Figures in a Landscape Flemish Panel Painting attributed to Valckenborch

Painting Pairs Report: Art History and Technical Study

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Introduction to the Project

For the past several years, postgraduate students in the History of Art and Conservation departments at the Courtauld Institute of Art have collaborated to research paintings in need of conservation, technical examination, and art historical analysis. Each "painting pair" is composed of one art history student and one conservation student who use their complementary skills to learn about a single object. Findings are presented at two research forum events at the Courtauld over the course of a half-year period.

We received our painting in late November, and discovered very quickly that it is both an unusual and extraordinarily interesting piece. The panel arrived with only a partial provenance and an uncertain artistic attribution. Moreover, the panel was not in particularly stable condition, with several visible splits and a heavy yellowed varnish that had fundamentally changed the appearance of the scene on the panel. Decorations on the back of the panel suggested that the object had at one point been part of larger object, perhaps a piece of furniture or a musical instrument.

Over the next five months, we attempted to learn as much as possible – technically and art historically – about the panel. The report that follows documents our findings, presents opportunities for further research, and proposes approaches to conserving the object. Given the time constraints of the project, there remains much to learn about the panel itself and even more to learn about objects like this.

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Dimensions: 780 x 870 x 15 mm

Figure 1: Left: Front; Figure 2: Right: Back

Introduction to the Object

The panel is composed of two main sections [**Figs. 3** and **4**]. The shape of the larger part, with decoration on the reverse, is very suggestive of the truncated lid of a harpsichord, a type of European keyboard instrument known from the fourteenth century. Centres of keyboard instrument manufacture grew up in Flanders, England, Italy, France and Germany. One of the most prominent was Antwerp, where these instruments were produced from as early as 1505 until around 1680.¹ Harpsichords came in many forms and these evolved and multiplied from the fifteenth through to the eighteenth centuries. The larger instruments in particular became status symbols for the wealthy social elite; they were treasured as luxury items and decorated to accord with the sumptuous surroundings for which they were made.

The shape of the lid here is typical of the large instruments which had the keyboard (or multiple keyboards) at one end and a long, tapering body with a curved 'bentside' [for example, **Fig. 5**]. This is the form of keyboard instrument with which the name 'harpsichord' is most commonly associated, and to which the term will refer throughout this study. However, in Antwerp the term also encompassed virginals [for example, **Fig. 6**], spinets and other keyboard instruments, and a single maker might produce all of these.² From 1557, keyboard instrument makers in Antwerp were required by law to be enrolled in the Antwerp Guild of St Luke, which comprised nearly one hundred craft professions.³ The Liggeren (the Guild register) documents the masters and apprentices of various professions that entered the guild each year.⁴ One of the most prolific and celebrated 17th-century keyboard instrument-building families was the Ruckers dynasty, beginning with Hans Ruckers the Elder (c.1550-c.1598), who entered the Guild in 1579 and was succeeded by his sons Ioannes (1578-1642) and Andreas I (1579-c.1651), grandsons Andreas II (1607-c.1654) and Ioannes Couchet (1615-1655), and the sons of Couchet. Survivals of their and contemporary workshops provide a glimpse on building practices and the ways in which keyboard instruments were decorated.

¹ Kottick, E. L., *A History of the Harpsichord* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 31, and Kipnis, I., ed., *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopaedia* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 123.

² Kottick, (2003), pp. 2-3 and p. 5.

³ Peeters, N., 'The Guild of Saint Luke and the Painter's Profession in Antwerp between c.1560 and 1585: Some Social and Economic Insights' *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 59, no. 1 (2009), p. 142.

⁴ Rombouts, P. and van Lerius, T., *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche sint Lucasgilde*, 1872.



Figure 3. Diagram (reverse of panel) showing lid and insert parts, board joins and current battens.



Figure 4. Diagram (reverse of panel) showing lid part and aspects of original construction.



Figure 5. Anon. Flemish, 1580-99, double manual harpsichord, Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels. © MIM



Figure 6. Joannes Grauwels, 1580, virginals, Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels. © MIM

Introduction to the Art Historical Context and Period

The Low Countries – present-day Belgium and the Netherlands – has historically been a centre of trade and artistic achievement. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Antwerp, one of the epicentres of commerce and a hub of artistic training and trade, had also become something of a flashpoint in the religious struggle between Protestants and Catholics. The fall of Antwerp in 1585 meant that the majority of Protestants, including Protestant artists, left the city, which remained a territory of Catholic Spain. After 1585, the city worked to regain its economic pre-eminence, and continued to produce and export important artists and artwork [**Fig. 7**].⁵

Antwerp produced many goods for export, especially luxury goods like musical instruments [**Fig. 8**]. These works were sent across Europe, where presumably they were prized possessions. The artists of Antwerp also produced religious and secular paintings and books for sale in Antwerp and across Europe [**Fig. 9**].⁶

Throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Antwerp continued to produce a large number of painters and a small but significant number of harpsichord makers [**Fig. 10**]. Artists were effectively required to be members of the Guild of St. Luke's, which collected dues from members, maintained standards of artistic excellence, and monitored the training of future artists. The register of the Guild is one of our best sources of information about how and with whom artists worked in Antwerp during this period, as few other documents survive [**Fig. 11**].

While we have records of painters collaborating on individual works, and assume that instrument makers and painters worked together on many instruments, we have limited information about workshop practices both within individual workshops and between different artist workshops. Oftentimes it is impossible to establish what parts of a work were made by the hand of a master or the hand of an apprentice. We also know that some wives and widows may have played a role in their husbands' workshops, particularly after their husbands' deaths.⁷

The two artists who have historically been associated with this panel – Lucas van Valckenborch (c. 1535 - 1597) and David Vinckboons (c. 1576 - 1632) – both had close ties to Antwerp, and worked in a courtly Flemish style. Valckenborch was a member of a family of artists who moved from Mechelen to Antwerp and then left after the fall of Antwerp, eventually settling in Frankfurt am Main. Vinckboons was a generation younger than Valckenborch, also from Mechelen, trained in Antwerp, who eventually settled in Amsterdam. Both artists were famous for their scenes of aristocrats enjoying themselves outdoors [**Figs. 12** and **13**], though their styles differ considerably.

