Alfred Bader

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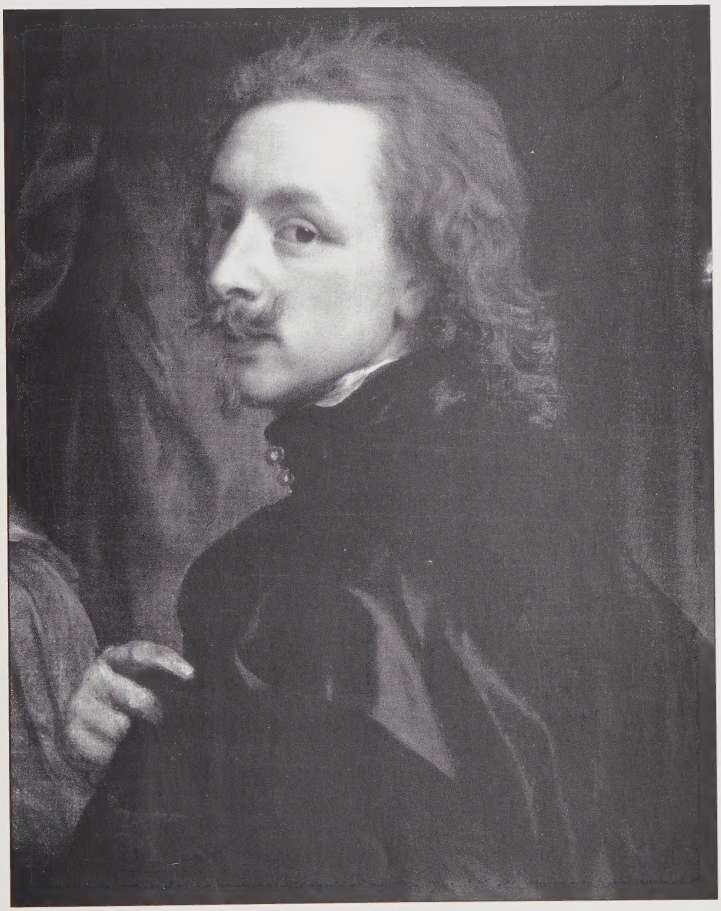
Abr. Van Dyck

1971-1974 2002

1479

RUBENIANUM

VAN DYCK 1599-1999
CONJECTURES AND REFUTATIONS



BREPOLS

Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert and Pieter Thijs: A Tale of Two Tangled Antwerp Painters; with an Excursus on Van Dyck's *St Felix of Cantalice*

J. Douglas Stewart

After his death in 1677, the fifty-three year old Pieter Thijs, despite an illustrious career which included patronage from the Archducal and Orange courts at Brussels and the Hague, never achieved the posthumous reputation of Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, who had died nearly a quarter of a century earlier. Unlike Willeboirts's grave, no grand marble tomb graced Thijs's; and the former but not the latter sat to Van Dyck. Indeed Thijs's likeness is unknown, as are the precise dates of his birth and death.[1] An indication of Thijs's comparative obscurity is that in 1977 Marie-Louise Hairs knew just ten signed paintings by him, but she knew thirty by Willeboirts, whose life was twelve years shorter. Inevitably, Thijs's works have been attributed to others, including Boeckhorst, De Crayer, Van Dyck, and Erasmus Quellin.[2]

But it is with the works of Willeboirts that Thijs's have become most entangled. Usually Thijs's paintings are given to Willeboirts. But in one case a Willeboirts has been called Thijs viz. a *St Francis with a music-making Angel* (Fig. 1) once on the Dutch art market.[3] The picture has Willeboirts's characteristic large forms and languid grace and the dramatic foreshortening of the angel's arm and face recall his *Madonna and Child with music-making Angels* (National Gallery, Prague).[4] The designs of these works (together with the repetition of the head of the right-hand Prague angel) are related to the *Virgin and Child with Music-Making Angels* (Norton Museum of Art, West Palm Beach; Fig. 2) which has long been attributed to Van Dyck, since it was engraved as such. I suggest that it should instead be given to Willeboirts.[5]

Until 1997, when I published four drawings by Thijs, he was unknown as a draughtsman. Willeboirts was only a little better off. In 1977 Hairs knew only two drawings by him, one of which, the *St Gregory* (Lugt Collection) is probably by the engraver Van Kessel.[6] Hairs was apparently unaware of Horst Vey's article where he identified a pen and ink drawing (ex-Knowles collection) long given to Van Dyck, as a study for Willeboirts's 1646 Potsdam *Dido and Aeneas*.[7] At Warsaw University is an unnoticed drawing (Fig. 3), catalogued as after Rubens, in the same technique as the ex-Knowles sheet, and apparently by the same hand.[8] Vey also attributed to Willeboirts *Studies of Cupid* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), then given to Van Dyck. Actually the Oxford sheet

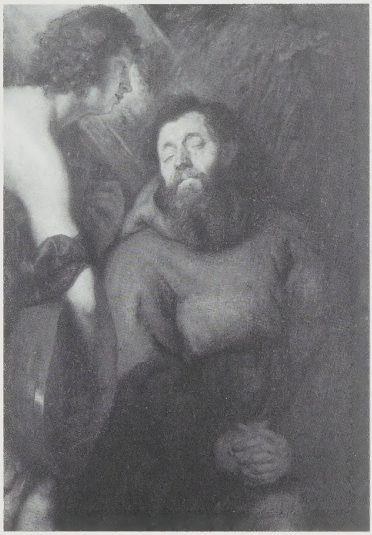


Fig. 1. Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, *St Francis and a Music-Making Angel*. Dealers D. Katz, Dieren, 1942 and H. Katz, 1961

Fig. 2. Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, *Madonna and Child in Glory*. West Palm Beach, Florida, Norton Museum of Art

is for Thijs's signed *Toilet of Bathsheba* at Gateshead.[9]

A painted composition long attributed to Willeboirts, *Time and the Goddesses of Fate* (formerly Potsdam, Sansscouci),[10] has recently been convincingly identified by Hans Vlieghe as by Thijs and painted *c.* 1655. (A taller version of this picture, with a landscape background, instead of curtained architecture, also attributed to Willeboirts is at Grenoble.) Thanks to Vlieghe's recovery of this important composition,[11] Thijs's painted and graphic *oeuvre* can be further expanded. A large black chalk drawing at Cologne had been linked by Hella Robels with the sleeping Cupid in the Potsdam-Grenoble pictures. Sadkov recently published a double-sided sheet of composition studies for the *Time and Three Fates* in Moscow. The Cologne and Moscow sheets must now be returned to Thijs.[12]

Another mythological painting, *A Children's Bacchanalia*, recently on the New York art market[13] as by Willeboirts and De Heem is very reminiscent of the Thijs Potsdam-Grenoble compositions. In both the New York and Grenoble pictures the figures occupy a shallow

Fig. 3. Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, *Vision of a Saint (The Vision of St Francis Xavier)*, Warsaw, University

Fig. 4. Pieter Thijs, *Angels with Palms and Martyrs' Crowns*. Collection Professor Julius Held, on deposit at the Clark Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts

Fig. 5. Pieter Thijs, *Mercury and Herse*. Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

space in front of trees shown as a screen against the sky. The New York children are similar in type to those in the Potsdam-Grenoble compositions. The solidity and dimples of the child (seen from behind) carrying Bacchus recall the Cupid in Thijs's Gateshead *Bathsheba*, while the child's polished braided hair relates to that of the Fate seen from behind in the Potsdam-Grenoble paintings. At the bottom left of the New York picture is a sleeping child, just as there is a sleeping cupid at the bottom right of the Potsdam and Grenoble pictures. Below these figures there is an tilted up silver-gilt lobed, footed, so-called 'brandy bowl'.[14] Judging from photographs, the *Children's Bacchanalia* is by Thijs.

A drawing in the collection of Professor Julius Held, *Two Angels with Palms and Crowns* (Fig. 4) is evidently a study for the upper part of a double martyrdom. It was also once given to Willeboirts.[15] Yet there are some general and even specific similarities between the Held drawing and Thijs's 1667 Aalst *Martyrdom of St Catherine*.[16] But that work, with its elegant, suave forms, is in Thijs's late style. The Held drawing has more robust forms and dramatic contrasts of light and shade which seem closer to Thijs's earlier work. The foreshortening and twisted drapery forms of the left-hand angel recall those of Mercury in Thijs's *Mercury and Herse* (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum; Fig. 5), an early composition.[17] Furthermore, there are parallels for the hatching in Thijs's early drawing *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett).[18]

In assessing Flemish painters like Willeboirts and Thijs who matured after the deaths of Rubens and Van Dyck in 1640–1641 there is a temptation to judge the later artists simply in terms of the earlier. But Willeboirts and Thijs were living in a different time from Rubens and Van Dyck and were deeply influenced by other art, which affected their interpretation of their immediate Flemish predecessors.

