

# Copies of Flemish Masters in the Hispanic World (1500-1700)



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# Copies of Flemish Masters in the Hispanic World (1500-1700)

*Flandes* by Substitution

Edited by  
Eduardo Lamas  
David García Cueto



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On the cover:

Jan and Hubert Van Eyck, *The adoration of the mystic Lamb*, Ghent, cathedral © KIK-IRPA, Brussels.

Michiel Coxie after Jan and Hubert Van Eyck, *The adoration of the mystic Lamb*, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie (inv. 524) © KIK-IRPA, Brussels.

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# THE COPIES BY MIGUEL MANRIQUE AND WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN COMMERCIAL NETWORKS

*Eduardo Lamas*

Among Rubens's disciples, scholarship has included a painter called Miguel Manrique (Marche-en-Famenne? c. 1610/12–Malaga 1647) working in Spain around the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> This painter, known in Italy as Michele Fiammingo, was the son of a Spanish soldier established in Flanders and a Southern Netherlandish lady. Manrique received his training as painter in Antwerp, in the Rubens workshop. Then he travelled to Genoa, where he entered the workshop of Giovanni Andrea De Ferrari (Genoa c. 1598–1669) and later continued his formation in the house of Cornelis de Wael (Antwerp 1592–Rome 1667).<sup>2</sup>

Manrique may have arrived to De Wael's house in Genoa before 1627,<sup>3</sup> possibly in the company of the painter Vincenzo Malò (Cambrai c. 1602/06–Rome 1644), who was already there in 1625 and who was also a pupil of Rubens.<sup>4</sup> Or perhaps Manrique arrived there with Gaspar van Eyck (Antwerp 1613–Brussels 1673), an artist who later followed his career in Spain as well.<sup>5</sup>

Manrique's activity in Genoa is only known from secondary sources: Manrique made history paintings, mainly portraits in the style of Van Dyck.<sup>6</sup> The artist moved later to Spain and settled down in Malaga, in the extreme south of the Iberian Peninsula. Though not much is known about his work there, Manrique has been traditionally presented as the introducer of Rubenism in Andalusia.<sup>7</sup> A working hypothesis proposed here is that Manrique participated in the trade of copies after Rubens in the Western Mediterranean. Our approach to the ways in which Manrique could have participated in the production and trade of copies is mainly based on interpretations, and clearly goes beyond what can be definitively substantiated. We rely here on a few individual examples as a basis from which more general conclusions may be drawn. We have primarily relied on

the documentation about the artist kept in the Province Archives of Malaga, mainly the inventories of his possessions.<sup>8</sup> However, this study also invokes surviving paintings that are identifiably by Manrique's hand (they bear his signature), paintings originated in Malaga and paintings in his style, likely by him but of uncertain actual authorship. Besides, most of the work of Manrique in Spain has disappeared. Many paintings were destroyed during the anticlerical riots taking place on 11 and 12 May 1931 in Malaga, when most of the churches were burned or vandalized, and the ecclesiastical archives destroyed.<sup>9</sup>

Manrique has been mentioned as a pupil of Rubens from the seventeenth century, but there is no evidence of his presence in Rubens's workshop.<sup>10</sup> Among his pupils, there was a certain 'Michele' or 'Michael', who went with Rubens to Paris in January 1622.<sup>11</sup> However, this artist died in August of that year, which makes the identification with Manrique impossible. Further, Manrique was certainly younger; he would have therefore arrived at Rubens's workshop at the end of the 1620s – certainly before 1637, when Manrique's presence in Genoa is documented.

Trained in Antwerp, it is not surprising that Manrique followed other compatriots to Italy.<sup>12</sup> Van Dyck and Vincenzo Malò, possible comrades of Manrique at Rubens's workshop, also joined the brothers De Wael in Genoa. Rubens himself had travelled previously to the Italian city in 1604, in 1606, and in 1607.<sup>13</sup> Van Dyck was there during the winter of 1621, and again between 1624 and 1627.<sup>14</sup>

The only source for the presence and the activity of Manrique in Italy is his brief biography included in *Le vite* published by Raffaele Soprani in 1674, a collection of biographies of artists active in Genoa and where Manrique is mentioned under the name of



Fig. 1. A. Van Dyck, *Portrait of the brothers Lucas and Cornelis de Wael*, 1627, oil on canvas, 120 × 101 cm, Rome, Musei Capitolini.

