PART I

Jacob JORDAENS (1593 - 1678)
As the Old Sing, so Pipe the Young

“The Arenberg Painting”
Several twentieth-century labels and inscriptions are visible on the back of the stretcher from the nineteenth century:

**Horizontal top bar:** Small white sticker “Piasa 18173/1”
An abraded sticker
“11” in red chalk on top left
“Kiste 179” in black pencil
“73” in red chalk

**Vertical right bar:** “L (?)t No. 147” in black pencil

**Right vertical cross bar:** cream coloured, printed sticker “Scaldis T..rnai”, probably a private label (i.e. by Englebert-Charles d’Arenberg), referring to the 1956 exhibition Scaldis in Tournai, Belgium, in which the ownership of a substantial number of items, including the present painting, was referred to as S.A.S. le Duc d’Arenberg, Saint-Jean Cap Ferrat

**Horizontal bottom bar:** white, handwritten sticker “Villa Encaur”, referring to the villa, built around 1950 by Englebert-Charles d’Arenberg in Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat / Beaulieu-sur-Mer
“73” in blue chalk near the right vertical cross bar
Jacob JORDAENS (1593 - 1678)

As the Old Sing, so Pipe the Young
(Zoals de Ouden Zingen, zo Pijpen de Jongen)

“The Arenberg Painting”

Oil on canvas, 165.5 x 235 cm / 65.2 x 92.5 inches sight size
168.5 by 237.5 cm / 66.3 x 93.5 inches on stretcher

The page, held by the old man, inscribed: Een.Nieu Liedeken.Van Callo
PART I:  
the Arenberg Painting

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As the Old Sing, So the Young Pipe

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Bibliography, cited in abbreviation in part II
PROVENANCE

Reportedly from the Convent of the Alexian (Cellite) Brothers in Antwerp1;

Acquired by Pierre Jacques François Vrancken (Antwerp 6 August 1757 - 17 November 1833 Lokeren), resident of Lokeren (between Antwerp and Ghent) by 1825 at the latest when described in a general publication of the region and the collection of P.J.F. Vrancken as: n° 73: a king’s feast, with many lifesize figures, with the proverb: Zoo de ouden zongen, zoo piepen de jongen, by Jordaens 2.

Passed on the death of P.J.F. Vrancken in 1833 to his widow Theresia Caroline Van den Berghe (d. 29 July 1838) and, as the couple was without issue, to their nephews Jean-Baptiste van Hooff and Petrus Leonardus Rooms;

Sold on the orders of Jean-Baptiste van Hooff as from the collection of the late P.J.F. Vrancken, 15th May 1838, Lokeren[Lugt nr. 15075], lot 31: Jacob Jordaens, As the Old Sing, so Pipe the Young, from the convent of the Cellite brothers of Antwerp3.

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1 This is the provenance cited in the 1838 auction catalogue of the collection of the late Pierre Jacques François Vrancken, the first verifiable owner of the Arenberg painting

2 A.J.L. Van den Bogaerde, Het distrikt St. Nikolaas, voorheen Land van Waes, provincie Oost-Vlaanderen: beschouwd met betrekking tot deszelfs natuur-, staat- en geschiedkunde; gevolgd door eene bijzondere beschrijving van elke stad, dorp, of gemeente in hetzelve gelegen, 1ste deel, St-Niklaas, 1825, p. 368 sub n° 73. For the complete description of P.J.F. Vrancken’s collection see Ibidem, pp. 361-371.

3 “Jordaens (Jacques). Ce magnifique tableau provenant du couvent des frères Cellites d’Anvers, est la mise en action du vieux proverbe flamand: Zoo d’oude zonge zo piese jonge. » Auctioneer and cataloguer for this sale was the Antwerp painter Ignatius Jozef Pieter Van Regemorter (1785-1873), who was a relation and lifelong confident to P.J.F. Vrancken, who acquired eight of his paintings. His father Petrus-Jan Van Regemorter (1755-1830), who was also an artist and on occasion auctioneer, is recorded in several auction catalogues as having purchased Old Masters on behalf of P.J.F. Vrancken [Lugt 8356, 8575; 8962; 9350 together with L.J. Nieuwenhuys; 10875]. Furthermore, P.J. Van Regemorter was part of the Belgian committee that travelled to Paris in 1815 to recover art looted by the French revolutionary armies and seized by their government between 1792 and 1800. Only three paintings in Vrancken’s sale were deemed worthy enough by the auctioneer to have their provenance specified. One (lot 33) came from the famous Antwerp van Erborn family (who later made a major bequest to the Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp), the other (lot 12) had been purchased as recently as August 1832 from the chev. Sébastien Erard sale in Paris [lot 103, Lugt 12962, 13071]. As the auctioneer was closely involved through his father and in his own capacity with the formation of Vrancken’s collection, there is no reason therefore to doubt the accuracy of the Cellite Convent provenance.
Bought at the 1838 sale by Jean François Thys on behalf of Prosper-Louis, 7th duke d’Arenberg (1785-1861), who exhibited the canvas in his painting gallery at the ducal Egmont Palace, Brussels;

By descent to his eldest son Engelbert-Auguste, 8th duke d’Arenberg (1824-1875), Egmont Palace, Brussels;

By descent to his eldest son Engelbert-Marie, 9th duke d’Arenberg (1873-1949), and retained at the Egmont palace in Brussels until October 1918 when moved to Schloss Pesch near Düsseldorf (Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany);

By descent to his eldest son Engelbert-Charles, 10th duke d’Arenberg (1899-1974), by whom moved to the newly built Villa Encar, Beaulieu-sur-Mer, France and identified as part of his collection in the 1956 Scaldis exhibition at Tournai, Belgium

By whom sold, possibly directly to T.P. Grange, London, who owned the painting by 1959.

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4 From 1823 Jean François Thys (“1780 Brussels +1866) regularly restored paintings for the Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels, wrote the 1832 catalogue and advised the Museum on purchases, and sometimes also sold paintings he had purchased directly to the Museum (e.g. Anthony Van Dyck, Drunken Silenus (inv. 217), see Van Kalck, De Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België. Twee eeuwen geschiedenis, Brussel, 2003, I, pp. 122, 125 & note 118). His advisory role became official in 1846 when nominated as Commissaire-expert to the Museum. In 1859, he sold the Museum over 400 auction catalogues covering the period 1764 to 1859.

5 Prosper-Louis inherited in 1833 the famous collection of Old Master Paintings belonging to his uncle Auguste d’Arenberg (see Ch. Spruyt, Lithographies d’après les Principaux Tableaux de la Collection de S.A.S. Monseigneur le Prince Auguste d’Arenberg avec le Catalogue Descriptif, Brussels, 1829), which he incorporated into the collection assembled by his father and grand-father and which Prosper-Louis further expanded (see W. Burger [G. Thoré], Galerie d’Arenberg à Bruxelles. Etude sur les peintres flamands et hollandais, Paris, Bruxelles & Leipzig, 1859). The remodelling of the ducal palace, including te addition of the picture gallery, was carried out on his instructions between 1836 and 1839 (W. d’Hoore, The Egmont-Arenberg Palace in Brussels, s.l., (1991), pp. 78-83).

6 With the German defeat in sight in October 1918, the Duke probably got wind of the making of a law in Belgium that would impound all properties belonging to subjects of enemy nations. As the Ducal family had always retained its German nationality, the consequences would be disastrous. The Egmont Palace was sold within days to the City of Brussels on October 31st 1918 and its collections removed to Germany (W. d’Hoore, op. cit., p. 104)


8 A handwritten label affixed to the back of the frame, reads Villa Encar, referring to the first letters of the Christian name of the 10th duke.

9 1956, Tournai, Scaldis (exhibition catalogue), Musée des Beaux-Arts, p. 172, n° 9 “Les Chanteurs, par Jordaens - S.A.S. le Duc d’Arenberg, Saint-Jean-Cap Ferrat”

10 Engelbert-Charles also discreetly disposed on the ducal collection of incunabula and Old Master paintings, which had been assembled by his ancestors in the 18th and 19th centuries.
Roger V. de Ramée, Villa Cyrnos, Roquebrune Cap-Martin, France, by 1965\textsuperscript{12};

By descent to his daughter Simone de Ramée, Ostende, Belgium\textsuperscript{13};

By whom sold to Mme Van der Pas, Belgium, in 1986;

By descent to her son, Dr. H.F.M. Van der Pas, Ijzendijke, Belgium in 1988;

By whom sold anonymously at auction, Paris, Piasa, 26 June 2009, lot 15 with a *certificat d’exportation pour un bien culturel*, n° 111069, dated June 22\textsuperscript{nd} 2009, delivered by the French Ministry of Culture

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incunabula were exhibited by the New York dealer Germain Seligman in late 1952 and acquired by various collectors, including Martin Bodmer and the Morgan Library. Upon the successful disposal of the manuscripts, Seligmann was entrusted with the sale of paintings, including


Jan Van de Capelle’s *river view* (W. Burger [G. Thoré], *op. cit.*, p. 128 n° 10) was also sold in 1955 through Edward Speelman, to the Toledo Museum of art;

Albert Cuyp, *departure from an inn* (W. Burger [G. Thoré], *op. cit.*, p.128 n° 11) is today in the Mauritshuis, The Hague;

Philips Koninck *landscape* (W. Burger [G. Thoré], *op. cit.*, p. 137 n° 30) was already in 1927 sold by the 8\textsuperscript{th} Duke to the Alte Pinakothek, München;

Gabriel Metsu’s *love letter* (W. Burger [G. Thoré], *op. cit.*, p. 140-141 n° 36) sold through Wildenstein in 1958 to the Timken Art Gallery in San Diego;

Rembrandt’s *Tobias restituting sight to his father’s eyes* (W. Burger [G. Thoré], *op. cit.*, p. 148-149, n° 52) sold in 1958 through the London art market to the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart;

Philips Wouwerman’s war *disasters* (W. Burger [G. Thoré], *op. cit.*, p. 157-158 n° 69) is today in the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston;

Joos Van Craesbeeck’s *artist’s interior* (W. Burger [G. Thoré], *op. cit.*, p. 163-164 n° 81) is now in the Frits Lugt Collection, Paris

\textsuperscript{11} Unpublished letter, dated September 1\textsuperscript{st} 1959, from T.P. Grange (+1978), an Old Master painting dealer based in London, to R-A. d’Hulst, (*Prof. R.-A. d’Hulst Personal Archive, Rubenianum, Antwerp*)

