

# 1500-1700 • *Flandes* by Substitution

Copies of Flemish Masters in the Hispanic World

International colloquium • **Brussels** • 9-10 February 2017

**Book of abstracts**

Organised by



Séminaire d'histoire de l'art de l'IRPA n° 18 | Kunsthistorisch seminarie van het KIK nr. 18  
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The artistic heritage of the regions that once formed part of the former Spanish Empire includes a large number of painted copies after Flemish masters made during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Most of these works have received little attention even though they constitute a valuable source for understanding the artistic influence of the Southern Netherlands on Spanish and Latin American art and society in this period. Indeed, the study of copies of Flemish masters sheds light on a number of art historical issues, including the means of diffusion of artistic models, stylistic trends and the dynamics of the art market and the world of collecting. These copies are a valuable testimony to the political, commercial and cultural ties that existed between the Hispanic territories and the Southern Netherlands.

On 9 and 10 February 2017 an international conference will be held on the copies of paintings of Flemish masters from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries related to the Hispanic world. The event will take place at the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage (KIK-IRPA) in Brussels and is organized in collaboration with the Spanish National Research Project COPIMONARCH. La copia pictórica en la Monarquía Hispánica, siglos XVI-XVIII (I+D HAR2014-52061-P) from the Universidad de Granada.

The conference will focus on the phenomenon of the copy from a large variety of approaches, ranging from workshop practices to collecting, trade and patronage. Papers on particular copies have been taken into consideration, but special attention has been paid to the driving forces behind the export-driven market of copies, such as artists, patrons, collectors and merchants. By taking into account cultural, religious, political and socio-economic dynamics, this conference aims to shed new light on the multifaceted artistic impact of the Southern Netherlands on the Hispanic world during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

#### **Scientific Direction**

**David García-Cueto**, Universidad de Granada

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Art History Seminar 18 of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage (KIK-IRPA) Brussels

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## Program

### Thursday, 9 February 2017

- 09:00 Registration & coffee  
09:30 Welcome by **Christina Ceulemans** (Director-General of KIK-IRPA, Brussels)  
09:40 **Didier Martens** (Université Libre de Bruxelles), *Jalons pour une histoire de la copie de Primitifs flamands en Espagne, depuis l'époque des Rois Catholiques jusqu'à Philippe IV*  
10:20 Questions and discussion

#### Session 1 • Chairwoman : **Valentine Henderiks** (KIK-IRPA, Brussels, Université libre de Bruxelles)

- 10:35 **Miquel Angel Herrero & Isidre Puig** (Universitat de Lleida), "*Christ crowned with Thorns with clasped hands*", or the fortune of a Flemish "*Ecce Homo*" among the Spaniards. On Bouts saga's originals, workshop replicas and Hispanic copies  
10:55 **Jessica Weiss** (Metropolitan State University of Denver), *Castilian Legacy and Juan de Flandes's Miraflores Copy*  
11:15 Discussion  
11:20 Coffee break  
11:40 **Nicola Jennings** (Courtauld Institute of Art, London), *Imitation, Inspiration or Innovation? Juan de Flandes and the Collection of Paintings of Isabella de Castile*  
12:00 **Marie Grappasonni** (Association du Patrimoine artistique, Brussels), *Les copies de Marcellus Coffermans (c. 1525-1581) d'après les Primitifs Flamands destinées au marché espagnol*  
12:20 Discussion  
12:30 Lunch

#### Session 2 • Chairman : **Werner Thomas** (Katholieke Universiteit van Leuven)

- 14:00 **Almudena Pérez de Tudela** (Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid), *Copias de retratos cortesanos entre España y los Países Bajos durante el reinado de Felipe II*  
14:20 **Astrid Harth** (Ghent University), "*Standing on the shoulders of giants*": Copying and the Habsburg collection policy  
14:40 **Antonia Putzger** (Technische Universität Berlin), *Strategic Anachronism and Network of Images: faithful copies of Early Netherlandish altarpieces at the court of Philip II*  
15:00 **Laura Alba, José Juan Pérez-Preciado** (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), **Lorne Campbell** (National Gallery, London) & **Hélène Dubois** (KIK-IRPA, Brussels, UGent), *Michiel Coxie's copies for the Spanish court: a comparison between the techniques used in his copies of the Ghent Altarpiece by the van Eycks and the «Descent from the Cross» by Rogier van der Weyden*  
15:20 Discussion  
15:40 Coffee break

