

Out of Bosch's shadow: A rediscovered altarpiece by Jan Mandijn

The Antwerp-based painter Jan Mandijn of Haarlem (ca.1500-1559/1560) is remembered as one of the most imaginative and prolific followers of Hieronymus Bosch (ca.1450-1516). It was the artist-biographer Karel van Mander (1548-1606) who first characterized Mandijn as being 'clever at spectres and drolleries very much in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch'.¹ Following and exaggerating Van Mander, the Haarlem chronicler Theodorus Schrevelius (1572-1653) wrote in equal fashion that he was a 'renowned painter [...], who in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch painted bogeymen, night birds in the sky, night ghosts, werewolves and various devilish creatures, terrifying to see, with a neat and elegant brush, in the way of the poets'.² Mandijn was not immortalized by Dominicus Lampsonius (ca.1536-1599) or Hendrik Hondius (1573-1650) in their printed portrait galleries of famous Netherlandish painters, but an alleged likeness of the artist was included in an eighteenth-century reissue of Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*, where Mandijn is surprisingly juxtaposed to Erasmus (1466-1536) and Hans Holbein the Elder (ca.1465-1524) (fig. 1).³

Today, the name of Mandijn has developed into a household attribution for Boschian pictures of uncertain authorship, even though there is, in fact, only one panel that can be attributed to Mandijn with confidence: a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, signed 'ian mandijn', in the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem (fig. 2).⁴ Starting from this *Temptation*, about a dozen other paintings have been attributed to his workshop, although their autograph status and chronology are continuously debated. Yet, most scholars agree that the core group of attributions should include the *Temptation of St. Christopher* in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (fig. 3a), the *Temptation of Job* in the Musée de la Chartreuse in Douai, and the *Last Judgment* in the Springfield Museum of Art.⁵

The pictorial evidence, however, appears to constitute only one particular side of Mandijn's artistic output. Indeed, archival records suggest that he must also have been versed in other types of imagery. In 1536/1537, for instance, Mandijn was commissioned to decorate a memorial plaque for the tomb of George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld (Scotland). The grand plaque of copper, once installed in the abbey church of Holyrood, was part of a larger monument in black marble, made by yet another Antwerp-based artist, the stone carver Robert Moreau.⁶ Mandijn was also involved in decorating the triumphal entry of prince Philip into Antwerp in 1549, but unfortunately, all works of art mentioned in such early accounts appear to have disappeared.⁷ In his own time, though, Mandijn must have been a painter of prestige. In terms of apprentices, as will be discussed in greater detail below, his studio was among the largest of the city, and in the years 1555/1559, Mandijn is recorded as a city painter and designer ('ordineerder') responsible for decorating Antwerp's sumptuous processions.⁸

1
Jan l'Admiral, *Portraits of
Hans Holbein (I), Erasmus and
Jan Mandijn*, 1764, engraving,
15.9 x 10.2 cm, Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. RP-P-1907-
4247.



A commission from the city of Zichem

A previously unpublished document in the City Archives of Antwerp sheds significant new light on the versatile nature of Jan Mandijn's workshop production. The document revolves around the commission of an altarpiece, dedicated to the life of St. Eustace, for the Brabant city of Zichem, located northeast of Leuven and now a municipal district of Scherpenheuvel. In the archival deed, dated 12 March 1550, a magistrate of Antwerp stipulated that the painter Jan Mandijn had confirmed 'to make the picture of St. Eustace on the basis of the conditions and terms articulated and included in the contract'. The contracting authority comprised the 'priest, *meier*, burgomaster, aldermen, churchwardens and master builders of the city of Zichem'. Jan Mandijn, the magistrate reported, had eventually promised to hold himself responsible for 'successively meeting and executing the aforementioned contract, and to the things he was committed and obliged to for the commission of the aforesaid panels'.⁹

Unfortunately, we can only guess at the terms which Jan Mandijn had to meet, as the original contract to which this 'borgstelling' (contract of suretyship) refers appears to be lost.¹⁰ The site at which the painted altarpiece of St. Eustace had to be installed is also unspecified, but it is not difficult to determine its original location from the circumstantial evidence. The late-medieval church of Zichem and its main altar were, after all, dedicated to St. Eustace, and it was precisely in the early 1550s that the building underwent an expansive renewal (hence the mention of both master builders and church officials in the document).

2

Jan Mandijn, *The temptation of St. Anthony*, signed 'ian mandijn', ca. 1530, oil on panel, 61.5 x 83.5 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, inv. OS I-543.



3a

Jan Mandijn, *The temptation of St. Christopher*, ca. 1530, oil on panel, 142.5 x 179 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 690.



Only little documentation of the period has come down to us, but the church records recount that the side aisles were completed between 1554 and 1557. According to an eighteenth-century transcript, the expansion was supervised by architects Rombout Bruyninckx and Claes Vlaeyen, who can perhaps be identified with the master builders cited in the deed of 1550.¹¹ The unnamed priest mentioned in this same document can be identified with Martinus de Mol (active 1505-1556), Zichem's parish priest at the time of the commission.¹² It was under his service that the cult of St. Eustace received a new impetus. A sixteenth-century chronicle narrates that in 1517, De Mol was able to acquire relics of



4a
Jan Mandijn, *Triptych with scenes from the life of St. Eustace*, 1552, oil on panel, ca. 319 x 201 cm (central panel), ca. 320 x 90 cm (each wing), Scherpenheuvel-Zichem, Church of St. Eustace.

