

Introduction: Beuckelaer as Periscope

Abstract: The introduction sets in motion the subject of this study: an exploration of the cultural, social, political, and nutritional meanings of Joachim Beuckelaer's distinctly Northern European kitchen and market scenes in the context of North Italian dining culture. I situate my methodological approach to Beuckelaer, and to his Italian follower Vincenzo Campi, within the historiography on both artists, and outline the contents of the book's five chapters.

Keywords: Guicciardini, Margaret of Parma, dining culture, Northern Italy, Antwerp, historiography

According to Italian chronicler Ludovico Guicciardini, the people of the sixteenth-century Low Countries were among the most educated and beautiful he had ever encountered. Writing in his 1567 *Descrittione dei tutti i paesi bassi*, he describes the Flemish as literate, “and learned in every faculty and science”; with even the peasants knowing how to read and write, and with countless among the populace able to speak languages beyond their mother tongue.¹ He praised their skills as merchants and craftsmen, as quick studies in the creation or imitation of all manner of international products, and as “hardworking, diligent, ingenious, and capable of things.”² He also lauds their physical traits, saying that the townspeople are beautifully formed, with lovely features, and both men and women have “beautiful legs.”³ Guicciardini goes on to describe the Flemish character as full of a particular grace and happiness, and as able to invent all kinds of tools and methods to make things easier, “even in the kitchen.”⁴ Flemish people “are great merchants ... the country being founded in large part on the market and on the arts.”⁵

1 *Descrittione di M. Lodovico Guicciardini, gentilhuomo fiorentino, di tutti I paesi bassi, altrimenti detti germania inferiore* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, Printer to the King, 1568), p. 41. My translation.

2 Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, p. 41.

3 Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, p. 39.

4 Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, p. 42.

5 Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, p. 41.

The factors which impressed Guicciardini connect directly to the painted subject matter which is the focus of this study: Joachim Beuckelaer's paintings of hardworking, beautiful, capable peasants and household staff, either at market or in the kitchen. Guicciardini's Italian nationality is not insignificant here. Paintings by the artist were in Italy by the 1570s, the most prominent—but not only—being a group of seven owned by the Farnese family, and specifically Margaret of Parma (1522–86).

Thoroughly Flemish in both style and content, Beuckelaer's large paintings of the working class surrounded by food in clearly Flemish markets and kitchens might seem an odd fit in Italy. Yet his imagery functioned as an embodiment of the many elements of Flemish culture which Guicciardini praised. It resonated on a fundamental level with the international class of merchants and nobles whose home base was in Northern Italy but who traveled continuously back and forth to Antwerp, maintaining a business presence in that northern city, which was viewed by this segment of the Italian population as a beacon of modernity.

For the noble and elite merchant classes, social gatherings around the table were a part of doing business. This was not unique to Antwerp; however, the dinner party had a particular flavor in that city. Combining the imagery on the table and walls with theatrical performance, and often centering around peasants as subjects, Antwerp dinner parties came to be seen by the many foreigners living there as emblematic of the city's cosmopolitan nature. Beuckelaer's paintings appealed through both their subject matter and their cultural function as a part of the Antwerp dinner party.

In this study, I explore the cultural, social, political, and nutritional meanings of Beuckelaer's distinctly Northern European kitchen and market scenes in the context of North Italian dining culture. Margaret of Parma, Governor of the Netherlands and wife of Ottavio Farnese, contributed to the Italian interest in Beuckelaer's imagery, and in the dining culture of the North. Raised in Flanders by her great aunt and role model Margaret of Austria, Margaret of Parma was Governor of the Low Countries from Antwerp's economic heyday to the Iconoclasm, and is central to the arrival of Beuckelaer's imagery in Italy. A Hapsburg unhappily married to a Farnese, Margaret was most at home in Flanders, and was clearly ambivalent about the power she wielded over the local Flemish populace. I contend that she saw Beuckelaer's paintings of contemporary Flemish settings and people as a nostalgic link to the North, and displayed them in Italy as they would have been displayed in Flanders: in a dining room.

