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Young and Famous

Introduction

If we examine this young man's face, we must ask ourselves what was going through his head (see plate 1, p. 113). We might also wonder what this barely fifteen-year-old had experienced before picking up his brush. Numerous biographies have been written about Anthony van Dyck that give us a sense of his career. In most cases, they follow the events of his life and the rich trove of work that has come down to us, and accordingly focus on the remarkably productive periods in a life that was full of highpoints. Nor do they lack references to his early mastery of painting, as this portrait in Vienna so impressively demonstrates. My purpose in the following essay is not to repeat information about the life of van Dyck that has been stated many times before. The point cannot and should not be to reiterate biographical information that has become entrenched since the nineteenth century or to examine what is colloquially referred to as ›his life‹ from this perspective.¹ In particular, the ›retrospective illusion‹ of supposedly objective historical writing, as Pierre Bourdieu critically stated,

maintains that each life is a whole, a coherent and directed ensemble, and that it cannot be apprehended except as the unitary expression of an intention, both subjective and objective, which is made manifest in every experience, especially the earliest. Thanks to the retrospective illusion which leads to the interpretation of recent events as the end result of initial experiences or ways of behaving, and thanks to the ideology of the gift or predestination, which seems to feature very particularly in the case of exceptional people who are willingly credited with a prophetic clairvoyance, it is tacitly acknowledged that life follows the pattern of a story and unfolds from an origin, understood both as a point of departure and also as a first cause or, better, a generative principle, up till a final point which is also a goal.²

1 »In ordinary language, a life is inseparably the set of events of an individual existence conceived as a story [*histoire*] and the telling of that story; it describes life as a path, a career, with its crossroads and dead-ends, or as a progress, a path that is made and that has to be made, a course, an accumulation, a voyage, a route, a linear and unidirectional displacement composed of a beginning (›a start in life‹), several stages and then an end, in the double meaning of term and of goal (›he will make his way‹ signifies: he will succeed in life) – an end to the story.« Bourdieu 1999, 300, tr. Susan Emanuel.

2 Ibid.

By reviewing the supposed teleological course of the life portrayed, biographical examinations frequently have a tendency to focus on the fate and skill of an individual while ignoring the social circumstances of human existence.³ They also presume that individuals who subsequently became famous were able to determine the course of their own lives. As a result, in biographies written about Rubens we are constantly encountering the basic assumption that the course of his life was the conscious, self-reliant product of an artistic act. In such biographies, the general conditions and social factors of every life story are relegated to the background alongside systematic analyses of historical economic and social structures.⁴ In particular, they create the impression that the stories thus stated are facts. In accordance with the demands of history writing, the following account is based primarily on the actual written cultural records that have come down to us. That is to say, they alone guarantee what historian Reinhart Koselleck calls the »veto power of the sources«.⁵ Although the surviving material evidence, which includes numerous images, records, and documents, does not determine what one can or should say regarding the historical context, it most certainly does determine what may not be said.⁶ The following information may be stated. It comes from sources and records that have survived from the early period of van Dyck's career as a painter and document his personal circumstances.

Birth

He was born on a Monday. The following day, he was baptized in the Cathedral of Our Lady (Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal) as Anthonis. Dated 23 March 1599, this entry in the parish register of Antwerp's main church is the earliest surviving record of the artist's life (fig. 1).⁷ Next to the date

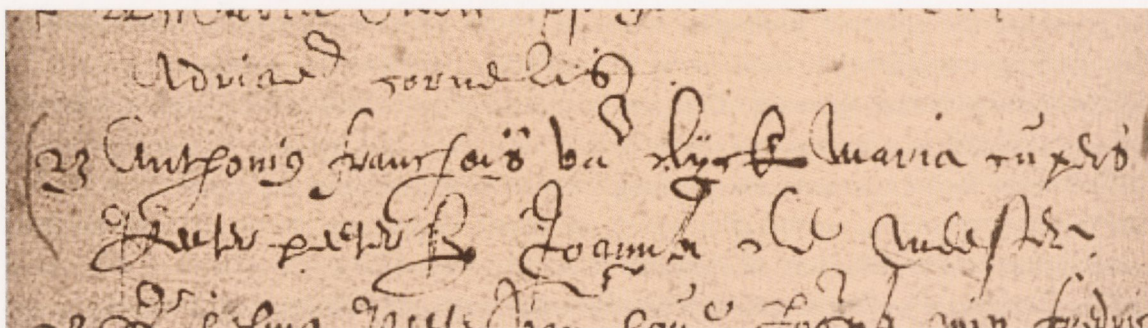
3 Stephen Greenblatt rightly stated that it is especially important to reconstruct social conditions in the early modern period since any form of self-determination at that time was subject to strict societal constraints. Greenblatt 1984, 1.

