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

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

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INTRODUCTION

Eduardo Lamas and David García Cueto

Copies of Flemish Masters in the Hispanic World consists of fourteen essays by emerging and prominent scholars that explore, through various approaches and perspectives, the significance of copies of Netherlandish paintings for Iberian audiences. Throughout the early modern period, the idea of luxury in Spain was linked to paintings and other sumptuous goods and commodities from the Southern Netherlands.[1] This is one of the factors that explain the significant demand for copies made in or exported to the Iberian Peninsula after paintings by Netherlandish artists, especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As pointed out by Martens in his book about the Netherlandish painting production destined for the Iberian Peninsula, the local elite commissioned from the Low Countries original altarpieces and copies in order to emphasize their social position by their association to these prestigious objects.[2] Van Ginhoven has further demonstrated that consumption of Netherlandish models was also widely spread among other publics.[3]

However, the creation of art and luxury goods oriented to exportation was not confined to the Southern Netherlands, as Italy was also a key European area of production and distribution. Neither was demand confined to Spain. Nevertheless, since the cities of Bruges and Antwerp played such an important role in the European luxury goods trade network, the Southern Netherlands were quick to respond to the increasing demand beginning at the fifteenth century. The main estrategy developed by the Netherlandish workshops, as has been shown by Vermeylen and other recent works, was an increasing commercialization which brought with it new forms of production, leaving a bigger share to copies and other forms of reproduction and serial making.[4] If major Italian artistic centres experienced similar situations, as Venice did, they neverthless never engaged in the export of paintings, copies and originals, in the systematic ways undertaken in the Southern Netherlands.

Antwerp and Mechlin manifested themselves as leading international centres of innovation in paintings and related luxury products such as prints, reduced copies on copper plates, painted musical instruments, cabinets with paintings attached or paintings made by multiple artists.[5] In this context, the market for copies, replicas and versions expanded thanks to both domestic and international demand for this kind of goods.[6] The export registers of the city of Antwerp for 1543–45 show that the Iberian Peninsula was the main importer of paintings from the city (a third of all exports).[7] Part of the imported paintings were certainly works of art of high quality, some made under commission, but many others were copies and other forms of serial productions bought or even commissioned by dealers who intended to place them in the free market on both sides of the Atlantic ocean.

Spanish historiography traditionally underlines the political links forged since the reign of Charles V to explain the strong Netherlandish artistic presence and influence in the Iberian Peninsula. However, this phenomenon did not start in the sixteenth century (and neither was it finished by 1714), nor was it a specificity of the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, the spread of the large Netherlandish artistic production was a European phenomenon, due to a strategy of production and commercialization which lead to an over-production. As Szanto has demonstrated, between 1620 and 1630, a remarkable number of Netherlandish art dealers and painters directed their attention to France, to the fair of Saint-Germain-des-Près.[8] Research led by Cecchini, Stoesser, and Gozzano on Italian artistic centres as Genoa, Naples, and Palermo, among many others, sheds light on a very similar situation where the art market included a considerable amount of copies and originals of Netherlandish origins;[9] there were massive exports of both to Italy during the sixteenth century.[10] But something similar also happened in the Northern Netherlands, with the widespread introduction of different marketing channels

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for paintings, mainly public sales with a flow of paintings imported from Antwerp, mostly consisting of cheap works and copies.[11]

Southern Netherlandish artists, both immigrants in Spain (or Italy or France) and active in the Netherlands, seem to have specialized in the representation of flowers, landscapes, still-life's and reduced formats of history paintings, as a strategy for marketing their work in the Iberian Peninsula and other European regions.[12] The development of their skills as copyists seems to have been cultivated as part of the same strategy. Therefore, the Southern Netherlands, and particularly the above-mentioned cities of Antwerp and Mechlin, became during the sixteenth and the seventeenth century major centres for the production and distribution of copies.

A history of copies in Spain during the fifteenth century and the so-called Golden Age is that of a repetition of inventions of great foreigner masters: Van Eyck, Van der Weyden, Rubens, and Van Dyck, as well as Tiziano and Ribera, above all.[13] In addition, copies after Netherlandish originals, made both by Spanish and Netherlandish artists, were possibly the most common in the Iberian Peninsula. Copies exported from the Southern Netherlands covered a part of the demand in Spain which was not satisfied by local production.

In this volume, dedicated to copies after Netherlandish models, we have not considered Netherlandish copies after Italian masters which nevertheless certainly played an important role in the diffusion of Northern techniques in the context of the visual culture of Italian models. Among them, one may mention the copies made in Spain by Rubens, Paul Scheppers (d. 1577), and Roland de Moys (d. 1592) after works by Titian.[14] Copies made in Italy by Netherlandish artists after Italian models, such as those by Louis Finson (*c.* 1575–1617) after Caravaggio[15] or those by Hendrick De Somer (1607–*c.* 1655) after Ribera,[16] are not discussed either, even if some of them may have reached the Iberian Peninsula.

Some of the most important copies after Netherlandish masters in Spain were commissioned by the owners of the originals, who also wished to own a reproduction. This was the case, among others, for several works by Rogier van der Weyden in possession of king Philip II of Spain, who ordered several copies to be made by the most important painters of his time, including Michiel Coxcie.[17]

Tha making of copies was often contractually imposed from the commissioners to the artists, particularly in the context of large altarpieces, when sometimes a print was supplied as model to be followed for the composition.[18] But still the copies after Netherlandish models reached the Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish possessions in America and Philippines first and foresmost via an intensive trade and production of reduced copies on copper plates, whose size, price, and vivid colours made them extremely attractive to a large public.[19] Moreover, copies were also ordered in the Netherlands by dealers who were established in the Iberian Peninsula themselves, and had specific potential buyers in mind. This was the case of art trader Andreas de Seinteins, based in Lisbon, but who had Spanish clients established even in Madrid.[20] In 1644, Seinteins ordered from the famous trader and painter Guilliam Forchondt in Antwerp a series of copies on copper plates after Rubens and Van Dyck.[21] Among Rubens's models, he commissioned copies from the *Deposition*, the *Adoration of Magi*, *Salomon's Judgement*, *Christ at Emmaus*, *Assumption* and *Saint John Preaching*; from Van Dyck, a *Saint Sebastian*. The first three subjects painted by Rubens are among the most represented on copies conserved today in Spain. One should mention here the copy after the *Deposition* in Antwerp signed by the Netherlandish painter Marco Antonio Garibaldo (1620–79) and preserved in Zaragoza, an artist from whom other works are known in Spain.[22] A reduced copy of the *Adoration of the Magi* by Rubens in Lyon, signed by the Netherlandish artist Miguel Manrique, is preserved, for its part, in Malaga.[23] Copies after the *Adoration of the Magi* by Rubens in Madrid, by Juan de Sevilla in Granada, and by Francisco Ximénez Maza in Teruel (fig. 1), could have been made after a reduced copy on copper plate, and not after the original at the Alcázar, the royal palace of the Habsburg dynasty in Madrid, which was hardly accessible.[24] Reduced copies after *Salomon's Judgement* by Rubens can also be identified in Spanish collections.[25]

The diffusion of copies on copper plates during the seventeenth century in Spain was largely orchestrated and dominatedd by the dealerships of Matthys Musson and of Guilliam Forschondt (*c.* 1632–78) in Antwerp. Van Ginhoven has recently studied the trading house Forchondt based in Antwerp but with antennas in Madrid, Lisbon, Seville, and Cadiz, and their role as art

Fig. 1. Francisco Ximénez Maza after P. P. Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi*, *c.* 1645, oil on canvas, Teruel, Cathedral.

dealers in spreading of Netherlandish copies also in Europe and America.[26]

The phenomenon of the extensive dissemination of Netherlandish models, mainly those proposed by Brueghel, Hans Bols, Adriaen Collaert, the Wierix family, and Rubens, was not only due to the copies that infiltrated the Hispanic world. As is well known, the circulation of a large number of Netherlandish prints also played major role in this process.[27] In the context of this medium, compositions by Rubens were particularly wide spread in the Iberian Peninsula and America.[28] As an example of a copy made after prints, one could mention the unpublished anonymous inverted copy after *The Return from Egypt* by Rubens in the church of Franciscanas Concepcionistas in Illescas, certainly made after the print by Lucas Vorsterman I (1595–1651).