Michele Fiammingo.<sup>15</sup> He left Italy after having had some financial success in order to settle in Spain. Work made during his Italian period has yet to be identified.<sup>16</sup>

The presence of Cornelis and Lucas de Wael in Genoa certainly exerted some appeal on Manrique (fig. 1). Cornelis was a certain point of reference for any Antwerp artist

arriving in the city.<sup>17</sup> His house offered them a place to live, he provided a workshop with tools and material, and enabled introductions to the local community and recommendations to clients. Soprani writes that the house was always open to all, and particularly to Lucas's and Cornelis's compatriots, like an informal hostel.<sup>18</sup> Manrique, as many of his fellow countrymen,



Fig. 2. Miguel Manrique, *Feast of Simon*, 1642, oil on canvas, 282 × 574 cm, Malaga, Cathedral © Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico.

also benefitted from the help offered by the de Wael brothers in Genoa.

What we know about the artistic production of Manrique in Malaga has some implications in the production of paintings by reproduction. It is therefore also important to address Manrique's role in the spread of Antwerp Baroque style, as has traditionally been done in the historiography on Spanish art.

Although Manrique may not have been trained in the Rubens workshop, he must be included among Rubens's followers by virtue of his appreciation of the master's art. His most important conserved work, and usually the only one discussed, is the painting nowadays in the Cathedral of Malaga, that was originally painted for the convent of Fathers of Saint Francis of Paula (fig. 2).<sup>19</sup> Signed in 1642, this painting is the first work by Manrique documented in Spain.

The same cathedral owns a second work by Manrique. It is the *Assumption of the Virgin*, a work showing more clearly his training in Italy.<sup>20</sup> Although less dependent on Rubens's art, the *Assumption* also derives from his prototypes and indicates the extent to which Manrique had absorbed Rubens's compositions on the subject. The same quick, schematic handling of the brush is used to render both the figures and the backgrounds.

Apart from these two paintings and those documented works by Manrique in Spain destroyed in May 1931, two signed copies after Rubens which will be discussed later testify

to the painter's activity as copyist. Importantly, nineteenth-century literature presented the *Feast of Simon* by Manrique as a copy from the painting of the same subject by Rubens and his circle in the Hermitage.<sup>21</sup> Following this apocryphal tradition, the prototype by Rubens would have had the cathedral of Malaga as its provenance, and the painting by Manrique would have been a copy ordered to replace it in the seventeenth century.

The painting by Manrique in the cathedral of Malaga may indeed be considered as a copy – an interpretative one, as it follows very closely the composition made by Rubens in the sketch now in the Akademie der Bildende Künste in Vienna.<sup>22</sup> For his interpretative copy, Manrique could have used at least four possible sources. First, Manrique could have had access to the sketch by Rubens during his training in Antwerp, and then made some studio copies that he would have brought with him when he left Flanders. Moreover, he could have studied the painting itself, painted between 1618 and 1620 by different members of Rubens's workshop, including Van Dyck. But Manrique could have also known the composition by Rubens in Italy, through another version in the collection Silvatici in Pisa.<sup>23</sup> And finally, Manrique could simply have based his work on the print made after Rubens by Willem Paneels, or less likely on a second one made by Michael Natalis.<sup>24</sup>

It also merits consideration that Rubens reemployed many of the elements of this

composition at the Hermitage in his painting *The Feast of Herod*, now in Edinburgh, one of the artist's last major works, and in a drawing based on it made by him and his studio.<sup>25</sup> This painting was already in the collection of Gaspar de Roomer in 1640 (Antwerp 1596/1606 – Naples 1674) in Naples, and it was a much talked-about work in Italy. Following this line of thought, it is not impossible that Manrique knew about the composition, through drawn copies, or at least through the print made by Schelte for Bolswert after the drawing.<sup>26</sup>

