

# MULTIPLIED MODIFIED RECEPTION OF THE PRINTED IMAGE IN THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES

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people of Africa in Nuremberg and Augsburg in the 16th century. After completing her undergraduate MA at the University of Edinburgh and her postgraduate MA at the Courtauld Institute of Art, focusing on the Burgundian Netherlands, Carolin was a research assistant at the Victoria and Albert Museum working on the exhibition *Pearls* but returned to Germany to prepare and start her PhD in 2015. Since April 2017, she receives a merit based PhD scholarship and until February held a six-month fellowship at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.

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ABSTRACTS (ALPHABETICAL BY PRESENTER)

Carolin Alff (Heidelberg University)

*Drawn, Printed and Coloured: The Reception of Reproduced Figures in 16th-century Costume Books*

Figures resembling one another in shape but differing in colour were collected in several 16th-century costume books that were probably printed and illuminated in Augsburg and its vicinity. While the outlines of the figures are reproduced again and again, they are illuminated in an individualistic way. The figures originate from the same series of prints but are coloured to suit different tastes: while some printed figures are illuminated especially colourful with gold paint additions, others appear as if painted in *grisaille*. Five bound collections of these costumed men and women form a group of hybrid objects that possess traits of both the drawn costume manuscript and the printed costume book. The image-types depicted as drawings, print or coloured prints transfer between these objects from illumination to print and back again. Their similar subject matter functions as an ideal basis for investigating the reproduction of painted, printed and printed and coloured figures.

Today painted, printed and printed and coloured costume convolutes are found in several collections. Especially the latter frequently display obvious signs of alterations: the coloured prints are sometimes cut out, repasted or the book is repurposed entirely. Their conditions testify to a fluctuating appreciation of their value through time. In contrast, many of the drawn manuscripts and printed costume books received care and were conserved in their original state. The question arises whether it is especially their hybrid state that makes them susceptible to changing tastes and fashions. To answer this question the paper investigates the reception of such reproduced images in different media and through time.

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Ilaria Andreoli (L'Institut des Textes et Manuscrits Modernes – Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris; Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice)

*The 'Passio veneziana': from Sheet to Book to Wall*

The *Devote meditationi sopra la passione* (Venice: Hieronymus de Sanctis, 1487) are the first example of mid-15th century woodblocks reemployed in a book printed in movable type. The 11 archaic illustrations were printed from blocks sawed out of a blockbook, the *Passio Christi* series, which survives only in a single incomplete set of 25 scenes in Nuremberg, where since the 15th century it decorated an altar triptych in the Dominican nunnery of St. Katherine. A close, hand-coloured copy of the Nuremberg prints likewise survives in a single imperfect set in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett. These two sets, dated between 1425 and 1455, are the only known remnants from a pre-1500 Italian blockbook, and curiously both sets have early German provenances. Despite possible inspiration from Northern narrative cycles of the Life of Christ, the execution of the picture panel's series is nevertheless thoroughly Italian in style and technique. Its design is attributed to the Venetian painter and illuminator Cristoforo Cortese (active c.1399–c.1445), the first identified European artist to have designed woodcuts that actually survived. One series was used by an itinerant artist as a model for the Passion scenes in the frescoes of a little church in Fratta di Romans, in the North-east of Italy.

Ilaria Andreoli (PhD, Universities of Lyon and Venice, 2006) is a specialist of engraving and early modern book illustration, especially in Italy (Venice and Florence) and France (Lyon and Paris) in the 15th and 16th centuries. Her research interests involve the circulation of iconographical patterns via the illustrated book in Early Modern Europe; Renaissance texts and images; bibliophily and the arts of the books in

the 19th and 20th centuries; the concepts of forgery and fake in art history. She is the author of many articles, the editor of *Exercices Furieux: A Partir de L'Édition de L'Orlando Furioso de Franceschi* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013) and her PhD dissertation on the 16th century Venetian publisher and printer Vincenzo Valgrisi is forthcoming (Geneva: Droz). She received fellowships from the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon, the Ecole française in Rome, the French Academy in Rome, the Harvard University's Houghton Library, the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris, the Fondazione Cini in Venice, Harvard University's Villa I Tatti, the Kluge Center at the Library of Congress, the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and the Huntington Library. She is now an associated researcher to the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS, ITEM-Ecole Normale Supérieure), she teaches history and techniques of book illustration at the University of Normandy, in Caen.

Yvonne Bleyerveld (RDK – The Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague)  
***The Print Series by the Early 16th-century Amsterdam Printmaker Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen and the Print Publisher Doen Pietersz. An Innovative Product of the Early 16th-century Art Market***

Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen (c.1465–1533) was the first artist in Amsterdam known by name and one of the first printmakers in the Netherlands. He ran a successful workshop producing – besides panel paintings, altarpieces and designs for painted glass roundels – numerous woodcuts. The artist specialised in multi-block print series: giant woodcuts consisting of various printed sheets that were pasted together and meant for display on walls in public or religious spaces and households. A good example is the refined print series *The Life of the Virgin*, that was published in 1507 and comprises seven prints, making up an impressive frieze of almost two metres length. Most of the Jacob Cornelisz's print series have a devotional function, but in 1518 he also made a series of nine woodcuts showing a large procession of Counts and Countesses of Holland on horseback.

In producing his print series Jacob Cornelisz developed a close partnership with the Amsterdam book and print publisher Doen Pietersz (c.1480–after 1536), who was involved in the production and distribution of Jacob's woodcuts for about twenty years. Having a good nose for the needs of the early 16th-century customers, Pietersz published Jacob's print series in various editions,

with different ornamental frames and/or texts in different languages (Dutch, French or Latin). The woodcuts were also reused in new iconographical ensembles, making economic use of the woodblocks in stock. Frequently the print series do not only bear the monogram of Jacob Cornelisz and the publisher's address, but also the coat of arms of Amsterdam, promoting the city as a centre for print production.

In my lecture I will demonstrate how Jacob Cornelisz and his business partner Doen Pietersz contributed to early 16th-century print production in the Low Countries by introducing in a considerably innovative and inventive, but at the same time economic way Jacob's large print ensembles – a rather new genre in Northern Europe – on the market.