Copies of Antwerp history paintings on copper plates were often anonymous, painted by

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Fig. 2. Tomás Hiepes, *Still life*, 1654, oil on painting, Madrid, private collection.

several artists and part of series.[29] These series generally copied paintings by Rubens known through prints, or series by Maarten de Vos or Frans Francken II. They were frequently displayed as precious objects decorating cabinets as attested by a still life by Tomás Hiepes, where the painter has represented a reduced copy on copper plate after Rubens's *Judgment of Salomon* (fig. 2).[30] In churches, they played a similar role, being displayed on the wall of chapels, *camarines,* and sacristies, as on both sides of the main altarpiece at the church of the Hospital de Venerables in Seville or the sacristy of the Seminario de San Carlos Borromeo in Zaragoza. A good example of this is also given by the main altar at the church of Dominicans sisters in Baena, embellished thanks to the patronage of the counts of Cabra.[31] Its marble altarpiece is surrounded by seventy-four paintings of very diverse origins, techniques, and style, ranging from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries; thirty among them are reduced Netherlandish copies on copper plate representing landscapes with eremites, framed in two groups of fifteen each (fig. 3). They reproduce celebrated inventions by Marten de Vos, the same ones which served as models for Paul Brill, Wenzel Cobergher, Jacob Frankaert I, and Willem I van Nieulandt for a cycle of large canvases he commissioned in Rome by the marquis of Villafranca for the convent of La Anunciada in Villafranca del Bierzo in Spain.[32] In America, the collection of copper plates at the *Ochavo* in the cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles (Mexico) is certainly the best example of its genre.[33]

Copies were sometimes displayed together with original paintings in order to complete sections of the characteristic Iberian mural altarpieces presenting several registers. It is the case of the copy after the *Adoration of Magi* by Quentin Metsys in the Metropolitan Museum, painted in 1612 by the workshop of the Italian painter Francisco Ginete for the main altarpiece of the sanctuary of Our Lady of La Caridad in

Fig. 3. Netherlandish Master, *Fifteen scenes of eremites*, Baena, Convent of La Madre de Dios © Rafael Japón.

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Fig. 4. Francisco Ginete after Q. Metsys, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1612, oil on canvas, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Church of Nuestra Señora de La Caridad © Óscar Franco Cotán.

Sanlúcar de Barrameda (fig. 4).[34] The same is true for the mural altarpiece at the chapel of Santos Reyes at the cathedral of Teruel, where, among other copies, the Spaniard Francisco Ximénez Maza (1598–1670) painted around 1645 for the main section the already mentioned copy after *Adoration of the Magi* by Rubens at Prado.[35]

Other copies offer an interpretative adaptation to local visual culture through the inclusion of new elements that actualize the composition. A good example of this is the hitherto unstudied copy after Rubens's triptych of St Ildefonse in Vienna preserved at the convent of Discalced Carmelites of S. José in Antequera (fig. 5).[36] The copyist has introduced the portraits of three donors dressed in the Spanish fashion of *c.* 1680–90, as well as a group of angels at the top of the composition, who throw petals on the sacred figures and the bishop's *regalia* next to the saint. One means of diffusion of this composition was the engraving made by J. Witdoeck in 1638 reproducing the sketch by Rubens for the central panel of the triptych, now at the Hermitage.[37] However, as the colour scheme of Antequera's copy corresponds entirely with the original sketch, the copyist may had followed the composition by Rubens through another copy – faithful but also reduced – preserved in the same convent. In turn, this faithful copy could be reproducing another reduced copy made in the Southern Netherlands, as those mentioned by Vlieghe, one of them at the Prado (fig. 6).[38] Similar examples are the seventeenth-century interpretative copies after Van Eyck's Virgin from *Ghent Altarpiece*, as those preserved in Madrid and Granada, where the model is adapted to a representation of Our Lady of Carmel,[39] or still the one in Loranca de Tajuña, where the figure of the Virgin has been transformed by the copyist

Fig. 5. Anonymous Spanish Master after P. P. Rubens, *The Imposition of the chasuble to S. Ildefonse*, *c.* 1680–90, Antequera, Convent of Discalced Carmelites of S. José © Rafael Japón.

Fig. 6. Studio of Rubens, *The Imposition of the chasuble to S. Ildefonse*, 17th century, oil on copper, 33 × 55 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. P001705).

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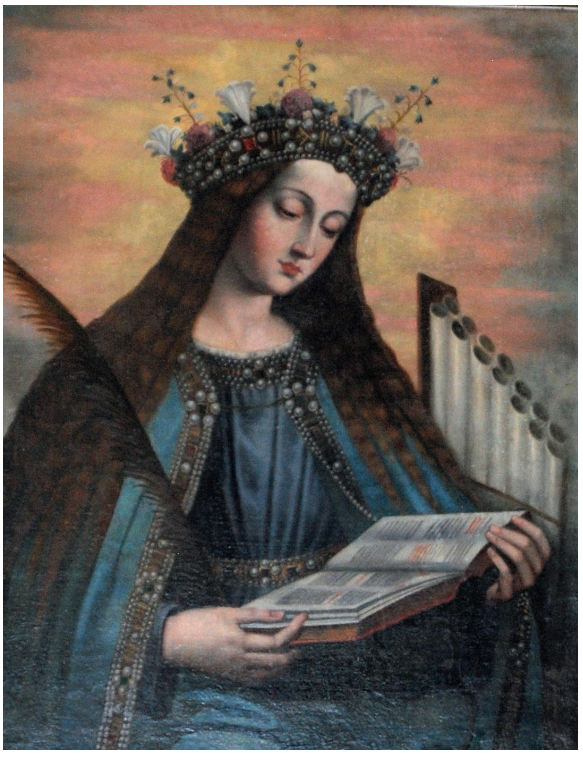

Fig. 7. Anonymous Spanish Master after J. Van Eyck, *Saint Cecily*, based in the *Virgin Mary reading*, early 17th century, Loranca de Tajuña, Church of San Pedro.

into a representation of Saint Cecily (fig. 7).[40] All of them could be derivations from a partial copy on panel made by Juan Gómez in 1593 after Cocxie's copy of the figure of the Virgin.[41]

On other occasions, the copies after Netherlandish masters were ordered to integrate a mural decoration as *quadri riportati*, as the copies after Rubens's *Saint Family with Saint Anne* commissioned by marquis de Heliche for his suburban villa of La Moncloa, nearby Madrid,[42] or those commissioned by Philip IV to Agostino Mitelli and Angelo Michele Colonna at the Alcázar – never completed.[43] Moreover, a copy sometimes served as a quotation within a larger composition, as the copy made in 1646 by Francisco Rizi after Rubens in his *Saint Andrew* at Prado,[44] and the one by Claudio Coello after Van Dyck's *Christ with the adulterous woman* on his *pala* in the sacristy at El Escorial.[45]

Although not broached directly in this publication, one may also consider here the copies made in workshops for training or as a method of study for a composition. These are the sketch and reduced copies, or *apuntes*, made by Spanish masters and young artists after Netherlandish originals, mainly in the context of the royal collections in Madrid.[46] Pacheco, Palomino and other writers mention copies made after originals by Moro, Rubens, or Van Dyck.