Two other copies after the *Feast of Simon* by Rubens are to be found in the area around Malaga. Once considered copies after Manrique's work, they are in reality made after Rubens's prototype.<sup>27</sup> Two of them are to be found close to Malaga, one in a parish church in Ronda<sup>28</sup> and the other one in the convent of Sisters Minims in Archidona.<sup>29</sup> A third large copy, also once attributed to Manrique, is preserved at the capilla de la Expiración in Seville.<sup>30</sup> Two copies at the bishopric of Malaga made after Gerard Seghers's *Flagellation of Christ* in Sint-Michielkerk in Ghent have also been attributed to Manrique,<sup>31</sup> as well as two little coppers copying Rubens compositions for *Head of Cyrus brought to Queen Tomyris* and the *Conversion of Saint Paul*.<sup>32</sup>

Manrique made actual copies after Rubens's compositions on small copper support. Two of them are signed paintings of small dimensions preserved in a private collection in Malaga.<sup>33</sup> The first is a copy after the *Martyrdom of saint Laurence* in Munich.<sup>34</sup> The composition was engraved by Lucas Vostermans, but Manrique possibly based his painting on another copy, as his composition presents the same orientation as the original.<sup>35</sup> The second copy by Manrique is after the *Adoration of the Magi* by Rubens in Lyon, also engraved by Vostermans in 1621.<sup>36</sup> A third copy, not signed, has been attributed to Manrique on the basis of stylistic analogies with the two precedents. It copies *Adoration of the Magi* by Rubens in Mechlin.<sup>37</sup> Both compositions were particularly popular in the Hispanic world; similar copies are indeed to be found in many collections in Spain and in America.

The persistence of certain visual preferences among Hispanic buyers may explain the practices of local painters, which were characterised by the imitation of known models from Antwerp

workshops, and the repetition and recycling of motifs and compositions. Research on art dealership of major Antwerp companies – Van Immerseel, Musson, Forchondt – has demonstrated the existence of a real market for this kind of products in the Iberian peninsula.<sup>38</sup> The demand for Flemish paintings in Spain, both originals and copies, was largely satisfied by these and other Netherlandish art dealers and agents trading with works of art from Antwerp and Mechlin workshops. However, there were also local artists active in the production of copies and versions after Antwerp models in the Peninsula at the time, artists who hailed mostly from that region. In Madrid, where amateurs were perhaps more exigent, this demand for what has been defined as 'Flemishness' was capitalised on in more original ways by local artists of Netherlandish origin such Juan de la Corte (1613–Madrid 1662), and his son Gabriel de la Corte (Madrid 1648–94).<sup>39</sup>

Nevertheless, there is scant evidence of this local production of copies after Rubensian models in Spain. Van Ginhoven has pointed out the presence of artists of Flemish origins taking over art shops and workshops in Seville who might have produced copies from Flemish paintings for local clients and American markets. This is the case of Juan van Mol, who ran one of the largest workshops in Seville with twenty-four apprentices.<sup>40</sup> The same author suggests that the Netherlandish Jan Bollaert may have overseen a workshop in Seville where local painters copied cheap models imported from Antwerp in order to use them as prototypes to create even cheaper versions intended for the American market.<sup>41</sup> Eddy Stols has shed light on the presence of the Flemish Salomon Paradis in Seville, early in the seventeenth century, who ran a painting shop that produced cheap copies near the cathedral (the area of the painters in the city), where three other similar shops existed by 1646.<sup>42</sup>

The activity of Manrique as a copyist suggests that Malaga may have been another production centre for such copies. In the neighbouring city of Antequera, the Spanish painter José Robledo also made copies after Rubens compositions such as the one he signed in 1684, copying the aforementioned Rubens's composition for *Head of Cyrus brought to Queen Tomyris*.<sup>43</sup>

Copies and versions made locally by artists as Manrique and Robledo show that the visual

culture of Antwerp, distant in geographical terms, was actually in close contact with local taste, not only through the commercial agents of trade like Musson or Forchondt, but also through a direct local production. Once he arrived in Malaga, Manrique may have realised that there was a market more favourable to copies at lower prices as were those made by him. Further, Manrique did not only act as an artist in Malaga. He also worked as a trade dealer in parallel to his activity as a painter.

