The black servant in portrait, genre and still-life painting in the Spanish Netherlands

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates the cultural significance of the motif of the black servant in portraits, genre scenes and still-life paintings made between 1640 and 1660 in the Spanish Netherlands. Framing the research in Peter Burke's (2010) theory of the cultural history of images, I use the images as testimony about the past. The relevant context is the social and cultural history of the black African in the cities of Brussels and Antwerp. The artists active in the various categories are Jacob Jordaens, Thomas Willeboirts (called Bosschaert), David II Teniers and Gonzales Coques. I propose that these artists formed part of an elite network with contacts in the Northern Netherlands that informed their artistic choices. By analysing the surviving artworks certain iconographic patterns are identified which allow interpretation of the motif of black servants as class-related, and of blackness as a marker of the patron's wealth. Considering all available evidence, this article attempts to explain the lack of popularity of the motif in secular painting, and thus contributes to a broader understanding of the history of blackness in the Spanish Netherlands.

Keywords: Seventeenth century; secular art; Southern Netherlands; cultural history; black African; servant.

Introduction

In this article, I examine the motif of the black African[1] in portraits, genre and still-life paintings made by Flemish artists in the seventeenth century. In these categories, the African figure is invariably cast in a role of servitude. In contrast with the Northern Netherlands where paintings with black pages remained popular up to the last quarter of the seventeenth century (Massing 2011:229), in the Southern Netherlands the motif of the African servant in secular art apparently failed to appeal to artists and patrons alike. This lack of popularity becomes especially obvious in the face of the interest shown by Flemish history painters in the depiction of Africans in biblical, mythological and allegorical scenes (Van Haute 2015:20-21). In order to verify and clarify this development, I investigate the cultural significance of the motif of the black African by tracing its history in portraiture, genre, and still-life painting. Framing the research in social art history, I focus on the conditions of production of the selected types of secular images as determined by the consumers' demand. The study, therefore, requires an examination of the social history of black Africans in Flanders which is, however, very difficult to reconstruct. Apart from the fact that archival documents are very scarce,[2] archival research has its limitations: the records are incomplete,[3] and blackness is not always indicated by means of explicit terms.[4] In visual sources, on the other hand, the presence of black Africans is more readily perceived through the artists' use of colour.

Following the theory of Peter Burke on the cultural history of images, I use the artworks themselves as evidence of the cultural and social values of the historical moment to which the artists belonged.[5] Burke (2010:183) argues that 'images are neither a reflection of social reality nor a system of signs without relation to social reality, but occupy a variety of positions in between these extremes'. He proposes what he calls a 'third way':

> Instead of describing images as reliable or unreliable, followers of the third way are concerned with degrees or modes of reliability and with reliability for different purposes. They reject [a] simple opposition … [and] claim that in the case of images – as in that of texts – the conventions filter information about the outside world but do not exclude it. It is only rarely … that stereotypes are so crude as to exclude information altogether (Burke 2010:184).

Images are of real value as testimony about the past, supplementing and supporting the evidence of written documents, especially in cases 'where texts are few and thin' (Burke 2010:184-185). Veerle De Laet (2011:61-62) also advocates the integration of images as complementary sources in the study of cultural history. Her research revealed, for instance, that the painted interiors in the genre portraits of Gillis van

Tilborgh show remarkable similarities with the Brussels bourgeois interiors as described in contemporary estate inventories (De Laet 2011:68).

In order to grasp the cultural significance of the black figure in portrait, still-life and genre painting it is first necessary to acquire insight into the social and cultural climate in Flanders in the seventeenth century. Although the period of production of the relevant art works falls roughly between 1640 and 1660, I also consider the earlier part of the seventeenth century in order to gauge the contemporary interest in Africa and its peoples. The focus lies on the social and cultural history of the city of Brussels where the court resided, as well as on the city of Antwerp, which was the home of many of the artists. Because a series of images offers more reliable testimony than individual works (Burke 2010:187), I examine the various categories of secular art in chronological order per artist. On the basis of the surviving artworks known today,[6] the Flemish artists active in the relevant fields can be identified as Jacob Jordaens, Thomas Willeboirts, David II Teniers and Gonzales Coques. I argue that they formed part of an elite network and that their contact with the Northern Netherlands may have influenced their artistic choices. Through an iconographic analysis of their works, certain patterns of representation of the African servant are established that allow an interpretation of the motif. Despite being pictorial conventions of the specific time and place, I demonstrate that, in line with Burke's 'third way', they filter information about the social role of the black African in society.

Brussels and Antwerp in context

In the present context, it is important to first comment on the status of the black African in northern Europe. During the sixteenth century, Portuguese and Spanish merchants brought African servants to various European countries such as the Netherlands, France, Great Britain and Germany. These black servants, described by Dienke Hondius (2008:90) as 'a new phenomenon', created some controversy on their arrival since their legal status was not clear. 'Were black Africans in Europe enslaved, or employed as servants?' (Hondius 2008:88). While this ambivalence lasted for many years, slavery did not formally exist in the Northern Netherlands (Hondius 2008:89-90). A similar situation prevailed in the Catholic Southern Netherlands. Antwerp did not take part in the slave trade and the city's law actually prohibited enslavement, yet the judiciary was not always consistent in its attitude towards slavery (Van Haute 2015:19).

In the early seventeenth century, the reigning sovereigns of the Spanish Netherlands were the Archduchess Isabel Clara Eugenia (1566-1633), the eldest daughter of Philip II of Spain, and her cousin and husband Archduke Albert of Austria (1559-1621) (Van

Wyhe 2011:11). The archducal court in Brussels was described by foreign visitors as an unusually cosmopolitan venue (Duerloo 2011:177). Its dynastic connections and strategic location rendered it an important diplomatic centre where foreign princes and aristocrats would come to stay for shorter or longer periods, sometimes even in exile (Vlieghe 1998:3). It is possible that delegates from Africa visited the Brussels court in the seventeenth century, but no systematic research has been done on diplomatic missions between Africa and Flanders.[7] There are no surviving portraits of identifiable black persons who might have paid a visit to the Brussels court as ambassadors of an African kingdom.

