

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

Michael Sweerts

Brussels 1618 – 1664 Goa

A Young Man Wearing a Turban Holding an Upturned Glass: The Fingernail Test (Allegory of Taste)

Oil on canvas

75 x 58.4 cm.

Provenance:

Berne, Dr. Bruno Kaiser (1877–1941)

By inheritance, 1941, to a private collection, for two generations

By whom sold, London, Christie's, 8 December 1995, lot 34, where acquired by Monaco, collection Emanuel Wolfe (Manny) Davidson (1931-2024)

His estate sale, Paris, Sotheby's, 5 November 2025, lot 48

Literature:

W. Liedtke, *Dutch Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 2 vols., New York 2006, 1, pp. 269-270, under cat. no. 61, note 11

L. Shaw-Miller, '“Beautiful Secrets”: Poetical Disclosure in the Work of Michael Sweerts', in: M. McNeill Hale (ed.), *Cambridge and the study of Netherlandish art : the Low Countries and the Fens*, Turnhout 2016, pp. 124-137, pp. 128, 130, fig. 5

Michael Sweerts

When Dutch art historian Willem Martin published the first study on Michael Sweerts in 1907, he hailed him as the 'enigmatic Dutch Le Nain.'¹ This statement soon proved to be premature, as Sweerts was identified as the son of merchant David Sweerts and his wife Martynken Balliel from Brussels, where he was baptised on 29 September 1618. Nothing is heard from Sweerts until 1646, when he is documented in the Via Margutta in Rome. It might be assumed, though, that he arrived earlier; according to an acquaintance, he was well

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

travelled and spoke seven languages.² Although not recorded as a member of the *Bentvueghels*, the society of Netherlandish artists in Rome, documents show that in 1646 he was entrusted – on behalf of the Accademia di San Luca – with collecting contributions among the Netherlandish painters for the feast of St Luke. He is mentioned in the Via Margutta until 1651. During this period Sweerts enjoyed success with paintings in a style adhering to the *Bambochianti*, depicting subjects ranging from local common-life, artists sketching, artist's studios, travellers, men at games and larger interiors, all with a solemn monumentality that was completely his. In Rome he enjoyed the patronage of the wealthy Deutz brothers from Amsterdam, who visited the city during their Grand Tour, c. 1646-1650. Their inventories mention numerous pictures by Sweerts.³ Another important patron was the young nephew of pope Innocent X, Prince-Cardinal Camillo Pamphilj (1622-1666), who owned at least four paintings by Sweerts. Moreover, an entry in Pamphilj's account book of March 1652 mentions 'various amounts of oils used since 17th February in His Excellency's Academy', giving evidence that Sweerts set up a painting academy in Pamphilj's palace.⁴ Sweerts was back in Brussels at the very latest by July 1655, when he stood godfather to his nephew.⁵ In Brussels, he took up residence in an imposing house close to Grote Markt in Voldersstraat (current day Lombartstraat), and moved around in the city's highest circles.⁶ A document of February 1656 indicates, moreover, that he had set up another academy, primarily to train tapestry designers. While this major project evolved, Sweerts decided to join the evangelical *Société des missions Etrangères*, French missionaries, probably why he left for Amsterdam in 1660. The diary of fellow missionary Nicolas Etienne, with whom Sweerts visited the churches and the poor of Amsterdam, describes Sweerts's life as 'tout extraordinaire et miraculeuse', a vegetarian, sleeping on the floor and sharing everything with others.⁷ In December 1661 the missionaries sailed to Palestine *en route* to China. During the trip Sweerts started to exhibit uncontrolled outbursts, leading to his dismissal from the mission at arrival in Tabriz (modern-day Iran). Next we hear is the painter's death in Goa, India, with the Portuguese Jesuits in 1664. He left behind an oeuvre of little over 120 surviving paintings, only three of which are dated.