The primary reason for Manrique's choice of a secondary centre like Malaga may lie in the strategic geographic position of the city on navigation routes connecting the Netherlands to Italy and the African coast, thereby making it a port of a certain importance. Financially, Malaga was prospering thanks to the production of raisins and wine, as well as silk for the Italian textile industry. These key trades were controlled by Genoese merchants, progressively replaced by the Flemish and Dutch during the seventeenth century, with the exception of the raw silk, which remained under the control of Genoa.<sup>44</sup> Malaga's links with the Southern and the Northern Netherlands and with regions of West Mediterranean basin, and Genoa in particular, can be traced as early as the fifteenth century, and are evidenced by works of art originating from those areas that are still present in the region today<sup>45</sup> despite the aforementioned destruction of 1931. Moreover, the community of Netherlandish merchants in Malaga seems to have been fully integrated into the international trading scene.<sup>46</sup> This fact could easily explain by itself the move of Manrique in Spain in 1642, and his eventual dealings as an agent for the activities of his compatriots.

However, Malaga held an additional appeal for Manrique. His parents had moved there from Flanders since at least 1632.<sup>47</sup> His father, the captain Juan Mateos (c. 1595–Malaga 1642) enjoyed a profitable position as military man at the port of Malaga, a position that we know that Manrique expected to inherit from him. After having spent so many years in the Southern Netherlands, his father also acted in Malaga as a lender and a business partner for Dutch and Flemish merchants, and as an agent for a Flemish company developed by the merchant Jacques de Molina.

The research of Rodriguez Aleman on the foreign population in Malaga during the seventeenth century has shown that the Flemish

merchants installed in the city acted generally as agents for companies based in Antwerp and in Amsterdam, exporting wine and raisins, and importing fabrics and other manufactured products.<sup>48</sup>

Besides his artistic production, it is known that Manrique developed the same kind of commercial activity, following in the steps of his father in Malaga and of his master De Wael in Genoa.<sup>49</sup> Manrique dealt in silk and other sumptuous fabrics and luxury objects. At the same time, he acted as a moneylender to other Netherlandish merchants and to locals. His commercial activity, as that of other Netherlandish artists merchants trading abroad, was characterised by the heterogeneity of the goods bought and sold. It is what he had witnessed as a young artist at his master's house. Cornelis de Wael was indeed an important art dealer of Netherlandish art and other luxury goods, importing commodities from Antwerp to different Mediterranean cities.<sup>50</sup> Cornelis de Wael and his brother Lucas were both painters and dealers. Cornelis was particularly involved in trading because, unlike his brother who returned to Antwerp (whence he sent works of art to Cornelis), he remained in Italy and developed a busy trade in Netherlandish art, both by Flemish artists leaving in Italy and works (mainly prints) coming from Flanders, as well as textiles and luxury goods.<sup>51</sup> The brothers De Wael were related to the art dealer Matthijs Musson (Antwerp 1593–1678) and his wife who had important contacts on the Spanish art market and had concentrated on expanding their business into painting, from expensive originals to cheap copies specially produced for them.<sup>52</sup>

Manrique mainly traded in key commodities such as silk and precious cloths, as well as other luxury goods and it is likely that his activity as a copyist may have been connected to this business. However, there are still many open questions about his activity as a dealer, regarding, for instance, the centres which Manrique primarily traded with, or about who were his business partners and agents. One may wonder if he kept in contact with Cornelis de Wael once in Malaga. One may also wonder if he enjoyed his new situation and the opportunity to participate in his master's business as an agent, the way his own father had acted as an agent for companies based in Antwerp and Amsterdam.

A document kept in the archives in Malaga shows that Manrique conducted business in 1643 with someone called Cornelio Dual, who was temporarily in the city. The inventory of assets made before his wedding in that year attests to Manrique's activity as a lender.<sup>53</sup> He had lent the sum of 1,310 *reales* to a Flemish merchant mentioned as Gaspar Velero, and 3,250 *reales* to the said Cornelio Dual.

