

# Gerard ter Borch



Gerard ter Borch



**Arthur K. Wheelock Jr.**

*With contributions by*

Alison McNeil Kettering

Arie Wallert

Marjorie E. Wieseman

National Gallery of Art, Washington  
American Federation of Arts, New York

# Gerard ter Borch



**The exhibition was organized by the  
American Federation of Arts, New York,  
and the National Gallery of Art, Washington.**

EXHIBITION DATES

National Gallery of Art  
7 November 2004–30 January 2005

The Detroit Institute of Arts  
27 February–22 May 2005

*Gerard ter Borch* is supported by an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities.

Copyright © 2004 American Federation of Arts, New York, and Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington. All rights reserved. This book may not be reproduced, in whole or part (beyond that copying permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law, and except by reviewers from the public press), without written permission from the publishers.

Produced by the Publishing Office,  
National Gallery of Art  
*www.nga.gov*

Editor in Chief, Judy Metro  
Editor, Julie Warnement  
Designer, Chris Vogel, with production assistance from Rio DeNaro and Mariah Shay  
Typeset in Warnock Pro and Quadraant Sans  
Printed by Waanders Publishers, Zwolle,  
The Netherlands

**Note to the Reader**

Dimensions are cited with height preceding width in centimeters followed by inches in parentheses.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Wheelock, Arthur K.  
Gerard ter Borch / Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. ;  
with contributions by Alison McNeil Kettering,  
Arie Wallert, Marjorie E. Wieseman.

p. cm.

Catalog of an exhibition held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and at the Detroit Institute of Arts in 2004–2005.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-89468-317-9 (pbk. : alk. paper)

ISBN 0-300-10639-4 (hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Borch, Gerard ter, 1617–1681 — Exhibitions.  
I. Borch, Gerard ter, 1617–1681. II. National Gallery of Art (U.S.) III. Detroit Institute of Arts. IV. Title.

ND1329.B63A4 2004

759.9492 — dc22

2004008762

Hardcover edition published in 2004 by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and the American Federation of Arts, New York, in association with Yale University Press, New Haven and London

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

## Contents

vi	Directors' Foreword
viii	Acknowledgments
xi	Lenders to the Exhibition
1	<i>The Artistic Development of Gerard ter Borch</i> Arthur K. Wheelock Jr.
19	<i>Gerard ter Borch and the Modern Manner</i> Alison McNeil Kettering
31	<i>The Miracle of Gerard ter Borch's Satin</i> Arie Wallert
43	Catalogue
187	Letter from Gerard ter Borch the Elder to His Son, 3 July 1635
192	Notes to the Essays
196	Notes to the Catalogue: Provenance, Exhibition History, and References
214	Bibliography
221	Exhibitions
225	Index

## Directors' Foreword

GERARD TER BORCH (1617–1681) WAS ONE OF the finest of all Dutch seventeenth-century painters. Not only are his individual paintings beautiful and evocative, but his oeuvre is also remarkably varied, including genre scenes, stable interiors, depictions of historical events, and portraits, all of which surprise and delight. Born into a family of artists from Zwolle, in the eastern portion of the Netherlands, Ter Borch received his earliest training from his father. He also studied in Haarlem with Pieter Molijn (1595–1661), and later traveled extensively, not only in the Netherlands, but also to England and Spain. He eventually returned to Zwolle and, about 1654, moved to nearby Deventer, where he continued to paint for the rest of his life.

Ter Borch is especially renowned for his refined interior scenes, which typically depict two or three elegantly clad figures engaged in an activity such as letter writing or music making. No other Dutch artist has ever captured so well the elegance and grace of wealthy burghers, or so subtly expressed psychological interactions between figures. Neither has any conveyed as effectively the shimmering surface of a long white satin skirt nor the undulating rhythms of a translucent lace cuff. He also painted remarkable small-scale, full-length portraits of burghers, whose confident postures and solemn expressions reflect their dignity and affluence. Executed with great sensitivity of touch, these portraits are distinctive for their psychological intensity. His paintings capture human ideals and moods that resonated far beyond Zwolle and Deventer, not only with Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675) in Delft and Frans van Mieris (1635–1681) in Leiden, but also with art lovers and connoisseurs during Ter Borch's lifetime and for centuries to come.

Consisting of over fifty of Ter Borch's paintings from public and private collections, this monographic exhibition of his work is the first ever to be presented in the United States. The careful selection of paintings, including some of his finest masterpieces, surveys the breadth of this remarkable artist's achievement and provides an overview of his career.

The exhibition and the accompanying catalogue are the result of a close collaboration between the National Gallery of Art and the American Federation of Arts (AFA). The idea for *Gerard ter Borch* was first proposed by Thomas Padon, deputy director for exhibitions and programs at the AFA, who brought it to the National Gallery and proposed a partnership—a proposal that was welcomed and has become the basis for a new relationship between our two institutions. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., curator of northern baroque painting at the National Gallery, selected the works in the exhibition and wrote the lead catalogue essay on Ter Borch's artistic development. He has guided the project in conjunction with Kathryn Haw, curator of exhibitions at the AFA. Their collaboration was abetted by numerous staff at the National Gallery and the AFA as well as by the contributions of the three scholars who wrote so ably for

the catalogue: Alison McNeil Kettering, William R. Kenan Jr. Professor of Art History at Carleton College, who wrote an essay about the ideas of the modern in Ter Borch's work and a number of the catalogue entries; Arie Wallert, curator at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, who wrote an essay about Ter Borch's painting techniques; and Marjorie E. Wieseman, curator of European painting and sculpture at the Cincinnati Art Museum, who wrote a number of the catalogue entries.

After its viewing at the National Gallery of Art, the exhibition will travel to the Detroit Institute of Arts. A small selection of paintings from the exhibition will subsequently be shown at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

The exhibition is supported by an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities. For providing financial support for the exhibition catalogue, we would like to thank the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and Furthermore: a program of the J. M. Kaplan Fund. Above all else, we are deeply indebted to our lenders, whose generosity, cooperation, and goodwill have made this exhibition a reality.

**Julia Brown**  
Director  
American Federation of Arts

**Earl A. Powell III**  
Director  
National Gallery of Art

## Acknowledgments

THE EXHIBITION *GERARD TER BORCH HAS BEEN* an enormously enriching experience, not only because it has brought us closer to an understanding of the extraordinary accomplishments of this remarkable artist, but also because of the wholehearted support of so many colleagues who have helped make the idea a reality.

Gerard ter Borch is, of course, one of the most engaging and wide-ranging Dutch artists of the seventeenth century, one who is both well known and greatly beloved by art lovers. He was a perceptive portraitist, whose dignified images convey the ideals and aspirations of the patrons for whom he worked. His genre scenes, on the other hand, are a window on life's other side, those unguarded moments of caring and concern, of uncertainty, anticipation, and inner anxiety. The portraits and the genre paintings are equally compelling, for both benefited from his profound understanding of the complexities of human psychology, and from his ability to convey the naturalism of surface and texture, including the sheen of satin. The prospect of bringing together a large group of some of his finest works has been both exciting and daunting.

While we oversaw the planning of the exhibition at our respective institutions, the National Gallery taking the curatorial lead and the AFA taking the organizational lead, the collaboration between the AFA and the National Gallery has created opportunities for many on the staffs at both institutions to work together to enhance the exhibition and ensure its success.

In New York, Thomas Padon provided keen guidance throughout the organization of the exhibition. Kathleen Flynn offered invaluable counsel on our collaboration and the logistics of the tour. Beverly Parsons, head registrar, and Eliza Frecon, registrar, made the complex arrangements to ensure the safe travel of the remarkable paintings in the exhibition, and took the lead in preparing the complex application for federal indemnity. Nelly Benedek and Suzanne Elder Burke produced an invaluable resource for educators with important contributions from intern Samuel Lederer. Margaret Touborg and Laura Fino secured critical financial support. Heidi Riegler and Morgan Grant helped ensure the wide reach of the exhibition with a comprehensive press campaign. Michaelyn Mitchell oversaw the production of the handsome exhibition brochure with the assistance of Anne Palermo. Amy Poll, curatorial assistant in the exhibitions department, gathered transparencies, comparative illustrations, and permissions, managed loan agreements and correspondence, and handled innumerable details related to this exhibition with unfailing grace and good humor.

In Washington, the extensive resources and personal expertise of the staff at the National Gallery's library, particularly Neal Turtell, Lamia Doumato, and Ted Dalziel, enormously aided research on the artist and his times. In the conservation department, Carol Christensen skill-

fully conserved the Gallery's Ter Borch painting *The Suitor's Visit* and provided important insight on aspects of the artist's painting techniques. D. Dodge Thompson, Naomi Remes, and Tamara Wilson in the department of exhibitions and Sally Freitag and Michelle Fondas in the office of the registrar were the liaisons with the AFA in organizing the exhibition and coordinating the transportation of the works of art. Mark Leithauser and his outstanding design department developed the handsome installation of the exhibition.

The Gallery's publishing office took the leading role with this exceptional catalogue, with editor in chief Judy Metro supervising its production, while Julie Warnement, with great care and patience, combined with a sense of humor, worked with the various authors to prepare and edit the manuscripts. Sara Sanders-Buell and Ira Bartfield helped insure that the illustrations were all in place for the catalogue deadlines. Finally, Chris Vogel created the catalogue's especially elegant design and Amanda Mister Sparrow ably proofed the layouts.

In the department of northern baroque painting, numerous staff, volunteers, and interns have been involved in this project over the past few years. Particular gratitude is owed to Anna Tummers and Elizabeth Nogrady, who undertook much of the essential research that helped give the catalogue its scholarly basis. Bibliographical references were carefully checked and entered by Anneke Wertheim and Sohee Kim. Adriaan Waiboer not only made astute observations about the catalogue texts, but also wrote the exhibition brochure. Molli Kuenstner, staff assistant, diligently handled the many administrative demands connected with this project.

Numerous other colleagues have advised and assisted us on this project, or have supported our requests for loans of valuable and fragile works of art, among them Sylvain Bellenger, Pieter Biesboer, Marten Bijl, Charles Boissevain, Christopher Brown, Malcolm Cormack, Anthony Crichton-Stuart, Jean-Pierre Cuzin, Tacco Dibbets, Diethelm Doll, Frederik J. Duparc, Patricia Favero, Jeroen Giltaij, Marguerite Glass, Jan Piet Filedt Kok, David Jaffé, Guido M. C. Jansen, Lawrence Kanter, Jan Kelch, Minerva Keltanen, George Keyes, Paul Knolle, Alastair Laing, Friso Lammertse, Milko den Leeuw, Mark Leonard, Walter Liedtke, Joop van Litsenburg, Daniëlle H. A. C. Lokin, Katherine Crawford Luber, Vladimir Matveev, Otto Naumann, Larry Nichols, Robert Noortman, Nadine Orenstein, Lynn Orr, Pieter van der Ploeg, Konrad Renger, Joseph J. Rishel, Axel Ruger, Scott Schaefer, Eddy Schavemaker, Peter Sutton, Stanton Thomas, Renate Trnek, Ronald Winokur, Anne Woollett, and Elizabeth Wyckoff.

The project has been greatly facilitated by the thorough and thoughtful studies of earlier scholars, in particular Sturla Gudlaugsson, whose exemplary 1959–1960 monograph on the artist has been an indispensable resource. With thoughtful and balanced commentaries and

exhaustive cataloguing, Gudlaugsson's scholarly contributions remain as fundamentally valid today as they were almost half a century ago. Another important guide in helping conceive this project's parameters was the last monographic exhibition devoted to this master, which was organized at the Mauritshuis in The Hague and at the Landesmuseum in Münster in 1974. Finally, Alison Kettering's thorough study of the Ter Borch Studio Estate at the Rijksprentenkabinet in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, which she published in 1988, proved to be an invaluable research tool. Her assessment of this remarkable collection of drawings from the Ter Borch family has provided many new insights into the nature of the artist's training. As is evident from her many thoughtful articles on the artist in recent years, she has continued to open our eyes to the many dimensions of Ter Borch's work. We would especially like to thank Alison, as well as Marjorie E. Wieseman and Arie Wallert, for their thoughtful contributions to the exhibition catalogue and for their advice on many aspects of Ter Borch and his work.

To all of those who have helped bring the exhibition to its successful conclusion, we extend our deepest gratitude.

**Arthur K. Wheelock Jr.**

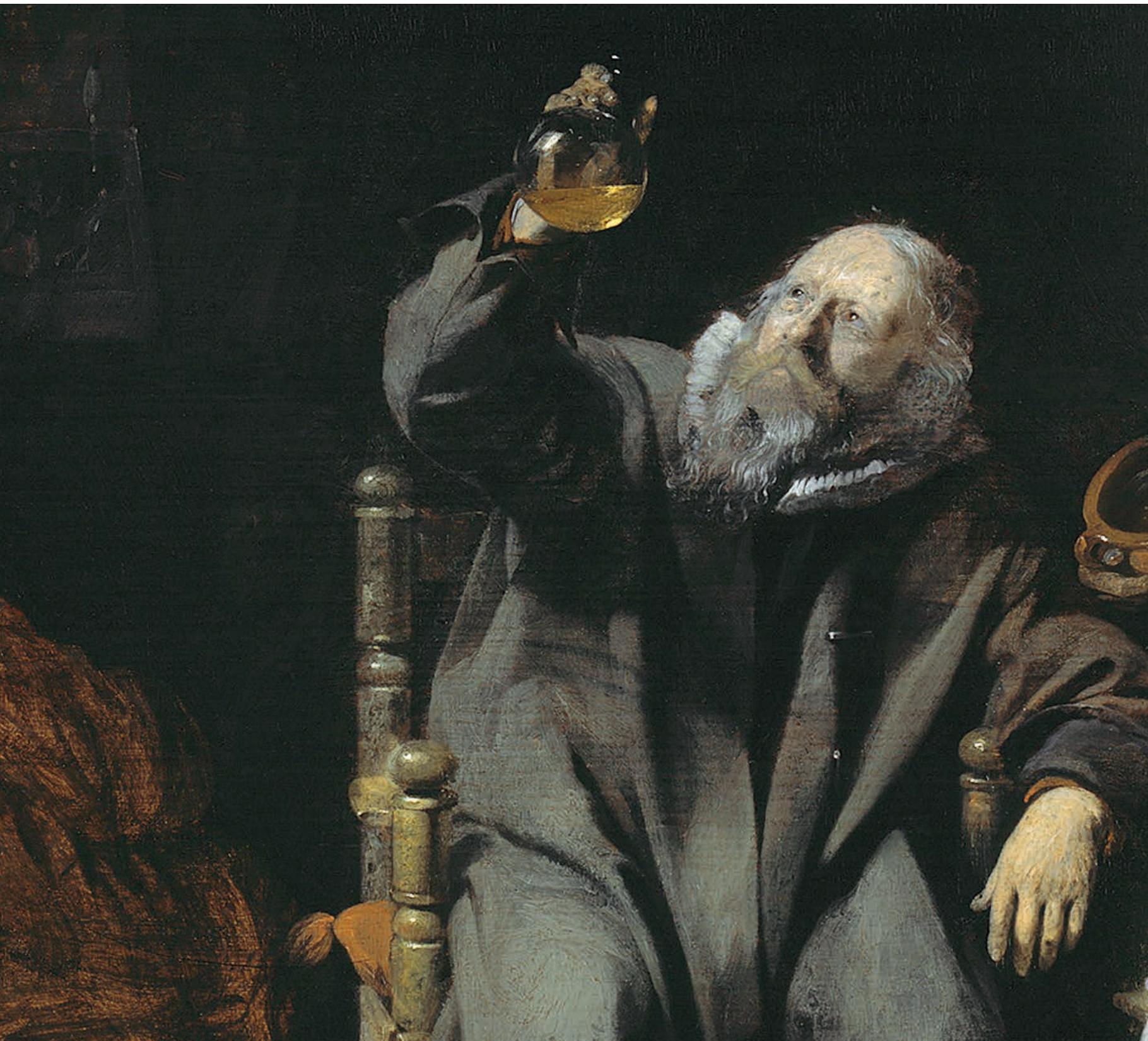
Curator of Northern  
Baroque Painting  
National Gallery of Art

**Kathryn L. Haw**

Curator of Exhibitions  
American Federation of Arts

## Lenders to the Exhibition

Alte Pinakothek, Munich	Musée du Louvre, Paris
Cincinnati Art Museum	National Gallery of Art, Washington
The Cleveland Museum of Art	The National Gallery, London
The Detroit Institute of Arts	Philadelphia Museum of Art
City of Deventer	Polesden Lacey (The National Trust)
Pieter C.W.M. Dreesmann	Private collections
Richard and Marcia Ehrlich	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco	Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede
Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem	Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague
Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna	Sinebrychoff Art Museum, Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin — Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie
Collections of the Prince of and in Liechtenstein, Vaduz	The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg
Manchester City Galleries	The Toledo Museum of Art
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam	



## The Artistic Development of Gerard ter Borch

Arthur K. Wheelock Jr.



THE LIVES OF MOST SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY Dutch artists are only dimly understood despite factual information provided by occasional guild and archival records and by anecdotal accounts contained in the commentaries of city historians and painter-theorists such as Arnold Houbraken (1660–1719).<sup>1</sup> Biographies, pieced together from incomplete records of differing reliability, are notoriously subjective and often greatly influenced by the nature of the artist's paintings. A prime example is Jan Steen (1625/1626–1679), who was often described as though he were one of the drunks and lechers he depicted in his works.<sup>2</sup>

With Gerard ter Borch the Younger (1617–1681) we encounter an artist for whom exists an extraordinary amount of biographical information.<sup>3</sup> We can follow his career almost on a yearly basis, from 1625 in Zwolle in the province of Overijssel, where he trained with his father Gerard ter Borch the Elder (1584–1662), to 1681 when he died at the age of sixty-four in nearby Deventer. We have not only documents from all phases of his life, but also an extensive commentary by Houbraken and, most importantly, a large number of drawings and paintings.<sup>4</sup> We can even study the sequence of his childhood drawings (thanks to the inscriptions and dates placed on them by his father) and read the letter in which the father sent artistic advice to his son when he was in London in 1635. These resources are further reinforced by the remarkable survival of drawings, albums, and sketchbooks by other members of Ter Borch's family.<sup>5</sup> This material provides important insights into the types of visual sources and intellectual ideas that stimulated other family members, particularly his father and his half sister Gesina, and hence ones that would have affected Ter Borch throughout his career.

Nevertheless, even with this plethora of information about the artist's training and career, it is extremely difficult to account for Ter Borch's distinctive vision as a portraitist and painter of scenes of daily life. Impor-



FIG. 1

tant lacunae exist in our knowledge of Ter Borch's training, movements, and contacts. His artistic genius, which was slow to mature, revealed itself almost without warning in the late 1640s and early 1650s. Nothing in his early work prepares us for the sensitivity of his portraits or for his ability to render the complex interweaving of psychological relationships in his genre paintings. Nowhere do we encounter at the beginning of his career that unparalleled ability to capture the texture and sheen of fine fabrics that ensured his lasting renown. Although the stylistic elements that came together in his work may never be fully explained, his paintings capture human ideals and moods that resonated far beyond Zwolle and Deventer, not only with Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675) in Delft and Frans van Mieris (1635–1681) in Leiden, but also with art lovers and connoisseurs during Ter Borch's lifetime and for centuries to come.

Gerard ter Borch the Younger benefited as an artist in many ways from the guidance of his father, not only from his instruction but also from his worldly experi-

ences and personal contacts. Indeed, in many ways, the character of the young Ter Borch's training follows closely the pattern established by his father. Zwolle, where both father and son were born, was an important trading center, but this provincial city had never established a significant artistic tradition (fig. 1). Although Gerard the Elder initially may have been trained by a local artist, he would have found in Zwolle no master with a skill level comparable to that of his own when, in the mid-1620s, he undertook the artistic education of his son. Consequently, Gerard the Elder must have had further training in another city, probably Haarlem or Utrecht, judging from the style of his own drawings and the works in his collection.<sup>6</sup>

His most important training, however, occurred in Italy, where he stayed for at least seven years (probably more) before returning to Zwolle about 1612. For much of that visit he was in Rome, where he resided at the Palazzo Colonna. The Colonna family also supported his trip to Naples, and would have supported a trip to Spain in 1611 had he not missed the boat.<sup>7</sup> The personal connections Gerard the Elder had with this Catholic family suggest that he arrived in Italy with good recommendations and was able to establish a close rapport with them. Ter Borch also seems to have visited Venice, Nîmes, and Bordeaux before returning to Zwolle.

Gerard the Elder's extant drawings from this period of his life are primarily *vedute*, topographically accurate renderings of Roman ruins. Executed mainly in a single sketchbook, these drawings resemble, in their linear style and use of *repoussoir* effects, the drawings of two important Antwerp landscape artists who lived in Rome, Paul Brill (1553/1554–1626) and Willem van Nieulandt II (1584–1635). As was characteristic with northern artists working in Rome in the early seventeenth century, Ter Borch must have worked closely with Dutch, Flemish, and Italian artists, perhaps traveling with them to favorite sites where they could draw *naar het leven* (from life).<sup>8</sup>

Curiously, Gerard the Elder's interest in depicting landscapes virtually vanished once he returned to Zwolle and married Anna Bufkens (1587–c. 1621), who had been born and raised in Antwerp. Rather, he devoted his artistic energies to figural scenes: drawing (and occasionally painting) biblical and mythological subjects, and merry companies similar to those being produced in Haarlem by Esaias van de Velde (c. 1590–1630) and Willem Buytewech (1591/1592–1624). Such secular scenes, which focused on amorous interactions between the sexes, not only became a frequent subject for paintings, but were also featured in emblem books and songbooks. With the deft hand and ingenious wit that would soon animate the art of his son Gerard, the elder Ter Borch created five watercolors of such amorous scenes for a Haarlem songbook in the early 1620s (fig. 2). In addition to illustrating written texts, he also wrote poetry, an interest that became more fully real-

1. Gerard ter Borch, *Jan Baghstoren, Rode Toren, and Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, with Boats Docked along the Rode Torenplein, Zwolle*, 1632, pen in brown ink, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (landscape sketchbook, fol. 25r)
2. Gerard ter Borch the Elder, *Young People Frolicking in the Grass*, early 1620s, pen in brown ink, brush in various colors, Historisch Museum, Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk (fol. 2r)



FIG. 2

3. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Man on Horseback,  
Seen from Rear*, 1625,  
pen in brown ink,  
Rijksprentenkabinet,  
Amsterdam

4. Gerard ter Borch, *Man  
Adjusting the Saddle of  
a Horse*, 1631, pen and  
brush in brown ink,  
over traces of black  
chalk, Rijksprenten-  
kabinet, Amsterdam

ized in the illustrated texts created by his daughter Gesina in the various albums that have been preserved in the Ter Borch family archives at the Rijksmuseum (see fig. 9).

If Gerard ter Borch the Elder had aspirations to become a professional artist, they never materialized, probably because he realized that he would not be able to support his growing family on the income he earned from his drawings and paintings. By 1628, as indicated on a document recording his third marriage, he had prudently opted for the steady income of an administrative post in Zwolle. As License master, a position previously held by his father, Harmen (1550–1634), he collected taxes on commercial traffic passing through the city for the States General in The Hague. It was an important and time-consuming job: much of the trade in goods passing between Germany and Holland went through Zwolle, a fortified city situated at the juncture of the rivers IJssel and Vecht, not far from the Zuider Zee and the Dutch-German border. Even though these new obligations precluded him from pursuing an artistic career, he continued to foster hope that one of his offspring would be able to follow the path he had abandoned. He quickly recognized that his eldest son had innate artistic talent, which he encouraged with singular devotion. By 1625, when Gerard the Younger was merely eight years old, the father was proudly annotating, dating, and saving his drawings for posterity (fig. 3).

The attention the father paid to his son's training may have been intended to provide him with a continuity otherwise missing in his young life: Anna, his mother, had died in 1621. Family continuity, unfortunately, did not resume with Gerard the Elder's second marriage, which occurred later that year. Although his union with Geesken van Voerst was blessed with two daughters, Anna (1622–1679) and Sara (1624–1680), Geesken also died young. In September 1628 Gerard the Younger acquired a second stepmother, Wiesken Matthys (b. 1607), and in November 1631, another half

sister, Gesina (1631–1690). Two boys from this union would also have artistic aspirations, Harmen (1638–c. 1677) and Moses (1645–1667) (cat. 46).

Because of the remarkable number of drawings that have been preserved in the Ter Borch family archives—in particular, drawings by Gerard the Elder, Gerard the Younger, Gesina, Harmen, and Moses—we are able to glimpse the teaching process that must have unfolded under the father's guidance. During Gerard the Younger's earliest years he was encouraged to study prints made by a number of masters, including Hendrik Goltzius (1558–1617) and Aegidius Sadeler (1555–1609). From them, he learned how to control his pen strokes and to apply ink with a brush to create chiaroscuro effects.<sup>9</sup> He then progressed to drawing after sculpture, particularly casts made after the antique—an exercise that taught him to model the human form with light and dark.<sup>10</sup> By the early 1630s he was making copies

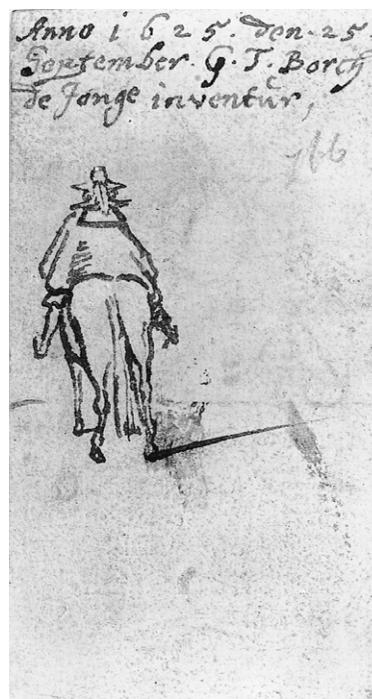


FIG. 3

after prints by Pieter Quast (1605–1647) and Jacques Callot (1592–1635), whose character studies taught him how to exaggerate certain human features and use body language for dramatic effect.<sup>11</sup>

At the same time that he was creating these disciplined studies, Gerard the Younger was encouraged to make rapid renderings suggesting the movements and actions of figures and horses in his immediate environs. However, the fact that Ter Borch executed a number of these “quick” pen and ink studies over faint traces of chalk suggests that they were not as spontaneous as they first appear (fig. 4). Judging from the large number of counterproofs and drawings with blackened versos in the Ter Borch family estate, Gerard the Elder apparently encouraged his offspring to develop methods for copying and revising their drawings.<sup>12</sup> It thus seems probable that the estate “collection” of Gerard the Younger’s early drawings was selectively edited and

does not include many of the artist’s initial efforts. Gerard the Younger continued to employ such replicating techniques throughout his career, using them to transfer both individual motifs and entire compositions from one support to another (see Wallert essay and cats. 39, 40).

By 1631, when he was only about fourteen years old, Gerard the Younger began a sketchbook of landscape drawings in which he depicted buildings in Zwolle and farmsteads in the surrounding countryside (see fig. 1; cat. 25, fig. 1). These remarkably precocious pen and ink drawings, which demonstrate great compositional sensitivity, understanding of perspective, and ability to capture effects of light and shade, are in many ways stylistically related to the *vedute* his father had made in Italy during the first decade of the seventeenth century. In other respects, however, they are entirely different. Not only are they more loosely handled, they depict local buildings and settings, subjects that his father never attempted to record.

Gerard the Younger’s instinctive interest in looking at nature and human figures, both at rest and in action, and in recording their rhythms, their energy, and their spatial relationships was in accord with the changing dynamics of Dutch art during the 1620s and 1630s. These were areas, however, where Gerard the Elder had never ventured during his artistic career. Hence, in the early 1630s he let loose the reins and sent his son to Amsterdam and then Haarlem to study with masters who could provide guidance in these new artistic approaches.

Just how Gerard the Elder chose a new master for his son is not known. Nevertheless, because of his own artistic experiences he had a circle of friends who could advise him about appropriate learning environments for a fifteen-year-old boy. In 1632, the younger Gerard seems to have stayed briefly in Amsterdam. It has been speculated that he went there to study with an artist such as Pieter Codde (1599–1678) or Willem Duyster



FIG. 4

5. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Market at Evening in  
Zwolle*, 1635–1640,  
pen and brush in  
black ink, over black  
chalk, heightened  
with white body color,  
Rijksprentenkabinet,  
Amsterdam

6. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Robert van Voerst*, 1635–  
1636, black chalk,  
Rijksprentenkabinet,  
Amsterdam

(1598/1599–1635). Both painted not only portraits but also scenes of soldiers in their barracks or resting in inns, subjects that Gerard the Younger would gravitate toward in the early years of his career.<sup>13</sup>

More is known about his experiences in 1634 in Haarlem, where he studied with Pieter Molijn (1595–1661), a highly regarded painter and draftsman who was active in the administration of the Haarlem Saint Luke's Guild. Molijn, who fully embraced the stylistic innovations of his Haarlem colleagues, was able to provide Ter Borch with guidance in a wide range of subjects, including dune landscapes, market scenes (see Kettering essay, fig. 4), cavalry battles, and ambushes. Molijn's immediate impact on the young artist is evident in the stylistic transformation of Ter Borch's landscape drawings. As of 1634, Ter Borch no longer drew in his landscape sketchbook with pen but with black chalk, Molijn's preferred medium. Ter Borch found that the soft, broken lines produced by chalk better enabled him to capture the immediacy and varied atmospheric effects of dune landscapes and the broken irregularities

of ruins such as the Huis te Kleef.<sup>14</sup> Molijn's influence is also evident in the young artist's drawings of nocturnal scenes, among them, an evening market scene in Zwolle where darkly silhouetted figures mill around lantern-lit tents (fig. 5). Ter Borch's successful apprenticeship with Molijn culminated in 1635, when he was named a master in Haarlem's Saint Luke's Guild.<sup>15</sup>

With this important milestone behind him, Gerard the Younger left almost immediately for London, where he went to work in the studio of his stepuncle Robert van Voerst (1597–1636), an engraver who worked closely with Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641). Although the timing of this trip seems somewhat unusual, it may have been linked to Van Voerst's royal appointment as engraver to Charles I on 23 May 1635.<sup>16</sup> In any event, Ter Borch had arrived in London by 3 July 1635, the date of a fascinating letter his father sent advising him on the best course to follow in his artistic career.<sup>17</sup> As far as the elder Ter Borch was concerned, the most important lesson his son learned from Molijn was how to compose "modern" scenes, in which figural groups similar to

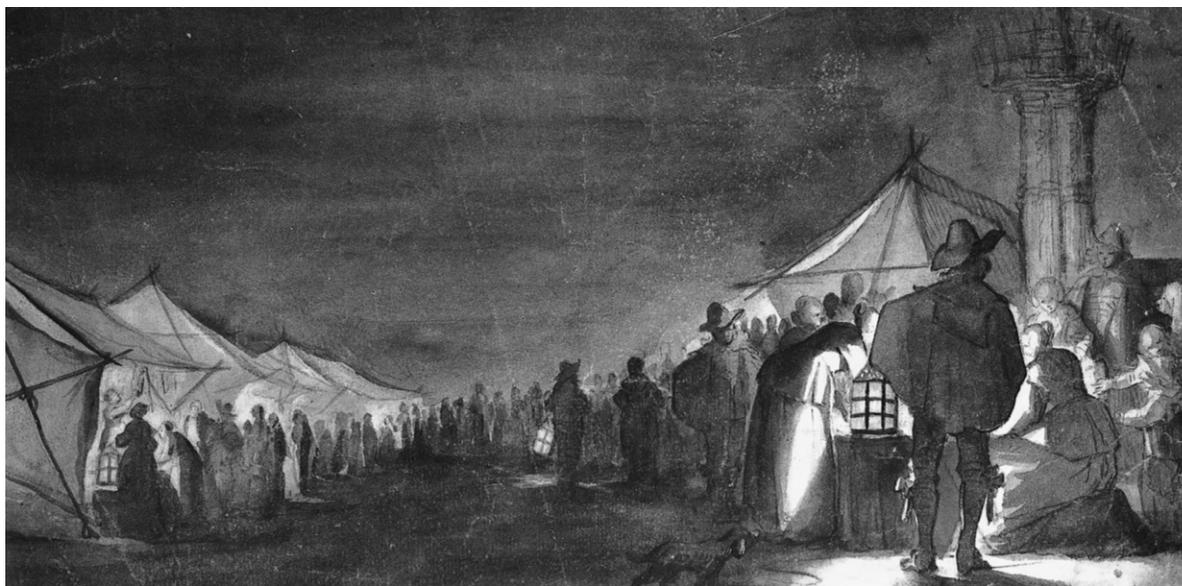


FIG. 5

those found in everyday life were portrayed with a sense of movement. He urged his son not only to continue to depict such subjects, but also to paint in a manner that produced the “most beautiful and flowing” effects.

Arriving with the letter (and its advice about painting), was a trunk filled with clothes and art supplies, including brushes, books of paper, black chalk, colors, pens, and a manikin, which Ter Borch’s father expressly encouraged him to use.<sup>18</sup> Both the nature of the letter and the character of the material sent indicate that the father expected his son to stay for an extended period in London, where he would be able to paint figural scenes similar to those he had made in Haarlem. Unfortunately, little seems to have come of these plans and Ter Borch was back in Zwolle by April 1636.<sup>19</sup>

The trip to London, however, was not without its benefits. Undoubtedly it introduced Gerard the Younger to a type of elegance and refinement that he had never previously encountered. Aside from his proximity to the English court, he had an extraordinary opportunity to watch his stepuncle while he engraved after Van Dyck’s refined portraits, not only of the king and queen, but also of scholars, collectors, and artists—figures that were to be included in Van Dyck’s print series *The Iconography*. Van Voerst himself was to be included in that elite company, and Ter Borch was able to study the drawing Van Dyck made for this portrait, learning in the process how Van Dyck conferred a sense of grace and elegance on his sitters. Ter Borch’s chalk drawing of his uncle (fig. 6) is his only work of art surviving from the London sojourn.<sup>20</sup>

Ter Borch learned another lesson from his experiences in London that he never forgot: the ability of a painter of aristocrats (such as Van Dyck) to elevate his own social standing. From this time on, portraiture, as well as the depiction of “modern” life, was to be an important component of his artistic career, not only because he found that he was talented in this realm but also because he recognized its potential for his own

social advancement. Nevertheless, despite the overriding importance of Van Dyck’s portraiture at the English court in the mid-1630s, Ter Borch, either through lack of training or inclination, never seems to have been tempted to follow the Flemish master’s example of painting large-scale portraits. He must also have noted that royal commissions came in all sizes. For example, the Haarlem painter Hendrik Gerritsz Pot (c. 1585–1657), whom Ter Borch may have met while studying with Pieter Molijn, had painted small-scale portraits of the king and his family when he had been attached to the English court in the early 1630s. When Ter Borch began painting portraits, it was Hendrik Pot’s example rather than Van Dyck’s that he chose to emulate (see cat. 4, fig. 2).<sup>21</sup>

If portraiture was of great interest to Ter Borch, so also was genre painting, and he pursued both side by



FIG. 6

side for most of his career. While his interest in genre painting may have begun in Amsterdam in 1632 and developed in Haarlem in 1633 and 1634, it benefited further from the inspiration of the Antwerp painter David Teniers II (1610–1690). Although no documents confirm that Ter Borch visited Antwerp on his return trip to Zwolle, such a trip in the fall of 1635 seems probable given the character of Ter Borch's earliest signed and dated painting, *The Consultation* (cat. 2) of 1635, which is thematically, compositionally, and stylistically indebted to a painting by Teniers (cat. 2, fig. 1). And family connections may have pulled Ter Borch to Antwerp, just as they had to London. Ter Borch's mother was a native of Antwerp and her brother, Aert de Bonte, still lived there.<sup>22</sup> Ter Borch almost certainly painted *The Consultation* after that visit, probably when he was back in Zwolle.<sup>23</sup>

Gerard the Younger's stay in Zwolle in the mid-1630s did not last long. He apparently set out for Spain in 1637, perhaps, as a number of authors have argued, by way of Italy. However, the evidence that Ter Borch traveled to Spain via Italy is extremely slim, even though the logic for such a trip seems compelling. It stems primarily from a statement by Arnold Houbraken, who notes in his early eighteenth-century biography of the artist that Ter Borch traveled to many lands, including Germany, Italy, England, France, Spain, and the Netherlands.<sup>24</sup> We could well imagine that Gerard the Elder would have recommended that his son follow his footsteps to Rome, where he had spent such profitable years in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Rome's appeal, moreover, had not dimmed in the interim, although its attractions were more diverse for artists of the son's generation.

Netherlandish artists of the 1630s went to Rome not only to study its ancient ruins but also to explore its diverse street life, which teemed with gamblers, vendors, and beggars. An active artist community called the Bentvueghels, which comprised primarily foreign-

ers, explored this fascinating underworld in their paintings and drawings. The most important member of this group was Pieter van Laer (c. 1592–1642), a Haarlem artist who was in Rome from 1625 to 1639. When he joined this artist's society, he was given the nickname Bamboccio (clumsy doll), and the painters working in this low-life tradition came to be called Bamboccianti. Although it would seem that Ter Borch, intent upon depicting "modern" scenes, would have gravitated toward Van Laer's subject matter, there is no indication of either the Bamboccianti or Roman ruins in his work. Thus, on balance, it seems unlikely that Ter Borch ever visited Rome.

Ter Borch's visit to Spain, however, can be substantiated by a number of references, not only Houbraken's statement, but also a poem written in 1654 by Joost Roldanus, a schoolmaster from Zwolle, on the occasion of Ter Borch's marriage to Geertruyt Matthys (1612–c. 1672). Roldanus relates that Ter Borch's paintings were highly esteemed in the royal palace in Madrid, where the king himself (Philip IV) sat for the artist.<sup>25</sup> Although this portrait is no longer extant, an autograph replica, either painted in the Southern Netherlands on his return to the Dutch Republic, or later after he had returned to the Netherlands in the early 1640s, seems to confirm Roldanus' account.<sup>26</sup> In this full-length but small-scale portrait, Philip's hair and costume are consistent with his appearance in the late 1630s.

Many fascinating questions surround this trip and its impact on Ter Borch's subsequent career, in particular the apparent influence of Diego Velázquez (1599–1660) on his portrait style. Although no documents exist to confirm that contact existed between Velázquez and the young Dutch artist, it seems that Ter Borch did not escape Velázquez' overriding presence in the Spanish court. He must have recognized in Velázquez' portraits the forceful presence of the sitters, which the Spanish master conveyed through both pose and palette (fig. 7). Although Ter Borch worked on a small

scale, he quickly emulated the Spanish master's style, both in his depiction of Philip IV and in the portraits he made immediately after he returned to the Netherlands (cats. 4–6). These works, small portraits on copper, have a remarkable physical and psychological presence, not just because of the artist's sensitive characterization of the sitters' faces, but also because of their commanding poses. Following Velázquez' lead, Ter Borch also



FIG. 7

exploited the expressive potential of his sitters' black costumes by starkly silhouetting their forms against the light-filled but undefined spaces in which they exist.

Ter Borch's whereabouts during the early 1640s is not documented. Judging from a few collaborative works he painted with Pieter Molijn (cat. 7), he had reestablished contact with the artistic community in Haarlem once he returned to the Netherlands. However, as he also painted guardroom scenes in the manner of Pieter Codde and Willem Duyster during those years, and portrayed such distinguished Amsterdam aristocrats as Jan Six, it seems probable that he resided in that burgeoning metropolitan center rather than in Haarlem.<sup>27</sup> Amsterdam was a fascinating place in the mid-1640s, for the prospect of peace in the ongoing conflict with Spain was close at hand. With its mercantile interests at heart, Amsterdam spearheaded the negotiations for a peace treaty (eventually signed in Münster on 15 May 1648), which established the United Provinces as a free and sovereign territory.

Ter Borch, whose refined portrait style had won the confidence of important political and social figures in Amsterdam, was invited to accompany the delegates to Münster to record the ceremony during which the treaty was signed (cat. 13). Whether implicitly or explicitly, Ter Borch's presence was probably also sought because of his prior experiences in the Spanish court, which would have made him an acceptable artist in the eyes of the Spanish delegates. Ter Borch made a number of small oval portraits on copper of members of the Dutch delegation, including a portrait of Adriaen Pauw van Heemstede, the powerful pensionary of Holland who headed up the delegation negotiating on behalf of the provinces of Holland and West Friesland (cat. 8). Ter Borch also made comparable portraits of the Spanish emissaries, including the Count of Peñaranda, who was in charge of the Spanish delegation (cat. 12). Even more remarkably, it seems that Ter Borch joined the Count of Peñaranda's entourage after the signing of

7. Diego Velázquez, *Don Pedro de Barberana y Aparregui*, c. 1631–1633, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas

the treaty and traveled with him to Brussels. It is even probable that he was knighted and received a gold chain and a medal of the king at the Brussels court in appreciation for his service to the Spanish delegation.<sup>28</sup>

By late 1648 Ter Borch was once again in the Netherlands, primarily Amsterdam and Zwolle, where he continued to find demand for his sensitive, small-scale portraits of individual sitters, pendants of spouses, and family groups. At the same time he also developed an entirely new form of genre painting that would prove to be his most significant contribution to the history of Dutch art. Larger in scale than his earlier paintings of military life, these works depict figures involved in domestic activities and shown from a close vantage point. Almost as an unseen protagonist, we as viewers often engage in the scene by peering over one of the figures' shoulders (cat. 16). We become immersed in the human dynamics of the situation, recognizing both its fluidity and unresolved character. These compellingly tender and personal images are hauntingly evocative in the way they capture both the ambiguity and uncertainty of life, even in moments of apparent joy and fulfillment.

Just how and when Ter Borch came to this new form of genre painting are not entirely clear, since no real precedent exists for it in Dutch art. It probably evolved from a fortuitous combination of visual stimuli, intellectual and emotional maturity, and human contacts. After the signing of the Treaty of Münster, Ter Borch seems to have recognized that scenes of soldiers spending idle time in barracks were no longer a current topic of concern. More appealing to him, and presumably to the art market, were scenes that depicted card playing and drinking in a domestic rather than military context. In this respect, he returned to themes that had intrigued Dutch and Flemish artists from the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries—from Hendrik Goltzius in his prints and drawings of the five senses, to Esaias van de Velde and Willem Buytewech

in their merry company paintings, and Adriaen Brouwer (1605/1606–1638) and David Teniers in their penetrating studies of peasant life. However vital these visual traditions were to Ter Borch's pictorial approach in the late 1640s and early 1650s, he nevertheless transformed them radically to create works that spoke an entirely different language.

In Ter Borch's genre scenes, we never confuse the protagonists as representative types—such as those found in images by Goltzius, Buytewech, or Teniers, where figures belong to a realm slightly removed from the reality of everyday experience. Ter Borch's figures are real people: he studied their faces, mining them for the emotional implications of fleeting expressions before capturing them in paint with the sensitivity of a portrait painter (fig. 8). He explored their body language, finding in their poses and gestures a world of conflicting human emotions, usually understated and unrecognized by even the most observant eyes. Even though the settings of such scenes remain undefined, Ter Borch enhanced the sense of immediacy with his sensitive renderings of materials, whether the nap of a woolen tablecloth, the polished wooden body of an old man's guitar, or the satiny sheen of a woman's dress. Finally, he instinctively created recognizable scenarios for these personal encounters, ones where the situations and emotions depicted would have been known and felt by all who came into contact with these images.

Perhaps some artistic precedent for these works exists, but none is immediately evident. They differ fundamentally from genre scenes by his contemporaries, exhibiting neither the sensuality of a merry company scene by Gerard van Honthorst (1590–1656), nor the detailed refinement of a work by Gerard Dou (1613–1675), nor the outward exuberance of a painting by Jan Steen (1625/1626–1679). Ter Borch also structured his genre scenes differently than did most other genre painters. He never employed a narrative device known as a *doorsien*, which allows us to glimpse into a second-

ary space, often through an open doorway, with figures or objects that amplify the painting's main focus.<sup>29</sup>

One artist whose works do appear to have inspired Ter Borch at this stage of his career was Michael Sweerts (1618–1664), a Flemish artist working in the tradition of the Bamboccianti in Rome. Sweerts painted some very direct and emotionally poignant half-length portrayals of the working class in the 1640s, including women spinning yarn and mothers removing head lice (cat. 28, fig. 1). Such depictions call to mind Ter Borch's sensitive portrayals of individuals engaged in domestic activities.<sup>30</sup> About 1650, a number of Sweerts' Dutch patrons in Rome returned to Amsterdam, where Ter Borch could well have seen these paintings.<sup>31</sup>



FIG. 8

But a more satisfying explanation may be found for Ter Borch's remarkable transformation of genre traditions. Upon returning to Zwolle in the late 1640s he found himself outside the mainstream of artistic traditions unfolding in Haarlem, Amsterdam, Leiden, and Utrecht, let alone in Rome and Antwerp. In Zwolle, he re-entered family life, which now consisted of his father and stepmother, Wiesken Matthys, and various siblings interested in art and poetry, including his half sisters Anna and Gesina, and half brothers Harmen and Moses. All evidence points to a closely bonded family, one that proudly supported Gerard the Younger's artistic aspirations and helped him—whether directly or indirectly—define the types of subjects that best suited his capabilities. It was within that context that Ter Borch grounded his moral framework and found his most compelling models, not only because he knew each of the family members well, but also because he seems to have been touched by the warmth of their personal relationships. Many of Ter Borch's most moving paintings from this period of his life depict gestures and expressions of caring and concern amongst members of this extended family, whether between mother and child or between a child and his dog (cats. 19, 28).

The world encompassed by this family, however, was not limited to Zwolle or to morally uplifting ideals compatible with those found in the Bible and the writings of Jacob Cats (1577–1660). The father's literary interests, his awareness and writing of poetry, and his involvement in illustrating songbooks resonated in his children, most fully in Gesina, who became passionately involved in copying, writing, and illustrating poems, songs, and emblematic literature. She was about seventeen when Gerard the Younger returned to Zwolle, and a palpable relationship between the two quickly evolved. Already at this young age, Gesina was enthralled by Petrarchan concepts of love: the complexities, worries, and disappointments that accompanied the search for a true and lasting love.<sup>32</sup> These love laments were fre-

8. *Woman Spinning* (detail of cat. 20)

9. Gesina ter Borch,  
*A Gentleman Kneeling  
 before a Young Lady*,  
 1659, brush in black  
 and various colors,  
 heightened with gold  
 washed with egg  
 white, Rijksprenten-  
 kabinet, Amsterdam  
 (poetry album,  
 fol. 29r)

10. Attributed to Gonzales  
 Coques, *Portrait  
 of a Man Receiving  
 a Letter*, c. 1660, oil  
 on panel, Collection  
 Pieter C.W.M. Drees-  
 mann, London

quently expressed in early seventeenth-century Dutch songbooks and emblematic literature by, among others, Jan Hermansz Krul (1601/1602–1646). Gesina's own reflections, in verse and in drawings (fig. 9), are found in her poetry book, which she began to compile in the late 1640s.<sup>33</sup>

Young, attractive, and emotionally sensitive, Gesina became Ter Borch's favorite model by the early 1650s, inevitably playing a role in paintings that resonated with these very issues. Many of these works focus upon those moments of anticipation prior to a meeting of lovers (cat. 16), or upon uncertainties caused by the

arrival of a letter (cat. 23). It is impossible to determine how much of this new direction in Ter Borch's subject matter was his own doing, and how much was the result of discussions within the family, particularly with Gesina. Clearly, however, a remarkable synergy existed between his pictorial ideas and those evident in his family's literary pursuits. A particularly fascinating area of shared interest concerns color symbolism. In 1659 Gesina included in her poetry album a list of color symbols, which, to judge from Ter Borch's genre scenes from the late 1650s and early 1660s, were also known by him. The symbolism of the colors of the women's dresses seems to relate directly to the narrative scenario being depicted in a number of these works, including, for example, *A Lady at Her Toilet* (cat. 34).<sup>34</sup> In this list of color symbols blue is equated with jealousy, an emotion also suggested by the lady's actions and facial expression.

Ter Borch's intimate relationship with his extended family was affected by his marriage on 14 February 1654 to Geertruyt Matthys, a widow who was his stepmother's sister. Geertruyt lived in Deventer and Ter Borch moved in the year of his marriage to the old Hanse town on the banks of the river IJssel. Deventer and Zwolle were not that far apart and, based on their frequent appearances as models in his paintings, Ter Borch retained close relationships with Gesina and his other siblings after his move. Nevertheless, the character of his art after leaving Zwolle changed noticeably. Not only did formal portraiture assume a far greater role in his oeuvre but genre scenes took on a different character. Instead of middle-class domestic scenes, he featured elegant social settings and refined figures belonging to the wealthy, patrician class.

Gerard the Younger seems to have transitioned seamlessly to this new world. He quickly entered Deventer society, achieving partial citizen's rights in 1655 and full citizenship about a decade later. He became a *gemeensman* (city counselor), representing



FIG. 9

one of the town's eight wards in 1666, and as such belonged to a municipal body, the *gezworen gemeente* (sworn community), which advised the powerful town council. Ter Borch may have been so fully welcomed into this community because his wife and relatives of her former husband belonged to the regent class and were connected socially to Deventer's close-knit political elite. However, he was himself an esteemed figure, one who had not only been present at the signing of the Treaty of Münster, but also belonged to the retinue of Adriaen Pauw van Heemstede. Not to be forgotten, moreover, is the fact that he had portrayed the king of Spain and been knighted by the Count of Peñaranda, an honor that Roldanus emphasized in his 1654 poem celebrating the wedding of Ter Borch and Geertruyt Matthys.<sup>35</sup>

Demand for Ter Borch's paintings seems to have been strong from the outset, for soon after arriving in Deventer he took on the first of his students, Caspar Netscher (c. 1636–1684), a talented young artist who also served as a model in many of Ter Borch's genre scenes from the mid-to-late 1650s (cat. 30).<sup>36</sup> Other students followed, including Pieter van Anraadt (1640–1678) and Roelof Koets (before 1650–1725), but exactly what role they played in the production of Ter Borch's paintings is little understood.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps they were responsible for some of the many copies that were made of Ter Borch's compositions—we know Caspar made a free adaptation of his master's *The Consultation* in 1659.<sup>38</sup> They may also have filled in subsidiary elements in his portraits, such as tables and chairs, which often lack the sensitivity of modeling found in the figures themselves.

A painting attributed to Gonzales Coques (1614 or 1618–1684) reveals information about an artistic process that Ter Borch may have followed, particularly in his portraits (fig. 10). In this unfinished portrait/genre scene we see that the artist painted the background elements and faces first, and left unpainted the figures' bodies, whose forms are indicated by the chalk under-

drawing. Such a sequential process of execution could allow the participation of a studio assistant, who, in this instance, could have been called upon to add the clothing after the master had modeled the faces. Thus far, however, technical assessments have distinguished no differences of hand in Ter Borch's paintings, with one exception—the allegorical portrait of Moses, which the artist executed with Gesina (cat. 46).

At midcentury Deventer was not as vital a town as Zwolle, although it remained an important trading



FIG. 10

center with a cosmopolitan flavor thanks to its highly regarded center for advanced learning, the Deventer Athenaeum. The town held tightly to tradition and conservative values, qualities that Ter Borch readily appreciated and was ready to reinforce in the many portrait commissions he received. The style of portraiture that he developed was straightforward: his figures pose, often full length, with stately formality.<sup>39</sup> The settings he created for these intimately scaled portraits are remarkable for their lack of embellishment; chairs, tables, and bookshelves, when included, remain visually subordinate to the figures, who are generally, but not always, dressed in somber black. Ter Borch's intent was clearly to present an exacting likeness of the sitter and, at the same time, to reflect the sitter's status as a member of the ruling elite.

One exceptional painting that Ter Borch created during his Deventer years was a large group portrait, *The Town Council of Deventer*, which he painted for the town hall in 1667 (cat. 44). It is a somber painting: formal, symmetrical, and hierarchical—a statement of the sense of dignity and responsibility felt by this deliberative body. In the overriding sense of common purpose conveyed by this composition, we find much of the character of the society for which Ter Borch painted. At the same time, this painting demonstrates the artist's ability and willingness to devise a compositional mode that reflects his patron's concerns and ideals. Ter Borch seemingly conceived this work in concert with the frame maker Derck Daniels, whose elaborate gold frame containing emblematic symbols of justice, civic virtue, and affluence indicated the values and responsibilities of the council.<sup>40</sup>

As a portraitist, Ter Borch was no groundbreaking rebel interested in devising ways to suggest the dynamic interactions of individuals, as had Frans Hals (c. 1582/1583–1666) or Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669). Rather, Ter Borch was an artist who sought to reinforce those values of moderation and restraint that his patrons so

fully embraced. As a genre painter, however, Ter Borch apparently felt released from such constraints and sought to portray those human emotions that occur at unexpected moments, when a person's inner character is revealed as life's formal façade falls away. The more that Ter Borch satisfied the conservative pictorial ideals of the Deventer elite in his portraits during the 1650s and 1660s, the more he developed this more intimate aspect of his genre scenes. He favored subjects in which he could express a sense of anticipation arising from social situations: greetings at doorways (cat. 30), musical ensembles (cats. 47, 48), and the writing and receiving of letters (cats. 32, 33). He never explained (or even intimated) the outcome of such activities and encounters, thereby providing us with the opportunity to engage in the scene, to ponder and discuss its implications. Ter Borch occasionally enhanced the sense of ambiguity in his genre scenes by turning one of the major protagonists away from us and thus further obscuring the figure's emotional state of mind (cat. 27).

Ter Borch's fame, however, rests not exclusively on the sensitivity of his portraits or on the psychological nuances of his genre scenes. Even in his own day, connoisseurs and painters alike marveled at his ability to paint fabrics, particularly satin.<sup>41</sup> Although his earliest work demonstrates a remarkable ability to render different materials, he did not develop his distinctive manner of painting fine fabrics—one that has never been replicated—until the 1650s. How he managed to capture the sheen and translucency of satin remains a matter of discussion.<sup>42</sup> Judging from microscopic analysis, Ter Borch delicately modeled the surfaces of the material with remarkably free brushstrokes that blend effortlessly together. Such a surface treatment could only be effective if it were built upon a firm foundation formed from an intimate knowledge of the material's structure and the rhythms of its folds. To establish such a foundation, Ter Borch must have studied the character of the materials he depicted from life and then recorded

his observations on his panel or canvas supports.<sup>43</sup> Although no careful drapery studies, either drawings or oil sketches, are known, their existence can be postulated because he depicted figures wearing identical dresses in various paintings (figs. 11, 12). Thus as a mature artist, Ter Borch must have utilized replicating techniques similar to those that his father taught him and his siblings.

Ter Borch and his paintings seem to have been well known beyond Zwolle and Deventer during his lifetime, but just how he established his market in artistic centers outside the province of Overijssel is little under-

stood. In Delft both Vermeer and Pieter de Hooch (1629–1684) were influenced by Ter Borch's genre scenes. Indeed on 22 April 1653, two days after Vermeer's wedding, Ter Borch and Vermeer cosigned a document in Delft, in which they acted as witnesses to an "act of surety" between a captain in the service of the States General, stationed in Den Briel, and the widow (?) of the former governor of Den Briel.<sup>44</sup>

Although this document raises the possibility that Ter Borch, who may have been in The Hague painting his portrait of Jan van Goyen (cat. 21), came to Delft for Vermeer's wedding, it does not explain how the two

11. *The Suitor's Visit*  
(detail of cat. 30)

12. *A Lady at Her Toilet*  
(detail of cat. 34)



FIG. 11

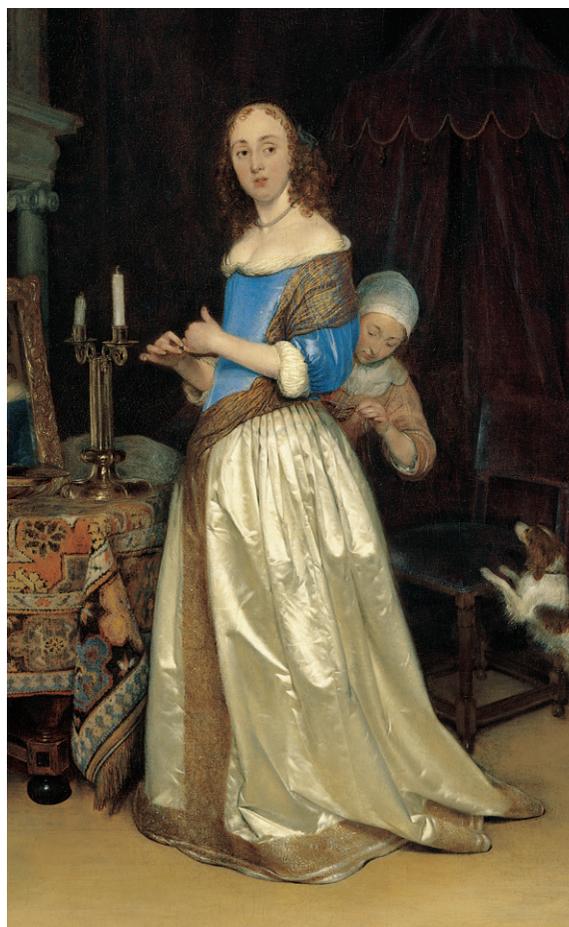


FIG. 12

artists came to know each other. Their acquaintance may have come through the individuals involved in the deposition, through the notary Willem de Langue, who was present at the signing of the document, or through the Amsterdam art dealer Johannes Renialme, who handled paintings by both masters.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, Ter Borch seems to have painted his genre scenes primarily for an Amsterdam market. His paintings were familiar to a number of Amsterdam artists in the 1650s and 1660s, including Gabriel Metsu (1629–1667), Eglon van der Neer (c. 1634–1703), and Michiel van Musscher (1645–1705).<sup>46</sup> The latter two artists made copies of Ter Borch's paintings, perhaps at the request of Amsterdam art dealers who sought to fill a demand for his elegant depictions of women wearing satin dresses.<sup>47</sup>

While Ter Borch quite possibly spent more time in Amsterdam in the late 1660s after the death of his wife, he was certainly there in about 1670, when he painted portraits of Nicolaes Pancras, an Amsterdam burgo-master, his wife, and son Gerbrand (cat. 49).<sup>48</sup> Although Ter Borch's intimate scale of portraiture was unlike the large-scale, boldly executed paintings of such Amsterdam artists as Bartholomeus van der Helst (c. 1613–1670), the Pancras commissions demonstrate that his reputation as a painter of the political elite was not restricted to Deventer. Ter Borch apparently lived in Amsterdam between 1672 and 1674 when Deventer was overtaken by forces from Münster and Cologne allied with the French during their invasion of the Netherlands. During these years in Amsterdam he painted a series of portraits for the powerful De Graeff family.<sup>49</sup>

Ter Borch returned to Deventer in the winter of 1674 as one of its leading citizens—his fame certified by his outstanding career as a portraitist and genre painter and by his involvement in civic affairs. The prince of Orange, Willem III, was twice painted by the artist: once at the request of the burgomasters when the prince visited Deventer in May 1672 to try to defend the town against enemy forces, and again when the prince

returned to Deventer after those forces had been expelled in 1674.<sup>50</sup> Ter Borch was unable to finish the second portrait in Deventer and thus had to travel to the court in The Hague to complete it, at which time he also painted a portrait of Princess Mary.<sup>51</sup> Ter Borch's renown was by then so widespread that in 1676 Cosimo III de' Medici commissioned the artist to paint a self-portrait for his gallery of artists in Florence.<sup>52</sup>

One of the most interesting commissions Ter Borch received in his waning years was not for a new work, but for the restoration of his 1667 group portrait of the Deventer magistrates (cat. 44), which may have become dirty with grime or been damaged during the town's occupation during the mid-1670s.<sup>53</sup> The artist continued to paint until the very last year of his life, completing his compelling portraits of the preacher Jan van Duren and his wife Lucretia Rouse in 1680 and 1681 (cats. 51, 52).

Ter Borch died in Deventer on 8 December 1681. True to his wishes, his body was returned to Zwolle, where he was buried near his father in the Sint Michaelskerk. On the tomb are inscribed words Gesina lovingly penned to celebrate the artist's life: "Here below lies a world's wonder,/ Greatly esteemed in every land,/ That his art was truly known."<sup>54</sup> Gesina's poem then describes the renown of her brother's group portrait of the Treaty of Münster (cat. 13) and his associations with the Count of Peñaranda (cat. 12) and the king of Spain.

Gesina, who knew her half brother and his work extremely well, chose in her eulogistic poem to emphasize that her brother's fame rested on the importance of his portraits and his associations with Spanish nobility. Houbraken likewise celebrated the painter's associations with the nobility, including a number of anecdotes that demonstrate the rapport Ter Borch enjoyed with such notables. In one, the Count of Peñaranda and Ter Borch discuss the artist's tendency to whistle while he painted, and in others, the artist chats with the prince of Orange on a variety of subjects during the latter's

many sittings for his portraits.<sup>55</sup> Aside from a short discussion of Ter Borch's remarkable ability to depict satin, Houbraken's entire biographical overview focuses on the artist's portraits. Neither Gesina nor Houbraken discuss Ter Borch's genre scenes, which is quite interesting given the renown these paintings enjoy today. Indeed, by the early nineteenth century John Smith discounted Ter Borch's portraits as works he had executed for financial gain, lamenting that the artist had thereby not painted more "fancy subjects" of the type this connoisseur clearly preferred.<sup>56</sup>

Despite the separate ways in which these two aspects of Ter Borch's oeuvre have been perceived over the years, they derive from the same artistic impulse. Ter Borch was a perceptive portraitist who understood the ideals and aspirations of the patrons for whom he worked. Within a generally intimate format, he was able

to convey a sense of dignity and purpose for his sitters without idealizing or aggrandizing their appearance or station in life. His genre scenes, conversely, speak to different needs and different sets of circumstances. They are windows into life's other (personal) side, showing those unguarded moments of caring and concern, of uncertainty, anticipation, and inner anxiety. In fact, both types of paintings succeed for the same reasons. His portraits no less than his genre scenes are compelling because of his ability to convey the naturalism of surface and texture (including the sheen of satin) and because of his profound understanding of the complexities of human psychology. Only by bringing these two aspects of Ter Borch's oeuvre together can the full depth and range of his artistic genius be understood.



**Gerard ter Borch  
and the Modern Manner**

Alison McNeil Kettering



IN 1635, WHEN GERARD TER BORCH THE YOUNGER was just seventeen years old and fresh from his apprenticeship in Haarlem, he journeyed to London to join his uncle, the engraver Robert van Voerst. After a few months, the young man's father sent him a trunk packed with art supplies and personal necessities. Along with the supplies came a letter containing one provocative bit of artistic advice: "And when you wish to paint, work up some modern compositions [*ordonnantsij van modarn*], as you surely can, putting in your stuff right from the start, because that goes most quickly and stays most beautiful and flowing while drying."<sup>1</sup> The recommendation certainly had its technical aspects, referring both to compositional construction and to application of paint. But it also dealt with subject matter — the son should continue to produce "modern" subjects, compositions from everyday life, as he had learned to do in Haarlem. Gerard the Elder was an accomplished artist in his own right and his talented son's first teacher. There is little doubt that Gerard the Younger took his words to heart.

Encountering the term "modern" in this personal context is exceptional. It is usually found in more formal documents such as inventory and lottery records. For example, inventories of 1634 and 1636 listed several "modern paintings" by Dirck Hals. Another inventory, 1639, recorded a "modern" piece by Willem Buytewech and "an interior by P.Codde, modern."<sup>2</sup> These painters, along with others residing in Haarlem and Amsterdam, specialized in scenes of merry companies. Such scenes — groups of figures engaged in a popular activity and wearing contemporary dress — had all the requisite elements to be called modern by Gerard the Elder or by anyone else. But how was this term generally used in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, and did Gerard the Younger live up to his father's advice?

Today, at the simplest level, "modern" connotes anything up-to-date and of-the-present. When applied to figurative painting, it refers to works featuring con-

temporary dress, ordinary activities, and localized settings. In art history, the word is typically associated with those nineteenth-century movements that began with Gustave Courbet or Edouard Manet. It is also applied to twentieth-century schools too numerous to name. When placed in a broader cultural context, "modern" operates more complexly as code for a whole range of ideas generated in an outpouring of writings, both critical and ideological, from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To the French critic Charles Baudelaire in the 1860s, for example, "modern" meant a particular attitude to the present (as ironically heroic), a way of experiencing life in terms of the casual, marginal, ephemeral, and fugitive. He wanted to see this experience of contemporaneity, this connection to the contingencies of actual life, represented in a radically new manner by an untraditional, abstracting pictorial treatment. Baudelaire contrasted "modern art" with French nineteenth-century academic art, which preferred a polished execution of historical subjects, favored idealized figures, and celebrated the eternal verities.<sup>3</sup> The French leftist critic Theophile Thoré, writing at about the same time under the name W. Bürger, found his contrast to modernity in Italian High Renaissance painting (the foundation of academic painting). Interestingly, Thoré located the roots of modernity in Dutch art of the seventeenth century. For him, sixteenth-century Italian painting looked backward while Dutch art looked forward. By this he meant forward to an art whose images were "true" to their society and culture, an art directly engaged with contemporary life.<sup>4</sup>

### **The Seventeenth-Century Dutch Modern Mode**

Trained as an artist not as a critic, Gerard the Elder lived at a time and place with little interest in formal writing about art. His letter belongs to a genre different from nineteenth- and twentieth-century critical texts with their polemical language and self-conscious for-

mulations. His use of “modern” was neither moral nor theoretical. Nevertheless, since such a term always suggests an opposite, we might well ponder the unspoken preferences that Gerard the Elder may have been expressing. Possibly he was advising against further engagement with landscape, the specialty of his son’s Haarlem master. Just as likely, he was steering his son away from history painting—the rendering of narratives from classical antiquity or the Bible. Yet Gerard the Elder, who had hardly disdained either landscapes or histories in his youth, had tutored his sons in both subjects. In this period of rising national consciousness, the Dutch had increasingly come to value images that emphasized visible forms and everyday activities. Nothing said “made in Holland” like a merry company wearing Dutch attire in a recognizable setting. Given the public enthusiasm for these genre works, Gerard the Elder may have written his letter with probable directions in the art market uppermost in his mind. Thus, like the notaries charged with listing genre works in current collections, he found the term “modern” to be useful shorthand for describing this new type of painting. Far from raising a battle cry, he was offering his son eminently practical advice.

Almost no developed formulations of a seventeenth-century idea of modernity survive. However, we do find hints close in time to Gerard the Elder’s letter. In 1642, Philips Angel published his address to the painters’ community of Leiden, *Lof der schilder-konst* (In Praise of the Art of Painting) (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> Although filled with learned references to antiquity, the text drew less on humanistic art theory than upon Angel’s and his fellow artists’ practical experience and attitudes. He articulated the components of good painting as he saw them practiced by Leiden artists working in a variety of specialties, and expressed his particular admiration for an accomplished technique. Angel certainly knew Karel van Mander’s humanistically grounded *Schilder-boeck* (Book of Painting) (1603–1604).<sup>6</sup> But in contrast to Van

Mander, Angel revealed little bias for or against any of the genres, including history painting. On the contrary, he matter-of-factly included the lowly guardroom scene among the types of subjects he found to be ideal for showing off mimetic effects, for example, the rendering of shiny armor, smoke, and fire. Without ever using the word modernity, Angel defined an important aspect of it for his milieu—the achievement of the effect of the “almost real,” as evidenced in the works of his fellow painters. His address helps to flesh out Gerard the Elder’s comment. The modern sort of composition entailed, in addition to subject matter, a formal approach that emphasized the skillful imitation of natural appearances.

