

JOB AND HIS COMFORTERS:
A COMPREHENSIVE REPORT BASED ON TECHNICAL AND ART HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

THE COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART RESEARCH FORUM:
CONSERVATION AND ART HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

WORKS FROM THE COURTAULD GALLERY PROJECT

Harriet Pearson and Alexandra Thom

Abstract

Harriet Pearson, MA Painting Conservation, and Alexandra Thom, MA History of Art, conducted the following study while employed by The Courtauld Institute of Art Research Forum from January to July 2011. *Job and His Comforters*, the painting undergoing consideration, entered the The Courtauld Gallery collection as part of the Lee Bequest, at which point the work was titled *The Scorn of Job*. It is currently in the painting store and has not been displayed since its acquisition.

This report aims to contextualize *Job and His Comforters*, both through its material history and iconography, in mid 16th century Netherlandish practice. At the outset, the authors will introduce the narrative of Job—as it was developed in the biblical Book of Job and in various secular sources—and its specific interpretation in the panel painting. We will then discuss the probable place and time of production, and how this particular historical and cultural context might have played a role in deciding the painting's dramatic content, composition, style, and iconography. Finally, the authors will compare certain elements of the painting—its composition and content—with contemporary Netherlandish paintings in an effort to situate *Job and His Comforters* in a tradition of Northern European panel painting.

This report is the product of a collaborative effort between The Courtauld Gallery, The Courtauld Institute of Art, and the Department of Conservation & Technology, and its findings reflect those accrued from both art historical examination and technical practice.

Acknowledgements

Throughout this project, our research efforts have been aided by discussions with members of the Courtauld History of Art and Conservation staff. In particular we would like to thank Aviva Burnstock, Caroline Campbell, Stephanie Buck, Nicola Jennings, and Susie Nash.

The project was co-ordinated by Aviva Burnstock (Head of Conservation), Caroline Campbell (Schroeder Curator of Paintings, The Courtauld Gallery) and Caroline Arscott (Head of Research), to whom we are indebted. We are also grateful to the Research Forum for enabling this initiative.

Contents

Introduction

- Chapter 1.** Lucas van Leyden and the Question of Attribution
- Chapter 2.** Narrative and Iconography: The Book of Job, Its Sources and Derivatives
- Chapter 3.** The Figure of Job: a Christological Type
- Chapter 4.** *Job and his Comforters*: Material Production
- i. Support: oak panel
 - ii. Ground layer: chalk and animal glue
 - iii. Underdrawing: carbon containing fluid medium
 - iv. Beige primuerset: pigmented oil layer
 - v. Paint layer: single paint layer
- Chapter 5.** The Antwerp Marketplace and 16th Century Artistic Production
- Chapter 6.** ‘Umstandsentstehung’: The exchange of money in *Job and His Comforters* as a product of economic circumstances in Antwerp
- Chapter 7.** *Job and His Comforters* in Context: Comparisons with 16th Century Netherlandish Artistic Conventions
- i. Clothing
 - ii. Architecture
 - iii. Stylistic Language
 - iv. Facial Types

Conclusion

Bibliography

List of Illustrations

Illustrations

INTRODUCTION

Job and His Comforters represents the Old Testament figure of St. Job as he is being comforted by three musicians (Fig. 1). Job is seated on what appears to be a rock formation, rather than a dung heap as was typical in contemporary representations of the same narrative episode. In the foreground of the panel, three, lavishly dressed and joyful musicians arrive at the scene of Job's suffering. The third musician is seated next to Job and accepts a gold coin from the saint in payment for his performance. Directly behind this human scene of suffering and transcendence, three trees stretch upwards beyond the picture plane, both acting as a frame for the painting's dramatic figures and as a subtle echo of the three musicians. To the right of the figures in the painting's middle ground, a cluster of typically Netherlandish storied houses remind viewers that this scene takes place in close proximity to the town where Job lives; this sense is compounded by an anonymous group of figures huddled on the path that leads to the house. The artist has painted a lush landscape in the background of the panel, some of the detail of which has been lost. We can discern what might be a body of water weaving its way from the middle ground to the skyline, and the soft, blue wave of mountains on the horizon.

This small panel painting, measuring 32.9 x 41.0 cm, is the product of Netherlandish artistic production. A more specific understanding of the painting's provenance, dating and circumstances of production requires a closer investigation into both the painting's iconography and its material composition.

CHAPTER 1

Lucas van Leyden and the Question of Attribution

Job and His Comforters was originally attributed to Lucas van Leyden, who was active from c. 1503 to 1533. However, Lucas's body of work was vastly inflated by misattribution during the 17- 19th centuries, when his name became a generic term for 16th century Netherlandish painters. This was reviewed in the first half of the 20th century. Only 35 paintings were confirmed with authentic attributions.

This painting does not fit easily within Lucas's painted oeuvre, and while *Job and His Comforters* was attributed to the painter up until 1970, Elyse Lawton Smith has suggested in her 1992 appraisal of the painted works of Lucas van Leyden that this work is more likely to have been completed by a later 16th century artist, in the style of the early Leiden School.¹ She argues that while the figures are depicted wearing early 16th century dress, the broad brushwork marks a departure from Lucas's style. Lucas was a skilled engraver and his paintings reflect his penchant for flowing drapery and expressive contours (Figs. 2, 3). By contrast, the drapery in *Job and His Comforters* is defined by hard, sharply delineated forms.²

Lawton-Smith also notes that the blurred, general foliage in *Job and His Comforters* lacks the detail of the trees in Lucas's paintings. She argues that the handling of the perspective and distant landscape is suggestive of a later 16th artist. This conclusion is compatible with the technical findings for this painting, particularly with regards to underdrawing. Investigation into underdrawing using infra red reflectography combined with microscopic

¹ Elyse Lawton Smith, *The Paintings of Lucas van Leyden: A New Appraisal, with Catalogue Raisonné* (University of Missouri Press: Columbia and London, 1992).

² Also see Jan Piet Filedt Kok, 'Underdrawing and other technical aspects in the paintings of Lucas van Leyden,' *NKJ* 29, pp. 128-32.

examination indicates only a few short curved strokes in the faces and some linear contours particularly around the figure of Job (Fig. 4).³ These preparatory marks are almost entirely adhered to in the painting stage with the only observable alteration being a slight downward shift of Job's shoulder. The underdrawing here serves no role in the modeling of form through hatching as can often be seen in early Netherlandish works but seems to act simply as a means of mapping out an already resolved composition. This is at odds with the use of underdrawing observed in paintings by Lucas, where tonal gradations are built up from the drawing stage (Fig. 5). As Dijkstra writes, 'There is [...] one point on which the application of scientific methods to works by [Netherlandish masters] is not complementary or corrective to connoisseurship, but downright confrontational: its findings tend to undermine the attribution of a painting to either the master or his workshop—as connoisseurs are wont to do'.⁴

Collaboration was the order of the day in late 15th and early 16th century, not only between a master and his assistants, but also between different workshops. Moreover, workshop practice required that painters be trained to constantly modify their style according to the particular style of the workshop of which they were a part. Apprentices had to paint in such a way that their work exactly resembled that of their Master, and in turn, they had to change their style in order to be consistent with each workshop they joined. Therefore, it is nearly impossible to arrive at a sure attribution for a painting such as *Job and His Comforters*, which was probably not painted by a Master artist.

Moreover, like most other artists of his time, van Leyden traveled and met with many of the Masters of the surrounding regions. Lucas was born in Leiden in late May or early June

³ See Jelteje Dijkstra, 'Technical Examination' in *Early Netherlandish Painting: Rediscovery, Reception and Research*, eds. Bernhard Ridderbos, Anne van Buren, Hank van Veen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), pp. 292-328. In original works by early Netherlandish masters the appearance of the underdrawing often differs considerably from the definitive painting, the degree and the manner depending on the painter.

⁴ Dijkstra, 'Technical Examination', p. 327.

1494. He was taught first by his father, Huygh Jacobsz, also a painter. Karel van Mander—the author of *Schilder-Boeck*, a collection of artists' biographies published in Haarlem in 1604—reported that Lucas moved to the studio of Cornelis Engebrechtsz after the death of his father.⁵ We know that Lucas met Dürer in Antwerp in 1521 and made a trip to Flanders in 1527. It is just as likely, therefore, that this painting was completed by an anonymous group of Antwerp Mannerists as a Leiden group (many artworks produced by lesser artists in the Dutch and Netherlandish regions were sold in the Antwerp *Pands*, a point which will be examined in greater detail later). Though unified as a general phenomenon, Mannerism achieved distinct characteristics in different parts of Northern Europe. Art in Leiden and other Dutch centers shows striking similarities to Antwerp Mannerism, as evident in the work of Cornelis Engebrechtsz (Fig. 6) and Lucas van Leyden himself (Fig. 7) in particular. Though stylistic traits differed from artist to artist, some of Antwerp Mannerism's defining features are dramatic gestures and figural arrangements, lavish costumes, vivid, sometimes abrasive coloristic effects, imaginative architecture that freely combines Gothic and Renaissance elements, and demonstrative technical virtuosity. Inspired by the demand for a recognizable product, or 'manner', Antwerp painters developed a repertoire of stock figural motifs, compositions, and themes.

⁵ Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem, 1604).