There are versions of Willeboirts's composition *Venus and Adonis*, of about 1642, in Berlin and Ottawa (Fig. 6). The former is claimed as the original. Having examined them both, I have to conclude that the Ottawa picture is much superior in quality and because of pentimenti, seems to be an original.[19] Critics have detected influences on the Adonis figure from the Christ in Rubens's 1614 *Descent from the Cross* and Van Dyck's 1637 Scaglia *Lamenta-*

Fig. 6. Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, *Venus and Adonis*. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada

tion.[20] Yet the primary source for the composition has been scarcely noticed, a pre-Rubensian picture of the 1570's: Martin de Vos's *Venus and Adonis* (Chateau de Blois). [21] Willeboirts's figures are heavier and more concentrated; and in Venus's upturned head there is some Van Dyckian pathos. But Willeboirts perhaps also welcomed the absence of both Van Dyck's nervousness and Rubens's pulsating energy. Certainly he retains much of De Vos's quiet, melancholy character.

In 1997 I noted 'minor figural debts' to Rubens in Thijs's Kingston *Esther and Ahasuerus* (Fig. 7).[22] But vastly more important was the impact of pictures owned by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. His term of office (1648–1656) coincided with the sales of the great English Caroline collections where the archduke's agents bought hugely.[23]

The Kingston picture shows Thijs's response to the archducal Venetian pictures. The scenographic architecture and raised platform on, in front of, and behind which actors appear (a scheme which Thijs frequently used in the future) derives from Veronese's like the ex-Hamilton *Christ and the Widow of Nain*. Indeed Thijs's Esther supported by her maid, and the columns clearly derive in reverse from this very picture. (The standing figure supporting a kneeling one from behind may be the first use of a motif which Thijs greatly favoured.) The *di sotto in su* soldier in half-armour with his hand on his hip beside Ahasuerus recalls St George in the *St George and St Rosalie*, another ex-Hamilton picture then given to Bellini, but later recognized as part of Antonello da Messina's San Cassiano altarpiece. A later borrowing from an archducal Venetian picture is the soldier leaning on his shield and seen from behind in Thijs's Aalst *Martydom of St Catherine*, which derives (in reverse) from Titian's 1543 *Christ before Pilate* once in the Buckingham collection.[24]

Vlieghe demonstrated an early Thijs borrowing from Willeboirts.[25] Another helps to

Fig. 7. Pieter Thijs, *Esther and Ahasuerus*. Ontario, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University at Kingston

clarify their stylistic differences. About 1655-1660 Thijs painted his *Portiuncula* (Fig. 8) for the Portiuncula Chapel of the Antwerp Recollect Church.[26] Hairs dismissed this as 'un Rubens affadi' (a Rubens made insipid), which is unjust, and misses the individual character of the work.[27] Thijs's St Francis, the angel and the platform on which they kneel derive from Willeboirts's *Vision of St Anthony of Padua* (Fig. 9) of about 1650.[28] But Thijs's angel's mouth is closed, nor does he lean forward fervently; only his throat muscles betray a sense of tension. St Francis kneels quietly, his hands clasped in prayer, rather than outstretched; his head, in strict profile, has shrunk back into his cowl. Thijs also rejects the lovely lazy line (a characteristic Willeboirts touch) of the saint's belt. In short, Thijs avoids Willeboirts's elegance and yearning pathos. Instead, there is a 'classical' restraint in Thijs's figures. They are close in form and spirit to the original source of the motif of the protecting angel, viz. Raphael's Prado *Madonna of the Fish*, a famous composition doubtless known to both artists.[29]

For his St Francis and the figures above, Thijs consulted the Cornelis Schut of the same theme which had been painted for the same church a few years earlier. Schut's altarpiece adorned the richly decorated Chapel of the Virgin and St Francis, which was also a family burial chapel, so the painter included donors, a devil and crowds of angels and monks. Thijs avoids this baroque rhetoric and the dramatic lighting. Yet his St Francis does conserve something of Schut's characteristic vulnerability.[30]

Thijs depicts a grand balustrade behind St Francis and the angel, an arch at the upper left, and an altar and console bracket beneath the figure of Christ. His body is shown angled into space like the altar, unlike Schut's profiled Christ, or Willeboirts's frontal depiction of the Virgin. Thijs's use of grand scenographic architecture and figures to construct space, as in his *Esther and Ahasuerus*, recalls, above all, Veronese.[31]

Fig. 8. Pieter Thijs, *Portiuncula*. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Until quite recently there was in the Coppée collection, Brussels, a painting once assigned to Van Dyck called *The Martyrdom of an Unknown Saint in the Presence of Saint Anthony of Padua* (Fig. 10).[32] Because of its similarity to Thijs's *Martyrdom of St Benedict in the presence of St Felix of Cantalice* (Brussels, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Belgique; Fig. 11)[33] painted for the Brussels Capuchin Church, Arnout Balis attributed the former to Thijs. Yet Balis did not identify it as a companion to the *St Benedict* because 'the detailed eighteenth-century descriptions of [the Brussels Capucin Church, destroyed 1803-1804] do not refer to a painting like the [ex-Coppée picture]'.[34]

The Brussels Capuchin church had been re-built in 1651–1652 by Father Charles d'Arenberg, who had acquired what were thought to be bodies of early Christian martyrs in Rome.[35] Eight were placed beneath new altars above which were set painted altarpieces.[36] The kneeling saint in the ex-Coppée painting can be identified by a process of elimination. The three saints under the altars at the left were female: Sts. Aurelia, Beatrix and Dorothea. Two small altars at the ends of the aisles were dedicated to Sts. Agapit and Fulgentius; their altarpieces painted by Gaspar de Crayer are now in the Brussels Museum.[37] The three remaining new altarpieces were on the right side of the church: Thijs's *St Benedict* then *St Gregory at the Feet of the Virgin* by Cornelis Schut [38] The latter is lost, but the presence of the Virgin precludes iden-

Fig. 9. Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, *Vision of St Anthony of Padua*, 's-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum

tifying this work with the ex-Coppée painting.

The third altar-piece on the right was described by Descamps in 1769 as 'Le Martyre de Saint Basile, Tableau d'Autel peint par *Willeborts Bosschaert*...'. In 1754 Descamps had included a fuller description of this picture in his life of Willeboirts: 'Aux Capucins de Bruxelles, se voit un Tableau d'Autel, où un Saint reçoit la couronne du Martyre'.[39] However, no painting by Willeboirts comparable to Thijs's *St Benedict* in size, or iconography, is known. Thus, one strongly suspects that what Descamps actually saw in the Brussels Capuchin Church attributed to Willeboirts was the ex-Coppée painting. It does indeed depict a martyred saint receiving a martyr's crown (of roses), rather than the palm, as in the *St Benedict*.[40]

Nothing was known about these Capuchin Church martyrs beyond their names, so Thijs invented violent deaths for Saints Basil and Benedict, strangulation with a rope for the former, and stabbing for the latter. Strangulation is closely related to garrotting, in which the rope is twisted by a stick. Major Richardson, a Canadian novelist who served in the Spanish Carlist Wars in the 1830's where he witnessed many horrors observed: 'I have no hesitation in pronouncing death by the garotte, at once the most manly, and the least offensive to the eye.'[41] This may have been the reaction of seventeenth-century Southern Netherlanders who must have been familiar with this Spanish method of execution. Certainly Thijs, in both these depictions of violent death, is extremely restrained.

Thijs's avoidance of distracting bloodshed allows him to emphasize the positive aspects of martyrdom. A martyr is a 'witness' to the Christian faith, the central fact of which is Christ's own death on the Cross, by which He conquered Death and brought mankind Eternal Life. That message appears in the Cross over the skull hanging from St Anthony's rosary next to St Basil, while St Felix holds a crucifix next to St Benedict being stabbed in the side (which recalls the Centurion's lancing of Christ). These incisive images appear in the lower halves of the pictures.

At the tops of the paintings are angels, seen by both martyrs as their souls pass from earth to heaven. Beneath the altarpieces, under the altars were the bodily remains of the saints.

Fig. 10. Pieter Thijs, *Martyrdom of St Basil with St Anthony of Padua*. Formerly Brussels, Fondation Coppée

From the development of the cult of the saints in early Christian times, it was believed that, although the soul of the saint had gone to heaven, he was still present at his tomb on earth, thereby joining earth and heaven, and capable of interceding between the two.[42] Thus Thijs's portrayals are depictions of momentary heroic events, and also of the permanent continuum which the saints' deaths have established between these particular spots on earth, and heaven.