For an explicit articulation of modernism—beyond descriptive adjectives—we have to wait until the publication of Gerard de Lairese’s *Het groot schilderboek* (The Art of Painting) in 1707 (fig. 2). But it is important

1. Title page, from Philips Angel, *Lof der schilder-konst* (Leiden, 1642)

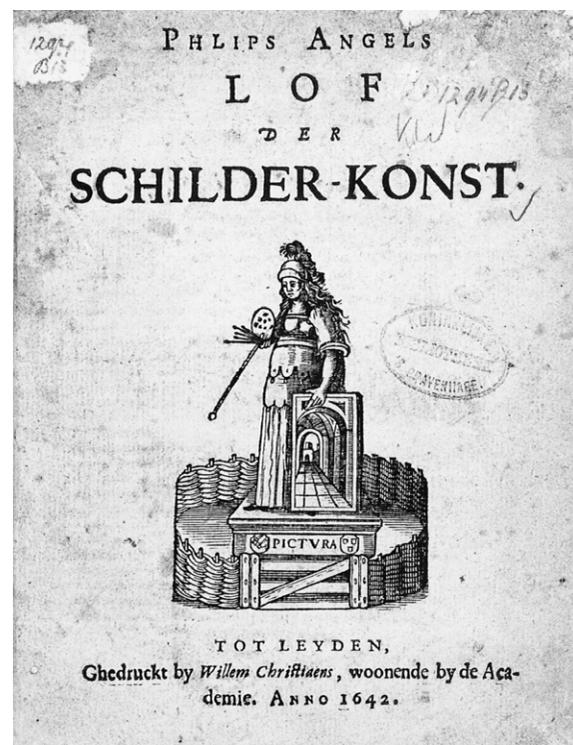


FIG. 1

2. Illustration, from Gerard de Laïresse, *Het groot schilderboek*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1707), 1:53

3. Gerard ter Borch, *Young People around a Table Drinking, Smoking, and Making Music*, 1632, pencil and brown ink on paper, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam

4. Pieter Molijn, *Grote Markt, Haarlem, at Night*, c. 1625, oil on panel, Stadhuis, Haarlem, On loan to Frans Hals Museum

5. Frans Hals, *Banquet in a Park*, c. 1610, oil on panel, formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie

to note that De Laïresse had last viewed actual Dutch paintings many years earlier, between the later 1660s and 1680s, before he went blind and turned to treatise writing.<sup>7</sup> By the early eighteenth century, art theory had reasserted a humanistic orientation under the influence of French theoretical treatises. Accordingly, De Laïresse proclaimed his admiration for elevated subjects from history as rendered by universalized figure types emitting noble emotions, a type of art he summed up by the term “antiquity.” This he pitted against “modernity,” a mode that he denigrated for its engagement with the ephemeral and casual. Nevertheless, De Laïresse did acknowledge the importance of “modernity”—contemporary subject matter—for seventeenth-century Dutch artists and their public. In essence he accepted the inev-

itability of genre painting and wrote about it to improve it. While inveighing against the “low modern” of peasant pieces, guardroom scenes, and brothels, he encouraged “the elegant modern manner” featuring urban burghers fashionably outfitted, yet modest and decorous in demeanor.<sup>8</sup> Most remarkably, De Laïresse admitted that narratives involving these sorts of figures could, like “antique” narratives, engage fundamental human emotions. In an especially interesting section, he described two elegant table scenes—one involving women drinking tea, the other, men sharing wine—each narrative exhibiting a subtle range of “passions.”<sup>9</sup> This last passage is particularly significant for our purposes because Gerard ter Borch made the “elegant modern manner” his specialty. In his mature paintings of the 1650s and 1660s, both the tone and the subtle narrative action often match perfectly with the approach subsequently advocated by De Laïresse.

### Ter Borch’s Early Figurative Groups

Gerard the Younger’s first efforts at “modern composition” can be found in drawings of smokers, music makers, and people in conversation (fig. 3). While studying in Haarlem from 1634 to 1635, he drew numerous open-air skating and market scenes.<sup>10</sup> His teacher Pieter Molijn, though primarily a landscape painter, had himself executed a few such outdoor figurative scenes (fig. 4), roughly comparable to the (better-known) company pictures by Willem Buytewech, Esaias van de Velde, Frans Hals (fig. 5), Dirck Hals, and Pieter Codde. Like the history works from which they derived, the Haarlem and Amsterdam merry companies showed tremendous variety in their activities and props. But in contrast to history paintings, they detailed quite quotidian entertainments. Their figures employed familiar gestures and postures, wore identifiably current costumes, and were surrounded by common objects. As many scholars have remarked, the rapid rise in popularity of



FIG. 2

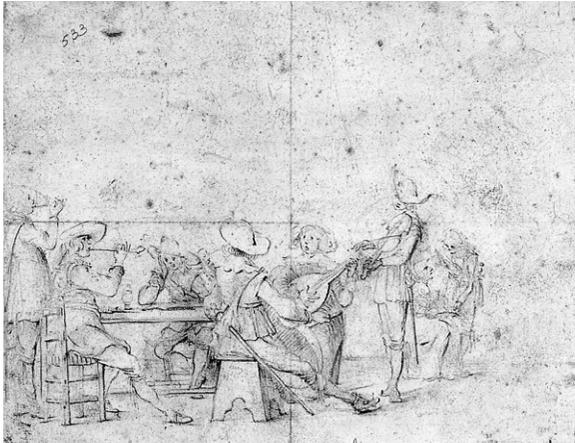


FIG. 3



FIG. 5



FIG. 4

6. Willem Duyster,  
*The Marauders*,  
c. 1628–1632, oil  
on panel, Musée  
du Louvre, Paris

7. Gerard ter Borch,  
*The Game of Back-  
gammon*, c. 1640, oil  
on panel, Kunsthalle,  
Bremen

8. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Le Gallant Militaire*,  
1662–1663, oil on  
canvas, Musée du  
Louvre, Paris

this type of work during the second and third decades of the seventeenth century indicates a dramatic change of direction for Dutch art.<sup>11</sup>

We can assume (from the implication in his father's letter) that much of Ter Borch's painted output from his early years has disappeared. Certainly his one signed painting from the period, *The Consultation* (cat. 2), 1635, bears little resemblance to the merry companies of his older Haarlem contemporaries. Yet even though painted at this early stage, *The Consultation* demonstrates Ter Borch's formal expertise in numerous ways: his command of drapery, of physiognomic differences, of spatial construction, and of textures, particularly his ability to render light shining through glass and reflecting off the mirror and other shiny surfaces. If we find no jolly revelers here, we surely see figures, setting, and activity fully informed by the "modern" approach.

### Ter Borch's Military Manner

Gerard's first military panel, *Horse and Rider* (cat. 1) from about 1634, shows a single cavalryman slumped astride his horse. This image, presenting its subject incongruously from the back, is as free of convention as it is accurate in detail. Most likely, it reflects Ter Borch's experience of growing up in an Overijssel garrison town in the presence of actual soldiers—indeed, his experience of military life is deeper than that of any Holland artist.<sup>12</sup> Closely observed and rendered with such unheroic naturalness, the painting reminds us of Angel's emphasis on imitating visual phenomena.

Closer to Gerard the Elder's idea of the modern are the guardroom scenes that his son began to produce several years later (after his return from England and from a subsequent journey to the Mediterranean). They bear some resemblance to works by Willem Duyster (fig. 6) and Pieter Codde, which Gerard the Younger may have seen during visits to Amsterdam. The *cortegaerdjes* (guardrooms), as Angel called them, formed

one of the subgenres that developed quickly in these years.<sup>13</sup> Typically they thematized subjugation and domination, or sartorial display, and were often ironic or semicomical in tone. Ter Borch's paintings share formal aspects with the genre, including the dispersal of many figures across a horizontal foreground plane and a preoccupation with the color, texture, and detail of the soldiers' attire. But Gerard's works differ in their calm tone, principally the result of his orderly composition and his disposition of the figures—an adumbration of things to come (fig. 7).

In the 1650s and 1660s, the military picture developed into an important category within Ter Borch's body of work. He included soldiers and their officers in over a third of his mature genre paintings. Placing these military figures in a great variety of settings and contexts, he reworked some inherited formulae, ignored others, and in the process invented new ways of handling old themes. There is reason to assume that the cessation of the Eighty Years' War contributed to the new direction that he and many of his contemporaries

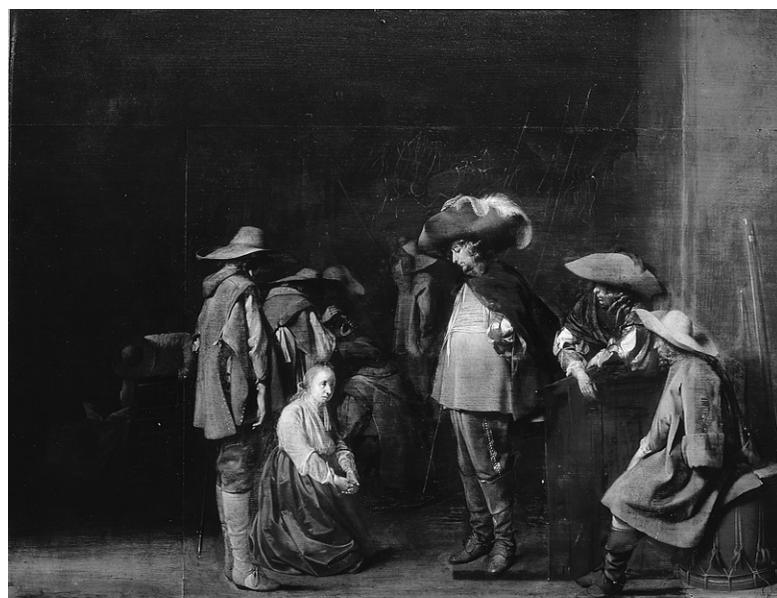


FIG. 6



FIG. 7

took in their approach to military subjects. The tone of Gerard's later work shifts from rough to elegant, from group sociability to evocations of solitude and private reflection. More refined environments substitute for the earlier guardroom settings. Officers and trumpeters replace the earlier mercenary recruits. The military man relinquishes his role as outsider to become an insider, welcomed into a more domestic—even feminine—space.

Exceptions do occur. *Three Soldiers Making Merry* (cat. 29) of about 1656 echoes earlier scenes of guardroom dissipation, conveying its carousing theme with a welter of flailing diagonals. Yet the upright, compact composition (favored by Gerard and by many of his contemporaries throughout this period), the elegant urban interior, and the nuanced painting technique serve to temper the rowdiness of the subject. The so-called *Le Gallant Militaire* (fig. 8) recalls another familiar theme among earlier artists. The interior is unambiguously a high-class bordello, and the relationship of soldier and civilian is unambiguously commercial. But

the subtlety of the narrative—the empathy with which Ter Borch handled the young prostitute's predicament—makes this rendering of a common theme entirely uncommon.

Because of its rough-hewn environment, the panel known as *The Unwelcome Call* (cat. 23) might also seem an exception among the genteel works of the 1650s. Military paraphernalia hang sloppily over the bed at the rear and rugged stone steps lead onto the rough wooden floor. Remarkable, however, is the sympathetic individuality of the officer. Torn between personal concerns and professional duty, he displays a psychological complexity that no earlier artist had considered appropriate to a military scene. In a brilliant artistic move, Ter Borch painted the trumpeter's colors dancing on the mirrorlike surface of the soldier's armor, as if the colors themselves were transmitting his unhappy message.



FIG. 8

9. Ludolf de Jongh,  
*Soldiers at Reveille*,  
1655–1658, oil  
on panel, North  
Carolina Museum  
of Art, Raleigh,  
Purchased with  
funds from the State  
of North Carolina

Though bearing bad tidings and standing near the door, the trumpeter adds a rarefied elegance to the rustic atmosphere. The impassive beauty of his image offers a painful contrast to the earthy reality of the lover — his rough setting and rougher dilemma.

Trumpeters figure in eight of Ter Borch's pictures from the 1650s. Like the courier in *The Unwelcome Call*, they share little with the stock trumpeters of comic reveille scenes painted by other Dutch artists (fig. 9). In the *Officer Dictating a Letter* (cat. 31) and the *Officer Writing a Letter* (cat. 32), the trumpeters do not interrupt amorous liaisons, they assist in them. They perform their duties far from the battlefield and bear messages having nothing to do with military orders. Their upright postures, contained silhouettes, and carefully controlled clothing convey dignity and gentility. In both pictures their forms are juxtaposed with beds, tying together love and war with a delightful visual pun on the canopy tents that sixteenth-century armies used in the field. In the *Officer Dictating a Letter*, the trumpeter turns his head to look openly toward us. The waiting figure in the *Officer Writing a Letter*, by contrast, casts an ambiguous glance to the side, inviting us to decipher its meaning — boredom, dreaminess, or even erotic preoccupation. Each courier, brought in to serve the romantic purposes of another, becomes romantic in himself. Each of the officers, whether writing or dictating his letter, could hardly engage in a more refined approach to love. Positioned behind a table in both works, the officer is a self-effacing figure, nearly as folded in upon himself as the sensitive letter writers in Ter Borch's parallel pictures of women. Typical of Ter Borch's genre scenes, the narratives here remain unspecified, open to interpretation, and conducive to our projections. In this regard, these military scenes by Ter Borch contrast with earlier works — especially those of other artists — whose stereotyped groupings of stock figures discouraged empathic response. Narrative ambiguity and psychological subtlety constitute impor-



FIG. 9

tant aspects of Ter Borch's persuasive interpretation of modernity. Seen in this unexpected context, his innovations are all the more striking.

#### Ter Borch's Ladies

Ter Borch's "modern compositions" featuring women have received even greater acclaim over the years than his representations of military life. The *juffertjes* (pictures with young ladies) share much with the military images, including their upright formats and tight compositional structures (cats. 27, 30, 34, 35). The settings are similarly well appointed, the narrations subtle, the actors few, and their behaviors believable. But even more than the military works, these pictures dazzle with their surface effects, especially the luminous gowns worn by the young ladies. Later descriptions of Ter Borch's paintings insist on the satin as the sine qua non of his renderings of women. In this regard, it is fascinating to find the term "modern" used by Ter Borch's

later biographer, Arnold Houbraken, as the perfect descriptor for these complicated reflecting surfaces.<sup>14</sup> Houbraken also called these works “modern” in the more familiar sense of the word, citing Eglon van der Neer’s “painted companies,” “dressed in the Modern manner...like Terburg.”<sup>15</sup> Although Houbraken did not explore this juxtaposition of modern figural type and modern surface description, for him it surely contributed to the special pictorial force of Ter Borch’s ladies.

The characteristic lady wearing satin emerged in Gerard’s oeuvre after his return from traveling abroad. His earlier renderings of military subjects and inns depicted women as camp followers and tavern habitués, the same roles they played in his first drinking scenes. In his mature oeuvre, women very occasionally are seen as farm wives, peasant girls, or mothers (cats. 18–20, 24–26). Far more frequently, they appear as young women of marriageable age, apparently from genteel society. Ter Borch’s half sister Gesina served as model for many of these ladies, including those in his toilet scenes of about 1650 when she was still a teenager (cats. 16, 17, 30, 35, 36). The modesty of the girl’s form and the specificity of her features—fine hair, small eyes, receding chin—gave the scenes a far more positive character than the censorious toilet scenes by earlier artists, and allowed their presumably well-to-do viewers an opportunity to identify with the depicted figures. The elegant young lady in *Woman at a Mirror* (cat. 16) is discreetly presented from behind, so that only the mirror shows her facial expression. Functioning as a sort of fourth actor within the intimate group, her reflection exhibits an ambiguous emotion—puzzlement? distraction?—which stands in marked contrast to the vain self-regard of females in conventional mirror images. More typical of Gerard’s mature oeuvre, the full-length figure in *A Young Woman at Her Toilet with a Maid* (cat. 17) shows off a bell-shaped dress formed of smooth, unbroken expanses of satin. Here as in later works, the dress—

which draws more attention to itself than to the wom-

an’s body beneath—plays a prominent role in constructing an ideal of feminine identity.<sup>16</sup>

Executed a few years later, the so-called *Paternal Admonition* (cat. 27) combines the arching neck seen from behind and the full-length satin dress, though now the lady participates in a narrative even more complex and open to interpretation. Some have read the image as a family drama, others as a scene of high-class prostitution. Its organizing theme, in any case, is a courtship ritual of some type. Settling on one interpretation is complicated, particularly in the Amsterdam version, by the uneasy overlap of restraint (in the contained figure of the lady) and carelessness (in the body language of the suitor). Certainly his loose pose, extravagant hat, sword, and ambiguous gesture invoke lingering negative associations with rough soldiery. The chap-erone in black has good reason to keep alert. Equally complex psychologically, and no less refined, are the later images of the lady in satin, whether she is pictured reading a letter to thoughtful companions, receiving suitors, or simply absorbed in thoughts of her own (fig. 10; see also cat. 35, fig. 1).

In certain respects, the figure of the trumpeter and the lady in satin function similarly in Ter Borch’s compositions. In the *Officer Writing a Letter* and *A Lady at Her Toilet* (cat. 34), for example, note the similarity of their positioning, the ceremonial accent they provide, their outward gaze, their introspection. But these works construct gender differently. The trumpeter supports an ideal of masculinity associated with action. He remains passive only momentarily, as his gleaming instrument and eager dog suggest. Similarly, the passivity of the letter-writing officer is countered by his jutting elbows and blunt-toed shoes. By contrast, the lady is genuinely still. Her restraint and self-control correspond to ideals of feminine behavior that were articulated in contemporary Petrarchan poetry, in courtesy books, and in pedagogical literature—all important cultural and social contexts for Ter Borch’s art.<sup>17</sup>

10. Gerard ter Borch,  
*The Letter* (detail),  
c. 1661, oil on canvas,  
The Royal Collection,  
Her Majesty Queen  
Elizabeth II

An entirely different work, *Woman Sealing a Letter* (cat. 33), has sometimes been hypothesized as the pendant to the *Officer Writing a Letter*.<sup>18</sup> Whether they are or not, the juxtaposition of the two gives an insight into Ter Borch's ability to subvert the conventional gender polarities on occasion. Both male and female are engaged in the activity of writing; both inhabit a middle-class interior. (Indeed, the settings in which

they are placed could exist side by side in the same house.) Such resemblances bestow a degree of equity upon each gender. But Ter Borch has taken it further. The male's room appears to be perfectly suited for military business, yet the officer uses it to engage in private, female-associated, amorous behavior. If the lady's activity seems more appropriate for her gender, the setting in which she finds herself is less appropriate: rough pine supports her table; the chimney valance falls lopsidedly. An ordinary metal pail gleams in the diffuse light of the space, a distant echo of the gleaming satin worn in Ter Borch's more elegant rooms.

#### Ter Borch's Modernity

Seventeenth-century conceptions of modernity, insofar as they were written down at all, were much less nuanced and less polemical than the formulations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. From the seventeenth century's point of view, Ter Borch obediently followed his father's directive—not only in London but also throughout his career. Except when painting portraits, he devoted himself to producing modern figurative groups. Further, he painted them with the technical brilliance that Angel admired in contemporary work and that Houbraken later explicitly described as “modern.” In De Laire's sense as well, Ter Borch succeeded in being modern, making the only sort of current art that the critic could bring himself to praise: narratives in “the elegant modern manner.”

But Ter Borch would not be the artist he is if his modernity could be characterized so easily. As we have seen, his art often blurs distinctions between low and high, and confounds easy pairings such as public/male and domestic/female.<sup>19</sup> Never satisfied with the stock subject or the stock character, he probed for contradictions and invented alternatives. He kept his meanings open ended, allowing us a range of responses appropriate to the tensions, distractions, even dangers of the



FIG. 10

situations he constructed. He used a technically brilliant means of pictorial expression not only to create dazzling surface effects but also to explore the complexities inherent in his chosen themes. As in all genre painting, his figures are meant to be anonymous, yet they are rarely stereotyped, for he represented the models' physiognomies — taken from his family circle — as individual and unidealized. These psychologically complex figures, by involving us in the narrative and inviting us to relate to them personally, anticipate a twenty-first-century way of viewing.

The range of themes in Ter Borch's oeuvre is at once narrow and wide. The familiar look of many scenes misled nineteenth- and twentieth-century viewers into considering them slices of life. Surely it was an anachronistic response to pictures that were carefully shaped fictions or, better, transfigurations of the com-

monplace.<sup>20</sup> But in one sense the response was correct. These images did portray “modern life,” in that they engaged themes fundamental to Ter Borch's society: growing up, female and male conduct, duty and pleasure, work and leisure, civility and impropriety, clarity and subterfuge. In his “fictions,” Ter Borch succeeded in painting the human condition — with all of its contingencies, mutabilities, and equivocations — in a manner that has allowed viewers to see themselves. Although Theophile Thoré misunderstood many aspects of Dutch art (even as he admired it), the critic did understand what he called the “truth” and “humanity” of the best seventeenth-century genre painting. Ter Borch's work counted among the best. In his highly personal way, Ter Borch painted true and human images of a world becoming modern.



**The Miracle of  
Gerard ter Borch's Satin**

Arie Wallert



TER BORCH'S PAINTINGS ARE OFTEN ADMIRERD for the manner in which the artist expressed the character of different materials. In his otherwise rather austere interiors, elegant people move about, dressed in soft shimmering brocades and fluffy velvets, crisp lace and shiny metal, and, most notably, sparkling satin.<sup>1</sup>

When Ter Borch moved from his father's studio in Zwolle to receive further training in Haarlem and Amsterdam, he would have met painters who specialized in merry company scenes. Depicting amorous groups of courteous gentleman and elegant ladies richly clothed in gleaming silk had become increasingly fashionable in the first half of the seventeenth century. Pieter Codde and Willem Duyster were particularly good at it and Ter Borch must have learned the fine tricks of painting satin from them.<sup>2</sup> These tricks were considered essential requirements for good painting. As Philips Angel wrote in 1642, "A painter worthy of praise should be able to render this variety in the most pleasing way for all eyes with his brushwork, distinguishing between harsh, rough clothiness and smooth satiny evenness, in which the great enlightening Duyster, more than anyone else, is most excelled and celebrated."<sup>3</sup>

Painting draped fabrics was particularly difficult, especially when making portraits. These works were not finished in a single session, and because drapery folds change with the movement of the body, artists began to drape textiles over wooden manikins to simplify the artistic process of depicting a sitter's clothes. The importance of manikins for an artist is evident in the letter that Ter Borch received in London from his father: "Dear child, I am sending you the manikin, but without a stand because it is too large and too heavy to be put in the trunk. For a small amount of money you can have a stand made there. Use the manikin and do not let it stand idle, as it has done here, but draw a lot: large, dynamic compositions."<sup>4</sup> From this passage it would appear that manikins or lay figures were unknown or unavailable in London. Moreover, since

Gerard's father took the trouble to send the manikin all the way from the Dutch Republic, it also seems that he deemed such a piece of equipment necessary for the young artist's use.<sup>5</sup> Draped on a manikin, the fabric—with all the complex folds that would occur in "large, dynamic compositions"—could be studied and carefully recorded in drawing. Then, on the basis of meticulously worked out preliminary studies, the artist could start painting.

### Satin

Satin draperies—with their lights and shadows, differences in texture, shimmering colors, and shining surfaces—force painters to use all of their abilities, especially when rendering direct and indirect light and half-tones. The fundamental problem an artist faces in rendering light effects on a curved form is demonstrated by an illustration in Roger de Piles' *Cours de Peinture*.<sup>6</sup> De Piles' example of a bunch of grapes is applicable for any round volume in space (fig. 1, second drawing). The artist has only to draw a circle and give it a lighter tone on the area that catches the (day) light and a darker tone on the side that falls into shadow. The shadowed side of the grape that touches the floor is a little bit lighter because some of the light falling on the floor is reflected back to the grape's underside. Thus, the shadow is not completely extended to the grape's outer edge. Samuel van Hoogstraten commented upon this phenomenon in his 1678 treatise on painting: "Reflection is in fact the bouncing back of the light from all illuminated objects, but in the arts we only call reflection that second illumination that falls in the shadows."<sup>7</sup>

The spatial sensation evoked by this reflection becomes even more convincing when the shadow that is projected onto the floor is also rendered. The projected shadow is usually darker in tone than the shadow on the object itself. This phenomenon is further emphasized by the contrast between the deep shadow on the

floor and the reflected light on the object's shaded edge. This play of light helps establish the relationship between the object and the surrounding space. Such a play of light, which includes midtones and dark shadows as well as strong and soft highlights, applies not only for round balls, apples, cherries, and grapes, but also for other volumes, such as folds in a drapery.

Ter Borch's attention to such effects is evident in the *Gallant Conversation*, commonly known as the *Paternal Admonition* (cat. 27). Light falling from the upper left projects a shadow from the man's chamois

leather waistcoat against the red of the back of the chair (fig. 2). Here the shadow on the man's waistcoat is not fully extended, but becomes a bit lighter at its edge because of the reflected light. This effect helps establish the man's body as a three-dimensional object in space. Not only does the shaded jacket become lighter at its edge, but its color also changes. Subtle touches of red appear on the jacket because the reflected light comes from the red of the chair. As in De Piles' illustrated grape, the shadow projected onto the chair is rendered more strongly than the shadow on the waistcoat itself.

Similar effects are seen in the standing lady's satin dress, but the rendering of satin is a particularly complicated issue. Satin has a much more loosely bound weave than tabby or twill. Generally the material is woven with a weft thread that passes over one warp thread, under four warp threads, and then over one thread. This pattern produces a weave in which the face shows virtually only the warp while the reverse is nearly all wefts. As a result, the texture is particularly smooth, especially if the wefts are silk. The warp threads are also occasionally made of silk, but more often are in cotton, both for strength and economy. Light falling on vertical and horizontal threads, thus, reflects differently: when the fabric moves, light striking it at different angles creates a shimmering effect.

Direct light falling on the shining surface of this type of fabric responds differently than it does on other fabrics. Light is not absorbed and softly scattered, but (through the shiny surface) is directly and almost fully reflected. One method for evoking this effect is to increase the contrast between the strongest highlights and the midtones. By varying the amount of contrast, subtle differences in texture can be visualized, as, for example, in Ter Borch's *A Young Woman at Her Toilet with a Maid* (cat. 17). The lady's sleeve is made of a light, woolly, nonshiny material. Light falling on this material is scattered in all directions—an effect the artist indicated by smoothly blending different paint mixtures

1. Illustration, from Roger de Piles, *Cours de Peinture par Principe* (Paris, 1708)

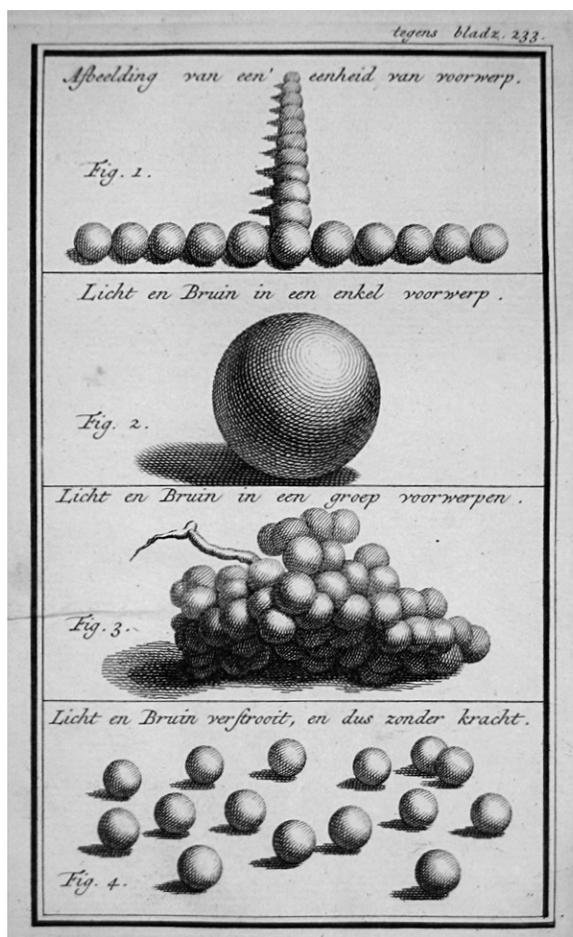


FIG. 1

2. *Paternal Admonition*  
(detail of cat. 27)

in a very flowing manner and minimizing differences between the strongest highlights and the deepest shadows. Her skirt, however, consists of a shiny satin. Here the contrasts are more pronounced, with frosty white highlights set against a darker midtone and even darker shadows. Even stronger in contrast are the ewer and dish that the servant is holding. Ter Borch achieved the effect of shiny metal by placing the brightest white, with almost complete elimination of the midtones, against very deep shadows. The brightest highlights

are done with rather angular touches in a hard, pure, unmixed white.

Ter Borch knew quite well how reflected light worked: the smoother the material, the more complete and stronger the reflections. The intensity of the reflections on the *Paternal Admonition* varies from the soft touches of red in the man's coat, through the ochre yellow mirrored silvery in the satin of the dress, to the deep red of the tablecloth in which the silver bowl seems to sink (see fig. 2).



FIG. 2

One of the problems an artist faced in depicting draperies was rendering multiple volumes grouped together in an irregular fashion. With draperies, shadows are even projected onto the raised volumes of folds behind them. The problem of modeling forms with multiple volumes was considered in an eighteenth-century painter's handbook by Dankers and Wiltschut: "And if there are many objects grouped together, for instance fruits, then the shadows of the fruits that are closest to the light must be so pale that there hardly seem to be any shadows, and the highlights of the fruits that lie in the shadow must be so weak that they will not quench the shadow of the whole heap. But the whole pile must be considered as if it were one fruit. And this takes place in figures, trees, flowers, and in all other things that can make groups or heaps."<sup>8</sup> Thus, the artist, apart from modeling individual forms—whether a piece of fruit, a fold in a piece of drapery, or a dress—must consider the complicated play of projected shadows and mutual reflections in the entire ensemble (fig. 1, third drawing).

### Drawings and Underdrawings

Depicting the complex play of light in a material that constantly changes form is an intricate and demanding task for a painter. The issues are so complicated that many scholars have assumed satin could only be painted by working directly after an actual model.<sup>9</sup> That painters employed such a method, however, does not seem very likely. Rather, there was probably a step between observation and painting—making drawn studies of textiles draped over a manikin and then copying them from paper to canvas. Such drawings could be put to use on different occasions. The satin dress of the lady in the Amsterdam *Paternal Admonition* (cat. 27) is identical to the one in a similar *Paternal Admonition* in Berlin (cat. 27, fig. 1). The studio drawing of the dress was also used by Ter Borch and his assis-

tant Caspar Netscher in other compositions—the satin dress appears in at least six pictures. Obviously, this working method was a success. The drapery of the lady in the *Glass of Lemonade* in the Hermitage (cat. 39) is the same as that in a painting of the same subject in a private collection (cat. 40). Some seven years later (about 1671), the very same design for the lady's satin gown was reused in a *Portrait of a Lady* that is now in a French private collection.<sup>10</sup> Also, the lady's silk dress in the Cincinnati Art Museum's *Music Party* (cat. 48) is repeated in *The Music Lesson*, now in Toledo (cat. 47). Ter Borch's oeuvre is full of partial or complete repetitions of figures, either by the master himself or by studio assistants.

This practice had developed quite strongly by the beginning of the seventeenth century in the production of so-called merry company paintings. In the workshops of Dirck Hals, Willem Duyster, and Pieter Codde—where Ter Borch must have picked up many of his working methods—compositional inventions and individual motifs (preserved in studio drawings) were continuously repeated, varied, combined, and copied.<sup>11</sup> Because a lot of work went into solving problems of composition, form, and contrast in studio drawings, it would not have been economical to use a successful drawing only once. Making a good drawing go a long way was sound workshop practice. Just like paints and brushes, study drawings were tools of the trade in every studio.<sup>12</sup> The artist could paint after these drawings himself or—in a more efficient division of labor—could detail a studio assistant to transfer these drawings onto the painting's support.

The exact replication of the draperies on the various versions of the *Paternal Admonition*, the *Glass of Lemonade*, and the music paintings indicates that the drawings must have been transferred to the gray ground of the canvas by a mechanical procedure.<sup>13</sup> Such a transfer would have been fairly simple. The drawing was probably laid on the canvas with a spe-

cially prepared transfer paper inserted, pigment side down, between the two. With a pointed, but not overly sharp tool, the artist (or one of his assistants) traced the contours of the design, thereby pressing the pigment powder from the transfer sheet onto the canvas. This method was already described by Giorgio Vasari in 1550, by Borghini in 1584, and featured in the so-called Volpato manuscript: “A leaf of paper is covered with dry white lead or gesso, which, being placed between the tracing paper (design) and the canvas, where it is oiled, the outlines of these figures are pressed with a needle or a bone, and the coloured paper, which is placed between the two, leaves impressed all those marks which you have indented with the needle.”<sup>14</sup> The first to describe this method in the northern countries was Karel van Mander in 1604.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the practice of transferring patterns to make multiple copies of a design was clearly fairly common.<sup>16</sup>

Coating the back of the design itself with pigment and directly transferring its contours onto the canvas could simplify this procedure even further. Quite a few drawings by Ter Borch are still extant, although not one of them depicts a lady in satin. This occurrence is not as strange as it may seem. Of course the best examples were reproduced more than any others. And there are limitations to the number of times that a drawing can be traced. The transfer process, over time, would so damage the drawing that it would no longer be useful or aesthetically pleasing. Such drawings were probably thrown away.

### **Dead Colors**

In standard seventeenth-century painting practice, dead coloring was the first paint layer that defined the image. Over the gray ground layer on the canvas, individual forms were painted in even midtones with relatively cheap materials. For instance, a blue area could first be blocked out with the cheap pigment smalt

before being worked up with a translucent glaze of red lake. This combination would give a deep dark tone to the shadows. In brighter areas the blues could be finished off with a very thin layer of the beautiful but extremely expensive ultramarine.<sup>17</sup> The seventeenth-century physician Theodore de Mayerne describes this process for painting reds: “First, the dead-colours should be painted, that is, a first layer of vermilion and red lake. Next, let it dry. Then it should be glazed with a good red lake. Here and there, this is touched-up a bit stronger with the lake; and stronger still with ivory black—which to promote drying has been mixed with a touch of copper green. Then, the highlights of the drapery are painted with an orangey mixture of vermilion and very good red lead, or a pale red mixture of vermilion and lead white.”<sup>18</sup> He also makes prescriptions for plain black textiles, yellow silk, or white, or other textures, such as a black fluffy velvet with its short densely piled surface.

In *Curiosity* (cat. 35) Ter Borch refined this approach and carried it a bit further. Instead of creating clear, systematic, and fairly distinctive divisions between midtones, shadows, and highlights, Ter Borch put on his highlights of lead white and shadows of red lake pigment in extremely thin layers of paint, applied in a very fine network of overlapping touches. Ter Borch’s paints are spread so thinly that almost imperceptible transitions are created. The thin gradations of scumbles of lead white over a similarly thinly applied pink dead color give his highlights a shimmering liveliness. In this passage he cleverly used the dead color to play with the effects of light falling on the smooth textile, while he also used the highlight to emphasize the volume of the body under that textile.

### **Paints and Layers**

What then, were the paints or paint mixtures that Ter Borch had to use in order to follow such procedures?

Apart from his father's remark that his paints should be "most beautiful and flowing while drying," no documentary evidence exists about Ter Borch's painting technique. Some seventeenth-century texts, however, provide useful information. Ter Borch's native townsman and colleague Willem Beurs describes in his handbook the various mixtures necessary to render all sorts of materials, from peaches, bugs, copper, and silver, to glass, red and yellow flowers, and snow. For these objects he indicates the mixtures for the dead coloring for the shadows and for the "day," that is, the side of the object that catches the (day) light. Sometimes he also gives advice for reflections of the object. On the painting of the white of snow he relates that "to paint its proper day, white and black are mixed as required, and if it would appear too blue, some red lake should be mixed in. The shadow demands some carbon black and a bit of white and light ochre mixed in a gradient scale

of each [pigment], according to the demands of nature. Such would also be good for the reflections if more white and light ochre are added."<sup>19</sup>

For the painting of white satin Beurs prescribes the same mixtures as for snow, but stresses that they should be painted with more shine: "the mixture that is required to paint white satin closely resembles the mixture used to paint snow, but it has slightly more sheen, so that its white must be found in scallop-white. And it must be painted purely and particularly warm in the sunlight. To render the tenderness of the side [of the satin drapery] that catches the light with the black and white, some ultramarine or smalt is used. The shadow must be glowing and mixed with black and slightly lighter ochre than you would use to paint snow. Make the reflection a bit lighter than the shadow with some white, black, light ochre, and a little bit of vermilion."<sup>20</sup>

Technical examination of the *Paternal Admonition* (cat. 27) shows that Ter Borch used these pigments in the prescribed combinations and layers. He applied the same systematic, additive method of working from a flat dead-colored midtone, using dark tones for the shadows and bright lead white accents for the highlights on the tops of the folds. He used a slight touch of ochre in the gray of the shadows, some white with just a snippet of black and a trace of ultramarine for the midtones, and pure white for the highlights. He created the highlights with a fine network of tiny strokes, licks, and dabs. These applications of mixtures with lead white are so thin that the image in an x-radiograph is pale and ghostly.<sup>21</sup> The paint cross sections also show that the buildup of the satin was done in just a few different layers (fig. 3). The shadows consist of lead white mixed to a cool gray with very fine charcoal black. To make this gray slightly warmer (glowing) in tone, he mixed an ever-so-small occasional grain of red lake. In accordance with Beurs' description, the mixture contains a fair amount of extremely fine light ochre. This ochre is so fine that even under high magnification individual

3. *Paternal Admonition* (cat. 27), cross section of the silvery gray in the satin dress

top: reflected light, magnification 360x

bottom: UV fluorescence

1. traces of the ochre-colored quartz ground, 2. dead color of lead white, red lake, lamp black, 3. lead white and vine black, 4. lead white, vine black, and yellow ochre, 5. highlight in lead white and some lamp black, 6. highlight of pure lead white

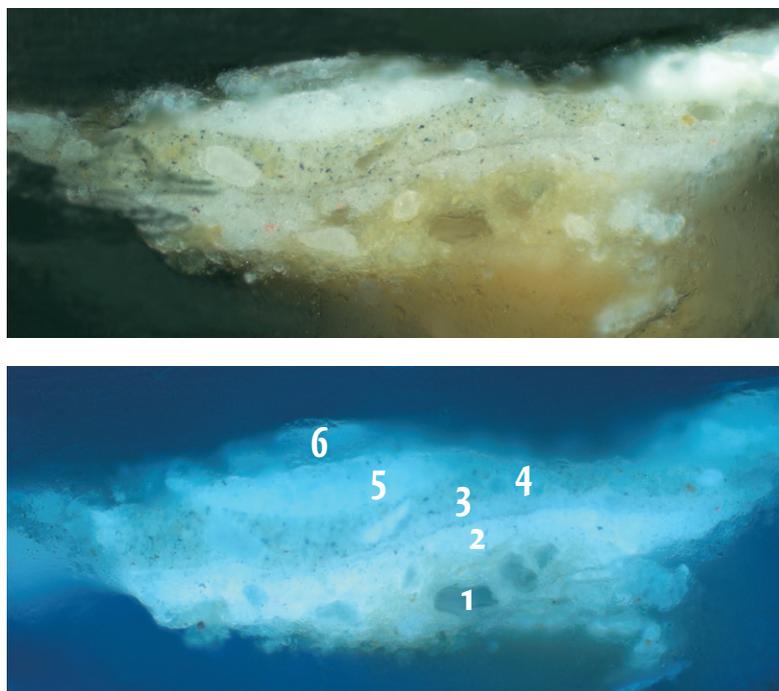


FIG. 3

4. *Paternal Admonition* (cat. 27), cross section of the yellowish reflection in the satin dress

top: reflected light, magnification 360 x

bottom: UV fluorescence

1. quartz ground with ochre, 2. dead color of lead white, lamp black, umber, 3. top layer of very fine ochre, umber, and lead white

5. *Woman at a Mirror* (cat. 16), x-radiograph showing the thin, subtle network of lead white

6. *Woman at a Mirror* (cat. 16), cross section of the silvery gray in the satin dress

top: reflected light, magnification 360 x

bottom: UV fluorescence

1. cells of oak panel, 2. chalk ground, 3. monochrome sketch in umber, ochre, and lead white, 4–7. paint layers in different shades of gray: lead white, umber, ochre, vine black, red lake

particles can hardly be recognized. Highlights on top of this mixture are done in pure “scallop-white.”<sup>22</sup>

The buildup of the rather yellowish paint for the satin reflecting the wooden floor consists of two layers (fig. 4). The top layer contains a mixture of lead white, charcoal black, and the very fine ochre. This layer covers a rather darker mixture containing black and white, but no ochre. The ground itself consists of only a single layer: a rather coarse and gritty ochre-colored quartz sand.<sup>23</sup>

### A Loose Manner

As proficient as he was in this well-established method, Ter Borch was also apparently trained to paint in a rather different manner. This newer method is described by Gerard ter Borch the Elder in his 1635 letter to his son, whom he instructs to paint “modern compositions, as you surely can, by rummaging about and working them up in one go, because that goes most quickly and [the paint] stays most beautiful and flowing while drying.”<sup>24</sup> The old-fashioned method involved creating paintings in several separate steps, beginning with drawings in which problems of anatomy, contrast, and composition had already been solved. The so-called “modern” method seemingly encouraged painters to solve all artistic problems simultaneously and directly on the panel without preparative drawings.

In the newer approach, shapes and forms were loosely defined with sketchy, monochromatic brushwork. Color was gradually brought into the work in a much less compartmentalized manner than that seen in the *Paternal Admonition* (cat. 27). This efficient painting technique allowed the artist to rapidly complete his composition over under-modeling that had been swiftly applied in thin browns and grays.<sup>25</sup>

This method did not enjoy a particularly high status, hence the expressions “rummaging” in the Ter Borch letter and “smudging” in the remark by Gerard

de Lairese, who, in his early eighteenth-century treatise on painting, encouraged artists to paint not “like Rembrandt or Lievens so that the paint would run down the piece like shit, but smooth and mellow so that the objects seem round and in relief only through artifice and not through smudging.” Apparently the approach recommended by the elder Ter Borch was something of an innovation, for De Lairese wrote about “clever characters who try to get some recognition by novelties. Recently several of these types were seen: to mention only two, Rembrandt and Lievens.” According to De Lairese, only painters with very special abilities could be expected to deliver appreciable results with this direct method. It took “someone with a steady hand and a quick brush to complete his concept in one go, which otherwise could not be done without dead coloring it first.”<sup>26</sup> In such an approach the forms were not precisely traced from a previously prepared studio drawing, then meticulously painted in with a

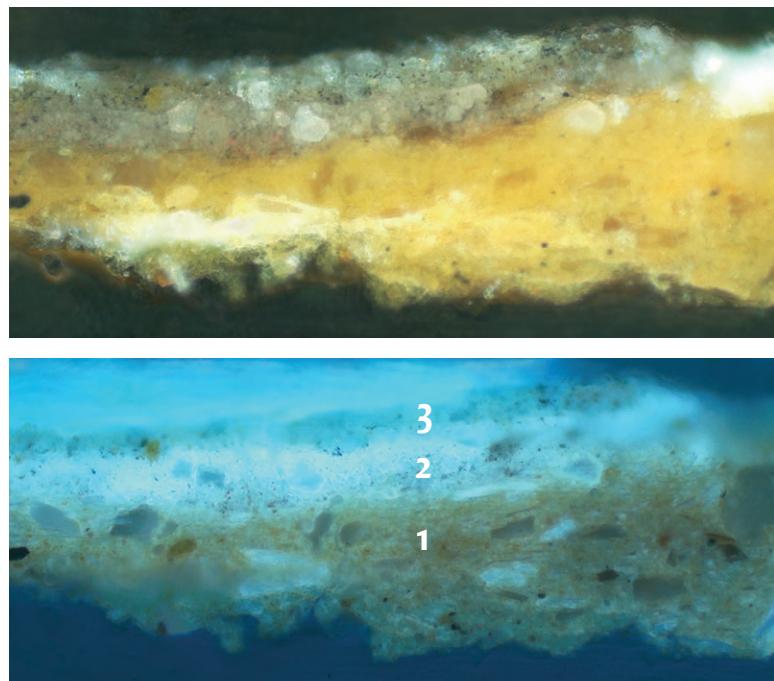


FIG. 4

dead color. Rather, the design was roughly drawn in brownish paint directly on the panel or canvas.

Ter Borch's *Woman at a Mirror* (cat. 16) is a painting that seems to have been executed in this direct manner.<sup>27</sup> The painting is done rather loosely, with many more brushstrokes, much more freely applied than those seen in versions of the *Paternal Admonition*, *Glass of Lemonade*, or music paintings. Although the pale pink of the lady's neck and face in the mirror and the sparkling white of her right sleeve or the bodice on

the foreground are fully worked out, her left sleeve is only very thinly covered with paint so that the umber underdrawing shimmers through.<sup>28</sup> Observation of this painting with the stereomicroscope has shown that the highlights on the sleeves were not made by adding touches of lead white. Rather, in this case Ter Borch appears to have used a subtractive manner of painting. He began this process by using a fine brush to paint, in a subtle network of many thin licks and sweeps, a smooth and even layer of whites and pale grays as the basis of the satin (figs. 5 and 6). He then scumbled black particles on so thinly that the white underneath still shimmers through, applying them in such a manner that individual touches cannot be distinguished. By varying the thickness of the scumbled layer, Ter Borch



FIG. 5

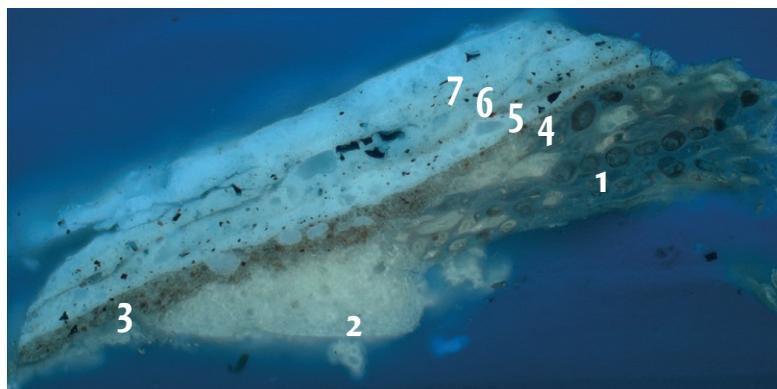
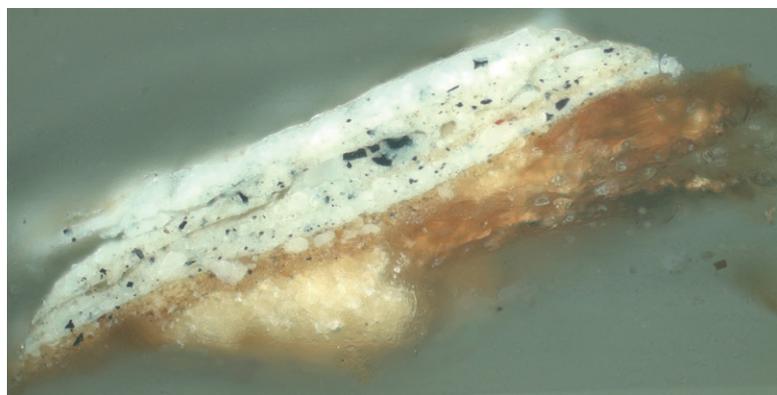


FIG. 6

7. *Woman at a Mirror*  
(cat. 16), detail of  
the satin dress  
(magnification 25 x)

could model the form, only occasionally applying a bit of brownish paint to indicate the darkest areas of the woman's dress.<sup>29</sup>

Then, the actual trick was played. With a fine piece of cloth, a thin bristle, or a clean brush, he selectively wiped off the gray film, thereby revealing the bright white of the paint underneath (fig. 7). He used this subtractive technique so effectively that it is very nearly imperceptible. Only on the most strongly protruding areas (those closest to the viewer)—a bit of the skirt, the top of her right sleeve, her right shoulder—can these “highlights-by-wiping-off” be found. On the rest of the dress and, in particular, on her left sleeve, variations in tone occur only through the modulation of the thin gray film.

#### Material Characteristics

Routinely connecting the highlights of satin was a common approach among Dutch artists. The strongest highlights of the satin are always connected as lines on the tops of the folds while the depths of the pleats are

hidden in the dark. This approach can also be found in the works of Caspar Netscher, Ter Borch's student in Deventer from about 1654 to 1659, as well as in paintings by Eglon van der Neer and Adriaen van der Werff. Following Ter Borch, these artists also made the painting of satin their particular field of interest. Indeed, Van der Neer is described in Van der Werff's autobiography as choosing “the modern manner” of Ter Borch “to paint satin skirts and other dresses.”<sup>30</sup> But if these artists were such specialists in depicting satins, why are Ter Borch's satins so much more convincing than those painted by these very able painters?

If it were enough to simply know the right tricks—whether in creating contrasts or in using the correct pigment combinations—then the satins painted by Ter Borch, Van der Neer, and Frans van Mieris would be appreciated equally. Clearly, more is needed to create a convincing depiction of satin drapery. The difference is in the acuity of observation. Leonardo da Vinci had noted that “Draperies should be drawn from the actual object; that is, if you wish to represent a woollen drapery, make the folds accordingly; and if it is silk or fine cloth, or coarse material such as peasants wear, or linen, or veiling, diversify the folds of each kind of material.”<sup>31</sup> Also in Ter Borch's own day the need to observe the characteristic properties of different textile materials was recognized. Philips Angel, in fact, listed as one of the essential requirements of a painter the ability to “make a proper distinction between silk, velvet, wool and linen stuffs, for very rarely does one see velvet attire that appears to have the sheen of velvet, nor do they observe the creases and folds, nor take note of the difference between woollen and linen stuffs, nor the gloss that is found more in satin than in silk from Tours, and they also miss the thinness that should be imitated in fine linen and thin crepe.”<sup>32</sup>

The satin dress of the standing lady in Ter Borch's *Paternal Admonition* attests to his keen eye. Occasionally, to make satin a bit more sturdy, the textile was



FIG. 7

starched and ironed. When such a starched satin garment hangs down onto the floor, the stiff textile is pushed back up by that floor. Where these two forces—the gravity of the hanging textile and the upward force of the stiff material—meet, the fold is deformed. Because of this relative stiffness, large angular planes are formed rather than small round creases. Light is reflected from these large planes instead of from the small pleats and crimps. While many of these mirrorlike planes reflect the color of the material, others, depending on the angle of inclination, reflect the color of the floor.

The character of the reflected light created by the small dents and depressions in the fabric is affected by

the relationship between the spectator's viewpoint and the light source. Since the angle of incidence equals the angle of reflection, reflected light coming from a shiny plane of satin occurs at the same angle as the incident light falling on the drapery. Ter Borch's awareness of this optical phenomenon contributes tremendously to the sense of realism he created in his works. He correctly determined the proper angles of reflections, thus bringing his viewers into a clear and direct spatial relationship with the objects depicted. Indeed, his skill can make viewers forget that the image he created is just made of paint—a hallmark of a brilliant artist.



## Catalogue

AKW Arthur K. Wheelock Jr.

AMK Alison McNeil Kettering

MEW Marjorie E. Wieseman



# 1 Horse and Rider

1633/1634, oil on canvas, 51.5 × 41 (20 ¼ × 16 ½)  
On loan from a Private collection, Courtesy of the  
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

1. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Man on Horseback*,  
c. 1634, oil on panel,  
Museum of Fine Arts,  
Boston, Juliana Cheney  
Edwards Collection

From his earliest moments as an artist, Ter Borch was fascinated by the interactions of horse and rider (see Wheelock essay, figs. 3, 4). In numerous drawings from his formative years in Zwolle, he turned to this subject, depicting not only horsemen mounted on their steeds, but also cavaliers adjusting their saddles and sleigh drivers urging on their horses. In most of these studies, including one memorable image in which a mounted soldier is shown urinating as the horse calmly waits for him to finish, the figures are shown from the rear, anonymous and undistinguished.<sup>1</sup> Still, while such studies help provide a context for *Horse and Rider*, they do little to prepare the viewer for the striking power of this exceptional painting.

Ter Borch presents no heroic image of a cavalryman on a powerful steed in the midst of battle, but rather that of a slightly weary figure hunched over his powerful horse as it trudges across an undefined landscape. It is an image that immediately conjures up the isolation and long, lonely hours of a soldier's life away from the camaraderie of the barracks. The solemnity of the image seems immense, as the weight of the horse and rider bear down on the viewer, whom Ter Borch has placed at a low vantage point. Except for the bright yellow feather in the soldier's tan felt hat, the colors are somber — primarily the browns of the horse, the ochres of the soldier's boots, and the bluish-black of his metal harness. The sky against which horse and rider are so starkly silhouetted is cloudy, without a hint of sun.

It is difficult to fathom what experience allowed Ter Borch to conceive this image. This work has no real precedent in Dutch art, except for Ter Borch's own youthful drawings. No known painting by Willem Duyster, whom Ter Borch may have encountered in Amsterdam in the early 1630s, or by Pieter Molijn, with whom he studied in Haarlem in 1634, remotely resembles the mood of this remarkable image. Was it a scene that he had witnessed near Zwolle in Overijssel, perhaps a sentry patrolling the open landscape in this east-

ern province of the Netherlands? Was it a work of his imagination, perhaps conceived in hopes that a patron could be found amongst the garrisons located there to prevent Spanish intrusions into Dutch lands? Questions abound, with very few answers to be found.

This painting of a solitary rider seen from behind has to be considered in the context of two other comparable images by Ter Borch — close variations that must indicate that the composition was a success and had immediate appeal for collectors (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> The version in the exhibition is the most mature of these works, as it exhibits a sense of volume and movement absent from the others. The apparently rapid evolution in Ter Borch's stylistic maturity was one reason that Gudlaugsson concluded that this work must date at the beginning of Ter Borch's career, probably when he was



FIG. 1



in Haarlem in 1634.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the painting might even be dated slightly earlier, that is, before Ter Borch went to study with Pieter Molijn. An earlier date seems probable since Ter Borch's drawings of solitary riders date from the early 1630s and not from 1634, when he was in Haarlem. Moreover, given that Molijn was a specialist in landscape, it seems unusual that Ter Borch would have created such a superficial landscape setting for this work had he already had the benefit of the master's training.

If Ter Borch did create this work prior to his apprenticeship in Haarlem, he clearly had already achieved a high level of artistic sensitivity as a result of his training with his father and his experiences in Amsterdam. It is unlikely that his father taught him to create such a striking silhouette of horse and rider or to employ broad planes of color such as those he used to

model their forms. Such sensitivities, however, could well have been developed in the workshop of an artist such as Duyster or Pieter Codde, who, among their other abilities, excelled at painting reflected light on metallic surfaces.<sup>4</sup>

Gudlaugsson postulated that Ter Borch may have based his image on a manikin rather than a live model, a hypothesis that seems probable given his father's recommendations urging him to use such artistic aids when conceiving his paintings.<sup>5</sup> The use of such manikins may help explain not only how Ter Borch was able to create three such similar images, but also why he had a predilection for depicting figures from the rear. These small-scale wooden models were extremely useful for conveying poses and body language but did not aid the artist in recording facial expressions. AKW

## 2 The Consultation

1635, oil on panel, 34.5 × 45.7 (13 5/16 × 18)  
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin — Preussischer Kulturbesitz,  
Gemäldegalerie

As he holds the glass vial to the light, the old bearded doctor stares intently at the color and relative clarity of the urine it contains. With a proper diagnosis through uroscopy, a trained physician was thought to be able to determine the presence of blood, sugar, or acid, information that could lead to an assessment of the malady afflicting the patient. If the urine were thin and clear, it was generally believed to indicate the beginnings of a condition known since antiquity as *furor uterinus*; if it were thick and reddish, it indicated a more advanced condition of the same ailment. *Furor uterinus* was seen as a root cause for most female ailments, including listlessness, and was a sure indication of lovesickness. Not all seventeenth-century consultants, however, were university trained, and the profession was rife with frauds and charlatans who preyed upon the gullibility of the lovelorn.<sup>1</sup>

Ter Borch does not make it entirely clear whether the consultant in this painting is a serious doctor or a fraud. Although his gaze is steady, his beard manicured, and he wears the robes of a philosopher or scholar, the disarray of his study does not bode well for the accuracy of his diagnosis. The skull, the hourglass, the empty lantern, and the mirror are all elements associated with transience, a thematic undertone reinforced by the blossoms and broken pot on the floor, and even by the books and pamphlets strewn on the table. This dim, untidy interior, filled with reminders of the vanity of life, is not an environment that suggests intellectual clarity and foresight. Nevertheless, the artist, for his part, seems to convey a certain sense of sympathy for the doctor and the woman awaiting his diagnosis. While perhaps misguided, they are earnest in their efforts to search for the mysteries of the human condition.

A doctor examining a glass urine vial was a favorite theme for Dutch and Flemish artists, but Ter Borch's image is like none other. Most artists, particularly those working after midcentury, found the subject ripe for

humor and satire. Jan Steen, for example, generally depicted the doctor as a humorous figure making his (rather suspect) diagnosis in the home of a melancholic, lovesick young woman. Ter Borch depicted the doctor in his study, making his diagnosis without the presence of the patient, whose urine has been brought in an earthenware chamber pot by the woman's maidservant.

How Ter Borch came to paint this subject, which was not commonly depicted in the first three decades of the seventeenth century, and how he arrived at his specific interpretation of the scene are little understood. The earliest known painting signed and dated by the artist, *The Consultation* must have been painted soon after Ter Borch became a master in the Haarlem Saint Luke's Guild.<sup>2</sup> Gudlaugsson has even suggested that it was the "masterwork" Ter Borch presented to the guild when he enrolled. This argument is partly premised on the idea that Ter Borch valued the work highly enough to retain it in his own possession, at least until 1659, when his student Caspar Netscher painted a free adaptation of it.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, the painting's serious demeanor seems to owe little to artistic traditions in Haarlem, where such painters as Frans Hals, Jan Miense Molenaer (1609/1610–1669), and Judith Leyster (1609–1660) were creating relatively exuberant images of daily life. Similarly, the careful manner in which Ter Borch executed the consultant's face, with its intense gaze, and the attention he paid to the still-life objects, including the angled reflection in the mirror, seem more consistent with stylistic qualities found in paintings produced in Antwerp in the mid-1630s by artists such as David Teniers II and Jan Davidsz de Heem (1606–1683/1684).<sup>4</sup> Indeed, one of Teniers' doctor scenes even depicts the consultant identically posed as he analyzes urine in a glass vial (fig. 1).





FIG. 1

Just how Ter Borch would have seen such works is not known. No documents indicate that the artist visited Antwerp prior to his trip to England in the summer of 1635. And the fact that Ter Borch's father in his letter of July 1635 mentions visits to Amsterdam and Haarlem, but not to Antwerp, would seem to indicate that no visit to that artistic center occurred before his trip to London.<sup>5</sup> The supposition has always been made that Ter Borch was meant to make an extended stay in London, where his uncle Robert van Voerst was an engraver (who died from the plague in October 1636). For whatever reason, the London visit seems to have been of short duration, for he was back in Zwolle by April 1636. It is entirely possible that during Ter Borch's return trip he stopped in Antwerp to visit another uncle, Aert de Bonte.<sup>6</sup> During such a stay he could have met Teniers and De Heem and seen their paintings. Ter Borch probably painted *The Consultation* at the very end of 1635, perhaps in Zwolle, which might account for the fact that Caspar Netscher knew of the painting in 1659.

AKW

1. David Teniers II, *Le Medecin de Village* (*The Village Doctor*), c. 1635, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels

### 3 Procession with Flagellants

c. 1636/1640, oil on panel, 41.5 × 71.5 (16 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 28 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

1. Pieter van Laer,  
*The Flagellants*, c. 1635,  
oil on canvas, Alte  
Pinakothek, Munich

This dark and brooding painting depicts a nocturnal procession of flagellants, whose blood-streaked backs and eerie white costumes are illuminated by torch-bearers lining their path. The processors lead a group of six dark-cloaked and hooded men who carry aloft a decorated statue of the Virgin Mary. Standing behind the sculpture at the opening of an enormous arched portico is a group of singers, whose musical score is illuminated by yet more torches.

Ter Borch's haunting depiction of this night procession of flagellants is remarkably similar to a scene in Rome witnessed by the English diarist John Evelyn on Good Friday, 1645. Evelyn, awestruck by the experience, described it in the following compelling terms: "and the Night a procession of severall people that most lamentably whipped themselves till all the blood stained their clothes, for some had shirts, others upon the beare back, with visors and masks on their faces, at every 3 or 4 steps dashing the knotted and raveled whip-cord over their shoulders, as hard as they could lay it on, whilst some of the religious Orders and fraternities sung in a dismal tone, the lights, and Crosses going before, which shewed very horrible, and indeede a heathenish pomp."<sup>1</sup> Ter Borch conveyed in paint a comparable sense of wonder, fascination, and horror at the spectacle before him, casting a pool of strong light on the blood-streaked flagellants. As they march along before the venerated statue of the Virgin, their moans and wails—and the muffled sounds of the chorus—strike an eerie chord even today. The smell of the burning torches, whose smoke blends into the dark sky above, seems equally present, adding to the uneasy sense that these celebrants belong to a different world and a different mentality, both fascinating and frightening to behold.

Flagellants were members of a fanatical and heretical sect often called the Brotherhood of the Cross. This sect had its origins in northern Italy in the thirteenth century, but by the fifteenth century, it had spread to Spain, France, Germany, and the Netherlands.<sup>2</sup> Mem-

bers of the brotherhood believed that by flagellating themselves publicly they purged themselves and mankind from grievous sin—their penance thereby preserving the whole world from perishing. Although Catholic authorities eventually condemned the movement, it continued to exist throughout the seventeenth century, its appeal ever enhanced by plagues, reactions to tyrannical rulers, or the ardent preaching of a zealous priest.<sup>3</sup>

This fascinating painting, unique in Ter Borch's oeuvre, has raised many questions about where and when the artist encountered such a procession, and what inspired him to paint this unusual scene. Willem von Bode, who was the first art historian to write about the painting, concluded that Ter Borch must have painted it in Spain, in large part because the painting reminded Bode of the Spanish Inquisition.<sup>4</sup> Other scholars have believed that Ter Borch, like John Evelyn, witnessed such a procession in Rome.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, as Gudlaugsson has noted, the few other contemporary depictions of flagellants all seem to have been executed in Italy, including one attributed to Pieter van Laer, a Haarlem artist living in Rome between 1625 and 1639 (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup>



FIG. 1



2. Francisco de Goya,  
*Procession of Flagellants*,  
1815–1819, oil on  
panel, The Museum  
of the Royal Academy  
of Fine Arts of San  
Fernando

This painting, thus, is a crucial document in the discussions about Ter Borch's travels. Largely on the basis of Houbraken's account, it has been generally believed that Ter Borch visited Italy in the latter half of the 1630s, presumably Rome, where he could well have met Pieter van Laer and other members of the artist community of Bentvueghels, which mostly comprised Dutch and Flemish artists.<sup>7</sup> Van Laer, nicknamed Bamboccio, had an enormous impact on his fellow painters in his unidealized depictions of Roman street life. His portrayal of flagellants could well have inspired Ter Borch to create his remarkable scene, since in both instances the artists placed relatively small-scale figures in a broader spatial environment.

Whether or not the example of Van Laer provides a strong enough link to conclude that Ter Borch actually visited Rome, however, is a matter of some debate. Despite their similarities, the two paintings are remarkably different in mood and atmosphere. Ter Borch's painting conveys an overriding sense of movement that is not to be seen in Van Laer's painting—movement of the sort that Gerard the Elder encouraged his son to incorporate in his works.<sup>8</sup> The artist's compelling portrayal of an artificially lit night scene is also more directly related to his training with Pieter Molijn than to the influence of Pieter van Laer, and is comparable to drawings Ter Borch made during the late 1630s (see Wheelock essay, fig. 5).

Other than Houbraken's reference to Ter Borch's visit to Italy, no other document confirms that the artist actually made such a trip. Flagellants were also to be seen in Spain, and supporting evidence seems to confirm that Ter Borch did make a trip there, probably in the mid-1630s. Indeed, the vague architectural forms of the church portal behind the chorus seem more Spanish in character than Italian.



FIG. 2

Although the immediate experience that generated this image may have occurred in Italy or Spain, Ter Borch probably painted the work after he returned to the Netherlands. As Lammertse has noted, Ter Borch used an oak panel, a support more likely to be found in the Netherlands than in Italy or Spain.<sup>9</sup> The women's costumes, moreover, are Dutch in character. Lammertse rightly surmises that Ter Borch may have painted this work for a Spanish patron, and that the painting was eventually sent or taken to Spain. Ter Borch's painting was probably known to Francisco de Goya, who in the early nineteenth century painted a remarkably similar view of flagellants processing before a sculpture of the Virgin (fig. 2). As Lammertse notes, by then public self-flagellation had been prohibited for more than forty years, a further indication that Ter Borch's painting may have served as a model for the Spanish master.<sup>10</sup> AKW

## 4 Portrait of a Man

c. 1639/1640, oil on copper, 48.6 × 35.7 (19 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 14 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Gift of George T. Cameron

The distinguished middle-aged subject of this portrait is plainly dressed in a high-waisted black doublet and narrow breeches tied below the knees. He wears a hat with a tall crown pulled firmly over his head and a knee-length cloak caught up at his left side. Light gray gloves dangle loosely from his right hand. A sheer flat collar and cuffs and snowy white boot tops (*canons*), all trimmed with deeply lobed bobbin lace, alleviate the sober black of his costume. Strong light flooding from the left side of the composition accentuates the man's slightly sagging features and casts vague shadows upon the ground at his feet. By placing his subject in stark isolation against an ambiguous light-colored background, Ter Borch created a remarkably powerful and expressive likeness.

The man's left hand is propped on his hip in a classic gesture of self-assertion and social assurance. The boldly thrusting elbow had been a common posture in male (military) portraits since the Renaissance: a state-



FIG. 1

ment of either success or defiance, connoting authority, self-possession, and control. In the seventeenth-century Netherlands it is most often encountered in portraits of the powerful regent class.<sup>1</sup> In Ter Borch's portrait, the pose eloquently expresses the subject's proud self-confidence, an impression further strengthened by the direct eye contact he makes with the viewer.

Gudlaugsson saw the influence of portraits by Diego Velázquez in this painting, specifically comparing the man's confident bearing and wide stance to the Spanish painter's *Pablo de Valladolid* (fig. 1). Ter Borch may well have seen portraits by Velázquez during his brief stay in Madrid in 1639, but it is a matter of some conjecture whether he was directly influenced by them.<sup>2</sup> Admittedly Velázquez' portrait also deliberately avoids creating an illusion of spatial depth by omitting any defined juncture between wall and floor. But Valladolid's pose is aggressively theatrical, compared to the more restrained, natural confidence projected by Ter Borch's subject. It is also essential to keep in mind that the visual impact of Velázquez' monumental, nearly life-sized painting is quite different from the discreet charm of Ter Borch's small copper panel.

The immediate inspiration for *Portrait of a Man*, as well as Ter Borch's other early full-length portraits (compare cats. 5, 6), is more likely to have been the small, finely painted full-length likenesses produced during the 1620s and 1630s by Amsterdam artists such as Thomas de Keyser, Simon Kick, Pieter Codde, and Willem Duyster, and especially by the Haarlem painter Hendrik Gerritsz Pot.<sup>3</sup> As Ter Borch was living in Haarlem by 1634 and joined the guild there in 1635, the year in which Pot was dean, he could hardly have been unaware of the older artist's work. Pot's *Charles I*,

1. Diego Velázquez, *Pablo de Valladolid*, c. 1633, oil on canvas, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

2. Hendrik Gerritsz Pot,  
*Jacob van der Merckt*,  
c. 1633–1635, present  
location unknown

Painted in England in 1632,<sup>4</sup> and *Jacob van der Merckt* (fig. 2) both show the figure confidently posed with hand on hip and similarly silhouetted against an unadorned light-colored background. The more circumspect placement of the subject's feet and the genteel furnishings added to the room dilute the visual impact of these portraits, however, and underscore the dramatic achievement of Ter Borch's deceptively simple composition. MEW



FIG. 2



## 5 Portrait of a Man

c. 1640, oil on copper, 48 × 35 (18 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond,  
The Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund

1. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Portrait of a Man Aged  
Forty-Two*, 1652, oil  
on copper, Museo  
Thyssen-Bornemisza,  
Madrid

Soberly clad in a black doublet, cloak, and breeches, this dapper Dutch gentleman is presented as a slim and compact ovoid form, balanced on elegantly turned-out feet and isolated before a neutral backdrop. The setting is minimally defined by just a line softly marking the juncture between floor and wall. The man's slightly cocked head gives a rakish tilt to his hat and draws attention to his bemused expression. His right arm appears to be tucked behind his back; emerging from the voluminous folds of his cloak, his gloved left hand dangles the vacant mate. A crisp white collar and boot tops, trimmed with deeply lobed bobbin lace, accentuate the painting's warm neutral palette.

