



ISSUE 1

# JORDAENS VAN DYCK JOURNAL

THE RESEARCH PUBLICATION  
OF THE JORDAENS VAN DYCK  
PANEL PAINTINGS PROJECT

JULY 2021

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## FOREWORD

# Thomas Leysen

CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES  
FONDS BAILLET LATOUR

The Baillet Latour Fund was founded in 1974 by Count Alfred de Baillet Latour. It received at that time a broad mission to encourage excellence in the scientific, educational, sports and cultural fields. The trustees have a broad discretion to decide how to fulfil this mission.

In recent years, the Baillet Latour Fund has chosen to focus its cultural activities primarily on the conservation and restoration of major works of art in Belgian public collections and ecclesiastic institutions, with the brilliant restoration of the Ghent Altarpiece as its most iconic project. Next to that, it has also supported important art historical projects, albeit in a very selective fashion. It has been a major supporter of the Corpus Rubenianum, the massive catalogue raisonné of Peter Paul Rubens's oeuvre, which will count more than 70 volumes when completed. It was also rapidly convinced by the importance of the JVDPPP, and agreed to become a major funder of this innovative endeavour. We are very proud that in this way we can contribute to the further study of the three towering giants of the Antwerp baroque – Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony Van Dyck and Jacques Jordaens.

We are delighted the JVDPPP has now chosen to bring its conclusions and other fascinating related research to a broad audience through the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*. We hope that you will find the contributions enlightening and that you will find pleasure in the variety of topics presented as well as in the high quality production of this online journal.



## INTRODUCTIONS BY PROJECT PARTNERS

### Prof. Dr. Michel Draguet

GENERAL DIRECTOR  
ROYAL MUSEUMS OF FINE ARTS OF BELGIUM

It is my pleasure to introduce the first issue of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*. It is a laudable new initiative of the Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project that is based at our museum as one of its major scholarly partners together with the University of Amsterdam. The Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium are both an important cluster of museums operating on an international scale and a scientific institution. This project integrates perfectly within its mission because it combines the hands-on study of art objects, typical for a museum, with multidisciplinary scholarly research involving nine different nationalities at an excellent scientific level.

Moreover, this initiative makes scholarly discoveries accessible to the widest possible audience of scholars, art lovers and the general public. This is in complete agreement with our mission to be public and visitor minded and to promote the open access to research results.

Having followed the Project closely these past five years I know how much hard work and scholarship has gone into conducting its research – research on two important artists, Jacques Jordaens (1593–1678) and Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641), which has not been conducted in this way before. We are delighted to have been associated with it and share in the pleasure of its discoveries which are now being laid before the public through this well-produced journal.

I wish this journal a well-deserved success with an ever-growing audience.

### Prof. Dr. Frans Grijzenhout

CHAIR OF ART HISTORY – EARLY MODERN PERIOD  
UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

I am extremely pleased to introduce this first issue of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*, in which the results of the Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project will be published. Over the past few years, collaborators of the Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project have studied arduously all the oil paintings on oak panels by two of Flanders' most famous artists, Jacques Jordaens and Anthony Van Dyck. Dendrochronology, the scrupulous study of guild marks, thorough archival research, experienced connoisseurship and comprehensive art historical scholarship have been combined into one coordinated effort in order to better understand all aspects of studio practice, craftsmanship and artistic and intellectual exchange in the fascinating and extremely productive workshops of these two Flemish masters with an international reputation, then and now. I am very much looking forward to read and digesting the results of this endeavour.

## EDITORIAL

EMILY BURNS

I'm delighted to welcome you to the first issue of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*, which is the first of a series publishing the wide-ranging findings of the international and multidisciplinary Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project. While some of the Project's scheduled research was delayed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the team have been busy behind the scenes over the past year preparing this publication.

This first issue provides an introduction to the methodologies of the Project and shares the first tranche of its findings. The publication has been structured so that the reader may explore the panel paintings of Jacques Jordaens (1593–1678) and Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641) through the lens of the different disciplines which have underpinned the investigation: dendrochronology, panel analysis, archival research and connoisseurship. The Project's Panels Adviser, Sara Mateu begins by setting seventeenth-century Antwerp panel making in context, while Justin Davies (Co-founder) and Ingrid Moortgat (Archival Research Fellow) explore panel makers and their marks, and Andrea Seim (Lead Dendrochronologist) introduces how dendrochronology can be used in the study of panel paintings. The Project's Co-founders Joost Vander Auwera and Justin Davies have provided introductions to their extensive research into the

use of panels by Jordaens and Van Dyck, and Alexis Merle du Bourg (Archival Research, France) shares the product of his research into the paintings of Rubens, Van Dyck and Jordaens in the collection of Hyacinthe Rigaud. The issue closes with an exciting selection of discoveries from the archives made by Ingrid Moortgat, James Innes-Mulraine and Justin Davies. I encourage readers to enjoy the *JVDJ* alongside the extensive material shared on the Project website; the two have been designed to be complementary resources.

It is important to us that the *JVDJ* should be open access so that new information on the panel paintings of Jordaens and Van Dyck, and other related discoveries, might be made widely accessible. Many thanks to Fonds Baillet Latour for generously funding the publication. Thanks also to our project partners, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium and the University of Amsterdam, and all collaborating institutions and collections, for their advice and support. Finally, thanks to the *JVDJ* contributors for sharing the methods and conclusions of their research, and to our designer Sara Jones for presenting the work so beautifully. We hope you find the articles illuminating, and that they may inspire further research into Flemish panel painting and the oeuvres of Jacques Jordaens and Anthony Van Dyck.

## THE JORDAENS VAN DYCK PANEL PAINTINGS PROJECT TEAM



**Kate Ainley-Marr**  
Outreach & Public  
Engagement Adviser



**Dr. Piet Bakker**  
Archival Research Fellow



**Drs. Ewelina Bednarz**  
Archival Research  
(Germany & Poland)



**Drs. Raffaella Besta**  
Archival Research (Italy)



**Dr. Emily Burns**  
Editor



**Drs. Justin Davies**  
Co-founder, Coordination  
& Research Fellow



**Dennis Driessen**  
Webmaster & Social Media  
Manager



**Dr. Johannes Edvardsson**  
Consultant Dendrochronologist



**Drs. Ingrid Goddeeris**  
Provenance Research



**James Innes-Mulraine**  
Archival Research (UK)



**Sara Mateu**  
Panels Adviser



**Dr. Alexis Merle du Bourg**  
Archival Research (France)



**Ingrid Moortgat**  
Archival Research Fellow



**Dr. Andrea Seim**  
Lead Dendrochronologist



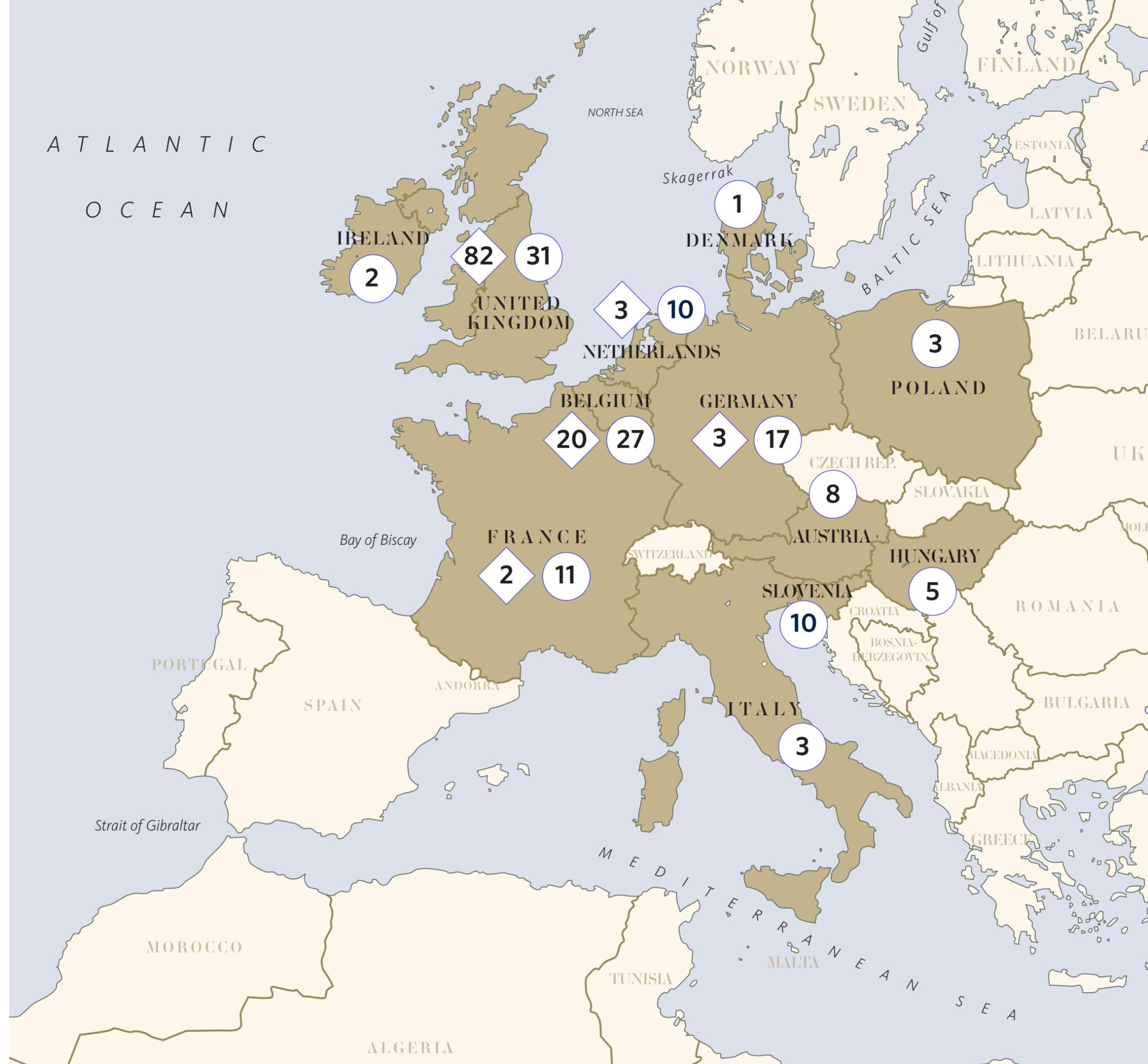
**Dr. MBA Joost Vander Auwera**  
Co-founder & Project Leader

### COLLABORATIVE DENDROCHRONOLOGISTS

**Dr. Aoife Daly**  
(Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark)  
**Dr. Pascale Fraiture**  
(IRPA/KIK, Belgium)  
**Dr. Rūtilė Pukienė**  
(National Museum – Palace of Grand Dukes, Lithuania)  
**Dr. Willy Tegel**  
(University of Freiburg and DendroNet, Germany)  
**Dr. Ian Tyers**  
(United Kingdom)  
**Dr. Tomasz Wazny**  
(Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland)

# MAP OF COUNTRIES VISITED BY THE JVDPPP

JULY 2021





**PUBLIC COLLECTIONS**

**AUSTRIA**  
 Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna  
 Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Vienna

**BELGIUM**  
 Church Fabric of Our Lady of la Cambre/van Kamerijk and of St Philipus Neri, Brussels  
 Commune de St Gilles/Gemeente St.-Gillis, Brussels  
 Franciscan Museum de Mindere, Sint Truiden  
 KBC Art Collection, Snijders & Rockoxhuis, Antwerp  
 Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp  
 Museum Maagdenhuis, Antwerp  
 Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp  
 Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent  
 Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels  
 Rubenshuis, Antwerp  
 Stadsmuseum, Lier

**DENMARK**  
 Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen

**FRANCE**  
 Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon  
 Musée des Beaux-Arts de Strasbourg  
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes  
 Musée du Louvre, Paris

**GERMANY**  
 Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin  
 Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig  
 Museumlandschaft Hessen Kassel, Kassel  
 Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hannover  
 Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen

**HUNGARY**  
 Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

**IRELAND**  
 National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

**ITALY**  
 Musei di Strada Nuova - Palazzo Rosso, Genoa  
 Museo Civico, Cremona  
 Museo Civico, Vicenza

**POLAND**  
 Royal Łazienki Museum, Warsaw

**PUERTO RICO**  
 Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce

**SLOVENIA**  
 Božidar Jakac Art Museum, Kostanjevica na Krki

**THE NETHERLANDS**  
 Bonnefanten, Maastricht  
 Groninger Museum voor Stad en Lande, Groningen  
 Mauritshuis, The Hague  
 Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam  
 Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, The Hague  
 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

**UNITED KINGDOM**  
 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford  
 Bodleian Library, Oxford  
 Bristol Museum & Art Gallery, Bristol  
 Chiswick House, London  
 Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford  
 Courtauld Gallery, London  
 Dulwich Picture Gallery, London  
 Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge  
 National Gallery, London  
 Royal Collection Trust—Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, London and Windsor

**UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**  
 Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio  
 Bass Museum of Art, Miami  
 Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio  
 John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida  
 J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles  
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts  
 Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Ohio  
 Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio  
 Worcester Art Gallery, Worcester, Ohio  
 Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Massachusetts

**PRIVATE COLLECTIONS, AUCTION HOUSES AND ART DEALERS**

**BELGIUM**  
**FRANCE**  
**GERMANY**  
**THE NETHERLANDS**  
**UNITED KINGDOM**  
**UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

## WELCOME

# Introduction to the project by JVDPPP Co-founders

JUSTIN DAVIES & JOOST VANDER AUWERA

The Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project (JVDPPP) had a bold aim: to study a particular part of the oeuvres of two famous Flemish artists, Jacques Jordaens (1593–1678) and Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641), from a previously unexplored perspective – their pictures painted on wood panels. The objective has been to use interdisciplinary expertise to gather and analyse new evidence about these well-known artists and their paintings on panel. The Project has therefore not only examined the brush strokes on the front of panel paintings, but also the characteristics of their wooden supports. The tree rings on the edges of the planks of the panel have been studied in order to determine the last year that the tree was growing, its area of origin and whether planks of different paintings were made from the same tree. The reverse of panels have also been examined for punch and brand marks. To complete the multidisciplinary of the project, fresh archival research and the re-examination of previously published sources was conducted alongside the scientific and visual analysis.

The JVDPPP has travelled widely to study panel paintings (figs.1 and 2). Owing to the worldwide pandemic, travel has not been possible for more than a year. Nevertheless, 258 paintings on panel by or related to Jordaens and Van Dyck have been examined in 101 collections in 14 countries. As well as discovering new information on the artists, their works, and their collaborators and copyists, this systematic study has shed new light on Jordaens's and Van Dyck's cooperation with Rubens, the Antwerp panel makers, the wood used to make the panels, and seventeenth-century Flemish painting practices. The aim has been to gather and analyse a host of new information and clues in a systematic fashion about these well-known artists and their paintings on panel. Unexpected patterns have emerged, previously unknown paintings have been discovered and planks from the same tree which grew in Poland in the Middle Ages



Fig.1. Andrea Seim at the Palais Rohan, Strasbourg, December 2019. Photo: J. Davies.  
Fig.2. Justin Davies and Joost Vander Auwera with colleagues at the Royal Lazienki Museum, Warsaw, May 2017. © JVDPPP.

have been found as far apart as Puerto Rico and London.

An important element of the project has been to make its research and findings easily accessible for the widest possible audience. To this end, they are published in English on the open access JVDPPP website. As well as information on the paintings examined, the JVDPPP has also retrieved seventeenth-century archival documents in Antwerp, Brussels, Paris and London, and transcribed, translated and published them on the website. In addition, important out-of-copyright articles related to the artists and their panel makers which had previously been published in Dutch, French or German in often hard-to-find journals have been made more widely accessible by translating them into English and publishing online. It has also been possible to update these articles with colour images and publish all of the images referenced in an article, rather than the few black and white images which the constraints of late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century publications determined. We are very grateful to Jan Van Damme for allowing the translation and publication of his ground-breaking 1990 article in Dutch on the Antwerp panel makers. It is such scholarship, along with the previous work of many other art historians and dendrochronologists, which has formed the basis and point of departure for JVDPPP's innovative multidisciplinary combination.

The hiatus caused by the pandemic has given us the opportunity to pull together our research so far and publish it. In addition to the material already on the JVDPPP website, further findings will be shared in four issues of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal (JVDJ)*. The publication is free to view online, and will also be available to print on demand at cost price. A Summary Catalogue of the 258 paintings examined by the JVDPPP will be published online concurrently with this first issue. Further paintings examined before the end of the project in 2022 will be added as they are studied. Translated articles and archival documents will continue to be published on the website. We hope that the journal, the catalogue and the website will serve as a permanent resource for information and further scholarship into Jordaens, Van Dyck and seventeenth-century Flemish panel paintings. An article about a recently rediscovered Jordaens has been published in *Heritage Science* (J. Edvardsson, A. Seim, J. Davies, J. Vander Auwera, 'The rediscovery of an Adoration of the Shepherds by Jacques Jordaens: a multidisciplinary approach combining dendroarchaeology and art history', *Heritage Science*, 9, 39 (2021)), which can be found on the JVDPPP website. Further articles will follow in specialised journals, and a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Amsterdam on Van Dyck's panel paintings is in the pipeline.

Such in-depth multidisciplinary research has also led to some important findings related to the artists' paintings on canvas. Van Dyck's unidentified *Portrait of a Man* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna was re-identified as Pieter Soutman (1593/1601–1657), a Dutch painter who worked with Van Dyck in Rubens's studio (fig.3). It became the subject of the publication *Ansichtssache 21, Ein Maler also Modell: Van Dycks Porträt von Pieter Soutman* (2018) and an exhibition at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in March 2018. Findings in the archive of the Van Dyck scholar Sir Lionel Cust (1859–1930) led to lectures given by JVDPPP at the Royal Hospital Chelsea, London: 'Van Dyck or not Van Dyck? The Great Peece at the Royal Hospital Chelsea' in 2018 and 2019 (fig.4). Articles on related findings appear in this issue of the *JVDJ* and will continue in future issues.



Fig.3. Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait of Pieter Soutman*, oil on canvas, 75.5 by 58 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



In order to execute its plan the JVDPPP needed a talented multinational team. We would like to thank our 19 collaborators from Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland and the United Kingdom, whose valuable contributions are bringing the project to its successful conclusion. Members of the JVDPPP team gave papers on their findings at conferences as far afield as the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, the Palazzo Zevallos Stigliano, Naples, the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, the Royal Academy, London, the Galleria Sabauda, Turin and dendrochronological conferences in Estonia, Bhutan and India.

The JVDPPP has been funded by Fonds Baillet Latour, Belgium. Without its vision and support, this wide-ranging and widely travelled project would have never got off the ground. We hope that the Project's results and the interest shown in its work has matched the generosity of their investment. We are also very grateful for the support and encouragement of the project partners, the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium and the University of Amsterdam and, for the first period of the project, the Centre for Art Technological Studies in Copenhagen.

Lastly, and quite simply, JVDPPP would not have been possible without the kindness and support of the 101 institutions and collections at which we have physically examined paintings. We are inordinately grateful to all the individuals who have helped us. The time and effort required to make paintings, files, curators and conservators available for such visits is considerable (fig.5). A list of the institutions to whom we give our many thanks can be found at the end of this issue, including the repositories and libraries where colleagues were so manifestly kind with their assistance to the Project.

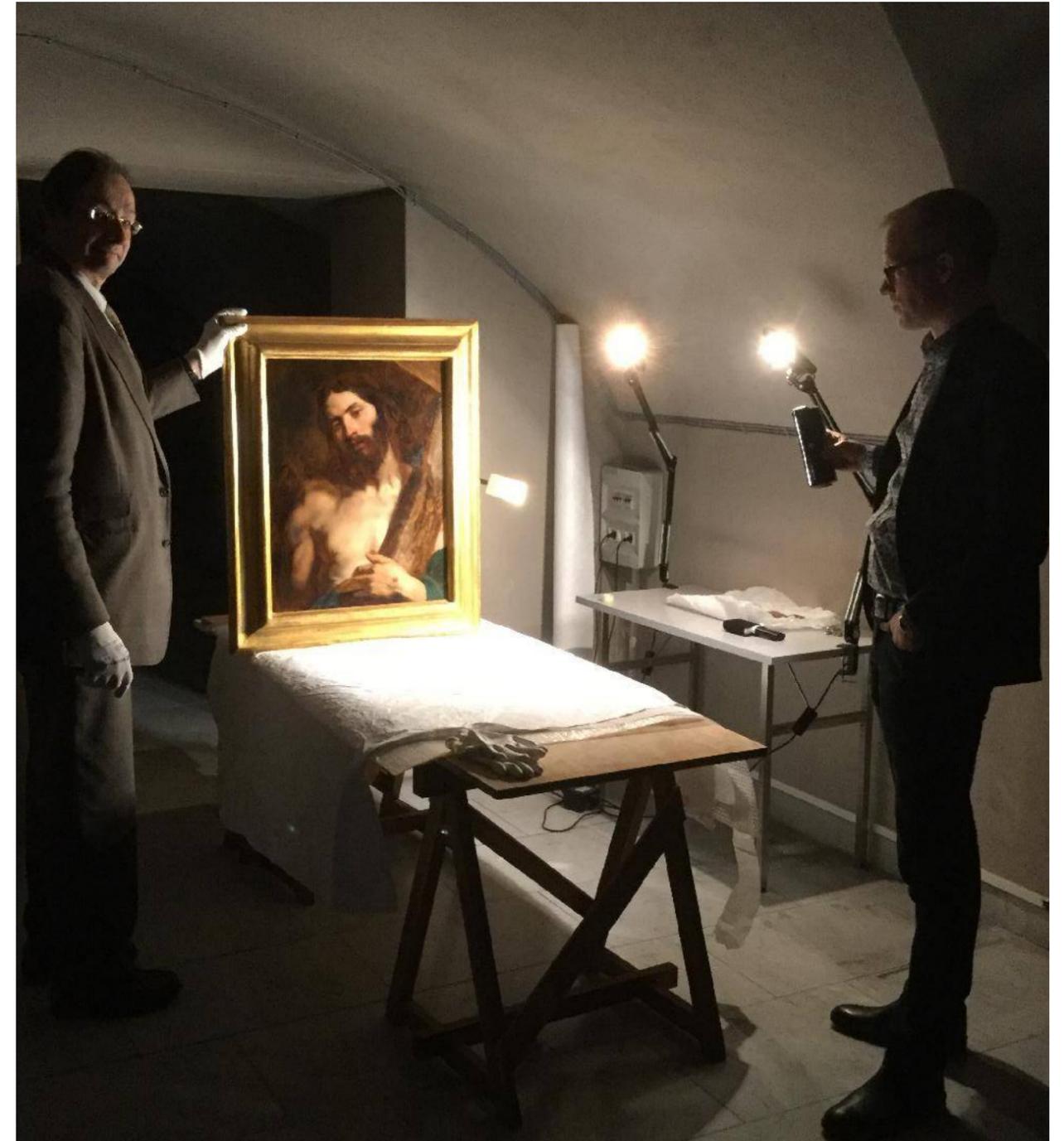


Fig.4. 'Van Dyck or not Van Dyck?', James Innes-Mulraine and Justin Davies giving a lecture on the 'Greate Peece' at the Royal Hospital Chelsea, London. © Z.C. Innes-Mulraine.  
 Fig.5. Johannes Edvardsson and Joost Vander Auwera with Van Dyck's Christ in the Palazzo Rosso, Genoa, 2017. Photo: J. Davies.

## PANELS

# Seventeenth-century Antwerp panels in context

SARA MATEU

Imagine you are examining *The Holy Family on the Return from the Flight to Egypt*, a panel painting by Jacques Jordaens (1593–1678) (fig.1). The painting retains its vivacious colouring 400 years later. The original paint layers are not overpainted nor abraded by harsh cleaning. The 0.9 cm-thick panel has been constructed from sawn planks of oak trees that started growing in the Middle Ages, were cut down in the early seventeenth century and then transported to Antwerp. On the reverse of the panel (fig.2a), amidst the saw marks, is a clearly visible brand mark of the Guild of Saint Luke; the castle and two hands of Antwerp, burnt with a red-hot branding iron. Often barely perceptible, and sometimes best seen by holding the panel at an angle to the light ('raking light'), is the panel maker's own punch mark (fig.2b).

These are some of the clues that delight the specialists of the Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project (JVDPPP), indicating that the painting and its panel are close to their original state. Visual and stylistic analysis can proceed, dendrochronology (tree ring analysis and dating) is possible, and the guild and panel makers' marks can be recorded. The more panels that are examined, the more links and patterns emerge: an artist's preference for certain panel makers; different paintings, sometimes at other ends of the world, whose panels are made from the same Baltic oak tree; and previously-unknown examples of autograph paintings and copies. These findings will be the subject of articles in the present and future issues of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal* (JVDJ).

This article places panels in their seventeenth-century Antwerp context. It focuses on their attractiveness for artists, their production techniques and the clues that they can or cannot provide for the art historian.



Fig.1. Jacques Jordaens, *The Holy Family on the Return from the Flight to Egypt*, oil on panel, 63 by 49.8 cm. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.

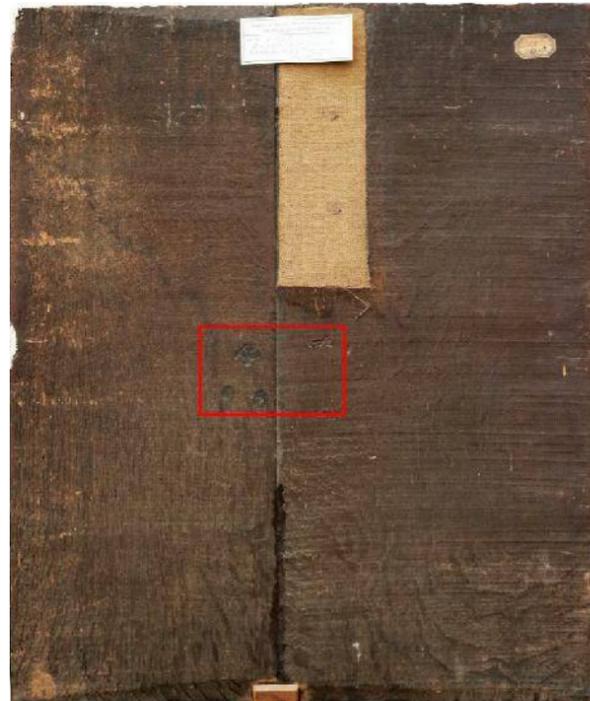


Fig.2. a



Fig.2. b

Fig.2. a) The reverse of *The Holy Family on the Return from the Flight to Egypt* (fig.1) with the Antwerp brand marks of the Guild of Saint Luke (a castle and two hands - here upside down) and the panel maker's mark of Guilliam Aertssen.  
 b) Close-up of both marks under raking light. © JVDPPP.  
 Fig.3. Reverse of a) a thinned and cradled reverse and b) showing a dowel (partly obscured by the cradle). © JVDPPP.

