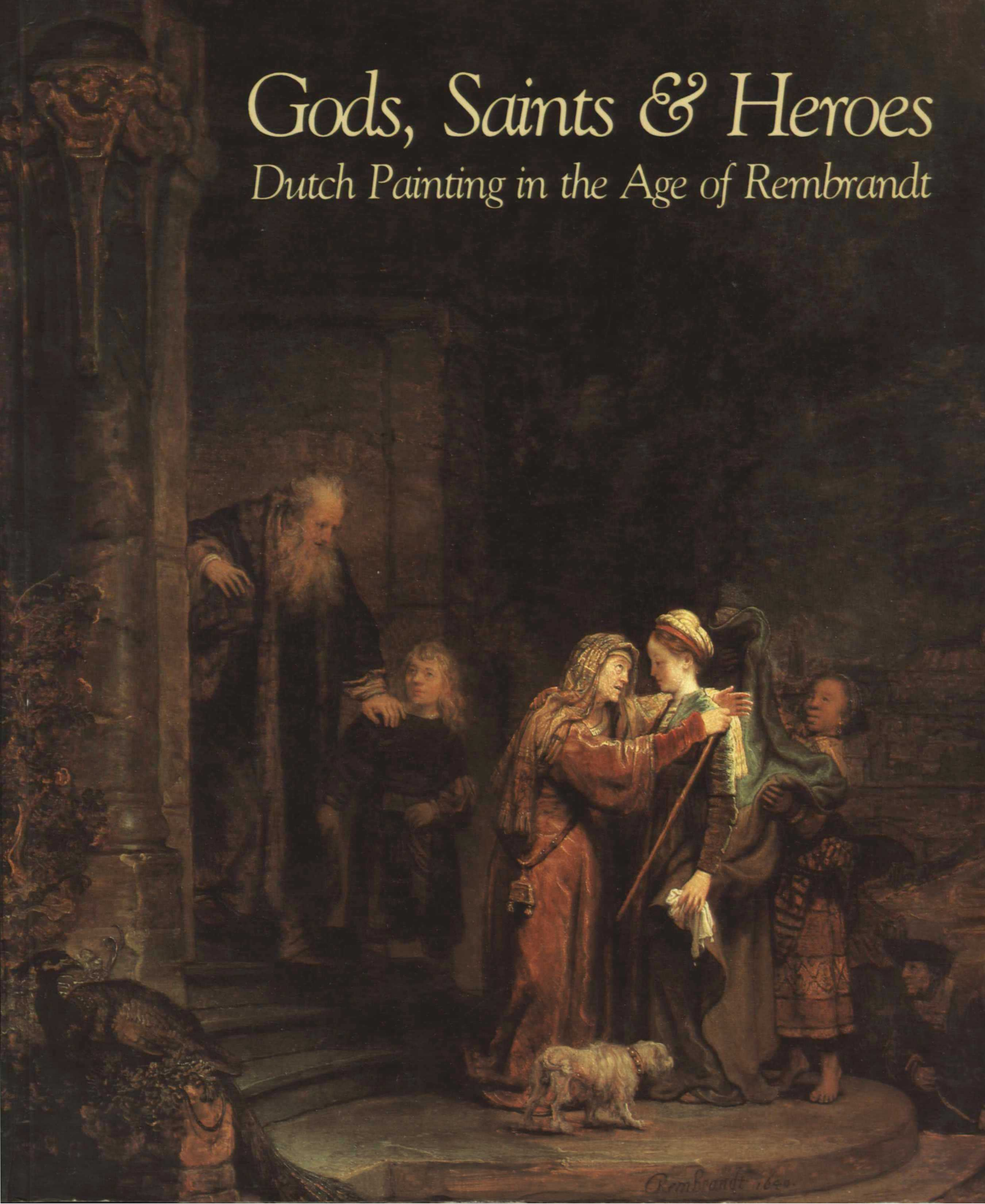


Gods, Saints & Heroes

Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt





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Albert Blankert, Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij, Christopher Brown,
Susan Donahue Kuretsky, Eric J. Sluiter, D.P. Snoep, Pieter van Thiel,
Astrid Tümpel, Christian Tümpel, Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr.

Exhibition Coordinator: Dewey F. Mosby



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for the exhibition

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Lenders to the Exhibition



Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio
Amsterdams Historisch Museum
The Art Museum, Princeton University
Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich
The City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery
Centraal Museum der Gemeente, Utrecht
The Cleveland Museum of Art
The Detroit Institute of Arts
Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties, The Hague
Mrs. Elisabeth M. Drey, New York
Fondation Custodia (Coll. F. Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris
Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna
Gemeentelijk Museum Het Princesshop, Leeuwarden
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California
Haarlem, Burgomaster and Aldermen, Town Hall
Hasselt, Burgomaster and Aldermen, Town Hall
Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig
Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland (Gemeenlandhuis), Leiden
Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf
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J. H. van Litsenburg, Amsterdam
Mauritshuis, The Hague
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon
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 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
 John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida
 Lewis J. and Lenore G. Ruskin, Scottsdale, Arizona
 J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky
 Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, West Berlin
 Stedelijk Museum, Diest, Belgium
 Stedelijk Museum "De Lakenhal," Leiden
 Theatre Museum of the Netherlands Theatre Institute, Amsterdam
 Mrs. L. Thurkow-van Huffel, The Hague
 The Toledo Museum of Art
 Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford
 Westfälischer Kunstverein, Münster
 Emile E. Wolf, New York
 Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven
 York City Art Gallery



Gabriel Metsu, *The Dismissal of Hagar*, Leiden, Stedelijk Museum "de Lakenhal" (cat. no. 83).

Foreword



OUR PRESENT APPRECIATION OF DUTCH seventeenth-century painting still owes a great deal to nineteenth-century art critics who mainly valued the naturalistic qualities of the Dutch Masters. A realistic approach may have been the vital force of those artists, but art theory of the period had little appreciation for painters who merely copied nature. In the hierarchy of subjects, portraiture and still life ranked lowest. The true and highest goal of an artist was to become a history painter. By history painting, the artists and theorists did not mean the rendering of historical events such as battles or the coronation of a king, but the depiction of ethical ideas through biblical and mythical scenes or allegories. For instance, the Judgment of Solomon was a supreme example of justice. Portraitists, topographical painters, and those who made pretty pictures of daily life were looked upon as useful craftsmen in an age when photography did not exist. But those who visualized the unseen ranked with the poets. Our traditional way of looking at Dutch art makes us overlook precisely those works the artists themselves esteemed most.

The basic concept of the exhibition was formulated over four years ago by Dewey F. Mosby and Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-de-Rooij. Albert Blankert, who has written extensively on this subject, Susan D. Kuretsky, and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., quickly joined them. With the formalization

of the Scientific Committee to include Pieter van Thiel and Christopher Brown, the group overcame the obstacles presented by the general obscurity of the theme. The enthusiasm and dedication of the Scientific Committee, which was organized to help select the objects, secure the loans, and write the catalogue, are revealed in the exhibition that has been assembled.

The exhibition was made possible through the generosity of many people and institutions. They are acknowledged specifically in the following section, but we lend our expression of appreciation to each and everyone of them. Our greatest debt of gratitude is owed to the collectors, museums, and institutions named on the list of lenders to the exhibition, who generously agreed to part with their precious works of art to make the exhibition a success.

We are grateful to the many members of our staffs who were involved in this complex venture. Many of them are named elsewhere, but to those who are not mentioned here, such as conservation, photographic, editorial, education, legal, bookstore, financial, security, publicity, installation, and other personnel, we express appreciation for their hard work which was essential to the business of the exhibition.

We are most happy to be able to present this comprehensive survey of an eminent area of Dutch painting, which history kept from the eye for too long a time.

J. Carter Brown

Director

National Gallery of Art

Frederick J. Cummings

Director

The Detroit Institute of Arts

Simon H. Levie

Director General

Rijksmuseum



Paulus Moreelse, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (cat. no. 18).

Acknowledgments



THE EXHIBITION *Gods, Saints & Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt* presents the splendid fruit of over four years of planning. The task of organizing this project, which aimed at altering universally accepted images of seventeenth-century Dutch painting, involved the unrelenting cooperation of many museums, collectors, art dealers, and colleagues. Indeed, the exhibition would not have been possible without the assistance, imagination, and encouragement of these institutions and individuals.

The greatest debt is owed to the generosity of our lenders. Their willingness to part with some of their most precious holdings for nearly a year has permitted us to bring to the fore the surprising number and variety of Dutch artists who painted historical themes of extraordinary quality. Appreciation is expressed again to the governing bodies of the institutions and collectors in the list of lenders to the exhibition.

The exhibition received its final form through the efforts of the Scientific Committee, most of whom were part of the project from its beginning. They are officially named and thanked elsewhere, but it is impossible to thank them enough. The work of this group was made easier by the tremendous contributions of all phases of the show and catalogue by Jacques Foucart, Eric Jan Sluiter, D. P. Snoep, Astrid Tümpel, Christian Tümpel, and Willem L. van de Watering. We are particularly indebted to them. A very special place and expression of gratitude is due Iva Lisikewycz who handled admirably all the daily tasks associated with the organization of the exhibition and catalogue.

As has been mentioned in the foreword, the staffs of the various museums have contributed to the success of the project. At the National Gallery of Art we gratefully acknowledge the support and encouragement of Charles Parkhurst and the contributions of Elizabeth A. Croog, Peter Davidock, Jr., Carol M. Fox, Deborah A. Gomez, Valerie Nebehay, Elroy Quenroe, Jack C. Spinx, and William J.

Williams. We thank the participating staff of The Detroit Institute of Arts which includes Marianne DePalma, Laura A. Gorman, Clara Janigian, Abraham E. Joel, Ingeborg Michalak, Boris Sellers, Karen Serota, Harold Stephens, Susan K. Weinberg, Nemo Warr, and Robert T. Westion. At the Rijksmuseum, C. J. de Bruyn Kops, J. L. Cleveringa, and W. Th. Kloek receive our expressions of gratitude.

The formidable task of producing the catalogue under a very tight schedule was carried out under the direction of the Editors Office, National Gallery of Art. They were aided by the initial planning provided by Susan F. Rossen, senior editor at The Detroit Institute of Arts. The very and delicate work of editing the catalogue was performed patiently and expertly by Paula M. Smiley of the Editors Office at the National Gallery of Art. The same office's Melanie B. Ness executed the superb design. We thank them warmly. Also, the massive job of translating Dutch texts into English was discharged ably by Peter Sutton, an outstanding scholar of seventeenth-century Dutch painting. Other translations were made by Christopher With and Margaret Morgan. We are extremely appreciative of their efforts.

When the project was only a vague idea, devoid of a written conceptual précis and formal Scientific Committee, several scholars aided greatly its formation. For their roles at that stage gratitude is expressed to Bob Haak, Robert de Haas, Hans Hoetink, Franklin W. Robinson, Marcel Roethlisberger, John Walsh, Jr., and M. L. Wurfbain. The entire exhibition apparatus owes a tremendous debt to J. Nieuwstraten and his excellent staff at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague. Also, deepest gratitude is expressed to the following persons and groups for their invaluable help: Rolf Andree, Tracy Atkinson, Rhonda Baer, Katharine Baetjer, F. Baudouin, W. A. L. Beeren, Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, Jan Białostocki, Pieter Biesboer, Per Bjurström, P. W. Blom, Henning Bock, Jean



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The exhibition profited from several sources of funding. The show would not have developed as easily as it did without a planning grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, a Federal indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities, and an important grant from the National Endowment for the Arts. Detroit is extremely grateful to the Eleanor and Edsel Ford Exhibitions Fund and Founders Society Detroit Institute of Arts. We express appreciation to these agencies and, again, to the numerous institutions and individuals who have contributed to the realization of *Gods, Saints & Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt*.

Dewey F. Mosby

Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Visitation*, The Detroit Institute of Arts (cat. no. 27).



Caesar van Everdingen, *Duke Willem II Granting Privileges to the High Office of the Dike-reeve of Rijnland in 1255*, Leiden, Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland (Gemeenlandhuis) (cat. no. 58).

General Introduction

Albert Blankert

"A history painting . . . in all its parts perfect, so that nothing is lacking, not in composition, drawing and painting of the figures . . . not in the application of the paints, not in nude and clothed figures, not in the depiction of the passions, nor ornament . . . such a history painting has the power to please and enflame the eyes and attention of virtuous connoisseurs and lovers of art in their insatiable study of this divine

miracle work: because the longer the viewer fixes his eyes on it and the more accurately he looks at and through it, the more he discovers what is worthy of study and what creates amazement: because everything in it is fixed, wrought and executed according to the demands of nature and all things balance one another."

J. van den Vondel, Preface to his tragedy
Adam in Exile, 1664.

WHEN WE THINK OF DUTCH SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY painting, apart from that of Rembrandt, most of us envision Hals' portraits of sturdy burghers, Vermeer's quiet domestic scenes, Steen's unruly households, Kalf's subtly arranged silverware and oranges, Van der Heyden's sunlit city squares, or Van Goyen's yellow dunes. The prevailing view is that during their golden age the Dutch devoted themselves exclusively to the depiction of their immediate environment; hence, the many images of their contemporary Dutchmen, their material possessions, homes, inns, cities, and countryside.

This image is so universally accepted that even scholars forget how little theoretical foundation it had. Until well into the nineteenth century art theory in Holland and throughout Europe posited that such direct representations of low life and simple nature were beneath the dignity of a true artist. Within painting's official hierarchy of subject matter, the highest accolades were reserved for history, which at that time meant biblical or other religious scenes, themes taken from classical literature or mythology, or allegorical subjects. Only in the Dutch burghers' republic was the painter's immediate environment his primary subject.

Our admiration for Dutch "realism"—a concept which actually originated in the nineteenth century—obscures the fact that whole schools of first-rate, seventeenth-century Dutch artists devoted themselves exclusively to the painting of history.

The space devoted to history painting in the extensive records of Dutch seventeenth-century pictures housed at the renowned Netherlands Institute for the History of Art in The Hague will surprise anyone whose acquaintance with Dutch art stems wholly from text books.

It is rarely appreciated what large and important parts of the oeuvres of, for example, the famous genre painter, Jan Steen, and the Italianate landscapist, Nicolaes Berchem, are devoted to historical subjects. In their early ca-

reers, the interior painters Gabriel Metsu and Jan Vermeer van Delft also pursued these elevated goals. The modern assumption that Rembrandt's biblical themes were exceptional for their period would have surprised his contemporary Dutchmen. After standing so long in the shadow of realism, Dutch history painting deserves to be assessed in a new light. By choosing to depict religious and mythological themes, these artists followed the mainstream of European artistic theory and practice. The results were by no means parochial. On the contrary, a review of the full range of Dutch seventeenth-century history painting reveals a rich variety, direct and original approaches to subject matter, and often brilliant technical execution. Be it Goltzius' bright and powerful *Venus and Adonis* of 1614 (cat. no. 8), Ter Brugghen's deeply moving *Crucifixion* of c. 1625 (cat. no. 11), De Grebber's brilliant *Annunciation* of 1633 (cat. no. 47), Steen's humorous *Moses Striking the Rock* (cat. no. 86), or Rembrandt's mysterious *Denial of Saint Peter* of 1660 (cat. no. 30), all are masterpieces, and all in their disparate ways, are typically Dutch.

Theory

In 1858 the great art critic and historian E.J.T. Thoré-Bürger, who rediscovered Vermeer and Frans Hals, characterized Dutch seventeenth-century painting as follows: "The vivid life . . . a kind of photograph of their great 17th century, men and things, feelings and customs—the actions and gestures of an entire nation. . . . Ah! No more mystical art enveloping the old superstitions, no more mythological art resuscitating old symbols, no more princely aristocratic art . . . consecrated to the glorification of those who dominate the human species. No more art of popes and kings, of gods and heroes."¹ Thoré-Bürger's ideas have come to dominate the current view of Dutch art.

Discussing seventeenth-century Dutch artists in his very influential *Maîtres d'Autrefois* of 1875, the French author

and artist, Eugène Fromentin wrote, "They were content to look around themselves and refrained from the use of imagination. One forgot antique history and contemporary as well. . . ." ² Almost sixty years later, in 1933, the Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga claimed that biblical scenes were very scarce in Dutch seventeenth-century art: "Only Rembrandt and his pupils found the way to the Holy Scriptures." ³ Two years later the Dutch art historian Willem Martin argued that "the efforts of several of our realists to try their hand at allegory, mythology or history are strange phenomena. . . . Indeed, this is one of the most painful aspects of the history of our art." Discussing Adriaen van de Velde's *Annunciation* (cat. no. 66), he expressed surprise "that this aristocrat among our landscape painters would ever have wanted to make such a thing." ⁴ The most widely used recent handbook on Dutch seventeenth-century art states "there was also some religious, mythological, and historical painting, but none of these were large categories. . . . Rembrandt and his school devoted much of their work to religious subjects; but in this respect, as in so many others, Rembrandt and his close followers were exceptions rather than typical representatives of Dutch art and taste." The absence of a chapter on history painting in this book creates a confusing impression. ⁵ Reviewing this little anthology, it is evident that Dutch history painting has been badly neglected in the modern era and deserves a reappraisal.

What, though, were the contemporary views on the subject? The theoretical bias in favor of historical subjects had been forming for centuries. In 1436 the Florentine humanist, Giovanni Battista Alberti, wrote that "the greatest work of the painter is the *Istoria*." ⁶ In 1669, the French theorist Felibien set up a hierarchy of artists arranged according to their choice of subjects. On the lowest rung of the ladder he placed the still life painter, on the highest the painter of the human form "because he reproduces the most perfect work of God on earth and thus is God's follower." The portrait painter and the painter of a single figure cannot, however, achieve perfection since, "one should represent the great actions as the historians do or beautiful subjects like the poets. . . ." ⁷ In the period that separated the two authors these ideas dominated the thinking in Europe's cultural centers. ⁸ Except in Holland, almost all serious artists who enjoyed public recognition acted according to these assumptions. We must ask, then, what principles were espoused in Holland? Did the Dutch always embrace standards of "realism" like those that have made viewers in this century consider history painting "one of the most painful aspects of [Dutch] art history?"

In 1604 the Haarlem painter and writer, Carel van Mander, published his extensive *Het Schilder-Boeck*. Roughly the first hundred pages of the work were devoted to his

"Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderkunst" (Basis of the Noble Art of Painting). Taking the form of a didactic poem addressed to youths eager for instruction, it was as much a theoretical treatise as a panegyric on painting. ⁹ In the first chapter of the "Grondt," the writer noted that Italian artists considered their northern colleagues good in landscapes but regarded themselves as better in figures. Van Mander hoped and expected that this would change and urged young artists "do your best, so that we may achieve our goal: that it never again will be said . . . that Dutchmen cannot make figures." ¹⁰

By "figures" Van Mander meant human figures, but not portraits. Elsewhere in the *Schilder-Boeck* he deplored the fact that Michiel van Mierevelt had ceased painting compositions of historical subjects and had specialized in portraits:

Because this unfortunate situation prevails in our Netherlands, especially in the present time, where there is little work to be done in compositions to give youths or painters the opportunity to practice in order to excel in the painting of histories, figures and nudes. Because what they principally get to do is portrait painting from life, so that the majority of artists, by the temptation of gain or to make a living, strike off on this side road of art [which is to say, portraits from life] and thus proceed without having time or inclination to seek the path or trace the road of history and figures which leads to the highest perfection; consequently many a pure and noble talent will be spent, to the fruitless and no less eternal detriment of art. ¹¹

Concerning Abraham Bloemaert, Van Mander stated, "He gave no place to portraits from life in his work, so that his imagination would not be diminished." ¹² The Amsterdam Gerrit Pietersz. Sweelinck would make delightful things if he were not obliged to waste his time on "portraits and other minor work. . . . He has just completed a group portrait *The Militia of Jan Jansz. Carel*; but he is not satisfied and intends now to make something never done before." ¹³ Even the militia portrait, now regarded as one of the most notable and characteristic genres of seventeenth-century Dutch art, was considered by Van Mander as a subject of secondary importance. Around 1630 the many-sided Constantijn Huygens stated that Jan Lievens' talent was opposed to painting portraits from life. ¹⁴ The extent to which this disdain for the portrait persisted is evident from Gerard de Lairese's comment published in 1707 that he did not understand "how someone [he is discussing portraitists] could surrender his freedom to make himself a slave, and turn away from the perfection of this noble art [of painting] to submit himself to all the imperfections of Nature." ¹⁵

* * * *

In the preface to the "Grondt," Van Mander urged the young to cultivate a preference for the "perfection of figures



fig. 1 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Wedding of Samson*, signed and dated 1638, canvas, 126.5 x 175.5 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.

and histories. . . . Animal pictures, kitchen pieces, fruit still lifes, flower pieces, landscape," etc., were all secondary concerns: they could not achieve "perfection." Throughout practically his entire poem he assumed that the artist to whom he directed his exhortations was, or ought to be, a figure and history painter. The second chapter is entitled "On Drawing or the Art of Drawing," but he restricted his comments to the question of the proper way to represent the human form.¹⁶ The following four chapters discuss, respectively, the proper proportions of figures, appropriate poses for figures, the invention and arrangement of "histories," and the depiction of human emotion. Of the remaining six chapters three are discourses on technical matters (reflections, colors, etc.), and the three others deal with the depiction of subjects: landscape, animals, and clothing. Van Mander evidently considered a biblical or mythological scene an essential requirement of a landscape. The artist who painted a landscape would do well to think beforehand about which "little story . . . from the Bible or classical mythology" he would include.¹⁷

It is surprising that no book on painting comparable to Van Mander's large and thorough work of 1604 was published in the Netherlands until 1678 when the *Introduction to the Elevated School of the Art of Painting* by the Rembrandt pupil, Samuel van Hoogstraten, appeared. More surprising yet, virtually no treatises by experts were written during the

period of the great flowering of Dutch art (c. 1610-1670). Among the few exceptions were the twenty pages on art, written around 1630 and included in Constantijn Huygens' autobiography, which was not published until 1897.¹⁸ Huygens, secretary to the stadtholder Frederick Hendrik and in his own age known primarily as a poet, was the only writer who seemed aware of the great achievements of landscape painting in his country during this time. Nevertheless, Huygens reserved his principal commentary and praise for three history painters, Rubens and the "beardless youths" (at the time when Huygens visited them)—Rembrandt and Lievens.¹⁹

On Saint Luke's Day, October 18, 1641, the Leiden artist Philips Angel gave a lecture which was published in 1642 with the title *Praise of the Art of Painting*. Thirty-three of the pamphlet's fifty-seven pages discuss the importance which had been attached to the art of painting in classical antiquity. In the passages devoted to his own age he did not fail to mention seascapes and landscapes and representations of guardroom scenes. By far the most attention, however, was devoted to history painting. Only a handful of his fellow artists are mentioned by name: his fellow Leiden artist Dou and the "famous Rembrandt, Lievens, Backer, Bleker"—all four history painters.²⁰ And only one painting is discussed at considerable length, Rembrandt's *Marriage Banquet of Samson*, now in Dresden (fig. 1).



fig. 2 Pieter de Grebber, *Portrait of "the Painter,"* monogrammed and dated 1647, canvas, 103 x 89 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, cat. 1976, no. A2310.

In 1649 the Haarlem painter Pieter de Grebber published a single sheet listing eleven rules "which a good Painter and Draftsman must observe and follow; Compiled for the Delight of Studious Pupils."²¹ One after another, the rules imply that the "good Painter and Draftsman" to which De Grebber addressed himself is exclusively a painter of history and figures. De Grebber was one of the few who observed the rules; almost his entire oeuvre consists of history paintings. Two years before his rules appeared, he painted his notable portrait of *The Artist* (fig. 2).

Van Hoogstraten's *Introduction to the Elevated School of the Art of Painting* appeared almost thirty years after De Grebber's rules. Here again this extremely hybrid work offers lengthy discussions of antiquity's lost art of painting, interspersed with advice and information about more current artists. The hierarchy of subject matter is discussed twice. On pages 75-76 he writes of still life painters, "these artists must realize that they are but common footsoldiers in the field army of art. . . . Surely art has come to so great a misfortune that one finds the most famous collections composed mainly of paintings which would be made as a mere diversion or in play by great masters, for example, here a bunch of grapes, a pickled herring, or a lizard, or there a partridge, a game-bag, or something still less significant.

Such things, although they also have their pretty qualities, are but recreational aspects of art." The landscapists fare better, but only "some painters are . . . carried and driven to the most elevated and distinguished step in the Art of Painting which has all others beneath it and which is the representation of the most memorable Histories."²²

Van Hoogstraten emphasized that "art since the Iconoclasm of the previous century was not entirely destroyed in Holland, although the best careers, namely [in the decorating of] the churches, are ended as a result, and the majority of artists devote themselves to minor matters, indeed to painting trifles."²³ Special mention is made of artists "who have best observed the essence of art and the noblest selection [of subject matter],"²⁴ whereupon the names of fifteen artists are listed. Eleven of these are history painters.²⁵

From the various literary sources, it is clear that artistic theory in Holland was no different from that of the rest of seventeenth-century Europe in regarding history painting as the highest form of art.

What is a History Painting?

