

Potsdam) the words: ‘*Musick der Engl. . .*’ and ‘*Engelen Musick*’ can be read with the naked eye, shimmering through the paint layer.<sup>5</sup> The handwriting of these inscriptions is very similar and is likely to be Rubens’s own.<sup>6</sup>

As with most of Rubens’s oil sketches, no underdrawing could be discerned with IRR. The artist painted the compositions directly with a brush in oil on the prepared panel. No pentimenti can be seen with the naked eye on the newly discovered panel, and macro X-ray fluorescence analysis has revealed only one, in white.<sup>7</sup> This scarcity or absence of pentimenti is in accordance with Rubens’s working method.

The opaque paint layer of the oil sketch is a result of the fact that it was heavily overpainted at an unknown date. IRR reveals that in places Rubens’s paintwork had been damaged, but instead of it being carefully retouched, large areas were unnecessarily heavily overpainted, as were the areas where the imprimatura was visible. Parts of the overpaint are thus unnecessarily obscuring Rubens’s work.

The rediscovery of the sketch also assists with the identification of the figures it depicts, a subject of discussion in the past. It is agreed that the scene shows Emperor Ferdinand II

(1578–1637) and his nephew Philip IV with his consort, Elizabeth de Bourbon of France (1603–44), but the identification of the female figure in a nun’s habit was uncertain. As in the tapestry her features do not appear to resemble those of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, and because she was depicted in another scene in the series, some have concluded that the figure is a relative who was then living in the Descalzas Reales.<sup>8</sup> Others have argued that she is indeed the Infanta.<sup>9</sup> The discovery of the oil sketch resolves that debate as the figure’s face is clearly recognisable as that of Isabella Clara Eugenia.

The sketch also provides insights into Rubens’s design process. The composition of the figures in the preceding smaller sketch differs from that of the tapestry. On the sketch the figures are not placed in obvious hierarchal positions. Rubens made a change on the *modello* that was followed in the tapestry: the Infanta was placed at the same level as her nephew, the Spanish king, and his wife, directly behind the Emperor. This subtle change accentuated her position, and seems to accord with the idea that the Infanta’s motives for commissioning the series were not only religious, but also to a considerable degree political.<sup>10</sup>

1 For this series, see especially N. De Poorter: *The Eucharist Series: Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part II*, Brussels 1978; and A. Vergara and A. Woollett, eds: exh. cat. *Spectacular Rubens: The Triumph of the Eucharist*, Los Angeles (Getty Center) and Madrid (Museo Nacional del Prado) 2014–15.

2 One example of a sketch on canvas by Rubens was a design for the ceiling for Banqueting Hall, London, which is listed as such in the inventory of Charles I’s possessions; it may be a painting in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. See G. Martin: *The Ceiling Decoration of the Banqueting Hall: Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part XV*, London 2005.

3 The technical research was carried out at the KIK-IRPA in Brussels, and a report was made by S. Saverwyns, A. Coudray and C. Currie, 30th August 2019.

4 See A. Vergara: ‘Technical study of the *modell* by Rubens for the Eucharist series’, in Vergara and Woollett *op. cit.* (note 1), p.100, fig.81.

5 De Poorter, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.265–68 and 270, nos.2b and 3b. Originally this panel comprised two separate sketches, which seem to have been combined in the seventeenth century. The inscription ‘*Musick der Engl. . .*’ appears on what was originally the left panel, and the inscription ‘*Engelen Musick*’ on what was originally the right panel.

6 *Ibid.*, p.116.

7 Saverwyns, Coudray and Currie, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.6. Corrections in white also appear on other *modell* from the series, see Vergara and Woollett, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.101.

8 De Poorter, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.275–76.

9 See, for example, T. Campbell, ed.: exh. cat. *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2007, p.220.

10 A. Libby: ‘The Solomonic ambitions of Isabel Clara Eugenia in Rubens’s “The Triumph of the Eucharist” tapestry series’, *Journal of the Historians of Netherlandish Art* 7:2 (2015), DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2015.7.2.4.

## A new date for Anthony van Dyck’s free mastership

by JUSTIN DAVIES

**THE ORDINANCES OF THE** Guild of St Luke in Antwerp permitted an artist to work on his own account from his house or rooms only after he had obtained his freedom.<sup>1</sup> Ever since the transcription and publication in 1864 of the *Liggeren*, the register of the Guild, 11th February 1618 has been widely accepted as the date on which Anthony van Dyck enrolled as a free master and became a painter in his own right. However, an examination of the *Liggeren*, alongside the manuscript accounts book kept by the printer Jan Moretus II, who was Dean of the Guild in the guild year 1616–17, leads to the conclusion that Van Dyck became a free master four months earlier, on St Luke’s Day, 18th October 1617.