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Nevertheless, a history of copies after Netherlandish masters in Spain should start much earlier. In the Low Countries, the production of copies became very common by the end of the fifteenth century.[47] From the 1450s, the reproduction of works of painters as Jan Van Eyck or Rogier van der Weyden led to further developments in the culture of duplication. However, as Mund defends, these copies were mainly interpretative ones, not exact reproductions.[48] Recently, Blacksberg and Silver have discussed some partial copies after Van Eyck related to the Iberian Peninsula.[49] Major examples of this kind are the copies by Lluís Dalmau after the *Ghent Altarpiece*, made directly from the original, as well as the partial copy the Spaniard made on his *Madonna of the Councilors*.[50]

Two other Netherlandish major works, the originals of which are not extant, were largely copied both in the Iberian Peninsula, as well as in the Low Countries. These are, on one hand, the copies after the *Virgin and the Child* by Van der Weyden; on the other hand, the *Deposition of the Cross* by Hugo van der Goes, whose anonymous copy in Vitoria is an example of a copy integrated in a later altarpiece, dated around 1525.[51]

Interpretative copies were largely appreciated by Iberian patrons and market, as confirmed by the success of partial copies after the *Ghent Altarpiece* and of copies made by Coffermans, among many others.[52] Queen Isabella of Castile herself appreciated interpretative copies, but she developed an innovative approach to copying, which led her to commission exact ones, like the *Altarpiece of Miraflores*.[53] At the time, the notion of the exact copy was unusual in European artistic production and some of the rare cases known today seem to be related to the Queen's commissions or those made in her entourage, as probably was the exact copy, although reduced in scale, of a triptych by Hans Memling at the Capilla Real in Granada, which is preserved today at the Colegio del Corpus Christi in Valencia (fig. 8).[54]

The copies made by Michiel Sittow and Juan de Flandes for Isabella of Castile certainly repreent major milestones in the history of pictorial copies in Europe. They are not the only copies after Netherlandish masters in Spain to

Fig. 8. Anonymous Master after H. Memling, *The Descent of the Cross*, 15th century, 66 × 109 cm, oil on panel, Valencia, Colegio del Corpus Christi.

have played such a role. Indeed, one of the most prestigious European copies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was that made by Michiel Coxcie (1499–1592) of the *Ghent Altarpiece* by the Van Eyck brothers.[55]

This copy was commissioned by Philip II of Spain, who had proposed to the Chapter of St Bavo's in Ghent that he purchase the *Ghent Altarpiece*. However, following the Chapter's opposition, the king had to settle instead with the commission of a copy. The king ordered the copy from Coxcie, who worked on it for two years, completing it around 1556–59. Karel Van Mander reported that the azurite employed by Coxcie in his copy was provided by Titian at the request of the king.[56]

The copy was set on the main altarpiece of the Royal Chapel of the Alcázar, where it presided over the religious celebrations of the court from 1561 until 1661, when – during a renovation of the chapel ordered by Philip IV – it was replaced with Raphael's *Christ on the road to Calvary* (known as *El Pasmo de Sicilia*), now in the Museo del Prado.[57]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the reign of Philip III of Spain, the copy by Cocxie was particularly admired. The king had in his collection while he was still prince a copy of the copy by Cocxie with the figure of the Virgin, and other similar copies were to be found in courtiers' collections.[58] Cocxie likely made another copy of the outer panels of the polyptych, that may have come from the same princely collection and which was in El Escorial in 1640. Juan de Herrera, the architect of the monastery, owned similar copies.

The Duke of Lerma (1552–1623), the puissant favourite of Philip III, commissioned another partial copy after Cocxie's copy for the church of San Blas, a monastery he founded and which served as a chapel for his palace in the little town of Lerma, not far from Madrid (figs 9, 10, 11).[59] These copies, painted on canvas, were installed on the main altarpiece of the church in 1616. In this way, the ducal court of Lerma was emulating the royal one, where the king enjoyed the privilege of contemplating the enormous *Ghent Altarpiece* alone, or nearly alone, in a private space. The composition by Van Eyck, popularized through abundant copies, knew undisputed success out of the royal court, even during the late seventeenth century.

Recent research by Morte has demonstrated that Zaragoza, capital of the kingdom of Aragon, became at the end of sixteenth century a sort of

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Fig. 9. General view and details from a cycle of anonymous copies after J. van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*, c. 1617, oil on canvas, Lerma, Church of the Monastery of San Blas © Fundación Las Edades del Hombre. Santiago Santos Vega / Imagen M.A.S.

Fig. 10. Detail of Fig. 9.

'colony' of Netherlandish artists as well as a centre of copying under the patronage of the fourth duke of Villahermosa (*c.* 1525–81).[60] The aristocratic court of this humanist nobleman, who kept regular correspondence with the cardinal Granvelle, became from the 1560s onwards a flourishing artistic centre, where the copy had a major role. The leading members of this artistic production centre were the Netherlandish painters Paul Scheppers (d. 1577)[61] and Roland de Moys (d. 1592).

Scheppers was a member of the guilde of Saint Lucas in Mechlin. Before his arrival in Spain, he travelled to Naples, where he was in contact with the important local Netherlandish community. He worked there with the Mechlin artist Jan van Steynemolen (1518–89) and married there his daughter Catalina. Once they settled in Aragon, another son of Jan joined them and worked in Scheppers's workshop. This was the painter Silvestre van Steynemolen (d. 1630), known in Spain as Silvestre Estanmolín, whose production, as far as it is known, was mainly based on copies and versions he made from Scheppers's models and archetypes.[62] Other assistants were Antonio Galcerán (*c.* 1560–1613), Francisco Metelín II (1557–1614), and the Netherlandish painter known in Spain as Daniel Martínez (1555–1636).[63]

Following the report of the painter and writer Jusepe Martínez (1600–82), son of Daniel, the duke of Villahermosa would have met Moys and Scheppers in Brussels, during his travel to England and the Low Countries between 1554 and 1559 as part of the suite of the prince Philip; he would have engaged them and their assistants to decorate his palace in Zaragoza and his villa in Pedrola.[64] Moys copied and reinterpreted for the duke various old portraits of the ducal family in order to create a new portrait gallery at the palace, while Scheppers would have made copies from the *Poesie* by Tiziano belonging to Philip II.[65] Furthermore, Villahermosa commissioned from them interpretative copies after a copy of the *Madone de Cambrai* that he brought to Spain from Saint-Quentin.[66]

Moys and Scheppers may have also copied each other; a copy after Scheppers's *Adoration of Magi* in Barbastro has been attributed to Moys.[67] In the workshop of both painters, their compositions were copied by his assistants and followers.[68] As Morte has recently demonstrated, after Scheppers's death in 1577, his brother-in-law,

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Fig. 11. Detail of Fig. 9.

the painter Van Steynemolen, continued to rule his workshop, producing copies, replicas, and variations of his main compositions until the beginning of the seventeenth century.[69]

Therefore, Zaragoza and the court of duke of Villahermosa was a very unique case at the end of sixteenth century. The city became a mayor centre of production of copies after Netherlandish artists within the Iberian Peninsula, although following models which had been created locally. It does not seem to be a coincidence that Scheppers and Van Steynemolen were originally from Mechlin, a centre where serial production was greatly developed.

The case of Seville as a centre for pictorial copy production also deserves to be noted. In the seventeenth century, a certain number of workshops there produced a succession of paintings, originals and copies, mainly destined for the free market and art dealers active in the American market.[70] Those workshops certainly applied strategies to reduce costs inspired by the Antwerp and Mechlin proto-industrial models of organization, maybe under the influence of the activity developed in Seville by Netherlandish artists established there, as Jan Bollaert. As suggested by Van Ginhoven, some evidence indicates that Bollaert may have overseen a workshop in Seville where local painters copied Netherlandish copies imported from Antwerp in order to create cheaper versions for the American market.[71] In any case, the mass production developed in Seville by local painters in the 1670s–1680s was certainly based on reproduction techniques. One may wonder to what extent some of these paintings did not reproduce Netherlandish models.