What then was and was not a history painting in the seventeenth century? Today we would be inclined to associate it with representations of important events from the national past,²⁶ for example the depiction of *A Haarlem Battleship Breaking Through the Chained Port in the Capture of Damiate in 1218* by Cornelis Claesz. van Wieringen (fig. 3).²⁷ This picture, however, is dominated by ships, landscape, and water, while, as we have seen, a requirement of a true history painting was the domination of figures. In a recent translation of Van Mander's didactic poem into modern Dutch, the title of the chapter "Van de Ordinanty en de Inveny der historien" (On the Arrangement and Invention of Histories) was quite explicitly translated as "Over de ordening en de inventie van de figuurstukken" (On the Arrangement and Invention of Figure Paintings).²⁸ The subjects which Van Mander mentions in this chapter which have been or should be represented, however, are religious or mythological themes, and the chapter concludes with a long digression on the antique sculpture with a personification of the Nile which is in the Vatican. Mrs. de Pauw-de Veen, who has systematically investigated the use of artistic terms in the seventeenth century, concluded that "a history is a painting in which a biblical, mythological, legendary or other event takes place."²⁹

If we relate what we encounter in seventeenth-century texts to what has been preserved in paintings, then a history painting is a picture with large figures in which an episode from a story is depicted. If the observer wishes to understand the representation, he must know the story. Upon close inspection of Abraham Bloemaert's painting known today

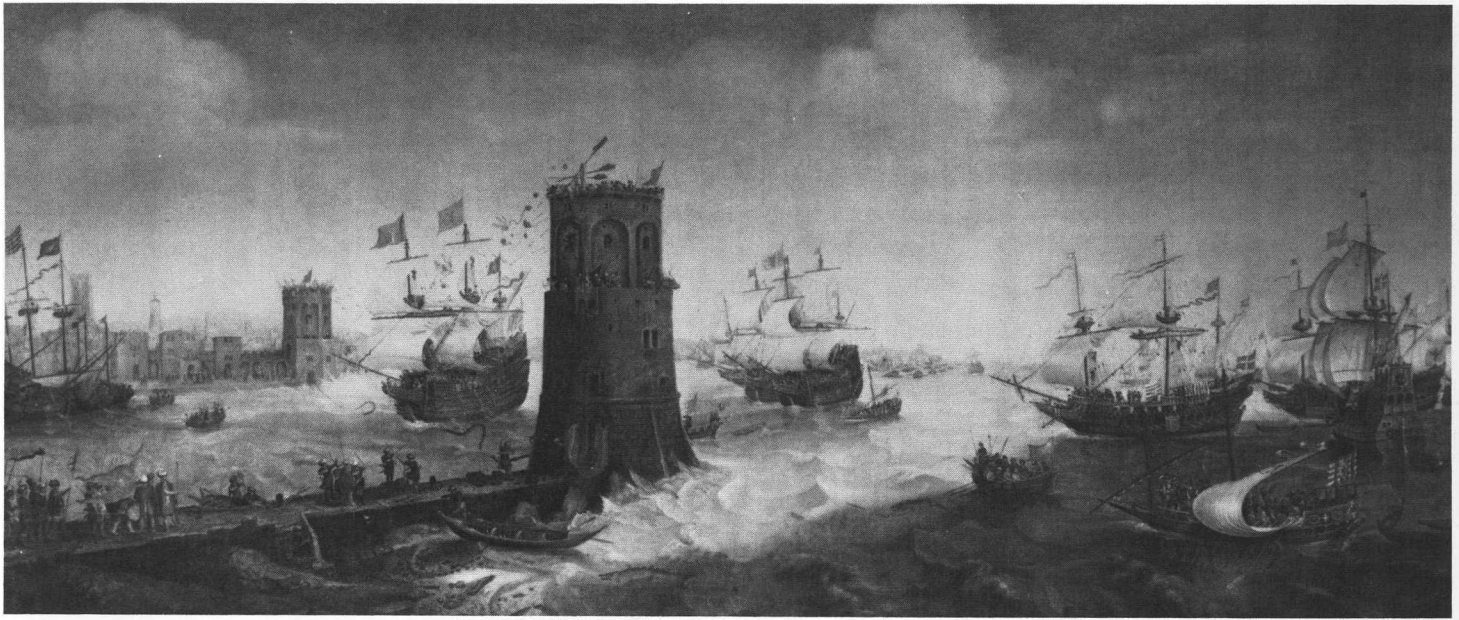


fig. 3 Cornelis Claesz. van Wieringen, *A Haarlem Battleship Breaking Through the Chained Port in the Capture of Damiate in 1218*, c. 1630, canvas, 101 x 230 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum.

only as the *Feast of the Gods* (cat. no. 5), a Renaissance humanist would recognize its subject as the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Almost everyone, then and now, automatically interprets Jan Steen's barn interior (cat. no. 84) as the story of the adoration of the shepherds. In both instances the painting is a depiction of a story described in a book.

Also to be identified as history paintings are allegories in which large human figures can be understood *exclusively* as personifications. Abraham van den Tempel's *The City of Leiden Inviting the Manufacture of "Laken"* (cat. no. 53) should be interpreted as a history painting. For someone who does not know that the woman standing in the middle represents the city of Leyden and the two women accompanying her personify trade and freedom, the meaning of the picture is absolutely incomprehensible. Only those familiar with reference books which were then current, such as Cesare Ripa's widely employed *Iconologia of Uytbeeldinghe des Verstants*, could have known that the hat and the sceptre of the woman in the foreground indicate that she is Freedom, since "the sceptre alludes to the dignity and respect-edness of Freedom . . . the hat is given to her because whenever the Romans wanted to give a slave his Freedom . . . they placed a hat on his head."³⁰

Unlike Van den Tempel's painting, Jan Miense Molenaer's picture in the museum in Toledo (fig. 4) can be viewed as a domestic scene. In a Dutch interior an old woman combs the hair of a young girl while a young boy stands alongside blowing bubbles. Upon closer inspection, one is startled to discover that the young woman is using a skull as a footrest. Further research indicates that the painting



fig. 4 Jan Miense Molenaer, *Vrouw Wereld (Allegory of Vanity)*, signed and dated 1633, canvas, 102 x 127 cm, Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey.

probably was primarily intended to represent *Vrouw Wereld*, the personification of all human wickedness and sin. The picture thus occupies a position on the border between genre and history.³¹

Many seventeenth-century landscapes are filled with small figures which one recognizes as representing the flight into Egypt or Diana and her nymphs. These pictures cannot be considered true history paintings. Only a few, therefore, appear in this catalogue (cat. no. 45). Paintings which



fig. 5 Ferdinand Bol, *The Intrepidity of Fabritius in the Camp of King Pyrrhus*, signed and dated 1656, canvas, 485 x 350 cm, Amsterdam, Town Hall (now Royal Palace), Burgomasters' Chamber.

depict only a single static figure, such as the Emperor Vespasian³² or the Apostle Paul, are also excluded from consideration here.

* * * *

The greatest number of seventeenth-century Dutch history paintings are representations of episodes from the Bible. Less numerous, but also very much in demand, were mythological subjects. These are followed in popularity by stories from ancient Greek and Roman history. It is noteworthy that biblical stories, which in the eye of the seventeenth-century viewer were not only sacred but also true events; mythological fictions; and episodes from antique history which were accepted as true were all represented in the same manner. In the *Judgment of Midas* (Kassel Museum) by the Amsterdam painter Pieter Lastman, the mythological King Midas wears a large turban with a small crown on top.³³ Precisely the same headgear adorns the biblical kings Belshazzar and Saul in the paintings by Lastman's student, Rembrandt, of *Belshazzar's Feast* (cat. no. 26) and *Saul and David* (The Hague, Mauritshuis). We again encounter the turban with the small crown in a scene from Roman history, *The Intrepidity of Fabritius in the Camp of King Pyrrhus*, by

Rembrandt's pupil Ferdinand Bol (fig. 5). The turban-with-crown motif as the headdress of kings was not restricted to works by Amsterdam artists. We also encounter it in Utrecht in the work of Nicolaes Knüpfer and in the art which Jan Steen created in south Holland and Haarlem.³⁴ At times biblical and mythological elements were combined in ways which seem quite astonishing to us.³⁵ The biblical could be mixed just as easily with the exotic. The best example of this trend is provided by the Old Testament story of Manoah's Offering which unfolds in a very precisely rendered Brazilian landscape in *The Sacrifice of Manoah* (cat. no. 77) by Frans Post, an artist who had traveled in that country.

A relatively small but quite noteworthy group of history paintings represent scenes from Italian literature (Bocaccio, Tasso, Ariosto, and Guarini, whose shepherds' play *Il Pastor Fido* was a special favorite) and the works of contemporary Dutch writers (e.g., Cats' *Spaans Heydinnetje*, and Hooft's *Granida*).³⁶

A subject from the comparatively recent past, *William II, Count of Holland, Granting Privileges to Rijnland* was represented by C. van Everdingen in 1655 (cat. no. 58). Our attention is drawn to the central action, the conferring of the charter. The figures wear fantastic costumes, and the background reveals the classical architecture which was depicted and actually built in the seventeenth century.

For Van Everdingen and his contemporaries, the year 1255 was just as distant and legendary as classical antiquity. History which still was fresh in their memory inspired no true history paintings, except for allegories.³⁷ *The Peace of Munster* by Gerard ter Borch (London, National Gallery) is simply a group portrait. Like so many related beach scenes without important events, *The Embarkation of Charles II from the Beach at Scheveningen* by Johan Lingelbach (fig. 6)



fig. 6 Johan Lingelbach, *The Embarkation of Charles II from the Beach at Scheveningen*, June 2, 1660, canvas, 59 x 100 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



fig. 7 Pieter Saenredam, *Interior of St. Bavo*, signed and dated 1631, panel, 82 x 110 cm, The Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collections.

is a representation of dunes and shoreline populated by riders and strollers. The only unusual feature is their exceptionally large number. Glorious episodes from the eighty-year war inspired the man of letters, P. C. Hooft, to write his epic historical work, *De Nederlandsche Historien*. In art, only the sea battles were regularly and, indeed, excellently represented, the best being executed by Hendrick C. Vroom and Willem van de Velde the Elder and Younger. From the land battles, which should have occasioned true history paintings, only the trivial anecdote about Breauté and Lekkerbeetje won a place in the repertoire of the practitioners of the genrelike cavalry battles.³⁸ The only outstanding history painting to depict an event from the war is the *Surrender of Breda* by the Spaniard Velázquez (Madrid, Prado).³⁹

The Patrons and Their Motives

The Eighty-Years War (1568-1648) began as a revolt in the conglomerate of territories known as the seventeen Netherlandish Provinces. The revolt was directed against the administrative centralization and the strict maintenance of Roman Catholic religious policies under the country's mon-

arch, the Hapsburg King Philip II, who resided in Madrid. As a result of the war, the old Netherlands was divided into two parts. The south (corresponding approximately to present-day Belgium) continued to be ruled by kings, and Roman Catholicism became the only religion that was tolerated. The north (roughly, present-day Netherlands) became a republic dominated by oligarchies of rich merchants in the cities. Calvinism became the state religion, but, especially in the cities, the religious activities of Jews, Catholics, and a great many sects were tolerated.

The revolt began with the Calvinist-inspired iconoclasm of 1566. Fanatical crowds destroyed the pictures and altarpieces in churches and cloisters as being "popish idols."⁴⁰ The republic's reformed churches, shorn of ornaments, were starkly severe. Before the iconoclasm of 1566 the walls of the Church of St. Bavo in Haarlem were covered with rich murals, and there were sixty-three altars. As late as 1546 Maerten van Heemskerck painted shutters with depictions of the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, and Adoration of the Magi for the altarpiece of the draper's guild.⁴¹ When Pieter Saenredam painted his *Interior of St. Bavo*, 1631 (fig. 7), none of this remained. Furthermore, nothing had been

put in its place, except for simple mourning shields. As we have seen, the artist and writer Samuel van Hoogstraten deplored this situation. With the disestablishment of the Roman Catholic church in the northern provinces, what had been far and away the most important patron of religious paintings virtually disappeared.

In surrounding Europe the greatest patrons of artists apart from the church were kings and nobles. Like their ecclesiastical counterparts, their tastes usually ran to history paintings, especially of mythological subjects. One recalls, for example, that the French King Henry IV of Navarre believed (or, at least, let it be propagated) that he descended from Hercules. The hero was also claimed by the Hapsburgs as the progenitor of their house.⁴² Louis XIV and his nobles were virtually always referred to by their entourage as “ces divinités visibles,” “les enfants des dieux,” etc.⁴³ The French as well as the English kings regularly held sittings to cure the sufferers of the king’s disease (scrofula), who poured in by the thousands, by placing the hand of divine power upon them.⁴⁴

In the republic, outside the Court of Orange, hardly any nobility of importance existed. As commanders of the army, the members of the House of Orange were themselves only stadtholders (i.e. stand-ins for the missing monarch) in the service of the States General which officially retained supreme power. As a consequence, their palaces and the decorations that were commissioned for them can only be compared in a limited way with those of the royal houses of France and England.

The greatest customer of the artist in seventeenth-century Holland was the burgher. With a pedigree which could be traced back two centuries, he felt himself to be very distinguished, and he did not practice touching scrofulous swellings, but commerce.⁴⁵ The clear preference of these burghers for “realistic” depictions of their own surroundings has been glorified since the nineteenth century. It was also embraced in those parts of Europe which, in the interim, had also achieved bourgeois regimes, namely France and England. The artists of seventeenth-century Holland were regarded as the great forerunners in the painting of “ordinary subjects” and “common life.” This nineteenth-century vision, which in a large measure still colors our own, has clarified matters. Yet it also has totally obscured the fact that the Dutch burghers of the seventeenth century were also the patrons of an art of history painting that was of high quality and extremely varied.

These interests were also evident in other spheres of culture. If we take what was printed and continually reprinted as an indicator, then it appears that religious reading matter was in constant demand. In Hoorn, an average Dutch town, 54 percent of all books printed before 1700 were Bibles or other religious writings. Besides religious



fig. 8 Jan de Braij, *Cleopatra Betting Antony that She can Spend More than Ten Million Ducats on a Meal*, signed and dated 1669, canvas, 249 x 190.5 cm, Manchester, New Hampshire, Currier Gallery of Art.

literature, the publishers of the time brought out editions of Virgil and Ovid.⁴⁶

In the oeuvre of the greatest and the most widely read Dutch poets, Vondel and Cats, there is hardly a page without quotes from or allusions to biblical and antique stories. The regents of seventeenth-century Amsterdam identified themselves with the Roman Republic: “burgomaster” (burgemeester) and “consul” were one and the same.⁴⁷ Moreover, the common members of the reformed church identified with the chosen people of Israel. When Amalia van Solms, the wife of the stadtholder Frederick Hendrik, had her son Prince Willem baptized before a mass audience, the minister who performed the baptismal ceremony addressed her saying: “I think that I see standing before me the great queen Esther . . . O fortunate princess, O second Esther . . .,” an analogy which he developed at length. (The indigent winter king of Bohemia, who attended the ceremony while in exile, was addressed as and compared to Job by the speaker in the pulpit.) Vondel found Amalia so lovely that Paris in judging which of the three goddesses was the most beautiful would have placed her above Venus.⁴⁸

In the light of this persistent tendency to identify their own world with that of "history," it is understandable that a great number of "historical portraits" were produced by Dutchmen.⁴⁹ In many history paintings the numerous faces are clearly portraits of the patron and his family (cf. cat. no. 57). In 1668 the Amsterdam merchant Van Kermt signed a contract with Jan Lievens the younger. Lievens would "as artfully as possible . . . portray from life . . . Van Kermt as Scipio and his wife as Pallas and further depict the story completely and as it should be."⁵⁰ Often the choice of subject in these works seems surprising. In 1670 another Amsterdam merchant had himself and his beloved represented as the angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary.⁵¹ We might well ask why Jan de Braij would portray a family with children (probably his own) as *Cleopatra Betting Antony that She can Spend more than Ten Million Ducats on a Meal* (fig. 8). Cleopatra won by taking a pearl of great value which she wore in her ear, dissolving it in a glass of vinegar, and drinking it down. For Pliny, from whom the story comes, as well as for the Dutch seventeenth-century writers who repeated it, the tale stood as an exemplar of extravagant waste.⁵²

From the literature of seventeenth-century Holland, one would expect that "history" played a much greater role in painting than it in fact did. Closer study indicates that, in quantitative terms, interest in history painting was high at the beginning of the century but gradually waned over the course of the century. Thanks to the recent archival research of J. M. Montias, we have accurate data with regard to the city of Delft. His analysis of nearly 1,200 Delft inventories reveals that in the years 1610-1619 almost half of all pictures mentioned were history paintings. After 1640 the percentage fell to a third, in the years 1650-1660 it became a quarter, and after 1670 only a sixth. (In contrast, the number of landscapes climbed from a quarter in 1610/1619 to thirty-seven percent after 1660; still lifes increased in the same period from five to fifteen percent).⁵³

Delft was a provincial town and the percentages no doubt were different elsewhere. But we may feel safe that they reflect the general trend. In the first half of the century an artist could virtually restrict himself to producing only history paintings; such was the case with Cornelis van Haarlem, Pieter Lastman, Nicolaes Moeyaert, and Solomon de Braij. The son of the last mentioned, Jan de Braij, was born in c. 1627. Of his preserved work only 40 are history paintings, while the other 160 are portraits, no doubt because of "the temptation of gain or (the need) to make a living." The same was true for Rembrandt who was born in 1606; his oeuvre also is divided into the two categories, history and portraiture. This division appears in the production of virtually all his students (Bol, van den Eeckhout, Jan Victors, Aert de Gelder) as well as, for example, of Caesar van Everdingen (c. 1617-1678). In the work of other later masters whose oeuvres are dominated by landscapes (Berchem, Dujardin, Adriaen van de Velde) or domestic interiors (Metsu) we encounter only a small number of history paintings. These artists were in a situation similar to that Gerard Lairesse described about Dujardin, who "was exceptionally beautiful in small things: yet he had a great impulse and desire to follow the illustrious brave painters: but he ultimately could not make a go of it."⁵⁴ The generation born between 1620 and 1635 bred many outstanding masters (van de Capelle, Kalff, van Ruisdael, Vermeer) but brought forth no important artist who devoted himself largely to history painting. It was not until late in the century that several history painters of the first rank again appeared on the scene and specialized in this genre (Lairesse, van der Werff).

It is easy to oversimplify the relation between art theory and practice in seventeenth-century Holland. To be sure, the ideas derived from Italian Renaissance authors about the supremacy of history painting pervaded Dutch writing on art. At first sight there appear to have been two markets in Holland for domestic art, one of which was affected by

History Paintings in Delft inventories, 1610-1679, as a percentage of all subjects:

	1610-19	1620-29	1630-39	1640-49	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79
Old Testament	15.0	15.0	11.2	8.5	6.8	6.6	4.1
New Testament	15.9	16.7	17.0	13.0	10.2	11.9	7.6
Saints, angels, and religious allegories	6.1	6.0	4.6	5.0	2.5	3.2	2.5
Mythology	4.2	3.2	3.9	2.8	2.0	2.4	0.9
Other histories and allegories	4.9	3.7	4.4	5.0	4.6	2.2	1.5
Total	46.1%	44.6%	41.1%	34.3%	26.1%	26.3%	16.6%

these ideas and the other quite free of them. The first market consisted of the upper strata of the bourgeoisie and the Court of Orange, who bought paintings that were consonant with these theoretical principles. The second was made up of the middle and lower bourgeoisie who craved depictions of their own environment, to which artists, grudgingly or not, had to conform.

Such a simple, clear-cut opposition obscures a most interesting and complex state of affairs. The bourgeoisie of seventeenth-century Holland was similar only in a limited respect to the liberal bourgeoisie of nineteenth-century Europe. Dutch burghers had not the least desire to emancipate themselves from the authority of the Bible and classical literature. They saw it as their task to fit these "scriptures" into their own theory and practice. Judging from the scarcity and the often hybrid character of writings on art from the period we now consider the golden age of Dutch painting, we may conclude they found it difficult to fit in what they saw as classical art theory. However, studies of the past decades have brought to light that Dutch seventeenth-century down-to-earth depictions of daily life of ordinary people very often are imbued with allegory and scholarly connotations of a moralizing character (cf. fig. 4).⁵⁵ Thus these paintings meet many requirements of history painting. They should perhaps be considered as one Dutch answer to the demands of classical art theory, as conceived in the seventeenth century.

Moreover, dividing the buyers into categories is hazardous. In almost all the countless Dutch seventeenth-century inventories brought to light by Abraham Bredius, we encounter history paintings. Usually they form, in accordance with Montias' findings, a minority of the whole. But nonetheless, the same public that was so avid for new genres also kept up a keen interest in history painting. The collection left in the estate of Laurens Douci of Amsterdam, assessed in 1669, may serve as an example.⁵⁶ Its 104 paintings strike us by their "modernity." Most were by artists who were still alive. More than half of the paintings were landscapes, by artists like A. van de Velde, A. van Everdingen, C. Dujardin, and J. van Ruisdael. Three waterfalls and a view of Haarlem by the last mentioned artist were estimated at, respectively, 36, two at 42, and 24 guilders; the average price of the pieces in the collection was 22½ guilders. Next in number were thirteen seascapes (De Vlieger, Porcellis), and ten genre paintings (a knife grinder by G. Metsu, Italian card players by Th. Wyck, a lice catcher by A. Brouwer, etc.). Douci also had three city views (J. van der Heyden) and, most surprisingly, a few "portraits of a gentleman" by Frans Hals; in the nineteenth century these again became collectors' items rather than mere family documents. Douci's "bourgeois" taste, however, did not prevent him from appreciating good history paintings. They

numbered ten in his collection. An *Adoration of the Magi* by L. Bramer and *Cleopatra* by N. Knüpfer were both estimated at 30 guilders. Apart from a church interior by Emanuel de Witte appraised at 150 guilders, by far the most highly valued painting of the collection was a *Feast of Bacchus* by the now forgotten Cornelis Holsteyn, estimated at 120 guilders.

Concerning paintings executed on commission we often are better informed about details than on works made for the open market. Among other records, we possess the letters and notes of Huygens and Jacob van Campen referring to the commission issued by the court for the decorations of the Huis ten Bosch. The municipal authorities also had the rooms of public buildings beautified with large-scale history paintings. A typical example is that in 1664, at a cost of 900 guilders, Ferdinand Bol executed an *Allegory on the City Government* with life-sized figures for the Leiden burgomasters' chamber.⁵⁷ Quite exceptional is that the same Leiden burgomasters, in 1660, had considered ordering a work from their fellow townsman, Gerard Dou, because of the latter's international fame as a painter of minutely executed, cabinet-sized pieces. We are not surprised to learn that this commission was canceled.⁵⁸

Many large history paintings survive in situ or are known to have hung in specific rooms in municipal buildings. The high point was the painted and sculptured decorations of the colossal town hall on the *Dam* in Amsterdam in the years after 1648. It has been preserved virtually undamaged in its original condition and now serves as a royal palace.

It is noteworthy that official city buildings were also decorated with ever-increasing rows of regent and militia portraits, far outnumbering the history paintings.⁵⁹ In 1604, after completing his militia portrait, *The Militia of Jan Jansz. Carel*, Gerrit Pietersz. Sweelinck wanted to paint "something never done before." Yet group portraits continued to be the most frequently commissioned paintings, and the walls of the regents' chambers and militia companies' rooms became more and more crowded. At present, as we have observed, they are counted among the most typical and successful products of seventeenth-century Dutch art. Rembrandt's *Night Watch* of 1642 was one of these militia pieces. Its author probably also intended to make "something never done before." Samuel van Hoogstraten wrote of this picture, which originated during his period as a pupil under the master, that "in the opinion of many [Rembrandt] made the large picture too much a work executed according to his own wishes rather than one of individual portraits which he was commissioned to do. Nevertheless, this work, however much it can be censured, will survive its competitors because it is so painterlike in thought, so dashing in movement, and so powerful that, according to some, all the other pieces there [in the Kloveniersdoelen] stand beside



fig. 9 Wooden mantelpiece designed by Ph. Vingboons for Joan Heydecoper, 1638. Painting is Joachim van Sandrart, *Ulysses and Nausica*, signed, canvas, 104 x 168.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

it like playing cards." From this and from the context we may conclude that in his most famous group portrait Rembrandt also realized the principles of the history painting. The passage appears in Van Hoogstraten's chapter "On Composition" (van 't ordneeren) and in a passage about how the history painter who takes his models from nature, reforms them in his imagination "to form a whole . . . and in this way to arrange a crowd of figures in a History so that none of them seems in the least degree to be either superfluous or lacking."⁶⁰ The symbolic allusions which are revealed in the *Night Watch* (Van Hoogstraten referred to them when he called the picture "painter like in thought") are yet another feature of the historicizing character of this group portrait.⁶¹

The people within the circles which commissioned the construction of the town hall in Amsterdam had their own homes built and decorated in the same style. Philips Ving-

boons, who submitted a design for the town hall which never was carried out, designed palatial homes in a classical style on the Singel for Johan Huydecoper and Anthonie Oetgens van Waveren as early as the 1630s. Both repeatedly served as burgomasters in the years 1626-1660, and both were members of the committee of four which supervised the planning and construction of the town hall.⁶² Oetgeens' home (Singel 282-286) was three plots wide. From the home of Huydecoper (Singel 548, built in 1638, destroyed by fire in 1943), a monumental mantelpiece with Joachim van Sandrart's canvas depicting *Ulysses and Nausica* has survived and has been preserved in the Rijksmuseum since 1895 (fig. 9). The German Sandrart was in Amsterdam in the years 1638-1644, and there he portrayed, among others, many members of the powerful burgomaster family Bicker and designed title pages for works by Hooft and Vondel. His *Ulysses and Nausica*, as well as the mantel itself, must date from this period, that is to say, well before the decorations of the town hall, which are anticipated in the style of the painting and the painting-chimney ensemble. A picture of *Ulysses and Nausica* by Thomas de Keyser also later appeared as a chimneypiece in the town hall. For Sandrart's version for Huydecoper (and other paintings in the latter's house) Jan Vos composed a poem, just as he did for many chimneypieces in the town hall.⁶³

The home of the Trip family (the Trippenhuis) which was built in 1660 was palatial. It was decorated with chimneypieces by Bol and ceiling decorations by N. de Helt Stockade who had executed similar works for the town hall.⁶⁴

In the years 1670-1680 wealthy businessmen allowed whole walls and ceilings of their stately homes on the Herengracht to disappear behind the parks and heavens populated by gods and heroes in paintings by Gerard de Lairesse.⁶⁵

Since information about private commissions is scarce, speculative hypotheses deserve further research. Such is the case, for example, with the recent theory that many of Jan Victors' large-scale Old Testament scenes may have been ordered by rich Jews.⁶⁶

Roman Catholic paintings are also to be reckoned among private commissions. The holding of Roman Catholic services, the baptism by and the harboring of Catholic priests were officially forbidden in the republic. These laws, however, were widely disobeyed. In 1656 the council of the Reformed Church in Amsterdam complained that Catholics in the city had no less than sixty-two "solemn places of assembly which they themselves call churches, [and which are] decorated with altars and all sorts of papal ornaments." These were private dwellings that were more or less converted to serve as hidden churches. Here is where the numerous high-quality alterpieces and other typical Catholic

history paintings hung, which are now found in or come from ecclesiastical collections (see cat. nos: 6, 47, 66).⁶⁷

Compared to the surprising abundance of history paintings which were made for the forbidden Catholic churches, the production for the Reformed Church of State was hardly of any consequence at all. The Calvinists, averse to idols, allowed only the doors of the organs (which at times were quite large) to be decorated with painted scenes. A standard theme was David Greeted with Music and Dance after Defeating Goliath.⁶⁸ A series of paintings by Barent Fabritius from the Lutheran Church in Leiden depicts episodes from the story of the prodigal son (the Lutheran creed does not prohibit images in churches). The prodigal's life was probably intended to serve as a stern example for the German students in the university city.⁶⁹

Drama

In examining the types of themes that were preferred by history painters and their public, we often perceive a taste for the erotic. Often-depicted episodes from the Bible were Lot Seduced by his Daughters and Susanna Spied Upon by the Elders while Bathing. Since the elders were later put to death for their actions, the latter theme could serve as a warning to the viewer. An especially popular theme from mythology was the Judgment of Paris, in which a young man is asked to determine which of three naked goddesses is the prettiest. This subject too had moralizing overtones.

