
Preliminary Remarks on the Sources of the Apostle Series of Rubens and van Dyck*

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In the 1691 inventory of the collection of the Antwerp knight and postmaster Jan-Baptista Anthoine was listed among several items by van Dyck a head of Christ painted after life – *'Een Christus Tronie van van Dyck naer het leven.'*¹

In one of the most intricate legal cases of the seventeenth century regarding the authenticity of van Dyck's Apostles, Jan Brueghel the Younger stated that he had visited the studio of van Dyck when the young artist was painting his Apostles. Brueghel saw that his uncle, the engraver Pieter de Jode the Elder was the sitter for one of the Apostles. When Brueghel asked van Dyck what he was painting, the young master answered, *'Ick sal der wel eenen frayen apostel aff maecken.'*²

The Apostle busts of van Dyck are considered in contemporary sources and in art historical writing to the present day to be representative character-heads or anonymous naturalistic portraits provided with the attributes of the Apostles.³ The old men bursting with health and energy, the pensive sages, meditating *raisonneurs* or scholars who aged in their intellectual work are the descendants of the philosopher portraits of Antiquity. They are related also to the types drawn from the rough-featured fisherman and port beggars of Antwerp, examples of which are Goltzius' Apostles of 1606, which appear to be contemporary fishermen.⁴

The extant pieces of the Apostle series of Rubens and van Dyck seem to be the most authentic character studies of the early seventeenth century. Nonetheless, thorough historical and iconographical examinations modify this concept. If we look for their formal and iconographic prototypes, we may conclude that they are still very much in the main stream of the Mannerist tradition in spite of their realistic appearance. I shall make a brief attempt to prove this.

After Leonardo's *Last Supper*, the Apostles came to embody certain human types and emotional attitudes. Following Leonardo and Dürer, the painters of the sixteenth century depicted these attitudes through the use of certain physiognomical types.

The post-Tridentine theologian Johannes Molanus could not have predicted that Caravaggio's influence would, even in Flanders, sweep away the fashion for the classical ideal Apostle heads of Raphael. In vain, Molanus criticized painters for representing the Apostles as old men, wild in appearance with bushy beards and barbarian (i.e. peasant) features, and not as beautiful mature men.⁵ After giving instructions how to paint their robes, Molanus warns artists not to paint the Apostles as old men, because as such they could not have been able to serve Christ actively. Similarly, Molanus said that the Apostles should not be represented as morose or with disordered

* This short paper does not attempt to solve all the questions of prototypes. I have rather tried to raise some questions and new points of view indicating directions for further research. Thus this study should be considered as preliminary. I thank István Barkóczi for translating this essay.

1 J. Denucé, *Inventories of the Art-Collections in Antwerp in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Antwerp, 1932), 356.

2 L. Galesloot, 'Un procès pour une vente de tableaux attribués à Antoine van Dyck,' *Annales de l'Académie d'archéologie de Belgique*, xxiv (1868), 595.

3 J.R. Martin and G. Feigenbaum, *Van Dyck as Religious Artist* (Princeton, 1979), 52.

4 E.K.J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius* (Utrecht, 1961), K. 50-60, figs. 407 ff.

5 Cited by H. Aurenhammer, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Vienna, 1959), I, 220. J. Molanus, *De Historia SS. Sanctorum Imaginum et picturarum...*, ed. by J.N. Paquot (Louvain, 1771), cap. xxvii, 'De communi Apostolorum pictura...', 540 ff. One of greatest needs for research in this area is a text edition of Molanus, who is cited so often, but used so rarely. A notable exception is D. Freedberg, 'Johannes Molanus on Provocative Painting,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxxiv (1971), 229 ff.



FIGURE 1A. After Roger van der Weyden, *Head*. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.



FIGURE 1B. After Roger van der Weyden, *Head*. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.

beards, as were barbarians. He instructed painters to take their models from heroes of Antiquity, Hercules, for instance.

Referring to the writings of father Sigüenza, Pacheco wrote that the Apostles should be 'hermosos y graves,' like creatures descending from Heaven.⁶ Molanus and Pacheco advised the imitation of the Apostles by Raphael. Two important prototypes of Renaissance Apostles were well known in the Netherlands. Solario's copy after Leonardo's *Last Supper* was in the Premonstratensian Abbey in Tangerlo and the cartoons for the *Acts of the Apostles* by Raphael were also accessible to painters.

The three-quarter length figures (*Kniestuck*) of Rubens' *Apostolado Lerma* are related to Venetian

High Renaissance state portraits. They are similar in scale and format to compositions of Titian, Rocco Marconi and others. Rubens' *St. Philip* is reminiscent of Michelangelo's and Sebastiano del Piombo's *Christ Carrying the Cross*.

The Apostle busts of van Dyck, however, are much closer to the half-length compositions of Caravaggio, and, with their strong peasant-like types, they must be valued as among the first examples of Caravaggio's influence in Antwerp.⁷ We must stress this influence *in concreto*.

The Apostle busts of van Dyck are strongly related as well to national and local traditions, to those Mannerist *tronien* (head studies) in oil, a genre which Müller-Hofstede studied in connection with Rubens.⁸ In Antwerp, it was Frans Floris especially who painted such head studies – small oil-sketches which were not life-studies, but characters representing certain types and expressions. If we consider the Baroque Apostles in the light of this tradition, it becomes clear that even the compositions painted after life, *naer het leven*, were subjected to this workshop practice and to the *invenzioni* of the masters. '*Tronien van Apostelen*' were very common in Antwerp collections.⁹

The study of the origin of this genre of head study is enriched by the consideration of two little heads (Figs. 1A and 1B) hitherto unnoticed in the light of the evolution of the *tronie*. These heads in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, most probably Apostles, painted on parchment, are, according to Winkler, copies after details in Roger van der Weyden's *Assumption of the*

6 F. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura...*, ed. D.G. Cruzada Villaamil (Madrid, 1866), II, 286.

7 The influence and importance of Caravaggio on the Apostle series has not yet been studied in detail. Although there is no single Apostle portrait among the works of Caravaggio, not even among the lost ones, we note a painting attributed to him has been recorded several times in Antwerp collections: '*een half figuer appostel Thadeus van Michiel Angel Caravaggio soo men geloof*' (Denucé, 359, 375). According to K. Garas this might have been a picture from the Apostle series by the Master of the Judgement of Solomon. On several Apostle series, see B. Nicolson, *The International Caravaggesque Movement* (Oxford, 1979), 73 and *passim*.

8 J. Müller-Hofstede, 'Zur Kopfstudie im Werk von Rubens,' *Walraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, xxx (1968), 223 ff. See also J.S. Held, 'Einige Bemerkungen zum Problem der Kopfstudie in der flämischen Malerei,' *Walraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, xxxii (1970), 285 ff. In my interpretation of the *tronie*, I tend to agree with the findings of Müller-Hofstede.

9 Denucé, 100, 168, 256 and 274.

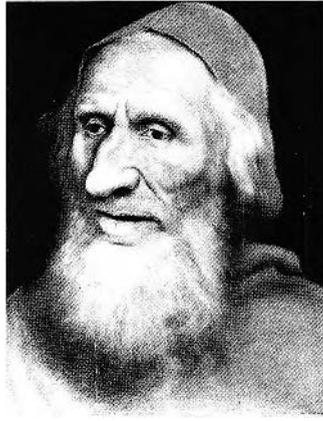


FIGURE 2. Metsys, *Head of an Old Man*. Barcelona, Collection Cambo.



FIGURE 3. Aegidius Sadeler after Dürer, *Head of an Apostle*.