4 The idea of the ›image of life‹ goes back to ancient Rome: When Seneca was ordered by the emperor Nero to commit suicide and was prevented by a centurion from making bequeaths to his friends, he declared that he would leave them with the best and most precious legacy that remained to him, namely ›the image of his life‹ – ›imago vitae suae‹ (Tacitus, *Annals*, XV, 62).

5 Koselleck 1994, 206.

6 ›In principle, a source can never tell us what we ought to say,‹ states Koselleck. ›It does prevent us from making statements we should not make. The sources have the power of veto. They forbid us to venture or admit interpretations that can be shown on the basis of a source to be false or unreliable. False data, false statistics, false explanation of motives, false analyses of consciousness: all this and much more can be revealed by source criticism.‹ Koselleck 1994, 206, tr. Keith Tribe.

7 Antwerp, FelixArchief (Stadsarchief Antwerpen, hereafter SAA), PR#11 (O.L.V.-Parochie, Dopen, 1592–1606), fol. 145v.



1 Entry recording van Dyck's baptism in the parish register of the Cathedral of Our Lady (Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal), Antwerp, City Archives (FelixArchief), obj. no. PR#11 (O.L.V.-Parochie, Dopen, 1592–1606), fol. 145v

of the baptism and the child's name are the names of his parents »Franchois van Dyck & Maria Cupers« and the names of his godparents, »Peeter Peetersz & Joanna de Meester«. The building in which van Dyck first saw the light of day was only a few metres from the cathedral, diagonally across from the town hall. Today a plaque hangs on the building at Grote Markt 4 to remind us of the significance of this birth.

When van Dyck was born, street numbers did not exist.⁸ At the time, the building, which had been purchased by his grandfather, was called *Den Berendans*, or *Bear Dance*. Anthonis van Dyck, the grandfather who gave his name to the artist, bequeathed the building to his three children. Only one third of the property belonged to Franchois van Dyck.⁹ In order to reside in the house alone with his rapidly growing family, he paid rent to his brother Ferdinand and his brother-in-law Sebastiaan de Smit.¹⁰ At the beginning of 1588, Franchois van Dyck and de Smit had founded a highly successful commercial enterprise dealing in textiles. They sold silk and luxury fabrics to Amsterdam, Paris, Cologne, and London.¹¹ On 6 February 1590, Franchois married Maria Cupers in the cathedral.¹² Franchois van Dyck had been married before but his first wife and their child died during childbirth.¹³ His second wife was luckier and was quite obviously blessed with a robust

8 Street numbers did not begin appearing in Europe in large numbers until the eighteenth century. Tantner 2007, 16–24.

9 In the source material, his name is written sometimes in the Netherlandish form Frans or the French notation François. He himself wrote it as Franchois.

10 Van den Branden 1883, 694.

11 *Ibid.*, 693.

12 SAA, PR#195 (O.L.V.-Parochie, Huwelijksregister, 1589–1612), 952.

13 Franchois married Maria Comperis on 4 October 1587 in the cathedral. SAA, PR#193 (O.L.V.-Parochie, Huwelijksregister, 1578–1589), 875. She died on 28 July 1589 and was buried with her child. Van den Branden 1883, 694.

constitution. She gave birth to a healthy baby nearly every year after her marriage. Anthony was the couple's seventh child, and they began looking for a larger home due to their growing need for space. On 17 February 1599, Franchois purchased *Het Kasteel van Rijsel* (*The Castle of Lille*) in Korte Nieuwstraat where the family moved when the lease for *Den Berendans* expired.¹⁴ Evidence of the family's need for space but also their wealth is the fact that Franchois van Dyck purchased four more buildings on along Korte Nieuwstraat on 3 March 1607, including the luxuriously appointed *De Stad Gent*.¹⁵ A wide gate led to a courtyard with stables, storehouses, a gallery with permanently installed paintings, a large office, and a bathroom, which not only in Antwerp was an absolute luxury.¹⁶ Maria Cupers died in this house on 16 April 1607, shortly after the birth of her twelfth child. From a codicil to the will composed before her death in 1595, we know that nine of the couple's twelve children were alive at that time.¹⁷ This included the son who may have already been demonstrating the first signs of his artistic talent. No documents exist testifying to this; however, we do know that van Dyck had just turned eight when his mother died.