The meticulously detailed description of physiognomy and costume that characterizes this portrait and its pendant (cat. 6) is enhanced by the smooth, non-absorbent surface of the copper support. Ter Borch painted just over forty works on copper; more than half of these (about twenty-four) were done during the 1640s, although he continued to utilize copper supports sporadically throughout his career.<sup>1</sup> All but two of Ter Borch's paintings on copper are portraits (see cat. 13), and the majority of these are bust- or half-length cabinet miniatures (see cats. 8–12). Indeed, the Richmond portraits (and the *Portrait of a Man* in San Francisco, cat. 4) are unusual in that they are particularly large, full-length likenesses on copper. The formal aspect of these full-length likenesses is probably indebted to the work of Hendrik Gerritsz Pot and others (see cat. 4), but the direct inspiration for Ter Borch's use of copper as a support has not yet been identified. While the use of copper panels was widespread in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands during the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries,<sup>2</sup> in portraits it seems to have been a more common choice for formats linked to the established traditions of the portrait miniature (for example, bust- or half-length). Thus, its use here may have been a factor of the specific commission. Although copper panels would seem ideally suited to



FIG. 1

paintings rendered in meticulous detail, Ter Borch turned to canvas or wood panel for the elegant and finely wrought genre paintings of his mature career, consciously incorporating into his design the subtle shimmer created by the surface irregularities inherent in these supports.<sup>3</sup>

Ter Borch seems to have portrayed this unidentified subject a second time, in the *Portrait of a Man Aged Forty-Two* (fig. 1). The latter likeness, seen at bust-length within an oval field, depicts a man with the same long straight nose, cleft chin, and thin lank hair falling over his forehead; an increased heaviness around the jawline signals the passage of a dozen years. Gudlaugsson proposed that the Thyssen pendants were painted in about 1640 and altered in 1652 by the artist himself to modernize the subjects' garments,<sup>4</sup> but Gaskell has correctly pointed out that these perceived alterations are in fact traces of the artist's painting technique that have become more evident over time.<sup>5</sup> If the two paintings do depict the same man, as appears likely, an age of approximately thirty would seem appropriate for the subject of the Richmond portrait. MEW



## 6 Portrait of a Woman

c. 1640, oil on copper, 48 × 35 (18 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond,  
The Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund

1. Gerard ter Borch, *Jan Bardoel*, c. 1644–1645, oil on panel, present location unknown

2. Gerard ter Borch, *Maria Wybouts*, c. 1644–1645, oil on panel, present location unknown

3. Gerard ter Borch, *Portrait of a Woman Aged Thirty*, dated 1652, oil on copper, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

The subject of this full-length portrait is modestly but elegantly attired in a black bodice, stomacher, and skirt. Her upper skirt (called a *schort* or *wacht*)<sup>1</sup> is hoisted to knee length, revealing a matching underskirt. She wears an extraordinarily wide millstone ruff; by the time this portrait was painted, in about 1640, the ruff had very nearly passed from fashion and this thin, disk-like profile was its final, mannered manifestation. The woman's cap and cuffs are made of thin cambric or fine linen, edged with deeply lobed lace, and she holds a light gray glove in her gloved right hand. The gold bracelet on her left wrist and the matching chain glimpsed at her throat are discreet indicators of her wealth and status.

With great subtlety and precision, Ter Borch designed the woman's pose to specifically complement that of her husband, who is represented in the pendant to this painting (cat. 5). The spreading bulk of her skirts bolsters the slim tapering lines of his elegant stance; the tilt of her ruff finds an answer in the canted brim of his hat; even the sweetly matched gestures of a gloved hand clutching the empty mate serve to strengthen the formal and psychological bonds between the subjects. Isolating the figures within a spacious and emphatically neutral setting accentuates their sculptural qualities. Ter Borch employed very similar poses in his *Maria Wybouts* and *Jan Bardoel* (the aunt and uncle of Helena van der Schalcke, cat. 14), dated by Gudlaugsson to sometime about 1644 and 1645 (figs. 1, 2).<sup>2</sup> The complementary poses and gestures that are so marvelously effective in the Richmond pendants become rather more pedestrian, however, in the three-quarter-length format and darkened backgrounds of the latter compositions.

The subject and her husband seem to have returned to Ter Borch several years later for a second pair of portraits, this time in bust-length format. The *Portrait of*



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

*a Woman Aged Thirty* (fig. 3)<sup>3</sup> depicts a woman with the same long nose and pendulous lower lip beneath a slightly open mouth; the passage of a dozen years has endowed the subject with an ample double chin and a matronly physique. Although Gudlaugsson suggested that Ter Borch painted the Thyssen pendants about 1640 and later altered them to bring the subjects' garments up-to-date, more recently Gaskell has observed that what Gudlaugsson viewed as alterations are traces of the artist's original painting technique that have become more visible over time.<sup>4</sup> The relatively crudely painted black bonnet (known as a *tip* or *tipmuts*) worn by the woman in the later portrait does, however, appear to have been added by another hand at a later date, largely obliterating the white lace-trimmed cap similar to that worn by the sitter in the Richmond portrait.<sup>5</sup>

Assuming that the Thyssen and Richmond portraits depict the same person, the age inscribed on the Thyssen portrait (thirty in 1652) would indicate that the young woman in the Richmond portrait would be about eighteen years old, which seems entirely plausible.

MEW



## 7 Horsemen in front of an Inn

Peter Molijn and Gerard ter Borch

c. 1643/1645, oil on panel, 43.5 × 58.5 (17 1/8 × 23 1/16)

Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna

1. Isaac van Ostade,  
*The Halt at the Inn*,  
1645, oil on panel,  
National Gallery of  
Art, Washington,  
Widener Collection

In the early-to-mid 1640s a number of Haarlem artists, in particular Isaac van Ostade (1621–1649), delighted in depicting those informal moments when travelers refresh themselves before a country inn, sometimes situated in a small village or at the edge of the dunes (fig. 1). This tradition developed during the second and third decades of the seventeenth century in the landscape drawings, prints, and paintings of Esaias van de Velde (c. 1590–1630) and other Haarlem artists.<sup>1</sup> Title pages to various print series published by these artists during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621) emphasize that the etchings depicted “pleasant places” in the vicinity of Haarlem and were made for the enjoyment of city viewers. In many of these scenes travelers are shown passing from one village to another on meandering roads, occasionally resting before an inn. Precise locations for these views were of less consequence than the sense of delight a city dweller would receive as he visually traveled through the countryside.

*Horsemen in front of an Inn* falls entirely within such a framework and was almost certainly executed in

the early-to-mid 1640s, a date that is consistent not only with the landscape style but also with the costumes of the figures. The scene, bathed in late afternoon light, depicts an elegant group of riders who have paused on their outing at a rustic inn on a small rise before an expansive landscape. The horseman facing the viewer holds a glass in his right hand as he converses with another rider and his female companion, who sits side-saddle behind him on their graceful steed. Another rider, straining into his horse, adjusts his saddle in anticipation of his continuing journey. Standing quietly near this group is a soberly dressed barmaid, who holds a jug in her right hand.

This delightful work is particularly intriguing because it is a collaborative effort, executed by Ter Borch and his former teacher, the landscape specialist Pieter Molijn, who signed the work in the lower right. Just how this collaboration came about is unknown. It seems probable, however, that during the early 1640s Ter Borch lived in Amsterdam or Haarlem—close enough to his former teacher to allow the two artists to communicate easily and to collaborate on various paintings.<sup>2</sup> In this instance, Molijn probably felt that his former student's elegant figures would add an important dimension to the scene that would enhance the marketability of his painting.<sup>3</sup> Not only does the scene have a concentrated focus that differs from the picturesque array of figures found in Isaac van Ostade's paintings, it also has an elegance and refinement uncharacteristic of the genre. Particularly striking is the bright red saddle and saddle blanket that help draw the viewer's attention to the mounted riders in the middle of the painting.

As Trnek has demonstrated, the artists' collaboration was far more complex and integrated than is usually seen when a figure painter adds staffage elements to another artist's landscape.<sup>4</sup> Infrared reflectography has revealed the hand of both artists in the painting's underdrawing. Molijn's freely executed chalk notations underlie both the landscape and the two figures at the



FIG. 1



2. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Riders Stopping before  
an Inn*, c. 1634, black  
chalk, Rijksprenten-  
kabinet, Amsterdam

left, the barmaid and the rider holding a glass. Ter Borch's carefully modeled forms define the horse and riders in the middle and the soldier saddling his steed. The artists, then, ingeniously minimized the stylistic differences in their individual contributions: Molijn painted one of the riders engaged in conversation while Ter Borch painted the others.

The figures Ter Borch depicted in this painting are reminiscent of those in a number of study sheets preserved in the Ter Borch studio estate. For example, the man adjusting his saddle on a horse seen from behind is related to a motif in a drawing dated 1631 (see Wheelock essay, fig. 4), while Ter Borch treated the subject of riders halting before an inn in a chalk drawing he probably made while studying with Molijn in Haarlem in 1634 (fig. 2). However, the figures in the painting, with their refined demeanor and elegant costumes, convey a sense of graceful gentility not to be found in the drawings of a decade earlier. By the mid-1640s, both Ter Borch and Dutch society had changed. The end of the Thirty Years' War was close at hand, with the promise of peace and prosperity not far behind. AKW



FIG. 2

## 8 Adriaen Pauw van Heemstede

c. 1646, oil on copper, 16.3 × 12.2 (6 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Collection Pauw van Wieldrecht, On loan to Frans Hals Museum,  
Haarlem

## 9 Anna van Ruytenburgh, Wife of Adriaen Pauw

c. 1646, oil on copper, 16.3 × 12.5 (6 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Collection Pauw van Wieldrecht, On loan to Frans Hals Museum,  
Haarlem

At the peace negotiations in Münster (1645–1648), one of the two delegates from Holland and West Friesland was Adriaen Pauw van Heemstede (1585–1653), a vigorous leader of the anti-Orange peace faction. As pensionary of Holland, an official of the Amsterdam Chamber of Accounts, a director of the East India Company, and a member of several earlier diplomatic missions, Pauw was in a perfect position to represent the interests of Amsterdam at the conference.

Ter Borch's ability to communicate character as well as status contributed greatly to his success as a portraitist. Here, despite the modest scale of the image, its subject is appropriately imposing. The high, shining dome of Pauw's forehead and the levelness of his gaze help to convey the power of his personality. A simple double collar frames his neck without distracting from the forceful face above or the significant embellishment below—a medal showing Pauw to be a knight of the Order of Saint Michael.<sup>1</sup>

This work is one of at least eleven miniaturistic portraits of delegates that Gerard painted during his long stay in Münster (1646–1648) (see also cats. 10–12). In all cases, he chose a small-scale, oval format, using copper as his support. The traditional courtly associations of the miniature may have contributed to his choice, as well as the jewel-like look of the finished objects and their portability. In Münster Ter Borch found a further advantage to the format, as each painted portrait could be reproduced in an engraving of nearly the same size. The printmaker for this image of Pauw—and for a pendant miniature of his wife (cat. 9)—was Pieter Holsteyn (fig. 1).

The present works were probably the models for the figures of Pauw and his wife in a much grander commission, *The Entry of Adriaen Pauw into Münster* (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> One of the largest paintings in Ter Borch's oeuvre, that canvas depicts Pauw (resembling the miniature closely), his wife, and their granddaughter approaching the town in a carriage. Ter Borch took some liberties in rendering the event (no doubt in consultation with Pauw). He combined Pauw's initial arrival on 11 January 1646, a festive entry complete with a splendid coach and retainers, with his unheralded second arrival in May, when he was accompanied by his wife and granddaughter. Executed as a variation on the traditional princely entry, the canvas might well have

1. Pieter Holsteyn after Gerard ter Borch, *Anna van Ruytenburgh and Adriaen Pauw*, 1646, engravings, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam



FIG. 1

2. Gerard ter Borch and Gerard van der Horst, *The Entry of Adriaen Pauw into Münster*, c. 1646, oil on canvas, Stadtmuseum, Münster, Property of the City of Münster



FIG. 2

been meant to drive home a political point: in his ambassadorial position, Pauw could claim equal status with royalty and nobility.

Anna van Ruytenburgh (1590–1648) remained in Münster until April 1647. Ter Borch designed her miniature portrait as a pendant to that of her husband. In contrast to the imposing Pauw, his wife appears modest in demeanor and somewhat fragile. She wears a conservative though fashionable set of collars: a tasseled organdy layer on top of elaborately worked lace. A fine brooch centered on her breast echoes Pauw's medal. Because portraits were usually lit from the left and wives were traditionally placed to the right in a pendant

pair, a bright, even light illuminates her face, revealing a certain puffiness that might augur the illness that brought about her death in 1648. The date 1646 on Holsteyn's engravings after the portraits of Pauw and Van Ruytenburgh suggests that the two miniatures and the large *The Entry of Adriaen Pauw into Münster* were produced at the same time.

Anna came from a well-to-do merchant family. Rembrandt portrayed her younger brother, Willem van Ruytenburgh, as the dashing lieutenant at the head of the militia company in the *Nightwatch*, 1642. AMK



## 10 Godard van Reede van Nederhorst

c. 1646, oil on copper, 15 × 11 (5 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 4 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

1. Anselm van Hulle,  
*Godard van Reede  
van Nederhorst*, oil  
on canvas, Centraal  
Museum, Utrecht

Godard van Reede van Nederhorst (1588–1648), the delegate from Utrecht, caused considerable difficulty within the Dutch delegation at Münster because of his opposition to the peace accords, his generally pro-French policies, and his personal antagonism to Adriaen Pauw. Although Van Reede refused to sign the treaty of 30 January 1648, he finally acceded to the order of the Staten of Utrecht and added his signature in April. His health had deteriorated so severely during this period that he was unable to attend the ceremony of the Oath of Ratification on 15 May (commemorated in Ter Borch's painting, cat. 13). He died back home on 25 June 1648 and was buried in the Utrecht cathedral.

Two versions of this portrait exist, both executed by Ter Borch and both originally retained by the sitter's descendants at Slot Zuylen. Van Reede also commissioned a portrait from the Flemish artist Anselm van Hulle, Ter Borch's main competition in Münster, who turned out conventional, life-size likenesses with record speed (fig. 1). AMK



FIG. 1



## 11 Caspar van Kinschot

1646/1647, oil on copper, 11 × 8 (4 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Private collection, On long-term loan to the Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague

1. *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster* (detail of cat. 13)

Caspar van Kinschot (1622–1649), the youngest member of the Dutch delegation, received a less formal treatment than Ter Borch's other sitters in Münster. In an appropriate concession to Van Kinschot's youth, the miniature shows him with flowing locks falling to his chest. He also sports a fancy, colorful doublet. (By contrast, he wore conservative black at the ratification ceremony, according to the *Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster*, fig. 1). Ter Borch's brushwork here is relatively broad. Contributing to the warm, lively effect, he scattered flecks of brown and white and even some blue throughout the predominantly greenish-gray doublet.

Despite his youth at the time of the negotiations, Van Kinschot received recognition for his legal abilities, his language fluency, and his skill as a writer of Neo-Latin poetry. Among those who befriended him during his years in Münster was Fabio Chigi, the papal delegate who later became Pope Alexander VII.<sup>1</sup> The young man's ruddy complexion in this portrait, with its vigorous contrasts of light and dark, gives an impression of good health that was temporary, for he died of consumption just a few years later. AMK



FIG. 1



## 12 Don Caspar de Bracamonte y Guzman, Count of Peñaranda

1647/1648, oil on copper, 10.5 × 9 (4 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 3 $\frac{3}{16}$ )  
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

1. *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster* (detail of cat. 13)

In 1634 King Philip IV of Spain appointed Caspar de Bracamonte y Guzman, Count of Peñaranda, to a high position at court. Eleven years later he became Spain's chief delegate to the peace congress in Münster charged with bringing a formal conclusion to the Eighty Years' War. Arriving with an entourage numbering well over a hundred, Peñaranda took up residence at the Observantenkloster, the Franciscan friary. There he entertained in a grand style, while complaining in letters home about the privations he suffered. But early in 1646 he inaugurated a new era for the Dutch by announcing Spain's recognition of the United Provinces as free and sovereign territory. And during the long years of negotiation (1645–1648), he distinguished himself for his patience and intelligence (fig. 1).

Because of Ter Borch's association with Adriaen Pauw—who was leader of the pro-peace (and therefore pro-Spanish) faction among the Dutch—the artist must have had some contact with Peñaranda from the begin-

ning of his stay in Münster. Ter Borch actually joined Peñaranda's entourage in 1647 and most likely painted this portrait soon thereafter. He presents an aristocratic head, notable for its heightened cranium and the piercing intelligence of the sitter's gaze. A stand-up collar (*golilla*) of paper-thin organdy, characteristic of the Spanish courtier, sets off the head with an upward thrust that counterbalances the sharply downward-sloping movement of Peñaranda's cape. This compositional device adds a crisp decisiveness to the portrait as a whole. The dark purple cape itself, elaborately trimmed with gold embroidery, parts just enough to allow a glimpse of the sitter's scarlet doublet. The full effect matches perfectly with what documentary sources relate about Peñaranda's personality: his dignity, sophistication, and love of splendor.

After his years in Münster, Peñaranda moved briefly to Brussels (1650), then to Madrid; he later became Spain's viceroy in Naples (1659–1654). AMK



FIG. 1



# 13 The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster, 15 May 1648

1648, oil on copper, 45.4 × 58.5 (17 7/8 × 23 1/16)

The National Gallery, London

1. Anonymous, published by Rombout van der Hoeye, *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster, 15 May 1648*, engraving, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam

The swearing of the oath of ratification of the Treaty of Münster took place on 15 May 1648. This small oil on copper is the only painted depiction of that event, which brought a formal conclusion to the Eighty Years' War between Spain and the Dutch Republic (1568–1648). Ter Borch portrayed about seventy-seven participants and witnesses to the ceremony, all crowded into the main chamber of the Münster town hall. Signatories are grouped behind a round table in the center of the composition. Barthold van Gent, the representative from Gelderland, holds in his left hand the paper on which the Dutch delegation's oath has been inscribed; his right hand is raised. Directly next to him in the front rank, the Count of Peñaranda holds the oath of the Spanish delegation. His right hand rests on a book, as does the hand of Antoine Brun (in silver gray), representative of the Spanish Netherlands. Using a traditional artistic device to proclaim himself an eyewitness to the event, Ter Borch inserted a self-portrait at the far left, next to a soldier wearing the colors of Münster.

Written accounts of the occasion reveal Ter Borch's conscientious effort to anchor his image in actuality.<sup>1</sup> In minute detail he described the documents and boxes on the green velvet tablecloth, the Renaissance woodwork of the hall, the star-studded canopy at the rear, and the sixteenth-century candelabrum above. This last (still extant) bears the Münster coat of arms along with a prominent image of the Madonna in an aureole. Such localizing detail tied the image to one particular place and time, guaranteeing the historic truthfulness of the painting. In addition, Ter Borch was careful to specify the differing gestures of the delegates. Six Netherlanders hold up their right hands with a pair of fingers raised, while two Spanish representatives stretch their right hands out to a cross and Gospel.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the image departs from written accounts in a number of ways. For example, Ter Borch showed all of the participants posed in a tight semicircle. The principals face outward rather than looking at one another. They also

appear to be swearing simultaneously rather than in succession. Such choices subvert literalism but serve an artistic purpose, adding clarity to the group portrait and cohesion to the composition.

More important are the formal means by which Ter Borch conveyed the oath's larger historical significance. In contrast to the approach of contemporary broadsides representing the event (fig. 1), he refused to let Dutch independence become his central focus, and allowed no single political allegiance or religious position to hold sway. He balanced the horizontal, frieze-like crowd with a strong vertical movement at the center of the image, culminating in the glowing candelabrum. Its sculpted Madonna (rendered larger than actuality) shines her rays on Dutch and Spanish, Protestant and Catholic, alike. The two sides are so little differentiated from each other that their separate ways of oath-taking—much commented upon at the time—are here given a measure of equivalence. Individual participants are not singled out but rather bonded together in idealized solidarity, suggesting



FIG. 1



2. Jonas Suyderhoef after Gerard ter Borch, *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster*, 15 May 1648, engraving, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam

a common concern for the success of the treaty. The painting's point of view is resolutely international and universal rather than local and partisan.

The iconography and composition of the *Treaty of Münster* were without precedent in the medium of oil painting. Painters had traditionally framed contemporary political subjects in allegorical terms. Printmakers, by contrast (in broadsides such as fig. 1), often sought to depict recent events with a degree of historical accuracy. Given Ter Borch's "factual" approach to his subject, it is hardly surprising that he used this work as a highly finished preparatory study for a print.<sup>3</sup> Soon after completing the image, he asked the Haarlem engraver Jonas Suyderhoef to reproduce it in a print of exactly the same size, which was ready for sale by 1650 (fig. 2). Did Ter Borch also hope to find a buyer for the painting itself? That remains an open question, as no commission has ever been found and nothing connects the work to any single delegate. Indeed, if Ter Borch's biographer Arnold Houbraken is to be believed, he set an impossibly high asking price for the work, a whopping 6,000 florins, which surely placed a huge hurdle in the way of a sale.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the artist wished to keep this image for himself, as a personal memento of a momentous occasion. Whatever the reason, the painting remained in Deventer during his lifetime, accessible to few viewers beyond the Ter Borch family.<sup>5</sup>

The larger public came to know this image as a print designed for widespread distribution. Only in the late eighteenth century did the painting finally leave Deventer. In mid-nineteenth-century Paris, it changed hands several times at prices unthinkable a century and a half before. By then, market conditions for factually oriented paintings of contemporary events — which came to be known as *genre historique* works — had



FIG. 2

improved considerably. Acquired in 1871 by the National Gallery, London, the painting continued to be understood by many scholars (somewhat anachronistically) as an example of the *genre historique*. But the image might better be viewed as a singular innovation at the time of its creation. A successful amalgam of portraiture and history painting, this work combines realist pictorial techniques with echoes of solemn ancient ceremonies. As proved by the celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the Treaty of Münster, Ter Borch's painting has now acquired the status of a historical document, equal in authority to a written account. But it has always been more than that. AMK

## 14 Helena van der Schalcke

c. 1648, oil on panel, 34 × 28.5 (13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 11 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

In this deceptively simple and disarmingly direct likeness, Ter Borch created one of the seventeenth century's most memorable images of childhood. By drawing attention to huge dark eyes set in a pale pinched face and to the small hand plucking ineffectually at her skirt, the artist poignantly conveyed the fragility and vulnerability of his frail young sitter. He heightened this effect by isolating the figure in a shadowy undefined space, devoid of cozy attributes or any means of physical support.

The subject of this charming portrait, Helena van der Schalcke, was the daughter of Gerard Abrahamsz van der Schalcke (1609–1667), a yarn and cloth merchant in Haarlem, and his second wife, Johanna Bar- doel (1603–after 1669).<sup>1</sup> Helena was baptized in Haar- lem on 25 September 1646. She married Nicolaes Eichelberg, a Haarlem merchant, on 14 December 1666. Helena was only twenty-four years old when she died: she was buried in the Grote Kerk in Haarlem on 14 April 1671. The couple had one daughter, Agneta (1671–1749), who inherited the portrait from her mother.

Ter Borch's sympathetic likeness, which shows Helena at about two years of age, was presumably

painted in Haarlem following the artist's return from Münster in the spring of 1648. A few years earlier, the artist had painted portraits of Helena's parents— Gerard in 1644 and Johanna in 1645, the latter presum- ably upon the occasion of the couple's marriage in June 1645 (figs. 1, 2).<sup>2</sup> He portrayed Helena's aunt and uncle, Jan (Johan) Bar- doel and Maria Wybouts, also about 1644 and 1645 (see cat. 6, figs. 1, 2).<sup>3</sup> The portraits of the four adults are slightly smaller than the portrait of Helena, but nearly identical in size and format, depict- ing the subjects at three-quarter length and closer to the picture plane, within an oval surround.

Helena is dressed in a creamy white bodice and skirt combination, with a lace-trimmed kerchief and apron, and a close-fitting cap covering her fine blond hair. The most prominent feature of her costume is the heavy double-stranded gold chain slung across her chest and fixed to either shoulder with bows of pink ribbon. She holds a carnation and carries a covered wicker basket. The carnation was a common attribute in portraits from the fifteenth century; because of its association with images of the Virgin and child, it is frequently interpreted as a symbol of divine love, resur-

1. Gerard ter Borch, *Gerard van der Schalcke*, 1644, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

2. Gerard ter Borch, *Johanna Bar- doel*, 1645, oil on panel, Rijks- museum, Amsterdam



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



rection, and the hope of eternal life.<sup>4</sup> Leading strings — the long bands hanging down from the shoulders of Helena’s bodice, visible just behind her right elbow — were a standard feature of children’s dress in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, enabling adults to support and guide a toddler’s first tentative steps.<sup>5</sup>

Gudlaugsson noted the close similarity of the present picture to Govaert Flinck’s 1640 portrait of a young girl standing by a high chair (fig. 3) and proposed that Ter Borch must have been familiar with this painting.<sup>6</sup> Admittedly, both children are depicted at full length, turned three-quarters to the right, dressed in white, and carrying a wicker basket with a black handle; but as Ekkart has more recently noted, evidence for a specific relationship between the two works is far from conclusive,<sup>7</sup> and Helena’s ethereal presence is a far cry from the rosy-cheeked solidity of Flinck’s young subject.

MEW



FIG. 3

3. Govaert Flinck, *Girl by a High Chair*, 1640, oil on canvas, Royal Cabinet of Paintings, Mauritshuis, The Hague

## 15 Scene in an Inn

c. 1648/1650, oil on panel, 24.7 × 18.4 (9 ¾ × 7 ¼)

Private collection

No painting in Ter Borch's oeuvre conveys with such overwhelming power the emotion of loneliness and despair. As a young swarthy male, all dressed up with nowhere to go, absentmindedly fingers grains of snuff in the silver snuffbox in his hand, he gazes blankly ahead with unfocused eyes. A concerned friend, seated across the rustic table, looks toward him sympathetically but with mouth closed, as though unsure of what to say to alleviate his emotional burden. Behind the pair stands another young friend, who suggestively grasps the neck of a straw-covered wine bottle firmly in his hand as he looks out at the viewer with a telling expression.

The model for this unusual painting was a member of the Spanish delegation to Münster for the signing of the treaty in 1648.<sup>1</sup> This young man, with his long black hair and distinctive moustache, is the sixth figure from the right in the back row of Ter Borch's painting of that historic event (see cat. 13). In that painting he is dressed as a member of the Spanish court, which indicates that he was one of the entourage associated with the Count of Peñaranda (cat. 12). In all likelihood, Ter Borch befriended this individual in Münster or when he traveled to Brussels with the delegation attached to the Count of Peñaranda after the signing of the treaty on 15 May 1648. When Ter Borch asked him to sit for this low-life genre scene he dressed him in a flat beret and light-colored, striped outfit, similar in style to those worn by musicians or by actors performing in the *commedia dell'arte*.<sup>2</sup> This flamboyant costume, with its implicit promise of high spirits and joviality, served Ter Borch well as a foil to the figure's somber and dejected mood.

While in Brussels in the late 1640s the artist must have been exposed once again to Flemish genre scenes by artists such as Adriaen Brouwer and David Teniers II. In any event, at about this time he decided to turn his attention to inn scenes such as this one, where

human interactions play out with little of the restraint to be found in court circles. Smoking, drinking, and sexually charged encounters between male and female were common fare in Flemish art, often in series devoted to the depiction of the five senses. Ter Borch seems to have thought in terms of pendants during this period of his career and probably conceived this painting as one of a pair of inn scenes, the other being *Encouragement to Drink*, which has approximately the same dimensions.<sup>3</sup> These two works, which exhibit such contrary emotional experiences of joy and despair, combine between them all five senses: taste, touch, smell, sight, and sound. Stylistically, however, Ter Borch's tightly focused, half-length compositions seem to owe little to Brouwer or Teniers, who preferred multifigured compositions set into a larger interior space. Nevertheless, a tradition of half-length images did exist in Flemish art for depicting figures representing the five senses.<sup>4</sup> It may well be that Ter Borch sought to work within this tradition for these works, a tradition that he would then continue to develop as one of his major innovations in genre painting (see cats. 19, 20, 28).<sup>5</sup>

Scenes of tobacco smoking abounded in Dutch and Flemish art. Once tobacco began to be imported from the New World at the end of the sixteenth century, its use was widespread, not only for its supposed medicinal properties, but also for the pleasure it afforded. Its role, both positive and negative, was widely discussed in contemporary literature. Some authors argued that it was an herbal panacea against disease and the plague, while others distrusted the idea of smoking for pleasure and condemned tobacco because of its narcotic effects.<sup>6</sup> The dazed and stupefying effects it brought about were compared to those induced by alcohol, and to be "tobacco drunk" was a common expression.<sup>7</sup> Indeed,



1. “Van roock werd ick ghevoedt” (I was fed with smoke), from Jacob Cats, *Silenus Alcibiadis, sive, Proteus* (Amsterdam, 1620)

beer drinking and pipe smoking were frequently enjoyed together, and numerous seventeenth-century tavern scenes depict revelers holding a clay pipe in one hand and a beer stein in the other.

Drinking and smoking, however, were also means by which young men and women sought to drown their sorrows, particularly those brought about by love’s emotional torments. One of Jacob Cats’ emblems (fig. 1) even identifies Cupid as a merchant whose “merchandise is tobacco, mostly to be smoked in pipes/ With a bit of smoke and fog he confuses our senses/ He gives us smoke to drink and smoke to eat;/ All of Venus’s citizens live on nothing else.”<sup>8</sup> Although the young man in Ter Borch’s painting is not smoking tobacco from a pipe, he is ingesting it with snuff, which carried equal, if not more powerful narcotic effects. Snuff taking was not so prevalent in the Netherlands at this period, but it was rather common in court circles in France and Spain, which, given the model who sat for this work, may explain its depiction in this painting.<sup>9</sup> AKW



FIG. 1

## 16 Woman at a Mirror

1650, oil on panel, 34 × 26 (13 3/8 × 10 1/4)  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Gerard began using his half sister Gesina as his model about 1650. He featured her in a number of works in different guises—for example, as a peasant girl or as a shepherdess—primarily determined by her costume.<sup>1</sup> In this small painting, she wears a white satin gown trimmed with gold braid that immediately signals her status as a highborn lady. Contemporary documents indicate that elements of this dress correspond to the actual attire of wealthy women of the period. Ter Borch painted the same garment in numerous works during the 1650s. Even as late as about 1662 it appears in *The Introduction* with Gesina again as model (cat. 36).

Gesina's countenance in *Woman at a Mirror* can be compared with the portrait sketch that Gerard produced a year or two before (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Although later he sometimes took liberties with Gesina's appearance, in this painting of his early maturity he carefully recorded her physical features. The elegant, curving shapes of the figure's back, and especially of her arching neck, carry

considerable compositional force. But the brilliantly illuminated face in the mirror forms the focal point, with its animated pattern of light and half shadow. The two other figures enrich the composition psychologically. The page holding the mirror gazes intently on the girl's beauty, while the maid looks down mutely, her unassuming dress and hood creating a foil for the fancy braids and shimmering textures of the central figure. The cluster of heads gives the image an unusually tight formal structure, while the relatively loose, flowing abundance of fabric enhances its effect of intimacy.<sup>3</sup>

The image of a lovely young woman juxtaposed with a mirror appears several times in Ter Borch's oeuvre (cats. 17, 27, 34) and comes freighted with multiple associations. Past scholars connected the Amsterdam painting with the theme of vanity and transience, citing pictorial allegories in which a mirror is a sign of a woman's frivolous preoccupation with her appearance.<sup>4</sup> The artist's half brother Moses copied just such an allegory,

1. Gerard ter Borch, *Two Studies of Gesina*, c. 1648–1649, pencil, black chalk, brown ink, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam

2. Moses ter Borch, *Old Woman before a Mirror, with Two Maidservants*, c. 1658, brush in black over traces of black chalk, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



a print of a gussied-up old woman at her dressing table by Jeremias Falck after Bernardo Strozzi (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> Alternatively, the three-quarter format of the present work and its inclusion of a boy holding the mirror might suggest the old mythological theme of Venus at her toilet, which is so strongly represented in Italian and Flemish art.<sup>6</sup> The central position of the mirror here links the image most immediately with themes of beauty and the sense of sight, often closely associated with sensual love.<sup>7</sup> Yet if the young woman alludes to sensual beauty,

she does so innocently. Ter Borch makes the attributes of her dressing table indistinct; only a cosmetic box accompanies the mirror. He gives the girl a modest, high neckline; and most important he turns her away from her own image.<sup>8</sup> The narrative may remain elusive—perhaps it is a glimpse of the private uncertainty of a girl on the verge of entering the public arena—but in no sense does it violate burgher decorum. AMK

## 17 A Young Woman at Her Toilet with a Maid

c. 1650/1651, oil on wood, 47.6 × 34.6 (18 ¾ × 13 ⅝)

Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

1. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Woman at Her Dressing  
Table*, oil on panel,  
present location  
unknown

*A Young Woman at Her Toilet with a Maid*,<sup>1</sup> painted in about 1650, is probably the first painting in which Ter Borch chose an elegant domestic interior—rather than a more humble locale—as the setting for his full-length figures. The painting is often seen as inaugurating the fashion for the sophisticated “high-life” genre scenes that dominated Dutch painting through the latter part of the century.<sup>2</sup> It depicts a young woman standing in profile before her dressing table, craning her seductively bared neck as she attends to some fine adjustment of her corsage. A faint smile betrays her pleasurable preoccupation in these sartorial endeavors. The dark garments and compact stature of the maid, standing patiently to the left, create a perfect foil for the sinuous elegance of the young lady’s sway-backed pose and bright, shimmering garments. A very similar figure is depicted seated and facing left in Ter Borch’s diminutive *Woman at Her Dressing Table* (fig. 1), which probably slightly predates the present painting.<sup>3</sup> In this picture, the use of a circular format further emphasizes the tidy system of interlocking arcs that gracefully define the woman’s upper body.

Gesina ter Borch probably served as the model for the young woman in both these pictures, as she did in so many of the artist’s paintings of the 1650s and 1660s. Much of the intimate charm of *A Young Woman at Her Toilet with a Maid* is undeniably due to Ter Borch’s close, familial observation of mundane feminine activities.

For all its naturalism, however, Ter Borch’s painting is a remarkably sophisticated combination of realistic detail and symbolic reference. In the language of seventeenth-century imagery, many of the items commonly associated with a lady’s toilet also carried sym-



FIG. 1

bolic connotations, which would have been immediately understood by the contemporary viewer: in this case, the ebony-framed mirror as a symbol of vanitas, the gleaming silver ewer and basin borne by the maid as a symbol of purity.<sup>4</sup> Though this particular combination of motifs is very nearly ubiquitous in depictions of a lady’s toilet, Ter Borch forwent the overt didacticism often found in these works.

As Liedtke has noted, the maid forms a crucial link in the scene’s narrative.<sup>5</sup> While the young woman fusses with her bodice, the maid stands discreetly by, peering at her mistress’ reflected image. She waits patiently with all the requisite tools for the hand washing that will mark the end of this private ritual of self-absorption, the turning away from vain preoccupations. Capturing all attention at the precise center of the composition, the young woman is poised equidistant between two symbolic poles, a deliciously innocent



2. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Woman Washing Her  
Hands*, c. 1655, oil  
on panel, Gemälde-  
galerie Alte Meister,  
Staatliche Kunstsamm-  
lungen, Dresden

(and entirely natural) embodiment of both virtue and vice. With subtle gestures and a single glance, Ter Borch constructed a delicate tension between the symbolic elements, leaving the viewer to ponder the implications. Ter Borch's *Woman Washing Her Hands* in Dresden (fig. 2), from about 1655, presents a later, more fully resolved (and thus less psychologically charged) moment in the domestic narrative: there the woman cleanses her hands, presumably upon the completion of her toilet.

The finely tempered formal and psychological balance of Ter Borch's *Young Woman at Her Toilet with a Maid* is a vivid reminder that few painters have been so attuned to the gentle cadences of the feminine sensibility. Sensitive to minute details of the domestic situation, he understood the inherent satisfaction of small things in a silent, placid, and orderly world. MEW



FIG. 2

## 18 The Reading Lesson

c. 1652, oil on panel, 27 × 25 (10 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 9 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Peintures,  
Legs la Caze, 1869

Themes of education and instruction abound in seventeenth-century Dutch images of childhood: the village schoolhouse filled with rambunctious brats or disciplined scholars, the artist's studio, the night school, and parents or other adults imparting to young children domestic skills, proper conduct, or primary literacy. While the large number of works depicting children receiving instruction in reading and writing may have been a factor of the era's unprecedentedly high literacy rate, the images also stress the virtues of education as part of the child's overall development, and the parents' responsibility to properly guide and nurture their children.<sup>1</sup> These mundane scenes of parents imparting basic language skills are rooted in traditional allegorical depictions of Grammar (Grammatica), one of the seven liberal arts. Both practically and allegorically, grammar was considered a fundamental discipline, which of necessity had to be mastered before other arts could be studied; generally speaking, images of Grammar thus featured the very youngest scholars.

Gudlaugsson related Ter Borch's *Reading Lesson* to an engraving by Cornelis Drebbel after Hendrik Goltzius of *Grammatica*, in which a schoolmistress directs a child in mastering the alphabet as an older reader looks on (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> As in Goltzius' print, most seventeenth-century images of women or men teaching a child to read assign the adult an active role in the proceedings. They patiently point out the text (or not so patiently, in the case of some images deriding schoolmasters by Jan Steen and others) and concretely aid the child's acquisition of fundamental reading skills.<sup>3</sup> Imparting and receiving knowledge are given equal weight, equal responsibility. Although it shares many formal traits with these images, Ter Borch's ruminative *Reading Lesson* is not governed by the rules of proper pedagogic practice. While the child concentrates his attention on the text before him, the woman has allowed hers to wander, distracted by the spoken words—or just as conceivably, distracted from them.

A similarly relaxed moment is recorded in Jacques de Gheyn's circa 1600 drawing of a mother and child looking at a sketchbook; for all its apparent naturalism, however, this drawing has been also interpreted as an allegory of *Ingenium*, the initial stage of the learning process.<sup>4</sup>

Ter Borch's composition is drawn tightly around the figure of a woman seated in profile to the left, wearing a fur-trimmed *jak* over a yellow and black bodice, red-brown apron, and greenish skirt. On her head is a close-fitting black cap, with a pearl earbob suspended against her cheek. Standing at her knee and reading from the book spread open on her lap is a small child, his chubby cheeks and pert nose nearly hidden beneath an unruly mop of reddish hair. The model for the tousle-headed child was Ter Borch's younger half brother,

1. Cornelis Drebbel  
after Hendrik Goltzius,  
*Grammatica*, etching,  
Rijksprentenkabinet,  
Amsterdam



FIG. 1

Moses, born in 1645 and thus depicted here at about seven years of age; the model for the woman was the artist's stepmother, Wiesken Matthys.

The massive tome from which the boy reads is very possibly that most common of household books, a Bible, yet the painting is as free of religious or moralizing overtones as it is of extraneous formal elements. Ter Borch appears sublimely uninterested, moreover, in proclaiming the practical and moral benefits of a sound education, and instead explores the intangible boons of the domestic experience, the unquantifiable contentments of a bond forged between mother and child. The woman's reflective mood comfortably accommodates and passively encourages the boy's laborious efforts. Ter

Borch also manages to evoke the measured progress of time in this simple painting: an elastic moment suspended between words puzzled softly, tentatively, but with gathering comprehension, from the printed page.

Formally and thematically, Frans van Mieris' *Child's Lesson*, painted in about 1663, is strongly dependent on Ter Borch's *Reading Lesson*.<sup>5</sup> In this painting as well, a young child stands reading a book resting on his mother's lap, while her gaze is directed elsewhere: in this case, toward an older man (possibly a tutor) standing in the shadows. MEW



## 19 Woman Combing a Child's Hair

c. 1652/1653, oil on panel, 33.5 × 29 (13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague

1. Quiringh van Brekelenkam, *Old Woman Combing a Child's Hair*, 1648, oil on panel, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden

In a simple interior distinguished by a shallow arched niche at the rear wall and a sliver of light emanating from a window at far right, a woman combs the head of the young child standing before her. Clad in a red skirt, white neck cloth, and a fur-trimmed *jak*, her hair caught up in a close-fitting black cap, she pays close attention to the nimble movements of her hands as she carefully inspects the child's hair for lice. The dreamy young child—a boy, apparently, to judge from the smock<sup>1</sup>—leans patiently against the reassuring bulk of the woman's knees for the duration of her ministrations. He clutches an apple tightly in his hands. Lining the shallow shelf along the back wall are a crumpled cloth, an earthenware jug, a *roemer*, and various other objects.

Combing a child's hair to rid him or her of lice was a common everyday activity and probably an essential household task in the seventeenth-century Netherlands. It was the subject of numerous genre paintings from the middle of the century; among the earliest is Dirck Hals' *Moederzorg (Mother's Care)* of 1631 (Stichting De Boer, Amsterdam), a simple scene of a mother grooming a child's hair by lamplight. Quiringh van Brekelenkam (fig. 1), Gerard Dou, and Pieter de Hooch also treated the theme, as did the Bamboccianti artists Michael Sweerts and Jan Miel.<sup>2</sup> Ter Borch himself included the motif in the *The Grinder's Family* of about 1653 (cat. 24). In nearly all of these images, the dreamy, almost slack-jawed relaxation of the children being groomed effectively conjures up the calming, ritualistic aspects of methodical combing and delousing.

Like many common household activities, the act of combing and delousing a child's hair was given a symbolic gloss by seventeenth-century moralists. In *Sinnepoppen* (1614), the moralist and emblemist Roemer

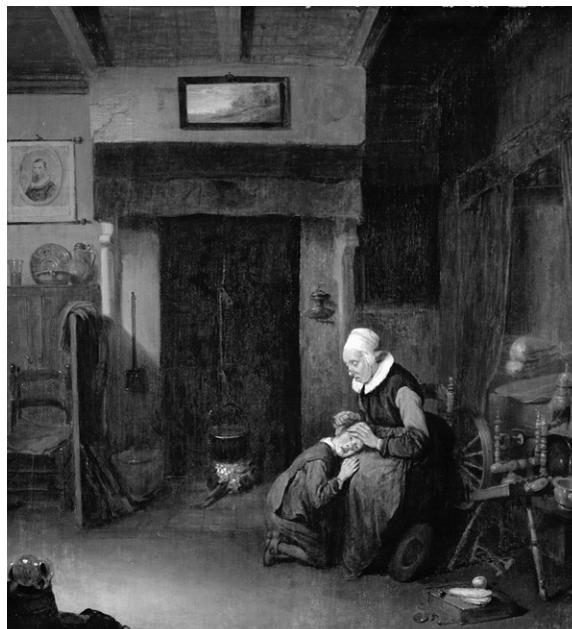


FIG. 1

Visscher illustrated a comb beneath the caption “Purgat et ornat” (To cleanse and adorn); the perennially popular poet Jacob Cats expounded on hair combing as being not solely an act of caring for one's outside appearance, but also a metaphor for putting one's head in good spiritual order: “Comb, comb, again and again, and not just the hair, But also what lies hidden inside, to the heartfelt bone.”<sup>3</sup> The act of combing a child's hair also attested to a mother's diligence in performing her maternal duties. Playing on the word “louse,” a contemporary proverb by Johan de Brune invoked delousing as a metaphor for the need to discipline children: “Lazy mother, lousy heads [kids].”<sup>4</sup> Although images of combing a child's head for lice had generally positive connotations in the Netherlands, it was (rather predictably) regarded as a deplorably tasteless subject by contemporary Italian writers and critics.<sup>5</sup>



Gudlaugsson considered *Woman Combing a Child's Hair* to be a pendant to *Woman Spinning* (cat. 20), a view that is still maintained by some scholars.<sup>6</sup> Though these knee-length images of women peaceably engaged in domestic tasks are similar in size and complementarily composed, there is nothing to indicate that Ter Borch conceived the two paintings as pendants. The seventeenth-century history of the pictures is not known, and in the eighteenth century, the paintings seem to have been united in the Delfos collection for barely two years (from 1784 to 1786).<sup>7</sup> The fact that the same model (the artist's stepmother, Wiesken Matthys) appears in both pictures would seem to argue against their pairing. Furthermore, as Broos has pointed out,<sup>8</sup>

the model in the Rotterdam painting is situated much lower in the picture than in the present painting, presenting a rather awkward transition when the two paintings are viewed side by side. The execution and surface finish of the two paintings are also quite different, underscoring the artist's masterfully nuanced manipulation of technique: Ter Borch utilized rather soft, diffused brushwork to depict the homely necessity of combing a child's head for lice, but a more polished and finely detailed technique to detail the skilled pastime of a well-to-do housewife. MEW



## 20 Woman Spinning

c. 1652/1653, oil on panel, 34.5 × 27.5 (13 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Willem van der Vorm Foundation, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen,  
Rotterdam

1. Nicolaes Maes, *Old Woman Spinning*, 1655, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Seated in a low wooden chair set beside a fireplace, a woman pulls fibers from a bundle of wool in preparation for spinning a length of thread. She leans forward into the light, as if to examine the fineness of her thread. She wears a black fur-trimmed *jak* over a gray skirt and creamy white neck cloth; nestled in the folds of her green apron is a small lapdog, its bright inquisitive gaze at odds with its contented pose. At lower right, a glimpse of a red seat cushion adds a vivid flash of color.

In literature and the visual arts, spinning was a time-honored symbol of diligence, purity, and commitment to the home. In the book of Proverbs, Solomon lists spinning as among the laudable tasks of a virtuous woman: “She seeketh wool, and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands” (31:13); and “She layeth her hands to the distaff, and her hands hold the spindle” (31:19). These passages were repeatedly invoked and paraphrased by seventeenth-century moralists such as Jacob Cats, one of many writers to equate domesticity, and particularly spinning, with feminine virtue: “motivated by the sheer pleasure of spinning; / She makes her family turn the spindle / For the good of the house, in the service of her husband.”<sup>1</sup> The woman in Ter Borch’s painting is shown teasing fibers from a bundle of wool to form a thread, which will then be fed onto the bobbin of the spinning wheel. Franits has suggested that by drawing attention to the thread held taut between her hands, the woman in Ter Borch’s painting might represent a reference to Cats’ proverb “Ze spint zuiver garen” (She spins pure thread), in a nod to both her domestic skills and her untarnished reputation.<sup>2</sup>

Although by the seventeenth century the success of the commercial textile industry in Haarlem and Leiden had virtually eliminated the need for most women to spin for household use, spinning remained a ubiquitous symbol of domestic virtue.<sup>3</sup> It was an activity that spanned a broad socioeconomic spectrum, from the most humble practitioners, like the gnarled



FIG. 1

old women depicted by Nicolaes Maes (fig. 1), to the most refined, represented by Caspar Netscher’s coquettish young spinner (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> Spinning was primarily seen as a pleasant (and virtuously productive) leisure activity rather than as a strictly utilitarian chore, which seems perfectly in keeping with the elaborate turnings and varied woods of the spinning wheel Ter Borch depicted so meticulously in his painting. Ter Borch’s *Woman Spinning*, like most seventeenth-century Dutch images of women engaged in this domestic task, presents a soothing, unhurried oasis of domestic industry and contentment. With characteristic economy and finesse, Ter Borch captured the exqui-



2. Caspar Netscher, *Lady Seated at a Spinning Wheel*, 1665, oil on panel, The National Gallery, London

site beauty of the moment, vividly conveying his model's complete absorption and satisfaction in the skilled accomplishment of a familiar task.

The model for this peaceably industrious figure was Ter Borch's stepmother, Wiesken Matthys. A frequent model for the artist during these years, Wiesken can also be seen in the *Reading Lesson* and the *Woman Combing a Child's Hair* (cats. 18, 19). Franits described the Rotterdam *Woman Spinning* as "one of the few seventeenth-century Dutch portraits of a woman spinning,"<sup>5</sup> and regarded both the *Woman Spinning* and its putative pendant, the *Woman Combing a Child's Hair*,<sup>6</sup> as "genreified portraits": portraits that depict the sitter in the context of everyday domestic tasks rather than surrounded by the more customary ennobling references to history or literature. Even though the model is so readily identifiable, Ter Borch probably did not regard these pictures of his stepmother—or indeed any genre paintings that used family members, friends, or colleagues as models—as portraits. Apart from the obvious practical benefits of using models easily available at home or in the studio, daily proximity to his subjects allowed Ter Borch ample opportunity for the intimate observation of routine events and everyday rituals, thus enabling him to impart a greater sense of realism to his fictionalized genre compositions.

In 1779, while Ter Borch's *Woman Spinning* was in the Tak collection, the still-life painter Aert Schouman (1710–1792) made a detailed drawing after it. A few years later, while the painting was in his own collection, Abraham Delfos made a watercolor copy (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam), adding a landscape painting on the rear wall.<sup>7</sup> MEW



FIG. 2

## 21 Jan van Goyen

c. 1652/1653, oil on panel, 20 × 16 (7 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Collections of the Prince of and in Liechtenstein, Vaduz

Jan van Goyen, one of the most inventive, influential, and prolific Dutch landscape painters of the seventeenth century, was born in Leiden in 1596. While his early landscape paintings resemble those of his teacher, Esaias van de Velde, from the late 1620s Van Goyen was a leading figure in the development of more naturalistic “tonal” landscapes. In countless paintings and drawings, Van Goyen celebrated the quiet beauty of the Dutch countryside and its omnipresent waterways. Van Goyen lived in The Hague from 1632 until the end of his life, but made numerous sketching trips around the Netherlands, as well as longer journeys to the Southern Netherlands, Gelderland, and the eastern border between Germany and the Netherlands. Although Van Goyen’s work was held in high esteem during his lifetime, his swiftly brushed paintings routinely fetched only low prices. His prolific output may have raised his total income, but unsuccessful speculations in real estate and tulips meant that Van Goyen was frequently in debt. In fact, in 1652—just about the time Ter Borch painted this portrait—an auction of paintings was held in the artist’s home in order to satisfy his debts. Van Goyen died in The Hague in 1656.<sup>1</sup>

Ter Borch’s modest half-length likeness presents Van Goyen not as a painter, identified by palette and brushes or other attributes of his craft, but rather—somewhat disingenuously, under the circumstances—as a respectable and successful burgher. He is soberly dressed in a black doublet and cloak, accented with a flat white collar and tasseled tie; a broad-brimmed black hat rests squarely upon his head. The bulky pyramidal mass of the figure, turned to the right but gazing directly out at the viewer, with his elbow resting on a balustrade just barely visible at lower right, is indebted to Rembrandt’s etched *Self-Portrait* of 1639 (fig. 1), as well as to the painted version created in the following year (National Gallery, London, 672).<sup>2</sup>

The nonchalant elegance and perfect confidence so eloquently expressed in these two self-portraits by

Rembrandt had an immediate and profound impact on portraiture in the Netherlands, particularly in the realm of artists’ self-portraits.<sup>3</sup> An impression of Rembrandt’s *Self-Portrait* may have been among the prints by the artist (mostly from the 1630s) owned by the Ter Borch family,<sup>4</sup> but in any event Gerard would certainly have been aware of this enormously influential composition. Unlike the works by Rembrandt, however, and unlike most of the portraits inspired by them, Ter Borch’s *Jan van Goyen* shows the subject in contemporary dress, not the flamboyant quasi-historical garb favored by Rembrandt and his followers. Echoing the modest, parochial nature of his painted views of the Dutch countryside, Van Goyen is depicted simply and directly, without airs or pretensions.

Van Goyen’s open and lively expression is a distinct departure from the cool, studied restraint that charac-

1. Rembrandt van Rijn,  
*Self-Portrait*, 1639,  
etching and drypoint,  
Rijksprentenkabinet,  
Amsterdam



FIG. 1



terizes so many of Ter Borch's portraits. The dimensions of the panel are drawn close around the figure, bringing the subject closer to the picture plane and enhancing the immediacy of the portrait.<sup>5</sup> The obvious warmth and informality of the likeness, as well, perhaps, as the painting's small format, suggested to Gudlaugsson that the Vaduz painting was not a formal commission, but rather a gift of personal friendship between the two artists.<sup>6</sup> Ter Borch probably painted the portrait during a visit to The Hague in about 1652 and 1653. Although the nature and extent of the relationship between the two painters are not known, they may well have met years earlier, when Ter Borch was a pupil of the landscape painter Pieter Molijn in Haarlem in 1634. Van Goyen had moved to The Hague in 1632, but is known to have been in Haarlem working for the art dealer Isaack van Ruysdael sometime during 1634. Van Goyen, who like many seventeenth-century artists was also active as an art dealer, may also have handled works by Ter Borch either outright or on commission.<sup>7</sup>

Ter Borch's portrait of Jan van Goyen is the only securely documented likeness of the landscape painter.<sup>8</sup> An etching made after the painting by the Leiden painter Karel de Moor (1655–1738) bears the inscription *IOHANNES A GOYEN Natione Batavus / Genuinus Pictor Regionum* (Jan van Goyen, born in the land of the Batavians / painter of landscapes) (fig. 2). By 1699, the painting had entered the collection of Michiel van Musscher, a genre painter and portrait painter active in Rotterdam and Amsterdam.<sup>9</sup> De Moor probably saw and copied the painting while it was in Van Musscher's collection. MEW



FIG. 2

2. Karel de Moor after Gerard ter Borch, *Jan van Goyen*, etching, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam

## 22 Portrait of a Gentleman

c. 1652/1653, oil on panel, 28 × 23 (11 × 9 1/16)

Private collection

1. Govaert Flinck, *Portrait of a Man*, 1641, oil on panel, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

The handsome subject in this sensitive portrait stares directly at the viewer with a great sense of dignity and bearing as he holds his wide-brimmed hat before him. Stylistically, this well-preserved work must date from the early 1650s. The shape of the gentleman's collar and tassels, and the cut of his hair are consistent with those seen in dated portraits by other artists from this period.<sup>1</sup> No female pendant is known for this work, and it seems unlikely that one ever existed.

The identity of this formidable individual has, unfortunately, been lost over the course of time, but he was presumably a wealthy burgher from Amsterdam or Haarlem, where Ter Borch apparently spent much of his time during the 1640s and early 1650s. The probability is strong that the subject hailed from Amsterdam. Not only did Ter Borch have excellent contacts with the higher echelons of Amsterdam society, including Adriaen Pauw (cat. 8), but the subject's pose and the painting's half-length format, with the figure placed against a dark background, are also, although executed at a smaller scale, consistent with Amsterdam portrait traditions (fig. 1).

The present work has a delicacy of touch comparable to that seen in Ter Borch's portraits from the late 1640s of delegates who participated in the signing of the Treaty of Münster. But the later work's broadness of touch and imposing presence are different in character from those small-scale images. This evolution in the master's style, which is also evident in his portrait of the painter Jan van Goyen from the early 1650s (cat. 21), is also seen in his depictions of genre subjects. They, too, begin to focus on half-length depictions of figures situated against dark backgrounds (cats. 19, 20). AKW



FIG. 1



## 23 The Unwelcome Call

1653, oil on panel, 66.7 × 59.5 (26 ¼ × 23 7/16)  
Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague

Although the Netherlands had to confront the specter of war throughout so much of its existence, Dutch painters paid surprisingly little attention to the drama of armed conflict. Artists did paint large, formal group portraits of civic guards for the public halls of militia companies, but they seldom depicted actual battles. With the exception of marine paintings, pictorial celebrations of heroism in victory or remembrances of valor in defeat are virtually nonexistent. Those battle scenes that do exist mostly represent small-scale skirmishes between marauders, where neither the purpose nor the outcome of the strife is clear. During the 1630s and 1640s Dutch artists also focused on the disruptive character of soldiers, most of whom were mercenaries, as they drank, gambled, quarreled, and, worst of all, assaulted innocent civilians. However, in the early 1650s—after the end of hostilities, signaled by the signing of the Treaty of Münster—Ter Borch (and other artists such as Johannes Vermeer and Pieter de Hooch in Delft) began to depict a more genteel soldier. This type, when freed from military strictures, was shown intermingling with friends and loved ones.

Gerard ter Borch, however, was the only Dutch artist to view soldiers as individuals subject to the psychological realms of displacement and loneliness. Just how he came upon this awareness is not certain, but it may have stemmed from personal experiences in Zwolle and Deventer. Because the Dutch had been afraid that Spanish forces would attack from the east, these two cities were strategically important, and many soldiers were garrisoned there to protect that area. During the winter months, soldiers who were relieved from active duty came into close contact with local citizens in whose homes they were billeted.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Ter Borch

came to know and appreciate a side of military life where soldiers were forced to find emotional and physical solace far away from the comfort of home and family.

Here, in this dimly lit interior, Ter Borch depicted a scenario that must have resonated with many soldiers who had been called to serve in the eastern province of Overijssel. A summons brought by an elegantly dressed trumpeter threatens to disrupt an intimate relationship between a soldier and his beloved.<sup>2</sup> Ter Borch masterfully suggested the narrative by placing the young courier, hat still in hand, before an open doorway. The “unwelcome call,” as the painting has been romantically titled over the years, is fully understood by the two lovers, who respond to the courier’s presence with a sad yet resigned acceptance of their imminent parting. Inevitably, the officer will have to retrieve his sword, hanging from the bed behind them, and his gun and powder horn, hanging on the wall, and return to active service. Ter Borch subtly expressed the powerful tension between the soldier’s military obligations and private concerns that must have been played out in numerous encounters of this nature.

Ter Borch’s sensitivity to the psychological nuances of human relationships developed hand in hand with his facility as a portraitist. Indeed, the model for the young woman at the officer’s knee was Gesina ter Borch (cat. 16, fig. 1), who, as a poet and artist, expressed the joys of love’s pleasures and the pain of its disappointments.<sup>3</sup> Gerard ter Borch explored these same concerns, often using the vehicle of a love letter (see cat. 41) or a military summons to suggest profound changes in an individual’s state of emotion. Another element adding



to the painting's emotional intrigue concerns the morally ambiguous relationship of the soldier and young woman, for Ter Borch left it entirely unclear. Are the couple in this rustic domestic interior married or enjoying an illicit affair?<sup>4</sup>

Gerard, perhaps through Gesina, was intimately aware of the writings of Jan Hermansz Krul, an Amsterdam poet, playwright, and songwriter who similarly explored the intricacies and complexities of love relationships. It seems probable that Gerard executed this work for the intellectual circle attracted to Krul's writings.<sup>5</sup> Within this intellectual circle, Gerard ter

Borch's subtle allusions to the story of David and Uriah in this painting would not have been lost.<sup>6</sup> In that biblical story (2 Sam. 11:6), David, desiring Bathsheba after having spied her at her bath, sent a messenger to summon her husband Uriah to the front, where he was killed. In 1653, the year this painting was executed, the threat of war was far removed, but the underlying concern that the call for public duty might well disrupt one's private existence must have continued to resonate in Dutch society. AKW

## 24 The Grinder's Family

c. 1653, oil on canvas, 73.5 × 60.8 (28 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 23 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin — Preussischer Kulturbesitz,  
Gemäldegalerie

In this most unusual painting of a craftsman's quarters, a man sharpens a scythe on a large grindstone. His body stretches out along a cloth-covered plank; his tense, muscular arms hold the blade against the turning stone. A younger man in an apron leans against a post to watch.<sup>1</sup> More scythe blades and a hammer rest on the bare ground to the left of the grindstone. A broken chair, overturned pots, and other debris lie scattered about. In the foreground, a woman sitting on a low chair delouses the hair of a child, while a wide-eyed cat crouches on a stone block beside them. Rundown buildings surround the figures, a shabby wooden shed behind the grinder, a rough brick hut behind the woman and child. The panes in the leaded window above the mother's head are broken. Yet in the distance is a well-maintained residence, its front gable decorated with pinnacles and turrets and its roof constructed of slate, a material used primarily for houses of the prosperous in the eastern Dutch Republic.<sup>2</sup>

In subject matter, this image has more in common with the peasant paintings of Isaac van Ostade than with the high-life interiors and military scenes for which Ter Borch was known. It also includes far more exterior architectural detail than is found elsewhere in his oeuvre. Nevertheless, Ter Borch's refusal to pin down an unequivocal meaning in *The Grinder's Family* is wholly consistent with his usual approach. The scene's narrative ambiguities raise countless questions: What significance should be attached to the contrast in activities according to gender? Why is a poor tradesman's dwelling set against a regent house? Why does the supposed "main event" take place in the background?

In the print media, grinding figures quite prominently in the repertory of representations of the trades; in painting it appears less frequently. Most images depict itinerants — no more elevated than peddlers — who sharpen knives and scissors on the street by using portable, treadle-powered grindstones (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> A permanent setup for a grinding stone can be found in

Gabriel Metsu's *Interior of a Smithy* (c. 1657), which shows the close connection between grinding and the blacksmith's trade.<sup>4</sup> Books of trades, wishing to ennoble the occupations they feature, give the grinder his own shop.<sup>5</sup> But none of these images, whatever their medium, illustrates a grindstone as huge as the one depicted here, nor one that is animal-powered. In Ter Borch's painting, the gear wheel that drives the grinding stone and the mule that powers the wheel are both visible in the depths of the shed. These details, and the architecture of the whole yard, are specific enough to suggest that Ter Borch possibly observed an actual workplace in Zwolle.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, the picture is highly constructed and its details are carefully selected. Some viewers have looked to emblematic literature as an aid to interpretation, citing passages in the writings of Jacob Cats and Adriaen van de Venne that locate multiple messages in the paradoxical qualities of the grindstone (dull in itself yet capable of whetting the edge of a blade).<sup>7</sup> Others

1. Adriaen van Ostade,  
*The Knife Grinder*,  
c. 1653–1660, etching,  
Rijksprentenkabinet,  
Amsterdam



FIG. 1

2. Johannes van Cuylenborch?, *A Smithy in Zwolle*, oil on canvas, Bequest of John Ringling, Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, the State Museum of Florida, Sarasota

have sought meanings in the stork's nest on the peak of the house in the distance (perhaps symbolic of prosperity and protection), in the dilapidated architecture and debris (signifying the transitory), and in the overall contrast between rich and poor (implying a moral lesson).<sup>8</sup>

It is telling in this regard that the paintings based on Ter Borch's *Grinder's Family*, variously attributed to the Zwolle artists Johannes van Cuylenborch and Jan Grasdorp, make changes that clarify and simplify the iconography of the original. The one in Sarasota (fig. 2) transforms the house in the distance into a rustic two-storey dwelling with a humble red-tiled roof overgrown with vines. Towers added behind it are based on the medieval fortifications of Zwolle, thus emphasizing the local nature of the scene and suggesting the time-honored nature of the activity. The artist also brought the workmen forward and eliminated the mother and child, transforming the site into an unproblematically busy work yard, whose mess simply signifies honest, virtuous labor.<sup>9</sup> He could not resist adding a touch of humor: the confrontation between the foreground strutting cock and the squawking chicken.

Ter Borch, however, refrained from including anything sentimental, anecdotal, or idealizing, preferring instead to record work straightforwardly and poverty unapologetically. While showing both male physical labor and female nurturance, he allowed the woman's work in the foreground to upstage the man's work farther back. Yet he enclosed both under the long upward sweep of the dominant roofline, which not only holds the diverse areas of the composition together, but also separates the zone of labor and relative impoverishment from the zone of regent wealth. In order to strengthen the theme of diligence, Ter Borch focused on various kinds of looking. The grinder directs his gaze intently on the task, the client or apprentice watches him practice that craft, the mother inspects her child's hair, and the cat stares unwaveringly out at the viewer. AMK



FIG. 2



## 25 A Maid Milking a Cow in a Barn

c. 1653/1654, oil on panel, 47.5 × 50.2 (18 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 19 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

1. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Farm Buildings and  
a Hay-Barn outside  
Zwolle, 1631–1633,*  
pen and brown ink,  
Rijksprentenkabinet,  
Amsterdam (land-  
scape sketchbook,  
fol. 16)

From early in his career Ter Borch associated himself with wealthy and dignified patrons, most notably the Spanish nobility and Dutch representatives who converged in Münster in 1648 for the signing of the treaty that marked the end of the Eighty Years' War. Nevertheless, when he returned to Zwolle in the late 1640s after his travels to England, Spain, and the Southern Netherlands, Ter Borch quickly reestablished his ties to his family and fully embraced the diverse character of the town in which he was born. While Zwolle was an important trading center, it was, at essence, a rural, agrarian community surrounded by fields and thatched-roofed farmsteads. He had begun drawing these farms even before he had left for a short stay in Amsterdam in 1632, and his interest remained with him until he left for Haarlem in 1634. Although none of the drawings from his landscape sketchbook records the interiors of barns, he clearly walked around the farmsteads, recording them from different points of view, as though he wanted to experience as fully as possible the peaceful ambiance of this country existence (fig. 1).

The most remarkable expression of Ter Borch's familiarity with rural life is to be found in *A Maid Milking a Cow in a Barn*, which he probably executed in the early 1650s. This tender painting is the work of an artist who felt an essential rapport with his subject and was able to capture the quiet bond between the cow and the maid as she gathers its milk.<sup>1</sup> It is a bond that Ter Borch suggested by the cow's strict profile view, which conveys its patience and familiarity with the milking process, and by the maid's posture as she squats close to the cow, seemingly leaning her head against the soft fur along its flank as she intently performs her task. Adding to the very personal character of the scene is the slightly whimsical expression of the

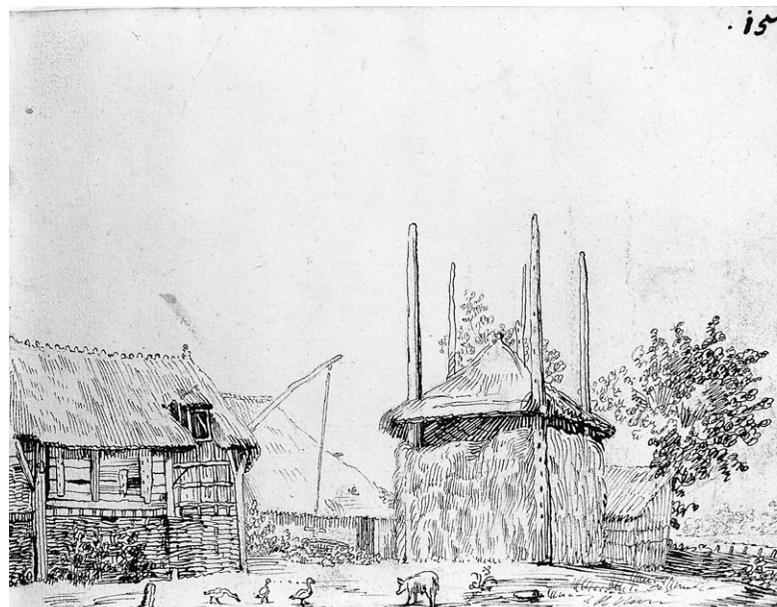


FIG. 1

cow facing the viewer, who peers inquisitively in the maid's direction out of the corner of its eye.

Ter Borch's sympathetic rendering of the scene is also evident in the careful way he depicted the farm implements, whether the overturned milk bucket on the chopping block, the axe, earthenware brazier, grain sieve, shoes, and brightly colored pillow on the ground, or the distant ladder and hayloft. As with his delicate rendering of the cows' fur, these objects are depicted with great sensitivity. Each reflects Ter Borch's clear understanding of its shape, character, and function, as though he were as at home in this barn as the maid herself. Ter Borch placed these objects discreetly at the peripheries of the scene to enhance the rustic character of the barn, but did not allow them to overlap the cows and the maid in ways that would distract from the central focus of his scene. Furthermore, he subtly illuminated the lower portion of this darkened interior and



used the reddish-orange accent on the maid's dress to draw the viewer's attention to her activity. He then picked up this tonality in the multicolored cushion, brazier, and wooden water bucket. He also used delicate touches of orange and blue to enliven the surfaces of many of the objects, even the hoofs of the cow seen in profile.

As with Ter Borch's genre scenes and portraits, it is difficult to cite a visual prototype that may have inspired him to create this composition. Although a number of Dutch and Flemish artists — among them, Aelbert Cuyp (1620–1691) and David Teniers II — depicted maids in cow stalls, none concentrated on the milking process, and none established the type of mood

that makes this work so compelling.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately nothing is known about the circumstances underlying Ter Borch's decision to paint this scene, whether, for example, he knew the owner of the farm or the maid milking the cow. Interestingly, Ter Borch painted this work on an oak panel with a rather roughly hewn verso, quite different in character from the types of panels made in Haarlem or Amsterdam. He also painted this work with the oak grain running vertically, which is an unusual orientation for a horizontal composition.<sup>3</sup>

AKW



## 26 A Horse Stable

c. 1654, oil on panel, 45.3 × 53.5 (17 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 21 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

In this carefully crafted but seemingly artless image, Ter Borch depicted the mistress of the house, identifiable by her earring and gold necklace, opening a door into a stable where a man tends to a horse feeding from a wooden trough.<sup>1</sup> It is a hushed, even tender scene, without any dramatic focus or ostensible narrative interplay, and seems to depict figures going about their daily routines in a setting as familiar to the artist as to the protagonists he has portrayed. And yet this spare painting has a mysteriously charged atmospheric quality that differs from a purely descriptive rendering of daily life. This effect comes from the sense of anticipation and expectation resulting from the arrival of the mistress, whose presence, neither remarked upon by the man intently grooming the horse nor explained by the artist, provides a human dynamic unprecedented in other depictions of stables in Dutch art.

The door in which the mistress stands and the well-maintained character of the stable, with its brick and stone floor, suggest that the stable was attached to the living quarters, a type of farm structure (*hallenhuis*) often found in Overijssel in the vicinity of Zwolle and Deventer. It is, in any event, an image that emphasizes the careful husbandry of farm animals, probably, in this instance, a riding horse rather than workhorse. The dappled horse, known as a *schimmel* or *appelschimmel*, has been well brushed, with its mane and tail carefully tended so that the hairs have been pulled to the desired length. However, since he hid the horse's muzzle from view, Ter Borch seems to have used the stable as a setting for a human encounter rather than for an animal's portrait.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, as is so often the case in his work, Ter Borch has here created a work that belongs to no established iconographic tradition.

