



ISSUE 2

JORDAENS VAN DYCK JOURNAL

THE RESEARCH PUBLICATION
OF THE JORDAENS VAN DYCK
PANEL PAINTINGS PROJECT

DECEMBER 2021

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EDITORIAL

EMILY BURNS AND JAMES INNES-MULRAINE

It is our pleasure to introduce the second issue of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*. Having previously outlined the Project's key methodologies of dendrochronology, panel analysis, archival research and connoisseurship, in this and future issues our contributors will demonstrate how these practices can yield significant results and lead to new art historical discoveries. Indeed, this is particularly the case when these methods are combined, and in several instances individual contributions join to reveal broader conclusions that demonstrate the strengths of this international project's multidisciplinary approach to art history.

In this issue Ingrid Moortgat (Archival Research Fellow) explores traces of the Gabron family of Antwerp panel makers preserved in the Guild and City records, while Justin Davies (Co-founder) establishes Van Dyck's relations with them and other panel makers through examining panel makers' marks on the reverse of paintings. Off the back of Archival Research Fellow Piet Bakker's discovery of two unpublished documents, Joost Vander Auwera (Co-founder) investigates a famous historic court case in which Van Dyck's contemporaries gave evidence in a dispute about the authorship of an Apostles series attributed to Van Dyck. Raffaella Besta (Archival Research, Italy) and Alexis Merle du Bourg (Archival Research, France) go on to resolve the debate around the composition and ownership of a further series of Van Dyck Apostles

by studying eighteenth-century guidebooks. In another essay, Joost Vander Auwera explains the construction of an *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Jordaens, while Justin Davies identifies the painting as a recorded example that the artist kept in his own possession during his lifetime.

Disputed and changing attribution is a thematic thread which runs through this issue. Andrea Seim (Lead Dendrochronologist) publishes important new dating for a set of small panel paintings after Van Dyck and other artists in the Royal Collection. The significant wider implications of Seim's study are explored by Justin Davies who reveals new datings for seven examples of *Iconography* panels traditionally attributed to Van Dyck. Finally, Joost Vander Auwera reattributes a portrait long believed to be by Van Dyck to Jordaens.

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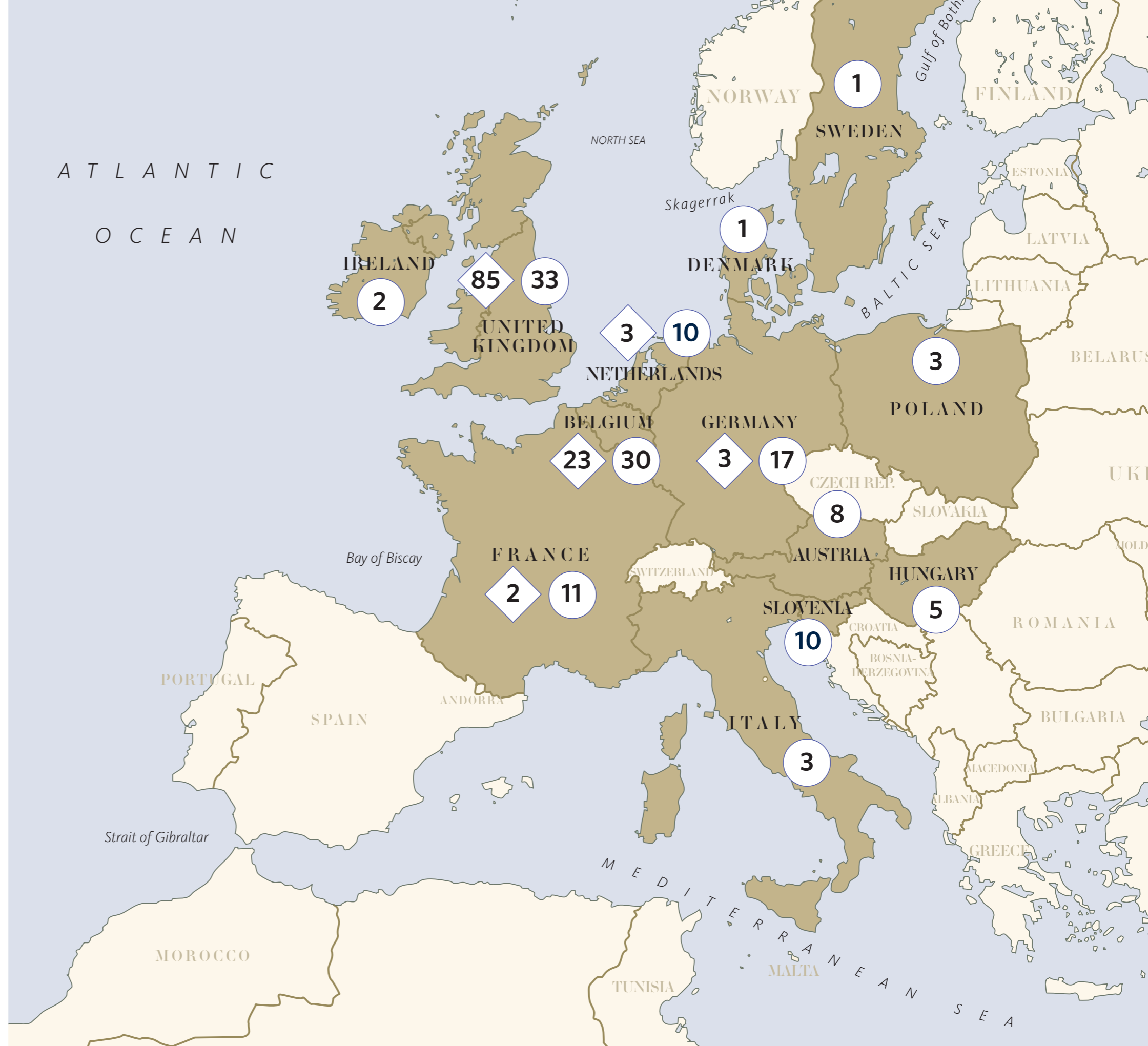
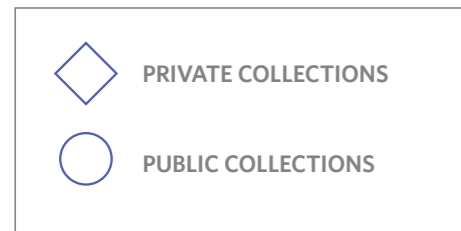
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MAP OF COUNTRIES VISITED BY THE JVDPPP

DECEMBER 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
 Costermans Antiques, Brussels
 Franciscan Museum de Mindere, Sint Truiden
 KBC Art Collection, Snijders & Rockoxhuis, Antwerp
 Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp
 MoMuse: Musée Communal de Molenbeek-Gemeentelijk Museum van Molenbeek, Brussels
 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

SWEDEN
 Gothenburg Museum of Art, Gothenburg

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
 Southampton City Art Gallery, Southampton
 The National Trust, United Kingdom

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

PANELS

Close family and guild ties: the Gabron dynasty of panel makers in seventeenth-century Antwerp

INGRID MOORTGAT

In 2016, the Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project (JVDPPP) team discovered panels with individual marks of two members of the Gabron family, Guilliam I Gabron and Sanctus Gabron. Archival research into these panel makers ensued. A timeline of the life and work of the Antwerp Gabron family – panel makers in the 16th–17th centuries – was published on the JVDPPP website in 2018.¹ The research revealed that the Gabron family was a dynasty of panel makers, closely related by family ties with painters, sculptors and other panel makers who were masters in the Guild of Saint Luke. This essay will define the active periods of Guilliam I Gabron and Sanctus Gabron and at the same time reveal the socio-economic dynamics that resulted in close cooperation within the Gabron family network.

Throughout the centuries, various art historical approaches have been developed for assisting the attribution and dating of a painting if it is not signed and dated by the artist, one of which is biographical archival research. By researching the course of a panel maker's life, the period in which he was professionally active can be defined, making it possible to mark out the period in which a panel with his mark was manufactured. The start of the active period of the panel maker represents a *terminus post quem* for the creation of a painting on one of his marked panels.

The most obvious archives in which to begin a biographical search are the baptismal registers. They provide not only the date of baptism and the name of the parents of the infant but also the identity of its godparents who were often key figures for its success in life. Godparents offered moral and social support as well as financial and economic assistance. Long-term warfare and epidemics of the plague resulted in economic instability and a high mortality rate in seventeenth-century Antwerp.²



Fig.1 The 'Liggeren' of the Guild of Saint Luke (1610-1629), Felixarchief/Antwerp City Archives, Archief Sint-Lucasgilde en Archief Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, photo of 2574#70, 1610-1629.

Flips de Marlin bij Carol de Ferrara	2.	16.	—
Hans Cortois bij Carol de Ferrara	2.	16.	—
Andries Andrijs. bij Arnault Vinkenboon	2.	16.	—
Hans Van Poete bij Daniel Kerstiaens	2.	16.	—
Corin Mans bij Sanctus Gabron	2.	16.	—
Artus Jauffs. bij Joay Baptistaen	2.	16.	—
Artus Jousenier bij Marsiel Joris	2.	16.	—
Artus Juisman bij Dirck J. Brugghe	2.	16.	—
Kerstiaen Kerlenard bij Dirck van Ardenboon	2.	16.	—
Hans Jenderick bij Abraham Meijer	2.	16.	—

Fig.2 Corin Mans, recorded as apprentice of Sanctus Gabron, panel maker, in the 'Liggeren' of the Guild of Saint Luke, Felixarchief/Antwerp City Archives, Archief Sint-Lucasgilde en Archief Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, photo of 2574#70, 1617-1618.

Fig.3 On 28 November 1623, Guiliam Gabron, Michiel Vriendt, Jacques van Haecht, Michiel Claessens and Lambrecht Steens stated that in Antwerp it was the panel makers who made panels, not the painters. Felixarchief/Antwerp City Archives, Notariaat, Notaris Hendrick van Cantelbeck, photo of N#3377, 28-11-1623.a.

As a consequence, even big families were thinned out significantly over a lifetime. The diminishing circle of close relatives had to be expanded with new relationships of trust. Rituals such as marriage and baptism strengthened this trust and made the connections public.³ The marital bond resulted in the greatest responsibilities within, and a firm expansion of the family network – wealth would have been a key driving force for these unions.⁴ The ties between parents and godparents were somewhat more flexible but also came with a wide array of responsibilities.⁵ The new members of the family network often became part of the professional network as well.

Keeping the date of baptism in mind, the researcher can start to explore the accounts of the craftsman's guild. However, the first registration as a master in a guild is not always a good indication for the start of his career. Guild membership was expensive. Not all panel makers had the financial means to become a member of the Guild of Saint Luke (fig.1). Some of them worked in the workshop of another – sometimes related – panel maker, for a painter or an art dealer.⁶ Furthermore, the first registration as a master was not necessarily a good indication for a 'new' profession such as panel maker in the late sixteenth-century. It is quite possible that a craftsman started out as a joiner, possibly as a member of the Joiners' Guild, and registered in the Guild of Saint Luke as a frame or panel maker only later in his career.⁷ Both guilds were issued with the same ordinance regarding the standardisation, inspection, branding and marking of panels by the Antwerp authorities in 1617.⁸

The professional career of a panel maker certainly ended on the day he died. However, as we have discovered, archival documents sometimes suggest an earlier date for the end of their active period.

GUILLIAM I GABRON (1586–1674?)

On 2 October 1586 Guilielmus, eldest son of Hans Gabron (d. before 1627) and his first wife Catarina Vermeulen, was baptised in the parish of Our Lady in Antwerp.⁹

Guilielmus's father Hans registered as master in the Guild of Saint Luke with the profession of assessor and liquidator of estates and dealer in paintings in 1588. In some archival documents Hans is also described as a panel maker, frame maker, and as a dean, presumably within a Guild.¹⁰

Guilliam – short for Guilielmus – Gabron registered in the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke as a panel maker and master's

son in the Guild year 1609–1610, at the age of twenty-three.¹¹ Since there are no archival documents known that reveal panel making activities before that date, 1609 might be considered as the start of his independent professional career. As a master in the Guild of Saint Luke he was allowed to conduct his own business.

On 30 June 1615, Guiliam Gabron married Magdalena Cossiers, sister of the painter Jan Cossiers (1600–1671).¹² The Guild of Saint Luke functioned as a firm professional network in which marriages were often encouraged between members. The combination of confidence among the members and a good reputation was symbolic capital that could easily be transformed into cash.¹³ Personal wealth and success in business were closely connected and something that benefitted the entire family network.¹⁴ Tightening the bonds between two members of the guild was profitable for all members of both family networks.

Business went well, and in 1616 Guiliam Gabron took on an apprentice named Nicasius Teckers.¹⁵ In 1617 he was one of the twenty-two signatories of the panel makers' petition.¹⁶ These events indicate that Guiliam Gabron was a well-respected panel maker by then. Records were found of Guiliam living in the 'Lombardse veste' in 1616–1617, possibly in the house of his father, who is also recorded as living in that street.¹⁷ Most archival documents mentioning Hans Gabron within the context of frame and panel making date after 1609, the year his son Guiliam registered as a panel maker, which indicates cooperation between father and son.¹⁸ In the Guild year 1619–1620, another apprentice started in the workshop of Guiliam Gabron.¹⁹

On 28 October 1619, Guiliam II, first son of panel maker Guiliam Gabron and his wife Magdalena, was baptised.²⁰ The couple were blessed with nine children.²¹ Only four children, of which three survived them, were mentioned in their will in 1671.²² As mentioned before, most families were thinned-out significantly over a lifetime. Guiliam II Gabron (1619–1678) became a painter like his uncle Jan Cossiers.²³ Daughter Anna Maria (1631–1668) married the sculptor Artus II Quellinus (1625–1700).²⁴ Another son, Cornelis (b.1625), would become a panel maker continuing his father's business.²⁵ The Gabron Family strengthened their connection with the Guild of Saint Luke over time.

In 1621 Guiliam Gabron and his family lived in the 'Everickstraete' in a house called 'De paternoster'. Guiliam and his wife lived there until 1670.²⁶

On 28 November 1623, Michiel Vriendt (d.1637), as elder of the panel makers, made a statement together with his fellow panel makers Guilliam Gabron, Jacques van Haecht, Michiel Claessens (1565–1637), and Lambrecht Steens that in Antwerp it was the panel makers who made panels, not the painters (fig.3).²⁷ This statement is probably connected with the long-lasting trial against the Antwerp painter and merchant Lucas Floquet, in 1623–1628, when Vriendt, Gabron, Claessens and Steens were close allies as they acted as prosecutors against Floquet and panel maker Guilliam Aertssen.²⁸

There are traces of Guilliam Gabron in the archives from 1639 until 1654, which indicate that he was still active as a panel maker around the latter date. This information includes the painters Antonis Van Den Broeck and Peeter Van Den Avont, and sculptor Ambrosius Gast in his professional network.²⁹

On 26 August 1670, the panel maker Cornelis Gabron made an inventory of his goods when he and his wife were going to live with his parents, Guilliam Gabron and Magdalena Cossiers, in the 'Everickstraete'.³⁰ Guilliam and Magdalena moved shortly afterwards to a residence called 'Den Tobias' in the 'Schuttershofstraete' where they made their will on 11 June 1671.³¹

On 24 April 1673, Guilliam Gabron and his son Cornelis, as elders of the panel makers, acted as representatives of the Guild of Saint Luke in a dispute with the Joiners' Guild. Guilliam Gabron could not sign the document properly because of his age and bad eyesight.³² At that point Guilliam Gabron still appears to be an active member of the Guild but it can be assumed that he is no longer active as a panel maker because of the aforesaid physical infirmities.

In 1674 the 'housewife of elderman Guilliam Gabron' paid his mortal debt to the Guild of Saint Luke which could be an indication of his death.³³

Considering the above, Guilliam Gabron's active period can be defined as starting around 1609 and ending somewhere between 1654 and 1673. His son Cornelis, part of the third generation of the Gabron dynasty in the Guild of Saint Luke, is mentioned in the guild records as a frame maker in 1646 and 1673 and it is possible that he took over his father's workshop and panel mark.³⁴

SANCTUS GABRON (1597 – ?)

Guilliam's two younger brothers Jacobus (b.1593) and Sanctus (b.1597) were sons of Hans Gabron by his second

wife Barbara Vandesande.³⁵ They joined the Guild of Saint Luke as frame makers and master's sons in the guild year 1615–1616, although they would have been making panels as apprentices of their father and brother before 1615.³⁶

In the guild year 1617–1618, Sanctus Gabron, now described as a panel maker, registered an apprentice, Corin Mans, in the Guild of Saint Luke, indicating he had his own workshop by then and his own mark (fig.2).³⁷

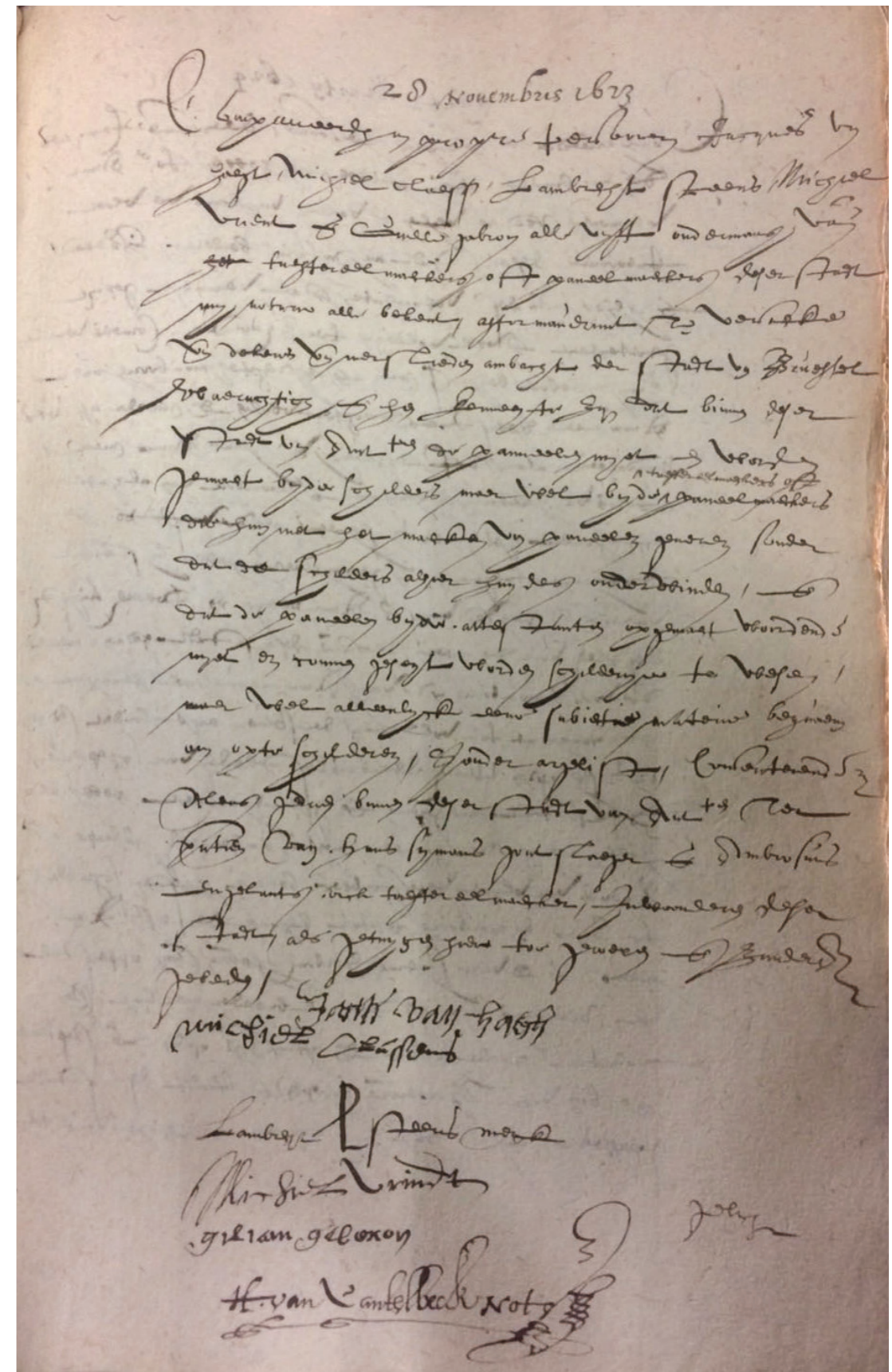
On 20 February 1618, Sanctus married Maria Claessens, daughter of the panel maker Michiel Claessens.³⁸ This marriage would bond the Gabron and Claessens families together in the same family network. Evidence of Guilliam Gabron and Michiel Claessens joining forces professionally was discovered in the Antwerp City Archives: a debt to 'the panel makers Guilliam Gabron and Michiel Claessens' is mentioned in the inventory of the wife of painter Daniel Cristiaens in 1624.³⁹ This marriage, strengthening the ties between the families and resulting in professional cooperation, is another example of the economic dynamics in extended family networks.

Unfortunately, the reference to Sanctus's marriage was the last that could be found in the archives to date and, therefore, no information was found to propose a date for the end of Sanctus's professional activities.

A DYNASTY ROOTED IN THE GUILD OF SAINT LUKE

The Gabron family transformed their family network into a professional network firmly rooted in the Guild of Saint Luke. The archival finds which demonstrate the close cooperation between the family members suggest that the profession, the workshop and possibly the panel mark, were passed from father to son, or even son-in-law, over generations.

The archival research conducted as part of the JVDPPP illustrates that it would be interesting and beneficial to conduct further research in order to reconstruct all panel maker's networks, defining clusters of cooperation and the possible use of family marks. This information would enable researchers to better understand the socio-economic considerations of familial collaboration and allow even more accurate assessment of the dates of marked panels.