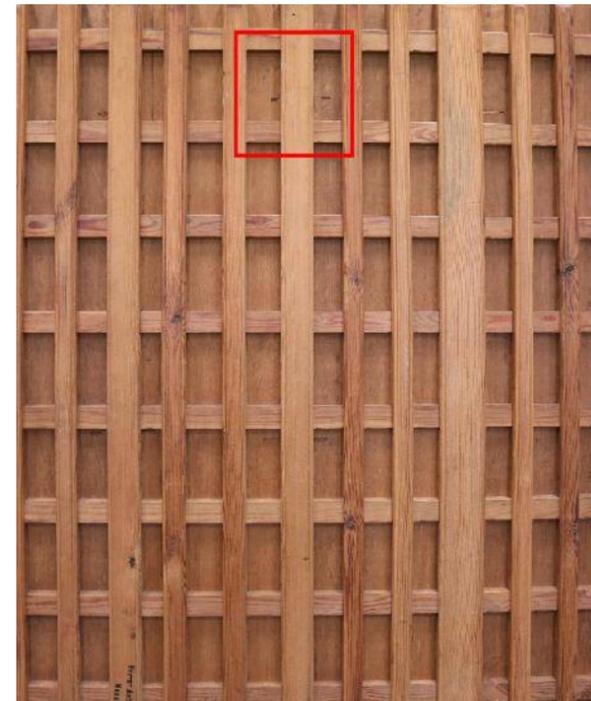


Fig.3. a



Fig.3. b

Panels were popular with Netherlandish artists. The firm and smooth surface allowed for an attractive finish. Modern analysis confirms its sustainability: 'Rubens's paintings on panel often seem to have, and to have retained, a freshness and brightness of tone sometimes lacking in his canvas paintings.'<sup>1</sup> A preference for panels as a support for paintings of a certain size was expressed by the artist himself. Sending *The Expulsion of Hagar* to Sir Dudley Carleton, Rubens wrote to him on 26 May 1618: 'It is done on a panel because small things are more successful on wood than on canvas; and being so small in size, it will be easy to transport.'<sup>2</sup> The painting, measuring 71 x 102 cm, is now in the collection of the Duke of Westminster.<sup>3</sup>

Sturdy oak was the favoured wooden support and Antwerp panel makers preferred Baltic to local oak. They considered it superior and more reliable because it better retained its straightness after drying. Artists preferred working on Baltic oak because the regularity of its grain allowed for a smooth painting surface. The Baltic origin of the oak wood and its specific characteristics are explored in the article 'Dendrochronology as a tool for studying panel paintings - background, strengths and limitations' in this first issue of the *JVDJ*.

Baltic wood was transported by ship from Gdansk and entered

Antwerp through the harbour. Locally sourced wood tended to be transported by inland waterways.<sup>4</sup> The Antwerp panel makers then made smaller planks from the boards, mainly by sawing. These could be used as a single small panel consisting of one plank or several planks glued to each other to make a larger panel.

In the case of larger panels made from several planks, a great variety of joints, gluing materials and reinforcements were used.<sup>5</sup> The individual planks were joined using glue made from animal bone or hide. Since the early fifteenth century, to avoid slippage and misalignment of the planks, the best quality panels were joined using a butt-joint with wooden pins called 'dowels' (figs.3a and b).

Seventeenth-century panels differ from previous centuries in that they were not made with frames as an integral part of their structure. During the fifteenth century frames were conceived as part of the artwork and, with the painting, comprised a single object. The rebate frame, where the panel is placed in the lip of a frame, came into use in the early sixteenth century. The panels were bevelled at the edges to aid framing (fig.2a). The painting could be framed and unframed at convenience but, ultimately, this led to an estrangement of panel and frame and both were later constructed separately.<sup>6</sup> The fashion in seventeenth-century Antwerp was for a black

frame, sometimes with an inner gold-leaf trim. They are better known from the *Kunstkamers* paintings of the period than from the number of surviving originals.<sup>7</sup> In the course of the Project, the JVDPPP has not found a single surviving original frame on an Antwerp panel.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century there were more than twenty panel makers' workshops active in Antwerp. Discontent had grown between the panel makers of the Guild of Saint Luke and those of the Joiners' Guild. To address the situation, on 13 November 1617, the panel makers of the Guild of Saint Luke petitioned the Antwerp authorities for new regulations regarding the quality, standardisation and approval of panels.<sup>8</sup> This resulted in an Ordinance being issued on 11 December 1617, of which the copy addressed to the Joiners' Guild survives (see 'Notes on the Panel Makers' Petition of 13 November 1617 with their marks' in this issue).<sup>9</sup>

Standards were established for the condition of the wood and the size of panels.<sup>10</sup> The wood had to be free of sapwood, knots, woodworm and rot. The sizes of the panel had to follow the models kept in the Guild for reference purposes, named by their value in coin.

These were:

- of twenty-six stuyvers (c.108 x 82 cm)
- of guilders (c.92 x 72 cm)
- of eight stuyvers (c.70 x 55 cm)
- of stooters (c.55 x 40 cm)
- and of the half stooter (c.40 x 31 cm)<sup>11</sup>

It should be noted that the list in the Petition and Ordinance omits the *6 stuyvers maet* size, also known in the Northern Netherlands as a 'salvator', c. 60-64 x 48 cm.<sup>12</sup> This size of panel has been found by the JVDPPP during the course of the project, branded and marked, particularly for Apostles and smaller religious paintings by Jordaens and Van Dyck and their studios (fig.1).

Every panel maker and joiner had to strike their mark on their panels, lest they be fined three guilders. When a dozen panels were ready for inspection the Dean of the panel makers within the Guild was to visit the panel maker's or joiner's workshop, inspect the panels and brand them. And 'if it happens that in visiting said panels the dean finds any containing sapwood or rot, white or red worms, the owner of said panels must without contradiction permit that these be broken immediately by said dean'.<sup>13</sup> The November and December 1617 dates of the Petition and Ordinance are relevant for the works of Jordaens, who became a master of the Guild of Saint Luke in 1615 and did not

travel beyond the Netherlands, and Van Dyck, whose three periods in Antwerp were up to 1621, from 1627 to 1632, and 1634 to 1635.

Panels contain a precious amount of the past. If a panel has remained untouched, then the reverse may provide valuable clues as to its date of manufacture. This can be combined with the dendrochronological dating of the wood. Historic conservation procedures such as cradles and transfers were designed to hinder the movement of the wood in the presence of humidity. However, these practices radically modified the support and removed any panel maker's or guild marks, and could be damaging to works. Transfers, straightforwardly, planed the panel until it was a veneer and pasted the ground and paint films on a more inert support. Cradling consisted of thinning the panel, sometimes to half its thickness or more, and attaching a wooden grid of battens that flattened and 'reinforced' the painting (fig.3a). Cradling, which appeared in the late eighteenth century, became the gold-standard remedial and preventative treatment for panels during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. It fell progressively into disuse as its potentially disastrous consequences – such as causing cracks and splits in the wood – became clear. Conservation values shifted in the 1950s towards less invasive treatments and more preventative conservation.

The likelihood as to whether a panel is cradled or not depends on the historical practices of a particular museum, collector or art dealer. Thankfully, enough panels have survived in their original state to provide plentiful clues for art historians through the use of dendrochronology, and the study of panel makers' and guild marks.

## NOTES

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- 8 J. Van Damme: 'De Antwerpse tafereelmakers en hun merken: identificatie en betekenis', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1990), pp.205–234.
- 9 I. Moortgat: 'Joiners' Ordinance (11 December 1617)', *Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project* website, translated by Michael Lomax, edited by Joost Vander Auwera and Justin Davies.
- 10 Van Damme, *op. cit.* (note 8) and Moortgat, *op. cit.* (note 9).
- 11 The comparative sizes in cm are taken from J. Bruyn: 'Een onderzoek naar 17de-eeuwse schilderijformaten, voornamelijk in Noord-Nederland', *Oud Holland* 93, 2 (1979), pp.96–115.
- 12 Bruyn, *op. cit.* (note 11).
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# Notes on the Panel Makers' Petition of 13 November 1617 with their marks

JUSTIN DAVIES & INGRID MOORTGAT

On 13 November 1617, a petition calling for the regulation of the panel and frame-making trade was submitted by a group of free masters of the Guild of Saint Luke to the Burgomaster and Aldermen of the city of Antwerp.<sup>1</sup> On 11 December 1617, an Ordinance was issued to the Guild of Saint Luke and the Joiners' Guild granting regulations for panel and frame making, including standard sizes.

The following provisions were made regarding the marking of panels:

1. Panel makers had to have all their glued panels (i.e. two planks or more) inspected by the Dean of the same trade within their Guilds to ensure that they did not contain sapwood, mould, or white or red worms. The panels that passed inspection would then be branded. The fine for breaching this regulation was twelve guilders per panel, and the panel was to be broken immediately by the inspecting Dean. A further clause stated that panels could not be branded if the wood was not dry.
2. Every maker had to place his distinctive mark on the frames and panels made by him. The penalty for not doing so was a fine of three guilders.
3. If any whitened panels (i.e. prepared for painting by a 'witter', a separate trade) were found which have not been properly assessed, branded and marked by the panel maker, the panels would be confiscated. If the Dean could find the persons responsible, then the panel maker would be fined twelve guilders and the person whitening them, man or woman, also twelve guilders.<sup>2</sup>

The petition was made by Michiel Claessens, the Alderman of the panel makers and twenty-one other panel makers, mirror case makers and softwood frame makers who

			<b>Michiel Claessens</b> jegenwoordich ouderman (free master 1590, died 1637)
no mark	<b>Jacques Luijtsens</b> (free master 1573, died 1619–20)		<b>Hans van Herentals</b> (free master 1598, died 1624)
	<b>Hans van Haecht</b> (free master 1589, died 1621)	GG	<b>Guilliam Gabron</b> (free master 1609, died 1662)
	<b>Jacques van Haecht</b> (free master 1593, died 1638)		<b>Hans Claessen</b> (free master 1615, died 1622–23)
FT	<b>Franchoys van Thienen</b> (free master 1602)		<b>Pauwels Maes</b> (free master 1614)
	<b>Peeter de Noble</b> (free master 1604)	DPB	<b>Phls[Philips] de Bont</b> (free master 1604, died 1625)
	<b>Lambrecht Steens</b> (free master 1608)		<b>Peeter Kerbos</b> (free master 1608, died 1626)
HA	<b>Jan Van Leij[den]</b> (free master 1588)		<b>Peeter Cremers</b> (free master 1596)
	<b>Peeter Vinck</b> (free master 1609, died 1617–18)	AI	<b>Aert Mennens</b> (free master 1614, died 1620)
	<b>Martinus Vernijen</b> (free master 1612)		<b>Michiel Vriendt</b> (free master 1615, died 1637)
	<b>Peeter Vernyen</b> (free master 1612)		
LK	<b>Laureys de Cort</b> (free master 1609)		
	<b>Guilliam Aertssen</b> (free master 1612)		

Fig.1. See reverse of this journal issue.  
Fig.2. Petition of the Antwerp panel makers (13 November 1617). Felixarchief/Stadsarchief Antwerpen, FOTO OF GA#4343, 13-11-1617 (not foliated).

Transcribed by Ingrid Moortgat.<sup>3</sup>



Fig.3. Michiel Claessens<sup>5</sup>



Fig.4. Michiel Vriendt<sup>6</sup>

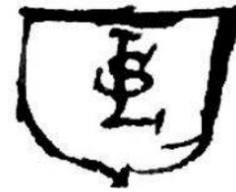


Fig.5. Lambrecht Steens<sup>7</sup>



Fig.6. Guilliam Gabron<sup>8</sup>



Fig.7. Guilliam Aertssen<sup>9</sup>



Fig.8. Sanctus Gabron<sup>13</sup>

Panel makers' marks as they appear on the 1617 petition and as they have been found by the JVDPPP on the reverse of panels.

were free masters of the Guild of Saint Luke (fig.1, illustrated on the back cover of this journal issue). Beside each of their names, with the exception of Jacques Luijtsens, is a distinctive mark (fig.2).

The panel makers' names on the petition are transcribed by one hand and are not individual signatures. The number of scorings-out, additions and corrections indicate that the document is the original petition, rather than a copy. It also appears that the mark recorded alongside a panel maker's name was not drawn by the panel makers themselves.<sup>4</sup> This may partly explain the deviations between the marks recorded in the 1617 petition and the marks found on the back of panels by the Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project (JVDPPP). It is apparent that the scribe did not have the punched panel marks in front of him when he compiled the document. The marks of Michiel Claessens (fig.3) and Michiel Vriendt (fig.4) which appear on panels are close to how they are depicted in the petition. The mark of Lambrecht Steens (fig.5) is very similar but without the shield. The panel marks generally attributed to Guilliam Gabron (fig.6) and Guilliam Aertssen (fig.7) contain elements of the written marks but are not identical. The marks of these five panel makers have been found on the reverse of panels used by both Jordaens and Van Dyck, and those of their studios and copyists.

The remaining sixteen marks recorded on the petition have not been encountered by the JVDPPP so far.

In his 1990 article on the Antwerp panel makers, Jan Van Damme wrote that he had not found evidence of panel marks on paintings for thirteen panel makers: Jacques van Haecht, Peeter de Noble, Jan van Leij[den], Peeter Vinck, Martinus and Peeter Vernyen, Hans Claessens, Pauwels Maes, Peeter Kerbos, Peeter Cremers and Aert Mennens. He noted that some panel makers died soon after 1617. Van Damme also suggested that some panel makers were also paintings merchants and might have concentrated on this profession rather than panel making. Many were also recorded as frame makers.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, there were more active panel makers in the Guild of Saint Luke in Antwerp in November 1617 than only those whose names appear on the petition. One such example is Sanctus Gabron, the younger brother of Guilliam Gabron. He joined the Guild of Saint Luke as a frame maker and Master's son in the guild year 18 October 1615 to 17 October 1616.<sup>11</sup> His probable mark – 'SG' – was found by the Project on the reverse of a panel in 2016 (fig.8).<sup>12</sup>

Articles regarding further panel makers' marks found by the JVDPPP which were not recorded on the 1617 petition will be published in future issues of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*.

Although the Ordinance made it law that a panel maker had to stamp their panels, this did not mean that individual or workshop panel marks only came into use from this date. Research has found certain panel makers' marks on paintings dated prior to 11 December 1617, without the Antwerp brand of the Guild of Saint Luke.<sup>14</sup>

## RESOURCES ON SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ANTWERP PANEL MAKERS AND THEIR MARKS<sup>15</sup>

### DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED ONLINE BY THE JORDAENS VAN DYCK PANEL PAINTINGS PROJECT

Three documents translated and published online by the JVDPPP are key to understanding and identifying the marks found on the back of seventeenth-century Antwerp panels.

- 1 'The Antwerp panel-makers and their marks' (1990, translated and updated 2018).<sup>16</sup>

Jan Van Damme's ground-breaking 1990 article, 'Die Antwerpse tafereelmakers en hun merken: identificatie en betenkis', has been published on the JVDPPP website in both the original and translated into English, along with addenda and corrigenda.

- 2 Panel makers' petition and marks (13 November 1617).<sup>17</sup>

Never-before published, the JVDPPP retrieved and published the panel makers' petition in full on the Project website. Its publication comprises images of the original documents in the Antwerp City Archives, with notated transcriptions and an English translation.

- 3 Joiners' Ordinance (11 December 1617).<sup>18</sup>

Jan Van Damme's article included a transcription of the copy of the Ordinance issued to the Joiners' Guild on 11 December 1617. The original Ordinance folios held by the Antwerp City Archives have been retrieved by the JVDPPP, transcribed, translated into English and published on the Project website.

With regards to individual panel makers, their families and workshops, the biographies of those panel makers whose marks the JVDPPP have found most often on the reverse of panels by Jordaens and Van Dyck and their studios were subject to new research by the JVDPPP Archival Researchers Ingrid Moortgat and Piet Bakker. This research was published online on the JVDPPP website:

- The Claessens Family<sup>19</sup>
- The Gabron Family<sup>20</sup>
- The Vriendt Family<sup>21</sup>
- Guiliam Aertssen<sup>22</sup>

Further research on Guiliam Aertssen was published in the article co-written by Ingrid Moortgat and Jørgen Wadum, 'An Enigmatic Panel-Maker and his Supply to the Bruegels' (2021).<sup>23</sup>

Given his importance as Van Dyck's major panel supplier in his second Antwerp period (see article, 'Van Dyck: his panels and his panel makers', in the second issue of the *JVD*), the JVDPPP also translated two previous articles on Michiel Vriendt from the original Flemish and published them on the Project's website:

- G. Gepts, 'The Panel maker Michiel Vriendt, Supplier to Rubens' (1954–60).<sup>24</sup>
- E. Duverger, 'Michiel Vriendt, frame and panel maker, dealer in paintings' (1977).<sup>25</sup>

### FURTHER RESOURCES ON PANEL MAKERS AND THEIR MARKS

Relevant research subsequent to Jan Van Damme's 1990 article has been published by Prof. em. Dr. Jørgen Wadum, Director of the Centre for Art and Technological Studies, Copenhagen (CATS). CATS was a founding partner of the JVDPPP 2016–7.<sup>26</sup> These articles include:<sup>27</sup>

- 'Recent Discoveries on Antwerp Panel Makers' Marks', (1993) (available online).<sup>28</sup>
- 'The Antwerp Brand on Paintings on Panels', (1998) (available online).<sup>29</sup>
- 'Apostel und Bildtafeln kommen in Dutzend, so lautet die Regel' (2019).<sup>30</sup>

Further analysis of panel makers' and Guild of Saint Luke Antwerp brand marks will be possible when the 'Marks on Art Database' at the RKD Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis/Netherlands Institute for Art History goes online.<sup>31</sup> The JVDPPP provided start-up funding 2016–7 for the establishment of the panel marks part of the database.

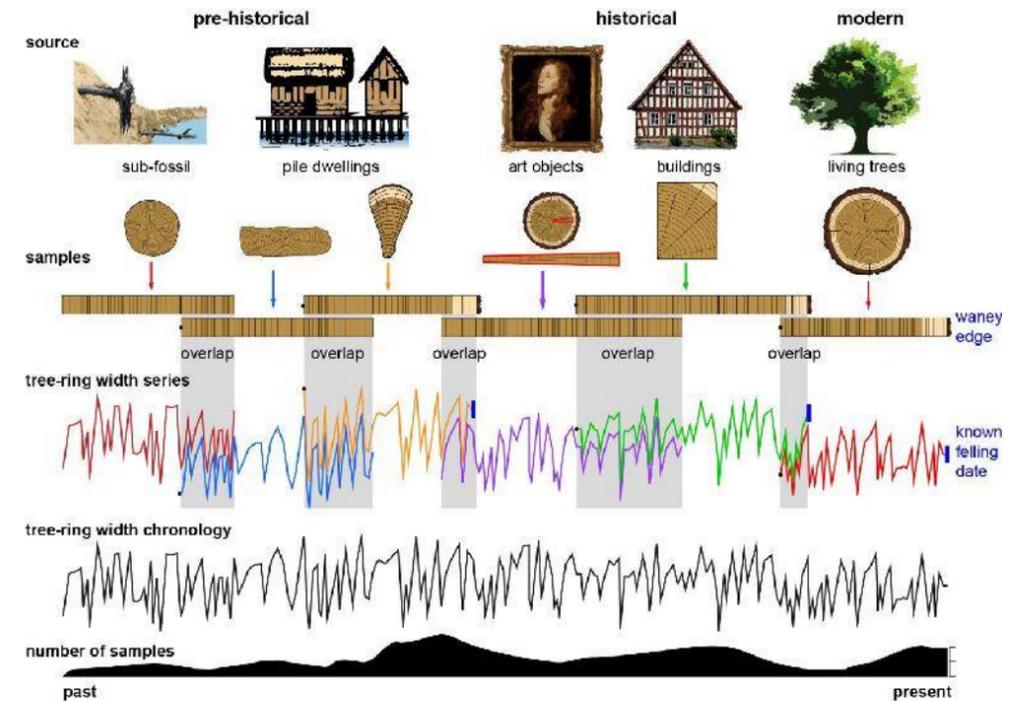
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- 5 Panel maker's mark on the reverse of, Jacques Jordaens, *The Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs*, oil on panel, 105.6 x 76.9 cm, Private Collection.
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- 7 Panel maker's mark on the reverse of, after Anthony Van Dyck, *The Mocking of Christ*, 64 x 49.8 cm, Private Collection, Belgium.
- 8 Panel maker's mark on the reverse of, after Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait of Nicolaas Rockox (1560–1640)*, oil on panel, 63.8 x 49.6 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no.1264.
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- 10 Van Damme: *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.205–34.
- 11 I. Moortgat: 'The Gabron Family – A Biographical Timeline', edited by Justin Davies; <http://jordaensvandyck.org/archive/gabron-family/>.
- 12 J. Davies: 'A new panel maker's mark discovered – Sanctus Gabron'; <http://jordaensvandyck.org/a-new-panel-makers-mark-discovered-sanctus-gabron/>.
- 13 Panel maker's mark on the reverse of *Paul*, after Anthony Van Dyck, oil on oak panel, 64.1 x 49.4 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon, inv. no.D.799.1.4.
- 14 Chr. Van Vlierden and M. Smeyers (eds.): *Merken opmerken. Merk-en meestertekens op kunstwerken in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden en het Prinsbisdom Luik: Typologie en methode*, (colloquium Leuven, KUL, 20-21 March 1987), Leuven, 1990; I. Moortgat & J. Wadum, 'An Enigmatic Panel-Maker and his Supply to the Bruegels', *The Bruegel Success Story. Papers Presented at Symposium XXI for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 12–14 September 2018*, Leuven-Paris-Bristol, CT 2021, pp.453–64.
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- 25 E. Duverger: 'Vrindt (De Vriendt, Frint, Vriendt, Vrient, Vrint), Michiel, lijst-en paneelmaker, koopman in schilderijen', *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, 7, Brussels 1977, col. 1030-6; <http://jordaensvandyck.org/article/michiel-vriendt-frame-and-panel-maker-dealer-in-paintings-duverger/>.
- 26 CATS is a partnership between the three Copenhagen based institutions Statens Museum for Kunst, National Museum of Denmark and School of Conservation at The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, Schools of Architecture, Design and Conservation.
- 27 A full list of Jørgen Wadum's publications can be found at <https://pure.kb.dk/en/persons/jorggen-wadum/publications/>.
- 28 J. Wadum: 'Recent Discoveries on Antwerp Panel Makers' Marks', *Technologia Artis. The Third Yearbook of the Historical Art Technology Prague* 3 (1993), pp.96–100; [https://technologiaartis.avu.cz/a\\_3malba-drevo-vyroba.html](https://technologiaartis.avu.cz/a_3malba-drevo-vyroba.html).
- 29 J. Wadum: 'The Antwerp Brand on Paintings on Panels', *Looking Through Paintings. The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research. Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek XI* (1998), pp.179–88; [https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/748091/66760\\_07.pdf](https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/748091/66760_07.pdf).
- 30 J. Wadum: 'Apostel und Bildtafeln kommen in Dutzend, so lautet die Regel', exh. cat. *Van Dyck. Gemälde von Anthonis van Dyck*, Munich (Alte Pinakothek) 2019–20, pp.336–9.
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# DENROCHRONOLOGY

## Dendrochronology as a tool for studying panel paintings – background, strengths and limitations

ANDREA SEIM<sup>1</sup>  
 JOHANNES EDVARDSSON<sup>2</sup>  
 AOIFE DALY<sup>3</sup>  
 PASCALE FRAITURE<sup>4</sup>  
 IAN TYERS<sup>5</sup>  
 WILLY TEGEL<sup>6</sup>



### INTRODUCTION

Over the course of five years, the Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project (JVDP) has carried out a systematic application of dendrochronology to the works on panel of Jacques Jordaens (1593–1678) and Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641). This is the first time the dendrochronological technique has been applied in a focused way to the oeuvres of two artists. The wooden planks of the panels enable dendrochronologists to obtain important information about the age and origin of the wood used as the support. This article introduces the background to and method of examinations and analyses of tree rings by the Project. It highlights the advantages but also draws attention to the limitations of dating the wooden panels through dendrochronology.

### THE SCIENCE OF TREE RINGS

Dendrochronology is the science of tree-ring dating, including the study of the environmental factors that influence the annual growth of trees. The term is derived from the Ancient Greek words *dendron* (tree), *khronos* (time), and *-logia* (the study of). The technique was introduced by the American astronomer Andrew E. Douglass (1876–1962). Douglass developed the method of synchronizing the pattern of the annual tree-ring widths (crossdating), whereby the common temporal position of two annual tree-ring width series, for example from two wood samples, is determined (fig.1).<sup>7</sup>

The method of crossdating is possible as annual tree rings, which are visible on the cross-section of the wood (figs.1 and 2a), represent the growth of the girth of a tree (known as ‘radial growth’) during the growing season from spring to autumn. A single

tree ring differs in structure during the course of the year (figs.2b and c). Lighter wood with large, thin-walled cells is formed for intensive water transport in spring, while dense and darker wood with small and thick-walled cells is developed in late summer and autumn to stabilise the tree.<sup>8</sup> At the end of the growing season, sharp tree-ring boundaries are formed when the annual tree growth is interrupted and the activation of a dormant, winter phase of the tree is initiated by low temperatures in the temperate climate zone.

By counting the annual rings, the age of trees can be determined. However, trees do not only record their age in their wood; the variability of annual ring properties such as width, density and structure also provide information on the climate and environmental history of past decades or even centuries.<sup>9</sup> Trees that grow under comparable conditions show a high degree of agreement in the annual ring widths, which vary from year to year. Weather through the year, particularly temperature and precipitation, strongly influences the annual growth rate.

The development of these unique tree-ring width patterns, owing to changing annual environmental conditions over time, enables the precise dendrochronological dating of wooden objects including panel paintings. It can also be determined whether trees originate from the same area or

forest and if individual planks come from the same tree.

Comparing the pattern of wide and narrow rings between trees allows for the assignment of the correct position of each tree-ring to a precise calendar year. In this way, it is possible to build annual tree-ring width chronologies consisting of numerous tree-ring series from different sources with overlapping tree lifetimes (fig.1), which cover several centuries or even millennia.<sup>10</sup> These chronologies serve as the references for dendrochronological dating.