St. Eustace for his parish through the agency of Jan van Langrode (active 1484-1519), abbot of Vlierbeek. The sacred remains were 'enthroned with honorable hymns and chants' upon arrival in Zichem.¹³ It therefore seems likely that Mandijn's altarpiece, probably destined to be placed on the high altar, was part of the church's larger project of expansion and redecoration at a time when a veritable presence of St. Eustace was introduced to the community.¹⁴

The city was spared by the iconoclastic riots of 1566, but it suffered great hardships in the wake of the sack of Zichem in 1578. The chronicles relate that both Spanish troops and local citizens damaged, looted or sold artifacts from the church of St. Eustace on several occasions. In 1583, Godefriedus van Thienwinkel, the then priest of Zichem, lamented that he found his church 'full of straw, filth and pieces of statues'.¹⁵ It appears that the above-mentioned relics of St. Eustace were among the most precious items taken away from the church. Van Thienwinkel singled out the unfortunate loss of 'a silver statue of St. Eustace, our patron, with a striking monstrence in which the relics of St. Eustace are preserved', which, according to the chronicler, had granted many miracles to its worshipers.¹⁶



4b
Jan Mandijn, *Triptych with scenes from the life of St. Eustace*, closed, 1552, oil on panel, ca. 320 x 90 cm (each wing), Scherpenheuvel-Zichem, Church of St. Eustace.

The altarpiece rediscovered

In spite of the violent upheaval in the later sixteenth century, however, Mandijn's altarpiece seems to have escaped the same fate. Surprisingly, the church of Zichem still preserves a sixteenth-century triptych with scenes from the life of St. Eustace that can easily be identified with the commission of 1550 (fig. 4a). The monumental panel painting with wings is now located in a northern side chapel, near the high altar, and measures about 320 x 381 cm.¹⁷ An inscription in a scrollwork cartouche at the top of the outside wings reads 'M·D·LII' (fig. 4b), situating the completion of the project in 1552, which fits the archival document of 1550 remarkably well.¹⁸ Notwithstanding the late-medieval format of the triptych, its pictorial style is classical and unlike anything else that is currently attributed to Jan Mandijn and his workshop. Before turning to the issue of form, however, let us first explore the painting's rich and rather rare iconographical program.

The triptych's iconography closely follows the account given in the *Legenda aurea* by Jacopo da Voragine (ca.1230-1298).¹⁹ According to this legend, Eustace was a Roman general in the service of Trajan, who converted to Christianity after seeing a cross lodged between

the antlers of a deer. Mandijn's triptych is centred on how the faith of Eustace and his family was tested when they were confronted with a sequence of disasters after their conversion. The left-hand wing singles out one of these trials and represents how his two young sons were assaulted and carried away by a lion and a wolf. Only years later would Eustace know that some shepherds and huntsmen, depicted on the far left of the panel, were able to save his children from the beasts. The central panel narrates how Eustace, who had lost both his honor and his family in exile, was restored to his former eminence. The far background represents how the soldier saint, back in the position of commander, went to war again and won a great victory. As the story unfolds, his two, now grown-up sons appeared to be among the best soldiers of Eustace's army. Their true identity was only revealed after their mother, a hostess at an inn, overheard a conversation between the two men about their childhood, a scene which is depicted bottom left of the temple. The foreground and middle plan illustrate how the family was eventually reunited and asked by Trajan's successor, Hadrian, to make a sacrifice to the temple of the idols in order to celebrate the successful outcome of events. The Christian family refused, however, and the right-hand panel of the triptych recounts their martyrdom. The background shows how the family was first thrown into an arena with a lion. The ferocious animal miraculously withdrew, however, but the family was eventually burned in a brazen bull, prominently painted in the centre of the composition.

Their bodies, the story concludes, had remained intact, and Christians built an oratory for Eustace and his family after they had buried the saintly remains.²⁰ Given that Mandijn followed the *Legenda aurea* in great detail, this last episode might be connected with the grisaille paintings on the reverse of the wings, where classical niches, painted in *faux marbre*, feature statues of Eustace and his family (with the spiritually defeated Hadrian and the vision of the deer at his feet) (fig. 4b). One can therefore wonder whether the community of Zichem imagined the tomb-like quality of the closed triptych – perhaps in conjunction with the reliquary of their patron saint – as a sort of pictorial imitation of Eustace's sanctuary of antiquity.²¹

Jan Mandijn and the antique manner

The classicizing style of Mandijn's *Triptych of St. Eustace* differs significantly from the Boschian idiom that is usually ascribed to his workshop. Indeed, the jumble of small-scaled caprices in the Haarlem *Temptation of St. Anthony* (fig. 2) is far removed from the antique or Italian features of the monumental painting in Zichem. These include not only the figures' muscular bodies and classical garments, but also several architectural details, such as the Corinthian and Ionic columns, the Roman lion's heads, and the shell niche behind the idol. Equally prominent, and typical for the 'Netherlandish' antique manner, are the scrollwork cartouches, which were an extremely fashionable form of ornamentation *all'antica* in Antwerp from the mid-1540s onwards.²²

Certainly, the triptych of St. Eustace must not have been Mandijn's first and only effort in the Netherlandish antique manner. In the year of the Zichem commission, on 23 September 1550, Jan Mandijn and a certain Hendrik van Schelle were paid an overdue amount for having painted some of the ephemeral structures ('stellagien ende poincten') for the above-mentioned triumphal entry of prince Philip of Spain into Antwerp.²³ While it is unclear from the account book what part of the festival architecture Mandijn was responsible for, engravings of the sumptuous event, published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550), make clear that its ornamentation and symbolism were overly classical. The allegorical program of the pageantry was envisioned by the humanist Cornelius Grapheus (1482-1558), and its decorative features included several distinctive elements of the Zichem triptych, such as the iron-like scrollwork, the lion's heads, the marbles and the classical colonnades.²⁴

Of course, Mandijn's knowledge and use of these classicizing motifs were hardly surprising in his day and age. The account book of the triumphal entry suggests that the artist

was surrounded by some of the city's foremost advocates of the antique manner. In fact, it records that no less a person than Hieronymus Cock (1518-1570) had painted similar 'stellagien ende poincten' for the entry.²⁵ Another noteworthy name mentioned as a painter in the administrative account was the sculptor and designer Cornelis Floris (1514-1575), yet another key exponent of the classical manner in the north.²⁶ Significantly, all of these artists had been working under the supervision of a certain Jan van Woluwe, one of principal designers of the entry, and one can thus assume that Mandijn was in close contact with these colleagues during the preparations of the conspicuous celebration.