Largely better known is the case of production and consumption of high-quality copies in Spain after Rubens's and the Rubenists' models, due to the large concentration of originals there. Major recent contributions by Díaz Padrón about the presence and influence of works by Van Dyck and Jordaens (1593–1678) in Spain bring abundant new data about copies after these masters preserved in the country.[72]

Since Rubens's first visit to the Spanish court in 1608, when it was temporarily in Valladolid, his reputation grew exponentially among Spanish collectors, connoisseurs, and artists, reaching its apogee during the second visit of the artist to Spain in 1628–29. King Philip IV became the

main client and collector of his works, and the royal example was quickly emulated by court nobility and other members of the elite. But the success of Rubens's models through copies can be also largely explained by the extensive diffusion of his compositions through the reduced copies commercialized from Antwerp, actively collected by amateurs, as well as by a massive dissemination of prints based on his works in the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas.

Copies also played a major role among procedures at Rubens's workshop.[73] On a letter that Rubens addressed in Italian to the English ambassador in Brussels, Dudley Carleton on April 28, 1618,[74] he explains which paintings in his studio were for sale, and which were copies made by the assistants but retouched by the master. It is revealing to find a mention to copies after his cycle of the Apostles and Christ for the duke of Lerma, now at the Prado, copies which were waiting to get retouched by Rubens.[75] Similar workshop practices are to be found among other artists in Antwerp, for example Cornelis Schut (1597–1655), for whom copies retouched by himself are mentioned on different inventories of collections in the city.[76]

Therefore, the notions of originality and even authenticity were flexible concepts, and one could therefore re-assess and question not only these, but also the intrinsic importance of the invention, that is, of the way of formally interpreting a biblical or mythological theme with a certain pictorial idiom.

Madrid was indeed the main centre of collection of copies after Rubens and the Antwerp Rubenist masters in the Iberian Peninsula. Many Madrid inventories of painting collections from the second half of the seventeenth century mention copies of Rubens's, Van Dyck's or even Frans Snyders's works, both mythological and religious history paintings as well as portraits.[77] Some of the Netherlandish artists who made the copies that arrived at Madrid are known, among whom Victor Wolfvoet and Willem van Herp are possibly those who reached the highest quality.[78] Van Ginhoven has shown how copies more valuable and of better quality were sent from the Southern Netherlands to art dealers based in Lisbon – a market oriented to the Spanish court.[79] On the other hand, Netherlandish copies sent to the dealers based in Seville or Cadiz, markets oriented to the American trade, were more accessible. In the shipments to Seville and Cadiz by the Antwerp art dealer Forchont copies prevail, a fact that Van Ginhoven interprets as a manifestation of a larger phenomenon of a serial production of copies in Antwerp and Mechlin intended for the Iberian and American markets.[80]

However, Madrid and the court did not play a major role solely as a collection centre of copies after Rubens and the Rubenist masters. The city became also a production centre of copies, many of whose copyists were painters appointed to the royal court.[81] Among them, Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, disciple of Velázquez, played a fundamental role. According to Palomino's *Lives of artists*, Juan de Alfaro (1643–80), another member of Velázquez's workshop, was likewise a great copyist.[82] To understand the weight of influence of Rubenism on Spanish court painters, it is imporant to take into consideration that, from the 1650s, the actual workshop of royal painters within the Alcázar in Madrid was installed in a room decorated with a large group of copies after Rubens. This room was in the former apartments of Prince Baltasar Carlos, decorated with copies from the works made for the Torre de la Parada, as can be seen on *Las meninas* by Velázquez.[83] By the end of the seventeenth century, king Charles II of Spain acquired the collection of the late marquis de Heliche from a group of sketches by Rubens for the cycle of tapestries of Descalzas Reales and a series of paintings by Van Dyck to be placed in 1689 at the workshop of royal painters, copies which became major models for them and their assistants. Claudio Coello, appointed chamber painter in 1685, made copies after the sketches by Rubens and different works by Van Dyck.[84] The courtly painters Isidoro Arredondo (1655–1705) and Teodoro Ardemans (1661–1726) not only copied Rubens, but also made copies of the same size after the *Saint Rosalia* of Van Dyck now at Prado, with the original also displayed inside the workshop.[85]

In Toledo, seat of the archbishopric to which Madrid belonged, the ancient church of the Jesuit Society still preserves a good copy after Rubens's *Conversion of Saint Paul*, a composition particularly widespread in seventeenth century Spain,[86] as shown by the interpretative copy painted by Francisco Camilo (1610–71) in Madrid.[87]

Van Ginhoven has demonstrated the importance of Seville and Cadiz on the trade of

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Fig. 12. Anonymous Master after J. Jordanes, *Flight to Egypt*, oil on canvas, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Chapel of the Hospital de la Caridad © Óscar Franco Cotán.

reduced copies after Rubens's compositions, as well as other Netherlandish masters.[88] The cities of Seville, Cadiz, and Sanlúcar de Barrameda, closely related to the trade with America, hosted during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries an important Netherlandish community, which kept permanent artistic exchanges with the Low Countries. In the port of Sanlúcar, traditionally under Netherlandish commercial and artistic influence, are preserved today a workshop replica of Jacob Jordaens and a copy after him (fig. 12),[89] while a reduced copy on copper plate of another of his works is to be found in the close port city of El Puerto de Santa María.[90] But in Sanlúcar can also be found copies after the Caravaggista Abraham Janssens (1575–1632) and Gerard Seghers (1591–1651).[91] In fact, free copies and variations after the *Flagelation of Christ* by Seghers in Ghent, as well as after *Christ recovering his mantel* at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nancy are relatively numerous in the Iberian Peninsula and America, models certainly diffused via the prints made by Lucas Vosterman and Cornelis Galle.[92] Among others, one can mention here the two copies at the cathedral of Malaga, often attributed to the Netherlandish artist Miguel Manrique (d. 1647),[93] the free mediocre copy in the church of Santa María Magdalena in Valladolid and the one painted by Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664), today at Muzeum Naradowe in Poznan.[94]

Other copies after Seghers consumed in Spain were painted in Antwerp by Gabriel Franck (d. 1638).[95] Franck worked in collaboration with Antwerp art dealers and specialized in copying Seghers and other masters as Rubens, Van Dyck, or even Correggio and Guido Reni. Among copies after Antwerp masters frequently found in Spanish collections, notable are the examples of those after works by Frans Francken II

as, for instance, a cycle of six copies on copper plate at the museum in Cadiz, originally from the church at the Hospital of San Juan de Dios.[96]

No other artistic centre of the Iberian Peninsula offers as many as examples of copies after Rubens and the Antwerp Rubenists as Seville, Cadiz, Madrid and their areas of influence.[97] Seville and the territory of its former kingdom and archibishopric, which included, among others, the cities of Cadiz and Sanlucar, certainly was a major consumption centre for copies after Netherlandish masters. From the ports of this area, where the Netherlandish community thrived and was powerful, such copies were shipped to the New World.

From what is known so far the city of Granada seems to have been a minor but still relevant production center of copies after Rubens and the rubenists.[98] The presence of a rich and relevant Genoese community in the city and its hinterland, and the important economic links with the Ligurian state, may help to explain the phenomenon.[99] For this reason, the important artistic relations between Genoa and Antwerp in the seventeenth century, and the ties of Rubens and Van Dyck with the Italian city, must also be taken into account.

Nevertheless, the court in Madrid and merchant cities at the South of the Iberian Peninsula were the main important places for Rubens's copies reception, production, and collection. Still, this apparent fact may have been distorted by the dispersion and destruction of artistic heritage in Spain carried out since the end of the eighteenth century through the first expropriations of religious centers, followed by the anticlerical destructions of the 1930s and the property speculation of the 1960s and 1970s. Inventories and databanks of the preserved paintings conserved in Spanish churches and public buildings are still incomplete or virtually inaccessible, and therefore a future systematic study of copies could reveal unexpected results. This explains why new copies and new data are regularly published in the context of local scholarship.

