Edited by
Anne Dunlop

# Antipodean Early Modern

## European Art in Australian Collections, c. 1200–1600

Amsterdam
University
Press

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*Edited by*
*Anne Dunlop*

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Cover illustration, Front: Nuremberg, The Altvater costume of 1492, in *Schembart Buch* (*The Book of the Nuremberg Shrovetide Carnival*). Folio 32v, *c.*1540. Paper, 32.8cm × 21cm. Kerry Stokes Collection, Perth. Accession number LIB.2006.088. Image courtesy of the Kerry Stokes Collection.

Back: Gerard David et al. Virgin and Child and Landscape from the *Rothschild Prayer Book*. Folio 197v, *c.*1505. Tempera on parchment, 22.8cm × 16cm. Kerry Stokes Collection, Perth. Image courtesy of the Kerry Stokes Collection, Perth.

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Figure 8.9: Gillet and Germain Hardouyn, printers. *Book of Hours* (*Use of Rome*). Page biiii, 1518. Vellum, 19.4cm × 12.3cm × 4.8cm. Art Gallery of Ballarat. Crouch Collection (Gift of Colonel R.A. Crouch, 1944). Accession no. 1944.34. Photo by the author. Reproduced courtesy of the Art Gallery of Ballarat.

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**Jan Fox**

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**Hilary Maddocks**

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**Miya Tokumitsu**

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**Callum Reid**

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Figure 12.6: Italy (Tuscany or Rome?), *Cassone with Tritons and Nereids*, detail of end panel. Walnut, carved and partially gilded, *c.*1550-80 with later additions, overall 70.5cm × 149.8cm × 45.7cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975. Acc. no. 1975.1.1939. Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, www.metmuseum.org.

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**Ursula Betka**

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**Larry Silver**

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Figure 14.6: Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Crucifixion*, 1598. Oil on copper, 26.2cm × 55.4cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich. Inv. 823. Image courtesy of bpk Bildagentur/Alte Pinakothek, Bayeriche Staatsgemaeldesammlungen, Munich/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 14.7: Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Way to Calvary*, 1564. Oil on oak panel, 124cm × 120cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Image courtesy of bpk Bildagentur/Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna/Lutz Braun/Art Resource, NY.

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**Charles Zika**

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32.8cm × 21cm. Kerry Stokes Collection, Perth. Accession number LIB.2006.088. Image courtesy of the Kerry Stokes Collection.

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# Acknowledgments

This book grew from a series of lectures presented in conjunction with the exhibition *An Illumination: The Rothschild Prayer Book and Other Works from the Kerry Stokes Collection, c. 1280–1685*, held at the Ian Potter Art Museum of the University of Melbourne in 2015. I am grateful to the many people who have made the exhibition and the present book possible, Kerry Stokes first among them. Philip Kent, former University Librarian at Melbourne, supported both projects from beginning to end and in too many ways to count. Shane Carmody put together the lecture series and public programing, and he and Philip first proposed this book. Kelly Gellatly and her staff at the Potter presented a beautiful and rewarding show. My colleagues in Art History and Curatorship have answered questions and provided references and information on collections that were new to me. Erica Gaffney at Amsterdam University Press is the kind of editor and collaborator that every academic writer would like to have. The research assistant for this project, Louise Box, deserves very special thanks for her professionalism, organization, and intelligent support to the writers at every stage of the process.

It is a pleasure that my first official task as the fourth Herald Chair of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne is to edit a book that attests to the legacy of the two previous Herald Chairs, Margaret M. Manion and Jaynie Anderson. Margaret was the curator for *An Illumination*, and her influence as a teacher and scholar will be clear in many of the essays that follow. Jaynie's work on Italian Renaissance art is also well represented. Together they have made the study of early European art a central strength at Melbourne and beyond. I am grateful to both for their gracious and warm help.

