
Some Thoughts on van Dyck's Apostle Series

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Not since 1914, when a complete series of Apostles by Anthony van Dyck was at Julius Böhler's gallery, Munich, has the opportunity existed of viewing a large group of these paintings together. Thanks are due to Alan McNairn and the National Gallery of Canada for bringing so many of these panels together once again in the exhibition *The Young van Dyck*. We can also be grateful for McNairn's catalogue entry on the Böhler Apostle busts,¹ the first extensive study of them since 1928.

In that entry, we are reminded that the Böhler series is only part of a very large number of Apostles by and after the young van Dyck. In addition to the Christ and twelve Apostles of the Böhler series,² there are five Apostles in Lord Spencer's collection, Althorp House,³ five in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden,⁴ ten Apostles and a Christ in the Aschaffenburg Gallery,⁵ and a set of engravings of Christ and thirteen Apostles after van Dyck by Cornelis van Caukercken.⁶ To these five groups of Apostles, we must add an overwhelming number of individual paintings which could be preparatory studies, repetitions by van Dyck, workshop replicas or copies by later artists. It is little wonder that, despite four major studies in the first half of the twentieth century, including Gustav Glück's masterful analysis of 1927,⁷ and now a fifth by McNairn, problems inherent in these multiple series still remain.

The most annoying of these, and the one with which I shall be concerned primarily, is the apparent lack of relationship among the various series. Before proceeding on, however, some discussion of dating is necessary. Glück's conclusions about dating in his 1927 article on 'Van Dycks Apostelfolge' have not been sufficiently recognized, and what follows here depends on their acceptance.

On the basis of style, Glück determined that the Böhler Apostles must date from 1620-1621 and,

therefore, that the Althorp and Dresden paintings – both sets of which he considered originals – were made earlier. Generally, his date for the Böhler series has been accepted, with some leeway ranging from 1618-1621.⁸

However, a document has caused some confusion in the matter of dating. The records of a court case of 1660-1662⁹ tell of a lawsuit caused by the

1 A. McNairn, *The Young van Dyck* (Ottawa, 1980), 38-49, n^{os} 3-10.

2 The complete set was in the Palazzo Rosso, Genoa, in the middle of the eighteenth century (*Descrizione della Galleria de quadri esistenti nel Palazzo del Serenissimo Doge Gio Francesco Brignole Sale*, Genoa, 1748). The twelve Apostles were bought from the Cellamare collection, Naples, by Julius Böhler in 1913 or 1914 (McNairn, 39). They were sold in 1914 and 1915 and are now in various collections. Christ remains in the Palazzo Rosso.

3 K. J. Garlick, 'A Catalogue of Pictures at Althorp,' *Walpole Society*, XLV (1974-76), 19, n^{os} 139-143.

4 Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, *Katalog der alten Meister* (Dresden, 1920), n^{os} 1019-1021a.

5 Formerly they were exhibited at Burghausen. *Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Galerie Aschaffenburg Katalog* (Munich, 1975), 79-81, n^{os} 1499-1509.

6 F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700* (Amsterdam), IV, 98, n^o 1.

7 G. Glück, 'Van Dycks Apostelfolge,' in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer* (Leipzig, 1927), 130-47. This essay was reprinted in G. Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis* (Vienna, 1933), 288-302, with comments by L. Burchard, 410-11. The other major studies are: K. Woermann, 'Anton van Dycks frühe Apostelfolge,' *Dresdner Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, 1 (1905), 25-32, reprinted in K. Woermann, *Von Apelles zu Böcklin und Weiter* (Stuttgart, 1912), II, 20-30; R. Oldenbourg, 'Studien zu Van Dyck,' *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, III (1915), 224-40; and H. Rosenbaum, *Der junge van Dyck (1615-21)* (Munich, 1928), 36-45.

8 See, for example, M. Varshavskaya, *Van Dyck Paintings in the Hermitage* (Leningrad, 1963), 93; J. S. Held, *Paintings of the European and American Schools, Museo de Arte, Ponce* (Ponce, 1965), 58; and E. Waterhouse, *Anthony van Dyck, Suffer Little Children to Come Unto Me. Masterpieces in the National Gallery of Canada*, n^o 11 (Ottawa, 1978), 10.

9 Published by L. Galesloot, 'Un procès pour une vente de tableaux attribués à Antoine van Dyck, 1660-1662,' *Annales de l'Académie d'archéologie de Belgique*, xxiv (1868), 561-606.

sale of a series of Christ and twelve Apostles as genuine van Dycks, when in fact they had been judged by numerous experts to be only copies after his work. Witnesses in the case stated that van Dyck painted a series of Apostles at a time when he had an independent workshop. In this workshop he had assistants who made copies of his Apostles. This useful information, rather than illuminating our knowledge of the artist's Apostle series, has, because of the testimony of one witness, obfuscated our understanding of them. That one witness, a seventy-five-year-old man named Guiliam Verhagen, testified that he had commissioned a series of Apostles from van Dyck 'forty-five or forty-six years ago,'¹⁰ in other words, in 1615-1616. If this is correct, and if the Böhler series dates 1620-1621, which series of Apostles (the testimony states that it was a complete set) was painted in 1615-1616?

Glück's answer to this question was none of them. Carefully analysing the testimony of this lawsuit for the first time, he concluded that the date given by Verhagen was spurious and should be discarded. In his 1931 *Klassiker der Kunst* volume, Glück clarified what he had earlier implied: the workshop in which, according to the testimony of Herman Servaes and Justus van Egmont, the Apostle series was created,¹¹ existed not in 1615-1616 but rather in 1621.¹² The original Apostle series recorded in the court proceedings, and therefore painted in 1621, was the Böhler series.

I should like to add a further comment on dating. One problem is created by a 1621 date for the Böhler pictures which perhaps explains why many writers prefer to date the series ca. 1618-1620. If the panels were painted at the end of van Dyck's first Antwerp period, how can we explain the appearance of individual Apostles almost identical to some of the Böhler Apostles in earlier large-scale



FIGURE 1. Van Dyck, *Descent of the Holy Ghost*. Potsdam, Schloss Sanssouci, Bildergalerie (Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).

religious paintings? Knowing what we do of van Dyck's working methods, we must assume that the smaller panels came first. The solution to this problem is found in the large number of earlier interpretations of Apostles (panels now at Althorp, Dresden and elsewhere) which van Dyck painted over a period of years while in Rubens' studio and which sometimes were repeated in the Böhler series. Van Dyck retained the earlier panels for use as models in more ambitious works. Only a few examples of this repetition of Apostle types may be mentioned here.