### DENDROCHRONOLOGY AND PANEL PAINTINGS

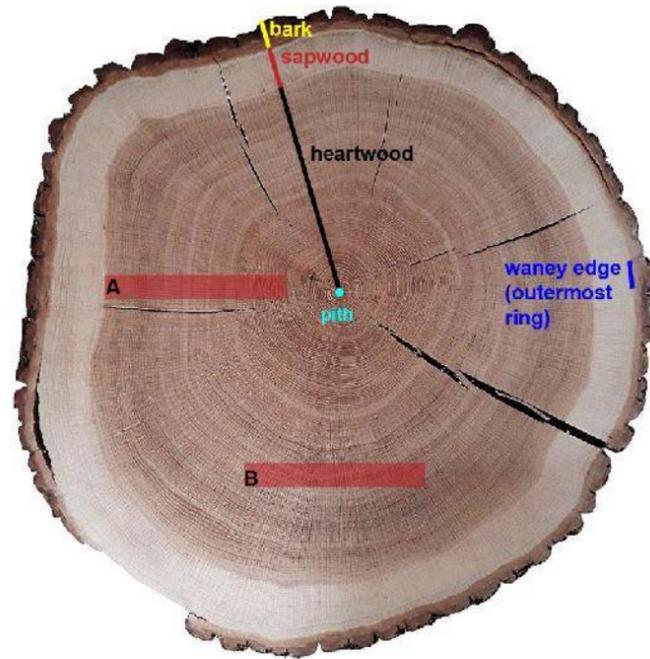
The first dendrochronological analyses of panel paintings in Europe were conducted by J. Bauch in the 1960s and ‘70s on panel paintings by German medieval painters.<sup>11</sup> He was followed in the mid-1970s by J. M. Fletcher who dated panel paintings done by fifteenth- to seventeenth-century English and Flemish artists.<sup>12</sup> From this point on, dendrochronology has been commonly applied to art objects and musical instruments.<sup>13</sup>

Modern non-invasive methods for recording and analysing tree rings include obtaining the measurements of tree-ring widths either directly from the planks of the panel or using macro-photos (c.5 cm segments) which are taken from the

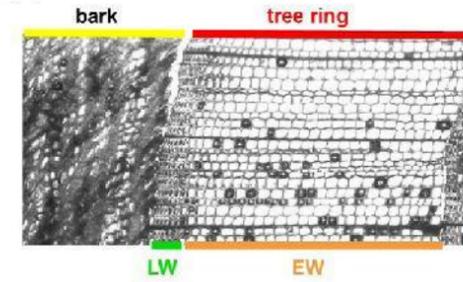
Fig.1. Schematic illustration of the crossdating process. The climatic-related irregular sequences of wide and narrow rings of the wooden samples allow the dating of wood from different sources and the development of millennia-length tree-ring width chronologies. Since the material is not evenly available through time, the number of samples varies too.

Fig.2.

a Oak



b Spruce



c Oak

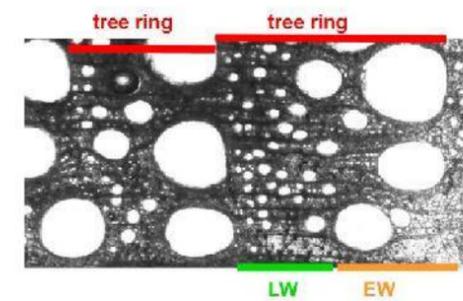
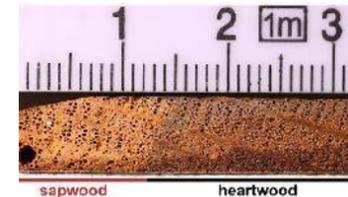


Fig.3.

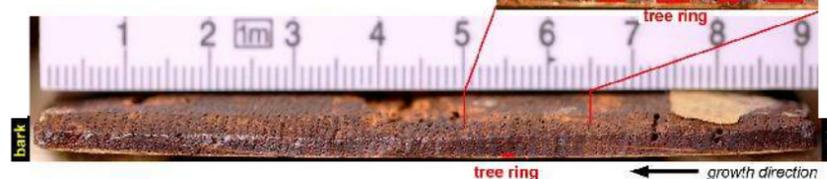
a



b



d



c

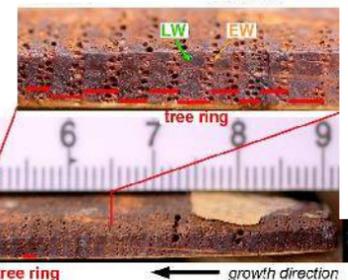


Fig.2. a) Cross-section of an oak trunk showing the tree's structure (see labels) and differently cut planks of (A) quarter (radial), (B) plain (tangential) orientation (red transparent bars). Annual tree rings of b) a softwood (spruce) and c) a hardwood (oak) species. Earlywood (EW) and Latewood (LW) are indicated. Photos: A. Seim.  
 Fig.3. a) Obtaining macro-photos of the end grain of a panel painting at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: J. Davies.  
 Close-up of b) an oak panel showing sapwood with a wood worm channel and heartwood and c) tree rings (red lines) with indication of the earlywood (EW) and latewood (LW) of d) a small oak plank used for a painting with direction of tree growth (black arrow). Photos: A. Seim.

cross-section of the panels (fig.3). In many cases, it is necessary to lightly clean the edge of the panel with a brush or razor blade to remove old varnish in order to see the rings clearly. This does not damage the paint layers of the painting.

#### THE PREFERRED WOOD FOR PANEL PAINTINGS

Historically, panel makers in different regions have used different tree species, but all sought out straight-grained wood. Coniferous (or softwood) species such as pine were most frequently used for panel paintings in north-eastern Germany, the Alpine region, and southern Europe.<sup>14</sup> In central and western Europe however, hardwood species such as beech and oak were favoured.<sup>15</sup> Oak has been found to be the most commonly used tree species for panel paintings in northern France, Belgium, the Netherlands, western Germany, and England up to the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>16</sup> Very slow-grown and old oak trees were preferred by panel makers and painters because their narrow and regular tree rings and the straightness of the grain gives a high dimensional stability, which prevents the deformation of the planks.<sup>17</sup>

However, oak was also a highly desired construction timber, which led to the depletion of old oak forests in parts of western and central Europe, in some regions even as early as by the tenth century.<sup>18</sup> From around the mid-fourteenth century, increasing amounts of long-lived, straight-grained oak trees were imported from Poland and the other states on the Baltic Sea, here generally referred to as the Baltic region.<sup>19</sup> During the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries, the Kingdom of Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth actively practised the Baltic timber trade with England and the Low Countries.<sup>20</sup> The timber was transported by sea, the ships being loaded with planks, boards, and deals, which had been prepared at the site where the trees were felled.<sup>21</sup> Other regions in Europe, such as France and Germany, also exported their timber to the markets in the Low Countries.<sup>22</sup> Entire tree trunks were transported on inland waterways.<sup>23</sup>

Ideally, high-quality wooden supports were made of planks showing 'standing' (or upright) tree rings, so that the angle between the tree ring and the plank edge is 80–90° (fig.3b–d). These so-called quarterly, or radially sawn or split planks (fig.2a) have a low degree of shrinkage and a high dimensional stability.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, each plank was prepared by cutting off the pith in the centre of the tree because this part is very prone to cracking. In the case of oak, the sapwood rings (the younger and most outermost living part) of lighter colour

were almost always entirely removed because they are softer and more susceptible to insect damage (such as woodworm) and decomposition than the more resistant heartwood (figs.2a and 3b). This circumstance, however, limits the precision of the dendrochronological dating, when determining the date when the tree was felled.

#### THE ACCURACY OF DENDROCHRONOLOGICAL DATING

The identification of the felling date of the tree used to make a wooden object depends on the state of preservation of the material, the tree species (since not all trees have differentially developed sapwood and heartwood), and the presence of the outermost ring (the last ring formed before felling), the so-called wane edge.

In the case of oak, the precision of the felling date depends on three different preservation conditions:

1. If the wane edge and its stage of development (e.g., early- or latewood formation) is present (figs.2a and b), with the so-called 'wane edge dating' the exact year and season of the felling of the tree can be determined.
2. If the wane edge is missing but sapwood rings are present, the felling date can be estimated by adding an empirically obtained number of sapwood rings to the last measured sapwood ring. In this 'sapwood dating', the felling date of the tree can be estimated with a precision of around ten years.

For example, the oak plank whose edge is shown in fig.3b contains nine sapwood rings and the last measured ring was dated to AD 1634.<sup>25</sup> The tree used for this painting was estimated to be felled between 1634 and 1653 as the sapwood estimates for southern Germany are 20±10 years.<sup>26</sup>

3. In the case of absent sapwood rings and wane edge (i.e., only heartwood is present), only an earliest possible felling date, a *terminus post quem*, can be provided. In this case, a minimum number of sapwood rings, which an oak tree would have had, are added to the last measured heartwood ring. For panel paintings, this 'heartwood dating' is the most common.

For example, the oak tree used for the panel whose edge is shown in fig.3d was estimated to be felled after AD 1584.<sup>27</sup> The last measured ring was dated to 1578 and a minimum of six rings was added following the Baltic sapwood statistic.<sup>28</sup> Regarding the number of missing sapwood rings that need

to be considered for the sapwood and heartwood dating, different statistical estimates exist, and these vary between regions. Research has identified 10 to 55 sapwood rings for British grown oak;<sup>29</sup> 10 to 30 rings for southern German oak;<sup>30</sup> 9 to 23 rings for oak from Poland;<sup>31</sup> and 6 to 19 rings for Baltic and southern Finnish oak.<sup>32</sup> These different sapwood estimates for oak reflect not only the geographical region where it grew but also the tree's age when it was felled. Relatively slow growing or old trees tend to have more sapwood rings compared to fast growing or younger trees.<sup>33</sup> It has to be noted that these values for sapwood rings are only estimates and that the exact number an individual tree had developed remains unknown.

Studies comparing dendrochronologically-obtained felling dates with panel paintings dated by the artist indicate that a period of two to eight years for the transport and drying of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century oak panels and ten to fifteen years for the thicker fifteenth- and sixteenth-century panels has to be considered.<sup>34</sup> Thus, a minimum of two years needs to be added to the dating of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century panels, accounting for transport and drying of the wood, before the painting could have been produced. In the case of the panel with the sapwood dating, the panel would have been ready for painting between 1636 and 1655, while in the case of the panel with the heartwood dating, the painting was ready for production after 1586.

Dating by dendrochronology alone cannot determine whether an individual artist painted on a particular panel. Dendrochronological dating can, however, prove that an artist or his studio did not paint a picture if the planks were made from a tree that was cut down after the painter's death, i.e. 1641 for Van Dyck and 1678 for Jordaens.

## SUMMARY

Dendrochronology is the most precise dating technique for wood, accurate to within a year. However, as the panel makers mainly produced high-quality wooden supports for paintings without the insect-susceptible sapwood or waney edge, dendrochronology can in most cases only provide a heartwood dating – an earliest possible felling date of the used tree as far as seventeenth-century panel paintings are concerned. Indeed, the Antwerp panel makers were ordered, on 11 December 1617, to make sure to have their panels checked that they did not contain sapwood. The panel support can also offer important information regarding the tree's geographical origin and circumstances of its procurement through the timber trade, the characteristics

of the forest where it grew, and the environmental conditions during the tree's lifetime. Information can also be gleaned about the process of panel production, including the usage of planks from the same tree for different panels, applied workshop techniques, and possible re-use of panels.

In order to gain full insight into the production of a painting on panel, close collaboration between dendrochronologists and art historians in a multidisciplinary context is required. In addition to the dendrochronological dating, indications knowing the time-period the panel maker was active, the possible presence of the quality marks or even the panel size can further narrow down the production time of the painting, if the painter did not personally date the work.

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *Chair of Forest Growth and Dendroecology, Institute of Forest Sciences, Albert-Ludwigs University of Freiburg, Freiburg, Germany; Department of Botany, University of Innsbruck, Innsbruck, Austria.*
- <sup>2</sup> *The Laboratory for Wood Anatomy and Dendrochronology, Department of Geology, Lund University, Lund, Sweden.*
- <sup>3</sup> *Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark.*
- <sup>4</sup> *Laboratory of Dendrochronology, Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage (KIK-IRPA), Brussels, Belgium.*
- <sup>5</sup> *Dendrochronological Consultancy, UK.*
- <sup>6</sup> *Chair of Forest Growth and Dendroecology, Institute of Forest Sciences, Albert-Ludwigs University of Freiburg, Freiburg, Germany; DendroNet, Institute for Dendroarchaeology, Mühlhingen, Germany.*
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# JORDAENS

## Jacques Jordaens and his use of panels: an introduction

JOOST VANDER AUWERA

When studying Jacques Jordaens (1593–1678), one discovers that he was very particular and selective in his use of panel paintings. This article offers an introduction and a context to the specific characteristics of the use of panels by the master, on the basis of the panels examined by the Jordaens Van Dyck Panels Paintings Project, those recorded in the Jordaens literature and the archives of Jordaens scholars (fig.1).<sup>1</sup>

### HOW A WATERCOLOUR PAINTER ON LINEN BECAME A PANEL PAINTER IN OILS

Of Jordaens's preserved oil paintings, two thirds were done on a linen support and a third on panel. Yet Jordaens began his artistic career as neither a painter in oils nor on panel. In fact, Jordaens was trained as a watercolour-painter (*waterschilder*), and was registered as such when he became a free master of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke in the guild year 18 October 1615 to 17 October 1616.<sup>2</sup> He was the scion of a dynasty of textile merchants going as far back as the fourteenth century and he is recorded in the accounts of the Guild as a *schilder lynwaetierssone* (son of a draper in flax).<sup>3</sup> It must have been his father who introduced him as a pupil to the painter Adam van Noort in the guild year 1607–08, when Jordaens was fourteen years old. Flax is the basis of linen and therefore of canvas, the most common alternative to wooden supports for painters.

Jordaens's training as a watercolour-painter was particularly suited to his father's business. A *waterschilder* created designs for tapestries in gouache on life-size thick paper sheets called cartoons, as was indeed the case with Jordaens's own tapestry designs later in his career. But the main occupation of such a painter was in using a water-bound medium on canvas to produce a cheaper alternative for the very costly woven tapestries and for the more expensive oil paintings on canvas or panel.<sup>4</sup> The



Fig.1. JVDPPP, kindly assisted by Helen Dowding, examines Jordaens's *Adoration of the Shepherds* at the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery in 2017. Photo: J. Davies.

nearby city of Mechelen specialised in this end of the market, exporting ninety percent of this cheaper sort of paintings as far as Mexico.<sup>5</sup> None of these paintings by Jordaens have survived. As remarked by Max Rooses and R.-A. d'Hulst, the fact that no such works have been conserved can be explained by their vulnerability to water and damp and subsequent loss. When the demand for this type of painting declined in the early seventeenth century, an accomplished artist like Jordaens must have quickly reoriented himself towards the more lucrative medium of oils.<sup>6</sup> But maybe there was also another reason: his father, for whom having a watercolour painter as a son was a real asset, died at the start of the artists' lengthy career, on 5 August 1618.<sup>7</sup> As a consequence, Jordaens may not have felt the need to develop that part of 'cloth painting' on canvas for which he was schooled and that could serve his father; and therefore only used this technique for his tapestry cartoons.

Having established why Jordaens did not specialise as a watercolour painter but worked mostly in oil paint, there remains the question: what might have motivated him to paint on panel rather than canvas, on which he produced the majority of his paintings? There are some common characteristics to his panel paintings that clearly suggest an answer.

### SMALLER PANELS AND STANDARDISED FORMATS: CONTEXT AND MOTIVATION

With very few exceptions, Jordaens used panels made from high quality Baltic oak, not unlike Rubens.<sup>8</sup> His panels were usually made to the smaller standard measurements of the time. They range from the measure of *kleine* (small) *stooters* of *twee en een half stuyver* (two and a half penny format, c.40 x 31 cm), or the *ses stuyvers maet* (six penny format: c.60-64 x 48 cm) to the *daeldersmaet* (one and a half guilder) of thirty stuyvers (thirty penny format: c.123 x 93 cm).<sup>9</sup> Paintings examined by the Project in collections as far apart as Puerto Rico, Vienna, Groningen, and Berlin illustrate Jordaens's frequent use of small standardised panels for both single-figured and multi-figured compositions (figs.2, 3 and 4, and fig.1 in Sara Mateu's article in this issue of the *JVD*). This accords with the size of panel support Rubens preferred to use rather than canvas, as expressed in his correspondence with Sir Dudley Carleton, referred to in Sara Mateu's article. The popularity of these smaller standard formats of panels with painters is shown by their inclusion in the 11 December 1617 Antwerp regulations to panel makers.<sup>10</sup> It was in the bustling and innovative art trade of Antwerp that standards and standardisation went hand in hand with a degree of specialisation between painters, panel and frame makers and joiners, not found in other cities under the same Spanish

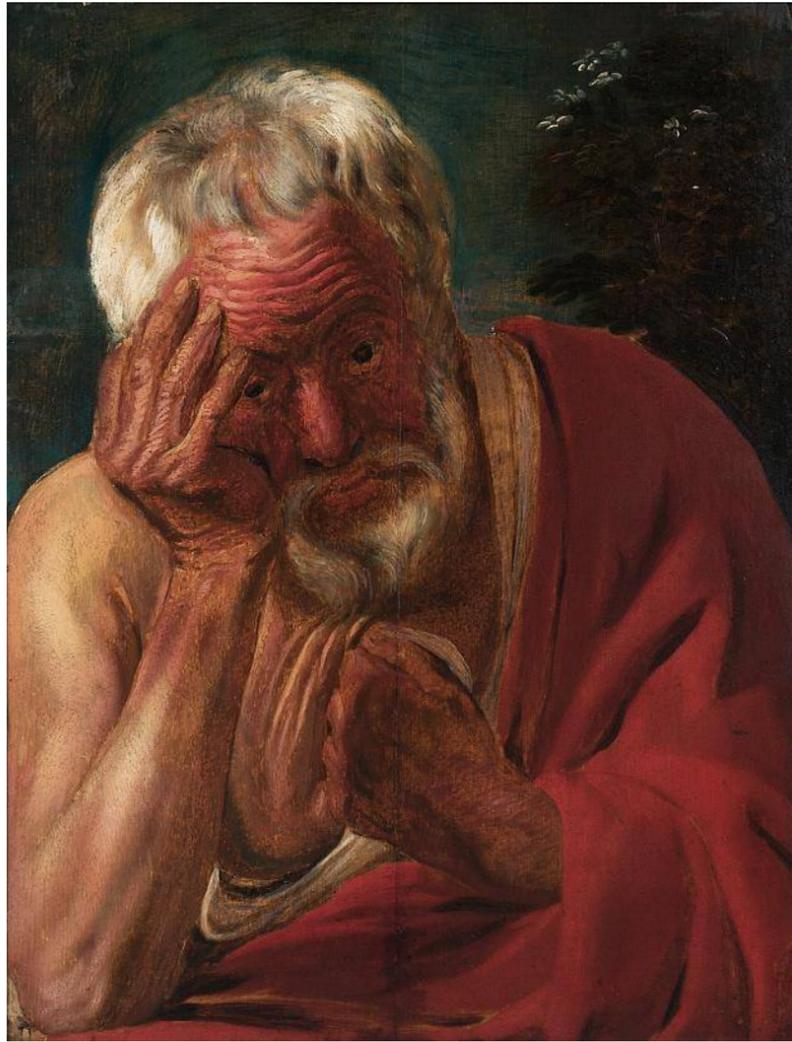


Fig. 2. Jacques Jordaens, *Saint Peter*, oil on panel, 64.5 by 48.7 cm, Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico.  
Fig. 3. Jacques Jordaens, *Old Man (with Hand on his Breast)*, oil on panel, 64 by 47.7 cm, Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna.



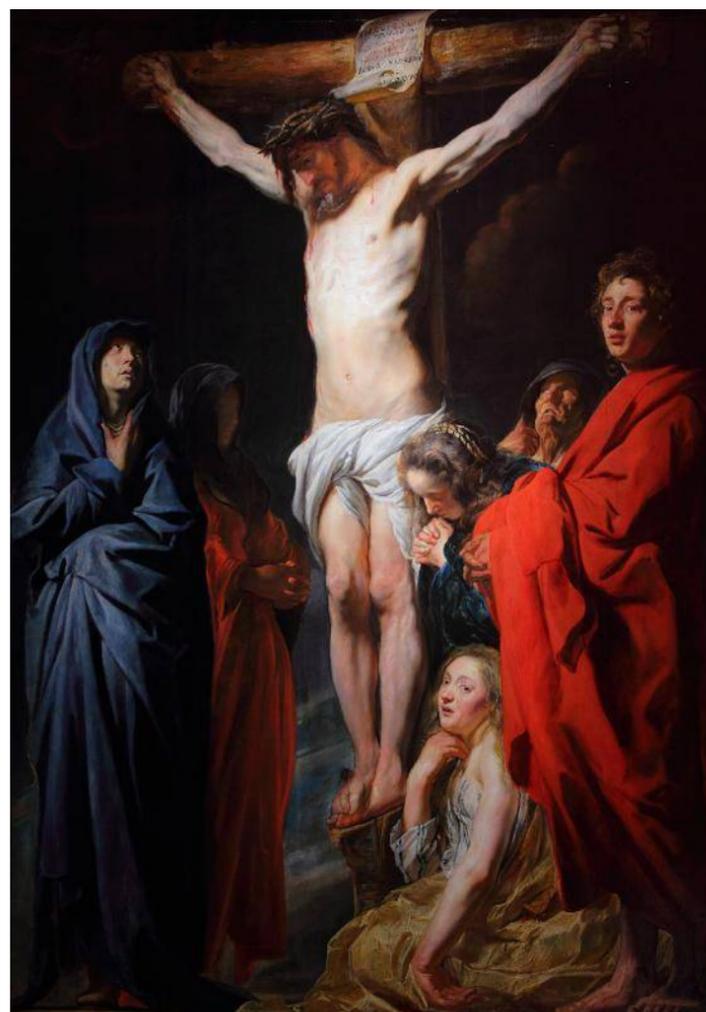


Fig.4. Jacques Jordaens, *Saint John the Baptist*, c.1620, oil on panel, 66.8 by 48.6 cm, Museum van Stad en Land, Groningen. Photo: Marten Leeuw.  
 Fig.5. Jacques Jordaens, *The Crucifixion*, oil on panel, c.1620, 217 by 171 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes.  
 © Adélaïde Beaudoin - Musée des beaux-arts de Rennes.

rule, such as Brussels.<sup>11</sup>

As the sixteenth century evolved, the standardisation of painting formats became a growing phenomenon, and Antwerp played a leading role.<sup>12</sup> The established trade system, which dated from the Middle Ages, ensured that only a few and strictly regulated annual markets a year organised by cities were the sole opportunities for artists coming from outside the city to sell pictures within the city walls. City walls defined the ‘freedom of the city’ implying the ‘freedoms’ offered in charters by the central authorities. Those freedoms were exclusive rights: they were the monopoly of those burghers, called ‘poorters’, conceived within their walls. In principle, only ‘poorters’ could freely trade within those walls or obtain their ‘free mastership’ as a painter in the city guild. Such limits on trade and ancient practice could no longer continue after the growth of the art market in a city that, together with Venice, had become one of the most important commercial centres in Europe.<sup>13</sup> As a consequence, some artistic entrepreneurs obtained permission from the city authorities to set up stalls near the stock exchange, offering art for sale throughout the year. This in turn meant that a permanent stock of artworks was needed for display to potential clients. This was in contrast to the past when a patron would visit a studio to order a painting to measure for a specific occasion. In view of the growing demand for Antwerp luxury goods, especially for export, standardisation of panels permitted the production of greater quantities of art works more quickly as well as more cost-efficiently.

To facilitate the sale of paintings directly from the master’s studio, as opposed to ‘on spec’ stalls near the stock exchange, artists would show clients the *principael* (the principal painting), from which derivatives could easily and quickly be made. This practice finds its analogy, if not its inspiration, in the financial logic of base capital (the *principael*) and interest (the derivatives). The *principael* could remain for decades in the studio but be reworked several times in order to remain in keeping with the latest styles and fashion, whereas the derivatives could also be autograph.<sup>14</sup>

While Jordaens preferred his panel paintings to be small in format, he usually chose canvas for his larger paintings. Only on rare occasions does one find very large panels in his oeuvre. These were made to measure at the order of pious patrons whose religious fervour expressed itself in ambitious compositions as well as big formats.<sup>15</sup> *The Crucifixion* now in Rennes (fig.5) is one of the few exceptions, and it is telling that it was made for the funerary monument of the Antwerp beguines (a community of lay religious women) with whom

he had family ties. Two of his own sisters were beguines at the same beguinage.<sup>16</sup>

Using larger panels had some key disadvantages. Firstly, their greater weight and size made them more difficult to transport than smaller panels and works on canvas. Furthermore, the bigger they were, the more complex they became to construct, due to the greater risk of warping, and the higher their cost. The quality and durability of the construction of wooden supports depended on the expertise of the panel makers, and hence necessitated the regulation of the profession. The price of panels depended on the market’s supply and demand, and was less influenced by individual initiative.

#### THE WEIGHT AND COMPLEX CONSTRUCTION OF PANELS: A WEIGHTY FACTOR

Oak, especially high-quality slow-growing Baltic oak, was the type of wood that panel makers and painters north of the Alps preferred. As the articles by Sara Mateu and Andrea Seim in this journal explain, the wood had to dry for some time before it was fit for use by painters. Wood loses a lot of weight during the drying process but, even when properly dried and ready for painting, it still weighs some 470 kg per cubic meter.<sup>17</sup> Rubens’s famous triptych, *The Elevation of the Cross* for the St Walburga Church in Antwerp (1609–1611), now in the Cathedral of Our Lady, is a telling example. It was ordered by the church wardens from the panel maker Hans van Haecht. It is a complex construction of both horizontal and vertical planks, and its central panel alone weighs more than 1000 kg.<sup>18</sup> In that respect, canvasses, especially bigger ones, offer a considerable logistical advantage for panel makers, painters and patrons – as they still do today for the professionals who have to manipulate them, such as museum curators and restorers.

Under the influence of changing temperature and relative humidity, oak expands and contracts far more in the direction of the grain than perpendicularly. Only a careful respect for the grain and the growth direction of each plank during the assembling of the panel will prevent later splitting of the wood. Thinner planks warp less, and make the panels lighter too.

As thinner panels use less wood, they are also less costly. This serves to explain the relative thinness of the majority of painted panels. The untouched Jordaens panels (i.e. not thinned later for cradling) examined by the Project have been found to be between 5 and 9 mm thick.

