

# PATRONAGE AND EARLY OWNERSHIP OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MICRO-CARVINGS FROM THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS

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Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht has the wings of a former triptych with the portraits of an anonymous donor couple that are attributed to Jan van Scorel. The woman on the right wing is holding a rosary in one hand and a spherical object in the other, the shape and Gothic decoration of which bear a striking resemblance to the boxwood prayer nuts produced in the workshop of a micro-carver whom Leeuwenberg identified in 1968 as Adam Dircksz [FIG. 105].<sup>1</sup> The fact that this bourgeois lady posed with religious attributes of this kind was characteristic of the late Middle Ages, when devotion and personal piety played an important part in daily life. However, the depiction of a prayer nut gives the portrait an added dimension, for not only did this extremely costly and exclusive devotional ornament emphasize the wearer's piety, but by displaying it she was also deliberately drawing attention to her wealth, ambition and taste.<sup>2</sup>

Adam Dircksz and his workshop created a niche market at the beginning of the sixteenth century with a varied repertoire of virtuoso micro-carvings like this. As one of the very few if not only producers of valuable objects of this kind, his workshop catered for the requirements and taste of a small group of powerful and wealthy people who belonged to the elite of the Low Countries. His clients included royalty, the high nobility and prelates, careerist aristocrats,



FIG. 105



urban patricians, as well as members of the *nouveau riche*. For a long time, and for different reasons, the source of micro-carvings like this, and thus the location of Dircksz's workshop, was sought in the southern Netherlands.<sup>3</sup> That was due in part to a dogged idea that almost all the artistic innovations in this period took place in Flemish cities, in which large numbers of artists and craftsmen had settled and where growing prosperity had created a rapidly expanding market for religious and luxury art and consumer items. Attention was also drawn to the similarities between the carved miniature scenes and the sculpted retables made in Brussels and Antwerp.<sup>4</sup> Recent research has revealed new data about the identity of several early owners and patrons of micro-carvings that radically revises this received wisdom, such as the fact that Adam Dircksz did not work in the southern Netherlands but in the northern part of the Low Countries, more specifically in the county of Holland.<sup>5</sup>

#### EUROPEAN ROYAL HOUSES AND THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDISH NOBILITY AND CLERGY

From the first half of the fifteenth century Holland was part of the Burgundian and later the Habsburg Netherlands. After the early death of Duchess Mary of Burgundy (1457–1482) the region was governed by her husband, Maximilian I of Austria (1459–1519). At first he acted as regent for his underage son Philip, who finally came into his birthright in 1494. The latter's marriage to the Spanish princess Johanna (the Mad) vastly expanded the Habsburg realm to encompass the Low Countries, the Spanish kingdoms and all the

Spanish overseas territories. When the still underage Charles, the future Emperor Charles V, inherited this world empire from his father in 1506, his grandfather Maximilian was appointed regent for the second time. The following year he made his daughter, Margaret of Austria, governor of the Netherlands, and she, her court and civil servants settled in Mechelen. There she moved into the Court of Savoy, the palatial residence of her counsellor and steward Hieronymus Lauweryn (d. 1509), which she rebuilt in 'antique' Renaissance style. It also housed her art collection and cabinet of curiosities.<sup>6</sup> From then on her Mechelen court became a prominent cultural center from which the new Renaissance style imported from Italy spread throughout the Low Countries. There is a unique micro-carving from the workshop of Adam Dircksz that was probably part of her collection. It is an initial M with scenes from the life of St Margaret of Antioch, and is now in Ecoen [FIG. 106]. This supposition is based on an inventory entry of 1524 stating that Margaret owned 'A pretty M of wood, nicely carved, [which] has a small wooden chain with the letters of the name of Jesus above'.<sup>7</sup> This royal possession is evidence that the work of Adam Dircksz had reached the very highest nobility of the Low Countries.

A small tabernacle that is now in the British Museum was probably made for Margaret's nephew, Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), judging by the coat of arms on the case of this exceptional object.<sup>8</sup> It was probably as diplomatic gifts that Adam Dircksz's work also reached the royal courts of England and France. A paternoster with a prayer nut in the Chatsworth