The original, monumental *Liggeren* 1453 to 1795, is in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Antwerp.<sup>2</sup> It records that Van Dyck (Fig.1) was enrolled in the Guild of St Luke as a pupil of Hendrik van Balen in the guild year 1609–10.<sup>3</sup>

Van Dyck next appears in the *Liggeren* in a list of *Anderen ontfanck van de volle meesters. Anno 1618* (‘Other receipts of the free masters. Year 1618’), under the date 11th February 1618 and with the sum of 23 guilders and 4 stuyvers, his fee for free mastership, alongside his name.<sup>4</sup> Van Dyck also paid wine money of 15 guilders on 17th July of that year, as was required of new free masters.<sup>5</sup>

The Guild’s financial year ran from September to September. There was a new Dean appointed every year. Moretus assumed his position as Dean with concomitant responsibility for the Guild’s accounts on 19th September 1616. He handed over to Pieter Goetkint, an antiques dealer, on 19th September 1617.<sup>6</sup> Goetkint was Dean when Van Dyck became a free master. Moretus’s accounts for his year as Dean were due in the September of the following year, 1618. In the event, he died on 11th March 1618.<sup>7</sup> His accounts were completed

and submitted by his brother Balthasar Moretus on his behalf on 23rd September 1618. Balthasar Moretus worked from the accounts book that his brother had kept while Dean. This has survived and is now in the Museum Plantin-Moretus Archive, Antwerp.<sup>9</sup> The book contains a wealth of telling financial and administrative detail that was not included in the simplified accounts that Balthasar submitted to the Guild and are in the *Liggeren*.<sup>10</sup>

Jan Moretus’s book reveals that the free masters were admitted into the Guild on St Luke’s Day, 18th October, on which occasion there was a solemn Mass followed by a celebratory feast. Religious observance and adherence was of great importance to the Guild and its members. It maintained its own chapel within the Church of Our Lady, the cathedral in Antwerp.<sup>11</sup> There were forty-one new free masters on 18th October 1616. Moretus paid 1 guilder each to the Church of Our Lady for the thirty-two incoming free masters, who were not *meesterssonen* (the sons of existing masters), in advance of the Mass on St Luke’s Day. He paid 3 guilders for these thirty-two free masters to the keeper of the guild’s charity box, Jan Collaert, also in advance of the Mass.<sup>12</sup> Moretus also paid 4 stuyvers each for all forty-one incoming free masters to the *knaep* (steward) of the Guild Abraham Grapheus on



1. *Self-portrait*, by Anthony van Dyck. c.1616–17. Oil on panel, 36.5 by 25.8 cm. (Rubenshuis, Antwerp).

14th October 1616 in advance of the St Luke's Day feast.<sup>13</sup> The free masters were evidently admitted into the Guild as a group of forty-one on St Luke's Day rather than individually throughout the Guild year.

Payment of the individual fees for free mastership occurred at irregular intervals. Of the forty-one free masters admitted to the Guild by Moretus, the nine master's sons were not required to pay for their freedom.<sup>14</sup> Nor was Jaques Gisleyen, a stonemason, who

was already a member of the Guild's rhetoric chamber the *Violieren*. The remaining thirty-one were obliged to pay either 23 guilders and 4 stuyvers or 26 guilders for their free mastership, dependent on whether 2 guilders and 16 stuyvers had previously been paid by their pupil masters to register them as apprentices.<sup>15</sup> The fee for freedom was paid to the Dean of the Guild but not necessarily before the Mass and feast on St Luke's Day.

Two of the thirty-one incoming free masters due to pay, Matthias Keynen and Artus de Bruyn, both painters, paid Moretus their fees before St Luke's Day, as Moretus

recorded in his accounts book on 11th October 1616. Godtgaf Verhulst, a bookseller, paid 12 guilders on 19th October 1616 and pledged to pay the outstanding amount within eight months. From January until September 1617 the remaining free masters pledged bonds to the Dean for their fees or others paid their dues. Three bonds were recorded by Moretus on 16th January 1617 with repayments pledged for February 1617 (Peeter Puteau, painter), 16th July 1617 (the second of two payments by Fernando Schuermans, painter) and 16th September 1617 (the last of four bimonthly payments by Leonardo Robat, painter). The same day he noted that an Otmeers (Van Ommen) paid the dues for Jan Jupplooy, a sculptor; that the father of Gillis van Schoor, engraver, pledged to pay his son's fee and duly did so on 30th March 1617; and Theodore Galle paid both the fees and the wine money for his fellow engraver Peeter Baquereel.<sup>16</sup>

