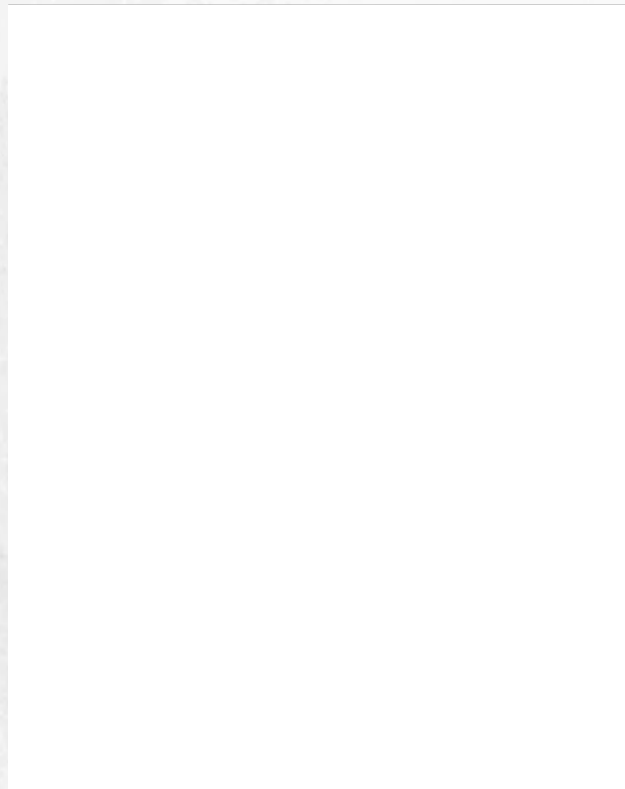




UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON,
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Flemish sculpture
Art and manufacture c. 1600-1750

by Léon E. Lock
2008



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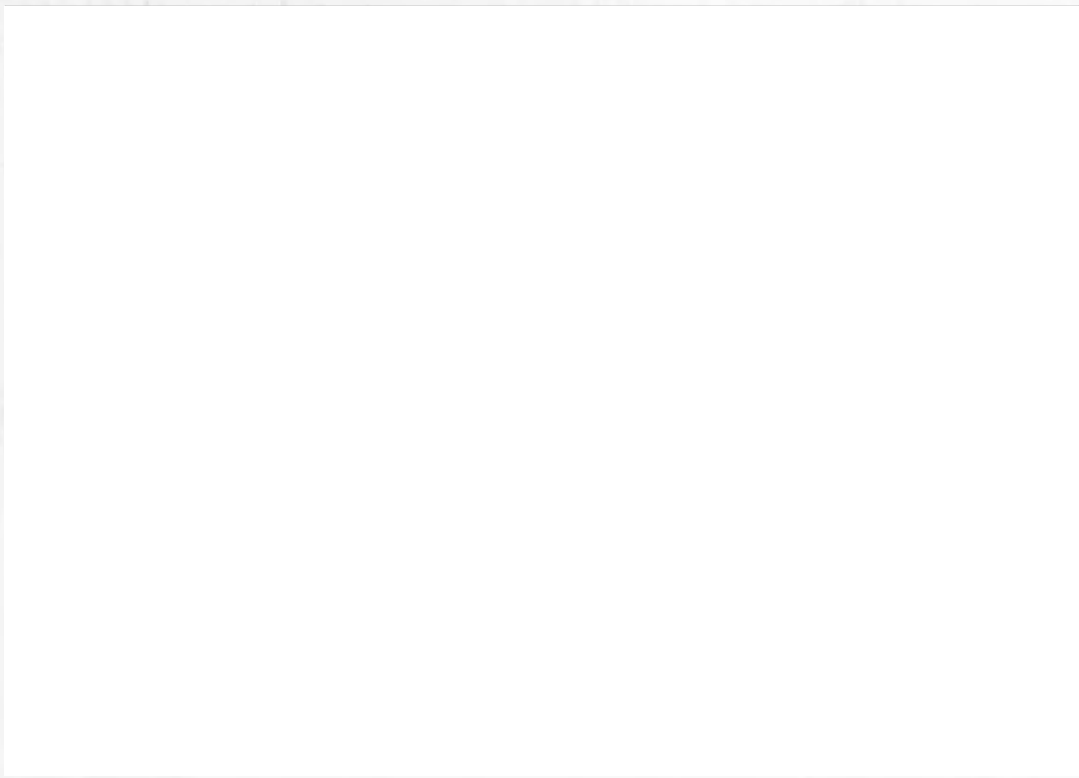
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Abstract

The thesis explores the role of the artist and patron in the creation of a work of art, and the impact of the artist's social and economic status on the work. It focuses on the work of David II Teniers, a Flemish painter who worked in the studio of his father, David Teniers the Younger, and the impact of the artist's social and economic status on the work. The thesis also explores the role of the artist and patron in the creation of a work of art, and the impact of the artist's social and economic status on the work. It focuses on the work of David II Teniers, a Flemish painter who worked in the studio of his father, David Teniers the Younger, and the impact of the artist's social and economic status on the work.



Frontispieces Onze-Lieve-Vrouwebasiliek, Scherpenheuvel.
David II Teniers, Monkey Sculptor's Studio, oil on copper, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

The author of this thesis, Léon E. Lock, confirms that the work presented in it is his own. Where information has been derived from other sources, he confirms that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis attempts to shed light on the creative and production processes in a field that has recently been termed “the greatest unknown story in the history of Western European art” (Jeffrey Muller, 2006). In the context of 17th-century Antwerpen solely being appreciated for three great painters (Rubens, Van Dyck, Jordaens) and its sculpture always being “explained” as copying Bernini’s and Algardi’s Italian models, it is not surprising that this field has been neglected. In fact, its study has been minimal since World War II. And until then documentary identification and attribution were the only preoccupations of its historians.

For the purposes of the thesis, Flemish sculpture will roughly be taken as that produced in the former Southern Netherlands, at first under Spanish, then under Austrian dominion (excluding independent Liège), and investigated in the time from Rubens’s return to Antwerpen in 1608 to the end of its heyday by the middle of the eighteenth century. Thus within this huge field, of which an estimated 25,000 to 30,000 sculptures and sculptors’ drawings have survived, the present study takes a different methodological approach. Using well-documented cases and especially those cases for which three or more different stages in the design and production are extant (preparatory drawing, preparatory terracotta model and the work as executed in wood or marble), it analyses in a necessarily empirical and exemplary way the workings of the sculpture production: the commissioning process; the project from the drawn sketch to the finished model; the manufacture from the raw materials to the delivery.

To a certain extent, this thesis uses the methodology of the seminal study by Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture, The Industry of Art* (1989). However, around this skeleton, certain complementary situations are also investigated, in particular the effects of collaborations between sculptors and an architect, a painter, a painter-architect or a cabinet maker. The study concludes with a discussion of the social standing of Low Countries sculptors and their trade between art and manufacture.

Table of contents

Abstract	3
Table of contents.....	4
Introduction	7
Chapter One: The market	17
Counter-Reformation Flanders and the consumption of sculpture.....	17
Patronage	25
The collecting of sculpture	43
The institutional context and the training of sculptors.....	55
Chapter 2: From first contact to contract	70
First contact and determining requirements	70
Determining the concept.....	71
Design on paper.....	71
Sculptors' drawings as subordinated to a higher goal.....	71
Design after prints.....	83
Competitions and bidding for contracts	87
Drawings for the patron.....	89
Guidance to collaborators.....	94
Motifs to be re-used later: recording & collecting	98
Draughtmanship style vs. sculptural style	99
Writing the contract.....	100
Chapter 3: From sketch to model	110
Three-dimensional preparatory models	110
Their nature and necessity.....	110
Link between design on paper and in terracotta	112
Terracottas	117
Choice of type of clay	117
Modelling practices	118
Comparison of different stages	122
Degrees and types of finish.....	126
Fixing and fitting together pieces.....	129
Preparations for firing	130

Firing.....	131
Additions after firing	133
Use & purpose of terracottas.....	133
Models for ivory and boxwood.....	135
Portraiture	137
Other preparatory materials	144
Wax	144
Wood	146
Full-scale models.....	147
Their necessity & use.....	147
Their technique.....	153
From model to full-scale model.....	155
Models versus end products.....	157
Chapter 4: From raw materials to delivery.....	162
Materials, tools and techniques.....	162
The choice of materials	162
The supply of raw materials.....	164
Marble and stone carving.....	169
Delivery techniques and after-sales service.....	172
Bronze and similar metals	173
Workshops.....	174
Workshop practices and operations management.....	174
Family relations, networks and collaborations between workshops	192
The role of women	200
Chapter 5: Collaboration with painters, architects and cabinet-makers.....	202
Painters.....	203
Cabinet-makers	212
First case study: Aguilón, Huyssens, Rubens.....	214
Second case study: Cobergher.....	225
Rubens and Cobergher compared.....	227
Third case study: Jacob van Campen.....	232
Epilogue: the sculptor becomes architect?.....	249
Bibliography.....	260

Appendices.....	285
Acknowledgements	285
List of illustrations	286
Chapter 1	286
Chapter 2.....	290
Chapter 3.....	295
Chapter 4.....	302
Chapter 5.....	304
Epilogue	308
Photographs	310
Index of artists	311

Introduction

This thesis attempts to shed light on the creative and production processes in a field that has recently been termed “the greatest unknown story in the history of Western European art”.¹ In the context of 17th-century Antwerpen solely being appreciated for three great painters (Rubens, Van Dyck, Jordaens) and its sculpture always being “explained” as copying Bernini’s and Algardi’s Italian models, it is not surprising that this field has been neglected. In fact, its study has been minimal since World War II. And until then documentary identification and attribution were the only preoccupations of its historians.

The execution of monumental sculpture is a long and laborious process. Although the stages of production are similar to that of painting, the addition of the third dimension adds considerable complexity to the issues involved. Moreover, few sculptures in marble or wood are begun without preliminary sketches: these media do not allow *pentimenti*, as for instance oil painting does.

In the not necessarily chronological sequence of concept, design and execution of Flemish sculpture of the early modern period, it is the execution which has always interested the specialists. The concept, in particular in iconographic and typological terms, has also received some attention. But the linking element, the actual production process, which could shed much light on the two others, remains quasi unexplored. It is this connection, set within a broad cultural and economic background of the sculptor’s trade in an eminently Catholic environment, which this thesis investigates.

Thus the present study takes a different methodological approach for this huge field, of which an estimated 25,000 to 30,000 sculptures and sculptors’ drawings have survived, the majority of which kept in three locations: the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet in Antwerpen for the drawings,² the Brussels Royal Museums of Fine Arts for the terracotta preparatory sketches and finally churches throughout Belgium with the final products in marble or wood. Using well-documented cases and especially those for which three or more different stages in the design and production are extant (preparatory drawing, preparatory terracotta model and the

¹ Jeffrey Muller, private correspondence, 2006

² Including the recent permanent loan by the King Baudouin Foundation of the Charles Van Herck collection acquired in 1996 from Charles Van Herck’s son Alfons. See Antwerpen 2000a and 2000b.

work as executed in wood or marble), it analyses in a necessarily empirical and exemplary way the workings of the sculpture production: the commissioning process; the project from the drawn sketch to the finished model; the manufacture from the raw materials to the delivery.

Investigating this production process can only be undertaken in a piecemeal fashion. These cases, supplemented with other evidence, will help to exemplify a broad chronological sketch of the stages in the production process. The intention in doing so, in the first instance, is to raise the issues involved, rather than to attempt to generalise the practices, as this would introduce historical distortion. However, it will inevitably be a mix of practices differing from one artist to another and from one period to the next.

To a certain extent, this thesis uses the methodology of the seminal study by Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture, The Industry of Art* (1989). However, around this skeleton, certain complementary situations are also investigated, in particular the effects of collaborations between sculptors and an architect, a painter, a painter-architect or a cabinet maker. The study concludes with a discussion of the social standing of Low Countries sculptors and their trade between art and manufacture.

The history of Dutch and Flemish painting cannot be imagined without due reference to and discussion of a body of contemporary writings, from Van Mander in the sixteenth century to Houbraken³ in the eighteenth, writings which self-consciously emulated Italian art historical publications, epitomised by those of Giorgio Vasari. Dutch and Flemish sculptors of the same period are however rarely referred to otherwise than in passing, except for Cornelis De Bie⁴ who devoted equally long biographical entries on his contemporary painters and sculptors.

No Flemish sculptor took to his pen before Jan Claudius De Cock in the early eighteenth century and his writing was not modelled on the practical treatises written in Italy by such artists as Benvenuto Cellini⁵ or Orfeo Boselli.⁶ Instead, he concentrated his long laudative poem on displaying his knowledge of antique

³ Houbraken 1718 only mentions sculptors in passing, e.g. Artus I Quellinus volume 1: 231.

⁴ De Bie 1661.

⁵ Cellini 1847.

⁶ Boselli 1978, 1994.

sculpture, stressing that to be the foundation of all sculptural practice.⁷ This means that to understand any other aspect about seventeenth and eighteenth-century sculpture, one has to resort to foreign texts, particularly that by André Félibien, which is copiously quoted in chapter 3.

Paradoxically, our knowledge of the contemporary reception of Flemish sculpture derives more from the ideas of painters, principally Rubens, who stressed the “community of painting and sculpture”,⁸ from paintings representing sculpture and from the status sculptors had gained within the guild of St Luke and, from 1663 in Antwerpen, the academy, of which the most prominent sculptors were founding members.

A number of useful insights may be obtained from the copious literature of travel descriptions and guidebooks, from the seventeenth century onwards, such as those by Monsieur de Monconys (1665),⁹ Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1687-1688),¹⁰ which would warrant a full discussion in a study of the reception history of Flemish sculpture.

A mention should also be made of the unusual 1727 publication by Mattys Pool (632) of works by Francis van Bossuit, principally in ivory, executed during his Amsterdam period.¹¹ It reproduces a number of reliefs and statuettes from two angles: the usual perpendicular point of view as well as *di sotto in su*. The fact that most of the works reproduced in this mode show figures in the nude, the artistic purpose of the publication may be questioned. On the other hand, the documentary value of the work is important, as it is a near-contemporary document of the production of Van Bossuit’s last eight years, of which a not insubstantial part has survived and can be compared to the engravings.¹²

The first lengthy discussions, meant to be published in book-length studies but that never saw the light of day, were written by Philippe Baert¹³ and Jacob van der Sanden¹⁴ in the 1760s and 1770s, respectively in Brussels and Antwerpen. Some of the material they gathered came directly from descendants of sculptors whose

⁷ De Cock 1865

⁸ “de ghemeynschap die onse Consten van Schildry ende Beldthouwery t’samen hebben”, quoted from Rubens’s recommendation letter for Lucas Faydherbe, published by De Bie 1661: 501.

⁹ de Monconys 1665.

¹⁰ See chapter 4, pp. 167.

¹¹ Pool 1727.

¹² Elen-Clifford Kock van Breugel 1992.

¹³ Baert MS.

¹⁴ Van der Sanden MS

biographies they wrote. For others, they relied on second-hand information, that has to be taken with great caution. Both these studies continue the art historical typology of Vasari and Van Mander and as such are of limited value in a discussion of the reception of Flemish sculpture of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The 1830 Belgian revolution and independence prompted renewed interest in local artists, including sculptors, which turned around the personality of Rubens. The study of Rubens was directly linked the search for a new national identity when Belgium became a separate state. Rubens was seen in opposition to Rembrandt and served to stress the differences between the culture of the northern and southern parts of the Netherlands and so – at least at cultural level – to justify the splitting of the area into two national states. This also fitted perfectly the tradition initiated by Vasari and Van Mander in the sixteenth century that writing art history was writing about artistic geniuses. Rubens was one of them.

Much of our knowledge from archival sources were discovered in the nineteenth century. It was however only in the Inter-War period that the study of Flemish seventeenth and eighteenth-century sculpture had its heyday. Unlike Italy, where Bernini was deemed unworthy of art historical study until the seminal monograph by Rudolf Wittkower,¹⁵ many Flemish sculptors received a monographic study before or shortly after the Second World War.¹⁶ These studies were normally well-documented but their art-historical interpretation is now completely outdated, as they exclusively focus on stylistic analyses, attribution and definitions of the ‘baroque’.

A remarkable case is the monograph by Juliane Gabriels on Artus Quellinus the Elder.¹⁷ She defined the style of Quellinus as Flemish, because he is baroque; and he is baroque because he translated the plastic language of Rubens in sculpture; no need to say that Rubens was obviously Flemish. This circular reasoning took no account of Quellinus’s business delivering sculpture throughout northern Europe, from London¹⁸ to St Petersburg¹⁹ and from Berlin²⁰ to Stockholm.²¹ Gabriels’ monograph

¹⁵ Wittkower 1955: *Preamble*.

¹⁶ Brussels 1977: 18.

¹⁷ Gabriels 1930.

¹⁸ Whinney 1988: 115-129; Cocke 1995: 125. See also Apted 1984 and Gordon Slade 2000: 36 for work in Scotland.

¹⁹ Nieuwdorp 1991; Androssov 1999.

²⁰ Bartsch-Molden 1993. See also Bergé 1997.

²¹ Steneberg 1966.

eventually reveals more about her political aspirations and her Flemish radicalism, than about the sculptor Quellinus.

As will be seen in chapter 4,²² attribution of Flemish seventeenth and eighteenth-century sculpture is fraught with difficulties, in particular due to the continuity of techniques and business practices, often until the 1830s or 1840s. A telling example is the attribution of the terracotta group of *Boreas and Orithyia* (1) by Jan Frans van Geel (1756-1830).²³ When bought by the Royal Museums of Fine-Arts in Brussels in 1863, it was attributed to Lucas Faydherbe. Subsequently, Marguerite Devigne attributed it to Gabriel Grupello (1644-1730), which was accepted for decades,²⁴ until a cleaning of the terracotta revealed the signature of Van Geel. This caused the arthistorical identification to change substantially and the dating from c.1670 to c.1812).

To these studies should be added the brief but well-documented catalogues published by Charles Van Herck and Adolf Jansen in the late 1930s and 1940s in the *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van Antwerpen*.

Typological studies have subsequently been conducted about seventeenth-century sculpted altarpieces,²⁵ tomb monument,²⁶ confessionals,²⁷ and ruler portrait busts.²⁸

The study of Flemish seventeenth and eighteenth-century sculpture was given a magisterial presentation in an exhibition in 1977,²⁹ with a virtually complete bibliography on the subject, including the substantial number of texts published by amateur (art) historians, for instance in local history periodicals.

Few scholars have since taken up an active interest in Flemish seventeenth and eighteenth-century sculpture. Amongst these should be named those involved in the organisation of the 1977 Brussels exhibition (Helena Bussers³⁰ and Hans

²² p. 192.

²³ Bussers 1983: 177-187; Mechelen 2006: 177.

²⁴ Devigne 1932; Kultermann 1968: 138.

²⁵ Becker 1990; Herremans 2005; Herremans 2007.

²⁶ Jansen 1968-70; Durian-Ress 1974; Lawrence 1981. See also Scholten 2003 for the Northern Netherlands.

²⁷ Zajadacz-Hastenrath 1970.

²⁸ Seelig 1977; Becker 1993; Lock 2008b.

²⁹ Brussels 1977.

³⁰ Amongst others Bussers 1983, 1986, 1987, 1989-91, 1993.

Nieuwdorp³¹ amongst others), as well as Alain Jacobs³² and, for the Northern Netherlands, Frits Scholten.³³

Aside from his curatorial duties at the Rubenshuis in Antwerpen and his research on paintings by Rubens and his contemporaries, the late Frans Baudouin kept a vivid interest and activity in the history of Flemish seventeenth and eighteenth-century sculpture (from the 1940s to his death in 2005) culminating in the acquisition of about one hundred terracottas and about seven hundred sculptors' drawings in the Charles Van Herck collection by the King Baudouin Foundation in 1996. A selection was exhibited in 1997³⁴ and 2000,³⁵ in both cases with important catalogues.

The first word of the title may historically be misleading and thus needs explanation. Strictly speaking the thesis concerns the geographic area that is normally often referred to as the Southern Netherlands or the southern Low Countries, encompassing what in the seventeenth century corresponded more or less to the Roman Catholic Spanish Habsburg lands north of France and which were handed over to the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs with the peace treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and remained in their hands until the French Revolution.

This geographic area is commonly referred to as Flanders, although its centre of commerce (Antwerpen) and its centre of power (the court at Brussels) both lay within the duchy of Brabant and not in the county of Flanders (of which the main cities were Gent and Brugge) and it also includes the counties of Namur, Limburg and Hainaut. It is this ahistoric, but frequent art historical use of the words 'Flanders' and 'Flemish' that is meant in the title of this thesis, in the same way as the 'Flemish School' is meant to designate that of Rubens and Van Dyck at the National Gallery in London.³⁶

Historically, the word 'Flemish' was not so specific and, particularly in its Italian variant *Fiamminghi*, could mean to include natives of the counties and duchies mentioned above as well as those from independent Liège (sometimes called *Liègesis*),

³¹ Amongst others Nieuwdorp 1991.

³² Amongst others Jacobs 1999; Brussels 2004.

³³ Amongst others Scholten 1983, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 2003, 2004-2005, 2005.

³⁴ Namur 1997.

³⁵ Antwerpen 2000a and 2000b.

³⁶ Similarly the Pelican History of Art volume by Vlieghe 1998a is entitled *Flemish Art and Architecture*. See Vlieghe 1998b for Vlieghe's justifications in writing his *Pelican History of Art*.

the Rhineland and sometimes even Germans from further afield or the Dutch (*Olandesi*). This use of the word 'Flemish' would equate that of 'Netherlandish', but in practice it is reserved today in art historical literature for natives from across the Low Countries when active in Italy; 'Netherlandish' is preferred instead, although often limited to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art (i.e. before the separation of the northern and southern halves), whereas the expression 'Low Countries' is meant to cover the complete area, from the German Rhineland to the area around Lille in the current 'French Flanders'.

To add to the historic geographic muddle: today the southern half of Belgium is called Wallonia, a political region separate from Flanders and Brussels since the federalisation of Belgium in the 1980s, that occurred following twentieth-century nationalisms based around the different languages spoken in Belgium (French historically for the upper class/Flemish in the north and Walloon in the south, the latter having virtually died out and been replaced by French) – as well as the economic downturn of the heavy industries in the southern half since World War II.

Holland is today, as for the 17th century, often erroneously used to mean the Northern Netherlands (or then the Dutch Republic). Strictly speaking this is wrong, as it only covers the central economic and political part of what today roughly corresponds to the present-day provinces of Noord and Zuid Holland.

Thus this brief discussion of the historic geographic terminology embedded in the definition of the area to be covered by this thesis should make it clear that the main centre of production, Antwerpen, followed by that of Brussels, both lay in the duchy of Brabant, but that the market covered all of the Southern Netherlands and much of the rest of Europe. Despite this, the most common and appropriate geographic term to be used is 'Flemish'.

The only part of the southern Low Countries that is specifically excluded from the scope of this thesis is Liège. This flourishing production centre of sculpture, often named after its main exponent, Jean Del Cour, had relatively few contacts with the rest of the Low Countries and developed its own style, habits and market in the politically independent prince-bishopric. The only important known relations existed on the level of patronage, such as with the comte de Marchin at Modave (646) and the abbess de Lamboy at the abbey of Herckenrode, the latter commissioning

sculpture from both Antwerpen-based Artus Quellinus the Younger (109) and Liège-based Jean Del Cour.

Although this thesis is principally about the Southern Netherlands, looking towards the Northern is unavoidable. Indeed, the history of sculpture can bring these two “halves” together in a way that has never been attempted in the history of seventeenth-century painting. Studies of painting timidly start to underline that there were not so many categorical differences as has hitherto always been presumed. Filipczak’s review of Vlieghe’s recent new Pelican History of Art *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585-1700*³⁷ stresses this too:

Vlieghe’s reminders that political separation did not lead to a sharp divide between the art of the two countries was a needed corrective, especially in the view of the lingering traces of the distorted but vivid contrast between Flemish and Dutch art drawn by Arnold Hauser³⁸ in his popular *Social History of Art*.³⁹

Well beyond Hauser, Rembrandt and Rubens were used as contrasting figures in the formation of both the new Dutch and Belgian national identities from 1830 onwards. In fact, Belgium was at the forefront of the formation of the discipline of art history, with much of the ground work for the subject, especially archival, being carried out in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Just as symptomatic is the erection of a statue to Rubens in the centre of Antwerpen in 1840,⁴⁰ that coincided with the celebrations of his death.⁴¹ This was the first public statue erected in the nineteenth-century in Antwerpen, and only the third in Belgium, the first two being in Brussels, that to *Général Augustin Daniel comte Belliard*, who fought for the independence of Belgium,⁴² and that to the martyrs of the 1830 revolution.⁴³

The new standard book on the architecture of the Low Countries⁴⁴ takes the discourse much further in analysing with great refinement the relations between North and South, removing most of the clichés that were prevalent until now.

Similarly, the history of seventeenth-century sculpture in the Low Countries draws all the respective parts together in such an obvious way that is unthinkable for the history of painting. Admittedly, Hendrick de Keyser was virtually exclusively active

³⁷ Vlieghe 1998a.

³⁸ Hauser 1962: 191-208.

³⁹ Filipczak 2000.

⁴⁰ Pil 1993: 132.

⁴¹ Gerson 1961.

⁴² Van Lennep 2000: 21-25.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 25-29.

in the Northern Netherlands, but at about the same time the De Nole family moved from Utrecht to Antwerpen. After this generation, the principal sculptor of the Low Countries was Artus I Quellinus, who brought the Southern and Northern Netherlands together in terms of sculptural production. Although his workshop in Antwerpen continued to be run by the rest of his family – and flourished – he opened a workshop for the huge decoration programme of the new town hall in Amsterdam. From there and from then onwards, a whole series of sculptors trained in the Southern Netherlands carved the main market share in the north: Rombout Verhulst (from Mechelen), Pieter Xavery (from Antwerpen), Bartholomeus Eggers (from Amsterdam, but trained in Antwerpen), Francis van Bossuit (from Brussels, trained in Brussels, Antwerpen and Roma) to name just the principal ones.

In the eighteenth century, the situation had not changed. Antwerpen kept its pre-eminence as the training centre for sculptors in the Low Countries. A Jan-Baptist Xavery came from the Antwerpen workshop of Michiel van der Voort, a Jacob Cressant from Antwerpen, while Antwerpen-based sculptors like the Van Bourscheit father and son delivered substantial numbers of sculptures (and architectural projects) in the Northern Netherlands. Only the Van Logteren family of sculptors was firmly rooted in Holland, as Van der Klooster noted in his introduction of an article on Xavery.⁴⁵ There he stressed that no general history of eighteenth-century Dutch sculpture had been written (in 1970, situation unchanged today) and wondered whether this is a consequence of too intimate a relationship with the sculpture of the Southern Netherlands.

As such, the history of the artistic relations between the Southern and Northern Netherlands are completely being rewritten on the basis of architecture and sculpture.⁴⁶

On a practical note, it has also been chosen to use the names of places in the current local language, rather than in translation, thereby following the practice of the Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique/Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium, Brussels. The only exception is Brussels, used in English to avoid having to choose between one of the two official languages. Although it may

⁴⁴ De Jonge – Ottenheym 2007.

⁴⁵ 1970: 99.

⁴⁶ Cf. DaCosta Kaufmann 2007.

seem unfamiliar at first, it will appear a great advantage when distinguishing between names that can be remarkably close and name a different place (e.g. **Mechelen** and **Machelen**, the former often translated in French as Malines or in old English as Mechlin; the latter half-way between Mechelen and Brussels, next to Vilvoorde); or alternatively totally different but refer to the same place (e.g. **Geraardsbergen**/Grammont, **Jodoigne**/Geldenaken, **Soignies**/Zinnik, etc.). Admittedly, for well-known cities, the name in the local language may sound a little peculiar in an English text, but consistency was preferred.

Chapter One: The market

Counter-Reformation Flanders and the consumption of sculpture

In the seventeenth century Flemish sculptural production was essentially based in Antwerpen where, from the mid-sixteenth century, the thriving market for luxury products attracted sculptors to establish their workshops. Cornelis Floris's workshop was amongst the most prominent; he exported monumental sculpture all over Northern Europe. He was, for instance, responsible for royal monuments in Denmark as well as the building of the town hall of Antwerpen (1561-1565).

However, the religious wars of the later sixteenth century, followed by the effective separation of the Protestant northern provinces from the Spanish Catholic south in 1585, deprived the Catholic church from much of its past painted and sculpted imagery. Iconoclasm and war had ruthlessly affected such cities as Antwerpen and Brussels, where many gothic churches more or less remained standing, but with completely bare walls.

Few images representing the iconoclast destructions have survived. A later "reconstruction", a much-reproduced etching by Gaspar Bouttats (1640-1695) (101) shows the interior of Antwerpen's cathedral being stripped of sculpted and painted images during events in 1566: it incongruously mixes medieval (the triumphal cross) and renaissance (Paludanus' roodloft) furnishings with seventeenth-century lateral altarpieces. A rare painting of a similar subject, by Dirk van Delen, recently appeared on the art market: a statue of a bishop saint is pulled down from its console on an imaginary church's pier by three Protestants helped by a fourth on a ladder (102).⁴⁷ Another such image was painted by Pieter de Brune within a cycle about the Catholic hero Lieven de Voghelaere at the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk at Brugge, on which the latter is shown rescuing the relic of the Holy Cross amidst the destructions by the iconoclasts in 1571.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Galerie Didier Aaron, Paris (2006), bought by the Rijksmuseum (2007).

⁴⁸ Penninck 1981: 32.

After the official closure of the Schelde (in practice largely by fiscal impositions),⁴⁹ the position of Antwerpen as a world exchange was jeopardised. After 1585, it nevertheless managed to maintain itself as the most important business centre of the Southern Netherlands and developed into a *Sombart Dispositionsplatz*. This meant that instead of conducting its own intensive business, the sixteenth-century cosmopolitan metropole of Antwerpen became merely a centre from which traders initiated and participated in transactions that mostly occurred elsewhere.⁵⁰

It was only during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621) that the Spanish governors, the archdukes Albert and Isabella, prepared a campaign to revive Catholicism and its churches, against the attacks on it by the Protestants. This was the start of huge restoration and redecoration projects for the southern Low Countries' churches, including not just statues and sepulchral art, but also new church furniture. The grandeur and luxury of these works proclaiming the renewed vitality of the church was combined with a didactic function stressing the dogma and liturgy of the Counter Reformation. New churches were also built, of which the most prominent for both didactic and artistic reasons were often the Jesuit churches. Their church building was a direct continuation of their daily work, for instance, in providing Catholic education.

The new bishoprics in the Southern Netherlands, established in 1559 by Pope Pius IV at Philip II's instigation with the papal bull *Super Universas*, were solidly organised and sturdily legislated.⁵¹ As such, they could enforce the liturgical edicts of the Council of Trent. St Charles Borromeo's *Instructionnum fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae libri duo* (1576) and Johannes Molanus' *De Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris, Liber unus, tractans de vitandis circa eas abusibus ac de earundem significantionibus*, published in 1570, were the principal writings on how to adapt the typology and iconography of liturgical furniture to the new directives. Amongst others, this meant that the tabernacle was moved onto the altar table, away from a free-standing sacrament tower and episcopal tombs acquired a new function in the choir of the church, advertising the new dioceses after their Tridentine reorganisation.

Many religious orders returned to the cities after expulsion during the years of iconoclasm and built monasteries with chapels that in turn were filled with

⁴⁹ Aerts 2004: 430.

⁵⁰ Degryse – Everaert 1989: 111-2.

⁵¹ Cf. Dierickx 1950 ; Dierickx 1960-1962.

altarpieces and liturgical furniture. Church services were treated festively, with glittering vestments and liturgical objects, altar decorations and chant, sometimes accompanied by instrumental music. Brotherhoods were multiplied and processions were frequently organised. For particularly special occasions, processions included floats. All religious and semi-religious institutions celebrated their patron saint day, often during three days or even a week.⁵²

It is then not surprising to see an emphasis in Flemish churches on those theological and liturgical elements refuted by the Protestants. Churches again began to be filled with wide-ranging types of church sculpture and furniture: altars, altarpieces, confessionals, communion rails, choir stalls, organs, tomb monuments, pulpits, chapel gates, pier statues, etc. All this resulted in a thriving sculptural production, improving the sculptors' economic and social position and encouraging a new generation to take up apprenticeships. In the process, the authority of St Luke's guild was strengthened, the better sculptors having every incentive to keep up the general level of sculpture manufacture and so to safeguard their reputation as a body.

All this display of religious fervour corresponded to a general deep religious feeling. The middle classes interested themselves in theological literature and the upper classes also actively participated in the discussions around Jansenism. Some also professed a stricter philosophy of life and corresponding lifestyle. Such a religious climate encouraged many pastoral and monastic callings.⁵³

Those who did not enter the church and who instead made a career as a merchant, often showed even more fervour. This is not surprising in a deeply religious society that saw with a suspicious eye wealth accumulated through trade and usury. Merchants often felt obliged, both by their conscience and peer pressure, to engage in substantial charitable work and giving. How substantial this could be can be read between the lines of the epigraphy on the epitaph of Cornelis Lantschot (1572-1656) in the St Jacobskerk, Antwerpen **(103)**. This was the epitaph erected by the (rather malicious and probably truthful!) executors of the merchant whose money paid for the "godshuys" on the Falconrui in Antwerpen.⁵⁴ The translation of the Dutch

⁵² De Clercq 1989: 51.

⁵³ De Clercq 1989: 51.

⁵⁴ His epitaph by Sebastiaen van den Eynde contains a painted portrait probably by Cornelis de Vos, Lawrence 1981: 273.

inscription runs as follows and note that it was not in Latin, so as to be accessible to all:

CORNELIS LANTSCHOT WHO LIES HERE,
HAS WITH HIS VIRTUE TO MANKIND GIVEN,
MONEY AND GOODS, CHAPEL AND CHURCH:
AND AFTER THIS WORK, LEFT TO THE POOR,
HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS;
YES, THIS EVEN MAKES GENEROSITY TIRED.
AS EVERYONE COVETS SOME OF IT,
DEATH DIVIDED THIS GREAT MAN:
WORLD HIS FAME: EARTH HIS BODY KEPT:
THE POOR HIS MONEY: AND GOD HIS SOUL.

ONE GAINS HEAVEN WITH VIOLENCE,
OR IT IS FOR SALE WITH THE POWER OF MONEY. [chronogramme 1656]
DIED IN THE YEAR 1656
26TH APRIL.⁵⁵

In the same way, Jacob Jordaens painted a series of tapestry designs on the theme of *Quod pestis populis hoc est usura crumena*.⁵⁶

As the seventeenth century progressed, the lack of priests was turned into a surplus and monastic institutions were full. Even female convents, that were at first only occasionally admitted within city walls, were fully accepted. In Antwerpen, there were twenty (plus the béguinage [lay sisterhood]⁵⁷), with a population of about one thousand.⁵⁸ When looking at an eighteenth-century plan of the cathedral of Antwerpen, we can count thirty-seven altars, which all had an appointed chaplain.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ “CORNELIS LANTSCHOT DIE HIER LIGHT,
HEEFT MET ZYN DEVGHT DEN MENSCH GESTICHT,
MET GELDT EN GOET, CAPEL EN KERCK:
EN LIET DEN ARMEN, NAER DIT WERCK,
NOCH HONDERT DVSENDEN DAERTOEF;
IA MAECKT DE MILTHEÿT SELVER MOE.
MITS ELCK DAER IET BEGHEERDEN VAN,
IS DOOT GEDEÿLT DIE GROOTEN MAN:
WERELT, SÿN LOF: AERD’T LYF BEHIEL:
DEN ARMEN ’T GELT: EN GODT SÿN SIEL.
MEN WINT DEN HEMEL MET GEWELT,
OF IS TE KOOP MET KRACHT VAN GELDT. [chronogramme 1656]
STIRF A° 1656
26 APRIL.”

⁵⁶ *What the plague is to the population, is usury to the money stock exchange*. Antwerpen 1993: 221.

⁵⁷ See below p. 20.

⁵⁸ De Clercq 1989: 51.

⁵⁹ Aerts 1993: 37.

In Brussels, an equivalent count yields fifty-three altars.⁶⁰ This further gives an indication of the substantial ecclesiastic population in these cities.

With the Treaty of Münster in 1648, the boundary between Catholicism and Protestantism was ratified. There was no more hope that the Catholics might reconquer lost territories, but it also removed the threat of a Protestant attack.⁶¹ The Austrian take-over of the Spanish Netherlands in 1713 was responsible for a slackening of Catholic fervour, which would end in a virtual secularisation of the church institutions in the 1770s and 1780s. The Jesuit order was suppressed in 1773 by Maria Theresia, as were many monasteries around that time. This accompanied the increasing influence of French manners and enlightened thought, which meant that court and bourgeois patrons commissioned and collected more sculpture for their own interiors.

By the mid-eighteenth century, Antwerpen's pre-eminence in the manufacture of sculpture was reduced to competing with many newly upcoming centres such as Brugge, Gent, Nivelles and even Den Haag in the Northern Netherlands. The market had broadened to take account of the smaller scale, more local needs of sculptural consumption, compared with the huge projects commissioned by the church in the seventeenth century. Many large church ensembles commissioned throughout the eighteenth century continued to display the baroque tradition without much typological or iconographic adaptation. Secular commissions, on the other hand, more generally adopted the newly fashionable styles of French-inspired classicism (a sort of precursor of neo-classicism) or the rococo.

Worsening economic conditions could no longer be ignored as they had been during the seventeenth century. Not only had Amsterdam long taken over Antwerpen's pre-eminent trading position, but its new position in the luxury industries after 1585 was jeopardised by its falling exports. Sculptors were compelled to find other markets, either by emigrating or by widening their business activities. This secularisation of much Flemish sculpture in the mid-eighteenth century, with a substantial change in aesthetic conceptions, taste and underlying philosophies at the time of the Enlightenment, will close the framework of this investigation.

⁶⁰ Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, ASG No. 9917, exhibited Brussels 1988: 23.

⁶¹ Prims 1951: 5

Going back to the seventeenth century, we need to question traditional economic theory as applied to Antwerpen's situation. The paradox is that the so-called economic decline of Antwerpen in the second half of the seventeenth century, traditionally explained by its dwindling school of painting, coincided with an extraordinary flourishing of its school of sculpture, which, as already said in the introduction, has recently been termed "the greatest unknown story in the history of Western European art".

Rubens's death in 1640 had essentially signalled the end of the Flemish school of painting, despite attempts to revive it such as with David II Teniers's efforts to found an academy in Antwerpen that opened in 1663.⁶² Flemish sculpture however reached fulfilment only after Rubens's death. At that time they seemed to have gained control over much more of the production line, including architecture, interior decoration and the design and erection of temporary structures.

Two arguments are generally put forward to explain this situation: the later seventeenth-century protectionism of neighbouring states affected most luxury trades but much less so for sculpture (which is less easily moveable and generally commissioned locally, not abroad or far away), and the release from Rubens's supposed too imposing artistic authority. These can however only be seen as enabling factors, and not as contributing factors to the thriving of sculptural production after 1650. More convincing arguments, based on changes in liturgical emphases, taste and especially socio-economic conditions, need to be proposed since the differences in society between the first and second half of the seventeenth century were multiple and substantial.

First, there was an aristocratisation or gentrification process happening with the bourgeoisie of Antwerpen in the second half of the seventeenth century. Roland Baetens called this the *naxomer* (Indian summer) of Antwerpen.⁶³ This can directly be compared to the post-medieval situation in Venezia, when the Terraferma started to become more important for investments (both financial and in prestige) by the city's merchants than their businesses. In Antwerpen too, this meant that wealthy merchants started acquiring land outside the city which had become virtually worthless due to the wars and started building suburban villas. This effectively

⁶² See below p. 57.

⁶³ Baetens 1976: 271-316.

transformed them into a leisured class, more likely to engage in conspicuous consumption than prudent merchants who preferred to re-invest their profits. The land obviously also brought with it the hope (and sometimes more...) of acquiring a title of nobility. Even the most successful artists attempted this lifestyle and a few succeeded: Rubens acquired a country place called *Het Steen*, David II Teniers a nearby property called *Dry Torens*,⁶⁴ and Artus I Quellinus owned two country houses near the end of his life.⁶⁵ Rubens, Van Dyck and Teniers were knighted.⁶⁶

This theory is now fully accepted for the economic history of Antwerpen in the first half of the seventeenth century. However, in the second half the economic situation changed. The *Indian summer economy* was largely based on the diaspora of merchants following the iconoclastic period and the international financial turning point of Antwerpen; both enabled the *Sombart Dispositionsplatz* mentioned above.⁶⁷ This situation supposedly ended by the mid century and, combined with the further reduction in trade routes via the river Schelde after the Treaty of Münster in 1648, transformed the economy into one of decline and limited it to small brokerage firms.⁶⁸ Degryse and Everaert suggest that this theory is misleading, as most of the international trade was focussed on Spain, creating remarkably lucrative firms – in turn allowing the formation of substantial fortunes in the second half of the century. Thus although some general economic indicators seem to show a decline in the Antwerpen economy in the second half of the century, this is a distorted view due to the specific change in direction of the most successful firms. There was therefore far more wealth than is generally accepted in economic histories.

Amongst those newly wealthy families, there are, unsurprisingly, a number who engaged in sculpture patronage.⁶⁹ This is merely a first but important indication. The study of sculpture patronage in the seventeenth-century Southern Netherlands is still in its infancy and much historical research needs to be carried out before art historical conclusions of any worth can be drawn. Indeed, it needs no explanation why the established order used art far less as a propagandistic communication means than the new and upcoming class.

⁶⁴ Antwerpen 1991: 14.

⁶⁵ See Epilogue.

⁶⁶ Muller 1989: 48-63; Büttner 2006: 42-63.

⁶⁷ Degryse – Everaert 1989: 126.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Degryse & Everaert 1989: 129n44.

The change of type of market place, led to a social context enhancing the power of employers that Scholliers termed pre-capitalist,⁷⁰ and must be at the root of the conspicuous consumption these sedentary merchants engaged in, including sumptuary expenditure for church benefactions (church furniture, sculpture, vestments, silver, etc.). Inevitably, this benefited the demand for sculptural production.

On the basis of the preceding explanation of the wealth of a certain class of merchants in Antwerpen in the second half of the seventeenth century, we can now also account for the effective dwindling of the school of sculpture in Antwerpen after about 1720. The War of the Spanish Succession, ending with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, whereby the Southern Netherlands was handed over to the Austrian Habsburgs, meant that the privileged economic relations with Spain started to decline seriously. Degryse and Everaert give this as an explanation for the slump of the first half of the eighteenth century.

Secondly, changes in liturgical and devotional practice were linked to the policies of the Catholic Church. Until 1653 the aim was to develop the bishoprics and to build monasteries; after 1653 they shifted to parish matters and social factors.⁷¹ The second half of the century was also under the threat of Jansenism. The liturgy's festive elements were stressed as was personal devotion. Floris Prims calls this *fantasia*, as opposed to the rigorism of Jansenism.⁷²

In Antwerpen, a plague (1665-7), a dysentery epidemic (1676-7) and famine (1693-4, 1698-9, 1709-10) led to high mortality rates,⁷³ which was further exacerbated by the many wars, particularly those in current 'French Flanders' between expansionist Louis XIV and the declining power of Carlo II of Spain. All this, surprisingly, did not create a need for more tomb monuments, but it certainly did increase devotional practices.⁷⁴

All this resulted in changes in taste, ones that are nevertheless difficult to pinpoint exactly. Overall it may be said that there was a clear move away from the intellectualised allegories of the early seventeenth century to more emotion-filled and naturalistic representations in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

⁷⁰ Scholliers 1989: 157.

⁷¹ De Clercq 1989: 27.

⁷² Prims 1951: 5.

⁷³ Van Acker 1989: 6.

⁷⁴ See figures in Lawrence 1981: 24-43.

This is best illustrated by the naturalistic pulpits, that were time and again mentioned as most remarkable and unusual by foreign travellers, as well as by strong and instantaneous religious experiences such as St Norbert's conversion. The two are found together in the pulpit of the priory of Leliëndaal in Mechelen, today in that city's cathedral (104).

If the consumption of sculpture increased in the later seventeenth century, what did sculpture achieve that painting did not? This question remains unanswered. A parallel might have to be sought in Spanish sculpture of the same and slightly earlier period, from Juan de Juni and Juan Martínez Montañes to Francisco Salzillo. The extraordinary naturalism of such sculpture went hand in hand with deeply devotional practices. Although in the Southern Netherlands polychromed sculpture was generally relegated to a secondary level, black and white marble ensembles being preferred and more prestigious, the link may still have to be drawn, all the more as the region was under Spanish authority and artistic links were multiple, if seriously understudied today.

A final argument that needs to be stressed is that apart from the enabling conditions, there must also be the actual presence of at least one leading artist in any given field. Rubens, Van Dyck and Jordaens, even if the historiography has slightly exaggerated their predominance, were the leading artistic personalities until 1640. At that time, there was no major sculptor in the Low Countries, apart from Hendrik de Keyser in Amsterdam and François du Quesnoy who left young for Roma.

In the second half of the century, Artus I Quellinus was no doubt the principal sculptor of his generation and that which followed, but several other sculptors were important artistic personalities too, particularly in his dynasty. The presence of a so-called 'genius' in the field is also a success factor for a particular artistic school.

Patronage

The patronage of seventeenth-century sculpture is multivious. However, the deep-rooted Catholicism, so strongly advocated both by the ruling classes and the upper middle classes, is the unifying element in most of the commissions sculptors received in this period. Indeed, religious subject matter accounts for a huge

proportion of sculptural commissions, judging from the extant sculpture and contemporary sources such as inventories.

Patronage in the seventeenth century is varied, ranging from the official church commissions to the commissions by private individuals for secular sculpture, with all the cases in-between these two extremes. And there may be little differentiation between a commission of church furniture, with clear Catholic propagandistic overtones, of a tomb monument and of more private devotional or secular sculpture, if all this is ordered by the same bishop.

Conversely, rich merchants or aristocrats may similarly finance a decorative project in a church, build a chapel to house their family tomb monuments, as well as marble statues for their garden or bronzes for their cabinet. This continuity of interest seems to characterise much of the patronage of sculpture in the Low Countries. The high status of sculpture (at the very least financial) as well as of its patrons should be stressed, thereby underlining how much sculpture is a product of the luxury goods industry.

Indeed, for monumental sculpture as for luxury products in general, it is rarely the actual products which count, but what they mean, in terms of the social and religious effects they have on their viewers.⁷⁵ This meant that a good part of the price that was paid was done purely so that the purchaser was recognised by his or her peers as being able to afford the work, and therefore was member of the 'club'. The expense of luxury products is thus inversely related to the number produced. This is the well-known 'rarity principle' underlying 'conspicuous consumption'.⁷⁶ In practice, this generally imposes high profit margins for the producer, as economies of scale are more difficult. When buying an Armani or Versace suit today, the purchaser effectively buys one suit for the price of four or five, so that three or four 'competitor' buyers cannot afford it.

The exaggerated margins of Armani and Versace are not readily transposable to the sculpture market in Antwerpen in the seventeenth century, as the cost of materials and labour involved in the production of sculpture was substantial and economies of scale in production were out of reach. In this respect, it may be more helpful to compare the process of acquiring sculpture to a professional service,

⁷⁵ Dubois – Paternault 1995: 71.

⁷⁶ Veblen 1899; Mason 1981.

whereby the client is intimately involved in the delivery of that service. This will be exemplified further in this thesis,⁷⁷ although the contrasting attitudes of Algardi – considering a portrait bust of Francesco d’Este as a professional service priced at 150 scudi⁷⁸ – and Bernini – offering his luxury product at a ‘priceless price’ which worked out to become 3000 scudi⁷⁹ – remain the most telling example to illustrate that for luxury products, “awareness feeds dream but purchase makes dream come true and therefore contributes to destroy it”.⁸⁰ That in the end Bernini got the commission for the portrait bust, and not Algardi, not only shows what sort of conspicuous consumption Francesco d’Este was engaging in, but also how this related to his political aspirations for his duchy.

In the Low Countries, large differences in prices (and thus in income) between top and middle range sculptors must have existed. These are difficult to plot without quantitative analysis that is beyond the scope of this thesis.⁸¹

It should also be underlined that sculpture was only one of the many luxury products produced in Antwerpen. High labour costs meant that few businesses in the lower end of the market, solely competing on price, could survive. On the other hand, the luxury goods industries thrived as these could find the appropriate work force. Examples frequently named in economic histories of Antwerpen are the diamond sector and art production.⁸²

However, this is no reason to forget about the bread and butter production of devotional sculptures that were offered on the open market. There were market stalls full of *sulpicien* imagery around the cathedral of Antwerpen and around important pilgrimage places like Scherpenheuvel (even to this day!). Most of this will have been mass-produced plaster casts and carvings in softwood, polychromed to fulfil their devotional role. Such stalls may have been similar to the *Dolls’ stall* in a print after Adriaen van de Venne (105).⁸³

Other sculptures will have been offered on the open market, i.e. produced without a specific patron in mind, possibly through the well-established dealerships in the

⁷⁷ See chapters 2 and 4.

⁷⁸ Montagu 1985: 157-158.

⁷⁹ Lavin 1998: 26; Zitzlsperger 2002: 98.

⁸⁰ Dubois – Paternault 1995: 73.

⁸¹ For such an attempt on the basis of a corpus of altarpieces, see Herremans 2007.

⁸² Thijs 1989: 134

⁸³ Amsterdam 1997a: 29.

paintings and furniture market.⁸⁴ We may also get an insight into the sculptures owned (and produced?) by Norbertus van den Eynde which, at his death, remained unsold with his brother George, merchant in Gent:

Firstly a marble antependium.

Item a marble Madonna statue, standing on a pedestal.

A carved wooden table with a marble top.

A marble child representing the Son of God on a black marble sphere, under which a small pedestal of black stone.

A Jesus with St John in marble in a black wooden frame.

Two heads of white marble representing Christ and Maria, separately.

A marble St Joseph in a black wooden frame.

A stone bottle.

A small iron spade.

Two instruments that are tools.

Two cords with some short string.

Item several wooden cases to pack the works described above.⁸⁵

Apart from the antependium, all the items are domestically usable works, principally devotional and mostly marble reliefs in black wooden frames. Surprisingly, there is not a single work of non-religious iconography, except possibly the table which is not further specified. The fact that the packing material is provided by the sculptor also suggests that it is not a large-scale enterprise, but rather an isolated attempt. It sounds as if the sculptor's brother was only willing to take on this commission on condition that he did not have to worry about too many practicalities.

A particularly good example of patronage is that engaged in by monasteries in the Low Countries, that continued throughout the period covered by this thesis. The

⁸⁴ For instance, Norbertus van den Eynde was a frequent supplier of Musson and Forchondt firms for marble plaquettes, to be integrated into ebony cabinets, Fabri 1991: 157. For the dealership of Andries Snellinck see Van der Stighelen 1989.

⁸⁵ "Ierst een marbere antependium. / Item een marbere Ons Lieve Vrouwe beeldt, staende op een pedestael. / Een haute gesnede taefel van boven met eene marbere plaete. / Een marbere kindeken representerende den sone Goidts op eenen swerten marberen bol, waeronder een clyn pedestael van swerten steen. / En Jesus met St Jan van marber in een swerte lyste van houdt. / Een Jesus van marber in een clynder swerte lyste van houdt. / Twee troniën van witte marber representerende Christus ende Maria, ieder appaert. / Een marbere St Joseph in een swerte houten lyst. / Een steene flesse. / Een clyn ysere spittien. / Twee instrumenten synde gereetschappen. / Twee koorden met eenige corte strengten. / Item diversche haute cassen om het voors. werck in te packen." Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris P.M. Francot, 14 January 1705, published by Jansen – Van Herck 1944-1945: 70.

expression 'luxury product' is also an appropriate definition of most of the sculptural commissions by these monasteries. Their financial status and search for social and religious recognition made them into avid patrons of sculpture.

The word 'monastery' is derived from the Latin 'monasterium' that indicates a house inhabited by monks or cloistered nuns that observe an order. Abbeys are a form of monastery, those that are governed by an abbot or an abbess. It was St Benedict in the sixth century who gave the title of 'abbot' to the heads of monasteries. They are normally elected by their fellow monks and organise the temporal and spiritual life of the abbey. The bishop of the abbey's diocese confirms the election of this permanent and irrevocable position by his benediction.

Certain abbeys did not have a religious, that is ordained, abbot. This lay abbot then received the revenue from the abbey and was responsible for the temporal side of the abbey's management. He was then supplemented by a prior who organised the spiritual life of the abbey. This also introduces the name of institutions that did not have the title of abbey : the priory, that is headed by a prior, for instance the former priory of Leliëndaal at Mechelen.

It should also be mentioned that certain abbeys had an entirely independent status, were not included in any diocese and not subject to the rule of any bishop. Other abbeys were responsible for more than one abbey complex. These so-called mother abbeys, or 'head of order' abbeys, were generally the founders of a particular order and therefore often also responsible for the abbeys that they founded in that order. A good example is the abbey of Cluny.

This legal and administrative framework hints at both the temporal and spiritual powers of abbots, as well as the potential administrative complexities of abbeys. Moreover, it is worth remembering the extent of their economic impact. When, from the sixth century, groups of men followed the project devised by Saint Benedict to withdraw themselves from the world and live in a context highly structured by a rule, a hierarchy, a timetable and an architecture, they gradually gained enormous economic importance. The Benedictine abbeys grew to become huge autonomous rural enterprises. The pioneers of these abbeys were often men of well-to-do backgrounds who lacked nothing in temporal life but felt uneasy spiritually. Their decision to withdraw themselves from the public world is directly related to their wish to return to God via nature. The Cistercian Bernard de

Clairvaux stressed that one learns more in the woods than from books. Trees and rocks teach things that one will not learn elsewhere.

Thus, these were men gathered around a radical and demanding project. It necessitated a strict structuring of their daily spiritual life, but no less of their earthly life. Eating, drinking, sleeping, taking account of the others in the group (typically of one or two dozen monks) are essential components of such lives. Terrestrial life is substituted with divine life, law with monastic rule, temporal power structures with the monastic hierarchy, secular time with the monk's day, the city with the monastic city.

In practice, however, the asceticism of the rule was difficult to sustain. Monks were easily tempted to deviate from it over time and the imposition of the rule inevitably led to other forms of power struggle. Reforms were thus necessary, particularly when influential monks or abbots had different conceptions of monastic life to those of St Benedict's rule, that was one of the most influential, but not universally accepted. This led to the creation of other contemplative orders.

For instance, the Norbertine order, founded in 1120 at Prémontré near Laon by Saint Norbert, similarly endorsed chastity and the renouncing of personal riches, but it did not go to the extent of imposing bodily mortifications. Food choice and availability remained frugal. It generally followed the less austere rule of Saint Augustine. Although mostly still a contemplative order, it nevertheless did not limit itself to its isolation. The Norbertine canons took an active role in the preaching and other work of the diocese.⁸⁶ Norbertine monastic complexes were thus not only self-sufficient economic enterprises for the upkeep of their communities, but a conglomerate of parishes. Their aim was to promote a collegiate spirit in the parochial clergy.

Thus, the Norbertine order was in-between a purely contemplative order, only concerned with a spiritual life away from public life, and a mendicant order, whose life was intricately linked with urban communities. This is the basic principle of convents that started appearing in the thirteenth century. They are of a mendicant order, such as the Carmelites, the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Augustinians. Convents served these urban communities spiritually and practically, for instance with the provision of hospital services and education for the young. In

⁸⁶ This order does not have monks, only canons that are however unrelated to the bishop's chapter.

return, and this is why they are called mendicant, they no longer derived their livelihood from their own work in the fields, but from gifts from the urban communities in which they operated.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, abbeys in the Southern Netherlands gradually strengthened their position in the rural economy after the religious wars of the late sixteenth century. Despite the general downturn that economic historians attempt to prove for the later seventeenth century in such cities as Antwerpen, abbeys continued to be rebuilt and redecorated with lavish paintings and sculptures.

One of the main reasons for this is that they had accumulated enormous amounts of land. The riches of the abbeys were directly derived from their land property, which in a time of peace after the Spanish wars of succession in the early eighteenth century, meant a huge potential for amassing wealth. Their wealth is directly comparable to the rich land properties of secular nature, that encouraged the building of lavish country houses.

In the eighteenth century, the only thriving sector of church commissions concerned new and rebuilt abbeys. They not only had the means, but also the wish to spend these means. Many of them had felt the political and economic risks initiated by Maria Theresia (1717-1780), who started to work out a way of limiting the power of the church, by curbing its finances, particularly at the level of abbeys. These then preferred to invest their savings in bricks and mortar, hoping to avoid potential seizures and devaluations.⁸⁷

Their economic power was also often linked with political functions. For instance several abbots of the Norbertine abbey of Park at Heverlee were members of the States of Brabant. It is no surprise then that these abbots were nicknamed the '*princes of Park*'. They regularly received high dignitaries and in 1746 even Louis XV. This all was obviously an important impulse to have properly decorated function rooms. The abbot's quarters grew in the eighteenth century to formidable ranges, directly comparable to a full country house. In a time when sculptors often also became architects, thereby obtaining control over the full design and production process in the building industry, we find sculptors like Willem Ignatius Kerricx building the

⁸⁷ Duquenne 2004: 94-95.

abbot's range, after having provided these abbots with other commissions.⁸⁸ The abbey of Tongerlo provides a good example **(106)**.

The direct link between the high aristocracy and particular abbeys is well known. The monarchy generally set the example, as with the colossal project at El Escorial near Madrid that Philip II erected as a mausoleum for his family. It was not only a monastery, but even included a residence for the king that was positioned in such a way as to receive the 'largest amount' of grace of God that was obtained through the sacrament of the Eucharist on the high altar. The bedroom is only separated from the high altar by a door, through which the king could follow the mass even without being in the church. Both his father Charles V and himself together with their respective direct family had portrait statues cast life-size in gilt bronze by Pompeo Leoni in a position of perpetual adoration of the Eucharist at the high altar.⁸⁹

Another well-known sixteenth-century example close to the Low Countries is the mausoleum of Margaret of Austria by Conrat Meit at Brou. In the Low Countries, although such patrons of the arts as the archdukes Albert and Isabella never realised their wish to have a lavish monument erected⁹⁰ and subsequent Spanish governors felt a stronger tie to Madrid or Wien than to the Low Countries, the tone was set by people from their immediate circle. For instance the dukes of Croÿ-Arenberg, who had founded the Celestine priory near their castle at Heverlee in the sixteenth century,⁹¹ when they moved their stronghold to Enghien, patronised the Capuchin convent there, which became a family mausoleum in the seventeenth century.

That was the top of the scale. Lesser families, like the comtes, later princes, de la Tour et Tassis, had their family mausoleum in a church in Brussels, Notre-Dame du Sablon, which was just next to their town house.⁹² Still others, like the comtes de Marchin, 'merely' had a family chapel in the parish church of the village where their country house stood, for the Marchin at Modave **(646)**.⁹³

The aristocratic hierarchy is clear : only the top layer had any direct relation to monasteries that they entirely financed. But what about the majority of abbeys, those that did not benefit from a special relationship with the high aristocracy? Ties with

⁸⁸ See the Epilogue.

⁸⁹ Mulcahy 1994: 189-211.

⁹⁰ Lefèvre 1953.

⁹¹ Valvekens 1987.

⁹² Lock 2007.

⁹³ Lock 2005.

wealthy families were still frequent, though often on a different level. The type of speculative financing, such as that which happened with the Jesuit church in Antwerpen, which was built and decorated in the most lavish fashion despite the empty coffers of the order, just relying on the goodwill of the rich city's citizens and artists, was unimaginable for abbeys in the middle of nowhere that could not rely on the alms of a large population. They could, however, still rely on money borrowed from banks, like abbot Servatius Vaes at Averbode in the 1670s,⁹⁴ but this was perceived as imprudent management.

The fact that abbeys were often the chosen place of burial for kings and the high aristocracy gave them enormous prestige. However, abbots did not rely on external sources alone for the building and decoration of their abbeys. They took their duty to construct a religious community as seriously on a purely spiritual level as on that of the practicalities of everyday life. For many, the building of a lavish church was not only a spiritual obligation in the context of the Counter Reformation, but one that was essential for the abbey's survival. The abbot would only attract serious interest from well-to-do burghers and aristocrats if the architectural, sculpted and painted setting was fitting enough to the high social aspirations of these potential sponsors. Moreover, abbots mostly came from the same family backgrounds as those potential sponsors, so it was only natural to replicate, in a religious context, what they had experienced outside it during their youth. Consequently, abbots became avid patrons of sculpture, both of altarpieces and other liturgical furniture appropriate to their abbey's church.

A good example is the abbot of Averbode, Servatius Vaes, who directed the abbey for half a century from 1648 to 1698. His predecessors had largely rebuilt the abbey after the iconoclastic period and under Servatius Vaes's initiative the gothic church was entirely rebuilt and redecorated in the baroque idiom. The first design by the architect Lucas Faydherbe from Mechelen was rejected,⁹⁵ probably on account of the bad relationship he had with the priory of Leliëndaal in Mechelen, which stood under the responsibility of the abbot of Park at Heverlee, Libert de Pape. Instead the design of Jan II van den Eynde from Antwerpen was chosen.⁹⁶ This huge enterprise

⁹⁴ Jansen – Janssens 1999: 74.

⁹⁵ Id. 73.

⁹⁶ Id. 74.

was started in 1664 and eventually completed in 1672 after an infamous mishap, the collapse of a supporting pillar of the nave.⁹⁷

Even before the completion of the church, a contract was drawn up in 1671 between the abbot and Octavius Herry, cabinet maker in Antwerpen, for the manufacture and delivery of extensive choir stalls.⁹⁸ The contract contains the usual very detailed description of the work to be delivered, both on a physical and a qualitative level. On the physical level, it describes the materials and shapes of the whole and some important details, and refers to a drawn model that is to be followed. To ensure a decent level of quality was achieved, the work had to be at least as good as an existing work that is named, in this case the choir stalls in the cathedral of Antwerpen, donated by the guild of the crossbowmen.

Apart from this, the description also takes account of the specific wishes of the abbot, relating this to his social and hierarchical standing. The abbot's seat was to be twice as large as all the others. This is reflected in the payment that was calculated per double stall, so the abbot's stall was counted for the same price as one for two canons. This payment scheme, it must be noted, though usual for choir stalls, is essential for understanding the construction of the whole. The decoration was conceived per double stall, and this even in the corners. Each of these received a statue of a Norbertine saint or an angel. The end of the contract mentions the delivery date, payment and insurance scheme.⁹⁹

The roodloft, that is today divided in two parts, was commissioned the same year 1671, from Gaspar van den Steen. The commissions for choir stalls and roodloft stress the importance of chant in the liturgy of the Norbertine order and their wish to segregate the canons from the lay community. In that respect they are the most important parts of the church furniture and it is not surprising that these had priority at the time of the building of the abbey church, even though one would expect the high altar to receive this privilege. This was because the high altar had been replaced very recently, in 1655, just before the rebuilding of the church. It was then transferred to the new church and did not need updating.

From the preceding account about Averbode, it appears that the abbot alone was responsible for the commissions to architects, sculptors, cabinet makers and

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Id. 162-163.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

painters. The abbot reigned over his abbey in much the same fashion as a land owner reigned over his estate and his country house.

At a time when in certain churches, particularly in provincial towns, complex baroque sculptural ensembles were still being installed, a new wave of sculpture-less churches was introduced in the Parisian fashion by such architects as Laurent-Benoît Dewez. Here again, certain abbeys show how much they were at the forefront of stylistic innovation, recruiting the best artists. Thus well before the advent of the French revolutionary period which was to destroy so much sculpture in the Southern Netherlands, neo-classicism generally meant the end of major religious sculptural commissions.

A close professional relation to an abbey or convent at the highest level of the church hierarchy was not infrequent and as such made patronage direct and substantial. The example of Marius Ambrosius Capello,¹⁰⁰ seventh bishop of Antwerpen (1652-1676), is telling. As a Dominican he obviously favoured the Dominican church of Antwerpen (now Sint-Pauluskerk), to which he gifted important works: his tomb monument¹⁰¹ and above all a huge high altar executed by Peter I Verbrugghen, completed in 1670 according to the date at its top **(107)**. Verbrugghen's son Peter II drew a design for a print, which he also etched **(108)**.¹⁰² It is most probably this etching that we find mentioned in Capello's probate inventory, in the "Audientiecamer" ("audience chamber"): "eene priente van den autaeer van de paters Predikheeren".¹⁰³ This print served as a *pro memoria* to the visitor of the bishop's munificence, in the same way as two plasters (models?) of his tomb monument stood in the room next to the staircase.¹⁰⁴ His theological inclination and qualification were probably further stressed by a thesis print (his own?) in his audience chamber. In the main reception room there were two more thesis prints, as well as portraits of many contemporary monarchs and popes mixing with his family members. Capello's example shows how these relationships can be interwoven, but nevertheless sculpture commissions remained firmly within the same few hands.

¹⁰⁰ Marinus 1995: 90-95.

¹⁰¹ Lawrence 1986.

¹⁰² Brussels 1977: 263.

¹⁰³ Duverger 1984-2004: 10/139.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

This contrasts with non-abbey commissions, such as those from the Jesuits, which were typically decided on by a committee. Moreover, the Jesuits usually had an architect who was part of the order, thereby also changing the relationships patron-artist. The most renowned and well-documented case of a complex commissioning and design process is that of the high altar of the Antwerpen Jesuit church.¹⁰⁵

A mention should also be made of the female abbeys. The Cistercian abbey of Herckenrode, outside Hasselt, was a notoriously exclusive place for aristocratic girls taking the veils. The abbess Anne-Catherine de Lamboy, who rebuilt many of the abbey buildings, was also responsible for the commission of sculpture for the abbey church. In particular, she commissioned a remarkable tomb monument from Artus Quellinus the Younger of Antwerpen. This sculptor, born nearby in the region, at Sint-Truiden, was clearly the choice of a patron who had the expectations of a city dweller in terms of the sculptural quality to be achieved. Moreover, the high aristocratic aspirations of the abbess are reflected by her imitation of the practice of kings and princes to found monasteries for their mausolea. Her monument, though adapted to her social and religious condition in terms of its Counter-Reformation iconography, proclaims the wealth and social standing of this lady, that she wanted to show to the pilgrims passing by the abbey (109, moved to the Virga-Jesse basilica, Hasselt, at the dissolution of the abbey). She commissioned the high altar and the pulpit of the abbey church from another important sculptor, based in the nearby metropole of Liège: Jean Del Cour.¹⁰⁶

In general, the particular architecture of abbey churches – specifically determined by the order of the abbey – was an important criterion for abbots commissioning sculpture. Without going further into the differences between the main orders of abbeys in the Southern Netherlands, it is nevertheless clear that an emphasis on chant, preaching or confession determined church layout and furnishing.

Another religious community that should briefly be mentioned and distinguished is that of the *béguines* (in French) or *begijnen* (in Dutch). The *béguine* movement, allegedly founded by a Liège priest, Lambert Begh in the late twelfth century, was a

¹⁰⁵ See chapter 5.

¹⁰⁶ Lesuisse 1953: 48-55, 101-103, 215.

community of women who had not taken perpetual vows and who had generally been refused in convents. They were thus not religious, although they vowed obedience. They typically spent their time in prayer, visiting the sick and doing domestic work like lace and lived together in a secluded part of town, with its own walls and own church. As the mistress of each *béguinage* was normally elected for a period of three years,¹⁰⁷ she rarely had the power of an abbess in terms of carrying through important church commissions. Many *béguinage* churches did however become sanctuaries of art, but this was generally a combination of additive patronage from different sources: the *béguines* themselves and outside benefactors. A number of these churches were rebuilt during the seventeenth century (e.g. Brussels, Gent St Amandsberg, Lier, Turnhout, Hoogstraten) while others (e.g. Leuven) remained gothic and were only updated in terms of their interior furnishings.

In parish and collegiate churches patronage of all church decoration, including sculpture, was often just as varied and complex, especially when group effects were at stake. The multitude of brotherhoods, social groups with a religious connotation or the reverse, often led to conflicting interests between members of the brotherhood, church wardens, priests, potential or actual benefactors and brotherhoods of neighbouring chapels. Sometimes the bishop even had to intervene as with the chapel of St Roch in the Sint-Jacobskerk of Antwerpen when it received a new altarpiece between 1657 and 1660 (attributed to Artus I Quellinus and his brother the painter Erasmus II).¹⁰⁸

The numerous interior views of churches painted in the seventeenth century allow us more than a glimpse into the historic condition of those churches and illustrate the type of patronage discussed above.¹⁰⁹ The genre grew out of the tradition for imaginary perspectival pieces developed by Hans Vredeman de Vries,¹¹⁰ both of church interiors and palatial settings. The idea was taken up by such painters as Hendrik II van Steenwijck, Pieter I Neeffs, Pieter II Neeffs, Anton Ghering and Willem Schubart von Ehrenberg in Antwerpen and Jan Baptist van Meuninxhove in Brugge.

¹⁰⁷ Van Aerschot – Heirman 2001: 57.

¹⁰⁸ Muller 2000.

¹⁰⁹ The standard work on the subject is still Jantzen 1909/1979. Cf. also the forthcoming thesis by Claire Baisier, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, on the iconography of Antwerpen churches.

¹¹⁰ Vlieghe 1998a: 200.

The interior of Antwerpen's cathedral was a favourite subject. A comparison of the numerous, sometimes dated, paintings underlines the frequent updating of guild and confraternity altarpieces along the nave (110). All the decoration was renewed after the fire of 1533 and the iconoclastic destructions of 1566. The altarpiece triptychs usually lost their wings in the early seventeenth century, so that the central piece would fit into a new wooden or marble surround. Later in the century these altarpiece paintings were often discarded altogether, replaced by more fashionable sculptural altarpieces. Epitaphs, notably those under the apostle statues on the nave pillars as well as the roodloft by Willem Paludanus of the late sixteenth century typically appear in these paintings. On the right may be seen a pulpit of a type that no longer survives, exclusively a piece of furniture, relegated to a side aisle. Such pulpits were usually replaced in the second half of the seventeenth or in the eighteenth century, becoming the focus of attention in the nave, with much sculpture, and after 1699,¹¹¹ with a naturalistic scene stressing some dogma of the church. These paintings usefully document not only a condition that may no longer exist,¹¹² such as in the cathedrals of Antwerpen (emptied during the French Revolution), Brugge¹¹³ (demolished at that same time) and Antwerpen's Sint-Walburgiskerk,¹¹⁴ or substantially changed, such as at the former Jesuit church of Antwerpen, of which the nave went up in flames in 1718.¹¹⁵

Unlike the time of Rubens, which is well studied, researching networks of patrons of sculpture in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century tends to be impossible due to the lack of biographies written about important historical figures. Instead, the grouping of sculptural commissions executed by a single workshop can sometimes point towards contacts between patrons, and then suggest avenues of biographical research on these patrons. A good case is that of the itinerant stucco sculptor Jan Christian Hansche. His first spectacular works were for country house owners, including that of Beaulieu at Machelen and that of Modave south of Huy. In both houses, extensive ceiling panels on the theme of the *Labours of Hercules* were installed in the main reception rooms, glorifying the owner of the house. They were

¹¹¹ See pp. 112 (Chapter 3) for a discussion of the pulpit now in Brussels cathedral.

¹¹² For some other churches, see Snaet – Baisier 2004.

¹¹³ Cf. Meulemeester 2003: 21.

¹¹⁴ Baudouin 1985-1988; Sirjacobs 1999: 78.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Baudouin 1981.

adapted from compositions engraved by Cornelis Cort after now lost paintings by Frans Floris.¹¹⁶ Lucas Faydherbe executed a series of tomb monuments for members of this same circle, at Modave **(646)**, Trazegnies and elsewhere.¹¹⁷

One of Hansche's patrons must have known abbot Libert de Pape, who employed him to decorate the refectory and the library at the Norbertine abbey of Park, near Leuven. The owners of Beaulieu, the comte de la Tour et Tassis, of Modave, the comte de Marchin and Libert de Pape must have moved in the same court circles in Brussels, including the governors general Leopold Wilhelm of Austria¹¹⁸ and the marqués de Caracena **(801)**, Engelbert II de Liere d'Immerseel baron of Bokhoven **(299)** and the marquis de Trazegnies.

Another form of network can also be seen at the Sint-Bernardusabdij at Hemiksem, on the river Schelde near Antwerpen, that of sculptors and patrons. At Hemiksem stood an enormous complex of which the abbey church was demolished after the French Revolution. Fragments from its lavish sculptural decoration are now scattered, the pulpit by Michiel van der Voort and a whole series of confessionals in the cathedral of Antwerpen, the high altar in the Sint-Andrieskerk at Antwerpen **(604)**, and the choir stalls in the church at Wouw, in the present Netherlands. Claire Baisier has shown how the complex family and friendship ties between the sculptors and architects involved gradually grew into the religious community, thereby making the choice of artists more logical in seventeenth and eighteenth-century eyes.¹¹⁹ Indeed, at that time, recruiting an artist who had family ties was not seen as a taboo, on the contrary, it allowed the patron to have more trust in the relationship, and if it ever failed, keep stronger control over the other party.

Sculpture's part in the large market for secular artwork is less evident, as very little survives in comparison with the huge number of sculptures still found in Low Countries churches. Commissions for secular sculpture tended to be private commissions, now generally undocumented, except sometimes in the case of court commissions or a sculpture remaining in the family of the original patron. Few

¹¹⁶ Lock 2003.

¹¹⁷ Lock 2005.

¹¹⁸ Terlinden 1962; Alden-Biesen 2003.

¹¹⁹ Baisier 1998.

commissions were placed by public and private bodies, such as the Amsterdam burgomasters for the sculptural decoration of the new town hall.¹²⁰

One notable example among many court commissions was that for a white marble statue of *Venus and Cupid* of c.1698-1702. This little-known work is signed by Alexander van Papenhoven (1668-1759) and now located at Oranienburg near Berlin **(111)**. It was originally commissioned by William III¹²¹ and is similar to Gaspard Marsy's statue of *Venus and Cupid* at Versailles **(112)**.¹²² It was originally a garden statue, as was the pair of (Bentheimer?) stone statues of a *Fisherman* and a *Lady Vegetable Gatherer* signed by Michiel J. D'Heur that ended up in the garden of Anglesey Abbey (The National Trust), Cambridgeshire **(113)**.¹²³ Garden statuary appears on countless portrait paintings of the second half of the seventeenth century, particularly Dutch ones.¹²⁴ It also figures prominently on 'country house portraits' or 'garden portraits' as the ones of Huis ten Bosch, Den Haag **(114)**¹²⁵ or the Tour et Tassis palace in Brussels **(115)**. Garden sculptures were frequently executed in terracotta, even though this implied taking them inside during the winter to avoid cracking in the frost. A good example is the series at Kasteel Hex by the otherwise unrecorded Brussels-based sculptor Roucourt **(116)**, still *in situ* since their commission by the comte de Velbrück, prince-bishop of Liège (1719-1784).¹²⁶

An example of a secular sculpture made for an interior is the *Sleeping Amor and Lion* from the circle of Jacques Couplet (1610-after 1664),¹²⁷ also at Anglesey Abbey **(117)**, as well as the much larger white marble sculpture of a dying gladiator by Jacques Bergé in Brussels **(118)**.¹²⁸

The garden statues by D'Heur mentioned above, as well as the countless garden or inside putti in stone or marble (e.g. **119**) could conceivably have been made for sale

¹²⁰ Chapters 4 and 5.

¹²¹ Krefeld-Oranienburg-Apeldoorn 1999: 443.

¹²² Hedin 1983: 187-189, cat. 40.1, where identified as *Noon* rather than *Venus and Cupid*. This group was also used in the 1980s to make a cast for the reconstituted garden at the palace of Het Loo, Apeldoorn, where a similar statue probably by Gabriel Grupello was commissioned by William III. Cf. Düsseldorf 1971: 152-154; Vliegthart 1999: 133, 133n233.

¹²³ Unrecorded artist. The only other works signed by him are *Sts Luke, Daniel, Mark and Jeremia* from the *Mount of Calvary* of the Sint-Joriskerk, Antwerpen, moved in 1897 to the Sint-Camilluskliniek, Antwerpen, and disappeared after 1989.

¹²⁴ Haarlem 1996: 185-200 for a few examples.

¹²⁵ See also Haarlem 1996: 92; MacLaren – Brown 1991: 173.

¹²⁶ One signed "ROUCOURT F : ET : INV BRUX[ELLES]". Not in Thieme-Becker 1907-1950; for another work see Scholten 2004-2005: 79.

¹²⁷ Attribution proposed solely on the basis of a comparison of style and finish with Couplet's *Christ at Zele*, cf. Brussels 1977: 37. See also Brussels 1977: 73 (that is certainly not by François du Quesnoy).

¹²⁸ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 10206; Bergé 1986: 81-84.

on the open market, i.e. without a specific commission, both for the home market and for abroad, notably England.¹²⁹ On the other hand, it is likely that the two life-size marble statues of *Bacchus* and *Flora* (120) in the main hall at Blenheim Palace were specific commissions from the First Duke of Marlborough to Michiel I van der Voort. The latter fully signed them, indicating his origin (Antwerpen) in French, “Anvers”, clearly intending them for a foreign audience.¹³⁰ Although they have been placed in a prominent location for nearly three centuries, they have escaped publication. These statues, together with a portrait bust of the First Duke above the door between them (to the Saloon),¹³¹ may have been ordered by the Duke during his campaigning on the continent or during his exile in 1712-1714.¹³²

Similarly, the local aristocracy and gentrifying middle class will have commissioned large numbers of allegorical and decorative sculptures for their town and country houses. Little of all this survives¹³³ and only a few of the fitted decorative sculptures such as mantelpieces can be traced back to their origin. Even the spectacular mantelpiece by Jan Peter I van Bourscheit, originally commissioned for Oude Delft 75 at Delft, has been moved. It is now at Kasteel Twickel, Overijssel.¹³⁴

Another type of patronage concerns portraits, especially those of rulers represented in life-size statues and busts. Few such portraits have survived in the Low Countries and this is probably linked to the small number produced. The courts at Brussels and Den Haag had limited scope for state representation and therefore many sculptors attempted to find foreign employment, more often than not with German ruling princes. But political propaganda was not only organised by the rulers themselves, guilds or city magistrates also occasionally wished to honour their sovereign or sovereign’s representative. The patronage for portrait busts was

¹²⁹ Peter Scheemakers is recorded by Laurent Delvaux in his account book to have delivered him a number of marble sculptures for sale in England (Jacobs 1999: 194). Decorative sculptures for the garden and the home representing putti or pairs of putti were also massively exported to England and Germany by such artists as the Van Bourscheit and Jan Claudius de Cock.

¹³⁰ *Bacchus* signed “MICHAEL.VAN DER VOORT/ D’ANVERS.FECIT” on the rocky base; *Flora*, “MICHAEL.VAN DER VOORT ANVERS.F” on the socle.

¹³¹ The bust appears in the 1740 inventory of Blenheim after the Duchess’s death and is described as “done by a famous man at Antwerp” (Green 1951: 275).

¹³² The Duke was at Antwerpen shortly after the battle of Ramillies, Barnett 1974: 171; the Duke and Duchess were in Antwerpen in the autumn of 1713, Field 2002: 332. Unfortunately, no reference to them has been found in the Marlborough archives kept at the British Library.

¹³³ An extraordinary exception is the *Ganymede and the Eagle* by Jérôme du Quesnoy the Younger at the Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster. See Jacobs 2001-2002.

¹³⁴ Jansen – Van Herck 1942; Koldewey 1998.

evidently directly linked to the political structure of the area and the patron of the bust was not infrequently different from that of the sitter.

