lightning is visible in the sky, between the catalogue's state II and III (MMA inv. no.2011.521.3; Fig.44). While many of the copies are exact reproductions in the same direction or reverse, some 'improve' on Rembrandt's original, for instance the mezzotint after *Jan Uytenbogaert* (*'The Goldweigher'*) by Jan van der Bruggen, who added a monkey eating from a fruit basket in the foreground (NH 172 copy a).

Hinterding and Rutgers have chosen to organise the prints chronologically, in contrast to White and Boon who organised them by subject following the tradition derived from Bartsch set in the original Hollstein volumes. They are not the first to order the prints in this way: Hind, among others, also organised his catalogue chronologically. In this case, the wealth of illustrations allows one to fully appreciate the artist's development as a printmaker. The chronological arrangement makes clear that certain characteristics that we associate with the mature Rembrandt, such as working on an image through many states or a somewhat messy technique of stray scratches and marks, were part of his process right from the start. In certain instances, evidence of watermarks has prompted a change in the dating, for instance *Cottages and farm buildings with a man sketching* (NH 201) has been moved from 1645 to 1641 on the basis of its watermark. While the chronological arrangement offers great insight into the artist's development, it can also be a source of frustration when consulting the book. Whatever their scholarly contributions may be, the Hollstein volumes are first and foremost reference books which should, above all, be easy to use. If one is looking for a specific print, but does not have its date or a specific reference number from an earlier catalogue with which to consult the concordances, this publication is cumbersome to use. Even armed with an earlier reference number, one may have to consult as many as four of the seven volumes in order to locate a particular work and assemble all the related information and illustrations. An organisation by subject, which does not require scholarly knowledge on the part of the user to find a work, along with thumbnail images next to each text entry, would have made the volumes easier to consult.

I pass these comments on to future compilers of Rembrandt's etchings because, while these volumes now seem like the *ne plus ultra* of Rembrandt catalogues, given the history of the print literature so far, no doubt there will be more to come. Hopefully there will be online versions, so that users can enlarge the digital photographs themselves rather than rely on the printed black-and-white images that are sometimes difficult to read. Nevertheless, this excellent catalogue, which delves deeply into Rembrandt's printed *œuvre* and offers many new insights, is *the* one for our generation. It sets a high standard for research and provides a model for the cataloguing of early modern printmakers.

Hendrick Goltzius, The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700. Compiled by Marjolein Leesberg. Edited by Huigen Leeflang. 4 vols. 1,482 pp. incl. 79 col. + 1,203 b. & w. ills. (Sound and Vision Publishers, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, in collaboration with the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 2012), €1,860. ISBN 978–90–77551–95–0/96–7/97–4/98–1.

Reviewed by JAN PIET FILEDT KOK

IN HIS LIFETIME the fame of Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) was based largely on his prints, which were distributed all over Europe and even to Asia. Only after 1600 did he also turn to painting, although this did little for his posthumous reputation. A renewed appreciation of his work in the second half of the twentieth century resulted in major museum acquisitions, exhibitions and publications. His printed *œuvre* is now catalogued in the four *New Hollstein* volumes under review here. The first two include all the prints engraved by Goltzius himself (380), while the third and fourth volumes catalogue those by other printmakers after his designs (more than four hundred, including doubtful and rejected prints). Both catalogues are arranged iconographically, as is traditional in the Hollstein publications. Those interested in Goltzius's stylistic development thus need to turn to the introduction, which discusses chronology and other aspects of Goltzius's print production, including many new discoveries.

Goltzius was trained in 1574/75 by the engraver and humanist Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert (1522–90), both as printmaker and designer. He designed and engraved for Coornhert several series that embodied the humanist's moral and ethical philosophy. Between 1577 and 1581 he engraved some ninety copperplates, partly after his own designs, for the Antwerp print publishers Philips Galle and Aux Quatre Vents. Another aspect of his early work is the many (mostly small) portraits engraved in silver and gold as medallions and in copper for printing. Only a few of the medallions have survived, whose impressions show the inscription in reverse. The copperplate for a *Portrait of a man facing right* was recently acquired by the Rijksmuseum (Fig.45).

45. Medallion with a portrait of a man, by Hendrick Goltzius. 1581–85. Engraved copper plate for NH 276, 9.8 by 7.3 cm. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; acquired in 2014).