FIG. 106



FIGS. 107, 110

House collection has the coats of arms of Henry VIII (1491–1547) and his first wife Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536), from whom he divorced in 1533 [FIG. 134].<sup>9</sup> In Ecoen, in addition to Margaret's 'belle M de bois', there is an initial F very closely related in style that can also be attributed to Adam Dircksz's workshop [FIGS. 107–09]. It opens to reveal ten medallions with a Crucifixion scene and the Nine Worthies that were clearly inspired by Lucas van Leyden's print series of 1518–22 [FIG. 110].<sup>10</sup> It has been suggested that this F is connected with Margaret's husband, Philibert of Savoy, but that is unlikely. Not only did he die in 1504, probably before Adam Dircksz's workshop became internationally active, but his name was invariably spelled with a P.<sup>11</sup> A far more plausible candidate is King François I of France (1494–1547).<sup>12</sup> As exemplars of virtue, the Nine Worthies were very familiar figures in the courtly panegyrics of knighthood, and the French king would occasionally dress *à l'antique* as if he was one of them.<sup>13</sup> At his ceremonial entry into Caen in 1532 he was even welcomed as the Tenth Worthy.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the shape of the F is closely related to that of the same initial found everywhere in the king's hunting lodge of Chambord.<sup>15</sup> If the boxwood letter is indeed an allusion to François I, one immediately suspects that it might have been a fitting diplomatic gift from the Netherlands. Donations of costly objects, which was common practice between European courts in the late Middle Ages, was done out of affection or friendship, but more often with a political purpose.<sup>16</sup> For instance, presents were given during negotiations, or in the hope of gaining an impor-



FIG. 108



FIG. 109

tant position.<sup>17</sup> In any event, this F fitted in perfectly with the fondness for exclusive objects that was part of the culture of the French court. For example, Claude de France (1499–1524), the king's wife, commissioned a small prayer book around 1517 with 132 scenes from the life of Christ.<sup>18</sup> Although the manuscript measures only 6.9 by 4.9 centimeters, comparable to the size of a prayer nut, the illuminations are of an exceptionally high quality and very detailed.<sup>19</sup>

The great lords at Margaret's court in Mechelen also displayed an interest in luxury goods and miniature objects, such as micro-carvings. In the Louvre, for instance, there is a boxwood string of prayer beads with nut [FIG. 111], the ring of which has the arms of alliance of Floris van Egmond (c. 1470–1539), Count of Buren and Leerdam and Lord of IJsselstein, and his wife Margaretha van Glymes (1481–1551).<sup>20</sup> The count, who was chamberlain to Philip the Handsome, was made a knight of the Golden Fleece in 1505 and was given a seat on Margaret's Court Council. He was also appointed Stadholder of Guelders and the first Stadholder of Friesland. On 12 October 1500 he married Margaretha van Glymes, daughter of Cornelis van Glymes and granddaughter of Jan II van Glymes, Lord of Bergen op Zoom.<sup>21</sup> Her uncle Dismas van Berghen (or Van Glymes), bastard son of Jan II, also owned a micro-carving from Dircksz's workshop [FIG. 112].<sup>22</sup> That pendant, which is now in the British Museum, may have been ordered to mark the occasion of his marriage to Marie Lauweryn in 1510.<sup>23</sup> She was the daughter of the Hieronymus Lauweryn mentioned above, a man of modest birth who worked his way



FIGS. 111, 112



FIG. 113

up to become the confidant of Habsburg rulers and was ennobled in 1501 as a reward for his loyalty.<sup>24</sup> Dismas van Berghen was also attached to the Habsburg court. In 1513 he was appointed Master of Requests to Margaret of Austria and from 1517 served as counsellor to Charles V.<sup>25</sup> He also sat on the Great Council of Mechelen.<sup>26</sup> Dismas van Berghen died before 1532 while on a visit to Spain, which enables his pendant to be dated between then and 1510.<sup>27</sup> It appears that the exclusive Holland micro-carvings made their way to foreign courts through these and other northern Netherlandish nobles in Margaret's entourage.

Adam Dircksz could also count leading prelates among his clients. A prayer nut in a private collection in Toronto was made for François du Puy, prior general of the Carthusian order [FIGS. 28, 113, 177]. It was not commissioned by Du Puy himself but probably by Petrus Blomevenna or Blommevenne of Leiden, who was the abbot of the influential Carthusian monastery in Cologne and maintained close ties with his birthplace. In addition, his monastery owned various properties in the northern Netherlands. The nut was probably a gift for the prior general in return for the relics of St Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, that De Puy had given Blomevenna at the general chapter of the order in Grenoble in 1516, which were then taken to Cologne.<sup>28</sup>

#### THE URBAN ELITE IN THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS

With the exceptions of the rulers mentioned above, but including Floris van Egmond, Dismas van Berghen

and Petrus Blomevenna, all the people who ordered or were the early owners of late medieval micro-carvings were from the northern provinces of the Low Countries. Most of them, though, were not old nobility but extremely wealthy and influential citizens of the cities and towns of the county of Holland.