Childhood

How was the eight-year-old boy affected by the funeral of his mother? No documents exist that could yield any insight into this question. We also do not know when and where van Dyck learned to read and write. Inscriptions on his drawings and the occasional letter indicate that this was a skill he possessed, at least in the later years of his life (fig. 2).¹⁸ His school career is steeped in fact and fiction. An early source attesting to van Dyck's education is the French architect and art theorist André Félibien (1619–1695). He dedicated a sketch to van Dyck's life in his 1685 *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres*. Here he stated that van Dyck's father sent him to several schools.¹⁹ The anonymous author of a biography compiled in the eighteenth century

14 Ibid. Today the place where the house at Korte Nieuwstraat 42 stood is occupied by a new construction, prior to that a Calvary group from 1736 which had previously been located along Sint-Katelijnevest was moved there in 1815.

15 This building, which was given the number 46 during Napoleon's occupation of Antwerp (1794–1814), no longer stands.

16 SAA, SR#466 (Schepenregister 1607/II: Kieffelt & Boge), fol. 223r–225v; Van der Stighelen 1994, 34–35.

17 SAA, N#1181 (Notaris Adriaan De Witte, Protocollen en staten, 1606–1607), fol. 323r–323v (sub dato 16 April 1607): »[...] als hebben nu negen levende kinderen [...]«. Van der Stighelen 1994, 35–36.

18 Ausst.-Kat. Madrid 2012, 24. An example of this is a drawing in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, see fig. 2; Vey 1962, 163–64, no. 93, fig. 125; Ausst.-Kat. Madrid 2012, 276–77, no. 71. Another example is a drawing of figure studies after Rubens, c. 1616, pen and brown ink, black chalk on white paper, 31.0 x 20.2 cm; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 5686; Ausst.-Kat. Madrid 2012, 250–53, no. 62.

19 »Après l'avoir envoyé quelque temps aux Ecoles.« Félibien 1685–1688, 129.

2 *Studies of a Horseman and the Head of a Horse*,
c. 1617–1621, pen and brown ink, brown wash on
white paper, 26.4 x 16.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-T-1884-A-302



even declared that van Dyck's father considered sending him to the Latin school. However, since the boy demonstrated so much artistic talent, he was apprenticed to the painter Hendrik van Balen (1575–1632).²⁰ There was no fixed age at which boys attended the Latin school. The only prerequisite was that the children were able to read and write. The painter Peter Paul Rubens was ten years old when he transferred to this school, and the son of printer and publisher Moretus was thirteen and remained for four years.²¹ If van Dyck did attend this school, he was very young when he began and did not stay long. In actual fact, according to the membership list of the Antwerp painter's guild, the so-called *Liggeren*, he was apprenticed to van Balen.

20 »Son père voulut d'abord lui faire apprendre le Latin: mais voyant les dispositions extraordinaires qu'Antoine avait pour la peinture et ne voulant pas en faire un peintre sur verre, il le plaça en 1610 chez Henri Van Balen.« Larsen 1975, 47.

21 Büttner 2006, 28.

Apprenticeship

The fiscal year for the Antwerp painter's guild began on 18 October, the Feast of Saint Luke.²² In 1609, Hendrik van Balen presided over the guild as a dean. This was registered in the *Liggeren* along with the names of the new free masters. Subsequently, the names of the apprentices were recorded. Among the *leeriongens* we find the entry »Antoni Van Dijck. Bij Van Balen« (fig. 3).²³ According to this, van Dyck began his training as a painter when he was barely ten.

Van Balen ran a highly regarded workshop; in addition to van Dyck, there were five other apprentices.²⁴ Much speculation exists as to what they learned from van Balen. It is frequently pointed out that van Dyck's works show few similarities to those of his master. However, this comparison of styles overlooks everything that went in to learning how to paint a picture. Artists spent many years becoming proficient in even the most basic skills of the painting trade. In a period when brushes were not manufactured in factories and oil paints were not found in tubes, it must have taken a long time for painters to develop a sense for the correct proportions of binding media and pigments. Calculating the exact drying time between the layers to ensure that the paint did not crack took a great deal of experience. In addition, they had to study and test the precise mixture needed for the glaze used to protect the layers of paint, one that was both durable and did not yellow. These recipes, which were closely guarded secrets in some workshops, and the technical skills that painters developed were probably a considerable part of what at the time was considered to be the art of painting.²⁵ Furthermore, the obligatory training in drawing was included in the apprenticeship. In the beginning this usually consisted of copying the master's paintings and works on paper.²⁶ As witnessed by the Dutch painter Karel van Mander in his didactic poem, this was followed by exercises in drawing three-dimensional objects after sculptures or plaster casts, and finally using living models.²⁷ The young van Dyck would have learned and practiced all of these skills in van Balen's workshop. There is no record of whether he lived at home with his wealthy