\textsuperscript{12} Expertise by Prof. L. Van Puyvelde, dated February 4\textsuperscript{th} 1965 at Villa Cyrnos, Cap Martin, France (Photographic Library, Rubenianum, Antwerp)

\textsuperscript{13} Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures, export licence n° 73563, dated August 31\textsuperscript{st} 1983.
Charter of the Alexian Brotherhood, Antwerp, 1637, 25 pages
[Felixarchief, City of Antwerp, inventory of religious and charitable institutions K525]
The early history of Jordaens’s *As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe* is a tantalising mystery. Pierre Jacques François Vrancken, a wealthy industrialist born in Antwerp and living by 1797 in Lokeren (between Antwerp and Ghent) is the first documented owner of the painting. He had acquired this Jordaens by 1825 at the latest because it is described in a publication of that year listing 100 paintings which he displayed in his large purpose-built gallery. His collection, which numbered at least 137 paintings at the time of his death in 1833, enjoyed considerable repute and was visited, according to contemporary sources, by royalty, dignitaries and art lovers. Vrancken’s most noteworthy feat today is perhaps his brief ownership of the group of side panels from Jan and Hubert van Eyck’s *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* that had been illegally sold in 1816 by a canon of St Bavo's Cathedral in Ghent. According to Vrancken’s own testimony, he acquired the panels from the Brussels old master paintings dealer Lambert Jan Nieuwenhuys at the end of 1816 and immediately disposed of them as government officials got wind of the whereabouts of the panels and closed in to interrogate him on 3rd January 1817. As the present whereabouts of just a few of the paintings owned by Vrancken is known, *Jordaens’s As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe* is a key player in illuminating the quality and significance of Vrancken’s as yet unstudied collection.

The most important piece of information about the early provenance of the painting is found in the catalogue of 1838 that accompanied the sale of Vrancken’s collection. Entailed as lot 31 in the auction, the Jordaens was described as: coming from the Convent of the Cellite Brothers in Antwerp. While no documents exist to verify this provenance, what is known of the Order certainly makes such an ownership possible.

The Alexian Order, also known as Cellite Brothers, was founded as a lay brotherhood in the fourteenth century to look after the sick, especially those struck by the plague, and to bury the dead – so the name Cellite from the Latin *cella* meaning a cell and hence a grave. The brotherhood was active throughout Europe but especially in the Rhineland and the Low Countries. In 1458 Pope Pius II granted the wish of the Cellites to take religious vows and follow the Rule of St Augustine. In 1508 St Alexius of Edessa was chosen as the patron saint and this gave rise to the designation Alexian Order.

The Alexians were present in Antwerp from 1345 and by the mid sixteenth century were living in the area known today as the Cellebroedersstraat where they remained (with some interruptions during the French occupation in the late 18th century) until the

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15 Vrancken supplied this information in an affidavit during the official investigation into the illegal sale of the panels, see V. Verstegen, *Zes panelen van het Lam Gods te Lokeren*, in De Soevereinen, 3, 1972, pp. 54-56; The Van Eyck panels subsequently surfaced in London with the collector E. Solly and were bought in 1821 by the king of Prussia. They remained in the Berlin Museum till 1920 when they were restituted to the Belgian State.
16 E.g. Cornelis de Vos, *Self Portrait with Family* (sold 1838 as lot 131) was acquired in 1870 by the Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels (Inv. No. 2246); Jan van der Heyden, *Library Interior with Still Life* belongs to the Norton Simon Foundation, Norton Simon Museum of Art, Pasadena, California and was sold as early as 1834 from Vrancken’s collection. It is recorded in the 1825 description of the collection: A.J.L. Van den Bogaerde, *Het distrikt St. Nikolaas, voorheen Land van Waes, provincie Oost-Vlaanderen : beschouwd met betrekking tot deszelfs natuur-, staat- en geschiedkunde; gevolgd door eene bijzondere beschrijving van elke stad, dorp, of gemeente in hetzelve gelegen*, 1st deel, St-Niklaas, 1825, p. 368, n° 68
convent was sold in 1817; the building was demolished in 1899. Though a charitable foundation, the Alexians received payment for their services, so much so that in 1796, when the occupying French assessed all 23 religious institutions in Antwerp, the Alexian Order was valued at 250,000 livres, the third richest in the city after the Abbey of St Michael and the Cathedral Chapter, both of which were valued at one million livres.

Alexian income came from three principle sources: In 1558 the Antwerp city council bestowed on the Alexians the exclusive right to bury the dead for a fixed fee, an entitlement that was renewed in 1678 and again in 1713. This guaranteed the Alexians a steady income as everyone except members of the guilds, who could be buried by their fellow members, had to comply with the regulation. In addition to an exemption of tax on beer and wine (the Antwerp convent had a brewery on its premises), in 1645 the convent received an annual stipend of 120 florins for services during epidemics, which rose to 600 florins during outbreaks of the Black Death. During the seventeenth century, the Alexians began looking after people incarcerated by the city authorities or their families, a service for which they received an annual pension. Many of those incarcerated suffered from mental or physical disabilities, but Alexians were also engaged in re-educating young men from well to do families, who had succumbed to debauchery or entered into unsuitable marriages. Finally, the Alexians provided housing for _commissiaelen_, those who simply wished to live in the convent and who paid for the privilege.

This short account of the role and financial status of the Alexian Order and its close involvement in the social structure of Antwerp is significant for understanding how and why Jordaens's _As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe_ is a painting that would not have been out of place in the convent. Unfortunately it has proved impossible to establish whether the painting was commissioned or purchased by the Alexians or presented to the convent as a gift or even as payment for looking after someone. While one might initially wonder about the suitability of a painting with such a merry and profane subject for a religious house, closer reflection shows that it was indeed an image that accorded well with the values and social functions of the Order.

The prominent but not all too extravagant display of food refers to one of the functions of the Alexians to feed their charges and indeed the gathering around the table suggests that the painting could possibly have hung in the convent refectory. There are important examples of scenes of dining adorning the walls of religious communities, most famously Leonardo's _Last Supper_, painted around 1495 in the refectory of S Maria delle Grazie in Milan, a work which served to encourage reflection during mealtimes on

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17 _PROVINCIALE ARCHIEVEN BEVEREN A 87_ for 15 February 1796.
19 Giving objects of value in lieu of cash was clearly an accepted form of payment as shown by a notary document of 8 February 1807 whereby the Antwerp Alexians agreed to shelter and care for a Mr Jan Wils in exchange of a silver apple (PROVINCIE ARCHIEVEN BEVEREN, _T14 – 003_/18).
20 That the Alexians owned non-sacred art is evident from an inventory of paintings in the Order's convent in Ghent which was drawn up by the French in September 1798; cf. CH. PIOT, _Rapport à Mr le Ministre de l’Intérieur sur les tableaux enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et restitués en 1815_, Brussels, 1883, p. 242-5, annexe LX.
Christ's sacrifice. That however it was permissible to decorate refectories with far more opulent scenes is demonstrated by the large paintings of the *Marriage at Cana* and the *Feast in the House of Levi* which Paolo Veronese executed for the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore respectively the Dominican SS Giovanni e Paolo in Venice. Though centred around sacred events involving Christ, both these works are characterised by their portrayal of extravagant architecture, opulent costumes, diverse observations of human interaction among the numerous secondary figures and a wealth of detail gleaned from everyday life.

Though of course Jordaens's *As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe* could have hung in any large room in the Alexian convent, displaying it in the refectory makes perfect sense. There the entire community living within the convent walls would have congregated for meals and perhaps also on festive occasions, which, if the accounts for other convents are anything to go by, often involved boisterous celebrations. While the painting exuded a sense of joy and conviviality, elements which would have raised the spirits of all those in the convent, many of whom found themselves in rather depressing situations, it also served to convey an important moral lesson. Prior to, but especially since the publication in 1500 of Erasmus's *Adages*, a compilation of proverbs supplemented by commentaries, proverbs were commonly used in Netherlandish society to transmit messages on all aspects of social and moral behaviour. The proverb "*As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe*" was certainly relevant for the Alexians, because beyond illustrating the accepted fact that children will imitate the behaviour of adults, it conveyed in a more general sense the idea of emulating positive deeds, specifically the charitable work carried out by the Alexians.

Following the occupation of Antwerp by the French in 1792 and the nationalisation of all property owned by religious institutions in 1796, much of the art work in churches and convents was destroyed, pillaged or sold. In the case of the Alexians the inventory of the content of their convent is extremely vague, but from references in documents is it clear that they owned a considerable number of paintings. Indeed its prior, Gommarus Beldens, was accused in 1798 of having unlawfully removed some paintings and crosses from the refectory. So although again no documentary record has been found to inform us of how and when Jordaens's *As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe* left the Alexian convent, it very likely came onto the market in or around 1797, when it could have been acquired directly by Vrancken or later through an intermediary.