To amplify the invented martyrdoms, Thijs included other saints, whom he depicted upright in contrast with the kneeling martyrs. The standing saints harmonized with the many painted standing figures in the rest of the church. St Felix of Cantalice and St Anthony of Padua balanced each other, and linked up with De Crayer's Sts. Agapitus and Florentius. All connected with Van Dyck's *St Francis receiving the Stigmata*, and *St Felix of Cantalice holding the Christ Child*. Thijs showed Felix with a wallet which he used for collecting alms, and a rosary, which suggests that he may have consulted Sadeler's 1615 engraving.[43] But Thijs

Fig. 11. Pieter Thijs, *Martyrdom of St Benedict with Saint Felix of Cantalice*. Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van Belgie

Fig. 12. Pieter Thijs, *St James led to Martyrdom.* Toulouse, Musée des Augustins

related the head of his figure to Van Dyck's, both images depicting Felix with a thinner face.

The upright saints also matched the St Francis and the other standing holy figures in Rubens's 1616 high altarpiece: the *Pietà with St Francis*. There was a good reason for the iconography of a standing St Francis, and by extension to all his saintly followers. In 1449

Fig. 13. Detail of Fig. 12.

St Francis's grave was opened by Pope Nicholas V and, miraculously, the saint was found dressed in his habit, standing upright. The subject is seen in engravings by Philips Galle (1587) and others and in seventeenth-century Flemish paintings.[44]

Van Dyck's *St Felix of Cantalice* appears in the 1984 catalogue of the Brussels Museum (where it now is) as 'Saint Antoine de Padoue... Anc. titre: Saint Felix de Cantalice'.[45] But the painting depicts an elderly, balding, wrinkled, white-bearded man who cannot represent St Anthony of Padua. The latter died at the age of thirty-four, and is shown as a clean-shaven younger man, as for example by Willeboirts (Fig. 9). Why was the older identification of St Felix of Cantalice (1515–87) rejected? The reason may be a passage in Knipping's *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands* stating that Van Dyck's painting must represent St Anthony of Padua, because St Felix was not canonized until 1712, and 'at the time [1628–32]... probably not even a liturgical Office nor a Mass in [Felix's] honour had been allowed for in all Capuchin churches.'[46] Recently Savelsberg has argued that after Felix of Cantalice's 1625 beatification, it would have been permissible for Van Dyck to paint him for the Brussels Capuchin church.[47]

Felix of Cantalice was beatified 9 November 1625 by Pope Urban VIII, when his cult was restricted to four churches in Rome. Hence the process of beatification alone would not have sanctioned the use of his image in Brussels. But in 1626 and 1628 papal decrees extended the privileges of the Blessed Felix's cult to Capuchin churches everywhere.[48] Hence from 1628 it would have been canonical for the Brussels Capuchins to commission an altar-piece depicting the Blessed Felix.

At the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse, is a *St James led to Martyrdom* (Fig. 12) from the Bruges Sint-Jacobskerk high altar, where it was noted in 1763 by Mensaert, without any attribution. In 1769 Descamps had no doubts about its author: ' peint par Thomas Willebord [sic] Bosschaert...; c'est le plus beau tableau de ce maître...' In 1794 the altar-piece was taken to Paris and in 1812 to Toulouse, by which time it had lost its attribution. In the 1836 Toulouse catalogue it was called Lucas Franchoys. That identification persisted until 1976 when Marie-Louise Hairs, having discovered the Descamps reference, returned the picture to Willeboirts.

Fig. 14. Conrad Woumans, *Portrait of Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert*, engraving after Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert

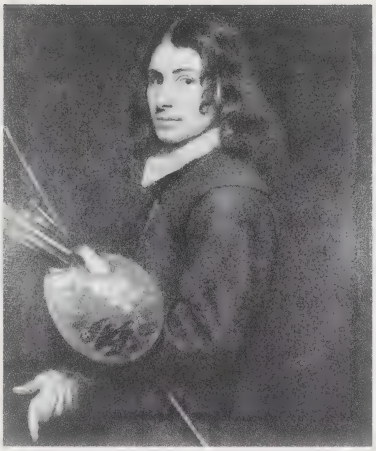


Fig. 15. Pieter Thijs, *Self-Portrait*. Formerly Paris, Baron Cassel

But it is not the work of Willeboirts, as I realized from a photograph in October 1996, and confirmed by examining the painting itself in December 1997. The Toulouse painting shows none of Willeboirts's characteristic languor nor grace. Instead it is very 'vigorous', the term used by Descamps[49] to characterize the work of Pieter Thijs.[50]

The Toulouse painting mostly depicts episodes of the life of St James, as recounted in the *Golden Legend*.[51] The foreground *contre-jour* figures of the black restraining a dog and an officer whose staff crosses the executioner's sword, lead to the kneeling, nearly naked figure of the saint in the centre, who turns from his tormentors and looks towards the heavenly glory of angels. The programme of the scene might almost have been taken from the great Psalm 22 *Deus, Deus meus*, that remarkable forecast of the Crucifixion: 'They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture. Be not thou far from me, O Lord: thou art my succour, haste thee to help me. Deliver my soul from the sword, and my life from the power of the dog.' No dog appears in the *Golden Legend* account. But according to Pope St Leo III (d. 816), James's decapitated body was thrown to the dogs outside Jersusalem,[52] then miraculously rescued and taken to Spain, where it was discovered in the ninth century.

As there are very close links between the *St James led to Martyrdom* and Thijs's Brussels Capuchin Church pictures, the Toulouse painting probably dates from the same period, or perhaps slightly later. St James's pose and upward glance are a development of St Basil's. The same putto appears at upper centre in both pictures while the putto at the upper left of the *St Basil* appears reversed below the palm of the upper central putto in the *St James*. These very putti appear in a Thijs drawing at Windsor.[53] The handling of the paint in the *St James* and the *St Basil* is very close, including the single strokes of paint used to depict the glistening whites of the eyes of the saints (Fig. 13) and the drawing of the hands of their captors.[54] The heads

of the latter also seem to derive from the same model, one used again by Thijs in his Berlaar *Martyrdom of St Peter*.[55]

Some pictorial motifs may derive from Rubens.[56] But the chief compositional source is Schut's 1643 *Martyrdom of St George* (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten)[57] of which the Toulouse *St James* is virtually a critique. The kneeling St George, with a gesturing priest behind, on a three-stepped platform, find their counterparts in St James and the High Priest Abiatar. Both pictures include a boy in a striped garment holding a large dog, and helmeted soldiers, including a horseman. Schut places these groups at the right and left, but Thijs concentrates them on the left, so that there is a dynamic thrust from the bottom left foreground to the upper right. Thijs shares Schut's delight in dramatic silhouetting. But Thijs's majestic, stable figures have room to breathe; and Thijs structures his composition in layers. Altogether, Thijs's Toulouse painting seems like a baroque version of the great Veronese martyrdoms (themselves sources for Schut) the *St George* (S. Giorgio, Verona) and *Santa Giustina* (S. Giustina, Padua).[58]

Van Dyck's portrait of Willeboirts was engraved for the *Iconography*.[59] Willeboirts's self-portrait appears in De Bie's *Het Gulden Cabinet* (Fig. 14).[60] A portrait of an artist in the 1954 Cassel sale, Paris (Fig. 15), was catalogued as a Willeboirts self-portrait, as it had been a century earlier in the Chavagnac sale.[61] But this work does not represent the same individual as the authenticated images of Willeboirts. There are major differences in the lips and the shape of the face, especially the chin. Nor does the picture have Willeboirts's customary elegance and fluidity. One is also struck by the painter's foreshortened right hand, which appears in virtually identical form in two Thijs paintings.[62] Altogether it seems very likely that the ex-Cassel painting is a Thijs self-portrait.[63]

In conclusion, what are the stylistic differences between Willeboirts and Thijs? Willeboirts seems, in his mature work, to be closer to Van Dyck, including his linear elegance, and his melancholy lyricism. Yet Willeboirts avoids Van Dyck's nervous fragility. If Willeboirts's Ottawa *Venus and Adonis* (Fig. 6) is compared with Van Dyck's *Cupid and Psyche* (Royal Collection) these points become clear.

Unlike Willeboirts, Thijs probably never had any personal contact with Van Dyck. Perhaps because of this (and *pace* earlier critics to the contrary)[64] Thijs is not as close to Van Dyck. Thijs's works show less concern for elegance, grace and surface pattern, and more for weight, power and spatial depth. The styles of Veronese and early Rubens seem to be of more importance for Thijs, especially in the works of his early maturity. Descamps was enthusiastic about Thijs's style which he aptly characterized as 'vigoreux'. Also, although misinformed about the attribution of the Toulouse *Martyrdom of Saint James*, Descamps was very acute in his characterization of what must be Thijs's early masterpiece: 'peut-être composé avec plus de feu que [Van dyck]: il est très pittoresque, d'une correction de dessin très ferme, d'une belle couleur, largement peint et d'un effet très piquant.'[65] (perhaps composed with more fire than [Van Dyck]: it is very picturesque, drawn accurately and firmly, beautiful in colour, painted grandly and altogether a very lively performance).

NOTES

1. Descamps complained about a dearth of information on Thijs: 'On sçait trop peu de choses de la vie de ce Peintre que l'on croit mort à Anwers, sans sçavoir en quelle année' (Jean Baptiste Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands...* Paris, 1754, II, p. 363).