A new addition to Sweerts' oeuvre

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

The present work, a monumental bust of a young man holding a glass, first surfaced in a London auction in December 1995, understandably too late for its inclusion in Rolf Kultzen's monograph on Sweerts, which was published in 1996. More surprising was the omission of this important and spectacular addition to Sweerts' oeuvre in subsequent studies devoted to the artist, such as the 2002 *Michael Sweerts (1618-1664)* exhibition catalogue.⁸ Set against a near black background, our painting depicts a young dark-haired man, presumably about 30 years old, with a light skin, a firm nose and dark eyes, full red lips, and a mole on his chin. He is dressed in a white headscarf with embroidered border and a white chemise underneath a simple, collarless, ochre and red-rimmed buttoned jacket. As he looks at the beholder with a sympathetic demeanour, he holds in his left hand a fine, greenish façon de Venise wine glass – upside down, its rim on the nail of his right-hand thumb. Sweerts painted the work with much vigour, expertly alternating smoother passages such as the fabric of the jacket with bold impasto brushwork, especially in the incarnate, the spectacular cuffs and the well struck glass. The uniform background, the plain jacket, the young man's sturdy hands and his unembellished overall appearance all contribute to the painting's imposing physical presence.

'Le rubis sur l'ongle'

The motif of drinkers showing, or staring into, their empty drinking vessel is not uncommon in early modern Netherlandish art. So-called 'Kannenkijkers' ('Pitcher-gazers') appear in sixteenth century paintings and prints, conveying – in genre depictions and in portraiture – comical references to drink and drunkenness, laughter and immodesty (figs. 1, 2).⁹ This tradition continued into the seventeenth century, when artists such as Frans Hals (1582/83-1666) and Jacob Backer (1608-1651) expanded the theme to drinkers turning their glass upside down, thus indicating they opted for a refill (figs. 3-5). A contemporary variant of the theme, likewise depicted by Hals in his *Boy with a Lute* of c. 1625 in New York, sees the protagonist – as in our painting – placing the rim of his glass on his thumbnail (fig. 6).¹⁰ By 1909, Hals' painting carried the title '*Le Rubis sur l'Ongle*' meaning 'The Ruby on the Nail', aptly referencing a French saying already in vogue during the seventeenth century. During festivities, or when making a toast to a host or a guest, one would customarily drink down a glass of red wine in one gulp, pouring the very last red droplet (resembling a ruby) on one's thumbnail, and then lick it as a sign of respect and homage to the person being celebrated.

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

The expression ‘faire rubis sur l’ongle’ (to make a ruby on the nail) was thus used to indicate that the glass had been completely emptied.¹¹

A caption in French underneath a print by the Haarlem artist Jacob Matham (1571-1631), seemingly done after a now-lost painting depicting the theme by a follower of Caravaggio, further explores the ‘ruby’ motif: ‘All those rubies, precious stones / what are they compared / To these delicious drops / Who can, as divine gifts / Remind us of the dead’ (fig. 7).¹² Here we are introduced to a more twofold layering, that at once puns on precious rubies, alcohol and intoxication, while simultaneously referencing a vanitas message of ultimate futility and the certainty of death. Yet another perspective is found with the Hague painter Petrus Steverenus (c. 1611-1654), whose popular series of the *Five Senses* – after which various print series were manufactured – features a grinning man holding an upturned glass on his nail, representing the sense of Taste (fig. 8). That such associations of upturned glasses with the sense of taste were commonplace is underlined by Backer’s *The Drinker* (fig. 5), which likewise forms part of a Senses series, representing *Taste*.¹³

Sweerts’ series of the Senses

Sweerts returned to the north in 1655. In the catalogue entry of the 1995 London sale in which the present painting first surfaced, a date of execution around 1648/50 – during Sweerts’ Roman period – was suggested referencing art historian Malcolm Waddingham, who based his judgement on the young man’s clothing. The prominent presence of the theme in the north, on the other hand, makes one wonder if Sweerts did not rather find his inspiration after his return to Brussels. In fact, a painting by the Mechelen-born painter Peter Franchois (1606-1654) might well have been known to Sweerts, whose oeuvre betrays his familiarity with Franchois’ output.¹⁴ Franchois worked for the Brussels court of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614-1662), Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, whom he befriended. His iconic *Fingernail Test*, signed and dated 1639, today in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium in Brussels, which’ Brussels provenance leads back to at least the early nineteenth century, presents a conspicuously similar image of a man holding the rim of a glass on his thumbnail, a conformity further augmented by the ochre buttoned jacket, the loose white sleeves and the

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

white headdress worn by the sitter (fig. 9).¹⁵ After his return, Sweerts moved in the same court circles.¹⁶