The issue of the workshop

It is widely accepted that the production of large altarpieces generally involved workshop collaboration, and the monumental triptych of St. Eustace appears to be no exception. Even though our view of the original painted surface appears to be blurred by extensive overpainting, several variations in pictorial execution indicate that more than one hand was responsible for the painted panels.²⁷ The grand and well-proportioned figures in grisaille of the outer wings, for example, are of much higher quality than most of the figures on the inside panels. Some details of the inner panels, such as the central scene with the figure of Hadrian, the cartouche in trompe l'oeil and the greyhound, are rendered with equal verve and precision (fig. 4c), but many other elements, such as the supporting soldiers or the pagan worshippers, are far less convincing and suggest either the activity of less-skilled assistants or the presence of significant overpainting which remained undetected with ultraviolet light.²⁸

Two background scenes, moreover, are rendered in a distinctly free manner, notably with tints of grey and white in rich impasto, and exchange the 'Italian' mode of perspective and proportion for the realm of fantasy. This manner is exemplified by the sailing boat and the vivid image of warfare (including the three characters left of it) in the far backgrounds of the left-hand and central panels (figs. 4c, 4d). The pictorial quality of these imaginative

4c
Jan Mandijn, *Triptych with scenes from the life of St. Eustace*, detail of central panel, 1552, oil on panel, Scherpenheuvel-Zichem, Church of St. Eustace.

4d
Jan Mandijn, *Triptych with scenes from the life of St. Eustace*, detail of left wing, 1552, oil on panel, Scherpenheuvel-Zichem, Church of St. Eustace.





3b
Jan Mandijn, *The temptation of St. Christopher*, detail, ca. 1530, oil on panel, 142.5 x 179 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 690.

4e
Jan Mandijn, *Triptych with scenes from the life of St. Eustace*, detail of left wing, 1552, oil on panel, Scherpenheuvel-Zichem, Church of St. Eustace.

figures is perhaps the most familiar point of reference to the painterly technique that is usually ascribed to Mandijn and his workshop. A highly similar modeling of figures can, for instance, be found in the far-left background of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Haarlem (fig. 2). While the difference in scale makes it hard to draw further parallels between the *Triptych of St. Eustace* and the smaller 'Bosch' paintings, it should also be put forward that the main figures of the altarpiece correspond to some of Mandijn's larger-scale figures, such as those in the *St. Christopher* in Munich (figs. 3b, 4e).

The variety in quality and style thus suggests that the monumental project for the church of St. Eustace in Zichem was a joint venture between Mandijn and other painters working under his supervision. Unfortunately, little is known about the size and organization of Mandijn's studio, even though the 'Liggeren' (the official lists of members of the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke) reveal that apprentices were routinely trained in his workshop from 1530 onwards. Most of the recorded apprentices, however, remain nothing more than names: Hansken (1530/1531), Brosen (1535/1536), Coppens Verstraten (1539/1540), Lauken Steenhouders (1540/1541), Aert de Loose (1543/1544), and Hans Stamp (1544/1545).²⁹ The sole exception is Mandijn's last recorded (1557/1558) and most-celebrated apprentice, Bartholomeus Spranger (1546-1611), who would become a distinguished painter at the court of Rudolf II in Prague.³⁰ No works of Spranger's Antwerp training period are known today, but the discovery of a classically inspired triptych by Mandijn makes it easier to reconcile Spranger's overly 'Mannerist' idiom with the style of his former master. According to Karel van Mander, the well-known painter Gillis Mostaert (1528-1598) was also trained in Mandijn's workshop, although this is not supported by the archival evidence.³¹ This suggests that Van Mander was either mistaken or that the professional relationship between both painters was arranged beyond the official procedures of the guild. Perhaps Mostaert was not a pupil, but a journeyman ('ghesel') of Mandijn's workshop before he became a master painter in 1554/1555. After all, workshop assistants were never registered in the enrolment lists, and Van Mander was rather inconsistent in differentiating between apprentices, journeymen and assistants.³²

Another confusing case is presented by Van Mander's statement that Pieter Aertsen (1508/1509-1575) lodged with Mandijn, a fellow-expatriate from the county of Holland, after moving from Amsterdam to Antwerp.³³ This assertion cannot be confirmed by any documentary evidence, but a notarial record of 1542 makes clear that both artists were summoned together to estimate a couple of paintings destined for the Spanish market.³⁴ If Van Mander was right, the question still remains whether Aertsen lived with Mandijn as a workshop assistant (before becoming a master painter in 1535/1536) or whether their professional relationship was rather on equal terms.



5
Pieter Aertsen and workshop,
Triptych of the seven joys of Mary,
ca. 1554-1556, oil on panel,
175 x 140 cm (central panel),
175 x 65 cm (each wing),
Zoutleeuw, Church of St. Leonard.