The subjects chosen for the most conspicuous paintings in public buildings often were spectacular as well as didactic. The most famous painting in Amsterdam was Ferdinand Bol's *Intrepidity of Fabritius* of 1656 (fig. 5; cf. cat. no. 38). Of the many paintings which were to be seen in the city, it was the only one (except for a *trompe l'oeil* painting by Cornelis Brisé) to be mentioned in all the published descriptions of Amsterdam. It hung as a chimneypiece in the burgomasters' chamber in the town hall on the *Dam* and represented the Roman Consul Fabritius in his role as negotiator in the army camp of King Pyrrhus, with whom the Romans were at war. Pyrrhus tried to unsettle Fabritius by suddenly bringing forth a wild trumpeting elephant. Fabritius, who had never seen an elephant before, remained as unmoved by this assault as he had been on the previous day when Pyrrhus vainly attempted to bribe him with an abundance of treasures. Fabritius' incorruptability and intrepidity must have served as examples to the assembled burgomasters. By the same token, visitors, who could wander freely in the chamber when no meetings were being held, were encouraged to believe that the leaders of Amsterdam were as incorruptible and steadfast as Fabritius.

Even more dramatic than the scene with the trumpeting elephant was the representation of the gruesome moment when King Zaleucus allowed his eye to be poked out, a

subject which Jan de Braij depicted for the magistrates' chamber in Haarlem (cat. no. 63). A similarly horrifying theme was the Judgment of Count William the Good which Nicolaes van Galen painted for the magistrates' chamber in Hasselt (cat. no. 59). In addition to their dramatic effect, these works were also intended to convey a didactic admonition.

Emotions and Passions

Of special importance in a history painting was the representation of the "Emotions, Passions, Desires and Sufferings of Men." This is the title (*Affecten, passien, begeerlijkheden en lijdens der Menschen*) of the long chapter in Van Mander's "Grondt."⁷⁰ Around 1630 Huygens wrote of Rembrandt's *Repentance of Judas* (fig. 10):

The gesture of this one desperate Judas . . . who raves, groans, beseeches forgiveness, but does not hope for it, nor expresses hope on his face. . . . I would compare this figure to any beautiful work of art which the centuries have brought forth. . . . I contend namely, that no Protogenes or Apelles or Parrhatus ever conceived of the notion or could have hit upon it: [to bring together] all those different emotions which Rembrandt assembled in a single figure and expressed as a whole.⁷¹

From this passage it appears that great value was placed on the depiction of a person at the instant in which he is moved by powerful, conflicting feelings. In connection with this notion we would cite the many examples, above all by Rembrandt and his pupils, of representations of precisely that moment in a story when the mood is suddenly and completely reversed. Their numerous representations of the Angel Appearing to Hagar and Abraham's Offering always depict that moment in which the despair of Hagar and Abraham is transformed into gladness and thankfulness.

The importance that was attached to the moment of the reversal of an emotion into its opposite seems to have been expressed much more clearly in the theoretical writings on literature than in those on art. The literary theorists even had a name for it, *staetveranderinge*, a translation of the Greek word *peripeteia* (complete reversal of situation and mood) which Aristotle employed in the same sense in his writings on art theory. In his late dramas, the poet Vondel made *staetveranderinge* or *peripeteia* the central feature of his work. In the preface to his tragedy *Jephta*, he explained that the central motif, around which all else revolves, is the *peripeteia* from the joy of Jephta and his family over his military victory to the grief that began when, upon his triumphal return from the battle, his daughter came to meet him and it was realized that she had to be sacrificed. (Jephta had promised God that if he was victorious he would make an offering of the first person to emerge from his gate to meet



fig. 10 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Repentance of Judas*, monogrammed and dated 1629, panel, 76 x 101 cm, Private Collection.

him, see cat. no. 20.) A similar *peripeteia* is seen in the story of King Belshazzar, who while celebrating with his retinue was suddenly mortally terrified by the writing on the wall (cat. no. 26). To this painting by Rembrandt could be added many others by the master and his students in which *peripeteia* functions as the central motif.⁷²

A sophisticated use of *peripeteia* is perceived in Ferdinand Bol's *Fabritius and King Pyrrhus* (fig. 5). A soldier in the left foreground takes flight, frightened by the sudden appearance of an elephant. His terror is shared by the soldier seen from the rear at the right who seeks protection behind his shield which is provided with a sharp point. Compared to the *peripeteia* of these figures, the cool-headedness and

intrepidity of Fabritius, who continues to reason calmly throughout the uproar, stands out all the more clearly.

A preoccupation with the correct depiction of emotion also appears in the following passage from Van Mander's *Grondt*: "People rightly reproach us, the artists, because it cannot be determined if the heads we depict are laughing or crying."⁷³ This remark is part of a five-page treatise on how much one may accurately depict laughing and weeping, gaiety and sadness.⁷⁴ The prescriptions which Van Mander offered here were strictly observed by the approximately eighty artists who, after the appearance of Van Mander's book, represented a theme that previously had not appeared in Dutch painting—the Greek philosopher Democritus who



fig. 11 Johannes Moreelse, *Democritus and Heraclitus*, signed, c. 1630, each on panel, 59.7 x 68.8 cm, Utrecht, Centraal Museum.

continually laughs at human vanity and foolishness, and his counterpart, Heraclitus, who forever weeps (fig. 11).⁷⁵ In 1642, Philips Angel repeated Van Mander's remark in other words.⁷⁶

Disguise

Besides the skillful characterization of emotions, the accurate representation of the sex of a figure in misleading circumstances also clearly presented a challenge to artists. One of the most frequently represented themes was that

of Vertumnus and Pomona (cf. cat. no. 18).⁷⁷ Vertumnus, having assumed the form of an old woman, is represented on the verge of seducing Pomona after many vain attempts. Also popular was the story of Amarillis and Mirtillo, which came from the shepherds' play *Il pastor fido* by the Italian Guarini but was represented almost exclusively by Netherlandish artists.⁷⁸ The young hunter, Mirtillo, disguised himself as a nymph to win the kissing contest which the nymphs organized among themselves. No less in demand from c. 1660 onward were paintings of Achilles in hiding in the house of Lycomedes disguised as one of the latter's daughters. (He was trying to shirk his responsibility of fighting in the Trojan War.) Undoubtedly one reason for selecting these themes was the opportunity they offered to demonstrate the painter's virtuosity. While the artist had to make the female disguises of Vertumnus, Mirtillo, and Achilles sufficiently plausible to fool the others in the picture, a careful observer of the painting should be able to recognize them as men.

Representations of the mythological Vertumnus and Pomona often reveal resemblances in composition to the biblical Judah and Tamar, a theme often treated by the same masters. Here too a disguise serves to hold our attention. Veiled and disguised, Tamar goes to sit at the side of the road. When her father-in-law, Judah, came upon her he thought she was a harlot, and said: "Come, let me come into you." We are always shown the critical moment when Judah looks at Tamar (who is often only summarily veiled) but does not recognize her as his daughter-in-law. Often he has already begun to fondle her, giving her his seal ring as security for the fee which he will pay later.

The drama in these paintings, as in a play, results from the fact that the audience knows more than the actors. Like Judah, Pomona suspects nothing, while we know that she is about to be seduced. Achilles deludes himself into thinking he is safe in his girl's clothing, while we already see how he is unmasked; paintings always show the moment in the story when Achilles, disguised as one of the daughters, betrays himself by eagerly taking up weapons from an assortment of wares offered by a merchant. (The merchant is Ulysses, who in turn has disguised himself.)

Venus becomes Magdalen—Errors

Elevated ideas concerning the instructive effects of paintings and a preoccupation with precise representations of emotions thus played very important roles. At the same time, however, less high-minded motives also played a part. Hendrick Goltzius, one of the most famous engravers of his time, began to execute paintings around 1600. Not long thereafter, in 1605, he wrote to his friend, the Amsterdam jeweler and art lover, Jan van Weely for advice: "Select several old testament histories for me which are picturesque



fig. 12 Jan Steen, *Marriage of Tobias and Sarah*, signed, canvas, 131 x 172 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.

and I shall choose what I like and execute some of it. You should only seek merry histories which are lovely in paintings.”⁷⁹ In 1639 Huygens asked Rubens in a letter to execute a chimneypiece for Prince Frederick Hendrik. The conception and the subject were left entirely to Rubens. The required measurements would be forwarded to him. It was further desired that the picture have three, or at most four, figures and “que la beauté des femmes y fut elabourée con amore, Studio e diligenza.”⁸⁰ For Goltzius, it seems merriment and loveliness were of more importance than edification in the selection of themes, while for Huygens (on behalf of Frederick Hendrik) feminine beauty was the highest consideration.

Often the subject seems to have been more important to the painter than to his public. In the 1632 inventory of the Oranges, expensive paintings by Rubens which had only recently been acquired were already given the wrong titles. An Alexander Crowning Roxane was mistakenly called “Alexander Crowning Venus,” while a Sophonisba Drinking the Poisoned Cup was identified as “Artemesia.”⁸¹ These errors perhaps can be imputed to the ignorance of a clerk. However, connoisseurs clearly were also often more interested in the precise name of the painter than in that of the subject. Johannes Vermeer’s *Allegory of Faith*, painted in c. 1673 (Metropolitan Museum, New York), exhibits all the standard attributes of Faith which were specified in the handbook, *Iconologia*, by Cesare Ripa. However, the

organizers of the sales of the choice collections in which the picture appeared in 1699 and 1718 corrupted the title to “A seated woman . . . representing the New Testament.”⁸² Jan Steen’s *Marriage of Tobias and Sarah* in Brunswick (fig. 12), an apocryphal Bible scene conceived as a festive marriage, was amply praised in 1721 by the artist Arnold Houbraken but was interpreted completely inaccurately. He called the picture “a bridegroom and bride,” with the explanation, “The bridegroom stands (as in the most extreme displeasure) in a posture, as if he were stamping his foot in regret. . . . He looks at his Bride from aside as if he wants to place the blame for it on the old one (i.e., her mother) and apologizes to her (the bride). . . . This all was to be seen so clearly and explicitly from the facial expressions and the poses of the figures and from other accessories, as if it had been written next to it.”⁸³ We may assume artists themselves could play with their subjects if what the poet Jan Vos wrote of Govaert Flinck is true.

On G. Flinck, when he altered a painted Venus into
a Mary Magdalen . . .

Here one paints Venus into a Saint Magdalen:
Her book, the art of love, into a book of prayers:
The pot of face paint becomes a vessel full of ointment
to honor Jesus.

Praises to him who can convert the unchaste with the
brush.⁸⁴

Concern over the possibility that the artist might not devote enough attention to his subject is reflected in the often-repeated advice that he "assiduously rummage through the old stuffy Books to gain knowledge of Histories," as Philips Angel put it in 1642. Otherwise he will certainly make errors. As an example, Angel cites *Elijah and the Widow of Sarepta* by an artist whose name he would not mention. In the biblical text, drought and famine are said to be raging during the time of this story. Thus the artist was totally wrong to paint mist and clouds and a lush landscape full of cattle into the scene.⁸⁵ Even today one can still point out such mistakes. In his painting of *Jacob Shown Joseph's Bloody Cloak*, Jan Pynas included Jacob's father Isaac, although by this time the latter was already dead.⁸⁶ In 1646/1647 Frederick Hendrik had a portrait made of his daughter Louise Henriette and her fiancé, the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg, in the form of Aeneas and his beloved Dido.⁸⁷ The "real" Aeneas abandoned Dido after their love affair, whereupon she committed suicide on a funeral pyre. The subject chosen for the painting thus seems odd and not at all well considered. Perhaps, however, the selection was prompted by a deeper meaning which now escapes us.

Style

Each effort to bring Dutch art of the seventeenth century under a single denominator excludes many interesting aspects from consideration. Before modern color photography, no more naturalistic scene of a city existed than Vermeer's *View of Delft*. Yet not long before this canvas was executed, Hercules Segers rendered nature transformed to a degree that was not equaled until the time of Turner and of the later expressionists. Dutch history painting also takes many forms. Some artists had a very personal style, suggesting that they were wholly independent (Bramer, Hondius, Knüpfer, Van Wijnen). Several major trends, however, can be detected. In the turbulent period of the nation's inception, all three Dutch artistic centers (Haarlem, Amsterdam, and Utrecht) were dominated by a single, tormented variant of international mannerism.

After 1600 a major shift took place toward greater naturalness and simplicity. No longer would one conception dominate. When Pieter Lastman returned to Amsterdam in 1606-1607 after a stay in Rome, he and his Amsterdam followers built upon the work which the German Adam Elsheimer (1578-1610) had created in Rome. Not without reason, these artists are called the Pre-Rembrandtists. Rembrandt's manner in his earliest works of c. 1625 until around 1640 rests upon their style, although he was already becoming much subtler in his control of line, light, and shadow.

In Utrecht the influence of Caravaggio dominated from around 1620. His antimanneristic realism was brilliantly

translated into Dutch by Hendrick Ter Brugghen.

Both the Amsterdam and the Utrecht movements must soon have seemed old-fashioned when compared to the works done by Rubens in neighboring Antwerp. He developed an impressive stylistic variation on Italian history painting in the years after 1608. Artists in Holland also successfully sought bolder and grander results. At first Haarlem was the center of these developments. In his paintings begun after 1600, Goltzius—formerly the preeminent mannerist draftsman and engraver—seems to have grasped and subsequently developed the innovations which Annibale Carracci brought to Rome shortly before 1600 (cat. no. 9). Somewhat later, in 1625, the Haarlem artist Pieter de Grebber created his own brand of cool classicism in paintings with large formats and monumental figures (fig. 2). Solomon and Jan de Braij, who were father and son, and the landscape painter, Nicolaes Berchem, further developed this style (cat. no. 49). Beginning shortly after 1630 in Amsterdam, Jacob Backer (who until now has been mistakenly considered a Rembrandt follower) produced smoothly drawn compositions with fluent brushwork representing large figures against lighter backgrounds.

Large figures, bright and varied coloring, and compositions that, regardless of complexity, always appear simple and easily arranged, are qualities shared by the art of De Grebber and Backer. These characteristics became important only when the walls of monumental buildings, such as the Huis ten Bosch in The Hague (1648-1650) and the new town hall in Amsterdam (from c. 1652), were decorated with paintings. This led to the establishment of a specific Amsterdam school of history painters. Rembrandt's students (Bol, Flinck), who initially followed their master faithfully, began to work in this style after 1650.

Rembrandt himself now took a road on which only one exceptional late student (Aert de Gelder) was to follow him. The broad touch and mysterious chiaroscuro of his late years contrast dramatically with the preference for fine detail and bright coloring which one encounters around 1660 among his younger contemporaries.

One forerunner in the area of *fijschilderkunst* (fine painting) was Cornelis van Poelenburgh, who executed finely detailed works in small formats as early as the 1620s (cat. no. 45). Comparable refinement appears in the interior genre paintings of c. 1660 by Gabriel Metsu and Eglon van der Neer (cat. no. 87). In this same period similarly refined history paintings, but done in a grander manner, were executed by Adriaen van de Velde and Carel Dujardin (cat. nos. 66, 64). These are followed by the works of Gerard Lairesse, who first began producing his extensive oeuvre around 1670 and whose paintings also reflect his French/Liège origins. Working on a smaller format Adriaen van der Werff later combined the same stately vision and French

classicistic tendencies with Leiden *Feinmalerei*. Lairese and Van der Werff represent a typically Dutch strain of classicism.

The "peasant history painting" forms a separate chapter. Companies of peasants were a very popular subject in seventeenth-century Holland. Often artists used this genre for religious subjects. Quite a number of artists employed coarse, boorish types in subjects such as the Nativity (not only for the adoring shepherds, but also for Joseph and Mary) or the Conversion of Paul (for the soldiers as well as St. Paul) (cat. nos. 79, 80). The numerous and exceptionally vital history paintings of Jan Steen successfully combine the refined Leyden *fijnschilder* technique with characterizations of rough peasants (cat. no. 84).

Despite its many forms, some generalities can finally be made about Dutch history painting. The works of the Pre-Rembrandtist, Lastman; the Caravaggist, Ter Brugghen; and the peasant painter, Benjamin Cuyp are all appropriately characterized by the phrase "robust realism."⁸⁸ Even artists who reveal a conspicuous desire to work in the idealized manner of the Italians could not truly rid themselves of this impulse to realism. Looking at the Mary in De Grebber's *Annunciation* (cat. no. 47), we are more likely to recognize a contemporary of the artist than the celestial Mother of God. In the works of the most idealizing Dutch artists, the execution of detail and description of materials reveal a degree of care and refinement which are hardly ever encountered in the paintings of their Italian or southern Netherlandish counterparts (cf. A. van de Velde, A. van der Werff). With its realism and love for detail, Dutch history painting fits in with what we recognize as the most typical aspect of the art of the period.

Even Rembrandt's work, however visionary it may be, remains typically Dutch in its imitation of nature. For the generations that followed, he became the prototypical Dutch painter, who:

When he, as sometimes happened, would paint a
naked woman
He chose no Greek Venus as his model;
But a washerwoman or peat-stamper from a barn,
His error calling imitation of Nature,
All the rest idle adornment . . .⁸⁹

Notes

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1. W. Bürger (-E.J.T. Thoré), 1858, pp. 322-24. See on Thoré-Bürger, Frances S. Jowell, 1977.
2. E. Fromentin, ed. 1877, p. 181.
3. J. Huizinga, 1956, p. 122.
4. W. Martin, 1942, pp. 109-10.
5. J. Rosenberg, S. Slive, E.H. ter Kuile, 1966, p. 139. See the reviews of this book by me, "Een coryfeocentrische visie," in *Simiolus*, 2 (1966/67), pp. 116-20, esp. p. 117, and by J. Bruyn, in: *The Art Bulletin*, 54, 1972, pp. 219-22, esp. p. 220.
6. L.B. Alberti, 1956, p. 70, cf. p. 72.
7. "Il faut représenter de grandes actions comme les Historiens, ou des sujets agréables comme les Poètes" (Felibien, V, 1725, pp. 310-11).
8. R.W. Lee, 1967, pp. 7, 17, 18.
9. "Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst" in C. van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem, 1604. See the highly important book on the "Grondt" by Miedema.
10. "Grondt," chap. 1, par. 72. Miedema, p. 94, cf. p. 130; chap. 5, par. 13 and chap. 12, par. 35. Compare Vol. II, p. 409 ff.
11. Van Mander, 1604, fol. 281r; see also Miedema, II, pp. 345-46. cf. E.K.J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius*, I, Utrecht, 1961, pp. 14-15.
12. "Het conterfeyten nae 't leven gheeft hy bij hem geen plaetse, opdat zijnen geest daer door niet worde verhindert" (Van Mander, 1604, fol. 298).
13. Van Mander, 1604, fol. 293v, and Appendix. *The Militia of Jan Jansz. Carel* is now on loan from the city to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; on the picture, see R. Ruurs, 1975-79, no. 431.
14. Huygens/Kan, p. 81.
15. ". . . hoe iemand zyne vryheid kan verlaaten om zich tot een slaaf te maaken, en van de volmaaktheid dezer edele (schilder)konst afwyken om zich zelve aan alle de gebreken der Natuur te onderwerpen." G. de Lairese, p. 5. In 1678 Samuel van Hoogstraten had included portraitists in the lowest category of painters (Van Hoogstraten, 1678, p. 87).
16. "Grondt," chap. 2; Miedema, p. 98 ff.
17. "Grondt," chap. 8, par. 41. Miedema, p. 216.
18. J.A. Worp, 1897, pp. 1-121; Huygens/Kan, pp. 66-86.
19. Huygens/Kan, pp. 73-75, 77-83.
20. Angel, p. 47. A most useful tool for consulting Angel is M. Miedema, *De Terminologie van Philips Angels Lof der Schilderconst*, Amsterdam, 1975, with index to Angel.
21. "Regulen welcke by een goet Schilder en Teyckenaer geobserveert en achtervolgt moeten werden; Tesamen ghestelt tot lust van leergierighe Discipelen." P.J.J. van Thiel, 1965, pp. 126-27; only a single copy has been preserved which is now in the Municipal Archives in Haarlem. Taverne sees in these "Regulen" a summary of Van Mander's "Grondt"; see Taverne, 1972, p. 54.

22. "deze konstenaers moeten weten dat zy maer gemeene soldaeten in het veltleger van de konst zijn . . . Zeker de kunst is tot zulk een misfortuin gekomen, dat men in de beroemdste kabinetten het mees-tendeels stukken vindt, die niet anders, dan voor een lust of als in spel van een goet Meester behoorden gemaect te worden, als hier een Wijntros, een Pekelharing, of een Haegedis, of daer een Patrijs, een Weytas, of dat noch minder is. Welke dingen schoon ze ook hare aer-dicheden hebben, alleen maar als witspanningen van de kunst zijn . . . Zommige worden . . . ook tot den hoogsten en voornaemsten trap in de Schilderkonst, die alles onder zich heeft, geport en gedreven, welk is het uitbeelden der gedenkwaerdichste Historien." (Van Hoog-straten, p. 79.)
23. ". . . de konst, sedert de Beeltstorming in de voorgaende eeuw, in Holland niet geheel vernietigt is, schoon ons de beste loopbaenen, naementlijk de kerken, daer door geslooten zijn, en de meeste schilders zich dieshalven tot geringe zaeken, jae zelfs tot beuzelingen te schilderen geheelijk begeeven." p. 257.
24. "die 't meest op 't gros der konst en de edelste verkiezing hebben gezien."
25. Van Hoogstraten names Lastman, Mierevelt, Van Baburen, Pieter de Grebber, Honthorst, Ravesteyn, "den verzier iken Rembrandt" (the graceful Rembrandt), Jacob Backer, Govert Flinck, Gerard Dou, N. de Helt Stockade, Jan Lievens, (Frans van) Mieris, Willem Doudijns and Jan de Baen. Although Dou and Van Mieris, painted genre scenes, Van Hoogstraten may have included them because their works are so often imbued with allegorical allusions. In any case, he remains inconsistent since, as far as we know, Ravesteyn and Jan de Baen only painted portraits, a subject which Van Hoogstraten elsewhere (p. 87) estimated very low.
26. cf. Van de Waal and cat. exh. Rijksmuseum, 1977.
27. On this picture, see cat. no. 46 and Van de Waal, pp. 246, 251.
28. Miedema, I, p. 126.
29. Lydia de Pauw-de Veen, 1969, pp. 57, 179, 180, among others. The exceptions which she mentions I interpret as indicating that the specific meaning became more vague in the second half of the seven-teenth century.
30. "De scepter bediet het aansien of ontsagh van [voor] de Vrijheit . . . De hoet wort haer gegeven omdat wanneer de Romeinen eenen slave wilden in Vryheit stellen . . . Soo gaven zy hem een hoed op 't hooft." C. Ripa, 1644, pp. 573-74.
31. See on the painting E. de Jongh et. al., exh. cat. *Tot Lering en Vermaak*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1976, cat. no. 43.
32. It seems Pieter de Grebber would have disagreed. Rule 7 of his "Rules to be observed by a good painter" of 1649 ends: "If the history requires only one figure, you should try to create coherence by way of the accessories" (Van Thiel, 1965, p. 126).
33. Kassel, Gemaldegalerie, cat. 1929, no. 188. Midas at the extreme right, is further recognizable by his ass' ears.
34. cf. by Knüpfer, *The Queen of Sheba before Solomon*. Leipzig, Mu-seum, cat. 1929, no. 1199; J.I. Kuznetzow, "Nicolaes Knüpfer . . .", in *Oud-Holland*. 88 (1974), p. 185, no. 16. Paintings by Steen: *Esther and Ahasuerus*, Leningrad, Hermitage, cat. 1958, no. 878; *The Anger of Ahasuerus*, Birmingham, Barber Institute, cat. 1952, p. 102. Con-cerning the costumes of figures in Dutch seventeenth-century history paintings, see S. Gudlaugsson, 1938, p. 12 ff.; Van de Waal, *passim*.
35. The poet Jacob Cats, discussing the virtue of hospitality, men-tioned as parallel examples Abraham receiving the three angels and Philemon and Baucis receiving Jupiter and Mercury. Such typological parallels between biblical and mythological stories were quite common in Dutch seventeenth-century literature. This has been pointed out by J. Bruyn, "Over de betekenis van mythologische motieven in de Hol-landse kunst uit de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw," a doctoral paper which unfortunately has never been printed.
36. See Pigler, ed., 1974, II, pp. 453-476; J.G. van Gelder, 1978, pp. 227-263.
37. See Van de Waal, I, p. 1 ff.
38. See, for example, the paintings of this subject attributed to Gerrit van Santen in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht, cat. 1952, no. 1298, 1299.
39. cf. A. Dohmann, 1958, pp. 265-282.
40. Literature on iconoclasm in the Netherlands can be found in: E. A. Saunders, 1978/79, pp. 59-83. This article offers valuable new insights. The best recent survey is P. MacCrew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544-1569*, Cambridge, 1978.
41. F. Allan, 1883, pp. 201, 228-230.
42. See I. Jost, 1964, (pp. 175-219), p. 217, with literary references. Compare J. Seznec, 1953, pp. 25-26: French King Charles IX was said to descend from the Trojans.
43. P.V. Delaporte, 1891, pp. 17-19.
44. M. Bloch, 1924, pp. 360 ff., 369 ff.
45. The Amsterdam patrician Gerrit Pietersz. Schaepe (1599-1654), in 1651 the republic's ambassador to England, may serve as an example. With the utmost care and devotion he tried to reconstruct and illustrate his family tree, which could be traced back to 1410 (A. Blankert, 1975/79, p. 413-20).
46. Exh. cat. *Boekdrukkerij en uitgeverij in Hoom voor het jaar 1700*, Museum Meermanno-Westrheenanum, The Hague, 1979, pp. 16, 70. J.A. Gruys en C. de Wolf, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed at Hoom before 1701*; Nieuwkoop, 1979.
47. Van de Waal, I, p. 216.
48. D. Veegens, 1887, p. 235.
49. See Wishnevsky.
50. "van Kermt en zijne huysvrouw . . . zoo kunstig als doenlick zal weesen, na 't leven te conterfeijten, te weten hem van Kermt als een Schipio, en zijne huijsvrouw als Pallas en vorders de historie volco-mentlick na de eysch voltrecken" (Bredius, *Künstler-Inv.* p. 224).
51. W. Martin, 1908, (pp. 727-753), p. 746, where an unpublished archival note found by Dr. A. Bredius is quoted.
52. Plinius, *Historia Naturalis*, IX, 38, 120-122. cf. J. Cats, "De prach-tige en dertele Lief-koserye van Marcus Antonius en Cleopatra", in J. Cats, *Alle de Wercken*. . . ., Amsterdam, 1702, p. 172. On the painting by De Braij: F. Robinson, in *The Currier Gallery of Art Bulletin*, Oct./Dec. 1969. On a second version, belonging to the Queen of England: Brown, in exh. cat. *The Age of Rembrandt*, National Gallery, London, 1976, cat. no. 17.