The central figure in the *Descent of the Holy Ghost*, Potsdam (Fig. 1), is St. Peter. His image is not based on the bust of *St. Peter* in the Böhler series,¹³ but rather on an earlier type of the Apostle. It is closer to the version formerly in the collection of Peter Tretyakov, New York (Fig. 2)¹⁴ than to another early *St. Peter* of the same general type in the Hermitage (Fig. 3).¹⁵

Two heads related to Apostles of the Böhler series appear in the fragment of the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, formerly with Fritz Gurlitt, Berlin.¹⁶ They are St. James Major and St. Judas Thaddeus. St. James Major, although somewhat different, could have been based either on the Böhler *St. James*¹⁷ or on the panel at Althorp (Fig. 4) where the earlier type is the same as that of the Böhler series. The figure on the far right of the Berlin fragment, St. Judas Thaddeus, is based not on the Böhler example¹⁸ but rather on a more

¹⁰ Galesloot, 586. Depositions of March and April, 1661.

¹¹ Idem, 597-99. Depositions of November and December, 1660.

¹² G. Glück, *Van Dyck. Des Meisters Gemälde. Klassiker der Kunst*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1931), xvi and xviii (hereinafter *KdK*, 1931).

¹³ McNairn, 171, illustr.

¹⁴ Formerly in the collection of the Marquess of Ailesbury, as Rubens. It was sold to Tretyakov by D. Koetser, New York, in 1946.

¹⁵ Varshavskaya, 93-95, n° 1. There are two other very good versions of this type of St. Peter. One was the Oberlaender sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 26, 1939, lot 242 (provenance: Gerstenberger, Chemnitz, 1929), the other was in the collection of Hugo Kaufmann in 1931 (through Charles Brunner, Paris). *St. Peter* in Dresden is of another type.

¹⁶ Glück, *KdK*, 1931, 63 top, illustr.

¹⁷ McNairn, 176, illustr.

¹⁸ McNairn, fig. 20.



FIGURE 2. Van Dyck, *St. Peter*. Formerly New York, Collection of Peter Tretyakov (Photo: R.K.D.).



FIGURE 3. Van Dyck, *St. Peter*. Leningrad, The State Hermitage Museum.

dynamic interpretation, the earlier Apostle bust in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam (illustrated in preceding article by Urbach, fig. 11).¹⁹

All three of the Apostles in *Suffer Little Children to Come unto Me*, Ottawa, have been related to smaller paintings by van Dyck.²⁰ The face of the central Apostle is derived from and is almost identical to the head on the left in the *Study of Two Heads* formerly in the Cook collection, Richmond.²¹ The Apostle on the left of the Ottawa picture repeats the Böhler *St. Simon*.²² However, this figure also relates to the version of *St. Simon* at Althorp (fig. 5), and hence could have been based on the earlier panel. The third Apostle in *Suffer Little Children* has been associated with *St. Paul* in the Böhler series²³ but he is similar only in general type. This Apostle is more closely related, especially in the treatment of the lips, to *St. Andrew* in the Museo de Arte, Ponce (fig. 6).²⁴ A specific preliminary study for this figure in the Ottawa painting may never have been made.

St. John the Evangelist of the Böhler series,²⁵ though in reverse, is similar to the figure on the far right of the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* formerly in Berlin (illustrated in following article by Martin, fig. 7), a painting from the end of the first Antwerp period, but probably completed before the Böhler Apostles were painted. The same type, only slightly varied in position, appears earlier in the Dresden *Drunken Silenus*.²⁶ Several individual panels of *St. John the Evangelist* exist, among them

the former Dowdeswell version (fig. 7),²⁷ an earlier painting which could have been the source for the figures in the Berlin and Dresden pictures.

These and other examples reveal a pattern of borrowing from the Apostle series. In some cases either the Böhler Apostle or an earlier one could have been the model. In others an earlier version was the source. Whenever an Apostle appears in a history picture, he can have been based on a known early painting, not on an Apostle in the Böhler series.

The one exception is the apparent use of the Böhler *St. Thomas* (fig. 8) as the model in reverse for the figure directly behind Christ in the Berlin

19 Rotterdam. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, *Catalogus schilderijen tot 1800* (Rotterdam, 1962), 47, n^o 2434. H. Vey, 'De apostel Judas Thaddeus door Van Dyck,' *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, x (1959), 96, thought this panel was the last Apostle painted by van Dyck, an opinion I do not share.

20 McNairn, 254, illustr. For the sources of the Apostles, see L. Burchard, 'Christ Blessing the Children by Anthony Van Dyck,' *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXII (1938), 29, and Waterhouse, 12.

21 Glück, *KdK*, 1931, 36 bottom, illustr.

22 McNairn, 173, illustr. *St. Simon* also appears, slightly changed, in the Prado and Minneapolis versions of the *Arrest of Christ* (McNairn, 223, illustr., and fig. 56). A related *Study Head*, though without the hooked nose, is in the Lyons Museum (Glück, *KdK*, 1931, 36 top, illustr.).

23 McNairn, fig. 19.

24 Held, 57-8.

25 McNairn, 178, illustr.

26 Idem, 250, illustr.

27 In the Dowdeswell collection, London, in 1910. Sold at Christie's, July 5, 1929, lot 89.



FIGURE 4. Van Dyck, *St. James Major*. Althorp House, Collection of Lord Spencer.



FIGURE 5. Van Dyck, *St. Simon*. Althorp House, Collection of Lord Spencer (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art).

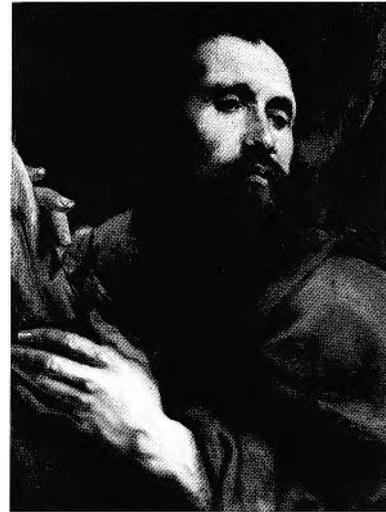


FIGURE 6. Van Dyck, *St. Andrew*. Ponce, Musco de Arte.

Christ Crowned with Thorns. St. Thomas also appears, slightly altered, in the Prado version of the subject (illustrated in following article by Martin, fig. 8) and in the *Descent of the Holy Ghost* (Fig. 1). There is no known interpretation by van Dyck of this Apostle which predates the Böhler version. However, the frequent appearance of this Apostle type in larger paintings leads one to supposed an earlier panel of *St. Thomas*, now lost, which was like the *St. Thomas* in the Böhler series. The possibility of a lost version of *St. Thomas* should be kept in mind as we turn to problems of relationships among the various series.