With its prominent cities of Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam and Gouda, Holland was one of the most urbanized and prosperous regions of the Netherlands at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Its strategic location beside the North Sea and the closely knit network of rivers ensured a flourishing economy and the strong growth of towns and cities whose incomes came largely from trade and industry. This prosperity was of great importance to artists and craftsmen, who profited from the patronage to be found there. In previous centuries it had mainly been the clergy and the nobility who provided employment for artists, but in the fifteenth century the commissions came increasingly from the urban elite. Change was also taking place on the government level, where public offices had by tradition been divided up among the old regent families. Wealthy merchants and craftsmen now began clamoring to take their place in the government of the cities.<sup>30</sup>

In contrast to the social and administrative positions of the nobility, which had been established and legitimized since time immemorial, the urban *nouveaux riches* had to find a way of positioning themselves and consolidating their newly won power. They could do so by marrying a woman of noble birth, but it could also be done by founding religious institutions



FIG. 114



FIG. 115

and making donations. One important component in forging an identity was imitation of the aristocratic lifestyle and symbolic language, the *vivre noblement*. It was a social strategy for setting oneself apart within one's own class on the one hand, and on the other for rapidly climbing to loftier social circles.<sup>31</sup> It included the possession of books, the commissioning of painted portraits, but also the ownership of costly and highly exclusive objects like fashionable and refined micro-carvings.

This group of rich and ambitious city-dwellers included the hitherto unidentified donors of a boxwood miniature retable that is now in the Louvre [FIG. 114].<sup>32</sup> This tiny altarpiece consists of a double triptych, the uppermost one illustrating the Passion, with a Nativity in the lower section. The donor couple are depicted at the bottom of the central Crucifixion scene, each kneeling at a prie-dieu and attended by two saints: the husband by the church father St Augustine of Hippo, and his wife by St Barbara of Nicomedia [FIG. 115]. Their miniature coats of arms are on the lintel below them. The one on the left can be identified as that of Augustijn Florisz van Teylingen of Alkmaar, for there is an identical coat on the wax seal attached to a charter that he drew up.<sup>33</sup> Van Teylingen was born into this family from Holland around 1475 in Quesnoy, a small town in the Franco-Flemish border region near Valenciennes. His uncle Lucas van Teylingen was attached to the Holland Audit Office in The Hague as a bailiff and later as a comptroller.<sup>34</sup> Claes Corf, a maternal uncle, was an extremely wealthy and powerful duchy steward and tax collector, and around 1500

he took his nephew on as a clerk.<sup>35</sup> Four years later Van Teylingen succeeded his uncle as steward of Egmond and eventually became one of the richest and powerful men in West Friesland.<sup>36</sup> In addition to the stewardship he served several terms as treasurer of Alkmaar between 1508 and 1533, was a city councillor and was twice appointed a burgomaster. He died on 25 May 1533 and was buried in the Church of St Lawrence there, of which he had been a churchwarden on several occasions between 1514 and 1533.<sup>37</sup> In view of his rapid rise up the social ladder and the various fields in which he operated – administrative, financial and religious – Van Teylingen must have been a very ambitious man indeed. It was a remarkable achievement for someone with his roots in the middle class (his father was a painter, and later a merchant) and born in the southern part of the Burgundian Netherlands.<sup>38</sup> His marriage to Joost Jansdr van Egmond van de Nijenburg would have played an important part in the realization of his aspirations. Hers is the second coat of arms on the miniature retable. Its heraldic right side is occupied by the arms of Augustijn van Teylingen and the other side by the arms of the noble Van Egmond van de Nijenburg family of Alkmaar.<sup>39</sup> They consist of red and gold chevrons differenced with a diagonal line of bastardy, and can also be seen in the portrait of Jan Gerritsz van Egmond van de Nijenburg [FIG. 116].<sup>40</sup> Like the miniature retable, that painting is in the Louvre. It was executed in the workshop of the versatile Amsterdam painter Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (c. 1470 – before 18 October 1533), also called Jacob





FIG. 116

War.<sup>41</sup> The sitter (d. 1523) was bailiff and burgomaster of Alkmaar, and was the husband of Judith Jacobsdr Heereman van Oegstgeest (d. 1507) of Leiden. Their eldest daughter, Joost (or Judoca), was born in 1484 and married Augustijn van Teylingen on 29 May 1503, according to their prenuptial contract.<sup>42</sup> The miniature retable was therefore made for this Alkmaar couple, and must date between their marriage in 1503 and his death in 1533.<sup>43</sup>