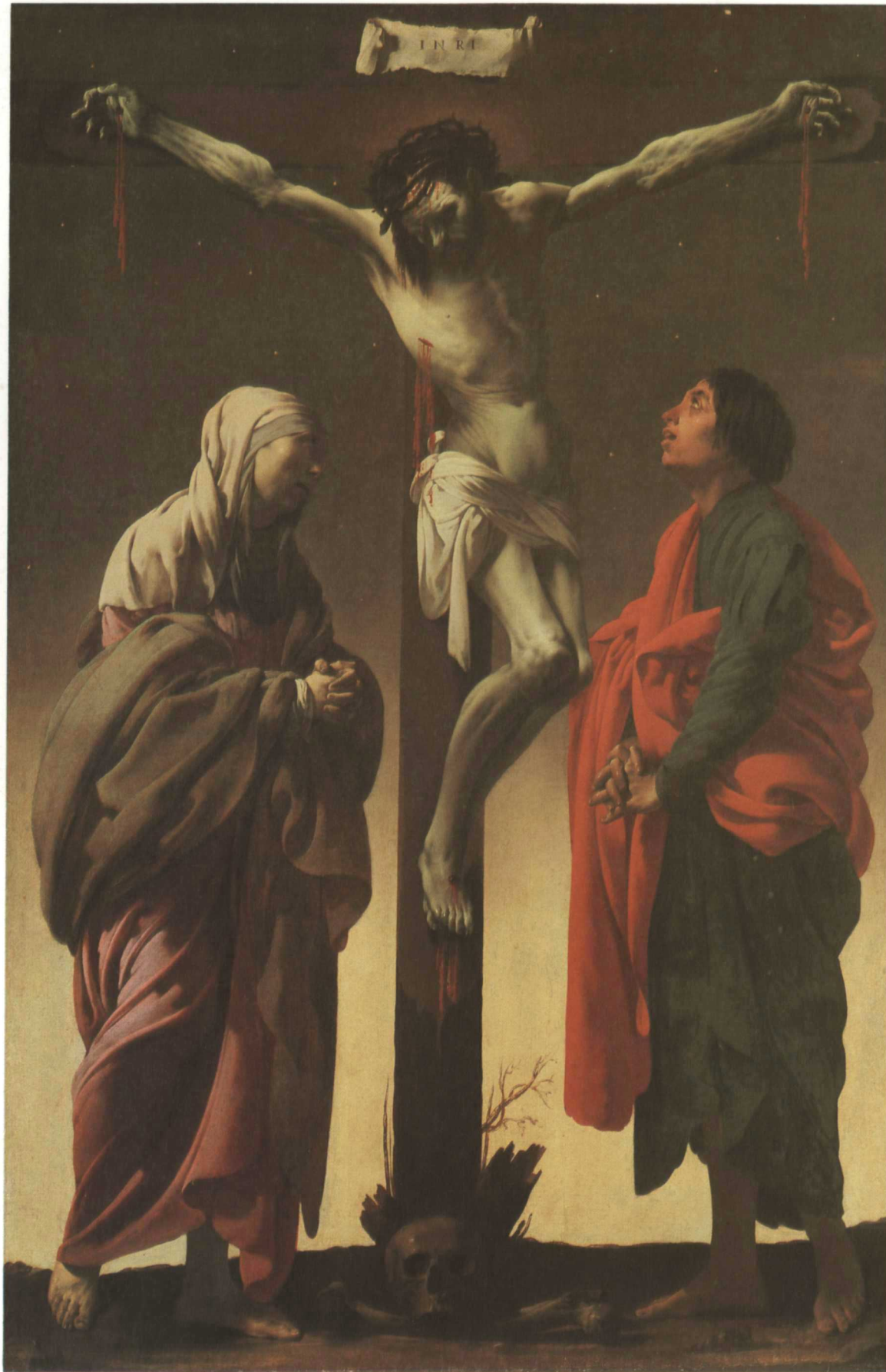
53. J.M. Montias, Princeton University Press (forthcoming).
54. G. de Lairese, 1740 (1st edition, 1707), p. 138.
55. The most convincing examples are to be found in: Emmens, 1963 [see note 83], E. de Jongh, 1967, and De Jongh, 1976 (see note 31).
56. Bredius, *Künstler-Inv.*, p. 422 ff.
57. A. Blankert, 1976, p. 115, and cat. no. A44.
58. W. Martin, *Het leven en de werken van Gerard Dou*, diss., Leyden, pp. 80-81.
59. On these group portraits, see Riegl, Haak.
60. Van Hoogstraten, p. 176; translation from S. Slive, 1953, p. 97.
61. See A. Blankert, 1976, pp. 29-30.
62. The other two members were Cornelis de Graeff and Jan Cornelisz. Geelvinck; J. van den Vondel, 1655, rule 162, cf. K. Fremantle, 1959, p. 24, n. 8.
63. J. Vos, 1662, pp. 536, 562 ff.
64. A. Blankert, 1976, cat. no. A43, 175. S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 1979, pp. 14-26. D. P. Snoep, 1970, p. 160.
65. D. P. Snoep, 1970, pp. 159, 217.
66. E. Zafran, 1977, pp. 42-102. Jacob van Ruisdael's *Jewish Cemetery* of which there are versions in Detroit and Dresden, also may have been a Jewish commission. See E. Schleyer, 1977, pp. 133-152.
67. cf. A. Blankert, in exh. cat. *Kunstbezit Parkstraatkerk*, Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, 1978, p. 5 ff., with literature. A number of examples were mentioned in the exh. cat. *Prisma der bijbelse kunst*, Museum Prinsenhof, Delft, 1952. Many such works are now found in the Museum het Catharijneconvent in Utrecht.
68. C. van Everdingen, Grote Kerk, Alkmaar; D. Colijns, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht. Compare G. Leonhardt et al., exh. cat. *Nederlandse Orgelpracht*, Haarlem, 1961. J. H. Kluiver, 1974, pp. 1-18.
69. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, cat. 1976, nos. 2958-2960. See W. A. Liedtke, 1977, pp. 316-327.
70. "Grondt," fol. 22v.-29.
71. Huygens/Kan, p. 79.
72. A. Blankert, 1976, pp. 41-45.
73. "Sy en hebbent niet crom / die ons [schilders] verwijten/ Dat wy soo qualijck connen onderscheyden / In onse troengen het lachen en t' krijten" ("Grondt," fol. 25 v).
74. "Grondt," fol. 22v. ff; Miedema, I, p. 156ff.
75. A. Blankert, 1967, pp. 31-124, pp. 44, 63ff.
76. Angel, p. 38.
77. See the examples of themes mentioned here in Pigler.
78. Van Gelder, 1978.
79. "Soekt eenighe oude testamentische historien uyt die schilderachtig syn, daer sal ick myn plaisir uyt soecken ende daervan wat in 't werck leggen. Wilt al vrolycke historien zoeken die in Schilderie lieflyck staen." N. de Roever, 1888, p. 151. A drawing also appears on the letter, see E. K. J. Reznicek, 1961, cat. no. 294.
80. M. Rooses, Ch. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens . . .*, VI, Antwerp, 1909, p. 224.
81. J. G. van Gelder, 1951, pp. 103-150, pp. 110, 113.
82. "Een zittende vrouw . . . verbeeldende het Nieuwe testament"; cf. A. Blankert et al., 1978, p. 169, no. 29.
83. "De bruidegom stont (als ten uitersten hier over misnoegt) in een postuur, even of hyvan spijt stond te stampvoeten . . . Hy ziet zyn Bruid op zy aan. Als of hy de schult daar van aan d'oude [i.e. haar moeder] wilde wyten en zig voor haar ontschuldigen . . . Dit alles was zoo klaar en duidelijk uit de wezenstrekken als de gestelheit der Figuuren beelden, en andere omstandigheden te zien alsof 'er by geschreven waar geweest'." (*Houbraken*, III, p. 16). An analogous case is that of a triptych by Gerrit Dou, today known only through a copy. It was recognized by J. A. Emmens as representing 'Nature, Instruction and Practice,' the triad which according to Aristotelian theory together formed the ideal education. Houbraken—and all later authors—had interpreted and described the wings of this triptych as merely paintings of interiors with figures (J. A. Emmens, 1963, p. 125-136).
84. "Aan G. Flink, toen hy een geschilderde Venus in Maria Magdaleena veranderde etc. Hier maalt men Venus tot een Sinte Magdaleen: Haar boek, de minckunst, tot een handboek vol gebeên: 't Blanketvat wordt een bus vol zalf, om Jezus t'eeren. Wel hem die door't penseel d'onkuissen kan bekeeren." J. Vos, *Alle de gedichten*, I, Amsterdam, 1662, p. 163.
85. Angel, pp. 44-47. Hereafter follows the passage concerning Rembrandt's *Marriage of Samson* as an example of a painting which had been well researched and contemplated. In 1647 De Grebber also advised artists to read the story well (see Van Thiel, 1965, p. 126, rule 2). This admonition has its roots in Italian art theory (see J. Seznec, 1972, p. 260 f).
86. Chr. Tümpel, in exh. cat. *The Pre-Rembrandtists*, Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento, 1974, fig. 83 (Leningrad, Hermitage); cf. p. 136 ff.: other examples of works by Pre-Rembrandtists which do not conform to the stories in the literary sources.
87. J. G. van Gelder, 1949, p. 42.
88. The word "realism" is used here with the double meaning it had in the nineteenth century, i.e. depiction of (1) the artist's own environment in (2) a nonidealizing style. See J. Bruyn, review (op. cit. in note 35), p. 220.
89. "Als hy een' naakte vrouw, gelyk 't somtyds gebeurde, Zou schild'ren tot model geen Grieksche Venus keurde; Maer eer een' waschter, of turfreesster uit een schuur, Zyn' dwaaling noemende navolging van Natuur, Al 't ander ydele verziëring . . ." (Andries Pels, *Gebruik en Misbruik des tooneels*, Amsterdam, 1681, p. 35). See on Rembrandt as the typical representative of the "realistic" Dutch artists with his early critics: J. A. Emmens, 1968, p. 62.



Abraham Hondius, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (cat. no. 65).



Hendrick Goltzius, *Juno Receiving the Eyes of Argus from Mercury*, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (cat. no. 9).





Gerrit van Honthorst, *Artemesia*, Princeton, The Art Museum (cat. no. 17).

Hendrick Ter Brugghen, *The Crucifixion with Mary and St. John*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. no. 11).



Jacob Pynas, *Adoration of the Magi*, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection (cat. no. 23).



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Belshazzar's Feast*, London, The Trustees of the National Gallery (cat. no. 26).



Jan de Braij, *The Finding of Moses*, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (cat. no. 61).



Johannes Vermeer, *Diana and her Companions*, The Hague, Mauritshuis (cat. no. 54).



Jan Steen, *Esther, Haman, and Ahasuerus*, The Cleveland Museum of Art (cat. no. 85).



Aert de Gelder, *The Feast of Belshazzar*, Malibu, California, The J. Paul Getty Museum (cat. no. 43).

Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, The Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., B.A. 1913, the Stephen Carlton Clark, B.A. 1903, and the James W., B.A. 1933, and Mary C. Fosburgh Funds (cat. no. 1).



Religious History Painting

Christian Tümpel



IN DUTCH HISTORIOGRAPHY the seventeenth century is referred to as the golden age. Among its brilliant accomplishments were the paintings of religious history done by such accomplished artists as Bloemaert, Lastman, Ter Brugghen, Rembrandt, Berchem, Vermeer, Van de Velde, and Dujardin. In art historical literature, the era of Dutch religious painting ends unjustly with Rembrandt and his school. Although the work of later artists forms no more than an epilogue when compared to the works of Rembrandt, high quality pictures of religious history nevertheless continued to be produced in great number on into the eighteenth century. Just as religious history painting of the golden age did not end in 1700, so too, its origins are in the varying spiritual and artistic currents which shaped the preceding century.¹

The Influence of the Reformation on the Religious Painting of the Golden Age

Johan Huizinga, one of the greatest historians, wrote in *Seventeenth Century Dutch Culture* that: "The painting of the era did not owe a great deal to the Protestant faith and even less to Calvinism in particular."² Nevertheless, we cannot understand the place of religious history painting in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century (which markedly differed from religious history painting in Flanders) until we know the ideas against which it fought, until we comprehend the milieu in which it unfolded, and until we perceive the ground on which it stood. That place was largely determined by Calvinism, which not only governed affairs of state but also determined cultural affairs even in those instances where major impulses emanated from Catholic, humanistic, or earlier Protestant art.

In 1579, with the Union of Utrecht, Calvinism became the major religion in the Netherlands, supplanting the older Catholic faith. During the following decades Calvinism held rather strictly to the second commandment which

forbade representations of God. Determined opponents of the medieval Catholic picture cult, Calvinists considered the decoration of churches with pictures of religious history to be idolatrous. Since the majority of sixteenth-century religious art was produced for the church (altarpieces, memorial tablets, series of holy images), this tenet threw the entire function of religious history painting into question.

The Pictorial Image in the Catholic Church³

Even within the early Christian church, the depiction of religious themes had been a controversial topic. In time, however, those theologians predominated who maintained that Jesus was a true human being and could, therefore, be depicted. People who venerated religious pictures paid homage not to the likeness, but to its archetype. The painting refreshed one's memory, had didactic value, and could move the heart more powerfully than the spoken word.

However, during the Middle Ages laymen completely forgot this theory. On the one hand, this occurred because the altar was not simply a work of art, but also the repository of various holy relics, and, on the other, because mystic strains attached a great veneration to the humanlike qualities of memorial tablets. Ever since the fourteenth century, stories abounded with increasing frequency about bleeding, speaking, or miracle-working pictures. These paintings were worshipped both as if they contained miraculous powers and as if they were the holy persons themselves. The popular beliefs were reproached, but nothing was done to change them. The owners of these wondrous pictures—the churches and cloisters, together with those in close alliance with them—were interested in financially exploiting the people's superstitions. Because the faithful could save themselves from purgatory by commissioning altars and paintings, fear, along with the pure enjoyment of representational images, became one of the major forces behind the creation of religious history painting.

*The Pictorial Image in the Protestant Church*⁴

The reforming movement turned against the pictorial practices and cult usages of the medieval church. Veneration of relics and attachment to painted likenesses were rejected. Instead, the reformers sought to concentrate solely on God and Christ. Above all, images of the saints and the Virgin Mary were attacked, along with the entire reliquary cult. The first iconoclastic outbreak took place in 1523. In 1524, the churches in Zurich were systematically plundered and their paintings and sculpture either destroyed or melted down.

Later, Zwingli established a set of guidelines which retained their validity in seventeenth-century Holland. In his opinion, only the veneration of painted images was forbidden. Art was a gift of God, and it would be senseless to try to prohibit those renderings of objects done solely in a “historically scientific”⁵ manner: “all paintings, images, the significance of which one does not probe into or render homage to.”⁶ In practical terms, the borderline between the kinds of pictures which were permitted and which were not was to be determined locally. As a general rule, only those images which did not inculcate the kind of veneration reserved solely for God or his saints (for example, stained glass windows), were to be tolerated in the church. Religious works of a didactic character could be displayed publicly as well as privately.

Calvin, in his assessment of religious painting, went further than Zwingli. He stipulated that his followers create no image whatsoever of God. In addition, Calvin sharply curtailed the kinds of permissible subject matter. The relevant passage in his *Institutions of the Christian Religion* (Geneva, 1566, 1. Chapter IX, paragraph 12) states:

Since there is no sense in portraying God in physical likeness much less should it be permitted to worship an image of God or idolize God. Thus it follows, that one does not paint and does not represent anything except that seen by one's own eyes. And so, as the majesty of God is too high for the human view, it should therefore not be corrupted by phantoms, which have nothing in common with it.

As to the ones who are called upon to paint or engrave, there are stories to be commemorated: such as portraits or images of beasts, cityscapes or landscapes. History could profit by some promulgation or the learning one can take from it: considering the rest, I do not see what good it could do except to give pleasure.⁷

As Protestantism again spread throughout the Netherlands from 1560 onward—this time in the form of Calvinism—its condemnation of art in churches as idolatrous and its stern warning that one should give one's wealth not for art but for the poor and needy, predictably unleashed an-

other iconoclastic outburst in these socially tumultuous decades. In 1566, many of the ornate cult decorations stemming from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance were destroyed.

In the war against Spain, the Protestants were the leading force in the Netherlands, and the Catholic churches were emptied of art. Artists were deprived of their most important creative areas: the production of pictures of religious history for the church and for its donors and patrons. As late as 1678, Rembrandt's student Samuel van Hoogstraeten could complain in his *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* that:

Art, since the Iconoclasm in the previous century, in Holland is not entirely destroyed, although the best careers, namely [in] the [decorating of] churches, are closed to us as a result, and most painters devote themselves to meager matters, indeed even entirely forsake painting for trifles.⁸

Only the minority churches—the Lutherans who had been allowed to build their churches with communal approval, and the Catholics, whose churches were hidden in private homes—continued to commission religious paintings. But both groups took great pains not to provoke the Calvinist majority.⁹ Although the prevailing Calvinistic attitude and altered political as well as denominational situation prohibited painters in the Union of Utrecht from producing religious images for the church, they were nevertheless still able to create the kinds of art which both Zwingli and Calvin had expressly left under their aegis: didactic historical pictures, portraits, landscapes, cityscapes, and paintings of animals.

*The Mannerists and Biblical History*¹⁰

In the last decades of the sixteenth century, a new artistic generation arose. Labeled the mannerists, their painterly style was influenced by Flemish, French, and Italian examples. They sought to depict a graceful ideal of religious history. The elongated figures and affected movements of the early mannerist style, which sprung from the refined culture of courtly life, symbolized biblical history rather than narrated it. Mannerist pictures, often produced in cooperation with humanist scholars, occasionally teemed with hidden epigrams and ingeniously reasoned relationships and allusions. The deeper, purely religious meaning first came prominently back into the foreground when art's didactic function was again fully realized. In part, this recognition can still be seen in the Latin and Dutch titles appended to the graphic reproductions of mannerist paintings. Thus, Uytewael combined scenes of *The Meeting of Moses and Jethro*, *The Judgment of Solomon*, and *Susanna and Daniel Before the Judge* into one grand *Thronus justitiae* (engraved by W. Swanenburgh). Underlying the didactic, learned



fig. 1 Joachim Uytewael, *Moses Striking the Rock*, 1623, wood, 44.5 x 66.5 cm, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund.



fig. 2 Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *The Deluge*, wood, 74 x 92 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, cat. no. 170.

tone of these works was the mannerist attempt to elucidate visually universal themes of history. Thus, for instance, the center of attention in Uytewael's *Moses Striking the Rock* (fig. 1) is not upon the people's reaction to this miraculous event, but rather upon the objectification of the concept of water as a life-giving and life-sustaining force. The various ways a drinking cup can be grasped, held to the water or used, how it can be filled and guided to the mouth, as well as how thirsty animals drink are all depicted in the painting. The manner of narration remains additive. This is also true in Cornelis van Haarlem's *The Deluge* (fig. 2). Here, too, the reactions of the people are not depicted in a story-telling manner.

In the choice of subject, the mannerists preferred themes containing vigorous movement. Only after 1600 did they gradually overcome their penchant for affectation and overloaded compositions. This shift occurred under the influence of contemporary Italian painting and its emphasis upon classical representation and subjects containing only a few figures.

*The Pre-Rembrandtists—Founders of Seventeenth-Century Biblical History Painting*¹¹

The Pre-Rembrandtists can be considered the actual founders of Dutch history painting. Although most of them were Catholic, they established the archetype for biblical history painting which can in truth be viewed as the Protestant contribution to art. Earlier generations of researchers have often failed to realize that an age's spiritual and religious climate can often be a more powerful formative influence than a particular person's denomination.

Lastman's paintings, which were models for many other artists, are constructed completely from a historical vantage point. This is true even when Lastman, using poetic license, adorned his compositions with various embellishing details and peripheral themes. He understood history in a literal and moral sense and depicted both aspects in an almost over-exaggerated manner. Consequently, a simple action scene became a scene of recognition, and an instructive, dogmatic theme became the depiction of unexpected physical and psychological reactions to an unanticipated event. Lastman's subjects are, therefore, either ones in which the intercession of a holy or saintly savior is necessary or ones in which an Old Testament hero is portrayed in a situation of conflict (cat. no. 20). A great deal of emphasis is hence placed on the working of miracles and the conversations of Christ, as well as on his recognition or misapprehension of him as a child and his role as teacher and sufferer. Although Lastman's historical scenes retain their moral intent, they nevertheless seek to move and affect the viewer emotionally. The feelings motivating the figures, revealed in their postures and physiognomy, receive the largest share of attention. Unlike the mannerist style, these movements and attitudes are no longer artificial but always conceived—even where typical or conventional stances are depicted or the movement of a figure is borrowed from another artist's painting—in terms of what is natural.

*Religious History and the Utrecht Caravaggisti*¹²

Among the Utrecht Caravaggisti, Gerard Honthorst and Hendrick Ter Brugghen were certainly the most exceptional. This group of artists, with whom Paulus Bor was closely allied, brought new artistic ideas to Holland. They introduced realistic religious history painting in which subject matter was reduced to a few, life-size figures and the setting or ambience only sketchily indicated. The whole weight of the composition centered on the figures, their physiognomy and their expressive demeanor. The scene was clarified through its illumination. This innovative use of light as an interpretive medium, prompted more painters than ever before to place their biblical scenes indoors or to attempt night scenes.



fig. 3 Gerrit van Honthorst, *The Liberation of Peter*, canvas, 129 x 179 cm, East Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Within the wide range of biblical subjects, the Caravaggisti vastly preferred scenes of recognition (Ter Brugghen, *Annunciation*, cat. no. 13; Honthorst, *Denial of St. Peter*, cat. no. 16); and, with the help of their great mentor, Caravaggio, they raised art itself to the realm of the visionary. In Honthorst's *The Liberation of Peter* (fig. 3), the apostle sits in a dark cell. An angel, illuminated by heavenly light, appears before him. Only through the light of heaven are we aware of Peter's presence, just as the shocked Peter only recognizes the angel through the same light.¹³ The classicists denigrated this kind of art as too naturalistic, because they believed it failed to comply with Raphael's idealistic precepts. But it did go a long way toward satisfying Luther's demand that painting should express the interconnection between mankind's poverty, insignificance, and worthlessness and God's magnanimity, goodness, and mercy.¹⁴

*Rembrandt's Religious History and the Haarlem Classicists*¹⁵

Rembrandt further intensified the depiction of a specific moment in time by two important means. First, he equated the pictorial space with the dimensions of the action itself, and, second, he interpreted and accentuated the event through the use of dramatic or soft light contrasting with dark illumination. The figures which emerge into the light or disappear into the darkness remind one of events just beginning or recently completed. Thus, the viewer glimpses Delilah as she runs from the tent, clutching a lock of Samson's hair in her hand. A moment before Samson's head had trustingly rested in her lap. By focusing on the transitory moment, both the narrative context and the larger relationship are made clear. In addition, contemporary writers

time and again emphasized that participants in a momentous event respond differently to it. Jesus' opponents reacted in a different manner to his miracles than did his followers. Artists therefore strove to comprehend these various reactions of anguish, rejection, and indifference in all their subtle nuances.¹⁶

The classical representations of the Haarlem artist families De Grebber and De Braij and their circle (all Catholics with good connections to the city's Catholic patricians) fused "traditional demands and modern perceptual means together in such an unfortunate manner that they could not gain the importance within Dutch painting which some of them might have warranted."¹⁷ Stylistically more archaic than Rembrandt, they were, however, fortunate enough to witness a pronounced classical revival after 1650.

Religious History and Rembrandt's Students

Rembrandt had a strong impact on the history paintings of both his students and his successors. Despite individual alterations and various stylistic currents, the narrative mode evolved and disseminated by Rembrandt was of tremendous lasting influence. Indeed, some of the painters under his sway were awarded major commissions from the communal government. During the 1630s and 1640s, Rembrandt's students (F. Bol, G. Flinck, J. Victors, G. van den Eeckhout, S. Koninck) learned from him the currently favored interpretation of history. His constant allusions to the art of the Pre-Rembrandtists were also accepted by them. But they were not successful in combining the various impulses provided by Rembrandt into a new, unified whole. Rather, they joined the copiousness of Lastman to the expressiveness of Rembrandt. While Rembrandt depicted in his *Crucifixion of Christ* the varying emotional reactions of the people around the cross (the empathy of Mary, conversion of the captain of the guards, rejection or indifference of Christ's opponents), many of his students reverted to multi-figure representations and to including even the mercenary soldiers casting lots for Christ's garments.¹⁸ Rembrandt had consciously omitted this detail in an attempt to focus upon the reaction of those immediately affected by Christ's Crucifixion. Consequently, Rembrandt's intent was often misunderstood by his followers. Their interpretation was more additive than consequential.

In the late seventeenth century, several means of depicting biblical history existed side by side. Johannes Vermeer's *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* (fig. 4) refers back to the Utrecht Caravaggisti. At the same time, and partly in emulation of the sixteenth century, Jan Steen evolved his own brand of biblical history with a decidedly moralizing accent. Now and then figures from the theater world appeared in his paintings as interpretative bit-play-



fig. 4 Johannes Vermeer, *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, c. 1654, canvas, 160 x 142 cm, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.

ers.¹⁹ Steen preferred biblical scenes depicting religious heroes at table, in the tavern, or in a peasant milieu. The fact that Steen, a Catholic, created moralizing art—in contrast to the cult images of the Counter-Reformation—makes clear just how imbued he was with Protestant thought of the day and just how free ethical interpretations of the Bible were from denominational influences. Metsu, like Berchem, despite all his Italianate features, perpetuated the Lastman narrative style as conveyed by Rembrandt. On the other hand, the later Rembrandt student, De Gelder, continued the master's mature style and his concentration upon a few figures on into the eighteenth century.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century a predominately academic style gained ascendancy in the works of such artists as Lairesse, Dujardin, and Van der Werff.²⁰ Because of his elegant historical pictures, Van der Werff was considered the greatest Dutch painter of the eighteenth century.

For the artists of the seventeenth century, scenes of religious history were in general not hazy events from some barely remembered earlier age. Rather, the patriarchs and heroes of the Old Testament were exemplary prototypes for one's own life and, therefore, figures worthy of emulation.

