

# DAVID III RYCKAERT

*A seventeenth-century Flemish painter*

## VOLUME I

by BERNADETTE M R VAN HAUTE

-----

Submitted in accordance with the requirements  
for the degree of  
DOCTOR OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY  
in the subject of  
HISTORY OF ART  
at the  
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

Promoter: Prof Karin M Skawran

Joint Promoter: Prof Hans Vlieghe

-----

NOVEMBER 1996

## SUMMARY

This thesis in two volumes is a study of the paintings of David III Ryckaert (1612-1661). Ryckaert grew up in a family of artists, and painted within a close community of fellow artists. According to several twentieth-century critics, Ryckaert was no more than a minor imitator of other Flemish painters. Underlying such relegation of Ryckaert is an uncritical and distinctly Modernist glorification of originality, or merely novelty. The chief argument of this thesis is that a careful reconstruction of the socio-cultural circumstances of Ryckaert's work calls into question the destructive employment of originality as a criterion of artistic greatness. Much of the vocabulary of Flemish art of the time was established. Artists thus proved their excellence both to fellow painters and a public fully conversant with the artistic traditions of subject and style, if such pictorial conventions were notably refined or treated with a remarkable grace. Embracing the criteria of personal style and the beauty of the work, this environment is clearly averse to the blank veneration of new or original art. I argue that the term originality is itself dangerous therefore and that to neglect Ryckaert's work as that of a minor imitator is invalid and unhelpful.

A careful examination of Ryckaert's known *oeuvre* reveals that his work is distinguished by a fine modelling, harmonious composition and a warm palette with colourful highlights. Although he relied on an established iconographic repertory, he maintained creative variation, thereby ensuring a steady demand. Ryckaert's imitation of other artists' work requires us to adjust twentieth-century criteria which tend to be pejorative of those who borrow from fellow artists. In fact Ryckaert could be said to have refined his individuality as a painter through the testing creative encounter with and imitation of other artists.

### **Key terms:**

Art history; Painting, 17th century; Antwerp (Belgium - Flanders); Ryckaert family; Genre art; Peasant painting; Imitation; Collaboration; Art market; Allegory in art.

# DECLARATION

I declare that *David III Ryckaert: A seventeenth-century Flemish painter* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Bernadette M.R. Van Haute

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many people for their assistance in the preparation of this study. First of all, I must thank Prof. Hans Vlieghe who first suggested that I study Ryckaert and who, as my joint promoter, has continued to support me with his learned guidance. I also wish to acknowledge my deep gratitude to my promoter, Prof. Karin M. Skawran, for her insight, encouragement and meticulous scrutiny; to Prof. P.J. Verkruijsse, for his assistance with transcriptions of seventeenth-century hand-written documents; to Dr Matthew Curr, for his invariably valuable advice on language; and to my husband Alexander, for his patience and love. A special word of thanks is due to the staff of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague; the Rubenianum in Antwerp; the City Archives of Antwerp and of the Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium in Brussels, for their professional assistance. My gratitude also extends to those museum directors and curators who took the time to show me archival material, as well as the paintings by Ryckaert in their museums and galleries. My appreciation, furthermore, goes to the various auction houses, for their generous co-operation.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the Research and Bursaries Committee of the University of South Africa for a grant from the Overseas Doctoral Research Fund; and to the Department of History of Art and Fine arts for awarding me the Robin Aldwinckle Memorial Scholarship.

# CONTENTS

## VOLUME I

PREFACE	i
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	v
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I	
The Ryckaert family	10
CHAPTER II	
David III Ryckaert and his father: Collaboration or imitation?	32
CHAPTER III	
The early years 1636-ca.1639	56
CHAPTER IV	
The middle period ca.1639-1649	87
CHAPTER V	
The mature period ca.1649-1661	122
CONCLUSION	183
PLATES	188

## VOLUME II

CRITICAL CATALOGUE	1
Catalogue A : Authentic paintings	3
Catalogue B : Unresolved paintings	160
Catalogue C : Incorrect attributions	174
Catalogue D : Unidentifiable paintings	211
BIBLIOGRAPHY	220
APPENDICES	
Appendix I : Chronology	241
Appendix II : Transcriptions of notarial deeds	249

## PREFACE

To many Postmodern critics, the concept of originality in an artist's work is employed freely and often far too loosely as a criterion of aesthetic excellence. As will be pointed out in this study of David III Ryckaert, a presumed lack of originality in his work has led twentieth-century critics to discount its importance. I mean to argue that the circumstances surrounding the production of Ryckaert's paintings make it difficult or impossible to employ the term originality in assessing the work. This study is concerned with not only the re-appraisal of the work of this often underrated artist, but by implication also with an interrogation of the term originality which even today is invoked and revered rather uncritically.

If an artist is not original, according to the most banal critics of Modernist aestheticism, then he is at best an imitator of others or at worst a mere copyist. Such glorification of originality or simply novelty was alien to the culture of Flemish painting in which David III Ryckaert flourished. Drawing on the work of other artists, sometimes employing other artists to complete works or consciously incorporating elements of famous paintings as a signatory compliment, were all part of the creative community of art in David's day. A critique of the disregard for this particular culture of art allows a wider appreciation of artists such as David III Ryckaert. Such a critique similarly demands a shift away from aesthetic ratings of artists according to an altogether rigid paradigm based on the *ignis fatuus* of originality. An understanding of the context of Ryckaert's art provides another, and I would suggest, a more sensitive, certainly a fairer, way of appreciating the individual endeavours of David III and possibly the work of other artists as well.

In order to demonstrate the workings of such a community and tradition of artists, it is essential to present a number, or series, of contextual frames in which to view the production, and achievement, of David III Ryckaert. Each chapter provides a new frame - moving from the most general yet foundational influences of his family,

which was intimately part of the creative community, to the more specific and obviously identifiable relations of contemporary artists and David III Ryckaert. Within each chapter, a chronological approach is followed, which provides an opportunity to trace Ryckaert's artistic development and to place it precisely within contemporary trends in genre painting.

The introduction provides a critical review of existing literature on the artist, including writings of early biographers. By establishing the extent and nature of research done on the artist and his work, existing shortcomings and serious misinterpretations are pointed out and serve to justify the aims and methodology of the present study. Chapter One investigates relations between David III Ryckaert and his relatives. It is designed, in the first instance, to dispel current misconceptions about the respective fields of specialisation of his family members. As such, this first chapter serves as an initial frame of reference within which to examine the influence of these persons on David III Ryckaert. Chapter Two, which covers the period from Ryckaert's birth to the year of his admission to the painters' guild, deals with his apprenticeship in the workshop of his father, David II. Special emphasis is laid on possible collaboration between father and son. Another issue, related to his apprenticeship, is the nature of imitation, which is examined with reference to contemporary literature, language and market conditions. This context affords us a serious re-appraisal of his eclecticism. Chapter Three covers the first years of Ryckaert's career, when he was deeply influenced by the work of Adriaen Brouwer. His borrowings of iconographic schemes or motifs devised by other painters, such as David II Teniers, the Rotterdam painters and Jacob Jordaens, are also investigated. In Chapter Four, attention is focused on Ryckaert's works of the 1640s, when he developed a personal style characterised by confident modelling and a more unified composition. In terms of iconography, he relied on the examples set by Teniers and Jordaens. The year 1649 is discussed as a turning point in Ryckaert's career: after painting works for the Archducal gallery, he enjoyed widespread popularity, which encouraged him to expand his repertory widely. In Chapter Five the paintings created during the last decade are discussed and explained in the accumulated context of events of a personal and a more general nature. This cumulative perspective allows

for speculation on implications of Ryckaert's rise in the social hierarchy. The sudden variety in the choice of subject matter calls for specific attention to the question of imitation. Since Ryckaert ventured into fields of painting which were ultimately foreign to him, the possibility of collaboration is also investigated.

Only by means of a careful reconstruction of the conventions and circumstances surrounding David III Ryckaert is it possible to show how inimical it would have been to him and his fellow Flemish painters, to use the term imitation in a crudely pejorative way. Adaptation of existing styles, techniques and subjects was a minute and testing undertaking. A range of established artistic conventions and social signals were embedded within each work. These aesthetic norms were recognized by artist and public alike so that creative and refining variation operated as praiseworthy criteria. The purpose of this thesis is to recreate or simulate that artistic climate in order to appreciate the exact nature and exacting performance of David III Ryckaert's work. By implication such a simulation subverts and heavily questions much twentieth-century criticism that depends on universalist aesthetic systems which show scant regard for the particular socio-cultural authenticity of the work.

The critical catalogue of Ryckaert's known *oeuvre* forms an important component of the research and is intended to serve as a source for further research on Flemish painting. It is divided into four parts. Catalogue A includes those paintings which are considered to be authentic. Works which are probably by Ryckaert, but about which some doubt exists concerning attribution, are listed in Catalogue B. The third section, Catalogue C, deals with paintings which have been attributed incorrectly to Ryckaert. Catalogue D consists of a list of unidentifiable paintings which are known only from written sources and of which no proper illustrations could be obtained. Apart from the empirical data and literature, the catalogue entries in Catalogues A and B contain a description of the works concerned and an interpretation of meaning. Where applicable, the influence of other works is discussed and a brief substantiation for the suggested date is given. The existence of copies of authentic paintings is also recorded. In the various chapters, paintings are identified throughout by means of their respective catalogue number. Since the location of many of Ryckaert's works is

unfortunately unknown, it is not possible to examine them all first-hand. The present research is based in many cases on a study of black-and-white photographs, which are not fully reliable sources for the investigation of stylistic characteristics. Therefore, when substantiating an argument, stronger emphasis is placed on matters of iconography than on principles of style.

Illustrations of the authentic paintings are presented chronologically, based on the numerical order established in the catalogue. These are followed by reproductions of most of the unresolved paintings. In order to avoid duplication, no list of illustrations has been provided. The plates are included at the end of Volume I due to the extensiveness of the critical catalogue contained in Volume II.

Although Van den Branden (SAA, *Nota's*) must be credited for the systematic recording of Ryckaert's name in archival documents, their content has never been published. Two appendices of archival data are included for easy reference. Appendix I provides a chronology of important documented events related to Ryckaert. The seventeenth-century hand-written notarial deeds are made accessible by the inclusion of transcripts, accompanied by a summary in English, in Appendix II.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Cat. Catalogue

Doc. Document

o/c oil on canvas

o/cop oil on copper

o/p oil on panel

PR Parochieregisters

RKD Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie

SAA Stadsarchief Antwerpen

## INTRODUCTION

In *Het Gulden Cabinet van de edel vry schilderconst*<sup>1</sup>, which appeared in Antwerp in 1661, the biographer Cornelis de Bie gave the first literary account and appreciation of David III Ryckaert and his work. In praise of the artist's "rijcken aert" (rich nature) - an obvious pun on his name - de Bie comments on Ryckaert's diversity of theme and execution, stressing his ability to render life-like representations. As another remarkable quality, he mentions Ryckaert's critical imitation of many other masters<sup>2</sup>. It is most significant that the latter observation does not carry any pejorative connotations. On the other hand, it is not clear why de Bie devotes extraordinary attention to the artist's depictions of fantastic scenes and of the temptation of St Anthony, seeing that these subjects are rather unusual in his *oeuvre*. He furthermore considers it necessary to justify the artist's choice by stressing the edifying nature of such representations: "tot leeringh vande jeught" (for the instruction of young people) (1661:311). This tells of the author's conscious effort to place Ryckaert in a decidedly positive light. It is interesting to know that Cornelis de Bie was not a stranger to Ryckaert: he is listed as a debtor in David's inventory<sup>3</sup>. This personal relationship possibly enhances the credibility of de Bie's information on the artist, although poetic licence is likely.

The information supplied by de Bie was simply repeated by the eighteenth-century biographers, without the addition of anything new. The same unwarranted emphasis on Ryckaert's fantastic scenes survived, despite the fact that they are far outnumbered by his scenes of everyday life. In his book *De Grootte Schouburgh*, published in 1718, Arnold Houbraken is responsible for the first misconceptions by introducing an incorrect interpretation of some of de Bie's comments. He maintains that Ryckaert started his artistic career as a follower of his father in both subject matter and style. He then leaps to the artist's fiftieth year<sup>4</sup>, and claims that he then changed his theme and manner and became the second "Helschen Breugel" (1718,II:11). Houbraken even suggests that Ryckaert owed his popularity with the Archduke "en meer andere

Prinssen en Grooten" to the fantastic scenes or *diableries* (1718,II:12), for which de Bie praised the artist.

When Jean Baptiste Descamps wrote his *Vie des peintres flamands et hollandais*, which was first published in 1754 (reprinted in 1840-1842), he relied heavily on the works of his predecessors. Although he claims to have made an effort to correct their exaggerations and errors by consulting other, more reliable sources, his discussion of Ryckaert contains the same erroneous statements as Houbraken's. Apart from the factual material, however, Descamps includes a more personal appreciation of the artist's qualities, commenting on the surprising warmth of his colours and his easy, smooth handling of the brush. He also mentions a few more subjects treated by Ryckaert. Expressing absolute disapproval of the "sujets de diablerie et dégoûtans", he finds it incomprehensible that these "monstres horribles" were as much in demand as his other genre scenes (1769:233). Nevertheless, Descamps rates Ryckaert amongst the artists who best excelled in genre painting. He is the first author to notice, on the one hand, the painter's careful rendering of heads and his neglect of hands on the other, which he blames on a failure to paint from life.

The evaluation of David III Ryckaert by seventeenth- and eighteenth- century biographers reveals a fairly distorted image of the painter, as far as subject matter is concerned. On the other hand, they all agree on his technical abilities and refined spirit. It is interesting to note that during the eighteenth century, the paintings of David II Teniers were highly valued in France, and somewhat less in England. This precipitated an intensive collecting activity and search for original works (Antwerp 1991:17). One could postulate that Ryckaert's paintings enjoyed a similar popularity<sup>5</sup>, which, in turn, may have led eighteenth-century artists to copy his works.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Nagler offers a more accurate account of the range of themes treated by Ryckaert, in his *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon* (1835-52,15:514-515). He is the first author to evaluate the artist in terms of his imitation of David II Teniers, Adriaen Brouwer and Adriaen van Ostade. The result is a fairly one-sided, deprecatory view. Again the factual data provided<sup>6</sup> is incorrect,

but this state of affairs was about to improve. According to Margret Klinge:

Towards the middle and especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a tendency in the young Belgian state to reflect on the own cultural tradition. An intensive research of the archives led to numerous important publications (Antwerp 1991:17) (my translation).

The results of the earliest archival research on the life of Ryckaert were published in 1857 by Théodore van Leries<sup>7</sup> in the *Catalogue du Musée d'Anvers* (third edition 1874). This provides the first complete record of factual data pertaining to the entire Ryckaert family. Van Leries also mentions Ryckaert's assimilation of the works of David II Teniers, Adriaen Brouwer and Adriaen van Ostade, but does not view it in an exclusively negative light. For his *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool* (1883), Van den Branden checked the data provided by van Leries, added supplementary information and commented on specific stylistic characteristics in the work of David III Ryckaert. For the first time, the influence of Brouwer and Teniers is specified in Ryckaert's choice of subject matter and use of colour. He recognises a Rubensian quality in the way Ryckaert managed to colour and highlight focal points in his compositions (Van den Branden 1883:606). In *Geschichte der Malerei* (1888:516-518), Woermann adds the work of Jacob Jordaens as another source of inspiration. He gives a more extensive overview of Ryckaert's *oeuvre*, without, however, discussing the works in any depth.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, several general overviews and lexicons on the art of the seventeenth century in the Netherlands were published<sup>8</sup>. In most of these, David III Ryckaert is mentioned as a painter of genre scenes who was strongly influenced by Brouwer and Teniers. He is largely described as no more than a good imitator or a copyist. Seldom does he receive credit for his personal achievements. The study of Legrand on *Les peintres flamands de genre au XVIIe siècle* (1963), constitutes the first specialised investigation of the category of genre painting in Flanders. Focusing on an analysis of the signed and dated works of Ryckaert, her main concern was to establish the artist's stylistic evolution. This formalistic approach proved to be successful to the extent that she managed to make suggestions

regarding the influence of various artists on Ryckaert. On the other hand, the preoccupation with style in an attempt to list his *oeuvre* resulted in a superficial overview with no critical regard for matters of content or context.

Articles dealing with David III Ryckaert III and his work, are scarce. Kurt Zoege von Manteuffel's "Bilder David Ryckaerts d.J. in Dresden und Leipzig" (1915,6:53-71), still remains the most complete study on the stylistic evolution of the work of the artist. Although Legrand (1963) had access to this source, she could not improve on Zoege von Manteuffel's contribution. In 1950, B.J.A. Renckens (1950,LXV(5):122-123) briefly confirmed the attribution of the *Lady's portrait* (Cat.B18) to Ryckaert. In his article "Over een schilderij en een schets van David III Ryckaert", R.-A. d'Hulst (1961-66,XIX:95-101) generated debate on the authorship of the *Curly head* in the Hamburger Kunsthalle. Arguing in favour of an attribution to Ryckaert, d'Hulst's suggestion was contested in 1969-72 by Zirka Zaremba Filipczak in her article "Multiplied Quotations of an Oil Sketch from the Hamburg Kunsthalle" (1969-72,XXII:199-210). Her proposal that the work be attributed to Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert or another, unidentified artist, was neither accepted nor rejected by d'Hulst in the same issue of that journal (1969-72,XXII:211-218). A.P. de Mirimonde (1968:177-216) contributed an article dealing with "La musique et le fantastique chez David Ryckaert III". In line with the scope of his investigation, he provides a rather generalised and biased survey of Ryckaert's work, focusing exclusively on his treatment of the elements of music and fantasy.

The most recent study on Ryckaert was undertaken by Els Van den Steen, who wrote a Masters dissertation on "Interieurschilderijen van David Ryckaert III", submitted to the Katholieke Universiteit van Leuven in 1986<sup>9</sup>. Van den Steen's objective was to contribute to a better understanding of the interaction between the different genre painters and, due to the symbolic character of the interior scenes, to present an overview of the seventeenth-century world of ideas<sup>10</sup>. With regard to the first objective, she does not propose anything significantly new, confirming the long-standing views on the influence of Brouwer, Teniers and Gonzales Coques. Concerning the interpretation of content, her approach is guided by the contemporary

debate on the issue of meaning in seventeenth-century Dutch painting<sup>11</sup>. She takes sides with Eddy de Jongh (Amsterdam 1976) and his followers, placing strong emphasis on the emblematic/symbolic character of Ryckaert's paintings. Referring to contemporary literary sources, she attempts to find an acceptable explanation for the iconography of his works. In the process, she also uses the perceived familiarity of Ryckaert with these very sources as proof of a fruitful interaction between the painters of the Northern and Southern Netherlands. Although the latter conclusion requires more convincing substantiation, her reading of his work has definite merit, provided that it is applied with caution. In this regard, it must be stressed that during the second half of the seventeenth century, the moral and allegorical function of genre painting weakened to a significant extent in favour of an emphasis on formal values (Lasius 1992:57).

The overview of the existing literature makes it clear that Ryckaert's work did not generate an engaged and definitive response from art historians. This situation can be attributed to several factors. As a result of the prevailing artistic taste in the early twentieth century, there was a general lack of interest in genre painting (Antwerp 1991:17). Furthermore, because Ryckaert's early work is so closely related to that of Brouwer and Teniers, and even his mature paintings were seen to lack individuality, he has generally been considered at worst a copyist<sup>12</sup> or at best an eclecticist. Early twentieth-century Modernism viewed copying as inferior and also opposed eclecticism<sup>13</sup> as an expression of limited creative capability. Artistic ingenuity was equated with the ability to create new and original art works. These perceptions contributed to the low esteem<sup>14</sup> in which those numerous "little masters" were held. They were considered as unworthy of scholarly research. Scientific research into Ryckaert's *oeuvre* was probably further delayed by the fact that his paintings are difficult to trace, despite the fact that his output was considerable. His works are dispersed among numerous private collections and are still being auctioned on a fairly regular basis. This frequent change of ownership makes it difficult to draw up a comprehensive catalogue of Ryckaert's paintings.

David III Ryckaert (Antwerp, 2 December 1612 - Antwerp, 11 November 1661) grew up in a family of artists. Although his grandfather, David I (1560-1607), was merely a decorator of woodwork and sculptures, his uncle Marten (1587-1631) was a reputed landscape painter, while another uncle, Pauwel Ryckaert (1592-1649/1650), apparently ventured into the artistic world with limited success. His father, David II (1586-1642), set out as a landscape painter, encouraged by the example set by his brother Marten, but turned to genre painting from the 1630s onwards. When David III started his apprenticeship in his father's workshop, probably in the beginning of the 1630s, the exposure to his father's peasant and still-life paintings moulded the young artist's predilection for these types of scenes. Since the practice of imitation was an indispensable process of learning, it may be accepted that David III copied his father's works during his training with him. In 1636-37, he was admitted as a painter to the guild of St Luke in Antwerp. Once he started working as an independent master, he was expected to develop a personal style. Although the possibility of collaboration between father and son cannot be excluded, it would seem that, from the time of his admission to the painters' guild, David III was entirely responsible for his own work.

From the point of view of a history of art, it is important to evaluate Ryckaert's contribution to seventeenth-century Flemish painting. In the following chapters, I will examine his *oeuvre* in chronological order and discuss the development in his choice and treatment of subject matter<sup>15</sup>, and in his stylistic characteristics. To ensure scientific credibility, this investigation is complemented and substantiated by factual data, drawn from primary written documents of the time. Where relevant, comparisons are made with works by other artists, both from the Southern and Northern Netherlands. This method serves to establish the extent and nature of Ryckaert's interaction with fellow painters on the one hand, and of his practice of imitation on the other. The artist's painting practices need to be re-assessed in the light of post-Modernist theory, which embraces the concepts of copying and eclecticism<sup>16</sup>. While intended to redress current misconceptions of Ryckaert as a mere copyist or follower, this investigation ultimately aims to arrive at a more balanced evaluation of his artistic achievements in the Antwerp community.

Real comprehension of his work is, however, not possible without a clear understanding of the socio-cultural structure within which the artist functioned. An ethnological/anthropological approach is thus called for, which is in line with the revisionist methodology currently advocated by art historians. The reconstruction of the socio-cultural context has to be narrowed down to those aspects which impacted directly on the artist. For example, political domination of Spain and the triumph of the Catholic church, made no real difference to Ryckaert. Social class differentiation and the economic struggle, on the other hand, affected him more directly. Moving closer to the sphere of artistic life proper, crucial factors that need detailed attention, are contemporary painting practices and local market conditions. Both of these aspects provide an explanation for Ryckaert's practice of imitation and possible collaboration. The fact that David III Ryckaert was a member of an extended family of artists, enhances the possibility of collaboration, but also raises questions concerning the artistic activities of the respective family members. Since the existing literature has merely contributed to the confusion surrounding their fields of specialisation, these questions will also be addressed.

The compilation of a critical catalogue of all known paintings by Ryckaert, is indispensable in the search for answers to the questions posed. Since there has been no previous attempt to establish the corpus of his works, the catalogue constitutes a contribution to Flemish art history and should serve as a reference for future research<sup>17</sup>.

## ENDNOTES

1. For a re-evaluation of this book as a source on Flemish art theory in the second half of the seventeenth century, see E.S. de Villiers (1987, 2(1&2):1:11).
2. "Maer is oock boven al tot d'eel Pinceel gheneghen / Van ander Meesters die hy heeft in overvloet, / Waer op hy somtijts scherpt sijn lusten en ghemoet" (de Bie 1661:311).
3. SAA, van Oudenhoven, F. *Staten en rekeningen*, 1659-1665. NOT.4362, no.63 (see Appendix II, Doc.I [25]).
4. Note that the artist died shortly before his forty-ninth birthday. Houbraken's confusion resulted from a too literal reading of de Bie : "Want schoon men vyftich jaer des' Const gheploghen had / Soo vintmen daeghelijckx daer in een nieuwen schat" (1661:308). De Bie probably referred to the year 1650, not the artist's age as such.
5. Descamps already acknowledges Ryckaert's popularity in France: "Ryckaert commence à être connu en France" (1769:236).
6. He states that Ryckaert was born in 1615 and died in 1677. He further maintains that he became the director of the Academy in Antwerp in 1651 (Nagler 1835-52:514).
7. He was also the person who, together with Rombouts, undertook the tedious task of editing an annotated transcription of *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde* (1864-1876, reprinted in 1961). The importance of this publication resides in its factual nature, providing first-hand information on the artists' activities related to the guild.
8. See, for example, *Biographie nationale* (1907, 19:614-617) (written by Max Rooses); Drost (1926:111-112); Thieme & Becker (1935,29:251-252).
9. Van den Steen's promoter, Prof Dr H Vlieghe, kindly allowed me to consult this unpublished dissertation.
10. See Van den Steen's Introduction.
11. Many pages have been filled in debating the issue of meaning or content of genre paintings. One of the numerous contributions is the collection of essays *Art in History, History in Art. Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch culture*, edited by David Freedberg and Jan de Vries. Although the authors are concerned with Dutch painting in particular, their theories may be applied to Flemish painting to a certain extent and with the necessary caution.
12. See, for example, de Mirimonde: "Al is Ryckaert een navolger met weinig verbeelding toch bloeit hij door zijn uitgesproken technische kwaliteiten" (1968:216).
13. Ideologically, the Modernists did not approve of eclecticism, although, from a Post-Modernist point of view, they could in a collective way be regarded as eclectic.
14. See, for example, Martin (1907,10:153) who perceives the occurrence of borrowings in an artist's work as an indication of his being "mediocre..., lacking in original invention".
15. During the past two to three decades, genre painting in general has formed the subject of extensive research. Peasant painting in particular has also received due attention in recent literature, dealing with the origins of the genre, its iconography and social function (see Chapter III). These issues thus need not be discussed in the present study.

16. Despite these developments in art-historical theory, the Modernist view of imitation proves to be persistent. Filipczak (1987:127), for example, while admitting that "copy-work was viewed with less condescension during the 17th century than it is today", nevertheless maintains a deprecatory approach to "the ability to produce good copies". She describes it as "hardly a skill an ambitious artist would emphasize in a self-portrait" (Filipczak 1987:127).

17. For example, to study the phenomenon of collaboration between the Antwerp painters, it is imperative to have access to the total *oeuvre* of the artists concerned.

# CHAPTER I

## The Ryckaert family

The name David Ryckaert belonged to three men, successively inscribed in *De Liggeren* of the Antwerp guild of St Luke. This situation caused considerable confusion in matters regarding the artistic output of each man. Already in 1874 (Antwerp 1874:320), the complaint was raised that "Les prétendus biographes de l'école flamande ont passé les uns sous silence et débité à l'égard des autres, les erreurs les plus grossières"<sup>1</sup>. For more than a century little was done about this complication. A first priority is to establish some clarity with regard to the achievements of the first two David Ryckaerts. It is necessary to distinguish the accomplishments of the grandfather and father in the world of painting, then assess their influence on David III. Secondly, David III was an offspring of an extended family of artists, who furthermore were kindred to other artists. This is a characteristic situation in 17th-century Antwerp with its peculiar ramifications<sup>2</sup>. Several forces were at work, constituting David III's environment and conditioning his artistic work. In order to understand what he did, and why, this broader frame of reference requires investigation.

### David I Ryckaert

Until today, David I Ryckaert (1560<sup>3</sup>-1607) has been considered the patriarch of three generations of painters living and working in Antwerp. Except for Zoege von Manteuffel<sup>4</sup> (1915,6:58-59), many authors<sup>5</sup> agree that he was the first painter in the Ryckaert lineage. I myself have come to the conclusion that David I Ryckaert was not a painter of pictures, but a decorator of woodwork and sculptures<sup>6</sup>. Although this has also been suggested by Max Rooses in the *Biographie nationale* (1907,19:613), he provides no substantial evidence to sustain his opinion<sup>7</sup>. In an article entitled "David I Ryckaert: a late sixteenth-century *stoffeerder*", to be published in *Gentse Bijdragen*, I have offered an explanation for my point of view, based on the interpretation of the

word *stoffeerder*. David I Ryckaert was inscribed as "David Rijkarts, brouwer en stoffeerder" in *De Liggeren* of the guild of St Luke in Antwerp in 1585 (Rombouts & van Lerijs 1872,I:291). A re-examination of the meaning of the term *stoffeerder*, current at the time of David's registration, clearly indicates that David I was indeed an artisan and not an artist. A close reading of the earliest source, namely *De Liggeren*, corroborates this proposition. But because David I was for such a long time supposed to have been a painter, several paintings have been attributed to him. An investigation of the best-known examples demonstrates the doubtfulness of those attributions. Usually the paintings attributed to David I Ryckaert were in fact created either by his son David II or by his grandson David III. The fact that not one of the paintings considered can, with absolute certainty, be said to be by the hand of David I, provides further proof that David I Ryckaert has no claim to recognition as a painter. David I made a living as a brewer<sup>8</sup> and *stoffeerder*. According to Van den Branden (1883:602), he was also recorded several times as a dealer in paintings.

The importance of David I Ryckaert resides in his role as father of David II and grandfather of David III. In 1585 David Ryckaert I married Catharina Rem in the Reformed Church, which had many followers in Antwerp in those days. Van den Branden (1883:602) further declares that on 27 July 1589, David received from his father 400 Carolusguilders to remarry Catharina Rem in front of a Roman Catholic priest<sup>9</sup>. The ceremony took place on 14 August 1589 in the Cathedral. The union between David and Catharina was contracted with the approval of the bishop of Antwerp and with complete exemption from banns. This fact is endorsed by the phrase in the register, referring to the newly wedded pair : "Who have returned to the Roman Church (Qui Ecclesiae Romanae restituuntur)" (SAA, *PR O.L. Vrouw*, 193: Reconciliaties, (1585-1600), f.156). François Van Dormale and Paul Cleys, alias van Loemele, assisted as witnesses to the conferment of the sacrament of marriage (Antwerp 1874:321-322).

David I Ryckaert and Katharina Rem had eight children. There is considerable confusion among the nineteenth-century biographers as to who was the first born son. In the *Catalogue du Musée d'Anvers* (1874:322), it is stated that Marten Ryckaert was

the first born son, being baptised in the Antwerp Cathedral on 8 December 1587, assisted by the godparents Matthieu Meys and Gertrude Struys. David Ryckaert II was alleged to be the second son of David the Elder, being born in 1589 and baptised on 9 August of that year in the Cathedral<sup>10</sup> in the presence of his godmother Catherine Daneels. The baptismal act (SAA, *PR O.L.Vrouw*, 9: Dopen, (1580-1592), f.128) which does not designate a godfather, proves that David Ryckaert II had received the first of the sacraments somewhere else, probably in the parental house. He was thus baptised five days before his parents celebrated their Catholic marriage (Antwerp 1874:323). Rooses (1879:605) also accepts that David II was the second son of David Ryckaert the elder. He draws this conclusion from the fact that Marten was baptised on 8 December 1587 and David II on 9 August 1589. But as a result of his meticulous archival research, Van den Branden (1883:602) manages to give a more accurate rendering of the facts. He states that when David the Elder's first born son, David II, entered this world in 1586<sup>11</sup>, he was not baptised in the Catholic tradition. At the time of birth of their second child Marten, the Reformed religion already experienced stricter suppression. As a result, Marten received the sacrament of baptism on 8 December 1587 in the Cathedral (SAA, *PR O.L.Vrouw*, 9: Dopen, (1580-1592), f.92). To conform with Catholic rites, David II was brought to the baptismal font on 9 August 1589, five days before his parents' Catholic marriage. This second marriage was blessed with another six children: Pauwel, Philips<sup>12</sup>, Tobias<sup>13</sup>, Magdalend<sup>4</sup>, Maria<sup>15</sup> and lastly Peter<sup>16</sup> (Van den Branden 1883:602).

In 1589 David I Ryckaert joined the chamber of rhetoricians "De Violieren"<sup>17</sup> as a fellow member (*Biographie nationale* 1907,19:613). He died in 1607 in his house in Everdijstraat, leaving only five of his children (Van den Branden 1883:603).

## David II Ryckaert

David II Ryckaert (1586-1642), the first born son of David I, became master in the guild of St. Luke in 1607/08, as a painter and son of a master (Rombouts & van Lerijs 1872,I:443). On 19 July 1608 he married Katelijne de Meere (or De Merre) in the Cathedral. Michiel Van Triest and Jacob Van Beygem (or Beygom) were the

witnesses at the wedding ceremony (SAA, *PR O.L. Vrouw*, 195: Huwelijken, (1589-1612), f.1355; Antwerp 1874:324). David and Katelijne had three children: Catharina<sup>18</sup>, who would marry the famous artist Gonzales Coques; David III, who would become the best known painter in the Ryckaert family; and Martina<sup>19</sup>.

David II accepted as pupils Carel Ruwaert in 1609-1610 and Jan Speeck in 1611. In 1628-1629, yet another apprentice joined his studio, namely Fransiskus de Fonteyn (Rombouts & van Leries 1872,I:457,477,662). Though never registered in *De Liggeren* as a pupil of David II Ryckaert, it is generally accepted that Coques served his apprenticeship in the studio of his future father-in-law. David II Ryckaert became a member of the chamber of rhetoricians "De Violieren" in 1619, at the same time as his brother Marten (Antwerp 1874:324)<sup>20</sup>.

According to the first biographers (e.g. de Bie 1661:100; Houbraken 1718,II:11), David II Ryckaert practised as a landscape painter and became known for his life-like representations of mountains and wild rivers. This view has been repeated by virtually all scholars, including Sutton in the most recent publication on seventeenth-century Flemish painting (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:434). Not a single landscape painting, however, is known as incontestably attributed to David II Ryckaert. In order to gain clarity on the matter, it is necessary to scrutinise the earliest sources which launched the classification of David II Ryckaert as a landscape painter.

David Ryckaert the Elder is mentioned for the first time by Cornelis de Bie in *Het Gulden Cabinet* of 1661. This book contains a register which indicates that information on "David Rijckaert d'oude" appears on page 100. The relevant passage on this page reads as follows:

Niet min en was vermaert *Ian Wildens* inde boomen  
En *Rijckaert* in't gheberght, en losse water stroomen  
Dat al het geen Natuer can schencken aenden Mensch  
(Besonder inde Const) dat deden sy naer wensch.  
(de Bie 1661:100)<sup>21</sup>

The information is vague and limited: Ryckaert the painter was famous for his renditions of mountains and wild rivers. But this passage may just as well refer to Marten Ryckaert, David the Elder's brother. One may accept that the reference in the register is incorrect, since, as pointed out by Lemmens (de Bie 1661:5), the book is not without "minor blemishes" which testify "to the haste with which the book was put together". The credibility of de Bie's writings is further impaired by the knowledge that he himself did not decide on the contents of the book<sup>22</sup>. The fact that Ryckaert and Jan Wildens are mentioned in one breath, also strengthens the idea that Marten Ryckaert is the actual topic of discussion. Both artists were reputable landscape painters who worked in very similar styles<sup>23</sup>. This argument leads one to conclude that David Ryckaert the Elder was not discussed in any detail by Cornelis de Bie. His full name is mentioned only once on page 413, where de Bie comments on the inborn talent running in the Ryckaert family (namely in David II, David III and Marten)<sup>24</sup>. Yet the damage was done: Houbraken (1718,II:11) greedily regurgitated the above passage, perpetuating the myth of David II Ryckaert the landscape painter.

In the subsequent literature the first author commenting at any length on David II Ryckaert was Max Rooses (1879:605-606). Rooses (1879:605) maintains that David II Ryckaert's main trade was landscape painting, as was that of his brother Marten. He does, however, add that, like his father David I, he also painted peasant scenes of the type which earned David III such a good reputation. But there is some contradiction in Rooses's text: whereas he identifies him as a landscape and peasant painter (p.605), he also writes about "David Rijckaert II, den conversatieschilder"<sup>25</sup>(p.581), indicating that he painted company scenes of the richer bourgeoisie. Such confusion clearly indicates that Rooses was groping in the dark, having no recourse to reliable primary sources. Rooses actually admits his own uncertainty in distinguishing between the works of the different Davids:

Men heeft die stukjes maar aan te zien, om al seffens te begrijpen, dat door den band de werken van de drie David Rijckaerts aan eenen en denzelven hunner, aan den besten natuurlijk, aan den derden David Rijckaert werden toegeschreven (Rooses 1879:606)<sup>26</sup>.

Some years later Van den Branden (1883:603-604) tackled the same matter. One immediately questions the accuracy of his views, as he starts off by stating that David II worked entirely in the manner of his father David I. But at least he adopted a more critical approach. For the first time Cornelis de Bie's supposed classification of David II Ryckaert as a landscape painter is cast in doubt. Van den Branden (1883:603) reveals that, in spite of de Bie's statement, he could not trace any landscapes accredited to David II Ryckaert in the older Antwerp collections. The works listed by Van den Branden include a painting of a *Greengrocer's shop*, which formed part of the collection of Theodoor van Leri<sup>27</sup>, and was auctioned in Antwerp on 19-2-1885<sup>28</sup> (Zoege von Manteuffel 1915, 6:57). Rooses (1879:606) was the first author to attribute this painting to David II Ryckaert<sup>29</sup>, followed by Van den Branden (1883:603) and Woermann (1888,III:516). Other paintings by David II Ryckaert mentioned by Van den Branden are *Laughing man with drinking bowl in his hand* (parsonage of the Beguinage); *A man's head* and *A woman's head*, both on canvas; *Basket with grapes and birds*; and *Peasants playing bowls*<sup>30</sup> (painted in 1632 after Adriaen Brouwer)<sup>31</sup>. Judging by these titles, it is entirely justified to classify David II Ryckaert as a genre painter. Zoege von Manteuffel (1915,6:57), however, expresses serious doubts about Van den Branden's attributions, accusing him of not providing sufficient proof for his assertions. He maintains that Van den Branden did not see some of these pictures in person and collected his information from old catalogues. This comment would seem to detract from the credibility of Van den Branden's writings. But Zoege von Manteuffel himself is not very convincing when pleading that David II was a landscape painter. He could attribute only one painting to him, a "*stil Watertje door David Ryckaert*", auctioned in Amsterdam on 15-4-1739 (Zoege von Manteuffel 1915, 6:59)<sup>32</sup>. Similarly, his attempts to reject attributions of genre paintings to David II were futile, as he bases his arguments mainly on the very premise that David II was a landscape painter. Despite Zoege von Manteuffel's objections, Legrand (1963:159) classifies David II Ryckaert as a genre painter.

The existing literature only offers conflicting opinions, very little evidence and certainly no solution. One reliable source of information is provided by contemporary documents, including notarial deeds. Unfortunately for the art historian, David II

Ryckaert was involved in only one civil dispute which necessitated the intercession of a notary. The document in question was drawn up by notary Antoon De Costere on 10 December 1657<sup>33</sup>. The importance of this document resides in the fact that two paintings by David Ryckaert the Elder are specified by a brief description. One piece is said to represent a basket with grapes and some birds in it, while the other is entitled *Peasants playing bowls* painted by Ryckaert after Brouwer<sup>34</sup>. Since Van den Branden (1883:603) mentions both of these works, it proves that he was familiar with this document, clearing his name and reputation as a competent researcher. Whereas it is still impossible to identify the picture of *Peasants playing bowls*, the *Basket with grapes and birds* is believed to be the *Still life* (signed D.Rijkert, panel, 44 x 65 cm) in the collection Lord Belleu, Dublin<sup>35</sup>. These works thus testify that David II Ryckaert painted a still life and a peasant picture, but no landscape as such<sup>36</sup>.

Another contemporary source, gratefully exploited by Van den Branden, is that of the inventories of the art collections in Antwerp of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Denucé 1932,II). A scrutiny of these lists reveals only three works by "den ouden Ryckaert". They concern a "*vrouwentronie*"<sup>37</sup> and a "*manstronie*"<sup>38</sup>, which formed part of the goods belonging to Herman de Neyt (Denucé 1932,II:101,105)<sup>39</sup>. These paintings are the ones mentioned by Van den Branden (1883:603): *A man's head* and *A woman's head*, both on canvas. The term "portrait" is not used, indicating that the paintings represent anonymous types, most probably peasant types. If so, one may have recourse to visual documentation of *A man's head*. In Hollstein (1978,XX:198), an engraving of a *Head of a laughing man*<sup>40</sup> is attributed to David III Ryckaert. This head, however, of a truly Brouweresque peasant whose hat is pulled down so deeply that the eyes are concealed, is atypical of David III's *oeuvre*. It is far more likely that the engraving was made after a painting by David II Ryckaert. This assumption would place David II again in the category of peasant painters. The third work mentioned in the inventories was in the possession of the painter Jeremias Wildens at the time of his death on 30 December 1653<sup>41</sup>. It is described as "Een contrefeytsel vanden ouden Ryckaert naer van Dyck, no. 171". In its most literal sense, it would mean that David II Ryckaert made a copy after Van Dyck - which is a most doubtful assumption. Alternatively the *contrefeytsel* could be

a portrait. In this case the work in question could very well be the portrait of Marten Ryckaert painted by Anthony Van Dyck, after which several copies were made<sup>42</sup>.

Another painting by David II Ryckaert, described by Van den Branden (1883:603) as *Laughing man with drinking bowl in his hand* (parsonage of the Beguinage), may be identified. The picture of *The drinker* (Cat.C122), auctioned in Paris on 15-12-1975, does represent a laughing man who lifts a filled glass in his left hand. Though posing in profile he turns his head towards the viewer, his feathered cap placed askew on his head. The exceptionally large monogram DR is inscribed on the right side of the format above the glass. An attribution to David III Ryckaert is highly contestable on account of the unusual type and position of the monogram, the tiny size of the panel, the light background and the unfamiliar face of the peasant. Combining the given facts, it is more acceptable to credit David II with the execution of *The drinker*, which in turn proves to be the painting referred to by Van den Branden.

Recent attributions of paintings to David II Ryckaert include *A peasant interior*<sup>43</sup> and a landscape illustrating the biblical theme of *The sower of the weeds*, monogrammed and dated 1616<sup>44</sup>. These attributions are, however, questionable and thus fail to bring us any closer to solving the problem of David II Ryckaert's field of specialisation. A compromise may thus be suggested. Encouraged by the example set by his brother Marten, David II Ryckaert may have painted landscapes in the early part of his career. Failing to make a name for himself as a landscape painter, he later decided to concentrate on peasant scenes - such as the painting of *Peasants playing bowls* of 1632 - since this genre gained in popularity in the Southern Netherlands, especially from the 1630s onwards<sup>45</sup>.

Judging by what history has preserved as evidence, David II Ryckaert was not held in high esteem as an artist. He certainly could not make a living from the sale of his own paintings. Van den Branden (1883:604) maintains that David II also worked as an art dealer to supplement his income. At the time of his death, he possessed not a single property, and after he was buried on 3 October 1642 (SAA, *PR St.-Jacobs*, 295: *Overlijdens*, (1639-1644), f.88)<sup>46</sup>, his small heritage was confiscated<sup>47</sup>.

## Marten Ryckaert

Marten Ryckaert (8 December 1587- 28 October 1631) was the second son of David I<sup>48</sup> and uncle of David III Ryckaert. He was a pupil of his father and later of Tobias Verhaecht (1561-1631), an Antwerp landscape painter of some merit. The relationship between the latter and the Ryckaert family must have been of a familiar nature, since Verhaecht acted as godfather on 8 May 1595 at the baptism of Tobias Ryckaert, the fifth child of David I (SAA, *PR O.L. Vrouw*, 11: Dopen, (1592-1606), f.69). Van den Branden (1883:604) also calls Verhaecht "den huisvriend zijner [van Marten's] ouders". Between 1605 and 1610, Marten went to study in Italy (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:342), where he executed a large number of drawings of the most remarkable views of the environs of Rome (Antwerp 1874:322). On his return to Antwerp in 1611, he was admitted to the guild of St Luke as son of a master. He was registered in *De Liggeren* as "Merten Ryckaert, scilder, met eenen erm" (painter with one arm) (Rombouts & van Leries 1872,I:476; Van den Branden 1883:604). Together with his brother David II, Marten joined the rhetoric chamber "De Violieren" as an amateur in 1619 (Antwerp 1874:322). Van den Branden (1883:605) remarks that Marten, who was a lively character, was one of the most faithful participants at the annual banquet of "De Violieren". In 1630-1631, Laureys Mens entered his studio for apprenticeship (Rombouts & van Leries 1872,II:17). Marten Ryckaert remained a bachelor and collected many good paintings in the house that he rented in the Meyerstraat (Van den Branden 1883:605).

Despite his handicap, Marten managed to gain some reputation as a painter of landscapes. In identifying him as a landscape painter, Rooses (1879:605) relies on Cornelis de Bie, quoting that he was "seer vermaert in landtschap en ruinen, gheberghten, watervallen, veer verschieten en plasante valeyen". According to Bernt (1948-1960,III:710), it was from his teacher Verhaecht that he inherited this preference for fantastic rock formations with waterfalls, depicted in cool pale greens. The few paintings by Marten Ryckaert conserved in museums are usually monogrammed "MR". Most of his works, however, circulate in the art market and rarely bear a signature. His pictures are usually of small size, often executed on

copper, and distinguish themselves by the extreme attention paid to the minute description of every detail. The early works of Marten Ryckaert are composed following the pattern of the landscape with high horizon and viewpoint, as seen in *Landscape with ploughing peasants and Fall of Icarus*<sup>49</sup>. Conforming to the tendencies of his time, he developed increasingly life-like landscapes, populated by a staffage of genre-like figures (Cologne/Vienna 1992-93:299). Typical motifs are the tiny human figures and the animals dwarfed by a majestic landscape. Although Marten was a good draughtsman and colourist, he produced little independent work as a painter. Houbraken (1718, I:171), following the writings of Cornelis de Bie<sup>50</sup>, comments on the resemblance between Marten's manner and that of Joos de Momper<sup>51</sup>. Zoega von Manteuffel (Thieme & Becker 1935,29:252) and Bernt (1948-1960,III:710) on the other hand, recognize the style of Paul Bril in Marten's work. This influence can be explained as a result of Marten's contact with the art of Paul Bril in Rome. According to Bernt (1948-1960,III:710), it is easy to confuse Marten's paintings with those by Bril, particularly because his pastoral scenes are often enlivened with a biblical or mythological<sup>52</sup> content. In some respects his work also resembles the rocky forest landscapes of Gillis d'Hondecoeter<sup>53</sup>. Even the works of Pieter Brueghel the Elder inspired him in several compositions<sup>54</sup> (Cologne/Vienna 1992-93:299). Marten appears to have been in close contact with Jan "Velvet" Brueghel, who sometimes enlivened the landscapes by Marten with figures (Descamps 1769:233; Antwerp 1874:322).

Examples of his work are *Mountain landscape with satyrs*<sup>55</sup> and *Village at a river*<sup>56</sup> (Bernt 1948-1960,III:710,711). Other paintings by Marten Ryckaert mentioned by Van den Branden (1883:605-606) are *View of the city of Liège*<sup>57</sup>, "*een Landschap daer water van het gebergt loopt*"<sup>58</sup>, another *Landscape*<sup>59</sup>, *View of the waterfalls of Tivoli*<sup>60</sup>, *A rocky landscape*<sup>61</sup> and *Flight into Egypt*<sup>62</sup>. The Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne possesses two paintings in which Joachim Rees (Cologne 1993:4) recognises some characteristic features of Marten Ryckaert. They are both landscapes illustrating a fable and are accordingly entitled *The lion and the little mouse*<sup>63</sup> and *The deer and its antlers*<sup>64</sup>. Although Rees knows of another similar painting<sup>65</sup> by Marten Ryckaert, he is hesitant to credit Marten with the execution of the works concerned<sup>66</sup>,

which are listed in the catalogue as pictures by an anonymous Flemish master (Cologne 1993:2). Other paintings of Marten Ryckaert are a *Landscape with figures and animals*<sup>67</sup>, kept in the Musées de Rouen, a *Landscape*<sup>68</sup> belonging to the Musée de Grenoble, and the *Landscape with ploughing peasants and Fall of Icarus*<sup>69</sup> of Kassel. More frequently his works turn up at auctions, such as the *River landscape*<sup>70</sup>, which is a smaller version of the 1624 painting of a *Rocky landscape*<sup>71</sup>. Another three paintings of Marten Ryckaert were recently published by De Maere & Wabbes (1994), namely a *Mountainous landscape with shepherds and a town in the background*<sup>72</sup>, *Hunters in a mountainous landscape*<sup>73</sup> and *An iron foundry in a mountainous landscape*<sup>74</sup>.

Marten Ryckaert had his portrait<sup>75</sup> painted by Anthony Van Dyck<sup>76</sup>. The portrait is mainly known through the etching<sup>77</sup> made after it by Jacob Neeffs for Van Dyck's *Iconographie* (Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1956:273-274). This fact led Bénézit (1960,7:446) to believe that Van Dyck was an intimate friend of Marten Ryckaert. The mere fact, however, that Van Dyck painted Marten's portrait is not sufficient proof to suppose that the two men were on friendly terms. Marten Ryckaert fell ill on 23 May 1631. His friend, the painter Jacob Moermans, assisted him as witness when drawing up his last will. He bequeathed his entire fortune to his brother Pauwel and his sister Maria<sup>78</sup>. He died in Antwerp on 28 October 1631 (Van den Branden 1883:605)<sup>79</sup>.

### Pauwel Ryckaert

Pauwel Ryckaert (1592-1649/1650), the third son of David I Ryckaert, was born in Antwerp and baptised in the Cathedral on 25 January 1592, with Pierre van Tongeren and Jeanne Ryckaert acting as godparents (SAA, *PR O.L. Vrouw*, 9: Dopen, (1580-1592), f.183). Like his brothers before him, he developed an interest in the arts. In 1618-1619, he was admitted to the guild of St Luke as one of the "meesterssonen die vry syn geworden met den wyn" and inscribed in *De Liggeren* as "Pauwels Rykaert (Ryckaert), schilder" (Rombouts & van Lerijs 1872,I:552). He also called himself engineer of the city of Antwerp (Van den Branden 1883:603). Relying on *De*

*Liggeren*, Pauwel Ryckaert trained only one apprentice, namely Jaques Boesdonck who entered his studio in 1625-26 (Rombouts & van Leries 1872,I:619).

On 24 April 1626, Pauwel Ryckaert married Anna Van der Lamén in the presence of Pierre Ariaenssens and Paul Van der Lamén (SAA, *PR St.-Joris*, 257: Huwelijken, (1623-1647), f.20). The couple had one daughter Helena, who was baptised in St Walburgis on 12 September of that same year. Her godfather was the landscape painter Marten Ryckaert, her uncle, and Paschasie Van der Lamén acted as godmother (Antwerp 1874:323). The name of that family was not unknown in the corporation of the Antwerp artists: Christoffel Jacobz Van der Lamén was a popular *gezelschapschilder* in Antwerp (De Pauw-De Veen 1969:172). In 1625-1626, Jacques Boesdonck entered Pauwel's studio as a pupil, followed by Michiel Happaert in 1632-1633 (Antwerp 1874:323-324; Rombouts & van Leries 1872,I:619, II:40). Despite these references to the painter Pauwel Ryckaert in *De Liggeren*, Cornelis de Bie does not mention him in *Het Gulden Cabinet*, not even where he lists the artists in the Ryckaert family (de Bie 1661:413). In the *Catalogue du Musée d'Anvers*, the question is asked :

Notre Paul fut-il un artiste de talent? Il est aussi impossible de l'affirmer, que de le nier. On ignore même le genre qu'il embrassa (Antwerp 1874:323)<sup>80</sup>.

At this stage it is still impossible to answer the question<sup>81</sup>, despite the fact that one painting has been attributed to him. It concerns *The drinker* (Cat.A60) which formed part of the collection of Pierre Crozat and now belongs to the Hermitage. Although the Hermitage (St Petersburg 1958, cat.no.641) catalogued it as a work of Adriaen Brouwer, Stuffmann (1968,LXXII:124, no.93) frankly attributes the painting to Paul Ryckaert without substantiation. Stuffmann's assumption, however, proves to be untenable. It is not known which subjects Paul Ryckaert painted, let alone how he painted them. What is known, is that David III Ryckaert represented in his peasant paintings<sup>82</sup> a model who closely resembles *The drinker* of the Hermitage<sup>83</sup>. It is thus more likely that instead of his uncle, David III himself executed the Hermitage version. Pauwel Ryckaert died in Antwerp between 18 September 1649 and 18 September 1650 (Antwerp 1874:323; Rombouts & van Leries 1872,I:552, II:211).

## Gonzales Coques

Another relative of David III Ryckaert was Gonzales Coques (1618<sup>84</sup>-1684) (Thieme & Becker 1912,VII:383), who became David III's brother-in-law. Coques started out as a pupil of Pieter III Bruegel in 1626-27<sup>85</sup> before joining the studio of David Ryckaert II<sup>86</sup>. According to De Maere & Wabbes (1994:108), he probably travelled abroad, perhaps to England. He entered the painters' guild in 1640-41 (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872,II:115,121). On 11 August 1643 Gonzales married David's sister Catharina Ryckaert (SAA, *PR St.-Jacobs*, 219: Huwelijken, (1639-1656), p.62), two months after the birth of their child Catharina Gonzalina (d.1667)<sup>87</sup>. The couple's second child Jacqueline was born in 1649 (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:391). In 1643-44 Coques was inscribed in *De Liggeren* as a new "liefhebber" of the rhetoric chamber "De Violieren". In that same year he accepted Cornelis van den Bosch as an apprentice (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872,II:150,154). Another pupil was Lenaert Frans Verdussen (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:109). On 15 February 1649, Coques acted as godfather of David III's first born son, David IV (SAA, *PR O.L. Vrouw Zuid*, 16: Dopen, (1647-1657), f.37). David III Ryckaert and Coques even formed a partnership for the acquisition of properties<sup>88</sup>.

Coques soon gained widespread popularity as a painter of genre-like portraits with small figures depicted in familiar settings, a type coined by Wieseman as genre portraiture (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:183). Together with Gillis van Tilborch (ca.1625-ca.1678), he formulated the prototype of the fashionable conversation piece, where families or gallant companies are represented in manorial rooms or gardens. Gerson and ter Kuile (1960:149) describe him as "the most brilliant professional of fashionable genre and portrait painting". Little is known about his contribution to single portraits. In the catalogue *Von Bruegel bis Rubens* (Cologne/Vienna 1992-93:393), the author maintains that there is a strong possibility that Coques called on specialised landscape painters (such as Gaspar de Witte) to help with the execution of the landscapes in his paintings. He also collaborated quite often with fellow painters such as Frans II Francken, Daniel Seghers, Jacques d'Arthois and Abraham van Diepenbeeck<sup>89</sup>. He was particularly productive in the 1650s and 1660s. His

portraits reflect the influence of Rubens and more specifically of Van Dyck, which earned him the nickname "*Little Van Dyck*" (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:109). He had powerful patrons including Charles I of England and Don Juan de Zuniga (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:108).

In 1661 Coques became a member of the rhetoric chamber "Olijftak", of which he was elected dean in 1664 and again in 1679 (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:108-109). He also served as dean of the painters' guild in Antwerp for the first time in 1665-66<sup>90</sup> and again in 1680-81 (Rombouts & van Lerijs 1872,II:361,479). His reputation gained him the position of court painter to Don Juan de Zuniga, governor of the Southern Netherlands, from 1671 (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:391; De Maere & Wabbes 1994:109). Having become a widower in 1674, Coques married Catharina Rysheuvens in the Cathedral on 21 March 1675. He died in Antwerp<sup>91</sup> and was buried with his first wife in the St Joriskerk on 18 April 1684 (Rombouts & van Lerijs 1872,I:636, note 5).

### David IV Ryckaert

David IV Ryckaert, the son of David III, was born and baptised on 15 February 1649 in the Cathedral (SAA, *PR O.L. Vrouw Zuid*, 16: Dopen, (1647-1657), f.37). On that day, Jean-Paul-François Dorco acted as godfather in the name of Gonzales Coques, the child's uncle. His godmother was Jacqueline Clerens (Antwerp 1874:325).