Margaret is but one of the figures through whom Beuckelaer's paintings arrived in Italy. The Italian fascination with Antwerp's urban and urbane culture is reflected in Guicciardini's views of Northern people, whose industriousness, inventiveness, intelligence, and beauty were physical manifestations of a different, exotic culture. His account of life in the Low Countries as he saw it is one prominent, published

example, but Italian merchant and noble fascination with the North was widespread. Wealthy Italian businessmen and politicians living and working in the North felt similarly, and this was reflected in an interest in Northern dining culture, of which Beuckelaer's paintings were a part.

At least two groups of Beuckelaer's paintings were owned by prominent people and families living in Italy by the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The better known was a group of seven paintings of kitchens and markets owned by the Farnese family and now at the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples (figs. 2.1–2.7). They have a complex history. Not created as a series, the paintings bear a variety of dates over a span of four years, from 1566–70. Over one hundred years later, they were inventoried in the *Camera de' Paesi*, a dining space in the Farnese's Palazzo del Giardino in Parma. However, that may not have been their first destination in Italy. In order to understand the reasons for Beuckelaer's popularity on the Italian peninsula, it is necessary to trace the reasons for the acquisition of these seven paintings which, I contend, was done for Margaret of Parma with the help of the Affaitadi family of Cremona.

Guicciardini's love of the Flemish people reflects the sentiments of his Italian compatriots, who viewed Flanders and Antwerp specifically as sophisticated and cosmopolitan. The international port city of the North for the majority of the sixteenth century, Antwerp had goods arriving from across the globe⁶ and people of different nationalities living and working there without "losing their cultural identity and practices."⁷ As Emma Grootveld and Nina Lamal put it, "Antwerp functioned as an early modern 'world space.'"⁸

Beuckelaer's paintings of kitchens and markets, full of food but also full of idealized versions of the Northern working class, appealed to both local and foreign audiences. As I shall demonstrate, their imagery connected to the fashion for dinner parties, and for dining room decoration that correlated to room function, both already trends in Antwerp. For Italians living in, stationed in, or traveling through Antwerp, the subject matter of these paintings appealed for its distillation of the contemporary moment, for its exoticism, for its sense of culinary abundance which was synonymous with wealth, and for its connection to the dinner party, a new and also ancient event.

My interest in the topic of Beuckelaer in Italy began while I was researching my first book, *Pieter Bruegel and the Culture of the Early Modern Dinner Party*, and it

6 Guicciardini discusses this as well; see *Descrittione*, p. 41: "mercerie d'ogni sorte, e pregio, che di qua non solo per tutta l'Europa, ma ancora per molte parti d'Africa, e per la maggior parte delle Orientali, e Occidentali Indie, per via di Spagna, e di Portogallo continuamente si mandano."

7 Emma Grootveld and Nina Lamal, "Cultural Translations and Glocal Dynamics between Italy and the Low Countries during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," *Incontri*, anno 30, vol. 2 (2015), p. 7.

8 Grootveld and Lamal, "Cultural translations," p. 7.

started with Vincenzo Campi, not Beuckelaer. In that book, I researched and wrote about the functions of Bruegel's peasant paintings as active backdrops to Antwerp dinner parties, as scenes that did not just decorate dining rooms, but came to life during the course of the dinner gathering through their interaction with dinner guests, actors in the dining space, and the material culture of dining, which all leaned heavily on peasant imagery. Vincenzo Campi's paintings for Hans Fugger's dining room in Bavaria functioned similarly, and similarly depicted large-scale peasant figures. Yet their imagery derived not from Bruegel, but from the kitchen and market scenes of Beuckelaer, which present life-sized figures surrounded by vast arrays of intricately painted food.