Bonds from the new free masters continued to be recorded throughout the guild year: six on 9th May 1617; two on 11th June 1617; three on 11th July 1617; two on 12th July 1617 and one on 16th July 1617. The bonds had varying terms and times for repayment and most pledged three or four part payments, every three months, running into 1618.<sup>17</sup> That for Simon van der Gracht, an art dealer, was registered by Moretus on 11th July 1617. The bond itself has survived in the Museum Plautin-Moretus Archive.<sup>18</sup> Three payments were due: 12th October 1617, 12th January 1618 and 12th April 1618.<sup>19</sup> Van der Gracht's payments were to be made to Moretus after he had ceased to be the Dean of the Guild in September 1617 but before he had to submit his accounts in September 1618. The payment arrangements for the new free masters in Moretus's year were not reproduced in the *Liggeren*. Only the names and total amount were recorded, in the order they appear in Moretus's account book.

Towards the end of Moretus's year as Dean, there was a flurry of provisions made by those free masters who had not yet reconciled the fee for their freedom. Eight are noted on 17th August 1617. They range from a cash payment by Jan Parcelis, painter, to the elder of the glassmakers settling for his fellow glassmaker Jacques Maudon. After Moretus died on 11th March 1618, ten as yet unredeemed bonds were passed to his widow.<sup>20</sup> In addition, three new free masters, admitted as free masters in the guild year 1616–17 by Moretus, arranged to pay their fees to a succeeding Dean in a following guild year. A glassmaker, Philips Slegers, arranged to pay his fee to Pieter Goetkint, the Dean who succeeded Moretus in the guild year 1617–18.

Peter de Backere and Hans Goossens made an obligation that they would pay Adriaen van Stalbeem when the latter was Dean for the guild year 1618–19, which bonds Moretus passed to Van Stalbeem.<sup>21</sup>

Examination of the 1618 list of payments in the *Liggeren* for Goetkint's year as Dean in tandem with the study of the manuscript book kept by Moretus confirms that 11th February 1618 does not relate to the date that Van Dyck attained his free mastership. The name that appears in the line above Anthony van Dyck's in the 1618 receipts list, with the exact same date, is Philips Slegers, free master from the

**2. *Christ carrying the Cross*, by Anthony van Dyck. c.1617. Oil on panel, 211 by 161.5 cm. (St Paul's Church, Antwerp).**



preceding guild year, 1616–17. An accounts book for Goetkint has not survived, only the list of payments in the *Liggeren* grouped in the same way as payments and pledges were recorded by Moretus in the preceding year. Therefore, 11th February 1618 is the date on which either Van Dyck's fee for free mastership was paid or he entered into a bond for payment with Goetkint, the Dean for that guild year. It is not possible to determine whether Van Dyck paid his dues of 23 guilders and 4 stuyvers in full or entered into a bond with Goetkint on 11th February 1618. It should be noted that he already commanded high prices at this early stage of his career, receiving 150 guilders, the same as Peter Paul Rubens and Jacques Jordaens, for *Christ carrying the Cross* (Fig.2),

an important example of his early style, from the Madonna of the Rosary cycle for St Paul's Church, Antwerp.<sup>22</sup>

Van Dyck would almost certainly have become a free master on St Luke's Day, 18th October 1617. He was eighteen years old. It should be noted that he was declared to be of age, twenty-one, by his father in the *Vierschaar* (Higher Court) on 15th February 1618 but this does not have a bearing on his Guild membership.<sup>23</sup> The declaration related to an ongoing court case between Van Dyck and his brothers-in-law in which he attempted to safeguard his inheritance from his grandmother, also on behalf of his underage brothers and sisters.<sup>24</sup> Although at eighteen Van Dyck was younger than Rubens or Jordaens when they became free masters, at twenty-one and twenty-two respectively, such an age was not unusual. For example, Van Dyck's pupil master Hendrik van Balen became a free master aged seventeen in the guild year 1592–93.<sup>25</sup> And by the time he was declared of age in mid-February 1618, Anthony van Dyck had already been a free master for almost four months.

