

**Changing Compositions: Economic and Social Influences on the Studio Practices of Jacob
Jordaens**

by

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Introduction

The paintings of Jacob Jordaens challenge art historians to unravel a complex creative process. Jordaens is known for his quick brushwork, but his generative process was rarely linear. He often worked on multiple copies at once, generating paintings at a speed, which could only be rivaled by the largest artist's studios. Although not always visually evident, Jordaens often revisited his paintings extending their size or re-painting the composition. This 'trial and error' experimentation is characteristic of Jordaens' approach. Comparisons between the final works and preparatory sketches often reveal unplanned changes. Jordaens sometimes continued to make changes directly on top of completed paintings extending his creation of a painting over decades with long gaps between sessions. The layered histories of these works are just beginning to be probed and understood with evidence provided by technical examinations.

These revisions have commonly been accepted as part of Jordaens' nature. However, this simple explanation does not leave room for more logical motivations on the part of the artist. Jordaens was a highly sought-after and busy artist. He must have had a good reason to warrant such labor-intensive re-working of these paintings. Why was Jordaens so inclined to repaint over existing works rather than to generate new ones? My suggestion is that the impetus for these practices lies in his relationship to consumer demands and the wider context of the local and global art market. This influence can be shown in two ways: direct interactions between Jordaens and customers, and the economic implications of the techniques and materials employed in his studio.

This new approach in the consideration of Dutch and Flemish artists has recently come to the fore of recent scholarship. The groundbreaking research of J. M. Montias has provided an

economic overview of the art market in the Netherlands and Flanders and others have quickly taken up his quantitative approach to track local markets, regional exchange, and historical reception of artists.¹ Renewed interest in both modern and historical attributions has renewed study of seventeenth century connoisseurship. In his book *The Signature Style of Frans Hals*, Christopher Atkins begins to unpack what these new approaches might bring to interpretations of an artist's œuvre.² Recent exhibitions focused on Jordaens have furthered our knowledge of his creative processes and materials. The conservation treatments and materials analysis undertaken for these exhibitions has generated a small but growing body of information on Jordaens painting technique. Innovation in both historical and technical methods of looking at Jordaens' works has generated a ripe atmosphere for making new connections and, perhaps, drawing new conclusions.

The question of authorship among Jordaens and his studio are further complicated by Jordaens' habit of modifying and retouching his own works. Historically this has been recognized by many scholars, but only recently has a wider systematic approach been suggested. In her essay on series-work in Jordaens' studio, Nora De Poorter, outlines three ways that

1. For local competition see Eric Jan Sluijter, "On Brabant Rubbish, Economic Competition, Artistic Rivalry, and the Growth of the Market for Paintings in the First Decades of the Seventeenth Century," *JHNA* 1:2 (Summer 2009), DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2009.1.2.

For tracing artist reception see Peter Carpreau, "The 'Nachleben' of Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678): An Inquiry, Based on Auction Prices, in the Evolution of Taste Concerning the Works of Jordaens," In *Jordaens Genius of Grand Scale*, ed. Zita Agota Pataki, Birgit Ulrike Münch, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012) 465 – 481.

2. Christopher D.M. Atkins, *The Signature Style of Frans Hals: Painting, Subjectivity, and the Market in Early Modernity* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).

Jordaens manipulated compositions as part of his working practice.³ First, she believes Jordaens generated a series of works, producing multiple paintings on a single theme and allowing patrons to choose their favorite. This process can be traced when changes to a composition are repeated across other works in the series. The remaining paintings were then offered at a lower price to other collectors or placed on the market. Further modifications could be made to fit the patron's needs; Jordaens often enlarged completed paintings by joining a new piece of canvas to continue the composition. If paintings on a certain subject were unsatisfactory or failed to sell, Jordaens would then recycle them by partially repainting the figures to form a new theme or painting over them entirely.

This thesis will discuss how advances in the historical and technical study of Jordaens' paintings have shed new light on the interactions between his studio methods and the art market. What connections can be made? Did economic forces influence Jordaens production and design process? Only a renewed consideration of the artist in this context can properly address the concept of authorship in Jordaens' oeuvre. Jordaens' working process gave him a unique advantage: speed of production, visually appealing compositions, and systematic creation and re-use of compositions all contributed to his great success.

The Big Picture - Market Demand and Painting Production

The number of paintings produced in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century was unprecedented. The peak of mid-century production has been estimated by J Michael Montias

3. See Nora De Poorter, tr. by author, "Seriewerk en Recyclage: Doorgedreven Efficiëntie in het Geroutineerde Atelier van Jacob Jordaens," In Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis, Carl Van de Velde, ed., *Concept, Design & Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000), 213-232.

and A.M. Van der Woude at four and a half million paintings.⁴ The large number of paintings produced in Antwerp fed both internal markets and export markets, extending not only to the Northern Netherlands but also further abroad, to France, England, Germany, Spain, and even the New World.⁵ A significant percentage of these paintings were sold cheaply, by the yard, and in this case, the artists' name held little or no significance. At the other end of the spectrum were painters who made works of exceptional quality, often for wealthy patrons, and commanded high prices. Quantitative studies of historic records have begun to analyze the commercial demand for paintings in both local and global markets.

Inventories were required when an estate was passed on in the seventeenth century Netherlands; these documents shed light on the relative importance of household objects and patterns of ownership. In his study of valued Amsterdam inventories, J. Michael Montias has quantified the average change in value of consumer goods in relation to wealth distributions of family estates.⁶ Averaged across selected data from the first half of the seventeenth century, works of art accounted for 8.5 percent of the value in household goods. As wealth grew, the value of artworks increased at a relatively faster pace than other household goods.⁷ This suggests

4. Van der Veen, Jaap "By His Own Hand. The Valuation of Autograph Paintings in the 17th Century." in *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings IV Self Portraits*, ed. Ernst Van Der Wetering, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005), 5 note 13.

5. See Filip Vermeulen, "Exporting Art across the Globe The Antwerp Art Market in the Sixteenth Century," and Mickaël Szanto, "Antwerp and the Paris Art Market in the Years 1620–1630," in *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe*, ed. Neil De Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2006), 13 – 29 and 329 – 342.

6. For this analysis concerning works of art Montias has chosen thirty-two early seventeenth century inventories with a representative distribution of total wealth. J. Michael Montias, "Works of Art Competing with Other Goods in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Inventories," in De Marchi and Van Miegroet, *Mapping Markets*, 55-64.

7. Ibid., 60-61.

that households of greater wealth allocated more of their spending towards art. They not only owned more artworks, but their objects were individually more costly and likely to be of higher quality.

An expanded study of inventories from Antwerp and the North Brabant municipality of 's-Hertogenbosch by Bruno Blonde and Veerle De Laet attempted to track consumer preferences in paintings over a longer period from 1630 to 1780.⁸ Their comparison confirmed that patterns of painting ownership in peripheral towns followed those observed in city centers. By tracking the genre and placement of pictures within houses, they also suggest that themes with explicit social, religious, or political functions declined through the seventeenth century while paintings with decorative themes increased. This change in social taste might provide an impetus for Jordaens' re-painting of certain themes and early compositions that were no longer attractive to the market of his later career.

Both articles demonstrate that a wide swath of the local population purchased paintings, which remained in their homes. By 1680, the average ownership rose to twenty-four pictures per household. As a result, the second-hand sale of paintings played a larger role in the late seventeenth century, especially as quality works by Rubens and his followers began to be re-sold. This trend is examined by Katlijne Van der Stichelen and Filip Vermeylen in their study of the Antwerp painter's guild.⁹ No more than seven new art dealers had been registered with the guild each decade, but after 1620 dealers joined by the dozens, registered under various, often

8. Bruno Blondé and Veerle De Laet, "Owning Paintings and Changes in Consumer Preferences in the Low Countries, Seventeenth – Eighteenth Centuries," in De Marchi and Van Miegroet, *Mapping Markets*, 69 – 84.

9. Katlijne Van der Stichelen and Filip Vermeylen, "The Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke and the Marketing of Paintings, 1400-1700," in De Marchi and Van Miegroet, *Mapping Markets*, 189 - 208.

redundant, terms: dealer, printer, art seller, paintings seller, art dealer, or one who deals in paintings. The authors demonstrate that in the face of tougher selling conditions the Antwerp guild became more cautious by the mid-1600s, reiterating and strictly enforcing legal ordinances, which brought third-party dealers under the guild's regulation of sales. In this way, the Antwerp guild increasingly controlled the trade in paintings by those who were not artists.

Despite their increasing inclusion in the guild, art dealers often had little knowledge about the artworks they sold.¹⁰ One exception is the case of the painter-dealer: often failed painters who turned to selling, or successful artists who operated profitable sidelines in dealing. Jacob Jordaens was listed in this category: an artist, registered with the Antwerp guild, who also carried out significant trade in paintings with the Northern Netherlandish Republic.¹¹ In his diary the well-known art collector, Constantijn Huygens, recorded Jordaens selling works directly out of his studio. During Huygens' visit, Jordaens was well past his prime at eighty-six years old, yet his studio held more than thirty paintings exhibited for sale.¹²

Copies and Commissions: Reuse of Themes in Jordaens Architectural Cycles

10. For example, a legal case regarding paintings for sale entrusted to the art collector and dealer Ignatius van Bree. Though held by Bree, the actual sale was performed by a lower second-hand salesman Guillelmus Willemsens. During storage and transport the affixed labels citing attributions had been lost and two or more paintings were erroneously sold as by Anthony van Dyck. In the judgment, expert painters from Brussels declared them to be forgeries. Willemsens defended himself saying he was not responsible for identifying the author or iconography of paintings for sale and that he never spoke on issues of authenticity during sales. See Van der Stichelen and Vermeylen "The Antwerp Guild," in De Marchi and Van Miegroet, *Mapping Markets*, 202-204.

11. Elizabeth Alice Honig, *Painting & the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 110.

12. Van der Stichelen and Vermeylen "The Antwerp Guild," in De Marchi and Van Miegroet, *Mapping Markets*, 201.

As dealers accumulated stocks of paintings, they became a significant driving force. Nonetheless, independent patrons and collectors continued to participate in the market. As illustrated above, well-connected customers might visit the artist directly. However, guild regulations pushed wealthy patrons to employ dealers when acquiring works at auction or arranging purchases from artists or other collectors.¹³ Historic records illustrate how patrons, or their dealers, often attempted to guarantee the subject and level of quality expected for their acquisition. This was especially true after 1640, when Jordaens was expanding his workshop and taking on more elite commissions.

The cycle the *Story of Psyche* made for the Cabinet of Henrietta Maria at the Queen's House in Greenwich testifies to fundamental role dealers played in securing commissioned projects. In 1639 the court wrote to their agent in Brussels, Balthasar Gerbier, with instructions to commission a set of wall and ceiling paintings from Jacob Jordaens. They sent Gerbier five drawings recording the dimensions and obstructions of the intended location. On a copy of these drawings Gerbier translated the court's inscriptions into French and added notes for the required subject of the center of the ceiling, the banquet of Cupid and Psyche, like Raphael's Farnesina ceiling.¹⁴ Both the original plans and those doctored by Gerbier have been preserved (see Images 1 and 2.) Gerbier then used a second intermediary in Antwerp, the collector Abbé Alessandro-Cesare Scaglia, to approach Jordaens with the proposed plans. On this second set of drawings

13. Koenraad Jonckheere, "Supply and Demand: Some Notes on the Economy of Seventeenth Century Connoisseurship," in *Art Market and Connoisseurship: A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and their Contemporaries*, ed. Anna Tummers, Koenraad Jonckheere, (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2008), 69 – 94.

14. Carl Van de Velde, "Painters and Patrons in Antwerp in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," In *Concept, Design & Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)*, ed. Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis, Pieter Van de Velde, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000), 37-38.

Jordaens' handwriting is seen in texts placed in the squares, describing possible subjects of the paintings.¹⁵ Jordaens quoted a price of 6800 florins for all 22 canvases and stipulated a two-year period in which to complete them.¹⁶

Even though Jordaens produced sample designs for the works, Gerbier doubted his ability to carry out the paintings with sufficient skill for the foreshortened figures. He sent a third plan to Scaglia and instructed him to approach Rubens' studio for the same ceiling. Rubens specified the subjects as the banquet of the gods in the center with Cupid's visitation to Psyche on one side, and Psyche being taken into heaven on the other as more fitting for the commission.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Rubens quoted a higher price for fewer canvases, proposing that the canvases to either side would consist of grotesques made by assistants.¹⁸ Although Jordaens had been chosen from the start, Gerbier continued to comment and make suggestions about the project; he followed up with further instructions that the king desired Jordaens to make the women's faces more beautiful and idealized. Upon Rubens' death in 1640 the commission was awarded fully to Jordaens, but it was not until his designs had been approved by Charles I that the contract was considered final.¹⁹

15. Ibid., 39.

16. Ibid., 38.

17. This is from Scaglia's letter to Gerbier in May 13, 1640. Alejandro Vergara and Friso Lammertse, *Rubens Painter of Sketches* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2018), 37-38.

18. Carl Van de Velde, "Painters and Patrons," in Vlieghe, et al., *Concept, Design & Execution*, 39.

19. In a letter from B. Gerbier to I. Jones 24 March 1640 He instructed Jordaens to make them, "as beautifull as may bee, ye figures gracious and suelta." Vergara and Lammertse *Rubens Painter of Sketches*, 40 n 56.

