

## | Nicolas Neufchâtel's *Portrait of Joachim Camerarius the Younger* at the National Museum in Warsaw

The collection of the National Museum in Warsaw includes a certain *Portrait of a Man with Flowers*, regarded as a work of an unknown Netherlandish master and dated to around 1560 (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Owing to its quality of execution, it was sometimes attributed to the eminent Netherlandish portraitist Anthonis Mor (1519–77).

The middle-aged sitter is shown in natural proportions, in half-figure, and painted in three-quarter view. He is turned right, but facing left, his pensive gaze carefully avoiding the viewer. His elbow rests on the table visible in the foreground. With a calm gesture of the fingers, he draws the viewer's attention to the two flowers held in his left hand. There are two books on the table, which is covered with a dark green cloth: one in a green, and one in a red binding. A closer look at the images on gilded plaquettes decorating their covers reveals that these are the two books of the Bible, the Old and the New Testament, and the scenes represent *Moses with a Sword and Tablets of the Ten Commandments* and *Crucifixion*. Above them hovers a banderol reading: *REGIMEN HINC ANIMI* ("It is from here that the soul [mind, heart] is governed") or – in a loose translation – "This is what guides the soul [mind, heart]," "Here the mind [soul, heart] will find its direction."<sup>2</sup>

The sitter's black, fur-lined coat indicates his notable social standing. The rather small dimensions of the canvas, the face placed at the height of the viewer's eyes, and the half-figure format all suggest that the painting was designated for a familiar circle of friends or relatives. The work meets all the requirements formulated for portraiture by contemporary theorists: the realistic character of representation, beautification of nature, and inspiration to virtue, in line with the *topoi* found in Italian treatises from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> The sitter is depicted with immense realism: note, for instance, the outlines of small blood vessels on his hands that give the skin a bluish hue. The man's social rank is emphasized by his impeccable dress. His posture and expression have an endearing air, suggesting a kind-mannered person, with

<sup>1</sup> Oil on canvas, 80 × 68 cm, inv. no. M.Ob.1636 MNW, see Hanna Benesz, Maria Kluk, *Early Netherlandish, Dutch, Flemish and Belgian Paintings 1494–1983 in the Collections of the National Museum in Warsaw and the Palace at Nieborów. Complete Illustrated Summary Catalogue*, Hanna Benesz, Piotr Borusowski, eds (Warsaw, 2016), vol. 2, p. 37, cat. no. 814.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin word *animus* stands for the soul, spirit, mind, reason, moral ethos, and heart – the seat of feelings, longings, and "impulses of the soul." *Animus* is closer to *mens* than to *anima*.

<sup>3</sup> See Luba Freedman, "The Concept of Portraiture in Art Theory of the Cinquecento," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 32 (1987), pp. 63–83 et passim.

a slight melancholy about him. The two books of the Bible and the accompanying banderol impart a symbolic, moral meaning to the representation. One natural requirement asked from portraitists was to record for posterity not just the sitters' appearance, but also their personal traits and virtues. In his treatise from 1587, art theoretician Giovanni Battista Armenini insisted that: "non solamente si rappresenta l'immagine sua vera, ma si ritorna in memoria ancora tutte le sue virtù" (not only the real image [of the sitter] should be conveyed, but all his virtues should be brought back to memory).<sup>4</sup>

The Latin inscription above the Bible offers a tempting starting point for a more in-depth analysis, serving as the basis for interpreting the Warsaw portrait and establishing its more precise creation date. The Old and New Testament with an identical motto were depicted as two separate books in two collections of emblems from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This pictorial motif appeared for the first time in *Ragionamento [...] sopra la proprietà delle imprese* [Deliberations on the properties of imprese]. This book, published in 1574 in Pavia, is a compilation of devices used by over a hundred members of the Accademia degli Affidati.<sup>5</sup> Its author, Luca Contile, discusses the emblem and motto used by Ippolito (Hippolito) Roscio (de' Rossi), a clergyman from an esteemed North Italian noble family<sup>6</sup> (fig. 2). The commentary explains that what we see are two books of the Bible: inside the Old Testament are ten bookmarks indicating the Ten Commandments, while the twelve bookmarks in the New Testament denote the Twelve Articles of Faith.<sup>7</sup> The same number of marks is found in the painting held at the NMW.