The subject matter that both artists depicted is related to the development of a courtly style that evolved from the end of the sixteenth century through the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Valckenborch worked as the court painter for the Archduke Matthias of Austria, the governor of

⁵ F. Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market: Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2003), 114.

⁶ Vermeylen, Painting for the Market: Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age, 94-95.

⁷ The Guild of St. Luke Register lists several "widows of" who ran their husbands' workshops.

the Spanish Netherlands, whose brother, Albert, eventually became the Archduke who ruled over the Spanish Netherlands after Matthias became Holy Roman Emperor.

Albert, and his consort, Isabella, ruled the Spanish Netherlands from 1601 to 1621, and from 1609 to 1621 oversaw what became known as the Twelve-Years Truce. During this period, there was some hope for a permanent end to hostilities between the Spanish Netherlands and the northern Protestant territories, though the couple's childlessness put an end to this vision. During their twenty-year rule, they oversaw a thriving court, promoting the work of artists like Peter Paul Rubens (1577 - 1640) and Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568 - 1625).

From the mid-16th century onwards, scenes of "Merry Companies" – groups of young moneyed people, oftentimes aristocrats – became very popular. These scenes were sometimes depictions of raucous entertainments, but were more typically scenes of outdoor banquets and amusements. Young couples paraded in gardens courting, sometimes making music [**Fig 14**]. Under Albert and Isabella, these scenes became even more common, as symbols of the courtly lifestyle as well as the desire for harmony through a well-ordered society. Indeed, Jan Brueghel the Elder painted a famous scene of the royal couple attending a peasant wedding: a potent symbol of their support of the institution of marriage [**Fig. 15**].⁸

This panel is in the style of these courtly scenes, though it is not by one of the more familiar court painters like Sebastian Vrancx (1573 - 1647) [Fig. 16]. The style is in fact closer to that of Kerstiaen de Keuninck (1560 - 1632), a Flemish artist of the period who painted in a brushier, looser style [Fig. 17]. We cannot say for certainty who painted this work, but it was likely made during the period of the twelve-year peace, and is in keeping with style, themes, and subject matter that artists from that period used.

⁸ C. S., "Jan Brueghel el Viejo: Boda Campestre, Banquete de Bodas Presidido por los Archiduques," in *El Arte en la Corte de los Archiques Alberto de Austria e Isabel Clara Eugenia (1598 – 1633): Un Reino Imaginado* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999), 164.



Figure 7. Map of Flanders, 1609.

	Spinets	Organs	Lutes	Other
berian Peninsula	17		0	
taly				
ingland				
German Hinterland				

Figure 8. Number of musical instruments exported from Antwerp, late 16th century.

543-1553 (ii	n Guilders)					
	1543-15	1543-1545		1553		
	Number of Shipments	Guilders	Number of Shipments	Guilders		
Paintings		1,012		. 17,543.		
	12.5					

Figure 9. Typical export of paintings and books from Antwerp in the mid-16th century.

Years	Number of Painters (Including Apprentices)	Number of Clavecimbel Makers
1556 - 1600	524 – Approximate	18 - Approximate
1600 - 1615	403 - Approximate	5 - Approximate

Figure 10. Approximate number of painters and clavecimbel (harpsichord) makers during the mid to late 16th and early 17th centuries.

Cerstiaen de Coninc	k, schilder.			
(Lucas) Floket, patr	oonschilder.			
Aert Vermylen , pat				
Beernaert de Rycke	, schilder.			
Hans Picheler, gou	tsmit			
•				
Hans Rukers, (de o	ude,) claversigmake	r.		
•• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	• ••	•.		
	Wouler Vervort by	Hans Snellinck, (den oude,) sollder.		
	Goris Verbruggen by	Gilliam de Vos, seilder.		
	Meester Otmaer (van Ommen) sy			
	Giron Borion by	Abraham Grapheus, (den oude,) scilder.		
	Den jongen by	Mathys scilder		
	Matys van Genderdeuren, (schilder			
	by	Merck de Groote, doeckscilder. Aert Claes, scilder.		
	Hans Rabel by			
	Hans Vermeulen by	Antoni Verstrepen, bourdnerwerder		
	Jan Rol	meester Octave Vene (van Ven.		
	Jaques Bousius by	schilder.)		
	Ariaen Put			
	Herman de Ryt, (schilder 3) by	Juliaen Tenier (Teniers I,) scilder		
	Huybrecht Janssen 4 by	Jaques Vrolyck, scilder.		
	Ariaen Dape, (schilder 5,) by	Tobyas van Haecht, scilder.		

Figure 11. Records from the Guild of St. Luke of Antwerp.



Figure 12. Lucas van Valckenborch, The Emperor's Walk in the Forest, 1590s, Vienna Museum.



Figure 13. David Vinckboons, The Outdoor Party, ca. 1610, Rijksmuseum.



Figure 14. Dirck Hals, *Merry Company*, ca. 1620, Staedel Museum.



Figure 15. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Wedding Feast presided over by the Archdukes*, 1612-13, Museo del Prado.



Figure 16. Sebastian Vrancx, Outdoor Banquet, ca. 1610-20, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.



Figure 17. Kerstiaen de Keuinck, *A Mountainous Landscape with a Waterfall,* ca. 1600, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Construction and Comparisons

The 'lid' portion of the painting is composed of three, perhaps four, horizontal boards [**Figs. 4** and **5**], probably joined with animal glue.⁹ From examination of the endgrain on the sawn edge with a Dino-Lite handheld microscope, there appear to be pores present [**Fig. 18**], which are characteristic of a hardwood species such as poplar. Harpsichords made in Antwerp, specifically those of the Ruckers family, are associated with poplar for instrument cases.¹⁰ The panel is the right thickness for the chunkier-cased instruments that became the norm in Antwerp from around 1565.¹¹ Pronounced tooling marks on the reverse of the insert part suggest that it was hewn to the same thickness in order to match. Pores are not evident on the endgrain of the addition, which may indicate that it is a softwood.