#### Session 3 • Chairman : **Bart Fransen** (KIK-IRPA, Brussels)

- 16:00 **José Juan Pérez-Preciado** (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), *Jan Gossaert's Deesis at Prado copying Van Eyck's Saint Bavon altarpiece. Some new evidences about the use of the painting at El Escorial as a doctrinal and an artistic icon*  
16:20 **Ana Diéguez-Rodríguez** (Instituto Moll: Research Centre for the Flemish Painting in Spain, Madrid), *«The Calvary» of Hendrik de Clerck (1560-1630) for the church of Saint-Josse-ten-Noode in Brussels. Reflections over the influence of a «Calvary» by Michiel Coxie (1499-1592)*  
16:40 **Macarena Moralejo** (Universidad de León), *Copies emulating Federico Zuccari's model for the L'Annunziata church in Rome within the Flemish, Italian, German and Hispanic Ars Sacra (1500-1700)*  
17:00 Discussion

## Friday, 10 February 2017

08:30 Coffee

09:00 **Abigail Newman** (Rubenianum, Antwerp), *Copying Rubens, Claiming Rubens: The Dissemination and Incorporation of Rubens in 17th-Century Spain*

09:40 Discussion

**Session 4** • Chairwoman : **Natasja Peeters** (Royal Museum of the Armed Forces and Military History, Brussels)

09:50 **Manuel García-Luque** (Universidad de Granada), *Copies after Rubens and Van Dyck in Granada: reception and influence*

10:10 **Eduardo Lamas-Delgado** (KIK-IRPA, Brussels), *Miguel Manrique-Michele Fiammingo (ca 1610/12-1647) and the market of copies at the Western Mediterranean*

10:30 Discussion

10:40 Coffee break

**Session 5** • Chairman : **Pierre-Yves Kairis** (KIK-IRPA, Brussels)

11:00 **David García-Cueto** (Universidad de Granada), *Collecting and Copying Flemish Painting in the Royal Palaces and Monasteries of Madrid: Rubens' copies in the Patrimonio Nacional*

11:20 **Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo** (Fundación universitaria española, Madrid), «No ha de haber en los palacios estatua ni pintura que no crie en el pecho del príncipe gloriosa emulación»: *Rubens, Martínez del Mazo and the decoration of the Prince's Quarters in the Alcázar of Madrid*

11:40 Discussion

12:00 Lunch

**Session 6** • Chairman : **Ralph Dekoninck** (Université catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve)

14:00 **Stephanie Porras** (Tulane University), *Copying ad majorem Dei Gloriam: the Jesuit Order and the export of Antwerp artistic models to the Hispanic World*

14:20 **Sandra van Ginhoven** (Getty Research Institute), *Originals and Adaptable Compositions: Guiliam Forchondt's art dealership in Antwerp (1643-1678) and the Overseas Paintings Trade*

14:40 **Fernando Herrera & Selene García** (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), *Los cuadros flamencos de la iglesia de la Soledad de Oaxaca (México)*

15:00 Discussion

15:25 Coffee break

15:45 *Replica : une histoire d'aller-retour Séville-Bruxelles*. Presentation of the artistic work on the copy by Constantin Meunier (1831-1905) from the painting the *Descent from the cross* by Peter Kempeneer (1503-1580) by **Gloria Martin** (plastic artist)

Atelier • **Painting restoration workshop** (2nd floor)

16:15 «*The Holy Family*» by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). Presentation of the conservation work in progress on the painting by **Karen Bonne** (restorer of paintings at KIK-IRPA, Brussels)

17:00 Closing reception



## **Abstracts**

Thursday, 9 February 2017

**Didier Martens** (Université Libre de Bruxelles) • Keynote speaker lecture

*Jalons pour une histoire de la copie de Primitifs flamands en Espagne, depuis l'époque des Rois Catholiques jusqu'à Philippe IV*

La pratique de la copie d'après les Primitifs flamands est attestée de manière continue en Espagne depuis l'époque des Rois catholiques jusqu'au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le but de cet exposé sera de présenter dans une perspective diachronique les différents aspects de cette pratique, en interprétant le terme de copie au sens large, comme le font les spécialistes de la peinture du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, puisque seront prises en considération, outre les véritables réduplications de modèles -c'est-à-dire la copie exacte, au sens académique du terme- les copies «interprétatives» et les copies partielles...

La copie exacte apparaît de manière extrêmement précoce en Espagne. En effet, Isabelle la Catholique a fait réaliser dans les années 1490 une copie en format réduit du triptyque de Miraflores de Rogier Van der Weyden, qui reproduit non seulement les compositions des trois panneaux mais aussi le style propre à l'artiste tournaisien. Le contraste est grand avec les nombreuses copies de caractère interprétatif que la *Madone Durán* de Rogier a suscitées en Aragon et surtout en Castille dès les années 1460. Dans ces copies, le modèle a été soumis à un processus d'adaptation locale et l'iconographie a été en grande part normalisée. La copie de l'*Adoration des Rois* du triptyque du Maître bruxellois de la Légende de sainte Catherine destiné à la chartreuse de Burgos, répétition réalisée dans cette ville sous le règne de Philippe IV, montre que la pratique de la copie interprétative des Primitifs flamands se maintient jusqu'au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Elle atteste non seulement la haute valorisation dont a continué à bénéficier la peinture des Primitifs flamands en plein *Siglo de Oro*, mais aussi un souci d'émulation. Le principe de la normalisation iconographique demeure d'application.