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22 PROVINCIE ARCHIEVEN BEVEREN A 88 – 1:December 1796 (17 Frimaire an 5)
23 Direction des Domaines description of furnishings in Alexian chapel and convent in presence of the monks
24 For example, 8 paintings (and 2 maps) were deemed sufficiently worthwhile to be removed from the convent on July 19th 1797 for display at the "Special school [later Academy] for Painting, Sculpture and Architecture" established next to the Ecole Centrale in Antwerp. By the time the Musée d’Anvers was officially founded in 1810 and the holdings of the Ecole Centrale passed to the Museum, large numbers of paintings had disappeared. The only painting recorded today as originating from the Antwerp’ Alexian convent is the *Portrait of an Alexian* (school of Rubens, KMSK, Antwerp, inv. 455).
24 This accusation is found in a document of July 16th 1797 ordering the sale of all real estate belonging to the Antwerp Alexians; cf. PROVINCIE ARCHIEVEN BEVEREN A 82 – 10
Interior of the Egmont Palace, Brussels with the painting gallery in the late 19th century

Central courtyard of the Egmont Palace, Brussels
LITERATURE:

A.J.L. Van den Bogaerde, *Het distrikt St. Nikolaas, voorheen Land van Waes, provincie Oost-Vlaanderen : beschouwd met betrekking tot deszelfs natuur-, staat- en geschiedkunde; gevolgd door eene bijzondere beschrijving van elke stad, dorp, of gemeente in hetzelve gelegen*, 1ste deel, St-Nicolas, 1825, pp. 361 & 368 sub n° 73


P. Genard, *Notice sur Jordaens, suivi du catalogue*, (Ghent, 1852), p. 34 sub n° 22


H. Van Hooff, *Une vente de tableaux de maîtres au pays de Waes en 1838*, in *Annales du Cercle Archéologique du Pays de Waas*, 18-3, Janvier 1900, St-Nicolas, p. 505 sub 31

Album de l’Exposition Jacques Jordaens, publié par le Comité exécutif, Antwerp, 1905, ill. 72a

P. Buschmann, *De Jordaens tentoonstelling te Antwerpen*, in *Onze Kunst*, IV, 1905, p. 161


H. Hymans, l'exposition Jordaens à Anvers, in Gazette des Beaux Arts, IIIe Pér, XXXIV, 1905, p. 252


G. Mourey, L’oeuvre de J. Jordaens à l’exposition d’Anvers, in Les Arts, 56, August 1906, p. 10 & ill. p. 28

A. von Wurzbach, Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon, 1er Band, Vienna & Leipzig, 1906, p. 769

M. Rooses, Jordaens’ leven en werken, Amsterdam – Antwerp, 1906, pp. 82 & 289, ill. p. 85

M. Rooses, Jordaens, sa vie et ses oeuvres, Paris, 1908, pp. 82, 84 & ill. p. 85


L. van Puyvelde, Jordaens et son atelier (exh. cat.), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1928, p. 52 mentioned under cat. n° 96

L. van Puyvelde, Jordaens, Paris – Brussels, 1953, pp. 141 & 205


**EXHIBITIONS:**

1905, Antwerp, *Jacob Jordaens*, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, supplement, p. 3, n° 72a

1956, Tournai, *Scaldis*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, p. 172, n° 9

(belonging to S.A.S. le Duc d’Arenberg, Saint-Jean-Cap Ferrat)

The Critical History of the Painting

The Arenberg Ducal family acquired *As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe* in 1838 when the collection of P. J. F. Vrancken was sold. The auction catalogue25, written by the painter and auctioneer Jozef Pieter Van Regemorter26, provides the first known critical assessment of the work, which is described as a “magnificent painting by Jordaens”. While this could of course be disregarded as ‘sales talk’, it was surely an opinion shared by Jean François Thys27 when he purchased the painting as agent for the Duke of Arenberg28. Thys was a restorer and connoisseur, whose reputation was so formidable that he acted as advisor to the museum in Brussels and wrote its first catalogue (1832). Given that the acquisition of *As the Old Sing* took place in the period when the Duke was restoring his ducal palace in Brussels, it is most probable that he instructed his agent to acquire top-class paintings for his new purpose-built picture gallery29.

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25 Lugt nr. 15075, Lokeren, 15th May 1838, *Catalogue d’une précieuse collection de tableaux des écoles Flamande, Hollandaise et Française délaissés par feu Mr P.J.F. Vrancken à Lokeren*
26 See footnote 3
27 See footnote 4
28 The fully annotated copy of the sale catalogue, held at the Library of the Antwerp Fine Arts Museum shows Thys, *Bruxelles pr le Duc d’Arenberg* as buyer for this lot
29 See footnote 5
Subsequent judgements of the painting were fulsome in their praise: W. Burger [G. Thoré]30 pronounced it to be of “magnificent quality by the master” (1859, p. 169); H.G. Moke31 considered it to be a “capital composition” (1848, p. 230) while Lavice32 (1872, p. 122) and Lafenestre & Richtenberger33 (1895, p. 141) included it among the masterpieces in Belgian collections.

The early 20th century saw a spate of monographs on Jordaens in which opinions on the Arenberg painting were becoming more cautious, which may in part be due to a deterioration of the picture’s condition. Buschmann34 (1905, p. 107) for example considered it to be of “average quality” on account of its “hasty” brushwork and unattractive colouring though he did see the superior qualities of Jordaens in the depiction of the young woman and child. Fierens-Gevaert35 (1905, p. 101-102) on the other hand commended the daring novelty of the painting’s Caravagggesque lighting and grouped it together with the autograph versions of The King drinks in Brussels (the smaller composition) and the Louvre as well as the Valenciennes (then still at the Louvre) As the Old Sing; Hymans36 (1905, p. 252) considered it to be a “masterly” work by Jordaens and von Wurzbach37 (1906, p. 769) judged it as one of the master’s “Hauptwerke”.

Probably the most influential early authority on Jordaens was Max Rooses38, whose 1906 monograph in Dutch was subsequently published in French and English in 1908. Rooses identifies six autograph compositions: Antwerp, Paris (today Valenciennes), Wemys (today Ottawa), Dresden, Wurzburg and Berlin. He demotes the Arenberg painting to a “faithful copy” after the Wurzburg composition, which he dates around 1640. He believes the Arenberg painting to be by a pupil but with the head and hands of the old man and the child and the dog on the right retouched by Jordaens. The Wurzburg painting is something of a mystery because its existence is attested to solely by Rooses’s reference to it in his monograph39, and none of the inventories or catalogues of the Wurzburg Residenz40 refer to

30 Etienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré (1807-1869), working under the pseudonym William Bürger, was the art critic who rediscovered Jan Vermeer and wrote a monograph on the artist. He also wrote a number of scholarly catalogues on collections in museums and private hands, including one on the Galerie d’Arenberg à Bruxelles, Paris, Brussels & Leipzig, 1859
31 Henri Guillaume Philippe Moke (1803-1862) professor of history in Ghent wrote several important historical studies on Belgian topics
32 André Absinthe Lavice (*1794) was an independent Parisian art critic who wrote a series of catalogues raisonnés of paintings and sculpture in the museums of most European countries
33 Georges Lafenestre (1837-1919), keeper of paintings at the Musée du Louvre and professor in history of painting at the Ecole du Louvre and the Collège de France, and member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, published together with Eugène Richtenberger a series of seven catalogues of European painting
34 Paul Buschmann Jr (1846-1909), son of Paul Sr, the Antwerp printer and publisher of art reference books and periodicals in collaboration with Max Rooses
35 Hippolyte Fierens Gevaert (1870-1926) was chief curator of the Royal Museums of Fine Arts in Brussels, professor of aesthetics and art history, art critic and author of several art publications
36 Henri Hymans (1836-1912) held the post of chief curator of the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, professor of art history, art critic and author of publications on 17th century northern art
37 Alfred von Wurzbach (1845-1915) was an authority on Dutch and Flemish art, a collector and author of the magistral Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon
38 Maximilian Rooses (1839-1914) was the first curator of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp, a literary critic and an expert on Rubens, about whom he published extensively
39 M. Rooses, Jordaens’ leven en werken. Amsterdam – Antwerp, 1906, pp. 81-82; London - New York, 1908, p. 79
it, nor is it reproduced in gallery photographs; indeed no reproduction of it may ever have been made because Rooses uses the Arenberg painting to illustrate the composition.

Rooses’s unpublished notes cast more light on this curious situation. His first description of the Wurzburg painting, made when he first saw it in late 1898, is exceedingly brief and consists of just two words: “goede echte” - a good original - and a short note about the Callo inscription (which he misreads). He again described it in 1907, the year after the publication of his monograph, though in much greater detail. By this time he had changed his mind about its authorship and no longer considered it an original but rather attributed it to the studio (“schoolbeeld”), although he still regarded it to be rather good even if with weak colouring.

Rooses first saw the Arenberg picture on December 3rd, 1896 when he compares it very favourably to the version in Antwerp and concluded that it is “tres remarquable”. He visited the collection a second time on January 7th, 1904 when he described the painting more extensively and formulated his ideas about the division of labour, ascribing it to the studio with retouchings by Jordaens himself; this is essentially what he published in his monograph of 1906.

In 1923 Willem van Bode (p. 448) briefly discussed the Arenberg painting together with those in Vienna, Chatsworth (now Jerusalem Museum/Steinberg Coll.) and Munich, all of which he dates to the late 1640s /1650s.

Leo van Puyvelde (1953, p. 141, 205) initially considered the painting to be by the studio. This decision was based on photographs as the picture had left Belgium in 1918 and had not been seen since then. It was only in 1965 that van Puyvelde could examine the painting, which led him to conclude that it is an autograph work by Jordaens.

Roger d’Hulst, the expert on Jordaens’s drawings, made numerous references to the Arenberg painting without however going into any detail or passing judgement on its authenticity though he does date it to c. 1640 (1972, p. 58). However, in the supplement to his catalogue of Jordaens’s drawings (1990, p. 154) he considered the painting to have been executed “in collaboration with the workshop” and by implication dating from around 1645, though it is evident from d’Hulst’s archive that he only ever saw a colour photograph of the painting.

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40 See footnote 61
41 See footnote 64
43 His notebooks are presently kept in the Archives of the Royal Museum in Antwerp
44 Archives, KMSKA, Rooses notebooks: Box III-p, August 1898- February 1899, p. 81
45 Archives, KMSKA, Rooses notebooks: Box III-z: p. 90 (1st Sept 1907)
46 Archives, KMSKA, Rooses notebooks: Box III-k: p. 207 (3rd December 1896)
47 Archives, KMSKA, Rooses notebooks: Box III-v: p. 131-132 (7th January 1904)
48 Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929), Director General of all Prussian museums from 1906 to 1920, was a scholar of Dutch 17th century painting and Italian Renaissance art
49 Léo Van Puyvelde (1882-1965) was chief curator of the Royal Museums of Fine Arts in Brussels, and professor of art history with a particular interest in 16-17th c Flemish and Dutch painting
50 Expertise by Prof. L. Van Puyvelde, dated February 4th 1965 and situated at Villa Cynos, Cap Martin, France (Photographic Library, Rubenianum, Antwerp)
51 Roger-Adolf d’Hulst (1917-1996) professor of art history, renowned scholar of Jacob Jordaens and the expert on his drawings
52 Prof. R.-A. d’Hulst Personal Archive, Rubenianum, Antwerp
Studio of Jacob Jordaens, formerly Michel Van Gelder Collection, Brussels, o./c., 168.5 x 239.5 cm - KIK-IRPA photo neg. n° 618 C, showing a vertical seam in between the old couple

After Jacob Jordaens, CBC-Bank, Grand Place, Brussels, o./c., 169 by 240 cm
What appears to be a studio version of the Arenberg composition was sold as lot 131 at the François Adam (Camrose, Alberta - Canada) sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, 8-9th November 1922 as originating from the castle of Ammersoyen, the Netherlands and the collection of Baron van der Gracht, and was last reported as in the collection of the widow of Michel Van Gelder, Brussels. It was allegedly auctioned on her behalf at the Dorotheum in Vienna in the fall of 1944. According to the 1922 sales catalogue the Van Gelder painting was signed and dated 1661 on the lower right, a date Van Puyvelde accepted with reservation in the exhibition catalogue of 1928. The painting on canvas measures 168 x 239 cm (ill. opposite page; for a larger illustration see part II, p. 76) and is minimally larger than the Arenberg composition.