Yvonne Bleyerveld is Senior Curator of Prints and Drawings (c.1500–1800) at the RDK – Netherlands Institute for Art History in The Hague. For The New Hollstein series she is compiling a volume on the woodcuts by the Amsterdam printmaker Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen. She studied art history at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, where she also wrote her dissertation (1999) and worked as a lecturer until 2007. For many years she worked as a freelance researcher, text writer and editor for various Dutch museums and publishers. She wrote various publications on Netherlandish 16th- and 17th-century drawings, prints and iconography. With Ilja Veldman she wrote *The Netherlandish Drawings of the 16th Century in Teylers Museum* (Leiden: Primavera, 2016). She is co-author of the exhibition catalogue *Bosch to Bloemaert. Early Netherlandish Drawings in Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Paris* (Fondation Custodia); Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen); Washington (National Gallery of Art), Bussum 2014.

Giuseppe Capriotti (University of Macerata)  
***Eroticism under a Watchful Eye. Censorship and Alteration of Xylographs in Ovid's Metamorphoses between the 15th and the 16th Centuries***

The aim of this paper is to analyze the ambiguous reception of woodcuts that decorate some printed editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, published in Italy between the 15th and the 16th centuries. Some blocks of prints were arbitrarily reused in different editions, other times they were reproduced with slight modifications or in some cases colored with watercolor. In particular, we intend to examine the complex phenomenon of the modification of images, generated by public and private censorship as for the prints regarded as erotic.

A few days before the publication of the first illustrated edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, printed in Venice in 1497, the patriarch of the city threatened that he would excommunicate the publisher and the printer, if they published those woodcuts portraying male and female nudes. In this first edition which had already been printed, the publisher was forced to modify the prints, by covering up the nudities manually, with a strange dark color, while he had to change the wooden mold in all the following editions. Despite the amendments required by public censorship, these woodcuts subsequently became victims of private censorship when they entered libraries: in some books, decorated with the series of 1497, the prints were covered or defaced with showy signs of Indian ink.

This same phenomenon can also be found in some specimens of the *Trasformationi* by Lodovico Dolce (1553), in which some prints made by Giovanni Antonio Rusconi and considered erotic prints, were covered with black spots. Within this phenomenon, a sample of the *Metamorphoses* edited by Raffaele Regio (1505) together with one of them translated by Niccolò degli Agostini (1522) are mentioned as notable exceptions: many prints, instead of being censored, are made more sexually explicit by a mysterious reader by means of some funny insertions in Indian ink.

Giuseppe Capriotti is Assistant Professor at the University of Macerata (Italy), where he teaches *Iconography and Iconology* and *History of Images*. After an interdisciplinary thesis in History of Religion – Early Modern Art History (2000), he won a scholarship for a PhD at the University of Macerata (2000–2003), during which he studied at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris, under the direction of Daniel Arasse and Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux. He gave seminars at the Université Pierre-Mandès-France of Grenoble (France), at the University of Zagreb (Croatia) and at the University of Oviedo (Spain). He has been Visiting Professor at the University of Split (Croatia). He published several articles or books on anti-Jewish and anti-Turkish painting and on the fortune of the Greek mythology in art (in particular on the fortune of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*). He published *Lo scorpione sul petto. Iconografia antiebraica tra XV e XVI secolo alla periferia dello Stato Pontificio* (Roma: Gangemi, 2014), *L'alibi del mito. Un'altra autobiografia di Benvenuto Cellini* (Genova: Il melangolo, 2013) and the anastatic reprint of the *Trasformationi* by Lodovico Dolce (Ancona: Affinità Elettive, 2013).

András Handl (KU Leuven), Alexandra Ida Mütel (University of Bonn)

*A Glimpse into Eternity: The Reception and Transformation of the Bildmotette 'Adoration of God's Lamb' by Joos van Winghe and Johann Sadeler*

The so-called *Bildmotette*, a late 16th-century invention, has its origins in the confessional confrontations in the Low Countries. The new genre presents written music not only in a visually appealing setting but also as part of the iconographic composition. The engravings offered, due their mostly biblical themes, far more than a multi-sensual or aesthetic experience: The collective polyphone singing combined with the visual contemplation provided a unique spiritual experience rooted in the Roman Catholic religious exercise. The *Adoration of God's Lamb*, a co-production of Joos van Winghe, Johann Sadeler and Andreas Péverage represents an early and iconographically particularly intriguing example of a *Bildmotette*. The combination of several scenes from the Revelations of John (Rev. 4, 5 and 6) offers not only a novel and theologically outstanding composition, but also visualise a passage reflecting the final objective of any existence from the Christian perspective. With other words, it permits a meditative glimpse into the promised eternity.

The skilful visual and theological conception seems to literally strike the right chord of its time: it was multiplied several times. At least two paintings used it as a *Vorlage* (Toruń and a recent discovery in Stockholm), and one of the illustrations from the so-called *Kupferbibel* of Merian draws also from this source. Remarkably, the reception took place in a protestant context.

This paper aims to examine the reception of this engraving by paying particular attention to the modifications and transformations in composition, particularly in the light of the (intended) purpose of the copies.

András Handl (Budapest, 1979) is a FWO Marie Skłodowska-Curie [PEGASUS]<sup>2</sup> post-doctoral fellow at the Research Unit History of Church and Theology, Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, KU Leuven, Belgium. He studied theology, Christian archaeology and art as well as journalism in Budapest, Erlangen, Leipzig and Rome. He earned his Ph.D. at the University of Basel in 2015 with a dissertation on bishop Calixtus I of Rome (217?–222?) and his controversy with the Author of the *Refutatio omnium haeresium*. His ongoing research project investigates the reception history of the story of Jesus and the adulteress woman (*pericopa adulterae*, John 7,53-8,11) in late Antiquity in all reception media.

Alexandra Ida Mütel is currently a doctoral student at the Department of Art History, University of Bonn, Germany. She studied art history, Medieval Latin philology and Archive sciences in Bonn. Between 2011 and 2015, she worked as doctoral researcher at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, Italy. Her doctoral dissertation deals with the *Skulptural Allegorie des italienischen Barocks*.