On the basis of merely two paintings, Van den Branden (1883:607) assumes that David Ryckaert IV also made a career as a painter. The works in question are *Still life with boy and spinning top* (Cat.D21) and *Still life with cat* (Cat.A171), which formed part of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden, but were destroyed in the Second World War. Legrand (1963:159) accepts this assumption without questioning, stating that "David IV, né le 15 février 1649, sera peintre lui aussi." This same phrase reappears in the exhibition catalogue *Von Brueghel bis Rubens* (Cologne/Vienna 1992-93:428)<sup>92</sup>, while Sutton (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:434) is more careful to speculate that David IV "may also have been a painter". As pointed out pertinently,

however, by Zoega von Manteuffel (1915,6:57), this assertion is highly debatable, since the *Still life with cat* attributed by Van den Branden to David IV Ryckaert, was dated 1659 and not 1699. Moreover, this David IV Ryckaert does not appear in *De Liggeren* of the guild of St Luke in Antwerp. In the absence of any conclusive evidence, it is justified to accept the existence of only two painters with the name of David Ryckaert: David II and David III.

It has been established who David Ryckaert III's relatives were. We also have a general idea of what they accomplished as painters, and their respective fields of specialisation. Within this frame of reference, it is now possible to investigate the influence of these persons on David III Ryckaert on a professional level.

## ENDNOTES

1. The so-called biographers of the Flemish school passed quietly over the ones, while placing the most gross errors with regard to the others (my translation).
2. A representative example is the case of Cornelis de Vos, carefully analyzed by Van der Stighelen (1991:87-156). This author has found that in Antwerp during the first half of the seventeenth century, the various circles of collaborators were in the first instance based on family relations (Van der Stighelen 1990-92,172:5).
3. According to the author of the *Catalogue du Musée d'Anvers* (1874:321), the year of David Ryckaert I's birth is around 1559. This date has been derived from the fact that his name does not appear in any of the registers of baptisms in Antwerp, the oldest of which do not antedate the year 1560. Van den Branden (1883:601), however, found proof that on 16 April 1602, David Ryckaert I declared that he was forty-two years old. This indicates that he was born in 1560. Woermann (1888,III:515) accepts Van den Branden's date of 1560.
4. Zoega von Manteuffel (1915,6:59) is the only author who recognises the fact that "David Ryckaert I war überhaupt nicht Künstler". Writing on David I Ryckaert in Thieme & Becker (1935,29:251), he repeats this view: "Bedeutung als Künstler scheint er nicht gehabt zu haben."
5. Compare Antwerp (1874:321); Van den Branden (1883:601-602); Woermann (1888,III:515-516); Van Puyvelde (1942:47); Bénézit (1960,7:446); Legrand (1963:159); Van den Steen (1986:1); and Cologne/Vienna (1992-93:428).
6. It must be noted that David I Ryckaert is no longer listed in the *Illustrated Dictionary of 17th Century Flemish Painters* (De Maere & Wabbes 1994).
7. Rooses phrased his opinion carefully. On the basis of several references - of which he failed to acknowledge the exact sources - to David I as framer and gilder, he was inclined ("nous inclinons") to accept that David I was only a modest artisan (*Biographie nationale* 1907,19:613).
8. Van den Branden (1883:601) recorded that already from 1583, David brewed beer in his house "de Ketel" on the east corner of "het Brouwersstraatje" and "de Brouwersvliet".
9. When Antwerp was captured in 1585 as the last vestige in the Southern Netherlands by the Spanish troops, the Reformist believers were forced to leave the country. Exile could be avoided, however, if they agreed to convert to Catholicism within a period of four years - the deadline was 17 August 1589 (Elias 1932:25-28).
10. See also Rombouts & Van Lerius (1872,I:443, note 1).
11. David Ryckaert II declares himself, on 12 September and 7 November 1640, to be fifty-four years old, indicating a birthday in 1586. His existing baptismal act of 9 August 1589 provides no proof that he was born only at that time. According to the record of the house of mourning of his mother, he was the eldest child, and his younger brother Marten was baptised on 8 December 1587. This also supports the fact that "David niet gedoopt werd bij zijne geboorte, maar slechts vijf dagen voor dat zijne ouders in de Rooms-katholieke kerk hertrouwden" (Van den Branden 1883:602). The same view recurs in the *Biographie nationale* (1907,19:613), expressed rather carefully: "David II ... probablement naquit en 1586."
12. When Philips Ryckaert was baptised on 26 February 1594, the celebrated artist Frans Francken acted as godfather (Van den Branden *Nota's*) and Catherine Daniels or Daneels as godmother (Antwerp 1874:324; SAA, *PR O.L. Vrouw*, 11: Dopen, (1592-1606), f.40).
13. His baptismal act is dated 8 May 1595 and lists Tobias Verhaecht as godfather (Van den Branden *Nota's*) and Martine Vrindts as godmother (Antwerp 1874:324; SAA, *PR O.L. Vrouw*, 11: Dopen, (1592-1606), f.69).

14. The first daughter Magdalena was baptised on 25 July 1597 (Van den Branden *Nota's*), assisted by Jean de Mooye and Gertrude van Beygom as godparents (Antwerp 1874:324).
15. Maria's baptism on 21 August 1599 was witnessed by the well-known painter Adam van Noort as godfather (Van den Branden *Nota's*) and Antoinette Van Haecht or Verhaecht as godmother (Antwerp 1874:324; SAA, *PR O.L. Vrouw*, 11: Dopen, (1592-1606), f.154).
16. Pierre or Peter Ryckaert was baptised in the Cathedral - as were all his brothers and sisters before him - on 14 August 1603 (Van den Branden *Nota's*), his godparents being Pierre Provoost and Jeanne Mattheusen (Antwerp 1874:324).
17. The chamber of rhetoricians "De Violieren" came into existence around 1400, but in 1480 was incorporated in the Guild of St Luke, which grouped the painters and sculptors. The motto of the chamber was "Wt jonsten versaemt" ('Uit genegenheid verenigd' or 'Joined by affection') (Brussels 1991:550).
18. Catharina Ryckaert was baptised on 13 May 1610 in the Church of St. Joris, with Jacques Van Bryvens and Catharina Ryckaert acting as godparents (Antwerp 1874:324). She died on 2 July 1674; her mortuary debt was recorded in *De liggeren's* accounts of 1673-74 (Rombouts & Van Lerijs 1872, I:636, note 5 and II:436).
19. Martina Ryckaert was held over the baptismal font of the Church of St Joris on 1 March 1616 by her uncle, the landscape painter Marten Ryckaert, and Jeanne Ryckaert (Antwerp 1874:324).
20. According to De Maere & Wabbes (1994:340), David II Ryckaert had his portrait painted by Anthony Van Dyck. It must be noted that it was not David II whose portrait Van Dyck made, but that of his brother Marten Ryckaert (see below).
21. Not modestly famous was Ian Wildens for his trees / and Rijckaert for his mountains and wild rivers / All that Nature can give to man / (Especially in Art) that they did as desired (de Bie 1661:100) (my translation).
22. Lemmens (de Bie 1661:3) states that "the plan to compose a collection of Lives of the Artists as a kind of sequel to Karel van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* was nearly certainly the brainchild of the Antwerp artist and publisher Joannes Meyssens". The latter commissioned de Bie to write commentaries on those artists whose portraits were provided him by the engraver. Because the choice was not his, de Bie had to omit certain masters, while obliged to write about others with whose works he was not conversant (de Bie 1661:4).
23. Scholars have recognised the influence of Joos de Momper and Paul Bril on both Jan Wildens (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:559) and Marten Ryckaert (see below).
24. "T'is wonder dat meestendeel de ingheboren wetenschap der Schilder-konst versterft van d'een Lidt op het ander ghelijck aen David Rijckaert den ouden en David sijnen Sone / boven diew aen Marten Rijckaert sijnen Oom des voorschz. Davidts Broeder / de welcke alle dry wonder inde Const uytsteken" (de Bie 1661:413).
25. According to De Pauw-De Veen (1969:172), the word *conversatie* only came into use in 1644 in the Southern Netherlands. It is the equivalent of *gezelschap* and refers to genre painting representing the (rich) bourgeoisie.
26. On viewing those pieces, one immediately realises why it is that the works of all three David Ryckaerts are usually ascribed to one and the same of them, to the best of course, to David III Ryckaert (my translation).
27. De Maere & Wabbes (1994:340) state that "Th.van Lerijs owned Ryckaert's *Kitchen with Three Smokers*, signed and dated 1603". Obviously the authors misinterpreted Van den Branden (1883:602), who cites "*eene Volkskeuken met drie Tabaksrookers bij eene Ton*, geteekend: D.R.1603" as an example of the work of David I Ryckaert. In addition, the date of 1603 denies David II authorship of this painting, since he only became a master in 1607/08.

28. The present location of the painting in question is unknown. No illustrations of a painting matching the description have been found.
29. Zoege von Manteuffel (1915,6:57) misinterprets Rooses's comment, concluding that the painting in question "ist..., nach Rooses, ganz im Stil des jüngeren Ryckaert gemalt." Zoege von Manteuffel himself rejects the attribution to David II.
30. Woermann (1888,III:516) mentions this work as well, using it as an example to demonstrate David II Ryckaert's dependence on Brouwer.
31. Van den Branden provides no empirical data of any of these works.
32. Due to the scant information, I was unable to establish the present location of this painting.
33. SAA, de Costere, Antoon. *Protocollen*, 1657. NOT.800, f.136 (see Appendix II, Doc.G).
34. The original by Brouwer may be *Drinking peasants at a table* (panel, 22,5 x 21 cm. Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België (Antwerp 1991:62, fig.15a)), representing a landscape with peasants taking a break during or after a game of bowls.
35. See Van Haute-De Kimpe, B. David I Ryckaert: a late sixteenth-century *stoffeerder*. *Gentse Bijdragen* (forthcoming).
36. There is a strong possibility that Ryckaert's copy of *Peasants playing bowls* consisted of a landscape serving as playground for the peasant figures. A comparison with Brouwer's representations of this particular theme (see note 34) underscores this assumption. The title, however, indicates that the activity of the figures was considered more important than the setting, denying the picture a classification as landscape painting.
37. "Een vrouwentronie op doeck vanden ouden Ryckaert, no. 220" (Denucé 1932,II:101).
38. "Een manstronie vanden ouden Ryckaert, get. no. 398" (Denucé 1932,II:105).
39. Inventory of goods of Herman de Neyt, painter and dealer in paintings, 15 - 21 October 1642, drawn up by Notary H. van Cantelbeeck (Protocollen, 1642) (Denucé 1932,II:94).
40. *Head of a laughing man*. With cap, turned to the right. 9,9 x 7 cm. Inscription: DR Fecit; with the address: F.V.W.(ijngaerden) excu. (Hollstein 1978,XX:198).
41. Inventory of goods of Jeremias Wildens, *Constschilder*, drawn up on 30 December 1653 by Notary H. Fighé (Protocollen 1654) (Denucé 1938,II:158).
42. See note 75. As was the case with Erasmus Quellinus, it may be that Jeremias Wildens also owned a copy after this portrait.
43. David II Ryckaert. *A peasant interior*. Panel, 40,9 x 54,5 cm. Auction Dublin 19-9-1956, no.259. The painting represents a peasant interior with a woman filling a pipe and a man holding a tankard of beer. The figures are depicted in a shaft of light coming from a side window. The attribution to David II is, however, highly questionable.
44. David II Ryckaert. *The sower of the weeds*. Monogrammed and dated 1616. Copper, 23 x 30 cm. Formerly Liège, Collection de Brabander; Brussels, Collection General Félicien Blanpain; auction Brussels, Paleis voor Schone Kunsten 27-1-1947, no.60 and 27/29-10-1981, no 526 A. In the latter auction catalogue, the painting is attributed to David Ryckaert, but the dates of birth and death given of the artist are those of Marten Ryckaert. Since Marten Ryckaert produced many paintings of this type during this time, an attribution to him is more acceptable.
45. De Maere & Wabbes (1994:340) also identify David II Ryckaert as a "Painter of genre scenes and landscapes".

46. See also Rombouts & Van Lerijs (1872,I:443, note 1). The mortuary debt of "David Ryckaert (II, schilder)" is recorded in *De Liggeren* in the year 1642-1643 (Rombouts & Van Lerijs 1872,II:141).
47. Van den Branden (1883:603-4) further states that Anthony Van Dyck painted a portrait of David II Ryckaert. I thank Prof Vlieghe for drawing my attention to the fact that no such portrait exists. He presumes that Van den Branden erroneously mistook the well known portrait of Marten Ryckaert for that of David II Ryckaert.
48. Houbraken (1718,I:171) erroneously maintains that Marten was the son of David I's brother ("Broeders zoon van den ouden David Rykaards").
49. Marten Ryckaert. *Landscape with ploughing peasants and Fall of Icarus*. Monogrammed MR (entwined). Panel, 51,5 x 88 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Museen, inv.no. L 1119 (on loan from private collection) (Cologne-Vienna 1992-93:299-300, cat.no. 26.1.). In this painting, the eye of the beholder is led through a zigzag pattern into the depth of the picture.
50. "Desen Marten Rijckaert was over een comende met de handeligh van Joos de Momper..." (de Bie 1661:41).
51. See also Descamps (1769:233). The work of Joos de Momper affected Marten Ryckaert indirectly, namely via his teacher Tobias Verhaecht, who often collaborated with and even lived in the same street as Joos de Momper (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:456).
52. Marcel Destot (Grenoble 1995:147) cites the example of *The fall of Icarus*, a pair of pendants on copper, which were auctioned in Paris (Hôtel Drouot, Arcole, 11-12-1989).
53. According to De Maere & Wabbes (1994:342), his works are also often mistaken for those of Willem van Nieulandt and Anton Mirou.
54. One such work is the *Landscape with ploughing peasants and Fall of Icarus* of Kassel (see note 49), which is clearly based on *The Fall of Icarus* of Pieter Brueghel the Elder (Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten) (Cologne/Vienna 1992-93:300).
55. Marten Ryckaert. *Mountain landscape with satyrs*. Panel, 9 x 19 cm. London, National Gallery, no 1353 (Bernt 1948-1960,III:710).
56. Marten Ryckaert. *Village at a river*. Monogrammed M R and dated 1616. Panel, 20 x 26 cm. Formerly St Petersburg, Collection Semenov; present location unknown (Bernt 1948-1960,III:711).
57. This may be the *Village at a river* mentioned by Bernt (1948-1960,III:710,711) (see note 56).
58. This is most probably the painting listed in the inventory of Herman de Neyt, dealer in paintings (15-21 October 1642, Notary H. van Cantelbeeck, Protocollen 1642): "Een lantschapken van Ryckaert daer water van het geberchte loopt, get. no. 637" (Denucé 1932,II:100).
59. Because Van den Branden does not provide any empirical data of these paintings, it is impossible to identify them.
60. The work is now known under the title *Landscape with the waterfalls of Tivoli*. Monogrammed and dated MR 1616. Panel, 43 x 66 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv.no. 1159. Perhaps this is the painting of a *Mountain landscape* recorded by Woermann (1888,III:516) which he claims to be monogrammed and dated MR 1616, but held in the Prado in Madrid.
61. Woermann (1888,III:516) also cites *A rocky landscape*, then in the public collection in Hannover. It is signed and dated M.RYKERT.1624 (next to the waterfall in the bottom right). I was informed by Dr Meinolf Trudzinski, main curator of the Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum in Hannover, that the painting of *A Rocky landscape* (also entitled *Italian landscape*) (panel, 48 x 84 cm), formerly in the collection of Christian Ludwig von Hake, Hannover, was bought in 1822 by Bernhard Hausmann of Hannover. Consequently it was bought by the King of Hannover (cat. 1857, no.75) who kept it in his so-called

'Fideicommiss-Galerie'(inv.no. FCG 362). The painting was then exhibited in the Provinzialmuseum of Hannover (cat. 1905, no.362), where Woermann must have seen it. Only in part acquired by the State in 1925, the *Rocky landscape* was sold by the heirs in Berlin at Lepke's auction in March 1925 (cat.no.65, plate 39). Dr Trudzinski traced its present whereabouts in the museum of Antwerp (no.974) (letter of 17-5-1995).

62. Marten Ryckaert. *Flight into Egypt*. Ca.1620. Signed M.Ryckaert. Canvas, 93 x 129 cm. Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv.no. 1343 A (Paris 1977-78:287).

63. Marten Ryckaert (?). *The lion and the little mouse*. Panel, 9 x 17,3 cm. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, inv.no. Dep.591 (Cologne 1993:2-4, fig.1).

64. Marten Ryckaert (?). *The deer and its antlers*. Panel, 9 x 17,3 cm. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, inv.no. Dep.592 (Cologne 1993:2-4, fig.2).

65. Rees states that Marten Ryckaert "... [hat] sich nachweislich zumindest einmal der naheliegenden Gestaltung eines Äsopischen Stoffes im Landschaftsbild angenommen" (Cologne 1993:4). He fails, however, to identify the painting in question. The work that seems to fulfil the set requirements, is the *Mountain landscape with satyrs* of the National Gallery in London. Both its size (9 x 19cm) and content relate the picture to the Cologne paintings, but this is not sufficient evidence to support an attribution to Marten Ryckaert.

66. Rees believes that "in seinem Umkreis möchten wir auch den Schöpfer der vorliegenden Tafeln vermuten" (Cologne 1993:4).

67. Marten Ryckaert. *Landscape with figures and animals*. Panel, 29 x 35,5 cm. Rouen, Musées de Rouen, inv.no. S.R.113 (Paris 1977-78:287).

68. Marten Ryckaert. *Landscape*. Copper, 17,5 x 22 cm. Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble, inv.no. MG 107 (Paris 1977-78:287; Grenoble 1995:147).

69. See note 49.

70. Marten Ryckaert. *River landscape*. Panel, 25,5 x 36,5 cm. Auction London, Johnny Van Haeften, December 1994, no.21.

71. See note 61. It is stated in the auction catalogue that, "in addition, three other versions are known". More detailed information on these versions is, however, not provided.

72. Marten Ryckaert. *Mountainous landscape with shepherds and a town in the background*. Monogrammed MR. Panel, 57,5 x 35,5 cm. Munich, Norbert Pokutta (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 934).

73. Marten Ryckaert. *Hunters in a mountainous landscape*. Monogrammed. Copper, 43,5 x 66 cm. Paris, Galerie de Jonckheere (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 1019).

74. Marten Ryckaert. *An iron foundry in a mountainous landscape*. Monogrammed and dated 1617. Panel, 50 x 76 cm. Auction London, Sotheby's 8-4-1987, no.34 (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 1020).

75. Now in Madrid, Prado (Madrid 1975,I, cat.no.1479). After Marten's death the portrait passed into the hands of his sister Maria (Van den Branden 1883:606). I was informed by Prof Vlieghe that several good copies of this portrait exist. Erasmus Quellinus apparently managed to acquire one of those copies, as his inventory drawn up on 7 November 1678 includes a "Contrefeytsel van Ryckaert, naer van Dyck" (Denucé 1932,II:277).

76. De Mirimonde (1968:179) erroneously identifies this painting as a portrait of David III Ryckaert.

77. Jacob Neeffs. *Portrait of Martin Ryckaert*. Etching. Copper, 274/1 x 203/5, margin 22/5 mm. Collection Dutuit in Paris, Petit Palais, no. 2358. The accompanying caption reads as follows: "MARTINVS RYCHART 5 VNIMANVS, PICTOR RVRALIVM PROSPECTVVM ANTVERPIAE". At the bottom left appears the inscription *Ant. van Dyck pinxit*; in the centre, the initials G.H.; and right, *Iacobus Neeffs Sculpsit*. A fragment of this etching is reproduced in Mauquoy-Hendrickx (1956,II:113).

78. Among the possessions of Maria Ryckaert were some paintings, such as Marten's portrait by Anthony Van Dyck, *Flight into Egypt* and three other landscapes, two of which unfinished, but all painted by Marten Ryckaert. There was also a book of drawings by his hand (Van den Branden 1883:606).

79. This is confirmed by the listing of the mortuary debt of Marten Ryckaert in *De Liggeren* in 1631-1632 (Rombouts & Van Lierus 1872,II:32).

80. Was our Paul a talented artist? It is impossible to either confirm or refute. One does not even know which genre he favoured (my translation).

81. The authors of the *Biographie nationale* (1907, 19:613) state that history has preserved nothing worth mentioning about this artist. In the *Illustrated Dictionary of 17th Century Flemish Painters* (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:343), Pauwel Ryckaert is simply mentioned as a painter, without further specification.

82. See, for example, *The smokers* (Cat.A20) and *The first pipe* (Cat.A59).

83. A close variation of the present work is *The drinker* (Cat.C121) of Philadelphia. See the relevant catalogue entry for a discussion of authorship.

84. Rombouts & Van Lierus (1872,I:635, note 5) maintain that Gonzales Coques, son of Peeter and of Anna Beys, was born in Antwerp and baptised there in the Cathedral on 8 December 1614. However, in the catalogue *Von Bruegel bis Rubens* (Cologne/Vienna 1992-93:393) it is stated that the year of birth of Gonzales Coques has not been firmly established. Written evidence seems to support the generally accepted date of 1618. De Maere & Wabbes (1994:108) nevertheless still repeat the date given by Rombouts & Van Lierus.

85. In 1626-1627, Coques was registered in *De Liggeren* as pupil "by Peeter Brugel (Brueghel III), schilder ..." (Rombouts & Van Lierus 1872,I:635).

86. It is worth mentioning that Gonzales Coques was never registered in *De Liggeren* as an apprentice of David II Ryckaert.

87. This situation may have caused some degree of enmity between David III and Coques, which was only resolved by the late 1640s.

88. David III Ryckaert and Gonzales Coques were joint owners of "drije placckens lant gelegen onder berchem buijten dese stadt [Antwerpen]" (three pieces of land situated in Berchem outside the town of Antwerp) (SAA, van Oudenhoven, F. *Staten en rekeningen*, 1659-1665. NOT.4362, no.63) (see Appendix II, Doc.I [15]). In the same inventory, Coques is listed as owing the Ryckaert family the sum of 5 guilders 1½ stivers (see Appendix II, Doc.I [24]). Unfortunately the document does not specify the cause of the debt.

89. The collaboration between Coques and van Diepenbeeck resulted in a painful affair. In 1646/47 Coques was commissioned by Prince Frederic-Henri of Orange to execute a series of decorative paintings based on the story of Psyche for the Castle of Honselersdijck. When he called on van Diepenbeeck to make the designs for these paintings, the latter simply plagiarised Raphael's works without Coques's knowledge (Duverger 1972). After this harmful scandal Coques restricted his output to genre-like portraits (Cologne/Vienna 1992-93:393).

90. In that same year Lenardus-Franciskus Verdussen, painter, was registered as "leerjongen" with Gonzales Coques (Rombouts & Van Lierus 1872,II:365).

91. His mortuary debt is listed in *De Liggeren's* accounts of 1683-1684 (Rombouts & Van Lierius 1872,II:501).

92. The name of David IV Ryckaert is still included in the *Illustrated Dictionary of 17th Century Flemish painters* (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:342), despite the fact that no significant information could be provided on this "painter", who "was the son of David III and probably his pupil".

## CHAPTER II

### **David III Ryckaert and his father: Imitation or collaboration?**

David III Ryckaert was born and baptized in Antwerp on 2 December 1612 (SAA, *PR St-Jacobs*, 48: Dopen, (1607-1627), f.92). Different authors provide different years of birth. Cornelis de Bie (1661:308) maintains that he was born in 1615 while Joannes Meyskens who published de Bie's book, mentions the year 1613 in the caption accompanying the engraving of David Ryckaert's portrait (de Bie 1661:309). Houbraken (1718,I:11) copied de Bie's inaccurate information, as did subsequent writers, such as Nagler (1835-52,15:514) and Descamps (1769:233). As a result of his archival research, Van Lierus (1863 edition of the *Catalogue du Musée d'Anvers*; Antwerp 1874:324) was the first to establish the correct date of birth, which was then adopted by later authors (e.g. Van den Branden 1883:606).

David III Ryckaert's baptism took place in the Church of St. Jacob on the day of his birth. Artus de Meester acted as godfather and Elisabeth Valcx as godmother (Antwerp 1874:324; SAA, *PR St-Jacobs*, 48: Dopen, (1607-1627), f.92). David was the second of three children of David Ryckaert II and Katelijne de Meere. As the only son, he was named after his father.

Very little is known about the earliest part in David III's life. But the very absence of Ryckaert's name in some available records is telling in itself. For example, Ryckaert's name does not appear in the *Antwerps Paspoortenboek* of 1632-1648 (Duverger 1968a:359-366). This does not necessarily imply that Ryckaert never asked permission from the Archdukes to apply for a passport from the States of the United Netherlands. As observed by Duverger (1968a:339,346), not all persons who travelled to the North were registered in this book. It provides no conclusive evidence as to whether Ryckaert crossed the border or not. Since no other sources indicate a trip of this sort, there is no reason to believe that Ryckaert ever left the country. It is

most likely that he never even left the city of Antwerp for longer periods (Cologne/Vienna 1992-93:428). Thus it is this city which determined and shaped his career.

David III Ryckaert was part of a family of artists. His father David II and uncle Marten - and perhaps his uncle Pauwel as well - made a living as professional painters. It was appropriate and logical that David III should continue this family tradition. As soon as he could handle a brush, he was apprenticed to his father (de Bie 1661:308<sup>1</sup>; Rooses 1879:606; Van den Branden 1883:606). Van den Branden implies that he was also a pupil of Tobias Verhaecht<sup>2</sup>, but this is highly questionable. Tobias Verhaecht (1561-1631) was a landscape painter of renown, who accepted many pupils, counting among them Pieter Paul Rubens<sup>3</sup> and Marten Ryckaert (Thieme & Becker 1922, 15:423). Despite the fact that he was a close friend of the Ryckaert family<sup>4</sup>, he was too old<sup>5</sup> to have taught the young David III.

It is not known for how many years David III Ryckaert served his apprenticeship<sup>6</sup>, but by 1636-1637 he proved himself sufficiently able as a painter to be admitted to the guild of Saint Luke in Antwerp (Rombouts & van Leries 1872:80,87)<sup>7</sup>. At the time of his admission, the painter Gabriel Franck acted as dean. He was registered in *De Liggeren* as "Davidt Ryckart (III), schilder. Wynmeester" (Rombouts & van Leries 1872:80). He had not previously been recorded as a *leerjongen* or pupil in the painter's guild, but was admitted as *wynmeester* (wine master). This appellation refers to masters' sons who learnt under their fathers and paid for their admission as free masters by means of wine (Rombouts & van Leries 1872:9,80). This fact provides conclusive evidence that David III was introduced to the arts by only one master, namely his father.

In order to find out what David III learnt from his father, it is crucial to be informed of David II's artistic activities<sup>8</sup>. The false assumption that David II was a landscape painter gave rise to equally false deductions. It is generally accepted (Houbraken 1718,II:11<sup>9</sup>; Descamps 1769:233; Nagler 1835-52,15:514; and Bénézit 1960:446) that David III Ryckaert started his professional career as a landscape painter, following

the example set by his master. It must be noted that these scholars all fail to mention even one early landscape by David III. If the above arguments concerning David II's field of specialisation and David III's training are accepted, the confusion surrounding David III's early work is clarified. During his apprenticeship, David III was expected to copy pictures either from the master's own hand or out of his collection (Martin 1905,7:424). Since David II Ryckaert was by then a painter of peasant subjects, David III was mainly exposed to genre painting in his father's workshop. By the time David III became a free master, his choice of specialisation in peasant painting was already clearly defined. This assertion is substantiated by the fact that his earliest dated works represent scenes of peasants smoking and drinking<sup>10</sup>. David III's preference for peasant pictures also explains his lack of interest in the work of his uncle Marten Ryckaert. Due to his specialisation in landscape painting, Marten was in no position to deeply influence his nephew, despite the close family ties.

Having dealt with the problem of David III's supposed early landscapes, another problem arises, namely that of attribution. Both father and son painted peasant pictures under exactly the same name. As mentioned before, it was part of a pupil's training to copy the works of his master. He was not allowed to sign these copies, which still remained the master's property and could even be sold as the master's work (Martin 1905,7:418). This practice provides a clarification for the disagreement on the attribution of certain paintings created during the 1630s. It explains Zoege von Manteuffel's repeated efforts to ascribe paintings to David III Ryckaert of a date prior to 1636. If father and son worked so closely together, it is not surprising that he recognized stylistic features of the son in what was actually the father's work. Only one example is mentioned here<sup>11</sup>, namely the *Peasants playing bowls* painted in 1632 after Adriaen Brouwer<sup>12</sup>. In order to prevent faulty attributions, it is useful to keep in mind that David III Ryckaert was not allowed to sign his works before 1636.

Paintings executed at a later stage are more problematic and warrant scrupulous investigation. All or part of the paintings signed and dated between 1636 and 1642<sup>13</sup>, thus far attributed to the son David III Ryckaert, could very well be the work of the father. A third possibility must be considered, namely that father and son collaborated

on those paintings. It is a well-known fact that collaboration between artists was common practice in those days. As observed by Vlieghe<sup>14</sup> (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:159), "it had long been customary ... for painters to have specific parts of their work executed by specialized colleagues". According to Van der Stighelen (1990-92,172:10), the farming out of professional specialisation was even more current among painters who were bound by family ties.

To try and distinguish the father's work from that of the son is a complicated but challenging task. The investigation is hampered by the lack of even a small number of paintings by David II, executed before 1636. All that is known about him beyond doubt, is the fact that he painted a still life, a peasant scene after Brouwer and two heads. While this informs the researcher concerning the artist's choice of iconography, it gives no clue regarding his stylistic characteristics. Because David II Ryckaert's manner of painting is totally unknown, there is no frame of reference, no point of comparison. Any odd elements in the early work of David III could be attributed to the immaturity of the artist. Those very same features, however, could just as well have been the hallmarks of the father's style.

The problem of attribution is aggravated by the fact that the artists are direct relatives, bearing exactly the same name. Consequently the signature on the paintings does not constitute an irrefutable criterion either. It varies randomly from the simple monogram DR<sup>15</sup> to the abbreviation D.RijC.F.<sup>16</sup> or D.RYC.F.<sup>17</sup>. From 1637, the full signature D.RYCKAERT.F.<sup>18</sup> starts to appear. Although this habit coincided more or less with David III's admittance to the guild of St Luke, it was nothing more than an artistic whim. There is no conspicuous inconsistency in style between the paintings bearing a different type of signature.

The paintings relevant to the present argument are the ones monogrammed or signed and dated between 1636 and 1642. Bearing in mind that David II was a peasant and still-life painter, it is useful to isolate from this group those paintings which represent a peasant interior with a large still life arranged in the foreground. They include *Tavern interior with amorous couple* (Cat.A2), signed and dated D.RijC.F.1636;

*Peasant interior* (Cat.A3) of Schwerin, signed and dated D.RijC.F 1617 (should read 1637); *Interior of a barn with figures and still life* (Cat.A4), signed and dated D.RijC.F.1637; and the *Dresden Peasant interior* (Cat.A17), signed and dated D.RijC.F.1638. Together, these works form a distinct group on the basis of striking similarities in spatial organisation, composition, still life elements, and manner of execution. Although the signature does not constitute a reliable criterion, it is remarkable that in all four paintings it is repeated verbatim D.RijC.F., and situated in the bottom left-hand corner. The numerals of the dates are written in exactly the same manner.

This coincidence of internal evidence calls for the proposal of a promising hypothesis. When David II Teniers started producing paintings of peasant interiors with still life in 1633, David II Ryckaert had not yet made a name for himself in the art world. It may be proposed that the latter readily grasped the opportunity of practising this theme, because he recognised in it a genre that suited his talents more adequately. It did indeed combine his favourite subjects, namely peasants and still life. The four pictures of a peasant interior with still life testify to a remarkable proficiency in the execution of the elaborate still-life arrangements. A comparison with David II Ryckaert's *Still life* of Dublin leads to the temptation to attribute the four paintings in question to the father. Another fact supports this assumption. In all four paintings the importance of the human presence is reduced and actually subordinated to the main theme of the still life. Suppose that Ryckaert's copy after Brouwer representing peasants playing bowls, looked similar to Brouwer's *Drinkers at a table*<sup>19</sup>. Five peasants gathered around a table take a break during or after a game of bowls. Although the importance of the figures is emphasised by their placement in the foreground in the bottom left-hand corner, the surrounding landscape has an overpowering effect as it fills three quarters of the panel. In a similar way, the figures in the relevant Ryckaert paintings are dwarfed by the prominence of the still life and the attention spared to the surrounding interior. The given similarities seem to swing the balance in favour of an attribution to David II Ryckaert.

One sentence of Cornelis de Bie, however, undermines the above hypothesis. In his laudatory poem on David III Ryckaert, de Bie singles out the artist's talent in depicting all sorts of vegetables and kitchen utensils:

Siet eens hoe hy Natuer van alderley ghewassen  
En alle keucken goet op sijn Pinceel doet passen  
En in hun stil gheheym des levens aert bethoont  
Sulckx dat den gheest is weert met louter-groen becroont.  
(de Bie 1661:310)<sup>20</sup>

To ignore or even dismiss de Bie's statement would be a serious mistake. The poem in itself indicates that de Bie was familiar with David III Ryckaert's work: it is much more than just an elaboration of the caption accompanying the engraving. Furthermore, an archival document<sup>21</sup> proves that a personal relationship did exist between Cornelis de Bie and David III Ryckaert. It is thus unlikely that de Bie would have erroneously paid such specific tribute to the painter.

Another circumstance which makes the hypothesis crumble, is the existence of paintings representing a peasant interior with still life, dated after 1642. The *Kitchen interior* (Cat.A57) of 1644 and the *Kitchen interior with old woman fallen asleep* (Cat.A69), dated 1648, display the same characteristics as the peasant interiors of the previous decade. It is only the looser handling of the brush and the more confident manipulation of the figures, which bear testimony to the maturing of the artist.

There is, however, a way to bypass both counter-arguments, thanks to the popularity of imitation. David III Ryckaert was a pupil of his father and thus required to copy and imitate the works of his master. As suggested above, it is possible that David II was the first of the Ryckaert painters to create peasant interiors with still life, following the example set by David II Teniers. David III Ryckaert may have managed to master his father's manner so well that it became impossible to tell the difference between the works of father and son. Pictures of this type probably gained David III some reputation, which explains why he continued to produce them without significant alterations during the 1640s. If this is what happened, then the possibility that David II Ryckaert painted the works in question, cannot be ruled out.

One puzzling circumstance does cast the attribution to David II Ryckaert in doubt. No signed or monogrammed works by David II dated between 1616 and 1636 are known. If he did not sign and date his works for twenty years, it is quite unlikely that he suddenly would have started this practice in the year of his son's admission as a free master. Again the balance swings in favour of David III.

Before dismissing David II Ryckaert entirely for his contribution to the creation of these paintings, the possibility of collaboration needs to be considered. If the pictures were produced in the father's workshop<sup>22</sup>, it may be suggested that David II Ryckaert allowed or required the assistance of his son - and possibly of a pupil, such as Gonzales Coques<sup>23</sup>. The question then arises as to who was responsible for the execution of which part. David II Ryckaert cherished the depiction of still lifes and he painted figures in the manner of Brouwer. But so did David III Ryckaert. In the case of the *Interior of a barn with figures and still life* (Cat.A4) of 1637, it may be argued that Gonzales Coques painted the figure of the woman. Her features are markedly more refined than those of the women in the other pictures. But these are just assumptions which can neither be convincingly substantiated nor refuted. The fact that so little is known of David II, cripples any attempt to establish the extent or even the possibility of collaboration. The facts leave no other option but to conclude that all the Ryckaert paintings dated between 1636 and 1642 should be attributed to David III Ryckaert. In addition, it is most likely that he completed them single-handedly without the help of his father. This observation is corroborated by the fact that David III Ryckaert has never been recorded<sup>24</sup> as collaborating with any other painters - although this was common practice among Antwerp artists<sup>25</sup>.

This leaves the question as to how David II Ryckaert earned a living between 1616 and 1642. It is tempting to suggest that David II gave up his painting career by the end of the 1610s, realising that his works did not bring him the kind of admiration bestowed on his brother Marten. This suggestion, however, is at odds with the fact that he accepted pupils in the late 1620s. He even had to tutor his son until 1636. Such evidence leads to one viable conclusion. David II Ryckaert continued to run his workshop as a peasant and still-life painter, allowing him to teach pupils who paid

for their tuition. He did, however, not manage to support his family on the income of his artistic activities alone, and this forced him to start a business as an art dealer (Van den Branden 1883:604). This undertaking probably took up most of his time and energy, leaving little opportunity to create paintings of his own.

David III Ryckaert's imitation of his father's work was only the beginning of the artist's practice of borrowing ideas from fellow painters.

Maar [Ryckaert] is oock boven al tot d'eel Pinceel gheneghen  
Van ander Meesters die hy heeft in overvloet,  
Waer op hy somtijts scherpt sijn lusten en ghemoet.  
(de Bie 1661:311)<sup>26</sup>

De Bie's comment on Ryckaert's imitation of other masters is in fact an understatement. Ryckaert did not just "sometimes" seek inspiration in works by fellow painters, he made it a regular habit. Even a cursory comparison of Ryckaert's *oeuvre* with that of Brouwer and David II Teniers brings various similarities to light, both in choice of subject matter and execution. Ryckaert's dependence on Brouwer and Teniers is indeed sometimes so blatant that the phrase "influenced by" becomes inadequate. The term "artistic imitation" covers the practice more accurately. The issue of the imitation of art must, however, be examined through the eyes of seventeenth-century Flemish society. The twentieth-century perception of imitation is tainted by Modernist views and consequently carries definite pejorative connotations. Ryckaert's practice of imitation is the main reason why he has been neglected for three centuries. Studied only from a modern perspective, he has been dismissed time and again as an artist "de second rang", handicapped by a deficiency of the creative faculties (de Mirimonde 1968:177)<sup>27</sup>. Where a modern artist can only aspire to fame on account of an original style and innovative approach, such standards were, however, not applicable to seventeenth-century artists in Flanders.

During Ryckaert's lifetime the imitation of art was seen in an entirely different, and decidedly positive light<sup>28</sup>. The evidence which supports this view, is threefold. First and foremost, the considerable quantity of copies and less faithful imitations

produced in seventeenth-century Flanders constitute primary evidence of the favourable attitude towards the imitation of art. Secondly, the writings of the period disclose a similarly appreciative view, recommending the imitation of art, but not unconditionally. In addition, the seventeenth-century terminology relevant to the practice of imitation is surprisingly varied and extensive, but mostly devoid of any pejorative connotations.

In order to avoid confusion in the correct interpretation of statements relating to imitation, it is useful to start the discussion with the matter of contemporary language. Seventeenth-century Antwerp society was predominantly concerned with a correct representation/imitation of nature. One indication thereof is the plethora of words used in those days to designate the life-like representation of reality in painting. Lydia De Pauw-De Veen (1969:322-329) lists the following terms indicating the faithful rendering of the model: "*konterfeiten*", "*afkonterfeiten*", "*nakonterfeiten*", "*uitschilderen*", "*afschilderen*", "*afmalen*", "*bootsen*", "*nadoen*", "*nabootsen*", "*copiëren*", "*natrekken*", "*nacoloreren*", "*treffen*", "*vatten*". Compared to this long list of synonyms, only four terms were used with reference to the imitation of the work of another artist. While the term "*kopiëren*" (to copy) - and in some instances also the verb "*konterfeiten*" - referred to the more or less exact copying of a painting by another artist, the terms "*nabootsen*" and "*navolgen*" (to imitate) had the more nuanced meaning of painting in the style of another master (De Pauw-De Veen 1969:329-334). The nouns designating copies are "*kopyken*" and "*konterfeytsel*", while the preposition "*naer*" refers to an imitation (Denucé 1932). The fact that most of the terms referring to the imitation of paintings were also used to designate a faithful rendering of reality, points to the lack of consciously negative associations. For the sake of clarity, the English verb "to copy" will be used in the old Flemish meaning of "*kopiëren*", and the verb "to imitate" as the equivalent of "*nabootsen*" or "*navolgen*".

The writings of the period equally suggest a positive perception of imitation, though not always in explicit terms. Unfortunately for the art historian, no treatises on the theory of art were published by Flemish authors in the early seventeenth century<sup>29</sup>.

The situation was quite different in the Northern Netherlands, where Karel van Mander published *Het Schilder-Boeck. Den Grondt der Edel Vrij Schilderconst* in 1604. As pointed out by Emmens (1968:111), van Mander encouraged his student painters to "*rapen*" (gather)<sup>30</sup> or imitate - a view which was supported and qualified by Angel in 1641<sup>31</sup>. In 1678 Van Hoogstraeten devoted a separate chapter to the problem of imitation, entitled "*Hoe men zich van eens anders werk dienen zal*"<sup>32</sup>. It is not, however, evident that Van Mander's and Angel's views were known to their Flemish contemporaries<sup>33</sup>. Therefore the only reliable sources which can provide information on the Flemish perception of imitation, are seventeenth-century Flemish publications related to the arts, and surviving - but at the time unpublished - comments written by artists. To the first category belongs *Het Gulden Cabinet* of 1661 by Cornelis de Bie, while Rubens's notebook on theory and his correspondence give an indication of current Flemish trends on this issue.

Although it was not de Bie's intention to write a treatise on art theory (de Bie 1661:15), his book is more than just a lexicon. It is relevant in the present context as an art theoretical source revealing the contemporary attitude towards imitation. ES de Villiers (1987, 2(1&2):1-11) re-evaluated *Het Gulden Cabinet* as a source of Flemish art theory in the second half of the seventeenth century. She states that, following the tradition of Renaissance art theory, de Bie was still mainly concerned with the acceptance of painting as a liberal art<sup>34</sup> proceeding on the dogma of *ut pictura poesis* (de Villiers 1987,2(1&2):2). To single out de Bie's views on imitation, one has to turn to his conception of proper education. De Bie saw proper education as an indispensable component in the struggle for the recognition of painting "as a legitimate intellectual pursuit" (de Villiers 1987, 2(1&2):6). Although de Bie believed that natural talent - "ingenium" or "gheest" - was inborn and even hereditary<sup>35</sup>, it did not guarantee a painter's fame. The artist had to practise the art of painting vigorously and devote himself whole-heartedly to it. Inborn talent or genius should also be guided by tradition, making the copying of earlier masters not only desirable but imperative (de Villiers 1987, 2(1&2):6). In his appraisal of Ryckaert's art, de Bie first of all acknowledged the artist's remarkable ingenuity:

Tot lof van Ryckaerts Const en sijnen rijcken aert<sup>36</sup>,  
Die hy ons met Pinceel seer **gheestich** openbaert,...  
Daer hy de schatten van sijn **rijk-begaefde sinnen**  
Tot ciersel van sijn Faem, een hooghen naem doet winnen,  
Want noyt en brenghet hy in het licht een constich belt  
De **gaven van den gheest** die sijnder inghestelt.  
(de Bie 1661:308,311)<sup>37</sup> (my emphasis)

Apart from praising his natural talent, de Bie also commented on Ryckaert's practice of imitating other masters:

Die niet en is vermoeght om selfs des' Const te pleghen  
Maer is oock boven al tot d'eel Pinceel gheneghen  
Van ander Meesters die hy heeft in overvloet,  
Waer op hy somtijts scherpt sijn lusten en ghemoet.  
(de Bie 1661:311)<sup>38</sup>

It is probably from this passage that Descamps (1769:233) concludes that Ryckaert III actually collected paintings by great masters<sup>39</sup>. Guided by this piece of information, Descamps continues to speculate on Ryckaert's belief in the usefulness of exercise and the imitation of great masters:

Il [Ryckaert] crut que ce n'était pas assez que de peindre pour perfectionner son talent, mais qu'il fallait avoir des tableaux des grands peintres sous les yeux; il s'en entoura, et continuellement enfermé dans son cabinet, il se mit à étudier leurs différentes manières. Il trouva dans cette collection les instructions que trouve un savant dans sa bibliothèque; des réflexions sur la manière d'imiter, mises en pratique et comparées à la nature, qui est toujours le plus grand maître, mirent bientôt Ryckaert de niveau avec les meilleurs peintres de son temps (Descamps 1769:233)<sup>40</sup>.

Most important about the issue of education is the fact that it was an ongoing process. As a pupil, an aspiring artist was expected to copy paintings by his and other masters - a common practice in the seventeenth century and, according to De Pauw-De Veen (1969:329), one of the most important exercises for the student painter. Martin also states that "the imitation of the master's subject, composition and manner was not only permissible in those days, but was thought highly desirable" (1905,7:427). The purpose of this exercise is explained by Martin as a means to develop manual skills<sup>41</sup>, but above all,

The pupil's aim generally consisted in the first place in closely following the master in all technical and artistic peculiarities; if possible, he would try to surpass him in some way (Martin 1905,7:427)<sup>42</sup>.

The pupil's striving to emulate and eventually surpass his master did not suddenly disappear on the day that he was admitted as a master to the painters' guild. He would continue to practise the selective imitation of art, which, judging by Rubens's writings, was considered equally crucial for master painters to perfect their own art.

Rubens was the only artist of that time who left undeniable evidence of his ideas on the imitation of art<sup>43</sup>. To postulate that his contemporaries upheld the same views would be a blatant generalisation. On the other hand, considering his dominant position in the artistic scene, Rubens's ideas do give an indication of current trends. More importantly, they form a reliable frame of reference against which the attitude towards imitation can be judged.

Rubens formulated a theory of artistic imitation in his essay *De Imitatione Statuorum*<sup>44</sup> (Muller 1982, 64(2):229 and 1989:9). He argues that the painter should make judicious and discreet use of past art in order to obtain perfection, but keep in mind that the purpose of his art is the idealised imitation of nature (Muller 1982,64(2):229-231 and 1989:11). Through a process of elimination<sup>45</sup>, the painter thus works towards a progressive synthesis of the contributions of his predecessors, improving upon them by his study of nature. Rubens's theory of imitation rejected exclusive dependence on either art<sup>46</sup> or on the accidental appearances of nature. He "consciously espoused the selective imitation of nature as well as of art<sup>47</sup>" (Muller 1982,64(2):235). This viewpoint resulted in the belief that the function of imitation is the enrichment of an already formed and integrated artistic personality. By acknowledging this function, the tensions between originality and adherence to tradition, individual manner and the imitation of models are relaxed (Muller 1982,64(2):235). Selective imitation has to be of a transformative nature. Models are absorbed by the artist and corrected by his study of nature to culminate in a new and personal style. In this way imitation ensures that personal style is reconciled with tradition and verisimilitude (Muller 1982,64(2):247 and 1989:11).

Judging by Rubens's testimony, one may conclude that in seventeenth-century Flanders the critical imitation of art - ancient statues, Renaissance and contemporary paintings alike - had a positive function. It enabled the artist to enrich his own art, provided that the selective imitation of art was balanced by an equally selective and not too simplistic imitation of nature<sup>48</sup>. According to Muller,

Rubens's painted copies ... call to mind the reality of illusion behind representation. They fuse inextricably the imitation of nature and art (Muller 1982, 64 (2):239).

Although Ryckaert was not sufficiently talented to reach the same degree of perfect balance, his imitations of Brouwer and Teniers should be viewed in the same positive light. His personal taste led him to imitate their works because they were models closest to his own sensibilities. He took from those artists what was considered their most appealing qualities and invested them, revitalised by a direct study of nature, into his own personalised compositions. As mentioned above, Cornelis de Bie also commented on this practise of Ryckaert. The fact that de Bie did not employ any of the then current terms used to describe the copying or even imitation of other masters, testifies to de Bie's belief in the originality of Ryckaert.

The copying of paintings by other artists was not only condoned as a means of instruction for both the apprentice and the established painter. Paintings were also avidly imitated by many master painters in order to satisfy the great demand for specific types of paintings by popular masters (De Pauw-De Veen 1969:330). Pictures executed in the style of some popular artist and even blatant copies were produced in large numbers in seventeenth-century Antwerp<sup>49</sup>. Proof of this is to be found in *De Antwerpsche "Konstkamers"* (Denucé 1932) which is a collation of inventories of art collections in Antwerp in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Browsing through the pages one encounters the expression "*een schilderye naer ...*" (a painting after ...) almost as frequently as "*een stuck van ...*" (a painting of ...). The notaries compiling the inventories also made sure to list copies, labelling them "*een copyken*" (also *kopyken*) or "*een conterfeytsel*" (also *konterfeytsel*). These inventories show in the first place that the Antwerp citizens were avid collectors of paintings<sup>50</sup>.

The high percentage of non-originals further implies that art collectors considered imitations and copies not merely as good enough, but valuable acquisitions on their own merits. If the public disliked or opposed the mere idea of imitation, there would have been no demand for this type of painting and no need for artists to abundantly supply this market. Thus this attitude of the general public led to a great demand<sup>51</sup> which could not be met by only the best and most famous artists. The latter attempted to solve the problem by turning out pictures from their workshops executed by assistants<sup>52</sup>. But still there was plenty of opportunity for less gifted artists - or *derderangsschilders* as Van der Stighelen (1989:303)<sup>53</sup> calls them - to make a living from their paintings, even if they had to adapt their talents to the imitation of the works of their more fortunate colleagues<sup>54</sup>. A concomitant result of the popularity of imitations was the creation of work opportunities, explaining the large body of artists working in Antwerp<sup>55</sup>.

While this situation in the art market serves to illustrate the positive attitude towards the imitation of art, it brings into question the position and value of the "original". In seventeenth-century Flanders there was a virtual absence of copyright in the modern sense. An artist could copy anything at will. Moreover, his copy was regarded as a work of art in its own right. This line of reasoning can still be taken one step further. Not only did the copy have its own merit as a piece of art: it also accrued to the painter's prestige as an excellent artist, capable of imitating to perfection the best of masters and of fooling the most experienced connoisseurs (Muller 1982,64(2): 238). This attitude gave rise to an interesting phenomenon. An artist who succeeded in imitating another artist very successfully, could build up a reputation as a great artist on account of that very ability. Possibly the most illustrative and substantial example is David II Teniers, who owed his initial success to a skilful imitation of Adriaen Brouwer and became after Brouwer the most important painter of the Flemish peasant genre. Similarly Joos van Craesbeeck (1605/06-1662) is remembered until this day as a painter of some merit due to his associations with Brouwer<sup>56</sup>.

The superiority, however, of the original was not jeopardised in the process and the distinction between an original and a copy was definitely made. An artist trying to

pass off his copy as an original of another artist, committed fraud, as he deliberately deceived the public<sup>57</sup>. The consciousness of the authenticity of a work of art was not new in the seventeenth century, as testifies the following quotation from 1575:

... dat oick de goede luyden ... deur sulckdanige vercoopingen commen **bedrogen** te worden, als coopende schilderyen voor wercken van vermaerde en befaemde meesters, daer de selue maer en syn naer eenige principale geconterfeyt<sup>58</sup>, ... (From: Ordonnantie tot handhaving van ambacht van de schilders, 1575, cited by De Pauw-De Veen 1969:332) (my emphasis)<sup>59</sup>.

The inventories of the art collections of some Antwerp citizens (Denucé 1932,II) reflect the awareness of authenticity very clearly. The notaries who compiled the lists of their clients' possessions, were not meticulous in their descriptions of the art works<sup>60</sup>, but always very conscientious in defining the work as an original (*originael* or *principael*)<sup>61</sup>, an imitation or a copy<sup>62</sup>. In this context, it must be stressed that the contemporary inventories do not mention any copies by Ryckaert after other painters<sup>63</sup>. This fact has important implications, as it places Ryckaert undeniably on a higher artistic level than the so-called "*derderangsschilders*" active in Antwerp at that time<sup>64</sup>. It means that during his lifetime and afterwards, Ryckaert enjoyed considerable aesthetic, and financial, appreciation<sup>65</sup>. This assumption is underscored by the fact that during the later 1650s, his own works were being copied to a relatively large extent, as proven by the inventory of Susanna Willemsens drawn up on 6 July 1657 (Denucé 1932,II:195-199)<sup>66</sup>.

The "original" artwork finally vindicated its superiority in the art market, where it fetched much higher prices than even the best of copies<sup>67</sup>. For example, in 1661 a *Kitchen scene* by David Teniers was sold for 40 guilders. The price of copies after Teniers ranged from 5 to 12 guilders (Duverger 1968b:64). The same distinction was made between Ryckaert's originals and copies after his works. In a document dated 24 September 1673, "1 Mosselkruyer van Davit Rijkaert" was valued at 24 guilders (Denucé 1931,I:136)<sup>68</sup>. In comparison, "1 Moeselaer naer Davit Rijkaert (een manneken dat op de Moesel spelt)" was expected to fetch no more than 9-5 guilders (Denucé 1931,I:151)<sup>69</sup>.

It must be noted, however, that instead of imitating or copying entire pictures, respectable artists would more often "borrow" a popular motif invented by a reputable colleague<sup>70</sup>. A well-known case related to Ryckaert is the motif of the head of a child, represented in the Hamburg painting of *The curly head* (Cat.C119,) the author of which was probably Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert. Both Jan van den Hoecke and David III Ryckaert made use of this particular head in a number of their respective works, without any noticeable adjustments. Ryckaert made his own copy, now entitled *Head of a child* (Cat.A117), of Bosschaert's original version to keep in his studio for easy reference. The curly head was not an exceptional case. Many such head studies were created by seventeenth-century Flemish painters, which again provides proof of the tolerant attitude towards imitation. Instead of jealously guarding his invention, the author shared it with some friends, allowing them to copy his study and to use the motif in larger compositions. This practice occurred irrespective of the various painters' fields of specialisation. Despite the fact that Bosschaert employed the head to feature in religious and mythological scenes<sup>71</sup>, Ryckaert adapted the motif to his genre paintings by providing new bodies and new contexts. As observed by Filipczak, the Hamburg head

... serves as an illustration of the great mobility, richness of association and longevity<sup>72</sup> of certain favourite motifs in seventeenth century Flemish painting (Filipczak 1969-72:210).

The positive perception of the imitation of art by artists and public alike may be explained as a direct result of social changes. The Flemish society of which David III Ryckaert formed part, was in a state of flux, subject to the effects of distinct changes in social patterns that had been spreading across Western Europe since the sixteenth century. Dreher (1978,60(4):689) states that one of these changes was in the status of the bourgeoisie. The city-based middle classes sought in growing numbers to transcend the traditional class boundaries between the bourgeoisie and the nobility<sup>73</sup>. Over the course of the seventeenth century, particularly after 1650, there was an unprecedented increase in the number of families elevated to the ranks of the nobility. This upward migration was made easier as the power and numbers of the older feudal

aristocracy, diminished by the Eighty Years' War, continued to weaken<sup>74</sup>. The feudal aristocracy was replaced by a new class of recently ennobled,

drawn for the most part from the ranks of military officers, professional men, and civil servants, the latter two groups forming the new class of *getabberde adel* or *noblesse de la robe*. So rapid was this expansion of the aristocracy that by 1640 a witticism claimed that there were more nobles with titles a year old than with titles a century old<sup>75</sup> (Dreher 1978,60(4):689).

In general the Spanish government tended to support this new aristocracy, at the expense of the established nobility, and to grant the new nobles ever higher titles as they climbed up in their ranks (Dreher 1978,60(4):689; Boston/Toledo 1993-94:187). Not satisfied with the official patent of nobility, the upper bourgeoisie aspired even more eagerly to the luxurious lifestyle enjoyed by the aristocracy. They lived in splendid city dwellings, but the ultimate achievement was the possession of a country estate to which the man of affairs could retire<sup>76</sup>. This feverish social climate, in which the opportunities for social advancement were dramatically multiplied, not only produced an enlarged body of true nobles. There also emerged an upper middle class fully conversant with the outward manifestations of nobility (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:187). They realized that they too, with sufficient money and ambition, could climb the social ladder and assume a more refined lifestyle<sup>77</sup>.

These social changes impacted profoundly on the arts. As observed by Wieseman, knowledge of music and the fine arts were the mark of a well-rounded gentleman (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:187). Art patronage was intimately linked with the widespread desire for status and prestige (Filipczak 1987:55). Any aspiring, self-respecting citizen in Flanders strove to embellish his house with paintings<sup>78</sup>, stimulating in turn the growth of the art market to a considerable extent<sup>79</sup>. This course of events reverberated into the lower ranks of the middle classes, who also set out to purchase works of art. People who lacked the capital to afford the high prices of originals, were catered for by means of cheaper imitations. Thus the popularity of imitations in Antwerp may be fundamentally rooted in an aspect of social history<sup>80</sup>.