Campi's paintings for Fugger's dining room led me back to Beuckelaer's, which were in Italian collections—more specifically, Italian dining rooms—where Campi, a native of Cremona, clearly saw them. This got me thinking: why were Beuckelaer's paintings in Italy? Their subject matter does not seem, on the surface, like a natural fit there. It was new and unusual in the Antwerp of the 1560s and 1570s when Beuckelaer was working, and it is site-specific and contemporary in subject. By this I mean that the depicted figures and their locations are emphatically Flemish and of the current moment, displaying contemporary dress and, as Honig has emphasized, the very modern act of shopping.⁹ Furthermore, these paintings are not small and, in documented cases, were displayed in sets, either by Beuckelaer's design or via the intent of their owners. The most important and largest set of Beuckelaers in Italy was the seven belonging to the Farnese family, and specifically—as I will argue—to Margaret of Parma, Governor of the Netherlands.

I concluded my first book with a discussion of dining room decoration and the dinner party as cultural emblems worthy of export beyond Antwerp to other parts of Europe, including Germany and Italy. I begin this one examining Beuckelaer's paintings through that lens. Kitchen and market scenes were created for domestic settings, first in Antwerp and, soon after, for export. Beuckelaer and Pieter Aertsen, his teacher, pioneered this subject matter, which did not exist before their arrival on the scene in the 1550s and 1560s. It came to infiltrate the visual culture of Northern Italy via expatriate Italians living in Antwerp, who experienced the fashion of the dinner party as a microcosm of the city's cosmopolitan culture, and sought to bring it back home in the specific form of Beuckelaer's paintings. Italian fascination with the North manifested itself visually through the import of Beuckelaer's particular imagery, which was then absorbed, internalized, and translated through Italian followers, Campi foremost among them.

9 Elizabeth Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 2.

Campi was not alone in adapting and adopting Beuckelaer's subject matter; other artists including Jacopo Bassano, Bartolomeo Passarotti, and Annibale Carracci took up the mantle as well.¹⁰ Yet it was Campi, along with the Affaitadi family and the cultural atmosphere of their collective hometown of Cremona, who possessed the connections to Antwerp that allowed Northern dining culture and its imagery to take hold. And it was the potency of this Northern fashion for dining, tied up as it was with images of peasants and food, that accounts for the interest among both artists and patrons—from the nobility to the mercantile elite¹¹—in this subject matter.

Beuckelaer is a chronically understudied and underappreciated artist. Due in part to confusion about his name, which was unusual even in his own era, awareness and study of his work was limited in the first centuries after his death. As Lorne Campbell points out, his teacher and uncle Pieter Aertsen overshadows him historiographically, with an easier name and even a nickname (Long Peter) and, perhaps because of it, a mention by Vasari and subsequent inclusion in major nineteenth- and twentieth-century exhibitions.¹² This scholarly exclusion persisted even though van Mander writes about him,¹³ as does—significantly for this study—the Cremona-based theorist Giovanni Lomazzo.¹⁴ Beuckelaer is also challenging to study in terms of primary sources. In sixteenth-century Antwerp inventories, he is never mentioned by name, even though his works are clearly listed there.¹⁵ And his aesthetic—large-scale paintings of figures at market or in the kitchen, surrounded by all kinds of food—has not always aligned with modern sensibilities, or what Campbell terms “snobbish prejudices.”¹⁶ As Keith Moxey mused in his groundbreaking 1974 dissertation on Beuckelaer and Aertsen, these artists remained unstudied due to the “aesthetic prejudices” of art historians: “How many

10 See, among others, Sheila McTighe, “Food and the Body in Italian Genre Paintings, about 1580: Campi, Passarotti, Carracci,” *Art Bulletin*, vol. 86 (2004), pp. 301–23; Valérie Boudier, *La cuisine du Peintre. Scene de genre et nourriture au Cinquecento* (Rennes: Presses universitaires du Rennes; Tours: Presses universitaires Francois-Rabelais de Tours, 2010).

11 There is an interesting exchange taking place in this last quarter of the sixteenth century between true nobility and Antwerp's urban upper class. On the one hand, the newly wealthy and not landed urban elite were clearly intent on imitating the traditions, humanist inclinations, and collecting habits of Europe's nobility. But the nobility were also keen to appropriate the material and cultural trappings of the movers and shakers in Northern Europe's most important sixteenth-century city.