There are, moreover, other reasons to connect the present painting to Sweerts' post-Italian period. For this we must take into consideration both the possible meaning of the work, and its physical properties. That Sweerts was interested in the depiction of the Senses is clear from his complete Senses series of c. 1655/56, just after his return to Brussels (figs. 10-14).¹⁷ The composition of that series' *Smell* (fig. 14) accords remarkably close with Franchois' *Fingernail Test*, thus reinforcing our suspicion that Sweerts was well aware of the painting. In addition to this series, one of Sweerts' most iconic paintings, the *Boy in a Turban Holding a Nosegay* in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid, has likewise been interpreted as depicting the sense of smell, ever since its surfacing in 1955 (fig. 15).¹⁸ While acknowledging this interpretation, Ivan Gaskell, cataloguing the Madrid painting in 1990, remarked that 'Attempts have been made at various times to associate this work with other partially surviving putative series of works by or attributed to Sweerts, ostensibly representing individual senses. None of these associations is convincing.'¹⁹ Thus, Gaskell, while not excluding the possibility, observed that no other works by Sweerts could be plausibly identified as being part of the same hypothetical Senses series, a valid point at the time.

A few years later, Kultzen in his Sweerts monograph formulated more sternly that 'It has been rightly assumed, owing to the bunch of red and orange flowers in the boy's hand, that the picture is a representation of Smell. The portrait must therefore belong to a cycle of the Five Senses, the other four of which have not yet been traced.'²⁰ Guido Jansen, however, writing in the 2002 Sweerts exhibition catalogue, rejected the senses theory, noting that 'If that was the case, none of the others has survived. It is more likely to be an independent work, partaking of the Northern tradition of the *tronie* [...].'²¹ Yet by 2002 the present work had long surfaced, thus adding compelling substance to the hypothesis of a Senses series. For not only do these two works combine very well compositionally and colour-wise, but both are also thematically proper and conceptually matching representations of the senses (Smell and Taste) and – crucially – both share equal measurements. Comparing, moreover, the rendering in both paintings of the prominent hands – important as they present the senses' identifying attributes

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

– a strong communality stands out in the depiction of the nails and the emphasis on the dark contours, further strengthening their painterly proximity.

In summary, there is strong evidence in favour of the two works having originally belonged to the same series. The signed nor dated Madrid painting was initially thought to have been executed around 1654 by mid-twentieth century authors, but scholarly consensus nowadays places the painting unequivocally in post-Italian years.²² The same dating, c. 1656/60, must likewise be applied to our work. That the other three senses (Hearing, Touch and Sight) of this apparent series so far remain unknown might be a matter of coincidence but could also indicate that the series was left unfinished. As Sweerts seems to have decided to go to Amsterdam somewhat abruptly, such a scenario must be reckoned with.

Borremans?

While the present painting represented, as proposed here, Taste within a series of the senses, parallel layers of meaning might well have been at play. In 2016 Lindsey Shaw-Miller contended that our painting depicts the little-known painter Gerard Borremans (c. 1620-before or in 1657).²³ Practically nothing is known about this Borremans, of whom no work remains: he lived with Sweerts in a house in Rome's Via Margutta, where both are recorded in 1651; back in Brussels Sweerts in 1657 takes as his apprentice Jan Baptista Borremans 'son of the late Geraed [sic] Borremans'.²⁴ Shaw-Miller argues that both our painting and Sweerts' 1656 dated *Portrait of a Young Man Leaning his Head on his Hand* ('*Ratio Quique Reddenda*') in the Hermitage, St Petersburg, depict the same Borremans (fig. 18). Borremans' facial features are unknown, and Shaw-Miller's plea that the same sitter was depicted twice seems debatable. The mutual resemblance is superficial at best, and the distinctive mole on our sitter's chin is conspicuously absent in the Hermitage painting (figs. 19, 20). Moreover, the stack of golden coins, the purse and the stationery at the desk in front of the man have led scholars to identify him as a banker or a merchant, rather than a little-known painter.²⁵ Be this as it may, the observation fuels a far less credible, factually faulty interpretation, revolving around the unsubstantiated suggestion that Sweerts 'loved men' and the two were in a relationship.²⁶ According to Shaw-Miller, Sweerts left Rome in 1656, supposedly prompted by the death of Borremans (this is incorrect: Sweerts is recorded in Brussels in July 1655, but probably

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

travelled back earlier; all we know concerning Borremans is that he died between 1651 and 1657).²⁷ This notwithstanding, she understands the 1656 Hermitage painting, which' subtitle 'Ratio Quique Reddenda' (everyone must give account) is taken from a piece of paper in the painting's foreground, to be Sweerts' homage to his deteriorating friend, painted in Rome, whereas our painting would have been executed after Borremans' death, the fingernail test being 'a simile for close friendship: having drained the last drop, tipped it onto the fingernail, lived life to the full, a conspiracy of pleasure and experience.'²⁸

A personal reading?