The most frequent patron who commissioned a ruler portrait bust is the ruler himself. This bust was usually only one element in a complex programme of dynastic display. In the Habsburg world, most relevant to the Low Countries, the examples of Charles V by Leone and Pompeo Leoni and Rudolf II by Adriaen de Vries are telling. Amongst regal sculpture portraits, busts are naturally the smallest and most domestic form. Full-length statues in marble or bronze, on their own in a palace setting or integrated in an architectural framework such as a public fountain, are the intermediary stage to the fullest expression of power and might that is carried by the equestrian monument. This is obviously the other end of the scale and by definition outside and public. François Dieussart is probably the sculptor who attempted most of these types to the fullest,¹³⁵ except for the equestrian monument. Only Gabriel Grupello was given the chance to produce an equestrian monument, at Düsseldorf.¹³⁶

The production of complete galleries with ancestors, so-called *Abnengalerien*, involved the production of images of long-deceased monarchs which were then generally based on painted prototypes. The end result was rarely particularly naturalistic and this was often actually sought, so as to make a contrast with the current sovereign. An example of this phenomenon is the series of five small busts of the Wittelsbach family in München, produced by the Antwerpen-born sculptor Willem de Groff **(121)**.¹³⁷ The bust of Kurfürst Maximilian I is of a decidedly old-fashioned style compared to the exuberance of Kurfürst Max II Emanuel. Another example is the series of portrait busts of the dukes of Brabant and later sovereigns on the upper row of houses of the Grand' Place, Brussels **(122)**. This row of identical houses was built by Max II Emanuel shortly after Louis XIV's bombardment of 1695, but their façades were fully restored in the late nineteenth century, so all the busts are remakes.

A generic link should also be stressed with galleries of antique emperors (such as the twelve that Bartholomeus Eggers (1637-92) delivered in 1674 to Kurfürst

¹³⁵ Avery 1981a: 205-235; Avery forthcoming.

¹³⁶ Volk 1971.

¹³⁷ Götz-Mohr 1987: 255.

Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg,¹³⁸ most probably for the garden of Oranienburg near Berlin, 123). Whether of antique emperors or of direct ancestors, these busts served the same purpose in justifying and glorifying the temporal power of the particular dynasty. The Wittelsbach even went further in linking their collection of antique sculpture with this dynastic display in the Antiquarium of the city palace in München.¹³⁹

The collecting of sculpture

Erik Duverger's transcriptions of Antwerpen probate inventories which he gathered over several decades and subsequently published, provide substantial documentation about the collecting habits in that city, including that of sculpture.¹⁴⁰ Considering the usual weight of sculpture and the importance of the local supply, it can be assumed that a large proportion of the sculpture collected in Antwerpen was locally produced, except for French and Italian bronzes (particularly by Giambologna) that were avidly collected and displayed by the wealthy. Thus these seventeenth-century Antwerpen inventories not only give a good picture of sculpture consumption in Antwerpen, but also that which was produced locally for domestic use in collectors' reception rooms. This is important as the great majority of seventeenth and eighteenth century sculpture in the Southern Netherlands is of religious iconography and mostly still in churches today. These inventories allow us a glimpse into the production and consumption of non-religious sculpture.¹⁴¹

Only the highest aristocracy collected tapestries and furnished their rooms with them. These typically appear at the top of the list in inventories, together with other precious textiles such as bed covers and hangings, because of their financial value.¹⁴² These inventories generally put paintings much further down the scale and rarely contained more than a couple of sculptures, despite the fact that virtually all sculptures were movable, except for fireplaces which did not appear in inventories.

Instead, wealthy merchants of Antwerpen, as well as painters like Rubens,¹⁴³ Hendrik van Balen,¹⁴⁴ Jan Wildens¹⁴⁵ and Erasmus Quellinus,¹⁴⁶ had paintings

¹³⁸ Hüneke 1988.

¹³⁹ Weski – Frosien-Leinz 1987.

¹⁴⁰ Duverger 1984-2004.

¹⁴¹ See above on patronage of mythological sculpture.

¹⁴² See for instance Queen Christina of Sweden's inventories in Antwerpen, Duverger 1984-2004: 7/150-153, 158-160, 164-171, 186-187, 222-230, 238-245, 252-254, 280-284, 409-411, 8/44-45.

¹⁴³ Duverger 1984-2004: 5/263-284.

amongst their most prized art. Some of them, and it should be stressed that not all of them, also had some sculpture in their collection.

Needless to say that virtually every inventory, irrespective of the social level of the deceased, contained at least one crucifix, for instance in copper or bronze,¹⁴⁷ gilt bronze,¹⁴⁸ silver or ivory¹⁴⁹ on an ebony (or blackened wooden) cross or simply in softwood¹⁵⁰ as well as statuettes of the Madonna.¹⁵¹ These all fulfilled a devotional role.

The sculpture referred to here as collectors' items have a much broader range and was not necessarily restricted to 'high' art materials such as bronze or marble. Many collections mixed sculptures in such diverse media (accordingly with substantial differences in value) as bronze, marble, alabaster, stone, terracotta, plaster and even wax.¹⁵² Similarly, the types ranged from classical sculptures¹⁵³ (or imitations in stone, marble or plaster¹⁵⁴) and the typical renaissance table bronze epitomised by Giambologna's works¹⁵⁵ to contemporary works which may have a decorative function in the home, such as a pair of stone heads on a mantle piece¹⁵⁶ or a pair of stone spheres for the courtyard or garden.¹⁵⁷

Mythological statues also appear in a few inventories, for instance that of Charles de Tassis, formerly alderman of Antwerpen.¹⁵⁸ These must have served decorative purposes in the house.

¹⁴⁴ Duverger 1984-2004: 4/200-211.

¹⁴⁵ Duverger 1984-2004: 6/475-506.

¹⁴⁶ Duverger 1984-2004: 10/347-374.

¹⁴⁷ Duverger 1984-2004: 4/453.

¹⁴⁸ Duverger 1984-2004: 6/265.

¹⁴⁹ For instance Duverger 1984-2004: 4/384.

¹⁵⁰ Duverger 1984-2004: 4/225.

¹⁵¹ For instance the baker Conrad Clauwens in 1629, Duverger 1984-2004: 3/135 or the geelgieter Jacques Laurents, with a gilt terracotta Madonna, Duverger 1984-2004: 6/416.

¹⁵² A good example is the collection of Jan Baptista Baes, merchant and *rentmeester* of the bishop and cathedral chapter of Gent, Duverger 1984-2004: 6/104, 109, containing works in bronze, black and white marble, alabaster, plaster, wax and silvered lead. Another example is Father Petrus Daems, former prior of the Carthusian monastery of Antwerpen: works in ivory, marble, alabaster, stone, wax, amber, plaster and lead. Duverger 1984-2004: 7/325-342.

¹⁵³ For instance in burgomaster Nicolaas Rockox's collection, Duverger 1984-2004: 4/382-387.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid ; or "Vijff Anticque Hoofden van plaester", Duverger 1984-2004: 4/443.

¹⁵⁵ E.g. the collection of Nicolaas Cheeus, left by his widow in 1663, contained a stallion, a horse with bridle and a self-portrait by Giambologna, apart from a large and a small bronze crucifix, Duverger 1984-2004: 8/308-309.

¹⁵⁶ Duverger 1984-2004: 9/148; 10/331.

¹⁵⁷ Duverger 1984-2004: 10/332.

¹⁵⁸ Duverger 1984-2004: 4/407.

It is however exceptional to find a collection containing a number of sculptures “geboutcheert in potaerde” (“modelled in clay”), such as in that of alderman Jan van Meurs.¹⁵⁹ None of these terracottas is attributed in the inventory.

His collection also contained sculptures in bronze, including a horse and a bull by Giambologna,¹⁶⁰ his self-portrait in bronze, as well as works in wax, ivory and probably stone.¹⁶¹ The latter two works in ivory are indicated twice as being by Jacques van Avont, an otherwise unrecorded sculptor, probably from a dynasty of sculptors at Mechelen.¹⁶² Such indications are a particularly useful means of identifications, as they usually rely on inscriptions or signatures. Most sculptures not being signed or readily identifiable, probate inventories generally do not mention sculptors’ names, unless it concerns famous pieces by Giambologna or inscribed ones. Even well-known models, such as “Een geboutseert Cupidoken steunende op sijnen Booch” (“A little modelled Cupid supporting himself on his bow”) which must have been modelled after François du Quesnoy’s Berlin marble,¹⁶³ was clearly unknown in Antwerpen, even in the family of the painter Jan Wildens.¹⁶⁴

This all stresses how much the world of sculpture is one of materials and iconographies, rather than of artists as “brand names”. Indeed, in those same inventories (with the exception of artists’ estates described by fellow artists rather than lawyers), the names of painters abound and the complex descriptive jargon used today by major auction houses was gradually taking shape: “Een Vastenavont van Brouwer op paneel in lyste” (“by Brouwer”), “De Ryne Mère van Vranckryck in lyste by Rubbens gemaect” (“made at Rubens’s [studio]”), “Een conversatie à la mode naer Rubbens” (“after Rubens”) all appear in the probate inventory drawn up in 1652 by *notaris* (“solicitor”) H. van Cantelbeck of the property of the surgeon Benedictus van den Walle.¹⁶⁵

The only sculptors who seem systematically to sign their works, particularly those in terracotta, which was not done in the first half of the seventeenth century, are the brothers Joannes and Servaes Cardon. Only a few sculptures by them have

¹⁵⁹ Duverger 1984-2004: 6/269.

¹⁶⁰ “een Peerdeken ende een Stierken van Jean de Boloignie”, *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* and 6/297.

¹⁶² Thieme-Becker 1907-1950: 2/282.

¹⁶³ Boudon-Machuel 2005: 273.

¹⁶⁴ Duverger 1984-2004: 6/489.

¹⁶⁵ Duverger 1984-2004: 6/391-2.

survived.¹⁶⁶ They are also the only sculptors frequently referred to in the inventories of Jan Wildens' son and Erasmus II Quellinus. Jan Wildens had three female figures in terracotta by a Cardon in his studio, together with many other sculptures and paintings:

Een Slapende Vrouwken geboetseert van Cardon [...]

Een plat Sittende Vrouwken geboutseert van Cardon [...]

Een Vrouwken liggende op de Handt van Cardon.¹⁶⁷

Erasmus Quellinus, who had inherited the estate of his brother the sculptor Artus, had by the Cardon:

Geboetseerde belden: twee Naeckte Vrouwken van Cordon ende Artus Quellinus [...]

Vonnis van Paris bachelereeff gebotseert van Cordon [...]

Neptunus Venus en Cupido van Cardon geboetseert.¹⁶⁸

Another name that we should expect to appear frequently in inventories is that of François du Quesnoy. Not only was he of Netherlandish origin, but his models are well-known to have been copied all over Europe. A splendidly wordy example is that of the inventory drawn up by the Kortrijk art collector Jan-Baptist van Baelen (i.e. before his death!) with the help of the painter Jan Baptist van Moerkercke (*1678):

Two figures of more than 2 feet high of plaster in my study, the one a Mercury, the other an Apollo 3 £ gr.

Moerkercke says that he has two identical ones, & that they cost him 9 guilders each; notes that these two figures come from the moulds made from the original two figures by François du Quesnoy; also notes that I have the same forms, coming from master Charles Hurterel and that they are worth a lot.¹⁶⁹

This rare account of the reproduction process of bronzes by Du Quesnoy can be added to the long list of versions, with and without Cupid.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ See below for those by Joannes Cardon ; by Servaes Cardon, a terracotta signed *SERVAE[IS] CARDON[N]* in the Louvre, Paris, inv. RF2325, (124).

¹⁶⁷ Duverger 1984-2004: 6/488-489.

¹⁶⁸ Duverger 1984-2004: 10/352-353. It should be noted that they were also copied, as we know from an invoice by the sculptor Mattheus van Beveren to the painter Jan Boeckhorst: Van Beveren delivered him a number of plaster casts after the antique, that also included works after *Cardon* and after *Quinoij* (Du Quesnoy). See Antwerpen-Münster 1990: 21.

¹⁶⁹ "Twee figuren van meer als 2 voeten hooghe van plaester in mijn comptoir den eenen synde eenen Mercurius den anderen eenen Apollo 3 £ gr./Moerkercke seght datter hij twee gelijcke heeft, & dat die hem costen 9 guldens het stuck, noteert dat deze twee figuren commen wt de vormen die gemaect & afgedrukt syn op de originele twee figuren van Franciscus Quesnoy, noteert oock dat ick deselven van vormen hebbe, commen[de] dan mre Charles Hurterel en[de] dat die veele weert sijn." De Keyser 1956: 231.

¹⁷⁰ Boudon-Machuel 2005: 263-271.

Much lower down the social scale, it should not be forgotten that apart from devotional sculptures, some households also had portraits of deceased or reigning monarchs, e.g. Cornelis Prost, bailiff of Hemiksem, who owned “the Emperor Charles [V] on horseback carved in wood”.¹⁷¹ This was a slightly better alternative to a framed print of such a monarch.

At this same level, sculpture is not infrequently found in plaster¹⁷² or terracotta.¹⁷³ These are however merely a few pieces of decoration within the home, rather than a collection.

Unfortunately, no such equivalent analysis of sculptures in private collections is possible for Brussels, as most of the archives were destroyed during Louis XIV’s bombardment of the city in 1695.

Apart from artists’ collections, the collecting of sculptors’ drawings is exceptional and not recorded in Duverger’s publication. In the inventory of paintings and drawings by the art collector Jan-Baptist van Baelen mentioned above appears a drawing by “Fed’herbe” (Lucas Faydherbe) of a female nude against a tree, that is indicated as a copy after Annibale Carracci.¹⁷⁴ A similar case, though not of a sculptor, is the drawing by the little known cabinet maker Adriaen Valcke, that is specially noted as of great quality.¹⁷⁵

Visual representations of collections can be found in a specific genre of painting in Antwerpen in the seventeenth century. Developed in around 1610 by Frans II Francken (1581-1641),¹⁷⁶ the topos was generally a symbolic illustration of *Pictura*, with an emphasis on the encyclopaedic trio *Natura*, *Ars* and *Historia*.¹⁷⁷ An alternative was an allegory of Sight. As such, these visual representations should be taken with extreme caution when trying to analyse them in terms of the sculpture represented. Their iconographies and their compositional purpose take precedence over the actual choice of works, though on a general level one can assume that the works represented were not pure inventions but sculptures available in contemporary Antwerpen collections and its art market. Only in exceptional

¹⁷¹ *Den Keyser Carolus te peerde van hout gesneden*, Duverger 1984-2004: 4/375.

¹⁷² For instance Duverger 1984-2004: 5/74.

¹⁷³ For instance Duverger 1984-2004: 5/100.

¹⁷⁴ De Keyser 1956: 213.

¹⁷⁵ *is ten wittersten goet*, De Keyser 1956: 214.

¹⁷⁶ Härting 1993: 98.

¹⁷⁷ Vlieghe 1998a : 202-203.

paintings of this type were the paintings and sculptures represented actually owned by the collector whose cabinet was 'portrayed', such as with Francken's *Banquet in the House of Nicolaas Rockox*¹⁷⁸ or as in Willem van Haecht's *Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest* **(125)**.¹⁷⁹

Most of the sculptures represented in such works are small scale bronzes or plaster casts, both antique and renaissance/contemporary, displayed on one or several tables and sideboards and often on the 'room cornice ledge'.¹⁸⁰ In a few cases life-size statues, probably plaster casts after the antique, can be seen in a different room in the distance. In the *Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest* these statues are even in the main room. To the left of the *Apollo Belvedere* stands a statue of *Venus and Cupid* towards which Georg Petel is pointing, as if to indicate his authorship of it.¹⁸¹ This statue is indeed another version of his Ashmolean Museum ivory. This juxtaposition of contemporary works and classical antique sculptures puts them on a par.

These sculptures are of such a great variety that it is difficult to interpret their iconographies in relation to the other works of art and nature that are represented in these paintings.¹⁸² However, besides the occasional presence of models by Michelangelo, such as his Louvre slaves, most of the recognisable contemporary sculpture is by Giambologna, sometimes even monogrammed or signed as such, as for instance in a 1612 work by Frans Francken on which a bronze statuette of *Venus and Cupid* is monogrammed: "I[OVANNI]. B[OLOGNA]: F[ECIT] [15]94" **(126)**.¹⁸³ Similarly, in his *Art Cabinet of Sebastiaen Leerse*, there are two drawings in a sketchbook, one of a *Seated Venus and Cupid* inscribed "BOLONI IN-" (Giambologna), the other of the same subject inscribed "FFLORIS IN-" (Frans Floris) **(127)**.¹⁸⁴

In the middle of the century, David II Teniers, on becoming the official court painter and collection curator to the governor general archduke Leopold Wilhelm, devised a variant type of the cabinet pictures. Eleven versions of his depiction of Leopold Wilhelm's gallery have survived **(128)**.¹⁸⁵ More accurate than previous such paintings, they nevertheless have their own agenda, namely showing which paintings

¹⁷⁸ München, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 858; Härting 1989: 374.

¹⁷⁹ Antwerpen, Rubenshuis. Cf. Held 1982: 35-64.

¹⁸⁰ *kamerlijst* in Dutch.

¹⁸¹ Feuchtmayr – Schädler 1973: 191.

¹⁸² Van der Schueren 1996: 74.

¹⁸³ With Johnny Van Haeften, London, 2005.

¹⁸⁴ Antwerpen, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 669.

¹⁸⁵ Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. 1813; Díaz Padrón 1975: 404.

within his huge collection, the archduke favoured.¹⁸⁶ Amongst the sculptures represented are Adriaen de Vries' table foot in the shape of *Ganymede and the Eagle*¹⁸⁷ and a *Venus* attributed to Jérôme du Quesnoy,¹⁸⁸ the former lost in the ducal palace's fire of 1731, the latter in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, gallery pictures frequently became a collaborative effort, with every painting represented painted by its 'original' artist. This implied that the pictures represented were no longer by 'Old Masters' but by contemporaries, and there was the inevitable disappearance of most sculpture – except for feigned architectural sculpture rendered in grisaille, as in *eine fingierte galerie, allwo jedes Stück von einem anderen Authore gemahlet* (Willem van Ehrenberg et al., 129).¹⁸⁹

When there is a complete provenance known, the ownership of preparatory work for monumental sculpture may shed light on the consumption of these compositions after the initial production process. Four such cases may be distinguished.

The first one concerns those works which were associated with the commission in such a way that they became part of the patron's collection. The bozzetti and modelli created by Artus I Quellinus and his workshop for the town hall of Amsterdam, which became the property of the patrons and remained in the building until the early nineteenth century is one such example.¹⁹⁰

For the Amsterdam town hall, the different stages of production of the sculpture were seen as an integral part of the commission: they were individually paid for by the patrons, even if later rejected. For instance, Quellinus received 25 guilders for an overdoor in terracotta, and then eight times as much for the marble version.¹⁹¹ This may have been the primary reason why no drawings or rough terracotta sketches came into the collection of the town hall. With few exceptions, only the finished terracottas ended up there. Moreover, they were not taken home by Quellinus, after he had left Amsterdam in 1665.

The fact that the terracottas ended up in the town hall because of the contractual stipulations need not exclude them from having been valued as works of art in their

¹⁸⁶ Vlieghe 1998a: 205.

¹⁸⁷ Amsterdam-Stockholm-Los Angeles 1998: 154.

¹⁸⁸ Berlin 1995: 534.

¹⁸⁹ München, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 896. Cf. München 2001: 157; München-Köln 2002: 387.

¹⁹⁰ Catalogued by Vreeken 1995.

¹⁹¹ Jonker – Vreeken 1995: 53.



own right. Indeed, some were displayed prominently in the offices of the town hall, while others were displayed in a room on the second floor, to be used as drawing models by students. In the eighteenth century Cornelis Ploos van Amstel was requested to arrange them in an appropriate manner in his drawing academy.¹⁹²

Another type is the marble relief of the *Entombment*, part of the high altar dedicated to the Holy Blood by Laurent Delvaux in the priory chapel of Bois-Seigneur-Isaac. It was erected under the priorate of Philippe de Fer, who renewed the high altar of the chapel where a host miraculously bled in 1405.¹⁹³ It ended up with the neighbouring country house owner, possibly when the buildings were secularised; his descendents still have the small preparatory terracotta relief, which now has a dark wax coating imitating bronze **(130)**.¹⁹⁴ Whether this coating is original or not is not known, but judging from descriptions in eighteenth-century auction catalogues, it was not uncommon.¹⁹⁵ Thus, at some point it was raised to the status of a cult object, worth preserving in its own right. Moreover, the limited size of the relief model was appropriate for domestic devotional use.

The third type of potential owners of drawings and bozzetti are collectors to whom they are sold as a commercial commodity in their own right, i.e. as autonomous works of art. Few such cases are documented and they tend to remain within the sphere of artists, as seen above with the collections of Jan Wildens and Erasmus Quellinus. Rubens, for instance, wrote to François du Quesnoy to thank him for sending some of his models as well as two plaster casts of his putti for the Van den Eynde monument in S. Maria dell'Anima.¹⁹⁶ Incidentally, Rubens was also known to be one of the earliest collectors of oil sketches by Italian Cinquecento painters.¹⁹⁷

Sketches, whether painted or modelled, document the stages in the creative process of the artist and show his mind and imagination at work and so their spontaneity in working in a responsive medium such as wax or clay gets preserved. Sketches were praised by Vasari and some of Giambologna's were collectable in his lifetime.¹⁹⁸ In the Low Countries there is nevertheless no indication beyond the

¹⁹² Fremantle 1963: 104-5.

¹⁹³ Jacobs 1999: 378.

¹⁹⁴ See chapter 3 for the later habit of waxing terracottas.

¹⁹⁵ See chapter 3.

¹⁹⁶ Bellori 1672: 284.

¹⁹⁷ Muller 1989: 13.

¹⁹⁸ Vasari 1996: II, 889.

content of probate inventories whether modelled sketches were collected for their sketchy qualities. It may however be imagined that an emphasis on the divine inspiration of the creative artist started to appear as sculptors gradually entered the guilds of St Luke, leaving the masons' guilds, thereby raising their status above that of mere artisans and master masons.

In France, the collecting of terracotta bozzetti seems to have started on a small scale in the middle of the eighteenth century,¹⁹⁹ probably following the authority of Winckelmann expressed in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*:

For as the first pressing of the juice of the grapes forms the finest wine, so in the soft clay and on paper the genius of the artist is seen in its utmost purity and truth; while on the contrary talent is concealed beneath the industry and the polish required in a completed statue or a finished painting.²⁰⁰

Whether this happened in the Low Countries is impossible to prove without a complete provenance of at least a few terracotta bozzetti, as opposed to terracotta modelli.

As to modelli, those for portraits were sometimes kept and given a different, though complementary function after their initial use in the studio. The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam owns several terracotta modelli for marble portrait busts, some of which are extant. That these modelli were kept may be accounted for by the interest given to them from the beginning. Instead of using the modelli as working models, the sculptor took a plaster cast of these. This allowed the sculptor to scribble and scratch on the plaster while hewing the marble, without losing the modello. This could then be re-used, for instance in the domestic setting of the patron, e.g. on a mantelpiece, or when the marble bust formed part of a tomb.²⁰¹ In the case of the modello for the monument to Maarten Tromp (**131**), a Dutch naval hero, it was given by the patrons of the tomb, the city magistrates, to his widow. This piece by Rombout Verhulst is then re-interpreted as a *memento mori*, after having being appropriately framed in sculpted oak.²⁰²

However, this discussion is made more complex by the fact that there are a number of terracotta busts which are unlikely to have been used as modelli. They were a cheap and quick substitute for marble or, more rarely, stone busts. Faydherbe

¹⁹⁹ Paris 2003: 17.

²⁰⁰ Winckelmann 1776: 1/22, translation by Bruce Boucher in London 2001: 1.

²⁰¹ Scholten 1983: 62.

modelled a bust of Gaspar de Crayer **(132)**.²⁰³ The finish and vivacity of Jan Baptist Xavery's terracotta bust of a priest **(133)** is an even more intimate work than Faydherbe's.²⁰⁴ Probably neither of these was intended to be reproduced in marble, as the time involved in their production eliminated the sketchiness with which they were made. This may explain the interest in the terracotta modelli which have been kept for certain portrait busts. The cheapness of terracotta was due to its association with quick production in an ordinary material and was not deemed of sufficient status for most religious commissions. However, in private settings, this was less important, especially so for patrons who were artists themselves and who would in the first instance value the work of their colleague – or competitor.

The fourth type of owner of sketches was most frequently the sculptor himself. It is indeed the works which remained in an artist's studio and were subsequently inherited or sold as a lot which now make up the bulk of the drawings and bozzetti in museums and private collections. The history of collecting and commissioning sculpture by the new Belgian state for its *Musée royal de Peinture et de Sculpture* (as it was called in the nineteenth century) was the motive behind some spectacular acquisitions. The first was in 1836 with the purchase of the entire content of the Roman studio of Mathieu Kessels after his death that year.²⁰⁵ It contained eighty works, mostly in plaster or terracotta. Even the full-scale plaster model for his tomb monument to the comtesse de Celles in S. Giuliano dei Fiamminghi in Roma **(134)** was shipped to Brussels.

Later, in 1862, the remaining content of Lucas Faydherbe's studio came up for sale when his last descendent wished to dispose of his collection. Unfortunately, after due consideration, the Brussels museum did not buy this.²⁰⁶ It was only in 1869 that the Brussels museum decided on the next acquisition of a sculptor's studio content, that of François-Joseph Janssens, which was purchased from his widow.²⁰⁷

In 1872, the Brussels museum made its largest purchase of sculpture with two major collections of terracottas. The first was the Terbrugghen collection with about 60 works and the second comprised over a hundred from the De Cuyper brothers.

²⁰² Scholten 2003: 60.

²⁰³ Mechelen 1997: 138.

²⁰⁴ Scholten 1995: 68.

²⁰⁵ Van Lennep 1992: 43-44.

²⁰⁶ Bussers 1986.

²⁰⁷ Devigne 1922: XIX.

The De Cuyper brothers, all three sculptors, Jan Baptist, Pieter Jozef and Jan Leonard had accumulated nearly six hundred terracotta and plaster bozzetti and modelli, both their own and by seventeenth and eighteenth-century sculptors.²⁰⁸ The drawings they collected were eventually acquired by the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet in Antwerpen in 1951, after passing through the Dieltiens family.

All this should come as no surprise: bozzetti and modelli were important assets in the sculptor's workshop. They often served as motifs to extend the artist's memory over a longer period of time, allowing him to re-use or re-interpret a particular design at a later date. They are the three-dimensional equivalent of sketchbooks, just as plaster casts are the equivalent of engraved model books. This was particularly useful for popular subjects, such as Madonnas. Two *Madonnas* by Joannes Cardon share many attributes, such as rope belt, hair arrangement and pedestal, and the same year of production, 1643 (**135, 136**).²⁰⁹ However, their drapery differs substantially and one is a *Maria Lactans*, with her hands in different positions. These two works are clearly related, either the one re-working the other, or both deriving from a common prototype. At least one of these three Madonnas must have been kept in the workshop for future reference. Or it is possible to speculate about a small serial production process, as small-scale Madonnas were readily saleable devotional objects in a mass market. The Catholic fervour of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was at the root of a huge bread-and-butter production of Madonnas. At the time, in Antwerpen alone, several hundred house façades prominently displayed a Madonna of which many survive today. Other Madonna statuettes were for domestic use, as has been seen above in the discussion of probate inventories.

Although a lack of documents does not allow us to be firm about the meaning of payment or non-payment for initial sketches by Rubens, it does seem that he often had to produce a sketch at his own expense in order to secure a commission.²¹⁰ The sketch was not the property of the patron especially when the commission did not materialise; it was then returned to Rubens's workshop. There he could refer to it when thinking about other commissions, just as he would do with works by other

²⁰⁸ Dilis 1925: 333.

²⁰⁹ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 11463 and Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH11B.

²¹⁰ Baudouin 1991: 47

artists in his private collection. This also ensured that nobody else could carry out his designs. The same of course holds true for his sculptor contemporaries.

A little later, Jan-Baptist Xavery's relief from Rapenburg 65, Leiden, now in Leiden's Lakenhal museum (**138**), shows a classic iconography of a pastoral idyll with two shepherd putti and a lamb, thematically linked to the chimney piece with two music-making putti originally placed opposite each other (now Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). The composition of the supraporta medallion however reveals a borrowing from a religious theme adapted to a domestic setting: the *Christ-Child with St John the Baptist*.²¹¹ It is more than likely that Xavery owned a terracotta on this religious subject from his early career in Antwerpen, as the theme would have been inappropriate for a Protestant patron in Leiden, so his source had to be unrecognisable.

In some rare cases a collection of terracotta sketches proved a nuisance. Laurent Delvaux and Peter Scheemakers, for instance, sold their studio contents in London, before travelling to Italy to perfect their training.²¹² That they were too heavy to take with them was no doubt one reason for this, but the fact they needed to finance their trip was probably more important. François du Quesnoy, when travelling from Roma to Paris to start the Académie royale de Sculpture, however did take his models with him. When he died *en route* at Livorno, his brother Jérôme keenly took them into his own collection. He later re-used the posture of his brother's *St Andrew* in his figure of *St Thomas* (**644**) for the cathedral of Brussels. Thomas Quellinus's terracotta model of *Prudentia* (**446**), a figure carved several times while in the Baltic,²¹³ probably returned home with the sculptor in 1707, before entering the Brussels museum via an Antwerpen collection in 1870.²¹⁴

In the nineteenth century, when many churches were much in need of restoration after the iconoclasm of the French period, traditional sculptors, like the De Cuyper brothers, had every advantage in owning the models of the sculptures to be restored. By this they could gain an important competitive advantage when proposing the restoration of particular sculptures.

²¹¹ For original context of this relief see Scholten 2000.

²¹² Jacobs 1999: 189-191.

²¹³ Thorlacius-Ussing 1926; Nieuwdorp 1991; Bergé 1997; Androssov 1999.

²¹⁴ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2279. See Brussels 1977: 170.

This habit of collecting appears to be one of the determining specificities of the sculptor's trade and an important factor of success.

The institutional context and the training of sculptors

In Antwerpen, the guild of St Luke was founded before the fifteenth century to organise the work of several professions within the organisation of the city.²¹⁵ As for all other guilds, its rules were controlled by the city and one of its principal ones concerned citizenship: *poorterschap* was obligatory for anybody wishing to engage in craft or trade. The city authorities helped with the elimination of the black market and of colleagues from outside and they appointed the heads of the guilds (*deken*s).²¹⁶ The guild also organised the training of pupils, the obtaining of masterships and guaranteed the quality of work delivered by its members.²¹⁷

To finance its various functions, the guild was paid according to the size of the workshop, in the form of a payment for every pupil that was engaged. Contributions to the church were also organised, in particular to finance an altar in the cathedral, which itself collected income from the sale of candles. The guild was further involved in the funerals of members and their wives, for which they received a *death duty* from each estate. The guild also promoted social cohesion: part of its income was spent on meals and it organised a special fund for modest help in case of illness.²¹⁸

In the seventeenth century, the guild of St Luke in Antwerpen included painters, silversmiths, glass makers, embroiderers, engravers, book printers and “beeldsnijders” (‘image cutters’, i.e. woodcutters) or “antijcksnijders” (‘cutters of antique ornaments’). Cabinet-makers had their own guild, which was often in competition with panel-makers for painters, who were part of the guild of St Luke.²¹⁹ Similarly, masons, stone cutters and sculptors in stone (“beeldhouwers”, ‘image chisellers’) were separate, in the guild of the ‘four crowned heads’, the “Vier Gekroonden”, until 1606, when sculptors obtained the permission to join the guild of St Luke following long court action and intervention by archduke Albert.²²⁰ This emancipation of sculptors, putting them on a par with painters, had important

²¹⁵ See Van der Straelen 1855; Rombouts – Van Lerijs 1872-1874; Schlugleit 1969; Duverger 1972.

²¹⁶ Van Acker 1989: 10.

²¹⁷ Gerson 1961: X.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*: XI.

²¹⁹ Thijs 1989: 136.

implications for them socially and professionally. They now belonged to the ‘liberal arts’, the distinction between sculptors in wood and stone having been removed, giving sculptors the freedom to combine media without having to recur to collaboration in a sterile, materials-oriented fashion. Gradually the name of *beeldsnijder* disappeared, in favour of the name “*beeldhouwer*”, or its superior variants “*statuarius*” or “*schulpteur*”.²²¹ Behind these names may be recognised a stress on the human figure as opposed to ornaments. This emancipation was principally based on the assumption that drawing was the foundation of all art practice and was the common denominator of the members of the guild of St Luke.

In some cities these changes had preceded Antwerpen, in others it would gradually be followed, although some major differences remained.²²² Brugge was an exception, for there the woodcutters’ and the stonecutters’ guilds remained separate and a sculptor like Hendrik Pulinx was a member of both.²²³

In the seventeenth century, Antwerpen became a magnet for sculptors. Whereas in 1616 the guild of St Luke registered 574 members, of whom 216 painters and only 19 sculptors, by the end of the century, the proportion had changed to one sculptor for every three painters (1660s and 1680s) and in the first decade of the eighteenth century one sculptor for every two painters.²²⁴

Chambers of rhetoric were an integral feature of guild life for artists. The “*Violieren*” were already integrated into the guild since 1480, thereby giving the guild its motto “*VVT IONSTEN VERSAEMT*” (‘united in affinity’), and in 1662 “*De Olijftak*” (that had merged with “*De Goudbloem*” in 1645) joined them.²²⁵ This brought a certain level of contact between the liberal arts and allowed artists to forge relationships that could include marriage, as when Willem Kerricx who married Barbara Ogier, the poet daughter of a “*rederijker*”.²²⁶ A small number of non-professional members of the guild, called “*Liefhebbers*” (‘enthusiasts’ or ‘devotees’)

²²⁰ Rylant – Casteels 1940; Casteels 1961: 50-53, 300-303.

²²¹ Also noted in the Northern Netherlands, see Neurdenburg 1948: 13.

²²² For Brussels, see Kervyn de Meerendré 1973; Mechelen, Neeffs 1876, Coninckx 1903, Monballieu 1971; Gent, Van der Haeghen 1906; Leuven, Verhavert 1940; Brugge, Vandewalle 1985; generally Crab 1972 and the Northern Netherlands, Hoogewerff 1947.

²²³ Vromman 1957: 287; Vromman 2003: 43.

²²⁴ Filipczak 1987: 168 based on Rombouts – Van Leries 1872-1874 and Roeses – Rombauts 1878: 1-26. Filipczak however forgets that the sudden jump in membership figures for sculptors, in the decade following the 1606 decree, is also related to sculptors moving from the *Vier Gekroonden* guild to the guild of St Luke. How the transition was organised in those years is not known, so the statistics may look overwhelming without being so.

²²⁵ Fabri 1989: 418n104.

including some important collectors, also encouraged this opening to higher social spheres.

After the death of Rubens and Van Dyck, which is traditionally heralded as the beginning of the end to the Golden Age of Flemish painting, several initiatives were taken to circumvent the deteriorating artistic situation. The most important one was the founding of an academy in Antwerpen, established by royal decree in 1663, on the initiative of the guild of St Luke and financed in an imaginative way.²²⁷ That sculpture was included shows how much the profession of sculptors had gained in status since they joined the guild of St Luke in 1606. Rubens's ideas on sculpture, stressing the "community of painting and sculpture"²²⁸ certainly played a role in its emancipation.

Teachers were recruited amongst the most respected and successful artists in town, including the sculptors Artus I Quellinus and Peter I Verbrugghen.²²⁹ In emulation of Italian and French academies, teaching stressed the art of drawing, but it also included both the teaching of painting and sculpture, as the name of the academy indicated. Aspiring sculptors continued to be apprenticed for four years to a master sculptor to learn to model and carve in different materials, but the academy enlarged the training to a theoretical and practical level including not only drawing classes after plaster casts and the living model **(139, 140)**, but also in geometry and perspective.²³⁰

Before the official academy was established in Antwerpen, the painter Michael Sweerts had organised a private academy in Brussel in the late 1650s,²³¹ where he also practised life drawing classes, as shown in his own painting of the subject **(141)**.²³² Other cities tried to follow, for instance Faydherbe in Mechelen in 1684,²³³ but funding proved impossible to find and it was not until the eighteenth century that other cities effectively started to found academies: Brussels (1711),²³⁴ Brugge (1720), Gent (1751), Tournai (1756), Kortrijk (1760), Mechelen (1771), Ath (1773),

²²⁶ Gepts-Buysaert 1951.

²²⁷ Van den Branden 1867; De Wilde 1941; Van Looij 1986-1987.

²²⁸ "de ghemeynschap die onse Consten van Schildry ende Beldthouwery t'samen hebben", quoted from Rubens's recommendation letter for Lucas Faydherbe, published by De Bie 1661: 501.

²²⁹ Van Looij 1986-1987: 308.

²³⁰ Van den Branden 1867: 170.

²³¹ Kultzen 1996: 43-48.

²³² *The Drawing School*, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem; Amsterdam 2002: 133.

²³³ Neeffs 1876: 1/51; Plantenga 1926: 329.

²³⁴ Bussers 1987.

Oudenaarde (1773), Temse (1777), Ieper (1778), Mons (1781), Leuven (1788) and Lier (1793).²³⁵

Representations of life classes are rare, as are drawings after the living model by Netherlandish sculptors. Only male academic studies have been preserved by the Amsterdam sculptor Jan van Logteren **(142)**.²³⁶ But life classes were widespread as for instance attested by Lucas Faydherbe's statue of *Christ* on his monument to archbishop Cruesen in Mechelen **(143)**, which cannot be imagined without such training, especially since his compositional and iconographic model was the monument by Jérôme II du Quesnoy to bishop Triest at Gent **(144)**, which in turn is based on the far more classical figure of *Christ* modelled by Michelangelo in S. Maria sopra Minerva.

Exercises in modelling were either not fired or cast in plaster or have long since disappeared. Two rare testimonies to eighteenth-century academic practice are an anonymous *écorché* foot **(145)**²³⁷ and a male academic study **(146)**,²³⁸ both in terracotta. These are more likely to have been teaching models than student works.

Most allegorised interior views of studios and academies are pieces celebrating the necessity of training in draughtmanship, as drawing encouraged an immediate and informal encounter with the work being drawn. The multiplicity of intentions in the act of copying another work may be summarised by the desire to record, to interpret, to criticise and especially to learn.²³⁹ The typical stages a student went through are all shown, sometimes several of them in the same picture: students copying prints and drawings, as in Jan Steen's *A Master Correcting a Pupil's Drawing* **(147)**,²⁴⁰ students copying plaster casts and anatomical works, as in Sweerts's **(148)**²⁴¹ and Jacob van Oost's *Painter's Studio* **(149)**.²⁴² Adriaen van der Werff's *Selfportrait with a Plaster Cast* **(150)**²⁴³ stresses how much three-dimensional works were essential to learn proportions in the human body. Here a pair of compasses was useful, whereas in life classes the eye alone had to do the work.

²³⁵ Loir 2004: 52-57.

²³⁶ E.g. Brussels, Royal Library, inv. SIII.15262. Brussels 2004: 68, Fischer 2005: 319-325.

²³⁷ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2419/854.

²³⁸ Idem, inv. 2420.

²³⁹ New York 1988: 13.

²⁴⁰ Private collection; Walsh 1996: 42. See also Leiden 1983: 318.

²⁴¹ Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Amsterdam 2002: 97.

²⁴² Brugge, Groeningemuseum, inv. O188.1; München 2001: 154.

²⁴³ Worms, Kunsthaus Heylshof, inv. 47, Schenkluhn 1992: 170.

In another picture by Sweerts, *An Artist's Studio with a Woman Sewing* (151),²⁴⁴ amongst others a plaster cast after a relief by François du Quesnoy is prominently displayed and in the *Boy in the Studio* (152),²⁴⁵ a mezzotint by Wallerant Vaillant, after Jan Lievens,²⁴⁶ it is a plaster cast of the *Christ Child* from Michelangelo's Brugge *Madonna*. In these and in Sweerts's *Artist's Studio* (153),²⁴⁷ in Adriaen van der Werff's *The Study of Antique Sculptures* (154)²⁴⁸ and in Philippe Joseph Tassaert's *A Brussels Drawing Academy with a Plaster Cast of the Borghese Gladiator* (155),²⁴⁹ it can be understood how plaster casts (like drawings) were used to learn about Antiquity and important contemporary Italian sculpture, knowledge enhancing both the artistic abilities and the social status of artists.

This stress on drawing was also intimately connected with the social status that the act of drawing gave to artists, since they relied on the prevalent practice among the upper classes of sending their children to private drawing classes, as seen in Gabriel Metsu's *Young Lady Drawing* (156).²⁵⁰

All these are useful visualisations, albeit allegorised, but how did training happen in practice and what physical testimonies still exist?

Drawing books were no doubt used as much by prospective sculptors as by prospective painters. As such their approach will have been similar, learning to draw the human figure following the theories of proportions, for instance those of Van de Passe's 1643 *'t Light der teken en schilder konst*.²⁵¹

Similarly, drawings by sculptors after prints cannot logically be differentiated. One case has been found whereby the drawing (157)²⁵² was after a print and not the prototype it represented: François Girardon's tomb monument to the cardinal de Richelieu at the Sorbonne chapel, Paris. The drawing exactly reproduces the mourning figure of *Doctrine* as shown on two of the four views by Bernard Picart

²⁴⁴ Köln, Unicef, Rau Collection; Köln-Utrecht 1991: 283; München-Köln 2002: 326.

²⁴⁵ Amsterdam 1997a: 351.

²⁴⁶ Paris, Louvre, Cf. Schnackenburg 2004; other versions London, National Gallery, inv. 3591, MacLaren 1991: 439; Antwerpen, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 617, München-Köln 2002: 330.

²⁴⁷ Detroit Institute of Arts; *ibid.*: 120.

²⁴⁸ Private collection, see München-Köln 2002: 332; other version Paris, Louvre, inv. MI 1012.

²⁴⁹ London, British Museum, inv. 2003.1129.1

²⁵⁰ London, National Gallery, inv. 5225, MacLaren – Brown 1991: 259.

²⁵¹ Bolten 1985: 26-47; Fuhring 1992.

²⁵² London, Witt Collection, inv. 2143. The attribution to Jan de Bisschop (c.1628-1671) cannot hold, Richelieu's monument had not yet been carved, see Souchal 1977-1993: 2/38, nor the prints by Picart (1673-1733) engraved. An identification of the other two sketches on the sheet might help to find an attribution.

after this monument **(158)**, and not only are the angles exactly the same, but even the shading (e.g. the right knee).

This is the same art-critical problem of copying as a means of learning when trying to identify drawings that were executed by sculptors after sculptures for learning purposes.²⁵³ Art-historiographically, when an Italian motif was found in a collection of Netherlandish sculptors' drawings, the connection was instantly made in terms of copying, particularly so in the presence of Dutch inscriptions. However, all too often, drawings which could be connected to an existing Netherlandish sculpture, were ascribed to the author of the sculpture and said to be preparatory. Can the distinction always be made between a drawing made after an existing sculpture, when it is not a recognisable classical piece, and a design for a future sculpture?

A close comparison between the drawing and the surviving sculpture in situ can pinpoint a distinction. The drawing representing the *St James* **(159)**²⁵⁴ of the high altar of the Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen **(160)**, is more likely to be a drawing after the existing sculpture. The viewpoint is here the main clue. Looking from the deambulatory, just outside the choir and through the balusters of the screen, the left hand finger tips of St James touch the crook in perspectival view, just as in the drawing. This could indicate that the drawing was executed from outside the choir area which was not normally accessible to the lay, and it implies that the viewpoint is from an awkward angle, rather than frontal, as in most designs for sculpture. Moreover, the drawing presents little of the detail on the sculpture. The setting itself is not indicated, nor are the flying putti and clouds on which St James is kneeling. It seems that the drawing was intended to show the structure of the saint's body, not that of the setting and paraphernalia. The same can be said of the insignia and other decorations on the saint's robes that do not appear in the drawing. The drawing's attempt at understanding the structure is executed meticulously in black and white chalk, with little lines devoid of any spontaneity.

Considering that the high altar was one of the sculptural marvels of the city, it should come as no surprise that it was frequently drawn by students of art. But it is

²⁵³ There is sadly no equivalent to the drawings and terracottas held by the Accademia di S. Luca, Roma, where during some years, a recent sculpture was used for training purposes, see Cipriani – Valeriani 1988-1991. Cf. also the drawings after Michelangelo analysed by Rosenberg 2000, who identifies three reasons for these drawn copies after sculptures: to represent, to learn and to understand (Ibid: 55-63).

²⁵⁴ Brussels, Royal Library, inv. SII 131502. Cf. Brussels 1977: 164.

not even clear whether the draughtsman was a sculptor since the drawing does not present much sense of three-dimensionality.

Instead, with a drawing **(161)**²⁵⁵ after Artus I Quellinus's celebrated *St Peter* in the Sint-Andrieskerk, Antwerpen **(162)**, one cannot easily relate the drawing to a specific sculptural experience by a draughtsman, for instance the angle of the viewpoint. Pieter Saboth's epitaph, on which the statue of *St Peter* was placed, does not survive in its original set up. It is clear that the draughtsman copied the marble statue (which had removable silver keys) and not the extant terracotta model which has fixed terracotta keys pointing in the other direction **(163)**.²⁵⁶ Nevertheless, with its large dimensions for a drawing of a single statue (52cm high), in black chalk with white highlights on blue paper, it presents all the characteristics of an academic study after a plaster cast as practised in the eighteenth century, notably by the French. Its interest in the effect of shadows and its choice of viewpoint (the flattest one the sculpture presents) moreover betray a pictorial sense of the third dimension, rather than a sculptor's suggestion of this dimension. Again, the draughtsman might equally have been a sculptor or a painter. If the differences in the cloak prompted speculations about the former existence of a terracotta model after which this drawing was made,²⁵⁷ it is more likely that these adaptations derive from the draughtsman working up an initial sketch after the sculpture into a fuller composition stressing more fleshy parts than found in the sculpture. The body with its drapery forms the main centre of attention, with less emphasis placed on the cock, on the cross or on the setting (there is no suggestion of a socle).

A similar scenario may be surmised for the drawing in black chalk with white highlights **(164)**²⁵⁸ representing the *Mater Dolorosa*, attributed to Lucas Faydherbe **(165)**, in Rubens's funerary chapel, Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen. The attention to the play of light on the draperies and casting shadows in the niche suggest a drawing after the sculpture, even though there are differences. In this case, that the niche frame is only half drawn merely indicates the laziness of the draughtsman, rather than a specific function of the drawing. Furthermore, to the side and on the verso,

²⁵⁵ Wien, Albertina, inv. 8227.

²⁵⁶ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2428.

²⁵⁷ Brussels 1977: 152.

²⁵⁸ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 266. Cf. Mechelen 1997: 136.

studies of female nudes could easily suggest that this sheet was reused for an academic session, drawing after the living model.²⁵⁹

In the last three drawings, besides recording important sculpture, the draughtsman tried to understand their underlying principles. To take a well-known example, Rubens drew many studies after the Laocoon group while in Roma (166).²⁶⁰ These two studies represent the younger son from the front and the back. Their medium, black chalk, is perfectly suited to rendering the softness of skin as opposed to the actual hardness of the marble, that is, the medium suggests the sculpture's prototype, namely nature. The delicate drawing technique gives his figure that "inner luminosity which Rubens believed missing in sculpture".²⁶¹

This type of interpretation through drawing, however, is of little consequence to this discussion, as it concerns a painter. Sculptors, obviously, had sculptural issues on their agenda when drawing other sculptures. This often makes these studies more difficult to distinguish from drawn projects for sculpture, unless it concerns a known classical prototype.

The classic case of a series of drawings by a sculptor, evolving from a drawing after a classical sculpture into the project for a new sculpture is Bernini's *Daniel*.²⁶² The drawing after the classical work is the study of the chest of Laocoon, gradually being transformed into Bernini's kneeling figure of Daniel. The transformation which is most relevant here is the drawing technique. Initially Bernini draws in a technique that is similar to Rubens's studies mentioned above, gradually ridding himself of the details of lighting on the body and ending with a much simpler set of quickly sketched outline strokes. This observation suggests a tempting method for recognising drawings after from designs for sculpture. But how general can this be?

As time progressed, in the eighteenth century, academic principles seem to have become standardised in Italy and France with the influence of drawing books advocating them. Jombert, for instance, wrote in 1755 about how a *grené* (stippled) drawing renders shadings to great effect, particularly in studies after the nude and especially on coloured paper.²⁶³ It is precisely this technique that we saw being used

²⁵⁹ About drawing after the female nude, see Tacke 2001: 65 and an illustration by Nicolaas Verkolje, Nijmegen 1964: cat. 36.

²⁶⁰ Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F249 inf. f°5-6. Held 1986: 81.

²⁶¹ Muller 1982: 236.

²⁶² Lavin 1981: 164-173.

²⁶³ Jombert 1755: 62-69.

in the drawing after Quellinus's *St Peter*. It was also used in an anonymous drawing after a seated *Madonna and Child* attributed to Faydherbe (167)²⁶⁴ and in another one after the head of bishop Triest by Jérôme II du Quesnoy (168).²⁶⁵ In a drawing in red chalk after the caryatid at the far left by Quellinus in the "vierschaar" of the Amsterdam town hall (169),²⁶⁶ seven zones are corrected in black chalk (e.g. the figure's left elbow and foot), which suggests that these were done by a teacher correcting a pupil during an academic session, possibly after a terracotta model or a plaster cast of Quellinus's caryatid. The teacher similarly seems to have been dissatisfied with the first set of feet, requiring them to be redrawn.

Netherlandish interpretative drawings after sculpture tend to be more linear. For instance, a cunning iconographic reinterpretation of the Laocoon group into a Bacchic one was drawn by Jan Claudius de Cock (170).²⁶⁷ This could, of course, have been done anywhere, with a plaster or bronze reduction at hand. His drawing (171)²⁶⁸ proposing an adaptation of Bernini's *Beata Ludovica Albertoni* (172), on the other hand, has a more direct relation to the original Bernini sculpture.

Of a similar type is the quite spectacular drawing (173)²⁶⁹ representing the tomb monument in the choir of the cathedral of Gent to bishop Eugène-Albert d'Allamont (174). It is traditionally attributed to Peter II Verbrugghen, although the monument is fully documented as a work by Jean Del Cour. On account of the two halves separated vertically and presenting alternatives, the drawing has been attributed by some to Del Cour himself.²⁷⁰ But why should this be seen dogmatically as a sign that this is a presentation drawing? If sculptors were used to giving their patrons drawn alternatives, why could they not do the same when copying existing sculptures for training and/or recording purposes?

We are lucky, in this instance, that the drawing is inscribed by several sentences giving an idea of its genesis. In translation: "In Gent, this work stands on this side; This side is correctly followed and drawn, even in the mouldings; See this side from

²⁶⁴ Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen (no inventory number).

²⁶⁵ Idem, inv. Duquesnoy-1. See Boudon-Machuel 2005: 360.

²⁶⁶ Idem, inv. v33.

²⁶⁷ Sold Christie's London 4 July 1989 lot 200.

²⁶⁸ Private collection.

²⁶⁹ Idem, inv. 1399.

²⁷⁰ Brussels 1977: 58.

less afar and drawn as changed according to my imagination”.²⁷¹ The last comment is probably the most revealing: this implies that the author of the inscription is the draughtsman, and whoever he may be, he wished to record the actual monument, but at the same time jot down his own ideas about an improved version of the monument. The diagram at the top should be noted, indicating the positioning of the tomb in relation to the other church fittings in the choir.

The changes that the right side of the drawing proposes are mainly about decorative elements, rather than structural ones. This should be expected since the scheme was set by the adjacent tomb monument to bishop Antonius Triest and the whole choir area was intended to display a typological unity. The changes in decoration concern the crowning putti, one on the left, two on the right, around an urn; and, the pedestal of the cross on the summit, replaced in the drawing by a double pediment with scrolls.

When comparing the drawing to the actual monument as it stands today, a couple of unacknowledged changes occur on both left and right of the drawing. Above the kneeling effigy of the bishop, five balustres reach a height of about two thirds of the size of the adjacent pilasters. They are surmounted by a cartouche with the inscription *D.O.M.* on the right alternative, the left one having a blank. On the monument, the eight whole or half balusters (rather than five) start much higher and exclude any space for a cartouche. This seemingly unimportant detail implies an enormous change of proportions, bringing the three main statues much closer to one another. Moreover, the bronze figure of death takes on much greater drama, nearly obstructing the bishop’s view towards the *Madonna and Child*.

Similar changes in proportions can be noticed about the socle area, with the coats of arms on a square rather than a flat rectangular piece of white marble, and thereby giving no idea of the actual height at which the monument proper starts.

The sort of spontaneity shown in this sheet does not allow for a too meticulous rendering of an existing sculptural ensemble. Details are expunged while general outlines are all that remain of the statues and architectural framework. Volumes are suggested; deep parts contrast tonally with surface areas. The poses are quickly sketched in, while other parts are marginally transformed. Eventually, the drawing

²⁷¹ At the top left hand corner: “Binne gente staet dit werck/ oever desesyde; underneath: Naer dese syde is coerecht/ gevoelg tot de leysten toe naer geteekent and going up on the right edge: Dese syde van niesodiep [niet so diep]/ sien en ver hengert [veranderd] nae myn fantesie.”

presents a coherent whole which is recognisably similar to the actual monument by Del Cour, but is nevertheless distinct.

A last point about the latter drawing is its summary underdrawing in red chalk. It might be thought that this two-stage design is part of the creative process. It certainly is part of the production of the drawing, but not necessarily of the conception of the sculpture.²⁷²

It should be remembered that all these drawings are undatable. Therefore they may be just as much part of the ‘continuous training’ that sculptors engaged in as their early years before becoming a master.

Exercises in three dimensions are even more difficult to identify. The absence of a finished product in a noble or at least durable material cannot be a criterion, nor can that of the absence of quality in any clay or wax sketch. Simon Joseph Duray’s 1774 statuette of *Minerva* (175)²⁷³ clearly reinterprets Jérôme du Quesnoy’s famous marble statue (176) just before it was removed from the Tour et Tassis palace in Brussels at its sale in 1775.²⁷⁴ But does that mean that it was exclusively part of a learning process? Similarly, was Michiel van der Voort’s *Flute Player* (177)²⁷⁵ a stylistic exercise after Antoine Coysevox, an end product or a finished model for a marble? The only such sculpture we can be specific about is Artus I Quellinus’s terracotta copy of the figure of Michelangelo’s *Day* (178),²⁷⁶ signed and dated 1658, i.e. in the middle of his Amsterdam period. There must therefore have been a market for such copies. That copying, even of relatively inaccessible prototypes, was a common practice should not attract attention in a period when invention and copyright had totally different meanings to today. Bernini’s *Anima damnata* was still copied for garden decoration in the Low Countries as late as the 1780s or 1790s (179).²⁷⁷ It shows, at the very least, how far and for how long models could travel.

Considerations must now be made of the last important chapter that concerns the training of Netherlandish artists: travel to Italy to perfect one’s knowledge of Antiquity. Its popularity is exemplified by the paintings, particularly by the

²⁷² See chapter 2 p. 75 for an example which is part of the conception of the sculpture, by Michiel van der Voort the Elder.

²⁷³ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 6150.

²⁷⁴ Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Zentralarchiv, Niederlande Akten 188.

²⁷⁵ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2285.

²⁷⁶ Amsterdams Historisch Museum, inv. BB2662; Jonker – Vreeken 1995: cat. 130.

²⁷⁷ Placed in specially-conceived niches of a vinehouse near Oudenaarde.

Bamboccianti, of Italian life, landscape and art, as seen all together in Anton Goubau's *Artists Drawing after Antique Sculpture in Roma* (180).²⁷⁸ Between 1620-1720 most of these artists joined the 'Netherlandish' community in Roma, the *Bentvuegels*.

Although many Netherlandish painters undertook the trip to Italy, few sculptors are documented to have crossed the Alps. Judith Verberne's recent research found only nine sculptors who were definitely *Bentvuegels*.²⁷⁹ Two more were probably members of this artists' association, François du Quesnoy (in 1618-1620 and possibly in 1632-1634) and a certain Nicolaas de Wit (in 1627-1628).²⁸⁰

After Du Quesnoy, Artus I Quellinus is the first *Bentvuegel* sculptor to be recorded in Roma, in 1636-1637, or possibly until 1639.²⁸¹ His later principal assistant, Rombout Verhulst, also went to Roma. They both attended the *Bentvuegels*' meetings, the first taking the nickname "Corpus" (to reflect his stoutness), the latter "Olijftak" (branch of olive tree). Two later well-known Antwerpen sculptors who spent time in Roma were Peter II Verbrugghen, alias "Ballon"/"Windbal", 1674/75 and Michiel I van der Voort, alias "Welgemaect", in 1690-1693.²⁸²

Amongst those who were not members of the *Bentvuegels*, we should mention François Dieussart,²⁸³ who built up a respectable career in Roma before moving on elsewhere, Sebastiaen van den Eynde²⁸⁴ and Jacques Bergé.²⁸⁵ Those who went to Italy after the *Bentvuegels* had dissolved (they had been prohibited by papal decree in 1720) include Laurent Delvaux,²⁸⁶ Peter (II) Scheemakers, Pieter Anton Verschaffelt²⁸⁷ and Charles-François van Poucke.²⁸⁸

That so few Flemish sculptors effectively thought of spending some years in the Eternal City may be a reflection of the relatively recent and only gradual recognition of the art of sculpture being on the level of painting. Engaging in a trip of several years obviously also required substantial funding that few sculptors could build up

²⁷⁸ Antwerpen, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 185; Köln-Utrecht 1991: 174.

²⁷⁹ See Judith Verberne's forthcoming thesis, Universiteit Groningen: Bartholomeus Hots (?), alias *Phydias*, before 1668; *Praxiteles*, before 1668; Michiel van Barspalm, alias *Standvastigheid*, c.1674/1675; 1674/1675-1676 and those discussed below. See also Hoogewerff 1952; Janssens 2001; Verberne 2001.

²⁸⁰ Not listed in Thieme-Becker.

²⁸¹ Verberne's forthcoming thesis.

²⁸² Tralbaut 1950: 27.

²⁸³ Boudon-Machuel 2003.

²⁸⁴ Jansen – Van Herck 1944-1945: 71.

²⁸⁵ Bergé 1986: 33.

²⁸⁶ Jacobs 1999: 28-32; Brussels 2004: 56.

²⁸⁷ Mannheim 1976: 137.

²⁸⁸ Michel 1993: 63.

themselves or receive from their family.²⁸⁹ Moreover, during the first half of the seventeenth century, there were not so many talented sculptors around who could replace the lost workforce in any Low Countries workshop. It may well be this element that weighed heaviest in a family's decision whether or not to send a son across the Alps. The day-to-day workshop obligations simply overtook the ideal of spending some time perfecting one's art.

It was then only possible to leave a sculpture workshop if one had very forcible arguments to do so. Lucas Faydherbe apparently contemplated going to Italy, but, as we learn from Rubens's recommendation letter, written on his leaving Rubens's studio, he forfeited this possibility because of family obligations, in this case his 'emergency wedding' as his girlfriend became pregnant. Rubens noted this as it is also the reason for quitting his studio.²⁹⁰

It is conspicuous how the most accomplished sculptors of the first generation in the seventeenth century went to Roma: François du Quesnoy, Artus I Quellinus and Rombout Verhulst. Noteworthy is that Quellinus made his trip at the age of 27 or 28, after he had already been properly trained by his father Erasmus and had already sold sculptures of *Mars* and *Venus* to Jacob van Campen to be placed in the Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik's garden at Honselaarsdijk.²⁹¹

Only François du Quesnoy went to Roma very early in his career, at 18, with a scholarship of two years from archduke Albert. However, he never returned from Roma and is supposed to have welcomed a number of fellow countrymen sculptors, including Artus Quellinus. Nevertheless, nothing is documented.

Both Du Quesnoy and Dieussart are exceptions as they are Netherlandish sculptors who settled definitively or for over a decade in Roma. Most other northern sculptors only perfected their art in Roma for a couple of years at most. As most of these were still in their years of training, they will have integrated into the *industry of art*,²⁹² i.e. in one of the major workshops and will not have received any commissions directly themselves. Therefore it remains disappointing that not a single archival reference on the activity of these sculptors has come to light, despite the decades of archival research by such luminaries as Hoogewerff in the early

²⁸⁹ In the Low Countries, there was no special fund like the Fondation Darchis (from 1711) for artists from Liège, see Puraye 1993.

²⁹⁰ Duverger 1977.

²⁹¹ Goossens 1995: 202.

²⁹² Montagu 1989, title.

twentieth century and the rediscovery of Bernini and his school since Wittkower's monograph.²⁹³

One might expect that the main purpose for going to Roma for artists was to study Antiquity, but this preeminence, over and above that of renaissance and contemporary sculpture, is not reflected in the few preserved sketchbooks, those by Delvaux (181)²⁹⁴ and Peter II Verbrugghen (182-186).²⁹⁵ The first shows a much greater interest in contemporary and near-contemporary sculpture, whereas Verbrugghen's principal interest is architectural detail (mouldings, profiles, etc.), showing how much he already commanded the art of sculpture, but aspired to greater knowledge (and new and fashionable ideas!) in the art of architecture. He did draw after contemporary sculptures, though not exclusively after well-known ones and only occasionally after antique sculptures. On his way back he sketched the full scale model of the monument by Girardon to the cardinal de Richelieu at the Sorbonne church in Paris, that was temporarily installed in the church in 1677.²⁹⁶

In the eighteenth-century, while Italy continued to attract sculptors, Paris increasingly became an alternative. There had already been the occasional sculptor from the Low Countries who spent time in a Paris workshop, as had Jérôme I Stalpaert (1589-after 1633) in 1606 in the studio of Mathieu Jacquet.²⁹⁷ And of course there had already been an influx prompted by the building works of Louis XIV, but those sculptors were not to return home. These, however, often kept an open door to their compatriots. For instance the Slotz took on Jean Pierre Antoine Tassaert (1727-1788)²⁹⁸ and Pieter Pepers (1730-1785)²⁹⁹ in their workshop. The latter executed a terracotta copy of Michel Ange Slodtz's *Charity* relief for St Sulpice (187).³⁰⁰ Jacques Bergé enjoyed further training in the workshop of Nicolas Coustou,³⁰¹ while Verschaffelt did so in that of Edme Bouchardon.³⁰²

²⁹³ Hoogewerff 1911-1913; Vaes 1919.

²⁹⁴ Brussels, Royal Library, inv. F28655-F28701; Jacobs 1999: 547.

²⁹⁵ Private collection. These sketchbooks were rediscovered by Helena Bussers just before submission of this thesis and she kindly organised their viewing. The c.200 sketches warrant a book-length publication...

²⁹⁶ Souchal 1977-1993: 2/39.

²⁹⁷ Contract published by Ciprut 1956; see Ciprut 1967: 116.

²⁹⁸ Réau 1934; Souchal 1967: 563.

²⁹⁹ Brugge 1955: 93; Souchal 1967: 564.

³⁰⁰ Paris, with Bernard Steinitz, 2003. See Souchal 1967: 271; Jacobs 2008.

³⁰¹ Bergé 1986: 31.

³⁰² Mannheim 1976: 137.

This chapter on the market for sculpture introduced some of the artistic, family and business contexts and now allows a focus on the actual happenings with the hands and mind of the artists involved, at first orally and on paper, as discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: From first contact to contract

First contact and determining requirements

In the context of a market for luxury goods, such as that for sculpture, we may assume close contact between the potential buyers (mostly patrons commissioning large-scale projects) and the sculptors. This is corroborated by the fact that most commissions derive from patrons who knew each other, whether private individuals like patrons for tomb monuments and secular sculpture or church and monastic officials. Therefore the initial request and working out of the requirements was generally done orally.

As such, the early part of the production process is elusive: full documentation is rare. A splendidly illustrated one is recounted in the church accounts of the Sint-Gummaruskerk at Lier.³⁰³ In 1619, Andries Hechts, the church master of that church, travelled to Antwerpen to look for a sculptor who could erect an altar in his church. The account records 13 ½ stuivers travel expenses. The sculptor whom he had met was Hans van Mildert, a frequent collaborator of Rubens. The prospective patron did not get an answer straight away: the sculptor wanted to see the setting before committing himself to a contract. Van Mildert stayed at Lier for three days, where the church paid for his expenses at a local inn. While he was there, the mayor organised a meeting together with five or six other city magistrates to discuss the design which Van Mildert had just draughted. The next day, the patron and the sculptor agreed to the erection of the altar. The contract specified a height of 21 feet, a width of 12 feet at the pedestal, and rich materials, namely polished black marble, red marble pillars and the decorative parts in alabaster, the whole to be

³⁰³ “Den 20 Augustus heb ik Andries Hechts naar Antwerpen gereyst om te vernemen naer eenen beeldsnyder in ‘t steen die men mochte Sint-Gommaersauter aenbesteden mitsgaders om te vernemen naar eenen geelgieter om eenen koperen pilaer te laten maken in de nieuwe afsluiting, dus van wagenvracht van gaen en komen, betaelt
13½ stuivers

Item alsoo ik ‘t Antwerpen wezende gesproken had met zekerer beldsnyder, zegde hy daer af niet en konde zeggen voor dat hy hadde de plaatse gezien, is 4 of 5 dagen daer naer tot Lier gekomen, die alhier is gebleven tot den derden dag als wanneer hy hier in ‘t groen huis heeft gelogeert en geslapen daer men heeft voor betaelt van eene maelyd als hy ‘s avonds daer in kwam en slapen
24 stuivers

De andere maaltyden heeft hy gebruikt tot Anneke van Immerseel, schoonmoeder van Andries Hechts.

Item heeft met den 25 Augustus wezende zondag naer het lof den Borgemeester met 5 of 6 van de heeren van de magistraat te samen vergadert ten einde den meester zouden toonen zynen patroon van welken hy, alhier binnen de stad wezende, had geconcipeert, alwaer zy goed contentement in hadden en als toen ten huize van den pastoor voor myne heeren doen halen eenen stoop renschen wyn, waervoor betaelt aen Samuel Moons
26 stuivers.”

Lier, archief Sint-Gummaruskerk, [E. Mast & F. Verwilt] inv. 126/5 No. C-F. Leysens 1941: 77-80, 134.

topped by a six-and-half-foot statue of pure white alabaster representing Saint Gummarus. The contract then goes on to define the payment schedule, which only ended two years after completion of the work (201).³⁰⁴

This rare verbose account book sheds light on the commissioning process in several ways: it gives both a setting and a time framework, besides showing that the burgomaster was responsible for church matters. The sculptor alone was responsible for the contract and apart from the patron, nobody else was involved in the initial design, and no payment accompanied it. Evidently we are here talking about a minor altar commission, which eventually only cost 1950 guilders. This sum is not insubstantial, but is only a fraction of the price paid for major altars.³⁰⁵ Unfortunately, the account book does not say how the church master got to know Hans van Mildert, although he clearly knew that he had to go to the nearby metropolis of Antwerpen to find sculptors of any repute.

Determining the concept

The conceptual stage of the production of sculpture was just as diverse as its patronage. In the three-stage production model for art – concept, design, execution – for Flemish sculpture, the concept and the execution (the latter principally about attribution) have attracted most attention from historians. As this thesis proposes to establish the linking element, this is not the right place to dwell on either of these two approaches. Instead, case studies about the conceptual stage, particularly the intervention of the patron, may be found in the typological studies of particular sculptures referred to in the introduction.³⁰⁶

Design on paper

Sculptors' drawings as subordinated to a higher goal

Sculptors draw no better and no worse than any other of the plastic or graphic artists.

And that holds true of everyone who aspires to do sculpture (including you). A sculptor's drawing generally differs from others in the attitude he takes towards his

³⁰⁴ Leemans 1972: 132-134.

³⁰⁵ Contemporary high altars usually cost in the region of 7.000 to 8.000 guilders, that of the cathedral of Antwerpen 17.000 (plus Rubens's painting of 1.500). The later altarpiece of the Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen, cost around 25.000 guilders and is allegedly the most expensive ever built in Antwerpen. See Herremans 2005: 199n6; Herremans 2007: 255.

³⁰⁶ See pp. 71-72.

drawing. To him drawing is not an end in itself; rather it is a means to an end. The usual qualities – delicacy of line, tonality, perspective (or the lack of it), sensitivity of indication – mean nothing to a sculptor in his drawings. His only concern with drawing is to indicate a shape or a study of relation of shapes quickly, since a shape idea can be realized quicker on paper than it can through the ordinary mediums of sculpture.³⁰⁷

This is how a mid-twentieth century sculptor, Louis Slobodkin, who wrote a textbook on how to make sculpture, encouraged his reader and student of sculpture to start with drawing.

Was this stress on drawing also the case in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Flanders? The body of material that survived the centuries does suggest so, although the survival rate of such works is extremely different from one sculptor to another. Over three hundred drawings by Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen have survived,³⁰⁸ while none by François Dieussart, only two plausible attributions to Artus I Quellinus **(298, 639)**³⁰⁹ and three drawings by his cousin Artus II Quellinus **(287, 300, 306)**.³¹⁰ Similarly, the proficiency of draughtmanship differs substantially from one sculptor to another, though a high level is frequently achieved by most sculptors by whom we have autograph drawings. It should also be said immediately,³¹¹ that the request by a sculptor to a painter or architect to deliver him a drawn design does not necessarily constitute the proof that that sculptor was not a proficient draughtsman.

That “drawing combines the qualities of immediacy and informality that other media lack”³¹² is confirmed by a number of rough sketches, particularly by someone like Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen. A pen and black ink sketch of a *Madonna and Child on the globe with two angels and a baldachin* **(202)**³¹³ that is here attributed to him,³¹⁴ despite the later inscription “chenoy”,³¹⁵ illustrates the point. It is mostly drawn with several strokes that run parallel or concentrically to indicate roughly the intended main shapes, heads and eyes are jotted in and hardly comprehensible, as are several limbs. The imagination of the viewer needs to complete the scene, only further

³⁰⁷ Slobodkin 1949: 77.

³⁰⁸ See the inventory by Kockelberg 1986 with additions in Starcky 1988: 137-140.

³⁰⁹ Antwerpen 2000a: 40-41; see below.

³¹⁰ Thorlacius-Ussing 1926: 21; Casteels 1968; Zajadacz-Hastenrath 1970: 218-219; see below.

³¹¹ Although the main discussion of this subject is in chapter 5.

³¹² New York 1988: 14.

³¹³ Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen inv. *F. Duquesnoy-2*.

³¹⁴ Cf. for instance the rendering of heads, eyes and hatching in his more finished drawing of a *Madonna and Child* in the Van Herck collection (Antwerpen 2000a: 137) or in **(812)** (Antwerpen 2000a: 141).

helped with some hatching that is the only element that suggests light and shade, and therefore three-dimensional forms. That the sketch concerns a sculpture is only indicated by the absence of a ground, implying that the intended shapes be hung on a wall or pillar, and the viewer's knowledge of similar groups of the *Madonna and Child*.

This drawing thus fulfils exactly the requirements indicated by Louis Slobodkin: it is quickly realised on paper, the means to an end indicates the relationships between different forms. As such it is the simplest expression of a compositional study, irrespective of the medium in which the finished work is intended (modelled, sculpted, painted or other).

Two drawings attributed to his father Pieter I are indicative of the next stage in the process. A design for an *Epitaph with Father Time* (203)³¹⁶ combines the same rough shapes blocked in, but in pencil, before being redrawn in pen and ink and heightened with brown and grey wash. The fact that the drawing was started in pencil suggests that the sculptor preferred the speed of drawing allowed by the pencil, in that it does not stop legibility when redrawing the chosen forms in pen and ink. This avoided having to redraw the whole composition on a different piece of paper. The back has the same technique, except for the absence of grey wash. This attitude to technique is corroborated by the extensive pencil drawing on another sheet for the epitaph by Peter I Verbrugghen on which most pencil lines are not redrawn in pen and ink.³¹⁷

The other drawing attributed to Peter I represents *Boreas and Orithyia* (204).³¹⁸ As it exclusively concerns a figurative subject, without architectural elements as in the previous one, the attitude to sketching is different, the lines shorter and more vibrating. The technique is also different, although it is not clear what prompted the artist to choose this: red chalk instead of pencil, confirmed with pen and ink and lightly touched up with wash to render shades more vivid.

Although imaginary, the ground is indicated as a sort of socle. It contains the heads of angels, which are depicted blowing the wind in the story of Boreas and Orithyia.

³¹⁵ And as such recently included by Boudon-Machuel: 341, in her section on rejected attributions.

³¹⁶ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 2014. Brussels 1977: 258.

³¹⁷ Idem, inv. 2019. Brussels 1977: 258.

³¹⁸ Idem, inv. 625.

This, together with the absence of a background, allows the viewer to recognise the drawing as a design for a sculptural group.³¹⁹

These examples show why and how drawings are generally seen as the first formulation of ideas in the mind of the artist, or, as Dézallier d'Argenville put it in the mid-eighteenth century:

Drawings are the first ideas of a painter, the first fire of his imagination, his style, his spirit, his way of thinking [...] Drawings demonstrate the fecundity and sharpness of the artist's genius, the nobility and elevation of his feelings, and the ease with which he expresses them.³²⁰

This attitude to drawing goes back to the early renaissance when Cennino Cennini, Leon Battista Alberti and other theorists already advocated the primacy of drawing in any artistic training. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century Netherlandish theorists did not do much more than repeat this position, both for its practical merit and in order to raise the social status of artists amongst the liberal arts. Although they more usually discussed the drawing practices of painters than of sculptors, this made little difference in the typology and contemporary appreciation of such rapidly sketched drawings, which were referred to as “crabbelinghe”³²¹ (‘scrawls’ or “pensiero”³²²).

Most European languages are unfortunately not very clear in their vocabulary about draughtmanship, as only two words, ‘drawing’ (“dessin” in French; “tekening” in Dutch) and ‘design’ (“dessein” in seventeenth and eighteenth-century French – today it simply means purpose, i.e. is unrelated to the art of drawing; “ontwerp” in Dutch) are used. Pierre Rosenberg parallels the French and English terms and further defines ‘design’ aptly, but very broadly, as containing the ideas of “intention, purpose, meaning, as well as preliminary sketch or outline”.³²³ The term ‘sketch’ is also used alone to mean preliminary drawing, even if it is unspecific as to the medium, which can equally refer to oil painting on canvas (‘oil sketch’) or modelling in clay or plaster.

³¹⁹ Peter I Verbrugghen also produced a variant composition in a much more finished drawing: idem, inv. 624. The relation between these drawings is however unclear.

³²⁰ “Les desseins [...] sont les premières idées d’un peintre, le premier feu de son imagination, son style, son esprit, sa manière de penser. [...] Les desseins prouvent encore la fécondité, la vivacité du génie de l’artiste, la noblesse, l’élévation de ses sentiments, et la facilité avec laquelle il les a exprimés.” Dézallier d’Argenville 1762: 1/xxxii.

³²¹ Depauw 2002: 52.

³²² Sciolla 1991: 46.

³²³ Rosenberg 2000: 176.

Different stages in the design process can be seen in a few cases when two or more versions of the same composition have been preserved. A splendid example in which Pieter I Verbrugghen's two-technique design process, first in red chalk, then in pen and ink, may be seen in a design for a statue of *St John* by Michiel van der Voort **(205)**, which comes close to the *St John the Evangelist* he executed for the Crucifixion group of the Mount of Calvary outside the Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen.³²⁴ With variants in the clothing, but not in the figure's attitude, he repeats it in red chalk on the right of the drawing. Only then did he confirm the figure on the right with pen and ink and grey wash over the red chalk. The drawing further has a scale on the right and is likely to have been part of a contract: the meagre remains of some inscriptions can be seen at the bottom of the cut-out drawing.

For the series of apostle statues in the same church, Michiel van der Voort jotted down several series of figures on different sheets. Most interesting are those on which he repeated the same figure several times: for instance three versions of "paulus" (St Paul) **(206)**,³²⁵ four versions of "petrus" (St Peter) **(207)**,³²⁶ and four versions of "iacobus" (St James the Minor) **(208)**.³²⁷

The alternative figures of St Paul try out different attitudes of the arms, holding the book, different lengths of the tunic and slightly adapted the position of the head. The technique is the same, in pencil confirmed by broad strokes of wash, the latter giving much depth through heavy shading, so as to suggest three-dimensionality.

The second sheet, of St Peter, only bears one drawing confirmed by pen and ink heightened with wash. The other three remained in pencil. Again variations in the position of the arms and the general attitude are explored. Interestingly, the pen and ink with wash confirmation is a combination of both lines and planes that help to pick out the drapery and so give flesh to the statue's three-dimensionality.

The third drawing, of St James, is possibly the most interesting in showing how much the sculptor was hesitating between different solutions to placing an attribute that clearly disturbed his composition. In the rightmost design, he chose to change

³²⁴ It is incised *ioan/nes*. Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH307. See Antwerpen 2000a: 182.

³²⁵ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 1407.

³²⁶ Idem, inv. 1409.

³²⁷ Idem, inv. 1408.

the staff into a book, possibly after first trying out the posture of his figure in an anatomical study that is on the back of the sheet.³²⁸

A great variety in the directions the apostle figures are looking characterises this project: is this a consequence of one mind creating them all? This *varietà* was clearly wished by Van der Voort and is conspicuously absent from other such series of apostle statues in churches where they were commissioned from several sculptors.³²⁹ Moreover, the end product, over life-size statues in stone painted white, on the partially dark grey backdrop of the spandrels between the gothic columns, are much more emphatic than the drawings would lead the viewer to expect (212). The missing link, the intermediary stage of three-dimensional sketches, probably in clay (one seems to have survived) (209),³³⁰ may encourage an explanation. When comparing this terracotta to the three sketches for the *St Andrew* on two different sheets (210-211),³³¹ it becomes clear how much more legible and emphatic the attitude of *St Andrew* is in the terracotta and in the end product (which only essentially differ in the shape of the socle). Even though the most summary drawing of *St Andrew* is exclusively concerned with the principal lines of the drapery stressing the diagonals of the cross, but adding three-dimensionality with the shading, the legibility of the final statue is much greater. In a way, the solution that Van der Voort chose is disappointing, as he returned to the seminal design by François du Quesnoy, without adding much of himself.

This shows how much the overall visual effect had precedence over the idea of authorship or innovation. Seeing drawing as the pure creative moment caught in action then often becomes a fiction, unless speaking of the most superior artists. These also relate to predecessors' work, copying, interpreting and sometimes only duplicating for recording purposes, as we have seen in chapter 1.³³²

All the above could largely be applied to the design of paintings or prints, for the principle of shading indicating depth is not exclusive to designs preparatory for three-dimensional works. If the example is taken of two designs for a title page by

³²⁸ Brussels 1977: 222.

³²⁹ For instance the cathedrals of Mechelen and Brussels and the *béguinage* church of Leuven; see chapter 4 for the collaboration of sculptors.

³³⁰ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine-Arts, inv. 2490; cf. Brussels 1977: 227.

³³¹ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 1418 and 1415.

³³² See pp. 59-65.

Abraham van Diepenbeeck (213),³³³ a contemporary painter and a frequent designer of sculpture,³³⁴ we can note the following differences. The first study represents a seated female figure under a broad canopy, holding a shield. Outlines of angels can be guessed, as well as a creature at the feet of the figure. The design concerns a composition study nearly entirely in pen and ink. A wash only accentuates the shadow areas under the canopy and gives a little background around the composition. As such, the composition could concern a number of projects, painted, engraved or sculpted.

The second design exactly reproduces the first in terms of the general lines and proportions from an upright rectangular format of 9.4 x 12.4 cm to one of 15.4 x 20.3 cm, i.e. over double the surface. The canopy becomes a full architectural structure; the figures gain properly proportioned anatomies, as do the herms on either side of the architecture; the creature at the foot of the lady can be recognised as a lion; and a number of circular lines in the first design become phylacteries. The faces, however, still have no individualised traits and eyes and noses remain the characteristic 'blobs' or shortcuts that Van Diepenbeeck normally uses in his drawings. The composition could still concern a sculptural ensemble, except for the phylacteries which, even in wood, would not be realisable in the round. From the subject matter, however, the viewer can understand that it concerns a title page design, not a design for a sculpture, a relief or a painting.

The vital question is what makes a sculptor's design – or at least a design for a sculpture, even if by a painter – different.

First, it is clear that, as Slobodkin quoted above underlines, the object of the drawing is the design of a sculpture, not the design of a drawing. But this may also apply to designing anything other than a drawing.

Second, the design for a sculpture helps visualise a sculptural project, i.e. in three dimensions, taking account of its physical make-up in a particular material and usually for a specific setting.

Third, a design for sculpture can include technical indications, either for the master himself or for the workshop, or within an agreement to which the drawing is added.

³³³ Paris, Fondation Custodia, inv. 1976-T.25 and 5948. The former bought at Amsterdam, Mak van Waay, 3 May 1976 lot 181; the latter published London-Paris-Bern-Brussels 1972: 32-33.