NOTES

- 1 I. Moortgat, ed. J. Davies: 'The Gabron Family – A Biographical Timeline,' *Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project*, 2018, <http://jordaensvandyck.org/archive/gabron-family/> (accessed 4 July 2021). The basis for this archival research is the paper Jan Van Damme published in 1990. See J. Van Damme: 'De Antwerpse tafereelmakers en hun merken. Identificatie en betekenis,' *Jaarboek voor het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, Antwerp 1990, pp.216–217, also published in English as J. Van Damme: 'Antwerp panel-makers 'The and their mark', Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project. Updated by Ingrid Moortgat and Piet Bakker, edited by Joost Vander Auwera, with an introduction by Justin Davies. Translated by Michael Lomax. <http://jordaensvandyck.org/article/the-antwerp-panel-makers-and-their-marks/> (accessed 4 July 2021). We are grateful to Jan Van Damme for sharing his research results with us.
- 2 E. Aerts: *Conjunctuur en trends in de Europese economie van de Nieuwe Tijd*, Leuven, 2011, pp.67–68.
- 3 G. Alfani and V. Gourdon: 'Entrepreneurs, Formalization of social ties, and trustbuilding in Europe (Fourteenth to twentieth centuries),' *The Economic History Review* 65, 3 (2012), pp.1005–06.
- 4 Aerts, *op.cit.* (note 2), p.71.
- 5 Alfani and Gourdon, *op.cit.* (note 3), p.1025.
- 6 I. Moortgat and J. Wadum: 'An Enigmatic Panel Maker from Antwerp 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*, ed. C. Currie, pp.460–62.
- 7 Moortgat and Wadum, *op.cit.* (note 6), p.459.
- 8 Antwerp City Archives (cited hereafter as ACA), Gilden en Ambachten, GA#4335, fols. 78v–81r, 11-12-1617. A copy of the approved ordinance for the Guild of Saint Luke, though referred to many times, has not so far been found in the Antwerp archives. Other copies of the Joiners' ordinance are kept in the ACA, Gilden en Ambachten, GA#4003, fols. 88v–91r; GA#4334, fols.60v–62v; GA#4575, no.6. See also Van Damme, *op.cit.* (note 1), p.196.
- 9 Brussels, Rijksarchief België/ State Archives Belgium (cited hereafter as SAB), parish Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, parochieregisters doopakten, 1580–1592. See also Van Damme, *op.cit.* (note 1), pp.216–17.
- 10 ACA, Archief Sint-Lucasgilde en Archief Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, 2574#70, 1588. See also P. Rombouts and T. van Lierus: *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde, afgeschr. en bewerkt door P. Rombouts en T. van Lierus*, Antwerp 1872, vol.1, p.326. ACA, Weeskamer, WK#377, fols.152–165, 09-07-1612. See also E. Duverger: *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels 1984–2009, vol.9, p.270. ACA, Notariaat, Notaris Dirk Fabri, N#1496, 1623.
- 11 Document cited at note 10 above, 2574#70, 1609. See also Rombouts and van Lierus, *op.cit.* (note 10), p.455. See also Van Damme, *op.cit.* (note 1), pp.216–17. The mention 'master's son' indicated that the member was granted some privileges, e.g. a lower membership fee.
- 12 SAB, parish Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Zuid, parochieregisters huwelijksakten, 1612–1624. See also Van Damme, *op.cit.* (note 1), pp.216–17.
- 13 B. Willems: *Leven op de pof. Krediet bij de Antwerpse middenstand in de achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam: 2009, p.28; P. Mathias: 'Risk, credit and kinship in early modern enterprise,' *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy*, ed. J. McCusker and K. Morgan, Cambridge 2000, p.25.
- 14 H. Van Miegroet and N. De Marchi: 'Uncertainty, Family Ties and Derivative Painting in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp,' *Family Ties. On Art Production, Kinship Patterns and Connections 1600-1800*, ed. K. Brosens, L. Kelchtermans and K. Van der Stighelen, Turnhout 2012, p.55.
- 15 Document cited at note 10 above, 2574#70, 1616. See also Rombouts and van Lierus, *op.cit.* (note 10), p.531.
- 16 Documents cited at note 8 above. This petition is written in one hand, including the names of all the panel-makers and the drawn marks, so the GG mark found on the panels differs from the mark drawn in this petition. ACA, Gilden en Ambachten, GA#4346, 13-11-1617.
- 17 Museum Plantin Moretus, Boek gehouden door Jan Moretus II, als deken der St Lucasgilde 1616–1617, Arch. 184, fol.20. See also: *Boek gehouden door Jan Moretus II, als deken der St Lucasgilde 1616–1617*, published by the Maatschappij der Antwerpse bibliophilen, Antwerp 1878.
- 18 Moortgat, ed. Davies, *op.cit.* (note 1).
- 19 Document cited at note 10 above, 2574#70, 1619. See also Rombouts and van Lierus, *op.cit.* (note 10), p.559.
- 20 Document cited at note 12 above, 1615–1624.
- 21 See Van Damme, *op.cit.* (note 1), pp.216–219.
- 22 The four children mentioned are Guilliam, Cornelis, Anna Maria (who died in 1668, with her children as heirs) and Anthoni who lived abroad. ACA, Notariaat, Notaris Bartholomeus Van Der Linden, N#3863, 11-06-1671.
- 23 ACA, Notariaat, Notaris Van Der Linden, N#3863, 11-06-1671.
- 24 ACA, Weeskamer, WK#1073, fols.39–50v, 1671. See also Duverger, *op.cit.* (note 10), p.297.
- 25 Cornelis is mentioned in the records of the Guild of Saint Luke as frame maker in 1646 and 1673. Document cited at note 10 above, 1625–1635.
- 26 ACA, Weeskamer, WK#482, 07-04-1624. ACA, Notariaat, Notaris Jacob van Waerbeek, N#4639, 26-08-1670. ACA, Borchtichtboek van de wethouderen, V#1415, 27-01-1624.
- 27 Document cited at note 10 above, 2574#99, 1623–1628. ACA, processen schepensbank, 7#538, 1628. ACA, Notariaat, Notaris Hendrick van Cantelbeck, N#3377, 28-11-1623.
- 28 Moortgat, ed. Davies, *op.cit.* (note 1).
- 29 ACA, Weeskamer, WK#697, 18-02-1639. See also Duverger, *op.cit.* (note 10), vol.4, p.239; ACA, Notariaat, Notaris Hendrik Fighé, N#1502, 21-07-1640. See also Duverger, *op.cit.* (note 10), vol.4, p.361; ACA, Notariaat, Notaris Jacob Le Rousseau, N#2475, 24-04-1652. ACA, Weeskamer, WK#881, fols.1-56, 01-09-1654. See also Duverger, *op.cit.* (note 10), vol.6, p.291; ACA, Weeskamer, WK#879, fols.280-324, 24-07-1654. See also Duverger, *op.cit.* (note 10), vol.7, p.67; ACA, Notariaat, Notaris Kristiaan Hoeffs, N#2090, 13-09-1664.
- 30 ACA, Notariaat, Notaris Jacob Van Waerbeek, N#4639, 26-08-1670. See also Duverger, *op.cit.* (note 10), vol 9, p.278.
- 31 ACA, Notariaat, Notaris Bartholomeus Van Der Linden, N#3863, 11-06-1671.
- 32 ACA, Notariaat, Notaris Renier van Reesbroeck, N#4454, 24-04-1673. See also E Duverger, *op.cit.* (note 10), vol.9, p.443.
- 33 Document cited at note 10 above, 2574#70, 1676. See also Rombouts and van Lierus *op.cit.* (note 10), p.435.
- 34 Document cited at note 10 above, 1625–1635. See also note 25.
- 35 SAB, parish Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, parochieregisters doopakten, 1592–1606.
- 36 Document cited at note 10 above, 2574#70, 1615. See also Rombouts and van Lierus, *op.cit.* (note 10), p.515, p.544.
- 37 Document cited at note 10 above, 2574#70, 1617. See also Rombouts and van Lierus *op.cit.* (note 10), p.544.
- 38 Document cited at note 10 above, 1612–1700.
- 39 ACA, Weeskamer, WK#482, 07-04-1624. Mentioned by Van Damme, *op.cit.* (note 1), pp.216–17, with incorrect date.

Van Dyck's use of panels made by the Gabron family: occurrences and new findings

JUSTIN DAVIES

One of the first panel maker's marks found by the project was punched on the reverse of *Bartholomew*, an Apostle from 'The Althorp Series' by Anthony Van Dyck (fig.1).¹ It was partially concealed by a strip of lint which covers the join of the two planks of the panel but enough was revealed in order to identify it as the mark of Guilliam Gabron (fig.2).² His mark features on the petition submitted by the panel makers of the Guild of Saint Luke on 13 November 1617, albeit in a more simplified form, 'GG', than the punch mark found on panels (fig.3). The punch mark found by JVDPPP and others includes five small circles between the two capital Gs.³ *Bartholomew* also bore the hands of Antwerp brand mark of the Guild of Saint Luke but not Castle (fig.4). It may be obscured by the lint.

The discovery of this mark revealed for the first time that Van Dyck had purchased panels from Guilliam Gabron during his first Antwerp period, which lasted until autumn 1621. Over the course of the project, JVDPPP was able to examine four of the five Apostles from 'The Althorp Series'. Apart from *Bartholomew*, *Simon* is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (fig.5, reverse fig.6), and *James the Great* (fig.7, reverse fig.8) and *Matthias* (fig.9, reverse fig.10) are on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, from a private collection.⁴ The fifth, *Matthew*, was last recorded in a Swiss private collection.⁵ *Simon*, *James the Great* and *Matthias* are also uncradled but all retain the same lint strip over the joins of the panel as *Bartholomew*. The brand mark of the Guild of Saint Luke is present, the hands only in the case of *Matthias*, but a panel maker's mark is not visible and likely obscured by the lint strip. Without a further panel maker's mark, it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to whether 'The Althorp Series' of Apostles emanated from the same panel maker's workshop.



GG

Fig.1 Anthony Van Dyck, *Bartholomew*, oil on panel, 63.8 by 48.4 cm, whereabouts unknown © JVDPPP.
Fig.2 The mark of Guilliam Gabron on the reverse of *Bartholomew* © JVDPPP.
Fig.3 The mark of Guilliam Gabron on the panel makers' petition of 13 November 1617.



Fig.4 The hands of the Guild of Saint Luke Antwerp brand on the reverse of *Bartholomew*.
Fig.5 Anthony Van Dyck, *Simon*, oil on panel, 64.0 by 49.9 cm, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles © J. Paul Getty Museum.
Fig.6 The reverse of *Simon*, J. Paul Getty Museum © J. Paul Getty Museum.





Fig.7 Anthony Van Dyck, *James the Great*, oil on panel, 62.0 by 46.0 cm, Private Collection on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston © 2021 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
 Fig.8 The reverse of *James the Great*, Private Collection on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston © 2021 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
 Fig.9 Anthony Van Dyck, *Matthias*, oil on panel, 62.0 by 46.0 cm, Private Collection on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston © 2021 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
 Fig.10 The reverse of *Matthias*, Private Collection on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston © 2021 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Unless he was buying to order from a panel maker for a particular commission, did an artist differentiate between the panels he used for painting if he kept panels in stock in his studio? An example of Van Dyck 'mixing and matching' panels of the *ses stuyvers maet* size, c.62-64 by 48-50 cm, can be found with the studio copies of the so-called 'Aschaffenburg Series' of Apostles. Ten of the panels were made by Guilliam Gabron and one by Guilliam Aertssen.⁶ Additionally, it is logical to presume that once Van Dyck had purchased his panels from his supplier, he made little differentiation in their use between autograph paintings and studio replicas and used what he had in stock. The link between the autograph panels in The Althorp Series and the studio copies in the Aschaffenburg series is that they are all constructed from good quality Baltic oak.⁷

The second instance of the Guilliam Gabron mark was found on a copy of the Apostle *Thomas* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts et Archéologie, Besançon (fig.11). It is one of a series of five Apostles deposited there by the French State in 1799 and not of the greatest artistic quality.⁸ Remarkably, the Besançon series have evaded the monographic Van Dyck literature so far. For further information on this series, see the articles related to "More or less retouched by the master": lesser known contemporary copies of Van Dyck's Apostles series in Konstanjevica na Krki and Besançon' in Issue 3 of the *Jordaens*

Van Dyck Journal. The Guilliam Gabron mark on *Thomas* is accompanied by a Guild of Saint Luke Antwerp brand mark (fig.12).

One of the Apostles copies after Van Dyck in Besançon, *Paul*, bore a previously unidentified panel maker's mark – SG (fig.13). Through a process of elimination after examining the *Liggeren* of the Guild of Saint Luke, the only credible candidate for this mark is Sanctus Gabron.⁹ This mark was subsequently found a second time on another Apostle copy after Van Dyck, *Bartholomew*, in the Galerija Božidar Jakac, Konstanjevica na Krki.¹⁰ Sanctus Gabron's mark is rare. It is not recorded in any previous publications. Perhaps he worked only briefly as a panel maker or died young. A third Sanctus Gabron mark can be found on the reverse of an autograph Van Dyck Apostle, *Matthias*, in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.¹¹ In all three cases, Sanctus Gabron's mark was accompanied by the Guild of Saint Luke Antwerp brand marks.

Mention should be made of the third Guilliam Gabron mark found by the project. It occurs on the reverse of the *Portrait de Nicolas Rockox (1560-1640) en buste* in the depot of the Musée du Louvre along with a Guild of Saint Luke Antwerp mark (figs 14,15,16).¹² In company with the Besançon Apostles copies, this painting is also unrecorded in the Van Dyck

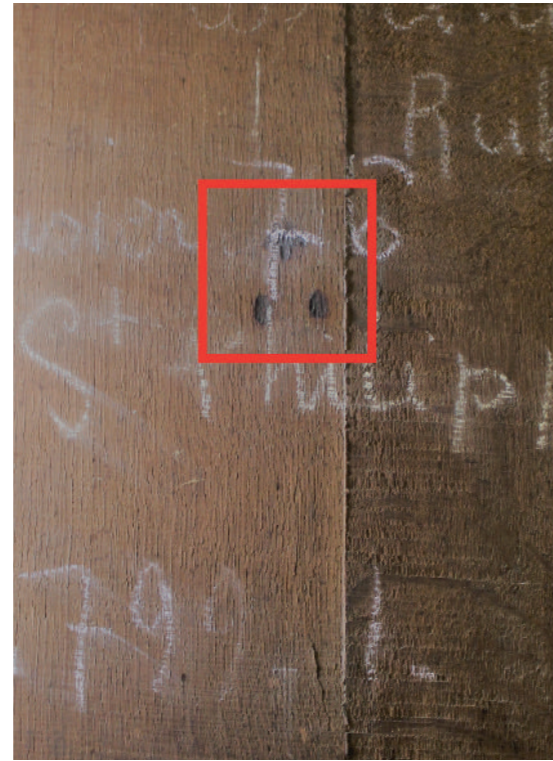


Fig.11 After Anthony Van Dyck, *Thomas*, oil on panel, 64.2 by 49.1 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon © Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon.
 Fig.12 The reverse of *Thomas*, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon © JVDPPP.
 Fig.13 The panel maker's mark of Sanctus Gabron on *Paul*, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon © JVDPPP.
 Fig.14 After Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait de Nicolas Rockox (1560-1640) en buste*, oil on panel, 49.6 by 63.8 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
 Fig.15 The reverse of *Portrait de Nicolas Rockox (1560-1640) en buste*, Musée du Louvre, Paris ©JVDPPP.

literature. It relates to the portrait of Nicolaas Rockox, painted in the artist's first Antwerp period, on canvas, now in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.¹³ The painting in the Louvre depot is executed on panel. As with the previous Gabron panels mentioned in this article, this is also of a *ses stuyvers maet* size. The quality of the painting is difficult to read owing to the old, discoloured varnish. It is possible that it emanated from Van Dyck's studio. There is a bold single stroke of paint running across the length of the top of Rockox's right shoulder. It has been done deliberately and decisively to soften the contour of the shoulder.

Two different Gabron family marks have been found on paintings by Van Dyck, his studio and copyists: the well-known and long-lived Guiliam Gabron, whose mark is found often on panels by many different artists and the previously unknown and perhaps much shorter-lived Sanctus Gabron, whose mark has only been found three times to date, all on panels related to Van Dyck.¹⁴ Marks by either Gabron have not been found on Van Dyck related panels from his Second Antwerp period, 1627 to 1632. He had patronised the workshops of the Gabrons before he went to Italy but not thereafter it would appear. The panels he bought from them were of a smaller standard size, *ses stuyvers maet*, and were used for both autograph and studio versions of his Apostles and one portrait. The panels made by the Gabrons which

were examined by the project were all approved to leave their workshops by the dean of the panel makers within the Guild of Saint Luke. This is signified by the brand mark of the hands and castle of Antwerp which was burnt into the back of panel. Such marks of approval were sought by the panel makers' petition of 13 November 1617 and became law on 11 December 1617. It is therefore most likely that these panels were produced by the Gabrons and, thus, painted on by Van Dyck and his copyists, after 11 December 1617.



Fig.16 The marks on the reverse of *Portrait de Nicolas Rockox (1560-1640) en buste*, Musée du Louvre, Paris ©JVDPPP.

NOTES

- 1 S. Barnes, N. De Poorter, O. Millar, H. Vey: *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven and London 2004, p.79, no.1.74; the panel was examined by JVDPPP at Simon Dickinson, London, in 2016.
- 2 All the panels examined by JVDPPP, with images of their marks, can be found in the Summary Catalogues on the project's website, www.jordaensvandyck.org.
- 3 J. Van Damme: 'De Antwerpse tafereelmakers en hun merken: identificatie en betekenis', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1990), p.211, fig.7; J. Wadum: 'Recent Discoveries on Antwerp Panel Maker's Marks', *Technologia Artis. The Third Yearbook of the Historical Art Technology Prague 3* (1993), pp.96-100.
- 4 Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.80, no.1.78 (*Simon*); p.79, no.1.75 (*James the Great*); p.80, no.1.77 (*Matthias*).
- 5 Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.79, no.1.76.
- 6 M. Neumeister, ed.: exh. cat. *Van Dyck. Gemälde von Anthonis van Dyck*, Munich (Alte Pinakothek) 2019-20, p.360.
- 7 For the Althorp panels examined by JVDPPP, see the Van Dyck Summary Catalogue on the project website, <http://jordaensvandyck.org/van-dyck/>; for the Aschaffenburg panels, P. Klein, 'Dendrochronologische Untersuchungen', in Neumeister, *op.cit.* (note 6), pp.334-35.
- 8 J. Foucart, F. Thomas-Maurin, M.-C. Mary *et al.*: exh. cat. *Peintures flamandes et hollandaises des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Collections publiques de Franche-Comté, Dole* (Musée de Beaux-Arts), Gray (Musée Baron Martin) and Besançon (Musée des beaux-arts de d'archéologie) 1998-9, p.219.
- 9 J. Davies: 'A new panel maker's mark discovered – Sanctus Gabron', in *Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project*, jordaensvandyck.org/a-new-panel-makers-mark-discovered-sanctus-gabron/ (accessed 25 August 2021).
- 10 Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.68.
- 11 Images of the marks kindly provided by Christoph Schölzel, Dresden; for the painting, see Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.77, no.1.70.
- 12 J. Foucart: *Catalogue des peintures flamandes et hollandaises du musée du Louvre*, Paris 2009, p.134.
- 13 Barnes *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.99-100, no.1.105.
- 14 For a list of artists who used panels from Guiliam Gabron's workshop, see Van Damme, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.216-19.

ARCHIVES

The 1660–1661 Antwerp court case about a series of Van Dyck's Apostles: two new documents and some reflections on the course of justice and the potential for new discoveries

JOOST VANDER AUWERA

When it comes to the archival study of Van Dyck, the 1660–1661 court case brought by Antwerp cathedral canon Franciscus Van Hillewerde against Antwerp collector Peter Meulewels with regard to the authenticity of a series of Apostles, although already published more than 150 years ago by Brussels archivist L. Galesloot, remains one of the most discussed series of documents in the Van Dyck literature.¹ Rich in detailed testimonies by many artists, these offer a vivid image of contemporary studio practices and assessments of authenticity. Apart from their use for the study of the still-preserved Apostles by the master, these archive records also became key source material for the believers and disbelievers in the existence of a Van Dyck studio prior to his becoming a master in the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke.²

Given their lasting interest, this series of documents will be presented in full – with images, transcriptions, and a modern English translation – in the archival section of the Project's website. They will also be accompanied by a lengthy introduction and a full English translation of Galesloot's essay.

This short article does not aim to replace this full edition nor to take position in these scholarly discussions. It rather wants to present two further unpublished documents which were discovered by Dr. Piet Bakker, Archival Research Fellow on the Project. His photographs of the documents (figs.1 and 2), his transcriptions from the seventeenth-century vernacular, and their modern English translations by Michael Lomax are reproduced here in an annex.

These two documents are clearly the sources for the assertions as to the outcome of the court case by local Antwerp historian Léon de Burbure (1812–1889) at the end of Galesloot's article, for which he acted as one of the peer reviewers.³ De Burbure does

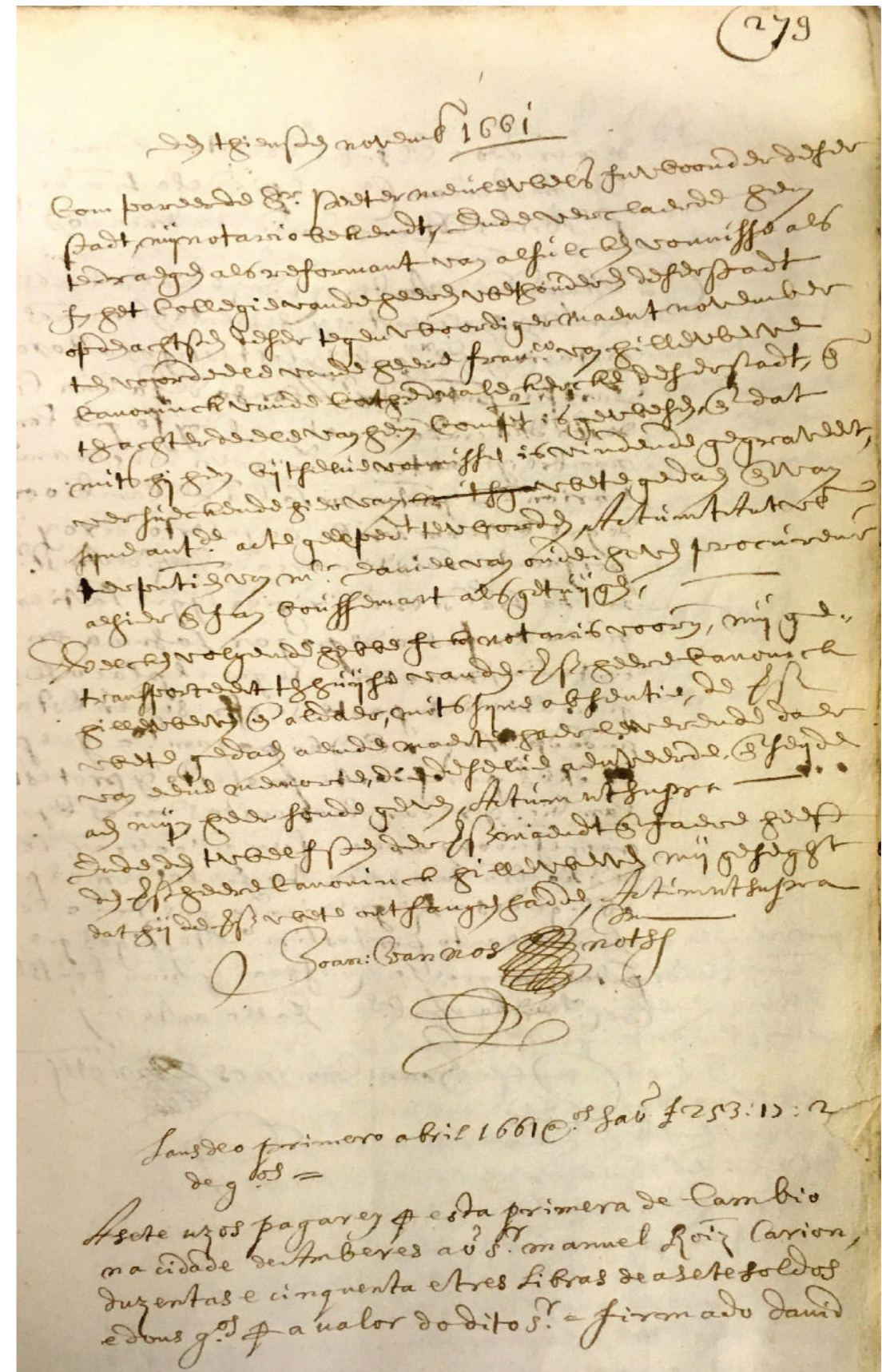
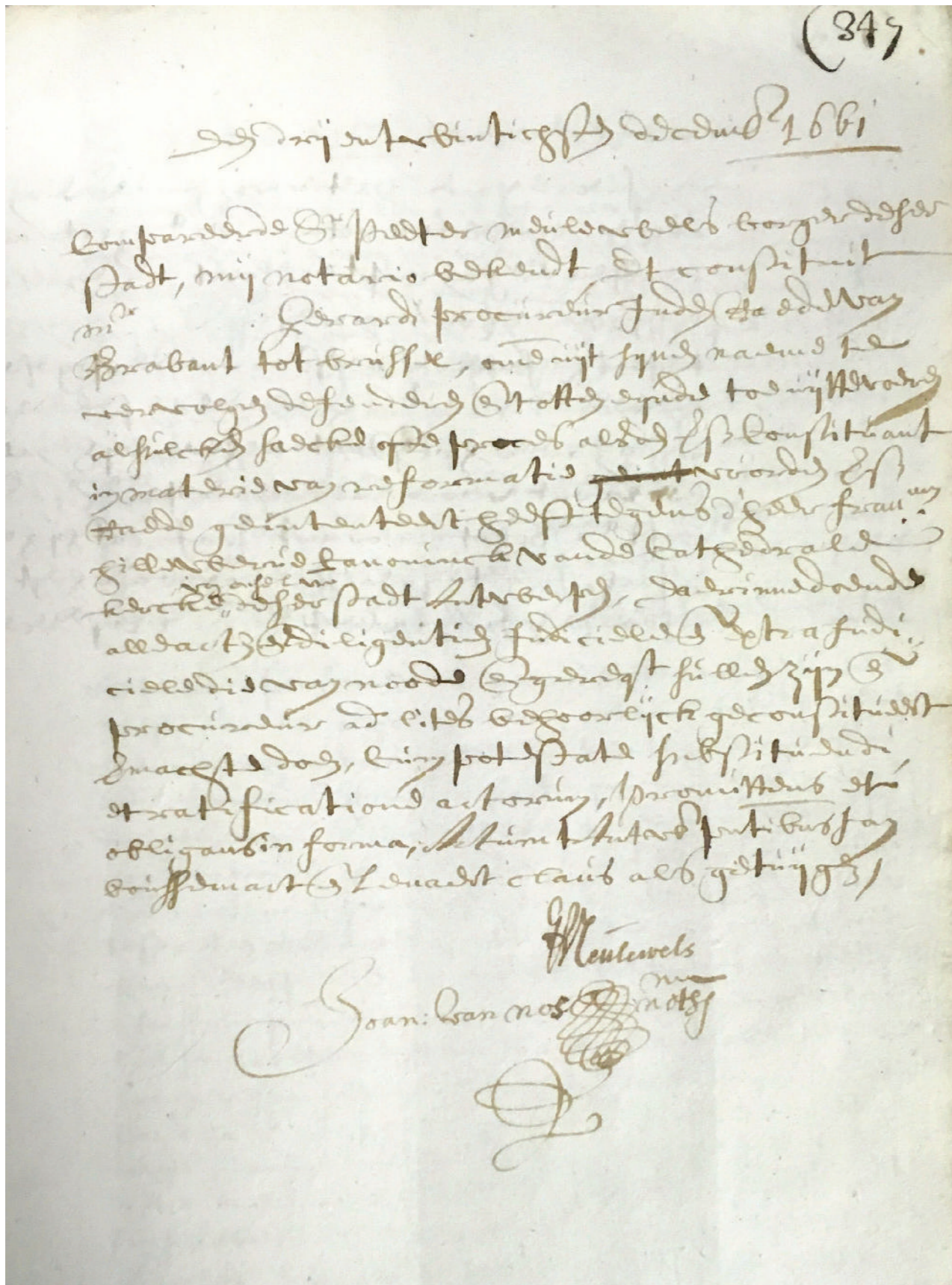