Having examined the contemporary view of the imitation of art, it is now possible to look at Ryckaert's paintings, in some ways, through the eyes of a seventeenth-century Antwerp citizen. The facts indicate that the long-held evaluation of Ryckaert as a second-rank artist needs reconsideration. The so-called lack of personal input perceived in Ryckaert's *oeuvre* cannot simply be attributed to limited ingenuity on the part of the artist<sup>81</sup>. Rather it was a direct result of contemporary views on painting practices and of existing market conditions. Knowing what was desirable and what was not, it may be concluded that Ryckaert's skilful imitation of other masters was entirely acceptable to, and even applauded by, the seventeenth-century Antwerp public. It is most likely that David started this practice during his training as an apprentice, since it was an indispensable process of learning, guiding the aspiring artist's innate talents. Once he started working as an independent master, he was expected to develop a personal style, emulating the work of the best of his predecessors and contemporaries, but improved by a selective study from life. As first acknowledged by Cornelis de Bie, David III Ryckaert had sufficient talent or *ingenium* to adapt the works of other painters to his own individual manner, based on an accurate, but not too simplistic observation of nature. In the following chapters, Ryckaert's artistic merit and contribution to seventeenth-century Flemish painting will be re-evaluated in accordance with these contemporary criteria.

## ENDNOTES

1. 'Die Rijckaerts handelingh soo aerdich weet te volgen / Al oft hy uyt Natuer hun cracht had in gheswolghen;' (de Bie 1661:308). The inscription placed under David's portrait engraved by Frédéric Bouttats confirms this fact : "il at apris cher son pere david Rijckaert" (de Bie 1661:309). The information provided in this inscription was repeated almost literally (with elaborations) in the *Catalogue du Musée d'Anvers* (1874:326).
2. 'Zelfs kocht hij, op 2 Mei 1649, voor eigen gebruik, in de Arenbergstraat een huis, het Keizershoofd, waarin zijn meester Tobias van Haecht gestorven was' (Van den Branden 1883:608) (my emphasis).
3. Although Rooses (1879:230) discovered that Rubens's name does not appear in *De Liggeren* under the list of Verhaecht's pupils, he does accept the fact that Tobias Verhaecht was one of Rubens's masters.
4. Tobias Verhaecht was godfather of Tobias Ryckaert (born on 8 May 1595), son of David I and brother of David II (Van den Branden 1883:602). From 1594 he lived in the house "Het Keizershoofd" on the corner of Arenberg- and Martenstreet (Thieme & Becker 1922, 15:423), which was bought in 1649 by David III Ryckaert and his wife Jacoba Pallemans (Van den Branden 1883:607).
5. Verhaecht died in 1631 and David III entered the painters' guild only in 1636.
6. According to Martin (1905,7:128), apprentices "often needed five to ten years of energetic work and preparation before they got so far as to be allowed to set up as independent masters". Another source reveals that "young people who wished to devote their lives to art, still had to serve an apprenticeship of four to five years with an accomplished master" (Brussels 1965:XX). An average period of five years would seem to have been standard procedure.
7. In the guild's accounts of 1636-1637, David III Ryckaert is listed as a 'wynmeester' or master's son, having paid 10 guilders for admittance as a master painter (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872:87).
8. See Chapter I, David II Ryckaert.
9. Houbraken (1718,II:11) even states that he stuck to the same subject and manner of painting as his father's until he reached the age of 50. This is clearly a misinterpretation of the following passage of De Bie's laudatory poem: "Want schoon men vyftich jaer des' Const gheploghen had / Soo vintmen daeghelijckx daer in een nieuwen schat" (De Bie 1661:308).
10. See, for example, *Barn interior with amorous couple* (Cat.A2) of 1636 and the *Tavern interior* (Cat.A7) of 1637.
11. Zoega von Manteuffel mentions another early work, dated 1636 and signed D. Ryck. f., representing a peasant interior. The painting was auctioned by Helbig in Munich on 1-6-1896, no.930 (Zoega von Manteuffel 1915,6:60). The only painting corresponding with this vague description is the *Barn interior with amorous couple* (Cat.A2) now in the National Museum in Prague (inv.no. DO-917). Note that Zoega von Manteuffel did not actually see this painting, committing the same malpractice of which he accused Van den Branden.
12. See Chapter I, David II Ryckaert.
13. David II Ryckaert died in 1642.
14. The evidence concerning the Antwerp painters collaborating with Rubens, is presented in Vlieghe's article "Historienmaler und Rubens' Atelier: Eine Quellenstudie" in the exhibition catalogue of Cologne/Vienna (1992-93:133-142).
15. See, for example, *The pipe smoker* (Cat.A32), which is monogrammed and dated DR 1640.

16. The *Interior of a barn with figures and still life* (Cat.A4) is signed and dated D.RIJC.F. 1637.
17. This type of signature appears on *The operation* (Cat.A11) of 1638.
18. The *Tavern interior* (Cat.A7) is signed and dated D.RYCKAERT f 1637.
19. Adriaen Brouwer. *Drinkers at a table*. Panel, 22,5 x 21 cm. Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België (Antwerp 1991:62, fig.15a).
20. See how he adapts his brush to the nature of all sorts of vegetables / and all kitchen utensils / and in their quiet secret display the quality of life / in such a way that the mind is worthy of a laurel-wreath (my translation).
21. De Bie's name appears in the list of debtors in David's inventory (SAA, van Oudenhoven, F. *Staten en rekeningen*, 1659-1665, NOT.4362, no 63) (see Appendix II, Doc.I [25]). According to that document, Cornelis De Bie, specified as living in Lier, had an outstanding debt of 11 guilders 19½ stivers. It is possible that the artist incurred this debt by the purchase of canvas in the Ryckaert shop.
22. David III Ryckaert may not have been able to afford putting up his own studio immediately after his admission as free master.
23. Since Coques only entered the painter's guild in 1640-41 (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872,II:115,121), it may be assumed that he still served his apprenticeship with David II Ryckaert during the period concerned.
24. In the contemporary sources - the business notes of art dealers (Denucé 1931,I; Duverger 1984-) and the inventories of goods (Denucé 1932,II) - not one art work is mentioned that was executed by David III Ryckaert in collaboration with another artist.
25. The tentative scheme worked out by Van der Stighelen (1989:341) gives an indication of the popularity of collaboration between Antwerp artists in the age of Rubens.
26. But Ryckaert also above all takes a liking to the noble brush/ Of other masters whom he has in profusion, / On which he sometimes sharpens his fancies and wit (my translation).
27. De Mirimonde (1968:177) further stigmatises him as a "peintre fécond et agréable, mais sans grande imagination" (a prolific and pleasant painter, but without great imagination).
28. In his article entitled "How a Dutch Picture was Painted", Martin (1907,10:150) also states that "the borrowing and copying of details and often even of entire compositions ... was not considered an improper proceeding" in Holland in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He does, however, treat this phenomenon in a superficial manner, failing to explain the reasons why it was acceptable. Furthermore, he concentrates more specifically on the use of engravings and prints as a source of inspiration. In the present study, the emphasis falls on the imitation of paintings.
29. This circumstance in itself may serve as evidence in the present argument. If no need was felt to spell out rules and regulations governing the practice of imitation, it may be deduced that artistic imitation was perceived as acceptable common practice.
30. Van Mander expressed his viewpoint as follows:
- ... o Jongers / treet als den radde  
Den weg des arbeyts / want t'eynd' is besoeten /  
Schildert / teyckent / crabbelt / wilt vrij becladden  
Een deel Pampiers / als die geeren veel hadden /  
Steelt armen / beenen / lijven / handen / voeten  
T'is hier niet verboden / die willen / moeten /  
Wel spelen Rapiamus personnage /  
Wel ghecoockte rapen is goe pottage.  
(Karel van Mander, cited in Emmens 1968:111).

Note the pun on the word *rapen* which as a verb signifies "to gather, pick up". By using it as a noun meaning "turnips", van Mander elaborates on the advantages of imitation.

31. Angel presupposed that the painter must in the first instance possess a right judgment, allowing him to judge what he could and should not do, and more specifically what he could and should not borrow from others (Emmens 1968:111). Another condition was stipulated: "*De Rapen sijn wel goede kost, wanneerse wel ghestooft sijn*" (Turnips are good food, when they are well cooked) - meaning that the painter has to integrate any borrowing (Van Mander's "*ghecoockte rapen*") in a fluent and unnoticeable way ("*wel*") into his composition (Van Mander's "*goe pottage*" (good soup)). Angel thus emphasised the importance of the dexterity of stealing (Emmens 1968:112).

32. Van Hoogstraeten admonished student painters to observe carefulness and moderation when borrowing. Emmens observes the important fact that Van Hoogstraeten was the first one to stress originality: he encouraged the "*yverige Schilderjeugt ... tot eygen vindingen*" - the invention originating from reading poetry (Emmens 1968:113-114).

33. According to Emmens (1968:111), Franciscus Iunius, for instance, was not informed of the contemporary Dutch ideas concerning "het bijeen 'schraepen' van 'bondelloose stucken en brocken'" (the gathering together of separate parts and pieces). He derives this observation from the fact that Iunius did not use the current Dutch term for this procedure, namely "*rapen*", in the Dutch translation of his book.

34. According to Dreher (1978,60(4):684), the fight for the acceptance of the fine arts as intellectual and theoretical disciplines was to a great extent fuelled by the social ambition of artists. Artists sought to secure a new and more highly respected place for themselves in society. One way of doing this was by ridding their profession of the brand of a manual occupation, placing it among the liberal arts and therefore among professions suitable for gentlemen. See also Filipczak (1987).

35. In order to substantiate his view, de Bie (1661:413) singles out the Ryckaert family as a case in point: "T'is wonder dat meestendeel de ingeboren wetenschap der Schilder-konst versterft van d'een Lidt op het ander ghelijck blijckt aen David Rijckaert den ouden en David sijnen Sone / boven diew aen Marten Rijckaert sijnen Oom des voorsch. Davidts Broeder / de welcke alle dry wonder inde Const uytsteken (de Bie 1661:413).

36. The expression "rijcken aert" (rich nature) is obviously a pun on the artist's name (Ryck-aert).

37. To the praise of Ryckaert's art and his rich character, / Which he reveals to us with the brush in a very ingenious way, ... The treasures of his richly talented senses / deserve him a good name, to the glory of his fame, / Because never does he create an artful picture / Unless it contains the gifts of talent (my translation).

38. Who is not contented to even practise this art / But also above all takes a liking to the noble brush / Of other masters whom he has in profusion, / On which he sometimes sharpens his fancies and wit (my translation).

39. This assertion is confirmed in the *Catalogue du Musée d'Anvers* (1874:326) : "Notre Ryckaert possédait, d'après De Bie, un cabinet considérable de tableaux de divers maîtres." De Maere & Wabbes (1994:341) repeat that he "owned his own amateur cabinet of paintings and works of art". It is difficult to check the accuracy of this statement as the archival documents are not sufficiently specific to endorse it. The inventory of David III Ryckaert (SAA, van Oudenhoven, F. *Staten en rekeningen*, 1659-1665. NOT.4362, no.63) (see Appendix II, Doc.I [9]) does not list any paintings as part of the movable goods. But since the notary did not specify any items of furniture or other similar goods - in contrast to the detailed description of the jewels - it is not inconceivable that this group of movable assets included paintings as well.

40. It would appear that Descamps himself accepted the same art theoretical principles as de Bie, stressing the observation of nature as the artist's main concern, combined with a thorough study of the earlier masters. Since he was under the impression that Ryckaert owned a collection of paintings, Descamps simply assumed that the artist held the same views, using him as a pretext to air his own point of view.

41. "The exclusive object of copying was to teach the pupil the technicalities of the brush and colours. In this way he learnt the time which certain colours or oils require to dry, what colours will not mix, and so forth" (Martin 1905,7:424).
42. As a result of this type of instruction, it is often difficult to tell the difference between the works of the master and those of the pupil. The problem of attribution in the case of the Ryckaert family exemplifies this most clearly.
43. Apart from keeping a notebook on theory, Rubens made profound statements about the nature of art in his paintings. His correspondence also includes comments on the theory of art (Muller 1982, 64(2):229).
44. Although Rubens's essay is mainly concerned with the imitation of ancient statues, the same principles or guidelines governed the imitation of paintings by old and contemporary masters.
45. The innate faculties of *ingenium* (talent or personal/natural inclination), judgment and discretion allow the artist to distinguish the best art works, which are useful, from the common ones, which will harm his art. His taste, equivalent to discretion and judgment, thus determines whether he is a good or bad artist (Muller 1989:9).
46. When an artist abandons nature and slavishly imitates art, he produces degenerate work (Muller 1989:13).
47. The selective imitation of art is a process which requires the artist to synthesize and improve upon those traditions that he believes contributory to the progress of art (Muller 1989:14).
48. For example, Rubens criticised Mantegna for imitating ancient sculpture too slavishly. On the other hand he "considered Caravaggio to be too simplistic an imitator of nature" (Muller 1982,64(2):242).
49. Only those paintings destined for the local market are considered here. The many copies/imitations produced in function of immediate export are dealt with in Chapter V.
50. This fact is supported by the popularity of *kunstkamer* or gallery paintings (see Filipczak 1987). Visual evidence is further provided in paintings of another kind, namely family group portraits set within the best room of the house - the *pronkkamer* or showroom. On this subject, see the essay by Muller, "Private Collections in the Spanish Netherlands: Ownership and Display of Paintings in Domestic Interiors" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:195-206).
51. The relatively low prices of these paintings guaranteed the large distribution among a public for whom the artistically exceptional creations of a Rubens or Van Dyck were only accessible in public spaces. At home they had to content themselves with colourful pictures of religiously inspired subjects or profane themes which were closely related to their daily existence (Van der Stighelen 1989:322).
52. Vlieghe (Brussels 1991:266) maintains that even those intellectually and financially most esteemed artists, including Rubens, did not work solely on commission. For example, all Antwerp painters of monumental history pieces replicated a number of their works or had copies made after them in their own studio to supply the larger free market. See also Filipczak (1987:73-97).
53. The case-study of Van der Stighelen (1989:303-341) on Andries Snellinck provides clear insight in the activities of such *derderangsschilders* or tertiary masters. Of particular relevance is her finding that common to that group of tertiary artists, is their extensive engagement in copying (1989:319).
54. According to Van der Stighelen (1989:319-320), copyists usually did not establish personal contacts with the artists, whose works they copied. They worked from originals which they either collected themselves or would borrow for consultation from a colleague-painter. Another possibility is that art dealers such as Musson provided the "little masters" with the originals which they commissioned to be copied.

55. On the basis of a count of artists registered in *De Liggeren*, Van der Stighelen (1989:304, note 2) arrives at some specific numbers. For example, between 1630 and 1660 a total of 429 *schilders* were registered in the painters' guild, which means that an average of fourteen artists per year were admitted as master painters.

56. For a brief discussion of Joos van Craesbeeck, see Renger 1986:52-53.

57. See also Filipczak (1987:127). As an example, she discusses the notorious case of Gonzales Coques, who was unaware of the plagiarism of his collaborator, Abraham van Diepenbeeck (see Chapter I, note 89).

58. In this construction of sentence, the term "*konterfeiten*" acquires the meaning of "copying" (De Pauw-De Veen 1969:332).

59. ... that also good people fall pray to deceit by such transactions, buying paintings as works of famous and renowned masters, while those very same works are just copied after some originals ... (my translation).

60. According to Filipczak (1987:65-66), the inventories compiled before 1640 reveal an emphasis on subject matter, while giving scant attention to authorship. After 1640, attention to subject matter did not diminish, but new emphasis was placed on attributions (Filipczak 1987:157). She is incorrect, however, in interpreting the contents of those inventories as reflecting the views of the collectors themselves.

61. See also Vlieghe (Brussels 1991:266).

62. The information recorded by the notaries is generally considered to be accurate and reliable. According to Muller, "the city's notaries seem to have possessed a uniformly high level of skill at connoisseurship; all of them were knowledgeable about issues of attribution, authenticity, quality, and subject matter" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:198).

63. As pointed out to me by Prof Vlieghe, the "*Contrefeytsel van Ryckaert, naer van Dyck*" (Denucé 1932,II:277) owned by Erasmus Quellinus, is probably not a copy of Ryckaert after Van Dyck, but the well-known portrait by Van Dyck of Marten Ryckaert, of which several good copies exist.

64. Although critical imitation was considered to have a positive function, the mere copyists working in serial or semi-industrial fashion for the free market, were not held in high esteem by their more creative and prominent colleagues (Van der Stighelen 1989:321).

65. This will be demonstrated in Chapter V.

66. Inventory of goods of Susanna Willemsens, widow of the late Signor Jan van Borm, "*oudecleercoper en sydelaekencooper*", drawn up on 6 July 1657 by Notary H. Fighé (Denucé 1932,II):

"Een schilderye synde potten ende pannen naer Ryckaert, op een guldens maet." (p.195)

"Een Copyken naer Ryckaert op doeck." (p.201)

"Een Boerenkermisse naer Ryckaert." (p.202)

"Ses schilderykens naer Ryckaert pineelkens." (p.204)

Compared to these nine copies, Susanna Willemsens owned only two original works by Ryckaert: "*Een schilderye van Jouffrouwen, van Ryckaert, op paneel. Een Marienbelt van Ryckaert op doeck, met lyst.*" (p.199).

67. Brulez gives a breakdown of prices for pictures in the Antwerp art trade, basing his figures on a random selection of one out of every three pictures listed in Denucé's publications of the records of two major art dealers, Musson and Forchoudt (Denucé 1931). Although the subject matter was an important criterion in the assessment of a picture's value, it appears that prices of paintings varied mainly according to attribution (Brulez 1986:68). Vlieghe (Brussels 1991:265) also acknowledges the fact that price variations are linked up with a qualitative hierarchy within certain genres.

68. In the 1691 inventory of Jan-Baptista Anthoine, "*Een boerenfeest van David Ryckaert*" was valued at f.90 (Denucé 1932,II:364), indicating a rapid and considerable increase in price.

69. "1678, 7 November.- Fackture vant Cargesoen no 15 ... sijn dese schilderijen voor rekening van Momeer op 7 Nov. 1678 van Antwerpen versonden, en daer in ontfangen schilderijen: ... f.15. no. 25. 1 Moeselaer naer Davit Rijkaert (een manneken dat op de Moesel spelt) - g.9-5" (Denucé 1931,I:150-151).
70. Martin (1907,10:154) expresses the same view, though in more radical and sweeping terms: "... the systematic copying of complete compositions was censured, while details, on the other hand, are borrowed without reserve, even by the greatest masters".
71. For examples of Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert's works, see Filipczak (1969-72,XXII, figs 6 and 7) and d'Hulst (1969-72,XXII, figs 2, 3 and 4).
72. Filipczak (1969-72:209-210) maintains that half a century later, "Balthasar van den Bossche once again resurrected the Hamburg head in a fantasy depiction of an artist's studio".
73. See also Filipczak (1987:53-57). As an example of the sometimes extreme measures taken to achieve higher social status, she discusses the well-documented case of David II Teniers. He "was one of two artists from Antwerp - the other was Justus van Egmont - who are known to have been so eager for noble status that they illegally assumed the attributes and title of nobility" (Filipczak 1987:140-141).
74. Particularly compromising was the so-called "Nobles' Conspiracy" of 1631-1632, an ill-fated attempt of the old nobility, resentful of Spanish authority, to establish an independent Catholic state (Dreher 1978,60(4):689, note 46).
75. See also Filipczak (1987:54).
76. On the appeal of the countryside in the Southern Netherlands, see Dreher (1978,60(4), especially pp.689-695).
77. See also Vlieghe (Brussels 1991:267).
78. Ownership of an encyclopaedic collection of paintings in particular, was considered the mark of a gentleman (Filipczak 1987:67).
79. Muller explains the brilliant flowering of art and collecting in Antwerp along the same lines, but adds an economic factor. He states that "it could be that burghers collected art for the sake of investment and social prestige in a time of modest recovery below the level attained during Antwerp's rule as the great commercial power of the sixteenth century" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:203).
80. It must be stressed that the attitude of only the Antwerp public is relevant to the present discussion. The efflorescence of painting in Antwerp as a result of the great demand from outside the borders of the Southern Netherlands, will be dealt with in Chapter V.
81. Note that Martin (1907,10:153) also perceives the occurrence of borrowings in an artist's work as a result of his being "mediocre..., lacking in original invention".

## CHAPTER III

### The early years 1636-ca.1639

... Rijckaert est grand maistre en petites figures. principalement en escuries et semblables edifices ... (Joannes Meyssens in de Bie 1661:309)<sup>1</sup>.

When David III Ryckaert established himself as a master painter in 1636-37, he concentrated entirely on the representation of peasant scenes. David II Ryckaert may have encouraged his son to choose this field of specialisation, but another, perhaps more urgent motivation was probably of a financial nature. During the 1630s, the citizens of Antwerp were very much taken by the peasant scenes produced by Adriaen Brouwer (Van den Branden 1883:606). When Brouwer returned from Haarlem to Antwerp in 1631<sup>2</sup>, his works soon became popular. This precipitated less gifted artists to work in a similar vein. Even art dealers would commission works from local painters to accommodate their clients' preferences. Joos van Craesbeeck and David Teniers the Younger were the first and, according to Renger (1986:59), the only direct followers of Brouwer. In fact, Teniers assimilated Brouwer's manner so well that some of his early works were incorrectly attributed to Brouwer himself (Klinge-Gross 1969:181-182; Antwerp 1991:26). Following in his father's footsteps, David III Ryckaert continued the most favoured trend in genre painting of the time. As an aspiring young artist he was mainly concerned with establishing a clientele, and realised that, if he wanted to sell his work, it had to be marketable<sup>3</sup>. If people were eager to purchase paintings *à la* Brouwer, he would do his best to imitate the latter's work in style and subject-matter, concentrating on smokers and drinkers. Thus Ryckaert's imitation of Brouwer was, in the first instance, probably motivated by financial gain<sup>4</sup>. Descamps (1769:233-234) was the first author to note:

Le jeune Ryckaert peignit d'abord le paysage et y acquit de la réputation; mais lorsqu'il vit le cas que l'on faisait des ouvrages de Teniers, de Brauwer [sic], d'Ostade, etc., il essaya de les imiter, et il fut encouragé par le prix que lui valurent ses premiers ouvrages<sup>5</sup>.

The same opinion is forwarded in the *Catalogue du Musée d'Anvers* (1874:326): it is stated that, when Ryckaert changed to the manner of the artists mentioned above, it brought him the success he had hoped for - "Aussi n'eut-il pas à se plaindre des rigueurs de la fortune" (Antwerp 1874:326).

The reason why it brought him success, is directly related to the considerable popularity of peasant painting in Flanders from the 1630s onwards<sup>6</sup>. Renger (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:171) sees the re-emergence of this genre as an expression of a general tendency towards conservatism in seventeenth-century Flanders. Due to the deliverance from Spanish domination, the Northern Netherlands were subject to swift and fundamental changes in all fields of life. Despite the fact that genre painting had its origins in the south, it is in the Northern Netherlands that it developed into a vast genre of painting, including a variety of more 'modern' iconographic themes. The Southern Netherlands, on the other hand, remained under Spanish control, without an independent government and without establishing new pictorial themes. Compared to their northern counterparts, Flemish artists proved to be far more conservative, adhering to traditional iconography. "This may explain why scenes of peasant life, with their long tradition in literature and art, continued to be the most significant branch of genre painting in the seventeenth century" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:173)<sup>7</sup>.

This long literary and pictorial tradition of peasant scenes has been discussed extensively in recent decades. The origin of the genre, its iconography and social function have received due attention in several books<sup>8</sup> and articles<sup>9</sup>. It seems that the genre of peasant painting had its origin in the fifteenth-century literary tradition of peasant satire. The pictorial tradition itself came to fruition in the sixteenth century, especially with Pieter Brueghel the Elder. Brouwer was instrumental in the revival of the theme in seventeenth-century Antwerp. His followers exploited the appreciation of the public for peasant scenes to the full. The iconographic research of the last three decades has revealed the fundamentally unrealistic character of genre scenes. They are not realistic in the sense that they are contrived compositions<sup>10</sup> designed to convey a particular meaning, and are thus devoid of any documentary value (Vandenbroeck 1990,9(6):42). The iconography of peasant paintings can be

interpreted in many ways, depending on the particular event being portrayed, be it a peasant wedding, a kermesse, a church holiday, and so on. Whether the peasants are feasting or fighting, they always display the kind of excessive and coarse behaviour that should be avoided<sup>11</sup>. Concerning the social function of the peasant genre, it is commonly agreed that these images served to satirise the lower classes and rustics (*de lompe boer* or the rural misfit) for the amusement and edification of an urban elite. In order to educate the viewer, artists presented the peasants both as objects of amusement for the higher social classes, and as exemplars of human depravity, carnality and foolishness (Vandenbroeck 1984,14:119)<sup>12</sup>.

The main practitioner of low-life genre painting and the most influential figure throughout its development in the seventeenth century in the Netherlands - both north and south - was Adriaen Brouwer (1605/06-1638). He mainly painted small-scale, full-length images of caricatured peasants, engaged in all kinds of uncivilised behaviour and crude entertainments, mostly situated in taverns or lowly hovels. Though of Flemish origin, he spent several years in Holland (ca.1626<sup>13</sup>-1632) where he absorbed the local styles of genre painting which, ironically, were dependent on Pieter Brueghel the Elder. Initially he carried on the sixteenth-century tradition of peasant painting as practised by Pieter Brueghel and his German predecessors<sup>14</sup>, focusing on the moralizing content. Renger (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:174) maintains that, at the beginning of the 1630s, Brouwer adopted a different approach. Although the tavern brawl remained one of his favourite subjects, it was not so much his intention to represent the vices as to express human senses and emotions. Brouwer then began to introduce new subjects also: low-life professions, such as barber-surgeons, as well as the new fashion of smoking (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:174). Renger sums up Brouwer's contribution as follows:

In focusing on human conditions Brouwer transcends the narrow limits of moralizing didacticism which define previous efforts in the genre. He raises human conditions to a universal level and makes them worthy of pictorial representation. In doing so he not only adds an entirely new dimension to the peasant genre, but to genre painting in general (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:174).

As stated earlier, David III Ryckaert was not the only painter to follow Brouwer's example. David II Teniers actually built his career on the successful imitation of Brouwer. When Brouwer died in 1638, Teniers stole the limelight as the most popular peasant painter in Antwerp. Klinge (Antwerp 1991:18) maintains that, unlike his father, David II Teniers (1610-1690) applied himself whole-heartedly to genre painting, representing scenes from the everyday lives of peasants and citizens, as well as gallant and military scenes. The thematic variety of his *oeuvre* is astonishing: he painted interiors with smoking and drinking men or allegories of the five senses, Vanitas or ill-matched lovers, satires with monkeys, portraits and religious works. Thematically he was initially indebted not to the Brueghel tradition, which was still strong in Antwerp, but to the more modern Adriaen Brouwer. He was also influenced by his Rotterdam contemporaries, Herman and Cornelis Saftleven and Pieter de Bloot, in the depiction of peasant interiors with still life. His elegant companies betray the influence of his Antwerp colleague Frans Francken II, while Joos de Momper II and Paul Brill provided models for his rocky landscapes. Using their work as a source of inspiration, he quickly managed to establish his own particular style, characterised by a calm balance in composition and in his use of colour and light. What distinguishes him most from Brouwer, is his more gentle, almost still-life-like conception of the figures and his treatment of space (Antwerp 1991:18). Because he avoided the really raw and brutal aspects of peasant life, his paintings at the same time had less emotional impact (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:63). Concerning the artist's intentions, Klinge (Antwerp 1991:19-20) maintains that Teniers was initially preoccupied with visualising an allegorical-emblematic concept, most often with a moralising undertone. As the artist became more concerned with reality towards the end of the 1630s, a shift towards a more defined naturalism took place.

Brouwer influenced David III Ryckaert on different levels<sup>15</sup>. In the first instance his work inspired Ryckaert to concentrate on the depiction of peasants. The term 'peasant' (*boer*) is used here to designate not only farmers and other country folk, but also anyone considered uncultivated and uncouth in appearance, deportment or speech<sup>16</sup>. These simple folk are represented in dark smoking dens where they try to seek relief from their misery through the use and abuse of alcohol. Since beer tastes particularly

good together with tobacco, they also abandon themselves to the addictive pleasure of smoking. The themes of peasants making music or playing cards, as well as that of the village surgeon - all of which are themes that belonged to Brouwer's repertoire - were repeated endlessly by his followers, including David III Ryckaert. It would appear that Brouwer's influence on Ryckaert was initially so pervasive that it even affected the latter's perception of the profession of painting. This is clearly illustrated in his earliest dated work representing a *Painter's studio* (Cat.A1)<sup>17</sup>, signed and dated 1636. Filipczak is of the opinion that in this painting,

he [David III Ryckaert] accepted Brouwer's bravura practice of showing artists as bohemian types. Ryckaert's painter is smoking, a practice which though widespread was considered a rather dubious influence upon health and morals. Moreover, he is dressed in very simple attire, akin to that worn by Ryckaert's carousing peasants (Filipczak (1969-72, XXII:208-209).

Filipczak (1987:117) interprets Ryckaert's representation of the artist as a bohemian type as a "rebellion against the overly genteel representations of artists", rejecting the dominant social conventions<sup>18</sup>. Since Ryckaert was indeed a fervent follower of Brouwer<sup>19</sup>, it is not inconceivable that he shared Brouwer's view of the artist as a bohemian type<sup>20</sup>. This was in sharp contrast with Teniers's concept of the profession of painting. In *The painter in his studio*<sup>21</sup> of 1635, one sees Teniers working in his studio, the walls of which display paintings as in a gallery. He is dressed as a respectable citizen and wears a feathered hat. Klinge (Antwerp 1991:50) believes that it was Teniers's intention to project his self-image as a *pictor doctus*, promoting every aspect of the art of painting.

In addition, the behaviour of the artist in the *Painter's studio* reflects Ryckaert's pride in his own new status as a recently admitted master in the painters' guild. One apparently small detail underscores this assumption. The still-life arrangement on the panel represented within the painting is not actually set up in the studio itself. This indicates that in this instance, the artist did not work from nature or even a sketch, but simply from memory. It is a known fact that in those days, an artist's memory was expected to function exceptionally well. A good artist was expected to be able "to stamp the image of the model on his imagination so clearly that he can, at will, recall

it exactly to mind" (Muller 1982,64(2):245)<sup>22</sup>. In this painting, the viewer is casually informed of the artist's excellent memory. This may be a conscious attempt by Ryckaert to promote his artistic abilities and competence as a master painter. Another interesting detail is the fact that the painting of the *Painter's studio* does include a still life of another kind, consisting of the tools of the artist. The painting thus not only informs the viewer of the artist's view of his profession<sup>23</sup>, but also betrays his love for still-life elements during the first years of his career.

Brouwer's work, however, was not the exclusive source of inspiration for Ryckaert. As the reputation of "de geestige David II Teniers" (Van den Branden 1883:606) quickly spread in Antwerp, Ryckaert was intelligent enough to realise the potential of this artistic development. While retaining the major characteristics of Brouwer's art - which, in any case, were adopted by Teniers as well - Ryckaert also incorporated elements in his work which point to a close observation and even imitation of Teniers's paintings. This tendency is particularly discernable in Ryckaert's paintings of a peasant interior with still life which belong to a widespread tradition.

The rustic kitchen or barn interior with an elaborate still life of household goods and utensils and/or groceries, appeared as a major theme in 1630 in Middelburg and Rotterdam simultaneously in closely related form<sup>24</sup>. Cornelis and Herman Saftleven, Pieter de Bloot and Hendrik Martensz Sorgh in Rotterdam and Frans Ryckhals in Middelburg, all worked with the theme, the origins of which are not yet clear to Renger (1986:63). According to Margret Klinge-Gross, Herman Saftleven should be credited with the creation of this theme (Klinge-Gross 1976,38:87)<sup>25</sup>. Despite Renger's hesitation, Klinge-Gross's argument would appear to be acceptable. She states that Herman Saftleven, born in Rotterdam in 1609, moved to Utrecht in 1632 and stayed there until his death in 1684 (Klinge-Gross 1976,38:68). But he travelled regularly and spent time in Antwerp from the early 1630s, where he would often work in collaboration with his elder brother, Cornelis, or with David Teniers the Younger (Klinge-Gross 1976,38:80). As early as 1630, Herman Saftleven began to produce works representing a barn interior with still life<sup>26</sup>. From 1634, he added figures to his compositions<sup>27</sup> under the influence of Teniers, whose earliest works of

this theme are dated 1633<sup>28</sup> (Klinge-Gross 1976,38:85,87). Teniers did not simply take over motifs from the paintings of his Dutch colleagues, and *vice versa*. Klinge (Antwerp 1991:19) reports that in 1634, after a short stay of Cornelis Saftleven in Antwerp, Teniers added figures (*stofferen*) to some paintings of Herman Saftleven<sup>29</sup>. This shows that a lively interaction existed between the artists of the Northern and Southern Netherlands. In Antwerp David II Teniers, deeply indebted to Herman Saftleven and Pieter de Bloot, took the lead in popularising the genre from 1633 onwards<sup>30</sup>. It would appear that, from the moment he became a free master in 1636, David III Ryckaert took an instant liking for the theme.

Before turning to Ryckaert's paintings, it is useful to take cognisance of some opinions on the meaning of the genre of peasant interiors with still life. According to Renger, it would be useless to look for any deep emblematic meaning in such paintings. They should rather be understood as an affectionate glorification of country life. Just like the Burgundian tapestries once showed the peasant at work, these painters represented him in his environment, at work and at leisure (Renger 1986:64). Sutton shares Renger's interpretation, stating that "the search for deeper symbolic meanings here ... tends to obscure the paintings' more general appeal as an account of, on the one hand, abundance, and on the other, a compellingly accurate account of a variety of commonplace objects" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:429). Other authors (Klinge-Gross 1976,38:81,88; Ember 1983,60-61:94) believe that paintings representing a peasant interior with still life are, in the first instance, Vanitas pictures. According to Klinge-Gross (1976,38:80), many works of the genre are invested with a secondary meaning embodied in the figures illustrating the five senses. The allegory of the senses refers significantly to the meaning of the barn still life as Vanitas, pointing to the transitoriness of all earthly things, including the pleasures of the senses. Ember (1983,60-61:106-110) offers a further, closely related interpretation. He explains the peasant interiors with still life as illustrations of the sinfulness of immoderate man. He arrives at this conclusion by accepting the interpretation of a disorderly group of broken and dirty objects as an image of "the uncontrollable nature" of man. Acknowledging the ideological influence of sixteenth-century allegories of the virtues and vices, Ember continues to establish a link between the

meaning of the still life as such, and the image of the sin of idleness. Among the capital sins are *Gula* and *Luxuria*, the principal idea of which is immoderation, and these two sins, combined with *Desidia* or idleness, are followed by poverty. The old objects scattered around in dilapidated barns and sheds evoke, through the image of the "disorderly household", the uncontrollable nature, the sinfulness of immoderate man (Ember 1983,60-61:106-110).

When viewing Ryckaert's *Tavern interior with amorous couple* (Cat.A2), signed and dated D.R.I.J.C.F.1636, one is immediately struck by the extent to which David III Ryckaert was influenced by David II Teniers. A comparison with Teniers's *Interior with still life and couple eating*<sup>31</sup> of 1634, discloses embarrassingly profuse similarities. Firstly, the overall composition is virtually identical. On the left an extended still life is displayed in front of a wall, which is situated close to the foreground and parallel to the picture plane. The right half of the paintings allows a view into a receding room, in the back of which a figure appears. A characteristic feature which typifies the entire genre, is the light falling into the interior from the left. It directly illuminates the still life and fades towards the right, leaving the background in a vague darkness. On the extreme right, a couple seated next to a barrel serve to counterbalance the still life on the left. But the likeness is not limited to these features: in both paintings the still life incorporates a metal basin, a large metal pitcher with a tuft of hay in its spout and a broom. Even the hat and the rumpled cloth or blanket reappear, but here in a different part of the painting. The motif of the couple shows similarities in the presentation of the man holding a beer-tankard and placing his other hand around the woman's shoulder. The woman, however, in the Ryckaert painting, lifts a glass of wine with her right hand, while balancing a pipe in the left<sup>32</sup>. Teniers's woman is in the process of eating a meal. It is possible that Ryckaert's couple is waiting to have a meal, which is being brought in by another woman climbing the cellar-stairs<sup>33</sup>. A very important difference resides in the fact that Ryckaert's figures are about the same age, while the man in Teniers's work is much older than the woman. As Klinge (Antwerp 1991:19) explains, Teniers's couple illustrates the theme of ill-matched lovers, the implications of which are reinforced by the still life<sup>34</sup>. Ryckaert's painting, on the other hand, represents a

potentially dangerous situation with erotic overtones, but without the negative connotations of ill-matched love. The warning against immoderation in carnal pleasures is implicit.

A variation on the *Tavern interior with amorous couple* is the Schwerin painting of a *Peasant interior* (Cat.A3), which is signed and dated D.RIJC.F 1617. The suggestion that it could be an identifiable work by David II Ryckaert, must be rejected immediately. The date has quite definitely been tampered with: this genre did not appear before the 1630s (Klinge-Gross 1976,38:85). It is most likely that the date on the painting of the *Peasant interior* originally read 1637. A comparison of this work with the *Interior of a barn with figures and still life* (Cat.A4), dated 1637, supports this assumption. The type of signature is again exactly the same (D.RIJC.F) and it appears on the same spot, that is, at the bottom left-hand corner. Both paintings representing the same subject matter, are strikingly similar in composition: the extended still life is placed slightly off centre to the left. On the left, a structure parallel to the picture plane closes off the composition, while on the right, the room recedes into the background where the figures occur. It is important to note that this type of composition, built up on a bisection of the picture plane, is reminiscent of Brouwer. But where Brouwer places the emphasis on the figural narrative, Ryckaert focuses on the still life. This decision was probably prompted by the works of Herman Saftleven, whose treatment of spatial organisation and roof construction, was also adopted by Ryckaert. Apart from the similarities, the two pictures also reveal significant differences, particularly in the figure types. In the *Peasant interior* (Cat.A3), the group consists of three Brouweresque peasant types gathered in front of an open fire. This section of the painting reveals Ryckaert's dependence on Brouwer even more clearly. The motif of the gathering of peasants in front of a fireplace was a favourite of Brouwer's, as was the eccentric positioning of the figures<sup>35</sup>. In the *Interior of a barn with figures and still life* (Cat.A4), the Brouweresque peasants are replaced by a woman with three children.

Ryckaert's peasant paintings with still life display a striking resemblance to works by Herman Saftleven<sup>36</sup>, who may be credited with the creation of this particular genre.

At the same time, this similarity explains Bernt's (1960:706) observation that one can easily mistake Ryckaert's peasant paintings for those by Hendrick Potuyl<sup>37</sup> and Frans Ryckhals<sup>38</sup>. This is not surprising, considering the fact that the artists practising this genre in different centres such as Antwerp, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Middelburg, Utrecht and Leiden, did not work in isolation (Klinge-Gross 1976,38:91). For instance, Frans Ryckhals of Middelburg spent some time in Rotterdam at the beginning of the 1630s. Here he came into contact with the brothers Saftleven. Similarly, Hendrick Potuyl was exposed to the influence of the Rotterdam painters (Ember 1983,60-61:102-103). Furthermore, it is known that the brothers Saftleven travelled to Antwerp, where they met and exchanged ideas with the painter David II Teniers. The question now remains which painter exerted the most direct influence on Ryckaert. No documents exist to clarify the issue. Did David III Ryckaert personally meet any of the Rotterdam artists who frequented Teniers's workshop? Zoëge von Manteuffel (1915,6:56) is of the opinion that Ryckaert's still lifes were imitations of those by the brothers Saftleven. While this remains a distinct possibility, it seems more likely that Ryckaert assimilated Saftleven's manner via Teniers. His painting of the *Tavern interior with amorous couple* (Cat.A2) does indeed prove that Teniers influenced Ryckaert profoundly. Furthermore, Ryckaert's growing concern with morality, which surfaces in the inclusion of traditional themes in his peasant scenes, points to Teniers as a decisive influence.

With regard to the meaning embodied in Ryckaert's peasant paintings with still life, it is safe to state that he invests his works with a moral warning when he sees fit - or maybe even on public demand. Klinge (Antwerp 1991:19) argues that in his peasant paintings with still life, Teniers attaches more importance to moral than to narrative issues. Invariably, she recognizes objects in his still lifes belonging to the large repertoire of Vanitas symbolism. Following the process of allegorical-emblematic interpretation, those objects are then recognised as well-known metaphors of transience (Antwerp 1991:84). In the case of Ryckaert's paintings, it would be a mistake to generalise on their nature or meaning. Each of his pictures requires an individual investigation and interpretation. Some iconographers may discover unmistakable clues, as in *Tavern interior with amorous couple* (Cat.A2) of 1636. In

other cases, however, Ryckaert brings home a message in an unobtrusive way, avoiding the admonishing finger-pointing of Teniers. In a painting such as the *Tavern interior* (Cat.A3) of Schwerin, his intentions are light-hearted, not moralising; peripheral, and not central to the narrative.

An exceptional picture of a barn interior is the representation of *The prodigal son* (Cat.A5). This painting, monogrammed and dated DRC 1637, is, in the first instance, an illustration of a religious theme, and as such, unique in Ryckaert's *oeuvre* of the early period. It also deviates from the artist's other works of this period in spatial organisation and figural composition. The emphasis has shifted from the large still life to the representation of the prodigal son who kneels down in humiliation on the left. The central space is filled with farm animals and barn utensils scattered about, while the second focal point is on the right, where a young man is seen milking a cow. Although these differences at first seem to cast a shadow of doubt on an attribution to David III Ryckaert, they may be ascribed to the iconographic requirements of the unusual subject matter. There is indeed a possibility that Ryckaert, who was inexperienced in this field, sought inspiration in Rubens's version of *The prodigal son in a stable*<sup>39</sup>, painted around 1618. Although the image is reversed, Ryckaert's painting exhibits several similarities with Rubens's picture, again pointing to the fashionable practice of borrowing from leading painters.

Ryckaert's paintings of peasants making music, executed in 1637, testify to his passion for the work of Brouwer. In *The violinist in a tavern* (Cat.A6), dated 1637, the influence of Brouwer is recognisable in various ways. As far as subject matter is concerned, he may have had recourse to Brouwer's *Peasants listening to a violinist*<sup>40</sup>, or the painting entitled *Hearing*<sup>41</sup>, featuring a man playing the violin. In order to avoid slavish imitation of the example set by Brouwer, however, he introduced some compositional changes. The composition is built up on a bisection of the picture plane, as in Brouwer's painting of *The innkeeper and his wife tasting wine*<sup>42</sup>. The lighting in the work resembles that in Brouwer's painting, where the source remains invisible. In this instance, however, Ryckaert has allowed a second light source to penetrate the otherwise sombre background. An open doorway throws light on the

silhouetted peasant warming his back in front of the fireplace. He turns his head smilingly to a companion who sits on a bench, with his back turned towards the viewer. This motif of a group of peasants in front of a fireplace, one of them warming his back, depicted frontally or in profile, alone, with a companion or in a group of smokers, was a favourite of Brouwer's and of his followers. The eccentric positioning of the figures is also taken from Brouwer. The one group on the left, brightly highlighted and colourfully executed, forms the focus of attention in the foreground. The secondary figures on the right, withdrawn in the shadowy middle-ground, are subordinated to the main scene, in order to maintain a strong compositional unity. On further investigation of *The violinist in a tavern*, the influence of Brouwer proves to be substantial<sup>43</sup>. Many of the objects represented are the same as those found in Brouwer's taverns: the partitioning board<sup>44</sup> with a pot on a shelf; the cap or biretta suspended on a nail in the wall; the beer-pitcher next to the table and an artfully draped cloth lying on the floor or hanging from the wall or shelf. In this painting, the beer-pitcher is turned into a prominent feature, as it catches the full intensity of the light and is placed in a somewhat isolated spot in the centre of the foreground. According to Renger, Brouwer used the device of single, emphasized objects to give accents to the picture. He maintains that Ryckaert, however, did not achieve this: the objects do not stand out, but remain carelessly arranged accessories (Renger 1986:61). Although Ryckaert tends to scatter around objects in his interiors, their presence and arrangement are, however, consciously calculated. He makes sure to place those objects, which are crucial to the meaning of the picture, in the beam of light, thus attracting the viewer's attention. The only element that does not refer directly to Brouwer, is the still life arranged in the bottom right-hand corner. Although Brouwer did include the occasional still-life object in his taverns, he showed no interest in the theme of the kitchen or barn interior with an elaborate still life.

Brouwer's pictures of musicians in a tavern, such as the painting entitled *Hearing*<sup>45</sup>, are representations of one of the five senses. Renger (1986:39) states that, in the early seventeenth century, representations of the five senses in cycles of five separate pictures were still popular. The five senses, however, also formed the central concept

of many genre paintings. Not necessarily forming part of a cycle, the senses of seeing, feeling, hearing, taste and smell, developed into independent themes (Renger 1986:39). Renger further argues that Brouwer's representations of the senses are not allegorical, but merely represent a physical condition or a human experience (Renger 1986:41). In accordance with Renger's argument, *The violinist in a tavern* (Cat. A6) by Ryckaert may very well be interpreted as an illustration of one of the five senses, namely hearing. Although the pronounced play of the facial features is reminiscent of Brouwer (Renger 1986:59), the figures singing show moderation - they are not caricatured in their actions. With regard to the artist's intention, it would thus seem that Ryckaert deviated from Brouwer: he was concerned with allegorical associations rather than with Brouwer's expression of human sensations. It will be shown that Ryckaert's paintings often contain references of an allegorical-emblematic nature, alluding to some moral message. This may encourage one to look for something more - what Eddy de Jongh (Amsterdam 1976) calls the "hidden meaning" - in every painting. It is important, however, to take into consideration the entire context of the works. To suggest that the painting of *The violinist in a tavern*, for instance, represents the theme of ill-matched lovers, would be far-fetched, since there are no sufficient clues warranting such an interpretation.

Ryckaert's assimilation of Brouwer's manner finds its most eloquent expression in his representations of peasants smoking and drinking in a tavern. According to Klinge, tobacco was introduced in Europe from the overseas territories during the second half of the sixteenth century. First it was used as a narcotic, while it was later enjoyed as a condiment in the form of chewing-tobacco. Pipe smoking, a habit spread by soldiers and seamen, grew into a veritable passion at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although it was condemned by Church and state as a vice, this habit quickly spread to all layers of society (Antwerp 1991:26). Because it was a subject of topical interest, artists would sometimes join forces with preachers and local authorities to fight the bad habit. They could reach the public by means of thought-provoking paintings containing a moralising message, warning people against its dangers. Keeping in mind that in those days tobacco was, in all probability, a drug preparation, smoking was regarded as a destructive habit, to the same degree as the excessive

intake of alcohol (Renger 1986:38). Painters could also warn people against the vanity of such sensual pleasure, which, they felt, could only bring ruin upon them<sup>46</sup>. Moreover, smoking was seen as "food for lovers", stimulating feelings and acts of love. This vice was the subject of an emblem with the motto "*Fumo pascuntur amantes*" ("*Van roock werd' ick gevoedt*"), meaning "Lovers feed on smoke". Jacob Cats clarified this dangerous side effect of smoking in unmistakable terms by means of the explanatory text<sup>47</sup> and the illustration, showing Cupid selling tobacco and pipes to flirting and smoking couples (Van Vloten 1862:23).

In *Tavern interior* (Cat.A7), also dated 1637, Ryckaert treats the theme of smoking and drinking peasants as did Brouwer in *Smoking and drinking peasants*<sup>48</sup>. Except for the two main figures in the central foreground, Ryckaert uses Brouweresque peasant types with ugly beardless faces, grotesque in appearance and distorted in their movements. Other references to Brouwer are unmistakable: the ravelling of smokers and drinkers in a tavern where pigs are free to roam<sup>49</sup>; pots and pans, randomly arranged on a shelf; the presence of an owl, alive or in the form of a drawing; a piece of paper pinned to the wall<sup>50</sup>; the beer-tankard suspended on a nail; dark jackets or trousers, contrasted with brightly rendered white collars or shirt-tips. The facial features of the two main smokers in the centre foreground are individualised and betray studies from live models. This indicates that, compared with Brouwer's conception of peasantry, Ryckaert favoured a gentler, less insistently coarse and brutal type of peasant as his main characters. Their faces are not contorted by a grotesque grin or deadened by a drunken pallor. Although the bald old man lifts the beer-tankard to have another mouthful, and the man on the right fills another pipe while still drawing on one, their behaviour is more moderate and decent - perhaps more acceptable. Their central positioning would seem to emphasize Ryckaert's disapproval of the other folks' intemperance.

Within the genre of smoking and drinking peasants, Ryckaert would often substitute the main group of carousing peasants with a peasant couple seated at a table. The earliest dated painting of this type is the *Tavern scene* (Cat.A8) in the National Gallery in Prague, dated 1638. As observed by Zoege von Manteuffel (1915,6:61),

its composition relies heavily on the well-known *Peasant tavern with the charming innkeeper*<sup>51</sup> by Brouwer. In both cases, two groups are arranged along a diagonal which is directed into the depth of the picture. With regard to meaning, Ryckaert is clearly moving closer to Teniers. The picture of the *Tavern scene* (Cat.A8) is an illustration of the theme of ill-matched lovers<sup>52</sup> - a theme favoured by Teniers<sup>53</sup>.

Playing cards is another activity traditionally associated with the lower classes. Peasants playing cards is a theme with a long tradition, and it remained popular in seventeenth-century Flanders. It was treated many times by Adriaen Brouwer, and this gave Ryckaert sufficient reason to practise it as well. Although David II Teniers painted a considerable number of card-playing peasants, Ryckaert was more attracted to Brouwer's interpretation of the theme. His painting of *The card players* (Cat.A9), probably executed around 1638, is clearly based on Brouwer's *Card-playing peasants in a tavern*<sup>54</sup>. No significant influences of Teniers's work can be traced. It is interesting to note that there exists a partial copy (Cat.A10) after *The card players* (Cat.A9). The fact that it is executed on a vertical format may indicate that it was conceived as a study for the larger oval painting<sup>57</sup>.

In 1638 the artist tried his hand at another favourite subject matter treated by Brouwer, namely the barber-surgeon. Ryckaert's painting of *The operation* (Cat.A11), dated 1638, is decidedly based on *The barber-surgeon performing a foot operation*<sup>58</sup> by Brouwer. Yet he showed himself to be more original in the adaptation of the original than, for example, David II Teniers who painted several versions of the subject of the village barber-surgeon<sup>59</sup>. The most striking feature of *The operation* (Cat.A11) by Ryckaert, is his concern with the expression of emotions. A general critique<sup>60</sup> levelled against Brouwer's followers is the loss of emotional intensity in the depiction of the figures. As mentioned before, in his early works Brouwer himself seems to be interested only in conveying traditional moralizing commentaries on immoderate behaviour. But his later works are mainly concerned with the representation of the variety of human emotions. This preoccupation with the exploration of human passions led him to concentrate on mimicry and expressive body language. Concentrating in his works on one specific centre of action at a

specific moment, Brouwer manages to create a closely knit group of people expressing fierce emotions. These emotions vary from the humorous or the theatrical, to genuine psychologically nuanced feelings (Renger 1986:38). In his depictions of doctors and barber-surgeons, Brouwer relies, to some extent, on the iconographic conventions of these pictures, which almost uniformly present the doctor as a risible charlatan and the patient as an ignorant fool (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:409). His intention, however, is to emphasize the inevitable effect of the surgeon's actions on his patient, as seen in *The barber-surgeon performing a foot operation*. In his painting of *The operation*, Ryckaert attempts to imbue his figures with lively feelings, though avoiding Brouwer's coarseness and brutality. The barber-surgeon is seen operating with a sharp instrument, eliciting from the unfortunate patient an audible gasp and a face contorted with pain. In a convulsive gesture he holds on to the injured leg with both hands, in the same fashion as Brouwer's patient.

This quality of emotional expression, however, was soon to disappear in Ryckaert's paintings, due to his progressive stylization of emotional attitudes into stereotypes. Ryckaert was not the only painter whose figures became uninvolved types, unable to react to any given situation. According to Renger (1986:53), the gradual disinterest in the expression of action and emotional response was a development common among peasant painters who followed Brouwer, including Joos van Craesbeeck and David Teniers the Younger. Individual facial expressions and the representation of emotional states, which were the crucial, vitalising components of Brouwer's paintings, were eliminated as a result of the growing tendency to draw on established figure types (Renger 1986:53)<sup>61</sup>. The loss of individual facial expression, as observed by Renger, is already clearly noticeable in Teniers's painting of *The village barber-surgeon*<sup>62</sup>. The figures are characterised by decidedly neutral expressions, turning the scene into a "harmless painting of the social scene" (Renger cited in Boston/Toledo 1993-94:411). Ryckaert, on the other hand, still rivalled Brouwer in his painting of *The operation* (Cat.A11), of which Joos van Craesbeeck made an exact copy<sup>63</sup>. This fact shows that Ryckaert was regarded as an esteemed colleague, whose work was considered worthy of imitation.

Ryckaert's interest in the theme of music was profound. In 1638 he painted the *Tavern interior* (Cat.A12) of Blois. A most interesting fact is that the figural composition is taken from Brouwer's *Peasants listening to a violinist*<sup>64</sup>, which proves that Ryckaert at times did not hesitate to imitate an entire composition. The painting of *A singer* (Cat.A13) of Amiens is another version which resembles *The violinist in a tavern* (Cat.A6) very closely. In this case, he used the theme of music not to illustrate the sense of hearing, but as a fitting pretext to moralise on the dangers of overindulgence in alcohol and tobacco, activities which lead to illicit love.

*The cobbler* (Cat.A14), executed in 1638, testifies to the variety of Ryckaert's interests. Moreover, he was quite original and creative in the choice of the theme of a cobbler in his workshop. Neither Adriaen Brouwer nor David II Teniers practised the genre before him. According to Vermeulen, who comments in condescending tone on Brouwer's followers, Ryckaert's representation of tradesmen at work was his sole merit and saving grace<sup>65</sup> (van Gelder 1946:306). The reasons why he developed a predilection for the theme can perhaps be found in the conditions prevailing in the market. The artist introduced this type of picture as one of his specialities, which would then be equated with his name. He would then try to exploit the type for as long as possible, thus ensuring a larger and more steady clientele<sup>66</sup>. In *The cobbler* (Cat.A14), the artisan and his female companion are almost identical to the flirting couple in *A singer* (Cat.A13) of 1638, except for the fact that the woman approaches the cobbler from the left. In the background scene and the presence of the pigs, the picture further relates to the *Tavern scene* (Cat.A7). This exemplifies Ryckaert's habit to mix and match different parts of various paintings which represent different themes. In this way the serious working environment is invaded by elements associated with leisure and pleasure, affecting the meaning of the painting<sup>67</sup>. *The smithy* (Cat.A15) is yet another work which deals with the subject of tradesmen at work. In this instance, the artist was not particularly creative in its conception. Apart from the different equipment found in a smithy and the blacksmith's activity itself, the painting of *The smithy* is more or less a repetition of the scene enacted in *The cobbler* (Cat.A14). The fact that no other pictures of this type are known at present, indicates that Ryckaert was not genuinely attracted to the subject of a smithy<sup>68</sup>.

Although Ryckaert repeated the theme of a peasant interior with still life many times, he was quite inventive in preventing tedious repetitions. As in his pictures of tradesmen at work, he would borrow motifs from other subjects and adapt them to the theme at hand. A fine example is the *Peasant interior with still life* (Cat.A16), which is a variant of the Schwerin *Peasant interior* (Cat.A3). The reference to smoking makes both of these paintings Vanitas pictures, warning against the transitoriness of earthly pleasures.

The *Drinking peasants in a barn interior* (Cat.A17) of Dresden, signed and dated D.RijC.F.1638, shows signs of change. The composition is reversed: the still life fills the right half of the picture, while the figures on the left do not recede far into the background of the room. The figures are stereotyped as simple uncouth peasants. They look like Brouwer's ugly beardless peasants, but lack their joyful spirit. It appears that by now Ryckaert was decidedly more interested in accentuating the emblematic-allegorical message. The men are toasting, drinking and singing: there is no denying that they illustrate the Five Senses. In this context, the still life as a whole<sup>69</sup> is not simply a casual arrangement of household objects, but must be interpreted as a Vanitas illustration.