12 Lorne Campbell, “Beuckelaer's *The Four Elements*: Four Masterpieces by a Neglected Genius,” *Apollo* 2 (2002), p. 45.

13 Carel van Mander, *Dutch and Flemish painters*; translation from the *Schilderboeck*, and introduction by Constant Van de Wall (New York: McFarlane, Warde McFarlane, 1936), pp. 173–75.

14 *Idea del tempio della pittura di Gio. Paolo Lomazzo pittore. Nella quale egli discorre dell'origine, e fondamento delle cose contenute nel suo trattato dell'Arte della pittura* (Milano, P.G. Ponto, 1591).

15 For an exploration of these sources, see chapter 1.

16 Campbell, “Beuckelaer's *The Four Elements*,” p. 45.

times, I wonder, was I asked, ‘Whatever do you see in these paintings of peasants and market produce?’”¹⁷

Beuckelaer, then, is an artist with a difficult name who made paintings that modern art historians have not, on the whole, found appealing. But some have: the imagery created by both Aertsen and Beuckelaer invited analyses from Emmens and Grosjean in the 1970s.¹⁸ And then, in the early 1980s, the series now known as the *Four Elements* was sold to a Belgian collector who lent it to the Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Ghent (figs. 5.2–5.5). The series, and its arrival on the scene, marked a watershed in Beuckelaer studies. The museum organized an exhibition around it in 1986, celebrating its long-term loan to that collection. The accompanying catalog¹⁹ contained thirteen scholarly essays examining the paintings and Beuckelaer more generally from a wide variety of perspectives. These include the sexuality of his imagery (both through depicted figures and food), and the kitchen objects, foodstuffs, and clothing he depicts.²⁰ The catalog is impressive in both its sweep and its willingness to venture in unexpected directions, linking the paintings to sixteenth-century material culture and diet. It attempts to answer numerous questions, from the meaning of Beuckelaer’s imagery to the types of fish portrayed in *Water*.

The catalog does not address the function of Beuckelaer’s paintings out in, and as a part of, the larger world. Elizabeth Honig’s 1998 book, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*, considers Beuckelaer’s paintings in a broader context, making them part of a larger discussion of the connections among cultures, economic markets, and images in Antwerp.²¹ In thinking of Beuckelaer and Aertsen’s paintings as artifacts which both reflect and comment upon the larger world they inhabit, Honig’s book serves as one of the models for my own methodological approach. By looking outside the paintings to their place in the modern, bustling

17 Keith P.F. Moxey, *Pieter Aertsen, Joachim Beuckelaer, and the Rise of Secular Painting in the Context of the Reformation* (PhD Thesis, University of Chicago, 1974), p. ii.

18 J.A. Emmens, “Eins aber ist nötig’ – Zu Inhalt und Bedeutung von Markt- und Kuchenstücken des 16. Jahrhunderts”, completed by Jochen Becker, in *Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, eds. J. Bruyn, J.A. Emmens, E. De Jongh, and D.P. Snoep (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), pp. 93–101; Ardis Grosjean, “Toward an Interpretation of Pieter Aertsen’s profane iconography,” *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 43 (1974), issue 1–4, pp. 121–43.

19 *Joachim Beuckelaer: Het Markt- en Keukenstuk in de Nederlanden, 1550–1650*, ed. Paul Verbraeken (Ghent: Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1986).

20 See essays by Kavalier, Peremans, van Winter, and Gijzen in *Joachim Beuckelaer: Ethan Matt Kavalier, “Erotische Elementen in de Markt-taferelen van Beuckelaer, Aertsen en hun Tijdgenoten,”* pp. 18–26; Paul Peremans, “De archeologica op de keukenstukken en de markttaferelen van Joachim Beuckelaer,” pp. 53–60; Johanna Maria van Winter, “Voedselverbruik in de Nederlanden in de vijftiende en de zestiende eeuw,” pp. 63–66; Agatha Gijzen, “De vismarkt van Joachim Beuckelaer,” pp. 67–70.