³³⁴ See chapter 5.

Fourth, the design may include discussion material on which the patron is to be consulted before a decision is reached.

All this relates designs for sculpture much more to designs for architecture. Those are often mixed, as for instance in an anonymous design for a pilastered or columned wall with a double door and a niche for a statue **(214)**.³³⁵ Immediately below the drawing, however roughly sketched in in pen and ink, appears a plan of the wall. From this it can be understood that pilasters (and not columns) separate four spaces of differing depths and shapes, that is flat or rounded niches. From the drawing it could have been read as the three-dimensionality of the statue in a niche with a shell-shaped apse. However, it could not have been guessed that the scene irrecongnisably sketched in under the arch at the far left is meant to represent a painting, while the one under the arch at the far right contains two sculpted figures.

Another example of the use of a summary plan together with an elevation, to use the terms from architectural practice, is a design for a reliquary casket with two angels on top **(215)** on the verso of a drawing by Rubens.³³⁶ This is a method that allows the draughtsman-conceptor to counteract the abstracting of the third dimension that a two-dimensional drawing implies and that a perspectival view on paper would only summarily render. In this way, drawing enables the artist to crystalize in his mind the overall shape of the project.

In designs that involve both architecture and sculpture and in which both are given a visualisation of volume (as opposed to simply a sketch giving the iconography of the sculpture, as frequently appears on drawings by architects), it is the viewer who understands the three-dimensionality of the projected work on the basis of previous knowledge of similar examples. Two will suffice. The first is a design for a columned wall with niches for statues **(216)** by Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen.³³⁷ This is an unexecuted proposal for the restoration of the Jesuit church of Antwerpen after the 1718 fire. The second design is that by Jan Claudius de Cock for the entrance to the choir in the Sint-Jacobskerk of Antwerpen **(217)**. The combination of micro architecture, ornament and a statue makes the context clear, although the pen and

³³⁵ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 1579.

³³⁶ London, Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute, inv. PG66verso, attributed to Rubens (?). The second angel is assumed, as only half of the symmetrically composed reliquary casket design survives. Recto: *The Three Graces* by Rubens, see Burchard-D'Hulst 1963: 326.

³³⁷ Antwerpen, Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk archives, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: cat. 124. See also Brussels 1977: 275; Kockelbergh 1986: 395.

ink drawing remains particularly sketchy, certainly when compared with a later working out of the project **(218)**.³³⁸

In some cases, the architectural setting shown in the drawing is real, such as the niche highlighted in wash in the design by Michiel van der Voort for the monument of Jan Frans van Cotten at the Sint-Michielskerk, Gent **(219)**,³³⁹ even though the niche as executed is different. In other cases, a background is merely drawn in to suggest depth, as for instance in the design for a statue of Neptune by the same artist, where the rectangular-shaped wash cannot indicate the shape of a niche **(220)**.³⁴⁰ Or the suggestion of a niche is pure fantasy within a drawing after an existing sculpture, such as an anonymous one **(221)**³⁴¹ after the Saturn relief by Artus I Quellinus at the former town hall of Amsterdam **(222)**.

Architectural designs frequently show the use of a ruler, particularly in the later stages of design, where the exact proportions become important. An unusually large design for part of an altarpiece by Peter I Verbrugghen showing the 'bay' with St Paul between two pilasters, illustrates this: the architectural parts were first sketched in pencil before being confirmed by pen and ink, black chalk and brown wash **(223)** and being framed by red chalk hatching.³⁴² This use of the ruler is however not limited to architectural settings, as shown in a design for a tomb slab (that is supposedly in low relief) by Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen **(224)**.³⁴³

The use of colour could often help in the suggestion of three-dimensionality. The use of red chalk as underdrawing has already been seen, but not as a single medium, as in a design for an altar table **(226)** by Melchior Hamers S.J.³⁴⁴ The same artist proposed another design for a similar object **(227)**.³⁴⁵ In this pen and ink drawing, he used not only grey wash to create depth, but also used a yellow wash, as if to indicate gilding or parts in brass. The inscription underneath the design, "In altari S. Ignatii ex pario marmore in Domo Profess. per F. Hamers S.J.", leaves no doubt as to the material of the end product. Either the details indicated in yellow were painted in yellow to imitate gilding or they were gilt. Unfortunately this altar table no

³³⁸ Antwerpen, Museum Vleeshuis, inv. 1220/56. Signed and dated 1720. Cf. Brussels 1977: 43.

³³⁹ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 1399. Cf. Tralbaut 1950: 192-195, 380; Brussels 1977: 235.

³⁴⁰ Idem, inv. 1401. Cf. Tralbaut 1950: 398.

³⁴¹ Bremen, Staatliche Kunsthalle, inv. 357.

³⁴² Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 690. Cf. Brussels 1977: 260.

³⁴³ Idem, inv. 2111. Cf. Brussels 1977: 268.

³⁴⁴ Antwerpen, Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk archives, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: 72 cat. 121. On the exact identification of this sculptor, see Van Herck – Jansen 1948: 72.

³⁴⁵ Idem, cat. 120

longer exists. In a third drawing from the same Jesuit archive **(228)**,³⁴⁶ by an unknown artist, the reliquary shrine has decorative parts picked out in yellow, so as to suggest gilding. In this instance, the indication may be true, in that the shrine could be a piece of silversmithing, which is further suggested by the largely grey main colour and the dark background which gives an impression of glittering material. A design by Gilles Gaspard Pierard, where this theory is illustrated represents a verger's staff **(229)**,³⁴⁷ where the colour code is combined with written explanations: yellow areas with *cuivre doré*, blank areas with *argent*.

Colour was also a way to clarify materials and iconographies intended in the end product. Thus a drawing of an 'exhibition throne' (a sort of extended canopy, used to contain a statue, generally of the *Madonna and Child*) by Willem Kericx **(230)**³⁴⁸ renders the drapery in light blue (the colour of the Virgin), the eucharistic symbols of the corn in yellow, as well as the rays of light and the drapery's fringes. This colour code no doubt also corresponded to the actual colouring of the end product, here most probably in wood, although marble cannot be excluded, if it is kept in mind the wall-mounted exhibition throne of a miraculous *Virgin & Child* in the Sint-Pauluskerk of Antwerpen by the same artist **(231)**.

A *unicum* in Flemish designs for sculpture is one for a temporary decoration (a triumphal arch?) in grey and white gouache on blue ground **(232)**.³⁴⁹ The effect of a negative is achieved with much white on the dark ground. Is the choice of medium related to the function and colour of the end product? It could be imagined that this design was realised in wood painted white, shown against the real sky. The fact that the central cartouche above the arch is the opening of an animal mouth underlines the play with the 'background'.

None of the arguments discussed so far point to any clear distinguishing elements between designs for sculpture and other types of designs, not even by first distinguishing between sketches or designs for figures, for details (anatomical or other), for figurative compositions or for compositions including figures and architectural elements.

³⁴⁶ Idem, cat. 139.

³⁴⁷ Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH29. See Namur 1997: 134.

³⁴⁸ Idem, inv. CVH387. See Antwerpen 2000a: 132.

³⁴⁹ Antwerpen, Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk archives, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: 79 cat. 62.

To make it worse, a number of designs which are known to be for sculpture, show absolutely no interest in three-dimensionality. In fact, they are mere musings to work out compositions. Examples include a design for the pulpit of the Leuven Jesuit church, now in the cathedral of Brussels, by Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen **(402)**,³⁵⁰ a design for the high altar of the church of the Sint-Bernardusabdij at Hemiksem, signed by Peter Scheemaekers **(233)**,³⁵¹ a design for the high altar of the Jesuit church of Mechelen probably designed by the architect Antoon Losson **(234)**,³⁵² a design for the high altarpiece of the Sint-Michielskerk at Waarloos by Theodoor Verhaegen **(235)**,³⁵³ and a design for an unidentified altarpiece **(236)**.³⁵⁴ In the latter drawing, it is not even clear whether the two worshippers are figures included in the sculptural complex or whether they are meant to indicate the place and size of real people in the church. The only thing which would remain unexplained if these were real people, is why they are placed so high up in a composition that is likely to have been much extended below, including an altar table that is not represented. Note that all five of these drawings do not use any wash to suggest depth. The architectural elements alone imply three-dimensionality, which could however have been feigned in a painting, as in the designs for the refectory frescoes of the Sint-Michielsabdij in Antwerpen by the painter Jan Erasmus Quellinus **(237)**.³⁵⁵

A drawing in the same vein as the preceding five represents the epitaph to bishop Marius Ambrosius Capello (1652-1676) in the cathedral of Antwerpen by Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen. As the style of the drawing is not in the perfectly recognisable hand of this master, it is catalogued as ‘after’ him **(238)**.³⁵⁶ Again, this drawing in chalk is only concerned with the composition, not with suggesting three-dimensionality. Moreover, the architectural element (the sarcophagus) as well as some of the horizontal background hatching is in red chalk, while remainder in pencil. Who could thus have had an interest in this? A painter? Or was it part of a workshop procedure, that allowed assistants to determine the different parts in marble to be realised in a terracotta model? Another drawing after the same epitaph

³⁵⁰ Further discussed in chapter 3, p. 112.

³⁵¹ Antwerpen, Museum Vleeshuis.

³⁵² Heverlee, Archief der Vlaamse Jezüieten, *Promptuarium Pictorum* 1/27. See Plantenga 1926: 194-195.

³⁵³ Idem, inv. CVH335. See Antwerpen 2000a: 222.

³⁵⁴ Heverlee, Archief der Vlaamse Jezüieten, *Promptuarium Pictorum* 1/14b.

³⁵⁵ e.g. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. E220-1949.

³⁵⁶ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 1090.

was probably executed by Alexander Schobbens (1720-1781) in the context of a restoration campaign of the monument **(239)**.³⁵⁷

In a few instances, a drawing representing a sculptural project also includes some other element, either painted, or already existing. For instance, the design for an altarpiece, here attributed to Willem Kericx **(240)**.³⁵⁸ This drawing has a blank in the middle, which, considering its relative size and format, must have been intended to hold a given painting.

Another drawing, which is attributed elsewhere to Artus II Quellinus and identified as an unexcuted design for an equestrian monument to King Charles II of Great Britain on a lavish allegorical pedestal intended for Windsor Castle **(241)**,³⁵⁹ only shows in a subtle way that the purpose of the drawing was part of the bid for the commission of the pedestal. Indeed, the rendering of the horseman differs in no perceptible way from the rest of the design, allowing one to imagine without too much intellectual effort the final three-dimensional object. This prompts consideration that the design must be for a sculpture and is not a drawing after an existing sculpture. Oddly though, the horseman only occupies about a third of the composition. This could signify a difference in priority, as is also borne out by the measurements and inscriptions which apply only to the pedestal. The chief *raison d'être* of the drawing was probably to propose a design for the pedestal and that the horseman was less important.

A different typology in the intended end product may also account for a differing attitude to the designs on paper. For instance, between pulpits that are essentially a piece of furniture with the addition of some sculpture and those that are more sculptural. An example of the former is a design by Jan Claudius de Cock **(242)**,³⁶⁰ and of the latter one attributable to Artus II Quellinus **(243)**.³⁶¹ The difference in draughtsmanship is noticeable, even if these two pulpits are not yet in the naturalistic style that would prevail in the eighteenth century, inaugurated by Verbrugghen's pulpit now in Brussels.³⁶²

³⁵⁷ Idem, inv. 630. Brussels 1977: 267.

³⁵⁸ Heverlee, Archief der Vlaamse Jezuïeten, *Promptuarium Pictorum* 2/73. Attribution based on a comparison with drawings such as **(266)**. Cf. Antwerpen 2000a: 128-131.

³⁵⁹ Lock 2008a.

³⁶⁰ Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RP-T-1987-27, cf. Schapelhouman 1990.

³⁶¹ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 11503.

³⁶² For a discussion of which, see chapter 3.

Design after prints

The discussion above takes the position that sculptors were all able designers, capable of inventing compositions themselves with their knowledge and experience. This of course does not reflect reality. Even the most able artists used the art of their predecessors to shape their their own ideas, whether on paper, in clay or wax or in oil on canvas.

A few illuminating stories about the actual practice of copying after prints may shed light on this creative process happening both mentally and on paper. Jacques Joseph Boreux (1755-1846), a “marbrier”³⁶³ from Dinant, wrote a condensed family history during the French Revolution following discord in the family over inheritance matters.³⁶⁴ This extraordinary autobiography of a marble merchant and worker from Dinant stresses the importance of drawing in his business in order to obtain commissions, although his father, whose business he inherited, frequently requested a silversmith from Tournai to design his work.³⁶⁵

In 1783, for a project at the cathedral of Gent, Boreux was requested to produce designs taking into account the wishes of a number of personalities who had gathered during a meeting. As the distance between Gent and home (at Dinant, south of Namur) was too great to return, he designed the marble decoration of the transept on the spot and in his hotel room during the night, in time for the next meeting. To do his work, he went to buy “le cahier de l’ordre corintien au lavis, par Lafosse, qui me coûta six francs”.³⁶⁶ The next day, the committee could not reach an agreement over the design and sent Boreux back to the drawing table. He also went to the market, which fortunately for him happened on that day: “Je fus à la foire, où était le premier marchand d’estampes de Bruxelles. J’achetai le cahier de trophés d’église, au lavis, par Lafosse,³⁶⁷ pour six francs, un cahier d’ornemens, trois francs.” And he continues: “Cette dépense étoit cependant indispensable. Comment aurois-je pu tirer tout cela de ma tête sans model et si précipitamment?”³⁶⁸

This passage is not clear about the exact shape of the marble project and may only have concerned architectural ornaments. Elsewhere in the same account Boreux

³⁶³ This French term includes some or all the jobs of marble quarry owner/manager, marble merchant, marble cutter and marble sculptor.

³⁶⁴ Document in a private archive published by Javaux 1997.

³⁶⁵ Javaux 1997: 55.

³⁶⁶ Javaux 1997: 58.

³⁶⁷ Jean-Charles Delafosse (1734-1789).

recalls that he asked his father for money “pour aller à Namur à la foire acheter des estempes qui m’étoient nécessaire pour composer des dessins qu’il exigioit de moi: il en faloit toujours de varié et d’un goût nouveau. Et comment pouvais-je les imaginer, sans un grans nombre d’estampes qui m’en fourniroit les idées?”³⁶⁹

Another similar, but less verbose, story is that encountered in a letter of Denis Georges Bayar. The commission for the 1737-1741 panelling of the main library room of the university of Leuven included the carving of two statues. Bayar wrote to Laurentius Hacquius, a former rector of the university who was involved in the commission, that he had found “un vieux livre ou je trouve des habillements en long d’une forme singuliere, je crois que cela pouroit convenir aux deux personnages qu’il faut représenter ou si Monsieur en a trouvé je vous prie de m’en faire part pour construire mes models”.³⁷⁰

Were these models drawn or modelled? The indication is not given, but on the basis of the numerous drawings mentioned in Bayar’s summary account book and the virtual absence of terracotta models,³⁷¹ it can be supposed that they were drawn.

Bayar was a proficient draughtsman, but not an innovative one in terms of figurative sculpture, which may explain why he needed prints to guide him in designing the drapery on his statues.

On the other hand, he did rework rococo ornaments into religious projects that no-one would imagine in Antwerpen, but that did get purchased by churches in the hinterland of Leuven, such as at the Sint-Eustachiuskerk at Zichem or at Notre-Dame at Namur (244).

Bayar’s works show how much he was indebted to contemporary and near-contemporary projects by his peers, particularly those active in Antwerpen and in Paris. On the other hand, he did have access to a large repertoire of forms and formal solutions, that allowed him to serve a client base that required quality execution, but not necessarily innovative designs.³⁷²

The precedence of visual effect over innovation seen before, normally combined with appropriate iconographic content determined by the patron, is even more noticeable in the designing of figurative plaster ceilings by such artists as Jan

³⁶⁸ Javaux 1997: 59.

³⁶⁹ Javaux 1997: 54.

³⁷⁰ Published by Van Belle – Javaux 2006: 270n248.

³⁷¹ That is further analysed in chapter 4.

³⁷² Further argued in Lock 2006.

Christiaen Hansche.³⁷³ A comparison of the engraved models he used with the finished work yields an understanding of his designing process.³⁷⁴

Just as at Leuven with Bayar, Hansche was probably given a series of prints by the abbot of the abbey of Park at Heverlee, Libert de Pape **(245)**. The abbey currently has two copies of the book on the life of St Norbert, bishop of Antwerpen and founder of the Premonstratensian (or Norbertine) order, by Joannes Chrisostomos van der Sterre of the Norbertine abbey of St Michael at Antwerpen.³⁷⁵ It was published by the Plantin press and contains engravings by Theodoor Galle **(246)**.

Hansche rarely created his own compositions, only adapting and combining prints. This did imply substantial adaptation, ‘raising’ the third dimension in huge stucco panels out of small-scale prints **(247)**. However, it facilitated the work of an artist who was not trained in the traditional guild system, as he principally worked outside towns and was not therefore subject to their regulations. He may therefore have felt uncomfortable starting off with a concept that was not already tried out at least two-dimensionally **(248)**.

Hansche’s bodies reveal a lack of training in anatomy. Some of the spines of his figures are convoluted and too long, when one would expect a classical back based, for instance, on the Hercules Farnese. In this respect, the relief of *Hercules and Geryon* **(249)** formerly at the château de Beaulieu (near Machelen, north of Brussels, built for the comte Lamoral de la Tour et Tassis) where there was a cycle of stuccoes on the *Labours of Hercules*, is telling. Seven years later, when re-using the same set of engravings for stuccowork at the château de Modave (rebuilt for the comte de Marchin, a close contact of Tour et Tassis), Hansche seems to have realised his shortcoming since he changed the composition, avoiding showing Hercules from the back. It presents a completely new figure of Hercules, to the other side of Geryon, freeing up the space on the left that was too cluttered for a stucco representation **(250)**. His new Hercules then looks towards the centre of the room and towards the light sources (the two windows), even through the strain on his face remains readable from directly underneath the ceiling panel.

A comparison of the two sets shows that Hansche stuck more closely to the prints at Beaulieu than at Modave. This can be accounted for on two grounds. Firstly, there

³⁷³ See chapter 1 for comments about his circle of patronage.

³⁷⁴ See Lock 2003 for a discussion of the stucco work at Modave.

³⁷⁵ One from the *Domus Prof. Soc^{tas} Jesu Antwerp. 1636*, probably subsequent to the French Revolution.

is a clear evolution in the technical and artistic abilities of Hansche over his career, with the depth of his reliefs increasing (as well as his confidence) in mixing and matching designs. Secondly, at Modave, Hansche did not follow any chronological or iconographically logical sequence in the reliefs. He chose the positioning of the panels so that they were viewed on the processional route in the main entertaining room.

For the Hercules stuccoes at Beaulieu and Modave, Hansche principally chose the series of engravings by Cornelis Cort after paintings by Frans Floris.³⁷⁶ He did sometimes find that the overall shape of the panel he had to fill did not correspond to Cort's print, so he tried to find another one. This was the case with the relief of *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*. At Beaulieu, Hansche followed Cort's print **(251)**, but at Modave **(252)** he took a print after a more condensed composition from an antique relief (for example the relief on the Villa Medici, Roma **(253)** but other versions³⁷⁷ are known) copied by Raffaello Sanzio and engraved, among others, by Niccolò Vicentino **(254)** and Niccolò Boldrini.³⁷⁸

All these cases of designing after prints may seem a little tangential compared to the 'high art' produced in Antwerpen at the same time. But it is not because such practices have not been so clearly and frequently recorded that they did not exist. In the first place we should remember that prints appear in the probate inventories of Antwerpen artists.³⁷⁹

Second, the practice is well recorded within the Jesuit order, particularly regarding the design of architecture. The Jesuits conscientiously kept an archive of visual material, in four volumes, called the *Promptuarium Pictorum*. These volumes were principally intended to form a body of inspirational material, both in terms of prints and drawings, that could be used by the Jesuit architect members (Pieter Huysens, Willem Hesius, etc.).³⁸⁰ These volumes marvellously attest to the practice of copying after prints, not only of prints glued in, but also of exercises after these prints, reproducing the exact typology, with alternatives, e.g. **(255)**.³⁸¹ Even devotional

³⁷⁶ Van de Velde 1965.

³⁷⁷ Cf. *Lexicon* 1990: V, No. 1825.

³⁷⁸ Cf. New York 1988: 83-86. This print also followed in a huge overmantle relief shown in a *Painter's Gallery* by Hendrik Goovaerts, Warszawa, Muzeum Narodowe, inv. MOb1725, see Antwerpen 1997: 119.

³⁷⁹ For instance in the extensive collection of the painter Erasmus Quellinus, who inherited the workshop content of his brother the sculptor Artus I. Duverger 1984-2004: 10/373.

³⁸⁰ Heverlee, Archief der Vlaamse Jezuïeten. Cf. Lemmens 1996; Daelemans 1998; Daelemans 2000.

³⁸¹ Heverlee, Archief der Vlaamse Jezuïeten, *Promptuarium Pictorum* 2/71.

prints, such as the one after the altarpiece of the miraculous image of the Virgin at Halle, inscribed “Cette preinte a touché l’Image Miraculeuse” (256),³⁸² could function within this artistic context.

Third, this practice was normal within the painter’s profession, even in the context of a design for a sculpture, such as Abraham van Diepenbeeck designing the lower part of the porch executed by Mattheus van Beveren after prints by Schelte a Bolswert.³⁸³

Competitions and bidding for contracts

The visual effect, combined with the iconographic content, was certainly also the motive behind trial designs in the *Promptuarium Pictorum*. Two anonymous drawings stuck on the same page represent, according to the inscription “varie Delineationes pro ss. Reliquiit s. F. Xaverii Mechlinie in T[emplo] N[ostro]”, decorations for the Jesuit church at Mechelen (257).³⁸⁴ They apparently do no more than test the visual and iconographic possibilities offered by a specific space in the church, each offering two alternatives. Is the second of these drawings a re-working of the first, by a different hand, or is it the reverse? Or were they conceived independently, that is in competition?

The competition between sculptors is also attested by the survival of designs by one artist that were executed by another. This is most easily seen in the work of Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, as so many of his designs have survived. For instance his designs for the Jesuit church of Antwerpen (post 1718-fire) fit into this category (263).³⁸⁵

That several sculptors were often consulted before a patron took a decision, not only on the exact form of the project but also on the identity of the executant is understandable in a market for luxury products which did not have a clear pricing structure due to the fact that no two works were identical. Thus unless there was a privileged relation based on trust, the potential patron had every advantage in getting different quotations.

Drawings rarely testify to this, though one can sometimes guess it ‘between the lines’. It can then concern either a design requested by the potential patron, or a

³⁸² Idem 2/68.

³⁸³ See further discussion of this work in chapter 5.

³⁸⁴ Heverlee, Archief der Vlaamse Jezuieten, *Promptuarium Pictorum* 1/19v.

³⁸⁵ Antwerpen, Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk archives, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: 73-74 cat. 124-127.

design spontaneously proposed by the sculptor. Such a case may be the design for the allegorical pedestal of the equestrian monument at Windsor Castle mentioned above (241). This monument was erected in the centre of the Upper Ward at the expense of Tobias Rustat, Charles II's faithful Yeoman of the Robes.³⁸⁶ It was unveiled before 24th July 1680 when mentioned by John Evelyn, probably on or by 29th May 1680, Charles II's fiftieth birthday and the twentieth anniversary of the Restoration. The cost of the horseman was £1300 and Katharine Gibson argues strongly that Grinling Gibbons can be given overall responsibility.³⁸⁷ The cost of the pedestal (£400) appears in the Windsor accounts as being paid finally to Grinling Gibbons, although John Vanderstaine (*fz.* 1678-1700) is named as having made "severall designs, Modells & figures in clay" at the outset.³⁸⁸ Arnold (III) Quellin can be brought in as a junior member of the team involved in making the monument, first under Vanderstaine and then under Gibbons. Arnold's father Artus II then produced the design in Antwerpen, intended for submission by his son in the competition for the contract. This drawing thus also testifies of the complex and international family business practices of the Quellinus dynasty of sculptors.

Another case whereby a sculptor was attempting to convince a potential patron to commission a sculpture, in this case the city magistracy of Antwerpen, coincides with the story of a bust of the newly appointed Philip V of Spain being commissioned by the same magistrates to Jan Peter I van Bourscheit.³⁸⁹ Precisely on the day that Van Bourscheit was having a first life session with the new king, Jan Claudius de Cock designed a statue of the same king. Of this unexecuted project a full design and a fragmentary one survive (258, 259).³⁹⁰ The euphoria around the new king was sufficient to convince the city magistrates to commission a bust, but not also a statue.

It is conspicuous how a number of church patrons used public competitions in order to get the best quality and value in their commission. One example will suffice. The brotherhood 'catalogue' in the Sint-Niklaaskerk mentioned above was the result of a public competition that three cabinet makers responded to. The budget was so

³⁸⁶ As beautifully summarised on his epitaph at Jesus College, Cambridge, see Whinney 1988: 128-129.

³⁸⁷ Gibson 1997: 174-7, further elaborated in Gibson 1999: 23.

³⁸⁸ Quoted in *ibid.*, 23.

³⁸⁹ See chapter 3 for the full account.

³⁹⁰ Brussels, Royal Library, inv. SV 14072 and Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, inv. Hdz 6290. See Brussels 2004: 44.

small that even the lowest bid was haggled over and reduced from 48 to 37 guilders!³⁹¹

Drawings for the patron

The design for the Windsor monument **(241)** is also a good example of what is generally termed a presentation drawing, that is a drawing to be presented to the (potential) patron. On the right of the first scale going up to fourteen feet (nearly the top of the pedestal), a different one, with smaller units also goes up to fourteen feet (with this scale, the pedestal would be just over 19 feet high). To the left of the pedestal appears a third scale and two enigmatic little ground plans in red chalk. Both propose some form of semi-circular basin (?) next to the pedestal. All these inscriptions suggest that the design formed the basis of a discussion on the size and shape of the pedestal. But despite being a presentation drawing, which also explains its large size, it is nevertheless a lively and spontaneous design, with some parts remaining obscure, particularly the arch.

In some cases, assuming that the sculptor in question was an able draughtsman willing to create in public, the first design stage may even have been carried out on paper in the presence of the patron, during the negotiation process. Unfortunately, no securely documented example has been found.

As in the story of Boreux mentioned above, even if under pressure of time, sculptors seem more usually to have spent time drawing and designing alone. The intimate collaboration between patron and sculptor then only happens on the basis of more or less finished drawings, in which frequently an element of choice is given. This is seen in the numerous designs with two alternatives along the vertical axis of symmetry.

In some of these, the two halves bear little relation apart from a general proportion, as in a design by Michiel van der Voort for a reliquary casket **(260)**.³⁹² But more usually they are related and the differences between the two halves are limited to ornament and architecture or to different quantities of sculpture, that implied a different cost. Examples of the first include a design for an unidentified altarpiece by Michiel van der Voort **(261)**³⁹³ and one for the 'catalogue' of the brotherhood of the *Gelovige Zielen* in the Sint-Andrieskerk, Antwerpen, by Pieter

³⁹¹ De Smidt 1968: 13.

³⁹² Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH111; Antwerpen 2000a: 180.

Scheemaeckers (262).³⁹⁴ An example of the second is a non-executed proposal by Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen for the confessionals of the Jesuit church of Antwerpen following its fire in 1718 (263).³⁹⁵ Below the two pilasters on the right a simple console separates the bays and holds the seats, whereas on the left either a column or a sculpted figure of an angel are proposed. The cost obviously would not have been the same. In the event, an even more expensive proposal was chosen, by Van Bourscheit and Van der Voort, as the empty medallions of Verbrugghen's proposal were all filled with low relief scenes celebrating Jesuit saints.

The choice between two 'half proposals' was specifically referred to in the contract between Norbertus van den Eynde and the guild of the smiths to erect a new altarpiece in the cathedral of Antwerpen in 1693. In the design by Peter Scheemaeckers, they chose "the right side of the same design".³⁹⁶

It should be noted that a design offering alternatives along an axis of symmetry is not necessarily a design solely or at all intended for discussion with a potential patron. We have seen the case of the drawing after the tomb monument of bishop d'Allamont at the cathedral of Gent (173),³⁹⁷ the same might be said of other drawings in the Verbrugghen workshop, such as quick sketches for epitaphes, e.g. (264).³⁹⁸ These drawings might simply have been musings on a theme. Alas, there is no proof for this for Verbrugghen. Boreux, however, mentioned it in his autobiographical account:

mon père me fit faire un grand nombre de dessins d'autels, d'entrées de chœurs, de mosolés, de décorations d'églises, de cheminées et autres ouvrages en marbre. Car les personnes qui vouloient faire un ouvrage quelconque en marbre, désiroient en voir plusieurs dessins différents, soit pour le goût ou pour la richesse ou la simplicité de l'ouvrage, afin de choisir celui qui leur plairoit le mieux et qui leur conviendrait pour le prix, qui devoient être variés.³⁹⁹

Boreux's musings had the double function of exercises and models to guide clients in making their choice.

³⁹³ Private collection, formerly in Brussels, Gaston Dulière collection.

³⁹⁴ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 1884.

³⁹⁵ Antwerpen, Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk archives, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: 73 cat. 125.

³⁹⁶ "de rechte syde van denselven modelle" Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris J. van Waerbeec, 25/8/1693, published by Jansen 1938: 106.

³⁹⁷ See chapter 1.

³⁹⁸ Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH59; Antwerpen 2000a: 103.

³⁹⁹ Javaux 1997: 54.

The crowning of a niche was the point of discussion with the Jesuits for a statue of *St Ignatius* in their ‘professed house’ **(265)**.⁴⁰⁰ A different piece of paper was stuck on the upper part so as to camouflage the design with an alternative.

A number of alternative designs go unnoticed today, as they were done on different sheets, not taking the opportunity of half a symmetrical design. Unless we have documentation about them, we are likely to misinterpret them. A design for an exhibition throne, gives an explanation with an inscription, probably written by the patron: “[V]oici le [m]odelle que [je] trouve [le] plus beaux [et] que je choisy [Il] faut que [les] anges aÿ [les] in[s]truments [de] la passion” **(266)**.⁴⁰¹

The outcome of such a negotiation process can sometimes be seen on a drawing or on its back, as with the one above. There the patron, the Hon. Mulders, priest of Lede, signed the contract with Willem Kerricx who promised to deliver the described work by January 1714.⁴⁰²

Until now designs have only been considered that were made exclusively for the particular project in question. Bespoke designing, however, does not exclude the use of previously designed work, whether executed or not. That may simply form a first basis for discussion with the patron and be a partial model to be followed.

A case in point is the small series of large tomb monuments designed and/or erected by Peter Scheemaeckers in the last years of the seventeenth century. The first in the series is that for comte Charles-Florentin de Salm at the Sint-Catharinakerk, Hoogstraten **(267)**, produced shortly after 1676 but only installed after 1709,⁴⁰³ for which two designs have survived **(268, 269)**.⁴⁰⁴ The first differs substantially from the monument as executed, while the second, only a partial rendering, mainly in pencil, comes much closer and is merely a study detailing some architectural and ornament elements that can be linked to workshop practice rather than to the patron (therefore it is not considered here). The second monument is that to the Van Delft family, signed and dated 1688, today in the cathedral of Antwerpen **(270)**. The third is the monument to Don Francisco Marcos del Pico marqués de Velasco, the

⁴⁰⁰ Antwerpen, Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk archives, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: 57 cat. 36, where the sculpture is wrongly identified as formerly in the choir of the church, where there is also a (later) statue of *St Ignatius*, but by Artus I Quellinus. The Latin inscription on the drawing is clear about the location.

⁴⁰¹ Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH91; Antwerpen 2000a: 130.

⁴⁰² See further below.

⁴⁰³ Lauwerijs 1966.

⁴⁰⁴ Antwerpen, Museum Vleeshuis, inv. 3373.3/25 and Brussels, Royal Library, inv. F6985. Cf. Brussels 2004: 24.

Spanish governor of the castle of Antwerpen, probably erected shortly after his death in 1693 and today in the Sint-Jacobskerk (271). A design has also been preserved for this latter monument (272),⁴⁰⁵ as well as a terracotta model for the main figure of the deceased (273).⁴⁰⁶

When comparing the latter monument with its design and with the previous monuments and their designs, it is quickly discerned that there are a number of borrowings from the different projects. The extent of change between the drawn design of the Pico de Velasco tomb and the execution implies substantial discussion between the patron and the sculptor.

In the design, the sarcophagus contains a low relief referring to an important military battle in the life of the deceased, as in the design of the monument to Salm. This was replaced by the epitaph in the marble monument, taken away from the space above the main scene but below the architectural framework. The lectern with crucifix is also removed and the laurel-crowned skulls are replaced by two life-size skeletons that hold a black marble drapery as if ready to shroud the governor. In this the marble monument is substantially changed compared with the drawn design that took over so many of the elements of the Salm monument as initially designed.

Saskia Durian-Ress has noted that the most important aspect of Pico de Velasco's monument is the attitude of the deceased, not in fear of death (which one may think if looking at the skeleton holding an hour glass in front of him and his backward movement), but instead in an attitude of eternal worship, formerly (in its original setting) looking towards the high altar.⁴⁰⁷ This is much more readable in the terracotta modello than in the marble end product. In the modello, Pico de Velasco does not hold a commander's baton, nor do the fingers of his left hand point upward in a movement of fright. The deeply devotional aspect of this tomb may be paralleled with that in another tomb monument now in the Sint-Jacobskerk, to Jan Antonius van Wonsel, by Jan Claudius de Cock (1707) that includes a figure of *S^t Bruno* meditating over a real skull (274).

Another element that is rarely noticed in Pico de Velasco's monument is the change in direction of the monument between the design and the execution. Was this because the patron decided to change the placing of the monument from one

⁴⁰⁵ London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. E278-1973.

⁴⁰⁶ Antwerpen, Museum Vleeshuis, inv. 25.A52.

⁴⁰⁷ Durian-Ress 1974: 311.

side of the church to the other? It is clear that the direction is essential: the deceased had to look towards the high altar.

Were all these changes undertaken because the patron was particularly powerful and demanding? Or was it a feature of Scheemaecker's approach to designing monuments, involving the patron as much as possible in the process in order to make him or her feel part of it? This would be directly comparable to a professional service in the modern sense of the word.⁴⁰⁸

Another example of how designs can be part of a modern professional service is given by Denis Georges Bayar's summary account book mentioned above. He noted designs delivered to patrons for which he got paid, or for which he included payment in the overall payment of the sculpture delivered, or he indicates the price he wishes if the execution is not by him. This means that a priced proposal – which we could compare today in architectural terms with the plans of an architect together with a quotation from a building contractor – was integral to the execution, unless the patron preferred to have the execution done by someone else. Then the sculptor would require payment of his fees – or better still, of the reproduction rights to his ideas.

That this was not taken for granted is shown by a court case between Huybrecht van den Eynde and the guild of the “meerseniens” (haberdashers), a century before Bayar, in 1653. This guild had apparently requested designs from two sculptors. Sebastiaen de Neve was chosen, but Van den Eynde also requested payment for his design, even if his design was not executed.⁴⁰⁹

Other evidence of this negotiation process can be seen on drawings bearing prices, one by Jan Claudius de Cock of a garden statuette of *Aurora* (275).⁴¹⁰ On the reverse appears a list of other mythological subjects, with prices.

Finally, in the absence of sufficient funding for a particular project, patrons occasionally used a sculptor's design to bid for money. For instance in 1743, a design for a new organ balcony (*hoogzwaal*) by Jan Peter van Bourscheit the Younger was displayed in the Sint-Joriskerk of Antwerpen so that it might attract sponsors for its erection.⁴¹¹ In 1666, the churchmasters of the Sint-Jacobskerk of Brugge even

⁴⁰⁸ Murdick – Render – Russell 1990: 542.

⁴⁰⁹ Jansen – Van Herck 1944-1945: 55.

⁴¹⁰ Brussels, Royal Library, inv. SV 76649. Cf. Brussels 2004: 50.

⁴¹¹ Jansen – Van Herck 1942: 63.

went as far as having an oil painting done that represents the altarpiece that they wanted to purchase (276). The inscription shows that the churchmasters were begging for alms with which to pay the execution of the shown design:

DEAR CHRISTIAN PEOPLE, OUT OF LOVE BE PRAYED
LOOK AT THIS RESPECTABLE WORK, THAT THE CHURCHMASTERS HERE SPEND
THIS PRAYS FOR ALMS, THAT THOU SEE HERE PRESENT
WHEREIN IT WILL REST, THE VENERABLE SACRAMENT⁴¹²

The painting was successful in getting finances together: it was shortly afterwards erected by Cornelis Gaillard (277).

Eventually, all these procedures and processes were meant to lead to a contract, which we will discuss further below.

Guidance to collaborators

This brings us to consider the frequent other element that is recognisable in designs for sculpture: the uses they were put to in workshop processes. The link may usefully be made with the presentation drawing by Jan Claudius de Cock of an altarpiece (278),⁴¹³ formerly at the Dominican abbey of Bornem, dedicated to an unidentified Dominican saint.⁴¹⁴ The design is carefully drawn in free hand and with the help of a ruler as to the architectural parts, with different colours indicating different materials and finishes, and shading for the suggestion of depth. Another drawing faithfully reproduces this design (279),⁴¹⁵ only in pencil and pen and ink, that is not making much effort at rendering shadings, and only summarily drawing in the figurative parts. Measurements are given for all the main parts of the composition and an outline is given so as to suggest the architectural limits of the project. The altarpiece is thus inserted in an arched bay, presumably under the gothic vaulting of a side chapel.

⁴¹² “BEMINDE CHRISTEN VOLC, VYT LIEFDE SY GEBEDEN
AANSIET DIT TREFLICK WERC, DAT DHEEREN HIER BESTEDEN
DIT BIDT OM ALLEMOES, DAT GHY HIER SIET PRESENT
WAER IN DAT RVSTEN SAL, THOOGHWEEERDICH SACRAMENT”

⁴¹³ Brussels, Royal Library, inv. SIII.17963. Cf. Brussels 2004: 46.

⁴¹⁴ This altarpiece was until now described as a tomb monument, despite the fact that the lower part is clearly an altar table indicated with three small crosses and further left blank for an antependium; moreover the sarcophagus below the martyrdom scene, inscribed “CORPUS”, contains a skeleton lightly pencilled in. This can only represent a sarcophagus containing the relics of the Dominican saint. Therefore it concerns a reliquary altarpiece. These were not so frequent, although the most prestigious one was the high altarpiece of the cathedral of Mechelen – the seat of the archbishopric.

⁴¹⁵ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 1040.

Can it be assumed that the measured drawing is for workshop use? For instance by the determination of the materials necessary? Alternatively, could it also have been part of the contract, together with the presentation drawing? Although the latter is a possibility, it seems unlikely, since no other such case seems to have survived (or referred to in a recorded contract). This is more the case because presentation drawings frequently included a scale, as for instance on a drawing for a covered vase by the same artist that also shows the same level of perspective effect at base level **(280)**.⁴¹⁶

A drawing with similar indications of measurements, for the altarpiece in the Verrijzeniskapel of the Sint-Jacobskerk of Antwerpen, by Michiel van der Voort, makes the point even clearer **(281)**.⁴¹⁷ It is unlikely that patrons were interested in the specific dimensions of small elements of an altarpiece, such as a capital. On the other hand, this is necessary information for the workshop. Note the detailed sketches of profiles on the right as well as the inscription saying that “the statue of the Virgin that sits on the altarpiece is 4 feet and 2 inches high if it were to stand up”.⁴¹⁸ As the altarpiece is symmetrical, it was unnecessary effort to draw more than one half.

The *Promptuarium Pictorum* contains two drawings for an altar at the Jesuit church of Mechelen, glued on the same page, the one a reworking of the other **(282)**.⁴¹⁹ What appears to be the first, lightly drawn in free hand in pencil, is completed by a large number of technical indications in pen and ink: measurements, corrections to ornament details and notes about the quality of specific marbles.

The second drawing largely copies the first with the help of a ruler, thereby making most measurement indications superfluous, although some overall measurements are still given. Other indications probably concern the type of marble to be used. Only the top is rendered in a simple way, without a niche for a statue of the Virgin.

Both drawings combine an elevation with a plan of an altarpiece, which, according to the inscription on the first one, confirms it was situated in the Jesuit church of Mechelen. This altarpiece is still standing, in the Lady Chapel, on the left of the high altar **(283)**, attributed to Jan Frans van Turnhout (*fl.* 1702-1757).⁴²⁰ The statue of the

⁴¹⁶ Idem, inv. 1835.

⁴¹⁷ Idem, inv. 1455. Cf. Brussels 1977: 234.

⁴¹⁸ *bet maribeldeken dat op den outaer sidt is hoogh als het sou recht staen v 4 – 2 d*

⁴¹⁹ Heverlee, Archief der Vlaamse Jezuïeten, *Promptuarium Pictorum* 1/80.

⁴²⁰ Van Riet 1996a: 205-207; biographical information from Thieme – Becker 1907-1950: 33/497.

Virgin and Child, attributed to Maria Faydherbe (1587-1643), is inserted in the main space of the altarpiece, instead of at the top, in a crowning niche, as proposed by the first drawing.

Only one drawing seems to have survived with squaring for enlargement, as is sometimes the case on drawings preparatory for paintings. This drawing is also by a painter – Rubens – so this again remains inconclusive for the practice of sculpture **(284)**.⁴²¹

The closest to this that one gets is the set of pencil lines that helped the draughtsman to set the right architectonic proportions on paper before engaging in designing the sculptural elements of the project. Examples include a design for a confessional at the Sint-Pieterskerk of Puurs, by Willem Ignatius Kerricx **(285)**.⁴²² This practice might also indicate that the preparatory drawing with a ruler was done by a workshop assistant, while the figurative elements were then draughted in by the master. This would need to be confirmed by other examples.

That workshop assistants helped in redrawing statues can be seen from the set of rather crude drawings of statues for the confessionals of the Jesuit church of Antwerpen by assistants of Jan Peter van Bourscheit the Elder that ended up in the archives of the church **(286)**.⁴²³ These drawings presuppose a use for the duplication of drawings by the master. This is confirmed by a rather curious stipulation in the last will of Cornelis van Mildert: he obliges his executor to stick paper on the back of his drawings if these are blackened, before allowing him to sell them.⁴²⁴ Can it be supposed that Van Mildert refers to the practice of blackening the back of a drawing so that its outlines may be transferred to another sheet for duplication? This is a well-known practice in the production of prints.

It has been possible to test effective duplication in one case, with Artus II Quellinus's design of the now destroyed monument to Louis Roger Claris (†1663), in the former Augustinian church of Brussels **(287)**.⁴²⁵ Quellinus's drawing only concerned the monument. Letter codes are explained in the contract to refer to the different materials to be used. The second, larger drawing adds the architectural

⁴²¹ London, British Museum.

⁴²² Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 1556. Cf. Zajadacz-Hastenrath 1970: 216 cat 154.

⁴²³ Antwerpen, Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk archives, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: 71-72 cat. 112-118.

⁴²⁴ Duverger 1984-2004: 8/21; 8/312.

⁴²⁵ Archives générales du Royaume, Fonds Famille Helman, no. 82. Cf. Casteels 1968; Düsseldorf 1971: 307-308.

setting: a niche with a heraldic crowning in front of a thermal window. The colour codes are replaced by washes in relevant colours.

If this duplication has not been noticed before, it is because no duplication system was used (such as with the blackening of the back). It is merely based on the thinness of the paper which, through transparency, allowed the draughtsman (not Artus II Quellinus) to redraw the image. This has been tested by superimposing the two drawings, which yielded a perfect match.

Despite attempts at explanation,⁴²⁶ the exact function of the second drawing remains unclear. It was inscribed (and also drawn?) after the death of Claris's wife in 1704, although the monument was commissioned by her son in 1678, when the contract was signed. It may equally well have had a purpose in the workshop *and* for the patron, while a commemorative purpose seems implausible, as the drawing remained with the contract.

The use of thin tracing paper or oiled paper is difficult to ascertain, not only as tracings did not carry any 'artistic' worth as they were presumably not executed by the able hand of the master, but also due to their fragility. An example of the latter is from the archive of the former Jesuit church of Antwerpen (**288**),⁴²⁷ after designs by Rubens.⁴²⁸ A possible example of the former is a late eighteenth-century design for an unidentified altarpiece (**289**).⁴²⁹

Boreux's account describes his and his father's practice to realise full-scale drawings.⁴³⁰ These seem to relate to the architectural elements of a tomb monument in marble, of which he had "modelés tous les ornements". The limited extent of the sculptural decoration would explain why no full-scale three-dimensional work was engaged in. This practice can be related to that of the execution of stained glass windows, as for instance those of the cathedral of Brussels, for which a number of full-scale cartoons ("patrons") have survived.⁴³¹

Such cartoons, which helped the workshop to transfer the design to the finished work and to test the effect *in situ* is exceptional in sculpture. The only recorded one in the Low Countries is that by a cabinet maker rather than a sculptor, assisted by

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Antwerpen, Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk archives, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: 59 cat. 46.

⁴²⁸ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. See chapter 5.

⁴²⁹ Private collection.

⁴³⁰ Javaux 1997: 55.

⁴³¹ Vanden Bemden – Fontaine-Hodiamont – Balis 1994.

the sculptor Frans Allaert, executed on the column against which the work was going to be placed: it concerns a ‘catalogue’ (or brotherhood list) of the brotherhood “Confrerie van de Berechtinge” which was placed in the Sint-Niklaaskerk in Gent (290).⁴³² Although theoretically this drawn model could have been intended for the workshop, it is more likely that it was intended as a basis for discussion by the patron: it was done *in situ* and the patron, the membership of the confraternity, may have been difficult to deal with, as attested by the many changes between the design on the wall and the end product.

A similar, just as exceptional, case but properly sculptural is that at Schloß Rastatt in Germany, where Giovanni Battista Artario⁴³³ drew a partial life-size sketch (291) for the tomb monument to his patron, Markgraf Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden, the *Türkenlouis* (1655-1707). This was not carried out and much later, in 1753, Johannes Schütz and Thomas Heilmann erected one in the Stiftskirche of Baden-Baden (292).⁴³⁴ Here again it seems that the sketch was intended for the patron, so that he could visualise part of the effect, rather than for the workshop (although the sketch was done in a room that Artario was in the process of plastering, so that room was effectively his temporary workshop).

Motifs to be re-used later: recording & collecting

In the workshop drawings could have other functions too, that are difficult to trace on them today. It is known from the collecting habit of a number of sculptors that they kept drawings for future use, as inspirational material. It may be surmised that they also wished to keep a record of what they had delivered, allowing them not only to show this to potential patrons as suggested above, but also for more commercial aspects of the trade, such as the evaluation of the cost of materials and labour involved. Although a proficient sculptor will have most of that in mind, a physical record may always have been useful, if only to refresh the memory.

Drawings that were specifically produced as recordings (*ricordi*) have not been identified. On the other hand, drawings which were merely produced as exercises and then kept can be found in the *Promptuarium Pictorum*, just before a series of engravings after epitaphs by Radi (1618), on two sheets bringing together seven

⁴³² De Smidt 1968.

⁴³³ Cf. Rentsch 1985.

⁴³⁴ Frank 2002: 25.

designs for epitaphs by the same hand **(293)**.⁴³⁵ They are of such different types that they cannot have been alternatives for a single project. These were evidently produced for their own sake, though not for sale. That they ended up in the *Promptuarium Pictorum* is probably linked to their author being part of or close to the Jesuit order.

Drawings after sculptures, both at home and in Italy, after prints and drawings have been discussed.⁴³⁶ More banal drawings, such as the ones that Louis Royer sketched during breakfast (as he indicated on one of his drawings besides the date 9 October 1826),⁴³⁷ seem not to have survived for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This does not mean however that they were not produced. Most contemporary painters, Rubens primarily, did leave such testimonies.⁴³⁸ This drawing practice also gave artists the opportunity to work in a more personal style, not adapted to production processes, nor interfered with by workshop assistants.

Draughtmanship style vs. sculptural style

The subject which has hitherto interested scholars in the first place when writing about sculptors' drawings is their style, so that they may be identified and a corpus by each of the known sculptors established. However, this is not within the realm of this thesis, where the question about the relation between draughtmanship style and sculptural style must be asked. However much one would like to relate these two, none can be proposed. Even the question whether a greater interest in the purity of line as opposed to that of shading is reflected in the execution of the sculpture cannot yield an answer. To illustrate this, it suffices to look at the drawing by Jan Peter I van Bourscheit for a garden sculpture of two frolicking putti **(294)**⁴³⁹ or a drawing attributed to Louis Willemsens **(295)**⁴⁴⁰ as compared with the executed sculpture now in the Sint-Niklaaskerk of Brussels **(296)**. The latter drawing might seem a little hesitant with regard to the draughtmanship and gives little definition to the third dimension, but the finished sculpture does not reveal any of that.

Even relating the quality of the sculptural work to the quality of draughtmanship by sculptors in general seems tenuous, although it does seem that a good sculptor

⁴³⁵ Heverlee, Archief der Vlaamse Jezuiten, *Promptuarium Pictorum* 2/41. Cf. Daelemans 1998: 108.

⁴³⁶ See chapter 1.

⁴³⁷ Amsterdam 1994: 45.

⁴³⁸ Depauw 2002: 56.

⁴³⁹ Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH245; Antwerpen 2000a: 196.

⁴⁴⁰ Idem, inv. 187; Ibid.: 118.

who is also a good draughtsman has every chance of building up a career more easily, as convincing potential patrons with attractive projects does not require getting outside help from, say, a painter or an architect. It should be stressed, though, that lesser able draughtsmen were not necessarily less successful sculptors, as can be attested in the work of Walter Pompe. His knowledge of anatomy and perspective is limited, which may be seen from his design for a group of *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* (297),⁴⁴¹ but his extensive *oeuvre* of religious sculpture was appreciated and he ran a successful workshop.

Disentangling the styles of Flemish sculptors is an arduous task as has already been seen. Disentangling the styles of their drawings, except in the case of a few sculptors from whom we have a corpus of signed drawings and whose idiosyncracies we can grasp with a little visual training, is also difficult. Most well-documented sculptors tend to have developed a personal style of draughtmanship over the course of their careers. This becomes clear when comparing, for instance, the draughtmanship styles of Peter I Verbrugghen, his son Hendrik Frans, Peter Scheemaeckers and a Jan Claudius de Cock. Very few characteristics seem to be carried over from one workshop to another as the most successful sculptors all had a lot of personality. The only element which recurs too frequently to be fortuitous is the hatching in red chalk all around a sculpture, to give the impression that the sculpture sticks out of the paper. This feature is typical for Peter I and Peter II Verbrugghen and may well be a hallmark of a workshop tradition in the Quellin-Verbrugghen-Scheemaeckers dynasty.

Writing the contract

Once an agreement had been reached with the patron, designs for sculpture were sometimes the basis for a contract written on them – or *vice versa*, a drawing was added to the contract, either on the same sheet or separately. Extant examples of this are chronologically for:

- a tomb monument by Artus I Quellinus at Bokhoven, 1649 (298, 299);⁴⁴²

⁴⁴¹ Brussels, Royal Library, inv. SIII 17962. Cf. Brussels 2004: 66.

⁴⁴² Heeswijk-Dinther, Norbertijnenabdij van Berne, Parochiearchief Bokhoven, inv. 513. The contract text under the image:

“Op heden [hier ond]erschreven heeft Sijne Genaede, mijn Heer Engel[bert de] Ymmerselle, graeve van Bochoven ende des H. Roomsche Rijcx etc. aenbestedt aen Sr. Artus Quellino, ghelijck [densitive] Quellinus heeft aenveert ende aenghenomen [te maeck]en ende te stellen in de P.P.Predicheeren-Kercke tot Antwerpen eene tombe naer uuytwijzen ende volgens [de modelle] ende den voetmaet van de hoochde, breyde ende

- a confessional by Artus II Quellinus at Beringen, 1665 (300);⁴⁴³
- an exhibition throne by Willem Kerricx, 1713 (266);⁴⁴⁴
- a tomb monument by Michiel van der Voort, 1724 (301).⁴⁴⁵

Taken together, they contain the following components:

- the two parties are named;
- a description of the sculpture, including its main iconography if any, and a referral to the drawing;
- the delivery date (generally by rather than on a date);
- the price and payment method;
- technical elements not indicated on the drawing or three-dimensionality written about when the drawing is not clear (e.g. the number of pillars in the drawing of the exhibition throne);
- the delivery location (and who pays for delivery);

lenghde, hieronder ghestelt. De materialen sullen wesen marber, te weten: hetghene hier int wit staet van witten marber, het swart van swarten ende het roodt van rooden marber. Soo sal oock denselven Quellinus ghehouden sijn te maecken, dat de voors[chreven] tombe volcomentlyck ende effectivelyck ghestelt op haer behoorycke plaetse ten uuytersten ende ten langhsten binnen een jaer naer date deses. Voor al het welck, te weten soo van meteriaelen, maecken ende stellen, welghemelte Sijne Ghenaede sal betaelen aen denselven Quellino de somme van duysent pattacons. Des t'oorcon is dese bij Sijne Ghenaede ende voorn[oemden] Sr. Quellino onderteekent op den Castele van Loon den 20-en junii 1649. Is oock mede bespreeck ende conditie, dat voorn[oemde] tombe vijff voeten breed moet wesen. Oorconde als boven.

E. d'Ymerselle, graef van Bouchove
Artus Quellien.”

Cf. Düsseldorf 1971: 299 with further literature.

⁴⁴³ København, Kobberstiksamlng, inv. Tu86/2. The contract text on the verso: “Volgens dit concept ben accordert met Sr. Artus Quilinus ende soude moeten hebben twe hondert ende viertich gulden brabant gelt. Ita testor A. Wuestenraedt pastuer jn Beringhen. / Ende ick belouf volgens het selven modelle het selven vromelyck uyt te vueren. By mij Artus Quellin. Actum Antwerpen den tweden Junius 1665.” Cf. Thorlacius-Ussing 1926: 11; Zajadacz-Hastenrath 1970: 218; Antwerpen 2000a: 40.

⁴⁴⁴ Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH91. Contract text on the verso: “Geaccordeert op heden den 4 8ber 1713 voor de somme van achtien ponden gr. corant te leveren voor Jan. 1714 op c[on]ditie als datter sullen sijn 4 termen met de bovenwercken daeraen immers volgens de modelle geceurt van de vrouw gravinne van Borm; met noch een andere c[on]ditie als dat het onder op een plint met ijsere roeden daerin bewerckt moet vast staen – [he]t[v]oirc[reven] deser 4 datum als boven. E.H. Mulders pastor in Lede. Note te leveren binnen Lede op den cost van Sr Kerckx dit leste is naer datum gedispueert ende geconsenteert alles te moeten leveren int schip met behoorelycke weten te doen binnen Lede om aldaer te komen haelen. G. Kerricx.” Cf. Antwerpen 2000a: 130.

⁴⁴⁵ Brussels, Royal Library, inv. F38897. Contract text besides the image: “Wij onderschreven alle ghemeene erfghenamen van wijlent Jo[nckhee]r Anthone Alegambe in sijn leven heere van Basinghien, ende vrouw Florence Therese de Corteville syne vrouw gheschnede (?) verclaeren bij desen te consenteren in het maecken vanden marmoren Christus op de hooghde en breedten als bij het nevenstaande model, ende eensweeghs tot de directie van diere te committeren Jo[nckhee]r Jacques ancelmus de draeck heere vander Camere etc[eter]a met belofte van inde becostinghe van diere yder te sullen betalen sijn advenant, naer graet van hoitije alles onder belofte ende verbant als naer rechte, actum in Ghendt desen sevensten meije 1724 Dijstoorconde:

Charles Alegambe De Basinghien /
H. De Draeck van der Camer /
L. Van Ham 7/5 1724 over den heere dela Coste /
Anne F. Allegambe de beaumon[t] /
voetmaet van 10 voet.”

Cf. Brussels 2004: 40.

- the delivery method (e.g. by boat);
- a reference to religion: “pious execution”;
- the materials to be used.

These cases all concern relatively small works, even though a tomb monument can usually hardly be described as such. They all have in common that they were written and signed privately.

Most other contracts that survive have done so in archives rather than in drawings collections and were written by a lawyer (“notaire”/ “notaris”) and signed under his auspices with two witnesses. This is a practice that was standard for any type of business transaction that concerned a certain level of capital outlay.

Most of these contracts refer to a “model(le)”, usually implying a drawn model, rather than one in three dimensions, but these drawings have been often removed from the archives. Only in very few cases did they survive, such as with the contract drawings mentioned above for Louis Roger Claris’s monument in Brussels.

The link between these two parts of the contract were often direct and important, not just in terms of the formal definition of the work to be executed, but also in terms of the materials to be employed. These were usually carefully described in the text and a letter code was not infrequently added to indicate on the drawing in what material the work had to be executed. Isolated examples, presumably removed from archives and that in any case survived alone, without the corresponding contract, are two drawings in the *Promptuarium Pictorum*. A rough outline of the former high altarpiece of the Jesuit church at Lier bears the letters M, S, A, B that are explained in the accompanying legend: respectively, white Italian marble, black marble, Avesne stone and a combination of white and black marble **(302)**.⁴⁴⁶ Another, fragmentary, for an unidentified epitaph, indicates “A witten marbel, B swerten marbel” **(303)**.⁴⁴⁷

The quality of marble was usually insisted on, which should be understood in the context of the substantial cost of this usually exotic material. Its purity and the absence of lines and faults, as well as the size of blocks may be stipulated. Sometimes its origin is also mentioned: apart from the obvious white Carrara, black or red marble from Namur, Dinant, Bouvignes, Rance, etc. are mentioned.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ Heverlee, Archief der Vlaamse Jezuieten, *Promptuarium Pictorum* 1/112.

⁴⁴⁷ Idem, 2/104.

⁴⁴⁸ E.g. Servaes Cardon’s altarpiece for the professed house of the Jesuits in Antwerpen, paid for by the merchant Joan Loeff. Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris J.B. Colyns, 1641-1644 f°404, published by Jansen 1938: 93-95.

The quality of wood was equally stressed, frequently with the simple defining word of “wagenscot” (wainscot⁴⁴⁹) or “schoonsten wagenscot” (best/most beautiful wainscot), which had specific meaning in the wood trade.⁴⁵⁰ In the case of a contract between the cathedral of Ieper and Otmaer van Ommen for a triumphal cross above the rood screen, the oak had to be of wainscot and “the large pieces of good, hard, trustworthy and seasoned oak, such that it serves the purpose, all [?] and imperfections avoided and in such form that the same pieces do not pull, flake, split nor become worm-eaten”.⁴⁵¹ All this should not only be seen in the context of an important commission that was highly visible in the cathedral. Since the price of materials largely depended on their quality, the patron quite naturally wished to ensure that the high quality of materials which had been paid for was delivered.

In the case of an addition to or transformation of an existing project, it should come as no surprise that the contract stipulates that the materials and their finishes should be of the same standard as the existing work. This was so in the contract between the abbey of Averbode and Gaspard van den Steen, a sculptor from Mechelen, when integrating an existing altarpiece into a roodloft. He also had to clean the existing altarpiece so as to blend it in better.⁴⁵²

Other practical considerations might include the stipulation that the sculptor is responsible for the scaffolding to be erected or the hoisting system to place a sculpture in a niche, as in the 1656 contract between the Jesuits of Antwerpen and Artus I Quellinus for the statues of *St Ignatius* and *St Francis Xavier* (304).⁴⁵³

Transport was also an important matter, particularly for deliveries outside cities, to either a parish or an abbey church. An example of the latter is the contract between

⁴⁴⁹ *Wainscot* in its first meaning, deriving from ‘wagen-schot’, i.e. “imported oak of high quality, chiefly used for fine panelling”; not the second meaning of “panelling of oak or other wood lining especially the lower part of a room wall” (New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 1993).

⁴⁵⁰ E.g. Artus II Quellinus and cabinet maker Jan van Meerbeeck in their contract about the subcontracting of a pulpit. Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris Van der Linden, 24/5/1672, published by Jansen 1938: 98.

⁴⁵¹ “de groote stucken van goeden, harden, ghetrauwen en de ghesisonneerden eecken houtte, zulck als totten wercke dient, alle speck en de ongaefheijt gheweert en de in zulcker vormen dat de zelve stucken noch trecken, schulferen, splijten, noch wormachtich worden”. Ieper, archief van de Sint-Maartenskerk, contract with Otmaer van Ommen, 29/4/1593, published by Deschrevel 1969: 45-48.

⁴⁵² Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Notariaat van Brabant, reg. 12156, f^o 302v-307v, published by Jansen – Janssens 1999: 245.

⁴⁵³ “allen ‘tgene tott’et stellen derselver van noode sal wesen, soo van stellagiën als anderssints”, Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris C. Doppegieter, 1326 (1656), cf. Van de Velde 1985; Duverger 1984-2004: 7/269.

Peter I Verbrugghen and the abbot of Zonnebeke for an altarpiece. Each party ensured, at their own expense, the delivery to a mid-way point, at Werveke.⁴⁵⁴

This contract also separates the work and materials that pertain to the art of sculpting (e.g. metal dowels) and that of masonry, for which the abbey will organise and pay.

Patrons outside the home town of the sculptor, e.g. abbots, typically also give free board and lodging to the master and his assistants during the works.

Where the patron is in a different town or city a legal problem arises with the guild system, forbidding any 'foreign' master to sell his work. It was not always easy to circumvent this and a potential patron clearly needed good arguments to convince a sculptor to engage in what was considered an illegal transaction. In the contract between the Jesuit father Aloysius Birza and Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen about the pulpit of the Jesuit church in Leuven, today in the cathedral of Brussels (**401**), an interesting and illegal clause has been found. Aloysius Birza "takes it on him to free the said master [Verbrugghen] of all the troubles of the [Leuven] craft". Astonishingly, Verbrugghen signed this.⁴⁵⁵ This meant Birza had to find a way to avoid the rules of the Leuven guild.⁴⁵⁶

The price element is one that is easy to grasp, though its implications can sometimes be far-reaching, as the cash flow of sculptors is the most difficult subject into which to get any insight. An advance payment, partially to cover the cost of materials, particularly marble, was generally made on the signing of the contract. In general, between one and four further payments followed, often the last one only one full year after the completion of the work.⁴⁵⁷ Apart from this last (though this is reflected in the 'definitive completion' one year after completion of works), all this is standard practice in the building trade today and thus needs little further comment. In a few cases, church authorities did not have sufficient cash when payments were due and inflicted delays on the sculptor.⁴⁵⁸ Sculptors will have accepted this recurring problem, taking it into account when quoting a price. They will have

⁴⁵⁴ Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris P.F. Cleren, 522 (1661-1663), published by Duverger 1984-2004: 8/215.

⁴⁵⁵ "Ende neemt ook tot hem den selven Pater den selven meester te bevrijden van alle calanien van het ambacht." Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Fonds des Jésuites, Collège de Louvain, no. 13, published by Lefèvre 1964: 18.

⁴⁵⁶ Discussed in chapter 3.

⁴⁵⁷ E.g. in Sebastiaen de Neve's contract for a porch in the Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen. Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris Ketgen, 1651-1652, f°50, published by Jansen 1940: 132.

increased their prices accordingly, in order to cover the interest they might have to pay, unless the contract actually included that for the case that the patron did not find the financing in time.⁴⁵⁹

Occasionally when an altarpiece had to replace an existing one that was not too old-fashioned, the patron might negotiate the sale of the old work via or to the sculptor in order to reduce cash flow problems.⁴⁶⁰ This was only imaginable in fashion-conscious city centres like Antwerpen and the old altarpiece was subsequently often sold to a church in the provinces.

A rather curious phenomenon is the advance promise of a bonus by the patron, for instance in the form of some silverware; it is highly possible that the sculptor would be required to accept some old church silver.⁴⁶¹

In the rare survival of correspondence that accompanied a draft and a definitive contract, we get a glimpse into the negotiations preceding a commission, not just into the contract as an end result. In 1686, Artus II Quellinus negotiated a tomb monument in honour of Hans Schack, a Danish general (305-306), with the Danish representatives in Antwerpen of the late Schack's family. The draft contract that the family sent to Quellinus for signature differed too much from what had been agreed previously and Quellinus's wife sent a letter to the potential patron to explain the situation.⁴⁶² The differences mainly concerned the risks of transport involved, tolls and licences, and the masons expenses in København. Quellinus would not be interested in the commission unless the patron took all this into account – or that he received an extra two thousand guilders, that is 50 percent more than the agreed price. It seems that Quellinus was well aware of the risks involved in such international transactions, which his family had been involved with on a number of occasions before, unlike Antonio Raggi, whose monument to Lady Jane Cheyne in London caused all sorts of problems (wrong measurements, incomplete quotation,

⁴⁵⁸ E.g. in Faydherbe's contract for the altarpiece to house Michelangelo's *Virgin & Child*, see below.

⁴⁵⁹ E.g. at 4% in Peter I Verbrugghen's contract with the Dominicans of the Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen for the roodloft. Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, notaris D. Ketgen 25/9/1654, No. 2294, f°247-247, published by Persoons 1981: 14-15.

⁴⁶⁰ E.g. Servaes Cardon's altarpiece for the professed house of the Jesuits in Antwerpen, paid for by the merchant Joan Looff. Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris J.B. Colyns, 1641-1644 f°404, published by Jansen 1938: 93-95.

⁴⁶¹ E.g. in Sebastiaen de Neve's above-mentioned contract for a porch in the Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen.

⁴⁶² Thorlacius-Ussing 1926: 147. See also Gorissen 1947-1948 for the final contract.

customs expenses and uncertainties in professional relations with the master mason and the architect involved).⁴⁶³

If the delivery time was important to the patron, a price reduction could be included in the contract if the sculptor did not respect the scheduled time. Inversely, a bonus could be promised if delivery was on time. Both were used in the contract for the roodloft of the Dominican church of Antwerpen with Peter I Verbrugghen in 1654. If the work was not ready within another year of the due date, a second reduction of one thousand guilders was stipulated on a contract of eighteen thousand.⁴⁶⁴

A special mention must be made of Sebastiaen de Neve, who was apparently well-known for not being particularly punctual in completing his projects. Nevertheless, his price must have been sufficiently attractive for the church masters of the Sint-Jacobskerk of Antwerpen to engage him for the erection of an 'organ balcony' ("hoogzaal"). Their worries can be read (between the lines) in the contract – and indeed, trouble happened and De Neve was succeeded by the stone cutter Peeter Kautyns for certain elements.⁴⁶⁵ These had not been included in the initial contract with De Neve, so there was no need formally to sack him, but the effect was the same.

The contract, however, did include some rather stringent clauses. It rendered the sculptor responsible for his and his workmen's accidents. As few contracts contain such a clause, this might have been unwritten standard practice. It only presupposes that the sculptor was properly insured, so the clause effectively obliged the sculptor, who was not rich,⁴⁶⁶ to take out insurance, which he might otherwise not have done. In the same way, the church masters imposed a clause allowing them at any moment to break the contract, appoint another sculptor and diminish the sum due by 100 pattacons (400 guilders), i.e. by one fifth of the price (on 2050 guilders).

The quality of materials and practical considerations were relatively easy to stipulate contractually. As to the more subjective quality of execution and artistic level, other means were inventively sought by patrons. Sometimes the quality level

⁴⁶³ Montagu 1989 : 40-44.

⁴⁶⁴ Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, notaris D. Ketgen 25/9/1654, No. 2294, f°247-247, published by Persoons 1981: 14-15.

⁴⁶⁵ Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris Jan van Nos, 1669, f°118 and f°353, published by Jansen 1940: 133-134.

required was compared in terms of a well-known existing work, for instance that in a cathedral.

As the polishing of marble was a time-consuming business, it is not surprising that contracts frequently refer to the level of polish required. More unusual is the freedom given to a sculptor to play with levels of polish or mattness. In a particularly detailed contract between Joan Loeff and Servaes Cardon, it is stipulated that “in the polishing, one shall leave certain parts matt to the good being and instruction of those who understand its art”.⁴⁶⁷

A general description of the quality level required is occasionally explained in a contract. For instance, Lucas Faydherbe’s intended altarpiece to house Michelangelo’s *Virgin and Child* had to be executed “in the best and most perfect way, and in that observing everywhere the proportions of architecture”.⁴⁶⁸ The brotherhood that paid for the altarpiece even encouraged social control by the congregation in requiring a copy of the contract drawing, properly coloured in, for exhibition in the church during the works.

Another example is the tomb monument to Jacques d’Ennetières in the cathedral of Brussels (307), for which the 1675 contract stipulates that its allegories of *Prudence* and *Vigilance* should be “bien et douesement travaillees selon l’art” and the marble of the leopard “doit être tacheté pour mieux représenter la nature dudit leoparts”.⁴⁶⁹ In 1721, the new choir stalls at the Sint-Michielskerk of Gent had to be fashionable up to the detail of the type of mouldings: “all the mouldings in the French style and according to the latest fashion”.⁴⁷⁰

These stipulations of quality and style were subjective and thus difficult to enforce via a contract. Three solutions could be used. First, by threatening that the work would have to be redone if it were not executed to the “contentement” (satisfaction) of a committee of appointed fellow artists.⁴⁷¹ Second, that a price

⁴⁶⁶ He died nearly penniless, leaving a widow without income. His children, fearing debts, even refused their inheritance. Cf. Jansen 1940: 123, 137-138.

⁴⁶⁷ “sal men int poleysteren sommige partyen mat laeten tot welstant ende wt wysen dergener die haer de kunste verstaen”. Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris J.B. Colyns, 1641-1644 f°404, published by Jansen 1938: 93-95.

⁴⁶⁸ “op de beste ende perfectste (sic) maniere, als daerin observerende in alles de proportie der architecture” Gent, Rijksarchief, Raad van Vlaanderen, nr. 12831, published by Duverger 1975: 305-307.

⁴⁶⁹ Kortrijk, Rijksarchief, Fonds d’Ennetière 66, published by Verbrugge 1986: 174.

⁴⁷⁰ *alle de lijsten op zijn frans ende de aldernieuwste mode*. Gent, Stadsarchief, archief Sint-Michielskerk No. 482. Resolutieboek jaren 1666-1762, f°142, published by Tralbaut 1950: 530-534.

⁴⁷¹ E.g. the roodloft of the cathedral of Brugge, for which the contract was signed by the cabinet maker Frans Jansens in 1723, published by Meulemeester 1990: 215.

reduction would be enforced if the level of execution were insufficient (again on the basis of a similar committee decision). The third, and softer, solution was to make sure that every stage of the design and production process was submitted to the patron for approval, including terracotta models of the important sculptural elements such as the statues and reliefs of an altarpiece; for instance, for the *St. Eloy* altarpiece for the smiths' guild in the cathedral of Antwerpen mentioned above it was stipulated "een behoerelycke boutsieringe" ('a large and respectable [clay] model').⁴⁷² All this was useful, unless the sculptor had already shown his patron a model that could be followed: Otmaer van Ommen showed a boxwood crucifix when selling his design for the triumphal cross to be placed above the roodloft in the cathedral of Ieper. This was then used in the contract, following the stipulation that the work had to be executed "artfully after life and with good proportion".⁴⁷³

The multiplicity of contractual clauses discussed shows how much the exact content of any contract depended on the character of the patron and the reputation of the sculptor. However, it would be hazardous to base any pattern on change on such fragmentary evidence.

This multiplicity of approaches and circumstances is also seen in the occasional problem situations that arose and that were solved in court. From court records, it can be deduced that Lucas Faydherbe was probably the most sought after Flemish sculptor. Numerous cases involving him have been recorded and are a precious source of circumstantial information.⁴⁷⁴

Remarkably, there are no court cases recorded against Artus I and Artus II Quellinus, nor against the Verbrugghen. Whether this is coincidental or related to their strategy of serving their clients better – and possibly also to their gradual increased power and monopolisation of the Antwerpen market for sculpture from the 1660s onwards⁴⁷⁵ – remains an open question. Their monopolisation is further

⁴⁷² Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Protocollen van Notaris J. van Waerbeek, 25/8/1693, published by Jansen 1938: 106.

⁴⁷³ *de beelden constelick naert tleven en de met goede proportie, den god naer utwijzen van zekere cleen cruusken ghesneden van busboome ofte palmbout en de reste naer tconcept ghetrocken in pampiere bij den voors[chreven] mester Otmaer*. Ieper, archief van de Sint-Maartenskerk, contract with Otmaer van Ommen, 29/4/1593, published by Deschrevel 1969: 45-48.

⁴⁷⁴ See Van Riet 1996a for a complete discussion of them.

⁴⁷⁵ See Epilogue.

discussed in chapter 4, while the next first brings to life three-dimensionality in a discussion of sketches and models.

Chapter 3: From sketch to model

Three-dimensional preparatory models

Their nature and necessity

The usual next step in the design of a sculpture, after the first drawing(s) and the contract with the patron, is the translation of the two-dimensional form into a spacial one. In the period considered, the most usual procedure was to make sketches and models in malleable materials, so that the intended shape could be approached by addition and subtraction of material (modelling), rather than the more laborious and irreversible approach of subtraction alone (carving).

The practice of modelling preparatory sketches goes back to the Ancients and this is frequently stressed in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century literature on sculpture.⁴⁷⁶ It has been mythified with Michelangelo⁴⁷⁷ and Giambologna and standardised under Bernini (particularly in terracotta).⁴⁷⁸ Moreover, the allusion to the divine creation of man out of clay justifies and glorifies the dirty manual work of the sculptor: “And the Lord God formed man of the slime of the earth: and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul”,⁴⁷⁹ and “And now, O Lord, thou art our father, and we are clay: and thou art our maker, and we are the works of thy hands”.⁴⁸⁰

Although Michelangelo has been seen as the champion of the *non finito*, this does not mean that his practice can be equated to an exaltation of direct carving, i.e. without going through the lengthy process of designing three-dimensional sketches before starting to carve.⁴⁸¹

Félibien took Vasari's⁴⁸² view that modelling is indispensable to sculptors, like drawing is to painters, and wrote (when he spoke of the Ancients):

Cependant quelques riches que fust la matiere que les Sculpteurs employoient, ils n'ont jamais quitté la terre, qui sert toujours à former leurs Modeles; Et soit qu'ils

⁴⁷⁶ e.g. Félibien 1690: 304.

⁴⁷⁷ Avery 1981b: 19.

⁴⁷⁸ London 2001: 1.

⁴⁷⁹ Genesis 2:7 (Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate).

⁴⁸⁰ Isaias 64: 8.

⁴⁸¹ Cellini 1847: 388.

veuillent tailler des Statües de marbre ou fondre de matal, ils n'entreprennent jamais ces penibles ouvrages, qu'ils n'en ayent auparavant fait un modele achevé avec de la terre.⁴⁸³

The materials available to the sculptor were principally clay (that could subsequently be fired into terracotta), wax, lime and plaster, in which other stabilising materials such as wood or metal could be added if necessary. Some authors stress how little effective difference there is between the use of these materials.⁴⁸⁴ Their principle common quality is to have the potential for changing from a liquid or malleable form to a solid one, either by desiccation (*terra cruda*), firing (*terracotta*), chemical hardening (lime and plaster) or cooling (wax).

It is frequently surmised that the precision of modelling that wax allows suggests particular appropriateness for designing small-scale sculptures such as in ivory or boxwood. Terracotta is generally used for medium-sized works, up to a size of 80cm/1m, roughly the maximum that can be fired in a kiln. And finally *terra cruda*, lime and plaster, alone or in combination, with or without wooden additions, is particularly suited to large models. However, little of this is confirmed by extant works, and we can only go by what theorists of sculptural practice wrote.⁴⁸⁵

Whether or not the choice of material is principally determined by practical qualities such as those suggested above rather than considerations of availability and cost, the stress that will be given to terracotta (as opposed to *terra cruda*, wax lime and plaster) is merely determined by the rate of survival rather than known or unrecorded practice. It certainly cannot be affirmed that models in terracotta only appeared in the second half of the seventeenth century in the Low Countries.⁴⁸⁶ Amongst other arguments, probate inventories of sculptors' estates prove their existence earlier in the century and probably prior to this.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸² Vasari 1907: 151-152.

⁴⁸³ Félibien 1690: 304.

⁴⁸⁴ Baudry 1990: 55.

⁴⁸⁵ *Encyclopédie*, article: "Modèle dans les ouvrages en fonte".

⁴⁸⁶ As Vlieghe 1998a: 232 maintains without argument nor example.

⁴⁸⁷ For examples see chapter 1; Casteels 1961: 442-443 also lists documentary terracottas by the De Nole family, all before 1638; and Duverger 1984-2004: 7/319, by Hans van Mildert (1588-1638), including "een modelle van eenen preckstoel van potaerde" (a clay model of a pulpit). It would be worthwhile discovering what production processes Cornelis Floris (1514-1575) developed and whether these were a model to the later generations, just as his brother Frans's workshop procedures were an inspiration to Rubens. In any case, in an autograph letter of 1553, Cornelis Floris mentions that has already "gheboetzeert" (modelled) the figure of Jan de Merode for the tomb at the Sint-Dimfnakerk, Geel. Letter published in Huysmans 1996: 245.

Link between design on paper and in terracotta

Although a general practice of sketching in three dimensions after a first stage on paper cannot be substantiated – this depends on the nature of the work as much as on the character and preferences of the individual sculptor – a case study making the link between these two stages may point to their uses and specificities.

A commission which is particularly well-documented is the pulpit now in the cathedral of Brussels, but originally created by Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen (1654-1724) for the Jesuit church in Leuven (401).⁴⁸⁸ The Leuven Jesuits approached the Antwerpen-based sculptor in July 1695. The Antwerpen Jesuits probably did so as the new rector of the Leuven college came from Antwerpen and was appointed barely two months earlier. Moreover, two of Verbrugghen's brothers had entered the Jesuit order. However, it was Father Aloysius de Birsa who officially commissioned the pulpit and paid for it. The written contract describes the different elements of the pulpit to be delivered by Verbrugghen. He was required to provide a "model" (a term which is unfortunately unspecific about the medium, either drawn or sculpted) to be approved by the patron.

That this commission for a church in Leuven went to a sculptor from Antwerpen is surprising considering that the guild regulations of Leuven prohibited outside masters to deliver commissions and work within its city walls. It serves to underline the reputation of Antwerpen and of this master in particular, as well as the close connections sought by a prospective patron when commissioning an expensive piece of church furniture which was to serve important an function. On a local level its purpose was mainly didactic but more widely these were propagandistic for a relatively recent Jesuit foundation. Indeed, it forms part of a newly built church proclaiming the strength and vitality of the Catholic faith and, especially, the Jesuit order.

The chronology of this commission strongly suggests that Verbrugghen greatly appreciated its importance as he did not wait long before embarking on the

⁴⁸⁸ On this pulpit, see De Ren 1987 who reconstructs the body of material related to this commission, refutes the (indeed wrong) attributions of the drawings to anybody else than Verbrugghen, and discusses the commissioning process and the Jesuit Counter-Reformation iconography of the pulpit. See also the more recent discussion of its history and iconography by van Ypersele 2002, with further references to contract, preparatory drawings and terracottas, 11-16. They however say nothing on the actual production process of the pulpit.

preliminary work for it. The two terracotta sketches we still have are dated 1696.⁴⁸⁹ In this he must have been helped by Father de Birsa for the elaboration of the iconographic programme, as the Marian iconography⁴⁹⁰ is eminently anti-Jansenist.

However, the three extant preparatory drawings show the artist's creative mind at work. They are a realization of his concepts, acted as a visual extension of his mind and assisted his imagination. This interactive process between mind and matter first took place on paper. The complexity and size of the projected forms of the pulpit played an important role in this process. The structure as a whole is conceived on paper alone, with a clear accent on the furniture element, leaving the individual figurative parts for a later stage, namely the three-dimensional one in terracotta.

On the first drawing **(402)**,⁴⁹¹ Verbrugghen starts with the furniture parts (the tub and the sounding board), adding in the different figures of the prescribed iconography as well as the decorative elements (such as cartouches and draperies) on the next draft **(403)**.⁴⁹² The last of the three extant drafts **(404)**⁴⁹³ remodels some details (such as the suppression of one cartouche on the tub), but more importantly it defines the proportions of the different parts, and their inter-relationship.