Virgin. They are sixteenth-century works of inferior quality but it is of historic interest that the copyist took them as *tronien* or studies of character heads and perhaps used them as models.¹⁰

To get an idea of the character of the Quentin Metsys head studies – the *tronien* so often mentioned in Antwerp inventories – the *Study of the Head of an Old Man* in Barcelona (Fig. 2) may be taken as example. Its physiognomical type is close to one of the often copied apostles of Dürer's *Heller Altarpiece*, an apostle which became known in Flanders through Sadeler's engravings (Fig. 3).¹¹

Besides the survival of the genre of the *tronie*, I would like to show in the following examples that in the Apostle paintings of Rubens and van Dyck earlier models, prototypes and engravings played a very important role. We may note here just a few examples. The literature often mentions the relation that exists between Rubens' *St. Matthew* (Fig. 4) and the two earlier studies *A Young Man's Head*, and the so-called *Head of a Page* (Figs. 5-6). The similarities between the studies and the use of this head in several other compositions have also been noticed.¹² However, it seems that Rubens took not only Deodatis van der Mont as his model, but he also knew and made use of Aegidius Sadeler's engraving made after Dürer's *Head of an Angel* (Fig. 7).¹³ Similarities are not confined to the same movement of the head or the same direction of look (especially in the Düsseldorf sketch). The exaggerated straight line of the neck, the emphasis on the Adam's apple, and the disproportionate width of the illuminated face all prove that the

engraving was the source of invention. Rubens' placement of his sitter was derived from the print.

¹⁰ Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. n^{os} 5419 and 5420. A. Pigler, *Katalog der Galerie alter Meister* (Budapest, 1967), 772. The old man resembles the St. Joseph in Lisbon, the one looking upwards is similar to the donor in the Vienna triptych. The younger man is not a head study but a fragment. The two small heads are *tronien* 'à la Rogier' and not *counter-foytels*. It is not clear if head studies by Rogier himself existed. 'Een tronie van meester Rogier vander Wydden' is mentioned in 1642 in the inventory of the collection of Herman de Neyt (Denucé, 195).

¹¹ Held (n. 10) does not agree with the attribution of any head studies to Metsys. Perhaps the Barcelona picture proves the existence of these studies. For the Barcelona panel (36 × 30 cm), see A. de Bosque, *Quentin Metsys* (Brussels, 1975), 239. Its connection with Dürer has not been noticed. Aegidius Sadeler, after Dürer, 1597, listed in Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer (comp.), *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, XXI (Amsterdam, 1980), 26, n^o 87 and in A. Dürer aux Pays-Bas (Brussels, 1977), n^o 415. The creation of head studies by Antwerp painters up until Brueghel's time is not very clear, and only two small probable head studies by Brueghel the Elder are known. One such study is recorded in the inventory of the collection of Susanna Willemsens in 1637. 'Een tromieken van den ouden Breugel' (Denucé, 196).

¹² H. Vlieghe, *Saints 1: Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard* (London and New York, 1972), 45, n^o 14; M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (Oxford, 1977), 191, 62 r, pl. 180; P.P. Rubens (Köln, 1977), n^o 34; Müller-Hofstede, 229 ff. The head appears in several compositions by Rubens.

¹³ The inscription on the print reads: 'Albertus Dürer Alemannus Fecit Anno 1506 / Egidius Sadeler Sculpsit Anno 1598' (in Hollstein, XXI, n^o 98). See also *Bilder nach Bildern* (Münster, 1976), 102 and 104. Prints of Dürer – called 'Albordur' in the trade and in Antwerp collections in the seventeenth century – are well-recorded. The influence of Dürer on Rubens and van Dyck must be noted. This angel head seemed to impress especially Baroque artists. See H. Kauffmann, 'Dürer in der Kunst und Kunsturteil um 1600,' *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1940-1953), 32.



FIGURE 4. Rubens, *St. Matthew*. Madrid, Museo del Prado.



FIGURE 6. Rubens, *Head Study*. Forest Hills (N.Y.), Mr. and Mrs. R.L. Manning.



FIGURE 5. Rubens, *Head Study*. Düsseldorf, Private collection.



FIGURE 7. Ægidius Sadeler after Dürer, *Head of an Angel*.

It has remained unnoticed, as far as I know, that the head of *St. James Major* in Rubens' Lerma series is identical with that of an Italian portrait copied by Rubens (Figs. 8-9). Tradition has it that the original portrait, perhaps by Tintoretto, repre-

¹⁴ Vlieghe, 41, n° 9. The Rubens copy of the Italian portrait is discussed in the catalogue *P.P. Rubens* (Antwerp, 1977), n° 23; M. Jaffé, 27 r, 37 l, pl. 85.

¹⁵ A. McNairn, *The Young van Dyck* (Ottawa, 1980), n° 8.

¹⁶ Marcantonio Raimondi's engraved Standing Apostles after Raphael, ca. 1520, are listed in *Bartsch*, xiv, pt. 1, n° 67 ff. I must thank L. Zentay of the Print Room in Budapest for calling my attention to these engravings. They are in *The Illustrated Bartsch*, II, ed. K. Oberhuber (New York, 1978), pl. 95.

sending the Doge Giovanni Cornaro, was possibly in the collection of Rubens himself. Neither Jaffé, who dated Rubens' copy to 1625, nor d'Hulst, who dated it around 1610-1612, mention the similarity of the sitter and the Apostle.¹⁴ Rubens made the features of the Doge more heroic for his Apostle. Van Dyck's *St. James Major* follows the Rubensian composition, though the face is different. Perhaps it is the face of Pieter de Jode.¹⁵ The attitude of both Apostles, however, presumably goes back to the same source, that is to the corresponding figure in the Apostle series of Marcantonio Raimondi.¹⁶ This might be the source of the profile



FIGURE 8. Rubens after Tintoretto(?), *Doge Giovanni Cornaro*. Amsterdam, Private collection.



FIGURE 9. Rubens, *St. James the Greater*. Madrid, Museo del Prado.



FIGURE 10. Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, *St. James the Greater*.

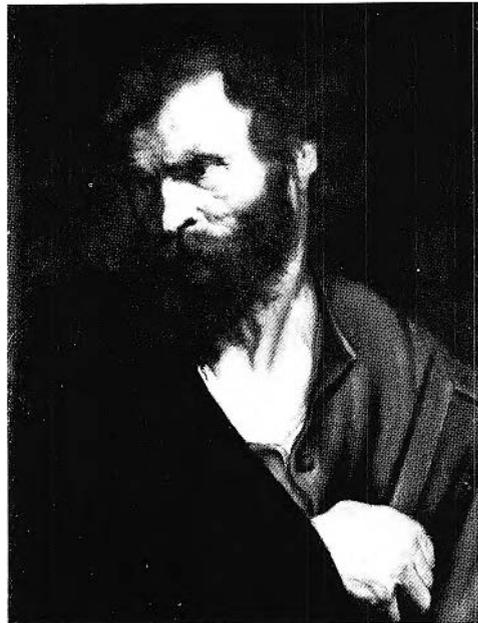


FIGURE 11. Van Dyck, *St. Judas Thaddeus*. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.



FIGURE 12. Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, *St. Thomas*.

figure with the twisted trunk, looking out toward the spectator. The same attitude can be seen in Raphael's cartoon of *Christ's Charge to Peter*, which was the source for this type of figure (Fig. 10).

We can assume an even closer adaptation of the Raimondi series in van Dyck's *St. Judas Thaddeus* panels (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, and Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen). The positions of the bearded head turned left and of the hand holding a carpenter's square are identical to those of St. Thomas in the engraving of

Raimondi. The characteristic unnatural gesture of the hand holding the instrument, the little finger being curved under the square, is a revealing detail proving the adaptation of the engraving (Figs. 11-12). We cannot deny that van Dyck worked *naer het leven*, but in this case he posed his model following artistic tradition (*Vorbild*).¹⁷

¹⁷ The gesture can be seen very well in the Rotterdam panel. H. Vey ('De apostel Judas Thaddeus door Van Dyck,' *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, x (1959), 86-96) did not notice this. The Raimondi engraving is Bartsch, 72 1.



S. PHILIPPVS
 Dominus ostende nobis Patrem. I. 18
 A. Wierix del. H. Wierix sculp.

FIGURE 13. A. and H. Wierix, *St. Philip*.



FIGURE 14. Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, *St. Philip*.