In any case, it should be noted that there are several interesting parallels between the works of both painters. Previous scholars rightly noted, for instance, that the modeling of Mandijn's *St. Christopher* in Munich is closely knit to the large figure type of Aertsen.³⁵ The figures of St. Eustace on the inside panels of the triptych in Zichem also correspond to this same type, even though their original outlook might be obscured by profound repainting.³⁶ The compositional structure of the altarpiece of St. Eustace, moreover, resembles the triptychs Pieter Aertsen and his workshop produced for the church of St. Leonard in Zoutleeuw in this same period (ca.1554-1556).³⁷ The resemblance is principally applicable to the inside and outside wings of the two Zoutleeuw altarpieces, where analogous scenes of martyrdom are found. This especially goes for the wings of the *Triptych of the seven joys of Mary*, depicting the martyrdom of St. Erasmus, which feature a remarkably similar disposition of figures, treatment of gestures, and preference for draped garments in red and blue (fig. 5). Such shared stylistic traits, however, still reveal nothing about the professional relationship between Aertsen and Mandijn, even though they indicate that there must have been artistic exchange between both masters.

Returning to the issue of Mandijn's workshop, Martens and Peeters have estimated that less than one percent of the Antwerp master painters had more than five apprentices in the period 1500-1579.³⁸ The above list of seven or more apprentices, which excludes possible unrecorded journeymen, is thus exceptionally high and suggests Mandijn was in charge of a successful and rather large-scale enterprise. Moreover, as only a minority of the apprentices recorded in the Antwerp 'Liggeren' were able to acquire the master's title,

one can suppose that some of Mandijn's apprentices remained active as journeymen in his workshop after their training period (which lasted approximately four years).³⁹ Coppen Verstraten, for instance, acquired the title of master painter in 1547, nine years after his training commenced. Aert de Loose, equally, only became a master in 1552, which makes one wonder whether he was one of the workshop's associates when the *Triptych of St. Eustace* was being produced.⁴⁰

Conclusions

While many questions about Jan Mandijn remain, the rediscovery of the *Triptych of St. Eustace* prompts us to reconsider how eclectic and stylistically diverse the output of his workshop must have been. Mandijn's stylistic plurality, his ability to shift and fuse pictorial modes, conforms to recent insights into the works of other Netherlandish masters, such as Jan Gossaert (ca.1478-1532), Frans Floris (1519/1520-1570), and Pieter Bruegel (1526/1530-1569), who also embraced a variety of artistic idioms.⁴¹ This new addition to his oeuvre throws into question the dominant discourse of Mandijn as a 'drolmaker', a mere painter of burlesques.⁴² It appears, then, that it was the widespread vogue for Bosch (plus the authority of Karel van Mander) along with the lack of visual evidence that shaped the artistic personality of Mandijn as a sheer imitator of Bosch. The triptych of Zichem also calls for renewed attention to works of unclear authorship from the entourage of artists such as Pieter Aersen that adopt a similar idiom.⁴³ The *Triptych of St. Eustace* therefore creates new pathways for art historians to further disentangle what was once considered to be a Gordian knot of attributions.

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NOTES

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1 '[...] seer op zijn Ieronimus Bos fraey was van ghespooock en drolerijje', Karel van Mander, *The lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters*, H. Miedema (ed.), D. Cook-Radmore (trans.), Doornspijk 1994-1999, vol 1, pp. 78-79 (fol. 205r), see also vol 2, pp. 252-253, and vol 4, p. 220.

2 'Omtrent dien tijdt / is daer oock gheweest een vermaerdt Schilder Iohan Mandin, de welcke naer't ghevolch van Hieronymus Basch [sic] voor een manier hadde, Bulle-backen, Nacht-vogels in de Locht / item / Nacht-geesten, Weer-wolven / en verscheyde maecksel van Duyvelen te schilderen / schrickelijck om sien met een aerdtige en vercierlijcke Penseel / nae de Poëeten aert', T. Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, Haarlem

1648, p. 361. Cited in I. van Thiel-Stroman, 'Jan Mandijn', in N. Köhler e.a. (eds.), *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850: The collection of the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem*, Ghent 2006, pp. 233-234.

3 J. de Jongh, *Het leven der doorluchtige Nederlandsche en eenige Hoogduitsche schilders*, Amsterdam 1764, pp. 12-13, fig. A. The portrait appears to be derived from a woodcut attributed to Cornelis van den Berg (1699-1774). Its caption reads 'Ia[n] Ma[n]din Scil[der]. v[an] Ha[er]l[em]'. See Cornelis van den Berg, *Portrait of Jan Mandijn*, ca.1720-1774, woodcut, 5 x 4.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. RP-P-1910-1877.