2. The most extensive accounts of Willeboirts and Thijs and illustrations of their works are still Chapters XIV and XVI of Marie-Louise Hairs, *Dans le sillage de Rubens: Les peintres d'histoire anversois au XVIIe siècle*, Liège, 1977. Some of her work has been superceded by the discoveries of later scholars. Yet her book was a heroic undertaking and remains a landmark in Flemish studies and a great mine of information and opinion. For the most recent extensive account of Thijs, see J. Douglas Stewart, 'Pieter Thys (1624–77): Recovering a "scarcely known" Antwerp Painter', *Apollo*, CXLV, 1997, pp. 37–43. For the recovery of an important Thijs altarpiece, *The Washing of the Feet*, in the Church of St Peter and St Paul, Bribir, Croatia, see Radoslav Tomic, 'Prijedlog za Pietera Thysa: "Pranje nogu" u Bribiru', *Peristil* [Zagreb], XXXVIII, 1995, pp. 117–120. The picture was once attributed to Palma Giovane the Younger and does indeed seem to be indebted compositionally to Tintoretto's Munich *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*.

3. Photograph in the R.K.D, The Hague; with dealers D. Katz, Dieren, 1942 (photo no. 2348) and H. Katz in 1961. The painting appears as 'Anonym 17. Jh.' in Wolfgang Heinrich Savelsberg, *Die Darstellung des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi in der flämischen Malerei und Graphik des späten 16. und des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Rome, 1992, Kat. 117.

4. See Matías Díaz Padrón, 'Un lienzo de Thomas Willeboirts Boschaert Identificado en la Galeria Národni de Praga', *Goya*, 1985, pp. 290–293. Versions of the Prague picture are in Amsterdam and Breda.

5. The version with A.L. Nicholson, London, 1922 is reproduced in Gustav Glück, *Van Dyck. Des Meisters Gemälde*, 2nd ed. Stuttgart, 1931, p. 217; on p. 542 Glück stated that this version (one of many known to him, including that in Rome) was the best. The Nicholson picture is now at the Norton Museum, West Palm Beach, Florida. See Erik Larsen, *L'opera completa di Van Dyck, 1626–41*, Milan, 1980, no. 555a. Larsen believes that the Accademia di San Luca version is the original (see *L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca*, Rome, 1974, col. pl. IV, pp. 103, 104, 108, where it is wrongly called an Immaculate Conception. I am indebted to Dr. Elizabeth McGrath for correcting me on this point). The Accademia di San Luca also possesses a squared-up black chalk drawing of this composition in reverse, *c.* 18 x 14 inches (see *L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca*, p. 331). It is clearly an engraver's drawing, but for neither the Van Kessel or Bailliu engravings (I have not been able to constult Pitau's). All give Van Dyck as the painter (see *Hollstein*, I, p. 72; IX, p. 236; XVII, pp. 117–118).

6. See Hairs 1977 (as cited in note 2), p. 232; the signed and dated 1643 *Departure of a Cavalier* (formerly Welker collection, now Leiden Print Room) and *St Gregory* in the Lugt Collection (see [cat. exh.] *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century from the Collection of Frits Lugt Institut Néerlandais Paris*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Paris, Institut Néerlandais; Bern, Kunstmuseum; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1972, no. 124). The latter, a black chalk and pencil drawing corresponds, in reverse, with an engraving after Willeboirts by Theodoor van Kessel. Carlos van Hasselt thought that the Lugt drawing 'was meant to be engraved'. He was unaware of a painting (*Portrait of a Bishop*), signed *TWilleboorts* (*TW* in monogram) at the Bob Jones University Art Gallery, Greenville, S.C., which corresponds to the drawing. Hence the drawing seems more likely to be a copy after the painting by engraver Van Kessel (as is suggested by its finish and hatched background) rather than a preparatory study by Willeboirts.

7. See Horst Vey, 'Eine Zeichnung von Thomas Willeboirts', *Oud Holland*, LXXVII, 1962, pp. 130–135, 139.

8. Known to me only from the photograph in the R.K.D. The subject is the Vision of St Francis Xavier and the design derives in part from the same theme by Willeboirts's master, Gerard Seghers, engraved by Pontius, 1629 (see Hans Vlieghe in Christopher Brown and Hans Vlieghe, [cat. exh.] *Van Dyck 1599–1641*, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten; London, Royal Academy, 1999, p. 74, fig. 55). In his pioneering article 'Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, Pintor en Fuensaldaña. Nuevas Obras Identificadas en Amberes y Estocolmo', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XLV, 1972, Matías Díaz Padrón rightly connected pen and ink studies of *Amor Triumphant* in the Victoria and Albert Museum with a Willeboirts painting in Stockholm (figs. 17 and 18), maintaining the old attribution of the drawing to Van Dyck. I believe that the drawing should also be assigned to Willeboirts (see J. Douglas Stewart, 'Reflections on Eroticism, Love and the Antique in Van Dyck's Art', *Apollo*, CLII, 2000, p. 33, n. 61. For Willeboirts as a draughtsman, see most recently Anne-Marie S. Logan, 'Drawings by Jan Boeckhorst and Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert', in *Shop-Talk: Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 159–163, 359–361.

9. See Stewart 1997 (as cited in note 2), figs. 6 and 7. Thijs's *Toilet of Bathsheba* appeared at Christie's, London, December 12, 1801 (bt. 'Barnet or Barnard') and on 26 June 1809 (bt. in); see Burton B. Frederickson, *The Index of Paintings sold in the British Isles during the Nineteenth Century*, Santa Barbara, 1988, I, p. 743; 1990, II, 2, p. 992. The black chalk *Amor* given to Rubens at the Albertina is clearly by the same hand as the Ashmolean *Cupid*. (See [cat. exh.] *Die Rubenszeichnungen der Albertina zum 400. Geburtstag*, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1977, no. 163.)

10. 193 x 207 cm. destroyed in 1945; see Frans Baudouin, 'Aantekeningen over *Venus en Adonis*-taferelen van Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert en zijn invloed op de Hollandse schilderkunst', *Oud Holland*, XCVIII, 1984, p. 144, note 46 (with earlier references).

11. See Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585–1700*, New Haven, 1998, pp. 197–198, fig. 127 and Marcel Destot, *La Collection du musée de Grenoble: peintures des écoles du nord*, Paris, 1994, pp. 178–179. Time also appears in Thijs's allegorical group portrait of Philip IV presenting a charter to the Antwerp Academy (Antwerp, Royal Academy of Fine Arts; signed and dated *Peeter Thijs fecit 1664)*. I am very grateful to Professor Katlijne Van der Stighelen for arranging for me to examine this picture.

12. See Hella Robels, *Niederländische Zeichnungen vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert im Wallraf-Richartz-Museum Köln*, Köln, 1983, no. 291; and Vadim A. Sadkov, 'Two Drawings in the Pushkin Museum by Pseudo-Bles and Thomas Willeboirts', *Master Drawings*, XXXVI, 1998, pp. 55–59. One of the putti in the

Potsdam-Grenoble composition appears again in the *Jupiter and Antiope* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek, 1808; Larsen 1980 [as cited in note 5], no. A59) variously given to Van Dyck and Willeboirts. Judging from a good photograph, the Munich picture is a very fine, characteristic early Thijs.

13. With Jack Kilgore & Co. Inc., New York; *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLI, 1999), p. i (col. pl.), oil on canvas, 155 x 160 cm.; Baron and Baroness Raoul Kuffner de Dioszegh, Parke Bernet, New York, 18 November 1948 (43), as school of Van Dyck. There is a copy ascribed to Willeboirts at Kassel (see Bernard Schnackenburg, *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister Kassel Gesamtkatalog*, Mainz, 1996, text vol., p. 325). I am grateful to Mireille Mosler for supplying me with this information.

14. See A.L. den Blaauwen, ed., [cat. exh.] *Nederlands zilver / Dutch silver*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1980, no. 85, a brandy bowl from Groningen of 1681–1682. It is stated that vessels of this type were made in great numbers from the middle of the seventeenth century. But a lobed brandy bowl appears in Rubens's *Lot and his daughters* (Schwerin, Staatliches Museum) of *c.* 1610–1612 and the same theme of *c.* 1614 in Biarritz (see R.-A. d'Hulst and M. Vandenven, *Rubens. The Old Testament* [*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, III], London, 1989, nos. 7 and 8). The motif of the woman pouring liquid from an ewer in the Schwerin picture appears earlier in Rubens's *c.* 1600–1603 drawing *The washing and anointing of Christ's body* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen), the compositional source for the Arc-et-Senans picture of that subject by an unknown Rubensian artist. See J. Douglas Stewart, 'A Rubensian painting in Arc-et-Senans: the mystery of a missing link', *Apollo*, CXXXVII, 1993, pp. 153–158.