The shallow curve of what would have been the bentside is consistent with extant Antwerp instruments; Italian harpsichords, for example, tend to exhibit a steeper curve [for example, **Fig. 19**].¹² Many types of harpsichord were made in Flanders. These included single- and double manuals, with one and two keyboards respectively, and they could have two or three 'choirs' of strings. The compass (the lowest note to the highest note on the keyboard or keyboards, therefore comprising the number of keys), varied accordingly. Consequently, these instruments all differed in shape and size.¹³ Harpsichords underwent many modifications in later years, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For these reasons, and because this lid is truncated, it is not possible to ascertain what type of harpsichord it belonged to. However, the height of the panel, which would have equalled the length of the keyboard, can be used to estimate the length of the compass of the instrument. It does not correspond to the compasses most commonly found on Ruckers instruments, which could suggest that it was produced by a different Flemish maker.¹⁴

The X-ray [**Fig. 20**] shows where hinges and two structural battens appear to have been attached (see also **Fig. 4**), in common with many harpsichords. A 'lid flap', to cover the keyboard(s), would probably have been hinged on at the non-sawn end. The hinges to the lid flap would have been attached to the batten on the reverse [**Fig. 5** shows a harpsichord with the lid flap folded back].¹⁵ The X-ray reveals where square-headed nails remain in the panel, which may be remnants from these hinge attachments. It is not evident what form the hinges would have taken between the lid and main case. Smaller keyboard instruments, such as single-manual

⁹ O'Brien, G., *Ruckers: A harpsichord and virginal building tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 67. There is no evidence that dowels have been used here.

¹⁰ O'Brien (1990), p. 26.

¹¹ Kottick (2003), p. 134 and O'Brien, G., 'Ruckers: A harpsichord and virginal building tradition', PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1983), vol I, p. 269.

¹² Hubbard, F. *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Cambridge Massachussetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 45-46.

¹³ We took measurements from lids of surviving instruments in the collections at the Musical Instrument Museum in Brussels and the Vleeshuis Museum in Antwerp, but all differed subtly in size from each other and from this lid.

¹⁴ Correspondence with Dr. Grant O'Brien, 7 January 2017 and 2 February 2017. The compasses proposed by Dr O'Brien accounted for the thickness of the case sides, the width of the keyblocks at either end of the keyboard, and the key widths, based on data he has collected from Ruckers instruments. He pointed out that a different maker may have employed differently-sized keys and keyblocks. O'Brien lists the compasses known to have been used by the Ruckers family in O'Brien (1990), p. 173.

¹⁵ O'Brien (1990), p. 96.

harpsichords, tended to have wire hinges, while larger harpsichords had 'bifurcated strap hinges' [**Fig. 21** shows one such hinge on a harpsichord lid at the Amsterdam Museum, thought to be from a Ruckers instrument], but there is no clear evidence for either mechanism here.¹⁶

There is also a hole in the top left corner, through the entire thickness of the panel, which is often found on harpsichords and was possibly for a cord, which would have held the lid open while the instrument was played.¹⁷

Cross-sections reveal that this lid was originally painted green on the exterior, and the white arabesque-and-strapwork design visible today was added on top [**Fig. 22**]. Energy Dispersive X-ray analysis (SEM/EDX) shows that the green layer contains a copper-based pigment, probably Verdigris. The layer has discoloured to brown near the top, even where it is covered by the paint of the arabesque design. This is a common occurrence in copper green glazes and is caused by exposure of the paint to UV light, which implies that some time had passed before the white patterns were added.¹⁸

Green painted decoration has been found on the exterior of many sixteenth- and seventeenthcentury Flemish keyboard instruments. Most of these are virginals, but there is evidence that some harpsichords may have been painted green.¹⁹ A recent study of a number of virginals and harpsichords at the Musical Instrument Museum (MIM) in Brussels shows that the green contributed to an effect of imitation porphyry [for example, **Figs. 6** and **24**].²⁰ First, a layer of chalk or gypsum is applied, mixed with carbon black or indigo. On top of this, off-white spots of chalk-pigmented paint are 'splattered' on. The copper green glaze is applied last. Cross-sections from the decoration on the reverse of the panel we are studying [**Figs. 22** and **23**], show that the green is applied over a yellow-brown chalk layer similar to the paint of the 'splatters' (layer 2) on the MIM instruments, but the black-containing layer is absent. The different layer structure may suggest that imitation porphyry was not the effect sought here, but it is likely that the technique for exterior decoration varied between workshops.

The exterior decoration on harpsichords was often updated during their lifetimes, according to the changing fashions of interior décor or the tastes of the countries that they ended up in. The design shares similarities with the elaborate arabesques that are found on punched leather wall panelling in the Netherlands from the later seventeenth century; however, the design here seems most compatible with the late seventeenth-century Baroque designs of Jean Berain (1640-1711), featuring prominent strapwork in combination with acanthus leaves and scrolls. Many Flemish harpsichords ended up in eighteenth-century France and were redecorated to integrate them with the decorative schemes following contemporary court taste [an example is shown in **Fig. 25**]. However, these kinds of designs found their way into much decorative ornament throughout

¹⁶ O'Brien (1990), pp. 169-170.

¹⁷ Alternatively, the lid would be leant against the wall. Prop-sticks were not used. See O'Brien (1983), vol I, p. 272.

¹⁸ See, for example, Scott, D., *Copper and Bronze in Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2002), p. 297. ¹⁹ O'Brien (1983), vol. II, p. 552.

²⁰ Saverwyns, S. and Van Bos, M., 'Looking Beyond the Decorated Surface: a Material-Technical Study of Decorations on Ruckers Instruments', in Vandervellen, P., ed., *The Golden Age of Flemish Harpsichord Making*, in press. The cross-section is taken from the report of technical analysis of instrument 2934 by M. van Bos and S. Saverwyns, January 2016, Musical Instrument Museum, Brussels.

Europe during the eighteenth century and so the instrument may not have had to travel to France.²¹

²¹ See, for example, 'Age of the Baroque' in McCorquodale, C., *The History of Interior Decoration* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1988), p. 101.



Figure 18. Microscope image of wood endgrain, from sawn edge, lid part, showing possible pores (or 'vessels') of a hardwood.



Figure 19. Anon. Italian, harpsichord lid, Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels. © MIM



Figure 20. X-radiograph of the panel.



Figure 21. Original hinge on harpsichord lid with painting by Pieter Isaacsz, 1604-7, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (on loan to Amsterdam Museum).



Figure 22. Cross-section of painted decoration on the back. Layers 1 and 2 constitute the original green decoration, and layers 3 and 4 are of the arabesque-and-strapwork design.