The archducal couple did, however, display a taste for the exotic. The Infanta Isabel was particularly fond of exotic pets including parrots, monkeys, choughs and civet cats. When she left Spain for Brussels, she had these animals sent to Brussels, apparently 'to emphasize the links with her brother's [King Philip III of Spain] extensive overseas colonies' (Pérez de Tudela 2011:74-75). According to De Laet (2011:175), the Spanish archdukes introduced the consumption of exotica such as ivories, art works made from ebony, jewels inlaid with coral and other precious objects imported from Spanish America. Some of these objects were recorded as palace decoration in contemporary paintings. Examples are the paintings by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and Jan I Brueghel (1568-1625) of the *Allegory of Sight*[8] and by Jan II Brueghel (1601-1678) of *Sight and Smell*,[9] in which three archducal residences can be recognised: the Coudenberg palace in Brussels and the châteaux of Mariemont and Tervuren (Balis 1986:138). The spacious rooms are furnished with curios, works of art and other objects representing an encyclopaedic programme. Although the paintings are not literal representations of the art collection of Isabel and Albert, the objects and artefacts are believed to have a direct reference to those in the archducal collection (Balis 1986:138). In *Sight*, the only object hinting at an African origin is the oil lamp in the form of an African head, situated among the measuring instruments on the table on the left (Phaf-Rheinberger 2013:53). This lamp reappears in the painting of *Sight and Smell* on the table on the extreme right together with other precious objects such as gold chains, coins, jewellery and Chinese porcelain. In addition, red coral can be seen on the round table around which the figures are arranged; red coral, together with gold, was regarded as representative of Africa (Massing 2011:359).

As far as the presence of African servants is concerned, it is reasonable to assume that some would have been employed at the Brussels court. In a detailed painting of *The Palace of Brussels* (ca. 1627)[10] attributed to Jan II Brueghel and Sebastiaen Vrancx (1573-1647), a crowd of people is depicted in the foreground, apparently exemplifying daily life around the court. Groups of people are seen walking, talking, playing, sitting on the grass, riding in a carriage or on horseback, even playing music and singing.

A single black figure appears close to the water, next to a man on horseback. Since he wears a sword around the waist, the African man is probably the rider's servant on foot. Such rare recordings of black Africans may be an indication of their presence around the Brussels court.[11]

Although in Imperial Spain slavery was seen as a 'natural urban phenomenon' (Fracchia 2012:206), at the Spanish court black people were not included in portraits of the aristocracy.[12] The Infanta Isabel must have implemented the same rule at the Brussels court since no portraits of the successive governors of the Southern Netherlands in the company of a black servant were made. This is in stark contrast with other European countries such as Britain, where black Africans are mostly represented as features of aristocratic or courtly life (Bindman 2010:240). Since the Brussels court played a major part in fashioning the tastes of the wealthy nobility (De Laet 2011:175), the upper classes likewise did not commission portraits including a black page. It is, therefore, all the more ironic that in 1634 – the year following the death of the Archduchess – Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641) made the portrait of *Henriette of Lorraine*[13] at the Brussels court where she and her sister Margaret of Lorraine lived in exile (Massing 2011:223-225). Although this court portrait of a woman with a black page would exert a pervasive influence on the depiction of noble ladies all over Europe, Van Dyck had no immediate following in Brussels.

The city of Antwerp was very different from Brussels. During the sixteenth century, the trade of African products with Portugal had turned the city into the most powerful colony of Portuguese merchants (Denucé 1937:42). Despite its collapse as a major economic centre in the 1570s, the first decades of the seventeenth century were still marked by the fortunes that were made in the previous century. Although their numbers had dwindled considerably, there was still a large contingent of Spanish and Portuguese merchants who had brought with them their families, fashions and customs, including their black slaves and servants (Van Haute 2015:18-20). One such merchant-banker was the Portuguese Emmanuel Ximenez (1564-1632) who lived with his family in a splendid house on the Meir. According to Christine Göttler (Dupré & Göttler 2014), 'the Ximenezes formed part of an extended commercial network of family businesses … [that] extended to include markets, economies, and cultures of the whole world known at that time'. The Ximenez family engaged in trade with India, Brazil and western Africa, 'including the slave trade, thus meeting the increasing demands of the Spanish colonies in America for slave labor' (Dupré & Göttler 2014). Despite these business connections, the inventory of their personal possessions does not reflect an interest in collecting foreign objects. Among the exotica owned by the Ximenez family were Indian coconut shells, three preserved animals – a crocodile, salamander and an armadillo (also categorised as Indian) – as well as pearls from the South Coast of India and Sri Lanka and textiles from

Turkey (Dupré & Göttler 2014). No ivories or gold from Africa are mentioned; whether this choice was purely a matter of personal taste remains an open question.

Apart from social history, it is also necessary to consider the intellectual culture in Flanders that could have influenced the depiction of the black figure. Unlike in Spain where 'the proximity of the African continent and the discovery of the New World helped to spawn' a proliferation of literary texts (Stoichita 2010:191), the lack of economic interests in Africa may account for the paucity of cultural material relating to black Africans in the Spanish Netherlands. Among the rare written texts expressing a concern with Africa is a publication by the Dutch art theorist Samuel van Hoogstraeten. In his *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* (16781:41) he wrote guidance for artists on the addition of a Moor.[14] Reading Van Hoogstraeten's recommendation as a reflection on past practice, his text can be used within the perspective of reception theory as a contemporary response to art works containing the motif of the black African (Burke 2010:179-180). Since his advice was specifically aimed at history painters,[15] however, the use of this motif was implicitly not encouraged in secular art.[16]

A network of artists

The few Flemish artists who produced portraits, genre and still-life paintings featuring a black African are Jacob Jordaens, Thomas Willeboirts called Bosschaert, Gonzales Coques and David II Teniers. There is one historical fact that connects the first three artists: they had links with the House of Orange in The Hague via Constantijn Huygens. All three were commissioned to make an artwork for the Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch (Van Gelder 1949:54) which was the summer residence near The Hague of Amalia van Solms. After the death of her husband in 1647, she decided to turn the great hall of the palace into a memorial to the exploits of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange as a statesman and commander (d'Hulst 1982:233). Although David II Teniers was not among the chosen Flemish collaborators on the project in The Hague, he also had connections with the Northern Netherlands through his business as an art dealer. In 1641, he applied for a passport in order to travel to the Northern Netherlands.[17] As will be seen, the exposure to Dutch painting of the period influenced his own art-making.

Thomas Willeboirts was the first one to be contacted by the stadtholder Frederick Henry's Secretary Constantijn Huygens. As early as 1641 Huygens wrote to Amalia van Solms that Frederick Henry was so enthusiastic about the work of this young but famous painter from Antwerp, named Willeboirts, that he sent him a passport to come to work for him (Van Gelder 1949:41). In a letter written by Bosschaert to Huygens dated 17 October 1641, the artist mentions his return to Antwerp after having visited Huygens in

The Hague (Unger 1891:200-201). Up until 1650, Bosschaert executed commissioned work for the Dutch court and also negotiated the purchase of artworks in Antwerp that the Prince of Orange desired. Of particular interest is the fact that Bosschaert had a small casket with ivory statuettes sent to The Hague (Unger 1891:204) – ivory being a costly and rare import product from Africa. In a letter written later in 1650, Willeboirts informs Huygens of his intentions, as well as those of Jordaens and Coques regarding the completion of their respective commissions for the Oranjezaal (Unger 1891:206). This shows close and personal contact between the three Antwerp artists.