Thursday, 9 February 2017

Miquel Angel Herrero & Isidre Puig (Universitat de Lleida)

*"Christ crowned with Thorns with clasped hands", or the fortune of a Flemish "Ecce Homo" among the Spaniards. On Bouts saga's originals, workshop replicas and Hispanic copies*

This work focuses on a model developed by the Bouts saga, which reached a remarkable popularity throughout Europe. It early became a devotional image, usually painted on small wooden panels, which suited the mercantile reality of the moment, especially to feed an increasing southern market. Thus, several examples can be traced, not only around Europe but also all over Spain, which confirms the real widespread of such image, which, in addition of becoming a serial image in Flemish and Spanish workshops, it also happened to be a model for later artworks, mainly for other 'Ecce Homo' models. This paper deals with the fortune of the afore mentioned composition through different preserved examples, –some of them actually unknown–, starting from the original models, and focusing especially on Flemish workshop copies for international export, and finally in devotional Spanish copies, produced at local or regional level. Along the paper it is intended to thresh the way that these paintings were conceived and created, considering various physical and chemical evidences (photographs with different sources of light, reflectographs, stratigraphy, etc.) and various procedural tracks. With all these clues similarities and differences in the choice of materials, as well as the technical and artistic processes of the various examples, can be traced and discussed. All this allows to shed light on the way originals of the Bouts saga were understood and reinterpreted, both workshop productions and subsequent Hispanic copies in a global contemporary context.

Thursday, 9 February 2017

Jessica Weiss (Metropolitan State University of Denver)

*Castilian Legacy and Juan de Flandes's Miraflores Copy*

In the early sixteenth century, the Castilian queen Isabel la Católica commissioned from her Netherlandish court painter a near identical copy of a small devotional triptych by Rogier van der Weyden. The original had been acquired by her father, Juan II, and donated to the king's funerary site of the Carthusian chapterhouse at Miraflores. The copy was likely used by the queen during her devotional practices and was itself later installed at a royal burial site. As the only copy created by the artist and the only copy definitively owned by the queen, the replica of the Miraflores Altarpiece was a unique object. My proposed paper will argue that the Miraflores Copy served a very specific purpose within the royal collection and conceptually supported one of the central tenants of Isabel's reign. As the daughter of Juan II's second wife, Isabel of Castile was not originally destined to reign. Her older brother, Enrique IV, assumed the throne upon Juan II's death. A political rebellion and the death of a youngest brother, however, brought the princess to the forefront of Castilian politics. Even though she was eventually named Enrique's successor, a second civil war waged between Isabel and Enrique's daughter was required to secure her reign. These events created a political environment that necessitated a propaganda campaign of circulated chronicles and public spectacles to communicate Isabel's legitimacy to rule. By placing the Miraflores Copy into this political and social context, I will argue that unlike later examples of Netherlandish copies in Hispanic contexts this specific example of replication, of an object closely associated with a previous ruler and created in the context of the refurbishment of his burial site, communicated a political message by providing a tangible and material link between father and daughter that implicated her legitimacy as queen.

Thursday, 9 February 2017

Nicola Jennings (Courtauld Institute of Art, London)

*Imitation, Inspiration or Innovation? Juan de Flandes and the Collection of Paintings of Isabella de Castile*

The attribution of the copy of Rogier van der Weyden's Life of the Virgin altarpiece (Capilla Real, Granada/Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) to Juan de Flandes is accepted by most scholars. What has not yet been looked at is whether other copies in Isabella of Castile's collection – such as the copy of the Virgin and Our Man of Sorrows – are also by Flandes. One of the preliminary issues which must be addressed is the training Juan de Flandes received before arriving in Castile and what models he is likely to have brought with him. Due to his citation of works associated with the Master of Mary of Burgundy and other Bruges and Ghent illuminators, it has often been suggested that Flandes came from a similar background, but no one has yet come up with a specific curriculum vitae. Focussing on the Hours of Joanna of Castile (British Museum, Add. Ms 35313) associated mainly with the Master of James IV of Scotland, this paper will propose that Juan de Flandes himself was responsible for some of its illuminations and accompanied an embassy bringing it to Castile in 1496. It will look more closely at how Flandes copied individual figures and compositions from this manuscript and from the Isabella Breviary (which probably arrived soon afterwards) as sources for the paintings he produced for Isabella of Castile. One of the results was the series known as the Polyptych of Isabella of Castile which will be envisaged not as a polyptych or retablo but as innovative Book of Hours on panel. The paper will also consider the relationship between the illuminations used by Flandes, paintings in Isabella's collection such as the Triptych with Scenes from the Life of John the Baptist, and the work of local painters such as the Maestro of Miraflores.