15. Frick Art Reference Library photograph nr.56458 in the R.K.D. The drawing is on deposit at the Sterling and Francine Art Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass. and is now catalogued as 'Flemish seventeenth century'. I am grateful to Professor Held for permission to publish it, and Lucretia Baskin, Curatorial Assistant, for arranging for me to examine it.

16. See Vlieghe 1998 (as cited in note 11), fig. 126.

17. The picture is very damaged. In the Braunschweig catalogues it was attributed to Van Thulden as late as 1976. However, in 1932 Dr. August Fink had attributed the picture to Thijs because the figure of Herse, and the head behind her, are repeated in Thijs's signed and dated 1664 *Mercury and Herse* at Schloss Wörlitz. (Letter to H. Schneider, Den Haag, 13.4.1932; I am indebted to Dr. Reinhold Wex, Keeper of European Paintings, for this information and for kindness and help during my visit to Braunschweig. I also thank Frau Krauser, Conservator, for showing me the picture). The female seen from behind to the left of Herse recalls the angel in Rubens's 1625 *Flight of Lot and his Family* (Paris, Louvre). The turning pose and outward gaze of Herse in both compositions recall the St Mary Magdalen in Raphael's *Ecstasy of St Cecilia* (Bologna, Pinacoteca). Thijs re-used the foreshortened head of the black just below Mercury in his Braunschweig painting in his signed *Achilles with the Daughters of Lycomedes* (Sotheby's, New York, 4 June, 1987 [40]). Because of its dark palette and small, agitated drapery forms, the Braunschweig *Mercury and Herse* seems very early in Thijs's career, perhaps *c.* 1645–1650. For the Wörlitz picture, see Stewart 1997 (as cited in note 2), p. 38 and note 23.

18. See Stewart 1997 (as cited in note 2), fig. 4. Of course the Berlin drawing, which seems to be a modello or a presentation drawing, is much more finished.

19. For the Berlin picture, for which there is a payment record of 1642, and which is said to be signed (?inscribed) 'T. Willeboirts', see Helmut Börsch-Supan, ed., *Die Gemälde im Jagdschloss Grunewald*, Berlin, 1964, pp. 134–135. For the Ottawa picture, see Myron Laskin, Jr. and Michael Pantazzi, *Catalogue of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, European and American Painting, Sculpture, and Decorative Arts*, I (1300–1800), Ottawa, 1987, pp. 306–307. In the Ottawa curatoral file is a note of 14 August 1989 'M. Laskin has seen East Berlin version (signed, Grunewald Castle) July 1989. Found it of lesser quality than NGC version and only in fair condition...' The Ottawa picture has pentimenti around Adonis's right foot, left arm and Venus's left arm. Venus's head seems of especially high quality. (I am indebted to Dr. Stephen Borys, Assistant Curator of European Art, for all his kindness and help during my visit to the National Gallery in January 1999).

20. See Baudouin 1984 (as cited in note 10), pp. 130–145, including an extensive bibliography.

21. See Armin Zweite, *Maarten de Vos*, Berlin, 1980, Kat. 44. It may have remained in Antwerp until 1673. It is cited as a source in Laskin and Pantazzi 1987 (as cited in note 19), I, 1, p. 307. See also Axel Heinrich, above, fig. 8.

22. See Stewart 1997 (as cited in note 2), p. 37.

23. See K. Garas, 'Die Entstehung der Galerie des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LVIII, 1967, pp. 37–80.

24. These Venetian pictures are now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. The Veronese and the Antonello appear in David Teniers's pictures of the archducal collections. (see Matías Díaz Padrón and Mercedes Royo-Villanova, [cat. exh.] *David Teniers, Jan Brueghel y Los Gabinetes de Pinturas*, Madrid, Museo del Prado, 1992, p.64, no.10 and p. 95, no. 14). For the Titian see Harold Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian: I. The Religious Paintings*, London, 1969, no. 21.

25. The use of the same model for the head of Abraham in Thijs's *Abraham and Isaac* of *c.* 1655 (Antwerp, Sint-Jacobskerk) and Elijah's head in Willeboirts's *Angel and Elijah in the Desert* of *c.* 1650 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) (see Hans Vlieghe, 'Thoughts on Van Dyck's Early Fame and Influence in Flanders', in Susan J. Barnes and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., eds., *Van Dyck 350* [*Studies in the History of Art*, XLVI], Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1994, p. 214). Actually, Thijs may have borrowed another, clothed figure (with the same head), from the background of Willeboirts's *Stigmatization of St Francis* at Valladolid (see Díaz Padrón 1972 [as cited in note 8], fig. 2).

26. See *Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, Catalogus Schilderkunst Oude Meesters*, Antwerp, 1988, no. 352 and Savelsberg 1992 (as cited in note 3), Kat. 147 (with earlier references).

27. See Hairs 1977 (as cited in note 2), p. 271. Thijs's Christ recalls the Jupiter in Rubens's *Cupid Supplicating Jupiter* of *c.* 1612–1613 in the Forbes Collection, although the Christ is a much gentler version of Rubens's heroic figure (see *Rubens before 1620*, ed. J.R. Martin, Princeton, 1972, cat. 1). Thijs may have known this composition from a drawn copy such as that in Copenhagen (cat. 3).

On page 271 Hairs discusses another Antwerp picture traditionally attributed to Thijs, a *Holy Trinity* in Sint-Jacobskerk (ACL photo 121691B). This splendid picture is instead, I believe, by Theodoor van Thulden. There is a drawing in Cleveland (see Anne-Marie Logan, [cat. exh.] *Flemish Drawings in the Age of Rubens: Selected Works from American Collections*, Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, 1993, no. 71) which has been called a study for Van Thulden's signed and dated 1647 Grenoble *Trinity* (see Destot 1994 [as cited in note 11], pp. 163–165). Logan was cautious about the attribution of the Cleveland drawing, since the medium is unusual for Van Thulden and there are major compositional differences between the drawing and the Grenoble picture. The composition and attributes of the figures in the Cleveland drawing are much closer to the Sint-Jacobskerk picture. For example, Christ has a banner in both, and the globe is beside God the Father in both (rather

than in the centre as in the Grenoble picture). But the Sint-Jacobskerk picture is a horizontal composition, whilst the Cleveland drawing is a vertical one. So the latter may be a study for a third, unknown, picture of this theme by Van Thulden.

28. 's-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum, *Bezoekersgids*, 1987, p. 48 (I am very grateful to Dr. Paul Huys Janssen for his kindness and help during my visit in May 1999); Savelsberg 1992 (as cited in note 3), p. 44, note 13.

29. In 1637 Pieter de Witte made a copy of it for the Church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw at Oudenaarde (see Jan De Maere and M. Wabbes, *Illustrated Dictionary of Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting*, Brussels, 1994, text vol. p. 433; plates vol. p. 1237). The original Raphael was in Naples until 1644 when it was given to the king of Spain (see Pierluigi de Vecchi, *The Complete Paintings of Raphael*, New York, 1966, no. 111)

30. The Schut is in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerp. See Gertrude Wilmers, *Cornelis Schut (1597–1655): A Flemish Painter of the High Baroque*, Turnhout, 1996, cat. A90.

31. Thijs may have been given hints for his architecture by Villamena's 1594 engraving of the theme, which also shows a foreshortened altar and barrel vault (see Savelsberg 1992 [as cited in note 3]), Kat. 147/a). But the engraving lacks the ballustrade, the console bracket, and especially, grandeur of form.

32. Christie's, South Kensington, July 7, 1999, lot 18; *The martyrdom of a male saint in the presence of Saint Anthony*. I am grateful to David Barclay for informing me of the sale, and to Gregory Martin and Deborah Reynolds of Christie's for providing me with the details.

33. See *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Catalogue Inventaire de la Peinture Ancienne*, Bruxelles, 1984, p. 294; Vlieghe 1994 (as cited in note 25), pp. 214–215.

34. See Arnout Balis, 'Van Dyck: Some Problems of Attribution', in Barnes and Wheelock 1994 (as cited in note 25), pp. 180, 182–184; Stewart 1997 (as cited in note 2), p. 41.

35. Father Charles testified in 1652 that the martyrs' bodies had come from the catacombs of Priscilla from 'Sancti sepulti nomine inscriptum, & signis Martyrii insignitum' (Holy burials inscribed with names and clear Martyrs' signs) (see P. Frédégand d'Anvers, *Etude sur le Père Charles d'Arenberg, Frère-Mineur Capucin (1593–1669)*, Paris, 1919, pp. 286–287). By the latter, Father Charles probably meant either small *ampullae*, glass vessels filled with dark material (then thought to be blood and to represent martyrdom) or possibly the Christian monogram which was interpreted as 'passus pro Christo' (suffered for Christ). See L. Hertling and E. Kirschbaum, *The Roman Catacombs*, rev. ed., London, 1975, p. 6.

36. Father d'Arenberg's testimony, the identities of the martyrs, and the positions of their altars (but not the painters of the altarpieces) are listed in Antonius Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae...* The Hague, 1727, III, pp. 34–36.

