgeleiteten Stil und einer abgeleiteten Art und Weise arbeiteten. Dadurch kam es in diesen Randgebieten seltener zu neuen Erfindungen, und Künstler adaptierten oft erfolgreiche Prototypen, Modelle und Motive, die sich in den großen Kunstzentren über längere Zeiträume bereits als lukrativ erwiesen hatten.

Dieser Unterschied in der künstlerischen Produktion zwischen Großstädten und regionalen Gebieten, würde zum Teil auch die unterschiedlichen Verbreitungsweisen erklären. Zudem ist das Druckmedium von Natur aus viel mobiler als die Malerei. Darüber hinaus geschah die Übertragung gemalter Motive oft mit Hilfe von Zeichnungen und Cartoons. Obwohl diese Medien möglicherweise auch leichter reisen könnten, da sie leicht und klein sind, scheint dies nicht oft vorgekommen zu sein. Im Gegenteil, die Mobilität von Modellen und Modellbüchern blieb eher begrenzt und zirkulierte oft nur unter einer bestimmten Gruppe von Künstlern, oft innerhalb einer Werkstatt. Im Gegensatz dazu hatten Kupferstiche einen Wert als künstlerisches Objekt, und ihre Mobilität führte zu einer neuen, viel weiter verbreiteten Form der Verbreitung.

Der dritte Aspekt ist der Begriff der Nationalität, und ob dieser Begriff und die Charakterisierung von Künstlern oder Kunstwerken durch ihre eindeutige Herkunft immer

noch ein nützlicher Rahmen bei der Untersuchung von Migrationsmotiven sind. Einerseits zeigten zwei der Fallstudien absichtliche Migrationen, bei denen das Gemälde aus einem bestimmten Grund in ein anderes Land geschickt wurde. Als solche sind die Migrationen und nachfolgenden Anpassungen in neue künstlerische Milieus das Ergebnis einer bewussten Diffusion, in der Mäzene eine aktive Rolle spielten, um sich mit Kunst aus einer anderen geografischen Region als ihrer eigenen zu assoziieren. Auf der anderen Seite entsteht bei der Konsultation zeitgenössischer Quellen ein anderes Bild, das die Bedeutung der genauen geografischen Herkunft des Kunstwerks in Frage stellt. Künstler werden nicht mehr richtig identifiziert und die genaue Herkunft wurde oft vergessen. Es scheint daher, dass die genaue geografische Herkunft ikonografischer Motive keine wesentliche Rolle spielte und dass eine allgemeine Vorstellung von 'nördlich' oder 'italienisch' ausreichte, um Künstler und Auftraggeber mit dem Motiv zu assoziieren. Darüber hinaus scheint die Assoziation mit bestimmten Künstlern ausschlaggebend für die Migration eines Motivs gewesen zu sein. Insgesamt scheint der Begriff der Nationalität im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert weniger wichtig zu sein als in der aktuellen kunsthistorischen Forschung. Mit der vorliegenden Untersuchung, die zwischen historischen und zeitgenössischen Gedanken zur Nationalität unterscheidet, wurde deutlich, dass der Begriff Nationalität, obwohl sie in der Literatur des 15. und 16. Jahrhundert nicht konsequent benutzt werdet, daher insofern nützlich ist, als er ein Hilfsmittel zur Kartierung von Reiserouten und Migrationen, aber weniger als Ursache oder Erklärung von Migrationsmotiven.

Die hier vorgestellte Forschung bildet die Migrationswege durch verschiedene Kulturen, geografische Gebiete und Zeiten ab. Entweder ein Motiv auf einem italienischen oder niederländischen Tafelgemälde, oder ein Motiv auf einem Stich und einem Fresko. Das Ziel ist, die Verbindungen und Migrationsmuster in Europa zwischen 1450 und 1550 zu kartieren und zu untersuchen, um die Mobilität und den Erfolg unterschiedlicher