Olenka Horbatsch (The British Museum, London)  
**A 'Passion' for Prints: Netherlandish Engravings in an Early 16th-century Prayer Book**

An extraordinary prayer book manuscript dated c.1530 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) shows that printed images became recognized as a collectible category of art much earlier than is commonly understood. The manuscript, which includes 16 masterfully hand-coloured engravings by contemporary northern European printmakers, predates the emergence of coherent collecting criteria for prints. Accordingly, it provides a rare, early example of how prints were not only assembled but also used in northern Europe in the early 16th century.

Passion imagery is a focal point of the manuscript, and Lucas van Leyden's 12-print series, the *Engraved Passion* (1521), is interwoven with prayers about the Passion in the vernacular Dutch. The close relationship between devotional text and printed image sheds light on the function and use value of religious prints. Through assembly and alteration, Lucas's *Passion* series takes on new meaning, with textual accompaniment and through hand colouring, seen most prominently in the addition of red paint for blood and gold leaf.

Beyond the devotional function, the selection and assembly of prints in the manuscript offers valuable evidence of the reception of prints. Lucas's series is combined with prints by lesser-known printmakers Frans Crabbe (Mechelen, c.1480–1553), Master S (active in Antwerp, c.1520), and Jacob Binck (Cologne, 1495–present-day Kaliningrad, 1569). This inclusion, I argue, indexes a growing interest in regional print production alongside the internationally oriented output of Lucas van Leyden, and I draw comparisons with prints by Master S pasted into manuscripts in the collection of the British Museum. I situate the engravings, together with the vernacular text, within a new regional market for luxury goods, located in or near Antwerp, the cultural capital of the southern Netherlands.

Olenka Horbatsch is curator of Dutch, Flemish and German prints and drawings at the British Museum. She received

her PhD in Art History from the University of Toronto in 2017. Her dissertation examined 16th-century Netherlandish printmaking, specifically Lucas van Leyden and his lesser-known contemporaries in the northern and southern Low Countries. She has previously worked at the Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) and the Art Gallery of Ontario (Toronto), and she has held fellowships at the Kupferstichkabinett (Berlin) and the Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies (Toronto).

● Suzanne Karr Schmidt (The Newberry, Chicago)  
**Multiplicity and Absence: The Negative Evidence of Interactive Prints**

Blank spaces, blank versos, and entirely missing pages often serve as compelling evidence for the former presence of interactive components in early modern prints. Already ephemeral objects despite initially large print runs, interactive prints in particular point to a larger body of vanished specimens due to their increased fragility. Even early 20th-century reproductive technologies capture only some aspects of their functionalities, when they record them at all. This keynote will make a case study of a variety of interactive prints that did not survive the Second World War, and, expanding on it, demonstrate what the lack of movable parts or instructions can tell us about the originals.

Suzanne Karr Schmidt is the George Amos Poole III Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts at the Newberry, Chicago's Independent Research Library since 1887. Previously, she was the Assistant Curator in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the Art Institute of Chicago, after holding a postdoctoral Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship there. Suzanne has a PhD in the History of Art from Yale University and a BA from Brown University. She loves curating exhibitions and writing about unusual forms of early printmaking, as in her 2011 *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life* show and catalogue at the Art Institute. Her other print exhibitions there included *Landsknechte: Foot Soldiers of Fashion* (2016); *Dionysos Unmasked: Ancient Sculpture and Early Prints* (2015), and *Burnishing the Night: Baroque to Contemporary Mezzotints from the Collection* (2015). Suzanne contributed an essay to Susan Dackerman's Harvard University Art Museums *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* exhibition catalogue (2012). She also co-edited an Ashgate/Routledge anthology with Edward Wouk called *Prints in Translation 1450–1750: Image, Materiality, Space* (2016). Suzanne's newest publication, a history of the Renaissance Pop-Up Book, *Interactive and Sculptural Printmaking in the Renaissance*, was published in October 2017 with Brill.

Alexandra Kocsis (University of Kent, Canterbury)  
***Speaking Images and Speaking to the Images:  
 Antonio Lafreri's Religious Prints in Counter-  
 Reformation Rome***

The old topos of the speaking image is usually associated with the history of medieval art, however, the practice survived and thrived in the mid-16th century as well. In this period, the practice of completing printed images with inscriptions became more and more widespread. Texts added to the printed images helped intensify the viewer's response to the depiction, especially in the case of religious topics. Publishers and printmakers used captions to enhance the communication between the depiction and the viewer, enabling and supporting the meditative function of the prints. Using the first person voice in the inscriptions could build an intimate relation between the printed image and its viewer-reader. However, it was not always the depicted figure who started speaking but the first person narrator of the text addressed the depiction and thus reversed the traditional setup. The viewer-readers could identify themselves with the narrator, joined the conversation, thus a dialogue could form between the viewer and the depiction.

Some high-quality prints by the famous Roman publisher, Antonio Lafreri, were also animated through the first person narrator of the inscriptions. Images after famous artists of the period, like Raphael or Giulio Clovio, were completed with Latin religious poetic texts in the prints. Thus these prints reflect a potential everyday function of these masterpieces, beyond their artistic use as collectibles. To provoke an intense emotional response and to enhance meditation on the depicted themes, the inscriptions in Lafreri's prints often addressed the reader-viewers directly. The additional texts in some of Lafreri's religious prints reflect the context of the Counter-Reformation and its effect on the arts. Besides analysing the communicative strategies of the prints, this paper also intends to establish a concrete connection between Lafreri's prints and Counter-Reformation religious culture. The reception history of a pair of prints by Lafreri reveals that the Jesuit Petrus Canisius used and made woodcut copies of Lafreri's prints for his own publication, a treatise on the Virgin Mary. Canisius provided an opportunity to get closer to the ideal audience of Lafreri's religious prints, and verify the hypotheses that were formulated during the analysis of the textual frameworks of the printed images.