Augustijn's marriage to the daughter of a noble regent family that was descended in the bastard line from the house of Egmond gave the ambitious newcomer a place within the urban and regional elite, which he reinforced by carrying out religious works.<sup>44</sup> In 1516 he had his coat of arms painted by the Alkmaar artist Cornelis Buys the Elder on the vault of the city's Church of St Lawrence.<sup>45</sup> A few years later, in 1524, his and his wife's coats of arms were painted on the original shutters of the small organ in the same church.<sup>46</sup> Van Teylingen made himself known outside Alkmaar by donating a stained-glass window to the Dominican Church in Haarlem.<sup>47</sup> So the commission for the exclusive and expensive miniature retable was not an isolated instance of his patronage. It was prompted by a growing self-awareness among the urban elite, who wanted to match themselves against the aristocracy, but at the same time it was an expression of the late medieval culture of devotion and *memoria*.<sup>48</sup> The concern for the well-being of the couple's souls here and in the hereafter must have played a role in the order for this micro-carving. The presence of their donor portraits and

coats of arms on the lintel was designed to keep their memories alive within the intimate family sphere, thus ensuring care for the salvation of their souls after death.<sup>49</sup> That was also the reason why Augustijn and Joost commissioned a painted epitaph [FIG. 117]. That triptych, now in Berlin, has the Virgin and Child surrounded by musician angels on the center panel. The portraits of the two donors are on the wings, and as in the Paris retable they are accompanied by their patron saints, Augustine and Barbara.<sup>50</sup> The triptych is dated around 1515 and is also attributed to Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen, who was working on the portrait of Joost's father, Jan Gerritsz van Egmond, in the same period.<sup>51</sup> He was also employed on the vault paintings (c. 1516–19) in the parclose of St Lawrence's.<sup>52</sup> It is very conceivable that Augustijn van Teylingen, who was a churchwarden at the time, played a prominent part in the financing and realization of those paintings. Although Jacob Cornelisz was one of the leading artists in the northern Netherlands, he would not have been contracted solely for his good name and artistic merits. There was probably some form of family patronage in the period 1515–23, with both Augustijn van Teylingen and his father-in-law Jan Gerritsz van Egmond regularly entrusting commissions to the artist. In 1520 Jan Gerritsz ordered another triptych, with *The Descent from the Cross*, which is now lost.<sup>53</sup> He had his portrait painted by Jacob Cornelisz a few years before, and after his death in 1523 it is likely that a number of copies were ordered from the artist's Amsterdam workshop.<sup>54</sup> One striking motif in these portraits suggests that



FIG. 117



FIGS. 118, 119, 120

the Van Egmond van de Nijenburg and Van Teylingen families turned to one and the same workshop not only for painted scenes but also for devotional micro-carvings, for between his right thumb and forefinger Jan Gerritsz is demonstratively holding a small silver ball. It is probably a prayer nut in a silver case, of which there are similar specimens in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam [FIG. 118], the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen [FIGS. 119, 151] and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York [FIGS. 120, 121].<sup>55</sup> With this exclusive little bauble Jan Gerritsz was proclaiming not only his piety but also his good taste, wealth and social prestige.

It is in that light that one must regard the miniature retable in the Louvre. His son-in-law Augustijn was financially capable of maintaining the luxurious lifestyle expected of his new position, and of rivaling the local nobility with religious donations and the purchase of exquisite *objets d'art*. Despite his modest origins and birth in the southernmost part of the Low Countries, he had made a name for himself in a very short space of time and had worked his way up to become a man of great consequence. That he was well aware of the road that he had traveled to get there is clear from his device, which is on the side of the original black leather case holding the miniature retable: 'RIENS SANS PAIN' [FIG. 122].

The Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen has a miniature retable [FIG. 123] that would have been made in the same period as the one in Paris, and to which it is remarkably similar in form, structure and iconographic program.<sup>56</sup> It, too, consists of two triptychs, one on top of the other with free-standing



FIG. 121



FIG. 122

carved scenes in both the central case and the top two wings. However, there are slight differences in the complexity of the figure groups and the execution of the decorative elements, but that does not apply to the Virgin's pose and position relative to the Descent from the Cross. They are almost identical.<sup>57</sup> The outsides of the two large wings have a *St Anne with the Virgin and Child*, and a *St Sebastian*, the intercessor for those stricken with the plague.<sup>58</sup> Unlike Augustijn van Teylingen's retable, the bottom section does not depict the Nativity but the Entombment [FIG. 124]. The wings flanking that scene have reliefs of the donors. Above their heads they have coats of arms that have not been identified until now, and below them are the inscriptions 'IHESUS' and 'MARIA'.<sup>59</sup> The coat of arms above the man's head is that of the Quekel family of Dordrecht,<sup>60</sup> while the heraldic left side of the arms of alliance above the woman was used for the Halling (or Hallinc) regent family, also from Dordrecht.<sup>61</sup> On the basis of this new heraldic identification and a mention of this couple in a seventeenth-century chronicle of Dordrecht it has been possible to give the hitherto anonymous donors a name. They are Jacob Hugensz Quekel and Mariken (or Maria) Ockersdr Halling.<sup>62</sup> According to their prenuptial contract, they married in 1502 and lived in Gorinchem, where Jacob Hugensz was an alderman in 1504 and sheriff from 1516 to 1518.<sup>63</sup> He was also Lord of Wieldrecht, a manor south-west of Dordrecht, and in 1502 he was enfeoffed with the manor of Oudelands Ambacht near Zwijndrecht.<sup>64</sup> Although little is known about his life apart from what can be gleaned from a few