## THE PRICE OF PANELS: AN EYE-OPENER

It is important to bear in mind the magnitude of the costs involved in painting on panel. Panels were extremely expensive compared to canvas and this was especially the case for panels made of high-quality Baltic timber. As Sara Mateu notes, export from the Baltic became so profitable that woods became exhausted, and the supply of good-quality wood was much reduced.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, one Carolus guilder (also known as a florin) had a comparative purchasing value today of 60 US Dollars or some 50 Euros.<sup>19</sup> We learn from the rare case of a partly conserved studio journal, that of Jan Bruegel the Younger (1601–1678), son of ‘Velvet’ Brueghel and grandson of Pieter Bruegel the Elder that, for the year 1628 alone, he was indebted to his panel maker Michiel Vriendt for nearly 70 Carolus guilders (c.4200 US Dollars or c.3750 Euros). This was no less than eleven percent of his total outgoing costs for that year of 636 guilders. In that same year one ounce of the very costly lapis lazuli had cost him 48 guilders, whereas his journeyman earned between 2 and 2.5 guilders a day.<sup>20</sup>

From the inventory that the Antwerp painter Jasper van den Hoecke (1585–1648) had made for the family guardians of his minor children after the death of his spouse in childbirth on 19 May 1627, we obtain another idea as to a still-active painter's indebtedness for panels and frames at a given moment. He owed no less than 237 Carolus guilders and 6 stuyvers to the panel maker Michiel Claessens and 356 Carolus guilders and 17 stuyvers to the panel maker Lambrechts Stevens (possibly a variant of Steen), totaling 594 Carolus guilders and 3 stuyvers – about seventy-five percent of the total debts of the house and around fifteen percent of the total value of the estate of 3914 Carolus guilders and 3 stuyvers. Today this would be a debt of about 35,650 US dollars or 30,300 Euros.<sup>21</sup> This is quite some debt for panels and frames. It does not come as a real surprise, therefore, that when the inventory of the assets and debts was made of the panel maker Michiel Claessens after his death in 1637, the notary recorded that although he had stopped practicing as a panel maker for some years, there were still registers of outstanding debts owed by artists:

*‘An old oblong book of debts started in the year 1605 and kept by the deceased of his craft of executed frames, panels and other things (which he had quitted since several years) ...!’*<sup>22</sup>

When Claessens' estate was liquidated on 14 May 1638, those debts, also including some house rents, were still unsettled

for a total of 839 Carolus guilders and 12 stuyvers (about 50,000 US Dollars in today's terms).

Some individual cases of patrons ordering artworks to measure give a more specific idea of the proportion by which individual panels were costlier than canvasses. The panel maker Michiel Claessens was paid 38 guilders for a large and a small panel for the chapel of the Guild of Saint Martin in the Antwerp Cathedral of Our Lady on 4 October 1597. This would be no less than 2280 US Dollars or 1940 Euros today.<sup>23</sup> Costs rose quickly when bigger formats were involved. From documents in the archives, we know that the City of Antwerp paid 132 Guilders Artois (which had the same value as the Carolus guilders) to the panel maker Jacques van Haecht for only the panel and the (undecorated) frame of Abraham Janssen's (1571/75–1632) most famous painting, the *Schaldis and Antwerpia*. This painting, for which Janssen was paid 750 guilders, was ordered to measure at 174 by 308 cm for the chimney of the State Room in the Antwerp City Hall on the occasion of the conclusion of the Twelve Years Truce with the Dutch Republic on 9 April 1609.<sup>24</sup> The sum of 132 guilders also included the frame for Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi* for the same room (now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid). It was enlarged in Spain after 1612 to 349 x 488 cm, but originally measured 259 x 381 cm.<sup>25</sup>

It is worth comparing these large sums paid for panels with an example of a canvas payment from the same period. The purchase value of the Carolus guilder (or florin) remained reasonably stable during the whole first half of the seventeenth-century. For the Dendermonde altar piece of c.1630, Anthony Van Dyck was paid 500 florins for the work and 12 florins for the canvas, measuring 244 x 172 cm.<sup>26</sup> If the equivalent rate paid for the Janssen painting, which is twenty-eight and a half percent larger in surface than the Van Dyck painting, were applied it would have cost around 102.72 Carolus guilders for a panel and frame for the Dendermonde altarpiece. Judging by this example it can be seen that panel was more expensive by a factor of some eight and a half to one. And even when allowing some margin, because in Janssen's case two frames were included in the price, we can still safely conclude that a panel of the same dimensions cost considerably more than a canvas.

Additionally, if one looks into the price stratification of the painting market, it becomes clear why such big costly panels remained the exception. A broad statistical survey of prices for paintings of that era by Prof. Brulez and his students established one hundred Carolus guilders as the limit for more expensive pictures.<sup>27</sup> One hundred and thirty-two

Carolus guilders for just a big panel and two frames already represented one third more in cost, even before the first brushstroke was made! As a consequence, big panels were a big investment, and even though those were often bought by devout or ambitious patrons, we can understand far better from the data above why a majority of Jordaens's large pictures were painted on canvas rather than panel. The costliness of panels explains the severe quality control on panel production that came into being with the City of Antwerp regulations to the guilds in December 1617. The delivery of low-quality products at such a high price by any woodworker would be very harmful to the reputation of panel makers, hence the 13 November 1617 petition by the panel makers of the Guild of Saint Luke requesting the regulation of their trade. It must also have been one of the reasons why Jordaens painted over unsold panels with new compositions, as has been discovered by the Project and will be explored in a future issue of the *JVDJ*.

Nevertheless, there may have been less materialistic considerations for Jordaens when choosing wood as a support, aside from the factor that the patron paid for it in the end. In the case of Rubens, correspondence choices regarding the support were open to discussion between the patron and painter.<sup>28</sup> Panels have the advantage of conserving the splendid colours of the paint layers far longer because, unlike canvasses, the tarnishing of those layers by oxidation from the backside is blocked by the solid wood, while varnish does so on the front side. This particular quality of seventeenth-century panel paintings is still apparent when viewing and analysing surviving examples today.<sup>29</sup> Their painting surface is smoother than the texture of canvas, permitting finer detail, which may also have been a reason why Rubens preferred wooden supports for smaller formats and considered canvas more suitable for working with the texture of the linen and large, energetic brushstrokes. Such quality over the long term must have also been an important consideration for Jordaens who, in one of his rare conserved letters, declared to Constantijn Huyghens, secretary to the Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, on 23 April 1651, that he cared much for his later reputation.<sup>30</sup> He used panels as a support throughout his long career.

## CONCLUSION

Although Jordaens's initial training was oriented towards canvas and even tempera on linen instead of oils on wood, and although panel painting does not constitute the majority of his artistic production, the resulting corpus of works on a wooden support shows a remarkable coherence and consistency

during his whole career. With Antwerp, a centre of panel painting practice, as his permanent residence, Jordaens's panel painting oeuvre does not show the geographic differentiation that Drs. Justin Davies (of the JVDPPP) discovered for that of Van Dyck.

Almost without exception, Jordaens used panels of high quality, and of smaller and standardised formats. In the bustling commercial centre that was Antwerp, the quantitative and qualitative demand of luxury goods including paintings became such that standardisation was key to comply with it: not only in sufficient numbers, but also with a minimum of labour and at a feasible price. The use of larger panels was restricted by their more complex construction and a greater tendency to warp, and by their considerable weight and cost in comparison with canvas. Such a market-driven context must also have appealed to Jordaens's considerable commercial instinct. However, his posthumous reputation was important for Jordaens too. Such less materialistic motivation must have oriented him also towards the longer durability of painted detail and the colourful lustre of works on panel in comparison with those on canvas. This is a lasting quality we can still enjoy today in Jordaens's panel paintings.

Jordaens's practice of painting in oil on panel lasted throughout his whole career. The more the Project has studied his panel paintings in the flesh, the more it has been found that the current periodisation of his oeuvre and the dating of several works needs nuance and adjustment. This, in turn, has further consequences, such as the nature of Jordaens's artistic relationship with Van Dyck and Rubens. These new insights have been obtained as a result of the multidisciplinary approach of the JVDPPP, combining dendrochronology with the study of panel makers' and guild marks, the stylistic analysis with the assessment of painting technique and the state of conservation, and archival sources with connoisseurship. This will be the subject of future articles in this journal.

NOTES

- 1 Drs. Justin Davies most kindly and generously shared his documentation and notes on Jordaens with me, including files on individual panels compiled by the late Roger-A. d'Hulst that this famous Jordaens scholar bequeathed to the Rubenianum in Antwerp. Apart from articles on specific topics, the core monographic literature on Jordaens can be summarised as follows. First, the monographs by P. Buschmann: *Jacob Jordaens. Een studie naar aanleiding van de tentoonstelling zijner werken ingericht te Antwerpen in MCMV*, Brussels 1905; M. Rooses: *Jordaens. Sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Amsterdam and Antwerp 1906 (English edition 1908); L. van Puyvelde: *Jordaens*, Paris and Brussels 1953; R.-A. d'Hulst: *Jacob Jordaens*, London 1982. Secondly, monographic exhibition catalogues: P. Buschmann: exh. cat. *Jacob Jordaens*, Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 1905; unnamed authors: exh. cat. *Exposition d'oeuvres de Jordaens et de son atelier*, Brussels (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique) 1928; M. Jaffé: exh. cat. *Jacob Jordaens 1593-1678*, Ottawa (National Gallery of Canada) 1968; R.-A. d'Hulst and M. Vandenven, eds.: exh. cat. *Jordaens in Belgisch bezit*, Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 1978; R.-A. d'Hulst, N. De Poorter and M. Vandenven dirs., H. Devisscher and N. De Poorter, eds.: exh. cat. *Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678)*, Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 1993; J. Vander Auwera, I. Schaudies and J. Lange, eds.: *Jordaens and the Antique*, Brussels (Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium) and Kassel (Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie) 2012-13; A. Merle du Bourg, ed.: exh. cat. *Jordaens 1593-1678*, Paris (Petit Palais) 2013. Thirdly, the monographic collected essays and conferences acts by B.U. Münch and Z. Pataki, eds.: *Jordaens. Genius of Grand Scale – Genie grossen Formats*, Stuttgart 2012; J. Lange and B.U. Münch together with A. Harmssen, eds.: *Reframing Jordaens. Pictor Doctus – Techniken – Werkstattpraxis / Pictor doctus – Techniques – Workshop Practice*, Petersberg 2018.
- 2 On Jordaens becoming a pupil of Adam van Noort, see F.J. Van den Branden: *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche schilderschool*, Antwerp 1883, p.816; the translation of Van den Branden into English can be found on the JVDPPP website; Rooses (1906), *op. cit.* (note 1), p.7. The archival source for *waterschilder*: Antwerp, Archief Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten (henceforth AAKASK), Liggeren 1453-1616, no.70 (3), fol.176v.; published by P. Rombouts and T. Van Lierus: *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde onder zinspreuk: "WT IONSTEN VERSAEMT"*, *afgeschreven en bewerkt door ...*, Antwerp and The Hague 1864-76, reprint with an introduction by H. Gerson: *Bij de herdruk van de 'Liggeren'*, Amsterdam 1961, I, pp.514, 521.
- 3 The archival source for *schilder lynwaetierssone*: AAKASK, Rekeningen van de dekens, no.200 (7), p.50. For the Jordaens family ties: J. Bastiaensen: 'Jacques Jordaens. Telg uit een schilders dynastie', *openbaar kunstbezit vlaanderen* 50 (October and November 2012) no.5, pp.34-39; for Jordaens as a *waterschilder and lynwaetierssone*, see Devisscher and De Poorter, *op. cit.* (note 1), I, p.7.
- 4 Rooses (1906), *op. cit.* (note 1), p.7; Devisscher and De Poorter, *op. cit.* (note 1), I, p.23.
- 5 H. Van Miegroet: 'The Antwerp-Mechelen Production and Export Complex', in M. Misozuki, ed.: *Album Amicorum J. Michael Montias*, Amsterdam 2007, pp.133-147 and *idem.*: 'New Data Visualizations on the Mechelen Export Industry and Artist Migration Patterns', <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2760626>. For a more in-depth discussion on the waning use of such cloth painting, see O. M. Bonebacker: 'Bruegel and the Lost Art of Cloth Painting', unpublished Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 2019), <http://nts.harvard.edu/urn-3;HUL.InstRepos:41121343>.
- 6 Rooses (1906) *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.7-9 and Devisscher and De Poorter. *op. cit.* (note 1), I, p.23.
- 7 Devisscher and De Poorter, *op. cit.* (note 1), I, p.7.
- 8 For Rubens, see H. Dubois and P. Fraiture: 'Dendrochronological and technological examination of painting supports. The case of Rubens's studio practice', in P. Fraiture, ed.: *Tree Rings, Art, Archaeology. Proceedings of an international Conference*, Brussels 2011, pp.313-330.
- 9 J. Bruyn: 'Een onderzoek naar 17de-eeuwse schilderijformaten, voornamelijk in Noord-Nederland', *Oud Holland*, 93 (1979) 2, pp.96-113.
- 10 Published on the JVDPPP website, <http://jordaensvandyck.org/archive/panel-makers-petition-and-marks-13-november-1617/>.
- 11 E. Bruyns: 'L'encadrement des peintures à Bruxelles au dix-septième siècle', in L. Kelchtermans, K. Van der Stighelen, K. Brosens, eds.: *Embracing Brussels: art and culture in the court city, 1600-1800*, Turnhout 2013, pp.139-51.
- 12 This is one of the main theses in the dissertation of F. Vermeylen: *Painting for the market. Commercialization of art in Antwerp's Golden Age (Studies in Urban History (1100-1800) (2))*, Turnhout 2003, especially chapters 1 to 3. See also the useful remarks of H. Vlieghe: 'The Execution of Flemish Paintings between 1550 and 1700: A Survey of the Main Stages', in H. Vlieghe, A. Balis, C. van de Velde, eds.: *Concept, Design & Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)*, Turnhout 2000, pp.195-212 and especially pp.198-199 on the use of wooden painting supports, with canvas taking over as the preferred support from the 1640s onwards.
- 13 See P. Burke: 'Antwerp a metropolis in Europe', J. Van der Stock, ed.: exh. cat. *Antwerp, story of a metropolis, 16th-17th century*, Antwerp (Hessenhuis) 1994, pp.49-57 and Chr. Göttler, B. Ramakers, J. Woodall: 'Trading values in early modern Antwerp. An introduction' in *item.*, eds.: 'Trading Values in Early Modern Antwerp', *Netherlands Yearbook for the History of Art* 64 (2014), pp.8-37.
- 14 L. Davis, 'The Evolution of an Allegory of Fruitfulness', in I. Schaudies and J. Vander Auwera, eds.: *Jacques Jordaens (1593-1678): Allegories of Fruitfulness and Abundance* (Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Cahier 20), Milan and Brussels 2016, pp.35-43 and especially pp.38-39 referring to archival testimony on such practices by Jordaens himself in 1648.
- 15 The payment of panel supports by patrons is mentioned by F. Baudouin: 'The Elevation of the Cross in Rubens's Work', in 'Peter Paul Rubens's Elevation of the Cross. Study, Examination and Treatment', *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique / Bulletin van Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium* 24 (1992), pp.13-31 and especially p.14, note 3. On the huge investments of Antwerp patrons in art to secure the salvation of their soul as well as the prestige of their a afterlife, see B. Timmermans: *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen. Een elite als actor binnen een kunstwereld*, Amsterdam 2008, pp.185-223.
- 16 Merle du Bourg. *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.120-21, no.II-ii (because of its fragility not exhibited in Paris but in the museum of Rennes with a publication on its 2008-10 restoration).
- 17 The website '[https://www.engineeringtoolbox.com/weight-wood-d\\_821.html](https://www.engineeringtoolbox.com/weight-wood-d_821.html)' gives an overview of the weight of different wood species in kg per cubic meter, both freshly felled and dried and including several oak species.
- 18 459,5 x 339,6 cm and with a thickness varying between circa 1,5 cm and 2,3 cm. See also J.-A. Glatigny: 'Pieter Paul Rubens's Elevation of the Cross: study, examination and treatment: Materials and techniques: the construction of the panels', *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique / Bulletin van Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium* 24 (1992), pp.57-61. The oral remark on the weight of the central panel of the Rubens painting was made to the author by the late R.-A. d'Hulst. The latter acted as a Rubens expert in the commission that conducted the follow-up restoration in 1978-92.
- 19 <http://vanosnabrugge.org/docs/dutchmoney.htm>.
- 20 M. Vaes: 'Le journal de Jean Brueghel II', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 4 (1926/27), pp.163-223, re-published and translated into German by B. Zweig and ed. by I. Bodesohn-Vogel in K. Ertz: *Jan Breughel der Jüngere (1601-1678). Die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog*, I, pp.522-560. The entry of 1628 is found on p.529: 'Aen Michiel den tafferreel maker van zyne rekeninge van 't geheele jaer 70 (guilders)' ('To Michiel the panel maker for his account of the whole year 70 (guilders)').
- 21 Antwerp, Felixarchief, Weesmeesterskamer, no.555 (May 1627), fols.284r-306v. Published by E. Duverger: *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels 1984-2007, III, pp.20-22, no.608.
- 22 'Eenen ouden lanckworpigen schultboeck begonst in den jare XVIc ende vyff by den afflivighen van zynen styl van wygeborchde lysten, panneelen ende anderssints (die hy eenige jaren geleden heeft verlaten gehadt) gehouden (...): Duverger, *op. cit.* (note 21), p.99, no.953, extract from the inventory of the estate of the late Michiel Claessens, panel maker, 5 September 1637. This debt book is mentioned again in *op. cit.*, p.158, no.993 when the whole estate of Michiel Claessens is sold, but without the abovementioned phrase, 14 May 1638. I am grateful to Justin Davies for this archival reference, which was retrieved in the original by Piet Bakker.
- 23 Antwerp, Felixarchief, GA4589, cited in P. Bakker, ed. by J. Davies: 'The Claessens Family – A Biographical Timeline', <http://jordaensvandyck.org/archive/the-claessens-family-a-biographical-timeline/>.
- 24 J. Vander Auwera: 'Rubens' Adoration of the Magi in light of its original Antwerp destination', in A. Vergara, ed.: exh. cat. *Rubens, The Adoration of The Magi*, Madrid (Museo Nacional del Prado) 2004-5, pp.27-53.
- 25 H. Cabrero, 'The restoration of Rubens' Adoration of the Magi', in *op. cit.* (note 24), p.125.
- 26 S. Barnes, N. De Poorter, O. Millar, H. Vey: *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven and London 2004, pp.247-248, under no.III.2. I would like to thank Justin Davies for this reference.
- 27 W. Brulez, 'Cultuur en getal, Aspecten van de relatie economie-maatschappij-cultuur in Europa tussen 1400 en 1800', *Simiolus* 18 (1988), pp.63-68.
- 28 J. Vander Auwera, 'Size matters! On the Importance and Significance of Life-Size figures in Rubens's Paintings', in C. von Wyhe, ed.: *Rubens and the Human Body*, Turnhout 2018, pp.129-155.
- 29 S. Mateu: 'Seventeenth - Century Antwerp Panels in Context', in this journal, referring to J. Plesters: 'Samson and Delilah': Rubens and the Art and Craft of Painting on Panel', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 7 (1983), p.36.
- 30 J.A. Worp.: *Constantijn Huygens, de briefwisseling (1608-1687)*, The Hague 1911-17, no.132; cited by R.-A. d'Hulst (1982), *op. cit.* (note 1), p.316.

# Anthony Van Dyck and his use of panels: an introduction

JUSTIN DAVIES

Catalogues of Anthony Van Dyck's paintings differentiate between the supports used by the painter, whether they be canvas, paper or panel. The first catalogue was compiled by John Smith and published in 1831, with a supplement in 1842. The latest was published in 2004.<sup>1</sup> Since the Van Dyck exhibition in Antwerp in 1899 these differentiations have also been made in monographic exhibition catalogues.<sup>2</sup>

The study of Van Dyck's use of panels *per se*, either by examining them as a whole or grouping them to shed light on the artist's working practices, has not been attempted before. As well as providing a perspective on Van Dyck's art, the study of his panels can also provide historical information of relevance to the art historian. The recent Van Dyck exhibition, *Van Dyck. Gemälde von Anthonis van Dyck*, at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (2019–20) was the first to systematically capture panel makers' and guild marks if they have survived on the reverse of Van Dyck's paintings, and to subject the wood used as the support to dendrochronological analysis.<sup>3</sup>

The Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project (JVDPPP) has ranged wide in its examinations of panels by and related to Van Dyck. They can be found in the Summary Catalogue on the JVDPPP website. By doing so in a multidisciplinary context, it is possible to determine patterns and trends in Van Dyck's panel paintings. This article is intended as an introduction to his use of panels. Subsequent articles will identify the panel makers he used, explore panels found across the world which were made from the same tree and what that might mean, examine Antwerp guild marks and regulations in terms of dating his first independent works, investigate a previously unknown Apostles series and copies, and add, return or remove several panel paintings to and from his oeuvre.

The starting point for the Project's research was the multi-authored *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, published in 2004. Publications and

Fig.1. Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait of the Artist*, oil on panel, 26 by 20 cm, Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna, inv. no. 686.  
© Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien.



A *Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, published in 2004. Publications and monographic exhibitions on the artist before and after the catalogue have also to be taken into consideration. There have been six such exhibitions since 2004: *Antoon van Dyck. Portraits* (Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, 2008–9); *Van Dyck @ Britain* (Tate Britain, London, 2009); *The Young Van Dyck* (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2012–13); *Van Dyck. The Anatomy of Portraiture* (The Frick Collection, New York, 2016); *Van Dyck. Pittore di Corte* (Musei Reali, Turin, 2018–9); and *Van Dyck. Gemälde von Anthonis van Dyck* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 2019–20).<sup>4</sup> The two major publications on Van Dyck since 2004 have been *Van Dyck en España* by Matías Díaz Padrón (2012) and *Anthony Van Dyck and the Art of Portraiture* by Christopher White (2021).<sup>5</sup>

Over the course of the project, it has been possible to examine not only paintings by and after Van Dyck contained in this literature, including panels formerly attributed to Van Dyck, but also some previously unknown works. For the purposes of this introductory article, the analysis of Van Dyck's panels has been limited to existing panels featured in the literature listed above and two published further to these. An autograph *Adoration of the Shepherds* panel, examined by the JVDPPP in 2017, was recently returned to Van Dyck's oeuvre by Christopher Brown in *Connoisseurship. Essays in Honour of Fred G. Meijer* (2020) and the present author treated a previously unpublished portrait on panel – *Portrait of a Lady with a Parrot* – in the catalogue for the exhibition *The Bold and The Beautiful in Flemish Portraits* (Snijders-Rockoxhuis, Antwerp, 2020), which had been examined by the Project in 2018 (fig.2).<sup>6</sup>

The periods of Van Dyck's activity as a painter are summarised in the 2004 catalogue as follows:

- 'Van Dyck in Antwerp and London' – referred to here as the first Antwerp period (up to October 1621);
- 'Van Dyck in Italy' – referred to as the Italian period (the end of 1621 to July 1627);
- 'Van Dyck in Antwerp and Brussels' – referred to as the second Antwerp period (July 1627 to April 1632, including a journey to the United Provinces);
- 'Van Dyck in England' – referred to as the English period (April 1632 to Van Dyck's death on 9 December 1641, including journeys to the continent, especially 1634–5).

The 2004 catalogue lists 111 existing oil paintings on panel by Van Dyck. 59 are recorded for the first Antwerp period, one for the Italian period, 49 for the second Antwerp period and two for the English period. To these can be added six which were published in the literature listed above. These are three from the first Antwerp period – a *Self-portrait*<sup>7</sup>, a *Portrait of a Carmelite Friar*<sup>8</sup> and the *Portrait of a Lady with a Parrot*<sup>9</sup>; one from the Second Antwerp period – an *Adoration of the Shepherds*<sup>10</sup>; and two from the English period – *Charles I and Henrietta Maria with their Two Eldest Children*<sup>11</sup> and *Nicolaas Rockox (1560–1640)*<sup>12</sup>. The first four of these six panels can be found in the Summary Catalogue of paintings examined by the JVDPPP on the Project's website.

#### THE FIRST ANTWERP PERIOD (UP TO OCTOBER 1621)

For his first Antwerp period the young Van Dyck's panel paintings fall into three distinct groups: altarpieces; portraits; and life-size heads of Christ, Mary, Apostles and Saints with their attributes, of a size c.62-4 x 48-50 cm. Of note is the absence of any compositional studies, *bozzetti* or *modelli* or head studies on panel. Van Dyck differs in this regard from Rubens and the practice of the latter's workshop on the Wapper, with which he was closely associated from at least 1617 until his departure for England in October 1620.<sup>13</sup> The most detailed recent study of Van Dyck's early preparatory techniques is contained in *The Young Van Dyck* catalogue for the exhibition in Madrid



Fig.2. Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait of a Lady with a Parrot*, oil on panel, 121.8 by 87.8 cm, The Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp. © The Phoebus Foundation.

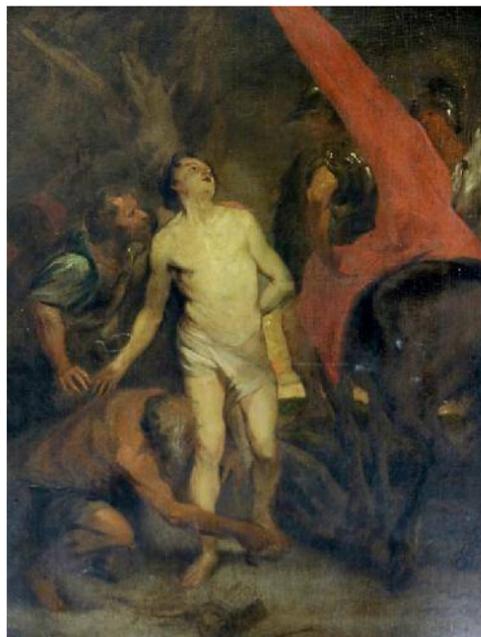


Fig.3. Follower of Anthony Van Dyck, *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak*, oil on panel, 64.4 by 50.2 cm, Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, © JVDPPP.  
 Fig.4. Attributed to Jan Boeckhorst (1604-1668), *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak*, c.1640/1645, oil on panel, 34.5 by 24.2 cm, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection, courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington.  
 Fig.5. After Anthony Van Dyck, *Saint Sebastian Bound for Martyrdom*, oil on panel, 37 by 27.3 cm, Stedelijk Museum, Lieer. © JVDPPP.

(2012-13). It convincingly argues that Van Dyck's thorough and often complex preparatory thoughts and ideas were worked out on paper or canvas.<sup>14</sup>

Rubens regularly painted head studies on panel, which were kept carefully in the workshop for use in future compositions.<sup>15</sup> The specification of the paintings remaining in Rubens's house after his death in 1640 included, 'Une quantité des visages au vif, sur toile, & fonds de bois, tant de Mons. Rubens, que de Mons. Van Dyck', translated in the contemporary English version of the specification as 'A parcell of Faces made after the life, upon bord and Cloth as well by sr Peter Rubens as van dyke'. It also included 'Un visage, du mesme [Van Dyck], sur fond de bois, representant S. George' followed by 'Un visage, sur fond de bois, d'un homme armé', listed in the English translation as, 'A face upon a bord representinge st George' and 'A face upon a bord; the man in armour'.<sup>16</sup>

The Antwerp engraver and paintings merchant Alexander Voet the Elder (1608/13-1689) owned two such purported studies, as recorded in his inventories: 'een Oudemanstronie buckende van Van Dijck tot Rubbens geschildert' ('a head study of an old man bending forwards painted by Van Dyck at Rubens's place'), and 'Een Tronie kael van hooft van Van Dijck tot Rubbens geschildert' ('a head study of a bald man painted by Van Dyck at Rubens's place').<sup>17</sup> The inventories do not determine whether these head studies were painted on paper, canvas or panel. The 2004 catalogue of Van Dyck's paintings did not include any head studies that were identified as having been painted in Rubens's workshop.