Another canvas (169 by 240 cm) was until recently considered a studio version, but is now identified by the SRAL, Maastricht as a 19th-century copy after the Arenberg painting; it is presently owned by the CBC-Bank, Grand Place, Brussels (ill. opposite page; for a larger illustration see part II, p. 77).

A third studio version or copy (oil on canvas, 165 x 237 cm) was owned by Paul Perutz, Vienna, in 1932, at which time Gustav Glück certified it as an authentic Jordaens. Present whereabouts unknown (ill. see p. 20; for a larger illustration see part II, p. 78).

The composition was also engraved in reverse by François Auguste Moitte (1748-90) with the title Recreation de la Table and the inscriptions J.Jordaens Pinxit F.A. Moitte filius Sculp. and dédié à Monsieur Jeaurat peintre du Roy, Recteur en son Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, et Garde des Tableaux de sa Majesté à Versailles (ill. see p. 20; for a larger illustration see part II, p. 79). Since the print is dedicated to Jeaurat in his capacity as Garde du Cabinet du ROI, a nomination which only occurred in 1767, it is most probably executed in 1749.

The photo negative (Juley H27170-1921) of the 1922 sale catalogue illustration has been transferred with the Peter Juley Archive to the Smithsonian American Museum, Washington. The KIK-IRPA ACL photo negative n° 618 C was made at the time of the 1928 Brussels exhibition. The KIK-IRPA ACL photo negative n° 1752952 B dates from an unknown year. The picture was registered by the Belgian Government as war loot in 1948, see Répertoire d’oeuvres d’art dont la Belgique a été spoliée durant la guerre 1939-45, s.l., 1948, plate IX ill. n° 50, cat. n°125. The allegation of a sale in 1944 is a verbal communication from Mr Lust of the Belgian Ministry of Economic Affairs, who was responsible for the recent updating of information on wartime spoliation.


The picture was also exhibited at the 1928 Jordaens exhibition (see previous note), p. 52, cat. n° 97, as belonging to M. van Reininghe de Vooxrie. KIK-IRPA ACL Photo negative nr. 119878 B and with as provenance Jules van Meris, Poperinghe in 1890, who obtained it from the family de Ghyselbrecht d’Eecke.


Hollstein, IX, p. 228, nr. 36; Le Blanc, III, p. 34, nr. 4; Wurzbach, I, p. 772. Below left a further inscription reads Se vend a Paris chez Bacan et Pojanant Mds d’Estampes rue d’Hotel Serpente and below right Par son très humble et très obeissant Serviteur, Moitte le Fils.
Studio or after Jacob Jordaens, formerly Paul Perutz, Vienna, o./c., 165 x 237 cm
National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., Photographic Archives: Gluck 1954

François Auguste Moitte (1748-9), after Jacob Jordaens, copper engraving
or after that year. There are a number of differences between the engraving and the Arenberg picture, most notably the two repairs to the lead glass window in the painting are missing in the engraving.

The only other known painted version to have this feature is the Perutz painting. Accordingly, Moitte’s source could have been either the Perutz version or some other now lost copy. Max Rooses cited a fourth version in the Residenz in Würzburg, which he described as the original in his monograph on Jordaens, though curiously the illustration is of the Arenberg version, which he believed to be “by a pupil and retouched by the master”. However, no other mention of this painting can be found; neither in any of the catalogues or descriptions of the Würzburg Residenz nor in any of the publications by or on other museums in Würzburg. No information is to be found in the unpublished, handwritten 1905 inventory of the Bayerisches Staatsgemälde Sammlung, the Schönborn inventories or in photographic libraries. L. Van Puyvelde mentions the Würzburg painting, which he demotes to a studio replica, though he very likely never saw the painting and simply accepted Rooses’ citation of its location. Jaffé simply makes a passing reference to Rooses’ mention of the Würzburg version when identifying the Calloo inscription on the Wemyss As the Old Sing.

59 The engraving contains a number of other differences which cannot be related to either the Arenberg painting or any other known versions: for example the mouths of the old man and woman are much smaller, and it seems most likely that Moitte decided to make such changes to accord with the taste of the period.

60 M. Rooses, Jordaens’ Life and Work, London-New York, pp. 80-81


Führer durch das Frankische Luitpold-Museum in Würzburg, Würzburg, 1913 (Luitpold-Museum located in the Residenz from 1877 till 1896);


Führer durch das Frankische Luitpold-Museum in Würzburg, Würzburg, 1914, 2nd edition;

H. Kreisel, Die kunstlerischen Ausstattungen des Hauptsstück der Fürstbischoflichen Residenz in Würzburg, Inaugural Dissertation, Julius-Maximilians-Universität, 1922;

R. Sedlmaier & R. Pfister, Die Fürstbischofliche Residenz zu Würzburg, München, 1923

62 Kindly communicated by Dr Mirjam Neumeister, Curator, Alte Pinakothek München

63 Kindly communicated by Prof. Dr. D. Dombrowsky & V. Friedrich, both at the Institut für Kunstgeschichte Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, the latter having done extensive research on the collections of the Würzburg Prince-Bishops

64 Bildarchiv Foto Marburg; Bildarchiv Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, München; Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln; RKD, the Hague; Witt Library, London; Documentation du Louvre, Paris; Frick Reference Library, New York.

Interestingly enough a Dr. Alfred Perutz (Triest 1885 – 134 Vienna) is recorded as having specialised at both the Viennese and Würzburg Universities according to the Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1850-1950, Vienna, 1978, VII, p. 433.


66 M. Jaffé, Jacob Jordaens 1593-1678 (exh cat.), National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, p. 110 under cat. n° 67. This painting subsequently was acquired by the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa
Jacob Jordaens, *Fool holding a Cat*, formerly with Galerie Sankt Lukas, Vienna, o./c., 80,5 x 55,5 cm

Alexander II Voet (c. 1637-c. 1689)  
After Jacob Jordaens,  
copper engraving, 433 x 335 mm

Jacob Jordaens and studio, *Woman and a Fool holding a cat*,  
Formerly S. Wulc collection, Philadelphia, o./c., 111,1 x 115,9 cm
D’Hulst does not refer to the Würzburg painting whatsoever in any of his publications, since he must have doubted its existence early on.

A poor 19th century copy was included in a Hamburg sale in 1940⁶⁷. A variant of equally poor quality and showing only five of the eight protagonists but with the addition of a parrot on the right and a cartouche at the top inscribed *Soo d’Oude Soeng, Soo Pypte d’Ioenge* was offered for sale at Christie’s New York in 2002⁶⁸.

The figure of the *Fool holding a cat* proved to be a popular⁶⁹ composition: the best of the painted versions was with Galerie Sankt Lukas, Vienna in 1967-8⁷⁰.

A print in reverse of the *Fool holding a cat* with a smiling face was engraved by Alexander II Voet⁷¹.

The same smiling *fool holding a cat*, was also painted in a number of versions accompanied by a woman; the best example was in the S. Wulc collection, Philadelphia⁷².

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⁶⁷ 1940, H. W. Streit sale, Hamburg, lot 339 *As the Old Sang, So the Young Pipe*, COPY, 19th century, o./c., 160 x 226 cm, present whereabouts unknown
⁶⁸ 2002, New York, Christie’s, anon. sale, June ⁷⁸th, lot 89, ill., o./c., 144,8 x 198,1 cm; earlier provenance: circa 1930, The Hague, with Galerie Internationale; 1944, The Hague, Van Marle & Bignell, anon. sale, 25 January, lot 114, plate III
⁶⁹ J. Denucé, *Kunstuitvoer in de 17de eeuw in Antwerpen. De Firma Fourchoudt*, Antwerp, 1931, publishes no less then 3 receipts which mention a *So(d)strien near Jo(e)rdaen(s) (fool after Jordaens)*, dating from 1667 (*Ibidem*, p. 76); 1671 (p. 122); 1678 (p. 161)
⁷⁰ Present whereabouts unknown. See Galerie Sankt Lukas, *Katalog Gemälde Alter Meister, Winter 1967-8*, 1967, Vienna, n° 14, oil on canvas, 80,5 x 55,5 cm, ill.; M. Jaffé, *Jacob Jordaens* (exh. cat.), Ottawa, 1968, under cat 68, where mention is made of several pentimenti in the painting. The swept top indicates a later transformation at which stage a feather and two bells on the fools’ cap as well as a window, shown in the engraving, might have been painted out.
⁷² Present whereabouts unknown, oil on canvas, 111,1 x 115,9 cm. Literature: Rooses, 1908, pp. 81, 88, 151; Van Puyvelde, 1953, pp. 150, 204; Exhibited: 1905, Antwerp, n° 64; 1968, Ottawa, p. 110, n° 68, ill; Provenance: 1758, Brussels, Martin Robyn sale; by 1905, Paris, Porgès; 1966, Brussels, Dr Decapmaker sale, April 11th, lot 8; where bought by Stanley S. Wulc, Philadelphia; by whom offered at auction in 1973, London, Christie’s, June 29th, lot 53 and again in 1999, NewYork, Sotheby’s, May 28th, lot 60
Manner of Jacob Jordaens, H. W. Streit sale, Hamburg, 1940, lot 339, o./c., 160 x 226 cm

Manner of Jacob Jordaens, anon. sale, Christies, New York, 2002, June 7th, lot 89, ill., o./c., 144.8 x 198.1 cm
The Arenberg painting has been executed on a linen canvas without seams, which measures 168,5 by 237,5 cm, and as such likely to have been woven on a loom which produced material with a width of $2\frac{1}{2}$ ell or approximately 175 cm. The ell\textsuperscript{73} was the measurement normally used for fabrics and the $2\frac{1}{2}$ ell strip appears to have been one of the standard sizes in use\textsuperscript{74} as some other seventeenth-century canvas paintings have a closely corresponding warp width\textsuperscript{75}. The minor difference between the supposedly used loom width of 175 cm and the present day measurements of the Arenberg painting can easily be explained as almost no painting on canvas retains its original margins. It has been customary to cut off the tacking edges, wrapped around the stretcher when a painting was relined. This was also the case with the Arenberg painting which nevertheless shows primary cusping, indicating only minor reduction in format.