In May 1643, Gonzales Coques applied for a passport to travel to the Northern Netherlands. He received commissions from the Dutch court mainly on account of his reputation as a painter of figure compositions *à la* Van Dyck. In the years between 1644 and 1646, Coques stayed in The Hague for several extended periods. He was entrusted with the making of portraits of members of the House of Orange, but they are no longer extant (Lisken-Pruss 2013:29). The last commission by the House of Orange was given in 1649 for a painting of Prince Willem II as successor destined for the Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch (Lisken-Pruss 2013:33). From his correspondence with the Antwerp art dealer Matthijs Musson, it appears that Coques was also active as an art dealer in The Hague selling works to Prince Frederick Henry on the advice of Constantijn Huygens (Lisken-Pruss 2013:30). Coques also accepted private commissions from Dutch citizens, as evidenced by his portrait of the Weveringh family executed in 1652.[18]

Jacob Jordaens was the eldest of the Flemish artists selected to collaborate on the decoration of the Oranjezaal. Apparently, it was Gonzales Coques who acted as a middleman between the House of Orange and Jacob Jordaens in 1649 (Lisken-Pruss 2013:35). Jordaens was commissioned to paint the largest and dominant feature of the decoration representing *The Triumph of Frederick Henry.*[19] Working from his studio in Antwerp, it proved to be a difficult task for the artist.[20] The choice and treatment of subjects were specified by the architect Jacob van Campen and Amalia's counsellor Constantijn Huygens. Hence Jordaens had to make several sketches for the princess and her advisors to choose from, three of which survived (d'Hulst 1982:233). The result was an enormous work executed with a brilliant palette and infused with the artist's Flemish Baroque repertoire that could inspire the Dutch viewer.

FIGURE **Nº 1**

Jacob Jordaens, *View of a Kitchen and a Table Laden with Food* (ca. 1635). Drawing, 21.5 x 28.8 cm. Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts. Photo © Beaux-Arts de Paris, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / image Beaux-arts de Paris.

Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678)

The earliest instance of a black servant featuring in secular art is in the work of Jacob Jordaens. He had first-hand contact with African people as is evidenced by the *tronie* (head study) of a live model made in his workshop around 1620.[21] As a history painter, he included black Africans quite often in various roles in biblical, mythological, historical and allegorical scenes.[22] In his genre scenes, on the other hand, they are very scarce. One example is a kitchen scene created around 1635. The *View of a Kitchen and a Table Laden with Food* (Figure 1) is a preliminary drawing for a set of eight tapestries celebrating country life. The focus of the composition is a large display of vegetables, fruit and game on and around a table. On the left, a white maid is preparing poultry, while on the right a black servant enters the kitchen carrying an elaborate pitcher on a salver. As an everyday scene connected with farm life, Jean Michel Massing (2011:239) interprets the presence of the black servant as contributing 'to the opulence of country life, showing that the landed gentry, like courtiers, employ African servants'. Jordaens

was probably familiar with this type of scenery as he himself belonged to the well-to-do bourgeoisie of Antwerp (d'Hulst 1982:16, 18). Of particular interest here is the pairing of a white woman and a black man. Irrespective of gender and race they share this space on account of their socially low position as servants – class is the binding factor.

Jordaens also depicted black servants in the company of horses. *The Gentleman on Horseback Executing a Levade in front of a Portico*[23] is a *modello* for a tapestry series of *The Riding-School* executed around 1640-45. A rider in sumptuous attire executes a perfect levade to illustrate the art of equitation (d'Hulst 1982:232). On the left side of the portico, a black groom wearing a turban is peering from behind the column, his gaze directed upwards.[24] The idea to combine a horse with a black servant also appears in allegorical works such as *The Master's Eye Feeds the Horse*, which forms part of a series of Flemish proverbs.[25] The black African as horse attendant would become a popular motif, especially in the genre portraiture of Gonzales Coques.

Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert (1614-1654) and still-life painting

An exquisite painting of a sumptuous still life or *pronkstilleven* including a black servant is the *Grand Still Life with Moor and Parrots* (1641) (Figure 2) by Jan Davidsz de Heem (Utrecht 1606 — Antwerp 1683/84). It displays a large array of expensive trays and containers holding luxury commodities such as imported wine, lobster and delicate grapes and lemons (Hochstrasser 2007:2-3). An exotic atmosphere is further accentuated by the tropical birds on a perch at upper right and by the figure of an elaborately dressed African youth. This black figure was painted by de Heem's close friend Thomas Willeboirts called Bosschaert (Hochstrasser 2007:313). Julia Berger Hochstrasser (2007:204-208) interprets the black servant, like the other foreign objects and exotic animals on display, as a lucrative commodity of the trade of the Dutch West India Company. However, since de Heem had lived in Antwerp for five years before he painted this picture (Van der Willigen & Meijer 2003:105), any connections with the Dutch trade are not sustainable. Furthermore, since it was Bosschaert who added the motif of the black servant he should be given credit for this inventive concept.

Bosschaert chose to depict the black page peeking out from behind the column – an idea which he shared with Jacob Jordaens – to reach for a bunch of grapes on the table. With his right hand, he delicately holds a vine between his fingertips. The old French title of this work – *Fruits ou la collation en danger* (Fruits or the snack in danger) – draws attention to the fact that danger is lurking. While Hochstrasser (2007:3) believes

FIGURE **Nº 2**

Jan Davidsz de Heem and Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, *Grand Still Life with Moor and Parrots*. Signed and dated: *Johannes de Heem Fecit AN 1641*. Canvas, 171 x 262 cm. Musée de la Ville de Bruxelles, Brussels. © Musée de la Ville de Bruxelles – Hôtel de Ville.

that it is the black servant who intends to 'sneak a tidbit from the splendid banquet', the real culprit is the stealing monkey depicted in the immediate foreground. The artist's sense of humour is shown in the complicity of the African youth in this staged plot. He is watching and laughing at the actions of the mischievous monkey gobbling up the stolen fruit, its backside planted nonchalantly on a celestial globe. The nature of the narrative portrayed shows the artist's familiarity with the subject.[26] Like Jordaens, Bosschaert had used the motif earlier in a history painting. The black attendant who appears in *The Martyrdom of St James the Great*[27] even bears a resemblance to the African youth in de Heem's still life.