Ryckaert painted his first version of a *Painter's studio* (Cat.A1) in 1636. He treated the subject again in 1638 in the Louvre version of the *Painter in his studio with model and assisting pupils* (Cat.18), but reinterpreted it "in a way that no longer suggests a desire to affront conventional values" (Filipczak 1987:143). In contrast to the peasant-like painter of 1636, the master, seated on a leather-upholstered chair, is dressed in elegant attire of Spanish fashion, a fact which associates him with the upper classes. He does not waste his time smoking, but applies himself wholeheartedly to the art of painting. The artist is seen working on a genre scene in a landscape. The stolid smoking peasant who sits holding a pitcher, poses as model in the studio for an outdoor drinking scene. According to Filipczak (1969-72,XXII:209), "Ryckaert is reminding the viewer that although a painter may depict low life scenes, he shares neither the outward appearance nor the locale of his subjects"<sup>70</sup>. The table with grinding stone which is moved to the right-hand side of

the picture is manned by an old peasant servant<sup>71</sup> who is in the process of pounding colours. Filipczak interprets this modification as follows:

The presence of an assistant who is grinding pigments further suggests that a master painter need not occupy himself with menial tasks; in the earlier version Ryckaert had not shown anyone next to the grinding equipment, as if this task was part of the painter's own work (Filipczak 1987:143).

The sudden change in Ryckaert's view of the artist happens to coincide with Brouwer's death in 1638. Subsequently, Teniers took Brouwer's place as the leading genre painter in Antwerp. Forced to accept the consequences of this development, Ryckaert shook off the image of the bohemian artist in preference for Teniers's conception of the educated, professional and socially respectable gentleman.

The number of paintings representing a peasant interior with smoking and drinking peasants attributed to Ryckaert, is quite astonishing<sup>72</sup>. Although the setting is usually the same, the artist plays around with the choice of models, the placement of the figures and their activities. This tendency is obvious when comparing the *Tavern interior* (Cat.A7) of 1637 with the *Interior with merry company* (Cat.A19). Whereas nothing tempers the debauchery in the *Tavern interior* of 1637, the *Interior with merry company* is moderated by the inclusion of a still life, a nursing mother and children. These elements render the moralising message more acute, reflecting the artist's increasing aversion to the common behaviour of peasants. His moralising attitude seems to indicate that the example set by Teniers exerted a growing influence on Ryckaert. This was, however, not a consistent feature. In *The smokers* (Cat.A20), which is a variation of the two works just mentioned, the reprimanding tone has been moderated, making place for an atmosphere of licentiousness.

In 1638-1639, Ryckaert, in the Budapest picture of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A21), decided to try his hand at a new theme. Jacob Jordaens is generally accepted to be the inventor of the subject of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe*. Among the numerous surviving examples, Jordaens's earliest work of this type is dated 1638. According to d'Hulst,

Jordaens altered the Flemish proverb 'as the old bird sang, so the young one twitters' - ie children imitate their parents - by substituting for *piepen* ('twitter') the word *pepen* or *pippen* ('pipe' or 'play the flute'). The meaning of course remained the same<sup>73</sup>, but instead of birds he was able to depict human beings in a domestic scene and to show both old and young making music after their own fashion (d'Hulst 1982:179).

When Jordaens's illustrations of the said proverb hit the market and proved extremely popular with his clients (d'Hulst 1982:179), Ryckaert saw his chance. Paintings *à la Brouwer* were rapidly growing out of fashion, and this placed Ryckaert in a precarious position. He was forced to adapt his scenes of peasant interiors, in order to ensure the marketability of his paintings. The theme of the said proverb gave him the opportunity to continue painting his favourite genre without drastic changes.

As seen in the Budapest version of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A21), Ryckaert has retained the motif of a group of peasants seated at a table, abandoning themselves to tobacco and alcohol<sup>74</sup>. The only elements that indicate the change of theme, are the adults' singing and the misbehaviour of the group of children - a result of the adults' indifference to such behaviour. In the 1639 dated picture of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A22)<sup>75</sup>, Ryckaert made sure to define his intentions clearly, by including a drawing of an owl flying to a nest of owlets. Even the proverb itself is inscribed at the bottom of the drawing. The Dresden painting (Cat.A22) is important as a transitional work. While still largely indebted to earlier works, it portends the style of painting which Ryckaert was to develop during the 1640s. It heralds the new in the choice of subject matter: Ryckaert was to produce more works of this theme in the following decade. The Dresden painting of 1639 further shows his ever growing tendency to push all the characters into the foreground and to divide them into two groups. They become larger and take up more space. As a result, the diagonal recession into the depth of the room becomes redundant, allowing the artist to bring the back wall closer to the foreground. The old woman with the wrinkled face who makes her first appearance here, will be Ryckaert's favourite model for many years to come. According to Zoege von Manteuffel (1915,6:61), this painting clearly indicates that Ryckaert seeks to conform to and even surpass Brouwer's late style.

The warm brown tones are gone, the lively local colours of the garments suppressed. The entire painting is executed in a range of cool grey, yellowish grey and grey-brown tones. The change in skin colour is clear. In the painting of 1638 [*Peasant interior* (Cat.A17)], heads and hands are executed in a powerful red-brown colour, somewhat roughly applied. Here, however, they are painted in long fine strokes of grey, yellow and pink colours. Painting and drawing have gained in assuredness. As a result of his growing control of painting techniques, he also starts to break away from the style of Brouwer (Zoege von Manteuffel 1915,6:61) (my translation).

The element that most strongly distinguishes this painting from Brouwer's work, is the group of children. Furthermore, Brouwer denounced illustrations of proverbs and confined himself to painting "pure" genre scenes. Ryckaert's paintings of this subject thus mark his gradual abandonment of Brouwer's manner. When comparing Ryckaert's paintings with works by Jordaens<sup>76</sup> of the same subject, it is clear that the influence of Jordaens is limited to the choice of subject matter. Their differences in approach are particularly noticeable in the treatment of the composition, space and figural types. Jordaens depicts - and criticizes - the easy comfortable life of the upper bourgeoisie. Ryckaert, on the other hand, portrays the less well-to-do middle classes. And although the moralising intentions of Ryckaert are undeniable, he consciously steers clear of the vivid satire which characterises Jordaens's paintings. Ryckaert formulated a personal interpretation of the theme, targeted at a clientele different from Jordaens's. There is, however, the possibility that Ryckaert was guided in his interpretation by the example set by David II Teniers. In a painting of a *Flemish tavern*<sup>77</sup>, dated 1634 and attributed to David Teniers the Younger, it is obvious that it illustrates the proverb "As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe". The group of children, assembled in the bottom right-hand corner, closely resembles Ryckaert's treatment of the motif. If created by Teniers, this picture provides evidence that Ryckaert was not "original", but resorted to the practice of imitation in formulating this particular genre.

Ryckaert also produced paintings of single figures. They are treated here as a separate category, because they defy approximate dating. Moreover, they share distinguishing characteristics, such as the vertical format. Due to the portrait-like nature of this particular subject matter, Ryckaert was forced to use an upright rectangular panel or

canvas. A further concession was the reduction of the size of the figures. Although the artist would occasionally portray a full-length figure, most of these pictures feature a half-length man or woman, posing frontally or turned in profile. A small panel of *The drinker* (Cat.A23), signed according to Legrand (1963:158), shows the influence of Brouwer, not only in the figure composition, but also in the spontaneity of the drinker's gesture. The painting is, however, more than just a study of human behaviour: it may be interpreted as an illustration of the sense of taste. It is perhaps not coincidental that the *Peasant smoking* (Cat.A24) of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, conforms with *The drinker* (Cat.A23) in medium, size, style and composition. As an allegory of smell, it may have been conceived as a pendant of *The drinker*. The Munich painting of *The toper* (Cat.A25) belongs to the same category. According to Renger, the gesture of the lifted glass<sup>78</sup>, which was still spontaneous *à la* Brouwer in the painting of *The drinker* (Cat.A23), has with *The toper* of Munich become a standard pose. The picture has now become purely a direct illustration of the sense of taste. Particularly striking about Ryckaert's treatment of single figures in this period, is the fact that the "single" figures are never alone. They are accompanied in the background by a secondary figure, which enforces the allegorical nature of the representation. This is seen again in the painting of the *Old man and young girl by a fire* (Cat.A26), which resembles *The toper* (Cat.A25) of Munich in the representation of two full-length figures in an interior. Everything in this picture refers to the sense of feeling, which justifies its classification as an allegory of touch. As an example of an allegory of sight, one may cite *In the painter's studio* (Cat.A27). This work represents an old man, apparently the same model as the one who posed for *Old man and young girl by a fire* (Cat.A26). Despite this coincidence, there is nothing to suggest that the artist intended these allegories as parts of a series or cycle.

According to Legrand (1963:158), the representation of half-length figures may have been encouraged by the example set by Joos van Craesbeeck<sup>79</sup>. As a matter of fact, the tradition of small paintings of half-figures and studies of heads, dates back to the sixteenth century in the Netherlands. Pieter Brueghel the Elder was one of the painters who contributed to its creation and development. Klinge maintains that during the first half of the seventeenth century, genre painters such as Adriaen

Brouwer, Joos van Craesbeeck, David III Ryckaert and David II Teniers, used this format to record the effect of certain states of mind and their affect on facial expressions. It is agreed that Brouwer, in particular, was concerned primarily with capturing the impulsive in man - extreme joy, anger or pain. Very often such pictures would show the consequences of the excessive use of tobacco and alcohol. While Teniers was not that much interested in Brouwer's thematic vision, Joos van Craesbeeck and Ryckaert happily continued this tradition. As an example of Ryckaert's contribution to this genre, Klinge cites an engraving by I.de Weert after a painting by David III Ryckaert<sup>80</sup>. Unfortunately this painting of *Old man asleep* (Cat.D23), which portrays an old man dozing off while lovingly cradling a beer-pitcher in his arms, is now lost. The importance of the engraving does not only reside in the fact that it provides visual documentation of a lost painting. Its accompanying text explains the meaning of the painting, encouraging Klinge to interpret pictures of this kind as warnings against gluttony and insatiability:

Ick gaep, ick giet, Ick vul de Maegh  
Met cost en dranck: maer 'k heb een plaegh  
Dat ick geen vollen Buyck behou  
Want 'k eet en drinck tot dat ick spou (Antwerp 1991:145)<sup>81</sup>.

According to Klinge, Ryckaert was singularly concerned with exposing the rudeness of man to public contempt (Antwerp 1991:145). As far as meaning and intention are concerned, it is unacceptable to simplify Ryckaert's paintings of single figures to such an extent. As observed in his other peasant pictures, the artist was often inclined to allegorize. There was no reason to suppress this tendency in his pictures of single figures. Renger states that in the seventeenth century, there was a development in genre painting to represent the senses under the guise of an everyday event. For example, women reading letters or doctors with a urine phial were common images for the allegory of sight, musicians for hearing, operations for feeling, smokers or drinkers for taste, and the care for babies for smell (Braunschweig 1978:67-73, cat.no.10). In Ryckaert's paintings of single figures, the anonymous types are always engaged in a specific activity and/or holding an object which is inextricably linked with it. This shows that his main objective here was to illustrate the different senses.

In conclusion, Ryckaert's early works, painted during the first years of his professional career (1636-1639), show that he had no scruples in applying the practice of imitation. His choice of subject matter was guided by the success of leading artists. Adriaen Brouwer stands out as Ryckaert's major source of inspiration in his depictions of peasants smoking and drinking, playing cards, making music and visiting the village-surgeon. When treating other subjects, Ryckaert would readily borrow iconographic schemes or elements devised by other painters such as David II Teniers, the Rotterdam painters, Jacob Jordaens and even Peter Paul Rubens.

With regard to style, Ryckaert was impressed most deeply by the art of Brouwer. He adopted Brouwer's skilful distribution of light, manipulation of space, figural types and smaller accessories. Ryckaert's dexterity in organising the composition also has its origin in Brouwer. Even his pleasant colouring resembles Brouwer's in the combination of brown and grey tones with warm and saturated local colours, though his tonalities are somewhat less matched<sup>82</sup>. Ryckaert's style is definitely naturalistic in a painterly manner, loose but assured brush strokes defining the setting. In contrast to the vagueness of the background, the centre of attention in the foreground is executed with the utmost care. Caught in a sharp light, the objects and/or figures are depicted in great detail. Particularly convincing is the effect of the reflection of light created by highlights in a heavy impasto. Otherwise his painting technique is smooth and even, achieved by a lightness of touch.

Many critics see it as a failure on Ryckaert's part that he never managed to master "la belle lumière, le coloris intense, le coup de pinceau dégagé, vif et pimpant" (*Biographie nationale* 1907,19:616) of David II Teniers. In comparison with Brouwer's work, Zoëge von Manteuffel considers Ryckaert's composition to be somewhat poor and disintegrated, the drawing dry, the colours coarse and unharmonious, while the light has something pale and uncertain about it (1915,6:56). In my opinion, it was not Ryckaert's wish to emulate Brouwer or Teniers in a slavish fashion. In order to build up a reputation, it was necessary to distinguish himself from other painters in a way he thought best. His aim was to achieve a harmoniously balanced composition which, compared to Teniers's, possesses greater intimacy.

According to Van Puyvelde, Ryckaert distinguished his work from that of Brouwer and Teniers by rendering it "more sentimental, more idyllic and less serious" (Van Puyvelde 1971:199). Although there is some truth in this statement, it requires modification. The moralising nature of Ryckaert's paintings is hard to deny. Although the scenes may appear as fragments of reality, the careful composition and studied execution of figures and objects alike contradict any spontaneous recording of a particular event. A situation is depicted in order to convey a message, though not a hidden one. Unambiguous symbolic references underline the moral warning and in this respect Ryckaert differed from Brouwer. As argued by Renger, from the 1630s onwards Brouwer's main concern was the representation of human emotions *per se*, without any undertones of moralizing didacticism. In his earliest paintings Ryckaert expressed a feeling of empathy in a way similar to Brouwer, but this genuine interest in the human conditions faded rapidly. Pressurised by Teniers and the success the latter gained with his moralising pictures, Ryckaert succumbed to the traditional mode of instruction, adapting the reprimanding tone of the moralist. Concomitantly his conception of the peasantry changed from Brouwer's insistently coarse and brutal type of peasant in favour of a gentler, more restrained type.

The pre-occupation with moral propriety may be interpreted as a result of the artist's concern with his own social standing. Ryckaert's representations of the peasants as objects of ridicule and examples of despicable demeanour were targeted at the urban bourgeoisie, encouraging the self-respecting viewer to avoid the excessive, foolish behaviour of the peasantry. But David III was not a peasant himself. He belonged to the same middle class as the people who could afford to purchase his paintings. This implies that the norms and values expressed in his paintings were not exactly those of the people represented. He construed an imaginative world, reflecting not real peasant life but what the affluent burghers expected it to be, and what the middle-class public wanted to see. His paintings provided a contorted image of reality, intended to consolidate and justify the existing social order. Therefore they cannot be regarded as expressions of a social conscience<sup>83</sup>. David III was not out to break down class barriers. To the contrary, by satirising the lower classes, he secured his own superior position in the social hierarchy, aligning himself with his clients<sup>84</sup>.

## ENDNOTES

1. ... Ryckaert is a great master in small figures, principally in stables and similar buildings ... (my translation).
2. On his return to Antwerp, he was inscribed as a master in *De Liggeren* of the Antwerp Guild of St Luke in 1631-1632 (Klinge-Gross 1969:181).
3. According to Vlieghe (Brussels 1991:267), even the most reputed history painters were influenced in their style and choice of subject matter by the demands of the large free market.
4. Van Puyvelde (1971:199) maintains that David III Ryckaert knew Brouwer personally, but no substantial evidence exists to support this assumption.
5. The young Ryckaert first painted landscapes which gained him a certain reputation; but when he realised the extent to which the works of Teniers, Brouwer, van Ostade, etc. attracted attention, he tried to imitate them, and was encouraged by the prices which his first paintings generated (my translation).
6. After the death of Pieter Brueghel the Elder, peasant pictures appeared less frequently in Antwerp. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, another type of genre painting took precedence, namely the small-figured cabinet pictures, representing elegant banquets, dancing, or music-making parties of the aristocracy. Another popular subject was the new genre of gallery painting, which became a speciality of Antwerp artists (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:173).
7. Muylle (Vekeman & Müller Hofstede 1984:139) states that the appreciation of peasant scenes of diverse masters was widespread during the seventeenth century up to ca.1700 among the circles of the bourgeoisie and high-ranking prominent citizens, the art-buying public.
8. See, for example, Braunschweig 1978; Vekeman & Müller Hofstede 1984; Muylle 1986 (unpublished dissertation); Hans-Joachim Raupp 1986; Renger 1986; Paul Vandebroeck 1987.
9. See, for example, Moxey (1981,12:107-30); Vandebroeck (1984, 14:79-124); Renger (1986b,4:253-282); Gibson (1992, 21(1):29-39).
10. According to Vandebroeck (1990, 9(6):42), the genre piece had its own rules. Everything in the picture, including dress, deportment, mimicry of the figures as well as the arrangement and kind of interior, is directly related to the "message" of the scene.
11. Veldman (1992,21(4):264) interprets the iconography of "the many popular images of beggars and poor, drunken and otherwise delinquent peasants and shabby folk ... [as] a clear warning against squandering time."
12. Muylle (Vekeman & Müller Hofstede 1984:139) is of the opinion that the public was more interested in buying peasant scenes and related iconographic themes because of their risibility, rather than for their presumed moralising and didactic undertones.
13. Sutton (Boston/Toledo 1994-94:406) maintains that Brouwer emigrated to Holland as early as 1621, stopping briefly in Antwerp on the way. He further traces him in Amsterdam in 1625 and in 1626, the year in which he returned to Haarlem.
14. Renger mentions in particular the copperplate engravings by Martin Schongauer and the so-called *Hausbuchmeister* of the second half of the fifteenth century. These graphic works laid the foundations for the peasant scenes of Dürer and his contemporaries of Nürnberg. Renger specifies as important works the woodcuts by the brothers Beham and Erhard Schön which were created after texts by Hans Sachs (Renger 1986:23-25, figs 7-9).

15. Woermann (1888:516) comments that, although David III was, without doubt, influenced by Brouwer, this fact has been overemphasized by some authors at the cost of the tradition established by the Ryckaert family itself. Woermann himself fails to point out those particular Ryckaert characteristics.

16. These connotations of the word *boer* (see *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, vol 3, pt 1, cols 157-58, art 1b) had long been established by the time of Brueghel and the Verbeeck family (Gibson 1992,21(1):32).

17. As observed by Miedema (Vekeman & Müller Hofstede 1984:8), this type of representation is valuable as a source that provides information on ideas current in the immediate environment of those for whom it was destined. On the other hand, it tells particularly little about the extent to which those ideas were put into practice.

18. In his later versions of the painter's studio this unconventional view of the artist changed drastically. Filipczak maintains that Ryckaert did not have the same degree of independence as Brouwer "to remain free of the dominant social conventions. To voluntarily step outside the social norms was not an acceptable alternative for most artists" (Filipczak 1987:117).

19. Filipczak even suggests that Ryckaert may have been prompted in this unusual choice of subject by a similar work of Adriaen Brouwer. "Though no studio painting by Brouwer is known today, the inventory of Rembrandt mentions 'One painter's studio by the same Brouwer'" (Filipczak 1987:142-143).

20. Note that the characterisation as a bohemian, refers to the appearance of the artist and not to his painting practice or way of living. As demonstrated by Raupp and Renger, "the romantic view of Brouwer as a modern bohemian *avant la lettre*, uncritically recording the bumptious life of an underworld in which he himself lived is surely a fiction" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:412).

21. David II Teniers. *The painter in his studio*. Signed and dated D.TENIER.F 1635. Panel, 54,6 x 77,5 cm. Private collection (Antwerp 1991:50-51, cat.no. 11).

22. As a visual faculty, memory was considered the most important quality determining the innate talent or *ingenium* of the artist (Muller 1982,64(2):246).

23. In addition, the painting of the *Painter's studio* exemplifies contemporary practices with regard to the instruction of pupils and working methods of the master. For an introductory discussion of these issues, see W. Martin's series of articles first published in *The Burlington Magazine* (1905,7; 1906,8; 1907,10) and reprinted in *Seventeenth Century Art in Flanders and Holland* (1976,9:85-117), edited by Ackerman, Crosby, Janson and Rosenblum.

24. This genre was practised in distinctive styles in Haarlem by Adriaen and Isack van Ostade and in Leiden by Jan Davidsz de Heem, Pieter Symonsz. Potter and the brothers Steenwijck (Klinge-Gross 1976,38:68). See also Klessmann (1960:92-115) and Schnackenburg (1970,85:158-169).

25. Ember (1983,60-61:94) expresses the same opinion, but arrives at this conclusion in another context. There is no direct reference to Klinge's argument. Schulz (1978:18-19) on the other hand, believes that a conclusive judgment is impossible without the knowledge of more dated paintings. He does, however, concede that the brothers Saftleven played a far more important role in the 1630s with their barn interiors than did David II Teniers.

26. See his drawing of a *Barn interior*. Signed bottom left: H. Saft. Leuen 1630. Black chalk on parchment, 19,8-20,2 x 27,2-27,5 cm. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, inv.no. Z.1806 (Klinge-Gross 1976,38:69, fig.1).

27. See, for example, in his painting of a *Stable interior with still life of kitchen and farm utensils with two boys playing marbles*. Signed and dated "Harmanus/Saft Leuen/Fc 1634". Panel, 41 x 57,5 cm. Brussels, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv.no. 407 (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:429, fig.1).

28. An example is *Domestic still life*. Signed DAVID TENIER FEC A/ 1633. Panel, 26 x 22 cm. Auction Lausanne, Kunsthaus Cevat, 1960; present location unknown (Klinge-Gross 1976,38:85, fig.31).

29. Note that Schultz (1978:21-22) disputes the notion that Cornelis or Herman Saffleven ever collaborated with David II Teniers.

30. According to Sutton (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:427), this type of genre painting became popular in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands around 1640. However, the large number of paintings produced before 1640, provides evidence that the genre flourished earlier, namely during the second half of the 1630s.

31. David II Teniers. *Interior with still life and couple eating*. Signed and dated 1634. Panel, 46,5 x 63,5 cm. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, inv.no. 193 (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:429, fig.3).

32. Here Ryckaert virtually copied the drinking and smoking woman of Teniers which appears in *Old man and young girl* dated 1635 (signed and dated D.TENIER F 1635. Panel, 40 x 36 cm. Private collection, Madrid (Antwerp 1991:54, cat.no.12)). In this work, Teniers not only illustrates the theme of unequal lovers, but also comments on the futile wasting of time (Antwerp 1991:54).

33. The same motif of a figure appearing through the cellar-flap and bringing in a plate of food, features in *The card-players* of 1633 by Teniers (panel, 31,5 x 53,5 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, GK139 (Antwerp 1991:30-31, cat.no.3)). The presence of this figure in Ryckaert's painting indicates that the setting is a tavern and not a barn.

34. Klinge demonstrates that the broken urn, the pitcher with the tuft of hay, abandoned shoes and extinguished candles and lanterns are direct amorous allusions and, at the same time, warnings against an all too excessive love life. Teniers thus establishes an allegorical-emblematic connection between the different parts of his representation (Antwerp 1991:19).

35. Ryckaert's introduction of Brouwer-elements in this genre, prompted Gerson and ter Kuile to observe that "the early Ryckaert of 1636-9 saw Brouwer with the eyes of the Rotterdam painters, of the Safflevens, Sorgh, and Diepraam" (Gerson & ter Kuile 1960:147-148).

36. See, for example, his *Stable interior with still life of kitchen and farm utensils with two boys playing marbles*. Signed and dated 1634. Panel, 41 x 57,5 cm. Brussels, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv.no.407 (Ember 1983, 60-61:95, fig.66; Boston/Toledo 1993-94:429, fig.1). The resemblance is most evident in the composition, spatial organisation and the placement of the figures.

37. See, for example, *Interior of a peasant home*. Signed H.Potuyt. Panel, 56,3 x 82,8 cm. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inv.no. 1972 (Ember 1983,60-61:102, fig.73).

38. See, for example, *Still life in front of the stable*. Monogrammed and dated 1641. Panel, 32 x 61,2 cm. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inv.no. 9768 (Ember 1983,60-61:101, fig.71).

39. Peter Paul Rubens. *The prodigal son in a stable*. Oil on panel, 107 x 155 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv.no. 781 (Muller 1989:124, plate 80).

40. Adriaen Brouwer. *Peasants listening to a violinist*. Panel, 27,2 x 34,8 cm. Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet, Palais de Malte (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 175).

41. Adriaen Brouwer. *Hearing*. Panel, 24 x 20 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek inv.no. 629 (Renger 1986, plate 10).

42. Adriaen Brouwer. *The innkeeper and his wife tasting wine*. Panel, 39,9 x 52,5 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek inv.no. 1281 (Renger 1986, plate 17).

43. De Mirimonde (1968:185) rather recognises in the painting a flagrant imitation of Teniers.

44. The wooden partition remains a favourite compositional element, even in Ryckaert's later works (Zoega von Manteuffel 1915,6:55).

45. See note 41.

46. For an emblematic interpretation of the image of a smoker, see Braunschweig (1978:154-157, cat.no.36).

47. Men hout, dat Venus kint meynt handel aen te grijpen,  
Het veylt tabak te koop, en menig hondert pijpen.  
Roock is sijn kramery, roock is sijn beste vont, ...  
En noch is 't al vermaeck, gelijck de vryers meenen;  
Roock is sijn gantsche rijck, roock is sijn beste goet  
't Is roock, 't is enckel roock, al wat den minnaer voedt.  
(Van Vloten 1862:23)

48. Adriaen Brouwer. *Smoking and drinking peasants*. Panel, 35,1 x 26,5 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek inv.no. 20662 (Renger 1986, plate 11).

49. According to Renger (1986:34), it is most likely that greedy pigs were to be found in dirty taverns. Therefore, their presence in the painting reflects a truthful record of reality. To attach a symbolic meaning to the pigs, would be rather difficult to substantiate, although the reference to the behaviour of men as pigs could be implied.

50. The piece of paper pinned to the wall under the shelf, bears Ryckaert's signature and date of execution. Ryckaert probably adopted this peculiar way of signing from David II Teniers.

51. Adriaen Brouwer. *Peasant interior with the charming innkeeper*. Medium and size not mentioned. Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv.no. 896 (Zoege von Manteuffel 1915,6:61).

52. On the theme of unequal lovers, see also Braunschweig (1978:110-115, cat.no.22).

53. In this context it is noteworthy that Ryckaert has been credited with the execution of *A couple in an interior* (Cat.C97).

54. Adriaen Brouwer. *Card-playing peasants in a tavern*. Panel, 33,2 x 43,2 cm. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (Antwerp 1991:30, fig.3a). The presence of the window, the activities and positions of the figures comprising the main group, and the background scene of peasants gathered in front of a fireplace, are all elements that can be traced back to the work of Brouwer.

55. David II Teniers. *Card players*. 1633. Panel, 31,5 x 53,5 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv.no. GK139 (Antwerp 1991:30-31, cat.no.3).

56. In this respect it must be pointed out that a large number of pictures representing card-playing peasants have been attributed to David III Ryckaert (see Catalogue C). The majority of those paintings are, however, more closely related to the manner of Teniers and must be considered as the work of more eclectic followers of Teniers.

57. An alternative explanation is that the painting of *The card players* (Cat.A10) is the remaining part of a larger composition on horizontal format.

58. Adriaen Brouwer. *The barber-surgeon performing a foot operation* (ca.1631). Panel, 31,4 x 39,6 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek inv.no. 561 (Renger 1986, plate 1; Boston/Toledo 1993-94, cat.no. 64).

59. David Teniers the Younger. *The village barber-surgeon*. Signed lower right D.TENIERS.FEC. Panel, 55,5 x 69 cm. Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv.no. GK 147 (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:409, fig.3).

*At the village doctor*. Signed D.TENIERS.F and dated 1636. Panel, 46 x 63 cm. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv.no. 565 (Antwerp 1991:61, no.14).

*At the village doctor*. Signed D.TENIERS.FEC and dated 1678. Canvas, 39,5 x 47 cm. Private collection (Antwerp 1991:271, no.93).

In the Kassel version of *The village barber-surgeon*, the composition is basically the same as in Brouwer's picture, with the three main figures placed in a triangle and the barber shaving a customer in the right-hand background.

60. See, for example, Renger (1986:53).

61. Lassaigne shares this opinion: "As was only to be expected, Brouwer's disciples and imitators found it hard to grasp the deeper implications of his art. They merely took over the more picturesque aspects of his subjects, adding piquant details, novel turns of expression or moralistic innuendos" (Lassaigne 1958:182).

62. David Teniers the Younger. *The village barber-surgeon*. Signed lower right D.TENIERS.FEC. Panel, 55,5 x 69 cm. Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv.no. GK 147 (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:409, fig.3).

63. Joos van Craesbeeck. *The quack*. Canvas, 42 x 59 cm. Auction Vienna, Dorotheum 14-6-1966, no.21.

64. Adriaen Brouwer. *Peasants listening to a violinist*. Panel, 27,2 x 34,8 cm. Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet, Palais de Malte (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 175).

65. "Naast hem [David II Teniers] heeft dan David Ryckaert ... althans die verdienste, dat hij met een bezadigden zin voor werkelijkheid ook ambachtslieden bij hun alledaagschen arbeid schildert" (Vermeulen in Van Gelder 1946:306).

66. See also Lasius (1992:71).

67. For a more detailed discussion of the theme, see Chapter IV.

68. Another explanation is that the artist was commissioned - most probably by a blacksmith who wanted to see his trade perpetuated in paint - to paint this picture. It is, however, unlikely that Ryckaert portrayed the blacksmith's actual workshop, seeing that it shows such close affinity with the workshop of *The cobbler* (Cat.A14).

69. It is interesting that David II Teniers painted a similar still life in *Kitchen interior with still life and flayed ox* (Signed D.TENIERS.F. Panel, 33 x 44 cm. Private collection (Antwerp 1991:84-85, cat.no.23)). According to Klinge this painting was executed in the 1640s.

70. Legrand (1963:154) comments on this work as a document revealing the working methods of an artist. She concludes that the outdoor setting was painted beforehand, after drawings, without liaison with the posing model. See Martin (1907,10:144-154) for more information on seventeenth-century painting procedures.

71. As observed by Martin, the impression conveyed of the colour-grinder "is less that of a pupil than of a wholly un-artistic workman. It is probable that assistants of this description were employed in the painter's workshops, though we have no certain information on the subject" (1905,7:423).

72. There is a tendency among auctioneers to, hastily and arbitrarily, attribute paintings of this genre to Ryckaert. The extensiveness of Catalogue C exemplifies this.

73. It must be noted, however, that the force of idiom is lost completely by the change of word.

74. The motif of a group of drinking and smoking peasants gathered around a table, is probably the most distinctive feature of Ryckaert's early work. First seen in the 1637 dated painting of a *Tavern interior* (Cat.A7), the artist repeats it endlessly, with interesting alterations, until the end of the decade. In some instances, he uses the motif as a secondary point of interest, relegated to the shadowy background. In other cases, the group of peasants forms the primary focus of attention.

75. Legrand (1963:154-155) erroneously cites a date of 1642. Her assumption that this painting forms the pendant of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* of the same museum (Cat.A49), is equally incorrect.

76. See, for example, Jacob Jordaens's *As the old sang, so the young pipe*. Signed and dated J.Jor.fecit 1638. Canvas, 120 x 192 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (d'Hulst 1982:167, fig.137).

77. Attributed to David II Teniers. *Flemish tavern*. 1634. Canvas, 36 x 55 cm. Formerly Berlin, Collection Markus Kappel; present location unknown (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:435, fig.3).

78. See, for example, Brouwer's painting of *A tavern*. Panel, 35,5 x 27,2 cm. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv.no. 2063 (Renger 1986, cat.no.16, plate 12).

79. It is possible that Ryckaert and Van Craesbeeck interacted on a professional level, since the latter is known to have made a copy of Ryckaert's picture of *The operation* (Cat.A11).

80. I.de Weert after David Ryckaert. "*Ick gaep, ick giet, Ick vul de Maegh...*". Engraving: "D.Rijcaert pinxit/ I.de Weert fecit" (Antwerp 1991:145, fig.46a).

81. "I yawn, I pour, I fill my stomach / With food and drink: but I have a complaint / Namely that I can't keep my belly full / Because I eat and drink until I puke" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:438).

82. This stylistic affinity led Zoëge von Manteuffel (1915,5:71) to conclude that Ryckaert's early art comes close to the Dutch style, which was introduced to the Antwerp school by Brouwer. Although Brouwer worked for a considerable time in the Northern Netherlands, it is hardly justified to identify him as a Dutch influence on Ryckaert.

83. See Veldman (1992, 21(4):260-261) for a discussion of this aspect in relation to sixteenth-century Netherlandish prints.

84. This argument is in line with Vandenbroeck's discussion of the concept of 'the savage' or 'the Other'. He argues that "*wildheid*" (savageness) comprises everything that one believes not to be. The concept of savageness (or otherness) is used to identify the own cultural identity in a negative way (Vandenbroeck 1987:8). In the same way, Ryckaert used the image of the uncouth peasant as a means of negative self-definition, the peasant representing all those qualities which he, Ryckaert, and his clients despised.

## CHAPTER IV

### The middle period ca.1639-1649

During the 1640s a significant change occurred in the works of David III Ryckaert and other followers of Brouwer, such as Joos van Craesbeeck (ca.1606-1654/1661) and Gillis van Tilborgh (ca.1625-ca.1678). There was a general tendency to enervate Brouwer's carefully considered realism by a preoccupation with decoration and variegation - a tendency which d'Hulst (1961-66,XIX:95) perceives to be a return to the traditional character of Flemish painting. Painters favoured "a more courtly treatment, models representative of a more genteel society, and a return to a clear and multicolored palette" (Larsen 1985:318). The driving force behind this movement was David II Teniers, who became the leading master in genre painting in the Southern Netherlands as a result of his extraordinary activity and considerable prestige (d'Hulst 1961-66,XIX:95).

Ryckaert's change of approach is noticeable in the painting of *The butcher's shop* (Cat.A28), dated 1639. It constitutes a significant break with his early work in that the setting is not a lowly peasant hovel, but a socially respectable interior, as indicated by the map on the wall. The two main figures of a butcher<sup>1</sup> and his wife are equally respectable. Especially the woman's ruff collar places her in a higher social position than, for example, the women accompanying cobblers. The couple's elevated social status does not, however, necessarily preclude moral transgressions. The artist uses the scene as an illustration of "*memento mori*", reminding the viewer of the inevitability of death.

At this stage it was crucial for Ryckaert to distinguish himself from his fellow painters in order to build up a reputation. This ambition is particularly discernable in his representations of children. Whereas Brouwer and David II Teniers scarcely paid any attention to children in their work, Ryckaert displays a genuine interest in them

from 1639 onwards. The motif of a group of children has already been observed in the Dresden painting of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A22) of 1639. More convincing proof of his love of children are the paintings which are entirely devoted to children. It is possible that he was encouraged in this choice of subject matter by the example set by the Dutch painter, Jan Miense Molenaer. There is, however, no evidence to suggest any personal contact between the two artists. On the other hand, it is a known fact that the trade in art works between the Northern and Southern Netherlands was a thriving business, ensuring the exchange of novelties in the artistic field. Most likely, Ryckaert was exposed to Molenaer's work, using it as a starting point for his own compositions.

The earliest known work of this genre by Ryckaert is the *Children's procession* (Cat.A29)<sup>2</sup>, executed in the late 1630s. The iconography and general composition of the painting seem to betray Ryckaert's acquaintance with Molenaer's version of the *Children's procession*<sup>3</sup> in the Hermitage. Otherwise, Ryckaert has successfully adapted the theme to his own style and skills. When comparing this picture with the Dresden painting of 1639 (Cat.A22), the similarities in the execution of the children are particularly striking. A new element is the outdoor setting, and it is clearly evident that the artist struggled with the rendering of the exterior. Although the procession is set in a village street, it is treated as an interior scene with the light streaming in from the left, as if falling through an open doorway. Brouwer had painted outdoor scenes before Ryckaert, but it is more likely that the latter sought inspiration in works by Teniers, such as *Peasants playing bowls*<sup>4</sup> or *Landscape with maid at well*, executed in the late 1630s. Teniers was increasingly acclaimed for his landscape paintings, and this tendency may have prompted Ryckaert to include the occasional view of a landscape in his paintings during the 1640s. As concerns meaning, this scene appears to be the enactment of a folk practice, popular in France under the name of *charivari* and known in the Low Countries as *scherminkelen* or *ketelmuziek*<sup>6</sup>. Fishman describes it as follows:

One folk practice widespread in seventeenth-century Europe involved the festive use of kitchen implements and was performed by small groups of young men. This was the noisy, sometimes costumed demonstration directed

against local wrongdoers .... The occasions for such enactments of folk justice were varied, but they centred chiefly on sexual matters. A husband cowed by a domineering wife, a widow or widower making a second marriage, an older man courting a young girl were all vulnerable to this ritual ridicule. Because *ketelmuziek* was often instigated by village youth groups, the last target (the overage suitor) can be viewed as a result of resentment against the loss of an eligible bride to someone considered inappropriate. Typically, a *charivari* focused on an overaged suitor would contain a good deal of sexual innuendo. In addition, if the suitor came from outside the community, the ceremony could become violent (Fishman 1982:72-73).

*Un charivari* or *A hullabaloo* (Cat.A43) of the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Lille, can be dated slightly later. As in the *Children's procession* (Cat.A29) of 1639, Ryckaert has included a view into the far distance where the church steeple rises above the houses of the village. Conscious of his limitations in depicting a landscape, he has now narrowed it down to a small strip between the two houses on the sides.

In 1640, Ryckaert created a work entitled, *Schinkenklopper* or *De harde hand*<sup>7</sup> (*The warm hand*) (Cat.A30). This picture demonstrates once more that Ryckaert was first and foremost a painter of figures, preferably placed in an interior. Once again, and to an even greater extent than in the *Children's procession* (Cat.A29), Ryckaert has failed to adapt the scene to its exterior setting. The view of the landscape on the left, though better integrated, seems to have been added as an afterthought, as if the artist made an effort to conform to the public taste formed by Teniers. According to Renger (1986:60), Ryckaert is indebted to Brouwer in the depiction of the two plump children, who in their well-nourished roundedness, may have run from the kitchen in Brouwer's *Pancake baker*<sup>8</sup>. This statement is misleading in its implications and basically incorrect. The representation of children's games was Ryckaert's own contribution to seventeenth-century Flemish genre painting. In doing so, he revived a tradition that dates back to the time of Pieter Brueghel the Elder<sup>9</sup>. As is the case with many children's games, this game is simply an imitation of adult behaviour, without its original connotations<sup>10</sup>. The gallant game of forfeits played by adults, required that one of the participants hid his/her face in the lap of a male or female friend. Holding a hand on the back, the others were expected to slap it until the victim was able to guess who had touched him/her (Brussels 1991:462). The painting by

Hieronymus Janssens (1624-1693) of *The game of the warm hand*<sup>11</sup> illustrates that this custom was still *en vogue* in Ryckaert's days<sup>12</sup>. The imagery contained an explicit reference to the saying "The whore's lap is the devil's boat", imposing a moralising interpretation. When played by children, the enactment of this game does not elicit such an interpretation (Renger 1986:124, note 35).

Another work depicting children, is the painting in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, entitled *The village fool* (Cat.A31), the meaning of which is somewhat puzzling. The perceived inconsistencies in both *The warm hand* (Cat.A30) and *The village fool* (Cat.A31) can, however, be explained thanks to the emergence of another version of *The warm hand* (Cat.B10)<sup>13</sup> in the art market. The latter painting is very interesting in that it is an exact combination of *The warm hand* (Cat.A30) of Munich on the left and *The village fool* (Cat.A31) of Berlin on the right. Moreover, the width of the Munich (49 x 38,5 cm) and Berlin<sup>14</sup> (32 x 24 cm) paintings put together, add up, more or less, to the width of the Cologne picture (48 x 63 cm). It may thus be assumed that *The warm hand* (Cat.A30) and *The village fool* (Cat.A31) originally constituted one painting<sup>15</sup> on a horizontal format<sup>16</sup>. The Cologne picture (Cat.B10) is, therefore, a copy of the original, and may have been executed by Ryckaert himself. To the category of children at play must be added, *Children's fancy-dress parade* or *Charivari* (Cat.A44), representing a large group of young boys parading as a mock army troop. The presence of the by now familiar village fool clearly marks it as a work by Ryckaert.

As mentioned above, Ryckaert's interest in the depiction of children is also highlighted in his illustrations of the proverb, "*So de ouden songen, so pijpen de jongen*". In comparison with the 1639 version of Dresden (Cat.A22), the picture of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A33) painted in 1640<sup>17</sup>, shows that the artist seriously reconsidered his treatment of the theme. Compositionally, the picture is more harmoniously balanced, due to an even distribution of the main figures. A link is thus formed between the two groups - a formal aspect that was still missing in the 1639 painting. By changing the children's behaviour, the artist has managed to relate them more closely to the adults, rendering the message more

poignant. The Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden possesses a second panel representing the theme of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A49)<sup>18</sup>, dated 1642. It is virtually a replica of the 1640 version, except for a few alterations in the cast<sup>19</sup> and setting. Although Ryckaert still preferred not to imitate the manner of Jordaens, he did not refrain from borrowing some motifs from the artist. The banderole with the inscription of the proverb was first introduced by Jordaens<sup>20</sup> in *As the old sang, so the young pipe* of 1638<sup>21</sup>. The motifs of the birdcage and of the bearded old man keeping time to the singing with the lid of his beer-tankard, seen in Ryckaert's version of 1640 (Cat.A33), seem to have been inspired by Jordaens's painting of *As the old sang, so the young pipe*, executed around 1638-40<sup>22</sup>. After 1642, no more dated works by Ryckaert illustrating the said proverb are known until 1650. One may assume that his established clientele was not so much taken by the theme, which proved more suited to the life and morals of the upper classes.

The extent to which the artist succeeded in attaining recognition as a master painter is partly reflected by the number of apprentices receiving training in his studio. In 1640 David III Ryckaert accepted **Peeter van Bredael** (or van Breda) (1622<sup>23</sup>-1719<sup>24</sup>) as a pupil and undertook to instruct him in the art of drawing and painting for four years (SAA, Jongelinckx, Bavo. *Protocolen*, 1635-1677. NOT.2210, 3 Feb 1640) (see Appendix II, Doc.A)<sup>25</sup>. After his training, van Bredael went travelling to different countries, including Spain and Italy<sup>26</sup>. He was admitted to the guild of St Luke in Antwerp as a "volle meester" in 1650-1651, when Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert filled the position of dean (Rombouts & van Lerius 1872,II:215,219). Van Bredael mainly painted Italianate landscapes with ruins, markets<sup>27</sup>, battle scenes<sup>28</sup> and other related subjects<sup>29</sup> (Thieme & Becker 1910,4:563; De Maere & Wabbes 1994:75), far removed from Ryckaert's *oeuvre*. De Maere & Wabbes (1994:75) are quite correct in stating that van Bredael's paintings "resemble J.Brueghel I's animate landscapes and [that] his figural conceptions recall the work of D.Teniers". Judging by the number of apprentices trained by him<sup>30</sup>, van Bredael must have been regarded as a painter of some merit.

**Erasmus de Bie** (1629-1675)<sup>31</sup> was apprenticed to David III Ryckaert in 1641 (Legrand 1963:185). He was the son of the painter Frans de Bie<sup>33</sup>, and entered the painters' guild in 1645-1646 (Rombouts & van Leries 1872:125). He was influenced by his master in that he became a keen follower of David II Teniers as well. Subjects painted by him are market scenes, carnivals, peasant scenes and kermis, as well as animals, landscapes (views of Antwerp) and religious themes (Thieme & Becker 1910,4:5-6; De Maere & Wabbes 1994:53). His best-known works are *The Carnival in Antwerp*<sup>34</sup> and *The Meir in Antwerp*<sup>35</sup>, which testify to his preference for the compositions of David II Teniers<sup>36</sup>.

In *De Liggeren* of 1640-1641, two more names appear of *leerjongens* who were apprenticed to Ryckaert, namely **Jacobus II de Lafos** and **Hans la Croys** (Rombouts & van Leries 1872:123). Jacob or Jacques de Lafos (or (de) la Fos(se)) became a free master in 1648-1649 (Rombouts & van Leries 1872,II:197,200). No works by this artist are, however, presently known<sup>37</sup>. Hans la Croys (or la Croix) was never registered in the Antwerp painters' guild as an independent painter. Although it is possible that he moved to another city, it is more likely that he never pursued an artistic career, since works by his hand are non-existent<sup>38</sup>. David Ryckaert III may have had even more pupils, considering that he did gain a relatively good reputation. The available written sources, however, remain silent on this issue.

The number of registered pupils of David III Ryckaert is relatively low. Besides the fact that none of them managed to build up an important artistic reputation, his pupils' works also show very little affinity in style with Ryckaert's *oeuvre*. Ryckaert thus failed - or intentionally refused - to train his apprentices as followers in his manner. Only occasional admirers would sometimes imitate his works or borrow motifs from his *oeuvre* which proved to be popular with the general public.

Ryckaert's early interest in the theme of a peasant interior with still life was certainly not short-lived. As seen in the previous chapter, he painted many versions of it, altering and revitalising the subject in order to sustain the public's interest. In the *Barn with still life, dog and old woman* (Cat.A34) dated 1640, the most conspicuous

change occurs in the setting. The still life is arranged outside the barn against an exterior wall. The large accumulation of objects forms the single and central focus, while the background figure of an old woman is hardly noticeable. Judging by Zoege von Manteuffel's (1915,6:64) description, the Dresden painting of *Still life with boy and spinning top* (Cat.D21), which was destroyed during World War II, must have been similar in conception. Another work of this genre is the *Barn interior with still life* (Cat.B12) of Genève, although the attribution to Ryckaert remains somewhat problematic. The paintings of a peasant interior with still life usually include one or more figures, however inconspicuous. Yet Ryckaert also executed pictures where the still life of barn and kitchen implements constitutes the one and only subject. Due to his habit of revitalising "old" themes throughout his career, it is a problematic undertaking to suggest approximate dates for his still lifes. They are dealt with in this chapter, because a date earlier than 1640 seems least plausible. It is, however, possible that they were executed during the 1650s. A typical example is the picture of *Rustic utensils in a barn* (Cat.A35), which is a studied arrangement of the objects recurring regularly in Ryckaert's paintings. The *Interior with armour and arms* (Cat.A36) of the Museum of Besançon is somewhat exceptional in that the still life includes armour-plates.

The themes considered so far all betray a concern with the life and milieu of the lower middle classes. Ryckaert seems to have realised that this was his strong point and most valuable asset. During the early 1640s he thus also continued to represent the lower middle classes at leisure. Painted in 1640, *The pipe smoker* (Cat.A32) illustrates such a scene. Following the trend set by Teniers, Ryckaert would usually<sup>39</sup> adopt a moralising tone, warning the viewer against the people's excessive behaviour. Although the imagery of illicit love is reduced to a background detail in *The pipe smoker* (Cat.A32), the artist would more often turn it into the main theme of his paintings. An example is the *Tavern scene* (Cat.A37), where a man and young woman, both savouring the taste of alcohol and tobacco, serve to illustrate the despicable behaviour of ill-matched lovers.

In the context of the two latter works, it must be observed that Ryckaert would often use his main models to pose for paintings of single figures. The young woman encountered in the *Tavern scene* (Cat.A37) performs the role of a solitary drinker/smoker in the *Young woman smoking and drinking* (Cat.A38). It would be inappropriate to consider the painting of the single figure as a study for the larger picture, since the woman assumes an entirely different pose in *Young woman smoking and drinking*. As an allegory of the sense of taste, the latter painting is an independent work of art with its own specific meaning. Moreover, there is a strong possibility that Ryckaert created a pendant for this work, entitled *Duet* (Cat.A39), illustrating the sense of hearing. For his painting of *The cobbler* (Cat.A50), the artist called on the man with the pointed beard, depicted in *The pipe smoker* (Cat.A32). In *The cobbler* (Cat.A50), the man is represented as an artisan at work. Although the picture basically illustrates a trade, it may equally be interpreted as an allegory of one of the five senses, namely the sense of touch. This painting also appears to have a pendant: as an allegory of hearing, the *Man playing a theorbo* (Cat.A51) is similar in medium and size, and it also lacks the usual background figure.

As observed in his pictures of smoking and drinking peasants, the artist was rather preoccupied with seduction scenes. He would use any situation or setting as a pretext to explore the potential dangers of acts of leisure. Since music and wine are well-known attributes in the evocation of love scenes (Antwerp 1991:236), it is not surprising to recognise potentially dangerous situations in his representations of peasants making music. Compared to the 1638 picture of *A singer* (Cat.A13), love acquires decidedly pejorative connotations in *The guitar player* (Cat.A42), because the man and woman involved are ill-matched lovers. The Rome painting of *Tavern interior with old lute player* (Cat.A47), probably executed in 1642-1643, is more reminiscent of *The violinist in a tavern* of 1637 (Cat.A6). Despite the presence of potential references to love and passion, the old age of both the main figures belies negative implications. Since the lute is also known to be symbolic of alliance and unity, the painting should rather be interpreted as an allusion to the concordance in marriage (de Mirimonde 1968:194)<sup>40</sup>. Again the introduction of subtle nuances testifies to the artist's wit testing the viewer's sensitivity and apprehension. The

situation depicted in the *Tavern interior with old lute player* (Cat.A47), is basically repeated in the *Tavern interior with smoking peasants* (Cat.A45), dated 1642. Only the music-making is substituted by the act of smoking. The atmosphere is evocative of danger: the inclusion of a grinning peasant acting as procurer turns the scene into a representation of prostitution. The warning signals against illicit love, however, abound, betraying the artist's consciousness of moral correctness. The Warsaw version of a *Tavern scene* (Cat.A46) conveys the same message.

In 1642, Ryckaert painted his last version of *The painter's studio* (Cat.A48), now in Dijon<sup>41</sup>. Compared to the Louvre painting (Cat.A18) executed in 1638, the changes made by the artist are minimal<sup>42</sup>. The most prominent change occurs in the figure of the painter, whose outfit is now even more fashionable. What elevates his social standing more acutely, is the presence of a greyhound at his side. The painter, however, is not Ryckaert himself. Several factors<sup>43</sup> indicate that the sitter could be identified as David II Teniers. Even if this were true, the painting has little value as an informative document. It provides no undeniable proof that Ryckaert and Teniers were on such friendly terms that Teniers visited Ryckaert's studio. Most probably *The painter's studio* (Cat.A48) of 1642, is simply a product of Ryckaert's lively imagination, expressing his wish to be associated with and placed on the same professional and social level as his celebrated colleague.

The waning of Brouwer's influence on David III Ryckaert during the 1640s, is most noticeable in the latter's choice of subject matter. His depictions of children's games indicated a withdrawal from Brouwer's thematic repertoire. An alchemist at work in his laboratory was another subject new to Ryckaert's *oeuvre* which seemed to suit his taste more adequately at this stage. It was a traditional theme in Netherlandish literature<sup>44</sup> and in low-life genre prints, drawings and paintings, and can be traced back as far as Pieter Brueghel the Elder at least<sup>45</sup>. During Ryckaert's time, the sixteenth-century perception of alchemy as a mysterious occupation<sup>46</sup> still persisted. The objective of alchemy was to obtain the philosopher's stone allowing the transmutation of baser metals into gold. The basic material was generally quicksilver, and the operation of transmutation necessitated the use of fire. Since alchemy was not

based on scientific principles, the search for gold was governed by philosophical and metaphysical notions. Citing Seligman, Legrand states that "in the struggle with material, the alchemists searched for the union of the spirit and body with the divine" (Legrand 1957:74)<sup>47</sup>. Though distancing itself from Satan and the diabolic, alchemy was clouded in mystery, as it escaped the dictates of reason<sup>48</sup>. The ambiguous character of alchemy<sup>49</sup> rendered it suspect and, in the eyes of the Church, sometimes sacrilegious. Despite the fact that some of these pseudo-scientists made actual contributions to learning (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:420), the literary and pictorial traditions invariably treated alchemists as figures of scorn and folly. The profession usually served as a pretext to ridicule human behaviour by stressing the vanity of this absurd enterprise. Ryckaert's painting of *The alchemist* (Cat.A53) of Budapest exemplifies the artist's striving for moderation and a tranquil atmosphere to promote work. The impression of serious study is, however, undermined by the inclusion of a little owl as a reference to man's foolishness. It is clear that Ryckaert shared the widespread perception of the alchemist as a telling image of meaningless activity and of the futile pursuit of profit.

The theme of a cobbler in his workshop served to illustrate the artist's inclination even better. Ryckaert had treated this subject in his early years, but when he picked it up again in the 1640s, he changed his approach quite drastically in accordance with his treatment of the alchemist. For example, the painting of *A cobbler* (Cat.A52) corresponds with the picture of *The alchemist* (Cat.A53), not only with regard to composition, but also in the prevailing atmosphere of diligence. As in *The cobbler* (Cat.A14) of 1638, the working man is surrounded by the tools of his trade. On the right-hand side, the artist has included a cupboard, which - though not in perfect condition - is a vast improvement on the ordinary shelf on the wall as storage space for crockery. This piece of furniture is indicative of a certain wealth, distinguishing the cobbler's workshop from the lowly peasant interiors, and thus underscoring his higher social status. Due to this change of accent in meaning and intention, it is not surprising to find that the artist has omitted all symbolic references encountered in the 1638 version. An interesting variation is the painting of *A carpenter smoking on a bench* (Cat.A54). On the one hand, the picture belongs to the category of smoking

and drinking peasants. Like *The pipe smoker* (Cat.A32) of 1640, it focuses on a central figure enjoying a pipe. Since the smoker is identified as a carpenter, a certain relationship is also established with Ryckaert's paintings of alchemists and cobblers. The artist thus combined the two themes to address the issue of smoking and drinking in a work situation.

Towards the middle of the decade, Ryckaert concentrated almost exclusively on the depiction of smoking and drinking figures, often entangled in a potentially erotic situation. His approach to the theme, however, became more subtle, in line with his depictions of people at work. Like Teniers, he tended to favour more harmonious scenes in which emotions are subdued. The painting of a *Couple in a tavern* (Cat.A55), dated 1644, clearly illustrates the theme of ill-matched lovers. Contrary to earlier versions, the artist has omitted any blatant warnings against the dangers of the situation. Perhaps it was his desire to leave the choice to the spectator. In the *Tavern scene* (Cat.A56), the theme is treated in the same unbiased, neutral manner. The 1644 picture of a *Kitchen interior* (Cat.A57), on the other hand, is an interesting variation on the subject. The scene is set in a kitchen interior, the right half of which is filled with an elaborate still life of utensils and comestibles. Even though Ryckaert never lost interest in the theme of a peasant interior with still life, it is possible that David II Teniers encouraged him to continue practising this genre. In 1643, Teniers painted a *Peasant kitchen with still life*<sup>50</sup> and another *Kitchen interior*<sup>51</sup>, the latter in collaboration with Jan Davidsz de Heem. Although Teniers's paintings treat totally different themes, the similarities in the overall composition and in the choice and arrangement of the objects, between his works and Ryckaert's *Kitchen interior* (Cat.A57), are striking. And although Ryckaert adapted Teniers's examples by endowing his version with another meaning, the reprimanding tone of the moralist which surfaces in the inclusion of symbolic cues, testifies to the persistence of Teniers's influence. Ryckaert's interpretation may, in turn, have inspired other artists: Gillis van Tilborgh's *Peasant interior*<sup>52</sup> is remarkably similar to Ryckaert's picture of the *Kitchen interior* (Cat.A57). In *Old man courting a young woman in an interior* (Cat.A58), which again illustrates the theme of ill-matched lovers, Ryckaert has added a rather amusing incident to lighten the heavily erotic atmosphere. At upper

left, an old woman peeps down at the couple from a small shuttered window in the wall above - a motif gleaned from Brouwer<sup>53</sup>, and again exploited by Teniers<sup>54</sup>. In this instance, the angry old woman is not simply spying. Certainly the wife of the old man, she points a finger at her husband in a gesture of accusation and reprimand. The figure of a man seen urinating against the back wall, further emphasizes the baseness of human beings. By an ironic twist of events, the roles are reversed in *The card-players* (Cat.B7)<sup>55</sup>. The old woman herself has taken the place of the young lady, and is shown more than a passing interest by a young man. Here the dangerous consequences of the seduction scene are countered by the inclusion of the old woman's husband, with whom she is playing cards. By adding and changing apparently minor details, Ryckaert thus managed to steer clear of tedious repetitions, despite the insistence on a specific theme.