The vivid concept from Contile's *Ragionamento...*, along with a number of further devices, was borrowed by Joachim Camerarius the Younger (1534–98), a learned doctor from Nuremberg, in his manuscript collection of emblems completed around 1587. This manuscript is currently held at the Stadtbibliothek in Mainz. The emblem with two books of the Bible and the inscription was featured at the very beginning of the work (*Centuria I, 1*) (fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> Camerarius supplemented the original design with a motif of the sun illuminating both

<sup>4</sup> Freedman, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, vol. 2: *A Bibliography of Emblem Books* (London, 1947), p. 307.

<sup>6</sup> Ippolito de' Rossi (Roscio) (1531–91) was the son of count Pier Maria of San Secondo and Camilla Gonzaga. Having studied law and theology in Padua, he started his career in Rome as a papal chamberlain (*cameriere*). He was later appointed bishop and coadjutor bishop to Gian Girolamo Rossi, the bishop of Pavia and his paternal uncle. He took holy orders in 1560, and participated in the Council of Trent. In 1564, he took over the Pavia bishopric, and in 1585 was promoted to cardinal. In Pavia, he funded a seminar, a hospital, and a boys' school, extended the bishops' palace, renovated and equipped the cathedral. He was a member of Accademia degli Affidati, going by the name Ortofilo. See Simona Negruzzo, "Rossi, Ippolito di" [online], in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 88 (2017), at: <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ippolito-rossi\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ippolito-rossi_(Dizionario-Biografico))>, [retrieved: 28 December 2020].

<sup>7</sup> Luca Contile, *Ragionamento [...] sopra la proprietà delle imprese, con le particolari degli academici affidati e con le interpretazioni et chroniche [...]* (Pavia, 1574), p. 81: "Questi due Libri sono figurati per i due testamenti, cio è, il vecchio, & il nuovo, posti per impresa convenevole di questo degno prelado Academico. Il libro con dieci legnacoli è il testamento vecchio, dove si contegono tutte le misteriose figure che maravigliosamente predicono lo avvenimento del Mesia GIESU CRISTO e li dieci segnacoli rappresentano li dieci comandamenti delle legge, dati al popolo eletto, accioche, e col cuore, e con l'opere tutti gli asservassero, l'altro libro con dodici segnacoli, è quello della nuova legge dinotando i dodici Articoli della cristiana fede"; digital edition at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Res. Z-512; ark:/12148/bpt6k1326234. 307.

<sup>8</sup> Joachim Camerarius the Younger, *Symbola et emblemata tam moralia quam sacra. Die handschriftliche Embleme von 1587*, Wolfgang Harms und Gilbert Hefs, eds (Tübingen, 2009), pp. 2–3, commentary p. 413. See also Svenja Wenning, *Joachim II. Camerarius (1534–1598). Studien über sein Leben, seine Werke und seine Briefwechsel* (Duisburg, 2015), pp. 147–49.

books. What is more, he included the figures of Moses and Christ on their covers, like in the Warsaw painting. The commentary reads: “These two books represent the Holy Bible, which encompasses the Old and New Testament. Inside the former are ten bookmarks denoting the Ten Commandments, and inside the latter, twelve bookmarks corresponding to the twelve articles of the Apostles’ Creed. Through an intent and pious meditation and reading of these books, if only the soul [spirit, mind] is illuminated by the sun of divinity, it becomes enlightened with the Holy Spirit and will never lose its way to the truth, but will be able to act righteously in all matters. This is why [John] Chrysostom, in his [9<sup>th</sup>] Homily on [Saint Paul’s] Epistle to the Collosians, calls these books “medicines for the soul” that everyone should urgently procure.”<sup>9</sup> Emphasizing the need to read God’s Word and personally reflect upon it corresponds to the Protestant concept of independent Bible studies. There are many factors that testify to Camerarius’s friendly approach to Lutheranism. His father, Joachim Camerarius the Elder, was an ardent supporter of the Reformation and close collaborator of Philip Melanchthon. Joachim the Younger attended an Evangelical secondary school in Schulpforta near Naumburg; during his studies in Wittenberg, he was the pupil of Philip Melanchthon and lived in his house.<sup>10</sup> His studies at the University of Leipzig marked the beginning of his friendship with Johannes Krafft (Johannes Crato von Krafftheim), a pupil of Luther and Melanchthon, declared Calvinist, eminent doctor and anatomist. Camerarius practiced medicine with him in Krafft’s native Wrocław (Breslau).