Thus, even royal patrons sought benefits from the jostling between artists on the free market by approaching them through intermediaries. It is unclear whether Gerbier insisted upon Rubens as an alternative in order to evaluate Jordaens' skill, or because he wanted his suggestions on the content of the ceiling project. A comparison between Rubens' suggestions and Jordaens' final plans is not possible. Only seven paintings were made before the project was cut short by the death of Abbé Scaglia in 1641. Despite legal proceedings, Jordaens never received payment for the paintings he did deliver. Due to political uprisings in England the paintings were lost, only one canvas *Pan Consoling Psyche* remains in a private collection.²⁰

Jordaens seems to have favored the story of Cupid and Psyche for decorative programs. The sale of his estate in 1678 records two series and one single painting with this theme. The first series consisted of five ceiling pieces and two small flower works. It seems unlikely that these paintings were intended for Charles I as the royal inventories record eight paintings by Jordaens.²¹

A second Cupid and Psyche series of one central square and four oblique canvases was thought by Rooses to have been part of another decorative commission for Queen Christina of Sweden.²² Through an intermediary in the Hague, the queen commissioned a total of 35 ceiling paintings from Jordaens in 1648. Rooses reports that Christina already knew of Jordaens through

20. Jordaens' design for this painting is preserved in the Stedelijk Antwerpen Prentenkabinet and its borders are extended on all four sides, but it is uncertain whether this corresponds to the painting's dimensions. Carl Van de Velde, "Painters and Patrons," in Vlieghe, et al., *Concept, Design & Execution*, 40.

21. Max Rooses, tr. Elisabeth C. Broers, *Jacob Jordaens, His Life and Work*, (New York: E.P. Dutton & co., 1908), 118.

22. Ibid., 138.

correspondence, but his reputation for speedy production must have helped secure the commission as the paintings were to be completed in only one year's time. In order to execute this large volume, Jordaens would need to rely greatly on workshop assistants. The contract acknowledged this, saying that parts could be done by others as Jordaens saw fit. However, it also aimed to guarantee a certain level of quality from Jordaens stating, "And that which is painted by others he was obliged to paint over, such that it will be considered Sir Jordaens' own work and is therefore entitled to bear his name."²³ With the exception of the Cupid and Psyche works which remained in Jordaens estate, the paintings of Queen Christina's large commission have been lost. Could it be that Jordaens planned to include Cupid and Psyche in this larger project as an opportunity to repurpose paintings he had made for Charles I and never delivered? This could be a way to speed up the production and alleviate the financial losses Jordaens failed to recoup from that commission. The explicit acceptance of studio work in the contract for Queen Christina would seem to open the door for Jordaens re-use of older paintings or designs. This method of re-using existing paintings to fit into larger interior programs becomes more apparent in Jordaens later commissions, especially for patrons who were after the best price.²⁴ Jordaens also made paintings on this theme to decorate his own house, bringing the variations to a total of four.

The Artist's Approach to Composition

23. Jaap Van der Veen, "By His Own Hand," in Van Der Wetering, *Rembrandt Corpus*, 16.

24. Other examples can be found in *The Triumph of Bacchus* and *Satyr and Peasant* made for the Herrschaftliches Palais.

Jordaens is not officially recorded as a pupil of Rubens and their exact relationship remains unclear. It appears that Jordaens had access to sketches by or after Rubens, which he often subsumed into his own paintings. This evidence might suggest that Rubens' creative methods also influenced Jordaens' approach to designing paintings. Both artists often juxtaposed independently designed elements by assembling multiple paper sheets into one sketch. In their recent publication, *Rubens: Painter of Sketches*, Alejandro Vergara and Friso Lammertse have addressed the role of sketches in Rubens' practice.²⁵ Their detailed account suggests some immediate similarities between Rubens and Jordaens. Like Jordaens, Rubens designs did not always follow a linear development; final compositions frequently included elements from multiple sketches and other preparatory drawings.²⁶ Rubens' reuse of Renaissance drawings strongly parallels the cut and paste techniques employed by Jordaens when composing his works. Rubens incorporated old master drawings as collaged elements, often drawing over them in his own hand.²⁷ While Jordaens did not collect Renaissance drawings, he often re-used his own drawings by adding paper to adjust the proportions and simultaneously reworking the old drawing and the new additions. Curiously Jordaens seems to apply this same method to his canvas paintings, while modifications in the size of Rubens paintings are less common. One notable exception is Rubens' personal works on panel. These paintings have a complex support

25. Vergara, Alejandro and Friso Lammertse, *Rubens Painter of Sketches* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2018), p 37-38.

26. Ibid., 23.

27. On Rubens' use of collage in drawing see Jeremy Wood, "Rubens at Work with Scissors and Paste: The Artist as creative director," in *Rubens: The Power of Transformation*. Ed. Gerlinde Gruber, Sabine Haag, Stefan Weppelmann, and Jochen Sander (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2017).

structure that suggests they were built-up over a longer time.²⁸ Could it be that Jordaens' early training from his family's textile background gave him unique insight allowing him to freely modify canvas works?

Often the final requirement when designing a composition was fitting and filling the needed dimensions. When asked for advice by the artist Goltzius Gerdorp, Rubens wrote that he often delayed choosing a subject until the dimensions of the work were established because some subjects worked better in a large space, while others were more suitable for middle-sized or small spaces. Nevertheless, this preference could not always be accommodated. Sometimes dimensions were only finalized after the artist began their work, requiring them to adjust their design to the final measurements.²⁹ Rubens' elite status and clear preference for knowing the size of a work before choosing a subject may have helped avoid the problem of having to make later adjustments.

While many of Jordaens' extensions were due to an alteration in the dimensions dictated by the commission or, indeed, a change in the intended client altogether, there are other examples in his oeuvre where the dimensions of the re-worked canvas remain unchanged and Jordaens' decision to revise these painting seems to be aesthetically motivated.

Compositional Cropping: Examples from Canvas Supports

28. On Rubens' panels see George Bisacca, "Rubens's Puzzle," in *Rubens: The Power of Transformation*. Ed. Gerlinde Gruber, Sabine Haag, Stefan Weppelmann, and Jochen Sander (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2017)

29. Vergara and Lammertse, *Rubens Painter of Sketches*, 38.

New analytical methods are expanding scholarly understanding of many artists by tracking their use of canvas supports.³⁰ The canvas weave is first detected in high-resolution x-radiographs of a painting. Algorithms extract the vertical and horizontal density of threads and create a relative map, where red indicates high density and blue indicates a low density. Each thread's horizontal and vertical displacement is also measured. Threads become displaced and warped when selected points are secured to a supporting frame. When a ground or medium layer is applied and allowed to dry, the thread angles become fixed resulting in a scalloped pattern called cusping. Analysis of thread density and displacement angles on Jordaens' canvases yields direct information about his modifications of painting supports. This detailed information allows for comparison of the canvas supports in different paintings and the components that make-up multi-canvas paintings.

In a recently published study Don Johnson has analyzed nine paintings from the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel, which span Jordaens oeuvre from the 1620s – 1650s.³¹ The first example of extensions added by Jordaens was found in *Satyr and Peasant*, dated to 1620 – 1630. The painting consists of a large central canvas and extensions added on all four sides. Johnson's mapping demonstrates that sections of the same canvas roll were flipped and sewn together along a selvage to create the central canvas. A seam to the left of center shows mirror symmetry in the weave density map (see Image 3.) With this matching pattern Johnson also established that the width of the roll is not fully doubled, and the left side of the canvas was

30. See Ella Hendriks et al., "Automated thread counting and the Studio Practices Project," in Marije Vellekoop et al., *Van Gogh's Studio Practice*. (Amsterdam: 2013) 156-181.

31. Don H. Johnson, "Construction of Canvas Supports for Jordaens's Paintings Suggested by Thread Count Analysis," in Justus Lange and Birgit Ulrike Münch in collaboration with Anne Harmssen ed., *Reframing Jordaens: Pictor doctus – Techniques – Workshop Practice*, (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2018) 132-143.

trimmed before being stretched and prepared. It appears that the dimensions of the support were for some reason later extended by Jordaens or his workshop. Narrow canvas rectangles in two distinct canvas types line all four sides. The displaced threads in these additions indicate a smaller gap between attachment points than the central canvas. This suggests that the inserts were sewn onto the central painting at the same time and then reattached to a stretcher before new ground was applied.³² The same method has been confirmed in Jordaens' *Tribute Money* of 1623 where his successive canvas additions were found to be sized, attached, and then prepared with ground. X-radiographs illustrate that the ground was generously applied over the seam and evened out with a palette knife.³³ This pattern of extensions added to four sides of a previously prepared and painted central canvas continues in Jordaens' later paintings including *The Porridge Eater* and *Moses Striking Water from the Rock* where Jordaens added wide extensions, significantly modifying their dimensions. One deviation was observed in *The Death of Cleopatra*, dated 1653, where narrow extensions were added to the central canvas before a ground layer was simultaneously applied across both.³⁴ This repeated use of four-sided extensions suggests a profitable formula for Jordaens. Could these be stock paintings that could be quickly modified to fit a buyer's dimensions or for a specific frame?

Later in his career Jordaens performs more complex modifications of his canvas supports. For example, *The Triumph of Bacchus*, dated 1640-1650 is made from four unique canvas types

32. Ibid., 135 – 137.

33. Johanneke Verhave with contributions by Annefloor Schlotter and Troels Filtenborg, "Jordaens at work, layer upon layer," in Wadum, Petersen, Bjerkhof, ed., *Making of A Masterpiece*, 73-74, 79.

34. Don H. Johnson, "Construction of Canvas," in Lange, et al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 139.

(see Image 4.) The support consists of a large central canvas surrounded by additions reshaping its perimeter from a complex Baroque shape to a simple rectangle (see Image 5.) Johnson's comparison of cusping depths along the edges indicates that the central canvas was prepared in a different format and trimmed by 10 to 20 cm along the top and left sides before being used for the central painting. Each pair of extensions is made from matching canvas types indicating a common origin. Though the small corner additions do not show cusping, the rectangular panels flanking the sides retain cusping marks. From differences in the attachment spacing Johnson concludes that the side panels were added and prepared with ground after the central panel had been prepared and trimmed.³⁵ A further study of the painting by Anne Harmssen points to repainting in the central canvas and areas adjacent to the extended sides, suggesting that only the rectangular side panels were added by Jordaens or his workshop. (See Images 6 and 7.)³⁶ Harmssen states that the corner extensions are non-original and dates them to 1750s when the painting was likely removed from its shaped frame originally in the Herrschaftliches Palais, Kassel. A similar manipulation of an already painted canvas is seen in Jordaens' *Satyr and Peasant* also made for the Herrschaftliches Palais now in Kassel Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.³⁷

These detailed studies illuminate Jordaens' complex understanding and manipulation of canvas supports. Jordaens characterization as an artist-dealer implies that he kept a stock of

35. Johnson restricts his comments to the preparation layers of the canvas, but it is clear from complimentary studies of these paintings that the canvas was usually painted before being extended. Ibid., 137-138.

36. Anne Harmssen, tr. by author, "Meisterhaft in der Veränderung – Jordaens in der Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Kassel," in Lange, et al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 144-160.

37. Ibid., 149.

ready paintings. When he needed a painting quickly, he could find an example that suited the commission or buyer and add extensions to fit the dimensions required. This systematic optimization allowed Jordaens to offer timing and prices that set his studio apart from others. Examples such as *Satyr and Peasant* suggest that Jordaens' manipulation of the support could be made in tandem with new paint layers making corrections and blending new parts into the original painting. This phenomenon has also been observed in Jordaens assembly of his large Oranjzaal canvases.³⁸ The painting was prepared and sent to The Hague in two parts that required joining. The vertical seam was stitched, and ground was applied over the empty gap, about 6 cm wide. This strip was then painted in to join the halves. Occasionally the new paint extends away from the seam, repainting draperies or adjusting contours. Large areas of the background were also repainted to adjust mismatching hues across the sky.³⁹ Though they may seem similar, this pattern of modifications that extend or join existing painted canvases is different from Jordaens' focus on visual change when repainting compositions within the same dimensional constraints.

Compositional Cropping: An example in Jordaens' designs for tapestry

Jordaens' designs for tapestries also exhibit his fluid manner of generating designs. The *Proverbs* tapestries produced by the Brussels weavers, Frans van Cophem, Jan Cordys, and Boudewyn van Beveren, between 1644 and 1647 are the earliest documented tapestries by Jordaens. But series such as the *Scenes from Country Life*, the *History of Alexander*, and the *Life*

38. For more on Jordaens design, construction, and techniques in the Oranjzaal see Lidwien Speleers and Margriet van Eikema Hommes, "Jordaens and the Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch Palace, the paintings and the letters," in Pataki, Münch, *Jordaens Genius*, 131 – 163.

39. Ibid., 145-147.

of *Odysseus* tapestries have been stylistically attributed to his earlier years. In 2007, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, a painted sketch related to Jordaens' *Life of Odysseus* tapestries resurfaced from a private collection, see Image 8. The sketch was examined, conserved, and published by London gallerist, Jean-Luc Baroni.⁴⁰ Baroni suggests that the *Odysseus* series was designed sometime between 1630 and 1635, a slightly earlier range than the previous date of 1635 given by D'Hulst and Jaffe.⁴¹

Two incomplete sets of the *Odysseus* tapestries are preserved in collections and museums across Mexico, Rome, and Turin showing six different scenes.⁴² The weaver's marks on the two tapestries preserved in Mexico have not yet been identified, See Image 9. In her catalogue of Jordaens tapestries Kristi Nelson places them in the mid 1630s. Nelson demonstrates that the borders of the tapestry were also designed by Jordaens in drawings, which D'Hulst dates to 1635, see Image 10.⁴³ From the date of these drawings Nelson infers that this set was produced

40. Jean-Luc Baroni, *Jacob Jordaens Odysseus and Nausicaa: A Rediscovered Cartoon for a Tapestry*, (Florence: Viol'Art Firenze, 2012).

41. Ibid., 10.

42. Ibid., 13. The six scenes are: Mercury visiting Calypso [Rome]; Odysseus building a Raft before Leaving Calypso [Turin]; Circe transforming Odysseus's Men into Swine [Mexico]; Odysseus threatening Circe [Rome]; Odysseus taking Leave of Alcinous [Rome (right half) and Turin (left half)]; and Telemachus leading Theoclymenus to Penelope [Rome (left half) and Turin (window piece)].