Contemporary accounts reveal that in the seventeenth century such pictures were interpreted either literally, morally, or devotionally, and that they often evoked associations with the life of the person depicted or were related to political events. The reason is not hard to uncover—it too was a product of Reformation thinking.²¹

In the Middle Ages, Old Testament texts were interpreted typologically; that is, in addition to the historical meaning, there also existed one or more additional hidden levels of comprehension. Only the prototypical meaning was theologically important. Accordingly, the events of the New Testament were believed to be already prefigured in those of the Old Testament. Hence, to the medieval mind, Moses Striking Water from the Rocks together with the Birth of Eve from Adam's Rib, pointed toward the New Testament history of The Mercenaries Opening Christ's Side with a Spear.²²

Through the doctrine of "only the biblical word," the Reformation made textual exegesis the dominant concern within the various theological disciplines. Calvin, like Luther, believed that the properly understood, Christ-oriented, literal-historical meaning of the Bible was the sole content of the events recounted therein. This, in turn, led to a new understanding of the Old Testament as well. The stories of the Old Testament became moralizing illustrations of the positive or negative fruits which belief or disbelief could nurture. In New Testament history it was important that the literal interpretation of a holy event be clearly depicted, and that the power, value, and comfort to be drawn from the event be captured for the faithful. The stories have a literal, devotional, and moral sense. According to Luther, the literal meaning of the Bible's words can be revealed through clear textual exegesis, through elucidation of the historical relationships and connections, and through the study of reality (compare the marginal notes in the German and Dutch translations of the Bible in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example Luther's translation, 1545, or the Statenbijbel, 1637).

The literal analysis of texts acquired increasing prominence in the course of the sixteenth century. This influence was visible in the areas of Bible illustrations and illustration series, of an artist's choice of subject matter, and even a preacher's choice of sermon. With growing frequency the entire Bible or specific books therein were completely illustrated, or the histories of various biblical heroes (Abraham, Noah, etc.) were illustrated sequentially. The illustrative suites, many of which dealt extensively with the Old Testament, were also frequently compiled into biblical picture books. The previously typological organization of biblical illustrations was now replaced with a more theatrically conceived one. It was these representational series, together with the art of both past and present, which de-

cisively influenced seventeenth-century history painting. In the sixteenth century, alongside the literal and moral exegesis practiced by many Protestants, the Catholics and old-fashioned Protestants continued to use a typological interpretation, and the humanists of all denominations, a symbolic or analogical one. At the time of the Dutch mannerists, the humanist influence was still noticeable. Thus, Goltzius could ask a humanist to compile a series of biblical scenes. Only in the seventeenth century would a literal, moral, theologically controversial, or devotional scriptural interpretation predominate. This was especially true in the realms of contemporary art, history painting, the theater, and poetry. It applied equally to many theological tracts where a major breakthrough had been achieved despite a resurgence of allegorical and emblematic interpretations toward the end of the seventeenth century. The persistence of humanist-determined analogical and typological depictions, particularly in the areas of allegorical portrayals and programs, did not, in any case, diminish.

Choice of Subject Matter

The literal interpretation initially and most immediately affected the choice of subject matter. No longer were stories chosen which appeared to possess a hidden, typological allusion to some holy event. Instead, the narrative, epic, novelistic aspects of the Old and New Testaments were favored: scenes of God's influence on the patriarchs, on biblical heroes, kings, and prophets, and on the life of his son or of Christ's apostles. Seldom was the history of an entire people dealt with. Instead, the fate of a particular biblical hero, who was also the embodiment of God's will among a certain nation, was depicted. The century's almost encyclopedic hunger for knowledge led artists to rediscover the Bible. Artists uncovered in sixteenth-century graphics a treasure trove of previously unrecognized or unknown biblical subjects which were now done as paintings for the first time. This feature of the seventeenth century has yet to receive the kind of investigative attention it deserves. Even such a fine baroque scholar as Pigler still believed that Abraham Bloemaert was the first to depict the theme of *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (cat. no. 4). Today, however, we know that Bloemaert's painting derived from a graphic rendition of the same rare theme which was illustrated by Heemskerck (fig. 5).²² It was above all the painter Lastman who took up rare graphic motifs and translated them into oil for the first time.²³ He was followed in this trend not only by the Pre-Rembrandt circle and Utrecht Caravaggisti, but also by Rembrandt, his students, as well as later history painters. They too transposed graphic motifs into their own paintings, etchings, and drawings and also took up themes which the Pre-Rembrandtists had initially treated. Thus, many paintings by Rembrandt and his stu-



fig. 5 Maerten van Heemskerck, *Judith Showing Holofernes' Head*, engraving (photo: Netherlands Art Institute).

dents, which art historians assume were inspired either by contemporary or later (sic!) theater plays, actually drew their themes and iconography from Pre-Rembrandtist paintings. A work from Rembrandt's studio, such as *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife* (cat. no. 28), for example, as well as the Berlin version of this painting were influenced by a work by Jan Pynas, which today is in an American private collection (fig. 6).

Almost half of all seventeenth-century Old Testament paintings were based on the first book of Moses, which encompasses less than a twentieth of the total scope of the entire Old Testament (including the apocryphal books). The shorter texts of the Bible (Judges, Ruth, Daniel, Judith, Esther, and Tobias) were also heavily mined for pictorial ideas. It was the world of patriarchs and biblical heroes and heroines which so fascinated seventeenth-century minds.

From the New Testament, the Dutch history painters of the seventeenth century concentrated in general upon traditional themes, many of which derived from Catholic altar



fig. 6 Jan Pynas, *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife*, signed and dated 1629, canvas, 101.6 x 127 cm, Milwaukee, Alfred Bader Collection.

paintings. This was due to the fact that the artists of the sixteenth century had illustrated in graphics only a few of the seldom-depicted subjects, especially parables. Therefore, the artists of the seventeenth century dealt primarily with the life of John the Baptist, with the antecedents and childhood of Jesus, with his teachings and miracles, his suffering, death and resurrection, and with the tales and wonders of the apostles. In most cases, artists preferred New Testament subjects to Old Testament ones. In general, the choice of Old Testament subjects was more extensive than those from the New Testament, but the major themes from the New Testament (i.e., the Adoration of the Magi, the Crucifixion) were more frequently depicted. There was no such thing as a “Catholic” biblical scene—one finds such a characterization often in art historical literature—and in their choice of subject there was generally no difference between a Catholic and a Protestant painter.²⁴ Even some of the saints were portrayed by Protestant and Catholic alike. To a large degree, the saints most often depicted were those who had already figured prominently in the earlier pictorial tradition (Anthony, Francis, Hieronymus, etc.).

The Depiction of Historical Events

The representation of historical events in seventeenth-century art was also aided by an encyclopedic spirit. This was especially true for those artists who were in Italy in the early seventeenth century and did extensive drawings of antique statues and buildings during their sojourns. Partly under the influence of Heemskerck, Elsheimer, and of Italian art, Italy’s southern flora, its craggy mountains, its exotic animals, and, above all, its relics from the antique world, became a mirror image of ancient Israel. Artists placed biblical events in the Italian landscape.

In contrast to these learned depictions of classical history, which contemporaries already praised as very knowledgeable, the Utrecht Caravaggisti and some of the Haarlem classicists concentrated more on a subjective interpretation of the action of a person and rendered the surrounding milieu only as an afterthought. They were interested in only vaguely suggesting the environment (interior, castle, prison). The location was appended for explanatory reasons, but the scene was to be understood in terms of the action delineated.

In the art of Rembrandt and of his students, interior scenes were strongly influenced by the Utrecht example, while exterior views done between 1625 and 1650 were far more beholden to the paintings of Lastman. In the late seventeenth century, the classical artist strove for a more knowledgeable historical depiction.²⁵ On the other hand, those who continued to pursue Rembrandt’s example aimed for a more emotive rendition.

In general, historical settings were limited to oriental or

antique costumes and to antique or baroque architecture. Very rarely was the world of Near Eastern plants portrayed.²⁶ The seventeenth-century painter was satisfied to use either exotic Italian plants (cat. no. 23) or colonial vegetation (cat. no. 77) when he was not seeking to create overdramatized or fantastical views of Dutch landscape. More important than a historically accurate scene—after all, who had seen the Sinai desert?—was that every real object associated with a theme be properly depicted, even though they might not have all been enumerated in the appropriate text. Artistic theory attached great value to this concept. Thus, a court scene was rendered replete with all its interpretative and explanatory symbols (cat. no. 70), and a scene of sacrifice was stocked with all those things judged to be part of a heathen cult (sacrificial stone, priest and assistants, animal sacrifice, temple, and Godhead; compare cat. no. 33).²⁷

If one surveys the seventeenth century, one sees the importance of religious history in the Netherlands. Not a few of the artists represented in this exhibition were able, through their historical works, to transcend successfully the bourgeois world, a world which had made their art possible in the first place. In addition to civic projects, they also received commissions from the growing local aristocracy, the governor, and the princely and ducal houses. The size of paintings increased along with expanding wealth and with a matter-of-fact attitude toward paintings of religious history. In addition to intimate works, large decorative pictures were also created for city halls, upper-middle-class houses, and palaces. The age’s fascination with religious history was not diminished by the pictorial strictures of the Calvinist church, Jewish immigrants, or the Mennonites. Art even slowly found its way back into the Calvinist church. At first, it reappeared in the guise of stained glass windows in churches—in accordance with Zwingli’s teaching, but later it spread to such areas as organ decoration and even the adornment of a few pulpits.²⁸ Even the Jews commissioned works of Old Testament history.²⁹ During the first half of the eighteenth century, in the wake of a liberal policy shift, Catholics were also officially able to decorate their churches with art.

And so even in the realm of art, the spirit of tolerance triumphed. This was a spirit which bound all artists together throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When they beheld a picture of religious history which so fascinated them that they too wanted to depict it, painters never inquired first into the other artists’ religious affiliation. As early as the sixteenth century, it was not unusual to find Protestant illustrations in Catholic Bibles.

For Wolfgang Schöne on his seventieth birthday

Notes

1. A decade ago Gary Schwartz called my attention to the need for a chronology of Dutch history painting from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The interpretation presented here in summary fashion represents my evaluation of materials collected over the last several years. I have dealt with the same topic in greater depth in the exhibition catalogue for the Sacramento show of 1974, pp. 126-147. The pioneering overview of the subject was by Müller (-Hofstede) in 1925.
2. Huizinga, 1977, p. 81. I completely agree with the critical evaluation of this quotation provided by K. Bauch, 1960, note 163. His position is predicated upon the Jena edition of Huizinga's book (1933, p. 32).
3. In what follows I am greatly indebted to an exceptional essay by Johannes Kollwitz, 1959a, pp. 57ff, and 1959b, pp. 109ff; as well as to his literature references on p. 72, no. 1, and before no. 1.
4. In the following I have largely relied on the provocative article by von Campenhausen, 1959, p. 139ff; p. 167, notes 1 and 4; and the literature references provided on p. 169, note 79.
5. "Geschichtswyss." *Zwingli's Works*, vol. II, p. 658 (introduction); cited in von Campenhausen, 1959, p. 143, under note 10.
6. "Alle Handgemaeld, Gleichnussen, bei deren bedeutenden Dingen man nichts sucht, denen man auch keine Ehr erweist." *Zwingli's Works*, vol. IV, p. 94; cited in von Campenhausen, 1959, p. 143, under note 11.
7. "S'il n'est point licite de figurer Dieu par effigie corporelle, tant moins sera il permis d'adorer une image pour Dieu, ou adorer Dieu en icelle. Il reste donc qu'on ne peinde et qu'on ne taille sinon les choses qu'on voit à l'oeil. Par ainsi que la maiesté de Dieu, qui est trop haute pour la veue humaine, ne soit point corrompue par phantomes, qui n'ont nulle convenance avec elle. Quant à ce qui est licité de peindre ou engraver, il y a des histoires pour en avoir memorial: ou bien figures ou medales de bestes, ou villes, ou pays. Les histoires peuvent profiter quelque advertissements, ou souvenirs qu'on en prend: touchant du reste, je ne voy point à quoy il serve, sinon à plaisir." John Calvin, *Institution de la Religion Chreienne*, Geneva, 1956, vol. I, chapter IX, paragraph 12. Cited according to K. Bauch, 1960, note 161. The Dutch version of the quote and additional literature are also provided in the same note.
8. "Dat de konst, sedert de Beeltstorming in de vorrgaende eeuw, in Holland niet geheel vernietigt is, schoon ons de beste loopbaenen, naementlijk de kerken, daer door geslooten zijn, en de meeste schilders zich dieshalven tot geringe zaeken, jae zelfs tot beuzelingen te schilderen geheelijk begeeven."
9. Barbara Haeger in her uncompleted dissertation "The Treatment of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in Netherlandish Art 1500-1680" offers an illuminating iconographic and iconological interpretation of the Barent Fabritius paintings in the Lutheran Church at Leiden.
10. Compare with Müller (-Hofstede), 1925, pp. 58ff; Bauch, 1960, pp. 48ff; Vassar College Art Gallery, Dutch Mannerism, 1970.
11. Compare with Müller (-Hofstede), 1925, pp. 73ff; Bauch, 1935, pp. 145ff; and pp. 193ff; 1936, pp. 79ff; 1937, pp. 241ff; 1951, pp. 225ff; 1952/53, pp. 220ff; 1955, pp. 213ff; 1960, pp. 51ff; and A. Tümpel, 1974a, pp. 1ff, and 245ff.
12. Compare A. von Schneider, 1933; B. Nicholson, 1958; Judson, 1959.
13. Schöne, 1973, p. 144 characterizes the transformation made in the use of pictorial light by Caravaggio's successors thusly: "The purpose of the illuminating light, pictorial world, and pictorial event to depict and, if need be, to motivate remains the same. But everything was now composed so that the illuminating light not only aids us, the viewer, but the picture actors as well. In other words, it helped the figures in the work to understand the depicted action. The wound in Christ's side is revealed by brilliant light: not only we, but also Thomas can now clearly perceive it. This signifies for us, the viewer, a sharp reduction in light's dramatic role of placing the pictorial world and its events 'in the proper light.' It also obliterates the old notion that the pictorial figures know nothing of this picture. They now seem to grasp nearly everything. Finally, closely associated with all this is a lesser emphasis on the dualism between light and darkness in an absolute sense."
14. In comments on the appropriate way to portray Mary, Luther chided those artists "who paint and model the Holy Virgin so perfectly that nothing scornful, only vain importance and high things are to be seen in her . . . in order to make us seem dumb and desperate." Rather, what should be shown according to Luther was "how in her is united the immeasurable richness of God with her own deep poverty; godly worth with her smallness; the largess of God with her undeservedness; God's grace with her unworthiness." WA VII, 277. Quoted in von Campenhausen, 1959, p. 158.
15. On the following compare in particular Schöne, 1954, pp. 156ff; Bauch, 1960; and further, C. Tümpel, 1968a and b, 1969, 1975, and 1979.
16. H. F. Waterloos accurately described the transition from joy to fear in Mary Magdalene as it occurs in Rembrandt's painting *Christ Appearing before Mary Magdalene* (London, Buckingham Palace, Queen Elizabeth II; Bredius, 559): "'t Schynt dat de Christus zegt: Marie, en wilt niet beven, Ick ben't, de dood en heeft aen Uwen Heer geen deel: Zy zulcx geloovende, maer echter noch niet heel, Schijt tusschen vreugde en druk, en vrees en hoop te sweven."
17. Bauch, 1960, p. 264, note 166.
18. Compare, for example, Rembrandt's etching of the Crucifixion (Bartsch 80, 79, 78) with Flinck's painting of the same theme in the Kunstmuseum, Basel (Moltke, 1965, p. 57).
19. L. de Vries, 1976 and 1977.
20. The work of these artists is still too little known due to the prevailing anti-classical tastes of both the last and the present century. Studies of their careers are urgently needed. Freya Liman (Art History Institute, Free University, Berlin) is currently compiling an oeuvre catalogue of paintings by Gerard Lairesse.
21. I have dealt more fully with this issue in a 1974 essay. Compare what follows with the article on biblical translations in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (3rd ed.), 3, especially pp. 59ff and 119ff (O. F. Fritzsche, edited by Eb. Nestle) and in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (3rd ed.), I, especially column 1201 "IV Deutsche Bibelübersetzungen" (v. K. Gallig) and "V, Europäische ausserdeutsche Bibelübersetzungen," column 1210ff, especially 1212 (P. H. Vogel). Regarding the history of exegesis, see the article "Schriftauslegung" in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, V, 1961, column 1513ff, especially the section "IV. Alte Kirche und Mittelalter" (column 1520ff; M. Elze) and "IV B. Humanismus, Reformation und Neuzeit" (column 1528ff).

The history of hermeneutics is brilliantly summarized by G. Ebeling in the article "Hermeneutik" in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (3rd ed.), III, 1959, column 242ff. On Protestant hermeneutics see the important work by the same author (1942). Concerning the history of

biblical illustrations see the following: Wilhelm Neuss, "Bibelillustration" in *RDK*, II, 1948, column 478ff; and, Christian-Adolf Isermeyer, "Bibelillustration" in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (3rd ed.), I, column 1174-1183. Older research in Christian sermons has been compiled in an article by Chistlieb (revised by M. Schian) in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (3rd ed.), 15, pp. 623ff. An article by A. Niebergall on sermons in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (3rd ed.), V, column 516ff draws together the most important new secondary literature. On homiletic issues—the teaching underlying all sermons—see the articles by Caspari in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (3rd ed.), vol. 8, 1900, pp. 295ff; and M. Doerne in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (3rd ed.), 1959, III, column 438ff; it contains further important literature.

22. Ph. Schmidt, 1962, p. 39.

23. C. Tümpel, 1971, pp. 24ff.

24. J. Bruyn, 1959, p. 6 already noted that subjects which traditionally had been interpreted as strictly Catholic were actually done by Protestants. The confessionalism of nineteenth-century society apparently bore late fruit in the minds of many researchers. As soon as Mary appeared in a biblical (!) scene, they automatically assumed it had been painted for a Catholic patron or, perhaps, for one of the Catholic schuilkerken (church schools). In the nineteenth and twentieth century, this hypothesis gained further credence when just such works of seventeenth-century art were acquired to decorate Catholic churches. It is once more asserted here that by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was hardly any difference between the denominations in the iconographic use of biblical themes. Efforts to assign individual biblical subjects to specific denominations are doomed to repeated failure if they do not take this factor into account. The work of Rembrandt in particular has had to withstand a whole series of just such unsatisfactory attributions. Investigators have repeatedly sought to deduce either Rembrandt's denominational belief or that of a certain patron solely on the basis of whether a certain motif was present in a painting or not. Careful study was never undertaken to ascertain whether the addition or elimination of a particular motif might be the result of contemporary tastes or due to the iconographic preferences of an individual artist. Only in very few scenes were the dogmatic and denominational contrasts exemplified; and even then, it was not always clear which religious belief an artist adhered to (consider, for instance, renditions of the Last Supper). Only through a rigorous ordering of particular themes into a strict chronology (i.e., depictions of the two sacraments rather than the seven sacraments), or through the addition of historically relevant data (i.e., the portrayal of reformers as part of the Last Supper), do specific scenes acquire a denominational character.

Painters and sculptors, cabinetmakers, and porcelain painters, gold and silversmiths, did not really bother about the religious background of the artists whose work they copied. As a result, in many Protestant churches renditions of altarpieces by Rubens can be found; and in Catholic churches all the way to Spain and Italy, the underlying use of themes originally deriving from Protestant biblical illustrations or graphic works cannot be overlooked. There existed between the religious camps a much broader area of exchange than has previously been assumed. This equally applied to a young art student's choice of teacher; here, too, religious beliefs seem to have played no significant role whatsoever.

Books of edification, emblem books, and books on moral teachings may well have been written by persons with definite religious convictions, but their generally valid hypotheses were used by people of all denominations; and, later printers, as well as pirated editions, did not bother about the original author's religious inclinations.

25. When Gerard Lairesse moved to Amsterdam, he joined the artist colony "Nihil volentibus arduum." Founded in 1669, this group propagated the classical theories of the French Academy. After going blind, Lairesse held public lectures on art theory for his friends in the artist

community "Ingenio et labore," which were copied down by his son Abraham and published as two volumes: *Grondlegginge der Teekenkunst*, Amsterdam 1701 and *Het groot Schilderboek*, Amsterdam 1707. Translated into several languages, these books exercised considerable influence down to the nineteenth century. Compare G. Kauffmann, 1955-57, p. 185ff; J. J. M. Timmers, 1942; and Snoep, 1970.

26. As early as 1854 Kolloff (p. 496) very perceptively remarked: "In the world of art a knowledge of the Orient was as good as nonexistent. In the depiction of biblical events, the Orient was alluded to through the inclusion of an imaginative bunch of date palms. This old, well-established procedure can be seen, for example, in the etching *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* by Martin Schöngauer. The engraver, however, in opposition to the old painter (who seldom worried about individual details) took great care in rendering the exotic trees included in the composition. They allow us to recognize the scene as an oriental one and reveal that the engraver had thought about even the minutest detail. In the entire sixteenth century this kind of care and attention in the re-creation of the Orient is seldom encountered. . . ." Even the artists of the seventeenth century did little to change this state of affairs. Only rarely did they depict a palm in their paintings as Rembrandt did in his *The Ascension of Christ* in Munich (Bredius, 557), and in his etching *The Proclamation to the Shepherds* (Bartsch 44).

27. Willem de Poorter's painting *Paulus and Barnabas in Lystra* is consistently and falsely interpreted as Salomon's idolatry. Even Jan Lievens' painting in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, California; cat. no. 32) was, until recently, incorrectly labeled *Eli Teaching Samuel*. Like the painting attributed to the youthful Dou in a private collection, it also depicts, in my estimation, the teaching of Alexander by Aristotle. In the case of the picture by Lievens, it is unquestionably a *portrait historié*. To verify this hypothesis, however, the graphic prototype still needs to be unearthed.

28. See the example in the C. W. Mönnich/Michel van der Plas, *Het Word in Beeld*, Baarn, 1977, pp. 50ff.

29. Thus, for instance, the drawing by R. de Hooghe entitled *The Circumcision*, 1665, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (illustration in Fuchs, 1968, p. 72), reveals the elegant rooms of an obviously rich Jew. Hanging on the wall are two large Old Testament paintings: *Moses Kneeling Before the Burning Bush* and *Elias Being Fed by Ravens*. The etching of *Abraham and Isaac on the Way to the Place of Sacrifice* was created by Rembrandt for a Spanish Jew (this information was verbally communicated to me by Mr. Dudok van Heel).

Depiction of Mythological Themes

Eric J. Sluiter



THE DEPICTION OF MYTHOLOGICAL THEMES, compared with that of religious subjects, played a lesser role in Dutch history painting of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the number of paintings with representations of classical myths is far from insignificant.¹

In sixteenth-century Italy mythological themes flourished in the pictorial arts. At the same time in the North, the representations of these themes, especially in painting, remained relatively incidental. As contact with Italy increased over the course of the sixteenth century, the interest in themes from antiquity also grew; initially it appeared in prints and drawings and gradually also in paintings. Only after 1590 was there a sustained production of paintings with representations of antique myths, specifically, the periods of greatest interest were between 1590 and 1620 and between 1650 and 1690.

The appearance after 1590 of translations of the works of Ovid, Virgil, and Homer is a clear sign of the spread of interest in mythology in broader circles. Especially significant was the great popularity of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. No other classical book was translated so often and no other appeared in so many illustrated editions.² Ovid's tales also seem to have been far and away the most popular sources of inspiration for artists; the majority of mythological themes encountered in paintings derive from the *Metamorphoses*. The Haarlem painter, poet, and art theorist, Carel van Mander considered the *Metamorphoses* of such great importance that he devoted an extensive part of his *Het Schilder-Boeck* (published 1604) to it. As he himself said, he wanted the "Interpretation of the *Metamorphoses*" (*Wtlegginghe op den Metamorphosis*), as this section was called, to be of use to artists and art lovers.³ At the time that he wrote his piece, it seems that the *Metamorphoses* had already earned the sobriquet "painters' Bible."⁴ Van Mander did not recount the stories but rather sought to explain them to his readers. In his view, buried within the

seemingly superficial narratives was a wealth of general wisdom and instruction which could inspire moral improvement and the pursuit of a virtuous life.⁵

Van Mander distinguished three types of "interpretations": an historical explanation (giving the historical events which were thought to provide the basis for specific mythological stories); a natural history interpretation (revealing wisdom concerning the elements, the movement of the stars, etc. which was hidden in the tales); and the "Leerlijcke en stichtelijcke uytlegginghen," which is to say, an account of the morals which were concealed in the stories. He placed by far the greatest emphasis on the last mentioned.

Van Mander's explanation of mythology was based on an old and at that time still vital tradition established in the first centuries after Christ. Classical literature, of which the mythical fables are an essential part, had always been a basic feature of Western culture. If these often outwardly frivolous tales were to retain this important status they had to be brought into agreement with Christian philosophy. Thus, a long tradition was established of interpreting the fables allegorically. It reached a high point in the Middle Ages and, with some modifications, in the Renaissance. In sixteenth-century Italy, mythological handbooks offered compilations of numerous explanations of the actions and appearances of Greek and Roman gods and heroes.⁶ Van Mander was not alone in his reliance on these traditions (especially that of the Italian handbooks). Whenever the classical myths were employed in Dutch seventeenth-century prose, poetry, drama, or emblematic literature, they were used in an allegorical fashion, whereby the moralizing meaning was stressed first and foremost.⁷ At the close of the seventeenth century the classical artist and art theoretician, Gerard Lairesse, could still assert that mythological stories contained moral lessons "om de deugd te doen aannemen en het kwaad te schuwen" (to promote virtue and shun

evil).⁸ One rightly may ask whether a pronouncement at the end of the century so reminiscent of those of Van Mander should be given as much weight as if it had been delivered at the beginning of the seventeenth century. A more modern approach to mythology gradually developed toward the end of the century.⁹

Judging from Van Mander's writings, other seventeenth-century literature (including emblematic literature), and the many prints of mythological subjects with explanatory texts, we may assume that mythological scenes in paintings generally alluded to more than a mere illustration of the story. It is important to keep in mind that even seemingly frivolous subjects could be given strongly moralistic interpretations. Just as one can see from Dutch genre painting, it was not unusual to represent, by way of contrast, scenes of impropriety as an allusion to the path of virtuousness.¹⁰ At the same time, however, one may presume that attaching morals to mythological representations occasionally provided a pretext for the depiction of piquant subjects. Unfortunately, one seldom finds indications as to which way the subject was intended to be interpreted in paintings. How seventeenth-century viewers assessed paintings of mythological themes and to what degree they perceived deeper meanings in these works are questions requiring far more research. Only occasionally can we be certain of these matters when we know, for example, how or where a painting hung.¹¹

In the following pages we will examine which themes were painted in seventeenth-century Holland and how they were executed. We will restrict ourselves to paintings of specific episodes from the mythological stories. The pictures in which mythological personages are freely combined within allegories are thus excluded from consideration.