CHAPTER 2

Narrative and Iconography: The Book of Job, Its Sources and Derivatives

There are hundreds of surviving artworks that depict various scenes from the story of Job. Approximately half of these are Byzantine and medieval manuscript illuminations, while the other half are frescoes, paintings, and statues that range in date from the catacombs to the present day.⁶ This abundance of extant images demonstrates the vast symbolic and narrative potential of Job's story. We first see Job and the musicians as a subject of artistic depictions in the late fifteenth century. Within the next hundred years, this narrative scene waned in popularity and eventually disappeared from the repertoire of popular Jobian subjects. Therefore, from an iconographic perspective, this painting can be safely positioned within the 16th century.

Job occupies a unique place in the bible and the history of art. On the one hand, Job was from the land of Uz, which made him an Edomite. The Edomites were fierce enemies of the Hebrews, exemplified by the rivalry between the twin brothers Jacob-Israel and Esau-Edom. The Book of Job not only praises a foreigner as a model of faith, but also it ignores the specific heritage of nascent Judaism. It never mentions the Patriarchs, the Exodus, the Chosen People, the Covenant, the Promised Land, Zion, the Last Judgement, or the Messiah. Therefore, Job is somewhat of an enigma amongst Old Testament figures. On the other hand, Job is a model of patience and humility and an Old Testament pre-figuration of Christ. Accordingly, devotional images of Job and Christ are frequently interrelated.

One of the most fascinating dimensions of the painting at hand is its rich iconographic program. As is the case for many Old Testament figures, Job's narrative has been largely

⁶ Samuel Terrien, *The Iconography of Job Through the Centuries: Artists as Biblical Interpreters* (The Pennsylvania State University Press: Pennsylvania, 1996), p. xxv.

developed and embellished outside of the biblical text. In the bible, we find no mention of Job and music. The figure of Job stands on the border between sacred literature and secular culture. In order to study the iconography of *Job and His Comforters* more closely, it is necessary to look to the literature, drama, and folklore that formed the narrative structure into which the episode of Job and His Musicians falls.

Although the book of Job was orally composed from the 10th to the 6th centuries BC, it was not written down before the Persian period in the 5th century BC.⁷ Most of the non-Biblical motifs in The Story of Holy Job can be traced back to the so-called *Testament in Job*, composed in the 1st century AD by a poet belonging to the Essenes, an ancient Jewish sect.⁸ It is believed to have been originally written in Aramaic. However, the oldest known version is in Greek and seems to contain many additions from popular legends. In the Greek version, called the *Testamentum Nereus*, the brother of Job relates the events as Job himself told them to his three daughters shortly before his death.

The Book of Job begins with a summary of his character: Job is described as an extremely pious, prosperous, and wise man. Constantly fearing that one of his seven sons may have sinned and ‘cursed God in their hearts’, he offers burnt offerings as a pardon for their sins. Satan presents himself to God to ask his opinion on Job. In response, Satan suggests that Job is pious only because God put a ‘wall around’ him and ‘blessed’ his favorite servant with prosperity. But if God touches Job’s possessions, then Job would curse God. Finally, God gives Satan permission to test Job’s righteousness. As a result, Job is struck by disasters and then by a skin disease, but despite the agony and humiliation to which Job is subjected, he refuses to curse

⁷ Terrien, *The Iconography of Job*, p. xxxii.

⁸ Ibid.

God and let himself die. At the end of the story, in return for his devotion, Job is restored to longevity in the presence of a new family.

The story goes that before Satan's intervention, Job was a wealthy nobleman who entertained lavishly and frequently. On these occasions musicians used to play at the table, and when they got tired, Job himself took his harp and played. On his deathbed, Job gave his daughters magic belts that enabled them to understand the songs of the angels and heavenly music, so that they could respond to the chants when the angels came to carry Job's soul to heaven. The daughters were to devote the rest of their lives to the praise of God with singing and playing. For this purpose Job presented the first daughter with his harp, the second with a censer, and the third with a drum. It appears that Job's three daughters have been compounded with the three friends who come to visit Job when he is in distress. Thereby the three comforters become three musicians depicted in *Job and His Comforters*.

The *Testamentum Nereus* also tells us that Job and his friends had magic trees in their gardens which would wither if one of them was in trouble; thus they learned of Job's misfortune, and came to console him. These magic trees as described in the Greek poem suggest a symbolic purpose to the three trees we see in the background of the painting *Job and His Comforters*. In support of this theory, the three trees also appear in several contemporary representations of Job and the three musicians (Figs. 8-10).

The motifs of the *Testamentum* are taken up by several French 'mystery' plays, which further embellish the role of music in Job's narrative. These 'mystery plays' were fifteenth century dramas that commemorated the lives of saints. The word 'mystery' is doubtless derived from the Latin *ministerium* and means 'to act.' The French mystery play *La patience de Job* contains several scenes concerning music. In one of these scenes, Job is carried out to the

dunghill by his servants and, after his wife and friends have try in vain to relieve his pain, the friends of Job fetch their musical instruments and perform a concert in order to console him.

According to Samuel Terrien, the attitude of the medieval church towards musicians was ambivalent.⁹ Under these circumstances, Terrien questions whether the musicians who, during the Late Gothic Age, were represented playing for Job should be viewed as well-meaning entertainers or shady-seducers. This question seems hardly relevant, however, in light of the *Testamentum Nereus* and subsequent narrative descriptions of Job as a lover of music.

⁹ Terrien, *The Iconography of Job*, p. 107-121.

CHAPTER 3

The Figure of Job: a Christological Type

The figure of Job in this painting is based on the conflation of two Christological iconic types: 'Christ in Distress' and Christ as 'Man of Sorrows'. In the type of the seated 'Christ in Distress', familiar from Durer's woodcut which forms the title-page of the *Kleine Passion* (Fig. 11), Christ is represented naked, His head resting on His hand, His elbow supported by the knee. Emile Mâle, who was the first to discuss the varieties of this type in some detail, suggested that the type grew out of the illustration of a particular incident of the Passion: Christ seated waiting for his death. This type, Mâle observes, becomes obsolete after the 16th century. Lucas himself represents Christ in this pose in the hours before his crucifixion (Fig. 12), while Hans Schäufelein adopts this pose in his representation of the torment of Job (Fig. 13).

The 'Man of Sorrows' type, on the other hand, is a pre-figuration of Christ (Fig. 14). Reference to this figure can be found in Isaiah 52, which states 'He is despised and rejected of men, a Man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief.' From this description, it is easy to see the parallels with Job. Interestingly, Job's skin disease seems to be based on Christ's wounds as they are represented in the Man of Sorrows type (Fig. 15), rather than skin diseases that might have been prevalent at the time of the painting's production. During the 15th century, it was conventional to represent Job as if he was afflicted by leprosy or boils typical of the black plague, both illnesses that afflicted people during that era.

In this particular representation of Job, the holster of the second musician's sword lines up directly with Job's right side: exactly where Christ's side was pierced by the soldier's spear

during His crucifixion. This symbolic compositional cue makes an undeniable connection between Job and Christ.

CHAPTER 4

Job and His Comforters: Material Production

Materials and techniques employed in *Job and His Comforters* are for the most part consistent with 15th and 16th century Netherlandish practice, and preparation of the panel and subsequent paint application can be understood as a layer system. Accordingly, materials and techniques used in the production of *Job and his Comforters* are presented chronologically beginning first with the wood panel, followed by the preparatory layers and finally with a discussion of paint application.

Support: oak panel

The support is a radially cut single oak board (Baltic oak was most commonly used during this period). The panel has been thinned – most likely during a previous restoration campaign – and consequently, any evidence of tooling or panel maker's stamps has been lost. The ground extends slightly over the top and bottom edges of the panel, but not over the left or right indicating that the horizontal dimensions may originally have been slightly greater.

Ground layer: chalk and animal glue

The panel was first prepared with a thin overall ground layer composed of chalk and animal glue (Fig. 16). This ground composition is typical of Northern European practice and served the purpose of the purpose of creating a smooth surface suitable for painting.

Underdrawing: carbon containing fluid medium

As discussed previously, underdrawing is restricted to a few curved strokes mapping out facial and body contours (Fig. 4). The artist's strict adherence to the underdrawing and the lack of obvious alterations or pentimenti during the painting stage strongly indicates that the composition was fully resolved before the paint was confidently and quickly applied.

Beige primuersel: pigmented oil layer

Tonal unification is imbued by an overall beige layer laid above the underdrawing. Although the sky appears to have been significantly influenced by the wood grain (a technique employed by 17th century artists such as van Goyen) it is the overall beige preparatory layer which is observed. In places this layer is as thick as the paint layer itself. Slight increased translucency of the chalk ground directly under the beige primuersel indicates an oil medium (Fig. 16).

The application of a barely pigmented or unpigmented oil layer is typical of Early Netherlandish painting technique. Referred to variously as an isolating layer, imprimatura, or primuersel, this layer served to reduce the absorbency of the ground thereby preventing oil medium in the paint layers from sinking.¹⁰ Additionally, when applied above the underdrawing (as is most commonly observed), the primuersel seals the underdrawing in place thus preventing 'pick up' during painting.

While the employment of white and off-white preparatory layers allowed for a greater sense of luminosity (caused by the white surface reflecting light through thin layers of semi translucent and translucent paint), the choice of a strongly pigmented preparatory layer must

¹⁰J. H. Townsend et al. (eds), *Preparation for painting: the artist's choice and its consequences*, (London, Archetype, 2008).

similarly have been influenced by technical and aesthetic reasons. The preparatory layer applied above the ground in *Job and his Comforters* is pigmented with a bright yellow ochre. This practice is in line with the artist's economic approach to production and would have allowed volume to be built up much more rapidly than had a white surface been chosen.