The modelli that survive are studies for the two main figures **(405)** in the Counter-Reformation iconography of the pulpit: *Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise*. These figures had to be elaborated in three dimensions by the artist. The anatomy was then carefully delineated in the wooden end product. The garments and hair are taken more as exemplars by the executants who must have felt more comfortable with these than with the reproduction of anatomy in the oak. The latter comment, nevertheless, only derives from close comparison of the two versions, in terracotta and oak. From the terracotta stage, it remains to speculate about the actual full-size execution in oak. That Verbrugghen did this on his own within three years (1696-1699) is almost certainly out of the question. The only thing we know, from a contemporary chronicler, concerns the assembly of the different parts in the church in Leuven. The pulpit had been carved in Antwerpen and brought to Leuven by boat, where it was offered for sale at the local Monday market, as if it were any ordinary piece of daily merchandise. A lay brother offered to buy the whole lot of

⁴⁸⁹ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2416.

⁴⁹⁰ Van Ypersele 2002: 17-29 discusses this iconography at length.

⁴⁹¹ Brussels, Royal Library, inv. F7734 recto.

⁴⁹² Idem, verso.

⁴⁹³ Heverlee, Archief der Vlaamse Jezuieten, *Promptuarium Pictorum* 1/9v.

wood, as if it had never been commissioned. The purpose of this, of course, was to make a loop hole in the guild system and legally introduce the work of an artist who was not allowed to work in Leuven.

The pulpit now in Brussels, despite being one of the best documented pieces in Flemish sculpture, leaves a large number of questions unanswered concerning its production. The later stages, i.e. the translation of the drawings (with some parts worked out in terracotta) into the carving of the oak remains unknown. Who worked on it and in what capacity? How was the architectural and structural part worked out? Were there other intermediary stages, such as a full-scale plaster model? Such a full-scale model, though imaginable for single figures, is certainly difficult to conceive for the structure as a whole. Some important parts must have received little other preparatory work than the drawn design.

A limited number of similar cases exist, whereby a drawn sketch, a modelled sketch and the end product have survived.

For the epitaph of the family Van der Cammen-Manriques by Peter II Verbrugghen, Hendrik-Frans's brother, two drawings, a terracotta and the end product are extant. A first drawing (406)⁴⁹⁴ sets out the scheme with a reclining female allegory of *Eternity* (with one hand on a ball and the other holding a serpent that bites its own tail) as the centrepiece above an inscription tablet that ends with the abbreviation "RIP" (the remainder of the text is not meant to be recognisable). Above her, and on either side of a pyramidal tablet, hover two angels holding flower wreaths and palm tree branches. The top of the pyramidal composition is formed by a flaming urn.

A second drawing (407)⁴⁹⁵ repeats most of the design, only leaving out the lower tablet with its paraphernalia. The proportions and attitude of *Eternity* are more classically oriented, less huddled up, with the hand lightly placed on the ball instead of jutting out. The putto next to her, holding the escutcheon, no longer has his hair covered in mourning, but actively participates in the scene by holding the serpent ring. The top of the composition is raised by the insertion of a frieze covered by a tasseled lambrequin.

⁴⁹⁴ Antwerpen, Prentenkabinet, inv. 1043.

⁴⁹⁵ New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum inv. 1931-64-259.

It is worth observing the difference in spirit, if not in style, between the two drawings. Is this the consequence of workshop collaboration, with one of the Verbrugghe's improving the first design at the patron's request? Or is it a second version for use by the workshop in the further production of the project? It is noteworthy that it is inscribed with technical instructions.⁴⁹⁶

As with Hendrik Frans's pulpit, Peter II realised a terracotta model **(408)**⁴⁹⁷ of the figure of *Eternity*. This work is exclusively concerned with the main figurative part of the epitaph, even leaving out the putto, defining and refining the complex drapery of the drawing. The serpent ring, however, is stuck against the escutcheon, so that it was not a risk in this fragile material. This terracotta was then faithfully reproduced in the stone figure on the epitaph **(409)**.⁴⁹⁸ The remainder of the epitaph follows the second drawing for the top part, and most, but not all, of the first drawing in the lower tablet.

Peter Scheemaekers's design on paper **(410)**⁴⁹⁹ and in terracotta **(411)**⁵⁰⁰ for choir stalls are even closer to each other than in the last example. The only differences are on the level of small detail linked to the offering of an alternative or not. From this it is clear that the design on paper must have functioned as the basis for discussion with the patron. The decisions taken were about details, but were all included in the terracotta: the largest area concerned is the back panel of the middle two tiers, which offers an alternative in the drawing (slightly different borders and swags), and the left one carried through on both sides of the line of symmetry in the terracotta. Another such difference is the exact placing (at the top or at the bottom of the frieze space) of the volute in the upper left corner of the composition. The top position chosen in the terracotta corresponds to the other such volutes further along the frieze. Similarly, the left-most caryatid is supported by a console in the terracotta only and one putto (instead of two as in the drawing) appears underneath the saint's portrait medallion on the right. Otherwise the drawing and the terracotta do not differ.

⁴⁹⁶ At the top "pilaer van de kerck" ("pillar of the church") and on the pyramidal tablet "swarte / steen / en / witte / letteren" ("black stone and white lettering"). Cf Dumas 2000: 42.

⁴⁹⁷ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 4580

⁴⁹⁸ Lier, Sint-Gummaruskerk, cf. Leemans 1972: 239-240.

⁴⁹⁹ Antwerpen, Prentenkabinet, inv. 1885.

⁵⁰⁰ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 4364

The realization of a terracotta model in three dimensions required a drawing of about the same size, so that the sculptor could define the spacial relationships of the constituent parts of this high relief-like composition. The rendering of perspective in the lower divisions of the stalls was sufficient for such non-figurative parts, but the complex figurations above could not have been understood by the workshop for the elaboration of the next stage in the production of the stalls.

Further confirmation that this is a working model not intended to be sold or preserved outside the workshop is that much of the detail in the terracotta has been damaged. It was mostly added in such thin modelling and detached from the background that it could only be extremely fragile. For instance, the rays in the niche's ceiling on the left are largely detached from the background and thus hanging in the air.

These three examples display some uses of the translation of a drawn design into the three dimensions. However, all these cases assume a linear approach to the design of sculpture which has its limitations. A famous counterexample is known from Giambologna who is supposed rarely to have sketched on paper and directly expressed his ideas in wax or clay.⁵⁰¹ He felt he had to show that he had learnt Michelangelo's tough lesson about learning to model before finishing anything.

Other artists have reversed this idea. Edme Bouchardon regularly returned to drawing after the first three-dimensional sketch in clay. His principal interest was to refine the anatomical qualities of his work, as in his equestrian monument to Louis XV for the place Louis XV (subsequently renamed place de la Concorde).⁵⁰² The several hundred drawings he produced to refine his approach are a rare testimony to such practice, that may have been the consequence of the high expectations of a particularly critical public for a major royal commission. It was certainly also caused by Bouchardon's "acharnement têtue"⁵⁰³ at finishing his works, for which contemporary critics reproached him. Regrettably, no such cases of a high number of drawings for a single work are known to have survived for the Low Countries,

⁵⁰¹ Avery 1981a: 79.

⁵⁰² Paris 1973.

⁵⁰³ Réau 1936: 8.

except by the painter Jan Garemijn (1712-1799) who occasionally designed sculpture.⁵⁰⁴

Terracottas

From the preparatory works for Flemish sculpture that survive it appears that the most frequently-used material was fired clay. The use of clay as a necessary preparatory step is corroborated by such theorists as Félibien (quoted above) and Borghini.⁵⁰⁵

Choice of type of clay

Clay is an earth rock principally constituted of small particles of hydrated aluminosilicates from the decomposition of such materials as granite, gneiss and feldspar. It can be of a number of different compositional natures and it can be presented in different states: raw (humid or dry terra cruda), half-fired or fired (terracotta). Firing above 800-1000°C operates physical, chemical and mineralogical changes that are irreversible.⁵⁰⁶ After the dehydration of the clay at lower temperatures, the high temperature recrystallises the clay and transforms it into terracotta. Wetting terracotta, unlike terra cruda or half-fired clay, cannot return the clay back to its malleable form. This quality is used in more recent times: terracotta ground to powder mixed with water is called “chamotte” in French. This can then be mixed to clay. The result is a dried-out clay with a rougher texture (if the grinding remained coarse) than ordinary clay due to the presence of small particles of terracotta. “Chamotte” gets more easily fired as a proportion of its matter has already undergone the chemical change that occurs during firing.

The clay that is purest and easiest to model with (i.e. of the greasy type) was the most desirable for sculptors.⁵⁰⁷ This may have been found in a number of places around the main centres of production in the Low Countries,⁵⁰⁸ although exact origins are not recorded. It is noteworthy that most terracottas of this type turned to reddish brown when fired.

⁵⁰⁴ Garemijn's probate inventory lists hundreds of drawings, groups of which refer to the same work; only a couple of dozens of his drawings have survived. See Brugge 1955; De Prest 1970; Devos 1983; Van de Velde 1984: 167-198; Meulemeester 1999; Le Loup 1999.

⁵⁰⁵ Borghini 1584: 147.

⁵⁰⁶ Fabbri 1996: 26; Czapski Hemingway 1999: 31; London 2001: 83.

⁵⁰⁷ Gentilini 1996: 64.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf Dumortier 2002: 61 for ceramics.

Another type of clay, principally used in proto-industrial casting processes, such as those of pipes (hence the name ‘pipe clay’), is of a lighter, beige colour. This sometimes has inclusions of oxidised iron, such as with the life-size bust of a bishop saint from the circle of Jacques Bergé (412).⁵⁰⁹ Another example of pipe clay, but without these iron oxidation speckles, is Jean Del Cour’s [*Headless*] *Virgin and [missing] Child* (413).⁵¹⁰ Few of these ‘pipe clay’ sketches have survived and one may surmise relatively rare use of this type of clay in the Low Countries.

Modelling practices

Once the clay has been pounded to the desired malleability on a block of (water-absorbing) plaster, the sculptor proceeds as follows, in the words of Félibien:

Pour modeler ou faire des Figures de terre, il n’est pas besoin de beaucoup d’Outils; on met la terre sur une *Selle ou Chevalet*,⁵¹¹ & c’est avec les mains que l’on commence à travailler, & qu’on avance davantage la besogne; les plus Pratics se servant plus de leurs doigts que d’aucun outil. L’on a seulement trois ou quatre morceaux de bois, que les Ouvriers nomment *Esbauchoirs*,⁵¹² qui ont environ sept ou huit pouces de long, & qui vont en arrondissant par un des bouts, & par l’autre sont plats & en *onglets*. De ces Esbauchoirs, il y en a qui sont unis par le bout qui est en onglet, & ceux-là servent à unir la besogne. Les autres ont des *Oches*⁵¹³ ou dents, & servent à *breter*⁵¹⁴ la terre, c’est-à-dire à l’oster d’une manière qu’elle ne reste pas *lice*, mais comme *égratignée*, ce que les Ouvriers font d’abord, laissant mesme assez souvent quelques endroits de leurs ouvrages travaillez de la sorte, pour y faire paroistre plus d’Art.⁵¹⁵

The earlier Italian treatise by Raffaello Borghini (1584) notes in his comments on how to make terracotta models that are to be preserved, that

⁵⁰⁹ Private collection.

⁵¹⁰ Liège, Musée Curtius, inv.I/2399bis.

⁵¹¹ Turntable.

⁵¹² “ESBAUCHOIR, outil de bois, ou d’yvoire dont les Sculpteurs se servent pour travailler, soit de terre, soit de cire. Ils en ont de deux sortes, l’un tout uny par les deux bouts, & l’autre qui a des dents par un bout, qui leur sert à breter, c’est-à-dire à faire que l’ouvrage ne soit pas lisse & poly; ce qui sert quelquefois à le faire paroistre travaillé avec plus d’art.

ESBAUCHOIR de fer servant aux Ouvriers qui travaillent le Stuc.” as defined by Félibien 1690: 584.

⁵¹³ “OCHES, ou Coches; ce sont des marques ou entailles, que les Tailleurs de pierre, ou Charpentiers font sur des regles de bois pour marquer des mesures.” as defined by Félibien 1690: 685.

⁵¹⁴ “BRETER ou Breteler, c’est parmi les Sculpteurs une manière de travailler, soit de cire, soit de terre. Ils ont un Esbauchoir de bois qui a des dents par un bout, & qui en ostant la terre ou la cire ne fait que dégrossir & laisser les traits sur l’ouvrage qu’on nomme brettures.

Les Maçons ont des truelles qu’ils nomment Bretées ou bretelées, parce qu’elles ont des dents. Elles leur servent pour dresser les enduits de plâtre.

Les Tailleurs de pierre ont aussi des marteaux qui sont bretez, & qui leur servent à dresser les paremens de pierres.” as defined by Félibien 1690: 510.

⁵¹⁵ Félibien 1690: 307-308.

one begins to build up the figure from the legs. They are made solid, as are the arms and the neck. but the torso, and the head too, are hollowed out. While one is making the figure, parts which stand free may be given supports, as necessary.⁵¹⁶

Despite the precision in the text, the illustration in Félibien is unfortunately one which only shows a workshop interior with finished products standing on the turntable or on shelves and hanging on the walls. The few “ébauchoirs” on the floor are too small to render them technically understandable. A better illustration of Félibien’s description is provided by the *Encyclopédie* which enlives the scene by showing the activities being performed in the workshop (414):⁵¹⁷

- Fig. 1. Sculpteur qui modele en bas relief d’après la bosse.
2. Sculpteur qui modele une tête ronde bosse [a portrait?].
3. Bas relief.
4. Petits chevalets à modeler qui s’accrochent sur une table ou sur un banc.
5. Garçon d’atelier qui prépare de la terre.
6. Sculpteur qui modele en plâtre à la main.
7. Ouvrier qui gâche⁵¹⁸ du plâtre.⁵¹⁹

Another aspect that Félibien, Borghini and the *Encyclopédie* do not show or discuss, is with what shape or quantity of clay the sculptor starts to build up the clay model. The usual working practice is however one of adding “colombins” (“sausages of clay”)⁵²⁰ or smaller “boulettes” (“pellets”) to each other or to a larger chunk of clay, gradually increasing the size of the sketch while giving it shape.⁵²¹

This technique only remains visible on rough sketches. Regrettably, few such sketches survive from before the nineteenth century. The most telling one is probably Cornelis Van Dael’s *Mater Dolorosa* (428),⁵²² even though the use of pellets or ‘sausages’ is difficult to discern. The finger marks on the back can certainly be recognised, but not their action.

Modelling can be seen as a practice whereby the sculptor combines the addition and the subtraction of malleable material. The addition happens principally from

⁵¹⁶ Borghini 1584: 148: “si comincia a formare la figura dalle gambe, le quali si fanno piene sicome le braccia, & al collo parimente ma il torso si fa voto, & ancora la testa, e mentre che si fa la figura a quelle parti, che sono in aria secondo il bisogno si danno de puntelli, o per abbozzare si adopera la pertinella di ferro”, translation by Avery 1981: 80.

⁵¹⁷ Plate 1.

⁵¹⁸ “to temper plaster”

⁵¹⁹ *Encyclopédie*, article *Sculpture en tous genres*: 1.

⁵²⁰ Term used by Avery 1981: 84 and Slobodkin 1949: 19; there seems to be no English word for this.

⁵²¹ Baudry 1990: 66.

⁵²² Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2461.

inside out, from the core to the outer layer, from the rough to the potentially finished surface skin. The subtraction, on the other hand, happens from outside in and more often with tools that allow greater precision than with the fingers (unless it concerns e.g. the rough hollowing out of the socle or back for firing purposes).

The base of Laurent Delvaux's *Virgin and Child* (415)⁵²³ shows how the sculptor started with the figure and later added the socle area around it. Its socle is properly finished with a concave moulding and cut-off corners. This is quite unusual and could signify the finish of an end product. Instead, sculptors generally finish their socles by cutting off the excess clay with a knife and/or by adding a slip.⁵²⁴

The hole made by a stick suggests that that stick held the figure up during modelling and possibly during firing, the back being hollowed out and apparently making the figure unstable. This use of a stick during firing remains hypothetical, since in principle clay that goes into the kiln cannot contain a wooden or metal armature that would burn or expand; only works not to be preserved could contain these.

Unlike Félibien who exclusively explains the carving tools, the *Encyclopédie* illustrates modelling tools in great detail (416). Apart from the turntable (figures 1-3), the easel for reliefs (figures 4-8, 11-12, 15-17), and the lantern (figures 13-14), the greatest attention is given to the compasses for measuring and enlarging/diminishing measurements (figures 18, 23-31) and the differently shaped “ébauchoirs” in boxwood and ivory⁵²⁵ (figures 31-57).

Surprisingly, neither Félibien nor the *Encyclopédie* discuss or illustrate “mirettes” (wire end tools (417)),⁵²⁶ nor the “Michelange” (wooden blade (418)), a thick stick with a square cut for giving lumps of clay an overall shape. Had these not yet been invented?

Félibien and the *Encyclopédie* stop their discussion of clay modelling at the modelling itself. They do not consider the operations necessary to make the work ready for firing. It is necessary to return to the comments of Borghini to realise that the drying procedure of clay needs to be even. He recommends the use of damp rags to keep the clay equally moist during the modelling time. After this, he suggests, “the

⁵²³ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 4019.

⁵²⁴ A creamy mixture of clay and water used in pottery-making, especially for decorating earthenware.

⁵²⁵ Although not mentioned, these could also be in bone.

⁵²⁶ Slobodkin 1949: 18.

final polish is given with a soft rag wrapped round the fingers, or, better still, with a sponge”.⁵²⁷ Both of the latter need to be dry if the surface effects are not to be destroyed.

Other technical evidence on terracottas concerns wood grain marks from the plank on which the wet clay was placed during modelling and drying.⁵²⁸ This is most conspicuous on the back of reliefs, as their contact surface is much larger. Good examples are the caryatid models of the school of Artus I Quellinus **(419)**,⁵²⁹ the caryatid models by Jan Claudius de Cock for Turnhout **(420)**⁵³⁰ and three reliefs by Willem Kerricx **(421)**.⁵³¹ The process of removing the clay model with a string from its temporary support before placing it in the kiln can also be seen on Louis Willemsens’ *Mater Dolorosa* **(422)**.⁵³² The finger marks on the base of this piece and on that of the anonymous *Church Doctor* **(423)**⁵³³ demand an explanation: were they the result of handling when showing the piece to its patron while the clay was still wet or handling to get the piece into the kiln?

A peculiar case is the anonymous *St Peter* **(424)**⁵³⁴ that has a wooden socle instead of an integrated terracotta one. A metal peg hidden in the hollow back fixes the two parts together. This operation would necessarily have been performed after the firing.

Flemish sculptors occasionally undertook squaring their terracottas, just as if they were draughtsmen preparing their composition for enlargement. This has frequently been noticed on one of the terracotta reliefs for the Amsterdam town hall,⁵³⁵ but never been properly explained nor contextualised, particularly since that is the only case where squaring is found with the meaning used to describe a gridwork on paper.

Most of the squaring is not on reliefs, but on statuettes, such as on the anonymous *Kneeling Deacon* **(425)**.⁵³⁶ It is worth noting that the lines also continue on the back up to the partial hollowing out of the statuette. Indications of scale were frequent on

⁵²⁷ Borghini 1584: 149: “il pulimento si da con un cencio molle avvolto alle dita, o si veramente con una spugna”, translated by Avery 1981: 82.

⁵²⁸ A few examples of statuette undersides is discussed by Nijstad 1997.

⁵²⁹ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2456.

⁵³⁰ *Idem*, inv. 2494.

⁵³¹ *Idem*, inv. 2459.

⁵³² *Idem*, inv. 2465a.

⁵³³ *Idem*, inv. 2471.

⁵³⁴ *Idem*, inv. 2493.

⁵³⁵ See chapter 5.

⁵³⁶ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 619.

contract drawings, but were equally useful for the studio. Such models may serve to evaluate the quantity and size of materials necessary for the completion of a project. This would then be the natural next step once a model was properly finished and accepted by the patron, before going to the kiln. These lines could correspond to square feet.

This is most likely also the explanation with a sketch for a portrait bust **(505)**,⁵³⁷ and the anonymous *Church Doctor* just mentioned **(423)**, even if the latter is at a much earlier stage in the design, still remaining rough in surface. A vertical line runs through the centre of the composition and this is crossed by six shorter lines, creating roughly seven equal distances, the base and the top of the mitre not included. The overall height of the statue to be carved can therefore be estimated at about eight feet. If these were of the measure used in Brabant, that would be 2.26m, not an uncommon size for a statue on an altarpiece or a church pillar.

A variation of this explanation may also be appropriate for the horizontal line below the hip and on the palm tree branch of Willemsens *St Apollina* **(426)**:⁵³⁸ namely to divide the figure into two blocks.

Determining the right proportions is also a possible explanation for the no less frequent use of vertical lines. The anonymous *St John of the Cross (?)* **(427)**⁵³⁹ is such a piece, as there was little reason for a sculptor to break the statuette in two parts right through the face of the saint.

The scaling on contract drawings mentioned above is much less frequent on terracottas. This testifies to the different use of three-dimensional models, even though they may still have formed part of the contractual obligations (e.g. to be approved by the patron), but their emphasis generally lay in the shapes of individual parts rather than the size of the overall project. This may also suggest that most Flemish sculptors went through both the drawn and the three-dimensional stages in their practice. However, caution must be taken with these sorts of generalisations, as it is known that few of the terracotta models ever produced survived.

Comparison of different stages

Although many of the technical considerations discussed above were applied to terracottas at different stages in the design process, it is worth discussing these

⁵³⁷ See further below.

⁵³⁸ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2469.

stages. The literature on sculpture uses a large number of terms to identify these, although there is no general consensus and this effectively creates confusion. Moreover these words are usually drawn from different traditions of art history, making them even more numerous. In English the terms ‘sketch’ and ‘model’ are used to distinguish respectively between the rough and the finished preparatory stages to the sculpted end product. This terminology only distinguishes the result as seen by the viewer of the piece. It does not distinguish between the possible intentions of the sculptor. Indeed, if a piece of modelled clay is kept properly damp, it remains malleable for several months and the sculptor can return to it at a later stage and finish it to such a degree that the early stages are obliterated and the art historian trying to make sense of it is fooled.

It should be noted that the term ‘sketch’ is equally used in the discussion of drawings and paintings, and ‘model’ derives from architectural history. Sculpture historians borrow these terms and lend them differing interpretations. Fortunately, the distinction between ‘sketch’ and ‘model’ is not a hard one, and the English language only has these two terms.

English art-historical language however also uses the Italian terms ‘bozzetto’ and ‘modello’, which that language complements with those of ‘modellino’. The Anglo-Saxons recognize their language lacks specific words for defining precisely and have taken these examples from Italy. ‘Bozzetto’ is used to signify ‘sketch’ and ‘modello’, ‘model’, and interestingly have also drawn words possibly for the same reason, from French, as with ‘esquisse’ and ‘maquette’.

The French exaggerate no less in their use of little-differentiated terminology. Baudry’s book⁵⁴⁰ is heralded as the definitive work on the techniques and vocabulary of sculpture, but she does not undisputedly define terms such as *esquisse*, *projet*, *bozzetto*, *maquette*, *modello*, *modèle*, *modèle préparatoire*, *modèle définitif*, *modèle original*.

Luckily, amongst the roughest and most spontaneous sketches, a second terracotta version of the *Mater Dolorosa* (428, 429)⁵⁴¹ by Cornelis van Dael (fl. 1721-1767) has appeared in a private collection, that is also polychromed. This could be identified with the *Mater Dolorosa* underneath a stone crucifixion scene that formerly stood on

⁵³⁹ Idem, inv. 2442.

⁵⁴⁰ 1990: 16-20.

⁵⁴¹ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2461 (bozzetto); private collection (modello).

the Burchtgracht⁵⁴² in Antwerpen (near the Zakstraat that went towards the Sint-Walburgiskerk) and more recently (probably between about 1830 and the mid-twentieth century) outside the Vleeshuis in Antwerpen (430).⁵⁴³ The stone weeping *St John* is monogrammed C.V.D. and dated 1758. This is the only known case, besides the extant terracottas for the Amsterdam town hall, whereby two different stages of three-dimensional design can be compared for the same work. Compositionally and iconographically there are no differences (and this corroborates the identification), even the characteristic three tears are identical per eye; but in terms of finish, the difference is somewhat overwhelming. The sketch does not seem properly fired, whereas the model has been fully finished, fired and polychromed.

Although *Mater Dolorosa* figures are extremely frequent in the Low Countries, deriving not only from the devotion to the Virgin in this most northern bastion of Catholicism, but also from the no less frequent placing of the *Mater Dolorosa* and *St John the Evangelist* below crucifixes. Despite this and the little differentiation between many artists' renderings of the subject, this particular case is special in its remarkable intensity. It develops two different interpretations along its two main viewing angles. The one concentrates on the sorrowing face of the Virgin; the other on her clasping hands that emphasise the strength of her faith. They are both along a 45° angle on either side of the frontal view. All this has a drapery envelope that is appropriate to the two views. Along its first principal angle the Virgin's face is placed diagonally, symmetrically to the diagonal lines of her blue cloak. Along its other main angle her hands are emphasized by forming the centre of a cross, made by the yellow lining of her blue cloak, on the background of her red undergarment.

These principal views should be placed in the context of the gradual reading of a crucifixion scene, whereby the onlooker, approaching the group in the Burchtgracht in Antwerpen from the right, first discovers the Virgin's sorrow with its invitation to remember Christ's suffering. When the onlooker reaches the middle of the composition, in front of the crucifix itself, the Virgin effectively encourages the onlooker to have faith in the redemption of sins and in the Resurrection.

⁵⁴² Lambrechts-Douillez 1979: 14.

⁵⁴³ Devigne 1936: 348 (this obscure publication was neither known to Theuerkauff 1975: 37, nor to Brussels 1977: 203, who maintained the attribution to Mattheus van Beveren). Now in the city museums' storage, inv. AV.78.1.1-5/5.

Apart from the colours, these comments concern the reading of both terracotta versions. The second version adds only detail to the first and strengthens the whole effect, principally by the higher degree of finish. Only one notable difference is discernable: the piece of her undergarment hanging diagonally, placed underneath her hands in the model, does not yet appear in the sketch. Apart from this, the drapery detail is more refined and smaller in the model, as for instance on her lower right leg, where there are more folds in the model. Similarly, the drapery billowing out at the level of her right hip has been slightly raised to strengthen the effect of the main diagonals contrasting with her face in the first principle angle described above. This angle is also strengthened by the increased angularity of her headcover. A characteristic change of style in the detail of the drapery can be discerned on her right arm, where the larger folds are flattened with a concave counter-effect. This is only present on the model, not yet on the sketch.

There is a logical progress in the modelling and refining of the statuette and clearly show that the rough aspect of the sketch is not a misleading idea in placing its conception before that of the polychromed model. These, then, are two stages in the design of a statuette that develops on a three-dimensional level. Unless a preparatory drawing or another sketch model reappears, there will always be speculation as to the real status of these two statuettes. All that can be achieved is a relative positioning of the two works in the design process, not an absolute one. It may well be that Cornelis van Dael's first ideas were intellectual, it may just as well be that he sketched another couple of pieces in clay. Sandrart's comment is pertinent here: he says he saw no less than twenty-two models for the *St Longinus* in Bernini's studio.⁵⁴⁴

A further element in attempting to reconstruct retrospectively the design process in terracotta, as is well-known from Bernini's practice, is the particular purpose that is given to a sketch. The point may be illustrated with the anonymous *Saint in Priestly Dress* (431).⁵⁴⁵ Although its unsmooth surface and detail, roughly sketched in, suggests that it is an early sketch, it does already bear the lace fringes of the priest's dress. Here, greater interest in the effects and detail of the garment than in the face or hands may mean that the sculptor chose to work out this sketch with the specific

⁵⁴⁴ Von Sandrart 1675: 286.

⁵⁴⁵ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2511.

purpose of testing out this aspect of the statuette. And this could have come before or after he sketched any other aspect that he wished to work out.

The size of terracottas, as for instance discussed by Vasari,⁵⁴⁶ may also be related to the question of the sculptor's purpose for a particular model. It is, however, difficult to determine this beyond the superficial comment that early sketches *tend* to be smaller than later sketches. This underlies the general practice of gradually enlarging compositions to the desired size, that is to the full-scale model. Flemish terracotta sketches range from the tiny *Narcissus* (432) and *Diana* (433) figures by Grupello⁵⁴⁷ for his life-size marble garden statues⁵⁴⁸ commissioned by comte Lamoral de la Tour et Tassis for his city garden in Brussels, to the full-size figure of *Mary Magdalen* (434) by Pierard⁵⁴⁹ for a monument in the cathedral of Tournai.

Returning to Van Dael's *Mater Dolorosa*, before the identification with this end product, the rough sketch was long attributed to Mattheus van Beveren, on account of its quality and (quite relative) proximity to the *Mater Dolorosa* on the monument to Jasper Boest in the Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen of c.1665 (726).⁵⁵⁰ The difference of nearly a century between the two works testifies to the continuity in style and technique in Flemish sculpture, as has been seen in the *Introduction* above with the example of Van Geel.

Degrees and types of finish

Although degrees of finish are not necessarily a good guide as to the stage in the design process of any specific terracotta, it is worth observing their differences. Classification criteria have not been developed, thus my suggestion is to adopt one as follows: rough sketches are principally handled with hands and fingers; semi-finished sketches are tooled but not smoothed; finished models have smoothed surfaces.

This sort of classification obviously cannot be applied to many terracottas as they rarely only show one type. Mostly only the backs of pre-nineteenth-century sketches

⁵⁴⁶ Vasari 1907: 148-150. See also Wittkower 1977: 132.

⁵⁴⁷ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv 1427/1426.

⁵⁴⁸ Idem, inv. 3468/2729.

⁵⁴⁹ Dating to after 1678, cf. Marchal 1878: 127, 168, 210-211.

⁵⁵⁰ Attribution by Devigne 1922: 5; Theuerkauff 1975: 34.

remained with finger work alone, such as an anonymous *Church Doctor* (435)⁵⁵¹ and the one attributed to Willem Kerricx (436).⁵⁵²

These backs all remain unfinished, but the main views have been tooled to some extent although without surface smoothing. The roughness of these semi-finished works is extreme compared with such terracottas as Artus II Quellinus's four summarily sketched reliefs for the predella of the altar dedicated to the Virgin in the cathedral of Antwerpen (today in another altar of 1825 by Jacob Jan van der Neer (1760-1838), after the dismantling of the original altar during the French Revolution, (437))⁵⁵³ or the statuette of *St Joseph* (438) by Jan Baptist van der Haeghen.⁵⁵⁴

At the other extreme, examples of fully finished and smoothed works, include Adriaan Nijs's *Christ* (439)⁵⁵⁵ and Michiel van der Voort's *Justitia* (440) and *Constantia* (441).⁵⁵⁶ *The Abduction of Proserpina* (442)⁵⁵⁷ attributed to Walter Pompe is even patinated black with a slip to imitate bronze.

An example of a semi-finished terracotta is Jacob Peeters' *Jesus Preaching on the Mountain* (444),⁵⁵⁸ whereas an example of a finished figure with an unfinished back or base is the anonymous *Kneeling Putto* (445).⁵⁵⁹

Semi-finished works often include striations (or comb marks) achieved by dented or toothed "ébauchoirs" or occasionally "mirettes gradinées". These are mentioned by Félibien in his description quoted above, and he stresses there that a number of sculptors leave this finish *for art's sake*.

An extreme case of this, with such a finish all over the statuette, is Thomas Quellinus's *Prudence* (446).⁵⁶⁰ Interestingly, Willem Kerricx was credited with this practice by scholars in the early twentieth century,⁵⁶¹ and this statuette was attributed to him on this unsubstantiated connoisseurial basis despite the fact that the marble version at Aarhus, Denmark, was known.⁵⁶² The same happened with the *Ecce Agnus*

⁵⁵¹ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2498; Brussels 1977: 280.

⁵⁵² London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. 7647-1861; cf. Brinckmann 1925: 3/50.

⁵⁵³ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2266-2269; Brussels 1977: 160-162.

⁵⁵⁴ Idem, inv. 2413.

⁵⁵⁵ Idem, inv. 7843. Nijs 1993: 204.

⁵⁵⁶ Idem, inv. 2278. Brussels 1994: 233.

⁵⁵⁷ Idem, inv. 2447.

⁵⁵⁸ Idem, inv. 2435.

⁵⁵⁹ Idem, inv. 2413/769.

⁵⁶⁰ Idem, inv. 2279.

⁵⁶¹ Anonymous 1932: 2/93.

⁵⁶² Thorlacius-Ussing 1926: 93-95.

Dei (447)⁵⁶³ still attributed to him and the now reattributed *Boreas & Orithyia* group (448) by Jan Claudius de Cock.⁵⁶⁴ This shows how dangerous it is to base attributions on technical practices.

Interestingly, although terracottas were not yet collectable items in seventeenth-century Flanders, except amongst artists,⁵⁶⁵ the rough striated finish was a feature used for artistic purposes as referred to by Félibien. An interest in such bold texture is also noteworthy on Bernini's *St Longinus* and Du Quesnoy's *St Andrew* in S. Pietro in Vaticano.⁵⁶⁶ Another extreme case is the spectacular painted chapel decoration at Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire, by Sir James Thornhill,⁵⁶⁷ with life-size gilt striated monochrome statues almost like bozzetti. The latter unfortunately is an isolated example which is unlikely to have been known in the Low Countries. A more plausible source for the use of striations on terracottas is the practice by stone masons to chisel parallel lines in stones (droving), for example for window surrounds. This hardened the stone and made it more impermeable to water. It may also be that striations as practiced in Quattrocento tempera painting, called the "maniera sbozzatta",⁵⁶⁸ provided an artistic example. This technique was still known and occasionally practised by Flemish painters of the seventeenth century. A recently rediscovered egg tempera painting by Abraham Janssen van Nuysen⁵⁶⁹ may serve to illustrate the virtuosity of a near contemporary Flemish painter in such an antique technique.⁵⁷⁰

It is also noteworthy that the few systematically striated terracottas that survive are of a large size, around two feet high. However, there are too few cases to sustain any argument.

More usual striations are to be found on Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen's *Church Triumphant on a Globe* (449),⁵⁷¹ the anonymous *St John of the Cross (?)* (427),⁵⁷² Willem Kericx's *Mary Magdalen* (450),⁵⁷³ both Louis Willemsens' *Mater Dolorosa* (422,

⁵⁶³ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2443

⁵⁶⁴ Idem, inv. 2451; Bussers 1989-1991.

⁵⁶⁵ See chapter 1.

⁵⁶⁶ Montagu 1989: 30.

⁵⁶⁷ Souden 1991: 76-77.

⁵⁶⁸ Boschini 1966: 711.

⁵⁶⁹ Benesz 2001/2002.

⁵⁷⁰ Janczarski 2001/2002: 214.

⁵⁷¹ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2438.

⁵⁷² Idem, inv. 2442.

⁵⁷³ Idem, inv. 2458.

451),⁵⁷⁴ his *St Apollina* (426)⁵⁷⁵ and his *Religion* (452),⁵⁷⁶ on the anonymous *Seated Church Doctor* (453);⁵⁷⁷ or only on the background of reliefs such as Artus II Quellinus's *Angel with Chalice full of Grapes* (454)⁵⁷⁸ of which the figure itself is fully finished.

Fixing and fitting together pieces

Although terracotta is a fragile material that does not easily bear heavy weights on narrow bases, it is not infrequent that pieces are adjusted for fitting together after firing. Some of the more daring pieces, such as a figure holding up a pulpit tub model (455),⁵⁷⁹ or the wonderfully vigorous anonymous owls (456),⁵⁸⁰ that only stand on their feet and the edges of their wings, have gone through firing without any trouble.

Of Laurent Delvaux's pulpit models for Gent cathedral, the figure of *Truth*,⁵⁸¹ has a quadrangular hole in the hair on her back, to allow the insertion of the model of the putto hovering above her. François Joseph Janssens' *Religion* (458)⁵⁸² similarly has a rectangular hole in her back, through her hair and a notch at the back of the socle suggesting a space to fit a larger scene with other figures. This principle resembles the practices for the production of biscuit porcelain groups in the eighteenth century in that they are constituted of different cast pieces fitted together after drying (though before firing). An example amongst many is *The Flute Lesson*, modelled by Johann Friedrich Lück at Frankenthal (459) of c.1759.⁵⁸³

The two most complex cases concern the fitting together of different large-scale terracotta pieces. The most important example is Artus I Quellinus's terracottas for the Amsterdam town hall pediments (781-783).⁵⁸⁴ Pierard's *Mary Magdalen* (434) is a unique survival of a life-size terracotta model from the workshop of a pupil of Artus

⁵⁷⁴ Idem, inv. 2465a&b.

⁵⁷⁵ Idem, inv. 2469.

⁵⁷⁶ Idem, inv. 2496.

⁵⁷⁷ Idem, inv. 2500.

⁵⁷⁸ Idem, inv. 2422.

⁵⁷⁹ Idem, inv. 4345. Brussels 1977: 293.

⁵⁸⁰ Idem, inv. 9156, 9157. One wonders whether these two owls could have been intended for a fountain similar to that at Schwetzingen (457), where there is also much sculpture by Gabriel Grupello. See Rieger 1997, Fuchs – Reisinger 2001 on Schwetzingen; Kultermann 1968, Düsseldorf 1971 on Grupello's statues there.

⁵⁸¹ Gent, Bijloke Museum, inv. 2219. Cf. Jacobs 1999: 298, ill. S100b.

⁵⁸² Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2482.

⁵⁸³ e.g. Reissmuseum, Mannheim; another cast illustrated by Meister – Reber 1980: 195.

⁵⁸⁴ See chapter 5.

II Quellinus.⁵⁸⁵ These are all devised in such a way that they can fit together with the other pieces as if they were terracotta roof tiles.

Preparations for firing

The wish to fire a particular piece of modelled clay brings a number of imperatives with it. To start with, it must be of a more or less regular thickness so that all the parts get fired at the same time. This implies a number of adaptations. These include the thinning out of the socle area, as for instance seen on Van Dael's *Mater Dolorosa* model **(429)**⁵⁸⁶ and the hollowing out of the main figure. As many statuettes cannot easily be emptied from underneath, through the socle, these often present an opening in the back (if this is acceptable, as for niche statues). Some terracotta statuettes have a vertical strip opened at the back: e.g. the *St Andrew* by Michiel Van der Voort **(209)**⁵⁸⁷ (along full height), François-Joseph Janssens' *Prometheus* **(460)**⁵⁸⁸ (along full height), the anonymous *Roman Emperor* **(461)**⁵⁸⁹ (half length opening) and Andrien Joseph Anrion's *Religion* **(462)**⁵⁹⁰ (short strip).

In exceptionally large terracottas, the back of which has an important sustaining role in the kiln, as with *The Virgin & Child* **(463)**⁵⁹¹ by Johannes Eyckmans (1749-1815),⁵⁹² the short strip merely becomes an opening into the hollowed-out back. This terracotta was most likely intended as a finished work for display outside.

In certain cases, the sculptor decides to hollow out the back completely, as in Willem Kerricx's *Mary Magdalen* **(450)**,⁵⁹³ Willemsens' *Immaculate Conception* **(464)**⁵⁹⁴ and the anonymous *Hope (?)* **(465)**,⁵⁹⁵ or he only thins out the back if the statuette is slim as on the female statuette attributed to Cornelis de Smet **(466)**.⁵⁹⁶ This sort of opening also allows the gases that form during firing to exit without bursting the terracotta, or, if there is only an opening underneath the socle, to lift it up dangerously.

⁵⁸⁵ Private collection; See Marchal 1878: 127, 168, 210-211, Thieme-Becker 1907-1950: 26/598.

⁵⁸⁶ Private collection.

⁵⁸⁷ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2490.

⁵⁸⁸ Idem, inv. 2068.

⁵⁸⁹ Idem, inv. 2499.

⁵⁹⁰ Idem, inv. 2089.

⁵⁹¹ Idem, inv. 7986.

⁵⁹² Thieme – Becker 1907-1950: 11/135.

⁵⁹³ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2458.

⁵⁹⁴ Idem, inv. 2467.

⁵⁹⁵ Idem, inv. 2481.

⁵⁹⁶ Idem, inv. 2485.

Slim solid statuettes often use the hole of a fixation stick during modelling with a ventilation hole for firing. Examples include the *St Anthony of Padova* attributed to Willem Kerricx **(467)**,⁵⁹⁷ Laurent Delvaux's *St Liévin* **(468)**,⁵⁹⁸ *St Jerome* **(469)**⁵⁹⁹ and *St Anthony* **(470)**,⁶⁰⁰ Anrion's *Religion* **(462)**,⁶⁰¹

In a few exceptional cases, figures are not hollowed out but thickened to gain extra strength. This is the case with the model of *Aaron* **(471)**⁶⁰² for a plinth relief to be fitted on church wall panelling attributed to Hendrik-Frans Verbrugghen. The statuette was enlarged by the addition of clay to the figure's back as the base was too thin to sustain the weight of the whole during firing.

With particularly large terracottas, empty parts need to be strengthened so that they do not fall apart during the firing. For instance the base of the 76cm high *St Sebastian* by the monogrammist DN **(472)**⁶⁰³ has strips of clay that strengthen the otherwise empty socle. A simpler version of this principle is to be found on Johannes Eyckmans' *Virgin & Child* **(463)**.⁶⁰⁴

Firing

Before firing, the clay must be left to dry evenly for a certain time, usually about a month. This is to avoid too rapid desiccation in the kiln which causes cracking.

Very few historic sources inform us about the firing procedure. Today, small electric ovens have replaced the large kilns of the past **(473-475)**. The firing procedure in the seventeenth century is simple in theory, but was difficult to realise in practice: a days-long gradual increase and decrease in temperature, reaching between 800° and 1000° (possibly up to 1200°), to be achieved with wood fire and without a precise thermometer. In the past kilns were rarely to be found in sculpture workshops. Laurent Delvaux, for instance, is recorded as having used the city kiln of Nivelles.⁶⁰⁵ The numerous potters of Antwerpen will have been responsible for the firing of terracotta sculpture too.⁶⁰⁶

⁵⁹⁷ Idem, inv. 2431.

⁵⁹⁸ Idem, inv. 1192.

⁵⁹⁹ Idem, inv. 4583.

⁶⁰⁰ Idem, inv. 4996.

⁶⁰¹ Idem, inv. 2089.

⁶⁰² Idem, inv. 2472.

⁶⁰³ Idem, inv. 7757.

⁶⁰⁴ Idem, inv. 7986.

⁶⁰⁵ Jacobs 1999: 37.

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. Dumortier 2002: 64-67.

From the history of ceramics we have illustrations of the firing procedure, including the erection of kilns. A famous early example is Cipriano Piccolpasso's manuscript *The Three Books of the Potter's Art* of c. 1558.⁶⁰⁷

An illustration of a kiln in the Low Countries, though of a lime kiln, is David II Teniers' canvas at the Wellington Museum, London (476).⁶⁰⁸ The scene is located outside the city walls, to avoid the obvious risk of fire. This, however, is an early case, as proto-industrial activities that included firing were not systematically excluded from the city boundaries. An analogue illustration of brick-making by him is at Dulwich (477).⁶⁰⁹ It shows the brickyard next to the abbey of Sint-Bernard at Hemiksem. The clay is being extracted near the bank of the river Schelde. The clay bricks are being dried outside before being fired. Could this also have been a source for modelling clay?

Teniers' paintings further stress the size of the operation. To obtain sufficiently high temperatures with wood as the combustion material, the process had to be markedly adapted. It is only with the age of industrialisation and with the use of coal that steady higher temperatures could more easily be achieved. An aspect that is not shown is the way that the kiln is kept safe from thieves. This is less important for lime than for ceramics and sculpture productions.

Although we know rather little of the kilns that sculptors used, some archaeological evidence does suggest that they used the same kilns as those of their city's potters. Stains of vitrified glaze sometimes appear on the bases of terracottas for example. This is the case on the mitre of an anonymous *Bishop Saint* (478)⁶¹⁰ and on Willem Kericx's *Mary Magdalen* (450)⁶¹¹ (the red slip smudges much of the signature and date 1700). It may be assumed that a vitrified pot was placed above these terracottas and some of the slip leaked onto them. This confirms the use of the same kiln by both sculptors and potters, although it is not clear how terracotta models were mixed with ceramics in the same *cazette* (terracotta boxes that are closed before firing (479) used to avoid direct contact with flames and smoke), as terracotta models are generally much larger than plates or pots.

⁶⁰⁷ Piccolpasso 1980.

⁶⁰⁸ Kaufmann 1982: cat. 173.

⁶⁰⁹ Beresford 1998: 230.

⁶¹⁰ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 10616.

⁶¹¹ Idem, inv. 2458.

As most surviving terracottas are red or red-brown, these were fired in an oxidising environment, as opposed to reduction, whereby terracottas become greyish.

Additions after firing

After firing, if a terracotta gave an insufficient effect, either for the patron to judge and approve the model, or for sale as a finished product, the sculptor may have chosen to monochrome or polychrome the work.

A later practice, that appears particularly on terracottas that were collected between about the mid 19th and the mid 20th centuries, was to wax terracottas. Charles Van Herck did this systematically: it appears on the *Prodigal Son* by Jan Frans van Geel ((480) shows it during conservation by Catherine Van Herck in 1999, with half of the wax removed).⁶¹² It is not clear whether this practice was ever done earlier, though it is quite unlikely as it substantially darkens terracotta and disturbs their legibility, unless it was intended to give a bronze-like effect, as is frequently mentioned in eighteenth-century auction catalogues that include sculpture.⁶¹³

Use & purpose of terracottas

The most elusive element about preparatory terracottas is their intended use and purpose. As inscriptions or written sources can at best inform us of generic issues, the interpretation of archaeological evidence becomes important. For instance, the existence of two similar versions of Willemsens' *Mater Dolorosa* (422, 451),⁶¹⁴ must have a significance. Similarly the *Jupiter* attributed to Faydherbe (481),⁶¹⁵ must have been preparatory to a work with a particular function, but which?

Sometimes the shape of a terracotta gives some clues. Peter I Scheemaeckers' signed and dated 1696 *Mary Magdalen* (482),⁶¹⁶ whose drapery is superbly integrated in the shape and texture of the huge base, accentuating her grief, is highly unlikely to be the model for an ivory, boxwood, stone or marble piece underneath a crucifix. Its base is too large to be executed in any of these materials. It was more likely intended for the base of a crucifix in oak. The part of the base on her left even suggests a lost connection to a cross.

⁶¹² Most recently published in Mechelen 2006: 51.

⁶¹³ The catalogue of *Monsieur van Schorel, seigneur de Wilryck, Ancien premier Bourgmestre de la Ville d'Anvers, &c.*, Antwerpen, 7 June 1774, even contains a separate section on p. 377-380 entitled *MODELES EN TERRE CUITE BRONZÉS, ET AUTRES*. On his involvement in the Antwerpen academy, see Van Looij 1986-1987: 312.

⁶¹⁴ *Idem*, inv. 2465a&b.

⁶¹⁵ *Idem*, inv. 4613.

⁶¹⁶ *Idem*, inv. 6003. Brussels 1994: 229.

Alexander van Papenhoven's *St Jordan Pilgrim* (483)⁶¹⁷ is precisely such a terracotta that could only have been preparatory to a work in a sturdy material such as marble or wood. The sculptor would not have been able to translate the subtlety in the flowing lines of the thin drapery, especially the hood, into stone.

Jan-Claudius de Cock's terracotta caryatid models (420)⁶¹⁸ for Turnhout have an added background that corresponds to the panelling of the choir stalls, as the relief part of the wood to be carved would be too thin and fragile for terracotta. An analogous trapezoidal-shaped background was added to an anonymous crucifix (484)⁶¹⁹ in order to compensate for the lack of support of this thin structure. This suggests that the crucifix was planned to be executed in a harder and sturdier material, such as ivory, boxwood or oak, rather than in less flexible marble (though Cellini did realise this technical achievement at El Escorial). The rendering of the feet, with the big knob of the nail, also suggests the intended material to have been ivory or wood. In both these examples, the background, added for stability purposes to the terracotta, gives some indication as to the intended finished product.

Just as with the question of size, the completeness of a composition often relates to the stage in the design process. A sculptor will usually only subdivide his model into several constituent parts after first modelling the whole. With complex compositions, such as pulpits, these are frequently subdivided in the main constituent figures. Michiel van der Voort's model (485)⁶²⁰ for the Leliëndaal pulpit (104)⁶²¹ and Frans II Somers model (486)⁶²² of *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman* pulpit for Loenhout,⁶²³ are likely early models, whereas Hendrik-Frans Verbrugghen's models of *Adam* and *Eve* (405)⁶²⁴ for the pulpit in the cathedral of Brussels are later elaborations of the composition.

Nevertheless not every project seems to have been worked out in full in a terracotta model. Late adaptations of the effect of particular figures or other details in an overall large-scale project are sometimes revealing. With pulpits, bozzetti of complete altars are rare if not unknown. This seems to be more of a Germanic

⁶¹⁷ Idem, inv. 2492.

⁶¹⁸ Idem, inv. 2494.

⁶¹⁹ Idem, inv. 2512.

⁶²⁰ Mechelen, Stedelijke Musea.

⁶²¹ Now Mechelen, cathedral.

⁶²² Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2452.

⁶²³ Sint-Pieter-en-Pauluskerk.

⁶²⁴ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2416.

phenomenon, as seen for instance in the altarpiece model by Sebastian Haupt and Joseph Resler for the high altarpiece of the Mariahilfeskirche in Wien (487).⁶²⁵

Models are not only a help to the sculptor in the creation of a sculpture, but also in its production. They often carry information for workshop assistants. A monumental white marble garden vase at the Osterriethhuis, Antwerpen, by Van Bourscheit (488)⁶²⁶ is a good instance. Although no design has survived for it, it may be assumed that the initial design on paper was for the whole work. On the other hand, the terracotta sketch that can be connected to this work is for a figurative detail, one of the reliefs (489) on the outer curve of the vase.⁶²⁷ Clearly, the sculptor did not intend to make a terracotta model for the whole design as this would have been far too cumbersome and time-consuming. The monumental size of the Osterriethhuis example is unlikely ever to have been made. The largest ones known are substantially smaller (490),⁶²⁸ made up of several parts that could still be fired safely and fitted together afterwards to be used as a cheaper alternative to a marble vase (and sometimes with wooden parts). Thus, Van Bourscheit's workshop assistants would have relied on similar works in marble still in the workshop, the drawings for the details of the decorative borders etc., and only received a proper model from the master for the main figurative work.

Apart from sculptors, painters too occasionally used three-dimensional models in their practice. Nicolas Poussin is recorded to have made wax models,⁶²⁹ and a much later animal and landscape painter, Balthazar Paul Ommeganck (1755-1826), did likewise. A model of a standing sheep (491)⁶³⁰ and that, much larger, of a sheep's head (492)⁶³¹ have been attributed to him. As with other products that only have a use in the workshop, they are rather solid pieces of terracotta, the latter only with a small hole (by a stick) to let the gases out during firing.

Models for ivory and boxwood

At the other end of the scale, that of *Kunstkammer* sculpture, few models are extant or documented. The necessity or even existence of models for small-scale boxwood or ivory works remains problematic. The surviving terracotta models tend to be

⁶²⁵ München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. Mod. 37. Another example: Blažiček 1986: 97.

⁶²⁶ Dexia Bank, Osterriethhuis, Antwerpen.

⁶²⁷ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2273; Brussels 1997: cat.33-34.

⁶²⁸ Gent, Design Museum; others in Antwerpen, Zilvermuseum Sterckshof.

⁶²⁹ Described by Blondel de Latour in 1669. Blunt 1967: 243; Gaborit - Ligot 1987: 130.

⁶³⁰ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2275; Van Lennep 1992: 311.

much larger than the final works they prepare, and the material qualities of these models rarely presages the incredible detail that sculpting in boxwood or ivory encourages.

The Victoria and Albert Museum has four terracottas depicting the seasons monogrammed by Jan Baptist Xavery (1697-1742) **(493)**.⁶³² It also holds a similar boxwood group of *Autumn*, though of a different design.⁶³³ As their size is remarkably similar, it may be thought that they were one-to-one models for boxwood groups, but the terracottas were in fact intended for enlargement into stone garden sculptures. Two such groups, of *Spring* and *Summer*, were formerly at Wingfield Castle, Diss, Norfolk.⁶³⁴ Of identical design and date (the stone statues are both signed and dated 1726, the four terracottas monogrammed *J:B:X:* and dated 1726), there can be little doubt that the terracottas were used as preparatory models for the stone statues.

The boxwood group of *Autumn* is not only slightly different in design from the *Autumn* terracotta, but its style is too. The putti's fleshiness in the terracottas has disappeared in the boxwood. Clay is not a material with plastic qualities that are easily translatable into the hardness of carving boxwood. In works by the same artist that are almost identical in subject, composition and size, the artist's handling of modelling clay and carving wood is substantially different.

Another clue is given by the nearly identical statuettes of *Omphale*, plausibly attributed on stylistic grounds to Artus I Quellinus, though without any tangible proof, one in the Waddesdon Bequest at the British Museum **(495)**,⁶³⁵ the other in the Robert H. Smith collection, Washington DC (promised gift to the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC) **(496)**.⁶³⁶ The first is in boxwood, the second in ivory. That their design is virtually identical stresses the interchangeability of these two materials. Only one detail differs, that of the crossed legs of *Omphale* which are reversed. It is only on close observation that this amendment is noticed, as the change does not imply any difference in meaning or composition.

⁶³¹ Mechelen, Stedelijke Musea.

⁶³² London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. A25-1926 to A28-1926.

⁶³³ Idem, inv. A21-1958. Monogrammed *J:B:X:* but not dated.

⁶³⁴ Christie's, 30 May 1980, lot 320. Photographs on the inventory cards in the Sculpture Department, Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁶³⁵ Theuerkauff 1986: 250-255.

⁶³⁶ Last sold Sotheby's London, 8 July 1998, lot 265.

Were these two figures made in a near-production line fashion, or was the one a copy of the other within the same workshop, or were both a copy of one and the same model? If there has been a model, has it not survived because it was made in fragile and uncollected wax? The preciousness of their material certainly does not encourage a belief in large numbers having been produced.

Portraiture

Portraiture needs special discussion, as the design of portraits was not merely dependent on the patron's intentions and the sculptor's abilities. Its process also depended on the person represented granting sittings to the sculptor. This can be reconstructed for a few busts and is particularly enlightening.

In 1665, just before concluding the 15 years that Artus I Quellinus spent in Amsterdam decorating the spectacular new town hall and returning to Antwerpen, the Raadpensionaris Johan de Witt requested that he be portrayed in marble. The bust (497) is preserved in the museum at Dordrecht, which received it in 1871 from a direct descendant of De Witt.⁶³⁷

From extracts of correspondence between Johan de Witt, Quellinus and their intermediary, De Witt's brother-in-law Pieter de Graeff, the difficulties in portraying someone who lives at a distance become apparent.⁶³⁸ The correspondence only concerns the later proceedings, those about the finishing of the hand. De Witt had insisted that this be done *after life* and Quellinus had hoped that De Witt would come to Amsterdam for some other mission and allow him an hour or two for modelling after life. However, political circumstances did not allow Johan de Witt to travel from Den Haag. But likewise, Quellinus did not contemplate going to Den Haag in the middle of the winter. Perhaps he was afraid of snow on the roads or the barges were blocked by frozen canals. Possibly the frost precluded him from transporting unfired clay. In any case, the sitting was postponed from late January to the beginning of March 1665.

It is uncertain, then, on what basis the facial expression was rendered in marble. It is clear from the correspondence that the bust is nearing completion. Why was there the need to model De Witt's hand after life during the winter? Was it because the head had already been portrayed in one or several earlier sittings during the autumn,

⁶³⁷ Inv. DM/871/S1. For the provenance see Van Gijn 1874 in reaction to the writing by Van der Schaaff 1874.

but the hand left out due to time constraints while De Witt was in Amsterdam ? Or did Quellinus portray De Witt on the basis of a painted example ? The latter is unlikely if the naturalism of the end product is considered. There was evidently no need for a final sitting to refine the marble. The terracotta model had been sufficient from which to complete the work.

The busts of Thomas Fredenshagen **(498)** in Lübeck by Thomas Quellinus (1661-1709), the son of a cousin of Artus I, show the same working procedure. One is the preparatory model in terracotta, the other the end product in marble. The terracotta model's main purpose was to define in three dimensions the facial expression of the sitter. The hair is left rough, just sketching in the overall shape. In the same way the clothing was not worked out. Only his right collar was scratched in to show the decoration of the lace. Either the sculptor or the sitter, or both, decided this decoration was unnecessary and the collar in the marble end product remained plain. These two busts show the effect the sculptor was keen to catch during the life session, leaving the props for the studio. This will sound particularly familiar from the practice of Anthony Van Dyck or Peter Lely, who had the dress the sitter was to be portrayed in specially brought to the studio after the sitting.

Two other examples, by Artus I Quellinus's former pupil Rombout Verhulst (1624-1698), of admiral Willem Jozef baron van Gendt, 1672 **(499)** and of admiral Michiel Adriaensz de Ruyter, 1677-1678 **(500)**,⁶³⁹ show the same practice of making a full and precise model of the face, though after dead people or possibly death masks.

Nearly two decades ago, the remarkable discovery of the finished marble corresponding to the terracotta bust of Jacob van Reygersbergh in the Rijksmuseum subsequently allowed for a close comparison **(501, 502)**.⁶⁴⁰ Frits Scholten has noted how these correspond practically to the millimetre when taking measurements with a calliper,⁶⁴¹ although he does not mention the 10%-15% shrinkage of clay during the process of drying and firing. This would imply that the marble was only carved after the clay model had dried and been fired, that is a few months after the modelling. This process is however much more laborious compared to producing a plaster cast

⁶³⁸ First published by Leupe 1874. Republished with corrections by Fruin – Japikse 1922: 178, 268.

⁶³⁹ Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, respectively inv. NM13151 and NM13150. Leeuwenberg 1973: 239.

⁶⁴⁰ Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. NM11557; Los Angeles, Getty Museum, inv. 84SA743. Scholten 1991.

⁶⁴¹ 2003: 65n212.

from the wet clay model – a technique that was certainly known to Verhulst’s pupil Johannes Blommendael⁶⁴² and to the Larsons.⁶⁴³

This discussion is important when trying to determine whether or not a pointing machine was used to transfer the exact three-dimensional shapes from the full-size model to the marble. To make the matter even more difficult to understand, it remains to speculate about the change in direction that the head of the bust obtained in the marble version compared to the terracotta model. This change may seem limited in scope (only a few centimeters of neck turning), but it does imply a substantial change in the three-dimensional shape of the sculpture, for which no mechanical device could compensate. In the case of this portrait bust, it must be doubted that mechanical tricks were used by workshop assistants (or by the master himself), remembering that if, plausibly, the bust was originally part of a tomb monument,⁶⁴⁴ it would have been the most important part, that the master might have preferred to work on alone. It is indeed on the convincing likeness of the deceased that the success of the monument would have been largely judged by the family.

Returning to De Witt’s bust, it is interesting to note the difference in status and power between the sitter and the sculptor. It can be measured from the remark by De Witt that he would not like Quellinus to come on a day that he had no time for him. This implies that political occupations had priority and may also explain why Quellinus had to go on a Saturday. Quellinus’s request for half an hour or at most a “small hour”, can then be fitted into De Witt’s usual timetable around midday, so as not to disturb his work before and after lunch. Quellinus’s reply takes the same sort of attitude, politely refusing to stay overnight, because of lack of time, referring to his imminent return to Antwerpen. An early morning stage coach would have taken him to Den Haag in time and allowed him to return the same day. This is hardly credible, for the distance between Amsterdam and Den Haag is over 55 km which could hardly be done twice in one day travelling by stage coach.

Although it is likely that the bust of De Witt was conceived as an end in itself, a funerary use cannot be ruled out. The fact that the bust remained in the family for over two centuries confirms a domestic use for the bust, although the original

⁶⁴² Ibid.: 65.

⁶⁴³ Scholten 2004/2005.

⁶⁴⁴ Scholten 2003: 54.

intended use may have changed drastically following the fall from power and gruesome assassination by the people of the brothers Johan and Cornelis de Witt in 1672.⁶⁴⁵ This is substantially confirmed by the fact that a number of plaster casts was made of the bust and given to family members and other members of the anti-stadholder clique.⁶⁴⁶

Quellinus does not mention any drawing after life. From the remarks in the correspondence, it is probable that they preferred to use clay to model after the living person. It is worth remembering Bernini's practice which was recorded by Chantelou while he was in Paris in 1665, as it is the only fully accounted episode of this period.⁶⁴⁷ A profile portrait drawing of Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm by Gabriel Grupello (**503**), probably in preparation for the equestrian monument of that prince that he executed in Düsseldorf, is the only known example of a portrait drawing after life by a sculptor from the Low Countries. Another case, only recorded, is Denis-Georges Bayar who wrote in his account book that he had drawn during two days during a trip to Leuven to represent "l'anatomie du président" of the university. He actually recorded payment for his work, as well as the number of sheets of paper he used.⁶⁴⁸

We are left to speculate about the necessity of first drawing after life before starting to model the sitter. Interestingly, Grupello's other drawings for the Düsseldorf equestrian monument are all figure studies unrelated to the living person and that he drew in order to work out the most effective composition for his statue. A double-sided drawing by Louis Willemsens for his bust of the Spanish governor general of the Southern Netherlands, the conde de Monterrey (**504**),⁶⁴⁹ are composition studies elaborating on the overall shape of the bust and the attributes. They do not concern the facial expression of the sitter. A similar drawing, by Hendrik-Frans Verbrugghen,⁶⁵⁰ probably for the bust of Kurfürst Max Emanuel, but that remained unexecuted as it was eventually carved by Willem Kerricx, works out the context of the bust set within a wall decoration "voor de schilder camer"⁶⁵¹ at

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. Israel 1995: 803.

⁶⁴⁶ Scholten 2005: 33-36.

⁶⁴⁷ Chantelou 2001.

⁶⁴⁸ Van Belle – Javaux 2006: 209.

⁶⁴⁹ Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH165.

⁶⁵⁰ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 2153. Kockelbergh 1986: 411; Huys forthcoming.

⁶⁵¹ "for the painters' room"

the guild of St Luke, indicating the measurements of the available space and how the project fits into it.

Jan-Baptist Xavery made a composition study for the bust of Prinz Wilhelm von Hessen-Kassel (the later Landgraf Wilhelm VIII), but this time in terracotta **(505)**,⁶⁵² not on paper. It is a small work of only 31 cm high. The face remains again relatively undefined and an interesting technical point shows how the bust was conceived. Squaring is scratched in on the front surface of the bust. Comparing this to the extant marble bust, the blocks thus created on the terracotta model roughly correspond to a foot per side.⁶⁵³ The bust was intended to be just over three feet high, which is the standard size of a life-size regal bust. Apart from an evaluation of the quantity and size of materials necessary for the completion of the project, these lines will also have served the enlarging of the bust to its full scale. This in turn indicates that the bust was not conceived during a sitting of the portrayed, but in the studio. The sculptor clearly devised a formal programme to work out his commission, possibly first on paper like Willemsens, then in terracotta, before requesting a sitting. This sitting would then only have been useful in refining the facial expression so that it would sufficiently resemble the portrayed subject. He would then not have needed all the time that he would normally take with a more ordinary sitter, like Adam van Broeckhuysen, a captain and commander of a company of guards.

This man recorded in his diary the sittings he had with Xavery in 1738.⁶⁵⁴ He noted that during his first sitting, on 2 June from 4 until 7 pm, Xavery built up the rough shape of the bust on a wooden plank. Two days later, the sculptor improved the work for an hour. Again two days later, he finished the “being”, i.e. the torso and presumably also the head in two hours. During the fourth and last sitting, of two and half hours the next day, Xavery modelled the wig, the armour and the collar. He finished the bust in his own time, without the presence of the sitter. In total he spent over eight and half hours on the bust, with at least half just for the building up of the rough shape. The first part of this procedure was obviously not welcome to a

⁶⁵² Kassel, Hessisches Landesmuseum. Scholten 1994.

⁶⁵³ Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. B1.24. The terracotta bust is 3.22 units high and the marble bust exactly 100cm/28.3cm=3½ Brabantine feet; unless another foot was used, the measurements correspond roughly.

⁶⁵⁴ Published by Smit 1919.

ruler like the prince of Hessen-Kassel, who would not have been keen to grant the sculptor very much time.

A century earlier, this problem of getting a ruler to sit for the sculptor is directly referred to when François Dieussart requested from Prins Frederik Hendrik a sitting of half an hour to complete the marble bust that he had started in England. This request was addressed via the court painter Gerard Honthorst to the personal secretary of the prince, Constantijn Huygens. He could not complete it correctly without having personally seen the prince and “modelled him a little in clay”.⁶⁵⁵ Thus Dieussart needed to have had some visual training in modelling, to absorb the facial characters of his sitter; but bringing his bust to life was a matter of surface treatment, not of overall concept, which he did well in advance on the basis of other models, probably painted and/or engraved.

A good example of how the design process of a ruler’s bust is more important and relevant than the bust itself is that of Philip V who became the first Bourbon king of Spain in 1700. The Spanish king Carlos II died heirless on 12th November 1700. He had stipulated in his will that the duc d’Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV, was to become his successor. This new ruler was seen as a great potential blessing in the Low Countries, as his appointment peaceably united the houses of Spain and France which had been ruthlessly fighting out their territorial ambitions in the Low Countries.

As a first sign of allegiance, a solemn Te Deum was sung in the cathedral of Antwerpen on 23rd November and a portrait of the new king was placed on a throne in the town hall of the same city.⁶⁵⁶ Immediately afterwards, the city authorities commissioned Jan-Peter I van Bourscheit a bust of their new sovereign. For this, he was required to go to Versailles to request sittings from the new king. Van Bourscheit arrived in Paris on the 28th⁶⁵⁷ and the next day he was presented to the new king by the Spanish ambassador, marqués de Castel dos Ríos and an Antwerpen citizen living in Paris, Rodenmaet, who acted as interpreters because Van Bourscheit did not know any French.⁶⁵⁸ Philip V accepted the request for sittings

⁶⁵⁵ “een waynich in poteert geboetseert”. Neurdenburg 1948: 277n23.

⁶⁵⁶ Prims 1941: 274.

⁶⁵⁷ As he writes to the city magistrates the same day. Letter published by Baudouin 1945: 71.

⁶⁵⁸ As appears from a letter written by Rodenmaet to the city magistrates of Antwerpen, published in *ibid.*, 74.

and sat for two hours on the same day. Two days later, on 1st December, he granted him another hour and Van Bourscheit finished the bust the next day.

That the request for sittings was promptly accepted by Philip V⁶⁵⁹ was no doubt linked to the fact that Louis XIV had for so long campaigned in the Low Countries to enlarge his territories with lucrative mercantile cities, including Antwerpen, but had never fully succeeded in his enterprise. This sign of allegiance to the Bourbon dynasty is significant, as will be seen below.

On 23rd December, Van Bourscheit presented the bust's model to the city magistrate of Antwerpen. This is noted to have been in terracotta by a local chronicler,⁶⁶⁰ but the payment records a plaster model.⁶⁶¹ It is probable that Van Bourscheit modelled in clay, but not having time to let it dry and fire it, he cast a plaster copy from the wet clay model at Versailles before going home. He must therefore have spoken of a terracotta model, but the payment records the exact material, unless Van Bourscheit made a second terracotta model on his return to Antwerpen, which not only reproduced the king's facial expression, but also worked out the bust's format, with armour and drapery.

On 18th April of the following year, Van Bourscheit was paid for his work,⁶⁶² so the marble bust (**506**) must have been delivered by that date. It is proudly inscribed "I. P. VAN BAURSCHEIT AD VIVUM F : A^o MDCC", recording the date of the sittings and not the completion of the marble bust.

Although the end product was of course prominently displayed in the Statenzaal,⁶⁶³ the main reception space of the town hall, the importance of the political statement lies in the sittings, not in the finished product. This sign of allegiance to the new sovereign was never seen by him in Antwerpen, but felt during the design stage at Versailles. It was a series of long and silent audiences between the new king and the speechless sculptor who did not speak French. Only the ambassador, the ducs de Bourgogne and de Berry and other courtiers who were present filled the emptiness with comments on some famous Antwerpen artists and the advantageous trading position of the city.⁶⁶⁴ The reports by the Spanish ambassador ("queda Su

⁶⁵⁹ Reported by the *Antwerpsche Dynsdaeghsche Posttydinghe*, no. 98, see extract in *ibid.*, 71.

⁶⁶⁰ Chronicle by the city secretary M. van Kessel, see extract in *ibid.*, 73.

⁶⁶¹ Payment published by *ibid.*, 73.

⁶⁶² Payment published in *ibid.*, 75.

⁶⁶³ As appears from the final payment published in *ibid.*, 75.

⁶⁶⁴ Reported by the *Antwerpsche Dynsdaeghsche Posttydinghe*, no. 98, see extract in *ibid.*, 71. and repeated in a letter written by Rodenmaet to the city magistrates of Antwerpen, published in *ibid.*, 74.

Majestad muy agradecido a VS”),⁶⁶⁵ Rodenmaet (“rien n’ayant parue si louable a toute la cour de France que l’afection et le bon zele que vous aves marqué par la a vostre nouveau Roy [...] jamais aucun de ses suiets en avait jamais fait autant”⁶⁶⁶ and in another letter : “jamais suiets n’avoüy temoigné plus de fidélité ny d’amour pour leurs princes que vous autres messieurs”⁶⁶⁷) and a certain Jabach⁶⁶⁸ (“vous devez estre contents du succéz de ce voyage qui a reussy au dela de tout ce que vous pouviéz espérer”⁶⁶⁹) were all overwhelmingly positive about the diplomatic success of the enterprise.

In this design process, the sculptor’s reputation played a crucial role. The difference in status is noticeable not only at the ways of addressing the sitter, but also through whom the request was channelled. In the case of Artus Quellinus, who portrayed Johan de Witt, the sculptor addressed the portrayed directly⁶⁷⁰ and took initiatives to solve practical problems. Van Bourscheit had much more difficulty in doing this at Versailles, not only because he portrayed a king, but especially because he had fewer diplomatic and linguistic abilities.

Other preparatory materials

Wax

L’on modele & l’on fait aussi des Figures de Cire. Pour cet effet on met sur une livre de Cire, demy livre d’*Arcanson*⁶⁷¹ ou *Colaphane*: Quelques-uns y meslent de la *Therebentine*,⁶⁷² & l’on fait fondre le tout ensemble avec de l’*huile d’olive*; on en met plus ou moins selon qu’on veut rendre la matiere ou plus dure ou plus molle. On mesle un peu de *brun-rouge* ou de *vermillon* dans cette Composition, pour luy donner une couleur plus douce; Et lorsqu’on s’en veut servir, on la manie avec les doigts, & avec des Esbauchoirs, comme on fait la terre. La pratique est la principale maistresse dans cette sorte de travail, qui d’abord n’est pas si facile qu’avec la terre.⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁵ Letter by the marqués de Castel dos Rios to the city magistrates, published by *ibid.*, 72.

⁶⁶⁶ Letter published by *ibid.*, 72.

⁶⁶⁷ Letter published by *ibid.*, 74.

⁶⁶⁸ Possibly Everhard V Jabach, son of the well-known art collector, or another relation. See Py 2001: 11n9.

⁶⁶⁹ Letter published by *ibid.*, 75.

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. Quellinus’s expression “vrijmoedig schrijf”, Leupe 1874.

⁶⁷¹ Rosin or colophony.

⁶⁷² Turpentine.

⁶⁷³ Félibien 1690: 308.

Such are Félibien's instructions. They correspond closely to what technical analyses by the Louvre laboratories have confirmed on a wide range of wax sculptures.⁶⁷⁴ Sculptors' wax was (usually) made up of bees' wax, some greasy additives such as tallow, lard or olive oil, real or derivatives of turpentine (pitch, galipot or colophony) and colourings (Félibien names two). From the 19th century, sculptors also added flour or starch, and might replace some or all of the expensive bees' wax with natural or synthetic alternatives.

All these technical comments show how close the use of wax was to that of terracotta and that it was presumably prevalent in the Low Countries too. However, except through contemporary written sources, such as the probate inventories mentioned in chapter 1,⁶⁷⁵ hardly any waxes can firmly be connected with this region. Wax models are sometimes mentioned in contracts, as for instance that of the altar (not extant) of the Sodaliteit der Getrouwden in the Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen, by Servaes Cardon.⁶⁷⁶

In the listing of wax sculptures in French public collections, only two works are generically noted as being Netherlandish, both non-identified as to maker or origin,⁶⁷⁷ one of which however has an attribution to the region based on the identity of the portrayed (Rubens's son Albert), as if such notables from the Low Countries did not travel.⁶⁷⁸

The history of wax sculpture is also intimately linked with that of bronze sculpture but both remain mysterious to a large degree.⁶⁷⁹

With so little background, it is not surprising that wax sculpture remains a question mark for the Low Countries. This applies equally to wax as a medium for sketches as to that of finished products, such as the hyperrealistic portrait waxes known from major courtly centres such as Paris or made for export in Augsburg and Nürnberg.⁶⁸⁰ The contrast with a courtly city like Paris is total, where there was even a production of wax fashion dolls intended to inform other courts of the latest fashion developments.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁴ Gaborit – Ligot 1987.

⁶⁷⁵ See p. 43.

⁶⁷⁶ Rombouts – Van Lierus 1872-1874: 1/664n4.

⁶⁷⁷ Ecouen, musée national de la Renaissance, inv. Cl 15.232; Gaborit – Ligot 1987: 429.

⁶⁷⁸ Idem, inv. Cl 22.295; Gaborit – Ligot 1987: 429.

⁶⁷⁹ See chapter 4.

⁶⁸⁰ Pyke 1973: xxxvi.

⁶⁸¹ Gaborit – Ligot 1987: 390.

Despite this lack of source material, it is worth considering the special qualities of wax as a sculptural medium. Wax is normally modelled while warm or luke warm and hardly shrinks while cooling, though it does become brittle. Its higher malleability and finer structure compared to clay allows the modelling of small objects in greater detail. Could wax therefore be a particularly appropriate preparatory medium for ivory and boxwood sculptures? A remarkable survival is that of the wax model by Georg Petel for a mounted ivory tankard **(507, 508)** – unless recent doubts about the status of the wax model prove right (in which case it would merely be a nineteenth-century copy).⁶⁸² Despite some minor differences, virtually all the surface details, such as the rendering of hair and musculature are legible in the wax and reproduced in the ivory. This survival is exceptional, and despite the close contact Petel had with Rubens's workshop, one cannot count him as pertaining to the Flemish tradition.

The qualities of wax are particularly important for small objects. Nevertheless, terracotta sketches cannot be excluded from having been made for ivory sculptures: the sketch may be larger than the final work. Although Faydherbe's terracotta relief of dancing putti **(509)**⁶⁸³ cannot be proven to be a model for his ivory relief on the same subject **(510)**,⁶⁸⁴ it does illustrate the issue of size and medium, just as do the terracotta relief probably by Gerard van Opstal in the Winkler collection⁶⁸⁵ in relation to his many ivory plaquettes⁶⁸⁶ and the terracotta works by Francis van Bossuit in relation to his production of ivories.⁶⁸⁷

Wood

Most sculptors conceive their works using both the additive and the subtracting processes. This requires a malleable material such as the ones discussed above. However, for certain stages in the production process, a permanent material that is more versatile may be appropriate. This may be the case for models of altarpieces. Wood is often the answer, despite its impossible use "additively". Some sculptors, particularly in the southern German tradition, even used softwoods to express their

⁶⁸² Feuchtmayr – Schädler 1973: 105-106; Krempel 2007: 159.

⁶⁸³ Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History, inv. R1.

⁶⁸⁴ Madrid, Museo del Prado.

⁶⁸⁵ Theurkauff 1994: 135.

⁶⁸⁶ Malgouyres 2002.

⁶⁸⁷ Pool 1727: XLI.

first thoughts. A remarkable example of this is Johann Georg Pinsel **(511)**.⁶⁸⁸ In the Low Countries, however, the use of wood for sketches is totally unrecorded, whereas that for models only occasionally. A rare case is the series of four fruitwood models **(512)** for the spandrel reliefs by Jan Boeksent at Sint-Pieterskerk, Gent.⁶⁸⁹

One should also mention the occasional manufacture of wooden commemorative models, such as the one of the high altar of the cathedral at Mechelen.⁶⁹⁰ This was long mistaken for a preparatory model. The small wooden retable at the Rijksmuseum **(513)**, usually identified as from Antwerpen or Mechelen, c.1700-25, was similarly a finished product.⁶⁹¹ Its base in console could not be the reduced version of a real-size altar, as such altars could only be placed on proper foundations. This signals it as a house altar to be hung in a room.

Other processes, that have rarely survived, but that were standard, include the use of wood for casting purposes. Such works have survived for some bronze doors at the Amsterdam town hall **(514)**.⁶⁹² A better-documented and more easily understandable example as to the process is the 1634 wooden model for the bronze epitaph of Claus von Hastver in Nürnberg **(515)**.⁶⁹³

Full-scale models

Their necessity & use

Though it may be guessed from later standard sculptural practice that full-size models in terracotta, terra secca and/or plaster were produced before every commission was put into marble or oak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the proof is scant as hardly any survive. When were full-size models made and why? Were they created by the master or the assistants, in whole or in collaboration? Were they intended as a guiding tool or for mechanical reproduction?

Full-scale models suffered from a combination of two factors which account for most of their loss: they are bulky and fragile and their contemporaries lacked interest in them. This lack of interest is not only linked to the low status of their material, but also to the fact that full-scale models for religious commissions could not easily

⁶⁸⁸ Volk – Kozyr 2001.

⁶⁸⁹ Gent 1975: 515.

⁶⁹⁰ Mechelen 1997: 105.

⁶⁹¹ Inv.1978-161. See Rijksmuseum 1978.

⁶⁹² Amsterdams Historisch Museum, inv. BA2546-2547; Jonker – Vreeken 1995: 208.

⁶⁹³ Maué 1997: 71-73.

be placed in a domestic setting. A few exceptions did occur, such as the display of a terracotta portrait bust in the patron's home while the marble end product was intended for the church monument. Interestingly, the tradition for stucco decoration in the Low Countries,⁶⁹⁴ although often of remarkably high quality as with a Jan-Christian Hansche⁶⁹⁵ or a Bartholomé Cramillion,⁶⁹⁶ was usually distinct from that of marble or wood sculpture, as few sculptors of any repute produced plaster ceilings.⁶⁹⁷ An exception might be a ceiling possibly by Marc de Vos in the town hall of Brussels (516), but which is heavily overpainted.

Large-scale clay models generally have to contain some form of armature in order to preserve the piece's stability. This is precisely the trouble, as clay cannot be fired in too large pieces nor with any wood (which would burn) or metal (which would expand) inside it. If the size of a model necessitated an armature, that also implies the impossibility of firing it successfully. Terra cruda not only has the inconvenience of being brittle and smelly and of cracking when drying, but damp affects it severely and if it is subjected to sufficient moisture, the clay becomes malleable once again.

Plaster models on the other hand had more chances of survival, but their size also created storage problems for a sculptor. With a lack of interest from potential patrons, full-scale models were doomed to disappear despite any efforts that the sculptor might have deployed to save them.

One of the rare cases whereby four successive stages in the design and production of a sculpture survived is Giambologna's *Firenze triumphant over Pisa*.⁶⁹⁸ Here the main reason for survival was the combination of interest by some collectors in the preparatory sketches and the delay in the execution of the marble statue that required finding a proper home for the full-scale model.

No such known case exists in the Low Countries. Only some monuments, which through a combination of circumstances were not just delayed but whose execution in marble was cancelled, are somewhat comparable. The difficulty, however, with these cases is that it is uncertain if the model known today was not intended from its inception to be definitive, as for instance with the epitaph to Charles II, marquis de

⁶⁹⁴ The principal study of this subject is Freling 1993.

⁶⁹⁵ Lock 2003.

⁶⁹⁶ McDonnell 1991; McDonnell 2002.

⁶⁹⁷ This is also the case in most Germanic regions, see Schnell – Schedler 1988, Rohrmann 1999 and Rinn 1999.

⁶⁹⁸ Avery 1987: 63-70.