21 Honig, *Painting and the Market*.

economy of sixteenth-century Antwerp, she offers a new perspective on that cultural context and, in so doing, recasts the imagery within the frame to bring out its larger significance.

Some of the best and most useful scholarship on Beuckelaer comes from the Italian side, both from Italian scholars and publications and also from the perspective of Italian art history and cultural studies. Bert Meijer's indispensable tome, *Parma e Bruxelles*,²² considers Beuckelaer's paintings as part of the larger whole of collecting at the Farnese court. He is among the first to propose Margaret of Parma as the person who acquired the seven Beuckelaers now at the Capodimonte, and his inclusion and analysis of a trove of primary sources has also provided a model for my study. Bram de Klerck's writings on Campi, and much of the Campi scholarship—especially the catalog to the 2000 Campi exhibition in Cremona²³—provide useful means for thinking about Beuckelaer's impact in Italy. Finally, Giuseppe Bertini's exhaustive research on collecting at the Farnese court, spread over years and numerous publications, has been an indispensable resource.²⁴

Beuckelaer's kitchens and markets did not arrive in Italy by accident, but were part of a larger fashion in the North that infiltrated Italy via the mostly Northern Italian nobles and merchants who lived part-time in Antwerp but kept their permanent homes in Italy. Foremost in this group are Margaret of Parma and her friends, the Affaitadi family of Cremona, who all kept feet in both worlds. These and other members of an international noble and merchant community saw themselves as existing outside and above national borders. They occupy a unique position in terms of understanding Northern fashion and transporting it, through their own collecting and display practices, to Northern Italy. My study considers Beuckelaer's paintings in the broader North Italian context and in the immediate physical surroundings where they found themselves in the decade or two after their creation: domestic spaces used for dining and entertaining.

22 Bert W. Meijer, *Parma e Bruxelles: committenza e collezionismo farnesiani alle due corti* (Milan: Silvana, 1988).

23 See especially Franco Paliaga, *Vincenzo Campi: scene del quotidiano* (Milan: Skira Editore, 2000), and Franco Paliaga and Bram de Klerck, *Vincenzo Campi* (Soncino/Cremona: Edizioni dei Soncino, 1997).

24 See, among others, Giuseppe Bertini, *La Galleria del Duca di Parma: storia di una collezione* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editore, 1987); Bertini, "L'inventario dei beni di Margherita d'Austria ritrovati alla sua morte nel 1586 nelle residenze di Ortona e de L'Aquila" in *Gli Arazzi dei Farnese e dei Borbone: Le collezioni dei secoli XVI–XVIII* (Milan: Electa, 1998); Bertini, "Il collezionismo d'arte a Parma dal XVI al XVIII secolo: rassegna di studi e conclusioni preliminari," *Il collezionismo d'arte a Parma dal XVI al XVIII secolo: Geografia del collezionismo: Italia e Francia tra il 16 e il 18 secolo: atti delle Giornate di studio dedicate a Giuliano Briganti* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2001), pp. 1000–20; Bertini, "Center and Periphery: Art Patronage in Renaissance Piacenza and Parma," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, edited by Charles M. Rosenberg (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 71–137.

Like his paintings in the late sixteenth century, which created a bridge between seemingly disparate cultures, Beuckelaer scholarship straddles two worlds: that of Italian cultural history and the Flemish painting tradition. One of the biggest hurdles in studying Beuckelaer's paintings is also one of the aspects of his work that makes it both fascinating and important. While many of his paintings remained in Antwerp, a number of them were purchased by foreigners who brought them out of their original Flemish context and inserted them into an Italian one. This means that two usually somewhat separate groups of scholars study him, or the contexts around him, and perhaps they do not communicate with each other enough. Beuckelaer occupies a liminal space between Italy and the North. Unfortunately, in scholarship that liminal space tends to be overlooked or—to quote a proverb that Bruegel famously illustrated—it falls between two stools. This study represents one attempt to repair that divide, and to foster further communication between Italian and Flemish studies.