None of the four painted series of Apostles is entirely consistent with any other, nor, except in one case, do the painted series relate to the engravings. The two complete sets, the Böhler paintings and van Caukercken's engravings, are not alike. In these series two of the Apostles, *St. Matthew* and *St. Peter*, are of entirely different types and four of the others, *St. Judas Thaddeus*, *St. Matthias*, *St. Paul* and *St. Philip*, vary considerably. Only six of the Böhler panels could conceivably have been the source for the engraved series.

The Böhler Apostles are not identical with all of the Apostles in the most nearly complete partial series, that in Aschaffenburg. Here the exceptions are the same as mentioned above because the Aschaffenburg Apostles are consistent in type with the engravings. Yet the engravings, as McNairn

pointed out,²⁸ cannot follow the Aschaffenburg panels because of decided differences in details.

The partial series of five Apostles at Althorp House does correspond with the engraved series, but only two panels, *St. James Major* and *St. Simon*, are repeated without notable change in the Böhler series. Of the five Dresden Apostles, two, *St. Bartholomew* and *St. Matthias*, correspond more closely to the Böhler series than to the engravings. *St. Simon* repeats the type of the engraved *St. Matthew*, but with his attribute changed. *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* are not identical to Apostles in any of the other series.

The Althorp and Dresden series cannot be considered as belonging together, although the panels are of the same size and all have the brand of the Antwerp Guild on the back. Two Apostles, *St. Bartholomew* and *St. Matthias*, appear in both sets, while a third, *St. Matthew* at Althorp, reappears as *St. Simon* in Dresden.

The most easily explained of the problems concerning the various series of Apostles is the lack of relationship among the Althorp, Dresden and Böhler series. It has been noted frequently that the first two series are stylistically incompatible, not merely with each other but within the sets as well. We can assume, following Glück, that the Dresden and Althorp paintings were preliminary studies, some of which, but not all, were repeated in the Böhler panels. Van Dyck, as Glück proposed, may never have intended to complete an entire series, simply adding to his repertory of Apostles over a

²⁸ McNairn, 40.



FIGURE 7. Van Dyck, *St. John the Evangelist*. Formerly London, Dowdeswell Collection (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art).

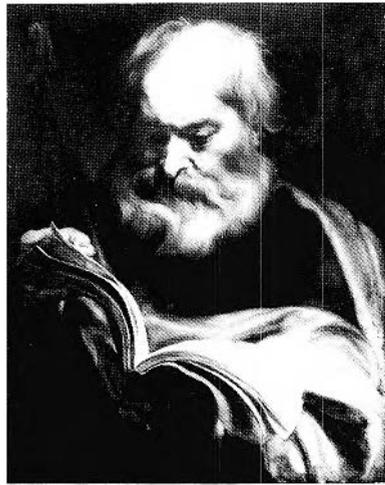


FIGURE 8. Van Dyck, *St. Thomas*. Essen, Gesellschaft Kruppische Gemäldesammlung, Villa Hügel.

period of years.²⁹ This would explain the variations in style within the Althorp and Dresden series and the duplication of Apostles who appear in both partial sets. When van Dyck painted the Böhler series, he copied some of the earlier types, and at the same time created new ones.

The ten Apostles and Christ in Aschaffenburg pose a more difficult problem. These panels, also with guildmarks on the backs, are universally considered to be copies. Yet what they copy has never been resolved. The paintings, as we have noted, do not consistently correspond with the Böhler examples, and only four of the eleven panels are repeated in the Althorp and Dresden series.

The source of the complete set of engravings after van Dyck by Cornelis van Caukercken also remains unexplained. If, as has been established, they do not follow the Aschaffenburg copies or the Böhler originals, which series do they copy?

Alan McNairn is the first writer to demonstrate a full understanding of these two problems and attempt to resolve them.³⁰ He suggested that all of van Dyck's Apostle paintings must have been together in the middle of the seventeenth century, when some of the panels of one series, some of another, as well as individual panels, were used as models for the engravings and the copies. But the Böhler pictures have to be included in this hypothetical union of the Apostle busts, and the possibility that they could have been present is remote. According to the court testimony of Abraham Snellinck, the original series (the Böhler

series) was out of the country by 1624,³¹ and Jacob Jordaens saw the paintings in Utrecht in 1661.³² They cannot have served as models for van Caukercken's engravings, which are usually dated between 1650 and 1660. Furthermore, the only conceivable place where all of the Apostles could have remained together was in van Dyck's workshop, and we know from a hand-written inscription on the impression of the engraving after van Dyck's *Christ* in the Print Room at Budapest that the originals from which the engravings were made were in Bruges, in the collection of Bishop Carel van den Bosch.³³ Finally, the Böhler pictures cannot even in part have been the source for the engravings because of variations in details.

Further questions are raised by the 1660-1662 court proceedings mentioned earlier. Two complete series of Apostles are documented there.

29 Glück, 'Apostelfolge,' 139-42.

30 McNairn, 39-40.

31 Galesloot, 603-04. Deposition of October 29, 1660.

32 Idem, 602. Deposition of July 11, 1661.

33 Glück, 'Apostelfolge,' 134, n° 9. Since van Caukercken is mentioned in the records of the Antwerp guild only in 1660-61 (P. Rombouts and T. van Lierus, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, Antwerp and The Hague, 1864-76, II, 311 and 322), and since he died in Bruges, one wonders if the engravings cannot have been made later than 1660. If so, they would have been published by Cornelis Galle II, rather than his father, who died in 1650. The addition of a thirteenth Apostle, *St. James Minor*, to the engraved series appears to have been made by the publisher, as it is the only engraving not inscribed 'Corn. van Caukercken fecit.'

One was an original set and the other, copies retouched by van Dyck. Two witnesses, Servaes and van Egmont, testified that while working in van Dyck's studio they had made copies after an original series of Apostles by van Dyck, who retouched their replicas.³⁴

We have established that the originals were the Böhler Apostles. But which series was the one taken to court? If it were the Aschaffenburg series, as Bode and Rosenbaum thought,³⁵ it should repeat the Böhler series, which were the originals. Yet, as we have seen, the Aschaffenburg and Böhler Apostles are not the same. Was there yet another original series by van Dyck which was the model for the series of the lawsuit?

Van Dyck painted a large number of Apostles before 1621, which suggests, but does not prove, that he made a complete series. However, there are seven different Apostles in the combined Dresden-Althorp sets. If we add to these the individual panels noted above of the early *St. Judas Thaddeus* in Rotterdam, the early *St. John the Evangelist* from the Dowdeswell collection, and use the evidence in the larger religious paintings for a missing *St. Thomas*, we bring the total to ten Apostles. One might well suspect the existence of an entire series. An examination of the situation in van Dyck's workshop in 1621 supports the supposition that the artist painted an early complete series of Apostles.