Fig.1 Felixarchief/Antwerp City Archives, Notariële Akten, NA #. 4266, notary J. Van Nos, fol.279r. Photo of the document by Piet Bakker. Courtesy Felixarchief Antwerp/JVDPPP.
Fig.2 Felixarchief/Antwerp City Archives, Notariële Akten, NA #. 4266, notary J. Van Nos, fol.347r. Photo of the document by Piet Bakker. Courtesy Felixarchief Antwerpen/JVDPPP.



not refer to those two notarial acts in the Antwerp city archive, but only mentions that the pages for the verdict are left blank in the Antwerp city register of sentences.⁴ Reproduced here for the first time, these documents also permit us to better understand the course of justice in Van Dyck's time in the Spanish Netherlands and the real nature of the archive documents published by Galesloot. Most importantly, such insights are helpful for pointing to the most promising pathways for making new discoveries in this court case for the study of Van Dyck.

In fact, in Van Hillewerpe's day, Montesquieu's principle of the separation of powers was not yet in effect. Consequently, for non-aristocratic subjects, the executive and legislative college of aldermen of the city of Antwerp also constituted the college of judges for court cases at first instance level. To appeal its judgments, persons sentenced by the Antwerp aldermen had to address themselves to the Council of Brabant (*Raad van Brabant*) in Brussels, because the marquisate of Antwerp fell within the Duchy of Brabant. (The two exceptions were aristocratic subjects, who were judged in first instance by the Council of Brabant and could appeal only to the highest court of the Spanish Netherlands, the Grand Council of Mechelen, and clerics, who were judged by clerical courts.)⁵ This explains why the documents published by Galesloot of the court case of an Antwerp canon (plaintiff Van Hillewerpe), against a non-aristocratic Antwerp collector (defendant Meulewels) are not found in the Antwerp city archives: these are documents or copies of documents from the court case in first instance in Antwerp that were transferred in appeal to the Council of Brabant in Brussels. That is the reason that these documents are still conserved in the fund of the Council of Brabant in the State Archive at Vorst/Forest near Brussels and not in Antwerp.⁶

From the first new document (fig.1), we learn, as stated by De Burbure, that Meulewels has lost the case in first instance by verdict of the Antwerp aldermen on 8 November 1661 and that he intends to appeal against that judgement. What De Burbure does not mention though is that this document is dated 10 November 1661, just two days after that negative verdict, that it was enacted before Antwerp notary Jos Van Nos in the presence of Meulewels's attorney in first instance and that Meulewels asks notary J. Van Nos to notify his decision to appeal to his opponent Canon Van Hillewerpe at home. Whereupon the notary records that this notification has been made into the hands of Van Hillewerpe's maid in the canon's absence, but that Van Hillewerpe has subsequently acknowledged due receipt of that message.

In the second document, enacted before the same Antwerp notary (fig.2) of which De Burbure mentions erroneously the date of 20 instead of 23 December 1661, Meulewels, as De Burbure relates, mandates Mr. Gerardi, attorney in the Council of Brabant, to initiate on his behalf the procedure of revision (which is in fact to appeal) of this sentence with this court of appeal.

The first document is insightful, not just because it clearly confirms who lost and who won in this conflict on the authenticity of art works. It also teaches us that the common practice of retouching by the master with the argument that the result could be valued fairly highly on the scale of authenticity, was judged in a rather negative way that is nearer to our modern more stringent concepts of authenticity. This notwithstanding the fact that such practice was common and is not only documented here in respect of the Van Dyck studio but is also found in comments on Rubens's studio practices or is referred to in the correspondence of Jordaens with his patrons.⁷ That more severe judgment may have especially prevailed – as was rightly remarked by Arnout Balis in respect of Rubens's studio practices – in view of the existence of a public of connoisseurs.⁸ This may have been particularly true in Antwerp, where a group of art lovers, without practising art themselves, had joined the Antwerp painters guild at a particularly early date, in the city in which the genre of picture galleries was introduced in painting.⁹ In such context it would have been a particular annoyance for Van Hillewerpe for his Apostles series not to have been recognised by such connoisseurs as worthy of Van Dyck. For this reason, the judges' decision to condemn Meulewels may have been less difficult to take than Theodoor Van Lerijs suggested at the end of Galesloot's article.¹⁰ More difficult to answer, even with all the testimony preserved, is the actual degree in which Van Dyck had a hand in the contested Apostles series. The truth may well lay somewhere in the middle. Anyone familiar with the study of historical sources will be aware of the often subjective and partial nature of such sources, depending on the interest of whomever is giving testimony. In the conflictual situation of a court case, nuance tends to be even more easily sacrificed on the altar of the self-interest of each party.

What is also noteworthy is that the verdict against Meulewels follows just two days after the negative judgment on the authenticity of the Apostles series by the former and current deans of the Guild of Saint Luke: this gives the impression that their judgment and authority as a panel of experts may have been of great and eminent importance.¹¹

The second document proves that it was Meulewels' appeal that caused this series of first instance archive documents of Antwerp origin to end up in Brussels. But just like these two new documents, new archival sources found by modern Van Dyck specialists since Galesloot's seminal article of 1868 all refer to the initial, first instance phase of the court case and were all discovered in the Antwerp city archives instead of the Brussels archives of the court of appeal.¹²

Galesloot already warned of the incompleteness of the latter, complaining that he could not retrieve the counterresponses to the arguments of plaintiff and defendant given the messy state in which he found the archival fund of the Council of Brabant.¹³ But the current successor of Galesloot and archivist at the Belgian State Archives in Brussels (Vorst/Forest), Dr. Harald Deceulaer, who is also the co-author of the modern inventory of the Council of Brabant archival fund,¹⁴ has given us both new insights and new hope: insights into the historic logic of the incompleteness of the haystack that constitutes the archival fund of the Council of Brabant; and new hope in the long term for discovering the much-sought needle in that haystack for the study of Van Dyck.¹⁵

The course of justice was somewhat different than we would expect nowadays. As Dr. Deceulaer explains, in civil cases the parties concerned could remove legal documents and take these home. And they may have done so more quickly from a court case in appeal because those documents had more legal authority than those of first instance. Consequently, more complete evidence can be found – as has been the case since the publication of Galesloot's article – in the Antwerp archives where the case was treated in first instance. Moreover, an appeal to the Council of Brabant did not always result into a verdict. Yet, just as is the case with the books of sentences in Antwerp for the cases in first instance, an impressive series of sentence books of the Council of Brabant has been conserved for the period from 1436 to 1794. This enormous series will now be disclosed systematically by a scientific project of the Belgian Federal State, starting in October 2021. And it is there that new Van Dyck discoveries may be expected.

ANNEX: THE TWO NEW DOCUMENTS TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

DOCUMENT 1

Pieter Meulewels declares that he is appealing against the judgement handed down in the College of the aldermen of Antwerp on 8 November 1661 in favour of canon Franciscus Van Hillewerve and to the detriment of himself. He is requesting that this is made known by deed to his opponent. The notary delivers the deed in absence of the canon to his maid on 11 November. The canon informs the notary on 12 November that he has received the deed in good order.

Place and date Antwerp, 10 November 1661

Archival reference
Felixarchief/Antwerp City Archives, Notariële Akten, NA #. 4266, notary J. Van Nos, 279r.

Transcription by Piet Bakker

Den thiensten november 1661

Compareerde St. Pieter Meulewels inwoonder deser stadt mij notaris bekendt, ende verclaerde hem te dragen als reformant van alsulcke vonnisse als in het Collegie van de heeren wethouderen deser stadt op de achtsten deser tegenwoordiger maent november ten voordeele van de heere Fran[cis]co van Hillewerve canoninck van de Cathedrale Kercke deser Stadt ende tnachterdeele van hem Comp[aran]t is geweest ende dat mits hij hen bij 't selve vonnisse is vindende gegraveet, versueckende hiervan wete gedaen ende van sijne ant.de acte geexped[iteer]t te worden, Actum Antv. ter presentien van Mr. Daniel van Ouderhoven, procureur alhier ende Jan Boussemart als getuygen.

Welcke volghende hebbe Ick notaris voorn[oemd], mij getransporteert ten huijse van de voors[egde] heere canonick Hillewerve ende aldaer, mits sijne absentie, de voors[egde] wete gedaen aen de moerte haer leverende daer van eene memorie, die deselve aenveerde ende seyde aen mijn heer soude geven, Actum ut supra Ende den twelfsten der voorsegde maendt ende haere den voorsegde heere Canoninck Hillewerven my geseght dat hij den voorsegde wete ontfangen hadden, Actum ut supra [Signatuur: J. Van Nos]

Translation by Michael Lomax

On the tenth of November 1661

There appeared Signor Pieter Meulewels, inhabitant of this city and known to me notary, and declared that he was appealing against the judgement handed down in the College of the aldermen of this city on the eighth day of this present month of November in favour of the reverend Fran[cis]co van Hillewerve, canon of the Cathedral of this city and to the detriment of himself, person appearing, and seeing that he in the same judgement finds himself damaged, requesting this to be made known by deed to be delivered on his behalf ante diem [within the requisite deadline]. Enacted in Antwerp in the presence of Monsieur Daniel van Ouderhoven, attorney of this city and Jan Boussemart as witnesses.

Following which I, above-named notary, begot myself to the house of foresaid Monsieur canon Hillewerve, and there, in his absence, gave notice of the same to the mother maid, living there handing over to her of a memoir, which the same person accepted and said that she would give to the reverend gentleman. Actum ut supra [Enacted as above]. And on the twelfth of the aforesaid month, the aforesaid reverend Canon Hillewerven told me that he had received said notification. Enacted as above [Signature J. Van Nos].

Pieter Meulewels appoints Master Gerardi attorney in the Council of Brabant to plead his case against Franciscus Hillewerwe, which he now wishes to have judged in appeal by the Council of Brabant.

Place and date Antwerp, 23 December 1661

Archival reference

Felixarchief/Antwerp City Archives, Notariële Akten, NA #. 4266, notary J. Van Nos, 347r.

Transcription by Piet Bakker

Den drijtwinstichsten deccembris 1661

Compareerde Sr. Peeter Meulewels borger deser stadt, mij notaris bekendt, et constituit Mr. Gerardi, procureur in den Raede van Brabant tot Brussel, omme uijt sijnen naeme te vervolgen desenderen ende totten eynde toe uijttevoeren alsulcken saecke ofte proces als aen voorsegde Constituant in materie van reformatie voordien voorsegde Raede geintenteert heeft tegens de heer Franciscus Hillewerwe Canoninck van de Cathedrale Kercke [boven: van Onse L[ieve] Vr[ouwe]] deser stadt Antwerpen, daerinnedoende alle acten ende diligentien judiciele ende extra judiciele die van noode ende geref[uteer]t sullen zijn ende procureur ad lites behoerlijck geconstitueert vermach te doen, Cuny potestate substituendi et ratificatione actorum, a promissis et obligans in forma, Actum Antv. presentibus Jan Boussemart ende Lenaert Claus als getuijgen

Translation by Michael Lomax

On the twenty-third of December 1661

There appeared before me Signor Peeter Meulewels, citizen of this city, known to me notary and appointed Meester ... Gerardi, attorney in the Council of Brabant in Brussels, to prosecute and pursue and execute to the end in his name the matter or legal action that the aforesaid appointer has instigated for recovery before the aforesaid Council against Monsieur Franciscus Hillewerwe, Canon of the Cathedral Church [above: of O(ur) L(ady) of this city of Antwerp, doing therein all deeds and diligences, both judicial and extra-judicial, that may be needed and required, and to present himself as duly appointed attorney ad lites [in a legal action], with power of substitution and ratification of deeds, and promising and obliging in due form, done in Antwerp, in the presence of Jan Boussemart and Lenaert Claus as witnesses.

NOTES

- L. Galeslout: 'Un procès pour une vente de tableaux attribués à Antoine Van Dyck. Notice', *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique*, XXIV, 2e série, tome quatrième, 1868, pp.561–605.
- M. Roland: 'Some thoughts on Van Dyck's Apostle Series', *Essays on Van Dyck. Revue d'Art Canadienne / Canadian Review*, 10 (1983), pp.23–36; M. Roland: 'Van Dyck's Early Workshop, the Apostle Series and the Drunken Silenus', *The Art Bulletin*, LXVI, 2 (1984), pp.211–23; K. Van der Stighelen: 'Young Anthony: archival discoveries relating to Van Dyck's early career', S. Barnes and A. Wheelock Jr., eds.: *Van Dyck 350* (symposium proceedings, University of Maryland, 1991), Washington DC 1994, pp.17–46; F. Lammertse: 'Van Dyck's apostle series, Hendrick Uylenburgh and Sigismund III', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLIV, 1188 (2002), pp.140–46; F. Lammertse and A. Vergara: 'A Portrait of Van Dyck as a Young Artist', A. Vergara and F. Lammertse, eds.: cat. exh. *The Young Van Dyck*, Madrid (Museo Nacional del Prado) 2012, pp.28–9 and nos. 39–48, pp.200–11, and especially p.211, footnotes from no. 21 onwards.
- The second peer reviewer being Theodoor Van Lerijs. Both are mentioned as "Commissaires rapporteurs" in Galeslout, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.561.
- De Burbure in Galeslout, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.577.
- For an overview of the instances in Antwerp during the Ancien Régime an excellent overview can be found in the dissertation that was published just after the untimely death of its author, R. Boumans: *Het Antwerps stadsbestuur voor en tijdens de Franse Overheersing. Bijdrage tot de ontwikkelingsgeschiedenis van de stedelijke bestuursinstellingen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, Rijksuniversiteit Gent, Brugge, 1965. More detailed information on the organisation of the old court system in the Netherlands can be found in C. van Rhee: *Litigation and legislation. Civil procedure at first instance in the Great Council for the Netherlands in Malines (1522–1559)*, s.l. 1997.
- The Meulewels-Van Hillewerwe court case is inv. no. 3761 in H. Deceulaer and A. Schillings: *Inventaris van de Raad van Brabant, processen van particulieren*, eerste reeks, 1574–1794 (vnl. 1670–1794), Brussels 2009.
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- A. Balis: 'Rubens and his studio: a complex problem', J. Vander Auwera and S. van Sprang, eds.: exh. cat. *Rubens. A Genius at Work*, Brussels (Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium) 2007, p.37.
- See E. Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*, New Haven 1998.
- Galeslout, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.578.
- Their judgement is published by Galeslout, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.606.
- Especially Roland, *op. cit.* 1983 and 1984 (note 2).
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- Email correspondence with Dr. Harald Deceulaer dated 15 and 16 June 2021.

The 1660–1661 court case on the “Apostles” series by Van Dyck: A Who’s Who of the Antwerp artistic scene in the post-Rubens and post-Van Dyck era

JOOST VANDER AUWERA

The 1660–1661 court case is quite exceptional as an archival source. Firstly, it has lasting importance to Van Dyck studies and the question of whether or not Van Dyck had a studio very early on in his career. Secondly it records the appearance in court of an impressive series of artists and gatekeepers of the Antwerp artistic scene of the time, queuing up before the Antwerp aldermen-judges to testify in a trial between the plaintiff Van Hillewerve and the defendant Meulewels as to the authenticity of a series of Apostles by Van Dyck. That famous artist had already passed away two decades before and so the judges sought the truth within an extensive artistic network in Antwerp. The long-lived Jacques Jordaens (1593–1678), who had become the most important Antwerp painter after the deaths of Rubens and Van Dyck, was amongst them, as was the son of Velvet Breughel, Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601–1678)¹ who acted as a key witness for Meulewels together with his son Jan-Peeter Breugel (1628–before 1684).² History painters of merit like Jan Boeckhorst (1604–1668)³ and Abraham van Diepenbeeck (1596–1675)⁴ testified as well, together with painters almost forgotten today such as Hubertus Sporckmans (1619–1690).⁵

Sophisticated cabinet painters were also summoned by the aldermen. Witnesses include Gonzales Coques (1614–before 1684),⁶ sometimes called ‘the small Van Dyck’, that is to say ‘Van Dyck on small scale’, the painter and art dealer Cornelis de Bailleur (1607–1671),⁷ David Ryckaert (1612–1661)⁸ and Abraham Snellinck (1597–1661).⁹ Justus Van Egmont (1602–1674)¹⁰ is recorded here as a copyist of Van Dyck, and otherwise unknown pupils and collaborators of Van Dyck appear by name in the historical record such as Herman Servaes (1598/1601–1674/5).¹¹

At a time when artists and art dealers were not quite separate categories, the famous art dealer and father-in-law of Cornelis de Bailleur, Matthys Musson (1598–1678)¹² made a declaration in the case, along with the painter turned art dealer Abraham Janssens the Younger (1616–after 25 May 1668).¹³

Frame maker Bonaventura Cornelissen and merchant Jean-Baptista van Eyck gave their opinion too in one of the sole acts that document their lives. With them appear the great old men of the Antwerp painters’ guild, the deans and former deans of the Guild of Saint Luke, the sculptor Peter Verbrugghen (1615–1686)¹⁴ and the history painter Peter Thys (1616–1677)¹⁵ together with Hubertus Sporckmans (again) and Peter Thomas (master in 1646?–1675?).¹⁶

Almost a century after the publication of their testimonies by Galeslout in 1868, Roland discovered the testimony of more actors in this court case before Antwerp notaries, including the merchant Guillaume Heirincx, painter Peeter Bom (1608–1668)¹⁷ and once again Herman Servaes. Some testimony comes from acquaintances of the young Van Dyck outside the artistic domain such as women’s coat maker (‘huyckmaker’) Guiliam Verhaegen and his wife Leonora Mennens. Verhaegen is also mentioned in another declaration by Jan Brueghel the Younger for Antwerp notary Johannes van Nos on 8 September 1660, also published by Roland, whereas Guillaume Heirincx let it be formally notified by the notary that Meulewels was only a middle-man for selling the Apostles series in his possession which Heirincx had bought from Cornelis Wildens who declared himself not to be interested in the court case. From all this frenetic testimony before a notary, it becomes clear that the stakes were high and those concerned were seeking for cover. These documents also highlight the key role of that trade body, the former deans of the Guild of Saint Luke whose support all parties sought in the assessment of authenticity. Deans were clearly not only to be feared when presenting panels to them for quality control when they would break any that did not pass the test over their knees. Raw emotions were not lacking either in this confrontation before the court: the documents discovered by Roland also show that David Ryckaert was one of the fiercest opponents of the authenticity of the Apostles series in question.

In an article of 2002, Friso Lammertse identified ‘Bonte Muts’, the enigmatic later buyer of a Van Dyck Apostles series mentioned by Galeslout as Rembrandt’s art dealing companion Hendrick Van Uylenburgh.¹⁸ He synthesised the archival evidence in this court case in an essay in the

exhibition that he organised together with Alejandro Vergara at the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid on the Young Van Dyck in 2013.¹⁹

Together with the recent archival discoveries of Leen Kelchtermans and Katharina Van Cauteren on the close contacts, family ties, and acquisition of a Dutch residence by Jordaens in the Dutch Republic,²⁰ this document shows that promising, new and quite unexpected international horizons of investigation continue to be revealed for Jordaens and Van Dyck research.