The wider a width of canvas the more expensive its purchase price\textsuperscript{76}, which explains why artists could be tempted to 'assemble' supports using a number of smaller strips of canvas rather than buying a single costly piece although such additions sometimes indicate later modifications to the composition\textsuperscript{77}. This was clearly not the case with the Arenberg canvas and to judge from the high quality of the weave\textsuperscript{78} – an average of 19 horizontal (warp) and 15

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\textsuperscript{73} J.M. Verhoeff, \textit{De oude Nederlandse maten en gewichten}, Amsterdam, 1983, p. 103: 1 Dutch ell = circa 70 cm; J. Kirby, \textit{The Painter’s Trade in the Seventeenth Century: Theory and Practice}, in \textit{The National Gallery Technical Bulletin}, vol. 20, London, 1999, pp. 22-3: 1 Brabant ell = 69,6 cm, used in both Antwerp and Brussels; Ghent crude linen ell = 76,5 cm


\textsuperscript{75} E. Van de Wetering, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 92, 127 concludes that for important portrait commissions from Rembrandt, painted on exceptionally large single strip canvases, it is obvious that importance was attached to having a canvas without seams: \textit{Anatomy Lesson of Dr Tulp}, The Hague, 169,5 x 216,5 cm; \textit{Portrait of Cornelis Anso and His Wife}, Berlin, 173,5 x 207,5 cm; \textit{Haman before Esther and Ahasuerus}, Bucharest, 187,5 (+..) x 234,8 cm; ibidem, p. 98 and note 48, p. 300-301: the largest single strip canvases of 17\textsuperscript{th} century date that have been found to date are 210 cm or 3 ell according to Van de Wetering; P.P. Rubens, \textit{The Brazen Serpent} (NG London 59) painted between 1635-40 on single strip of 186,4 x 264,5 cm (G. Martin, 1986, cited in note 2, p. 133); P.P. Rubens, \textit{St Dominic and St Francis of Assisi saving the world}, 555 x 361 cm (Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts) of which the largest strip measures 200 cm wide (Foucart, \textit{L’Arrestation du Christ de Jordaens. Anatomie d’un chef- d’œuvre}, Valenciennes, (1997), p. 35 note 4); P.P. Rubens, \textit{Philip II on Horseback}, 251 x 237 cm (Madrid, Prado) painted circa 1630, appears to consist of a single canvas and would thus be the largest single 17\textsuperscript{th} canvas known to date


\textsuperscript{77} Jacob Jordaens’s \textit{Portrait of Govaert van Surpele(?)} and his Wife (NG London 6293), 213 x 189 cm, of which 1636-8, which is on a support made up of six pieces of canvas, appears to have been conceived in at least two stages (J. Kirby, \textit{op. cit.}, p.24); see also J. Held, \textit{Nachträglich veränderte Kompositionen bei Jacob Jordaens}, in \textit{Revue belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art}, III, 1933, pp. 214-223 and K. Renger & C. Denk, \textit{Flämische Malerei des Barock in der alten Pinakothek}, München-Köln, 2002, pp. 222-225

\textsuperscript{78} J. Kirby, \textit{op. cit.}, p.24-25 cites thread counts averaging between 11 and 20 threads/cm for Flemish plain tabby weaves; Van de Wetering, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 98-99 shows average thread count for Dutch pictures to be ranging between 10 and 15 threads/cm with much rarer examples ranging between 14 and 19 threads/cm. On p. 96-97 he notes that larger canvases sometimes are of finer quality than smaller ones and that in the course of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century painters tended to use canvases of ever increasing coarseness, a tendency probably initiated by the weavers in an
vertical (weft) threads per centimetre – no expense was spared. The use of such a large, finely woven support coupled with the fact that there was a certain risk in trying to sell large-scale works that had been painted without an explicit commission, suggests the Arenberg canvas was ordered specifically and its measurements intended to fit a precise location. Though of course only speculation, it is possible the Arenberg painting was commissioned as schouwstuk to hang above the fire on a chimney breast; such paintings were usually of the exact same width as the mantelpiece.

The SRAL, Maastricht, has taken a number of paint samples from the Arenberg painting and found the build up consistent with other works by Jordaens treated by the SRAL: the first layer of ground is of a beige hue containing carbon black and earth pigments mixed with chalk; a second layer of ground covering consists of carbon black and the more expensive lead white which produced the grey layer that is typical of Flemish canvas grounds in the 17th century. These ground layer pigments are less fine than those of the oil paint, and all share the relatively unevenly pulvérised texture that is a common feature of handmade paint. The original paint layers underneath the area of the sky, which had been over-painted at some later date, were found to be in good condition and containing a lively azurite blue, whilst the 19th-century copy after the Arenberg picture contains no blue pigments. All the pigments used in that copy are very fine and evenly ground and the white highlights in the copy contain a non-lead white, i.e. throughout the copy commercially prepared paint that was available only

effort to reduce costs; D. Liot & E. Martin, l’étude et la restauration de l’Arrestation du Christ de Jordaens, in L’Arrestation du Christ de Jordaens. Anatomie d’un chef- d’œuvre, Valenciennes, (1997), p. 24: the widest single strip in this canvas measures 120 cm and has a thread count of 14 in both warp and weft. The painting dates from the late 1650’ies. Interesting detail: Jacob Jordaens’s father was an important cloth merchand.

The supposition that Jordaens used canvases of 2 ell or less for non-commissioned work is supported by the enlargement at a much later date of several paintings with warp lengths of less of than 140 cm in their initial format, which had obviously remained unsold in the studio: The King Drinks, Kassel; As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe, Munich.

One famous schouwstuk is Rubens’s Samson & Delilah (London, National Gallery; 185 x 205 cm unframed) which hung above the fireplace in the main room of Nicolas Rockox’s house in Antwerp. This room with its paintings and especially the framed Samson & Delilah fitting exactly the still existing 240 x 240 cm chimney breast, was depicted by Frans Francken II (Munich, Alte Pinakothek). Three surviving 17th-century Antwerp chimney breasts measuring respectively 170 x 235 cm; 180 x 260 cm; 170 x 270 cm are to be found in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, indicating large chimney breasts were a common feature in important houses.

The inventory of Anna Jordaens (+ 25th May 1668) cites ‘Een schauwstuck Coninck Drinkt van Mijnheer Jacques Jordaens’ (J. Denucé, De Antwerpsche “konsicamers”, Antwerpen, 1932, IX, p. 120)
after 1830 has been used. The aesthetic quality and the paint surface of the Arenberg picture greatly improved after removal of the varnish with its irregular gloss and considerable differences in thickness due to previous selective cleaning of highly lit details. It is now possible to clearly see the variety in Jordaens’s paint application - his brushwork and his medium manipulation - typical of his autograph paintings.

After cleaning, IR light revealed various stages of under-painting and numerous pentimenti resulting from changes made by Jordaens while executing the painting. The nature and quantity of the changes argues against their having been executed by a studio assistant working on the instructions of the master. Instead Jordaens must have taken on this task himself – especially if it was as important a commission as the size and quality of the canvas suggests – and spent a considerable effort getting the setting exactly right.

The more important changes relate to alterations of the table (lowered down and from oblong to round), the food and drinking vessels, and the background (see PART II: illustrations on pp. 56-59, 66-71).

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88 See Appendix 1, pp. 20-22, UV fluorescence photos prior to cleaning
89 YOUNG MOTHER: shading in fold of dress sleeve / outline of the back of her left hand
   FLUTEPLAYER STANDING BEFORE TABLE: outlines of dress, especially shadowing in armpit
   OLD LADY: right delineation of her right wrist
   OLD MAN: his left little finger and outline of one knuckle, the inside of the palm and wrist /
      shadowing inside his left shirt sleeve
   OLD MAN’S NAPKIN: outlines and some shading on the right
   OLD MAN’S CHAIR: some shadowing along horizontal top and right edge of back
   BAGPIPER: some outlines of his right sleeve
   SEATED FLUTEPLAYER: outlines of cuffs, shading on shoulder / shadowing on puffed cheek
   DOG: some outlines along the neck
90 TABLETOP: (see ill. PART II, pp. 58-59) originally rectangular as its reflection still indicates in the mirror behind the old woman and the angular form of the extreme left table edge covered by a napkin. The change to a rounded table occurred probably after the initial fruit still life on the table was painted over with first a pewter tankard and secondly a silver jug and before the latter was transformed into a broad footed silver gilt ewer with ornate handle / IR shows the rear of the table originally raised up
   STILL LIFE: (see extensive ill. PART II, pp. 66-71) IR of table between bagpiper and singing old man shows a glass flask of the same type as held by the king in the Kassel King Drinks and Triumph of Bacchus, now covered by the pile formed by the cheese and butterdish. The position of the glass flask is too high for the present table inclination and likely relates to the original position of the tabletop / IR of Raeren blue earthenware lidded jug indicate this was first intended with a wider collar / IR and X-rays of the silver gilt ewer with ornate handle show it had at first a straight moulded edge with foliate decoration along its top, without notches at the handle’s side, that was then transformed into a flared rim. This very decorative ewer was preceded by a smaller, lidded silver jug with simple handle and dragon spout positioned parallel to the picture plane, which itself was painted over a pewter tankard with its handle oblique to the picture plane and the right side of the foot partially covered by what was probably a fig. All this was preceded by a still life (positioned uncomfortably high) of some apples or similar fruit (relating to the originally more tilted tabletop), the napkin of the old man extending further to the left, two glasses on stem to the immediate right of the ewer / IR shows the bunch of grapes is painted over two oranges and part of the pewter dish on which the glass roemer stands
   BACKGROUND: (see ill. PART II, pp. 56-57) foliage and sky seen through the window extend well below both the wooden and stone window frame in a similar fashion as can be seen on the As the Old Sing, Alte Pinakothek, München and The King Drinks, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna / IR shows the bottom of the window frame has been raised / IR shows the gold patterning and dark velvet was painted after the figure group had been completed.
various stages of under-painting visible under IR light
Compositional changes visible under IR light
Less drastic, albeit numerous minor adjustments were made to the figures. This difference in handling depended on the subject matter can be related to Jordaens’s habit to make extensive and detailed drawings of figures from life, *na het leven* (see numerous examples in PART II: pp. 42-43, 45, 83, 90, 94, 100-101, 104-106) and these provided him with a considerable repertoire of figural types which he subsequently, often years later, adapted to suit different compositions and roles. In his review of the 1968 ground-breaking monographic exhibition on Jordaens in Ottawa, Julius Held noted that it was not without reason that Jordaens was prone to making repeated use of his own inventions and that this proved to be one means of authenticating works in his oeuvre.