The painting's quiet yet psychologically charged mood is enhanced by the unusual pale light coloring this windowless interior. Streaming in from the front

left, it floods the central part of the image, in particular the dappled white horse posed horizontally before the whitewashed wall. But it also picks out the orange-red accents Ter Borch distributed around the painting, notably those on the woman's dress, man's hat, and bricks in the lower left. To help integrate the horse and figures into the stable setting Ter Borch softened the room's rectangular structure with diagonally placed farm implements and the angled hayrack hanging from the ceiling. He also visually subdivided the room and provided a defined space for the horse and groom with a free-standing wooden post draped with the bridle and the man's jacket. A diagonally positioned pole propped against one of the boards enclosing the feed bin creates a temporary stall for the feeding and grooming. The woman is situated entirely within the darkened doorway to the right of the post. She stands behind the partially opened door and the bucket on the floor, a position that obscures portions of her body but allows the full impact of her steady gaze to activate the room.

The painting has often been seen as a pendant to *A Maid Milking a Cow in a Barn*, a work from the early-to-mid 1650s that is similar in subject matter and pictorial character (cat. 25).<sup>3</sup> However, because the dimensions of these works are not identical and the character of the panels on which they are painted is quite different, this proposal seems incorrect.<sup>4</sup> Gudlaugsson has noted that the painting technique of *A Horse Stable* is not only more refined than that in the other work, but it also has a greater transparency in its atmospheric qualities, characteristics that developed in Ter Borch's style once he moved to Deventer in 1654.<sup>5</sup> Such a date also seems to accord with the identity of the model who posed for the mistress in this work: she was probably Geertruyt Matthys, whom Ter Borch married in 1654.<sup>6</sup>

AKW







Some even suggested that the officer originally held a coin in his hand, which had later been painted out by a prudish owner. (The phantom coin theory has now definitively been refuted.)<sup>3</sup> Other interpreters were bothered by the disjunction of representing such a venal pursuit in so elegant and decorous a manner. Surely Ter Borch's approach here could not have been more different from his rendering of the sarcastically titled *Le Gallant Militaire*, in which a crude officer does indeed thrust a handful of coins at a cornered prostitute (Kettering essay, fig. 8). Other art historians shifted their attention to Ter Borch's virtuoso description of satin, arguing that the painting functioned primarily as a dazzling demonstration of surface effects. In doing so, they joined the many viewers over the centuries—including notaries, artists, and critics—who regarded Ter Borch's satin as the sine qua non of his renderings of women.<sup>4</sup>

Seventeenth-century courtship ritual has also been offered as the painting's organizing theme: the man is a suitor, the lady in satin is the object of his affection, and the woman in black is her chaperone.<sup>5</sup> With such a narrative in mind, the bed signifies prospective marriage rather than bought love, and the lady's upright stance and aloof bearing correspond with the reserved, controlled behavior that courtesy books urged for young, unmarried women. In her poetry album of the early 1650s, Gesina ter Borch included just such contained, standing figures, seen from the back, in her illustrations for a number of Petrarchan poems featuring cold-hearted beauties.<sup>6</sup> It is possible that she and other original viewers would have understood the *Paternal Admonition* in light of such Petrarchan conceits. Fully consonant with this Petrarchan interpretation, the lady is shown standing and self-absorbed, while the

seated officer addresses, focuses on, and literally looks up to her.

Still, many seventeenth-century viewers would have detected an essential ambiguity in Ter Borch's image, responding much as we do today to its provocative overlap of hints of virtue and hints of vice. Perhaps "vice" is more apparent in the Amsterdam version, where the greater width of canvas allows space for a scruffy, slinking hound to hang around the officer's chair, a disquieting departure from the groomed spaniels in Ter Borch's other interiors (cats. 20, 28–35). The broader format also directs more attention to the man, whose proximity to the door marks him as an intruder in this feminine world, and whose blunt-toed shoe invades the lady's space. His military status alone adds an ingredient of deliciously titillating risk to the scene. In the narrower Berlin version, the viewer's attention is drawn more readily to the lady. She becomes not only the officer's focus but ours as well, concentrating our thoughts on her reserve, her upright posture, and her brilliant attire, and therefore on the positive associations of each (fig. 1). Yet in both versions, messages are mixed. We are never quite certain whether the woman demurely sipping her wine is there to prevent or to facilitate a liaison. Should we notice the extravagant feathers in the officer's hat or the loose angularity of his body language? With their numerous ambiguities, these two paintings deviate from and undercut the conventions of the usual high-life interior. More than most contemporary genre scenes—including most others by Ter Borch—these encourage viewers to ponder a multitude of possibilities and to actively construct their meanings. AMK



## 28 A Boy Caring for His Dog

c. 1655, oil on canvas on panel, 35 × 27 (13 ¾ × 10 ⅝)  
Alte Pinakothek, Munich

1. Michael Sweerts,  
*Woman Searching for  
Lice*, c. 1645–1650,  
oil on canvas, Musée  
des Beaux-Arts,  
Strasbourg

With total concentration and loving concern, the young student in this painting leans over his dog to search for fleas in its fur.<sup>1</sup> The spaniel, whose plaintive gaze is visible from under the boy's arm, lies contentedly in its master's lap. While the subject is not complicated and certainly derives from actual experience, Ter Borch created an image that is far from anecdotal.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the psychological bond that he conveys between man and animal is unique in Dutch art.

Toy spaniels are frequently seen in Dutch genre scenes because, particularly after midcentury, the dogs had become integral members of many Dutch families. In other paintings by Ter Borch these pets are often found in the presence of rich bourgeois women in elegant interiors (see cats. 30, 34). Whether standing attentively at the feet of their mistresses or lying contentedly beside them, however, the spaniels in such works are mere adjuncts to the broader composition and not the focus of concern. The relationship between this boy and dog seems particularly touching in a room that is so barren, with furniture so rudimentary and with clothes so simple. Other than the youth's blue leggings, the colors are monochromatic browns and ochres.

Beyond representing an everyday event and a psychological relationship between two friends, the subject has broader moralizing resonances. The boy, for example, cares for his dog in much the same way that the mother cares for her child in Michael Sweerts' *Woman Searching for Lice* (fig. 1), or in Ter Borch's own memorable painting from the early-to-mid 1650s (cat. 19).<sup>3</sup> Careful grooming and nurturing were virtues often stressed in Dutch family life.<sup>4</sup> In this instance Ter Borch's sympathetic portrayal of the boy's concern indi-



FIG. 1

cates he intended no negative commentary on the boy's neglect of his studies, which is implicit in the pen and book that sit idly on the table beside him. Given the presence of the boy's hat in the immediate foreground, he may well have just returned from school and turned his attention to his dog's needs before commencing his homework. Ter Borch, who often based his images on members of his immediate family, used his half brother Moses as the model for the student.<sup>5</sup> AKW



## 29 Three Soldiers Making Merry

c. 1656, oil on panel, 63.3 × 47.9 (24 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 18 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Private collection

1. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Soldiers in an Inn*,  
c. 1640, oil on panel,  
Victoria and Albert  
Museum, London

In this delightfully playful painting, a seated officer with head thrust back downs a long and satisfying drink to the great pleasure of his two companions. He is fully arrayed—with fashionable leather boots lined in red, red sash, and metal breastplate—and his gaming, smoking, and drinking have left him fully inebriated, a state evident not only in his body language but also by his unbuttoned pants. The standing soldier, dressed in black with a gold-trimmed wine-red sash, stares down at the drinker with a bemused smile, while the elegantly dressed trumpeter joins in the revelry by blasting an appreciative tribute to the drinker's success at downing his drink in one draft. Only the drinker's dog, with his head affectionately and loyally resting on his master's leg, seems less than amused at the festivities.

Although during the 1650s Ter Borch occasionally depicted the foibles of soldiers idling away their time, in no other work does he depict such an active and colorful scene, filled with pleasures gained from each of the five senses. Situated in a sumptuous domestic interior near a large fireplace supported by elaborately carved marble ionic columns, the officers almost seem to mock the ideals of responsible military leadership by their self-indulgent actions. The painting must have given little comfort to those who felt that a strong and vigilant military force was important for defending the Dutch Republic from foreign intervention.

By the mid-1650s, when Ter Borch created this work, such concerns would seem to have been rather remote. The Treaty of Münster, marking the end of hostilities with Spain, had been signed in 1648, and subsequent conflicts with England had been primarily maritime affairs, far removed from the purview of soldiers garrisoned in Deventer and Zwolle. Nevertheless, political unrest within the province of Overijssel persisted: a threat poised from the east by the prince-bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen, who sought to advance Catholic Counter-Reformation ideology along the Dutch-German border, meant that military garrisons

continued to play an important role in communal life in this area of the Dutch Republic.<sup>1</sup> However, the army was much reduced in size after the signing of the Treaty of Münster and placed under civilian control during the period without a stadholder after the death of the prince of Orange, Willem II, in 1650. Badly organized, it lacked a strong sense of leadership and purpose.<sup>2</sup> As one author has described it, the army had become “marginalized, demoralized, and politically emasculated.”<sup>3</sup>

Whether Ter Borch intended his painting to be a critique of military preparedness is far from certain. Although the gold and white company flag attached to the trumpet, with its insignia tassels draped over it, may have had express connotations to his contemporaries in Deventer, the painting's subject conforms closely to earlier inn and guardroom scenes, including those created by Willem Duyster, Pieter Codde, and Ter Borch in the 1630s and early 1640s (fig. 1). The pose of the seated drinker and the manner in which the smoker



FIG. 1



2. David Teniers II,  
*Peasants in a Tavern*,  
c. 1633, oil on panel,  
National Gallery of Art,  
Washington, Gift of  
Mr. and Mrs. John Ely  
Pflieger, in honor of  
the 50th Anniversary  
of the National Gallery  
of Art

holds his clay pipe as he looks down also resembles figures found in David Teniers' inn scenes, works that Ter Borch could have known from visits to Antwerp in the mid-1630s (fig. 2) and to Brussels in the mid-1640s.<sup>4</sup> Thus, while the political unrest of the 1650s ensured that depictions of military figures remained a subject of interest, it would seem that Ter Borch's underlying motivation for depicting the subject had not essentially changed since the 1640s. The primary difference between *Three Soldiers Making Merry* and earlier depictions of soldiers whiling away their time is Ter Borch's focused depiction of these three individuals, a stylistic approach consistent with the artist's other genre scenes from the period.

The protagonists in this work are recognizable from Ter Borch's other genre scenes of the early-to-mid 1650s, particularly *The Unwelcome Call* (cat. 23). The drinker's costume and pose are comparable to those of the soldier in that work, while the trumpeter is the same young courier who has delivered the missive. The trumpeter's seated pose, with hat in lap, moreover, resembles that of the male figure in the so-called *Paternal Admonition* (cat. 27).<sup>5</sup> The setting is also familiar from other works, including *The Lute Player and Officer*, of about 1658, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>6</sup> A free adaptation of the scene by Caspar Netscher, signed and dated 1658, is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.<sup>7</sup>

AKW



FIG. 2

## 30 The Suitor's Visit

c. 1658, oil on canvas, 80 × 75 (31 ½ × 29 ¾)  
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Andrew W. Mellon Collection

The encounter taking place at the doorway of this elegant, high-ceilinged room, decorated with gilded leather wall covering, seems the height of gentility.<sup>1</sup> A debonair young man, hat in hand, bows slightly as he responds to the alluring gaze of the young woman who has come forward to greet him. She apparently has just risen from the green velvet seat, where she had been playing a duet with the woman strumming on a theorbo: her music book and bass viol can be seen lying on the table. Behind the women stands a man who, in the dimness of the interior light, warms himself before the hearth as he turns to peer at the visitor.

Ter Borch drew upon his surroundings in Deventer in creating a sense of immediacy for his composition. The objects in this work, including the tapestry on the table, the chair, the theorbo, the hearth, and the leather wall covering, were ones he well knew, as they reappear in different contexts in a number of other paintings from the mid-1650s.<sup>2</sup> The model for the suitor was his student Caspar Netscher, who also features in other of Ter Borch's paintings from the mid-to-late 1650s (see cat. 31). Indeed, Netscher made a copy of this painting before he set sail for Rome in 1659, a date that establishes a terminus ad quem for this work.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the elegant woman, standing resplendent in her red top and white satin dress, is almost certainly Gesina, Ter Borch's beloved half sister (fig. 1). Not only did she frequently serve as a model for the artist (see cat. 23), but her ideas seem to have had a profound effect on the type and character of the subjects Ter Borch chose to depict during this phase of his career.<sup>4</sup>

By the mid-1650s Gesina had embarked on her own artistic and literary career with her poetry album, which is filled with arcadian images of love's pleasures and disappointments.<sup>5</sup> Gesina's poetry and pictorial images in this and other albums belong to that important Dutch literary genre, largely influenced by Petrarchan ideals, that both celebrates the delights of love and warns against the dangers of becoming ensnared in ill-

advised attachments.<sup>6</sup> In this respect she followed in the path of her father: aside from his topographic drawings, he was also a poet and in the 1620s helped illustrate an amorous songbook with images of lovers cavorting in the grass (see Wheelock essay).

It is against this background of family interest in art, music, and emblematic literature on love and its complexities that the nature of the narrative unfolding in *The Suitor's Visit* is most clearly seen. Under the veneer of gentility is a scene alive with sexual innuendo. The gazes of the couple at the door are at once enticing and yearning, a private communication that does not go unnoticed by the gentleman standing before the

1. Gesina ter Borch, Self-Portrait of Gesina in a Gray Cartouche, Crowned with the Ter Borch Arms, 1659, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (poetry album, fol. 2r)



FIG. 1

2. Jan Krul, “De Overdaed en Doet Geen Baet” (The Excess that brings no profit), from *Eerlycke Tytkorting* (Haarlem, 1634), National Gallery of Art Library, Washington

hearth. More explicitly sexual, however, is the nature of their gestures. The young woman clasps her hands in a manner that could be construed as an invitation for intercourse, as the thumb of her right hand protrudes between the index finger and second finger of her other hand in a most unconventional, and expressive, manner. His gesture in response appears to be an assent, for as he bows he forms a circle between the thumb and index figure of his left hand.

Ter Borch does not spell out the outcome of the woman’s ploy—for her central position in the composition and the dog’s inquisitive gaze clearly indicate she is the initiator of the intrigue. Undoubtedly, however, Ter Borch’s circle of acquaintances would have recognized that his composition had remarkable parallels with an image found in Jan Hermansz Krul’s influential *Eerlycke Tytkorting* (Honorable Pastimes), published in Haarlem in 1634, which contains emblems devoted to the delights and travails of love.<sup>7</sup> The related print (fig. 2) accompanies an emblem entitled “De Overdaed

en Doet Geen Baet” (roughly, The Excess that brings no profit). The thrust of the emblem is a warning that encouragement by a woman is not always to be trusted. Whereas a suitor might feel that love and commitment would follow, all too often the lover is rejected and then belittled. Krul writes of the lover’s lament: “If you never intend to have me, why so much courtship? / It would honor you best to send me straight away.”<sup>8</sup> The similarities between the painting and the print seem to imply that the outcome of this match will likewise be disappointment. Finally, not unrelated to the painting’s mood are the colors of the woman’s dress. In the list of color symbols Gesina compiled in her poetry album about 1659, white is equated with purity and carnation with revenge or cruelty.<sup>9</sup>

The subtlety of Ter Borch’s narrative is matched by the gracefulness of his figures and the delicacy and refinement of his touch. No artist could convey as effectively as he the shimmering surface of a long white satin skirt or the undulating rhythms of a translucent lace cuff. His brushstrokes, while small, are quite loose and rapidly applied with the result that the surface has a richly animated quality.<sup>10</sup> Such an effect is also felt in the subtle psychological interactions he created amongst his figures. Ter Borch’s effectiveness in depicting human emotion and a sense of inner life in such genre scenes may stem from his experiences as a portrait painter. Even the poses he used in these works are occasionally similar. For example, the manner in which the suitor holds his wide-brimmed hat is derived from a portrait the artist created in 1656.<sup>11</sup> AKW



FIG. 2



## 31 Officer Dictating a Letter While a Trumpeter Waits

c. 1658/1659, oil on canvas, 74.5 × 51 (29 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 20 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
The National Gallery, London

Ter Borch's several depictions of letter-writing officers are, as Kettering has observed, largely unprecedented.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, there are images of officers reading or receiving letters or dispatches—compare, for example, Anthonie Palamedesz' *Guardroom with Officer Receiving a Letter* (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig) or *Officer Reading a Letter* (Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne). Both works date to the 1640s, but they are transactions conducted wholly within a masculine-military sphere. In contrast, Ter Borch's letter writers are engaged in a passive, thoughtful activity that in visual tradition was almost exclusively the province of women. The domestic settings of these pictures (a well-to-do urban home as opposed to a guardroom) and carefully chosen attributes confirm that these are not military briefs but love letters that are so earnestly being crafted. The officer himself is no rough warrior, but a romantic, a gallant; the gaily clad trumpeter commands attention not so much as a harbinger of military action (compare cat. 23), but as Cupid's proxy, tolerant and wryly bemused.

Hunched over a cloth-covered table, the young soldier in the *Officer Dictating a Letter* pauses in the midst of writing. His careless perch, widely planted feet, and forward-leaning posture, even the helmet he seems to have forgotten to remove, convey a mix of energy and pragmatism. Seated across the table, a second man, wearing a dark hat and a metal breastplate over his garments, appears to be dictating to his younger colleague.<sup>2</sup> Strewn across the surface of the table are an inkwell, a leather penholder, and a clay pipe. An engaging brown and white spaniel is sprawled in front of the table, bright eyes alertly trained on the viewer. Painted out by the artist but still faintly visible on the floor near the dog's hind legs is a playing card, the ace of hearts,

which commonly functioned as a romantic symbol (see cat. 32).<sup>3</sup>

To the right of the scene, a military trumpeter gazes out at the viewer as he waits to collect the completed missive. He wears a rich blue jerkin trimmed with bold black and yellow braid, a buff leather jacket, and tall leather boots fitted with spurs. At his left hip, a sword hangs from a broad bandolier; behind his back is his trumpet, suspended from the braided cord slung diagonally across his chest. Characteristic of Ter Borch's attention to quotidian detail, the trim at the hem of the trumpeter's jerkin is worn and frayed where his sword has rubbed against it.

The trumpeter's flamboyant costume, a vestige of medieval livery, made him an immediately recognizable character. In the seventeenth century, the military trumpeter served with the cavalry, sounding orders on the battlefield and acting as a courier; though not an officer, he earned more money and greater respect than the average soldier.<sup>4</sup> He enjoyed diplomatic immunity and was generally not armed—the swords worn by trumpeters in paintings by Ter Borch and others were more a gentlemanly accessory than a weapon. Like the ensign or standard-bearer in civic militia companies, the trumpeter was a swashbuckling figure, the quintessential soldier-courtier. He shuttled news and messages between military and civilian worlds; he delivered ultimatums and negotiated surrenders with discretion and tact. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the trumpeter became such a pivotal figure in paintings centering on the exchange of amorous messages. The progress of love required no less a strategic battle plan than did wars waged between armies; letters carried by



this steadfast messenger helped negotiate the fragile advances and retreats of the heart's campaigns.<sup>5</sup>

Ter Borch situates his letter writer in a comfortable domestic environment, probably a well-to-do home that has been commandeered for military use. The pavilion bed in the background, with its circular frame suspended from a rafter overhead, may have been a standard domestic furnishing,<sup>6</sup> but it also has obvious visual parallels with military tents erected on the battlefield. This conceit functions not only as a reminder of the transient nature of the soldier's billet, but also as a

sly allusion to the occupying forces camped out on love's battleground.<sup>7</sup>

The model for the dark-haired officer dictating the letter to his eager young colleague was Ter Borch's pupil Caspar Netscher. Netscher was working in Ter Borch's studio from at least 1655 (the date on a signed copy of Ter Borch's *Paternal Admonition*, Schlossmuseum, Gotha) until about 1658 or early 1659, thus providing an approximate date for the present picture.

MEW

## 32 Officer Writing a Letter

c. 1658/1659, oil on canvas, 56.8 × 43.8 (21 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 18 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Philadelphia Museum of Art, The William L. Elkins Collection, 1924

With knees and feet spread wide, a young officer sits at a table covered with a garnet cloth. He wears a doublet with ribbed gilt-embroidered sleeves beneath a metal cuirass, square-toed shoes, and wide *canons* (overstockings) folded over his knees. His broad-brimmed and feather-bedecked hat rests on the table at his side. To the left, a trumpeter waits patiently, hat in his hands, dressed in his signature blue jerkin over a buff leather jacket and tall boots. His trumpet hangs at his back from a braided cord; the tip of his sword is visible at his heel. The figures' costumes are virtually identical to those worn by the young soldier and the messenger in Ter Borch's *Officer Dictating a Letter While a Trumpeter Waits* (cat. 31), as well as in other paintings by the artist with related themes.<sup>1</sup>

Tossed deliberately on the floor in the foreground of the scene is a playing card, the ace of hearts. With its implications of romantic love (see cat. 31), the card suggests that the officer is writing "from the heart"; this assumption finds sweet confirmation in the touch of red discreetly reflected in the soldier's gleaming armor, just above his heart. The recipient of the officer's heartfelt missive is almost certainly the woman shown preparing her own letter for delivery in *Woman Sealing a Letter* (cat. 33). Peter Sutton was the first to propose the two paintings as pendants exploring a romantic exchange of letters between a man and a woman.<sup>2</sup> Ter Borch produced several paintings on the theme of officers writing or reading letters during the mid-to-late 1650s (including cats. 23, 31), but this work is evidently the only one to have a pendant.

Although Sutton's proposed pairing has not found unqualified acceptance,<sup>3</sup> countless formal and thematic parallels link the present picture with its putative mate. Gudlaugsson situated both pictures within a larger

group of paintings all in a vertical format, with a simple table forming both the focal point of the composition and a unifying motif for human interaction.<sup>4</sup> Both compositions revolve around a seated and a standing figure; the palettes are neutral, with the tablecloth and the garments of the standing figure providing complementary jolts of bold primary colors. The domestic environments are quite similar (indeed the mantels and hearths in the two pictures appear identical), but individual details throughout the compositions construct a subtle contrast between the rugged, peripatetic life of the soldier and the predictable, settled calm of the feminine domestic realm. The trumpeter, for example, was a figure of action, hastening messages over great distances and performing urgent missions; as his direct counterpart in *Woman Sealing a Letter*, the maid executed small, routine errands along a route that probably varied little over the course of weeks or even years. The sleek hound sniffing at the hem of the trumpeter's jerkin is alert, wiry, and poised for a run; the lady's plump lapdog slumbers comfortably at her feet.<sup>5</sup> Furnishings in *Woman Sealing a Letter* connote cozy stability: a massive bed, a hefty silver candlestick, and a large inkstand. In *Officer Writing a Letter*, on the other hand, these same elements have a distinctly transient flavor: the round pavilion bed, with its connotations of the military tent, dangles from a single cord and writing implements consist of a small portable inkwell and pen case.<sup>6</sup> The adoption of an urban domestic interior as the setting for a military theme suggests that this is a private home that has been commandeered for the officer's use.

Ter Borch also deliberately manipulated poses and gestures to contrast an active, externally oriented masculine realm with its more self-contained feminine counterpart. The officer faces viewers directly as he writes and the trumpeter casts a sidelong glance viewers' way as he waits to be dispatched, but the woman

1. Gabriel Metsu,  
*Man Writing a Letter*,  
c. 1662–1665, oil on  
panel, National Gal-  
lery of Ireland, Dublin

2. Gabriel Metsu, *Woman  
Reading a Letter with a  
Maid*servant, c. 1662–  
1665, oil on panel,  
National Gallery of  
Ireland, Dublin



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

and her maid are turned inward toward each other: imminent communication with the outside world does not disrupt this private moment.

Because the model for the officer in this painting (as well as in the London *Officer Dictating a Letter*, cat. 31) was Ter Borch's pupil Caspar Netscher, the painting must predate Netscher's departure from Ter Borch's studio in 1658 or early 1659. It would seem,

therefore (as Sutton has proposed), that Ter Borch's pendant paintings are the first to link a man and a woman through a shared letter theme, predating Gabriel Metsu's eloquent pendants of a man writing and a woman reading a letter, which are dated to about 1662 and 1665 (figs. 1, 2).<sup>7</sup> MEW



### 33 Woman Sealing a Letter

c. 1659, oil on canvas, 56.5 × 43.8 (22 ¼ × 17 ¼)  
Private collection, New York

1. Johannes Vermeer,  
*Lady Writing a Letter  
with Her Maid*, c. 1670,  
oil on canvas, National  
Gallery of Ireland,  
Dublin

Seated at a table covered with a vibrant blue cloth, a young woman warms a stick of sealing wax in the flame of a candle, putting the final touch on the letter she has just written. On the table before her are all the necessary accoutrements of letter writing: a metal inkstand with a quill pen laid in the tray, a piece of paper, a small red book, and what appears to be a stamp or seal to mark the wax. The young writer is fashionably dressed in a lush eggplant-colored velvet *jak* trimmed with white fur, and a mouse-colored silk skirt; a white kerchief covers her hair. Her maid is more plainly clothed in a gray bodice, white chemise, and a black overskirt drawn up to reveal a bold red skirt; her close-fitting black cap is held in place by a metal armature. With metal marketing pail looped over her arm, she waits patiently to collect her mistress' letter. By placing the candle's flame at the precise center of a composition distinguished by simple geometry and the calm deliberation of its figures, Ter Borch endowed the mundane act of sealing a letter with an almost sacramental dignity.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the props in this scene appear in other paintings from the late 1650s and 1660s: the table, with the distinctively mismatched repair to one of its stretchers; the canopy bed, the hearth, the silver candlestick, the inkwell, even the spaniel sleeping devotedly by his mistress' feet.<sup>2</sup> With great sensitivity and ingenuity, Ter Borch was able to create fresh and varied environments from a rather limited repertoire of studio props: his recycling of motifs is never overt or burdensome, but instead works to enhance the "plausible fiction" of his genre compositions. He took obvious pleasure as well in rendering the specific properties of each familiar object and in exploring the interplay of textures and surfaces. The dull gleam of the marketing pail is carefully distinguished from the shimmering silver candlestick and the bright sparkle of the maid's hair wire; the plush velvet, soft fur, and lustrous silk of her mistress' garments are precisely rendered and far removed from the coarser fabric of the bed hangings,

with its knotted fringe crosshatched into the wet paint.

A particularly intriguing detail in the scene is the small red-bound book lying on the table. As Sutton has noted, the book is approximately the same size and shape as Jean Puget de la Serre's popular letter writing manual, *Le Sécretaire à la Mode*, first published in 1630 and translated into Dutch in 1651 as *De Fatsoenlicke zend-briefschryver*.<sup>3</sup> The book offered letter-writing advice and eloquent exemplars to cover nearly every conceivable social situation, with about one-fifth of the text devoted to love letters. In this section, model letters professing varying degrees of love and devotion (usually written by men) were each followed by a range of possible responses: from outright refusal to polite demurral, from coy encouragement to, in the author's words, "other more obliging answers." Ter Borch offered no hint as to what this young woman might have written on the paper now carefully folded shut, but her calm

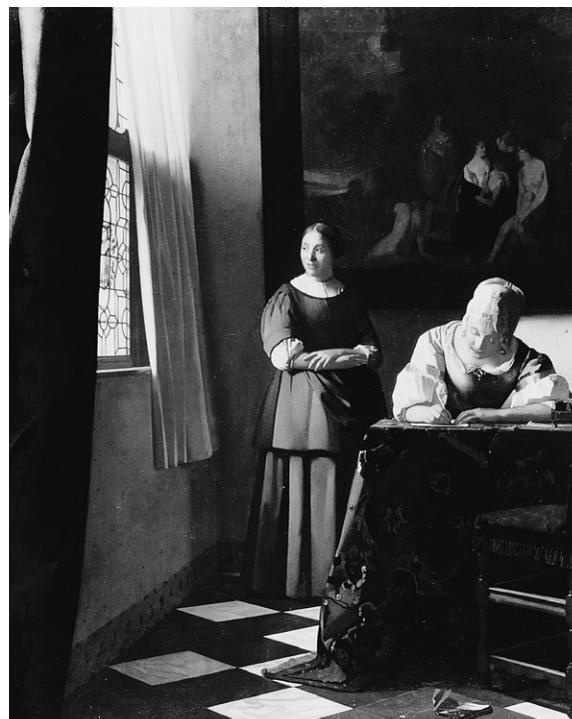


FIG. 1



demeanor suggests that she might have found a satisfactory model by consulting the manual before her.

Ter Borch's *Woman Sealing a Letter* may have inspired Johannes Vermeer's *Lady Writing a Letter with Her Maid*, painted in about 1670 (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> But small details disrupt the apparent serenity of Vermeer's scene and set it apart from Ter Borch's ceremonial, almost iconic interpretation of a kindred subject. The woman's forward-leaning pose conveys urgency and psychological intensity; on the floor in the foreground are a stick of sealing wax, a red wax seal, and a crumpled paper object that has been identified as either a letter (one received and cast aside, or a discarded draft) or a small book, perhaps a letter writing manual thrown down

in a fit of frustration.<sup>5</sup> Whichever description fits the paper on the floor, it seems clear that unlike Ter Borch's resolute protagonist, Vermeer's letter writer has not met with unalloyed success in composing her letter.

Sutton has convincingly proposed the *Woman Sealing a Letter* as the pendant to the *Officer Writing a Letter* in Philadelphia (see cat. 32).<sup>6</sup> The link between the two works had long been unrecognized, in part because the dimensions of the present painting were inaccurately recorded; it had also been erroneously attributed to Gabriel Metsu by both Smith and Hofstede de Groot.<sup>7</sup> MEW

## 34 A Lady at Her Toilet

c. 1660, oil on canvas, 76.2 × 59.7 (30 × 23 ½)

The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, Eleanor Clay Ford Fund, General Membership Fund, Endowment Income Fund and Special Activities Fund

No Dutch artist captured as did Ter Borch the elegance and grace of wealthy burghers, nor did any express with such subtlety those moments of psychological uncertainty that attend even individuals of such stature. Both of these aspects of Ter Borch's genius are combined in *A Lady at Her Toilet*, one of the artist's most refined, yet provocative masterpieces.

In this painting Ter Borch depicted an unguarded moment in the life of an elegant young woman, who stands in the midst of a sumptuous domestic interior, complete with an imposing marble fireplace. Behind her is a table covered by an ornate Oriental-style rug, on which are an oval brush box, a gilded candlestick with two snuffed-out candles, and a mirror surrounded by an elaborately carved gold frame.<sup>1</sup> As the woman's maid bends to adjust her white satin dress and a young page expectantly offers her a richly decorated ewer, probably containing perfumed water, the young woman glances absentmindedly to the side and fingers the ring on her left hand. Her expression, while difficult to read, is certainly not one of reverie or joy. It has a tinge of uncertainty, even worry, which is even more apparent in the reflected image of her face, which fills the mirror on the table.

Although her elegant, low-cut dress with blue top, white satin skirt, and shimmering golden shawl were probably meant to be worn at a special occasion, it is not certain if the woman is getting dressed or undressed, if she is preparing for the evening or reflecting upon it. For all of the image's sensual beauty, from the young woman's attractive appearance to the young page's resplendent wardrobe, questions about the quiet, understated human drama unfolding in the privacy of this woman's domestic quarters are equally compelling. Although Ter Borch conveyed the woman's emotional fragility with the subtlest of gesture and expression, he left the narrative open-ended, allowing each viewer's

imagination to become fully engaged in fulfilling the story.<sup>2</sup>

Ter Borch did not reveal the specific circumstances for the young woman's concerns, but her anxieties are those well known to anyone who has felt the pangs of uncertainty in love. The pictorial elements related to love in this work include not only the ring on the young woman's finger, but also the tentlike bed in the background (see also cat. 32). The prominently placed double candlestick would seem to have particular significance in this work. Snuffed-out candles are objects fraught with emblematic meanings in Dutch art, often suggesting the transience of worldly existence.<sup>3</sup> Much as with the mirror, another object generally associated with transience, Ter Borch would seem to have included these pictorial elements here to enlarge upon the anxieties affecting the woman's state of mind.<sup>4</sup> In emblematic literature, burning candles were equated with a true heart and conquering love (fig. 1). In this instance,

1. Pieter Cornelisz Hoof, "Van branden blincht hy" (By burning he glows), from *Emblemata Amatoria*, 1611, in *Werken* (Amsterdam, 1671), National Gallery of Art Library, Washington



FIG. 1



their snuffed-out character would seem to allude to love's passing, engendered, perhaps, by uncertainties caused by a lover's absence. Finally, not unrelated to the mood of the painting are the colors of the woman's dress. In the list of color symbols included in Gesina's poetry album in about 1659, white is equated with purity and blue with jealousy.<sup>5</sup>

As much as Ter Borch's contemporaries admired the artist's exquisite renderings of materials, they must have enjoyed pondering the human situations he depicted in such works. Unfortunately, documents yield little information about how contemporary viewers responded to the scenarios depicted in Ter Borch's genre scenes.<sup>6</sup> It is not even certain where the artist sold such works, although it would seem probable that his primary market for genre scenes was Amsterdam.<sup>7</sup>

Ter Borch apparently executed this work about the same time (c. 1660) that he was working on *Curiosity* (cat. 35) and shortly after painting *The Suitor's Visit* (cat. 30). These scenes are comparable, not only in the sensual character, but also in the accoutrements, among them the fireplace in *Curiosity* and the richly ornamented carpet on the table in *The Suitor's Visit*.<sup>8</sup> Most tellingly, Ter Borch replicated exactly in this work the white satin dress of the standing woman in *The Suitor's Visit*. While Ter Borch must have used a transfer drawing to repeat the dress' pattern, including its folds and creases, the delicacy of his brushwork creates the illusion that he painted the satin from life. AKW

## 35 Curiosity

c. 1660, oil on canvas, 76.2 × 62.2 (30 × 24 ½)

Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
The Jules Bache Collection, 1949

1. Gerard ter Borch,  
*The Letter*, c. 1661,  
oil on canvas, The  
Royal Collection,  
Her Majesty Queen  
Elizabeth II

Like the *Paternal Admonition* (cat. 27), this painting has an anecdotal title, *Curiosity*, which it probably acquired several centuries ago.<sup>1</sup> In this case, the title makes no misleading interpretative claims. It refers simply to the curiosity of the lively young lady at the back who leans over for a glimpse of the letter being written by the seated woman. The presence on the table of a second letter, with a broken seal, indicates that the writer is penning a response. Sharing the narrative interest, even dominating it, is a full-length figure in light-colored satin who stands at the left holding a handkerchief. Although her stately posture and outward turn are reminiscent of portraiture, this is no portrait, for Ter Borch's actual sitters preferred formal black (see cats. 6, 38, 43, 51). Jenneken ter Borch, the artist's half sister, quite likely modeled for the standing lady, while the "curious" woman at the back can be identified with certainty: Gesina ter Borch, another half sister whom Ter Borch used as a model in quite a number of his canvases (cats. 16, 17, 30, 35, 36).

The painting belongs to an important group of works from the 1650s and early 1660s presenting scenes of love and courtship (cats. 27, 30, 34, 36). Each of these scenes features a beautifully dressed lady of marriageable age standing in a self-contained posture and bathed in light from an unknown source.<sup>2</sup> *The Letter* (fig. 1), another prominent example, shares several further elements of content and composition with *Curiosity*, though in that case Gesina modeled for the standing lady. All the paintings in this group depict members of a highborn society accustomed to well-appointed settings. But the props Ter Borch used are as fictional as his narratives. In *Curiosity* a chandelier gleams in the darkness at the back and an elaborate fireplace frames the standing lady. In actuality, the fireplace was probably modeled on one in the Deventer town hall—in other words, in a public space. Similarly, the chandelier



FIG. 1

would more likely have hung in a church than in a domestic interior.<sup>3</sup> The standing lady's satin dress vigorously joins in the fiction, capturing the viewer with its bravura technique while deflecting attention from the act of letter writing. As the dress surely enlivens the visual impact of the composition, it also serves to complicate the central narrative.

A generation ago interpretation began with the identification of objects supposed to be laden with moral meanings. The candlestick and watch on the table signified transience; the warming stool on the



floor suggested impassioned love or perhaps comfort.<sup>4</sup> Today Ter Borch is thought to have paid relatively little attention to the moralizing significance of such elements. He conveyed his meanings primarily through delicate nuances of character, tight compositional structures, and dazzling surface treatments (the velvet table covering, the satin and soft skin of the standing lady, the writer's fur jacket, and the lacy neck covering of the third figure). His interests lay in the direction of psychology and social conduct.

While Ter Borch found a literary framework for these themes in Petrarchism, the conventional language of love in European poetry, here he seems equally alert to the actual contemporary enthusiasm for epistolary

writing.<sup>5</sup> *Curiosity* is one of several Ter Borch works showing women receiving letters from—or writing letters to—unseen males (cat. 33). Unusual in this painting, however, is the lack of a clear visual connection between the most “eligible” female and the letter being written. Ter Borch seems deliberately to have left the narrative ambiguous and open-ended, intriguing and inspiring viewers to puzzle through the possible story lines, the subtle relationships among the three women, and their contrasting psychological states.

AMK

## 36 The Introduction (An Officer Making His Bow to a Lady)

c. 1662, oil on canvas, 76 × 68 (29 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 26 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Polesden Lacey, The McEwan Collection, The National Trust

Commanding attention in this work is the striking lady in a white satin gown. She is a figure frequently encountered in Ter Borch's paintings of the 1650s and early 1660s (see cats. 16, 17, 27, 30, 34, 35), several of which show the same model wearing the same dress. Here she poses with her arms delicately arching outward. Her form, brightly lit from the front, makes an elegant silhouette against the darker background. An officer clad in a gleaming ceremonial breastplate and spurs approaches her with a bow of greeting. Although the lady allows him to touch her hand, her upright posture and averted gaze express a cool reserve. At the left, behind the lady, a lutenist accompanies a singer who appears to be momentarily distracted by the visitor. Also in the background, leaning over a chair, an older woman turns her hood-enshrouded head to get a better look at the officer. The narrative is played out in a well-appointed interior, rendered warm by the ruddy tones of the striped wall hanging at the rear, the red velvet of the chair at the right, and the glowing wood of the lute.

Gudlaugsson interpreted this scene as a pair engaged in dancing.<sup>1</sup> Implicitly, he thus connected it to the Netherlandish pictorial tradition of dancing figures—peasants or aristocrats—extending back to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century moralizing prints. In the first half of the seventeenth century, artists such as David Vinckboons, Frans and Dirck Hals, and Pieter Codde developed the tradition further in their merry company paintings and prints, which feature couples accompanied by musicians either in gardens of love or in interiors (see Kettering essay, fig. 5). These painters devised a specific vocabulary of gestures and features of dress to indicate dance movements—for example, the upward sweep of a lady's skirt or the exaggerated stance of a gentleman executing a particular step.<sup>2</sup> The actions of this Ter Borch pair, however, resemble such gestures far less than they resemble those of ceremonial

greeting, a figural motif seen in contemporary courtship images. In her poetry album of the early 1650s, Gesina ter Borch (the model here) included a number of vignettes derived from songbook illustrations in which suitors bow or kneel before their ladyloves (figs. 1, 2). The Petrarchan content of such songs and poems might well provide a clue to the Polesden Lacey work: an aloof and controlled beauty is approached by an ever-so-slightly obsequious suitor.<sup>3</sup>

Yet the scene is infused with a subtle hint of apprehension. Strategically positioned between the officer and the young lady, the older woman at the back seems to exhibit some concern about their meeting. One cause for her wariness could be the gentleman's military status. In seventeenth-century art and literature, soldiers, even officers, enjoyed an equivocal reputation.<sup>4</sup> Although this officer's manners and body language separate him from the typical soldier in contemporary Dutch art—including those in Ter Borch's own tavern paintings (see Kettering essay, fig. 7)—he does bring

1. Gesina ter Borch, *Gentleman Bowing to Kiss a Lady's Hand*, 1656, brush in black and various colors, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (poetry album, fol. 97r)



FIG. 1



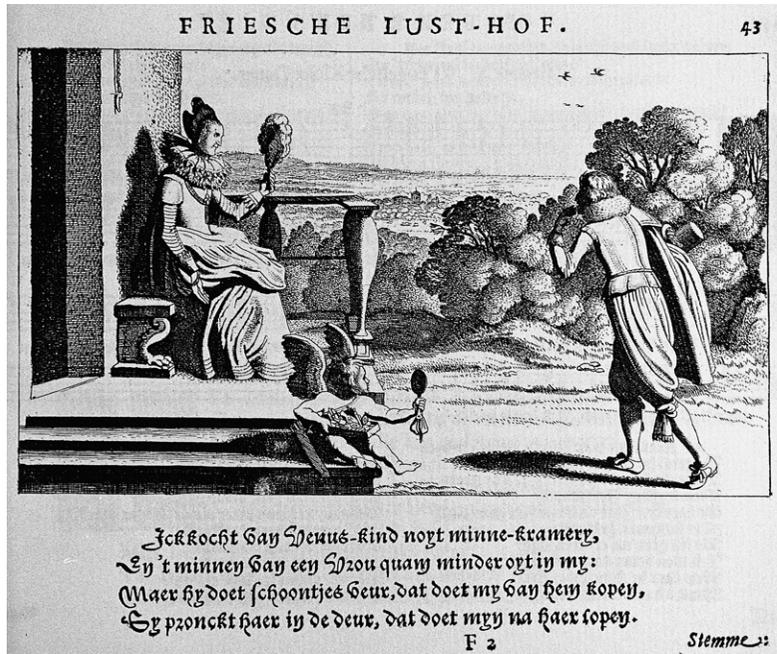


FIG. 2

armor and spurs into a world of music and satin. Viewers might very well have enjoyed the element of risk that this glamorous officer inserts into the refined environment. Some might even have responded to the ways Ter Borch's discreet high-life interior deviated from (yet subtly invoked) earlier merry companies in the Prodigal Son tradition, with their conventional old lady procuresses among the music makers. AMK

2. Jan van de Velde,  
 Gentleman Greeting a  
 Lady, from Jan Jansz  
 Starter, *Friesche Lusthof*  
 (Amsterdam, 1621)

## 37 Portrait of a Young Man

c. 1663, oil on canvas, 67.3 × 54.3 (26 ½ × 21 ¾)  
The National Gallery, London

This young man's voluminous silhouette—with bulky garments completely masking the forms of his body—represents the very height of French-inspired fashion in the first half of the 1660s. Beneath a full, short cloak he wears an abbreviated doublet, called an *innocent* (with the deliberate connotation of “simpleton”), on account of its rather foolish appearance.<sup>1</sup> Partly unbuttoned, it ends well above the waist to reveal a blousy chemise. His wide petticoat breeches, known as *rhinegraves*, are trimmed at the hem with ribbon loops, bands of ribbon or lace, and ruffles, and at the waist with a small apron of ribbon loops. Below his breeches, the man wears wide *canons* (overstockings), gathered in with garters just below his knees to create a deep ruffle. Still more ribbons generously adorn both his square-toed shoes and his tall, conical hat (not to mention his sleeves). Lying lightly over his shoulders is a falling band trimmed with a gossamer lace border. Ter Borch enlivened this expanse of black garments with glittering accents (note the gleaming shoes) and with his characteristic talent for rendering the properties of each bit of fabric, ribbon, and lace.

The astonishing display of masculine finery contained in this modestly scaled portrait utterly and irrevocably refutes the commonly held notion that the black garments so prevalent in seventeenth-century Dutch portraits were a reflection of protestant sobriety.<sup>2</sup> In the seventeenth century, black costume was the preferred formal dress of the court and nobility in the United Provinces and throughout fashionable Europe; although the color was muted, fabrics were sumptuous and the trimmings, lavish. In contemporary portraiture, black costume was viewed not only as a sign of the subject's wealth and social status, but the image itself took on some of the formal, ceremonial qualities associated with the garments.<sup>3</sup>

Fixing the viewer with his direct gaze, the man in this portrait strikes a commanding pose; the effect is heightened by an understated setting that might almost

be termed deferential. Yet to modern eyes, the extraordinary specificity of his fashionable costume (clearly a source of considerable pride for the wearer) detracts from the formality of the portrait by locating it within a very narrowly defined time and place.<sup>4</sup> Ensuring the viability of a painted portrait for future generations was and is of paramount concern to the portrait painter. To circumvent the possibility that the vagaries of passing fashion would make the subject appear ludicrous a decade hence, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theorists strongly advocated the use of pastoral, historical, or “Roman” dress in portraiture, or at the very least “mixing the Fashion with what is Painter-like.”<sup>5</sup> This trend is epitomized by the romantic “undress” made popular in portraits by Anthony van Dyck and swiftly adopted by portrait painters across Europe.

For all of its virtues, the notion of “timeless” costume in portraiture did not find universal favor. An English traveler writing at the close of the century commented, “I appeal whether it is not better and much more pleasing to see the old fashion of a dead friend, or relation, or a man of distinction, painted as he was, than a foppish nightgown, and odd quoiffure, which never belonged to the person painted.”<sup>6</sup> The more accurate the record of external appearance, the more effectively *like* the portrait was. Although the identity of this man is not known, Ter Borch's meticulously painted record vividly conveys an individual personality. The basic format (full-length, near frontal, in an understated setting) and his dignified bearing suggest that he was a member of Deventer's elite ruling class. But his wonderfully over-the-top costume adds an unexpected fillip to the sober black and white that was virtually *de rigueur* in formal portraits, indicating, perhaps, a man just a bit more flamboyant, extravagant, or vain than his moderate, eminently proper neighbors (compare cat. 42). No less extraordinary clothing was affected by the woman, presumably the man's wife, depicted in the pendant (cat. 38). MEW



## 38 Portrait of a Young Woman

c. 1663, oil on canvas, 63.3 × 52.7 (24 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 20 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
The Cleveland Museum of Art, The Elisabeth Severance  
Prentiss Collection

1. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Catrina Leunink*, c. 1662–  
1663, oil on canvas,  
The State Hermitage  
Museum, Saint  
Petersburg

The young woman immortalized in this portrait is sumptuously clad in the most elaborate feminine attire Ter Borch ever depicted. Although her identity has unfortunately been lost, she was very likely a member of one of Deventer's wealthy regent families. Her black satin dress is trimmed with wide bands of black lace; the skirt is gathered up at the right side and draped over her arm to reveal an underskirt of white satin trimmed with bands of silver embroidery. Her rigidly structured bodice, designed to elegantly elongate the torso by lengthening the waistline and pushing the breasts high, was the height of fashion during the 1660s. In addition to whalebone stays, a thin piece of ivory, wood, or iron, called a busk or *planchette*,<sup>1</sup> was often inserted to keep the front portion of the bodice (the stomacher) completely rigid. The stomacher depicted here is unusually decorative, densely worked with loops of silver ribbon. The sleeves of the subject's bodice are trimmed with silver ribbon at shoulder and cuff, and slit to reveal the full sleeves of her chemise. A sheer kerchief, folded around her shoulders, is trimmed with a deep lace border. Her hair is arranged in ringlets over her ears, beneath bows of gauzy ribbon. She wears jet earrings and a matching brooch, a pearl necklace, and rings on each of her pinkies.

Ter Borch astutely tempered this extravagant sartorial display by restricting the palette to near monochrome (black and white with silver accents) and adopting the understated setting common to virtually all the portraits painted during his Deventer period (compare cats. 42, 43). A red velvet armchair and a table covered by a velvet cloth edged in gold fringe are the only furnishings in the otherwise neutral, unarticulated space; the simple forms balance, rather than compete with, the decorative figure.

For all of its exceptional detail, the painting shares its basic compositional format with a number of other portraits of young women Ter Borch painted during the early-to-mid 1660s. In each of these works, the subject

is depicted at full length and turned three-quarters to the left, dressed in a black gown over a light-colored underskirt, with a sheer lace-trimmed kerchief; her left hand is curled into the folds of her skirt and her right holds either a fold of fabric or a fan. Gudlaugsson proposed *Catrina Leunink*, which he dated to about 1662 or 1663, as the first in this series (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Leunink (1635–1680) was the wife of Jan van Suchtelen, a burgomaster in Deventer. Other closely related compositions include Ter Borch's portrait of Maria Wedeus van Suchtelen (1641/1642–1730), the wife of Jan's younger brother Gerhard van Suchtelen, painted in about 1666 (fig. 2);<sup>3</sup> and his portrait of Freda Quadacker, wife of Gosewijn Hogers, professor of history and rhetoric at the Deventer Athenaeum, painted from about 1664 to 1665.<sup>4</sup> Although the women's garments vary in degree of elaboration



FIG. 1



2. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Maria Wedeus van  
Suchtelen*, c. 1666, oil  
on canvas, Corcoran  
Gallery of Art, Wash-  
ington, D.C., William  
A. Clark Collection

and the settings range from the starkly cavernous (Leunink) to the fairly elaborate (Wedeus), as a group the likenesses admirably convey the homogeneous “image” of well-bred prosperity and virtuous modesty so desired by Deventer’s elite (see cats. 42, 43).<sup>5</sup>

Despite a discrepancy in dimensions (about 4 centimeters in height and 1.5 centimeters in width), this painting is almost certainly the pendant to the *Portrait of a Young Man* in the National Gallery, London (cat. 37). The relative placement of the figure within the space indicates that the Cleveland canvas has probably been reduced at the top. Gudlaugsson, based on his analysis of the subjects’ costumes, suggested that the *Portrait of a Young Woman* may have been painted somewhat later than its pendant.<sup>6</sup> MEW



FIG. 2

## 39 Glass of Lemonade

c. 1663/1664, oil on canvas, 67.2 × 54 (26 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 21 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

## 40 Glass of Lemonade

Attributed to Gerard ter Borch  
c. 1664, oil on canvas, 67 × 54 (26 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 21 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Collection Pieter C.W.M. Dreesmann, London

In this quietly seductive scene, two young lovers raptly gaze into each other's eyes with expressions filled with longing and desire while an older woman, resting her hand on the girl's shoulder, hovers protectively over them. Together the girl and her male admirer hold a glass of lemonade, she by its stem and he by cupping his hand under it in such a manner that he is also able to touch her little finger. With his other hand he gently stirs the lemon rind through the liquid, spreading its tangy flavor through the water and releasing its sweet and pleasant odor into the air between them. Adding to the sensual imagery is the background bedstead, whose partially opened curtains reveal an unmade bed.

This highly charged image has generally been viewed as a bordello scene, one that falls within the tradition of procuress scenes that flourished in Dutch art during the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Ter Borch may well have played upon that tradition when conceiving this work, for the juxtaposition of the older woman with the couple is entirely consistent with the compositional arrangements favored by artists like Dirck van Baburen in the 1620s (fig. 1). Nevertheless, this image is entirely different in character from such procuress scenes: it has a gentleness and a mutual yearning in the figures' expressions that suggest Ter Borch built this work upon another premise.

The young man's act of stirring a lemon rind in a glass filled with liquid is unique in Dutch art, although orange or lemon rinds draped over a glass of white wine are occasionally found in Dutch still-life paintings. Not only did artists delight in contrasting the differing textures, but lemons were also used to sweeten and temper wine.<sup>2</sup> In this respect they often served symbolically to indicate the importance of temperance in the conduct

of human affairs. Lemons, however, also had medicinal qualities that were widely recognized, and it is this aspect of the fruit that underlies Ter Borch's pictorial concerns. One seventeenth-century book on gardening recounts the virtues of oranges and lemons, "known to most people by experience," as being "good to warm a cold Stomach, to resist all Foulnesses, to help stiffened Sinews, to dispel Aguish Colds, and to cure the Scurvy."<sup>3</sup> More specifically, lemons were seen as an effective dietary cure for lovesickness, both male and female. Lemon slices or partially peeled lemons appear in numerous depictions of lovesick maidens, who are gen-

1. Dirck van Baburen, *The Procuress*, 1622, oil on canvas, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, M. Theresa B. Hopkins Fund



FIG. 1





2. Jan Steen, *Lovesickness*,  
c. 1660, oil on canvas,  
Alte Pinakothek,  
Munich

3. A. Romanets after  
Gerard ter Borch,  
*A Glass of Lemonade*,  
from Basan 1771



FIG. 2

erally seen languishing in a room, often seated before a bed and attended by her nurse and a doctor.<sup>4</sup> In one such painting the lover, the cause of the young woman's misery, is seen arriving at the door (fig. 2). The young woman's joy at being near her beloved is further suggested by the yellow fur-lined jacket she wears; yellow, according to Gesina's list of color symbols, represented gladness or joy.<sup>5</sup>

Ter Borch's composition, while unique in bringing the two lovers together, belongs entirely to the tradition of the lovesick maiden. Although the girl sits erectly, she is carefully supported by her caring nurse as she gazes into her lover's eyes.<sup>6</sup> Her pale complexion, which Ter Borch accentuated by contrasting it with the black



FIG. 3

veil tied around her head, conveys her weak state, as does her need to steady her right arm with her left hand.<sup>7</sup> Her cure, however, will come less from the lemon concoction she is about to drink than from the presence of the young gallant, whose tender gaze Ter Borch subtly emphasized in the play of light and dark modeling his face.

The actors in this domestic drama were well known to Ter Borch, who, to judge from the style of the costumes, must have painted this work in the early-to-mid 1660s.<sup>8</sup> The young girl is his half sister Gesina, who frequently modeled for his paintings, and the young gallant is Moses, his half brother (see cat. 28).<sup>9</sup> The old woman, recognizable from drawings by Moses, may depict Wiesken Matthys, the mother of both Gesina and Moses.<sup>10</sup>

The Hermitage painting was expanded at an early date, in any event probably before it entered the Hasellaer collection. Its measurements at the sale of this collection in 1742 were 81.7 by 72 centimeters.<sup>11</sup> The painting was engraved by A. Romanets (fig. 3) before the additions were removed when the painting was in the duc de Choiseul collection at the end of the eighteenth century. Remnants of the painted additions are still found on the original support, including the chair in the lower left and the monkey's ball and chain in the lower right.

A second version of the *Glass of Lemonade* (cat. 40) not only preserves the original composition, but also reveals that the Hermitage painting was cut at the left when the additions were removed. Beyond confirming the original appearance of the Hermitage painting, however, the extremely high quality of this second version raises fascinating questions about workshop practice. It is evident that Ter Borch, utilizing methods taught by his father, replicated specific motifs, such as satin dresses, from one composition to another (see cats. 30, 34 and 47, 48). Did he also paint exact replicas of entire compositions? And did he approach compositional replicas as he approached replicas of specific motifs (painting them himself) or did he have members of his workshop execute them? No documentation survives to provide guidance in this matter; therefore, judgments must be made primarily through stylistic comparisons.

Gudlaugsson attributed only a few of the many extant compositional replicas of Ter Borch's paintings to the master, even though many of them are quite good. With the exception of Caspar Netscher (who studied with Ter Borch from about 1654 to 1658 or 1659),

it is difficult to imagine that the artists who reputedly studied with the master in Deventer—among them, Pieter van Anraadt and Roelof Koets—would have been capable of successfully emulating his style.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the explanation for the high quality of some of the copies of Ter Borch's paintings lies within the workings of the art market. If Ter Borch sold his genre paintings through art dealers in Amsterdam, as seems quite likely, it is possible that those very dealers hired trained artists to make replicas for an interested clientele. For example, Eglon van der Neer and Michiel van Musscher could well have made their copies of Ter Borch's paintings in such a fashion.<sup>13</sup>

If any second version were to be considered an "authentic" replica by the master, this one would surely qualify. The painting exhibits no indication of another artist's intervention, whether conscious or unconscious. While the handling of paint is slightly smoother than in the Hermitage version, and certain forms, such as the man's right cuff, are somewhat simplified, the expressions of the faces, the subtle nuances of brushwork in the young woman's satin dress, and the chiaroscuro effects modeling the figures are comparable. Small changes in composition are also evident in a number of areas. Hopefully, by including this work in the exhibition, in the context of the Hermitage painting and other similar compositions from the 1660s, a fuller determination of the attribution of this version can be made, which, in turn, may help answer questions about comparable versions of Ter Borch's paintings. AKW

## 41 Lady Drinking While Holding a Letter

c. 1665, oil on canvas, 38.3 × 34 (15 1/16 × 13 3/8)  
Sinebrychoff Art Museum, Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki

1. Gerard ter Borch,  
*A Girl in a Country  
Costume*, c. 1650, oil on  
panel, Rijksmuseum,  
Amsterdam

In a quiet corner of a room set off by a blue folding screen, an elegantly dressed young woman sips a glass of wine while holding the letter she has just read in her other hand. The message could not have been positive, for her wistful, distant expression is that of a young woman beset by the uncertainties and disappointments of love. In hopes that some good wine would brighten her spirits and drive away melancholy, as promised in an old drinking song often sung by *rederijkers*, she has filled her glass with wine from the earthenware pitcher on the table.<sup>1</sup> In her solitude, however, the effort seems misguided; also worrisome is her ability to drink in the moderate levels that that very song recommends. Gesina ter Borch, the model for the woman portrayed in this painting, knew this song well, for in the early-to-mid 1650s she transcribed it in her poetry album, adding below it a two-line poem of her own, based on Ecclesiastes: “Pure sweet wine refreshes the human heart / when it is tastily enjoyed in moderation.”<sup>2</sup>

The sentiments seem so real in this painting that it is tempting to see this work as a reflection of personal experiences encountered in the Ter Borch family, particularly by Gesina. In the late 1650s and early 1660s Gesina had a close, loving relationship with Henrik Jordis, an Amsterdam merchant and amateur poet. This relationship apparently ended about 1662. Although nothing is known about the reasons for their change in circumstances, moments such as the one depicted in this painting might well have occurred and been painfully remembered.

Letters were extremely valued in seventeenth-century Dutch society, largely because communication with distant loved ones was almost exclusively conveyed through such means. While women and men of all ages must have received all manner of mail, Dutch artists focused their concerns on young women’s reactions to love letters. Ter Borch, in particular, delighted



FIG. 1

in portraying either a woman’s air of expectation at the arrival of a letter or her subsequent reaction to the written word. For example, in his portrayal of a young peasant girl reflecting on the contents of a letter (fig. 1), the emotional consequences are evident in the figure’s dejected posture and expression. A far more positive response to a letter is found in *A Lady Reading a Letter* (fig. 2), where Gesina, as model, eagerly pores over the words in the note she holds in her two hands. While her emotional reaction to the letter is entirely different than that in *Lady Drinking While Holding a Letter*, she sits in front of an identical room screen at a table partially covered by the same carpet.



2. Gerard ter Borch,  
*A Lady Reading a Letter*,  
c. 1662, oil on canvas,  
Wallace Collection,  
London

3. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Woman Drinking Wine  
with a Sleeping Soldier*,  
c. 1658–1659, oil on  
canvas, Private  
collection



FIG. 2

During the eighteenth century *Lady Drinking While Holding a Letter* was considered to be a pendant to *Woman Drinking Wine with a Sleeping Soldier* (fig. 3), a work of identical dimensions that depicts a similarly attired woman imbibing from a glass of wine.<sup>3</sup> In the latter instance, however, the cause of her desire to refresh her heart with savory wine was not a disappointing letter but the ineffectual performance of her soldier companion, who has fallen asleep from the intoxicating effects of tobacco. Whether Ter Borch

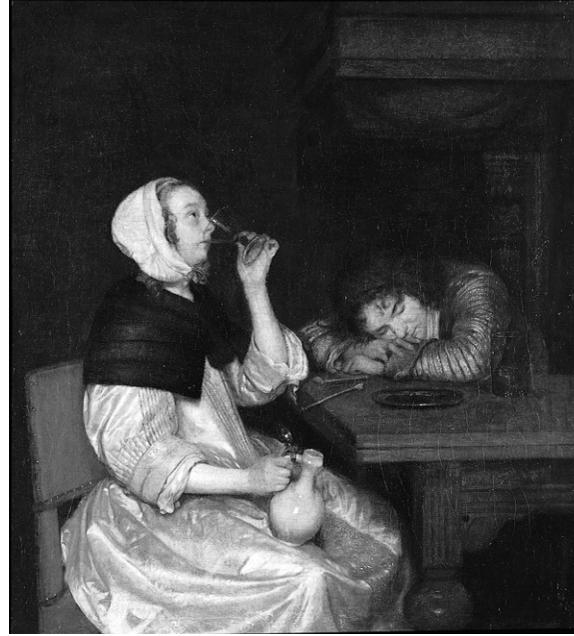


FIG. 3

intended the paintings as pendants, or whether they were joined together by a later collector has been a matter of some dispute, in part because the paintings appear to date some years apart.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the paintings' compositional, thematic, and stylistic connections make a pairing by Ter Borch most plausible.

AKW



## 4.2 Jan van Duren

c. 1666/1667, oil on canvas, 81.5 × 65.5 (32 1/16 × 25 13/16)

Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975

1. *The Town Council of Deventer* (detail of Jan van Duren in cat. 44)

A member of the regent class of Deventer, Jan van Duren (1613–1687) was exactly the sort of patron who found Ter Borch's novel approach to portraiture appealing. Van Duren entered public service early. From 1638 to 1643 he represented his local ward, the Waterstraat, on the town's *gezworen gemeente* (common council; literally, sworn community). In 1644, Van Duren's position in the ruling oligarchy was strengthened by his election to a far more elevated administrative body, the town council (*magistraat*), on which he served until 1673.<sup>1</sup> In fact, his likeness in the portrait here is repeated in Ter Borch's 1667 *Town Council of Deventer* (fig. 1). The council consisted of twelve *schepenen* (aldermen) and four *raden* (legal advisors or judges), assisted by four secretaries. Because of his seniority on the council, Van Duren sits in a privileged position at the back, just to the right of the central section of paneling, directly next to the presiding burgo-masters.<sup>2</sup> Whether Van Duren divided his time between his administrative duties and a profession or occupation is not known, though some members of the Deventer patriciate did continue with mercantile activities.<sup>3</sup> More certain is that he belonged to a group whose firm grip on power only increased throughout the century. Many members were Ter Borch's clients for single-figure portraits.<sup>4</sup>



FIG. 1

Ter Borch developed a market for this portrait type soon after his move to Deventer in 1654. About sixty examples have survived, all probably produced for local viewing (see cats. 37, 38). These small-scale renderings of subjects standing full length amid spare settings differ markedly from the portraits by his contemporaries in the western cities. In Holland, artists such as Bartholomeus van der Helst executed robust, life-size, half-length works, while Nicolaes Maes and others favored a graceful, Van Dyckian manner. The stately formality of Ter Borch's Deventer portraits also differs from the relatively lively pictorial language of his own earlier portraiture (for example, cats. 5, 6). In his depiction of Van Duren, Ter Borch allows the subject—or the subject allows himself—ribbons on his shoes, on his petticoat breeches, and on his hat.<sup>5</sup> The fine textures of his doublet and breeches contrast with his cape's velvet lining. But Ter Borch tempered such luxury by numerous formal devices. Van Duren stands in quiet dignity, self-contained. The contours of his form are closed and set against an unarticulated background. The monochrome tonality of the picture is disturbed only by his white collar and cuffs, his brown leather soles, and the muted red of the tablecloth. Here, as in all the Deventer portraits, Ter Borch left no doubt as to the subject's status. The full-length format connotes aristocracy; the rich attire denotes wealth. But the size of the image and the restraint, even severity, of the treatment seem perfectly calibrated to suggest republican virtue and civic modesty—the ideology of this citizen elite.

A striking uniformity extended across this group of sixty or more works, allowing Deventer viewers to recognize an affiliation among this elite caste not only in the repetition of formal elements from one portrait to the next but also in the very fact of posing for Ter Borch. In a time of factional strife and declining civic prosperity, Ter Borch showed the leading figures of Deventer as they most wished to be seen: wealthy, confident, virtuous as individuals and unified as a class. AMK

## 43 Margaretha van Haexbergen, Wife of Jan van Duren

c. 1666/1667, oil on canvas, 81.3 × 65.1 (32 × 25 5/8)  
Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975

Although many of Ter Borch's images of male regents very likely hung alone, many others were paired with images of their wives. These full-length female portraits, matching the males in scale and sobriety, confirm the impression that Ter Borch produced a serial group portrait of an entire caste. Intermarriage was one of the principal means by which the Deventer regent families held on to power. The wedding on 23 July 1637 of Jan van Duren and Margaretha van Haexbergen (1614–1676) was typical in this respect. Margaretha was the daughter of Hendrik van Haexbergen, a secretary of Deventer's town council, and Eva Nilant, another member of a prominent local family. Some thirty years later the couple sat for Ter Borch, who was related by marriage to Margaretha's sister. The Van Durens produced at least one child, Damiaan (born 1651). He inherited this pair of portraits from his parents.<sup>1</sup>

Ter Borch presented Margaretha, who was about fifty-three years old when she posed for him, as a stolid member of society. Although she stands beside a red velvet chair with plenty of gold braid, Margaretha herself is dressed even more sedately than her husband. Her only decoration consists of the black braid on her dress, her white double collar and cuffs, and her jewelry. Such matronly restraint contrasts with the elegance allowed a much younger regent lady, Gertruid Marienburgh, who was still in her late teens when she (and her husband) posed for the artist a few years before (figs. 1, 2).<sup>2</sup> For Marienburgh, Ter Borch included up-to-date costume accessories appropriate only for a younger woman: a shimmering, embroidered satin underskirt, flounced sleeves, and a fancy lowered collar that set off her neck and flowing hair (see also cat. 38). Nevertheless, Ter Borch used the same general portrait for-



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

mula for both Marienburgh and Haexbergen, portraying them with identical body language and even the same chair.

Van Duren and his wife very likely ordered elaborately carved wooden frames for their portraits. This supposition is based on the frames still extant for the Marienburgh pendants, attributed to the local Deventer sculptor Derck Daniels.<sup>3</sup> (Daniels also executed the frame for *The Town Council of Deventer*, cat. 44.) Framed in this way, the Deventer portraits would have presented their restrained pictorial rhetoric inside an extravagantly showy encasement. Might that have been another means of reconciling the sitters' middle-class sensibility with their wealth and status? AMK

1. Gerard ter Borch, Willem Marienburgh, c. 1663–1664, oil on canvas, National Gallery, Prague

2. Gerard ter Borch, Gertruid Marienburgh, c. 1663–1664, oil on canvas, National Gallery, Prague





## 4.4 The Town Council of Deventer

1667, oil on canvas, 186.2 × 248 (73 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 97 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Town Hall, City of Deventer

Nearly twenty years separate Ter Borch's first group portrait, the 1648 *Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster* (cat. 13), from his second and last, *The Town Council of Deventer* of 1667. Again his subject was highly unusual—a representation of a municipal council. Seventeenth-century Dutch artists painted many group portraits, especially militia companies and regents of trade and charitable organizations, but rarely did they portray civic governing bodies.<sup>1</sup> Ter Borch's painting here includes the sixteen councilors who constituted the Deventer *magistraat* sitting in a dignified row along three walls of their council chamber. Seven sit to the left, seven to the right of the two chairmen (the councilors with the greatest seniority), who are positioned behind a raised table in the center.<sup>2</sup> In the foreground, four secretaries gather around another table; one of the secretaries stands, having removed his hat, and hands the chairmen an official document.<sup>3</sup> The names of all the individuals serving in 1667 are known. Several had earlier posed for individual portraits by Ter Borch (see cat. 42).<sup>4</sup>

This commission likely was connected with the renovation of the municipal complex during the 1650s and 1660s, when Deventer enjoyed a temporary period of revitalization. In 1662, the well-known Amsterdam architect Philips Vingboons redesigned the wing adjoining the principal town hall building, and in 1665 new paneling, the work of the gifted local woodcarver Derck Daniels, was installed in the main building's council chamber. While Ter Borch portrayed the *magistraat* in their own chamber, the finished work actually hung above the fireplace in the Great Hall of the Vingboons wing, where the forty-eight members of the *gezworen gemeente* (common council) met several times each year.<sup>5</sup> Ter Borch was himself appointed to this lower, advisory body (see cat. 45) the year before he executed the upper body's group portrait. Perhaps his image of the *magistraat*, hung prominently in the common

council's meeting hall, served to remind them all of where the real power lay.<sup>6</sup>

Despite depicting the town council in their renovated chamber, Ter Borch's rendering puts little emphasis upon Daniels' new paneling. The background is mostly muted and its details left sketchy, offering minimal distraction from the twenty portrait heads.<sup>7</sup> Ter Borch took other liberties as well, linked both with the painting's eventual placement and with the *magistraat's* political ideology. He flattened the space of the room, eliminated the windows along the northeast wall, and directed the light unnaturalistically from the front (as he did in most of his genre paintings). The councilors form a long horizontal frieze, which the two senior members and the four secretaries counter with a strong central axis. This strictly symmetrical construction conformed to the way great national assemblies were sometimes rendered in historical prints.<sup>8</sup> Centered on the wall behind the figures, a *Last Judgment* is flanked by two boards on which medieval executioners' swords are mounted, signifying the *magistraat's* function as a judiciary as well as a legislature. The *Town Council* betrays no hint of the political divisions that were rampant within the group.<sup>9</sup> On the contrary, the tight unity of the figural ensemble suggests a council utterly united in purpose. And the solemnity, old-fashioned hieraticism, and high artificiality of the image suggest the political legitimacy, indeed the moral rightness, of this formidable company of men.