NOTES

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- 2 M.-L. Hairs: 'Les Brueghels de la troisième et quatrième générations – De Brueghels van de derde en vierde generaties', P. Roberts-Jones, S. Bertouille, R. Hammacher-van den Brande, dirs.: exh. cat. *Bruegel, een dynastie van schilders – Bruegel, une dynastie de peintres*, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts – Paleis voor Schone Kunsten) 1980, pp.226–38 and in particular p.238.
- 3 P. Huvenne, ed.: exh. cat. *Jan Boeckhorst, 1604–1668, medewerker van Rubens / Jan Boeckhorst, 1604–1668, Maler de Rubenszeit*, Antwerp (Rubenshuis) and Münster (Westfälisches Landesmuseum) 1990; M. Galen: *Johann Boeckhorst: Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Hamburg 2012. For more details on the earlier articles on his paintings (H. Lahrkamp) and drawings (J. Held and A.-M. Logan) in particular, see the RKD website: <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/record?query=Boeckhorst&start=0>
- 4 H. Vlieghe: 'Diepenbeeck, Abraham van' (8), 2007–9, Oxford Art Online: <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscribe/article/grove/art/To22699?print=true>
- 5 Galesloot already mentioned the two group portraits by his hand that are now in the collection of the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Antwerp: *The City of Antwerp begs Emperor Ferdinand to reopen the River Scheldt* once in the Antwerp city hall; and *The Anatomical Lesson of J. B Van Buyten in the surgeons' room*. See L. Schoonbaert, dir.: *Catalogus Schilderkunst Oude Meesters. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten – Antwerpen*. Departement Oude Meesters, Antwerp 1988, p.353, nos.720 and 610 with references. An overview of his biographical data can be found on the RKD website: <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/excerpts/record?query=Sporckmans&start=0>
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- 7 He was a cabinet painter on small format. F.-C. Legrand: *Les peintres flamands de genre au XVIIe siècle*, Paris and Brussels 1963, p.64; U. Härting: *Studien zur Kabinettbildmalerei des Frans Francken II – Ein repräsentativer Werkkatalog*, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1983, pp.46–54.
- 8 B. Van Haute: 'David II Ryckaert. A seventeenth-century Flemish painter of peasant scenes', *Pictura Nova Studies in 16th- and 17th-Century Flemish Painting and Drawing*, VI, Turnhout 2000.
- 9 The RKD website summarises this artist, a son of the better-known painter Jan Snellinck. (1549–1638), none of whose work is currently known: <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/record?query=Abraham+Snellinck+&start=0>
- 10 Prisca Valkeneers is preparing a dissertation on Justus van Egmont at VUB University Brussels which she started under the supervision of the late Arnout Balis. A good overview of the literature on the artist can be found on the RKD website.
- 11 Apart from his role as witness in this process, M. Roland: 'Van Dyck's early workshop, the Apostle Series and the Drunken Silenus', *The Art Bulletin*, LXVI, 2, (1984), pp.211–23, published Servaes' testimony to Antwerp notary J. M. Lodewijcx on 12 December 1668 about his apprenticeship with Van Dyck during the Twelve Year Truce (1609–1621) at the request of painter Philips Bonneckroy in which he records witnessing Van Dyck paint a Drunken Silenus. Also published in E. Duverger: *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw. Fontes Historiae Artis Neerlandicae*, Brussels 1997, vol.9, pp.168–69, no.2774.
- 12 The seminal factual article on Musson remains E. Duverger: 'Nieuwe gegevens betreffende de kunsthandel van Matthijs Musson en Maria Fourmenois in Antwerpen tussen 1633 en 1681', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, 21 (1968), pp.5–273. More recently his activity as an art dealer has been analysed mostly from the point of view of economic theory by authors such as Neil De Marchi and Hans Van Miegroet, Filip Vermeylen and Claartje Rasterhoff.
- 13 J. Vander Auwera, *Leven en Werken van Abraham Janssen van Nuyssen (ca. 1571/75–Antwerpen 1632) 'een seer fameus meester ende schilder in synen levne'. Een bijdrage tot de studie van de historieschilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw*, Dissertation (Rijksuniversiteit Gent, Ghent 2003), pp.27, pp.30–31, pp.610–615, p.1282.
- 14 Sculpture in Antwerp at this date is less studied than painting and there is scant literature on this artist. But as he functions here as former dean of the Guild of Saint Luke, one can refer to the article by V. Herremans: "'Mingling with artless crafts': the corporative context of Antwerp sculpture after 1585", *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen/Antwerp Royal Museum Annual* 2012, pp. 131–52.
- 15 D. Maufort: *Le peintre anversois Peter Thijs (1624–1677). L'un des derniers élèves d'Antoine van Dyck*, PhD thesis (University UCL Louvain-la-Neuve) under the late Prof. Vandevivere 2004.
- 16 Two artists with this name – not to be confused with the better-known Jan Thomas van Leperen (1617–1678) – lived in Antwerp. One of them is for the first time documented in the painters' guild in 1681 and only became a free master in 1689, which makes him clearly too young to have testified in this 1660–1661 court case. Therefore this painter must have been his namesake who entered the painters' guild in 1634, became a master in 1646 and died in 1675. No works by his hand are now known, however. See A. von Wurzbach: *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon, auf Grund archivalischer Forschungen bearbeitet*, 2 vol 1906–11, reprint Amsterdam 1963, vol.2, p.710.
- 17 Roland, *op. cit.* (note 11) published the declaration of Peter Bom of 12 December 1668, together with Herman Servaes for Antwerp notary J.M. Lodewijcx, stating that he was the apprentice of Van Dyck during three years which confirmed the authenticity of the Drunken Silenus seen by Herman Servaes while that work was painted by Van Dyck. Duverger published the notarial deed in which De Bom testified with Bartholomeus Cambere, also a former pupil of Van Dyck, that Van Dyck painted a *Virgin and Child and Saint Franciscus Xaverius* for Jan Goubau, alderman and that that painting was never copied. See Duverger, *op. cit.* (note 11), vol.9, pp.153–4, no.2765.
- 18 F. Lammertse: 'Van Dyck's apostle series, Hendrick Uylenburgh and Sigismund III', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLIV, 1188 (2002), pp.140–46.
- 19 F. Lammertse and A. Vergara: 'A Portrait of Van Dyck as a Young Artist', A. Vergara and F. Lammertse, eds.: exh. cat. *The Young Van Dyck*, Madrid (Museo Nacional del Prado) 2012, pp.28–9 and nos.39–48, pp.200–11, and especially p.211, footnotes from no. 21 onwards.
- 20 L. Kelchtermans and K. Van Cauteren: 'Jacques Jordaens as a family man: New information about the painter and his family in The Hague', *Oud Holland*, 134–1 (2021), pp.25–48.

DENROCHRONOLOGY

The Remigius van Leemput series in the Royal Collection – its importance for dating smaller panels

ANDREA SEIM¹

In 2019, a series of 14 portraits belonging to the Royal Collection was dendrochronologically investigated, which can be considered an important example for the dating of small panel paintings with a known context.

All the portraits are attributed to Remigius van Leemput (1607–75), a Flemish artist who was central to the operation of Van Dyck's London studio and who was a well-known Van Dyck copyist.² Six of these portraits are painted after originals by Sir Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641), six are after Sir Peter Lely (1618–80), and one follows a portrait by Samuel Cooper (1609–72).³ One painting, *Portrait of a Woman*, which shows a lady in sixteenth-century dress, is currently detached from the group but was part of it when hanging in Queen Anne's bathroom. It is also catalogued as in the 'manner of Remigius van Leemput' and the label on its reverse is in the same format as that on other portraits in the series.⁴

Non-invasive image analysis as described in Seim et al. 2021⁵ was applied on the 14 portraits which were all painted on oak (*Quercus* spp.) panel. Each panel consisted of one plank and was bevelled on all four sides. The tree-ring width measurements of each plank were obtained from macro-photos that are converted into time series, i.e. a tree-ring sequence with a data point for each year. The calendar dates of each year can be determined by matching these tree-ring sequences using the method of cross-dating to other tree-ring series and different reference chronologies, i.e. mean curves of tree-ring series representing tree growth for a certain species and region.⁶ The cross-dating includes a visual and statistical comparison and synchronisation of the tree-ring width measurements with regionally different chronologies. The degree of synchronicity (so-called 'Gleichläufigkeit', GLK) between tree-ring series, and the Student's t-test calculated using the Baillie-Pilcher (TBP) and Hollstein (THO)

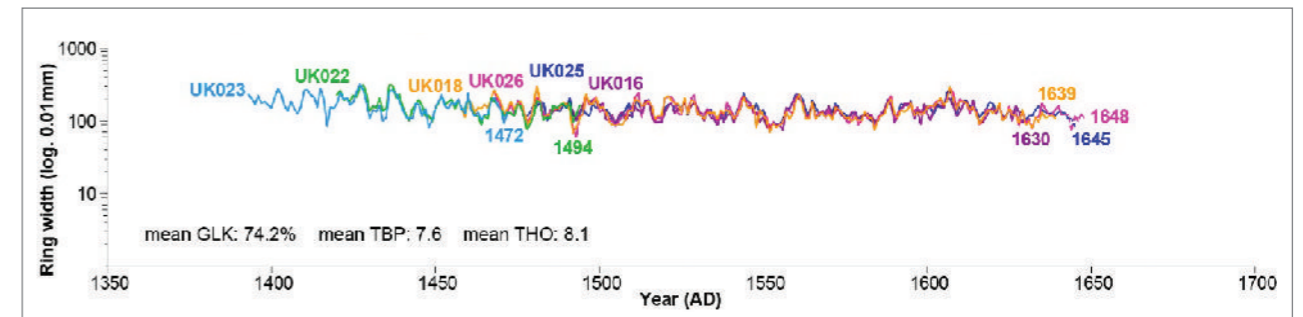
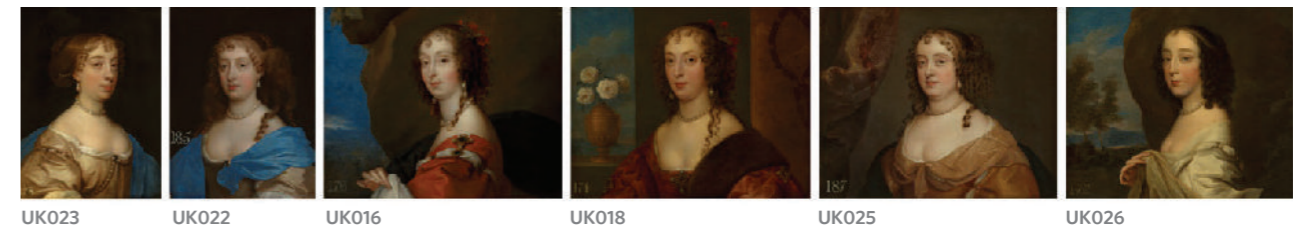


Fig.1 Raw oak tree-ring width measurements for UK023 (light blue line), UK022 (green line), UK016 (purple line), UK018 (orange line), UK025 (dark blue line) and UK026 (pink line) in overlapping position. Numbers are the end year of the last measured ring. Statistics for the mean synchronicity ('Gleichläufigkeit', GLK), the t-test after Baillie and Pilcher (TBP) and the t-test after Hollstein (THO) are provided.

algorithms⁷ indicate the statistical quality of the synchronisation. In terms of interpretation, the higher these statistical values the better the agreement of the tree-ring width series to each other or to the reference chronologies.

The dating revealed that the trees used for the planks originate from three different regions within Europe. Furthermore, several planks were taken from the same tree since the tree-ring width sequences showed almost identical growth patterns which were supported by very high statistical values (see values in figs.1 to 5). In this way, five groups of panels from one oak each were identified.

The dendrochronological analyses provided the following groups and dating results of the planks:

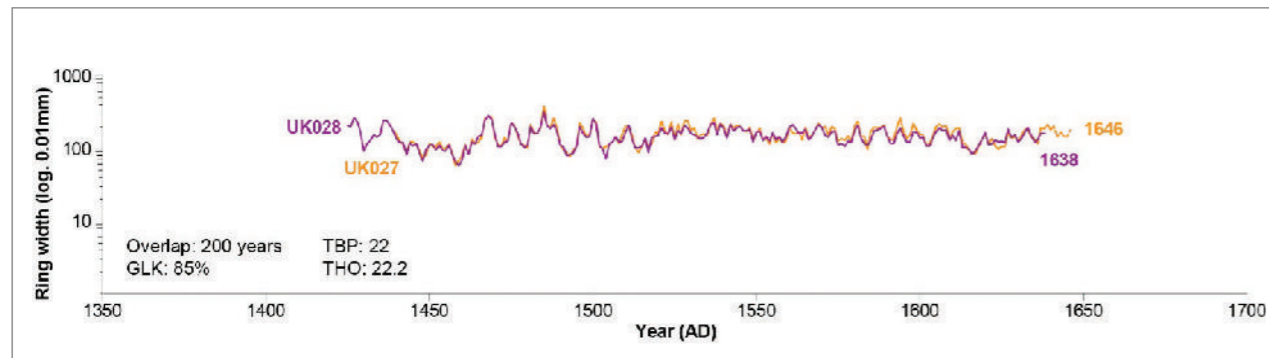
GROUP 1

Six portraits are included in this group (fig.1): *Anne Blount (Boteler), Countess of Newport (1624–95)* (dendro code UK016), after Van Dyck (version in the collection of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch)⁸ – oak plank dated to AD 1491–1630; *Anne Villiers, Countess of Morton (d. 1684)* (dendro code UK018), after Van Dyck (version Dalmahoy House)⁹ – oak plank dated to AD 1458–1639; *Henrietta Boyle, Countess of Rochester (1646–87?)* (dendro code UK023), after Lely (version Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth House) – oak plank

dated to AD 1393–1472; *Elizabeth Wriothesley, Countess of Northumberland (1646–90)* (dendro code UK022), after Lely – oak plank dated to AD 1420–94; *Barbara Villiers, Countess of Suffolk (1622–81)* (dendro code UK025), after Lely – oak plank dated to AD 1478–1645; *Portrait of a lady traditionally called Penelope Naunton, Countess of Pembroke (1620–47)*¹⁰ (dendro code UK026), after Lely – oak plank dated to AD 1468–1648.¹¹

Four planks have a size of c.26 x 32 cm and two are 23.5 x 17.6 cm. All planks were taken from only one oak tree which grew in south-western Germany and was felled in the period 1651–71.

The panel portraying *Penelope Naunton* included seven sapwood rings (the soft and lighter wood beneath the bark) and it is therefore possible to define with some degree of certainty that the tree was felled in the period 1651–1671, by applying the sapwood statistic for southern Germany.¹² Since the tree-ring width patterns of all six planks show a very high visual and statistically significant agreement in synchronicity, it is assumed that they are taken from the same tree. Hence, all planks without sapwood can be subjected to a sapwood dating too, resulting in a common felling date between 1651 and 1671.



UK027



UK028

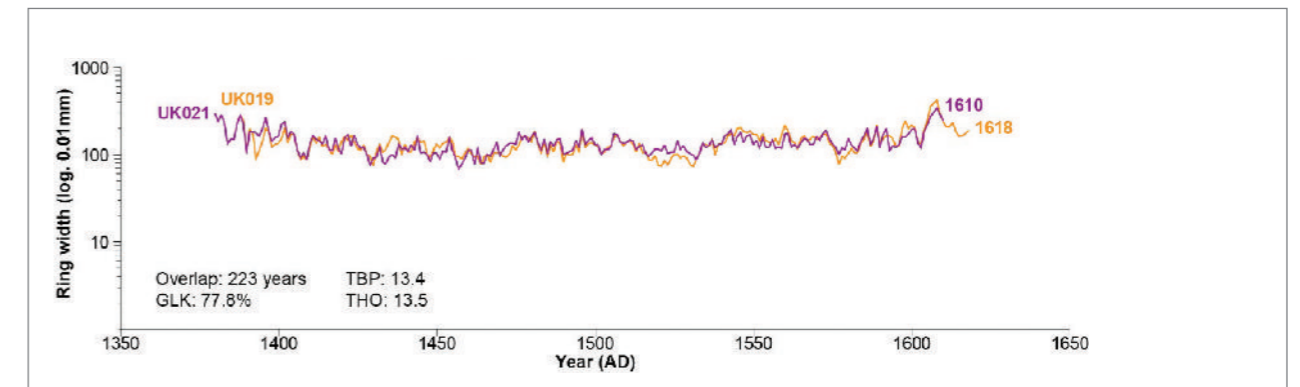
Fig.2 Raw oak tree-ring width measurements for UK027 (orange line) and UK028 (purple line) in overlapping position. Numbers are the end year of the last measured ring. Statistics for the overlap (number of tree rings in years), synchronicity ('Gleichläufigkeit', GLK), the t-test after Baillie and Pilcher (TBP) and the t-test after Hollstein (THO) are provided.

Fig. 3 Raw oak tree-ring width measurements for UK019 (orange line) and UK021 (purple line) in overlapping position. Numbers are the end year of the last measured ring. Statistics for the overlap (number of tree rings in years), synchronicity ('Gleichläufigkeit', GLK), the t-test after Baillie and Pilcher (TBP) and the t-test after Hollstein (THO) are provided.



UK019

UK021



GROUP 2

This group includes two panels (fig.2): *Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland (1622–81)* (dendro code UK027), after Lely (the Sackville Collection, Knole, National Trust) – oak plank dated to AD 1439–1646; *Jane Needham, Mrs Myddleton (1645–92)* (dendro code UK028), after Lely (version in the collection of Earl Spencer, Althorp House) – oak plank dated to AD 1425–1638.¹³ Both planks are 39 x 31.5 cm in size and were taken from the same tree that was also growing in south-western Germany and which was felled between 1651 and 1671.

The dating result for group 1 is complemented by the results obtained from the paintings of *Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland*, and *Jane Needham, Mrs Myddleton*, whereas the support of the former also contains sapwood rings. The five sapwood rings allow for the estimation of the period of tree felling to being between 1651 and 1671.

GROUP 3

This group includes two panels (fig.3): *Frances Stuart, Countess of Portland (1617–94)* (dendro code UK019), after Van Dyck – oak plank dated to AD 1388–1618; *Katherine Howard, Lady d'Aubigny (d. 1650)* (dendro code UK021), after Van Dyck – oak plank dated to AD 1380–1610.¹⁴

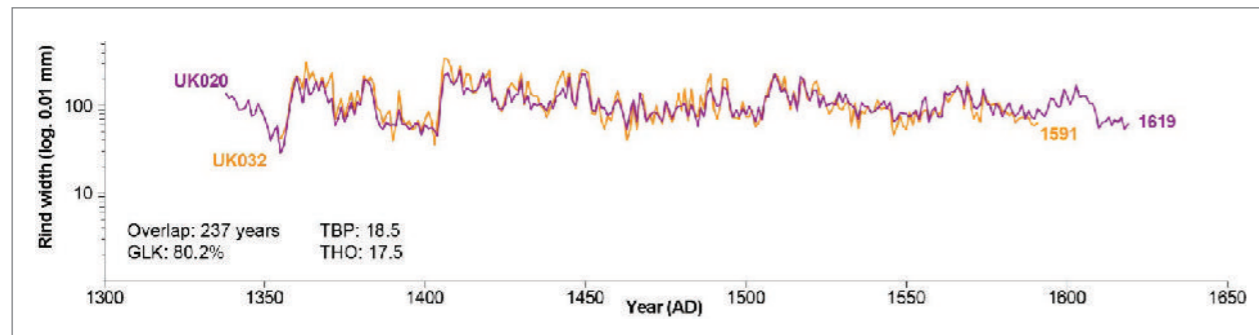
Both planks are c.39.5 x 31.5 cm and were cut from the same oak tree which was felled after 1628 in north-eastern France. The double portrait by Van Dyck hanging in the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Russia, served as model for these two portraits.¹⁵

GROUP 4

Two panels, the stylistically singular *Portrait of a Lady* (dendro code UK020), probably after Van Dyck – oak plank dated to AD 1338–1619 – and the distinctively different *Portrait of a Woman* (dendro code UK032), Manner of Remigius van Leemput – oak plank dated to AD 1335–1591 (fig.4).¹⁶

The size of both planks is 39.5 x 31.5 cm. They were cut from the same oak tree that grew in the Baltic region and which was felled after 1629.

The absence of sapwood in this as well as in the previous group (group 3), only allows for the application of a heartwood dating. This is the most common but least precise dating in dendrochronology as it provides only an earliest possible felling date, a *terminus post quem*.¹⁷ The two trees of group 3 and group 4 are estimated to be felled after 1628 and 1629, respectively.



UK020



UK032



UK017

UK024

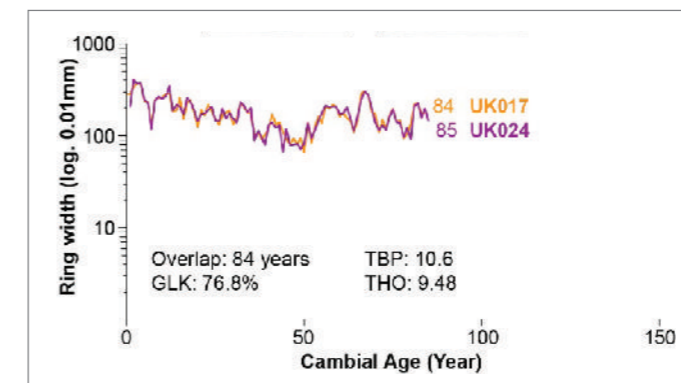


Fig 4: Raw oak tree-ring width measurements for UK020 (purple line) and UK032 (orange line) in overlapping position. Numbers are the end year of the last measured ring. Statistics for the overlap (number of tree rings in years), synchronicity ('Gleichläufigkeit', GLK), the t-test after Baillie and Pilcher (TBP) and the t-test after Hollstein (THO) are provided.

Fig 5: Undated raw oak tree-ring width measurements for UK017 (orange line) and UK024 (purple line) in overlapping position. Numbers indicate length of tree-ring series. Statistics for the overlap (number of tree rings in years), synchronicity ('Gleichläufigkeit', GLK), the t-test after Baillie and Pilcher (TBP) and the t-test after Hollstein (THO) are provided.

GROUP 5

This group includes two panels (fig.5): *Anne Carr, Countess of Bedford (1615–84)* (dendro code UK017), after Van Dyck¹⁸ – undated; *Frances Stuart, Duchess of Richmond (1647–1702)* (dendro code UK024), after Samuel Cooper (Royal Collection) – undated.¹⁹ The two planks of a size of c.23 x 18 cm were cut from the same oak tree of, as yet, unknown origin and date.

Both tree-ring width measurements and their combined mean curve were correlated against all available reference chronologies. The low number of measured tree rings as well as the wide annual ring widths (mean of 1.8 mm per year) led to no convincing synchronous position being found on the reference chronologies and thus, the wooden supports remain undated.

The six panels from the same tree, group 1, highlight the value of dendrochronological dating applied across several panels, particularly for the dating process itself as well as for the art historical interpretation.

Firstly, it shows *the importance of the length of the tree-ring sequence for a successful dating of planks with a low number of tree rings*. A long tree-ring sequence, e.g. a sample with 100 tree rings or more, is likely to significantly match at one unique position on the reference chronology whereas for a

sample with a low number of tree rings high and statistically significant values are found on several positions. This hampers a successful dating as in the case of group 5. As a general rule, samples should contain 50 to 80 tree rings for a potentially successful dating.²⁰ Shorter tree-ring sequences can be matched with samples of the same site, object or set (group). This is the case for group 1 where the tree-ring series for *Henrietta Boyle, Countess of Rochester* (UK023) and *Elizabeth Wriothesley, Countess of Northumberland* (UK022), both counting only 80 and 75 rings, respectively, did not alone result in a statistically significant matching position to the reference chronology. Both planks would have remained undated if the tree-ring sequences could have not been extended and a mean curve including the tree-ring width measurements of all six portraits developed which covers 256 years (1393–1648).