The employment of an often visible coloured imprimatura layer is commonly associated with 17th century artists such as Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) as well as Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) (Fig. 17). However, the perception that the use of powerfully coloured grounds was not developed in the Netherlands before the seventeenth century has been described as antiquated.¹¹

Netherlandish artists employed a variety of coloured isolating layers varying from reddish or pale brown to differing tones of grey as well as off-white and white. Karel van Mander refers to this layer as the *primuersel*, which he described as being thin, translucent and flesh coloured. Applied above the underdrawing, van Mander goes on to state that the coloured *primuersel* allowed the artist to see, 'their subjects almost half finished before their eyes after which they set up everything and finished in one layer.'¹²

Van Mander also refers to the use of tinted preparatory layers which contribute to the final effect by 16th century artists such as Pieter Brueghel the Elder (active 1550/1551-1569) and Jan de Hollander – an Antwerp based artist believed to be synonymous with Jan van Amstel (active 1528-1542). This is particularly true of Jan van Amstel's *Sacrifice of Abraham*, in the Louvre collection (Fig. 18). Comparisons with this painting and *Job and his Comforters* can also

¹¹H. Meidema, & B. Meijer, 'The introduction of coloured ground in painting and its influence on stylistic development, with particular respect to sixteenth-century Netherlandish art', *Storia Dell'Arte*, 35, 1979. Meidema and Meijer cite Maarten van Heemskerck's use of a coloured ground in his 1551 grisaille *Moses and Aaron with the Brazen Serpent*.

¹²J. H. Townsend et al. (eds), *Preparation for painting: the artist's choice and its consequences*, (London, Archetype, 2008).

be drawn between foreground details – the foliage and rounded rock formations – as well as the steep middle ground and the recession of distant hills on the right. The use of the narrative sequence to draw the eye across the pictorial surface is a device also observed in *Job and his Comforters*.

The extent to which the increased translucency of the paint film on ageing has rendered the beige primuersel's effect on overall tonality more visible cannot be quantified. While it is likely that the coloured primuersel would have contributed to the appearance of tonal gradations in the sky, one can surmise that the lead white and smalt containing sky passage would originally have appeared more opaque. Furthermore, the abraded state of much of the surface – particularly evident in the sky and grey foreground – has also revealed much more of the beige layer than would originally have been seen. It is therefore possible that the general tonality of the original painting may have been cooler than is now observed.

Paint layer: a largely single paint layer, paint hue mixed before application

Paint has been applied in a largely single layer above the primuersel. The opacity of the paint film over the coloured ground is varied dependent on the tone required with thicker paint layers applied to depict highlighted areas and thinner more translucent layers in areas of shadow. Additionally, although mostly lying under the colourful upper layers, in places we see that the artist has left the beige hue exposed to serve as a mid tone. This expedient technique is also observed in the presence of a reserve in the sky passage, set aside for the rendering of the trees.

In combination with the employment of a tinted preparatory layer, van Mander refers to Jan van Hollender's (or Jan van Amstel's) painting practice which he writes saw a departure from earlier practices. Here he describes a manner in which viscous paintings were mixed on the

palette before being applied in a single layer (consistent with the application of paint observed with *Job and his Comforters*) and contrasts this method with the more traditional layer system employed by artists such as van Eyck. This faster way of working is described by Van Mander as ‘ten eersten opdoen’ (*alla prima* or a single paint layer).¹³

An example of this rapid paint application is seen in the use of carbon black pigment in admixture with vermilion and earth pigments to render shadows in the red drapery folds (Fig. 19). This is a clear divergence from 15th century practice where one would expect to see the modelling of drapery shadows developed in layers of paint. Although traces of a red lake glaze are noted can be seen in the red drapery passage, the mixing of black pigment into the opaque red paint is indicative of the faster, more economic 16th century technique referred to by Van Mander.

For the 16th century Netherlandish artist, blue pigments would have constituted the most costly additions to the palette. The systematic use of three blue pigments has been identified in *Job and his Comforters*; azurite in the green robe of the left-most musician and for the depiction of distant landscape, azurite and its synthetic analogue blue verditer in the tree foliage and smalt in admixture with lead white in the sky.

Azurite was most commonly used by Netherlandish artists. Its occurrence in the horizon of *Job and his Comforters* is confirmed by microscopic examination (Fig. 20). The strength of the slightly greenish blue hue varies depending on particle size, appearing more intense in the more coarsely ground particles. These particles appear angular and fractured – a phenomenon explained by the production of the pigment by means of grinding, washing and levigation of the natural mineral ore.

¹³ H. Miedema ed., *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, Trns. D. Cook-Radmore, (Doornspijk, Davaco, 1996), pp. 32-33.

Smalt is a ground glass pigment which gains its colour from the addition of a small amount of cobalt oxide, mined in the 15th and 16th centuries in Saxony. Blue, glassy shard shaped particles of smalt held in a lead white matrix are observed in the sky paint passage of *Job and his Comforters*. While the limited use of smalt has been noted in the 15th century (identified in works such as Dieric Bouts's *The Entombment*, believed to date from the 1450s) its employment became much more common in the 16th century. Smalt was extensively used in the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Younger (identified in numerous paintings dating from the third quarter of the 16th century) and in Pieter Breughel's *Adoration of the Kings* (1564).¹⁴

The identification of blue verditer in the tree foliage – the manufactured equivalent of natural mineral azurite (basic copper carbonate) – is of significance as it points to an execution date towards the end of the 16th century. Harley writes that blue verditer was a relatively new pigment in the 17th century (although it should be noted that there are recipes in 16th century manuscripts) and the glossary entry for blue verditer in the recently published *Trade in Artists' Materials* states that it perhaps became generally available in the very late 16th century.¹⁵ While this suggestion of an introductory date for blue verditer towards the end of the 16th century is of relevance for dating the panel, it must be noted that reports of the occurrence of blue verditer in 15th century paintings – notably van Eyck's *The Mystic Lamb* altarpiece of 1432 and Dieric Bouts's *Retable du Saint Sacrement* of 1468 – suggest that the pigment was in use from a much earlier date. Positive identification of blue verditer pigment in extant paintings is relatively scarce and it is likely that this can to some extent be explained by its chemical equivalence to

¹⁴ R. Billinge et al., 'The methods and materials of Northern European painting 1400-1550', in L. Campbell et al. (eds), *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Vol 18, 1997, p. 36.

¹⁵ R. J. Gettens & E. West Fitzhugh, 'Azurite and Blue Verditer', in *Studies in Conservation*, Vol 11, No 2, 1966, p. 57.
J. Kirby, S. Nash & J. Cannon (eds), *Trade in Artists' Materials: Markets and Commerce in Europe to 1700*, (London, Archetype, 2010), Glossary.

azurite. However, the shape of azurite and blue verditer particles differs significantly meaning that they can be easily distinguished in cross-section. Blue verditer particles are smaller and paler than coarsely ground azurite and more consistent in size. Crucially, they are most easily distinguished from azurite particles due to their spherical conformation.

²² The earliest reference to un-commissioned art being offered for sale at the Antwerp fairs comes from the Chronicle of the New Church in Delft, which records the visit of an out-of-town 'artist and master' who stopped in Delft several years before 1411, while en route to the fairs of Antwerp and Bruges to market his works, one of which was a sculptured Pieta (See: J.M. Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 12-13). By the 1440s, the Medici were instructing their agents in Bruges to go to the Antwerp fairs to buy paintings and tapestries, which they did and shipped to Florence in sacks of wool for protection (See A. Grunzweig, *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medicis, pt. 1* (Brussels, 1931), p. xxII; R. de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 144, 435, n. 15, cf. 320. A letter of 1448 from an agent in Bruges to Giovanni de' Medici, concerning the search for a suitable tapestry at the Antwerp fair, is published in C. Gilbert, ed., *Italian Art, 1400-1500 (Sources and Documents in the History of Art)* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1980), p. 110).

CHAPTER 5

The Antwerp Marketplace and 16th Century Artistic Production

Since the technical and stylistic evidence suggests that *Job and His Comforters* is of Northern European origin, Antwerp is the logical starting point into an investigation of a more specific context for the work's sale. Even if this particular panel painting was produced in Leiden, it may very well have been sold in Antwerp at a public art market, where records suggest that the majority of the vendors were foreigners.

The growth of the Antwerp art trade was a function of the city's expanding economy, especially during the 16th century. The sale and exportation of luxury goods was one of the distinguishing features of the Antwerp marketplace, which for about seven decades (from 1501 to 1568) reigned as the commercial and financial capital of the European world economy, a position it had wrested from Venice.