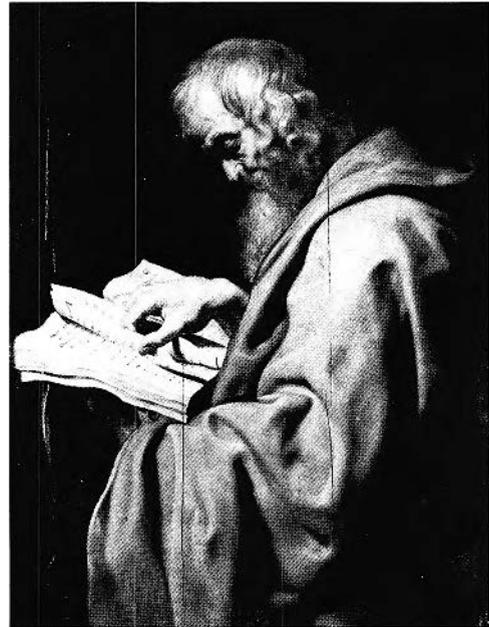


FIGURE 15. Rubens, *St. Simon*. Madrid, Museo del Prado.

We also find the antecedent of *St. Simon* by Rubens in graphic art. The reading figure in profile repeats the *St. Philip* in the half-length Apostle series engraved by A. Wierix.¹⁸ And again, it is Raimondi's *St. Philip* which was the original model (Figs. 13-15).

Müller-Hofstede noted the similarity between Rubens' *St. Thomas* and his *St. Amandus* for the triptych of the *Raising of the Cross*. I should like to add the following observation. The physiognomical type of this figure goes back to Dürer; it is closely related to his drawing of an apostle for the *Heller Altarpiece* and to the bald Pharisee with a

high forehead in the Lugano *Jesus among the Doctors* and to *St. Paul* in the *Four Evangelists* in Munich.¹⁹ In all probability the link is Goltzius' *St. Andrew*, printed in 1589, which is identical with the saint of Rubens not only in the high forehead, but also in the loose ruffled hair, the full beard and the accentuated curving line of the nose (Figs. 16-17).²⁰ There is a curious seventeenth-century painting in Munich (Fig. 25), a compilation of the *Heller Altarpiece* Apostles and of the *Four Evangelists* by Dürer, which proves in this context the survival of the Dürerian types.²¹

Van Dyck's *St. Matthias*, with his passionate contrapposto of head and body, did not come to the Apostle busts from the repertory of portrait painting. He is a distant relation of Leonardo's Judas Iscariot in the *Last Supper*. The drawing by Rubens in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, made around 1600-01 after Leonardo's *Last Supper*, is a reduced character study without the background. Van Dyck's copy in oils was probably made after Rubens. Both copied only the figures.²² Of van Dyck's Apostles the *St. Matthias* is the closest to Caravaggio. The expression of *furor*, the strongly accentuated wrinkles of the head, the modelling of the nostrils and so on, resemble Caravaggio's heads in such works as the *Incredulity of Thomas* in Potsdam, dating from 1599, and the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in Rome, ca. 1600.

As well as the inspiration of Italian and German Renaissance masters and the influence of Caravaggio, we should not underrate the impor-

18 *St. Simon* by Rubens, Vlieghe, 46-47, n° 16. For Wierix, see the excellent catalogue by M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix* (Brussels, 1979), II, n° 960. Raimondi's *St. Philippus* is Bartsch, 69.

19 J. Müller-Hofstede, 'Eine Kreidestudie von Rubens für den Kreuzaufrichtungsaltar,' *Pantheon*, xxv (1967), 35-43. Although he speaks about the influence of Caravaggio, the influence of Dürer is not mentioned. The head type of Dürer's *St. Paul* in Munich is also to be found in several of Dürer's drawings.

20 Goltzius' *St. Andrew* from the Credo series, Hollstein, VIII, n° 36/III.

21 Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. n° 1412. In exhibition *Dürer-Renaissance* (Munich, 1971), n° 12.

22 McNairn, 11, 22 ff. M. Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook* (London, 1966), pl. xx and *Rubens and Italy*, 24 r and 29 l. On copies after Leonardo, see E. Pogány-Balás, 'Remarques à propos de la copie faite par Lodovico Dondo de la Cène de Léonard de Vinci,' *Bulletin du Musée des beaux-arts, Budapest*, n° 56/57, forthcoming. I wish to thank E. Pogány-Balás for her help in reading my paper and for her suggestions. Besides the influence of Leonardo we may suppose the influence of Titian's *Tribute Money* on the half-length Apostles of van Dyck.

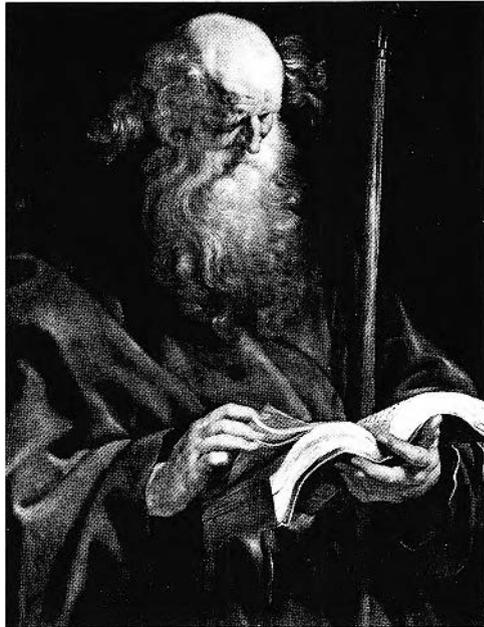


FIGURE 16. Rubens, *St. Thomas*. Madrid, Museo del Prado.

tance of the revival of Netherlandish 'Primitives' in the century of Rubens, mainly in the early 1600s.²³ Scholarly literature often refers briefly to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century roots of the Apostle series in general, but a detailed elaboration of the subject does not yet exist.²⁴ Using the example of the Budapest *St. John* (Fig. 18) I would like to show the continuity of Flemish tradition.²⁵ St. John was not only the favourite disciple of Christ, but he was also the favourite Apostle of artists. He was always represented as being young and beautiful, which is in accord with early apocryphal tradition. Beginning with his appearance in the lost Apostle series of Jan van Eyck,²⁶ there developed an uniform tradition regarding St. John in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlandish painting. Generally he is a young man with long and curly hair. He may have appeared for the first time as a half-length figure in the Braque triptych by Rogier van der Weyden, a work, as Martin Davies pointed out, not necessarily influenced by Italian art.²⁷ The survival of the half-length type of St. John of van der Weyden is evident in a panel in Brussels formerly attributed to Colin de Coter (Fig. 19).²⁸ A half-length St. John in Padua, attributed to the young Quentin Metsys demonstrates the type of the composition in the sixteenth century.²⁹ It is an archaic figure, resembling the types appearing in the work of Memling and Gerard David. The ecstatic and individual features of St. John on the wing of a later altarpiece in Cologne by Metsys anticipates the



FIGURE 17. H. Goltzius, *St. Andrew*.

Baroque.³⁰ Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen published in 1523 one of the first half-length Apostle series in graphic art. His gothic *St. John* (Fig. 20) depends not on Dürer, but rather on the general Netherlandish tradition.³¹

23 C. Eisler, 'Rubens Uses the Northern Past. The Michiels Triptych and its sources,' *Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique, Bulletin*, xvi (1967), 43-78; H. Vey, *Van Dyck Studien* (Cologne, 1958).

24 G. Glück, 'Van Dycks Apostelfolge,' in *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis* (Vienna, 1933), 288-302; Müller-Hofstede, 'Eine Kreidstudie,' 39; Vlieghe, 37; Vey, 'De apostel Judas.' See B. Knipping, *De Iconografie van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden*, II (Hilversum, 1940), 299, on the iconography of the Apostles as being in the main stream of tradition.

25 Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. n° 6377. Pigler, 204; McNairn, n° 10; M. Haraszti-Takács, *Rubens and His Age* (Budapest, 1972), pl. 13. From the collection of B. Back in Szeged who also owned the *St. Paul* panel, now in Hannover. The X-ray of the Budapest *St. John*, made by former chief-restorer M. More, shows no irregularity.

26 The Apostle drawings, copies(?) after Jan van Eyck (Vienna, Albertina), were thought by Benesch to be studies for small sculptures. Nothing is known about their original function.

27 M. Davies, *Rogier van der Weyden* (London, 1972), 21 and 231. On the meanings of the half-length portrait, see J. B. Friedman, *An Iconological Examination of the Half-Length Devotional Portrait Diptych in the Netherlands, 1460-1530* (UCLA, Los Angeles, Dissertation, 1977).