FIG. 123



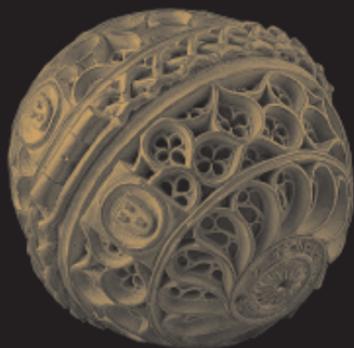
FIG. 124

official documents, he was a non-resident member of the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>65</sup> This brotherhood flourished between the second half of the fourteenth century and 1520, the year in which indulgences became a vexed topic, and attracted hundreds of new members each year, both clergy and laity.<sup>66</sup> According to Buchelius, Jacob Hugensz Quekel died in 1528.<sup>67</sup> However, he was not buried in Dordrecht, where the Quekel family had a mortuary chapel in the Augustinian monastery, but in Gorinchem.<sup>68</sup> The Copenhagen triptych can therefore be dated between 1502, the year of the couple's marriage, and 1528.

The Quekel family admittedly belonged to the urban elite of Dordrecht, but they were not nobles, which is why the possession of manors and offices of power, such as sheriff, would have been of great social and strategic importance to Jacob Hugensz Quekel. That is also clear from the fact that his son, Jacob Jacobsz Quekel, added the name of the manor of Wieldrecht to his family name. In this way the manor, which belonged to the Quekels for several generations, was used in order to give explicit form to the aristocratic pretensions that the family found so desirable.

Of all the northern Netherlandish cities it was Delft that features most prominently in the provenance of several early sixteenth-century, stylistically cohesive micro-carvings from the workshop of Adam Dircksz. The city had a flourishing cultural and religious life at the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>69</sup> It was a major trading center with two annual fairs, and was a large-scale producer of beer and textiles, which could be shipped directly from the nearby port of Delfshaven to markets overseas. The presence of a miraculous statue of the Virgin in the Oude Kerk contributed to a thriving Marian cult. Delft also had thirteen large religious houses, most of which followed the teachings of the Brethren of the Common Life, also known as the *Devotio Moderna*. Although only a few names of artists have come down to us, the city must have enjoyed a cultural boom that is reflected most obviously in book illumination and panel painting. In such a setting the presence of a workshop for exclusive micro-carving is perfectly conceivable.<sup>70</sup>

A prayer nut in the Rijksmuseum was certainly made for a Delft couple. An inscription and coat of arms show that it was for Evert ('Eewert') Jansz van Bleyswijck (1460–1531) and his wife Erkenraad ('Eckge') Dircksdr van Groenewegen (1466–1544), both of whom were born into leading regent families in the city [FIGS. 125, 126].<sup>71</sup> A prayer nut in the British Museum was commissioned by Jacob van Borselen (c. 1470–1521), Constable of Gouda Castle, and his wife Ursula Herpersdr van Foreest (c. 1470–1525) [FIG. 127].<sup>72</sup> She was a daughter of Herpert Willemsz van Foreest



FIGS. 125, 127, 126



FIG. 128

(d. 1501), a lord of the manor who served as a councillor, alderman and burgomaster of Delft, and was a member of the city's Council of Forty.<sup>73</sup> It is eminently conceivable that she maintained close ties with the city where her father was a local dignitary. Delft was also probably the place of origin of a prayer nut that passed by descent to the seventeenth-century nobleman Joost van Cranevelt and is now in the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg [FIGS. 1, 2]. It was probably made for Van Cranevelt's great-great-grandmother Machteld van der Dussen (d. 1538), a member of a patrician family of Delft and wife of Burgomaster Sasbout Dircksz Sasbout (1455–1508), also of Delft.<sup>74</sup> There is some reason to believe that a prayer nut with four inner wings that is no longer known but was with the Spiering family around 1600 originally came from Delft too [cf. FIGS. 3, 128]. It is mentioned in 1653 as having once been in the collection of the leading Delft tapestry weaver François Spiering (d. 1630). It is true that he came from Antwerp, but in 1585 he married Oncommera Menninck, who belonged to a leading patrician family in Delft. Her grandfather, Frans Dirksz Duyst van Voorhout (c. 1500–73), was a member of Delft's Council of Forty, a city councillor, reeve and dike reeve of Delfland for several years, and a burgomaster of Delft from 1561 to 1565.<sup>75</sup> His mother, Sophie Jacobsdr van Bleyswijck (d. 1519), was the aunt of Evert Jansz van Bleyswijck, who commissioned the prayer nut in the Rijksmuseum mentioned above. Viewed in that light, it is not illogical to assume that Spiering's prayer nut was an heirloom from his wife's family that originated in the same circle

of Delft regents as those in the Rijksmuseum and the Abegg-Stiftung.