43. This appears to be the first time Jordaens designed a border for his tapestries, for further discussion on the iconic interpretation of the Athena and Hermes figures see: Kristi Nelson, *Jacob Jordaens Design for Tapestry*, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 1998). 25. Nelson postulates that in Jordaens' later series, *The Proverbs* and *Riding School*, border frames were integrated when designing their compositions. However, in many sheets these borders seem to be added later by extending the original with more paper, leading to a question of how fully integrated or intentional the borders really were. For example, see his design for the *Proverbs*, Image 11. A related painting in Zornmuseet Sweden records the full length of the figures without the added border and with other variations. This indicates that Jordaens likely re-used and adjusted already established compositions when designing his tapestry series.

when Jordaens first designed the series, unlike the set of seven tapestries now split between Rome and Turin which were made nearly thirty years later by the weavers Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael for Carlo Emanuel II where different borders were used, which resemble other designs by Jordaens but do not follow them exactly. An additional scene showing the *Return of Odysseus to Penelope* is shown in a single tapestry in Fulda dated about 1650. Another tapestry in the Art Institute of Chicago presents the left portion of one design, a truncation that is repeated in a tapestry at Turin. The incomplete narrative arc of the seven identified scenes could indicate that Jordaens planned additional scenes that were never executed or have been entirely lost.

Jordaens' designs for the Odysseus tapestries are preserved in six preparatory drawings and four *modelli* housed in public and private collections, however no full-scale cartoon has survived. For this series, Jordaens first drafted designs in chalk and watercolor on paper. He also painted more detailed *modelli* in oil, some executed on paper and others on canvas. When producing the full-scale cartoons he returned to paper and watercolor, which served as the direct working pattern for the weavers. A number of associated works on paper and canvas, including *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, have been recognized as related to the series but lack any corresponding tapestries.⁴⁴ In her discussion of the series, Nelson points out that these differences make it

44. Painted sketches exist for three other themes which include: *Odysseus and Polyphemus* with versions in the Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence, Kansas, on paper and at the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, on canvas. *Odysseus Taking Leave of Circe* in the Museo de Arte, Ponce, Puerto Rico, on canvas and Baroni's sketch of *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, on paper. See Baroni, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 14.

difficult to conclude whether Jordaens' approach was inconsistent or if he had a uniform method from which stages of the process are now missing, many works having been re-used or lost.⁴⁵

Baroni follows D'Hulst's suggestion that some of these studies, especially those on canvas, might have been prepared with an eye towards the open market.⁴⁶ It is possible that these sketches may represent compositions that were rejected by Jordaens himself during his generation of the series. However, their relatively finished character also supports the idea that they were intended as presentation pieces for potential buyers rather than independent works. Nelson agrees with this assessment and judged the *Odysseus and Nausicaa* sketch to be a *petite patron* based on its larger size.⁴⁷ This type of presentation device grew increasingly important in 1655 when the magistrates of Brussels established *The Pand*, a gallery of tapestries displayed in a series of rooms in the town hall where clients could order tapestries from cartoons, *modelli*, or sets of ready-made weavings on display.⁴⁸ Whether Jordaens intended these small but complete studies as models or as independent works remains open for debate.

The materials of *Odysseus and Nausicaa* confirm its function as an intermediary tool and provide insight on Jordaens' drafting process. The large sketch is composed of sixteen sheets of paper pasted together to measure over three feet in height by six feet in width. After the removal of varnish and overpaint the original medium could be identified. The composition was first lightly laid in with dry chalk and small changes were made as Jordaens re-worked the drawing,

45. Nelson, *Design for Tapestry*, 24.

46. Baroni, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 12. and R. A. D'Hulst, tr. by R. Muller, "Jordaens and his early activities in the field of tapestry," *Art Quarterly*, 19 no.3 (1956) 240.

47. Nelson, *Design for Tapestry*, 24.

48. *Ibid.*, 13.

choosing the final placement and strengthening the outlines. Watercolors with opaque highlights in tempera were then used to roughly model the figures and landscape.⁴⁹ Baroni compares the materials, style, and technique of this work with Jordaens sketches on paper for two large commissions of the late 1620s, which are spontaneous with abbreviated faces on the figures.⁵⁰ The similarity of the light and fluid underdrawing of *Odysseus and Nausicaa* to the underdrawing in these other works is evident in the infrared images published by Baroni (see Image 12.) Other elements of the underdrawing appear to be direct or indirect transfers from existing studio models.⁵¹

Odysseus and Nausicaa is an example of Jordaens' complex mode of making, which often extended over long periods of time and in which visually related works often defy the establishment of a clear chronology. Close examination of the sketch revealed that Jordaens enlarged the composition both horizontally and vertically (see Images 13-14.) Four consistent fold lines were observed across four pairs of vertical sheets in the center of the sketch, suggesting that the drawing was folded long enough for the paper to conform to the shape. A vertical line was cut to the right of the figure group and two sheets about eleven centimeters wide were added, extending the distance between the female figures and Odysseus. At the same time

49. Ibid., 15.

50. Ibid., 11. For comparisons see Jacob Jordaens, *The Martyrdom of St. Apollonia* c.1628, Collection City of Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus and Jacob Jordaens, *St. Martin of Tours, Healing the Possessed Servant of Tetrodius* c. 1630. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

51. Ibid., 16. The horse at the left also appears in Jordaens drawing for the *Riding School* tapestry series, *Gentleman and Lady with a Groom Saddling a Horse* of 1635-40 at Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, and later in the *Riding School* series and *Musica Recreat Cor Hominis* tapestries now in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona. Baroni notes the close correspondence in scale and suggests the figure could be a direct transfer from a study sheet.

four sheets were pasted along the top to increase the height ratio and extend the sky. In a second campaign, bordering parts of the sky, and a pentiment in the drapery of the fleeing figure at the center, opaque colors were used to cover these extensions. The paint and underdrawing in these areas shows the same hand, confirming the sheets were added by the artist.⁵²

In their contribution to Baroni's publication, imaging specialists Kate Stonor and Clare Richardson imply that the extensions were added as Jordaens worked out and finalized his outlines.⁵³ However, this interpretation cannot be correct since the evidence of the paper and paint structure indicate that the placement of the figures and the coloring of the main sheets were complete before the additions were introduced. This is supported by a related canvas painting in the Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch, which more closely reflects the original spatial arrangement of the sheets, see Image 15. In comparison with Baroni's sketch, the painting depicts a simpler version of the subject with Odysseus in a kneeling pose, only one figure group, and a truncation of the chariot on the left.⁵⁴ Another version painted in oils on canvas now in the Rijksmuseum precisely duplicates the paper sketch without its extended spaces (see Image 16.)

A similar observation has been made by Sebastian Dohe regarding a sketch on paper by Jordaens in the British Museum (see Images 17 - 18.)⁵⁵ Again a strip of paper has been added in the center of the drawing to adjust the composition from a square to a more rectangular shape. Related paintings record this study, or versions made from it, before and after this alteration: a

52. Baroni, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 20.

53. Ibid., 23.

54. Baroni, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 18.

55. Sebastian Dohe, tr. by author, "Die Pluripotente Zeichnung – Anstückungen in der Kompositionspraxis von Jacques Jordaens," in Lange, et al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 194 – 211.

small, undated panel by Jordaens or his workshop records what appears to be an earlier state of the design (see Image 19) and an oil on canvas of a similar size records the extended composition (see Image 20.) Roger D’Hulst ascribed a date of 1640 to this small canvas.⁵⁶ This would suggest the modification in the drawing was made around or before this time. Though his motivation for the change remains uncertain, Jordaens appears to use the same technique in *Odysseus and Nausicaa* and potentially many other works from this period.

Without clear knowledge of the final tapestry, it is impossible to establish the chronology or entirely understand the reasons for the modifications in *Odysseus and Nausicaa*. As previously mentioned, the differences in both design and medium between the paper sketch and the related paintings hinder a definite conclusion. Perhaps after generating the paintings, Jordaens felt that there should be more distance between the central figures. If the sheet did serve as a model for a tapestry, a manufacturer or patron may have requested the change. Comparing another preserved *modello*, *Neptune Creating the Horse* with its matching tapestries, it is evident that the final product did not always follow the proportions of the models made by Jordaens. Jordaens’ painting followed a landscape format and several adjustments were required to fit the design into the shape of a tapestry (see Image 21.) One version, produced by Everard Leyniers in 1650–1660, stays true to the proportions of Jordaens’ model but cuts off about a third of the painting on the left (see Image 22.) Another tapestry produced in 1655 by Hendrik Reydamts took further liberties with the spacing and placement of Jordaens design (see Image 23): Venus holds Cupid in front of her legs and no longer has a floating drapery above, Neptune stands slightly further away from her, and the sky has been heightened, allowing the cherubs to float above their heads. These weavers used Jordaens’ designs in ways that suited them and the expectations of

56. R. A. D’Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens*, Translated by P.S. Falla. (London: Sotheby Publications and Philip Wilson Publishers, 1982), 176.

their patrons. Nelson reports that this was common practice among weavers who might interchange and modify figures, appropriate designs into a new theme, or combine parts of individual cartoons into new designs. Nelson suggests that Jordaens used this in his favor, often leaving out textual or iconographical details to make scenes that easily accommodated reuse.⁵⁷ This similarity of rearrangement and creative re-use certainly lead to Jordaens' success in the tapestry industry, as he out produced Rubens, Van den Hoecke, or Abraham van Diepenbeeck.⁵⁸

Compositional Cropping: Jordaens' painting in search of a market

One well-documented example of Jordaens' modification of his own painting is *Washing and Anointing of the Body of Christ* (see Image 24.) An intensive technical study and conservation treatment of the work was undertaken at the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage (KIRK-IRPA) Brussels in 2011 – 2013.⁵⁹ The painting remained in Jordaens possession during his entire lifetime and was donated to the Antwerp Maagdenhuis by his estate in 1678, where it remains to this day. The central canvas with its pyramidal grouping of figures and strong lighting is typical of Jordaens early career, c.1620-25. Much later, in about 1650, Jordaens added five strips of canvas enlarging the perimeter of the composition (see Image 25.)⁶⁰

Drawings by Jordaens and copies made by his collaborators elucidate Jordaens' pathway to the final composition. A preparatory drawing in ink and watercolor dated to 1620-25 displays

57. Nelson, *Design for Tapestry*, 14.

58. Ibid., 15.

59. Louise Decq, Hélène Dubois, Steven Saverwyns, Sarah Swinnen, Jana Sanyova, Daniel Christiaens, "The Antwerp Maagdenhuis Washing and Anointing of the Body of Christ. Jordaens's Complex Modifications of his own work. Genesis and Conservation," in Lange, et. al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 119 – 131.

60. The final row of additions across the top is not made by Jordaens.

Jordaens' initial design for the painting (see Image 26.) This drawing corresponds to the first paint layers of the Maagdenhuis canvas, where a design that includes the frontal angle of Christ's legs and a smaller shroud can be seen in the X-ray.⁶¹ Such a large pentiment points to an unplanned and experimental process where Jordaens successively made changes as he painted to reach the final design. In one cross section the authors noted remnants of what might be a red-chalk underdrawing on the central canvas, but whether Jordaens attempted to transfer his initial design remains unclear.⁶² The study found no evidence of a dead coloring layer, a preliminary underlayer of the composition executed in monochrome, which was typically used by artists like Rubens and Rembrandt to establish the tonal relationships of the composition. This contrasts with Jordaens' use of dead coloring in other paintings examined from this time period.⁶³ It is known that the Maagdenhuis canvas stayed in Jordaens' studio, since a studio copy duplicates the composition in this initial state. Later Jordaens composed a red chalk drawing to guide his

61. Ibid., 122.

62. Ibid., 126-127.

63. Eva de la Fuente Pedersen reports finding stages of dead coloring applied above the ground layer on a small oil sketch. Eva de la Fuente Pedersen, "Jordaens Tribute Money: An Unknown Oil Sketch," in Pataki, Münch, *Jordaens Genius*, 95 – 111.

In Jordaens *Tribute Money* of 1623 the use of deadcoloring, which remains visible on the surface, is reported in the flesh tones of figures. Johanneke Verhave, et al. "Jordaens at work, layer upon layer," in Wadum, Petersen, Bjerkhof, ed., *Making of A Masterpiece*, 85-86.

Confirmation of Jordaens use of deadcoloring in his Oranjezaal canvases can be found in Lidwien Speleers and Margriet van Eikema Hommes "Jordaens and the Oranjezaal," in in Pataki, Münch, *Jordaens Genius*, 147.

modifications (see Image 27), and another studio drawing also records this extended composition.⁶⁴

Close examination has made clear that the extensions were only part of Jordaens' revisions. In order to integrate the two phases of the painting, Jordaens or a studio collaborator adjusted the highlights and colors of the central painting. Isolated strokes of a transparent brown roughly tone down the strong highlights in the central figures, as their bright flesh tones did not correspond with Jordaens' later style (see Image 28.)⁶⁵ At the same time, the blue and red draperies of the central figures were enhanced by adding fresh glazes of smalt and madder lake pigments over the first paint layers, which contained azurite, indigo, and cochineal.⁶⁶

At this stage Jordaens also subtly modified certain iconographic elements. The basket in the arms of the woman to the left once held religious symbols such as a crown of thorns, an inscribed titulus, and two large nails from the crucifix. Jordaens covered these details by extending the old woman's headscarf and adding two bottles. Related narrative elements, including the sarcophagus to the left, the cross above, and instruments of the passion below Christ, were instead added to the extended margins.⁶⁷ Thus Jordaens' revisions involved not only changes in dimension but also changes in the religious timbre of the setting. Jordaens was born to a Catholic family, but his religious leanings slowly changed. He was likely introduced to Protestantism through his apprenticeship with Adam Van Noort and marriage to his daughter,

64. Louise Decq, et al., "The Antwerp Maagdenhuis," in Lange, et. al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 122-124.