Figure 23. Cross-section of painted decoration on the back, with just layers 1 and 2 present. Layer 1 = chalk and possibly earth pigments

Layer 2 = copper green pigment, lead white, earth pigments and chalk.



Figure 24. Image and cross-section of the original imitation porphyry decoration on an anonymous Flemish harpsichord, c.1585. Musical Instruments Museum, Brussels. © MIM 2016 (Marina Van Bos / Steven Saverwyns).

0 = Wooden support Layer 1 = chalk or gypsum and carbon black Layer 2 = chalk

Layer 3 = copper green pigment



Figure 25. Detail of decoration on harpsichord by Jan Couchet the Elder, harpsichord, c.1650, redecorated c.1700. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. <u>http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/89.4.2363/</u>

Harpsichords, Music-Making, and Marriage

Throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the city of Antwerp produced hundreds of harpsichords, of which most do not survive [see **Fig. 26**].²² These instruments were made either for export or for local patrons, some of them to a specific patron's requirements (on commission) or otherwise "on spec" for a particular buyer type.²³ Generally speaking, harpsichords were only owned by an elite class of patrons in Antwerp society [see **Fig. 27**].²⁴ Our panel is thus one of a comparatively small number of survivors of a large group of objects made for a wealthy class.

Contemporary paintings in the Low Countries depict the use of harpsichords in family gatherings [**Fig. 28**]. Music-making was often a central feature of social life in the Low Countries, and there is a growing body of scholarship about popular songs. In a society that was constrained by customs designed to promote chastity until marriage, many couples played music or sung together as part of courtship practices. ²⁵ Scenes of "Merry Companies" – described above – often depict music-making as part of the raucous and festive activities in which young people engaged, oftentimes in gardens or outdoors [**Fig. 29**].²⁶

This panel thus likely depicts scenes of courtship in addition to possibly serving as an object that young people may have courted around. Scholars have suggested that the farther forward a couple appears in a painting, the closer they are to marriage, and indeed, pies like the one on this panel were often a feature of wedding celebrations [**Figs. 30** and **31**].²⁷ Scenes of marriage and courtship, as mentioned above, often took a highly symbolic function in society as representations of a political and social desire for harmony and peace. Music, indeed, is constructed around ideas of harmony and order, another useful metaphor that reinforces contemporary political mores.

While we cannot be sure of the scene on the panel's intended meaning, nor can we say for certain how the harpsichord from which it came had been used, we can be sure that the object and how it was used was shaped and informed by contemporary practice and belief. One can imagine the daughters of a wealthy family playing to the suitors around it – a process that might end in a church like that probably depicted in the upper left corner of the panel [**Fig. 32**].

²² See O'Brien, G., 'Ruckers: A harpsichord and virginal building tradition', PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1983), vol I, 147.

²³ The term "on spec" was introduced to us by Dr. Sabine van Sprang in a conversation on March 29, 2017.

²⁴ This is from unpublished research by Dr. Timothy de Paepe, shared on April 13, 2017.

²⁵ For more information about the role of music in courtship, see H. Rodney Nevitt, Jr., *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

²⁶ For more information about Merry Companies and outdoor scenes of merry-making, see E. Kolfin, *The Young Gentry at Play: Northern Nertherlandish Scenes of Merry Companies 1610-1645* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2006) and K. J. Hellerstedt, *Gardens of Earthly Delight: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Netherlandish Gardens.* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986).

²⁷ Nevitt, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 160 and A. Lenders, *The Art of Clara Peeters*, ed. Alejandro Vergara, trans. Diane Webb. (Antwerp and Madrid: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten and Museo Nacional del Prado, 2016), 76-79.

Per 8-9 Days	1
Per Year	Approx 41
From 1580-1620	Approx 1640
Surviving Harpsichords from 16 th and 17 th century	Approx a few hundred
Surviving Ruckers/Couchet Instruments (Harpsichords) - 1580 -1670s	100 (60)

Figure 26. The number of harpsichords made in Antwerp and how many survive.

	Number of Inventories	Number of Clavecimbels	% of Households with <u>Clavecimbels</u>
1600-1609	123	16	13.01
1610-1619	205	11	5.37
1620-1629	361	54	14.96

Figure 27. Commonness of harpsichord ownership in 17th century Antwerp.



Figure 28. Frans Floris, *Family Portrait (Van Berchem Family)*, 1561, Stedelijk Museum Wuys-Van Campen en Baron Caroly.



Figure 29. Circle of Lucas van Valckenborch, *River Landscape in the Spring with Castle and Noblemen*, 16th c., private collection.



Figure 30. Close-up of the pie on the panel.



Figure 31. Clara Peeters, *Still Life with Tart, Silver Tazza with Sweets, Porcelain, Shells and Oysters*, c. 1612-13, private collection.



Figure 32. Close-up of the probable church in the background of the panel.

Technical Examination

The technique on the 'lid' part of the panel is typical of Flemish landscape paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It has a chalk ground [see **Fig. 33**] bound in a proteinaceous medium, probably animal glue.²⁸ In cross-sections a thin translucent layer was observed on top of the ground, lightly pigmented with white and black pigments. This could be an 'imprimatura', which would have served to prevent oil in the subsequent paint layers from being absorbed by the porous ground, and perhaps to tint the ground prior to painting.²⁹

The sky and landscape appear to have been blocked in first with long, broad brushstrokes, whose texture is apparent under normal viewing conditions and visible through overlying paint layers. The brushstrokes of this layer are very pronounced in the X-ray [**Fig. 20**], especially in the area of the sky, due to the lead white content. The X-ray also reveals that elements of the composition have been roughly incised or daubed into this lowest paint layer with a stiff brush while it was still wet – for example, the architecture and the branches of the trees [see **Figs. 34** and **35**]. These outlines have not been religiously followed in the painting.

It can also be seen from the X-ray that a reserve has been left for some of the foreground figures as the brushy lower layer is painted around them. The composition has then been built up around these figures in layers from background to foreground. The figure with the lyre and the couples walking and dancing in the middle-distance have been added last, more sketchily. This is consistent with the technique described by Gifford of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Flemish landscape painting.³⁰

Examination of the painting with Infrared Reflectography, using an Infrared Vidicon television system and an Osiris Infrared Imager [**Fig. 36**], revealed apparent underdrawing in a liquid medium in a few select areas, most of which are faces and hands, summarily placing features like the eyes and nose [**Figs. 37** and **38**]. Many outlines throughout the painting are reinforced in paint containing an infrared-absorbing pigment, and may well obscure further underdrawing.