Jordaens was clearly adept at visualising the role of individual figures in any given composition. Whether Jordaens when executing the Arenberg painting, Jordaens made detailed compositional drawings beforehand or felt confident enough to sketch the position of

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YOUNG MOTHER: IR reveals that her décolleté extended originally further sideways to her right and this was covered up in a second stage by her lace shoulder mantle / pentimenti show the knuckles of her left hand have been extended

FLUTEPLAYER BEHIND TABLE: three knuckles of his left hand are painted out / his right shoulder is extended with a dark edge

OLD WOMAN: the bottom tip of her right collar originally extended to well below the ewer’s flaring nozzle and must have been shortened to prevent visual confusion / IR shows that the lock of hair above her right ear is an afterthought

CALLO LEAFLET: underpainted form of lower right corner has been painted over along the bottom and extended in reserve to the right in the subsequently painted old man’s cloak (subsequently painted)/ pentimenti extend the lower left corner of leaflet over fur collar of old man / upper right corner of leaflet originally covering index finger of old man has been overpainted after the painting of the old man’s cloak with a similar dark colour but a different medium

OLD MAN: his left index phalanx is a pentimento / pentimenti show the top of his hat was raised

FOOL: pentimenti inside the sleeve of his raised hand

BAGPIPER: IR-photography shows a flared pipe initially extended into the area where in a later phase the cheese on the table was painted over a glass bottle. The study after life in chalk of the bagpiper (Fondation Custodia, Paris) shows the pipe also extending much further down than is presently the case in the Arenberg painting. Undoubtedly the Arenberg bagpiper’s hands also at first followed the lower positioning of hands on the pipe in the drawing /A further pentimento along the lower edge of the pipe in its present position indicates that its tip ended differently in the first stage of being repositioned higher / under normal light it can be observed that the bagpiper’s right shoulder and his right eye were at first more elevated such as in the preparatory drawing. Both have been repositioned lower, giving a better sense of perspective and physical effort in blowing the pipes than in the preparatory drawing

DOG: both ears and his left eyebrow originally higher up / his breast and lower throat originally crossing over the edge of the young fluteplayer’s dress

See for example the old lady in profile in the signed and dated 1617 *Daughters of Cecrops*, KMSK Antwerp and the *Visitation* (1641 [commissioned] - 1642 [delivered]), now at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons; a similar example of figures being ‘recycled’ and used in a completely different context can be observed in the Arenberg painting: the bust of the young lady and the head of the boy playing the flute behind the table are adapted from Jordaens’s *Veneration of the Eucharist* of circa 1630 (National Gallery Dublin) where used as the personification of the Church and as the Christ child. See illustration in PART II, pp. 54-55; the profile of the young mother in the Arenberg painting resembles very closely that of the Virgin in a drawing at the Boijmans-Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam (ill. see PART II, p. 50); further lit.: N. De Poorter, *Seriewerk en recyclage: doorgedreven efficiëntie in het geroutineerde bedrijf van Jacob Jordaens*, in *Concept, Design & Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)*, s.l., 1999, pp. 224-227

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the figures directly on his canvas, is uncertain. Technical analysis regarding the background, explained in more detail in the following paragraph, tends to prove the former as does the preparatory sketch for the bagpiper: drawn specifically for the Arenberg painting, IR photographs of that painting indicate that the pipe and most likely also the hands were originally painted in a lower position similar to the situation in the drawing. The subsequent adaptation of the bagpiper’s hands and sleeve was necessary to accommodate the head of the young flute player, whose exact placing had not yet been anticipated in the study nor in the first rendition of the bagpiper on the Arenberg canvas.

Once Jordaens had established how the figures in the Arenberg painting should interact, he then set out to complete his composition by creating an appropriate setting. This is where Jordaens liked to be experimental judging from the number of changes to the still life on the table – altering, for example, the position and type of the elaborate ewer four times before he was satisfied. Cleaning also revealed lines of very dry, pigment-rich paint on top of the brown paint layer of the wooden window frame, which itself had been painted only after Jordaens had executed the blue sky, trees and roof visible through the window. These lines were used to position the lead pattern in the glass on the window over the blue sky, and IR light shows that this pattern originally extended further down. The existence of considerably more landscape detail, which was later covered up by the wooden window frame; the ensuing use of perspective lines instead of squaring to establish the lead-in-glass pattern; finally the raising of the window frame, concealing part of the lead-in-glass pattern, all point to the absence of a detailed compositional drawing or at least are further proof of ad hoc artistic inventiveness and the hand of the master at work.

The pattern of the brocade in the background is confidently executed and was the last part of the painting to be completed. This is evident from the examination under UV light, which indicated all areas of dark velvet as pentimenti, for which Jordaens probably used a modified paint medium. It is important to note that viewing paintings by Jordaens under UV light is especially complex due to the many modifications and adaptations the artist made during the painting process and the various mediums and pigments Jordaens used.

After cleaning, the surface of the Arenberg painting was found to be overall in good condition, with only a few losses limited to local scratches and minor losses around the edges. The only area that had been overpainted at a later date was the sky and this later addition was safely removed, revealing the original blue sky to be in good condition. It was decided not to remove or retouch natural discolorations (for example the grey tone in the old lady’s lips, possibly due to starch in the paint medium). Minor abrasions were treated with ‘spot’ retouching, applied to the highest points on the paint surface which had been mechanically abraded during previous cleanings. Other minor areas of damage, including light ‘drip’ damages in the lower central section of the painting, possibly resulting from old cleaning treatments of the painting or from the ceiling of its location, were retouched.

94 The three surviving autograph compositional drawings depicting As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe (see Part II, pp. 66-71) are clearly subsequent adaptations of compositions that Jordaens first had tried out in oils
95 See footnote 90 and illustrations in PART II, pp. 86-87, 92
96 See ill. PART II, p. 56 Vienna, King Drinks: lead glass pattern also with pentimenti; ill. PART II, p. 57 Munich, As the Old Sang: stone windowframe painted accross the foliage
Ouders, kinders, op voedinge.

En qualick op-ghetoghen kind,
En is niet beter als een rind.
Rijke luyden, met veel goed,
Zelden kinders wiest, en goed.
Helden kinders dickwills zijn
Ouders schand, en grote pijn.
Wie heeft zijn moeder niet bekeks?
Gheen moeder is zoo boos op d'eer,
Die gheen goe kinders en begheert,
Lieve kinders at te zamen,
Hebben veel en zoete namen.
Het kind is wijs, en wis niet blend,
Dat wil en vást zijn vader kent,
Zoo veel stief-moers zijn der goed,
Almen voode ganzen voede.

Al wat de oude vooren zonghen,
Dat piepen oock daer naer de jonghen.
De groote lieden zyn bemindes
Meer van ghenucht, als van haer kinders.
De kinders wel de zorghe voen,
Maer somtijds oock wel vreugd aendoen.

Cats, Zinne- en minne-beelden, ed. 1792:

UILEN, BROŒN UILEN.

Een aep die broet een aep, van uilen komen uilen, Wat brengt een efel voort als onbelompe guilen? Noit vont men foet gewas onrent een wilden tronk.

[12] En, naer het oude fingt, foo pijpt het kleynejonk. Gy, wilje zijn berecht wat u fal wedervaren Van 't meysjen datje vrijt ? let wie haer ouders waren; Siet ! dit is's werelts loop, al flaet 'et somtijds mis, De dochter wort een wijf als nu de moeder is.
In a room that looks out onto a building, blue sky and trees through the leaden glass window on the left and decorated with sumptuous black-and-gold brocade hanging on the back wall, a family congregates around a circular table laden with food and costly drinking utensils and glasses. Jordaens depicts his protagonists so close to the picture plane that it seems as if all the viewer has to do to join in the merry-making is pull up a chair and sit opposite the jolly old man with a full white beard and ruddy complexion. Beside him stands an old woman, probably his wife, one hand resting on the table, the other on the back of his chair. Both peer through their spectacles at the text of the song on the sheet he holds and which begins with the words Een Nieuw Liedeken Van Callo; these identify the subject of the song they are singing with such enthusiasm as being about the battle fought at Callo, near Antwerp on 20 June 1638 when the troops of the Catholic Southern Netherlands under the leadership of the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand defeated those of the Protestant North under William of Nassau.

A small boy with a mob of curly hair stands between the old woman and his fashionably dressed young mother seated on the very left. He plays the flute, reading the score from the book held by his mother, while a younger child, resting its elbows on her knees and too small to be able to read, also plays along. Opposite, on the right of the table, under the watchful eyes of a black-and-white hunting dog, a somewhat older boy concentrates intently on playing his flute while standing behind him an older youth with puffed up cheeks plays the bagpipes. He effectively closes the circle of those around the table thereby emphasising the presence outside this family group of the man standing in the background holding a cat. His red and blue coloured hood, a so-called motley, identifies him as a jester or fool.