In spite of the fragmentation of the information, all of East present-day Spain seems to have also had a special interest in the copies from Rubens. In Catalonia, one relevant case can be mentioned. From around 1621, the abbey of Montserrat owned a copy of the *Descent of the Cross* by Rubens believed to be an original.[100] Another two copies after the same composition, spread through the print by Lucas Vosterman, are attributed to the local painter Antoni Viladomat (1678–1755).[101] Valencia, another important mercantile and artistic center in early modern Spain, preserves a certain number of Baroque local paintings based on engravings from famous works by Rubens.[102] Besides, the Valencian Baroque painters, such as Esteban and Miguel Marco, Pablo Pontons, and Luciano Salvador Gómez, took compositions by Rubens as model for their works.[103] In Majorca, one may consider copies after Rubens by the painter Guillermo Mesquida (1675–1747), known through an autograph list detailing his activity as painter for several years.[104]

As regards the eighteenth century, it has often been assumed that the end of the Spanish political influence in the Southern Netherlands provoked the decline in the influence of Netherlandish art in the Iberian Peninsula. However, as known from much recent scholarship, cultural and artistic exchanges between the Southern Netherlands and Spain actually continued throughout that century. During the reign of Philip V, sovereign of the Southern Netherlands until 1714, economic and cultural ties with Spain persisted. Works by Rubens continued to have an important influence, and the copying of his models was made part of the new official training of artists. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid acquired for this very purpose *Susana and the Elders* by Rubens for a huge sum of money. When in 1819, the Museo del Prado became the main artistic reference in Spain, the presence of numerous works by Rubens in its rooms attracted many copyist painters, creating a new surge of interest in the copying of the great Netherlandish masters.[105]

⋆ ⋆ ⋆

The present volume brings together thirteen selected essays of scholars from Belgium, Spain, United Kingdom, Italy, and the United States. Presented in chronological order, they shed new light on the activity of copyists of Netherlandish artists such as Juan de Flandes, Dieric Bouts, Jan Gossaert, and Michiel Coxcie. At the same time, in a complementary approach, they analyze the process of copying of original paintings by Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Dieric

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Bouts, Anthonis Mor, Marcellus Coffermans, Peter Paul Rubens, and Antoon Van Dyck. But even more significantly, these essays expand on the various aspects and ways of dissemination and assimilation of Netherlandish artistic models in the Iberian Peninsula, whose influence, as is well known, was not only effected through the importation of original works by great Netherlandish masters from the fifteenth century onwards, but also, and mainly, through the massive consumption of copies. These essays discuss copies which were commissioned directly from masters of Coxcie's calibre, and then imported to Spain, as well as those ordered from Netherlandish masters established in the Iberian Peninsula, such as Juan de Flandes. Other discuss copies executed in the Low Countries and destined for the free market, as the copies after Rubens by Wolfers or those made by Coffermans.

A contribution by Nicola Jennings examines the training that Juan de Flandes received before arriving in Castile and what models he is likely to have brought with him. Due to his citation of works associated with the Master of Mary of Burgundy and other Bruges and Ghent illuminators, it has often been suggested that Flandes came from a similar background, but no one has yet been able to reconstruct a specific curriculum vitae. Focusing on the Hours of Joanna of Castile associated mainly with the Master of James IV of Scotland, this paper proposes that Juan de Flandes himself was responsible for some of its illuminations and accompanied an embassy bringing it to Castile in 1496.[106] It looks more closely at how Flandes copied individual figures and compositions from this manuscript and from the Isabella Breviary (which probably arrived soon afterwards) as sources for the paintings he produced for Isabella of Castile. One of the results was the series known as the *Polyptych of Isabella of Castile* which is envisaged not as a polyptych or retablo but as an innovative Book of Hours on panel.

The essay by Jessica Weiss proposes a cultural approach to copies commissioned by Queen Isabella after a small devotional triptych by Rogier van der Weyden. The original had been acquired by her father, John II of Castile, and donated to the king's funerary site of the Carthusian chapterhouse at Miraflores. The copy was likely used by the queen during her devotional practices and was itself later installed at a royal burial site. As the only copy created by the artist, the replica of the Miraflores Altarpiece was a unique object. Weiss argues that the Miraflores copy served a very specific purpose within the royal collection and conceptually supported one of the central tenants of Isabella's reign. The War of Castilian Succession created a political environment in which a propaganda campaign of circulated chronicles and public spectacles to communicate Isabella's legitimacy to rule became a necessity. By placing the Miraflores copy into this political and social context, Weiss argues that unlike later examples of Netherlandish copies in Hispanic contexts this specific example of replication, of an object closely associated with a previous ruler and created in the context of the refurbishment of his burial site, communicated a political message by providing a tangible and material link between father and daughter that solidified her legitimacy as queen.

The essay by Herrero and Puig focuses on a model of *Ecce Homo* developed by the Bouts saga, which acquired remarkable popularity throughout Europe, and it deals with its fortune in Spain through different preserved examples, some of them actually unknown, starting from the original models, and focusing especially on Netherlandish workshop copies for international export, and finally in devotional Spanish copies, produced at local or regional level. The authors discuss how these paintings were conceived and created, considering a variety of physical and technical evidence, and following various procedural tracks. All this offers novel insignts into the way originals of the Bouts saga were understood and reinterpreted, both workshop productions and subsequent Hispanic copies in a global contemporary context.

Almudena Pérez de Tudela discusses copies made after court portraits by Anthonis Mor for Philip II and his family. Her essay shows that his prototypes were sometimes copied by his disciple Alonso Sánchez Coello and she discusses how these copies satisfied the demand for an updated image which ultimately strengthened the Habsburg family ties and reinforce political relationships. Those copies therefore also served as prototypes for the governors of the Netherlands to create and spread their own image and led to them being copied. Pérez de Tudela offers as examples copies commissioned in Brussels by Margaret of Austria, the king's stepsister, or copies after the prototype of his own portrait by Willem

Key ordered by the 3rd duke of Alba, all intended to be sent to Spain and Italy to strengthen their family and political relations.

The essays by Astrid Harth, Ana Diéguez-Rodríguez, and José Juan Pérez Preciado discuss the phenomenon of the 'version' (*emulatio*), the sixteenth-century concept of copy introducing slight variations. Harth analyses it by discussing the copies after Titian's *Ecce Homo* and its pendant *Virgin of Sorrows* produced for the Spanish court, approaching them through the lens of de Francisco de Hollanda's art theory to argue that this practice is more than a retrospective desire to perpetuate eyckian tradition.

Pérez Preciado examines the case of the *Deesis* made by Jan Gossaert and destined for the Habsburg court, today held by the Museo del Prado, which repeats the faces of the characters of the *Ghent Altarpiece*. Further, the author discusses here the use of the work once inherited by Philip II and subsequently sent to El Escorial, which has not been comprehensively studied before. The author focuses on evidence – even from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – suggesting that the painting was a copy from the *Ghent Altarpiece*, and the attention it actually received as a copy.

Diéguez-Rodríguez considers a copy by Hendrik de Clerck after Michiel Coxcie's *Crucifixión* at Alsemberg, which was commissioned in 1623 for the altarpiece the church of Saint-Josse-ten Noode in Brussels. The author identifies the model by Cocxie on the basis of a painting owned at the time by Philip II in Spain and discusses the ways by which it could have been copied by De Clerck.