Thursday, 9 February 2017

**Marie Grappasonni** (Association du Patrimoine artistique, Brussels)

*Les copies de Marcellus Coffermans (c. 1525-1581) d'après les Primitifs Flamands destinées au marché espagnol*

Marcellus Coffermans constitue une figure atypique de la peinture anversoise de la Renaissance. En effet, ce contemporain de Philippe II a produit, à partir de 1549, des œuvres délibérément anachroniques, souvent copiées d'après des modèles peints ou gravés du xv<sup>e</sup> et du tout début du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ses sources principales furent Rogier van der Weyden, Hans Memling, Martin Schongauer et Albrecht Dürer. Sa production archaïsante semble avoir été destinée exclusivement au marché espagnol. Un premier catalogue de l'œuvre de Coffermans a été publié en 2003 par l'historien d'art néerlandais Marc Rudolf de Vrij. Il est loin d'être complet. Aujourd'hui, la majorité des œuvres de Marcellus Coffermans a une provenance espagnole avérée. Il s'agit de sujets populaires illustrant des scènes de la Passion ou des épisodes de la Vie de la Vierge. Contrairement à ses contemporains, il n'a jamais été au service de la cour mais a réalisé des œuvres pour le marché libre, ce qui a rendu sa production très importante.

Thursday, 9 February 2017

Almudena Pérez de Tudela (Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

*Copias de retratos cortesanos entre España y los Países Bajos durante el reinado de Felipe II*

Felipe II tuvo la suerte desde su juventud de conocer a importantes retratistas en los Países Bajos que terminaron trabajando para él y difundiendo su imagen. Entre ellos descuella la figura de Antonio Moro que se traslada a España a servir al rey en 1559. Sus prototipos en ocasiones fueron copiados por Alonso Sánchez Coello que se formó junto a él y terminaron en los Países Bajos. Con estas copias se podía satisfacer a la demanda de una imagen actualizada para estrechar las relaciones familiares y políticas. Aparte del rey y su familia, los gobernadores de Flandes necesitaban también difundir su propia imagen y recurren a las copias de prototipos. Margarita de Austria, la hermanastra del rey, hará copiar en Bruselas retratos de su hijo Alejandro Farnese que se educaba en España y de la familia real española para enviarlos a Italia emergiendo en la documentación nombres de maestros poco conocidos. A su vez, el III duque de Alba, hará sacar copias del prototipo de su retrato por Willen Key que enviará a España e Italia para afianzar sus relaciones familiares y políticas. Otros personajes decisivos que contribuyen a distribuir estas copias de retratos de una manera muy similar serían el cardenal Granvela ayudándose de Crispin van der Broeck (1521-1593). Aunque se conocen mejor sus obras religiosas, algunas de ellas también copias, también trabajaría como copista de retratos. En esta comunicación se pretende reconstruir en la medida de lo posible esta circulación de copias de retratos cortesanos entre Madrid y Bruselas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, así como arrojar luz sobre los artifices que los realizaban manejando documentación inédita o poco conocida.

Thursday, 9 February 2017

Astrid Harth (Ghent University)

*"Standing on the shoulders of giants": Copying and the Habsburg collection policy*

During the sixteenth century, Burgundian court painters Michiel Coxcie and Anthonis Mor produced copies after the great works of Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden. This practice of copying after Flemish models emerged at the end of the previous century and quickly became a ubiquitous practice in the Southern Netherlands. However, in contrast to their predecessors, who produced copies after contemporary compositions, Coxcie and Mor made copies after models of a past akin. Moreover, these masters did not produce these copies in response to private devotional practices and the corresponding demands of local patrons or the art market instead their practice was prompted by the collection policy of the Habsburg rulers. In recent decades, this phenomon of repeating earlier models as well as the collecting efforts of the Habsburg rulers has been described as "an archaism" (Panofsky, 1953), a historically self-concious act (Silver, 1987; Weissert, 2011) or a retrospective phenomenon (Kavaler, 2012; Bass, 2016) which attests of a rising conservatism aiming to retain the Burgundian past. However, if Netherlandish painting and the Habsburg collection policy were suffocated by tradition and were thus not areas of active development, why would these monarchs settle for copies that do not exactly reproduce the originals, which they initially aimed to acquire, and why would Coxcie and his colleague make an effort to introduce modifications to these past compositions? In this paper, I aim to elaborate on these questions by looking at these Flemish copies produced for the Spanish court through the lens of de Hollanda's art theory to argue that this practice is more than a retrospective desire to perpetuate Eyckian tradition.