22 Van der Straelen 1855, 140. On the feast day of St. Luke, see Ribadeneira/Rosweydyus 1619, 381.

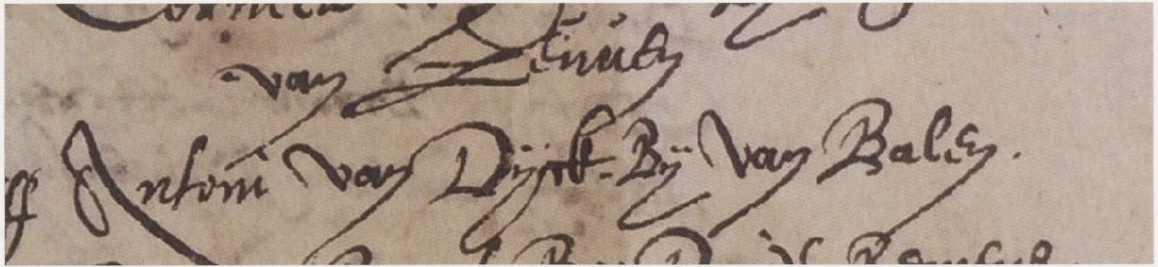
23 SAA, Inv. 2574#70 (Oudste »liggeren« van het St. Lucasgilde), fol. 171. Van der Stighelen 1994, 31, n. 29; Ausst.-Kat. Madrid 2012, 24; Ingrid Moortgat: »Van Dyck accepted in the guild of St Lucas«, URL: jordaensvanddyck.org/archive/van-dyck-accepted-in-the-guild-of-st-lucas-1609/ (accessed 1 July 2019).

24 Rombouts/van Lierus 1864–1876, vol. 1, 457, see also 456, 506, 524, 531, 565, 618, 645, 646, 661. In 1609, van Balen also took on Heynrick Ingelants, Gilliam Neeffs, Fernande Schuermans, Francoys Denteer, and Johannes Driescheren in addition to van Dyck. Van der Stighelen 1994, 31, n. 29.

25 In the nineteenth century, the concept of artists and what was considered to be art reduced artistic skills to insignificance, which they in no way were or are.

26 On art apprenticeships, especially in terms of drawing lessons and practice in seventeenth-century Netherlands, see Schatborn 1981, in particular 11–32.

27 Van Mander 1973, vol. 1, fol. 8r–10r, 98–107.



3 Entry enrolling van Dyck as an apprentice of Hendrik van Balen in the membership register of the Guild of Saint Luke, Antwerp, City Archives (FelixArchief), obj. no. 2574#70 (Oudste »liggere« van het St. Lucasgilde), fol. 171

father or with his master. Sources are silent on his artistic career in the following years, but in return, the situation of his family is well-documented, and it is no exaggeration to say that it was rather turbulent.

Family Ties

At the time, van Dyck's family was the talk of the Antwerp. On 2 May 1610, Catharina, the young painter's oldest sister, married the notary Adriaen Diericx.²⁸ At the end of the year, Franchois van Dyck drew attention to himself.²⁹ We are no longer able to reconstruct the exact details of what occurred. What we do know is that on 15 December 1610 a certain Jacobmyne de Kueck, who had insulted and threatened Franchois with death, was exiled from Antwerp.³⁰ Just like the extensively documented inheritance dispute regarding his grandfather's property, these records contribute little to illuminating van Dyck's career as a painter. Nevertheless, the documents provide interesting insights into the environment in which the artist lived. On 17 July 1615, Adriaen Diericx attempted to sell »nine of the best paintings« that van Dyck's grandmother had willed to her heirs on her death. Although the records do not specify which paintings these were, it appears clear that valuable works decorated the home of van Dyck's parents.³¹ A more descriptive expression of his self-assurance can be found in the complaint recorded on 3 December 1616 by the Antwerp municipal authorities in

28 SAA, PR#195 (O.L.V.-Parochie, Huwelijksregister, 1589–1612), 1394.

29 Van der Stighelen 1994, 36–37.

30 SAA, V#236 (Correctieboek III, 1569–1614), fol. 81r.

31 Van der Stighelen 1994, 25.

which van Dyck accused his brother-in-law of misappropriating a part of the inheritance from his grandmother. He not entirely truthfully stated that his age was »about 18 years«.³² This was the beginning of a years-long, never-ending string of legal disputes regarding his grandmother's legacy. This situation alone could provide enough material to fill a book expressing the grand emotions that can be read between the lines of the legal records. The young painter declared to the authorities that he was driven by simple worry and »brotherly affection« to advocate for the well-being of his siblings.³³ Aside from this, he was notably active as a painter, a fact that is documented less by written sources and more through the works that have come down to us. The following section will deal primarily with the painter and his oeuvre.