This article is the third in an occasional series publishing research conducted under the aegis of the multidisciplinary Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project (hereafter cited as JVDPP): [www.jordaensvandyck.org](http://www.jordaensvandyck.org). The present author is grateful to Katlijne Van der Stighelen for commenting on the first draft of the article, to Joost Vander Auwera for discussions relating to the Guild of St Luke and its regulations and to Ingrid Moortgat for retrieving and photographing the Dean's book of Jan Moretus in the Museum Plaintin-Moretus Archives, Antwerp, and the original pages of the *Liggeren* in the archives of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Antwerp.

**1** Ordinance of 2nd December 1596, Article I, published by J.-B. van der Straelen: *Jaerboek der vermaerde en kunstryke Gilde van Sint Lucas binnen de stad Antwerpen. Behelzende de gedenkwaardigste geschiedenissen in dit genootschap voorgefallen sedert het jaer 1434 tot het jaer 1795* [ . . . ] in *orde gesteld en met verscheidene aenteekeningen opgehelderd*, Antwerp 1855, p.72.

**2** Royal Academy of Fine Arts of Antwerp / KASKA, 'Oud Archief Sint Lucasgilde' (hereafter cited as KASKA), transcribed and published by P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs: *De Liggeren en andere historische archiven der Antwerpse Sint Lucasgilde/Les Liggeren et autres archives historiques de la Gilde Anversoise de Saint Luc*, Antwerp and The Hague 1864–76.

**3** KASKA, 70 3, fol.170v–171, 1609–1610; and Rombouts and Van Lerijs, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.457. Masters were required to present their apprentices to the Dean within six weeks of accepting them and to register them in the Guild. The penalty for not doing so was a fine of 4 guilders. See the Ordinance of 2nd December 1596, Article III, in Van der Straelen, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.72.

**4** KASKA, 200 7, p.194, 1618; Rombouts and Van Lerijs, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.540. Mention should be made of the nuance achieved by Gregory Martin in the National Gallery catalogue of the Flemish School when he did not propose a date for Van Dyck's free mastership but wrote that '[Van Dyck's] payment for admission as a free master to the guild of S. Luke was credited in an account dated 11 February, 1618', see G. Martin: *National Gallery Catalogues: The Flemish School, circa 1600–circa 1900*, London 1970, p.26; also *idem*: 'When did Van Dyck leave Van Balen's studio?', in H. Vlieghe, ed.: *Van Dyck 1599–1999*:

*Conjectures and Refutations*, Turnhout 2001, pp.3–6.  
 5 The payment of wine money by a new free master of the Guild of St Luke was stipulated in an Ordinance of 12th September 1575, Article II; see Van der Straelen, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.60–62. For Van Dyck's payment, see Rombouts and Van Lerijs, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.547.  
 6 Rombouts and Van Lerijs, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.524.  
 7 P. Rombouts and M. Rooses: 'Boek gehouden door Jan Moretus II, als Deken der St. Lucasgilde (1616–1617)', in *Uitgaven der Antwerpsche bibliophilen / Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, Antwerp 1878 p.x.  
 8 Rombouts and Van Lerijs, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.526.  
 9 Museum Platin-Moretus Archive, Antwerp (hereafter cited as MPMA), 'Boek gehouden door Jan Moretus II, als Deken der St. Lucasgilde (1616–1617)', no.184; transcribed and published by Rombouts and Rooses, *op. cit.* (note 7).  
 10 Rombouts and Van Lerijs, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.525–40.  
 11 See N. Büttner: 'Antwerpener Maler – Zwischen Ordnung der Gilde und Freiheit der Kunst', *Kunstgeschichte. Open Peer Reviewed Journal* (2010), esp. paragraphs 5–6, available at [www.kunstgeschichte-ejournal.net/203](http://www.kunstgeschichte-ejournal.net/203), accessed 13th January 2023.

12 MPMA, no.184, fol.52; Rombouts and Rooses, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.71–72.  
 13 *Ibid.*, p.69.  
 14 An Ordinance of 21st April 1610, Article VIII, absolved master's sons from paying for their free mastership, see Van der Straelen, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.80. They were required to pay the wine money.  
 15 MPMA, no.184, fols.37–39; and Rombouts and Rooses, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.39–47.  
 16 MPMA, no.184, fols.37–39; Rombouts and Rooses, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.39–41.  
 17 MPMA, no.184, fols.37–39; Rombouts and Rooses, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.41–47.  
 18 MPMA, no.184, loose document, unpaginated; Rombouts and Rooses, *op. cit.* (note 7), p.92: '*ick onderschreven kenne schuldich te wesen aen Jan Moerentorf als deken van St Lucas gulde de somme van ses en twintich guldens voor mijnen vrijdom onder de selve gulde en belove de selve te voldoen in drij gelijcke / payen van drij tot drij maenden, naer datum van desen. / In Antwerpen den 10 Julij Ao 1617. / Simon van der Gracht, / Pieter de Jode, als principael*'.  
 19 MPMA, no.184, fol.38; Rombouts and Rooses, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.44–45.  
 20 MPMA, no.184, loose document, unpaginated;