Around a half of the emblems from Camerarius’s manuscript were included in *Symbolorum et emblematum Centuriae Quatuor* – his four-volume work published since 1594, with each book containing one hundred emblems with floral and animal motifs. Some of them had already been known in his circles. In the first years following the establishment of the Altdorf University, founded in 1578 near Nuremberg, almost all medals for students originated from Camerarius’s work, whose brother Philipp (1537–1624) was the vice-chancellor there.<sup>11</sup> It seems, however, that the personal emblem with the Old and New Testament, included by Camerarius at the beginning of his manuscript, was not employed by the Altdorf University nor featured in the scholar’s printed collections of emblems.

There are quite a few later graphic representations of Joachim Camerarius the Younger. His half-figure portrait engraved by Peter Troschel (c. 1620 – after 1667) and equipped with a biographical inscription may be regarded as credible (**fig. 4**).<sup>12</sup> As such, it forms an important point of reference for discovering the identity of the man depicted in the Warsaw painting.

Identifying undocumented portraits from the early modern era requires a degree of caution. One cannot be too hasty when establishing the identity of sitters, because a similar pose,

<sup>9</sup> Camerarius the Younger, *Symbola et emblemata...*, op. cit.: “Sacrae litterae quae veteri et novo testamento comprahenduntur, duobus hisce libris notantur, in quorum uno decem isti funiculi notatorij, indicant Decalogum, duodecim vero in altero Symboli apostolici articulos totidem. Horum librorum assidua & religiosa meditatio & lectio, si a sole coelesti, id est, a Spiritu Sancto irradietur, nunquam animus a vero aberrare, sed in omnibus recte se gubernare potest. Unde D. Chrysostomos in epist. ad Colossenses, vocat haec scripta pharmaca animae, quae unusquisque sedulo sibi comparare debeat.”

<sup>10</sup> See Wenning, op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>11</sup> Cornelia Rémi, “Möglichkeiten heterodoxer Verständigung im Umfeld der Altdorfer Akademie,” in *Akademie und Universität Altdorf. Studien zur Hochschulgeschichte Nürnbergs*, Hanns Christof Brennecke, Dirk Niefanger, Werner Wilhelm Schnabel, eds (Cologne, 2011), pp. 167–91, esp. pp. 186–87.

<sup>12</sup> Plate impression 18.6 × 10.7 cm.

dress, or coiffure may stem from the same time, place, and milieu in which the representations were made. Historical portraits merely convey an approximate image of the physiognomic “original,” which has to remain unknown to us.

Nevertheless, the Warsaw painting shows numerous similarities with the facial features of the man from the print (the only difference being that he seems older in the engraved portrait). This identification is confirmed by a small wart on his cheek, at the level of the nostril – given the obvious assumption that the print reproduced the man’s appearance in mirror image. Should this identification of the sitter be correct, the Warsaw work would be the only painted portrait of this well-known Nuremberg doctor, emblematic artist and botanist made in his lifetime. The earliest possible date of the painting’s completion is the year Contile’s emblem was published: 1574. Based on Camerarius’s age (he was born in 1534), the portrait may be dated to no later than the second half of the 1570s. In several poems written in 1574, Johannes Posthuis, Camerarius’s friend and fellow doctor from Würzburg, jokingly pointed out his colleague’s premature greying.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, one can see the man’s grey temples underneath the yellowed varnish. The fact he is portrayed without a wedding ring offers another clue concerning the work’s creation date. Camerarius’s second wife died on 14 July 1577, and he did not remarry until May 1580.<sup>14</sup>