The head studies which Van Dyck created and used for his own, independent paintings, of which nineteen are listed in the catalogue, are all painted on paper or canvas, a cheaper material than wood.<sup>18</sup> For the considerable cost of panels as a support see Joost Vander Auwera's preceding article in this journal. The painter Adriaen Brouwer (c.1605-1638) possessed, 'drye tronien op een pineel geschildert van Van Dyck' ('three study heads on one panel painted by Van Dyck') which he used as collateral for food and money in a notarial agreement with the engraver Paulus Pontius (1603-1658) in February 1635.<sup>19</sup> It is not to be excluded that Van Dyck painted head studies on panel in his first Antwerp period, either for use in Rubens's compositions or his own, but there are none recorded in the literature referred to in this introduction.

The 62 recorded oil paintings on panel from Van Dyck's first Antwerp period are as follows. The sizing of the panels, including standard sizing, will be studied in a forthcoming article on Van Dyck's panels and his panel makers.

(a) *The Virgin and Child with Five Saints*, 113 x 95 cm.<sup>20</sup>

(b) Two altarpieces, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, Saint Paul's

Church, Antwerp, 211 x 165 cm; and *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak*, Parish Church, Zaventem, 170 x 160 cm.<sup>21</sup>

(c) 33 figures, all c.62-4 x c.48-50 cm; *St George, Christ as Salvator Mundi, Maria as Mater Dei, Christ*, the Apostles Andrew (2), Bartholomew (3), James the Great (2), John the Evangelist, Jude (Judas Thaddeus) (2), Matthew (2), Matthias (2), Paul (2), Peter (3), Philip (3), Simon (3), Thomas, and An Apostle (Jude?).<sup>22</sup>

(d) *Man with a Bow and a Sheaf of Arrows*, 66.1 x 48.8 cm.<sup>23</sup>

(e) 25 portraits, in size order; *Portrait of the Artist*, 26 x 20 cm (fig.1); *Self-portrait*, 36.5 x 25.8 cm; *Cornelis van der Geest (1555-1638)*, 37.5 x 32.5 cm; six unidentified portraits, all c.62 x 48 cm, three with ages inscribed; twelve unidentified portraits, all c.105 x 74 cm, three with ages inscribed, two with possible identifications as *Maria Clarisse and her Daughter?* and *Portrait of a Man (A Member of the Charles Family?)*; *Johannes Woverius (1576-1636) with his Son?*, 115 x 83 cm, this panel has been enlarged; two portraits of a similar size, *Portrait of a Man*, 123.2 x 92.7 cm and *Portrait of a Lady with a Parrot*, 121.8 x 87.8 cm; two portraits of an almost exact same size, *Portrait of a Man*, 132 x 102 cm and *A Young Woman and her Son*, 131 x 102 cm.<sup>24</sup>

It was long considered that Van Dyck followed Rubens's example and made fully coloured compositional *modelli* on panel for his altarpieces and larger paintings during his first Antwerp period. Three such examples of panels previously proposed as *modelli* are two related to *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak* (Toledo and Washington) and one relating to *Saint Sebastian Bound for Martyrdom* (Lier).

The panel in the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio, 64.4 x 50.2 cm, examined by the JVDPPP in 2019, was exhibited alongside the full-size altarpiece at the 1910 Brussels *Exposition d'art Ancien. L'art Belge au XVIIe* (fig.3).<sup>25</sup> First listed in Smith's 1831 catalogue as a preparatory *modello*, it was given by the collector Charles Leon Cardon to the Citizens of the United States of America in gratitude for U.S. aid to Belgium during the First World War. Transported to the U.S.A. in the Captain's safe on a Red Star liner, it was unveiled amidst much fanfare in Toledo by King Albert of the Belgians in October 1919. Both Gustav Glück in 1931 and Horst Vey in 1956 considered it to be a copy and its attribution at the museum was changed in 1975 to 'after Van Dyck'.<sup>26</sup> Visual examination confirms that the panel is indeed a weak copy of *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak* in the Royal Collection, Windsor, with a further figure added to the left of the woman holding a child, by a follower of Van Dyck. This composition with the additional figure was repeated in at least two larger paintings on canvas, not by Van Dyck, both of which have appeared on the art market within the last 15 years.<sup>27</sup>



Fig.6. Anthony Van Dyck, *Saint James*, oil on panel, 64.8 by 48.9 cm, Private Collection. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. © 2021 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig.7. Portrait of Pieter de Jode I after Sir Anthony Van Dyck, before 1641, engraving. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig.8. Anthony Van Dyck (?), *Lucas van Uffel (d. 1638)*, oil on panel, 20.3 by 16.2 cm, whereabouts unknown. RKD, Public Domain.



The panel in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, 34.5 x 24.2 cm, which was bequeathed in 1970, is also fully coloured (fig.4).<sup>28</sup> It has a distinguished provenance.<sup>29</sup> It has also been published by a host of art historians, including Gustav Glück in 1931, as Van Dyck's preliminary oil sketch for the Zaventem altarpiece.<sup>30</sup> Attributional doubts were raised in 1956 by Horst Vey, dendrochronology in 1987 established that the oak tree from which the panel was made was still growing after Van Dyck had left for Italy at the end of 1621 and the painting's attribution subsequently changed.<sup>31</sup> In addition to the dendrochronology, the panel maker's mark is that of Franchois de Bout I, who was active in Antwerp from 1637 to 1649. The painting is now considered as a derivative sketch attributed to Jan Boeckhorst (1604–1668), possibly for an unfulfilled larger composition.<sup>32</sup>

The panel in the Stedelijk Museum, Lier, 37 x 23 cm, examined by the JVDPPP in 2019, was exhibited at the monographic Van Dyck exhibitions in Antwerp 1899 and Antwerp 1949 as the artist's *modello* for the *Saint Sebastian Bound for Martyrdom* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig.5).<sup>33</sup> It is correctly described in the 2004 catalogue as a 'mediocre copy'.<sup>34</sup> As with the panels related to *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak*, this *St Sebastian* illustrates the persistence of the notion, well into the twentieth century, that Van Dyck painted fully coloured *modelli* on panel during his first Antwerp period.

It is likely that the donor or patron rather than the artist chose the support for the altarpieces. All fifteen paintings for the Rosary cycle in St Paul's Church, Antwerp, for which Van Dyck produced *Christ Carrying the Cross*, are executed on panel. Besides these, all Van Dyck's religious and secular paintings over 65 cm in height or width from the first Antwerp period listed in the 2004 catalogue, not including portraits, were painted on canvas. *The Virgin and Child with Five Saints* (panel, 113 x 95 cm) at the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh is no longer considered by the museum to have been painted by Van Dyck.<sup>35</sup>

As with the altarpieces, it was probably the patrons who determined (and paid for) the supports for their portraits. Apart from two self-portraits and Cornelis Van der Geest (1555–1638), the identities of the other 22 sitters of the paintings on panel, all seemingly members of Antwerp's bourgeoisie, except one Carmelite monk, are not known or secure. In comparison to these 25, the 2004 catalogue lists 31 portraits painted on canvas. The five known paintings from Van Dyck's first visit to England are all on canvas.

There are 33 figures, mainly Apostles, of a size c.62.4 x 48-50 cm. The number of these is striking. Van Dyck painted more autograph versions of Apostles than Rubens or other contemporary painters who treated these subjects, including Jacques Jordaens (1593–1678) and Artus Wolffort (1581–1641).<sup>36</sup>

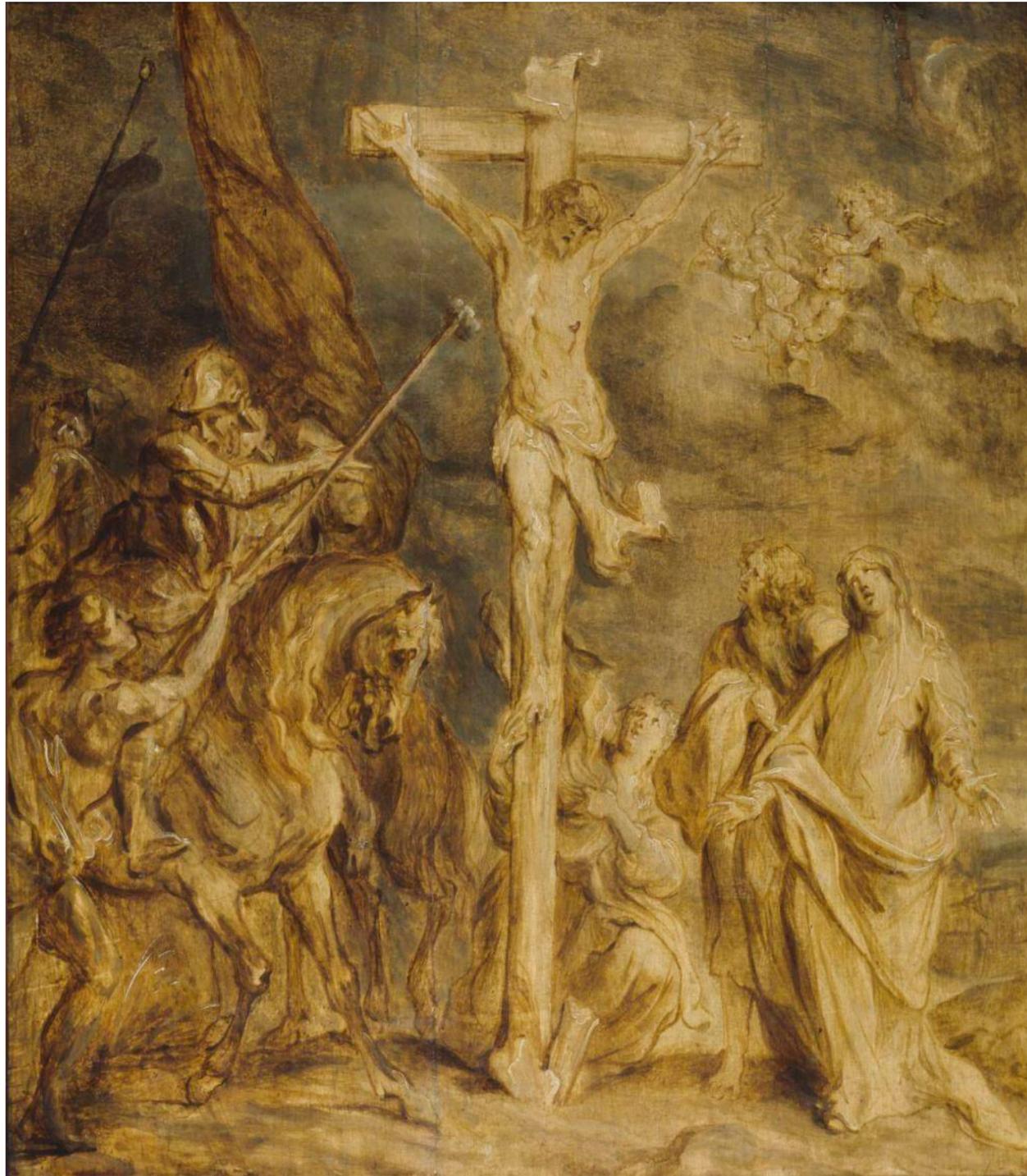


Fig.9. Anthony Van Dyck, *The Crucifixion*, oil on panel, 49.5 by 43 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium. Photo by Speltdoorn & Fils.

As will be discussed in a later article, Van Dyck and his assistants produced many copies and versions of this group of panels. Van Dyck's patron Everhard Jabach told Roger de Piles that the painter, 'when asked about the short time it took him to paint portraits, Van Dyck replied that at the beginning he worked long and hard on his paintings to gain his reputation and in order to learn how to paint them quickly during a period when he was working in order to have enough food to eat'.<sup>37</sup>

The life-size heads in these paintings are drawn from persons living in Antwerp. Some of Van Dyck's full-size head studies on paper and canvas were used as models for his Apostles panels.<sup>38</sup> In addition, Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601–1678) related how he had once seen Van Dyck painting his uncle, the engraver Pieter de Jode the Elder (1570–1634). The artist had said 'I shall make a pretty Apostle of him'.<sup>39</sup> Based on a portrait engraving of Pieter de Jode executed some ten or more years later, it has been suggested that he is the model for Van Dyck's *James the Great* (figs.6 and 7).<sup>40</sup>

The relatively small size of the panels, c.62-4 x 48-50 cm, made them suitable for display in private, non-noble houses in Antwerp. The commission of a series of Christ and the Apostles directly from Van Dyck before 1621 by the women's cape maker Guillaume Verhagen is an example. He hung them in his house until 1660 or 1661, as he testified in a contemporary court case regarding the authenticity of the set.<sup>41</sup> In contrast, Rubens's *Apostalado Lerma* panels, copies of which inspired Van Dyck for his own series, are c.108 by 84 cm in size and were painted for the Duke of Lerma.<sup>42</sup>

#### THE ITALIAN PERIOD (END OF 1621 TO JULY 1627)

The only panel listed in the Italian period section of the 2004 catalogue, *Lucas van Uffel* (d. 1638), 19.5 x 16.6cm, stands out (fig.8). It is a small *grisaille* which the author of the Italian period of the catalogue, Susan Barnes, does not consider to be by Van Dyck. However, it was included with a catalogue entry by Horst Vey, although the latter noted that Oliver Millar and also Michael Jaffé considered that it was painted in the artist's Second Antwerp period.<sup>43</sup> It relates to the portrait of Lucas van Uffel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art painted during Van Dyck's Italian period, although it shows some differences in physiognomy and pose.<sup>44</sup>

The panel's whereabouts is unknown and it has not been examined by the JVDPPP. Poplar was the preferred wooden support in Genoa.<sup>45</sup> The oeuvre of Van Dyck's Flemish host in Genoa, Cornelis de Waal (1592–1667) includes occasional paintings on oak panels, which must either have been imported or sourced by him on possible visits home to Antwerp.<sup>46</sup> If the *Lucas Van Uffel* sketch is excluded as an autograph or Italian period painting, then there is no

evidence that Van Dyck painted on panel while he was in Italy from 1621 to 1627. Of the other 111 Italian period paintings in the catalogue, 109 were painted on canvas and two on paper.

#### THE SECOND ANTWERP PERIOD (JULY 1627 TO APRIL 1632)

Van Dyck's use of panels varied in his second Antwerp period compared to the first. The panels he used reflect a well-established painter with a studio with more large scale, especially religious, commissions than before. The panels now included oil sketches for commissions of altarpieces and large paintings, and also first ideas for pictures which were not completed. He no longer painted on paper or, at least, no paintings on paper have survived. For the first time, Van Dyck painted in *grisaille* and *brunaille*, seemingly always on panel rather than canvas, sometimes with future engravings in mind. The suggestion has been made that some *grisaille* studies might have served a dual purpose as both preparatory study and model for an engraving.<sup>47</sup>

Van Dyck painted large paintings more often on canvas than panel during this period. There are 158 canvas paintings listed in the 2004 catalogue. There are only eight pictures larger than 60 cm in height or width painted on panel. Only nine of the panels from the second Antwerp period are fully coloured paintings. The other 41 panels are oil paintings in *grisaille* and *brunaille*, some of which are heightened with colour. None are fully coloured. An example is the sketch for *The Crucifixion* in Sint-Michielskerk, Ghent (fig.9).

The 50 known panels from the second Antwerp period are as follows:

- (a) Seven oil sketches related to existing altarpieces, in size order: *The Raising of the Cross*, 26 x 21.5 cm, for the altarpiece in Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, Kortrijk; *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 23.6 x 27.6 cm, for the altarpiece now in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg; *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 28.6 x 24.3 cm, for the altarpiece in Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, Dendermonde; *The Ecstasy of Saint Augustine*, for the altarpiece now on loan to the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, for which two oil sketches are considered autograph, one as a modello, 44.5 x 28 cm, and the other, 50.3 x 31 cm, as a copy for the engraving executed before 9 August 1634; *The Crucifixion*, 49.5 x 43 cm, for the altarpiece in Sint-Michielskerk, Ghent; *The Crucifixion with Saint Francis of Assisi*, 50 x 36 cm, related to the altarpiece in Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, Dendermonde.<sup>48</sup>
- (b) Three oil sketches related to known finished secular paintings, in size order: *Amaryllis and Myrtillo*, 23.1 x 35.3 cm; *The Holy Family with a Round Dance of Angels*, 33 x 41.5 cm; *Rinaldo and Armida*, 57.3 x 41.5 cm.<sup>49</sup>



Fig.10. Anthony Van Dyck, *The Virgin and Child*, oil on panel, 154.5 by 108 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.  
© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

- (c) The oil sketch for the painting destroyed in the 1695 bombardment of Brussels, *The Magistrates of Brussels, Assembled Around the Personification of Justice*, 26.3 x 58.5 cm.<sup>50</sup>
- (d) Six oil sketches for which finished paintings are unknown, in size order: *The Virgin and Child Adored by a Bishop*, 19.8 x 22.5 cm; *Portrait of a Military Commander*, 33.5 x 24.8 cm; *Diana Hunting a Stag*, 27.6 x 41 cm; *The Martyrdom of Saint George*, 44.8 x 36.4 cm; *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 59.5 x 42 cm, with later additions amounting to 2.5 cm on either side; *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 58.5 x 47.5 cm.<sup>51</sup>
- (e) *The Virgin and Child*, 146.7 x 110.4 cm (fig.10); *The Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist*, 150.9 x 114.5 cm.<sup>52</sup>
- (f) The painting *Charity*, 148 x 107.5 cm.<sup>53</sup>
- (g) Six portraits of artists, four individual and one with a pendant of his wife: *Peeter Snayers (1592–after 1666)*, 28.7 x 20.9 cm; *Jan Snellinck (1599–1641)*, 61.5 x 49.3 cm; *Marten Pepijn (1575–1643)*, 74 x 59.1 cm, originally 62.2 x 48.6 cm; *Marten Ryckaert (1587–10(?) October 1631)*, 148 x 113 cm; *Theodor Rombouts (1597–1637)*, 122.9 x 90.8 cm; *Anna van Thielen with her Daughter Anna Maria (b.1628)*, 123 x 91 cm.<sup>54</sup>
- (h) 24 *grisaille* oil sketches related to the series of portrait engravings known as the *Iconography*, all c.23 x 17 cm.<sup>55</sup>

Patrons who commissioned altarpieces were shown preparatory sketches for discussion, change if required and approval. Confirmation of this can be found in Van Dyck's letter of 20 May 1631 to Canon Rogier Braye, who commissioned the *Erection of the Cross* for Sint-Maartenskerk, Kortrijk. The painter wrote, after receiving payment and a box of waffles, 'The request to receive, pro memoria, the sketch of the above item, I will not refuse, although I allow this to no others.'<sup>56</sup> As noted earlier, oil sketches do not exist or survive for the two altarpieces in his first Antwerp period but seven have survived from his second Antwerp period, all oil sketches on panel.

As with the first Antwerp period, the patrons likely decided the supports of the eight full-size paintings on panel, as wood was costlier compared to canvas. Two of the subjects are a *Virgin and Child*, one is *Charity* and the other five are four portraits of painters and a pendant of a painter's wife. These painters probably preferred panel as the support because it was considered that panel retained the original colours better because the wood blocked the oxidisation of the pigments from the backside. On the other hand, the supports used for the portraits of Antwerp's *bourgeoisie* and, in this period, the nobility and members of the Royal Court

in Brussels, listed in the 2004 catalogue, are all canvas.

It is notable that, as with the first Antwerp period, the present literature indicates that Van Dyck does not appear to have painted head studies on panel in his second Antwerp period. He did, however, paint portrait studies on panel for the innovative series of engravings known as the *Iconography*, a collection of eminent contemporaries of his day from the worlds he worked in, such as the engraver Jean-Baptiste Barbé (1578–1649); (fig.11).

#### ENGLISH PERIOD (APRIL 1632 TO DECEMBER 1641)

There are only four panels recorded for the English period, which are *grisaille* sketches; *Sketch of Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria with their two eldest children, Prince Charles and Princess Mary*, 23.8 x 17 cm; *Francis Junius (1591–1677)*, 24.6 x 21.4 cm; *Charles I and the Knights of the Garter in Procession*, 29.4 x 131 cm; *Nicolaas Rockox (1560–1640)*, diameter 15.2 cm.<sup>57</sup>

The first is the preliminary compositional sketch for the picture known as the 'Greate Peece', painted soon after Van Dyck's arrival in London in April 1632 (fig.12). The second was a portrait of the Earl of Arundel's librarian and tutor to his sons. It may have been painted with studio assistance.<sup>58</sup> The third was probably an initial design for a series of tapestries proposed to Charles I for the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall.<sup>59</sup> Neither of the last two relates to a larger painting.

The fourth is a *grisaille* tondo of the collector and former Mayor of Antwerp, Nicolaas Rockox, which was likely commissioned by him and designed to resemble a coin. It is inscribed 'Æ. 76 / 1636'. It is the only recorded tondo by Van Dyck.<sup>60</sup>

These few sketches show that oil paintings on panel are highly unusual for this period of Van Dyck's activity. Panels were available in England and widely used by his contemporaries but all Van Dyck's known full-size paintings from the English period (262 are listed in the 2004 catalogue) are executed on canvas.<sup>61</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The departure point for the research into Van Dyck's panels, the existing literature, reveals patterns in the painter's use of wood supports as opposed to sporadic usage. These patterns are geographically based across each of his four periods of activity. Van Dyck painted on panels when based in Antwerp or Brussels, but probably not at all in Italy and but rarely, for a few sketches, in England.

The patterns within the two Antwerp periods are themselves



different. They reflect an emerging artist before his visit to Italy and a more established artist after. It is these two periods which provide the most evidence, 112 out of 117 panels, with which to examine his oeuvre from a multidisciplinary perspective which includes the scientific and historical evidence provided by the supports. The oil paintings on panel from these periods and lack of them for his Italian and last, English period, collated and examined by theme and type (e.g. portraits and sketches) allow for a new approach to be pursued in furthering the scholarship on his development and work as an artist and also presents a context within which to examine individual paintings. The combination of such a multidisciplinary approach will add new information and new considerations to the artist's life and oeuvre which only a previously uncharted approach with concurrent reconsideration of existing elements can hope to provide.

Fig.11. Anthony Van Dyck, *Jean-Baptiste Barbé* (1578-1649), oil on panel, 23.8 by 17 cm, whereabouts unknown.  
© Sotheby's.

Fig.12. Anthony van Dyck, *Sketch of Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria with their two eldest children, Prince Charles and Princess Mary*, 1632, oil on panel, 19.7 by 23.5 cm, RCIN 40854, Royal Collection Trust. © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021.