In 2001, the *Four Elements* was acquired by the National Gallery, London. Though there was consternation in Belgium over the sale—many had hoped to keep the series in the country²⁵—their acquisition by a major international museum sparked another round of interest in the series, and a renewed focus on Beuckelaer, particularly by Lorne Campbell, former National Gallery curator. His initial essay on the series,²⁶ as well as his entry on Beuckelaer in the 2014 National Gallery catalog, constitute some of the most significant new scholarship on the artist and his unusual iconography.²⁷

There has long been scholarly agreement, usually mentioned in passing, that Beuckelaer's paintings and particularly his *Four Elements* were designed as decoration for dining rooms.²⁸ However, until now no study has explored the issue in depth. Beyond that, and even though there has been a fair amount of Italian scholarship on Beuckelaer, no one has explored the significance and function of the dining context for Beuckelaer's paintings. These two major factors remain to be considered in terms of Beuckelaer's imagery and its broader, especially in a geographic sense, cultural impact. My study addresses both.

25 Jan van Hove, "De uittocht van het patrimonium," *De Standaard*, March 29, 2001.

26 Campbell, "Beuckelaer's *The Four Elements*."

27 Campbell, Lorne, and National Gallery, London. *The Sixteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings, with French paintings before 1600* / National Gallery, London (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 92–137.

28 See Leo Wuyts, "Joachim Beuckelaers Groentemarkt van 1567, een Ikonologische Bijdrage." *Joachim Beuckelaer: Het Markt- en Keukenstuk in de Nederlanden, 1550–1650* (Ghent: MSK, 1986), pp. 27–38; Hans Buijs, "Voorstellingen van Christus in het huis van Maria en Martha in het zestiende-eeuwse keukenstuk," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 40 (1989), pp. 93–128; J.A. Emmens, "Eins aber ist nötig" – Zu Inhalt und Bedeutung von Markt- und Kuchenstücken des 16. Jahrhunderts', completed by Jochen Becker, in *Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, ed. by J. Bruyn, J.A. Emmens, E. De Jongh, and D.P. Snoep (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), pp. 93–101.

The fractured relationship between food and dining history and the history of art is another divide I attempt to repair in this study. Paintings of food can tell us a great deal about nutrition and the contexts for dining in the sixteenth century, and at the same time, the study of early modern ideas about food and dining can reveal an immense amount about how those paintings were meant to be received. I will delve into the cultural and physical functions of Beuckelaer's paintings in Antwerp as part and parcel of Northern dining culture, and how, why, and through whom that cultural function was exported to Italy.

Chapter Outline

The book's first chapter, *Kitchens, Markets, and Marthas in Antwerp Houses*, looks at his paintings and how they were displayed in local domestic spaces in Antwerp. As the pioneer, along with Aertsen, of a completely new category of subject matter—the kitchen or market scene—Beuckelaer's too numerous²⁹ paintings were on view in many Antwerp houses by the 1570s and 1580s. Though never listed in inventories by name, paintings that were clearly his appear frequently, especially in the larger, more affluent homes in the city. Invariably, the paintings are listed in one of three domestic spaces: the salon, the kitchen, or the dining room. I contend that these locations are central to understanding the function of Beuckelaer's imagery in domestic space, appearing in rooms that were the most public-facing in the house (dining room and salon) and/or the most aligned with the painted subjects (dining rooms and kitchens).