Early in 1621, van Dyck returned from England to Antwerp, where he was to remain for no more than seven months before leaving for Italy. The court testimony of 1660-1662 established that he painted a series of Apostles at this time and that he had assistants who copied original Apostles which van Dyck retouched. He was therefore occupied with two sets of Apostles, or twenty-six paintings, during this brief period. One of the series, that which Guiliam Verhagen said he had owned, was painted on commission.

The second series, the Böhler series, painted entirely by van Dyck, may also have been commissioned. Why else would the artist have set up a veritable Apostle workshop? Faced with the task of completing so many pictures, he would, following the example of Rubens, have hired assistants to expedite the commissions. Rubens, as we know

from his letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, had assistants copy his original series of Apostles sometime before 1618.³⁶ Since van Dyck did not establish an independent workshop in 1615-1616, we can assume that he went directly from van Balen's studio to that of Rubens. He would have thus been present in Rubens' workshop when Rubens' Apostles were being copied and he may even have contributed to the series of replicas. The experience certainly had an influence on van Dyck's interest in paintings of Apostles and, to a greater extent than is generally recognized, on the types he himself developed – some of van Dyck's earlier Apostles are closer to Rubens' prototypes than are their counterparts in the Böhler series. Van Dyck learned from Rubens' working methods as well, and hired assistants when he established a studio of his own. We know from the documents that Justus van Egmont and Herman Servaes were two of the assistants in van Dyck's workshop. Servaes testified that he 'and others' had copied van Dyck's Apostles.³⁷ Thus there were at least three assistants at work on them.

Can we imagine a workshop in which van Dyck created an Apostle for his Böhler series, then gave it to one of three or more assistants to be copied? Unless he were faced with a time limit, there would be no point in having so many helpers. And if he were working against time, he would not keep the assistants waiting while he painted an original for duplication. He would, however, have supplied them with earlier examples, toward the end introducing new types to be copied from his Böhler series. Only Herman Servaes testified that he made replicas of pictures which van Dyck was in the process of painting. Van Egmont said simply that he made copies after originals by van Dyck. These originals would have been earlier panels, painted by van Dyck while with Rubens, and retained by him for use in larger religious paintings. A large number of these panels would have been needed.

I believe that indeed there was a complete set of Apostles which van Dyck painted before the Böhler series, and that it can be reconstructed. The Althorp Apostles were a part of this series. I am not the first to propose that the Althorp series was once complete. Rosenbaum suggested this in 1928, yet he thought, because of the inconsistencies in style of these Apostles, in combination with references by witnesses to the unevenness of the series brought to court, that the Althorp series could have been the subject of the court case.³⁸ This series would thereby not be original, but rather consist of those pictures copied by van Dyck's followers.

34 Galesloot, 597-99.

35 W. Bode, 'Van Dyck als Mitarbeiter von Rubens,' in *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen* (Leipzig, 1907), 263, and Rosenbaum, 41-2.

36 R. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 61. The original series is in the Prado and the copies are in the Palazzo Pallavicini, Rome.

37 Galesloot, 598.

38 Rosenbaum, 42.

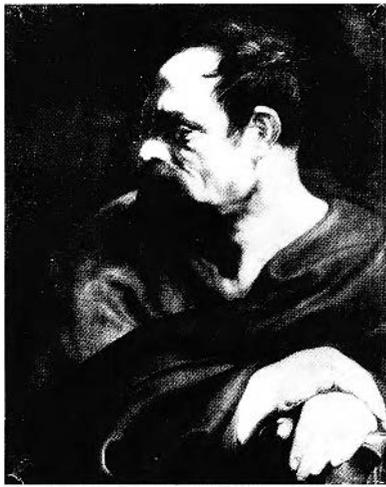


FIGURE 9. Van Dyck, *St. Matthias*. Formerly Nice, Godfroy Brauer (Photo: Julius Böhler, Munich).



FIGURE 10. After van Dyck, *St. Matthias*. Engraving by Cornelis van Caukercken (Photo: R.K.D.).

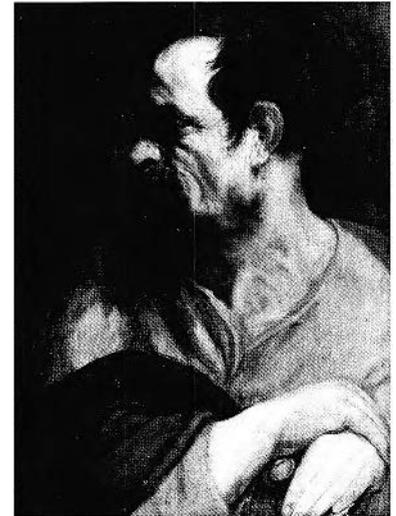


FIGURE 11. Van Dyck, *St. Matthias*. Althorp House, Collection of Lord Spencer (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art).

If copies, the Althorp series cannot have been made entirely after the originals being painted at the same time by van Dyck, as the Böhler *St. Matthew* differs in type from the Althorp version and the representations of *St. Bartholomew* and *St. Matthias* are not identical in the two series. These three Althorp Apostles would have had to be based on earlier paintings, and only the *St. Bartholomew* in Dresden can be cited as a possible earlier model. Moreover, the Althorp Apostles are too closely related to other early works by van Dyck to be considered studio copies made in 1621. They are early originals. Van Dyck may not have intended them to be part of a complete set, but whether he or someone else selected the series from the many Apostles he had painted, the Althorp Apostles, plus eight other panels now scattered, were together as a series in the middle of the seventeenth century. They were at that time engraved by Cornelis van Caukercken. The complete Althorp series was also the source, whether directly or via an intermediary set of copies, for the panels in Aschaffenburg.

All of the five Althorp Apostles correspond more closely to the engraved series than do the Böhler or Dresden panels, and the copies in Aschaffenburg, allowing for their weak quality, also for the most part conform to the Althorp models. Comparison of the Althorp, Böhler and Aschaffenburg paintings with the engravings makes this clear.

The drapery of the Böhler *St. Matthias* (Fig. 9), like that of the version in Dresden,³⁹ is completely different from the treatment of tunic and cloak in the engraving (Fig. 10), where, in addition, the hands rest on an axe rather than on a book as in the Böhler and Dresden panels. The axe appears in the Althorp *St. Matthias* (Fig. 11), and the drapery in the panel is identical to that shown in the engraving. The Althorp interpretation appears again in the panel at Aschaffenburg.⁴⁰ We can conclude that the Althorp painting was the source for the copy and for the engraving.