So in the early decades of the sixteenth century there was some patronage for Adam Dircksz's micro-carvings among the Delft families of Van Bleyswijck, Duyst van Voorhout and Sasbout, who were all closely related. The Van der Burchs were another of the city's regent class.<sup>76</sup> Although none of the micro-carvings now known can be associated with them, it is not inconceivable that they were among the patrons or early owners. One of them, for instance, Joost Aemsz van der Burch (c. 1490/95–1570), was married to Maria van Duyst van Voorhout, and occupied important positions at the Habsburg court in Brussels and Mechelen [FIG. 129].<sup>77</sup> His uncle Dirck Aemsz van der Burch (d. 1531), was a priest in Delft who was appointed chaplain to the future Emperor Charles V in 1515. He also played an important part in establishing and spreading the cult centered on the miracle-working statue of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows in the Oude Kerk in Delft.<sup>78</sup> This cult, which had direct ties to and was vigorously propagated by the Habsburg court,<sup>79</sup> enjoyed great popularity and fame between 1503 and 1520, partly due to associated devotional prints, a few of which have survived.<sup>80</sup> They show an object resembling a monstrance with the Virgin mourning her dead son in the center. That scene is set amidst six medallions illustrating the other sorrows [FIG. 130].<sup>81</sup> Eichberger recently drew attention to the precedence of the medallions with The Crucifixion and The Carrying of the Cross. They are placed at the top in all the Delft variants of the



FIGS. 129, 130



FIG. 131

prints,<sup>82</sup> and those are the subjects and order found in a prayer nut in the Wernher Collection in London [FIG. 131]. The Crucifixion is the main scene in the nut, while The Carrying of the Cross is the one immediately below it in the bottom half of the nut. There is also a relationship between the architectonic elements in the prints and in several micro-carvings from Adam Dircksz's workshop.<sup>83</sup> The chosen subjects and the effect of the prints on the miniature scenes in the London prayer nut indicate a direct influence of the Seven Sorrows cult and thus of a possible Delft origin. Combination with the provenance of several micro-carvings sketched above this leads to the cautious suggestion that his workshop may have been in that city in the county of Holland. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that his name has not yet been found in any archival source from the northern Netherlands, and that is remarkable for an artist who counted the very highest nobles among his clientele and made a product that was exclusive in the extreme. His absence from contemporary sources could be explained by the great fire of Delft in 1536, a catastrophe that turned three-quarters of the city into ash and destroyed the municipal archives, possibly taking all trace of Adam Dircksz with them.

So it is not yet known whether Dircksz's workshop was in Delft, but on the evidence of the names of several clients and early owners it can be said that he was active in one of the cities of Holland, and that he served the local and regional elites from there, as well as royal clients far outside the region. With prayer nuts, miniature retables and other micro-carvings,

**the shop had established a niche for itself in the higher segment of the art market at the beginning of the sixteenth century [FIGS. 132, 133]. Its repertoire not only meshed in with the lively devotional culture but also met a demand for exclusive luxury objects with which to proclaim power, wealth, ambition and good taste.**