A Notable Painter

If we can believe the inscription, Anthony van Dyck was only fourteen years old when he painted a portrait of a seventy-year-old man (fig. 4).³⁴ This remarkable painting not only testifies to the fact that the painter knew his actual age, but that he was also aware of his talent as a portraitist. In terms of style, this image has little in common with his portraits from later years. It was probably created in 1613 when van Dyck was still working in van Balen's workshop. However, we do not know what he did there or how long he stayed.³⁵ During this time, he created the first paintings that were perceived and recognized as coming from his hand. Most of them are unsigned and undated. The self-portrait in Vienna is a typical example of this. Essentially, the date can only be deduced by estimating his age based on his physiognomy. The face of what appears to be a fourteen- or fifteen-year-old boy is gazing out at us. Beneath the surface of this painting, researchers discovered the depiction of a suffering Saint Jerome. Van Dyck probably created this image as well, since at the time he was most likely generating such religious history paintings. Documentary evidence vouches for the existence of several representations of Saint Jerome by van Dyck in Antwerp in

32 SAA, Pk#708 (Rekwestboek 1616–1617), fol. 165r–165v. Van der Stighelen 1994, 38.

33 SAA, Pk#709 (Rekwestboek 1617), fol. 227r–227v: »soo door broederlycke affectie als oock [...] om sorge te dragen dat de selve versekert proffyt trouwelyck aengeleyt mogenen worden al ist dat by tbesceet van synen vader hier mede gaende blyckt dat hem sulcx soude mögen vertrouwt worden.« Van der Stighelen 1994, 38.

34 *Portrait of a Seventy-Year-Old Man*, 1613, oil on canvas, 63 x 43.5 cm, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schoone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 6858. Inscription: »AETATIS. SVE. 70. ANNO. 1613. AVD. F. AETA. SVE. 14«. Barnes et al. 2004, 129–30, no. I.149.

35 The eighteenth-century biography held in the Louvre, published by Larsen 1975, 47, refers only to two years. It is more likely that he was apprenticed and worked there for three to four years. Van der Stighelen 1994, 21.

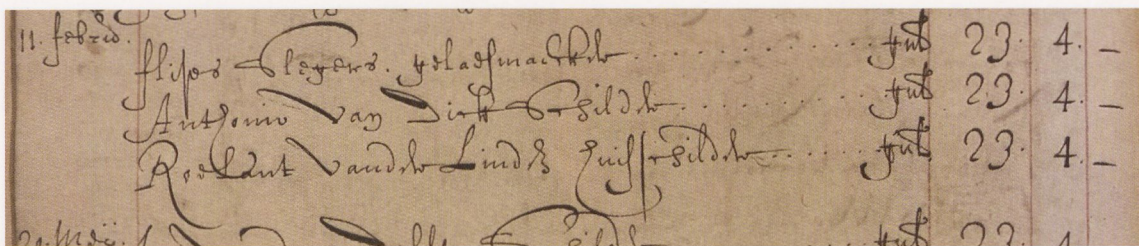
4 *Portrait of a Seventy-Year-Old Man*,
1613, oil on canvas, 63 x 43.5 cm, Brussels,
Koninklijke Musea voor Schoone Kunsten van
België, inv. no. 6858



the seventeenth century.³⁶ Unfortunately, the numerous records that support such paintings cannot be linked to any surviving works. There are good reasons to date several of the pictures that have come down to us to this early period. One concrete example is this painting from the Liechtenstein collection (see fig. 7, p. 154).³⁷ By this time at the latest, van Dyck must have caught the attention

36 For example, in 1640 in the inventory of the painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), see Muller 1989, 134; Duverger 1984–2009, vol. 4, 298 (»229. Een Heilige Hiëronijmus met een engel door denzelven, 230. Een grooten Heilige Hiëronymus op de knien zittende door denzelven, 231. Een klynen Heilige Hiëronymus door denzelven«). In the inventory of the painter Jeremias Wildens (1621–1653) in 1653 we also encounter two paintings of this subject, see Duverger 1984–2009, vol. 6, 485 (»Eenen Jeronimus naer Van Dyck, No 262«) and 486 (»Eenen Jeronimus van Van Dyck No 272«). In 1689, a Jerome by van Dyck was recorded in the collection of Alexander Voet, see Duverger 1984–2009, vol. 11, 570 (»Een Sint-Jeronimus gequoteert No 33«). See also Ausst.-Kat. Madrid 2012, 96 and 272.