28 Brussels, Musées royaux des beaux-arts, Inv. n° 3025. Not listed in M. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, IV (Leyden and Brussels, 1969), among the works of de Coter.

29 De Bosque, 128 ff., pl. 115.

30 Idem, 162, pl. 53. The Metsys tradition in Antwerp is very strong. See Master of the Morrison Triptych, half-length *St. Paul*, Friedländer, VII, pl. 122, n° 175.

31 K. Steinbart, *Das Holzschnittwerk der Jakob Cornelisz von Amsterdam* (Magdeburg, 1937), n° 133-144.



FIGURE 18. Van Dyck. *St. John the Evangelist*. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.



FIGURE 19. Flemish, ca. 1500, *St. John the Evangelist*. Brussels, Musées royaux des beaux-arts (Photo: A.C.L., Brussels).



FIGURE 20. Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen, *St. John the Evangelist*.

Van Dyck's *St. John* was painted after a model. His sweet face is not an intellectual one. However, in the painting the posture, the gesture and the type of head, completely follow the iconographic tradition. Instead of the bowl of poison there is (as in Rubens' *Lerma* series) the sacred chalice of the Mass which is blessed by St. John with the liturgical gesture of the priest during the Holy Communion.³² This gesture is ecstatic and very expressive. The colour of the mantle, according to the iconographic tradition, is ruby-red, '*resplendens ac carbunculus*.'³³

32 Molanus, cap. LVIII, 'De pictura Joannis Evangelistæ.' Molanus instructs artists explicitly to paint St. John as a beardless young man. For the iconography of St. John, see also É. Mâle, *L'art religieux après le concile de Trente* (Paris, 1932), 368; É. Mâle, *Les saints compagnons du Christ* (Paris, 1958); J.J.M. Timmers, *Symboliek en iconographie der christelijke Kunst* (Roermond and Maaseik, 1947), and *Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Istituto Giovanni XXIII* (Rome, 1965), VI, 757 ff.

33 C.M.J.H.I. Smits, *De iconografie van de Nederlandsche Primitieven* (Amsterdam, 1933), 175 ff.

34 For the origin of this type we note examples by Geertgen tot Sint Jans, Hugo van der Goes, M. Sittow. A Nativity by Aertgen van Leyden was in the collection of Rubens (Denucé, 64).

35 J. Müller-Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens.' *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII (1965), 308 ff.

36 Denucé, 314.

37 Vlieghe, 31-32, n° 3. The Budapest *St. John* seems to be very close to this copy after Rubens' *Bust of Christ*.

38 Other pictures of St. John the Evangelist listed in Denucé, 168, 274. A very weak St. John on paper glued on panel (71 × 58 cm) was with a Parisian art-dealer (Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, photo n° 20603).

Brilliance is the main motive of the painting by van Dyck. The warm light of an invisible candle gives a soft prominence to the face, the gown and the chalice. Such lighting is in the tradition of the Netherlandish 'Nativities by Night' (*Kersnacht*), where the persons are illuminated by the light, radiating from the body of the Holy Child.³⁴ The treatment of light in the Budapest panel is closely related to that in Rubens' *Christ's Charge to Peter* of 1614-15 in the Wallace Collection. According to instructions written on a workshop drawing, the head of St. John in *Christ's Charge to Peter* should be painted '*op de keerse*,' that is, in candlelight.³⁵ The Budapest painting is such an *op de keerse* masterpiece. In 1685 '*een tronie, profiel, opde kers geschildert, van van Dyck*' is mentioned among the paintings of Alexander Voet.³⁶ A head seen in profile in candlelight, it seems to have been a rather caravaggesque painting.

The Budapest *St. John* can be compared in type and in the modelling and in the same use of chiaroscuro to the lost *Bust of Christ* by Rubens painted around 1615, now known only through a good copy (Fig. 21).³⁷

Antwerp inventories mention several pictures of *St. John the Evangelist* by van Dyck.³⁸ If we consider only the Antwerp collections, it is clear that there existed not only complete series of Apostles, but also single Apostle 'portraits.' Besides the two St. Johns, it was customary to represent Sts. Peter and Paul in pairs of panels. Therefore there are



FIGURE 21. After Rubens, *The Bust of Christ*. Present whereabouts unknown (Photo: Rubenshuis).

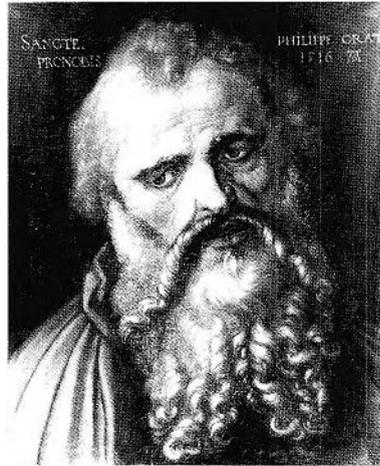


FIGURE 22. Dürer, *St. Philip*. Firenze, Uffizi (Photo: Alinari).

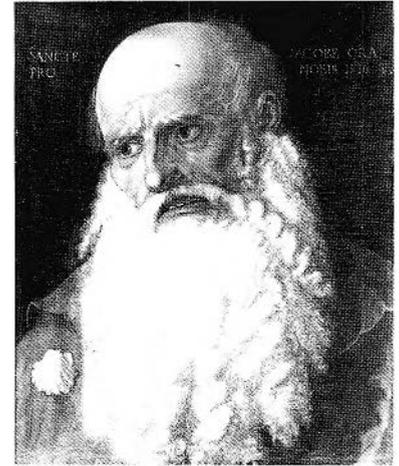


FIGURE 23. Dürer, *St. James*. Firenze, Uffizi (Photo: Alinari).

the conspicuous references to many single panels.³⁹

Separate, single portraits of the Apostles are said to appear only in the Baroque period.⁴⁰ This is not quite true, but as with other types formulated at this time they have avoided the attention of iconographic research. The cult of the Apostles in the Western Church did not develop to such an extent as in the Eastern Church, where for example half-length representations of Apostles are common from early times on. The iconography of the Apostle series goes back to the so-called Credo series. Western mediaeval tradition has it that the articles of the Credo were attached to the Apostles on the basis of the text of a pseudo-Augustinian sermon. According to the inventories, there were tapestries in the collection of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, with the Apostles, in concordance with the Prophets, holding banderoles.⁴¹

One of the first series of the Apostles as head-studies dating from about 1400 is the so-called Prague Capuchin series. Their original arrangement is much debated, and the heads are of the type appearing in Gothic model-books.⁴²

In the context of the evolution of the Apostle series, writers have ignored the two remaining pieces of Dürer's Apostle series – the heads of St. Philip and St. James in the Uffizi, dated 1516 (Figs. 22-23). (Two other Apostle heads by Dürer are documented.) The pictures are character studies, similar to the Dürerian St. Jeromes. Although such is indicated by their inscriptions, it cannot be certain that the panels had any devotional function. They are *Tüchlein*-pieces, though painted in

oil. They represent an important stage in the history of the Apostle portrait as they are perhaps the first separate, single paintings intended to be 'portraits' of the Apostles.⁴³

The Apostle types by Dürer and Leonardo influenced many painters. We cite here one example of this influence – the strange panels of the Lombard Pseudo-Boccaccino. His panels in Vienna and Venice each showing three Apostles in bust size are unique examples of their type (Figs. 24A-24B). The original use of these panels may be inferred from the usual fifteenth-century practice of placing the Apostles on the predellas of altarpieces.⁴⁴

39 Two separate Apostles in ovals by van Dyck were listed as in the collection of A. Voet in 1689 (Denucé, 313). Portraits of Sts. Peter and Paul are mentioned often in Antwerp inventories (perhaps the same ones) (Denucé, 173 and 357). St. Matthew and St. James with two other Apostles were with J.B. Borrekens in 1668 (Glück, 298; Denucé, 256).

40 *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. E. Kirschbaum (Rome, Freiburg, Basel and Wien, 1968), 1, 150 ff, entry by J. Myslivec.

41 T.B. Wood, 'The Credo Tapestries,' *Burlington Magazine*, xxiv (1914), 477 ff.

42 A. Matějček and J. Pesina, *Gothic Painting in Bohemia, 1350-1450* (Prague, 1956), 34-70. The series is mentioned by Vey, 'De apostel Judas,' in this context.