The overall technique is quite 'spontaneous' in appearance. In this respect it is similar to surviving instrument lid paintings by anonymous artists. However, it also recalls the work of artists like David Vinckboons (1576-c.1632), Pieter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Jan Brueghel I (1568-1625), and possibly Frederik van Valckenborch (1566-1623). These artists' works often feature a brushy imprimatura layer that is visible through the overlying paint layers. Rubens favoured an imprimatura pigmented to give it a streaky appearance, and he also sometimes marked figures' outlines into paint while it was wet.³¹ Highly esteemed painters like these are

²⁸ The proteinaceous medium was identified with staining tests on the sample.

²⁹ See, for example, Vandivere, A., 'Reconstructing intermediate layers in early Netherlandish paintings' in Wrapson, L. et al., eds., *In Artists' Footsteps: The reconstruction of pigments and paintings* (London: Archetype, 2013), p. 65.

³⁰ Gifford, E. M., 'Style and Technique in Dutch Landscape Painting in the 1620s' in Wallert, A., Hermens, E. and Peek, M., *Historical Painting Techniques, Materials and Studio Practice*, preprints from the symposium at the University of Leiden, The Netherlands, 26-29 June 1995 (The J. Paul Getty Trust, 1995), pp. 140-141.

³¹ See, for example, Farnell, S., 'The Prodigal Son by Peter Paul Rubens: Painting Technique and Restoration', *Rubensbulletin*, Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, p. 5, and Haack Christensen, A., Hermens, E., Koppel, G., Nurkse, A., Smith, P., Tempest, H. and Wadum, J., 'Christ Driving the Traders from the Temple:

documented as having been commissioned to produce harpsichord lid paintings, and their names would have presumably endowed the instruments with even more prestige.³² It is known that there were personal and familial ties between many Antwerp painters and harpsichord makers, including Rubens and Brueghel.³³ This painting is proficiently executed, with beautiful details in the figures' garments and the trees in the background, for example. However, in other areas, such as the food in the foreground, the paint is less finely applied, and the proportions of the figures are not convincing; this may hint at workshop practice. It is likely that this painting was executed by a skilled artist or workshop that perhaps specialised in the decoration of musical instruments, working here with the courtly theme seen in works by artists like Lucas van Valckenborch.³⁴

Pigments

Sixteenth-century Antwerp was a thriving trade and distribution centre for pigments, dyes and artists' materials.³⁵ The sky is a mixture of smalt and lead-white, and the trees and architecture in the background are painted predominantly in azurite. The grassy slopes are painted in a mixed green comprising lead-tin yellow, azurite, smalt and lead white, and the darker green of the foreground appears to be created with the addition of a copper green glaze on top. Vermilion is among the pigments used in the garments of the foreground figures, along with lake pigments, which were central to the dyeing industry and textile trade that flourished in Antwerp in this period. These pigments and mixtures are typical of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Flemish landscape paintings.³⁶

³³ O'Brien (1990), p. 12.

painting materials and techniques in the context of 16th-century Antwerp studio practice' in Hermens, E., ed., *On the Trail of Bosch and Bruegel: Four Paintings United under Cross-examination* (London: Archetype, 2012), pp. 29-30. ³² An instrument with paintings by Jan Brueghel I, Hendrik van Balen and Paul Bril is in the Musée de la Musique, Paris. See O'Brien (1990), p. 245. Rubens was commissioned to paint the lid of a harpsichord for Charles I in 1637, which 'doubled its price'. See Kottick (2003), n. 80, p. 126.

³⁴ Discussion with Dr Sabine van Sprang, 29 March 2017.

³⁵ See Vermeylen, F., 'The colour of money. Dealing in pigments in sixteenth-century Antwerp' in Kirby Atkinson, J., ed., *European Trade in Painters' Materials to 1700* (London: National Gallery, 2010), p. 358-359.

³⁶ 'Verdigris Glazes in Historical Oil Paintings: Instructions and Techniques', in van Eikema Hommes, M. H., 'Discolouration in Renaissance and Baroque Oil paintings. Instructions for Painters, theoretical concepts, and Scientific Data', unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Amsterdam, 2002), p. 102.



- 1 = Groundchalk bound in animal glue
- 2 = 'imprimatura'.....lead white, carbon black and earth pigments
- 3 = Paint layer skylead white, smalt and earth pigments
- 4 = Paint layer green leavescopper green glaze

Figure 33. Cross-section from painted sky on the lid part.



Figure 34 (left). Detail of X-ray showing where the tree and architecture have been drawn into lower paint layer whilst wet.

Figure 35 (right). The same detail in the painting under normal viewing conditions.



Figure 36. Infrared reflectogram of the painting, produced with an Osiris camera.



Figure 37 (left). Detail of infrared image, showing underdrawing in the face, bottom left couple. Figure 38 (right). The same detail in the painting under normal viewing conditions.

Flemish Paintings and Physical Transformation

Many harpsichords were structurally modified in eighteenth-century France in a process known as *ravalement*, in which changes were made according to new musical requirements, usually entailing enlargement of the instrument.³⁷ However, lids were generally not removed; the craftsmen who specialised in this practice tended to be very resourceful, and an existing painting would commonly be incorporated into the new, enlarged lid.³⁸ It is more likely that this lid was removed when the painting was regarded with more value than the instrument.³⁹ For example, in England, by the end of the eighteenth century the collection of Dutch and Flemish landscape paintings was gaining momentum, and it may be that there was guite a market for converted harpsichord lids. For example, a lid painted by David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690) in the Royal Collection, similarly cut down and with an insert, was auctioned off in Amsterdam to an English collector in 1800 (specified as a 'clavalcimbalstuk' in the auction catalogue) and purchased by George IV in 1814 [Fig. 39].⁴⁰ Interestingly, one harpsichord lid in a private collection [see Fig. 40] has had the addition of an insert, but not been cut down.⁴¹ This raises the question of whether the addition of the insert and truncation of the painting in this study took place on separate occasions. There may well be many more converted lids that are yet to be discovered, with other stories to tell.