Trazegnies at Saint-Martin, Trazegnies **(517)**.⁶⁹⁹ A similar case could be the tomb monument by Theodoor Verhaegen of Cyprien Ambroise Pierre Roose, baron de Leeuw, formerly at the church of Sint-Pieters-Leeuw. The monument's main statue, of *Father Time* **(518)**, was removed from the church and given to the Stedelijke Musea Mechelen in the early twentieth century.⁷⁰⁰ It might have been a full-scale model for a marble statue but could equally well have been intended to be a cheaper substitute. In particular, the wooden features such as a scythe, point to a wish to finish this product as if it were to be delivered to a patron. Was the initial intention to produce it in marble abandoned half-way? Noticeably, the statue is fully signed.

Sometimes such models are not of clay or plaster, but of wood painted white to imitate Carrara marble. The main reason why such a wooden version is unusual is that it is set against a rich coloured marble background. A good example of this practice is Jacques Bergé's monument to the deceased abbots in Ninove **(553)**.⁷⁰¹ The figure on this monument was not necessarily a preparatory model that through circumstances became definitive. In a not too distant region, that of the principality of Liège, the practice of placing a white glazed wooden statue (imitating white Carrara marble) against the rich coloured marble background of an altar was standard. Most well-known is the statue of *St Sebastian* by Guillaume Evrard **(520)**, originally in the abbey church at Saint-Hubert, now in the parish church at Awenne.⁷⁰²

One of the rare known, but not surviving, full-scale plaster models by a Fleming is a well-documented one by François du Quesnoy – although this sculptor really pertains to the Roman sculptural tradition. His commission of the *St Andrew* **(521)** statue for San Pietro in Vaticano is described by his contemporary biographers. The plaster model which was more than four metres tall was unveiled in the presence of the Pope who admired it greatly and agreed to the execution in marble. The plaster is today documented only through a contemporary etching **(522)**.⁷⁰³

In this case the full-size model was used both by the sculptor and the patron to judge the effect *in situ*. It is well known that many painters with a specific

⁶⁹⁹ We know that Charles II was nearly bankrupt and the monument itself mixes different relatively cheap materials in a way as to be deceptive (local *petit granit* instead of black marble and stucco instead of white Carrara marble). Brunet 2002: 10.

⁷⁰⁰ Poupeye 1914: 76.

⁷⁰¹ Bergé 1986: 150-158.

⁷⁰² Lefftz 1999.

⁷⁰³ Fransolet 1933: 268-269. Boudon-Machuel 2005: 106-107, 231.

commission would take account of the lighting conditions and other considerations of the place where a painting would eventually hang. With sculpture, this was all the more important, and especially for the patron, as the third dimension involved was not one which was easily appreciated out of context.

In the course of dismantling the figure for it to be transported to Du Quesnoy's temporary workshop at San Pietro it was destroyed. Nevertheless Du Quesnoy is reported to have been quick in making another full-size model from his previous preparatory studies, which are likely to have been as equally detailed.⁷⁰⁴

This shows that the model was needed both before and after the unveiling. Before, while elaborating the final details and surface effects, Du Quesnoy could test the lighting *in situ*. He is said to have been very disappointed when the decision was taken to change his niche for another where the lighting conditions were different, particularly as his hewing of the marble was too far advanced to allow any major changes.⁷⁰⁵

After the unveiling of the plaster model, Du Quesnoy recreated it so that he could replicate it in marble, using it as a constant source. This is, incidentally, at odds with Bernini's practice who would not copy his own bozzetti and modelli in order to keep the 'freshness' in his marble sculpture.⁷⁰⁶ This may well reflect how the greater classicism of Du Quesnoy's style alters his approach to hewing the marble.

Moreover, for a sculptor to engage in the production of a laborious full-scale clay or plaster model, there must be a clear economic advantage. In the later well-known procedures of the age of Canova and Thorwaldsen and later Rodin, the purpose was to simplify the production of sculpture for the master who in effect became a modeller, leaving the hard work of carving to assistants. The mechanical reproduction of the plaster model in marble was done with the device of the pointing technique, illustrated by Diderot and Alembert in their *Encyclopédie* (615).⁷⁰⁷

However, how much Du Quesnoy's practice reflects individual sculptors' preferences, and Italian as opposed to Flemish practice, is difficult to ascertain. It must be borne in mind, though, that the type of sculpture produced has an important bearing on the type of plasters which could physically be made. The

⁷⁰⁴ Bellori 1672: 274.

⁷⁰⁵ Passeri 1995: 90.

⁷⁰⁶ As he told Fréart de Chantelou in 1665, see Chantelou 2001: 98 and Wittkower 1977: 128, 193.

⁷⁰⁷ Plate L of the volume on engraving and sculpture.

complexity of a pulpit like the one by Verbrugghen (401) in Brussels is not imaginable in clay or plaster.

Another case of a documented full-scale model concerns Jacob Cocx (1593/7-1665), who was commissioned to sculpt three marble statues of *Sts Ignatius, Peter and Paul* (402) for niches in the St Ignatius chapel of the church of the Jesuit college in Gent. The contract of 15 March 1632 stipulated that he had to provide the congregation with full-size sandstone ‘mock-ups’ for some time, after which the church authorities would judge whether the sculptures were actually worth executing in Italian marble or not.⁷⁰⁸ The realization of the sandstone sculpture before replicating it in marble is astonishing, considering the labour involved in carving them both. The importance of the commission and the reputation of the sculptor, in the latter case early in his career, has an important bearing on the way that patrons handled their commissions. It should be borne in mind, though, that white Carrara marble was very rare in the Low Countries in the early seventeenth century and extremely expensive.⁷⁰⁹

The point behind these procedures is that the patron wished to be shown the different stages of the creative and production processes, that is at the two-dimensional and then at the three-dimensional stage, in order to keep complete control over the final sculpture. This can be understood considering the large capital outlay that sculptural projects generally involved and the consequential power of the patrons.

The surviving statues of *St Peter* and *St Paul* by Jacob Cocx do not display any great three-dimensionality in their carving. Apart from the considerations that he was neither a particularly inspired artist nor one in an age with such sculptors in the southern Low Countries, it is worthwhile to note that his figures remain imprisoned in the block of marble. This could be a consequence of a design procedure dependent on the carving of the sandstone models.

Apart from the documented cases and the possible full-scale models discussed above, a few specific sculptures do clearly point to the use of full-scale models: the two terracotta models by Artus I Quellinus (or his workshop) for spandrel reliefs with shell motifs in the Amsterdam town hall (524, 525)⁷¹⁰ and the *Mary Magdalen*

⁷⁰⁸ Dhanens 1957-58: 116; Meulemeester 2003: 54-56.

⁷⁰⁹ See chapter 4.

⁷¹⁰ Jonker – Vreeken 1995: cat. 119-120.

(434) by Artus II Quellinus's pupil Pierard.⁷¹¹ Beyond these small sized examples in terracotta, the fitting together of pieces of marble at the feet of Christ on Artus II Quellinus's *Catherine de Lamboy* monument (109) in the Virga Jessebasiliek at Hasselt, is only possible if preceded by a full-scale model. In the eighteenth century, this was also found to be an important feature in the design process of Louis-François Roubiliac's monumental works in England, particularly complex tomb monuments.⁷¹² This meant a competitive advantage over his contemporaries Peter Scheemakers (son of the Antwerpen-based Peter Scheemaeckers the Elder, who was part of the Quellinus dynasty) and Michael Rysbrack, who trained in Antwerpen under Michiel I van der Voort, despite the fact that in Antwerpen there was also this use of the full-scale model. The main difference in their practices, however, was that Roubiliac's full-scale models were cast in plaster,⁷¹³ whereas those in Antwerpen appear to have been modelled in stucco, as in the Italian tradition.

Close observation of both of Quellinus's *Head of Medusa* (526) that appear under the cornice of the Amsterdam town hall *vierschuur* and between the pairs of herms also gives some clues. These display a quantity of serpents that surround the heads in a provocative way, similar to those around the heads of Cerberus by Jan-Christian Hansche (527) at Modave. The quantity of undercutting of the marble at Amsterdam required a careful model to be followed. The marble no doubt also required temporary supports in stucco, a practice that is recorded with Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* in Roma⁷¹⁴ and that Quellinus will most probably have observed during his stay in the Eternal City a decade later.

However complex and well-documented the Amsterdam town hall sculptural project is, several stages in the production of these sculptures remain unknown, and the stage of the full-scale model is one of them. Apart from this, there is the suggestion that the statues of *Prudence, Peace, Justice, Temperance, Atlas* (528) and *Vigilance* in the citizens' hall are no less than the full-scale stucco models for the bronze statues on the roof. In the absence of sufficient funding to fill the spaces with paintings (as planned by Van Campen), these statues fill this function.

⁷¹¹ See above.

⁷¹² Bindman – Baker 1995: 213, 247.

⁷¹³ Bindman – Baker 1995: 249-251.

⁷¹⁴ Rockwell 1997: 141.

Regrettably, the height at which they are placed has made it impossible to determine with binoculars their material underneath the visible coat of paint.

Their technique

On fait aussi plusieurs ouvrages de *Stuc*, comme sont les figures & les ornemens dont on embellit des Plafonds, des Frises, & des Corniches. A l'égard des figures on en fait premièrement l'*Ame ou Noyau*, avec du plâtre ou mortier de chaux, & ciment de tuileau cassé, mettant des barres de fer dans les parties de la figure qui ont besoin d'estre soustenuës. Et quand l'*Ame ou Noyau* est formé, alors on le couvre de *Stuc* pour travailler la figure, avec les outils propres à cela. Le *Stuc* est composé de poudre de marbre avec de la chaux éteinte ; on met environ un tiers de poudre de marbre. On fait aussi une espece de *Stuc* avec la pierre de plâtre luisant ou *Talc* cru, & sans cuivre, battu & sassé comme le marbre que l'on mesle avec de la chaux, quelquefois on prend de l'albâtre au lieu de marbre.

Pour les ornemens qui sont de basse-taille, l'on se sert de moules pour les former plus promptement. On prend d'abord du mortier fait de chaux & sable ou tuileau cassé pour faire la première ébauche ; & avant qu'il soit entièrement sec, l'on détrempe le *Stuc*, d'une consistance qui n'est ny trop dure, ny trop mole ; lorsqu'on en a mis suffisamment à l'endroit où l'on veut former un ornement, on y applique le moule que les Ouvriers nomment *Moulette* qui est fait avec du plâtre ou avec du *Mastiq* composé de *Cire*, de *Poix-raisine*, & de *Brique pillée* ; cette composition est plus durable que le plâtre. L'on poudre auparavant le moule avec de la poudre de marbre ; & estant posé sur le *Stuc*, on frappe également dessus avec un marteau. Le *Stuc* demeure empreint de la figure du moule, & ensuite on nettoye l'ouvrage afin qu'il soit plus égal.⁷¹⁵

Félibien specifically discusses stucco for decoration purposes, and not as a material for full-scale models. Consequently, he suggests the use of marble powder which was surely unnecessarily expensive for temporary full-scale models. Instead, a mixture of lime, sand and ground bricks was more likely used for the core and a mixture of lime, finer sand and chalk powder for the thin top layers, as is recorded for the stuccoes at Fontainebleau.⁷¹⁶

In his first paragraph, he discusses how to model stucco, whereas the second is devoted to the casting of ornaments. He does not discuss the reproductive methods for casting statues in plaster. Their difference is even greater than in clay, as plaster

⁷¹⁵ Félibien 1690: 344-345.

casts are hollow and made of just a thin skin, as illustrated by some damaged casts by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi **(529)**.⁷¹⁷

Interestingly, the first recorded use of coloured marble stucco in Belgium dates from as late as 1773.⁷¹⁸ This is a further indication of the lack of interest in this material in a region where the use of real marble was abundant.

Furthermore, a clear distinction should be made between plaster and stucco. The use of Plaster of Paris in particular, without further additions, for use in wall and ceiling decoration, is one that starts with the nineteenth century. This is approximately concurrent, i.e. arguably from Flaxman onwards, with the change of practice of sketching in plaster rather than in clay.⁷¹⁹ This may also be the beginning of another practice, that by sculptors who wished to keep a terra cruda sketch in a more durable form who took a plaster cast of this sketch,⁷²⁰ as this cannot be shown for the Low Countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The *Encyclopédie* gives an extensive visual account of how plaster sculpture was executed. It also illustrates a sculptor at work, modelling a full-scale model in plaster **(414)**. Interestingly, it mixes all the different tools, whether for modelling, scraping, carving or flat application on walls. No differentiation is made between the different potential intentions of the artist, to execute a sketch, a full-scale model or even domestic stucco decoration. The array of tools for scraping and carving does suggest that sculptors did not particularly appreciate plaster for sketching purposes as it hardened too fast.⁷²¹

Despite the clear distinction between the arts of sculpture and stucco decoration in the Low Countries mentioned above, the techniques that are known from the few uncontroversial full-scale models in stucco of the seventeenth century are remarkably similar to those of stucco decoration. The best examples are the models for the bronze kneeling angels on either side of the Holy Sacrament altar in S. Pietro in Vaticano by Bernini kept at the Pinacoteca Vaticana as well as figures for the

⁷¹⁶ Béguin 1972: 32.

⁷¹⁷ Roma, Villa Torlonia. Cf. Roma 1994: 66.

⁷¹⁸ Left side altarpiece in the chancel of the abbey of Averbode, signed and dated *F:X:BADER ME:fecit: Ao 1773*; Jansen – Janssens 1999: 117-119.

⁷¹⁹ Whinney – Gunnis 1967: 2.

⁷²⁰ Baudry 1990: 85; Bindman – Baker 1995: 249-251 for Roubiliac in England.

⁷²¹ Today, industrially produced plaster has chemicals added to lengthen the workable period to two or even three hours.

Catedra Petri (530).⁷²² These models are particularly interesting as they are damaged and display their interior construction.

On a wooden socle, a wrought iron armature forms the skeleton on which are added layers of thin wooden sticks, reed or hay (for thinner parts) bound with string. The whole is covered in layers of plaster that successively become thinner and that are regularly separated by layers of linen cloth soaked in plaster. In total, the proportion of plaster used is relatively small. This gives added rigidity to the statues which was necessary if they were to be tested in situ, just as François du Quesnoy's *St Andrew*.

It is remarkable that the temporary and the permanent stuccoes used much the same principles. Even if no stucco models for marble sculptures in the Low Countries survive, the comparison with stucco decoration at least documents the availability of the techniques.

From model to full-scale model

The enlargement towards the full-scale model can be observed in two Flemish cases, even though the sculptures eventually became definitive, whether by accident or intention is unknown, and there is no end product in a noble material with which to compare them.

The first is Willemsens's *St Martin* in the Begijnhofkerk, Lier (531),⁷²³ for which a preparatory terracotta model survives (532).⁷²⁴ The plaster version closely follows the terracotta model, which itself is highly finished and detailed and is unlikely to be the first sketch for the work. Even the deeply inclined head is thought out specifically for the high position on the church wall. Only the sword is missing in the terracotta. The plaster sculpture's modelling is rougher on some parts, as on the left knee, whereas the flatter areas are more polished than on the terracotta model, showing that there has been some scrapping and polishing to the surfaces. The initial plaster modelling is best assessed in untouched details such as the lace knots on St Martin's footwear.

The second is an extraordinary project of two gigantic reliefs by Lucas Faydherbe for a church that he designed, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Hanswijkkerk in Mechelen.⁷²⁵

⁷²² Vaticano 1981: 130-134, 152-154; London 2001: 55.

⁷²³ Mees 1999: 180.

⁷²⁴ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2506.

⁷²⁵ Van Riet – Van Wonterghem 1995: 169-199; Mechelen 1997: 185-186.

The architecture is an audacious one that combines a ship with a central plan, the cupola resting on a rather too fragile structure. From the inception this proved to be a major technical deficiency, which forced Faydherbe to strengthen some arcades (which he camouflaged with busts of church fathers). The eight-metre-wide reliefs that he had planned for the space above were going to be too heavy (533). He therefore decided to execute these in stucco rather than in Avesnes sandstone as intended. The stucco reliefs that we see here are not strictly speaking full-scale models, though the technique is likely to be identical.

The two reliefs each display a strong movement towards the high altar, creating a compensatory effect to the peculiar lunette shape of the composition (that is also inscribed in the circle of the cupola and means that there is not a single straight line in the composition and its edges). In the *Adoration of the Shepherds* this is stressed with the movement of the people and animals coming down the hill; in the *Road of Calvary* the movement is reversed, the procession going up the stairs. The first follows quite closely the composition of the terracotta (534), but the second has a major addition in the middle of the composition, linking the relief more intimately with the architecture and (conceptually) with the crowds of pilgrims to the church. The difference consists in the addition of two rusticated pillars with a barred window between them. Their top is left in ruinous state and three figures, gesticulating with raised hands and shouting, sit or stand on them. The relief is raised in these features to the level of that of the foreground. All this replaces the single low relief pillar, low wall and background vegetation of the terracotta. The initial exclusively horizontal movement (in the direction of the high altar) is enhanced with a lively vertical accent that reaches well over the deep mouldings of the frame.

The two large pins on the lower part of the architectural addition might, on close inspection, reveal themselves to be real ones, necessary for the structure of the church. Faydherbe intelligently integrated these, though their compositional necessity was more convincing in the terracotta version than in the amended stucco. In the stucco they do not hold the low wall together, but are placed somewhat illogically on and next to the right pillar, even going through its base. This in any case makes clear that it was not an addition of such pins that prompted the compositional change, as had been the case with the arcade filling below.

A possible alternative for reliefs was a painted full-scale model. This is suggested for the Hanswijk reliefs; Faydherbe is said to have employed the painter Jacques de Hornes to execute grisailles of his compositions in order to test them *in situ*.⁷²⁶

The good condition of all three works in stucco is such that the nature of the armature cannot be determined *de visu*.

Models versus end products

The use of terracotta as a finished product is a practice going back at least to the Middle Ages.⁷²⁷ Sixteenth-century examples are by Hubert Gerhard and Carlo di Cesare del Palagio in München and Augsburg (**535**).⁷²⁸ Two of its main advantages were financial and the limited amount of time necessary to produce them. When their surface was coated with another colour, for instance white to imitate marble or brown/black to imitate bronze, the illusion of an expensive material could often be upheld.

In Flanders, an important product of the Counter Reformation was the proliferation of street Madonnas. Many survive in Antwerpen, generally much restored. Other examples are a flat-backed *Virgin & Child* by Cornelis de Smet (**536**)⁷²⁹ and an anonymous *Virgin & Child* (**537**) in the Begijnhofkerk, Diest.

The sacrament tower in Diest's Sint-Sulpitiuskerk contains figurines in terracotta painted white to imitate stone (**538**). Here terracotta was a cheap and quick way of producing a whole series of statuettes to be integrated in a larger stone structure, presumably to reduce the labour involved for the sculptor's workshop.

In domestic settings too, terracotta was frequently used outside and inside. A complete example of a life-size terracotta for display in a garden or an orangery is a *Cleopatra* (?) from the circle of Ignatius van Logteren (**539**).⁷³⁰ The substantial number of life-size terracotta mythological busts by Faydherbe (**540**)⁷³¹ as well as *Putto with Birdnest* (**541**)⁷³² and *Cupid with a Rose* (**542**)⁷³³ attributed to Jan Frans

⁷²⁶ Neefs 1876: 1/425, 2/158.

⁷²⁷ For the production of terracotta altarpieces at Utrecht see Brussels 1992 with further bibliography.

⁷²⁸ Diemer 1988; Diemer 2004: 124-127.

⁷²⁹ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2417, 79cm high.

⁷³⁰ Private collection. Cf. Leeuwenberg 1973: 269; Fischer 2005: 80, 296, 299, 438

⁷³¹ Mechelen, Stedelijke Musea, inv. B39, B40. Cf. Lock 1998.

⁷³² Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 11506.

⁷³³ Mechelen, Stedelijke Musea, inv. B68. Cf. Hamm – Mainz 2001: 455.

Boeckstuyns probably share this purpose as end products for interior and/or exterior use within garden contexts.

One of the peculiarities of many of these large-scale terracottas is the idiosyncratic way they solve technical problems. For his life-size busts Faydherbe developed a curious construction to ensure stability during and after firing, while giving gases a chance to escape during firing (540). A similar principle of construction can be found on the back of some terracotta portraits by Rombout Verhulst (543).⁷³⁴

Many terracottas might solely have been produced as finished works, but about these all that can be done is to speculate. For instance, Walter Pompe signed and dated numerous terracottas and these are generally finished in the round (without an unsightly hollowed-out back) and more highly finished than previous generations of sculptors would model their terracottas. Does this imply an end product or simply the artist's higher opinion of himself?

Despite these difficulties, no other function for Joannes Cardon's two finely modelled 1643 *Madonna & Child* groups discussed above can be imagined (135, 136).⁷³⁵ Somewhat later, the enigmatic Antwerpen-born Pieter Xavery (c.1647-1674?), student in mathematics at Leiden from 1670 to 1674,⁷³⁶ produced a whole series of signed and dated terracottas which form most of his known oeuvre.⁷³⁷ His terracottas are of varying subjects: mythological (544),⁷³⁸ religious (545)⁷³⁹ and genre (546, 547).⁷⁴⁰ Xavery also produced the terracotta figurative decorations for an inside porch, now at the Lakenhal museum, Leiden, of which the bronzed finish seems to be original (548).⁷⁴¹ The largest and most unusual 'genre' sculpture in terracotta that has survived recently appeared on the art market: *Two Drinkers* by Jan Peter I van Bourscheit (549).⁷⁴²

⁷³⁴ Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. NM11957b. Leeuwenberg 1973: 237.

⁷³⁵ Chapter 1. A further terracotta, of a child's bust, signed and dated 1642, was on the art market in Lille in 1899, according to Lami 1906: 76, and another terracotta group of the *Madonna & Child*, signed and dated 1653, was in the collection of abbot Van Loey at Nijlen in 1911 (137). See Mechelen 1911, cat. 217; Bussers 1993; Antwerpen 2000b: 42.

⁷³⁶ Pelinck 1941: 102.

⁷³⁷ Staring 1927; Pelinck 1941; Giltaij 1994.

⁷³⁸ e.g. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. 1980-19 (see Rijksmuseum 1981).

⁷³⁹ e.g. Brugge, Gruuthusemuseum. Brussels 1977: 295.

⁷⁴⁰ e.g. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen; Giltaij 1994; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. NM5667; Leeuwenberg 1973: 245.

⁷⁴¹ As confirmed by Pier Terwen's recent conservation.

⁷⁴² With Kunstzalen Vecht, Amsterdam, in 2006, bought by the Rijksmuseum.

Jacques Bergé is the first sculptor by whom we have a number of clearly identifiable collector's items in terracotta. His figure of *Innocence* (550)⁷⁴³ is a finished product (probably cast, but carefully fitted together and finished as some of the interior is pushed in and some gouged out), after part of his own composition for the fountain on the Sablon in Brussels (551), which he then paired up with a figure of *Vertumnus*.⁷⁴⁴

In two cases, a terracotta by Bergé may be shown to have been conceived with a double function : as a preparatory model for the figure, with specific adaptations so as to make it sellable as a collector's item, and thereby making it an end product. The absence of wings and the nudity of a terracotta putto (552),⁷⁴⁵ discreetly signed and dated 1753 (under the base), suggests mythological subject matter, although it exactly corresponds to a wooden version which is part of a much larger ensemble in the church of the former Norbertine abbey of Ninove, commemorating the deceased abbots. On the other hand, the wooden putto (553) obviously has a religious iconography, with wings and a loin cloth. This may point to the possibility that it was made for a private collector after the existing model for the monument. More likely though, this terracotta was the original model, but with such iconographic adaptations that the sculptor was able to sell it to a collector.

A similar story can be told about the flame-holding putto of the monument to bishop Jan Baptist de Smet in the cathedral, Gent (554). The corresponding terracotta (555)⁷⁴⁶ has a completely different base, of rocky type, to accommodate the peculiar position of the putto (on the edge of the bishop's mattress). Could this be an early form of recycling? It certainly shows how time and effort-conscious Bergé was in his business.

In 1736 Bergé dated his portrait of the painter, draughtsman and engraver Augustin Coppens (556).⁷⁴⁷ The size of this work suggests that it was a model to be reproduced in porcelain. However none is recorded and, more importantly, the dating is too early for any logical factory to have produced it: only Meissen⁷⁴⁸ and Wien manufactured porcelain figures in 1736 (Vincennes-Sèvres was to open in

⁷⁴³ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 1431.

⁷⁴⁴ Idem, inv. 1430.

⁷⁴⁵ Idem, inv. 2690.

⁷⁴⁶ Musée Calvet, Avignon.

⁷⁴⁷ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 3219.

⁷⁴⁸ Sonnemann – Wächtler 1982: 230-250.

1740⁷⁴⁹ and Tournai in 1750/51⁷⁵⁰).⁷⁵¹ Another example of a terracotta that may well have served as a model for earthenware (or possibly porcelain) is a wine fountain signed *Willems* and dated 1744 presumably by Joseph Willems (†1766), a student of Pierre Denis Plumier active in Antwerpen, London and Tournai **(557)**.⁷⁵²

Apart from the high quality modelled terracottas that were sometimes sold to connoisseurs, terracotta was also the appropriate medium for cheap, mass-produced casts of religious statuettes, for instance an anonymous statuette of a saint **(558)**,⁷⁵³ of which the flat back was added after casting the main part. The open base shows the economics of the figure, not that the clay was particularly expensive, but thinness of the material no doubt simplified and shortened the firing. The casting procedure allows a thinner layer of clay to be pushed against the mould.

The right hand is purposefully missing. The left one lays flat on the drapery and could therefore be cast together with the figure. The right one points outward, thereby making the casting in terracotta too hazardous. Instead a hand (either in wood or separately cast in terracotta) would have been fitted in after the firing, but is now missing. The removal of a hand that is too fragile for casting purposes is a practice also frequent in the carving of wood, particularly for small-scale statuettes in boxwood. This not only avoids the risk of breakage during carving, but also the use of larger blocks of raw material where it is not strictly necessary. A good example is the boxwood statuette of *St Philip* by Frans van Loo **(559)**.⁷⁵⁴ The right hand (now missing) was inserted underneath a thickly draped sleeve to hide the joint.

A similar terracotta casting process was used for a late example in a more elaborate baroque idiom: the *Virgin & Child* by the Carthusian monk Gérard-Dieudonné Kinable (Liège 1746-1824) **(560)**,⁷⁵⁵ also with a flat back added after casting. The finger prints of the casting process (by pushing the clay against the mould) can be seen in the open base. Its ornate rococo socle is cast separately. Another cast from the same mould, dated 1784, is in the Musée Curtius **(561)**.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁴⁹ Préaud – d’Albis 1991: 14.

⁷⁵⁰ Lemaire 1999: 18.

⁷⁵¹ It could possibly have been a model for a bronze, but a tradition for bronze portrait sculpture in Flanders in the eighteenth century is not recorded.

⁷⁵² With Stodel, Amsterdam, 2007. See Thieme – Becker 1907-1950: 36/15.

⁷⁵³ Private collection.

⁷⁵⁴ Berlin, Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Museen.

⁷⁵⁵ Private collection.

⁷⁵⁶ Liège, inv. JB/127; see Liège 1980: 250-1.

The polychroming of terracottas is often the sign of an end product. This is the case with the two examples above by Kinable and may also be assumed of three cherub heads by Walter Pompe **(562)**.⁷⁵⁷

Preparatory models, however, were occasionally also polychromed. The model of a fountain at Leiden by Hannaert thus gave a better impression of the end effect, with the different colours of stone and marble.⁷⁵⁸ The same can be said of the model of *Mary Magdalen* by Cornelis Van Dael **(429)**.

The existence of plaster or stucco sculptures as end products, discovered in Antwerpen probate inventories⁷⁵⁹ should be reminded in this context. The polychromy of such plaster sculptures is a practice which might be assumed, however extremely few works, if any, have survived. A spectacular sixteenth-century example is that of Gilbert van Schoonbeke (1519-1556) **(563)**: the fully polychromed bust is dressed with a cope, lacework and a plumed hat.⁷⁶⁰

The multiplicity of approaches to the three dimensional, sketched out in this chapter, now leads us to consider the end products in other materials than terracotta and plaster: principally wood and stone, as well as how these works were carried out.

⁷⁵⁷ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2475.

⁷⁵⁸ Blok 1918: 253.

⁷⁵⁹ Chapter 1.

⁷⁶⁰ Antwerpen, Museum Maagdenhuis, inv. 338; cf. Brussels 1991: 410.

Chapter 4: From raw materials to delivery

Materials, tools and techniques

The choice of materials

Though some sculptors inevitably had personal preferences for a particular material, it is noteworthy that Netherlandish sculptors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were trained and worked in most sculptural media, the choice of which was determined by the wishes of the patron, the patron's willingness and ability to pay, as well as the technical possibilities offered by the material. The wide-ranging commissions from a same patron, together with the lesser number of potential patrons around, prevented sculptors from developing a speciality. Sculpture was therefore produced in wax, terracotta, stucco, plaster, lead, stone, marble, wood, ivory, sometimes bronze and exceptionally in leather **(601)**.⁷⁶¹

The complex interaction between sculptural media is most noticeable in Catholic altarpieces. The high altarpiece of the Antwerpen Jesuit church established the tradition for marble altarpiece frames around a painting. Before that, altarpiece surrounds were merely wooden picture frames with a couple of sculptural features. There is a notable chronological evolution of wooden altarpiece frames into marble altarpieces between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although, this was only the case at the higher end of the financial spectrum. Entirely wooden altarpieces continued to form the bulk of the production, even if in the seventeenth century, they would generally emulate the more expensive marble altarpieces. In designs for altarpieces, such as an anonymous one **(602)** from the circle of Andries de Nole,⁷⁶² it is often difficult to deduce from the drawing alone, whether it was intended to be made in wood, stone or marble, or a combination of these materials.

The only exception that confirms the rule is the anonymous early seventeenth-century high altarpiece of the Capuchins of Enghien, entirely veneered in ebony, with ivory inlay **(603)**. Its luxurious materials are more akin to *Kunstammer* domestic

⁷⁶¹ Sold Antwerpen (Bernaerts) 15 May 2007 lot 400.

⁷⁶² Antwerpen, Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk archives, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: cat. 47.

altarpieces. As the 'home' church of the dukes of Arenberg, their inspiration and commission must have been sought abroad.

By the end of the seventeenth century, when Flemish altarpieces had become completely sculptural and theatrical, the upper parts were necessarily made out of wood, while the lower parts were often accented in expensive coloured marbles. The top of such a 12-metre-high structure, for instance that in the Sint-Andrieskerk, Antwerpen, mainly by Willem Ignatius Kerricx **(604)**,⁷⁶³ could not physically sustain the weight of such marble decorations. Wood, on the other hand, painted to simulate marble, could not only avoid excessive weight but also allowed much longer spans, thus rounding off the theatrical composition. The importance of metal rods and dowels must also be remembered **(605, 606)**.⁷⁶⁴

The use of materials in large-scale sculptural projects was largely determined by social convention: altarpieces and tomb monuments had to be, or to appear to be, in marble, whereas functional pieces of sculpture, in the sense of furniture, usually kept their appearance of natural wood, particularly if it was made of oak.

The summit of the multi-material sculptural approach is on one of the most spectacular pulpits **(607)** in the Southern Netherlands, by Laurent Delvaux in the cathedral of Gent. Delvaux did not particularly enjoy carving in wood.⁷⁶⁵ He convinced his patrons to include marble in traditionally wood-only structures: pulpits. The price differential was colossal,⁷⁶⁶ but as bishop Triest's legacy was substantial this was no obstacle; furthermore, the church manifestly wanted a spectacular result. He realised a daring composition with marble seemingly flying above the head of the preacher. Other parts also display his subtle play with materials as he attempted to create a convincing theatrical structure. Some of the oak is left in its natural colour, but near some of the white marble it is painted white to simulate the marble in parts which technically could not be produced in marble, such as parts of the tree supporting the pulpit's tub and sounding board.

At the other end of the spectrum were the many copies. Artus I Quellinus's marble *St Peter* **(162)** proved to be the most copied statue in the Low Countries. These were usually executed by less able artists who would consequently only attract patrons

⁷⁶³ See Baisier 1998.

⁷⁶⁴ See chapter 5, pp. 214 for Van Mildert; Dhanens 1960: 67 for Van Beveren.

⁷⁶⁵ Jacobs 1999: 164.

⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*: 306.

with smaller pockets. The copies they executed are generally in a less expensive material, usually wood, sometimes polychromed to imitate stone or marble. The number of repetitions of Quellinus's *St Peter* should be seen as a natural phenomenon in a commercial society, where a successful model would of course be copied, as it would be assured a positive reception. It would have been unnecessary, if not simply too risky and expensive, to produce a new and different model.

The supply of raw materials

Unfortunately, we have extremely little information about the origin and supply chains for wood and ivory. It has been noted how vague most contracts are about the quality of oakwood (to be in the best *wagenschoit*).⁷⁶⁷ In one case, Delvaux's Gent pulpit, the oak is stipulated to be sourced from Denmark in the contract,⁷⁶⁸ while from his account book extracts we learn that he got *boi dollande (bois d'Hollande)* for the pulpit of the Nivelles Carmelites.⁷⁶⁹ It should be remembered, though, that like stone and marble, Amsterdam and Rotterdam were transit places for the market of wood from the Baltic and probably also from Hungary.

The origin of limewood and indigenous woods is not mentioned in known contracts or in account books (Bayar, Delvaux, Van der Voort),⁷⁷⁰ nor is that of ivory and boxwood.

For stone and marble there is much more information. The stone types used for sculpture in the Low Countries are principally Avesne, Bentheim, Gobertange and Balegem, all more or less beige-coloured limestones. This was frequently combined with grey or 'blue' stones, such as the 'blue stone' of Tournai (limestone) and Soignies/Ecaussinnes (*petit granit* limestone). Lesser used stones include Vinalmont.⁷⁷¹

'Blue stone' was frequently waxed in black so that it resembled black marble and as such it was often referred to as touchstone – which could literally mean either of these, despite their price differential.

Geologically speaking, Belgian marbles are not marbles as they are not metamorphic but limestones with a sufficiently fine grain that permitted polishing to

⁷⁶⁷ See chapter 2, pp. 103.

⁷⁶⁸ Jacobs 1999: 306.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid.: 193.

⁷⁷⁰ See below, pp. 175.

⁷⁷¹ Groessens 1991; Groessens 2001.

a high finish. Therefore they are commonly referred to as marble.⁷⁷² Black marble is at its best without any form of fossil. The three main sources of 'pure' black marble in Europe are Namur (including the villages of Golzinne and Mazy), Dinant and Theux.⁷⁷³ Only a petrographic study under microscope can determine their exact origin. This type of destructive investigation is obviously impossible in most cases.⁷⁷⁴

The use of marble is similarly a story of social convention. The use of black Belgian marbles reaches back to Roman times. Every quality between the rougher blue Soignies/Ecaussinnes⁷⁷⁵ or Tournai⁷⁷⁶ stones to black marble was used during the sixteenth century in both architectural and sculptural projects in the Low Countries. The top of the range is found in the Tour et Tassis chapel of St Ursula in the Notre-Dame du Sablon, Brussels, which is unique in the Low Countries (and possibly further afield) as it is completely clad in black marble **(608)**.⁷⁷⁷ It was only by the end of the sixteenth century that coloured (red or grey) marbles from present-day southern Belgium started to be used in sculptural projects, most notably by Cornelis Floris for spectacular tomb monuments in the Baltic.⁷⁷⁸

Southern Belgium has over two hundred former marble 'mounds' (a small hill containing a marble deposit), each ranging from grey to red **(609)**.⁷⁷⁹ Amongst the most famous are Rance⁷⁸⁰ and Saint-Remy, the latter owned by the abbey of Saint-Hubert.⁷⁸¹ Additionally, there are also quarries exclusively with different shadings of grey, such as Sainte-Anne marble **(610)**.⁷⁸²

All these relatively nearby sources of marble meant that it was comparatively easy to obtain these materials in times of peace – although it should be stressed that this did not diminish their cost, nor so much of their transport expense, mainly because travelling by water was much cheaper and the loading and unloading was the most problematic (which made the distance to be covered secondary). Sometimes architectural sculpture was delivered ready-made from the quarry or the merchant's workshop in Namur or Dinant. A well-known example is Hubert Nonon's work for

⁷⁷² Bellière – Groessens 2004.

⁷⁷³ Groessens 1994; Groessens 1997.

⁷⁷⁴ Tourneur 2005: 58.

⁷⁷⁵ Van Belle 1990: 196.

⁷⁷⁶ Nys 1993: 39-84; Cauvin 2003: 13-24.

⁷⁷⁷ Lock 2007.

⁷⁷⁸ See Huysmans 1996.

⁷⁷⁹ For catalogues of Belgian marbles see Tourneur 2004.

⁷⁸⁰ Ducarme 2002.

⁷⁸¹ Van Iterson 1963; Van Iterson 1964.

⁷⁸² Dehousse – Pacco – Pauchen 1985: 164.

the roodloft designed by Jacques Du Broeucq for Sainte-Waudru at Mons in the sixteenth century. Nonon received three-dimensional models that he had to follow.⁷⁸³ Much the same happened with Lucas Faydherbe as we learn from his problems in court.⁷⁸⁴

Most southern Belgian stones and marbles were traded by a small number of merchants established in Namur and Dinant, the more important ones with substantial family connections all over the Low Countries and particularly the Northern Netherlands. The Van Neurenburg dynasty is the most well-known – through the recent study of Gabri van Tussenbroek⁷⁸⁵ – but there were others, who appear sometimes in accounts or contracts with sculptors, as for instance Jean Duchesne who regularly delivered marble to Faydherbe.⁷⁸⁶ Such privileged relationships naturally did not exclude bargaining and haggling. For the De Nole, the common purchase of materials with other masters, in order to gain bargaining power over the supplier, is for instance recorded.⁷⁸⁷

The proximity of sculptors to the quarries can also be measured by their wish to make money when they can put a quarry in contact with one of their clients. An example amongst many is Delvaux who, in 1741, contracted for the delivery of 38 (later raised to 41) pieces of (presumably blue Ecaussinne) stone for powder mills with the Londoner Thomas Coram. This cost no less than 5400 guilders and was shipped through Rotterdam.⁷⁸⁸ How much exactly he gained on the transaction is not known, but Coram surely paid him a substantial profit.

This proximity is only natural. It has been seen how contracts could be extremely detailed as to the quality of stone and marble. More particularly, the best way to obtain the right type and quality of stone or marble was for the sculptor to go to the quarry and choose the blocks. This is well-known from Roman and Florentine practice in Carrara (e.g. with Michelangelo, Bernini, Algardi⁷⁸⁹). Similarly, in his autobiographical account, Jacques Joseph Boreux⁷⁹⁰ recalls how

Mon père avoit toujours eu un maître ouvrier qui alloit aux carrières choisir et même acheter des blocs de marbre, qui les faisoit scier d'après son indication, qui distribuoit à

⁷⁸³ Steppe 1952: 216.

⁷⁸⁴ Van Riet 1996a: 153; see also Lock 2005.

⁷⁸⁵ 2006.

⁷⁸⁶ Van Riet 1996a: 210, 215.

⁷⁸⁷ Casteels 1961: 56n3.

⁷⁸⁸ Jacobs 1999: 34, 49, 196.

⁷⁸⁹ Montagu 1989: 23-29.

chaque ouvrier les pièces qu'il doit travailler et en traçoit lui-même les longueurs, largeurs, épaisseurs, leur taille ou ressaux et leur retraite, ainsi que leur courbes.⁷⁹¹

For grey, black and red marbles, it was equally important, although these were not used for figurative carving. All the gradations between grey and red marble have veins and flaws, sometimes even breakage lines of schist, making them virtually impossible to carve. Black marble is no better, chipping in a fashion that is not unlike glass, with concentric shapes appearing. This is similarly used for mouldings but again not for figurative carving. Blue stone, on the other hand, is more easily carvable, although its structure is not as homogeneous as, for instance, white Carrara marble, making it more difficult to anticipate how large a chip may be during the carving process.

Technical exigences alone were sufficient reason for not using much indigenous coloured stone and marble for the carving of figurative sculpture. White marble, with its highly homogeneous structure, was much preferred, by sculptors and patrons alike.

The trade in white Carrara marble gained momentum in Amsterdam with the building and decorating of the new town hall in the middle years of the seventeenth century (611), replacing most of the trade through Antwerpen and Oostende. Cornelis van Neck and to a lesser extent Samuel Sautijn are mentioned as suppliers,⁷⁹² while at the end of the century Nicodemus Tessin mentions two “marmormühle” in Amsterdam (including that of Willem de Gooijer)⁷⁹³ and one in Rotterdam,⁷⁹⁴ where marble was traded, sawn (by hand (612) or with the energy of horses or a windmill) and polished.⁷⁹⁵ Another generation later, in the case of Delvaux, we learn about his provision of marble blocks from Livorno by “Mr iacobus Cramer de rotterdam”,⁷⁹⁶ while some marble is purchased directly in Italy from “Capitaine Casoni de Carare,” shipped through Rotterdam, then taken by cart to Brussels and then *home* (Nivelles).⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁰ See chapter 2, p. 83.

⁷⁹¹ Javaux 1997: 54-55.

⁷⁹² Vlaardingerbroek 2004: 101; Scholten 2003: 47.

⁷⁹³ Tessin 2002: 141.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: 150.

⁷⁹⁵ Scholten 1993: 208.

⁷⁹⁶ Jacobs 1999: 197.

⁷⁹⁷ Jacobs 1999: 197.

Frits Scholten has surmised a standardisation in the blocks of marble on offer in Amsterdam.⁷⁹⁸ This may have increased the difficulty in obtaining larger pieces, as is noted in a letter from Faydherbe to the Jesuit architect Hesius.⁷⁹⁹ In it he laments not being able to get hold of the required block, as he would have to relinquish the job to a competitor: “Master Verbrugghen”. This stresses that access to particular sizes of blocks gives a competitive edge to clients.

In the contract and church accounts concerning the ‘organ balcony’ (*hoogzaal*) of the Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen, discussed in chapter 2,⁸⁰⁰ may be learnt how much the patron could be involved in the choice of marbles and their quality control. It should be remembered that Sebastiaen de Neve apparently did not have a great reputation for troubleless deliveries, so this may well account for the patron’s involvement to such a degree. Two churchmasters went to Dinant, Barbançon, Mons and Namur, negotiated and organised payment to marble merchants and a shipper from Dordrecht. In total, including all the other professions involved (painters, masons, etc.), the churchmasters organised no fewer than 49 payments.⁸⁰¹ This serves to underline how much risk there was involved in the purchase of marble and how scrupulous patrons endeavoured to find ways of reducing this risk.

Conversely, the use of foreign coloured marbles was exceptional in the Low Countries and few projects made ample use of these as did the Jesuit church of Antwerpen⁸⁰² or the deambulatory railings of the cathedral of Gent **(613)**.

It should be remembered again that white Carrara marble only gradually replaced English alabaster⁸⁰³ as a sculptural medium from the early seventeenth century. Carrara marble is supposed to have been introduced by Hendrick de Keyser by 1608, the date of the earliest surviving white marble bust carved in the Low Countries,⁸⁰⁴ although there were some exceptions.

Mention should also be made of two statues **(614)**⁸⁰⁵ by Gabriel Grupello executed in what his daughter described as Venetian marble.⁸⁰⁶ They are slightly more mellow in colour and more veined than statuary Carrara marble.

⁷⁹⁸ 2003: 51.

⁷⁹⁹ Plantenga 1926: 328.

⁸⁰⁰ p. 93.

⁸⁰¹ Church accounts 1664-1673, Antwerpen, archives of the Sint-Jacobskerk, No. 58, published by Jansen 1940: 135-136.

⁸⁰² See chapter 5.

⁸⁰³ Cheetham 2003.

⁸⁰⁴ Scholten 1993: 199.

⁸⁰⁵ Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum and with Daniel Katz Gallery, London.

Marble and stone carving

Although Félibien does not go into great detail about the technicalities of carving wood, marble and stone (with no mention of ivory)⁸⁰⁷ and it is necessary to return to the *Encyclopédie* for a more comprehensive listing of technical equipment, a full discussion of carving techniques, traditions, seventeenth-century attitudes to and application of them, would yield substantial new insights into the business of sculpture in the Low Countries, just as this has been achieved for the work of Bernini.⁸⁰⁸ Similarly, the carving (or rather: scratching or shaving off) techniques of ivory need investigation. Unfortunately, these practices are beyond the scope of this thesis.

The long and laborious process described in the previous chapter concerning the preparatory steps to carving in hard materials serves as a reminder of the implications of carving versus modelling: taking away rather than adding *and* taking away material. Changes become limited in carving marble or wood, meaning that the all-important stage of achieving the right proportions in three dimensions has to be had at the first go. The idea of direct carving, that is frequently seen as the summit of sculptural practice, can only be a reality with the exceptional sculptors – unless the work concerns routine ornaments executed solely after full-size drawings, such as those alluded to by Boreux in his account.⁸⁰⁹ Even Michelangelo is presumed occasionally to have had difficulty in completing a sculpture due to an inaccurate start along one axis.⁸¹⁰

This of course does not preclude most sculptors using drawing on the block of stone, marble or wood as an aid to form – but that stage is by definition not preserved, except for unfinished works, that seem not to have survived for seventeenth or eighteenth-century sculpture in the Low Countries.

Both the simplification of the process for the master and the possibility of delegating work to assistants would encourage master sculptors to use some form of transfer system such as those advocated by many Italian art theorists like Alberti as early as the 1430s. The use of a pointing technique such as the one illustrated by the

⁸⁰⁶ Letter by Grupello's daughter Aldegunde to the antiquarian Philippe Baert, 23 January 1777, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS17652-17656, f°21.

⁸⁰⁷ Félibien 1690: 310-316.

⁸⁰⁸ Rockwell 1997; Coliva 2002.

⁸⁰⁹ Javaux 1997: 55

⁸¹⁰ Kieft 1994 : 196.

Encyclopédie (615) or Carradori⁸¹¹ (616) is however difficult to substantiate precisely. Points left on a number of sculptures, including the bust of Johan de Witt (497),⁸¹² are not a sufficient proof, nor is the virtual correspondence of measurements between the terracotta and the marble busts of Jacob van Reygersbergh (501, 502).⁸¹³ Moreover all this very largely predates the invention of the *machine à mettre aux points* by Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux (1751-1832).

This meant substantial implications on the level of labour, well illustrated by the partial account book of Delvaux who noted it took 98 days for his assistants to work on two marble vases for the duc d'Arenberg: 98 days.⁸¹⁴ Interestingly, during conservation of the Nivelles Carmelites' oak pulpit by Delvaux, it emerged that his workshop had used mechanical saws,⁸¹⁵ which stresses how far sculptors were at the forefront of technological development when it came to speeding up their laborious production processes.

A comparison between two versions of Jérôme II du Quesnoy's *St Anne and the Virgin* in sandstone (617) and in marble (618) is relevant here as much for the technical as for the artistic possibilities offered by these two materials. As the sculptor's patron allegedly refused the stone version he delivered, requiring him to carve it again in marble, as commissioned, it would have been logical for him to use the same model again. However, the differences between the two versions cannot be accounted for by mechanical reproduction by studio assistants from the same model, with the finishing touches given by the master. The detail in the marble version is substantially more developed than that of the stone one. Indeed, since marble allows the carving of thinner draperies without the risk of breakage, as well as deeper undercutting, Du Quesnoy took the opportunity to refine his work and render it more supple.

In this story, the stone version is seen as the much inferior sculpture, both technically and socially. Although the prestige of white statuary marble gradually grew over the course of the seventeenth century to the point of seemingly becoming a standard material, this phenomenon should not be over-emphasised. A good counter example is the stone fireplace attributed to Artus I Quellinus at the Musée

⁸¹¹ 1802 : VIII.

⁸¹² Scholten 2005.

⁸¹³ Chapter 3.

⁸¹⁴ Jacobs 1999: 192, 492.

⁸¹⁵ Jacobs 1999: 192, 326.

de l'Hôtel de Berny, Amiens (619), for which there are comparable studies by Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen in an even more exuberant vocabulary (620, 621).⁸¹⁶

The polishing of sculptures must have been one of the most time-consuming parts of the job. Before the invention of mechanised sandpaper, polishing was achieved with pumice stone and wads of straw, as was mentioned by Vasari among others.⁸¹⁷ In Nicolas Stone's account book we learn that he polished his sculptures with sand.⁸¹⁸

The importance of finished surfaces on sculptures is conspicuous because few were left unfinished, also stressing the importance accorded to the overall project as opposed to the creative genius of one individual artist who, like Michelangelo, might have left his thoughts only partially realized. The study of finishes is, however, much hindered by the near total lack of conservators' reports for both public and private conservation projects as well as the deterioration of many sculptures since their production.⁸¹⁹

One recorded case where a sculpture was left nearly finished is the tomb monument of bishop Antonius Triest in the cathedral of Gent (622). Due to the public execution of Jérôme II du Quesnoy on grounds of sodomy, which even Triest was not able to prevent, the final polishing of the effigy of the bishop's face was omitted. Unfortunately, we can only speculate why Triest did not wish it to be completed by anybody else – nor be absolutely certain that the demise of Du Quesnoy and that the current state merely reflects overcleaning. The centuries that separate us from the time of production of the sculptures makes it particularly difficult to judge sculptures *de visu*, let alone to understand the effect that practical suggestions by theorists or practitioners, who wrote about the subject at the time, had exactly.

The study of polychromy on wooden and stone sculpture is similarly in its infancy and fraught with technical difficulties,⁸²⁰ and suffers from the frequent prejudice that it implies inferior sculpture compared with works in marble. Through a study of contracts, it seems that the polychroming, marbling and/or gilding were often done

⁸¹⁶ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 2154. Delen 1938: cat. 478, Brussels 1977: 273; Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 612, Jacobs 1999: 535.

⁸¹⁷ Vasari 1907: 152-153.

⁸¹⁸ Spiers 1918-1919: 101, 108, 196.

⁸¹⁹ Two counter examples: Ex – Scholten 2001; Terwen 2002.

⁸²⁰ A rare enlightening study is Lisboa 2002.

by a specialist painter rather than the sculptor himself, for example the side altarpieces at Averbode by Scheemaekers.⁸²¹ At Liège, contrastingly, the sculptor was generally responsible for the whole process, e.g. *St Martin* for the *église Saint-Martin* at Liège by Guillaume Evrard.⁸²²

Delivery techniques and after-sales service

Both from Bayar's *Grand Registre* and the autobiographical account of Boreux it is apparent that extensive travelling was involved in the delivery of their works. For instance Boreux noted laconically that to deliver a "mosolé de marbre noir et blanc" in the cathedral of Köln, together with his father, "nous fîmes ensemble ce voyage à pied" (just under 200km from Dinant).⁸²³ This contrasts vividly with well-established sculptors in capital cities, like the London-based sculptor Joseph Nollekens, would not make the effort of travelling to distant village churches to install a monument, having the measurements taken by the local carpenter and the monument installed by the local mason.⁸²⁴ This practice is also recorded for Roman seventeenth-century sculpture: the monument to Lady Jane Cheyne by Antonio Raggi, of which the sculptor never saw the installation.⁸²⁵ An Antwerpen sculptor would at most send an able workshop assistant abroad, as with the monument commemorating the Danish general Hans Schack by Artus II Quellinus, that his son Thomas accompanied to København.⁸²⁶

The *Encyclopédie* illustrations concerning the transport and lifting difficulties of large marble sculptures (623) are the classic illustrations. Together with Léonard Defrance's painting (610), this practice is confirmed in Del Cour's account book about the monument to a member of the Sélys family: "lamener sur des rouleaux iusque dans leglise de St Jean baptis".⁸²⁷ The dangers of transportation are exemplified by the accidental death of Faydherbe's son who allegedly wounded himself while trying to move Jérôme du Quesnoy's *Ganymede* in his garden (624).⁸²⁸

⁸²¹ Jansen – Janssens 1999: 217-229.

⁸²² Lhoist-Colman 1987.

⁸²³ Javaux 1997: 55.

⁸²⁴ This is what we learn in his biography by John Thomas Smith, published in 1828. See Smith 1986: 176-177.

⁸²⁵ Montagu 1989: 40-44.

⁸²⁶ See chapter chapter 2, p. 105 and below p. 193 for an example at Modave.

⁸²⁷ Lhoist-Colman 1975: 209n86.

⁸²⁸ Jacobs 2001-2002.

Extensive packaging is mentioned in Delvaux's account book concerning the two vases mentioned above: "iai heux sant et 30 pie de planche dun pous a m^r fauconier pour le caise de vase du duc darenberg a un sous le pie 20 sous de clou 3 florain pour la fasons".⁸²⁹

A remarkable survival on the outside of the former Amsterdam town hall attests to the practicalities of delivery on a large building site. Inscriptions in greasy red chalk, still *in situ* just below the actual sculpture, indicate the iconography of the festoon that had to be placed above **(625)**. These indications were necessary to help the masons put the blocks in the right place underneath the windows as these are all of the same size.

Occasionally, once the sculpture was safely delivered and installed, its gradual deterioration was well provided for. The will of the donor of a statue of *S^t Bartholomew* in the former Sint-Walburgakerk, Antwerpen, presumably one of the apostle statues on the pillars of the nave, stipulated the gift of an endowment fund to finance the yearly cleaning of the statue and its restoration in case "something might break".⁸³⁰

Bronze and similar metals

It should be noted that this thesis does not attempt an extensive discussion of sculpture in bronze and similar metals. Not only was this material unusual in commissions for public and religious sculpture before the nineteenth century in the Low Countries, but extremely few documented examples have survived – and those that have survived, are mostly isolated cases from which a history is difficult to write (e.g. Artus I Quellinus's bronze statues **(626)** and doors at the Amsterdam town hall). Moreover, specialist art founders are not at present known and the piecemeal history of foundries can only be connected with the casting of bells⁸³¹ and cannons or with "geelgieters" (brass founders) who specialised in small domestic objects.⁸³² This field has become an 'art historical dustbin', in which works that do not conform to other stylistic traditions have often been placed.

⁸²⁹ Jacobs 1999: 194.

⁸³⁰ *daerane eenichsints soude mogen gebroken worden*. Duverger 1984-2004: 5/387.

⁸³¹ Cf. e.g. Van Bets-Decoster 1998.

⁸³² See Ter Kuile 1986.

Only a handful of important and well-documented bronze sculptors can be named and these are all connected with foreign training and employ: Willem van Tetrode,⁸³³ Giambologna, Hubert Gerhard,⁸³⁴ Adriaen de Vries,⁸³⁵ François (and Jérôme?) du Quesnoy,⁸³⁶ Gabriel Grupello,⁸³⁷ Willem de Groff.⁸³⁸

Workshops

Workshop practices and operations management

The management of operations within the workshop was a daily concern of the master that happened essentially orally, though most masters will have kept a written record of some of them, particularly regarding finances. Unfortunately, very few such documents have survived and the few that have done so generally survive through family inheritance.⁸³⁹ One by Michiel van der Voort survived until the nineteenth century and Theodoor van Lerijs copied a couple of pages from it.⁸⁴⁰ Similarly a few pages survived of the account book of Laurent Delvaux.⁸⁴¹ And an extract of the account book kept by Ambrosius I Gast (†1652) was used by the solicitor who settled his estate for the purpose of tracing outstanding debtors. These all concerned relatively small sums (under 100 guilders) and included the sculptor Jacob Cocx with whom he apparently collaborated on some unspecified project.⁸⁴² Finally, the account books of Jacques Franchois (†1646) are mentioned in his probate inventory, regrettably, as a document of little interest.⁸⁴³

⁸³³ Van Binnebeke 2003; Amsterdam 2003.

⁸³⁴ Diemer 2004.

⁸³⁵ Amsterdam 1998; Augsburg 2000.

⁸³⁶ Boudon-Machuel 2005.

⁸³⁷ Düsseldorf 1971.

⁸³⁸ Ibid.

⁸³⁹ On an international level a small number survived, e.g. that of Nicholas Stone: Spiers 1918-1919; Giovan Battista Foggini: Lankheit 1959; Vincenzo Pacetti: most recently Mambro Santos 2001; Jean-Baptiste Bouchardon: Ronot 2002; Sir Francis Chantrey, Yarrington et al. 1994. Jean Del Cour's *Livre de raison* is only partially preserved in a later copy, see Lhoist-Colman 1975. Note that Stone's note and account book need to be taken with caution when discussing sculpture in the Southern Netherlands, as his practices may have changed between his training in Amsterdam and his own English workshop. Moreover, the workshop practices of his master Hendrick de Keyser (1565-1621) did not necessarily survive until the 1650s when Artus I Quellinus and Rombout Verhulst moved to Amsterdam, thereby creating a *ceisurum*. This can already be presumed on the basis of bronze sculpture, that De Keyser was able to produce, whereas such production is not properly recorded in the Southern Netherlands in the seventeenth century as we have mentioned.

⁸⁴⁰ Published in Tralbaut 1950: 521-524.

⁸⁴¹ Published in Jacobs 1999: 191-198.

⁸⁴² "eenen reckenboeck geschreven mette handt van de afflijvighen" (an account book written in the hand of the deceased) Duverger 1984-2004: 6/290. Not mentioned in Meulemeester 2003.

⁸⁴³ "waerwt weynich proffyt is te speuren" (in which little benefit can be found) Duverger 1984-2004: 5/298.

The only one that relates to a sculptor from the Low Countries (excluding Liège) and that survived in a more complete way is that of Denis-Georges Bayar (1690-1774), both architect and sculptor at Namur. This copious document is not a complete account book, but only a summary account book that covers about fifty years of his activity (1723-1774) and that sometimes refers to the annual account books that he kept but that do not survive. The huge task of editing this only came to fruition last year.⁸⁴⁴

The *Grand Registre*, as Bayar entitled it, contains practical indications that are difficult to find in other types of written sources. It refers to many small jobs, such as the delivery of two ornaments and four consoles for the decoration of a wardrobe.⁸⁴⁵ He was even active in the simple resale of apparently related products, such as varnishes: “verniss à l'esprit de vin,⁸⁴⁶ verniss nouveau,⁸⁴⁷ verniss de la Chine”.⁸⁴⁸

A brief description of some tools appears in the *Grand Registre*: for example a saw “de 14 pieds à scier le marbre, pour la valeur de 12 sous le pied”.⁸⁴⁹ Several times, Bayar mentions the purchase of “peau de chien”,⁸⁵⁰ meaning *peau de chien de mer* (dogfish skin), whose scales served to polish wood and marble before the invention of sanding paper. This is a precious piece of information, as the *Grand Registre* is one of the few places where it could be mentioned. Another, better known one, is Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, that mentions it in passing.⁸⁵¹ This skin is part of those tools that do not survive a workshop and were thrown away when worn out.

The help that Bayar received from outside the workshop, principally for the delivery of works produced in the workshop, pertained to a direct commercial logic: the master only left the workshop for negotiations with patrons or to solve important problems and not for work that could be done by an assistant. For instance, Bayar sent an assistant for five days to help with the placing of two small wooden altarpieces at the convent of the Guillemins at Nivelles, that the cabinet

⁸⁴⁴ Van Belle – Javaux 2006.

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: 260.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*: 326.

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid.*: 261.

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*: 272.

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: 266.

⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: 237, 244.

⁸⁵¹ Diderot – d'Alembert 1751-1772, 10/77. Noteworthy is that dogfish skin is not mentioned by Félibien 1690, despite the number of technical features that he explains.

maker Carlier had taken on and for which Bayar had made the applied sculptural decoration.⁸⁵²

Bayar does not mention the dangers involved in manoeuvring large and heavy pieces of raw material, especially stone and marble. Apparently he did not experience any disaster, or at least did not record any for posterity. The sculptor Matthijs Benedictus did remember a near accident from his time as an assistant, with the monument to Marcelis Bacx, governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, when

Master [Bernard] Janssen had to got to great effort and work, with nine men, to lift with great danger the touchstone [slab] in the workshop of Nicholas Stone, in such a way that if a man had stumbled over, all the men would have seemed to have stayed under the stone.⁸⁵³

Bayar does not inform us about the intermediary stages between the drawing and the end product. This may be because of the vertical workshop organisation of labour, although Delvaux does mention this aspect. In the case of collaboration, for instance with a cabinet maker, Bayar does not mentioned it either. Thus no mention is made of terracotta models or full-scale models in clay, lime and/or plaster.

As has been said, Delvaux regularly mentioned work associated with terracotta models. For instance his assistant “maintain a travalie un iour abatlatair pour le varlieve de la chair a praiche [Martin a travaillé un jour à battre la terre pour le bas-relief de la chaire à prêcher]”.⁸⁵⁴ Boreux too, for instance, noted in a list of works that he was involved with, including the intermediary stages between drawing and sculpting:

9°. Un mausolé (d’une grandeur considérable et comme un grand autel, for riche d’ornemens) pour M^r de Bonner dans l’église des Récolets à Ypres. J’en ait fait les dessins, j’ai tracé cet ouvrage en grand, j’en ait fait tous les moules, j’en ait modelé les armoiries et tous les ornemens, j’ai dirigé le travail de toutes les pièces et c’est mon père qui a été à Ypres pour le faire poser.

⁸⁵² Van Belle – Javaux 2006: 218.

⁸⁵³ “mr Janssen groote moeyte ende arbeyt heeft moeten doen, met negen mannen, omme den toetssteen van de plaetsse van den voornoemden Niclaes Stoon te lichten met groot perickel, in sulcker vueghen dat by soo verre een man hadde gestruyckt dat alle de mannen naer apparentie onder den steen souden gebleven hebben.” Bergen-op-Zoom, Gemeentearchief, Notaris Jan van Wesel, 9 June 1620, published by Pinchart 1860: 1/249-253.

⁸⁵⁴ Jacobs 1999: 194.

10°. Deux urnes ou table d'autel dans la croisée à St-Paul à Liège. Mon père en a fait les dessins: je l'ai tracé en grand, ainsi que les moules, et ait dirigé leurs exécutions. J'ai été à Liège avec mon père pour les faire poser.⁸⁵⁵

Account books are understandably unhelpful in suggesting the physical aspect and the content of the workshop premises, even in Bayar's *Grand Registre*, despite the fact that, as the inscription on the first page clearly attests,⁸⁵⁶ it was written for an audience other than himself.

Besides plaster casts, sculptors' workshops typically contained a large number of terracotta models, both of work-in-progress and past works by themselves and by previous generations of sculptors. These were avidly collected and carefully bequeathed,⁸⁵⁷ as they were considered an important asset in the sculptor's workshop because they often served as motifs to extend the artist's memory over a longer period of time, allowing him to re-use or re-interpret a particular design at a later date. They are the three-dimensional equivalent of sketchbooks, just as plaster casts are the equivalent of engraved model books.

One of the most spontaneous (and therefore faithful?) representations of a sculptor's studio is that of an anonymous drawing at Bremen (627),⁸⁵⁸ probably drawn in the Northern Netherlands around the middle of the seventeenth century, if we take the type of sculpture represented in the workshop as an indication of the type of patronage the sculptor enjoyed.

On the left and right of the door under a thermal window appear two statues and a head, each on a console against the wall. The statues are roughly between two and three feet high and might be terracotta models for statues of saints or allegories. On the left, we see sideways a reclining figure, which is probably a life-size figure of a tomb monument. Further to the left, around the corner, a life-size standing angel stands on a pedestal. The ledge above the left door holds, from left to right, a two or three-figure model, a half-length figure, a reclining figure (partial model of a tomb monument?), a head, a standing putto holding a lance or something similar and a head with a small bust. All these could be in any material, although it is most likely that they are terracotta models by the artist who worked in this studio. Indeed, none

⁸⁵⁵ Javaux 1997: 49.

⁸⁵⁶ Van Belle – Javaux 2006 : 201.

⁸⁵⁷ See chapter 1, p. 49.

of these represents recognisable antique sculpture in the form of plaster casts, except possibly the last one, which could be a *tête d'expression*.

On the other side of the workshop, apart from the two works on the right of the door already mentioned, a slab of stone or marble leans against the wall, a roughly blocked-out half-size figure stands on a wooden base in the corner. Then follow two objects hanging on the wall that could be models or casts of limbs (possibly contemporary, possibly antique), two roughly blocked-out pieces of stone or marble on the floor and a horseman on a wall bracket. The latter is represented without saddle, going at a vivid pace and resembles antique representations of this subject as found on reliefs or in the round,⁸⁵⁹ rather than a model for an equestrian monument to a contemporary ruler. As such it is more than likely a plaster cast. In the niche on the right, with its curious heavy and order-less column, half-hewn blocks of stone or marble are placed side by side, the furthest at the right possibly already carved as a high relief, of which a figure's knee and head might tentatively be recognised. Finally, in front of the niche stands the largest sculpture in the studio: a nearly life-size figure of an undefined female allegory, draped fully and slickly, but with a half-uncovered bosom.

The architectural setting of this workshop is most appropriate for the production of monumental sculpture. The space is high and large, with ample lighting from windows that are placed high up, as in classical churches with thermal windows, giving plenty of light. To make the light diffuse, specially conceived blinds can be lowered at will to change the lighting effect in the room according to the sun's movements. Walls are kept bare apart from the sculptures described above and there is no window at eye level.

Compared with all other sculptor's studio views, this one is unusual in not showing any activity nor any human presence. The absence of tools and machinery might be explained by the viewpoint of the draughtsman, but it might just as well be part of the artist's compositional intentions, related to his desire to create a representation of an empty studio. It is indeed noteworthy that the architecture resembles so much a chapel, particularly with the thermal windows and the space separated by that peculiar column. And apart from an absence of human activity, there is no sign of

⁸⁵⁸ Bremen, Kunsthalle, inv. 56/523.

⁸⁵⁹ E.g. the Equestrian Balbus, Haskell – Penny 1992: 158.

any work in progress. All the sculptures are neatly arranged around the walls. The whole atmosphere breathes a monastic quietness and cleanliness, with a stress on inspirational material carefully placed, rather than a room where a group of people work under the active leadership of a master sculptor.

Although the drawing pertains more to the tradition of architectural drawings of the Northern Netherlands *à la* Pieter Saenredam, Anthonie de Lorme or Isaak van Nickele,⁸⁶⁰ this studio might also conceivably depict a workshop in the Spanish Netherlands, but then ‘purified’ of most of the work that happened in it, such as wood sculpture and large-scale altarpieces. The question remains as to whether this interior view really represent an actual sculptor’s studio.

An anonymous painting in Glasgow⁸⁶¹ (628) does exactly the opposite: it portrays a sculptor’s workshop in action. In the foreground a seated figure holds a tool towards a model, presumably in clay, on a tripod. Further back on the right another figure stands holding hammer and chisel towards an over-life-size statue. We see only one wall of the room, the back one, on which a ledge displays an array of sculptures, as well as a coat, a hat and some tools underneath the ledge. From left to right we see a life-size head (with a little of the shoulders), similar to the *tête d’expression* of the drawing at Bremen; a nearly life-size statue of an *écorché* figure in movement (in a similar position to Giambologna’s *Mercury*, but with two feet on the socle); a male head; a small seated figure, probably of *Minerva*; a standing statuette identical to the one being carved by the second figure in the scene and finally another head, probably of a boy. Finally, largely hidden, there is an over-life-size statue in the middle background, probably also of *Minerva*, and on the far right a roughly hewn block of stone or marble awaiting further carving.

The small ‘*Minerva*’ is probably a terracotta model, like its neighbour, of which we see the execution being undertaken. All the others, including the *écorché* figure which has broken underlegs, showing a wooden or metal armature, could either be in plaster or terracotta, are either casts after existing antique or later sculptures or models by the sculptor whose studio is being represented. We cannot be certain, although on the whole the painting conveys an impression of exactitude and

⁸⁶⁰ Cf. Jantzen 1909/1979.

⁸⁶¹ Glasgow, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Miss Ina J. Smillie gift, 1963. This painting has been attributed to Jacob van Oost the Elder and more recently, but unconvincingly to Michael Sweerts, London 2000: 74.


naturalism. As in the Bremen drawing, the light from the window can be dimmed, in this case with the window panes themselves, which are in translucent glass, with only a transparent star in the middle for decoration. The window is shown open, but can easily be closed with the rope on the right. And the window is again above eye-level, thereby isolating the studio from the real world, as in the Bremen drawing. So is this workshop a more accurate representation than the drawing at Bremen?

On close inspection, there are a few inexplicable incongruities. Although the window plays an important iconographic role, the light in the picture does not come from it, but from a source on the left that is not shown and that is far too harsh to be usable in the studio. It is difficult to know if this a painterly trick or a reflection of reality.

The tools hanging on the wall are few compared to what a sculptor needs in a workshop: a pair of compasses, a hammer and four chisels (three more are shown: one in the hands and two on the floor in front of the statue). But modelling tools and plaster casting tools are not to be found.

The figure working in the background seems to be holding a *boucharde*, as he is holding his tool at right angle to the statue's surface. If it were a chisel, it would simply chip off the edge of the fold – which would be counter-productive. The body attitude of the man is also problematic. His back is bent forward, his right leg far back, as if the hammering needed enormous effort. This cannot be the case, as the statue is nearly finished and only needs surface fine tuning and in this position, the sculptor would get a backache.

The statue the man is presumably chiselling could represent an apostle – he is holding a book under his arm – while also holding some drapery. This feature suggests that the statue is in marble and not in stone, such heavy undercutting being difficult to do in a coarser-grained stone.⁸⁶² The colour also speaks against the possibility that it is a statue in wood, as does the way the man is chiselling (a *boucharde* is not usable on wood).

The other man, seated on a short bench in the foreground, seems to be working on a *modello*, a smoothed terracotta model, completely finished. A piece of sponge and two spatulas are lying on the edge of the tripod, next to the statuette to stress this. In his hands he seems to be holding a sort of set-square:  / (the / stroke

⁸⁶² See above the discussion of the group of *St Anne and the Virgin* by Jérôme II du Quesnoy.

not very clear), as if measuring a distance between the legs. But what is he measuring? Is he planning on enlarging the model to a full-size model? If so, why is that model not shown in the painting?

The man in the foreground is not luxuriously dressed, but clearly more refined than the other, especially concerning his fur-lined hat and the colours of his dress. Is the viewer meant to understand in this way that he is the master and the other the assistant?

Further it should be noted that there is little of the normal detritus of sculpture production lying around: just a few chippings from two marble statues being worked on by man on the right.

All these elements suggest a painter who did not fully understand the trade of sculpture and who apparently did not make sufficient sketches while in a real sculptor's workshop preparing his painting. But at the same time, this painter wished to convey some specific messages about the status of the sculptor compared to his assistant, and by contrasting the designing (the modelling) and the execution (the carving). The figure of the *écorché* is obviously also symbolic of a knowledge of anatomy.⁸⁶³

The whole composition does not breathe the monastic quietness of the Bremen drawing, but it does give an impression of stillness and of being too organised. There is no clutter of sculptures, as they are all neatly positioned on a ledge. In its sense of immobility the painting does not convey an impression of work, thereby giving a partial view of what happened in this workshop. In this respect, the composition as a whole is unlike paintings by Michael Sweerts. All his painters' studios and academies stress the multiplicity of inspiration in a seemingly haphazard way with the clutter of paraphernalia around the artist or a throng of figures.

From this examination it is evident that representations of sculptors' workshops may seem particularly faithful at first glance, but should not be taken too literally as they are images of a particular type that have their own story to tell. This may be about the status of the sculptor who boasts an impressive collection of antiquities (generally in the form of plaster casts) or about his status as a creator of new models, instead of a place where lots of inspirational material was gathered and where manpower was all-important.

⁸⁶³ London 2000: 75.

It is in this mode that we should understand the large number of paintings by Gerard Thomas (1663-1721),⁸⁶⁴ Balthasar van den Bossche (1681-1715)⁸⁶⁵ and Jan Jozef Horemans the Elder (1682-1759)⁸⁶⁶ and the Younger (1714-c.1790) **(629)**.⁸⁶⁷ They emulated Sweerts and frequently represented studio interiors. Their work might be called the swan song of this specific genre.

In one of Van den Bossche's workshop interiors **(630)**,⁸⁶⁸ the painter underlines the different stages in the production of a life-size statue and its energetic and laborious process. The master has however distanced himself from this. Luxuriously dressed, he discusses business with clients, leaving the dirty manual work to two assistants.

In a pair of paintings by Gerard Thomas, representing a painter's and a sculptor's studios **(631)**, the sculptor is holding hammer and chisel and feigning to work on a large marble group of the *Rape of a Sabine* (clearly after Giambologna) while showing his abilities to a couple of potential clients who are richly adorned. The scene happens not in a workshop, but in the loggia of a palace with chequerboard marble flooring and grand curtains. In the foreground, a young pupil is holding a block of paper stressing that drawing is the foundation of all art practice. He is sitting next to a heap of plaster casts after the antique.

Amongst other paraphernalia, the painter's studio contains a life-size statue of *Mercury* after Giambologna. Thus the two taken together, the arts of painting and sculpture ennoble and enrich the artists. These paintings say more about the social status artists were aspiring to in Antwerpen around 1700 than about the workshop practices for which an attempt has been made to find a visual representation. In that respect they are no different from David II Teniers's *Monkey Sculptor's Studio (frontispiece)*.⁸⁶⁹

Some are so overtly allegorical and self-aggrandizing that they are unrealistic. For instance the frontispiece to the catalogue of Francis van Bossuit's ivory, boxwood and terracotta works, published by Mattys Pool in 1727, shows a sculptress putting

⁸⁶⁴ Cf. Filipczak 1987: 177-190 for a discussion of all three painters.

⁸⁶⁵ Cf. also his paintings of sculptors' studios, sold Amsterdam (Paul Brandt), November 1979; London (Christie's) 15 December 1989 lot 124; New York (Christie's), 31 May 1990 lot 105; London (Sotheby's) 12 December 1990 lot 170; New York (Christie's) 5 October 1995 lot 5; London (Christie's) 8 December 1995 lot 228.

⁸⁶⁶ See most recently on his biography: Wouters 1992: 193-196.

⁸⁶⁷ Sold Phillips London 15 December 1998 lot 4.

⁸⁶⁸ With Rafael Valls, London, 2007.

⁸⁶⁹ Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. 1806; Díaz Padrón 1975: 401.

such effort into the carving of a delicate piece of ivory, that she appears more likely to damage it than to perfect it (632). She is moreover using a marble or wood chisel rather than one appropriate for scratching ivory.

The stereotypes of a ledge full of models and casts, a few finished works and especially the combination of a small model and its full-size execution recur time and again from the early seventeenth-century sculptors' workshops into the nineteenth-century ones. In *Het Menselyk Bedryf* published by Jan Luyken (1649-1712) in Amsterdam in 1694, most of those stereotypes may be found repeated in the depiction of the sculptor's studio (633, 634).⁸⁷⁰ It may have helped in the diffusion of such a standardised image. He also exaggerated the rendering of the energetic and forced effort of the sculptor carving, as was seen in Van den Bossche's picture. On the other hand, Luyken does parallel the effort and inspiration of the sculptor to the wisdom of God:

The Sculptor.

Or man chooses gain out of loss.

Just as out of the rough stone

The graceful statue through art appeared,

As only the unnecessary goes lost;

So God's wisdom draws, according to plan,

The statue of Christ out of Adam's human being,

To be a ornament of the heavenly choirs.

This is a remarkably positive evaluation of the sculptor's work in Protestant Amsterdam, if we compare that to the negative connotation given by Jacob Jordaens in the only sculptor's studio he ever represented, *The Manufacture of Idols* (635),⁸⁷¹ even referring to Isaiah's satire on the sculpting of idols: "[Jesa[ja].44/ v[ersen] 15.16.17".⁸⁷² The drawing is dated 1650, that is from the time Jordaens converted to Protestantism.⁸⁷³

From a different pictorial tradition is the representation of *Sight* (from a set of the five senses), by Gonzales Coques (636).⁸⁷⁴ A sculptor, bust-length, is intently looking at his clay model of a female saint or allegorical statue on a tripod in front of him, while using his fingers and a spatula to model it. Despite its allegorical meaning,

⁸⁷⁰ The preparatory drawing: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, see Luiken 1694/1987.

⁸⁷¹ Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.

⁸⁷² Filipczak 1987: 143-144.

⁸⁷³ Tümpel 1993.

this painting may be seen as a remarkably faithful rendering of the process of creation, even though, as in all the sculpture in sculptors' studios, the clay model is seemingly finished, that is eliminating the possibility of seeing the "first fire of his imagination"⁸⁷⁵ concerning drawings.

In all these more or less allegorical works, or at least works adapted to painters' knowledge base and imperatives, we learn little about the pragmatics of being in the business of producing sculptures and it is necessary to return to account books.

Bayar's *Grand Registre* naturally abounds in figures for all sorts of works of sculpture. Pricing structures may also be gleaned from the few pages left of Michiel van der Voort's account book. Apart from the relative cost of marble, we learn, for example, about the cost of the materials necessary for the placing of the monument to Le Candele: plaster, metal dowels, scaffolding and a tarpaulin (presumably to protect the floor). For the frame, Van der Voort further notes (amongst others) stone from Lille, paint and oil.⁸⁷⁶

An unusual mention is his own rate of pay calculated per hour for the designing of the stairs to the porch of the Sint-Jacobskerk of Antwerpen and for measuring it *in situ*.⁸⁷⁷ Very roughly, his hourly wage corresponds to the daily wage of an unschooled workshop assistant.⁸⁷⁸ This sort of accounting does not appear in Bayar's *Grand Registre*.

The pricing of labour is a difficult yet essential element of the work of a sculptor is stressed as in Boreux's autobiographical notes:

Je n'ai eu d'autre ouvrage en cela que de surveiller l'exécution et de tenir note du tems que les ouvriers employoit pour le sciage, la taille et le polissage de chaque pièce: c'est ce que mon père m'a toujours fait faire sur tous les ouvrages pour mon instruction, ne pouvant être en état de faire aucune entreprise dans la suite, sans connoître préalablement, par l'expérience, ce que chaque partie d'ouvrage doit coûter de façon[nage].⁸⁷⁹

Later he summarises all the aspects of pricing, not just of materials and labour:

⁸⁷⁴ Antwerpen, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 763. Cf. Filipczak 1987: 142, 143.

⁸⁷⁵ See chapter 2, p. 74.

⁸⁷⁶ Tralbaut 1950: 522.

⁸⁷⁷ Tralbaut 1950: 521.

⁸⁷⁸ Cf. Scholliers 1989: 155.

⁸⁷⁹ Javaux 1997: 49.

Mon père (pour mon instruction) me faisoit tenir note de ce que chaque ouvrage coûtoit pour le marbre, le sciage, la taille, le polissage, les fraix d'encaissement, le transport, les droits de douanne, les fraix de pose, les fraix de voyage du maître, des ouvriers, les fraix extraordinaires, etc. Alors, comparant ce qu'un ouvrage avoit coûté et le prix qu'on en avoit reçu, mon père me faisoit voir ce qu'on avoit gagné sur chaque ouvrage, me faisant remarquer le tems qu'il avoit falut pour le faire et la somme d'argent qu'il avoit falut avoir d'avance vers soi pour cela.⁸⁸⁰

This remarkable quotation summarises his work beautifully, even to the management of the business's cash flow.

This cash flow element is extremely difficult to gauge. A request by Norbertus van den Eynde for a bridging loan is a rare testimony to this real problem, particularly when patrons were slow in paying. Here Van den Eynde, who collaborated with Artus II Quellinus on the high altarpiece of the now demolished Sint-Joriskerk, would only get three quarters of the payment just before completion. He had to finance three thousand guilders, which he intended to do with the proceeds of the sale of a house in the Arenbergstraat. However, because that payment was delayed he was compelled to request a bridging loan.⁸⁸¹

Bayar noted the days of work for his collaborators, which broadly allows us to calculate how many he had. This calculation is however dangerous, as Bayar was not systematic in referencing and summarising all this in his *Grand Registre* from his annual account books.

Through the payments to Bayar's own workmen, for specific tasks, the way Bayar organised his workshop can be understood: every workman was given the execution of a complete task, from the blocking out to the finishing,⁸⁸² unless he was not capable of undertaking it all, sometimes even up to the painting imitating marble.⁸⁸³ This vertical system is also confirmed by the extracts from Delvaux's account book which concerns the wooden pulpit he produced for the Carmelites of Nivelles.⁸⁸⁴ This seems to correspond to the operations practiced by most workshops, although it was not necessarily the most effective system.

⁸⁸⁰ Javaux 1997: 52.

⁸⁸¹ Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Rekwestboek, No. 208, 1682-1684, f°111v, published by Jansen – Van Herck 1944-1945: 66.

⁸⁸² Ibid.: 253-254.