Thursday, 9 February 2017

**Antonia Putzger** (Technische Universität Berlin)

*Strategic Anachronism and Network of Images: faithful copies of Early Netherlandish altarpieces at the court of Philip II*

The faithful copy of an older artwork establishes a link to the time and place of the replicated object, while also reflecting the artistic and political parameters of its own time and place. Recently copies and retrospective phenomena have become an important theme in art history. However, the role of faithful copies in early modern times has yet to be determined more clearly, to which I contribute with my recently completed PhD thesis on the substitution of originals by copies in the 16th and 17th century. In the proposed paper I will present some results of my research on the role of copies of Early Netherlandish altarpieces at the Spanish Court in the second half of the 16th century. On the one hand, I will focus on the famous true-scale copy by Michiel Coxcie after the Ghent Altarpiece – faithful in parts and not in others, which highlights its strategically employed anachronistic potential. On the other hand, I will cast light on the network of copies of Rogier van der Weyden's Deposition of Christ. These cases allow to explore different aspects of the aesthetic, religious and political functions of copies. They enable us to trace the contemporary reception of the copied work as an artwork as well as a religiously and dynastically charged image. By this we receive clues as to why these true-scale copies were commissioned by Philip II – a monarch who could have had many famous contemporary artists at his service to create up-to-date works of art. Both cases can be related to other phenomena, such as the distribution of cult images and the collection of relics as well as to the construction and function of the Spanish royal palaces. Thus the case studies also provide a methodological framework for a more general consideration of the role of copies at the Spanish Court.

Thursday, 9 February 2017

**Laura Alba, José Juan Pérez-Preciado** (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), **Lorne Campbell** (National Gallery, London) & **Hélène Dubois** (KIK-IRPA, Brussels, UGent),

*Michiel Coxcie's copies for the Spanish court: a comparison between the techniques used in his copies of the Ghent Altarpiece by the van Eycks and the «Descent from the Cross» by Rogier van der Weyden*

When Philip II realized that he could not acquire the Ghent Altarpiece, he decided to commission Michiel Coxcie to paint a copy, executed in 1556-1558; later, in 1566, he considered commissioning Coxcie to paint a second copy. Coxcie had already painted, before 1549, for Mary of Hungary a copy of Rogier's Descent from the Cross and it replaced the original after it had been acquired for Mary's collection. This copy seems to be the one preserved nowadays at the Gemäldegalerie of Berlin. The original afterwards belonged to Philip II, who also owned two full-size copies. Both now belong to the Prado. One of the copies was described in 1582 as the work of "Maestre Miguel Pintor Flamenco" – clearly Coxcie. Coxcie also painted for Philip II a Descent from the Cross of his own invention: it was on canvas, measured 7 ½ x 8 pies and was mentioned in letters of 1563 and 1569, in the Escorial inventory of 1574 and in descriptions of the Escorial. It appears to have been removed to France in 1809-1810 and has not yet been identified. The study of Philip II's two copies of Rogier's Descent from the Cross confirms that one, now lent from the Prado to the Escorial, is very probably the work of Coxcie. The other, lent from the Prado to the Capilla Real at Granada, is different in technique and style. Comparing his copying methods of the Descent of the Cross and of the brothers Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece supported this conclusion and illustrated his approach to adapt the original compositions to emulate the earlier masters.



Thursday, 9 February 2017

José Juan Pérez-Preciado (Museo Nacional del Prado)

*Jan Gossaert's Deesis at Prado copying Van Eyck's Saint Bavon altarpiece. Some new evidences about the use of the painting at El Escorial as a doctrinal and an artistic icon*

One of the most outstanding examples in the use of key works by the Early Netherlandish masters as a subject of a copy with destination the Habsburg Courts, is the Deesis made by Jan Gossaert and today held by the Museo del Prado, which repeats the faces of the same characters of the Van Eyck's altarpiece at San Bavon in Gent. As it was recently studied, the author of the copy made a trace of all sacred faces into different pieces of paper in one to one scale. Traces which were glued to a panel using the not very common Marouflage technique. The objective should be not only creating an exact copy of the faces by Van Eyck, but especially reproducing what was consider to be Vera Efigies, especial in the case of Christ, also painted by Van Eyck independently. This religious purpose could be considered as strong as the desire of honoring van Eyck, due to the consideration of the altarpiece as a high artistic references at that very moment. As it has also been hypothesized, the first patron of the piece could have been Mary of Hungary, the aunt of Charles v and governor of the Low Countries. She would have installed the painting in her sepulchral chapel at the Royal Monastery of Brou in Bourg en Bresse. This would imply that the first use of the new icon created by Gossaert would have been purely funerary. However, the use of the work once inherited by Philip II and subsequently sent to El Escorial has never been totally studied. The "entregas" or documents listing the objects given by the king to the Monastery have been always partially quoted, and therefore the real status of the Deesis at El Escorial has never been properly defined. The communication here proposed will include the complete reading of the documents to show how the Deesis, once in Spain, was converted into a triptych whose wings did not include painting but texts from the Gospel and other Christian Statements of Belive such as the Athanasian Creed. The funerary use was subsequently change into a much more doctrinal use. Besides the use the Deesis received as a religious object once in Spain, the communication here proposed will focus on the evidences around the consideration of the painting to be a copy from Saint Bavon Altarpice, even in XVIth and XVIIth centuries, and the attention it received as a copy. That evidences, which justify the early attribution to Michel Coxcie that the painted received from XVI to XIX centuries while it remained at El Escorial, have not been put into consideration till now.