This identification may explain why the man is holding flowers that are not carnations or roses, common in the iconography of engagement, as could be expected given the aforementioned life situation of the sitter. Camerarius was not just a doctor valued in Nuremberg, but also a key figure in the international network of botanists exchanging correspondence. The painting shows a yellow narcissus (daffodil) with two flowers and a blue hyacinth (**fig. 5**).<sup>15</sup> These plants could be interpreted as pointing to Camerarius’s medical profession: in pharmaceutical debates of his day, he made a case for using simple plant-based medications. A proponent of Galen’s understanding of medicine, he was critical of iatrochemical prescriptions, especially if they were administered by incompetent persons. The importance of such medicines grew as a result of the activity of Paracelsus in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup> In a medical regulation drafted by Camerarius in 1571 and ultimately adopted by the Nuremberg city council in 1592, the production and administration of such medicines by unqualified dilettantes was clearly prohibited.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, it is rather unlikely that the depicted flowers were meant to refer to pharmacology. Although narcissi had a few general therapeutic uses, the medicinal properties of hyacinths were completely unknown.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Wenning, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> I would have not been able to recognize the botanical genus and species of both flowers without the kind assistance of Ursula Härting-Hamm. Her careful identification of the plants in *Hortus Eystettensis* saved me from getting lost in the maze of botanical publications from the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> c. For more information on the importance of gardens for culture and art history around 1600, see *Gärten und Höfe der Rubenszeit im Spiegel der Malerfamilie Brueghel und der Künstler um Peter Paul Rubens*, Ursula Härting, ed., exh. cat., Gustav-Lübcke-Museum Hamm; Landesmuseum Mainz, 2000-1 (Munich, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> In Nuremberg, such prescriptions were used by the doctor Heinrich Wolff, i.a., see Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahncke, “*Artis Pharmaceuticae Chymicae Amator – Apotheker Basilius Besler und der Paracelsismus in Nürnberg*,” *Geschichte der Pharmazie*, vol. 61, no. 2/3 (2009), pp. 35-44, esp. pp. 37-38; see also Wenning, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>17</sup> Müller-Jahncke, *op. cit.* p. 36; Wenning, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-39.

<sup>18</sup> See n. 30.

The selection of these plants – now widespread spring flowers – was evidently meant to express the pride of a botanist and garden lover. At the time, both these botanical genera, difficult to grow in the North European climate, represented florist rarities (*raritates*). At the time of the probable creation of this portrait, Camerarius was increasingly involved in botany. Apart from lengthy correspondence in the field, which he conducted on an ongoing basis, he published a booklet on agriculture in 1577. *De re rustica opuscula nonnulla* [Small studies on agriculture], printed in Nuremberg and containing around 100 pages, begins with a collection of quotations associated with agriculture and horticulture, broken down by subject matter.<sup>19</sup> Camerarius then discusses the “horticultural principles” applied in Villa dei Volta in Casaralta near Bologna, quotes the laws on agriculture and horticulture in the Code of Justinian, lists a number of folk proverbs, interprets the antique bas-relief *Sacrifice of Mithras* as an allegory of agriculture, and translates the universal praise of country and garden life penned by the Italian humanist Alberto Lollio in 1544.<sup>20</sup> Two further texts by Italian humanists are supplemented by a list of “those authors who wrote about agriculture or similar activities and whose works are preserved or lost.”<sup>21</sup> In the bibliography, which enumerates works by both antique and contemporary writers, Camerarius lists two books he plans to write: first “Botanical observations [...] on the origin of rare plants that come from Germany and other regions, and were meticulously arranged in alphabetical order according to the location where they occur, along with their common names and well-known, easy medications,”<sup>22</sup> and then “two volumes about the cultivation of the most important plants, above all those beneficial for humans.”<sup>23</sup> In the foreword, the author notes that this compilation of texts was to offer him solace following his wife’s death.<sup>24</sup>

In 1588, Camerarius published a book about his own Nuremberg garden, *Hortus medicus et philosophicus* [Medicinal and philosophical garden], which embodied only a part of the project he envisaged in 1577. After a general introduction on the benefits of gardens and the pleasures they bring, he lists – in alphabetical order – over 1,000 plant species that he himself cultivated.<sup>25</sup> The work, published in Frankfurt am Main and containing a number of woodcut illustrations, lists various types of narcissi, including “the yellow narcissus [daffodil],

<sup>19</sup> Joachim Camerarius the Younger, *De re rustica opuscula nonnulla lectu cum iucunda, tum utilia* (Nuremberg, 1577); digital copy from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (ref.: 4 Oecon. 50); urn:nbn:de:hbz:12-bsb1090110-3. See Wenning, op. cit., pp. 127–29.