Alexandra Kocsis is an art historian, doctoral fellow at the University of Kent, Canterbury, and at the Freie Universität Berlin (in the framework of the Erasmus Mundus joint PhD programme called *Text and Event in Early Modern Europe*). She has just submitted her doctoral thesis titled *The Functions of Texts in Printed Images: Text and Image in Reproductive Prints by Hieronymus Cock, Antonio Salamanca, and Antonio Lafreri* at the end of 2017. She worked on the relation of text and image in 16th-century prints from a comparative European perspective under the supervision of Dr Ben Thomas (UKC) and Dr Claudia Olk (FU). She expects her viva taking place in the first months of 2018. She participated in several conferences during the three years of her doctoral studies, organised for example by the Courtauld Institute in London or the Centre André Chastel in Paris. She worked in several museums part-time and as an intern during her studies, in 2017, she contributed to a cataloguing project of early 17th-century engravings by the De Bry family in the National Maritime Museum, London. Before starting the doctoral programme, she obtained a Master's degree in Art History at the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest (2013) and completed a research Master's programme in Medieval Studies at the Central European University in Budapest (2014). During her postgraduate studies, she spent one year at the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin (2011–2012).

Małgorzata Łazicka (The Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library)  
***Tradition and Innovation in Sebald Beham's  
 'Fortuna' and 'Infortunium'***

An important source of inspiration for Sebald Beham, one of the so-called German Little Masters, was Albrecht Dürer's graphic oeuvre. However, Beham's artistic production was also strongly influenced by Italian art and the production of other engravers from German speaking countries who were active in the first half of the 16th century. Moreover, the artist often combined various motives and ideas and, simultaneously, gave his compositions their own, exceptional meaning. Therefore, the majority of Beham's graphic works can be regarded as a very original combination of tradition and innovation.

A pair of engravings, *Fortuna* and *Infortunium* (1541), can serve as a great example. The word *fortuna* meant fate, chance or opportunity. Beham divided this notion into two different ideas, presenting personifications of good luck and bad luck. On the one hand, these prints were traditional because of their reference to medieval iconography and literature; on the other hand, the representation of

Fortuna corresponded well with other contemporary images of this topic. Furthermore, these engravings were innovative as far as some attributes and the combination of motives are concerned.

It seems that the starting point for almost all 16th-century drawings and prints depicting Fortune was Albrecht Dürer's *Nemesis* (1501/1502). The aim of this paper is to trace relations between two Beham's engravings and Dürer's masterpiece as well as other modifications of this famous composition made by artists such as Albrecht Altdorfer, Urs Graf, Heinrich Aldegrever or Niklaus Manuel Deutsch. Surely, *Fortuna* and *Infortunium* were an adaptation which was influenced by other prints. Nevertheless, it is possible to indicate that these two engravings might be regarded as author's original and innovative interpretation of this well-known motive.

Małgorzata Łazicka is an art historian (University of Warsaw, MA in history of art and BA in English Language Teaching) and the curator of Old Master Prints in the Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library. Her research is focused especially on the 16th-century Northern graphic arts, mainly German-speaking countries. She took part in scholarships and trainings abroad: Programme Erasmus+ (Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung Munich, Graphische Sammlung Nuremberg) and International Scholarship Programme at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Kupferstichkabinett). The results of the research were presented in publications (articles and catalogue entries) as well as during conferences organised in Poland, England and Germany. The outcome of her latest project (National Programme for the Development of Humanities) will be the printed catalogue of Barthel and Sebald Behams' prints from the collection of the Print Room.

● Jean Michel Massing (King's College, Cambridge)  
*Prints and the Beginnings of Global Imagery*

After mentioning the role of *Print Quarterly* in stimulating, for more than thirty-five years, the study of prints and my own early interests not only in the iconographies and also the diffusion of prints, my lecture focus on the early knowledge of European prints outside Western Europe, starting with the Ottoman world. I then look at Africa, where a number of early 16th-century saltcellars from Sierra Leone have Marian subjects, but the most extensive Christian cycles are found on three pyxes (containers for the host). I discovered that all these scenes, without exception, are based on

one printed source, a Book of Hours published by Thielman Kerver in Paris between 1509 and 1511. On the Indian subcontinent, which had a rich artistic scene and crafts not very different from European traditions, the appropriation of European forms was easier than elsewhere. The earliest example of the use of European printed sources is found on two ivory caskets dating from the 1540s, respectively the Robinson casket in the Victoria and Albert Museum and another in a private collection; they have motives from various sources, including Albrecht Dürer's *Bagpipe Player* of 1514 and two prints by Lucas van Leyden of 1508 and 1521, respectively the *St Lucas* and *Harrowing to Hell* from his *Passion of Christ*. In the Americas, the earliest example of the use of a print is an Aztec feather painting of the *Vision of St Gregory*. The inscription around the scene confirms that the feather panel was 'Made in Mexico... for Pope Paul III... in the year 1539, through the care of Pedro de Gante [Pieter van Gent]...'

The globalisation of the print culture and its dissemination world-wide happened in the last quarter of the 16th century. When looking at the influence of the engraving of St Michael by Hieronymus Wierix after Maerten de Vos of 1584, Stephanie Porras saw it as 'perhaps the first print design to circumnavigate the globe'. I claim that the globalisation of visual culture came through the influence of the Jesuits, especially the prints in Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines* published in Antwerp in 1593. The commission was given to the Wierix brothers, the principal engravers being Hieronymus, Johan and Antoon, but also Adrian and Jan Collaert, as well as Karel van Mallery. Their influence in the 17th and 18th centuries can be traced from Spain to Poland, Russia, South and Central America, but also Persia, Iran, India, Ethiopia, China and Japan. One challenge of global art history will be to show how people, from such divergent backgrounds, understood these images.

Jean Michel Massing is Professor Emeritus in History of Art and a Fellow of King's College, University of Cambridge. He has published widely on numerous topics. His most recent books include: *From the 'Age of Discovery' to the Age of Abolition: Europe and the World Beyond*, Cambridge (Mass.): Belknap Press, 2011 (*The Image of the Black in Western Art*, 3.2); *The Slave in European Art: From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem* (ed., with Elizabeth McGrath), London: Warburg Institute, 2012, (*Warburg Institute Colloquia*, 20); *Marfins no Império Português / Ivories of the Portuguese Empire* (with Gauvin

Alexander Bailey and Nuno Vassallo e Silva), Lisbon: Scribe, 2013; *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge* (ed. with N. Zeeman), London: Harvey Miller, 2014. He has been a member of the Editorial Board of *Print Quarterly* since the beginnings and published widely in the periodical, most recently: 'The Origin of the Iconography of Cannibalism in the Early Modern Period', *Print Quarterly*, XXXIII (2016). His recent article, on 'Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines* and the Birth of Global Imagery', appeared in volume LXXX (2017) of the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*.