⁸⁸³ Ibid.: 254.

⁸⁸⁴ Jacobs 1999: 192, 326.

In England, Grinling Gibbons (1648-1721), two generations older than Bayar and Delvaux, became famous for his elaborately carved figurative limewood surrounds to pier glasses, reredoes, domestic and religious panelling. He initially also worked in other woods, notably oak, and achieved extremely similar results. The technique that he developed in his workshop was that of a horizontal delegation of work, enabling him to have several assistants at work on the same piece of carving. Having more assistants work simultaneously allowed him to considerably speed up production.⁸⁸⁵ This practice is well illustrated by the limewood carvings in the library of Trinity College at Cambridge **(637)**.⁸⁸⁶

This is effectively an early form of production line. Unlike the usual results of later industrial forms of production line (Henry Ford's black 'Model T' will surely remain the best exemplar), Gibbons's production line usually allowed him to increase overall inventiveness and quality.

A rare document numbering the workshop of Gibbons, at the time that he was associated to Arnold Quellin (or Artus III Quellinus, 1653-1686), the son of Artus II Quellinus, concerns their sculpted decoration for the Chapel Royal at Whitehall Palace. It stipulates that the workshop should employ at least fifty assistants at the same time to ensure they met the set delivery time.⁸⁸⁷ This type of horizontal delegation of work is hardly imaginable in Antwerpen at the time, even in the largest workshops, nor obviously in a smaller centre like Namur.

It is worth considering the alleged training of Gibbons in Artus I Quellinus's workshop,⁸⁸⁸ as it is sometimes assumed that his workshop processes derived from his training in the Netherlands. Although there is no documentary evidence, the dates make it unlikely (Gibbons was born in 1648, the year the town hall of Amsterdam was started; he reached the age of 17 at its completion date) as does the fact that he spent his youth in Rotterdam and not in Amsterdam.

To compare like with like, we should consider the four wooden escutcheons that Artus I Quellinus produced for the *wisselbank* (exchange bank) of the town hall of Amsterdam **(638, 639)**. The leather-like coats of arms are hung on a drapery in front of which hang two swags of flowers and end in two further suspended bouquets.

⁸⁸⁵ Esterly 1998: 174-187.

⁸⁸⁶ See McKitterick 1995 for the history of this library building.

⁸⁸⁷ Esterly 1998: 176.

⁸⁸⁸ The latest scholar to repeat this supposition was Esterly 1998: 45.

They represent the coats of arms of the four commissioners who ran the exchange bank at the time of the official inauguration of the town hall in 1655: Jacob Bas Dircksz (1609-1656), Hendrick Roeters (1617-1699), Gerrit Reynst (1599-1658) and Pieter Trip (1597-1655). Quellinus was paid for his work in 1656.⁸⁸⁹ The escutcheons originally hung on the semi-circular space above the four doors in the vaulted bank, the only places in the room where a vertical piece of wall allowed it.

The background drapery is made up of several vertical planks of gilt oakwood that are joined together. The cords, tassels and the parts of the swags of flowers that overlap with the drapery are all carved in the thickness of the same planks. A leaf that overlaps the division between the two planks at the far left of the escutcheon to Bas Dircksz is carved out of the left plank, but overlaps the right one. Although the divisions between the wooden planks is today visible (due to shrinkage of the wood), this was originally meant to be hidden, particularly by the gesso under the gilding.

The parts of the swags that carry on outside the background draperies are similarly made up of two planks each of roughly the same width as the others. These again cut right through certain flowers. All this, together with the general bulky effect of the swags that are far from the intricacy and the delicacy of Gibbons's, reveal two essential points.

The first is that the escutcheons were conceived as a whole made up of several planks of wood that interlock in function of the detail of certain decorations. This implies a vertical delegation of work that effectively left one assistant to do everything from blocking out to finish, although the master could still give some finishing touches with the chisel.

The second concerns the general aspect that resembles more that of stone or marble carving. Though the actual carving is technically extremely similar,⁸⁹⁰ the forms of the wood carving do not show use of the full potential of the material. The swags remain compact groups of flowers that might well have been low relief on a stone or marble panel. Admittedly, they are here loose from the background, namely the wall.

⁸⁸⁹ Jonker – Vreeken 1995: cat. 98-101.

⁸⁹⁰ As confirmed orally by the current conservator at St Paul's Cathedral, Hannah Hartwell and also by the marble carving of swags of flowers on Grinling Gibbons's monument to Robert Cotton at Conington, Cambridgeshire that exactly replicates the type and quality of his limewood carvings. See Whinney 1988: 127.

These practices reveal an intimate knowledge of carving in both oak and marble, but for uses that typically do not get rid of the supporting background panels. This is normal practice in virtually all forms of ecclesiastical wood carving in the Southern Netherlands throughout the seventeenth century, whether for pulpits, confessionals or choir stalls. The only exception is generally the communion rail. An example of the latter by the Verbrugghens (640), in the former Jesuit church of Mechelen (now Sint-Pieter en Pauluskerk), shows how there too, vertical delegation of work was engaged in. The thickness of a plank was not deemed sufficient for the elaborate carving of the communion rail, so several were glued together. These, it must be stressed, were glued together before the carving. On this example, where a piece of the outer plank has broken off and disappeared, it reveals how the plank below was carved with it at the same time. Gibbons, on the other hand, would have separated the motifs to be carved out of the two planks and glued or pinned these together on a part of the flat surface that was specially spared down on each of them and only once they were ready.

In the preceding, it has been assumed that the escutcheons were not carved by Artus Quellinus personally, but by an assistant. This is difficult to prove, but the general lack of quality does support it, particularly when compared with a preparatory drawing at the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet of Antwerpen (639).⁸⁹¹ This drawing is the only one that has recently been connected with the Amsterdam town hall and that could be an autograph design by Artus Quellinus. It is certainly inscribed with the same information as that which appears on the Amsterdam city account.⁸⁹² This information is that usually contained in a contract, although it does not include details of delivery date, materials or pricing. It was probably a drawn addition to an earlier contract, that had to be approved separately. Even though we cannot compare its style with that of any other drawing by Artus Quellinus as none is known, it is lively and playful with the constituent decorative elements. The flowers are here much less constrained by the outline of the plank of wood, but the most remarkable element is the shading giving depth within the composition and

⁸⁹¹ Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.

⁸⁹² Antwerpen 2000a: 41; Vlaardingerbroek 2004: 89. The drawing is inscribed: “geresolveert int heeren/ borgemeesters kamer den/ 19 Januari 1656” and below “Saten aldoen present de heer graaf/ ende heer spigel”, who were the two burgomasters in charge. Among other work, Artus Quellinus was paid 168 guilders on 27 August 1656 for carving the escutcheons of the commissioners of the exchange bank on the instruction of the burgomasters De Graeff and Spiegel.

contrasting it with the flat background of the wall. However, the shading is idealised as lighting does not come from a specific angle, nor does it relate to lighting conditions in the exchange bank office. Its generic aspect is also noticeable in the absence of a specific coat of arms. This space is left blank. Moreover, on close comparison between the flower swags of the carved escutcheons – which are all different – the drawing appears not to correspond to any one in detail. This may underline the contractual element (did the executant(s) ever see this drawing?). It may also imply that the carvers kept autonomy as to the detail of the execution, unless Quellinus supplied them with other very precise drawings that have not survived. A competent carver however did not need any more help than that apparent on the contract drawing of which a tracing would have sufficed, as it only concerned a largely two-dimensional work. In any case, the difference between the eight pairs of swags strongly suggests vertical delegation of production within Quellinus's workshop.

These production processes correspond remarkably to those of Rubens, which can *grosso modo* be summarised as follows: the sketch models are autograph paintings by the master, which are then enlarged by pupils; the master only retouches the necessary parts of the finished paintings before delivery to the patron. This synthetic view necessarily stereotypes the process, but it does show how little the master was physically involved in the execution.⁸⁹³ This was of course what most masters aspired to, either through the example of Rubens, or through his own models Frans Floris for painting and Cornelis Floris for sculpture. Frans Floris had several dozen assistants over the course of his career.⁸⁹⁴ Seventeenth-century Flemish sculptors might also have known about the example of Bernini co-ordinating a large workshop, particularly through François du Quesnoy and Artus I Quellinus concerning the *Baldacchino* and the crossing of the papal basilica of S. Pietro.

What then was the size of sculptors' workshops in the Southern Netherlands? Boreux, once again, is specific, although his number must be taken with a grain of salt, as his text is self-laudatory. When speaking about his father, he says: "Le nombre de ses ouvriers des deux sexes étoit de 30 à 40".⁸⁹⁵ Interestingly, his comment includes workers of both sexes, which does not correspond to the

⁸⁹³ Most recently Balis 2007.

⁸⁹⁴ See Van de Velde 1975: 99-119.

⁸⁹⁵ Javaux 1997: 44.

situation of other sculptors' workshops, where extremely few women are recorded to have been registered as apprentices. This is directly related to the fact that Hubert Joseph II Boreux was not only a sculptor but also a marble worker and a marble merchant, exploiting a quarry of black marble at Dinant. He gradually bought all the shares in this quarry, making him the owner of the largest in town. At the time of his son's estimation, however, he was only owner of one quarter of the quarry.⁸⁹⁶ If this figure is moderated to about 20 employees, a certain proportion of them will have been women, probably active in the polishing. a few actively quarrying, some sawing marble and finally some carving ornaments. Each activity may have accounted for four or five jobs. It should also be noted that Boreux speaks about the 'workpeople' of his father, but not about assistants or apprentices.

For Antwerpen, we can quite accurately reconstruct the number of apprentices in sculptors' workshops, as the *Liggeren*, the ledgers of the guild of St Luke, survive. Apprentices were registered with the guild, to which the master had to pay a fee. They normally served their master for four years in return for which they obtained training from him. Although there will inevitably have been a number of assistants who were not registered properly to avoid the payment, particularly for borderline cases such as apprentices who came from other workshops, it does seem that most master sculptors normally registered their apprentices. This also gave them the assurance that the apprentice would stay during the four-year term. Masters could expect compensation if the apprentice quitted early, as is attested by the case of Jan Peter II van Bourscheit.⁸⁹⁷

From the *Liggeren* it appears that Willem Kerricx had the largest number of apprentices over his career, between 1678 and 1719: 27.⁸⁹⁸ If we assume that they all served for four years, this implies that on average he had just over 2.5 apprentices working for him.

This number of course represents insufficient labour to execute all the large-scale projects that sculptors like Kerricx were involved in producing. Moreover, for a number of tasks, apprentices would not have been capable of executing them at the start of their training. We therefore have to turn to two other types of employees to

⁸⁹⁶ Javaux 1997: 48.

⁸⁹⁷ Jansen – Van Herck 1942: 32.

⁸⁹⁸ Jansen – Van Herck 1941: 52.

complete the picture: “gesellen” and unschooled workers, neither of which appear in the *Liggeren* of the guild,⁸⁹⁹ so their numbers cannot properly be estimated.

“Gesellen”, literally companion of the master, that is journeymen, are members of the guild and have fulfilled the requirements (that is tests) to fully exercise their profession, but they have not established their own workshop, nor paid their masters fee to the guild. Etienne Scholliers has noted that for all guilds in Antwerpen in the seventeenth century the strict enforcement of the medieval guild rules slackened and the difference between *free* (i.e. “gesellen”) and *unfree* assistants started to become less clear-cut. The market effectively started to become more open. This can be gauged from the terminology used to describe journeymen: *gesellen* up to the sixteenth century, gradually replaced from the seventeenth century by the terms *knecht* (servant) or *gast* (guest).⁹⁰⁰

As has been noted above, Cornelis Floris was famed for his large-scale and scrupulous workshop organisation. In a letter of 1553, he speaks about his difficulties in what today we would call ‘human resource management’. Cornelis Floris complained about the unreliability of his “gesellen: one becomes ill, the other disappears, etc.”⁹⁰¹ Two and a half centuries later, we hear the same comment by Jacques Joseph Boreux, on taking on his father’s business:

Je ne voulus plus de maîtres ouvriers, parce que depuis quelques années j’avois souvent remarqué plusieurs abus qui en résultoit. Je fis tout moi-même: faire les dessins des ouvrages qu’on désiroit; faire le calcul de leur valeur, les voyages pour les entreprises et pour la pose des ouvrages faits; écrire toutes les lettres du commerce; tenir compte de tout ce que les ouvrages coûtoient jusque dans les moindre détail; tracer les ouvrages en grand, découper les moules, modler en terre ou en cire tous les ornemens, diriger et surveiller l’exploitation de la carrière de marbre noir. Voilà quel étoit mes occupations comme maître proprement dit.⁹⁰²

This quotation clearly indicates that his “gesellen” or “maîtres ouvriers” or journeymen were proficient in all the tasks the profession entailed. On the other hand, when Boreux wrote about himself: “Je dû aussi me perfectionner dans l’art de modeler en terre et en cire, pour pouvoir faire les models d’ornemens que nos

⁸⁹⁹ Rombouts – Van Leries 1872-1874.

⁹⁰⁰ Scholliers 1989: 155.

⁹⁰¹ “Deen wordt ziek, dander ghaet loopen en soe voerts”. Quoted in Huysmans 1996: 245.

⁹⁰² Javaux 1997: 55.

ouvriers devoit exécuter en marbre”,⁹⁰³ it is clear journeymen and the master prepared vital parts of the job, which ‘workpeople’ were not able to do. In this the wish of the master to distance himself from manual labour, that implies a higher social status, can become reality, at least in the larger workshops.

A few documents use the term “meesterknecht”. This probably means that the “knecht” (servant) obtained his mastership with the guild test, but without establishing himself as an independent master. Alternatively, it might refer instead to an intermediary position between the journeymen and the master. The term remains unclear. An example is the “meesterknecht” of a Martinus van den Eynde⁹⁰⁴ from Antwerpen, who went to Sint-Niklaas to repair and clean the high altarpiece of the town’s main church.⁹⁰⁵

It remains frustratingly difficult to estimate the number of members of any sculptor’s workshop in Antwerpen. Nevertheless it may be assumed that they are far lower than those in the highly organised and large-scale ‘factories’ in the textile proto-industries,⁹⁰⁶ particularly those of tapestry weaving.

Family relations, networks and collaborations between workshops

The institutional situation did not take account of the regular, but probably not constant, need for large numbers of workshop assistants to carry out substantial projects like high altarpieces. Instead of having to hire and fire journeymen by the day as required by the available work at any one time, the studios remained relatively small but associated themselves in tackling the larger projects as well as several projects at the same time. This seems to have been an important motive for master sculptors to collaborate, as they collaborated on numerous occasions and in the most diverse types of situations.

Collaboration initially occurred in a relatively loose structure within families, some of which grew into big dynasties of sculptors and other artists, by continuously intermarrying and encouraging the sons to take up an apprenticeship in sculpture or a related field (and preferably another to take the vow, to have a foot in the door of church patronage).⁹⁰⁷ This enabled a workshop to handle large-scale projects as

⁹⁰³ Javaux 1997: 54.

⁹⁰⁴ Possibly a family member of the other Van den Eyndes. He does not appear in Thieme – Becker 1907-1950, nor in its update by Saur.

⁹⁰⁵ Van Riet 1996a: 166.

⁹⁰⁶ Cf. Thijs 1987.

⁹⁰⁷ E.g. sculptors’ sons who took the vows.

delegation of work and did not need formal sub-contracting. This happened within the family, thereby increasing trustworthiness and reliability. Sculptors' dynasties are highly conspicuous in Flanders therefore all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Another obvious advantage of collaboration within a family, but with different disciplines, for instance the sculptor Artus I and his painter brother Erasmus Quellinus on an altarpiece in the Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen (mentioned in chapter 1),⁹⁰⁸ is that once you have obtained a patron, the whole 'family firm' can benefit from an enlarged order. A good example of continuity is with the De Nole family, who had been sculptors since the fifteenth century, established first at Cambrai, then at Utrecht. They had developed a strong family tradition for collaboration between family members.⁹⁰⁹ As such they could better face the competition of Hans van Mildert (a good friend and possibly therefore a protégé of Rubens), the Van den Eynde and the Cardon.

Apart from enlarging the production capacity of a workshop, collaboration also implied access to more capital, which was necessary to finance the acquisition of expensive materials when the patrons were not willing to pay for them in advance. Besides the materials, and this is often overlooked by historians, master sculptors also had to pay their employees on a regular basis, even if a patron only paid for the work on completion. This means that for most projects a strong bank balance was imperative.

Some form of specialisation also occurred, although this is often blurred when it involves the materials provided by suppliers. For instance, a project involving collaboration with a smith is unlikely, if we are only speaking about the delivery of nails, or to take a more basic example, of a painter who was to whitewash the wall behind the sculpture. Conversely, the delivery of stone and marble did frequently involve some form of collaboration, in that the sculptor often requested some amount of work to be carried out, such as profiling. Lucas Faydherbe had pieces of black marble delivered from the workshop of a Namur *marbrier*, with all the finished mouldings, for the tomb monument of Jean de Marchin and his wife (646), directly at Modave (a destination closer to Namur than to Mechelen).⁹¹⁰ For that, as for a

⁹⁰⁸ Muller 2000.

⁹⁰⁹ Recorded from the sixteenth century, Casteels 1961: 30.

⁹¹⁰ Lock 2005.

Sedes Sapiensiae altarpiece in the Sint-Pieterskerk of Leuven and a Saint-Joseph altarpiece in the Sint-Katelijnekerk of Mechelen,⁹¹¹ he sent designs to Namur to guide the exact execution. This worked out to be rather inexact and was clearly unsupervised by Faydherbe who probably never returned to Modave for the installation of the tomb.⁹¹²

Similarly, Michiel van der Voort's account book informs us that he and Jan Claudius de Cock, who collaborated on the execution of four statues for the choir screen (after De Cock's models) of the Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen, subcontracted to the *marbrier* François II De Bouge (1669-1745) from Namur (and contemporary of Hubert Joseph I Boreux)⁹¹³ the execution of the choir screen proper (i.e. the work without the figurative sculpture).⁹¹⁴

Faydherbe was also requested to provide the architectural parts of the high altarpiece of the Sint-Martinuskerk at Beveren-Waas, while Adriaan Nijs from nearer-by Temse delivered the sculptural parts (641).⁹¹⁵ As Faydherbe was also an architect-entrepreneur, notably of two churches at Mechelen, speaking about this collaboration as that between sculptors' workshops becomes almost a play on words. This case does, however, underline that there were different competencies and that these were recognised as such by patrons.

In the same way, local craftsmen were often hired for easier work to keep costs down. The dismantling of the old altarpiece to make space for Faydherbe's was done by a local man as was the polishing of the new altarpiece by another.⁹¹⁶

Business-led specialisation, as above, should be distinguished from personal preferences. That a Mattheus van Beveren carved a lot of ivory may be related to his special ability in and inclination towards that material, but he did not specialise in that. His oeuvre also includes large-scale altarpieces. Similarly, Jan Peter van Bauscheit the Younger may have been more prolific at drawing than his father, although the latter was a perfectly capable draughtsman. That the father sometimes executed designs by his son⁹¹⁷ may easily be explained, but this does not mean that

⁹¹¹ Van Riet 1996a: 153.

⁹¹² See also p. 172.

⁹¹³ For De Bouge's other work see most recently Van Belle – Javaux 2006: 167-170.

⁹¹⁴ Tralbaut 1950: 522-523.

⁹¹⁵ Van Riet 1996a: 163.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*: 165n42.

⁹¹⁷ Jansen – Van Herck 1942: 33.

the son engaged in a specialisation, only that the workshop encouraged all the competencies present in a complementary way.

In a few instances, it is certain that a form of collaboration was imposed by the patron, for instance with the design by one sculptor and the execution by another. The patron then got the chance to request several quotes for the execution on the basis of the same design, therefore increasing competition. An example is the quote for the choir screen of the cathedral of Gent, designed by the Valenciennes sculptor Antoine Gillis, for which Hubert Joseph I Boreux submitted a quote that was not chosen.⁹¹⁸

Apart from these types of specialisation, there seems not to have been any structural one between equivalent Antwerpen, Mechelen or Brussels workshops.

For certain types of sculptures, collaboration would have been possible, but in practice never happened: apostle statues on pilars of church naves. Those by Michiel van der Voort at the Sint-Pauluskerk of Antwerpen have already been discussed through his designs for them.⁹¹⁹ He alone was responsible for these. The apostle statues of the cathedral of Mechelen were all replaced in the 1630s by and at the expense of the church by the De Nole (e.g. **754**) and the Van Mildert.⁹²⁰

Most other such series, however, were not commissioned by the church in question but only loosely organised by the churchmasters and paid for by private or public sponsors making some of them into epitaphs with the inscription tablets underneath them. Others, such as the statues of *St Thomas* (**644**) and *St Philip* at the cathedral of Brussels, were respectively paid for by the *Raad van Brabant* and the *Raad van Financiën*, two government bodies.⁹²¹ A number of different sculptors typically were involved in the design and production of these sorts of statues, even though a general framework about the materials and sizes was fixed. Both the styles and the content of the consoles vary considerably so that the statues by Jérôme du Quesnoy (**644**) and Lucas Faydherbe (**645**), have been interpreted as epitomising the classical and baroque strands in Flemish sculpture.⁹²²

⁹¹⁸ Referred to by his grandson, Javaux 1997: 41. See Dhanens 1965: 73 for the full story.

⁹¹⁹ See chapter 2.

⁹²⁰ Cf. Leysens 1942.

⁹²¹ See the list established by the sculptor Philippus de Backer in 1702 on repairing and repainting them. Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, ASG No. 10000, exhibited Brussels 1988: 33.

⁹²² Most recently see Vlieghe 1998: 241-250.

Much the same happened with the pier statues in the Kapellekerk in Brussels and the Begijnhofkerk of Leuven, where there is no unity of approaches or styles.⁹²³ Another type of disunity is that between the three (originally five) statues in the funerary chapel of the Tour et Tassis family in Notre-Dame du Sablon, Brussels, which can only partly be explained by the long gestation and execution process.⁹²⁴

A more frequent collaboration between the different workshops involved in these statues would have yielded greater unity as seen with the Mechelen example, although even there it is not clear how the collaboration happened exactly, as it is the church which made separate contracts with the two workshops and accordingly paid them separately.

Extensive collaboration between the workshops of the Quellinus,⁹²⁵ Verbrugghen,⁹²⁶ Willemsens,⁹²⁷ Kerricx, Van den Eynde⁹²⁸ and Scheemackers in the later seventeenth century in Antwerpen may be the single most important factor in obtaining the remarkable unity of style and approaches that have made disentangling of hands particularly difficult for art historians. One of the early biographers of the Flemish sculpture world, Philippe Baert, librarian to the marquis de Chasteler in the 1770s (the latter incidentally bought the enormous Tour et Tassis palace in Brussels in 1775 and it is probable that Baert, appropriately, wrote part of his manuscript in the palace built for one of the most important patrons of Flemish sculpture),⁹²⁹ wrote to a friend: “Convenez, Monsieur, que les Verbrugg(h)en et les Quellin vous donnent bien de l’occupation; le déchiffrement de leurs ouvrages, au Patris, au Filii, au Nepotis, etc., est une espèce de labyrinthe.”⁹³⁰

⁹²³ De Clercq 1985.

⁹²⁴ See Lock 2007.

⁹²⁵ E.g. the 1640-1670s Artus II Quellinus-Norbertus van den Eynde collaboration (completing the work of Norbertus’s father Huibrecht after his death) on the altar and altar garden of the fencers’ guild in the cathedral of Antwerpen. See Jansen – Van Herck 1944-1945: 64. In 1674, collaboration between them on the high altarpiece of the Sint-Michielskerk, Gent. Ibid.

⁹²⁶ E.g. in case Pieter I Verbrugghen came to die before being able to complete the roodloft of the Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen, the painter Erasmus II Quellinus (who also appears as witness of the contract) is stipulated to take over in the 1654 contract (no doubt in name of his brother Artus I who was at Amsterdam at the time). Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, notaris D. Ketgen 25/9/1654, No. 2294, f°247, published by Persoons 1981: 14-15.

⁹²⁷ E.g. the 1690 Louis Willemsens-Pieter II Verbrugghen collaboration on two statues for the 1678 altarpiece of the Venerabelkapel, Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen. NB. they appear together in the contract, as one party, the other being the church masters. Contract Archief Sint-Jacobskerk, published by Broeckx 1941: 148. Cf. also Antwerpen 2000a: 122.

⁹²⁸ E.g. the 1683-1688 altarpiece dedicated to St Catherine of the *oudekeleerkoopers* guild in the cathedral of Antwerpen by Norbertus van den Eynde and Louis Willemsens. Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris Bertryn 16/1/1682, published by Prims 1938: 313.

⁹²⁹ Regensburg, Schloß St. Emmeram, Fürstliches Zentralarchiv, see Lock 2007.

⁹³⁰ Baert MS II, 95, 23, f° 194, 272.

In one contract, between the church masters of the Sint-Andrieskerk, Antwerpen, and the cabinet maker Jan van Meerbeeck, for the execution of the organ casing, the sculpture is stipulated to be subcontracted to the “sculptors Willemsen Quellinus or Verbrugghen.”⁹³¹ That these three interwoven dynasties are named in one breath, shows how much these sculptors were seen as one company or one brand.

Collaboration between workshops may have had important stylistic consequences as it added a dimension to simply ‘knowing’ a colleagues’ work than merely because they lived and worked in the same city or some prints of their works. If an artist actually produced parts of a whole which some other artist supervised, the contact between the workshop leaders (and probably at all levels of the workshop) was much closer. So-called late sixteenth-century Floris-style sculpture was still prevalent in the early seventeenth century, but not in all cases. Why certain masters moved away from this was mostly not due to a linear progression – with the sculptor gradually defining his own style or adapting to the style of the most successful artists in town. Rather, it was dependent on a wide range of circumstances, the patron’s wishes, the type of sculpture to be realised and the choice of a style which the sculptor thought most appropriate to the particular commission. This can already be ascertained on the basis of the documented collaboration between the different workshops of the Paludanus and De Nole in the early seventeenth century.⁹³² In the later seventeenth century, particularly in Antwerpen, this became even stronger. Then working in a particular style or mode becomes an active choice, rather than being purely dependent on the artist’s personality and inspiration.

Collaboration could be collegial when times were busy, but equally could lead to uneasy situations. Between ups and downs sculptors adapted their situation according to the spirit of the moment. Contracts agreed during happy moments might be at risk when another worked out badly. For instance, Andries de Nole rented a house from Hans van Mildert on the Wapper, opposite Rubens’s. When his father Jan was in conflict with Van Mildert, he was very eager to terminate the

⁹³¹ Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris A.F. van der Donck 3805 (29/7/1675), f°264bis-265, published by Duverger 1984-2004: 10/67-68.

⁹³² For instance Raphaël Paludanus, the son of the more famous Willem Paludanus, worked together with Jan de Nole: Casteels 1961: 42.

contract for the house.⁹³³ In another case Robrecht de Nole resorted to physical violence.⁹³⁴

This was possibly also the the unfortunate origin of the partnership formed by the former journeymen to Andries de Nole, Jacques Couplet and Sebastiaen de Neve, formed in order to rent the De Nole workshop from their deceased master's widow. This very quickly ended in conflict.⁹³⁵

Although most sculptors used the formal way of guaranteeing maximum legal security for contracts by going to a lawyer (“notaris”/“notaire”), formal subcontracting between sculptors seems to have occurred relatively infrequently. An example may be the three recorded works that Rombout Verhulst produced in the Amsterdam town hall hall of which he signed one and two others that are initialled in Hubertus Quellinus's publication. The wording that the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin used in his diary, kept during his travels in Europe, is indeed noteworthy: “die marmorne arbeit [of the town hall], wie auch die 6 grosse bronzerne figuren aussen auf den frontespicen, seijndt alle unter sehl. Qvellins conduite aussgeföhret.”⁹³⁶ And about Rombout Verhulst: “Er hat auch ein hauffen werck an Amsterdams rathauss gemacht.”⁹³⁷ Thus Artus I Quellinus allowed Verhulst to officially acknowledge at least some of his works, works that were possibly subcontracted via a formal contract.

All the other sculptors who helped Quellinus in Amsterdam are not formally recorded, only assumed from numerous speculative accounts and publications.⁹³⁸ One of them is Louis Willemsens (1630-1702), who is surmised to have helped Quellinus in Amsterdam and delayed getting his mastership with the guild of St Luke in Antwerpen in 1661-1662 because he worked as a journeyman in Quellinus's service. It may indeed be through Quellinus that the commission of several altars for the Dom in Paderborn was received and then executed by Willemsens in 1655-1661.⁹³⁹ This precisely corresponds to a slack period in the building and decorating history of the Amsterdam town hall for Quellinus had many patrons in northern

⁹³³ Casteels 1961: 40.

⁹³⁴ Casteels 1961: doc. 211.

⁹³⁵ Casteels 1961: 135-136.

⁹³⁶ Tessin 2002: 142.

⁹³⁷ Tessin 2002: 148.

⁹³⁸ See Vlaardingerbroek 2004: 77-82. The initials *AQ* on the relief of *Jupiter* remain an enigma: do they refer to Artus I or his cousin Artus II Quellinus?

⁹³⁹ Broeckx 1941.

Germany (at Schleswig, (802), Berlin, (643), etc.). Then, on Willemsens's return in Antwerpen, he registered at the guild.

The latter practice, whether informally with a journeyman or just as informally with a master sculptor, will have occurred on numerous occasions in Antwerpen when a particular workshop received a commission but could not execute it in time due to insufficient workshop capacity. The explanation that Pieter Scheemaeckers is someone who specialised in the design of sculpture without wanting to execute them might simply be an exaggerated extrapolation.⁹⁴⁰ Instead, capacity management may have forced him to hand over work to a trusted colleague, possibly even in exchange for something else. An example of a design by Scheemaeckers executed by someone else is the 1693 altarpiece for the smiths' guild in the cathedral of Antwerpen. Scheemaeckers handed it over to Norbertus van den Eynde, who in turn handed it over to Artus II Quellinus and Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen.⁹⁴¹ The same situation may have been the reason why forty years earlier Servaes or Johannes Cardon designed the roodloft of the Sint-Pauluskerk but did not wish to undertake its execution.⁹⁴²

Not infrequently a contract was divided in two or three and the patron made individual contracts directly with the masters. That form of collaboration has already been mentioned between Jan Claudius de Cock and Michiel van der Voort (who subcontracted some work further to François II De Bouge) on the choir screen of the Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen.⁹⁴³

Finally, it should be noted that it is not clear when outsourcing to a *praticien* started for the execution of stone and marble sculpture. In the nineteenth century, Louis Royer rarely realised any stone sculpture himself, shipping his full-size plaster models from Amsterdam to Jean Joseph Rousseaux in Antwerpen. In the case of the statue of the sixteenth-century Mechelen painter *Michiel Coxie* for the city of Mechelen, Royer never saw the stone version!⁹⁴⁴

⁹⁴⁰ E.g. Brussels 1977: 181.

⁹⁴¹ Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris J. van Waerbeeck, 25/8/1693, published by Jansen 1938: 106.

⁹⁴² *Monsieur Cardon* [either of the brothers Servaes or Joannes] is gratified for the *modelle* with a silvergilt dish worth 45 guilders. Antwerpen, Archief Sint-Pauluskerk, accounts of 1654-1656, published by Persoons 1981: 15.

⁹⁴³ Tralbaut 1950: 522-523.

⁹⁴⁴ Langendijk in Amsterdam 1994: 44-45

The role of women

H[err]: Willemsen [...] hat keine kinder, sondern ein weib dass braf von seiner arbeit plaudern kann.⁹⁴⁵

This is what the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin wrote in his diary during his travelling in Europe. It not only stresses the importance of establishing a dynasty for the business, but also shows how much the wives of sculptors were part of the enterprise. Jacques Joseph Boreux summarised the role of his mother in his father's business as follows:

C'étoit ma mère qui étoit dépositaire de tous les argents de la maison et du commerce. C'étoit elle qui payoit les ouvriers, les voituriers, les bateliers, qui faisoit le payement des marbres, plâtres, bois et généralement toutes les dépenses du commerce et du ménage. Elle avoit dans sa garderobe à la cuisine un espèce de registre, composé de quelques mains de papier cousus ensemble, sur lequel elle marquoit tout ce qu'elle dépensoit, tant pour le commerce que pour le ménage, jour par jour, jusqu'à 2 liards de lait ou 2 liard de poivre, etc. De tems en tems, et particulièrement à la fin de chaque ouvrage et surtout à la fin de l'année, mon père faisoit les diverses aditions des payemens marqués sur le registre, d'abord en général, puis en particulier pour les dépenses du ménage, celles du commerce, des fraix extraordinaires, etc., puis faisoit la balance de ce qui avoit été reçu, gagné et déboursé.⁹⁴⁶

The role of women is further confirmed by Boreux's notes about his sisters going to get a payment at Gent⁹⁴⁷ and at Tournai.⁹⁴⁸

Bayar obviously kept his own books, as they are all in his handwriting, but other sculptors also obtained the help of their wife for the financial side of the business, for instance Michiel van der Voort⁹⁴⁹ and Hendrik-Frans Verbrugghen.⁹⁵⁰ The surviving correspondence about the tomb monument to Hans Schack in København allows us to see the role of the wives of Artus II Quellinus and his son Thomas Quellinus. They were managers behind the scenes, writing letters to negotiate contracts on behalf of their husbands.⁹⁵¹

⁹⁴⁵ Tessin 2002: 150.

⁹⁴⁶ Javaux 1997: 46.

⁹⁴⁷ Javaux 1997: 57.

⁹⁴⁸ Javaux 1997: 58.

⁹⁴⁹ His wife accepts a payment: Tralbaut 1950: 528.

⁹⁵⁰ His wife and his daughter-in-law accept payments: Van Ypersele 2002: 14.

⁹⁵¹ Thorlacius-Ussing 1926: 147-150; Gorissen 1947-1948.

The commercial flair of a husband who was a sculptor and his wife may be observed with Thomas Quellinus's wife who opened a shop for the sale of Flemish lace in København.⁹⁵²

Lower down the social and business scale – and at workshop level – women were involved in the more repetitive and relatively less forceful tasks of the business, for instance in the polishing of marble.⁹⁵³ Whether this was principally to do with architectural commissions or also with figurative sculpture is not known.

The only known sculptress, who seemed to have been fully registered with the guild at Mechelen, was Maria Faydherbe, an aunt of Lucas Faydherbe (1587-1643). Unlike the numerous amateur draughtswomen **(147)** and the occasional paintresses and women print-makers, Maria Faydherbe was an exception in an all-male 'world of hard business, physical strength and workshop filth'. Her complete biography is based on just one signed work **(642)**⁹⁵⁴ and on the information contained in the proceedings of a court case, showing her professional strength and determination as much as her artistic inspiration.⁹⁵⁵

After an investigation into the complex business practices of sculptors realising works in a number of materials and on all scales, the context needs to be broadened to include the difficult subject of collaboration between sculptors and artists of other disciplines.

⁹⁵² Thorlacius-Ussing 1926: 183.

⁹⁵³ Slinger – Janse – Barends 1980: 53.

⁹⁵⁴ Private collection. Antwerpen 1999: 144.

⁹⁵⁵ Jansen 1988-1989.

Chapter 5:

Collaboration with painters, architects and cabinet-makers

The collaboration between different professions needs a thorough analysis, as the reasons for it and its effects are not dissociable from deeply-rooted social and economic relations within a city and cannot simply be explained in terms of who did what.

The use of another designer's ideas (in print or otherwise) to design sculpture has been discussed above⁹⁵⁶ as much as the relationships of sculptors between themselves.⁹⁵⁷ This chapter intends to look at relationships in which established artists engaged for the production of sculpture. A rich variety of cases may be distinguished: some are only known from a brief mention, others possess quite complex histories. These all stress how much collaboration was prevalent at every level of sculptural production and in a vast number of cases.

In many respects, this parallels the frequent horizontal collaboration by Antwerpen painters in the seventeenth-century, working for the market; for instance, a landscape painter delivered his work to a figure painter who added the *staffage*, before selling it on to a dealer.⁹⁵⁸ The fact that painters often delivered designs to sculptors however cannot be explained by a so-called 'prime position' of painters in Antwerpen as compared with other artists. This is an explanation more acceptable in the nineteenth century that takes no account of the social and commercial aspects of seventeenth-century artistic life. Moreover, painters in many other parts of the Low Countries⁹⁵⁹ and across Europe similarly designed sculpture.

This chapter is not an attempt to catalogue all the recorded cases. Instead, a number of case studies of varying length will highlight the variety and complexity of human interaction between workshops in sculptural production. The tensions these relationships create in terms of a sculpture's conception, style, iconography, physical make-up and contemporary reception will be exemplified.

⁹⁵⁶ Chapter 2, pp. 83.

⁹⁵⁷ Chapter 4, pp. 192.

⁹⁵⁸ Cf. Filipczak 1987; Van der Stighelen 1989; Van der Stighelen 1990; Brussels 2004b.

⁹⁵⁹ Neurdenburg 1948 : 268 and n722 discusses the painters Romeyn de Hooghe and F. Decker in the Northern Netherlands.

This sort of investigation is fraught with difficulties. In the first place, the art historian's natural incentive to classify different types of artists runs counter to the realities of activities of professions such as those of architect, painter, sculptor, designer, etc. These professions were not officially recognised at the time and were therefore fluid. Nevertheless, for the sake of clarity, these terms will be used, albeit with their function in mind, rather than present day legal specificities. The differing attitudes of these professions to the design and production of sculpture will be an important aspect of the analyses.

Painters

The collaboration of sculptors and painters in the production of sculpture has a long history with some well-known episodes by 'Early Netherlandish' painters (Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden and especially the Master of Flemalle)⁹⁶⁰ and in the next century with the Floris brothers Frans, Cornelis and Hans, respectively painter, sculptor and ceramicist.⁹⁶¹

When Rubens designed architecture, sculpture, silverware⁹⁶² and more, he continued a Netherlandish tradition while at the same time taking on the attitude of a court painter responsible for all the design to be carried out for a particular patron (the *peintre inventeur*).⁹⁶³ His design for sculpture was often also a direct continuation of his own work in painting. Like renaissance predecessors such as Albrecht Dürer (701), Rubens designed the frame for a number of altarpieces, even for far-away churches where he would never see the result, such as at Freisingen (702).⁹⁶⁴ This sometimes happened on the same oil sketch, as for instance *The Glorification of the Eucharist* (703),⁹⁶⁵ as well as on an oil sketch for a painting probably to be included in an epitaph,⁹⁶⁶ *Christ on the Cross surrounded by the Virgin, St John, St Francis and Apostles* (704).⁹⁶⁷

The first of these two projects does not survive in its final form and the second was probably never executed. An altarpiece for the Kapellekerk in Brussels, instead,

⁹⁶⁰ Panofsky 1971: 162.

⁹⁶¹ Van de Velde 1975; Huysmans 1996; Dumortier 2002: 51.

⁹⁶² See Allard 2001.

⁹⁶³ For instance Hans Holbein the Elder and the Younger designed silverware, jewellery, a chimney piece, etc. See Foister 2006: 21, 74-79, 82-91.

⁹⁶⁴ Weber 1985.

⁹⁶⁵ New York, Metropolitan Museum.

⁹⁶⁶ Freedberg 1985: 56-57.

survives in the nineteenth-century church of Sint-Joost-ten-Node in Brussels, although the original altarpiece painting by Rubens was sold after 1700 and replaced by a copy.⁹⁶⁸ Rubens provided a design for the marble sculptural surround,⁹⁶⁹ which was ordered from Hans van Mildert in 1618. Rubens's fame was obviously not foreign to the commission and it was no doubt he who called in his friend Hans van Mildert to do the sculpture. Nevertheless, Rubens did want to keep control over the final product, so he supplied the sculptor with the design, most probably drawn on paper or sketched in oil.

It is clear, however, that Rubens's prestige and status, both on an artistic and a commercial level, determined the influence he had in projects with a Hans van Mildert, no doubt making at least some of the collaboration hierarchical. The relationship between Jan Boeckhorst or Abraham van Diepenbeeck with Mattheus van Beveren will have been on the same level, as is attested by the sour court case that ended Boeckhorst's and Van Beveren's friendship near the end of Boeckhorst's life.⁹⁷⁰ The drawings made by Boeckhorst were part of frequent commercial and friendly exchanges, the last being of plaster casts by Van Beveren. As in many painter-sculptor collaborations, in the Low Countries as much as in Roma,⁹⁷¹ they were privileged relationships established over many years.

The request by a sculptor to a painter or architect to deliver him a drawn design does not necessarily constitute the proof that that sculptor is not a proficient draughtsman, nor that he has less ability in sculpting. A good example is given with the drawing attributed to Hans van Mildert for the western enclosed porch of the cathedral of Antwerpen (705).⁹⁷²

Willemsens had a relatively rudimentary drawing style. But that may not be sufficient reason for linking that to Nicodemus Tessin's comment about his character ("ist ein sehr modester man, der sich selbst nicht kent")⁹⁷³ or to his

⁹⁶⁷ New York, with Richard L. Feigen & Co in 2006.

⁹⁶⁸ Baudouin 1972: 80; Becker 1990: 65.

⁹⁶⁹ "Erigitur in choro altare marmorum juxta prototypam Rubeniam, in quo exponitur Assumpta Virgo depicta a praefato famoso pictore." Quoted without reference by Leyssens 1941: 117.

⁹⁷⁰ See Antwerpen-Münster 1990: 21.

⁹⁷¹ E.g. Pietro da Cortona and Cosimo Fancelli, see Montagu 1989: 78.

⁹⁷² Brussels, Royal Library, inv. SIII.22002; Grieten 1993: 271.

⁹⁷³ Tessin 2002: 150.

excellence in modelling (“[after Artus II Quellinus] der beste, undt sonderlich in modellen”).⁹⁷⁴

With Mattheus van Beveren on the other hand we may not only surmise a lack of self-confidence in the design of large structures but also a lack of competent draughtmanship. He preferred to order designs from either Abraham van Diepenbeeck or Jan Boeckhorst. Interestingly too, Boeckhorst designed him a lay figure,⁹⁷⁵ which suggests that Van Beveren was not confident in conceiving the human figure without help, irrespective of whether this lay figure was for himself or, less likely, an order from a client. Van Beveren is the only one whose contracts sometimes refer to a “geboutsseerde modelle” (clay/terracotta model) instead of a drawn design,⁹⁷⁶ despite this, his sculptures are well proportioned and executed.

As a consequence, and despite the widespread practice of collaboration, only few painters provided designs to sculptors. Similarly only a few painters delivered designs for tapestries (e.g. Rubens, Jordaens, Van Diepenbeeck), stained glass (e.g. Van Diepenbeeck) and silver (e.g. Rubens, Van Diepenbeeck).⁹⁷⁷

Of the ‘trilogy’ of famous Antwerpen painters, only Rubens designed sculpture. Anthony van Dyck seemed to have no inclination for or interest in sculpture. Amongst his surviving drawn oeuvre, only one vague and depthless drawing relates to an architectural detail of the garden porch of Rubens’s house.⁹⁷⁸ Van Dyck’s interest in sculpture is limited to the portraits in the *Iconography*, amongst whom three contemporary sculptors, Hubert van den Eynde, Hans van Mildert and Andries de Nole **(706-708)**.

After his conversion to Protestantism Jacob Jordaens seems to have been at least as negative about sculpture, although he did continue to paint religious subjects **(635)**.⁹⁷⁹ Before that, he also painted a sculptor’s portrait,⁹⁸⁰ but more importantly his interest is demonstrated by drawings after antique sculpture,⁹⁸¹ contemporary

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁵ Antwerpen-Münster 1990: 21.

⁹⁷⁶ E.g. for the pulpit of the main church at Dendermonde. Dendermonde, archief van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, *Acta capitularia eccl. B.M.V. Teneraemund.* III f°181v, published by Blomme 1902: 241-242.

⁹⁷⁷ E.g. for silver salvers, Saint Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. 2787, see Antwerpen 2000a: 74; Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH 507, see Antwerpen 2000a: 75; Sotheby’s Amsterdam 18 April 1977 lot 59;

⁹⁷⁸ Vey 1962: 120, where Vey also references one recorded drawing in a probate inventory after the same porch.

⁹⁷⁹ Tümpel 1993.

⁹⁸⁰ Angers, Musée des Beaux-Arts of Angers, sculptor unidentified, Anwerpen 1993: 242.

⁹⁸¹ Cf. his drawings after antique sculpture, e.g. D’Hulst 1974: cat. A27v, B12.

sculpture (a drawing after the ivory *Mercury* attributed to Artus I Quellinus, (709))⁹⁸² and by his extensive use of architectural and sculptural decoration for the scenes in his tapestries and wall decorations.⁹⁸³ Furthermore he designed his own house, richly adorned with architectural sculpture.⁹⁸⁴ Despite Jordaens's involvement with his own house and despite his interest in three-dimensionality in his painted oeuvre, only one drawing might tentatively be connected with a real sculpture: a design for a group of three angels holding a crown above them and standing on a pedestal lit by two candelabra-bearing angels (710).⁹⁸⁵ This might be a design for a sculpture in the same tradition as the many exhibition thrones for the Holy Host or of a devotional statuette. However, on close inspection, a sculptor would have to make some important changes. The middle of the three angels apparently holds the back of the crown, while its feet are in line with the two other angels. This would obviously not work in three dimensions. The 'floor' of the base on which the angels stand is shown in perspective, a perspective that suggests far greater depth than can be accommodated by the feet on the base. Here we see that designing sculpture is not only a matter of suggesting a third dimension; the whole object must have a physical coherence that is not may be noted in a drawing for an exhibition throne by Cornelis Schut (711),⁹⁸⁶ as well in a drawing by Anthonis Sallaert in the *Promptuarium Pictorum* (712),⁹⁸⁷ in which the scrolls could not possibly be carved, not even in wood.

Sallaert also designed an altarpiece that was supposed to be a temporary altarpiece erected for the fiftieth anniversary of the 1585 reconquest by Farnese of Antwerpen in the Holy Sacrament chapel of the cathedral of Brussels (713).⁹⁸⁸ The oil sketch shows a type of altarpiece that is so unusual, with eight statues standing on small consoles against two columns, that one can indeed question the execution of this project, although on a purely technical level it was feasible, for there are no parts that would be too heavy for the main structure. The oil sketch apparently remained as a design, unless it concerns a painted *ricordo* of the altarpiece. The later temporary altarpiece, probably produced for the 1670 or the 1685 commemorations and re-

⁹⁸² E.g. D'Hulst 1974: cat. A53.

⁹⁸³ E.g. D'Hulst 1974: cat. A85, A86, A91, A106, A108, A175r, A172, A176, A194, A286, B21r, B29.

⁹⁸⁴ Tijss 1983: 261-355. The drawing of a "Façade with an open door" might well be a design connected with his house; illustrated in D'Hulst 1974: cat. A177.

⁹⁸⁵ D'Hulst 1974: cat. A116.

⁹⁸⁶ Moscow, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. See Sadkov 2001: 284.

⁹⁸⁷ Heverlee, Archief der Vlaamse Jezüieten, *Promptuarium Pictorum* 1/20.

⁹⁸⁸ Brussels, with the Galerie d'Arenberg, 1993. See Coekelberghs 1993: 27-30.

erected every year in front of the roodloft, as seen on the engraving of 1770 commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the Miracle of the Holy Sacrament, was not sold at the French Revolution as is usually assumed, but in 1815 when 'Belgium' became part of the kingdom of the Netherlands (714).⁹⁸⁹

Unlike Jordaens, Schut and Sallaert, Abraham van Diepenbeeck got to know how to adapt his thinking to three-dimensions by frequently designing works in other media. Apart from an exhibition throne (715),⁹⁹⁰ a design for a tomb monument to the Van den Broeck family, c.1660 (716)⁹⁹¹ and a *Maria Lactans with the Christ Child in an architectural niche* (717) may be added.⁹⁹² Like Rubens, Van Diepenbeeck also tried to design architectural frames together with his altarpieces. An example is the oil sketch of an unidentified saint surveying works of art while the city burns in the background (718).⁹⁹³ Another painter from the circle of Rubens, Theodoor van Thulden (1606-1669) similarly conceived architectural frames around his altarpieces (e.g. (719)).⁹⁹⁴

Van Diepenbeeck's best documented example is the so-called *Engelenpoort* now at the Stedelijk Museum of Tienen. It comes from the former Augustinian convent at Tienen,⁹⁹⁵ where it most probably closed the roodloft. Many roodlofts had three arches, the outer ones filled with altarpieces, the middle one with an *ajour* porch, for which the *Engelenpoort* had an appropriate Augustinian iconography. Two virtually identical drawn designs are known for it, both by Abraham van Diepenbeeck (720, 721).⁹⁹⁶ Mattheus van Beveren produced the monumental oak doors after his design. But before doing so, he modelled at least one bozzetto of part of the doors (722, 723).

⁹⁸⁹ The sale is recorded on an eighteenth-century engraving by J. Vandermeulen inscribed "Designed by PP Rubens [which is wrong!] it was carved in oak and richly gilt. I saw it in the church in 1815. it was brought to London and sold by auction in pieces. W[illiam] G[ibbs] R[ogers]". London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. E1716.1979.

⁹⁹⁰ Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH113; Antwerpen 2000a: 72.

⁹⁹¹ Sold London (Parsons) 1923, lot 184 (exact date not recorded on Conway Library card) from the Schafer collection, recently bought by the Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv. RF43644.

⁹⁹² Private collection.

⁹⁹³ London, with Derek Johns Ltd, 2001.

⁹⁹⁴ *Christ appearing to St Anthony Abbot*, Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, inv. 587. See 's-Hertogenbosch – Strasbourg 1992: 173.

⁹⁹⁵ Tienen 1985: 362.

⁹⁹⁶ Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH310 and Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 1411. See Antwerpen 2000a: 68-69.

Van Diepenbeeck designed the porch using engravings by Schelte à Bolswert on episodes of the life of St Augustine for the lower panels,⁹⁹⁷ themselves ‘reproductions’ of somebody else’s design (the designer of these prints is not named).⁹⁹⁸ For the upper part, Van Diepenbeeck seems to have reworked a composition that he had devised previously (724),⁹⁹⁹ for the upper part of the painting *The Consecration of the Blessed Waltmann by St Norbert*, now in the Sint-Fredegunduskerk, Deurne. This composition was in part based on sketches he had made at Fontainebleau after stuccoes designed by Primaticcio.¹⁰⁰⁰ This allowed him to put together a meaningful arrangement of standing, sitting and flying angels, one of them holding the all-important abbatial mitre.¹⁰⁰¹ Much in the same way as the two drawings by Van Diepenbeeck mentioned in chapter 2,¹⁰⁰² he enlarged the drawing in order to work out the effects of depth and shading on the different sculptural parts. The two low reliefs, on the other hand, are not noticeably different in handling.

In turn Van Beveren interprets the drawing to add the third dimension. Then the carving in oak adds not only the structural parts (making the object into a porch) but also bringing it to the desired height of 3.38m.

The sketchy drawing presents elements, for instance the staff, which are a little improbable for execution in sculpture. The terracotta bozzetto, in adding the third dimension, refines the composition, linking those elements that touch. Note also that the bozzetto is purely concerned with the figural compositions, not about the decorative borders. Both the sculptor and his assistants needed this intermediary step for the most intricate parts of the doors in order to work out all the specifics of the design.

This sort of collaboration is often thought uninteresting from an artistic point of view as the producer of the final product is ‘merely’ reproducing the design provided by the painter. However, this process should be seen as one whereby every stage

⁹⁹⁷ Wamelius 1624.

⁹⁹⁸ Hollstein nd.: 3/81.

⁹⁹⁹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. 123**. Wood 1990: 47n59 dismisses it as a study for Van Diepenbeeck’s altarpiece *The Consecration of the Blessed Waltmann by St Norbert*, on the unconvincing account that the drawing is for nude putti, while the altarpiece has them slightly draped. The preparatory oil sketch (Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts), though, has exactly the same nudity. See also Steadman 1982: 89-90, 172n7 who dismisses it as a copy for being too *detailed and carefully worked*. He had clearly not seen Van Diepenbeeck’s two-stage drawing practice (212-213, 721-722)

¹⁰⁰⁰ Wood 1990: 14.

¹⁰⁰¹ The door was executed for the Augustinians of Tienen.

¹⁰⁰² See p. 76.

gives an addition in value. This is an approach taken in nearly all economic activity today and it is, as such, paradigmatic of much art production of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Of Jan Boeckhorst, the other frequent collaborator of Mattheus van Beveren, fewer sheets survive. We know from the legal problems he had at the end of his life, that Boeckhorst had designed a number of different sculptures for Van Beveren: a lay figure, a porch for the cathedral of Antwerpen, something which sounds like an exhibition throne, for the same cathedral, two angels and a confessional.¹⁰⁰³

A design by Boeckhorst that is particularly suggestive as to the sculptural qualities of the figures is for an epitaph with a statue of a seated *Virgin of Sorrows* and two putti (725).¹⁰⁰⁴ Although the execution of this epitaph is not known to have been made, it should be compared to the remarkably similar one with a standing *Mater Dolorosa* by Mattheus van Beveren in the Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen (726).¹⁰⁰⁵ In it, we recognise exactly the three-dimensionality, particularly of the broad draperies, that Boeckhorst understood particularly well for a painter who was not trained to think in structural terms. With this sort of preparatory work, that was scrupulously followed by Van Beveren, as shown in the *Engelenpoort*, a fusion of the formal conceptions of Boeckhorst and Van Beveren occurs. This makes connoisseurship on the basis of the sculpture alone problematic.

That half of the console was not drawn follows the practice by sculptors not to draw what was unnecessary. The second half would have been symmetrical. This has nothing to do with workshop practice as Julius Held maintains,¹⁰⁰⁶ as not a single drawing can be shown to have been completed by a workshop assistant. More importantly, when drawing in free hand, it is difficult to get the exact proportions right in architectural elements. Few draughtsmen had sufficient ability in this, so the solution was not to draw the second half and to let the viewer's eye complete the whole. This avoided the use of a ruler that stopped the spontaneity of drawing in free hand. An example which proves the difficulty in getting the architectural

¹⁰⁰³ Antwerpen-Münster 1990: 21. Besides the Besançon sheet, see Antwerpen 2000a: 76.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, inv. D34. Frequently published, most recently Antwerpen-Münster 1990: 154 and Besançon 1999: 12.

¹⁰⁰⁵ On its history see Theuerkauff 1975: 34.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Held 1985: 24.

element properly proportioned is the drawing by Jan Claudius de Cock for a roodloft and organ ensemble in the Sint-Lambertuskerk of Ekeren (727).¹⁰⁰⁷

The draughtsman, who was probably the most prolific in designing sculpture, was Erasmus II Quellinus, the elder brother of Artus I. In his probate inventory we read about several hundred drawings, of which at least 43 are for architecture (in which altarpieces and large-scale sculptures will have been included) as well as a couple of others for sculpture and decoration.¹⁰⁰⁸ Frans Baudouin speculated on a number of attributions to Erasmus on the basis of family relations and archival material relating to the organs of the cathedral and the Sint-Pauluskerk at Antwerpen, as well as several altarpieces, executed by his brother-in-law Peter I Verbrugghen.¹⁰⁰⁹ He also published a drawing by Erasmus that might have been a study for a group of three music-making angels on one of the organs, although none corresponds exactly (728).¹⁰¹⁰ In the same way as the extant drawings by Jacob van Campen, Erasmus II Quellinus left a lot of freedom to the sculptor. The outlines are given, some shading suggests form, but there is no real sense of three-dimensionality.

That Erasmus functioned as ‘the’ draughtsman of the Quellinus-Verbrugghen-Willemsens concern is an interpretation that would perhaps go too far. Rather, it is a story of mutual stimulation. Erasmus also depicted sculptures by his brother in the flower compositions he executed with Jan-Philips van Thielen or Daniël Seghers.¹⁰¹¹ On the other hand, who out of Jacob van Campen, Erasmus II Quellinus and Artus I Quellinus designed the composition of the *Judgement of Solomon* in the *vierschaar* of the Amsterdam town hall (729) must remain an open question. Van Campen was in charge of the architecture and all the iconography of the town hall and may, just as he did for the pediments,¹⁰¹² have provided summary visual guidelines to the sculptor Artus Quellinus. A painting with exactly the same composition by Erasmus Quellinus is shown in the so-called picture gallery of Jan van Baveghem, painted by Gonzales Coques and the ‘original’ painters of the relevant compositions, that is the

¹⁰⁰⁷ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 1837. Cf. Brussels 1977: 40.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Een portefulle met 43 geteekende architectueren meest Erasmus Quellinus ende siraet 100, noch 100, noch 100 ende 18 teekeningen ut supra alles salvo justo*. Duverger 1984-2004: 10/369. It is not possible to be too specific about these, as Erasmus II's father was also called Erasmus and the inventory contains modelled works by *Erasmus Quellinus*, without further specification.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Antwerpen 2000a: 31, 34-35.

¹⁰¹⁰ London, Witt Collection, inv. 3192. Ibid.

¹⁰¹¹ E.g. De Bruyn 1988: cat. 149, 150, the latter representing a *Madonna and Child* in København, Statens Museum for Kunst, cf. Thorlacius-Ussing 1926: 10.

¹⁰¹² See below, p. 232.

painting over the mantle piece of the *Judgement of Solomon* by Erasmus Quellinus himself.¹⁰¹³ All the compositions date from the early 1650s, but exact dating is difficult. The question must be asked who initiated this composition.

The fact that prolific designers were active within a family business, need not exclude other painters, possibly imposed by the patron, from delivering drawings and designs. An example is the high altarpiece of the Sint-Michielskerk of Gent, executed by Norbertus van den Eynde and Artus II Quellinus. Both they and the “master painter Pieter Le Plat” were paid for designs for the high altar. As the two sculptors were paid first and substantially more, it is likely that the painter was paid for copies and enlargements of the designs by the sculptors, but the terminology used (“modellen” in both cases) remains unclear.¹⁰¹⁴ On the other hand, the “master painter Johannes de Cleef” was paid for the marbling and the painting of the high altar, the latter probably referring to stone and masonry being whitewashed. This shows how complex collaborations could be, particularly out of town, and how difficult it is to reconstruct the exact relationships between the different protagonists.

Finally, a collaboration between sculptors and painters that has only recently been recognised is that for the ‘background’ painting of mural sculpture, such as epitaphs. This is a tradition that goes back beyond Cornelis Floris who used it on numerous occasions,¹⁰¹⁵ and who even included the ‘shadow contours’ in the prints after his epitaphs.¹⁰¹⁶ In a few churches conservators are rediscovering the ‘shadows’ of mural sculpture that were mostly covered in later centuries by whitewashes – if not destroyed by removing all paint on stone, as was the fashion in the early twentieth century. Examples include the Sint-Jan-de-Doperkerk in Leuven,¹⁰¹⁷ and the Sint-Jacobskerk in Antwerpen; during restoration campaigns, such as the extensive one at the Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen, shadowing has been restored behind some sculpture (212). Very occasionally, shadowing was included in the sculpture and carried out in black marble, as in the Houtappelkapel of the Antwerpen Jesuit church (730).

¹⁰¹³ Windsor Castle, British Royal Collection, see; Filipczak 1987: 173. Cf. also Vlieghe 1993: 290-291; De Bruyn 1997: 427-428.

¹⁰¹⁴ Jansen – Van Herck 1944-1945: 64-65.

¹⁰¹⁵ Illustrated in Huysmans 1996: 193, 195.

¹⁰¹⁶ Illustrated in *ibid.*: 157.

¹⁰¹⁷ See De Clercq 1985.

Cabinet-makers

The collaboration between cabinet-makers and sculptors usually pertained more to a managerial than to an artistic logic. If sculptors frequently executed pulpits and other ‘relatively’ small sculptural ensembles in oak alone, as soon as the work involved was larger, collaboration became a prerequisite for a smooth and quick delivery of sculpted church furniture produced to a high standard. Frans Baudouin has discussed this procedure with the examples Jan-Baptist Bouvaert and Octavius Herry who contracted the choir stalls at the Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen, and the abbey churches of Averbode (731), Sint-Bernards (today partly at Wouw, e.g. (732)) and Groenendaal (the latter today at Vilvoorde).¹⁰¹⁸ For these large commissions, not infrequently produced within a year or two, the cabinet-maker was often the contractor with the church authorities and then executed the straight and moulded parts and subcontracted the sculptural elements to several workshops while also organising the supply of wood. In several cases we only know the name of the cabinet-maker, not of the subcontractors, which has led to substantial speculation as to the authorship of the sculpture.

An even more complex and not infrequently large-scale operation was the production of a church organ. The organ builder, the cabinet-maker and the sculptor had to work together, often to the design of a sculptor or an architect.¹⁰¹⁹

A counter example of a different type involves subcontracting by the sculptor, for instance, when in 1674 Artus II Quellinus subcontracted the ‘furniture’ parts of the execution of a pulpit and the delivery in the parish church of Oostende to Jan Baptist Boevaert.¹⁰²⁰

Bayar’s *Grand Registre* informs us about the practicalities of such collaborations, which were adapted to a wide range of situations. For domestic furniture and medium-sized church commissions he would deliver pieces of relief sculpture to be applied by the cabinet-maker. For instance he recorded:

En 1740

Le 8 8bre achevé de luy envoyer la sculpture
d’un confessional consistant dans les pieces

¹⁰¹⁸ Antwerpen 2000a: 43-46. See also Antwerpen 2000a: 114-117; Duverger 1984-2004: 4/353, 9/297, 10/67; Zajadacs-Hastenrath 1970; Meulemeester 1990: 215-216; Van Damme 1996.

¹⁰¹⁹ Cf. Hennaut 1984.

¹⁰²⁰ Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris Van der Linden, 18/11/1674, published by Jansen 1938: 99.

suivantes : medaille représentant St Jean
Nepomucene, un panier et 2 festons, 4 chapiteaux,
de pilastre, 8 ornements aux dits pilastres, 4 autres
aux piédestaus, un à la porte, 2 vase plats, et jay
livré tous les bois avec 8 sous et 3 liards de droit, le
tout porte ensemble la somme de trente deux
florins et 10 sous¹⁰²¹

At the other end of the scale, for the luxurious and richly sculpted choir stalls of a wealthy abbey, as for instance at Gembloux (**733**), Bayar preferred to take the entire responsibility for the contract.¹⁰²² For the library ceiling of the university of Leuven, Bayar instead took half the responsibility, the other being devolved to the cabinet maker Henri Bonnet. At the end of the project, Bayar worked out the finances and divided the profit in half.¹⁰²³ An alternative was used by Michiel van der Voort, the organ builder Forceville and the cabinet-maker Peeter Kuypers, who all established separate contracts with the church authorities.¹⁰²⁴

An example where no collaboration was involved is that of the choir stalls at Floreffe, near Namur, where Pierre Enderlin, supposedly a sculptor of German origin, worked *in situ* for 16 years from 1632 to 1648 on the choir stalls of the Norbertine abbey church.¹⁰²⁵ Obviously an important determinant as to the choice of a sculptor exists if the abbot wishes to give another commission to him during the same time, and therefore the pulpit and the roodloft were executed by another sculptor, Pierre Schleiff, from Lille.

It should be remembered that sculptors were not automatically members of the guild of St Luke in all cities of the Low Countries. In many, until the renaissance and sometimes into the seventeenth century, sculptors had to choose between membership of the stonemasons or the cabinet-makers guilds. In this, the collaboration between cabinet-makers and sculptors was natural, as their professions had long overlapped. During the renaissance, they were often called “antycksnyders”, that is cutters of ‘antique’ ornament.¹⁰²⁶

¹⁰²¹ Van Belle – Javaux 2006: 240.

¹⁰²² Van Belle – Javaux 2006: 289n309.

¹⁰²³ Van Belle – Javaux 2006: 240.

¹⁰²⁴ Tralbaut 1950: 525.

¹⁰²⁵ Floreffe 1973: 57.

¹⁰²⁶ Cf. Van Damme 1986-1987.

First case study: Aguilón, Huysens, Rubens

The former Jesuit church of Antwerpen boasts an integrated design with a painter, Rubens, an architect, the Jesuit François de Aguilón (1567-1617) succeeded by his Jesuit pupil Pieter Huysens (1577-1637) on Aguilón's death in 1617, and several sculptors.

It was to be lavishly decorated with the most expensive materials, and since this was the first major Jesuit church, designed to proclaim the Catholic faith in the most northern part of the Habsburg dominions and the most expensive¹⁰²⁷ new building project of its kind in the Spanish Netherlands, it was to be no simple project. Accordingly, despite its ambitious nature, the bulk of the work was carried out very quickly between 1615 and 1621 **(734)**.¹⁰²⁸

The first designs for the church's architecture were sent to Roma for approval by the general of the Jesuit Order. These were not unlike the pilgrimage church at Scherpenheuvel, as the initial plans for the Jesuit church were also circular. Unfortunately, but understandably, nothing in these plans refers to the painted, sculpted and marble decoration of the church. It may be assumed that the architecture was seen as the determining factor, since Jesuit churches were meant to be simple and undecorated. This is proven by a criticism of Huysens once the church was covered with lavish decoration made of the most expensive materials, coloured marbles in particular.¹⁰²⁹ It should not be forgotten that the interior of the Gesù in Roma was then still relatively bare compared with what is seen today, as it took more than two centuries to complete that interior's cladding with marbles.¹⁰³⁰

For the Jesuit church in Antwerpen, a handful of drawn designs survive and one plaster model, which is quite a substantial rate of survival, but by no means covers what was carried out for it. To make any sense of the material available, it is necessary to work backwards from the finished product and try to determine what happened during the design process based upon these few remaining designs.

It is worth remembering the Jesuit church historiography. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the attribution to Rubens of its architecture was unquestioned.

¹⁰²⁷ It cost over 535.000 guilders, see Braun 1907: 156 and *Summary account book*, Rubenshuis, RH.D.031, f°237, for an incomplete list of expenses amounting to 438.743 guilders by January 1624, while Scherpenheuvel's cost is estimated between 220.000 and 300.000 guilders, see Boni 1953: 74.

¹⁰²⁸ Sold Sotheby's London 26 April 2001 lot 57.

¹⁰²⁹ Plantenga 1926: 91-92.

¹⁰³⁰ Lotz 1995: 119.

In the early twentieth century, plans, cross sections and façade designs were rediscovered in the archives of the church and at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.¹⁰³¹ These were by Aguilón and Huysens and so Rubens's contribution was reduced to a minimum. This was then redressed by the discovery of designs Rubens made for sculpture on the façade and inside.¹⁰³²

For the high altar, erected in 1619-20 (735), Frans Baudouin was able to trace four preparatory designs, three drawings and one oil sketch.¹⁰³³ He convincingly ordered these as follows:¹⁰³⁴

- First, the Albertina drawing by Rubens: cabled columns, seated pediment angels and a standing *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* on top (736);¹⁰³⁵

- Then the *Rubenshuis* oil sketch by Rubens: a semi-circular top, crowning *Virgin* in a niche, kneeling pediment angels (737);¹⁰³⁶

- Then the Jesuit church archive drawing by Pieter Huysens (and workshop) with the same crowning as the Albertina drawing (the *Immaculate Conception*) but with kneeling pediment angels, and straight columns (rather than cabled) (738);¹⁰³⁷

- Finally, a huge drawing from the Charles Van Herck Collection (739).¹⁰³⁸ It measures 1.1m in height and is by Huysens for the architecture and probably by Rubens for some of the figure drawing, with two alternatives, one with two cabled columns, the other with a column and a standing candelabra-bearing angel; a central niche for the *Virgin and Child* above, with either a standing or a kneeling angel on a volute; just above the painted altarpiece, the monogram of the Virgin with two flanking putti, as executed in marble.

It may be noticed how different these designs are. Certain elements recur, others do not. Certain formal solutions were discarded early on (the standing *Madonna of the Apocalypse*) but resurface later. Trial and error seems to characterise them.

¹⁰³¹ Brigode 1934; Ziggelaar 1983: 20-23.

¹⁰³² Historiography summarised by Becker 1990: 58.

¹⁰³³ Baudouin 1977: 170-171.

¹⁰³⁴ Baudouin 1991: 36; a drawing in Berlin should be added to that as a fifth element: it moreover documents how Rubens worked together with another draughtsman, as he completed the flames at the top only after the cut out design was stuck on another piece of paper. Cf. Mielke & Winner 1977: cat 25.

¹⁰³⁵ Wien, Albertina, inv. 8247.

¹⁰³⁶ Antwerpen, Rubenshuis Museum, inv. S.194. See Held 1980: cat. 395.

¹⁰³⁷ Antwerpen, archives of the Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: cat. 34.

¹⁰³⁸ Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH 84, cf. Antwerpen 2000a: 86.

Although it was not a criterion for Frans Baudouin in his ordering of the four designs, it is remarkable that the outcome of his analysis should have the first two designs by Rubens and the last two by Huysens with only minor help from Rubens.

It could be argued that the drawn designs with two alternatives were to be shown for decision taking by the patron (who may here have been the Jesuit architect). The oil sketch by Rubens, on the other hand, had a more personal function, in allowing the artist, the painter in this case, to work out fully the formal consequences of a previous drawn design which remained without colour and without much shading.

Then the architect came in to rework the design, on paper, with any agreed amendments, and clarifying the architectural specifications of the altar since all the 'straight' parts are drawn with a ruler. The figures were somewhat clumsily taken over by the architect from a design by Rubens. From this stage, Rubens seems to have delegated the design process, retouching only small parts and probably interfering verbally when necessary, or his opinion was sought.

Finally, the large drawing resembles most the altar as executed. The Marian monogram only occurs here. The shape of the altar picture corresponds, though its proportions are not the same. The solution with the twin columns on the left is used (but with simpler, fluted columns), and the alternative on the right is not completely forgotten as the candelabra-bearing angel is now on the top of the altar, left and right of the pediment angels. The central niche with the *Virgin and Child* has lost its exaggerated monumentality, recovering the proportions, though not the detail, of the *Rubenshuis* oil sketch.

One element in this last drawing remains puzzling: why is there still the possibility of choosing between two columns (as executed), or only one, with a candelabra-bearing angel at its side? The actual size of the sheet suggests a working drawing, for the benefit of the designers and the executants only. Was the choice intended for the patron? Or was it made for aesthetic reasons, production determinants or more simply cost? The choice between an ordinary column or a Solomonic one with extensive relief sculpture implies a different level of capital outlay. It also implied a choice of type of marble. Twisted columns were possible in red Rance marble, but not carved Solomonic ones.

This remains all rather speculative and these four designs must have been preceded and followed by many others, now lost. In particular, the four designs we have do

not sufficiently develop the relationship between the crowning niche and the rest of the altar,¹⁰³⁹ nor the three-dimensionality of the whole and the relationships between the constituent parts (for instance the candelabra-bearing angels, now at the top). Terracotta models of the individual parts are most likely to have existed, in order to assist the sculptor and his workshop with production. It could also be argued for a model of the complete altar to allow an informed decision on the final design. However, when looking at the altar as a whole, there is no sense of any great three-dimensionality, as is the case with later high altars by sculptors like Artus II Quellinus (160). It seems most likely that the sculptor relied on the two-dimensional design by Rubens.

The rich decoration of the ceiling above the apse (740) includes a number of figurative elements such as torchères, angels holding garlands and cherubs, all amidst vigorous strapwork. Apparently with superficial iconographic links to the high altarpiece, this ceiling functions as a transition between the high altarpiece and the nave on an aesthetic level, in terms of the level of figurative parts, the materials used (gilded details, such as the sheaf held by the marble angel atop the altarpiece) and the principal colour (white). All this seems to have been the wish of Rubens, as a drawing most probably in his hand is preserved in the church archives (741).¹⁰⁴⁰

Three-dimensionality is also a major issue for the appreciation of the Houtappelkapel, the small chapel which was constructed, like its pendent, to the side of the main body of the Jesuit church, from 1622 onwards, that is one year after the consecration of the church (742). Its decoration took very long to complete and was finished by the successors of the De Nole workshop, until its last member, Andries de Nole, died in 1638. This chapel remains one of the least documented parts of the church in terms of preparatory drawings. Only a design for the vault survives (743).¹⁰⁴¹ The architectural features are by Huysens, the angels and attributes are in Rubens's hand and the Old Testament emblems by a third unknown hand.¹⁰⁴² The design of the whole chapel is generally attributed to Rubens because of the high level of integration of the different parts of the chapel. The altarpiece, originally a

¹⁰³⁹ Baudouin 1991: 36.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Antwerpen, archives of the Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: cat. 45.

¹⁰⁴¹ Wien, Albertina, inv. 8248.

¹⁰⁴² Mitsch 1977: cat. 32.

painting by Rubens representing the *Assumption of the Virgin*, was replaced by a copy after the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773 when it was taken to Wien.¹⁰⁴³ It is surrounded both by other paintings, directly painted on marble and semi-precious stones, and by sculptural decoration. To the left and right appear two balconies at mezzanine-level, overlooking the altar. The one on the right conceals a thermal window, as does another opening above, which not only light the statue in the balcony, but also stress the pictorial light effect on the Virgin of the Assumption in Rubens's picture and on the sculpted *God the Father* above Her (745). Freedberg notes how these hidden light sources anticipate by about twenty years Bernini's use of them in his projects of the Raimondi and Cornaro chapels.¹⁰⁴⁴

Although the Jesuit church eventually received a plan that was less Italianate, despite initial ideas that would have made it more similar to Scherpenheuvel, the Roman input should not be underestimated in the Jesuit church's sculptural decoration. The massive use of coloured marbles was a novelty in the Low Countries but by the late sixteenth century it had become standard in the most luxurious churches in Roma. At Scherpenheuvel (and earlier projects as for instance the royal Danish tombs by Cornelis Floris) there is already a substantial use of different types of marble, principally white (Carrara), black (Namur/Dinant/Theux) and red (Rance), but in the Jesuit church, the high altar predella and especially the Houtappelkapel boast an unsurpassed collection of mainly foreign marbles.

An important distinction must be made between more or less local marbles (Belgian) and white Carrara on the one hand, used in substantial quantities and in large pieces, and 'foreign' marbles on the other hand, notably southern French and Italian, some of which must have been antique Roman spolia imported from Italy. This last was used in relatively small, thin and flat pieces, without any mouldings or ornaments, for cladding walls.

This distinction is illustrated in the Houtappelkapel (744), where horizontal bands of red Rance marble alternate with a white architectural grid that is continued at ceiling level, with the principal lines of the white stone vault. Nearly none of these bands have any mouldings. The white grid is interrupted by the black marble cornice

¹⁰⁴³ In 1776, Freedberg 1984: cat. 37.

¹⁰⁴⁴ In S. Pietro in Montorio and S. Maria della Vittoria respectively. Freedberg 1984: 153n24.

mouldings. Within the white gridwork, black painting or panel frames are richly moulded in the same manner as contemporary giltwood frames.

The white and red gridwork is filled with a spectacular collection of fifteen 'antique' types of marble, in addition to two types of alabaster and the three customarily-used marbles (white, red and black). The most remarkable panels are shown as if they were figurative pictures and surrounded by ornamental white or sometimes black marble frames (746). Most are carefully cut *à livre ouvert*, in either two or four panels, placed next to each other or symmetrically within the composition. This also stresses that the available amount of precious types of marble was limited, often to one block. Other panels, on the three sides of the choir, immediately around the altar table, are painted on by Hendrick van Balen, often making use of the *alabastro fiorito*'s motifs for the background (748).

As the first documented '*pietra dura*' work in Antwerpen, the question is where the ideas for these decorations came from.

Major Roman examples include the late sixteenth-century Cappella Sistina (designed by Domenico Fontana) and early seventeenth-century Cappella Paolina (designed by Ponzio), both at S. Maria Maggiore, as well as the Cappella Aldobrandini at S. Maria sopra Minerva (designed by Giacomo della Porta and Carlo Maderno).¹⁰⁴⁵ There, too, a collection of colourful marble panels is shown as if these were pictures fitted into the classical architectural setting.

If the marble surround of Rubens's high altar painting at S. Maria in Vallicella in Roma (749) was also conceived by Rubens, as some of the literature inconclusively proposes,¹⁰⁴⁶ the similarities with the Jesuit church high altar in Antwerpen become more striking. Despite a less colourful effect in Antwerpen, particularly due to the exclusive use of white, red and black marble for the upper parts, without any form of marble intarsia (and without white marble borders immediately around the plaques), the general proportions and structure of the Jesuit church high altarpiece are very similar. In Antwerpen, however, the height of the lower edge of the altar picture is explicable, because this was where the three paintings that are not shown

¹⁰⁴⁵ Hibbard 1971: 134-135; Pressouyre 1984: 375.

¹⁰⁴⁶ E.g. Lavagnino – Ansaldi – Salerno 1959: 61; whereas Incisa della Rocchetta 1962-1963: 161-183 does not publish any document that might indicate Rubens's authorship of the marble surround's design; the only reference (p. 175) to the marble surround is a payment of 11 October 1608 to Tullio Solaro for a piece of *marmo giallo e nero* for the *cornice* (frame).

are stored.¹⁰⁴⁷ In Roma, instead, there seems never to have been the plan for exchangeable altar paintings. Therefore, not surprisingly, the insertion of a tabernacle in that space was perceived as difficult and many attempts at designing it failed on aesthetic grounds, until Ciro Ferri came up with a solution some seventy years later.¹⁰⁴⁸

The crowning of the two altarpieces is clearly different, however, and it should be noted that the two angels at the top of the altarpiece at S. Maria in Vallicella are a Cortonesque addition of the mid-seventeenth century.

Although Rubens evidently designed most of the sculptures in the Jesuit church, some of the overall ideas for the marble decoration may first have been taken north by Cobergher or Huyssens. Apart from the ideas for the designs, questions about practical methods used by the trade and the execution of the decorations also remain unanswered due to the near absence of church archives concerning the construction of the building.¹⁰⁴⁹

From an isolated summary account book, we know the names of two suppliers of marble for the church (and the sodality building) during its years of construction (i.e. excluding the later Houtappelkapel): “Cornelis Lanslodt” (or “Lanscot”) and “Sr Paolo ende Davidt Bustancy”.¹⁰⁵⁰ The first supplied important quantities of marble,¹⁰⁵¹ which is occasionally described as coming from Genova, or from Genova on the ship *Jona* with a certain “Cornelis Claessens” or “Mr Jan de Bodt”,¹⁰⁵² sometimes with a mention that the trade happened via “Hollandt”¹⁰⁵³ or “dordrecht”.¹⁰⁵⁴ Little is known about Cornelis Landschot: his epitaph below the statue of *St Paul* on a pillar of St Jacobskerk, Antwerpen, dated 1639, possibly by the De Nole workshop,¹⁰⁵⁵ merely suggests a business relation. The Bustancy, on the other hand, are only referred to in a summary of debts: they were owed the not insubstantial sum of 5360 guilders. The other reference to them concerns their gift

¹⁰⁴⁷ In Antwerpen, it was unwise to build the paintings storage under the floor level of the church as *ruien* (canals) run underneath the church and would cause damp, if not flooding.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Montagu 1996: 56-62, n41.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Baudouin 1977: 162-164.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Kasboek*, Rubenshuis, inv. Hs D.31, for Lanslodt regularly between f°37 and 208; for Bustancy, f°187, 208, 224, 239.

¹⁰⁵¹ For instance payments which are nearly monthly from August 1616 to March 1617: 1200, 1800, 1370, 500, 1000, 1500, 1000 guilders. *Ibid.*, f°63-77.

¹⁰⁵² *Ibid.*, f°109, 125, 175.

¹⁰⁵³ *Ibid.*, f°99, 125.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, f°49.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Casteels 1961: 199.

of a silver lamp for the St Ignatius chapel valued at 800 guilders. A purchase of marble from Dinant (i.e. most likely black) is mentioned separately, without the name of a supplier.¹⁰⁵⁶

Visually, the integration of the Houtappelkapel altar within the walls and ceilings, with its different layers and lighting effects, fuses the paintings, sculpture and architecture into a whole that encapsulates the spectator. Features like the statues on sumptuous brackets protude forcefully into the viewer's space. All this is stressed iconographically with God the Father calling the Virgin to the Heavens while (originally) reaching Her a laurel. However, the *horror vacui* and the "heavy architectural forms of the early Roman Baroque",¹⁰⁵⁷ make it stand out as quite distinct from most later baroque chapels. Despite the integration of its constituent parts, these parts are largely characterised by two-dimensional surfaces. This seems to be the single most important aspect of the Houtappelkapel and serves to remind us of its designer, the *painter* Rubens.