In *The first pipe* (Cat.A59), probably executed in the middle 1640s, Ryckaert abandoned the play with erotic insinuations to turn his attention to smoking and drinking men. He relaxed the usually moralising nature of the genre by introducing the rather humorous incident of a young aspirant-smoker, who is seen throwing up on the floor. The humaneness and light-heartedness of the situation is reminiscent of Brouwer, although the crudeness of the peasant is stressed again by the inclusion of a urinating figure. The motif of the angry old woman, seen in *Old man courting a young woman in an interior* (Cat.A58), is reintroduced by means of a drawing. However subtle a detail, it does add an important nuance to the painting, testifying to both the artist's sense of humour and his unfailing conscience. *The first pipe* brings to mind the picture of *The drinker* (Cat.A60), on account of the model of the old bearded man with the torn sleeve<sup>56</sup>. As a representation of a single smoking drinker on vertical format, the work is clearly an allegory of the sense of taste. Similar to *The drinker* (Cat.A60), the picture of *Taste* (Cat.A61) features a bearded peasant, whose physiognomy betrays a certain relationship with the Hermitage drinker. Following the pattern of his early period, Ryckaert added a secondary figure in the background to reinforce the allegorical nature of his illustrations of the senses.

The fact that the artist was gradually losing interest in enriching his images with moral lessons, comes to the fore in *Smoking peasant and woman by a fire* (Cat.A62). Although the main roles are played out by a man and a woman, the scene is serious and devoid of any sexual connotations. This portrayal of a working man at leisure in the company of his wife, is, however, an allegorical illustration of the five senses. *A man smoking by a fire in an interior with a woman and a child playing* (Cat.A63), is a variation of the previous work. Again Ryckaert has altered the meaning of a familiar genre by changing secondary components. The figures are explicitly individualised according to age, and represent the different stages of life: youth, adulthood and old age - each related to the act of smoking. Due to the close association of smoking with the three stages of life, the act of smoking entails more than an allegory of the senses: it serves as a metaphor for the transitoriness of human existence.

In 1645, Ryckaert for the first time experimented with fantastical scenes or devilries, as expressed in the theme of *The temptation of St Anthony*. Although this choice of subject matter stands in sharp contrast with his peasant pictures, it should not come as a surprise. According to Klinge, the theme of the temptation of St Anthony was exceptionally popular from the fifteenth century, on account of the fantastical elements. Seventeenth-century representations of the theme can be traced back to the tradition created by Hieronymus Bosch (ca.1450-1516). With his ominous representations of witches and ghostly apparitions, he invented a wealth of motifs which persisted into the seventeenth century via the work of Pieter I Brueghel (ca.1525-1569) and his son Jan I Brueghel (1568-1625) (Antwerp 1991:46). Anthony the Great or the Hermit (ca.251/52-356, Middle-Egypt) is one of the famous anchorites who were sanctified not through martyrdom, but as professors of their religion. Although he was born and raised in wealth, he withdrew from worldly life to lead a solitary existence, pleasing to God (Antwerp 1991:218). This ascetic saint who resisted all kinds of temptations, devilish deceptions and delusions, served as a moral example for Christians (Antwerp 1991:46). David II Teniers, who was keen to follow this pictorial tradition, treated the theme at several stages in his career. In the Antwerp catalogue of 1991, Klinge discusses three versions, namely the one painted

in 1635<sup>57</sup>, the second in the middle 1640s<sup>58</sup>, and a third one in the second half of the 1660s<sup>59</sup>. Except for stylistic changes, the paintings are remarkably similar in iconography. The saint is shown in the reclusion of a cave, where he is tempted by a young woman offering wine. Although interrupting his prayer, St Anthony remains unperturbed by the offer, as well as by the infernal noise and fluttering of the devilish creatures in the cave. In retrospect, the scenario formulated by Teniers proved to be quite influential in Antwerp circles. Ryckaert, however, does not seem to have been impressed by Teniers's example - in contrast to popular belief<sup>60</sup>. He interpreted the theme in terms of his own established manner of painting. *The temptation of St Anthony* (Cat.A64), dated 1645, exemplifies this most clearly, as it is treated in the same way as his representations of single figures on vertical format. No versions resembling the paintings of Teniers in the choice of iconography - particularly the types of demonic creatures - can, without any reservations, be attributed to Ryckaert. This fact counters the allegation that Ryckaert was a slavish imitator of David II Teniers. Moreover, his interest in the theme was, at this stage, not strongly motivated. It was only in the early and middle 1650s, that he returned to the subject of fantastical scenes, and explored its possibilities with greater confidence and inventiveness.

No dated works painted in 1646 and 1647 have survived. Although this is no reason to suppose that the artist was less productive during these years, it is a fact that he was preoccupied with matters of a more mundane nature. Firstly, in 1645-1646 David III Ryckaert became a member of the rhetoric chamber "De Violieren" (Rombouts & van Lerijs 1872:171; Legrand 1963:160). This literary society was associated with and dependent on the guild of Saint Luke, under the motto "Wt ionsten versaemt"<sup>61</sup>. David remained a member or "liefhebber der Violiere" until his death in 1661<sup>62</sup>. Whether he was an active member is an open question, but he must surely have enjoyed the famous annual banquets<sup>63</sup> "waar zoo smakelijk gegeten en zoo hartelijk geklonken werd" (Van den Branden 1883:605). Indeed, several facts would seem to indicate that he was a lively person of amiable character who knew how to enjoy life (Descamps, 1769:234). The *Portrait of the painter David III Ryckaert*<sup>64</sup> (Cat.B17) reveals a corpulent man filled with self-confidence. The big, rounded eyes betray a lively character. The finely trimmed moustache looks elegant and flattering, but fails

to conceal the saggy cheeks. This lack of pronounced cheekbones is a particularly striking feature. In this context, it is worth mentioning that, after he was elected dean of the painters' guild in 1651, he was nicknamed "den Os van Sint Lucas" (the ox of Saint Luke) (Antwerp 1905,I:252). This was an unmistakable reference not only to his large head and bovine features, but also to his short-tempered, contentious nature (Van den Branden 1883:608).

A second and far more significant event marking this period, was the artist's marriage. Perhaps the courting procedures preceding his marriage kept the painter away from his easel, which would explain a certain decrease in artistic production. On 31 August 1647, at the age of nearly 35, David III Ryckaert married Jacoba Pallemans (or Palmans). The ceremony took place in the south quarter of the Church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, in the presence of Michel Palmans and the engraver Frederic Bouttats (SAA, *PR O.L.Vrouw Zuid*, 198: Huwelijken, (1647-1679), f.5). This important step may have inspired Ryckaert to dedicate himself more fervently to his painting career. After so many years of bachelorhood, the responsibility of having to support a wife - and soon a family - was likely to pressure the artist into painting at full capacity. The large number of paintings dated 1648, is undeniable proof of the renewed vigour with which Ryckaert set out to enlarge his clientele.

A first work dated 1648 is the *Dinner at a farmhouse* (Cat.A65), which depicts a company of figures enjoying a meal in a rustic interior. Compared to the paintings executed between 1642-1645, the staffage is enlarged to turn the previously intimate scenes into a more joyous occasion. Whereas Ryckaert's earlier pictures of peasant meals were illustrations of the proverb, "As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe", the artist seems to have created this painting simply for the charm inherent in the rustic subject. This supports the perception that Ryckaert continued to suppress moralising undertones to an ever greater extent. *The meal* (Cat.A66) shows a similar scene of a peasant family having a humble meal in the company of a visitor. This picture clearly exemplifies Ryckaert's habit of assembling old tried motifs in familiar compositional schemes. Closely related to these paintings in terms of compositional scheme, is the picture of *The card players* (Cat.A67). In comparison with his early

pictures of the subject, the figures' behaviour is infinitely more subtle. Although the composure of the figures elevates them above the status of peasants, the total lack of emotions is seriously detrimental to the appeal of the painting. The artist applied the same moderation to subjects with more dangerous implications, such as the theme of ill-matched lovers. In *The interior of an inn* (Cat.A68), though on a superficial level recalling the *Couple in a tavern* (Cat.A55) of 1644, the artist has pre-empted the compromising scene. The figures have become lethargic stereotypes, depriving the viewer to a considerable extent from exciting speculations. The artist's serious disposition comes to the fore in more literal terms in the *Kitchen interior* (Cat.A69) of Karlsruhe, signed and dated 1648. This painting is an illustration of the proverb "*Om der wille van het smeer likt de kat den kandeleer*"<sup>65</sup>, exemplified by the pair of ill-matched lovers. By placing the sleeping spinster - a symbol of sloth - in the foreground spotlight, the artist actually dissociates himself from the subject in no uncertain terms.

Still in 1648, Ryckaert was again tempted to try his hand at a subject which Jacob Jordaens painted innumerable times<sup>66</sup> and in many different ways. It concerns the theme of *The King drinks*, which is a representation of the celebration of *Driekoningenavond* (Epiphany or Twelfth Night)<sup>67</sup>. According to d'Hulst,

The feast of the Epiphany or Three Kings (Matthew 2:1-12), celebrated in Flanders as elsewhere on 6 January, was traditionally the occasion of a sumptuous dinner at which relatives and friends gathered together to eat, drink, sing and enjoy themselves. The feast began with the proclamation of a 'king', chosen by lot. Sometimes this was done with spills of paper, but often by hiding a bean in a large cake<sup>68</sup>: the person who found the bean in his portion became 'king' and presided over the festivities. According to the size of the company he appointed a larger or smaller number of assistants: the 'queen' - the only female role - the counsellor, the cup-bearer, the carver, the musician, the singer, the jester, the physician and so on (d'Hulst 1982:179-180).

Jordaens illustrated the feast of Twelfth Night in an exuberant fashion<sup>69</sup>. Although his paintings also express criticism of excessive feasting<sup>70</sup>, they are full of Baroque joy of life (Renger 1986:62). In Ryckaert's picture of *The King drinks* (Cat.A70), dated 1648, none of this can be traced. In every respect, Ryckaert shows himself

much more sedate, or, in the words of Larsen (1985:320), more sentimental. Like Jordaens, he depicts the moment of the proclamation of the King, when he raises his glass and the whole company shouts joyfully: "The King drinks!" (d'Hulst 1982:180). Apart from the jester, however, who jumps up behind the King with both arms raised up high, nobody takes part in the ceremony<sup>71</sup>. Even the King seems almost reluctant to empty his glass. Likewise, the remaining figures of the "Hofstaat" strike very serious expressions and attitudes, posing disinterestedly for the group portrait (Renger 1986:62).

Legrand (1965:155) maintains that Ryckaert represents the same social milieu as Jordaens<sup>72</sup>, that is, the well-to-do Flemish bourgeoisie, the class to which Jordaens himself belonged<sup>73</sup>. Whereas it is true that the artist has abandoned Brouwer's wretched destitutes, stupefied with beer and tobacco<sup>74</sup>, his scenes are still far removed from the bourgeois surroundings of Jordaens. The figures' attire, the sparsely laid table and the humble interior<sup>75</sup>, are explicit indications that the feasters are only middle-class burghers<sup>76</sup>. In this respect, Ryckaert's painting is more closely related to the work of Teniers, who painted his first version of *Driekoningenvond*<sup>77</sup> in 1635. It is clear, however, that Ryckaert was not attracted to Teniers's adverse<sup>78</sup> interpretation of the theme. The claim made by Van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven (1993-94,22(1/2):78) that "Ryckaert depicted Twelfth Nights similar to those by Teniers", is thus largely unfounded<sup>79</sup>. This painting rather shows the extent of Ryckaert's self-conscious and conservative attitude. No longer eager to imitate any novelties introduced by other Flemish colleagues, he stuck to his own formula which he had developed over the years. A comparison with *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A49) of 1642, shows that the similarities far outnumber the differences<sup>80</sup>. Even reminiscences of his earliest works have survived<sup>81</sup>. On the other hand, the artist's compositional skills have improved markedly. According to Larsen (1985:320), he has elaborated the subject "with great amplitude". The emphasis lies entirely on the tightly knit figure composition, with the old couple at the centre of this balanced group<sup>82</sup>.

Another observation in connection with the painting of *The King drinks*, concerns Ryckaert's habit of making studies of his models - or rather the lack thereof. In this instance, it is likely that the painting of *The drinker* (Cat.A71) was conceived as a study for the larger composition of *The king drinks* (Cat.A70). *The drinker* (Cat.A71) is a representation of the half-figure of the bearded old man depicted in profile. He strikes exactly the same pose in both paintings, lifting a glass with his left hand. The painting of *Old woman holding a jug* (Cat.A72), on the other hand, does not appear to be a study. Although the old woman almost duplicates the smiling grandmother raising a large beer-tankard to her lips, there are significant differences in dress and pose. Whether intended as an allegory of taste or as a portrait of one of his beloved models, the painting bears testimony to Ryckaert's unfailing ability to imbue his figures with genuine feelings, however subdued and introverted. A noteworthy fact is that Ryckaert's *Old woman holding a jug* (Cat.A72), and the similar painting of *Taste* (Cat.A61), closely resemble Teniers's picture of a *Peasant with large earthenware pitcher*<sup>83</sup>. If Teniers painted his version first, it would mean that Ryckaert still sought inspiration for iconographic details in Teniers.

The painting of *The King drinks* (Cat.A70), and the related pictures of single figures, invite speculation with regard to the identity of the sitters. According to Nelson (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:113-116), Jordaens frequently included members of his family circle within this type of genre, thus adapting portraiture for genre situations. Nelson claims that this adaptation of portraiture for genre<sup>85</sup>, was a particular artistic practice applied in seventeenth-century Flanders (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:116). Vlieghe supports this view<sup>86</sup> and mentions that, in the field of cabinet painting on small format, examples by Adriaen Brouwer and David Teniers are known<sup>87</sup> (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:149). The question thus arises whether Ryckaert also portrayed himself and members of his family in this type of genre paintings. The *Portrait of the painter David III Ryckaert* (Cat.B17), as well as its engraving published in de Bie (1661:309), make it possible to recognise self-portraits in his genre paintings. The physical appearance of the artist's wife, Jacoba Pallemans, and of their two eldest children, is also known, thanks to the survival of a *Group portrait of David III Ryckaert and his family*<sup>88</sup>, painted by Gonzales Coques. Positioned in the centre of

this painting is David III Ryckaert, dressed up in fine clothes. Raised from his chair, he stands upright to the right of his wife Jacoba Pallemans, holding her left hand. Attired in exquisitely elegant clothes and adorned with jewellery, Jacoba sits on a chair, her gaze directed at the viewer. She can be described as a woman of slender build, almost "petite", with delicate facial features, framed by long curled locks of hair. Although Coques may have slightly idealized her features, the high forehead, large eyes and thin lips stand out as identifiable characteristics<sup>89</sup>. When scanning Ryckaert's genre paintings of this period in search of likenesses of himself<sup>90</sup>, his wife and his children<sup>91</sup>, they are conspicuous in their absence. It would thus seem that the artist preferred to use other models, some of whom are easily recognisable as individual types, although their identity remains unknown. Nelson argues that Jordaens depicted his own kin "not only because they were accessible, but further because they provided him with greater realism, and allowed him to infuse a distinctive individuality into each figure" (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:113). In line with this argument, one may assume that the models figuring frequently in Ryckaert's paintings, were probably closely related to the artist. To postulate that he chose to represent the theme of "The King Drinks", because it provided an opportunity to portray his own kin is, however, a most tenuous proposition.

As in the case of the proverb of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe*, Ryckaert failed to interest his public in the theme of *The King drinks* during the 1640s. It was only after 1650, when he succeeded in attracting bourgeois clients, that he found a ready market for this type of paintings, featuring models of that same social group. This explains why, in the late 1640s, he stuck - perhaps involuntarily - to representations of cobblers and alchemists. The many pictures of this genre painted in this period seem to indicate that, due to financial constraints, the artist was forced to accept commissions on a more regular basis.

After his previous experiment (Cat.A52) in ca.1642, during the second half of the 1640s, Ryckaert developed another formula for the representation of the subject of a cobbler's workshop. The painting of *The cobbler* (Cat.A73) in the Bally Schuhmuseum, may have been his first attempt at a new and improved composition.

The cobbler is now depicted in the company of his wife<sup>92</sup>. The couple is placed in the immediate foreground in the centre of the picture. Complementing the image of the hard-working cobbler, the woman is portrayed as an industrious spinster, symbol of the virtue of domesticity<sup>93</sup>. Traditionally, a cobbler's workshop was a popular setting for the enactment of the vices of sloth and drunkenness<sup>94</sup>. The latter was personified by "Sorgheloos", a cobbler who has laid down his tools to indulge in acts of leisure (drinking<sup>95</sup>, music-making). His wife was called "Veriega"<sup>96</sup> and symbolised sloth, as she has equally abandoned her spinning-tools (Renger 1970:113). The message of this imagery is that poverty is mostly due to sloth. Ryckaert has thus chosen traditional iconography, but subverted its original meaning by altering the figures' activities. They are exemplary of industrious labour and sobriety, not sloth and drunkenness. This deliberate deviation emphasizes the artist's tendency to put this social class, traditionally the target of scorn and ridicule, in a decidedly positive light.

Ryckaert's paintings of cobblers became so popular that he started producing them *en masse*. There is little that distinguishes *An interior with a cobbler* (Cat.A74) from *The cobbler* (Cat.A73) of the Bally Schuhmuseum, except for the fact that the space is enlarged on the right-hand side. The woman's fancy attire, along with the expensive hand-painted plate and the fragile bowl on the cobbler's side-table, underline the comfortable lifestyle of this working couple, which is the result of hard work. A variation of *An interior with a cobbler* (Cat.A74), is the painting of *The cobbler's workshop* (Cat.A75) of Mannheim. This painting warrants some comments on the artist's manipulation of colour and painting techniques. Grey and brown tones dominate the entire picture, creating a sombre atmosphere. The use of clear and bright colours is reserved for crucial elements, such as the faces and hands of the figures. The golden glow of the wooden side-table attracts the attention as the central focus, but simultaneously links the two main characters. The woman's red jacket, and especially the finely brushed lace collar, accentuate her presence and, more importantly, her status. Light coloured details - the plate on the shelf, the silvery shoe on the floor - provide additional points of interest, forcing the viewer to scan and absorb the entire image. It is not surprising that Cornelis de Bie (1661:310) praised Ryckaert for his life-like representation of reality. His differentiation between the

textures of different materials is indeed remarkable. Making use of a strong sidelight, he contrasts the soft reflection of light on the wood of the spinning-wheel with the harsh shine of the metal pincers. As the bald head of the cobbler catches the light, his skin shines with sweat which, in turn, offsets the fuzziness of his beard. The shiny surface of the silvery shoe on the floor betrays the quality of silk, but even more exquisite is the artist's rendition of the woman's lace collar. The transparency of the fine fabric is accentuated by the dotted highlights on the rim of the collar. Similar highlights enhance the golden shine of the small bundle of straw on the spinning-wheel.

The artist may have experienced problems in keeping up with the orders, and concomitantly in inventing variations on the subject. One solution was for Ryckaert to have copies made of his own paintings of cobblers - an assignment which was probably given to the pupils or assistants working in his studio. One such example is the painting of *The cobbler* (Cat.C22), which is an exact copy of the left half of *An interior with a cobbler* (Cat.A74). An alternative option was for the artist to paint the commissioned works in collaboration with a colleague<sup>97</sup>, or, more likely<sup>98</sup>, with the assistance of a pupil. This would explain why a work such as the *Peasant interior with cobbler* (Cat.B4) poses a problem with regard to attribution.

With *The cobbler's workshop* (Cat.A76), Ryckaert managed to bring some variation to his treatment of the theme of the cobbler. While reducing the space of the setting, and eliminating the group of secondary background figures, he also made a simple change to the figural composition. The cobbler is now placed on the right, and his wife, seated behind her spinning-wheel, occupies the left half of the picture. A similar painting is *The cobbler's workshop* (Cat.A77), with the addition of a young assistant standing behind the cobbler. It appears that this work again served as model for other versions. *The cobbler* (Cat.C23), which reiterates the central part of *The cobbler's workshop* (Cat.A77), was probably painted by an assistant of Ryckaert's. More puzzling is the painting of *A cobbler's workshop* (Cat.C25), auctioned in Cologne in 1909. Although the right part is decidedly based on *The cobbler's workshop* (Cat.A77), the combination of multiple motifs on the left is awkward, denying the

guiding input of Ryckaert himself. Seemingly not produced in his workshop, this picture testifies to the fact that Ryckaert also had his followers who imitated his pictures when the master himself was unable to satisfy public demand.

Following his first representation of an alchemist (Cat.A53) in ca.1642, Ryckaert did not treat the theme again until 1648, when a sudden interest in the subject of the alchemist flared up among Flemish and Dutch painters<sup>99</sup> alike. It is not known who or what initiated this interest<sup>100</sup>, but the dated paintings of both Teniers<sup>101</sup> and Ryckaert indicate an increase in popularity at about this time. When Ryckaert returned to the theme in 1648 in *The alchemist* (Cat.A78) of Le Havre, he adjusted it to his current taste and preferences. In accordance with his contemporary depictions of cobblers, such as *The cobbler's workshop* (Cat.A76), formerly in Cologne, the alchemist is depicted in his laboratory in the company of his wife. The owl of the Budapest version (Cat.A53) is nowhere to be detected, indicating a significant change in Ryckaert's attitude. This change led Legrand (1963:155) to believe that it was not Ryckaert's intention to illustrate an aspect of human folly involving futile searches. She claims that the alchemist and his companion personify the wisdom of the elderly and their peaceful shared labour. Legrand's interpretation<sup>102</sup>, however, proves to be unacceptable. The artist is still intent on warning the viewer against the risks of losing all possessions, if not spiritual welfare. Instead of including explicit symbolic props in the interior, he brings his message across by the action of the alchemist's wife. The woman interrupts the alchemist in his work to confront him with an opened book. As observed by Klessmann, this book can in the present context only be interpreted as the Bible (Braunschweig 1978:152). In this respect, Ryckaert shows himself to be much more subtle than David II Teniers, who insisted on furnishing direct references to the alchemist's foolishness.

In Teniers's 1649 painting of *The alchemist*<sup>103</sup>, for example<sup>104</sup>, animal skulls, an owl, an extinguished candle and the alchemist's very act of pumping a bellows, are explicit warnings against the vanity of his pursuit of gold. Teniers's paintings of alchemists differ from those of Ryckaert in other respects as well. Teniers makes use of a deep spacious room to accommodate a group of assistants working in the background. His

alchemists are usually figures of studious concentration, reading a book or stoking the fire of the oven with a bellows. Ryckaert's choice of space, composition, cast, narrative and content, deviates entirely from Teniers's approach. This shows that he had gained such a good reputation as a painter that he could afford to free himself from Teniers's influence and just follow his own mind or *ingenium*. Thus, in this case, the alleged<sup>105</sup> dependence of Ryckaert on Teniers, is highly debatable. Moreover, Ryckaert's alchemist pictures chronologically precede Teniers's earliest dated paintings of this type.

In the Brussels picture of *The alchemist in his laboratory* (Cat.A79), dated 1648, the artist returned to the figural composition established in his paintings of cobblers, such as *The cobbler's workshop* (Cat.A75) of Mannheim. The alchemist is seated on the left, his wife occupies the centre, and a table with still life closes off the composition on the right. This re-arrangement of the interior allowed Ryckaert to make more efficient use of his favourite lighting technique<sup>106</sup>, thus enhancing the balance of the composition. Once his pictures of alchemists won the appreciation of the public, the commissions apparently started streaming in. Though improving his financial position, this course of events forced Ryckaert to produce pictures of alchemists based on the same compositional scheme, as was the case with his paintings of cobblers. *The alchemist with his wife in the workshop* (Cat.A80) of Leipzig<sup>107</sup>, also dated 1648, is very closely related to the Brussels painting. The Leipzig picture, in turn, was copied in *The alchemist and his wife in the laboratory* (Cat.A81), dated 1649. Whereas the latter was painted by the master himself, another picture of *The alchemist* (Cat.C10), which deviates from the Leipzig version only in minor details<sup>108</sup>, was probably executed by a pupil or assistant from his studio.

Closely related to Ryckaert's paintings of alchemists, are his representations of a scholar in his study. A dated work of this type is *The alchemist* (Cat.A82) of 1649<sup>109</sup>, housed in the Prado in Madrid. What renders this picture and a few similar paintings exceptional, is the nightly setting. Two candles light the room<sup>110</sup> and through the opened back door on the extreme right, a moonlit sky is visible.

It must be noted that Ryckaert was especially praised in *Het Gulden Cabinet* as a painter of candlelight. In the caption accompanying the engraving it is stated that:

... mais il est sur tous autres excellent en peinture de la lumière de chandelle"  
(De Bie 1661:309)<sup>111</sup>.

Why the author would single out this particular skill of the painter is quite baffling, mainly because of the scarcity of such pictures by Ryckaert<sup>112</sup>. An explanation presents itself in the painting of *The alchemist* (Cat.A84) of Vienna: this work was owned by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm<sup>113</sup>. The mere fact that it formed part of the Archduke's collection<sup>114</sup>, was probably sufficient reason for the publisher Joannes Meyssens<sup>115</sup> to praise Ryckaert as a painter of candlelight<sup>116</sup>. It must be admitted that his naturalistic treatment of light is indeed remarkable, particularly in its reflection on surrounding glossy objects. From its position on the table, the candle can only highlight the immediate environment, including the faces of the figures, casting the rest of the interior in very dark shadow. This powerful chiaroscuro evokes a dramatic atmosphere, not previously encountered in Ryckaert's works.

The *Scholar with homunculus in glass phial* (Cat.A83) is largely indebted to *The alchemist* (Cat.A82) of 1649. Experimenting at night by candlelight, the scholar is now accompanied by an elderly woman, probably his wife. In this instance, he makes a horrifying discovery: the glass bottle raised with his left hand, contains a *homunculus* or, according to Legrand (1957:77), the devil. This clearly identifies the scholar as a practitioner of magic working at night. The artist's condemnation of these practices comes to the fore in the strongly lit table, where the paraphernalia of the alchemist have been replaced by an accumulation of Vanitas objects, all of which point to the vanity of human knowledge. A variation on the two previous works is the painting of *The alchemist* (Cat.A84) of Vienna<sup>117</sup>. The artist's intentions conveyed in the *Scholar with homunculus in glass phial* (Cat.A83) are clarified, to a large extent, by the behaviour of the scholar. Startled by the content of the book, he shares his discovery with the spectator by holding up the page which features a personification of death. The Vanitas objects arranged on his desk underscore the perception that all human knowledge is vain. Similarly, the painting of *Vanitas* (Cat.A85) represents a

scholar in his study, but the presence of a young woman playing the lute slightly alters the accent. Although the painting is still conceived as an allegory of vanity, the artist does not so much satirise the scholar's striving for knowledge, as he mocks the old man's futile attempts at venal love (De Mirimonde 1968:205). The subtle suggestiveness of *Vanitas* (Cat.A85) turns into an explicit scene of ill-matched lovers in *The seduction* (Cat.A86), where an old bearded man courts a young woman by the romantic glow of candlelight. Contrary to his earlier versions of this theme, the artist has suppressed the brutal vulgarity of the event. The seducer approaches the young woman with genuine affection, gently lifting her chin with one finger. Although the young woman may appear to be of questionable reputation due to her revealing décolletage and the glass of wine in her hand, she turns him down in an equally gentle, yet determined way. The same old man reappears as a single figure in another painting representing a scene lit by candlelight, entitled *The goldweigher* (Cat.A87). The subject suggests an interpretation of this picture as an allegory of greed.

The picture of *The larder* (Cat.A88) is again a night scene. On the right, an old woman is cleaning fish on a tripod, but it is the still life arranged on top of the table that forms the focus of attention. To establish the meaning of this work, it is useful to compare it with *The butcher behind his carving table* (Cat.A89) of Stockholm. Here Ryckaert represents a butcher standing behind a table laden with meat and other attributes, which complement the figure of the butcher. Like Ryckaert's other paintings of tradesmen of the late 1640s, *The butcher behind his carving table* (Cat.A89), as well as the picture of *The larder* (Cat.A88), may be regarded as representations of middle class workers whose honest labour the artist has glorified.

It may thus be concluded that David III Ryckaert developed his own style from 1640 onwards, when he increasingly gained control of pictorial qualities. As observed by Zoege von Manteuffel (1915,6:61-63), his style of the 1640s is characterised by a composition which does not allow the foreground figures to be divided into two separate groups. The background figures are now entirely subordinated to those in the foreground. Where possible, the figures are turned towards the spectator: a frontal view is preferred. The relation of the figures to the picture plane has shifted to their

advantage. It is primarily a figure composition, in which space or the illusion of depth only plays a minor role. The type of colouring which was previously based on Brouwer's, starts to change. The warm brown tones disappear and the lively local colours of the garments are suppressed in favour of a range of cool grey, yellowish grey and grey-brown tones dominating the entire painting. The change in skin colour is clear: where heads and hands were executed in a powerful reddish brown colour, somewhat roughly applied, they are now rendered in finely brushed grey, yellow and pink colours. In the course of the 1640s, the colours regain some vivacity in the garments: cherry red, blue-green and different browns. The skin tone gradually radiates more warmth and liveliness. The modelling is strong, not softened any more. His manner of painting shows greater confidence and width. The sharp strokes give way to broader, powerfully executed areas. This style dominated the artistic activity of Ryckaert until 1650.

His paintings of the early 1640s are still predominantly didactic in that they contain a moralising message, brought home by means of symbolic references. The artist's main concern remained the human figure throughout the decade, but he gradually preferred not to ridicule the peasant folk in a manner reminiscent of his early attempts at uninhibited satire. His people are increasingly endowed with more handsome features and their dress is accordingly more decent. This change classifies them as (lower) middle-class burghers, who are able to control their emotional state to a more sedate composure. Under no circumstances do his figures fall prey to excessive behaviour, even when the subject requires the expression of more extreme emotions. Consequently the artist no longer needed to warn the spectator against the effects of intemperance, leading to the elimination of symbolic references. His choice of subject matter reflects the seriousness of his attitude during the 1640s. He favoured the depiction of the innocent gaiety of playing children, the pleasures of rustic life and the hard labour or deserved rest of honest workers. When he treated another theme requesting the depiction of joyful feasting - such as *The King drinks* and *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* - he failed to express genuine feelings of merry enjoyment, which explains the relative scarcity of such pictures during this decade. The relative abundance of paintings featuring a cobbler, alchemist or scholar at work

indicates the popularity of this genre, which the artist consequently made one of his specialities.

Ryckaert was ambitious, constantly in search of recognition as an artist. This hunger for success was fuelled by a desire to climb the social ladder and to be on a par with celebrated colleagues. This may explain why he continued to seek inspiration in their work. The *oeuvre* of David II Teniers exercised the most notable influence on Ryckaert, but he also borrowed ideas from Jacob Jordaens and, minimally, from Jan Miense Molenaer. He always managed, however, to make the ideas or motifs of others an integral part of his works, adapting them to his personal style and interpreting them in his own terms. These very qualities characterising his paintings thus bear testimony to the fact that at this stage, he probably did not collaborate with fellow painters, but rather relied on the assistance of apprentices, when necessary.

## ENDNOTES

1. It is interesting to note that the figure of the bearded bald man closely resembles the model in *Old man reading a letter* (Cat.B16), although it is doubtful whether this is an authentic painting.
2. An almost exact copy (Cat.B9) of this painting is known. It is not certain whether David III Ryckaert should be credited with its execution or Joos van Craesbeeck (see Catalogue B).
3. Jan Miense Molenaer. *Children's procession*. Canvas, 65,5 x 98,5 cm. St Petersburg, Hermitage (St Petersburg 1958, no.994). According to Gudlaugsson (RKD files), the Hermitage painting should be attributed to David III Ryckaert. Although the suggestion is tempting on account of the handling of the children, the exquisite treatment of the landscape betrays the hand of a Dutch painter.
4. David II Teniers. *Peasants playing bowls*. Signed D.TENIERS.F. Panel, 35 x 57,2 cm. Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh (Antwerp 1991:62-63, cat.no.15).
5. David II Teniers. *Landscape with maid at well*. Signed D.TENIERS.F. Canvas, 104,5 x 201,5 cm. St Petersburg, Hermitage, inv.no. 268 (Antwerp 1991:68-69, cat.no.17A).
6. Although the practice certainly existed in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Netherlands, Fishman comments that "to my knowledge it has been examined only from the ethnographical point of view" (1982:142, note 42).
7. In the catalogue *Stad in Vlaanderen* (Brussels 1991:462), the Dutch equivalent is termed *handjeklap*.
8. Adriaen Brouwer. *Pancake baker*. Medium and size not mentioned. The Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G.Johnson Collection (Renger 1986:60, fig.35).
9. The children's game of the warm hand is included in his painting of *Ludus Puerorum* of Vienna. The reproduction of a detail of the painting in Van Lennep (1966, fig.195) shows it most clearly in the bottom right-hand corner.
10. Renger (1986:61) maintains that this children's game, still known today, once belonged as *la main chaude* to the gallant conversations of adults at courts and was represented in the woodcutter tapestries of Tournai (first third of the sixteenth century, London, Victoria and Albert Museum).
11. Hieronymus Janssens. *The game of the warm hand*. Signed. Canvas, 55 x 83 cm. Paris, Louvre (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:650). A similar version is housed in the Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten in Brussels (*Handjeklap*. Signed and dated J.JANSSENS 1656. Canvas, 54,5 x 83 cm, inv.no. 3620 (Brussels 1991:462-463, cat.no.226)).
12. Another example is *The game of the warm hand* by Christoph Jacobsz van der Lamén (ca.1606-ca.1651/52) (Panel, 50 x 88,5 cm. Private collection (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:722)). Note that in this version, a woman is bending over, waiting for the gentleman to playfully smack her on the hand with her shoe.
13. It was auctioned in Cologne on 10/13-10-1962 and its present whereabouts are unfortunately unknown. Whether Ryckaert himself created this picture is difficult to establish (see Catalogue B).
14. The Berlin painting is only 32 cm high. Its duplicate in the Cologne picture is about a quarter higher (48 cm), but the image corresponds exactly. It looks as if the painting of *The village fool* (Cat.A31) was cut off right above the trees in the background.
15. The date of 1640 on the painting of *The warm hand* of Munich obviously applies to the original composition as depicted in *The warm hand* of Cologne.

16. This explains the vertical format of the Munich and Berlin pictures. Combined with *The warm hand* of Munich, the picture of *The village fool* also makes more sense as far as meaning is concerned.
17. De Mirimonde (1968:187) erroneously mentions a date of 1642.
18. Sutton discusses this painting in the exhibition catalogue of *The age of Rubens* (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:435). Note, however, that the wrong work, namely the Dresden picture of 1639 (Cat.A22), is illustrated in fig.2, the caption of which contains the empirical data of the 1642 version (Cat.A49). Legrand (1963:155) makes the incorrect statement that this painting forms the pendant of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* of the same museum (Cat.A22).
19. Mention must be made of the existence of a painting entitled *Old man filling his pipe* (Cat.B15), which is almost a virtual copy of the central figure of the old pipe smoker in the 1642 picture of *As the old ones sing, so the young one pipe* (Cat.A49). Its attribution to Ryckaert is, however, questionable (see Catalogue B).
20. D'Hulst (1982:179) maintains that Jordaens would often "label his works in this way, for fear the spectator should not get the point".
21. Jacob Jordaens. *As the old sang, so the young pipe*. Signed and dated J.Jor.fecit 1638. Canvas, 120 x 192 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (d'Hulst 1982:167, fig.137).
22. Jacob Jordaens. *As the old sang, so the young pipe*. Canvas, 154 x 208 cm. Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts (on loan from the Musée du Louvre, Paris) (d'Hulst 1982:168, fig.138).
23. Peeter van Bredael was baptised in Antwerp on 29 July 1629 (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:75).
24. "... menheer kapityn Peeter van Bredael ..." died in March 1719 (SAA, *Overlijdensregisters St.-Jacobs*, 1681-1729, PR298). *De Liggeren* of 1718-1719 record the receipt of the mortuary debts of Peeter van Bredael, painter (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872,II:714).
25. It must be noted, however, that Peeter van Bredael was not recorded as Ryckaert's pupil in *De Liggeren* of 1640-1641.
26. According to De Maere & Wabbes (1994:75), there is no documentation of a sojourn in Italy. His paintings of fairs and market scenes set in an Italian landscape, however, bear testimony to his acquaintance with the Italian countryside.
27. Peeter van Bredael. *Fair in Italy*. Signed. Canvas, 160 x 240 cm. Châlons-sur-Marne, Musée Municipal (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 167a).
28. Peeter van Bredael. *Army camp in the proximity of a city*. Canvas, 25 x 35 cm. Auction Luzern, Galerie Fischer 4/14-11-1980, no.2919.
29. Peeter van Bredael. *The old Ossenmarkt in Antwerp*. Canvas, 134 x 190 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv.no. 784 (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 167b).
30. Fernand Hofman joined van Bredael's studio as a pupil in 1654-1655, followed by Castiaen Cox in 1659-1660, Huybrecht vanden Bosch in 1660-1661 and Jan de Visser in 1663-1664 (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872,II:263,306,318,351). Peeter's son Jan-Peeter (Jean-Pierre) was another of his apprentices, since he was registered in the painters' guild as "wynmeester" in 1679-1680 (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872,II:469,477). More pupils of Peeter van Bredael registered in *De Liggeren* are Joannes-Franciscus Rousschel (1695-1696) and Henricus-Franciscus van Lint (1696-1697) (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872,II:582,596).
31. Erasmus de Bie, son of the painter Frans I de Bie, was baptised in the Church of St. Walburgis in Antwerp on 20 December 1629. He was buried in the same city on 19 June 1675 (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:53).

32. Erasmus de Bie was registered as a pupil of Ryckaert in *De Liggeren* of 1640-1641 (Rombouts & van Lerijs 1872:125).
33. It would appear that Erasmus de Bie is not a relative of Cornelis de Bie, the author of *Het Gulden Cabinet*, who was the son of the Flemish painter Adriaen de Bie (1593-1668) (Thieme & Becker 1910, 4:5). At the time of his death on 8 May 1671, Frans de Bie owned two paintings by David III Ryckaert, one of which represented *The prodigal son* (Denucé 1932,II:261). This would seem to indicate that Frans de Bie showed genuine interest in and appreciation of the work of his son's master.
34. Erasmus de Bie. *The Carnival in Antwerp*. Signed D.E.BIE.f. Canvas, 165 x 251 cm. Brussels, Museum van Elsene (Ixelles), inv.no. 105 (Collection J.B.Willems) (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 91).
35. Erasmus de Bie. *The Meir in Antwerp*. Signed. Canvas, 84 x 116 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, inv.no. 654 (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 90).
36. For example, David II Teniers's *The Guild of De Oude Voetboog on the Grote Markt*. Signed and dated DAVID.TENIERS. FEC. AN 1643. Panel transferred to canvas, 135 x 183 cm. St Petersburg, Hermitage, inv.no. 572 (Antwerp 1991:94-95, cat.no.26).
37. No documentation files on Jacobus de Lafos are kept in the Rubenianum in Antwerp, nor in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague.
38. As in the case of Jacobus de Lafos, no records exist on Hans la Croys.
39. Obviously there are exceptions, such as the picture of *Two smokers in a tavern* (Cat.A40) of 1641, where Ryckaert endows his figures with a certain kind of dignity.
40. See also Vlieghe (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:151).
41. Filipczak (1969-72,XXII:209) erroneously assumes a date "in the mid 1650's". As a matter of fact, the painting is signed and dated at the bottom under the painter's stool: D.Rijckaert 1642. This error explains Filipczak's wonder at finding the Dijon version so "surprisingly close to the respectable scene he had painted two decades earlier" (Filipczak 1987:143).
42. This means that the present picture embodies the same implications perceived in the Louvre version of the *Painter in his studio with model and assisting pupils* (Cat.A18) (see Chapter III).
43. See Catalogue A. With regard to the moustache, Filipczak also makes the observation that "in 1641, as a dated self-portrait in Leningrad reveals, he does not yet have the moustache he was to retain throughout his later life" (1987:125).
44. Numerous emblems were devised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to admonish the alchemist's costly folly. See Henkel & Schöne (1967, Part V).
45. For the most recent bibliography on the alchemist theme, see Boston/Toledo (1993-94:422, note 1).
46. On this subject, see Van Lennep 1966.
47. See also Van Lennep 1966:250-251.
48. According to Van Lennep,"Celui qui considère l'image alchimique comme un rebus agencé selon des méthodes dont seule la raison peut faire découvrir la logique, est condamné à n'en jamais découvrir le sens. L'alchimie s'adresse principalement à l'intuition qui parvient à établir des liens entre l'image et l'âme" (1966:250).
49. "The distinction between magic and science was not so rigorously drawn as in modern times" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:420).

50. David II Teniers. *Peasant kitchen with still life*. Signed and dated 1643. Panel, 35 x 50 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado (Antwerp 1991:304, fig.113a).
51. David II Teniers and Jan Davidsz. de Heem. *Kitchen interior*. Signed and dated lower left and centre: H.D. TENIERS [and] J.D.Heem fA<sup>E</sup>1643. Panel, 48,5 x 64,1 cm. Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, inv.no. M 72.67.1 (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:427-430, cat.no.70).
52. Gillis van Tilborgh. *Peasant interior*. Panel, 56,5 x 74 cm. Auction Cologne, Lempertz 1/3-6-1978, no.198.
53. See, for example, Brouwer's *Tavern scene*. Signed A.Brouwer. Panel, 48 x 76 cm. Private collection (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:411-413, cat.no. 65).
54. See, for example, Teniers's *Card players in a tavern*. Signed and dated 1645. Canvas, 57 x 78 cm. Paris, Louvre (Antwerp 1991:116, fig.34a).
55. Note that the authenticity of this painting is questionable. If it would prove to be a copy, it is still useful as a substitute for the lost original.
56. In *The drinker* (Cat.A60), however, the man's hair is remarkably shorter and the hole in his sleeve still reduced to a small tear. To suggest that these differences point to an earlier dating, is a rather risky undertaking.
57. David II Teniers. *The temptation of St Anthony*. Signed and dated D.TENIERS.F 1635. Panel, 41 x 32 cm. Private collection (Antwerp 1991:46-47, cat.no.9).
58. David II Teniers. *The temptation of St Anthony*. Signed D.TENIERS.F. Copper, 69 x 86 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, inv.no. 1079 (Antwerp 1991:134-135, cat.no.41).
59. David II Teniers. *The temptation of St Anthony*. Signed D.TENIERS.FEC. Copper, 55 x 69 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado (Antwerp 1991:262-263, cat.no.90).
60. An alarming number of paintings representing the temptation of St Anthony has been attributed to David III Ryckaert. See Catalogue B (Cat.B1, Cat.B2, Cat.B3) and Catalogue C (Cat.C1, Cat.C2, Cat.C3).
61. The chamber of rhetoricians "De Violieren" was administered by the guild of St Luke. The dean of St Luke also acted as dean of this chamber, keeping account of all financial transactions in *De Liggeren* (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872).
62. From 1645-1646 his name appears every year in the records of the guild as a "liefhebber der Violiere", having paid his annual contribution. Once elected as dean of the guild, he was exempt of payment of the "jaercosten" for the rest of his life (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872:183ff,233).
63. The accounts kept in *De Liggeren*, indicate that Ryckaert attended the guild's annual banquet on a regular basis, often accompanied by his wife (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872:183ff).
64. An engraving after this painting was made by Frederic Bouttats for publication in *Het Gulden Cabinet* (de Bie 1661:309). The fact that the engraving represents the identical, yet inverted image of the painting, indicates that it was produced directly after this original. For a discussion regarding authorship of the painting itself, see Catalogue B.
65. Because of an advantage or favour, one often flatters someone or does things that one would usually rather avoid (Stoet 1953:431, no.1098).
66. Jordaens's earliest *Twelfth Night* dates from the 1630's and is now in Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven 1993-94,22(1/2):79, fig.19).

67. For more information on the representation of this theme, see the article by van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven (1993-94,22(1/2):65-96).
68. According to van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven (1993-94,22(1/2):75), the roles could also be determined by drawing playing-cards, throwing dice or passing around a box or tin containing beans. Bean cakes and lotteries, however, were more commonly used.
69. The different versions of *Twelfth Night* painted by Jacob Jordaens are illustrated in van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven (1993-94,22(1/2): Paris, Musée du Louvre (fig.24); Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (fig.25); Tournai, Museum voor Schone Kunsten (fig.26); drawing of now unknown version, formerly in St.Petersburg (fig.27); Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (fig.28).
70. In Jordaens's early version of *Twelfth Night* of Kassel, for example, a parrot is included on the windowsill. Van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven (1993-94,22(1/2):78) observes that the "people who do nothing but gorge and empty dishes and glasses - one of the characteristics of *Twelfth Night* - [are comparable] to the parrot that spends its days in idleness, whistling for drinks and wheedling tidbits".
71. Jordaens's painting of *The king drinks* (ca.1640. Canvas, 156 x 210 cm. Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts (d'Hulst 1982:170, fig.140)) exemplifies the sharp contrast between Jordaens's approach and Ryckaert's treatment of the theme. Jordaens's feasters are such boisterous merry-makers that the banquet often threatens to turn into a brawl.
72. Larsen (1985:320) agrees with Legrand, stating that Ryckaert treats "the setting as belonging to the social environment of well-to-do bourgeois".
73. See also Rooses (19--:63).
74. Renger (1986:61) also states that in this work, any influences of Brouwer have disappeared by now; the peasant element is equally withdrawn.
75. Note that the setting closely resembles the interior of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A49) of 1642.
76. Legrand seriously contradicts herself on this issue. First she places Ryckaert's figures on the same social level as Jordaens's. In the following sentence she describes them as "paysans aisés" (well-off peasants), the family life of whom is represented under idealised circumstances, with a sentimental note (Legrand 1965:155). To classify them again as peasants is in turn an underestimation of their social stature.
77. David II Teniers. *Driekoningenavond*. Signed and dated 1635. Panel, 47,2 x 69,9 cm. Washington, National Gallery (Antwerp 1991:266, fig.91a).
78. Teniers isolates the jester from the main group of feasting peasants. Pointing to the revellers, this comic figure explicitly stigmatises the licentiousness of the peasants as utterly foolish behaviour.
79. The author arrives at this conclusion on the basis of Teniers's painting of *The King drinks* (Signed D.TENIERS.FEC. Copper, 58 x 70 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv.no. 1797 (Antwerp 1991:266-267, cat.no.91)). This is the only other version of *Twelfth Night* by Teniers, but whereas van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven believes it to be "from a slightly later date" than the 1635 version, Klinge (Antwerp 1991:266) dates it in the second half of the 1660s. If Klinge is correct, it is obvious that Ryckaert cannot have been influenced by this particular painting. Van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven also recognises the influence of Brouwer in Ryckaert's paintings of this type. The argument is once more based on only one painting, namely *The champion drinker* of 1636 in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven 1993-94,22(1/2):78, fig.21). Since the attribution to Brouwer is doubtful, the assumption proves untenable.
80. Repetitions occur in the setting and in the figure types: the bearded old man, the wrinkled old woman with the puckered mouth, the mother suckling her baby, the playing children. Even the motif of the child leaning over the balcony on the first floor, is reiterated.

81. These are recognisable, for example, in the chimney on the extreme left, with a piece of paper and an extinguished candle attached to it.

82. According to Legrand (1965:155), Ryckaert established in this painting the formula destined to be repeated indefinitely.

83. David II Teniers. *Peasant with large earthenware pitcher*. Monogrammed. Panel, 22 x 16 cm. Private collection (Antwerp 1991:145, cat.no.46B).

84. Klinge (Antwerp 1991:145) dates Teniers's painting of *Peasant with large earthenware pitcher* after 1646.

85. Nelson further states that it "provides insight on the dissemination of the representation of 'The King Drinks' and 'As the old ones sing, so peep the young ones' in Flemish and Dutch art" (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:116). This proposition, however, is highly debatable. The instances where the relationship between portraiture and this type of genre works can be demonstrated, are too scarce to substantiate such a hypothesis.

86. Vlieghe states that it was not exceptional for artists to incorporate their self-portraits, as well as portraits of their colleagues and family members, in genre-like compositions. He convincingly argues this issue with reference to the more monumental, Caravaggesque genre scenes by the Antwerp painter Theodoor Rombouts (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:145-157).

87. See, for instance, Liedtke (New York 1984:5 ff).

88. Gonzales Coques. *Group portrait of David III Ryckaert and his family*. Panel, 63,2 x 73,3 cm. Auction London, Christie's 8/9-12-1994, no.286. I thank Prof Vlieghe for drawing my attention to the existence of this painting and for providing me with all the relevant data.

89. See Chapter V for a more detailed discussion of different aspects of the family portrait, which are irrelevant in the present context.

90. It would seem that Ryckaert was not particularly inclined towards this kind of self-flattery. In the paintings considered so far, he only introduced a self-portrait in the 1642 version of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A49), in the guise of a merry peasant.

91. Since the couple's first child was born only in 1649, it is evident that his paintings of the late 1640s do not contain any portraits of his children.

92. Although in the 1638 version (Cat.A14), the cobbler is also represented in the company of a woman, the female figure now assumes the more specific role of the cobbler's wife, as she busies herself with spinning.

93. According to De Jongh (1967:65), the image of the spinster is on the one hand derived from the parable of the Wise and Silly Virgins, and on the other hand based on chapter 31 of the Proverbs of Salomo: '*Lof der deugdzame huisvrouw*'. Verse 13 reads as follows: 'Zij zoekt wol en vlas, en werkt met lust harer handen' ('She seeks wool and flax, and works joyfully with her hands'). And in verse 19 it is phrased: 'Zij steekt hare handen uit naar de spil, en hare handpalmen vatten de spinrok' ('She reaches out her hands to the spindle, and her palms seize the distaff'). Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the spinning woman is still the symbol of the virtue of domesticity.

94. An example is the copperplate engraving of "*Verlega*" and "*Sorghelos*" (anon., published by Hieronymus Cock), illustrated in Renger (1970, fig.75).

95. See, for example, in *A cobbler's workshop*, engraving by Pieter van der Borcht after Marten de Vos, illustrated in Renger (1970, fig.77).

96. This name "Verlega" is in itself allegorical, as it is the latinised substantive of the middle-Netherlandish word "verlegen" - which means weak, feeble, exhausted (Renger 1970:113).

97. Zoege von Manteuffel expresses the same opinion. He states that "apparently such representations, as a speciality of the artist, were so much in demand that he produced them wholly mechanically, probably also with the assistance of fellow painters" (Zoege von Manteuffel 1915,6:65) (my translation).

98. In order to secure his reputation as a specialist in representations of cobblers, it would have been wiser not to ask for help from another established artist. Furthermore, no other Antwerp painter is known to have competed with Ryckaert in this particular field.

99. Among the Dutch artists to take up the subject were Adriaen van Ostade, Cornelis Bega, Thomas Wijck, Pieter Potter, Pieter Quast, Gerrit Dou, Jan Steen, Hendrick Martensz Sorgh, Jacob Toorenvliet, Egbert van Heemskerck, H. Herschop and Egbert van der Poel. Flemish: David II Teniers, David III Ryckaert, Marten de Vos, Matthieu van Helmont, Gerard Thomas and Justus van Bentum (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:420, 422, note 10).

100. Sutton suggests that Brouwer might be held responsible for the revival of this genre (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:420-422). His explanation is, however, not very convincing, seeing that Brouwer died a decade earlier.

101. Sutton believes that "Although Teniers probably treated the theme earlier than 1649, the ... [Philadelphia] painting appears to be one of the earliest dated examples of this subject in his oeuvre" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:420).

102. It must be noted that Legrand's view is repeated in the recent exhibition catalogue of Cologne/Vienna (1992-93:429), but with a reservation: "Allerdings darf auch bei dieser Darstellung nicht vergessen werden, daß parallel zum Verweis auf das Wissen eine Anspielung auf das Nürrische an dem Treiben der beiden Alten impliziert ist" (Cologne/Vienna 1992-93:430).

103. David II Teniers. *The alchemist*. Signed and dated D.Teniers, fec. 1649. Panel, 59,4 x 83, cm. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson collection, inv.no. 689 (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:420-422, cat.no.68).

104. For a complete list of David II Teniers's paintings of the alchemist theme, see Boston/Toledo 1993-94:422, note 7.

105. Legrand (1963:155) maintains that Ryckaert borrowed the theme from David II Teniers. In the exhibition catalogues *Von Brueghel bis Rubens* (Cologne/Vienna 1992-93:428) and *The age of Rubens* (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:65), it is also stated that Ryckaert's alchemists "owe a clear debt to David Teniers".

106. Larsen (1985:320) comments with good reason on the "well-executed paraphernalia".

107. Legrand's (1963:155-156) description of the Leipzig painting does not correspond with the actual picture. She refers to one of Ryckaert's paintings of a scholar in his study (Vienna, Madrid, Mannheim).

108. For example, the alchemist's wife has opened the book in front of her, indicating that she is in the process of reading.

109. Despite the presence of a hearth heating up an alembic, the old man is totally absorbed in reading the large book, which identifies him more aptly as a scholar.

110. One candle is placed on the table and a second is attached to the wall high up above the hearth.

111. "... but he is above all excellent in paintings of candlelight" (my translation).

112. Max Rooses (*Biographie nationale* 1907,19:615), also intrigued by this assertion, investigated the matter and could find in this genre only one "*Médecin uroscope*" in the Museum of Mannheim. It concerns the *Scholar with homunculus in glass phial* (Cat.A83) of Mannheim. Apart from the present painting of Madrid, candle-lit scenes also appear in *The alchemist* (Cat.A84) of Vienna, *Vanitas scene* (Cat.A85), *The seduction* (Cat.A86), *The goldweigher* (Cat.A87) and *The larder* (Cat.A88).

113. No documents are available to establish whether the painting was commissioned or simply bought from the artist.

114. This issue will be given closer attention in Chapter V.

115. It may be assumed that his familiarity with Ryckaert's *oeuvre* was otherwise very limited.

116. It is probably not a coincidence that the only work of Ryckaert identified in his inventory, is a painting "wesende eenen nacht" (representing a night scene), for the purchase of which a certain Mr Bacx from Brussels owed Ryckaert 24 guilders (SAA, van Oudenhoven, F. *Staten en rekeningen*, 1659-1665. NOT.4362, no.63) (see Appendix II, Doc.I [29]).

117. Filipczak (1969-72,XXII:199-201) refers to this work, but fails to identify it as the painting in the Vienna Museum.

# CHAPTER V

## The mature period ca.1649-1661

On a personal level, David III Ryckaert was a prosperous and blessed man in the sense that nine children were born from his marriage with Jacoba Pallemans. The first son, David IV, was baptised on 15 February 1649<sup>1</sup>. The other children followed rapidly one upon another<sup>2</sup>, the youngest, Frans Ryckaert, being born just a few days before his father's death. Some of the children, however, died very young and only three of them survived their parents<sup>3</sup>.