43 F. Anzelevsky, *Albrecht Dürer. Das maleische Werk* (Berlin, 1971), 239, 240, n^{os} 128, 129, and pl. 72. *Gli Uffizi, Catalogo Generale* (Firenze, 1979), 256. They were in the possession of Emperor Ferdinand III in the seventeenth century. According to Dr. G. Goldbert (Munich), their original function is unclear.

44 Figler, 71; S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative* (Åbo, 1965), 186 and 189.



FIGURE 24A. Pseudo-Boccaccio, *Apostles*. Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste.



FIGURE 24B. Pseudo-Boccaccio, *Apostles*. Venice, Accademia.

The Apostle series were reborn in the north in graphic art as illustrations to the ever increasing publication of vernacular Bibles. Only *St. Peter* remains of the half-length Apostle series of Lucas van Leyden. It is not known whether his two paintings of half-length Apostles were altar-wings or belonged to a series.⁴⁵ The energetic half-length *St. Paul* attributed to Jan van Scorel (Fig. 26), on loan to the Episcopal Museum, Haarlem, may

45 *St. Andrew in a Landscape* (Karlsruhe), Friedländer, x, n° 340, pl. 102. *St. Paul* (Yale University Art Gallery), Friedländer, x, supp. 170.

46 The panel measures 47.5 × 24.5 cm, Friedländer, xii, n° 340, pl. 183; *Jan van Scorel* (Utrecht, 1955), n° 42; together with *St. Peter*. I thank J.A.J.M. Verspandok and B. Breninkmeyer de Roy for their information about the panel. According to the latter, *St. Paul* has been cut on all sides, so for the moment it cannot be proven that it was painted as a half-length composition. I still think these panels are very important to the study of the tradition of the Apostle series.

47 To study the question of the importance of series of half-length Apostles in sixteenth-century graphic art and their relation to the Baroque series it would be necessary to collect photographs of all the known series and fragments. I have been unable to accomplish this task. A modern monograph on Martin de Vos is especially needed. For Goltzius, see the appropriate volumes of Hollstein and Reznicek. For Joos van Winghen and Crispin de Passe, see Hollstein, xv, 161 ff. For Wierix, see Mauquoy-Hendrickx.

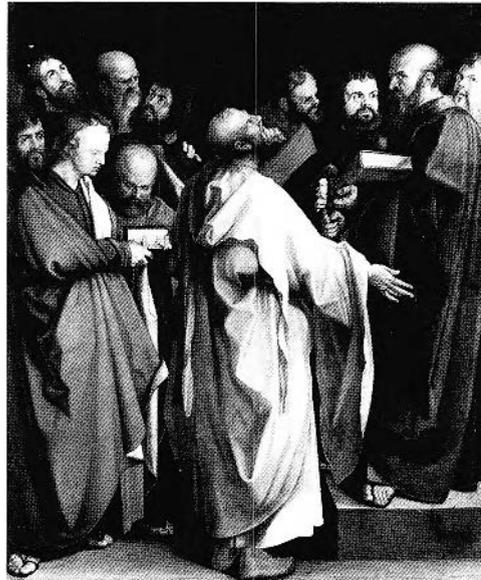


FIGURE 25. German Master, xviiith century, *Eleven Apostles*. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.



FIGURE 26. Jan van Scorel(?), *St. Paul*. Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties, te den Haag.

have been part of an Apostle series – such an Italo-Dürerian innovation could be possible within his canon.⁴⁶

The importance of the series of engravings with half-length portraits of the Apostles made after Martin de Vos, Crispin de Passe, Crispin van den Broeck, Josse van Winghe and others has been pointed out by Glück, Müller-Hofstede, Vlieghe and Vey. The problem could be dealt with only if the entire range of material were considered. In this context, Apostle drawings and engravings of Goltzius should be closely examined.⁴⁷ Not only

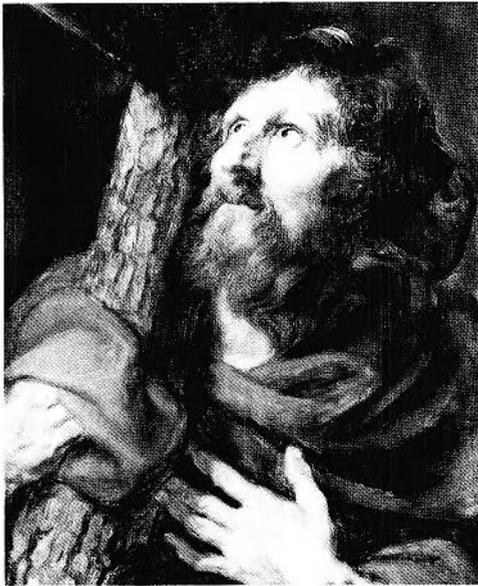


FIGURE 27. Van Dyck, *St. Philip*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



FIGURE 28. H. Goltzius, *St. Judas Thaddeus*.

were the pathos-formulas of the Romanists taken over by Baroque artists – the pathetic gesture and look of van Dyck's *St. Philip* (Fig. 27) is a mere repetition of that of the *St. Judas Thaddeus* by Goltzius (Fig. 28) – but also the attitude of Leonardo's *St. Philip* that lives on in the gesture of Goltzius' engraved Apostle.⁴⁸

The Four Evangelists were represented frequently as authors in Renaissance half-length compositions. It seems almost to be the 'illustrious scholars' of Urbino that survive in Lucas van Leyden's engravings of the Four Evangelists of 1508. The portrait of *St. Luke* is an especially typical representation of a scholar in his study. The engravings were often copied in painting, as in a small picture in Budapest from the sixteenth century.⁴⁹ Lucas van Leyden's *St. Luke in His Study* is similar to the *Portrait of Erasmus* by Quentin Metsys, painted in 1517 (Figs. 29-30). This is probably not simply a result of chance. There is no known Erasmus portrait earlier than 1517. With respect to the similarity of the *St. Luke* by Lucas van Leyden and the painted copies of it and the Metsys *Portrait of Erasmus*, we should note that beyond the identical dress and hat, the head types are remarkably alike. It would be perhaps premature to identify van Leyden's *St. Luke* as the earliest portrait of Erasmus. In any case, we must consider the hitherto unnoticed influence of the Lucas van Leyden engraving on the famous Erasmus portrait.⁵⁰

The roots and antecedents of these portrait-like half-length Apostle or Evangelist paintings lie in those pseudo-portraits of the Netherlandish pictorial and iconographic tradition. The type of antecedents we refer to includes the Sibyls by the Master of Flémalle, Rogier van der Weyden and Memling (the latter's *Sibylla Sambetha* or *Portrait of Maria Moreel* is the most striking example of this genre), and saints (for example, Petrus Christus' *Carthusian Monk*, Gossaert's *St. Donatian* and others), and Magdalenes (for example, the one by Sittow in Detroit), and St. Jeromes represented as disguised portraits and, conversely, as portraits in saint's disguise. The ambiguity of these pseudo-portraits was evident to donors and contemporaries.⁵¹ Saints with portrait-like features appear elsewhere as well in the fifteenth century, but this ambiguity which was so general in the Netherlands can be seen only in Venice, in the works of Giovanni Bellini.⁵²

48 Goltzius, *St. Judas Thaddeus*, Hollstein, n° 45.

49 Pigler, 379. After Lucas van Leyden, *The Four Evangelists*, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, panel, 12.5 × 9.4 cm. Other painted copies are in the Antwerp Museum and two other series with rounded tops were on the market.

50 On the Erasmus iconography, see *Erasmus en zijn tijd* (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1969), n° 237, etc.; E. Treu, *Die Bildnisse des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Basel, 1959), 20 ff.

51 G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson* (Damme, 1957), 170 ff. and 192.

52 F. Heinemann, *Bellini e i Belliniani* (Venice, 1960), n°s 217, 294, 295, 425, etc.



FIGURE 29. After Lucas van Leyden, *St. Luke*. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.



FIGURE 30. Quentin Metsys, *Erasmus*. Rome, Galleria Nazionale (Photo: Alinari).