# 1. Legacies of early European art in Australian collections

*Anne Dunlop*

Dunlop, Anne (ed.), *Antipodean Early Modern. European Art in Australian Collections, c. 1200–1600*, Amsterdam University Press, 2018

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**Abstract**
Australia has rich collections of medieval and early-modern European art. Although not always well known outside the country, they are the legacy of a strong tradition of private and public collecting and bequests. This essay is intended as an introduction to this history, from the Felton Bequest of the early twentieth century, to the recent acquisitions of the Kerry Stokes Collection. It also introduces the legacy of art history around the Herald Chair of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne, as well as the major themes and subjects of the rest of the book.

**Keywords:** Art Collecting, Australia; Kerry Stokes Collection; Felton Bequest; Medieval art; Renaissance art; Herald Chair of Fine Arts

The objects discussed in this book are likely to surprise many people. Most of them were featured in an exhibition called *An Illumination: the Rothschild Prayer Book and Other Works from the Kerry Stokes Collection, c.1280–1685*, held at the University of Melbourne in late 2015. The sixty-one objects exhibited ranged from manuscripts to stained glass and panel paintings, and were drawn from one of the great private collections of European medieval art: the Kerry Stokes Collection of Perth, Western Australia. Many of the essays here began as public lectures associated with the exhibition, while others developed in response to the objects presented and their links to other artworks in local and national collections.

At the centre of the exhibition was one of the most extraordinary European manuscripts that has come down to us. The *Rothschild Prayer Book* runs to 254 folios and was written and illuminated by the most important Netherlandish artists of the early sixteenth century; individual leaves were done by Gerard David among others (Figure 1.1). The manuscript has been linked to the immediate circle of Margaret of Austria, daughter and sister of Holy Roman Emperors, Regent of the Netherlands, and an important patron of art in general and of manuscripts in particular. But its exact patronage and date of production are uncertain. It is one of a cluster of beautiful and lavish manuscript books created for the highest court circles of sixteenth-century Europe.[1]

Until fairly recently, the Kerry Stokes Collection was not widely known beyond Australia. In 2014, however, when the collector acquired the

1 Manion, *An Illumination*.

Figure 1.1: Gerard David et al. Virgin and Child and Landscape from the *Rothschild Prayer Book*. Folios 197v–198r, *c.*1505. Tempera on parchment, each folio 22.8cm × 16cm. Kerry Stokes Collection, Perth.

*Prayer Book* for more than 13.5 million US dollars, it made international news. The sale price set a new record for a manuscript at auction, and it was widely covered in the art press and beyond.[2] Many of the news reports suggest bee musement, not only at the cost, but that European art of any sort should be found in Australia in the first place, let alone in Perth, sometimes said to be the most remote capital city on the planet.

Yet the *Prayer Book* is only one of the many important medieval and early-modern European art objects in the Stokes Collection and elsewhere in Australia. To take a single case, the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne ('NGV') houses portraits by Rembrandt and El Greco (Figure 1.2), a bust of Cardinal Richelieu by Bernini, and history paintings by Tiepolo, Titian, and Veronese; it has an early Paolo Uccello, Renaissance maiolica and gilded glass reliquaries from fourteenth-century Italy; medieval French and Spanish sculpture, a tiny *Man of Sorrows* by Memling (Figure 1.3) and enormous Flemish polyptych altarpieces.[3] These and other national collections in Australia have encouraged a rich public interest in art and an important tradition of writing and research on early European art and culture. It is the goal of this book to make this artistic legacy and these holdings better known, beginning with the Stokes Collection itself, as well as to showcase the tradition of art-historical scholarship and the range of current research and inquiry in this country. The hope is to encourage further work on these extraordinary collections, as much still remains to be explored.[4]

The historical richness of Australia's public collections is largely due to a series of important private patrons and bequests. In repeatedly allowing generous loans from his collection to public museums and institutions, Kerry Stokes follows a notable line of private collectors and donors. The city of Melbourne and the state of Victoria are particularly rich, largely because of a man called Alfred Felton (1831–1904), who bequeathed his enormous fortune to found a philanthropic trust there.[5] Felton

▼ Figure 1.2: El Greco. *Portrait of a Cardinal*. *c.*1600. Oil on canvas, 57cm × 46.0cm. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Felton Bequest 1950, 2253–4.