Though the jester’s significance is not immediately obvious, his presence in the intimate gathering certainly indicates that this is not a commonplace genre scene. The identification of the subject is however made easy by the existence of a number of comparable compositions by Jordaens, some of which have the helpful addition of an inscription. The earliest extant example in the Royal Museum in Antwerp is signed and dated 1638 and bears the inscription “Soo d’ovde. Songen. Soo pepen de jonge” – as the old sing, so pipe the young. This identifies the image as illustrating a well-known seventeenth-century proverb which conveys

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98 See Part II, p. 46 for an illustration of a contemporary one page print of the song; M. Sabbe, Nog Eenige Gedichten op den Slag te Calloo, in Kon. Vlaamse Akademie voor Taal- en Letterkunde Verslagen en mededelingen, Jan-Feb 1930, pp.71-88; M. Sabbe, Brabant in ’t verweer, Antwerpen-Den Haag, 1933; R. Van Gerven, De slag te alloo 1638, in Annalen van den Oudheidkundigen Kring van het Land van Waas, 50, II, 1939, pp. 7-87

99 A contemporary one page print of this song (RUG ACC 22150 – see PART II, p. 46) reads: Een nieuw Liedeken van Calloy (ende Verbroeck) seer kluchtigh voor Broeders en Susters om singen: Gemaakt op een nieuwen verkeer. Op de wijse: Om een nieuwen Jaer dat sy haeren Man bat. The last sentence explains why the old man and the young lady in the painting hold different supports: respectively a pamphlet and a book. The young lady holds a book with the score of a different text on which the present song has to be chanted, whilst the old man holds the text proper.
the simple message that the young will imitate their elders. Jordaens could have known the proverb from a number of literary sources, but it was most probably his knowledge of the emblem books of Jacob Cats and Johan de Brune, neither of whom actually illustrate the proverb, which inspired his pictorial rendition. While there was a long and distinguished tradition of depicting proverbs and sayings among Netherlandish artists, the most notable of course being Pieter Breugel in the mid-sixteenth century, Jordaens revitalised the genre in an entirely new fashion by choosing examples which demanded imagery that was not immediately self-explanatory, as was the case for a proverb like “big fish eat little fish”. Instead Jordaens disguised the proverbs by imbedding them within a genre or genre-like scene. Sometimes he provided an identifying inscription, but if not, the paintings were themselves somewhat like riddles which required viewers to reflect long to identify the proverb.

“As the Old Sang, so the Young Pipe” was certainly one of Jordaens’s favourite proverbs with at least 8 very different recorded compositions by or after Jordaens and another 3 variations of these works. The above-mentioned painting of 1638 in Antwerp is the earliest dated surviving example, the latest a painting of 1658, previously in Berlin (destroyed). This latter painting is generally accepted to have been a workshop product and hence the date is unlikely to reflect the year of conception of the master’s original. In fact compositionally it fits well between the Arenberg and Ottawa paintings so that the original on which it was based should possibly be dated to circa 1640. All of these works follow a certain compositional principle – a close-up view of half-length figures gathered around a laden table placed (usually) in the corner of a room that is lit by a window and sometimes richly furnished – and have a fixed repertoire of figures – an elderly couple, a young mother with a varying number of children of different ages, a bagpipe player and a dog. The only painting to significantly diverge from this scheme is As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe in Munich which Jordaens signed and dated 1646 but which he began painting much earlier. Enlarging and reworking existing compositions is a particular feature of Jordaens’s workshop practice, but thanks to technological advancement it is now possible to establish a much clearer understanding of the evolution of a painting such as that in Munich. X-rays show that it too started out as a typical half-figure, close-up composition. At this early stage it depicted a different subject, namely The King Drinks which was subsequently transformed into the proverb As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe. Jordaens may have started the painting as early as 1635, which would make it

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100 The proverb exists in numerous variations. It is found in the Bible in Ezekiel 16:44: “Behold, everyone who uses proverbs will use this proverb about you. Like mother, like daughter”. Erasmus also included the proverb, in its Latin form, c. F.A. Stoett, Nederlandsche spreekwoorden, spreekwijzen, uitdrukkingen en gezegden, Zutphen, 1925, II, p. 123, no. 1736

101 Jacob Cats, Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuwen tijdt, The Hague, 1632; Jacob de Brune, Nieuwe wijn en oude le’er-zacken, Middelburg 1636

102 See his designs for a series of tapestries depicting proverbs, cf. K. Nelson, Jacob Jordaens: Design for Tapestry (Pictura Nova), s.l., 1998, pp. 103-117, where for example Jordaens also included the story of the Peasant and Satyr from Aesop’s Fables, which gave rise to the saying “To blow hot and cold”.

103 Suzanna and the elders, signed and dated 1657 (o./c., 225 x 164 cm, inv. GK.I.5194, Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin) is a good example of a studio replica of an autograph painting, signed and dated 1653 (o./c., 154 x 203 cm, inv. 352, Copenhagen Statens Museum)

104 The version in Ottawa (see illustration PART II, p. 92) is the only one not to have a bagpipe player, who has been replaced by an adult man playing the flute.
earlier than the Antwerp composition\textsuperscript{105}. Its transformation into a full-length busy composition with numerous additional figures, many of whom are misbehaving and certainly not providing the good example evident in the Antwerp and Arenberg compositions, may well have been done by Jordaens to accommodate the requirements of the more aristocratic clients he had acquired following the death of Rubens in 1640. They needed much larger paintings to fill their palatial rooms and undoubtedly also desired to see the paintings filled with a certain stereotypical image of Flemish bourgeois and peasant society, which was believed to be given to festivities and over-indulgence\textsuperscript{106}, and for which Jordaens had acquired a reputation for depicting.

Another version which may have been subsequently altered by Jordaens is that in Valenciennes, though unfortunately no technical examination has been undertaken to-date. The upper section of the canvas which includes the window and cartouche with the Latin inscription may be a later addition to judge from the seam running horizontally over the length of the canvas, starting above the old lady’s chair. One could speculate that Jordaens adapted its format because he decided to make it into the pendant of the \textit{King Drinks} in the Louvre\textsuperscript{107}. The woman standing behind the old man’s chair and holding the child was certainly an afterthought, which the owl and bagpipe player might also be. The strongly rendered reflection of light on the wall next to the window is quite different from the delicate play of light on the main characters and on the still life and in fact is very similar to the reverberation on the wall in the full length reworking of circa 1645 of the composition in the Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp of 1638\textsuperscript{108}. The attentive singing of the old couple and the child playing the flute are reminiscent of that painting and could date from the same time. The young woman with the child on the right holding the wine glass and looking out at the viewer with a challenging expression differs however dramatically from her counterpart in the Antwerp and Arenberg versions. Though only a technical study will bring certainty, one could speculate that Jordaens altered her appearance and role at a later date, maybe at the time he decided to enlarge the composition, because the prominence placed on the glass of wine held by the woman drastically changes the message relayed by the painting. Instead of presenting a positive example for the children by participating in the singing as in the Arenberg picture, or attentively listening as in Antwerp, her attention in the Valenciennes version is on the glass of wine and the viewer – not surprisingly, her baby takes no notice of the music unlike the child on its mother’s lap in the Antwerp version which follows the good example of the elders by ‘playing’ his soother as if it were a flute\textsuperscript{109}. Overall, the Antwerp, Arenberg and destroyed

\textsuperscript{105}This dating is based on the close similarity between the x-ray image of the original composition and the central part of another of Jordaens’s \textit{The King Drinks} in Kassel, which was probably begun around 1635 and enlarged around 1650-1660 (see illustrations PART II, p. 102).

\textsuperscript{106}The Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand was shocked at the propensity of Flemish peasants for consuming drink, especially during the many Kermisse festivities and complained about this in a letter to his brother Philip IV (see M. Rooses, \textit{Jordaens. Leven en Werken}, Antwerp, 1906, p. 66).

\textsuperscript{107}\textit{The King Drinks}, Louvre Inv.1406; \textit{As the Old Sing, So Pipe the Young}, Valenciennes Inv.1407-MR794. There has been considerable debate amongst scholars as to whether the Valenciennes and Louvre paintings are indeed a pair. They have been together since the latter half of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century but their compositions do not seem to have been conceived as a pair.

\textsuperscript{108}Private collection, Paris (See PART II, p. 87) probably intended as a full size modello in the Proverb tapestry series for which Jordaens drew up a contract with Brussels tapestry merchants in September 1644.

\textsuperscript{109}The raised glass of wine also features in the versions in Ottawa and in Schloß Grünewald in Berlin. This latter painting is considered a workshop product, which might explain why on the one hand the young woman is quite elegantly dressed while on the other for no apparent reason reveals her breasts.
Berlin versions all convey a literal and positive interpretation of the proverb by showing elders behaving in a manner worthy of imitation by children, whereas the other versions include symbolic and moralising elements relating to the transience of mankind and exhibit adult behaviour that is not always exemplary. The provocative posture and conduct of the young mothers in both the Jagdschloss Grünewald and Ottawa compositions, whose chests are more overtly presented to the viewer, is the result of an evolution in Jordaens’s creative thinking on the subject: from the prudish Antwerp young mother to the more advantageously dressed but still quite proper Arenberg lady (in a first state her bosom was turned a little more towards the viewer but then changed by Jordaens), followed by the lost original on which the destroyed Berlin studio version is likely based, showing the mindful young mother now facing the viewer. Jordaens finally takes this to the extreme when reworking the Munich version where the domestic ambience of his other versions is transformed into a rowdy scene more suited to a tavern. It is there, and in the Ottawa painting, that we again encounter the jester.

In the Munich painting Jordaens has placed the jester on the very left at the far end of the table, in the section added to the original composition in 1646. This jester is a witless creature, who stares with a toothy grin but vacant expression as he cups the chin of the girl beside him. Egged on by her companions, she is clearly making fun of the fool, and as the snarling dog makes clear, the scene is likely to soon become very unruly. It would seem that Jordaens contrasts this group with the music makers at the other end of the table, who although they are consuming wine and beer do so in a refined manner, and thus provide a positive role model for the young boy singing wholeheartedly from the song sheet. Indeed the artist seems to have introduced the notion of class distinction with the well dressed group around the table representing the middle classes who know how to behave, while the fool and his companions at the lower end as well as the rustic looking man raising his beer jug at the very right belonging to the lower echelons of society and thus examples of those who know no boundaries – interestingly the little boy at that end of the table is drinking from a glass of wine and thus following the poor example he has been set.

The jester in the Ottawa painting plays yet another role. His disposition within the composition is not unlike that in the Arenberg painting as he too appears not to be part of the music-making group. He holds up a wicker basket containing at least two birds to which he points with his finger while looking out knowingly at the viewer. This basket is generally believed to refer to the young children who are still under the control of parents – in the same vein the owl perched on the back of the old woman’s chair represents the night and therefore the end of life. The owl of course also stands for wisdom and here the wisdom of those with experience of life. The knowing grin on the jester’s face as he points to the basket suggests the caged birds may have another as yet undetermined meaning.