One is tempted to identify this Cornelio Dual mentioned in the archives of Malaga with the master of Manrique, who had set up a commercial network in which he and his brother acted as intermediaries for the sale and purchase of paintings, prints, and books. In fact, it is known that Cornelis de Wael also dealt with luxury fabrics, like Manrique, as well as haberdashery and other products manufactured in the Netherlands.<sup>54</sup> If one takes this into account, the presence of De Wael in Malaga is not at all unlikely. This is especially the case if one also takes into consideration the commercial and industrial ties between the port of Genova and that of Malaga, and the latter as a crucial link in the chain connecting Antwerp with the Ligurian capital. Furthermore, it is known that Cornelis de Wael moved around various locations within the context of his activity as a textile dealer. Vaes noted one of these expeditions made by the painter,<sup>55</sup> namely a trip to the port of Palermo to sell there not only a series of paintings, but also fabrics and laces, and this for a significant turnover. Trips to Naples, probably for a similar purpose, are also documented. Further, after Cornelis de Bie (Lier 1627–1712/15), Cornelis de Wael would have been to Spain on at least another occasion, to work for the duke of Aarschot (1597–1640) and for King Philip III.<sup>56</sup> Besides, De Wael had already dealt in the Spanish art market and was also in active correspondence with merchant circles in Madrid linked to Italy and the Southern Netherlands via Lisbon, Rome, and Palermo.<sup>57</sup> Different shipments of his works to Spain are documented. Thus, he was commissioned a view of the new walls of the city of Genoa from Spain between 1625 and 1632, and De Wael sent six paintings to Madrid in 1640 for the duke of Aarschot via the port of Alicante.<sup>58</sup>

If Cornelis de Wael visited Malaga and came into contact with his former pupil while there, he may have discerned in Manrique's copies the possibility for a wider production and distribution. Such a production, for the time being little more

than speculation, could have been linked with Cornelis de Wael's international art dealing. In 1623, De Wael had commissioned from Geronimo Gerardi or Hyeronimus Gerards (1595–c. 1645), a Netherlandish painter settled in Palermo, a series of copies from compositions representing the Old Testament, possibly to sell them abroad – ultimately to the Spanish market.<sup>59</sup> Another example of a painter acting as an agent of Cornelis de Wael in Sicily was his cousin Jan Brughel II (Antwerp 1601–78), who lived in Palermo from 1623 to 1625.<sup>60</sup>

Cornelis may have commissioned copies from Manrique, or the former may have emulated the methods of his master and produced such copies on his own. However, it is not possible, at least for the time being, to tie Manrique's documented activity as a trader to his documented activity as a copyist in Malaga. If the two activities were connected, Manrique would have followed the diversified dealership patterns that have been observed for his master Cornelis de Wael and for other artists dealers of Antwerp origin, as for instance the members of the Forchondt family.<sup>61</sup>

Nevertheless, the likelihood that Manrique, however, had kept professional contact with his master Cornelis de Wael after he left Genoa in 1642 and that very likely they had developed business together, has not yet been substantiated. Furthermore, the merchant mentioned as Cornelio Dual in the archives could also be identified as the artist dealer Cornelis de Wael II (1601–45), cousin of Manrique's master and husband of Maria Fourmenois. After the death of her husband, Fourmenois married in 1647 the painter and art dealer Matthijs Musson, also very involved in the art market with the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>62</sup> Musson had his own agents based in Malaga. In 1663, Roeland van Kessel and Henry Simons, his agents, ordered directly from him copies after Rubens by Willem van Herp.<sup>63</sup> Manrique could have played a similar role for Cornelis de Wael II and his wife Maria Fourmenois.

In any case, if Manrique worked in Malaga as an associate to one of either Cornelis de Wael, trading and producing copies, this would confirm once again the particular role of Genoa in fostering the artistic links between the Southern Netherlands and the Iberian Peninsula, a role that requires further research. From Genoa, De Wael would tap into a market dominated by his compatriots who did not necessarily specialised

in art objects, but who were also active on the international trading stage.