Three months after the birth of their first child, on 21 May 1649, David III and his wife Jacoba bought a house, named *Het Keizershoofd*, on the corner of Arenberg- and Martenstraat in Antwerp<sup>4</sup> (Van den Branden 1883:608)<sup>5</sup>. David may have known this house, since Tobias Verhaecht, his uncle's teacher, used to live in it (Thieme & Becker 1922,15:423). More important about this acquisition, however, is the fact that it tells of the social status of the artist at that time. Francine Van Cauwenberghe-Janssens wrote a short article on the social condition of the Antwerp painters in the seventeenth century (1970:233-240). The basic source for her paper was a count of firesides dated 1659 and organized by the magistrate of the city of Antwerp. Working from the rental value of the houses and their frequency, and using lists of wages, the author arrives at a division of the population into four different categories. For example, houses with a rental value not exceeding 36 guilders, of which a total of 1.544 were counted, were occupied by proletarians. To give a clear idea of the situation at that time, Van Cauwenberghe's table (1970:233) is quoted below:

<u>Rental value of houses in guilders</u>	<u>Number of houses counted</u>
up to 36 (proletariat)	1.544
36 to 72 (lower class schooled labourers)	3.063

72 to 144 (middle class burghers)		2.704
144 to 288 (prosperous 288 to 576 middle class)	1.161 369	1.564
576 to 1.000 (the very rich upper class)		34
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	Total	8.875

Van Cauwenberghe then provides a list of names of artists, indicating their address, the rental value of their home and the number of chimneys. David Ryckaert appears first on this list as living in the first ward in the quarter of captain Pauwels, more specifically in Arenbergstraat. The rental value of his house which counted three chimneys, was estimated at 132 guilders<sup>6</sup>, which places him in the category of the middle-class citizenry. For comparative purposes, it is interesting to mention some figures allocated to other artists, such as Pieter Brueghel (200), Simon de Vos (138), Pieter Verbruggen (150), Ambrosius Brueghel (150), Peeter van Bredael (90) and Gonzales Coques (230), to name just a few. Of the 48 artists listed, 19 fell under the 144 bracket, while only two painters, Jacob Jordaens (450) and Jan Fyt (300), became wealthy men. The survey led Van Cauwenberghe to conclude that the median price of the house rents occupied by artists was 150 guilders. "This number is the basic point to judge the social situation of the painters" (van Cauwenberghe-Janssens 1970:240). Since David III Ryckaert ranged far below this average, one may conclude that, compared to his artist colleagues, he could not boast a high position in the social hierarchy<sup>7</sup>.

At this stage in his life, the artist seems to have reconsidered his work and introduced some drastic changes.

Want schoon men vyftich jaer des' Const gheploghen had  
 Soo vintmen daeghelijckx daer in een nieuwen schat.  
 T'is met des' Const ghestelt als met Medeas saecken  
 Oft haere toovery, die Grysaerts<sup>8</sup> jonck cost maecken  
 In haeren pot op t'vier, wast beest oft ouden mensch  
 Sy stackse af de keel en werden jongh naer wensch.  
 Soo gaeghet met Pictuer in haere Const schildrijen

Als met Medeas pot en al haer tooverijen,  
Want schoon een Schilders hant door ouderdom wort stijf  
Soo brenghet hem dese Const een jongher hert in 't lijf.  
Een jongher siel (soo t'schijnt) die wort in hem gheboren  
Als hem een nieuwe Const met lusten compt te voren,  
Waer uyt hy nieuwen aert van handelingh can sien  
Soo als men in het werck van Ryckaert can bemercken  
(de Bie 1661:308-310)<sup>9</sup>.

This passage indicates that de Bie was acutely aware of the change in Ryckaert's subject matter (*nieuwe Const*) and style (*nieuwen aert van handelingh*). Although he shows poetic licence<sup>10</sup> in specifying the time of Ryckaert's change, the multiple references to advanced age make it clear that he is referring to the period around 1650. The changes observed by de Bie first come to the fore in the 1649 paintings which formed part of the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

In 1646, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm became governor of the Spanish Netherlands for a period of ten years (1646-1656), although he only arrived in Brussels on 11 April 1647 (Duverger 1968:26). He was a generous art lover<sup>11</sup> and gave commissions to more than sixty-five Flemish artists during his service as governor of the Southern Netherlands. He doubtlessly promoted the arts in Flanders by setting such a good example as a Maecenas (Mares 1887,V:349). In 1651, he appointed David Teniers II as his court painter in the function of *ayuda da camera*. Teniers served the Archduke in a dual capacity, namely as painter and cartoonist for tapisseries, as well as curator of the governor's famous collection. Besides selecting and purchasing art works for the collection, his duties included the painting of *constcaemers* (gallery pictures), representing various sections of this collection<sup>12</sup>. Paintings by Teniers which actually formed part of Leopold Wilhelm's collection, were not only portraits and religious works, but also included five genre scenes<sup>13</sup>, demonstrating the Archduke's appreciation of that aspect of Teniers's *oeuvre* which initially had brought him fame (Vlieghe 1961-1966,XIX:140). Apparently Leopold Wilhelm also took an interest in the work of David III Ryckaert. This statement was made as early as 1661 in de Bie's *Het Gulden Cabinet* (1661:309). The engraving by Frederick Bouttats after the portrait of David III Ryckaert is accompanied by a short notice, which was written

by Joannes Meysens (1612-1670), the Antwerp artist and publisher of the book. The phrase which is of interest here, reads as follows:

... ainsi que son Altesse Imperiale L'Archiduc Leopold, L'e trouve ses pieces dignes de son cabinet comme ausi autres Princes... (de Bie 1661:309)<sup>14</sup>.

The text pertaining to Ryckaert's relationship with the Archduke and "other princes"<sup>15</sup> is relegated to the caption accompanying the engraving. Why did de Bie himself not mention it in his laudatory poem? Dreher claims that de Bie's "highest measure of praise, and certainly the one most often repeated, is a litany of those titled patrons ... who had given their recognition and friendship to their artists" (Dreher 1978,60(4):688). This fact renders the issue even more perturbing. Does the omission indicate that de Bie did not think very highly of Ryckaert's art? The praise uttered in the poem appears to contradict such an assumption. More likely, the number of commissions given to Ryckaert by such noblemen was so insignificant that de Bie did not consider it worth mentioning. After all, Ryckaert was only one of the more than sixty-five Flemish painters who received commissions from the Archduke. The fact that the publisher insisted on mentioning the Archduke and "other princes" as collectors of Ryckaert's paintings, must be regarded as a calculated effort on his part to highlight Ryckaert's social status and, therefore, his artistic merit. Though not shared by de Bie in this particular instance, it serves to illustrate the belief among writers of the period that social success could serve as an index of artistic achievement (Dreher 1978,60(4):688).

A scrutiny of the 1659 inventory of the Archduke's famous collection (Berger 1883:79-177) brings to light that he owned four<sup>16</sup> paintings by David III Ryckaert (nos. 93, 148, 149 and 253)<sup>17</sup>. These include a religious composition, representing *The adoration of the shepherds*<sup>18</sup> (no.93), and "ein Nachtstuckh" (no.253), featuring an alchemist, which is now known under the title *The alchemist* (Cat.A84)<sup>19</sup>. The numbers 148 and 149 are pendants, representing great outdoor scenes: *Plundering* or *Boerenverdriet* (Cat.A91), dated 1649, which, according to Mares (1887,V:346), relates to the Archduke's military interests; and *Kermesse* or *Boerenvreugd*

(Cat.A90). Though new to Ryckaert, the subjects of *Peasant Joy* ("*Boerenvreugd*") and *Peasant Sorrow* ("*Boerenleed*") are traditional themes which originated in the preceding century. The kermesse was a collective holiday, celebrated by the entire village; the standard features in its representation are dancing and drinking. Ryckaert's *Kermesse* (Cat.A90) portrays "the normal round of peasant life as a peaceful festive one disrupted only by intruders" (Fishman 1982:72). The intruders breaking up the peasant festivities are the soldiers portrayed in *Plundering* (Cat.A91). In glaring contrast to the *Kermesse* as a celebration of peace, the painting of *Plundering* shows the other side of rustic experience, namely the suffering of the peasants at the hands of troops - "a theme descended from sixteenth-century literary and pictorial traditions best remembered from the works of David Vinckboons" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:65). These pictures thus also illustrate Ryckaert's interest in the traditional function of pendants, whose juxtaposed subjects enrich the shared narrative (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:438). The thematic coherence of the paintings is underscored by the compositional structure which is rendered in mirror image in the opposite pendant. Both works represent an outdoor scene, staged in a village street outside an inn. The composition is complex, involving numerous figures divided into groups, each forming a distinct centre of interest. Most of the groups which are portrayed in *Kermesse*, find their counterpart in *Plundering*. For example, the horse turned with its rear towards the viewer, features in *Kermesse* on the left-hand side, carrying the landlord. In *Plundering*, it reappears on the right-hand side as the property of a cavalry officer. More tellingly, the peasant who carries the landlord's hunting trophy in *Kermesse* (extreme left), is exactly the same man who has been taken captive in *Plundering* (extreme right). What makes both paintings representative of Ryckaert's mature work, is "the gradual social elevation of peasant subjects [and] the nostalgic return to primal themes of genre" - characteristics which, according to Sutton, are often encountered in Flemish scenes of everyday life in the later seventeenth century (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:65). Since these "primal themes" fell outside Ryckaert's established repertory, he resorted to works by Flemish colleagues as a source of inspiration. While the *Kermesse* is very much a painting à la Teniers, the composition and iconography of *Plundering* is clearly based on Rubens's painting of *Carousing Landsknechts*<sup>20</sup>.

What distinguishes these works from the paintings of the 1640s in terms of style, is the marked change in Ryckaert's principles of composition. The tendency to represent larger figure groups, naturally led to more complicated groupings and the need to fill the depth of the painting with figures. By grouping his figures in successive rows, he created an illusion of spatial depth. The foreground figures are neatly drawn, clearly outlined and evenly lit, displaying an increasing refinement in execution. They attract the viewer's attention through their clear, brilliant colours, especially bright blue, light green, soft pink and pale white. This separates them distinctly from the background figures which, in contrast, show little colour and are submerged in a brownish tone (Zoege von Manteuffel 1915,6:66). The placement of the figures follows a rather arbitrary pattern, with one guiding principle: the centre of the painting is the centre of gravitation for the whole composition. As seen in both *Plundering* and *Kermesse*, Ryckaert tends to divide the picture plane into two vertical halves. In the one half he depicts the main scene, while the other is filled with a secondary scene - in a way similar to his earliest compositional schemes. The difference now resides in the fact that he situates a figure or event in the centre in order to link the two scenes together<sup>21</sup>.

No documents have survived to establish whether both *Plundering* (Cat.A91) and *Kermesse* (Cat.A90) were commissioned or simply purchased<sup>22</sup>. It may be assumed, however, that these paintings were executed according to the specific requirements of the patron. Three facts substantiate such a proposition. Firstly, as purported by Mares (1887, V:346), the Archduke liked this type of painting. He showed no interest in the tavern and barn interiors produced by Ryckaert in the 1630s and 1640s, preferring less coarse themes (Vlieghe 1961-1966,XIX:141). Mares's claim is endorsed by the fact that the Archduke acquired two similar paintings by David II Teniers of *A peasant wedding*<sup>23</sup> and *Soldiers pillaging a village*<sup>24</sup>, both dated 1648. Secondly, Ryckaert did not specialise in outdoor scenes crowded with people. He preferred the intimate indoor scenes, where a limited number of figures are represented. This obvious deviation from his standard repertory points to the concession the artist made to the patron's expectations. It is a well-known fact that in those days, the depiction of a large number of figures automatically increased the

value of the paintings<sup>25</sup>. A third important factor is the inclusion of the artist's self-portrait in *Plundering* (Cat.A91). As observed earlier, the practice of incorporating his self-portrait in genre scenes, was unusual in Ryckaert's *oeuvre*. In *Plundering*, he portrays himself as a commentator on the scene<sup>26</sup>, looking ostensibly out of the painting to the spectator, that is, in a standard pose for a so-called "hidden self-portrait"<sup>27</sup>. Standing detached from the other participants, the artist explicitly denies the assumption that he painted for or was a social advocate of the peasantry<sup>28</sup>. In *Kermesse*, on the other hand, Ryckaert has included a portrait of his wife, Jacoba Pallemans, in the figure of the upper-class lady carrying a lapdog in her arms. By casting her in this role, he made no secret of his/her social aspirations. The destination of the works for the Archduke's picture gallery may very well have motivated the artist to include portraits of this kind. The fact that the paintings were commissioned before or in 1649, implies that contact between the artist and the Brussels court was already established during the first years of Leopold's stay in Flanders<sup>29</sup>.

It is ironic that both Teniers and Ryckaert executed paintings for the Archduke which are atypical of their respective manners. As Vlieghe remarks, Teniers produced many paintings in this particular period, representing widely conceived and busily populated scenes<sup>30</sup>. In contrast, *The peasant wedding* and *Soldiers pillaging a village* display a calmness and simplicity of composition unusual for this type of theme. A few figures dominate the foreground, while the actual event is only summarily hinted at in the background. Vlieghe argues that this fact, combined with the fact that the archducal gallery does not include scenes with explicitly rough activities, may lead one to conclude that the Archduke preferred scenes with relatively few figures, calmly engaged in their tasks (Vlieghe 1961-1966, XIX:140-141). This conclusion, however, does not apply so easily to Ryckaert. He increased the size of his canvas significantly, allowing a host of figures to participate in the event, very much in the usual manner of Teniers. On the other hand, it is indeed so that excessive agitation is eliminated: the horrors of war are drastically played down, and the feasting peasants are not characterized by coarse or boisterous behaviour.

In the context of representations of war and peace, mention must be made of a painting representing *Mars forced to unemployment* (Cat.A93), where a large still life of emblems of war forms the focus of attention. Housed in the Hermitage, it is allegedly signed "D.Ryc f". At first glance, this work rebuts an attribution to David III Ryckaert, on account of the strange theme and imagery. One way of explaining the apparent inconsistencies, is that the painting was the product of collaboration between Ryckaert and Jan van den Hoecke<sup>31</sup>. Although there are no written sources to support this assumption, and no other paintings are known to have been made in collaboration with Van den Hoecke, the hypothesis is not without credibility. Since Jan van den Hoecke was employed in the service of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm<sup>32</sup>, Ryckaert may have met him in the course of his contact with the Brussels court<sup>33</sup>. If they worked together on this painting, it is surely Jan van den Hoecke who must be credited with the original idea, since the subject matter and setting are more characteristic of his own *oeuvre*<sup>34</sup>. An alternative explanation may be that Ryckaert used an original picture of *Mars forced to unemployment* by Jan van den Hoecke - perhaps the recently auctioned painting (Cat.C7)? - and simply copied it with a few alterations. His reasons for doing so can be found in the prestige that the connection with an artist working for the Archduke, would have entailed.

Ryckaert's exploration of new themes continued, as he ventured into the field of religious painting - the kind of subject matter which was considered most prestigious. The only viable explanation for his decision to represent themes traditionally dealt with by history painters, may be found in the collecting activities of the Archduke. As mentioned earlier, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm possessed a painting by Ryckaert representing *The adoration of the shepherds*. If he commissioned this work from the artist, it would explain Ryckaert's sudden change of topic. If not, it is possible that the artist, informed of the Archduke's interest in this type of painting, deviated from his usual repertory in an effort to sell more work to this important patron. Although the painting in question appears to be lost<sup>35</sup>, one may assume that it closely resembled the Vaduz version of *The adoration of the shepherds* (Cat.A96)<sup>36</sup>. Despite the drastic reduction of the staffage, this picture relates to the 1649 pendants in that it represents a scene out of doors, featuring small secondary figures in the distant background.

Since Ryckaert was basically unfamiliar with religious themes, one would expect him to seek inspiration in the work of fellow artists specialising in this genre. Although the iconography of such religious themes was fairly standardised, artists exerted their wits to invent interesting variations. On the one hand, there were those artists who preferred to treat the religious subject in a genre-like fashion; the 1632 version of *The adoration of the shepherds*<sup>37</sup> by Erasmus II Quellinus illustrates this approach. Other painters, such as Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, favoured a more theatrical and lustrous Baroque approach, stressing the supernatural nature of the subject matter. More often these two opposites were combined to some extent, as seen in Jacob Jordaens's versions of *The adoration of the shepherds*<sup>38</sup>. He glorified the apparently mundane gathering of peasants by including a host of chubby angels tumbling from clouds and guided by a divine light. Being a specialist in low-life scenes, it is not surprising to find that Ryckaert opted for the first solution, but not without an admission to the alternative approach. Apart from the Virgin's halo, Ryckaert hinted at the holy nature of the event by means of two little angels hovering in the clouds above, highlighted by the rays of the shining star.

Although the choice of this motif may have been inspired by the example set by Jacob Jordaens or Jan van den Hoecke<sup>39</sup>, the role of Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert (1613-1654) should not be overlooked. In both his religious<sup>40</sup> and mythological scenes<sup>41</sup>, Bosschaert made abundant use of angels and putti which correspond with Ryckaert's in their chubby roundedness<sup>42</sup>. Moreover, it is a documented fact that Bosschaert's relationship with Ryckaert went beyond a formal acquaintance. When Ryckaert's second child, Thomas Willeboirts Ryckaert, was born on 3 May 1650, Bosschaert became its godfather during the baptism in the Church of St. Joris (SAA, *PR St.-Joris*, 140: Dopen, (1650-1658), f.14)<sup>43</sup>. Another religious painting executed by Ryckaert in this period is *The sacrifice of Isaac* (Cat.A94) which, though more conventional in its iconography, bears Ryckaert's personal stamp in the sympathetic individualisation of the figures. The picture of *The repentant Magdalen* (Cat.A97), on the other hand, which is signed and dated 1650, is a rather clumsy work, taking into consideration Ryckaert's standards. Although he attempted to enrich the composition by introducing an elaborate still life, the huge figure of the pitiful

Magdalen fails to convince. It goes to show that not all Ryckaert's new ventures proved to be successful.

During 1650 Ryckaert's business as a painter flourished, judging by the fairly large number (five) of preserved paintings, signed and dated 1650. The fact that the artist made it a more regular habit to sign and date his works, may be an indication of his growing self-esteem, or perhaps of the increase in the number of commissions. Apart from *The repentant Magdalen* (Cat.A97) mentioned above, there is the work entitled "*Het Spaens Heydinnerje*" (*The Spanish gypsy girl*) (Cat.A99), a subject derived from Jacob Cats and, as such, quite unusual in the *oeuvre* of Ryckaert. He probably depended on existing versions of the theme, but his exact source still needs to be established. The majority of the 1650 pictures are, however, representations of musical gatherings of elegantly dressed men and women - another new category of painting for Ryckaert. Filipczak describes the change as follows:

there seems to be a general tendency in Ryckaert's work (a direction shared by other fellow genre painters in Antwerp, such as David Teniers II<sup>44</sup>) to handle more socially esteemed subjects, even those transcending the realm of genre painting (Filipczak 1969-72:209).

According to Gerson and ter Kuile (1960:148), this interest in the fashionable and refined, shared by the Antwerp painters after 1650, occurred "because the whole realm of painting, after a phase of sometimes brutally realistic representation of man and nature, now took on an idealized aspect". Whatever caused this change in taste<sup>45</sup>, Ryckaert joined the new trend and started to produce pictures featuring members of the higher social classes. His recent recognition by the Archduke may have motivated him on a personal level. It is also generally agreed that Ryckaert's brother-in-law, Gonzales Coques, played a major role in the artist's change of figural types, due to the latter's success as a painter of fashionable conversation pieces.

A musical party was a popular theme among the Antwerp bourgeoisie during the second half of the seventeenth century. In higher social circles, music was part of daily life - not only to listen to it passively, but to take part in it (de Mirimonde

1968:197)<sup>46</sup>. According to Schreurs (Brussels 1991:162), music was regarded as a basic component of the general education of the youth. Young people in particular, took part in house music in order to dispel boredom and worries. The main concern was, however, to inculcate "good" morals into the youngsters by means of the content of the songs - a tradition that originated in the late fifteenth century and persisted deep into the seventeenth century (Brussels 1991:162). People of higher social standing liked to see themselves portrayed performing their favourite pastimes. Due to the total change of social milieu, Ryckaert was forced to extend his range of figural types. Apart from humble peasants and middle-class people, he now also had to represent officers in sumptuous costumes and women in gay, expensive clothes. They are represented taking part in music and song, and they drink wine, served in sparkling glasses. Some peasant-like characters appear here and there between the elegant figures, almost acting as intruders (Zoege von Manteuffel 1915,6:66-68).

In *The little concert* (Cat.A100) of Copenhagen, the staffage is still relatively restricted and the participating figures are quite modest in their outfits. It is in the *Musical company* (Cat.A101), also dated 1650, that the genre of elegant musical gatherings is fully developed by Ryckaert. Both the setting and the company are drastically enlarged and enriched. The refinement of the upper-class people is stressed by their elegant postures and exquisite costumes. In this work, as well as in some other pictures of gallant gatherings<sup>47</sup>, the star singer or main lady is recognisable as Jacoba Pallemans. The fact that the artist only portrayed his wife in the role of a fashionable, upper-class lady, accentuates his wish to be dissociated from the lower citizenry. Another interesting detail is the decoration of the upper-class interior with paintings of peasant tavern scenes<sup>48</sup>. This may be considered as a calculated effort on the part of the artist to stress the popularity of peasant paintings among the higher social classes.

The *Musical company* actually forms the pendant of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A102) of 1650, where a group of feasting middle-class people is seen eating, drinking, singing and generally carousing. Sutton is correct in stating that Ryckaert intended to juxtapose low- and high-life musical companies

(Boston/Toledo 1993-94:435). In doing so, the artist emphasised the difference between the social classes, not only in outward appearance, but also in behaviour<sup>49</sup>. Whereas high-life society knows how to enjoy music and wine with moderation, the low-life company knows no limits. Overindulgence in alcohol leads to drunkenness and, consequently, to foolish behaviour which is imitated by the children. It seems ironic, and perhaps contradictory, that Ryckaert re-used some of his models<sup>50</sup> to play the roles of socially distinct characters in both the high- and low-life scenes. Rather than affecting the meaning of the paintings, this practice is probably the result of the artist's working methods in the studio and the restricted supply of models. As contended by de Mirimonde (1968:196), it also proves that Ryckaert's scenes were intended to please and not as exact transcriptions of reality.

The *Musical party* (Cat.A103) of Vaduz closely resembles the *Musical company* (Cat.A101) in its conception and design, as well as in the cast of characters. Knowing that the *Musical company* (Cat.A101) has a companion piece, it is tempting to assume that every one of Ryckaert's elegant musical parties was conceived as the pendant of a low-life scene. In the case of the Vaduz picture (Cat.A103), one work that fulfils the basic requirements of a possible companion piece, is *The peasant gathering outdoors* (Cat.A104)<sup>51</sup>. In this painting, the artist contrasts the poverty of the low-life festive gathering with the opulence of the fashionable company. The hardship endured by the peasants is furthermore highlighted by the presence of the soldier - a definite reference to the theme of *Peasant Sorrow*. As in *Plundering* (Cat.A91), Ryckaert has included himself in the scene as a sympathetic spectator of the peasants who are victimised by soldiers. This may suggest the support of the artist for the peasants' cause.

The *Music party* (Cat.A105) of Pommersfelden is yet another painting that is modelled on the 1650 versions of the *Musical company* (Cat.A101) and the *Musical party* (Cat.A103). Although it is slightly smaller in width than *The peasant meal* (Cat.A106) of 1651, the latter painting presents itself as a possible pendant of the *Music party* (Cat.A105). In *The peasant meal* (Cat.A106), the peasants' way of relaxation is contrasted with that of higher society. In this case, however, the

festivities do not turn into drunken debauchery, which explains the omission of the usual moral warning. It demonstrates that the artist no longer wished to use the peasantry as the scapegoat for unacceptable behaviour.

Ryckaert painted two more pictures of musical companies, but they distinguish themselves from the previous ones in setting. Both versions of a *Social gathering in the country*, one privately owned (Cat.A112) and the other conserved in Rome (Cat.A107), are representations of musical companies played out *en plein-air*. It must be noted, however, that in these paintings, the emphasis has shifted from music-making to feasting - an aspect which sets them even further apart from the interior musical companies. Musicians are present only to create a pleasant atmosphere for the participants, who are more concerned with conversing, courting and generally enjoying an outing in the countryside. In the *Social gathering in the country* (Cat.A107) of Rome, the festive atmosphere is heightened by the consumption of food and alcohol. This concern with feasting was present throughout in Ryckaert's peasant paintings. It may be argued that the artist concentrated on representing feasting companies, because they reflected contemporary customs which were dear to his clients. It is a well-known fact that Flemish people were fond of dining and feasting. Rooses maintains that, in the Southern Netherlands in the seventeenth century, "grâce à [une] inépuisable joie de vivre la bourgeoisie ... ne négligea aucune occasion de s'amuser et même de s'amuser follement" (19--:64). Elaborate banquets were the order of the day. Not only kermesses, weddings and funerals provided an opportunity to eat and drink excessively. When new deans or members were admitted to guilds, chambers of rhetoric or other societies, or when an important visitor came to town, the event was celebrated with a convivial meal. Even in convents and monasteries the practice was the same. All this luxurious eating and drinking, traces of which still survive in Flemish customs, was looked at askance by the authorities, but their efforts to curb it had little success (Rooses 19--:64-67)<sup>52</sup>.

It would not be surprising to find that Ryckaert also produced companion pieces for both versions of a *Social gathering in the country* (Cat.A107 and Cat.A112). The *Peasant meal with children's dance* (Cat.A108) does indeed exhibit such striking

correspondences with the Roman version of *Social gathering in the country* (Cat.A107) that they may be viewed as a matching pair. The painting of *A peasant kermesse* (Cat.A113) presents itself as yet another possible pendant on account of its medium, size, composition and iconography. The fact, however, that both the *Peasant meal with children's dance* (Cat.A108) and the Roman picture, represent an allegory of the five senses, links them more closely together. On the other hand, the search for a companion piece of the privately owned version of *Social gathering in the country* (Cat.A112), remained vain<sup>53</sup>. Another work relating to the theme of a social gathering in the country, surfaced as possibly by the hand of Ryckaert, namely the *Drinking woman* (Cat.B14). It is rather unusual in that it represents a single woman depicted on a vertical format and seated at a set table in the countryside. She is not a refined lady, but probably the maidservant who is finishing the wine left by the elegant company after the party. As such, the *Drinking woman* (Cat.B14) combines into one painting the two divergent worlds of upper and lower classes.

In the representation of musical companies, Ryckaert rivalled his brother-in-law Gonzales Coques, who specialised in the representation of such gallant entertainments. In fact, the works of both artists show such close affinities in iconography and style that the possibility of collaboration needs to be examined. Van der Stighelen (1990-92,172:5-15) states that various collaborative networks of vastly different artistic standards were operative in Antwerp in the first half of the seventeenth century. On the one hand, she cites the example of distinguished artists such as Rubens, Frans Snijders, Jan Wildens, Cornelis and Paul de Vos who "helped each other according to their respective specialities" (1990-92,172:15). They produced large-scale, decorative compositions that were thematically homogenous and relatively expensive. In this case, collaboration was encouraged for the sake of optimal quality<sup>54</sup>, as well as increased productivity. On the other hand, the case of Andries Snellinck is discussed - a *derderangsschilder* (third rate painter) who collaborated mainly with other "*dozijnschilders*" (painters-by-the-dozen). This network of co-operating artists of another standard, focused on the production of small-scale paintings of versatile nature. The single advantage of this work distribution was increased productivity, which guaranteed low prices<sup>55</sup>.

It is entirely conceivable that Ryckaert and Gonzales Coques would combine their artistic talents in collective paintings, especially because they were family-related. David III Ryckaert did not, however, belong to either of the two groups of artists identified by Van der Stighelen. He did not specialise in large-scale history paintings or glamorous portraits. Nor was he a "*broodschilder*" (bread painter), turning out serial work for the free market. He was a reputable genre painter portraying the middle and upper classes. It would seem that this category of artist had no stake in collaboration, because they were all-round specialists within their own field. Under normal circumstances, therefore, Ryckaert would not need the help of other colleagues, even if they were relatives or friends. When venturing beyond his field of specialisation, however, the chances that he relied on the expertise of colleagues, become more realistic. Furthermore, Bénézit (1960:446) claims that Ryckaert was inundated with orders to such an extent that he battled to cope with the demands. Judging by the number of signed and dated paintings of 1650, business became particularly hectic during this and the following year. Although no documentary evidence<sup>56</sup> exists to support the assumption, it is possible that he called on less busy colleagues to assist him with the execution of compositions conceived by him.

To prove collaboration without factual evidence is a tenuous procedure. In the case of representations of elegant musical companies, the problem of attribution is aggravated by the fact that many artists practised this genre, including Jacob Jordaens<sup>57</sup>. Although Ryckaert borrowed the themes of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* and *The King drinks* from Jordaens during the 1640s, he did not turn to Jordaens's paintings of musical parties as a source of inspiration. The 1650 pictures of *The little concert* (Cat.A100) of Copenhagen and especially the *Musical party* (Cat.A103) of Vaduz show that Ryckaert favoured a more refined type of woman, rather than Jordaens's robust women with flushed cheeks and voluptuous breasts. His fine upper-class ladies also behave in a fittingly reserved manner, which relates them more closely to the women as portrayed by artists such as Hieronymus Janssens<sup>58</sup>, Gillis van Tilborgh<sup>59</sup> and Gonzales Coques<sup>60</sup>. There were, in fact, so many artists who painted pictures of high-life entertainment that it becomes extremely complicated to trace a pattern of mutual influence. It is not inconceivable, for instance, that Ryckaert

sought inspiration in the work of Christoph Jacobsz van der Lamén (ca.1606-ca.1651/52). This genre painter who preferred depictions of elegant noblemen and ladies in gallant conversation<sup>61</sup> or playing games (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:250), was, after all, also a relative of David III Ryckaert<sup>62</sup>.

Of all the possible collaborators, Gonzales Coques stands out as a prime candidate; he is also the only artist acknowledged as such in the literature. It has been argued, for instance, that the *Social gathering in the country* (Cat.A107) of Rome was the product of collaboration between Coques and Ryckaert (van Puyvelde 1950:207). The same could be said of the privately owned version of *Social gathering in the country* (Cat.A112). In this painting, the firmly tightened waist of the main female character could be attributed to the intervention of Gonzales Coques. The fact that the young woman in *Social gathering in the country* (Cat.A112) strikes the same pose as the central figure in Coques's painting of *The outing in the country*<sup>63</sup>, may support the supposition. Additional evidence is found in yet another picture of Gonzales Coques, namely the *Family portrait in a landscape*<sup>64</sup>, where the father of the family is portrayed returning from the hunt with a dead hare, which he proudly shows off to his family and the viewer. Unfortunately, none of the paintings under discussion are dated, which makes it impossible to determine who devised the two motifs in question. Even if Coques invented them, it does not guarantee his co-operation in *Social gathering in the country* (Cat.A112). With regard to style, the latter painting merely displays a general relationship with the society paintings of Coques in the fineness of the modelling and in the colour scheme, which is dominated by a silver grey<sup>65</sup>. In fact, when analysing the stylistic characteristics of Ryckaert's paintings of elegant companies, no deviations from his usual manner are so striking that they justify, beyond doubt, the supposed intervention of another artist. Thus it would be safe to assume that, when treating the theme of high-life companies, Ryckaert was more prone to merely borrow and adapt motifs from fellow painters instead of collaborating with them. In the case of Gonzales Coques, it must also be remembered that from his part, Coques may have been reluctant to work together with another artist, even his own brother-in-law, after the harmful scandal resulting from his collaboration with Abraham van Diepenbeeck (Cologne/Vienna 1992-93:393)<sup>66</sup>.

In the category of outdoor peasant feasts, however, there exist two paintings that do lend credibility to the hypothesis of collaboration. The first is *A peasant kermesse* (Cat.A113), which clearly shows the assistance of another artist in the execution of the secondary figures in the background. The large eyes characterising the ugly faces, point most likely to Thomas van Apshoven as collaborator. The second painting represents *Peasants rejoicing* (Cat.A115), which appears to be a variation of Ryckaert's *Kermesse with dancing children* (Cat.A114). The picture of *Peasants rejoicing* (Cat.A115) reveals the touch of Ryckaert, except in the execution of the young mother with child and the man supporting a falcon on his fist. The fact that Ryckaert portrayed himself standing next to the falconer, is a telling detail. While putting his right hand on the falconer's left arm, he points his left hand in the direction of the dancing children, thus drawing the viewer's attention to the main point of interest, which was painted by himself. Whether it was an assistant or a fellow master painter who helped Ryckaert to complete this work, is difficult to establish. One fact is certain: the practice of collaboration did not meet the approval of the client or even Ryckaert himself. As far as can be ascertained, *A peasant kermesse* (Cat.A113) and *Peasants rejoicing* (Cat.A115) are the only instances of collaborative painting.

Music-making and eating out in the countryside were not the only pastimes of high society. Hunting was another favourite distraction and, at the same time, a distinctive status symbol. The theme of the hunt already appears in *Social gathering in the country* (Cat.A112), where it is combined with musical entertainment. Ryckaert incorporated the subject again in *The rest at the inn* (Cat.A116), where a hunter and an elegantly dressed couple consume alcohol and tobacco in a peasant tavern, enjoying a pleasurable rest in the countryside after the hunt. Apart from the fact that the theme gave Ryckaert the opportunity to mix people of different classes, it also allowed him to restore the peasantry to its former dignity. Where the lower classes merely act as servants or strange intruders in the musical companies, here they are at home and, in some way, master of the situation. Ryckaert's nostalgia for his favoured subjects, also surfaces in the use of motifs which are reminiscent of his style of the 1640s.

In *The King drinks* (Cat.A119), he again mixes types of different classes, but in this instance they meet in the milieu of the upper classes. A group of rather rowdy middle-class people is seen celebrating the feast of Epiphany in an upper-class interior, with the lady of the house presiding over the proceedings. The result of this combination is rather awkward, because both classes are deprived of their natural surroundings. The uneasiness of the entire concept can partly be explained by the artist's attempt to compete with the celebrated Jacob Jordaens. The choice of an ornate setting with the window on the left, the placement of the figures, and the inclusion of the reserved elegant lady at the far side of the table, do seem to be inspired<sup>67</sup> by Jordaens's painting of *The king drinks of Vienná*<sup>68</sup>. The behaviour of Ryckaert's revellers, however, is still far more controlled. Legrand (1963:159), on the other hand, observes a closer relationship with the merry companies of Willem van Herp, on account of the greater "turbulence in composition". A picture such as *Tavern scene*<sup>69</sup> by Van Herp shows that Legrand has a point. Willem van Herp (ca.1614-1677), a contemporary of Ryckaert who also lived and worked in Antwerp, specialised in merry companies and religious subjects. Like Ryckaert, he painted almost exclusively on small or cabinet format. Although any sort of relationship between Ryckaert and Van Herp is undocumented, the correspondences in the choice of theme, composition and treatment of the figures, allow for the assumption that they showed an interest in each other's work<sup>70</sup>.

Ryckaert's attempt to treat middle-class people with deserved respect, was perhaps better resolved in the *Allegorical scene* (Cat.A118)<sup>71</sup> of the Bredius Museum. It represents a scholar or philosopher in his study who, surrounded by his books, a lute and plaster casts of a nude female body and head, ponders on the vanity of all human endeavour. In depicting this scene by candlelight, Ryckaert fell back on his established repertory<sup>72</sup>. He was at pains, however, to adapt it to the demands of a public attuned to depictions of more elegant and socially acceptable scenes. The scholar thus not only finds himself in socially respectable surroundings, but is also clad in a more dignified manner. An intriguing feature of the *Allegorical scene* is the inclusion of a framed painting of a head or *tronie* of a blond child. The painting in question is known under the title *Head of a blond child* (Cat.A117), and appears to

be a copy of *The curly head* (Cat.C119) in the Hamburger Kunsthalle, which has been the subject of an interesting controversy between d'Hulst (1961-66,XIX:95-101; 1969-72,XXII:211-218) and Filipczak (1969-72,XXII:199-210)<sup>73</sup>. It is most probable that *The curly head* (Cat.C119) of Hamburg was painted by Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert who may thus be credited with the invention of the motif. He then shared it with some of his colleagues/friends<sup>74</sup>, among them Ryckaert. Seeing that Ryckaert used this model in at least six paintings<sup>75</sup>, it is most likely that he made his own copy after the original. Together with other portrait-like pictures of single figures, he kept it in his studio for regular reference. The fact that Ryckaert included the framed study itself as a central accessory in the *Allegorical scene* (Cat.A118), may have been his way of demonstrating that he himself painted the *Head of a blond child* (Cat.A117).

The *Invitation to a duet* (Cat.A120), a last painting in the category of musical companies, is similar in spirit to the *Allegorical scene* (Cat.A118). As in the latter, the scene is set in the type of upper-class setting characterising Ryckaert's more sumptuous musical parties. The representation of a middle-class couple playing music in this interior is again, as in *The King drinks* (Cat.A119), somewhat forced and enigmatic. Because the artist no longer attempted to make people of different classes interact with one another, the severe tensions present in the latter have been resolved in the *Invitation to a duet* (Cat.A120). Since the couple is represented playing music, the central theme is love. This activity does not have an edifying or specific symbolic meaning, but places the figures in a light amorous context<sup>76</sup>. In the painting of *The mussel vendor* (Cat.A121), the reality of social differentiation is emphasized to an even greater extent, because the scruffy figures of a mussel merchant and a tradesman appear against the background of a grand mansion. Viewing these works in retrospect, they may indicate the artist's desire to abandon the sphere of the higher social classes altogether. This assumption could also provide an explanation for the strange painting of *The old suitor* (Cat.A122), where the opposite situation occurs. The narrative centres on a well-dressed old man with gold chain who attempts to seduce a respectable young woman. Although the table at which they are seated, is derived from the same social milieu as the figures, the event takes place in a sober low-life interior, stressed by the presence of a pitch-fork, basin and barrel.

The diversity of Ryckaert's choice of subject matter in the first years of the 1650s, is perhaps best illustrated by his depictions of *diableries* or devilries. In the 1651 dated *Witchcraft scene* (Cat.A109) of Clermont-Ferrand, attention is focused on five fantastical creatures, dancing in a circle. They seem to represent the concept of temptation, determining man's destiny: heaven, in the upper left-hand corner; or hell, in the opposite corner. Seeing that there are five of them, these ghostly apparitions may be interpreted as personifications of the five senses, through which temptation operates. The *Diabolic concert* (Cat.A110), which represents a company of music-making demonic creatures, is recognisable as a scene of sorcery, where evil triumphs. As will be seen in Ryckaert's representations of the temptation of St Anthony, the artist apparently set out to demonstrate the alleged relationship between music and unchastity.

The *Diabolic concert* (Cat.A110) actually calls for an interpretation in the light of Ryckaert's depictions of elegant musical companies. It has been observed that the latter works are not strongly moralising, but serve as a subtle admonition to wise pedagogy. The question arises whether the artist may have devised the *Diabolic concert* as a pendant of an elegant musical company, for example, the *Invitation to a duet* (Cat.A120) or *The little concert* (Cat.A100), in order to explicate, in unmistakable visual language, the implications of the people's behaviour. The message would have been obvious: music-making can lead one to temptation and ultimately to condemnation. Looking for precedents within this pictorial tradition, the *oeuvre* of David II Teniers provides a point of reference in two companion pieces<sup>77</sup>. Klinge argues that Teniers painted a picture of *The King drinks*<sup>78</sup> as pendant of *The temptation of St Anthony*<sup>79</sup>. By means of the theme of a popular feast, *The King drinks* gives expression to the main capital sin of Gula (gluttony), which St Anthony is seen to successfully resist in *The temptation of St Anthony* (Antwerp 1991:266). Although this comparison adds credibility to the above proposition, the objection could be raised that the subjects concerned are only vaguely related, and that Ryckaert's paintings are far less explicit in content. Moreover, Ryckaert had long since moved away from this type of moral instruction. The answer to the question thus remains uncertain.

In the context of Ryckaert's devilries, it must be noted that Descamps somehow misunderstood the comment of de Bie quoted above<sup>80</sup>. He interprets it as follows:

On ne sait ce qui put le porter, vers l'âge de 50 ans, à changer sa manière de composer; il n'a presque fait depuis que des sujets de diablerie et dégoûtans; il a répété plusieurs fois la tentation de saint Antoine : ces morceaux sont d'une imagination peut-être un peu fiévreuse. On ne sait comment il a pu se plaire à terminer ces monstres horribles : ces tableaux de ce genre furent aussi recherchés que ses autres ouvrages (Descamps 1769:233)<sup>81</sup>.

Obviously Descamps was incorrect in stating that Ryckaert concentrated almost exclusively<sup>82</sup> on the production of "devilish and disgusting subjects" during the 1650s<sup>83</sup>. More surprising, however, is his extreme contempt for these types of paintings, which he ascribes to a faltering of the artist's mental health. Equally inexplicable to him is the fact that these works were valued by Ryckaert's patrons. Jacobs, who shares Descamps's opinion, elaborates on this idea, speculating that "for those monstrosities he found patrons among princes, who are said to be generally fond of low company, and was liberally rewarded for pandering to their amusement" (Jacobs 1976:276). Jacobs fails to provide any proof to substantiate his comment, which proves to be highly contentious. The fact that these paintings are actually quite exceptional in Ryckaert's *oeuvre*, does indicate that they were not the artist's most popular works during the 1650s.

A remarkable fact is that other paintings of elegant musical companies, dated after 1650, do not, or no longer, exist. The execution of the unsigned and undated versions can be situated in the early years of the 1650s. It may thus be deduced that Ryckaert, after a brief exploration of a novel field of painting, felt uncomfortable and insecure with the theme, which did not agree with his temperament and convictions. His total rejection of themes associated with higher social classes, can also be explained in the light of the art market. It may be assumed that Ryckaert experienced such stiff competition from artists who excelled in this category of painting, that he could no longer retain a steady clientele. An alternative explanation is that art dealers requested<sup>84</sup> Ryckaert to produce representations of so-called low-life scenes - those themes which he had cherished throughout his career.

As a matter of fact, Ryckaert never stopped painting peasant scenes, at which he himself had become a recognised expert. In 1650 and 1651, he painted some of them as pendants of elegant musical parties, but probably composed more peasant paintings as independent units. For example, the 1651 picture of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A111), is a smaller variant of the 1650 painting known by the same title (Cat.A102)<sup>85</sup>. The *Kermesse with dancing children* (Cat.A114), which recalls the 1651 painting of *The peasant meal* (Cat.A106) of Antwerp, focuses purely on the joys of peasant life. These representations of feasting peasants illustrate Ryckaert's outspoken preference for the low-life genre. He himself was not the type of refined or sophisticated man that his brother-in-law was. He felt more at home with the boisterous and the humorous. But he still had to please an upper-class clientele<sup>86</sup>. What better resolution than to adapt a mocking attitude? An interesting picture is the *Tavern scene with gamblers* (Cat.A128), which may be interpreted as a deliberate attempt on the part of the artist to satirise the efforts of middle-class people to climb the social ladder. He superimposes an upper-class lifestyle on his middle-class characters by making them pose in elegant postures and behave in a refined manner. In the background of the picture, out of sight so to speak, they show their "true" nature, indulging in alcohol and tobacco. Surely this ludicrous performance was designed to ridicule the lower classes for the amusement of the artist's socially respectable clients.

Perhaps this approach did not always meet with enthusiastic approval, or the artist himself felt guilty about betraying his long-time favourite models. In *Peasants playing cards round a table in an interior* (Cat.A129), which is a variation of *Tavern scene with gamblers* (Cat.A128), any sarcastic insinuations are missing. A calm atmosphere of relaxation prevails: a picture of rustic happiness and harmony. In the picture entitled *In a tavern* (Cat.A130), the artist's return to full-fledged peasant life is evident. Along with the subject matter of ill-matched lovers<sup>87</sup>, favourite motifs characterising Ryckaert's earlier works, make their re-appearance: the large still life arranged in the bottom left-hand corner, the group of drinking peasants seated in front of a fireplace in the centre background, and the old woman peeping through a window<sup>88</sup>.

Apart from these pure genre pictures, Ryckaert also continued the production of genre-like religious paintings<sup>89</sup>. Though closely related to the Vaduz painting (Cat.A96), the Budapest version of *The adoration of the shepherds* (Cat.124) starts showing signs of change. The rustic scene is rendered in more intimate terms, focusing on a smaller group of figures and omitting any distracting events taking place in the background. Ryckaert further secularises the religious event and brings it closer to the simple folk by deleting supernatural features such as angels and halos. In this respect, his work distances itself from Jordaens's Baroque pictures and Bosschaert's imaginary configurations, demonstrating his growing tendency towards moderation and simplicity. More significantly, this painting closely resembles *The adoration of the shepherds* by Erasmus II Quellinus, signed and dated 1632. The only documented link between Ryckaert and Quellinus is found in the latter's inventory (Denucé 1932,II:277): Quellinus possessed a portrait of Marten Ryckaert. One may surmise that Quellinus probably knew the sitter of the said portrait; from there it is fairly easy to bring David III Ryckaert and Quellinus together. In view of this finding, it is probably no coincidence that Ryckaert's picture of *The adoration of the shepherds* (Cat.A124) displays such remarkable affinity with the 1632 version of Quellinus. If not an irrefutable testimony to their acquaintance as colleagues, the painting certainly discloses Ryckaert's admiration for the talent of Erasmus Quellinus. Moreover, this connection with a former pupil and collaborator of Rubens (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:378), was sure to be advantageous to his career and social standing.

Still in the category of religious paintings, only two works by Ryckaert of hagiographical content are known today. Both are representations of the subject of *St Ives, patron saint of lawyers* (Cat.A98 and Cat.A125); unfortunately their present location is unknown. Judging by the subject matter, which is an illustration of justice (d'Hulst 1982:199), the paintings were probably commissioned by lawyers or court officials<sup>90</sup>. Most interesting about the signed version of *St Ives, patron saint of lawyers* (Cat.A98), is the fact that its composition appears to be derived from Jacob Jordaens's painting of the same subject, dated 1645<sup>91</sup>. Ryckaert not only repeated the group of kneeling and begging clients on the right and the clerks busily at work on

the left. Foremost, it is the bearded figure of St Ives, standing with his right hand raised and wearing a gold chain, that tells of Ryckaert's distinct borrowing of a motif devised by Jordaens. The other version (Cat.A125) pays greater tribute to the artist's talent and creativity. Here he has reversed the composition, showing the commanding figure of St Ives on the right. The saint, whose right hand is now lowered, assumes a more humane and compassionate attitude, as he genuinely pays attention to the rights and demands of the poor, the victims of usury seeking his aid. A last religious work is the representation of the Old Testament theme of *Judith with the head of Holophernes* (Cat.A126). Why Ryckaert would select this theme is not clear: he was not drawn to the dramatic and gruesome. Not surprisingly, he interpreted the subject in a way which reflects his usual sense for moderation and the current preference for the nicer things in life. He simply used the theme as a pretext to show off once more an elegantly dressed young lady surrounded by an array of expensive still-life objects.

From religious paintings, the step towards the world of mythology was not far. Here Ryckaert opted for the theme of *Philemon and Baucis* (Cat.A127), a story derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Ovid, Met. VIII, 621-96). Whether this choice was his own, is debatable in this particular instance. The picture of *Philemon and Baucis* is recorded in the correspondence of the Forchoudt firm (Denucé 1931,I:139-140). The possibility thus exists that the Forchoudt firm commissioned this work from Ryckaert for export purposes. If the painting was commissioned, Ryckaert had recourse to a well-established tradition. The subject was frequently treated in Flemish art (Held 1955,18(2):148) and its iconography was fairly standardised<sup>92</sup>. Yet Jacob Jordaens may have been more instrumental in Ryckaert's choice of interpretation. After all, he was the most illustrious artist who popularised the depiction of mythological themes in the guise of peasant scenes. Ryckaert's picture of *Philemon and Baucis* (Cat.A127) is comparable to Jordaens's numerous versions of a *Satyr and peasant*<sup>93</sup>, a fable by Aesop which attracted Jordaens throughout his life<sup>94</sup> (d'Hulst 1982:97). Like Jordaens, Ryckaert interpreted the mythological subject matter in terms of a rural scene, in which Philemon and Baucis appear as popular types whose simple clothing and physiognomic traits betray their peasant descent. This painting, like his religious pictures, demonstrates that it did not require much effort or inventiveness on the part

of the artist to tackle new challenges. All that was required, was to adapt his usual repertory to the dictates of the theme concerned, using his favourite characters as the main figures. The themes as such, turned Ryckaert's pictures into more prestigious works, since history painting ranked as the most esteemed genre.

Judging by the number and variety of paintings considered so far, it would appear that Ryckaert's works were generally sought after during the first years of the 1650s. Bénézit (1960:446) explains the artist's popularity as a result of the protection by the Archduke. This does not imply that all the commissions came from the Brussels court. The mere fact that the governor and "other princes" showed personal interest in Ryckaert's work, probably enhanced his popularity as a painter and stimulated a demand from the Flemish public.

This very relationship between the Archduke and the painter also ensured Ryckaert's elevated social status. At the time, artists in Flanders had not yet acquired the social status which they theoretically deserved. It is a fact that the social esteem of Antwerp artists began to improve as a result of the success of Rubens and Van Dyck. The prestige of the profession of painting also increased as it began to be accepted by the European nobility as an activity suitable for gentlemen (Filipczak 1987:148-149). Yet the recognition of the liberal status of the artist's profession remained a keen desire during the seventeenth century<sup>95</sup> (Filipczak 1987:162). According to de Villiers (1987,2(1&2):4), an artist could aspire to a better social position only when a relationship was established between himself and a lay or religious leader. "Such social success enhanced their reputation" (de Villiers 1987,2(1&2):4)<sup>96</sup>. In seventeenth-century Flanders, the quest for social advancement was not confined to artists, but was characteristic of society as a whole<sup>97</sup>. Acknowledging this highly competitive environment, the association of Ryckaert with the Archduke was indeed a very significant achievement. It enabled Ryckaert to gain social prestige, which in turn had a favourable effect on the appreciation of his paintings.

It probably also filled the artist with sufficient self-confidence to transcend the set limitations of a genre painter's repertory. His venture into other fields of painting

proved successful, earning him the respect and appreciation from more reputable colleagues. Once Ryckaert started moving more frequently in the circles of history painters, his name was made and reputation secured. This course of events eventually led to his appointment as dean of the guild of St Luke, the crowning achievement in his artistic career. On 18 September 1651, shortly after the birth of his third son Michiel<sup>98</sup>, David III Ryckaert was elected by the magistrate as dean of the guild of St. Luke in Antwerp<sup>99</sup> (Van den Branden 1883:608) for the term of office 1652-1653 (Rombouts & van Lerijs 1872:234)<sup>100</sup>.

According to Vlieghe (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:156, note 31), it was not unusual for painters to portray themselves<sup>101</sup>, or have themselves portrayed<sup>102</sup>, with their family at the occasion of their office as dean of the guild of St Luke. Ryckaert was no exception: he had himself portrayed with his wife and two children in a *Group portrait of David III Ryckaert and his family*<sup>103</sup>, which was, not surprisingly, painted by his brother-in-law Gonzales Coques. David is represented standing upright to the right of his wife Jacoba Pallemans, holding her left hand with his left hand. With the other hand, he points to a draped table on the left with a cast of Giambologna's *Centaur and Lapith woman*, a musical score and a print after Anthony van Dyck's *Portrait of Jan Snellinx*<sup>104</sup>. As a studio requisite, the cast refers to the artist's practice of drawing after "old" statues and thus serves as an attribute of his inventiveness. In combination with the dignified outfit of Ryckaert and his explicit pose, this attribute may be regarded as an expression of his justified self-pride as a professional artist<sup>105</sup>. The musical score may be an allusion to his recent involvement in the representation of elegant musical companies. The print of Jan Snellinx's portrait, on the other hand, is more problematic<sup>106</sup>, if identified correctly<sup>107</sup>. The family group is placed on a draped terrace, which opens up on the right to reveal a view of a distant landscape. An interesting feature here is the inclusion of a caryatid, which also characterises the setting of Ryckaert's *Music party* (Cat.A105) of Pommersfelden.

Willem van de Watering<sup>108</sup> dates the group portrait in ca.1655 on the basis of the costumes. A date in late 1653 seems more acceptable, however, not only in view of Ryckaert's service as dean in 1652-1653, but also on account of the appearance of the

children. The boy on the left must be the couple's eldest son David IV, who appears to be about four to five years old. Since he was born on 15 February 1649, the portrait was probably painted in the later part of the year 1653. The other child looks about two years of age, which would identify him as Michiel Gillis, the third son whose date of birth was 1 July 1651. The painting thus excludes the second son Thomas Willeboirts, who may have died by the time that the portrait was painted<sup>109</sup>. Their daughter Gertrui who was born on 19 September 1652, does not feature in the portrait either, which may be due to the fact that, as a baby, she was still too small to pose. Apart from the fact that this portrait discloses the physical appearance of his wife and children, it also informs the viewer of the artist's elevated social status and financial well-being.

No dated paintings between 1651 and 1654 are known today. It is conceivable that Ryckaert's duties as dean kept him so busy that there was not much time and energy left for painting. In the meantime, he had fathered another two children, his first daughter named Gertrui<sup>110</sup>, and his fourth son Jan Baptist<sup>111</sup>. The first dated painting after 1651 is the 1654 picture of *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A131), a theme far removed from the fashionable musical companies of the early 1650s. On the other hand, there is little that distinguishes the painting from the 1650 version (Cat.A102) with the same theme. Using the same cast, the artist mainly modified the scene by reconsidering the figures' places and gestures. According to d'Hulst, painters during Ryckaert's time often resorted to the practice of including the same figures in various compositions, albeit in the role of different personages. Such a working method was based on studies after life which were stored in the studio and used by the artists when needed (d'Hulst 1961-66:97). Ryckaert's adherence to this practice becomes particularly evident when considering paintings related to the 1654 composition. They include *The toper* (Cat.A132) and *The merry drinker* (Cat.A133), both drinking scenes, and *Sleeping youth in a tavern* (Cat.A134). Another drinking scene is depicted in *Flemish peasants in a tavern* (Cat.A135). Like *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe* (Cat.A131), it is based on earlier compositions, but in this instance the artist did not hesitate to combine elements reminiscent of different periods in his artistic career<sup>112</sup>.

In 1655, Ryckaert painted yet another version of the subject of ill-matched lovers, entitled *The proposition* (Cat.A136). When he treated the theme around 1650 in *The old suitor* (Cat.A122), the main figures were still represented as belonging to the bourgeois milieu. In *The seduction* (Cat.D15), the male suitor is replaced by a bearded old peasant, who courts a finely dressed young woman. This same old man appears in the painting, *In a tavern* (Cat.A130), where he proposes to a young peasant girl. Now, in *The proposition* (Cat.A136) of 1655, Ryckaert again portrays both the old man and the young woman as peasant characters, and re-introduces the formula of representation established in the 1640s in the picture of *An old man courting a young woman in an interior* (Cat.A58). In this instance, however, Ryckaert is uncharacteristically explicit about the nature of the encounter. The old man offers money to the woman, which irrevocably turns her into a prostitute.

Ryckaert depicted middle-class people not only at leisure, but also at work: as cobblers, alchemists and village surgeons. Both the Amsterdam picture of *The cobbler's workshop* (Cat.A137) and the Romans version of a *Cobbler's workshop* (Cat.A138) are representative of Ryckaert's mature work in that they are an amalgamation of earlier depictions of the same subject. What they share with the paintings of elegant companies, is the use of pure and bright colours distributed more evenly over the entire surface. This leads to a more balanced composition, where the background scene becomes more prominent. *A cobbler with his friends in the workshop* (Cat.A139) of Leipzig is a smaller version with reduced staffage<sup>113</sup>. Although in all instances the cobbler is accompanied by drinking or gambling friends, the mood is serene and the intention to stress the virtue of honest labour. The same atmosphere prevails in *The alchemist* (Cat.A140), although the function of the secondary figures here is problematic in relation with this particular profession. Two more paintings of alchemists are known, namely *The alchemist in his laboratory* (Cat.A141) and *The alchemist and his wife* (Cat.A142), both kept in the Castle Kromeriz. Apart from the fact that they belong to the same collection, their medium and size are exactly the same, which may indicate that they were conceived as pendants. The implications of this opposition are, however, not so obvious. In *The alchemist in his laboratory* (Cat.A141), the alchemist works undisturbed, while in its

pendant (Cat.A142), the alchemist's wife interrupts him to draw his attention to a passage in the Bible. As such they may project opposing views of the alchemist: a serious scholar on the one hand, and a scornful fool engaged in sacrilegious experiments on the other.