The same Bosschaert also collaborated with Joannes Fijt (1611-1661) on a massive painting of a *Still Life with Fruit, Dead Game, Musical Instruments and Two Pages (1644)* (Figure 3). Fijt executed the still life consisting of hunting booty, musical instruments, fruits and ornamental tableware arranged outdoors against an elegant architectural backdrop. On the left, Bosschaert added two young servants of the same age but of different skin colour. Unlike Jordaens in his kitchen scene, he portrayed two young boys whose sameness in gender and class literally ties them together. The black page carries a costly ewer, while the white servant balances a platter of pastry

FIGURE **Nº 3**

Joannes Fijt and Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, *Still Life with Fruit, Dead Game, Musical Instruments and Two Pages*. Signed and dated bottom left: *Ioannes FyT Ao 1644*. Oil on canvas, 231 x 349 cm. Formerly Schloss Mosigkau, Dessau (Saksen-Anhalt).

on his shoulder. Looking sideways to a monkey sitting on the balustrade they are ducking in an attempt to evade the monkey's stealing hand. Axel Heinrich (2003:169-170) interprets the work as a *pronkstilleven* intended to remind the viewer of the transience of earthly possessions. If this is the message conveyed by the still life and the animals, Bosschaert's pairing of pages of different race does not directly relate to it. Neither the actions of the servants nor the objects they carry are indicative of a binary opposition of good and evil, moderation versus excess. As in de Heem's *Grand Still Life with Moor and Parrots* of 1641, Bosschaert painted in a humorous incident that plays on the deceitful nature of the monkey.[28]

Bosschaert's invention may have inspired other still-life painters specialising in *vanitas* pictures to incorporate the trope of the black African. A rare example is the *Vanitas Still Life with a Black Page Presenting a Pocket Watch* (Figure 4) by Cornelis Norbertus Gijsbrechts (?- in or after 1675). The artist executed this work in 1657 before he was accepted as a master painter in the Antwerp guild in 1660 (Van der Willigen & Meijer 2003:89). On a table covered by an Ottoman carpet (Ydema 1991:21) an almost encyclopaedic collection of *vanitas* symbols is assembled.[29] On the left, a black page

FIGURE **Nº 4**

Cornelis Norbertus Gijsbrechts, *Vanitas Still Life with a Black Page Presenting a Pocket Watch*. Signed and dated upper right: *CORNELIVS NORBERTVS GYSBRECHTS/ ANNO 1657*. Oil on canvas, 115 x 163 cm. Galerie Pardo, Paris; auction Ader, Paris, 09/04/1990, lot 61; present location unknown. Photo RKD, The Hague.

dressed in a colourful striped garment and wearing a pearl earring leans against the table holding up a pocket watch in his right hand. Whereas the black figure in Dutch still lifes can be explained as alluding to distant trade,[30] no such meaning can be attached to his presence in Flemish paintings. Rather like the African servant in the *pronkstillevens*, he appears as yet another luxury item of exotic origin used to enhance the opulence of the still life.

David II Teniers (1610-1690)

In the field of genre painting, David II Teniers was essentially the only Flemish artist who incorporated a black servant in the military context of the *kortegaard* or guardroom scene. The guardroom was a plain space where the changing of the guard took place and the guard on duty could pass the time during resting hours (Borger 1996:12). The soldiers and officers are usually portrayed busying themselves with idle pastimes such as courting women, playing (cards, tric-trac and gambling), smoking and drinking (Borger 1992:16). While this genre became popular in the Northern Netherlands during

FIGURE **Nº 5**

David II Teniers, *Guardroom with Soldiers, an Officer and a Black Servant* (ca. 1645-47). Signed bottom right: *DAVID. TENIERS*. Oil on copper, 49 x 65 cm. Private collection, France, 1800-2010; auction Sotheby's London, 07-08/07/2010, lot 12. Photo RKD, The Hague.

the second quarter of the seventeenth century (Kersten 1998:189), it was not in demand in Flanders. Teniers practised this genre only for a few years between 1645 and 1647 when he was living in Antwerp (Klinge & Lüdke 2005:172).

In *Guardroom with Soldiers, an Officer and a Black Servant* (Figure 5), the main figure is a richly dressed officer who poses with his right hand holding a long stick, looking out at the viewer with an air of self-confidence. He is accompanied by a black boy who places the officer's sword against the wall on the right. The page wears a green outfit with white knee-length socks and a bow at knee height – exactly the same type of costume worn by the white page in *View in a Guardroom*.[31] Looking sideways to his master, the black page also assumes the same stance as the white servant in the Chicago picture. In both instances, the boys' neat uniform and servile attitude enhance the military values embodied in the still-life elements depicted in the foreground.

FIGURE **Nº 6**

David II Teniers, *Interior of a Guardroom with a Black Page* (ca. 1645-49). Signed bottom right: *D.TENIERS.FEC*. Oil on copper, 35.2 x 45.5 cm. Auction Sotheby's New York, 27/01/2011, lot 272. Photo RKD, The Hague.

Teniers even depicted a black page as the main protagonist in *Interior of a Guardroom with a Black Page* (Figure 6). Slightly older than the boy in the previous work, he is clad in the same type of outfit in bright coral red and wears pearl earrings. Accompanied by a small leaping dog, he is surrounded in the foreground by a still life of military equipment. A flag pole is positioned diagonally against the wall but, as in the *Guardroom with Soldiers, an Officer and a Black Servant*, the exact pattern of the flag cannot be established except for the colours. A later variant of this work is the *Interior of a Guardroom with a Black Page* (1650-1699)[32] previously attributed to Abraham Teniers. An almost identical version[33] was painted on canvas omitting the barking dog in the centre. These copies may indicate a certain interest in the theme in the second half of the century after the end of the Eighty Years War.

While Teniers derived his *kortegaard* scenes from the example set by his Dutch colleagues, the motif of the black page was probably his own invention based on observation of military life. This assumption is supported by the existence of a drawing

FIGURE **Nº 7**

David II Teniers, *Lady with Black Servant* (ca. 1640s). Signed: *D. TENIERS*. Canvas, 37.5 x 46 cm. Auction Sotheby's Amsterdam, Mak van Waay 9/VI/1977, lot 10; H. Shickman Gallery, New York, 1986. Reproduced from Sotheby's catalogue, 9.

of a black boy with a sword.[34] His other guardroom scenes with white pages further show that he made no distinction between African and white boys as servants of officers. This is entirely concordant with the scenario depicted in the *Still Life with Fruit, Dead Game, Musical Instruments and Two Pages* by Fijt and Bosschaert. Where he observed the daily life of the military, however, remains uncertain. His use of the motif in the *kortegaard* had no following at all in Flanders. Both works were executed on copper – the preferred medium for export. Both these factors heighten the possibility that he made the artworks for Dutch customers from the cities represented by the respective flags.