4 Köhler 2006 (note 2), nr 300, pp. 543-544; A. Bagley-Young,

- 'St. Antonius behandeld: Een schilderij van Jan Mandijn onderzocht en gerestaureerd', *Halszaken* 17 (2007), pp. 2-4. A faithful copy, probably made by the same workshop, is in M – Museum Leuven (oil on panel, 68 x 102 cm, inv. S/383/O). In 1543, 'a temptation of St. Anthony on a lined canvas by Jan Mandijn' ('een temptatie van Sincte Anthonis op eenen dobelen doeck van Janne Mandyn') was mentioned in a marriage contract of the Antwerp painter Philips I Lissaert (ca.1497-ca.1561), see J. Van Roey, 'Een Antwerpse schildersdynamie: De Liesaerts (XVI-XVIIe eeuw)', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1967), pp. 83-116, esp. 102; see also J. van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche schilderschool*, Antwerp 1883, p. 161. Problematic is the monograph by M.R. de Vrij, *Jan Mandyn*, Zwaneburg 2006, p. 59 that considers the signature of the Haarlem *Temptation* a counterfeit and concludes that 'the real Jan Mandyn is lost to us beyond the hope of recovery'. This erroneous idea, however, derived from a rather unlikely claim by Van den Branden who argued Mandijn to be an analphabetic. See Van den Branden 1883 (note 4), p. 161 along with the critique in G. Unverfehrt, *Hieronymus Bosch: Die Rezeption seiner Kunst im frühen 16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1980, p. 280, nr 123; and M. IJssink and J. Koldewij, *De Kruisdraging in navolging van Jheronimus Bosch*, Brussels 2011, pp. 45-47, 52, n37.
- 5 The most important and synthetic discussions of his work are N.A. Corwin, *The fire landscape: Its sources and its development from Bosch through Jan Brueghel I, with special emphasis on the mid-sixteenth century Bosch "revival"*, unpubl. dissertation, University of Washington 1976, pp. 306-332; Unverfehrt 1980 (note 4), pp. 280-284; A.I. Davies, *16th- and 17th-century Dutch and Flemish paintings in the Springfield Museum of Fine Arts*, Springfield 1993, pp. 84-89; and L. Silver, *Peasant scenes and landscapes: The rise of pictorial genres in the Antwerp art market*, Philadelphia 2006, pp. 134-140.
- 6 Van den Branden 1883 (note 4), p. 161; J.S. Richardson, *The mediaeval stone carver in Scotland*, Edinburgh 1964, pp. 57-58; L. Campbell, 'Scottish patrons and Netherlandish painters in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', in G.G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries, 124-1994*, East Linton 1996, pp. 89-103, esp. 98. A full transcription of the document is provided in A. De Kegel, *Jan Mandijn, leven en werk: Een bijdrage tot de ikonografie der 16de-eeuwse Antwerpse schilderkunst*, unpubl. thesis, Ghent University 1971, pp. 52-53.
- 7 E. Roobaert, 'De seer wonderlijcke schoone triumphelijcke incompst van den hooghomogenden Prince Philips ... in de stad van Antwerpen ... Anno 1549 ...', *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten* 9 (1960), pp. 37-74, esp. 51, 60. Rather peculiar is the assertion of the Antwerp collector and connoisseur Peter Stevens (1590-1668) that he saw 'of this same Mandijn [...] a statue of Our Lady with St. Joseph, dated 1507 [...] [and] in the possession of the Duke of Buckingham' ('Van ditto Mandijn gesien een lieven Vrouwen beldeken met Ste Joseph, met dato 1507 toebehorende den Hertoch van Buquegem Engelsman dat t' Antwerpen toequam'). J. Briels, 'Amator pictoriae artis: De Antwerpse kunstverzamelaar Peeter Stevens (1590-1668) en zijn constkamer', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1980), pp. 137-266, esp. 215.
- 8 Van den Branden 1883 (note 4), pp. 162-163: 'Janne Leys ende Jan Mandijn de somme van twaelf ponden thien scellingen brabant, voir henre gaeighen als ordieenders ende meesters van deser stad ommegangen, over een jaer gaeighen, gevallen in Augusto XV^e vijfenvijftich [...] and 'Jan Leys ende Jan Mandijn, stadtschilder, de somme van drye ponden brabant, ter saecken van sesse guldens diemen elcken van hen voor een voeder houts, toegeveucht heeft, verschenen het jaer daerafin deser tegenwoirdiger maent January, blijckende bij der ordonantie in date IIIen January anno XV^e LIX met quintantie overgelevert'. This appears to conform Van Mander's assertion that Mandijn received a yearly pension from the city of Antwerp. See Van Mander/ Miedema 1994-1999 (note 1), vol 1, pp. 232-233 (fol. 243v), vol 2, p. 252.
- 9 'Jan Doudeure de Jonghe Jansone op. Bekende ende verclaerde Alzoe Mr. Jan demandyns schildere / vanden pastor meyerer borghermeester Schepenen metten kerckmeesteren ende boudemeesters der Stadt van Zichene aengenomen heeft te makene een tafele van St. Eustachius op den voet condition ende voorwaerden als breeder blijckende ende begrepen In sekere contracte tusschen henlieden op heden daer aff gemaect en gesloten. Soe eest dat hij Jan doudeure voorgenoomt geloeft heeft ende borghe gebleven is geloeft ende bleeff borge midts desen voer den voirs[eide] M[eeeste]r[en] Jan Demandyns aende voors[eide] pastoor meyerer borgemeester schepenen kerckmeesters ende bouwmeesters van Zichene voirs[eide] voer tvoldoen achtervolgende ende volvueren vanden voorseide contracte ende [tgene: crossed out] van tgene daer hij ter saken van den aenneminghe vanden v[oo]rs[eide] [wercke: crossed out] tafelen eenichsins gehouden ende verobligeert mach wesen ende unde obligavit se et sua cum relevatione f. per dictum M[eeeste]ren Jehan demandyns / Comparentem se et suis Eodem die sub sigillo. / Die xij Marty 1550'. Antwerp, FelixArchief, Schepenregister 240, WG II, fol. 109. I am grateful to Godelieve van Hemeldonck, who discovered the same document independently from Jan Van der Stock, but allowed me to publish these findings. See her unpublished inventory in the FelixArchief, G. van Hemeldonck, *Kunst en kunstenaars*, Antwerp 2007, nr S-535.
- 10 Liesbeth Helmus notes that even though a 'borgstelling' was usually included in the contract, it was equally possible to set down such an act of responsibility in a separate deed with reference to the main contract. This appears to have been the case for the Zichem commission, see L.M. Helmus, *Schilderen in opdracht: Noord-Nederlandse contracten voor altaarstukken 1485-1570*, Utrecht 2010, pp. 148-149, 158, n207. A comparable example, mentioned by Helmus, can be found in G. Asaert, 'Documenten voor de geschiedenis van de beeldhouwkunst te Antwerpen in de XVe eeuw', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1972), pp. 43-86, esp. 50-51.
- 11 'Onse kercke is voltrocken anno 1557, te weten de beucke met de afghangen ende vensters, welck werck begonst anno 1554, sijnde tot bouwers aengestelt Rombout Bruyninckx en Claes Vlayen. tot welck werck vele goederen en renten vercocht syn [...]. H. Van Leemputten, *Registrum pastorale*, 1726, fol. 15v (untraced manuscript formerly in the Church Archives of Zichem), transcribed in Z.E.H. Cappaert, 'Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de kerk van Zichem', *Meer schoonheid* 4 (1956), pp. 22-26, esp. 22.
- 12 For the list of priests see K. Corens, *Doen Brabant uytstak vrydom's vaen, wie zag ooit Sichem achterstaen? Vijf eeuwen geschiedenis van de stad Zichem (134-1605)*, unpubl. thesis, KU Leuven 2001, p. 192, app 14. The list is based on late-nineteenth-century notes in Leuven, University Archives (UAL), Archive Polydoor Daniëls, nr P/8 (55). This is confirmed by an account book of

