

(formerly *James the Great*)

Private Collection, U.S.A.

Paper laid down on canvas: 44.7 × 30.8 cm;
restored to this format from an enlarged painting
(85 × 63 cm) in 1990

PROVENANCE: John Smith, who sold it to 'Mons. Noé
of Munich,' in 1836; Count Festeticz, Vienna; Dr
Stern, Vienna; Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1891;
Maurice Kann, Paris; his sale, Paris, 9 June 1911 (20);
Antonio Santamarina; sale, Sotheby's, New York, 1
June 1990 (82), colour repr.

LITERATURE: Smith 1842, pp. 402–3, no. 123; Bode
1906, p. 265; A. Marguillier, 'Collection de feu
M. Maurice Kann', *Les Arts*, 1909, no. 88, p. 25;
Rosenbaum 1928a, p. 43; Glück 1931, p. 31–left;
Larsen 1988, no. 154; Prado 1995, p. 426, under no.
1474; Tel Aviv 1995–6, no. 6

Study of a head used for one of Christ's
mockers in I.23. Before 1990, this study had
been enlarged to make a half-length figure of
James the Great with his attribute, the pilgrim's
staff, and holding a long, narrow banderole. For
reproductions of the apostle in this elaborated
state, see Glück and (in colour) Sotheby's
catalogue of 1990. According to Barnes (cited
in the catalogue), only the central portion was
by Van Dyck; the surrounding addition being
seventeenth-century and by an Italian, very
possibly Genoese, artist. The additions were
removed during an extensive restoration in
1990 (after the sale).

Glück (1931, p. 31–right) published a
second version of the study (paper laid
down on panel: 56 × 39 cm); formerly in the
Groszherzogliche Galerie, Oldenburg; now
in a private collection in Switzerland. So far
as can be discerned from reproductions, this
was on a sheet of irregularly shaped paper
(smaller than the panel), which could origi-
nally have been part of a larger sheet with
more than one head.



I.25 Christ Carrying the Cross

Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp

Panel: 211 × 161.5 cm (slightly reduced on
all sides; support often incorrectly given as
canvas)

PROVENANCE: Given by Jan van den Broeck to the
church (then called 'Predikherenkerk' or the
Dominican Church), as part of a cycle of *The Fifteen
Mysteries of the Rosary*; replaced by a copy and trans-
ferred to the altar of the Holy Cross to the right of the
entrance to the choir in the same church before 1687
(see Sirén 1914, p. 83); it remained there until the
beginning of the 1770s (in 1774, Mols mentioned that
the *Carrying of the Cross* had recently been returned to
its original location); in August 1794 removed from the
church on the order of the French authorities and
taken to Paris; exhibited in the Musée Central in the
Louvre, Paris; part of the shipment of paintings recover-
ed from France that arrived in Antwerp on 5 Decem-
ber 1815; in 1816 briefly in the 'Museum', the former
Franciscan monastery (now the Academy of Fine
Arts); back in the church in June 1816

I.25

LITERATURE: Bellori 1672, p. 254; Jacobus de Wit
1748, pp. 55–7; Mensaert 1763, vol. 1, pp. 202–3;
Descamps 1769, p. 191; *La Vie* 1769/91, p. 48;
[Gerardus Berbie ed.], *Beschryvinge der Bezonderste
Werken van de Schilder-Konste ende Beeldbouwerij* [...]
Antwerp 1774, p. 75; Reynolds 1781 (Mount 1996),
p. 53; *Notice des Tableaux des écoles française et flamande
exposés dans la Grande Galerie du Musée Central des Arts*
[...], Paris 1799, no. 251; *Notice des Tableaux recouvrés
par cette ville sur les objets d'art revenus de France* [...],
Antwerp 1816, no. 24; Smith 1831, no. 408; Mariette,
vol. 2, p. 181; Guiffrey 1882, pp. 15–9, 247, no. 101A;
Piot 1883, p. 22, no. 40, p. 299, no. 3, p. 301, no. 6,
p. 316, no. 40, p. 382, no. 19, p. 395, no. 24, p. 400, no.
23; Antwerp 1899, no. 11; Cust 1900, pp. 11, 233, no.
5; Max Rooses, *Jordaens' Leven en Werken*, Antwerp
1906, pp. 10, 11; Bode 1906, p. 261; Schaeffer 1909,
p. 17; Sirén 1914, p. 83; Glück 1931, p. 11; Knipping
1939, vol. 1, p. 280, vol. 2, p. 52; Antwerp 1949, no. 1;
Antwerp 1956, no. 556; Vey 1958, pp. 11–35; Van