37. See Hans Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer, Sa Vie et Ses Oeuvres*, Brussels, 1972, cat. A143, A144.

38. See Wilmers 1996 (as cited in note 30), no. B178, p. 193.

39. See Descamps 1754 (as cited in note 1), II, p. 202; Jean Baptiste Descamps, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant*, Paris, 1769, p. 66.

40. At the Antwerp Van Dyck Colloquium, before I gave my paper, Axel Heinrich (then engaged on a doctoral thesis on Willeboirts for Göttingen University) told me that he considered the ex-Coppée picture to be by Willeboirts. Arnout Balis informed me that he still regards it as by Pieter Thijs.

41. See *The Compact Edition of the English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1971, I, p. 117, *sub* 'Garrotte'.

42. See Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago, 1981, pp. 3–4.

43. See *Hollstein*, XXI, p. 280 and XXII, p. 220. Thijs included children, alluding to Felix's 'special apostolate... among the children of [Rome] with whom his childlike simplicity made him a special favourite' (see Charles G. Herbermann et al., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1909, VI, p. 33).

44. See Savelsberg 1992 (as cited in note 3), Kat. 182–183.

45. See *Musées royaux ... Catalogue* 1984 (as cited in note 33), p. 213.

46. See John B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands*, I, Nieuwkoop, 1974, p. 154 and note 236.

47. See Savelsberg 1992 (as cited in note 3), p. 289.

48. See *Acta Sanctorum Maii Tomus Quartus*, Antwerpiae, 1685 [facsimile reprint 1968] pp. 204–205. The pope's younger brother, Antonio Barberini, Cardinal Onofrio, was a Capuchin. Blessed Felix's feast day was established as 18 May.

49. See Stewart 1997 (as cited in note 2), p. 37.

50. For the Toulouse *St James led to Martyrdom*, including earlier references see the entry by Jean Lacambre, in [cat. exh.] *Le siècle de Rubens dans les collections publiques françaises*, Paris, Grand Palais, 1977, no. 216, pp. 258–259 (as Willeboirts). To these should be added: Erik Duverger and Lori van Biervliet, *Beschrywinge: een eerste Nederlandstalige gids voor kunstminnaars in Brabant en Vlaanderen (1751–1753)*, Brussels, 1998, p. 67: '[Bruges] Parochiale Kercke van St. Jacob...In den hooghen autaer is een capitael stuck van Thomas Willeborst [*sic*]..de Martelie van St. Jacob...'.
I am extremely grateful to Alain Daguerre de Hureaux, Directeur, and Catherine Gaich, Conservateur, for their kindness during my visit to the Musée des Augustins and for supplying me with photographs. (A photograph in the museum files labelled 'ébauche' [sketch] of the *St James* [74.5 x 59.3 cm; collection Giorgio Devoto, Genoa] seems to be a copy.).
On a document written by Pastor Baccius (died 1662) of the Sint-Jacobskerk, Bruges, there is apparently a note in an eighteenth-century hand: 'de schilderie van den hoogen autaer is vanden ouden Thysens van Antwerpen ende coste 60 p...' (see Jan Rotsaert, 'Het hoogaltaar in de Sint-Jacobskerk te Brugge', *Het Brugs Ommeland*, XV, 1975, p. 126. I am much indebted to Axel Rüger for his efforts in obtaining a zerox of this article for me, and to Dr. Volker Manuth for help in translating it, as well as helpful discussions about the re-attribution of the Toulouse painting). The price of 60 pounds is comparable with the 74 pounds which Thijs received, much later, in 1672–1674 for his Sint-Niklaas altarpiece which contains seven over life-size figures; see Hairs 1977 (as cited in note 2), p. 268, note 19.

51. The High Priest Abiatar had James dragged by a rope before King Herod Agrippa, who ordered the apostle to be beheaded. Abiatar was angry at James's conversions. The magician Hermogenes had sent his follower Philetus to convince the apostle that he was preaching falsely, but Philetus became a disciple. Furious, Hermogenes magically paralysed Philetus, who was released by James's neckerchief. After another trial of magic involving demons, James also converted Hermogenes, who then brought all his books to James to be burnt.
In the Toulouse picture Hermogenes seems to be the black holding the lamp just behind Abiatar. Below the converted magician on the right is Philetus carrying books on his head. Above him are two putti round whom is entwined James's neckerchief. In the central foreground, a black boy restrains a dog. To its right are a pilgrim's shell, cloak, staff and gourd, all relating to the legend of James's body being taken to Compostella in Spain, where it became the object of pilgrimage. The armour refers to the legend of the saint's appearance around 930 at the Battle of Clavijo (see Jacobus de

Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. W.G. Ryan, Princeton University Press, 1993, II, pp. 3–9). A statue of Herod's suzerain, the Roman emperor, with globe and eagle, occupies a pedestal above. Roman officers and a horsed standard-bearer appear below.

52. See *Acta Sanctorum Julii, Tomus VI*, Antwerp, 1729, 25th July, p. 36; T.D. Kendrick, *St James in Spain*, London, 1960, p. 17.

53. See Stewart 1997 (as cited in note 7), fig. 9, p. 42.

54. For a reproduction of the head of Thijs's St Basil, see Balis 1994 (as cited in note 34), fig. 6, p. 183.

55. See Hans Vlieghe, 'Nieuwe Toeschrijvingen aan Antwerpse Schilders uit de Zeventiende Eeuw', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*, XX, 1967, pp. 165, 170–171, 173. (I thank Professor Vlieghe for kindly providing me with an offprint of his article.)

56. The boy restraining the dog is developed from a detail of Rubens's 1633–1635 *Martyrdom of St Livinus* (formerly in the Ghent Jesuit Church; now Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, no. 375). The lunging figure of St James's executioner recalls (in reverse) the figure at the bottom right of the *St Livinus*, which Vlieghe has related to the pose of the Borghese Warrior (see Hans Vlieghe, *Saints* [*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, VII], II, London, p. 11). Thijs's figure also recalls Rubens's *Jason* (See Svetlana Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada* [*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, IX], London, 1971, no. 34). The head of the black behind Hermogenes is seen at the same angle as the black in the upper left of Rubens's *Miracles of St Francis Xavier*, formerly in the Jesuit Church, Antwerp.

57. Formerly in Antwerp Cathedral, painted for the Guild of the Jonge Voetboog after victory in a competition with Willeboirts; see Wilmers 1996 (as cited in note 30), no. A66.

58. See Wilmers 1996 (as cited in note 30), pp. 41 and 268 (note 216). Neither appears to have been engraved. Schut of course could have seen the originals during his Italian trip. Thijs may have known the Veroneses through drawings.

59. See Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'Iconographie d'Antoine Van Dyck*, Bruxelles, 1991, no. 96; engraved by Theodore van Kessel (?).

60. See Cornelis de Bie, *Het Gulden Cabinet...*, introduction by G. Lemmens, translated by G. Schwartz, facsimile reprint of 1661 Lier edition, Soest, 1971, text p. 167. Lucas Vorsterman's engraving of a Thijs self-portrait was supposed to appear in De Bie (who actually praised the engraver for it!) but the image was omitted perhaps because it was misplaced by the publisher (introduction p. 7; text p. 565).

61. Galerie Charpentier, Baron Cassel sale, 2 December 1954 (9), 76 x 67 cm.; 'Annoté au verso: "Thomas Willeborts Bosschaerts par lui-même". Vraisemblablement le portrait de l'artiste, par lui-même, qui a figuré le 20 juin 1854, à la vente de Mme Gentil de Chavagnac (77 x 67)". The same picture also appeared in the Carcano sale, Petit [?Palais] Paris, 30 May 1912 (147) as a Willeboirts self-portrait (76 x 66 cm.) (reproduction in Witt Library).

62. The Toronto *Daedalus and Icarus*, long given to Van Dyck, but which I have argued is by Thijs (see Stewart 1997 [as cited in note 7], pp. 37–39); and a '*St Francis of Assisi*' attributed to Thijs (Christie's, London, 18 Dec. 1987 [215] 201.3 x 77 cm.). On the mount of the photograph of this picture in the Rubenianum, Professor Hans Vlieghe notes that the saint is actually Louis of Toulouse. From the tall narrow shape and the *di sotto in su* representation, it is evident that this painting and a pendant (now lost) were painted as shutters to cover the niche-openings high on the wall separating the nave from the monks' choir in a Capuchin church. Van Dyck's Brussels *St Francis receiving the Stigmata* and *St Felix of Cantalice with the Christ Child* originally performed this function (see Savelsberg 1992 [as cited in note 3], pp. 95–96). The *St Louis of Toulouse* has a step in front of the saint and an angel on a step behind and below the saint, showing again the influence of Veronese.

63. The likeness of the painter in the ex-Cassel painting is compatible with that of the soldier in the Kingston *Esther and Ahasuerus* (Fig. 7) which may be a Thijs self-portrait (see Stewart 1997 [as cited in note 2], p. 37). My colleague Dr. Volker Manuth, who originally made the suggestion about the Kingston picture, agrees.