Secondly, the dating of the group of several panels shows *the importance for art history in combining tree-ring dating with other corroborative data*. By looking solely at the obtained dating, temporal discrepancies between the motive and dating can emerge. For example, the individual result on the panel for the portrait of *Henrietta Boyle, Countess of Rochester*, reveals that the tree-ring series derived from the oak plank covers a time period of 1393 to 1472. Here, the applied heartwood dating would have revealed an earliest

possible felling date of after 1482. This result gives little art historical information since the original portrait of *Henrietta Boyle, Countess of Rochester* by Lely is dated to the later 1660s.²¹ Moreover, the sitter lived from 1646 until 1687. If -we were dealing with a life portrait the sitter's dates and apparent age in the painting might indicate the date of execution. Two further originals *Barbara Villiers Duchess of Cleveland* by Lely and *Frances Stuart Duchess of Richmond* by Cooper are dated c.1662, while Lely's original portrait of *Jane Middleton* is dated 1666. This evidence corroborates the tree-ring dating for the series.

The five groupings of the panels within the larger group of 14 by style, size and dendrochronological result does not answer the question about the number of hands involved in the painting of the 14 portraits in an estimated production period, for at least eight of them, between 1653 and 1673. This is certainly after the death of Van Dyck in 1641. Nevertheless, the estimated production period lies well within the lifetime of Remigius van Leemput (died 1675), Peter Lely (died 1680), and also Theodore Russell or Roussel (died 1689) to whom the panels were attributed in the 18th and 19th centuries.²²

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NOTES

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The impact of JVDPPP's dendrochronological findings for the dating and attribution of the small panels copied after Van Dyck's *Iconography*

JUSTIN DAVIES

The article by Andrea Seim on her important findings regarding the dating of small panels has particular relevance for the small panels related to Van Dyck's *Iconography*. It demonstrates that the dating of the last heartwood ring prior to Van Dyck's death in December 1641 on these panels should be treated with some caution and certainly not as proof that the panels were made before his decease. JVDPPP has examined *Iconography* related panels which, at some stage in their existence, were attributed to Van Dyck but for which it can be proven that the tree from which the plank was made was still growing some years after the artist's death. These are listed below. Importantly, and in line with the dendrochronological findings on the Remigius van Leemput series, JVDPPP has studied two *grisaille* panels in different countries where the existence of one proves that the other could not have been painted in Van Dyck's lifetime. Therefore, these are examples of small *Iconography* related panels which are not from the studio of Van Dyck or by his hand but, rather, later copies after an existing prototype or the engraving.

The *Iconography* is a series of engraved portraits of men and a few women of Van Dyck's day.¹ Its full title, from the title page of the edition of 100 portraits published by Gillis Hendrick in 1645, is *ICONES PRINCIPUM VIRORUM DOCTORUM PICTORUM CHALCOGRAPHORUM STATUARIORUM NEC NON AMATORUM PICTORIAE ARTIS NUMERO CENTUM AB ANTONIO VAN DYCK PICTORE AD VIVUM EXPRESSÆ EIUSQ(UE) SUMPTIBUS ÆRI INCISÆ* (A hundred portraits of princes, scholars, painters, engravers, sculptors and lovers of the art of painting by the painter Anthony Van Dyck drawn after life and engraved in copper at his expense).² An unknown number of the engravings were certainly made before Van Dyck's death. There has been considerable scholarly debate as to how many these are and, also, how many of the surviving small *grisaille* panels related to the engravings were executed by Van Dyck himself.³ The sets



Fig.1 After Anthony Van Dyck, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637), oil on panel, 22.8 by 17.9 cm, private collection on loan to the Snijders-Rockoxhuis Museum, Antwerp.



Fig.2 After Anthony Van Dyck, Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange (1584-1647), oil on panel, 25.4 by 19.9 cm, Szépművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Fine Arts), Budapest.
 Fig.3 After Anthony Van Dyck, Jan van Ravestejn (c.1570-1657), oil on panel, 25.4 by 20 cm, Szépművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Fine Arts), Budapest.
 Fig.4 After Anthony Van Dyck, Frans Francken the Younger (1581-1642), oil on panel, 25.5 by 19.9 cm, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

of prints continued to be published until 1759, by which time they numbered more than 120 portraits.⁴ This is a testament to the enduring popularity of the *Iconography*.

The production of *grisaille* panels after the *Iconography* was also popular. Panels were found by the project which had youngest heartwood rings some years after Van Dyck's death and were made to be sold as artworks between at least from 1667 to 1852:

1. *Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc* (1580-1637), 22.8 x 17.9 cm, private collection on loan to the Snijders-Rockoxhuis Museum, Antwerp, has a last heartwood ring of 1659 (fig.1). Previously unpublished.
2. *Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange* (1584-1647), 25.4 x 19.9 cm, Szépművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Fine Arts), Budapest, has a last heartwood ring of 1660 (fig.2). It was considered to be painted by Van Dyck until 1969, when it was ascribed to the workshop and considered a copy from 2011.⁵
3. *Jan van Ravestejn* (c.1570-1657), 25.4 x 20 cm, Szépművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Fine Arts), Budapest, has a last heartwood ring of 1661 (fig.3). It was acquired by the museum in 1960 with no. 2 above, as a Van Dyck. The attribution has been batted backwards and forwards

between a copyist, Van Dyck himself and, most recently (2011), the artist's workshop.⁶

4. *Frans Francken the Younger* (1581-1642), 25.5 x 19.9 cm, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, has a last heartwood ring of 1673 (fig.4). It was acquired by the museum in 1864 as a Van Dyck. It was downgraded to a copy in the museum's 1992 catalogue.⁷

5. *Adriaen van Stalbeem* (1580-1682), 26.0 x 18.3 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent, has a last heartwood ring of 1842 (fig.5). It was acquired as a Van Dyck by the museum in 1882 and first published as not being by Van Dyck in 1988.⁸

The two panels which provide the link to Andrea Seim's article and prove the efficacy of her findings are both portraits of *Gaspar Gevartius* (1593-1666). The first, 26.0 x 20.0 cm, is in the collection at Woburn Abbey (fig.6). It had been in the collection of the engraver Samuel Ireland (died 1800). It was sold at his posthumous sale at Leigh, Sotheby and Son, London in 1801 along with 13 other *Iconography* related portraits as 'Original Portraits by Vandyke, from which the Heads were engraved'.⁹ Six were bought by the print, medal and manuscript dealer, John Thane (1747(?) - 1818). These six were sold at Thane's posthumous sale at Christie's, London in 1820, as by Van Dyck.¹⁰



Fig.5 After Anthony Van Dyck, *Adriaen van Stalbeem* (1580–1682), oil on panel, 26.0 by 18.3 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent

Fig.6 After Anthony Van Dyck, *Gaspar Gevartius* (1593–1666), oil on panel, 26.0 by 20.0 cm. From the Woburn Abbey Collection. © His Grace the Duke of Bedford and the Trustees of the Bedford Estates.

Fig.7 After Anthony Van Dyck, *Gaspar Gevartius* (1593–1666), oil on panel, 25.6 by 20.2 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

They had entered the Duke of Bedford's collection by 1854. They were seen at his house in Eaton Square by the German art historian Gustav Friedrich Waagen. In his *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, Waagen noted that 'they are very unequal in value, and not all the work of the master'.¹¹ Sir George Scharf's view, in his 1878 catalogue of the Duke of Bedford's paintings, was that *Gaspar Gevartius* was 'not painted with such power and mastery of form as the engraving by P. Pontius in the "Centum Icones"; plate 27, would lead one to expect. The painting is the reverse way of the engraving.'¹² When the six were offered for sale at Christie's, London, on 19 January 1951, they were catalogued as 'Vandyck', denoting that the auction house related them to Van Dyck but did not attribute them fully to the artist.¹³ Three were sold, one could not be found at Woburn so was withdrawn from sale, and two in one lot, *Gaspar Gevartius* and *Frans Francken the Younger* (1581–1642) were unsold and returned to the Duke of Bedford.¹⁴

The history of these six panels is indicative of the popularity of *grisaille* panels related to the *Iconography* from the time of their original creation up until at least the second half of the 19th Century. During the latter century, copies of the small panels which had formerly been attributed to Van Dyck began to be exposed to critical appraisal by art historians.

When it was examined by JVDPPP in 2018, there was nothing to indicate that *Gaspar Gevartius* could not be a copy contemporary to Van Dyck's lifetime, based on the prototype in the collection of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry at Boughton House.¹⁵ The last heartwood ring on *Gaspar Gevartius* was dated to 1588, which indicated that the tree, which originated in western Germany, might have been felled and the panel ready for painting on from 1598.¹⁶

However, there is another copy of the Boughton *grisaille* of *Gaspar Gevartius* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 25.6 x 20.2 cm (fig.7). It appears to be by a different hand to the *grisaille* at Woburn Abbey. It was sold in the sale of Jakobus Vinkeles in Amsterdam in 1816, as by Van Dyck. There was a *grisaille* of *Peter Paul Rubens* (1577–1640), also attributed to Van Dyck, in the preceding lot.¹⁷ Both were bought by Jeronimo de Vries and subsequently purchased by the Rijksmuseum in 1908 from the heirs of Jonkheer P. H. Six van Vromade, Amsterdam, with aid from the Rembrandt Society, as autograph works by Van Dyck.¹⁸ In the case of *Gaspar Gevartius*, this attribution was rejected by Maurice Delacre in 1934 and by the time of the 1976 Rijksmuseum catalogue, *Peter Paul Rubens* was considered as a studio work.¹⁹ Horst Vey considered both to be copies after Van Dyck.²⁰

Dendrochronology revealed that the *Gaspar Gevartius* panel in the Rijksmuseum is made from a western German oak tree. Most importantly, it is the same tree from which the panel at Woburn was cut. The Rijksmuseum panel has a last heartwood ring of 1638.²¹ The last heartwood ring date of 1588 for the Woburn panel is therefore immediately progressed to 1638. As was demonstrated with the Leemput series in the Royal Collection, the correlation between the two shows two panels cut from different parts of the same tree. The Woburn panel was cut from a part of the tree that had rings dated 1489 to 1588, and the Rijksmuseum panel from a part where the rings dated from 1518 to 1638. The minimum number of sapwood rings for an oak of western German origin is ten. The wood then requires drying and transportation. It is safe to assume that the tree from which these two panels were cut was still growing when Van Dyck died in Blackfriars in December 1641.

The discovery of these two panels from the same tree and the other five panels which were made from trees still growing after 1641 provides a new perspective on the *grisaille* copies after Van Dyck's *Iconography* and raises some interesting questions. They show that the supply and demand for *Iconography* related *grisaille* panels remained strong after Van Dyck's death, perhaps running in tandem with the success of the published series of engravings. The reason for their production is unknown. The *Gevartius* at Woburn Abbey was once part of a group of fourteen *grisailles*. The *Gevartius* in the Rijksmuseum has been accompanied by another, at least since it was first recorded in 1816. It excludes the possibility that individual copies were made by order of Gaspar Gevartius, who lived until 1666. Both the Woburn Abbey and Rijksmuseum panels relate to a prototype which was once in the collection of Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680) and is now in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch. It is interesting that the two *Gevartius* panels appear to have been painted by two different hands. Was there a small production process in operation to manufacture these sets of copies, subsequently marketed as originals? Much remains unanswered at present but the project's recent findings have advanced the study of these small and beautiful pieces related to Anthony Van Dyck.



NOTES

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- 14 Manuscript notes in the curator's copy of the 1951 catalogue in the archives at Woburn Abbey. We are very grateful to Victoria Poulton for sharing this with us.
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VAN DYCK

Anthony Van Dyck, his panels and panel makers: identifications and patterns

JUSTIN DAVIES

This article examines the reverses of the autograph paintings which were the subject of the article 'Anthony Van Dyck and his use of panels: an introduction' in the first issue of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*.¹ It establishes, where possible, whether the panels have been cradled or if they and their historical information have survived untouched, some 400 years after they left the panel maker's workshop. The panel maker's marks which have been found on the reverses of the panels are listed and analysed. The presence or absence of Guild of Saint Luke Antwerp marks is noted. Examining the panels published as autograph in the present literature provides a point of departure and common basis for new information on Van Dyck's artistic and working practices and determines whether there are patterns to be found in the panels used by Van Dyck.

CRADLED OR UNCRADLED?

Over the course of some 400 years since they were made, many paintings on panel have undergone conservation or preventative treatment including cradling in order to 'stabilise' the wood in the presence of variations of humidity. As Sara Mateu noted in her introductory article on seventeenth-century Antwerp panels in the first issue of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*, 'these practices [cradling and transfers] radically modified the support and removed any panel maker's or guild marks [...] 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.'² Cradling normally eradicates the panel maker's and Guild marks, though traces have been found on occasion. Dendrochronology is still possible on a cradled panel unless the edges of the panel have been covered by wooden battens whose removal may damage the painting, or the panel has been set in another panel.

It was therefore of great interest to JVDPPP to determine how many Van Dyck panels had been cradled and how many are uncradled. The latter category could provide



Fig.1 Anthony Van Dyck, *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak*, 170 by 160 cm, Sint-Martinuskerk, Zaventem - www.artinlanders.be - Hugo Maertens.



Fig.2 Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait of a Military Commander*, 33.5 by 24.8 cm, Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House ©JVDPPP.

evidence of their production process and possible dating through the presence or absence of panel maker's or Guild of Saint Luke Antwerp brand marks.

117 autograph panels are listed in the existing literature.³ 82 panels were examined by the project or information on their reverses is available to the project.⁴ The current state of research is that:

40 are found to be uncradled;

36 are cradled or were previously cradled;

3 are set in later, unmarked panels;

2 are contained in modern 'climate frames' and inaccessible;

1 has been set in a later seventeenth-century panel which bears marks.

There is no overall pattern for the cradling or not of Van Dyck's panels. Much depends on their state of preservation since the first half of the seventeenth century and the conservation practices of a particular institution, private collector or art dealer.

It is noticeable that the five paintings on panel by Van Dyck over 145 cm in height are all cradled. Bigger planks are more susceptible to warping than smaller ones. The five panels are, in size order: *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 211 x 165 cm (Saint Paul's Church, Antwerp); *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak*, 170 x 160 cm (Parish Church, Zaventem) (fig.1); *The Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist*, 150.9 x 114.5 cm (Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich); *Charity*, 148 x 107 cm (National Gallery, London); *Marten Ryckaert (1587-1631)*, 148 x 113 cm (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid); and, *The Virgin and Child*, 146.7 x 110.4 cm (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).⁵

However, it is not only panels of a certain size that have been cradled. JVDPPP examined nine of the 12 'Böhler Apostles' (various owners). The nine are a *ses stuyvers maet* size, c.62-64 x 48-50cm, and they are all cradled. Some of the reverses still show traces of previous, widespread worm infestation. And even the small *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 28.6 x 24.3 cm (The Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp) was cradled sometime after it entered the art market in 1956.⁶

UNMARKED AND/OR UNBRANDED PANELS

The 11 December 1617 ordinance ordered that all glued panels, i.e. of two planks or more, which left a panel maker's workshop had to be marked, inspected and branded.⁷ As a result, it is highly unusual to find a panel which consists of only a single plank to be marked by a panel maker or branded

by the dean of the guild, unless it is cut from a larger, previously marked and branded panel and retains some of the marks. A rare example of an unusually large, marked single plank is the *Portrait of a Carmelite Friar*, 62.3 x 48 cm (private collection).⁸

Seven uncradled, unmarked single plank panels were found, all of a size less than 42 cm at its greatest height or width: *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 23.6 x 27.6 cm (Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin); *The Raising of the Cross*, 26.0 x 21.5 cm (Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Bayonne); *The Virgin and Child Adored by a Bishop* (The Courtauld, London); *Diana Hunting a Stag*, 27.6 x 41.0 cm (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam); *Peeter Snayers (1592-after 1666)*, 28.7 x 20.9 cm (Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich); *Portrait of a Military Commander on Horseback*, 33.5 x 24.8 cm (Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House) (fig.2); *Francis Junius (1591-1677)*, 24.6 x 21.4 cm (The Bodleian Library, Oxford); *Charles I and Henrietta Maria with their Two Eldest Children*, 19.3 x 23.8 cm (Royal Collection Trust/H.M. Queen Elizabeth II).⁹ With the exception of *Peeter Snayers*, the reverses have been physically examined by JVDPPP.¹⁰

This is not to say that all small panels are single planks. The panel of the *Iconography* related *grisaille* of *Jean-Baptiste Barbé (1578-1649)*, 23.8 x 17.0 cm, consists of two planks.¹¹ One is 21.5 cm in height and the other is only 2.3 cm.¹² The panel is marked with the panel maker's mark of Michiel Vriendt in the top left-hand corner but not the Guild of Saint Luke Antwerp mark (fig.3). The position of the mark, top left, rather than centre, indicates that this panel may have been cut from a larger panel.

JVDPPP encountered another Van Dyck panel which has obviously been cut from a larger panel. *The Crucifixion with Saint Francis of Assisi*, 49.5 x 39.5 cm (The Courtauld, London), exhibits the castle and hands of the Antwerp brand of the Guild of Saint Luke in the top left-hand corner (figs. 4,5,6).¹³ Its position on the edge shows that the left-hand panel, at least, was once part of a larger panel. In all other cases, the panel maker's and Guild marks have been found to have been applied in a more central position on the reverse of the panel (see fig. on back cover of this issue). It is possible, therefore, to find a panel with a mark or marks, which was cut from a larger panel. There is also the possibility that some panels which were cut from other panels do not bear marks because the marks were retained on another part of the same panel.

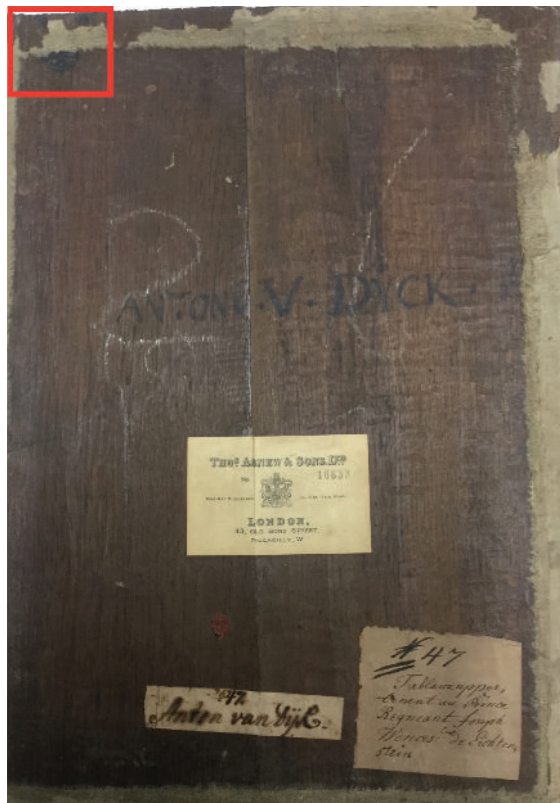


Fig.3 Top left-hand corner of the reverse of Jean-Baptiste Barbé (1578-1649), private collection, showing the panel maker's mark of Michiel Vriendt.
 Fig.4 Anthony Van Dyck, *The Crucifixion with Saint Francis of Assisi*, 49.5 by 39.5 cm, The Courtauld Gallery, London © The Courtauld Gallery, London (Samuel Courtauld Trust).
 Fig.5 The reverse of *The Crucifixion with Saint Francis of Assisi*, The Courtauld Gallery, London © JVDPPP.
 Fig.6 The Castle and Hands of the Antwerp brand of the Guild of Saint Luke on the reverse of *The Crucifixion with Saint Francis of Assisi*, The Courtauld Gallery, London © JVDPPP.

VAN DYCK'S PANEL MAKERS

38 autograph Van Dyck panels were found to bear marks or retain some traces of marks after cradling. The current state of research is listed below. '2004' refers to the painting's number in *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, where applicable.¹⁴

NO. 2004 TITLE SIZE (cm) PANEL MAKER GUILD MARKS
 FIRST ANTWERP PERIOD (UP TO OCTOBER 1621), ALPHABETICALLY BY PANEL MAKER FIRST, THEN SIZE¹⁵

1	1.69	<i>Bartholomew (Dresden series)</i> ¹⁶	62.9 x 46	Guilliam Aertssen	Yes
2	1.71	<i>Paul (Dresden series)</i>	63.3 x 46.4	Guilliam Aertssen	Yes
3	1.72	<i>Peter (Dresden series)</i>	63 x 46.4	Guilliam Aertssen	Yes
4	1.65a	<i>Philip</i> ¹⁷	64 x 47.7	Guilliam Aertssen	Yes
5	1.65b	<i>Philip</i> ¹⁸	64.2 x 48.2	Guilliam Aertssen	Yes
6	1.148	<i>Portrait of a Man</i>	64.6 x 49.7	Guilliam Aertssen	Yes
7	1.155	<i>Portrait of a Woman with a Rose</i>	63.4 x 46.8	Guilliam Aertssen	Yes
8	1.74	<i>Bartholomew (Althorp series)</i>	63.8 x 48.4	Guilliam Gabron	Yes
9	1.70	<i>Matthias (Dresden series)</i>	63.2 x 46.4	Sanctus Gabron	Yes
10	-	<i>Portrait of a Carmelite Friar (one plank)</i>	62.3 x 48	Peeter de Noble	Yes
11	-	<i>Portrait of a Lady with a Parrot</i> ¹⁹	121.8 x 87.8	Peeter Roybaert	Yes

In the case of four of the 'Althorp series' of Apostles, the panel maker's mark is possibly obscured under a wide lint strip covering the join of the two panels which partially covers the Guild marks:

12	1.75	<i>James the Great (Althorp Series)</i>	62 x 46	Possibly obscured	Yes
13	1.76	<i>Matthew (Althorp Series)</i> ²⁰	62 x 46	Possibly obscured	Yes
14	1.77	<i>Matthias (Althorp Series)</i>	62 x 46	Possibly obscured	Yes
15	1.78	<i>Simon (Althorp Series)</i>	64 x 49.9	Possibly obscured	Yes

In the case of two paintings, only Guild marks are visible:

16	1.73	<i>Simon (Dresden Series)</i>	63.2 x 46.4	-	Yes
17	1.112	<i>Maria Clarisse and her Daughter</i> ²¹	104.8 x 76.3	-	Yes (castle only)

In two cases, the panel has been thinned and only the traces of the Guild mark remain:

18	1.130	<i>Portrait of a Sixty-Year-Old-Man</i>	65.7 x 50.7	-	Yes (traces)
19	1.131	<i>Portrait of a Sixty-Year-Old-Woman</i>	65.8 x 50.7	-	Yes (traces)

Five panels do not exhibit any panel maker's or Guild marks:

20	1.119	<i>Portrait of a Fifty-Eight-Year-Old-Woman</i>	104.5 x 76	-	-
21	1.124	<i>Portrait of a Man</i>	105.4 x 74	-	-
22	1.118	<i>Portrait of a Fifty-Seven-Year-Old Man</i> ²²	105.5 x 73.4	-	-
23	1.132	<i>Portrait of a Fifty-Five-Year-Old Man</i>	106.4 x 74	-	-
24	1.137	<i>Portrait of a Man</i>	123.2 x 92.7	-	-

FIRST ANTWERP PERIOD PANEL SET IN A LATER PANEL

25	I.104	<i>Cornelis van der Geest (1555–1638)</i> (set in a larger panel)	37.5 x 32.5 (85.2 x 67)	Michiel Vriendt	Yes
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SECOND ANTWERP PERIOD (1627-1632), ALPHABETICALLY BY PANEL MAKER FIRST

26	III.7	<i>The Holy Family with a Round Dance of Angels</i>	33 x 41.5	Michiel Claessens	None visible
27	III.48	<i>The Martyrdom of Saint George</i>	44.8 x 36.4	Reynier Roybaert	Yes
28	III.23	<i>The Crucifixion</i>	49.5 x 43	Michiel Vriendt	Yes
29	III.63	<i>Rinaldo and Armida</i>	57.3 x 41.5	Michiel Vriendt	Yes
30	III.121	<i>Theodor Rombouts (1597–1637)²³</i>	122.9 x 90.8	Michiel Vriendt	Yes
31	III.122	<i>Anna van Thielen (?–?) with her Daughter Anna Maria (b. 1628)²⁴</i>	123 x 90.7	Michiel Vriendt	Yes
32	III.130	<i>Jan Snellinck (1544/9–1638)</i>	61.5 x 49.3	Michiel Vriendt	Yes
33	III.168	<i>Jean-Baptiste Barbé (1578–1649)</i>	23.8 x 17	Michiel Vriendt	None visible

One panel bore Guild marks only (in the top left-hand corner):

34	III.27	<i>The Crucifixion with Saint Francis of Assisi</i>	49.5 x 39.5	-	Yes
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In one case, the panel has been thinned and only the traces of the Guild mark remain:

35	III.13	<i>The Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist</i>	150.9 x 114.5	-	Yes
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Two uncradled panels did not exhibit any marks:

36	III.40	<i>The Ecstasy of Saint Augustine</i>	44.5 x 28	-	-
37	III.42	<i>The Ecstasy of Saint Augustine</i>	50.3 x 31	-	-

ENGLISH PERIOD (1632-1641)

The one glued panel did not exhibit any marks (except the brand mark of the collection of Charles I):

38	IV.59	<i>Charles I and the Knights of the Garter in Procession</i>	29.4 x 131	-	-
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Fig.7 The panel maker's mark, here identified as Peeter Roybaert, on the reverse of *Portrait of a Lady with a Parrot*, The Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp © JVDPPP.
Fig.8 The panel maker's mark, here identified as Reynier Roybaert, on the reverse of *The Martyrdom of Saint George*, Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford © JVDPPP.