65. Ibid., 127.

66. Ibid., 128-129.

67. Ibid., 121.

Catharina. By the 1650s, it appears that Jordaens had converted to Protestantism. Between 1651 and 1658 he was fined for heretical writings and when his wife died in 1659 she was buried in a Protestant cemetery. By the 1670s Jordaens participated in services with the reformed congregation Mount of Olives under the Cross, even holding several services in his own house.⁶⁸ These changes in religious persuasion, which overlap the date given to the extensions, would have greatly influenced Jordaens' choice of iconography in this heightened religious scene. Signifiers that recall the gruesome pain and suffering of the cross and an inscription have been moved to the front directly confronting the viewer. They are surrounded by everyday objects: an ewer and bowl for washing the body, and an empty tomb, which also serves as a *memento mori*.

In its later placement the Maagdenhuis painting functioned as an altarpiece, but it is uncertain if this was Jordaens' intention for the painting. The composition proved to be very popular, and Jordaens and his studio painted at least nine variations between approximately 1640 and 1650. An engraving after the work was also made at this time, attesting to its popularity. It seems that Jordaens used the earlier central canvas to finalize one of his three designs on this theme. Some take a vertical format, for example a painting from the Hermitage from the 1650s depicts the same figures surrounding Christ's body in a more upright position (see Image 29.) Comparing dimensions, it becomes clear that his additions transformed the Maagdenhuis work from an average sized painting into one on a monumental scale typical of only large chimneypieces. These paintings, made for the mantles of large guildhalls or municipal buildings, often measured between 260 – 300 cm wide.⁶⁹ Many of the other related paintings are also large,

68. Lars Hendrikman, "Jacob Jordaens 1593-1676," in Wadum and Pedersen *Making of A Masterpiece*, 50-51.

69. Louise Decq, et al., "The Antwerp Maagdenhuis," in Lange, et al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 120-122.

but not on the same scale as the enlarged Maagdenhuis canvas, which now measures 215.8 cm x 263.4 cm. Perhaps the already generous dimensions of the central painting forced Jordaens to work in a larger scale in order to open up its tight composition? With the universal popularity of the composition, Jordaens might have hoped that a buyer looking to fill a large space would find in it an attractive option. Since the value of paintings relied on tastes, quality, and size, Jordaens used his revisions to improve all three of these aspects of the original painting. Were these improvements aimed at placing the work on the market, or were they meant to serve as updates to a model that Jordaens continued to repeat? In any case, Jordaens' modifications resulted in a popular formula, which he used to generate many derived studio works while never selling the monumental original.

Seventeenth Century Connoisseurship

Despite the large volume of paintings produced in the Northern and Southern Netherlands, only a small portion attracted the interest of wealthy art-lovers. Aside from the general art market, artists in seventeenth century Antwerp were encountering a new influence: the connoisseur. As examined by Elizabeth Honig, the concept of a connoisseur went beyond knowing a work's authorship; it relied on the premise that each artist has their own individual style, which cannot be changed or replicated.⁷⁰ According to Honig, three factors in seventeenth

Johanneke Verhave also suggests the repurposing of a smaller painting into a chimney piece in her discussion of the Jordaens' later additions made to *The Miracle of the Dbol in the Mouth of the Fish*, 1630 -1645, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. See Johanneke Verhave, "The Amsterdam Painting – a puzzle in itself," in Wadum, Petersen, Bjerkhof, ed., *Making of A Masterpiece*, 91-96.

70. Honig, *Painting & the Market*, 196.

century Antwerp converged to bring about the new practice of connoisseurship. First, the identity of the art-maker was considered more important than the cultural or monetary value of a work. Second, a complex market structure relied on facilitation by third party dealers. Lastly, an agreed-upon canon of artists was deemed desirable, and their works were available for purchase.⁷¹ Honig reasons that the boom of the Antwerp art market was not caused by growing production but by the increased participation of collectors, who expressly desired paintings from prestigious artists. Though connoisseurship may have begun in Antwerp, increased attention to authorship is also recorded in other urban centers such as Leiden where 40 percent of works were listed with attributions by mid-century.⁷²

Connoisseurship challenged the power balance between artists, dealers, and buyers. Connoisseurs built a concept of authenticity, which privileged canonized masters and diminished the value of imitations made by new artists.⁷³ Their interest in the autograph status of artworks

71. Honig, *Painting & the Market*, 196-197. Honig specifically notes that Antwerp collectors focused almost exclusively on local talent as a display of the artistic heritage and civic pride in their city. Though Jordaens was considered a desirable artist, he does not appear on Honig's list. This could be a problem of method as she relied upon secondary depictions of paintings in cabinet pictures and these works were frequently idealized and generalized making it hard to distinguish artists working in the same genre.

72. Anna Tummers, "'By His Hand': The Paradox of Seventeenth-Century Connoisseurship," in Anna Tummers, Koenraad Jonckheere, ed. *Art Market and Connoisseurship: A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and their Contemporaries*, (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2008) 38.

73. Legislation was passed forbidding copies in the style of older masters, see Jeffery M. Muller, "Measures of Authenticity: The Detection of Copies in the Early Literature on Connoisseurship," in *Studies in the History of Art, Symposium Papers VII: Retaining the Original - Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*, 20, (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1989): 146.

was closely linked to the growing veneration of artistic genius.⁷⁴ Connoisseurship went on to redefine a special and specific relationship between artwork and artist, even while artists continued to employ collaborative studio practices. Modern scholars are beginning to unpack the possible financial motives and economic impact of seventeenth century connoisseurship, but this should be expanded to consider how the desires of connoisseurs might interact with the drive and methods of artists.

The Literature of Connoisseurship

In his article, “Measures of Authenticity: The Detection of Copies in the Early Literature on Connoisseurship”, Jeffery Muller argues that two attitudes predominated early literature on authenticity. One attempted to separate copies from originals, dismissing the former as inferior. The second attempted to classify copies by type and quality and recognized their diverse functions.⁷⁵

The production of exact copies was first addressed by Giulio Mancini in his *Considerazioni* manuscript of 1620. Mancini urged viewers to examine details of a painting such as the eyes, hair, and beards that required boldness and resolution. He also focused the viewer’s attention on highlights with a fluid and spontaneous handling of the brush.⁷⁶ Mancini took this virtuoso brushwork as the sign of a master while the rest of the painting could be mechanically

74. Jaap Van der Veen, “By His Own Hand. The Valuation of Autograph Paintings in the 17th Century,” in *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings IV Self Portraits*, ed. Ernst Van Der Wetering, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005), 4.

75. Muller, “Measures of Authenticity,” 141.

76. Ibid., 143.

reproduced by a capable imitator. The same reasoning was used by Rubens in his correspondence with Sir Dudley Carleton: Rubens writes that the offered copies are so well retouched by his hand they would be indistinguishable from fully autograph works.⁷⁷ Jordaens seems to apply this same rule in many of his contracts and refers to this in his correspondence. For example, the open acknowledgement of studio assistance in his 1648 commission for the Swedish Court, as discussed earlier. In that same year, Jordaens received a request from paintings dealer, Marten van Langenhoven, to validate the authorship of five paintings he had acquired from Jordaens in 1646. Van der Veen suggests that the post-purchase date of the correspondence suggests that Van Langenhoven might have found out about the above contract specifying assistant work and requested a statement to bolster his own sale of the paintings. In his formal response, Jordaens explains his working process: two of the five he had worked on from the beginning. For the three subjects he had treated previously, he had copies made of the initial versions and improved upon them where necessary so that he considered the result equal to his other works.⁷⁸

In the following decades, texts mentioning connoisseurship began circulating. Franciscus Junius' *Schilder-Boeck*, published in 1641, sought to distinguish originals from copies and justified the inferiority of copies with Classical texts. In 1649 Parisian artist Abraham Bosse published the first treatise exclusively on connoisseurship, aimed at training those uneducated in

77. Arnout Balis, "Fatto da un mio discepolo: Rubens' Studio Practices Reviewed," In *Concept, Design & Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)*, ed. Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis, Carl Van de Velde, Translation by author, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000), 97.

78. Van der Veen, Jaap "By His Own Hand," in Van Der Wetering, *A Corpus of Rembrandt*, 16.

art. Bosse offered a basic vocabulary for evaluating paintings and instructions on socially-approved taste in painters.⁷⁹

In the short span of thirty years connoisseurship went from a matter mostly addressed in private scholarship to a social, performative act with ‘how-to’ guides. Early writers like Mancini had admired the skill of well-executed copies and stated that such paintings could be deceptive. Later guidebooks emphasized that even the best copies would not fool a learned eye, perhaps as a way to encourage collecting. Muller proposes that this ambivalence allowed a broader swath of buyers to find satisfaction with the paintings they could afford. Instead of curtailing the sale of copies, the literature established a hierarchy, which served as a consumer guide.⁸⁰ From its early literature it is apparent that connoisseurship was inherently a market and social phenomenon. Instead of debunking the myth of artistic genius, literature continued to promote this ideal enticing its readers with inside knowledge of artist’s practices. Their advice allowed savvy buyers to distinguish originals from copies as two different products, which were valued differently. This shift must have had many implications for artists selling their work to a changing market.

Masterly Passages: Intersection Between Artist and Connoisseur

The intersection between artists and connoisseurs provides a further space to observe connoisseurship in action. Connoisseurship allowed both professional dealers and amateur collectors to fashion a novel social identity as *liefhebbers* (art-lovers). They began to be admitted into artists’ guilds, where they paid an additional fee to fund banquets, which fostered discussion

79. Honig, *Painting & the Market*, 199-200.

80. Muller, “Measures of Authenticity,” 146.

among artists, dealers, and registered connoisseurs.⁸¹ Despite this, there was an essential conflict between the art-lovers and most artists: the connoisseur's focus on the identity and technique of the master was at odds with artists whose studio practice required pupils to imitate their style. In her essay, Anna Tummers explores this divergence of interests between art-lovers and artists.⁸² Through new evidence she proposes that connoisseurs were interested not only in identifying the artist but also discerning his individual hand.

Tummers recognizes an intriguing accord among writers on connoisseurship. Because, in reality, many artists tended to repeat distinctive design patterns, connoisseurs were instructed to focus on detailed passages, especially those where the artist had the most leeway for expressive brushwork. With this in mind Tummers offers a new reading of two seventeenth century treatises. In his *Schilder-Boeck*, Franciscus Junius advised readers not to linger on unimportant areas of a painting saying, 'the Artificers goe over these works slightly and with a light hand, so it is that we doe likewise for the most part examine them more negligently.'⁸³ Forty years later, Rembrandt pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten agreed in his *Introduction to the Academy of Painting, or the Visible World*.⁸⁴ One passage retorts that ignorant and conceited art lovers often singled out ordinary passages that the Master could have executed in his sleep and usually were painted

81. Honig, *Painting & the Market*, 201-202.

82. Tummers, "'By His Hand'," in Tummers, Jonckheere, *Art Market and Connoisseurship*, 31-66. For further research see Tummers *The Fingerprint of an Old Master: on Connoisseurship of Dutch and Flemish Seventeenth-century Paintings: Recent Debates and Seventeenth-century Insights*. Amsterdam Institute for Humanities Research (AIHR), 2008, Research conducted at Universiteit van Amsterdam <http://hdl.handle.net/11245/1.319588>

83. Ibid., 49, note 93.

84. Published in Rotterdam, 1678.

by pupils or novices,⁸⁵ clearly affirming the use of studio assistants as a norm, for even the greatest old masters.⁸⁶

Tummers argues that these texts show how awareness of studio practices shaped the reception and connoisseurship of paintings. Especially in manuals written by artists, it makes sense that connoisseurship was made to fit the methods already in use by artists. The difficult passages of a painting were more likely to be executed or retouched by the master and therefore the best place to identify its maker. Connoisseurs were taught to focus on these elements and their contribution to the overall quality of the painting.⁸⁷ This distinction between what Tummers calls “masterly passages” and the rest of the painting should not be a surprise since it is a logical continuation of the advice of earlier authors.⁸⁸

Tummers argues that this hierarchical distinction between subordinate background and masterful passages was commonly acknowledged in the practice of connoisseurship. Her argument has the potential to resolve some of the conflicts between artists’ practices and the theoretical stances of connoisseurs. Though art-lovers were eager to recognize the hand of the master, assigning an artist does not imply that they viewed the entire painting as made by him.⁸⁹

85. Tummers, “‘By His Hand’,” in Tummers, Jonckheere, *Art Market and Connoisseurship*, 49, note 94.

86. *Ibid.*, 50.

87. *Ibid.*, 52. Tummers notes that most cases of disputed attribution did not focus on the generation process of the painting and instead centered on the quality of its execution and declaring it worthy of the master’s name and reputation.

88. *Ibid.*, 50-51. Execution with a loose and bold technique was considered by theoretical writers to be a sign of sureness and mastery, here Tummers cites Vasari, Van Mander, Mancini, De Bie, Willem Goeree, Philips Angel, Arnold Houbraken, and Abraham Bosse.

89. *Ibid.*, 57.

There is reason to doubt that this viewing mentality was adopted whole-sale. For example, English collector Dudley Carleton wrote to Rubens asking him to verify the details of assistant work in paintings before making a purchase. Clearly, Carleton resisted the idea that studio paintings were equal to autograph works.⁹⁰

Tummers sensibly proposes that we should be wary of giving paintings entirely to the hand of either the master or the studio, even though, currently, very little evidence is available to support these distinctions. A more interesting question posed by Tummers' theory is whether the establishment of graded levels influenced artists' output.⁹¹ Did artists consciously produce works at various levels of quality and therefore price, or did they make paintings and price them accordingly? Jordaens would serve as a prime example. Though sometimes described as peculiar, his frequent extension and re-painting of compositions might be better explained if they were intended to adjust his earlier compositions to fit new categories according to theme, price, or dimension.

The Painter Repainting: Modifications in the paintings of Jacob Jordaens

Unlike the limited retouching previously discussed, in certain cases Jordaens painted over large swaths of the original painting, while leaving others visible. This is what Nora De Poorter has termed a recycling of the work.⁹² Scholars have historically based their judgments on style

90. Ibid., 43. Tummers counters this by saying that Carleton selected the best pictures based on overall quality and not based on Rubens' contribution to the picture. But, as higher quality and the portions made by the master would so often align, this distinction seems untenable.