Karolina Mroziewicz (Jagiellonian University, Cracow)

***Limitations of the Reception and Consumption of Illustrations to 'Chronica Polonorum' (Cracow 1521)***

The objective of this paper is on the one hand to demonstrate how the visual content of the second edition of *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów (which replaced the first edition of 1519, banned from distribution by the censorship) was selectively consumed, reused, copied and modified, on the other to point out the gaps in its transmission, in order to reflect on the factors that stymied the long-term and wide circulation of particular illustrations. To this end I will discuss the cultural, social, political and economic preconditions of reception and the ways of using book illustrations in the 16th century, as exemplified by the chronicle.

Firstly, the study examines the copies of *Chronica Polonorum* that bear traces of using, colouring and depleting the visual content of the book, along with various written records such as letters, marginal notes and mentions in other books that shed light on the dominant readership, their attitudes to and ways of using the images. This will show inter alia Polish nobility's limited interest in and response to the chronicle and its illustrations, as well as the problems of foreign readers with comprehending and receiving the visual content of the book. Secondly, the paper traces the remarkable success of the series of legendary and historical rulers, and, conversely, the rest of the visual programme fading into oblivion. I will attempt to reflect on the reasons behind such selective reception by analysing the new textual and extratextual context within which the illustrations of the chronicle functioned in the subsequent phases of their dissemination.

Karolina Mroziewicz is a philologist and art historian. In 2015 she received her PhD in cultural studies from the Faculty of 'Artes Liberales', University of Warsaw. Currently she is an Assistant Professor at the Institute of the History of Art of the Jagiellonian University, where she is conducting a three-year post-doctoral research project on the role of illustrated catalogues of rulers in consolidating historical memory in pre-modern Poland, Hungary and Bohemia. Her fields of study encompass early printed books and illustrations, polemical and identity-building functions of images and self-fashioning practices in the early modern period. Her publications include *Imprinting Identities: Illustrated Latin-Language Histories of St. Stephen's Kingdom (1488–1700)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015), co-edited books, book chapters and journal articles in both Polish and English.

Dániel Margócsy (University of Cambridge)  
***Vesalius Copied: Pictorially Repeatable Statements in Theory and Practice***

The woodcuts designed by Jan Steven van Calcar for Andreas Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica* arguably revolutionized the visual culture of early modern anatomy. For the first time, an anatomical treatise was published with over two hundred images that pictured the human body in exquisite detail. My talk reconstructs the reception history of these images, and of the *Fabrica*, by tracing they were copied, pirated, and plagiarized in a variety of media. Copying the *Fabrica's* images was messy business. They were reprinted in a variety of editions, starting with Thomas Geminus' *Compendiosa* from 1545, one of the earliest English books to be illustrated with engravings. Curiously, these new editions never used the original woodblocks, even though they were available for sale. Instead, publishers commissioned new, smaller and corrected illustrations that imitated but did not exactly replicate Calcar's original woodcuts. As I argue, the early modern medical world engaged with images by continually trying to emulate and improve upon them. It was only in the 18th century, when the *Fabrica* ceased to become a textbook for practicing physicians, that its images became cult objects that needed to be replicated exactly. It was in this era that the original woodblocks were rediscovered, and used to print new editions of the *Fabrica*. Curiously, William Ivins Jr., the renowned print scholar, came up with his theory of pictorially repeatable statements when he became engaged with the 1934 re-edition of the *Fabrica's* images, the last edition to rely on these

woodblocks. I claim that his theory of pictorially repeatable statements is a reflection of how modern publishers engaged with the *Fabrica's* images, but misrepresents how those images were used in the early modern period.

Dániel Margócsy is a cultural historian of early modern science and medicine, his research focuses on the visual cultures of anatomy and natural history. He received his PhD from Harvard in 2009, and worked at Northwestern University and Hunter College – CUNY. He is the author of *Commercial Visions: Science, Trade and Visual Culture in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), co-author of *The Fabrica of Andreas Vesalius: A Worldwide Census, Ownership, and Annotations* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), and has also edited special issues on secrecy for the *British Journal for the History of Science* and on scientific networks for *Social Studies of Science*. He has published on the Polish naturalists Jan Jonson and Johann Philipp Breyne, on the history of the book in Hungary, on cabinets of curiosities in the Dutch Golden Age, and on the depictions of exotica in early modern prints in journals such as the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, the *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, *Print Quarterly* or the *Social History of Medicine*. In 2008–2009, he was a curatorial fellow at the Harvard Art Museums, where he did research for the traveling exhibition *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge*.

Jennifer Nelson (School of the Art Institute, Chicago)

***Printed Treatises, Private Lore: The 1558 Holzschuher Inheritance***

In 1558, a year after his second widowhood, the forty-seven-year-old Nuremberg patrician scion Berthold Holzschuher devised a very unusual last will and testament: the financial theorist and mining magnate planned to leave his three toddlers elaborate technical designs for war machines and a mill, to be sold at profit. This manuscript of instruments of varying enormity, rendered as if its designs were executable, now resides in the library of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg (Signatur Hs. 28.893). My work extends and reorients Rainer Leng's technical and formal analysis of this document and its illustrations (2005) toward new considerations of the broader context.

The testament is a forty-two-page manuscript of detailed designs with detailed textual notes. Fascinatingly, these designs may be the only evidence of what actual craft drafting practices were like in this period, in the absence of surviving practitioner's manuals or designs: they go a long way

toward listing every step of assembly; they are the earliest known sketches not only to be drawn to scale, but to label the exact scale ratio on every page. But none of the designs may have been functional!