Guilliam Aertssen, Michiel Claessens, Guilliam Gabron, Peeter de Noble and Michiel Vriendt were signatories to the 13 November 1617 panel makers' petition.²⁵ Their punch marks have been identified through comparison with the drawn marks on the petition. The punch mark of Sanctus Gabron was identified by the present author in December 2016 (see the article 'Van Dyck's use of panels made by the Gabron family: occurrences and new findings' in this issue of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*).

Two similar but slightly different marks were found on the panels of two autograph paintings. They do not appear on the 1617 petition nor are they illustrated or listed in the current literature on panel makers. They are 4+BPR on the reverse of the *Portrait of a Lady with a Parrot* (The Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp) (fig.7) and 4+BRR on the reverse of *The Martyrdom of Saint George* (Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford) (fig.8). A clearer version of the latter mark was found on the reverse of *Saint Sebastian Tended by an Angel* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles) (fig.9). This small panel, 40.5 x 30.2 cm, is considered to be by Van Dyck at the museum but was regarded as the work of a follower in the 2004 Van Dyck catalogue.²⁶

The 4+BPR mark is found on the reverse of a first Antwerp period panel (up to 1621) and the 4+BRR mark on a second Antwerp period (1627-32) panel. The most promising candidates with the initials PR and RR recorded in *De*

Liggeren of the Guild of Saint Luke are Peeter Roybaert (also spelt Robert) and Reynier Roybaert (also spelt Royenbaert).²⁷ The 4+ was a generic construction often used as part of family and individual identification marks in seventeenth-century Antwerp, where illiteracy was widespread, and can be found in archival documents and also on panels in seventeenth-century Antwerp. For example, it also featured in Peeter de Noble's punchmark.

Peeter Roybaert was entered as an apprentice of the panel maker Robyn Pulinckx in the guild year 1609-10.²⁸ It is not known when he ended his apprenticeship and became a free master but as a free master he registered Jacques Rombout as his own apprentice in the guild year 1620-21.²⁹ Therefore, he was certainly a free master before the end of Van Dyck's first Antwerp period. There are no further references to him in *De Liggeren*. Reynier Roybaert became a free master, as a panel maker, in the guild year 1625-26.³⁰ He took two apprentices in 1627-28, indicating that he had a thriving workshop by that time.³¹ His last mention in *De Liggeren* occurs in 1628-29, when he owed six guilders.³²

The similarity between the punch marks indicate that Peeter and Reynier Roybaert were related. The difference between the two marks, the initials, accords with the dating of the two panels and their known periods of activity. Reynier possibly took over the workshop of Peeter. It would therefore seem likely that these two brands tentatively be identified as



Fig.9 The panel maker's mark, here identified as Reynier Roybaert, on the reverse of *Saint Sebastian Tended by an Angel*, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles © JVDPPP.

belonging to these two master panel makers in the Guild of Saint Luke.

PATTERNS WITHIN THE FIRST AND SECOND ANTWERP PERIODS

From the panels examined, it can be determined that Van Dyck patronised the panel making workshops of Guilliam Aertssen, the two Gabron brothers, Sanctus and Guilliam, as well as Peeter Roybaert and Peeter de Noble in his first Antwerp period. Guilliam Aertssen, with seven panels, is the panel maker whose panels, all of a standard size, *ses stuyvers maet*, are found most often in Van Dyck's oeuvre of this period. Two active panel makers in this period for whom there is no evidence that he purchased panels from are Michiel Claessens and Michiel Vriendt.

However, Van Dyck did paint on panels made by Michiel Vriendt and Michiel Claessens in his second Antwerp period, also Reynier Roybaert. Guilliam Aertssen did not provide Van Dyck with panels after his return from Italy. This fits with the archival findings by Ingrid Moortgat that Aertssen was employed to make panels by the paintings merchant Lucas Flocquet in a workshop hidden from Guild control before 1627. It became the subject of a court case between the panel makers of the Guild of Saint Luke and Flocquet and Aertssen.³³

It was a surprise that Michiel Vriendt emerged as Van Dyck's major panel supplier in his second Antwerp period, for two reasons. First, Vriendt's mark was previously recorded on the reverse of only one Van Dyck panel.³⁴ In the existing biographical literature on Vriendt, Van Dyck is not listed as his client.³⁵ The reason for this is that Van Dyck had paid him all the monies due for panels by the time of Vriendt's death in 1637, when Van Dyck was living in England, and is therefore not listed as a debtor in Vriendt's deceased's estate inventory.³⁶ The second is that since G. Gepts identified Vriendt's mark in his 1960 article, 'Tafereelmaker Michiel Vriendt, leverancier van Rubens', Vriendt's name has been associated with Rubens more than any other artist.³⁷ It now appears that Vriendt was also an important supplier of panels to Van Dyck.

From the accompanying list detailing the absence or presence of Guild of Saint Luke Antwerp brand marks, it can be seen that 30 of the 38 panels examined were approved by the dean of the guild, in line with the 11 December 1617 ordinance, and branded with the castle and hands of Antwerp. The conclusion from this is that these panels were manufactured, approved and sold to Van Dyck after 11 December 1617. The approval of panels does not appear to have been a practice existing before the ordinance, based on the study of the 13 November 1617 petition and the ordinance itself.

There are five panels from the first Antwerp period which bear neither panel maker's nor guild marks. These are five portraits, numbers 18 to 23 in the table above, which were once attributed to Rubens but are now placed in Van Dyck's oeuvre.

CONCLUSIONS

Sufficient uncradled panels have survived, despite the ravages of time and zealous owners and conservators, to form a basis on which to analyse Van Dyck's patronage of the Antwerp panel makers. Some evidence has been lost. It cannot be excluded that he purchased panels from other makers; the 'Böhler' series of Apostles, for example, are cradled owing to previous woodworm damage and provide no evidence as to their panel maker(s).

Some clear patterns emerge. Guilliam Aertssen appears to have provided the greatest number of marked panels during Van Dyck's first Antwerp period and none during his second. Conversely, Michiel Vriendt, a panel maker more associated with Rubens than Van Dyck, does not seem to have provided panels for Van Dyck during his first Antwerp period but became his major supplier during his second. He also patronised the Gabrons, the Roybaerts, Michiel Claessens and Peeter de Noble.

The focused study on Van Dyck's panel makers has led to the identification of the probable, previously unrecorded marks of three panel makers: Sanctus Gabron, Peeter Roybaert, and Reynier Roybaert. In itself, this sheds further light on the Antwerp panel makers and will allow for their marks to be identified on the reverses of panel paintings by other artists.

Such combined studies in relation to Van Dyck continue to provide new information about the artist in Antwerp and his panel paintings. With the information that has been collected and which is collated above, it will be possible to look afresh at his possible role in Rubens's studio (the five unmarked panels from the first Antwerp period), the dating of his first works as a free master (which bear Guild of Saint Luke Antwerp marks), especially his Apostles series, and the role and extent of studio production in his artistic output when known 'studio' panels are added to the autograph panels above.

NOTES

The author is grateful to Prof. Dr. Katlijne Van der Stighelen and Dr. Joost Vander Auwera for their comments on the original draft of this article

- 1 J. Davies: 'Anthony Van Dyck and his use of panels: an introduction', *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal* 1 (July 2021), pp.48–63.
- 2 S. Mateu: 'Seventeenth-century Antwerp panels in context', *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal* 1 (July 2021), p.24.
- 3 Davies, *op.cit.* (note 1).
- 4 The major lacuna in the information on the reverses of autograph panels relates to the 23 *Iconography* related panels in the collection of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch which were identified by Horst Vey in the 2004 catalogue as by Van Dyck. These have been subject to a separate project by the Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust. JVDPPP has been informed that the results of this research will be published in the future.
- 5 S. Barnes, N. De Poorter, O. Millar, H. Vey: *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven and London 2004, nos.1.25, 1.38, III.13, III.64, III.123, III.11.
- 6 J. Davies: 'The red wax seal of Jan-Baptista I Anthoine (1624–1691) and his collection of Van Dyck paintings', *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal* 1 (July 2021), pp.80–87. The panel was uncradled and bore a red wax collector's seal when images of the reverse were sent to the art historian Ludwig Burchard in 1956.
- 7 Antwerp, City Archives, Guilds and Trades, vol. 4335, fols.78v–81r, retrieved by I. Moortgat; I. Moortgat: 'Joiner's ordinance (11 December 1617)', ed. by J. Vander Auwera and J. Davies; <http://jordaensvandyck.org/archive/joiners-ordinance-11-december-1617/>.
- 8 A. Eaker and S. Alsteens, eds.: exh. cat. *Van Dyck. The Anatomy of Portraiture*, New York (The Frick Collection) 2016, pp.73–75, cat.no.9. This panel was not known to the authors of the 2004 Van Dyck catalogue.
- 9 Barnes et al., *op.cit.* (note 5), nos.III.3, III.20, III.16, III.54, III.129, III.178, IV.143; for *Charles I and Henrietta Maria with their Two Eldest Children*, see 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, and C. White: *Anthony van Dyck and the Art of Portraiture*, London 2021, p.216, fig.200.
- 10 M. Neumeister, ed.: exh.cat. *Van Dyck. Gemälde von Anthonis van Dyck*, Munich (Alte Pinakothek) 2019, p.370.
- 11 Barnes et al., *op.cit.* (note 5), no.III.168.
- 12 I. Tyers: Dendrochronological Consultancy Report 975, July 2017.
- 13 Barnes et al., *op.cit.* (note 5), no.III.27.
- 14 Barnes et al., *op.cit.* (note 5).
- 15 The reverses of the panels were examined by JVDPPP except where stated in the endnotes besides an individual painting.
- 16 Information on 'The Dresden Series' of five Apostles in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden was kindly provided by Christoph Schölzel, 26 March 2021; see also, Barnes et al., *op.cit.* (note 2), p.77.
- 17 The current location of this painting, previously whereabouts unknown following its sale at Christie's, London in December 2020, is The Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp.
- 18 The entry in the 2004 catalogue merges the information on two different Apostles Philip by Van Dyck, both of which were with the art dealer E.A. Fleischman, Munich, in 1926. The present author has examined both panel paintings and considers both to be autograph, hence their designation as *I.65a* and *I.65b*.
- 19 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. This panel was not known to the authors of the 2004 Van Dyck catalogue. It was first attributed to Van Dyck by Susan Barnes prior to its sale at Dorotheum, Vienna, in 2017.
- 20 Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 5), p.79.
- 21 Information on the portraits in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, was kindly provided by Christoph Schölzel, 26 March 2021.
- 22 Information on the portraits in The Princely Collections, Liechtenstein, was kindly provided by Alexandra Hanzl and Robert Wald, 10 February 2020.
- 23 Neumeister, *op. cit.* (note 10), p.371.
- 24 Neumeister, *op. cit.* (note 10), p.371.
- 25 Antwerp, City Archives, Guilds and Trades, vol. 4346, unpaginated, retrieved by I. Moortgat; I. Moortgat: 'Panel maker's petition and marks (13 November 1617)' with an introduction by J. Davies, ed. by J. Vander Auwera and J. Davies; <http://jordaensvandyck.org/archive/panel-makers-petition-and-marks-13-november-1617/>.
- 26 T. Doherty and A. Woollett: *Looking at Paintings: A Guide to Technical Terms*, Los Angeles 2009, p.49; Vey in Barnes et al., *op.cit.* (note 1), pp.286–87, under no.III.52.
- 27 P. F. Rombouts and T. Van Leries: *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, Antwerp 1864.
- 28 *Op.cit.* (note 27), p.456.
- 29 *Op.cit.* (note 27), p.564.
- 30 *Op.cit.* (note 27), p.624.
- 31 *Op.cit.* (note 27), pp.645, 657.
- 32 *Op.cit.* (note 27), p.674.
- 33 I. Moortgat: 'Guilliam Aertssen – A Biographical Timeline', ed. by J. Davies; <http://jordaensvandyck.org/archive/guilliam-aertssen/>.
- 34 On the panel of *Rinaldo and Armida* (The National Gallery, London), see Barnes et al., *op. cit.* (note 5), no.III.63.
- 35 E. Duverger: 'Vriendt (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/>.
- 36 Duverger, *op.cit.* (note 35).
- 37 G. Gepts: 'Tafereelmaker Michiel Vriendt, leverancier van Rubens', *Jaarboek van de Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1954–60, pp. 83–7; <http://jordaensvandyck.org/article/the-panel-maker-michiel-vriendt-supplier-to-rubens-gepts/>.

JORDAENS

Jordaens's re-use and enlargement of panels in light of the studio practices and art theory of his day: the example of *The Adoration of the Shepherds* in Bristol.

JOOST VANDER AUWERA

Jordaens enlarged and reworked his paintings more frequently and radically than Van Dyck – and for that matter Rubens – ever did. Jordaens's reworkings and enlargements were not limited to paintings, both on panel and on canvas, but are already found at the stage of preliminary drawings.¹ While several Jordaens scholars have devoted specific articles to this remarkable phenomenon, these concentrate mainly on reworkings and enlargements on canvas and are for the most part limited to the factual and material aspects of this practice.² Within the context of the JVDPPP project, we have focused on Jordaens's panel paintings. Even where dendrochronological data is available, the consecutive phases of reworking and enlargement are not always easy to differentiate or date, as enlargement of a wooden support renders the original core panel de facto inaccessible and its dendrochronological dating impossible. Nevertheless, even in such challenging instances, research progress has been possible and new insights gained that go beyond purely material and chronological conclusions. These touch upon the deeper motivation for this quite systematic practice of the master. Within the limits of this short article, we shall concentrate on a typical example that we have been able to research in depth as part of the JVDPPP.

The Bristol *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig.1) is a telling example of the radical way in which Jordaens recycled his paintings and enlarged his panels. The project's multidisciplinary approach has shed new light on the different stages and chronology of this painting, as well as on how its complex genesis can be understood within the context of contemporary art theory and studio practice.

Just how radically, but also with what rationale, Jordaens proceeded, is made clear by the construction drawing by the project's lead dendrochronologist, Andrea Seim (fig.2).



Fig.1 Jacques Jordaens, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, oil on panel, enlarged from 92 by 122 cm (standard 'daeldersmaet' format), to 126.5 by 166.5 cm. (standard 'dobbelen doeck' format), Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, © Bristol Museum and Art Gallery.



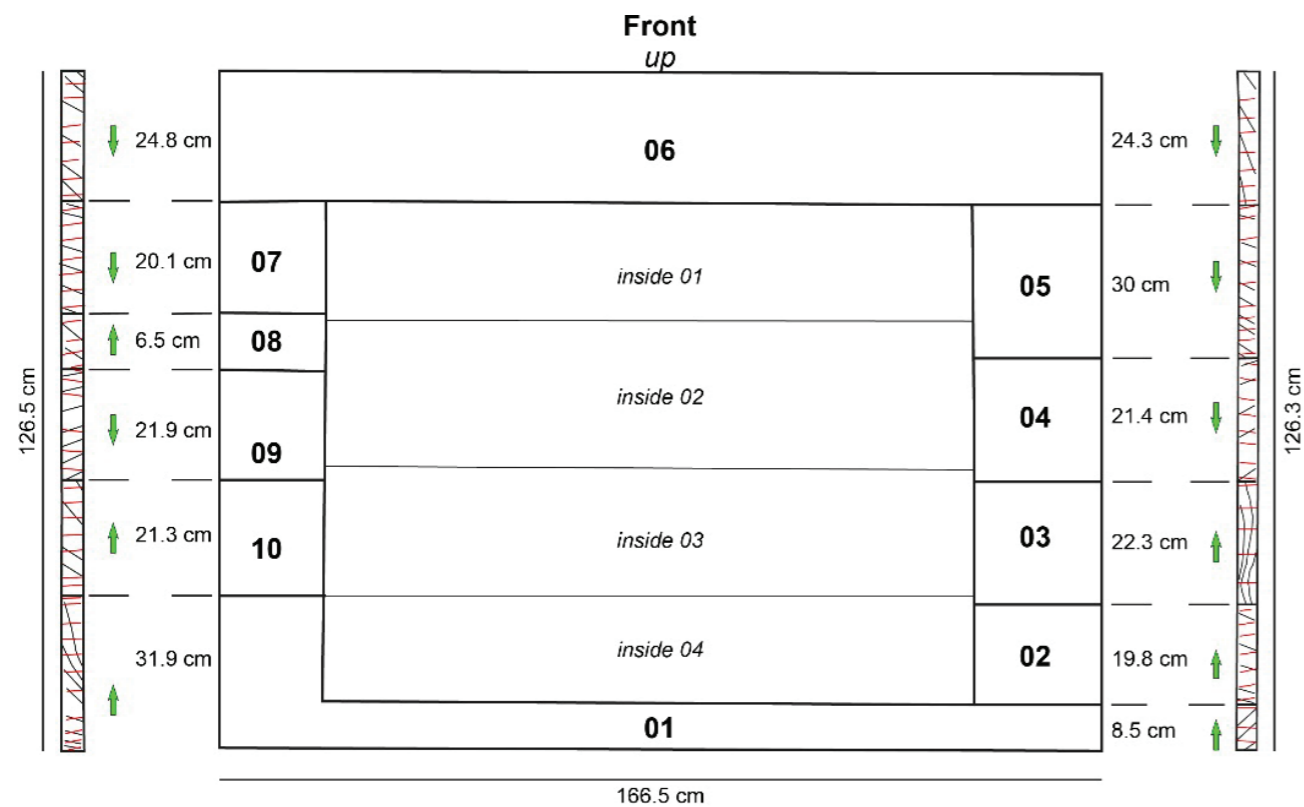


Fig.2 Construction of the composite panel of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Bristol Museum. Central panel, originally of four planks totaling 92 by 122 cm; then enlarged to 126.5 by 166.5 cm. Schematic cross-sections of the planks at the right and left edge of the painting with direction of the rays (black lines) and tree rings (red lines). The direction of growth of the tree for each plank is indicated by the green arrows. Courtesy Andrea Seim. Fig.3 X-rays of part of the central panel of *The Adoration of the Shepherds* in Bristol. Courtesy museum.



It shows how, initially, four planks constituted a panel measuring 92 by 122 cm, which has been enlarged on all sides by the addition of no fewer than ten pieces into a panel measuring 126.5 by 166.5 cm. This change thereby upgraded the painting from a standard 'daeldersmaet' or 'thirty stuyversmaet' format, to a standard 'dobbelen doeck' (double canvas) format.³ In Jordaens's time, standard formats and scale were not neutral, but had specific connotations: commercially because bigger meant more costly and commanding a higher selling price which was of particular importance for these far more expensive panel supports;⁴ and conceptually because each format implied also a specific value on a conceptual scale that was based on the art of rhetoric.⁵ The art and aim of the rhetor was to convince the public with his speeches. In order to do so with maximum effect, he had to adapt his style to the nature of his public. That sense of appropriateness was called 'decorum' and this was a central principle in seventeenth-century civilised life. It was both a moral category and a guiding principle of efficiency, depending on momentum and context. It encompassed aspects of behaviour and practice as diverse as the appropriate dress demanded of a specific occasion and one's status; or the appropriate format and style of a painting in order to obtain the maximum desired effect with a specific category of viewers.⁶ For the most noble public that style had to be heroic and great in every sense: the style of larger than life. And vice versa: the smaller the format, the

more humble the audience that was intended. The big style of 'stilus gravis' was connected to tragedy; whereas the middle style, 'stylus mediocris', was destined for an audience of normally positioned persons and related to comedy; and the humble style or 'stylus humilis' referred to satire and found in the fine arts its privileged domain in small and moralising genre scenes. In the same vein, upgrading a theme or format (*amplificatio* in rhetoric theory) like Jordaens did, with the panel in Bristol, represented an upscaling in both a physical and a conceptual sense.

X-radiographs (fig.3) reveal that the central panel in Bristol was first painted with a *Return of the Holy Family from Egypt* comparable to the versions in Berlin (fig.4) and Providence, Rhode Island (fig.5) but with the central panel in the vertical position. This core panel was later turned ninety degrees into a horizontal position and overpainted with the central scene of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*.⁷ As panels were very expensive, there must have been a strong motivation to reuse them.⁸ Jordaens nonetheless stands out for the great frequency with which he recovered, reused and reworked his supports and compositions.⁹

In this case there is another remarkable observation to be made: if one compares these three versions of the *Return from the Flight into Egypt*, then it becomes clear that each of



Fig.4 Detail of Jacques Jordaens, *The Return of the Holy Family from the Flight into Egypt*, oil on panel, 63 by 49.8 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
 Fig.5 Detail of Jacques Jordaens, *The Return of the Holy Family from the Flight into Egypt*, oil on canvas, 75 by 55 cm, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island.