91. Ibid., 58.

92. De Poorter, tr. author, "Seriewerk en Recyclage," in Vlieghe, Balis, Van de Velde, *Concept, Design & Execution*, 213-232.

and subject to date these paintings, often with conflicting opinions. Recent technical studies of Jordaens' re-worked canvases have revealed a more complex and nuanced approach to redesigning his paintings. In 2008, the exhibition, "Making a Masterpiece," shown at the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; and the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam traced the evolution of one theme across three large related paintings.⁹³ In 2011 a technical study of two related paintings, *The Allegory of Fruitfulness* at the Wallace Collection and *The Allegory of Fertility* at the Royal Museum of Fine Arts Brussels (see Images 30 and 31), was undertaken for the exhibition *Jordaens and the Antique*.⁹⁴ The extensive findings have substantively changed the discourse concerning Jordaens' working process for related paintings.

X-radiography and microscopic study of the London work revealed that it was painted over a version of the Brussels composition. The Brussels painting appears to be a finalized copy corresponding to this first layer of the London painting while incorporating further changes to the figures. Both canvases were completed early in Jordaens' career; the Brussels one sold to a collector, while the London version remained in his studio. Jordaens later repainted the London canvas significantly altering the composition and the tone. X-radiographs reveal that the central figure was once painted from the back, in the same pose as the Brussels painting (see Image 32.) When Jordaens reversed the pose, he allowed some of the original features to remain visible in

93. Jørgen Wadum, Eva de la Fuente Petersen, Sven Bjerkhof, ed., *Jordaens: The Making of A Masterpiece*, (Copenhagen: Statens Museum for Kunst, 2008).

94. A fully detailed account of the restoration and research can be found in Irene Schaudies, Joost Van der Auwera, and Lucy Davis, ed. Royal Museum of Fine Art Belgium, *Jacques Jordaens Allegories of Fruitfulness and Abundance*, (Milan: SilvanaEditoriale, 2016).

the final composition, surrounded by the new paint. For example, the curve of the previous figure's left leg has now become the outer shape and highlight of the frontal figure's right leg.⁹⁵

Re-examining the X-ray of the painting (Image 33) there are indications that there is a third composition under the current surface: by rotating the image ninety degrees counter clockwise, it is possible to see another standing figure, also depicted from behind, on the left. On the right, there is a hand below what is now the fawn's head, and above it possibly a face. It appears that the first, unfinished, attempt on the London canvas contained some of the elements used in the final theme. There seem to be at least three separate campaigns on the London painting: a first unfinished vertical composition; a second, horizontal one that is similar to the Brussels design; and a third, final reworking, updating the central figure and draperies.⁹⁶ Very few changes are detected in the x-ray of the Brussels work (see Image 34.) Notably, next to the cornucopia, the initial upturned head of the satyr has been replaced by an inward facing profile.⁹⁷

There are two drawings related to these paintings, one in Brussels and the other in Copenhagen (see Images 35, 36.) An early watermark on the Brussels sheet, dated 1596, proves that these functioned as preparatory sketches and not as post-facto recordings.⁹⁸ Both sheets present variations on the same theme and elements of each are used in both paintings with no direct correspondence. The two children in the foreground of the Brussels drawing are found in

95. Ibid., 39.

96. Lucy Davis and Anna Sandén, "The Allegory of Fruitfulness at the Wallace Collection and its Conservation Treatment," in Lange, et al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 116.

97. Van der Auwera poses that this head links to a Classical bust of the *Dying Alexander*. Schaudies, Van der Auwera, and Davis, *Jacques Jordaens*, 61.

98. Ibid., 50.

the Wallace Collection painting. The downward glance of the boy to the left was repainted by Jordaens so that it turns upwards, an element Irene Schaudies posits as increasing the Bacchic revelry of the theme during his later re-working.⁹⁹ The woman with her arm raised in the background of the Brussels painting is found in the Copenhagen sheet while in the Brussels drawing she is replaced by a satyr, who also appears in the London painting, unaltered by the later reworking.¹⁰⁰ Lastly, the central figure of a woman holding a basket of grapes takes a variety of forms. In the Brussels canvas a pentiment changes her drapery from a lower position to the higher placement seen in the Copenhagen drawing.¹⁰¹ The London canvas repeats this design in the first campaign of painting, but Jordaens' later alters her arm so that it is partly exposed over the revealing drapery. During his repainting of the Wallace canvas Jordaens also gave this matronly figure a more youthful idealized head, a slimmer profile with only one exposed breast (see Image 30.)¹⁰² Traces of underdrawing were observed in the cornucopia of the London painting, but it remains unclear whether Jordaens made a drawing for the entire composition.¹⁰³ Unlike the Maagdenhuis painting, no drawings relating to the later modifications

99. For more see Irene Schaudies "The Fullness of Things: Jordaens Celebrates Nature's Bounty," in Schaudies, Van der Auwera, and Davis, *Jacques Jordaens*.

100. Lucy Davis and Anna Sandén, "The Allegory of Fruitfulness at the Wallace Collection and its Conservation Treatment," in Lange, et al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 116.

101. Schaudies, Van der Auwera, and Davis, *Jacques Jordaens*, 53.

102. Lucy Davis and Anna Sandén, "The Allegory of Fruitfulness at the Wallace Collection and its Conservation Treatment," in Lange, et al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 115.

103. Schaudies, Van der Auwera, and Davis, *Jacques Jordaens*, 74.

are known and it is presumed that Jordaens made these changes on the canvas without preliminary studies.¹⁰⁴

The Brussels painting relates to an early series of works by Jordaens on themes of peacefulness and fertility. Van der Auwera asserts that its unfussy execution and the early provenance of the work point towards a deliberate orientation for a specific patron or purchaser. The provenance places it in the collection of the Della Faille, a noble family residing in the Hague but of South Netherlandish decent. They were prominent patrons of the arts and could have commissioned or purchased the work from Jordaens. The moralizing theme and allusions to Antiquity in the painting would be suitable for such patrons. They sold the picture in 1730, pre-dating Jordaens' death and the dissolution of his estate.¹⁰⁵

As described above, many of Jordaens changes to the London picture heighten the sensuality of the figures, putting the emphasis on fecundity rather than morality. Jordaens has repainted the profile of the seated girl so that rather than shyly looking down she meets the glance of the crouching young man, who is re-imagined as a satyr complete with hooves. Like Schaudies, Davis also links the two children to Bacchic compositions that allude to the twins of Gemini as the blossoming spring.¹⁰⁶ Lastly, Davis suggests that the changes to the figure of the woman bearing fruit to conform to a more Rubensian type recall both Jordaens early works and his later exploration of the female nude in his series of cabinet paintings, made around 1640. Davis cites the Greenwich commission as evidence that Jordaens was under pressure after

104. Ibid., 40.

105. Ibid., 62 – 65.

106. Ibid., 40.

Rubens's death to emulate his aesthetic. A similar phenomenon was noted by Julius Held in his discussion of a portrait commissioned from Jordaens in this period, which seems to intentionally mimic Ruben's aesthetic.¹⁰⁷ It seems that Jordaens might have adapted his style to please especially important patrons. In a market that coveted the remaining paintings and sketches made by Rubens, Jordaens was an artist that could offer buyers a new painting or portrait with authentic links to Rubens' style. It is interesting to note that these changes to the Wallace Collection painting are not accompanied by extensions to the canvas so often seen in Jordaens' other modified works.¹⁰⁸ The choice to re-paint the composition seems to come entirely from a desire to change its aesthetic appeal. The adjustments of gaze and drapery all add a bolder sensuality to the figures; the moral tone has been dialed back and a secular sense of revelry abounds.

Conclusion

Study of Jordaens' works has historically lagged behind that of Van Dyke and Rubens, who never needed to be "rediscovered." However, this recent blossoming of scholarship means that, more than ever, we should consider information from recent advances in technical examination and historical scholarship in tandem. Renewed interest in Jordaens has spurred publication of technical studies, which have revealed much about Jordaens' modifications of his works. In some examples, changes seem to be ad-hoc with Jordaens mostly working from studies

107. The portrait is Jacob Jordaens, *Portrait of a Lady*, late 1640s, Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis, Indiana. See page 114 of Julius S. Held, "Notes on Jacob Jordaens," *Oud Holland*, 80, no. 2 (1965): 112-122.

108. One small strip of canvas has been added along the base of the picture when re-stretched, but it is negligible to the overall size and form of the painting. See Don H. Johnson, "Thread Count Analysis of Jordaens's the *Allegory of Fertility*," in Schaudies, Van der Auwera, and Davis, *Jacques Jordaens*, 95-101.

for individual parts and adding them directly to the painting. In other cases, plans or drawings related to his changes are known. This fluidity was probably facilitated by the collection of working aids that Jordaens would have amassed in his studio. They offered him endless possibilities of recombination.

Several examples demonstrate Jordaens propensity and skill in adapting his compositions for different mediums, fluidly shifting between paintings and tapestry. A sketch originally serving as a model for a painting might easily be extended to suit a tapestry by adding to the scene or framing its borders. Probably due to his close ties to the textile industry, Jordaens was also adept and comfortable with using the same ingenuity to modify his canvases. Jordaens seems to have had various motives for extending his canvases. Extensions often appear to be added on canvases that once served as models for studio works. Could this reformatting be a sign of updating his old compositions with the intention of selling an outdated style? In other cases, such as the pair of Kassel paintings, it seems clear that Jordaens manipulated his existing paintings to accommodate a client's space and frame. Overall, we can surmise from the emerging evidence that Jordaens found re-using many parts of a painting by extending and repainting it a quick and convenient way to make aesthetic adjustments the same way he did when working with models.

Quantitative studies of the seventeenth century Flemish and Netherlandish art market clearly have implications for Jordaens and his studio. Recent studies on connoisseurship have focused on the disambiguation of "authorship." However, it is clear from well-documented examples of Jordaens' commissions that high level collectors and connoisseurs often focused their approval of the final design on its visual quality, rather than insisting on its being executed entirely by the artist himself. Based on the literature, seventeenth century connoisseurs had a

nuanced understanding of authorship. Tummers has suggested that collectors were able to adjust their expectations about the quality of the final work to obtain a better price, while others argue that collectors sought out only masterworks that were entirely autograph. Most likely these are subsets of the same audience.

Studies of seventeenth century inventories by Montias, Blonde, and Jonckheere are evidence of the wide range of paintings associated with an artist's name. In part this was due to trade through dealers, but one might question, as Tummers has, if artists also consciously fed into this loop, intentionally producing paintings at graded levels of quality. The close collaboration between Jordaens and his studio assistants provides an interesting arena to test these ideas.

From the examined cases, Jordaens' extension of canvases starts in the 1630s and rapidly expands during the 1640s. This phenomenon may have been triggered by economic factors. As shown by the history of the Greenwich commission and the style notes from Held, Jordaens was sometimes approached as a more affordable artist with a style comparable to Rubens. After the dissolution of Rubens studio and the death of Van Dyck, Jordaens would have experienced a large spike in demand. Logically, he may have turned to modifying stocks of older paintings and studio models to fill this demand. Perhaps, with this new popularity, Jordaens felt he could command a better price for larger paintings, or that their rapid production allowed him to satisfy the demands of the market while allowing him more time to focus his attention on important new commissions?

In her article, "Prices of Northern Netherlandish Painting in the Seventeenth Century," Marion Boers-Goosens proposes that masters charged proportionally the same price for

large commissions and smaller market paintings.¹⁰⁹ Large commissions might even be considered a greater value because the artist would invest less time in making a copy, or a work after a fixed pattern than he would when making an original invention that required preparatory sketches, studies, and presentation models.¹¹⁰ However, close examination reveals that Jordaens' achieved a unique compromise between the two. Modified paintings were neither purely replicated copies, nor entirely new compositions. This rebuff of the typical division was exploited by Jordaens to maximize his reuse of both compositional themes, and the physical paintings themselves. Modified painting met multiple ends as studio models, market paintings, and sometimes as part of larger commissions.

Renewed interest in Jordaens has rapidly advanced knowledge of his works, but more meaningful connections can be made when equal weight is given to the contribution of technical examination and historical study. Undeniably, economic and social influences played a role in Jordaens' studio practices. Growing evidence suggests that Jordaens exploited and embraced these challenges to remain a relevant and successful artist over his long lifetime.

109. Marion Boers-Goosens, "Prices of Northern Netherlandish Painting in the Seventeenth Century," in Amy Golahny, Mia M. Mochizuki, and Lisa Vergara, ed. *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006, 59 - 72.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 61.