Last in the category of men at work, are Ryckaert's representations of the village barber-surgeon. As with his paintings of cobblers and alchemists, both *The foot operation* (Cat.A123) and *The village surgeon* (Cat.A143) demonstrate that the artist fell prey to a pattern of picking up an old favourite theme and adapting it to his mature style. Whereas in his early years he used the theme as a pretext to caricature and mock the peasantry, in this later period he displayed a certain sympathy with them. Emotions are subdued and the figures' behaviour does not elicit responses of contempt. In this context it is interesting to note that, according to Klinge (Antwerp 1991:270), David II Teniers painted head, foot and arm operations throughout his artistic career. During the 1630s and 1640s, he preferred to infuse such representations with multi-layered content transcending the limits of concrete genre scenes. In the fifties and sixties, however, such allusions for the sake of moral instruction disappeared, to return only by the end of his life<sup>114</sup>. This shows that Ryckaert shared a common tendency among artists to reserve, and eventually abandon any moralising intentions. The disinterest in fierce human emotions evident in these pictures, also characterises *The tooth puller* (Cat.A144), where the victim's fear is externalised by tense movements of the limbs.

Whereas the artist lost total interest in the portrayal of high-society life, devilries continued to fascinate him throughout the 1650s<sup>115</sup>. Jacobs describes Ryckaert's pictures of this type as

... the whimsical and ridiculous subjects then in vogue<sup>116</sup>; such as spectral appearances, temptations of anchorites, attended by grotesque fantastical objects, more alarming than tempting, assemblies of witches and other *diabletries*, in imitation and rivalry of his great contemporary, David Teniers (Jacobs 1976:276).

This observation is riddled with inaccuracies. What renders the subjects ridiculous? It has been and will further be demonstrated that there is more to them than meets the eye. Some of the "spectral appearances" have already been dealt with, including the *Witchcraft scene* (Cat.A109) of 1651 and the *Diabolic concert* (Cat.A110). Whether Ryckaert tried his hand at "assemblies of witches", is doubtful<sup>117</sup>. A subject which he did treat and which was novel to him within the category of devilries, was the so-called *Dulle Griet* theme. The Vienna picture of *Dulle Griet* (*Mad Meg*) (Cat.A145), also entitled *The treasure hunter* or *The hell-hag*, is perhaps the best known example. It represents a wild-eyed old crone who, swaying a broom with both hands, plunders and attacks a horde of devilish creatures. In her apron she has gathered gold and silver vessels and jewellery. In another version, entitled *A witch driving devils from a cave* (Cat.A146), the old woman brandishes a sword in both hands to chase demons and monsters out of Hell. The iconography of these pictures is inspired once more by a pictorial tradition established by Pieter Brueghel the Elder in his *Dulle Griet*, now in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh in Antwerp. According to Gibson (1979:9), the chief figure in Brueghel's *Dulle Griet* may be identified as Dulle Griet who is looting at the mouth of Hell. "Griet" is actually a personification of any ill-tempered, scolding woman, and the word "dulle" should be translated as "wrathful", "angry" or "hot-tempered". Dulle Griet's activity refers to an old Flemish proverb: "(s)he could plunder in front of Hell and return unscathed". Gibson suggests that this expression describes not just any ill-tempered woman, but more specifically the quarrelsome and dominating wife (Gibson 1979:9-10). He also shows that Brueghel's heroine "reflects ideas current in the Middle Ages and Renaissance concerning the nature of women and their place in society" (Gibson 1979:10). Viewed against the background of sixteenth-century anti-feminism, Gibson argues that Dulle Griet can be understood "as the archetype of all women who usurp masculine prerogatives or otherwise defy standards of behaviour considered proper for them" (Gibson 1979:13).

It is doubtful whether Ryckaert, living in the following century under different conditions, painted his *Dulle Griet* (Cat.A145) and *A witch driving devils from a cave* (Cat.A146), with the same feelings of fear for the malice of the female gender. A more likely suggestion is that Ryckaert, though eclectic in the choice of iconography,

adjusted the theme to his personal taste. Keeping in mind that he was keen to satirise, his depictions of *Dulle Griet* may be viewed as satirical<sup>118</sup> comments on the folly of the nagging, aggressive, domineering wife who strove to "wear the pants"<sup>119</sup>. Whether Jacoba Pallemans was one of those women and David Ryckaert a poor hen-pecked husband, seems unlikely: the choice of theme rather pays homage to the artist's sense of humour. Concerning his treatment of the imagery, the artist displayed a considerable degree of originality in the conceptualisation of the demonic. His devils are skeletal creatures inspired by animals, the sight of which provokes an instinctive repulsion: serpents, batrachians, saurians, bats, insects, or else, decomposing organisms, which he combines to increase the horror (de Mirimonde 1968:207). In comparison, Teniers's witches, ghosts and demons represented in various versions of the temptation of St Anthony, are more humanised in both appearance and behaviour (Antwerp 1991:134). It would seem that Ryckaert's fantastical creations are more closely related to their sixteenth-century predecessors, which were ultimately the invention of Hieronymus Bosch<sup>120</sup>. This refutes Jacobs's last remark: whereas it is fair to assume that Ryckaert rivalled his contemporary David II Teniers, he does not deserve to be labelled his imitator.

One has to admit, however, that Ryckaert shows himself to be more dependent on Teniers in his depictions of the temptation of St Anthony<sup>121</sup>. In contrast to his 1645 picture (Cat.A64), the Florence painting of *The temptation of St Anthony* (Cat.A147) recalls the work of Teniers<sup>122</sup> particularly in the setting - the interior of a cave with the entrance on the left providing a panoramic view of a landscape. Furthermore, there is a superficial similarity in the treatment of the hermit<sup>123</sup>, and the motif of two fighting demons riding on the back of flying fish, is clearly derived from Teniers. The temptations, however, that confront St Anthony, are of a fundamentally different nature, as observed in Ryckaert's other devilries. The devilish apparitions which approach the anchorite in a dancing row, are again the skeletal fantastical creatures encountered before in the *Witchcraft scene* (Cat.A109). According to De Mirimonde, St Anthony was originally assailed by five demons who personified the five senses. Later on, carnal love became the more dominant of the other lusts. Music, which is one of the symbols of luxury and recognised as stimulating lustfulness, played an

important role in the representation of carnal love (De Mirimonde 1968:209-210). Although only four demons partake in the dance in the Florence painting (Cat.A147), other bizarre creatures can be seen in the bottom left-hand corner. It may thus be assumed that St Anthony is being tempted by the five senses in person. The fact that they are dancing, emphasizes simultaneously the role of music in enhancing a sinful atmosphere. Teniers, on the other hand, preferred to represent the saint as being assailed by the seven deadly sins, personified by demons<sup>124</sup>. In other instances, he would show St Anthony in the presence of a seductive young woman offering him wine as foreplay to love<sup>125</sup>. Ryckaert was attracted to the latter idea, which he adapted in his other painting of *The temptation of St Anthony* (Cat.A148), also in the Pitti Palace in Florence. Here the saint is not only attacked from both sides by a satanic army, but also has to gather the strength to withstand the sweeter temptations of life. Neither the beautiful young woman nor the wine, as a prelude to love - in the sense of "*Venus in vino*" (Antwerp 1991:46) - can interrupt his prayer<sup>126</sup>. The saint thus serves as a moral example to Christians. Klinge demonstrates that this is confirmed by the Latin caption to an engraving, made by François van den Wyngaerde<sup>127</sup> after a drawing of a *Temptation* by Teniers: "Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem quoniam cum probatus fuerit, Accipiet coronam vitae, quam Repromisit Deus diligentibus"<sup>128</sup> (Antwerp 1991:46).

De Mirimonde (1968:212-213) mentions two more works which may probably be attributed to David III Ryckaert or to his workshop. The one *Temptation of St Anthony* (Cat.B1) does display a superficial affinity with Ryckaert's other *diableries*, although its authenticity remains uncertain<sup>129</sup>. The other version (Cat.C3) which is a variation of the latter, may be categorised as a copy. A last *Temptation of St Anthony* (Cat.D5), which has, ironically, been attributed to David II Teniers, could very well be by the hand of Ryckaert. As a partial variation of the painting of *A witch driving devils from a cave* (Cat.A146), it demonstrates once again Ryckaert's habit of adapting a particular approach to different themes. In this painting, St Anthony is seen emerging from a cave, chasing away a band of demons by sprinkling holy water on them with an aspergillum - an inventive substitute for Dulle Griet brandishing a broom or sword. Among the monsters scurrying away is the beautiful young woman

who, still holding the glass of wine, looks back at the hermit, but the bubble balancing on her head is an ultimate allusion to the vanity of all humankind.

Bodart (Florence 1977:242) makes the interesting observation that *The temptation of St Anthony* (Cat.A147) corresponds in medium and size with the Vienna picture of *Dulle Griet* (Cat.A145). This implies that Ryckaert could have conceived these works as companion pieces. The pictures are complementary in that they represent the two categories within the group of fantastical paintings: *Dulle Griet* represents the triumph of evil, while *St Anthony* is the exemplary good Christian who succeeds in resisting demonic temptations.

Another category of paintings relating to the demonic sphere is the allegorical personification, in the form of a single figure on vertical format, of the seven deadly sins<sup>130</sup>. A first example is *The stylish man* (Cat.A49). This vain mortal man, threatened by a fantastical monster, personifies *Superbia* or pride. Interestingly this work happens to have a pendant, namely the *Hot-tempered soldier* (Cat.A150). As an allegory of *Ira* or wrath, another of the seven deadly sins, it represents a furious soldier who has pulled his knife, ready to attack the one with whom he has been drinking and playing cards. The feeling of extreme anger and aggression is expressed most vividly in the flaring eyes. It is perhaps not a coincidence that this soldier's expression recalls the grotesque lute-player featuring in *The temptation of St Anthony* (Cat.A148), whose goggle-eyes evoke his insanity.

The Lyon painting of *Woman weighing gold* (Cat.A151), also entitled *Avaritia*, illustrates the sin of avarice. The allegory of greed or *Avaritia*, represented by couples counting their money, constituted a beloved theme in Netherlandish painting since 1500<sup>131</sup>. When David II Teniers picked up the theme around 1650 in his painting of *The greedy*<sup>132</sup>, he reverted to the traditional iconography of an old couple weighing and counting their worldly possessions. Ryckaert, on the other hand, proved more innovative. As seen in *Avaritia*, he chose his familiar old woman with the wrinkled face and white headscarf to personify avarice, one of the most serious deadly sins. Whereas Teniers referred to the vanity of worldly possessions by means of an hour-

glass and an ink-pot with feather, Ryckaert depicted a monstrous pig-headed figure behind the woman, prefiguring her destiny. The fact that the woman is smiling indicates a cheerful attitude, in contrast to Teniers's grumpy suspicious old woman. Here Ryckaert's character as the eternal optimist shines through, but his effort to lighten the gloomy atmosphere does not minimise the implications of the representation. In the light of the pendants mentioned above, it is likely that Ryckaert devised a companion piece for *Avaritia* (Cat.A151) which is now untraceable. Similarly, it may be assumed that the artist made paintings illustrating the remaining deadly sins, namely *Gula* or gluttony, *Desidia* or laziness, *Invidia* or envy and *Luxuria* or unchastity<sup>133</sup>. In *The goldweigher* (Cat.A152), the woman is replaced by an old bearded man weighing coins on scales. In this instance, however, there is no longer any sign of a demonic presence. The more exclusive emphasis on the balance thus suggests an interpretation of this painting as an allegory of vanity. The latter concept is visualised in more conventional terms in the painting entitled *Vanitas* (Cat.A153), where an old man holds a human skull in his hands.

Remaining within the domain of allegories, other works deserve mention here, namely Ryckaert's illustrations of the senses. In *The wine tasting* (Cat.A154), his familiar bald old man with the fuzzy beard personifies the sense of taste, pointing to a large glass of beer. For the *Allegory of smell* (Cat.A155), the artist selected the rather unusual model of a boy. This choice may have been influenced by a work of Joos van Craesbeeck, entitled *The vendor of quack medicine*<sup>134</sup>, which features a young boy whose head is crowned with an equally thick mop of hair. To conceptualise the allegory of smell, the boy is shown sniffing tobacco. The fact that Gonzales Coques made his adult model perform the same activity in his version of *The five senses: smell*<sup>135</sup>, indicates some form of interaction between Ryckaert and his brother-in-law<sup>136</sup>. Due to their correspondence in medium and size, both *The wine tasting* (Cat.A154) and the *Allegory of smell* (Cat.A155) may have formed part of a cycle of the five senses, although none of the others have surfaced. A last work in this category is the *Allegory of touch* (Cat.A156), illustrated by a man crying out in pain as he removes a bandage from a wound. In all these allegories of vanity and of the senses, the single figure is literally depicted on its own. This stands in contrast to

Ryckaert's earlier depictions within this genre, where a secondary figure is included in the darkness of the background.

Although no undeniable evidence is at hand in the form of signed and dated paintings, there is a possibility that Ryckaert ventured into the field of portraiture during his mature period. Two versions of a *Portrait of a lady* (Cat.B18 and Cat.B19) have been ascribed to Ryckaert, but their attribution still requires confirmation. The *Portrait of an old man* (Cat.A157), on the other hand, is more immediately recognisable as a work by Ryckaert. The painting represents the bust of the bald bearded old man who features frequently in the artist's *oeuvre*. He has virtually become a hallmark. In this instance, however, his outfit turns him into a respectable man. It would come as no surprise if Ryckaert also selected the old woman with the round wrinkled face to pose for a portrait<sup>137</sup>. It is, therefore, tempting to consider the *Portrait of an old woman* (Cat.B20) of Dresden as a study made by Ryckaert. It portrays an old woman in the guise of a peasant grandmother, her hair wrapped in a white headscarf. Despite the affinity with Ryckaert's model, the authenticity of the painting remains doubtful.

Before considering the next work in the chronological sequence of Ryckaert's dated paintings, mention must be made of two facts documented in 1657. In this year, on 24 April, Frans, the sixth child, was born, but he died very young<sup>138</sup>. Secondly, a document was drawn up on 16 May 1657 which tells of the export of Ryckaert's work to Paris. It may be summarised as follows:

On request of David Ryckaert - Jeronimus Francken, painter, and Joannes Loicx declare it to be true that a box of paintings was given by David Ryckaert III to Lieven Rentiers, driver to Paris, to be delivered in Paris to Jan Pickaert, painter in Paris. When Lieven Rentiers returned to Antwerp to bring the box back to Ryckaert (Pickaert did not want the pictures), the paintings were stolen from him in the boarding-house in Paris (my translation)<sup>139</sup>.

The importance of this document resides in the fact that it provides proof of Ryckaert's involvement in the export of paintings. This is not surprising. Muller (Boston/Toledo 1993-93:196) states that "during the seventeenth century Antwerp

regained and even expanded its position as one of the major centres for the production, collecting, and dealing of art"<sup>140</sup>. It has been argued that Antwerp's revived prosperity was largely due to the rise of export industries (Boston/Toledo 1993-93:206, note 64). Although Antwerp citizens were themselves avid art collectors, the majority of the art works produced in Antwerp were destined for the foreign market (Van der Stighelen 1989:318). An effective export trade, controlled by merchants with a wide network for distribution, assured a steady outlet for the Antwerp producers of luxury goods such as paintings, sculptures, books and other kinds of art (Boston/Toledo 1993-93:204). This explains why the semi-industrial production of paintings<sup>141</sup> in Antwerp experienced a veritable explosion in the seventeenth century (Brussels 1991:264). The producers of art works for the foreign market<sup>142</sup> largely belonged to a group of highly specialised artisans<sup>143</sup>, whom Vlieghe (Brussels 1991:265) labels as "*dozijnschilders*" or "*broodschilders*". It is, however, true to say that even the "great" masters themselves sold their large production mainly through the channels of the art market (Brussels 1991:265). Moreover, these artists, just like the "*dozijnschilders*", did not flinch from working in the service of art dealers<sup>144</sup>.

Archival documents bear witness to the extensiveness of the art trade. These include the official deeds of notaries, the inventories, the volumes regarding the bankruptcies, and the books of firms, such as the one of the family Forchoudt, who owned affiliates in Vienna, Madrid, Lisbon and elsewhere (Brussels 1965:XXIII)<sup>145</sup>. The quoted deed of notary appears to imply a business relationship between Ryckaert and an art dealer. The export of small and relatively cheap paintings was not a very lucrative business for an artist to undertake on his own, due to the heavy costs incurred by transport<sup>146</sup>. Like most Antwerp artists, Ryckaert preferred to distribute his work through a successful art dealer, namely Matthijs Musson, with whom he came into contact in 1646<sup>147</sup>. Musson, a painter himself<sup>148</sup>, established one of the most important art trading businesses<sup>149</sup> in Antwerp at that time. His contacts with prominent national and international collectors and dealers testify to the extent of his undertaking (Duverger 1968b:20)<sup>150</sup>. In the 1657 document under discussion, Jan Picart is mentioned as the art dealer operating in Paris. The name of the same Jan Picart

appears in the diaries of the firm Musson-Fourmenois in connection with another transaction relating to work by Ryckaert. It concerns a "*Toebackdrinker*" after Ryckaert, which was sent to Jan Picart, a French art dealer in Paris, on 14 May 1663, for a price of 5 guilders 10 (Duverger 1968b:124). Another "*Toebackdrinker*" by Ryckaert himself left for Paris on 14 January 1664, priced at 16 guilders (Duverger 1968b:127). Ryckaert's name appears once more in the firm's correspondence. On 17 April 1663, Cornelis de Ballieur and Matthijs Musson from Antwerp, wrote a letter to Roeland van Kessel and Hendrik Simons, who were active as art dealers in Malaga. Among the items listed as being shipped from Middelburg on 13 April 1663 to Malaga, they mentioned seven pieces on canvas representing *The seven deadly sins*, "princepale van Davidt Ryckart vray ghesildert en van cleyne prijs" (original of Davidt Ryckart, nicely painted and modestly priced) (cited by Duverger 1968b:233)<sup>151</sup>.

Since these transactions already post-date the death of the artist, it is clear that the business relationship between Ryckaert and Musson did not last very long: Ryckaert died too soon to provide the art dealer with a significant amount of works (Duverger 1968b:58). As correctly observed by Duverger (1968b:65), it was unfortunate that Musson could not order similar works directly from Ryckaert any more, because the export to France of paintings *à la Teniers* only took off in 1660 to reach a peak in 1663<sup>152</sup>. The demand was indeed so high that Matthijs Musson and his wife were forced to call on several artists to execute paintings in the manner of Teniers (Duverger 1968b:66). It may thus be postulated that Ryckaert received some commissions from the firm Musson-Fourmenois, not so much on account of his personal achievement, as for his competence as an appreciated follower of Teniers.

Several paintings by Ryckaert are also listed in the business notes of the Forchoudt firm (Denucé 1931,I), indicating that Musson was not the sole distributor of his works, both within the borders of the Southern Netherlands<sup>153</sup> and beyond<sup>154</sup>. More significantly, this correspondence provides the prices at which Ryckaert's paintings were offered for sale. These figures, ranging between 12 and 38 guilders, give an idea of the financial appreciation of his work. To establish the relative value or cost of

Ryckaert's paintings, it is useful to compare the prices with, for instance, the annual income of a schooled tradesman. In ca.1640, a carpenter working in Antwerp earned about three-hundred guilders per year (Van der Stighelen 1989:306, note 14). Paintings by David III Ryckaert thus went for relatively high prices. In addition, these archival sources show that the prices asked for his paintings generally matched those for works by reputable artists such as David II Teniers. This indicates that Ryckaert's works were valued more highly in the seventeenth century than they were in later years. On the other hand, the correspondence tells of a decline in the popularity of his works after the turn of the century<sup>155</sup>.

The knowledge of Ryckaert's involvement in the export industry also goes a long way to explain his practice of imitation. Davidson correctly observes that

There is ... a distinct group of Ryckaert paintings that were obviously meant to resemble the paintings of David the Younger, while at the same time he continued to create works in his own personal style (Davidson 1979:60).

In the same breath, she expresses her bewilderment at the artist's motivation, in slightly patronising terms:

Perhaps his association with Brouwer and Teniers was similar to David the Younger's own fascination with Brouwer. ... Ryckaert is an interesting case of an established artist who still felt compelled to imitate the works of his colleague even when he was able to market his own paintings successfully (Davidson 1979:60).

Evidently Ryckaert had no reason to "feel compelled": if the art dealer required paintings in the manner of Teniers, Ryckaert had no choice but to comply with these demands. The reason why the art dealer was so specific in his requirements, is directly related to public demand. The buying public was not particularly fastidious about the identity of the maker, but their expectations with regard to iconography and manner of execution were very specific (Van der Stighelen 1989:318)<sup>156</sup>. While this condition clarifies, and justifies, the practice of imitation in seventeenth-century Antwerp, it raises another problem, namely the question of attribution. The documents cited above prove beyond doubt that Ryckaert's works were exported to

France and Spain via art dealers, yet they remain vague on the actual appearance of the paintings and, more specifically, the extent of Ryckaert's imitation of Teniers. If he was encouraged to copy entire compositions devised by Teniers, it could mean that he painted more works than he is given credit for<sup>157</sup>.

In order to organise the remainder of Ryckaert's *oeuvre*, the 1657 picture of the *Merry company in an interior* (Cat.A158) is most useful as a point of reference. It represents a feasting company of middle class people who, despite the consumption of alcohol and food, maintain a respectable composure. The artist could not, however, refrain from including a humorous, yet deplorable instance of licentiousness in the form of a couple embracing in the darkness of the background - a motif which he also employed in his elegant musical companies of the early 1650s. The painting of *Merry company in a tavern* (Cat.A159) is a variation of *Merry company in an interior* (Cat.A158), showing a company of people enjoying a meal in a tavern. The spirits are high as the alcohol flows freely, leading to several instances of seduction in varying stages. In the *Peasant feast* (Cat.A160), the feasting has degenerated into a drinking-bout with all its negative side-effects. In the light of the people's questionable behaviour, the artist apparently felt compelled to warn the viewer against the dangers of overindulgence. The inclusion of the group of children was probably intended as a covert reference to the proverb "As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe".

The joys of peasant life reach full expression in *The kermesse* (Cat.A161), which ultimately refers back to the picture of *Kermesse* (Cat.A90) of ca.1649. The setting and the activities of the people involved are basically the same, although in composition the artist has achieved greater balance and coherence. The *Village feast* (Cat.A162) is a similar work, although the festivities now take place outside a mansion. Concomitantly, the presence of the lady of the mansion and her retinue is made more prominent, especially by the inclusion of a carriage. On account of the close similarity between the *Village feast* (Cat.A162) and *Kermesse* (Cat.A90), it may be suggested that the *Village feast* was made as the companion piece to a representation of a plundering scene. The painting of *War time* (Cat.A163) of the museum of Antwerp, presents itself as a match, being of the same medium and

dimensions. On closer investigation, their compositions are conceived in reverse, while some of the models reappear in both paintings in different roles. *War time* (Cat.A163) is again a variation of an earlier painting, namely the 1649 version of *Plundering* (Cat.A91), although its style marks it as a late work. By reducing the cast and re-arranging their positions, the artist managed to achieve greater balance and unity. Interesting works in this context are the small study of *Plundering* (Cat.B21) and its variant *Pillage of a village* (Cat.B22), the representation of which is a combination of the 1649 version and the picture of *War time* (Cat.A163). If one, or both, of them would prove to be by the hand of Ryckaert himself, they are the only known examples of a preparatory study. And if he made it/them in preparation of the Antwerp version of *War time*, it shows that he changed his initial idea to reach a more accomplished solution.

At this stage in the artist's life, it would appear that his painting activity had turned into a lucrative business, generating a steady financial income. This may be deduced from the fact that, in December 1658, David III Ryckaert and his wife rented the house *De Munt* on the south side of the Church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw for the sum of 150 guilders per year (Rombouts & van Leries 1872:80; Van den Branden 1883:608). Why they would rent a house while still owning their house in Arenbergstraat<sup>158</sup>, is not clear. The fact that the rental value of his dwelling had risen to 150, and soon to 162 guilders<sup>159</sup>, immediately indicates a rise in social status. The artist worked himself up to the prosperous middle class, and this was probably a direct result of his increased popularity as a painter.

Pleased with this achievement and at ease with himself, Ryckaert continued to paint what he liked most. It is thus not surprising to find that he also returned to his favourite theme of a still life in a peasant setting during the later years of his career. An alternative explanation is that, as a result of public demand, he was asked by art dealers to produce more pictures of this type<sup>160</sup>. As with other subjects, he did not strive to incorporate significant innovations and rather relied on his earlier works as a source of inspiration. The *Still life with cat* (Cat.A171), signed and dated 1659<sup>161</sup> - the year in which his second daughter Isabella was born<sup>162</sup> - is a striking example of

this working method. The painting was destroyed in the bombardment of Dresden during World War II. Fortunately, Zoege von Manteuffel discussed it in some detail in his article on Ryckaert and included an illustration<sup>163</sup>. Since the opportunity to evaluate Ryckaert's use of colour, does not present itself frequently, it is worth elaborating on Zoege von Manteuffel's observations. He comments on the fact that it is composed of similar objects as the other Dresden painting (the *Peasant interior* (Cat.A17) of 1638), resulting in the predominance of brown and grey colours. Although this appears to relate the *Still life with cat* (Cat.A171) to Ryckaert's pictures of the 1640s, it is much lighter and clearer. Despite the neutral colours, the artist managed to brighten the objects by textural differentiation. He clearly distinguished the grey iron from the red copper and the yellow brass, creating lively contrasts. What characterizes the painting as a late work, is the use of light, pure colours: a beautiful pink in the plucked chicken and the piece of meat; a pure and clear blue in the sugar-bowl of Delft porcelain; and a light green in the cabbage. With regard to composition, the *Still life with cat* resembles the figure paintings of the 1650s in the orientation towards the centre of the painting, the strong modelling of the forms and the full utilisation of space. This distinguishes it very clearly from the earlier still lifes, which are always marked by a certain unease and dislocation in composition. The *Still life with cat* is of outstanding quality: it reveals unusually good taste in the use of colour and splendid breadth and confidence in the handling of the brush (Zoege von Manteuffel 1915,6:70-71).

The *Still life with cat* (Cat.A171) is quite exceptional in its exclusion of human figures. In this respect it relates closely to the *Barn with still life, dog and old woman* (Cat.A34)<sup>164</sup> of 1640. When treating the theme of a large still life during the second half of the 1650s, Ryckaert would, as in previous years, much rather enliven such scenes by human presence. The *Kitchen interior* (Cat.A164), for example, provides the setting for a seduction scene, where a woman cleaning fish, is interrupted in her work by a dark-haired bearded falconer. The theme relates it to the *Kitchen interior* (Cat.A57) of 1644, where the woman is seen plucking a bird. Unlike the latter, the characters are not markedly different in age, eliminating suggestions of ill-matched love. The erotic overtones, however, are undeniable, due to the inclusion of the bird

and fish. This painting is comparable to Teniers's "*The palace kitchen*", *allegory of the Four Elements*<sup>165</sup> in the sense that the *Kitchen interior* (Cat.A164) may also incorporate an allegory of the Four Elements (air, earth, water and fire). Apparently Ryckaert continued to show an interest in the work of Teniers, if only as a source of inspiration for iconographic elements of a more sophisticated, emblematic nature. The same applies to his *Kitchen with flayed ox* (Cat.A165). It also represents a seduction scene in a kitchen interior, but the still life is replaced by a flayed ox. According to Sutton,

slaughtered oxen and other animals appear with some frequency in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Northern painting, having been treated by many artists, from Bruegel to Rembrandt (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:423).

David II Teniers was one of those painters. Judging by the composition and general iconography of his picture of the *Butcher shop*<sup>166</sup>, it may be assumed that Ryckaert based his version of the *Kitchen with flayed ox* (Cat.A165) on Teniers's work, yet with significant alterations. Klinge reports that, since the early Middle Ages, the slaughtering of cattle was, as one of the Labours of the Months, iconographically associated with the month of November. It was generally regarded as a clever precaution to survive winter without problems. Referring to an engraving after Pieter I Brueghel of *Prudentia*<sup>167</sup>, she interprets Teniers's painting as an incitement to a circumspect way of life, guided by wisdom (Antwerp 1991:84). Citing C. Campbell and K. Craig, Sutton argues that

the theme of the slaughtered ox was also closely allied with the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32), ... [which] was traditionally interpreted as alluding to God's forgiveness of sinners, and many commentaries equate the ox with the crucified Christ; .... The slaughtered animal thus is clearly associated with the crucifixion of Christ and his sacrifice for mankind. ... It is unclear to what extent Teniers was aware of the slaughtered animal's Christian associations. However the viewer was surely confronted with an image of death, appetites (and their warning of gluttony), sacrifice, and prudence, and, lest one forget, their reward of abundance (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:424).

It is even less likely that Ryckaert would have been conscious of all the possible associations of the image of the slaughtered ox. A more reasonable assumption is that

he borrowed from Teniers what he considered relevant and adapted it to his own intentions. For instance, he retrieved the motif of a small sieve as the attribute of *Sapientia* (Wisdom)<sup>168</sup>, but made it function in a different context, where the accent has shifted from hard work to pleasure, due to the prominence of the couple. Unlike Teniers, he did not attempt to illustrate the rewards of a cautious lifestyle, but preferred to use the image of the slaughtered ox, in conjunction with the motif of a child blowing up the ox's bladder, as a warning against the transitoriness of earthly pleasures.

The *Kitchen interior with sleeping old woman* (Cat.A166) has a precedent in Ryckaert's own *oeuvre*. It closely resembles the 1648 version of the *Kitchen interior* (Cat.A69) of Karlsruhe, as a representation of a still life in a kitchen or barn interior with a sleeping old woman. With the omission of the flirting couple and the motif of the cat and candle, the erotic insinuations have disappeared. Yet it is more than an accurate account of a variety of kitchen utensils and condiments. The image of a sleeping spinster as a reference to sloth, turns it into an illustration of the saying "*Wie sit en lolt, of sit en vrijt, verlet sijn werck, vergeet sijn tijt*" (Van Vloten 1862:123)<sup>169</sup>. It needs mention that Ryckaert used this spinster as model for his painting of *A spinster* (Cat.A167). The latter is an allegory of the sense of touch, as the seated woman, entirely absorbed in the act of spinning, prominently holds a thread between her fingertips. The *Kitchen still life with peasant family* (Cat.A168)<sup>170</sup> is a variation of the 1640 painting of *Barn with still life, dog and old woman* (Cat.A34). Apart from the man handling a large barrel, the other figures of an old woman and a child, are entirely subordinated to the theme of the still life. Their presence would simply seem to enhance the tranquillity of life in the country<sup>171</sup>.

As a representation of a still life in a peasant setting, *The yard of the inn at Emmaus* (Cat.A169) is based on the *Kitchen still life with peasant family* (Cat.A168)<sup>172</sup>. In this instance, Ryckaert altered the meaning of the work by padding the background with the apparently inconspicuous detail of three talking figures. Since one of them is decidedly identifiable as Christ wearing the crown of thorns, Liedtke interprets the scene as a representation of the meeting of Christ with two disciples at the entrance

of the inn at Emmaus. He explains that

The placement of a biblical subject in the background of a picture largely devoted to a genre scene - and, often, specifically a kitchen or pantry scene - was a Flemish tradition established by Pieter Aertsen. Ryckaert's updated example, recalling compositions by Snyder and Teniers<sup>173</sup>, gives the usual juxtaposition of foreground and background a greater rationale by representing the backyard of the inn at Emmaus (New York 1984,I:238).

Although it was Ryckaert's habit to enforce the meaning of his representation by the inclusion of a complementary motif in the background, it usually was not of a religious nature. It may be seen as an experiment, or perhaps an addition by another artist<sup>174</sup>. If the latter were true, an explanation would be found for the awkward inconsistencies encountered in *The fallen cart* (Cat.B8), the authenticity of which is not beyond doubt. The scene depicted revolves around the representation of a still life of vegetables in the foreground. It further corresponds with *The yard of the inn at Emmaus* (Cat.A169) in the inclusion of a religious scene in the distant background.

When treating a motif or theme related to history painting, Ryckaert would much rather make it the focus of his composition and visualise it in terms of the peasant genre. This is evident in his painting of *Ceres asks to drink* (Cat.A170), which, like his earlier picture of *Philemon and Baucis* (Cat.A127), is derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It represents that passage of the myth when Ceres stopped at a cottage in the course of her search for her daughter Proserpine (Hall 1987:62-63). This choice of narrative gave him the opportunity to depict the goddess of fertility in his usual setting, that is, in the company of peasants and domestic animals. In Jordaens's painting of *Homage to Ceres*<sup>175</sup>, Ceres also appears in the presence of peasants - "a grateful company of those who have enjoyed her bounty" (d'Hulst 1982:111) - along with domestic animals. Due to the difference in their approach to the subject matter<sup>176</sup>, however, it is unlikely that Ryckaert would have relied on Jordaens's example. The artist's love of simple peasant life also permeates the *Peasant meal outdoors* (Cat.A172), where the harmony of family life equals the peacefulness of the rustic setting. The emphasis is on the virtuous sobriety of the people and their charity, setting an example for good Christian behaviour.

The painting of *The unharnessing* (Cat.A173), signed and dated 1660, is the last dated work in Ryckaert's known *oeuvre*. This is also the year when the eighth child, Jan Frans<sup>177</sup>, was born. By an ironic twist of fate, *The unharnessing* happens to be a combination of the most important motifs which interested the artist throughout his life. It combines an interior setting with an outside view. It incorporates a still life of kitchen and barn utensils, the peasant's pigs, the nobleman's greyhound and horse, and the cat as the familiar symbol of lust. The interior setting itself is a strange combination of an inside room with a chimney and large cupboards, and a barn. The staffage includes adults, as well as children. The figures range from the roughest type of peasant harassing a woman in the background, to the role model of the devoted mother in the foreground. The middle class is represented by the maidservants accompanying their master and his family - the upper-class members of society - on an outing in the countryside, where they enjoy a meal served by peasants. In this instance, the artist did not spare the wealthy gentry: even in their ranks immoral behaviour is seen to occur as a result of the immoderate consumption of alcohol. The story unfolding, encapsulates Ryckaert's initial concern with moral instruction by means of the imagery of peasant life and his later interest in the pastimes of the upper classes. The "lesson" which finally transpires, is that all people share the same basic human instincts, irrespective of class.

The last of Ryckaert's nine children was born and baptised on 31 October 1661 (SAA, *PR O.L.Vrouw Zuid*, 17: Dopen, (1658-1670), f.119). The fact that Anna Clara Van Triest, wife of Ambrosius Brueghel<sup>178</sup>, acted as godmother, points to some sort of acquaintance between the Brueghels and the Ryckaerts<sup>179</sup>. Nine days later, on 9 November 1661, David III Ryckaert and his wife Jacoba Pallemans, both bedridden by illness<sup>180</sup>, drew up a will in the house *De Munt*. They bequeathed everything to one another and expressed the desire to be buried in the Church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw<sup>181</sup>. David died soon afterwards on 11 November 1661<sup>182</sup>, leaving behind his widow and three children<sup>183</sup>. His widow Jacoba Pallemans remarried Cornelis Huysmans, who bore the title of "Prevoost der Munten Zijner Majesteit". She passed away in late December 1663 (Van den Branden 1883:608).

As testified by the contents of his inventory<sup>184</sup>, David III Ryckaert died a relatively rich man. The list of movable assets includes not only the usual items of cash, furniture and jewels, but also the "*winckelgoederen*" (goods of the shop), which were assessed at 2171 guilders 4 stivers<sup>185</sup>. This clearly indicates that the Ryckaerts owned a shop, and it is specified as dealing in fine linen, cloth of Kamerijk and lace ("*lijnwaeten camerijcxsche doeken, canten*")<sup>186</sup>. Further reference to the running of such business is made in the chapter of "*Commeren ende lasten*" (debts and expenses)<sup>187</sup>. The contents of the notarial documents relating to Jacoba Pallemans, lead to the conclusion that she was not a helpless housewife, dependent on her husband for financial support. Quite to the contrary, she was not without means herself: her aunt Maria Cleirens left her a handsome inheritance<sup>188</sup>, as did her mother (SAA, Van den Branden *Nota's*). This may lead one to assume that, although David may have had interests in this business<sup>189</sup>, the shop was most probably run by his wife Jacoba, while he devoted himself to his artistic career. Whether the profits generated by the shop merely supplemented David's irregular income or constituted the family's main source of income, is difficult to establish.

The fact that the Ryckaerts ran a shop, invites more speculation. Did David use the shop as a venue to exhibit and market his own paintings? This would have been an easy and cheap solution to guarantee some exposure to the public, however limited. This assumption cannot, however, be verified. Another important fact is that the shop dealt in fabrics: did it also have canvas for sale to painters? This could explain the appearance of the names of some artists in the list of debtors in David's inventory. Gonzales Coques is listed as owing the Ryckaert family the sum of 5 guilders 1½ stivers, while Ambrosius Brueghel had an outstanding debt of 16 guilders 15 stivers. Cornelis De Bie, specified as living in Lier, owed them the amount of 11 guilders 19½ stivers<sup>190</sup>. Although the cause of these debts is not specified, the inventory reveals one certain and important fact: that David III Ryckaert came into contact with Cornelis De Bie.

The inventory allows yet another deduction. Listed in the chapter of outstanding debts, is Guiliam Van Lamoen, a buyer of second-hand clothes (*oudecleercooper*).

He owed the Ryckaert family 167 guilders 11 stivers for the purchase of paintings<sup>191</sup>. This being a considerable amount, it is likely that he bought several paintings. One may thus postulate that Van Lamoen not only dealt in second-hand clothes, but operated as an art dealer as well, distributing Ryckaert's paintings. This record thus confirms once more Ryckaert's dependence on art dealers to sell his works.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the year 1649 marked a turning point in Ryckaert's career. The most decisive factor was probably the acquisition of four of his paintings for the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. From then onwards, a drastic change occurred in his *oeuvre* in terms of subject matter. He painted peasant kermesses and plunderings; conversation pieces with elegantly dressed men and women; musical parties; religious and mythological themes; and diabolic scenes. Due to the fact that he was unfamiliar with this type of subject matter, he was forced to rely more heavily on the work of other artists who specialised in the respective genres. They included Rubens, Jacob Jordaens and Frans Snyders, as well as David II Teniers, Jan van den Hoecke, Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, Gonzales Coques, Joos van Craesbeeck, Willem van Herp and Erasmus II Quellinus. The greater diversity in subject matter may also have led the artist to collaborate with colleagues, which was a widespread practice at the time. Although no irrefutable evidence is at hand to support any of the suggested cases of collaboration, it is possible that Ryckaert sought the assistance of Jan van den Hoecke, Gonzales Coques and Thomas van Apshoven. Not only did he need their expertise in areas where he had no previous experience; due to his growing popularity, he was also inundated with work and may have struggled to complete it in time.

The new themes Ryckaert introduced at the time, necessitated changes in principles of composition. The representation of larger figure groups, also placed outdoors, naturally led to more complicated groupings and affected the treatment of space. In order to create the illusion of depth, the artist used the figures themselves by placing them in successive rows. In terms of composition, another change occurred. The main figures are grouped together, often around a table, in the centre of the painting, which thus becomes the centre of gravitation. From right and left and from behind, other

figures are drawn to this focal group, resulting in a coherent, unified and balanced composition. Generally, the graphic elements become more important. The figures are very soberly drawn and clearly outlined, especially in the foreground, where the light is evenly spread and the colours are bright. In the choice of colours, the artist favoured clear blue, light green, delicate pink and bright white. In the background, on the other hand, a brownish tone prevails<sup>192</sup>. Although he borrowed ideas and motifs from fellow painters in search of ways to improve, refine and perfect his art, he remained true to his established stylistic manner, which proves to be highly personalised.

The change in subject matter entailed a shift in the artist's manipulation of content as well. The meaning embedded in his representations, is hardly ever of an explicitly moralising nature. In his religious pictures and other themes gleaned from the category of history painting, meaning was dictated by convention. More room for personal innuendos was left in the representations of high- and low-life scenes. By presenting them as pendants, he contrasted the different reactions of people of different classes under similar circumstances. It must be noted here that Ryckaert did not allow his portrayal of the (lower) middle classes to become openly condescending or invective.

Ryckaert's interest in the "new" subjects, however, waned rather quickly. Soon he started concentrating more exclusively on his forte, namely the depiction of peasants or middle-class people at leisure and at work. Although he never ceased to paint them, it is particularly from the time of his office as dean onwards, that he devoted himself wholeheartedly to his favourite themes. In these pictures, the artist varied his established repertory, rarely introducing any major changes. What distinguishes these works from the earlier ones, are their stylistic characteristics which relate them to the mature paintings of the early 1650s. In terms of iconography, he tended to modify earlier compositions by simply reconsidering the figures' positions and gestures. In the process, he also played around with the meaning of the paintings by adding or eliminating accessories with symbolic connotations. The return to his field of specialisation implied that he no longer needed to look for inspiration to the work of

others, or require the assistance of colleagues. During the late 1650s, his paintings became considerably larger, and this explains why he painted on canvas more frequently. Occasionally he would still treat a more lofty subject, such as a plundering of a village or a kermesse. Since the Archduke had indicated his approval of depictions of such themes, they were considered worth collecting by Antwerp citizens, who commissioned them from Ryckaert, probably via an art dealer. This shows that the "protection" of the Archduke contributed to the artist's popularity. With the increase of commissions, his income improved, and this, in turn, enabled him to climb the social ladder to the level of the prosperous middle class.

## ENDNOTES

1. David Ryckaert IV was baptised on 15 February 1649 in the Cathedral (SAA, *PR O.L. Vrouw Zuid*, 16: Dopen, (1647-1657), f.37). His godfather was Jean-Paul-François Dorco, acting in the name of Gonzales Coques, the child's uncle. Jacqueline Clerens, mother of Jacoba Pallemans, was chosen as godmother (Antwerp 1874:325; Van den Branden *Nota's*).

2. The remaining eight children were Thomas Willeboirts, Michiel Gillis, Gertrui Jeanne, Jan Baptist, Frans, Isabella, Jan Frans and Franciscus. See Appendix I for details.

3. It is stated in Ryckaert's inventory that he was outlived by his wife Jacoba and three children, namely David (14 years), Michiel (12 years) and Isabella (4 years) (SAA, van Oudenhoven, F. *Staten en rekeningen*, 1659-1665. NOT.4362, no.63) (see Appendix II, Doc.I [3]). The notary recorded the ages of the children as they were on the day that the document was drawn up, namely 15 October 1663. See also SAA, Van den Branden *Nota's*.

4. During a recent visit to Antwerp (July 1995), I found and photographed the house located on the corner of Arenberg- and Sint-Maartenstraat (Plate 190). It is now an entirely renovated building, and to the left of it stands the house in which Jan I Brueghel died in 1625.

5. See Appendix I, entry "1649, 21 May", note 1.

6. Note that this estimate is considerably higher than what Ryckaert actually paid. The rent due on *Het Keizershoofd* is specified in Ryckaert's inventory as being 106 guilders 5 stivers : "...sijnde den voorschreven huijse belast geweest met eene rente van een hondert ses gl ende vijff stuijvers erfelijck aen Ionckvrouwe Catharina de vos wesende in capitael seventhien hondert gl..." (SAA, van Oudenhoven, F. *Staten en rekeningen*, 1659-1665. NOT.4362, no.63) (see Appendix II, Doc.I [14]).

7. Considering the date of the census, two years before Ryckaert's death, it should give a fairly accurate idea of his achievement.

8. The fact that de Bie underlined the word *Grysaerts*, seems to indicate a pun on the artist's name (Ryckaert).

9. For even though one has practised this art for fifty years / One finds in it a new treasure every day. / It is with this art as with Medea's matters / Or her magic, which could make grey-heads young / In her pot on the fire, was it beast or old man / She cut their throat and they rejuvenated at wish. / So it goes with Painting in her art paintings / As with Medea's pot and all her magic, / For even though a painter's hand stiffens with age / So this art fills him with a younger heart. / A younger soul (so it appears) is born in him / When a new art comes to excite him, / In which he can see a new way of treatment / As one can observe in the work of Ryckaert ... (my translation)

10. It is the first sentence of the quoted passage which led Houbraken (1718,II:11) and Descamps (1769:233) to believe that David III Ryckaert changed his manner only at the age of 50. David died shortly before his forty-ninth birthday.

11. For more information, read the article by Frans Mares (1887,V:343-363).

12. Teniers's most prestigious commission, however, was to make small copies of the Archduke's Italian pictures which served as models for the engravers entrusted with the task of publishing the *Theatrum Pictorium*, the illustrated catalogue of the Italian masterpieces (Vlieghe 1961-1966, XIX: 132,134,135). For a discussion of the relationship between David Teniers and the Archducal court, see Vlieghe 1961-1966, XIX:123-149.

13. David II Teniers. *A peasant wedding and Soldiers pillaging a village* (see notes 23 and 24 below); *Goat-shed with flute-playing boy*. Signed D.TENIERS.F. Panel, 73,5 x 104 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv.no.759; *Cow-shed*. Signed D.TENIERS.F. Panel, 69 x 98 cm. Formerly Vienna,

Kunsthistorisches Museum; and *Peasant boy with a dog* (no empirical data provided) (Antwerp 1991:204-205, cat.no.68 and fig.68a).

14. This information was then repeated by most eighteenth- and nineteenth-century authors (e.g. Houbraken 1718, II:12; Descamps 1769:233; Antwerp 1874:326; Van den Branden 1883:608).

15. Although these "other princes" have been mentioned repeatedly in several sources (Antwerp 1874:326; Rooses 1907,19:614), not one author establishes the exact names of the "grands seigneurs" (Descamps 1769:233) who favoured Ryckaert's works. Apart from the works destined for the Archducal gallery, only one painting is recorded to have been sold to a "prince": "1671, 16 October.- Vercocht aen den prins van Eckenbergh Joan Christiaen: ... 12 no. 22. 1 Boeren Ceucken van Davit Ryckaert, vercocht aen den onversacht - Ryxd. 10" (Denucé 1931,I:153-154).

16. This amount is not particularly impressive, knowing that the archducal collection of German and Netherlandish paintings consisted of 888 items. The inventory drawn up in 1659 mentions another 517 paintings of the Italian school, 343 drawings and sketches and 542 statues (Mares 1887,V:358; Garas 1967,V:39). Van den Branden's statement that Ryckaert painted many valuable works for the governor's gallery ("voor wiens galerij hij menig kostbaar gewrocht maalde") (1883:608) should not be interpreted too literally.

17. Apart from the fact that Mares (1887,V:346) counted only three works by Ryckaert in the inventory, two out of the three numbers cited by him (nos 148, 287 and 493) prove to be incorrect. David Ryckaert's name is spelt in different ways in the inventory: Reychaerdt, Reyhardt and Reickhardt. He should not be confused with a certain Reichardt (also Reyhardt or Reichart) of Nürnberg, who worked with watercolours on parchment (Berger 1883,II:126,148,164).

18. This painting is described in the 1659 inventory of the Archduke's collection as follows:

Ein stuckh von Öhlfarb auff Holcz, warinn die Geburth Christi mit vielen Hierdten, so ihn anpetten, negst bey der Krippen stehet ein Kössel, darbey ligt ein Hann unndt ein Lämpel gebundtner.

In einer schwartz glatten Ramen, das innere Leistel verguldt, hoch 2 Span 9 Finger und 4 Span 3 Finger braidt.

Original von David Reyhardt.

(Berger 1883,II:120, f.178', no.93)

Neither *The adoration of the shepherds* of Vaduz (Cat.A96) nor the version in Budapest (Cat.A124) fit this description; more importantly, the medium and size do not correspond. This appears to imply that the work in question is now lost.

19. See Chapter IV for a discussion of this painting.

20. The painting, sold to the Spanish King Philip IV after Rubens's death and later destroyed by fire, survives only in a number of copies and in a print by F. Wijngaert (Fishman 1982:45, figs 21-24).

21. In *Kermesse*, for example, the old portly man with the spectacles establishes a link between the two scenes. While belonging to the main group of figures on the left, he directs his - and the viewer's - attention to the festive crowd on the right, where the dancing peasant girl returns his glance.

22. Zoëge von Manteuffel (1915,6:66, note 4) only comments that the Archduke most probably acquired both works from the artist himself.

23. David II Teniers. *A peasant wedding*. Signed and dated DAVID TENIERS F/AN 1648. Canvas, 75 x 113 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv.no.708 (Antwerp 1991:180-182, cat.no. 60A).

24. David II Teniers. *Soldiers pillaging a village*. Signed and dated DAVID TENIERS F/AN 1648. Canvas, 77 x 114 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv.no.712 (Antwerp 1991:180-183, cat.no. 60B).

25. Regarded as the most difficult and, according to Van Mander (1604,II:342-345), the most glorious part of the artistic profession, the depiction of the human figure was accepted by most artists and patrons as an historically sanctioned criterion of artistic merit (Filipczak 1987:84).
26. On this subject, see also Vlieghe (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:145-157).
27. Vlieghe uses the term "*verdoken zelf-portret*" (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:149).
28. See also Fishman (1982:74).
29. It is interesting to note that this date coincides with the time during which - more precisely between 1647 and 1650 - the main part of the archducal collection was acquired in the Netherlands (Garas 1967,V:44).
30. See, for example, his *Kermesse*. Signed and dated DAVID TENIERS.F/1648. Canvas, 97 x 138,5 cm. St Petersburg, Hermitage, inv.no. 593 (Antwerp 1991:176-177, cat.no.58).
31. It must be noted that a variation of *Mars forced to unemployment* (Cat.C7), was auctioned in New York in 1990, and attributed by Christie's to David III Ryckaert and Jan van den Hoecke. This attribution, however, proves to be untenable (see Catalogue C).
32. According to Filipczak (1969-72,XXII:203), Jan van den Hoecke was employed in the service of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Vienna and returned to Flanders in 1647 with the new governor.
33. The assumed contact between Ryckaert and Van den Hoecke is further corroborated by the fact that both artists made use of the same motif of the *Hamburger Curly head*, presumably invented by Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert. Examples of paintings by Jan van den Hoecke containing the motif of the curly head, have been published by Filipczak (1969-72,XXII:203-204, figs 4 & 5).
34. See, for example, Jan van den Hoecke's *Triumph of Cupid amongst emblems of art and war*, of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (Filipczak 1969-72,XXII:204, fig.5).
35. See note 18 above.
36. It must be stressed, however, that the Vaduz painting itself was probably executed at a later stage during the first half of the 1650s.
37. Erasmus II Quellinus. *The adoration of the shepherds*. Signed and dated 1632. Canvas, 59 x 82 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek,, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 983).
38. See, for example, Jordaens's *The adoration of the shepherds* (ca.1653). Panel, 114 x 165 cm. Bristol, City Art Gallery (d'Hulst 1982:242, fig.210).
39. In the light of the painting of *Mars forced to unemployment* (Cat.A93), it is not unlikely that Ryckaert turned to the work of Jan van den Hoecke to borrow motifs for his religious scenes.
40. See, for example, Bosschaert's *The assumption of the Virgin*. Duffel, Chapel of O.-L.-Vrouw van Goeden Wil (d'Hulst 1969-72,XXII:214, fig.2).
41. Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert. *Jupiter and Antiope*. Scotland, the Earl of Wemyss and March, Gosford House, East Lothian (d'Hulst 1969-72,XXII:215, fig.4).
42. Ryckaert's subsequent borrowing of Bosschaert's motif of the curly head - mentioned in Chapter II, but discussed in more detail below - lends credibility to the present assumption.
43. Marie Clerens acted as godmother (Antwerp 1874:325).

44. It is interesting to note that Filipczak treats Ryckaert, Teniers and the other Antwerp genre painters as equals, sharing this tendency, without singling out a leading figure who was the creative "genius" behind it - an honour usually bestowed on Teniers.
45. The official end of the war between Spain and the Northern Netherlands must certainly have contributed to the change in atmosphere, fashion and taste.
46. De Mirimonde (1968:197-198) reports that the current repertory of what was called "consumption music", generally remained rather modest in quality.
47. See, for example, *Musical party* (Cat.A103), *Music party* (Cat.A105) and *Social gathering in the country* (Cat.A107). In contrast to the lower or middle-class women, Ryckaert tends to idealise the features of his upper-class ladies, as if wealth implies beauty. As a result, they all look very much the same, conforming to a type, which impedes the recognition of any of these ladies as Jacoba Pallemans.
48. Sutton (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:434) describes these paintings as being "in the style of David Teniers the Younger". It is more likely, however, that Ryckaert would have duplicated some of his own works in this painting in order to promote his own reputation.
49. According to Sutton, the moral message of both pendants "is the same: "How you hear it is how you sing it", since antiquity an admonition to wise pedagogy" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:435). This statement contradicts his contention that the paintings were designed as juxtaposing pendants.
50. See catalogue entry Cat.A102.
51. *The peasant gathering outdoors* (Cat.A104) corresponds in medium (oil on panel) and more or less in size (100 x 127 cm) with the *Musical party* (Cat.A103).
52. See also d'Hulst (1982:180).
53. At first glance, the painting of *A peasant kermesse* (Cat.A113) would appear to be the ideal partner for *Social gathering in the country* (Cat.A112) on account of the prominent presence of a horse. The dimensions, however, of *A peasant kermesse* (Cat.A113) far exceed those of the picture portraying the elegant company.
54. See also Filipczak (1987:154).
55. See also Chapter II, where the "derderangsschilders" are discussed in the context of the practice of imitation.
56. In the inventories of the Antwerp art collections (Denucé 1932,II) and in the correspondence of art dealers (Denucé 1931,I; Duverger 1968), not a single painting is recorded as being by the hand of Ryckaert and another artist.
57. D'Hulst maintains that "[O]ld catalogues mention numerous works by Jordaens depicting convivial scenes and especially musical parties. ... many of those that have survived are of family concerts or serenades in which the musical theme is of more importance than the domestic or social atmosphere" (d'Hulst 1982:181).
58. See, for example, *An elegant company at music*. Signed and dated 1680. Canvas, 59,7 x 86,3 cm. Brussels, private collection (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 652a).
59. See, for example, his *Family portrait*. Canvas, 100 x 118,5 cm. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, inv.no. 1270.
60. See, for example, his *Supposed portrait of the family Coudenberg*. Medium and size not mentioned. Present location unknown (Vandenbroeck 1990,9(6):48).

61. Christoph Jacobsz van der Lamén. *Elegant gathering in a garden*. Panel, 46 x 58 cm. Private collection (De Maere & Wabbes 1994, plate 723).
62. David's uncle Pauwel Ryckaert was married to Anna Van der Lamén (SAA, *PR St.-Joris*, 257: Huwelijken, (1623-1647), f.20), who was the sister of Christoph Jacobsz van der Lamén.
63. Gonzales Coques and Jacques d'Arthois. *The outing in the country*. Medium and size not mentioned. Private collection (de Mirimonde 1967:196-197, fig.23).
64. Gonzales Coques. *Family portrait in a landscape*. Medium and size not mentioned. Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België (de Mirimonde 1967:195-197, fig.22).
65. See also Legrand (1963:159).
66. See Chapter I, note 89.
67. d'Hulst (1969-72:213-215) also mentions that the composition is derived from Jordaens. According to Von der Osten (Hannover 1954:143), the composition displays a distant similarity with the watercolour representation of *The King drinks* by Jordaens (ca.1640. Antwerp, Museum Plantin Moretus).
68. Jacob Jordaens. *The king drinks*. (Ca.1640-45). Canvas, 242 x 300 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (d'Hulst 1982:189, fig.158).
69. Willem van Herp. *Tavern scene*. Medium and size not mentioned. Mexico, Museo de San Carlos (RKD files).
70. In this context, it is significant to note that the painting of *The overturned table* (Cat.C44) by Willem van Herp, has incorrectly been attributed to David III Ryckaert.
71. The attribution of this work to David III Ryckaert is accepted by both d'Hulst (1969-72,XXII:213) and Filipczak (1969-72,XXII:199-202, fig.2).
72. Ryckaert treated the theme of the scholar working in his study by candlelight, in several paintings executed around 1649. They are *The alchemist* (Cat.A82), *Scholar with homunculus in glass phial* (Cat.A83), *The alchemist* (Cat.A84) and, more specifically, *Vanitas* (Cat.A85).
73. See the relevant entry in Catalogue C.
74. Filipczak (1969-72,XXII:203-208) demonstrates that the motif of the curly head was used by three artists: Jan van den Hoecke (1611-1651), Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert (1613-1654) and David III Ryckaert.
75. See the catalogue entry of *Head of a blond child* (Cat.A117).
76. See also Sluijter (1991,105:59).
77. According to Klänge (Antwerp 1991:262), both works were painted in the second half of the 1660s, that is more than fifteen years after Ryckaert created his *Diabolic concert*. Teniers did, however, treat both subjects in the same way at an earlier stage (1635-1640).
78. David II Teniers. *The King drinks*. Signed D.TENIERS.FEC. Copper, 58 x 70 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv.no.1797 (Antwerp 1991:266-267, cat.no.91).
79. David II Teniers. *The temptation of St Anthony*. Signed D.TENIERS.FEC. Copper, 55 x 69 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv.no.1822 (Antwerp 1991:262-263, cat.no.90).
80. See note 9 above.