- the local Brotherhood of Our Lady, where 'Mertten de Mol' is annually mentioned as the pastor of Zichem up to 1555-1556. Leuven, Rijksarchief (RAL), Kerkelijk Archief Vlaams-Brabant, nr 23009, 1531-1573 (account book of receipts and expenditure), pp. 156-183 (= 1549-1557).
- 13 'Obitus venerabilis in Christo patris ac domini, domini Johannis de Langrode, abbatis monasterii de Vlierbeke, qui nobis largitus est act suo conventu annuente pro suo anniversario, annue faciendo, reliquias sancti Eustachii, martyris, que nosta etate Zichensi in ecclesia summa cum veneratione habentur reservanturque. Anno 1517, sunt huc advecte atque cum ymnis et canticis honorabiliter intronisate per quam diligenti honorabilium virorum domini Martini de Mol, curati et Danielis de Binckem, oppida Zichemii villici procuracione indefessave eorumque instantancia ac opera, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo, feria tertia in rogationibus, cited in P.J. Goetschalckx, 'Eenige aantekeningen rakend de geschiedenis van Sichem', *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis bijzonderlijk van het aloude Hertogdom Brabant* 1 (1902), pp. 543-562, esp. 561. See the recent discussion in R. Suykerbuyk, *The matter of piety: Material culture in Zoutleeuw's Church of Saint Leonard (c.1450-1620)*, unpubl. dissertation, Ghent University 2018, p. 401. Martinus de Mol was appointed beneficiary of the high altar of St. Eustace in 1532. UAL, Archive Polydoor Daniëls (1845-1944), nr P/8 (56).
- 14 The church's main altar was dedicated to St. Eustace until 1779, when the old altar of the patron saint was demolished and replaced by an architectural ensemble dedicated to the Holy Cross that still stands today, see Goetschalckx 1902 (note 13), p. 562.
- 15 '[...] eodem tempore reversus in patriam, templum straminibus, sordibus et imaginum fragminibus plenissimum, inveni', see P.J. Goetschalckx, 'Sichem tijdens de Nederlandsche Beroerten in de XVI^e eeuw, van 1577 tot 1608', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis bijzonderlijk van het aloude Hertogdom Brabant* 1 (1902), pp. 377-387, esp. 382. See also G. van Thienwinckel, 'Eenige aantekeningen over onze zeer ongelukkige tijden, van voorvallen vol bitterheid en smert in de stad Sichem (1576-1616)', *Hagelandsche gedenkschriften* 5 (1911), pp. 17-27, esp. 21.
- 16 'Sequuntur quae vendita sunt: [...] Item argenteam imaginem S^{ti} Eustachii, nostri patroni, cum una adhuc insigni monstrantia, in quibus reliquiae S^{ti} Eustachii alio-
- rumque sanctorum clausae conservabantur ad oculandum, quibus multa miracula circa venerantes ostendebat Deus et ejus sanctus, patronus noster', see Goetschalckx 1902 (note 15), p. 383; Van Thienwinckel 1911 (note 15), p. 22.
- 17 The triptych was erroneously attributed to Jan I van Rillaer (ca.1500/1525-1570). It is in need of urgent conservation. A conservation file of 1959 is at the KIK-IRPA in Brussels (nr 1959.00095). The painting is virtually unknown to scholarship but has received some attention in art technical studies. Paint samples were analyzed in L. Kockaert, 'Note on the green and brown glazes of old paintings', *Studies in conservation* 24 (1979), pp. 69-74, esp. 70-71 (figs. 1-2), 73. A very insightful discussion of the four marks engraved on the back of the central panel (KIK-IRPA, BaLaT, nrs B180563-B180566) can be found in M. Rief, 'Engraved marks on Baltic wainscot boards', in C. Van de Velde e.a. (ed.), *Constructing wooden images*, Brussels 2005, pp. 127-146, esp. 135. Rief discovered that the peculiar marks of the Zichem altarpiece were engraved shortly after logging or during the trading process in the Baltic region (before the wood's shipment to Antwerp). One of them was successfully identified as a 'Waldmark' (forest mark) of a Lithuanian forest owner and timber producer. Two other marks (KIK-IRPA, BaLaT, nr 26652), also found on the back of the central panel, might represent heraldic fire strikers, but their origin and function remain to be clarified. Many thanks to Michael Rief, Seppe Roels and Hannah De Moor for sharing their insights on this matter.
- 18 Although the precise terms and conditions of the commission are unknown, a production or delivery estimate of two years was not unreasonably long for such a large-scale triptych. See the estimates in Helmus 2010 (note 10), pp. 136-137. To the best of my knowledge, the surviving account books of this period make no mention of expenses for the commission. I have consulted the following documents: RAL, Schepengriffies, nr 2460, 1541-1550/1585-1586 (account book of the burgomasters of Zichem); RAL, Kerkelijk Archief van Vlaams-Brabant, nrs 23003, 1526-1547 (account book of the receipts and expenditure of the priests and chaplains of the Church of St. Eustace of Zichem); and RAL, Kerkelijk Archief van Vlaams-Brabant, nrs 23009, 1531-1573 (account book of receipts and expenditure of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Zichem).
- 19 J. de Voragine, *The golden legend: Readings on the saints*, E. Duffy (intr.), W. Granger Ryan (trans.), Princeton/Oxford 2012, pp. 652-657, nr 161. Mandijn might have based his painting on one of the many printed editions of the *Passionael*, a popular translation of the collection of saints' lives in the vernacular. Several influential editions were issued in Antwerp by Henrick Eckert van Homborch (active 1500-1523/1524), see K. Goudriaan, 'Het Passionael op de drukpers', in A.B. Mulder-Bakker and M. Carasso-Kok (eds.), *Gouden legenden: Heiligenlevens en heiligenverering in de Nederlanden*, Hilversum 1997, pp. 73-88.
- 20 De Voragine 2012 (note 19), p. 657.
- 21 It should be noted that the consecration of new altars with relics was a key feature of Roman Catholic ritual. See for instance A. Pollmer-Schmidt and B. Schmidt, 'Ritual and its negation: 'Dedicatio ecclesiae' and the Reformed first sermon', in M. Schraven and M. Delbeke (eds.) *Foundation, dedication and consecration in early modern Europe*, Leiden/Boston 2011, pp. 315-316.
- 22 P. Fuhring, 'Hieronymus Cock and the impact of his published architectural and ornamental prints', in J. Van Grieken, G. Luijten and J. Van der Stock (eds.), *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in print*, Brussels 2013, pp. 40-41, n24.
- 23 'Den selven dach gegeven janne mandijn ende henricke van scelle schilders in voldoeninge ende volle betalinge van sekere stellagen ende poincten die jan van vueluwen henlieden besteed hadde te schilderen inde incompste vanden prince ende dat boven de II^e L gulden die zy vanden selven vueluwen ontfangen hebben noch de somme van vyfflich karolus gulden compt XII lb. X sc', see Roobaert 1960 (note 7), pp. 51, 60.
- 24 See, among other studies, Roobaert 1960 (note 7); W. Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands: The joyeuse entrée of Philip of Spain into Antwerp in 1549, Renaissance and Mannerist architecture in the Low Countries from 1530 to 1630*, Alphen aan den Rijn 1994; and M.A. Meadow, 'Ritual and civic identity in Philip II's 1549 Antwerp Blijde Incompst', *Netherlands yearbook for history of art* 49 (1998), pp. 37-68.
- 25 Roobaert 1960 (note 7), pp. 50-51, 60, 62 (together with the artist-entrepreneur Antonio de Palermo).
- 26 Roobaert 1960 (note 7), pp. 51, 62.