<sup>20</sup> Alberto Lollio, *Lettera nella quale rispondendo ad una di m. Hercole Perinato, egli celebra la villa, et lauda molto l'agricoltura* (Venice, G. Giolito, 1544), in Camerarius's translation: *Epistola Alberti Lollii ad Herculem Perinatam...*

<sup>21</sup> Camerarius the Younger, *De re rustica opuscula...*, op. cit., fol. 42v–55r: “Catalogus auctorum, quorum scripta tam extant, quam desiderantur, qui aliquid in Georgicis et similibus scripserunt.”

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 51v: “Ioachimi I. F. Camerarii observationes Botanice de natalibus plantarum rariorum, tam in Germania quam aliis regionibus nascentium Loci: in quibus secundum literarum seriem Loci, ubi crescunt, certa cum vernaculis appellationibus et euporistis, ac familiaribus remediis diligenter exponentur.”

<sup>23</sup> “Eiusdem de cultura praecipuarum plantarum quarundam generi humano inprimis utilium libri 2.”

<sup>24</sup> Joachim Camerarius the Younger, *Hortus Medicus et Philosophicus: In Quo Plurimarum Stirpium Breves Descriptiones, Nova Icones non paucae, indicationes locorum natalium, observationes de cultura peculiares, atque insuper nonnulla remedia euporista, nec non philologica quaedam continentur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1588), fol. 2r: “fecique hoc eo facilius, ut nonnihil, si fieri posset, hoc tempore in luctu domestico [...] non exiguo constitutus animum moestum et afflictum a cogitationibus tristioribus abducerem.”

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*; see also Wenning, op. cit., pp. 145–46.

early- and late-blooming, with two or more flowers per stem.”<sup>26</sup> Narcissi are particularly demanding for gardeners. Camerarius’s botanical correspondence mentions how extremely difficult it is to make certain narcissi bulbs sprout.<sup>27</sup> His friend and fellow botanist, Carolus Clusius, even sent him a detailed instruction on how to plant narcissi in a clay pot to make them survive the winter.<sup>28</sup>

In his horticultural book from 1588, Camerarius also lists several hyacinth species.<sup>29</sup> Owing to the concise descriptions and lack of illustrations of either narcissi or hyacinths, it is difficult to accurately picture the flowers he had in mind. However, they may be seen in engravings illustrating Pietro Andrea Mattioli’s work *De plantis epistome utilissima / Kreutterbuch*, which Camerarius published in Latin and translated into German in Frankfurt am Main in 1586.<sup>30</sup> Camerarius supplemented the book with his own commentaries. He also had it fitted with improved illustrations from the legacy of Conrad Gessner and ones he commissioned specially for the publication. The *Kreutterbuch* includes a few of Camerarius’s additions, which may indicate that he was particularly interested in narcissi: “One could write here about a multitude of narcissi / if the time and book allowed [...]”<sup>31</sup> As the fourth variety, Camerarius added the one that “grows in forests or mountains / has yellow flowers / is surrounded by six lead-yellow petals / that are completely yellow in the type growing in the mountains. It may be found with double or triple flowers / like the ones I have in my own garden / that with time become single again [...]” (fig. 6).<sup>32</sup> Thus, Camerarius noted in 1586 and 1588 that the mountain narcissus variety [daffodil] with full, entirely yellow flowers grew in his Nuremberg garden. Compared to the woodcut in Mattioli’s 1586 edition, the plant depicted in the Warsaw painting looks slightly smaller.

In 1586, Camerarius wrote a more elaborate description of a certain unique hyacinth: “I was able to depict the one attached here [on the illustration] – as well as many other beautiful plants – with the consent and through the particular friendship and kindness of Mr. [Leonhard] Rauwolf, who collected them during his journey to Oriental countries and described them in the first part of his travel journal, in chapter nine. It blossoms in April, has long and very narrow leaves, like our *Phalangium* [St. Bernard’s lily; *Phalangium liliago*, *Anthericum liliago*]; it is rather tall and produces four impressive flowers at the top, the colour and height

<sup>26</sup> Camerarius the Younger, *Hortus Medicus et Philosophicus...*, op. cit., p. 105: “Narcissus luteus, præcox et serotinus flore duplici et multiplici.”