37 Anthony van Dyck, *Saint Jerome*, c. 1615/16, oil on canvas, 158 x 131 cm, Vaduz–Vienna, Liechtenstein. The Princely Collections, inv. no. GE 56. Ausst.-Kat. Madrid 2012, 96–98, no. 2.



5 Entry registering van Dyck as a free master in the membership register of the Guild of Saint Luke, Antwerp, City Archives (FelixArchief), obj. no. 2574#70 (Oudste »liggere« van het St. Lucasgilde), fol. 194

of Rubens, the city's most famous painter. There is no question that the young van Dyck had encountered the celebrated artist at regular meetings of the Guild of Saint Luke. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly when Rubens hired him. Rubens was exempt from guild restrictions and was able to take on an unlimited number of journeymen and apprentices. We can assume that van Dyck began working in Rubens' workshop around 1616.³⁸ It is not possible to verify this, but there is a great deal of evidence that the two painters were working together. Stylistically, the similarities are so striking that to this day, experts still discuss whether a particular work is by Rubens or van Dyck.³⁹ This fact alone indicates that van Dyck, after learning the fundamentals of the trade, worked alongside others in Rubens' workshop, where according to all appearances he was viewed after 1618 as the most talented student.⁴⁰ However, we know for a fact that van Dyck registered as a free master in the Guild of Saint Luke on 11 February 1618 (fig. 5).⁴¹ Every citizen of the city of Antwerp who had worked for several years in a master's workshop was allowed to acquire the title of master craftsman in the city on the Schelde river.⁴² Guild articles did not stipulate an obligatory apprenticeship period, and there were no fixed rules for acquiring journeyman status.⁴³ Therefore,

38 There he worked with others on the Decius Mus cycle. See Duverger/Maufort 1996, 115–17; Baumstark 2019 (in print).

39 See Barnes et al. 2004, 16–18.

40 There are excellent reasons to surmise that the »best pupil« (»meglior mio discepolo«) that Rubens referred to on 28 April 1618 in a letter to Dudley Carlton was van Dyck. Rooses/Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 2, 137.

41 SAA, Inv. 2574#70 (Oudste »liggere« van het St. Lucasgilde), fol. 194: »Anderen ontfanck van de volle meesters Anno 1618 [...] 11 febr[uari] Anthonio Van Dick, schilder [...] gul[den] 23.4.– «

42 In the statutes of the Guild of Saint Luke from 22 July 1442 it states under item I: »In den eersten dat nyemant inde voors. gulde comen en sal ende de neeringhe hanteren, hy en sal tierts poorter zyn, ofte ter naester vierscharen nae dat hy in de gulde ontfanghen zal zyn, poorter moeten wordden.« Van den Branden 1883, 7.

43 At the time, the average apprenticeship period for a painter in Antwerp was three years. Van den Branden 1883, 401.

the course of instruction for each artist in Antwerp was highly individualized. In van Dyck's case, several things speak for the fact that he had made a move to become his own master before 1618. That is to say, in 1617 he had already received a very important commission. At that time, the Dominican order under their prior Pater Magister Johannes Bocquetius O.P. had decided to decorate the left aisle of their church with a series of paintings showing the mystery of the rosary cycle.⁴⁴ The money for the fifteen paintings, all similar in form, was raised through donations. In order to finish the project as quickly as possible, eleven different Antwerp artists were commissioned to create the works.⁴⁵ A note for the records written later listed the titles of the works, the names of the thirteen charitable donors, the painters, and the prices of the individual paintings. Here it can be seen that with his *Christ Carrying the Cross*, van Dyck entered into a direct visual competition with Rubens. The paintings of the two artists hung almost next to each other (figs. 6, 7).⁴⁶

According to the documents, both artists were independently paid the same fee of 150 guilders per painting.⁴⁷ Other sources indicate that van Dyck was running his own workshop before 1618. The assumption that van Dyck maintained his own workshop prior to 1621 and maybe even before 1618, is suggested by testimony in a legal document, in which Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601–1678) stated in front of the notary van Nos on 5 September 1660 that he knew the famous painter van Dyck very well.⁴⁸ They completed their apprenticeships together at about the same age and were in constant contact and communication until they reached their majority.⁴⁹ According to Brueghel, before van Dyck set off for Italy, he worked on many important commissions, including a