In Flanders even realistic portraits could wear the attributes of saints. Of many sixteenth-century examples I quote only one, Jan van Hemessen's *Portrait of Nude Man as St. Sebastian*.⁵³ Such a *naer het leven* portrait of a saint could not have been used for religious purposes. They were show pieces in collections, just as were the Apostles of Rubens and van Dyck. The sixteenth-century

portrait-like Magdalenes and Jeromes were also decorations in well-to-do burghers' houses and in scholars' studies.

It is unlikely that either the Apostles of Rubens or those of van Dyck could have served religious or devotional purposes. Only the Pallavicini series made after Rubens is mentioned as '*in de Capelle*.'⁵⁴ These copies of the '*originati che ha il Ducca di Lerma de mia mano*' were once offered by Rubens in exchange for antique statues. Not even the paintings involved in the van Dyck court case were used for religious purposes. Although their purchaser, Hillewerf, was a canon of Antwerp Cathedral, where van Dyck's father was once president of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, he did not buy the paintings for devotional purposes. The records of the case and inventories mention van Dyck's Apostles in private houses. In Antwerp houses, Apostle series were placed on the walls which were covered with gilded leather above the cornice (*boven de lysten vant gouden leiv*).⁵⁵ Neither the series in the Jordaens house, nor the ones in the Quellinus and Janssens bequests were meant for religious purposes.⁵⁶ Preserving in subject matter the tradition, which became important again during the Counter-Reformation, these pictures were show pieces. This is indicated by how often even the painters confused the attributes of the Apostles.

Such 'galleries of Apostles' in Antwerp houses were embodiments of the idea of heroic persons,

⁵³ Friedländer, xii, n° 224, pl. 120.

⁵⁴ The original location of the Pallavicini series was noted in the inventory of the collection of J. B. Pallavicini drawn up in 1665 (Denucé, 244). In the Netherlands the cultural-religious milieu was very different from Spain and France. On the series of Greco and their original placement, see H. E. Wethey, *El Greco and his School* (Princeton, 1962), II, 99. El Greco's Apostle series were painted between 1605-1614. One is still in the Toledo Cathedral and one is in the Museo del Greco. The Apostle series by Georges de la Tour were painted between 1620-1625 for Albi Cathedral; see P. Rosenberg and F. Macé de L'Épinay, *Georges de la Tour* (Fribourg, 1973), 92 ff.

⁵⁵ Denucé, 225; '*Int comptoir*' of D. Ketgen in 1660, Glück, 297. Snellinck said in his testimony that he had seen a series of Apostles by van Dyck in the house of Elias Voet, and Jordaens reported that he saw van Dyck's Apostles in the house of Henricus Vuylenborch. Not only complete series, but single Apostle portraits were listed in domestic inventories. Besides those Apostles, listed as in Antwerp houses, there were of course several pieces and series in churches, cloisters, sacristies as well.

⁵⁶ M. Jaffé, *Jacob Jordaens* (Ottawa, 1968-69), n°s 19 ff. Of a very similar genre are the 'Portraits' of the Three Magi by Rubens in the house of Moretus (one portrait now in the National Gallery, Washington). F. van den Wijngaert, *P. P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis* (Antwerp, 1941), 42, 48 ff.; J. R. Judson, 'Rubens and Moretus,' *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, n° 8 (1979).

that is to say the *viri illustri*, the illustrious men of the Bible. In Flanders it was common to have portrait galleries in great houses with likenesses of the Dukes of Burgundy, of ancient Roman emperors, philosophers, writers, poets, scholars, sibyls and prophets. The Rubensian portraits in the Plantin-Moretus house still give us an idea of these portrait galleries. (Moretus bought one of the copies of Rubens' Apostle series from Philip Galle in 1615.⁵⁷) The prototype of these profane Apostles, now lost, was the series by Cornelis Ketel, so much admired by van Mander, in which he painted his contemporaries as Apostles.⁵⁸ It is the profane iconography of the *homini illustri* and the traditional Flemish portrait-like rendering of saints and holy persons that met in seventeenth-century art.

It is especially important to consider the iconography of the 'Salvator Mundi' which formed the centre of the Apostle series. The iconography of the Christ in the series is not fully understood. A few remarks about the Ottawa Christ by Rubens or from his studio and the Christ by van Dyck in Genoa are in order here. I quote a longer and impressive description of the narrative of St. John's Gospel, xx, 19 ff, from the text of *The Meditations of the Life of Christ* on the appearance of Christ to His disciples: 'How the Lord appeared on the day of the Resurrection to those who were shut up ... Then the Lord Jesus went in to them, the doors being closed, stood in their midst and said to them: Peace be with you. He stayed familiarly among them, showing them His hands and side, and opening their minds to understand the Scriptures and know His Resurrection.'⁵⁹ The words of the Gospel '*ostendit eis manus et latus*' were used in the visual arts not only for the representation of the Resurrected Christ but also for the living Man of Sorrows. The standing Christ in Ottawa has no definite wound in his side, only on the hands; however, on the Pallavicini copies, we can see all the wounds.⁶⁰

The gesture of the *ostentatio vulnerum* comes from the appearance of Thomas according to the narrative text, but it was used mostly in Northern compositions of the *imago pietatis*. Van Dyck's panel of Christ in Genoa has the intensity of a fifteenth-century Man of Sorrows, with an accentuated *ostentatio vulnerum*. In reality, it is for the seventeenth century a very archaic iconographical type. Another archaizing element is the gesture of the left hand, which holds the cross and reaches across the chest to show the wound. This gesture is relatively rare in painting. Generally Christ shows His wound with His right hand, except when He blesses with His right with an *orans* gesture. The

side wound, made with the lance of Longinus, is represented in art not under His heart, but on His right. We find relatively few examples in early-Netherlandish painting of Christ's hand reaching across his chest to show the wound (e.g. on the painting by the Master of Flémalle in Frankfurt, or Memling's Christs in Melbourne and in Esztergom). This gesture, appearing in both the terracotta of Verrocchio and the *Man of Sorrows* of Giovanni Santi in Budapest, indicates northern iconographic sources. The latter undoubtedly had Flemish models.⁶¹

As to source for the Christs of Rubens and van Dyck (including the prototypes already noted by Floris and Coxcie) it is incorrect to quote only the *Resurrected Christ as Man of Sorrows* by Michelangelo in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, as we know that this iconographical type is found earlier not only in Venetian but also in Northern art. The panel in London by Giovanni Bellini, *The Living Man of Sorrows with a Cross*, is not unique either. The gesture of the right hand of Christ reaching down is the same in this painting as in van Dyck's panel. Colin Eisler wrote in his admirable iconographic study of this subject: 'By the sixteenth century, the division between the Man of Sorrows and the Christ of Resurrection had blurred and there is no need to view these types as mutually exclusive, since they were often thematically interrelated, if not inseparable.'⁶²

The theme of the 'Risen Christ appearing to his disciples' seems to have played an important role in Antwerp in the early years of the seventeenth

57 Van den Wijngaert, 21 ff.; Judson.

58 Glück, 288; Vlieghe, 37; Vey, 'De apostel Judas,' 90 ff.

59 Ed. I. Raguasa and R.B. Green (Princeton, 1961), cap. xcii, 368. The various appearances of Christ after his Resurrection are not always very clear in iconography. Eight appearances are mentioned in the Bible.

60 On the problem of the side wounds, see A. Monballieu, 'Bij de iconografie van Rubens' Rockox-epitafium,' *Jaarboek van het koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen* (1970), 133; V. Gurewich, 'Observations on the Iconography of the Wound in Christ's Side,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xx (1951), 358 ff, and 'Rubens and the Wound in Christ's Side. A Postscript,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxvi (1963), 358. A seventeenth-century copy after the Christ of the *Apostolado Lerma* unmentioned in the literature is in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (oil on canvas, 103 x 79 cm. deposit n° 3.078). It comes from the collection Zsigmond Bubicus bishop of Kassa (Kosice). Very mediocre in quality, with a van Dyckian smoothness in the modelling, it is a copy after the Pallavicini Christ. The face is similar also to the Schotenstift copy.