The first showroom in post-Classical Europe to be constructed expressly for the exhibition and sale of works of art was opened in Antwerp in 1460. Built by the Church of Our Lady (which was the future Cathedral of Antwerp), the courtyard known as Our Lady's Pand displayed and sold paintings, sculpture, books, and prints during the Antwerp fairs, and was in operation from 1460 until its demolition a hundred years later.²² This pand built on the success of previous, smaller Antwerp markets, such as the Dominican Pand (Fig. 21). The Pand was both a symptom and an agent of the new practice of producing art on speculation for the open market, which developed in the Southern Netherlands during the 15th century.²³

²³ Lorne Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 118, no. 877. (Apr., 1976), pp. 194-198. Other studies of Early Netherlandish art markets include E. Baes, 'La Peinture flamande et son enseignement sous le regime des confreries de St.-Luc', *Memoires couronnes et memoires des savants htrangers [de] l'Acadhmie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux- Arts de Belgique*

Job and His Comforters was probably an example of this type of artwork by a lesser artist, produced not on commission but for the open market. The success of Our Lady's Pand proved the commercial viability of outlet art marketing. Even more, the scale of its growth vividly demonstrated just how important this kind of marketing, and the art trade in general, could be to the larger economy. The result was that the city took over the art trade, first by opening a painters' Pand at the new center of business life, and then by constructing additional panden (Fig. 22). To an even greater degree than Our Lady's Pand, this 'second wave' of art markets positioned Antwerp's artists and their products at the center of the European commercial and financial stage, and in this way became one of the factors that led to significant improvements in the status and professional self-consciousness of the city's painters around 1550.

It also becomes clear that the habit of producing art directly for the market had a decisive impact upon the stylistic and iconographic shape of Antwerp art during the 16th century. With the creation of large workshops which were no longer responsible to individual patrons and commissions, but catered for a large open market and for export, the standards of work declined. It became necessary to employ a greater number of assistants, and visual models that could easily be copied had to be found. For this reason, it is virtually impossible to differentiate between individual artists and even difficult to recognize different workshops.

(1882); H. Floerke, *Studien zur niederländischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte: Die Formen des Kunsthandels, das Atelier und die Sammler in den Niederlanden vom 15.-18* (Munich and Leipzig, 1905); G. Koch, *Die Kunstausstellung: Ihre Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 18* (Berlin, 1967); J. C. Wilson, 'The Participation of Painters in the Bruges 'pand' Market, 1512-1550', *Burlington Magazine*, cxxv (1983), pp. 476-479; B. Dubbe and W. Vroom, 'Patronage and the Art Market in the Netherlands during the Sixteenth Century', in *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse kunst, 1520-1560*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 29-37; J.C. Wilson, 'Marketing Paintings in Late Medieval Belgium', in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age: Rapports provisoires*, ii (Paris, 1986), pp. 1759-66; and L. F. Jacobs, 'The Marketing and Standardization of South Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces: Limits on the Role of the Patron', *Art Bulletin*, LXXI (1989), pp. 208-229.

Our Lady's *Pand* must have served principally as a retailing vehicle for artists without reputations that preceded them, or for whom the location or arrangement of their shop tended not to facilitate marketing.²⁴ The leading Antwerp painters at mid-century, such as Pieter Coecke, Jan van Hemessen, Pieter Aertsen, Frans Floris, and Pieter Bruegel, are conspicuous by their absence from the *Pand*; nonetheless, most of them were engaged in production for the market. It is reasonable to assume that their established reputations and well known shops enabled them to sell directly from their studios.²⁵ Moreover, by the second half of the 16th century, the proliferation of copies and forgeries of works by Quinten Metsys and other famous, deceased Netherlandish painters had become such a problem in Antwerp - the ironic success of producing for the market - that the city magistrates passed an ordinance prohibiting the forging of paintings.

²⁴ Dan Ewing, 'Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's Pand', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (Dec., 1990), pp. 558-584.

²⁵ In general, the practice of studio marketing was more venerable and common than outlet selling. Koch, fig. 20, reproduces a 13th-century Spanish miniature in which a monk is shown buying a devotional panel painting from a stock of completed religious pictures in an artist's atelier. For more on sales from studios, see Campbell, pp. 194-195.

CHAPTER 6

***Umstandsentsstehung*: The exchange of money in *Job and His Comforters* as a product of economic circumstances in Antwerp**

In an attempt to account for the correspondence between the character of 17th century Dutch art and its economic environment, Erik Larsen and Jane Davidson developed the concept *Umstandsentsstehung*—‘creation arising from the circumstances’ or ‘the causal link between the origin and flowering of given stylistic forms and concepts by exterior circumstances’.²⁶ The cult of the Adoration of the Magi is an early example of the enormous power of the market to promote iconographic and stylistic specialization in works of art, especially among the Antwerp Mannerists (Fig. 40). This biblical story, with its attention to foreigners bringing exotic goods to the Child, has often been regarded as an analogue to the activity of merchants in the Antwerp marketplace.²⁷ The compositional emphasis on the passing of the coin in this representation of *Job and His Comforters* serves similarly to emphasize the importance of the art market in 16th century Netherlandish practice. This is supported by the proliferation of paintings with this same focus being made at about the same time (Fig. 10, 23).

The narrative origins of the passing of the coin as it is represented in *Job and His Comforters* can be found in the French Mystery Play mentioned earlier. In the play, Satan, who has failed in all his attempts to confound Job, disguises himself as a beggar and asks Job for alms. As Job has nothing left to give, he takes the worms from his wounds. Satan takes them to Job's wife and they transform into pieces of gold. In a 15th century English poem, which closely follows the French play in plot, Job rewards the musicians with pieces of his skin which are then

²⁶ E. Larsen and J.P. Davidson, *Calvinistic Economy and Seventeenth- Century Dutch Art* (Kansas, 1979), pp. 59-60.

²⁷ L. Silver, *The Paintings of Quinten Massys, with Complete Catalogue Raisonné* (New Jersey, 1984), p. 47, 179.

changed into gold. Moreover, the artist of *Job and His Comforters* has clearly invested his energy and imagination in the particular poetic moment in the painting where the hands of Christ and the red-robed comforter overlap—the line is particularly elegant and the detail is especially precise, and probably would have seemed even more so before degradation (Fig. 24).

In an attempt to understand the centrality and implied importance of the passing of the coin from Job to the musician as a condition of the Antwerp marketplace, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at Antwerp's economic and cultural climate, which fomented the city's booming art market. Because of its situation on the river Scheldt, Antwerp became the greatest port and trade centre of Europe by 1560, with over 1,000 merchants of all nationalities resident. This economic boom resulted in the vigorous development of artistic life. Panofsky writes: 'With the disaster of Agincourt in 1415, the death of the Duc de Berry in 1416 and the withdrawal of Philip the Good to Flanders, the stage was set for Early Flemish painting to come into its own'.²⁸ Records from Antwerp in 1560 document the existence of about 300 masters concerned with painting, engraving, or making woodcuts, compared with only 169 bakers and 78 butchers. Research based on the ledgers (*Liggeren*) of the Antwerp Guild of St Luke between 1500 and 1579 show that some seventy percent of the master painters were migrants.²⁹

However, this early 16th century period of artistic dominance was short-lived, and the religious upheavals under the Spanish King Philip II caused a swift decline in Antwerp's fortunes during the second half of the century. Between about 1560 and 1585, the traditionally affluent urban economy of the Southern Netherlands was rocked by religious iconoclasm, political revolt and economic crisis. This resulted in the relatively modest incomes and limited political

²⁸ Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish painting : its origins and character* (New York ; London : Harper & Row , 1971), p. 149.

²⁹ Natasja Peeters, 'The Guild of Saint Luke and the painter's profession in Antwerp between c. 1560 and 1585 : some social and economic insights', *Envisioning the artist in the early modern Netherlands*, eds. H. Perry Chapman, Joanne Woodall (Zwolle : Waanders, 2010), p 139.

privileges of artists' guilds, the heterogeneity of its membership and the real difficulties faced by artists during these turbulent times.³⁰ If, as we believe, this painting is of mid 16th century origin, then this turbulent economy might have a bearing the particular iconographic choice made by the artist to make the passing of money from Job to one of the musicians the compositional centerpiece of the painting. Perhaps this scene represents a subtle agenda on the part of the artist's guild to encourage the commissioning of artwork even in tough economic times.

This interpretation is particularly convincing in light of the most common patron of panel painting in Antwerp: the court functionaries. Often referred to in casual terms as 'the middle class', or, somewhat more appropriately, as the 'merchant class', functionaries were wealthy merchants and burghers appointed to bureaucratic positions within the Burgundian court. While their service allowed them the opportunity to increase both their wealth and their social rank, their positions were contingent upon the duke's favor, thus encouraging their loyalty to the court. However, their proximity to aristocratic culture, together with the enormous wealth accrued through the exploitation of their positions and through the success of their financial endeavors, is thought to have achieved a gradual degradation in the social distinctions between the two groups. Likewise, Saint Job, a man without means, 'commissions' a performance from the musicians; his saintliness is a condition of this passing of the coin. In *Job and His Comforters*, the ability to spend is equated with elevated status, albeit spiritual. Similarly, social status and the opportunity to appropriate the trappings of nobility is believed to have been the primary incentive motivating the careers of 16th century functionaries. As Bloom writes, 'It is upon the court functionaries and,

³⁰ See Jan Van der Stock, *Antwerp, story of a metropolis, 16th-17th Century* (Gent : Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon , 1993).

more specifically, upon their aspirations towards nobility, that most every major reading of the development of the Netherlandish painted panel for the last fifty years has been hung'.³¹

Moreover, in the middle of the 16th century, Antwerp became a refuge for Lutherans and heretics, whose ideas were disseminated through its printing presses. After Martin Luther's revolutionary theses of 1517, the first condemnation of Lutheran thought in the northern Netherlands was issued by Margaret of Austria in 1521. In 1523, the Leiden publisher Jan Zevertsz was summoned to the Court of Holland in The Hague to answer a charge of printing and selling heretical books, and in 1524, he fled authorities. Erasmus related in a letter of 1525 that 'the largest part of the people in Holland, Zeeland, and Flanders know the teachings of Luther'.³² Job himself was an Edomite, an outsider, who, ironically, serves as a model for devotion. Likewise, the Book of Job has been read as an expression of piety or, on the contrary, of religious revolt. Traditionalists among Jews and Christians told the ancient story in order to teach submission to the will of God in times of misfortune. Religious and secular humanists looked upon Job as a Hebrew Prometheus, persecuted by a cruel God.