Thursday, 9 February 2017

**Ana Diéguez-Rodríguez** (Instituto Moll: Research Centre for the Flemish Painting in Spain, Madrid)

*"The Calvary" of Hendrik de Clerck (1560-1630) for the church of Saint-Josse-ten-Noode in Brussels. Reflections over the influence of a «Calvary» by Michiel Coxcie (1499-1592)*

It was on 19th August of 1623 when the Spanish Infant Isabel Clara Eugenia donated 300 pounds of Flanders to the Church of Saint-Josse-ten Noode in Brussels, on behalf of his nephew the King of Spain, Philip IV, for a painting with the Calvary. It was being painted by the court painter, Hendrick de Clerck, for the main altarpiece. The painting had to follow the Michiel Coxcie's "Crucifixion at Alsembergh" nearby Brussels, as the documents explain. This Michiel Coxcie's Crucifixion has been identified with which was painted by Coxcie for the main altarpiece of the Saint-Mary's church at Alsembergh. According to Van Mander, this painting was the first and main work made by Coxcie, and many painters went to Brussels only to see it. Along with these precedents, this lecture wants to reflect on the attraction of a prototype over their contemporaries, doing that a painting made in the middle of XVIth century was copied and imitated in XVIIth century, as documentation and copies prove. By other hand, according to the copies and versions known, this lecture pretends to find out which was the prototype that Hendrick de Clerck could have been following.

Thursday, 9 February 2017

**Macarena Moralejo** (Universidad de León)

*Copies emulating Federico Zuccari's model for L'Annunziata church in Rome within the Flemish, Italian, German and Hispanic Ars Sacra (1500-1700)*

The works of German painter Hans Johann Rottenhammer I (1564-1625) clearly owe a great deal to the Flemish and Italian schools of Mannerism comprising artists such as Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, Paul Brill and Jan Brueghel the Elder. In our opinion, there is an unprecedented artistic relationship between Rottenhammer and the Zuccari brothers that merits to be brought to light, a relationship which began following a commission that the firstborn brother, Taddeo Zuccari received to create a fresco for decorating the apse of the Roman church L'Annunziata, the first church built by the Society of Jesus in Rome (1564-1566). Upon the sudden and unexpected death of his brother, Federico finished the work on the fresco with a magnificent representation of the "Annunciation with Saints and Prophets", a fresco that has all but disappeared, though we do know of its original design based on two engravings, the first of which, dedicated to Cardinal Granvelle, was particularly popular throughout Hispanic territories and the Flemish world. Our objective will be to analyse the heretofore unpublished sermon that I have recently discovered at the National Central Library of Florence that inspired the Zuccari brothers in the creation of this fresco. We will also discuss how the wording of the speaker was used as a vehicle by the Zuccari brothers to convey highly innovative iconography to this fresco, and how this very fresco –and its two engravings– were the source of inspiration for the Flemish school of painting (anonymous, art auction 2009), German school (copy rendered by Rottenhammer, art auction 2007), Italian school (copy of Domenico Sacchetta, Fano Art Gallery) and, finally, the copy devised by Patricio Cajés and/or Francisco Pacheco (Lope de Vega Museum, Madrid).

Friday, 10 February 2017

**Abigail Newman** (Rubenianum, Antwerp) • Keynote speaker lecture

*Copying Rubens, Claiming Rubens: The Dissemination and Incorporation of Rubens in 17th-Century Spain*

In assessing Peter Paul Rubens' paintings in Spanish inventories and art treatises and their echoes in Spanish painters' responses to them, I argue that Rubens' paintings offered a dramatically new model of Flemish art in Spain, rooted in the human figure. With Rubens' designs spawning progeny in tapestries, prints, and paintings on various supports, shipped in large numbers to Spain and beyond, Spanish artists copied, pastiched, adapted, and reimagined Rubens' compositions, refiguring them in their own work in unexpected ways. Whereas Spanish conceptions of Flemish painting had long centered on the depiction of "surroundings" – landscapes, still lifes, perspective scenes, and so forth – in Rubens' paintings, Spanish audiences saw an entire style and approach to art unmoored from a geographical foundation, with the power to be fully integrated into "Spanish" art.