The sky on the insert part is painted in a mixture of smalt, lead white, and lead antimonate yellow (Naples Yellow) [**Figs. 41** and **42**]. In the course of the eighteenth century, smalt became less favoured as a pigment as Prussian blue gained popularity.⁴² Although lead-antimonate Naples Yellow is known in some European paintings from the sixteenth century onwards, it only came into widespread use in the mid-eighteenth century when it replaced lead-tin yellow as a popular artist's pigment.⁴³ Therefore, altogether it is likely that the insert was added no earlier than the mid-eighteenth century. However, in layer 3 traces of barium sulphate were detected, which was introduced as an extender for paints at around the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ It is not clear from the samples whether this upper layer was added at the same time as the Naples yellow-containing layer; if it was, the insert is not likely to date from before 1800.

³⁷ The process is outlined in Kottick (2003), pp. 248-249.

³⁸ Conversations with Ben Marks and Christopher Nobbs (8 February 2017) and Alec Cobbe (17 February 2017). An example of this incorporation of the lid painting into the enlarged instrument can be seen in the harpsichord at Hatchlands Park, Surrey (National Trust), built by Andreas Ruckers in 1636 and ravaled by Henri Hemsch in 1763. ³⁹ Conversation with Ben Marks and Christopher Nobbs, 2 February 2017.

⁴⁰ White, C., *The Later Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London: Royal Collection Enterprises Limited, 2007), pp. 316-317. We are grateful to Rosanna de Sancha of the Royal Collection Trust for informing us about this painting.

⁴¹ This painting was kindly brought to our attention by Dr Sabine van Sprang at the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, 29 March 2017.

⁴² Muhlethaler, B. and Thissen, J., 'Smalt' in Roy, A., ed, *Artists' Pigments. A Handbook of their History and Characteristics*, vol. II (London: Archetype, 1993), p. 122.

⁴³ Dik, J., Hermens, E., Peschar, R. and Schenk, H., 'Early Production Recipes for Lead Antimonate Yellow in Italian Art', *Archaeometry*, vol. 47, no. 3 (2005), p. 19 and Wainwright, I. N. M., Taylor, J. M. and Harley, R. D., 'Lead Antimonate Yellow' in Feller, R. L., ed., *Artists' Pigments. A Handbook of their History and Characteristics*, vol. I (London: Archetype, 1986), p. 219.

⁴⁴ Eastaugh, N., Walsh, V., Chaplin, T. and Siddall, R. eds., 'Barium Sulphate' in *The Pigment Compendium: A Dictionary of Historical Pigments*, vol. I, (London: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2004), p. 39.



Figure 39. David Teniers the Younger, *Peasants Dancing Outside a Country House*, signed and dated 1645, oil on panel, Royal Collection Trust. Image: White, (2007), p. 316



Figure 40. Unknown Flemish Artist, *Clavicembel Lid (Courtly Hunt)*, 1610s, Private Collection.



- 1 = Groundchalk and lead white possibly bound in oil
- 2 = Paint layer skylead white, <u>lead-antimonate yellow</u>, lead-tin-antimonate yellow
- $3 = Paint layer sky \dots$ unidentified blue pigment, lead white

Figure 41. Cross-section from painted sky on insert part.



Figure 42. SEM/EDX spectrum from yellow particle in layer 2, showing presence of antimony and identifying it as lead antimonate (Naples Yellow).

Painting Provenance

As suggested above, the painting was likely made at the beginning of the 17th century in Antwerp by a Flemish-trained master painter (and/or his workshop) and a Flemish-trained master harpsichord maker (and/or his workshop). The panel was probably produced for a wealthy family who may have had either some tie to the court of Albert and Isabella or who at least wished to have an instrument that was in keeping with courtly fashion. The instrument may have undergone a campaign of redecoration while still owned by the original buyer. After that, the object's journey to the present owner's family becomes more uncertain.

Given the decorations on the panel's reverse, which are more in keeping with French designs than Flemish, Italian, or Spanish ones, we think it possible that the panel – while still part of an instrument – was brought to France, where the harpsichord was redecorated. From there, it seems likely that the panel was removed from the lid, either when the original instrument was discarded, or possibly as part of a process of ravalement. As suggested above, the major redecoration campaign likely dates to the first half of the 18th century or just before, which means that the instrument was probably complete until that point.

While there is some chance that the panel was not removed from the rest of the instrument before being brought to England, it seems more likely the panel arrived in England as a painting rather than as part of a lid or instrument, given the weight and inconvenience of moving an entire instrument. The growing taste for Flemish art during the late 18th and early 19th century in England – see, for instance, the collections of George IV and his contemporaries – means that the panel is likely to have been valued more as a painting rather than as part of an instrument at this moment in history.

Originally, we believed that the panel was likely to have entered the collection of the present owner's family during the time of Charles Jennens, who, while most famous as Handel's librettist, was an early and important collector of Dutch and Flemish art in England. Two surviving inventories of his collection date from 1761 and 1766, which list several paintings that could possibly be this panel [see **Figs. 43** and **44**].⁴⁵ At least a few of these works remained in the collection despite a major sale of Jennens's collection in 1774.⁴⁶ Jennens's heirs received his major collection of art as well as an extraordinarily expensive house that he built; the family slowly sold works from his collection and eventually the house that he bequeathed over the years that followed.⁴⁷ Most of the truly important works were sold: it seems probable, however, that a lesser work with a shaky attribution would have escaped sale [for chart that includes a list of major sales, see **Fig. 45**].

http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.link3.web&search1=british.

⁴⁷ See the Getty Provenance Index Database,

⁴⁵ The two inventories are: London and its environs described : containing an account of whatever is most remarkable for grandeur, elegance, curiosity or use in the city and the country twenty miles around it ... (London: R and J Dodsley, 1761), 76-97 and T. Martin, *The English connoisseur : containing an account of whatever is curious in painting, sculpture, &c in the palaces and seats of the nobility and principal gentry of England, both in town and country* (London: Davis and Reymers, 1766). 117 – 143.

⁴⁶ See "Langford Sale, London, April 27, 1774," Getty Provenance Index Database,

http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.link3.web&search1=british.