So what role does the fool holding the cat play in the Arenberg painting? Clearly he is an unseen presence for those in the room, yet he is the only one who is aware of the viewer, whose attention is caught by his raised left hand. Unlike his counterpart in the Munich and Ottawa paintings, he plays here a much more serious role, notwithstanding the grin on his face that naturally identifies him as a fool. Whereas the Munich fool is basically dim-witted, the jesters in Ottawa and Arenberg fulfil more the role of a fool who reveals the truth without fear of retaliation, a position sanctioned by the official role of jesters as servants of kings. The cat seems to provide the clue as to the nature of the jester’s warning in the Arenberg painting. Another proverb of Italian origin cited by Jacob Cats which Jordaens would have known uses
the example of the natural instinct of a cat to catch mice (Chi di gatta nasce, sorci piglia – that which comes of a cat will catch mice) to teach us that however much one tries to teach the cat otherwise, natural instinct will always triumph. The moral lesson for the viewer is that even if he or she follows the commendable example the elders provide for the younger members of the family, there is no guarantee that the children will develop into responsible adults. The very subtle nature of this imagery suggests the painting was made for an erudite and sophisticated audience and as such quite different from the symbolic overkill of the Ottawa version, where the Jester now laughs at the naivety of the viewer in believing that human nature can be controlled. Though of course pure supposition, the very positive behaviour of all those in the Arenberg painting coupled with the warning of the jester certainly makes the painting an appropriate image to hang in such as the Alexian convent, the religious institution from which it was sold in the eighteenth century and which devoted itself to the education of the young.

The hesitant transformation in the Arenberg painting of the original rectangular table into a rounded one with central foot, shows Jordaens is unfamiliar with this shape and indeed no earlier dateable painting or drawing by the artist recorded showing a round table is known. Unsure about the visual impact of his transformation, Jordaens attempts to stress the rounded edge of the table by painting a somewhat laboured double border indicating the thickness of the tabletop protruding through the knotted table carpet and woven tablecloth. It is only circa 1645 that he returns to this particular model and type of furniture clearly with greater confidence, in two drawings linked to the Proverb series and again in or shortly before 1653 when drawing two versions of Cleopatra about to dissolve the precious pearl. By that point Jordaens’s painterly style has evolved considerably, as can be seen by comparing, for example, the heavy-handed recycling of the features of the grinning fool and silver gilt jug in the Hermitage Cleopatra painting with the so much more subtle rendering of their ancestors in the Arenberg painting. A depiction of the King Drinks which stylistically is certainly later than the Arenberg painting and which can be dated at the earliest to the mid 1640s, is the only other known oil painting by Jordaens to include a round table.

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110 The look on the cat's face in the version of the proverb in a Parisian Private collection (see footnote 108) certainly suggests it is about to pounce on an unexpecting mouse lurking somewhere beyond the edge of the painting. In the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna King Drinks and the Louvre drawing of An Old Cat will not Play with a Ball (d’Hulst 1974, cat. A205), the cat is seen holding down a mouse with its paw.

111 Could the reverse of the printed 17th century song pamphlet (RUGent, Manuscript Coll. Acc. 22150) with the text of Een Nieu Liedeken van Callo, showing an anonymous woodcut of a festive gathering at a round table, The Prodigal Son, have inspired Jordaens or his principal to opt for this novel attribute in Jordaens’s oeuvre? (for ill. of woodcut, see PART II, p. 46).

112 See PART II, p. 60: An Old Cat will not Play with a Ball, Louvre inv. 20.017, Paris; Like to Like, Statens Museum for Kunst inv. 1720-1807, Copenhagen.


114 See PART II, p. 61: Cleopatra about to dissolve the precious pearl, o./c., 156,4 x 149,3 cm, s. & d. 1653; For details of Fool and Jug see PART II, pp. 45 & 70.

The elegant flaring collar, worn by the young mother in the Arenberg painting was the height of fashion in Antwerp from the late 1620’s to the late 1630’s as shown by Van Dyck’s portrait of Marie Louise de Tour et Tassis of circa 1629 and Rubens’s self-portrait with his wife Hélène Fourment (mid-1630s)\textsuperscript{116}. Jordaens’s use of this type of collar is recorded in only two watercolours\textsuperscript{117}, both dateable to 1630-40, as well as in the Arenberg painting, which shows that Jordaens was conscious not to reuse details which would have looked out of fashion in later years.

The proposed dating of circa 1639-1640 for the Arenberg painting on the basis of composition, is confirmed by a broader analysis of its author’s paint technique and style.

Jordaens is naturally inclined to emphasize the decorativeness of the surface by crowding his paintings with stout, animated figures into a busy and at times confusing arrangement of spatial forms, bathed in alternating dark and light tones\textsuperscript{118}. He only attains true harmony and assurance in his oeuvre between approximately 1635 and the early 1640s. His productions in those years are less huddled and achieve a sense of spaciousness and masterly restraint, rather than the often embarrassing exaggerations of his later oeuvre. Lighting during this prime time throws a warm lustre across the whole painting and penetrates with great subtly into every shadow on the canvas. The Caravaggesque influence, noticeable in the early paintings with their use of strong contrasts, is transformed into an interest in monumental genre scenes that push forward to the very foreground so that the figures are cut off by the edge of the picture. By this time the wealth of colours without undertones that characterises Jordaens’s early years evolved into a palette of rich, vibrant golden tones.

All this justifies Gerbier’s assessment of Jordaens as the foremost living painter in Antwerp following the deaths of Rubens in 1640 and Van Dyck in 1641. During the 1640s, Jordaens develops the style Rubens had adapted in his later years by applying thinner paint that becomes more and more dissolved in rainbowlike spots. Around 1650 his colours become crumby and cool and in the last years revive vividly next to deep warm darkness to end heavy and dull. His modelling and drawing meanwhile has become increasingly languid whilst drapery folds are more angular. In general one can conclude that while Jordaens’s work after 1650 remains iconographically interesting, his style tends to become an embarrassment. The realistic characterisation of individual figures degenerates into caricature, with expressiveness replaced by the grotesque, reminding one of the caricatures executed by Jan Massys and Jan van Hemessen a century earlier. All of this suggests Jordaens adapted his style to suit local taste.

\textsuperscript{116} See PART II, p. 51: Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna & Metropolitan Museum, New York
\textsuperscript{117} See PART II, pp. 51-53 The Embankment, British Museum, London a Gentleman and Lady with a Groom Saddling a Horse, Castle Ashby, Northampton. It is interesting to note that the gentleman in the Castle Ashby watercolour reappears in slightly later dateable paintings in the company of a lady whose folded down collar was fashionable soon after 1640
\textsuperscript{118} These characteristics are likely remnants of his early training as painter in tempera and watercolour of decorative wall hangings in which capacity he was received Master into the St Luke Guild of Antwerp. It is no wonder then that roughly from 1630 onwards he turns to the creation of an impressive number of tapestry designs, at least seven cycles, effectively becoming one of the most active tapestry designers of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century and thus achieving more for profane decoration in Flanders than any other painter, apart from Rubens.
CONCLUSION

Thorough analysis, careful relining, cleaning and in depth research of As the Old Sing, so Pipe the Young by Jacob Jordaens reveal a quite exceptional fully autograph picture in excellent condition:

The painting can be dated to circa 1639-40, when Jordaens was at his artistic peak. The numerous changes throughout, visible either to the naked eye or with IR, UV or X-rays, indicate that he composed the picture directly on the canvas. In his usual fashion Jordaens applied a cut-and-paste technique, whereby he extracted, transformed and reconfigured individual figures and motifs from earlier works. He in addition supplemented these with drawings after life, some of which were created specifically with the present picture in mind. In the case of the bagpipe player, he hadn’t at first anticipated to include the fluteplaying boy immediately in front: IR show the pipe and hands of the bagpiper were originally lower down like in the drawing.

Jordaens placed his figures to begin with around a rectangular table, as indeed he did in all other compositions of eating or merry-making which were executed prior to circa 1645. The straight tabletop, still visible in the reflection on the mirror, was also more tilted, which gave Jordaens a broader area on which to place his extensive still life. In order to enhance the perspective, Jordaens subsequently lowered the tabletop and made it spatially project forward by transforming it into a round table, the first of its kind in his known oeuvre. The change to the table may have prompted Jordaens to alter the torso of the lady in profile to the left, who was first turned more to face the viewer.

Jordaens’s changes to the table necessitated his having to adjust quite considerably his original still life: the glass flask at the right was overpainted and replaced by a pewter dish, cheese in a basket and a butter dish, a solution which also neatly solved the problem of a vacant area between the old man and bagpipe player; he transformed the broadneck earthenware jug into a lidded earthenware flask and completely eradicated the still life of glasses, figs and apples on the left. Instead Jordaens painted a bunch of grapes and a pewter tankard which he clearly laboured to perfect: its handle first protruded out at an angle to the viewer, the vessel was then changed into a lidded jug with a dragon spout and placed parallel to the picture plane, in two further steps Jordaens transformed it into the elaborate ewer with large foot. Since the outline of the large ewer interfered with the collar of the old lady, Jordaens reduced the size of the collar.

With the main subject of the composition firmly in place, Jordaens could finally start work on the background and painted first the view on the left, subsequently enclosing and partly overpainting it with a stone surround in which he placed the wooden frame and shutter. Only then did he paint the lead pattern in the window, as can be deduced from the still extant traces of perspective lines and a central pinhole in the paint. Still unhappy with the window, he further raised its lower edge. The rich pattern in gold brocade was the last detail to be added and UV-light shows Jordaens used a different paint medium for the dark velvet and some final details in the figures. Such changes in the type of paint used are typical for Jordaens and have been observed in other autograph paintings.
The painting was in all likelihood made at the request of a patron, since it is executed on a single piece of canvas of unusually large size and very fine quality, which increased considerably the cost of production. The specificity of its size indicates it was probably intended as a chimney piece, which does explain the exaggerated positioning of the mirror and original rectangular tabletop. Archival research shows that the Alexian Order in Antwerp, cited as the original owners in the 1838 sale catalogue, was indeed well endowed and had their cloister rebuilt by 1630. Among other commitments, the Alexians were dedicated to the re-education of the ‘prodigal’ sons of well-to-do families.

From 1838 until after 1956 this picture formed part of the highly important collections of the Dukes of Arenberg. The Jordaens only recently resurfaced after being hidden from public view and scholarly opinion for over a century.

The cleaning and restoration at the SRAL (Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg) in Maastricht by specialists who had already restored several other important paintings by Jordaens ensured the painting was treated to the highest museum level. The beauty of the lively brushwork, which had been hidden below many layers of varnish, makes this picture a sublime tribute to an artist all too often trashed by scores of studio paintings.

Brimming with life, the true beauty and significance of this painting can only truly realised by placing it in the company of the best of Flemish Baroque – where without doubt Jordaens can hold his own with Rubens and Van Dyck.