- 27 An examination under UV light (365 nm) by the author on 19 March 2018 did not reveal any significant overpainting on the inside panels, even though the crudeness of some painted areas strongly points to historical retouches and restorations.
- 28 See note 27.
- 29 P. Rombouts and T. Van Lerijs, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, Antwerp 1864, vol 1, pp. 116 ('Hansken in Sint Antonis strate gheleert by Jan Madyns'); 121 ('Brosen gheleert by Jan Mandin'); 135 ('Coppen Verstraten geleert by Jan Mandyns'); 140 ('Lauken Steenhouwers geleert by Jan Mandyn'); 146 ('Aert de Loose, gheleert by Jan Mandyn'); and 151 ('Hansken Stamp gheleert by Jan Mandyns'). Hansken has been identified with Jan (or Hans) van der Elburcht (ca.1500-1571), but there is little to substantiate this thesis. Van der Elburcht became a master painter in 1536 and is best-known for his *Altarpiece of the fishmongers* in the Antwerp Cathedral, see A. Delvingt, 'Une œuvre retrouvée de Hans van den Elburcht, franc-maître à Anvers en 1536', *Oud Holland* 115 (2001/2002), pp. 167-186. Hansken Stamp, on the other hand, is probably identical to Jan de Vuystere (alias Stamps), who is recorded as a 28-year-old painter in 1556, see Van Hemeldonck 2007 (note 9), nr S-930.
- 30 Rombouts and Van Lerijs 1864 (note 29), vol 1, p. 205 ('Bertel Spranghers geleert by Jan Mandyn'). Van Mander recounts how his apprenticeship with Mandijn was mediated by his father, the wealthy merchant Joachim Spranger, see Van Mander/Miedema 1994-1999 (note 1), vol 1, pp. 332-333 (fol. 268v); S. Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger: Splendor and eroticism in imperial Prague, the complete works*, New Haven/London 2014, p. 18.
- 31 'Gillis die leerde de Const by Ian Mandijn den drolmaker', see Van Mander/Miedema 1994-1999 (note 1), vol 1, pp. 302-303 (fol. 261r).
- 32 J. Van der Stock 'De organisatie van het beeldsnijders- en schilders-atelier te Antwerpen: Documenten 1480-1530', in H. Nieuwedorp (ed.), *Antwerpse retabels: 15de-16de eeuw*, Antwerp 1993, vol 2, pp. 47-53, esp. 48; N. Peeters and M.P.J. Martens, 'Assistants in artists' workshops in the Southern Netherlands (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries): Overview of the archive sources', in N. Peeters (ed.), *Invisible hands? The role and status of the painter's journeyman in the Low Countries c. 1450-c. 1650*, Leuven/Paris/Dudley 2007, pp. 33-49, esp. 36.
- 33 'Van daer quam Pier t'Antwerpen, en woonde aldaer met eenen Ian Mandijn een Wael: doch ick acht datter twee zijn gheweest van desen naem, te weten, noch eenen van Haerlem, welcken seer aerdich was van drollerije op zijn Ieroon Bos, en hadde zijn leven langh van de stadt van Antwerpen seker Iaer-ghelt', see Van Mander/Miedema 1994-1999 (note 1), vol 1, pp. 232-233 (fol. 243v). There are no reasons to believe Van Mander was right about this Walloon namesake of Mandijn, although it may be interesting to consider that the name of the painter in the Zichem contract is recurrently preceded by the French particle 'de', see note 9.
- 34 Van den Branden 1883 (note 4), pp. 159-160. For a full transcription of the document, see De Kegel 1971 (note 6), pp. 54-55.
- 35 Corwin 1976 (note 5), p. 313.
- 36 See note 27.
- 37 See most recently R. Suykerbuyk, 'Reformation, renovation and commemoration: The religious patronage of a Brabantine lord (Zoutleeuw, 1548-58)', *Simiolus* 39 (2017), pp. 44-72, esp. 51-53; and E.H. Wouk, *Frans Floris (1519/20-70): Imagining a northern Renaissance*, Leiden/Boston 2018, pp. 317-322.
- 38 M.P.J. Martens and N. Peeters, 'Artists by numbers: Quantifying artists' trades in sixteenth-century Antwerp', in M. Faries (ed.), *Making and marketing: Studies of the painting process in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlandish workshops*, Turnhout 2006, pp. 211-222, esp. 217, fig. 7.
- 39 Martens and Peeters 2006 (note 38), pp. 218-219 estimated that approximately 72.7 percent of the Antwerp apprentices did not make it to the status of free master in the period 1500-1579.
- 40 Rombouts and Van Lerijs 1864 (note 29), vol 1, pp. 158-159 ('Jaques Verstraten, schilder'); 180-181 ('Aert Loosen, schilder').
- 41 Wouk 2018 (note 37), pp. 3-14; T.L. Meganck, *Erudite eyes: Friendship, art and erudition in the network of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)*, Leiden/Boston 2017, pp. 174-177; E.M. Kavalier, 'Pieter Bruegel, Bernard van Orley, realism and class', *Simiolus* 39 (2017), pp. 73-99, esp. 81; M.A. Bass, *Jan Gossart and the invention of Netherlandish antiquity*, Princeton 2016, pp. 26-38; B. Ramakers (ed.), *Understanding art in Antwerp: Classicising the popular, popularising the classic (1540-1580)*, Leuven/Paris/Warpole 2011.
- 42 Van Mander/Miedema 1994-1999 (note 1), vol 1, pp. 302-303 (fol. 261r).
- 43 Similar features appear in the attributed oeuvre of the so-called Master of Paul and Barnabas, an unknown painter who was once believed to be identical with Jan Mandijn, see J. Bruyn, 'De Meester van Paulus en Barnabas (Jan Mandijn?) en een vroeg werk van Pieter Aertsen', in A. Balis (ed.), *Rubens and his world: Bijdragen, etudes, studies, Beiträge*, Antwerp 1985, pp. 17-29. However, the identification of this anonymous master with Mandijn is no longer attainable. The circumstantial evidence for the hypothesis was inconclusive and based on the long-standing, yet erroneous fact that Mandijn's signature on the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Haarlem is a forgery, see note 4.