This story is one possible explanation of the painting's journey into the present owner's collection. The inclusion of barium sulphate in the insert, however, makes it entirely possible that the panel went from lid to painting in the early part of the 19th century, which was when the compound came into wider use. If this is the case, then the other likely moment in which the painting came into the present owner's collection is during the time of George IV, who briefly employed the present owner's ancestor as a Lord of the Bedchamber, and whose wife, the Queen, employed the same ancestor as her Lord Chamberlain. The King (and possibly his wife's) taste for art of this kind makes it seem likely that his contemporaries collected works of a similar time and style [**Fig. 45**] in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The earliest surviving family inventory of the present owner's collection is 1870, but it is not until a 1946 inventory that the painting is securely identifiable in the present owner's collection. These twentieth- and early twenty-first-century inventories identify the painting as the work of Lucas van Valckenborch, David Vinckboons, or a member of one of their circles.⁴⁸

We may never know for certain the panel's exact provenance, but pinpointing these moments of probable transference may help to direct further research into the painting's likely journey from Antwerp to England.

⁴⁸ Email from the owner, Saturday, January 7, 2017.
	1761 Inventory	1767 Inventory
Number of Vinckboons Landscapes	4 (5?)	4 (5?)
Number of Rubens Landscapes	1	1
Number of Bril Landscapes	3 (4?)	3 (4?)

Figure 43. Possible paintings in Jennens's collection that could be this panel.

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Figure 44. Inventories of Charles Jennens's collection, from 1761 (left) and 1767 (right).

Name/Title	Relationship to Previous	Dates	House	Art?	Sales and Inventories
C. Jennens		1700 -1773	G – built 1750	Yes!	1761, 1766 – Inventories 1774 – Langford
First Earl	Son of Jennens's niece and heir	1796 - 1870	G; P	 Lord of the Bedchamber – GIV Lord Chamberlain – Q Adelaide 	1798 – Christie's 1820 – Phillips
Second Earl	His son	1821 - 1876	G; P		1870 – First surviving family inventory
Third Earl	His brother	1822 - 1900	G; P		
Fourth Earl	His son	1861 - 1929	G sale 1919 P		1918 – Trollope & Sons 1920 – Trollope & Sons
Fifth Earl	His son	1884 - 1964	Р		1933 – Christie's 1946 – Family inventory (ID) 1956 – Family inventory
Sixth Earl	His son	1908 - 1984	Р		A few major sales
Seventh Earl	His second cousin	1984 -	Р		Additional family paintings sold and re-acquired 1985, 1992, 2007 – Christie's valuations (for family)

Figure 45. Present owner's family's line of inheritance, showing key sales, moments of inheritance, and location of art collection.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Line of succession derived from communications with the owner, *Burke's Peerage*, and *The Official Baronage of England*.

Conservation Treatment

The painting is covered in a thick, yellowed varnish layer that conceals details and the beautiful colours. The varnish is currently being removed [**Fig. 46**], but before beginning this it was important to ensure that it would not reveal a dramatic difference between the lid part and the painted insert. Often in the conservation of paintings, later overpaint is removed if it is not executed sympathetically to the original composition. Here, it seems a lot of the lid part was overpainted when the insert was added, but removal of this overpaint could affect the integrity of image. Removal of the varnish should reveal their full extent and whether they should be left.

The panel contains several splits, which are visually disfiguring and causing active flaking and loss of material. The largest runs parallel to a board join and a split in this place is a common feature on harpsichord lids. However, in this case, it and the other splits are likely to have been exacerbated by the constraint of the non-original battens, which are attached by multiple nails and screws and preclude the natural movement of the wood with fluctuations in relative humidity. The battens could be removed and replaced with a more suitable support mechanism, and whether the large split can be brought together will depend on whether it is possible to remove and then re-attach the insert without sacrificing the object's integrity as a painting.



Figure 46. Detail images before and after cleaning the tree trunk, bottom right.

Future Display Options

Over the course of our travels, we saw many lids that had become separated from the rest of their instruments. These lids, like ours, were painted by well-trained and accomplished artists, and are interesting works in their own rights. Most of these lids are in storage, under-researched, with no immediate prospects for display.

The handful of lids that are on display can tell quite powerful stories about particular moments in history and the people that lived then: their tastes, behaviours, and concerns. One such lid is on display at the Amsterdam Museum [**Fig. 47**] with a sophisticated array of technological tools that allow visitors to explore the scene on the lid in depth. Presenting the lid on a wall with supplemental resources allows visitors to see the object as both a lid and a painting, a complicated, hybrid object with a full history of use and display.

Simpler display options might even be considered for the panel in this study, such as a frame that allows the owner to slide a covering down over the insert, presenting the object as a lid or a panel painting depending on the situation.

As more research is done on objects like this, this painting may contribute to a variety of compelling narratives about instruments, 17th century artistic practices, and the ways in which objects change over time.



Figure 47. Peter Isaacsz, *Harpsichord Lid showing an Allegory of Antwerp as the Center of World Trade*, c. 1604 – c. 1607. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (on loan to Amsterdam Museum).

Conclusion and Possibilities for Further Research

At the end of this project, we are left with a sense of gratitude that we got to spend several months with this extraordinary object, as well as a strong sense of what remains to be done. Objects like this panel remain profoundly under-studied. As we learned more about our object, we found that our panel sits almost perfectly at the center of a few under-studied areas, namely:

1. Non-Ruckers Harpsichords

Most surviving harpsichords from this period are identified as Ruckers or Couchet instruments, which has created a strong bias towards the research of these instruments. Flanders during this period was a thriving hub of musical instrument production; we hope that in the coming years, more will be learned about other harpsichord makers and their instruments, to identify the range of practices and techniques that these masters used.

2. 16th and 17th Century Flemish Workshop Practices

Other than the register of the Guild of St. Luke's, few records exist documenting the kinds of working practices that existed within different Flemish workshops with regard to the decoration of musical instruments. We only have some assumptions and theories about how apprentices and masters collaborated on different works. In most cases, we have only a limited sense of how large a workshop was or who did what on individual commissions. Knowing more about how these collaborations worked – and the composition and activities of different workshops – would help us better evaluate who did what on individual works.