Marie Grappasonni's essay deals with the interpretative copies made by Marcelus Coffermans in Antwerp for the free market and which ended up in the Iberian Peninsula. The author analyses the prototypes employed by the artist to produce his copies, identifying models by Rogier van der Weyden, Hans Memling, Martin Schongauer, and Albrecht Dürer. Coffermans created interpretative copies from prestigious masters of the past, and was able to connect with the sensibility and taste of the Spaniards of his time.

Moreover, Macarena Moralejo Ortega discusses the copies made after the mural paintings by Federico Zuccari for the the L'Annunziata church in Rome, which were spread through the engraving by Cornelis Cort, and largely copied and imitated in Spain and the Southern Netherlands during the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

The essay by Manuel García Luque brings together an important group of copies after models by Rubens and Van Dyck conserved in different churches of Granada and its surroundings. Furthermore, he offers an inventory of all currently known copies as well as some new additions. The author discusses the reception of these copies in the city and their importance in the development of the Granada school of painting during the second half of the seventeenth century, and even during the first decades of the eighteenth century.

By considering documented copies by the Netherlandish painter Miguel Manrique, the essay by Eduardo Lamas-Delgado discusses an eventual local production of copies in concurrence or in collaboration with the art dealing houses in Antwerp in the Spanish art market.

David García Cueto focuses on unpublished or little discussed copies after Rubens's models belonging to the collections of Patrimonio Nacional in Spain. He discusses their authorship, artistic quality, and relationship to the originals of the master in Madrid, considering also, when possible, their display at the royal Spanish residences during the Baroque period.

Finally, the volume concludes with Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo's study on the copies made by Martínez del Mazo after the works by Rubens's workshop for the Torre de la Parada commissioned to decorate the private apartments of prince Baltasar Carlos in Madrid. The author focuses on the themes chosen for the canvases, the participation of the Prince himself in the project and his interest in the paintings.

The copies discussed here consider almost all the modalities established by the typology generally accepted by current scolarship, considering also the evolution that the concept of copy presents through time.[107] As pointed out by Lukehart,[108] the categories of copying derive from those employed for the study of classical literature, previously applied to the study of copies after ancient statues.[109] The *exact copy* (counterpart of the literary *interpretatio*), a novelty created precisely in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century,[110] would correspond to the definition of copy proposed in 1715 by the Spanish writer and artist Palomino: 'a painting made at imitation of another following the

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rules of the art'.[111] The present volume offers discussions about *exact copies* commissioned by queen Isabella of Castile and Philip II of Spain – more precisely those painted by Juan de Flandes and Michiel Coxcie, as well as those made after Rubens by Martínez del Mazo. Furthermore, it also discusses the copy defined as *replica*, or copy made at the workshop of the master, and to which some degree of intervention of the latter is generally accepted. Examples of this are mainly considered here in relation to the workshop of Antonio Moro. The *interpretative copy* (counterpart of the literary *imitation*), also called *free copy*, offers variations, additions, and subtractions, thereby producing a copy resulting from exposure to other source models or archetypes, thoroughly assimilated by the copyist. This sort of copy is discussed on this volume through the example of those made by Coffermans and by Risueño among others. Ultimately, one more kind of copy is studied in the following pages through three study cases considering works by Gossaert and by Hendrick De Clerck and by many artists after Federico Zuccari and Cornelis Cort. This is what one could call a *version* (counterpart of the literary *emulatio*), a painting retaining a similar composition and updating the figures from the original to a new idiom. This last typology is based on a broader definition of the copy that was common during the sixteenth century but which was subsequently abandoned. In 1524, the Italian Pietro Summonte considered a copy not (or not only) as a painting offering a faithful reproduction of the model, but as a sort of renovation of its composition which actualizes its values and message.[112] The painters who made theses reinterpretations, which the modern literature would not define exactly as copies any longer, were not valued by their contemporaries for the virtuous fidelity to the original, but rather for the success in adapting it to a new context. Soon after, following the generation of the Renaissance great masters, the originality and the ingenuity of the invention were placed at the summit of art; copies were to be clearly distinguished from their models.

NOTES

[1] Van Heesch, Janssen, Van der Stock 2018; Newman 2018a.

[2] Martens 2010. On the importation of artistic and luxury products from the Low Countries to Spain, see also: Van Heesch, Janssen, Van der Stock 2018.

[3] Van Ginhoven 2017.

[4] Vermeylen 2003, p. 151.

[5] Workshops in Mechlin specialized in the serial production of *linen* or watercolour paintings of lower quality that the Antwerp dealers Van Immerseel and Forchont exported mainly in the American market. On this see Van Ginhoven 2017, p. 178 and 180, n. 19. On Mechlin as a serial production centre, see also: Mercier, Cayron, Steyaert 2019.

[6] On the role of Antwerp as an art trading and market-oriented production centre, see: Van der Stichelen, Vermeylen 2006; Vermeylen 2003, On the importation of artistic and luxury products from the Low Countries to Spain, see also: Van Heesch, Janssen, Van der Stock 2018.

[7] Vermeylen 2003, p. 156.

[8] Szanto 2003. On the large and intensive artistic links between France and the Low Countries, see Maes, Blanc 2010. A conference around this issue during the seventeenth century was organised in Brussels in January 2019: *Il n'y a pas de Pyrénées: circulation des artistes entre France et Pays-Bas espagnols au XVII^e siècle*.

[9] Cecchino 2014; Gozzano 2014; Stoesser 2018; Osnabrugge 2019.

[10] Vermeylen 2003, p. 156.

[11] Romein, Korevaar 2006, p. 172. On the artistic relations between Southern and Northern Netherlands, more intensive than previously assumed, see also the bibliography proposed in: Vermeylen, De Clippel 2012.

[12] The Iberian public appreciated the format, the rendering, and the style of those copies, their *Flemishness* or general aspect as has been accurately defined by Newman 2015.

[13] On copies after Tiziano in Spain, see Falomir 2021. After Ribera, see García Cueto 2018.

[14] For the copies by Rubens, see Wood 2010. For the copies by Moys and Scheppers, see Lozano 2015, p. 106; Morte 2018.

[15] Vodret 2011.

[16] On copies after Ribera by Enrico Fiammingo, see: Porzio 2014.

[17] See as an example the case studies on this book.

[18] For an example of this, see Van Ginhoven 2017, p. 217, n. 56.

[19] On Netherlandish reduced copies on copper in Spain, see: Fernández Pardo 1996; Luzón 2015; Van Ginhoven 2017. On general production of this artworks in Antwerp, see Wadum 1999.

[20] Van Ginhoven 2017, pp. 175–76. On the mediation of Portugueses dealers as a way of penetration of Antwerp paintings in Madrid, see Muñoz 2008, pp. 232–33.

[21] Letter from A. de Seinteins in Lisbon to G. Forchondt in Antwerp, October 18, 1644: Stad Archief Antwerpen, IB1092. Document mentioned and analyzed in Van Ginhoven 2017, p. 176.

[22] Marco Antonio Garibaldo after P. P. Rubens, *Deposition*, oil on copper, 68 × 86 cm, Zaragoza, private collection. On this copy, see Lozano 2015, p. 115. An anonymous copy also on copper is in the museum of the cathedral of Calahorra. On this painting, see: Fernández Pardo 1996, p. 217.

[23] Miguel Manrique after P. P. Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi*, oil on copper, 87 × 113 cm, Malaga, private collection. On this copy, see Lamas 2018, p. 210.

[24] On the copy attributed to Juan de Sevilla at the Hospital de San Juan de Dios in Granada, see in this volume the essay by Manuel García Luque.

[25] On a reduced copy on copper at Museo Municipal de Nájera, see Fernández Pardo 1996, p. 234.

[26] Van Ginhoven 2017.

[27] On this purpose, see: Navarrete 1998; Escalante, Olmedo 2009; Dekoninck 2014; Van Heesch 2017.

[28] Von Kügelgen 2009.

[29] Van Ginhoven 2017, p. 181 and 214.