64. See Stewart 1997 (as cited in note 2), p. 37.

65. Descamps 1769 (as cited in note 39), quoted by Lacambre in [cat. exh] *Le siècle de Rubens* 1977 (as cited in note 50), p. 258.

Gutachten

Das umstehend angeführte Ölgemälde auf Leinwand,

Höhe 110 cm, Breite 86 cm –

Tischgebet, eine junge Frau in gelben Kleidern und blau-grünem Kopftuch und ein Kind vor einer stehenden Tischdecke mit offenen Händen. Links auf einem Tischchen eine Schale mit Milch, Löffel und Brot – ist ein sehr gutes, ehrliches, ein sehr wertvolles und bedeutendes Werk des niederländischen Malers aus dem Rembrandtkreis

Abraham van Dijck (1635–1672),

das in seine reifen Meisterjahre, etwa um Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts entstehen dürfte. Die Bedeutung des Kst. von Dijck ist nicht durch seine Fertigkeiten, sondern durch seine gegenständlichen Bildnisse und genreartigen Darstellungen, die bis ins 18. Jahrhundert hinein, sind jedoch als eigene Werke des Kst. v. Dijck bekannt geworden. So die sehr ähnliche Darstellung einer Frau aus Vorbereitung in Hannover (ausgestellt in Berlin 1929, gleiche Kat.-Nr. 77). Vergl. auch H. Martin, Rembrandt und seine Zeit (1908) Anmerkung 22.

München, am 29. Mai 1952.

Günther Thiem

[illegible], am 14. [illegible] 197[illegible]

Lieber Herr [illegible]!

[illegible] Bilder [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Es freut uns sehr, dass bei der [illegible] [illegible] Buch herausgekommen ist. [illegible] zu danken, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] Bild von [illegible] ([illegible] nicht in der [illegible]), ebenso [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Über [illegible] Freunde, [illegible] Ihrer [illegible] Sie.

Der [illegible] van de Velde bei Dr. [illegible] scheint uns nicht [illegible], da es ein [illegible] ist und [illegible], dass dieser Preis [illegible] ist, [illegible], [illegible] mindestens ebenso viel kostet. [illegible] glauben wir, [illegible] in den nächsten Tagen zu sehen.

Im Kunsthandel kommt kaum etwas Gutes vor, hier bei [illegible] wird am 21.Oktober ein besonders schöner [illegible], [illegible] von [illegible], versteigert.
Immer noch bedauern wir, Sie bei Ihrem letzten Aufenthalt nicht [illegible] zu haben und freuen uns schon auf das nächste Mal.

Mit allen guten Wünschen für Sie und die Ihren

Ihr alter
Bernt's.

Capri, 3. Juni 1981

Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Sauer,

ich bedanke mich erkenntlich für Ihr Schreiben vom 28. Mai.

Die Original-Expertise für den Abraham von Zyll aus dem Jahre 1950 (oder 1952?) habe ich Herrn Dr. Sauer übergeben. Er wird sie Ihnen zweifellos nach seinem Urlaub in der Schweiz, den er in diesen Tagen antritt, senden.

Ihr erkenntlich ergebener

Walter Pammelsheim

2500 353 = 782

02100

760

7100

München 13, 12. Mai 1971
Ainmillerstrasse 34

Herrn Dr. Alfred Bader
2961, North Shephard Ave.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Bader,

Herr Dr. Bernt war so freundlich mir mitzuteilen, dass Sie das schöne Bild von Abraham van Dyck erwerben wollen, das seit zwanzig Jahren in meinem Besitze ist und von dem ich mich nur deshalb trenne, weil ich in eine kleinere Wohnung ziehen werde. Vorher gehörte das Bild den Freiherrn von Schorlemer-Lieser.

Ich bin bereit, mich von ihm zum Preise von 25.000 DM zu trennen und bitte Sie, diesen DM-Betrag an das Bankhaus J. Vontobel in Zürich, Bahnhofstrasse 3 für das Konto Nr."1884 Licht" überweisen zu wollen.

Da ich am 18. Mai für einen Monat verreisen werde, werde ich das Bild morgen bei Herrn Dr. Bernt deponieren, der sich liebenswürdigerweise bereit erklärt hat, es für Sie in seinem Hause aufbewahren zu wollen.

Vom 20. Mai bis 9. Juni bin ich postalisch zu erreichen unter der Adresse: Villa Berg, Anacapri, Capri, Italien, d.h. nur dann wenn es dort nicht einmal wieder einen Streik gibt.

Ich beglückwünsche mich, dass dies Bild in so gute Hände kommt und bin mit freundlichsten Grüssen

aufrichtig Ihr

WALTER HUMMELSHEIM

[illegible], am [illegible]

Lieber Herr [illegible]!

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Mit allen guten Wünschen für Sie und Ihren

Ihr alter

Benitz

München, Mottlstrasse 13, am 26. April [illegible]

Lieber Herr Doktor [illegible]!

Über die Photo der Landschaft mit der auch mir unerklärlichen Staffagegabe ich geforscht; ich glaube, dass das Bild nahe zu den beiden Ulaker's gehört, von denen ich [illegible] ähnliche Landschaften habe.

Aber das Bild hat leider so wenig [illegible] Qualität, dass ich diese sicheren Kriterien [illegible] könnte. Wenn es [illegible] sollte, würde ich es [illegible] Ulaker weiter [illegible].

Die Bilder bei Frau von Mitterwallner konnte ich noch nicht [illegible], sie hat mehrere Grippeanfälle erlitten und ist so schlecht dran, dass sie [illegible] des Monates etwas auf Urlaub gehen will.

Von unseren Bildern nichts Neues, wir müssen uns noch leider noch gedulden müssen.

Bei einem Münchner Bekannten von mir wird ein sehr schönes Bild von Abraham van Dyck für etwa 25.000 DM zum Verkauf kommen, ich lege Ihnen die Photo bei, die aber leider sehr hart ist und natürlich die Feuchtigkeit [illegible] nicht widergeben kann, ausserdem auch die Abschrift meines Gutachtens zu dem nicht signierten Bild. Die Photo wolle Ihr zurückerbitten.

Mit allen guten Wünschen von uns beiden und Dank für alle Ihre ständige Hilfe für unsere Bilder

Ihr alter

Walther Bl.

[illegible], den [illegible], den 11. [illegible]

Lieber Herr [illegible]!

Heute nur eilig [illegible], wie [illegible] das Tischgebet. [illegible] des Bildes

[illegible]
Ainmillerstrasse 24

ich bei einer Veränderung von [illegible] mit der Lösung des Bildes einverstanden. Eine Verbilligung war unerläßlich. [illegible] sicher, daß Sie den Rest gerechtfertigt finden, wenn Sie das Bild [illegible] sehen. Herr [illegible] bin [illegible] auf [illegible] nach Italien zu einer Ausstellung dann von [illegible] nach der Schweiz übersiedeln, so ist [illegible] richtig sein. [illegible] Zeit, [illegible] die Formalitäten [illegible] zu erledigen. Ich glaube, daß [illegible] des Passes an Herrn [illegible] zu erledigen das Angenehmste sein wird. [illegible] Hummelsheim habe ich Ihre Anschrift gegeben, er wird [illegible] Karte an Sie richten. Das Bild soll in den nächsten Tagen [illegible] zur Verfügung stehen. [illegible] gesagt Ihr [illegible] Zweifel. [illegible] Bildern, von denen ich [illegible] gebildet habe. Ich hatte vor, dieses Bild [illegible] glaublich, [illegible] der Verlust [illegible] vielen anderen Bildern [illegible].

Gegen Ihren anderen Träger [illegible] ich [illegible].

[illegible] allen guten Wünschen von [illegible]

Ihr [illegible]

[illegible]

Dr. Werner Sumowski
7 STUTTGART-ROHR
Hessenwiesenstrasse 4

12. 9. 1971

Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Bader,

wegen der Umzugsumstände kommme ich leider erst heute dazu, Ihnen für Ihren Brief vom 3. September zu danken und auf Ihre interessanten Ausführungen einzugehen.

Was sie zum „Federmann" mitteilen, war Wasser auf meine Mühle. Die Zuschreibung des Bildes an den frühen Rembrandt ist natürlich unhaltbar. Aber die Hand von niemand – um eine Lieblingsfigur Jesus aufzugreifen – „sehen nicht Augen aus wie!" Schade, daß die Bezeichnung abgerieben ist, sodaß man die Güte oder Schlechtigkeit nicht mehr feststellen kann.

Die Bestimmung Ihrer Neuerwerbung auf Adriaen van Ostade finde ich überzeugend. Ich kannte das mir bisher unbekannte Bild bereits. Die Deutung der Darstellung erscheint mir richtig.