<sup>27</sup> Wenning, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>29</sup> Camerarius the Younger, *Hortus Medicus et Philosophicus...*, op. cit., pp. 76–77.

<sup>30</sup> Pietro Andrea Mattioli, Joachim Camerarius the Younger, *Kreutterbuch Desz Hochgelehrten unnd weitberühmten Herrn D. Petri Andrea Matthioli Jetzt widerumb mit viel schönen neuwen Figuren, auch nützlichen Artzneyen, und andern guten stücken...* (Frankfurt am Main, 1586) (VD16 ZV 15556); digital copy from the Staatliche Bibliothek in Regensburg (ref. 999/2Med.23), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11057664-7. Pietro Andrea Mattioli, *De Plantis Epistome utilissima, Petri Andreae Matthioli Senensis, Medici Excellentissimi, &c. Accessit Catalogus Plantarum, quae in hoc compendio continentur, exactiſſ.* (Frankfurt am Main, 1586) (VD16 M 1612); digital copy from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (ref. Res/4 Phyt. 211 c), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00089694-2. See Wenning, op. cit., pp. 135–43 (with further bibliography).

<sup>31</sup> Mattioli, Camerarius the Younger, *Kreutterbuch...*, op. cit., p. 442r: “Von sehr viel Narcissis were hie zu schreiben / wann die zeit und deß Buchs gelegenheit solchs leiden wollte...”

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 442v: “Der IIII. wechst in in Wäldern oder Bergen / hat eine gelbe Blum / mit sechs bleygelben Blettern umgeben / welche an dem / so in gebirgen wechst / gantz gelb seindt. Man findet ihn auch mit zweyfachen und dreyfachen Blumen / wie ich sie selbst in meinem Gerten habe / werden doch zu zeiten widerumb einfach [...]”.

of whose petals resemble the three vertical petals of the small blue iris [*Gilgin* – also known as *Gilge*, *Ilge*, *Schwertlilie*]. [...] Citizens of Tripoli know it by the name of Ayur” (fig. 7).<sup>33</sup>

It follows that Camerarius's portrait depicts the “medicines of the soul” (*pharmaca animae*), referring to the Italian device. Its author, Ippolito Roscio, member of the Accademia degli Affidati in Pavia, adopted the pseudonym *Ortofilo*, or garden lover (fig. 2). This corresponds to the personal remedy for melancholy presented by Camerarius: botanical wonders of nature. The portrait shows him as a Christian and garden lover. At the same time, to the grief of the art historian, he seems to value the garden more highly than even the most exquisite collection of art. In the preface to the work on his Nuremberg garden from 1588, he describes it as the “most pleasant seat of the muses” (*museum iucundissimum*) and prefers the plants found there to sculptures, paintings, or other artistic artefacts.<sup>34</sup>

Who painted this portrait? Religious and political tensions of the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century led to an exodus of Netherlandish artists to Germany.<sup>35</sup> Netherlandish influences were particularly strong in the confessionally tolerant Nuremberg, the Lutheran city of Catholic emperors (*Reichsstadt*), which had long-standing commercial ties with Flanders and Brabant.<sup>36</sup> One of the most eminent artists who migrated there was Nicolas Neufchâtel, called Lucidel (ca. 1527–1587?). He was educated in Antwerp in the workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst at the time when Pieter Bruegel the Elder also studied there. Neufchâtel, a Calvinist, was active in Nuremberg since 1561. Although municipal records about him stop in 1567, the painter most likely lived until 1587.<sup>37</sup> The art historian Rudolf Peltzer, whose works on Hans von Aachen and Johannes Rottenhammer published in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century marked a breakthrough in research on late Renaissance German art, was also the first scholar to compile Neufchâtel's oeuvre.<sup>38</sup> Very few supplements or corrections to his description of

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 368v–369r: “Dieser aber welchen ich hab herzu gesetzt / ist mir durch sonderliche freundschaft und Gutwilligkeit neben anderen schönen gewachsen vom Herrn D. Rauwolf / die er in seiner Reiß in die Orientalischen Länder colligirt / abzumelen vergünnet worden / und beschrieben im Ersten theil seines Reißbuchs am 9. Capitel. Blüet im Monat Aprili, hat lang und gar schmale Blettlin unsres Phalangij, ist zimlich hoch / und gewinnet zu oberst in 4. ansehnliche Blumen / an welchen die / Blettlin ihrer farb und grösse halb den dreyen auffgerichten in klein blawen Gilgin ganz ähnlich / [...] Ist den Inwohnern zu Tripoli unter dem Nam Ayur bekannt”. See Wenning, op. cit., p. 139 – among the possible sources of these illustrations, the artist lists “the drawings and plants brought by the Augsburg [botanist] Leonhart Rauwolf (Rauwolf, d. 1586) from his journey to the East.”