I begin by examining a number of inventory listings of what is clearly Beuckelaer- and Aertsen-based subject matter: paintings described as “markets,” “kitchens,” and “Marthas.” I look at who owned them, where they were displayed in the house, and the broad lexicon used to describe this iconography that was, at the time, brand new. I then examine their descriptions in relation to extant works by Beuckelaer, thinking about their physical contexts in various rooms of the house, and the functions of their entirely modern iconography. I pay particular attention to the relationships among Beuckelaer's paintings of kitchens and actual kitchens and dining rooms, asking how the presence of pictures of household staff and abundant food might have made different kinds of meanings in those disparate spaces, and

29 Carel van Mander, *Dutch and Flemish Painters*, p. 173: “Unfortunately, most of the things in this world, obtained without effort and without much consideration, are often neglected, or despised; things which are difficult to obtain are always in demand. The works of Joachim Beuckelaer, the pictures he painted during his life time, for trifling sums of money, are at present, after his death, appreciated so much that the price paid for one picture is often twelve times the amount it brought originally.”

with the different types of viewers—from family to staff to guests—who might have viewed them.

The chapter's final sections are devoted to three figures: Aernout Pels, whose dining room contained two paintings of kitchens, and then two of the men named or mentioned in Van Mander's account of Beuckelaer's life: the Antwerp Mint Master and Chiappino Vitelli, an Italian general stationed in Antwerp. Though the identity of the Mint Master has been debated, I offer documentary evidence that it was Jan Noirot, the same figure whose dining room on the Mint property displayed four paintings by Pieter Bruegel. Noirot's inventory lists a painting of a kitchen, aligning with van Mander's account. Meanwhile, Chiappino Vitelli was—according to van Mander—Beuckelaer's last patron. An Italian general who worked for Cosimo I and then the Duke of Alba and Alessandro Farnese in Antwerp, Vitelli represents the first, but not only, link between Italy and the North, and between Beuckelaer and Italian audiences.

Though the Farnese family ended up with seven paintings by Beuckelaer, inventoried in the dining room of Palazzo del Giardino in Parma in 1680, there has never been agreement on how they arrived there. Chapter 2, *Beuckelaer and Margaret of Parma's Flemish Identity*, delves into the longstanding connection between Margaret of Parma and Flanders as the reason behind her desire to acquire seven paintings by Beuckelaer, and to install them in a dining space in Italy. Born in the North and raised in Mechelen at the court of her great aunt, Margaret of Austria, Margaret of Parma was a political pawn. The illegitimate daughter of Charles V and Jeanne van der Gheynst, she was married twice by age 15, first to a Medici and then a Farnese. Flanders was the true home to which she returned as Governor from 1560–67, when she was forced, post-Iconoclasm, to return to Italy. Not long after, she acquired seven large paintings of Flemish kitchens and markets by Beuckelaer.

Margaret's former life in the North needs to be seen as the backdrop for this acquisition. Resettled in Italy and unhappily married to Ottavio Farnese, Margaret saw Beuckelaer's paintings of contemporary Flemish settings and people as a nostalgic link to the North. They formed part of her independent, Flemish-themed domain in Abruzzo, separate from her second husband on land left to her by her first. Via Beuckelaer's paintings and their connection to a specifically Northern dining culture, I contend that she was able to retain a piece of the culture she loved even as she resettled herself, first in Parma and ultimately in Abruzzo. Through the correspondence of those around her, I draw a continuous line from her Flemish beginnings and her affection for the role model of her great aunt, through her rebellious youth as unwilling wife to Ottavio Farnese, to her time as Governor of the Netherlands, both during Antwerp's heyday and in the early months of the Iconoclasm.

Margaret of Parma's acquisition of the seven Beuckelaer paintings likely came with the help of her friends, the Affaitadi family of Cremona. Chapter 3, *Fashion Spreads: Campi and the Affaitadi in Cremona (and beyond)* examines the role of Cremona, the Affaitadi, and the painter Vincenzo Campi, in the Italian dissemination of Beuckelaer's kitchen and market imagery. The Affaitadi were central to the international movement of objects, images, and ideas in the later sixteenth century. Friends and business associates of the Farnese and the Fugger, as well as the Medici, they collected Flemish painting, influenced their friends and associates to do the same, and helped import Flemish dining culture to Cremona. Though we do not have records of specific paintings they owned, there is enough documentation on the family's business and personal connections to place them as one of the conduits transferring cultural content from one part of Europe to the other, influencing other families in their hometown of Cremona and beyond, and helping to create a sense of internationalism that encouraged artists like Campi to explore subjects that were, up to that point, foreign to them.