## NOTES

- 1 J. Smith: *A Catalogue Raisonné of The Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters...*, London 1831, Part the Third; J. Smith: *Supplement to the Catalogue Raisonné of The Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters...*, London 1842, Part the Ninth; S. Barnes, N. De Poorter, O. Millar, H. Vey: *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven and London 2004. The first Antwerp period (I) was written by Nora De Porter, the Italian period (II) by Susan Barnes, the second Antwerp period (III) by Horst Vey and the English period (IV) by Oliver Millar, unless where otherwise stated.
- 2 Exh. cat., *Van Dijk Tentoonstelling/Exposition Van Dijk*, Antwerp 1899.
- 3 M. Neumeister, ed.: *Van Dyck. Gemälde von Anthonis Van Dyck*, Munich (Alte Pinakothek) 2019–20.
- 4 A. Merle du Bourg, ed.: exh. cat. *Antoon van Dyck. Portraits*, Paris (Musée Jacquemart-André) 2008–09; K. Hearn, ed.: exh. cat. *Van Dyck @ Britain*, London (Tate Britain) 2009; F. Lammertse and A. Vergara, eds.: exh. cat. *The Young Van Dyck*, Madrid (Museo Nacional del Prado), 2012–13; A. Eaker and S. Alsteens, eds.: exh. cat. *Van Dyck. The Anatomy of Portraiture*, New York (The Frick Collection) 2016; A. M. Bava and M. G. Bernardini, eds.: exh. cat. *Van Dyck. Pittore di Corte*, Turin (Musei Reali) 2018–19; for the Munich exhibition 2019–20, Neumeister, *op. cit.* (note 3).
- 5 M. Díaz Padrón: *Van Dyck en España*, Barcelona 2012; C. White: *Anthony van Dyck and the Art of Portraiture*, London 2021.
- 6 C. Brown: 'An oil sketch by Anthony van Dyck', in C. Dumas et al., eds.: *Connoisseurship. Essays in Honour of Fred G. Meijer*, Leiden 2020, pp.57–59; J. Davies in K. Van Cauteren, ed.: exh. cat. *The Bold and The Beautiful in Flemish Portraits*, Antwerp (Snijders-Rockoxhuis), 2020–21, pp.271–72.
- 7 Diaz Padrón, *op. cit.* (note 5), II, pp.624–627, no.93; K. Van der Stighelen et al.: 'Young Anthony Van Dyck Revisited: A Multidisciplinary Approach to a Portrait once Attributed to Peter Paul Rubens', *Art Matters*, 6, 2014, pp.21–35; Alsteens in Eaker and Alsteens, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.60–62, no.3.
- 8 Van der Stighelen et al., *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.32–34, fig.17; Alsteens in Eaker and Alsteens, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.73–75, cat.no.9. Alsteens notes that the 'attribution to Van Dyck has not been universally accepted'.
- 9 Davies, *op. cit.* (note 6), pp.271–72.
- 10 Brown, *op. cit.* (note 6), pp.57–59.
- 11 P. Rumberg and D. Shawe-Taylor, eds.: exh. cat. *Charles I: King and Collector*, London (Royal Academy of Arts) 2018, pp.136, 242–43, no.65; White, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.216, fig.200.
- 12 B. Watteuw in Eaker and Alsteens, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.167–171, no.55.
- 13 The production of the cartoons for the History of Decius Mus in Rubens's workshop, already completed by 12 May 1618; Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.1–2.
- 14 Lammertse and Vergara, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 55–56; A-M. Logan: 'Anthony van Dyck: His Early Drawings from the First Antwerp Period', in Lammertse and Vergara, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 75–91.
- 15 N. Van Hout: *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XX (2). Study Heads and Anatomical Studies. Study Heads*, 2 vols., London and Turnhout 2020.
- 16 'Specification des peintures trouvees a la maison mortuaire du feu messire Pierre Paul Rubens, Chevalier, &c, published by Jan van Meurs, Antwerp, 1640 and 'An Inventory of Pictures found in the howse of the late Sr Peter Paul Rubens Knt: after his death: Inprimis pieces of Italian Mrs.:', in K. Belkin and F. Healy: exh. cat. *A House of Art. Rubens as Collector*, Antwerp (Rubenshuis) 2004, pp.332–33.
- 17 E. Duverger: *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels 1984–2009, XI, pp.421, 532.
- 18 Barnes et al. *op. cit.* (note 1), I.2, I.4, I.11, I.15, I.18, I.19, I.24, I.29, I.41, I.42, I.90, I.91, I.92, I.93, I.94–8.
- 19 Felixarchief / Antwerp City Archives, Notaris Dirk Ketgen (1634–1635), N # 2279, f° 195, 12–02–1635; I. Moortgat: 'Three (studies for) heads' a statement by Adriaan De Brouwer', in J. Vander Auwera and J. Davies, eds.: *Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project*, jordaensvandyck.org/archive/three-studies-for-heads-a-statement-by-adriaan-de-brouwer-12-february-1635/ (accessed 19 April 2021).
- 20 Barnes et al. *op. cit.* (note 1), I.8.
- 21 Barnes et al. *op. cit.* (note 1), I.25 and I.38.
- 22 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), *Saint George*, I.31; *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, I.49; *Mary as Mater Dei*, I.50; *Christ*, I.51; *Andrew*, I.52, I.64; *Bartholomew*, I.53, I.69, I.74; *James the Great*, I.54, I.75; *John the Evangelist*, I.55; *Jude (Judas Thaddeus)*, I.56, I.66; *Matthew*, I.57, I.76; *Matthias*, I.58, I.70; *Paul*, I.59, I.71; *Peter*, I.60, I.67, I.72; *Philip*, I.61, I.65; *Simon*, I.62, I.73, I.78; *Thomas*, I.63; *An Apostle (Jude?)*, I.68.
- 23 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), I.89.
- 24 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), I.99; the panel was later set in a larger, octagonal panel, 43 x 32.5 cm; for the *Self-portrait*, see Alsteens, *op. cit.* (note 7); I.104, the original panel was possibly reduced when it was set later in a larger panel; I.130; I.131, I.148, I.150, I.155; for the *Portrait of a Carmelite Friar*, see Alsteens, *op. cit.* (note 7); I.112; I.118; I.119; I.120; I.121; I.124; I.125; I.132; I.133; I.134; I.135; I.139; I.111, 'a strip approx. 5 cm deep added at the bottom'; J. Foucart: *Catalogue des peintures flamandes et hollandaises du musée du Louvre*, Paris 2009, inv. no.1244, 'agrandissement sur tout le pourtour, celui du bas pouvant être d'origine' ('enlargement all around, the bottom one may be original'); I.137; for the *Portrait of a Lady with a Parrot*, see Davies, *op. cit.* (note 6); I.105; I.151.
- 25 After Anthony Van Dyck, *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak*, oil on panel, 64.4 x 50.2 cm, Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, inv. no.19.39; Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), p.57, under I.39.
- 26 Exh. Cat., *Exposition d'art Ancien. L'art Belge au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Brussels 1910, no. 84; Smith 1831, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.13 under no.34; G. Glück: *Van Dyck, des Meisters Gemälde, Klassiker der Kunst*, no.13, 2nd rev. ed., Stuttgart 1931, p.520 nn.24–26; H. Vey: 'Anton van Dycks Ölskizzen', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, 5 (1956), p.202 n.5; curatorial files at the Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, examined in 2019, by kind permission.
- 27 Anthony Van Dyck, *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak*, oil on canvas, 258.2 x 242.5 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405878; *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak*, oil on canvas, 174 x 165.5 cm, sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, 4 September 2007 (52), as follower of Anthony van Dyck; *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak*, oil on canvas, 122 x 108.6 cm, sale, Christie's, South Kensington, 21 September 2010 (52), as after Anthony van Dyck.
- 28 Attributed to Jan Boeckhorst (1604–1668), *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak*, c. 1640/1645, oil on panel, 34.5 x 24.2 cm, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, acc. no.1970.17707, A. K. Wheelock: *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, National Gallery of Art Washington 2005, pp.5–9; Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), p.57, under I.39.
- 29 It was in the collections of Cardinal Joseph Fesch (1763–1839), William Buchanan (1777–1846), the Holford Collection from 1845 to 1928, and Andrew W. Mellon from 1928; Wheelock, *op. cit.* (note 28), p.5.
- 30 Glück, *op. cit.* (note 26), p.26.
- 31 Vey, *op. cit.* (note 26); P. Klein: dendrochronological report, <https://rkd.nl/explore/technical/5008733>.
- 32 Wheelock, *op. cit.* (note 28), p.8.
- 33 After Anthony Van Dyck, *Saint Sebastian Bound for Martyrdom*, oil on panel, 37 x 27.3 cm, Stedelijk Museum, Lier, inv. no.55; exh. cat. Antwerp 1899, *op. cit.* (note 2), no.32; F. van den Wijngaert: exh. cat. *Van Dyck Tentoonstelling*, Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 1949, no.10.
- 34 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), p.65, under I.48.
- 35 The painting is now catalogued at the museum as 'Workshop or circle of Anthony van Dyck': [https://ncartmuseum.org/art/detail/madonna\\_and\\_child\\_with\\_five\\_saints](https://ncartmuseum.org/art/detail/madonna_and_child_with_five_saints).
- 36 R-A. d'Hulst: *Jacob Jordaens*, London 1982; J. Vander Auwera: 'Afgemeten, ingelijst en opgelijst. Kanttekeningen bi jenkele aanvullingen op het oeuvre van Artus Wolffort (Antwerpen 1581-1641)', in K. Van der Stighelen, ed.: *Munuscula Amicorum. Contributions on Rubens and his colleagues in honour of Hans Vlieghe*, Turnhout 2006, II, pp.593–612.
- 37 R. de Piles: *Cours de Peinture par Principes*, Paris 1708, translated and quoted in C. Brown: exh. cat. *Van Dyck. Drawings*, New York (The Pierpont Morgan Library) 1991, p.34.
- 38 N. De Poorter in Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.88–90; Lammertse and Vergara, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.57.
- 39 L. Galesloot: 'Un procès verbale pour une vente de tableaux attribués à Antoine Van Dyck. 1660–1662', *Annales de l'Académie d'archéologie de Belgique*, XXIV, 2nd series, IV (1868), p.26.
- 40 Alsteens in Eaker and Alsteens, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.10–11.
- 41 Galesloot, *op. cit.* (note 30), pp.14–15.
- 42 H. Vlieghe: *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part VIII, Saints I*, London and New York 1972, pp.38–48.
- 43 H. Vey in Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), p.209, II.69.
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- 45 L. Tagliaferro: *Il dipinto e il suo rovescio: proposta di lettera per dipinti a supporto ligneo della Galleria di Palazzo Bianco*, Genoa 1991, under cat. nos.17 and 24, cited by A. Stoesser: *Van Dyck's hosts in Genoa: Lucas and Cornelis de Wael's lives, business activities and works*, Turnhout 2018, I, pp. 133, 260 n.51.
- 46 Stoesser, *op. cit.* (note 45), p.133.
- 47 G. Luijten in C. Depauw and G. Luijten, eds.: exh. cat. *Anthony van Dyck as a printmaker*, Antwerp (Antwerpen Open) and Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1999–2000, p.314.
- 48 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), III.20; III.3; Brown, *op. cit.* (note 6), pp.57–59 for the *Adoration of the Shepherds*; III.40; III.42; III.23; III.27.
- 49 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), III.59; III.7; III.63.
- 50 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), III.169.
- 51 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), III.16; III.78; III.54; III.48; III.36, III.5.
- 52 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), *The Virgin and Child*, III.11; *The Virgin and Child with St John the Baptist*, III.13.
- 53 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), III.64.
- 54 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), III.129; III.130; III.116; III.123; III.121; III.122.
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- 57 For *Sketch of Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria with their two eldest children, Prince Charles and Princess Mary*, see White, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.216; for *Francis Junius (1591–1677)*, Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 1), IV.143; for *Charles I and the Knights of the Garter in Procession*, IV.59.
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- 60 Watteuw, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp.167–171, no.55.
- 61 For works by Van Dyck's contemporaries, O. Millar: *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London 1963; O. Millar: exh. cat. *The Age of Charles I*, London (The Tate Gallery) 1972.

## COLLECTIONS

# Rubens, Van Dyck and Jordaens in the collection of the French painter Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743)

ALEXIS MERLE DU BOURG

*La France vient de perdre son Van Dyck par la mort de Hyacinthe Rigaud [...]  
Le goût de Van Dyck a toujours été son objet à rarement s'en est-il écarté*

*Hyacinthe Rigaud's recent death has deprived France of her Van Dyck [...]  
Van Dyck's taste was his constant object, from which he rarely deviated*

Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville  
*Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres...*,  
Seconde partie, Paris, 1745, pp.405–06

## INTRODUCTION

We know that Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743) triumphed in aristocratic portraiture and in the 'baroque' ceremonial portraits which he brought to a level of splendour probably never attained in France before him. Winning the first prize for painting at the Royal Academy in 1682 with his *Cain building the city of Enoch*, and gaining his official 'admission' (*agrégé*) to the institution in 1684 with a *Crucifixion*, the young artist nevertheless renounced the traditional journey to Rome (on the advice of the King's First Painter, Charles Le Brun) and the prestigious career of a history painter that was offered to him in order to devote himself, resolutely, to the more lucrative genre of portraiture. Van Dyck became the supreme reference for Rigaud, who is said to have devoted himself, relentlessly, to the study of the Antwerp master who 'was for some time his sole guide.' In a manner as natural as it was predictable, Van Dyck had been immediately recognised in France as a model of excellence in portraiture. Rigaud never lost this youthful passion for the Master.



Fig.1. Anthony Van Dyck, *Sir Kenelm Digby* (1603–1665), c.1640, oil on canvas, 116.8 by 91.4 cm, London, The National Portrait Gallery.  
© National Portrait Gallery, London.

As well as being a major artist, Rigaud was also a passionate collector. The first document that reveals him in this capacity is his marriage contract with Marie-Catherine Chastillon (7 May, 1703) to which is annexed an interesting *Inventory of the paintings that I own of the great Masters*.<sup>2</sup> There we find, in particular, works by the most illustrious Antwerp masters – probably overvalued by Rigaud – starting with those of Rubens: ‘An Adoration of the Three Kings’ valued at 800 livres; ‘Saint John the Evangelist’ (300 livres); ‘A Saint George’ (600 livres) and finally, ‘A Christ in the House of the Pharisee’ (150 livres).<sup>3</sup> Van Dyck was also amply represented in Rigaud’s collection, at least if one can trust the attributions given by the collection’s owner: ‘A large Virgin with Angels’ (800 livres); ‘A sketch of a Brussels burgomaster’ (150 livres); ‘A Sketch of a Virgin’ (60 livres); a highly enigmatic ‘A little child sleeping on a skull’ (600 livres); ‘a portrait of a Spaniard in a pleated collar’ (400 livres); ‘The portrait of Vandec’ – in other words a self-portrait – (600 livres); ‘A Fortuna’ (200 livres) and ‘An Assumption of the Virgin’ (150 livres). We note, moreover, the singular presence of a ‘Scevola’ (probably a Mucius Scaevola in front of Porsena) by ‘Jourdans’ (here meaning Jacques Jordaens rather than the Neapolitan Luca Giordano, whom one encounters more frequently than the Antwerp master among French collectors of that time).<sup>4</sup> With a value of 150 livres attached to it, the painting probably corresponds to the sketch considered by experts – including Oudry – as a copy after Rubens which featured in the estate inventory following Rigaud’s death (no.369, below).

We also note, in this inventory of the paintings owned by Rigaud, under the heading *Copies by my hand of the paintings of the great Masters*, the presence of a very significant number of copies made by the French artist after Van Dyck. These include ‘Two large full-length copies after Vandec’ valued by the painter at 600 livres (probably the very mysterious portraits appearing under no.310 in the inventory after Rigaud’s death, *before*); ‘A portrait of Sir Dicky [for Digby] in armour’ (150 livres) (fig.1); ‘an Amor holding an arrow’ (fig.2) (200 livres), and, ‘The two portraits of the Palatine princes’ (300 livres). Rigaud did not have to journey far to make these copies. As early as the 1650s, Cardinal Mazarin possessed in Paris a portrait in armour of the good friend of Van Dyck, Sir Kenelm Digby, which is possibly the painting in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London, inv. no.486 (fig.1).<sup>5</sup> As for the double portrait of the Palatine princes, Charles Louis and Robert, today in the Musée du Louvre (inv. no.1238), this had been sold in 1671 to Louis XIV by the German financier Everhard (Evrard) Jabach [see

forthcoming *Ébauche de répertoire des collectionneurs de tableaux de Van Dyck en France sous Louis XIII et Louis XIV* (Attempt at a repertory of collectors of Van Dyck paintings in France under Louis XIII and Louis XIV) in the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal* and on the JVDPPP website, where I will address these paintings].

## II

A series of documents provide a better understanding of Rigaud’s collection and in particular of the works by and after Rubens and Van Dyck. The first of these, chronologically, appears among the codicils in the painter’s will.<sup>6</sup> Rigaud bequeathed to his colleague, ‘good and old friend’ (and future first biographer) from Delft, Hendrik van Hulst (1685–1754), two sketches attributed to Rubens. The first of these represented an ‘Adoration of the Kings’ and the other the ‘Martyrdom of Saint Livinius’ (the saint’s name being invariably flayed in the various archival documents) ‘whose tongue is being torn out’. But it is above all the estate inventory following Rigaud’s death at his Parisian home in Rue Louis-le-Grand on 29 December 1743, which is most important, containing as it does part of what Rigaud had already listed in 1703 together with other works acquired in the meantime.<sup>7</sup> The appraisal and inventory of the artworks found at Rigaud’s home were entrusted to the painters Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755) and François-Louis Colins (1699–1760). We reproduce here the translated part which relates most directly to our subject.

## RUBENS AND AFTER RUBENS

261. *Item two painting sketches by Rubens, one representing The Adoration of the Kings and the other The Martyrdom of Saint Lerin whose tongue is being is torn out, in their gilt frames, numbered under the same number nine, appraised together at the sum of four hundred livres. Cy.....IIIIc#*

289. *Item another book of prints bound lengthwise, Landscapes by Rubens, number thirty-six, appraised at the sum of fifteen livres. Cy.....XV#*

344. *Item a sketch by Rubens of a painting in the Palais du Luxembourg representing The Marriage of Marie de Medicis, in its gilt frame, number eighty-seven, appraised at the sum of fifteen livres. Cy.....XV# In the left-hand margin: +87*

369. *Item a painting, sketch representing Scevola, copy after Rubens 168, in its gilt frame, numbered one hundred and eleven, appraised at the sum of ten livres. Cy.....X#*

In the left-hand margin: 111

375. *Item a long square painting, sketch by Rubens representing an Elevation of the Cross<sup>8</sup> 174, painted on paper pasted on wood in its gilt frame, numbered one hundred and seventeen, appraised at the sum of three hundred livres. Cy.....IIIC# In the left-hand margin: 117*

378. *Item a painting, sketch after Rubens representing the Magdalene in the house of the Pharisee painted on wood in its gilt frame, numbered one hundred and twenty, appraised at the sum of six livres. Cy .....VI#*

405. *Item a fragment of a painting, copy after Rubens, of the Confinement of the Queen of the Luxembourg in its gilt frame, numbered one hundred and forty-seven, appraised at the sum of six livres. Cy.....VI# In the left-hand margin: 147*

## VAN DYCK AND AFTER VAN DYCK:

301. *Item the Portraits after Wandec in a bound volume, number forty-eight, appraised at the sum of thirty livres. Cy.....XXX# In the left-hand margin: +48 and: bequeathed to M. de Vermont*

309. *Item a painting, copied by the said Monsieur Rigaud after Vandec, representing The Prince Palatine and Prince Robert in its gilt frame, number fifty-six, appraised at the sum of twenty livres. Cy.....XX# In the left-hand margin: +56 and: bequeathed to M. de Vermont*

310. *Item two large paintings, copies by the said Monsieur Rigaud after Wandec, representing Monsieur le Duc and Madame la Duchesse de Mantouë, life-size, with their gilt wood frames, each numbered fifty-seven, appraised together at the sum of one hundred livres. Cy.....C# In the left-hand margin: +57 and: bequeathed to M. de Vermont*

The problematic identification of the models (abandoned in the Collin de Vermont auction catalogue [no.10 and no.11]) does not help with the identification of these full-length effigies copied by Rigaud.

327. *Item two oval Portraits, one by Vandec and the other a copy, in their gilt frames, numbered under the same number seventy, appraised together at the sum of sixty livres. Cy.....LX# In the left-hand margin: +70*

328. *Item two other Portraits, sketches by Vandec, square, in their gilt wood frames, numbered under the same number*

*seventy-one, appraised together at the sum of forty livres.*

Cy.....XL# In the left-hand margin: +71  
341. *Item a small painting representing a sleeping Child, sketch by Vandec, in its gilt frame, number eighty-four, appraised at the sum of thirty livres. Cy.....XXX# In the left-hand margin: +84*

The sketch probably corresponds to the child sleeping on a skull mentioned by Rigaud back in 1703.

345. *Item a painting, copy of an Armed Man after Vandec, in its gilt wood frame, number eighty-eight, appraised at twenty livres. Cy.....XX# In the left-hand margin: +88 and: bequeathed to M. de Vermont*

346. *Item a painting, Portrait of a woman, copied after Vandec, in its gilt wood frame, number eighty-nine, appraised at forty livres. Cy.....XL# In the left-hand margin: +89*

349. *Item a painting, Portrait, sketch by Vandec, in its gilt wood frame, number ninety-two, appraised at fifty livres. Cy.....L# In the left-hand margin: +92*

357. *Item a painting, Portrait by Vandec, oval, copy, in its gilt frame, numbered one hundred, appraised at the sum of thirty livres. Cy.....XXX# In the left-hand margin: +100*

364. *Item a painting, sketch by a pupil of Vandec, in its gilt frame, numbered one hundred and six, appraised at the sum of six livres. Cy.....VI# In the left-hand margin: 106*

372. *Item two paintings, sketches painted by Vandec, in their gilt frames representing Saint George and Saint John both painted on wood, each numbered one hundred and fourteen, taken together appraised at the sum of eighty livres. Cy .....IIIIXX #*

374. *Item two paintings, sketches by Vandec, one of which represents Achilles recognised and the other a Calvary, both on wood in their gilt frames, each numbered one hundred and sixteen, appraised together at the sum of thirty livres. Cy.....XXX# In the left-hand margin: 116*

380. *Item a painting representing an Amor, copied after Vandec, painted on canvas in its gilt wood frame, numbered one hundred and twenty-two, appraised at fifteen livres. Cy.....XV# In the left-hand margin: 122*

394. *Item a painting, grisaille sketch by Vandec, representing a*

*Descent from the Cross, in its gilt frame, numbered one hundred and thirty-six, appraised at the sum of fifteen livres.*

Cy.....XV# In the left-hand margin: 136

Comment should be made on nos. 372 and 374 as it is recorded that they are painted on wood, i.e. panel. Regarding no. 372, we saw that Rigaud mentioned a *Saint John* (estimated at 300 livres) and a *Saint Georges* (estimated at 600 livres) in his 1703 *Inventary of the paintings that I own of the great Masters* but that, at that time, he attributed these to Rubens. Did the sketch of this Saint George have any relation to a panel which belonged to Rubens and which appears in the 1640 *Specification des peintures trouvées a la maison mortuaire du feu Messire Pierre-Paul Rubens, Chevalier, &c* [*Specification of paintings found at the mortuary house of the late Sir Pierre-Paul Rubens, knight, &c*], no. 236: 'A face, from the same [Chevalier Van Dyck], on a wooden background, representing S. George?'<sup>9</sup> Regarding a painting on wood by the young Van Dyck depicting Saint George as a bust, banner in hand (66 x 51 cm, England, private collection in 2004), see Nora De Poorter in the 2004 Van Dyck catalogue. Her catalogue note also mentions a panel (paper laid down on panel, 65 x 49 cm), of another composition (the saint who presents a different aspect is dressed in a different armor and the dragon's mouth appears on the right side), in the collection of the Niedersächsische Landesmuseum in Hanover, which corresponds to the head of a saint in the background of Rubens's *Virgin with Penitent Sinners* in the Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel. Its attribution to Van Dyck is not unanimously supported.<sup>10</sup>

No. 374, the sketch *Achilles Recognised* is possibly connected with the painting produced in 1617–18 by Rubens's studio, including perhaps the young Van Dyck, in the Museo Nacional del Prado.<sup>11</sup> Or, more probably, with the later one by Van Dyck in the Kunstsammlungen Graf von Schönborn, Schloss Weissenstein, Pommersfelden, of which there are many copies.<sup>12</sup> A sketch of this subject on wood was sold in Brussels in July 1767.<sup>13</sup> We note, in France, an 'Achilles recognized at the court of Licomedes: very pleasant composition, coloured in the manner of Rubens. It is painted on wood, 18 inches high by 23 inches wide; reputed to be by Van Dyck and sold by a high-profile collector, the Duke of Tallard, in March 1756.'<sup>14</sup>

### III

Another informative document is the catalogue of the sale of the collection of the painter Hyacinthe Collin (or Colin) de Vermont (1693–1761), the godson, legatee and disciple

of Rigaud. In it we find not only works bequeathed by his godfather, starting with the copies made by Rigaud after Van Dyck (they are mentioned as such in the estate inventory of 1744), but also the works that Collin de Vermont bought back at the public sale organised just after the master's death.<sup>15</sup> Published in Paris, at Didot the Elder, the sales catalogue is entitled *Catalogue of paintings, drawings, prints and bosses, from the Cabinet of Mr Hyacinthe Collin de Vermont, painter ordinary to the king, & assistant rector of his Royal Academy of painting & sculpture, in which are included paintings, designs & prints by M. Rigaud, painter to the king. To be sold individually, on the day and at the place indicated by the posters*.<sup>16</sup> The sale took place on 14 November 1761. We find there, in particular, with respect to the paintings:

No. 10 'A large Painting painted on canvas, with its gilt frame. Full-length portrait of a man, copied after Van-deik by Monsieur Rigaud [acquired for 10 livres and 10 sols, no buyer's name]<sup>17</sup>].

No. 11 'A large Painting painted on canvas, with its gilt frame. Full-length portrait of a woman, copied after Van-deik by Monsieur Rigaud [acquired for 10 livres and 9 sols, no buyer's name].

No. 30 'Oil painting, canvas of 40 (sic), gilt frame, copied after Vandeik by Monsieur Rigaud. A man in breastplate' [acquired for 54 livres, no buyer's name].

No. 37 'A small painting on canvas, representing two portraits of a man in breastplate, copy by M. Rigaud after Vandeik.' [acquired for 12 livres by Aumont].

No. 40 'Painting on canvas of 15, gilt frame: Amor holding an arrow, Original by M. Rigaud' [acquired for 18 livres and 7 sols by Gagny, Augustin Blondel de Gagny (1695–1776)].

No. 41 'Painting on canvas, gilt frame. A sleeping child leaning on a skull, Original by Vandeik' [acquired for 120 livres, no buyer's name].

No. 42 'Painting on canvas, gilt frame. Head of an old man, original by Vandeik' [acquired for 120 livres, no buyer's name].

Among the drawings and sketches, we note (in addition to two drawings by Rubens [no. 19], sold for 18 livres and 1 sol) an important Van Dyckian ensemble, part of which must have come from Rigaud:

No. 28 'Two Drawings by Vandeik' [acquired for 12 livres and 3 sol, by Aumont (name crossed out)].

No. 29 'Three Drawings by Vandeik' [acquired for 9 livres, by Aumont].

No. 30 'Six Sketches by Vandeik, including his self-portrait' [no price].

No. 28 'Three Drawings by Vandeik' [acquired for 8 livres and 4 sols, no buyer's name].

Finally, the prints reveal the presence of numerous engravings after Rubens (nos. 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19 and 23) as well as 'Ten prints of Jordans of Antwerp' (no. 13) and above all a fine collection of engravings by and after Van Dyck, on the origin of which, at least in part, there is little room for doubt. This is particularly the case of the series of Van Dyckian portraits (no. 21) designated by posterity as the *Iconography* which certainly corresponds to no. 301 of the Rigaud estate inventory. The fact that a feeling of emulation of Van Dyck played a role in Rigaud's resolute enterprise to disseminate knowledge of him via the engraving of his portraits is beyond doubt.<sup>18</sup>

No. 10 'Nine Prints of Vandeik' [acquired for 11 livres and 19 sols, no buyer's name].

No. 17 'A Print, The Ecce Homo by Vandeik' [acquired for 20 livres, by Péters]

No. 21 'One hundred and fourteen Prints, Portraits of Illustrious Men by Vandeik' [acquired for 99 livres and 19 sols, by Drevet]

No. 24 'Sixteen Prints by Rubens, Vandeik, & others' [acquired for 57 livres, by Joullain]

### IV

To this already very significant series of inventories we should mention several paintings attributed to Van Dyck and reputed, in the eighteenth century, to have been part of the 'cabinet of Monsieur Rigaud'. First, in the house of Vicomte de Fonspertuis, an oval portrait on canvas of 'Thomas Parck, Englishman'. E.-Fr. Gersaint, states that Rigaud had obtained it from the heirs of E. Jabach, who himself had been given it by Van Dyck.<sup>19</sup> Acquired for 400 livres at the Vicomte de Fonspertuis sale by Slodtz on behalf of Augustus III of Poland, the portrait is today in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden. The painting (we note that it is on wood and not on canvas) is today unanimously considered as the work of a follower.<sup>20</sup> Let us also note the case of an oval self-portrait by Van Dyck painted on canvas (measuring 25 inches

high by 21 inches wide, or approximately 67 x 56 cm) which featured in the sale of the estate of cabinetmaker Charles Cressent (1685–1768), the 'clothing of which was painted by M. Rigaud, from where it was purchased after his death'.<sup>21</sup> Let us also mention the case of a portrait of the Duke of Buckingham (2 feet high by 22 inches wide, or approximately 64 x 59 cm) sold at the Araignon auction. According to the catalogue, the portrait had passed from the collection of Count de Hoym, Ambassador of Poland, to that of Rigaud before reaching the hands of Noël Araignon esquire, valet de chambre of the queen (and merchant). The annotated copy of the sales catalogue kept in Paris indicates, disdainfully, that it was a copy, the author of the annotations adding a scarcely reassuring note below the entry: 'Beware of Monsieur Araignon's vain babble'.<sup>22</sup>

### CONCLUSION

The question of the nature and authenticity of the works of and after Van Dyck owned by Hyacinthe Rigaud and, likewise, that of the identification of the subjects of his copies after the Flemish master appearing in the various documents are infinitely problematic. Added to this is the difficulty of the distribution between the *cabinet* of the collector and the *stock* of the merchant. Rigaud, like many of his peers, did not disdain from trading 'in the upper chamber'.<sup>23</sup> Paintings related to Van Dyck stand out in the estate inventory. There are nearly twenty occurrences of paintings alone (originals, copies, and pupils' work). It demonstrates that Van Dyck was an important reference and one of the main inspirations for Rigaud. The meticulous analysis of Rigaud's style by A. James-Sarazin in his recent monumental monograph on the painter enables us to better measure the extent of the debt (in terms of portraiture of course, but also of history painting) contracted vis-à-vis the Flemish master by the one whom contemporaries considered, not without reason, to be the 'Van Dyck of France'.<sup>24</sup>

# Van Dyck's missing Amor

ALEXIS MERLE DU BOURG

Mentioned already in 1703 as being at Rigaud's house, and then again in the 1744 estate inventory (no.380), and finally in 1761 at the Collin de Vermont auction (no.40, as an original by Rigaud on this occasion), the copy after an *Amor holding an arrow* by Van Dyck, is intriguing. A cluster of converging clues seem to indicate that the Flemish master indeed handled this mythological-allegorical subject during his career. We point here to a painting linked to the history of the art market in France since it appears, belatedly we admit, in the luxurious 'catalogue' the *Galerie des Peintres Flamands, Hollandais et Allemands* (1792–96) published by the Parisian merchant Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun (1748–1813) (fig.2). Gérard René Le Villain (around 1740–1812 or 1836) produced a passable engraving after this painting designated as an original by Van Dyck 'taken from the cabinet of Mr le Brun' which measured 27 inches high by 22 in width (approximately 73 x 60 cm) according to the inscription on the print.<sup>25</sup>

There is a canvas version (72.5 x 57.6 cm, inv. no.613) in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, which appears to be the work of a follower.<sup>26</sup> Another copy, also on canvas, was once in private hands in Belgium.<sup>27</sup> There is, however, another type of Van Dyckian Amor, very different in its composition, and for which we again do not know any 'autograph' version.<sup>28</sup> In a variation of this 'second type' (reported in 2004 in the Betancourt y Castro collection, La Orotava, Tenerife), we note that the little god of love actually holds *one* arrow just as, it seems, in the copy made by Rigaud.<sup>29</sup> A series of Amors and other Cupids 'by' and 'after' Van Dyck passed onto the market in France at the end of the Ancien Régime, without it being possible to draw definitive conclusions about Rigaud's copy or its elusive model.<sup>30</sup>



Fig.2. G. R. Le Villain after Anthony Van Dyck, *Cupid, half-length to front but looking to left, holding a bunch of arrows*, c.1784, engraving.  
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## NOTES

Translation by Michael Lomax.