My talk will relate this document, both in its iconography and textual priorities, to contemporary printed treatises and images by Albrecht Dürer, Georgius Agricola, and Walther Hermann Ryff. How did the creative inventor Holzschuher synthesize publicly circulating printed sources in creating his family's own source of private lore? How do the structures of the printed treatise intersect with presumable craft traditions to shape this illustrated manuscript?

Jennifer Nelson is Assistant Professor in the department of Art History, Theory, and Criticism at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. She was previously a postdoctoral fellow at the Michigan Society of Fellows and the recipient of the Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts in Washington, D.C. Her articles and reviews have recently appeared or are forthcoming in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, *16th Century Journal*, *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, *caa.reviews*, *West 86th*. She has also published two books of poetry: *Aim at the Centaur Stealing Your Wife* (New York: Ugly Duckling Presse, 2015) and *Civilization Makes Me Lonely* (Boise: Ahsahta Press, 2017).

Femke Speelberg (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

***A Foreign Affair: Thomas Gemini and his Booklet of Moresque Designs***

In 1549, Thomas Gemini (born Thomas Lambrit) published a small booklet of moresque designs in London. While the ornament itself was at that point no longer a novelty in Western Europe, the booklet stands out for several reasons. It not only appears to have been the first series of ornament prints ever to be published in England, but its treatment of the moresque designs raises interesting questions about the occidental reception of this Eastern ornament. Introduced in Venetian prints in the 1520s, moresque ornament had been on a 20-year graphic journey throughout Europe, making stops in France, Germany, and the Netherlands before Thomas Gemini brought them to London. Remarkably, the geographic transmission and translation into various media did not bring about significant local and modern adaptations, noticeable in many other itinerant ornament



types, such as grotesques. In this paper I would like to explore this aspect further, and suggest that it may, in fact, be the reason why Gemini chose to introduce this particular ornament to his English audience over any of the other ornaments popular on the Continent at the time.

Femke Speelberg is Associate Curator in the Department of Drawings and Prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where she is responsible for the drawings, prints and books related to historic ornament, design and architecture. Her work focuses on the history of design, the transmission of ideas and the dialogue between works on paper and the art works, objects and architecture all around us. At the Met, Ms. Speelberg curated the exhibitions *Living in Style. Five Centuries of Interior Design from the Collection of Drawings and Prints* (2013) and *Fashion and Virtue. Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution, 1520–1620* (2015–16). For the 2018 celebration of Thomas Chippendale's 300th birthday, she is involved in the interdisciplinary exhibition *Chippendale's Director: The Designs and Legacy of a Furniture Maker*, held at The Met from May 14, 2018–January 30, 2019. Ms. Speelberg is currently also writing a study about the emergence of the ornament print in the early modern print market.

Júlia Tátrai (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest)  
***The Set of 'Four Elements' by Hendrick Goltzius and the Use of the Engravings in the 17th Century***

A set of engravings depicting the *Four Elements* was made in 1586 after the drawings of Hendrick Goltzius. The four fundamental elements, Earth, Water, Fire and Air, are personified by allegorical male and female figures. Both the attributes surrounding the large naked figures and biblical scenes in the background refer to the respective elements. These background scenes served for Goltzius to link the elements with the religious sphere: in the spirit of contemporary Paracelsian theory, he identified the stages of alchemistic transfiguration of the four elements with the phases of religious purification. The engravings are supplemented with inscriptions in Latin that describe the cosmic role of each element.

With his plates Goltzius probably intended to target a distinguished audience of collectors with humanist erudition. However, the popularity of his series happened to reach far beyond the cultural high society. Clearly, it was the employment of his figures as decoration to Willem Blaeu's famous *Map of the World* that quickly earned the

engravings a broad recognition. With Blaeu's map certainly being the most influential of all, the figures of Goltzius were borrowed for innumerable other works of art in diverse genres. Still in the 17th century they appeared, among others on English faience, French cupboards, German stove tiles and ornament prints from the Low Countries. It should nevertheless be born on mind that the figures, removed from their original web of relations, deprived of their backgrounds scenes and explanatory inscriptions, and endowed with a new function and iconographic programme, found themselves in a completely different context, e.g. in the case of Blaeu's map.

The aim of the proposed study is to demonstrate through a rich collection of examples how the figures of Goltzius were adapted in both form and content to fit the various genres, functions, materials and techniques.

Júlia Tátrai obtained her MA Degree of Art History and Netherlandic Studies at the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. Since 1997 she is working as curator of 16th–17th centuries Netherlandish paintings at the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, where she is Head of Department of Old Master Paintings since 2015. Her essays and articles have a threefold methodological approach: iconography (e.g. *Protestant or Loose Morals? The Five Senses in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*), provenance (e.g. *Eine 'andere' Esterházy-Sammlung. Die Gemälde des ehemaligen Plettenberg-Esterházy Schlosses in Nordkirchen*) and history of religious cults (e.g. *The beatified martyrs of Gorcum: a series of paintings by David Teniers the Younger and Wouter Gysaerts*). In 2014 she was the co-curator of the exhibition *Rembrandt and the Dutch Golden Age* in Budapest. In 2016 she curated with MARRIGJE RIKKEN the exhibition *Dutch Old Masters from Budapest* at the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem. She is member of CODART since 2003. She writes her PhD on the *History of Collecting of 17th Century Dutch and Flemish Paintings in Hungary*.

Loretta Vandi (Scuola del Libro, Urbino)  
***Playing with Destiny: Two Newly Discovered 15th-century Popular Uncut Woodblock Cards from Florence and Urbino***

If the printed image in Europe sprang out of the three Ps – paper, piety (in the form of printed religious images), and playing cards – then their role within the cultural dynamics of the 15th-century society could hardly be ignored. Scholars of popular playing cards, like Michael Dummett, Timothy Husband, Andrea Vitali, and Giordano Berti have

all remarked that they are now extremely rare even though cards produced from woodblocks were by far the most common, designed for a mass market and printed on paper according to mechanical production.

Simple in both design and production, the decks were printed on large woodblocks, typically two blocks with twenty-four cards each, then cut apart from the printed sheet into individual cards. They were glued to several layers of paper to make a stiff pasteboard and then trimmed. Generally, they were not colored, but those that were had a very limited gamut of hues (usually two colors), applied with the aid of stencils. The earlier cards were probably crude with little artistic pretension but designed in such a way that the figures and the suit symbols were easily recognizable and the value of pip cards readily determined.