Gelder 1961, pp. 3, 9, 17; Vey 1962, pp. 4, 59, 79–87,
148–9; J. Van den Nieuwenhuizen, 'Antwerpse
schilderijen te Parijs (1794–1815)', *Antwerpen,
Tijdschrift der Stad Antwerpen*, vol. 8, juli 1962, pp. 79,
82; H. Vlieghe, 'Het verslag over de toestand van de in
1815 uit Frankrijk naar Antwerpen teruggekeerde
schilderijen', *Jaarboek KMSKA*, 1971, p. 281; Wescher
1976, pp. 44, 160; Princeton 1979, p. 38 ff.; Brown
1982, p. 40; Larsen 1988, no. 269; New York / Fort
Worth 1991, p. 48; R. Sirjacobs and G. Coolens,
*Antwerpen, Sint-Pauluskerk, De Vijftien Mysteries van de
Rozenkrans* [...], Antwerp 1993, pp. 38–9; Emile-Mâle
1994, pp. 99, 105–6; Antwerp / London 1999, no. 7
(not exhibited in Antwerp); Vlieghe 1999, p. 22;
Antwerp 1999, pp. 63–6

The painting was part of a cycle of the Fifteen
Mysteries of the Rosary, in which this passion
scene was one of the Seven Sorrows of the
Virgin, which explains its emphasis on Mary



and the omission of the customary figure of the comforting Saint Veronica.

One of the very rare early works by Van Dyck for which the original destination is known. The genesis of the 'Fifteen Mysteries' series is related to the cult of the Virgin of the Rosary, promoted by the Dominicans, which received new impetus during the Counter Reformation. The initiative for this commission was taken by the Brotherhood of the Rosary of the Church of Saint Paul, which could appeal to various patrons for payment for pictures in the series. The scenes from the life of Mary and her son depict the Fifteen Mysteries that are observed while saying the rosary: the Five Joyful Mysteries, the Five Sorrowful Mysteries and the Five Glorious Mysteries.

The fifteen large panels for the Church of Saint Paul were hung next to one another, like a 'wreath' or chain, on the windowless wall of the north side aisle. The oldest depiction of the 'Fifteen Mysteries' is found in the *Interior of the Antwerp Church of Saint Paul* by Pieter Neeffs the Elder, dated 1636, in the Rijksmuseum. It shows, in the middle of the series, an imposing, larger painting: *The Madonna of the Rosary* by Caravaggio, which was bought for the church through the mediation of Rubens and other painters in 1623 and added to the series (it was transferred to Vienna in the eighteenth century and replaced by a copy).

The series was executed by eleven Antwerp masters, including Rubens and Jordaens. In the church's archives are two identical documents (later copies of a lost original), which include a list of the subjects with the names of eleven artists, thirteen donors and the price paid per work. The highest amount was for the painting by the oldest master, Hendrik van Balen (216 guilders), followed by the works by Rubens (*The Flagellation of Christ*), Jordaens (*Christ on the Cross*), and the young Van Dyck, each of which was bought for the large sum of 150 guilders. Van Dyck's work, the ninth in the series, is described as follows: 'De Cruysdraeghinghe gegeven van mynheer Jan van den Broek gemaectt door van Dyck . . . 150 gulden' (The carrying of the cross given by Mr Jan van den Broek made by Van Dyck . . . 150 guilders; ms. dated 1651, Archive Church of Saint Paul; see M. Rooses, loc. cit., 1906, p. 11). The donor, Jan van den Broeck, was almoner of the city of Antwerp and in 1611 was elected *kapelmeester* (chapel master) of the Brotherhood of the Rosary.

Unfortunately, the document does not provide a date. I.25 is frequently situated in 1617. It has even been suggested that this date is certain because it appears in a Latin inscription on one of the wings that were made c.1818–24 to protect Rubens's *Flagellation* (now no longer used). Even should this nineteenth-century

date be correct for Rubens's commission, it need not apply to the entire series. For Van Dyck, a date of 1617 may be too early. It is possible that Van Dyck could not have sold the work under his own name before becoming a master on 11 February 1618 and I.25 might be better situated in that year. In any case, it could be the first work that Van Dyck executed for a public building, and this successful performance by the very young man may well have been noted by connoisseurs. The earliest Van Dyck biographers (Bellori, Mensaert, Descamps, the anonymous author of *La Vie* 1769/91) certainly refer to the *Carrying of the Cross* as the first, or one of the first, works by the master.