<sup>34</sup> Camerarius the Younger, *Hortus Medicus et Philosophicus*..., op. cit.: “Hoc enim quasi refugium quoddam et secessum liberalem vel potius museum iucundissimum ab ipsa Natura tot herbis, arbustis ac arboris instructum ac exornatum quis non amplecteretur? Quis non fateretur etiam marmora nitidissima regiarum, picturasque splendissimas, ac alia praeclara artificialia ab illis longissime superari.”

<sup>35</sup> For more information on Netherlandish influences in Rhineland and Cologne, see Ilja M. Veldman, “Keulen als toevluchtsoord voor Nederlandse kunstenaars (1567–1612),” *Oud Holland*, vol. 107 (1993), pp. 34–58; in Hessen and Frankfurt am Main, see Thomas Fusenig, “Wolfgang Avemann (1583 – ca. 1620) und die frühe Verbreitung der niederländischen Architekturmalerie,” *Oud Holland*, vol. 117 (2004), pp. 137–53. Bibliography broken down by region and dispersed previous literature may be found in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Art and Architecture in Central Europe 1550–1620. An Annotated Bibliography* (Marburg, 2002), second edition.

<sup>36</sup> Jeffrey Chipps Smith, “Netherlandish Artists and Art in Renaissance Nuremberg,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, vol. 20, no. 2/3 (1990–91), pp. 153–67. For information on Neufchâtel, see esp. pp. 153–56.

<sup>37</sup> “Der Mahler Ordnung und Gebräuch in Nürnberg” – *Die Nürnberger Maler(zunft)bücher ergänzt durch weitere Quellen, Genealogien und Viten des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Andreas Tacke, ed., compiled by Heidrun Ludwig et al. (Berlin, 2001), p. 525 (with previous literature containing biographical data).

<sup>38</sup> Rudolf Arthur Peltzer, “Nicolas Neufchatel und seine Nürnberger Bildnisse,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F. 3, vol. 3 (1926), pp. 187–231.

the artist's work have been made since the publication of his paper in 1926.<sup>39</sup> Kurt Löcher, eminent expert on 16<sup>th</sup>-century portraiture, thus highlighted the painterly qualities of the master's style: "his exquisite painting technique enabled him to convey different textures of garments and reproduce the properties of gems and embroidery." These features are still clearly visible beneath the yellowed varnish of the Warsaw work.

When attributing a painting to an artist, only their dated and signed works, or ones documented beyond doubt, should be taken into account. In the case of Neufchâtel, there is only one work that strictly meets the above criteria: *Portrait of the Nuremberg Municipal Writer and Calligrapher Johannes Neudörffer with a Pupil* (most likely his son, Johann Neudörffer the Younger) from 1561 held in Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, whose author and creation date are provided in the inscription on the frame.<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, the original work has been greatly altered through layers of repaintings added by conservators, so another of Neufchâtel's works regarded as genuine has to be quoted here. The author of this paper was struck by a small peculiarity of the painting technique, which convinced him about the authorship of the Warsaw painting. In *Portrait of the Nuremberg Goldsmith Hans Lencker and His Son Elisius the Younger* from 1570, kept in Copenhagen's Statens Museum (fig. 8), the surface of the table cover is strewn with single, fine lines of paint, whose hue differs from the background of the fabric; these spots are often layered on top of one another, creating thickened areas that look like coloured pebbles.<sup>41</sup> This specific manner of executing the surface may also be found in the table cloth from the National Museum portrait (fig. 1).<sup>42</sup> A close-up look at the two paintings (figs 5, 9) also reveals similarities in shaping the hands and fingers of the sitters. This "Morellian detail" – long, narrow nails, all shown with the same, soft nail bed – are clearly recognizable here.<sup>43</sup>

Only after the layer of yellowed varnish is removed from the surface of Camerarius's portrait will it be possible to examine its painterly quality. Technological research could also clarify whether the books in the foreground might have been added at a later stage of work on the painting as a *pentimento*. The space designated for them on the table seems a little too narrow. Perhaps the format of the painting was made smaller. Apart from that, one could hope that traces of dating or information on the sitter's age may also be revealed in the background at left.