2 See for instance: Vogel, 'Renaissance Prayer Book is Set for Auction' and 'Christie's Old Master Week achieves $68 million in New York'.

3 See Gott and Benson, *Painting and Sculpture Before 1800* and Hoff, *European Paintings before 1800* for an introduction to the NGV collections; and Wilson, *Italian Maiolica* for the maiolica holdings.

4 Kisler, *Angels & Aristocrats*, has written a fundamental study and survey of European art in New Zealand public collections. Partly because of much greater number and types of objects, there is as yet no similar overview of Australian holdings.

5 John Poynton, 'Alfred Felton and the Art of Making Bequests,' and Alison Inglis, 'Alfred Felton as a Collector of Art,' in Grimwade and Vaughan, *Great Philanthropists on Trial*, pp. 36 and 37–56; Hoff, *European Paintings before 1800*. For

was born in England, but in 1851 a gold rush began in Victoria, and Felton was one of the many thousands who shipped out from all over the world hoping to strike it rich in the Australian goldfields. He would instead make a fortune in business, and he began to collect art. The initial *net* funding for the Felton bequest was almost 400 000 pounds, with half of it earmarked for the city's art gallery, which had been founded in 1861. Felton's own art collection was also given to the institution. Less than twenty years after Felton's death, the NGV was spending more on acquisitions than even London's National Gallery. To date, the Felton Bequest has been used to buy more than 15 000 works of art with some of the greatest artists of Renaissance and Baroque Europe well represented (Figure 1.4).

Other museums in Victoria and across Australia have also benefited from private donors and patrons, with the relatively portable manuscripts, prints, and rare books particularly well represented. The State Library of Victoria houses both medieval European manuscripts and a significant incunabula collection. It holds one of only three existing complete copies of the first printing of Euclid's *Elementa* (1482), for instance, acquired as part of the collection of the engineer Robert Carl Sticht.[6] The University of Melbourne has prints and drawings by Albrecht Dürer, Jacques Callot, Diana Mantuana and Marcantonio Raimondi, among many others, formed around the gift of Dr. John Orde Poyton in 1959 (Figure 1.5).[7] The

Figure 1.4: Andrea del Sarto. *Figure Study for a Saint John the Baptist*. *c.*1517. Red chalk on paper, approximately 38.5cm × 18.8cm. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Felton Bequest 1936, 351–4.

politician and collector Richard Crouch (1868–1949) left a collection of European manuscripts and incunabula to the Art Gallery of Ballarat, west of Melbourne.[8] Nationally, the Art Gallery of South Australia in Adelaide holds Old Master works from Tudor portraits to Ruisdael landscapes; there are bequest works by Sano di Pietro, Titian, and Ter Brugghen in the Art Gallery of New South Wales, and the list could

manuscripts acquired though the Felton bequest: Manion, *The Felton Illuminated Manuscripts in the National Gallery of Victoria*. The essays in Grimwade and Vaughan are a good introduction to private bequests to Australian collections; and although the interest here is on European holdings, a similar point can be made for other fields in Australia, including Chinese and Indigenous Australian works.

6 Lowe, 'The Robert Carl Sticht Collection: A Forgotten Legacy'.

7 Stone and Jaehrling, *Print Matters at the Baillieu*.

8 These and twenty-seven manuscripts in the State Library have been digitized and can be accessed online. See also Manion and Vines, *Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections*; and Manion, Vines, and de Hamel, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in New Zealand Collections*.

◀ Figure 1.3: Hans Memling. *Man of Sorrows in the Arms of the Virgin*. *c.*1475–9. Oil on panel, 27.4cm × 19.9cm. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Felton Bequest, 1924, 1335–3.