St. Matthew was given a new physiognomy and a different pose in the Böhler panel (Fig. 12). He cannot have been the basis for the engraving (Fig. 13). The Althorp panel (Fig. 14), on the other hand, is very close to the engraving in composition, type and expression, as is the Aschaffenburg copy.⁴¹ Again, the Althorp painting was the source for both the engraving and the copy.

St. James Major at Althorp House (Fig. 4) has been badly abraded, as have the other Apostles in this collection. In spite of this it can be seen that the amount of space between the index and third fingers and the inclusion of the right nostril corres-

39 E. Schaeffer, *Van Dyck. Des Meisters Gemälde. Klassiker der Kunst* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909), 1 right, illustr. A copy in the Yale University Art Gallery follows the same type. See *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, xxvi (1960), 15, illustr.

40 Woermann, *Dresdner Jahrb.*, pl. III.

41 Idem, pl. III.



FIGURE 12. Van Dyck, *St. Matthew*. Formerly Berlin, H. Wendland (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art).



FIGURE 13. After van Dyck, *St. Matthew*. Engraving by Cornelis van Caukercken (Photo: R.K.D.).



FIGURE 14. Van Dyck, *St. Matthew*. Althorp House, Collection of Lord Spencer (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art).

pond to the engraved version of the Apostle⁴² rather than to the Böhler *St. James*,⁴³ where neither the space nor the nostril appear. The Aschaffenburg series lacks *St. James Major*.

The *St. Bartholomew* of the Althorp⁴⁴ and Böhler⁴⁵ series are quite similar, yet in expression as well as in certain details it can be seen that the Althorp Apostle was the model for the engraving.⁴⁶ Both the engraving and the Althorp panel lack the deep shading of the eyes, the strand of hair over the upper part of the ear, and the extension of the knuckle of the middle finger which exist in the Böhler panel. The sinuous contour of the saint's right shoulder in the engraving is close to that of the Althorp version. The position of the middle finger is the same in the copy of *St. Bartholomew* in Aschaffenburg (Fig. 15) as in the Althorp picture, although in other ways, the contour of the shoulder, the shadowed eyes and the highlight along the neck, it relates more closely to the Böhler version. In this case, we must conclude that the Aschaffenburg panel copied the Böhler example. Ostensibly, we have here support for the hypothesis that the Aschaffenburg series was made in van Dyck's studio by his assistants. This

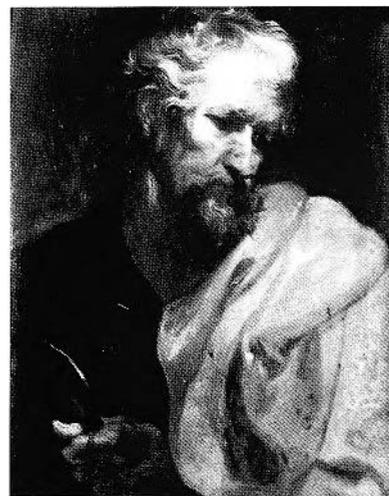


FIGURE 15. After van Dyck, *St. Bartholomew*. Aschaffenburg, Staatsgalerie (Photo: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen).

panel is not a replica of the earlier Althorp *St. Bartholomew* but rather copies the Apostle in the Böhler series which van Dyck had recently painted.

Although all of the versions of *St. Simon* are almost the same, small differences do occur. In the engraving⁴⁷ and in the Althorp version (Fig. 5), the hook of the nose and the upper contour of the hand are identical. These details are followed faithfully in the Aschaffenburg copy.⁴⁸ Yet in the Böhler *St. Simon*⁴⁹ the hook is weaker and the

42 McNairn, fig. 28.
43 Idem, 176, illustr.
44 Idem, fig. 27.
45 Idem, 175, illustr.
46 Idem, fig. 26.
47 Idem, fig. 24.
48 Idem, fig. 25.
49 Idem, 173, illustr.



FIGURE 16. Van Dyck, *St. Philip*. Formerly Munich, E.A. Fleischmann (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art).



FIGURE 17. After van Dyck, *St. Philip*. Engraving by Cornelis van Caukercken (Photo: R.K.D.).

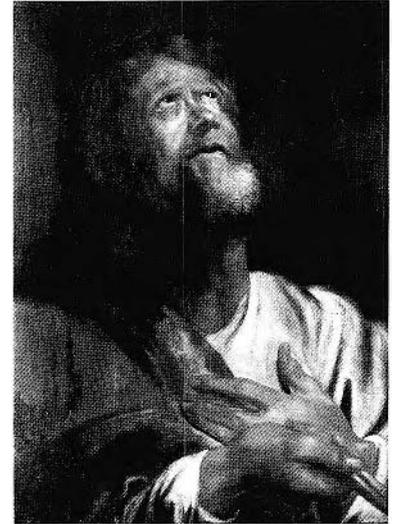


FIGURE 18. After van Dyck, *St. Peter*. Aschaffenburg, Staatsgalerie (Photo Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen).

knuckles of the hand are more pronounced. The Althorp picture must have been the model for the engraving and for the painted copy.

Since the relationships between the engravings and the five Althorp Apostles are so close, it is plausible to assume that van Caukercken made his engravings when the Althorp series was complete. Using the remaining engravings as our guide, we can reconstruct the series from known pictures which are now scattered in various collections. In addition to stylistic conformity (although we must remember that the panels were painted over a number of years and are not likely to be uniform), candidates for the original series must be of approximately the same size as the Althorp pictures⁵⁰ and like them, for the sake of consistency, have the mark of the Antwerp Guild on the back.

Rosenbaum suggested two additions to the Althorp series. *St. Philip*, formerly in the E.A. Fleischmann Gallery, Munich (Fig. 16),⁵¹ is of the right size and bears the Antwerp brand on its reverse side. It is identical in its overall interpretation to the van Caukercken engraving (Fig. 17), and repeats the placement of the index finger upon the drapery rather than beneath it as in the Böhler example.⁵² The position of the index finger and the general appearance of the saint in the engraving appear again in the Aschaffenburg representation of the Apostle.⁵³ The Fleischmann *St. Philip* undoubtedly belongs to the Althorp series.