Therefore, the emphasis on patronage in Job and His Comforters subtly hints at economic unrest, while the Job's heretical heritage might allude to the condition of Lutherans in the Netherlands at the time. As has been shown, there are various hypothetical linkages between the narrative episode represented and the context of the work's production.

³¹ James J. Bloom, *The rise of the painted panel in early modern Netherlandish art, or, How Antwerp stole the idea of popular culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich. : UMI Dissertation Services, 2004), pp. 80-81.

³² Cornelis Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), pp. 41-2

CHAPTER 7

Job and His Comforters in Context:

Comparisons with 16th Century Netherlandish Artistic Conventions

In addition to the discussion thus far, there are several further means by which we can arrive at the early to mid 16th century as an approximate date of production for *Job and his Comforters*. These are discussed by category under the headings of clothing, treatment of landscape, composition, architecture, and facial types, largely in comparison with the work of contemporaneous Masters, such as Lucas van Leyden, Jan Mostaert, Cornelis Engelbreschtz, and Gerard David.

Clothing

The three musicians in *Job and His Comforters* are depicted in the dress of the early Leiden School (Fig. 25). The variegated, tight hose, small, flouncy caps, broad toes, and décolletage are all typical of Netherlandish dress in the early to mid 16th century. Thus the clothing worn by the musicians corroborates the technical evidence in support of a 16th century date. It has often been observed that Lucas used 15th - and 16th-century Dutch costume as a means of contemporizing his representations of Old and New Testament events. He depicted Samson and Delilah, Joseph and Potiphar's wife, Solomon and his harem, and even the witnesses of the miracles and Passion of Christ, in the garb of Dutch citizens (Fig. 2, 26, 27).

Long pointed toes go out of fashion in the early 16th century and broad, duck-billed toes take their place; these shoes are cut so low that they require a strap over the instep. The two musicians in the left half of the composition don this type of shoe, whereas the seated musician

wears fringed boots; tall boots of varying height are also worn during this time in the Netherlands. As is evident in the case of all three musicians, undershirts begin to be displayed more conspicuously in the early 16th century. Gowns, cut very full and long, are worn open in front. It might be confined with a girdle at the waist—like the second musician—or worn with a tie at the side—like the red-robed musician. There are many examples of sleeves slashed and puffed at shoulder and elbow, or paned (slashed into longitudinal bands or panels) above the elbow. Slashing is more prominent in German dress at the time, but a moderate degree of this embellishment was evident in Netherlandish dress. The hair was worn moderately long, on the lines of what is nowadays called a ‘bobbed’ style, with a deep fringe over the forehead. Moreover, there is evidence that suggests that medieval musicians dressed in bright, striped clothing. To perform, they borrowed the finery worn by the nobility (Figs. 28, 29). In the mid 15th century, the posthumous inventory of a very modest town musician reveals that even the possessed only multi-coloured clothing. As Piponnier and Mane write, ‘These costumes were not worn simply for playing; they represent a manner of dressing that was like a trademark.’³³ Technical examination indicates that the musician’s dress would originally have appeared even more striking as red lake paint passages within the picture plane have been almost entirely lost due to light induced fading. Stripes in the red musician’s robe which now appear beige would originally have appeared a rich crimson red. Faded red lake is also noted in the sleeves of the blue robed musician and in the banner tassels.

³³ Françoise Piponnier & Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1997), p. 147.

Landscape, Architecture and Composition

Unfortunately, some of the background detail of *Job and His Comforters* has been lost. We can just make out what appears to be a river that winds through the thick foliage in the middle ground until it reaches the bare rolling hills against the horizon. A typically Netherlandish house next to a cluster of local citizens denotes a nearby village. The artist has used a motif typical of Lucas and his contemporaries: stretching the length of the painting, three trees serve to frame the drama and lead our eye into the background landscape. Despite its hazy quality, the landscape of *Job and His Comforters* is of great importance from the perspective of scholarly investigation and aesthetic appreciation.

The architectural style of the house—a white facade with contrasting timber framing and a steep roof—confirms a 16th century Netherlandish provenance. Lucas van Leyden and other Dutch masters of his time included houses such as this in their own paintings (Figs. 30, 31), but we also know that Lucas and the Antwerp Mannerist both used a generalized mix of architecture in their compositions. Similar houses are present in works by Dürer, particularly his watercolors. In *Wire Drawing Mill*, one of his earlier painting, Dürer looks over the mills lying on either side of the river Pegnitz and on to the city of Nuremberg which can be seen at the left edge of the picture (Fig. 32).³⁴

Netherlandish painting is often credited for the rise of landscape as an important compositional element, and later an independent pictorial genre in its own right. In *Job and His Comforters*, the artist clearly had a strong interest in landscape, which at once enhances the meaning of the painting while acting as a decorative backdrop to the scene represented. The fact that the number of trees mimics the number of musicians serves to integrate the human drama with the landscape behind. This technique is most often associated with the work of Gerard

³⁴ See Walter Koschatzky, *Albrecht Dürer: The landscape water-colours* (GB, Academy Editions, 1973).

David. David is celebrated from his demonstrated interest in the depiction of landscape evident in his earlier paintings, where he matched the type of natural setting to the theme depicted.³⁵ In the outer wings of a David triptych now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Saint John the Baptist inhabits an enclosed wilderness of cypress and magnolia trees, while Saint Francis receives the stigmata in a remote field, at a distance from his monastery in the background (Fig. 33). David's *Crucifixion* (Fig. 34) shows subtle tonal shifts from the browns of the foreground to the greens and blues near the far horizon of an integrated and naturalistic scheme of hills, valleys, towns, and forests—features that demonstrate a dramatic departure from the formulaic depictions of Hans Memling, David's mentor.

Likewise, the inclusion of a distant by visible town in the background of *Job and His Comforters* implies an interest in landscape beyond its ability to enhance a composition. Job is separated from his wife and the comforts of home—but it is these very assets and people who led to his demise. By their presence in the composition, we are reminded of Job's sacrifice. The artist of this panel might also have been influenced by Lucas and David who both included in their works the compositional arrangement of figures in a tight cluster, animated by the positioning of the heads. Lucas frequently employed this formal device, even in painting as late as *Christ Healing the Blind Man* from 1531 (Fig. 35). This motif is also reminiscent of David and his painting *The Baptism of Christ*, in which groups of anonymous figures act as 'fillers', taking up space in the composition that would otherwise be left empty (Fig. 36).

The acute attention to landscape in paintings, such as those by Joachim Patinir and Gerard David, was ultimately thought to foment the emergence of landscape as an independent pictorial genre. The rise of painting as a public art in early modern Netherlandish culture has

³⁵ Meagher, Jennifer. Based on original work by Maryan W. Ainsworth. 'Gerard David (born about 1455, died 1523)'. In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/gera/hd_gera.htm (June 2009)

been tied to the evolution of secular imagery from the conventions of devotional painting. As Bloom writes,

Implicit in the move from devotional to secular imagery is the assertion that devotional narratives were increasingly pictured within contemporary or public settings. This practice has been explained as a pictorial strategy designed to encourage devotion through familiarity won from the recognition of and identification with the environment in which the religious narrative was set.³⁶

Facial types

Other comparisons can be drawn between the works of Lucas and those of the Master of the St. John Panels, and in turn *Job and His Comforters* (Fig. 37). The short figures in the St. John panels, with their large, square faces, prominent cheekbones, and fine, carefully drawn hair, are close to types in *Lucas's Chess Players* and early engravings such as *David Playing the Harp Before Saul* (Fig. 27). Small, rounded hands, stubby fingers, and projecting thumbs are also typical of these works. So is the compositional grouping of figures in stiff, awkward clusters, with heads overlapping so that background faces are only partially visible. We can look to Mostaert, whose work demonstrates both these compositional groupings of figures and the awkward use of foreshortening that characterized his facial types, as an apt comparison with Lucas who used these same formal devices (Fig. 38, 39).

Colour

Lucas's figure types are generally quite different from those in Cornelis's works, but the deep, rich colors in his paintings may well have been inspired by an association with Cornelis.

³⁶ Bloom, p. 181. See Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*; Meyer Shapiro, 'Muscipula Diaboli: The Symbolism of the Mérode Altarpiece' in *Renaissance Art*, ed. Creighton Gilber (New York: Harper and Row, 1970); Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1984); Max J. Friedländer, *Landscape, Portrait, Still Life: Their Origin and Development*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (New York: Philosophical Library, 1965); James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979).

Most noteworthy is the use of bright red tones as a unifying device in many of Lucas's works, principally *Potiphar's wife accusing Joseph*, which is also similar to *Job and His Comforters* in its use of pale blue and red as a frame for the drama taking place (Fig. 2).