Friday, 10 February 2017

**Manuel García-Luque** (Universidad de Granada)

*Copies after Rubens and Van Dyck in Granada: reception and influence*

The high number of copies after Rubens and Van Dyck preserved in Spain is one of the best evidences of the Spanish seventeenth-century taste for the Flemish Baroque painting. This paper focus on the case of Granada, studying the copies from these two masters conserved in different churches of the city and its surroundings. In the first part we offer an inventory of all known copies so far and some new additions. We also discuss some methodological issues, such as the difficulty in stablishing its authorship, production center, chronology and copy source (original paintings, other copies, coppers or prints). In the second part we analyse the reception of these copies by patrons and painters in Granada. A broad range of creative copies are studied here, from oil on canvas to wall paintings. These examples demonstrate the decisive importance of Rubens and Van Dyck's work in the development of the Granada school of painting during the second half of the seventeenth century and even during the first decades of the eighteenth century, from masters as Pedro Atanasio Bocanegra, Juan de Sevilla and José Rissueño to less known painters as Juan de Medina or José Hidalgo.

Friday, 10 February 2017

**Eduardo Lamas-Delgado** (KIK-IRPA, Brussels)

*Miguel Manrique-Michele Fiammingo (ca 1610/12-1647) and the market of copies at the Western Mediterranean*

The painter Miguel Manrique, known as Michele Fiammingo in Genoa, was a Flemish artist of Spanish origins who developed his career in Italy and in Spain. Some authors affirmed that he was trained by Rubens in Antwerp. At the end of his life he established himself in the city of Malaga, where he combined his profession as a painter with activities as a merchant and as a moneylender. The little is known about his work in Spain let us suppose that he dedicated a part of his artistic activity there to the production of copies after Rubens' models. This communication will analyse this little known production and will link it with other copies made by other local artists after baroque Flemish masters, and it will discuss an eventual local production of copies in concurrence or in collaboration with de art dealing houses in Antwerp in the Spanish art market.

Friday, 10 February 2017

David García-Cueto (Universidad de Granada)

*Collecting and Copying Flemish Painting in the Royal Palaces and Monasteries of Madrid: Rubens' copies in the Patrimonio Nacional*

In 1686, an inventory of the paintings hanging in the Alcázar of Madrid was completed. A total of 1.547 canvases were listed, and 120 of them were copies of famous masters. Rubens was by far the most copied artist in the collection of the Alcázar, with 45 copies from his works. The second position of the most copied master belonged to Titian, represented with 28. This situation confirms, as well known, the enormous appreciation that Rubens' art had in Madrid and at the same time, the demand that the Crown itself made of copies from him for certain decorative purposes. Many of the surviving copies of Rubens preserved in the Spanish royal collection by the beginning of the XIXth century were transferred to the new Museo del Prado, opened in 1819, as well as the most important original paintings of the master in king's hands. Those copies in the Prado have received particular attention from the scholars of Flemish painting, but that is not the case of another related set, the one formed by the copies of Rubens still today in the Royal Palaces and Monasteries belonging to the Patrimonio Nacional. This heterogenic group of copies from Rubens includes some made by his best Spanish copyist, Juan Baustista Martínez del Mazo, but also many by unknown local painters and probably some by Flemish ones. This proposed paper will analyze their authorship, artistic quality and relation to the originals of the master in Madrid, considering also when possible the display they had in the royal buildings during the Baroque period.

Friday, 10 February 2017

Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo (Fundación universitaria española, Madrid)

*"No ha de haber en los palacios estatua ni pintura que no crie en el pecho del príncipe gloriosa emulación": Rubens, Martínez del Mazo and the decoration of the Prince's Quarters in the Alcázar of Madrid*

In 1643 Baltasar Carlos of Austria reached adulthood. Until this moment, the Prince had lived in the bedchambers of his mother, Queen Elisabeth of Bourbon, in the Alcazar of Madrid. It is then that Philip IV decides to provide him with his own Quarters and Household. The Prince's household would require the appointment of a large number of domestic staff and, especially, the allocation of an area within the Alcázar where the crown Prince will reside from then on. The rooms that his uncle the Cardinal Infante don Fernando and Queen Mary of Hungary had occupied little before would be prepared for the Prince. This particular choice was not casual as, by doing so, the rooms that Philip II had previously destined for himself were being reclaimed. Therefore, the decoration of such a remarkable space will not be a trivial matter. A specific iconographic program would be drafted, as we know thanks to the 1686 inventory of the Alcázar of Madrid. Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo would be in charge of this task. Velázquez's son-in-law reproduced some of the most outstanding mythological paintings from the royal collection, painted by Rubens for the Torre de la Parada and the Alcazar itself. The focus of this paper will be the themes chosen for the canvases; the participation of the Prince himself in the project and his interest in the paintings, or the adaptation of his Quarters to the procedures of the moment, as reflected in Diego Saavedra Fajardo's words in his works *Idea de un príncipe Político Christiano* (1640).