There are two panels of *St. Peter* which can be considered as candidates for inclusion in the Althorp series. Rosenbaum thought the painting in the Hermitage (Fig. 3) may have belonged to it.⁵⁴ The relationships of this panel to the engraving,⁵⁵ which is not reversed, are quite close. Yet in the Hermitage painting the middle finger of the Apostle's left hand overlaps the ring finger, while the opposite occurs in the engraving and in the *St. Peter* formerly in the Tretyakov collection, New York (Fig. 2). The sizes of the two panels are comparable, although the Hermitage *St. Peter* is 5.6 cm wider than any other painting in the Althorp series.⁵⁶ The narrower Tretyakov *St. Peter*⁵⁷ has the Antwerp guildmark on the back, whereas the panel in the Hermitage does not (it has been planed and cradled, thus removing the evidence of the mark if it did once exist). The former Tretyakov painting appears to have been the one which belonged to the Althorp series, especially since the placement of the fingers is the same in the Aschaffenburg copy of the saint (Fig. 18).

50 As with the Böhler series, in which panels vary by as much as 2.4 cm, slight discrepancies in size can be expected. The majority of the Althorp panels measure 61.6 × 46.4 cm.

51 With Fleischmann in 1926, sold to A.L. Nicholson, London, in 1927. It measured 64 × 48 cm. Rosenbaum, 43.

52 McNairn, 174, illustr.

53 Woermann, *Dresdner Jahrb.*, pl. III.

54 Rosenbaum, 43; Varshavskaya, n° 1.

55 McNairn, fig. 21.

56 It measures 63 × 52 cm.

57 63.5 × 49.5 cm.



S. THADÆVS.

FIGURE 19. After van Dyck, *St. Judas Thaddeus*. Engraving by Cornelis van Caukercken (Photo: R.K.D.).

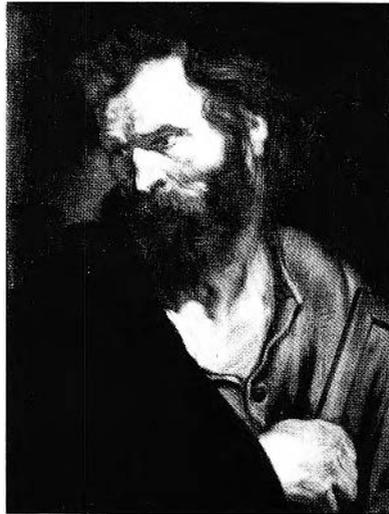


FIGURE 20. After van Dyck, *St. Judas Thaddeus*. Aschaffenburg, Staatsgalerie (Photo: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen).

In addition to the two mentioned above, I propose that three more Apostles can be added to the Althorp series. *St. Judas Thaddeus* in Rotterdam (illustrated in preceding article by Urbach, fig. 11)⁵⁸ has an overt emotionalism like that of the engraved version of the saint (Fig. 19), but unlike the contemplative interpretation of the Böhler version.⁵⁹ The panel has been cradled, thus removing evidence of the presence or absence of the brand of the Saint Luke's Guild. The ungainly copy in Aschaffenburg (Fig. 20) also conforms to the Rotterdam panel.

We are on less certain ground with the panel of *St. John* formerly in the Dowdeswell collection, London (Fig. 7).⁶⁰ The picture is now lost and no information is available as to marks on the verso or cradling. A photograph of the picture suggests close stylistic parallels to the Althorp paintings.

The Dowdeswell *St. John* conforms at least as closely to the engraving (Fig. 21), which is in the same sense as the painting, as does the *St. John* in the Böhler series.⁶¹ The size of the Dowdeswell picture is comparable to that of the Althorp panels. The *St. John* in Aschaffenburg⁶² is of the same type as that of the Dowdeswell and Böhler paintings.

St. Andrew is missing from the Aschaffenburg series. The two original versions of this saint, the Böhler panel⁶³ and the painting in the Museo de Arte, Ponce (Fig. 6), are almost identical and correspond to the engraving.⁶⁴ Yet the lower contour of the left hand and wrist is more convoluted in the Böhler version and less of the forearm shows than in the engraving and in the Ponce *St. Andrew*. The Ponce panel is of the right size, is cradled and, as Julius S. Held pointed out in the Ponce catalogue, is an original of an earlier date than the Böhler example.⁶⁵ It fits all the criteria for inclusion in the Althorp series.

For our reconstructed Althorp series to be complete, there must also be a *Christ* after which the van Caukercken and Aschaffenburg copies were made. The *Christ* of the Böhler series in the Palazzo Rosso, Genoa,⁶⁶ is more introspective, less aware, than the engraved *Christ*.⁶⁷ There are also differences in the edge of the bark peeling from the wood of the cross. The treatment of the bark in the engraving and the alert expression characterize the better-than-usual copy of *Christ* in the Aschaffenburg series (Fig. 22) and also the panel

58 63.5 × 48.3 cm. Problems of accurate measurement of the Apostle panels, especially pertinent to those which are lost, are exemplified by this panel. When it was in the Chatsworth collection, the measurements were consistently given as 24½ × 18½ in. (62.2 × 47 cm).

59 McNairn, fig. 20.

60 62.2 × 48.25 cm.

61 McNairn, 178, illustr.

62 Woermann, *Dresdner Jahrb.*, pl. III.

63 McNairn, 177, illustr.

64 McNairn, fig. 30. Two copies of this type are known: one was in the Chillingworth collection, Lucerne (sale Galeries Fischer, Lucerne, September 5, 1922, lot 16), and the other was formerly in the collection of M. van Gelder, Uccle.

65 63.5 × 48.25 cm; Held, 58.

66 McNairn, fig. 31.

67 Idem, fig. 32.



S IOANNES

FIGURE 21. After van Dyck, *St. John the Evangelist*. Engraving by Cornelis van Caukercken (Photo: R.K.D.).

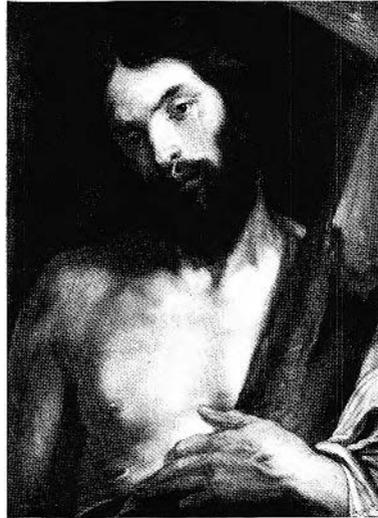


FIGURE 22. After van Dyck, *Christ*. Aschaffenburg, Staatsgalerie (Photo: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen).



S PAVLVS

FIGURE 23. After van Dyck, *St. Paul*. Engraving by Cornelis van Caukercken (Photo: R.K.D.).

exhibited in Ottawa which belongs to Frank Mangano, East Liverpool, Ohio.⁶⁸ The Mangano painting could, therefore, be the source for the Aschaffenburg copy and for the engraving. However, the panel is not cradled, has no guildmark on the back and stylistically appears to be a good copy. Because of the change in expression and the differences in the cross, it is probably not a copy of the Palazzo Rosso picture, but rather of a lost original, one that we can assume was a part of the Althorp series.