The custom-made frame by Derck Daniels amplifies the already impressive physical dimensions of the work and adds to its meaning (fig. 1). An Eye of Justice crowns the frame, bracketed by measuring sticks around which curl symmetrical cornucopias. Vegetation and manufactured objects spill out to either side—symbols of plenty and prosperity, but also of



1. Derck Daniels, details  
of frame, from top and  
left side



FIG. 1, TOP

punishment. Particularly graphic are the scourge, manacle, handcuffs, and padlock, together connoting the strict justice required for freedom and peace to prevail.<sup>10</sup> While Daniels' interweaving of emblematic and other symbolic motifs differs strikingly from Ter Borch's pictorial language, painting and frame present a unified message about the policies, values, and responsibilities of the council.

If the considerable sum Ter Borch received for this work is any indication of the sitters' response, they held the painting in high regard.<sup>11</sup> It has continued to hang in a prominent position in the civic complex down to this day. But a little over a decade after its completion, smoke from the Great Hall fireplace caused so much damage that the aged Ter Borch was hired to repair it. At that time, he replaced the darkened strip that runs along the bottom of the canvas.<sup>12</sup> The painting suffered further damage in later centuries, notably in the relining process and subsequent retouching.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the treatment undertaken in 2003 and 2004 shows that much more of the original painting has survived intact, especially in still-life details and the all-important faces of the councilors. AMK



FIG. 1, LEFT

## 45 Self-Portrait

c. 1668, oil on canvas, 62.7 × 43.7 (24 11/16 × 17 3/16)  
Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague

Ter Borch's oeuvre contains three self-portraits. At the beginning of his career, he inserted himself into the crowd of witnesses at the left in *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster* (fig. 1). Late in life, he painted a small self-portrait on copper (fig. 2), consistent with his long interest in portrait miniatures (see cats. 8–12).<sup>1</sup> And at the height of his powers, in about 1668, he created this impressive *Self-Portrait*, one of the few standing self-portraits executed by any seventeenth-century Dutch artist. Indeed, this image carries no overt reference to Ter Borch's vocation. It suggests instead his strong identification with the Deventer elite, for the work corresponds closely with the portraits he executed for his patrician clientele in the 1650s and 1660s (cats. 37, 38, 42, 43). In addition to its full-length format and small size, it shares with them the same formality, reticence, and representational scheme: a single figure poses in a spare setting under even light.

Like his patrician sitters, Ter Borch stands composed and aloof, sober of countenance. His image dif-

fers from those of the Deventer patricians mainly in the way his cloak shrouds most features of his physical form and hides most elements of his attire. His arms held akimbo underneath the cloak force it outward on both sides. Its length covers his breeches entirely.<sup>2</sup> The plainness of the resulting shape compensates for the expressions of fashion he did permit himself—exuberant ribbons garnish his stylishly pointed shoes; an elaborately worked, bib-fronted band of lace decorates his neck. (X-rays indicate that he probably painted this fancy lace over an earlier, unadorned collar. At about the same time, circa 1670, he seems to have removed a hat and added fullness to the wig.) Rather marvelously, Ter Borch here created an image that managed to undercut his status as an artist by completely hiding his hands. Yet, he succeeded in making his claim to patrician status precisely on the basis of its similarities with his contemporary artistic work.

Ter Borch's appointment to the *gezworen gemeente* (common council), forty-eight prominent men of Deventer who advised the town council, may have stim-

1. *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster* (detail of cat. 13)

2. Gerard ter Borch, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1676, oil on copper, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



ulated him to execute this stately self-portrait. In 1666 he joined the body as the representative of the Engestraat ward. Two years later he was officially granted full citizenship. Certainly this painting signaled Ter Borch's integration into the Deventer regent class. And, like so many Deventer regents, he wanted his portrait to be accompanied by a pendant of his wife. Accordingly he produced a full-length representation of Geertruyt Matthys in the same dimensions as his self-portrait. It was probably executed in the same year and likewise presented a single, standing figure. Ter Borch showed his wife carrying a fan, a familiar attribute in

his portraits of other Deventer women of the regent class.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately one of the early owners of both paintings—Johan van der Marck, who specialized in collecting portraits of artists—not only cut down Ter Borch's portrait on four sides but also decided to sell the image of the artist's wife, which is now lost. When the two pendants were new and whole, however, they would have looked like nothing less than the latest additions to Ter Borch's "serial group portrait" of the Deventer elite. And so they were. AMK

## 46 Posthumous Portrait of Moses ter Borch

Gerard ter Borch and Gesina ter Borch  
c. 1668, oil on canvas, 77.5 × 58.5 (30 1/2 × 23 1/16)  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

1. Gesina ter Borch,  
*Moses on the Beach near  
Harwich*, late 1660s,  
brush in black and  
various colors, Rijks-  
prentenkabinet,  
Amsterdam, (scrap-  
book, fol. 83r)

Gerard painted this work jointly with his half sister Gesina. It is their only known collaboration and her only extant work in oil. Documents indicate that Gesina received some training in oil painting, probably from Gerard.<sup>1</sup> But she devoted most of her time to watercolor, the medium she used for illustrating books, including her *kunstboek* (scrapbook). The latter contains a section devoted to the memory of her brother Moses—Gerard’s half brother—who died in battle off the coast of England.<sup>2</sup> Although Moses had shown great talent as a draftsman in his youth, he volunteered for the Dutch navy in about 1664 and joined the fight against the English in the Second English-Dutch War.<sup>3</sup> In the summer of 1667 he took part in an attack on a fort near Harwich, an operation that proved successful except for the loss of a few men, Moses among them. One of Gesina’s watercolors for her scrapbook shows her brother on the beach near Harwich, surrounded by references to his passing (fig. 1). The date inscribed at the lower right indicates Moses’ death rather than the year of execution.

The *Posthumous Portrait of Moses ter Borch* in oil steps right off the page of Gesina’s scrapbook. Moses is dressed identically: long buff coat tied with a silk sash,

wide bandolier slung over one shoulder, aristocratic walking stick, lace cravat, and full, flounced, ribbon-decorated sleeves. His stiff posture is softened only slightly by the placement of one slender leg in front of the other. Both in the watercolor and in the oil painting, the figure conforms to standards of dignified, gentlemanly decorum while it still exhibits the virility appropriate to a military man. If such features show Gesina’s hand in this collaboration, others can be attributed to Gerard. The format—an upright, cabinet-sized portrayal of a full-length standing figure—was favored by Gerard in these years (cats. 37, 38, 42, 43). Filling the oil painting (but not the watercolor), the figure is strongly lit against a relatively dark ground. Gerard’s handling of paint is also immediately apparent in the head of Moses, where the skin, features, and hair show his delicate, subtle touch (cat. 48). Perhaps Gerard also painted the hands, armor, hourglass, and greyhound. Gesina certainly executed the rest: the lace and other details of clothing, the spaniel, the remaining allegorical attributes, and the landscape. Her use of oil paint in these areas bears all the characteristics of her approach in watercolor—dry, thick, and linear.

Gesina likely took responsibility for the iconographical program as well, surrounding the iconic central figure with an array of objects, each laden with obvious, direct symbolism. (Gerard, a master of the rhetoric of simplicity, preferred a non-allegorical approach to commemorative portraiture.) Here Gesina accumulated attributes as if she were amassing eulogies to her beloved younger brother. Clusters of separate still lifes encircle Moses, combining biographical references with common *vanitas* emblems. Military symbols include a ceremonial helmet, armor, and gun. Shells hint at the naval engagement. Watch, flute, hourglass, skull, bone, butterfly, and snake all connote transience and an untimely death. Cyclamen suggests sorrow; a thistle, constancy; and ivy, eternal life.<sup>4</sup> The two dogs surely represent fidelity (but also signify his social



FIG. 1



2. Hendrik Goltzius,  
Willem of Orange, 1581,  
engraving, Rijks-  
prentenkabinet,  
Amsterdam

status). Interestingly, these same dogs appear elsewhere in Gesina's work.

Allegory in portraiture, particularly in the medium of oil painting, was most often the prerogative of royalty and the aristocracy.<sup>5</sup> In the medium of prints, by contrast, small-scale, emblematic engravings did sometimes celebrate military prowess in just this manner (fig. 2). Such visual images must have informed Gesina's emblematic way of thinking and seeing.

After its execution, the posthumous portrait of Moses stayed in the Ter Borch family alongside other memorabilia.<sup>6</sup> Sometime in the nineteenth century, however, it found its way to a New York private collection, from which it was eventually deeded to the New York Historical Society.<sup>7</sup> Auctioned in 1995, the painting was purchased by the Rijksmuseum and thus rejoined the Ter Borch family estate in the Dutch national collections. AMK



FIG. 2

## 47 The Music Lesson

c. 1668/1669, oil on canvas, 86.4 × 70.2 (34 × 27 5/8)

The Toledo Museum of Art, Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey

An intimate duet provides an opportunity for a flirtatious encounter between a man and a woman. Clothed in a long brown vest and breeches over a doublet with ribbed gilt-embroidered sleeves, the man leans eagerly toward the woman seated opposite. The bandolier slung over his right shoulder supports a thin sword, the tip of which is just visible by his left foot. His white stockings are protected by gray *canons*, with striped tops bunched about his knees. The young woman wears a fur-trimmed *jak* over a loosened chemise and a satin skirt edged with a broad band of gold embroidery. Her coiffure is dressed with ribbons and pearls; a garnet earring dangles from her ear. On the table are songbooks and a metal platter with a *roemer*. Behind the table, a second man leans over a chair back and gazes rather dolefully at the lutenist.

Unlike most other musical subjects by Ter Borch, in which one person plays an instrument and the other sings, instructs, or listens appreciatively, here both the woman and her male companion play instruments: the man, a lute; the woman, a theorbo, a variant of the lute with a second peg box set off from the neck of the instrument to carry the bass strings (for the continuo). The act of playing music together was an established metaphor for harmony between a man and a woman in genre subjects and also in portraits of families and married persons.<sup>1</sup> A ubiquitous and versatile voice in solo and small ensemble repertoire, the lute was particularly rich in symbolic associations. While it could be an erotic symbol, a metaphor for female genitals, or an attribute of lust, the lute functioned most often as a more or less neutral amorous symbol.<sup>2</sup> An emblem from Jacob Cats' *Sinne en Minnebeelden* (The Hague, 1618) (fig. 1), for example, shows a man tuning a lute, with a second lute on the table before him; the motto explains that in tuning one lute, the strings of the other begin to resonate to the same pitch, thus symbolizing



1. Jacob Cats, "Quid non sentit amor," from *Sinne en Minnebeelden* (The Hague, 1618)

FIG. 1

two hearts perfectly attuned to each other. Similarly, the popular songbook *Cupidos lusthof* (Cupid's pleasure garden) (Amsterdam, 1613) illustrates a man playing a violin and a woman playing a lute; the caption states that a harmonious duet was a sign of the couple's mutual love.<sup>3</sup>

In narrative content and iconography, the Toledo picture is closely linked to the *Cincinnati Music Party* (cat. 48) and the *Young Woman Playing a Theorbo to*

2. Gerard ter Borch,  
*The Duet*, 1675, oil on  
canvas, Waddesdon,  
The Rothschild  
Collection, The  
National Trust

*Two Young Men* in the National Gallery, London (cat. 48, fig. 2); the three works were probably all painted within a year or two of each other, but Ter Borch's masterful manipulation of detail and psychological inflection refreshes even such close variations on a given theme. In each scene, a musical interlude with amorous overtones is witnessed by a third figure, whose ambiguous presence in the narrative injects a frisson of tension or at least uncertainty into the proceedings. In the Toledo *Music Lesson*, for example, the musical encounter is skewed by the wary look and undefined role of the rather gaunt man standing apart from the musical couple. Is he an aggrieved music teacher, or a dejected would-be suitor?<sup>4</sup> The young boy standing by the table in the Cincinnati *Music Party* (cat. 48), on the other hand, seems utterly oblivious to the flirtation being enacted before him. Finally, the *Young Woman Playing a Theorbo to Two Young Men* seems less psychically charged than either the Cincinnati or the Toledo paintings. The mature solidity of the man singing and beating time and the impassive posture of the young lute-nist bespeak a more sedate encounter. Yet an amorous context is certainly intended here as well, for the playing card—an ace of hearts—lies conspicuously in the foreground of the picture. The role of the third figure in this composition—again a man in a cloak and hat—is subtly different, but no plainer.

In addition to the variations developed in the compositions at London and Cincinnati, an autograph replica of the present picture, signed and dated 1675, is in the collection at Waddesdon Manor (fig. 2). The Waddesdon painting was accepted by Gudlaugsson as the original, and the Toledo painting as a replica by the artist, but this view was reversed with the discovery in 1975 of the signature and date on the Toledo painting.<sup>5</sup> The correspondence between the two is extremely close; some minor variation in the far contours of the lute-nist's face may be the result of overpainting. MEW



FIG. 2



## 48 The Music Party

c. 1668/1670, oil on panel, 58.1 × 47.3 (22 7/8 × 18 5/8)  
Cincinnati Art Museum, Bequest of Mary M. Emery

1. Gerard ter Borch,  
*A Woman Playing the  
Theorbo for a Cavalier*,  
c. 1658, oil on panel,  
The Metropolitan  
Museum of Art, New  
York, Bequest of  
Benjamin Altman, 1913

2. Gerard ter Borch,  
*Young Woman Playing  
a Theorbo to Two Young  
Men*, c. 1667–1668,  
oil on canvas, The  
National Gallery,  
London

In the seventeenth century as now, music was an integral part of Dutch culture at all levels of society. In sophisticated circles, intimate musical gatherings were not only a pleasurable means of escaping everyday cares, but a popular and accepted vehicle for facilitating social contacts, particularly with members of the opposite sex.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, many seventeenth-century songbooks published for domestic use were exclusively devoted to amorous love songs.<sup>2</sup> Music was a ubiquitous metaphor for harmony amongst family members, friends, and lovers alike, and contemporary literary and emblematic references linking music and love are legion.<sup>3</sup>

As might be expected, Ter Borch's interpretations of the traditional "musical company" theme are deliberately and deliciously enigmatic—particularly in works in which music supplies the fulcrum in encounters between the sexes. His paintings of amorous musical duets include scenes of a woman serenading an admir-

ing cavalier (fig. 1); a diligent young lutenist and her music teacher; and a scene in which a man sings and beats time as a woman stands with a lute and songbook in her hands, poised inscrutably in the act of joining or exiting the duet.<sup>4</sup> In three other depictions of musical themes, Ter Borch purposefully complicated the dynamics of the implied courtship ritual by introducing a third figure, a man, who observes or engages the musical moment in subtly nuanced ways (compare fig. 2 and cat. 47).

In the present painting, a young woman seated in profile to the left holds a theorbo-lute in her lap as she turns the page of the songbook placed on the table before her. She wears a fur-trimmed jacket over a gleaming white satin skirt and a carefully loosened décolletage; curls, ribbons, and dangling garnet earrings draw attention to the creamy skin of her throat. Lounging proprietarily across the table, a fashionable



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



gentleman with flowing blond hair holds an open song-book, but seems more interested in attracting the young woman's demurely lowered gaze through the force of his own ardent stare. Standing behind the table is another young man, wrapped in a cloak and wearing a broad-brimmed hat; he glances down at the music, possibly singing, but thoroughly oblivious to the intensity of the exchange taking place before him.

The real subject of this picture is not the musical performance per se, but the delicate balance of power negotiated through the flirtatious exchanges of the courtship ritual. With painstakingly nuanced manipulations of pose and gesture, Ter Borch expressed all the emotional uncertainties and quixotic reversals of love. Although the man's languid pose is as informal as that of the young suitor in *Woman Playing the Theorbo for a Cavalier* (fig. 1), the woman's attitude differs considerably, completely changing the tone of the picture. In the earlier painting, she is more openly flirtatious; here, she is more modestly restrained, yet her downcast gaze is countered by her inviting, forward leaning posture and ready participation in the musical duet.<sup>5</sup> The role of the third figure in the composition is unclear (he seems too young to be a music teacher and too nonchalant to be a spurned swain), but his very presence lends a titillat-

ingly covert quality to the duet's amorous subtext. Other compositions by Ter Borch that include a similar figure of a cloaked observer (fig. 2 and cat. 47) are no less evasive in defining his purpose within the narrative.

The figure of the seated woman is repeated almost exactly, at full length, in Ter Borch's *Music Lesson* in the Toledo Museum of Art (cat. 47).<sup>6</sup> Differences are only minor: the angle and shape of the woman's head, the direction of her gaze, her hairstyle, and the distance of the figure to the table. The lower portion of the woman's *jak* is more flared in the Cincinnati painting; pentimenti indicate the original contour was closer to that in the Toledo painting. Other pentimenti in the Cincinnati painting reveal that the hem of the *jak* was originally more rounded at the side, its sleeves less full. Ter Borch's several adjustments to the composition suggest that an intermediary drawing or tracing—which appears to have shifted slightly in the process—may have been used to transpose the figure of the woman into the compositions.<sup>7</sup> As the Toledo *Music Lesson* bears a partly legible date of 166[?] (see cat. 47), the *Music Party* can presumably now also be dated to the end of the 1660s. MEW

## 49 Gerbrand Pancras

1670, oil on canvas, 33.4 × 27.8 (13 1/8 × 10 15/16)  
Manchester City Galleries

From the first part of the twentieth century until 1983, this imperious portrait of an adolescent boy was identified as Prince Hendrik Casimir II van Nassau-Dietz (1657–1696) who, in 1664 at the age of seven, had inherited the stadholdership of the provinces of Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe.<sup>1</sup> Although Gudlaugsson retained the traditional identification, he acknowledged that since the inscription on the painting clearly described the boy as being twelve years of age, it would have had to have been completed before the prince's thirteenth birthday on 18 January 1670.<sup>2</sup> In 1983, Dudok van Heel presented a convincing argument for identifying the subject as Gerbrand Pancras (1658–1716), son of the Amsterdam regent Nicolaes Pancras (1622–1678) and his wife Petronella de Waert (1628–1709).<sup>3</sup>

After about fifteen years of activity centered almost exclusively in and around Deventer, Ter Borch seems to have been in Amsterdam on a regular basis from the late 1660s. He also lived in exile in Amsterdam from the spring of 1672, when the forces of the bishop of Münster and the archbishop of Cologne occupied the city of Deventer, until their withdrawal in the summer of 1674. Throughout the early 1670s Ter Borch secured several prestigious portrait commissions from Amsterdam patrons.

He may have initially been drawn to the city by his half sister Jenneken's marriage to Sijbrand Schellinger, an Amsterdam merchant, in 1668.<sup>4</sup> Schellinger was a distant relative of the Amsterdam regent François de Vicq (1646–1709), and it was presumably through this familial connection that Ter Borch was commissioned to paint portraits of various members of the De Vicq and Pancras families in 1670. In addition to the present painting, he furnished likenesses of Nicolaes Pancras and Petronella de Waert, their daughter Aletta Pancras (1649–1707), and her husband François de Vicq. All five



FIG. 1

paintings are similarly inscribed with the subject's age, and signed and dated 1670.

As Kettering has noted, the formal conventions of Ter Borch's portraits of Amsterdam subjects differ considerably from his portraits of elite citizens of Deventer (compare, for example, cats. 37, 38, 42, 43, 45).<sup>5</sup> Although considerable variety is found among the body of portraits Ter Borch produced during the course of his years in Deventer, a significant proportion of these small-scale works depict the figure at full length, standing or sitting erectly within a strikingly spare setting. With a conspicuous emphasis on individual qualities of moderation and decorum, the portraits convey a uniformly confident, prosperous yet inherently sober image of Deventer's ruling elite. In contrast, Ter Borch's

1. Caspar Netscher,  
*Portrait of a Man, Possibly Coenraad Ruysch*,  
1666, oil on canvas,  
present location  
unknown



Amsterdam portraits are much showier affairs. They depict the figure at three-quarter length, a format that inevitably brings the subject closer to the picture plane and forces a greater intimacy between subject and viewer; and these works focus greater attention on the subject's physiognomy and elaborate costume details. In these paintings Ter Borch was undoubtedly responding to the more decorative and lushly appointed small-scale portraits being produced in the urban centers of Holland by younger colleagues, such as his former pupil Caspar Netscher (fig. 1).

Although Ter Borch retained his customarily sparse and understated setting in the present picture, the garments worn by Gerbrand Pancras are among the most colorful and elaborate the artist ever painted in a portrait. Pancras sports the newly fashionable English-style suit, with a long close-fitting coat and hip-length vest over relatively narrow breeches.<sup>6</sup> Worn over a silver brocade waistcoat, the light gray coat and breeches are trimmed with black lace and silver braid; a profusion of

rose-pink ribbons adorns the elbow-length sleeves. On the table at right is a broad-brimmed hat trimmed with an extravagant white feather. Pancras' right hand rests on a walking stick with an ivory knob; an ornamental sword is suspended from a belt at his left hip. Ter Borch's attentiveness to the minutiae of sartorial display does not overwhelm his insightful rendering of the boy's physiognomy, however. With a thin-lipped mouth and a wary, somewhat dismissive stare emanating from beneath heavy eyelids, Gerbrand Pancras' painted portrait intimates the hauteur of and privilege claimed by this heir to one of Amsterdam's most powerful regent families.

*A Portrait of a Young Nobleman*, formerly in the collection of A. J. de Jong, Schouwenburg, is based upon Ter Borch's *Gerbrand Pancras* and appears to be a studio work. MEW

## 50 Young Man Reading

c. 1680, oil on panel, 40.3 × 34.4 (15 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 13 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
The Detroit Institute of Arts, City of Detroit Purchase

Ter Borch had a remarkable ability to create a narrative scenario for his genre scenes that never appears artificially staged. Figures exist comfortably in their spaces, at ease with their environment if not always with their psychological state of being. This young man seems particularly at home, even though, to judge from the ivory-tipped walking stick and yellow black-fringed pouch lying on the table, he has just returned from out-of-doors. Still wearing his fur-lined cap, he has settled down to read the latest news from the sheet of paper he holds in his two hands. With lowered eyes and partially opened mouth, he carefully peruses the text before him, quietly turning back the paper to allow light to fall on its raised surface.

The young man in this charming image suffers from none of the painful uncertainties afflicting young women who are seen reading letters in Ter Borch's paintings (see cat. 41). But, then again, he is reading not from a letter but from a printed page, probably a broadsheet, which had once been folded down the middle.<sup>1</sup> The imprint of the printed text on the recto can be detected from the regular borders along the margins of the sheet, which Ter Borch marked through subtle variations in color. Broadsheets were particularly important for spreading news about contemporary political and social issues in provincial towns such as Deventer, in part because the publishing industry was primarily situated in Amsterdam and Leiden.<sup>2</sup> Thus, despite his

attractive and elegant appearance, the young man is shown focusing not on matters of the heart but on matters of the mind. While at ease in his own home, he, unlike the young women in Ter Borch's paintings, is concerned with issues that lie beyond the domestic sphere.

As Gudlaugsson has noted, the young man's costume, with its carefully folded linen jabot, was influenced by French fashions that came into mode about 1680.<sup>3</sup> Characteristic of the artist's palette from this late period of his career are the carefully nuanced brown tonalities in the figure's costume; Ter Borch used them to create a foil for the young man's concentrated expression. He further enlivened the image with the white accents of the jabot, cuffs, ivory-tipped walking stick, and most important, the letter itself. Finally, this painting, which may have been Ter Borch's last genre scene, convincingly demonstrates that the artist never lost his ability to portray the faces of younger generations with sympathy and understanding.<sup>4</sup> The identity of the model is not known, but he might possibly have been a friend or acquaintance of the artist, whose portrait he painted in the guise of a genre scene. AKW



## 51 Lucretia Rouse, Wife of the Preacher Jan van Duren

1680, oil on canvas, 78.5 × 64 (30 7/8 × 25 3/16)  
Collection Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede

## 52 The Preacher Jan van Duren

1681, oil on canvas, 78.1 × 63.8 (30 3/4 × 25 1/8)  
Collection Richard and Marcia Ehrlich, Beverly Hills

1. Abraham Bloteling after Michiel van Musscher, Tobias Govertsz van den Wyngaert, 1667, engraving, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam

These pendant portraits are reunited here for the first time since 1929, when they were exhibited together in Berlin.<sup>1</sup> The identity of the sitters, the preacher Jan van Duren (1642–1709) and his wife Lucretia Rouse, is known because of the coat of arms hanging on the back wall of each painting.<sup>2</sup> The dates of execution, 1680 for Lucretia and 1681 for Jan, are also known because the poet Arnoldus Moonen mentioned them when he wrote celebratory verses about the paintings in his poetry book *Poëzy*, which he published in 1700.<sup>3</sup> Thus, they are among the very last paintings executed by Ter Borch, who died in Deventer on 8 December 1681.

Lucretia, a native of Haarlem, was the daughter of the cavalry captain Joan Rouse (died 18 January 1667) and Maria Olijcan. Her betrothal to Jan van Duren, son of Gerryt van Duren and Mecheltien Roeks, and “dienaer des Godtlicken Woords” (minister of God’s words), was recorded in Zwolle on 12 October 1667.<sup>4</sup> They apparently lived in Zwolle until 1673 when Jan was called to preach in Deventer, where the couple probably came to know Ter Borch.

Documents indicate that Ter Borch was in Haarlem in September of 1680, negotiating a contract for a portrait with the merchant Elias Trip.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, Ter Borch must have painted these portraits after he returned to Deventer, depicting Lucretia in the late fall of 1680 and Jan in the beginning of 1681. Although Ter Borch appears to have executed these portraits at slightly different times, he certainly conceived them as a pair from the very beginning.

Ter Borch presented Jan van Duren as a scholar who is fingering the pages of a large tome resting on a writing table located before a large bookcase. The dark

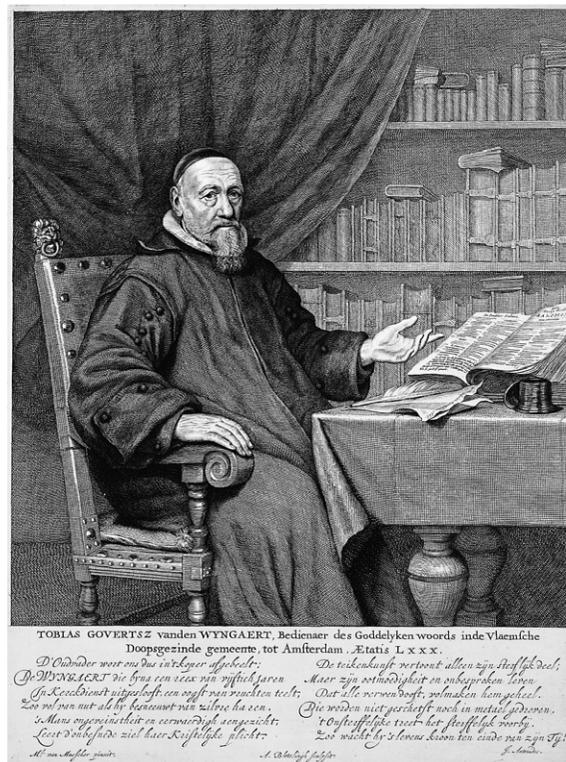


FIG. 1

green curtain protecting the leather-bound volumes also serves as a backdrop for the sitter. It has been pulled aside to allow the sitter access to the books. Indeed, occasional gaps on the shelves indicate that he actively uses the books for research and for developing ideas for his own writings. The paper for his text lies on the table beneath the silver writing set. For a preacher

of God's word, a thorough understanding of biblical texts was extremely important.

Ter Borch's painting belongs to a well-established tradition in Dutch art of depicting preachers seated before a bookcase reading texts in their study (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> Seventeenth-century inventories indicate that such studies were sparsely furnished, with little more than a desk and a chair, and that bookcases were frequently protected from dust and bugs by curtains, which were generally blue or green.<sup>7</sup> Jan van Duren wears a brown robe that was a type of *tabbaard*, a garment (generally associated with scholars) that conveyed an aura of respectability and stateliness.<sup>8</sup> By the 1660s Japanese robes had influenced the style of the *tabbaard*, which had been traditionally trimmed in fur, and Jan's loosely draped garment reflects this new fashion.<sup>9</sup>

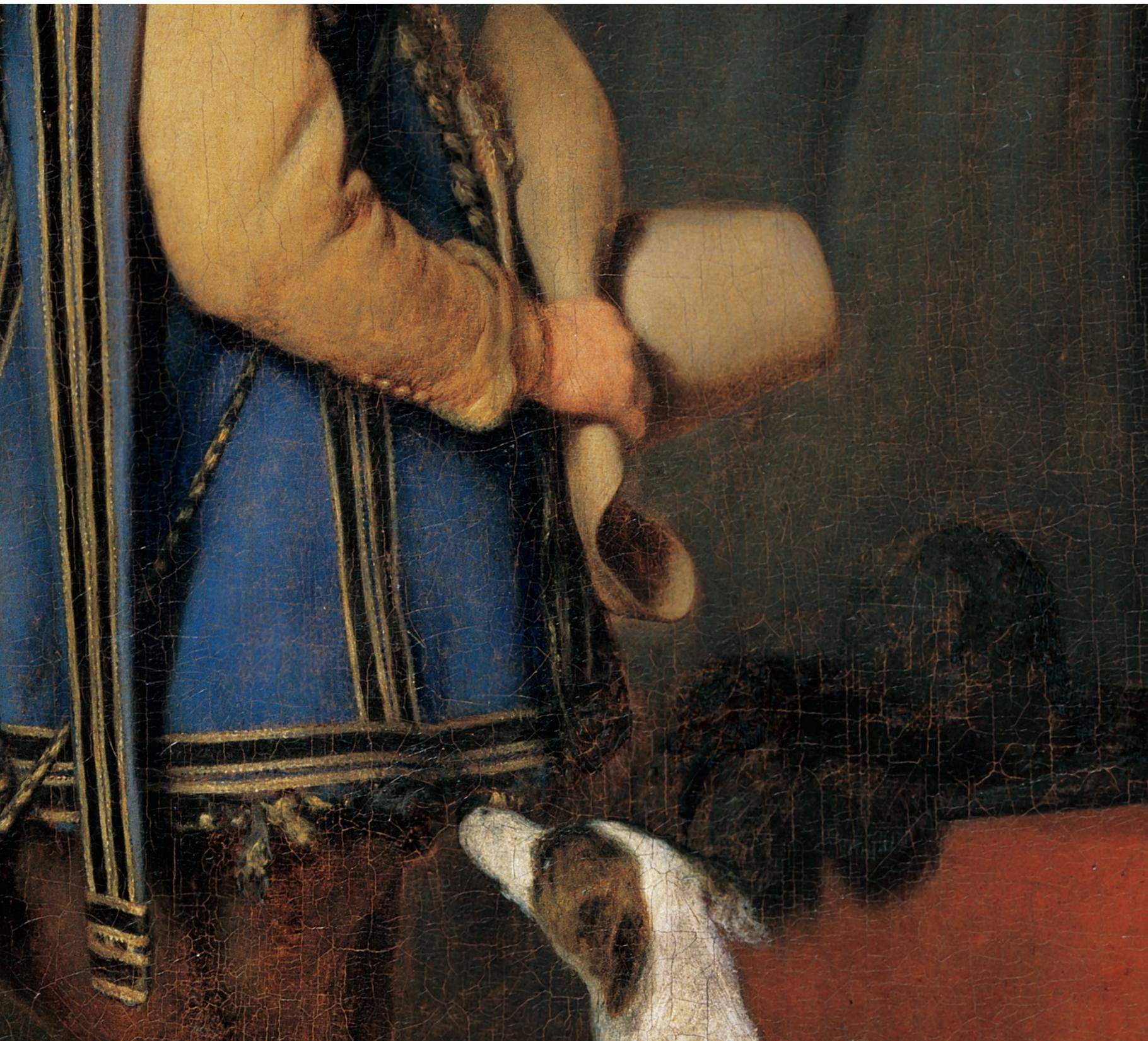
Lucretia wears a black dress and sits quietly near a table without a book in sight. Her gentle face, animated by a slight smile, peers out from under a distinctive and unusual white lace cap covered by a black cloth. It has been suggested that this unusual headdress, in combination with the black outer garment lying on the table, is indicative of mourning, although nothing in her

bearing and demeanor would seem to support this hypothesis.<sup>10</sup> Arnoldus Moonen's poem about this portrait celebrates Ter Borch's ability to capture not only her physical appearance but also the essence of her soul, which had so attracted her husband from early in his youth.<sup>11</sup>

The format that Ter Borch chose for these full-length, seated pendant portraits was one that he had devised in the late 1660s and early 1670s. A comparable pair portrays the Deventer burgomaster Hendrik Nilant and his wife Anna Wentholt, which Ter Borch painted about 1670.<sup>12</sup> The closest equivalent for the portrait of Jan van Duren, however, is a portrait Ter Borch made of Hermannus Quadacker, the son of a Deventer burgomaster.<sup>13</sup> Quadacker, who studied law at Leiden, also wears a *tabbaard* as he sits at his desk in his study before a large bookcase. As in the portrait of Jan van Duren, on his desk are an ink set and quill pen indicating his active, scholarly interests. AKW







## Letter, 3 July 1635

from Gerard ter Borch the Elder  
to his son in London



227. 10. 17. 1635. 17. 10. 17. 1635. 17. 10. 17. 1635.

Lieve kint ick seynde in den leemā. doch sonder Block: om dat hij te groot en te swaer is. int Coffe te leggē: en om een klein gelt kent ghy daer een Block doen Macken, gebruyck den leeman  
+ gelick de ghy met en laet hem niet stille staen als hi sijn gedaen heeft.  
genoomen hebben doch ten kent wel: groote en wettende ordonantien daer. P.

Nolijh. in. Deet om te Beminnen, en als ghy Schildere wilt: dan schildert ock wat ordonantien van Madarn. bij in Rommelery ten Eersten op gelick ghy well koent: want dat soet belst: en Blijf ock schoonst en sloeyent int Bester wet also doende silt ghy well Bemint wardelen met Godt: gelick ghy ock tot daer: Com. en tot Amsterdā waert, wat ghy begint inde naem: des Heere: dat sal u well gelucken: gelick het u voor desen al: Int ock well gelickt heet: daer omme voor alle Dinge Dieent Godt. en weest Beloest Nederich en gedieen swillich tege alle Mensen so sal het u well gaen, Ik seynde u ock in kleet: kan: esandē. sje en schoelitten, Hoelesantken, 6. Boffē, 6. Noef: doerke. 2. Nijfen: schijnt al u sinnen fraey en so koent ghy al tijt u goet nae seer dat ghy niet u seest, ik seynde u meer als een alle laeken van u. Boffe kleet: om als den Broeck kael is. dan koent ghy Meer om doen keere: en van dit lacket well. 2. Nije voor tūcken krygen of een Paer Nije Monwen. wat ghy dan belst vandoen hebben. ock sijn hij in lappen laeken tot u. Daegelix kleet: alst begint te Breeken om daer met te Helken, ik seynde u. Tenikenkoockerke vol van u. Nije lange Penselen. 2. Boeck Pampijn. Swart kint. en alle schoone vermunen. en. 6. van Mattheams Demen int. Pte seer. so ghy wat anders vandoen hebben dat schijnt mij ik sal u seynden, Hij mede. doe ick. en Noeder. en kinder. Noef Berent en fan ter Borch. Engbert: en alle goede vrien: den. u. Noffens Roebert oom seer groeten, in Lwoll de  
3. Julij Nijstij 1635. ic. q. w. waeder Gerhard ter Borch  
Het koffer hebbe ick met Beddebuyn en tou doen om Packer en met lacket seegelt om dat het niet kan on gespecken worden

Nota

2490

LIEVE KINT ICK SEIJNDE U den leeman, doch sonder block: omdat hij te groot en te swaer is int coffer te leggen: en om een kleijn gelt koent ghij daer een block doen maeken, gebruickt den leeman en laet hem niet stille staen als hij hijr gedaen heeft, doch teijckent veel: groote en woelende ordonantien, gelick de ghij met genoomen hebbet, daer P.Molijn u plegt om te beminnen, en als ghij schilderen wilt: dan schildert ock wat ordonantsij van modarn bij u rommelerij ten eersten op gelick ghij well koent: want dat spoet besst: en blijft ock schoonst en vloeiend int besterven also doende sult ghij well bemint warden met Godt: gelijck ghij ock tot Haerlem en tot Amsterdam waert, wat ghij begint inde naem des Heeren: dat sal u well gelucken: gelick het u voor desen altijt ock well geluckt heeft: daer omme voor alle dingen dieent Godt, en weest beleeft, nederich en gedieenstwillich tegen alle mensen so sal het u well gaen. Ick seijnde u ock u kleet: kausebanden, schoe en schoelinten, hoedebantken, 6 beffen, 6 noesdoecken, 2 mutsen: Schrijft al u linnen fraeij op so koent ghij altijt u goet nae sieen dat ghij niet verlieest, ick seijnde u meer als een elle laeken van u besste kleet: om als den broeck kael is, dan koent ghij hem om doen keeren: en van dit laeken well 2 nije voorstucken krijgen of een paer nije mouwen: wat ghij dan besst van doen hebbet, ock zijn hijr bij lappen laeken tot u daegelix kleet: alst begint te brecken om daer met te hellpen, ick seijnde u teijckenkoockerken vol van u nije lange penseelen, 2 boeck pampijr, swartkijt en alle schoone varuwen, en 6 van Matthams pennen int pitsieer, so ghij wat anders van doen hebbet dat schrijft mij ick salt u seijnden. Hijr mede doe ick, en moeder en kinder, neef Berent en Jan ter Borch, Engbert en alle goede vrien: den u neffens Roebert oom seer groeten in Zwoll den 3 Julij Nije stij 1635, u.g.w.vaeder Gerhard ter Borch. Het koffer hebbe ick met beddebuijr en tou doen om packen en met lack verseegelt o dat het niet kan opgesteecken worden

DEAR CHILD, I AM SENDING YOU the manikin, but without a stand because it is too large and too heavy to put in the trunk. For a small amount of money you can have a stand made there. Use the manikin and do not let it stand idle, as it has done here, but draw a lot: large, dynamic compositions [*ordonantien*], like those you have taken with you, which P. Molyn pledged you to cherish. And when you wish to paint, work up [*schildert ... op*] some modern compositions [*ordonantsij van modarn*], as you surely can, putting in your stuff [*bij u rommelerij*]<sup>1</sup> right from the start, because that goes most quickly and stays most beautiful and flowing while drying.<sup>2</sup> If you do that you will be loved by God, as you were in Haarlem and Amsterdam. What you begin in the name of the Lord will turn out well, just as it has always turned out well for you before this. Therefore serve God above all and be courteous, humble and obliging toward all people and it will go well for you. I am also sending you some clothing: garters, shoes, shoelaces, hatbands, 6 shirtbands, 6 handkerchiefs, 2 caps. Take note of your linen, look after it well, so that you'll be missing nothing. I am sending you more than one ell of cloth from your best suit. If your trousers are threadbare, you can turn them. From this piece of cloth you can have 2 new frontpieces made or a pair of new sleeves, whichever you need most. Here too are pieces of cloth for your daily clothing, in order to help you when it begins to tear. I am sending you a brush holder, complete with new long brushes, 2 books of paper, black chalk, an assortment of beautiful colors and 6 of Matham's pens in seals [?]. If you need something else, then write me, I will send it to you. Herewith I pass on greetings from mother and children, cousin Berent and Jan ter Borch, Engbert and all good friends and relatives to Uncle Robert, [signed] in Zwolle the 3rd of July new style 1635, with all good will, your father Gerhard ter Borch. The trunk I have wrapped in a bed cover and tied with rope and sealed with wax so that it cannot be opened.

opposite  
Letter, 1635, Collec-  
tion Frits Lugt, Institut  
Néerlandais, Paris

#### Notes

1. According to the *Woor-  
denboek der Nederlandsche  
Taal* (WNT), *rommelerij*  
is equivalent to old  
household objects (*oud  
huisraad*). In this case,  
household stuff could  
mean props. However,  
Hexham's seventeenth-  
century Dutch-English  
dictionary (1671) sug-  
gests that the word could  
have had an alternative  
meaning for Ter Borch.  
Its definition for *romme-  
laer* is one who pushes to  
and fro—which is very  
close to “rummaging  
about,” the interpreta-  
tion used by Arie Wallert  
in his essay.

2. This translation  
is based on the one  
appearing in *Kettering*  
1988, 2:864–865, but  
with important revi-  
sions in the opening  
sentences.



**Notes to the Essays**

**Bibliography**

**Notes to the Catalogue**

**Exhibitions**

**Index**



## The Artistic Development of Gerard ter Borch

### Notes to the Essays

1. I would like to thank Elizabeth Nogrady, Anna Tummers, and Alison Kettering for their observations and assistance in preparing this essay.
2. For Steen's reputation, see Chapman "Jan Steen, Player in His Own Paintings," in Washington and Amsterdam 1996, 11–24.
3. The basis for our current understanding of Ter Borch's life is Sturla Gudlaugsson's exemplary monograph on the artist (G 1959–1960). The documentary evidence he unearthed and his sensitive interpretation of the artist's work are cited throughout this catalogue. None of the recent documentary discoveries (see note 44) or reassessments of Ter Borch's paintings has seriously compromised the conclusions Gudlaugsson reached in his work.
4. Houbraken 1753, 3:32, 34–40.
5. For an outstanding assessment of this material, see Kettering 1988.
6. Kettering 1988, 1:4, notes that Gerard the Elder owned drawings by, among others, Abraham Bloemaert of Utrecht, Hans Bol of Amsterdam, and Hendrik Goltzius of Haarlem. Early in his career Gerard the Younger copied a print based on a Goltzius design (see Kettering 1988, 1:92–93, repro.), which must have come from his father's collection.
7. See Kettering 1988, 1:4, and Kettering 1988, 2:88, item A10.
8. See for example, Kettering 1988, 1:22, no. GSR16, for a discussion of a drawing by a different artist depicting the same view as Gerard the Elder's depiction of the Ponte Rotto.
9. Kettering 1988, 1:92–95, nos. GJR 2, GJR 3, and GJR 5.
10. Kettering 1988, 1:100–101, nos. GJR 16 and GJR 17.
11. Kettering 1988, 1:104–106, nos. GJR 21–GJR 25.
12. Copies and counterproofs are frequently found amongst the drawings preserved from the Ter Borch family. See, for example, drawings attributed to Gerard the Younger (Kettering 1988, 1:96–98, nos. GJR 8–GJR 10; Kettering 1988, 2:633 and 702, folio 45, recto, and folio 46, recto), Harmen (Kettering 1988, 1:278, no. H20, and Kettering 1988, 2:834–835, no. 39), Gesina (Kettering 1988, 2:403, folio 9, recto, 404, folio 10, verso, 489, folio 8, recto, and 425–426, folio 8, recto), and Moses (Kettering 1988, 2:844–845, nos. 59 and 60, among others).
13. G 1959–1960, 1:21–22.
14. For an excellent discussion of this sketch-book, see Kettering 1988, 1:152–191.
15. Documents indicate that Ter Borch became a master in the Saint Luke's Guild in Haarlem in 1635. Only after he had become a master would he have been permitted to sign and date one of his paintings. See G 1959–1960, 2:15.
16. For this document, see Antony Griffiths, "The Print in Stuart Britain' Revisited," *Print Quarterly* 17 (2000), 117.
17. The letter is reproduced and translated on pages 188–189. See also Kettering 1988, 2:864–865.
18. For further discussions of this letter, see the essays by Kettering and Wallert in this catalogue.
19. G 1959–1960, 2:16.
20. See Kettering 1988, 1:128, no. GJR 60. Ter Borch seems to have returned to Zwolle with an impression of Van Voerst's engraving of Kenelm Digby, another image belonging to *The Iconography*, which his half brother Moses eventually copied. See Kettering 1988, 1:298–299, no. M 21.
21. See, for example, Hendrik Pot's *Portrait of Charles I*, 1632, Musée de Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 1730.
22. Another of Ter Borch's mother's brothers, Thomas de Bonte, was the artist's guardian. It seems, however, that by 1635 he was living in Kampen. See Houck 1899, 98, and G 1959–1960, 2:47.
23. G 1959–1960, 1:30. See also Wieseman 2002, 314, no. B1. It is possible that the painting was in the possession of one of Ter Borch's patrons in Zwolle or Deventer, where his pupil Caspar Netscher could have seen and freely adapted it in a copy he made in 1659.
24. Houbraken 1753, 3:34; G 1959–1960, 2:10.
25. G 1959–1960, 2:23. "Tot Madrid in 't Paleys des Konincks groot en schoone,/Quam oock zyn Naem en Roem, jae selven syn Persoone,/ Daer hy de Koninck heeft seer konstigh afgebeelt,/ Soo dat dar aen gantsch niet, dan slechts het leven scheelt."
26. G 1959–1960, 1:184, repro., 2:58–59, no. 9.
27. For these works, see G 1959–1960, 1:194–200, 212, repro., 2:63–67, 72, nos. 20–26, 39.
28. G 1959–1960, 2:9–10, 20. Both Gesina and the schoolmaster J.H. Roldanus mention that her half brother had been knighted in the Spanish court. Arnoldus Moonen refers to Ter Borch as "Ridder Ter Borgh" (knight) (see cat. 52, notes 3 and 11).
29. For a discussion of the concept of *doorsien*, a term first mentioned in Van Mander 1604, book 5, 4, see Hollander 2002.
30. See *An Old Woman Spinning*, c. 1646–1648, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in Amsterdam, Hartford, and San Francisco 2002, 71–73, no. 2, repro.
31. See Jonathan Bikker, "Sweerts's Life and Career — A Documentary View," in Amsterdam, Hartford, and San Francisco 2002, 25–36, for a discussion of Sweerts' relationship with the Deutz brothers and Anthonij de Bordes, all of whom were traveling in Italy in the late 1640s. For an image of one of Sweerts' paintings of a woman spinning yarn from the 1640s, see Kultzen 1996, no. 11.
32. Kettering 1988, 2:435–436, 510. On this folio from Gesina's poetry album, the shepherd Phijllis kneels before the shepherdess Amaril to declare his unflagging devotion even though she has scorned him. As Kettering notes, the sentiments of this poem are similar to those found in the writings of Jan Hermansz Krul, one of the authors whose love laments Gesina frequently transcribed in her album.
33. For an excellent discussion of the character of seventeenth-century songbooks, see Nevitt 2003, 50–98. For Gesina's poetry album, see Kettering 1988, 2:420–614.

## Gerard ter Borch and the Modern Manner

34. Kettering 1988, 2:440, folio 39, verso, of Gesina's poetry album. This list and one appearing on folio 111, recto, were written by her brother Harmen.

35. See note 25.

36. For Netscher, see Wieseman 2002. Netscher was a talented artist who learned many of his master's techniques for rendering luxurious textures during his apprenticeship with Ter Borch from c. 1654 to c. 1658/1659. He painted, in addition to his own original compositions, a number of signed copies of Ter Borch's works.

37. For a discussion of Ter Borch's reputed students and followers, see G 1959–1960, 2: 285–294.

38. The high quality of many of the copies has often confounded connoisseurs who sought to determine whether or not a specific work was executed by the master. The confusion already existed at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as is evident in a dispute about the attribution of two Ter Borch paintings from the Antwerp collector Constantinus Francken that were auctioned in Amsterdam on 12 April 1701. Their qualities were assessed by the collector and art dealer Jan Pietersz Zomer and the artist Jan van Hughtenburch, but in the end they could not decide whether the paintings were copies or originals. See A.C. Steenis-Muntjewerf, "Een Weddenschap over een Terburch," *Oud-Holland* 69 (1954), 123–124.

39. For an excellent discussion of this period of Ter Borch's career, see Kettering 1999a.

40. See Kettering 1999a, 56–57.

41. For example, Gaetgens 1987, 433, publishes an account by the son-in-law of Adriaen van der Werff noting that Van der Werff studied with Eglon van der Neer, "a very skilled master in the handling of the brush and the thoroughly mixing of paints. However, he [Van der Neer] chose the modern manner (as that of Terburgh) to paint satin skirts and other dresses."

42. For this subject, see the essay in the catalogue by Arie Wallert. For a differing interpretation of Ter Borch's method of painting satins, see Van de Wetering 1993.

43. Van de Wetering 1993, 29–33, notes that a number of seventeenth-century art theorists, among them Karel van Mander, Theodore de Mayerne, and Cornelis Pietersz Biens, recommended painting different types of cloth from life. Careful observation of satin was particularly important because of the various reflective sheens the fabric created in different light.

44. Montias 1989, 102–104, 308, doc. 251.

45. One wonders, for example, whether Ter Borch may have met the captain, Johan van den Bosch, or the widow's husband, Dido van Treslong, in Münster. For Johannes Renialme, see G 1959–1960, 2:25, and Montias 1989, 139–141, 312, doc. 269.

46. For a particularly close derivation of a Ter Borch composition by Gabriel Metsu, see Korthals Altes 2000–2001, 266, fig. 16 (HdG 189). Ter Borch's paintings were also admired in The Hague, perhaps in part because of Caspar Netscher, who moved there in 1662 after a trip to France.

47. The role of the art dealer in commissioning such copies in the Dutch art market is not well understood. According to Hans van Miegroet (personal communication), this practice was well established in the Flemish market. For a list of the copies made by Van der Neer and Musscher, see G 1959–1960, 2:289–290.

48. In 1668 his half sister Jenneken (1640–1675) married an Amsterdam merchant, Sijbrand Schellinger, who was related to the Pancras family. See the discussion under cat. 49.

49. See G 1959–1960, 1:156–158, 2:226–228, nos. 262–265; Kettering 1999a, 67–69. Dudok van Heel 1983, 68, also notes that in 1674 Ter Borch made a copy of a portrait of a Johan de Witt by Caspar Netscher.

50. Houbraken 1753, 3:37–39. The first portrait was destroyed by the invading forces from Münster and Cologne; Ter Borch completed the second portrait some years later in The Hague. This portrait is also lost. See Kettering 1999a, 69, note 90.

51. G 1959–1960, 1:165. Unfortunately these portraits are lost. On his return to Deventer in September 1680 Ter Borch stopped in Haarlem, where the merchant Elias Trip asked him to

paint a portrait in the "manner" of his portrait of the prince of Orange. See G 1959–1960, 2:30. The document is dated 5 September 1680.

52. G 1959–1960, 2:29–30.

53. G 1959–1960, 2:30. The document for this commission is dated 26 October 1678.

54. G 1959–1960, 2:9, document 2. "Hier onder leijdt een werelts wonder,/Heel vermaert in alle lant,/Daer zijn kunst recht was bekant."

55. Houbraken 1753, 3:35.

56. Smith 1829–1842, 4:114.

1. The sentence is as hard to interpret in modern Dutch as it is to translate into English. But it seems to contain two main ideas: that Gerard the Younger should continue to paint "modern compositions" (*ordonantsij van modarn*) and that he should paint in a quick and flowing manner, without the usual stages of underdrawing and dead coloring. The letter is reproduced and translated on pages 188–189. Please note that the translation differs slightly from that in Kettering 1988, 2:864–865. For an interpretation that emphasizes the second, technical aspect of Gerard the Elder's advice, see Arie Wallert's essay and note 1 of the letter. My thanks go to Hans Luijten for his important help in translating and understanding this sentence, as well as to Melanie Gifford, Arie Wallert, and Frederick Kettering for discussions of the passage. I would also like to thank Lisa Vergara for help with the entire essay.

2. See P. Biesboer, "Judith Leyster: Painter of 'Modern Figures,'" in Judith Leyster, *A Dutch Master and Her World* (exh. cat., Worcester Art Museum) [Worcester, 1993], 75; Nevitt 2003, 29–35; and Kolfin 2002, 96. J. Michael Montias, who is writing an article "On the Description of Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Inventories and Auction Sales," has provided me with more instances of the use of "modern" to designate genre paintings. By the 1630s, the use of "modern" in this regard was fairly common currency. The term was used earlier by Karel van Mander to refer to figures in contemporary dress. My thanks go to Wayne Franits and Michael Montias for their help with uses of the term and to Perry Chapman for its possible political implications. See Chapman 2000, 55–58.

3. F. Francina et al., *Modernity and Modernism, French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London, 1993), 3–10; Baude-laire 1964, 13 (the original article appeared in *Figaro*, 1863).

4. Hecht 1998:169; Jowell 1974:114–116; Rosen and Zerner 1984:193–200.

5. Sluijter 2000. For a translation, see Angel 1996.

6. Van Mander 1994.

## The Miracle of Gerard ter Borch's Satin

7. Vergara 1998, 246.

8. Kemmer 1998, 91–96.

9. Vergara 1998, 246–247; Brown 1984, 62.

10. Kettering 1988, 1: GJr 5, 20; 2:748.

11. Franits 2004.

12. For a fuller discussion of Ter Borch's military paintings, see Kettering 2000, 100–122 (please note the errata in the first two illustrations: fig. 1 should show the illustration in fig. 2 and vice versa); and Kettering 1999b, 513–540.

13. Angel 1996, 244.

14. For example, Houbraken 1753, 3:39.

15. Houbraken 1753, 3:174, observes that Eglon van der Neer (see chapter 17) painted merry companies dressed in the modern fashion in the manner of Ter Borch. Likewise, in Adriaen van der Werff's autobiography (see chapter 17) written down by his son-in-law, he says that Van der Neer painted satin dresses and other garments in the “modern manner” of Ter Borch. For this passage, see Gaetgens 1987, 433. For an earlier reference to modernity, see Van Mander 1994, 1:457. Van Mander also uses the term to describe a work by Goltzius (1:394). See also the examples quoted by Pauw-De Veen 1969, 171, 173, 174, 179.

16. Kettering 1993/1997, 98–101.

17. Kettering 1993/1997, 101–102. For contemporary writings on masculinity and effeminacy, see Kettering 1997.

18. See Sutton 1997.

19. Honig 1997, 195.

20. Honig 2001, 294.

1. Houbraken 1753, 3:39, “Hy wist door zyn Konstenceel niet alleen de vaste wezenstrekken, en den ganschen zwier levendig na te bootzen, maar ook de bekleedingen, en byzondere stoffen naar hun aard, doch boven al het wit Satyn zoo natuurlyk, dun en konstig te schilderen, dat het waarlyk Satyn scheen te wezen, waar om hy het zelve ook menigwerf in zyne Konststukken te pas bracht.”

2. The influence, especially for their compositional schemes, of Codde and Duyster in the early 1630s on the formation of the young Ter Borch has already been noted. See G 1959–1960, 2:54, 56–57, 70, 80, 100.

3. Angel 1966, 248, translation of Angel 1642, 55.

4. Letter from Gerard ter Borch the Elder to his son in London, 3 July 1635 (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais, inv. no. 490). The letter is reproduced and translated on pages 188–189. My thanks go to Alison Kettering for discussing this difficult and very important passage with me.

5. There is little information about the use of lay figures in seventeenth-century painting. A good impression of the construction and appearance of such figures can be gained from Adriaen van Ostade's panel painting *The Landscape Painter in His Studio*, from about 1663 (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, inv. no. 7397). About the making of seventeenth-century laymen see the 1636 treatise *De teecken-const* by Biens: E. A. de Klerk, “‘De Teecken-Const,’ een 17de eeuws Nederlands traktaatje,” *Oud Holland* 96 (1982): 16–60.

6. Roger de Piles, *Verhandeling over de Schilderkunde door den heer de Piles, benevens eene samenspraak over hetzelfde onderwerp door Ludovico Dolce waarin over de voortreffelykheden dier konst en de nodige vereischtings van een schilder breedvoerig gehandelt wordt*, trans. P. den Hengst and A. Mens Jansz. (Amsterdam, 1756), 233. The same picture is also reproduced in the original edition: *Cours de Peinture par Principe, composé par Mr. De Piles* (Paris, 1708), 382.

7. Hoogstraten 1678, 262: “Weerglans is wel eygentlijk een wederomkaetsing van het licht van alle verlichte dingen, maar in de konst noemen wy maer alleen reflexie of weerglans, de tweede verlichting, die in de schaduw valt.”

8. “En als 'er veele dingen bij een liggen B.E. vrugten., dan moeten de schadijen der vruchten die naest den dagh liggen soo flauwe sijn dat sij bijne geen schadije en sijn en de lichten van de vruchten die in de schadije liggen moeten soo weijnig sijn dat sij de schaduw van den geheelen hoop niet en quellen, maer den geheelen hoop moet geconsidereert worden al oft maer een vrucht en waer, ende dit heeft plaets in figuren, boomen, blommen en in alle andere dingen die groepen oft hoopen kunnen maeken” in K. Dankers (illustrated by Adrianus Wiltschut), “Teyckenbovk, voor de Jonge Jeught” (Brussels?, 1701), 12, manuscript in the Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, Ms 1997–A.1186. On the Wiltschut treatise, see Van Eikema Hommes 1999, 25–38, especially 36–37. Also see Bolten 1985, 142–147.

9. Van de Wetering 1993, 28–37.

10. G 1959–1960, 1:378, repro.; 2:221–222, no. 252 (R. Lebel, Paris 1963).

11. Kolfin 2002.

12. See G 1959–1960, 2:16, for the entry on Gerard ter Borch's purchase of painters' equipment (Deventer Municipal Archive, inventory Assenstraat 1638–1669 no. 145). In the entry the art books (probably sketchbooks) and prints figure quite prominently: “Meyster Gerardt de Schilder heeft van my gekoff in den Jare 1636 den 10 Juny de Kunstboecken ende figuren prenten ende allerhande gereetschappen van pletten penselen, Esels oock alderhande verwen ende geverwde linde doecken in lesten geraemt te samen bedongen voor d'somma van vyftee guld. Hier f. 15–0–0 by my, Heyltgen Stoltenberg als doen weduwe van Renes.” On Dutch drawing books, see Bolten 1985.

13. A tracing on a transparent Mylar sheet of the dress of the standing lady in the Amsterdam *Paternal Admonition* (cat. 27), matched, in general position as well as in drapery details,

the dress of the standing lady in the Berlin *Paternal Admonition*. Similarly, a tracing from the *Glass of Lemonade* in a private collection (cat. 40) matched exactly the figural composition in the Hermitage version (cat. 39). (personal communication, W. Khoudiakov). A tracing of the figure in the *Music Lesson* in Toledo (cat. 47), made by Larry Nichols, was laid over the Cincinnati version (cat. 48). The comparison did show some minor changes, but again it appears that the two women were taken from the same preliminary drawing, which must have shifted a bit in the transfer process (personal communication, M. Wieseman).

14. M. Merrifield, *Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting* (London, 1849), 2:736.

15. Van Mander 1604, folios 47, verso, 190, verso, 252, verso, 263, verso.

16. A. Wallert and M. Bijl, “Two of Many: A Pair of Diptych Panels in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum,” in *La Peinture et le Laboratoire; Procédés, Méthodologie, Applications, Colloque XIII, Le dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture*, eds. R. Van Schoute and H. Veroughstraete (Leuven, 2001): 35–44. As these mechanically transferred underdrawings would normally appear as white lines on the gray ground of the canvas, it is impossible to detect them with infrared reflectography.

17. “Beau labour en bleu. Faites avec esmail & blanc de plomb (duquel tant plus y a, tant plus la couleur s'estend facilement) couchés le tout avec ces couleurs. Enfoncés avec Laque. Glacés par dessus avec Ultramarin” (De Graaf 1958, 149). On dead coloring, also see A. Wallert, “Methods and Materials of Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century,” in Amsterdam 1999, 7–24, especially 21–24.

18. Amsterdam 1999; see also De Graaf 1958, 151: “Il fault premierement peindre les couleurs mortes, cest a dire mettre la premiere couche avec Cynabre & Lacque, apres laisser seicher, puis fault glacer de belle lacque, & la dessus enforcer de lacque, & au plus fort de noir d'yvoire préparées avec verdegris & couperose comme dessus, & rehausser de Cynabre, & dún peu de tresbelle mine ou de Cynabre avec tant soit peu de blanc de plomb.”

19. Beurs 1692, 30: "(Sneeuw) Om die in zijn eigen dag te schilderen mengeltmen wit en koolswart na behooren: zoo 't wat te blaauw viel, doet er wat lak onder. De schaduwe wil koolswart en een weynig wit en ligter oker hebben tot zoo een trap van yeder, als 't leven gebieden zal. 't Zelve is voor de weersteutinge goed, als er wat meer wit en ligten oker by is." On the Beurs treatise, see Van Eikema Hommes 1999, 32–36.

20. Beurs 1692, 31: "'t zelve mengsel met de satynen vereischende: zy heeft met de sneeuw groote gemeenschap, dogz' heeft wat meer glans, zoo dat haar wit, door schilp wit moet gevonden worden, en ze zuiver moet geschildert zijn, en gans warm in't sonneligt, daar en boven; om de teederheid van zijn dag uitdrukken neemtmen tusschen 't swart en wit wat ultramarijn of smalt. De schaduwe moet gloeyend zijn en getempert worden met swart en wat meer ligten oker als de sneeuw, en men maakt de weersteutinge wat ligter als de schaduwe door wat wit, swart, ligten oker en een weynig vermilioen."

21. Lead white was identified on the basis of its optical characteristics in polarized light microscopy (PLM); the identification of lead and the carbonate was done by microchemical analyses (MCA); and the perfect match of the diffraction pattern of the sample with that of the PDF standard 13–131 was done by x-ray diffraction (XRD). Further examination, including elemental analyses, was done with scanning electron microscopy equipped with energy dispersive spectrometry of x-rays (SEM-EDS).

22. T. Goedings and K. Groen, "A Seventeenth-Century Explanation of the Word 'Schulpwit,'" *Bulletin of the Hamilton Kerr Institute*, 2 (1994): 85–87.

23. Examination with PLM showed the typical whitish particles with moderate birefringence and conchoidal fracture, in a yellow matrix. XRD analysis showed a strong Fe fluorescence in the pattern, but no distinct lines for any crystalline iron oxide pigments. The ochre is of amorphous nature. The pattern showed a perfect match with that of PDF file 33–1161 for

quartz (SiO<sub>2</sub>). The finding of such an unconventional single quartz ground is highly exceptional. See K. Groen, "Seventeenth Century Grounds in Rembrandt's Studio and in Paintings by His Contemporaries," in *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, 4 (Dordrecht and London, forthcoming).

24. My translation of this enigmatic sentence differs from Alison Kettering's. Our interpretations are discussed in note 1, page 189.

25. This approach can be traced back to the methods practiced for the production of merry company scenes in Haarlem and Amsterdam. See Kolfin 2002, 119–131, 137.

26. "op zyn Rembrands of Lievensz., dat het sap gelyk drek langs het stuk neer loope; maar [contrary] gelyk en mals, dat uwe voorwerpen alleen door de konst rond en verheeven schijnen en niet door kladdery"; "dat men zulke schrandere geesten vind die door nieuwig-heden eenig aanzien...zoeken te verkrijgen. Men heeft 'er verscheidene van dien aart sedert eenigen tyd gezien: doch ik zal 'er maar alleenlyk twee noemen, als Rembrand en Jan Lievensz"; "voor die een vaste hand en vlug penceel heeft, om zyn Concept met den eersten te voltooien; 't welk anders, zonder het eerst te doodverwen niet kan geschieden." G. de Lairese, *Groot Schilderboek, Waar in de Schilderkunst in al haar deelen grondig werd onderweezen, ook door Redeneeringen en Prentverbeeldingen verklaard*, ed. Johannes Marshoorn, vol. 1 (Haarlem, 1740), 324.

27. This vertical panel has a rather wide wood grain running in a horizontal direction, but lacks the conventional beveled edges. It has these features in common with the Rijksmuseum's *Helena van der Schalcke* (cat. 14), the *Seated Girl in Peasant Costume* (28 × 23 cm, inv. no. SK-A-4038), the *Portrait of Jacob de Graeff* (45.5 × 34.5 cm, inv. no. SK-A-3963), and a *Portrait of a Gentleman* (23.7 × 17.8 cm, private collection). This deviation from common seventeenth-century practice may suggest that the wood for these panels is of local or Westphalian origin rather than from the Baltic states, and that the panels were made by a local carpenter rather than a professional panel maker (personal communication, Martin Bijl,

13 May 2003). No relationship with exclusive Zwolle or Deventer units of measurement could be established. A relation, however, with the inch according to the so-called "roedental" of Mastenbroek seems probable. This is a unit, dating from 1533, and current only in the province of Overijssel, that was used in both Zwolle and Deventer. See R. Rentenaar, *Van Swindens Vergelijkingstafels van Lengtematen en Landmaten*, vol. 1 (Wageningen, 1971), 80.

28. The plaits that make up the skirt are indicated by a dark brown, almost black linear drawing. Also on her left sleeve such lines show through. The pattern of oval shapes in the underdrawing of her left sleeve is in agreement with a pattern of "subtracted" white lines on her right sleeve and shoulder. The highest tops of the folds of the right sleeve are connected with a high sheen, in more or less oval shapes, like snow on the tops of a mountain ridge.

29. Lead white, carbon black, red ochre, and umber in this painting were identified on the basis of their optical characteristics by PLM; chemical composition was determined by MCA, followed by an SEM-EDS examination of a paint cross section.

30. Gaehtgens 1987, 433: "Dog zijne verkiesinge was na de moderne manier, (als die van Terburgh) om satijne rokjes en andere kleetjes te vertoonen."

31. Leonardo da Vinci, *Treatise on Painting (Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270)*, trans. A. P. McMahon (Princeton, 1956), 1:207.

32. Angel 1642, 248.

## Notes to the Catalogue

### PROVENANCE, EXHIBITION HISTORY, AND REFERENCES

1

#### Horse and Rider

1633/1634, oil on canvas, 51.5 × 41 (20 ¼ × 16 ½)  
On loan from a Private collection, Courtesy of the  
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (WALL 188)

#### Provenance

(Gallery F.M.Z. Mathiessen, London, 1946 as  
P. Palamedsz); Private collection, London;  
Mrs. M.A. Dunne, London, by 1959, private  
collection

#### Exhibitions

None recorded

#### Literature

HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 103, probably either no.  
333 f or g; G 1959–1960, 1:177, repro.; 2:54, no. 2;  
The Hague and Münster 1974, 48; Moiso-  
Diekamp 1987, 482–483, D 5

#### Notes

1. For this image, see Kettering 1988, 1:102,  
cat. GJr 18.
2. G 1959–1960, 2:53–54, no. 1. Gudlaugsson  
considered these two works to be pendants.  
Another version, now in the Museum of Fine  
Arts, Boston (cat. 1, fig. 1), was not known by  
Gudlaugsson. It seems unlikely that any of  
these variations of this theme were intended to  
be pendants even though two of these works  
were apparently sold as a pair in Leiden in  
1770. See HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 103,  
no. 333 f and g.
3. G 1959–1960, 2:54, no. 2.
4. See, for example, Codde's painting *Two Sol-  
diers with a Woman in an Inn*, 1633, Rijks-  
museum Twenthe, Enschede (0346), illustrated  
in *Beelden van een strijd* [exh. cat., Stedelijk  
Museum Het Prinsenhof] (Delft, 1998), 337–  
338, no. 121.
5. G 1959–1960, 1:28.

2

#### The Consultation

1635, oil on panel, 34.5 × 45.7 (13 ¾ × 18)  
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz,  
Gemäldegalerie (791C)

#### Inscription

Signed and dated, on tablecloth (G and T inter-  
laced): *G.T. Borch 1635*

#### Provenance

B.G. Roelofs (sale, Amsterdam, 2 April 1873,  
no. 25); B. Suermondt, Aachen, acquired by  
museum in 1874

#### Exhibitions

The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 2

#### Literature

Staatliche Museen, Berlin 1911, no. 791c.; HdG  
1907–1927, 5 (1913): 10–11, no. 8; Bode 1919, 103;  
Hannema 1943, 56, 97, 107 repro.; Plietzsch  
1944, 38, no. 4; G 1959–1960, 1: 179, repro.;  
2:55–56, no. 4; Staatliche Museen, Berlin 1978,  
431, no. 791c, repro.

#### Notes

1. For an excellent discussion of this issue, see  
Dixon 1995, 75–79.
2. Documents indicate that Ter Borch became  
a master in the Saint Luke's Guild in Haarlem  
in 1635. Only after he had become a master  
would he have been permitted to sign and date  
one of his paintings. See G 1959–1960, 2:15.
3. G 1959–1960, 1:30. Nevertheless, it is also  
possible that the painting was in the possession  
of one of Ter Borch's patrons in Zwolle or  
Deventer, where Netscher could have seen it.
4. Gudlaugsson in G 1959–1960, 2:55–56, no. 4,  
notes the stylistic connections between the  
still-life elements in this painting and works  
by Teniers and De Heem. De Heem probably  
moved from Leiden to Antwerp in the early  
1630s. He became a member of the Saint Luke's  
Guild in Antwerp in the guild year 1635–1636.
5. For an English transcription of this letter, see  
page 189 and Kettering 1988, 2:864.
6. Ter Borch's mother, Anna Bufkens, had been  
born in Antwerp, and her brother Aert still  
lived there. Another of her brothers, Thomas  
de Bonte, who lived in Kampen in 1635, became  
Ter Borch's guardian. See Houck 1899, 98, and  
G 1959–1960, 2:47.