- L. Dussieux, E. Soulié, Ph. de Chennevières, P. Mantz, A. de Montaiglon (pub.): *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture publiés d'après les manuscrits conservés à l'École impériale des beaux-arts*, II, Paris 1854, p.131 (*La Vie de M. Rigaud* by Henri Hulst [Hendrik Van Hulst]).
- Etat des tableaux que j'ay des grands Maîtres*, Paris, Archives nationales, étude XCV, liasse 51, marriage contract between Rigaud and Marie-Catherine Chastillon, 17 May 1703 (published by J.-J. Guiffrey: 'Contrat de mariage et testament du peintre Hyacinthe Rigaud (1703–1715)', *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, 1891/1, t. VIII pp.50–74). See also D. Wildenstein: *Documents inédits sur les artistes français du XVIIIe siècle conservés au Minutier central des notaires de la Seine aux Archives nationales...*, Paris 1966, pp.129–130.
- About Rigaud as a collector and emulator of Rubens, see my *Rubens au Grand Siècle, sa réception en France, 1640–1715*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes 2004, pp.241, 244, 267, 289, 291 and 300 as well as A. James-Sarazin (with the collaboration of J.-Y. Sarazin): *Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1659–1743*, Dijon 2016, I, p.260 et II, p.248.
- On the reception of Jordaens in France, see my article 'Jordaens et la France. Essor et cristallisation de la réputation d'un maître (XVIIe–XIXe siècle)' in A. Merle du Bourg *et al.*, exh. cat. *Jordaens (1593–1678)*, Paris (Petit Palais – Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris), 2013–2014, pp.17–32.
- S. Barnes, N. De Poorter, O. Millar, H. Vey: *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven and Yale 2004, p.506, no.IV.96.
- Paris, Archives nationales, étude LXXIX, liasse 36, 17 June 1742 (Wildenstein, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.137).
- Paris, National Archives, étude XLIII, liasse 383, estate inventory following the death of Hyacinthe Rigaud, 6 March–21 April 1744. This document was discovered and published in extenso by A. James-Sarazin: 'L'Inventaire après décès de Hyacinthe Rigaud', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, année 2007 (2009), pp.49–155. It is also accessible online on the mediterranees.net site (transcription and editing by A. James-Sarazin).
- This is considered to be an important late *modello* by Rubens (c.1638, Toronto, Art Gallery of Art, inv. no.906) intended to guide the work of the engraver H. Witdoeck by reinterpreting, in a continuous scene, the central panel and the two wings of the *Elevation of the Cross* triptych, today in Antwerp Cathedral. See in particular J.R. Judson: *Passion of Christ*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, VI, Turnhout and Stockbridge, 2000, no.20.
- E. Duverger: *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels 1984–2002, IV, p.298, 307, 315, no.236.
- Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.47, no.I.31.
- Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.81, no.I.80; A Vergara in F. Lammertse and A. Vergara, eds.: exh. cat. *The Young Van Dyck*, Madrid (Museo Nacional del Prado) 2012–3, pp.241–245, no.60.
- Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.292, no.III.58.
- G. Hoet: *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen*, The Hague 1752, III, p.624, no.45, 'Een Schetz, verbeeldende Achilles, verkleedt in vrouwe gewaadt, word ontdekt door Uliesses, door denzelven [Van Dyck], op paneel', ('A sketch, representing Achilles disguised in women's clothes as he is discovered by Ulysses, by the same [Van Dyck], on panel'), 1'9" x 2'4"', cited in Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.292, under no.III.58.
- P. Remy and J.-B. Glomy: *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, sculptures, tant de marbre que de bronze, desseins et estampes des plus grands maîtres, porcelaines anciennes, meubles précieux, bijoux et autres effets qui composent le cabinet de feu Monsieur le duc de Tallard...*, Paris 1756, lot 153, p.78, 'Van Dyck, Achille reconnu à la cour de Licomede: composition très agreable, coloriée dans la maniere de Rubens. Elle est peinte sur bois, de 18 pouces de haut, sur 23 pouces de large.'
- Comparution et Arresté de comptes ensuite de l'exécution testamentaire du peintre Hyacinthe Rigaud*, Paris, Archives nationales, étude LIII, liasse 319, 6 February–26 March 1747. See, in particular, James-Sarazin, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.87–89.
- Catalogue des tableaux, desseins, estampes et bosses, provenans du Cabinet de M. Hyacinthe Collin de Vermont, peintre ordinaire du roi, & adjoint à recteur de son Académie Royale de peinture & sculpture, dans lesquels sont compris des tableaux, desseins & estampes de M. Rigaud, peintre du roi. Dont la vente se fera en détail, au jour et lieu indiqués par les affiches.*
- Annotated copy, Paris, INHA, VP 1761/5. All the information on the prices reached during the sale and on the identity of the buyers is taken from the same copy of the Collin de Vermont auction catalogue.
- James-Sarazin, *op. cit.* (note 3), II, p.378ff.
- E.-Fr. Gersaint: *Catalogue raisonné des bijoux, porcelaines, bronzes [...] de M. Angran, vicomte de Fonspertuis...* Paris 1747, lot 450, pp.225–227.
- E. Larsen: *The Paintings of Anthony Van Dyck*, Freren 1988, II, p.414, no.A2.
- Ch. Cressent: *Catalogue de différents effets curieux du Sieur Cressent...*, Paris 1748, lot 90, p.30.
- Catalogue d'une collection de tableaux des plus grands maîtres appartenant au sieur Araignon*, Paris 1751, lot 53, p.20, INHA (VP 1751/1).
- James Sarazin, *op. cit.* (note 3), I, p.255.
- A. James-Sarazin, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.394–511.
- Galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands: ouvrage enrichi de deux cent une planches gravées d'après les meilleurs tableaux de ces maîtres, par les plus habiles artistes de France, de Hollande et d'Allemagne avec un texte explicatif [...] / par M. Lebrun...* Paris and Amsterdam, I, 1792, print opposite p.16.
- K.S. Egorova, *Niderlandy XV–XVI veka, Flandriâ XVII–XVIII veka, Bel'giâ XIX–XX veka (Netherlands XV–XVI centuries Flanders XVII–XVIII centuries Belgium XIX–XX centuries)*, Moscow 1998, p.186, no.128 (as 'Van Dyck?') And Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.403, under no.III.A10. The painting in the Pushkin Museum comes from the Moscow collection of Dmitry Ivanovich Shchukin (1918).
- Exh. cat. *Van Dyck Tentoonstelling*, Antwerp (Royal Museum of Fine Arts), 1949 p.44, no.66, ill.
- Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.403, no.III.A10.
- The painting is reproduced, in black and white, in Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.403, under no.III.A10.
- Lugt 4228, Lugt 4828*, etc.

## DISCOVERIES

### New evidence of Rubens's renovation of his Antwerp house (Rubenshuis) in 1615

INGRID MOORTGAT

In 2017, my Archival Research Fellowship for the Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project allowed me to spend an entire year roaming the Belgian archives. My research into Antwerp panel makers of the first half of the seventeenth century took me to the records of the Antwerp Joiners' Guild.

The Antwerp Joiners' Guild was the first guild to obtain the privilege to manufacture panels, in 1477.<sup>1</sup> The registration of the first panel maker in the Guild of Saint Luke, the traditional guild for painters and other craftsmen, happened significantly later, in 1545.<sup>2</sup> On 13 November 1617 the panel makers in the Guild of Saint Luke petitioned the Antwerp authorities for the regulation of the profession, and Ordinances were subsequently issued to both guilds.<sup>3</sup> The Joiners' copy has survived and is dated 11 December 1617.<sup>4</sup>

Due to the lack of indices for these archives, it is time consuming to go through all the documents in a defined period. But now and then this seemingly endless search presents a hidden gem. In this case, it is a previously unpublished document that mentions 'Deersaeme S[eigneu]r Peeter Paulo Rubbens schilder van haere doorluchtichste hoocheden' (The honourable gentleman Peeter Paulo Rubens painter to Their Serene Highnesses).<sup>5</sup>

In this attestation of 5 January 1621, the Antwerp notary Peeter Van Aerdenbodeghem certified – at the request of the slater Abraham Van den Bossche – that Peter Paul Rubens instructed 'the same joiners who constructed his house in 1615' to install a boarding on his roof as support for the slate covering.<sup>6</sup> Rubens claimed that – according to his slater – the joiners had not nailed the boarding properly and that the same slater had to do the job all over again, though he demanded payment only

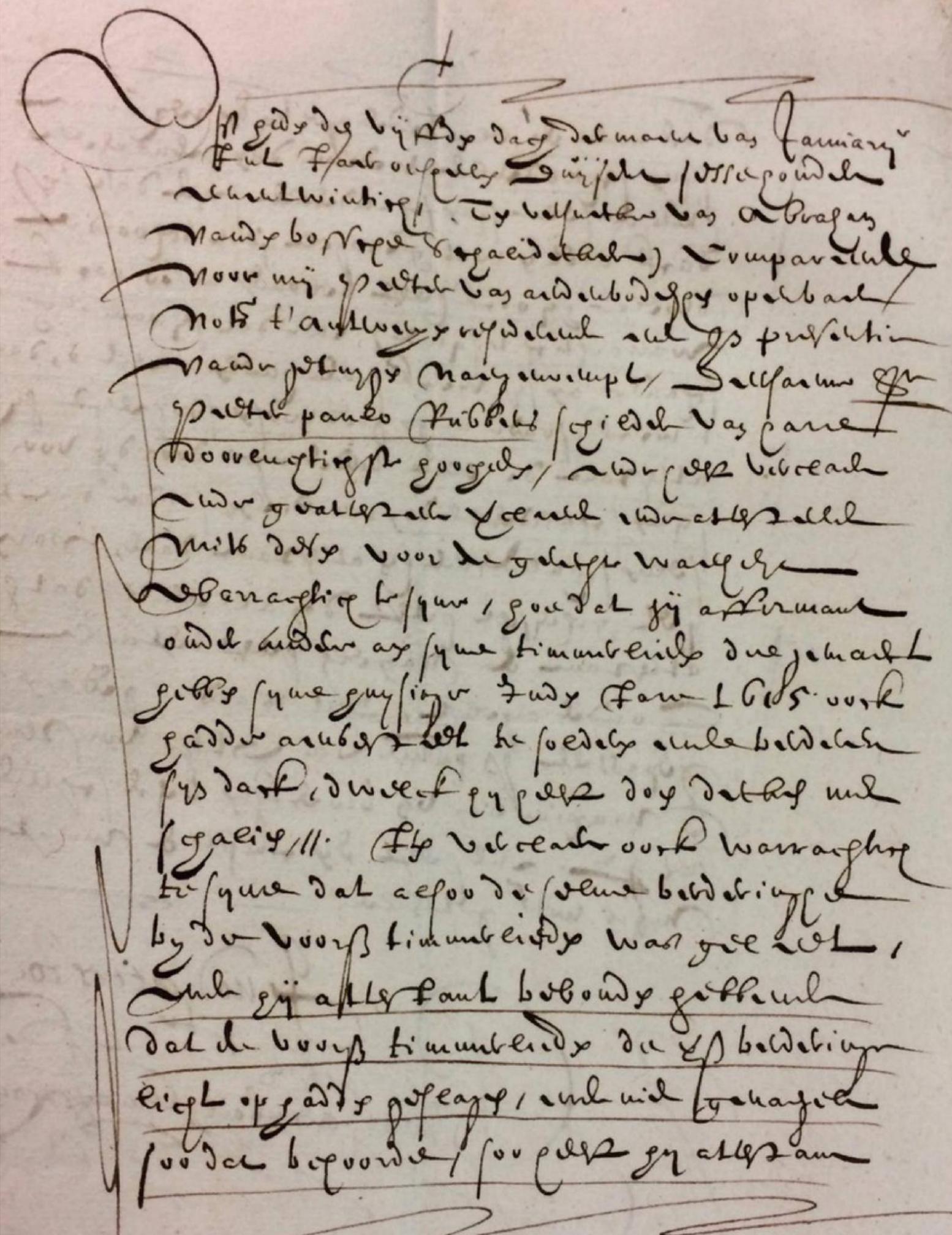


Fig.1. Detail of the attestation of 5 January 1621 where Peter Paul Rubens is mentioned as 'Deersaeme S[eigneu]r Peeter Paulo Rubbens schilder van haere doorluchtichste hoocheden', Felixarchief/Antwerp City Archives, photo of GA#5701, 5-1-1621. Fig.2. Exterior view of Rubenshuis. NiglayNik / Shutterstock.com.



for the nails used.<sup>7</sup>

The attestation provides valuable information on the construction of Rubens's house.<sup>8</sup>

The term 'syne huysinge' in this archival document refers to the property Rubens bought in 1610, now situated at Wapper 9–15 in Antwerp and known as the *Rubenshuis*. The deed of purchase was executed in Amsterdam. The property's previous owners, the Thys-Gielis family, had moved there to avoid the religious tensions in the Catholic Spanish Netherlands. Rubens obtained a reduction on the asking price by agreeing to personally paint a picture for the owners, and to take on their son as an apprentice in his studio.

The state of preservation of the building in 1610 is unknown.<sup>9</sup> Rubens planned and succeeded in converting it into a prestigious artist's residence – a palazzo with an adjoining studio.<sup>10</sup> Assumptions have been made that renovations started from 1611, but records have not yet been found to confirm this.<sup>11</sup> The repair of the wall between Rubens's garden and the property of the guild of the Antwerp Arquebusiers (Antwerp's Civil Guard) is the first documented activity, dated 25 July 1615. Previously, the earliest-known evidence of the renovations on the building itself could be found in

a notarial deed of 2 November 1616. It states that the joiner Jasper Billeau was commissioned by Rubens to make two wooden stairs with bannisters and railings for the residence. Rubens and his family moved into their home between the summer of 1614 and 1616. In the years between 1612 and 1618 Rubens invested heavily in the renovations. On 12 May 1618 he wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador to The Hague and mentioned his outlay on the project. Having already spent a few thousand guilders on the building, he stressed that he did not want to exceed the budget for a whim, stating that he was not a prince but a man who had to earn his living by the labour of his own hands.<sup>12</sup>

The attestation of 5 January 1621 therefore contains new proof of the (re)construction of Rubens's residence in 1615. The Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project was delighted to hand over this discovery to the Centrum Rubenianum in Antwerp in 2017.

#### NOTES

- 1 The privilege to manufacture panels was granted to the joiners' trade (*Schrijnwerkers*) in an ordinance of 1477, published in Antwerp, Felixarchieff/Antwerp City Archives (cited hereafter as ACA), Antwerpsch archievenblad, 30-1-1477, 1r, 20, pp.51–52; 15-6-1478 and 23-7-1478, 1r, 21, pp.75–76, 80–81. See also J. Van Damme: 'De Antwerpse tafereelmakers en hun merken. Identificatie en betekenis', *Jaarboek voor het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, Antwerp 1990, p.196, also published in English as J. Van Damme: 'The Antwerp panel-makers and their mark', *Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project*. Updated by Ingrid Moortgat and Piet Bakker, edited by Joost Vander Auwera, with an introduction, and Justin Davies. Translated by Michael Lomax. [jordaensvandyck.org/antwerp-panel-makers-and-their-marks/](http://jordaensvandyck.org/antwerp-panel-makers-and-their-marks/) (accessed 14 January 2021).
- 2 Bastiaen Van Hove, registered as master *bakmaker* in 1543, is the first guild member to be mentioned as panel maker in the records of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke in 1545. Van Damme, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.193–194.
- 3 ACA, GA#4335, 78v–81r, 11-12-1617.
- 4 Copies of the Joiners' Ordinance are kept in ACA, GA#4003, f°88v–91r; GA#4334, f°60v–62v, GA#4575, nr 6. See also Van Damme, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.196.
- 5 ACA, GA#5701, 5-1-1621. For the English translation of the entire document, see J. Davies: 'The Botched Job on Rubens's Roof', *Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project*, [jordaensvandyck.org/rubens-had-problems-with-his-roof/](http://jordaensvandyck.org/rubens-had-problems-with-his-roof/) (accessed 23 December 2020).
- 6 '[...] aen syne timmerlieden, die gemaect hebben syne huysinge inden jare 1615, oock hadden aenbesteet te solderen ende berderen syn dack dwelck hy heeft doen decken met schalien [...]' as mentioned in the original document cited in note 5 above. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Petra Maclot, architectural historian, for sharing her thoughts on this subject and for rectifying the building terms.
- 7 For the English translation of the entire document, see Davies, *op. cit.* (note 5).
- 8 I am sincerely grateful to Dr. Klara Alen (Centrum Rubenianum, Antwerp), currently researching the history of Rubens's garden, for pointing out the importance of the attestation of 5 January 1621 to me and for sharing her research results.
- 9 P. Maclot: *Bouwhistorisch onderzoek, analyse en waardenstelling van de Rubenssite: het als monument beschermde Rubenshuis, Wapper 9–15 en Hopland 13, en Kolveniershof met Rubenianum, Kolveniersstraat 16–20 2000 Antwerpen* (Antwerpen, Afdeling 3, Sectie C 1358f en 1370e), unpublished report, Antwerp 2016, p.46–49.
- 10 According to Dr. Petra Maclot it is uncertain whether the roof mentioned in the attestation of 5 January 1621 is the roof of the newly built studio or the renovated roof of the town house.
- 11 Maclot, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp.53–54.
- 12 Maclot's translation of this passage is as follows: 'en ik heb dat jaar enkele duizenden florijnen uitgegeven aan mijn gebouw en zou daarbij niet graag voor een gril de grenzen overschrijden van een goed econoom. Tenslotte ben ik geen prins maar iemand die zijn brood verdient met het werk zijner handen'. Maclot, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp.50–56.

## DISCOVERIES

# ‘Mr Pullenbrooke and Mr Kernings two Dutchmen and servants to his said late Majesty’: New information on Cornelis van Poelenbergh and Alexander Keirincx

JAMES INNES-MULRAINE

*Geldorp v Swettnam* 1662, a legal case in The National Archives at Kew, discovered during research into George Geldorp (c.1590–1665), an émigré Antwerp painter central to Van Dyck’s portrait business in England, contains significant new detail about the careers of two of Van Dyck’s Netherlandish contemporaries in London.<sup>1</sup> In this case, ‘Mr Pullenbrooke’ is Cornelis van Poelenburgh (1594–1667), a painter of mythological figure groups from Utrecht whose portrait is included in the *Iconography* and whom Van Dyck may have met in Antwerp in 1631–2.<sup>2</sup> ‘Mr Kernings’ is Van Dyck’s fellow-Antwerper, the landscapist Alexander Keirincx (1600–52),<sup>3</sup> who was registered as a master of the Guild of Saint Luke in 1618–19.<sup>4</sup> Poelenburgh and Keirincx arrived in England in 1637, and were employed by King Charles I.<sup>5</sup> Both painters were members of the Netherlandish artistic community centred around the Court until shortly before the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642. Keirincx was recorded in Amsterdam early in 1641.<sup>6</sup> Poelenburgh was back in Utrecht by the beginning of 1642.<sup>7</sup> The exact reason for their departure from England has remained mysterious until now.<sup>8</sup>

During their stay in London, Poelenburgh and Keirincx were accommodated in two houses on Orchard Street, Westminster. These were rented by the King for £60 annually from a private landlord, Lawrence Swettnam (d.1648).<sup>9</sup> In 1649 Swettnam’s widow Mary received payment for overdue rent on the property from the Parliamentary Committee of the Lords and Commons for His Majesty’s Revenue.<sup>10</sup> *Geldorp v Swettnam* is a later action between Mary Swettnam and George Geldorp (c.1590–1665). Through his friend the courtier Endymion Porter,<sup>11</sup> Geldorp secured the King’s permission to shoehorn himself into Poelenburgh and Keirincx’s vacant tenancy from 1643 to 1649.<sup>12</sup> The legal dispute concerns Geldorp’s agreement to pay Lawrence Swettnam a reduced rent for his tenancy and to paint for him ‘two good pictures to the life yearly.’<sup>13</sup> Geldorp’s statement in the case gives a possible reason for Poelenburgh and Keirincx leaving England together:

Fig.1. Cornelis van Poelenbergh (1594–1667) and Alexander Keirencx (Antwerp 1600–1652 Amsterdam), *Wooded landscape with figures*, signed and dated A. Keirincx 1629, oil on panel, 64 by 92 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague.  
Fig.2. Alexander Keirencx (1600–1652), *Seton Palace and the Forth Estuary*, c.1639, oil on panel, 45.6 by 68.5 cm, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.  
Photo © Antonia Reeve.





the said Mr Pullenbrook and Mr Kerings were afterwards employed by his said late Majesty to goe into Holland for the dispatch of some affaires for him and they accordingly went thither with an intent to returne againe and to hold and enioy the said houses but the late unhappy Warres happening in this Kingdome within a short time after and soe returnd not againe.<sup>14</sup>

A mythological *Wooded landscape with figures* (Mauritshuis, The Hague) by Poelenburgh and Keirincx shows that they were collaborators as early as 1629 (fig.1).<sup>15</sup> They could also paint more literal subjects. The King owned copies by Poelenburgh,<sup>16</sup> and two versions of his portrait of *The Seven Children of the King and Queen of Bohemia* of 1629 (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest and Schloss Mosigkau, Anhalt).<sup>17</sup> Keirincx painted real as well as imaginary landscapes. Between 1639 and 1640 he painted ten views of towns and castles in Yorkshire and Scotland, including *Seton Palace and the Forth Estuary* (fig.2) (National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh). These are admired today as the first Scottish landscapes in art, but they may have been commissioned as a symbol of Charles's apparent recovery of power in the north of the Kingdom after the First Bishops' War.<sup>18</sup>

Poelenburgh and Keirincx's dispatch to Holland may also have

had strategic overtones. In May 1641 the King's daughter Princess Mary married Prince William of Orange, and in March 1642 she travelled to The Hague accompanied by her mother Queen Henrietta Maria.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps Charles had commissioned views of Dutch royal residences including portraits of his daughter and her new in-laws. This would gladden her family at home and might reflect Charles's interest in Holland as a potential ally in his impending wars.

Lastly, this case illustrates how a newly discovered archival source can correct an old error. Richard Symonds mentions Geldorp in June 1653 'at his house in Archer Street [...] Pulingbergh [...] lived in the next house.'<sup>20</sup> Orchard Street and Archer Street are both in Westminster. Symonds may have been confused by the fact that the words 'Orchard' and 'Archer' were pronounced similarly in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup> Geldorp seems to have remained on Orchard Street until the end of his life. The Westminster hearth tax return in 1664 lists 'Mary Swatname' and 'George Gildrope' as next-door neighbours in two of the largest houses on Orchard Street with ten and eleven hearths respectively.<sup>22</sup>

## NOTES

- The National Archives, Kew, 'Geldorp v Swetnam 1662', C 10/67/59.
- S. Barnes, N. de Poorter, O. Millar, H. Vey: *Van Dyck, A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven and London 2004, p.380.
- The two painters' names are invariably misspelled in English sources. See 'George Vertue Notebooks' V, *Walpole Society* 26 (1937–38), p.38: '[transcribed signature] Keirincx [...] tho by us this name is not so exactly splet [sic]';
- R. Townsend: 'The one and only Alexander Keirincx', *Apollo Magazine* 138 (October 1993), p.220.
- J. Wood: 'Orazio Gentileschi and some Netherlandish artists in London: the patronage of the Duke of Buckingham, Charles I and Henrietta Maria', *Simiolus, Netherlands quarterly for the history of art* 28 (2001), p.119, pp.124–25, Appendix 1, docs. 8, 9.
- U. Härting, R. Townsend, R. Coone: *Alexander Keirincx (1600–1652), Der Baummaler – Die Gemälde* (Kontich, 2018), p.21.
- N. Sluijter-Seijffert: *Cornelis van Poelenburgh, 1594/5–1667: The Paintings*, trans. J. Kilian, K. Kist, OCULI. Studies in the Arts of the Low Countries 15, Amsterdam, 2016, p.24.
- R. Coone suggests that Keirincx may have been escaping a debt due to his friend and neighbour in London the silversmith Christiaan van Vianen (active 1600–1667). Härting *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.19, pp.78–9, doc. 26.
- Wood, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp.126–127, Appendix 4, docs. 3, 4.
- H. Paton ed.: 'Report on the Laing manuscripts preserved in the University of Edinburgh', *Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, London 1 (1914), p.249: 'Warrants for sundry payments 1649–1656. Several Warrants for payment from the public funds (1) for the use and dwellings of Cornelious Van Poelenburgh and Alexander Keyrnix, two Dutch painters employed by the King since July, 1638, 315l., dated 10 July, 1649, for which discharges are given by Mary Swetnam. 2pp.'
- See Parliamentary Archives, London, HL/PO/JO/10/1/192, 'The humble petition of George Geldorpe Marchant stranger', 23 September 1645, in which Geldorp disingenuously states that he 'never was within the Kings Quarters or held any correspondency with any of that partie'.
- Document cited at note 1 above, [untitled] 'The Complaint of George Geldorp'.
- Document cited at note 1 above, 'The Answere of Mary Swetnam widdow defendant to the Bill of Complaint of George Geldorpe Complaynant'.
- Document cited at note 1 above, [untitled] 'The Complaint of George Geldorp'.
- Despite their long association, no known collaborative work by Poelenburgh and Keirincx is datable to their London careers. See Sluijter-Seijffert *op. cit.* (note 7), p.162.
- British Library, London, Harley MSS 4898, p.289: 'Hampton Court Pictures, No.85, The Nativity of Christ, by Pertinburgh A Coppie, £4 Sold Mr Lampitt [Remigius van Leemput] £4 10s, 86 The three Kings a Coppie by Poellenbrugh £4 Sold Mr Lampitt Ditto for £4 10s'.
- Ibid.* p.218: 'White hall Pictures [...] 189 The Queen of Bohemia's Children in a landskipe by Pollenburgh £25 Sold Mr Decritz [Emmanuel de Critz] the 18th November 1651 for £25'.
- R. Townsend: 'Alexander Keirincx's royal commission of 1639–1640' in J. Roding, E. Sluijter, B. Westerweel, M. Meij-Tolsma, E. Domela Neiuwenhuis: *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain 1550–1800*, Leiden 2003, pp.137–50.
- M. Klebusek: 'Mary, princess royal (1631–1660)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: '[Mary] was brought over by Henrietta Maria, who, under the pretext of accompanying her daughter, was bringing large quantities of jewels and plate, planning to trade them in the Netherlands for money and weapons for Charles's campaigns.'
- British Library, London, 'Richard Symonds Notebooks', Egerton MS 1636, f.93v.
- W. Dugdale: *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated*, London 1656, p.217, sub Marton: 'the O by antient use in pronuntiation being changed changed into A, as in the North parts of this Kingdom, where the *Vestigia* of our old English are yet most plain to be found, is yet very usual'.
- 'London Hearth Tax, Westminster 1664' (2011), *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-hearth-tax/westminster/1664> [accessed 15 March 2021].