[30] In this still life by Hiepes, the reduce copy on copper playes the same role than other luxury objects generally represented in this kind of compositions. On this painting, see Cherry 1999, p. 256.

[31] About this collection of copies on copper, see: Villar, Dabrio, Raya 2006, pp. 420–22.

[32] On this cycle, see Balbona 2008.

[33] For the collection of Netherlandish coppers at the chapel del Ochavo in Puebla, see: Bargellini 2002; Fraile, 2011a; Fraile, 2011b; Van Ginhoven 2017, pp. 195–96. Among many other sets of copies on copper, mainly with subjects from the Gospels and often after models by Rubens, can be mentioned here those at the cathedral of Cádiz, at Colegio de Doncellas Nobles in Toledo, Museo de Logroño, the sacristy of San Martin Pinario and cathedral in Santiago de Compostela, cathedral in Mondoñedo, cathedral of Guadix, cathedral in Zaragoza. On these sets of copies, see: Monterroso 1995, pp. 525–28; Fernández Pardo 1996; Rodríguez Domingo 2005; Lozano 2015, p. 115; Van Ginhoven 2017, pp. 193–236. See also the recently published collection of Netherlandish copper plates at Palacio de Viana in Córdoba. Among works attributed to Hieronimus Francken III, Pieter Meulener and to Jan Brueghel II's workshop, the collection has a copy after Van Dyck's *Calvary* in Louvre and reduced copies on copper after several compostions by Rubens: *The Hunting of Calydonian Boar*, the *Adoration of the Magi* after a print by Nicolaas Lauwers, *The Death of Silvia's Stag* (which original formerly in Madrid was destroyed by the fire of the Alcázar in 1734), and *Diana and Her Nymphs on the Hunt* by Rubens. For these paintings, see: Valdivieso, Martínez del Valle 2017, pp. 184–237.

[34] Among other copies, the same altarpiece exhibits another icon of the *Anunziata* of Florence. On these copies and others by the same workshop after Maarten de Vos and Frans Francken I, see: Lamas, Romero 2018, p. 92.

[35] Ximénez de Maza also copies this prototype by Rubens, though with more freedom on his painting at the chapel of

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Santas Justa y Rufina at the cathedral of Zaragoza. On both copies, see: Lozano 2015, pp. 123–24.

[36] This is copy remained unpublished until now.

[37] The sketch: P. P. Rubens, *Miracle of St Ildefonse*, oil on panel, 53 × 84 cm, Saint-Petersburg, Hermitage, nº 520.

[38] Vlieghe 1972–73, pp. 82–85.

[39] Monastery of Descalzas Reales (Madrid), Patrimonio Nacional inv. 00610114, oil on canvas, 57 × 41 cm; Convent of Carmelites of Nuestra Señora del Carmen (Granada); Parish church of Maracena (Granada), inv. IAPH nº 80348, oil on canvas, 25 × 50 cm.

[40] On this copy, see Bermejo 1982, vol. 2, p. 54.

[41] Juan Gómez's copy may be the one mentioned in the Alcázar in Madrid in 1598. Other copies after Cocxie's copy can be found in the Cathedral of Cuenca, the Discalced Carmelites of S. José in Antequera (unpublished), the convent of Santa María de Jesús in Sevilla (unpublished), the Fine Arts Museum in Bilbao, as well as in various private collections. On the Cuenca and Bilbao copies, see Bermejo 1982, vol. 2, p. 54; Castañer 1995, pp. 99–102. For the copy in Seville (oil on canvas, 102 × 90 cm), see: IAPH nº 209567. Two photographs of similar copies in private collections in Madrid during the early twentieth century can be found in the Fototeca del Patrimonio Histórico Español (Madrid): Archivo Moreno, 06882B (Madrid, collection José Domínguez) and 07398B (Madrid, collection Manuel Castellanos).

[42] On these copies after Rubens and other masters, see: Lamas 2019a, pp. 112–18.

[43] García Cueto 2005.

[44] Newman 2018, p. 18.

[45] Díaz Padrón 2012, vol. 1, p. 248. Coello has previously made a sketched copy (*apunte*) after Van Dyck's original at Escorial: Díaz Padrón 2012, vol. 1, p. 773.

[46] For these copying practices after Netherlandish artists in Madrid, see: García Cueto 2019a.

[47] Campbell 1976.

[48] Mund 1983, pp. 25–27. On this purpose, see also: Silver 2018.

[49] Blacksberg 2018; Silver 2018.

[50] Barcelona, MNAC (inv. 015938–000).

[51] Vitoria, Museo Diocesano de Arte Sacro. On this copy, see: Brussels 1985, n°. C 18.

[52] For a large repertory of copies after Flemish Primitives preserved in Spain, see: Bermejo 1980–82.

[53] Martens 2014, p. 260.

[54] Périer-D'Ieteren, Born 2001; Weniger 2011, p. 72. The technical analyses of this painting has shown it was made in Spain. It reproduces a model from Memling's invention: Martens 2014, pp. 274–75. On this copy, see also: Mund 1983, pp. 19–31.

[55] On Coxcie's copy, see: Kemperdick, Rössler, Heyder 2017.

[56] On this copy see: Kemperdick, Rössler, Heyder 2017.

[57] On the replacement, see: Cruz 2015.

[58] Bermejo 1982, vol. 2, p. 54.

[59] On the copies after Van Eyck in Lerma, see Martens 2010, pp. 236–40.

[60] Morte 2018. On the artistic and cultural patronage at the duke of Villahermosa's court, see also: Morejón 2009.

[61] This artist is also mentioned in Spanish sources as Pablo Schepers, Micer Pablo, Pablo Esquert, Eschepers, Esquarte or Ezchepers.

[62] On Estanmolín see the bibliography proposed in Morte 2018, p. 405, n. 37.

[63] For these artists, see Morte 2018 and bilbiography mentioned there. For Daniel Martínez, see: Criado 2013. Morte 2018, p. 409. For Metelín II: Lozano 2013, p. 109.

[64] Martínez 2006, p. 253; Morte 2018, p. 404. Both artists are documented in Spain since 1560; however, first mention of Scheppers in Zaragoza is in December 1571: see Morte, 2018, p. 405, n. 38.

[65] Martínez 2006, pp. 253–54; Lozano 2013, p. 106; Morte 2018, n. 39. Both artists made also interpretative copies after Tiziano's *Ecce Homo* and after Luis de Morales. See Lozano, 2013, p. 106 and 107, n. 23. More 2018.

[66] One is conserved at the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya in Barcelona, and the other, attributed to Moys, at the Museo de Navarra. See: Lozano 2015, p. 106. On copies after the Madone de Cambrai in the Low Countries, see: Silver 2018, pp. 131–32.

[67] Lozano, 2013, p. 107.

[68] Morte, 2018, pp. 406, 408, n. 44.

[69] Morte, 2018, p. 415.

[70] On this serial production in Seville, see the bibliography in Lamas 2019b.

[71] Van Ginhoven 2017, p. 237.

[72] Díaz Padrón, 2012; Díaz Padrón, 2019.

[73] On Rubens's workshop, see: Brussels 2007–08. On artistic collaboration in early modern Antwerp see the forthcoming volume based on the contributions presented at the conference *Many Antwerp Hands* at the Rubenianum on 5–6 November 2018.

[74] Friedenthal, 1966, vol. 1, pp. 155–59.

[75] Precisely, another set of copies of cycle of the Apostles painted for Lerma was to founded at collection in Madrid in 1669: five apostles, the Christ and the Virgin. See Agulló 1981, p. 217. Netherlandish copies after the cycle of Apostles painted by Lerma are to be found in at Museo das Mariñas in Betanzos, Galicia, copies painted on oak panels with the mark of the city of Antwerp. On these copies, see Monterroso 1996, pp. 274–88. Similar copies, eventually also Netherlandish, are to be found in Santa María de Mediavilla, Medina de Rioseco.