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IMAGE LIST

- 1 Anonymous, drawing for ceiling of Cabinet in the Queen's House Greenwich, 1639, ink on paper, (artwork in the public domain; photograph reproduced from Carl Van de Velde)
- 2 Balthasar Gerbier, drawing for ceiling of Cabinet in the Queen's House Greenwich, 1639, ink on paper, (artwork in the public domain; photograph reproduced from Carl Van de Velde)
- 3 Don H. Johnson, weave density map of Jacob Jordaens, *Satyr and Peasant*, ca. 1620-1630, oil on canvas, 67.32 in. x 76.2 in. (171 x 193.5 cm). Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel. (photograph reproduced from Don H. Johnson "Construction of Canvas Supports for Jordaens's Paintings Suggested by Thread Count Analysis," in Lange, et.al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 136.)
- 4 Jacob Jordaens, *Triumph of Bacchus*, ca.1640, oil on canvas, 80.5 in. x 60.24 in. (204.5 x 153 cm), Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel.
- 5 Don H. Johnson, weave density map of Jacob Jordaens, *Triumph of Bacchus*, ca.1640, oil on canvas, 80.5 in. x 60.24 in. (204.5 x 153 cm). Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel. (photograph reproduced from Don H. Johnson "Construction of Canvas Supports for Jordaens's Paintings Suggested by Thread Count Analysis," in Lange, et.al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 137.)
- 6 Anne Harmssen diagram with chronology of canvas additions for *Triumph of Bacchus*, ca.1640, oil on canvas, 80.5 in. x 60.24 in. (204.5 x 153 cm). Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel. (photograph reproduced from Anne Harmssen, tr. by author, "Meisterhaft in der Veränderung – Jordaens in der Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Kassel," in Lange, et.al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 149.
- 7 Diagram with order of repainting proposed by Anne Harmssen: orange and yellow showing areas repainted by Jacob Jordaens and his workshop, red and green showing areas repainted in later restorations. *Triumph of Bacchus*, ca.1640, oil on canvas, 80.5 in. x 60.24 in. (204.5 x 153 cm). Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel. (photograph reproduced from Anne Harmssen, tr. by author, "Meisterhaft in der Veränderung – Jordaens in der Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Kassel," in Lange, et.al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 149.
- 8 Jacob Jordaens, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 1620-1635, watercolour and aqueous medium over underdrawing in black chalk on sixteen sheets of paper laid down on canvas, 37.9 x 76.2 in. (96.2 x 193.6 cm.). Private Collection (photograph provided by J. Baroni.)
- 9 Jacob Jordaens, *Circe transforming Odysseus's Men into Swine*, ca. 1630-1632, wool and silk tapestry, private collection, Mexico. (artwork in the public domain, photograph provided by Kristi Nelson)

10 Jacob Jordaens, *Decorative Frieze*, ca. 1630s, red chalk, brush and brown and white wash on paper, 4.3 x 53.3 in. (11 x 135.5 cm). The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, (Inventory Number OP-33446).

11 Jacob Jordaens, *The Pitcher Goes Often to the Well Until It Breaks*, 1638, drawing on paper, 10.6 x 12.3 in. (27 x 31.3 cm). Antwerp Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, (Inventory Number -PK.OT.00160).

12 Kate Stonor and Clare Richardson, infrared photography detail from Jacob Jordaens, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 1620-1635, watercolour and aqueous medium over underdrawing in black chalk on sixteen sheets of paper laid down on canvas, 37.9 x 76.2 in. (96.2 x 193.6 cm.). Private Collection (Photograph provided by J. Baroni.)

13 Alison Smith and Tom Caley digitally altered version of *Odysseus and Nausicaa* depicting its original sheets and dimensions in J. Baroni, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*. *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 1620-1635, watercolour and aqueous medium over underdrawing in black chalk on sixteen sheets of paper laid down on canvas, 37.9 x 76.2 in. (96.2 x 193.6 cm.). Private Collection (photograph provided by J. Baroni.)

14 Alison Smith and Tom Caley digitally altered version of *Odysseus and Nausicaa* depicting later additions in grey in J. Baroni, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*. *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 1620-1635, watercolour and aqueous medium over underdrawing in black chalk on sixteen sheets of paper laid down on canvas, 37.9 x 76.2 in. (96.2 x 193.6 cm.). Private Collection (photograph provided by J. Baroni.)

15 Jacob Jordaens, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 1630 – 1635, oil on canvas, 42.32 x 60.2 in. (107.5 x 153 cm). Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch.

16 Jacob Jordaens, *The Meeting of Odysseus and Nausicaa*, ca. 1630 -1640, oil on canvas, 46.2 x 76.3 in. (117.5 cm × w 194 cm) Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (Object number SK-C-1744, On loan from the Broere Charitable Foundation)

17 Jacob Jordaens, *Apollo and Marsyas with Midas*, ca. 1640, Black chalk and bodycolour, heightened with white, on grey paper (three conjoined strips) 19.5 x 27 in. (49.7 x 69 cm) British Museum, London. (Registration Number - 1910,1013.9)

18 Sebastian Dohe reconstruction of original composition before extended by the artist. Jacob Jordaens, *Apollo and Marsyas with Midas*, ca. 1640, Black chalk and bodycolour, heightened with white, on grey paper (three conjoined strips) 19.5 x 27 in. (49.7 x 69 cm) British Museum, London. (Registration Number - 1910,1013.9)

19 Jacob Jordaens, *The Musical Contest Between Apollo and Pan*, c.1620-1640, oil on panel, 19.5 x 28 in. (49.5 x 71.4 cm) Private collection, unknown. (Photograph provided by Sothebys Auction 2011)

20 Jacob Jordaens and Studio, *The Judgment of Midas*, 1640, oil on canvas, 29 x 48 in. (73.7 x 121.9 cm) Private Collection, England. (Photograph provided by Christies Auctions)

21 Jacob Jordaens, *Neptune Creating the Horse*, 1653, oil on canvas, 26.3 x 51.1 in. (67 cm x 130 cm) Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

22 Jacob Jordaens, weaver Everard Leyniers, *Neptune Creating the Horse*, 1650 – 1660, tapestry, 161.4 x 205.2 in. (410 cm, B. 521 cm). Kunstkammer Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

23 Hendrik Reydam after Jacob Jordaens, *Neptune Creating the Horse*, 1655, tapestry, Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brussels. (Photograph provided by Kristi Nelson *Design for Tapestry*, 291)

24 Jacob Jordaens, *Washing and Anointing of the Body of Christ*, 1620 – 23 enlarged about 1650, oil on canvas, 85 x 103.7 in. (215.8 x 263.4 cm). Maagdenhuismuseum, Antwerp. (Photography after conservation, provided by Louise Decq, et.al., “The Antwerp Maagdenhuis,” in Lange, et.al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 121)

25 Diagram of canvas extensions; the final row of extensions across the top are not made by Jordaens. Jacob Jordaens, *Washing and Anointing of the Body of Christ*, 1620 – 23 enlarged about 1650, oil on canvas, 85 x 103.7 in. (215.8 x 263.4 cm). Maagdenhuismuseum, Antwerp. (Photography before conservation, provided by Louise Decq, et.al., “The Antwerp Maagdenhuis,” in Lange, et.al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 120)

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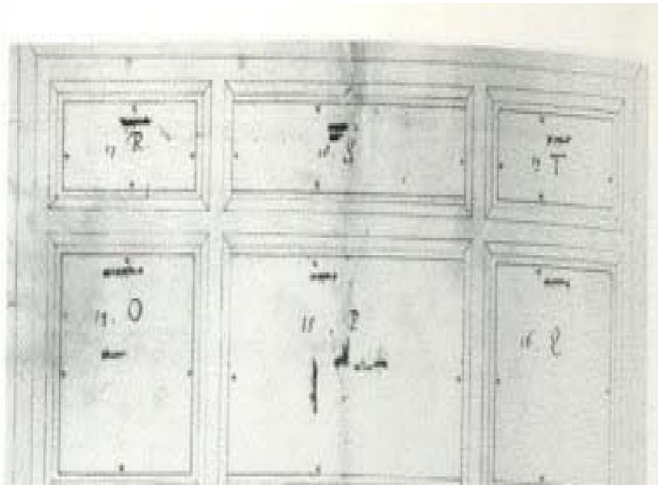
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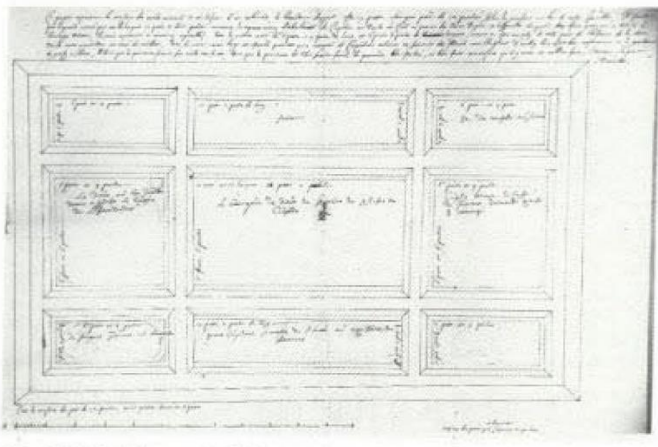
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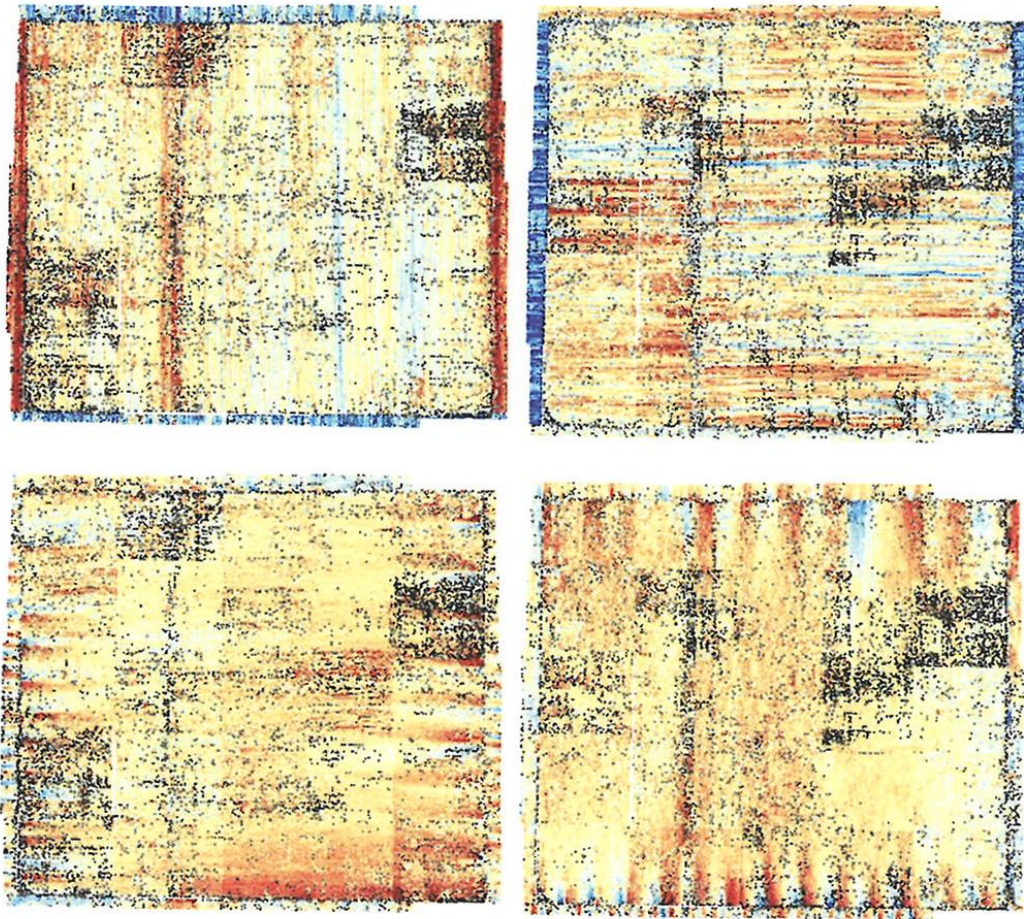
Images



1 Anonymous, drawing for ceiling of Cabinet in the Queen's House Greenwich, 1639, ink on paper, (artwork in the public domain; photograph reproduced from Carl Van de Velde)



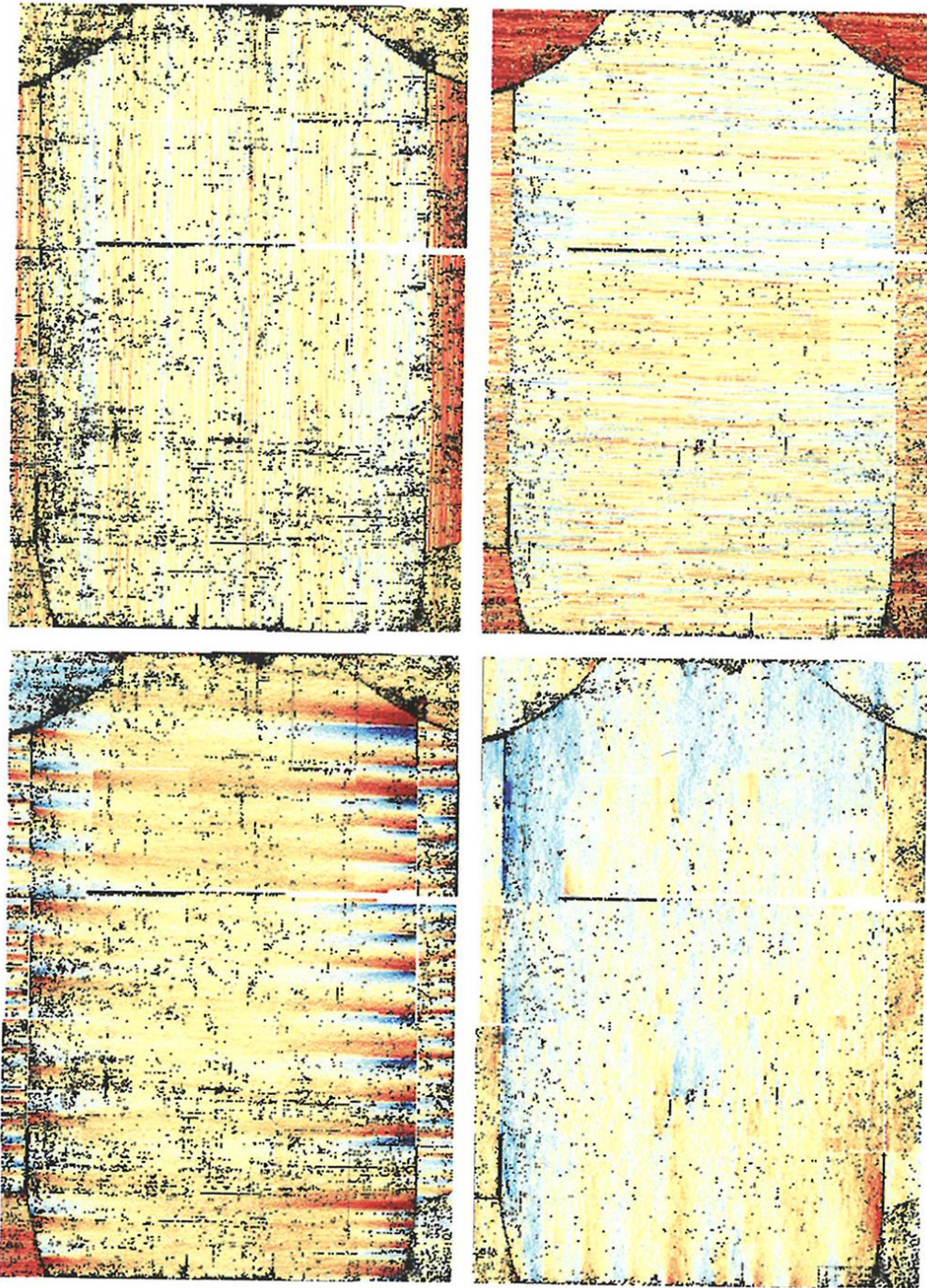
2 Balthasar Gerbier, drawing for ceiling of Cabinet in the Queen's House Greenwich, 1639, ink on paper, (artwork in the public domain; photograph reproduced from Carl Van de Velde)



3 Don H. Johnson, weave density map of Jacob Jordaens, *Satyr and Peasant*, ca. 1620-1630, oil on canvas, 67.32 in. x 76.2 in. (171 x 193.5 cm). Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel. (photograph reproduced from Don H. Johnson "Construction of Canvas Supports for Jordaens's Paintings Suggested by Thread Count Analysis," in in Lange, et.al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 136.)