With the publication in 1582 of a few prints under his name as '*gedruckt te Haerlem*' ('printed in Haarlem'), Goltzius became the first in the Northern Netherlands to publish prints for an international audience, which subsequently put an end to the quasi-monopoly of Antwerp, moving the centre of the printmaking business to Holland. Between 1582 and 1601 he published some four hundred more showing an innovative iconography in a new style and engraving technique. They form the core of Goltzius's *œuvre* and are mainly after his own designs, although there are also prints after designs by Anthonie Blocklandt, Bartholomeus Spranger, Cornelis van Haarlem and others.[1] Although Goltzius's engravings for Antwerp publishers hardly differ in style and composition from those by his Antwerp colleagues, for his Haarlem prints he developed a new, more virtuoso engraving style reflecting the idealised idiom of Spranger, his most important source of inspiration in the later 1580s. He included erotic nudes in his mythological subjects and profane allegories on a scale unprecedented in Northern printmaking.

Among the best-known and most widely distributed and copied Goltzius prints are *The Roman heroes* of 1586, *The wedding of Cupid and Psyche* after Spranger of 1587, *The large Hercules* (or '*Knollenman*') of 1589, *The birth and early life of Christ* of 1593/94 and the *Pietà* of 1596. Shortly after 1598 Goltzius must have decided to stop his engraving and publishing activities and leave his business to his stepson, Jacob Matham.

In the first years after 1582 Goltzius still did most of the engraving himself, but he started to train pupils and assistants to turn his designs into prints using a similar engraving style; they were increasingly responsible for the prints issued under Goltzius's name. Through them he was able to build over a relative short period of time a stock of prints, mainly designed by himself (about three hundred) but also after other Northern artists, to which were added, after the trips to Italy by Goltzius (1591) and Matham (1593–96), a number of reproductive prints after Italian masters.

Goltzius's stepson, Jacob Matham (1571–1631), Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1617) and Jan Muller (1571–1628) must have been trained in Goltzius's workshop in Haarlem between 1585 and 1588. De

Gheyn established himself as an independent engraver in Amsterdam (moving later to Leiden); Muller returned as engraver to his father's print publishing firm in 1590; and Matham remained Goltzius's most faithful assistant. From 1591, De Gheyn and Jan Saenredam (c.1565–1607), the latter also trained in Goltzius's workshop, frequently made prints after Goltzius's designs. Still others, such as the young Pieter de Jode I (1570–1634), must also have been part of Goltzius's workshop. While the names of these engravers appear on many prints designed and/or published by Goltzius, there are many prints, mostly dating to 1586–90, on which no engraver's name is specified. For this reason the group of proofs of unfinished prints from the Goltzius workshop of c.1587,[2] attributed to artists such as Matham, De Gheyn and Muller, are of particular interest. In the introduction (p.liii) this group is attributed to Jan Muller because it probably formed part of a larger collection of proofs of prints engraved by him, documented as part of the artist's estate. Whether the proofs are by one or more hands is perhaps less important than what they tell us about the practice in Goltzius's studio, where the final products were meant to be in a more or less uniform style in the service of the original design.

Such an approach certainly informed the organising principle of important seventeenth- and eighteenth-century print collections, where the entire *œuvre* ('*werk*') of Hendrick Goltzius, including his woodcuts, was pasted into one or more bound albums. They were mostly arranged iconographically with no distinction made between prints engraved by the designer himself or after his design by others, which makes sense when studying the entire output of one artist, and was certainly more practical because the names of those who actually engraved the prints are often lacking. Around 1800, when Bartsch was compiling his *Le Peintre-Graveur*, he separated the prints by Matham and Saenredam from his catalogue of Goltzius's prints, using the albums in the Imperial Hofbibliothek, Vienna, as his point of reference. He attributed some one hundred prints to anonymous artists working after Goltzius's designs and listed some eighty under Jacob Matham as attributed to him or his workshop. For many of these workshop prints there is no good reason to connect them to Jacob Matham, while Bartsch also wrongly attributed to Saenredam a number of prints with the monogram HG, which must have been engraved by Goltzius himself (NH 10, 138–46).

Although Hirschman's 1919 catalogue of the prints engraved by Goltzius himself (383, including twenty-one woodcuts) did not correct such mistakes, it was a major improvement, adding new information and states and including some undescribed prints, mostly portraits. The Hollstein catalogue of 1953 largely followed Hirschmann. In 1977 Walter Strauss published a chronological and fully illustrated two-volume catalogue of Goltzius's prints (364 and twenty-four woodcuts), but it contained many errors and the quality of the illustrations was poor. More recently new catalogues of the prints by Jan Saenredam, Jacob Matham, Jacques de Gheyn II and Jan Muller have been published. Now justice has finally been done to Goltzius's printed *œuvre* in the volumes under review.