The complexity of the design sequence of the Jesuit church high altar for us today largely stems from the numerous changes and the no less numerous re-uses of motifs and possibly even of entire schemes. Other projects are not dissimilar to the Jesuit church designs, for instance the crowning of the side altars by Hans van Mildert now at the church of Sint-Joost-ten-Node in Brussels (750). Although Rubens's style did change substantially over time, he nevertheless frequently returned to the formal solutions he had invented for earlier commissions. For instance, the now destroyed altar of the Shod Carmelites in Antwerpen, erected c.1637-41, re-uses much of the formal solution for an altar crowning which Rubens devised for the high altar of the Jesuit church.¹⁰⁵⁸

Through these complex design procedures, Rubens appears, to quote Frans Baudouin, as the "inventive creating artist" and Huysens the "architect-technician who had to attempt a translation of the nieuw ideas and motifs into realisable architectural constructions" and this "obviously in dialogue with the sculptor Hans van Mildert" who eventually had to erect the altar and produce its sculptural

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Kasboek* (see note 1050), f°80.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Held 1960: 258.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Baudouin 1991: 29, 44.

decoration.¹⁰⁵⁹ This synthetic view of the individual contributions may not mean much outside the Jesuit church sculpture commissions because it excessively delineates them. This view does stress the power structure, with Rubens at the top of the hierarchy. It also shows that the integration of the three arts does not happen gradually, but was in Rubens's mind, from the beginning. Huyssens in this remains the underrated quantity, supposedly working under Rubens's aegis, though his inventiveness, as seen in the few remarkable drawings by his hand in the Jesuit church archives **(747)**,¹⁰⁶⁰ tends to disprove any hierarchical relationship. The interest in coloured marbles imported from Italy may be another reason for doubting Rubens's exclusive authorship.

Similarly, it can be argued that the sculptor has a greater say than expected from the traditional vocabulary of working *after* somebody else's design. This affirmation is easier to argue for late seventeenth or eighteenth century Flemish sculpture as more three-dimensional sketches survive. However, one example will suffice to show that it was also true in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. On 16 February 1618 Rubens presented a design for the altar of *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-op-'t-Stoksken* to be erected in the cathedral of Antwerpen. The record continues with the presentation to the patrons on 29 March of a stone model by the De Nole. That the sculptor was required to produce a laborious model in stone after Rubens's design shows sufficiently how much the production of a sculpture is a three-dimensional phenomenon. Indeed, the input of the sculptor, in adding the third dimension to a pre-existing design in two dimensions, was not a matter that the patron wanted to leave unnoticed. The enormous price of materials was generally the main motive behind such considerations by patrons.¹⁰⁶¹

One of the rare extant three-dimensional models is a 45 cm high stucco statuette **(751)** for the figure of *St Joseph* in a niche to the right of the altar in the Houtappelkapel of the Jesuit church **(753)**.¹⁰⁶² It conforms in most details to the marble as executed. The model's finish and relatively large size suggest, however, that it is a model to be followed in the carving of the marble rather than a bozzetto

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid. 36.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Antwerpen, archives of the Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Van Herck – Jansen 1948: 73, cat. 43.

¹⁰⁶¹ Casteels 1961: 103.

¹⁰⁶² Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. 2487; another version was formerly in Marguerite Casteels' collection, sold Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts) 18 June 1997 lot 403 (described as terracotta); cf. Brussels 1977: 63, where it is described by its former owner to be in stucco painted red **(752)**.

immediately following a drawn design, possibly by Rubens. It serves to illustrate that three-dimensional models were indeed produced early in the seventeenth century, and that they were seen as a valuable asset in the workshop.¹⁰⁶³ The pier statue of *St Thomas* (754) in the cathedral of Mechelen shows such a similarity to the *St Joseph*, that it may be surmised that it re-used a *St Joseph* model for inspiration. A similar comparison is often made between the two *Virgin and Child* statues, one in a gallery chapel of the Jesuit church, the other in its Houtappelkapel. The first dates from 1621, the second from 1638.¹⁰⁶⁴ The same happened with a *St Anne and the Virgin*, displaced at the French Revolution and now at Marcq-en-Baroeul near Lille (755),¹⁰⁶⁵ that followed a similar model: the equivalent statue is in the Jesuit church of Antwerpen (756).

Until now, we have considered the overall designs by Rubens for altarpieces. But what about individual sculptures? The high altarpiece formerly at the Sint-Michielsabdij at Antwerpen had a triumphal-arch-shaped frame around his altarpiece painting, with three sculptural groups above that proclaimed with Rubens's painting a complex and complementary theology.¹⁰⁶⁶ These sculptures were executed by Hans van Mildert, the trusted and frequent collaborator of Rubens. Two of Rubens's oil sketches for the individual sculptural groups survive.¹⁰⁶⁷

The important changes in composition between these and the sculptures as executed,¹⁰⁶⁸ can be explained on two levels: iconography and composition. The change in iconography between St Norbert holding a monstrance or a chalice has amply been explained by Barbara Haeger (757, 758).¹⁰⁶⁹ The changes in composition (and to a certain extent in style), on the other hand, are linked to the placing and function of the final work, an over life-size alabaster statue placed at considerable height. The background vegetation and the ground on which the heretic Tanchelm is being trampled by St Norbert make no sense in Rubens's design if he had only been thinking of designing a free-standing statue. Tanchelm's attitude is one of trying to

¹⁰⁶³ Another example is the signed *Flagellation* terracotta relief by the De Noles, sold Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts) 3 March 1999 lot 676.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Casteels 1961: 190-191.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Lille 2000: 214.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Haeger 1997: 45-71.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Held 1980: 576-578; *St Michael*, private collection, most recently sold Christie's London, 7 December 2006 lot 10; *St Norbert*, American private collection.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Moved to St Trudo, Groot Zundert (NL), in 1802.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Haeger 1997: 64.

escape while scratching the floor with his right hand and looking up at St Norbert so as to choose the right moment to do so. In the statue, Tanchelm is turned in such a way that he can no longer escape and his face, turned towards the viewer, reveals his acceptance of this fact. The turning of Tanchelm's body to show him lengthwise also implies a greater visibility from below.

Whether all these changes were decided by Rubens, by Hans van Mildert or by both together, with or without input from the patron, is not documented. It does show that Rubens conceived statues in a painterly setting (a landscape) and without thinking too much about the final destination of the statue – nor about the practicalities in translating a two-dimensional design to a three-dimensional piece of stone with all the practical problems that that implies. The changes in style between the modello and the statue also stress how little sense it makes to analyse this in the context of a sculptor's oeuvre, if we do not even know who was responsible for the stylistic choices.

The differences between the modello for the St Michael (759) and Van Mildert's statue (760) are even greater. Not only has Lucifer, in the same way as Tanchelm, given up the battle, but the Archangel has substantially risen in size and visibility. St Michael's wings have become giant ones, now complementing the shape of the pediment below, his shield is larger, his face rendered masculine and his hair aggressive in its abundance and curliness. Lucifer's body is also turned to face lengthwise in order to have increased visual presence. The whole effect of this adapted composition is an increased power conveying the iconographic message of triumph over heresy.

A rare early case of conflict about what should constitute the centre of an altarpiece concerns the former high altar of the cathedral of Gent. On the death of the bishop who had ordered an altarpiece from Rubens, and when Rubens learnt that it was going to be replaced by a sculptural centre, he complained to archduke Albert that the present bishop "has allowed himself to be persuaded to erect a most preposterous high altar, without a picture of any sort, but only a statue of St. Bavo in a marble niche with some columns".¹⁰⁷⁰ In the event the statue had already been carved and it was subsequently integrated in an amended design taking account of

¹⁰⁷⁰ Magurn 1955: 56

the picture that Rubens was going to paint. Rubens was clearly not going to agree that his art be considered unnecessary or even inferior on the high altar, the central focus of any Catholic church.

This can also be seen from other well-documented altarpiece designs by Rubens, for instance, that for the cathedral of Freising, where Rubens, on being hired for the altarpiece painting, had some of the sculpture removed from Hans Krumpper's proposal,¹⁰⁷¹ relegating the wooden statuary and sculpted ornament to the frame **(702)**.

Ironically, what Rubens prevented in his lifetime, did happen after his death. The altar was replaced by a fully sculptural composition in the early years of the eighteenth century, by Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen **(761)**. His picture remained at Gent, but the altar was sold to the Sint-Gummaruskerk at Lier where it remained until 1888 when in turn it was replaced by a neo-gothic altar. Only fragments and a photograph of 1877 survive **(762)**.

In the statue of *St Bavo* **(763)** the full ability of the De Nole workshop is at once apparent. The chosen style is evidently not Rubensian, though the sculpture does not lack in quality. Katharine Fremantle has stressed its "unity of form and particularized realism"¹⁰⁷² comparable to Hendrick de Keyser's bronze statue of Erasmus at Rotterdam **(764)**. The difficult politics at work in the design process of this altar may point to why Rubens was not involved in the design of the sculptural parts of the altar which was erected.¹⁰⁷³

Second case study: Cobergher

The preceding discussion focussed on the design of sculpture and can be contrasted with that of production, at the pilgrimage church dedicated to the Virgin at Scherpenheuvel (**frontispiece, 765**).¹⁰⁷⁴ This was built in the early years of the seventeenth century as a stronghold, figuratively and literally, of the Catholic faith, with special emphasis on Marian devotion to a statue which had undergone several miracles. Its plan was based on a seven-sided polygon around which a fortified town was built on the same plan **(766)**. The construction of this key building for the

¹⁰⁷¹ Weber 1985: 81.

¹⁰⁷² Fremantle 1959: 124

¹⁰⁷³ Admittedly he did design an altar surround on the sketch for the picture (as he says in his letter to the archduke, Magurn 1955: 56), but this is unlikely to have been followed as the altar does not display any great affinities with Rubens's style (cf. stylistic analysis by Casteels 1961: 117).

Catholic propaganda of the archdukes Albert and Isabella was personally supervised by Isabella and built to the design of Wensel Cobergher (1561-1634) who had just returned from a long stay in Italy where he had principally been active as a painter.

Although the contract between the architect in charge and the painter of all the altarpieces, Theodoor van Loon, does not survive, Tine Meganck was able to work out that Cobergher was refunded for work carried out by Van Loon.¹⁰⁷⁵ This form of subcontracting, involving huge sums of money which Cobergher advanced for several years, implies a substantial difference in status between them. The painter had to conform in many ways to the requirements laid down by the architect who was responsible to the archdukes as well as the bishop for everything.

The same happened with the sculptor. The high altar had to follow precisely the architect's drawing and the coloured stone model which the sculptor produced after it: *...selon le desseing à luy donné en papier et le modèle de pierre par luy fait et coloré et monstré à Son Altèze Sérénissime*.¹⁰⁷⁶ Robrecht de Nole, who was generally in charge of the family business,¹⁰⁷⁷ received 7220 Brabant guilders for the commission. The sizes and materials used were all contractual and were indeed carried out.¹⁰⁷⁸ The materials were particularly rich with white Carrara marble and red Rance marble.

The niche statues were also commissioned from the De Nole: four evangelists in Avesnes stone **(767)** and seven prophets in white marble **(768)**. The price differential is noteworthy: the stone evangelists cost 140 guilders, the monolithic marble prophets cost 750. This can only be accounted for by the difference of materials, either found nearly locally or shipped in from Italy. The statues of the prophets also had to be autograph by Jan, Robrecht and/or Andries de Nole, the three family members who ran the workshop and they were not allowed to work on any other commissions at the same time. This should not be taken literally. It implied in the first place that they could not subcontract the work to a lesser-known sculptor and risk legal difficulties if that party did not perform as stipulated. Similarly, the sculptors had exactly to reproduce the terracotta models which were approved by Isabella and Cobergher, *sans rien excéder et à l'entier consentement d'icelle et*

¹⁰⁷⁴ See most recently Duerloo – Wingens 2002

¹⁰⁷⁵ Meganck 1998: 85.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Casteels 1961: doc. 207.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Casteels 1961: 48.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Casteels 1961: doc. 207.

dudit Cobergher.¹⁰⁷⁹ The architect wished to keep strict control over his design at every stage of production, particularly since none of the sculpture was to be produced on site, but brought from Antwerpen once they were finished.

With regard to the architecture, procedures were easier to establish as everything happened on site. Following Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones*, bishop Matthias Hovius also involved himself in these. He functioned as a third party who ensured the good relationship between the patron and the architect.¹⁰⁸⁰ Letters between him and the architect Cobergher further document their work of closely overseeing construction procedures. Organising daily pay, the recording of work hours of the set number of assistants and even practicalities such as the erection of a workmen's hut are discussed. Apart from being responsible for the design the architect closely supervised the works on site and ensured the quality of the work there and through proper supply management.

These sorts of production procedures seem to leave little scope for personal input from the sculptor. Unsurprisingly Marguerite Casteels saw the De Nole as followers rather than progressive artists.¹⁰⁸¹ However, we should not dismiss the sculptors as socially inferior executants of other people's designs. This is a modern conception which does not take into account that they were well-respected businessmen in an environment which did not promote many artistic geniuses like Rubens.

Rubens and Cobergher compared

A comparison of the differing design and production procedures under Rubens's and Cobergher's *aegis* has an important effect on the final products.

The Rubens-designed sculpture for the Jesuit church of Antwerpen boasts an integration of the three arts of painting, architecture and sculpture, as in Italian renaissance *bel composto*. Indeed, on closer scrutiny, the formal integration is only partial. The integration achieved by Antwerpen sculptors from the second half of the 17th century is truly three-dimensional and implies practical knowledge of the skills of the trade. Rubens, by not being trained as a sculptor, would not have produced pieces of technical bravura like the Borghese statues by Bernini. Although Bernini did not execute them entirely himself, he did know exactly where the limits

¹⁰⁷⁹ Casteels 1961: doc. 208.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Meganck 1998: 64-65.

¹⁰⁸¹ Casteels 1961: 18.

were. It could be argued that Rubens, on the other hand, by not being trained as a sculptor, did not engage in these sorts of technical audacities. Nor could the painter Rubens have the last word about the sculpture he designed, as he could not perfect it himself on completion by the sculptor, as he could do by retouching the painting completed by one of his studio assistants. The necessarily higher degree of delegation by Rubens implied a loss of control over the appearance of the end product, particularly in a time when there was not a high level sculptor available in Antwerpen.

This may well have been to Rubens's satisfaction, as it clearly signalled the superiority of painting over sculpture. It is easily observed that Rubens's altar pictures were not set illusionistically in their sculptural frame: they were clearly pictures and not illusionistic openings onto another world (as, for instance, with many altarpieces by Giovanni Bellini and Cima da Conegliano). This affirmation of painting's self-consciousness and independence could only emanate from a painter who was eager to state his position in the discussion of the *paragone*.

Instead Rubens concentrated his efforts on an iconographic integration, as is most evident from the sculptures around the *Assumption of the Virgin* on the high altar of the cathedral of Antwerpen or from those around the altarpiece of the same subject in the Houtappelkapel of the Jesuit church (745). Fremantle put it as follows:

Here it is clear that architecture and sculpture were used not as frame for a painting but as an integral part of a unified composition; the meaning of the painting was emphasized and completed by the sculpture and by the architectonic arrangement of the altarpiece as a whole, and the assumption of the Virgin was shown not simply as a take-off for heaven (as, looking at the painting only, one might assume) but in its entirety, and as though it were taking place not in fictive space beyond a picture-frame, but in the very presence of the worshippers in the church.¹⁰⁸²

Similarly, the frequently cited analogy between Rubens's title-page designs and his designs for tomb monuments should not be overstressed. The technical requirements of a large marble structure is quite separate from the forms and shapes a design can take on an engraving plate. There the designer is more likely to keep shapes relatively simple, naturalistic and balanced in a design for monumental sculpture.¹⁰⁸³

¹⁰⁸² Fremantle 1959: 128.

¹⁰⁸³ Idea first expressed by Baudouin 1985: 497.

A further interesting example of the integration of architecture and sculpture is the way in which certain features recur. The trumpeting angels in the spandrels around the main entrance are repeated around some side altars inside. On the façade the angels were carved in stone (769),¹⁰⁸⁴ whereas inside they were produced in stucco (770). This stucco is also a direct link between the architectural setting and the sculptural surround to the painted altarpieces, especially so for the high altar. This creates a smooth change from one surface to the next and blurs the differences art historians have seen between architecture, sculpture and painting.

Another example is the way in which sculpture is integrated in the architecture of an altarpiece frame. Frans Baudouin has shown that several of Rubens's designs for altarpieces included canephorae,¹⁰⁸⁵ among which are the high altar of the Shod Carmelites in Antwerpen,¹⁰⁸⁶ by Hans van Mildert, erected 1637-8, and his son Cornelis's *Holy Cross* altar in Sint-Andrieskerk (771). This seems to be a distinctly Rubensian way of integrating the three arts. Moreover, in several designs (the Shod Carmelites¹⁰⁸⁷ and Jesuit church high altars) Rubens initially suggested, among two proposals, Solomonic columns, that is the most sculptural and decorated columns the language of architecture proposes.

The altarpiece on the high altar of the Jesuit church was not one altarpiece, but a series of four which were changed, according to the liturgical season and on special occasions, with a mechanism hidden behind it (772).¹⁰⁸⁸ In this way, the altarpiece painting starts to resemble a stage set, with its own laws of perspective on stage and with two balconies on either side of the stage, reminding one of the 'productions' performed by the Jesuits. On very special occasions, all four paintings were stored and a small stage allowed the creation of a *tableau vivant*. The summary fresco painting representing greenery and a Trinitarian delta with the eye of God surrounded by light (the latter painted on canvas, nailed and glued on the wall) still survives (773).

¹⁰⁸⁴ The relief currently on the façade may well be a later remake as with the *Virgin and Child* in the pediment which dates from 1820: Baudouin 1977: 374n68.

¹⁰⁸⁵ In ancient Greece, each of the maidens who carried on their heads baskets bearing sacred things used at certain feasts; Archit. a caryatid representing or resembling such a maiden (cf. Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 1993).

¹⁰⁸⁶ Baudouin 1991: 27

¹⁰⁸⁷ Baudouin 1991: 29

¹⁰⁸⁸ Van Eck 1998.

The whole is, however, far away from the sharp and instantaneous surprise effects Bernini often sought. Instead, the changing of the altarpiece paintings functions as an invigorating aesthetic and liturgical renewal.

The church as a whole functions on the same principle as the high altarpiece. On penetrating the *piazza* in front of the church, the visitor discovers a façade (774) with a complex iconographic programme, displayed on a single essentially flat surface.

Unlike the overall spatial concept of the Houtappelkapel, but like the architectural concept of Cobergher's church at Scherpenheuvel, the Jesuit church façade follows the Roman renaissance system of 'going to and leading through' it.¹⁰⁸⁹ The façade in the piazza is in essence a first stage set, followed by the high altar inside the church. Each 'stage set' develops a rich but unified iconographic message, principally conveyed by the figurative elements, sculpted on the façade, painted and sculpted on the altarpiece.

The visual link between these two 'screens' is a corridor of sculptures: at Scherpenheuvel with the four Evangelists in the vestibule; at the Antwerpen Jesuit church with four statues on two levels in the apse.¹⁰⁹⁰ Beyond the church buildings, both have a (more or less independent) campanile.

As such, these two 'meaningful screens' are of a totally different concept compared with the fully sculptural ensembles of the later seventeenth century. It is the richness and colourfulness of the materials used, combined with the theological content of the iconographic programme, that was to accompany and strengthen the rituals of the Catholic liturgy, rather than an approach designed to stimulate emotions.

The second 'flat screen' was to contain a synthesis of the entire iconographic message: the painting of the high altarpiece. The first two of the series of four were painted by Rubens, who did much of the work himself.

Finally, Rubens also brought a specifically painterly element to the sculpture he designed. In the words of Fremantle:

The manner of gesticulating and the fluttering draperies of the angels of the altarpiece [in the Jesuit church] might be described as identical with those of figures in Rubens'

¹⁰⁸⁹ One could even say 'trumpeting through' with the two angels in the spandrels around the main door.

¹⁰⁹⁰ The four were executed after Rubens's death (Van de Velde 1985). It should be noted that Rubens's ceiling paintings were hardly visible from the nave, so these are not counted in the link between the two 'screens'.

paintings for the church, and it is as though the force of gravity was ignored in them.¹⁰⁹¹

These traits are conspicuously absent from most other sculpture of his time.

Cobergher's Scherpenheuvel is an even more overtly architectural piece. Besides its renaissance conception of space, its paintings and sculptures are loose pieces set functionally in the architectural surround (altars and niches), without a clear stylistic integration. Similarly, architectural features, like pilaster capitals and the linking frieze (775) are pieces showing off the imagination of the architect rather than being designed to create spatial links.

The intention here is not to 'explain' the differences and similarities in style between Scherpenheuvel and the Jesuit church simply on the grounds of a different type of collaboration, headed either by a 'painter' (Rubens) or an 'architect' (Cobergher). There were many other determinants of style: the patron's wishes, the artist's style, function, setting, etc. However, the proximity in time between these two projects and the initial similarity of the Scherpenheuvel central plan to the Jesuit church should be a sufficiently strong link to make a comparison useful.

The design and production complexities introduced by the collaboration of patron, architect, painter and large sculpture workshops should not be overlooked when attempting to analyse the altars and other large projects in Rubens's time. Before the later seventeenth-century fully sculptural and, in Rubens's would-be eyes, "preposterous" altars, one may see developments in Low Countries sculpture led by Rubens's painterly conceptions of the baroque by "making architecture, sculpture and painting speak with one voice",¹⁰⁹² particularly regarding the iconographic content and in true honesty of materials. Whether we term this phase of sculptural production 'early baroque', following famous art historians like Julius Held and Rudolf Wittkower, is a choice acceptable for reasons of convenience, though it contains a negative value judgment about a stylistic development that would mark a pause between the 'High Renaissance' and the 'High Baroque' and may be considered therefore not fully accomplished. In any case, it is evident that sculpture in the Jesuit church played the role of a mediator *per se*, particularly on a material and iconographic level, somewhere between architecture and painting. It is therefore a *Gesamtkunstwerk* of a totally different kind from later fully three-dimensional and

¹⁰⁹¹ Fremantle 1959: 130

illusionistic compositions by, say, Hendrik-Frans Verbrugghen or Artus Quellinus the Younger. The term ‘early baroque’ then becomes only useful to distinguish these two artistic conceptions. Moreover, painterly or architectural emphases in sculptural production are a consequence of an increased level of delegation and sub-contracting, which may lead to differing artistic conceptions even within the oeuvre of a single sculptor.

Third case study: Jacob van Campen

The burgomasters of Amsterdam decided to erect a new town hall in a meeting of 28 January 1639.¹⁰⁹³ Several architects submitted designs in the next few years, but it was only in December 1646 that the plot of land was defined and plans by Jacob van Campen (1596-1657), the chosen architect, were drawn by his collaborator Pieter Post.¹⁰⁹⁴ (Van Campen seems never to have drawn up any formal architectural designs himself; instead he relied on drawing assistants, Pieter Post at first and later probably the stonemason and sculptor Willem de Keyser, and finally from 1648 onwards Jacob Vennekool, who published in 1661 Van Campen’s designs drawn up by him.) In 1648 the piling started. During a meeting on 18 July of that year, the burgomasters decided to increase the plot of land. However, before that, they had requested Van Campen to adapt his design accordingly and the design was engraved – probably in order to help the city magistrates in their discussion of room allocations and eventual approval of the project.¹⁰⁹⁵

The plans showed the intended building on a hitherto unsurpassed scale in Amsterdam: a rectangle of 200x280 Amsterdam feet (about 56x81m), five storeys high, topped by pediments and a lantern **(776)**.¹⁰⁹⁶ In 1648 the Peace of Münster ended the Thirty Years War and ratified the border with the Spanish Netherlands. It marked a period of peace and prosperity, the so-called Dutch Golden Age. And the town hall was going to be one of the main symbols of the city’s proud independence,¹⁰⁹⁷ dominating the Dam, which was both the centre of civic and mercantile Amsterdam. High above the square, the sculpted pediment with the triumphant Amsterdam city virgin **(781)**, signified and justified the burgeoning trade

¹⁰⁹² Fremantle 1959: 131

¹⁰⁹³ Huisken – Ottenheim – Schwartz 1995: 21.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Ottenheim 1995: 195.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Stupinigi 1999: 537.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Antwerpen, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 11; Antwerpen 1988 : 36.

on the streets. Similar highly thought-out iconography is displayed in all the parts of the building, both inside and out, and the town hall symbolised the central role that Amsterdam took, at least in the eyes of the city magistrates, in the world and in the universe.

Unprecedented quantities of stone and marble were shipped in from abroad for the construction of this gigantic project. Although the town hall was officially inaugurated in 1655, the cupola was only completed in 1665,¹⁰⁹⁸ as was most of the sculptural decoration inside. It took over fifteen years to get the majority of the project completed.

In terms of the number of preparatory sketches we still have, the two pediments are the best documented sculptural parts of the Amsterdam town hall. Quickly outlined drawings by Van Campen form the starting point **(777, 782)**,¹⁰⁹⁹ followed by the wooden pediments on the 1648 model of the town hall **(778, 783)**.¹¹⁰⁰ Then, two terracotta models by Quellinus and his workshop, both about four meters wide and made up of different sections **(779, 780, 785)**.¹¹⁰¹ The final, marble versions, eighty Amsterdam feet wide (about 25m), are still on the outside of the town hall **(781, 786)**.

Though sculptors are often the designers of their products, the architect Van Campen was the designer of the pediments. A generation younger than Cobergher, Van Campen was similarly a painter, and not a stonemason or a clergy architect like Aguilón, Huysens and later Willem Hesius. He acted as the architect of the town hall, in the modern sense of word, that is as a designer of the building and its supervisor.

The drawings show the artist's creative mind at work. They are a realisation of his concepts, acting as a visual extension of his mind and assisting his imagination. This interactive process between mind and matter took place on paper. Indeed, the complexity and size of the projected forms play an important role in this process. Van Campen first drew the architectural element, the east (Dam) pediment

¹⁰⁹⁷ As illustrated by the substantial number of paintings representing the Dam, see Amsterdam 1997b.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ottenheim 1995: 196.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. 1906.17 and 1906.18.

¹¹⁰⁰ Amsterdams Historisch Museum.

¹¹⁰¹ Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum/Amsterdam Historisch Museum, Jonker – Vreeken 1995: cat. 71-83.

(assuming this was the first of the two designs),¹¹⁰² with the help of a ruler on two horizontal sheets glued together. He then started filling the available space from the middle outwards, in a light pencil underdrawing. One of the first lines was probably a horizontal one defining the space to be taken by the central figure of the city virgin holding the city arms. Soon after his first ideas were jotted down, he did not bother to finish his underdrawing. Instead he used pen and iron gall ink to redraw his design, often not taking much account of his underdrawing. He completed it with the corners of the pediments and the three statues on top of the pediment, which, from left to right, were eventually going to personify *Prudence*, *Peace* and *Justice*, though this is not yet clear from the oversimplified figures that resemble more antique sculptures, even if their robes and arms are excessively long. Inscriptions however clarify the two latter statues: “vrede” and “Rijckdom”. “Rijckdom” refers to ‘riches’ or *Abundance* and was thus an earlier iconography that was not retained. Then, going over the central part of the composition once more and darkening the hatching he brought out the important figures of the pediment relief. With this device, his orderly composition distinguishes between fore- middle and background.

The back (west) pediment design is somewhat more worked out and does not so much contrast the fore- and background, nor the middle compared with the sides: it is more uniformly stressed in pen and ink, with darker outlines. It also has problematic proportions and rendering of the anatomy. The central figure, to be *Atlas carrying the celestial globe*, is not represented, and no inscriptions clarify the iconography of the two side statues (to be *Temperance* and *Vigilance*). A hole in the paper reveals Van Campen’s choice was to be determined by the size and proportion of the future statue of *Temperance*: the hole is just above the right hand, in the middle of the figure’s chest. It is not clear, however, what the pair of compasses would have related the figure to.

The drawings display no more than roughly sketched-out ideas, stressing the compositional elements of the pediments, but above all, their iconography. For Van Campen it seems that the iconography was the prime motive: amongst the few drawings attributed to his own hand, one may corroborate this. Quentin Buvelot’s attribution and identification as a design for a wall decoration for the gallery of

¹¹⁰² This can be assumed on the basis of the pediment’s position: above the square which was the civic and mercantile centre of Amsterdam, rather than a canal. It then seems logical, but remains unproven, that the designer started with the more important pediment.

Kasteel Buren, c.1636,¹¹⁰³ is convincing but not proven, especially considering the wide difference in style between this and the pediment drawings.¹¹⁰⁴ If it were by Van Campen, its inscription would happily confirm this view of him: “if one could get a good sculptor, these putti would best be made of wood, otherwise it will be better and cheaper to have them painted, rather than enlarged by a bad sculptor”. This indifference about the actual material, whether wood or merely a (grisaille?) painting, both probably imitating expensive white marble, shows how much leeway the designer of this sheet was prepared to leave to the executant.

Moreover, Van Campen’s two drawings for the town hall’s pediments leave the detail of individual figures (their expression, costume, etc.) to a later stage, and in this case to the imagination of someone else whose ability he knew well: Artus Quellinus. Fremantle’s interpretation is illuminating, though her last word is maybe a little too harsh on Van Campen: Quellinus “may well have had to bridge gaps in the instructions that he received” from Van Campen. “Yet he did more than fill gaps: it might be true to say that, like Aaron, he acted as a mouthpiece for a prophet who was inarticulate.”¹¹⁰⁵

This “inarticulacy” can only be said about Van Campen’s poor draughtsmanship of the human form. His knowledge of anatomy, as displayed in these two pediment designs, evidently does not derive from academic study after plaster casts and the nude, although one would not guess this when seeing his paintings. The facial expressions too are merely basic horizontal lines or squiggles in pen and ink. This is all the more striking, when the sheer size of these two designs is considered. However, to a trained eye, like that of Artus Quellinus, the designs are clear about Van Campen’s compositional intentions, especially what concerns the sculptural effects of light and shade, even if in very rough forms. Forceful hatching and outlining allow him to achieve this.

In 1649, Constantijn Huygens, Frederik Hendrik’s private secretary and on whose recommendation Artus Quellinus was presumably brought to the Northern

¹¹⁰³ Buvelot 1995: 112, 128. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. 00-305, inscribed “13 voet en 8 duymen; 18 ½ voet; soo men iemant cost crygen dat een goet beelthouwer/ was souden dese kindertjes en met best vanhout gehouden wessen./ anders beter geschildert en met minder costen wanss...t (?) soo heeft/ geschildert sijn als voor een quaet beelthouwer int groot/ ge[te]lyckent”

¹¹⁰⁴ Even if this sheet were 15 years earlier, it is surprising that Jacob van Campen would have bothered to draw in all the repetitive architectural ornaments, in view of his later systematic delegation of drawing to a specialist studio assistant. This was unusual at the time and makes one think that he was not confident about his own draughtsmanship.

¹¹⁰⁵ Fremantle 1959: 158

Netherlands,¹¹⁰⁶ once wrote to Amalia van Solms how unclear Van Campen's designs were to the executants: "Ceste perte de temps nous vient de ce que Van Campen, qui prétend qu'on suive exactement ses ordonnances, les marque si obscurément, que ceux qui les doivent executer, sont obligez d'en faire de nouveaux modeles de leur mains pour veoir s'ils s'entendent."¹¹⁰⁷ Huygens understandably relates the difficulties the executants faced when one considers these two pediment designs. Even if Van Campen reworked much of his composition with extra outlining and hatching, and thereby visually adding relief, he still did not create a design that conveys the necessary information about three-dimensionality beyond the basic compositional forms. One wonders whether Van Campen reworked his second design, for the back or west pediment, in order to clarify it for Artus Quellinus. The composition would have remained hardly legible without the extra thickening of the lines and the hatching.

The second known stage of the pediments is what appears on an architectural presentation model of the building as a whole, carefully made of oak for the skeleton, boxwood for the carvings and brass for the capitals, the whole then painted white. This model initially exactly followed the engraved plans mentioned earlier which were the likely discussion material for the city magistrates during their meeting in July 1648. Adaptations in the staircase layout probably date to 1650 and document a second phase in the design of the architecture. The date 1650 can be derived from the similarity between prints of the plans that were published by Daniel Stalpaert and for which he received copyright by a decree dated 1 September that year.¹¹⁰⁸

The pediments on the architectural model (**778, 783**) are indeed no more than a repetition in very low relief of the drawings. Their size does not yet allow much of the composition to be worked out, as they are in fact smaller than the drawn designs by Van Campen.¹¹⁰⁹ Executed in boxwood that is stuck down on a plank of cheaper wood (pine?) and formerly painted white, they exactly reproduce the designs by Van Campen. The only noticeable differences concern the expressions of certain heads, which in Van Campen's design were not decided. For instance, on the Dam side

¹¹⁰⁶ Vlaardingerbroek 2004: 77.

¹¹⁰⁷ Huygens 1911-1917: 5/17.

¹¹⁰⁸ Stupinigi 1999: 537.

¹¹⁰⁹ The east (Dam) pediment is 679 mm wide on the drawing, whereas it is only 520 mm wide on the model.

pediment, on the left of the city virgin, the figure holding a trident (now partly broken on the model) has been given a beard. Similarly, the mean little branch that the city virgin is holding, has become a fully fledged branch of palm tree. The whole shows a competent interpretation in low relief of the drawn designs, but with little imagination and no special consideration for the colossal scale of the end product or its high position on the façade. Although nothing is known about the author of the reliefs on the architectural model, it seems unlikely to be Artus Quellinus, whose further elaborations are on quite a different level of quality.

The dating of the model could also come to confirm this. It was built between July 1648 (date of the council meeting at which the design was only decided upon the basis of drawings and engraved plans) and September 1650 (the date of the decree giving sole reproduction rights to Stalpaert) because of the changes being apparent in the model on the level of the staircase, changing the model from the first to the second published design. Artus Quellinus had only just arrived in Amsterdam, sometime in 1650.¹¹¹⁰ His collaboration to the model is possible but unlikely to be extensive.

The relief on the east façade of the architectural model largely confirms the preceding comments on the west pediment. Its design follows the drawing by Van Campen in great detail, though it does eliminate the cramping of the figures and the awkward foreshortenings. For instance, the man with a hat immediately to the right of the city virgin is fully integrated into the composition, without the brim of the hat going over the pediment moulding, despite the lack of available space. More telling is the horse-drawn sledge in the left corner. The model relief shows it from a full side view, instead of the curiously foreshortened and cramped horse of the drawing. This adaptation is necessary for a rendering in low relief, compared with the much freer two-dimensionality of the drawing. This shows how little Van Campen took account of the possibilities of the third dimension, especially if it is considered that a pediment crowning a high façade imposes a certain number of restrictions in order to keep the composition legible.

The next two extant stages enlarge the compositions considerably. For the east pediment two sets of terracottas survive. The first is now a modern conglomerate of the original terracottas (**779**): the pieces are stuck together with tinted plaster (?) in

¹¹¹⁰ Vlaardingerbroek 2004: 78.

an attempt to harmonise the whole. This largely obscures the dividing lines, though some are still visible and attest to a great technical similarity to the second set (780), arguably chronologically subsequent to the first. This second set is incomplete, but has kept its pieces separate, which beautifully shows how these fit together like roof tiles.¹¹¹¹ Both the terracotta pediment models are around four metres wide. (The division of this huge composition into over a dozen pieces was necessary for firing purposes.) The size of the second, as it only remains in fragmentary form, can only be approximately deduced. However, the closeness in dimensions of the two models is striking and begs for an explanation.

Compositionally, the terracotta models imply much change, mostly in detail, but to great visual effect. The city virgin no longer takes up the middle position, hovering in the air unnaturally on a little platform next to three apples (?), as in the drawing and the architectural model. Quellinus pushed her up, hiding her feet behind (when seen from underneath) the two lions' heads. The space created underneath her fills two functions: that of allowing a full view of the scene, despite the pediment moulding which will eventually be in the way visually from underneath and that of accommodating the water in which the hippocampi stand. In doing so he also inverted the position of the two lions and made them into active and grimacing beasts, instead of the lifeless heraldic lions of the drawing and architectural model.

The gesticulating figure on the left of the city virgin is no longer alone in raising her arms with a laurel wreath and looking down to another maid lying in the water. Quellinus inserted two more of these maids and entangled them in such a way as to direct all the attention to the city virgin, now holding two laurel wreaths towards her. The plasticity of all these figures is no longer that of the architectural model's low relief. Indeed, it is this 'eruption' out of the block that allows Quellinus to lend so much more naturalism and movement to his scene.

In the drawing, the maid lying in the water to the left of the city virgin reaches up to her. The same figure in Quellinus's adaptation is placed higher up and now completes the quarter of a circle of arms and bodies towards the city virgin, much as on the other half of the composition given by Van Campen. Hereby Quellinus bound the composition together in strong lines, getting rid of Van Campen's

¹¹¹¹ An old illustration, of the pieces of the east pediment as displayed c.1900 is reproduced in Jonker – Vreeken 1995: 45.

unrelated diagonals on the left half. By positioning the maid standing upright, she frees space for the hippocampi next to her, that in Van Campen's composition remain half-hidden behind her. Quellinus clarifies the scene and creates a distinct circular line surrounding the city virgin that only extends left and right in two short arms (those that fill the corners of the pediment) in a highly natural way and in contrast to Van Campen's general clutter around the city virgin.

Immediately to the lower left of the city virgin a hippocampus is held from behind by a maid. Van Campen turned his face to the right, towards the city virgin, but with a contortion in his neck, to accommodate the curious movement of the horn he is blowing. In his attempt to solve this contortion, the carver of the architectural model relief misunderstood the direction of the face, which followed that of the horn, and thus away from the city virgin. Quellinus reinstates the original position (and this may be a rare hint to the fact that the model did not perform any function in the production process, only that of a presentation model) and clarifies the curious movement by having the horn take the contorted movement and rectify the anatomy of the hippocampus. The maid behind him takes on a naturalistic pose, winding her arm around him and stressing the visual focus on the city virgin with a parallel head position. All this is instead of the little squiggle on Van Campen's drawing and the lost head on the architectural model.

On the centre right of the pediment, Quellinus changed little of Van Campen's design. It was more coherent from the outset. However, the further away from the centre, the fewer indications Van Campen gave. The right corner contained little more than a hippocampus, a swan and an indistinct figure and a water animal. Quellinus fills the space with two extra figures, one of whom is blowing on a conch, the other on a horn, a dolphin and a crocodile. Much the same scenario happened in the other corner with two swans, a dolphin and a seadog.

All these changes show not only Artus Quellinus's skill, but also his respect for the architect's wishes. None of the aesthetic changes imply any iconographic adaptation. They are merely concerned with a clarification of the scene and a filling-in of the empty space arising when the composition needs to be enlarged. The iconography was indeed the dominion of Van Campen. He was a remarkably intelligent composer of iconography that is complex and many-layered, but (despite his work as

a painter) he does not emanate from this discussion of his surviving designs for the sculpture of the Amsterdam town hall as a particularly able draughtsman.

Stylistically, the two models differ little and a convincing explanation as to the use of two such large-scale versions still needs to be found.¹¹¹² From the archaeology of the two terracotta models of the east pediment their make-up may be determined: as said, as has been said like roof tiles. However, the exact status of the two versions remains to be established. Seemingly they only differ in one technical detail, that of the frequently noted scratched squaring in the middle right section of the full model. This scratching is more than likely related to the full-scale model, most probably in plaster with wooden and metal armature. It would have allowed the studio assistants to enlarge the terracotta model, which itself would largely have been produced by the master. However, even if such a full-scale model is plausible, there is not a single known reference to it, not even a documentary one. The only alleged full-scale models preserved from the Quellinus workshop are the models of the bronzes on the roof that were re-used in the citizens' hall to fill the space of the paintings which were deemed too expensive and the terracotta models of shells discussed in chapter 3.¹¹¹³

In most respects, the terracotta models prefigure the marble pediment, which, despite its present-day filth, is extremely effective in conveying its triumphant message considering the sheer height at which it is placed. Here, high and low relief are intelligently combined to emphasise those parts which are essential to the narrative.

Curiously, the large empty foreground, supposedly created to allow full view from beneath when a cornice underneath the pediment relief obscures the lower part, is suppressed on the façade. The size of the moulding underneath it was probably reduced and today, from the Dam, every part of the relief is visible. The relief is made up of many smaller pieces of stone which are now apparent after the grouting became thinner. This is to say that Quellinus was well aware of the price of bigger blocks and only used these when it was technically necessary, such as with fully three-dimensional body parts. This brings us to the fundamental difference between

¹¹¹² It should also be noted that the second terracotta model of the east pediment is made up of parts of two different provenances: mostly from the city collection going back to the transfer of Artus Quellinus' workshop to the town hall in 1664, but also from a private collection donated in the nineteenth century to the city of Amsterdam. Cf. Vreeken 1995: cat. 72-81.

¹¹¹³ See pp. 151-152.

the two terracotta models and the final work. The terracottas, taken together, make up the whole of the pediment, including the background. They stand by themselves, rather than as individual parts in front of a blank wall. The latter is the case with the final work. As said, some of the masonry is today visible and stands in contrast to the large figurative blocks of marble. The filth is now the only harmonising element. Otherwise, the difference in colour between the Bentheimer stone and the white marble would be visible, if not camouflaged with a wash (?). The distinction between a whole (the terracottas) and individual parts in front of a screen wall (final work) is essential. Unless it is assumed that Artus Quellinus was personally responsible for the full execution of the relief (and this is almost certainly out of the question), it implies an intermediary stage. This stage, not preserved and not documented, must have filled the leap between the design, about four metres wide in one terracotta whole (though subdivided with its background for firing and handling), and the design, most probably full scale, that singles out the different high relief protagonists and their effective integration into the masonry work of the screen wall behind. Another indicator of the change between the terracottas and the final work is the fact that some of the constituent elements are no longer integrated in the composition. A good example is the dolphin head, situated on the lower moulding, one third from the left, between a maid seen from the back and reaching up with a laurel wreath and the couple maid and horse-blowing triton. Not only it has a wide open mouth (unlike in the terracottas), but its head is turned straight towards the viewer to simplify its carving out of a single block.

The final work still carries the many thin protruding, and formerly also shiny, parts in bronze that were inserted into marble blocks: the city virgin's palm tree branch, the laurel wreaths, the trident, the water centaurs' unicorns and the horns.¹¹¹⁴

A word must be said about a reported event in 1654 which was to shake up the organisation of the town hall building, although no documentary evidence exists for this event. Much circumstantial evidence, however, points to a quarrel between the designing architect Jacob van Campen and the two main executants: the sculptor Artus Quellinus and the city architect Daniel Stalpaert. All this is alluded to, though not explained, in a pamphlet that Vennekool distributed in an Amsterdam inn on 7 December 1654: "EERPLICHT aen mijn heer en meester JACOB VAN

¹¹¹⁴ On its restoration: Vlaardingerbroek 2004: 215.

CAMPEN” etc.¹¹¹⁵ It was probably written by Jacob van Campen’s Utrecht friend jonker Everard Meyster, who also enjoyed villa life in his property near Amersfoort, not far from Van Campen’s own country seat. The rhymed text clearly soils Quellinus with the words “quel” (“kwel” in modern spelling, misery) and “quellingh” (“kwelling” in modern spelling, torment, harassment). Stalpaert, on the other hand, is not mentioned in the text, but falsely made into its author (to give more credibility to the pamphlet in the eyes of the burgomasters perhaps or to divert legal proceedings). In any case Stalpaert was surely also criticised for having unduly benefitted from Van Campen’s achievements instead of honouring these.¹¹¹⁶

Many authors have speculated about the reasons for this quarrel which resulted in Van Campen leaving and possibly even hastening him to his grave (he died in 1657, well before the completion of the town hall). Weissman mentions the introduction of a window in the *vierschaar*, a request from the burgomasters to allow them a view of death sentences being pronounced beneath them. This window does not appear on the early designs by Van Campen.¹¹¹⁷ Gabriëls argues for the stylistic tensions between Van Campen’s northern classicism and Quellinus’s southern baroque.¹¹¹⁸ Neurdenburg also refers to the dismissal for fraud in 1653 of Willem de Keyser, the city stone mason (who would have been a trusted executant to whom Van Campen would have been attached).¹¹¹⁹

None of these hypotheses are convincing. Instead, the most recent attempt, by Koen Ottenheym, should be taken seriously.¹¹²⁰ He argues that there was major change in the type of vaults chosen. Instead of the flat vaults that appear on Vennekool’s engravings after Van Campen’s designs, barrel vaults were built. The vaults were to be lower in the main rooms, thereby visually obstructing the high windows. This ‘mess’ in the eyes of the rigorous classicism that Van Campen pursued was not all. The galleries’ higher ceilings impeded the construction of the second floor of galleries, resulting in considerable change in the connections on the higher floors.

¹¹¹⁵ Quoted in extenso in Jacob van Campen 1995: 235-6

¹¹¹⁶ Ottenheym 1995: 197

¹¹¹⁷ Weissman 1907: 79

¹¹¹⁸ Gabriëls 1930: 39

¹¹¹⁹ Neurdenburg 1948: 183

¹¹²⁰ Ottenheym 1995: 196-7, ill. 190

It is worth stressing again Van Campen's role as the designer of the huge project, in which every detail conforms to the overall concept and adds to it. In his eyes, changing important elements such as the type of vaulting not only destroyed a specific decorative element, but transformed his overall concept. With this in mind, one can start to understand why Van Campen might have quitted.

These events should also be placed in the light of the difficult political and economic context of the years 1652-1654, during which the Dutch fought the English. Accordingly, the building of the Nieuwe Kerk new gigantic tower designed by Van Campen was halted. The year after, on 27 June 1653, the burgomasters also decided to reduce the town hall project by one double storey. A drawing with some sketches attempting to minimise the aesthetic effect on the building survives.¹¹²¹ Fortunately, the original project was reverted to after the war, by a decision of 10 February 1655. It is in these strained conditions that Van Campen left the building project on 1 December 1654. Apart from the vaulting issue, Van Campen may not have come to terms with the burgomasters' decision to reduce drastically the building project. Meyster's and Vennekool's pamphlet may have affected the burgomasters' decision to revert to the original plan.

The discussion of the west (back) façade pediment was left in abeyance after looking at the architectural model. Its design, as it appears on the extant drawing by Van Campen and on the architectural model, only appears again on the engraving by Vennekool reproducing the early designs by Van Campen. All the design material that relates to Artus Quellinus shows us a different design. No reason for the change is documented, but it should be placed in the preceding digression on Van Campen's departure in 1654. Both Vondel in his short inaugural writings on the town hall (1655) and Meyster in his play *Het Hemelsch Land-Spel* (1655) described the pediment that Van Campen designed.¹¹²² Is it then possible conclude that Artus Quellinus did not publicise his new pediment design until its hewing was finished in his studio and installed on the façade in 1656-1657?¹¹²³ Nothing is mentioned about the new design in the city accounts.

Why the front pediment should have been executed to Van Campen's design, and not the other, although both were effectively hewn after Van Campen had left, is

¹¹²¹ Ottenheym 1995: 195.

¹¹²² Vondel 1655; M[eyster] 1655.

¹¹²³ Cf. dating in Goossens 1995: 220.

mere speculation. Was the terracotta or the plaster for the first pediment already produced? Or was the composition simply pleasing, unlike the other one?

Daniel Stalpaert, appointed city architect and stonemason in 1648, published a print of the rear (west) façade in 1650 (**784**) that shows a different design to both the extant design by Jacob van Campen and the architectural model. It adapts the composition in no small way, although the iconography still carries much the same meaning. Instead of the city virgin carrying a model of the Amsterdam cog, the latter is placed in front of her, half obscuring her figure, held up by several putti. This part of the composition is reminiscent of the later unexecuted fountain sketches by Quellinus (**787**).¹¹²⁴ Around the city virgin gathers a crowd of nude figures bringing the exotic riches of the world: a lion, a rhinoceros, a camel, a dolphin, etc. This much resembles Van Campen's design where the idea of bringing riches is worked out. There, however, there are also non-living goods, packaged in bales. The latter are brought by horse-drawn sledges. In Stalpaert's composition, on the other hand, people are brought in small boats. This may well be a reference to the slave trade.

That, once again, no official decision records the changes in the design of the back pediment, may mean that this initiative lay with the executants, at first with Stalpaert, and finally with Artus Quellinus. Whether the print published by Stalpaert was designed by himself or by Quellinus is not known.¹¹²⁵ In any case, whoever designed it, it is highly likely to have happened unrequested by the patrons. May we conclude from this 'improvement' that they were already vying with Van Campen in 1650? If so, this is a first sign of artistic competition on the town hall project. Moreover, if this hypothesis were confirmed, it would also clarify Quellinus's ability to design such huge compositions, beyond the ability that he has already shown in the executed refinement of the front (Dam) pediment compared with the imprecise drawing by Van Campen.

The composition of the final stage in marble by Quellinus and his workshop is only preceded by the 21-piece terracotta model (of which 20 survive) that is of similar dimensions to the terracotta models for the Dam pediment (**785**). Its fitting together happens as with the other incomplete one, with the different 'roof tiles' that

¹¹²⁴ Jonker – Vreeken 1995: cat. 103.

¹¹²⁵ A *Frontespies van Amsterdam Artus Quellinus* that appears in Erasmus II Quellinus's probate inventory suggests that Artus designed at least one pediment, see Duverger 1984-2004: 10/364. The indication is not specific enough to be usable.

are roughly of the same size to allow for firing. The cuts are noticeably chosen where it was easiest in the clay: on the background if possible, or else around the main figure. In one case, the choice was more difficult since the process necessitated 'decapitating' the lion.

Some smaller parts are in-fills and it is possible that these were done by lesser-able assistants, as their relief is much lower and therefore did not require as much autonomy in modelling. That their colour is frequently lighter is inconclusive evidence as it may be due as much to a later firing (which would confirm that there are several stages in the production of the terracotta model) or simply to a different placing in the kiln.

Just as with the front pediment, the back one comes remarkably close to its terracotta model. Quellinus took over the basic idea and composition from Jacob van Campen, but changed much detail in both composition and iconography, compared with Van Campen and Stalpaert. The city virgin is seated, with one foot on the globe against which lean cartographers' instruments: an astrolabe and a cross-staff. To either side, a male river god pours out the water from his jar. The city virgin points with her arms spread open, as in Stalpaert's print, to the riches that flood in from the sea, passing through her harbour, before continuing their journey over the sea or via the rivers. Stalpaert's camel and lion are present too, the rhinoceros becomes an elephant. Stalpaert's crowned standing figure to the right becomes a turban-wearing man holding the camel's mouthpiece in one hand and an incense burner in another. To his right, a West-Indies figure drags a slave carrying a huge jar. Other such figures and a monkey gradually appear from the corner of the pediment. On the left of the city virgin, another clothed figure, female and carrying a cornucopia precedes an African female nude dragging the lion and the elephant. In the corner, further figures follow, taking bales of packaged goods with them. These latter resemble the ones that fill the corners of Van Campen's initial design.

The overall idea, of riches being brought to the city virgin, remains the same in all of the three different designs. However, Quellinus works it out to become a cosmic iconography: the four continents are represented individually with their respective products, even alluding to the Magi bringing gifts to the Christ Child (see the incense burner). This iconography is directly related to the interior of the town hall, where the central and most representative space, the citizens' hall, is dominated by a similar

cosmic message.¹¹²⁶ In this respect, all the preceding discussion about authorship may be untrue, as this new iconography could easily be by Jacob van Campen's. He is indeed the mind behind the whole project, and it is perfectly plausible that he redrew his initial design for the back pediment (which for us happens to be the only surviving one), refining and extending the iconography, aligning it with that of the building's interior. This is paralleled by Bernini's principle of an overall concept to which each and every detail of a project not only has to conform, but has to enhance.¹¹²⁷ Jacob van Campen's principles were extremely similar, imposing a general concept on the main parts of his building as much as on the smallest of details, such as the meaning of the swags on the outside of the building.

If the final design for the back pediment is Van Campen's, it would not be strange that his faithful pupil Vennekool reproduced this in his book on the town hall's architecture, and not Van Campen's earlier design which he must have known, if not from the extant design (we do not have a provenance beyond the nineteenth-century for this), at least from the architectural model which remained in city ownership since its inception in 1648.

Frustratingly for the town hall's historian, Artus Quellinus's brother Hubertus, when etching the sculpture of the town hall for a commemorative book in two parts,¹¹²⁸ claimed Artus Quellinus to be not only the executant, but also the designer of the back pediment.¹¹²⁹ The contradicting evidence remains inconclusive about the authorship of the final design for the back pediment.

Whoever the author, Artus Quellinus was responsible for both the extant terracotta model and the marble. In the marble, there is sometimes the impression that the same subdivisions reoccur. For instance, the low relief head of a horse to the left of the city virgin's head: this piece of marble extends, with a narrow strip, to behind the city virgin's head. This vaguely resembles the shape of the missing part of terracotta behind the city virgin's head. However, none of the other subdivisions confirm any logical connection between the two media, except for the fact that large figures are not cut in the middle, but around their contours. In general, the number

¹¹²⁶ Goossens 1996: 32-61.

¹¹²⁷ Cf. the distinction between "général" and "particulier", Chantelou 2001: 176. See also Lavin 1980: 6-16, 155-157.

¹¹²⁸ Quellinus 1655.

¹¹²⁹ "Artus Quellinus invenit et in Marmore sculpsit ad long: 82. ped: alt: 18. submisce offert Hubertus Quellinus. A° 1664"

of subdivisions is much larger and with widely different pieces in shape and size, in the marble than in the terracotta. The subdivisions also tend to follow horizontal and vertical lines, unlike the terracotta model, in which the cuts go in any direction. All this is to say that the two media impose their own technical restrictions and that it is not possible to recognise any of the technicalities of the terracotta to be preparatory to the marble version.

From this derives the necessity of a further model, most probably in stucco and full size, to go in-between the two extant versions. At this stage it was possible for the sculptor and his workshop assistants to determine the exact shape of the different blocks and to fit these together, respecting the integrity of the protagonists in the composition. This is in striking contrast to nineteenth-century Belgian practice as exemplified by Jef Lambeaux in his gigantic relief *Les Passions Humaines* (788) in which he did not take any account of the iconography when fitting together the marble blocks for the dividing line sometimes runs across a face.

A further enigmatic relic is the sole remaining part (?) of a second terracotta model for the back pediment: it represents two men moving a bale of goods.¹¹³⁰ Just as with the front one, which survived in greater proportion, this fragment is roughly identical in size to the one incorporated in the near-complete one. In the case of both pediments we have two terracotta versions that are so near to each other that their function remains unexplained.

The diversity of relationships sketched in this chapter between artists in different media, taking on different roles and of different social, hierarchical and professional status, sometimes blurring the distinction between patron and designer (as with Jesuit architects) points to the richness of human interaction in the field of sculpture production in the Low Countries, that was no less complex than that of the Eternal City. Sometimes these collaborations led to the production of artistic marvels, including the three principal subjects of the case studies, the pilgrimage church at Scherpenheuvel, the Jesuit church of Antwerpen and the town hall of Amsterdam, although, as has been shown, such projects rarely went without friction between the main protagonists.

¹¹³⁰ Jonker – Vreeken 1995: cat. 83.

In this chapter, the sculptor has been seen principally as the executant, albeit often an intelligent one. Little mention has been made of artists whose principal activity was the production of sculpture but who were also active as designers in other artistic sectors. The epilogue will show the other side of the medal, investigating in what direction some superior sculptors took their career.

Epilogue: the sculptor becomes architect?

It has been seen how Van Dyck included only three contemporary sculptors in his *Iconography* (706-708). Although artistically, all three may be on a par, only one sculptor out of these dynasties was appointed court sculptor: Andries's uncle, Robrecht de Nole in 1604.¹¹³¹ Such status implied important bargaining power for him. He was the one who wrote to his 'master' archduke Albert to plea for the emancipation of the sculptors (allowing the move from the masons' to the artists' guild). As court sculptor he was also exempt from his city defence obligations that citizenship implied. Similarly, though this was not an official appointment, he was regarded as the preferred supplier of the duc Charles de Croÿ.¹¹³²

At his death in 1636, Robrecht de Nole owned substantial real estate, an art collection housed in a *gallerije*, including a painting by Correggio.¹¹³³ Being master sculptors capable of carrying out large commissions, the De Nole were well-respected businessmen in contact with the wealthy and powerful of their time, private patrons and city magistrates alike. In this respect, the De Nole had grown into the class of wealthy merchants, to which Rubens and Van Dyck had also aspired,¹¹³⁴ though the De Nole did not reach an aristocratic status.

The strengthening of the sculptors' profession in Antwerpen in the second half of the seventeenth century went hand in hand with their increased financial means and social status. Apart from the figures quoted in chapter 1, a good visual measure of this is the series of three busts of governors general of the Spanish Netherlands sculpted for the meeting room of the guild of St Luke.¹¹³⁵

In the Spanish Netherlands, after the Habsburg archdukes Albert and Isabella, the infante Ferdinand and archduke Leopold Wilhelm, the governors general were usually Spanish counts or marquises and followed each other in quick succession until their position was given to the country-less Kurfürst Max Emanuel von Bayern in the 1690s.

¹¹³¹ Casteels 1961: 46, doc. 255; De Bie 1661: 456.

¹¹³² Casteels 1961: 44.

¹¹³³ Casteels 1961: 41.

¹¹³⁴ Van der Stighelen 1990/1991: 298.

¹¹³⁵ Chronologically inv. 701, inv. 753, inv. 678; Delen 1970: 251-253.

The first of the series, carved in 1664, represents Luis de Benavides, marqués de Caracena,¹¹³⁶ governor general from 1659 to 1664 **(801)**. Artus I Quellinus re-used the type of bust he applied to his commission for Herzog Friedrich III. von Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf in the family vault in the cathedral of Schleswig, with armour, sash and commander's baton held in both hands **(802)**.

A decade later, in 1675, Louis Willemssens portrayed another governor general, Juan Domingo de Zuniga y Fonseca, conde de Monterrey, in a bust of the same proportions and composition, but with an even more daring position of the hand holding the commander's baton **(803)**. This time it was the guild as a whole that wished to honour and thank the then governor general for his involvement in a law suit in which the guild opposed the guild of the crossbowmen that took no less than eighteen years.

Finally, in 1694, Willem Kerricx portrayed the last governor general of the Spanish Netherlands, Max Emanuel von Bayern **(804)**. This was again a commission of the guild to honour the governor general for four new *vrijbrieven* that he granted to the guild the year before.¹¹³⁷

That these three busts vied with each other and tried to outdo the others is quite obvious. In many respects the formality and grandiloquence are even greater than if the sitters had commissioned the busts themselves. Each in its own way and all three taken together, these pieces of bravura workmanship were meant to be the business cards of the sculptors within the guild as well as a clear statement of emancipation when compared with the painters.

The first of these busts was no less than a gift from Artus Quellinus to the guild to mark his gratitude to the governor general's involvement in the creation of an academy a few years earlier. This also indicates the social standing that the sculptor had acquired by the end of his career, notably after his Amsterdam success in decorating the new town hall. An indication of the wealth that Artus I Quellinus had amassed is seen in his ownership of two suburban villas outside Antwerpen with moat, draw bridge, outbuildings and substantial land,¹¹³⁸ as well as real estate in the city centre. He had followed the ideal of a merchant's career, becoming gentrified by

¹¹³⁶ On his person, see Antwerpen 2006: 37, 49-50, 238.

¹¹³⁷ Huys forthcoming.

¹¹³⁸ Gabriels 1930: 42, 64.

acquiring land and an aristocratic lifestyle and thereby distancing himself from the view that the production of sculpture is a manual labour.

Cornelis Floris's publication of engraved models largely allowed him to bridge the difference between the designer and the executant. This model was largely taken over by Rubens, who pulled up the whole standard of artistic production in Antwerpen in the first half of the seventeenth century, and then by the Quellinus-Verbrugghen-Willemsens-Scheemaekers-Van den Eynde (informal) 'partnership'. The dissociation of design and execution was no doubt a powerful means to justify membership of the gentry. It is interesting to see sculptors in Antwerpen in the second half of the seventeenth century referred to in the capacity of consultant, for instance Peter I/II (?) Verbrugghen and Norbertus van den Eynde travelling to Mechelen in 1670 to advise the cathedral.¹¹³⁹

As in Bernini's Roma,¹¹⁴⁰ sculptors were increasingly active as designers in other domains, such as silver or prints. An example which goes back to the traditional separation of professions by the guilds is the silver gilt monstrance by Wierick III Somers (1647-1717) with figures of *Faith* and *Hope* designed by Michiel van der Voort, Sint-Andrieskerk, Antwerpen (805).¹¹⁴¹ Sculptors however also designed complete ensembles, including not only their own sculpture, but the remainder of a project, for instance the railings around a tomb monument (806)¹¹⁴² or closing off a chapel. In a few cases of signed prints or drawings, it can also be ascertained that sculptors designed for prints (807)¹¹⁴³ or possibly even for fresco painters, as with the example of a *Last Supper* designed by Peter Scheemaekers (808),¹¹⁴⁴ a design that, for technical reasons, is not imaginable in sculpture (particularly the drapery).

Besides acting as designers for others, sculptors also attracted substantial work from the change of taste that eliminated much of the work of their 'competitors' such as painters. Rubens's vehement reaction against the removal of altarpiece paintings was of no use after his death. Indeed, from the middle of the seventeenth century, Antwerpen productions were fully three-dimensional, most forms of

¹¹³⁹ "expresselyck ontboden om hunlieder advis" (specifically invited for their advice), Mechelen, Kathedraalarchief, Kerkrekeningen, 9/2/1670, f° 123, published by Jansen – Van Herck 1944-1945: 63.

¹¹⁴⁰ Montagu 1989: 115-119; Montagu 1996.

¹¹⁴¹ Baudouin 1989: 399; see Antwerpen 1989: 32-43 and the numerous references to sculptors in the archival compendium of Van Hemeldonck 2005.

¹¹⁴² Cf. Baudouin 1994: 43; Terwen 2002.

¹¹⁴³ Private collection. Two-plate engraving: the centre an anonymous portrait; the border signed "Henrikus verbrugghen delin." "Gasp: Bouttats sculpsit".

¹¹⁴⁴ Antwerpen, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 2311.

altarpiece painting having been eschewed and the central space of altarpieces being filled with marble sculptural groups, obtaining a fluid formal and iconographic unity of sculptural and architectural elements (604, 761). The most incredible technical feats were carried out in order that the huge weights of marble could be lifted, as if these were flying in the air, whilst the parts high up were executed in marbled and gilt wood with great technical illusionism.

Whether this change of taste emanated from the sculptors is unverifiable, although it is more than likely, without being the initiators, that they at least stimulated it in a period, after Rubens, without genius painters. In this way, patrons were gradually becoming dependent on sculptors for any large-scale decorative and liturgical projects. Combined with the sound basis of collaboration between a small number of top Antwerpen sculptors (the associated Quellinus-Verbrugghen-Willemsens-Scheemaekers-Van den Eynde dynasties), the market was increasingly becoming one of monopoly. This is also confirmed by the quantitative analysis in the study of 324 altarpieces by Valérie Herremans: the Van den Cruyce had great difficulty in competing and typically offered cheaper alternatives, that often made use of flawed or lesser quality stone and marble.¹¹⁴⁵ They therefore did not get a foothold in Antwerpen itself, where their works are extremely rare (e.g. an ‘altar garden’ by Jan Antoni van den Cruyce in the Sint-Andrieskerk (809)), resorting instead to provincial clients, who often found out, too late, that they were racketeers.

This monopolisation enabled its holders, effectively ‘Quellinus & Co.’ to increase their power towards patrons and to gradually increase prices and margins. A practice that occurred in Roma but that has not been noted in Antwerpen, is that of a patron employing an architect so that the patron could ‘shop round’ with the project and get quotes from different sculptors, that were then put in competition between each other.¹¹⁴⁶ In Antwerpen, instead, more power seems to have been with the sculptor-architect in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Valérie Herremans noted in her research that a particular type of altarpiece, in Antwerpen, would cost double the sum they requested from a provincial patron. City dwellers having more disposable cash, the sculptors could effectively dictate a

¹¹⁴⁵ Herremans 2007: 255.

¹¹⁴⁶ This was for instance the case with the monument to Lady Jane Cheyne in London, see Montagu 1989: 40.

higher price for a comparable project, on the assumption that sculpture in the city had more prestige and was thus a more luxurious product.¹¹⁴⁷

Incidentally, economic historians of Antwerpen tell us that merchants' attempts (in any branch) to obtain a monopoly situation in a particular niche was highly topical in the second half of the seventeenth century – as well as the taste for speculation.¹¹⁴⁸

The substantially increased price tag of a fully sculptural, compared with a partially sculptural and painted, altarpiece was not infrequently solved by the replacement of marble with marbled wood, particularly from the 1680s onwards – unless in a provincial setting a second-hand altarpiece was deemed sufficient. It need not be stressed that the sculptors were then in charge of the whole project.

A less clearcut monopoly situation is that of Faydherbe at Mechelen. Not only was his relation to clients often problematic, but he could not collaborate with other workshops on a large scale and, most importantly, the market at Mechelen and surroundings was not large enough to allow for a true monopoly situation to arise. However, he apparently drove out Rombout Pauwels, who moved to Gent to avoid his direct competition.¹¹⁴⁹

The increasing monopolisation of the sculpture market in Antwerpen in the late seventeenth century may have given an extra impetus to emigration to perfectly able sculptors who did not fit into the 'Quellinus & Co.' firm. The exclusively economic explanation, stressing the slumps during times of war, may not be an accurate measure of reality. With scarcer, but more large-scale, patronage from the 1670s onwards it is worth noting how some sculptors continued to thrive while others saw no alternative than to emigrate to foreign courts.

Those who succeeded at home must have understood how to 'cling' to patrons, that is to adapt and widen their products and services to the wishes of their patrons. This happened at the highest level in both sculpture and architecture production. The versatility of artists like Hendrik-Frans Verbrugghen (1654-1724), Willem-Ignatius Kerricx (1682-1745) and Jan-Peter II van Bourscheit (1699-1768) allowed them to benefit to the full from the privileged contacts they had with specific influential patrons, particularly church officials. A good example is the work by Kerricx for the abbey of Tongerlo, where he not only built the abbot's quarters

¹¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁸ Baetens 1976: 298.

¹¹⁴⁹ Van Riet 1996: 147n13.

(106) but also largely refurnished the church with church furniture and sculpture. Regrettably the latter did not survive the French Revolution.

In the process, these sculptors moved from being fully-fledged sculptors to imaginative architects, via the work of a master mason, while at the same time designing all sorts of projects, like ephemeral church decoration, processional carts, prints, silverware and ironwork.

It follows that Antwerpen sculptors, who were traditionally and effectively able to produce miniature works in ivory and boxwood as well as fifteen-metre-high structures for altarpieces, professionally were close to architecture. The increasing similarity in production processes for major sculptural commissions and elaborate architectural ones at the end of the seventeenth century gave the sculptor the opportunity to switch between these two disciplines as we define them today. The materials were largely the same, stone, brick, marble, wood and iron dowels were common to sculpture and architecture.

The good relations that sculptors had with quarries at and near Namur and with marble merchants in Amsterdam (and/or Rotterdam) were not merely useful in obtaining high quality statuary marble or stone, but also a complete range of stone for architectural use. With a higher turnover in these materials, the sculptor would gain in power and be able to negotiate better quality stone or marble for his sculptures. And after all, once a major patron is renovating a church, the sculptor might just as well deliver a lot of marble floor tiles together with his sculpted altarpiece or communion rail, if it is little extra work, but highly lucrative.

A further argument for sculptors to engage in the trade of stone and marble is a commercial factor. Obtaining large sculptural commissions is a haphazard business because irregular in its timing. Doing bread-and-butter business in-between the large commissions was important to keep the workshop employed continuously. Moreover, in order to obtain large sculpture commissions, the sculptor frequently had to pay for the first blocks of marble as well as the expense of labour before getting a first payment – and the last payment frequently followed years after the completion of the project. This implies a substantial cash flow problem for small workshops, which then often meant that these had to decline these specific jobs. A larger commercial basis, doing the work of a master mason and a supplier of stone and marble, was essential to keep the sculptor's business afloat.

This argument about patronage and the difficulty in getting new business is only partial. With both Hendrik-Frans Verbrugghen and later Jan-Peter II van Bauscheit, it is known that their architecture bears little relation to their commissions for church sculpture, as most is domestic, for instance the Mercator-Ortelius house in Antwerpen (810) which Verbrugghen partly rebuilt for the merchant Norberto Schut in 1698 or Van Bauscheit's masterpiece on the Meir for the Van Susteren family in the 1740s and 1750s (811). Once again most of Van Bauscheit's important patrons in Antwerpen, commissioning from him town houses and country seats, were all related and part of the same wealthy gentrified merchant class.

The basis of all this fluidity between sculptors, entrepreneurs and architects was their common proficiency in drawing. The stress that all the major artists laid on this must be recalled and it was their wish in the 1660s to found an academy. Moreover, as the 1697 painting by Jacques Denijs celebrating the Antwerpen academy (140) shows, the sculptors were those who were not only thoroughly trained in drawing but also in modelling, thereby developing their sense of three-dimensionality, which was needed in the art of architecture. This brings together the observations made in chapters 2 and 3.

A remarkable example of how architectural qualities could enhance a purely sculptural project is the Leuven Jesuit church pulpit, now in the cathedral of Brussels, discussed in chapter 3 (401-405).¹¹⁵⁰ This pulpit is the first to be entirely autonomous¹¹⁵¹ and to need no support from any architectural structure in the church (no pillar, no ropes, no metal rods to hold the sounding board). As such it is an engineering feat that was only imaginable from someone properly trained in architecture.

Inversely, the integration of the arts of architecture and sculpture may be noted in a non-executed proposal of 1691 for the high altarpiece of the Sint-Andrieskerk by Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen (812-814).¹¹⁵² It is a total concept amplifying the high altarpiece of the Antwerpen Sint-Jacobskerk of only a few years before, replacing the figure of *St James* by one of *St Andrew* vaguely inspired by the statue of Du Quesnoy (the outstretched right arm), placing it under a flying figure (an angel? God the

¹¹⁵⁰ See p. 112.

¹¹⁵¹ Van Ypersele 2002: 17.

¹¹⁵² Charles Van Herck collection, inv. CVH204; Brussels, Royal Library, inv. SIII5320, SIII5332; Antwerpen 2000a: 140; Brussels 2004: 36.

Father?) under a cupola with lantern. This sculptural feat is integrated into an architectural setting that is both separate and integrated into the choir of the existing church: separate in that it is a distinct circular space with its own roof structure (the cupola) and integrated by the colossal order of pilasters that clad the interior of the church that otherwise remained gothic in structure.

This highly unusual project contrasted sharply with the no less novel but in contemporary eyes more acceptable typology of Artus II Quellinus's Sint-Jacobskerk altarpiece (160), to which Verbrugghen returned when designing and executing the high altarpiece of the cathedral of Gent (761). This remained a distinct architectural entity from the church (which admittedly could not be changed from its gothic style without substantial financing that was not proposed). The crowning took on an important function both visually and iconographically, linking the different elements of the composition and referring the spectator to the principal use of the altarpiece, that is to encourage devotion by functioning like a stepping stone, both devotionally and intellectually. Flemish altarpieces are far more vertically accented, stressing an ascending movement, often making intelligent use of the gothic setting that does the same. All this led the focus of the worshipper towards the *raison d'être* of the altarpiece: God the Father at the top, who often appeared in person, sometimes within the Trinity or at the very least the Eye of God in the Trinitarian triangle. The architectonic framing thus took on the shape of an arch for a triumphal entry, which corresponded well to the wishes of the Counter-Reformation liturgy.

These two latter realisations contrast sharply with contemporary works in Roma. There, the colourfulness of altarpieces continued to enjoy favour. For example the Cappella Alaleona at SS. Domenico e Sisto by Bernini and Raggi used an architectural surround for the sculptural and painterly stage set.¹¹⁵³ At the top of the Roman hierarchy, patinated and gilt bronze was copiously added to the colourful marbles, such as in Andrea Pozzo's St Ignatius chapel at the Gesù. They stress how much the Flemish school of sculpture, headed by that of Antwerpen, cannot simply be 'explained' as copying Bernini and Algardi models, without a complete reformulation in terms of typology, form and materials.

¹¹⁵³ See Ferrari – Papaldo 1999: 79.

All this is best gauged in the work of Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen. A substantial body of preparatory drawings by him, mostly of unexecuted projects, survives.¹¹⁵⁴ They clearly show that for him drawing was the cornerstone of his work, allowing him to establish a privileged relationship with patrons and raise the status of the sculptor-architect to that of an artist genius, away from manual work, which was executed by the workshop assistants.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, we are far from the sharp contrasts in status that we saw at the start of the seventeenth century with the Van Mildert and De Nole, but also with the ‘monopoly’ holder Artus I Quellinus, in his problematic relationship with Jacob van Campen in Amsterdam and who had to resort to a written form of ‘paragone’ between architecture and sculpture to give his status substance. Sculptors at the higher levels were appropriating themselves the prestige-loaded profession of architect, even if this did not go without friction with the masons’ guild, known through the troubles that the Van Bauscheit father and son had.¹¹⁵⁵

The study of the reception of Flemish seventeenth and eighteenth-century sculpture¹¹⁵⁶ would no doubt confirm this, as would much-needed patronage studies (before which, let it be said, historians need to write the biographies of the main protagonists of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as they have done for the period of Rubens¹¹⁵⁷).

A final aspect of the careers of sculptors at the end of the seventeenth century in Antwerpen that has never been looked at is that of role models. Despite the unpleasant outcome of the Van Campen-Quellinus collaboration in Amsterdam, Artus I Quellinus is seen to be the most accomplished sculptor of his age in the Low Countries. But was that the end of the story?

The probate inventory of Robrecht de Nole has already been mentioned.¹¹⁵⁸ That of Artus I Quellinus¹¹⁵⁹ is problematic, as he made gifts to some of his heirs before

¹¹⁵⁴ Principally Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen, inventorised by Kockelbergh 1986.

¹¹⁵⁵ Lombaerde 2008.

¹¹⁵⁶ Amongst others via contemporary appreciation, theorists, visual representations of sculpture, etc. as well as the study of the copious manuscripts by the late eighteenth-century historians Van der Sande and Baert.

¹¹⁵⁷ Then links (networks, clientelism, competition, etc.) need to be established between all these figures. A wonderful type of tool is the study by Katia Béguin (1999) of the clientelism system of the Louis II de Bourbon, called the *Grand Condé*. Such studies would be extremely enlightening as to the motivations and mechanisms of patronage.

¹¹⁵⁸ See p. 249.

his death in order to leave as little as possible to be divided amongst a large number of heirs (he had no off-spring). But some of the content of his art collection can be guessed on the basis of what his brother, the painter Erasmus, left at his death ten years later and that was evidently inherited from Artus. The whole collection was estimated at eight thousand guilders and contained several hundred items (books, prints, drawings, sculptures and paintings).¹¹⁶⁰

A far more impressive inheritance was formed by that of the architect and entrepreneur Jan II van den Eynde (1620-1702), whose most famous building is arguably the abbey church of Averbode. His father Cornelis (1586-1664) and uncle Jan I (1592?-1636) were also architect-entrepreneurs, while his other uncle, Huibrecht (1594-1661) and his brother Sebastiaen (1624-1702) were sculptors.¹¹⁶¹ Norbertus van den Eynde (1628-1704), a sculptor we encountered frequently, was the son of Jan I.

Although some of Jan II's estate was inherited and thus unrelated to his business, (as may be seen from both his long will¹¹⁶² and an even more detailed alderman's letter of 1751 concerning his heirs)¹¹⁶³ he was worth over 100.000 guilders. (For comparison, a decent house was to be purchased for between one and two thousand guilders and Rubens's estate was estimated to over 280.000 guilders.¹¹⁶⁴) He was further married into several ennobled families.

Jan II and his brother Sebastiaen were manifestly on very good terms as, in a common will written as early as 1680, they made each other their legatee – stressing again their common interests in architecture, sculpture and commerce.¹¹⁶⁵

It might be questioned whether the model of Jan II van den Eynde's success story, was a powerful source of inspiration to his contemporaries, not just architect-entrepreneurs, but also sculptors. The explanation why so many Antwerpen sculptors in the late seventeenth and especially in the early eighteenth century shifted their interest to architecture and entrepreneurship may then be placed in a different light. Apart from being a strategy of diversification, it was also a financial strategy,

¹¹⁵⁹ Duverger 1984-2004: 9/148.

¹¹⁶⁰ Duverger 1984-2004: 8/345.

¹¹⁶¹ Jansen – Van Herck 1944-1945: 79.

¹¹⁶² Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris J. van Nos Jr, 1701 f°51, published by Jansen – Van Herck 1944-1945: 18-23.

¹¹⁶³ Jansen – Van Herck 1944-1945: 23-29.

¹¹⁶⁴ Muller 1989: 59.

¹¹⁶⁵ Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Notaris P. van de Velde Sr, 16/12/1680, published by Jansen – Van Herck 1944-1945: 77.

that has parallels in some other European cities, including Bernini's Roma and Andreas Schlüter's Berlin.

In Antwerpen this might then be seen as a compensation for the lack of social recognition and status that some sculptors will have felt as, despite the numerous efforts at raising the status of the sculptors and architects, a *Verabsolutierung des Künstlerstatus* was not possible in Antwerpen, neither under Spanish Habsburg dominion until 1700 nor under the Austrian Habsburgs after the Peace of Utrecht (1713). In the absence of a court in nearby Brussels that commissioned important architecture or sculpture, sculptor-architects like Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen could only dream of building royal palaces. These dreams sometimes appear in paintings, for instance by his family relation Caspar Pieter I or II Verbrugghen (815). This shows a substantial palace that is somewhere stylistically in-between the Dutch palace of Het Loo by Daniel Marot and Filippo Juvarra's castello di Rivoli. Alas, this design, however grand, has no more pretention than to be a small illustration within a large floral composition.

Whether built, subsequently demolished or only evoked in a floral composition, it has been the intention of this thesis to show that much like Antwerpen architecture of the late seventeenth century, the history of Flemish sculpture of this period is a major story still very largely to be rediscovered through its art, its manufacture and its commerce.



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Appendices

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List of illustrations

Frontispiece. Onze-Lieve-Vrouwebasiliek, Scherpenheuvel.

Frontispiece. David II Teniers, Monkey Sculptor's Studio, oil on copper, 23 x 32 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

1. Jan Frans van Geel, Boreas and Orithyia, terracotta, 59.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.

Chapter 1

101. Gaspar Bouttats, The 1566 Iconoclasts at work in the cathedral of Antwerpen, etching, 25.9 x 39.1 cm, private collection.
102. Dirk van Delen, The 1566 Iconoclasts at work, oil on panel, 110 x 82 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
103. Sebastiaen van den Eynde, epitaph of Cornelis Landschot, black and white marble, alabaster, with an oil painting by Cornelis de Vos (?), Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen.
104. Michiel I van der Voort (transformed by Jan Frans van Geel), pulpit with the Conversion of St Norbert, oak, cathedral, Mechelen. (See 485.)
105. Anonymous engraver after Adriaen van de Venne, Dolls' stall, engraving in Jacob Cats's *Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuwen tijdt*, Den Haag, 1632.
106. Willem Ignatius Kerricx, abbot's range of the abbey of Tongerlo.
107. Peter I Verbrugghen, high altarpiece, black and white marble, Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen.
108. Peter II Verbrugghen, drawing after the high altarpiece of the Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen, 55.2 x 35.5 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
109. Artus II Quellinus, tomb monument to Anne-Catherine de Lamboy, black and white marble, life-size figures, Virga Jesse basilica, Hasselt.
110. Peter I Neeffs and Frans II Francken, The Interior of the Cathedral of Antwerpen, oil on panel, art market.
111. Alexander van Papenhoven, Venus and Cupid, marble, 143 cm high, Schloß Oranienburg.
112. Modern cast after Gaspard Marsy, fountain of Venus and Cupid, Het Loo, Apeldoorn.
113. Michiel J. D'Heur, Fisherman and Lady Vegetable Gatherer, Bentheimer stone, life-size statues, Anglesey Abbey (The National Trust), Cambridgeshire.
114. Jan van der Heyden, The Garden of Huis Ten Bosch, oil on canvas, 22.1 x 29.5 cm high, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.
115. Romeyn de Hooghe, The Garden of the Tour et Tassis Palace in Brussels, etching, 34.5 x 27 cm high, art market.
116. Roucourt, Autumn, terracotta, 95 cm high, Kasteel Hex.
117. Circle of Jacques Couplet, Cupid and a Young Lion, marble, 74 cm wide, Anglesey Abbey (The National Trust), Cambridgeshire.
118. Jacques Bergé, Dying Gladiator, marble, 63 x 145 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.