4 Jacob Jordaens, *Triumph of Bacchus*, ca.1640, oil on canvas, 80.5 in. x 60.24 in. (204.5 × 153 cm), Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel.



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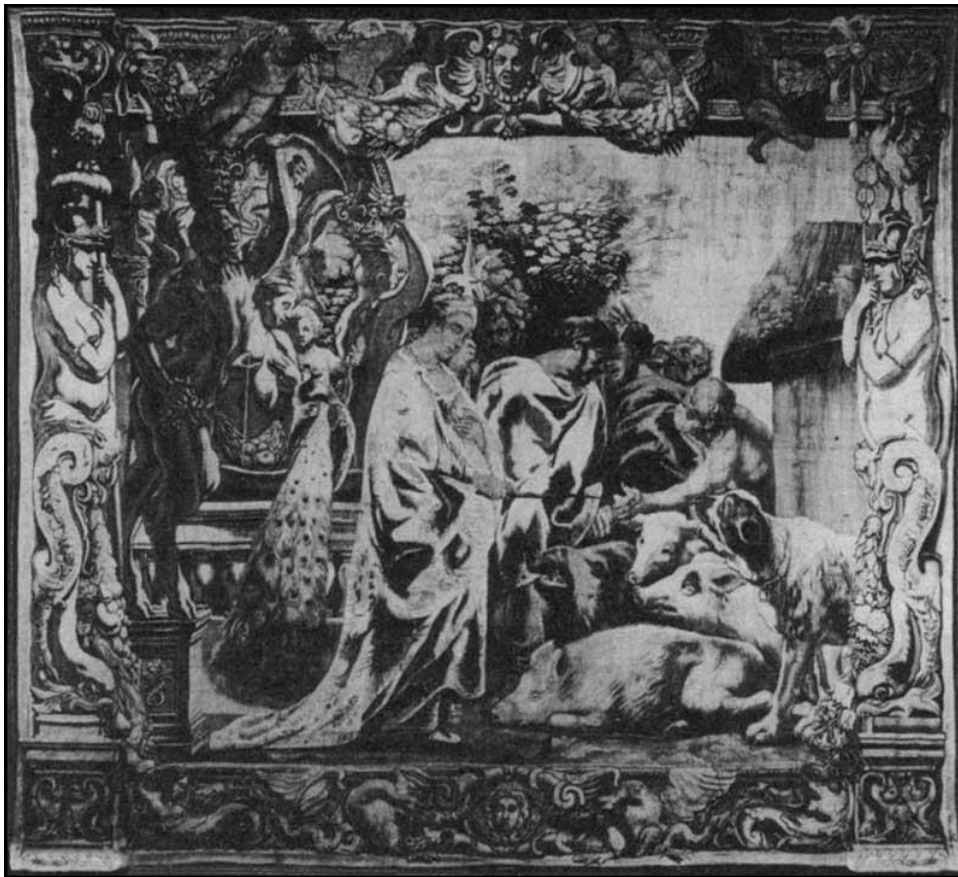
6 Anne Harmssen diagram with chronology of canvas additions for *Triumph of Bacchus*, ca.1640, oil on canvas, 80.5 in. x 60.24 in. (204.5 × 153 cm), Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel. (photograph reproduced from Anne Harmssen, tr. by author, “Meisterhaft in der Veränderung – Jordaens in der Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Kassel,” in Lange, et.al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 149.



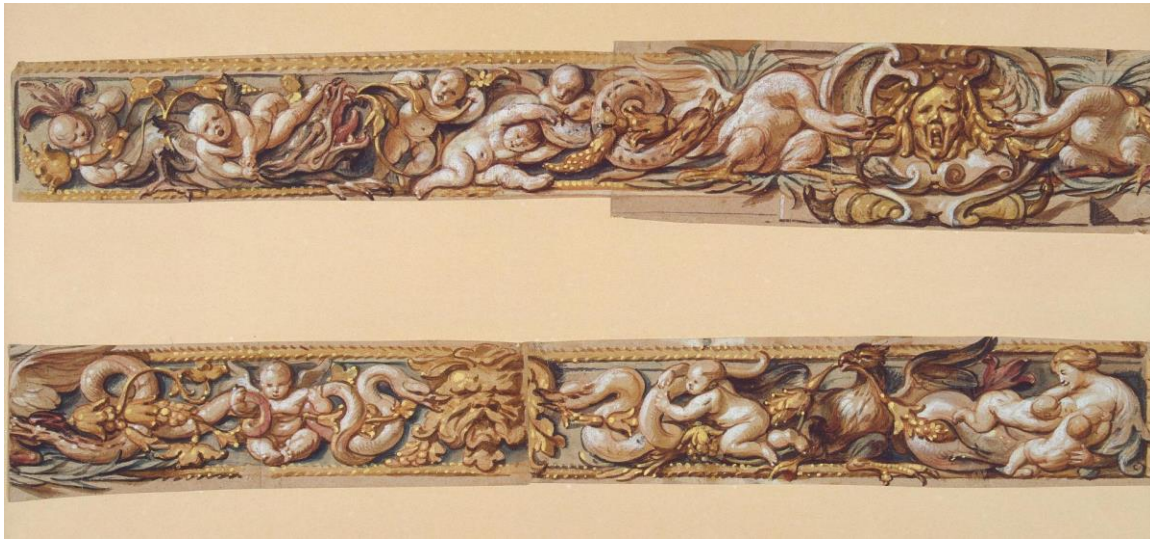
7 Diagram with order of repainting proposed by Anne Harmssen: orange and yellow showing areas repainted by Jacob Jordaens and his workshop, red and green showing areas repainted in later restorations. *Triumph of Bacchus*, ca.1640, oil on canvas, 80.5 in. x 60.24 in. (204.5 × 153 cm), Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel. (photograph reproduced from Anne Harmssen, tr. by author, “Meisterhaft in der Veränderung – Jordaens in der Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Kassel,” in Lange, et.al., *Reframing Jordaens*, 149.



8 Jacob Jordaens, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 1620-1635, watercolour and aqueous medium over underdrawing in black chalk on sixteen sheets of paper laid down on canvas, 37.9 x 76.2 in. (96.2 x 193.6 cm.). Private Collection (photograph provided by J. Baroni.)



9 Jacob Jordaens, *Circe transforming Odysseus's Men into Swine*, ca. 1630-1632, wool and silk tapestry, private collection, Mexico. (artwork in the public domain, photograph provided by Kristi Nelson)



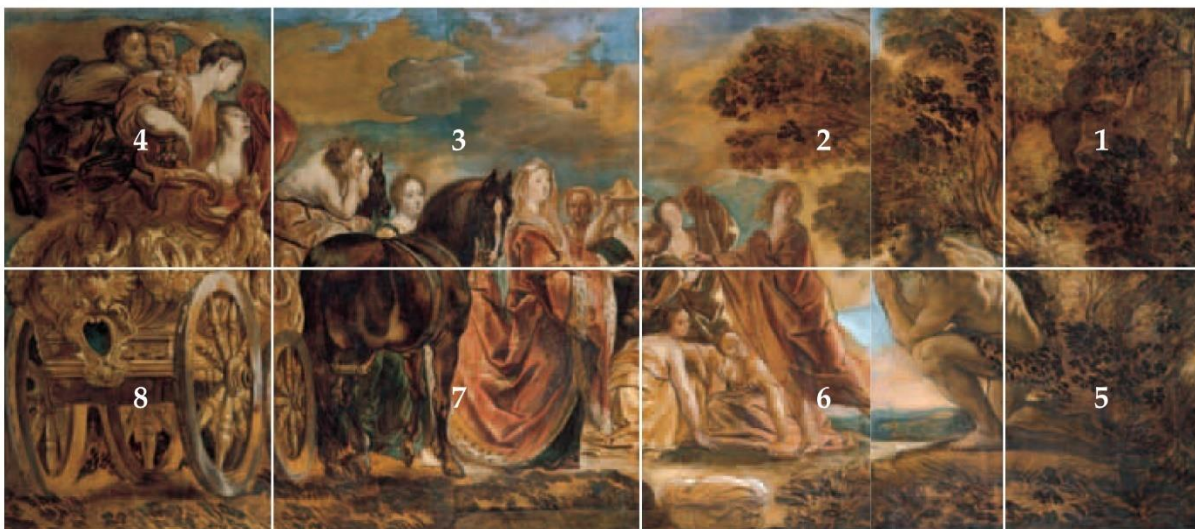
10 Jacob Jordaens, *Decorative Frieze*, ca. 1630s, red chalk, brush and brown and white wash on paper, 4.3 x 53.3 in. (11 x 135.5 cm). The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, (Inventory Number OP-33446).



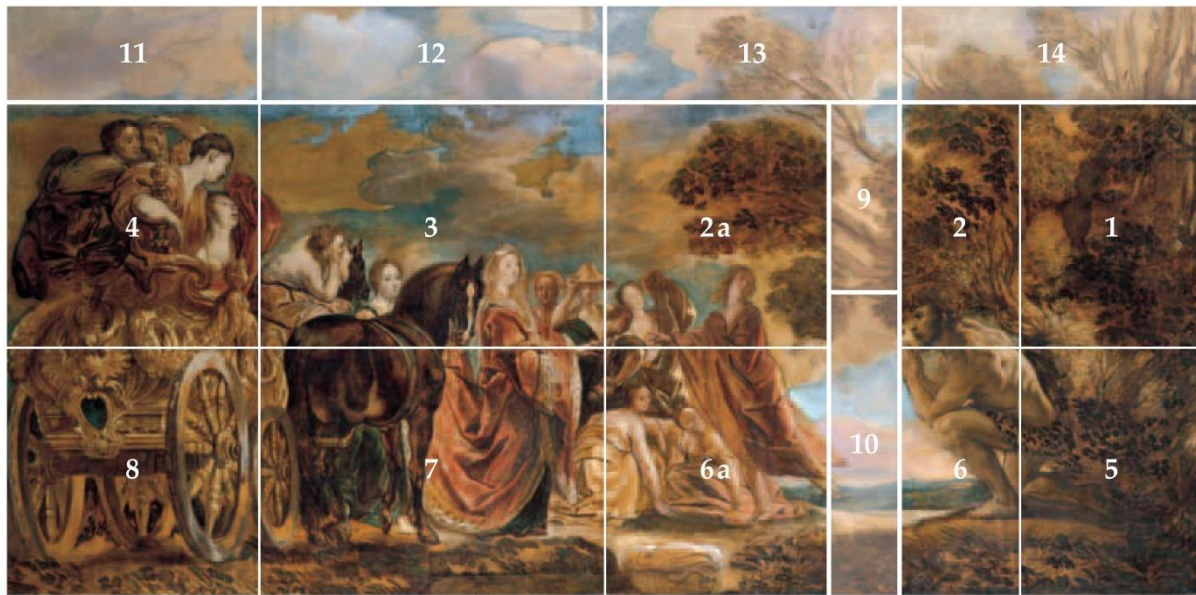
11 Jacob Jordaens, *The Pitcher Goes Often to the Well Until It Breaks*, 1638, drawing on paper, 10.6 x 12.3 in. (27 x 31.3 cm). Antwerp Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, (Inventory Number -PK.OT.00160).



12 Kate Stonor and Clare Richardson, infrared photography detail from Jacob Jordaens, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 1620-1635, watercolour and aqueous medium over underdrawing in black chalk on sixteen sheets of paper laid down on canvas, 37.9 x 76.2 in. (96.2 x 193.6 cm.). Private Collection (photograph provided by J. Baroni.)



13 Alison Smith and Tom Caley digitally altered version of *Odysseus and Nausicaa* depicting its original sheets and dimensions in J. Baroni, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*. *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 1620-1635, watercolour and aqueous medium over underdrawing in black chalk on sixteen sheets of paper laid down on canvas, 37.9 x 76.2 in. (96.2 x 193.6 cm.). Private Collection (photograph provided by J. Baroni.)



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15 Jacob Jordaens, *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, 1630 – 1635, oil on canvas, 42.32 x 60.2 in. (107.5 x 153 cm). Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch.