Manrique's eventual production of copies and art dealing could have been of an occasional nature, as his principal activities in Malaga, along with painting, were in money lending and in a business based on other goods, mainly silk and other luxury items. However, Manrique's activity as a copyist was very likely connected to his other enterprises. His production of copies after Rubens must therefore be seen as directly related to the network of Flemish merchants

in connection with Spain and Genoa, who, although often specialised in the trade of other goods, played a fundamental role in creating a taste and demand for Baroque Antwerps works in Spain.

The information we have on Manrique's activity also points to a broader need to reassess the activity of artists of Netherlandish origins based in Spain as professional dealers, who participated in a wider market where the Peninsula acted as a stage to a broader market, not only to the Americas, but also to the Mediterranean.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> On Miguel Manrique and his work, see Orlando 2018, pp. 42–49; Marengo 2018, p. 141; Lamas 2018.

<sup>2</sup> For the house of the brothers De Wael and their activity, see Stoesser 2018. For Ferrari, see Acordon 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Stoesser 2018, vol. 1, p. 48; Lamas 2018, p. 192. Not much earlier than 1630, in Orlando 2018, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> For Vincenzo Malò, see Orlando 2018, pp. 58–65.

<sup>5</sup> On the presence of fellow countrymen painters at Cornelis de Wael's house, see Orlando 2018, pp. 29–38; Stoesser 2018, vol. 1, pp. 48–49. For the presence of Van Eyck in Spain, see Stoesser 2012, p. 232.

<sup>6</sup> Soprani 1674, pp. 324–25.

<sup>7</sup> Lamas 2018.

<sup>8</sup> See Llordén 2004, pp. 303–49; Lamas 2018.

<sup>9</sup> About the destruction of works of art and religious buildings in Malaga in 1931, see Jiménez Guerrero 2006.

<sup>10</sup> Soprani 1674, p. 324.

<sup>11</sup> Balis 1994, p. 120, n. 38; Lamas 2018, p. 191.

<sup>12</sup> About the presence of Antwerp artists in Genoa, see Stoesser 2018 and Orlando 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Di Fabio 1997, pp. 82–104.

<sup>14</sup> Orlando 2018.

<sup>15</sup> Soprani 1674, pp. 324–25.

<sup>16</sup> However, recent proposals of attributions of works for the Italian period of Manrique have been made in Orlando 2018, pp. 43–49.

<sup>17</sup> On the activity of the brothers De Wael and their house as an informal centre for young Netherlandish painters, see Stoesser 2018.

<sup>18</sup> 'La casa sua era sempre aperta a tutti e massime a suoi nazionali, che perciò albergò': Soprani 1674, p. 324.

<sup>19</sup> Miguel Manrique, *Feast of Simon*, oil on canvas, 282 × 574 cm, 1642, Malaga, cathedral.

<sup>20</sup> Miguel Manrique, *Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on canvas, c. 350 × 200 cm, Malaga, cathedral. For the attribution of this painting to Manrique, see: Lamas 2018, pp. 203–05.

<sup>21</sup> Rooses 1888, vol. 2, p. 31; Somov 1895, p. 308; Bodart, 1972, p. 118.

<sup>22</sup> Held 1980, vol. 1, p. 464.

<sup>23</sup> Bodart 1972.

<sup>24</sup> This is the traditional interpretation found in Spanish literature about the work: Pérez Sanchez 1977, p. 93; Navarrete 1998, p. 205.

<sup>25</sup> Peter Paul Rubens, *The Feast of Herod*, oil on canvas, 208.3 × 271.5 cm, Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland (inv. NG 2193).

<sup>26</sup> See: Van Hout 2004, p. 60.

<sup>27</sup> Lamas 2018, p. 203.

<sup>28</sup> Unknown artist after P. P. Rubens, *Feast of Simon*, oil on canvas, 280 × 425 cm, Ronda, church of Espíritu Santo.

<sup>29</sup> Unknown artist after P. P. Rubens, *Feast of Simon*, oil on canvas, 104 × 125 cm, Archidona, convent of San Francisco de Paula.