61 I am at present working on the Flemish models of Giovanni Santi's *Man of Sorrows with Angels* in Budapest.

62 Colin Eisler, 'The Golden Christ of Cortona and the Man of Sorrows in Italy,' *The Art Bulletin*, LI (1969), 107, and 233 ff. (quotation, 243). This study is essential for the understanding of the iconography of Michelangelo's Christ in the Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

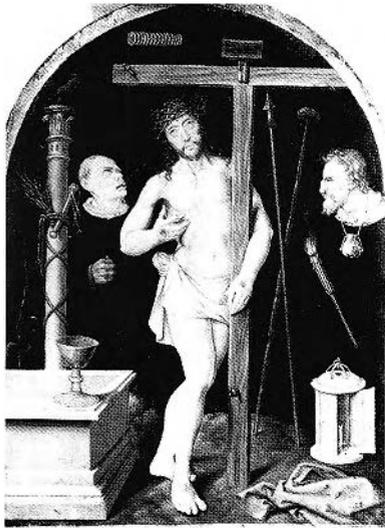


FIGURE 31. Southern Netherlandish, ca. 1530, *Vir Dolorum*. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.

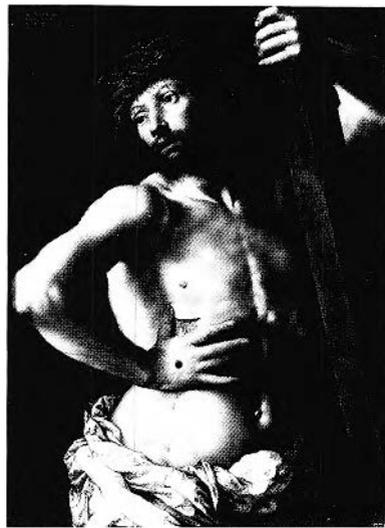


FIGURE 32. Jan van Hemessen, *Christ with the Cross*. Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum.



FIGURE 33. A. Wierix after Martin de Vos, *Christ with the Cross*.

century. The iconographical tradition of the narrative is still problematic, but as the pictorial tradition of this theme was not very strong, it became mixed with the traditional representations of the Man of Sorrows.

We can read the following in the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis, a book which was still popular in the seventeenth century (editions of the *Imitation of Christ* are listed in Antwerp inventories of the time): 'For he [Christ] exhorts both the disciples who were following him, and all that desire to follow him, to bear the cross, saying: If any

man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me (ch. xii).'

The standing Christ with the cross, as Man of Sorrows after the Resurrection can be found in early Netherlandish painting, as for example in a small panel in the Budapest collection from ca. 1530 (Fig. 31).⁶³ The Christ of Jan van Hemessen of 1540 in Linz depends upon the same tradition reworked in the spirit of Romanism (Fig. 32).⁶⁴ The Christ of the Credo series engraved after Martin de Vos repeats this traditional gesture and iconography (Fig. 33), following not exclusively Italian examples but also vernacular tradition (Fig. 34).⁶⁵ A forerunner of the 'athletic' type can be found in a curious painting attributed to Cornelis van Haarlem in Warsaw.⁶⁶

The iconography of a peculiar, but seemingly significant and well-appreciated representation of contemporaries may be related to the renderings of the Risen Christ as a Man of Sorrows with the Apostles. In this context we cite the half-length figure of Christ between those of Sts. Peter and Paul, where the saints really take the role of the angels of the *Engelpietà*. This type is known from the compositions of Coxcie and Moro (Fig. 35), the latter of which was described in detail by Domenicus.⁶⁷

Further iconographic research of the subject of the Christ with the Apostles may result in the elucidation of the national and local roots for the Apostle series. The turning point seems to be the lost Apostle series by Frans Floris. To get an idea of how the painted busts of the Twelve Apostles by

63 *The Standing Christ as a Man of Sorrows with the Cross* is a pre-Eyckian painting formerly in the Renders Collection, now in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts. See Pigler, 678. Exhibited, *Dirk Bouts en zijn tijd* (Louvain, 1975), 309, 421.

64 Friedländer, xii, pl. 108. On the prototypes of van Dyck (Floris, Coxcie), see McNairn, 50.

65 For Wierix after Martin de Vos, see Mauquoy-Hendrickx, II, n° 882. For the Credo series and other engravings of Wierix showing the same type, see Mauquoy-Hendrickx, I, pls. 72, 73 and 76.

66 Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 135.5 × 106 cm. Sztuka Czasow Michała Anioła, *Il tempo di Michelangelo* (Warsaw, 1963/64), n° 36, as *St. John of the Cross*. The painting has a very peculiar iconography with the nude man holding a chalice, or more correctly a profane goblet, and the cross. It seems to be a Man of Sorrows.

67 K. Langedijk, 'La Résurrection du Christ. Une œuvre exceptionnelle d'Antonio Moro retrouvée à Chantilly,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vi/LXXVIII (1966), 233. An engraving after Coxcie by C. Cort from 1564 is listed in J.C.J. Bierens de Haan, *L'œuvre gravée de Cornelis Cort* (The Hague, 1948), n° 97, 98, p. 107. The earliest traces of this iconographic type are in a lost work by D. Bouts, *Christ between St. Peter and St. Paul*, mentioned by van Mander. (A. Chatelet, *Les primitifs hollandais* (Paris, 19—), 73). *Christ Resurrected Between Two Apostles*, by H. Wierix, Mauquoy-Hendrickx, I, pl. 73, n° 562, in which Christ with the Cross shows the wound in His side.



FIGURE 34. After Rubens, *Christ with the Cross*. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.



FIGURE 35. Antonio Moro(?), *Christ Resurrected with Sts. Peter and Paul*. Chantilly, Musée Condé.

Floris, mentioned in 1595 in the collection of Archduke Ernst of Austria, could look, we have to imagine, around a painting like his Vienna *Christ with the Cross*, a set of Apostles very similar to his numerous head studies of old, mostly bearded men. Friedländer thought that some of these studies were indeed Apostle heads. If the Christ by Floris can be regarded as the source of the Christ by Rubens, then it is most probable that such head studies were the real predecessors of the Rubensian and van Dyckian Apostles. Of old men's heads alone there are more than 25 types in the oeuvre of Floris. Half of these can be identified as studies for extant compositions. In his excellent monograph on Floris, Carl van de Velde treated the problem of the *tronien*, head studies, in the workshop practice of Floris.⁶⁸ Painted on panel (approx. 46 × 33 cm) they served as models for different compositions. Some heads of old men in van de Velde's catalogue cannot be identified as studies for known works. Although van de Velde does not suppose any contact between those *tronien* and the lost but well-documented Apostle series by Floris,⁶⁹ I am still inclined to reconstruct or imagine this series with similar heads. We can prove this only indirectly. A signed Floris head study in the Grzimek collection in Friedrichshafen (Fig. 36),⁷⁰ formerly thought to be a self-portrait, cannot be connected with any of Floris' extant paintings. It is definitely unrelated to his *St. Luke*. Surprisingly, it is in fact nearly identical with the head of *St. Paul* in van Dyck's Apostle series (versions Hannover and Jeffersontown) (Fig. 37). The type of head,

the facial expression and the whole composition are so similar, that we must assume that van Dyck has used the Floris head study for his painting. Other comparisons might be also instructive, for instance the Dresden *St. Peter* by van Dyck can be compared to another Floris head study (Figs. 38-39).⁷¹ Floris' *tronien* were listed in Antwerp collections in the seventeenth century and they were surely copied at the time.

If our suppositions were eventually proven, we would see, that nearly all those Apostles of the Classical Baroque masters, like Rubens and van Dyck, which the artists themselves and contemporaries declared to be *naer het leven* portraits, were produced using the same workshop practice as initiated by Floris, although in a more naturalistic style. This is why both painters repeated their Apostles in many compositions – as was seen in the case of van Dyck in the Ottawa exhibition where the *Suffer Little Children* was juxtaposed with the Böhler Apostles. The origin and sources for the great Apostle series of both Rubens and van Dyck should be considered in the light of the continuity of Netherlandish tradition, which in the early seventeenth century met the newly arrived caravaggesque fashion.

68 G. Heintz, 'Beiträge zur Werk des Frans Floris,' *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LXV (1969), 7 ff.; Carl van de Velde, *Frans Floris 1519/20-1570. Leven en werken* (Brussels, 1975), 65 ff.