3

#### Procession with Flagellants

c. 1636/1640, oil on panel, 41.5 × 71.5 (16 ½ × 28 ½)  
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (1855)

#### Provenance

N. Beets Gallery, Amsterdam, 1921; Mr. Hem-  
lein (?); Israel Collection, Kassel; (J. Goudstik-  
ker Gallery, Amsterdam, 1930); presented by  
Goudstikker to the museum in 1930 on the  
occasion of the 10th exhibition of his collection  
at the Rotterdamse Kunstkring

#### Exhibitions

Amsterdam 1930, no. 60; Rome 1956–1957,  
no. 294; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 3;  
Munich 1998–1999, no. 107

#### Literature

Bode 1925, 112–113, repro.; Hannema 1943, 100,  
151; Plietzsch 1944, 10, 39, repro.; G 1948, 44;  
G 1959–1960, 1:35–37, 182, repro.; 2:57–58,  
no. 7; Brown 1974, 291, repro.; Brown 1984, 214,  
212, repro.; Kettering 1988, 1, 130; Cologne  
1991–1992, 197; Lammertse 1998, 20, 50

#### Notes

1. As quoted by Lammertse 1998, 21. *The Diary  
of John Evelyn*, ed. John Bowle (Oxford and  
New York, 1985), 97.
2. Flagellants are seen in *Combat between  
Carnival and Lent*, a painting from the work-  
shop of Pieter Bruegel the Elder in the Museum  
of Fine Arts, Boston (49.82).
3. This summary is taken from *The Catholic  
Encyclopedia*, 6, online edition, 2003. The entry  
on “Flagellants” was written by Leslie A. St. L.  
Toke and transcribed by Douglas J. Potter. See  
also Cologne 1991–1992, 194–197.
4. Bode 1925, 112–113, fig. 2.
5. Plietzsch 1944, 10.
6. G 1959–1960, 2:57–58, no. 7. For a discussion  
of this painting, see Cologne 1991–1992,  
194–197, no. 19.5.
7. Houbraken 1753, 3:34. For a discussion of Ter  
Borch's travels, see the essay by Wheelock.
8. Gerard the Elder's letter, dated 3 July 1635,  
recommends that Gerard the Younger paint  
“modern” scenes, in which figural groups, simi-  
lar to those found in daily life, were portrayed

with a sense of movement. For discussions of this letter, see page 189 and essays by Wheelock, Kettering, and Wallert.

9. Lammertse 1998, 21.

10. Lammertse 1998, 21.

## 4

### Portrait of a Man

c. 1639/1640, oil on copper, 48.6 × 35.7 (19 1/8 × 14 1/16)  
Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Gift of George T. Cameron (52.31)

#### Inscription

Signed, lower right: *G T B*

#### Provenance

([Possibly] sale d'Albe, Paris [Constantin], 26 February 1825, lot 22).<sup>\*</sup> Private collection, Germany?<sup>†</sup> (Newhouse Galleries and Frederick Mont, New York, 1952); Gift of Mr. and Mrs. George T. Cameron

#### Exhibitions

San Francisco, Toledo, and Boston 1966–1967, no. 23

#### Literature

G 1959–1960, 1:41–42, 192, repro.; 2:62, no. 18; Saint Petersburg and Atlanta 1975, 34; Haverkamp-Begemann 1980, 206, 211 note 17; Kettering 1999a, 52; Lynn F. Orr in San Francisco 1999, 81

#### Notes

<sup>\*</sup> Described in the sale catalogue as “Un petit portrait en pied, d’homme vêtu de noir, se détachant sur un fond clair. Ce morceau est d’une belle qualité. Cuivre, 18 × 12 p[ouces].”

<sup>†</sup> Although the history of the picture prior to its appearance on the New York art market is not known, there is a Berlin customs stamp on the reverse of the copper panel.

1. On the occurrence of this gesture in (Dutch) male portraiture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Joaneath Spicer, “The Renaissance Elbow,” in Bremmer and Roodenburg 1991, 84–128, especially 97–100.

2. See, for example, Plietzsch 1961, 137–138.

3. See Adams 1985, 1:223–225.

4. Musée du Louvre, Paris (1730), oil on panel, 33 × 27 cm.

## 5

### Portrait of a Man

c. 1640, oil on copper, 48 × 35 (18 7/8 × 13 3/4)  
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, The Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund (49-11-26)

#### Provenance

C. Marchand, Paris, 1901; (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1901); Marquis de Ganay, Paris (sale [Mme la Marquise de Ganay, née Ridgeway], Paris [Georges Petit], 8–10 May 1922, no. 29); (F. Mont, New York); Mr. and Mrs. Adolph D. Williams

#### Exhibitions

The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 5a; Phoenix 1998, no. 4

#### Literature

Sedelmeyer Gallery 1901, no. 49; Dreyfus 1909, 4; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 100–101, no. 322; G 1959–1960, 1:41, 190, repro.; 2:61–62, no. 16; Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 1966, 58; Near 1985, 442; Kettering 1999a, 52

#### Notes

1. In addition to the paintings included in this exhibition, see G 1959–1960, 2: nos. 13, 14, 15, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 48, 52, 55, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 135, 136, 150, 151, 173, 198, 228, 263, 267, 268, and 287.

2. See Phoenix 1998, especially Edgar Peters Bowron, “A Brief History of European Oil Paintings on Copper, 1560–1775,” 9–30.

3. Although one might expect just the opposite, the use of copper (or other metal supports) is actually comparatively rare among works by fine painters in the latter part of the seventeenth century; see Bowron, “A Brief History,” in Phoenix 1998, 25. It may have been regarded as a mark of virtuosic achievement for a painter to be able to re-create the enamel-like surface of a copper panel on a more porous, irregular support such as canvas or wood.

4. G 1959–1960, 2:60–61.

5. Gaskell 1990, 156.

## 6

### Portrait of a Woman

c. 1640, oil on copper, 48 × 35 (18 7/8 × 13 3/4)  
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, The Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund (49-11-27)

#### Provenance

C. Marchand, Paris, 1901; (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1901); Marquis de Ganay, Paris (sale [Mme la Marquise de Ganay, née Ridgeway], Paris [Georges Petit], 8–10 May 1922, no. 28); (F. Mont, New York); Mr. and Mrs. Adolph D. Williams

#### Exhibitions

The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 5b; Phoenix 1998, no. 4

#### Literature

Sedelmeyer Gallery 1901, no. 48; Dreyfus 1909, 4; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 123, no. 403; G 1959–1960, 1:41, 191 repro.; 2:62, no. 17; Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 1966, 58; Near 1985, 442; Kettering 1999a, 52

#### Notes

1. De Winkel 1998, 330.

2. Oil on panel, 30 x 23.2 cm; sale, New York (Christie’s), 26 January 2001, no. 124 (as *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of a Woman*); G 1959–1960, 2: nos. 32 and 33. An identification for the subjects in the present portrait and its pendant may eventually be found among members of this extended Haarlem family (Van der Schalcke/Bardoel), who appear to have been among Ter Borch’s most consistent early patrons. See cat. 14.

3. G 1959–1960, 2:61, no. 14.

4. Gaskell 1990, 156.

5. Gaskell 1990, 156, conjectured that this might be a mourning bonnet; if so, it might conceivably have been added upon the death of the man depicted in the pendant.

## 7

### Horsemen in front of an Inn

Peter Molijn and Gerard ter Borch  
c. 1643/1645, oil on panel, 43.5 × 58.5 (17 1/8 × 23 1/16)  
Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna (730)

#### Inscription

Signed, top left: *P/Molijn*

#### Provenance

Bequest of Count Anton Lamberg, 1821, with an attribution of the figures to Tilberg [Gillis van Tilborch the Younger (1625–1678)]

#### Exhibitions

Brussels 1977–1978, 58–59

#### Literature

G 1959–1960, 1:208, repro.; 2:70–71, no. 35; Trnek 1992, 273–278, no. 91; Trnek 1997, 136–137

#### Notes

1. See, for example, Esaias van de Velde’s *Three Riders before a Tent*, 1622, illustrated in George S. Keyes, *Esaias van den Velde 1587–1630* (Doornspijk, 1984), fig. 230.

2. See also G 1959–1960, 2:69–70, no. 34. Gudlaugsson also notes (G 1959–1960, 2:71) that in 1647 the artist Jan van Goyen acquired a painting at auction that had been painted by Molijn and Ter Borch. The work fetched fifty guilders, the second highest price in the sale.

3. Since Ter Borch was no longer a member of the Haarlem Saint Luke’s Guild in the early 1640s, the collaboration could only have occurred if Molijn invited Ter Borch to execute the work with him.

4. Trnek 1992, 276–277.

8

### Adriaen Pauw van Heemstede

c. 1646, oil on copper, 16.3 × 12.2 (6 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Collection Pauw van Wieldrecht, On loan to Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem (OS 92-195)

9

### Anna van Ruytenburgh, Wife of Adriaen Pauw

c. 1646, oil on copper, 16.3 × 12.5 (6 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Collection Pauw van Wieldrecht, On loan to Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem (OS 92-196)

#### Provenance

Mr. M. J. Ridder Pauw van Wieldrecht, Broekhuizen, 1909; Jonkvrouwe E. Elias Pauw van Wieldrecht, Keston Park, Farnborough, Kent

#### Exhibitions

The Hague and Münster 1974, nos. 8a, 8b; The Hague 1998, nos. 3, 4; Münster and Osnabrück 1998, nos. 616, 617

#### Literature

Moes 1897–1905, nos. 5169, 6651; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 86, no. 254; G 1959–1960, 1:52, 213, repro.; 2:73–74, nos. 41, 42; Duchhardt 1998, 142; The Hague 1998, 25–26; Kettering 1998, 610, repro.

#### Notes

1. Pauw was awarded the medal of the French Order of Saint Michael during an official visit to France in 1624. The French lily attaches to the medal. For Pauw's right to add the French lily and English rose to his coat of arms, see Van Nierop 1993, 213–214.

2. See Stiglic 1998, 391.

10

### Godard van Reede van Nederhorst

c. 1646, oil on copper, 15 × 11 (5 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 4 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (SK-A-3842)

#### Provenance

F. C. C. Baron van Tuyll van Serooskerken, Slot [castle] Zuylen, Oud-Zuilen; acquired by the Rijksmuseum in 1952

#### Exhibitions

Delft 1948, no. 430; The Hague 1998, 28, no. 6; Münster and Osnabrück 1998, no. 620

#### Literature

G 1959–1960, 1:58, 216, repro.; 2:77–78, no. 47; Van der Goes and De Meyere 1996, 69–70; Faber and De Bruin 1998

11

### Caspar van Kinschot

1646/1647, oil on copper, 11 × 8 (4 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Private collection, On long-term loan to the Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague (1050)

#### Provenance

Van Kinschot collection, Leiden; on loan from a private collector since 1975

#### Exhibitions

The Hague 1890, no. 15; Rotterdam, 1910, no. 533; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 12; The Hague 1998, 28–29, no. 11; Münster and Osnabrück 1998, no. 618

#### Literature

Moes 1897–1905, no. 4192; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 82, no. 240; G 1959–1960, 1:59, 219, repro.; 2:79, no. 51; Israel 1997, 97–98

#### Notes

1. G 1959–1960, 2:79, no. 51; The Hague and Münster 1974, 76–77.

12

### Don Caspar de Bracamonte y Guzman, Count of Peñaranda

1647/1648, oil on copper, 10.5 × 9 (4 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 3 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (2529)

#### Provenance

Pasteur Kremer Collection, Paris; E. Warneck Collection, Paris; (sale, Paris, 27–28 May 1926, no. 14); J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam; D.G. van Beuningen Collection, Rotterdam, later Vierhouten; acquired by Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, from Collection of D.G. van Beuningen in 1958

#### Exhibitions

The Hague 1903, no. 7; Paris 1911, no. 155; London 1929, no. 502; Amsterdam 1929, no. 144; Rotterdam 1938, no. 151; Delft 1948, no. 415; Paris 1952, no. 122; Rotterdam 1955, no. 127; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 14; The Hague 1998, 33, no. 2; Münster and Osnabrück 1998, no. 621

#### Literature

HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 87, no. 256; Plietzsch 1944, no. 23; G 1959–1960, 1:61, 222, repro.; 2:81, no. 56; Ekkart 1995, no. 4; Israel 1997, 100; Dethlefs 1998, 203

13

### The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster, 15 May 1648

1648, oil on copper, 45.4 × 58.5 (17 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 23 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
The National Gallery, London (NG 896)

#### Inscription

Signed and dated: *G.T.Borch F.Monasterij A 1648*

#### Provenance

Hendrik ter Borch, [burgomaster of Deventer] 1672–1674; by descent to his son, Bernard Heidentrijck ter Borch, Deventer; a descendent of the latter; Van Leyden, Amsterdam; (sale, Van Leyden, Paris, November 1804, no. 91); de La Roche; probably Chevalier de Lespinasse de Langeac (c. 1750–1842). Prince de Talleyrand, Paris, June 1814, in sale catalogue, 9 July 1817, lot 38, though the sale never took place; William Buchanan, Paris?, 1817; Duc de Berry, Paris?, 1833, in a private sale, London, April 1834, no. 69; (sale, Duchesse de Berry, Paris, 4–6 April 1837, lot 1); bought by Octave Taunez for Prince Anatole Demidoff, San Donato, Florence; (sale, Prince Anatole Demidoff, Paris, 18 April 1868, lot 18); 4th Marquess of Hertford; by descent in 1879 to Sir Richard Wallace; The National Gallery, London, 1871

#### Exhibitions

Stockholm 1966, 159, no. 266; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 15; London 1976, no. 11; The Hague 1998, no. 1; Münster and Osnabrück 1998, no. 615

## Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 115–116, no. 1; 9 (1842): 529, no. 2; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 9, no. 6; G 1959–1960, 1:64–68, 223, repro.; 2: 81–85, no. 57; MacLaren 1960, 35–41, no. 896; MacLaren and Brown 1991, 34–39, no. 896; Ekkart 1995, no. 4; Dethlefs 1996; Israel 1997; Demoed 1998, 1–5; Dethlefs 1998, 166–172; Kaulbach 1998, 593, 601; Kettering 1998, 605–614

## Notes

1. The Latin account provided by the poet and jurist Dr. Johannes Cools, often cited by art historians, including Gudlaugsson in G 1959–1960 and MacLaren and Brown 1991, provides considerably less detail than the description published by the historian Lieuwe van Aitsema in 1650. See The Hague 1998, 15–17; Kettering 1998, 605–606.

2. Although Ter Borch only included six plenipotentiaries, the Dutch delegation actually comprised eight representatives who all eventually ratified the treaty. Nederhorst of Utrecht was too sick to attend the ratification ceremony (see cat. 10) and the delegate from Zeeland stayed away because of his province's objections to the treaty. A few weeks later, Zeeland did agree to publish the peace. See Israel 1982, 374.

3. See also the highly finished, miniaturistic paintings that Ter Borch produced of various participants in the negotiations, many of them engraved, either at the artist's or the sitter's request (cats. 8–11).

4. G 1959–1960, 1:67–68 and Houbraken 1753, 3:40.

5. Its accessibility to Ter Borch's family members is indicated by the copy one of them made of the Count of Peñaranda, exactly as he appears in the center of the painting. See Kettering 1988, 730.

## 14

### Helena van der Schalcke

c. 1648, oil on panel, 34 × 28.5 (13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 11 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (SK-A-1786)

## Provenance

Agneta Eichelberg, daughter of the sitter; by descent to Hendrick Christiaan Kleinpenning (1834–1904), Amsterdam; (Antiquair Francke, Amsterdam); purchased with the aid of the Rembrandt Society, 1898

## Exhibitions

The Hague 1924, no. 12; London 1929, no. 218; Rotterdam 1947, no. 10; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 6; Amsterdam 2000, no. 112; Haarlem and Antwerp 2000–2001, no. 48

## Literature

HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 89, no. 267; Plietzsch 1944, 39, no. 10; G 1959–1960, 1:47–48, 204, repro.; 2:68–69, no. 30; Bol 1962, no. 32; Kruiemel 1971; Van Thiel 1976, 130

## Notes

1. For Van der Schalcke family genealogy, see Kruiemel 1971, 224–229, and Kruiemel 1971, 237–254. Prior to Kruiemel's research, Helena's parents had long been identified as the preacher Hendricus Schalkenius (Hendrik van der Schalcke, younger brother of Gerard) and his wife, Alida van den Heuvel.

Ter Borch could claim a remote connection to his sitters; Suzannah Molijn, sister of his Haarlem master Pieter Molijn, married Gerard van der Schalcke's uncle, Hendrik Cornelis van der Schalcke, in 1637 (see Kruiemel 1971, 254).

2. G 1959–1960, 2:68, nos. 28 and 29 (as portraits of Hendrik van der Schalcke and his wife).

3. Both oil on panel, 30 × 23.2 cm; sale, New York (Christie's), 26 January 2001, no. 124 (as *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of a Woman*); G 1959–1960, 2: nos. 32 and 33. The portraits are listed in the inventory of Johan Bardeel's estate, 20 February 1663: “2 contrefeytsels van ter Burch van Jan Bardeel en syn huisvrouw Maria Wibouts f. 25:—:—” (Archiefdienst voor Kennemerland, Haarlem, NAH 222, folio 211); see Pieter Biesboer, *Collections of Paintings in Haarlem, 1572–1745*, ed. Carol Togneri (Los Angeles, 2001) 127.

4. Rudi Ekkart in Haarlem and Antwerp 2000, 136, citing Bob Haak, “Het portret van Pompejus Occo door Dirck Jacobsz.,” *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 6 (1958): 35.

5. Saskia Kuus, “Children's Costume in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in Haarlem and Antwerp 2000, 77.

6. See G 1959–1960, 2:68, and The Hague and Münster 1974, 60.

7. Ekkart in Haarlem and Antwerp 2000, 168.

## 15

### Scene in an Inn

c. 1648/1650, oil on panel, 24.7 × 18.4 (9 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 7 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Private collection

## Inscription

Signed, on the edge of the table: *GTB*

## Provenance

Possibly collection of Johan van Slijpestijn, Utrecht, 1693 (inventory, 26 September 1693, no. 70);\* (sale, The Hague, 24 April 1737, no. 20); (Prince de Conti, sale, Paris, 15 March 1779, no. 180);† R. Mège de Malmont, Paris; (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, by 1901); A. Schloss, Paris (sale, Paris, 25 May 1949, no. 60); Dr. H. Wetzlar, Amsterdam (until 1976); private collection

## Exhibitions

Laren 1959, no. 79; Münster and The Hague 1974, no. 17

## Literature

Sedelmeyer Gallery 1901, 60, no. 50; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 73, no. 198, which is identical with HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 36, no. 89 and 39, no. 98a; Wetzlar 1952, no. 79; G 1959–1960, 1:69, 231, repro.; 2:89–90, no. 69; Jager 1985, 20, repro.

## Notes

\* The inventory of Slijpestijn's collection, dated 26 September 1693, includes on page 4, item 70, the following reference: “Twee conterfeytsels verbeeldende de reuck en smaekck” (Two portraits depicting Smell and Taste). The painting identified as “reuck” may well be this work. For a discussion of its connection to a painting depicting “Taste,” see the catalogue text. The provenance reference is found in the Getty Provenance Index Database; I would like to

thank Adriaan Waiboer for bringing it to my attention.

† The painting can be identified by a small drawing made in the border of the sales catalogue by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin. See Émile Dacier, *Catalogue de ventes et livrets de salons illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin* (Paris, 1919), 59. In the sale the painting was misattributed to “G. Bouth.” I would like to thank Anneke Wertheim for discovering this reference.

1. Gudlaugsson, in G 1959–1960, 1:69; 2:83, 89, no. 68, identifies this figure in reference to a figure in the painting's purported pendant, *Encouragement to Drink*.

2. G 1959–1960, 2:90, associates the costume with the theater. The young man's costume, however, also has associations with musicians in paintings by Georges de La Tour (1593–1652). See, in particular, the musician on the right in *The Musicians' Brawl*, c. 1625–1627, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; illustrated in Philip Conisbee, *Georges de La Tour and His World* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Art] (Washington, 1996), 53, no. 9.

3. G 1959–1960, 2:89–90, nos. 68 and 69. See the note on Slijpestijn in the provenance.

4. See Antwerp 1991, 145–147, nos. 46A, 46B.

5. Although Gudlaugsson in G 1959–1960, 2:90 has noted that the simple wooden table is not characteristic of those seen in Dutch art but is found in French genre scenes of the seventeenth century, I have been unable to find an equivalent table in any work of art from the period. In any event, it must be based on an actual table, closely observed by the artist.

6. Gaskell 1984, 119–121.

7. Renger 1986, 35–38.

8. Jacob Cats, *Silenus Alcibiadis, sive, Proteus* (Amsterdam, 1620), part 1, 25, emblem 12, “Van roock werd ick ghevoedt” (I was fed with smoke). The English translation of this emblem is taken from Nevitt 2003, 94.

9. Mattoon M. Curtis, *The Book of Snuff and Snuff Boxes* (New York, 1935), 30–40.

16

## Woman at a Mirror

1650, oil on panel, 34 × 26 (13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 10 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (SK-A-4039)

### Provenance

(Sale, Amsterdam, 19 July 1826, no. 54 [sold to De Vries]). (Sale, Rotterdam, 26 April 1830, no. 68 [sold to Lamme]). (Sir George Donaldson, London). Albert Lehmann, Paris; (sale, Paris, 12 June 1925, no. 289); R. Schumann, Paris; E. Nicolas, Paris; J. de Bruijn, Muri; presented to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, by Mr. and Ms. I. De Bruijn-van der Leeuw, Muri, 1961

### Exhibitions

Paris 1911, no. 150; Bern 1943, no. 55; Basel 1945, no. 97; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 21

### Literature

HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 24, no. 52 (which is identical with 27, no. 64); Plietzsch 1944, fig. 20; G 1959–1960, 1:79–81, 243, repro.; 2:101, no. 83; De Jongh 1967, 76–78; Stone-Ferrier 1985, 172

### Notes

1. G 1959–1960, 2:99–100, no. 81, and 102, no. 85 respectively. For a discussion of Rembrandt's use of family members, focusing on Saskia, see Dickey 2002.

2. Compare, too, Gesina's own self-portraits in Kettering 1988, 2:483, folio 2, recto, and 682, folio 8, recto.

3. See the essay of Arie Wallert in this volume for the “modern” method of handling paint in the satin (especially page 38–41).

4. G 1959–1960, 2:101, no. 83, De Jongh 1967, 76, and The Hague and Münster 1974, 98. De Jongh illustrates an image by Roemer Visscher of a girl gazing at herself in a mirror and interprets the painting by Ter Borch in light of this and other emblems of transience.

5. The print is attributed, alternatively, to Cornelis Visscher and Th. Matham (Hollstein 42).

6. Titian's famous *Venus before the Mirror* was copied many times in this period, by Rubens and Van Dyck, among others. See Sluijter 2000, 112.

7. Sluijter 2000, 90–97.

8. Just shortly before 1650, Ter Borch seems to have executed a similar composition, more obvious in its narrative and more moralizing in its point; the painting is known today only through copies (G 1959–1960, 2:95–96, no. 76). There the maid is presented in the act of combing her mistress' hair while the mistress herself gazes on what looks like a watch rather than at her reflection in the mirror, which is invisible.

17

## A Young Woman at Her Toilet with a Maid

c. 1650/1651, oil on wood, 47.6 × 34.6 (18 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.10)

### Provenance\*

Blondel de Gagny, Paris (sale, Paris, 10–24 December 1776, no. 73); (Lebrun, Paris; sale, Paris, 19 January 1778); Villers (sale, Paris [Le Brun], 30 March 1812, no. 44 to Bernardeau); Monsieur L. Lapeyrière (sale, Paris, 14 ff. April 1817, no. 60 [to Vas; bt. in?]); (sale, Paris, 19 ff. April 1825, no. 164); Théodore Patureau (sale, Paris, 20–21 April 1857, no. 40 [to Leroy]); Vicomte Bernard du Bus de Gisignies [1808–1874], Brussels (sale, Brussels, 9–10 May 1882, no. 78 [to Thibaudeau]); Léopold Goldschmidt, Paris, 1898; Rodolphe Kann, Paris, by 1900; his estate, 1905–1907; (Duveen, Paris and New York, 1907; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1907–1913; his estate, 1913–1917); Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

### Exhibitions

Madrid 2003, no. 1

### Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 124, no. 19 (as “The Toilet”); Bode 1900, no. 17, repro.; Kann 1907, 1: no. 86; Nicolle 1908, 197; Hellens 1911, 66–68, 125; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 23, no. 50 (as with Duveen); Burroughs 1931, 353; Plietzsch 1944, 51, under no. 73; G 1959–1960, 1:83, 240, repro.; 2:23 note 7, 98–99, no. 80; Westers 1961, 94–95, repro.; Haverkamp-Begemann 1965, 39, repro.; Naumann 1981, 1:68; Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, 151 note 1, 239; Sutton 1986, 187, repro.; Kettering 1993/1997, 117 note 14, 121 note 62; Baetjer 1995, 323; Blankert 1995–1996, 40, repro.; Kettering 1996, 382; Strouse 1999,

568; Liedtke 2000, 104, 118, 237–238, repro.; Strouse 2000, 31, repro.; New York and London 2001, 17–18, 151, 161, 163, 384; Franits 2001, 2–3; Liedtke forthcoming

### Notes

\* In part because of Jan Steen's quotation of the young woman from the present painting in a work from the 1650s (Instituut Collectie Nederland, on loan to Centraal Museum, Utrecht), Gudlaugsson considered the possibility that Steen's father-in-law, Jan van Goyen, owned the present panel or sold it on Ter Borch's behalf (G 1959–1960, 2:99).

1. I am grateful to Walter Liedtke for making available the text of his unpublished entry on this picture, to be included in the forthcoming catalogue of Dutch paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

2. See G 1959–1960, 1:83, and others; as Naumann points out, however (in Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, 239), Ter Borch does not seem to have produced another such “high-life” genre scene until the so-called *Paternal Admonition* of about 1655 (see cat. 27).

3. Sale, Paris (Drouot), 13 December 1988, no. 26; G 1959–1960, 2: 96, no. 77.

4. On the mirror as an indicator of *vanitas*, see Amsterdam 1976, 192, and more generally, Alain Tapié et al., *Les Vanités dans la peinture au XVIIe siècle: méditations sur la richesse, le dénuement et la redemption* [exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts] (Caen, 1990). On the basin and ewer as a symbol of purity or innocence in Dutch art, see A. Elizabeth Snoep-Rietsma, “De waterzuchtige vrouw van Gerard Dou en de betekenis van de lampetkan,” in *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder*, ed. Joshua Bruyn et al. (The Hague, 1973), 285–292; and Eric-Jan Sluijter, “Een stuck waerin een jufr. voor de spiegel van Gerrit Douw,” *Antiek* 23 (1988): 150–161.

5. As noted by Liedtke, forthcoming.

18

## The Reading Lesson

c. 1652, oil on panel, 27 × 25 (10 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 9 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Peintures,  
Legs la Caze, 1869 (MI 1006)

### Inscription

Signed (traces), on back of chair: *GT*

### Provenance

Louis La Caze [1798–1869], Paris;\* bequeathed by him to the Louvre, 1869

### Exhibitions

The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 26

### Literature

La Caze 1871, no. 145; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 40, no. 104; Plietzsch 1944, no. 41; G 1959–1960, 1:96, 130, 257, repro.; 2:108–109, no. 98; Brejon de Lavergnée et al. 1979, 30; Naumann 1981, 1:66; Durantini 1983, 102; Frankfurt 1993–1994, 252, repro.

### Notes

\* In 1869, Louis La Caze (1798–1869) bequeathed his collection of more than 260 paintings to the Louvre. A doctor of relatively modest means, he purchased paintings cheaply at auction or from dealers in secondhand goods; as a consequence the provenance of these pictures prior to 1869 can rarely be documented.

1. See Durantini 1983, 93–130.

2. G 1959–1960, 2:108. An engraving of Grammatica, 1565, by Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris—see Manfred Sellink, *Cornelis Cort, 'consitch plaet snijder van Hoorne in Holland' / 'accomplished plate-cutter from Hoorn in Holland'* [exh. cat., Museum Boymans-van Beuningen] (Rotterdam, 1994), 124, repro.—provided direct inspiration for the figures of a mother instructing a child in Cornelis de Man's *Reading Lesson* (c. 1680s, canvas, formerly with Hoogsteder Fine Arts, The Hague [1989]).

3. For example, Gerard Dou's *Night School* of about 1663 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), or his *portrait historié of Prince Rupert von der Pfalz and His Tutor*, about 1631 (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles). For Steen's more jaundiced take on the subject, see Wouter Kloek in

Washington and Amsterdam 1996, 212–215, with additional citations.

4. Pen and brush with brown ink, 137 × 145 mm; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (2680). On this drawing as an allegory of Ingenium, see Hessel Miedema, “Over het realisme in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw,” *Oud Holland* 89 (1975): 2–18; for a more moderated interpretation see *Jacques de Gheyn II Drawings* [exh. cat., Museum Boymans-van Beuningen] (Rotterdam, 1985), 64–65.

5. Oil on panel, 29.2 × 21.6 cm, private collection, United States. For the comparison, see G 1959–1960, 2:108; Naumann 1981, 1:66, and Bettina Werche, in Frankfurt 1993–1994, 252.

## 19

### Woman Combing a Child’s Hair

c. 1652/1653, oil on panel, 33.5 × 29 (13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague (744)

#### Inscription

Signed (illegible), on chair back: *GTB*

#### Provenance

(Sale, J. van Bergen van der Grijp et al., Zoeterwoude, 25 June 1784); Abraham Delfos, Leiden [1731–1820]; (sale, H. Rottermond, Amsterdam, 18 July 1786). (Sale, Dorothee Henriette Marie Louise Baroness de Pagniet, Utrecht, 26 July 1836, no. 32.); Steengracht van Duivenvoorde, The Hague [from 1836–1913] (sale, Paris [Georges Petit], 9 June 1913, no. 17); purchased with the aid of the Vereniging Rembrandt

#### Exhibitions

Amsterdam 1913, no. 6; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 24; Paris 1986, no. 13

#### Literature

Bode 1883, 188; Geffroy 1900, 130, repro.; Martin 1913a, 10–11; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 21–22, no. 46; Martin 1914, 10–12; Martin 1935, 31; Plietzsch 1944, 43, no. 37; Bruyn 1959; G 1959–1960, 1:88, 254, repro.; 2:106–107, no. 95; Amsterdam 1976, 41; Mauritshuis 1977, 47; Durantini 1983, 29; Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, 143, 158; Mauritshuis 1985, 146–147 no. 14, 342 no. 744; Broos 1987, 74–77; Moiso-Diekamp 1987, 481–482; Honig in Leiden 1988, 81; Franits 1993, 73, 128–130;

Giltaij 1994, 113; London and Hartford 1998, 73–74, 134; Madrid 2003, 98

#### Notes

1. Broos 1987, 74, identified the child in Ter Borch’s painting as a boy, based on the smock.

2. Gerard Dou, *Old Woman Delousing a Boy*, c. 1650, Private collection, The Netherlands; Pieter de Hooch, *A Mother and a Child with Its Head in Her Lap*, c. 1658–1660, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (c 149); and Jan Miel, *Old Woman Delousing a Child*, c. 1640s, etching (Hollstein 12). For Sweerts’ depictions of the theme, see Kultzen 1996, nos. 24, 27, 28, and 34. Other artists such as Caspar Netscher also represented mothers combing a child’s hair (*Mother’s Pride*, 1669, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, A 293), but there is little in the presentation of these elegant scenes to suggest that they were also searching for lice.

3. Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen* (Amsterdam, 1614), part 1, no. 9; and “Kem, kem u menigmael, en niet het hair alleen, Maer ook dat binnen schuylt, tot aen het innigh been,” Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuwen tijd* (Amsterdam, 1658), 173. See Snoep-Reitsma 1973, 288; also Amsterdam 1976, 197, and Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, 158.

4. Johan de Brune, *Banket-werk van goede gedagten* (Middelburg, 1660), 2:319: “Een slacke moeder, luyzige hoofden”; cited in Amsterdam 1976, 199.

5. See E. de Jongh in Amsterdam 1997, 257–259.

6. G 1959–1960, 1:88; 2:106–107; The Hague and Münster 1974, 104, 106; E. de Jongh in Amsterdam 1976, 41; and Franits 1993, 73, among others. The themes of spinning and combing a child’s hair are in fact both represented in Brekelenkam’s *Old Woman Combing a Child’s Hair* (cat. 19, fig. 1).

7. Moiso-Diekamp 1987, 481–482.

8. Broos 1987, 76.

## 20

### Woman Spinning

c. 1652/1653, oil on panel, 34.5 × 27.5 (13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Willem van der Vorm Foundation, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (VdV 4)

#### Inscription

Signed and dated: *GTB 1653*

#### Provenance

Dr. Jan Tak, Leiden [by 1779] (sale, Zoeterwoude, 5 September 1781, no. 16); Abraham Delfos, Leiden [1731–1820]. (Sale, J. A. Bennet, Leiden [van der Hoek], 1–7 April 1829, no. 52). Sir Francis Cook [by 1902]; Sir Frederick Cook, Doughty House, Richmond; Sir Herbert Cook, Doughty House, Richmond; (D. Katz, Dieren, by 1940); Willem van der Vorm, Rotterdam [purchased 4 March 1940]

#### Exhibitions

London 1895, no. 107; London 1902, no. 184; London 1938, no. 275; Rotterdam 1950–1951, no. 95; Zurich 1953, no. 151; Rotterdam 1955, no. 125; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 25; Amsterdam 1976, no. 3; Madrid 2003, no. 2

#### Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 125, no. 24; Cook 1905, 30, repro.; HdG (1907–1927), 5 (1913): 29–30, no. 73 and 58, no. 159; Kronig 1914, no. 218, repro.; Brockwell 1922, 48; Bode 1923, 105, repro.; Brockwell 1932, 39 no. 218, repro.; Plietzsch 1944, 14, no. 39; Hannema 1950, no. 95, fig. 11; Hannema 1958, no. 4, fig. 7; G 1959–1960, 1:87–88, 89, 255, repro.; 2:107, no. 96; Hannema 1962, no. 4, fig. 27; De Jongh 1967, 65, fig. 50; Schipper-van Lottum 1975, 137–163; Stone-Ferrier 1985, 88, 92; Moiso-Diekamp 1987, 481–482; Honig in Leiden 1988, 81; Franits 1993, 73–76, 128; Giltaij 1994, 113–115; Sutton in London and Hartford 1998, 73; Wieseman 2002, 56

#### Notes

1. “Sy wort door enckel lust tot spinnen aengedreven; / Sy maect dat haer gesin de spille drayen kan / Ten goede van het huys, ten dienste vanden man” in Jacob Cats, *Houwelyck* (Middelburg, 1625), cited by Franits 1993, 71.

2. Franits 1993, 75–76; the passage is contained in the introduction to the “Bruyt” section of Cats’ *Houwelyck* (Middelburg, 1625), ch. 3.

3. Franits 1993, 30.

4. See the many examples cited and illustrated in Schipper-van Lottum 1975; Stone-Ferrier 1985, 84–95; and Franits 1993, 71–76, among others.

5. Franits 1993, 73, 128; G 1959–1960, 1:87, also positioned the two paintings between portraiture and genre painting.

6. See cat. 19 for a discussion of the relationship between the two paintings.

7. Both drawings are illustrated in Giltaij 1994, 115.

## 21

### Jan van Goyen

c. 1652/1653, oil on panel, 20 × 16 (7 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Collections of the Prince of and in Liechtenstein, Vaduz (GE 893)

#### Inscription

Signed, bottom right: *GTB*

#### Provenance

Michiel van Musscher (1645–1705), Amsterdam.\* Jan van der Marck, Leiden (sale, Amsterdam, 25 August 1773, no. 413 [as by Bartolomeus van der Helst]); Nicolaas Nieuhoff, Amsterdam (sale, Amsterdam, Van der Schley, 14–17 April 1777, no. 68 [as by Bartolomeus van der Helst]). G. Mailand, Paris (sale, Paris, 2 May 1881, no. 125); E. May, Paris (sale, Paris, Georges Petit, 4 June 1890, no. 126); (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1890?); acquired 1890 by Fürst Johannes II for the Liechtenstein collection

#### Exhibitions

Lucern 1948, no. 204; Basel 1987, no. 21; Leiden 1996–1997, no. 59

#### Literature

Bode 1894, 88; Sedelmeyer Gallery 1898, no. 221 (as previously sold); Höss 1908, 56; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 79–80, no. 227; Bredius 1915–1922, 3 (1917): 990; Bode 1923, 165; Liechtenstein 1931, 180, no. 893; G 1959–1960, 1:86–87, 251, repro.; 2:104–105, no. 93; Van Hall 1963, 116, no. 2; Dobrzycka 1966, 78; Beck 1972–1973, 1:18; 2: repro. frontispiece; Baumstark 1980, 220, no. 90; Amsterdam 1981, 7; Amsterdam 1993, 61; Sutton 2002, 40

## Notes

\* Mentioned in the inventory of Michiel van Musscher's possessions (made following the death of his first wife), 30 July 1699, no. 48: "Van Goyen's pourtrait van Terburgh, f16.—"; see A. Bredius, "Inventare von Michiel van Musscher," in Bredius 1915–1922, 3 (1917): 990.

1. On Van Goyen, see Beck 1972–1973; Beck, *Ergänzungsband* (Doornspijk, 1987); and Leiden 1996–1997. Specifically on Van Goyen's financial position and the market for his paintings, see Eric Jan Sluijter, "Jan van Goyen als marktlieder, virtuoos en vernieuwer," in Leiden 1996–1997, 39–45.

2. G 1959–1960, 1:87.

3. On Rembrandt's two portraits and their impact, see E. de Jongh, "The Spur of Wit: Rembrandt's Response to an Italian Challenge," *Delta* 12 (1969), 49–67; David Bomford, Christopher Brown, and Ashok Roy, in *Art in the Making: Rembrandt* [exh. cat., The National Gallery] (London, 1988–1989), 80–85; H. Perry Chapman, *Rembrandt's Self-Portraits: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Identity* (Princeton, 1990), 72–78; and Pieter van Thiel, in *Rembrandt: the Master & His Workshop (Paintings)* [exh. cat., Gemäldegalerie, Rijksmuseum, and The National Gallery] (Berlin, Amsterdam, and London 1991–1992), 218–221.

4. On the Ter Borch family collection of drawings and prints, see Kettering 1988, 2:772–773. Moses ter Borch drew several copies after Rembrandt prints, including the latter's *Self-Portrait* of 1631; see Kettering 1988, 1:330, no. M 84.

5. There is no mention in the museum's files of the painting's having been cut down at any time (kind communication from Béatrice Capaul, Princely Collections, 9 December 2003).

6. G 1959–1960, 1:86.

7. Gudlaugsson proposed that Van Goyen might have owned Ter Borch's *Young Woman at Her Toilet with a Maid* (cat. 17) or sold it on his behalf; see G 1959–1960, 1:86–87; 2:99.

8. For other portraits purportedly of Van Goyen, see Van Hall 1963, 116.

9. See the note on Van Musscher in the pro-*enance*. Although there is no evidence that he actually studied with Ter Borch, several of Van Musscher's genre paintings are based on compositions by the older artist; see G 1959–1960, 2:290, and Sutton in Dublin and Greenwich 2003–2004, 118.

## 22

### Portrait of a Gentleman

c. 1652/1653, oil on panel, 28 × 23 (11 × 9 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Private collection

#### Inscription

Signed: *GTB*

#### Provenance

(Bernheimer, Paris); H. Bernstein, Paris, Mme Gruber, Paris; (Dr. O. Werthheimer, Paris, 1957); (P. de Boer, Amsterdam, 1957); H. Nordmark, Stockholm, 1957; (P. de Boer, Amsterdam, 1976)

#### Exhibitions

Atlanta 1985, no. 9

#### Literature

G 1959–1960, 1:86, 250, repro.; 2:104, no. 92; Sutton 2002, 38–39, no. 5

#### Notes

1. See, for example, the *Portrait of Eduard Wallis*, 1652, by Johannes Verspronck (1606/1609–1662), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (C. 1414).

## 23

### The Unwelcome Call

1653, oil on panel, 66.7 × 59.5 (26 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 23 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague (176)

#### Inscription

Signed and dated, on a stone: *GTB1653*

#### Provenance

Probably Petronella de la Court, Amsterdam (sale, Amsterdam, 19 October 1707, no. 28). G. van Slingelandt, The Hague, 1752. Willem V, Prince of Orange, The Hague; from 1795–1815 in Paris

#### Exhibitions

Brussels and Antwerp 1946, no. 11; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 27; Osaka 2000, no. 20

#### Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 134, no. 51; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 14–15, no. 28; Plietzsch 1944, no. 43; Martin 1951, no. 254; G 1959–1960, 1:258, repro.; 2:109–110, no. 99; Amsterdam 1993, no. 176; Kettering 2000, 113; Kunzle 2002, 604–607, repro.

#### Notes

1. See Kettering 2000, 110–111.

2. For the varied roles of the trumpeter in Dutch military society, see Kunzle 2002, 608–612.

3. This connection was noted by G 1959–1960, 1:90–91.

4. For an excellent and provocative discussion of this issue, see Helgerson 2000.

5. It seems probable that Ter Borch painted such scenes for an Amsterdam market rather than for a local clientele. For example, this painting, or one like it, seems to have been in the collection of the De la Court family. In the Petronella de la Court 1707 sale (see provenance), a painting is described as "Een Trompetter by een Krijgsoverste" (see G 1959–1960, 2:109, no. 99). This painting could also refer to other scenes with trumpeters (see cats. 31, 32).

6. This suggestion was first made in The Hague and Münster 1974, 110. Kunzle 202, 604, associated the scene with the "Choice of Hercules," suggesting that the soldier is faced with a choice "between Virtue and Vice, between the difficult and dangerous, and the easy and pleasurable."

## 24

### The Grinder's Family

c. 1653, oil on canvas, 73.5 × 60.8 (28 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 23 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin — Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (793)

#### Inscription

Signed, lower right: *GTB*

#### Provenance

Duc de Choiseul, Paris;\* (sale, Duc de Choiseul, Paris, 6 April 1772, no. 30); (sale, Prince de Conti, Paris, 8 April 1777, no. 780); (sale, Chabot, Paris, 12 December 1785); (sale, Robit, Paris, 11 May 1801, no. 153); Duchesse de Berry, Paris; (sale, Duchess de Berry, London, 4 April 1837, no. 3); acquired by the Königliche Museen, Berlin, 1837

#### Exhibitions

Paris 1951, no. 118; Oslo 1959, no. 75; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 28; Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, no. 8

#### Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 123–124, no. 18; Wurzbach 1906–1911, 2:700; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 12–13, no. 19; Brandt 1928, 198–199; Plietzsch 1944, no. 36; Verbeek 1955, 67; G 1959–1960, 1:90–91, 259, repro.; 2:110–111, no. 100; Staatliche Museen, Berlin 1978, 433, no. 793, repro.; De Vries 1994; Van Dijk 1997

## Notes

\* Basan 1771, no titles.

1. The younger man is the same model used for the trumpeter in *The Unwelcome Call*, 1653, cat. 23. If he depicts a client here, then he might well be associated with a blacksmith's shop, perhaps located nearby.

2. De Vries 1994, 188.

3. For the ubiquitous itinerant grinders in printed "Street Cries," see Beall 1975. In painting, see for example, Michael Sweerts' *Roman Street Scene with an Artist Drawing Bernini's Neptune and Triton*, c. 1646–1648, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (in Amsterdam, Hartford, and San Francisco 2002, no. 3).

4. MacLaren and Brown 1991, 258–259, no. 2591; Cornelis Beelt also included grindstones in some of his renderings of smithies.

5. Jost Amman's *Ständebuch* (1568) shows a small, portable, treadle-operated grinding machine that is run by a craftsman outside his own shop (Amman and Sachs 1973, 92). In Christoph Weigel's *Ständebuch* (1698), the grinder and his assistant do their work within a shop on larger machines driven by a water-wheel. See Weigel 1977, 247.

6. De Vries 1994, 187–191. De Vries has proposed an identification for the coats of arms on the side of the house as those of a sixteenth-century regent, Lucas van Camphuysen, though in the early seventeenth century this house was bought by Henrick van Emlichheim, a blacksmith by trade, and by the early 1650s, the house had been partially demolished. The house was situated on the Korte Kamperstraat between the Ossenmarkt and Kamperstraat. When he was a child, Ter Borch's family lived on the Kamperstraat. De Vries also argues that Ter Borch rendered architecturally comprehensible buildings, rebutting various critics who have criticized what they saw as his perspective difficulties. As for the grindstone, see Brandt 1928, 198–199, who points out that its axle lies at ground level, the lower half resting in a water-filled ditch. As the grinder works, the water splashes up against the protective board.

7. Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, 142.

8. The Hague and Münster, 114–115; De Vries 1994, 186–187.

9. Merling 2002, 120 (G 1959–1960, 2:111–112, no. 100a). The Sarasota painting includes blacksmith's equipment visible through the door of the foreground building. For the second work based on Ter Borch's original (G 1959–1960, 2:112, no. 100b), see Van Dijk 1996, 47. Last seen in Berlin in 1940, the composition substitutes a woman cleaning a scythe for Ter Borch's apprentice and places the latter next to a mule inside the shed. Another woman engaged in washing appears at the right.

## 25

### A Maid Milking a Cow in a Barn

c. 1653/1654, oil on panel, 47.5 × 50.2 (18 <sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 19 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (83.PB.232)

#### Inscription

None visible\*

#### Provenance

Samuel van Huls (sale, The Hague, 3 September 1737, lot 87); Willem Lormier (sale, The Hague, 10 November 1756, lot 298); Galitzin collection, Saint Petersburg; Dr. P.V. Delaroff, Saint Petersburg; A.K.K.W. Erasmus, Aerdenhout; Frau Bertha Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Essen; Dr. A. Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Essen; Waldtraut Thomas (née von Bohlen und Halbach); (sale, Christie's, London, 11 December 1981, property of two sisters, withdrawn); (Edward Speelman, Ltd., London)

#### Exhibitions

Essen 1965, no. 14; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 18

#### Literature

Martin 1908, 239; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 140–141, no. 463; Plietzsch 1944, no. 32; G 1959–1960, 1:235, repro.; 2:94, no. 74; Getty Museum 1984, 311, no. 10; Moiso-Diekamp 1987, 482, no. D4; Sutton 1987; Van Heugten 1988, 22, repro.; Felius 2002, 29, repro.

## Notes

\* An examination of the painting in June 2003 failed to reveal any inscription, despite earlier references to an "illegible remains of a signature" above the trough on the right (see *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), 311, no. 10). I would like to thank Mark Leonard and Anne Woollett for arranging for me to examine this painting in the conservation laboratory.

1. As Gudlaugsson writes, we hear "no other sound than the spattering of the milk and the heavy breathing of the beasts." (G 1959–1960, 1:75, as translated by Sutton 1987, 107).

2. For a comparable painting by Cuyp, see *Woman in a Stable*, Dordrechts Museum, in Washington, London, and Amsterdam 2001, 122–123, no. 15; and for Teniers, see *Interior of a Cowshed*, c. 1640–1650, in C.M. Kauffmann, *Catalogue of the Paintings in the Wellington Museum* (London, 1982), 136, no. 175.

3. The grain of the panel of *The Unwelcome Call* (cat. 23), executed about the same time, also runs vertically.

## 26

### A Horse Stable

c. 1654, oil on panel, 45.3 × 53.5 (17 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 21 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (86.PB.631)

#### Inscription

Signed, on reverse, with artist's usual ligature: *GTB*

#### Provenance

(Sale, Amsterdam, 14 August 1771, lot 3, as by Metsu), bought by (Nyman); Louis-François de Bourbon, Prince de Conti (sale, Paris, 8 April–6 June 1777, lot 832), bought by (Lannoy); M. Poullain (sale, Paris, 15–21 March 1780, lot 41), bought by (Langlier); Count G. A. Sparre, Sweden; Count G. Wachtmeister, Wånas, Sweden; by descent to about 1980; (Edward Speelman, London, 1981); Fellowship of Friends, Renaissance, California through (Marco Grassi, New York)

## Exhibition

The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 31

## Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 125, no. 21; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 141, no. 464; Plietzsch 1944, no. 33; G 1959–1960, 1:266, repro.; 2:115–116, no. 109; Moiso-Diekamp 1987, 482, no. D4; Sutton 1987

## Notes

1. I would like to thank Mark Leonard and Anne Woollett for arranging for me to examine this painting in the conservation laboratory.

2. For both this reason and because of the genre quality of the image, the painting differs from the tradition of horse portraiture that had developed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For a discussion of horse portraits by Paulus Potter (1625–1654) and other Dutch artists, see Sutton 1987, 100–102.

3. See Plietzsch 1944, no. 33; G 1959–1960, 2:115–116, no. 109.

4. This opinion is expressed by Moiso-Diekamp 1987, 482, no. D4; and by Sutton 1987, 107. As noted by Sutton, the two panel supports are quite different. The grain in *A Maid Milking a Cow in a Barn* runs vertically while that in *A Horse Stable* runs horizontally. The verso of the former painting, moreover, is roughly hewn, while that of *A Horse Stable* is quite smooth.

5. G 1959–1960, 2:115–116, no. 109.

6. This suggestion was first made by Gudlaugsson in G 1959–1960, 2:115, no. 108. He noted that this same model is found in a number of other paintings from the early-to-mid 1650s, including *The Reading Lesson* (cat. 18).

### Gallant Conversation (known as Paternal Admonition)

c. 1654, oil on canvas, 71 × 73 (27 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 28 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (SK-A-404)

#### Provenance

Willem Lormier, The Hague (1752); (sale, The Hague, 4 July 1763, no. 295); A. L. van Heteren Gevers, The Hague-Rotterdam; purchased with the collection of Van Heteren Gevers in 1809

#### Exhibitions

Rome 1928, no. 119; Brussels and Antwerp 1946, no. 8; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 32; Oberlin 2000; Copenhagen and Amsterdam 2001, no. 68

#### Literature

Hoet 1752, 2:442; Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 117–118, no. 4; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 69, no. 186; Plietzsch 1944, 28–29; G 1959–1960, 1:96–97, 267, repro.; 2:116–117, no. 110-I; Staatliche Museen, Berlin 1978, 430, no. 791, repro.; Hoekstra 1991, 37–41; Kettering 1993/1997, 95–124; Alpers 1997, 63–64; Adams 1999, 230–233, 237; Helgerson 2000; Filedt Kok 2001, no. 72

#### Notes

1. This is a loose translation of *Instruction Paternelle* printed on the engraving, which by the turn of the nineteenth century had begun to connote admonition rather than lesson, to judge by Goethe’s reference to the engraved image as the “so genannte vaeterliche Ermahnung.” Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (Leipzig, [c. 1910]), 115.

2. See, for example, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin 1932, 470; G 1959–1960, 1:96–97; Rosenberg, Slive, and Ter Kuile 1966, 128; and Gemäldegalerie, Berlin 1975, 430.

3. Plietzsch 1944, 29, was the first to mention a coin in the Amsterdam version. He was likely elaborating on earlier interpretations of the Berlin version, first suggested by Drost in general terms, that Ter Borch depicted a bordello masked as a study of bourgeois manners (Drost 1926, 187). The entry for the painting in the Berlin catalogue of 1931 likewise expanded upon Drost’s suggestion by actually pointing to a coin (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin 1932, repeated in Gemäldegalerie, Berlin 1975). Also, Gudlaugsson indicated a coin in his text (G 1959–1960, 1:97), though qualified it in his catalogue entry (G 1959–1960, 2:117, no. 110II [Berlin version]), stating that a fastidious later collector rubbed out the coin (repeated by Rosenberg, Slive, and Ter Kuile 1966, 128, referring to the Berlin version). However, the most recent book published by the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (Bock 1998, 272) has refuted the presence of a coin, while still interpreting the scene as a high-class bordello. As for the Amsterdam version, the conservation studio of the Rijksmuseum has found no trace of a coin, nor is the area around the hand abraded.

4. Stone Ferrier 1985, chapter 5. See also J.P. Guépin, “De rug zonder ommezijde,” in The Hague and Münster 1974, and Wallert’s essay in this volume. For the earliest published reference to the satin in the Amsterdam version, see Hoet 1752, 2: 442: “Een staande vrouw in ’t wit satyn.” The many seventeenth-century producers of variations, pastiches, and paraphrases of both versions also emphasized the satin above all else. Taking advantage of the ambiguous back-turned posture, which allowed a display of the brilliant fabric, these artists showed the girl alone or engrossed in a letter or attended by a servant or involved in making music, but always maintaining a lady-like, upright, elegant, cool bearing. See, for example, *A Singing Practice*, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, in Edinburgh 1992, no. 4.

5. Kettering 1993/1997, (1993): 113–114; (1997): 101–103. See also Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, no. 9.

6. Kettering 1988, 2:431 (Gs 61, folio 19, recto), and Kettering 1993/1997, (1993): 113–114; (1997): 101–103.

### A Boy Caring for His Dog

c. 1655, oil on canvas on panel, 35 × 27 (13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 10 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Alte Pinakothek, Munich (589)

#### Inscription

Signed, lower left: *GTB*

#### Provenance

Sale, J.F. d’Orvielle, Amsterdam, 15 June 1705, no. 42; Gemäldegalerie Düsseldorf (acquired before 1742); Gemäldegalerie Mannheim; Hofgalerie Munich (since 1799)

#### Exhibitions

The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 35a; Washington and Cincinnati 1988–1989, no. 42; Amsterdam 2000, no. 120

#### Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 135, no. 56; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 57–58, no. 158; Hannema 1943, 56; Plietzsch, 1944, no. 35; G 1959–1960, 1:275, repro.; 2:130–131, no. 116; Alte Pinakothek 1983, no. 589; Schama 1987, 395–396

#### Notes

1. This entry is based on one in Washington and Cincinnati 1988–1989, 166–168, no. 42.

2. The suggestion, made in The Hague and Münster 1974, 134, that Ter Borch was inspired by Lucas van Leyden’s engraving *Woman with a Dog* seems unlikely.

3. Kultzen 1996, 94–95, no. 24, indicates that Sweerts’ painting was probably in the collection of Anthony Deutz. Thus, it would have been in Amsterdam by 1650, when Deutz returned from Italy.

4. Schama 1987, 395.

5. According to G 1959–1960, 2:130, this identification was first made by A.J. Moes-Veth; however, no mention of the Munich painting appears in her article, Moes-Veth 1955.

### Three Soldiers Making Merry

c. 1656, oil on panel, 63.3 × 47.9 (24 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 18 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Private collection

#### Provenance

Jan Bisschop [d. 1771], Rotterdam; Adriaen and Jan Hope, Amsterdam; by descent to Henry Philip Hope, by descent to Henry Thomas Hope, Deepdene, by descent to Lord Francis Pelham Clinton Hope, London; (P. and D. Colnaghi and A. Wertheimer, 1898)

#### Exhibitions

The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 37

#### Literature

Smith 1829–1942, 4 (1833): 133, no. 49; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 18, no. 36; Plietzsch 1944, no. 66; G 1959–1960, 1:282, repro.; 2: 136–137, no. 123

#### Notes

1. Israel 1995, 724–736. The political turmoil in Overijssel was related to broader conflicts in the Netherlands between advocates of the house of Orange and those, under the leadership of the province of Holland, who wanted to reduce the impact of the Orangists. The issue in Overijssel began with a debate about the appointment of a sheriff (*drost*) of Orangist persuasion to Twenthe in 1653. The noble in question, Rutger van Haersolte, had the backing of Zwolle to take over this lucrative and powerful position, but not of Deventer, which was aligned with the Holland States party. In 1654, when the “States of Overijssel” gathered in Zwolle, Van Haersolte proposed that Willem III be appointed stadholder of Overijssel and that Willem Frederik, stadholder of Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe, be named lieutenant-stadholder, but this proposal was denounced when the “States of Overijssel” subsequently

met in Deventer. The conflict grew so intense, and the threat of force so imminent, that a delegation from Deventer requested more troops be sent from the States General in 1655, a request that was granted. Conflicts, in fact, did arise, and in 1657 a garrison sent from Deventer to Hasselt came under bombardment from troops sent on behalf of Zwolle by Van Haersolte. The leaders of the Holland States finally intervened in this dispute in 1657, and the various factions reconciled in that year. The external threat, posed by the machinations of Von Galen, continued through much of this period. Holland, however, was not successful in reigning in the prince-bishop. Von Galen achieved his goal of developing an absolutist Catholic state along the Dutch-German border when he successfully besieged Münster in 1661, a victory that would have profound consequences for Deventer, and Ter Borch, in 1672.

2. Israel 1995, 709–710, describes the political conflicts concerning the army that arose during the Great Assembly, held in The Hague in 1651. The desire of the province of Holland to reduce the influence of the house of Orange within the army is reflected in decisions that were made to weaken its political and social role within the republic.

3. Kunzle 2002, 591.

4. For comparable poses in Teniers' paintings to that of the seated drinker, see Antwerp 1991, 5–56, no. 13, repro., and 110–111, no. 32, repro.

5. See G 1959–1960, 2:137, no. 123.

6. See G 1959–1960, 1:297, repro.

7. See Wieseman 2002, 170–171, no. 6.

## 30

### The Suitor's Visit

c. 1658, oil on canvas, 80 × 75 (31 ½ × 29 ¾)  
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Andrew W. Mellon Collection (1937.1.58)

#### Provenance

Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, Duc de Morny [d. 1865], Paris (sale, Paris, 31 May 1865, no. 82); José Salamanca y Mayol [Marquès de Salamanca, d. 1866], Madrid; (sale, Paris, 3–6 June 1867, no. 126); Baron Adolfe de Rothschild [1823–1900], Paris; by inheritance to Baron Maurice de Rothschild [d. 1957], Paris; (Duveen Brothers, New York, in 1922); sold July 1922 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington, D.C.; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh

#### Exhibitions

New York 1939, no. 369

#### Literature

Plietzsch 1944, 21, 47, no. 57; G 1948–1949, 2:235–267; G 1959–1960, 1:116–119, 296, repro.; 2:147–148, no. 139; Haverkamp-Begemann, 1965, 38–41, 62–63, repro.; Robinson 1974, 53–54; Smith 1987, 423–424; Roodenburg 1991, 152–189, repro.; Ydema 1991, 188, no. 860; Kettering 1993/1997, 97, 107, 122 note 66; Wheelock 1995, 26–29; Denver and Newark 2001, 147

#### Notes

1. This entry is largely based on Wheelock 1995, 26–28.

2. G 1959–1960, 2:148, has carefully indicated other instances in which these objects appear in Ter Borch's works. The table carpet, for example, is also seen in *The Letter Writer* (Mauritshuis, The Hague, 797), the chair in *The Visit* (Bührle Foundation, Zurich, [G 1959–1960, 2:163–164, no. 149]), the mantelpiece in *A Young Woman at Her Toilet* (Wallace Collection, London, P235), and *A Lute Player with a Boy* (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 349).

3. For information about Netscher's signed copy on panel, see G 1959–1960, 2:148, no. 139a, and Wieseman 2002, 314–315, no. B2. The composition was also known by Gabriel Metsu. See Korthals Altes 2000–2001, 266, fig. 16 (HdG 189).

4. Kettering 1993/1997, 122 note 66, on the other hand, suggests that the model was Gesina's younger sister Aeltjen (Aleida), who would have been twenty-one years old in 1657. Gesina, who was born in 1631, would have been twenty-six years old.

5. See Kettering 1988, 2:416–614. Gesina began this poetry album in 1652 and contributed to it intermittently until the 1660s.

6. See Kettering 1993/1997 for discussion of the adaptation of Petrarchan concepts of love in Dutch literary traditions and in Ter Borch's paintings.

7. The contents of this emblem book were reprinted in Krul's *De Pampiere Wereld* (Amsterdam, 1644), 295. G 1956–1960, 1:116–117; 2:148, was the first to draw attention to the relationship between Ter Borch's composition and the print from Krul's emblem, which he cited in its republished form in *De Pampiere Wereld*.

8. Krul 1634, 16 (author's translation).

9. Kettering 1988, 2:440, folio 39, verso: "Wit Suijverheijt" and "Incornaet Vraecke or Vreedtheijt."

10. In executing the satin, Ter Borch freely applied thin fluid paint layers that he blended wet into wet in a series of thin scumbles of liquid, soft-edged colors. He then painted a very thin glaze over the underlying layers to further blend and soften their forms. He created his flesh tones with a gray underpainting, thinly glazed in the shaded areas, and more thickly painted in the light areas. I would like to thank Carol Christensen for discussing Ter Borch's technique with me.

11. The Hague and Münster 1974, 136, no. 36a.

## 31

### Officer Dictating a Letter While a Trumpeter Waits

c. 1658/1659, oil on canvas, 74.5 × 51 (29 ½ × 20 ¾)  
The National Gallery, London (NG 5847)

#### Inscription

Signed, on left end of table stretcher (worn): *GTB*

#### Provenance\*

Lothar Franz, Graf von Schönborn, Pommersfelden [by 1719]; by descent in this family (sale, Paris, 17 May 1867, no. 117); Khalil Bey (sale, Paris, 16–18 January 1868, no. 103); (sale, Baron de Beurnonville, Paris, 9 May 1881, no. 518; Amédée Gautray (sale, Paris, 23 February 1883, no. 57; (sale, E. Sécretan, Paris, 1 July 1889, no. 172); (Colnaghi, London); Arthur James, London, by 1890; bequeathed by his widow, Mrs. Mary Venetia James, 1948

#### Exhibitions

London 1890, no. 75; London 1976, no. 12

#### Literature

Meusel 1787–1791, 2 (1788): 76; Pommersfelden 1857, no. 427; Parthey 1863–1864, 2: 624; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 15, nos. 29 and 30; G 1959–1960, 1:110, 114–117, 298, repro.; 2: 150–152, no. 141; MacLaren 1960, 44–46; Sutton 1990, 26, 28; MacLaren and Brown 1991, 1:41–43; Frankfurt 1993–1994, 150, repro.; Sutton 1997, 3; Kettering 1999b, 520–521, repro.; Kettering 2000, 113–115; Kunzle 2002, 616

#### Notes

\* As outlined by Gudlaugsson (G 1959–1960, 2:150), and more fully in MacLaren and Brown 1991, 42, Hofstede de Groot confused the early provenance of the present picture (HdG 1907–1927, 5 [1913]: 15, no. 30) with that of a copy after the *Officer Writing a Letter* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (cat. 32; HdG 1907–1927, 5 [1913]: 15, no. 29).

1. Kettering 2000, 110. In addition to the present painting and cat. 32, Ter Borch's paintings on this theme include *Officer Writing a Letter*, c. 1657–1658 (National Museum, Warsaw) and *Officer Reading a Letter*, c. 1657–1658 (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, 1833). A variant of the present picture, probably a studio work, omits the figure of the man seated at the back of the table (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, 1829).

2. Whether the young helmeted soldier is acting as amanuensis or is receiving advice and counsel from an older, more sophisticated officer on the proper wording of his own letter is not absolutely clear, although the former seems the more likely scenario. See Kettering 2000, 113.

3. On this and other pentimenti in the picture see MacLaren and Brown 1991, 1:41–42.

4. A brief survey of the role of the trumpeter in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century is provided in Kunzle 2002, 611–612; also Kettering 2000, 113.

5. For a thorough discussion of love letters in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, see Dublin and Greenwich 2003.

6. Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland* (New Haven and London, 1978), 159. Ter Borch included the tentlike canopy or pavilion bed most frequently (although not exclusively) in scenes of letter writers and readers (see, for example, cat. 32, as well as cat. 34). Few other artists appear to have included such beds in genre scenes, but compare the very similar canopy suspended from a tree limb to shelter the deceased wife of Godard van Reede van Nederhorst in Herman and Cornelis Saftleven, *Portrait of the Family of Godard van Reede van Nederhorst*, 1634 (Stichting Slot Zuylen, Oud-Zuilen).

7. Kettering 2000, 114.

## 32

### Officer Writing a Letter

c. 1658/1659, oil on canvas, 56.8 × 43.8 (21 5/8 × 18 1/4)  
Philadelphia Museum of Art, The William L. Elkins Collection, 1924 (E1924–3–21)

#### Inscription

Signed, on table stretcher, lower right:  
*GTBorch*

#### Provenance

(Possibly sale, Petronella de la Court [widow of Adam Oortmans], Amsterdam, 19 October 1707, no. 31). Jan and Pieter Bisschop, Amsterdam, by 1752 [collection sold en bloc to Adriaen and John Hope, Amsterdam]; Henry Philip Hope, 1833; Henry Thomas Hope, 1854; Lord Francis Pelham Clinton Hope, London; [collection sold en bloc to] (P. and D. Colnaghi and A. Wertheimer, London, 1898); W. L. Elkins, Philadelphia; acquired by the museum in 1924

#### Exhibitions

The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 41; Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, no. 10; Frankfurt 1993–1994, no. 11; Dublin and Greenwich 2003–2004, no. 8

#### Literature

Hoet 1752, 2: no. 528; Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 121, no. 11; Waagen 1854, 2:115–116, no. 2; Hope 1891, no. 70; Hope 1898, no. 70, repro.; Elkins 1900, 2: no. 129; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 16, no. 31; Plietzsch 1944, 41 (under no. 22); G 1959–1960, 1:114–117, 300, repro.; 2:154–155, no. 143; MacLaren 1960, 45, 46 note 17; Marks 1968, 130; Rishel 1974, 30–33; Robinson 1974, 40; Sutton 1986, 229; Sutton 1990, 26–30; MacLaren and Brown 1991, 1:42; Kettering 1993/1997, 110–115, repro.; Sutton 1997, 6, 7, 9–10; Vergara 1998, 240 note 14; Kunzle 2002, 616

#### Notes

1. For a listing of related works, see cat. 31 note 1.

2. Sutton 1997, 9–10; the relationship between the works had previously gone unrealized because the dimensions of the latter picture had been inaccurately recorded.

3. Kettering essay, page 28.

4. G 1959–1960, 1:116.

5. Ter Borch similarly paired a hound with a masculine subject and a spaniel with a feminine one in a *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of a Woman* of about 1663 (oil on canvas, 80 × 61.5 cm; sale, London [Christie's], 15 June 2002, lot 611); G 1959–1960, 2: nos. 185 and 186.

6. These same elements also appear in the London picture (cat. 31), with similar connotations.

7. Sutton in Dublin and Greenwich 2003–2004, 131–133, nos. 18, 19.

## 33

### Woman Sealing a Letter

c. 1659, oil on canvas, 56.5 × 43.8 (22 3/4 × 17 1/4)  
Private collection, New York

#### Provenance

Richard Wingsfield, 3d Viscount of Powerscourt (1730–1788), Co. Wicklow, Ireland; Duchess of Leinster; Hon. Mrs. Aubrey Topham Beauclerk, Bestwood Lodge, Nottinghamshire; Hon. Aubrey William de Vere Beauclerk; Mrs. de Vere Beauclerk Syllas; Mr. de Vere R. Syllas, London; Mr. de Vere D. Birnbaum, London (from 1937), and later New York City and Scarsdale, New York; Mr. and Mrs. David Bingham,\* (art market, London, 1957); private collection, Europe; (Otto Naumann Ltd., New York)

#### Exhibitions

New York 1942, no. 62; New York 1945, no. 8 (as Metsu); Pittsburgh 1954, no. 39; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 42; Dublin and Greenwich 2003–2004, no. 9

#### Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 104–105, no. 100 (as Metsu); HdG 1907–1927, 1 (1907): 281–282, no. 101 (as Metsu); G 1959–1960, 1:116, 174, 301, repro.; 2:156, no. 144; Blankert 1995, 39, repro.; Delft 1996, 149, repro.; Sutton 1997; Sutton in Dublin and Greenwich 2003, 19; Vergara 2003, 58

#### Notes

\* The Birnbaums (Birnbaum-Ten Cate) changed their surname to Bingham in 1946 (letter to the Frick Art Reference Library, 28 February 1946).

1. G 1959–1960, 1:116.

2. See Sutton 1997, 3, for a complete enumeration, as well as cats. 27, 32.

3. Sutton 1997, 8. For a thorough discussion of letter writing manuals and the theme of love letters in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, see Dublin and Greenwich 2003–2004.

4. See G 1959–1960, 2:156, for a list of other paintings possibly influenced by Ter Borch's *Woman Sealing a Letter*.

5. For various readings of this object and its implications, see Blankert 1995, 39; Wheelock in Washington and The Hague 1995–1996, 186–188; Vergara 1998, 240; and Sutton in Dublin and Greenwich 2003–2004, 186–189, no. 39.