Chance had it that while a 1532 book with notary records belonging to the Urbino Curia was under restoration, two 15th-century uncut series of popular woodcut cards re-appeared from the leather cover of the document, used to reinforce it. On the ground of this discovery, my contribution will deal with still unanswered questions concerning the cards themselves:

1. the exact composition of the original packs
2. the games that were played
3. the composition of the several copy-packs
4. the impact they had on the organization of social life.

Loretta Vandi (PhD, Université de Lausanne, 1998) is Professor of Art History at the Scuola del Libro in Urbino. Among her interests are women's patronage, the reception of Antiquity (Middle Ages and early modern times), theories of ornament, contemporary art and architecture. She has held two Samuel H. Kress fellowships for research on medieval women artists and theories of ornament. Her publications include *La trasformazione del motivo dell'acanto dall'antichità al XV secolo. Ricerche di teoria e storia dell'ornamento* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2002); *Il Manoscritto Oliveriano 1. Storia di un codice boemo del XV secolo* (Pesaro: Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Pesaro, 2004); *Four Essays* (Umeå: Umeå Universitet, 2007), and many articles on international magazines (*Gesta, Mediaevalia, Scriptorium, Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, Prospettiva*). She contributed chapters to essay collections such as 'Performing Perception: A Medieval Miter between Focal and Peripheral Vision', (Éric Palazzo, ed., *Les cinque sens au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2016), and 'Redressing Images. Conflict in Context at Abbess Humbrina's Scriptorium in Pontetetto (Lucca)', (Therese Martin, ed., *Reassessing the Roles of Women as*

*'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, Leiden: Brill, 2012). She edited the essay collection *Ornament and European Modernism: From Art Practice to Art History* (New York: Routledge, 2017). Her current book project is *The Prayer and the Land: Abbesses Eritha, Berta, and Humbrina at the Time of Countess Matilda of Canossa* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

Maureen Warren (Krannert Art Museum; University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)  
***Print-assisted Paintings: Prints as Underdrawings in the Hardouyn Brothers' Books of Hours***

From 1491 to 1541, the Parisian atelier of Gilles and Germain Hardouyn specialized in producing Books of Hours (*Horae*) with woodcuts and metal-cuts hand-painted in imitation of illuminated manuscripts. Hardouyn printed *Horae* were wildly successful, being exported across Europe with editions in Latin, French, and English in the use of Rome or Sarum (Salisbury).

Printed *Horae* can look deceptively like their manuscript counterparts. Like other incunabula, they required manual embellishment to be completed. Rubrication, multicolored capitals, and line ends had to be added by hand because printing multiple colors of ink was too time-consuming and expensive. Hardouyn printed *Horae* took hand-finishing to extremes, with over-painted prints, supplementary painted decoration, and true miniatures. Sometimes, the only indication such books were printed is the regularity of the typeface. Other times, overpainted and black-and-white prints exist side by side on the same page.

Certainly, contemporary printmakers sometimes hand-colored prints, but the colors were usually applied in transparent washes with the white of the paper left showing in places. In Hardouyn *Horae*, the printed lines and bare parchment are completely obscured by layers of opaque paint. In other words, they are not so much hand-colored prints as they are miniature paintings with prints underneath. In these books, the prints function as underdrawings, which served as the basis for workshop diversification. As a result, no two hand-painted impressions are same. Painters not only added color and expressive brushstrokes but also edited the iconography (reducing the number of figures, changing the setting, etc.) This paper argues that the Hardouyns employed printmaking technologies to expedite production, enhance their house-style, and ultimately to pioneer a new

kind of miniature. It also considers the broader implications of these processes, which question the history of European printmaking as a linear trajectory of ever increasing media specificity.

Maureen Warren's research interests include early modern (1500–1800) Netherlandish art, European print media, and the history of the book. At Krannert Art Museum (KAM), Warren has curated exhibitions on medieval manuscripts (2016–2017); the intersection of art and science in early modern Europe (2017); and blue and white ceramics (2018). Prior to her arrival at KAM, Warren was an Andrew W. Mellon Curatorial Research Fellow in the Prints and Drawings Department of the Art Institute of Chicago. She completed a Ph.D. in art history at Northwestern University in 2015, where her research was supported a Kress Institutional Fellowship to Leiden University, a Scaliger Fellowship at Leiden University, and a Swann Foundation for Caricature and Cartoon Fellowship, and other grants and fellowships. Warren has published essays in *Death, Torture and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300–1650* (2015); *Van Dyck, Rembrandt, and the Portrait Print* (2016); and *Word & Image* (forthcoming). She is currently revising a book manuscript on Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547–1619) and 17th-century Dutch political print media.

James Wehn (Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland)

### ***Cultivating Designs: Early Ornamental Prints and Creative Reproduction***

In this paper, I explore the late 15th-century market for ornamental prints, considering especially their production by the goldsmith-engraver Israhel van Meckenem (German, c.1440/45–1503) and their reception by the humanist scholar Hartmann Schedel (German, 1440–1514), who cut, pasted, and hand-colored prints to adorn manuscript pages. Meckenem's cultivation of this market, which increasingly migrated out of artisan workshops into the public sphere, is traceable from his creation of simple pattern prints to increasingly elaborate decorative engravings presenting foliate schemes common in the margins and backgrounds of many media as central works of art. I argue that ornate foliage conveyed ideas of fecundity – obvious, for example, in Meckenem's *Ornamental Engraving with the Tree of Jesse* – and that, as a sign of generation, decorative leaf-work also served as a metaphor for artistic productivity. In one especially sophisticated engraving, Meckenem wove scripture from Genesis into an intricate composition spelling *ISRAHEL* with acanthus leaves, thereby emblematically associating his engraved decorative work with God-given creative

potency. Schedel's awareness of Meckenem's artistry is apparent in his response to *Man of Sorrows in the Letter O*, in which he frames the engraved trademark *Israhel* and the ornately foliated image with his own floral design. In another case, separate manipulations of a *Jesse Tree* woodcut by an anonymous silversmith and by Schedel further elucidate how printed designs begat varied creative responses. The silversmith adapted the woodcut's pattern and engraved it in silver to decorate a cross-shaped reliquary. Schedel harvested the blooming flower with Mary and Christ to use as a miniature and incorporated other fragments of the tree in a decorative collage on a subsequent page. In and out of the late 15th-century workshop, printed ornamental designs were viewed actively and considered changeable; their owners perceived the images as fertile seeds in a cycle of creative reproduction.