44 Sirjacobs 2004, 6–16.

45 Büttner 2006, 129.

46 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Flagellation of Christ*, 1618, oil on panel, 219 x 161 cm, Antwerp, St. Pauluskerk, see Judson 2000, 59–62, no. 11; Anthony van Dyck, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1618, oil on panel, 211 x 161.5 cm, Antwerp, St. Pauluskerk, see Barnes et al. 2004, 41–42, no. 1.25; Jacob Jordaens, *The Crucifixion of Christ*, 1618, oil on panel, 242 x 185 cm, Antwerp, St. Pauluskerk, see Rooses 1906, 271. Ibid. 11: »7. De Geesselinghe gegeven van mynheer Lowies Clarisse gemaectt van mynheer Pieter Rubbens [...] 150 gulden. – 9. De Cruysdraeginge gegeven van mynheer Jan van den Broek gemaectt door von van Dyck [...] 150 gulden. – 10. De Cruysinge gegeven van Jouffr. Magdalena Lewieter gemaectt door Jordaens [...] 150 gulden.«

47 Sirjacobs 2004, 6–16. Only van Balen received more than the other painters, although his works were the same size. We can conclude from this that he coordinated the overall project and the commissions. Van der Stighelen et al. 2014, 24. See also Van Hout 2006, 443–78.

48 Van der Stighelen 1994, 22.

49 SAA, N#4265 (Notaris Jan van Nos, Protocollen en staten, 1660), fol. 165r: »[...] dat hij van joncx af seer groote kennisse ende familiariteyt heeft gehadt met den seer vermaerden constschilder van Dyck alhier met dewelcke hij als hebbende bijcans eenen ouderdom, is opgevoet geweest ende dat soolange, als wanneer hij gecomen zijnde tot bequamen ouderdom.« Van der Stighelen 1994, 45.



6 Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640): *The Flagellation of Christ*, 1618, oil on panel, 219 x 161 cm, Antwerp, St. Pauluskerk



7 *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1618, oil on panel, 211 x 161.5 cm, Antwerp, St. Pauluskerk

series of the Twelve Apostles, and was living in a house near the Franciscan monastery called *Dom van Ceulen*, or *Cologne Cathedral*.⁵⁰

Thanks to a statement by its purchaser, an approximate date can be given for the Apostles series. Although he could not remember exactly, the buyer recorded on 5 September 1660 that he had

50 SAA, N#4265 (Notaris Jan Nos, Protocollen en staten, 1660), fol. 1651: »altijt gesien bij ende present geweest hebbende als wanneer den selven van Dijck eenige nieuwe stucken ende rare wercken onder hadde, onder die welcke heeft hij attestant gesien dat eer den selven naer Italien vertrock ende woonende was inden Dom van Ceulen bij de minrebroeders alhier dat hij onder handen heeft gehadt ende geschildert de tweelf apostelen met ons heeren hem gesien hebbende schildde.« Van der Stighelen 1994, 45; Van der Stighelen et al. 2014, 21–35.

commissioned these paintings forty-four or forty-five years earlier.⁵¹ In line with this, the paintings were created in 1615 or 1616, in other words before van Dyck and Rubens began working together. The fact that van Dyck not only had his own workshop, but also took on apprentices can be inferred from another document. The Antwerp painter Herman Servaes remembers the beginning of van Dyck's self-employment as being during the truce.⁵² In the war with the northern provinces, a ceasefire occurred between 1609 and April 1621. Together with Justus van Egmont, he declared that he had been apprenticed to van Dyck at the time.⁵³ The idea that a teenager in Antwerp had his own studio has not gone unchallenged.⁵⁴ Furthermore no other documentary records of the fabled studio in the *Dom van Ceulen* exist. The building, which Jan Brueghel the Younger and Herman Servaes knew as the *Cologne Cathedral*, can probably be identified as a property that is called *The Shield or the Coat of Arms of Cologne (Het Schild of Wapen van Keulen)* in other municipal records, a building in the (Korte) Minderbroederstraat.⁵⁵ This building was purchased by the school master Jan de Raeymaker and his wife Maria Kelleneir on 22 November 1611 from a certain Gommaer vander Sultz, as can be seen in a document recorded in 1627.⁵⁶ Jan de Raeymaker may, even though no corresponding rental agreement has survived, have leased it to the young van Dyck. It is an open question as to when this occurred. What we do know is that van Dyck ran a workshop before he travelled to Italy, a fact that is mentioned in various documents and statements by contemporary witnesses.

51 SAA, N#4265 (Notaris Jan van Nos, Protocollen en staten, 1660), fol. 164–164v: »heeft verclaert ende geattesteert waerachtich te wesen, eedt presenterende als versocht zijnde, dat geleden tusschen de 44 a 45 jaeren geleden, sonder den precisen tyt onthouden te hebben, hij attestant aenden seer vermaerden constschilder Anthoni van Dijck aenbestedt heeft van syn eygen handt te schilderen, de twelf apostelen met ons Heer.« Van der Stighelen 1994, 46.