6. Sutton 1997, 9–10. See discussion under cat. 32.

7. See Literature section.

## A Lady at Her Toilet

c. 1660, oil on canvas, 76.2 × 59.7 (30 × 23 ½)  
The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, Eleanor Clay Ford Fund, General Membership Fund, Endowment Income Fund and Special Activities Fund (65.10)

### Inscription

Signed, on the fireplace: *GTB*

### Provenance

Probably sale, Amsterdam, 22 April 1771, no. 21 (as Eglon van der Neer, on panel, 81 × 63.3 cm); probably P. Locquet, Amsterdam (sale, Amsterdam, 22 November 1783, no. 255 [as Eglon van der Neer, on canvas, 82.3 × 64.3 cm]); Musée de Louvre, Paris, 1797; Château Saint-Cloud, 1802; Willems Collection, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1833; Lionel de Rothschild, London, 1836, by descent to The Hon. Mrs. Clive Behrens, London; by descent to Major P.E.C. Harris, London (Rothschild and Stiebel, New York, 1965)

### Exhibitions

London 1844, no. 103; London 1878, no. 157; London 1885, no. 121; London 1929, no. 223; Birmingham 1950, no. 63; London 1952–1953, no. 395; San Francisco, Toledo, and Boston 1966–1967, no. 85; Kansas City 1967–1968, no. 23; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 45; Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, no. 13; Grand Rapids 1999, no. 3; Denver and Newark 2001–2002, no. 86

### Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 174, no. 13 (as Eglon van der Neer) and 136–137, no. 61 (as Gerard ter Borch); Waagen 1854, 2:129; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 22, no. 47; Plietzsch 1944, 21, no. 82, repro.; G 1959–1960, 1:315, repro.; 2:169, no. 165; Haverkamp-Begemann 1965, 38–41; Detroit Institute of Arts 1966, 145, repro.; Detroit Institute of Arts 1979, 70, no. 47; Sutton 1986, 88; Moiso-Diekamp 1987, 483–484, D 7; Kettering 1993/1997, 97

### Notes

1. For a discussion of the type of carpet depicted here, see Ydema 1991, 99–107, 188, 196–197. For a brief discussion of the style of silver toilet items, see Denver and Newark 2001–2002, 197, no. 86.

2. For an excellent discussion of art and literature that approached narrative in this manner, see Fehl 1997.

3. Although it is possible that Ter Borch depicted the candles as being snuffed out because he wanted to emphasize that the scene occurred during daylight hours, this interpretation seems unlikely. It seems improbable that Ter Borch would have chosen to depict them in this central location had he not wished to draw specific attention to their symbolic implications.

4. For a list of the various symbolic interpretations associated with a mirror, see Sutton in Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, 151. None of these, however, seem to be relevant to the mirror's context in this work, in large part because the woman is not looking into it.

5. Kettering 1988, 2:440, folio 39, verso: “Wit Suijverheijt” and “Blaeu Jalousije.”

6. Kettering 1993/1997, 108, however, discusses Gerard de Laïresse's commentary on genre scenes (*gezelschapjes*) in De Laïresse 1707, 182–184, in which he describes scenes of ladies sipping tea and gentlemen drinking wine as “little dramas, involving the passions of ‘entreating and refusing.’”

7. G 1959–1960, 2:169, no. 165, notes that Ter Borch's painting influenced works by Eglon van der Neer, who was an Amsterdam artist. See, for example, Van der Neer's *A House of Pleasure*, 1675, Mauritshuis, The Hague (862). In fact, Ter Borch's painting may once have been attributed to Van der Neer (see provenance). I would like to thank Eddy Schavemaker for drawing my attention to the entries in the 1771 and 1783 Amsterdam sales.

8. G 1959–1960, 2:169, no. 165, even proposed that *Curiosity*, which has similar dimensions, was a pendant to *Lady at Her Toilet*.

## Curiosity

c. 1660, oil on canvas, 76.2 × 62.2 (30 × 24 ½)  
Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.38)

### Provenance

Gaillard de Gagny, 1762, Paris; (sale, Paris, 29 March 1762, no. 15); Randon de Boisset, Paris; (sale, Paris, 27 February–25 March 1777, no. 52); (Lebrun, Paris, 1777); Robit, Paris, 1801; (sale, Paris, 11 May 1801, no. 151); (Bonnemaison, Paris, 1801). Duchesse de Berry, Paris, by 1833; (sale, Paris, 4–6 April 1837, no. 2); Anatoli Nikolaevich Demidov, Prince of San Donato; (sale, Paris, 18 April 1868, no. 19); Baron Achille Seillière, Paris, from 1868. Princesse de Sagan, Paris, by 1883. Baronesse Mathilde von Rothschild [d. 1924], Frankfurt, by 1912; Baron Goldschmidt von Rothschild, Frankfurt, by inheritance, 1924–1927; (Duveen Bros., London and New York, 1927); Jules S. Bache, New York, 1927–1944; The Jules Bache Foundation, New York, 1944–1949; The Jules Bache Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1949

### Exhibitions

Paris 1883, no. 126; London 1929, no. 96; New York 1939, no. 367; New York, 1942, no. 63; New York 1943, no. 38; Boston 1970; New York 1970, no. 281; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 44; Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, no. 12; Athens 1992, no. 16

### Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 118, no. 6; 9 (1842): 529–530, no. 3; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 62, no. 169; Plietzsch 1944, 21, 47, no. 56; G 1959–1960, 1:124, 314, repro.; 2:168–169, no. 164; Haverkamp-Begemann 1965, 40, repro.; Naumann 1981, 1:57–58 note 42, 111 note 143; Sutton 1986, 187; Kettering 1988, 1:148 (under no. GJr88); Ingamells 1992, 201; Kettering 1993/1997, 95, 108, 110, 113, 122 note 69, repro.

### Notes

1. My thanks to Walter Liedtke for allowing me to read his entry on this work for the forthcoming catalogue of Dutch paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and to Lisa Vergara for discussing the painting. About the title, Smith probably invented it (Smith 1829–1842, 4 [1833]: 118, no. 6, “The Letter, or

female curiosity”). The one engraving mentioned by Gudlaugsson (Demidoff sale, 1868) postdates Smith.

2. Kettering 1993/1997.

3. Fock 2001b, 95–96; see also Fock 2001a, 109, where she comments that gold chandeliers hung nearly exclusively in churches and government spaces, silver chandeliers in houses. The fireplace is modeled on the work of the Deventer woodcarver Derck Daniels, as is the frame of the mantelpiece picture. See Dubbe 1982b, 362, repro.

4. The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 44.

5. Adams 1993–1994; Vergara 1998; Dublin and Greenwich, Conn., 2003–2004.

## 36

## The Introduction (An Officer Making His Bow to a Lady)

c. 1662, oil on canvas, 76 × 68 (29 ⅓ × 26 ¾)  
Polesden Lacey, The McEwan Collection,  
The National Trust (POL. P. 50)

### Provenance

Johan van der Marck, Leiden, and heirs; (sale, Amsterdam, 25 August 1773, no. 326); Jan Jacob de Bruijn; (sale, Amsterdam, 12 September 1798, no. 8); James Crawford, Rotterdam [d.1816]; (sale, Christie's, London, 26 April 1806, no. 11); George Granville, 2d Marquess of Stafford [1758–1833]; 1st Duke of Sutherland, installed in the Cabinet of Cleveland House, St. James's, London, after 1833; 2d Duke of Sutherland, Stafford House [formerly Cleveland House], London, 1854; Yolande Duvernay, Mrs. Lyne Stephens, Lynford Hall, Norfolk, and Roehampton Grove; (sale, Christie's, London, 11 May 1895, no. 347 [property of Mrs. Lyne Stephens]); bought by Adrian Lesser; William McEwan MP, 1896–; by inheritance to his daughter, Margaret, Mrs. the Honourable Ronald Greville, Polesden Lacey [d. 1942]; bequeathed to the National Trust, Polesden Lacey, 1942

## Exhibitions

London 1913–1914, no. 62; London 1929, no. 228; London 1945, no. 37; Birmingham 1950, no. 61; London 1952–1953, no. 398; New York, Toledo, and Toronto 1954, no. 12; Aberystwyth, Cardiff, and Swansea 1958, no. 38; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 49; London 1976, no. 13; Washington 1985–1986, no. 293; Birmingham 1989, no. 40; London 1995, no. 64

## Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 130–131, no. 41; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 72, no. 196 (provenance confused with that of cat. 30); G 1959–1960, 1:132–133, repro.; 2:183–184, no. 187; Polesden Lacey 1964, no. 50; Stone-Ferrier 1985, 178; Kettering 1993/1997, 95–107; Laing 1996, 8–10; Kunzle 2002, 613

## Notes

1. G 1959–1960, 1:132; 2:183–184, no. 187.
2. Kolfin 1999, 166, on Codde's *The Dance Lesson* of 1627, aptly titled because of the staging of the couple: the scene suggests not so much a party in progress as a dance lesson. See also Nevitt 2003, 44–46.
3. Kettering 1993/1997, 101/109.
4. Kettering 2000, 108–110.

## 37

### Portrait of a Young Man

c. 1663, oil on canvas, 67.3 × 54.3 (26 ½ × 21 ⅓)  
The National Gallery, London (NG 1399)

#### Provenance

John Rushout, Baron Northwick [1770–1859], probably by 1846\* (sale, Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, 26 July–24 August 1859, no. 1114); Sir Charles Eastlake; bought from the estate of his widow, Lady Eastlake, in 1894

#### Exhibitions

London 1983a, no. 1

## Literature

(Possibly) Thirlestane House 1846, 73, no. 434; (possibly) Northwick 1858, 14, no. 59; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 98, no. 307; 110, no. 345; Plietzsch 1944, 53, no. 86 (as on panel); G 1959–1960, 1:140, 336, repro.; 2:189–190, no. 193; MacLaren 1960, 41–42; MacLaren and Brown 1991, 1:41–43; Kettering 1997, 41, 43, 46, repro.; Kettering 1999a, 46, 60, repro.

## Notes

- \* As suggested by MacLaren and Brown 1991, 1:40 note 3, this picture is presumably the painting mentioned in Thirlestane House 1846, 73, no. 434, and Northwick 1858, 14, no. 59.
1. De Winkel 1998, 333.
  2. For a thorough discussion of the history of black costume and its connotations in the seventeenth century, see Groeneweg 1995.
  3. See Kettering 1997, 43.
  4. Gudlaugsson, in fact, termed the figure in this portrait “foppish” and a “mayfly,” dismissively remarking on the man's devotion to passing fads; see G 1959–1960, 1:140. In a more positive context, Kettering discusses the “effeminate” qualities of the portrait in Kettering 1997, 46.
  5. De Lairese 1707, 2:6; English translation from De Lairese/Fritsch 1738, 345. For an overview of “timelessness” in dress, see De Marly 1980, and more recently, Gordenker 2001, 22–24.
  6. Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698* (London, 1699), 39–40, cited in Gordenker 2001, 23 note 199. On the preference of Johan de Witt (the infamously abstemious stadholder of the United Provinces) for absolute truth to nature in portraits, see P. Leupe, “De Schilder Jan Lievensz. en de portretten van de Bickers, 1663–64,” *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1874), 122–123.

## 38

### Portrait of a Young Woman

c. 1663, oil on canvas, 63.3 × 52.7 (24 ⅞ × 20 ¾)  
The Cleveland Museum of Art, The Elisabeth Severance Prentiss Collection (1944.93)

#### Provenance

(Sale, Jean Jacques de Faesch, Amsterdam, 3 July 1833, no. 56 [to Chapelin or Caplin]). F. Austen, London, 1877; (M. Knoedler, New York, 1923); Mrs. Elisabeth Severance Prentiss, Cleveland; bequeathed by her to the museum, 1944

#### Exhibitions

London 1877, no. 277; Cleveland 1936, no. 245; Grand Rapids 1949; Minneapolis 1952; New York, Toledo, and Toronto 1954–1955, no. 11; Akron 1956; New York 1962, no. 21; Cleveland 1973b, no. 21; Sarasota 1981–1982, no. 10

#### Literature

HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 78, no. 220 (as possibly the Princesse de Condé?); possibly identical with HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 128, no. 416f; Hannema 1943, 101; Francis 1944, 88–89; G 1959–1960, 1:140, 337, repro.; 2:190, no. 194; Wolfgang Stechow in Cleveland Art Museum 1982, 222–223; MacLaren and Brown 1991, 1:39; Chong 1993, 18; Kettering 1999a, 46, 60, repro.

#### Notes

1. De Winkel 1998, 330.
2. G 1959–1960, 1:140.
3. G 1959–1960, 2:197, no. 213. For more on this picture, see Laura Coyle, in *Antiquities to Impressionism: The William A. Clark Collection, Corcoran Gallery of Art* (Washington and London, 2001), 64–65.
4. Canvas, 71 × 58.5 cm, private collection, Great Britain (G 1959–1960, 2: no. 196). Other similarly conceived portraits include the *Portrait of a Woman* (canvas, 61 × 51 cm, Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin, Saint-Omer) (G 1959–1960, 2:198, no. 215).
5. The artistic tastes and self-imaging requirements of Deventer's elite are discussed in Kettering 1999a.
6. G 1959–1960, 2:190.

## 39

### Glass of Lemonade

c. 1663/1664, oil on canvas, 67.2 × 54 (26 ⅞ × 21 ⅓)  
The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (881)

#### Provenance

N.G. Hasselaer (sale, Amsterdam, 26 April 1742, no. 11, with larger dimensions); (bought by Jacques de Roore for Willem Lormier); Lormier, The Hague (as a pendant to a painting by Metsu); sold to Marc-Réné Voyer, Marquis d'Argenson, on 27 June 1748 (as a pendant by Metsu); L.J. Gaignat, Paris, by 1754 (sale, Paris, 14–22 February 1769, no. 21 [as a pendant to a painting by Metsu (HdG 189)]); Duc de Choiseul, Paris (sale, Paris, 6 April 1774, no. 25 [as a pendant to a painting by Metsu (HdG 189)]); (Choseul-Praslin sale, Paris, 18 February 1793, no. 104); (Choseul-Praslin sale, Paris, 19–20 May 1808, no. 18); (De Sérévile sale, Paris, 22 January 1812, no. 23); Empress Josephine at Malmaison, acquired by the Hermitage in 1814

#### Exhibitions

The Hague and Münster 1974, 174, no. 52; Rotterdam 1985, 26, no. 3; New York and Chicago 1988, 9, no. 4

#### Literature

Hoet 1752, 2:50, no. 11; Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 119–120, no. 8; 9 (1842): 530, no. 5; Waagen 1864, 92; Hermitage 1863–1916, no. 870; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 35–36, no. 87; Hannema 1943, 179; Plietzsch 1944, no. 60; G 1948–1949, 257, repro.; Bazin 1958, 171; G 1959–1960, 1:335; 2:187–189, no. 192; Levinson-Lessing 1964, no. 54; Kuznetsov and Linnik 1982, repro.

## Notes

1. See, for example, the commentaries in The Hague and Münster 1974, 174, no. 52; Rotterdam 1985, 26, no. 3; New York and Chicago 1988, 9, no. 4.
2. See Hochstrasser 1995, 54–56.
3. Henry van Oosten, *The Dutch Gardener: Or, the Compleat Florist* (London, 1711), 249.
4. See Dixon 1995, 159. Because of their high acidity, lemons were believed to mediate the excess heat caused by humoral fires.
5. Kettering 1988, 2:440, folio 39, verso, of the poetry album.
6. In The Hague and Münster 1974, 174, no. 52, this gesture was interpreted differently. There, it was felt that the older woman was pushing aside the girl's garment to reveal her shoulder.
7. The black veil is an unusual feature of the girl's costume. Emilie Gordenker has suggested to me, however, that such veils were worn to ward off the cold. She notes that in *Autumn* Wenslius Hollar depicted his allegorical figure wearing such a headdress. See Richard T. Godfrey, *Wenceslaus Hollar: A Bohemian Artist in London* [exh. cat., Yale Center for British Art] (New Haven, 1994), 81, repro.
8. G 1948–1949, 256–257.
9. G 1959–1960, 2:187–188, made these identifications.
10. Kettering 1988, 2:654, folio 122c, recto, of the family scrapbook.
11. Willem Lormier paired this work with a painting by Gabriel Metsu. See Korthals Altes 2000–2001, 301. I would like to thank Adriaan Waiboer for drawing my attention to this reference.
12. For a discussion of Ter Borch's reputed students and followers, see G 1959–1960, 2:285–294.
13. For a list of these copies, see G 1959–1960, 2:289–290.

## 40

### Glass of Lemonade

Attributed to Gerard ter Borch  
c. 1664, oil on canvas, 67 × 54 (26 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 21 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Collection Pieter C.W.M. Dreesmann, London

#### Provenance

John Maitland; (sale, Christie's, London, 30 July 1831, no. 99). John Rogers; (sale, Christie's, London, 30 April 1847, no. 182). (Samuel Woodburn, London); (sale, Christie's, London, 24 June 1853, no. 51); Marquis du Lau; (sale, Christie's, London, 3 June 1871, no. 55). H.A.J. Munro of Novar; (sale, Christie's, London, 1 June 1878, no. 77); Sir Joseph Robinson, London (his sale, Christie's, London, 6 July 1923, no. 94, bought in); thence by descent to Princess Labia, Cape Town; (sale, Sotheby's, London, 7 December 1988); (Agnew's, London); (Noortman Gallery, Maastricht)

#### Exhibitions

London 1894, no. 56; London 1958, no. 2; Zurich 1962, no. 41

#### Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 120, under no. 8; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 36, no. 87.2 (as after Ter Borch); G 1959–1960, 1:134; 2:189, no. 192b (as a copy after Ter Borch); Liedtke 1989, no. 4

## 41

### Lady Drinking While Holding a Letter

c. 1665, oil on canvas, 38.3 × 34 (15 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 13 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Sinebrychoff Art Museum, Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki (All 1531)

#### Provenance

Chevalier de Damery, Paris; Duc de Choiseul, Paris (sale, Paris, 6–10 April 1772, lot 28 [with pendant]); Louis-François de Bourbon, Prince de Conti (sale, Paris, 8 April–6 June 1777, lot 296 [with pendant]); Destouches, Paris, (sale, Paris, 21 March 1794, lot 41 [with pendant]); Prince Alexander Bezborodko, Saint Petersburg, to 1799; Count Ilya Bezborodko, Saint Petersburg; Countess Lyubov Kushelev, née Bezborodko, Saint Petersburg; Count Alexander Kushelev-Bezborodko, Saint Petersburg, to 1855; Count Grigory Kushelev-Bezborodko, Saint Petersburg (sale, Paris, 5 June 1869, lot 35); Mr. Vladimir Tokarev, Saint Petersburg,

c. 1900–1923; The Art Museum of the Ateneum, Linder Collection, Helsinki, 1924; The Museum of Foreign Art, Helsinki, 1990

#### Exhibitions

The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 51; Frankfurt 1993–1994, no. 9; Helsinki 1995; Dublin and Greenwich 2003–2004, 105–106

#### Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 121, no. 12; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 66, no. 178; G 1959–1960, 1:333, repro.; 2:186–187, no. 190; Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, 148, repro.; Moiso-Diekamp 1987, 479–480, no. D1

#### Notes

1. See Kettering 1988, 2:424: The poem, in part, reads, in translation: “Wine is wonderfully good, when men drink with restraint / It warms men's blood, and it purifies the whole body / It is joyful, it does good, and it makes merry / Very nice. The beloved drink, one sees grow up a green sprig / Named the Bacchus vine, and there to a priceless spice / It is joyful, it does good, and it makes merry / Through its potency. If the occasion presents, then let us gladly drink the wine / Wine sometimes makes joy, and it drives away melancholy / It is joyful, it does good, and it makes merry / For everyone.” (Den wijn is wonderbaer goet, als men met maeten drinck bequaem / Hij verwermt het mensen bloet, en hij prugeert t'geheel lichaem / Hij verheucht, en hij doet deucht, en hij maect vreucht / Seer aengenaem / Den lieffelijcken dranck, sietmen wassen op een groen struijck / Genaemt den Bachgus ranck, en daer toe een kostelijck kruut / Hij verheucht, en hij doet deucht, en hij maect vreucht / Door sijn fortuijt / Als de ocasij presenteert, dan laet ons drincken den wijn blij / Den wijn somtijts verheucht, en hij verdrijft melanckolij / Hij verheucht, en hij doet deucht, en hij maect vreucht / Aen allen 't sij.)
2. Kettering 1988, 2:425. “De edele soete wijn verquickt des menschen hert / Wanneer hij maetichlijck met smaeck genuttigh wert sijr.” This poem, added to the end of the drinking song cited in note 1, is based on the book of Ecclesiastes, 31:27, in the Apocrypha.

3. For a discussion of the provenances of these two paintings, see Marja Supinen in Helsinki 1995.

4. G 1959–1960, 2:158–159, no. 146; 186–187, no. 190, dated the two paintings some six to seven years apart, largely on the basis of the differences in the costumes. Moiso-Diekamp 1987, 479–480, no. D1, did not believe that the two works were pendants. Supinen in Helsinki 1995, 14, preferred not to make a judgment on the matter.

## 42

### Jan van Duren

c. 1666/1667, oil on canvas, 81.5 × 65.5 (32 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 25 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.141)

#### Inscription

Signed, lower wall, left of coat: *GTB*

#### Provenance

Jan van Duren, Deventer; by descent to his son, Damiaan van Duren; by descent to his daughter, Elisabeth van Duren, who married Martinus van Doorninck in 1738; by descent to M. van Doorninck D.Jzn., Deventer, by 1882 and still in 1897; P.W. van Doorninck, Bennekom and later Colmschate, at least until 1909;\* C.F.L. de Wild, The Hague; (F. Kleinberger Galleries, Paris and New York); Charles Beistegui, Paris, by 1911; (M. Knoedler and Co., London and New York). Acquired by Philip Lehman in 1912

#### Exhibitions

Zwolle 1882, no. 1181; New York 1915, no. 16; Colorado Springs 1951–1953, no. 33; New York 1954; Paris 1957, no. 52; Cincinnati 1959, no. 133, repro.; New Haven 1960, no. 16, repro.; New York 1973, no. 11; New York 1991

## Literature

Moes 1897–1905, 1: no. 2190; Hellens 1911, 120; Vaillat 1912, 197, repro.; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 78–79, no. 225; Lehman 1928, no. 99, repro.; Mayer 1930, 118; Heinrich 1954, 12, 222; G 1959–1960, 1:141–142, 153, 342, repro.; 2:192–193, no. 201; Haverkamp-Begemann 1998, 153–159, no. 33, repro.; Kettering 1999a, 57–58

## Notes

\* P.W. van Doorninck lent the painting and its pendant to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, from 1901 to 1909. See Haverkamp-Begemann 1988, 153 note 2.

1. On the reverse of this picture, an old label reads *Jan van Duren, Burgemeester en Cameraar van Deventer*. In Deventer, members of the town council were called burgomasters because the position rotated every two months among the *schepenen*. See Dumbar 1732, 1:61, and Kronenburg 1927, 74.

2. For the identification of the subjects, see Kettering 1999a, 55 note 34.

3. Kronenburg 1927, 70–80.

4. Kronenburg 1927, 46–64.

5. About ten years earlier, Ter Borch executed a more conventional portrait of Jan van Duren, a waist-length rendering on an oval-shaped copper support (present location unknown; G 1959–1960, 2: no. 150).

## 43

### Margaretha van Haexbergen, Wife of Jan van Duren

c. 1666/1667, oil on canvas, 81.3 × 65.1 (32 × 25 5/8)  
Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.142)

#### Provenance

Jan van Duren, Deventer; by descent to his son, Damiaan van Duren; by descent to his daughter, Elisabeth van Duren, who married Martinus van Doorninck in 1738; by descent to M. van Doorninck D. Jzn., Deventer, by 1882 and still in 1897; P.W. van Doorninck, Bennekom and later Colmschate, at least until 1909;\* C.F.L. de Wild, The Hague; (F. Kleinberger Galleries, Paris and New York); Charles Beistegui, Paris, by 1911; (M. Knoedler and Co., London and New York). Acquired by Philip Lehman in November 1912

#### Exhibitions

Zwolle 1882, no. 1182; New York 1912, no. 47; New York 1915, no. 17; Colorado Springs 1951–1952, fig. 33; New York 1954; Paris 1957, no. 52; Cincinnati 1959, no. 134, repro.; New Haven 1960, no. 17, repro.; New York 1973, no. 11; New York 1991

#### Literature

Moes 1897–1905, 1: no. 3047; Hellens 1911, 120; Vaillat 1912, 197, repro.; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 79, no. 226; Lehman 1928, no. 99, repro.; Mayer 1930, 118; Heinrich 1954, 222; G 1959–1960, 1:141–142, 153, 343, repro.; 2:193, no. 202; Haverkamp-Begemann 1998, 153–157, no. 34, repro.; Kettering 1999a, 57–58

#### Notes

\* P.W. van Doorninck lent the painting and its pendant to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, from 1901 to 1909. See Haverkamp-Begemann 1988, 153 note 2.

1. Adriaen van Duren, who served on the town council from 1691 to 1702, could possibly have been another son. After Adriaen's retirement from the council in 1703, Damiaan van Duren began serving on the same body.

2. Since the Marienburghs married on 7 May 1661, their portraits were most likely commissioned for that occasion.

3. On Daniels, see Dubbe 1982b, 361–382.

## 44

### The Town Council of Deventer

1667, oil on canvas, 186.2 × 248 (73 5/16 × 97 5/8)  
Town Hall, City of Deventer

#### Inscription

Signed: *G T Borch A 1667*

#### Provenance

Town Hall, Deventer

#### Exhibitions

Zwolle 1882, no. 1179; Deventer 1901, no. 1; Amsterdam 1984, no. 58

#### Literature

Overijsselsche Almanak 1848, 250; Houck 1899, 22–28; Houck 1901, 54; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 138, no. 455; G 1959–1960, 1:142, 345, repro.; 2:27, 194–195, no. 205; Dubbe 1982a, 61–63; Dubbe 1982b, 367–369; Van Thiel and De Bruyn Kops 1995, 273–274; Kettering 1999a, 54–57

#### Notes

1. Exceptions include G.J. Sibilla's *The Town Council of Weesp*, 1652 (Gemeentemuseum, Weesp) (see Sumowski 1983–1994, 6: no. 2439); J.A. van Ravesteijn's *Magistraat of The Hague Receiving Officers of the Civic Guard*, 1618 (Old Stadhuis, The Hague) (see Rudolf E.O. Ekkart, “De schuttersstukken buiten Amsterdam en Haarlem,” in *Schutters in Holland: Kracht en zenuwen van de stad*, eds. M. Carosso-Kok and J. Levy-van Halm [exh. cat., Frans Halsmuseum] (Haarlem, 1988), 133–135, fig. 111); and E. van Tilburg's *Het Vrije, Bruges*, 1659 (Gerechtshof, Bruges). Only the latter bears any resemblance to Ter Borch's group portrait.

2. The *magistraat* comprised twelve *schepenen* (aldermen) and four *raden* (judges or advisors, somewhat less actively involved than their colleagues). The chairmen served for two-month periods. Ter Borch depicted Jan Stikke and Jan van Schriek, who functioned in this capacity directly after the annual election of the council on 22 February 1667. Note the fur muff in the left hand of Jan Stikke; with his right hand he gestures either to the viewer or to the standing secretary. My thanks to Nina Herweijer and Milko den Leeuw for their help.

3. One of the secretaries, Rutger Tichler, represented the Engestraat ward on the *gezworen gemeente* until 1666, when Ter Borch took over his position (see cat. 45).

4. Houck 1901, 54, and see also Dumbar 1732, 103.

5. Dubbe 1982a, 66. Although Dubbe suggests that Ter Borch represented the old paneling, it is more likely that he deliberately rendered the paneling in a generalized fashion, without detail.

6. Kettering 1999a, no. 58.

7. Dubbe 1982a, 61. The central part of the paneling, above the dais, survives today. But a comparison between it and Ter Borch's rendering shows that he made quite a number of alterations. For example, the eagle in the coat of arms at the center turns in the opposite direction.

8. Kettering 1998a, 45.

9. Kettering 1999a, 50–51.

10. For a full description of the symbols and their larger meaning, see Van Thiel and De Bruyn Kops 1995, 273–274.

11. Ter Borch was paid 1,605 guilders; see G 1959–1960, 2:27, 194.

12. The ground on this strip of canvas differs slightly from the ground used for the rest of the work, and yet the handling of the paint is identical.

13. Carelessness during the relining process caused a lot of the black pigments to suffer. But the lead white used for the faces and still-life details protected them from the heat of the iron used for the relining. Milko den Leeuw, the restorer of the painting, and Joris Dik plan to write an article detailing the discoveries they made during treatment of the canvas in 2003 and 2004. We would like to thank the City of Deventer, Noortman Master Painting, Maastricht, and Art Handling Services b.v., Schiphol, for helping sponsor the conservation of this painting.

## Self-Portrait

c. 1668, oil on canvas, 62.7 × 43.7 (24 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 17 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague (177)

### Provenance

Herman Aarentz, Deventer; (sale, Amsterdam, 11 April 1770, no. 10, together with now-lost portrait of Ter Borch's wife, both 74 × 49.5 cm); Johan van der Marck and heirs, Amsterdam, 1770–1773; (sale, Amsterdam, 25 August 1773, no. 461); P. Fouquet (sold without pendant); (sale, Brussels, P.F. Tiberghien, 22 May 1827, no. 308); Mauritshuis

### Exhibitions

Zurich 1953, no. 156; Rome and Milan 1954, no. 16; Oslo 1959, no. 76; Delft and Antwerp 1964–1965, no. 9; The Hague 1966, no. 272; Tokyo and Kyoto 1968–1969, no. 7; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 54; Washington 1982–1984, no. 8; Zwolle 1997, no. 5; The Hague 1998, no. 12

### Literature

Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): no. 37; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 74, no. 204; Moes 1897–1905, no. 874; Houck 1899, 446; G 1959–1960, 1:144–146, 363, repro.; 2:210–211, no. 232

### Notes

1. This may be an autograph copy of the self-portrait that Cosimo III de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany (1642–1723), commissioned of Ter Borch in 1676; see G 1959–1960, 2: C 114. Van der Marck's collection also included another self-portrait, now lost. See Lugt 2189, and for Ter Borch's lost self-portraits, see G 1959–1960, 2:260, nos. C 114, C 116–120, C 172.

2. Usually in portraits, the subject wraps the cloak under one arm, leaving the hands visible. X-rays suggest that Ter Borch may have started the composition of the *Self-Portrait* with this more conventional posture. My thanks to Ariane van Suchtelen for providing me with this information, through her entry on the *Self-Portrait* for a forthcoming catalogue.

3. G 1959–1960, 2:260, no. C 115 (HdG 1907–1927, 5 [1913]: 74–75, 205).

## Posthumous Portrait of Moses ter Borch

Gerard ter Borch and Gesina ter Borch  
c. 1668, oil on canvas, 77.5 × 58.5 (30 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 23 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (SK-A-4908)

### Provenance

Gesina ter Borch and heirs, Deventer. Thomas Jefferson Bryan [1802–1870], New York, 1853; given by Bryan to the New York Historical Society, New York, 1867; (sale, New York, Sotheby's, 12 January 1995, no. 33)

### Exhibitions

Zwolle 1997, no. 10; Oberlin 2000

### Literature

HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 91, no. 276; Moes-Veth 1955, 39; G 1959, 309; G 1959–1960, 1:360, repro.; 2:208–209, no. 227; Sutton 1986, 176–177; Kettering 1995; Van Dijk 1997; Buvelot 1998, 114

### Notes

1. G 1959–1960, 2:38, 285–287.

2. Kettering 1988, 2:641–644 (Gs 62, fols. 79–86).

3. For his drawings, see Kettering 1988, 1:285–351.

4. For a full discussion of the iconography, see Kettering 1995.

5. For example, see the life-size portrait of a standing military figure surrounded by allegorical references by Anselm van Hulle, *Ottavio Piccolomini d'Aragona, Herzog von Amalfi* (1599–1656, imperial field marshal and general), c. 1649–1650, oil on canvas, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin (Dethlefs 1998, fig. 9).

6. In her testament, Gesina bequeathed a portrait of Moses, presumably this one, to her niece and nephews. Houck 1899, 156.

7. *Catalogue of the Bryan Gallery of Christian Art* (New York, 1853), 11, no. 147 (as Portrait of Willem, prince of Orange, later king of England).

## The Music Lesson

c. 1668/1669, oil on canvas, 86.4 × 70.2 (34 × 27 <sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
The Toledo Museum of Art, Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (1952.9)

### Inscription

Signed in ligature and dated, on chair, lower left: *GTB 166[?]*

### Provenance

(Probably) collection Catherine the Great, Saint Petersburg, before 1796; Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (874); (Antikvariat, Leningrad, 1930); Calouste Gulbenkian, Paris, 1930; (Georges Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1930); (Wildenstein and Co., New York, 1930–1951)

### Exhibitions

Los Angeles 1933, no. 15; Chicago 1934, no. 112; Cleveland 1936, no. 247; Toronto 1936, no. 10; Providence 1938, no. 54; Buffalo 1942; New York 1942, no. 64; Montreal 1944, no. 90; New York 1945, no. 17; Hartford 1950–1951, no. 44; Kansas City 1967–1968, no. 24; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 61; The Hague and San Francisco 1990–1991, no. 10

### Literature

Waagen 1864, 193, no. 874; Somov 1895, 2:385, no. 874 (as replica, with incorrect provenance); Vrangal 1909, xviii–xix; Hellens 1911, 126; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 52, under no. 140 (as “old copy”); Hannema 1943, 104–105; Plietzsch 1944, 52, no. 92; Godwin 1955, 139; White 1959, 70–72; G 1959–1960, 1:159–160; 2:232, no. 271–II (as autograph replica); Waterhouse 1967, 170; Toledo Museum of Art 1976, 26

### Notes

1. On the theme of music in Dutch painting, see (among others) Fischer 1975. For the parallels between music and love, and particularly the amorous connotations of musical companies, see A. P. de Mirimonde, “Les sujets musicaux chez Vermeer de Delft,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 57 (1961): 29–52; De Jongh in Amsterdam 1976, 59–61; and The Hague and Antwerp 1994. On the lute as a symbol for harmony in love, see De Jongh in Haarlem 1986, 285–288.

2. See De Jongh 1997, 49–50.

3. “Eij hemel vreucht was leucht ons t'her / als t'soet accort vereenicht wert.” The inscription accompanying a print by Gillis van Breen after Cornelis Ijsbrantsz Kussens of a man playing a lute and a woman playing a violin expounds on the relative voices of the two instruments, and reflects perhaps a more pragmatic view of marital harmony: “As the sturdy string in the house, the man's word must weigh the heaviest, / The chord is sweet if his wife dutifully bows to it”; see Eddy de Jongh in Amsterdam 1997, 97.

4. Compare the melancholic—and utterly forgotten—“third wheel” in the background of Johannes Vermeer's *The Girl with the Wine Glass*, c. 1659–1660 (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin). Brown, referring to the version of the present composition at Waddesdon, identified the figure as a music teacher intent on instilling proper technique; see Brown 1984, 187.

5. The inscription was first noted by Otto Naumann in 1975, and published in Toledo Museum of Art 1976, 26. It should be noted that there are pentimenti in the Waddesdon picture as well: the standing figure originally sported a fichu, possibly similar to that worn by his counterpart in the Cincinnati painting (see Waterhouse 1967, 170).

## The Music Party

c. 1668/1670, oil on panel, 58.1 × 47.3 (22 7/8 × 18 5/8)  
Cincinnati Art Museum, Bequest of Mary M. Emery  
(1927.421)

### Provenance

Floris Drabbe (sale, Leiden, 1 April 1743 [to Dirk Dalens]); Pieter Leendert de Neufville (sale, Amsterdam, 19 June 1765, no. 101 [to van Diemen]); Nicolaas Doekscheer (sale, Amsterdam, 9 September 1789, no. 7 [to C. Ploos van Amstell]); Pieter Smeth van Alphen (sale, Amsterdam, 1–2 August 1810, no. 100 [to Yver]); (sale, Du Prieul, Paris [Lebrun], 25 November 1811, no. 51 [to Lebrun]). Prince Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand (sale, Henry, Paris, 7–9 September 1817, no. 39). Possibly (William Buchanan, London) to John Webb, London, 1817; but more likely to Alexander Baring, later 1st Lord Ashburton, The Grange, Alresford, Hants. and London, by 1819; by descent (sale, The Grange, 1891; collection sold en bloc to L. Agnew and A. Wertheimer); Lord Alfred Charles de Rothschild, London, by 1902; [bequeathed to?] Lady Carnarvon, London, until at least 1922; (Duveen, New York); Mary M. Emery, Cincinnati, 1924; bequeathed by her to the museum, 1927

### Exhibitions

London 1819, no. 33 (as *The Music Master*); London 1871, no. 181; London 1890, no. 72; London 1922, no. 18; Detroit 1925, no. 29; Columbus 1950, no. 34; Columbus 1956, no. 29; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 60; Fort Worth 1991–1992, no. 11

### Literature

Hoet 1752, 2:75; Descamps 1753–1754, 2:127; Terwesten 1770, 475, no. 99; Buchanan 1824, 2: 340, no. 39; Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 116, no. 2; Waagen 1854, 2:104; Villars 1902, 23; Hellens 1911, 124; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 49–50, no. 134; Emery 1930, 9; Alfred Scharf in Valentiner 1930, no. 56; Plietzsch 1944, 54, no. 93; Cincinnati Art Museum 1956, 53; G 1959–1960, 1:159, 393, repro.; 2:230–231, no. 270; Rosenberg, Slive, and Ter Kuile 1972, 223–224; Brown 1974, 291; Zimmerman and Brown 1974, 623–624; Cincinnati Art Museum 1984, 110; Peter Sutton in Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984, xlv; Scott 1987, 24–27; Ben

Broos in The Hague and San Francisco 1990–1991, 179; Franits 1993, 53, repro.; Kettering 1993/1997, 114–115; Kettering 1995, 326

### Notes

- See Edwin Buijsen, “Music in the Age of Vermeer,” in *Dutch Society in the Age of Vermeer*, eds. Donald Haks and Marie Christine van der Sman [exh. cat., Haags Historisch Museum] (The Hague, 1996), especially 110–113, and D. J. Balfoort, *Het Muziekleven in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, 2d ed. (The Hague, 1981).
- See Nevitt 2003.
- A useful survey is provided in The Hague and Antwerp 1994; additional references are cited in cat. 47 note 1.
- See, in addition to *A Woman Playing the Theorbo for a Cavalier*, c. 1658 (fig. 1), *The Music Lesson*, c. 1668 (oil on canvas, 66 × 53.5 cm, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 97.PA.47); *The Duet: Woman Singing and Man Playing the Theorbo*, c. 1669 (oil on canvas, 82.5 × 72 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1900); and *Musical Company*, c. 1670 (oil on canvas, 58 × 46 cm, Staatliche Museen, Kassel).
- As noted by Kettering 1993/1997, 115. Ter Borch originally depicted the woman in the Cincinnati painting with raised lids, her gaze less discreetly lowered.
- My thanks to Patti Favero, Kress Fellow in paintings conservation at the Cincinnati Art Museum, for her close examination and meticulous tracing of the figure in the Cincinnati painting; and to Larry Nichols, curator of European paintings and sculpture before 1900 at the Toledo Museum of Art, for facilitating the tracing of the figure in their picture.
- No evidence of pouncing or tracing was found in infra-red examination of the Cincinnati painting.

## Gerbrand Pancras

1670, oil on canvas, 33.4 × 27.8 (13 1/8 × 10 13/16)  
Manchester City Galleries (1979.447)

### Inscription

Signed, center right: *GTB*; inscribed, *Ætatis 12. / 1670*

### Provenance

([Possibly] sale, Paris [Laneauville, Henry], 9–11 April 1822, no. 69 ).\* Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Assheton Bennett, London, by 1938; on loan to the City Art Gallery from 1965; bequeathed by them to the City Art Gallery in 1979

### Exhibitions

London 1938, no. 256; Amsterdam 1952, no. 18; London 1952–1953, no. 393; Hull 1961, no. 98; London 1965, no. 9; The Hague and Münster 1974, no. 55; London 1983b, no. 4; New York 1984, no. 4; Birmingham 1989, no. 41; London 1999

### Literature

Plietzsch 1944, under no. 85; G 1959–1960, 1:148–149, 369, repro.; 2:215–216, no. 239 (as Hendrik Casimir II von Nassau-Dietz); Grossmann 1965, 10, no. 9; Manchester City Art Gallery 1980, 12; Dudok van Heel 1983, 66–67; Dudok van Heel 1993; Kettering 1999a, 66–67

### Notes

\* “Le portrait, à mi-corps, d’un jeune seigneur hollandais, ayant la tête nue, la main gauche sur la hanche, la droite appuyée sur un bâton, et portant une veste de drap d’argent sous un habit gris garni de noeuds de ruban. Son chapeau orné d’un panache est posé sur une table à côté de lui. T[oile]. 12p[ouces] × 10 p[ouces].” It is worth noting in this context that Ter Borch’s portraits of Gerbrand’s parents, Nicolaes Pancras and Petronella de Waert, also appeared in public sales in the first part of the nineteenth century, indicating that they too had left the family’s possession by this time; see G 1959–1960, 2:217–218, nos. 242-1 and 243-1.

- According to Grossmann 1965, this identification was made by A. M. Hind, though no further source is given. A likeness of the prince at age eleven is included in Abraham van den Temple’s *Portrait of Albertina Agnes, Princess of Orange-Nassau and Her Children*, 1668 (Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, On loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland).
- G 1959–1960, 1:148–149.
- Dudok van Heel 1983, 66–67; and Dudok van Heel 1993, 130.
- Kettering 1999a, 66.
- Kettering 1999a, 66–69.
- On the deliberate promotion of native English fashion over French imports during the late 1660s and its rapid dissemination to continental Europe, see Diana de Marly, *Louis XIV and Versailles* (London, 1987), 40–42.

50

## Young Man Reading

c. 1680, oil on panel, 40.3 × 34.4 (15 7/8 × 13 3/16)  
The Detroit Institute of Arts, City of Detroit Purchase  
(29.256)

### Provenance

Probably sale, Amsterdam, 5 June 1754, no. 113;  
probably H. Wannaar sale, Amsterdam, 17  
April 1757, no. 21. (Henry Reinhardt & Son,  
New York); purchased by museum in 1929

### Exhibitions

Detroit 1929, no. 71; Raleigh 1959, no. 92;  
Frankfurt 1993–1994, no. 13

### Literature

Probably HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 41, no. 1053;  
Valentiner 1929, 2–3; Detroit Institute of Arts  
1930, no. 221; G 1959–1960, 1:407, repro.; 2:240,  
no. 289; Detroit Institute of Arts 1966, 144;  
Sutton 1986, 88

### Notes

1. The young man has often been described as  
reading a letter. See Frankfurt 1993–1994, 156,  
no. 13.

2. Although the great majority of publishers  
and booksellers were situated in the province  
of Holland, books and pamphlets were widely  
distributed throughout the Netherlands. For  
information on publishing in about 1650, see  
Frijhoff and Spies 1999, 268–271.

3. G 1959–1960, 2:240, no. 289.

4. Bode 1906, 79, noted that Ter Borch was able  
to retain his remarkable artistic abilities to the  
end of his life: “Dass Ter Borch nächst Rem-  
brandt die bedeutendste, stärkste malerische  
Begabung der holländischen Kunst war, zeigt  
sich auch darin, dass seine künstlerische Kraft  
bis in sein Alter die gleiche bleibt.”

51

## Lucretia Rouse, Wife of the Preacher Jan van Duren

1680, oil on canvas, 78.5 × 64 (30 7/8 × 25 3/16)  
Collection Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede (0123)

### Provenance

C. van Sypesteyn, The Hague, 1914; C. van  
Sypesteyn, Loosdrecht; (D.A. Hoogendyk,  
Amsterdam, 1929); acquired by museum in 1933

### Exhibition

Berlin 1929, no. 95

### Literature

Moonen 1700, 682; Houck 1899, 13; Moes  
1897–1905, 2: no. 6571; HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913):  
78, no. 224; Von Falke 1929–1930, 232–236,  
repro.; G 1959–1960, 1:411, repro.; 2:241,  
no. 293; Ter Kuile 1974, 30, no. 49

52

## The Preacher Jan van Duren

1681, oil on canvas, 78.1 × 63.8 (30 3/4 × 25 1/8)  
Collection Richard and Marcia Ehrlich, Beverly Hills

### Inscription

Signed, on binding of book on bookshelf:  
*GTBorch 16*—

### Provenance

C. van Sypesteyn, The Hague, 1914; C. van  
Sypesteyn, Loosdrecht; D.A. Hoogendyk,  
Amsterdam, 1929; Gustav Gerstenberger,  
Chemnitz, 1930; Henry Janssen, Reading, Pa.,  
by descent to Helen Janssen Wetzel (sale,  
Sotheby's, New York, 9 October 1980, no. 18);  
(H. Shickman Gallery, New York)

### Exhibition

Berlin 1929, no. 94

### Literature

Moonen 1700, 682; Houck 1899, 13; HdG  
1907–1927, 5 (1913): 78, no. 223; Von Falke  
1929–1930, 232–236, repro.; G 1959–1960, 1:410,  
repro.; 2:241, no. 292

### Notes

1. Berlin 1929, no. 36.

2. See Rietstap 1954, 5: pl. cc, for the coat of  
arms of the Rouse family, and Rietstap 1954,  
2: pl. ccxli, for the coat of arms for the Van  
Duren family.

3. Moonen 1700, 682, 688. The references to  
Moonen's poetry book were initially made by  
Houck 1899, 12–13.

4. This biographical information is taken from  
Ter Kuile 1974, 30.

5. G 1959–1960, 1:30. Trip sought to have Ter  
Borch portray him in a manner similar to his  
portrayal of Willem III, prince of Orange,  
which the artist had just executed in The  
Hague. This document is very interesting,  
for Ter Borch agreed to paint this portrait in  
exchange for a coach. The document also stip-  
ulated that if Ter Borch died before completing  
the portrait, Trip would receive recompense to  
the value of 100 silver ducats. Indeed, Ter  
Borch did not complete the portrait, and in  
1682 Trip received portraits of both the prince  
and princess of Orange in recompense (see  
G 1959–1960, 1:33).

6. Van der Veen 2001.

7. Van der Veen 2001, 150–151.

8. De Winkel 1995.

9. De Winkel 1995, 161, 167 note 69. De Winkel  
notes that these gowns were imported by the  
Dutch East India Company from the 1640s on.

10. Ter Kuile 1974, 30–31 note 8. According to  
Ter Kuile, Ms. M.C. de Jong, of the Nederlands  
Costuummuseum in The Hague, noted that the  
costume was unusual and not in fashion in  
about 1680. Ter Kuile also notes that an etch-  
ing after Ter Borch's painting of *The Concert* in  
Berlin (791 G) depicts the woman playing the  
spinet wearing a comparable headdress (see  
G 1959–1960, 1:163). This figure was later  
painted out and replaced by a boy with a  
wide-brimmed hat.

11. The following text from Moonen's *Poëzy*  
(see note 3) is taken from Ter Kuile 1974, 30  
note 7: “Wat maelt Lukretië, mijn amptgenoots  
gemael, Naer 't leven helder af? Is 't zedigheit  
van taal, Of kloekheit van vernuft, of staetigh  
git van oogen? Gewis dit driespan is van onge-  
meen vermogen. Maer 's Ridders geest treft  
hier meest d'aendacht van haer ziel, Die Gode  
en haeren man vroeg in de jugd beviel. 1681.”

12. G 1959–1960, 1:377–378, repro.; 2:221,  
nos. 250–251.

13. G 1959–1960, 1:379, repro.; 2: 222–223,  
no. 253.

## Bibliography

### Adams 1985

Adams, Ann Jensen. "The Paintings of Thomas de Keyser (1596/7–1667): A Study of Portraiture in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam." 4 vols. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1985.

### Adams 1993–1994

Adams, Ann Jensen. "Der Sprechende Brief: Kunst des Lesens, Kunst des Schreibens. Schriftkunde und *schoonschrijft* in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert." In Frankfurt 1993–1994, 69–92.

### Adams 1999

Adams, Ann. "Money and the Regulation of Desire: The Prostitute and the Marketplace in Seventeenth-Century Holland." In *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*. Eds. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt. Philadelphia, 1999, 229–253.

### Aitzema 1650

Aitzema, Lieuwe van. *Verhael van de Nederlandsche vrede-handeling*. The Hague, 1650.

### Alpers 1997

Alpers, Svetlana. "Picturing Dutch Culture." In *Frans 1997*, 57–67, 211–213.

### Alte Pinakothek 1983

*Alte Pinakothek München*. Munich, 1983.

### Amman and Sachs 1973

Amman, Jost, and Hans Sachs. *The Book of Trades*. With an introduction by B.A. Rifkin. New York, 1973.

### Angel 1642

Angel, Philips. *Lof der schilder-konst*. Leiden, 1642.

### Angel 1996

Angel, Philips. "Praise of Painting." Trans. Michael Hoyle, with an introduction and commentary by H. Miedema. *Simiolus* 24 (1996), 227–258.

### Baetjer 1995

Baetjer, Katharine. *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Artists Born before 1865: A Summary Catalogue*. 3 vols. New York, 1995.

### Basan 1771

Basan, François. *Recueil d'estampes gravées d'après les tableaux du Cabinet de Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul*. Paris, 1771.

### Baudelaire 1964

Baudelaire, Charles. *The Painter of Modern Life and other Essays*. Ed. and trans. J. Mayne. London, 1964.

### Baumstark 1980

Baumstark, Reinhold. *Meisterwerke der Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein. Gemälde*. Zurich and Munich, 1980.

### Bazin 1958

Bazin, G. *Musée de l'Ermitage: Les grands maîtres de la peinture*. Paris, 1958.

### Beall 1975

Beall, Karen Friedmann. *Kaufleute und Strassenhandler: Eine Bibliographie*. Hamburg, 1975.

### Beck 1972–1973

Beck, Hans-Ulrich. *Jan van Goyen*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1972–1973.

### Beurs 1692

Beurs, Willem. *De groote waereld in 't klein geschildert....* Amsterdam, 1692.

### Blankert 1995

Blankert, Albert. "Vermeer's Modern Themes and Their Tradition." In *Washington and The Hague 1995–1996*, 31–45.

### Bock 1998

Bock, Henning, et al. *The Gemäldegalerie Berlin: 200 Masterworks*. Berlin, 1998.

### Bode 1883

Bode, Wilhelm von. *Studien zur Geschichte der Holländischen Malerei*. Braunschweig, 1883.

### Bode 1894

Bode, Wilhelm von. "Die kleinmeister der holländischen Schule in der Galerie des Fürsten von Liechtenstein." *Die graphischen Künste* 17 (1894), 79–102.

### Bode 1900

Bode, Wilhelm von. *Gemälde-Sammlung des Herrn Rudolf Kann in Paris*. Vienna, 1900.

### Bode 1906

Bode, Wilhelm von. *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen*. Leipzig, 1906.

### Bode 1919

Bode, Wilhelm von. *Die Meister der holländischen und vlämischen Malerschulen*. Leipzig, 1919.

### Bode 1923

Bode, Wilhelm von. *Die Meister der holländischen und vlämischen Malerschulen*. Leipzig, 1923.

### Bode 1925

Bode, Wilhelm von. "Kunsthistorische Ausbeute aus dem deutschen Kunsthandel von Heute. 1. Gerard Terborch." *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 46 (1925), 109–118.

### Bol 1962

Bol, L. J. "Helena van der Schalcke als kind." *Openbaar Kunstbezit* 6 (1962), no. 32.

### Bolten 1985

Bolten, J. *Method and Practice: Dutch and Flemish Drawing Books, 1600–1750*. Landau, 1985.

### Borger 1996

See Naarden 1996.

### Brandt 1928

Brandt, Paul. *Schaffende Arbeit in bildende Kunst*. Leipzig, 1928.

### Bredius 1915–1922

Bredius, A. *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIIten, XVIIIten, und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*. 8 vols. The Hague, 1915–1922.

### Brejon de Lavergnée, et al. 1979

Brejon de Lavergnée, Arnauld, Jacques Foucart, and Nicole Reynaud. *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du Musée du Louvre I: Ecoles flamande et hollandaise*. Paris, 1979.

### Bremmer and Roodenburg 1991

Bremmer, Jan, and Herman Roodenburg. *A Cultural History of Gesture from Antiquity to the Present Day*. Cambridge, 1991.

### Brockwell 1922

Brockwell, Maurice W. "'A Lady Spinning,' by Gerard Terborch." *The Connoisseur* 62 (1922): 48.

### Brockwell 1932

Brockwell, Maurice W. *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey, in the Collection of Sir Herbert Cook, Bart*. London, 1932.

### Broos 1987

Broos, Ben. *Meesterwerken in het Mauritshuis*. The Hague, 1987.

**Brown 1974**

Brown, Christopher. "Gerard ter Borch at The Hague and Münster." *The Burlington Magazine* 116 (May 1974), 288–292.

**Brown 1984**

Brown, Christopher. *Images of a Golden Past, Dutch Genre Painting of the 17th Century*. New York, 1984.

**Bruyn 1959**

Bruyn, Josua. "Gerard ter Borch (1617–1681). Moederlijk zorghen." *Openbaar Kunstbezit* 3 (1959), 6a–b.

**Bryan Gallery of Christian Art 1853**

*Catalogue of the Bryan Gallery of Christian Art*. New York, 1853.

**Buchanan 1824**

Buchanan, William. *Memoirs of Painting, with a Chronological History of the Importation of Pictures by the Great Masters into England since the French Revolution*. 2 vols. London, 1824.

**Burroughs 1931**

Burroughs, Bryson. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 1931.

**Buvelot 1998**

Buvelot, Q. *Tableaux flamands et hollandais du Musée Fabre de Montpellier*. Paris, 1998.

**La Caze 1871**

*Notice des tableaux légués au Musée national du Louvre par Louis La Caze*. Paris, 1871.

**Chapman 2000**

Chapman, Perry. "Propagandist Prints, Reaffirming Paintings: Art and Community during the Twelve Years' Truce." In *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*. Eds. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. and Adele Seeff. Newark, Del., 2000, 43–63 (Papers presented at a symposium held at the Center for Renaissance and Baroque Studies, University of Maryland, 1993).

**Chong 1993**

Chong, Alan. *European and American Paintings in The Cleveland Museum of Art: A Summary Catalogue*. Cleveland, 1993.

**Cincinnati Art Museum 1956**

*Guide to the Collections of the Cincinnati Art Museum*. Cincinnati, 1956.

**Cincinnati Art Museum 1984**

*Masterpieces from the Cincinnati Art Museum*. Cincinnati, 1984.

**Cleveland Museum of Art 1982**

*The Cleveland Museum of Art Catalogue of Paintings, Part Three: European Paintings of the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries*. Cleveland, 1982.

**Cook 1905**

Cook, H. "La collection de Sir Francis Cook, Visconde de Monserrate." *Les Arts* 4 (1905), 30.

**Demoed 1998**

Demoed, H.B. "Gerard ter Borch en de Vrede van Münster." *Gelders Erfgoed* 4 (1998), 1–5.

**Descamps 1753–1764**

Descamps, Jean-Baptiste. *La vie des peintres flamandes, allemands, et hollandais*. 4 vols. Paris, 1753–1764.

**Dethlefs 1996**

Dethlefs, Gerd. "Die Friedensstifter der christlichen Welt. Bildnisgalerien und Portraitwerke auf die Gesandten der westfälischen Friedensverhandlungen." In "...zu einem stets währenden Gedächtnis," *Die Friedenssäle in Münster und Osnabrück und ihre Gesandtenporträts*. Eds. Karl-Georg Kaster and Gerd Steinwascher. Bramsche, 1996, 101–172.

**Dethlefs 1998**

Dethlefs, Gerd. "Kunst und Literatur während der Verhandlungen um den Westfälischen Frieden." In *Städte und Friedenskongresse*. Ed. Heinz Duchhardt. Cologne and Vienna, 1998, 101–172.

**Detroit Institute of Arts 1930**

*Catalogue of Paintings*. Detroit, 1930.

**Detroit Institute of Arts 1966**

*Treasures from The Detroit Institute of Arts*. Detroit, 1966.

**Detroit Institute of Arts 1979**

*Selected Works from The Detroit Institute of Arts*. Detroit, 1979.

**Dickey 2002**

Dickey, Stephanie. "Rembrandt and Saskia: Art, Commerce, and the Poetics of Portraiture." In *Rethinking Rembrandt*. Eds. Alan Chong and Michael Zell. Boston and Zwolle, 2002, 16–47.

**Van Dijk 1997**

Dijk, Lydie van. "Zwolve schilders in de zeventiende eeuw: kracht in variatie." In *Zwolle in de Gouden Eeuw, cultuur en schilderkunst*. Eds. Jean Streng and Lydie van Dijk. Zwolle, 1997, 45–48.

**Dixon 1995**

Dixon, Laurinda S. *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine*. Ithaca and London, 1995.

**Dobrzycka 1966**

Dobrzycka, A. *Jan van Goyen 1596–1656*. Poznan, 1966.

**Dreyfus 1909**

Dreyfus, Carle. "Collection de Mme la marquise de Ganay, née Ridgeway." *Les Arts* 96 (1909), 4.

**Drost 1926**

Drost, W. *Barockmalerei in den Germanischen Ländern*. Potsdam, 1926.

**Dubbe 1982a**

Dubbe, B. "Het Stadhuisinterieur en voorwerpen uit het oud bezit van de stad Deventer." In *In en om het Deventer Stadhuis*. Ed. A.C.F. Koch. Deventer, 1982, 53–77.

**Dubbe 1982b**

Dubbe, B. "De Deventer beeldhouwer Derck Daniels (1632–1710)." *Antiek* 16 (January 1982), 361–382.

**Duchhardt 1998**

Duchhardt, Heinz. *Der Westfälische Friede: Diplomatie, politische Zäsur, kulturelles Umfeld, Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Munich, 1998.

**Dudok van Heel 1983**

Dudok van Heel, S. A. C. "In Presentie van de Heer Gerard ter Borgh." In *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on His Sixtieth Birthday*. Doornspijk, 1983, 66–71.

**Dudok van Heel 1993**

Dudok van Heel, S. A. C. "Ter Borchs Portret van Gerbrand Pancras (1658–1716), of hoe ongemakkelijk was de prins?" *Amstelodamum* 80 (November/December 1993), 128–130.

**Dumbar 1732**

Dumbar, G. *Het kerkelyk en wereltlyk Deventer*. 2 vols. Deventer, 1732.

**Durantini 1983**

Durantini, Mary Frances. *The Child in Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting*. Ann Arbor, 1983.

**Van Eikema Hommes 1999**

Eikema Hommes, M. van, J. de Bruijn, E. Hermens, and A. Wallert. "Still-Life Sources." In Amsterdam 1999, 25–38.

**Ekkart 1995**

Ekkart, Rudi. *Dutch Portraits from the Seventeenth Century: Own Collection*. Rotterdam, 1995 (Catalogue of portraits in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).

**Elkins 1900**

Elkins, William L. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Private Collection of W. L. Elkins: "Elstowe," Elkins, Montg. Co., Pa.* 2 vols. Paris, 1900.

**Emery 1930**

*A Catalogue of the Collection of Paintings Assembled by Mrs. Thomas J. Emery and Bequeathed by Her to the Cincinnati Museum Association*. Cincinnati, 1930.

**Faber and De Bruin 1998**

Faber, Dirk E.A., and Renger E. de Bruin. "Tegen de vrede, De Utrechtse ambassadeur Godard van Reede van Nederhorst en de onderhandelingen in Münster." In *1648, Vrede van Munster, feit en verbeelding*. Ed. Jacques Dane. Zwolle, 1998, 107–137.

**Von Falke 1929–1930**

Falke, Otto von. "Berlin." *Pantheon* 3 (1929–1930), 232–236.

**Fehl 1997**

Fehl, Philipp. *Sprezzatura and the Art of Painting Finely: Open-Ended Narration in Paintings by Apelles, Raphael, Michelangelo, Titian, Rembrandt, and Ter Borch*. Groningen, 1997.

**Felius 2002**

Felius, Marlius. "Schoone koeijen." In *Apeldoorn 2002*, 18–35.

**Filedt Kok 2001**

Filedt Kok, Jan Piet, ed. *Netherlandish Art 1600–1700*. Amsterdam, 2001.

**Fischer 1975**

Fischer, Peter. *Music in Paintings of the Low Countries in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. Amsterdam, 1975.

**Fock 2001a**

Fock, C. Willemijn, ed. *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600–1900*. Zwolle, 2001.

**Fock 2001b**

Fock, C. Willemijn. "Semblance or Reality? The Domestic Interior in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting." In *Denver and Newark 2001–2002*, 83–101.

**Francis 1944**

Francis, Henry S. "Paintings in the Prentiss Bequest." *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 31 (June 1944), 87–89.

**Franits 1993**

Franits, Wayne E. *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*. Cambridge, 1993.

**Franits 1997**

Franits, Wayne E. *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art, Realism Reconsidered*. Cambridge, 1997.

**Franits 2001**

Franits, Wayne E., ed. "Vermeer: An Overview of His Life and Stylistic Development." In *The Cambridge Companion to Vermeer*. Cambridge and New York, 2001, 8–26.

**Franits 2004**

Franits, Wayne. *Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting: Its Thematic and Stylistic Evolution*. New Haven (forthcoming).

**Fracina 1993**

Fracina, F., et al. *Modernity and Modernism, French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven, 1993.

**Frijhoff and Spies 1999**

Frijhoff, Willem, and Marijke Spies. *1650: Bevuchten eendracht*. The Hague, 1999.

**G 1948**

Gudlaugsson, Sturla J. "Adriaen Pauw's intocht te Münster, een gemeenschappelijk werk van Gerard ter Borch en Gerard van der Horst." *Oud Holland* 63 (1948), 39–47.

**G 1948–1949**

Gudlaugsson, Sturla J. "De datering van de schilderijen van Gerard Ter Borch." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 2 (1948–1949), 235–267.

**G 1959**

Gudlaugsson, Sturla J. "Einige Ausnahmefälle in der Bildnisgestaltung Ter Borchs." *Festschrift Friedrich Winkler*. Berlin, 1959, 306–312.

**G 1959–1960**

Gudlaugsson, Sturla J. *Geraert ter Borch*. 2 vols. The Hague, 1959–1960.

**Gaehthgens 1987**

Gaehthgens, Barbara. *Adriaen van der Werff 1659–1722*. Munich, 1987.

**Gaskell 1984**

Gaskell, Ivan. "Tobacco, Social Deviance and Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century." In *Holländische Genremalerei im 17. Jahrhundert: Symposium Berlin 1984*. Eds. Henning Bock and Thomas W. Gaehthgens. Berlin, 1984, 117–138.

**Gaskell 1990**

Gaskell, Ivan. *Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Painting: The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection*. London, 1990.

**Geffroy 1900**

Geffroy, G. *La Hollande* (Les Musées d'Europe, 4), Paris, n.d. [1900].

**Gemäldegalerie, Berlin 1932**

*Die Holländischen Meister, 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: 370 Abbildungen*. Berlin, 1932.

**Gemäldegalerie, Berlin 1975**

*Katalog der ausgestellten Gemälde des 13.–18. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1975.

**Gerson 1975**

Gerson, H. *Hollandse portretschilders van de zeventiende eeuw*. Maarssen, 1975.

**Getty Museum 1984**

"Acquisitions/1983." *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), 311.

**Giltaij 1994**

Giltaij, Jeroen, et al. *De verzameling van de Stichting Willem van der Vorm in het Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Rotterdam*. Rotterdam, 1994.

**Godwin 1955**

Godwin, Blake-More. *Toledo Museum of Art, Catalogue of European Paintings*. Toledo, 1955.

**Van der Goes and De Meyere 1996**

Goes, André van der, and Jos de Meyere, eds. *Op stand aan de wand: Vijf eeuwen familieportretten in Slot Zuilen*. Maarssen, 1996.

**Gordenker 2001**

Gordenker, Emilie. *Van Dyck and the Representation of Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture*. Turnhout, 2001.

**De Graaf 1958**

Graaf, J.A. van de. *Het De Mayerne Manuscript als bron voor de schilderkunst van de barok*. Utrecht, 1958.

**Groeneweg 1995**

Groeneweg, Irene. "Regenten in het zwart: vroom en deftig?" In *Beeld en zelfbeeld in de Nederlandse Kunst, 1550–1750*. Eds. Reindert Falkenburg, et al. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995), 198–251.

**Grossmann 1965**

Grossmann, F.G. *Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings from the Assheton Bennett Collection*. Manchester, 1965.

**Van Hall 1963**

Hall, H. van. *Repertorium van Portretten van Nederlandse beeldende kunstenaars*. Amsterdam, 1963.

**Hannema 1943**

Hannema, Frans. *Gerard Terborch*. Amsterdam, 1943.

**Hannema 1950**

Hannema, Dirk. *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Collection of Willem van der Vorm*. Rotterdam, 1950.

**Hannema 1958**

Hannema, Dirk. *Catalogus van de schilderijen uit de kunstverzameling Stichting Willem van der Vorm*. Rotterdam, 1958.

**Hannema 1962**

Hannema, Dirk. *Beschrijvende catalogus van de schilderijen uit de kunstverzameling Stichting Willem van der Vorm*. Rotterdam, 1962.

**Haverkamp-Begemann 1965**

Haverkamp-Begemann, E. "Terborch's Lady of the Toilet." *Art News* 64 (December 1965), 38–41, 62–63.

**Haverkamp-Begemann 1980**

Haverkamp-Begemann, Egbert. "Dutch and Flemish Masters of the Seventeenth Century." *Apollo* 111 (March 1980), 202–211.

**Haverkamp-Begemann 1998**

Haverkamp-Begemann, Egbert. "The Netherlands, Seventeenth-Century Paintings." In *The Robert Lehman Collection, 2, Fifteenth- to Eighteenth-Century European Paintings*. New York, 1998, 125–167.

**HdG 1907–1927**

Hofstede de Groot, Cornelis. *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*. 8 vols. London, 1907–1927. Trans. from the German edition, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts*. 10 vols. Esslingen and Paris, 1907–1928.

**Hecht 1998**

Hecht, P. "Rembrandt and Raphael Back to Back: The Contribution of Thoré." *Simiolus* 26 (1998), 162–178.

**Heinrich 1954**

Heinrich, Theodore Allen. "The Lehman Collection." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 12 (1954), 217–232.

**Helgerson 2000**

Helgerson, Richard. "Soldiers and Enigmatic Girls." In *Adulterous Alliances, Home, State, and History in Early Modern European Drama and Painting*. Chicago, 2000, 79–119.

**Hellens 1911**

Hellens, Franz. *Gerard Terborch*. Brussels, 1911.

**Hermitage 1863–1916**

*Katalog kartinnoi galerei Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*. Saint Petersburg-Petrograd, 1863–1916 (Catalogue of the paintings gallery of the Imperial Hermitage).

**Van Heugten 1988**

Heugten, Sjraar van. "Grazende modellen: Aspecten van het Nederlandse veestuk." In Dordrecht and Leeuwarden 1988, 10–55.

**Hochstrasser 1995**

Hochstrasser, Julie Berger. "Life and Still Life: A Cultural Inquiry into Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-Life Painting." Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1995.

**Hoekstra 1991**

Hoekstra, Rozemarijn. "Mode of Fantasie in de 17e eeuw. Een onderzoek naar het realiteitsgehalte van het vrouwen kostuum op 17e eeuwse genrestukken en portretten aan de hand van het werk van Gerard Ter Borch." *Kostuum* (1991), 37–41.

**Hoet 1752**

Hoet, G. *Catalogus of naamlijst van schilderijen...zo in Holland als Brabant en andere plaatsen in het openbaar verkogt*. 3 vols. The Hague, 1752.

**Hollander 2002**

Hollander, Martha. *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2002.

**Hollstein 1949–**

Hollstein, F.W.H. *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, c. 1450–1700*. 41 + vols. Amsterdam, 1949–.

**Honig 1997**

Honig, Elizabeth. "The Space of Gender in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting." In Franits 1997, 186–201.

**Honig 2001**

Honig, Elizabeth. "Desire and Domestic Economy." *The Art Bulletin* 83 (2001), 294–315.

**Hoogstraten 1678**

Hoogstraten, Samuel van. *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst: anders de Zichtbaere Werelt*. Rotterdam, 1678.

**Hope 1891**

*A Catalogue of Pictures of the Dutch and Flemish Schools Lent to the South Kensington Museum by Lord Francis Pelham Clinton-Hope*. London, 1891.

**Hope 1898**

*The Hope Collection of Pictures of the Dutch and Flemish Schools*. London, 1898.

**Höss 1908**

Höss, Karl. *Fürst Johann II. von Liechtenstein und die bildende Kunst*. Vienna, 1908.

**Houbraken 1753**

Houbraken, Arnold. *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*. 3 vols. The Hague, 1753. Reprint, Amsterdam, 1976.