ikonografischer Motive unabhängig von ihrer geografischen Herkunft aufzuzeigen. Im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert waren Künstler auf dem gesamten europäischen Kontinent eng mit ihren Zeitgenossen verbunden. Die Kartierung der Migration ikonografischer Motive zeigt, dass erfolgreiche Erfindungen schon kurz nach ihrer Entstehung in einem bisher unterschätzten Tempo weit verbreitet waren. Traditionell wurde diese Zeit als Beginn von Erfindungen wie der Druckgrafik und der Serienproduktion bezeichnet, die die Mobilität und Migration im 16. Jahrhundert beschleunigten. Anhand der drei hier vorgestellten Fallstudien wird jedoch deutlich, dass bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhundert Künstler auf dem ganzen Kontinent miteinander verbunden waren, was zu ähnliche Ausdrucksformen in verschiedene Regionen geführt hat. Der Fokus auf wandernde ikonografische Motive eignet sich besonders für die Untersuchung von Migrations- und Mobilitätsbegriffen auf dem europäischen Kontinent im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Darüber hinaus liefert die Forschung neue Erkenntnisse über die Auswirkungen der Mobilität von Kunstwerken und Künstlern sowie den Zusammenhang zwischen Migration und Materialität. Durch die Berücksichtigung des offenen Marktes, der Bedeutungsveränderungen und die Idee von Angebot und Nachfrage ermöglicht die Forschung ein umfassenderes Verständnis der künstlerischen Verbindungen zwischen Nord- und Südeuropa in Bezug auf religiöse ikonografische Erfindungen, und der entstandenen Bilderwelt auf dem ganzen Kontinent um 1500.

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8. Image Captions

Chapter 1

Fig. 1.1. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing*, 1481, oil on panel, 35,1 x 25,1 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 1.2. Antonello da Messina, *Christ Blessing*, 1465, oil on panel, 38,7 x 29,8 cm. London, National Gallery.

Fig. 1.3. Petrus Christus, *Head of Christ*, c. 1445, oil on parchment, laid down on panel, 14,9 x 10,8 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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Fig. 1.6. Martin Schongauer, *Blessing Christ*, c. 1470, pen in black and brown on paper, 21,3 x 14,5 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe.

Fig. 1.7. Gerard David, *Christ Blessing*, c. 1500-05, oil on panel, 12,1 x 8,9 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 1.8. School of Rogier van der Weyden, *Christ Giving the Blessing*, date unknown, oil on panel, 36 x 26,5 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Fig. 1.9. Albrecht Dürer, *Madonna with the Siskin*, 1506, oil on panel, 93,5 x 78,9 cm. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen.

Fig. 1.10. Antonello da Messina, *Detail of Christ Blessing*, 1465. London, National Gallery.

Fig. 1.11. Hans Memling, *Detail of Christ Blessing*, 1481. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 1.12. Sandro Botticelli, *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1478–82, tempera and oil on panel, 68 x 102 cm. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art.

Fig. 1.13. Andrea Mantegna, *The Virgin and Child (central panel of the San Zeno polyptych)*, 1456–59, oil on panel, 212 x 460 cm (entire altarpiece). Verona, Basilica of San Zeno.

Fig. 1.14. Bernardino de' Conti, *Madonna with the Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, 1522, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera.

Fig. 1.15. Joos van Cleve, *Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, c. 1515–20, oil on panel, 74,5 x 57,6 cm. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago.

Chapter 2

Fig. 2.1. Marco d'Oggiono, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, c. 1500-30, oil on panel, 64,3 x 48,1 cm. Windsor, Royal Collection Trust.

Fig. 2.2. Leonardo da Vinci, *The Virgin of the Rocks*, c. 1483–94, oil on canvas, 199,5 x 122 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 2.3. Leonardo da Vinci, *The Virgin of the Rocks*, between 1491 and 1499 and from 1506 until 1508, oil on panel, 189,5 x 120 cm. London, The National Gallery.

Fig. 2.4. Lorenzo di Credi, *Madonna Adoring the Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist and an Angel*, early 1490s, oil on panel, 91,4 cm diameter. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 2.5. Fra Filippo Lippi, *Madonna Adoring the Child with the Infant John the Baptist and Saint Bernard, also known as the Adoration in the Forest*, c. 1459, oil on panel, 129,4 x 118,6 cm. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen.

Fig. 2.6. Andrea del Verrocchio, *Head of an Angel*, c. 1465–75, silver point drawing, 18,5 x 16 cm. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett der Staatliche Museen.

Fig. 2.7. Leonardo da Vinci, *Head of an Infant*, c. 1482/83, drawing, 16,9 x 14 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

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Fig. 2.13. Leonardo da Vinci, *The Virgin and Child with a child and a cat, two studies of a child and a cat, and the Christ child and infant Baptist embracing*, c. 1490–1500, pen and ink over red chalk with touches of wash, 20,2 x 15,1 cm. Windsor, Royal Collection Trust.