When we attempt to survey the mythological paintings still known to us we are initially struck by the rather limited number of themes which were represented. Of the numerous themes which appeared in illustrated publications of Ovid's works or in loose print series, a great many were seldom or never painted. Moreover, subjects which were represented frequently in paintings were not always the same themes which enjoyed popularity in the literature of the time. Painting clearly had its own requirements.

Different explanations can be offered for these rather restricted selections. The most important is the influence of the pictorial tradition itself: familiarity with representations of specific themes and the existence of well-known models often provided inspiration for painters and patrons. Some themes also readily lent themselves to depiction with traditional pictorial motifs, such as a banquet, courtship, meeting, departure, etc. Furthermore, while a certain mythological representation might find favor with specific groups of people because of its moral message, the attrac-

tiveness of its pictorial form should not be underestimated as a determinant of a subject's popularity. Finally, some themes evidently were well suited to political allegories or the glorification of individuals, while others lent themselves to artistic specializations. If, for example, a painter specialized in arcadian landscapes or the painting of animals, he usually exhibited clear preferences in the selection of mythological themes.

By far the most frequently encountered themes are: Actaeon Spying Upon Diana and her Nymphs as they Bathe, Diana Discovering Callisto's Pregnancy, The Courtship of Venus and Adonis, and Vertumnus Disguised as an Old Woman in an Attempt to Seduce Pomona. Other often-repeated themes are: The Judgment of Paris, Mercury Lulling Argus to Sleep with his Flute, The Judgment of Midas during the Musical Competition between Apollo and Pan, The Courtship of Mars and Venus, and The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis.¹¹ It is striking to note that the explanations given to the most popular themes bear a certain similarity to one another. Most contain a warning against the choice of earthly enjoyments, lust, etc., which invariably result in severe punishment. The punishment itself is not represented, but rather the events which precipitated it.

Representations of the Judgment of Paris (fig. 1), in which the Trojan king's son must decide which of the three goddesses—Minerva, Juno, and Venus—is the fairest, always included a strict moralizing message. The theme's popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries might in part reflect the fact that no other classical fable reads so much like a parable. Paris can be seen as an exemplar of the man who makes the wrong choice and, as a result, meets his downfall. The three goddesses represent all aspects of human life: Juno, the active life, power, wealth; Minerva, the contemplative life, wisdom, learning; and Venus, the sensual life, love, and passion. Van Mander states in his "Wtelegginghe" that Paris caused the destruction of his country and the death of himself and his friends by the choice of sensuality over wisdom and wealth. In the first part of his *Schilder-Boeck*, the so-called "Leerdicht" (didactic poem), he cites the fatal examples of Paris and Actaeon as a warning to youth not to be corrupted by the temptations of the senses but rather to study diligently.¹²

Although Ovid had not included the story of Paris and the earlier marriage of Peleus and Thetis (fig. 2 and cat. no. 5) in his *Metamorphoses*, Van Mander used the occasion of Ovid's reference to the love of Peleus and Thetis to give a full account of these stories in Book 11 of his "Wtelegginghe." These episodes were occasionally represented together in a single painting, for example (fig. 2) one by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, which depicted this marriage and included the Judgment of Paris in the distance



fig. 1 Joachim Uytewael, *The Judgment of Paris*, signed and dated 1615, panel, 60 x 79 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. no. 6334.



fig. 2 Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*, canvas, 246 x 419 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, cat. 1924, no. 59 (photo: Dingjan, The Hague).



fig. 3 Cornelis van Poelenburgh, *Diana and Callisto*, 39.5 x 48.5 cm, Leningrad, Hermitage, inv. no. 1062.

(1593, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum).¹³ The banquet held by the gods to honor the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, during which the goddess of discord (Eris or Discordia) threw down the apple “for the most beautiful” among the celebrants, was, as Van Mander stated, ultimately the cause of the Trojan War.¹⁴ Van Mander interpreted the fable of Peleus and Thetis as a warning against the discord which is the cause of all ruin. Following his explanation, he included an excursus on governmental leaders, who, he maintained, must be wise, rich, and reasonable. These gentlemen do well to bear the lessons of the Judgment of Paris in mind so that they may avoid making the wrong choices.¹⁵ The painting by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem of 1593 was commissioned by the city of Haarlem for the Prinsenhof and was probably intended to remind the rulers of just such warnings; its admonitory purport was strengthened by the depiction of the Judgment of Paris in the background.

At times it appears that for special occasions quite arbitrary and even contradictory uses were made of mythological themes. For example, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis was employed a few times as an allegory of marriage. At the time of the joyous entry of Henriette Maria of England, the marriage of Willem II and Mary Stuart was represented allegorically as Peleus and Thetis.¹⁶ The associations here were entirely superficial: the fact was stressed that the princess was English (coming from overseas, she suggested com-

parison with Thetis, the sea nymph) and that one could hope for the birth of a hero like Achilles (the son of Peleus and Thetis). Understandably, any reference to discord and its consequences is excluded here. The known paintings of this subject, however, always depict Eris, the goddess of discord (or Jupiter holding the apple), and scarcely ever devote much attention to Peleus and Thetis. Indeed, one usually has difficulty making them out among the assembly of gods. In such pictures, there clearly can be no question of the works functioning as marriage allegories.

The moral of the story of Actaeon and Callisto (figs. 3 and 4) is almost the same. They were examples of youths who succumbed to the temptations of the senses and consequently were ruined. Actaeon was killed by his own hounds (the dogs symbolize his evil lusts) because he allowed his eyes (senses) to see Diana naked; Callisto fell into disgrace because she foolishly allowed Jupiter to deceive her.¹⁷ Diana functions in these stories as the unrelenting guardian of virginal chastity.

It is conspicuous that paintings of the courtship of Venus and Adonis rarely represent a tranquil, devoted couple (cat. no. 8). Venus embraces Adonis while appearing to engage him in conversation; Adonis usually seems aloof and often appears on the point of rising. In the background a death of Adonis is occasionally represented, and often we are shown Cupid playing with Adonis' dogs. Since Ovid's text



fig. 4 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Diana and Acteon and the Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy*, signed and dated 1634, canvas, 72 x 95 cm, Anholt, Coll. Fürst zu Salm-Salm.

does not specify disinterest on Adonis' part, it is rather remarkable that he is represented so often in paintings as indifferent or resistant to Venus' advances. Perhaps the artist intended here to stress the moral which was most often attached to the story at this time in Holland. Adonis was compared with the reckless youth who ignores divine counsel and goes to his ruin (Venus warns Adonis against hunting dangerous large game; by failing to heed the advice, he is slain). Venus, in this case, symbolizes celestial love, while Adonis, the inexperienced youth, prefers terrestrial matters (the hunt). Cupid playing with hounds is perhaps intended to emphasize Adonis' true interests.¹⁸

Van Mander interpreted the story of the virtuous Pomona (cat. no. 18), who after suffering the persistent advances of Vertumnus in his many disguises finally succumbs, as follows: Pomona represents virtue, and Vertumnus' exertions reveal the difficulty one encounters when trying to attain virtue.¹⁹ The principal attraction of this theme may have rested in the juxtaposition of the pretty, youthful, and chaste Pomona passively listening to the active persuasion of the ugly old woman. Motifs contrasting pretty young women and ugly old ones were much favored in the seventeenth century (e.g. Bathsheba and Danae with their servants).

Notwithstanding the fact that these interpretations included constant and diverse incentives to virtue, representations of mythological subjects were thought by many to be immoral. According to Coornhert (1586), the perusal of paintings of the "naked Venus" only results in "fiery sensuality, burning desires and hot passion" (*vierighe onkuyshheid, brandende begheerte ende heete minne*). In his *Houwelick* (1625), Cats warns against unchaste subjects in art, like Lot and his Daughters, David and Bathsheba, the Rape of Europa, and Leda and the Swan, which only arouse evil lusts in the young. Writers of treatises on art, like Van Hoogstraten, Lairesse, and Houbraken, also warn against the painting of immoral scenes. Lairesse, for example, considered the paintings *Mars and Venus Discovered Together by Vulcan*, *Diana in her Bath* ("even though it was painted by Van Dijck"), and the biblical *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* unsuited to public display in a gallery of paintings.²⁰ The effect of similar pronouncements may have served to increase the emphasis on decorous ways to interpret mythological fables rather than to diminish the popularity of these often rather frivolous scenes. As we shall see, this interest was unmistakably evident in the Netherlands.

Some of the subjects we have mentioned appeared regularly throughout the seventeenth century, while others

were limited in their popularity to a specific period or group of artists. Thus, we shall take as our starting point a roughly chronological review of the different groups of artists.

Among the works of the Dutch mannerists the most frequently repeated subjects were the Judgment of Paris, the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis, Venus and Adonis, and other scenes of Venus, like Venus and Mars and Venus and Cupid. Themes which can be grouped generally under the heading "Diana and the Nymphs," such as Diana and Actaeon and Diana and Callisto, also were treated a number of times by the mannerists. The Judgment of Paris (fig. 1) is frequently encountered later in the century but never in such concentration as with the mannerists. (The theme is totally absent from the works of the Pre-Rembrandtists and the Rembrandt School). The subject also enjoyed great popularity in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy and, from an international point of view, is perhaps the most frequently represented mythological story. Generally, the pictorial form is very traditional; the famous print by Marc Antonio Raimondi after Raphael appears to have had a demonstrable influence.

In contrast to the Judgment of Paris, the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis (fig. 2 and cat. no. 5) is a typical mannerist predilection and appears almost exclusively in the Netherlands. The subject belongs to the more general theme of the feast of the gods. Its most famous prototype was Raphael's composition, executed by students, depicting the banquet of the gods honoring the marriage of Cupid and Psyche in the Villa Farnesina (Loggia di Psiche, c. 1517). Of great importance for Dutch art at the same time was a composition by Bartholomeus Spranger which was inspired by Raphael's work, and which likewise represents the marriage of Cupid and Psyche and was engraved by Hendrick Goltzius in 1587.²¹ The many banquets of the gods by mannerists in the Netherlands almost always represented the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. The theme was a special favorite of Cornelis Cornelisz., Abraham Bloemaert, and Uytewaël. Feasts of the gods were later treated by Cornelis van Poelenburgh (who painted the subject several times) and Nikolaus Knüpfer; in these works, however, the subject disappears entirely and all that remains is the assembly of gods, usually situated in the clouds.

From the story of the love of Venus and Adonis, three episodes were frequently chosen: the Courtship of Venus and Adonis, Venus Lamenting the Death of Adonis (the least often represented), and the Departure of Adonis. With the exception of a single painting by Goltzius depicting the death of Adonis, the mannerists always represented the couple's courtship (cat. no. 8).

The departure of Adonis (fig. 5), in which Venus vainly attempts to stop Adonis from going hunting, did not appear at all in Ovid. The tradition for representing the theme

originated with Titian (Madrid, Prado) and subsequently was influentially perpetuated by Rubens (Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum). In Dutch art the subject first appeared in 1622 in a painting by Paulus Moreelse, and was later depicted by, among others, Bloemaert (1632) and Honthorst (1641). All of these pictures clearly reflect knowledge of Rubens' composition. After 1650 the theme became the most widely represented scene from the Venus and Adonis story (cat. no. 52).

The Pre-Rembrandtists, active between c. 1610 and 1630, were of a younger generation than the mannerists. The central figure in this group was Pieter Lastman who worked mainly in Amsterdam. The works of these painters reflect entirely different tastes. They painted very few mythological scenes and no scenes of Venus, love scenes, or groups of nude figures. If they represented a story from the *Metamorphoses* their choice of subject was often quite exceptional, for example, Juno Surprising Jupiter and Io (who has just been transformed into a cow) (Lastman, 1618), and Apollo and the Dead Coronis (Lastman, in imitation of the German painter Elsheimer, who was so important for this group). Equally exceptional is the choice of subjects taken from sources other than Ovid, like the Quarrel between Orestes and Pylades at the Sacrifice (Lastman and Moeyaert) and the various scenes from Homer's *Odyssey*. Depictions of Odysseus and Nausica, Odysseus and Athena, and Odysseus and Circe are encountered primarily in the works of the Pre-Rembrandtists. The favorite *Odyssey* scene was the meeting of Odysseus and Nausica (fig. 6), which besides being represented by Lastman, was also depicted by Moeyaert, Jan Pynas, Thomas de Keyser, and Joachim van Sandrart. All these later pictures testify to the powerful influence of Lastman's paintings of 1609 and 1619.²² Lastman seems to have preferred gripping narratives involving dialogue and sudden encounters or recognitions. In these scenes such markedly different reactions as terror and astonishment could be expressed.²³ A theme like Odysseus and Nausica is clearly a case in point.

The Caravaggisti, who were active at nearly the same time as the Pre-Rembrandtists, also displayed very little interest in mythological themes; at least such was the case during the period (c. 1615-1630) when they worked in the style which may rightly be called Caravaggistic. Furthermore, there are no mythological themes which can be called typical for this group, that is to say, subjects which were represented more often by the Caravaggisti than by any other group. Somewhat exceptional are two paintings by Van Baburen, the *Chaining of Prometheus*, 1623 (cat. no. 14), and the *Flaying of Marsyas*, two rather gruesome themes, both of which are quite rare in the Netherlands.²⁴ Even Honthorst painted few mythological themes in this period. The number of paintings of mythological subjects increased



fig. 5 Paulus Moreelse, *Venus and Adonis*, signed and dated 1622, panel, 37.5 x 50.5 cm, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, cat. 1962, p. 134, inv. no. 1093.

only in his later works (from c. 1628 on) when he worked primarily for the court circles and his style gradually shifted to a cool classicism.²⁵

A group of landscape painters who are important for us is the so-called Poelenburgh School. Cornelis van Poelenburgh and his followers,²⁶ who were active primarily in The Hague, painted numerous small paintings with mythological depictions. These scenes were situated in arcadian landscapes with ruins and softly rolling hills. Often the subjects were the same as those preferred by the mannerists, such as the Judgment of Paris and the Banquet of the Gods. Exceptionally popular among this group were representations of Actaeon Surprising Diana as She Bathes and Diana (again while bathing) Discovering Callisto's Pregnancy. These two subjects, which can be grouped together under the title *Diana and the Bathing Nymphs*, undoubtedly were the most frequently depicted mythological subjects in the northern Netherlands, already appearing fairly regularly in the works of the mannerists (especially Uytewael). Both subjects offered the opportunity to portray various naked figures with different poses and responses. Famous Italian models existed for both: the best-known being the pendants

which Titian painted for Philip II in 1556-1559 (now in Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland). A print by Cornelis Cort (c. 1565) after a composition by Titian was of crucial importance for the depiction of scenes of Diana and Callisto. We continually encounter the pose of Titian's Diana and/or his group of nymphs around Callisto.²⁷ As with Diana and Actaeon, the subject was usually treated in large figure compositions by the mannerists, while later painters from the Poelenburgh circle assigned far greater prominence to the landscape (fig. 3). In contrast to his *Diana and Callisto*, Titian's *Diana and Actaeon* had scarcely any influence in the North. It was rather Tempesta's prints of this subject which seem to have had the most influence on Dutch representations of Diana and Actaeon.²⁸ The pose of Actaeon, in particular, with his sprouting antlers and such elements as the hounds looking up at their master in surprise reappear in many seventeenth-century works. In most mannerist compositions, Actaeon occupies a rather important place (e.g. Uytewael, Boston, 1612). In many later depictions of this theme by the Poelenburgh School, however, one has difficulty in even locating Actaeon. For those painters the subject became a secondary consideration

and often vanished entirely. What remains are numerous landscapes with an idyllic and sensuous mood where Diana and her nymphs are seen enjoying themselves in the nude. These two themes (Actaeon and Callisto) which were so closely related in form and meaning and which had already been conceived of as pendants by Titian, were once joined in a single painting by no less an artist than Rembrandt (1634, Anholt, fig. 4). In Rembrandt's works we again find as many elements from the *Tempesta* prints as from Titian's composition.²⁹

After 1650, these two themes lost much of their popularity. Except for Jacob van Loo and several late seventeenth-century artists, few painters addressed the subject. On the other hand, there were a number of monumentally scaled, large figure paintings of Diana with her Nymphs Resting after the Hunt (cat. no. 51 and cat. no. 54). Paintings of this type were greatly admired by the Court of Orange in The Hague. In the hunting castle Honserlaarsdijk, for example, there was a Diana-Zaal (Hall of Diana), with paintings by Pieter de Grebber, Paulus Bor, Christian van Couwenbergh, and Rubens. In the inventories of the collections of the House of Orange, there was a remarkable number of paintings, among them two large works by Honthorst which depicted Diana themes.³⁰ The ambitious academics, like De Grebber, Jacob van Loo (cat. no. 51), and Jacob Backer are known to have executed several paintings of these subjects; the early painting by Vermeer (cat. no. 54) is very much part of this group. Later in the century, the subject appeared several different times in the works of such artists as Jan van Noordt, Gerard Lairesse, and Adriaen van der Werff.

For convenience sake, we have referred to some artists as academics. Among the works of these painters, we encounter, besides Diana scenes, numerous monumental compositions with lovers, for example Venus and Adonis, especially Adonis' departure (cat. no. 52), and a theme which was new to the northern Netherlands, Jupiter Disguised as Diana to Seduce Callisto (cat. no. 57). Not only these themes but others which became popular after 1650 also often seem to owe their popularity to famous compositions by Rubens.³¹

Especially after 1640, the subject of Vertumnus Disguised as an Old Woman to Seduce Pomona came very much into vogue (cat. no. 18), only the scenes of Diana and Actaeon or Callisto were more frequently depicted. In contrast to the Diana themes, however, Vertumnus was only rarely executed outside Holland. Although this subject had already been treated a few times by the mannerists in the first decades of the century (and even one time each by a Pre-Rembrandtist and a Caravaggist), it began to appear frequently only after 1640. We witness a veritable explosion of interest in this subject in the Rembrandt School, and

the theme enjoyed special favor among artists we know primarily as genre painters. That these artists had a preference for this subject perhaps reflects the fact that it is one of the few mythological themes in which the main characters are usually entirely clothed.³² Only occasionally was Pomona depicted naked, as for example in the two paintings of this theme executed by the mannerist Goltzius.

A theme which also enjoyed great favor after 1640, especially with the Rembrandt School, was Mercury Lulling Argus to Sleep in Order to Kill Him. This subject, once again, seems to have been treated most frequently by Dutch artists.

Among the works of late seventeenth-century artists (those active after c. 1670), we encounter a relatively large number of representations of mythological themes, as well as numerous scenes from classical (primarily Roman) history. The subjects which had been popular with the academics remained so with these later artists, while several new preferences also appeared: representations of Achilles, especially Achilles Discovered by Odysseus among the Daughters of Lycomedes (earlier depicted repeatedly by the Rubens School); scenes from Virgil's *Aeneas*, particularly from the account of the love of Aeneas and Dido; and finally, such subjects as Diana and the Sleeping Endymion (cat. no. 68) which were often depicted in seventeenth-century Italy. An increase in the number of rarely or uniquely represented themes is also noteworthy. In his *Het Groot Schilder-Boeck*, Lairesse lamented that artists continually repeated the same themes, while Ovid, Homer, and Virgil offered enough stories which were suited to representation to triple artists' thematic repertoires.³³ Although Lairesse painted many traditional subjects, he and Gerard Hoet often addressed quite exceptional themes.

Having reviewed various subjects which enjoyed favor in seventeenth-century Holland, it becomes clear that certain themes reflect typical Dutch preferences. By the same token, other themes which were popular elsewhere found representation only occasionally in Holland. As examples of subjects which were rarely depicted by Dutch artists, we would cite scenes of Hercules, Leda and the Swan, Danae, Jupiter and Antiope, the Abduction of Ganymede, Amor and Psyche, and Apollo Flaying Marsyas, while the Rape of Persephone, the Rape of Europa, Apollo and Daphne, Narcissus, and Bacchus and Ariadne were not so popular in Holland as elsewhere. It is noteworthy that four of the mythological themes mentioned here are among the few mythological themes painted by Rembrandt: the *Rape of Persephone* (c. 1629); the *Rape of Europa* (1632); the *Abduction of Ganymede* (1635); and *Danae* (1636, completed c. 1645-50). Themes which enjoyed some popularity, like *Diana and Callisto/Actaeon* (1634) and *Andromeda* (c. 1627/1628), were painted by Rembrandt in rather unusual ways.

His only later painting with a theme from Ovid depicts *Jupiter and Mercury as Guests of Philomen and Baucis* (1658). Famous paintings of this theme existed by Elsheimer and Rubens. Although Flemish artists often represented the subject, it was rather rarely broached in Holland.³⁴ From an international point of view, therefore, Rembrandt's choice was less unusual as when it is considered within the Dutch tradition. The paintings listed above almost all originated in his early years and, apart from a single Rape of Europa and a Rape of Persephone, evidently had little influence upon his students' works. By and large, they chose less violent and more decorous subjects.

We already noted that mythological personages could be freely employed in all sorts of allegories. Minerva, Mercury, Neptune, and Hercules were sometimes used in allegories glorifying cities and countries or in allegories celebrating justice, prosperity, or commerce. Mythological allusions could also be employed for the glorification of individuals; the honored recipient's qualities would be likened to those of gods and heroes. In some cases the allusion merely involved the representation of the appropriate subject, while at other times the people themselves were portrayed in these scenes. The Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch employs both types and doubtless is the most important example of this genre in Holland. Frederick Hendrik is compared, in turn, with Hercules, Aeneas, and Achilles, while Maurits and Frederick Hendrik are portrayed as Castor and Pollux. This use of mythology will be discussed in the essay on history painting in public buildings and the residences of the stadtholders by Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer.

1. See for example, Pigler, 1974, II, pp. 9-348 (a very incomplete but nevertheless valuable handbook enumerating paintings, drawings and prints depicting numerous mythological subjects). Reproductions of many Netherlandish paintings of mythological subjects can be found under system number 9 (Classical Mythology and Ancient History) in the Decimal Index of the Art of the Low Countries (DIAL), a photographic index arranged according to H. van de Waal's Iconoclass (see Bibliography) and available for consultation at various art historical institutions and museums in Europe and the United States. The present author is in possession of a card system recording paintings known both from personal inspection and photographs and reproductions consulted chiefly at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague and the Witt Library and Warburg Institute in London.

2. See Geerebaert, 1924, p. 138ff (Ovid), p. 177ff (Virgil), p. 43ff (Homer). Concerning illustrated publications of Ovid, see Henkel, 1921, and Henkel, 1930.

3. Van Mander, 1604, *Voor-reden op de Wtlegghing*, fol. IV. He considered this of importance since no publication had yet appeared in Dutch which revealed the essence of these stories.

4. Van Mander, *Voor-reden op de Wtlegghing*, fol. IV vso. In Harman Janszn. Muller's publication of Ioannes Florianus' Dutch translation of Ovid (Amsterdam, 1588) it was first recommended to artists (see Henkel, 1930, p. 59). The prose translation by Florianus was the earliest in the Netherlands and was first published in Antwerp in 1552 (reprinted in 1556, 1588, 1595, 1599, 1607, 1609 and several additional times until 1650).

5. Van Mander, *Voor-reden op de Wtlegghing*, fol. III and IV vso.

6. The most important and widely used were those of Lilio Giraldi, 1548, and especially, Natale Conti, 1551, and Vincenzo Cartari, 1556. Concerning these, see Seznec 1940 (1972), II, chap. I, and Allen, 1970, chap. VIII.

Prof. dr. J. Bruyn allowed me to consult his thesis, in which a clear picture of Van Mander's relationship to this tradition is sketched.

7. Vondel also gave a passionate defense of the use and moral importance of antique fables: Sterck et al. et., 1934, vol. 7, pp. 386-398: *Voorrede bij Publius Ovidius Nazoos Herscheppinge. Vertaelt door J.V. Vondel*.

Van Mander emphatically excluded the Christian-allegorical interpretation (in which biblical parallels are sought in the mythological stories). This type of interpretation, however, is often encountered elsewhere in the literature produced by other seventeenth-century writers (for example, Vondel, among others).

8. Lairesse, 1707, I, p. 117. See also how Lairesse offers "didactic" (leerlijke) interpretations of mythological stories in his Vol. II, chap. 9, 10 and 13.

9. See Allen, 1970, chap. X.

10. See the writings of E. de Jongh, for instance his introduction to *Tot leering en vermaak*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, 1976, 27, 28.

11. See notes 23 and 25.

12. The allegorical subjects Venus and Mars (usually an allegory of Peace) and Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus (an allegory inspired by Terentius' saying), so loved by the mannerists, must be excluded from consideration here.