Friday, 10 February 2017

Stephanie Porras (Tulane University)

*Copying ad majorem Dei Gloriam: the Jesuit Order and the export of Antwerp artistic models to the Hispanic World*

In 1590, the Bishop of Manila Domingo de Salazar wrote how: "In the Parian are found all the workers with all the skills and mechanical arts... with the Sangleys' ability to replicate those images from Spain, it should not be long when even those made in Flanders will not be missed." Praising the ingenuity of Chinese and Filipino carvers in copying Spanish models and potentially eliminating the need for imported Southern Netherlandish statues, Salazar's statement reveals the complicated nexus of artistic production and exchange between the Southern Netherlands, Spain and Habsburg territories in the Americas and Asia. This paper considers the role of the Jesuit order in promoting this preference for Antwerp's artistic products in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Hispanic world, via their patronage of copies after Southern Netherlandish models.

The selection of Antwerp engravers to illustrate the Order's most important evangelical aide, Gerónimo Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (and its later expansion the *Adnotationes et Meditationes*) – acknowledged the city's established dominance of the export print market. Scholars have long noted the widespread use of these illustrations as models for artists in various geographic contexts. But the Jesuits also used other examples of Southern Netherlandish art: small statues and devotional paintings, as well as exemplary engravings after Antwerp masters, as models for indigenous artisans from Lima to Manila. This paper explores the motivations for the Jesuits' preference for Antwerp's artistic exports, focusing on the ways in which Jesuit patrons in Asia and the Americas codified the practice of copying Southern Netherlandish models by local painters and carvers. Copying for the Jesuits in these territories was a mode of instruction and devotion, as well as a commercial strategy to feed the demands of the global Habsburg trading empire.

Friday, 10 February 2017

**Sandra van Ginhoven** (Getty Research Institute)

*Originals and Adaptable Compositions: Guilliam Forchondt's art dealership in Antwerp (1643-1678) and the Overseas Paintings Trade*

A systematic study of the business documentation of the painter and art dealer Guilliam Forchont (1608-1678) preserved in the Antwerp City Archives reveals his large-scale exports of Flemish paintings to Spain between 1643 and 1678, for the most part intended for the American markets. Forchondt's exports of paintings, especially during the 1660s and 1670s, reflect the efficient organization of his workshop production and the way information about buyers' preferences traveled through his business network. This should be situated in the context of an expanded transatlantic art trade during those two decades. Data collected from the shipping records of the transatlantic fleet for the period 1630-1680 kept in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville reveals that exports of artworks to Spanish America experienced a dramatic increase in the 1660s and 1670s when compared to the three previous decades. These findings show that during the third quarter of the seventeenth century the art markets in the Americas were a major destination for Flemish paintings. This paper focuses on the demand for imagery in Spain and the Americas that promoted Forchondt's large scale production of paintings in Antwerp and neighboring Mechelen specifically for the Hispanic World, and the ways visual cultures distant in geographical terms were actually in close contact and intermingled. Applying a data-driven approach and focusing on some of Forchondt's and other painters' surviving works in Spain, Mexico and Peru, this investigation explores ways in which the dissemination of known prototypes, the repetition and recycling of motifs, and the production of multiples, particularly religious series on copper and decorative paintings, permeated the markets and impacted local production in the Americas. This paper also discusses the impact that the costly and risky nature of the transatlantic trade, the strict dictums by the Catholic Church regarding the correct representation of images in the face of the Protestant threat, and the persistence of certain visual preferences among buyers had on the type of visual production exported to and disseminated across the Atlantic.

Friday, 10 February 2017

Fernando Herrera & Selene García (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

*Los cuadros flamencos de la iglesia de la Soledad de Oaxaca (México)*

En 1690 se estrenaba en Antequera del Valle de Oaxaca la iglesia dedicada a la devoción mariana más importante de la ciudad: la Virgen de la Soledad. La portada ha sido una y otra vez referida por su particular estructura a manera de biombo. Contrastantemente, en pocas ocasiones se menciona la notable serie de cuadros que se reguardan en el interior. Se trata de seis cuadros que ornaban el retablo principal ahora están colgados en las paredes de la única nave del edificio. Estos lienzos llaman la atención por sus composiciones y factura que acusan un origen no novohispano, sin embargo, la Historia del Arte en México, en las pocas líneas que les ha dedicado, aunque reconoce su calidad pictórica, su procedencia europea y la influencia de Rubens en algunos de ellos, inexactamente ha aceptado que pueden ser italianos y españoles.

Así, con la intención de ampliar el conocimiento sobre la pintura flamenca en la Nueva España, especialmente en torno a su importación, la presente comunicación mostrará que los cuadros de la Basílica de la Soledad no salieron de algún pincel novohispano, sino que son copias de procedencia europea, más específicamente reproducciones de obras de una serie de pintores antuerpienses estrechamente relacionados, entre ellos Rubens y Van Dyck. Además, se presentará el perfil del mecenas que compró los lienzos, el acaudalado clérigo y hombre de negocios a escala internacional, don Pedro de Otálora Carbajal. Finalmente se propondrá una reconstrucción del orden y sentido del retablo en el que las pinturas estuvieron colocadas.



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