CONCLUSION

More so than for work produced during other periods, it is especially difficult to arrive at a firm attribution for Netherlandish paintings produced during the 16th century. For the first time, lesser quality art was essentially mass-produced. Artists learned how to change their styles with each workshop they joined. Collaboration was the order of the day, and often many hands were involved in creating a finished composition. Master artists were familiar with each other's work, and regularly appropriated various borrowed motifs and stylistic techniques. This buzzing artistic renaissance found its nexus in Antwerp, which was not only a booming center for the art market but the commercial and financial capital of the European world economy. Therefore, we need to see *Job and His Comforters* as a product of its context. As I hope we have shown, this panel painting is emblematic of its era: its treatment of landscape, composition, facial type, costume, and narrative content reflects the influence of various other artists working in the Netherlands during its time of production. The technical evidence – namely the limited underdrawing, coloured ground layer and single paint layer – indicates rapid efficient production, thus supporting the argument that *Job and His Comforters* was a workshop piece, very likely produced speculatively for sale within the burgeoning Netherlandish art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baes, E., 'La Peinture flamande et son enseignement sous le regime des confreries de St.-Luc', *Memoires couronnees et memoires des savants htrangers [de] l'Acadhmie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux- Arts de Belgique* (1882).
- Billinge, R. et al., 'The methods and materials of Northern European painting 1400-1550', in L. Campbell et al. (eds), *National Gallery Technical Bulletin, Vol 18, 1997*.
- Bloom, J. J., *The rise of the painted panel in early modern Netherlandish art, or, How Antwerp stole the idea of popular culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich. : UMI Dissertation Services, 2004).
- Burke, P., *Antwerp : a metropolis in comparative perspective* (Antwerp : Martial & Snoeck , 1993).
- Campbell, L., 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 118, no. 877. (Apr., 1976): 188–198
- Dijkstra, J., 'Technical Examination' in *Early Netherlandish Painting: Rediscovery, Reception and Research*, eds. Bernhard Ridderbos, Anne van Buren, Hank van Veen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005): 292-328
- B. Dubbe and W. Vroom, 'Patronage and the Art Market in the Netherlands during the Sixteenth Century', in *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse kunst, 1520-1560*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, 1986): 29-37.
- van Duijn, E., et al. (eds), 'Developments in the underdrawing and painting technique of the sixteenth-century Leiden School, in particular the workshops of Cornelis Engebrechtsz and Lucas van Leyden', in M. Spring & H. Howard et al. (eds), *Studying old master paintings: technology and practice. The National Gallery Technical Bulletin 30th anniversary conference postprints*, (London, Archetype publications, 2011).
- Eastaugh, N., *The Pigment Compendium: a dictionary of historical pigments*, (Oxford, Elsevier, 2004).
- Dan Ewing, 'Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's Pand', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (Dec., 1990): 558-584.
- Filedt Kok, J. P. 'Underdrawing and other technical aspects in the paintings of Lucas van Leyden,' *NKJ* 29: 128-32.
- Floerke, H., *Studien zur niederliindischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte: Die Formen des Kunsthandels, das Atelier und die Sammler in den Nie-derlanden vom 15.-18* (Munich and Leipzig, 1905)

Friedländer, M. J., *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Vol. 10 (Lucas van Leyden and other Dutch masters of his times), Trns. Heinz Norden (Leiden : A. W. Sijthoff, 1967-1976).

Friedländer, M. J., *Landscape, Portrait, Still Life: Their Origin and Development*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (New York: Philosophical Library, 1965).

Gilbert, C., ed., *Italian Art, 1400-1500 (Sources and Documents in the History of Art)* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1980).

Grössinger, C., *North-European panel paintings : a catalogue of Netherlandish & German paintings before 1600 in English churches & colleges* (London : Harvey Miller; New York : Oxford University Press, 1992).

Grunzweig, A., *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medicis, pt. 1* (Brussels, 1931).

Gettens, R. J. & West Fitzhugh, E., 'Azurite and Blue Verditer', in *Studies in Conservation*, Vol 11, No 2, 1966.

Heydenreich, G., *Lucas Cranach the Elder: Painting materials, techniques and workshop practice*, (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

Jacobs, L. F., 'The Marketing and Standardization of South Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces: Limits on the Role of the Patron', *Art Bulletin*, LXXI (1989): 208-229.

Kirby, J., Nash, S., & Cannon, J. (eds), *Trade in Artists' Materials: Markets and Commerce in Europe to 1700*, (London, Archetype, 2010).

Koch, G., *Die Kunstaussstellung: Ihre Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 18* (Berlin, 1967).

Koschatzky, W., *Albrecht Dürer: The landscape water-colours* (GB, Academy Editions, 1973).

Krahn, C., *Dutch Anabaptism* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968).

Larsen, E. & Davidson, J.P., *Calvinistic Economy and Seventeenth- Century Dutch Art* (Kansas, 1979).

Lawton Smith, E., *The Paintings of Lucas van Leyden: A New Appraisal, with Catalogue Raisonné* (University of Missouri Press: Columbia and London, 1992).

van Mander, C., *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem, 1604).

Marrow, J. H., *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979).

Meagher, J., Based on original work by Maryan W. Ainsworth. 'Gerard David (born about 1455, died 1523)'. In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/gera/hd_gera.htm (June 2009).

Meidema, H. & Meijer, B., 'The introduction of coloured ground in painting and its influence on stylistic development, with particular respect to sixteenth-century Netherlandish art', *Storia Dell'Arte*, 35, 1979.

Miedema, H. (ed), *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, Trns. D. Cook-Radmore, (Doornspijk, Davaco, 1996).

Montias, J. M., *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, 1982): 12-13.

Panofsky, E., *Early Netherlandish painting : its origins and character* (New York ; London : Harper & Row , 1971).

Peeters, N., 'The Guild of Saint Luke and the painter's profession in Antwerp between c. 1560 and 1585 : some social and economic insights', *Envisioning the artist in the early modern Netherlands*, eds. H. Perry Chapman, Joanne Woodall (Zwolle : Waanders, 2010): 137-64.

Piponnier, F., & Mane, P., *Dress in the Middle Ages*, Trns. C. Beamish, (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1997).

Ringbon, S., *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1984).

de Roover, R., *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968): pp. 144, 435, n. 15, cf. 320.

Shapiro, M., 'Muscipula Diaboli: The Symbolism of the Mérode Altarpiece' in *Renaissance Art*, ed. Creighton Gilber (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

Silver, L., *The Paintings of Quinten Massys, with Complete Catalogue Raisonné* (New Jersey, 1984).

Van der Stock, J., *Antwerp, story of a metropolis, 16th-17th Century* (Gent : Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon , 1993).

Terrien, S., *The Iconography of Job Through the Centuries: Artists as Biblical Interpreters* (The Pennsylvania State University Press: Pennsylvania, 1996).

Townsend, J. H. et al. (eds), *Preparation for painting: the artist's choice and it's consequences*, (London, Archetype publications, 2008).

Wilson, J. C., 'Marketing Paintings in Late Medieval Belgium', in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age: Rapports provisoires*, ii (Paris, 1986): 1759-66.

Wilson, J. C., 'The Participation of Painters in the Bruges 'pandt' Market, 1512-1550', *Burlington Magazine*, cxxv (1983): 476-479.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Unless especially notes, photographs were supplied by the museums, institutions or collectors owning the works.

Fig. 1 Netherlandish, *Job and his Comforters*, oil on panel, 16th century, 41 x 33.1-33.5 cm. The Courtauld Gallery Collection. Image taken during conservation treatment.

Fig. 2 Lucas van Leyden, *Potiphar's Wife Accusing Joseph*, c. 1510-11, oil on panel. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

Fig. 3 IR reflectogram of *Potiphar's Wife displays Joseph's garment*.

Fig. 4 IR images showing limited underdrawing used to quickly map out the composition of *Job and his Comforters*

Fig. 5 IR reflectograms of Lucas van Leyden's *The Chess Players*, oil on panel, 1508. Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Fig. 6 Cornelis Engebrechtsz, *The Crucifixion with Donors and Saints Peter and Margaret*, Oil on wood, 61.5 x 89.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Coudert Brothers, 1888.

Fig. 7 Lucas van Leyden, *The Crowning with Thorns (Passion Series)*, Engraving, 1521, 16.99 x 12.7 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Gift of Herschel V. Jones, 1926.

Fig. 8 *Job Offers a Gold Piece to Three Musicians*, illumination, fr. 1226, fol. 40, late fifteenth century. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Fig. 9 Master of the Saint Barbara Legend, *Job and the Musicians*, oil on panel, c. 1470-1500. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.

Fig. 10 Circle of Cornelis Massys, *Job Listening To The Musicians*, oil on panel. Christies Sale 7254, Lot 127.

Fig. 11 Albrecht Dürer, *Man of Sorrows*, woodcut (The Small Passion, B. i6), c. I I I. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria.

Fig. 12. Lucas van Leyden, *Christ's Last Drink (Passion Series)*, Engraving, 1521, 16.99 x 12.7 cm. (Photo: The Witt Library, Courtauld Institute).

Fig. 13 Hans Schäufelein, *The Torment of Job*, Engraving. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

Fig. 14 Lucas van Leyden, *The Scourging of Christ (Passion Series)*, Engraving, 1521, 16.99 x 12.7 cm. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

Fig. 15 Cornelis Engebrechtsz, *The Disrobing of Christ*, Oil on wood, 41.9 x 22.2 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 16 *Job and His Comforters*, Cross-section of paint sample showing the ground layer, beige primuersel and single paint layer. Sample taken from a damage in the red-robed musician's sleeve.