James Wehn is a PhD candidate in Art History at Case Western Reserve University. He is also the Andrew W. Mellon Pre-doctoral Curatorial Fellow in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the Cleveland Museum of Art. James primarily studies Early Modern printmaking of Northern Europe, but his minor field is painting, sculpture, and decorative arts from German-speaking lands, c.1400–1600. His dissertation examines the engravings of Israhel van Meckenem (German, c.1440/45–1503) as a means to understand how early print markets influenced ideas about image-making, authorship, reproduction, and authenticity during the late-15th century. James has presented papers at numerous conferences, including *A Market for Rembrandt's Late Etchings of Female Nudes* at the Renaissance Society of America's 2016 annual conference and *Printed Designs as Social Currency: The Etching of Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier's Silver Tureens for the Duke of Kingston* at the 14th Congress of the International Society of Eighteenth-Century Studies. Recently, his article 'New Thoughts on Hans Burgkmair's *Mercury, Venus, and Cupid*' appeared in *Print Quarterly* (September 2017). James has organized exhibitions featuring works on paper at the Minneapolis Institute of Art, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Cleveland Museum of Art.

Rafał Wójcik (University Library, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

### ***Iconography of the Mnemonic Alphabets and Ciphers in the Printed Treatises on the Art of Memory from the 15th and the Beginning of the 16th Centuries***

Mnemonic (art of memory) treatises were very popular in the 15th and 16th centuries. Works by Matheolus Perusinus, Jacobus Publicius or Petrus

of Ravenna were frequently published and copied between the 1470s and the 1530s. Although mnemonic works by a large number of other authors were also published in this period, not every printed mnemonic treatise contained woodcuts. Some of them, in particular the works by Publicius, Conrad Celtis, Jan Szklarek and Johannes Cusanus, include very specific and peculiar illustrations, i.e. mnemonic alphabet and/or mnemonic ciphers. Some of them were inspired by one another, while others were copied in the manuscripts as an illustration of mnemonic works of completely different authors. The main goal of my paper will be to show how illustrators (or authors) influenced and inspired one another and, sometimes, simply stole ideas or even matrices. The paper will give examples of the role of illustrations in these very particular printed books, also compared with manuscripts, and will additionally describe adaptations and transformations of simple woodcuts that are strictly connected to the text.

Rafał Wójcik is associate professor and academic librarian at the Special Collections Department in the University Library in Poznań (Adam Mickiewicz University). His main fields of interest include *ars memorativa*, medieval mnemonic aids, history of books and printing, marginal and autobiographical marks in early printed calendars (Ephemerides/Almanacs), medieval literature of Polish Observants, and Polish apocrypha and their relationships to the Latin sources (*Vita Christi – Żywot Pana Jezusa Krysta* by Baltazar Opec). Since 2008 he has also been a custodian of the Comics Collection, first in Polish academic libraries. He published, among others, together with Lucie Doležalová and Farkas Gábor Kiss, *The art of memory in late medieval Central Europe (Czech Lands, Hungary, Poland)*, (2016), as an editor of series facsimilia of prayer-books by Stanisław Samostrzelnik (*Libri Precationum Illuminati Poloniae Veteris*, 2015-2018), together with Wiesław Wydra Baltazar Opec. *Żywot Pana Jezusa Krysta* (2014), *'Opusculum de arte memorativa' Jana Szklarka. Bernardyński traktat mnemotechniczny z 1504 roku* (2006).

Antoni Ziemia (University of Warsaw; National Museum in Warsaw)

### **Silent Prints – Silent Images**

15th- and 16th-century prints and paintings frequently included empty scrolls, deprived of any inscriptions. Hitherto, these curious omissions have been merely noted in the literature and were never satisfactorily explained. Why were these scrolls left

'blank'? Does the absence of the text suggest their unfinished state or were these spaces rhetorically ambiguous? Could they have been inviting the beholder – the owner of the print – to introduce a text on his own? The text could have been personal, formulaic, open-ended, or a personalised commentary to the presented scene, with an amusing or titillating message, or conversely including a moralising motto.

In this paper, I wish to analyse this arguably telling silence in works by Master E.S., Israhel van Meckenem, Martin Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer and Urs Graf. I aim to contextualise printed examples of this practice with empty scrolls in panel paintings by artists such as Master of Liesborn (Johann von Soest?), the Lower Rhine Master of the celebrated Love Spell now in Leipzig and Hans von Kulmbach. I discuss also examples of book miniatures and borders, as well as some stained glasses. Finally, I will present comparable 'empty spaces' or spaces of 'immaterial reading' (guessing the invisible or illegible text) in hollow coat of arms or sealed and folded letters.

Antoni Ziemia (PhD 1993) is Professor (since 2005) in the Institute of Art History at University of Warsaw and Chief Curator of the Medieval and Early Modern Art of the National Museum in Warsaw. He specializes in the Late Medieval and Early Modern art, the history of art theory and artistic patronage, especially in the Early Netherlandish painting and the Dutch painting of the 17th century. He is the author of numerous monographs and articles. In the National Museum in Warsaw, he designed the new permanent display of the Medieval Art Gallery (2013) and the Gallery of Early Modern Art (2016). He authored and co-authored numerous exhibitions in the National Museum in Warsaw and was a member of the research team who collaborated on the international exhibition *From Van Eyck to Dürer: Flemish Painters and Central Europe 1430–1530*, Groeningemuseum, Bruges 2010.

This conference is co-organised by the Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw and the National Museum in Warsaw as a part of the research project: *Reframed Image. Reception of Prints in The Kingdom of Poland from the End of the 15th to the Beginning of the 17th Centuries. Objects–People–Milieux–Processes* (National Science Centre, Poland, no 2015/17/B/HS2/02469)

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