FIG. 132



FIG. 133

- 1 Leeuwenberg 1968. On this identification see also the chapter by Scholten, pp. 13–79.
- 2 Smollich 1983, pp. 194–95.
- 3 Leeuwenberg 1968, p. 622 (Ghent, as a tribute to the Ghent art historian Jozef Duverger, for whom his article was written).
- 4 Destrée 1930, p. 20 (Ghent or Bruges); Jansen 1964, p. 61 (Mechelen); Marks 1977, p. 141 (Antwerp, Brussels or Mechelen); Mesenzeva 1978; Wixom 1983, p. 43; Romanelli 1992, pp. 59–73; Scholten & Falkenburg 1999, pp. 21–23 (Antwerp); Williamson 2002, p. 141 ('a small number of different workshops, probably located in various towns throughout the Netherlands and Lower Rhine'); Scholten 2003, p. 169 (southern Netherlands).
- 5 Reesing 2016.
- 6 Eichberger 2002; Eichberger 2010.
- 7 Checa Cremades 2010, vol. 3, p. 2496: 'vne belle M de bois, bien taillee, a vne petite chaine de bois, pendant aux lettres du nom de Jheses'; Marks 1977, p. 140; cat. Mechelen 2005, no. 55.
- 8 Thornton 2015, pp. 190–92.
- 9 Marks 1977, pp. 140–41.
- 10 Vogelaar 2011, p. 317, no. 111. The riders, horses and caparisons are all very similar.
- 11 Cf. the monograms of Margaret and Philibert on and around the mausoleum in Brou. Lipińska 2014, p. 18, fig. 2; Kavalier 2000, p. 243, and p. 245, fig. 30; Kavalier 2012, pp. 95–96, fig. 90.
- 12 The object records in the museum in Ecoen say that the F could refer to Philibert of Savoy (with thanks to Muriel Barbier for this information). Van Anrooij 1997, p. 179, suggests that it could allude to Philip (Filips in Dutch) the Handsome (1478–1506).
- 13 Huizinga 2007, p. 96.
- 14 Van Anrooij 1997, p. 171.
- 15 Lecoq 1987, pp. 157–59.
- 16 Eichberger 2005.
- 17 It is not impossible, then, that the paternoster and prayer nut belonging to Henry VIII and his wife Catherine of Aragon were a gift.
- 18 New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, inv. no. MS M.1166, *Prayer Book of Claude de France*.
- 19 Wieck 2014, pp. 5–63.
- 20 Marks 1977, pp. 132–37.
- 21 Cools 2001, pp. 202–04.
- 22 Thornton 2015, p. 172.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 172.
- 24 Dumalin 2011.
- 25 Bietenholz & Deutscher 1985, vol. 1, pp. 131–32.
- 26 In 1520 he acted as adjudicator at a trial, and is referred to in the case file as a member of the Great Council; Kerckhoffs-de Hey 1980, vol. 1, p. 17.
- 27 Marie Lauweryn is described as the widow of Dismas van Glymes (van Berghen) in a document written on 21 January 1532; Neelemans 1865, pp. 516–17. Kerckhoffs-de Hey 1980, vol. 1, p. 17, says that he died in Barcelona.
- 28 Scholten 2011b, pp. 449–51.
- 29 Bos-Rops 1996. Leiden had approximately 14,000 inhabitants, Delft 13,000, Haarlem 12,000, Dordrecht 11,000, Amsterdam 10,000, and Gouda 9,000. For these figures see cat. Rotterdam 2008, pp. 61, 181, 211, 253, 299, 321.
- 30 Gabriëls 1985, pp. 38–39.
- 31 Dumalin 2011, p. 79. See also Buylaert *et al.* 2011.
- 32 Molinier 1902, p. 26, no. 63.
- 33 AmrRAA, entry 10.4.037, inv. no. 75.
- 34 Ter Braake 2007, p. 410; Damen 2000, p. 491.
- 35 Augustijn van Teylingen's marriage contract of 1503 states that he contributed the income from two sextonships that he had been granted by Jan III van Egmond, who was both Count of Egmond and Stadholder of Holland, Zeeland and West Friesland. Clearly, then, Van Teylingen had close ties to the house of Egmond and the stadholder's administration even before his marriage. It is possible that he had been working for his uncle Lucas van Teylingen in The Hague prior to taking up his post in Alkmaar. See AmrRAA, entry 79.006, inv. no. 24.
- 36 Kaptein 1942, p. 16.
- 37 *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17; Wimersma Greidanus 1994, pp. 496–99.
- 38 Wimersma Greidanus 1994, pp. 495–96.