In total, a group of ten panels can be established as having at one time belonged to a complete Apostle series pre-dating the Böhler pictures. Christ and two of the Apostles, St. Paul and St. Thomas, are missing. If our theory is correct, there should be an early *St. Paul* which corresponds to the engraving by van Caukercken (Fig. 23). The Böhler *St. Paul*⁶⁹ was not the engraver's model, nor was the version in Dresden. There are a large number of copies of the engraved type. In addition to the Aschaffenburg copy of *St. Paul*,⁷⁰ which, though the worst in the series, generally conforms with the engraving, related paintings were in the Helbing sale, Munich, in 1935, at the dealer P. de Boer, Amsterdam, in 1930, and in the Sedelmeyer sale, Paris, in 1907.⁷¹ The panel of *St. Paul* in the collection of George Roche, Jeffersontown, Kentucky, which van Puyvelde and McNairn thought to be an original,⁷² is, I believe, yet another copy of the same type. So many copies of the engraved type support the case for a lost original.

For St. Thomas we have only the Böhler example (Fig. 8) and the same type in the Aschaffenburg copy.⁷³ Both are similar to the engraving⁷⁴ with the exception of one feature. The tassel on the spear in both painted versions is missing in the engraving. In this case, as with *St. Bartholomew*, the Aschaffenburg copy is very close to the Böhler panel. It could, therefore, be one of the copies made after selected Böhler Apostles in van Dyck's workshop. The engraving followed a different model and thus provides further evidence for the existence of an early *St. Thomas*. This Apostle, we recall, was used by van Dyck in large-scale religious paintings. A now lost earlier panel of *St. Thomas*, the same panel used as the basis for the Thomas-like figures in the two versions of the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* and in the *Descent of the Holy Ghost* (Fig. 1), served as the model for van Caukercken's engraving.

We know that the complete set of Apostles was together in Bruges ca. 1650-1660 or later, when van Caukercken made his engravings after it. Where the series went after leaving the collection

68 Idem, 179, illustr. 63.5 × 48.25 cm.

69 Idem, fig. 19.

70 Wocimann, *Dresdner Jahrb.*, pl. III.

71 Helbing sale, Munich, May 27-29, 1935, lot 636; P. de Boer, Amsterdam, March, 1930; Sedelmeyer sale, Paris, June 3-5, 1907, lot 35 as Rubens.

72 Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, *De Eeuw van Rubens* (Brussels, 1965), 58, n° 36; McNairn, 39. The panel measures 60 × 51 cm.

73 McNairn, fig. 23.

74 Idem, fig. 22.



FIGURE 24. After van Dyck, *St. James Major*. Formerly Paris, Charles Sedelmeyer (Photo: Rubenshuis).



FIGURE 25. After van Dyck, *St. Matthew*. Formerly Paris, Charles Sedelmeyer (Photo: Rubenshuis).

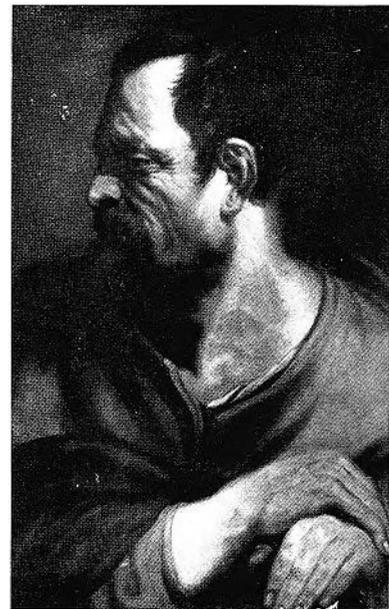


FIGURE 26. After van Dyck, *St. Matthias*. Formerly Paris, Charles Sedelmeyer (Photo: Rubenshuis).

of the Bishop of Bruges cannot now be proven, but it may have found its way to London, where a group of 'The 12 Apostles, and our Saviour, by Van Dyck' appeared in the 1692-1693 inventory of P.H. Lankrink's collection.⁷⁵ This could, theoretically, have been the Böhler series, which was first recorded at the Palazzo Rosso in Genoa in 1748.⁷⁶ However, the proximity between the date of the Lankrink sale, 1692-1693, and the acquisition of the five Althorp panels by the second Earl of Sunderland, who died in 1702,⁷⁷ is worth noting. Perhaps the Althorp series was still complete at the end of the seventeenth century and was broken up only with the sale of Lankrink's estate. Two of the panels we have proposed were part of the Althorp series can be traced to English collections. *St. Judas Thaddaeus*, Rotterdam, belonged to the Duke of Devonshire, and the Tretyakov *St. Peter* was in the collection of the Marquess of Ailesbury.

The reconstruction of a complete early series of Apostles to which the Althorp panels belonged answers the questions about the source of the van Caukercken engravings and the Aschaffenburg copies. The problem of the series involved in the court case remains unsolved. It has been suggested

frequently that the paintings in Aschaffenburg were the subject of the lawsuit. They are, after all, copies of varying quality, as were the pictures taken to court. Further, we have seen that two of these Apostles follow Böhler originals which were contemporary with the copies made by van Dyck's assistants.

If we accept the Aschaffenburg paintings as those which caused the lawsuit, all of the series of Apostles fall into place. The Althorp and Dresden panels were painted during the years van Dyck spent in Rubens' studio. Ultimately the Althorp Apostles, whether compiled by van Dyck or someone else, became a part of a complete, if stylistically varying series. Van Caukercken's engravings were made after this series, as were most of the Aschaffenburg panels. The latter, the focus of the court case, were copied after the Althorp series by van Dyck's assistants in 1621, while he was at work on the Böhler series, a few panels of which, *St. Bartholomew* and *St. Thomas*, at least, also served as models for the copyists.

The testimony given in the court case, however, strongly suggests that the series which Verhagen said he commissioned cannot have been the Aschaffenburg paintings. We are told by two of the witnesses that van Dyck retouched the copies, and van Egmont thought that a few may have been by the artist himself.⁷⁸ Jan Brueghel was instrumental in the sale of the paintings, and his testimony can be understood only if the series at court were of a high quality.

⁷⁵ 'Editorial: P.H. Lankrink's Collection,' *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVI (1945), 31, n° 110.

⁷⁶ *Descrizione della Galleria ...* (Genoa, 1748). There is also the possibility that Lankrink's Apostles were a series of copies after van Dyck.

⁷⁷ See Nottingham, University Art Gallery, *Paintings and Drawings by Van Dyck* (Nottingham, 1960), n° 2.