Fig. 2.14. Giampietrino, *Madonna and Child with Young Saint John the Baptist and Saint Elisabeth*, between 1510–40, oil on panel, 65,4 x 53,5 cm. Private Collection.

Fig. 2.15. Giuseppe Longhi, *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist, before a landscape, in a tondo (La Madonna del Lago)*, 1825, engraving, 37 x 31,7 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 2.16. Bernardino de' Conti, *The Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, 1522, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera.

Fig. 2.17. Albrecht Dürer, *Infant Christ*, 1495, pen and black ink, heightened with white, 17,2 x 21,5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

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Fig. 2.19. Gerard Horenbout, *Visitation*, c. 1519–20, book illumination. London, British Library, Add. MS 34294, fol. 61r.

Fig. 2.20. Quinten Metsys, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, before 1530, oil on panel, 34,3 x 45,7 cm. Chatsworth House, Devonshire Collection.

Fig. 2.21. Joos van Cleve and Workshop, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, c. 1515–20, oil on panel, 97,2 x 59 cm. Private Collection.

Fig. 2.22. Joos van Cleve, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, after 1516, oil on panel, 104 x 74 cm. Private collection.

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Fig. 2.25. Ambrosius Benson, *The Holy Family and Saint John the Baptist*, 1527, oil on panel, 83 x 65,5 cm. Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

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Fig. 2.27. Bernardino de' Conti, *Madonna del Latte*, c. 1500–10, oil on panel, 45,3 x 62,1 cm. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara.

Fig. 2.28. Joos van Cleve and Workshop, *Madonna of the Cherries*, between 1525–49, oil on panel, 71 x 51 cm. Private collection.

Fig. 2.29. Giampietrino, *Madonna of the Cherries*, between 1508–10, oil on panel, 64,8 x 49 cm. Private collection.

Fig. 2.30. Attributed to Jan Gossaert, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, 16th century, oil on panel, 31,5 x 43. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 2.31. David Teniers the Younger, *Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and the Artist in the Archducal Picture Gallery in Brussels*, 1653, oil on canvas, 70,9 x 87,6 cm. Private collection.

Fig. 2.32. After Joos van Cleve, *The Infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist Embracing*, between 1525–49, oil on panel, 56 x 56 cm. Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte.

Fig. 2.33. Pieter Aertsen, *The Pancake Bakery*, 1560, oil on panel, 86 x 170 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.

Chapter 3

Fig. 3.1. Martin Schongauer, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, c. 1470–75, engraving, 31,1 x 22,9 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.2. Michelangelo Buonarroti, *The Torment of Saint Anthony*, c. 1487–88, tempera and oil on panel, 47 x 33,7 cm. Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum.

Fig. 3.3. Martin Schongauer, *Resurrection (detail)*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,4 x 11,5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.4. Netherlandish, *The Crucifixion of Christ (detail)*, c. 1520, oil on panel, 181 x 178 cm. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen.

Fig. 3.5. Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo, *Resurrection (detail)*, 1496, dimensions unknown. Provesano, Main Chapel of the Church of San Leonardo.

Fig. 3.6. Maestro Bartolomé, *Resurrection (detail)*, c. 1480–88, oil on panel, 153,5 x 109,3 cm. Tucson, The University of Arizona Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.7. Martin Schongauer, *Agony in the Garden*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,3 x 11,4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Fig. 3.8. Martin Schongauer, *Taking of Christ*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,3 x 11,4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Fig. 3.9. Martin Schongauer, *Christ Before Annas*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16 x 11,2 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.10. Martin Schongauer, *Flagellation*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,4 x 11,5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Fig. 3.11. Martin Schongauer, *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,1 x 11,3 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.12. Martin Schongauer, *Ecce Homo*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,2 x 11,2 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.13. Martin Schongauer, *Christ Before Pilate*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,1 x 11,3 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.14. Martin Schongauer, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,2 x 11,4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Fig. 3.15. Martin Schongauer, *The Crucifixion*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,3 x 11,6 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Fig. 3.16. Martin Schongauer, *Entombment*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,4 x 11,5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.17. Martin Schongauer, *Descent into Limbo*, c. 1470–90, engraving, 16,5 x 11,6 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Fig. 3.18. Martin Schongauer, *Resurrection*, c. 1470–80, engraving, 16,4 x 11,5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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