13. Van Mander, 1604, *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 94 and Van Mander, 1604, *Grondt*, I, fol. 6. See also Miedema, 1973, II, pp. 40 and 485. See, for example, also the motto on the title page of J.H. Krul's play, *'t Vonnis van Paris en d'ontschaekinghe van Helena*, Amsterdam, 1637.
14. See, for example, also Uytewael's *Judgment of Paris* (London, National Gallery), fig. 1, and his *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* (Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum).
15. Van Mander, 1604, *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 90v, 91.
16. Van Mander, 1604, *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 94v.
The mistake of people who prefer earthly things is also seen in the *Judgment of Midas*: Van Mander, *ibid.*, fol. 89vso, 90, and Van Mander offers the opinion that one should not trouble oneself about the judgment of "Midas' heralds" (herauten) or "ignorance's bad judgment" (Quaet oordeel der overstandighe); Van Mander refers here specifically to the judgment of the uniformed connoisseur (kunstkenner). Concerning the last mentioned, see Miedema, pp. 376, 377, 394, and Pigler 1954, De Jongh, 1971, pp. 161-65.
17. Snoep, 1975, pp. 36, 72, and fig. 35 (see also the entry of Elizabeth van de Pfalz into Amsterdam, 1613).
18. Van Mander, 1604, *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 23. Van Mander, *Grondt*, I, fol. 6.
19. This is the interpretation offered by Van Mander, *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 88 and 88v, and also, for example, by P.C. Hooft, "Op 't verziensel van Venus en Adonis," in *Alle de gedrukte Werken*, Amsterdam, 1972 (W. Hellings and P. Tuynman ed.), pp. 329, 330. Various other sources offer just the opposite interpretations: Venus symbolizes lust and Adonis virtue. For both interpretations, however, it is essential that Adonis goes hunting despite Venus' warning. J. van Tatenhove (Le den) is preparing a publication on the various interpretations of this story.
A related interpretation is also seen in the case of the story of Mercury and Argus (Argus stands for human rationality, which is tempted by pleasures of the senses and consequently destroyed); Van Mander, *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 9.
20. Van Mander, 1604, *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 115v.
21. D.V. Coornheert, *Zedekunst dat is wellevenskunst* (1568), ed. Becker, Leiden, 1942, p. 31; Jacob Cats, "Houwelick . . .," in *Alle de Wercken*, Amsterdam, 1665, p. 162; Vondel: J.F.M. Sterck et al., ed., 1939, vol. 4, p. 598; Hoogstraten 1678, p. 85; Lairese, 1707, p. 12; Houbraken, 1718-21, II, pp. 119-121.
Concerning this, see De Jongh, 1968/9, pp. 65-67.
22. For representations of this theme, see Bardon, 1960.
23. De Keyser's painting was painted for the "Desolate Boedelkamer" of the town hall in Amsterdam. The meaning there is quite clear. Just as Odysseus, who was bereft of all possession, was received by Nausica, the bankrupt citizen can rely on the city fathers. The picture by Sandrart hung as a chimneypiece in the house of Huydecoper (now in Amsterdam, the Rijksmuseum). The theme probably served generally as a model of hospitality.
24. Concerning this, see Tümpel, 1974, p. 143.
25. The Prometheus painting was designed as a pendant to a representation of Adam and Eve. The Marsyas also probably formed an ensemble with these two. All three present examples (two mythological and one biblical) are of people who have transgressed a divine commandment and as a result are severely punished. See: Slatkes, 1969, pp. 80-81, and 124-25.
26. For example, the scenes of Diana painted for the Court, the goddess of the hunt (see note 30), and a courtly theme which is connected with the hunt like Meleager and Atalanta (it was already painted several times by Rubens and Jordaens before Honthorst and afterwards was treated very regularly in the northern Netherlands; seldom treated outside the Netherlands).
27. Several of Poelenburgh's followers are Dirk van der Lisse, Daniel Vertangen, Abraham van Cuylsburgh, Johan van Haensbergen. Before the Poelenburgh School, landscape painters who still worked more or less in the sixteenth-century Flemish tradition (Gillis van Coninxloo, David Vinckboons, Roelant Savery, Alexander Keirincx) often populated their landscapes with tiny mythological scenes depicting subjects like Cephalus and Procris, Latona and the Lycian Peasants (?), Venus and Adonis, and, in the case of Savery, a great number of representations of Orpheus and the animals.
28. These themes were initially popularized in the North by the early seventeenth-century Flemish artists Hendrik van Balen and Hendrik de Clerck.
29. The well-known illustrations of the *Metamorphoses* by the Italian Antonio Tempesta (a series of 150, Bartsch XVII, 638-787 [probably published for the first time in 1606 by Pieter de Jode in Amsterdam], a series of 10, Bartsch XVII, 812-821, and several loose prints) seem at times to have had some influence on the forms of certain themes. The prints in question here are: Bartsch XVII, 662, 815, 822, 823.
30. See, among others, Vliegenthart, 1972.
31. Concerning Honselersdijk, see Snoep, 1969, pp. 287-289. Amalia van Solms also had herself portrayed at various times as Diana. This taste at the Court for Diana is probably connected with the cult of Diana which existed in the French Court in the sixteenth century. Concerning these, see among others, Bardon, 19.
32. In the last mentioned case, see, for example, Rubens' *Departure of Adonis*, now in Düsseldorf (of which several versions exist) and his *Jupiter and Callisto* now in Kassel.
33. Vertumnus and Pomona were already depicted entirely clothed in the print by Antonio Tempesta (see note 28, Bartsch XVII, 779), the composition of which was often taken up by later artists.
34. Lairese, 1707, L. p. 45.
35. See, among others: Russell, 1977 (Ganymede); Kahr, 1978 (Danae); Stechow, 1940/41 (Philemon and Baucis).
36. A good example of a mythological theme which when represented by Dutch artists often carried political implications is the fable of Perseus Freeing Andromeda. See, among others, Sabbe, 1972, and Snoep, 1975, pp. 65-67.

To Behold is to be Aware

History Painting in Public Buildings and the Residences of the Stadtholders

Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij



IN THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS history painting was consciously used for the decoration of public buildings and residences of the stadtholders. The paintings were a functional element of the rooms in which they hung, and their subjects were chosen as statements on the use of the room and the desired character traits of the users or inhabitants.

Public Buildings

Various types of public buildings were decorated with history paintings. First of all there were buildings in which representatives from the provinces met to discuss common problems: the States General and the Council of State.¹ These illustrious bodies were situated in the Binnenhof in The Hague. At present very few of their seventeenth-century decorations survive: the assembly hall of the States General and the adjoining Trêveszaal where foreign ministers were received are alone in retaining their late seventeenth-century form.² The assembly rooms of the provincial administrations also preserve very little in the way of original decorations.

In the cities of the republic, which functioned practically independently in the seventeenth century, the town hall was the most important building. Municipal institutions like hospitals, orphanages, and prisons sometimes were housed in particularly beautiful buildings and were well decorated with history paintings.³ The same is true of the Admiralty Colleges and High Offices of the Dike-Reeve (Hoogheemraadschappen).

Although we are well informed about the collections of the stadtholders and their adventures through various existing inventories and archival records,⁴ this cannot be said about paintings for public buildings. How well the works which have survived reflect those which existed in the seventeenth century is a question which unfortunately has yet to be satisfactorily answered. Few buildings have been

so well preserved as the famous town hall in Amsterdam (since 1808, the Royal Palace). Many surviving pictures have suffered from later restorations, while Utrecht bears the palm for conservational ineptitude. In the period of the French occupation (1794-1813) paintings which had decorated public buildings were sold "by the foot and by the yard" (bij de voet en bij de el).⁵ This particular incident, however, must have been exceptional.

Research based mainly on existing pictures in public buildings⁶ reveals that many paintings were ordered for these structures which, through the stories they depicted, referred directly to the functions of the building or even rooms in which they hung. A good example is a painting by Caesar van Everdingen, *Willem II Granting Privileges to the High Office of the Dike-Reeve of Rijnland* (cat. no. 58), which was commissioned by the High Office of the Dike-Reeve. A relief in the architecture in the right foreground shows Mercury and Minerva holding two doors closed against Neptune, who is storming over a well-regulated canal. Questions of water control were precisely the duty of the High Office of the Dike-Reeve.

The idea of decorating public buildings with paintings whose subjects strongly reflected the institutions' functions was hardly new in the seventeenth century. In the early fifteenth century Jan Matthijsen had already written in the *Rechtsboek* of Den Briel, "The Council Chamber [in the town hall] shall be kept beautiful inside and decorated with portraits and inscriptions with good old wise teachings which inspire wisdom and prudence; because, as the saying goes: to behold is to be aware (ansien doet ghedencken)."⁷

As we shall see, these ideas were put into practice. Recent research has shown that every sixteenth-century town hall in Flanders, and probably also in the northern Netherlands (the seventeen provinces were still a single political entity at that time), had to have a depiction of the Last Judgment.⁸

Ever since the late middle ages, rooms in which issues



fig. 1 Nicolaes Jansz. van der Heck, *The Justice of Duke Willem III* "The Good," panel, 130 x 210 cm, Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum (photo: Dingjan, The Hague).

of law and justice were considered had been decorated with legendary examples of famous acts of justice.⁹ For the seventeenth century the most important legend, and one that was not infrequently represented, was that of Count Willem III "the Good" (cat. no. 59). This example of justice was taken from Dutch history and, as such, was a source of pride even if its historical authenticity was sometimes doubted.¹⁰ Claes van der Heck painted this subject in 1618 for the Sheriff's Chamber (Schepenkamer) in the town hall in Alkmaar (fig. 1). In accordance with the tradition of the late middle ages, all the main aspects of the story—the bailiff and the farmer whose cow he covets, the bailiff taking the cow, and the trial of the bailiff—are represented. The emphasis is placed on the trial. The duke lies sick in bed and gives the sword to the executioner, while the confessor (dressed as a parson) speaks with the blindfolded bailiff.

Van der Heck had already painted a representation of justice for the same sheriff's chamber in 1616. In that case the subject was biblical (The Judgment of Solomon). In 1620 he painted still another image of justice for the same room but with a source in antique literature, Cambyses taking Otanes' Place on the Judge's Seat. Like the legends, this story from Herodotus exceeds all modern standards of acceptable cruelty.

Cambyses, the king of the Medes and the Persians, discovered that the judge Sisamnes had permitted him-

self to be bribed. As punishment he had him flayed. The hide was cut in strips which were used to upholster the judgment seat. The king then named Sisamnes' son, Otanes, as the judge's successor and forced him to sit on the stool. Having done this, he bade him never forget in what way his seat was cushioned.

It was a rather popular subject in the seventeenth century. I. Isaacs, for example, painted it in 1634 for the council chamber of the town hall of Harderwijk (fig. 2). It is a monumental composition constructed along a diagonal. Cambyses holds up his scepter as he admonishes the young Otanes who, holding the rod of justice, appears to speak. Behind Otanes and upon the back of the judge's seat, one sees the head and part of the skin of Sisamnes.¹¹

The Judgment of Cambyses was not the only justice theme which was drawn from classical literature. The Judgment of Zaleucus, for example, was also represented in the seventeenth century. The judge Zaleucus allows one of his eyes to be poked out to save his son from complete blindness after the latter is condemned to have both his eyes removed (concerning the story, see cat. no. 63).

In addition to examples of justice with subjects from antiquity, themes taken from the Bible also continued to appear. It is noteworthy that the theme of the Last Judgment, the preeminent example of the administration of justice and a "must" for any courtroom in a sixteenth-cen-



fig. 2 Isaac Isaacs., *The Judgment of Cambyzes*, canvas, 280 x 224 cm, Harderwijk, Town Hall (photo: Schuizeman, Harderwijk).

tury town hall, was hardly represented at all in the seventeenth century.¹² Whether the reason for this must be sought in ideological modifications after the Protestant faith became the state religion in the late sixteenth century is unknown.¹³

The most popular theme in the seventeenth century was the Judgment of Solomon. The town hall of Zutphen included a representation of the subject which was painted in 1627 and appears to be the only known work by the law clerk Johan van Swinderen (fig. 3). The painting is no masterpiece, but the composition is attractive and unusual. The disputed child, who lies between Solomon and the two women in the foreground, is so steeply foreshortened that his head cannot be seen, while the executioner draws our attention with his flickering sword.

The emphasis which was placed in town halls upon representations with examples of justice was connected with one of their primary functions—the administration of justice by the sheriff and aldermen. Standardized law was unknown in the seventeenth century. Especially in the area

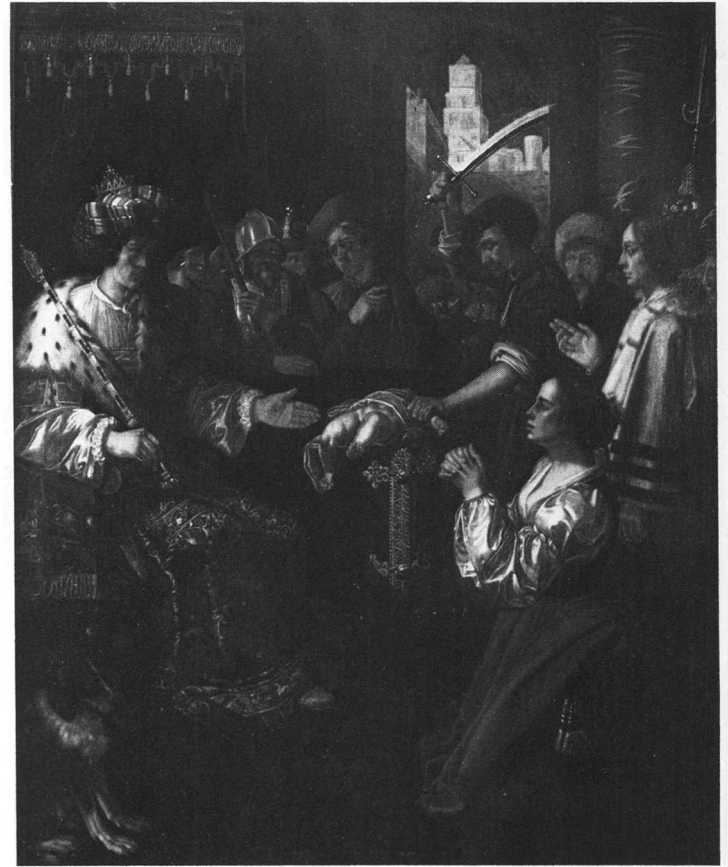


fig. 3 Johan van Swinderen, *The Judgment of Solomon*, canvas, 150 x 210 cm, Zutphen, Arrondissementsrechtbank (photo: Zeijlemaker, Zutphen).

of civil law, great differences existed between various cities. Although this disorderly situation was only rectified after 1795 with the institution of reforms, it does not appear that it ever led to large-scale excesses.¹⁴

Since the cities were virtually sovereign in their jurisdiction with regard to the criminal process, the complainant was largely at the mercy of his municipal judges in a lawsuit. The many depictions of examples of justice which surrounded the judges in the courtroom not only served to underscore their authority but also were a reminder to them to retain an unimpeachable integrity in the execution of their duty.

Scenes of justice were not the only themes which decorated the walls of town halls. There were others drawn from antique literature or the Bible which served to legitimize or, as it were, confer a painted aureole upon the civic administration. Undoubtedly the most important decorative series of this nature was developed for the town hall in Amsterdam.

In 1648, after the Peace of Munster, it was decided to

replace the old, poorly functioning town hall with a new one.¹⁵ The construction and decorations actually did not progress as quickly as planned; at the opening ceremonies in 1655 much remained to be done. The building and many of the painted and sculpted decorations were completed during the 1650s and 1660s. The Dutch were lyrical about the result. Constantin Huygens wrote in 1660:

Illustrious Establishment of the World's eighth Wonder

With so many stones above and so many pilings down under . . .¹⁶

Upon the occasion of the building's consecration, Vondel composed a long poem in which he also praised the paintings.¹⁷ The poet Jan Vos wrote verses to a similar end. These poems are very useful because they enable us to reconstruct the way in which people viewed these works. It appears that they were perceived with highly moralistic vision. The contemporary viewer could learn wise lessons from these scenes.

The subject, for example, of Jan Lievens' chimneypiece for the burgomaster's chamber was Burgomaster Suesso (Fabius Maximus)¹⁸ commanding his father, Quintus Fabius Maximus, to dismount from his horse. (In the seventeenth century the Latin word "consul" was translated by the Dutch as "burgemeester.")

Jan Vos' verse proceeds as follows:

The Father honors his Son in order to maintain supreme power,

The one who implements the law of the Office deserves his country's respect

All offices are subject to higher authorities

If Respect wanes, so too will the power of the cities.¹⁹

In short, one should maintain great respect for the office of "burgemeester." Even a father may not approach his son—when in office—on horseback but must meet him on foot, an idea which also was stressed in Vondel's verse.²⁰ In the burgomasters' hall next door hang two chimneypieces which emphasize that moderation, virtue, and steadfastness are more important than all the gold in the world. Here again the two examples chosen involve Roman "burgemeesters." One chimneypiece was painted by Govaert Flinck in 1656 (fig. 4). It represents the Roman consul Marcus Curius Dentatus who refused the gifts of the Samnites.

The Romans waged war against the Samnites. The latter planned to bribe the consul. Bearing numerous costly gifts, a delegation went to his house where they found him busy preparing a meal of turnips. The consul sent them away saying "a man who is satisfied with such a meal has no need of gold and finds it more honorable to conquer the possessors of this gold than to have it himself.

Marcus Curius Dentatus is depicted in the left foreground in strikingly humble clothing holding a turnip in his hand,

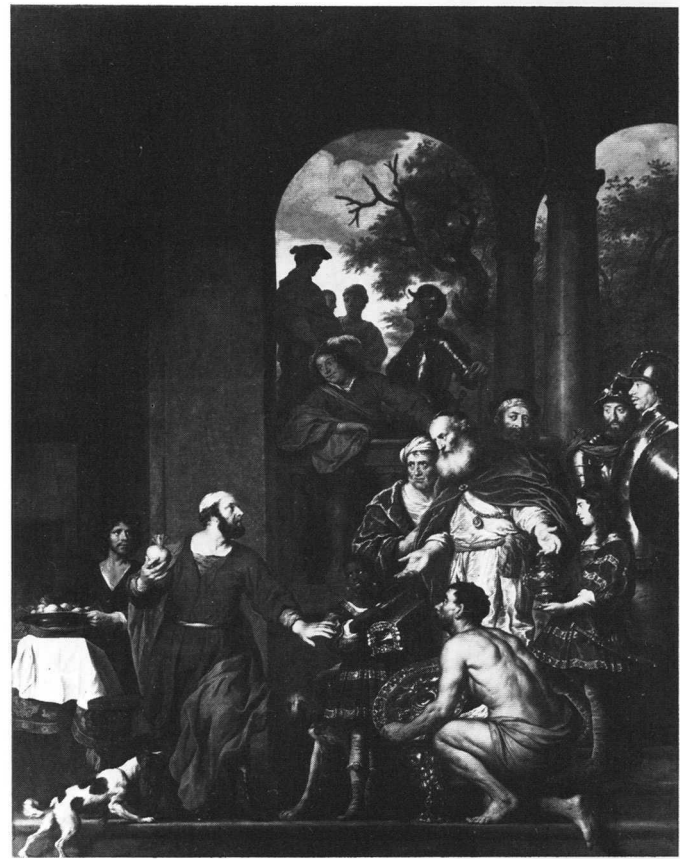


fig. 4 Govaert Flinck, *Marcus Curius Dentatus Refuses the Gifts of the Samnites*, canvas, 485 x 377 cm, Amsterdam, Royal Palace (formerly Town Hall).

while the spokesman for the Samnites is richly attired.²¹ A poem by Vondel introduced at the bottom of the painting makes clear the moral which was perceived in the seventeenth century: "So the city was built through Moderation and Loyalty" (*Zoo wort door Maetigheid en Trouw de Stadt gebouwt*), a moral underscored in Vos' verse as well.²²

Two chimneypieces were painted for the chamber of the "Heren XXXVI Raden" with subjects from the Bible. These "Heren XXXVI" supervised the general administration of the city, working as assistants to the burgomasters. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the chimneypiece painted by J. van Bronckhorst depicts Jethro advising Moses to select seventy men as counselors.

Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, visited Moses in the wilderness. He saw how preoccupied Moses was with the constant arbitration of disputes. Thus he advised him "to provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands . . . And let them judge the people at all seasons: and it shall be, that every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they shall judge: so shall it be easier for thyself, and they shall bear the burden with thee. (Exodus 18:21-22)

With this the function of the council was clarified and underscored. The other picture, which was painted by G. Flinck, illustrates the wisdom and virtue of the council of Heren XXXVI which in Holland is also called the "City Fathers" or "Vroedschap." In seventeenth-century Dutch this word meant "wisdom, understanding and clear judgment."²³ The subject of the painting is King Solomon, who invoked God's help—"A Council full of wisdom is the strongest pillar of the cities" was Jan Vos' poetic tribute to the work (see cat. no. 37). The paintings, therefore, were fitted entirely to the functions of the room.

One is tempted to inquire about the brilliant mind who was responsible for the selection of these paintings' subjects, which are at once so witty and ingenious. Alas, a satisfactory answer has yet to be proposed. Clearly, it was not necessarily the conception of one man (Jacob van Campen, for example). People in Amsterdam were sufficiently learned and inventive to address and represent subjects which had never before been depicted.²⁴

Still another series of subjects in the town hall deserves attention. These are four paintings (originally eight were planned) with episodes from Dutch history which were at the ends of the galleries offering access to the official rooms. These deal with the rebellion of A.D. 69 of the Batavians, under the leadership of Claudius Civilis, against the persecution of the Romans. According to many seventeenth-century historical writings, the Batavians lived in Holland during the period of Roman antiquity. A few passages in Tacitus about the Batavians provided sufficient inspiration for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers to spin elaborate tales of pure fantasy.²⁵ The rebellion of the Batavians naturally encouraged comparison with the rebellion of the Seven Provinces against Spain. It is not surprising, therefore, that Otto van Veen was commissioned by the States General to paint a series of twelve panels of this subject as early as 1613.²⁶

In 1659 Govaert Flinck received a commission to depict eight episodes from the history of the Batavians for the Amsterdam town hall. However, he died early in the following year. Between 1660 and 1664 four of the lunettes in the galleries were filled with paintings by Jan Lievens, the Flemish artist Jacob Jordaens, and Rembrandt. Rembrandt's *Oath of Claudius Civilis* was completed and installed by 1662 but was probably removed shortly thereafter. (Subsequently it was cut down and the central fragment now hangs in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm.) In 1663 Jurriaen Ovens was paid for a painting of the same subject which now hangs in place of the Rembrandt.²⁷

Thus, public buildings in Holland also included representations of subjects from Dutch history. Emphasizing the authority and respectableness of their own past, the Dutch also represented the conferring of coats of arms (cf. cat. no.



fig. 5 Adriaen P. van de Venne, *Boudewijn van Heusden and his Wife Sophia Receiving Heusdens Coat of Arms from an English Legate*, canvas, 190 x 284 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

46). An especially charming granting of a coat of arms is depicted in a grisaille by Adriaen van de Venne (1589-1662, fig. 5) for the town hall of Heusden (since 1889 in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam).

It is understood that in 839 the Denens plundered Heusden, and after burning down his castle, drove the first Lord of Heusden into Brabant. His son Boudewijn traveled to England at an early age and became a knight under King Elderik, also called Edmond. Boudewijn fell in love with Edmond's daughter Sophia and, because her father would not consent to the marriage, eloped with her. Returning to Holland he reconstructed the castle of Heusden. His wife bore him two children. Meanwhile, the English king had sent ambassadors across the whole world in search of his daughter. Although they did not find her, an English merchant recognized Sophia one day while visiting the castle. After returning to England he mentioned this to the king who immediately dispatched ministers to Heusden. Since Sophia was found while she was busy spinning on a red spinning wheel, Heusden's shield became a red wheel on a gold field.²⁸

Historical events from the recent past also were represented. Three chimneypieces in the room of the delegates of the Guelders Quarters in Nijmegen depict themes from the actual history of Guelders.²⁹ In or around 1661, N. de Helt Stockade, who also worked on the decorations in the town hall in Amsterdam, painted *The Roman King Willem II of Holland Pledging the Royal City of Nijmegen to Otto II of Gelre in 1247* (fig. 6). The Roman king is enthroned on a platform with one foot on an eagle which is perched on a globe. As in a marriage ceremony, he holds Otto van Gelre's right hand. With his scepter he points to the young girl kneeling down with the coat of arms of Guelders. Sev-



fig. 6 N.de Helt Stockade, *King Willem II of Holland Pledging the City of Nijmegen to Otto II of Gelre in 1247*, panel, 109 x 171 cm, Nijmegen, Town Hall.

eral scribes in the foreground dutifully record the memorable occasion. We also see a document with a large seal and, beside the table, a sack of gold. The Roman king mortgaged the city quite literally, just as one would pawn one's possessions.

This is the first appearance of a personification, namely Gelre in the form of a young girl, which we have encountered. Similar personifications, especially of maidens symbolizing cities, appeared more often—a fact which further emphasizes the independence of the cities. This also bespeaks the strong self-assertiveness which was nowhere so prevalent as in Amsterdam.³⁰

However, painted representations of the personification of the Netherlands in the form of a young girl—a symbol of the solidarity of the union—were particularly scarce. Evidently the provinces and cities felt so self-sufficient that the need for such a representation rarely arose. An early (the earliest?) painting in which this maid appears is an allegory of the prosperity of the republic under the stadtholder Maurits of Orange by Jan Tegnagel (1584-1635, fig. 7). She wears a crown and is seated in the middle of the picture. Her throne is situated within the confines of the “Dutch garden”³¹ where other personifications, such as the “heyliche Wet” (the Old Testament), also appear. Together with the stadtholder she holds a lance upon which a hat is placed. This is the hat of freedom, a symbol derived

from antiquity. Van Mander states that “in ancient times slaves were not permitted to wear hats/ then being made free/ they were given hats.”³²

The emphasis placed on freedom in this picture is completely understandable when one considers that during Maurits' reign (1585-1626) the republic was deeply involved in a war of liberation with Spain.

The maiden personifying the Netherlands was also depicted in the town hall of Utrecht, the city where the Union of the Seven Provinces was sealed in 1579. In 1667 Willem Doudijns received the city's commission to paint the “Netherlandish Maid, who protects Faith and conquers Force.” It is one of the few paintings from public buildings in Utrecht which has been preserved (now in the Rijksmuseum “Het Catharijneconvent”).

Residences of the Stadtholders

Where a long tradition existed for the decoration of public buildings with paintings, such was not the case with the residences of the stadtholders. This lack of tradition was connected with the functions of the stadtholdership, which since the revolution, had been unique and ambiguous because the possibility existed for a certain pretense to royalty—a pretention which could be underscored by the stadtholder's acts of patronage.

The role of the stadtholders of the republic as patrons



fig. 7 Jan Tengnagel, *Allegory of the Prosperity of the Republic under Maurits of Orange*, panel, 130 x 180 cm, Delft, Prinsenhof (photo: Dingjan, The Hague).

of the arts has been largely neglected. The House of Orange's activity has only recently received the attention it deserves.³³

Maurits (1585-1626), the successor of Willem the Silent, was especially active as a patron of architecture. We have no idea of his activity as a collector because of the absence of an inventory after his death. Frederick Hendrik (1625-1647) on the other hand, was an architectural patron on a royal scale. Nowadays one has little evidence of this because two of the palaces which he had constructed, Honselaarsdijk and Ter Nieuburgh (both in south Holland), were demolished in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The only ones which are preserved are Noordeinde in The Hague and the Huis ten Bosch, whose famous decorations in the Oranjezaal were not executed until after his death. It became a royal mausoleum and a worthy complement to the town hall in Amsterdam which was built at approximately the same time.

His successor, Willem II, reigned too briefly (from 1647 to 1650) to be able to undertake activities on such a scale. After the period when there was no stadtholder (1650-1672), Willem III, who was also King of England, actively committed himself to building (for example, the hunting castle "Het Loo," Soestdijk) and collecting.

Just as we have seen that the subjects of history paintings decorating public buildings were chosen to reflect their functions, the same holds true for the residences of the stadtholders. History painting was not applied without purpose. Apart from stressing the function of a room or building, it underscored the stadtholders' aspirations for true sovereignty. While in Frederick Hendrik's Huis ter Nieuwburg the gallery was decorated with portraits of European royal couples and views of their palaces,³⁴ his Honselaarsdijk was the earliest example of a palace with a specific plan for the decorations.

The building itself has now disappeared, but invoices and

inventories enable one to form a certain image of it.³⁵ The decorations for the hall of the stairway—large painted canvases which were an innovation in northern Netherlandish painting—were paid for in 1638. Among the flying putti bearing festoons of flowers one saw a *Triumph of Flora* by M. van Uytenbrouck and a *Triumph of Venus* by P. Bor. In between hung a painting by P. de Grebber of *Venus at the Forge of Vulcan*. The depiction was probably less incongruous than it would initially seem since an inventory mentions Venus having Cupids forging “Love Weapons.”