16 Jacob Jordaens, *The Meeting of Odysseus and Nausicaa*, ca. 1630 - 1640, oil on canvas, 46.2 x 76.3 in. (117.5 cm x w 194 cm) Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (Object number SK-C-1744, On loan from the Broere Charitable Foundation)



17 Jacob Jordaens, *Apollo and Marsyas with Midas*, ca. 1640, Black chalk and bodycolour, heightened with white, on grey paper (three conjoined strips) 19.5 x 27 in. (49.7 x 69 cm) British Museum, London. (Registration Number - 1910,1013.9)



18 Sebastian Dohe reconstruction of original composition before extended by the artist. Jacob Jordaens, *Apollo and Marsyas with Midas*, ca. 1640, Black chalk and bodycolour, heightened with white, on grey paper (three conjoined strips) 19.5 x 27 in. (49.7 x 69 cm) British Museum, London. (Registration Number - 1910,1013.9)



19 Jacob Jordaens, *The Musical Contest Between Apollo and Pan*, c.1620-1640, oil on panel, 19.5 x 28 in. (49.5 x 71.4 cm) Private collection, unknown. (Photograph provided by Sothebys Auction 2011)



20 Jacob Jordaens and Studio, *The Judgment of Midas*, oil on canvas, 1640, 29 x 48 in. (73.7 x 121.9 cm) Private Collection, England. (Photograph provided by Christies Auctions)



21 Jacob Jordaens, *Neptune Creating the Horse*, 1653, oil on canvas, 26.3 x 51.1 in. (67 cm x 130 cm) Palazzo Pitti, Florence.



22 Jacob Jordaens, weaver Everard Leyniers, *Neptune Creating the Horse*, 1650 – 1660, tapestry, 161.4 x 205.2 in. (410 cm, B. 521 cm). Kunstkammer Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



23 Hendrik Reydam after Jacob Jordaens, *Neptune Creating the Horse*, 1655, tapestry. Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brussels. (Photograph provided by Kristi Nelson *Design for Tapestry*, 291)

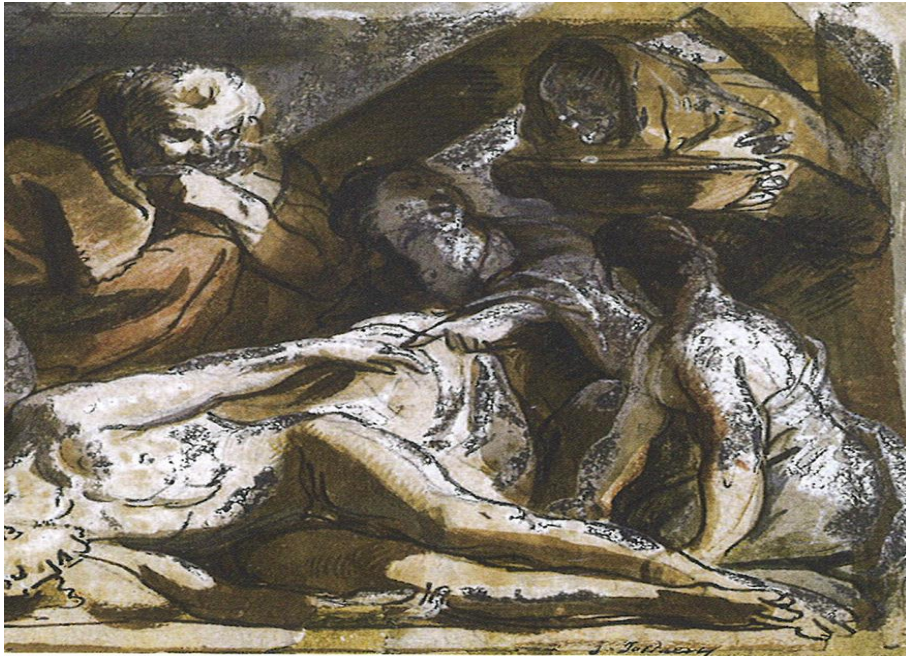


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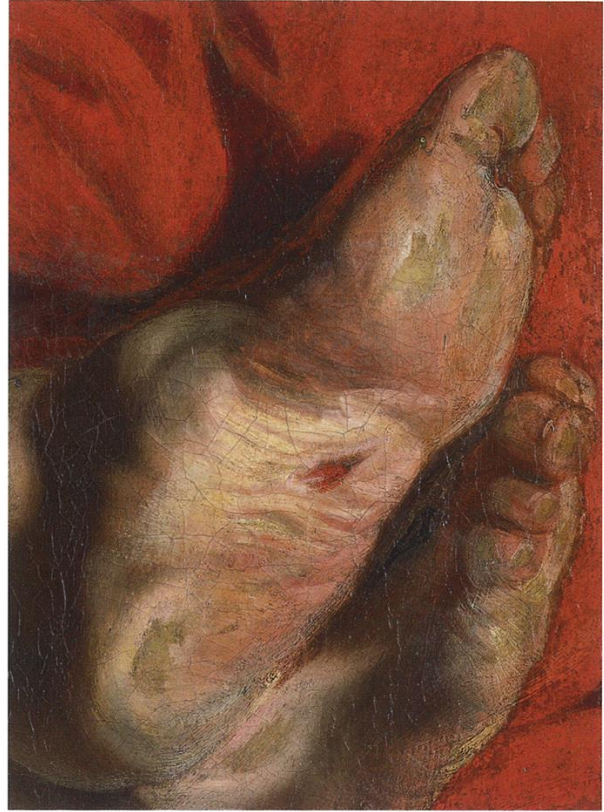
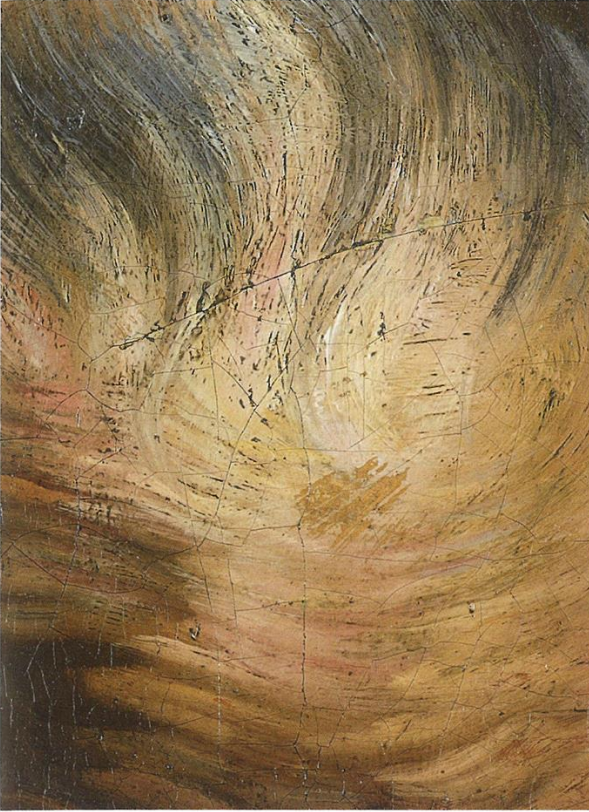
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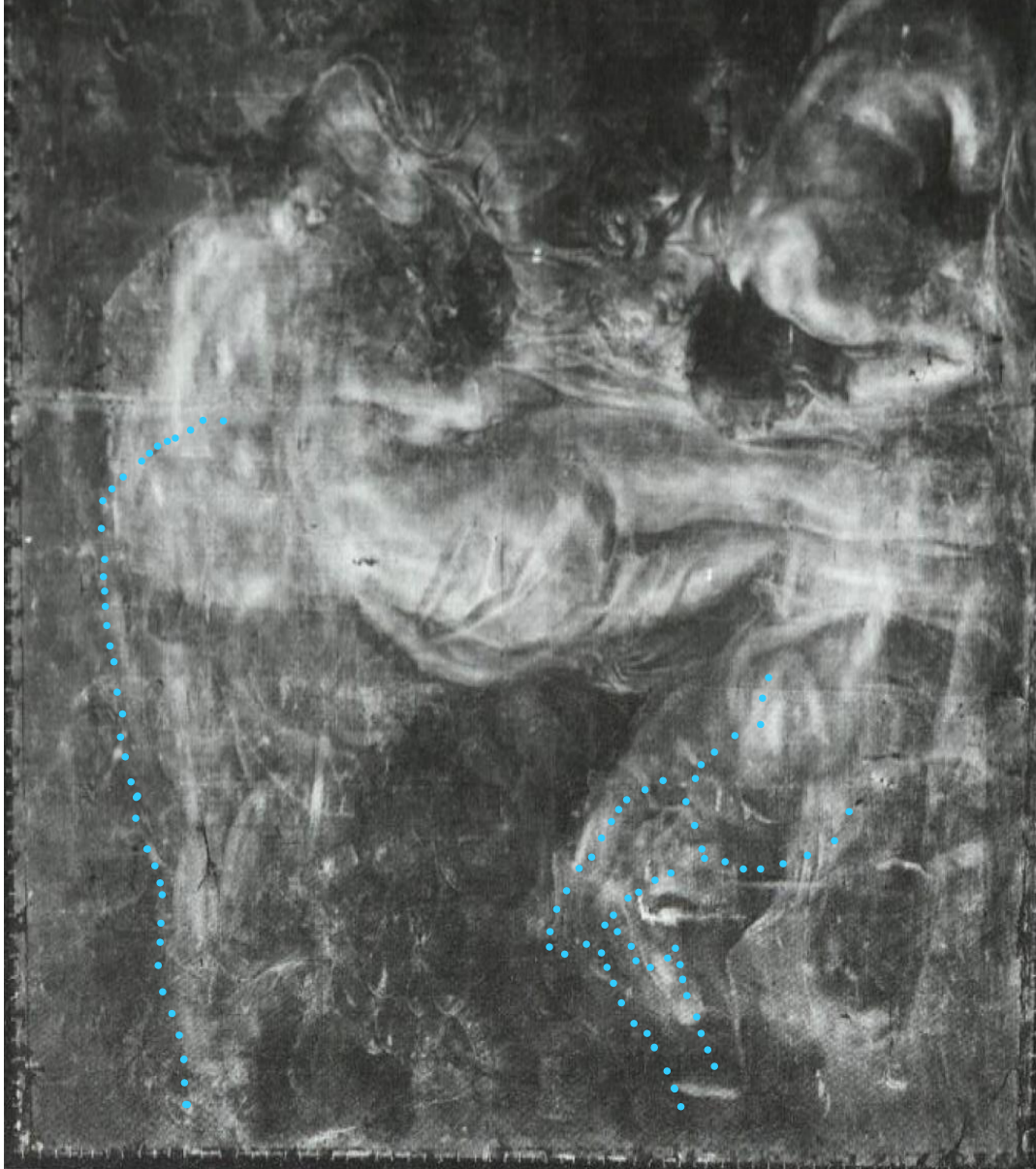
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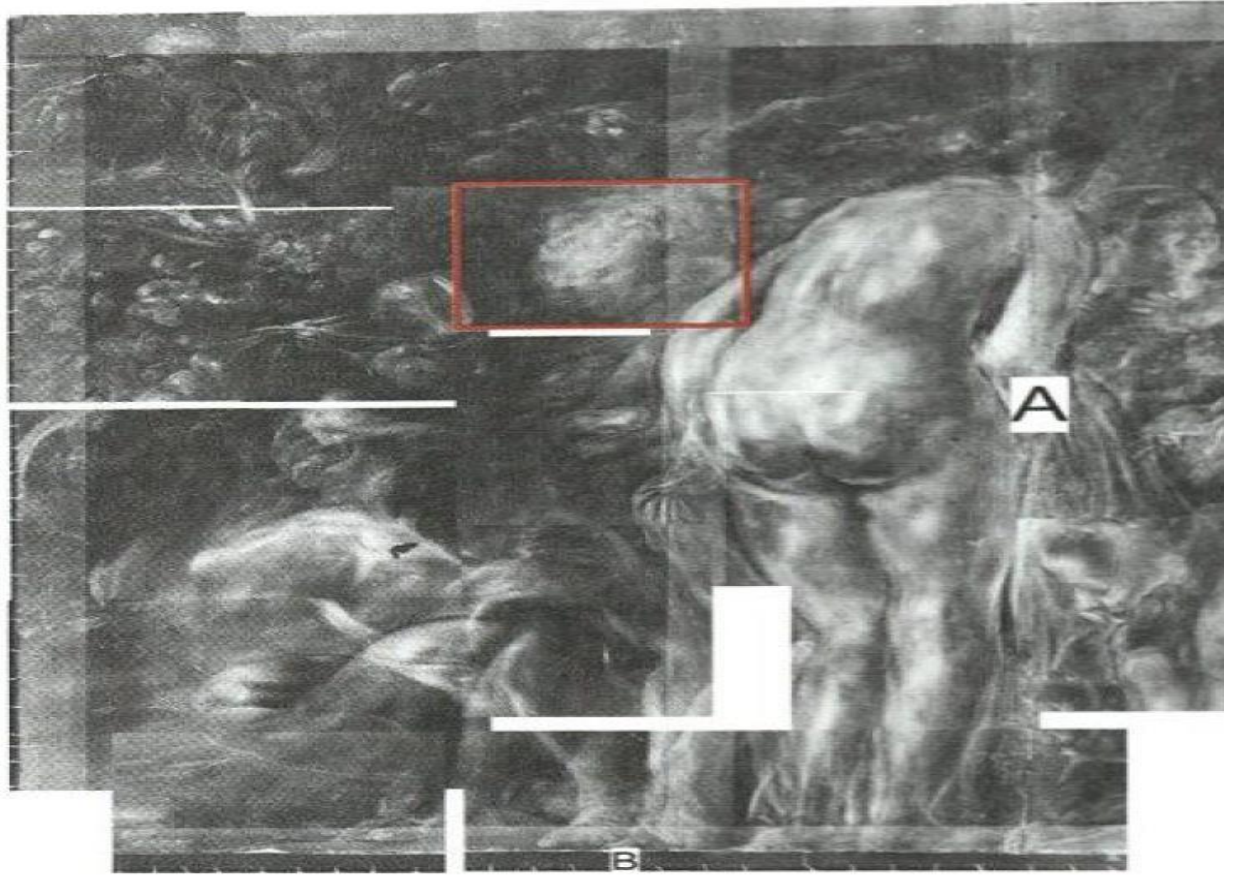
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