119. Circle of Jan Peter I van Bourscheit, Autumn and Winter, marble, 90 cm high, private collection.
120. Michiel I van der Voort, Bacchus and Flora, marble, life-size statues, Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire.
121. Willem de Groff, Kurfürst Maximilian I and Kurfürst Max II Emanuel, gilt bronze, 20 cm high (or 40 cm high with the socle that is not shown), Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, München.
122. Anonymous nineteenth-century remakes, the dukes of Brabant Joannes IV and Philippus, stone, life-size busts, Grand' Place, Brussels.
123. Bartholomeus Eggers, Julius Caesar, marble, 85 cm high, Schloß Oranienburg.
124. Servaes Cardon, St Paul, terracotta, 28 cm high, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
125. Willem van Haecht, The Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest, oil on panel, 104 x 139 cm, Rubenshuis, Antwerpen.
126. Frans II Francken, Collector's Cabinet, oil on panel, 89 x 109 cm, art market.
127. Frans II Francken, An Art Cabinet, oil on panel, 56 x 85 cm, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen.
128. David II Teniers, The Gallery of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels, oil on copper, 106 x 129 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.
129. Willem van Ehrenberg et al., A Feigned Collector's Cabinet, oil on canvas, 141 x 236 cm high, Alte Pinakothek, München.
130. Laurent Delvaux, Entombment, terracotta, 30 x 66.5 cm, private collection.
131. Rombout Verhulst, tomb monument to Maarten Tromp, terracotta models in wooden frame, 130 x 86 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
132. Attributed to Lucas Faydherbe, Gaspar de Crayer, terracotta, 51 cm high, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
133. Jan Baptist Xavery, Bust of a Priest, terracotta, 34.5 cm high, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
134. Matthieu Kessels, tomb monument to the comtesse de Celles, plaster model, 154.5 x 197 x 70.5 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
135. Joannes Cardon, Maria Lactans, terracotta, 43 cm high, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck Collection.
136. Joannes Cardon, Madonna and Child, terracotta, 31 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
137. Joannes Cardon, Madonna and Child with St John, terracotta, 58 cm high, private collection.
138. Jan-Baptist Xavery, Pastoral Scene, marble, 52 x 46 cm, Lakenhalmuseum, Leiden.
139. Crispijn van de Passe, Drawing Academy, engraving, in his Van't light der Teken en Schilderkonst, Amsterdam, 1643.
140. Jacob Denijs, Drawing, Modelling and Painting Academy, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, formerly Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen.
141. Michiel Sweerts, Drawing Academy, oil on canvas, 76.5 x 110 cm, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.
142. Jan van Logteren, Male Academy, red chalk, 44 x 33.7 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.

143. Lucas Faydherbe, Risen Christ, detail from the tomb monument to archbishop Andreas Cruesen, marble, life-size statue, cathedral, Mechelen.
144. Jérôme II du Quesnoy, Risen Christ, detail from the tomb monument to bishop Antonius Triest, marble, life-size statue, cathedral, Gent. (See 622)
145. Anonymous, écorché foot, terracotta, 17.5 x 33 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
146. Anonymous, Male Academy, terracotta, 61 x 26.5 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
147. Jan Steen, A Master Correcting a Pupil's Drawing, oil on panel, 24 x 20 cm, private collection.
148. Michiel Sweerts, Painter's Studio, oil on canvas, 71 x 74 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
149. Jacob van Oost, Painter's Studio, oil on canvas, 111.5 x 150.5 cm, Groeningemuseum, Brugge.
150. Adriaen van der Werff, Selfportrait with a Plaster Cast, oil on canvas, 15 x 13 cm, Kunsthau Heylshof, Worms.
151. Michiel Sweerts, An Artist's Studio with a Woman Sewing, oil on canvas, 82.5 x 106.7 cm, Unicef, Rau Collection, Köln.
152. Wallerant Vaillant, Boy in the Studio, mezzotint, 27.5 x 21.3 cm, Witt Collection, London.
153. Michiel Sweerts, Artist's Studio, oil on canvas, 73.5 x 58.8 cm, Detroit Institute of Arts.
154. Adriaen van der Werff, The Study of Antique Sculptures, oil on copper, 26 x 18 cm, private collection.
155. Philippe Joseph Tassaert, A Brussels Drawing Academy with a Plaster Cast of the Borghese Gladiator, pen and brown ink with brown wash over graphite, 33 x 40.6 cm, British Museum, London.
156. Gabriel Metsu, Young Lady Drawing, oil on panel, 36.3 x 30.7 cm, National Gallery, London.
157. Anonymous draughtsman, Two Views of the Figure of Doctrine and Two Further Sketches, chalk, pen and ink, 15.8 x 23.5 cm, Witt Collection, London.
158. Bernart Picart, details of the four views of The Tomb Monument of the Cardinal de Richelieu, engraving, private collection.
159. Anonymous draughtsman, St James, black and white chalk, grey wash, 29.2 x 23.7 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
160. Artus II Quellinus, St James, central marble figure of the high altarpiece, life-size figure, Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen.
161. Anonymous draughtsman, St Peter, black chalk on blue paper, white highlights, 52.4 x 26.2 cm, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Wien.
162. Artus I Quellinus, St Peter, marble statue on the epitaph of Pieter Saboth, life-size statue, Sint-Andrieskerk, Antwerpen.
163. Artus I Quellinus, St Peter, terracotta, 90 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
164. Anonymous draughtsman, Mater Dolorosa and Other Sketches, black chalk, white and red highlights on blue paper, 29 x 23.6 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.

165. Attributed to Lucas Faydherbe, Mater Dolorosa, marble, under-life-size statue, Rubens chapel, Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen.
166. Rubens, two sheets showing The Younger Son of Laocoon, black chalk with white highlighting, 41.1 x 26 cm and 44.3 x 26.5 cm, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milano.
167. Anonymous draughtsman, The Virgin and Child, black and red chalk, white highlights, 24.5 x 18.5 cm, Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
168. Anonymous draughtsman, Bishop Antonius Triest, black chalk, 33.8 x 26.1 cm, Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
169. Anonymous draughtsman, Remorse Caryatid, red and black chalk, 32 x 15.3 cm, Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
170. Jan Claudius de Cock, Bacchic Group, pen and ink, 29.7 x 18 cm, private collection.
171. Jan Claudius de Cock, tomb monument after the Beata Ludovica Albertoni, pen and brown ink with grey and blue wash, 15.7 x 16.5 cm, private collection.
172. Bernini, Beata Ludovica Albertoni, marble and stucco, life-size figure, S. Francesco a Ripa, Roma.
173. Attributed to Peter II Verbrugghen, The Tomb Monument of Bishop d'Allamont in the Cathedral of Gent, pen and ink with wash over red chalk, 30.1 x 19.6 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
174. Jean Del Cour, tomb monument to bishop d'Allamont, black and white marble and gilt metal, life-size statues, cathedral, Gent.
175. Simon Joseph Duray, Minerva, terracotta, 61 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
176. Jérôme II du Quesnoy, Minerva, marble, life-size statue, Schloß St. Emmeram, Regensburg.
177. Michiel van der Voort, Flute Player, terracotta, 37 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
178. Artus I Quellinus, Day, terracotta, 43 cm high, Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
179. Anonymous sculptor, Anima damnata, painted stone, life-size bust, private collection.
180. Anton Goubau, Artists Drawing after Antique Sculpture in Roma, oil on panel, 130 x 164 cm, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen.
181. Laurent Delvaux, St Peter, after Monnot, black chalk, 19 x 13 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
182. Peter II Verbrugghen, sketches including one in pen and ink over pencil after the lamp designed by Bernini and executed by Peter Verpoorten in the Chigi chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Roma, 17 x 13 cm, private collection.
183. Peter II Verbrugghen, sketch after Algardi's Beheading of St Paul in S. Paolo Maggiore, Bologna, pencil and red chalk, 17 x 13 cm, private collection.
184. Peter II Verbrugghen, sketch after 185, red chalk, 17 x 13 cm, private collection.
185. François du Quesnoy, mourning putto on the Jacob de Hase monument, marble, c.50 cm high, Santa Maria della Pietà in Campo Santo Teutonico, Roma.

186. Peter II Verbrugghen, two sketches after the monument to cardinal de Richelieu at the church of the Sorbonne, Paris, pencil, 17 x 13 cm, private collection.
187. Pieter Pepers, Charity, terracotta, 82 x 61 cm, art market.

Chapter 2

201. Hans van Mildert, altarpiece dedicated to St Gummarus, black and red marble, alabaster, Sint-Gummaruskerk, Lier. (Shown on the feast day of St Gummarus, the city's patron saint, when the reliquary casket is taken round in procession.)
202. Attributed to Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, Madonna and Child on the globe with two angels and a baldachin, pen and ink, 18.5 x 8.5 cm, Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
203. Peter I Verbrugghen, Epitaph with Father Time, pen and ink with wash, 20 x 12.7 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
204. Peter I Verbrugghen, Boreas and Orithyia, pen and ink with wash, 21.6 x 13.3 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
205. Michiel I van der Voort, two sketches for a St John, pen and ink and grey wash over red chalk and pencil, 10.9 x 13.1 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
206. Michiel I van der Voort, three sketches for a St Paul in the Sint-Pauluskerk of Antwerpen, pen and ink and grey wash, 8.4 x 16.6 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
207. Michiel I van der Voort, four sketches for a St Peter in the Sint-Pauluskerk of Antwerpen, pen and ink and grey wash over red chalk and pencil, 11.2 x 22.3 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
208. Michiel I van der Voort, four sketches for a St James the Minor in the Sint-Pauluskerk of Antwerpen, pen and ink and grey wash, 13 x 28 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
209. Michiel I van der Voort, St Andrew, terracotta, 56 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
210. Michiel I van der Voort, five sketches for statues in the Sint-Pauluskerk of Antwerpen, pen and ink and grey wash over pencil, 10.5 x 31 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
211. Michiel I van der Voort, six sketches for statues in the Sint-Pauluskerk of Antwerpen, pen and ink and grey wash over red chalk and pencil, 9.9 x 31.1 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
212. Michiel I van der Voort, St James the Minor, St Peter and St Andrew, painted stone, life-size statues, Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen.
213. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, sketch and design for a title page, pen and ink with wash over pencil, 9.4 x 12.4 cm and 15.4 x 20.3 cm, Fondation Custodia – Collection Frits Lugt, Paris.
214. Anonymous draughtsman, design for a pilastered or columned wall with a double door and a niche for a statue, pen and ink with wash, 32.5 x 20.3 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
215. Rubens?, design for a reliquary casquet with two angels on top, black chalk, 26.7 x 17 cm, Courtauld Institute, Seilern Collection, London.

216. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, design for a columned wall with niches for statues, pen and ink with wash over pencil, 49 x 63 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
217. Jan Claudius de Cock, design for the entrance to the choir in the Sint-Jacobskerk of Antwerpen, pen and ink, 25 x 15.1 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
218. Jan Claudius de Cock, design for the entrance to the choir in the Sint-Jacobskerk of Antwerpen, pen and ink with wash, 26.9 x 35.2 cm, Museum Vleeshuis, Antwerpen.
219. Michiel I van der Voort, design for the monument of Jan Frans van Cottem, pen and ink with wash over pencil and red chalk, 18.9 x 7.8 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
220. Michiel I van der Voort, design for a statue of Neptune, pen and ink with wash over pencil, 20 x 10 cm, Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
221. Anonymous draughtsman, Saturn, pen and ink and grey wash, 27.4 x 12 cm, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Bremen.
222. Artus I Quellinus, Saturn, marble, life-size figure, royal palace, Amsterdam.
223. Peter I Verbrugghen, partial design for an altarpiece with a statue of St Paul, pen and ink, black and red chalk and brown wash over pencil, 68.1 x 32.7 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
224. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, design for a tomb slab, pen and ink with wash over pencil, 31.2 x 18 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
226. Melchior Hamers, design for an altar table, red chalk, 17 x 28 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
227. Melchior Hamers, another design for an altar table, pen and brown ink with grey and yellow wash, 18 x 22.5 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
228. Anonymous draughtsman, design for a reliquary shrine, pen and brown ink with grey and yellow wash, 15 x 28 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
229. Gilles Gaspard Pierard, design for a verger's staff, pen and grey ink with grey and yellow wash over pencil, 36 x 22.5 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
230. Willem Kerricx, design for an exhibition throne, pen and brown ink, grey, blue and yellow wash, 33.2 x 24.2 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
231. Willem Kerricx, exhibition throne, marble and gilding, Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen.
232. Anonymous draughtsman, design for a triumphal arch (?), grey and white gouache on blue ground, 45 x 33 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
233. Peter Scheemaekers, design for the high altar of the church of the Sint-Bernardusabdij at Hemiksem, black chalk and pen and ink over pencil, 53 x 32 cm, Museum Vleeshuis, Antwerpen.
234. Attributed to Antoon Losson, design for the high altar of the Jesuit church of Mechelen, pencil, 29 x 26 cm, Promptuarium Pictorum, Heverlee.

235. Theodoor Verhaegen, design for the high altarpiece of the Sint-Michielskerk at Waarloos, pen and brown ink, 52.5 x 33.5 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
236. Anonymous draughtsman, design for an altarpiece, pen and ink over pencil, 23 x 24.2 cm, Promptuarium Pictorum, Heverlee.
237. Jan Erasmus Quellinus, design for a refectory fresco of the Sint-Michielsabdij at Antwerpen, gouache on paper, 59 x 47.5 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
238. Anonymous draughtsman, drawing after the epitaph to bishop Marius Ambrosius Capello (1652-1676) in the cathedral of Antwerpen, pen and ink over pencil, black chalk, 29 x 19.1 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen. (See 270)
239. Alexander Schobbens, drawing after the epitaph to the Keurlinck-Van Delft family in the cathedral of Antwerpen, pen and ink over pencil, 45.5 x 32 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
240. Attributed to Willem Kerricx, design for an altarpiece, pen and ink with grey and yellow wash over pencil, 58.5 x 37.5 cm, Promptuarium Pictorum, Heverlee.
241. Attributed to Artus II Quellinus, design for the pedestal of an equestrian monument cum fountain, black and red chalk, pen and brown ink, grey wash, 51.8 x 36.3 cm, private collection.
242. Jan Claudius de Cock, design for a pulpit, pen and brown ink, grey wash, red chalk, over pencil, 35 x 27.7 cm, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.
243. Attributed to Artus II Quellinus, design for a pulpit, pen and ink with wash, 81 x 33 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
244. Denis Georges Bayar, detail of an altarpiece, black marble, Notre-Dame, Namur.
245. Library, Parkabdij, Heverlee.
246. Theodoor Galle, Fall of St Norbert, engraving, 10.8 x 17.6 cm, Parkabdij, Heverlee.
247. Jan Christiaen Hansche, St Jerome, stucco, library of the Parkabdij, Heverlee.
248. Jan Christiaen Hansche, Fall of St Norbert, stucco, library of the Parkabdij, Heverlee.
249. Jan Christiaen Hansche, Hercules and Geryon, stucco, château de Beaulieu, Machelen.
250. Jan Christiaen Hansche, Hercules and Geryon, stucco, château de Modave.
251. Cornelis Cort, Hercules and the Nemean Lion, engraving, 22.5 x 28.7 cm, private collection.
252. Jan Christiaen Hansche, Hercules and the Nemean Lion, stucco, château de Modave.
253. Antique relief, Hercules and the Nemean Lion, Villa Medici, Roma.
254. Niccolò Vicentino, Hercules and the Nemean Lion, chiaroscuro woodcut, 9.6 x 12.3 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
255. Anonymous draughtsman, four half altarpiece designs, pen and ink, 40 x 29 cm, Promptuarium Pictorum, Heverlee.
256. Anonymous engraver, the altarpiece with the miraculous Virgin of Halle, engraving, 42 x 26.5 cm, Promptuarium Pictorum, Heverlee.

257. Two anonymous draughtsmen, designs for decorations at the Jesuit church of Mechelen, pen and ink with wash, 26 x 16 cm and 26 x 16.5 cm, Promptuarium Pictorum, Heverlee.
258. Jan Claudius de Cock, design for a public statue of Philip V of Spain, pen and ink over pencil, 42.4 x 21.2 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
259. Jan Claudius de Cock, fragment of a design for a public statue of Philip V of Spain showing a slave, pen and ink with wash, 19.2 x 12.9 cm, Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
260. Michiel I van der Voort, design for a reliquary casket, red chalk and pencil, 20.7 x 14.2 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
261. Michiel I van der Voort, design for an altarpiece, pen and ink with grey wash over pencil, 49.5 x 25.5 cm, private collection.
262. Peter Scheemaeckers, design for a brotherhood 'catalogue', pen and ink with grey wash over pencil, 55.7 x 29.5 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
263. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, design for confessionals of the Jesuit church of Antwerpen, pen and ink with wash over pencil, 60 x 43.5 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
264. Peter II Verbrugghen, design for an epitaph, pen and brown ink, brown and pink wash, over black chalk and pencil, 16.1 x 9.6 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
265. Anonymous draughtsman, niche with a statue of St Ignatius (the top flap showing an alternative), pen and ink with grey and pink wash, 40.5 x 28.5 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
266. Willem Kerricx, design for an exhibition throne, pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, 28.7 x 19.4 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
267. Peter Scheemaeckers, tomb monument to comte Charles-Florentin de Salm, Sint-Catharinakerk, Hoogstraten.
268. Peter Scheemaeckers, design for the tomb monument to comte Charles-Florentin de Salm, pen and brown ink with grey wash, 49.3 x 31.5 cm, Museum Vleeshuis, Antwerpen.
269. Peter Scheemaeckers, partial design for the tomb monument to comte Charles-Florentin de Salm, pen and brown ink partially over pencil, 44.5 x 38 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
270. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, epitaph to bishop Marius Ambrosius Capello (1652-1676), black, red and white marble, gilding and polychromy, giltwood, cathedral, Antwerpen. (See 238)
271. Peter Scheemaeckers, tomb monument to Don Francisco Marcos del Pico marqués de Velasco, the Spanish governor of the castle of Antwerpen, black and white marble, gilding, Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen.
272. Peter Scheemaeckers, design for the tomb monument to Don Francisco Marcos del Pico marqués de Velasco, pen and brown ink, grey and brown wash, over pencil, 44 x 25.3 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
273. Peter Scheemaeckers, model of the figure of Don Francisco Marcos del Pico marqués de Velasco, terracotta, 33 x 53 cm, Vleeshuis Museum, Antwerpen.
274. Jan Claudius de Cock, tomb monument to Jan Antonius van Wonsel, black and white marble, gilding, human skull, Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen.

275. Jan Claudius de Cock, Aurora, pen and brown ink, grey wash and red chalk, 22.5 x 14.3 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
276. Anonymous painter, the new high altarpiece for the Sint-Jacobskerk of Brugge, oil on canvas, 115 x 59 cm, Sint-Jacobskerk, Brugge.
277. Cornelis Gaillard, high altarpiece, black, white and red Rance marble, Sint-Jacobskerk, Brugge.
278. Jan Claudius de Cock, design for an altarpiece at the Dominican abbey of Bornem, pencil, pen and brown ink, grey, yellow and pink wash, red chalk, 54.2 x 30.3 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
279. Jan Claudius de Cock, design for an altarpiece at the Dominican abbey of Bornem, pen and brown ink over pencil, red chalk, 41.3 x 27.6 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
280. Jan Claudius de Cock, design for a covered vase, pen and ink and grey wash, 34.3 x 27.7 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
281. Michiel I van der Voort, design for the altarpiece in the Verrijzeniskapel of the Sint-Jacobskerk of Antwerpen, pen and ink, red chalk, 31.5 x 19.5 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
282. Attributed to Jan Frans van Turnhout, two designs for a Marian altarpiece in the Jesuit church of Mechelen, pen and ink over pencil, 48.5 x 30 cm, Promptuarium Pictorum, Heverlee.
283. Attributed to Jan Frans van Turnhout, altarpiece with a statue of the Virgin attributed to Maria Faydherbe, black and white marble, giltwood, Sint-Peter-en-Paulkerk, Mechelen.
284. Rubens, design for a cartouche on the façade of the Jesuit church of Antwerpen, pen and brown ink with wash over black chalk, with white heightening, 37 x 26.7 cm, British Museum, London.
285. Willem Ignatius Kericx, design for a confessional at the Sint-Pieterskerk of Puurs, pen and brown ink and grey wash over pencil, 25.4 x 33.9 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
286. Workshop of Jan Peter I van Bourscheit, design for a confessional at the Jesuit church of Antwerpen, pen and ink and wash, 29 x 45 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
287. Artus II Quellinus and workshop (?), two designs for the tomb monument to Louis Roger Claris, pen and ink with coloured washes over pencil, 36.5 x 27.5 cm and 49.5 x 33.5 cm, Archives générales du Royaume, Brussels.
288. Anonymous tracings of Rubens's designs for spandrel trumpeting angels, pen and ink over pencil, 26 x 27.5 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
289. Anonymous draughtsman, design for an altarpiece, pen and ink, coloured washes, on tracing paper, 47.2 x 31.5 cm, private collection.
290. Frans Allaert (and workshop?), design for a brotherhood 'catalogue', chalk? on lime plastering, Sint-Niklaaskerk, Gent.
291. Giovanni Battista Artario, design for the monument to the 'Türken-Louis', red chalk on lime plastering, Schloß Rastatt.
292. Johannes Schütz and Thomas Heilmann, monument to the 'Türken-Louis', scagliola, stucco, paint and gilding, Stiftskirche, Baden-Baden.

293. Anonymous draughtsman, seven designs for epitaphs, pen and ink and brown wash, *Promptuarium Pictorum*, Heverlee.
294. Jan Peter I van Bourscheit, design for a garden sculpture of two frolicking putti, pen and black ink, grey wash, 14.3 x 11.8 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
295. Attributed to Louis Willemsens, design for an angel, pen and brown ink, grey wash, 18.7 x 9 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
296. Louis Willemsens, angel, painted wood, life-size statue, Sint-Niklaaskerk, Brussels.
297. Walter Pompe, Hercules and the Nemean Lion, pen and brown ink, grey wash, 22 x 14.1 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
298. Artus I Quellinus (or workshop?), contract and design for the tomb monument to graaf Engelbert van Immerseel and Helena de Montmorency, pen and ink and grey wash over pencil, 25 x 57 cm, Heeswijk-Dinther, Norbertijnenabdij van Berne, Parochiearchief Bokhoven.
299. Artus I Quellinus, tomb monument to graaf Engelbert van Ymmerseel and Helena de Montmorency, black, white and red marble, Sint-Antonius-Abt, Bokhoven.
300. Artus II Quellinus, contract and design for a confessional at Beringen, pen and ink with black and red chalk and white highlights, 40.9 x 37.8 cm, Kobberstiksamling, København.
301. Michiel I van der Voort, design for a tomb monument, pen and ink with wash, 46.7 x 29.8 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
302. Anonymous draughtsman, design for the high altarpiece of the Jesuit church of Lier, pen and brown ink with grey wash over pencil, 43.8 x 31.8 cm, *Promptuarium Pictorum*, Heverlee.
303. Anonymous draughtsman, design for an epitaph, pen and brown ink with brown wash over pencil, 21 x 14.4 cm, *Promptuarium Pictorum*, Heverlee.
304. Artus I Quellinus, St Ignatius and St Francis Xavier, marble, life-size statues, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
305. Artus II Quellinus, design for a tomb monument to Hans Schack, pen and ink with wash over pencil, 54 x 39.3 cm, København, Rigsarkivet, Privat Arkivet Hans Schack.
306. Jan van Delen, tomb monument to Jacques d'Ennetières, detail, black and white marble, cathedral, Brussels.

Chapter 3

401. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, pulpit (the stairs on either side later), oak partially gilt, cathedral, Brussels.
402. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, pulpit design (recto), black chalk, 32.1 x 19.1 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
403. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, partial pulpit design (verso), black chalk, 32.1 x 19.1 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
404. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, pulpit design, black chalk, 38 x 18.5 cm, *Promptuarium Pictorum*, Heverlee.
405. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, Eve, terracotta, 53 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.

406. Peter II Verbrugghen, design for the epitaph Van der Cammen-Manriques, pen and grey ink over red chalk, 37.4 x 15.9 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
407. Peter II Verbrugghen, design for the epitaph Van der Cammen-Manriques, pen and brown ink, grey wash over pencil, 19.3 x 11.1 cm, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York.
408. Peter II Verbrugghen, Eternity, terracotta, 25 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
409. Peter II Verbrugghen, epitaph Van der Cammen-Manriques, black and white marble and stone, under-life-size figure, Sint-Gummaruskerk, Lier.
410. Peter Scheemaekers, design for choir stalls, pen and brown ink, black and red chalk, pink wash, 33.9 x 43.9 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
411. Peter Scheemaekers, model for choir stalls, terracotta, 48 x 62 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
412. Circle of Jacques Bergé, A Bishop Saint, terracotta, c.75 cm high, private collection.
413. Jean Del Cour, The Virgin and Child, terracotta, 22 cm high, Musée Curtius, Liège.
414. Pierre-Etienne Falconet (inv.), Workshop interior, engraving in the Encyclopédie.
415. Laurent Delvaux, Virgin and Child, terracotta, 35.3 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
416. Pierre-Etienne Falconet (inv.), Modelling tools, engraving in the Encyclopédie.
417. Wire end tools, owned by Constantin Meunier, Musée Meunier, Brussels.
418. Michelange, large spatula and pair of compasses, owned by Constantin Meunier, Musée Meunier, Brussels.
419. School of Artus I Quellinus, Religion, terracotta, 47 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
420. Jan Claudius de Cock, Theology, terracotta, 30 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
421. Willem Kerricx, St Jerome, terracotta, 28.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
422. Louis Willemsens, Mater Dolorosa, terracotta, 38 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
423. Anonymous artist, Church Doctor, terracotta, 50 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
424. Anonymous artist, St Peter, terracotta, 45.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
425. Anonymous artist, Kneeling Deacon, terracotta, 35 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
426. Louis Willemsens, St Apollina, terracotta, 45 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
427. Anonymous artist, St John of the Cross (?), terracotta, 49 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
428. Cornelis van Dael, Mater Dolorosa, half-fired clay, 60 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.

429. Cornelis van Dael, Mater Dolorosa, polychromed terracotta, 58 cm high, private collection.
430. Cornelis van Dael, Crucifixion with the Virgin and St John, stone, as photographed outside the Vleeshuis, Antwerpen, in the early twentieth century.
431. Anonymous artist, Saint in Priestly Dress, terracotta, 48 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
432. Gabriel Grupello, Narcissus, terracotta, 23.6 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
433. Gabriel Grupello, Diana, terracotta, 24 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
434. Pierard, Mary Magdalen, terracotta, 74 cm high, private collection.
435. Anonymous artist, Church Doctor, terracotta, 49 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
436. Attributed to Willem Kerricx, Church Doctor, terracotta, 56.5 cm high, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
437. Artus II Quellinus, The Annunciation, The Visitation, The Presentation in the Temple and The Assumption of the Virgin, terracotta, resp. 27 x 13.5 cm, 18 x 26 cm, 18 x 28 cm, 27 x 14 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
438. Jan Baptist van der Haeghen, St Joseph, terracotta, 38.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
439. Michiel I van der Voort, Justitia, terracotta, 51 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
440. Michiel I van der Voort, Constantia, terracotta, 54.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
441. Adriaan Nijs, Christ, terracotta, 30 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
442. Attributed to Walter Pompe, The Abduction of Proserpina, terracotta, 64 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
444. Jacob Peeters, Jesus Preaching on the Mountain, terracotta, 27 x 24.5 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
445. Anonymous artist, Kneeling Putto, terracotta, 32 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
446. Thomas Quellinus, Prudence, terracotta, 63 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
447. Attributed to Willem Kerricx, Ecce Agnus Dei, terracotta, 55 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
448. Jan Claudius de Cock, Boreas and Orythia, terracotta, 49 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
449. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, Church Triumphant on a Globe, terracotta, 47.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
450. Willem Kerricx, Mary Magdalen, terracotta, 36 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
451. Louis Willemsens, Mater Dolorosa, terracotta, 43 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
452. Louis Willemsens, Religion, terracotta, 51 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.

453. Anonymous artist, Seated Church Doctor, terracotta, 43 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
454. Artus II Quellinus, Angel with Chalice full of Grapes, terracotta, 59 x 27.5 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
455. Attributed to Louis Willemsens, pulpit model, terracotta, 53 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
456. Anonymous artist, two models of an Owl, terracotta, 23.8 cm and 21.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
457. Anonymous artist, Owl, painted metal, Schloß Schwetzingen.
458. François Joseph Janssens, Religion, terracotta, 46.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
459. Johann Friedrich Lück (model), The Flute Lesson, 34 cm high, Frankenthal porcelain, Reissmuseum, Mannheim.
460. François Joseph Janssens, Prometheus, terracotta, 55 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
461. Anonymous artist, Roman Emperor, terracotta, 41 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
462. Adrien Joseph Anrion, Religion, terracotta, 38 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
463. Johannes Eyckmans, Virgin and Child, terracotta, 68 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
464. Louis Willemsens, Immaculate Conception, terracotta, 31 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
465. Anonymous artist, Hope (?), terracotta, 24 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
466. Cornelis de Smet, female statuette, terracotta, 24 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
467. Willem Kerricx, St Anthony of Padova, terracotta, 43 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
468. Laurent Delvaux, St Liévin, terracotta, 46 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
469. Laurent Delvaux, St Jerome, terracotta, 45 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
470. Laurent Delvaux, St Anthony, terracotta, 39.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
471. Attributed to Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, Aaron, terracotta, 45 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
472. Monogrammist DN, St Sebastian, terracotta, 76 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
473. P. Coppieters after Mathieu de Wasmuël, cut through a ceramics kiln (total height about 10m), exhibition panel, Musée du Vieux Nimy, Mons.
474. Les fils d'Emile Deyrolles, terracotta firing procedures, lithographed teaching panel, Musée du Vieux Nimy, Mons.
475. Modern kiln model, terracotta, Musée de Ferrière-la-Petite.
476. David II Teniers, A Lime Kiln, oil on canvas, 58.5 x 88 cm, Wellington Museum, London.

477. David II Teniers, *Brick Making*, oil on panel, 43.8 x 67 cm, Dulwich Picture Gallery, London.
478. Anonymous, *Bishop Saint*, terracotta, 34.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
479. *Cazette*, terracotta, Musée du Vieux Nimy, Mons.
480. Jan Frans van Geel, *The Prodigal Son*, terracotta, 53 cm high, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection. During conservation.
481. Attributed to Lucas Faydherbe, *Jupiter*, terracotta, 46.4 x 74 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
482. Peter I Scheemaekers, *Mary Magdalen*, terracotta, 42.8 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
483. Alexander van Papenhoven, *St Jordan Pilgrim*, terracotta, 46.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
484. Anonymous artist, *crucifix*, terracotta, 57.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
485. Michiel I van der Voort, *pulpit model with the Conversion of St Norbert*, terracotta, 63 cm high, Stedelijke Musea, Mechelen. (See 104.)
486. Frans II Somers, *pulpit model with Jesus and the Samaritan Woman*, terracotta, 46 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
487. Sebastian Haupt and Joseph Resler, *model for the high altarpiece of the Mariahilfeskirche in Wien*, polychromed and gilt wood, 140 cm high, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, München.
488. Jan Peter I van Bourscheit, *vase*, marble, 134 cm high, Osterrieth Huis, Dexia Bank, Antwerpen.
489. Jan Peter I van Bourscheit, *Rape of Proserpina*, terracotta, 40.5 x 43 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
490. Anonymous artist, *vase*, terracotta and wood, 130 cm high, Design Museum, Gent.
491. Balthazar Paul Ommeganck, *sheep*, terracotta, 33 x 41.5 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
492. Attributed to Balthazar Paul Ommeganck, *sheep's head*, terracotta, 25 cm high, Stedelijke Musea, Mechelen.
493. Jan Baptist Xavery, *Autumn*, terracotta, 25 cm high, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
494. Jan Baptist Xavery, *Autumn*, boxwood, 25 cm high, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
495. Attributed to Artus I Quellinus, *Omphale*, boxwood, 12.5 cm high, Waddesdon Bequest, British Museum, London.
496. Attributed to Artus I Quellinus, *Omphale*, ivory, 12 cm high, Robert H Smith collection, promised gift to the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.
497. Artus I Quellinus, *Raadpensionaris Johan de Witt*, marble, 95 cm high, Dordrechts Museum.
498. Thomas Quellinus, *two busts of Thomas Fredenshagen*, terracotta and marble, 61 cm and 82 cm high, Sankt-Annemuseum, Lübeck.
499. Rombout Verhulst, *Willem Jozef baron van Gendt*, terracotta, 42 cm high, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

500. Rombout Verhulst, Michiel Adriaensz de Ruyter, terracotta, 37 cm high, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
501. Rombout Verhulst, Jacob van Reygersbergh, terracotta, 55 cm high, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
502. Rombout Verhulst, Jacob van Reygersbergh, marble, 63 cm high, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.
503. Gabriel Grupello, Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm, red chalk, 33.9 x 42 cm, 'museum kunst palast', Düsseldorf.
504. Louis Willemsens, The governor general conde de Monterrey, two sketches in pen and ink with wash over pencil, 33.3 x 23 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
505. Jan Baptist Xavery, Prinz Wilhelm von Hessen-Kassel, terracotta, 22 cm high, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Kassel.
506. Jan Peter I van Bourscheit, Philip V of Spain, marble, 95 cm high, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen.
507. Georg Petel (?), tankard model, wax, 19.4 cm high, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.
508. Georg Petel, tankard, silver mounted ivory, 28.2 cm high, Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Augsburg.
509. Lucas Faydherbe, Dancing Putti, terracotta relief, 33 x 69 cm, Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels.
510. Lucas Faydherbe, Dancing Putti, ivory, 33.3 x 17.1 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.
511. Johann Georg Pinsel, St Peter, wood, 5.2 cm high, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, München.
512. Jan Boeksent, St Luke, fruitwood, 33 cm high, Sint-Pieterskerk, Gent.
513. Anonymous artist, domestic altarpiece, wood, 107 x 60.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
514. Attributed to Rombout Verhulst, Mourning Putti over a Skull, wood, 79 x 68 cm, Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
515. Workshop of Hans von der Pütt, model for the epitaph to Claus von Hastver, limewood, 225 x 106 cm, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg.
516. Attributed to Marc de Vos, St Michael and Three Devils, painted stucco, town hall, Brussels.
517. Anonymous artist, epitaph to Charles II de Trazegnies, blue stone and stucco, église Saint-Martin, Trazegnies.
518. Theodoor Verhaegen, Father Time, painted stucco and wood, life-size statue, Stedelijke Musea, Mechelen.
520. Guillaume Evrard, St Sebastian, painted wood in St Rémy marble altarpiece surround, église Saint-Martin, Awenne.
521. François du Quesnoy, St Andrew, marble, 468 cm high, S. Pietro in Vaticano, Roma.
522. Anonymous etcher, St Andrew, etching, 40 x 29 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
523. Jacob Cocx, St Peter and St Paul, marble, life-size statues, Sint-Niklaaskerk, Gent.

524. Workshop of Artus I Quellinus, spandrel relief models, terracotta, 14 x 18.8 cm, Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
525. Workshop of Artus I Quellinus, spandrel relief models, terracotta, 33 x 38.6 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
526. Artus I Quellinus, Head of Medusa, marble, both in the vierschaar, life-size heads, royal palace, Amsterdam.
527. Jan Christiaen Hansche, Hercules and Cerberus, painted stucco, château de Modave.
528. Workshop of Artus I Quellinus, Atlas, painted stucco?, over-life-size statue, royal palace, Amsterdam.
529. Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Mars and Venus, plaster cast, life-size statue, Villa Torlonia, Roma.
530. Workshop of Bernini, Angel, stucco on a core of wood, iron, straw and string, 168 cm high, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Roma.
531. Louis Willemsens, St Martin, painted stucco?, life-size statue, Begijnhofkerk, Lier.
532. Louis Willemsens, St Martin, terracotta, 51.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
533. Lucas Faydherbe, The Adoration of the Shepherds and The Road to Calvary, painted stucco, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Hanswijkkerk, Mechelen.
534. Lucas Faydherbe, The Adoration of the Shepherds and The Road to Calvary, painted terracotta, 100 x 57 cm, private collection.
535. Hubert Gerhard and Carlo di Cesare del Palagio, St James, terracotta, c.100 cm high, St. Ulrich und Afra, Augsburg.
536. Cornelis de Smet, Virgin & Child, terracotta, 79 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
537. Anonymous sculptor, Virgin & Child, terracotta, 85 cm high, Begijnhofkerk, Diest.
538. Anonymous artist, sacrament tower, painted stone and terracotta, Sint-Sulpitiuskerk, Diest.
539. Circle of Ignatius van Logteren, Cleopatra (?), terracotta, 55 cm high, private collection.
540. Lucas Faydherbe, Omphale, terracotta, 76 cm high, Stedelijke Musea, Mechelen.
541. Attributed to Jan Frans Boeckstuyns, Putto with Birdnest, terracotta, 24 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
542. Attributed to Jan Frans Boeckstuyns, Cupid with a Rose, terracotta, 86.5 cm high, Stedelijke Musea, Mechelen.
543. Rombout Verhulst, Maria van Reygersbergh, terracotta, 45 cm high, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
544. Pieter Xavery, Neptune, terracotta, 33.5 x 56 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
545. Pieter Xavery, Flagellation, terracotta, 42.5 x 31.5 cm, Gruuthusemuseum, Brugge.
546. Pieter Xavery, The Wounded Duellist and the Doctor, terracotta, 44 x 69 x 24 cm, Museum Boijmans-Van Bedamuningen, Rotterdam.

547. Pieter Xavery, Two Laughing Jesters, terracotta, 45 cm high, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
548. Pieter Xavery, decorative arch, terracotta on modern painted wood, Lakenhal, Leiden.
549. Jan Peter I van Bourscheit, Two Drinkers, terracotta, c.100 cm wide, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
550. Jacques Bergé, Innocence and Vertumnus, terracotta, 43 and 38 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
551. Jacques Bergé, Minerva fountain, marble and stone, place du Grand Sablon, Brussels.
552. Jacques Bergé, Cupid, terracotta, 28 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
553. Jacques Bergé, Angel, part of the monument to the deceased abbots, painted wood, Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, Ninove.
554. Jacques Bergé, monument to Jan Baptist de Smet, marble, cathedral, Gent.
555. Jacques Bergé, Putto, terracotta, 21 cm high, Musée Calvet, Avignon.
556. Jacques Bergé, Augustin Coppens, terracotta, 27 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
557. Willems, wine fountain model, terracotta, 38 cm high, art market.
558. Anonymous artist, A Saint, terracotta, 40 cm high, private collection.
559. Frans van Loo, St Philip, boxwood, 27 cm high, Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
560. Gérard-Dieudonné Kinable, Virgin & Child, terracotta, 44 cm high, private collection.
561. Gérard-Dieudonné Kinable, Virgin & Child, polychromed terracotta, 45 cm high, Musée Curtius, Liège.
562. Walter Pompe, Cherubs, polychromed terracotta, 21 cm, 17.5 cm and 18 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
563. Anonymous artist, Gilbert van Schoonbeke, painted plaster, textiles, hair, life-size bust, Museum Maagdenhuis, Antwerpen.

Chapter 4

601. Anonymous artist, *Christ carrying the Cross*, embossed leather, 64 x 52 cm, art market.
602. Circle of Andries de Nole, altarpiece design, pen and ink with grey and blue wash, 45.5 x 29.5 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
603. Anonymous artist, high altarpiece surround, ebony and ivory, former Capuchin church, Enghien.
604. Peter I Verbrugghen and Willem Ignatius Kerricx, high altarpiece, marble, painted wood and metal, gilding, Sint-Andrieskerk, Antwerpen.
605. Hans van Mildert, angel and swag on the high altarpiece crowning, seen from the back, marble, painted wood and metal rods, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
606. Mattheus van Beveren (sculpture) and Mattheus van Neckens (polychromy), high altarpiece from the front (incorporating an earlier altarpiece painting) and the back, polychromed and gilt wood, metal rods, Sint-Niklaaskerk, Gent.

607. Laurent Delvaux, pulpit, marble and (painted) wood, cathedral, Gent.
608. Tour et Tassis chapel, black and white marble, gilt and polychromed wooden coats of arms, Notre-Dame du Salon, Brussels.
609. Grey to red marble quarry of Haumont at Vodelée, southern Belgium, the only remaining quarry of this marble still in operation in Belgium (Merbes-Sprimont S.A.).
610. Léonard Defrance, *Marble quarrying in a Sainte-Anne marble quarry*, oil on panel, 41 x 57 cm, Musée Marmottan, Paris.
611. Barent Graat, *The City Stoneyard of Amsterdam*, pen and ink with wash, Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam.
612. Jan Luyken, *A Marble Sawyer*, pen and ink with wash, 9.2 x 7.7 cm, Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
613. Various artists, deambulatory railings, black, white and coloured marbles, cathedral, Gent.
614. Gabriel Grupello, *Adonis*, marble, 182 cm high, art market.
615. Pierre-Etienne Falconet (inv.), *Workshop interior*, engraving in the *Encyclopédie*.
616. Francesco Carradori, plate VIII from his 1802 publication.
617. Jérôme II du Quesnoy, *St Anne and the Virgin*, sandstone, life-size statue, cathedral, Brussels.
618. Jérôme II du Quesnoy, *St Anne and the Virgin*, marble, life-size statue, Sint-Janskerk, Mechelen.
619. Attributed to Artus I Quellinus, mantelpiece, stone, Musée de l'Hôtel de Berny, Amiens.
620. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, mantelpiece design, pen and ink, 41 x 32 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
621. Attributed to Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, mantelpiece model, terracotta, 48 x 36 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
622. Jérôme II du Quesnoy, tomb monument to bishop Antonius Triest, marble, cathedral, Gent. (See 144)
623. Pierre-Etienne Falconet (inv.), *Lifting and Moving sculpture*, engraving in the *Encyclopédie*.
624. Jérôme II du Quesnoy, *Ganymede and the Eagle*, marble, 140 cm high, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster.
625. Anonymous stonemasons, placing instructions, red chalk, royal palace, Amsterdam.
626. Artus I Quellinus (inv.), *Peace*, bronze and other metals, over-life-size statue, royal palace, Amsterdam.
627. Anonymous draughtsman, *A Sculptor's Studio*, pen and brown ink with grey wash on blue paper, 17.4 x 25.8 cm, Kunsthalle, Bremen.
628. Anonymous artist, *A Sculptor's Studio*, oil on canvas, 65 x 56 cm, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow.
629. Jan Jozef II Horemans, *A Painter's Studio* and *A Sculptor's Studio*, oil on canvas, both 34.3 x 26.7 cm, art market.
630. Balthasar van den Bossche, *A Sculptor's Studio*, oil on canvas, 66.5 x 86 cm, art market.

631. Gerard Thomas, *A Painter's Studio* and *A Sculptor's Studio*, oil on canvas, each 69.5 x 59 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
632. Matthys Pool after Geronimo Pischi, frontispiece, engraving, 24.7 x 17.5 cm, private collection.
633. Jan Luyken, *A Sculptor's Studio*, pen and ink, 9.2 x 7.7 cm, Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
634. Jan Luyken, *A Sculptor's Studio*, engraving, 9 x 8.2 cm, private collection.
635. Jacob Jordaens, *The Manufacture of Idols*, black chalk, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris.
636. Gonzales Coques, *Sight*, oil on panel, 18 x 15 cm, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen.
637. Grinling Gibbons and workshop, coats of arms, limewood, Trinity College Library, Cambridge.
638. Artus I Quellinus and workshop, four escutcheons, painted wood, 82.5 x 129.5 cm; 81 x 127 cm; 77.5 x 139.5 cm; 77 x 137 cm, Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
639. Attributed to Artus I Quellinus, design for an escutcheon, pen and ink with wash, 27 x 41.1 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
640. Peter II and Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, communion rail, oak, Sint-Pieter-en-Paulkerk, Mechelen.
641. Lucas Faydherbe and Adriaan Nijs, high altarpiece, marble, Sint-Martinuskerk, Beveren-Waas.
642. Maria Faydherbe, *Virgin and Child*, boxwood, 15 cm high, private collection.
643. Artus I Quellinus, tomb monument to Feldmarschall Otto Christoph Freiherr von Sparr, marble, Marienkirche, Berlin.
644. Jérôme II du Quesnoy, *St Thomas*, stone and black marble, over-life-size statue, cathedral, Brussels.
645. Lucas Faydherbe, *St Simon*, stone and black marble, over-life-size statue, cathedral, Brussels.
646. Respectively by and attributed to Lucas Faydherbe, tomb monument and epitaph to the parents and grand-parents of Jean Gaspar de Marchin, white and black marble and blue stone, église Saint-Martin, Modave.

Chapter 5

701. Albrecht Dürer, design for the Landauer altarpiece, pen and brown ink, brown and blue wash, 39 x 26.5 cm, Musée Condé, Chantilly.
702. Rubens and Hans Krumpfer, high altarpiece, oil on canvas and painted and gilt wood, cathedral, Freising.
703. Rubens, *The Glorification of the Eucharist*, oil sketch, 71.1 x 48.2 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
704. Rubens, *Christ on the Cross surrounded by the Virgin, St John, St Francis and Apostles*, oil on panel, 20.3 x 15.3 cm, private collection.
705. Attributed to Hans van Mildert, design for the western enclosed porch of the cathedral of Antwerpen, pen and ink, 18.2 x 26.3 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.

706. Anthony van Dyck, Hubert van den Eynde, black chalk and grey wash, 22.7 x 16 cm, British Museum, London.
707. Anthony van Dyck, Hans van Mildert, black chalk, 24 x 17.8 cm, The Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.
708. Anthony van Dyck, Andries de Nole, oil on panel, 23.7 x 17.3 cm, The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, Boughton House.
709. Jacob Jordaens, Mercury, black and red chalk, heightened with white and sepia, 44.6 x 28.3 cm, private collection.
710. Jacob Jordaens, A Group of Three Angels Holding a Crown, black chalk and brown wash, 54.7 x 35.6 cm, private collection.
711. Cornelis Schut, Exhibition Throne, pen and ink, red chalk, 37.1 x 26.4 cm, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.
712. Anthonis Sallaert, Cartouche with Two Putti, brown and white gouache on brown paper, 14.8 x 14 cm, Promptuarium Pictorum, Heverlee.
713. Anthonis Sallaert, design for a temporary altarpiece, oil on canvas, 72 x 55.5 cm, private collection.
714. J. Vandermeulen, Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament, engraving, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
715. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, Exhibition Throne, black chalk, pen and black ink with grey wash, 37.3 x 29.9 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
716. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, design for a tomb monument to the Van den Broeck family, pen and black ink with wash, red chalk, 34 x 26.4 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
717. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, Maria Lactans with the Christ Child in an architectural niche, pen and brown and black ink, brown, grey, red and blue wash, 24.8 x 13.5 cm, private collection.
718. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, design for an altarpiece, oil on panel, 50 x 40 cm, private collection.
719. Theodoor van Thulden, Christ appearing to St Anthony Abbot, pen and ink with wash, 21.2 x 17.8 cm, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris.
720. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, design for a porch, pen and ink with wash, black and red chalk, 31.1 x 19.3 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
721. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, design for a porch, pen and ink with wash, black and red chalk, 31 x 19 cm, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.
722. Mattheus van Beveren, model for part of a porch, terracotta, 52 x 21.5 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
723. Mattheus van Beveren, porch (Engelenpoort), oak, 338 cm high, Stedelijk Museum Het Toreke, Tienen.
724. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, Six Putti Supporting a Scroll and a Mitre, black chalk, 18.2 x 29.9 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
725. Jan Boeckhorst, Virgin of Sorrows, black chalk, pen and brown ink and brown wash with white highlights, 28.1 x 17.8 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon.
726. Mattheus van Beveren, Mater Dolorosa, marble, life-size statue, Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerpen.

727. Jan Claudius de Cock, design for a roodloft and organ ensemble, pen and ink with wash, 45.7 x 30.1 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.
728. Erasmus II Quellinus, Three Music-Making Angels, pen and ink with wash, 14.2 x 14.8 cm, Witt Collection, London.
729. Artus I Quellinus, The Judgement of Solomon, marble, royal palace, Amsterdam.
730. Sebastiaen de Neve or Jacques Couplet, St Catherine, black and white marble, life-size statue, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
731. Octavius Herry et al., choir stalls, oak, abbey, Averbode.
732. Attributed to Louis Willemsens, St Bernard, oak, under-life-size statue, Sint-Lambertuskerk, Wouw.
733. Denis Georges Bayar, The Annunciation, detail of the choir stalls, oak, église Saint-Guibert, Gembloux.
734. Bartholomeus van Bassen, The Interior of the Jesuit Church of Antwerpen, oil on panel, 42 x 41.5 cm, private collection.
735. Hans van Mildert, Gerard Seghers et al., high altarpiece with the Erection of the Cross, black, red and white marble with pietra dura predella and oil on canvas, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
736. Rubens, high altarpiece design, pen and ink with wash, 51.9 x 26.1 cm, Albertina, Wien.
737. Rubens, crowning of an altarpiece design, oil on panel, 46.3 x 64.1 cm, Rubenshuis, Antwerpen.
738. Pieter Huysens and workshop, high altarpiece design, pen and ink with grey and blue wash, 73 x 42.5 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
739. Pieter Huysens with Rubens's workshop, high altarpiece design, pen and ink with wash, black and red chalk, 110 x 52.5 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
740. Rubens (inv.), apse ceiling, painted and gilt stone, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
741. Attributed to Rubens, cartouche design, pen and brown ink with wash, 19.5 x 14 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
742. Houtappelkapel, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
743. Rubens et al., ceiling design, pen and ink with wash, black chalk, 48.5 x 35.3 cm, Albertina, Wien.
744. Houtappelkapel, north wall and ceiling, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
745. Houtappelkapel, altarpiece, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
746. Houtappelkapel, lunette, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
747. Pieter Huysens, lunette design, pen and ink with wash, 45.5 x 74 cm, archives of the Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
748. Hendrick van Balen, The Adoration of the Shepherds, oil on alabastro fiorito, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
749. Rubens et al., high altarpiece, oil on slate, coloured marbles surround, Santa Maria in Vallicella, Roma.

750. Rubens (inv. and copy) and Hans van Mildert, high altarpiece, oil on canvas and black and white marble, church of Sint-Joost-ten-Node, Brussels.
751. Andries (?) de Nole, St Joseph, stucco, 44.5 cm high, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels.
752. Andries (?) de Nole, St Joseph, stucco, 45 cm high, private collection.
753. Andries (?) de Nole, St Joseph, marble, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
754. Andries (?) de Nole, St Thomas, stone, life-size statue, cathedral, Mechelen.
755. Andries (?) de Nole, St Anne and the Virgin, marble, life-size statue, église paroissiale Saint-Vincent, Marcq-en-Baroeul.
756. Andries (?) de Nole, St Anne and the Virgin, marble, life-size statue, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
757. Rubens, St Norbert, oil sketch, 66.5 x 46 cm, private collection.
758. Hans van Mildert, St Norbert, alabaster, over-life-size statue, St Trudo, Zundert.
759. Rubens, St Michael, oil sketch, 63.5 x 48 cm, private collection.
760. Hans van Mildert, St Michael, alabaster, over-life-size statue, St Trudo, Zundert.
761. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, high altarpiece dedicated to St Bavo, black and white marble, painted wood and metal, cathedral, Gent.
762. Robrecht and Andries de Nole, former high altarpiece of the cathedral of Gent, at the Sint-Gummaruskerk, Lier, before demolition, black marble and alabaster.
763. Robrecht and Andries de Nole, St Gummarus, alabaster, over-life-size statue, Sint-Gummaruskerk, Lier.
764. Hendrick de Keyser, Erasmus, bronze, over-life-size statue, in front of the Laurenskerk, Rotterdam.
765. Wensel Cobergher (inv.), interior of the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwebasiliek, Scherpenheuvel.
766. Gaspar Bouttats, plan of Scherpenheuvel, engraving, 52 x 52.3 cm, Promptuarium Pictorum, Heverlee.
767. Robrecht de Nole, St Luke, Avesnes stone, life-size figure, Onze-Lieve-Vrouwebasiliek, Scherpenheuvel.
768. Robrecht de Nole, Daniel, marble, life-size statue, Onze-Lieve-Vrouwebasiliek, Scherpenheuvel.
769. Anonymous stone cutter, spandrel trumpeting angel, stone, façade Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk.
770. Anonymous stuccoist, spandrel trumpeting angel, stucco, gallery chapels, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk.
771. Cornelis van Mildert, Holy Cross altar, alabaster, black, grey and white marble, Sint-Andrieskerk, Antwerpen.
772. High altar paintings store underneath the 'stage' behind the altarpiece painting that is shown, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
773. High altarpiece 'stage' frescoes, Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, Antwerpen.
774. Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk, façade.
775. Wensel Cobergher (inv.), architectural detail, polychromed stone, Onze-Lieve-Vrouwebasiliek, Scherpenheuvel.

776. Gerrit Berckheyde, The Amsterdam town hall, detail, oil on canvas, 70 x 110 cm, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen.
777. Jacob van Campen, design for the east pediment, pencil, pen and ink, 19.4 x 76.4 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
778. Anonymous, east pediment model on the architectural model, wood, Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
779. Artus I Quellinus and workshop, east pediment model, terracotta, 100 x 415 cm, Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
780. Artus I Quellinus and workshop, another east pediment model (fragmentary) as displayed ca.1900, terracotta, now Rijksmuseum and Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam.
781. Artus I Quellinus and workshop, east pediment, marble, royal palace, Amsterdam.
782. Jacob van Campen, design for the west pediment, pencil, pen and ink, 19.4 x 76.2 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
783. Anonymous, west pediment model on the architectural model, wood, Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
784. Daniel Stalpaert, detail of back façade with pediment, etching, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Den Haag.
785. Artus I Quellinus and workshop, west pediment model, terracotta, 90 x 415 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
786. Artus I Quellinus and workshop, west pediment, marble, royal palace, Amsterdam.
787. Artus I Quellinus, Caritas Romana, terracotta, 24 cm high, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
788. Jef Lambeaux, Les passions humaines, detail, marble, Pavillon des Passions humaines, Parc du Cinquantenaire, Brussels.

Epilogue

801. Artus I Quellinus, *Luis de Benavides, marqués de Caracena*, marble, 98 cm high, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen.
802. Artus I Quellinus, *Herzog Friedrich III. von Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf*, marble, life-size bust, cathedral, Schleswig.
803. Louis Willemsens, *Juan Domingo de Zuniga y Fonseca, conde de Monterrey*, marble 105 cm high, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen.
804. Willem Kericx, *Kurfürst Max Emanuel von Bayern*, marble, 103 cm high, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen.
805. Wierick III Somers, monstrance, silver gilt, 85 cm high, Sint-Andrieskerk, Antwerpen.
806. Jan Peter II van Bauscheit, monument to François van Bredehoff, marble, Grote Kerk, Oosthuizen.
807. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen (del.) Gaspar Bouttats (sc.), allegorical frame, engraving, 29.9 x 18.1 cm, private collection.
808. Peter Scheemaekers, *The Last Supper*, pen and ink with wash, 29.8 x 43.3 cm, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerpen.

809. Jan Antoni van den Cruyce, 'altar garden', black and white marble, Sint-Andrieskerk, Antwerpen.
810. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, garden wing of the Mercator-Ortelius house, Antwerpen.
811. Jan Peter II van Burscheit, Van Susteren house (later royal palace), Antwerpen.
812. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, design for the high altarpiece of the Sint-Andrieskerk of Antwerpen, pen and brown ink, 26.6 x 17.7 cm, King Baudouin Foundation, Charles Van Herck collection.
813. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, design for the high altarpiece of the Sint-Andrieskerk of Antwerpen, pen and ink with brown and red wash over pencil, 37.7 x 21.6 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
814. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, design for the high altarpiece of the Sint-Andrieskerk of Antwerpen, pen and ink with brown and grey wash over pencil, 32.8 x 27 cm, Royal Library, Brussels.
815. Caspar Pieter I or II Verbrugghen, *Still life of flowers surrounding a palace*, oil on canvas, 155 x 120 cm, art market.

Photographs

Photographs taken by or for:

- the owner (museum, library, archive, private collector, dealer, auction house):

frontispiece 2, 101, 102, 105, 108, 110, 125, 126, 128, 129, 133, 135, 141, 142, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157, 159, 161, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 180, 181, 202, 205, 213, 215, 229, 230, 235, 241, 242, 258, 259, 260, 261, 264, 266, 269, 275, 278, 284, 287, 294, 295, 297, 298, 300, 301, 305, 402, 403, 407, 412, 434, 436, 455, 476, 477, 488, 502, 503, 504, 507, 508, 510, 522, 534, 546, 547, 549, 555, 563, 610, 611, 612, 614, 624, 628, 629, 630, 633, 635, 636, 642, 701, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 709, 710, 711, 713, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 723, 724, 725, 728, 734, 736, 737, 739, 743, 755, 757, 759, 777, 778, 781, 782, 784, 787, 812, 813, 814.

- the Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique/ Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium, Brussels: 1, 104, 118, 134, 136, 137, 140, 143, 144, 145, 146, 164, 165, 173, 175, 177, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 223, 224, 228, 233, 238, 239, 243, 251, 262, 268, 273, 279, 280, 281, 285, 296, 405, 406, 408, 409, 410, 411, 415, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 430, 432, 433, 435, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 456, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 478, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 489, 491, 493, 494, 495, 497, 509, 532, 541, 542, 545, 550, 552, 553, 556, 562, 607, 620, 621, 639, 640, 641, 722, 727, 731, 750, 751, 752, 756, 774, 805, 808, 811.

- De Smidt 1968: 290.

- Leemans 1972: 762.

- Piet Lombaerde: 749.

- Pier Terwen: 548.

- Catherine Van Herck: 480.

- the author :

frontispiece 1, 103, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 127, 130, 131, 132, 138, 139, 155, 158, 160, 162, 163, 172, 174, 176, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 201, 209, 212, 221, 222, 226, 227, 231, 232, 234, 236, 237, 240, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 263, 265, 267, 270, 271, 272, 274, 276, 277, 282, 283, 286, 288, 289, 291, 292, 293, 299, 302, 303, 304, 306, 401, 404, 413, 414, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 428, 429, 431, 434, 450, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 479, 482, 487, 490, 492, 495, 498, 499, 500, 501, 505, 506, 507, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 520, 521, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 533, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 543, 544, 550, 551, 554, 557, 558, 559, 560, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 613, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 622, 623, 625, 626, 627, 631, 632, 634, 637, 638, 643, 644, 645, 646, 702, 708, 712, 714, 723, 726, 729, 730, 732, 733, 735, 738, 740, 741, 742, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 753, 754, 758, 760, 761, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 775, 776, 778, 779, 781, 785, 786, 788, 801, 802, 803, 804, 806, 807, 809, 810, 811, 815.

Index of artists

- Alberti, Leon Battista (1404-1472), 74, 169
Algarði, Alessandro (1598-1654), 7, 27, 166, 256
Allaert, Frans (1682-1728), 98
Anrion, Adrien-Joseph (1730-1773), 130, 131
Artario, Giovanni Battista (*1660), 98
Bayar, Denis-Georges (1690-1774), 84, 85, 93, 140, 164, 172, 175, 176, 177, 184, 185, 186, 200, 212, 213
Bellini, Giovanni (1430-1516), 228
Bergé, Jacques (1696-1756), 40, 66, 68, 118, 149, 159
Bernini, Gianlorenzo (1598-1680), 7, 10, 27, 62, 63, 65, 68, 110, 125, 128, 140, 150, 152, 154, 166, 169, 189, 218, 227, 230, 246, 251, 256, 259
Blommendael, Johannes (c.1645-1707), 139
Boeckhorst, Jan (1604-1668), 46, 204, 205, 209
Boeckstuyns, Jan Frans (1650-1734), 158
Boeksent, Jan (1660-1727), 147
Boldrini, Niccolò (dates unknown), 86
Bonnet, Henri (dates unknown), 213
Boreux, Hubert Joseph I (1683-1751), 194, 195
Boreux, Hubert Joseph II (1717-1790), 190
Boreux, Jacques Joseph (1755-1846), 83, 89, 90, 97, 166, 169, 172, 176, 184, 189, 190, 191, 200
Borghini, Raffaello (1537-1588), 117, 118, 119, 120
Bouchardon, Edme (1698-1762), 68, 116
Bouttats, Gaspar (1640-1695/6), 17, 251
Bouvaert, Jan-Baptist (dates unknown), 212
Buonarotti, Michelangelo (1475-1564), 48, 58, 59, 60, 65, 105, 107, 110, 116, 166, 169, 171
Canova, Antonio (1757-1822), 150
Cardon, Servaes (1608-1649), 45, 46, 102, 105, 107, 145, 193, 199
Cardon, Joannes (1614?-1656?), 45, 46, 53, 158, 193, 199
Carracci, Annibale (1560-1609), 47
Cavaceppi, Bartolomeo (1716-1799), 154
Cellini, Benvenuto (1500-1571), 8, 110, 134
Cennini, Cennino (c.1370-c.1440), 74
Cima da Conegliano (1459/60-1517/18), 228
Cobergher, Wensel (c.1561-1634), 220, 225, 226, 227, 230, 231, 233
Cocx, Jacob (1593/97-1665), 151, 174
Coppens, Augustin (1668-1740), 159
Coques, Gonzales (1614-1684), 183, 210
Correggio (1494-1534), 249
Cort, Cornelis (1533-1578), 39, 86
Couplet, Jacques (1610-after 1664), 40, 198

Coustou, Nicolas (1658-1733), 68
 Coysevox, Antoine (1640-1720), 65
 Cramillion, Bartholomé (fl.1755-1772), 148
 Cressant, Jacob (1675/1700-before 1766), 15
 da Cortona, Pietro (1596-1669), 204, 220
 De Aguilón, François (1567-1617), 214, 215, 233
 De Bisschop, Jan (1628-1671), 59
 De Bouge, François II (1669-1745), 194, 199
 De Brune, Pieter (dates unknown), 17
 De Cleef, Johannes (1646-1716?), 211
 De Cock, Jan Claudius (1667-1735), 8, 41, 63, 78, 82, 88, 92, 93, 94, 100, 121, 128, 134, 194, 199, 210
 De Crayer, Gaspar (1584-1669), 52
 De Cuyper, Jan Baptist (1807-1852), 52, 53, 54
 De Cuyper, Pieter Jozef (1808-1883), 52, 53, 54
 De Cuyper, Jan Leonard (1813-1870), 52, 53, 54
 De Groff, Willem (1680-1742), 42, 174
 De Hornes, Jacques (1620-1674), 157
 De Juni, Juan (c.1507-1577), 25
 De Keyser, Hendrick (1565-1621), 14, 25, 168, 174, 225
 De Keyser, Willem (1603-after 1674), 232, 242
 De Lorme, Anthonie (†1673), 179
 De Neve, Sebastiaen (1612-1676), 93, 104, 105, 106, 168, 198
 De Nole, Jan (1570-1624), 197, 226
 De Nole, Andries (1598-1638), 162, 197, 198, 205, 217, 226, 249
 De Nole, Robrecht (before c.1570-1636), 198, 226, 249, 257
 De Nole, family, 15, 111, 166, 193, 195, 197, 198, 217, 220, 222, 223, 225, 226, 227, 249, 257
 De Smet, Cornelis (1742-1815), 130, 157
 De Vos, Cornelis (1584/85-1651), 19
 De Vos, Marc (1650-1717), 148
 De Vries, Adriaen (1556-1626), 42, 49, 174
 De Wit, Nicolaas (dates unknown), 66
 Defrance, Léonard (1735-1805), 172
 Del Cour, Jean (1631-1707), 13, 14, 36, 63, 65, 118, 172, 174
 Delafosse, Jean-Charles (1734-1789), 83
 Della Porta, Giacomo (fl.1532-1577), 219
 Delvaux, Laurent (1696-1778), 41, 50, 54, 66, 68, 120, 129, 131, 163, 164, 166, 167, 170, 173, 174, 176, 185, 186
 Denijs, Jacques (1644-1701/02), 255
 Dewez, Laurent-Benoît (1731-1812), 35
 D'Heur, Michiel J (dates unknown), 40
 di Cesare del Palagio, Carlo (1538-1598), 157
 Dieussart, François (c.1600-1661), 42, 66, 67, 72, 142

Du Broeucq, Jacques (c.1505-1584), 166
 Du Quesnoy, François (1597-1643), 25, 40, 45, 46, 50, 54, 59, 66, 67, 76, 128, 149, 150, 155, 174, 189, 255
 Du Quesnoy, Jérôme II (1602-1654), 41, 49, 58, 63, 65, 170, 171, 172, 174, 180, 195
 Duray, Simon Joseph (fl.1765-1785), 65
 Dürer, Albrecht (1471-1528), 203
 Eggers, Bartholomeus (1637-1692), 15, 42
 Enderlin, Pierre (c.1603-c.1664), 213
 Evrard, Guillaume (1709/10-1793), 149, 172
 Eyckmans, Johannes (1793-1861), 130, 131
 Fancelli, Cosimo (1620-1688), 204
 Faydherbe, Maria (1587-1643), 96, 201
 Faydherbe, Lucas (1617-1697), 9, 11, 33, 39, 47, 51, 52, 57, 58, 61, 63, 67, 105, 107, 108, 133, 146, 155, 156, 157, 158, 166, 168, 172, 193, 194, 195, 201
 Félibien, André (1619-1695), 9, 110, 111, 117, 118, 119, 120, 127, 128, 144, 145, 153, 169, 175
 Ferri, Ciro (1634-1689), 220
 Master of Flémalle (1375-1444), 203
 Floris, Cornelis (1513/14-1575), 17, 111, 165, 189, 191, 197, 203, 211, 218, 251
 Floris, Frans (1516/20-1570), 39, 48, 86, 189, 203
 Floris, Hans (master in 1550-1567), 203
 Foggini, Giovan Battista (1652-1725), 174
 Fontana, Domenico (1543-1607), 219
 Forceville, Jean-Baptiste (1660-1739), 213
 Forceville, Johannes Thomas (1696-1750), 213
 Franchoys, Jacques (†1646), 174
 Francken, Frans II (1581-1641), 47, 48
 Galle, Theodoor (c.1571-1633), 85
 Garemijn, Jan (1712-1799), 117
 Gast, Ambrosius I (†1652), 174
 Gatteaux, Nicolas-Marie (1751-1832), 170
 Gerhard, Hubert (c.1550-1620), 157, 174
 Ghering, Anton (†1668), 37
 Giambologna (1529-1608), 43, 44, 45, 48, 50, 110, 116, 148, 174, 179, 182
 Gibbons, Grinling (1648-1721), 88, 186, 187, 188
 Gillis, Antoine (1702-1781), 195
 Girardon, François (1628-1715), 59, 68
 Goovaerts, Hendrik (1669-1720), 86
 Goubau, Anton (1616-1698), 66
 Grupello, Gabriel (1644-1730), 11, 40, 42, 126, 129, 140, 168, 169, 174
 Hamers, Melchior SJ (1638-1710), 79
 Hannaert, Johannes (1650?-1709), 161
 Hansche, Jan-Christian (fl.1655-1685), 38, 39, 85, 86, 148, 152
 Haupt, Sebastian (1710-1760), 135

Heilman, Thomas (dates unknown), 98
 Herry, Octavius (1614-1693), 212
 Hesius, Willem (1601-1690), 86, 168, 233
 Honthorst, Gerard (1590-1656), 142
 Horemans, Jan Jozef I (1682-1759), 182
 Hurterel, Charles (dates unknown), 46
 Huysens, Pieter (1557-1637), 86, 214, 215, 216, 217, 220, 221, 222, 233
 Jacquet, Mathieu (1545/46-c.1611/13), 68
 Jansens, Frans (dates unknown), 107
 Janssen van Nuyssen, Abraham (1575-1632), 128
 Janssens, François-Joseph (1744-1816), 52, 129, 130
 Jordaens, Jacob (1593-1678), 7, 20, 25, 183, 205, 206, 207
 Juarra, Filippo (1678-1736), 259
 Kerricx, Willem (1652-1719), 56, 80, 82, 91, 101, 121, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 140, 190, 196, 250
 Kerricx, Willem Ignatius (1682-1745), 31, 96, 163, 253
 Kessels, Mathieu (1784-1836), 52
 Kinable, Gérard-Dieudonné (1746-1824), 160, 161
 Kuypers, Peeter (dates unknown), 213
 Lambeaux, Jef (1852-1908), 247
 Larson, family, 139
 Lely, Sir Peter (1618-1660), 138
 Leoni, Leone (1509?-1590), 42
 Leoni, Pompeo (1533-1608), 32, 42
 Lievens, Jan (1607-1674), 59
 Losson, Antoon (dates unknown), 81
 Lück, Johann Friedrich (1727-1797), 129
 Luyken, Jan (1649-1712), 183
 Maderno, Carlo (1556-1629), 219
 Marot, Daniel (1661-1752), 259
 Marsy, Gaspard II (1624/25-1681), 40
 Martínez Montañes, Juan (1568-1649), 25
 Meit, Conrat (1470/1485?-1550/1551), 32
 Metsu, Gabriel (1629-1667), 59
 Neeffs, Pieter I (c.1576-after 1656), 37
 Neeffs, Pieter II (1620-1675), 37
 Nijs, Adriaan (1683-1771), 127, 194
 Nollekens, Joseph (1737-1823), 172
 Nonon, Hubert (fl.1535), 165, 166
 Ommeganck, Balthazar Paul (1755-1826), 135
 Pacetti, Vincenzo (1746-1820), 174
 Paludanus, Willem (1530-1579), 17, 38, 197
 Paludanus, Raphaël (fl.1585-1599), 197
 Pauwels, Rombout (1625-1692), 253

Peeters, Jacob (dates unknown), 127
 Pepers, Pieter (1730-1785), 68
 Petel, Georg (1601/02-1634), 48, 146
 Picart, Bernard (1676-1733), 59
 Pierard, Gilles Gaspard (c.1729-1765), 80
 Pierard (dates unknown), 126, 129, 152
 Pinsel, Johann Georg (1715/25-1761), 147
 Ploos van Amstel, Cornelis (1726-1798), 50
 Plumier, Pierre Denis (1688-1721), 160
 Pompe, Walter (1703-1777), 100, 127, 158, 161
 Ponzio, Flaminio (1560?-1613), 219
 Pool, Mattys (1670-1732), 9, 146, 182
 Post, Pieter (1608-1669), 232
 Poussin, Nicolas (1594-1642), 135
 Pozzo, Andrea (1642-1709), 256
 Primaticcio, Francesco (1504-1570), 208
 Pulinx, Hendrik (1698-1781), 56
 Quellinus, Arnold (1653-1686), 88, 186
 Quellinus, Artus I (1609-1668), 8, 10, 11, 15, 23, 25, 37, 46, 49, 57, 61, 63, 65, 66, 67, 72, 79, 91, 100, 103, 108, 121, 129, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 144, 151, 152, 163, 164, 170, 173, 174, 186, 187, 188, 189, 193, 198, 206, 210, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 250, 257
 Quellinus, Artus II (1625-1700), 14, 36, 72, 82, 96, 97, 101, 103, 105, 108, 127, 129, 130, 152, 172, 185, 186, 196, 198, 199, 200, 205, 211, 212, 217, 232, 256
 Quellinus, Erasmus II (1607-1678), 43, 46, 50, 86, 193, 196, 210, 211
 Quellinus, Hubertus (c.1619-1687), 198, 246
 Quellinus, Jan Erasmus (1634-1715), 81
 Quellinus, Thomas (1661-1709), 54, 127, 138, 200, 201
 Quellinus dynasty, 100, 152, 196, 197, 210, 251, 252, 253
 Radi, Bernardino (1581-1643), 98
 Raggi, Antonio (1624-1686), 105, 172, 256
 Resler, Joseph (dates unknown), 135
 Rodin, Auguste (1840-1917), 150
 Roubiliac, Louis-François (1702-1762), 152, 154
 Roucourt, (dates unknown), 40
 Rousseaux, Jean Joseph (fl.1829/30), 199
 Royer, Louis (1793-1868), 99, 199
 Rubens, Sir Peter Paul (1577-1640), 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 22, 23, 25, 38, 43, 45, 50, 53, 57, 61, 62, 67, 70, 71, 78, 96, 97, 99, 111, 145, 146, 189, 193, 197, 203, 204, 205, 207, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 249, 251, 252, 257, 258
 Saenredam, Pieter (1597-1665), 179
 Sallaert, Anthonis (c.1590-1657/8), 206, 207
 Salzillo, Francisco (1707-1783), 25

Sanzio, Raffaello (1483-1520), 86
 Schemaeckers, Peter I (1652-1714), 81, 90, 91, 100, 115, 133, 152, 172, 199, 251, 252
 Scheemakers, Peter II (1691-1781), 41, 54, 66, 152
 Bolswert, Schelte A (c.1581-1659), 87, 208
 Schleiff, Pierre (1601-1641), 213
 Schobbens, Alexander (1720-1781), 82
 Schut, Cornelis (1597-1655), 206, 207
 Schütz, Johannes (dates unknown), 98
 Seghers, Daniël (1590-1661), 210
 Slobodkin, Louis (1903-1975), 72, 73, 77, 119, 120
 Slotz, Michel Ange (1705-1764), 68
 Solaro, Tullio (c.1577-1626), 219
 Somers, Wierick III (1647-1717), 251
 Somers, Frans II (fl.1750), 134
 Stalpaert, Jérôme I (1589-after 1633), 68
 Stalpaert, Daniël (1615-1674), 236, 237, 241, 242, 244, 245
 Steen, Jan (1626-1679), 58
 Stone, Nicolas (1586/87-1647), 174, 176
 Sweerts, Michael (1618-1664), 57, 58, 59, 179, 181, 182
 Tassaert, Jean Pierre Antoine (1727-1788), 68
 Tassaert, Philippe Joseph (1732-1803), 59
 Teniers, David II (1610-1690), 22, 23, 48, 132, 182
 Tessin, Nicodemus II (1654-1728), 9, 167, 198, 200, 204
 Thomas, Gerard (1663-1721), 182
 Thornhill, Sir James (1675-1734), 128
 Thorwaldsen, Bertel (1770-1844), 150
 Vaillant, Wallerant (1623-1677), 59
 Valcke, Adriaen (dates unknown), 47
 Van Balen, Hendrik (1575-1632), 43, 219
 Van Bourscheit, Jan Peter I (1669-1728), 15, 41, 88, 90, 96, 99, 135, 142, 143, 144, 158, 257
 Van Bourscheit, Jan Peter II (1699-1768), 15, 93, 190, 194, 253, 255, 257
 Van Beveren, Mattheus (1630-1690), 46, 87, 124, 126, 163, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209
 Van Bossuit, Francis (1635-1692), 9, 15, 146, 182
 Van Campen, Jacob (1596-1657), 67, 152, 210, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 257
 Van Dael, Cornelis (fl.1721-1766), 119, 123, 125, 126, 130, 161
 Van de Venne, Adriaen (1589-1662), 27
 Van Delen, Dirk (1604/05-1671), 17
 Van den Bossche, Balthasar (1681-1715), 182, 183
 Van den Cruyce, Jan Antoni (fl.1661-1699), 252
 Van den Eynde, Cornelis (1586-1664), 258
 Van den Eynde, Hubert/Huybrecht (1594-1661), 93, 205, 258

Van den Eynde, Jan I (1592?-1636), 258
 Van den Eynde, Jan II (1620-1702), 33, 258
 Van den Eynde, Martinus (1705-1782), 192
 Van den Eynde, Norbertus (1628-1704), 28, 90, 185, 196, 199, 211, 251, 252, 258
 Van den Eynde, Sebastiaen (1624-1702), 19, 66, 258
 Van den Eynde family, 193, 196, 251
 Van den Steen, Gaspar (fl.1659-1671), 34, 103
 Van der Neer, Jacob Jan (1760-1838), 127
 Van der Voort, Michiel II (1667-1737), 15, 39, 41, 65, 66, 75, 76, 79, 89, 90, 95, 101, 127, 130, 134, 152, 164, 174, 184, 194, 195, 199, 200, 213, 251
 Van der Werff, Adriaen (1659-1722), 58, 59
 Van der Weyden, Rogier (1400-1464), 203
 Van Diepenbeeck, Abraham (1596-1675), 77, 87, 204, 205, 207, 208
 Van Dyck, Sir Anthony (1599-1641), 7, 12, 23, 25, 57, 138, 205, 249
 Van Eyck, Jan (1390-1441), 203
 Van Geel, Jan Frans (1756-1830), 11, 126, 133
 Van Haecht, Willem (1593-1637), 48
 Van Logteren, Ignatius (1685-1732), 157
 Van Logteren, Jan (1709-1745), 58
 Van Logteren family, 15
 Van Loo, Frans (1581-1658), 160
 Van Loon, Theodoor (1581/82-1667), 226
 Van Meerebeeck, Jan (dates unknown), 103, 197
 Van Meunincxhove, Jan Baptist (c.1625-1705), 37
 Van Mildert, Hans (1588-1638), 70, 71, 111, 163, 193, 195, 197, 204, 205, 221, 223, 224, 229, 257
 Van Mildert, Cornelis (1613-1668), 96
 Van Moerkercke, Jan Baptist (*1678), 46
 Van Neurenburg family, 166
 Van Nickele, Isaak (fl.1660-1703), 179
 Van Ommen, Otmaer (1540-1616), 103, 108
 Van Oost, Jacob I (1601-1671), 58, 179
 Van Oost, Jacob II (1639-1713), 58
 Van Opstal, Gerard (1594-1668), 146
 Van Papenhoven, Alexander (1668-1759), 40, 134
 Van Passe, Crispijn (1565-1637), 59
 Van Steenwijck, Hendrik II (c.1580-before 1649), 37
 Van Tetrode, Willem (c.1510-1575), 174
 Van Thielen, Jan-Philips (1618-1667), 210
 Van Thulden, Theodoor (1606-1669), 207
 Van Turnhout, Jan Frans (fl.1702-1757), 95
 Vanderstaine, John (fl.1678-1700), 88
 Vasari, Giorgio (1511-1574), 8, 10, 50, 110, 111, 126, 171
 Vennekool, Jacob (fl.1711), 232, 241, 242, 243, 246

Verbrugghen, Caspar-Pieter I (1635-1687), 259
 Verbrugghen, Caspar-Pieter II (1664-1730), 259
 Verbrugghen, Peter I (1615-1686), 35, 57, 73, 74, 75, 79, 100, 104, 105, 106, 196, 210, 251
 Verbrugghen, Peter II (1640-1691), 35, 63, 66, 68, 100, 114, 115, 196, 251
 Verbrugghen, Hendrik Frans (1654-1724), 72, 78, 79, 81, 82, 87, 90, 100, 104, 112, 113, 115, 128, 131, 134, 140, 151, 171, 199, 200, 225, 232, 253, 255, 256, 257, 259
 Verbrugghen family, 90, 100, 108, 112, 115, 168, 188, 196, 197, 210, 251, 252
 Verhaegen, Theodoor (1701-1759), 81, 149
 Verhulst, Rombout (1624-1698), 15, 51, 66, 67, 138, 139, 158, 174, 198
 Verkolje, Nicolaas (1673-1746), 62
 Verschaffelt, Pieter-Antoon (1710-1793), 66, 68
 Vicentino, Niccolò (1510-after 1540), 86
 Von Ehrenberg, Willem Schubert (1630/37-1676), 37, 49
 Vredeman de Vries, Hans (1527-1606), 37
 Wildens, Jan (1586-1653), 43, 45, 46, 50
 Willems, Joseph (†1766), 160
 Willemsens, Louis (1630-1702), 99, 121, 122, 128, 130, 133, 140, 141, 155, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 204, 210, 250, 251, 252
 Xavery, Pieter (1647-1674), 15, 158
 Xavery, Jan-Baptist (1697-1742), 15, 52, 54, 136, 141





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