A unique work is Teniers's *Lady with a Black Servant* (Figure 7) painted in the 1640s. It could be an intimate portrait of a family member, although its horizontal format gives it the allure of a genre painting. The woman's upper-class status can be deduced from the fine clothes she wears,[35] the jewels and plumed hat. Sitting on an expensive Spanish chair, she looks at the viewer and places her hands on a narrow ledge, holding a

handkerchief in her left hand and a jasmine sprig in the right. On the left, a black boy approaches the lady carrying a gilded salver with a small glass bottle containing perfume, medicine or honey (to sweeten the wine). This motif is reminiscent of Van Dyck's page offering flower blossoms in the portrait of Henriette of Lorraine. The relationship between the two figures, however, is of an entirely different nature. Remaining almost unseen in the dark background the black page acts as a subsidiary figure, turning the portrait into a genre painting that serves as an allegory of the sense of smell or taste.

Gonzales Coques (1618-1684)

Gonzales Coques was basically the only artist who produced portraits including a black servant in seventeenth-century Flanders. Although trained in cabinet-sized genre painting, he switched to portraiture in order to sell his work. Retaining the small-scale format, he painted genre portraits that are informal group portraits with very distinct genre characteristics. Numerous figures are shown interacting with one another in a manner strongly influenced by Anthony Van Dyck (Vlieghe 1998:146-147). About a decade after Van Dyck painted his portrait of Henrietta of Lorraine in Brussels, Coques attempted to re-invigorate the fashion of aristocratic portraiture with a black servant, albeit in severely reduced format.

A first example is his *Double Portrait of an Unknown Man and Woman on Horseback with a Servant* (Figure 8) executed in the 1640s. This equestrian portrait of a couple is unique in Coques's *oeuvre*.[36] The man holds the reins of his rearing white horse and lifts a rod in his gloved right hand. The posture of both the horse and rider corresponds exactly with the requirements for a perfect levade as illustrated in Jordaens's *Gentleman on Horseback Executing a Levade in front of a Portico*. Like Jordaens, Coques included a black servant at the very edge of the painting. Carrying the rider's cloak and black hat he looks down to keep a little dog in check. Although the identity of the sitters is unknown, they are clearly members of the nobility. The woman's elegant dress, fashionable hat and folded fan signal her high social status. As observed by Lisken-Pruss (2013:157), the sovereign character of the picture derives from the prestige of the equestrian portrait as a genre initially reserved for statesmen and high-ranking personalities. In the course of the seventeenth century, the imagery lost its purely military, courtly connection and was appropriated for use in private family portraits. The noble lifestyle and cultivated prosperity of the sitters are thus highlighted, while the presence of the black servant as a status symbol underscores this notion (Lisken-Pruss 2013:157).

FIGURE **Nº 8**

Gonzales Coques, *Double Portrait of an Unknown Man and Woman on Horseback with a Servant* (ca.1640-49). Oil on copper, 44.5 x 39.5 cm. Auction Dorotheum, Vienna 21/04/2015. Photo RKD, The Hague.

Coques's reputation not only gained him commissions from the Dutch court; he also worked in the service of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and other princes (Vlieghe 1998:147) such as Henry Stuart (1640-1660). As the son of the English King Charles I and Queen Henrietta-Maria, Henry Stuart went into exile after his father's execution in 1649. From April 1656 to February 1657, he spent some time with his brother Charles II in Bruges where Coques made portraits of both brothers (Lisken-Pruss 2013:39). In the *Equestrian Portrait of Henry Stuart, Duke of Gloucester*[37] (Figure 9), the young prince is depicted as a military figure clad in armour. He sits astride a horse performing a levade and

FIGURE **Nº 9**

Gonzales Coques, *Equestrian Portrait of Henry Stuart, Duke of Gloucester* (ca. 1656-57). Oil on copper, 44.7 x 38.3 cm. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. 856. Photo Museumsfotograf © Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen.

holds a commander's baton in his right hand. Behind the horse on the left, a black servant looks up at his master carrying the latter's helmet on his shoulder. According to Elizabeth McGrath (2008:266), the black man's head is a reversed replica of Gaspar de Crayer's *Head of a Young Moor*.[38] While indeed there is a close resemblance in facial features it can only be explained with reference to another work by de Crayer. The young black man portrayed in the *tronie* features as one of the executioners in his painting of the *Raising of the Cross* (ca. 1631-35).[39] Since the latter was made for

and on display in the Capuchin Church in Bruges until 1794 (Vlieghe 1972:131), it is in Bruges that Coques must have studied it. Yet the immediacy of de Crayer's black attendant is lost in Coques's painting where the 'rather blank-looking' page has become standardised as an attribute of a military figure (McGrath 2008:266). While the inclusion of the motif gave lustre to his artistic reputation, for the sitter, it served as a sign of his royal status.

Coques also employed the trope of the African horse attendant in group portraits of noble families. In the *Portrait of the Family of Melchior de Stanza in a Loggia with a Self-Portrait of the Artist and a Servant* (ca. 1650),[40] the family members are assembled on and around a podium erected on the terrace of a palatial building. According to Lisken-Pruss (2013:145), the work was intended to celebrate the engagement of the main couple's son, pictured on the left with his bride-to-be. Hence Coques conceptualised this ambitious work on the basis of Van Dyck's group portrait of *The 4th Earl of Pembroke and his Family* (ca. 1633-34)[41] which was also a dynastic statement in celebrating the pending marriage of Pembroke's eldest son (Wheelock, Barnes & Held 1990:38). Counterbalancing the artist's self-portrait on the left is a partial view of a black servant clutching the reins of a horse on the extreme right. Although probably added as the most conspicuous status symbol, the motif appears rather awkward in this tiled loggia. It demonstrates the eclecticism of the artist and perhaps an exaggerated striving to emulate the famous Van Dyck.