Although the present writer would have preferred a chronological arrangement of all Goltzius's prints, including those by others after his designs, this publication is a major achievement. The half-tone illustrations are excellent, although colour reproductions of the chiaroscuro woodcuts are a little too washed out, so that one still needs Nancy Bialler's excellent 1992 catalogue devoted to Goltzius's woodcuts,[3] which formed the basis for the entries in the *New Hollstein*.

One could argue with some of the attributions, but in general the detailed catalogue entries seem almost faultless. The only thing missing is concordances between the Bartsch and Hirschmann–Hollstein numbers and the *New Hollstein* numbers. This is yet another reason for the larger printrooms to rearrange their Goltzius collections using the *New Hollstein* numbering, as indeed the British Museum, London, has already done.

[1] For the chronological catalogue of all the prints published by Goltzius, see J.P. Filedt Kok: 'Hendrick Goltzius: Engraver, Designer and Publisher 1582–1600', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 42–43 (1991–92), pp.207–18. The prints designed by Goltzius are all included in the four *New Hollstein* volumes and a chronological table of the prints designed by other artists published by Goltzius, but engraved by his workshop, is published in volume IV, pp.309–12.

[2] See J.P. Filedt Kok: 'Proefdrukken uit Goltzius's atelier omstreeks 1587', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 39 (1991), pp.363–72.

[3] N. Bialler: exh. cat. *Chiaroscuro woodcuts: Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) and his time*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) and Cleveland (Museum of Art) 1992–93.

Cistercian Architecture and Medieval Society. By Maximilian Sternberg. 298 pp. incl. 96 b. & w. ills. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 221. Brill's Studies on Art, Art History and Intellectual History, 5, Leiden and Boston, 2013), €119. ISBN 978–90–0425180–9.

Reviewed by NICOLA COLDSTREAM

THE SCOPE OF this book is narrower than the title suggests. Its focus is the Cistercian abbey of Valmagne, near Montpellier, with a broader interest in the Languedoc; and, although the author makes frequent and lengthy sorties to other parts of western Christendom, these scarcely justify the all-encompassing wording of the title.

Sternberg's principal theme is the extent to which the Cistercians mixed with the lay world, which was far greater than most scholars have suggested. He cites both documentary sources and the architecture, arguing that the Cistercians themselves built opportunities for mingling with the laity into their convents, and publicly admitted this through their sculptured imagery. Gateways, the narthex, doorways and screens were not barriers but thresholds; in the cloister the chapterhouse itself, second in holiness only to the church, received lay people on occasions. In addition, the Cistercians established themselves in cities, for commerce, to fight heresy and – in Paris – for the monks to attend the schools. Sternberg opposes the notion that Cistercians were a completely withdrawn order; and also rejects the idea that their churches were completely plain architecturally and bare of ornament. For him the monks inhabited a monastic city, confronting an ambiguous existence that both withdrew from and engaged with the world. The plan and structure of the convent allowed them to do this, after the monastic paradigm established in the Plan of St Gall.

The St Gall Plan, a Carolingian drawing existing in one manuscript in a Swiss abbey of black monks, was unlikely to have occupied the front, or even particularly the back, of the minds of white monks in southern France four or five centuries later. Although Sternberg shows in places that he is fully aware of the passage of time, this is one of many instances when he chooses to ignore it. The use of the Plan is a rhetorical device that seems contrived and adds little to the main points of the argument. For the rest, while most of the ideas he puts forward are not new, Sternberg efficiently pulls together the work of many other scholars, combined with his own observations at Valmagne, supplemented by analysis of the more substantial sculptural remains at the abbey of Villelongue. What is welcome is his general attitude to the Cistercian order. The Cistercians have suffered from an extraordinary scholarly attitude, applied to no other reformed order, of extreme censure for falling away from their early ideals. These ideals, at least in the form presented, were modern constructs; the Cistercians are blamed for not living up to standards imposed centuries after the supposed lapses. A significant theme of this book is that the Cistercians resolved the complexities of being both withdrawn from and within the world in the context of social development as a whole. This enquiry eschews blame.

While the argument is broadly persuasive, some of the evidence appears to contradict it. For example, in his discussion of the great gatehouse and outer court, Sternberg uses the account of Ailred's arrival at Rievaulx (1134) to be greeted at the gatehouse by a crowd of monks to demonstrate that the monks were not confined to the cloister but mingled with lay people outside it. Yet Ailred was scarcely typical. His first visit had been in the company of the abbey's patron, so when he turned up shortly afterwards to join the community it is scarcely surprising that he was given a special welcome. Abbots were human beings