Beuckelaer's pictures arrived in Northern Italy on a wave of Flemish imports, from tapestries to furniture to paintings. By adapting their style and subject matter, Campi very adroitly capitalized on this fashion for things Northern. His appropriation and adaptation of Northern iconography, and his role in extending the fashion for Northern style to other Lombard artists, offers evidence of a fertile commercial and cultural exchange between Antwerp and Northern Italy in this period, and suggests that the region's international class aligned themselves with Flanders by adopting its visual language. They did so despite the disapproval of leaders of the Catholic Church in the Duchy of Milan, who were highly suspicious of Northern heresy. Italian merchants and businessmen knew better. They were proud of their Northern connections, knowing and working with (and sometimes marrying) Flemish people. Chapter 4, *Parties, Privacy, Performance, and Paintings in the Duchy of Milan*, looks at the literary precedents for private dinner parties, their entertainments, and their images in a region overseen by the hard-line Archbishop Carlo Borromeo. There, nobles and those who had lived abroad flaunted the strict sumptuary laws and other rules laid down by church leaders. More often than not, they moved their desire to show their own internationalism inside, to domestic space and private entertaining. The chapter starts by examining the literary precedents for the *convivium* tradition, looking at how writers from Plutarch to Alberti discuss entertainments, alcohol, the importance of conversation, and the function of images at dinner. It then moves to the practices of Italian dinner parties and the performative ways in which Beuckelaer's paintings might have been activated by the dining space and the event of the dinner party.

Large-scale, with life-sized human figures and meticulously rendered food, Beuckelaer's kitchen and market scenes invite and almost demand interaction

from the viewer. Chapter 5, *Class, Food, Paintings, Health*, moves from a broader examination of the cultural and physical contexts in which the paintings circulated to a close analysis of the world inside them, asking how concepts of class and its ties to food and health show up in Beuckelaer's imagery. In this chapter, I focus specifically on his *Four Elements*, the only known planned series of his works, now at the National Gallery, London. Likely set in a Florentine dining room by the last decade of the sixteenth century, the four paintings are organized around the four elements and align with sixteenth-century conceptions of food, nutrition, social class, and the Great Chain of Being. They also invite viewer interaction. Though Beuckelaer likely presumed an elite male viewer as audience, I explore other kinds of audiences who might have come into contact with the paintings, particularly women, including a viewer like Margaret of Parma and—via unusual documented testimony—actual household staff like those the images depict.

This book is decidedly not a monograph. Instead I have attempted to keep Beuckelaer's paintings at the center of a wheel whose spokes reach out in numerous, seemingly unrelated directions. These areas of inquiry—the Antwerp-Italy connection, the dining-painting connection, the question of how issues of class and gender show up in and out of the imagery—coalesce around the paintings. In thinking critically about the disparate pieces of my research on all aspects of this topic, I have found the work of feminist geographer Nancy Hiemstra very useful.³⁰ She proposes a methodology based on the periscope, where scholars use the academic version of prisms and mirrors to try to piece together—from tiny bits—the things they cannot otherwise see or understand with certainty. Hiemstra encourages us to “keep in mind the parallax principle of vision, which states that the same object will appear differently depending on the location from which it is viewed,”³¹ and that truth must be recognized as partial, and not universal. All of Beuckelaer's truths are partial and entirely dependent on the location from which they are viewed. Hopefully, this volume succeeds at viewing them from multiple, though by no means all, locations.

30 Hiemstra, Nancy, “Periscoping as a Feminist Methodological Approach for Researching the Seemingly Hidden,” *The Professional Geographer*, 69, no.2 (2017), pp. 329–36.

31 Hiemstra, “Periscoping,” p. 334.