81. One does not know what drove him, towards the age of fifty, to change his manner of composition; since then he treated almost only devilish and disgusting subjects; he has repeated several times the temptation of St Anthony : those pieces are the product of an imagination perhaps a little feverish. One cannot imagine how he could find pleasure in completing those horrible monsters: those paintings of this genre were as much sought after as his other works (my translation).
82. Bodart made a similar observation: "His scenes of witchcraft are far more rare [than his scenes of interiors or of alchemists], although Descamps has written that after 1650 the devilries were his principal theme" (Florence 1977:240) (my translation).
83. He also misinterpreted de Bie's specification of the time at which the change occurred (see note 10 above).
84. The art production in Antwerp was to a very large extent determined by what the public demanded. See especially Van der Stighelen (1989:303-341).
85. Another work related to this theme is the *Peasants feasting in an interior* (Cat.B6), but its attribution to Ryckaert is not beyond doubt.
86. The assumption that such works were purchased by well-to-do citizens, is corroborated by the fact that paintings of similar description appear in the seventeenth-century inventories of respected Antwerp burghers. For example, "Een boerenfeest van David Ryckaert", valued at 90 guilders, formed part of the collection of Jan-Baptista Anthoine, "riddere ende postmeester binnen dese stadt [Antwerp]" (Notaris M. Lodewyckx, Protocollen 1697, f.204) (Denucé 1932,II:364).
87. In this respect, the painting is closely related to the 1636 picture of *Tavern interior with amorous couple* (Cat.A2), and to the *Kitchen interior* (Cat.A57) of 1644.
88. The motif of a woman spying on the couple from a small shuttered window in the wall above, also appears in *An old man courting a young woman in an interior* (Cat.A58).
89. Since it is difficult to establish an approximate dating for these paintings, they are treated as a group here on account of their religious subject matter.
90. D'Hulst (1982:199) states that "in 1630 the Antwerp jurists and advocates set up a Confraternity of St Ives, and on 3 July 1636 the lawyer Laurentius Briel founded a chapel in the saint's honour in St James's church in that city".
91. Jacob Jordaens. *St Ives, patron of lawyers*. Signed and dated J.Jor.fecit 1645. Canvas, 103 x 129,5 cm. Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België. (d'Hulst 1982:198, fig.169). According to d'Hulst (1982:199), "from its format the present picture does not look like an altarpiece for the chapel [in St James's church], but it may have decorated the Confraternity's premises". It is doubtful whether Ryckaert's paintings of *St Ives, patron saint of lawyers* shared the same glorious destiny.
92. The painting of *Philemon and Baucis* by Jacob van Oost the Elder kept in San Francisco in the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum (Held 1955,18(2):146, fig.1), may serve to illustrate this point. Like Ryckaert's version, it is based on a simple compositional scheme involving four figures: the two gods are seated at a table, Philemon stands by and Baucis chases the goose, in profile view.
93. See, for example, Jacob Jordaens's *Satyr and peasant*. Ca.1620-21. Canvas, 174 x 205 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek (d'Hulst 1982:99, fig.63).
94. Ryckaert, on the other hand, showed no interest in the theme. The only version of *The satyr and the peasants* attributed to Ryckaert, is the one held in the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Reims (Cat.C50), which, however, proves to be not an authentic work.
95. According to Filipczak, it was not "the manual component of painting as a profession that made it barely compatible with noble status. The problematical aspect was economic - personal profit" (1987:149).

96. Dreher (1978, 60(4):684) adds that an artist could further define his new social position, and advance his personal status, through the accumulation of honours and riches.

97. See Chapter II.

98. Michiel Gillis was baptised on 1 July 1651. His godfather was Gillis Dansarts, representing his son Jos, and Madeleine De Wael acted as godmother (see Appendix I).

99. Some authors (Descamps 1769:233; Legrand 1963:160; De Maere & Wabbes 1994:341) report that David III Ryckaert was also appointed director of the Academy in 1651. This statement is undoubtedly incorrect: the authors apparently ignored the fact that the Academy was only founded in 1663, two years after David's death, under the impulse of David Teniers and in collaboration with the deans of the guild of Saint Luke (Antwerp 1991:22-24).

100. The fact that this decision was already taken in 1651, is reflected in the guild's records of 1650-1651, where Ryckaert is mistakenly honoured with the title of dean in the list of "liefhebbers der Violiere" (Rombouts & van Lerijs 1872:221).

101. Vlieghe (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:156, note 31) mentions two examples: the *Self-portrait with wife and two eldest children* by Cornelis de Vos (1621, canvas, 188 x 162 cm, Brussels, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:124, fig.2)), which was painted in 1621, a year after he had been dean of the guild of St Luke; and *Portrait of the Jordaens family* (ca.1621-1622, canvas, 181 x 187 cm, Madrid, Prado (d'Hulst 1982:269, plate 234)), which Jordaens painted at the time when he became dean of the Antwerp guild.

102. The examples discussed by Vlieghe are the two pendants of *Portrait of Theodoor Rombouts* (panel, 123 x 91 cm) and *Portrait of Anna Rombouts-van Thielen and her daughter Anna-Maria* (panel, 133 x 91 cm), painted by Anthony van Dyck. Both paintings are held in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (Blasse-Hegeman 1990:146-147, figs 1 and 2).

103. Gonzales Coques. *Group portrait of David III Ryckaert and his family*. Panel, 63,2 x 73,3 cm. Auction London, Christie's 8/9-12-1994, no.286. See also Chapter IV.

104. This information was provided by Mr Willem van de Watering. See auction catalogue London, Christie's 8/9-12-1994, p.239.

105. See also Vlieghe in Blasse-Hegeman (1990:154).

106. Although archival evidence exists to verify contact between David III Ryckaert and Abraham Snellinx (SAA, de Costere, Antoon. *Protocollen*, 1657. NOT. 800, f.136) (see Appendix II: Doc.G), there is no mention of some sort of relationship with Jan Snellinx.

107. See auction catalogue London, Christie's 8/9-12-1994, p.239. The catalogue entry contains some errors: Coques was not a pupil of David III Ryckaert, but of the latter's father David II; Ryckaert did not marry Jacoba Pallemans in 1649, but in 1647. In view of these incorrect data, it is advisable to examine the painting in person, before drawing any conclusions with respect to the print.

108. See auction catalogue London, Christie's 8/9-12-1994, p.239.

109. Van den Branden (*Nota's*) maintains that some of the Ryckaert children died very young. Although he only specifies Frans (born on 24 April 1657) as a case in point, it is possible that Thomas Willeboirts also died at a young age. This proposition is corroborated by the fact that he was not one of the three children who outlived their parents (Inventory: see Appendix II, Doc.I [3]). The city archives of Antwerp fail to provide sufficient information to solve the issue at hand.

110. Gertrui Jeanne was baptised on 13 September 1652. Her godparents were Jos de Leeuwe and Gertrui Hoens (see Appendix I).

111. Jan Baptist, who was baptised on 8 February 1654, had as godfather Jan de Weert and as godmother Maria Clerens (see Appendix I).

112. This amalgamation of different sources results in a hybrid form, which renders the dating of this painting into a daunting task.

113. Its overall composition and setting further relate it to the 1655 picture of *The proposition* (Cat.A136).

114. David II Teniers. *At the village surgeon*. 1678. Signed D.TENIERS.FEC and dated 1678. Canvas, 39,5 X 47 cm. Private collection (Antwerp 1991:271-272, cat.no.93).

115. None of the paintings concerned are dated. Their exceptional iconography hardly allows comparison with other dated works. Since they could only be examined in photographic reproductions, a dating based on their stylistic peculiarities is ruled out.

116. The observation that paintings of such subjects were "then in vogue", may be substantiated by the fact that they were found suitable for export. A *Temptation of St Anthony* by Ryckaert is listed in the correspondence of the Forchoudt firm: "1669.- Kargesoen voor mijne soonen Alexander ende Gilliam Forchoudt, weghende 850 pond is gesonden 2 July 1669 op Cuelen aende Weduwe Cuesten om door te bestellen op Weenen. ... No.11. Een St-Antonius tentasie van David Ryckaert - g.24" (Denucé 1931,I:109-110).

117. Only one painting of *A witches' sabbath* (Cat.C135) ascribed to Ryckaert has surfaced, but it displays too many characteristics inconsistent with Ryckaert's manner to warrant an attribution to him.

118. His intention to ridicule the behaviour of Dulle Griet is made clear by the inclusion, however inconspicuous, of the little owl in the Vienna painting (Cat.A145).

119. This intention is perhaps made more explicit in *A witch driving devils from a cave* (Cat.A146), where the old crone demonstrates her victory over man - her husband - by wielding a sword, a traditional male attribute.

120. Gibson (1979:9) maintains that even Brueghel's "monsters and other grotesque forms were inspired by Bosch".

121. Legrand (1963:159) also considers both versions of *The temptation of St Anthony* (Cat.A147 and Cat.A148), conserved in the Pitti Palace in Florence, to be inspired by Teniers.

122. See, for example, Teniers's *The temptation of St Anthony*. Signed D.TENIERS.F. Copper, 69 x 86 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, inv.no. 1079 (Antwerp 1991:134-135, cat.no. 41); and *The temptation of St Anthony*. Dated 1647. Formerly Berlin, Gemäldegalerie (Antwerp 1991:134, fig. 41a).

123. He is shown seated at a rock which serves as table carrying books, a jug and a crucifix.

124. See, for example, Teniers's *The temptation of St Anthony*. Signed D.TENIERS.FEC. Copper, 55 x 69 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv.no. 1822 (Antwerp 1991:262-263, cat.no.90).

125. See, for example, Teniers's *The temptation of St Anthony*. Signed D.TENIERS.F. Copper, 69 x 86 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, inv.no. 1079 (Antwerp 1991:134-135, cat.no.41); and *The temptation of St Anthony*. Dated 1647. Formerly Berlin, Gemäldegalerie (Antwerp 1991:134, fig.41a).

126. A small, but meaningful detail is the fact that Ryckaert does not allow St Anthony to even look up, whereas Teniers's saint invariably turns his head to face the figures approaching him.

127. François van den Wyngaerde. "*Beatus vir ...*". Engraving: "D.Teniers in et excud./ fs vanden wyng.f.". (Antwerp 1991:46, fig.9b).

128. Fortunate is the man who resists temptation, tried he shall come forward and receive the crown of life, as God has promised those who love Him (Antwerp 1991:46).

129. Two more versions of *The temptation of St Anthony* (Cat.B2 and Cat.B3) are listed as unresolved paintings. Being representations of the temptation à la Teniers, they refute an attribution to Ryckaert. On the other hand, it is possible that Ryckaert was commissioned by an art dealer to paint copies of the then popular temptations of Teniers.

130. In this context, it must be noted that David II Teniers related the temptation of St Anthony directly to the seven capital sins, which confront the saint as personifications. This is exemplified in his Madrid version of *The temptation of St Anthony*, painted in the second half of the 1660s (Antwerp:262-263, cat.no.90).

131. Hieronymus Bosch, Pieter Brueghel the Elder and Quentin Metsys (Massys) are but the most well-known artists practising this genre (Lyon, Bourg en Bresse, Roanne 1992, no.105).

132. David II Teniers. *The greedy*. Signed DAVID.TENIERS. Canvas, 62,5 x 85 cm. London, National Gallery, inv.no. 155 (Antwerp 1991:184, cat.no. 61).

133. Evidence supporting this assumption is found in the correspondence of the firm Musson-Fourmenois. In a letter dated 17 April 1663, mention is made of seven pieces on canvas representing *The seven deadly sins*, "princepale van Davidt Ryckart vray ghesildert en van cleyne prijs" (original of Davidt Ryckart, nicely painted and modestly priced) (cited by Duverger 1968:233). Since the latter works were painted on canvas, however, they cannot be identified with the pictures under discussion, which were executed on panel.

134. Joos van Craesbeeck. *The vendor of quack medicine*. Panel, 25 x 19 cm. Auction Brussels, Galerie Fievez 30-4-1947, no.64 (illustrated). It is noteworthy that both paintings also share the same medium and dimensions.

135. Gonzales Coques. *The five senses: smell*. Panel, 18 x 15 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (De Maere & Wabbes 1994,II:278).

136. Due to the fact that neither of the paintings concerned is dated, it is impossible to figure out who was influenced by whom.

137. She is seen as a single figure in *Old woman holding a jug* (Cat.A72), where she is used as a model to illustrate an allegory, that is, not as a sitter for a portrait or study.

138. His godfather was Jan de Weert and Catharina Ryckaert, wife of Gonzales Coques, was chosen as godmother (see Appendix I).

139. SAA, vander Donck Sr., Andries Frans. *Protocollen*, 1656-1659. NOT.3790, f.89 (see Appendix II, Doc.E.).

140. According to Vlieghe (Brussels 1991:264), the serial production of paintings was a main characteristic of the Antwerp art industry already from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

141. On this subject, read the essay by Vlieghe on "Maatwerk en confectie" (Brussels 1991:255-268). He mainly deals with small cabinet pieces representing landscapes with decoratively executed groups of figures derived from the bible, Greek mythology or antique history.

142. According to Van der Stighelen (1989:306), art works made for the large public, destined for export but also for the local market, possess some fundamental characteristics. Usually the paintings represent a "passe partout"-theme of a religious or profane nature. They are preferably executed on panel, plate or copper and are of relatively small size. Their relatively low prices turned them into competitive export products. Vlieghe (Brussels 1991:265) fixes the average price of these mass products at 10 to 15 guilders a piece.

143. Van der Stighelen (1989:306) further informs that these highly specialised artisans often made use of one another's skills in order to increase the appeal of their compositions.
144. Vlieghe (Brussels 1991:266) mentions the case of the renowned history painters Abraham Janssen and Cornelis de Vos, who accepted commissions from the art dealer Chrysostomus van Immerseel.
145. Erik Duverger (1984-, 6 vols to date) has tackled, and is still working on, the mammoth task of transcribing and publishing all seventeenth-century documents in the Antwerp City Archives and in the Archives of the Public Centre for Social Welfare relating to art collections - primarily probate inventories and testaments. These publications will make available to historians a unique resource for the study of many different aspects related to the arts in Antwerp.
146. Matthijs Musson himself made the following statement with regard to Ryckaert's paintings: 'Ende sien maer eene swarigheydt, datter sooveul ontcoften valle op soo cleynen werde.' (cited by Duverger 1968:233).
147. Ryckaert's name appears on the list of friends and acquaintances from Antwerp, who were invited to the funeral of Musson's first wife, Maria Borremans, who died in Antwerp on 12 May 1646 (Duverger 1968:40).
148. He was even elected dean of the guild of St Luke for the period of office 1647-1648 (Rombouts & van Lierus 1872:185).
149. He bought and sold ceramics, glassware, paintings, sculptures, etchings, etc. (Duverger 1968:19-20,25).
150. More than sixty Antwerp painters executed commissions for Matthijs Musson and his second wife, Maria Fourmenois. These painted canvases and panels were mainly destined for French, Spanish or Portuguese collectors and art lovers (Duverger 1968b:49).
151. Although it is true that Ryckaert painted some allegories of the seven deadly sins, such as his picture of *Avaritia* (Cat.A151), it is impossible to identify the specific paintings concerned.
152. The popularity of this genre lingered on in France until the 1670s (Duverger 1968b:65).
153. As early as 1653, Forchoudt marketed Ryckaert's paintings in Gent. The entry reads as follows: "1653, 22 Maart.- Per schepe gesonden op Ghent aen Peter Vinck tot Ghent op de Mert, dese naervolghende goederen: ... no.9. 1 Destalatur van Ryquaert - g.25" (Denucé 1931,I:52).
154. The Forchoudt firm exported his works as far afield as Vienna (Austria), via Cologne: "1669.- Kargesoen voor mijne soonen Alexander ende Gilliam Forchoudt, weghende 850 pond is gesonden 2 July 1669 op Cuelen aende Weduwe Cuesten om door te bestellen op Weenen. ... No 4. no.10. Een verloocheeninge van S.Peeter van David Ryckaert - g.20 ... no.11. Een St-Antonius temtasie van David Ryckaert -g.24" (Denucé 1931,I:109-110).
155. - "1700.- Rekeninghe van een Cas met 18 stuxkens schilderey (voor dezelfden [Forchoudt]): no. 9. Een stuck van Reykaert **onverkocht**" (Denucé 1931,I:248).  
 - "1707, 30 Juli.- Restanten van goederen, soo ick Franciscus Vasterhavens tsedert myne leste oversonden rekeninghe met brief 29 October 1704 van den heer Guill. Forchoudt **noch in handen hebbe** ende schuldhich ben te verrekenen: 1 stuck no. 9 : een stuck van David Reijckaert" (Denucé 1931,I:262).  
 - "1707, 29 Augustus, Weenen.- Specificatie van naervolgende schildereijen ... wat noch voor stucken daer van restende en onverkocht syn ... Uyt het pack no. 3 voor rekeninghe GF. FR. ter ½ uyt Antwerpen versonden 11 Martij 1700 syn noch **onverkocht**: no. 9. Een stuck van David Reijckaert : luytenslager, costende f.32" (Denucé 1931,I:264) (my emphasis).
156. As a good example, Van der Stighelen quotes part of a letter written by Picart to Matthijs Musson on 2 September 1656 concerning an order of paintings representing the four elements: " ... so I bid you to have these made and that the landscapes be better than the others and that the figures look somewhat better and that the women's breasts be somewhat smaller and not so drooping ..." (cited in Van der Stighelen 1989:318, note 71) (my translation).

157. It implies that some of the paintings which are listed in Catalogue C as too close imitations of Teniers, could actually have been executed by Ryckaert.

158. Van den Branden (SAA, *Nota's*) records that the painter and his wife sold "rente" on their house in Arenbergstraat on 2 January 1659.

159. From 19 September 1660, he paid an extra 12 guilders as rent for a small space (*een plaetsken*) behind the house to use as a little garden (*een hoffken*). This brought the total rent to 162 guilders per year (Rombouts & van Lerijs 1872:80).

160. A "Boerenkeuken van Davit Rijckaert", valued at 12 guilders, is listed in the correspondence of the firm Forchoudt (Denucé 1931,I:125-126). It is most interesting to note that the same document also includes "I stuckxken van Davit Tenniers lantscapken" (no.28) for the small price of 7 guilders.

161. The fact that this work is being discussed first, does not imply that the other paintings of this genre, dealt with as a group in the following paragraphs, were created at a later date.

162. Although not recorded by any authors, David III Ryckaert and Jacoba Pallemans had a second daughter Isabella. Her name appears only in Ryckaert's inventory as one of the surviving children. The fact that she was four years old on the day that the document was drawn up, implies a date of birth in the year 1659 (SAA, van Oudenhoven, F. *Staten en rekeningen*, 1659-1665. NOT.4362, no.63) (see Appendix II, Doc.I [3]).

163. The Staatliche Kunstsammlungen of Dresden have no photographic records of this work.

164. It also happens to include the motif of a cat in the bottom right-hand corner.

165. David II Teniers. *"The palace kitchen", allegory of the Four Elements*. Signed and dated DAVID.TENIERS.F 1646. Canvas, 171 x 237 cm. St Petersburg, Hermitage, inv.no.586 (Antwerp 1991:154-155, cat.no.49).

166. David II Teniers. *Butcher shop*. Signed and dated D.TENIERS F 1642. Panel, 68,4 x 98 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Sidney Bartlett bequest, inv.no.1889.500 (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:423-425, cat.no.69).

167. Hieronymus Cock after Pieter I Brueghel, *Prudentia*. Engraving. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. OB377 (Antwerp 1991:84, fig.23a). Sutton acknowledges the engraving as "probably by P.Galle" (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:425, fig.3).

168. The sieve which illustrates the ability to distinguish good from evil, occupies an innocuous place in between the objects displayed on the wall.

169. He/she who sits and does nothing, or sits and flirts, ignores his/her work, forgets his/her time.

170. A slightly altered copy of *Kitchen still life with peasant family* (Cat.A168) is known under the title *Rustic interior* (Cat.B13) and housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

171. The interpretation offered by Liedtke (New York 1984:238-239) in relation to the *Rustic interior* (Cat.B13), is too far-fetched and unacceptable in the light of Ryckaert's other paintings of this period (see Catalogue B).

172. Liedtke considers *The yard of the inn at Emmaus* (Cat.A169) to be the pendant of the *Rustic Interior* (Cat.B13), which appears to be a copy of Ryckaert's *Kitchen still life with peasant family* (Cat.A168).

173. Unfortunately Liedtke does not mention any specific paintings as comparative material to corroborate his observation.

174. Seeing that the *Rustic interior* (Cat.B13) is probably a copy of Ryckaert's work with additional motifs, the question arises whether *The yard of the inn at Emmaus* could be the same.

175. Jacob Jordaens. *Homage to Ceres*. Ca.1623-25. Canvas, 165 x 112 cm (perhaps cut down on left and top). Madrid, Prado (d'Hulst 1982:119, fig.84).
176. Jordaens used the figure of Ceres in a more general sense to symbolise the full circle of earthly existence (d'Hulst 1982:111).
177. Jan Frans was baptised on 29 May 1660 in the presence of his godfather Michiel de Wael and his godmother Emerentia Pyck (see Appendix I).
178. Ambrosius Brueghel (1617-1675) was a painter of landscapes, and still lifes of fruit and flowers. He is known to have executed a painting in collaboration with his godfather, David II Teniers (De Maere & Wabbes 1994:80-81), who was married to Anna Brueghel (1620-1656), the daughter of Jan Brueghel (Boston/Toledo 1993-94:417). The artistic community in Antwerp thus seems to have formed a closely coherent group, in which ties were fastened through intermarriage between the different families.
179. The name of Ambrosius Brueghel also appears in the list of debtors in David's inventory (see Appendix II, Doc.I [24]-[25]).
180. It is most likely that Jacoba Pallemans was still recovering from the birth of her last child Frans.
181. SAA, de Vos, Jacob. *Protocollen*, 1659-1661, NOT.1104, f.92-93 (see Appendix II, Doc.H).
182. The guild's accounts of 18 September 1661- 18 September 1662 record a receipt of 3.4 guilders for the "dootschuld" (mortuary debt) of Dean David Ryckaert III (Rombouts & van Lerijs 1872:331).
183. They were David, Michiel and Isabella (SAA, van Oudenhoven, F. *Staten en rekeningen*, 1659-1665. NOT.4362, no.63) (see Appendix II, Doc.I [3]).
184. SAA, van Oudenhoven, F. *Staten en rekeningen*, 1659-1665. NOT.4362, no.63 (see Appendix II, Doc.I).
185. The cash amounted to 178 guilders 17 stivers, while the furniture was assessed at 2008 guilders 12 stivers and the jewels at 472 guilders. This means that the goods of the shop, assessed at 2171 guilders 4 stivers, constituted the most valuable item of the movable goods.
186. See Appendix II, Doc.I [10].
187. This chapter lists five items of outstanding debts on goods delivered to the shop, specified as "lynwaet, coopmanschappen" [31], "catoenen lijnwaet, stoffen" [32] and "laecken" [33] (see Appendix II, Doc.I).
188. See Appendix II, Doc.I [16]-[19].
189. David Ryckaert and Jacoba Pallemans were married in community of property (see Appendix II, Doc.I [8]).
190. See Appendix II, Doc.I [24]-[25].
191. See Appendix II, Doc.I [27]-[28].
192. See also Zoega von Manteuffel (1915,6:66-70).

## CONCLUSION

During the first years of his professional career (1636-1639), David III Ryckaert, like his father, concentrated on the depiction of peasant scenes in an interior in the manner of Adriaen Brouwer. Brouwer, who was the most popular genre painter in Antwerp at the time, not only inspired Ryckaert in his choice of subject matter. With regard to style, he was also indebted to him for skilful composition, distribution of light, manipulation of space, and pleasing colouring. Ryckaert found another source of inspiration in the paintings of David II Teniers, himself a successful follower of Brouwer. When Teniers replaced Brouwer as the leading genre painter in Antwerp, Ryckaert became more attracted to his interpretations of the peasant genre. The influence of Teniers is particularly discernable in Ryckaert's representations of a peasant interior with still life, a subject introduced to Antwerp by the brothers Saftleven of Rotterdam. When Jacob Jordaens began to paint illustrations of the proverb "As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe", Ryckaert profited from his invention to compose his own versions of the theme. Thus it would appear that at this early stage, Ryckaert applied the practice of imitation unreservedly.

Apart from occasional references to the work of Jacob Jordaens and Rubens, his iconographic schemes show regular and distinct borrowings from both Brouwer and Teniers. This fact, however, cannot simply be attributed to limited ingenuity on the part of Ryckaert, but was a direct result of contemporary trends in painting practices. The critical imitation of other masters was entirely acceptable to seventeenth-century Antwerp society, because it enabled the artist to enrich his own art. As first acknowledged by Cornelis de Bie, David III Ryckaert had sufficient talent or *ingenium* to adapt the works of other painters to his own individual manner, based on an accurate, but not too simplistic observation of nature. The selection of sources was crucial in the process. His personal taste led him to imitate the works of Brouwer and Teniers, because they were models closest to his own sensibilities. He derived from them their most appealing qualities and introduced them into his own work in

a fresh and dynamic manner, adding to them what he had learnt from his studies from life. An important fact is that Ryckaert did not show a profound interest in the work of his Dutch counterparts. No evidence, written or painted, is at hand to prove close contact with artists of the Northern Netherlands. His paintings are essentially grounded in the Flemish tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Apart from his adaptations of popular peasant scenes, Ryckaert discovered new territory in the representation of the cobbler in his workshop, a theme which he treated throughout his career. He also produced allegorical paintings of single figures on a vertical format. In the popularisation of this genre, he joined Joos van Craesbeeck, who was a fervent admirer of his. The moralising didacticism of Ryckaert's early paintings is clearly recognisable in the conscious introduction of unambiguous symbolic references into his work. In contrast to Brouwer, Ryckaert presented the peasants both as objects of amusement and as exemplars of despicable demeanour for the amusement and edification of an urban bourgeoisie. His satirising of the peasantry was largely motivated by the success of Teniers's moralising pictures, but at the same time secured his own superior position in the social hierarchy.

From 1639 onwards, Ryckaert extended his range of subject matter in order to make a name for himself. He started representing children's games outdoors, alchemists in their laboratory, people enjoying a meal or celebrating the feast of Epiphany, and scholars studying by candle-light. He also continued to treat the type of iconography of the early years. What distinguishes these paintings from his early representations, however, is a significant shift in approach. Joining a general tendency among the Antwerp genre painters during the 1640s, Ryckaert now tended to imbue his subjects with greater dignity. Placed in a more socially respectable environment, his figures are graced with handsome features and decent clothing, indicating a higher social status than the peasants. Greater emphasis is placed on harmonious scenes, subdued emotions, and an atmosphere of diligence, while moralising content plays a lesser role. Although his paintings of the early 1640s are still predominantly didactic, the artist's concern with moral instruction was soon overshadowed by a sympathetic portrayal of the (lower) middle classes, without condescending innuendos - an

approach which he maintained until the end of his life.

During the 1640s, Ryckaert developed a more individualistic style, characterised by a more unified composition with central focus on the foreground figures. Other stylistic peculiarities are the finer brush strokes, stronger modelling and a preference for cool greyish tones with lively local colours. A favourite working method of Ryckaert's was to introduce motifs, which were associated with one theme in particular, into representations of other subject matter. Ryckaert devised more ways to avoid tedious repetition: he would change his models, modify the placement of the figures and bring variation into their activities. A third alternative was, of course, to seek inspiration in the works of celebrated colleagues. The *oeuvre* of David II Teniers still exercised the most notable influence on Ryckaert, but he also borrowed ideas from Jacob Jordaens. He always managed, however, to fully integrate the ideas or motifs of others into his works by adapting them to his own pictorial vision and interpreting popular themes in a distinctly personal manner. His growing popularity, however, must be ascribed to representations of subjects of his own (re)invention. Judging by the great number of paintings featuring a cobbler, alchemist and scholar at work, made in the later 1640s, it may be assumed that he became an acknowledged specialist in this field and received commissions from the public, thus carving out a niche in the market for himself.

The year 1649 was a turning point in Ryckaert's career. The acquisition of four of his paintings for the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, boosted his popularity, as well as his self-confidence. From then onwards, he tackled themes far removed from his established repertory, including peasant kermesses and plunderings; conversation pieces with elegantly dressed men and women, placed indoors and *en plein air*; musical parties; religious and mythological themes; as well as diabolic scenes. His interest in the "new" subjects was, however, shortlived and gradually he concentrated more strongly again on his forte, namely the depiction of middle-class people at leisure and at work.

His mature style of the 1650s is highly personalised. Characteristic are the more complex figure compositions, revolving around a central focus and extending the field of vision in depth. Despite the greater complexity, the artist achieved a remarkable coherence and balance in his compositions. Generally, the figures are clearly drawn, becoming more supple and moving with greater ease. Whereas a brownish tone prevails in the background, the strongly illuminated foreground is brightened by the use of a broader palette of vivid colours. Ryckaert's paintings are generally distinguished by a high standard of quality. Since the demand for his works was not too extravagant, he was not forced to work quite as rapidly as, for instance, Teniers. This explains the minimal occurrence of inferior works. As the most important aesthetic criteria, the "beauty" of his paintings, as well as his individual style, earned him the admiration of the contemporary public.

Because Ryckaert ventured into fields of painting in which he had no previous experience, references to and borrowings from the work of other painters appear more frequently. His sources varied from the paintings of Rubens, Jacob Jordaens and Frans Snyders to those of David II Teniers, Jan van den Hoecke, Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, Gonzales Coques, Joos van Craesbeeck, Willem van Herp and Erasmus II Quellinus. The greater diversity in subject matter, as well as pressure of time resulting from an increase in demand, may also have led the artist to engage in collaboration with Antwerp artists. There are strong indications that Ryckaert sought the assistance of Jan van den Hoecke, Gonzales Coques and Thomas van Apshoven, but none of the suggested cases of collaboration are corroborated by documentary evidence. A thorough investigation of the latter issue falls beyond the scope of this research, as it necessitates a detailed study of the *oeuvre* of possible collaborators.

It was during the 1650s that Ryckaert gained full recognition as a professional artist by his fellow painters, culminating in his appointment as dean of the painters' guild of Antwerp. Evidently this development went hand in hand with greater appreciation by the public, stimulated by the Archduke's interest in Ryckaert's work. The increase in his output indicates that his paintings, if not directly commissioned, were in public demand. Ryckaert not only supplied the local market, but found a supplementary

outlet for his works in the foreign market via the extensive export industry established by the Antwerp art dealers. He did not, however, become a *brood-* or *dozijnschilder*, producing pictures *en masse* in accordance with the specific requirements of the art dealers. He rather concentrated on perfecting and enriching his own art in order to build up a personal reputation, however limited in comparison with the "great masters" such as Rubens and Jordaens. This striving must be seen in the light of his personal, artistic and social ambitions.

Very much aware of the social class differentiation prevalent in Antwerp at the time, Ryckaert was seriously concerned with his own social advancement, although he did not resort to such extreme measures as taken by Teniers. His aspirations to attain higher social standing, are in a way reflected in his paintings. As a struggling young artist, he openly displayed contempt for the lower classes in an effort to deny any associations between himself and "them" or the "other". Gradually, greater success as a painter and financial stability lead him to reveal more empathy with middle-class people. At the same time, however, his longing for social advancement found expression in his scenes of the life of leisure of the upper classes. When his position in the ranks of the prosperous middle class was secured, he returned to the sphere of (lower) middle-class life. He now portrayed it with genuine affection and, at times, with sentimental undertones. The fulfilment of his social ambitions was only possible through the support of the buying public, which, in turn, provides evidence of his acceptance as a good painter. His fellow artists seemed to share the public's appreciation: during the later 1650s, Ryckaert's works were frequently copied.

Ryckaert's association with Brouwer and Teniers has been much overestimated. Certainly he was influenced by other artists, but he was not just a follower, and even less of a copyist. Ryckaert's achievement cannot be measured according to the blunt terminology of greatness, ranging from absolute masters such as Rubens down to the *dozijn-* or *tweederangsschilders*. Ryckaert wins our attention for his patient imitation of other artists which demanded, and involved him in, the minute examination of their strengths and weaknesses yet at the same time allowed him to define himself and express a rare aesthetic probity within the artistic idiom of his day.

# PLATES



1. Cat.A1. *Painter's studio*, 1636.



2. Cat.A2. *Barn interior with amorous couple*, 1636.



3. Cat.A3. *Peasant interior*, 1637.



4. Cat.A4. *Interior of a barn with figures and still life*, 1637.



5. Cat. A5. *The prodigal son*, 1637.



6. Cat. A6. *The violinist in a tavern*, 1637.



7. Cat.A7. *Tavern interior*, 1637.



8. Cat.A8. *Tavern scene*, 1638.



9. Cat. A9. *The card players.*



10. Cat. A10. *The card players.*



11. Cat.A11. *The operation*, 1638.



12. Cat.A12. *Tavern interior*, 1638.



13. Cat.A13. *A singer*, 1638.



14. Cat.A14. *The cobbler*, 1638.



15. Cat.A15. *The smithy.*



16. Cat.A16. *Peasant interior with still life.*



17. Cat.A17. *Drinking peasants in a barn interior*, 1638.



18. Cat.A18. *Painter in his studio with model and assisting pupils*, 1638.



19. Cat.A19. *Interior with merry company.*



20. Cat.A20. *The smokers.*



21. Cat.A21. *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe.*



22. Cat. A22. *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe*, 1639.



23. Cat.A23. *The drinker.*



24. Cat. A24. *Peasant smoking.*



25. Cat.A25. *The toper.*



26. Cat.A26. *Old man and young girl by a fire.*



27. Cat.A27. *In the painter's studio.*



28. Cat.A28. *The butcher's shop*, 1639.



29. Cat.A29. *Children's procession.*



30. Cat.A30. *The warm hand*, 1640.



31. Cat.A31. *The village fool.*



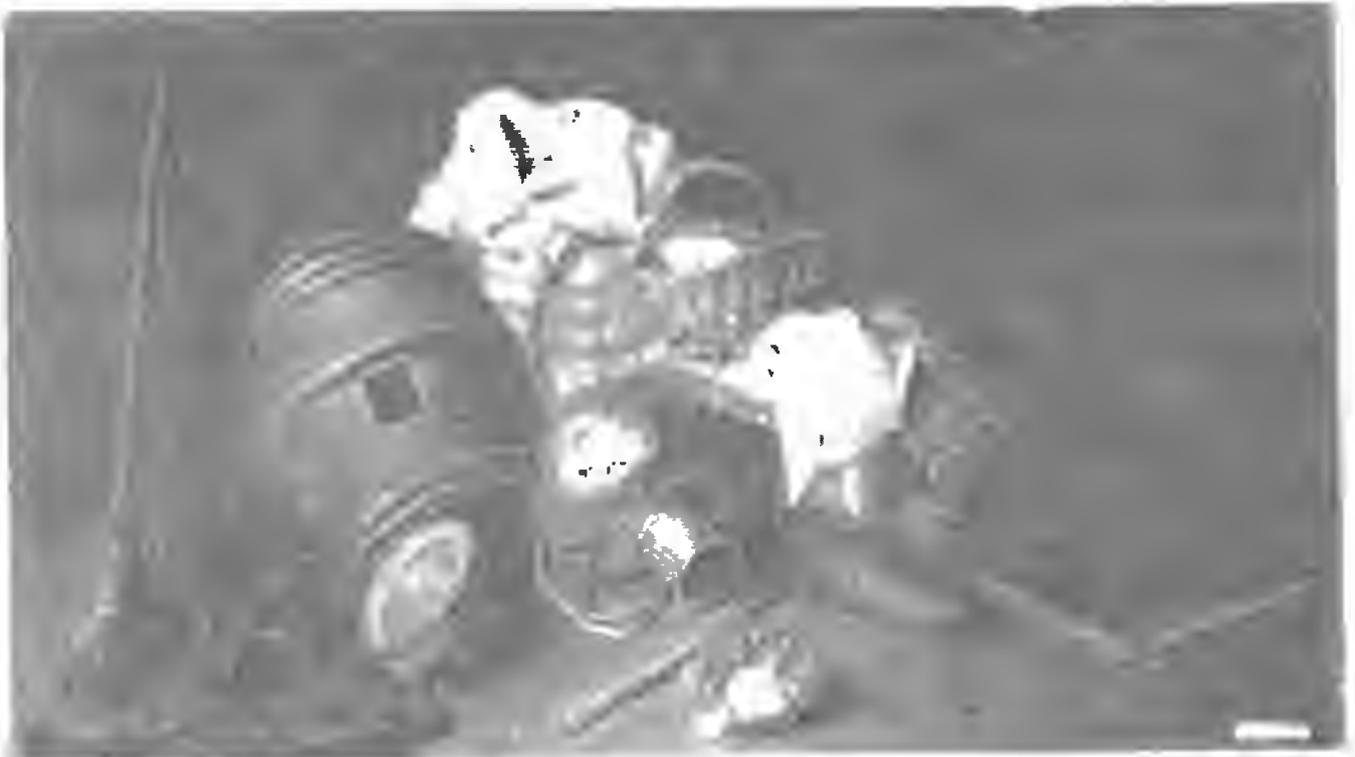
32. Cat. A32. *The pipe smoker*, 1640.



33. Cat.A33. *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe*, 1640.



34. Cat.A34. *Barn with still life, dog and old woman, 1640.*



35. Cat.A35. *Rustic utensils in a barn.*



36. Cat.A36. *Interior with armour and arms.*



37. Cat.A37. *Tavern scene.*



38. Cat.A38. *Young woman smoking and drinking.*



39. Cat.A39. *Duet.*



40. Cat.A40. *Two smokers in a tavern*, 1641.



41. Cat.A41. *Drinking and smoking peasants*, 164(?).



42. Cat.A42. *The guitar player.*



43. Cat. A43. *Un charivari (A hullabaloo)*.



44. Cat.A44. *Children's fancy-dress parade.*



45. Cat. A45. *Tavern interior with smoking peasants*, 1642.



46. Cat.A46. *Tavern scene.*



47. Cat.A47. *Tavern interior with old lute player.*



48. Cat. A48. *The painter's studio*, 1642.



49. Cat. A49. *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe*, 1642.



50. Cat.A50. *The cobbler.*



51. Cat.A51. *Man playing a theorbo*, 1642.



52. Cat. A52. *A cobbler.*



53. Cat.A53. *The alchemist.*



54. Cat. A54. *A carpenter smoking on a bench.*



55. Cat.A55. *Couple in a tavern*, 1644.



56. Cat. A56. *Tavern interior.*



57. Cat.A57. *Kitchen interior*, 1644.



58. Cat.A58. *Old man courting a young woman in an interior*.



59. Cat. A59. *The first pipe.*



60. Cat. A60. *The drinker.*



61. Cat. A61. *Taste.*



62. Cat.A62. *Smoking peasant and woman by a fire.*



63. Cat.A63. *A man smoking by a fire in an interior with a woman and a child playing.*



64. Cat.A64. *The temptation of St Anthony*, 1645.



65. Cat. A65. *Dinner at a farmhouse*, 1648.



66. Cat. A66. *The meal.*



67. Cat.A67. *The card players.*



68. Cat. A68. *The interior of an inn.*



69. Cat.A69. *Kitchen interior*, 1648.



70. Cat.A70. *The King drinks*, 1648.



71. Cat.A71. *The drinker.*



72. Cat.A72. *Old woman holding a jug.*



73. Cat. A73. *The cobbler.*



74. Cat. A74. *An interior with a cobbler.*



75. Cat. A75. *The cobbler's workshop.*



76. Cat.A76. *The cobbler's workshop.*



77. Cat. A77. *The cobbler's workshop.*



78. Cat.A78. *The alchemist*, 1648.



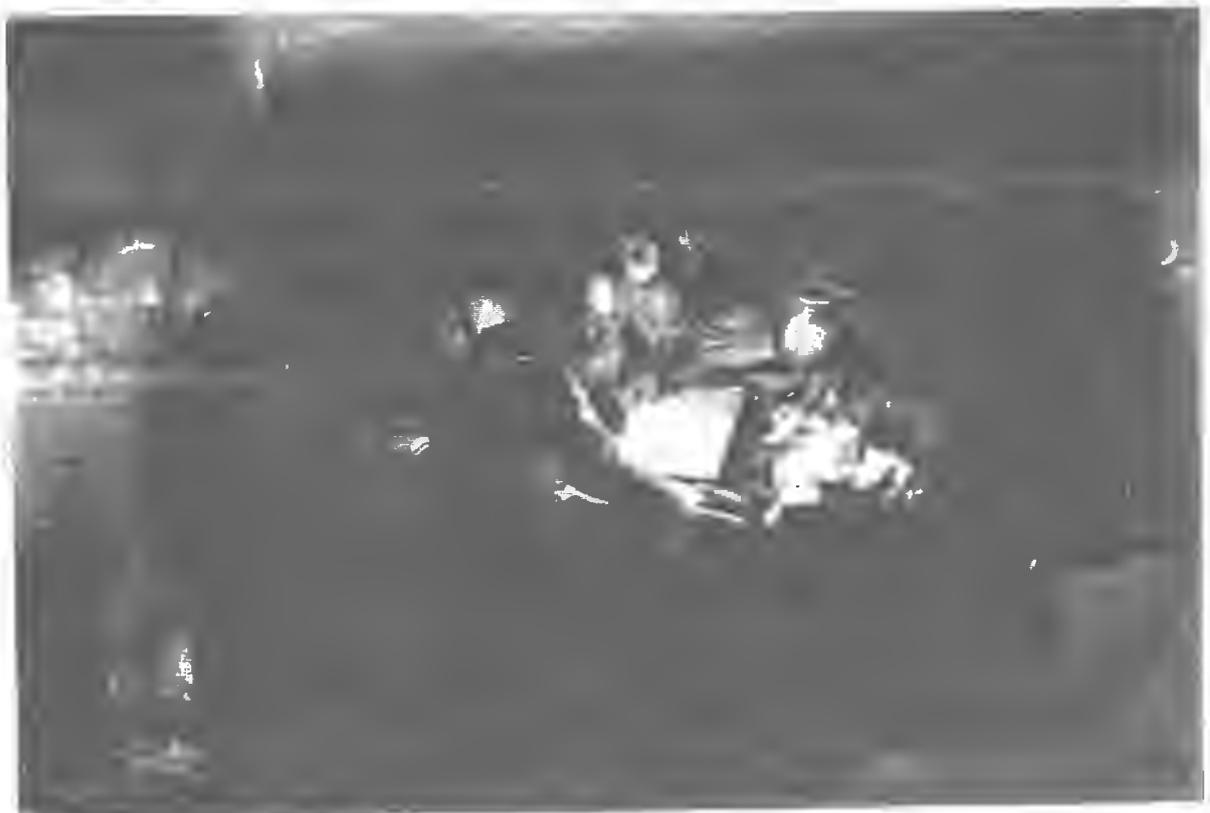
79. Cat.A79. *The alchemist in his laboratory*, 1648.



80. Cat.A80. *The alchemist with his wife in the workshop*, 1648.



81. Cat.A81. *The alchemist and his wife in the laboratory*, 1649.



82. Cat.A82. *The alchemist*, 1649.



83. Cat. A83. *Scholar with homunculus in glass phial.*



84. Cat. A84. *The alchemist.*



85. Cat.A85. *Vanitas.*



86. Cat.A86. *The seduction.*



87. Cat. A87. *The goldweigher.*



88. Cat.A88. *The larder.*



89. Cat. A89. *The butcher behind his carving table.*



90. Cat.A90. *Kermesse (Boerenvreugd)*.



91. Cat.A91. *Plundering (Boerenverdriet)*, 1649.



92. Cat. A92. *Sleeping youth.*



93. Cat.A93. Ryckaert and Jan van den Hoecke(?). *Mars forced to unemployment.*



94. Cat.A94. *The sacrifice of Isaac.*



95. Cat.A95. *Old man singing.*



96. Cat.A96. *The adoration of the shepherds.*



97. Cat.A97. *The repentant Magdalen*, 1650.



98. Cat.A98. *St Ives, patron saint of lawyers.*



99. Cat.A99. "*Het Spaens Heydinnetje*" (*The Spanish gypsy girl*), 1650.



100. Cat.A100. *The little concert*, 1650.



101. Cat.A101. *Musical company*, 1650.

102. Cat. A102. *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe*, 1650.





103. Cat.A103. *Musical party*, 1650.



104. Cat.A104. *The peasant gathering outdoors.*



105. Cat. A105. *Music party.*



106. Cat. A106. *The peasant meal*, 1651.



107. Cat.A107. *Social gathering in the country.*



108. Cat. A108. *Peasant meal with children's dance*, 1651.



109. Cat.A109. *Witchcraft scene*, 1651.



110. Cat.A110. *Diabolic concert.*



111. Cat.A111. *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe, 1651.*



112. Cat.A112. *Social gathering in the country.*



113. Cat. A113. Ryckaert and Thomas van Apshoven(?). *A peasant kermesse.*



114. Cat.A114. *Kermesse with dancing children.*



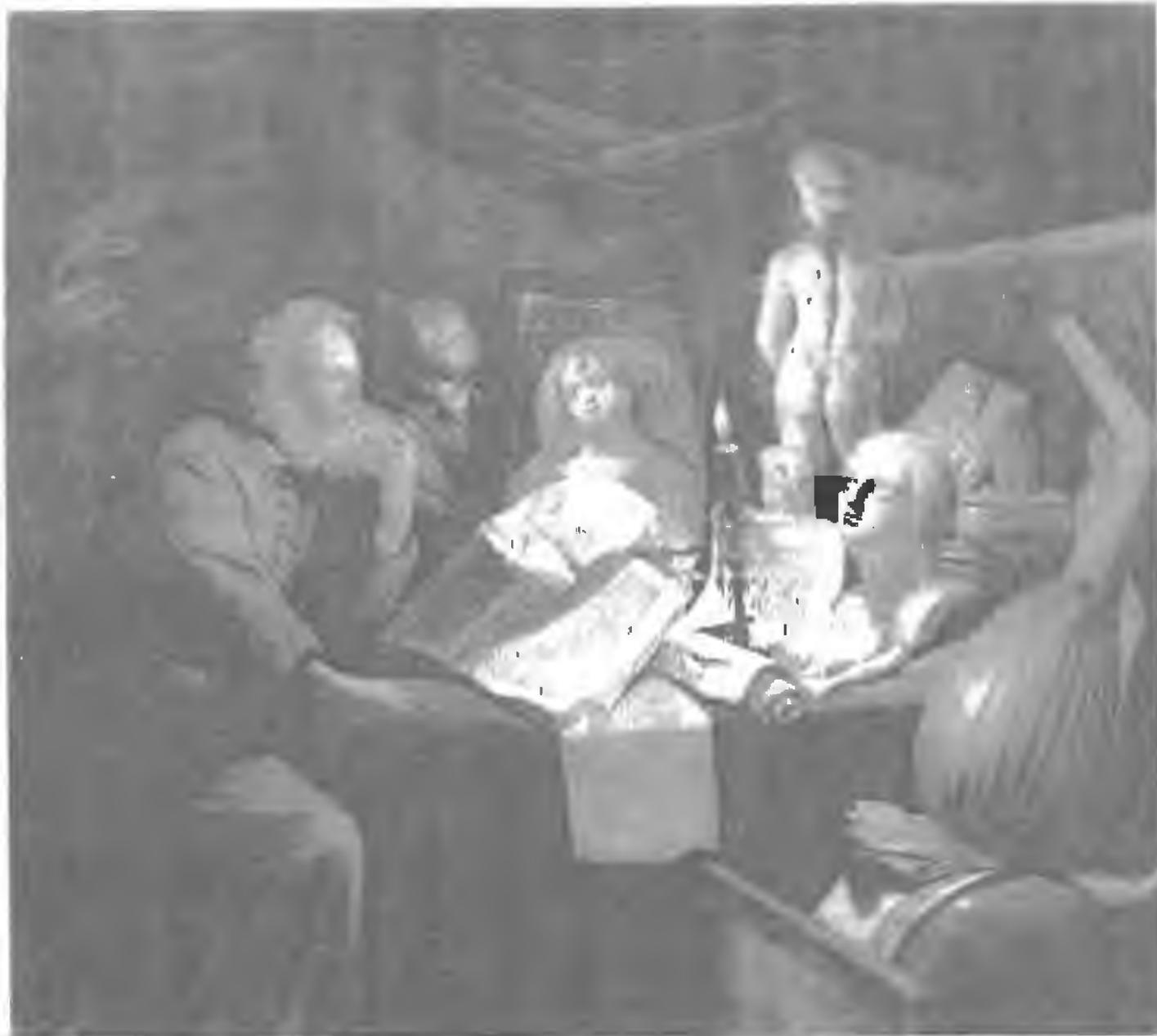
115. Cat. A115. Ryckaert and Thomas van Apshoven(?). *Peasants rejoicing*.



116. Cat.A116. *The rest at the inn.*



117. Cat.A117. *Head of a blond child.*



118. Cat.A118. *Allegorical scene (The philosopher)*.



119. Cat. A119. *The King drinks (Feasting company)*.



120. Cat.A120. *Invitation to a duet.*



121. Cat. A121. *The mussel vendor.*



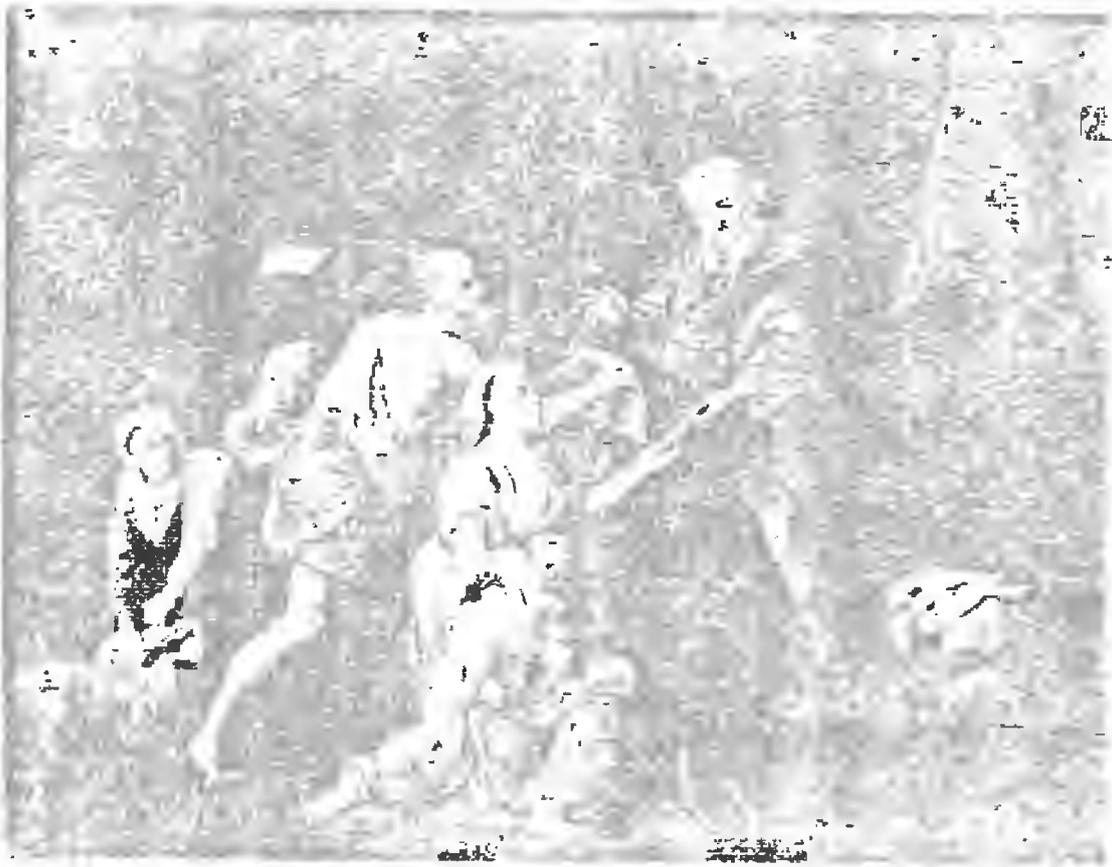
122. Cat. A122. *The old suitor.*



123. Cat. A123. *The foot operation.*



124. Cat.A124. *The adoration of the shepherds.*



125. Cat. A125. *St Ives, patron saint of lawyers.*



126. Cat. A126. *Judith with the head of Holofernes.*



127. Cat. A127. *Philemon and Baucis*.



128. Cat.A128. *Tavern scene with gamblers.*



129. Cat.A129. *Peasants playing cards round a table in an interior.*



130. Cat. A130. *In a tavern.*



131. Cat.A131. *As the old ones sing, so the young ones pipe*, 1654.



132. Cat.A132. *The toper*, 16(?)4 (presumably 1654).



133. Cat.A133. *The merry drinker*.



134. Cat.A134. *Sleeping youth in a tavern.*



135. Cat. A135. *Flemish peasants in a tavern.*



136. Cat.A136. *The proposition*, 1655.



137. Cat.A137. *The cobbler's workshop.*



138. Cat. A138. *Cobbler's workshop.*



139. Cat.A139. *A cobbler with his friends in the workshop.*



140. Cat. A140. *The alchemist.*



141. Cat.A141. *The alchemist in his laboratory.*



142. Cat.A142. *The alchemist and his wife.*



143. Cat.A143. *The village surgeon.*



144. Cat. A144. *The tooth puller.*



145. Cat.A145. *Dulle Griet (The hell-hag or The treasure hunter)*.



146. Cat. A146. *A witch driving devils from a cave.*



147. Cat. A147. *The temptation of St Anthony.*



148. Cat.A148. *The temptation of St Anthony.*



149. Cat.A149. *The stylish man* ("L'Homme coquet" or *Allegory of vanity*).



150. Cat.A150. *Hot-tempered soldier.*



151. Cat.A151. *Woman weighing gold (Avaritia).*



152. Cat.A152. *The goldweigher.*



153. Cat.A153. *Vanitas*.



154. Cat.A154. *The wine tasting*.



155. Cat.A155. *Allegory of smell.*



156. Cat. A156. *Allegory of touch.*



157. Cat. A157. *Portrait of an old man.*



158. Cat. A158. *Merry company in an interior*, 1657.



159. Cat.A159. *Merry company in a tavern.*



160. Cat.A160. *Peasant feast.*



161. Cat.A161. *The kermesse.*



162. Cat. A162. *Village feast.*



163. Cat.A163. *War time.*



164. Cat. A164. *Kitchen interior.*



165. Cat. A165. *Kitchen with flayed ox.*



166. Cat.A166. *Kitchen interior with sleeping old woman.*



167. Cat.A167. *A spinster.*



168. Cat. A168. *Kitchen still life with peasant family.*



169. Cat. A169. *The yard of the inn at Emmaus.*



170. Cat.A170. *Ceres asks to drink.*



171. Cat.A171. *Still life with cat*, 1659.



172. Cat. A172. *Peasant meal outdoors.*



173. Cat. A173. *The unharnessing, 1660.*



174. Cat.B1. *The temptation of St Anthony.*



175. Cat.B2. *The temptation of St Anthony.*



176. Cat.B3. *The temptation of St Anthony.*



177. Cat.B6. *Peasants feasting in an interior.*



178. Cat.B7. *The card players.*



179. Cat.B8. *The fallen cart.*



180. Cat.B9. *Children's procession.*



181. Cat.B10. *The hard hand.*



182. Cat.B11. *Kitchen interior.*



183. Cat. B13. *Rustic interior.*



184. Cat.B14. *Drinking woman.*



185. Cat.B15. *Old man filling his pipe.*



186. Cat.B17. *Portrait of the painter David III Ryckaert.*



187. Cat.B18. *Portrait of a lady.*



188. Cat.B20. *Portrait of an old woman.*



189. Cat. B21. *Plundering.*



190. House on the corner of Arenberg- and Sint-Maartenstreet, Antwerp  
(Photograph: BMR Van Haute, July 1995).