69 Van de Velde, 488, doc. 100.

70 Idem, 233, n° 85.

71 Idem, 249, n° 106.



FIGURE 36. Frans Floris, *Head Study*. Friedrichshafen, Private collection.



FIGURE 37. Van Dyck, *St. Paul*. Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum.

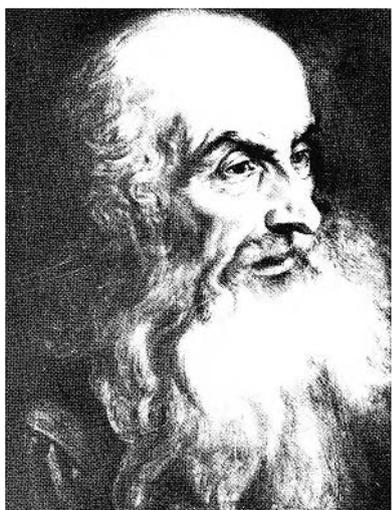


FIGURE 38. Frans Floris, *Head Study*. Schloss Ludwigsburg, Württembergisches Landesmuseum.



FIGURE 39. Van Dyck, *St. Peter*. Dresden. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen.

In conclusion, I would like to add as an appendix to the catalogue of the Ottawa exhibition an unpublished Apostle series after van Dyck. These copies which consist of nine Apostles and the Christ after the Böhler Apostles were discovered a few years ago in the Carthusian monastery in Pleterje, Yugoslavia, and were recently restored. The paintings were brought to Pleterje in 1904 from the Carthusian monastery of Bosserville, near Nancy. The panels are painted on wood and have rather worn surfaces (Figs. 40-49). Their quality varies considerably. The best ones are *Christ* and *St. Philip*. The Pleterje series seems to be better in general quality than the Aschaffenburg series. They were by no means painted after engravings. The colours prove that they were painted after the originals or after painted replicas. These newly discovered Apostles may modify the complicated question of the copies of the Apostles of van Dyck.⁷²

⁷² I would like to thank Mr. Victor Povse, for information about the restoration of these panels and Mr. Andrej Smrekar for bibliographic references to them. The paintings are now in the Gallery Božidar Jakac, Kostanjevica na Krki. Mr. Smrekar's thesis on the newly discovered Apostle paintings written in 1971, remains unpublished. He attributes the panels to an unknown Antwerp master from the first half of the seventeenth century. The series is mentioned in M. Zadnikar, 'Pleterje,' *Zbirka vodnikov*, LIX (Ljubljana, 1976); A. Smrekar, 'Galerija Božidar Jakac v Kostanjevici na Krki. nova umetniska ustanova na Slovanskem,' *Krško skozi čas. Krško* (1977), 324-5. While we

must await Smrekar's detailed publication on the Apostle series, we can record them here as additional material and as a supplement to the catalogue of the Ottawa exhibition. The panels in Yugoslavia are the following: 1. *Christ with the Cross*; a copy after the Genoa version. Other copies are in Aschaffenburg and East Liverpool, Ohio. See McNairn, n° 11. The Yugoslavian panel is in the same sense as the Isselburg engraving and in the opposite sense to the van Caukercken engraving. It has a very worn surface. The upper arm and hands are of very poor quality. 2. *St. Paul*; a copy after the *St. Paul* in Hannover. It has a very worn surface, but is much closer to the Hannover panel than the Aschaffenburg one. Another version in Jeffersontown, Kentucky. 3. *St. Matthias*; a copy after the painting formerly with G. Brauer, Nice. Other versions at Althorp and in Dresden. Copy at Aschaffenburg. The panel in Yugoslavia is in the opposite sense to the van Caukercken engraving. 4. *St. James the Greater*; a copy after the painting in the Bergsten Collection, Stockholm. 5. *St. Thomas*; a copy after the painting in the Krupp Collection, Essen. Copy in Aschaffenburg. The panel in Yugoslavia is in the opposite sense to the van Caukercken engraving. 6. *St. John the Evangelist*; a copy after the panel in Budapest. Copy in Aschaffenburg. The panel in Yugoslavia is in the same sense as the van Caukercken engraving. 7. *St. Judas Thaddeus*. Copy after the painting in Vienna. Copy in Aschaffenburg. The panel in Yugoslavia is in the opposite sense to the van Caukercken engraving. 8. *St. Philip*; a copy after the painting in Vienna. Copy in Aschaffenburg. The panel in Yugoslavia is in the opposite sense to the van Caukercken engraving. 9. *St. Bartholomew*; a copy after the panel in the Bergsten Collection, Stockholm, or more probably after the Althorp version to which it is closer. Other copies are in Dresden and Aschaffenburg. 10. *St. Matthew*; a copy after the painting formerly with H. Wendland, Berlin. The following apostles are missing from the series in Yugoslavia: *St. Simon*, *St. Peter*, *St. Andrew*, *St. James the Less*. Old inscriptions on the panels (before restoration) confused the identification of the Apostles. A *St. Luke* and a *St. Peter*, on canvas, were added to the series in the eighteenth century.

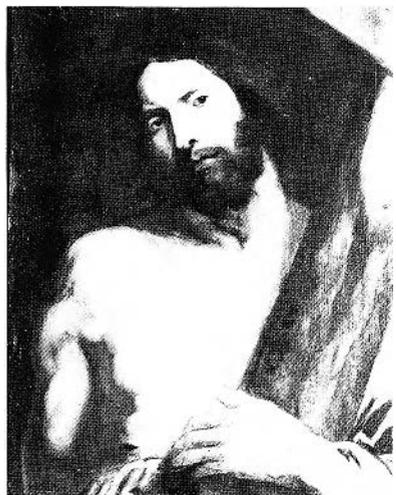


FIGURE 40. After van Dyck, *Christ with the Cross*. Kostanjevica na Krki, Galerija Božidar Jakac.



FIGURE 41. After van Dyck, *St. Paul*. Kostanjevica na Krki, Galerija Božidar Jakac.



FIGURE 42. After van Dyck, *St. James the Greater*. Kostanjevica na Krki, Galerija Božidar Jakac.



FIGURE 43. After van Dyck, *St. Thomas*. Kostanjevica na Krki, Galerija Božidar Jakac.

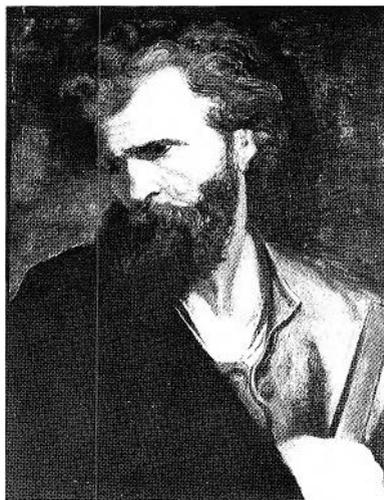


FIGURE 44. After van Dyck, *St. Judas Thaddeus*. Kostanjevica na Krki, Galerija Božidar Jakac.

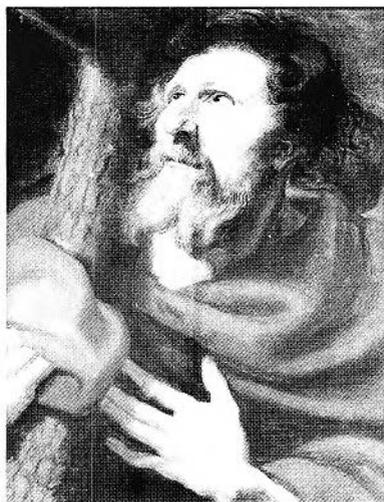


FIGURE 45. After van Dyck, *St. Philip*. Kostanjevica na Krki, Galerija Božidar Jakac.



FIGURE 46. After van Dyck, *St. Matthias*. Kostanjevica na Krki, Galerija Božidar Jakac.



FIGURE 47. After van Dyck, *St. Bartholomew*. Kostanjevica na Krki, Galerija Božidar Jakac.



FIGURE 48. After van Dyck, *St. Matthew*. Kostanjevica na Krki, Galerija Božidar Jakac.



FIGURE 49. After van Dyck, *St. John the Evangelist*. Kostanjevica na Krki, Galerija Božidar Jakac.