A more typical work of Coques is the *Family Portrait in a Landscape* (ca. 1657) (Figure 10),[42] which features a richly dressed man, his wife and three children with two dogs in the park of a country estate. Standing in the middle ground at the centre of this group a black servant holds the reins of a white horse. An interesting detail that can be traced back to the repertoire of Van Dyck is the motif of the little girl offering a salver of flowers to her mother – a task performed by the black page in Van Dyck's portraits. The African servant leading a horse by the reins appears again in the *Portrait with Members of the Roose Family* (La visite au château) (ca. 1666).[43] This painting was cut up and the remaining right part (only half in height) represents a horse being led by a black servant in an open landscape showing the city of Brussels in the far background. The saddle bag on the horse displays the sign of the family Roose: the letter R encircled by a wreath of foliage. This coat of arms identifies the commissioner as Pierre Roose, the most famous member of the Roose family and 'Chef-Président du Conseil-Privé des Pays-Bas' (Lisken-Pruss 2013:41, 146).

FIGURE **Nº 10**

Gonzales Coques, *Family Portrait in a Landscape* (ca. 1657). Oil on panel, 58.4 x 81.3 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 32-18.

These genre portraits demonstrate that Coques's reputation as the "little Van Dyck" secured him important commissions. Owing to his courtly connections – with the House of Orange, the Brussels court and other princes – he became a favourite portrait painter among wealthy families in the Spanish Netherlands who sought to flaunt their aristocratic lifestyle. An obvious and perfect way to do this was by including a servile, handsome and exotic African – rare and costly – as an accessory of the horse, either as a rider's servant or as a horse attendant. Hence in the portraits of Gonzales Coques, the black servant became merely another motif in the standard vocabulary of decorative elements with obvious aristocratic associations, which was repeated from one painting to the next. While the motif gave an indication of the sitters' social aspirations, it lost its value as evidence of the real presence of black people in seventeenth-century Flanders.

Flemish artists working outside the Spanish Netherlands

While some Flemish artists were fortunate to receive foreign commissions, others simply left the Spanish Netherlands to seek fame and fortune elsewhere. As previously mentioned, the Brussels court did not promote the inclusion of black people in portraits of the aristocracy. This may explain why several Flemish-born artists who painted portraits of royal or aristocratic sitters with an African servant, produced them at foreign courts. They include, among others, Paul I van Somer (ca. 1576-1621)[44] and Jacob Huysmans (ca. 1633-1696)[45] who worked in London, Justus Susterman (1597-1681)[46] who was employed at de' Medici court in Florence, and Anthoni Schoonjans (1655-1726)[47] who worked in Vienna.

In the field of still-life painting, there is the interesting case of Jan van Kessel the "other" (c. 1620- c. 1661) (Van der Willigen & Meijer 2003:122; Ertz & Nitze-Ertz 2012:26-27, 149). This Jan van Kessel was born in Antwerp and admitted to its painters' guild in 1644-45, but was signalled in Amsterdam in 1649 where he remained until his death.[48] Shortly after his arrival there he produced two kitchen scenes in which elaborate still lifes of fruit and vegetables are depicted in the company of servants. The contributions made to this genre by his Flemish colleagues Jordaens and Bosschaert are clearly noticeable. In the *Kitchen Interior with Black Servant and Kitchen Maid* (1650) (Figure 11), a white kitchen maid is paired with an adult African servant. Van Kessel is even more emphatic in highlighting their unity in class by coupling them together in gentle conversation.[49] Likewise, in *Kitchen with Maid and Servant*[50] a white kitchen maid bends to receive a large platter of fruit from a black page entering the kitchen. Their close proximity and collaboration underpins their sameness despite the differences in gender, race and age.

A last artist worth mentioning is the Antwerp painter Hendrick Andriessen (1607-1655), who specialised in still-life painting (Van der Willigen & Meijer 2003:27). Although born in Antwerp and registered as an apprentice in the Guild of St Luke in 1637-38, Andriessen moved to Zeeland in 1638.[51] His painting of a *Vanitas Still Life with a Black Servant*[52] was thus produced in the Northern Netherlands where his works were collected by members of the upper echelons of society with a preference for opulence (Baadj 2009:24). He contributed to the success of the pictorial motif of the black African in Dutch secular art, which increased significantly in the late 1650s and early 1660s (Kolfin 2010:306).

FIGURE **Nº 11**

Jan van Kessel the '"other'", *Kitchen Interior with Black Servant and Kitchen Maid*. Signed and dated lower right: *J.v.kesseL / 1650*. Oil on panel, 69.5 x 92 cm. Robert Noortman Gallery, Maastricht, London (1986). Photo RKD, The Hague.

Conclusion

The above investigation allows several conclusions relating to the frequency and iconography of the trope of the black servant in portraiture, still-life and genre painting in the Spanish Netherlands. The Brussels court under the governance of the Infanta Isabel did not favour the portrayal of black people in portraiture, hence the motif of the African servant only appeared in secular art after her death in the 1640s. The early instances can be attributed to the artists' individual interest in and familiarity with the motif in history painting, which was then adapted to the purposes of secular art. Jacob Jordaens brought the African servant into the kitchen and coupled him to a horse. Bosschaert used him to add an exotic touch to an already costly still-life arrangement. David II Teniers showed the black page in his role in the military and in the private life of rich ladies. Gonzales Coques pictured the black African as a horse attendant in the service of noble patrons.

Whereas the depiction of the black African in history painting is highly regulated by pictorial tradition, in secular art the iconography is less conventionalised. The artists who first introduced the motif in genre and still-life painting established certain artistic patterns of representation that remained more or less constant. Young or adult, the black African is always represented as a male servant. When accompanied by a white servant, no distinction is made between them either in terms of race or gender. It is class that unites black and white, male and female servants. The black African is usually placed in an environment that relates him to the rich upper class, without exception, in a subordinate position. The demand for the motif was thus restricted to wealthy patrons who could afford the most expensive luxuries and exotica in imitation of courtly customs. Their reasons for favouring the motif varied according to their aesthetic preferences – as a foil to the beauty of high-ranking white women (Bindman 2010:250-253; Kolfin 2008:83) – or their class consciousness – as an exotic status symbol (Massing 2011:226).

Another finding is revealed in relation to the conditions of production, more specifically the places where artists worked and travelled to on brief or extended visits. Overall there is a recurring connection with the Northern Netherlands. Starting with David II Teniers, I propose that the artist was exposed to the genre of the guardroom scene on a business trip to the Northern Netherlands. The few paintings with a black page known today were probably export items destined for Dutch customers. Teniers's interest in the motif waned as soon as he was appointed as *pintor de camera* at the court of Leopold-Wilhelm on 1 July 1650 in Brussels (Vlieghe 2011:31, 34). The other three artists worked for the House of Orange. Jacob Jordaens did not travel to The Hague, but he did include the motif in the commissioned piece for Prince Frederick Henry. His use of the African servant in genre scenes also set a precedent for the younger artists Thomas Willeboirts and Gonzales Coques, who incorporated the motif in still-life paintings and portraiture respectively. During the 1640s, both Bosschaert and Coques spent time in the Northern Netherlands which facilitated cross-cultural interaction. Picking up the Dutch taste for the exotic they adapted their Flemish artistic conventions accordingly. Coques, who became a sought-after portraitist during the 1640s, produced works for noble families in Antwerp and Brussels, as well as for foreign patrons.