Fig. 17 Peter Paul Rubens, *Atlas Supporting the Heavens*, 1635-40, oil on panel, 25.1 x 16.6 cm, Courtauld Gallery.

Fig. 18 Jan van Amstel, *Sacrifice of Abraham*, c. 1530-1535, oil on panel, 40 x 32 cm. The Louvre.

Fig. 19 *Job and His Comforters*, Cross-section of paint sample showing the ground layer, beige primuersel and single paint layer containing vermilion, carbon black and earth pigments. Sample taken from a damage in the red drapery shadow.

Fig. 20 Photomicrograph of landscape horizon showing angular azurite particles. Cuprite particles (occurrence associated with azurite) are also observed.

Fig. 21 Dominican friary, Antwerp, engraving, from J. le Roy, *Le Grand Theiatre sacre du duche de Brabant*, The Hague, 1727 (photo: Stadsarchief, Antwerp)

Fig. 22 The New Bourse, Antwerp, 1531-32, engraving, from L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione de M. Lodovico Guicciardini patritio Fiorentino di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore*, Antwerp, 1581 (photo: Stadsarchief, Antwerp.)

Fig. 23 Netherlandish, first quarter of the 16th century. Museum Narodowe w Warszawie.

Fig. 24 Detail of coin exchange, *Job and his Comforters*

Fig. 25 Images from: Francis M. Kelly and Rudolph Schwabe, *Historic costume : a chronicle of fashion in western Europe, 1490-1790* (London : Batsford, 1929).

Fig. 26 Lucas van Leyden, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1510, Engraving. Cleveland Museum of Art.

Fig. 27 Lucas van Leyden, *David Playing Before Saul*, Engraving, 25.4 x 18.41 cm. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo.

Fig. 28 Hans Sebald Beham, *Three Musicians*, Engraving, 16th century. Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts.

Fig. 29 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Three Male Musicians*, from The Set of Large Wedding Dancers, 1528, Engraving on paper, 118 x 78 mm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Potter Palmer, Jr., 1919.

Fig. 30 Jan Mostaert, *The Casting Out of Hagar*, Oil on Panel, 94 x 131 cm. *Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation*. (Photo: A.C.L., Brussels.)

Fig. 31 Cornelis Engebrechtsz, *Portrait of a Couple*. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.

Fig. 32 Albrecht Dürer, *The Wire-Drawing Mill*, 1489, Watercolour and gouache on paper, 29 x 43 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

Fig. 33 Gerard David, *Saint John the Baptist; Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, wings of a triptych, ca. 1485–90, Left wing: 45.7 x 16.8 cm.; right wing: 45.4 x 16.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931.

Fig. 34 Gerard David, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1495–1500, oil on wood, 53.3 x 38.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Rogers Fund, 1909.

Fig. 35 Lucas van Leyden, *Christ Healing the Blind Man*. Canvas, transferred from panel, 1531. The Hermitage, Leningrad.

Fig. 36 Gerard David, *The Baptism of Christ*, Central section of the triptych, c. 1505, Oil on wood. Groenigemuseum, Bruges, Belgium.

Fig. 37 Lucas van Leyden, *Virgin and Child with Mary Magdalene and a Donor*, oil on panel, 1522. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Fig. 38 J. Mostaert (?), Detail: *A Pair of Shutters, Donor with a Prophet and Angels, David with Angel Musicians*. Paris, Musée de Cluny.

Fig. 39 J. Mostaert, *Portrait of a Man*. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. (Photo: A.C.L., Brussels.)

Fig. 40 Jan Gossaert, *The Adoration of the Kings*, oil on panel, 1510-15. London, The National Gallery.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1 Netherlandish, *Job and his Comforters*, oil on panel, 16th century, 41 x 33.1-33.5 cm, Courtauld Collection.

Image taken during conservation treatment.



Fig. 2 Lucas van Leyden, *Potiphar's Wife Accusing Joseph*, c. 1510-11, oil on panel. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.



Fig. 3 IR reflectogram of *Potiphar's Wife Accusing Joseph* (c. 1512) [right].



Ordinary light digital images

IR imaging showing limited carbon containing underdrawing outlining facial contours.

Fig. 4 IR images showing limited underdrawing used to quickly map out the composition of *Job and his Comforters*.



Fig. 5 IR reflectograms of Lucas van Leyden's *The Chess Players* (1508). As with the IR reflectogram for *Potiphar's Wife* displays *Joseph's garment* (c. 1512) the indication of volume and tonal gradations built up through complex hatching is not observed in *Job and his Comforters*.

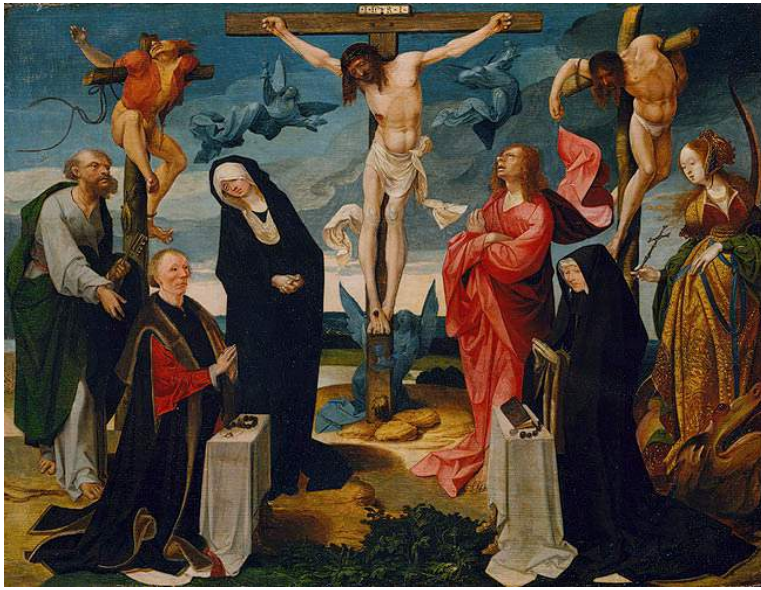


Fig. 6 Cornelis Engebrechtsz, *The Crucifixion with Donors and Saints Peter and Margaret*, Oil on wood, 61.5 x 89.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Coudert Brothers, 1888.



Fig. 7 Lucas van Leyden, *The Crowning with Thorns (Passion Series)*, Engraving, 1521, 16.99 x 12.7 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Gift of Herschel V. Jones, 1926.



Fig. 8 *Job Offers a Gold Piece to Three Musicians*, illumination, fr. 1226, fol. 40, late fifteenth century. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



Fig. 9 Master of the Saint Barbara Legend, *Job and the Musicians*, oil on panel, c. 1470-1500. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.

The red arrow highlights the position of the three trees.

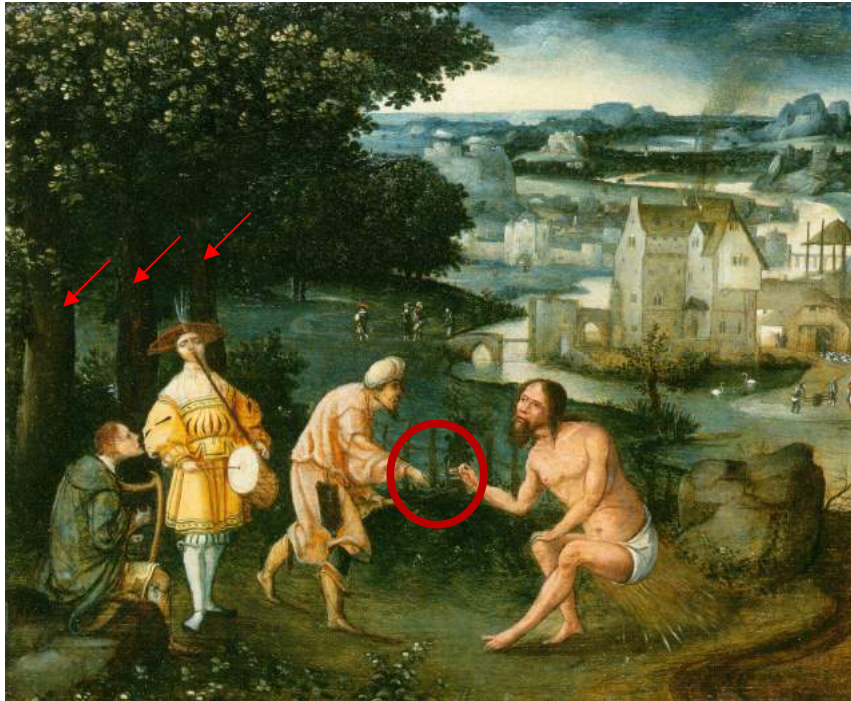


Fig. 10 Circle of Cornelis Massys, *Job Listening To The Musicians*, oil on panel. Christies Sale 7254, Lot 127.



Fig. 11 Albrecht Dürer, *Man of Sorrows*, woodcut (The Small Passion, B. i6), c. 1511. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria.



Fig. 12. Lucas van Leyden, *Christ's Last Drink* (*Passion Series*), Engraving, 1521, 16.99 x 12.7 cm, (image taken from Witt Library, Courtauld Institute).