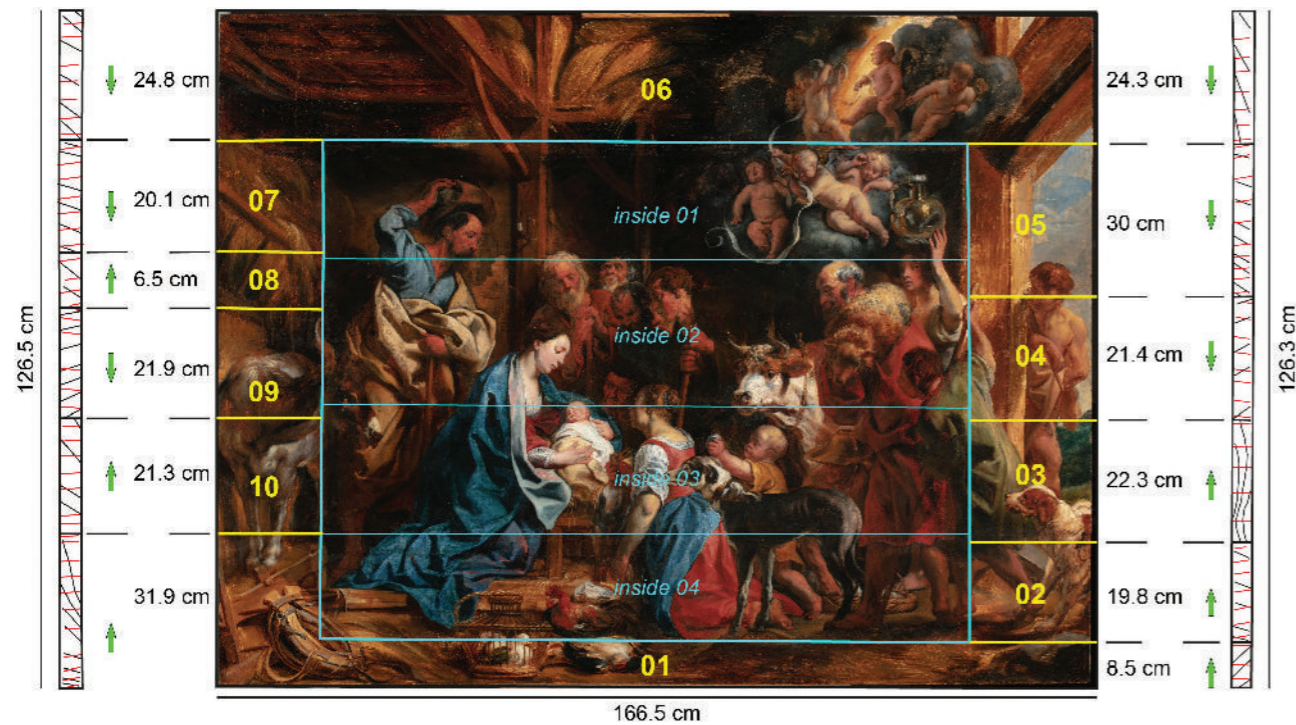


Fig.6 The composition of Jordaens's painting in Bristol with a projection of the added borders on the composition.
Courtesy Andrea Seim.

them can be placed on a standard scale of enlargements or 'amplificatio' of format, from the *six stuivers* format in Berlin, to the *ten stuivers* format in Providence, and ending with the underlying and relatively biggest central panel in Bristol which started its life in a *thirty stuivers* or *daeldersmaet* format. But only with the enlargements to the border did the central panel of the Bristol *Adoration of the Shepherds* as we see it today (fig.1) 'grow' to the even bigger standard format of a double-canvas (*dobbelen doeck*), albeit without substantially changing its composition.¹⁰

Solely on the basis of stylistic parameters, the original central panel of the *Return from the Flight* in Bristol was initially dated at around 1615–16, using the current dating of the Providence and Berlin paintings as close parallels, whereas the third and final composition of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* was also dated on stylistic grounds to c.1653.¹¹ But dendrochronology demonstrated that the Berlin painting has to be dated not earlier than c.1619–20.¹² And the pieces used to enlarge the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in Bristol can now be dated by dendrochronology to no earlier than 1634.¹³ Which situates Jordaens's typical recycling of the *Return of the Holy Family from the Flight into Egypt* in the first, central phase of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* between c.1619–20 and 1634, even without a dendrochronological date for the central panel. Moreover, this leaves a gap of at least fifteen years (c.1619–20 to 1634) before Jordaens had the ten pieces added in order to paint the third phase.

So why did Jordaens proceed that way with such an interval of time? In that respect Justin Davies has made an intriguing discovery (see the annex): that this *Adoration of the Shepherds* in Bristol is likely the exemplar that was sold with the remains of Jordaens's estate at The Hague in 1734. If that is the case, then this was a 'principael', a painting put on display in Jordaens's studio as a basis from which visiting clients could commission similar paintings. As such it was therefore also updated and upgraded to the newest taste, as I explained in my Jordaens article in the first issue of this Journal, gaining in the process both in format and in financial and artistic value.

This hypothesis is corroborated when analysing the consequences of these enlargements for the resulting composition. Jordaens added what was called in contemporary art theory 'bijwerk' (sidework),¹⁴ that is embellishments to the main story, in this case more figures, animals and accessories in the borders. On the upper border we see hay added high up in the stable and, on the upper right-hand side, additional little angels hovering in the air. On the right-hand border the viewer discovers a man entering the stable and a dog, and

on the left-hand border more of the massive body of the ox which, according to popular belief, was present at Christ's birth; and, last but not least, along the lower border, further stable-related motifs: a horse halter, a market-basket with poultry, a (dead?) duck and what seems to be the head of another, resting dog in the right bottom corner. In that way Jordaens's enlargement of the composition is fully in accordance with two qualities that were highly praised in contemporary art theory: the introduction of greater variation of motifs or 'varietas' while still respecting the hierarchy of placing the essence or scope ('scopus') of the story ('istoria', the noble art of history painting) in the centre of the composition, and relegating the sidework to the borders.¹⁵

In combination, these various material and conceptual elements show the importance and effectiveness of a multidisciplinary approach to dating and interpreting Jordaens's panel paintings.

NOTES

- 1 For examples of Jordaens reworkings and enlargements in different media, see J. Vander Auwera: 'Leven, Milieu en Oeuvre van Abraham Janssen. Van Nuysen (ca. 1571/75–Antwerpen 1632): "een seer fameus meester ende schilder in syne levne"' *Bijdrage tot de studie van de historieschilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw*, University of Ghent 2003, pp.265–74.
- 2 J. Held: 'Nachträglich veränderte Kompositionen bei Jacob Jordaens': *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, III (1933), pp.214–23; K. Renger: "'Wiedie Alten sungem...; Kompositionsänderungen im Werk von Jacob Jordaens": *Kunst @ Antiquitäten*, IV/89, pp.52–8; T. Filtenborg, ed.: *Jordaens – The Making of a Masterpiece*, Copenhagen 2008. And several essays in J. Lange and B. Münch, eds., together with A. Harmssen: *Reframing Jordaens. Pictor Doctus – Techniken – Werkstattpraxis / Pictor doctus – Techniques – Workshop Practice*, Saint Petersburg 2018; L. Decq, H. Dubois, St. Sawerwyns, S. Swinnen, J. Sanyova, D. Christiaens: 'The Antwerp Maagdenhuis Washing and Anointing of the Body of Christ. Jordaens's complex Modifications of his own Work. Genesis and Conservation', pp.119–31; D. Johnson: 'Construction of Canvas Supports for Jordaens's Paintings suggested by Thread Count Analysis', pp.132–43; A. Harmssen: 'Meisterhaft in der Veränderung – Jordaens in der Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Kassel', pp.144–60; I. Mohrmann, M. Kammer: 'Kunsttechnologische Auswertung von Röntgenbildern – Elf Gemälde von Jacques Jordaens und seiner Werkstatt aus der Sammlung der Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel', pp.161–8; T. Krämer: 'Leinwand und Grundierung im Röntgenbild – Eine kunst-technologische Untersuchung von vier Gemälden Jordaens' und seiner Werkstatt aus der Kasseler Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister', pp.169–91; S. Dohe: 'Die pluripotente Zeichnung – Anstückungen in der Kompositionspraxis von Jacques Jordaens', pp.194–211; J. Lange: 'Two Versions of the Satyr and Peasant in Kassel. New Insights into Jordaens's Workshop Practice and New Questions', pp.230–45; C. Ehrenfort: 'Das Kasseler Bohnenfest – Neueste Erkenntnisse zur Werkgenese und Restaurierungsgeschichte', pp.258–72.
- 3 J. Bruyn: 'Een onderzoek naar 17de-eeuwse schilderijformaten, voornamelijk in Noord-Nederland,' *Oud Holland* (1979), pp.96–113.
- 4 For the expensiveness of panels as painting supports, see J. Vander Auwera: 'Jacques Jordaens and his use of panels: an introduction,' *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*, I (July 2021), pp.38–47. For the lasting importance of the factor of size as a parameter of value, see the research of Maarten-Jan Bok (Amsterdam University), referred to on p.145 in J. Vander Auwera: 'Size Matters! On the Importance and Significance of Life-Size Figures in Rubens' Paintings', C. von Wyhe ed.: *Rubens and the Human Body*, Turnhout 2018, pp.129–55.
- 5 For an in-depth and detailed discussion on this 'rhetoric of format', see J. Vander Auwera 2018, *op. cit.* (note 4).
- 6 For the factor 'decorum' in the choice of a ruff included in portrait painting, see in this same issue J. Vander Auwera: 'An Old Woman in the Fitzwilliam Museum – Jordaens not Van Dyck', p.96.
- 7 Typescript note in the Bristol museum files entitled: 'Results of the X-ray examination of K1098. "The Nativity" by Jordaens.'
- 8 See Vander Auwera 2021, *op. cit.* (note 4).
- 9 See N. De Poorter: 'Seriewerk en recyclage: doorgedreven efficiëntie in het geroutineerde atelier van Jordaens': H. Vlieghe, A. Balis and C. Van de Velde eds.: *Concept, design and execution in Flemish Painting, (1550–1700)*, Turnhout 2000, pp.213–32.
- 10 Bruyn, *op. cit.* (note 3). The same standard formats were in use for both paintings on panel and those on canvas.
- 11 R. d'Hulst: *Jacob Jordaens*, London 1982, p.237, note 25 and ill. 210 p.242.
- 12 See the entry on the Berlin painting in the Jordaens Summary Catalogue on the project's website: jordaensvandyck.org.
- 13 Dendrochronological report B1001 by Dr. Andrea Seim.
- 14 These art-theoretical concepts originated in the fifteenth-century Renaissance tracts of Italian theoreticians such as 'De Pictura' (On Painting) (c.1434) by the famous humanist Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472). They found their way to the Netherlands via the popular 'Schilder-Boeck', published in Haarlem by Karel van Mander (editions of 1604 and 1618). Van Mander's theoretical concepts are edited and analysed in minute detail by H. Miedema: *Karel van Mander. Den grondt der edelschilderkunst*, 2 vols., Utrecht 1973.
- 15 For these art theoretical parameters of quality see F. Billeter: 'Zur künstlerischen Auseinandersetzung innerhalb des Rubenskreises. Eine Untersuchung am Beispiel früher Historienbilder Jordaens' und Anthonis van Dycks' in R. Kuhn, ed.: *Ars Faciendi. Beiträge und Studien zur Kunstgeschichte*, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin and Bern 1993.

The Adoration of the Shepherds: now found to have hung in Jordaens's house in Antwerp

JUSTIN DAVIES

The large *Adoration of the Shepherds*, now in Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, once hung in Jordaens's own house in Antwerp.

Up until now, the earliest provenance of this painting has been recorded as the collection of D. W. Acraman (1775–1847). Daniel Wade Acraman was an iron founder and patron of the arts. His iron foundry provided the great engineer of the Industrial Age, Isambard Kingdom Brunel, with iron work for the S.S. *Great Western*, the longest ship in the world when it was launched in 1838. As a patron of the arts he supported the Bristol School of Artists. The poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge called him 'the father of the Fine Arts in this city.' He also amassed a significant collection of Old Master paintings over the course of half a century. So much so that when Acraman was declared bankrupt, Christie's auctioneers (then Christie and Manson) travelled from London and sold it over three days at his house, No. 1 Lower Crescent, Clifton, 22 to 24 August 1842.

The Jordaens *Adoration* was lot 221: 'Jordaens. The Adoration of the Shepherds, with a choir of infant angels; an admirable composition, richly coloured.' It was bought by W. Battersby and passed by inheritance to John Scandrett Harford (1785–1866) and his nephew, John Battersby Harford (1819–1875). The latter presented it to the Bristol Academy of Fine Arts, (now the Royal West of England Academy) in 1868 in memory of his uncle, who had been its Founding President. In 1897 it was loaned permanently to the Bristol City Art Gallery and Museum, as it was then called, who purchased the painting in 1931. The *Adoration of the Shepherds* was loaned to the *Exhibition of 17th Century Art in Europe* in 1938 and *Flemish Art 1300-1700* exhibition in 1953, both held at the Royal Academy, London.

On 22 March 1734 in The Hague, there was a sale by his descendants of pictures in the collection of Jacques Jordaens at the time of his death in 1678. Lot 32 was 'The Stable at Bethlehem with several figures by Jordaens' ('De Stal van Bethlehèem met verscheide Beelden door Jordaans'), height 4 voet and width 5 voet, 3½ duim. It was sold for 67 guilders. A copy of the original catalogue has not survived but it was recorded in Gerard Hoet's, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen: met derzelve pryzen, zedert een langen reeks van jaaren zoo in Holland als op andere plaatzen in het openbaar verkogt, benevens een verzameling van lysten van verscheyden nog in wezen zynde cabinetten*, The Hague, 1752, vol.1, pp.400–406.

The most commonly used 'voet' (foot) and duim (inch) in the Northern Netherlands in the early eighteenth century was the measurement from the Rhineland: 'Rijnlandse voet en duim'. 1 duim was 2.6 cm and 12 of those made one Rijnlandse voet. Using this measurement, the dimensions of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* sold in Jordaens's sale in 1734 can be calculated as 124.8 by 161.1 cm, extremely close to its currently recorded size, 124.5 x 166.4 cm. An examination of the Jordaens literature and previous auction sale records reveals that the Bristol *Adoration* is the only one known of this large size and horizontal format.

It can therefore be concluded that this *Adoration of the Shepherds*, a favourite subject of Jordaens, to which he returned many times throughout his career, was the painting which was once in the artist's own collection and sold in 1734. This discovery adds an important element of history and provenance to this already impressive painting.

COLLECTIONS

Reflections on the history of Van Dyck's "Böhler Apostles"

ALEXIS MERLE DU BOURG & RAFAELLA BESTA

I
Disentangling the provenance of the various series of individual Apostles – including at times a *Christ* – produced by the young Van Dyck can at times prove a well-nigh impossible task. The impressive number of workshop replicas, adaptations and copies, many of them after the engravings produced, after the master's early death, by Cornelis Van Caukercken (1626–1680),¹ makes the undertaking a cheerless one. The use of old sources and an early guidebook to Genoa does make it possible, however, to elucidate a still relatively unknown part of the history of the principal set of Apostles – the so-called Böhler series – painted by Van Dyck. It is a story that leads us to the Republic of Genoa in the eighteenth century. The Palazzo Rosso, Musei di Strada Nuova, Genoa has the only *Christ* undoubtedly painted by Van Dyck himself and reputed to have been part of a Van Dyckian Apostles series. Of eminently Rubensian inspiration, it belonged, in the first part of the eighteenth century, to Giovanni Francesco II or III Brignole-Sale (1695–1760), Doge of Genoa (1746–48), a diplomat in London and Paris (where he was ambassador of the Republic). Brignole-Sale was also a patron of artists and an art lover who successfully enriched the collections inherited from his ancestors. European travellers doing the "Grand Tour" almost always included in their itineraries the Brignole Palace, commonly known as the Palazzo Rosso, to admire its treasures. One such visitor was the President of the Parlement of Dijon, Charles de Brosses (1709–1777) who, travelling in Italy in 1739 and 1740, evokes it in his famous *Letters*: "At the Brignole Palace [...] two Portraits, by Van Dyck: admirable; and an Ecce Homo, by the same".² This would therefore be the Palazzo Rosso *Christ*, despite this name suggesting a more narrative work than the Genoese panel. The 'stand-alone' nature of this Van Dyckian *Christ* would appear to be confirmed in the guides to Genoa published during the eighteenth century, in particular those penned by painter and historian Carlo Giuseppe Ratti (1737–1795)

Fig.1 Anthony Van Dyck, *Christ Bearing the Cross*, 1620/22, oil on panel, 65 by 50 cm, Genoa, Musei di Strada Nuova, Palazzo Rosso, Genoa.





Fig.2 Gaspar van Wittel (Amersfoort 1653–1736 Rome), *View of Naples*, early 18th century, oil on canvas, 77.5 by 176 cm, Collection Intesa Sanpaolo, Gallerie d'Italia - Palazzo Zevallos Stigliano, Naples © Archivio Patrimonio Artistico Intesa Sanpaolo / Foto Luciano Pedicini, Napoli. The Palazzo Cellamare is the large building on a rusticated basement in the middle ground to the right.

where there is never any question of a complete set of Apostles at the Brignole Palace. Describing the so-called Spring Room (*Stanza detta della Primavera*) in the Palazzo Rosso, Ratti notes: “The portrait of the Prince of Orange by Van Dyck [...] a half-length figure of the Saviour, and two large portraits, one of Antongiulio Brignole on horseback, and the other of his consort Paola, by the said Van Dyck” (*l(n)struzione*, 1766).³ Fourteen years later, in a new edition of his book, Ratti is a little more precise: “Palace of Signore Anton Giulio Brignole, popularly known as the Palazzo Rosso [...] The first room to the right, known as the Spring Room [...] Half-length figure of our Saviour with Cross on panel, by Antonio Van Dyck”.⁴ Somewhat strangely, it might seem, this *Christ* without Apostles was a neighbour, in eighteenth-century Genoa, to a series of Apostles without Christ.

II

From the mid-1760s, the same Ratti in his *l(n)struzione*, mentions a remarkable series of Apostles by Van Dyck in another Genoese patrician residence, the Palazzo Serra: “Palazzo of Signor Girolamo Serra nobly adorned with frescoes, and precious paintings [...] certain of them by Van Dyck, including in another room twelve half-length figures of the Holy Apostles.”⁵ In 1768, the author of an anonymous guide, published in French, notes similarly that “the Serra Palace near the Church of Saint Pancrace has good paintings [...] several portraits by Van Dyck; but the most remarkable items I observed are small figures by the same Author representing the Twelve Apostles.”⁶ Ratti, in the 1780 edition of his *Instruzione*, again praises the Apostles in the Palazzo Serra: “Palace of Signore Giambattista Serra [...] Third small room / Twelve half-sized figures on panels of Apostles, very beautiful works by Antonio Van Dyck”.⁷ These works, however, were soon to leave Genoa.

Frequently suggested by our predecessors,⁸ the obviously tempting matching of the Brignole Sale *Christ* with the Serra Apostles is by no means proven. It has often been claimed (or at least conjectured) that Giovanni Francesco Brignole-Sale, in addition to his *Christ*, was also the happy owner of the complete set of panels of the “Böhler Apostles”. Dated 1748, the document, today in the Genoese public archives, entitled *Descrizione della galleria de quadri esistenti nel palazzo del Serenissimo Duge [doge] Gio. Francesco Brignole-Sale col loro merito et autori*,⁹ far from confirming the latter’s ownership of the apostolic series, proves, without ambiguity, the contrary. The 1748 descriptive inventory confirms the presence, at the Brignole Palace, in the first room on the right (identifiable with that known as “della Primavera” where the painting is still found) of the Van Dyck *Christ*: “Another

half-length figure of Our Lord with the cross painted on panel by Van Dyck”,¹⁰ which is valued at 60 Genoese lire. On the other hand, there is never any mention of twelve figures of apostles by the Antwerp master. It therefore appears evident that, in the eighteenth century, while the *Christ* from the Palazzo Rosso was in the Brignole Sale collection, the Apostles belonging to the Serra family never were. It would have been curious, to say the least, for a family renowned for its excellence in collecting matters to have discarded, to the benefit of neighbours to boot, a complete series of Apostles by Van Dyck (we would stress here the master’s prestige in Genoa in families whose members had been portrayed by him) retaining only a single panel, the one representing Christ.¹¹ There remains the very delicate point of knowing whether the Brignole-Sale *Christ*¹² and the Serra Apostles might previously have constituted a single ensemble, separated some time before the end of the 1730s.

III

Massimo Pisani’s history of a Neapolitan palace, the Palazzo Cellamare and its occupants,¹³ helps us understand the history of the Serra family’s series of Apostles. This set, more commonly known as the “Böhler Series” was revealed in the twentieth century to be the best version of a Van Dyck Apostles series. These paintings were inherited by a branch of the Serra family, the Serra di Gerace, linked to the house of the Duke of Cardinale, the Prunas Serra, founded by Giovanni Agostino Serra, Prince of Gerace and Duke of Terranova. A representative of a large Ligurian family with fiefdoms and considerable interests in southern Italy, Giovanni Agostino Serra (1780–1854) was the son of Giovanni Battista Serra (1742–1787) and Maria Antonia Oliva Grimaldi (1758–1833), Princess of Gerace and Duchess of Terranova. We note that Giovanni Battista Serra, who died in Naples in 1787, had in all likelihood transported the family collection of paintings from Genoa to Naples.¹⁴ The anonymous, fairly detailed *Description des Beautés de Genes et de ses environs* (Description of the Beauties of Genoa and its environs) published in French in 1781 mentions the presence, in the “Brignole Palace, known as the Red Palace” of a “Jesus Christ holding his cross, by Van Dyck” in the middle of a respectable number of paintings. It does not mention any Apostles by the Antwerp master at the “Palace of Monsieur Domenico Serra”, this time recommended only for its ceiling decoration and for the taste of its furnishings.¹⁵ The Serra collection was inherited in the late nineteenth century by Carlo Prunas Serra (1845–1912), tenth Duke of Cardinale, heir to Giovanni Agostino Serra – who had adopted the Duke’s father Luciano Prunas Serra (1812–1866). At this date the collection no longer included the *Madonna Terranova* by Raphael, acquired in 1854 by the Berlin

museums.¹⁶ The collection still included significant paintings, in particular the series of the Apostles by Van Dyck, which was little known outside Genoa. It is notable that from the time of Giovanni Agostino Serra, in the middle of the nineteenth-century, the Apostles were attributed to Rubens, whose name, in Naples, was undoubtedly more prestigious than that of Van Dyck.¹⁷

Duke Carlo died at the Palazzo Cellamare in 1912 (fig.1). He lived as a recluse at the end of his life and had always refused to part with his gallery of paintings. The collection then became the joint property of his brother Augusto, his sister Giulia Giudice Caracciolo, Princess of Cellamare, his nephews, sons of his deceased sister Maria, Eduardo, Prince of Summonte and Agata Imperiali, Duchess of Torra.¹⁸ The Italian press, in a climate of quite understandable excitement aroused by the incessant export of works from the collections of the Neapolitan aristocracy, took an interest in this collection threatened by the greed of foreign merchants and collectors. In the summer of 1912, journalist and future politician Floriano Del Secolo (1877–1949) published an investigation in the Milan newspaper *Il Secolo* concerning the fate of the gallery of paintings in Palazzo Cellamare, with particular attention to the works of Van Dyck: “Time clipping the wings of Cupid” and “twelve apostles, painted on panel, studies done by Van Dyck” deemed to be related to the “famous Last Supper” by Rubens in Antwerp.¹⁹ A very interesting item of information that Del Secolo gives in his article, is that the panels of the Van Dyckian Apostles had previously been reinforced by a specialist, Chiariello,²⁰ but also damaged, at least at the bottoms (“deturpate nei fondi”), by restorer Scognamiglio.²¹ The debate opened in *Il Secolo* naturally focused on the quality of the painting collection in the Neapolitan palace and, in particular, that of the Van Dyck Apostles. Del Secolo sought the opinion of archaeologist Vittorio Spinazzola (1863–1943), director of the Archaeological Museum of Naples and Superintendent of excavations and museums of Campania. The latter was quite cautious as to the autograph character of these early works by Van Dyck, well aware of the existence of multiple versions.²²

IV

A few weeks after Duke Carlo’s death, negotiations began for the sale of the individual items of the collection.²³ “Professor” Alfredo Angelelli, a restorer and expert in ancient painting (an art dealer operating out of the Corso Umberto in Rome), wrote a letter to one of the Duke’s five co-heirs – unidentified – informing him that he had found the best buyer (*il miglior compratore*) who was waiting for his expertise and his estimate in order to decide.²⁴ The correspondence in connection with

this sale, studied by M. Pisani, shows that another party, Emile Scicluna, established in Oxford Street in London, appeared on behalf of an American collector named Gardner. We obviously think of Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924), but rightly or wrongly Pisani gives the collector’s initials as WM. The latter was primarily interested in a famous portrait of a woman supposedly by Rembrandt and the twelve Apostles by Van Dyck, but found the asking price for the Dutch painting on its own (500,000 lire) excessive. Another protagonist, allegedly German (in fact Swiss), J.U. Hellwig, who worked as an agent for sales of art between Rome and Naples, then appears in the correspondence exchanged by the different parties. Among Hellwig’s customers were two dealers “Steimner and Boheler” (sic).²⁵ Hellwig pleaded for a substantial reduction in the price of the pseudo-Rembrandt (which fell to 200,000 lire in July 1912). But he was also interested in the Van Dyck Apostles, as it appears in a letter written in French to the heir (still unidentified) of Duke Carlo Prunas Serra, who was especially anxious to close the sale without delay. Hellwig offered 18,000 francs for the Apostles claiming that there were identical paintings at the Prado in Madrid,²⁶ that religious subjects had gone out of fashion and that several paintings in the ensemble had been poorly “glued” and restored. The negotiations continued laboriously until their conclusion at the end of 1913, running the full course of tactical manoeuvres, sudden market turnarounds, and the intervention of the great oracular authorities of the time, Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929) and Bernard Berenson (1865–1959).²⁷ No doubt comforted in their doubts about the autograph character of the Apostles (pressed for his opinion, Bode had pronounced, with caution, in favour of their execution by Van Dyck or by his workshop, but had apparently declared not to be interested, whilst Berenson, who apparently examined the series in Naples, did not make much of it), Julius Böhler senior and junior maintained their offer of 180,000 francs. A new turn in the story came at the end of 1913, when the Van Dyck Apostles seem to have been dispatched to Paris with the evident aim of finding a more generous buyer. Being informed of this, the Böhlers were, needless to say, not pleased at the manoeuvre, lowering their offer to 150,000 francs. The deal nevertheless ended up being concluded for the initial price of 180,000 francs in December 1913. The unity of the series, preserved for centuries, would not withstand this sale or the commercial practices of the Böhler firm, which almost immediately begin the irremediable dispersion of the Apostles. But that’s another story, as Rudyard Kipling would say.