Figure 1.5: Diana Mantuana after Giulio Romano. *Latona Giving Birth to Apollo and Diana on the Island of Delos*, *c.*1570. Engraving, 25.4cm × 38.2cm. Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne. Gift of Dr. J. Orde Poyton 1958.

be easily extended to collections in Perth, Brisbane, Canberra, and elsewhere.[9]

The essays here pick up on the range and richness of these European art collections, with the Stokes Collection at the centre of them. They are also however, a record of a legacy of art-historical scholarship and collaboration that spans many years. When the Stokes Collection successfully acquired the *Rothschild Prayer Book*, one of the first people to hear the news was Professor Margaret M. Manion, Emeritus of the University of Melbourne and Herald Professor of Fine Art there from 1979 until 1995. Manion has been working on European manuscript and book culture for many decades, and she has known and worked with Kerry Stokes for almost two. She was the force behind *An Illumination*; she wrote the introduction to the *Prayer Book* manuscript in the beautiful catalogue of the exhibition, and, with her colleague Charles Zika, she co-authored a study of some of the most important manuscripts in the Stokes Collection.[10] Manion's international career has brought her into contact with objects and specialists around the world; yet if many of the authors in this book are affiliated in some way with the University of Melbourne, it is not only because of the city

9 For an introduction to some of the bequests in these collections: Christopher Menz, 'The Elder and Morgan Thomas Bequests at the Art Gallery of South Australia,' and Edward Capon, 'The James Fairfax Collection', both in Grimwade and Vaughan, *Great Philanthropists on Trial*, pp. 113–125 and 126–135.

10 Manion, *An Illumination*; Manion and Zika, *Celebrating Word and Image 1250–1600: Illuminated Manuscripts from the Kerry Stokes Collection*.

and university's rich collections. Together with Joseph Burke and Jaynie Anderson, her predecessor and successor as Herald Chair of Fine Arts, Manion and her colleagues at Melbourne have fostered and trained generations of eminent medieval and early-modern European art historians and manuscript specialists. Thus the essays here attest to this tradition of scholarship on European art and culture, and to intellectual friendships, both local and international, that have grown over many years.

The studies that follow are also intended to suggest some of the themes, problems, and questions in early modern art history as it is currently practiced in Australia and elsewhere. This is a further reason for this book, and a major difference from the catalogue work. As will become apparent, the authors represent a range of approaches and research methods. They hold different and even contradictory views on many issues, beginning with the original circumstances of the *Rothschild Prayer Book* commission. The first essays, by Kay Sutton and Kate Challis, focus on that book: the circles of patrons and artists that surrounded its creation, its extraordinary imagery, and its later history as a particularly important kind of cultural capital. Together they outline what we know, and what we would like to know, about the manuscript. The next essay, by Dagmar Eichberger, moves to the larger court context of collecting and reception in which such luxury objects were created. Eichberger takes up the case of Margaret of Austria, sometimes put forward as the original patron of the *Prayer Book*, and her relative Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, in order to explore how female collectors both participated in the market for books and manuscripts and were represented within it.

The *Rothschild Prayer Book* was made more than half a century after the advent of movable type printing, and as a Book of Hours illuminated by hand, it came at the end of a long development in manuscript culture. The next essays open onto this moment of transition from manuscript to print, including the materials and technologies involved in the shift. Exploring two early thirteenth-century manuscripts now in the State Library of Victoria, Libby Melzer reveals how parchment can provide clues to the rise of large-scale book production in medieval Europe. The first book, an *Epistles of Saint Paul,* emerges as the product of a small-scale monastic scriptorium with materials linked to the local agricultural cycles; the second, a *Leviticus*, was instead a product of the streamlined and urban mass market coming into being around the court and university in Paris. In the following essay, Margaret M. Manion looks at the early forms of the Book of Hours by focusing on two manuscripts from the years on either side of 1300, the *Liège Psalter Hours* and the *Aspremont-Kieveraing Psalter-Hours* in the State Library of Victoria and the National Gallery of Victoria respectively. Manion considers what endured, and what changed, over the long life of the Book of Hours form.