⁷⁸ Galesloot, 598. Deposition of November 11, 1660.



FIGURE 27. After van Dyck, *St. Paul*. Formerly Paris, Charles Sedelmeyer (Photo: Rubenshuis).

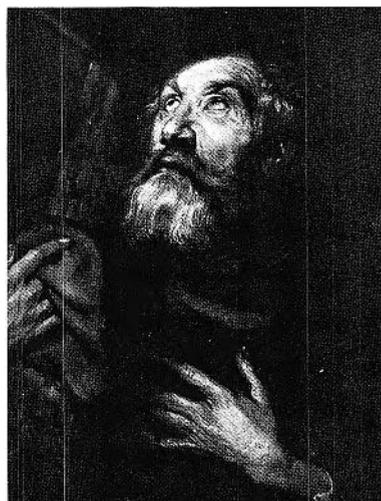


FIGURE 28. After van Dyck, *St. Philip*. Formerly Paris, Charles Sedelmeyer (Photo: Rubenshuis).

Brueghel, who was a close friend of van Dyck, thought the Apostles were genuine, in opposition to the opinions of all the other painters, including Abraham Snellinck, Jacob Jordaens and a group of appraisers from the Saint Luke's Guild. There was, with the exception of Brueghel and Verhagen, universal agreement that the series consisted of copies, some better than others, and the decision of the court was that the Apostles were not by van Dyck.⁷⁹ Why then did Brueghel say they were? Glück felt that he put his business interests before his artistic ethics,⁸⁰ but it may simply have been because he was confused, at the time he recommended the paintings to their dissatisfied buyer, if not throughout the court proceedings.

Brueghel testified that van Dyck, Rubens and others had often painted Apostles, especially van Dyck, 'so that it was difficult to distinguish among the work.'⁸¹ Why would he have mentioned this, if he were not uncertain about which series were the original? If Brueghel, who frequented the painter's studio in 1621, saw two series of Apostles being made, one by van Dyck, the other being copied by his assistants after yet another series, with most of the Apostles of identical type, forty years later he may well have confused the series. Brueghel admitted that three of the Apostles belonging to the series taken to court were bad and could be helped by retouching, and that if the series had been of 'an equal beauty' it would have been worth more. It seems unlikely, however, that he would have confused the Aschaffenburg Apostles with originals by van Dyck. They are simply not good enough, and are probably, as Woer-

mann thought,⁸² later copies. If so, they copy the court series, the paintings made by van Dyck's assistants.

If not the Aschaffenburg copies, which series was the cause of the lawsuit? The only place to look for Verhagen's series is among the individual recorded panels scattered throughout the world, some of which are now lost. I do not propose to reconstruct that series here, but simply to suggest the possibility of doing so.

Five panels came through the Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, two in 1896, the other three in 1907, all of the same size and all apparently very good copies⁸³. Three of these are repetitions of the known Althorp panels. The right nostril of *St. James Major* (Fig. 24) and, to a lesser extent, the space between the index and third fingers, show that the Sedelmeyer panel is a copy of the Althorp, not the Böhler picture. The Sedelmeyer *St. Matthew* (Fig. 25) repeats the Althorp type which was changed in the Böhler version, and the clothing and axe of the Sedelmeyer *St. Matthias* (Fig. 26) are the same as in the Althorp interpretation of this saint.

79 Idem, 577.

80 Glück, 'Apostelfolge,' 134.

81 Galesloot, 381-82. Depositions of March and April, 1661. Brueghel gave no indication that he had seen the paintings during the trial. He testified only to his remarks at the time of the sale.

82 Woermann, *Dresdner Jahrb.*, 30.

83 *St. James Major* and *St. Philip* (as *St. Andrew*) were nos 35 and 36 of the Sedelmeyer Third Series of 100 Paintings, 1896; *St. Matthew*, *St. Matthias* (as *St. Judas Thaddeus*) and *St. Paul* are lots 33, 34 and 35 of the Sedelmeyer third sale, 1907. All measured 61.5 × 48 cm and all were attributed to Rubens.

The other two Sedelmeyer pictures support the original completeness of the Althorp series. *St. Paul* (Fig. 27) corresponds to the engraved version (the Böhler panel does not) which we have established as the type for a lost Althorp panel of the saint, and *St. Philip* (Fig. 28) repeats van Caukercken's engraving and the Fleischmann Gallery Apostle which we have shown to have been part of the original Althorp series. Two additional paintings, a *St. Peter* at the Fischhof sale, New York, in 1900, and a *St. Bartholomew* in the Macomber sale, New York, in 1936, both of which had earlier come through the Sedelmeyer Gallery, may also be associated with this series.⁸⁴

Since the Sedelmeyer pictures do not copy the Böhler series, they would indicate, if they are indeed the Apostles of the court proceedings, that van Dyck had his assistants copy his earlier series while he conceived the Böhler Apostles, as proposed earlier. We must be cautious, however, in

84 Sale E. Fischhof and T.J. Blakeslee, New York, September 3, 1900, lot 22; F.G. Macomber sale, American Art Association, New York, December 10-12, 1936, lot 633. Although the sizes given (*St. Peter*, 63.5 × 48.3 cm; *St. Bartholomew*, 64.1 × 49.5 cm) are slightly larger than the Sedelmeyer pictures, both paintings conform with our theory. *St. Peter* is of the Tretyakov-Hermitage type, and *St. Bartholomew*, like that of the Aschaffenburg series, is closer to the Böhler version.

85 See in preceding article Susan Urbach's comments on the series of copies in the Carthusian Monastery at Pleterje, Yugoslavia.

accepting them as the copies discussed in court. One would have to examine them (present whereabouts unknown) before making a decision.

Although unable to make a definitive reconstruction of the series taken to court, we can still draw the following conclusions about van Dyck's activity as a painter of Apostles. He did not paint an Apostle series in an independent workshop in 1615-1616, but was at that time in Rubens' studio. There he began to make individual Apostles, continuing this interest throughout his years in Rubens' workshop. These Apostles were retained for use in his religious paintings, and before he left for England, in late 1620, an entire set, the reconstructed Althorp series, had been completed. This was the series engraved by Cornelis van Caukercken. On van Dyck's return to Antwerp, he established his own studio, where he hired assistants to make a series of copies of Apostles, which he retouched. This series was based primarily on the earlier Apostles but also in part on the contemporary Böhler series. Van Dyck was responsible for not one, but rather three complete series of Apostles, two of them originals, the third supervised by him and retouched by his hand. The Althorp series spanned his early career with Rubens. The Böhler Apostles and the copies he retouched, whether the Aschaffenburg, the Sedelmeyer, or yet another unidentified series,⁸⁵ were painted in 1621.