52 Van der Stighelen 1994, 26.

53 »Comparuit Sr. Herman Servaes, constschilder [...] dat hij in den tweelfjarigen treves tusschen sijne Connicklijcke Majesteyt van Spagnien ende de Heeren Staeten van Holland als discipel werckende ende frequenterende de conste ten huysse van den chevallier van Dijck.« Roland 1984, 223.

54 Alsteens 2014, 85–90.

55 Degueldre 2011, no. 5: Vijfde wijk, no. 594.

56 SAA, SR#586 (Schepenregisters, 1627, VI), fol. 169r–170 v: »Ende belangen[de] de huysinge met packhuysse, neercamere, coeckene, cleyne neercamere, plaetse, hove, achterhuysse, borneput, regenbacke, weerdribben, twee kelders, diverse oppercamers en[de] solders, gronde en[de] allen den toebehoorten, geheeten de Wapen van Colen, gest[ae]n en[de] gelegen in[de] Minnebroeders strate alhier, tusschen Henricx Hujuel off actie hebben[de] huysinge en[de] erve aen deen syde en[de] der erffgen[amen] wylen Henricx van[den] Werve oft oick actie hebbende huysinge en[de] erve aen dander syde, comen[de] achter aen derve vander Infermaryen was, welcke huysinge byde v[oo]rgen[oemde] hen comp[aran]ten ouderen opden XXIIe novembris in[de] jare XVIC en[de] elve tegens Gommaer vander Sultz qua[lita]te qua gecocht en[de] gecregen prout l[ite]ra. [...] Quinta Junij 1627.«

The Path to International Renown

Although van Dyck became a well-known and famous painter at an early age, he remained connected to the Rubens workshop and collaborated on various projects. In 1620, when Rubens signed a contract commissioning him to create thirty-nine ceiling paintings for the Jesuit church of Antwerp, the contract stated that the designs created by Rubens' own hand were to be executed within nine months by »van Dyck with some other pupils.«⁵⁷ Van Dyck probably ended his collaboration after this final major joint project and left for Italy in October 1621. This fact was conveyed at an early date by the art critic André Félibien, who noted in 1684 in the second volume of his *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes* that van Dyck possessed a truly extraordinary talent for portraiture. According to Félibien, van Dyck created many portraits while working for Rubens and upon his departure gave Rubens three paintings as an expression of his thanks: »One was a portrait of his wife, the other an Ecce Homo, and the third showed the Jews capturing our Lord on the Mount of Olives.«⁵⁸ In any case, the last two images mentioned were not only alluded to by Félibien and other earlier biographers, they were also listed in an inventory of 324 paintings found in Peter Paul Rubens' house upon his death in 1640.⁵⁹ In October 1620, van Dyck spent several months in England and did not return to Antwerp until March of 1621.⁶⁰ He spent the summer there but left his home town on 3 October 1621 to travel to Italy.⁶¹ This is where the painter's early biography ends. After that, he launched an international career that made him one of the most celebrated painters of his time at the courts of Europe.

57 »Door Van Dyck mitsgaders sommige andere syne discipelen.« Martin 1968, 213–17.

58 »Comme Vandéik avoit une forte inclination à faire des portraits, il y réussissoit parfaitement. Il en fit plusieurs pendant qu'il demeura avec Rubens; & lorsqu'il en sortit, il luy donna pour marque de sa reconnoissance, trois excellens tableaux: l'un estoit le portrait de sa femme, l'autre un Ecce homo, & le troisième représentoit comme les Juifs se faisaient de nostre Seigneur dans les jardin des Olives.« Félibien 1666–1668, vol. 2, 222.

59 This specification, which was compiled for a sale of the works, was published in 1640 by the Antwerp printer and publisher Jan van Meurs. The only surviving copy can be found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Fonds Français 18967, fol. 200–205; Duverger 1984–2009, vol. 4, 301–09; Muller 1989, 94–146.

60 In a letter that Thomas Locke wrote to William Trumbull on 20 October 1620, he mentions that the »young painter Van Dyke« had arrived in London (London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add MSS 72242-621, vol. II, 144). Evidence of van Dyck's return to Antwerp can be found in a pass issued on 28 February 1621. Lyle 1930, 353.

61 The biography recorded in the eighteenth century refers to this date (Larsen 1975, 50–51). Evidence that van Dyck left the city at this time is also suggested by the fact that the nuns from the Dominican abbey moved into the building *De Dom van Ceulen*. See Van der Stighelen 1994, 42.

Plate 1

Self-Portrait as a Youth, c. 1615, oil on oak, 43.3 x 32.3 cm, The Paintings Gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, inv. no. GG-686