The truth is that whoever its sitter was, the dated Hermitage painting was with absolute certainty painted in Brussels. Similar to the suggestion made here with regards to the present painting, art historians have likewise pointed to the work of Peeter Franchoyo as the inspiration for the Hermitage painting, emphasising a proximity of these works in their painterly approach during these Brussels years.²⁹ While Shaw-Miller somewhat surprisingly failed to address the iconography of Taste in the present work and its connection to the Madrid *Boy Wearing a Turban Holding a Nosegay* (her fig. 2), and although her accumulation of unaccounted contentions ultimately impaired the credibility of her argument, one aspect she rightly itemised is that of the emphatic reading of the image. Indeed, while the painting in all likeliness represents the sense of Smell, this does not exclude the possibility – or probability – of other, possibly more personal, interpretations. As demonstrated, the iconography of the upturned glass, and the 'rubis sur l'ongle' in particular, conveyed associations with the universal themes of life, death, merriment and friendship. Moreover, it should be pointed out that other Flemish painters sometimes (although certainly not always) used friends and/or colleagues as models for their series of the Five Senses and/or the Seven Deadly Sins. Adriaen Brouwer (c. 1603/05-1638) depicted the engraver Paulus Pontius (1603-1685) as the representation of *Luxuria* (Lust) in a painting belonging to a series of the Seven Deadly Sins, today in the Mauritshuis, The Hague (fig. 21).³⁰ And Gonzales Coques (1614/18-1684) similarly had several of his colleagues, among them the flower painter Jan Philip van Thielen (1618-1677), the painter and engraver Robert van den Hoecke (1622-1668) and the sculptor Artus Quellinus I (1617-1697) pose for his two series of the Five Senses of c. 1640/45 (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) and c. 1658/60 London, National Gallery) (fig. 22).³¹ To what extent Sweerts intended to personalise these allegorical

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

concepts in his Senses series, and with whom in front of his easel, remains, certainly for now, a matter of conjecture (figs. 23, 24).

JH

¹ W. Martin, 'Michiel Sweerts als schilder. Proeve van een Biografie en een Catalogus van zijn schilderijen.', in: *Oud Holland* 25 (1907), pp. 133-156, p. 134. See also P.C. Sutton, 'Introduction', in: G. Jansen, P.C. Sutton, *Michael Sweerts (1618-1664)*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art 2002, pp. 11-24, p. 12. For Sweerts' biography, see mainly R. Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts : Brussels 1618 – Goa 1664*, Ghent 1996, pp. 1-11, 'Life History'; J. Bikker, 'Sweerts's Life and Career – A Documentary View', in: Amsterdam/San Francisco/Hartford 2002, pp. 25-36.

² Kultzen 1996, p. 81, appendix G; Bikker 2002, pp. 25, 27 suggests that Sweerts might be identified with a 'Michele' who lived in the same Via Margutta in 1640, as the company of a certain 'Ghirardo, fiamengho, pittore'. Within this respect, Bikker persuasively points to Jan Six owning two works by Sweerts, which he might have bought in Rome during his Grand Tour, c. 1641/43.

³ J. Bikker, 'The Deutz brothers, Italian paintings and Michiel Sweerts : new information from Elisabeth Croymans's Journael', in: *Simiolus* 26 (1998), pp. 277-311, pp. 283, 293.

⁴ See Bikker 2002, pp. 28-31; L. Yeager-Crasselt, *Michael Sweerts (1618-1664) : shaping the artist and the academy in Rome and Brussels*, Turnhout 2015, p. 87.

⁵ Bikker 2002, p. 32, noting that 'De Vadder died in 1655 and this possible collaboration [between Sweerts and Lodewijk de Vadder] might possibly imply that Sweerts was back earlier than the [July 1655] document attests.' See also Yeager 2015, p. 129, note 47, who similarly suggests that 'While Sweerts is only documented in Brussels in 1655 at the baptism of his nephew, Michael Ouwkercken, the petition that he submitted for the drawing academy [i.e. February 1656, JH] suggests that he had already been back in the city for several years.'