The Flemish artists were thus instrumental in developing the trope of the black servant in the Northern Netherlands where exotic objects and themes became part of artistic discourse. They mirrored not only the worldwide possessions of the United Provinces, but also the patron's command of the new knowledge of the world. It is therefore not surprising to find that various Flemish-born artists who shared this taste for the exotic would rather settle in the Northern Netherlands where the public was far more appreciative. In the Spanish Netherlands, on the other hand, the trope of the black servant disappeared gradually after 1660. Used occasionally to add lustre to sumptuous still lifes and elegant companies, it became a tired cliché without any reference to reality.

Acknowledging the fact that images are of real value as testimony about the past, particularly when texts are scarce (Burke 2010:185), the very absence of significant numbers of secular art works featuring the motif of the black African is noteworthy. As Burke (2010:180) asserts, '[n]egative responses offer evidence just as valuable as positive ones'. The evidence thus suggests that artists and consumers did not show an engaged interest in the motif of the black servant in secular art. Furthermore, since images 'give access not to the social world directly but rather to contemporary views of that world' (Burke 2010:187), it can be concluded that the seventeenth-century view of the black African in Flemish society was not informed by any race-related ideas, but was based on notions of wealth and class consciousness. Although the black African had a low social status as a servant, his presence suggested a sense of luxury that could not be generated by the depiction of white servants only. Blackness as a marker of difference and exoticism signified wealth for those who could afford African servants. Yet at the same time it served as a visual reminder of the African's social role as a servant or even his enslavement – a practice prohibited by law. The ambivalence regarding the legal status of black Africans may explain the choices and strategies of the Flemish artists and patrons alike.

Notes

1. I use the terms 'African' and 'black' interchangeably to denote dark-skinned people of African origin who in the distant past were called 'Moors' (Schreuder & Kolfin 2008:15).

2. In the latest historical research conducted by Dienke Hondius (2014:132-134), the main source still used for the Southern Netherlands is Jan Albert Goris (1923).

3. For example, only those people who came into contact with the judiciary were recorded (Haarnack & Hondius 2008:89-90).

4. In Dutch sources the terms used for black Africans are, among others, *swart*, *swartin*, *neger* or *negro* (meaning black) or *moor* (brown person) (Hondius 2008:89-90).

5. For an examination of the trope of the black attendant in light of contemporary critical race theories, see Van Haute (2016).

6. This article does not pretend to cover all existing artworks although care has been taken to source as many as possible from various databases, including the Menil Archive (both at Harvard University, Cambridge, and the Warburg Institute, London) and the RKD data basis.

7. A precedent is the visit of a black noble man, around 1525, at the Habsburg court of Margaret of Austria, then Regent of the Netherlands, in Malines (Hondius 2008:88).

8. Jan I Brueghel and Peter Paul Rubens, *Allegory of Sight*. Signed and dated: *BRVEGHEL.F.* 1617. Panel, 64.7 x 109.5 cm. Prado, Madrid, inv. 1394 (Menil Archive 02938) (Ertz & Nitze-Ertz 2008-2010:1117-1133, cat. no. 533).

9. Jan II Brueghel, Hendrick van Balen, Frans II Francken and others, *Sight and Smell* (ca. 1620). Canvas, 176 x 264 cm. Prado, Madrid, inv. 1403 (Ertz & Nitze-Ertz 2008-10:114, Figure 2).

10. Attributed to Jan II Brueghel and Sebastiaen Vrancx, *The Palace of Brussels* (ca. 1627). Canvas, 168 x 257 cm. Prado, Madrid, inv. 1857 (Menil Archive 08797). The figures were executed by Vrancx (Vander Auwera 1981:140, Figure 1).

11. Sebastiaen Vrancx appears to have been a keen observer of significant detail (Van Haute 2015:20).

12. Moreover, the presence of Muslim slaves was entirely forbidden at the court (Fracchia 2012:202-206).

13. Anthony Van Dyck, *Henrietta of Lorraine* (1634). Canvas, 213.4 x127 cm. The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, London, inv. 47 (Menil Archive 10978) (Bindman 2010:252, Figure 136).

14. '... zoo vind het oog ook een vernoegen/ Somtijts een Moor by maegdekens te voegen' (Van Hoogstraeten 1678:141).

15. 'd'Omstandicheden van by werk, geven aen een *historie* geen kleyne welstant, en der zelver verscheydenheyt verlusticht het aenzien' (Van Hoogstraeten 1678:141, emphasis added).

16. This contradicts the claims made by both Otte (1987:7) and Massing (2011:226-228) that Van Hoogstraeten recommended the use of the motif to introduce variety in *portraits*.

17. Although it was his father David I Teniers who started the business, it is possible that father and son ran it together at some stage (Vlieghe 2012:162-163).

18. Gonzales Coques, *Portrait of the family of Adriaen Weveringh (1616-1668)* and *Catharina van den Helm (1626-....)*. Signed and dated 1652. Canvas, 79 x 65 cm. Present location unknown. Available: https://rkd.nl/explore/images/132701

19. Jacob Jordaens, *The Triumph of Frederick Henry*. Signed and dated bottom left: *J JOR fec / 1652*. Canvas, 728 x 755 cm. Palace Huis ten Bosch, Oranjezaal, The Hague. Available: https://rkd.nl/explore/images/249278

20. Some of the difficulties experienced by the artist are described in a letter dated 8 November 1651 addressed to Huygens (Unger 1891:195-196).

21. Jacob Jordaens, *Study of a Black Man's Head* (ca. 1620). Medium and size unknown. Formerly New York, Estate of Jacob Goldschmidt (Van Haute 2015:30-32, Figure 12).

22. For some examples, see Van Haute (2015:30-32).

23. Jacob Jordaens, *Gentleman on Horseback Executing a Levade in front of a Portico* (ca. 1640-45). Panel, 73.6 x 60 cm (cut down on both sides). Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts, inv. 69.04 (Menil Archive 12721) (d'Hulst 1982:217, Figure 186).

24. In *The Triumph of Frederick Henry* (1652) Jordaens would also incorporate the motif of the African attendant on the extreme left as part of a group of observers straining to catch a glimpse of the triumphant prince sitting on a golden chariot drawn by four white horses.