<sup>30</sup> Attribution by Juan Temboury (1890–1960): Malaga, Biblioteca Cánovas del Castillo, Legado Temboury, Archivo de documentos.

<sup>31</sup> Lamas 2018, p. 210.

<sup>32</sup> Both copies are preserved in private collections in Malaga.

<sup>33</sup> Lamas 2018, p. 210.

<sup>34</sup> Miguel Manrique after P. P. Rubens, *Martyrdom of Saint Laurence*, oil on copper, 113 × 87 mm, signed: 'Mariq. An. ... G. 16... F', Malaga, private collection.

<sup>35</sup> For the print and the original, see Vlieghe 1977, vol. 2, n° 126.

<sup>36</sup> Miguel Manrique after P. P. Rubens, *Adoration of Magi*, oil on copper, 113 × 87 mm, signed: 'Mariq. An. ... G. 16... F', Malaga, private collection.

<sup>37</sup> Miguel Manrique (?) after P. P. Rubens, *Adoration of Magi*, oil on copper, 235 × 168 mm, signed: Malaga, collection Díaz Tentor.

<sup>38</sup> On this subject, see mainly: De Marchi, van Migroet, 1999; Van Ginhoven 2017; Stoesser 2018, vol. 1, pp. 63–64.

<sup>39</sup> See Newman 2013; Newman 2015.

<sup>40</sup> Van Ginhoven 2017, p. 241.

<sup>41</sup> Van Ginhoven 2017, p. 237.

<sup>42</sup> Stols 1971, vol. 1, p. 169. See also Van Ginhoven 2017, pp. 238–39.

<sup>43</sup> Clarisas 2006, p. 116.

<sup>44</sup> On the important Genoese trade on the former kingdom of Granada, see Girón Pascual 2018.

<sup>45</sup> Rodríguez Alemán 2007, p. 83. For the presence of Genoese art on the territory of the ancient kingdom of Granada, to which the city of Malaga belonged, see García Cueto 2011.

<sup>46</sup> Rodríguez Alemán 2007.

<sup>47</sup> Lamas 2018, p. 194.

<sup>48</sup> Rodríguez Alemán 2007, p. 131.

<sup>49</sup> Lamas 2018, p. 195.

<sup>50</sup> On the activities of Cornelis de Wael as a dealer, see Stoesser 2018, mainly pp. 61–108. For the dealing on the trade of textiles, see p. 76.

<sup>51</sup> Due to an outbreak of plague in Genoa, Cornelis move to Rome in 1656. An earlier outbreak had killed Manrique in Malaga in 1647.

<sup>52</sup> Stoesser 2018, vol. 1, p. 63.

<sup>53</sup> Malaga, Archivo Histórico Provincial, Sección de protocolos notariales, leg. 1737, ff. 724r–725r.

<sup>54</sup> Engels 1997, p. 122; Stoesser 2012, pp. 225, 236 (n. 13).

<sup>55</sup> Vaes 1925, p. 82–83; Stoesser 2012, p. 231.

<sup>56</sup> Brans 1959, 115–16; Stoesser 2018, vol. 1, p. 45. As Stoesser points out, the king was probably Philip IV and the trip must have taken place before 1621.

<sup>57</sup> Stoesser 2018, vol. 1, pp. 46–47. A regular intermediary of Cornelis de Wael was the Spaniard Fabrizio Valguarnera based in Palermo de Beltrano, with trips and contacts in Madrid.

<sup>58</sup> Pérez Preciado 2005, p. 26; Stoesser 2018, vol. 1, p. 227.

<sup>59</sup> For this commission, see Stoesser 2018, vol. 1, p. 47.

<sup>60</sup> Stoesser 2018, vol. 1, pp. 42–43.

<sup>61</sup> On the dealership of the family Forchondt, see Van Ginhovan 2017.

<sup>62</sup> Stoesser 2018, vol. 1, pp. 63, 221.

<sup>63</sup> Denucé 1949, p. 272. See also: Sanzsalazar 2019, p. 132.