⁶ See H. Deceulaer, 'Newly Discovered Archival Documents About Michiel Sweerts in Brussels in the 1650s: His House, His Social Network and His Encounter with Ghosts', in: *Simiolus : Journal for the History of Art* 46/1 (2025), pp. 17-41, esp. pp. 20-21.

⁷ See Kultzen 1996, pp. 77-83, Appendixes, for source documents. On Sweerts' last years, see also D. Mandrella, 'Michael Sweerts, les dernières années', in: *Revue de l'art* 196 (2017), pp. 19-28.

⁸ Amsterdam/San Francisco/Hartford 2002. The painting could have been suitably discussed under cat. no. 23 (*A Boy Wearing a Turban and Holding a Nosegay*, Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza), see below for a further discussion.

⁹ On Kannenkijkers, see J. Hillegers, in: A. Tummers, E. Kolfin, J. Hillegers, *The Art of Laughter : Humour in Dutch paintings of the Golden Age*, exh. cat. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum 2017-2018, pp. 110-112, cat. no. 23.

¹⁰ Liedtke 2006, 1, pp. 269-272, cat. no. 61.

¹¹ The expression is used, for instance, in the play *Les Folies Amoureuses* by French playwright J.F. Regnard (1655-1709): 'Je sirote mon vin, tel qui soit vieux, nouveau / Je fais rubis sur l'ongle, et n'y mets jamais d'eau' ('I sip my wine, whether old or new / I make a ruby on the nail, and never add water').

¹² See G. Luijten, in: E. de Jongh, G. Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life : genre prints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1997, pp. 264-267, fig. 5, under cat. no. 53. The caption and dedication to 'le Roy' indicate that the engraving was done during Matham's Paris sojourn, c. 1629-1633. See also J. Hillegers, 'Willem Willemsz van der Vliet, A Pikeman Holding a Glass and a Pitcher', in: J. Hillegers et al., *Salomon Lilian Old Masters 2020*, Amsterdam 2020, pp. 90-97, on a painting by Willem van der Vliet of a soldier holding an upturned glass and its multiple implications.

¹³ See D. Hirschfelder, in: P. van den Brink, J. van der Veen, *Jacob Backer (1608/9-1651)*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis, Aachen, Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, 2008-2009, pp. 104-107, cat. no. 9B.

¹⁴ Kultzen 1996, pp. 59-60, and cat. nos. 85 (*Portrait of a Young Man* in the Hermitage, St Petersburg, our fig. 18, based on an example by Franchoyo, now in Frankfurt; see also below, note 25) and 90 (*Portrait of a Man Holding a Skull, Probably a Self-Portrait* in the Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Kingston, formerly attributed to Franchoyo. See also Yeager-Crasselt 2015, p. 186, note 938; G. Jansen, in: Amsterdam/San Francisco/Hartford 2002, cat. nos. 20, 30).

¹⁵ See F. de Saligny, in: L. van Puyvelde et al., *De eeuw van Rubens*, exh. cat. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium 1965, p. 83, cat. no. 84. Another version of Franchoy's painting was in a sale, Brussels, Nackers, 19-21 October 1967, lot 920.

¹⁶ See Deceulaer 2025 for Sweerts' social network in Brussels.

¹⁷ Kultzen 1996, cat. nos. 67-71.

¹⁸ See D. Mahon, D. Sutton, *Artists in 17th century Rome*, exh. cat. London, Wildenstein & Co Ltd. 1955, pp. 93-94, cat. no. 79.

¹⁹ I. Gaskell, *Seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painting (The Thyssen-Bornemisza collection)*, London 1990, pp. 226-228, cat. no. 49, with references.

²⁰ Kultzen 1996, p. 74 and cat. no. 122.

²¹ G. Jansen, in: Amsterdam/San Francisco/Hartford 2002, pp. 144-145, cat. no. 23.

²² Gaskell 1990, p. 228 states that 'it may not have been painted until Sweerts' return to Brussels'. Jansen, in: Amsterdam/San Francisco/Hartford 2002 dates it to c. 1655/56, whereas Kultzen 1996, cat. no. 122, dates the work to 1660, during the Amsterdam period.

²³ Shaw-Miller 2016 (see Literature). For Borremans' life dates, see the following note.