[76] Sanzsalazar 2013, p. 207.

[77] Among the copies after Antwerp Baroque masters documented in Madrid, one can mention one copy of a collaborative work by Rubens and Snyders, which was at the collection of Marquis de Heliche in 1651–53: Burke, Cherry 1997. A copy after a portrait of Philip IV by Rubens and a copy of a child by van Dyck are mentioned in 1680 at the collection Felipe Diriksen (1590–1679), a Netherlandish

painter established in Madrid: Agulló 1978, pp. 56–63. A copy after Rubens's *Venus with a satyre* is mentioned in 1666 at the collection of Juan Lucas de Oria (Doria) in Madrid: Agulló 1993–2006, vol. 3, p. 83. A copy after Rubens's *Chrild Jesus with Saint John and angels* is mentioned in 1680 in Madrid at the collection of Mauricio de Novoa: Agulló 1993–2006, vol. 2, p. 101. A copy on copper after Rubens's *Doctors of the Church* and a copy after on the *Saint Rosalia* by Van Dyck are mentioned in 1699 in possession of the knight Luis de Cerdeño y Monzón: Agulló 1981, p. 58.

[78] On the copies by Wolfvoet, see Schepers 2021. Among copies by Van Herp after compositions by Rubens in Spain, one may mention here the series of coppers painted with Erasmus Quellinus II, Anthonis Goubau I, Michiel Ange Immenraet, Abraham and Antoon Willensem at the monastery of Comendadoras de Santiago in Madrid. On theses works, see: Sánchez Rivera 2011. For other copies by van Herp for the Spanish market, see Denucé 1949, p. 272; London 2007, nr 17–18.

[79] Van Ginhoven 2017, p. 177.

[80] Van Ginhoven 2017, p. 182.

[81] About Madrid as production centre of copies during the seventeenth century, see García Cueto 2017.

[82] Palomino 1947, p. 1004.

[83] On these copies, see Rodríguez Rebollo on the present volume.

[84] Díaz Padrón 2012, vol. 1, p. 246; vol. 2, p. 773, n° C33. On those copies by Coello after Rubens's sketches for Descalzas Reales, see: Lamas 2021.

[85] At least the copies are mentioned in their own property at the end of their lives, as well as a third copy in the ownership of the painter Francisco Ortega. On these copies, see: Aterido 2015, pp. 75–76.

[86] A copy after *Salomon's Judgment* by Rubens, mentioned before, is to be found at the sacristy.

[87] For this copy by Camilo, see: Román 2000. The Netherlandish merchant Nicolas Omazur owned one of these copies in Seville: Kinkead 1989, p. 156. The artist of Netherlandish origins Ignacio de Ries (*c.* 1612-after 1661) painted an interpretative copy of the same compostion, also in Seville: the free copy by Ries, see Navarrete 2001, p. 36.

[88] Among copies preserved at Seville, one could mention there, must be mentioned an unknown a large one reproducing Rubens's Feast at Simon's house at Ermitage in the chapel of La Expiración.

[89] At the church of Santo Domingo in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, the Descent of the cross by Jordaens and his workshop is to be found, and at the chapel of the Hospital de la Caridad, in Sanlucar, is to be found a copy after *The Flight to Egypt* by Jordaens at Pushkin Museum, an original which was also copied on a painting formerly in a private collection in Madrid. On these copies, see: Díaz Padrón 2018, vol. 2, pp. 541–42, cat. A.3.

[90] Copy after *The Flight to Egypt* by Jordaens at The Walters Art Museum in Baltimore. See: Díaz Padrón 2018, vol. 2, p. 542, cat. A.4. Several unpublished copper plates directly inspired by Rubens's *Apotheosis of the Eucharisty* are at Iglesia Mayor Prioral of El Puerto de Santa Maria: *Apotheosis of S. Thomas Aquinas*, 90 × 110 cm (IAPH n° 203208); *Triumph of the Church*, 90 × 110 cm (IAPH n° 203203); *Triumph of the Church on the Idolatry*, 90 × 110 cm (IAPH n° 203206); *Triumph of the Faith*, 90 × 110 cm (IAPH n° 203209).

[91] The copy after Janssens's *Lamentation over the dead Christ* at the Iglesia Mayor of Sanlucar, which actually could be a replica by the master himself after the painting in Warsaw, has been recently published as a copy in: Romero 2018. On the copy after Seghers in Sanlucar, see: Romero, Hermoso 2016.

[92] On the originals by Seghers and some copies in Belgium, see Valenciennes 2011, pp. 25–26.

[93] Lamas 2018, pp. 210–12.

[94] For the free copy by Zurbarán, see: Delenda 2009, vol. 1, p. 672–73. Many other copies after other works by Seghers are also known in Spain. For instance, see the one after his *Virgin and Child with Saint Anna*, engraved by Paul Pontius and reduced replicas on copper by the master after the painting of the same subject at the museum in Antwerp, a small copy after his *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* in Guadix, yet a copy after *The Denial of Saint Peter* in Jerez de la Frontera, or a copy after *The Adoration of Magi* made on wooden relief also in Jerez made between 1641–48 by the Southern Netherlands born sculptor José de Arce (d. 1666). On these copies and replicas, see: Sanzsalazar 2007; Visconti 2019; Romero, Franco 2019; García Luque 2013a, p. 252.

[95] On copies by Gabriel Franck and his production for the Iberian Peninsula, see: Sanzsalazar 2019.

[96] For the copies in Cadiz, see: Memoria 2009, p. 303–04. For other copies after Frans Francken II in Zaragoza, see: Lozano 2013, p. 113.

[97] Here must be consider the copies after Rubens models preserved today in Salamanca, Logroño, and the Basque Country, certainly acquired via Madrid. On these copies, see: Fernández Pardo 1996; Ramos Domingo 2010.

[98] See on this volume: García Luque.

[99] For the Genoese community in Granada, see: Girón Pascual 2018; García Cueto 2010. For the artistic links between Genoa and Antwerp see the bibliography in Stoesser 2018 and the forthcoming results of the symposium held at Rubenianum in Antwerp on September 2019: *Artistic relations between Antwerp and Genoa, 1550–1650*.

[100] The copy was a gift by the notary Pere Joan Vilamur to the Sant Llorenç chapel in the abbey of Montserrat. In 1812, the painting got stolen during the Napoleonic invasion.

[101] The copies by Viladomat are in the parish church of Cadaqués and in a private collection: Torras 2012, pp. 320–21.

[102] The Museo de Bellas Artes de San Pío V in Valencia preserves, among others, two copies of Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi* based on Lucas Vosterman engraving (inv. 1780 and 3229), a *Raising of Lazarus* following the Schelte A. Bolswert print (inv. 2799), a *Conversion of S. Paul* based in an engraving of the same author (inv. 1780), and also based on Bolwert prints, a *Virgin with the Child* (inv. 3200) and an *Assumption of the Virgin* (inv. 4061). See: Marco 2010, pp. 721–24. The authors thank the former for allowing them to consult this unpublished work.

[103] Marco 2010, pp. 724–27.

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[104] Furió 1835, pp. 253, 255, 266, 270–78.

[105] For copyists at Prado, see: Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, Archivo, caja 1377, legajo 14.88, expediente I, *Libro de copistas correspondiente a los años 1869 a 1870*.

[106] British Museum, Add. Ms 35313.

[107] For the typology of copies, see Mund 1983; Martens 2010.

[108] Lukehart 2018.

[109] Gazda 2002, p. 7.

[110] Pächt 1989 (2013), pp. 20–21.

[111] 'Pintura hecha a imitación de otra, en todo rigor del arte': Palomino 1947, p. 1150.

[112] On these considerations about Summonte and the Renaissance definition of a copy as reinterpretation of an original, see Zezza 2018, pp. 32–33.