Bei Karel Fabritius habe ich im Oudheid 26, 1968, S. 278–283, publiziert. Von meinem Bedauern sind mir die Sonderdrucke des Artikels ausgegangen. Der modernisierende

Echtheit des erwähnten und 1654 datierten Bildes daß wohl Bedenken, denn K.F. hat in seinen letzten Arbeiten den Kürschner zur Zeit verlassen und die Moderne antizipiert. Ihre Charakterisierung des Modells ist nur Geschmacksache. Die Katze war den Künstler immerhin gleichgültig. Er hat sie nur als dekorative Objekt im Bild verwendet. Der Schwerpunkt seines Bildes ist lediglich Malerei. Ich habe Herrn Meißner in Zürich, der das Bild erwerben will, gebeten, sich mit Ihnen in Verbindung zu setzen. Ich weiß nicht, ob er Ihnen den Preis bereits nannte. Jedenfalls wäre ein Blick von K.F. dessen Arbeiten man an den Augen abzählen kann, Gold für die Sammlung wünschenswert.

Auf Ihren Besuch freue ich mich.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen

Ihr Werner Schmalenbach

P.S. Ihr Speck-Selbstporträt ist eine einzige Entdeckung!

Dr. Alfred R. Bader
President

- 7. JUNI 1971

May 28, 1971

Bankhaus J. Vontobel
Bahnhofstrasse 3
Zurich, Switzerland

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find the Chase Manhattan's cashier's check for $7100 to be deposited into Konto Nr. "1884 Licht".

Please acknowledge receipt.

I remain,

40 8 1/4 / 115 1/4

Yours sincerely,

Alfred Bader

AB/ds

Enc.

Received the above check
Zurich, June 7th 1971

pp. J. VONTOBEL & Co.

Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc.
940 West St.Paul Avenue Milwaukee Wisconsin 53233 USA Telephone (414) 273-3850 Cable Aldrichem TWX 910-262-3052

Dr. Alfred R. Bader
President

ALDRICH

May 28, 1971

Bankhaus J. Vontobel
Bahnhofstrasse 3
Zurich, Switzerland

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find the Chase Manhattan's cashier's check for $7100 to be deposited into Konto Nr. "1884 Licht".

Please acknowledge receipt.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Alfred Bader

AB/ds

Enc.

Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc.
940 West St. Paul Avenue Milwaukee Wisconsin 53233 USA Telephone (414) 273-3850 Cable Aldrichem TWX 910-262-3052

Gutachten

Das umstehend abgebildete Ölgemälde auf Leinwand, Höhe 116 cm, Breite 96 cm –

Tischgebet, eine junge Frau in gelbem Mieder und olivgrünem Kleid und ein links vor ihr stehender Knabe beten mit gefalteten Händen. Rechts auf einer Tischecke eine Zinnschale mit Milch, Löffel und Wirbelrad – ist ein sehr gut erhaltenes, ein rand frei und besonders bedeutendes Werk des amsterdamer Malers aus dem Rembrandtkreis

Abraham van Dyck (1635–1672),

das in seiner geistigen Haltung frühen Werken des A. Maes und des B. Fabritius nahe steht. Die Bedeutung des Mal. van Dyck ist erst durch neuere Forschung geklärt worden; mehrere großfigurige Bildnisse und Genredarstellungen, die bisher A. Maes hießen, sind jetzt als sichere Werke des Mal. v. Dyck bestimmt worden. So die sehr ähnliche betende alte Frau aus Privatbesitz in Hannover (ausgestellt in Berlin 1929 Galerie P. Schaeffer, Holländische Meister", Tafel 18 und 19 Schaffhausen Kat.-Nr. 77). Vergl. auch A. Martin, Rembrandt und seine Zeit (1936) Anmerkung 329.

München, am 29. Mai 1952. Walther Bernt

THE ROYAL MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
SØLVGADE
DK-1307 COPENHAGEN K DENMARK

/aj

14th August, 1973

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of 8th July, we can inform you that we are pleased to give you our permission
./. to reproduce the enclosed photograph of

Inv.No. 3578 Barent Fabritius: Elijah Fed by the Widow at Zarephath.

The Museum does not charge any reproduction fee, we would only ask you to quote owner: The Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen.

Yours faithfully,
THE ROYAL MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
Sølvgade
DK-1307 COPENHAGEN K - Denmark
Anne-Lise Jensen
Anne-Lise Jensen

./. P.S. Please notice that the enclosed invoice should be paid direct to the photographer, Mr. Hans Petersen.

PURCHASER'S RECEIPT

RE Dr. Alfred Bader

FROM

AMERICAN CITY BANK & TRUST COMPANY

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

№ 10273

May 28, 1971

DRAWN TO THE ORDER OF Bankhaus J. Vontobel for credit to the account of "1804" Licht - 7,100.00

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E. J. M. DOUWES, Jr.

EJMD/EH

Mr. A. Bader
2961 N. Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
USA

17 September 1981

Dear Mr. Bader,

From my secretary Miss Houpt I heard that you have been visiting our new branch in London, while I was away. Perhaps we can meet some other time in the near future.

Knowing of your purchases via my father, and your interest particularly in the Rembrandt School, I hereby send you a black/white photograph of a Rembrandt-pupil Abraham van Dijk (1635-1672)

"Adoration of the Shepherds"

On canvas: 66 x 80 cm;

Fully signed

It is a colourful impasto-painting in good condition, a typical work of this rare artist.

We have the painting for sale in Amsterdam on behalf of a client. The asking-price is US $ 32,000.-- at today's rate.

I shall be making a trip in the USA, but unfortunately far away from Milwaukee, Hopefully however, the photograph gives you already a firm indication of the qualities of this painting and I shall be happy to send a transparency (not ready yet) in case you wish one.

Looking forward to hearing from you soon, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Evert J.M. Douwes jr.

P.S. Many [illegible]

Incorporated in The Netherlands · Kunsthandel Gebr Douwes B.V. 46 Rokin, 1012KV Amsterdam. Tel: 010 31 20 236208
Registered No. F10247 Bankers: Algemene Bank Nederland, N.V., 120 Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5EA

THE ROYAL MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
SØLVGADE
DK-1307 COPENHAGEN K DENMARK

September 12th, 1973

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee
Wisconsin 53211

Dear Dr. Bader,

In reply to your letter of August 26, 1973, concerning the painting attributed to Barent Fabritius of Elijah and the Widow at Zarephath (Inventory No. 3578) we can give you the following particulars and references:

The painting is neither signed nor dated.
Oil on canvas, 60 x 82.5 cms.
Purchased in 1921 at Bruxelles.

Cat. 1922 No. 298 (as Carel Fabritius?)
Gustav Falck in Tidskrift för konstvetenskap IX (1924-25) p. 84 f (as Barent Fabritius; ill.)
Karl Madsen in Kunstmuseets Aarsskrift XI-XII (1926) pp. 136 ff (as Rembrandt-pupil; ill.)
In 1931 Karl Madsen suggested verbally that N. Maes was the artist.
Catalogue of Old Foreign Paintings (Copenhagen 1951), p. 91 f No. 218 (as Barent Fabritius).
D. Pont, Barent Fabritius 1624-1673 (Orbis artium. Utrechtse Kunsthistorische Studiën II) (Utrecht 1958), p. 129 (section b. Pictures wrongly attributed to Barent Fabritius) No. 3.
Werner Sumowski in Kunstchronik XII (1959), p. 290 (as probably not by Barent Fabritius).

...2

Dr. Alfred Bader September 12th, 1973

Emile E. Wolf of New York City, already suggested an attribution of the painting to Abraham van Dyck (letter of September 1 and of September 21, 1960, in the Gallery archives).

Sincerely yours,

Olaf Koester
Curator

OK/kb

Foto R. Nohr
München 23
Wilhelmstrasse 28

郵便はがき

□□□-□□

レンブラント・巨匠とその周辺 1986 1987

アブラハム・ファン・ダイク　Abraham van Dyck
ツァレファテの寡婦とその息子　The Widow of Zarephath and her Son
油彩　カンヴァス　115.5×85.8cm
Milwaukee, Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader
Printed by Art Life Ltd ©

No 8

40%

3½ w

Barent Fabritius

#42.6181

THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois 60603

C13595

ARTIST Willem Drost

TITLE Samuel and Eli

MEDIUM Oil on Canvas

DATE ca. 1650 - 1660 SIZE 52" x 43 1/2"

COLLECTION Wilson L. Mead Fund

37.463

The following words must be used in connection with the publication of this photograph:

COURTESY OF
THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

10M LIBCO

Abr. Van Dyck

14 1/2 x 13 1/8 oil / wood.

~~B~~ 17 x 15 1/2 oil / canvas

Oil / canvas 116 x 96 cms.

fully signed A v Dyck.

Cf. the painting of Elias with the widow of Zarephat and her son in the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen. Photo # 188 – here called B. Fabritius, but also A. v Dyck.

David de Witt 5 August 2002

Kristin Campbell Aug 3 2002

Abr. van Ryck