Rombouts and Rooses, *op. cit.* (note 7), p.90.  
 21 MPMA, no.184, fols.64–65; Rombouts and Rooses, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.88–89.  
 22 K. Van der Stighelen *et al.*: 'Young Anthony van Dyck revisited: a multidisciplinary approach to a portrait once attributed to Peter Paul Rubens', *Art Matters: International Journal for Technical Art History* 6, p.24; A. Sammut: 'With a little help from his friends: Rubens and the acquisition of Caravaggio's Rosary Madonna for the Dominican church in Antwerp', *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 70 (2020), pp.118–59.  
 23 F.-J. van den Branden: *Geschiedenis der Antwerpse schilderschool*, Antwerp 1883, p.700; the entries for Van Dyck and Jordaens have been translated into English by JVDPP and are available at [www.jordaensvandyck.org/article/van-den-branden-van-dyck](http://www.jordaensvandyck.org/article/van-den-branden-van-dyck) and [www.jordaensvandyck.org/article/van-den-branden-jordaens](http://www.jordaensvandyck.org/article/van-den-branden-jordaens), accessed 18th January 2023.  
 24 See K. Van der Stighelen: 'Young Anthony: archival discoveries relating to Van Dyck's early career', in S. Barnes and A. Wheelock, eds: *Van Dyck 350, Studies in the History of Art* 46, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XXVI, Hanover and London 1994, pp.17–48.  
 25 Rombouts and Van Lerijs, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.371.

# New light on the nineteenth-century history of Vermeer's 'A maid asleep'

by ANDREW WATSON

**THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY PROVENANCE** of Johannes Vermeer's *A maid asleep* (Fig.3), which was bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1913 by Benjamin Altman, has yet to be fully reconstructed.<sup>1</sup> Having been lost sight of in the eighteenth century, the painting is recorded in Paris in 1811 when it was shown at the gallery of the dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun.<sup>2</sup> It was listed as '*L'Intérieur d'une Chambre*', '*Hauteur 0,862m, larg. 0,758m*' ('Interior of a room', '86.2 by 75.8 centimetres') in his sale catalogue, which included the following description: 'Interior of a room where we see a seated young woman asleep in front of a table covered with a Turkish carpet, on which there is a plate garnished with fruit, a napkin, a jug, a glass & etc. A half-open door reveals another room, and in the foreground [we see] the back of an armchair. This masterly observer of nature's

most scintillating effects has rendered them with great success'.<sup>3</sup> On 16th April 1811 the painting was acquired from Lebrun for 60 francs by another dealer, Alexandre Joseph-Paillet.<sup>4</sup> Its subsequent location was unknown until it reappeared in the 1881 sale of the Paris-based English collector John Waterloo Wilson (Fig.1), in whose sale catalogue it was referred

to by the title that it is known by today, '*La Servante endormie*', '*Haute., 87cent.; large., 75 cent*'.<sup>5</sup> Thereafter, the picture's provenance is complete.<sup>6</sup>

This article reveals that the painting was exhibited in Paris for a second time in 1874, when its owner was the distinguished pastor Victor Eugène Durand-Dassier (1834–1913). New light can also be shed on Wilson's purchase of *A maid asleep* at some point between April 1874 and August 1876, and the important role played in its acquisition and authentication by his advisor, the Belgian dealer Léon Gauchez (Fig.2).

On 23rd April 1874 a major exhibition opened in Paris at the Palais de la Présidence du Corps législatif, better known as the Palais Bourbon.<sup>7</sup> It was organised by the Société de protection des Alsaciens et Lorrains demeurés Français, a body that oversaw the welfare of



1. John Waterloo Wilson. c.1870s. Black-and-white photograph on porcelain, 18.5 by 14.5 cm. (Private collection).

2. Léon Gauchez, by William Quiller Orchardson. 1895. Oil on canvas, 114 by 100 cm. (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels; photograph Photo d'art Speltdoorn & Fils, Brussels).