²⁴ On Gerard Borremans (not included in the RKD database), see: G.I. Hoogewerff, 'Nadere gegevens over Michiel Sweerts', in: *Oud Holland* 29 (1911), pp. 134-138, p. 135. Sweerts lived in the house with several other northern painters, among them [Gerard] Borremans, who is recorded as 'Monsù Burromans' 30 years old. The previous year 1650, Sweerts is recorded at the same address, as is a certain 'Monsù Bustomanu', presumably again Borremans. An earlier mentioning in 1640 at another address in the same Via Margutta of a 'Gherardo fiamingo, pittore, con un suo compagno Michele' was thought not to refer to Sweerts (and Borremans) by Hoogewerff, on the erroneous assumption that Sweerts would have been 16 at the time (Hoogewerff's assumption is understandable as Sweerts' ages given in the archives of the parish of Sta Maria del Popolo do give that impression: 25 in 1649, 26 in 1650 and 27 in 1651). However, following Sweerts' documented baptism in 1618 in Brussels, he was already 22 in 1640, giving at least some credibility – although still with a high degree of uncertainty – to the suggestion that the 1640 mentioning refers to him (and Borremans?) after all. So much is, at least, argued by Shaw-Miller 2016, pp. 127, 136, note 9. For the archival reference to Sweerts' tutelage of Jan Baptista Borremans, see Shaw-Miller 2016, p. 137, note 19.

²⁵ Kultzen 1996, pp. 59-60, 114-115, cat. no. 85; G. Jansen, in: Amsterdam/San Francisco/Hartford 2002, pp. 136-145, cat. no. 20.

²⁶ Shaw-Miller 2016, pp. 128-135. The author keeps hinting at the amorous nature of the relation between Sweerts and Borremans ('Two paintings have biographical implications here. The first [painting] shows what I would anachronistically call a romantic young man [...] lived with the artist Gerard Borremans, travelled together [...] whatever the true nature of their relationship [...] possibly in great grief' etc. To her credit she does explicitly emphasize the unprovable nature of her contentions – within the boundaries of formal scholarship – several times. Nonetheless, while a degree of speculation is allowed, its premises must be factual. Shaw-Miller's explanation of Sweerts' temperament and the emotions supposedly encountered in his paintings by proposing him to be gay ('Sweerts' temperament was also due to his sexuality. I think he loved men, and that his pictures are full of what we would call emotion.') seems a somewhat dubious case of faux-equivalence.

²⁷ Shaw-Miller 2016, p. 128: 'In 1656 Sweerts' life abruptly changed. He left Rome and returned to Brussels [...]' This incongruence in Shaw-Miller's arguments was also noticed by Deceulaer 2025, p. 18, note 9. For arguments in favour of an earlier return to Brussels than July 1655, see note 5.

²⁸ Shaw Miller 2016, p. 128, finds evidence in the sitter's appearance. According to her he is 'very pale, and two blemishes are visible on his forehead which look like plague boils'.

²⁹ Parallels have been drawn with Franchoy's *Portrait of a Man, ca. 1640 – 1650* in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt, inv. 917. See Kultzen 1996, pp. 59-60, 114-115, cat. no. 85; G. Jansen, in: Amsterdam/San Francisco/Hartford 2002, pp. 136-145, cat. no. 20.

³⁰ See K. de Clippel, “Adriaen Brouwer, portrait painter: new identifications and iconographic novelty”, in: *Simiolus* 30 (2003), pp. 196-216; A. van Suchtelen, *Genre Paintings in the Mauritshuis*, Zwolle 2016, pp. xx-xx, cat. no. xx.

See also J. Hillegers, ‘Adriaen Brouwer, *A Joyous Drinker*’ in: J. Tátrai, A. Varga (eds.), *Rubens, Van Dyck and the splendour of Flemish painting*, exh. cat. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum 2019-2020, pp. 352-353, cat. no. 106, where the present author argues that a painting by Brouwer in Nantes (inv. 381) represents *Luxuria*, and depicts a certain Mathias de Lanoy.

³¹ For Coques’ two series of the Five Senses, see M. Liskén-Pruss, *Gonzales Coques (1614-1684) : der kleine Van Dyck*, Turnhout 2013, pp. 84-91, 231-232, cat. nos. 11a-e (Antwerp); 242-243, cat. nos. 30a-e (London).