SUMMARY

The Antwerp painter Jan Mandijn (ca.1500-1559/1560) is chiefly remembered as an artist 'who was clever at spectres and drolleries very much in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch', to quote from the influential *Schilder-boeck* of Karel van Mander (1604). Consequently, Mandijn has developed into a household name for paintings in the vein of Bosch, regardless the fact that only a *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Haarlem can be attributed with certainty to his workshop. The archives, in contrast, render a more complex understanding of his artistic persona, and suggest he ran one of the most prolific workshops in sixteenth-century Antwerp.

This article draws attention to an unpublished 'borgstelling' or contract of suretyship (1550) in the City Archives of Antwerp that sheds significant new light on the many-hued nature of Mandijn's artistic production. The document recounts that Mandijn was commissioned to produce an altarpiece for the church of St. Eustace in Zichem. The commission of the new triptych, destined for the high altar, was probably part of the church's broader program of architectural expansion and artistic renewal in the period.

The church of Zichem still preserves a formerly anonymous triptych with scenes from the life of St. Eustace, dated 1552, that can easily be reconciled with the contract of 1550. Surprisingly, the pictorial style of this large-scale altarpiece adheres to the principles of the Italian manner; it is at odds with the vernacular idiom currently associated with Mandijn and his workshop. The rediscovery of Mandijn's classicizing *Triptych of St. Eustace* leads to a profound reconsideration of his painterly practice and his artistic relationship with painters from his inner circle, notably his close associate Pieter Aertsen (1508/1509-1575) and his last pupil Bartholomeus Spranger (1546-1611). The image of Mandijn as a mere painter of 'spectres and drolleries' might retrospectively have stemmed from the international craze for Bosch in sixteenth-century Europe, along with a lack of visual source material. Meanwhile the rediscovered altarpiece of Zichem testifies to the eclectic nature of Netherlandish art and the creative ability of Netherlandish artists to assimilate and shift between a variety of pictorial modes.