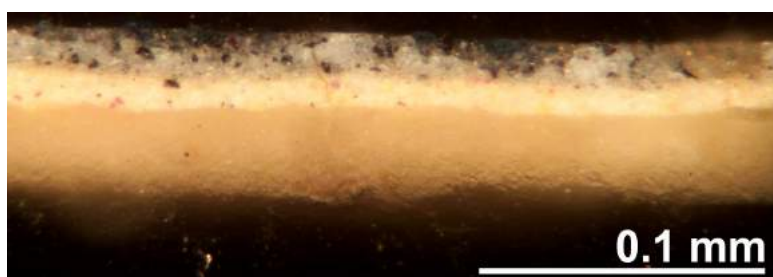
Fig. 13 Hans Schüpflein, *The Torment of Job*. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.



Fig. 14 Lucas van Leyden, *The Scourging of Christ* (*Passion Series*), Engraving, 1521, 16.99 x 12.7 cm. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.



Fig. 15 Cornelis Engebrechtsz, *The Disrobing of Christ*, Oil on wood, 41.9 x 22.2 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Layer 3: Paint layer
Layer 2: Beige primuerse layer
Layer 1: Ground layer

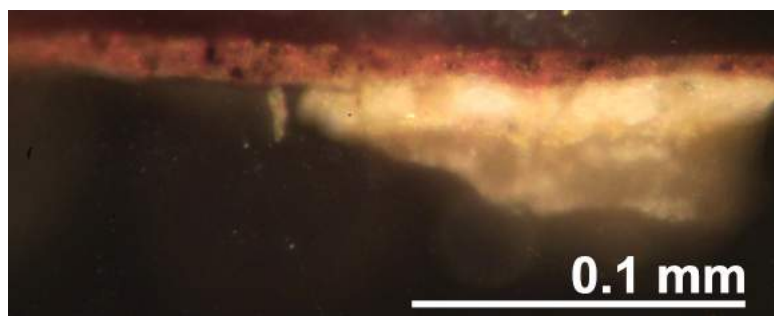
Fig. 16 Cross-section of paint sample showing the ground layer, beige primuerse and single paint layer. Sample taken from a damage in the red-robed musician's sleeve.



Fig. 17 Peter Paul Rubens, *Atlas Supporting the Heavens*, 1635-40, oil on panel, 25.1 x 16.6 cm, Courtauld Gallery.



Fig. 18 Jan van Amstel, *Sacrifice of Abraham*, c. 1530-1535, oil on panel, 40 x 32 cm, Louvre.



Layer 3: Paint layer
 Layer 2: Beige primuerset layer
 Layer 1: Ground layer

Fig. 19 Cross-section of paint sample showing the ground layer, beige primuerset and single paint layer containing vermillion, carbon black and earth pigments. Sample taken from a damage in the red drapery shadow.

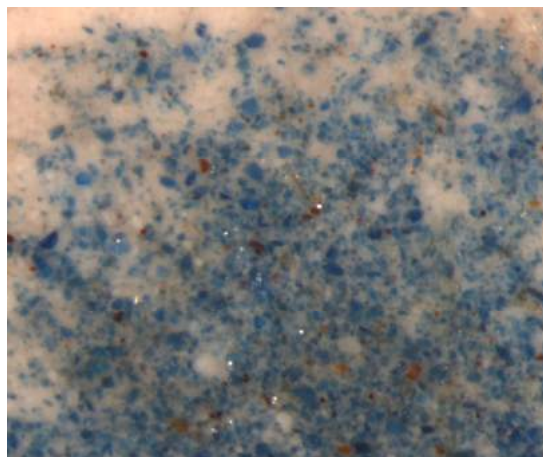


Fig. 20 Photomicrograph of landscape horizon showing angular azurite particles. Cuprite particles (occurrence associated with azurite) are also observed.

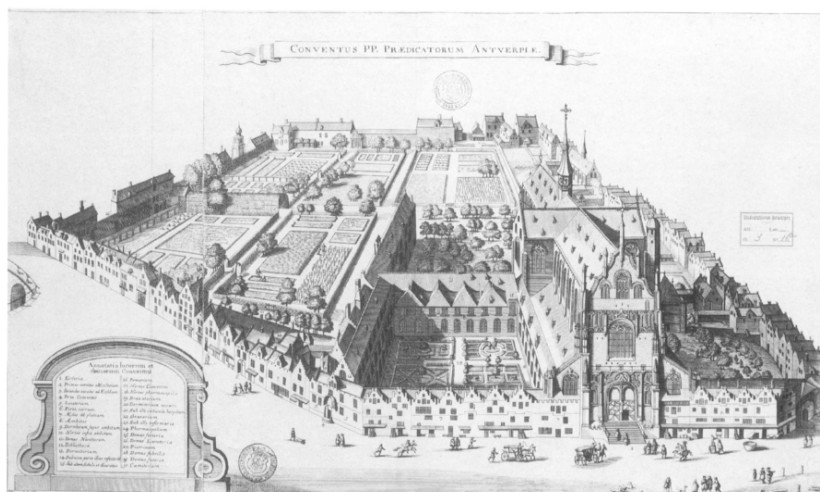


Fig. 21 Dominican friary, Antwerp, engraving, from J. le Roy, *Le Grand Theiatre sacre du duche de Brabant*, The Hague, 1727 (photo: Stadsarchief, Antwerp)

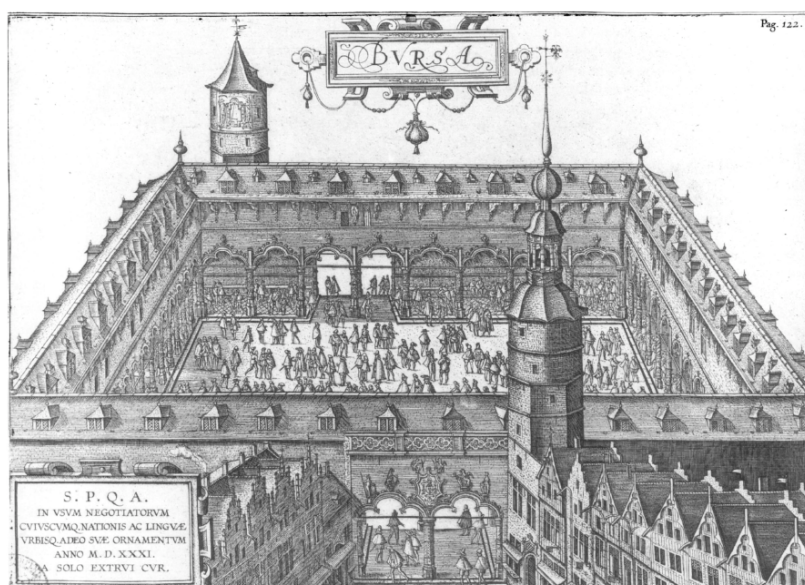


Fig. 22 The New Bourse, Antwerp, 1531-32, engraving, from L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione de M. Lodovico Guicciardini patritio Fiorentino di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore*, Antwerp, 1581 (photo: Stadsarchief, Antwerp.)



Fig. 23 Netherlandish, first quarter of the 16th century.
Museum Narodowe w Warszawie.



Fig. 24 Detail of coin exchange, *Job and his Comforters*



Fig. 25 Images from: Francis M. Kelly and Rudolph Schwabe, *Historic costume : a chronicle of fashion in western Europe, 1490-1790* (London : Batsford, 1929).



Fig. 26 Lucas van Leyden, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1510, Engraving. Cleveland Museum of Art.



Fig. 27 Lucas van Leyden, *David Playing Before Saul*, Engraving, 25.4 x 18.41 cm. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo.



Fig. 28 Hans Sebald Beham, *Three Musicians*, Engraving, 16th century. Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts.



Fig. 29 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Three Male Musicians*, from *The Set of Large Wedding Dancers*, 1528, Engraving on paper, 118 x 78 mm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Potter Palmer, Jr., 1919.



Fig. 30 Jan Mostaert, *The Casting Out of Hagar*, Oil on Panel, 94 x 131 cm. Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation. (Photo: A.C.L., Brussels.)



Fig. 31 Cornelis Engebrechtsz, *Portait of a Couple*. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.



Fig. 32 Albrecht Dürer, *The Wire-Drawing Mill*, 1489, Watercolour and gouache on paper, 29 x 43 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.



Fig. 33 Gerard David, *Saint John the Baptist; Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, wings of a triptych, ca. 1485–90, Left wing: 45.7 x 16.8 cm.; right wing: 45.4 x 16.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931.



Fig. 34 Gerard David, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1495–1500, oil on wood, 53.3 x 38.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Rogers Fund, 1909.



Fig. 35 Lucas van Leyden, *Christ Healing the Blind Man*. Canvas, transferred from panel, 1531. The Hermitage, Leningrad.



Fig. 36 Gerard David, *The Baptism of Christ*, Central section of the triptych, c. 1505, Oil on wood. Groenigemuseum, Bruges, Belgium.





Fig. 37

Above: Lucas van Leyden, *Virgin and Child with Mary Magdalene and a Donor*, oil on panel, 1522. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Below left: detail of Lucas van Leyden, *Virgin and Child with Mary Magdalene and a Donor*

Below right: detail of *Job and his Comforters*



Fig. 38 J. Mostaert (?), Detail: *A Pair of Shutters, Donor with a Prophet and Angels, David with Angel Musicians*. Paris, Musée de Cluny.



Fig. 39 J. Mostaert, *Portrait of a Man*. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. (Photo: A.C.L., Brussels.)



Fig. 40 Jan Gossaert, *The Adoration of the Kings*, oil on panel, 1510-15.
London, The National Gallery.