**Houck 1899**

Houck, M.E. *Mededeelingen betreffende Gerhard ter Borch, Robert van Voerst, Pieter van Anraedt...* Zwolle, 1899.

**Houck 1901**

Houck, M.E. *Gids voor Deventer en Omstreken*. 3d ed. Deventer, 1901.

**Ingamells 1992**

Ingamells, John. *The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Pictures, IV, Dutch and Flemish*. London, 1992.

**Israel 1982**

Israel, Jonathan I. *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606–1661*. Oxford, 1982.

**Israel 1995**

Israel, Jonathan I. *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806*. Oxford and New York, 1995.

**Israel 1997**

Israel, Jonathan I. "Art and Diplomacy: Gerard Ter Borch and the Münster Peace Negotiations, 1646–8." In *Conflicts of Empires*. London, 1997, 93–104.

**Jager 1985**

Jager, Maarten. *Voorkeuren: een particuliere collectie*. Utrecht, 1985.

**De Jongh 1967**

Jongh, E. de. *Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw*. Amsterdam, 1967.

**De Jongh 1997**

Jongh, Eddy de. "Realism and Seeming Realism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting." In Franits 1997, 21–56.

**Jowell 1974**

Jowell, Frances Suzman. "Thoré-Bürger and the Revival of Frans Hals." *The Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 101–117.

**Kann 1907**

Sedelmeyer, Charles. *Catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann Collection*. 2 vols. Paris, 1907.

**Kaulbach 1998**

Kaulbach, Hans-Martin. "The Portrayal of Peace Before and After 1648." In Münster and Osnabrück 1998, 2:598–603.

**Kelch 1975**

Kelch, Jan. *Catalogue of Paintings, 13th–18th Century*. 2d rev. ed. Trans. Linda Parshall. Berlin, 1975.

**Kemmer 1998**

Kemmer, Claus. "In Search of Classical Form: Gerard de Lairese's *Groot schilderboek* and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting." *Simiolus* 26 (1998), 87–115.

**Kettering 1988**

Kettering, Alison M. *Drawings from the Ter Borch Studio Estate in the Rijksmuseum*. 2 vols. The Hague, 1988.

**Kettering 1993/1997**

Kettering, Alison M. "Ter Borch's Ladies in Satin." *Art History* 16 (1993), 95–124. In Franits 1997, 98–115, 222–228.

**Kettering 1995**

Kettering, Alison M. "Het Portret van Moses ter Borch door Gerard and Gesina ter Borch." *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 43 (1995), 317–335.

**Kettering 1996**

Kettering, Alison M. "Gerard Ter Borch." In *The Dictionary of Art* 4 (1996), 379–384.

**Kettering 1997**

Kettering, Alison M. "Gentlemen in Satin: Masculine Ideals in Later 17th-Century Dutch Portraiture." *Art Journal* 56 (Summer 1997), 41–47.

**Kettering 1998**

Kettering, Alison M. "Gerard ter Borch's Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Munster as Historical Representation." In Münster and Osnabrück 1998, 2: 605–614.

**Kettering 1999a**

Kettering, Alison M. "Gerard ter Borch's Portraits for the Deventer Elite." *Simiolus* 27 (1999), 46–69.

**Kettering 1999b**

Kettering, Alison M. "The 'War-Painting' in the Netherlands after the Peace of Münster and Osnabrück." In 1648, *Paix de Westphalie, L'Art Entre la Guerre et la Paix*. Paris, 1999, 513–540 (Acts of a colloquium organized by the Westfaelisches Landesmuseum and the Louvre, Paris, 1998).

**Kettering 2000**

Kettering, Alison M. "Gerard ter Borch's Military Men: Masculinity Transformed." In *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*. Eds. Arthur K.Wheelock Jr. and Adele Seeff. Newark, Del., 2000, 100–122 (Papers presented at a symposium held at the Center for Renaissance and Baroque Studies, University of Maryland, 1993).

*Please note errata: the first two illustration captions are reversed.*

**Kolfin 1999**

Kolfin, E. "'Betaamt het de Christen de dans te aanschouwen?' Dansende elite op Noordnederlandse schilderijen en prenten (circa 1600–1645)." In *Vermaak van de elite in de vroegmoderne tijd*. Eds. Jan de Jongste, et al. Hilversum, 1999, 153–172.

**Kolfin 2002**

Kolfin, E. "Een geselschap jonge luyden. Productie, functie en betekenis van Noordnederlandse voorstellingen van vrolijke gezelschappen 1610–1645." Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden, 2002.

**Korthals Altes 2000–2001**

Korthals Altes, Everhard. "The Eighteenth-Century Gentleman Dealer Willem Lormier and the International Dispersal of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Paintings." *Simiolus* 28 (2000–2001), 251–311.

**Kronenburg 1927**

Kronenburg, H. "In en om de Deventer Magistraat, 1591–1795." In *Verslagen en Mededeelingen, Vereeniging tot Beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis*. Deventer, 1927, 70–80.

**Kronig 1914**

Kronig, J. O. A *Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond, and Elsewhere in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook*. Bt. 2 vols. London, 1914.

**Kruimel 1971**

Kruimel, H. L. "Rondom de Van der Schalckeportretten van Gerard Ter Borch." *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 25 (1971), 224–229.

**Krul 1634**

Krul, Jan. *Eerlycke Tytkorting*. Haarlem, 1634.

**Ter Kuile 1974**

Kuile, O. ter. *Catalogus van der Schilderijen: Rijksmuseum Twenthe Enschede*. Enschede, 1974.

**Kultzen 1996**

Kultzen, Rolf. *Michael Sweerts: Brussels 1618–Goa 1664*. Ed. and trans. Diane L. Webb. Doornspijk, 1996.

**Kunzle 2002**

Kunzle, David. *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550–1672*. Leiden and Boston, 2002.

**Kuznetsov and Linnik 1982**

Kuznetsov, Y., and I. Linnik. *Dutch Paintings in Soviet Museums*. New York and Leningrad, 1982.

**Laing 1996**

Laing, Alastair. "The National Trust, Historic Houses and Collections." *Apollo* 143 (April 1996), 8–10.

**De Lairese 1707**

Lairese, Gerard de. *Groot Schilderboek*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1707.

**De Lairese/Fritsch 1738**

Lairese, Gerard de. *The Art of Painting*. Trans. John Frederick Fritsch. London, 1738.

**Lammertse 1998**

Lammertse, Friso. *Dutch Genre Paintings of the 17th Century: Collection of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen*. Rotterdam, 1998.

**Lehman 1928**

Lehman, Robert. *The Philip Lehman Collection New York*. 2 vols. Paris, 1928.

**Levinson-Lessing 1964**

Levinson-Lessing, V. F. *The Hermitage, Leningrad: Dutch and Flemish Masters*. Leningrad and London, 1964.

**Liechtenstein 1931**

Kronfeld, A. *Führer durch die Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie in Wien*. Vienna, 1931.

**Liedtke 1989**

Liedtke, Walter. "Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Hermitage: Some notes to an exhibition catalogue with special attention to Rembrandt, Van Dyck and Jordaens." *Oud Holland* 103 (1989), 154–168.

**Liedtke 2000**

Liedtke, Walter. *A View of Delft: Vermeer and His Contemporaries*. Zwolle, 2000.

**Liedtke forthcoming**

Liedtke, Walter. *Catalogue of Dutch Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*.

**Livret 1838**

*Livret de la Galerie Impériale de l'Ermitage de Saint-Petersbourg*. Saint Petersburg, 1838.

**Lugt 1938–1964**

Lugt, Frits. *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques, intéressant l'art ou la curiosité...* The Hague, 1938–1964.

**MacLaren 1960**

MacLaren, Neil. *The National Gallery Catalogues: The Dutch School*. London, 1960.

**MacLaren and Brown 1991**

MacLaren, Neil. *The Dutch School, 1600–1900*. Revised and expanded by Christopher Brown. London, 1991.

**Manchester City Art Gallery 1980**

*Concise Catalogue of Foreign Paintings*. Manchester, 1980.

**Van Mander 1604**

Mander, Karel van. *Het Schilder-boeck*. Haarlem, 1604.

**Van Mander 1994**

Mander, Karel van. *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters from the First Edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603–1604)*. Ed. and trans., with introduction by H. Miedema. Doornspijk, 1994.

**Marks 1968**

Marks, Arthur S. "David Wilkie's 'Letter of Introduction.'" *The Burlington Magazine* 110 (March 1968), 125–133.

**De Marly 1980**

Marly, Diane de. "Dress in Baroque Portraiture: The Flight from Fashion." *Antiquaries Journal* 60 (1980), 268–284.

**Martin 1908**

Martin, W. "Aanwinsten van het Mauritshuis." *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond* 1, series 2 (1908), 235–240.

**Martin 1913**

Martin, W. "Gerard Terborch 'Moederlijke zorgen.'" *Vereeniging Rembrandt, Jaarverslag over 1913*, 10–11.

**Martin 1914**

Martin, W. "'s Rijks aanwinsten uit de verzameling Steengracht." *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond* 7 (1914): 8–18.

**Martin 1935**

Martin, W. *Musée Royal de la Haye: Catalogue Raisonné des Tableaux et Sculptures*. The Hague, 1935.

**Martin 1951**

Martin, W. *Dutch Painting of the Great Period, 1650–1697*. London, 1951.

**Mauritshuis 1935**

*Musée Royal de la Haye: Catalogue Raisonné des Tableaux et Sculptures*. The Hague, 1935.

**Mauritshuis 1977**

*The Royal Cabinet of Paintings: Illustrated General Catalogue*. The Hague, 1977.

**Mauritshuis 1985**

Hoetink, H. R., Nicolette Sluijter-Seiffert, et al. *The Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis*. Amsterdam and New York, 1985.

**Mayer 1930**

Mayer, August L. "Die Sammlung Philip Lehman." *Pantheon* 5 (1930): 111–118.

**Merling 2002**

Merling, Mitchell. *John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art*. Sarasota, Fla., 2002.

**Meusel 1787–1791**

Meusel, Johann Georg. *Museum für Künstler und für Kunstliebhaber, oder Fortsetzung der Miscellaneen artistischen Jubalts*. 3 vols. Mannheim, 1787–1791.

**M. H. de Young Memorial Museum 1966**

*European Works of Art in the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum*. Berkeley, 1966.

**Moes 1897–1905**

Moes, E.W. *Iconographia Batavia, bereedeneerde lijst van geschilderde en gebeeldhouwde portretten van Noord-Nederlanders in vorige eeuwen*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1897.

**Moes-Veth 1955**

Moes-Veth, A. J. "Mozes ter Borch als sujet van zijn broer Gerard." *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 3 (1955), 37–46.

**Moiso-Diekamp 1987**

Moiso-Diekamp, Cornelia. *Das Pendant in der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt, Bern, New York, and Paris, 1987.

**Montias 1989**

Montias, John Michael. *Vermeer and His Milieu: A Web of Social History*. Princeton, 1989.

**Moonen 1700**

Moonen, Arnold. *A. Moonens Poëzy*. Amsterdam and Utrecht, 1700.

**Naumann 1981**

Nauman, Otto. *Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635–1681)*. Doornspijk, 1981.

**Near 1985**

Near, Pinckney. "European Paintings and Drawings: The Williams Collection and Fund." *Apollo* 122 (December 1985): 440–451.

**Nevitt 2003**

Nevitt, H. Rodney Jr. *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*. Cambridge, 2003.

**Nicolle 1908**

Nicolle, Marcel. "La Collection Rodolphe Kann." *La Revue de l'Art* 23 (1908), 187–204.

**Van Nierop 1993**

Nierop, H. van. *The Nobility of Holland*. Cambridge, 1993.

**Northwick 1858**

*A Catalogue of the Pictures, Works of Art, etc. at Northwick Park.* London, 1858.

**Overijsselsche Almanak 1848**

“Het Schilderstuk boven de deur in de Raadkamer op het Stadhuis te Deventer.” *Overijsselsche Almanak voor oudheden en letteren* (1848), 250–260.

**Parthey 1863–1864**

Parthey, Gustav. *Deutscher Bildersaal: Verzeichniss der in Deutschland vorhandenen Ölbilder verstorbene Maler aller Schulen.* 2 vols. Berlin, 1863–1864.

**Pauw-De Veen 1969**

Pauw-De Veen, Lydia. *De begripen “schilder,” “schilderij,” en “schilderen” in de zeventiende eeuw.* Brussels, 1969.

**Philadelphia Museum of Art 1994**

*Paintings from Europe and the Americas in the Philadelphia Museum of Art: A Concise Catalogue.* Philadelphia, 1994.

**Plietzsch 1944**

Plietzsch, Eduard. *Gerard Ter Borch.* Vienna, 1944.

**Plietzsch 1961**

Plietzsch, Eduard. Review of *Gerard Ter Borch*, by Sturla J. Gudlaugsson. *Kunstchronik* 14 (1961), 132–141.

**Polesden Lacey 1953**

*Polesden Lacey. A Property of the National Trust.* London, 1953.

**Polesden Lacey 1964**

St. John Gore, F. *Polesden Lacey.* London, 1964. Rev. ed., 1976.

**Pommersfelden 1857**

*Katalog der Gräfllich von Schönborn'schen Bilder-Gallerie zu Pommersfelden.* Würzburg, 1857.

**Renger 1986**

Renger, Konrad. *Adriaen Brouwer und das niederländische Bauerngenre 1600–1660.* Munich, 1986.

**Rietstap 1954**

Rietstap, Johannes Baptist. *Armorial général illustré.* 6 vols. 3d. ed. by Victor and Henri Rolland. Lyon, 1954.

**Rishel 1974**

Rishel, Joseph J. “Dutch Painting: An Overlooked Aspect of the Collection.” *Apollo* 100 (July 1974), 28–33.

**Robinson 1974**

Robinson, Franklin W. *Gabriel Metsu (1629–1667): A Study of His Place in Dutch Genre Painting of the Golden Age.* New York, 1974.

**Roodenburg 1991**

Roodenburg, Herman. “The ‘Hand of Friendship’: Shaking Hands and Other Gestures in the Dutch Republic.” In Bremmer and Roodenburg 1991, 152–189.

**Roodenburg 1995**

Roodenburg, Herman. “‘Welstand’ en ‘Wellevendheid.’” *Nederland Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995), 416–436.

**Rosen and Zerner 1984**

Rosen, Charles, and Henri Zerner. *Romanticism and Realism, The Mythology of Nineteenth-Century Art.* New York, 1984.

**Rosenberg 1897**

Rosenberg, Adolf. *Terborch und Jan Steen.* Bielefeld, 1897.

**Rosenberg, Slive, and Ter Kuile 1966**

Rosenberg, Jacob, Seymour Slive, and E. H. ter Kuile. *Dutch Art and Architecture: 1600 to 1800.* Baltimore, 1966. Rev. ed., 1972.

**Schama 1987**

Schama, Simon. *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age.* New York, 1987.

**Schipper-van Lottum 1975**

Schipper-van Lottum, M. G. A. “Een naimantgen met een naijussen,” *Antiek* 10 (1975), 137–163.

**Scott 1987**

Scott, Mary Ann. *Dutch, Flemish, and German Paintings in the Cincinnati Art Museum, Fifteenth through Eighteenth Centuries.* Cincinnati, 1987.

**Sedelmeyer Gallery 1898**

*Illustrated Catalogue of 300 Paintings by Old Masters of the Dutch, Flemish, Italian, French, and English Schools.* Paris, 1898.

**Sedelmeyer Gallery 1901**

*Illustrated Catalogue of the Seventh Series of 100 Paintings by Old Masters.* Paris, 1901.

**Slive 1995**

Slive, Seymour. *Dutch Painting 1600–1800.* New Haven, 1995.

**Sluijter 1991/1997**

Sluijter, Eric Jan. “Didactic and Disguised Meanings? Several Seventeenth-Century Texts on Painting and the Iconological Approach to Dutch Paintings of this Period.” In *Art in History, History in Art; Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture.* Eds. D. Freedberg and J. de Vries. Santa Monica, 1991, 175–207. Reprinted in Franits 1997, 78–87, 211–218.

**Sluijter 2000**

Sluijter, Eric Jan. *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age.* Zwolle, 2000.

**Smith 1829–1842**

Smith, John A. *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters.* 9 vols. and supplement. London, 1829–1842.

**Smith 1987**

Smith, David R. “Irony and Civility: Notes on the Convergence of Genre and Portraiture in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting.” *The Art Bulletin* 69 (1987), 407–430.

**Snoep-Reitsma 1973**

Snoep-Reitsma, Ella. “De Waterzuchtige Vrouw van Gerard Dou en de betekenis van de lampetkan.” In *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder.* Eds. J. Bruyn, J. A. Emmens, E. de Jongh, and D. P. Snoep. The Hague, 1973, 285–292.

**Somof 1895**

Somof, Andrei. *Ermitage Impérial: Catalogue de la Galerie des Tableaux.* 2 vols. 3d. ed. Saint Petersburg, 1895.

**Staatliche Museum, Berlin 1911**

*Führer durch die Königlichen Museen zu Berlin.* Berlin, 1911.

**Staatliche Museen, Berlin 1978**

*Picture Gallery Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin: Catalogue of Paintings 13th–18th Century.* Trans. Linda B. Parshall. 2d rev. ed., Berlin, 1978.

**Stiglic 1998**

Stiglic, Anja. *Machtpräsentation und-demonstration: Die Funktion der öffentlichen Feierlichkeiten auf dem Münsterschen Friedenskongress.* Münster, 1998.

**Stone-Ferrier 1985**

Stone-Ferrier, Linda. *Images of Textiles, the Weave of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Society.* Ann Arbor, 1985.

**Strouse 2000**

Strouse, Jean. *Morgan: American Financier.* New York, 2000.

**Sumowski 1983–1994**

Sumowski, W. *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler.* 6 vols. Landau, 1983–1994.

**Sutton 1986**

Sutton, Peter C. *A Guide to Dutch Art in America.* Washington, 1986.

**Sutton 1987**

Sutton, Peter C. “The Noblest of Livestock.” In *J. Paul Getty The Museum Journal* 15 (1987), 97–110.

**Sutton 1990**

Sutton, Peter C. *Northern European Paintings in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, from the Sixteenth through the Nineteenth Century.* Philadelphia, 1990.

**Sutton 1997**

Sutton, Peter C. *Gerard Ter Borch: “Woman Sealing a Letter”* [cat., Otto Naumann, Ltd.] (New York, 1997).

**Sutton 2002**

Sutton, Peter C. *Dutch and Flemish Paintings: The Collection of Willem Baron van Dedem.* London, 2002.

**Sutton 2003**

Sutton, Peter C. “Love Letters: Dutch Genre Paintings in the Age of Vermeer.” In Dublin and Greenwich, Conn., 2003–2004, 14–49.

**Terwesten 1770**

Terwesten, Pieter. *Catalogus ofte Naamlyst van Schilderyen, met derselver pryzen zedert den 22. Augusti 1752 tot den 21 November 1768.* The Hague, 1770.

**Van Thiel 1976**

Thiel, Pieter van, et al. *All the Paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam*. Amsterdam and Maarssen, 1976.

**Van Thiel and De Bruyn Kops 1995**

Thiel, P. J. van, and C. J. de Bruyn Kops. *Framing in the Golden Age: Picture and Frame in Seventeenth-Century Holland*. Trans. Andrew P. McCormick. Zwolle, 1995.

**Thirlestane House 1846**

*Hours in the Picture Gallery of Thirlestane House*. Cheltenham, 1846.

**Toledo Museum of Art 1976**

Wittman, Otto, et al. *The Toledo Museum of Art: European Paintings*. Toledo, 1976.

**Trnek 1992**

Trnek, Renate. *Die Holländischen Gemälde des 17. Jahrhunderts in der Gemäldegalerie der Academie der bildenden Künste in Wien*. Vienna, 1992.

**Trnek 1997**

Trnek, Renate. *Die Gemäldegalerie der Academie der bildenden Künste in Wien*. Vienna, 1997.

**Vaillat 1912**

Vaillat, L. "La peinture hollandaise." *L'art et les artistes* 15 (April-September), 193–208.

**Valentiner 1929**

Valentiner, Wilhelm R. "Portrait of a Man Reading by Gerard Terborch." *Bulletin of The Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit* 11 (1929), 2–3, no. 1.

**Valentiner 1930**

Valentiner, Wilhelm R., ed. *Unbekannte Meisterwerke in öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen*. Berlin, 1930.

**Van der Veen 2001**

Veen, Jaap van der. "Eenvoudig en stil: Studeerkamers in zeventiende-eeuwse woningen, voornamelijk te Amsterdam, Deventer en Leiden." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 2000*, 51 (2001), 137–172.

**Verbeek 1955**

Verbeek, J. "Johannes van Cuylenburch en zijn vader Gerrit Lambertsz." *Oud Holland* 70 (1955), 67–81.

**Vergara 1998**

Vergara, Lisa. "Antiek and Modern in Vermeer's Lady Writing a Letter with Her Maid." In *Vermeer Studies*. Studies in the History of Art, vol. 55, eds. Ivan Gaskell and Michiel Jonker. National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1998, 235–253.

**Vergara 2003**

Vergara, Lisa. "Women, Letters, Artistic Beauty: Vermeer's Theme and Variations." In Dublin and Greenwich, Conn., 2003–2004, 50–62.

**Villars 1902**

Villars, Paul. "La Collection de M. Alfred de Rothschild." *Les Arts* 1 (March 1902), 15–23.

**Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 1966**

*European Art in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts: A Catalogue*. Richmond, 1966.

**Vrangel 1909**

Vrangel, Nikolai Nikolaevich. *Les chefs-d'œuvre de la galerie de tableaux de l'Ermitage impérial à St.-Petersbourg*. London and New York, 1909.

**De Vries 1994**

Vries, Dirk J. de. "Het architectonisch decor van Ter Borchs Slijpersfamilie." In *Bouwen en Duiden, Studies over Architectuur en Iconologie*. Eds. E. den Hartog, et al. Alphen aan den Rijn, 1994, 181–194.

**Waagen 1854**

Waagen, Gustav Friedrich. *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*. 3 vols. London, 1854.

**Waagen 1864**

Waagen, Gustav Friedrich. *Die Gemäldesammlung in der Kaiserlichen Ermitage zu St. Petersburg nebst Bemerkungen über andere dortige Kunstsammlungen*. Munich, 1864.

**Waterhouse 1967**

Waterhouse, Ellis. *The James de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Paintings*. Fribourg, 1967.

**Webber 1980**

Sandra L. Webber. "A Technical Study of Two Portraits by Gerard Ter Borch." In *Papers presented at the Art Conservation Training Programs Conference*. Winterthur, 1980, 163–180.

**Weigel 1977**

Weigel, Christoph. *Abbildung der gemeinnützlichen Haupt-Stände*. Dortmund, 1977.

**Westers 1961**

Westers, A. "Een lampetkan van Delfts aardewerk." *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen* 12 (1961), 89–96.

**Van de Wetering 1993**

Wetering, Ernst van de. "Het satijn van Gerard Ter Borch." In *Kunstschrift* 37 (1993), no. 6, 28–37.

**Wetzlar 1952**

*Collection Dr. H. Wetzlar, Amsterdam*. With a preface by M. J. Friedländer. Amsterdam, 1952.

**Wheelock 1995**

Wheelock Jr., Arthur K. *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*. The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue. Washington and New York, 1995.

**White 1959**

White, Christopher. "Dutch and Flemish Paintings at Waddesdon Manor." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 54 (July-August 1959), 67–74.

**Wieseman 2002**

Wieseman, Marjorie E. *Caspar Netscher and Late Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting*. Doornspijk, 2002.

**De Winkel 1995**

Winkel, Marieke de. "Eene der deftigsten dragten." In *Nederland Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995), 144–167.

**De Winkel 1998**

Winkel, Marieke de. "The Interpretation of Dress in Vermeer's Paintings." In *Vermeer Studies*. Studies in the History of Art, vol. 55, eds. Ivan Gaskell and Michiel Jonker. National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1998, 327–340.

**Wurzbach 1906–1911**

Wurzbach, Alfred von. *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*. 3 vols. Vienna, 1906–1911.

**Ydema 1991**

Ydema, Onno. *Carpets and Their Datings in Netherlandish Paintings, 1540–1700*. Zutphen, 1991.

**Zimmerman and Brown 1974**

Zimmerman, Betty L., and Christopher Brown. "Letters to the Editor." *The Burlington Magazine* 116 (October 1974), 623–624.

## Exhibitions

### **Aberystwyth, Cardiff, and Swansea 1958**

*Dutch Genre Painting*. Arts Council of Wales.

### **Akron 1956**

*Dutch Seventeenth Century Paintings and Drawings*. Akron Art Institute.

### **Amsterdam 1900**

*Catalogus der verzameling schilderijen en familieportretten van de Heeren Jhr. P. H. Six van Vromade, Jhr. Dr. J. Six en Jhr. W. Six*. Stedelijk Museum.

### **Amsterdam 1913**

*Tentoonstelling van een zevental schilderijen, afkomstig uit de verzameling Steengracht*. Stedelijk Museum.

### **Amsterdam 1929**

*Tentoonstelling van Oude Kunst door de Vereniging van Handelaren in Oude Kunst in Nederland*. Rijksmuseum.

### **Amsterdam 1952**

*Drie Eeuwen Portret in Nederland, 1500–1800*. Rijksmuseum (catalogue by Adolph Staring).

### **Amsterdam 1976**

*Tot Lering en Vermaak*. Rijksmuseum (catalogue by Eddy de Jongh).

### **Amsterdam 1981**

*Jan van Goyen 1596–1656: Conquest of Space. Paintings from Museums and Private Collections*. Waterman Gallery.

### **Amsterdam 1984**

*Prijst de Lijst, De Hollandse schilderijlijst in de zeventiende eeuw*. Rijksmuseum (catalogue edited by P. J. J. van Thiel and C. J. de Bruijn Kops; English ed. *Framing in the Golden Age*, translated by Andrew P. McCormick, Zwolle, 1995).

### **Amsterdam 1993**

*Nederlandse tekenaars geboren tussen 1600 en 1660. Oude tekeningen van het Amsterdams Historisch Museum, waaronder de collectie Fodor*. Amsterdam Historisch Museum (catalogue by Ben Broos and Marijn Schapelhouman).

### **Amsterdam 1997**

*Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands 1550–1700*. Rijksmuseum (catalogue by Eddy de Jongh and Ger Luijten, translated by Michael Hoyle).

### **Amsterdam 1999**

*Still Lives: Techniques and Style*. Rijksmuseum (catalogue edited by Arie Wallert).

### **Amsterdam 2000**

*The Glory of the Golden Age: Painting, Sculpture and Decorative Art*. Rijksmuseum (catalogue by Judikje Kiers and Fieke Tissink).

### **Amsterdam, Hartford, and San Francisco 2002**

*Michael Sweerts (1618–1664)*. Rijksmuseum, Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, and The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (catalogue by Guido Jansen and Peter C. Sutton).

### **Antwerp 1991**

*David Teniers the Younger: Paintings, Drawings*. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (catalogue by Margret Klinge).

### **Apeldoorn 2002**

*Vorstelijk vee: Vier eeuwen nederlandse veerassen*. Paleis Het Loo (catalogue edited by Wies Erkelenz, Maarten Frankenhuis, and René Zanderink).

### **Athens 1992**

*From El Greco to Cézanne: Masterpieces of European Painting from the National Gallery of Art, Washington and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*. National Gallery Alexandros Soutzos Museum.

### **Atlanta 1985**

*Masterpieces of the Golden Age*. High Museum of Art (catalogue by Frits J. Duparc).

### **Basel 1945**

*Meisterwerke Holländischer Malerei des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Kunstmuseum Basel.

### **Basel 1987**

*Im Lichte Hollands: Hölländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein und aus Schweizer Besitz*. Kunstmuseum Basel (catalogue by Petraten Doesschate Chu).

### **Berlin 1929**

*Die Meister des Holländischen Interieurs*. Gallery Dr. H. Schäffer.

### **Berlin 1931**

*Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum und Deutschen Museum*. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

### **Bern 1943**

*Holländische und Vlämische Meister des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Kunstmuseum Bern.

### **Birmingham 1950**

*Some Dutch Cabinet Pictures of the 17th Century*. City Art Gallery.

### **Birmingham 1989**

*Dutch Painting in the Seventeenth Century: Images of a Golden Age in British Collections*. City Art Gallery (catalogue by Christopher Wright).

### **Boston 1970**

*Masterpieces of Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Museum of Fine Arts.

### **Brussels 1977–1978**

*Personnages et Paysages dans la Peinture Hollandaise du XVIIIème Siècle*. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (catalogue by Renate Trnek).

### **Brussels and Antwerp 1946**

*De Hollandsche schilderkunst van Jeroen Bosch tot Rembrandt*. Palais de Beaux-Arts and Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

### **Buffalo 1942**

*Souvenir of a Small Exhibition of European Paintings of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Albright Knox Art Gallery.

### **Chicago 1934**

*Catalogue of a Century of Progress Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture*. Art Institute of Chicago.

### **Cincinnati 1959**

*The Lehman Collection, New York*. Cincinnati Art Museum (catalogue by Gustave von Groschwitz).

### **Cleveland 1936**

*Catalogue of the Twentieth Anniversary Exhibition of the Cleveland Museum of Art*. Cleveland Museum of Art.

### **Cleveland 1973a**

*Dutch Art and Life in the Seventeenth Century*. Cleveland Museum of Art.

### **Cleveland 1973b**

*Masters of Seven Centuries*. Cleveland Museum of Art.

**Cologne 1991–1992**

*I Bamboccianti: Niederländische Malerrebellen im Rom des Barock.* Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (catalogue edited by David A. Levine and Ekkehard Mai).

**Colorado Springs 1951–1952**

*Paintings and Bronzes from the Collection of Mr. Robert Lehman.* Fine Arts Center.

**Columbus 1950**

*Masterpieces of Painting: Treasures of Five Centuries.* Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts.

**Columbus 1956**

*International Masterpieces.* Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts.

**Copenhagen and Amsterdam 2001**

*Two Golden Ages, Masterpieces of Dutch and Danish Painting.* Statens Museum for Kunst and Rijksmuseum (catalogue by L. Bogh Roenberg, et al.).

**Delft 1948**

*De Vrede van Münster.* Museum Het Prinsenhof.

**Delft and Antwerp 1964–1965**

*De Schilder in zijn wereld: Van Jan van Eyck tot van Gogh en Ensor.* Stedelijk Museum “Het Prinsenhof” and Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

**Denver and Newark 2001–2002**

*Art & Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt.* Denver Art Museum and The Newark Museum (catalogue by Mariët Westermann, et al.).

**Detroit 1925**

*Loan Exhibition of Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century.* The Detroit Institute of Arts.

**Detroit 1929**

*Loan Exhibition of Dutch Genre and Landscape Painting.* The Detroit Institute of Arts.

**Deventer 1901**

*Tentoonstelling van oude kunst en kunstnijverheid te houden te Deventer van 12 juni tot 1 juli in het gebouw “De Hereeniging.”* Deventer.

**Dordrecht and Leeuwarden 1988**

*Meesterlijk vee: nederlandse veeschilders 1600–1900.* Dordrechts Museum and Fries Museum (catalogue edited by C. Boschma).

**Dublin and Greenwich, Conn., 2003–2004**

*Love Letters: Dutch Paintings of Letter Themes in the Age of Vermeer.* National Gallery of Ireland and The Bruce Museum of Arts and Science (catalogue by Peter C. Sutton, et al.).

**Edinburgh 1992**

*Dutch Art and Scotland: A Reflection of Taste.* National Gallery of Scotland (catalogue by Julia Lloyd Williams).

**Essen 1965**

*Gemäldesammlung der Familie Krupp.* Villa Hügel.

**Fort Worth 1991–1992**

*Mantegna to Matisse: Selected Treasures of the Cincinnati Art Museum.* Kimbell Art Museum.

**Frankfurt 1993–1994**

*Leselust: Niederländische Malerei von Rembrandt bis Vermeer.* Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt (catalogue edited by Sabine Schulze).

**Goudstikker Gallery 1930**

*Nouvelles acquisitions de la collection Goudstikker.* Goudstikker Gallery.

**Grand Rapids 1949**

*Old Masters from Midwest Museums.* Grand Rapids Art Gallery.

**Grand Rapids 1999**

*A Moral Compass: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Painting in the Netherlands.* Grand Rapids Art Museum (catalogue by Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., et al.).

**Haarlem 1986**

*Portretten van echt en trouw: Huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw.* Frans Halsmuseum (catalogue by Eddy de Jongh).

**Haarlem and Antwerp 2000–2001**

*Pride and Joy: Children’s Portraits in The Netherlands 1500–1700.* Frans Halsmuseum and Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (catalogue edited by Rudi Ekkart and Jan Baptist Bedaux).

**Haarlem and Worcester 1993**

*Judith Leyster: A Dutch Master and Her World.* Frans Halsmuseum and Worcester Art Museum (catalogue by Pieter Biesboer, James Welu, et al.).

**The Hague 1890**

*Oude Meesters.* Mauritshuis.

**The Hague 1903**

*Catalogus van de Tentoonstelling van Oude Portretten.* Haagsche Kunstkring.

**The Hague 1924**

*Kinderafbeeldingen.* Nederlandsche Schilderkunst XVIe–XXe eeuw. Gemeentemuseum.

**The Hague 1966**

*Herdenkingstentoonstelling in het Mauritshuis.* Mauritshuis.

**The Hague 1998**

*Gerard ter Borch and the Treaty of Münster.* Mauritshuis (catalogue by Alison M. Kettering).

**The Hague and Antwerp 1994**

*The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Music and Painting in the Golden Age.* Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder and Hessenhuis Museum (catalogue by Edwin Buijsen, Louis Peter Grijp, et al.).

**The Hague and Münster 1974**

*Gerard ter Borch: Zwolle 1617–Deventer 1681.* Mauritshuis and Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte.

**The Hague and San Francisco 1990–1991**

*Great Dutch Paintings from America.* Mauritshuis and The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (catalogue by Ben Broos, et al.).

**Hartford 1950–1951**

*Life in Seventeenth Century Holland: Views, Vistas, Pastimes, Pantomimes, Portraits, Peep Shows.* Wadsworth Atheneum.

**Helsinki 1995**

*The Ter Borchs Meet Again.* Synebychoff Art Museum, Finnish National Gallery (catalogue by Marja Supinen).

**Kansas City 1967–1968**

*Paintings of 17th Century Dutch Interiors.* Nelson Gallery of Art and The Atkins Museum.

**Kingston upon Hull 1961**

*Dutch Painting of the 17th Century.* Ferens Art Gallery.

**Leiden 1988**

*Leidse fijnschilders.* Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal (catalogue by Eric Jan Sluijter, et al.).

**Leiden 1996–1997**

*Jan van Goyen.* Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal (catalogue by Christiaan Vogelaar, et al.).

**London 1819**

*Catalogue of the Pictures of the Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Flemish, German, French, and British Schools.* British Institution.

**London 1844**

*British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom.* British Institution.

**London 1871**

*Exhibition of Works of the Old Masters, Associated with Works of Deceased Masters of the British School.* Royal Academy of Arts.

**London 1877**

*Exhibition of Works of the Old Masters, Associated with Works of Deceased Masters of the British School.* Royal Academy of Arts.

**London 1878**

*Exhibition of Works of the Old Masters, Associated with Works of Deceased Masters of the British School.* Royal Academy of Arts.

**London 1885**

*Exhibition of Works of the Old Masters, Associated with Works of Deceased Masters of the British School.* Royal Academy of Arts.

**London 1890**

*Exhibition of Works of the Old Masters, Associated with Works of Deceased Masters of the British School.* Royal Academy of Arts.

**London 1894**

*Pictures.* Corporation of London Art Gallery.

**London 1895**

*Catalogue of the Loan Collection of Pictures.* Guildhall.

**London 1902**

*Exhibition of Works of the Old Masters and Deceased Masters of the British School.* Royal Academy of Arts.

**London 1913–1914**

*Woman and Child in Art.* Grosvenor Gallery.

**London 1922**

*Loan Exhibition of Pictures by Old Masters on Behalf of Lord Haig’s Appeal for Ex-Service Men.* Thos. Agnew & Sons.

**London 1929**

*Dutch Art*. Royal Academy of Arts.

**London 1938**

*Exhibition of 17th Century Art in Europe*. Royal Academy of Arts.

**London 1945**

*Dutch Paintings of the 17th Century*. Arts Council.

**London 1952–1953**

*Dutch Pictures*. Royal Academy of Arts.

**London 1958**

*The Robinson Collection*. Royal Academy of Arts.

**London 1965**

*The Assheton Bennett Collection*. Royal Academy of Arts (catalogue by Frits Grossmann).

**London 1976**

*Art in Seventeenth-Century Holland*. The National Gallery (catalogue by Christopher Brown).

**London 1983a**

*The Neglected National Gallery*. The National Gallery.

**London 1983b**

*Some Masterpieces from Manchester City Art Gallery*. David Carritt Ltd. (catalogue by Julien Treuherz).

**London 1995**

*In Trust for the Nation, Paintings from National Trust Houses* (catalogue by Alastair Laing).

**London 1999**

*The Cabinet Picture: Dutch and Flemish Masters of the Seventeenth Century*. Richard Green (catalogue by Christopher Wright).

**London and Hartford 1998**

*Pieter de Hooch, 1629–1684*. Dulwich Picture Gallery and Wadsworth Atheneum (catalogue by Peter C. Sutton).

**Los Angeles 1933**

*Five Centuries of European Painting*. Los Angeles Museum.

**Lucern 1948**

*Meisterwerke aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*. Kunstmuseum.

**Madrid 2003**

*Vermeer y el interior holandés*. Museo Nacional del Prado (catalogue by Alejandro Vergara and Mariët Westermann).

**Minneapolis 1952**

*Great Portraits by Famous Painters*. Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

**Montreal 1944**

*Five Centuries of Dutch Art/Cinq siècles d'art hollandaise*. Museum of Fine Arts.

**Munich 1998**

*Die Nacht*. Haus der Kunst (catalogue edited by Antje Longhi, Stephanie Rosenthal, and Bernhard Schwenk).

**Münster and Osnabrück 1998**

*1648, War and Peace in Europe*. 3 vols. Westfälisches Landesmuseum (catalogue edited by Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling).

**Naarden 1996**

*De Hollandse Kortegaard. Geschilderde Wachtlokalen uit de Gouden Eeuw*. Nederlands Vestingmuseum.

**Neuss 1986**

*Von Pieter Brueghel bis Gerard Terborch: Niederländische Meister aus eigenem Bestand und rheinischem Besitz*. Clemens Sels Museum (catalogue by M. Tauch and G. Broens).

**New Haven 1960**

*Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture Collected by Yale Alumni*. Yale University Art Gallery.

**New York 1912**

*Loan Exhibition of Old Masters for the Benefit of the Artists' Fund and Artists' Aid Societies*. M. Knoedler and Co.

**New York 1915**

*Loan Exhibition of Masterpieces by Old and Modern Painters*. M. Knoedler and Co.

**New York 1939**

*Masterpieces of Art: European Paintings and Sculpture from 1300–1800*. New York World's Fair (catalogue by Wilhelm R. Valentiner).

**New York 1942**

*Paintings by the Great Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century: Loan Exhibition in Aid of the Queen Wilhelmina Fund and the American Women's Voluntary Services*. Duveen Galleries (catalogue by George Henry McCall, et al.).

**New York 1943**

*The Bache Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

**New York 1945**

*Dutch Masters of the 17th Century*. Knoedler Galleries.

**New York 1954**

*Loan of Artworks by Robert Lehman to the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

**New York 1962**

*Masters of Seven Centuries: Paintings and Drawings from the 14th to 20th Century*. Wildenstein and Company.

**New York 1970**

*Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

**New York 1973**

*Dutch Couples: Pair Portraits by Rembrandt and His Contemporaries*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (catalogue by John Walsh Jr.).

**New York 1984**

*Masterpieces from the Manchester City Art Gallery*. Noortman and Brod.

**New York 1991**

*Dutch and Flemish Paintings and Drawings 1525–1925*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

**New York and Chicago 1988**

*Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Hermitage*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art and The Art Institute of Chicago.

**New York and London 2001**

*Vermeer and the Delft School*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art and The National Gallery (catalogue by Walter Liedtke, Michiel C. Plomp, Axel Rüger, et al.).

**New York, Toledo, and Toronto 1954–1955**

*Dutch Painting, the Golden Age: An Exhibition of Dutch Pictures of the Seventeenth Century*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Toledo Museum of Art, and Art Gallery of Ontario.

**Oberlin 2000**

*Symbol and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*. Allen Memorial Art Museum.

**Osaka 1970**

*Japan World Exposition*. Osaka.

**Osaka 2000**

*The Public and the Private in the Age of Vermeer*. Osaka Municipal Museum of Art (catalogue by Arthur K. Wheelock Jr.).

**Oslo 1959**

*Fra Rembrandt til Vermeer*. Nasjonalgalleriet.

**Paris 1883**

*Exposition de peinture: Cent chefs-d'oeuvre des collections Parisiennes*. Galerie Georges Petit.

**Paris 1911**

*Exposition des grands et petits maîtres hollandais*. Jeu de Paume.

**Paris 1951**

*Chefs d'oeuvre des Musées de Berlin*. Musée du Petit Palais.

**Paris 1952**

*Chefs d'oeuvre de la Collection D.G.van Beuningen*. Musée du Petit Palais.

**Paris 1957**

*La Collection Lehman de New York*. Musée de l'Orangerie (catalogue by Charles Sterling, et al.).

**Paris 1986**

*De Rembrandt à Vermeer: Les peintures hollandais au Mauritshuis de La Haye*. Grand Palais (catalogue by Ben Broos, et al.).

**Philadelphia, Berlin, and London 1984**

*Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, and Royal Academy of Arts (catalogue by Peter C. Sutton, et al.).

**Phoenix 1998**

*Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper 1575–1775.* Phoenix Art Museum, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, and The Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis.

**Pittsburgh 1954**

*Pictures of Everyday Life: Genre Painting in Europe, 1500–1900.* Carnegie Institute (introduction by Gordon Bailey Washburn).

**Providence 1938**

*Dutch Painting in the Seventeenth Century.* Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art (catalogue by Wolfgang Stechow).

**Raleigh 1959**

*Masterpieces of Art.* North Carolina Museum of Art.

**Rome 1928**

*Mostra di Capolavori della Pittura Olandese.* Galleria Borghese.

**Rome 1956–1957**

*Il seicento Europeo.* Palazzo delle Esposizioni.

**Rome and Milan 1954**

*Mostra di Pittura Olandese del Seicento.* Palazzo delle Esposizioni and Palazzo Reale.

**Rotterdam 1910**

*Catalogus der tentoonstelling van portret-miniaturen.* Rotterdamsche Kunstkring (catalogue edited by C. van Omeren).

**Rotterdam 1938**

*Meesterwerken uit vier eeuwen, 1400–1800.* Museum Boymans.

**Rotterdam 1947**

*Kinderportrette.* Museum Boymans.

**Rotterdam 1950–1951**

*Drie en zestig schilderijen uit de verzameling Willem van der Vorm.* Museum Boymans.

**Rotterdam 1955**

*Kunstschatten uit Nederlandse verzamelingen.* Museum Boymans.

**Rotterdam 1985**

*Meesterwerken uit de Hermitage Leningrad: Hollandse en Vlaamse schilderkunst van de 17e eeuw.* Museum Boymans.

**Saint Petersburg and Atlanta 1975**

*Dutch Life in the Golden Century.* Museum of Fine Arts and High Museum of Art (catalogue by Franklin W. Robinson).

**San Francisco 1999**

*Masterworks of European Painting in the California Palace of the Legion of Honor.* California Palace of the Legion of Honor (catalogue by Steven A. Nash, Lynn Federle Orr, and Marion C. Stewart).

**San Francisco, Toledo, and Boston 1966–1967**

*The Age of Rembrandt: An Exhibition of Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century.* California Palace of the Legion of Honor, Toledo Museum of Art, and Museum of Fine Arts (catalogue by Horst Gerson and P. J. J. van Thiel).

**Sarasota 1981–1982**

*Dutch Seventeenth Century Portraiture, the Golden Age.* The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (catalogue by William H. Wilson).

**Stockholm 1966**

*Christina, Queen of Sweden — A Personality of European Civilisation.* Nationalmuseum.

**Tokyo and Kyoto 1968–1969**

*The Age of Rembrandt, Dutch Paintings and Drawings of the Seventeenth Century.* The National Museum of Western Art and Kyoto Municipal Museum.

**Toronto 1936**

*Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Paintings by European Masters.* Art Gallery of Ontario.

**Utrecht 1998**

*Utrecht and Peace: Negotiations in Münster.* Centraal Museum.

**Washington 1982–1984**

*Mauritshuis: Dutch Paintings of the Golden Age, Royal Picture Gallery, The Hague.* National Gallery of Art.

**Washington 1985–1986**

*The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting.* National Gallery of Art (catalogue edited by Gervase Jackson-Stops).

**Washington and Amsterdam 1996**

*Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller.* National Gallery of Art and Rijksmuseum (catalogue by H. Perry Chapman, Wouter Th. Kloek, and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr.).

**Washington and Athens 1992–1993**

*From El Greco to Cézanne.* National Gallery of Art and Soutzos Museum.

**Washington and Cincinnati 1988–1989**

*Masterworks from Munich: Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century Paintings from the Alte Pinakothek.* National Gallery of Art and Cincinnati Art Museum (catalogue by Beverly Louise Brown and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr.).

**Washington and The Hague 1995–1996**

*Johannes Vermeer.* National Gallery of Art and Mauritshuis (catalogue by Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., Ben Broos, et al.).

**Washington, London, and Amsterdam 2001**

*Aelbert Cuyp.* National Gallery of Art, National Gallery, and Rijksmuseum (catalogue edited by Arthur K. Wheelock Jr.).

**Zurich 1953**

*Höllander des 17. Jahrhunderts.* Kunsthhaus.

**Zwolle 1882**

*Geschiedkundig-Overijsselsche tentoonstelling.* Vereeniging tot Beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis at former residence of Commissaris des Konings and the Provinciale Staten.

**Zwolle 1997**

*Zwolle in de Gouden Eeuw, Cultuur en schilderkunst.* Stedelijk Museum (catalogue by Jean Streng and Lydie van Dijk).

## Index

Page numbers in **bold** refer to illustrations.

### A

- Alexander VII, pope (Fabio Chigi), 68  
 Angel, Philips, 24, 32, 40; *Lof der schilder-konst* (In Praise of the Art of Painting), 21, 21  
 Anonymous, *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster, 15 May 1648*, 72, 74  
 Van Anraadt, Pieter, 13, 153

### B

- Van Baburen, Dirck, 149  
 Bamboccianti, 8, 11, 90  
 Bardoel, Jan (portrait by Ter Borch), 58, 75  
 Bardoel, Johanna (portrait by Ter Borch), 75  
 Baudelaire, Charles, 20  
 Bentvueghels, 8, 52  
 Beurs, Willem, 37  
 Bible, 11; 2 Samuel 11:6, 104; Ecclesiastes, 154; Proverbs 31:13 and 19, 94  
 Bloteling, Abraham, *Tobias Govertsz van den Wyngaert* (after Van Musscher), 182  
 Bode, Willem von, 50  
 De Bonte, Aert, 8, 49  
 Ter Borch, Anna, 4, 11  
 Ter Borch, Gerard, the Elder, 2–8, 11, 20–21, 32, 38, 52, 123, 189; *Young People Frolicking in the Grass*, 3  
 Ter Borch, Gesina, 2, 4, 11–12, 13, 16–17, 27, 81, 84, 102, 104, 116, 123, 124, 137, 138, 141, 152, 154; *Gentleman Bowing to Kiss a Lady's Hand*, 141; *A Gentleman Kneeling before a Young Lady*, 12; *Moses on the Beach near Harwich*, 168; *Posthumous Portrait of Moses ter Borch* (Ter Borch), 13, 42–43 (detail), 168–170, 169; *Self-Portrait of Gesina in a Gray Cartouche, Crowned with the Ter Borch Arms*, 123  
 Ter Borch, Harmen (grandfather), 4  
 Ter Borch, Harmen (half brother), 4, 11  
 Ter Borch, Jenneken, 138, 177  
 Ter Borch, Moses, 4, 11, 87–88, 118, 152, 168, 168–170, 169; *Old Woman before a Mirror, with Two Maidservants*, 81  
 Ter Borch, Sara, 4  
 Borghini, Raffaello, 36  
*A Boy Caring for His Dog* (cat. 28), 11, 118, 119

- Van Brekelenkam, Quiringh, 90  
 Bril, Paul, 3  
 Brotherhood of the Cross, 50  
 Brouwer, Adriaen, 10, 78  
 Brun, Antoine, 72  
 De Brune, Johan, 90  
 Bufkens, Anna, 3, 4  
 Bürger, W. *See* Thoré, Theophile  
 Buytewech, Willem, 3, 10, 20, 22

### C

- Callot, Jacques, 5  
 Cats, Jacob, 11, 90, 94, 105; *Silenus Alcibiadis, sive, Proteus*, 80; *Sinne en Minnebeelden*, 171  
 Charles I, king of England, 6  
 Chigi, Fabio (Pope Alexander VII), 68  
 Codde, Pieter, 5, 9, 20, 22, 24, 32, 35, 46, 53, 120, 141  
 Colonna family, 3  
*The Consultation* (cat. 2), 1 (detail), 8, 13, 24, 47–49, 48  
 Coques, Gonzales, *Portrait of a Man Receiving a Letter* (attributed to), 13  
 Courbet, Gustave, 20  
*Cupidos lusthof* (Cupid's pleasure garden), 171  
*Curiosity* (cat. 35), 26, 27, 36, 137, 138–140, 139  
 Van Cuylenborch, Johannes, *A Smithy in Zwolle* (attributed to), 106  
 Cuyp, Aelbert, 110

### D

- Daniels, Derck, 14, 159, 162; details of frame of *The Town Council of Deventer*, 162, 164  
 Dankers, K., 34  
 Delfos, Abraham, 96  
 Dou, Gerard, 10, 90  
 Drebbel, Cornelis, *Grammatica* (after Goltzius), 87  
*The Duet* (Ter Borch), 172  
 Van Duren, Damiaan, 159  
 Van Duren, Gerryt, 182  
 Van Duren, Jan (cat. 42), 158, 159, 160  
 Van Duren, Jan (cat. 52), 16, 182–183, 184  
 Duyster, Willem, 5, 9, 32, 35, 44, 46, 53, 120; *The Maurauders*, 24  
 Van Dyck, Anthony, 6, 7, 144; *The Iconography*, 7

### E

- East India Company, 63  
 Eichelberg, Nicolaes, 75  
*Encouragement to Drink* (Ter Borch), 78  
*The Entry of Adriaen Pauw into Münster* (Ter Borch and Van der Horst), 63, 64  
 Evelyn, John, 50

### F

- Falck, Jeremias, 83  
*Farm Buildings and a Hay-Barn outside Zwolle* (Ter Borch), 108  
 Flinck, Govaert, *Girl by a High Chair*, 77; *Portrait of a Man*, 100

### G

- Galen, Christoph Bernhard von, 120  
*Gallant Conversation* (known as *Paternal Admonition*) (cat. 27), 14, 26, 27, 33, 34 (detail), 35, 37 (detail), 37–38, 38 (detail), 114–117, 115, 117 (detail), 122  
*Le Gallant Militaire* (Ter Borch), 25, 116  
*The Game of Backgammon* (Ter Borch), 24, 25  
 Van Gent, Barthold, 72  
 De Gheyn, Jacques, 87  
*A Girl in a Country Costume* (Ter Borch), 154  
*Glass of Lemonade* (cat. 39), 35, 149–153, 150  
*Glass of Lemonade* (cat. 40), 35, 149–153, 151  
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, *Elective Affinities*, 114  
 Goltzius, Hendrik, 4, 10, 87; *Willem of Orange*, 170  
 Goya, Francisco de, *Procession of Flagellants*, 52  
 Van Goyen, Jan (cat. 21), 15, 97–99, 98, 99  
 De Graeff family, 16  
 Grasdorp, Jan, 106  
*The Grinder's Family* (cat. 24), 27, 90, 105–106, 107

### H

- Van Haexbergen, Hendrik, 159  
 Van Haexbergen, Margaretha (cat. 43), 159, 161  
 Hals, Dirck, 20, 22, 35, 141; *Moederzorg (Mother's Care)*, 90  
 Hals, Frans, 14, 47, 141; *Banquet in a Park*, 22, 23  
 De Heem, Jan Davidsz, 47, 49  
 Van der Helst, Bartholomeus, 16, 158

Hendrik Casimir II, prince of Nassau-Dietz, 177  
 Van der Hoeve, Rombout, 72  
 Hofstede de Groot, Cornelis, 134  
 Hogers, Gosewijn, 146  
 Holsteyn, Pieter, *Anna van Ruytenburgh* and *Adriaen Pauw* (after Ter Borch), **63**, 64  
 Van Honthorst, Gerard, 10  
 De Hooch, Pieter, 15, 90, 102  
 Hooft, Pieter Cornelisz, *Emblemata Amatoria*, **135**  
 Van Hoogstraten, Samuel, 32  
*Horse and Rider* (cat. 1), 24, 44–46, **45**  
*Horsemen in front of an Inn* (cat. 7), 9, 60–62, **61**  
*A Horse Stable* (cat. 26), 27, 112, **113**  
 Van der Horst, Gerard, *The Entry of Adriaen Pauw into Münster* (Ter Borch), **63**, **64**  
 Houbraken, Arnold, 2, 8, 16–17, 27, 52, 74  
 Van Hulle, Anselm, **66**

## I

*The Introduction (An Officer Making His Bow to a Lady)* (cat. 36), 27, 81, 141–143, **142**

## J

*Jan Baghstoren, Rode Toren, and Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, with Boats Docked along the Rode Torenplein, Zwolle* (Ter Borch), **2**  
 De Jongh, Ludolf, **26**  
 Jordis, Henrik, 154

## K

De Keyser, Thomas, 53  
 Kick, Simon, 53  
 Van Kinschot, Caspar (cat. 11), 68, **69**  
 Koets, Roelof, 13, 153  
 Krul, Jan Hermansz, 12, 104; *Eerlycke Tytkorting* (Honorable Pastimes), **124**

## L

*A Lady at Her Toilet* (cat. 34), 12, **15** (detail), **18–19** (detail), 26, 27, 118, 135–137, **136**  
*Lady Drinking While Holding a Letter* (cat. 41), 154–157, **155**, **157**  
*A Lady Reading a Letter* (Ter Borch), 154, **156**  
 Van Laer, Pieter (“Bamboccio”), 8, 52; *The Flagellants*, **50**

De Laresse, Gerard, 28, 38; *Het groot schilderboek* (The Art of Painting), 21–22, **22**  
 De Langue, Willem, 16  
 Leonardo da Vinci, 40  
*The Letter* (Ter Borch), 27, **28** (detail), **138**  
 Leunink, Catrina (portrait by Ter Borch), **146**  
 Leyster, Judith, 47  
*The Lute Player and Officer* (Ter Borch), 122

## M

Maes, Nicolaes, 158; *Old Woman Spinning*, **94**  
*A Maid Milking a Cow in a Barn* (cat. 25), 27, 108–111, **109**, **111** (detail), 112  
*Man Adjusting the Saddle of a Horse* (Ter Borch), **5**  
*Man on Horseback* (Ter Borch), **44**  
*Man on Horseback, Seen from Rear* (Ter Borch), **4**  
 Van Mander, Karel, 36; *Het Schilder-boeck* (Book of Painting), 21

Manet, Edouard, 20  
 Van der Marck, Johan, 167  
 Marienburgh, Gertruid (portrait by Ter Borch), **159**  
 Marienburgh, Willem (portrait by Ter Borch), **159**  
*Market at Evening in Zwolle* (Ter Borch), **6**  
 Mary, princess of Orange, 16  
 Matthys, Geertruyt, 8, 12, 13, 16, 112, 167  
 Matthys, Wiesken, 4, 11, 96, 152  
 De Mayerne, Theodore, 36  
 De' Medici, Cosimo III, 16  
 Metsu, Gabriel, 16, 134; *Interior of a Smithy*, 105; *Man Writing a Letter*, **130**; *Woman Reading a Letter with a Maid-servant*, **130**  
 Miel, Jan, 90  
 Van Mieris, Frans, 2, 40; *Child's Lesson*, 88  
 Molenae, Jan Miense, 47  
 Molijn, Pieter, 6, 7, 44, 46, 52, 99; *Grote Markt, Haarlem, at Night*, 22, **23**; *Horsemen in front of an Inn* (Ter Borch), 9, 60–62, **61**  
 Moonen, Arnoldus, 182, 183  
 De Moor, Karel, *Jan van Goyen* (after Ter Borch), **99**  
*The Music Lesson* (cat. 47), 14, 35, 171–172, **173**, 176, **190–191** (detail)  
*The Music Party* (cat. 48), 14, 35, 171–172, 174–176, **175**  
 Van Musscher, Michiel, 16, 99, 153, 182

## N

Van der Neer, Eglon, 16, 27, 40, 153  
 Netscher, Caspar, 13, 35, 40, 47, 49, 122, 123, 128, 130, 153; *Lady Seated at a Spinning Wheel*, 94, **96**; *Portrait of a Man, Possibly Coenraad Ruysch*, **177**, 179  
 Van Nieulandt, Willem, II, 3  
 Nilant, Eva, 159  
 Nilant, Hendrik, 183

## O

*Officer Dictating a Letter While a Trumpeter Waits* (cat. 31), 26, 126–128, **127**, 129, 130  
*Officer Writing a Letter* (cat. 32), 14, 26, 27, 28, 129–130, **131**, 134, **186–187** (detail)  
 Olijcan, Maria, 182  
 Van Ostade, Adriaen, *The Knife Grinder*, **105**  
 Van Ostade, Isaac, 105; *The Halt at the Inn*, **60**

## P

Palamedesz, Anthonie, *Guardroom with Officer Receiving a Letter*, 126; *Officer Reading a Letter*, 126  
 Pancras, Aletta, 177  
 Pancras, Gerbrand (cat. 49), 16, 177–179, **178**  
 Pancras, Nicolaes, 16, 177  
*Paternal Admonition. See Gallant Conversation* (known as *Paternal Admonition*) (cat. 27)  
*Paternal Admonition* (Ter Borch), 35, **114**, 116  
 Pauw van Heemstede, Adriaen (cat. 8), 9, 13, 63–64, **65**, 66, 70, 100  
 Peñaranda, Count of, Caspar de Bracamonte y Guzman (cat. 12), 9–10, 13, 16, 70, **71**, 72, 78  
 Petrarch, 11, 116, 123, 140, 141  
 Philip IV, king of Spain, 8–9, 13, 16, 70  
 De Piles, Roger, *Cours de Peinture par Principe*, 32, **33**, 35  
*Portrait of a Gentleman* (cat. 22), 100, **101**  
*Portrait of a Lady* (Ter Borch), 35  
*Portrait of a Man* (cat. 4), 9, 53–54, **55**, 56  
*Portrait of a Man* (cat. 5), 9, 56, **57**, 58  
*Portrait of a Man Aged Forty-Two* (Ter Borch), **56**  
*Portrait of a Woman* (cat. 6), 9, 58, **59**  
*Portrait of a Woman Aged Thirty* (Ter Borch), **58**

*Portrait of a Young Man* (cat. 37), 144, **145**  
*A Portrait of a Young Nobleman* (after Ter Borch), 179  
*Portrait of a Young Woman* (cat. 38), 146–148, **147**  
*Posthumous Portrait of Moses ter Borch* (cat. 46), 13, **42–43** (detail), 168–170, **169**  
 Pot, Hendrik Gerritsz, 7, 56; *Charles I*, 53–54; *Jacob van der Merckt*, **54**  
*Procession with Flagellants* (cat. 3), 50–52, **51**  
 Puget de la Serre, Jean, *Le Secrétaire à la Mode*, 132

## Q

Quadacker, Freda, 146  
 Quadacker, Hermannus, 183  
 Quast, Pieter, 5

## R

*The Reading Lesson* (cat. 18), 27, 87–88, **89**, 96  
 Van Reede van Nederhorst, Godard (cat. 10), 66, **67**  
 Rembrandt van Rijn, 14; *Nightwatch*, 64; *Self-Portrait*, **97**  
 Renialme, Johannes, 16  
*Riders Stopping before an Inn* (Ter Borch), **62**  
 Roeks, Mecheltien, 182  
 Roldanus, Joost, 8, 13  
 Romanets, A., *A Glass of Lemonade* (after Ter Borch), **152**, 153  
 Rouse, Joan, 182  
 Rouse, Lucretia (cat. 51), 16, 182–183, **185**  
 Van Ruysdael, Isaack, 99  
 Van Ruytenburgh, Anna (cat. 9), 63–64, **65**  
 Van Ruytenburgh, Willem, 64

## S

Sadeler, Aegidius, 4  
 Saint Luke's Guild, Haarlem, 6, 47  
*Scene in an Inn* (cat. 15), 78–80, **79**  
 Van der Schalcke, Gerard (portrait by Ter Borch), **75**  
 Van der Schalcke, Helena (cat. 14), 58, 75–77, **76**  
 Schellinger, Sijbrand, 177  
 Schouman, Aert, 96  
*Self-Portrait* (cat. 45), 165–167, **166**  
*Self-Portrait* (Ter Borch), **165**

- Six, Jan, 9  
 Smith, John, 17, 134  
*Soldiers in an Inn* (Ter Borch), **120**  
 Starter, Jan Jansz, *Friesche Lusthof*, 143  
 Steen, Jan, 2, 10, 47, 87; *Lovesickness*, **152**  
 Strozzi, Bernardo, 83  
 Van Suchtelen, Gerhard, 146  
 Van Suchtelen, Jan, 146  
 Van Suchtelen, Maria Wedeus (portrait by Ter Borch), 146, **148**  
*The Suitor's Visit* (cat. 30), 13, 14, **15** (detail), 26, 27, 118, 123–124, **125**, 137  
 Suyderhoef, Jonas, *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster, 15 May 1648* (after Ter Borch), **74**  
*The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster, 15 May 1648* (cat. 13), 9, 16, **68** (detail), **70** (detail), 72–74, **73**, 78, **165** (detail)  
 Sweerts, Michael, 90; *Woman Searching for Lice*, 11, **118**
- T**  
 Teniers, David, 11, 8, 10, 47, 78, 110; *Le Medecin de Village (The Village Doctor)*, 8, 47, **49**; *Peasants in a Tavern*, **122**  
 Thoré, Theophile (pseudonym, W. Bürger), 20, 29  
*Three Soldiers Making Merry* (cat. 29), 25, 120–122, **121**  
*The Town Council of Deventer* (cat. 44), 14, 16, **158** (detail), 162–164, **163**  
 Trip, Elias, 182  
*Two Studies of Gesina* (Ter Borch), **81**
- U**  
*The Unwelcome Call* (cat. 23), 12, 25, 102–104, **103**, 122
- V**  
 Vasari, Giorgio, 36  
 Velázquez, Diego, 8–9; *Don Pedro de Barberana y Aparregui*, 8, **9**; *Pablo de Valladolid*, **53**  
 Van de Velde, Esaias, 3, 10, 22, 60, 97
- Van de Velde, Jan, *Gentleman Greeting a Lady*, **143**  
 Van de Venne, Adriaen, 105  
 Vermeer, Johannes, 2, 15, 102; *Lady Writing a Letter with Her Maid*, **132**, 134  
 De Vicq, François, 177  
 Vinckboons, David, 141  
 Vingboons, Philips, 162  
 Visscher, Roemer, *Sinepoppen*, 90  
 Van Voerst, Geesken, 4  
 Van Voerst, Robert (portrait by Ter Borch), 6–7, 7, 20, 49  
 Volpato manuscript, 36
- W**  
 De Waert, Petronella, 177  
 Wentholt, Anna, 183  
 Van der Werff, Adriaen, 40  
 Wille, J. G., *Instruction Paternelle*, **114**  
 Willem II, prince of Orange, 120  
 Willem III, prince of Orange, 16  
 Wiltshut, Adrianus, 34
- Woman at a Mirror* (cat. 16), 10, 12, 27, **30–31** (detail), **39** (detail), 39–40, **40** (detail), 81–83, **82**  
*Woman at Her Dressing Table* (Ter Borch), **84**  
*Woman Combing a Child's Hair* (cat. 19), 11, 27, 90, **91**, **92** (detail), 96, 118  
*Woman Drinking Wine with a Sleeping Soldier* (Ter Borch), **156**  
*A Woman Playing the Theorbo for a Cavalier* (Ter Borch), **174**, 176  
*Woman Sealing a Letter* (cat. 33), 14, 28, 129, 132–134, **133**  
*Woman Spinning* (cat. 20), 10, **11** (detail), 27, 94–96, **95**  
*Woman Washing Her Hands* (Ter Borch), **86**  
 Wybouts, Maria (portrait by Ter Borch), **58**, 75
- Y**  
*Young Man Reading* (cat. 50), 180, **181**  
*Young People around a Table Drinking, Smoking, and Making Music* (Ter Borch), 22, **23**  
*A Young Woman at Her Toilet with a Maid* (cat. 17), 27, 33–34, 84–86, **85**  
*Young Woman Playing a Theorbo to Two Young Men* (Ter Borch), 171–172, **174**, 176

## Photographic Credits

Every effort has been made to locate the copyright holders for the photographs used in this book. Any omissions will be corrected in subsequent editions.

### Lettering essay

fig. 6: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY, Photo: F. Raux; fig. 8: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY, Photo: RMN; fig. 10: The Royal Collection © 2004, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

### Wheelock essay

fig. 7: Copyright © 2004 by Kimbell Art Museum

### Wallert essay

fig. 1: Photo courtesy of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

### Catalogue

#### CATALOGUE OBJECTS

cat. 1: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; cat. 2: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin — Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Photo: Jörg P. Anders; cat. 4: © Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; cats. 5, 6: © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Photo: Katherine Wetzel; cat. 7: Fotostudio Otto; cat. 13: © National Gallery, London; cat. 17: Photograph © 1999 The Metropolitan Museum of Art; cat. 18: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY, Photo: Gérard Blot; cat. 21: Fotostudio Heinz Preute, Vaduz; cat. 24: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin — Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Photo: Jörg P. Anders 2003; cats. 25, 26: © Courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum; cat. 28: Photo © Joachim Blauel — Artothek; cat. 29: Photo: Jean-Michel Routhier; cat. 30: Photo: Richard Carafelli; cat. 31: © National Gallery, London; cat. 34: Photograph © 1995 The Detroit Institute of Arts; cat. 35: Photograph © 1987 The Metropolitan Museum of Art; cat. 36: © The National Trust; cat. 37: © National Gallery, London; cat. 38: © The Cleveland Museum of Art, The Elisabeth Severance Prentiss Collection; cat. 41: Central Art Archives, Photo: Matti Janas; cats. 42, 43: Photograph © 1998 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Photo: Schechter Lee; cat. 44: Atelier voor Restauratie & Research van Schilderijen, Milko den Leeuw & Wouter van Hoogdalem, Den Haag/Amsterdam; cat. 47: Photo Inc. 11/89; cat. 48: Photo: Tony Walsh 9/1999; cat. 49: © Manchester Art Gallery; cat. 50: Photograph © 1993 The Detroit Institute of Arts; cat. 51: Collection Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede. Loan Oudheidkamer 'Riessen,' Rijssen, Photo: R. Klein Gotink

## Illustration details

Title page: cat. 35  
Pages xii–1: cat. 2  
Pages 18–19: cat. 34  
Pages 30–31: cat. 16  
Pages 42–43: cat. 46  
Pages 186–187: cat. 32  
Pages 190–191: cat. 47

#### COMPARATIVE FIGURES

cat. 1, fig. 1: Photograph © 2003 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; cat. 4, fig. 2: Collection Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), The Hague; cat. 5, fig. 1: © Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid; cat. 6, fig. 3: © Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid; cat. 17, fig. 1: Collection Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), The Hague; cat. 17, fig. 2: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden; cat. 20, fig. 1: © Rijksmuseum-Stichting Amsterdam; cat. 20, fig. 2: © National Gallery, London; cat. 21, fig. 1: © Rijksmuseum Amsterdam; cat. 21, fig. 2: © Rijksmuseum-Stichting Amsterdam; cat. 22, fig. 1: © Courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum; cat. 27, fig. 1: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY; cat. 28, fig. 1: Photo A. Plisson; cat. 32, figs. 1, 2: Reproductions courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland; cat. 33, fig. 1: Reproduction courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland; cat. 35, fig. 1: The Royal Collection © 2004, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II; cats. 39, 40, fig. 1: Photograph © 2004 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; cat. 43, figs. 1, 2: © National Gallery in Prague; cat. 44, fig. 1: Photo: Tom Haartsen, Holland; cat. 45, fig. 2: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, Photo: Jörg P. Anders; cat. 47, fig. 1: Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam; cat. 47, fig. 2: © The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor, Photo: Mike Fear; cat. 49, fig. 1: © Christie's Images Inc. 2001