- 39 Belonje 1955, pp. 42–43.
- 40 There are five versions of this portrait, the earliest being the one in the Rijksmuseum, which is datable c. 1518. The other versions are in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, the Hermitage in St Petersburg, the Louvre in Paris, and in a private American collection. The heraldic right side of the shield contains the Van Egmond coat. The diagonal line denotes an illegitimate branch of this distinguished family and is only found on the Louvre portrait and on the groin vaults of the Church of St Lawrence in Alkmaar (with thanks to Matthias Ubl). For descriptions and reproductions of these portraits see cat. Alkmaar & Amsterdam 2014, pp. 229–31, nos. 32.
- 41 Dudok van Heel 2011, pp. 49–55.
- 42 AmrRAA, entry 79.006, inv. no. 24.
- 43 Joost Jansdr van Egmond van de Nijenburg outlived her husband, dying between 19 June and Christmas 1554. See Kaptein 1942, p. 18.
- 44 See cat. Utrecht 1999, pp. 80–83, on the socio-political function of religious foundations.
- 45 Drewes 1996, p. 62. Cornelis Buys the Elder was a brother of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen. In 1516 he was paid for painting one of the vaults in the transept, and probably assisted his brother with the vault paintings in the parclose; see Van Leerdam 2014, p. 143.
- 46 These coats were probably on the inside of the original shutters, which can still be seen in a painting by Pieter Saenredam in Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 1849. See Cevaal 2000, p. 30, fig. 10, and p. 101.
- 47 Moes 1905, p. 150, no. 7911.
- 48 Brandenburg 1990, p. 141.
- 49 Cat. Utrecht 1999, pp. 11–34.
- 50 Bock 1986, p. 24, no. 607, figs. 319–20.
- 51 Cat. Alkmaar & Amsterdam 2014, pp. 218–19, no. 26.
- 52 Augustijn van Teylingen was churchwarden from 1514 to 1516, from 1518 to 1530, in 1532 and 1533. See Kaptein 1942, p. 17.
- 53 Meuwissen 2014, p. 99, note 22.
- 54 Cat. Alkmaar & Amsterdam 2014, pp. 229–31, nos. 32.a–c.
- 55 Scholten 2011a, p. 341; Gundestrup 1991, p. 309, no. 768/367.
- 56 Cat. no. 44; Olsen 1980, vol. 1, pp. 38–39.
- 57 Romanelli 1992, p. 229.
- 58 The choice of Sebastian for the outside of the right wing was probably due to the great plague epidemics in the Netherlands in 1502, 1505 and 1522, on which see Van Andel 1913.
- 59 The inscriptions probably have nothing to do with the names of the sitters but merely serve a devotional function by referring to the scenes in the retable.
- 60 Buchelius reproduced the Quekel coat of arms in his *Inscriptiones*, stating that the family had its roots in Dordrecht; see Buchelius, p. 278.
- 61 Balen 1677, pp. 1069–84. With thanks to Yvonne Prins.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 1072.
- 63 RAD, entry 123, inv. no. 51; Van Zomeren 1755, pp. 515, 518.
- 64 Regt 1848, p. 107, no. 1501; Van Leeuwen 1658, p. 1052.
- 65 The confraternity's account books record the payment of his death debt in 1529. BHIC, inv. no. 128, fol. 254r.
- 66 Van Lith-Droogleeveer Fortuyn *et al.* 2010.
- 67 Buchelius, p. 265: 'Heer Oudelants-ambacht legt aen de Develsijde ende is groot ontrent 250 mergen, is een achtste part bedijckt bij heer Oudelant, daervan sijnen naem hebbende, ende uuyt het selve geslacht gecomen te sijn op de Queeckels. Hebbende daervan ambachtsheeren geweest onder andere Jacob Queeckel van Wieldrecht, die sterf anno 1528.'
- 68 Van Leeuwen 1658, p. 1052; Van Beverwyck 1640, p. 100.
- 69 See, for instance, Verhoeven 1992; cat. Rotterdam 2008, pp. 253–54.
- 70 Arguments for locating the workshop in Leiden are the use of prints by Lucas van Leyden as models, and the fact that prayer nuts seem to have been depicted in a number of Leiden donor portraits, such as those by Cornelis Engebrechtsz of the Leiden brewer Dirck Ottensz van Meerburch and his wife Cornelie Pietersdr of 1518 (Marks 1977, note 15; Vogelaar 2011, no. 15),

and the unidentified donors in a *Crucifixion* by the same Leiden artist (Vogelaar 2011, no. 10; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 88.3.88). It is also notable that the body of the pulpit in Leiden's Church of St Peter, which dates from 1532 and was designed by Pieter Cornelisz Kunst, displays some similarities to micro-carving in its detail, albeit on a different scale. See Levering 2011.

- 71 Leeuwenberg 1968, p. 617; Nagtegaal 2008, nos. V1b, V1c.
- 72 Marks 1977, p. 140; Thornton 2015, p. 168.
- 73 Van Foreest 1950, pp. 120–24.
- 74 Scholten 2012a, pp. 136–40.
- 75 Hoek 1958, p. 192.
- 76 *Ibid.*, pp. 187–99.
- 77 Cat. Brussels 2015, pp. 135–36; Hoek 1958, p. 189.
- 78 Verhoeven 1992, pp. 58–60.
- 79 Speakman Sutch & Van Bruaene 2010; Thelen & Speakman Sutch. 2015.
- 80 Verhoeven 1992, pp. 48–49.
- 81 For descriptions and reproductions of the Delft devotional prints see Hollstein, vol. 13, p. 65, no. 1 (1507), p. 65, no. 2 (1511).
- 82 Eichberger 2015, pp. 128–30.
- 83 Among them the so-called tabernacles in the British Museum, inv. no. WB.233, and the Wallace Collection, inv. no. S279.