<sup>39</sup> Kurt Löcher, "Neufchatel, Nicolas" [online], *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 19 (1999), p. 114 ff, at: <<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd122466705.html>>, [retrieved: 28 December 2020]. On the connection between Nuremberg portraiture, see Peter Strieder, "Zur Nürnberger Bildniskunst des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, vol. 3 (1956), pp. 127–31 (with two dubious attributions).

<sup>40</sup> Canvas, 102 × 92.5 cm, inv. no. Gm 1836 (deposit of Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich); Peltzer, op. cit., pp. 192–93, fig. 3; Kurt Löcher, *Die Gemälde des 16. Jahrhunderts. Germanisches Nationalmuseum* (Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 328–30.

<sup>41</sup> Canvas, 95.5 × 93 cm, dat. 1570, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. no. DEP8; Peltzer, op. cit., p. 196, fig. 7. One possible explanation of this manner of executing its surface was offered by Ursula Härting, who suggested that the table cloth might be made of leather, cuir de Cordoue. Such table cloths are referred to in published sources from the day.

<sup>42</sup> A similar table cloth may also be seen in a notable portrait of Wenzel Jamnitzer in Musée d'art et histoire in Geneva (unknown to Peltzer) and in the portrait from Berlin's Gemäldegalerie (Peltzer, op. cit., fig. 18).

<sup>43</sup> For more information on Morelli (pseud. Lermolieff), see Edgar Wind, *Kunst und Anarchie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), ch. 3 (critique of connoisseurship); Carlo Ginzburg, *Spurensicherung. Der Jäger entziffert die Fährte Sherlock Holmes nimmt die Lupe, Freud liest Morelli* (Berlin, 1979), pp. 7–44.

Irrespective of whether we may find answers to these questions, “recovering” this hitherto unknown image of the Nuremberg doctor and naturalist created by one of the most eminent Netherlandish portraitists, who in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century found himself in exile in Nuremberg, is clearly a source of joy.<sup>44</sup>

Old portraits do not always meet the expectations of contemporary viewers. However, here it seems that the painter managed to accurately convey the character of the sitter – if we believe the words of his father, Joachim Camerarius the Elder, a renowned humanist of his day, from a letter written in 1564: “Filius mei natura placida est et voluntas directa ad tranquillitatem” (My son is placid by nature, and his will guides him towards peace of mind).<sup>45</sup>

Translated by Aleksandra Szkudłapska

<sup>44</sup> The proposed authorship of Camerarius's portrait inspired me to reflect on another painting held at the NMW: an image of a 48-year-old woman attributed to Nicolas Neufchâtel, where the figure is depicted in a similar view (oil on canvas, 79 × 68 cm, inv. no. M.Ob.1767 MNW). Enhanced three-dimensionality of the sitter's facial features and depicting her from a closer vantage point may be explained by the work's later creation date. However, the assumed dating of the female portrait to 1590 seems dubious, as Neufchâtel died in 1587 (see *Der Mahler Ordnung...*, op. cit., p. 525). Consequently, this attribution should be supplemented with a question mark. This work may in fact have been painted by another portraitist active in Nuremberg, Nicolas Juvenel (before 1540–97; see *Der Mahler Ordnung...*, op. cit., pp. 470–72). In any case, *Portrait of a Gentleman with Two Boys* from 1596, previously regarded as Netherlandish, may definitely be attributed to Juvenel (oil on canvas, 88 × 66.5 cm, inv. no M.Ob.2484 MNW; see Benesz, Kluk, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 40, cat. no. 817).

<sup>45</sup> See Wenning, op. cit., p. 174 (*Ioachimi Camerarii Bapenbergensis Epistolarum familiarium libri VI. nunc primum post ipsius obitum singulari studio a filiis editi*, Frankfurt, 1583, p. 345).