The following chapters turn to a series of important single case studies. Most are drawn from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century France and the essays are ordered roughly by chronology. Elaine Shaw's essay picks up the theme of urban versus other production centres discussed in Melzer's paper, but at a later moment of development, moving into the 1470s. Shaw's focus is on manuscript production beyond Paris, and she uses the elegant Breviary made for a high-ranking ecclesiastic, Prior François Robert, Canon of Bourges, to explore some of the challenges and innovations that emerged in smaller art centres. Bernard Muir looks at the changes in format and organization in Books of Hours that came in the transition from handwork to print. He discusses two sixteenth-century

examples made in France, both now in Victorian collections, to show how the border decorations of these printed works were adapted, borrowed, and circulated from one publisher to another and one edition to the next, even over several decades. Jan Fox examines the intriguing 1472 case of an early printing house, the Sorbonne Press at the University of Paris, issuing a manuscript presentation copy of the *Satires* by the Roman writer Juvenal alongside the printed edition. The manuscript copy was presented to the new Royal Chancellor, Pierre Doriole, and includes an unusual image of him at the beginning of the book. Fox explores this image as a homage and appeal to the Chancellor from the scholarly promotors of the Press. In the last essay in this section, Hilary Maddocks examines a Book of Hours printed by the Paris-based publisher Thielman Kerver in 1522. The book had elaborate metalcut illustrations and borders, but the copy in the Stokes Collection also includes hand-painted initials and scenes. Maddocks discusses the designers and artists who worked on the book, and she traces the role of decoration, both manual and mechanical, in the market for printed books, including in Kerver's own successful publishing ventures. Together the essays in this section reveal the small and interconnected worlds of early publishing and production both in Paris and beyond it, and some of the ways that the advent of printing changed both the form and the content of even long-standing genres and types.

The final essays move to the larger world of objects and rituals in which early books were consumed and collected. Miya Tokumitsu's essay centres on a small bronze casket with classicising decoration and the arms of the Piccolomini family of Renaissance Siena; two men of the family became Popes Pius II and Pius III. Tokumitsu discusses the role of such miniature luxury objects in early collections, and in the studies and private spaces where books were – more or less ostentatiously – consulted and read. She also shows how, for all its illustrious provenance, the casket and objects like it were assembled in a kind of mix-and-match of standardized elements, very much like the manuscripts and incunabula that would have surrounded it.

In the next essay, Callum Reid examines another chest with classicizing decoration, a *cassone*, or wedding chest, made in Italy in the later 1500s. Reid argues that it can be linked to the Valenti family of Umbria and he traces the place of such lavish chests in both Renaissance family rituals and the later history of taste. One theme that emerges here is the importance of artworks produced to mark weddings, funerals, and other milestones in families and clans, and it is central to the next chapter, by Ursula Betka. Where Tokumitsu and Reid examine objects from domestic space, Betka looks at a public commission, a Catalonian altarpiece of the *Dormition of the Virgin*, made in the early fifteenth century, connected to the circle of the artist Mateu Ortoneda. Drawing on close reading of the imagery and on contemporary sources on liturgy and devotion, Betka argues that the panel should be linked to the Viscounts of Cabrera of Blanes, and she explores how it gave shape to their hopes and fears, earthly and otherwise.

The last two chapters in the book return to northern Europe and the Netherlands, where the *Rothschild Prayer Book* was produced. Larry Silver's essay picks up on the theme of families and lineage: he examines a *Crucifixion* by Peter Brueghel the Younger, done however, as Silver suggests, very much on the model of works by the artist's father, Peter Brueghel the Elder, one of the most sought-after artists of the mid-1500s. Even decades later, the son was adapting his father's works for new contexts and ends, and Silver examines the adaptations and

citations that made up this long and successful practice.

In the concluding paper, Charles Zika analyzes one of the most wonderful works in the Stokes Collection, one of the so-called *Schembart* books that served as records of Nuremberg's Carnival celebrations from the first occurrence in 1349 until they were permanently banned in 1539. The Stokes *Schembart* was made about 1540, and is one of the earliest surviving examples; in seventy-five beautiful, elaborate, and colourful images, the book records the lavish and fantastical costumes, players, parades, and floats that marked the Nuremberg ritual. As Zika reveals, however, the *Stokes Schembart* is also a record of a small and tense world, where every mock battle might have a very real political or factional fight behind it. As such it seems like an upside-down version of the serene and well-ordered world created by the illuminations of the *Rothschild Prayer Book*. Together, they are ideal objects to begin and end the studies of this book.

## About the author

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