## DISCOVERIES

# The red wax seal of Jan-Baptista I Anthoine (1624–1691), the Postmaster-General of Antwerp and his collection of Van Dyck paintings

JUSTIN DAVIES

It is not only panel makers' and Antwerp guild marks on the reverse of panels which can provide valuable information for the art historian. In the course of the project, JVDPPP twice encountered a red wax collector's seal which places the two Van Dyck paintings concerned in the well-known collection of Jan-Baptista I Anthoine (1624–1691), knight and Postmaster-General of Antwerp. In addition, images of a third, which had once adorned the reverse of a small Van Dyck panel before it was cradled were found in the files of the art historian Ludwig Burchard conserved at the Rubenianum, Antwerp.

The seal was first sighted on the reverse of the panel of the *grisaille* oil sketch *Rinaldo and Armida* in the National Gallery, London (fig.1).<sup>1</sup> The coat of arms had been identified from Rietstap's monumental *Armorial Général* as Anthoine's and published as such by Gregory Martin in 1970.<sup>2</sup> Expanding the common heraldic abbreviations used by Rietstap, this coat of arms is recorded as: 'Anthoine – Anvers, Brabant, Franche-Comté. D'argent au chevron d'azur, chargé de trois étoiles d'or et accompagné de trois taux ou bequilles de St. Antoine' ('Argent, a chevron of azure, charged with three stars of gold and accompanied by three Taux or crutches of St. Antoine').<sup>3</sup>

This coat of arms appears on Jan-Baptista I Anthoine's memorial monument in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in St James's Church, Antwerp. It was reproduced in *Inscriptions Funéraires et Monumentales de la Province d'Anvers* (1863) (fig.2).<sup>4</sup> It also features on the curtain of the 1664 painting by Gonzales Coques (1614–1684), *The Family of Jan-Baptista Anthoine*, in the Royal Collection, London (fig.3).<sup>5</sup> The painting had been erroneously titled *Group Portrait of the Verbiest Family* until the arms were correctly identified.<sup>6</sup>



Fig.1. Seal of Jan-Baptista I Anthoine on the reverse of Anthony Van Dyck, *Rinaldo and Armida*, National Gallery, London. © JVDPPP.  
 Fig.2. Coat of arms of Jan-Baptista I Anthoine, reproduced in *Inscriptions Funéraires et Monumentales de la Province d'Anvers* (1863), p.91.  
 Fig.3. Gonzales Coques, *The Family of Jan-Baptista Anthoine*, signed and dated 1664, oil on copper, 56.5 by 73.8 cm, RCIN 405339, Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.  
 Fig.4. Nos.51 to 65 of the Van Dyck attributed paintings in Jan-Baptista I Anthoine's inventory, Felixarchief / Antwerp City Archives, N#2525, fol.222.

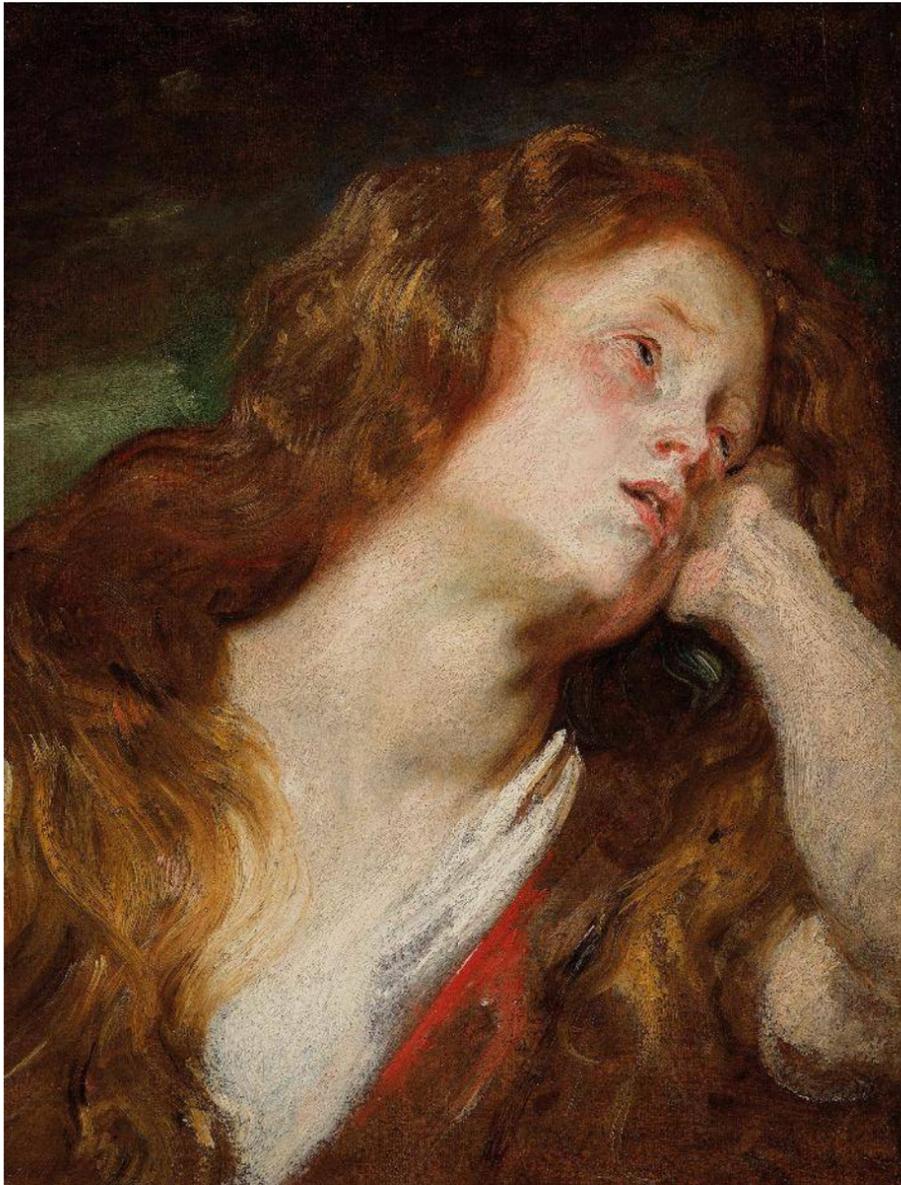


Fig.5. Anthony Van Dyck, *Young Woman Resting her Head on her Hand (probably a Penitent Mary Magdalene)*, oil on paper on panel, 48.5 by 38 cm, whereabouts unknown. © Dorotheum.  
 Fig.6. Seal of Jan-Baptista I Anthoine on the reverse of Anthony Van Dyck, *Young Woman Resting her Head on her Hand (probably a Penitent Mary Magdalene)*, whereabouts unknown. © JVDPPP.

Jan-Baptista I Anthoine amassed a distinguished collection of paintings which was visited by the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728) during the latter's European journey 1687–88.<sup>7</sup> The inventory of his collection was compiled by the painters Jan Erasmus Quellinus (1634–1715) and Pieter van der Willigen (1634–1694) and lodged with the Antwerp notary Joan Michael Lodewijcx after his death on 27 March 1691 (fig.4).<sup>8</sup> It has subsequently been published and lists 306 paintings. Of these, 36 were attributed to Van Dyck. They are numbers 48 to 82 and 166 in the inventory, which can be found, with transcription and translation from the original, in the appendix to this article.

The second seal was a welcome discovery. The JVDPPP was invited to examine Van Dyck's *Young Woman Resting her Head on her Hand (probably a Penitent Mary Magdalene)* at the Dorotheum offices, Brussels in May 2020 (fig.5).<sup>9</sup> In the 2004 Van Dyck catalogue, Nora De Poorter made the link between the three published head sketches related to Mary Magdalene and Anthoine's inventory, noting that 'Jan-Baptista Anthoine owned two studies, quite explicitly said to be laid down on panel, and thus possibly identifiable with I.4, I.41 or I.42: 'Een geschetste Magdalenatronie geplact op 't pinneel van Van Dyck' ('A sketched Magdalene tronie pasted onto panel by Van Dyck'); 'Een Vrouwetronie met hangenden haer van pampier geplact op pinneel van Van Dijck' ('A female tronie with loose hair on paper pasted onto panel by Van Dyck').<sup>10</sup> They are numbers 52 and 57 in Anthoine's inventory (see Appendix and fig.4).

The current whereabouts of I.41, *The Penitent Mary Magdalen with a Skull*, is unknown but the JVDPPP was able to examine I.4, *Study of a Young Woman (Mary Magdalene)* at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna in April 2017. The reverse of the panel has been cradled and all clues lost. By happy contrast, I.42 has not been cradled and close inspection revealed the red wax seal of Jan-Baptista I Anthoine. After three hundred and more years, it is almost as dark as the wood of the panel (fig.6).

The third seal was connected to Van Dyck's sketch for *The Adoration of the Shepherds* altarpiece in Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, Dendermonde, which was examined by the JVDPPP in London in May 2017 (fig.7).<sup>11</sup> Though the wooden support is now cradled, research in the files of the art historian Ludwig Burchard, conserved at the Rubenianum, Antwerp revealed that the uncradled panel had once borne Anthoine's red wax seal. Burchard's assistant (his son) correctly identified the seal as Anthoine's from black and white images which were sent by the owner of the panel in

1956 (fig.8).<sup>12</sup> The small sketch, 28.6 x 24.3 cm, corresponds to no.60 in Anthoine's inventory, 'Een schetse Kersnacht van Van Dijck' ('A sketch Christmas Night by Van Dyck'), which is confirmed by its low valuation, 72 florins, compared to larger and more finished paintings, such as the *grisaille* of *Rinaldo and Armida* at the National Gallery, London, 57 x 41.5cm, which was no.59 and valued at 300 florins (see Appendix).

The existence of these three red wax seals gives rise to the hope that more might have survived on the reverse of panels once owned by Jan-Baptista I Anthoine and that their discovery might lead to the identification of further panels mentioned in his inventory. In addition, the eagle eyed will have noticed that the coat of arms on Anthoine's memorial monument (fig.2) differs from the those in the 1664 painting and on the three seals. There are additional griffins and a coronet. According to the 1760 *Nobiliaire des Pays-Bas et du Comté de Bourgogne*, Anthoine obtained a coronet and griffin in place of feathers on the helmet, and two supporting griffins in a grant from King Charles II of Spain on 9 May 1678, who created him Chevalier on 9 April 1679.<sup>13</sup>

This could imply that the red wax seals predate 9 May 1678 and, therefore, the panels entered Anthoine's collection before that date. The discovery of a further wax seal with the additional griffins and the coronet is needed in order to determine whether this might be the case. It would be of interest from an art historical perspective as, for example, it would prove that the *Rinaldo and Armida* in the National Gallery bears a pre-9 May 1678 seal and, therefore, cannot be the 'Een Armida wit en sweert van Van Dijck' ('An Armida white and black by Van Dyck') recorded in the inventory of Alexander Voet the Elder on 15 October 1687.<sup>14</sup> In which case, the latter is more likely to be the *grisaille* panel that served as the engraver's copy, which was attributed to Van Dyck for many years and is now in the collection of the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium.<sup>15</sup>



## APPENDIX

The paintings in the collection were divided amongst Jan-Baptista I Anthoine's nine children by blind draw: [A] Isabella Clara, minor, [B] Maria Alexandrina, married to Thomas Fraula, knight, secretary to the King and commissioner of the royal domains and finances, [C] Joanna Maria, a nun, [D] Jan Baptista II, director of the Post, [E] Jan Baptista Xaverius, minor, [F] Theresa Maria, married to Jan Potter van der Loo, counsellor and commissioner of the royal domains and finances, [G] Barbara Catarina, a nun, [H] Guillelmus Josephus, minor, and [I] Ludovicus Anthoine, director of the Post. Ludovicus and Jan Baptista II Anthoine were the guardians to the underage children (Duverger, *op. cit.* (note 9)).

The paintings attributed to Van Dyck in Anthoine's collection were transcribed from the original inventory by Erik Duverger (*op. cit.*) and have been translated by Joost Vander Auwera. Current locations of some of the paintings are proposed in Barnes *et. al.* 2004, *op. cit.* (note 9).

No. 48.

*Twee Engeltiens van Van Dijck op pinneel (Two little angels by Van Dyck on panel) [H] Fl. 400-00*

No. 49.

*Een Tronie met naecte schouwers op pinneel van Van Dijck (A Tronie with naked shoulders on panel by Van Dyck) [C] Fl. 60-00*

No. 50.

*Eenen Franciscus aen de voeten van Ons Heer van Van Dijck (A Saint Francis at the feet of Our Lord by Van Dyck) [G] Fl. 350-00*

No. 51.

*Een Christustronie van Van Dijck naer het leven (A Christ tronie by Van Dyck after life) [F] Fl. 72-00*

No. 52.

*Een geschetse Magdalentronie geplact op 't pinneel van Van Dijck (A sketched Magdalene tronie glued on the panel by Van Dyck) [G] Fl. 60-00*

No. 53.

*Een Contrefejtsel van den Pensionaris Schot op doeck van Van Dijck (A Portrait of the Pensionary Schot on canvas by Van Dyck) [A] Fl. 125-00*

No. 54.

*Een geschetse Tronie Van Dijck op pinneel (A sketched tronie Van Dyck on panel) [C] Fl. 50-00*

No. 55.

*Een geschetse Oude Manstronie mett groen cleedt van Van Dijck (A sketched tronie of an Old Man with green dress by Van Dyck) [C] Fl. 50-00*

No. 56.

*Een Mans Contrefejtsel met de handt op de borste ende een lob aen van Van Dijck (A Portrait of a Man with the hand on the breast and wearing a (pleated) collar by Van Dyck) [H] Fl. 200-00*

No. 57.

*Een Vrouwetronie met hangenden haer van pampier geplact op pineel van Van Dijck (A tronie of a Woman with hanging (= straight) hair on paper glued on panel by Van Dyck) [D] Fl. 80-00*

No. 58.

*Een Contrefejtsel Manstronie met witten baert van Van Dijck (A Portrait tronie of a Man with white beard by Van Dyck) [G] Fl. 60-00*

No. 59.

*Een schetse van Hermide ende Renalde van Van Dijck (A sketch of Armida and Rinaldo by Van Dyck) [C] Fl. 300-00*

No. 60.

*Een schetse Kersnacht van Van Dijck (A sketch Christmas Night by Van Dyck) [F] Fl. 72-00*

No. 61.

*Een Contrefejtsel van Van Dyck met eenen mantel in de hand (A portrait of Van Dyck with a mantle in the (=his) hand) [E] Fl. 200-00*

No. 62.

*Een Vrouwetronie met witte ende swerte coove Van Dijck (A Woman's tronie with white and black hooded coat Van Dyck) [A] Fl. 100-00*

No. 63.

*Twee Contrefejtsels van Cornelis ende Lucas de Wael op eenen doeck van Van Dyck (Two Portraits of Cornelis and Lucas de Wael on one canvas by Van Dyck) [G] Fl. 600-00*

No. 64.

*Twee Contrefejtsels op eenen doeck van de Joden Vader ende Sone van Van Dyck (Two Portraits on one canvas of the Jodes Father and Son by Van Dyck) [I] Fl. 700-00*

No. 65.

*Een Contrefejtsel met twee handen ende lob op pineel van Van Dyck (A Portrait with two hands and (pleated) collar on panel by Van Dyck) [D] Fl. 100-00*

No. 66.

*Een Lievrouken aen 't cribbeken met een eseltien van Van Dijck (A Little Our Lady at the little manger with a little donkey by Van Dyck) [G] Fl. 250-00*

No. 67-68.

*Twee Contrefejtsels Rabat met sijn Vrouwe kniestucken van Van Dijck (Two Portraits Rabat with his Spouse knee length by Van Dyck) [D] Fl. 300-00*

No. 69-70.

*Petrus ende Paulus doeck op pinneel geplact van Van Dijck (Peter and Paul canvas on panel glued by Van Dyck) [D] Fl. 400-00*

No. 71.

*Jeronimus op pinneel van Van Dijck (Jerome on panel by Van Dyck) [E] Fl. 350-00*

No. 72.

*Een Vrouwecontrefeijsel in een leenstoel van Van Dijck (A portrait of a woman on a leather chair by Van Dyck) [I] Fl. 450-00*

No. 73.

*Een Portrait Manspersoon in eenen houten stoel van Van Dijck (A Portrait A Man's Person on a wooden Chair by Van Dyck) [D] Fl. 72-00*

No. 74.

*Een Siecken nemende sijn Bedde op van Van Dijck (A Sick (person) taking up his bed) by Van Dyck [H] Fl. 800-00*

No. 75.

*Jeronimus in een lantschap op doeck van Van Dyck (Jerome in a landscape on canvas by Van Dyck) [I] Fl. 250-00*

No. 76-77.

*Carolus Stuart, coninck van Engelant ende de Coninginne in twee stucken van Van Dijck (Charles Stuart, king of England and the Queen in two pieces by Van Dyck) [F] Fl. 1200-00*

No. 78.

*Sint-Xaverius met Onse-Lieve-Vrouwe doeck op pinneel van Van Dijck (Saint Francis Xavier with Our Lady canvas on panel by Van Dyck) [D] Fl. 800-00*

No. 79.

*Een Cruijcefix op doeck van Van Dijck (A Crucifixion on canvas by Van Dyck) [E]. Fl. 800-00*

No. 80.

*Sint-Jeronimus op doeck van Van Dijck (Saint Jerome on canvas by Van Dyck) [B]. Fl. 1000-00*

No. 81.

*Een groot stuck Sint-Sebastiaen op doeck van Van Dijck (A big piece Saint Sebastian on canvas by Van Dyck) [A]. Fl. 1000-00*

No. 82.

*Een Vrouw met Kinneken presenterende een paer hantschoenen op eenen doeck van Van Dijck (A Woman with Little Child presenting a pair of gloves on a canvas by Van Dyck) [C]. Fl. 800-00*

No. 166.

*Een Naeckt Vrouwen van Van Dyck (A Nude Little Woman) by Van Dyck [A]. Fl. 50-00*



Fig.7. Anthony Van Dyck, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, oil on panel, 28.6 by 24.3 cm, whereabouts unknown. © Philip Mould Ltd.  
Fig.8. Seal of Jan-Baptista I Antoine, previously on the reverse of Anthony Van Dyck, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, whereabouts unknown, image from the Ludwig Burchard files, Rubenianum, Antwerp, VD 350/1.

## NOTES

- 1 Anthony Van Dyck, *Rinaldo and Armida*, oil on panel, 57 x 41.5 cm, National Gallery, London, inv. no.877B, examined by the JVDPPP in December 2016.
- 2 G. Martin: *National Gallery Catalogues. The Flemish School circa 1600 – circa 1900*, London 1970, 1986 reprint, p.40 n.19.
- 3 J. B. Rietstap: *Armorial Général; précédé d'un Dictionnaire des Termes du Blason*, Gouda 1884, 2nd. Ed., I p.54.
- 4 *Inscriptions Funéraires et Monumentales de la Province d'Anvers. Arrondissement d'Anvers. Deuxième volume. Anvers – Églises Paroissiales. Ie Partie*, Antwerp 1863, p.91.
- 5 Gonzales Coques, *The Family of Jan-Baptista Anthoine*, signed and dated 1664, oil on copper, 56.5 x 78.3 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405339.
- 6 M. Lisken-Pruss: *Gonzales Coques (1614-1684). Der Kleine Van Dyck*, Turnhout 2013, p.129.
- 7 M. Laine and B. Magnusson, eds.: *Nicodemus Tessin the Younger. Sources – Works – Collections. Travel Notes 1673-77 and 1687-88*, Stockholm 2002, p.152.
- 8 Antwerp, Felixarchief / Antwerp City Archives, N#2525, fols.204-245v, retrieved by Ingrid Moortgat; F.J. Van Den Branden: 'Verzameling van schilderijen te Antwerpen', *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* 22, pp.77-89; J. Denucé: *De Antwerpsche "konstkamers": inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen*, Antwerp 1932, pp.353-365; E. Duverger: *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels 1984-2009, XII, pp.85-99.
- 9 S. Barnes, N. De Poorter, O. Millar, H. Vey: *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven and London 2004, p.59, l.42; sale, Dorotheum, Vienna, 9 June 2020 (59), as Anthony van Dyck, *A young woman resting her head, probably the Penitent Magdalene*, oil on paper on panel, 48.5 x 38 cm.
- 10 N. De Poorter in Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp.58-59.
- 11 Anthony Van Dyck, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, oil on panel, 28.6 x 24.3 cm, whereabouts unknown; C. Brown: 'An oil sketch by Anthony van Dyck', in C. Dumas *et al.*, eds.: *Connoisseurship. Essays in Honour of Fred G. Meijer*, Leiden 2020, pp.57-59.
- 12 Antwerp, Rubenianum, VD 530/1.
- 13 M. de, Sr d'Hovel: *Nobiliare des Pays - Bas et du Comté de Bourgogne*, Louvain 1760, p.492 ff.
- 14 Antwerp, Felixarchief / Antwerp City Archives, N#433, fol.15v, retrieved by Ingrid Moortgat; Duverger, *op. cit.* (note 8), XI, p.531.
- 15 After Anthony Van Dyck, *Rinaldo and Armida*, oil on panel, 57 x 41.5 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. no.3781; H. Vey in Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 9), p.295; C. Depauw and G. Luijten: exh.cat. *Anthony van Dyck as a printmaker*, Antwerp (Museum Plantin-Moretus) and Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1999-2000, p.314.

## JVDPPP WEBSITE RESOURCES

### List of resources available on www.jordaensvandyck.org

#### PANELS RELATED TO JORDAENS AND VAN DYCK

The website currently features over 250 panel paintings that are related to Jordaens and Van Dyck and have been examined by the Project. Easily accessible through separate artist catalogues, these entries offer a wealth of information such as the most recent published attribution, available literature, and known provenance of the artwork. All paintings have a high-resolution image of the front and back of the panel in addition to detailed photos of guild marks, panel makers' marks, inscriptions, and labels (if present). If dendrochronological examination of the panel was possible, the results for each plank are presented by approximate felling dates, the origin of the wood, and the number of tree rings.

#### ARCHIVAL FINDS RELATED TO THE LIVES AND PAINTINGS OF JORDAENS AND VAN DYCK

The website features an extensive collection of documents on the lives and work of Jordaens and Van Dyck. The archival documents cover a wide range of topics, including birth and marriage records, as well as collection inventories, financial loans and lawsuits. Each document is transcribed and translated into English by a JVDPPP team member, and includes a colour photo or a black and white scan of the original folios.

- Anthony Van Dyck (78 documents)
- Jacques Jordaens (20 documents)

#### ANTWERP PANEL MAKERS

The Panel Makers section includes a comprehensive collection of documents on the Antwerp panel makers' marks and the guild marks found by the Project on the reverse of the panels. Many of these valuable seventeenth-century documents are transcribed and translated into English for the first time.

There are currently four biographical timelines available on the website. These list all known archival references made to important panel makers. Each biography features a stylised illustration of the panel maker's mark as well as one or more examples of the marks as found on the back of a panel. More biographies will be added over the course of the project.

Biographical timelines currently available:

- The Gabron Family (over 40 references and a family tree)
- Guiliam Aertssen (over 10 references)
- The Vriendt Family (over 30 references)
- The Claessens Family (over 30 references)

#### ONLINE ARTICLES

To make Jordaens and Van Dyck research as accessible as possible, JVDPPP is publishing English translations of important out-of-copyright articles and texts, or in-copyright articles with the author's permission, for the first time.

A selection of out-of-print articles that have been republished on the website:

- 'Some Notes on the Development of Van Dyck's Portrait Style' (edited and updated from L. Baldass, 1957)
- 'The Early Work of Jacob Jordaens' (edited and updated from L. Burchard, 1928)
- 'The Early Work of Van Dyck' (edited and updated from G. Glück, 1924)
- 'The Antwerp panel-makers and their marks' (translated from J. Van Damme, 1990)
- History of the Antwerp School of Painting (translated from F.J. Van den Branden, 1883)

#### NEWS SECTION

The Project regularly publishes brief news items on its website about new findings and publications related to Jordaens and Van Dyck.

- A 400-year-old Flemish masterpiece spent decades hiding in plain sight
- Mysterious woman in the Royal Collection portrait identified as Mary Boleyn
- New information on the second Surveyor of the King's Pictures and Van Dyck copyist Jan Van Belcamp
- 'careless workmanship': Sir Kenelm Digby's devastating critique of Van Dyck's pictures
- Unusual finds on one of Van Dyck's largest oil sketches
- The Botched Job on Rubens's Roof
- Is this Van Dyck's Coat of Arms?
- A new reference to the greatest group portrait ever destroyed: Van Dyck's painting of the Brussels City Council

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Centre, London  
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College of Physicians, London  
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford  
Auktionshaus Mars, Dr. G. & H.  
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Birmingham Museum and  
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en Lande, Groningen  
Heinz Library and Archive,  
National Portrait Gallery, London  
Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum,  
Braunschweig  
His Grace the Duke of Bedford,  
Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire  
John and Mable Ringling Museum  
of Art, Sarasota, Florida  
J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles  
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The Courtauld Institute, London  
The National Archives, Kew  
The Princely Collections,  
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Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo,  
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West Sussex Records Office,  
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Back cover: detail of the Petition of  
the Antwerp panel makers  
(13 November 1617) Felixarchief/  
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