25. Jacob Jordaens, *The Master's Eye Feeds the Horse* (ca. 1645). Canvas, 81 x 113 cm. Staatliche Museen Kassel (Menil Archive 06522) (Massing 2011:253-254, Figure 165).

26. Between 1637 and 1640 Thomas Willeboirts travelled for three years through Germany, Italy and Spain (https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/84595 (accessed 12 September 2016)). It is in Southern Europe that he most likely observed black Africans.

27. Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, *The Martyrdom of St James the Great* (ca. 1630-54). Canvas, 393 x 305 cm. Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (previously in St James Church in Bruges before it was looted by the French in 1794). Available: https://rkd.nl/explore/images/122023.

28. The fact that both a white and black page are depicted in the company of the monkey dismisses the modern assumption that the combination of the black African with a monkey may carry racist connotations.

29. The skull was previously overpainted and only appeared when the painting was cleaned between 1985 and 1990 (https://rkd.nl/explore/images/21372(accessed 10 January 2016)).

30. Like Hochstrasser, Massing (2011:241) maintains that the black figure 'probably represents, here as elsewhere, the distant trade that had become such a source of riches for the Dutch economy', linking its appeal to the activities of the Dutch East and West India companies.

31. David II Teniers, *View in a Guardroom* (ca. 1646). Signed bottom left: *D TENIERS*. Canvas, 72,6 x 55,4 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, inv. 1894.1029 (Klinge & Lüdke 2005:172-173, cat. no. 40). A similar work on copper is in the Prado, Madrid (inv. 1812).

32. Manner of David II Teniers, *Interior of a Guardroom with a Black Page* (ca.1650-99). Copper, 49 x 68 cm. Prado, Madrid, inv. 1784 (Menil Archive 02939). Available: https://rkd.nl/explore/images/63935

33. Manner of David II Teniers, *Interior of a Guardroom with a Black Page* (ca. 1650-99). Canvas, 53.3 x 64.7 cm. Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York City, F Schnittjer & Son, 14/01/1943, lot 422. Available: https://rkd.nl/explore/images/63905

34. David Teniers, *Black Boy with a Sword. Drawing*. Museum Besançon, inv. D.119.

35. They are described in the Sotheby's catalogue (1977:10) as 'a yellow dress with pink ribbons and a blue cloak' and 'a red cap with pink and white plumes'.

36. The woman seated on a brown horse was probably added later as the central positioning of the male rider betrays the original concept of a single portrait (Lisken-Pruss 2013:156, 249-250, cat. no. 41).

37. Lisken-Pruss (2013:160-161) rejects the RKD identification of the background as the fortress of Rocroi and that of the sitter as Louis II de Bourbon ('Le Grand Condé') (https://rkd.nl/explore/images/60621 (accessed 12 December 2015)). The sitter's identity is confirmed by the existence of another portrait of Henry Stuart made by Coques in the same period: Gonzales Coques, *Portrait of Henry Stuart, Duke of Gloucester* (ca. 1656-57). Copper, 21 x 17 cm. Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, Schloss Georgium, Dessau (Saksen-Anhalt), inv. 447. Available: https://rkd.nl/explore/images/134291

38. Gaspar de Crayer, *Head of a Young Moor* (ca. 1631-35). Canvas, 39.5 x 32.7 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent, inv. 0020049000 (Vlieghe 1972:131, cat. no. A65).

39. Gaspar de Crayer, *Raising of the Cross* (ca.1631-37). Canvas, 400 x 310 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, cat. no. 78 (Vlieghe 1972:131-132, cat. no. A66).

40. Gonzales Coques, *Portrait of the Family of Melchior de Stanza in a Loggia with a Self-Portrait of the Artist and a Servant* (ca. 1650). Copper, 68 x 88.5 cm. Private collection, England (Lisken-Pruss 2013:244, cat. no. 33a). Although Lisken-Pruss supports a dating of ca. 1660, J Kosten places its production around 1650 (https://rkd.nl/explore/images/201296 (accessed 11 January 2017)).

41. Anthony Van Dyck, *The 4th Earl of Pembroke and his Family* (ca. 1633-34). Canvas, 330 x 510 cm. Collection of the Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House, Wiltshire (Wheelock, Barnes & Held 1990:37, Figure 1).

42. According to Lisken-Pruss (2013:114, 242, cat. no. 29) it was probably made in collaboration with another specialist painter.

43. Gonzales Coques, *Portrait with Members of the Roose Family* (La visite au château) (ca. 1666). Canvas in two parts: left part 106 x 100 cm, right part 54 x 45cm. Marquis de Beauffort, Brussels (Lisken-Pruss 2013:253, cat. no. 48).

44. Paul I van Somer, *Anne of Denmark, Queen Consort of James I of England and VI of Scotland* (1617). Canvas, 265.4 x 208.3 cm. St James Palace, Picture Gallery, London (on loan from Windsor Castle, inv. 2966) (Menil Archive 05274).

45. Jacob Huysmans, *Portrait of Edward Henry Lee, first Earl of Litchfield and his Wife Charlotte Fitzroy as Children*. Canvas, 188.5 x 176.5 cm. Present location unknown (Menil Archive 11225).

46. Justus Susterman, *Portrait of Francesco di Cosimo II de Medici* (ca. 1631-32). Canvas, 201 x 117 cm. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Menil Archive 13521).

47. Anthoni Schoonjans, *Portrait of Anne Marie Louise de Medici, Wife of the Elector Palatine William*. Canvas, 232 x 164 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (Menil Archive 04603).

48. The artist's nationality is recorded as Northern Netherlands (https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/237496 (accessed 23 December 2016)).

49. This refutes Sam Segal's (1983:26) interpretation of Van Kessel's painting as an amorous scene illustrating unequal love.

50. Jan van Kessel the "other", *Kitchen with Maid and Servant* (ca. 1650). Monogrammed upper right: J (?) V K. Panel, 59.4 x 83.2 cm. Auction Horta, Hôtel de Ventes, Brussels, 25-26/02/2013, lot 210. Available: https://rkd.nl/explore/images/51909

51. This is where he spent the latter part of his career (https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/1798 (accessed 20 June 2016)).

52. Hendrick Andriessen, *Vanitas Still Life with a Black Servant* (ca. 1640-55). Canvas, 90 x 115 cm. Herbert F Johnson Museum of Art, Ithaca (New York). Available: https://rkd.nl/explore/images/11370. Massing (2011:241) still accepts the previous attribution of this work to Jacob de Gheyn III and dates it 1629.

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