For the composition, Van Dyck had to conform to the general, somewhat archaising, tenor of the cycle: the paintings are vertical scenes with a limited number of large figures squeezed into the frame and filling the foreground. This partly explains the composition, which has a certain *horror vacui*. Moreover, the scene lacks cohesion, and the animated figure seen from the back detracts from the main events. Nevertheless, Van Dyck far surpassed most other artists contributing to the series. The emotion is poignantly rendered: the exhausted, fallen son looks up at his weeping mother, overcome with compassion.

The expressive, almost caricatural, heads of the executioners are characteristic of the young Van Dyck, and there is a striking similarity between one of these tormentors and the man cutting Samson's hair in I.5.

Preparatory to the *Carrying of the Cross*, Van Dyck made several drawings. Nine designs (on eight sheets) are known for the entire composition (Vey 1962, no. 7–13, 79v). There is a chalk drawing after life of a man bending over with an outstretched arm (Vey 1962, no. 14), which served for the figure dragging Christ along by his robe. These drawings have been repeatedly studied in attempts to reconstruct a chronology, and thus the evolution of Van Dyck's concept (Van Gelder 1961, pp. 3–18; Vey 1958, pp. 11–35; Vey 1962, nos. 7–13; Princeton 1979, pp. 38–48, nos. 1–5; New York / Fort Worth 1991, pp. 48–59, nos. 1–5), and to assess Van Dyck's possible sources of inspiration, including prints after Italian masters, prints by Dürer and oil sketches by Rubens.

It is possible, as Vey suggested (Vey 1962, pp. 85–6), that in addition to his *Flagellation* Rubens initially also received the commission for this *Carrying of the Cross*, which he then passed on to his assistant. That Rubens would also have made an oil sketch (which was subsequently not used) seems less likely. None of Rubens's sketches of the *Carrying of the Cross*, are eligible for the Rosary series with its specific features.

Unlike most of Van Dyck's early religious

works, no version of the *Carrying of the Cross* is known that could be considered an autograph replica. On the other hand, we do have a number of copies of limited quality, usually smaller in size, found both in the art trade and in religious institutions: a panel with a variant in the width (panel: 82 × 114 cm) in Antwerp Cathedral (Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal 1996, no. 970, repr.; Antwerp 1999, no. 11, repr.); in the Fundatie Terninck in Antwerp (Jacobus de Wit 1748, p. 148) and in the Groot-Seminarie in Bruges (Vey 1958, p. 31, n. 1). Copies are also mentioned in the correspondence of the Forchondt firm (Denucé 1931, p. 112, no. 63, p. 257).

Jan van den Hoecke (1611–51) made a horizontal variant with knee-length figures (H. Vlieghe, 'Nicht Jan Boeckhorst, sondern Jan van den Hoecke', Westfalen, pp. 175–6, figs. 22–3). This composition was engraved by Alexander Voet the Elder (Holl., IX, p. 37, no. 16; Holl., XLII, p. 9, no. 3, figs. 31 and 311), and followed in many copies that are often given to Van Dyck.

I.25 was engraved, in reverse, by Cornelis Galle the Elder (New Holl., VII, 522); copied by Langot, Joachim von Sandrart, Cornelis Galle and F. van den Wyngaerde (New Holl., VII, 522a–d).

I.26 *The Lamentation*

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (A232)

Canvas: 207 × 137 cm

PROVENANCE: Philippe Panné, London; sale, Christie's, London, 26–9 March 1819 (97), bt. Mr Emmerson; Charles T. Maud, by 1831; presented to the museum by Charles T. Maud in 1869

LITERATURE: Smith 1831, no. 357; *Summary Catalogue of Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 1980, p. 33, no. A232; Larsen 1988, no. 265; Glen 1991, p. 82; Stephan-Maaser 1992, p. 234; Larsen 1992, p. 169; Larsen 1993, p. 196; David Piper, *Treasures of the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 1995, no. 68 (colour pl.); Oxford 1999, pp. 41, 43, no. A232

With its sturdy limbs and proportionally small head, the striking figure of Christ is reminiscent of the powerfully modelled figures in *The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem* (I.16). The iconographic combination of the descent from the cross and the lamentation can be interpreted in a eucharistic sense, since not only is Christ mourned by his followers but his body is displayed to the faithful.

For a replica and a number of versions which can only be considered as copies, see I.27. *A Lamentation* in the Alte Pinakothek (inv. no. 404; canvas: 203.5 × 156.3 cm; Alte Pinakothek 1999–2000, pp. 12–5, no. 2, colour repr.) and one in the Prado (canvas: 114 × 100; inv. no. 1642; Prado 1975, pp. 120–2, no. 1642) have tenaciously – and incorrectly – been attributed to the young Van Dyck.