3. Artistic Collaboration between Instrument Makers and Painters/Decorators in Renaissance Flanders

Most research into harpsichord decoration has focused on soundboards and individual maker "roses" – decorations that remain permanently attached to the instrument of origin. We have almost no information about how and when instrument makers asked painters to help them decorate instruments, how designs were selected, how much decoration schemes cost, and who within workshops carried these out. Panels like ours may help to establish the beginnings of answers to these questions, if not individually, then at least in aggregate. We hope that as more research is done into panels like ours, scholars will be able to establish webs of relationships amongst instrument makers and painters that can help suggest the nature of artistic collaboration during the period.

4. The Nature of Object Commissions

We still know very little about how, when, and why instruments were commissioned by particular patrons, and we know even less about instruments that were made for the open market or "on spec", following the tastes of general categories of patrons. As more research is done into panels like ours, perhaps scholars will be able to organize surviving instruments into rough groupings of objects that reflect how they were commissioned and

the classes of people for whom they were made, which will allow us to learn more about patterns of commissions and making. Without surviving records, we will likely only be able to guess at some aspects of these commercial exchanges.

5. 16th and 17th Century Instrument Decoration and Re-Decoration

As mentioned above, most research into harpsichord decoration has focused on soundboards rather than on lids. Most research into harpsichord lid decoration has focused on identifying types of regional decoration or particular patterns amongst a small group of makers. Much of this research has happened from the perspective of musical instrument conservators or scholars; much less work has been done by art historians.

Even less work has been done other than through technical analysis into the patterns of redecoration carried out over time on harpsichords and lids, which means that much remains to be learned about how, when, where, and why lids and instruments were redecorated. Learning more about if there are patterns of redecoration will help scholars to recreate individual object histories that shed light on the change in tastes and artistic practices.

6. Musical Instrument Transformation and Export in 17th - 19th Century Europe

Very few harpsichords remain in the same condition as when they were made, and yet, for most instruments, only a small amount is known for sure about when and why changes were made to objects. We know a little about Flemish harpsichords – specifically Ruckers's instruments – that went to France; we know far less about instruments that were sold to Italy, Spain, or England, either at first or later on in their histories.

As more is established about patterns of export, and the physical transformations that harpsichords went through – either into renovated instruments, or into panel paintings – we will be able to come up with better working theories about patterns of trade and individual object journeys.

Because our panel sits at the centre of these ongoing fields of research, developments in these areas will improve our ability to provide insight into the making, transformation, and life of the panel. At the same time, our research contributes to learning more about objects like this, both from an art historical and technical perspective, as few enough works survive from this period that each one is a tantalizing glimpse into particular times, workshops, and owners' lives. We hope to continue researching this panel and objects like this as part of learning more about the complex and engaging artistic worlds of Flanders, France, and England from the 16th through the 19th centuries.

We have greatly enjoyed working together on this project, and we found that our respective backgrounds in art history and conservation were invaluable throughout; we learned from each other and constantly shared ideas. For example, research into the painting's iconography and costume styles provided clues to its Flemish origin, and this was borne out by the technical analysis of the painting technique, the identification of an original green paint layer on the pack of the lid part and investigation into the lid's construction. These findings enabled us to identify paintings and musical instruments for comparison, and consider who the painter may have been and the possible working process. Thorough research into the painting's provenance was informed by the identification of the pigments in the lid part and insert, enabling us to propose a date for the insert. This enabled a better characterisation of the later campaigns of paint on the piece and their extent, which is important for the ongoing conservation treatment of the painting. We also came to realise that the genre of paintings on instruments is relatively unexplored, and we were able to share and exchange findings with others undertaking research on this subject. The project has been an exciting and fulfilling opportunity to connect with and learn from renowned experts in the fields of art history, historical musical instruments and paintings conservation, in the UK and abroad, and contribute to a growing body of research.

List of Illustrations

(Unless otherwise noted, all figures were taken or created by Katharine Waldron or Zoe Mercer-Golden.)

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Figure 33. Cross-section from painted sky on the lid part.

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Figure 35. The same detail in the painting under normal viewing conditions.

Figure 36. Infrared reflectogram of the painting with an Osiris infrared imager.

Figure 37. Detail of infrared image, showing underdrawing in the face, bottom left couple with an Orisiris infrared imager with a macro lens.

Figure 38. The detail shown in Figure 37, under normal viewing conditions.

Figure 39. David Teniers the Younger, *Peasants Dancing Outside a Country House*, signed and dated 1645, oil on panel, Royal Collection Trust. From: C. White, *The Later Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London: Royal Collection Enterprises Limited, 2007), p. 136.

Figure 40. Unknown Flemish Artist, Clavecimbal Lid (Courtly Hunt), 1610s, Private Collection.

Figure 41. Cross-section from painted sky on insert part.

Figure 42. SEM/EDX spectrum from yellow particle in layer 2, showing presence of antimony and identifying it as lead antimonate (Naples Yellow).

Figure 43. Table Documenting which Paintings might be this Panel from Inventories of Jennens's Collection. From: London and its environs described: containing an account of whatever is most remarkable for grandeur, elegance, curiosity or use in the city and the country

twenty miles around it ... (London: R and J Dodsley, 1761) and T. Martin, *The English* connoisseur : containing an account of whatever is curious in painting, sculpture, &c in the palaces and seats of the nobility and principal gentry of England, both in town and country. (London: Davis and Reymers, 1766)

Figure 44. Pages from Inventories of Charles Jennens's Collection. From: London and its environs described: containing an account of whatever is most remarkable for grandeur, elegance, curiosity or use in the city and the country twenty miles around it ... (London: R and J Dodsley, 1761) and T. Martin, The English connoisseur : containing an account of whatever is curious in painting, sculpture, &c in the palaces and seats of the nobility and principal gentry of England, both in town and country (London: Davis and Reymers, 1766).

Figure 45. *Table Documenting the Present Owner's Line of Inheritance and Probable Provenance of Panel.* From: emails from present owner, Getty Provenance Index Database.

Figure 46. Detail images before and after cleaning the tree trunk, bottom right.

Figure 47. Peter Isaacsz, *Harpsichord Lid showing an Allegory of Antwerp as the Center of World Trade*, c. 1604 – c. 1607. Oil on panel, 165 x 79.4 x 3 cm. From: Rijksmuseum Website, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-4947.

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