NOTES

- 1 We mention here a set of eight mediocre copies on canvas taken from the Van Caukercken engravings, which had hitherto escaped us. Preserved in the French village of La Bastide-Clairence in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques (parish church of Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption), they represent Paul, John, Matthew, Bartholomew, Andrew, James the Great, Jude, Thaddeus and James the Less. See <http://dossiers-inventaire.aquitaine.fr/dossier/ensemble-de-8-tableaux-les-apotres/78d1880a-1014-4207-83fd-936ea10f1605>.
- 2 C. de Brosse: *Lettres historiques et critiques sur l'Italie*, Paris 1799, I, p.92.
- 3 “[...] il ritratto del Principe d’Oranges del Vandik [...] una mezza figura del Salvatore, e due grandi ritratti, uno di Antongiulio Brignole a cavallo, e l’altro di Paola sua Consorte, del suddetto Vandik [...]” C. Ratti: *Istruzione (sic) di quanto può vedersi di più bello in Genova in pittura, scultura, ed architettura ecc. autore Carlo Giuseppe Ratti Pittor Genovese*, Genova 1766, p.230.
- 4 “Palazzo del Sig. Anton Giulio Brignole volgarmente detto il Palazzo Rosso [...] Stanza prima alla dritta, detta la Primavera [...] Mezza figura di N. Signore Salvatore con Croce in tavola, d’Antonio Vandik [...]”, C. Ratti: *Istruzione di quanto può vedersi di più bello in Genova in pittura, Scultura ed architettura ecc... Nuovamente ampliata, ed accresciuta in questa seconda Edizione dall’Autore medesimo*, Genova, 1780, p.253.
- 5 “Palazzo del Signor Girolamo Serra nobilmente adorno d’affreschi, e tavole preziose... [...] alcuni del Vandik, di cui son pure in altra stanza dodici mezze figure de i SS. Apostoli.” Ratti, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.126.
- 6 “Le Palais Serra près de l’Église de Saint Pancrace possède de bonnes peintures [...] plusieurs portraits de Vandick; mais ce que j’ai observé de plus admirable sont de petites figures du même Auteur représentant les douze Apotres.” *Description des Beautés de Génes (sic) et de ses environs ornée du plan, & de la Carte Topographique de la Ville*, Genova 1768, pp.39–40.
- 7 “Palazzo del Sig. Giambattista Serra... Terzo salotto / Dodici mezze figure in tavola d’Apóstoli, opere bellissime d’Antonio Vandik”, Ratti, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.152.
- 8 For example, M. Fontana and M. Plomp (B. Meijer, ed.): *Repertory of Dutch and Flemish paintings in Italian public collections, I, Liguria*, Florence 1998, p.105, no.79 or again C. Brown and H. Vlieghe *et al.*: exh. cat. *Van Dyck 1599–1641*, Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 1999, p.124 (nos.16, 17). The latest catalogue of Van Dyck’s painted works (S. Barnes, N. De Poorter, O. Millar and H. Vey, *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalog of the Paintings*, New Haven and London 2004, nos.1.51–78) appears much more circumspect on this precise point. F. Lammertse in turn writes, somewhat cautiously that “Generally, it is thought that the Christ (cat. no. 39) in the Palazzo Rosso originally belonged to the same series [Böhler Series]”, exh. cat. *El Joven Van Dyck / The Young Van Dyck*, Madrid (Museo Nacional del Prado) 2012–2013, pp.200–211, nos.39–48.
- 9 Genoa, Archivio storico del comune di Genova, ABS, *scatola TE [4]*. (pub. L. Tagliaferro: *La magnificenza privata. Argenti, gioie, quadri e altri mobili della famiglia Brignole Sale, sec. 16–19*, Perugia 1995, p.342). L. Tagliaferro’s exemplary work on the archives of the Genoese family from the Renaissance onwards does not enable us to specify on what date and in what circumstances the panel may have entered the Brignole Sale collections.
- 10 “Altra mezza figura di Nostro Signore con la croce dipinto sopra tavola del Vandik”.
- 11 We note, moreover, that the Serra family also included distinguished collectors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, starting with the marquis Giovanni Francesco Serra di Cassano (1609–1656) who owned works by or attributed to Van Dyck. See, in particular, A. Vannugli: “La colección del marqués Giovan Francesco Serra”, *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, IX (1988), pp.33–43 and, by the same author, *La collezione Serra di Cassano*, Salerno 1989.
- 12 See Summary Catalogue for dendrochronological information on the panel, <http://jordaensvanddyck.org/panel/christ-4/>.
- 13 M. Pisani: *Il Palazzo Cellammare. Cinque Secoli di Civiltà Napoletana*, Naples 2003.
- 14 The Serra archives in Naples (Archive di Stato di Napoli, Archivio privato Serra di Gerace) provide an interesting clarification about the constitution of the pictorial collection. Two paintings of Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione “Il Grechetto” (1609-1664) appearing in the family gallery came, in fact, from Giovanni Battista’s father, Geronimo Serra (1703-1768), who acquired them in 1734. See Pisani, *op. cit.* (note 13), p.471.
- 15 *Op. cit.* (note 6), p.85 and p.95.
- 16 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (inv. no. 247A).
- 17 We read in the anonymous *Napoli ei luoghi celebri delle sue vicinanze*, II, Naples 1845, p.328: “TERRANOVA. The duke of Terranova, Agostino Serra, today enriches his collection of modern paintings of the most valuable Neapolitan artists. In this gallery, among the very many paintings of which it is composed, we can admire the twelve apostles, half-length, by Rubens, Time clipping the wings of Love, by Van Dyck, two half-length figures by Rembrandt, two portraits by Hyacinthe Rigaud, and in particular the precious circular painting, four palms in diameter, in which Raphael depicts the Virgin [...]” [“Il duca di Terranova, Agostino Serra, arricchisce splendidamente ogni di the sua collezione di modern dipinture dei più valorosi artisti napolitani. In questa galleria, fra ‘tanti quadri che la compongono, son da ammirare i dodici apostoli di mezza figura, del Rubens, il Tempo che toglie le ali all’Amore, del Van Dyck, due mezze figure del Rembrandt, due ritratti di Giacinto Rigaud, e soprattutto la preziosa tavola circolare di palmi quattro di diametro, su cui Raffaello figurò la Vergine [...]”].
- 18 Pisani, *op. cit.* (note 13), p.462.
- 19 F. Del Secolo: “Capolavori artistici emigrati? Si crede a un trucco della speculazione antiquaria”, *Il Secolo*, XLVII, no 16646, p.2. The article is partially reproduced and commented by Pisani, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp.464-471.
- 20 On the Chiariello family, see M. da Catalano: “Telaiuoli e quadrari in Napoli nel Settecento” in *Gli uomini e le cose: I. Figure di restauratori e casi di restauro in Italia tra XVIII e XX secolo (a cura di Paola d’Aconzo)*, Naples 2006, pp.105, 110–112, 138.
- 21 For Scognamiglio see M. Santucci and M. Tamajo Contarini: “Fra Academia e Museo. Casi di restauro di dipinti del Real Museo Borbonico di Napoli negli anni quaranta dell’Ottocento”, *op. cit.* (note 20), p.253 and p.255.
- 22 Aware of the existence of the (autograph) version of the allegorical painting representing Time clipping the wings of Love bequeathed by Nélie Jacquemart-André to the Institut de France in 1912 (today at the Musée Jacquemart-André, in Paris, inv. D 419), the archaeologist was no more encouraging about its Neapolitan version. On the provenance, possibly English, of the Serra version, and the negotiations for its sale, see Pisani, *op. cit.* (note 13), p.480 and pp.490, 491.
- 23 Pisani relied on the following records in particular to elucidate the circumstances of this sale: Naples Palazzo Cellammare, *APPF (i.e. Archivio privato Pisani Filiasi, Atto per Notar Roberto Sanseverino del 18 luglio 1934, rep. 24533, P. 6536, reg. a Napoli 27 luglio 1934 n. 30)*, “Nota informativa promossa dagli eredi Cardinale”.
- 24 The letter is reproduced by Pisani, *op. cit.* (note 13), p.475.
- 25 That is to say Julius Böhler father and son and, probably, Fritz Steinmeyer.
- 26 In doing so, in error or deliberately, Hellwig was referring to the so-called Lerma *Apostolado* by Rubens dating from 1610–1612 (Madrid, Prado, inv. 1646-1657), one of the major sources for the young Van Dyck who, as we know, drew inspiration from it for his own series of *Apostles*.
- 27 Regarding these negotiations and the doubts accompanying them see Pisani, *op. cit.* (note 13), p.479, p.483, pp.485–6, p.489, p.490.

DISCOVERIES

An Old Woman in the Fitzwilliam Museum: Jordaens not Van Dyck

JOOST VANDER AUWERA

By following the fruitful principle of studying artworks in the flesh, one of the more surprising finds of the Project was related to the unfinished portrait of *An Old Woman* in the collections of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (fig.1).¹ Only the face has been left in some stage of completion, but the black cap clearly indicates that the lady is a widow. Portrayed in old age, it may have been her sudden death that left her portrait unfinished.

Former private owners considered the portrait to have been painted by Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and the painting was acquired by the museum as a Rubens.² Julius Held and the former Fitzwilliam Museum curator Michael Jaffé subsequently considered the portrait to be painted by Van Dyck c.1618–20, and it was published as such by Erik Larsen in 1988.³ Such an early date was not in contradiction with possible traces on the verso of the Antwerp brand mark, as this method of quality control was introduced in December 1617 (fig.2).⁴ The portrait was not included in the multi-authored 2004 catalogue of Van Dyck's paintings.⁵

But the analysis by the Project's dendrochronologist Dr. Johannes Edvardsson clearly excluded both such an early date and Van Dyck's authorship: the last heartwood ring on one plank of its wooden support was dated to 1645, demonstrating that the tree was still growing some four years after Van Dyck's death in 1641.⁶

On first-hand inspection the picture's style and brushwork indicated instead the hand of Jordaens. Firstly, the more complete treatment of the face, with the skillful rendering of a still-alert gaze amidst the emaciated face muscles of the elderly woman, clearly reminds one of the portrait of another widow painted by Jordaens, the *Portrait of Madeleine De Cuyper* at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (fig.3).⁷



Fig.1 Here attributed to Jacques Jordaens, *An Old Woman* (here identified as *Portrait of a Widow*) (unfinished), oil on panel, 74.6 by 55.3 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, dated by dendrochronology after 1645 © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Fig.2 Detail of the reverse of the Fitzwilliam portrait, showing filled in traces of what was possibly the imprint of the Antwerp panel quality brand mark, with the wood pressed and blackened by the heat of the branding iron. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fig.3 Jacques Jordaens, *Portrait of Madeleine de Cuyper*, oil on canvas, 152 by 118 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, c.1635 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Fig.4 Jacques Jordaens, *Portrait of a Young Lady* (unfinished), c.1640–50, oil on panel, 98 by 72.9 cm, Oskar Reinhart Collection, 'Am Römerholz', Winterthur.

© Oskar Reinhart Collection.



This canvas can be dated c.1635 in accordance with the date on Jordaens's portraits of the sitter's son and daughter-in-law, which were acquired by the Rijksmuseum from the same noble family for whom they were painted.⁸

Secondly, a clear parallel with Jordaens can be found in the nuanced handling of the light brown brushwork in the unfinished background, comparable with Jordaens's unfinished *Portrait of a Young Lady* in the Oskar Reinhart Collection 'Am Römerholz' in Winterthur from c.1640–50 (fig.4).⁹

Although the painting remained unfinished, it had already been through several phases of creation as can be deduced by comparing its appearance in natural light (fig.1) with its infrared reflectography (fig.5) and its X-ray image (fig.6), both of which were kindly provided by the Hamilton Kerr Institute and the Fitzwilliam Museum. To reconstruct the painting's genesis, one has to read these images in the opposite order, because the X-rays penetrate the deepest into the paint layers, the infrared rays less so and the natural light least of all. The X-ray reveals the first stage of execution. There is a circular zone around the widow's face, the white density of which reveals heavy lead white pigment which prevents the X-ray from penetrating the panel support beneath the painted surface as would usually occur. Its structure has the appearance of a ruff of the sort worn by Magdalena de Cuyper. In a second phase, it has been overpainted and replaced in the same heavy white pigment with the upright support of a collar called a 'pickadel' or a 'rebato'. A slightly bigger white outline suggests the second collar made of fine linen that this device was intended to support.¹⁰ The infrared-reflectogram shows a repositioning of eyes and eyebrows and less hair on the left side of the head. The direct, bold brushstrokes of a master define the outline of the current collar painted over the underlying circular white ruff around the face. Moreover, darker brushstrokes on the unfinished background reveal what looks to be the outline of a wider face with the contour of an ear and a wider collar over the shoulder to the right. These pentiments are visible in natural light.

To a modern viewer a ruff may seem a rather secondary element in a portrait and the fact that the painter considered several models of it may seem insignificant. But it was a matter of great importance to Jordaens's contemporaries to whom the principle of 'decorum' – what is appropriate in behaviour and dress – guided every aspect of their social life. Wearing accessories that were too ostentatious was severely criticised. Decency and modesty were the principles of the



ideal style of dress.¹¹ Unlike the Winterthur portrait of a marriageable young woman, the decorum for a mourning widow's dress was to be sober and simple with a lace-less flat ruff. For Jordaens it was not merely a question of replacing in this post-1645 portrait a collar which in the c.1635 portrait of Madeleine de Cuyper was already rather old-fashioned.¹²

A widow's grief had to be expressed exclusively by her style of dress. The smaller format of the panel in the Fitzwilliam portrait did not allow the painter to symbolise her sorrow by displaying allegorical attributes in the background as in the much bigger canvas of Madeleine De Cuyper.¹³ Nor was there space for costume detail or indications of status and wealth like the opulent drapery and Spanish leather chair in the portrait of Madeleine de Cuyper. But the Fitzwilliam *Portrait of a Widow* still contains enough clues to be recognised as a work by Jordaens by a study combining traditional stylistic connoisseurship with material analysis, the insights of dendrochronology and an appreciation of contemporary rules of fashion and decorum.

Figs.5-6 Infrared reflectography and X-ray image of the Fitzwilliam portrait. © The Hamilton Kerr Institute.

NOTES

- 1 Anthony Van Dyck, *An Old Woman*, oil on panel, 74.6 x 55.3 cm, c.1620, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv.no. PD.12-1961.
- 2 Sir John Neeld, Bt., Wiltshire, by whom lent to the Royal Academy 'Old Masters' exhibition, 1877, as Rubens; L. W. Neeld, his sale, Christie's, London 9 June 1944 (25), as Rubens, bought by Weitzner; Captain G. De Mahler, his sale, Sotheby's, London, 17 May 1961 (58), as Rubens, bought by the Fitzwilliam Museum using the Cunliffe Fund.
- 3 E. Larsen: *The Paintings of Anthony Van Dyck*, II, Freren 1988, p.26 no.37.
- 4 I. Moortgat: 'Joiner's ordinance (11 December 1617)', ed. J. Vander Auwera and J. Davies; <http://jordaensvandyck.org/archive/joiners-ordinance-11-december-1617/>. The original is held in Antwerp, City Archives, Guilds and Trades, Vol.4335, ff.78v-81r.
- 5 S. Barnes, N. De Poorter, O. Millar, H. Vey: *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven and London 2004.
- 6 See the dendrochronological results in the Summary Catalogue entry for this painting on the project's website, <http://jordaensvandyck.org/panel/portrait-of-an-old-woman-2/>.
- 7 Inv. SK-A-4973R. See R-A. d'Hulst: *Jacob Jordaens*, London 1982, pp.274-76, fig.238.
- 8 D'Hulst, *op.cit.* (note 7), p.274 considers dating in the same year 1635 as the companion pieces from the same family plausible. The website of the Rijksmuseum <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/rijksstudio/kunstenaars/jacob-jordaens/objecten#/SK-A-4973.2> suggests c.1635-36 as its date.
- 9 The website of the Winterthur museum <https://www.roemerholz.ch>, gives 'Rubens (?)' as an alternative author for Jordaens. D'Hulst, *op.cit.* (note 7), p.285 (fig.245) attributes this portrait firmly to Jordaens.
- 10 For the then common device of a supported collar see J. Arnold, J. Tiramani and S. Levey: *The cut and construction of linen shirts, smocks, neckwear, headwear and accessories for men and women c.1540-1660*, *Patterns of Fashion 4*, London 2008, p.126, fig.10.
- 11 H. Magnus: "'Inde sottigheydt van al syn Hooverdyen': Exploring the Value of Southern-Netherlandish Moralising, Satirical and Other Written Sources (1625-1700) to the Study of the History of Costume", A. Newman and L. Nijkamp, eds.: *Undressing Rubens. Fashion and Painting in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp*, London and Turnhout 2019, pp.47-70.
- 12 For these older types of fashion see I. Sturtewagen: 'Clothing Rubens's Antwerp: Everyday urban dress in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', Newman and Nijkamp, eds., *op.cit.* (note 11), pp.7-30.
- 13 For this intricate and detailed symbolism see d'Hulst, *op.cit.* (note 7), pp.274-76.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

List of collaborating institutions and collections

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Brighton
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Archives, Antwerp
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Sint Truiden
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The Princely Collections,
Liechtenstein
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Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer
Kulturbesitz, Berlin

JVDPPP WEBSITE RESOURCES

List of resources available
on www.jordaensvandyck.org

The JVDPPP website is continually being expanded and updated. In addition to the hundreds of archival documents related to the careers of Jordaens, Van Dyck and seventeenth-century panel makers listed in Issue 1 of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*, we are pleased to add two previously unpublished seventeenth-century court cases. These have been discovered and transcribed by JVDPPP team members and are published with full transcriptions and photographs of the original documents to coincide with Issue 2 of the *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal*.

Van Hillewerve v Meulewels 1660–1661 is the subject of Joost Vander Auwera's articles in this issue, 'The 1660–1661 Antwerp court case about a series of Van Dyck's Apostles: two new documents and some reflections on the course of justice and the potential for new discoveries' and 'The 1660–1661 court case on the Apostles series by Van Dyck: A Who's Who of the Antwerp artistic scene in the post-Rubens and post-Van Dyck era.'

The online publication of *Geldorp v Swettnam* 1662, which gives new information about the English careers of the painters Cornelis van Poelenburgh and Alexander Keirincx and was the subject of an article by James Innes-Mulraine in Issue 1 of the *Journal*,¹ inaugurates a new section of the website titled 'Other artists', dedicated to archival documents about artists closely related to the Flemish masters.

Finally, the website now includes a further ten important panels that have been examined by the JVDPPP in the past months.

1. J. Innes-Mulraine: "Mr Pullenbrooke and Mr Kernings two Dutchmen and servants to his said late Majesty": New information on Cornelis van Poelenbergh and Alexander Keirincx" in *Jordaens Van Dyck Journal* 1, pp.76–79.



Anthony Van Dyck, *Jan Snellinck* (1544/9–1638), oil on panel, 61.5 by 49.3 cm. From the Woburn Abbey Collection. © His Grace the Duke of Bedford and the Trustees of the Bedford Estates.

JVDPPP and colleagues at work
2016–2021



Museum of Fine Arts (Szépművészeti
Múzeum), Budapest, 2016
Yale University Art Gallery,
New Haven, 2019
The National Gallery, London, 2018
Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, 2021

Cover: Detail from Anthony Van Dyck, *Jan Snellinck (1544/9-1638)*, oil on panel, 61.5 by 49.3 cm. From the Woburn Abbey Collection. © His Grace the Duke of Bedford and the Trustees of the Bedford Estates.

Back cover: Reverse of Anthony Van Dyck, *Jan Snellinck (1544/9-1638)*, oil on panel, 61.5 by 49.3 cm. From the Woburn Abbey Collection.
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Journal design: Sara Jones

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IOANNES
Pieter Humanorum

SNELLINCKX.
Figurarum Antverpiae

Ant. Van Dyck.

pinx. 1621.

1703. 37C

JENSEN

1308

JAN SNELLINCK
BORN 1544. DIED 1638.
SIR ANTHONY VAN DYCK.

JOHN SNELLINCKS
Born 1544; died 1638.
24 in. by 19 1/2 in. *Van Dyck, 1599-1641.*
In a ruff. Oval. On panel. W. No. 136.
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