The ceiling or vault of the hallway probably was painted with a *Triumph of Frederick Hendrik*,³⁶ who, through a series of sieges and conquests, was at the height of his fame in 1638. A certain connection probably was intended: the triumphs of Venus and Flora reflected the function of Honselaarsdijk as a recreational summer retreat, and by way of the *Venus at the Forge of Vulcan*, it pointed to a triumph of the military patron of the building.

The decorations of the large room on the second floor, which probably was used for receptions and banquets, stressed another aspect of the castle. A number of mythological hunting scenes were introduced here, such as *Diana and her Nymphs Hunting Deer* and *Diana on a Boar Hunt*. The high point was a scene by the youthful Rubens of the *Crowning of Diana* which is recorded as having appeared above the fireplace. Hudig has already suggested that the selection of these themes, so eminently suited to a hunting castle, could have been prompted by the Galerie de Diane in Fontainebleau. Given the contacts which the stadtholder and his court had with France, this theory is not unlikely. Indeed it appears to be confirmed by the paintings in the Cleedkamer of Amalia van Solms, the wife of Frederick Hendrik, at Honselaarsdijk. In 1625 four pictures were ordered for this chamber depicting the story of Amarilli and Mirtillo, a shepherd’s idyll described in the, at that time very popular, *Pastor Fido* by Guarini.³⁷ These pictures were combined with four landscapes referring to hunting, fishing, agriculture, and cattle-breeding. Around 1600 a similar commission was undertaken at Fontainebleau depicting the story of Tancred and Clorinda, another literary theme which appears in Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata*.³⁸

While Honselaarsdijk, therefore, undoubtedly presented an important collection of paintings, the decorations of the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch in The Hague are still preserved *in situ* and give an excellent idea of the aims of such decorative ensembles.³⁹

The residence was originally planned as a simple retreat in the woods for Amalia van Solms. Construction was begun in 1645. By March 1647, when Frederick Hendrik died, work had progressed far enough that one month later a contract was signed for the installation of the cupola. Everything suggests that after Frederick Hendrik’s death, his



fig. 8a Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague—East wall. *The Triumph of Frederick Hendrik*, by J. Jordaens; above, *The Assumption of Frederick Hendrik*, by P. de Grebber (photo: Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Utrecht, G.Th. Delemarre).



fig. 8b Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. Above the door is C. van Everdingen’s *Allegory on the Birth of Frederick Hendrik*, framed by two paintings depicting *The Nine Muses* by Jan Lievens and C. van Everdingen.

widow decided that the central room, whose ground plan resembles a Greek cross with truncated arms, should become a monument to his memory. She saw herself as “une autre Artemise,” a theme taken up in, among other works, a painting by G. van Honthorst (see cat. no. 17) which she had installed as a chimneypiece in one of the rooms.

Constantijn Huygens, the former secretary of the stadtholder and a learned humanistic writer, and Jacob van Campen, the artist and architect who also conceived the design for Amsterdam’s town hall, were responsible for the decoration scheme. Like the construction, the decorations progressed rapidly, and the room was completed in 1652.

It is painted from the floor to the peak of the roof (fig. 8). In the cupola and the vaults above the arms, the paint is applied directly to the wood. On the flat surfaces of the walls, the decorations are applied to thirty canvases. In the cupola one sees a painted heaven⁴⁰ with, among other things, putti holding symbols of transitoriness, such as an hour glass. In the center, four putti hold aloft a portrait of Amalia, the inconsolable widow.⁴¹

In the heavenly atmosphere of the four vaulted ceilings one encounters not only mythological and allegorical but also Christian themes. The “Assumption” of Frederick Hendrik, who is accompanied by female personifications of Faith, Hope, and Love, was represented by P. de Grebber in one of the vaults. Below the ceiling, a series of paintings represent successive episodes from the life of Frederick Hendrik. The subjects are treated in a strictly allegorical fashion, as Frederick Hendrik is likened to various eminences from antiquity and mythology. Above what formerly was the fireplace, C. van Everdingen depicted the birth of Frederick Hendrik (fig. 9). The royal infant sits in Minerva’s shield while Mars, accompanied by a wolf (the guardian of Romulus and Remus),⁴² places a spear in his hand. This scene was framed by two pictures in which Jan Lievens and C. van Everdingen painted the nine Muses. In the vault directly above, J. van Campen depicted Apollo in his chariot of the sun. Together these pictures are designed to convey the idea that the coming of Frederick Hendrik brought a new Golden Age like that which was described in Virgil’s fourth Eclogue. In Vondel’s translation, which dates from 1646 and is dedicated to Huygens, this fourth “Shepherd’s talk” (the Dutch translation of Eclogue was rendered as “herderskout”) begins as follows:

let us, oh Sicilian Goddesses of Song, go one tone higher. . . . Now the last century is with us which the Cumaen Sibyl predicted . . . the golden age now returns to us . . . O chaste Lucina favor only the birth of the child whereby the iron centuries will end and a golden age will emerge over all the world: your Apollo already reigns.⁴³

Frederick Hendrik’s first great feat of arms, the Battle of



fig. 9. C. van Everdingen, *Allegory on the Birth of Frederick Hendrik*, canvas, 373 x 243 cm, The Hague, Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch (photo: Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Utrecht, G.Th. Delemarre).

Nieuupoort (in 1600), was represented by Th. Willeboirts Bosschaert. The painting depicts the Princes Maurits and Frederick Hendrik as Castor and Pollux,⁴⁴ two mortal heroes who were made immortal through their deeds.

Even a stoic virtue was assigned to the prince. A painting by G. van Honthorst represents the *Steadfastness of Frederick Hendrik in all Storms*.

The way in which the subject was treated is reminiscent of Rubens’ Medici cycle executed between 1622 and 1625 for the Luxembourg in Paris. In northern Netherlandish court circles Rubens was highly admired, but his death in 1640 prohibited his collaboration on this project. The way in which the pictures in the Oranjezaal are carried out suggests a desire to rival, rather than imitate, his models.

The series of paintings nearest the floor for the most part depicts an enormous procession. The triumphal march includes such elements as offertory animals, various plundered

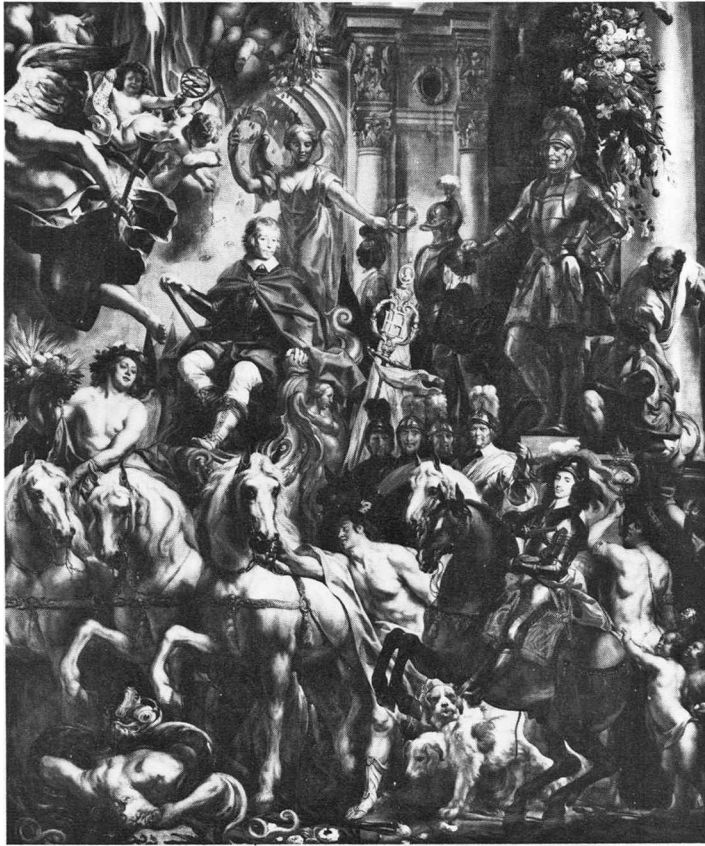


fig. 10 Jacob Jordaens, *Frederick Hendrik in a Triumphal Chariot* (detail), The Hague, Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch (photo: Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Utrecht, G. Th. Delemarre).

silver objects, and musicians playing wind instruments and drums which must have been inspired by early accounts of marches like those of Scipio Africanus in Appianus' Roman history. The procession culminates in a large painting by Jacob Jordaens (7.30 x 7.50 cm.), depicting Frederick Hendrik in a triumphal chariot (fig. 10). Dynastic allusions are emphasized here. Not only is Willem II one of the riders but statues of Willem the Silent and Maurits appear on pedestals. Frederick Henry's role as a peacemaker is also stressed. In the sky, where Fame with her trumpet does combat with Death, stands the personification of Peace with a banderole upon which one reads that the most important triumph is that which secures peace.⁴⁵ In this particular instance the historical facts are twisted because the Peace of Munster was not signed until 1648, the year after Frederick Hendrik's death.

More clearly than the selection of the artists who worked on the decorations of Honselaarsdijk, the choice of painters who decorated the Oranjezaal reveals that the court of The Hague had a different taste than the Dutch citizenry in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. They desired monumental decorations by Haarlem academics like Pieter

de Grebber and Caesar van Everdingen, or the Utrecht "court painter" Gerard van Honthorst. The last mentioned had by this time abandoned his strong chiaroscuro effects and was working in a more linear style with bright colors which suited academic tastes. The admiration felt for Rubens at the court and the relative unfamiliarity of Dutch artists with large mural decorations probably explain why Flemish artists from Rubens' circle, like Th. van Thulden, Th. Willeboirts Bosschaert, and Jacob Jordaens, were brought in to assist in the project. Yet, with the exception of Jordaens' *Triumph*, they made no truly monumental compositions.

In the last quarter of the century the differences in taste we have observed disappeared. Artists like Th. van der Schuer and G. Lairesse worked for the court as well as for the public authorities.

Around 1675 Gerard Lairesse painted a ceiling with allegorical subjects for the lepers' house in Amsterdam.⁴⁶ Shortly thereafter, around 1682, he painted several mythological scenes for Soestdijk, the hunting castle of Willem III. Among these, was a depiction of Selene and Endymion (cat. no. 68) which was designed as a chimneypiece for his highness' bedroom. The subject was particularly appropriate because, at Jupiter's command, Endymion had to sleep forever but was visited every night by the moon goddess Selene who was in love with him.

Finally, around 1688 Lairesse decorated the council chamber of the Hof van Holland in The Hague with seven canvases. The subjects were all taken from classical history and illustrated civic virtues. One picture, for example, depicted Horatius Cocles defending himself on the Pons Sublicus.

In a battle with the Etrurians, Horatius Cocles remained behind to fight alone on the Pons Sublicus, a pole bridge, in order to give his army the chance to demolish the bridge and retreat safely. This deed serves as an example of "Brave and Stouthearted Militancy."

So it appears that history paintings in seventeenth-century public buildings and palaces were not simply painted decorations to fill empty walls. They call for righteous administration of justice or similar ideals; they legitimize the form of government; they express claims to merit and confer an aureole.

Or, in the words of Vondel, who already noted this phenomenon in the seventeenth century,

The Art of Painting sought subjects in Great Authors,
not Small,
From God's haloed pages and the antiquity of the Romans,
It decorates galleries, mantles, arch after arch,
According to the requirements of everyone's office,
below and on high.⁴⁷

Notes

1. R. Fruin & H. T. Colenbrander, 1901; S. J. Fockema Andreae, 1961.
2. J. de Riemer, 1730-39, I, pp. 134-36; M. D. Ozinga, 1938, pp. 96-102. The chimneypieces by J. Lievens and A. Hanneman in the meeting hall of the States of Holland built in 1655 in the same Binnenhof still survive, but in the nineteenth century two rostrums were built half way up; at present they are barely visible.
3. B. Haak, 1972/73, pp. 81-117, 287-303; especially p. 85ff. Haak also discusses the type of history paintings which one can encounter in such buildings, for example the Acts of Mercy.
4. S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1974-76.
5. In this period, by all accounts, a beautiful municipal collection of paintings was installed in the old cloister of St. Brigitte, where, at the same time, a great supply of peat was housed in the attics. The unsound structure could not bear the burden and suddenly collapsed one night. The paintings which were recovered among the peat and debris were taken to the municipal auction house, where they were sold "by the foot and by the yard" (bij de voet en bij de el). The nineteenth-century source for this account adds laconically "that beneath this chaos many well-preserved art works were found which brought significant profits to the sellers." A. D. de Vries and A. Bredius, 1885, p. x. Drs. H. Defoer kindly brought this to my attention. For further damage to municipal pictures in Utrecht in the early nineteenth century, c.f. W. C. Schuijlenburg, introduction to catalogue of paintings, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1933.
6. Within the confines of this article it is impossible to be completely thorough. I cannot, for example, mention the municipal Prinsenhoven, yet I seek completeness in the account of the literature. Important starting points for the study of the decorations in public buildings are two series of publications, *Voorloopige Lijst der Nederlandsche Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst*, II parts in 13 volumes, The Hague, 1908-1933; *De Nederlandse Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst*, The Hague, 1912-; cf. also A. Loosjes, *Sprokkelingen in Nederland; Poorten en wereldlijke openbare gebouwen*, Amsterdam, without date (1926). Mrs. E. Onians-De Bièvre is currently preparing a thesis on the topic "Decoration of Town Halls in the Dutch Republic—the first 100 years" for the Courtauld Institute of Art in London.
7. "Die raetkamer (in het stadhuis) sal binnen suverlic ghemaect wesen ende besait van poortraturen ende bescreven mit gooden ouden wyser leeren, dairmen verden wijsheit ende vroetscip uut verstaen sal moghen; want men pleech te segghen: ansien doet ghedencken." J. A. Fruin & M. S. Pols, 1880, p. 80.
8. J. de Ridder, 1979; unpublished dissertation. Cf. also G. Troescher, 1939, pp. 139-214; U. Lederle—Grieger, 1937.
9. H. van de Waal, 1952, I, p. 261-2, II, pp. 125-26, with literature and examples; J. G. van Gelder, 1974, pp. 1-20.
10. S. van Leeuwen, 1672, p. 16; Uytenhage de Mist, 1683, pp. 138-39.
11. The story was depicted very early in 1498 by Gerard David for the sheriff's bench in the town hall in Bruges. Originally a diptych, now two panels, one with the seizure and one with the flaying of Sisamnes; Groeningemuseum, Bruges, inv. no. 0.40.41. Cf. "The Cambyzes Justice Medal," *Art Bulletin*, 1947, pp. 121-23. Rubens painted the same subject in 1622 for the town hall in Brussels, where it was burned in 1695 along with the Van der Weydens which we have already mentioned. Four versions exist of the Rubens: two paintings in Potsdam, Neues Palais (cat. no. 1586 & 2290), and two sketches in New York, one on the art market and one in the Metropolitan Museum (photos at the RKD, The Hague).
12. In the beginning of the century it still appeared several times: in Naarden in 1602, in Zwolle in 1606, and in Venlo (undated). Later examples are virtually unknown. The theme was planned for the court of justice in the town hall of Amsterdam but ultimately was painted by A. Backer for a lunette in the Burgerzaal.
13. In any case the subject is also omitted in the council chamber of the town hall in Basel. This chamber was decorated between 1521 and 1530 by H. Holbein the Younger. In 1529 the city officially became Protestant. H. A. Schmid, 1896, pp. 73-97. The possible connections between decorations of northern Netherlandish town halls and those of German cities which officially converted to the Protestant faith in the course of the sixteenth century deserve further study.
14. J. A. Fruin, 1885, pp. 384-419.
15. K. Fremantle, 1959. Concerning the paintings, see J. van Dyck, 1760, which unfortunately is not always accurate. Cf. also B. Buchbinder-Green, 1976.
16. "Doorluchte Stichter van 's Waerelts agste Wonder/ Van zo veel steens omhoog, op zo veel houts van onder. . . ." In the marshy ground on which the town hall was constructed pilings were necessary to keep the building from sinking. The entire poem by Huygens was engraved on a slab of stone which formerly was placed behind the seat of the burgomaster who was seated foremost; now in Amsterdam, Amsterdam's Historische Museum.
17. As we have noted, a part of the decorations were not yet finished in 1655. Vondel described a number of scenes which we now know were only completed after 1655. A certain plan for the decorations of the town hall, therefore, must have existed. This is also evident from I. Vennekool, 1665. On the title page it is stated that the illustrations are made according to the dictates of Jacob van Campen who is known to have retired from the project in 1654. On the other hand, several scenes were not described by Vondel. These must have been conceived and ordered later. However, the precise relationship between Vondel's poem and decorations already completed or finished later has never been studied.
18. The title which Van Dyck gave the painting is not correct. It was the young consul Quintus Fabius Maximus who, at Suessa or Suessula, ordered his father, also named Quintus Fabius Maximus, to dismount from his horse. Cf. for example, T. Livius, *Ab Urbe condita*, XXIV, 44, 9-10.
19. De vader eert zyn zoon, om 't opperste beleit
Wie 't recht van 't Ampt gebruikt bewaardt 's lands Achtbaarheid
All' Ampten zyn verplicht aan d'opper Overheden
Zo d'Achtbaarheid vervalt, vervalt de kracht der Steeden.
The verses by Vos are derived from Van Dyck, cf. note 24.
20. The verse by Vondel is as follows:
De zoon van Fabius gebiet zyn eigen Vader
Van 't Paart te steigen, voor Stads eer en Achtbaarheid
Die kent geen bloed, en eischt dat hy eerbiedig nader
Dus eert een Man van Staat het Ambt hem opgeleit
21. The elegant chalice on the lowest step of the staircase is a "portrait" of the Adam van Vianen's cup of 1614 (now in the Rijksmuseum in

Amsterdam); Cf. Th. Duyuené de Wit-Klinkhamer, 1966, pp. 79-105.

22. The poem by Vos is as follows:

On Marcus Curius, door Govaert Flinck.

D' Oprechte Marcus kiest zijn raap voor 's vyants goud.

Waar d'Eigenbaat verdwinjnt wordt Stadt en staat gebout.

Die landpest zag men nooit aan 't Yin 't Raathuis raken

Wie 't algemeen bestiert moet gift en gever wraken.

23. E. Verwijs & J. Verdam, 1929, IX, cols. 1389-1392.

24. This seems clear from the two chimneypieces which Ferdinand Bol painted in 1661 and 1663 for the council chamber of the admiralty. A representation of punishment and representation of reward were selected from the old literature and depicted in such a way as to be applicable to Dutch seventeenth-century maritime affairs. The subjects of the paintings are Aeneas distributing prizes after the sea battle and Imperia Manliana; Cf. A. Blankert, 1975, pp. 37-41.

25. H. Kampinga, 1917.

26. Now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Van de Waal, 1952, pp. 210-215.

27. Blankert, 1975, p. 28.

28. Chr. Lith of Heusden kindly provided this information as well as the material on the subject, including a verse by Bilderdijk. For other conferrings of coats of arms, cf. Van de Waal, 1952, pp. 32-33.

29. G. Th. M. Lemmens, 1968, pp. 49-69.

30. From the two tympanums which were sculpted for the front and back of the town hall, it appears that Amsterdam saw itself as the center of the world. On the front side of the building the oceans of the world are depicted offering tribute to the city maiden of Amsterdam (a great portion of the welfare of the city depended upon the prosperous maritime commerce). On the back side one sees the four continents of the world paying homage and bringing gifts to the Amsterdam city maiden.

31. P. J. Winter, 1957, pp. 29-122.

32. "Oudts tijts de Slaven geen Hoeden mochten dragen/dan vrij ghe-maect wesende/ gafmen hun den Hoet;" C. van Mander, "Wtleggingh," 1604, fol. 133.

33. F. W. Hudig, 1928. Cf. Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, mentioned in note 4; C. W. Fock, 1979; J. G. van Gelder, 1979. Neither article had yet appeared when I wrote this essay (Sept. 1979).

34. Drossaers & Scheurleer, 1974-76, I, p. 470, 526-27.

35. D. P. Snoep, 1969, pp. 270-294.

36. For the complex exploration of the decoration of this ceiling, see Snoep, 1969, p. 285.

37. J. G. van Gelder, 1978, pp. 227-267.

38. These paintings are now all in Berlin, divided among the Jagd-schloss Grünewald (the Pastor Fido representations), the Staatliche Museen (the landscapes) and Bildergalerie Sanssouci (the Rubens). H. Börsch-Supan, 1967, pp. 143-198.

39. D. Veegens, 1884, pp. 226-313; D. F. Slothouwer, 1945, pp. 179-224; J. G. van Gelder, 1948/49, p. 119-157. I hope to be able to return to these decorations elsewhere and discuss them in detail.

40. For an introduction to a painted "heaven" on a Dutch ceiling, see J. Richard Judson, 1959, p. 106 ff.

41. The eight-sided portrait which appears there now perhaps dates from the eighteenth century. The original portrait attributed to G. van Honthorst is now in Berlin. Cf. Börsch-Supan, 1967, p. 192, no. 48.

42. Van Mander, "Wtleggingh," fol. 129v.

43. "Laet ons, o Siciliaensche Zanggodinnen, een'toon hooger gaen. . . . Nu is de leste eeuw, die ons de Kumaensche Sibylls spelde, voorhanden . . . nu komt . . . de gulden tijt ons weder . . . O kuische Lucijn, begunstigh slechts de geboorts des kints, waer door eerst d'yzere eeuw zal ondergaen, en een goude eeuw overal de waerelt opstaen: uw Apollo regeert alreede," *Publicus Virgilius Maroos Wercken*, trans. by I. V. Vondel, Amsterdam, 1646, pp. 11-12.

44. Cf. especially V. Cartari, 1581, p. 151. Also J. Foucart, 1967, pp. 57-59; J. G. van Gelder, 1949, pp. 40-56.

45. The text is as follows, "Ultimus ante omnes de parta pace triumphus."

46. D. P. Snoep, 1970, pp. 159-218.

47. "De Schilderkunst zocht Staf bij Grooten, niet bij kleinen, Uit Godts gewyde blaên, en d'outheit der Romainen. Bemaelde gaelery, schoorsteen, boogh by boogh, Naer eisch van ieders ambt, beneden, en omhoogh. Vondel, "Inwydinge," *De Werken*, V, Amsterdam, 1931, p. 897.

Late Dutch Mannerism

Pieter van Thiel



LATE DUTCH MANNERISM—or Haarlem and Utrecht mannerism, as this stylistic phase is also often called—broke out like an epidemic in 1585 in Haarlem. The virulent style spread via Leiden to The Hague and via Amsterdam to Utrecht. In 1592 the style became more restful, and, in this moderated form, mannerism remained an important phenomenon until around 1615. After that only the most conservative artists continued to work in this manner. The last traces did not disappear until the 1640s.

The outburst of late mannerism in Haarlem was indirectly caused by Bartholomaeus Spranger (1546-1611), the Flemish artist who, around 1570 in Rome, developed a personal, virtuoso, and highly artificial style out of the leading and already quite refined local variant of Tuscan mannerism. Through Spranger's stay of several years at the courts in Vienna and Prague, Sprangerism grew into an international movement. It reached Haarlem by way of another Flemish artist, Carel van Mander (1578-1606), who met Spranger in Rome and worked with him in Vienna. After returning to Flanders, Van Mander, like so many of his countrymen, emigrated because of the prevailing troubles to Holland, which had only recently been liberated from Spain. He settled in Haarlem in 1583.

In Haarlem Van Mander made friends with two gifted artists—the young painter Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem and the engraver Hendrick Goltzius, an immigrant from Germany. Besides being a painter, Van Mander was also a poet, translator, and art theorist. This triad formed an ideal combination—the theorist who introduced Spranger's style and proclaimed the newest doctrines, the painter who brought into practice the new style and theory, and the engraver whose prints gave wide publicity to the art of the Haarlem avant-garde. The three artists appear to have set up a kind of art school, the Haarlem Academy, where students presumably worked not only from plaster casts but also from life (an important innovation) and where theory

took a prominent place beside the practical study of art. Van Mander later assembled his teachings and published them in the form of a didactic poem, the *Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-const* (Basic Principles of the Noble Art of Painting). As a vade mecum no less important was his *Wtleggingh* (Explanation) of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, an allegorical interpretation of antique mythology, which, supplemented with his little iconographic handbook *Wtbeeldinge der Figueren* (Depiction of Figures), was as much use to painters as to poets. The didactic poem and the two explanatory texts appeared in 1604 in a single volume together with the *Schilder-Boeck* (Painters Book), in which Van Mander, in imitation of Vasari, described the lives of Italian painters since Giotto and added to this the lives of Netherlandish artists since the Van Eyck brothers. The intention was to make it clear to everyone that Netherlandish artists were in no way inferior to their famous Italian colleagues.

Goltzius' engraving of 1585 after Spranger's *Adam and Eve* is the first product of the new style. The most ambitious early work was his large engraving of 1587 after Spranger's *Marriage of Amor and Psyche* (fig. 1), a true pattern-card of Sprangerian motifs and poses. Cornelis van Haarlem made his debut in 1588 in the new style with the horrifying representation of *The Dragon Devours Cadmus' Companions*, the painting of which (London, National Gallery) was immediately made into a print by Goltzius (fig. 2). In the following years an enormous production of similarly spectacular scenes appeared, with subjects never represented before, daring compositions, and unprecedentedly large formats. The results often were breathtaking. The purpose of these works was not only to demonstrate that Dutchmen (and not only Italians like Michelangelo and his followers) could paint figures but also that they could make history paintings. According to Van Mander's doctrine, painting stood at the top of the list of the arts. Consequently Cornelis



fig. 1 Hendrick Goltzius, *Marriage of Amore and Psyche*, engraving after Bartholomaeus Spranger, 1587 (Bartsch 277) (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).



fig. 2 Hendrick Goltzius, *The Dragon Devours Cadmus' Companion*, engraving after Cornelis van Haarlem (Bartsch 262) (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

van Haarlem, who quickly earned the nickname “de Schilder” (the painter), has to be regarded as the most important exponent of this Haarlem school. Yet Van Mander was the inspirational leader, and Goltzius, who in 1600 stopped engraving and launched his career as a painter, was the most gifted artist of the three. It was Goltzius who offered the artistic guidance; Cornelis followed his development closely. In 1590 Goltzius went to Italy, where he saw the art of antiquity with his own eyes and beheld the classical works of the Renaissance. This exposure to the pure sources

of mannerism had a calming effect on his overexcited style. After his return to Haarlem in 1591, his art suddenly became much more temperate, more in accordance with classical norms of proportion and harmony. Cornelis “de Schilder” responded immediately, as testified by *The Fall of Man* (cat. no. 2) of 1592, which is based on the classical model of Dürer’s famous engraving of 1504. Noteworthy in this painting is the contrast between the idealized forms of the human figures and the naturalistic representation of the animals. This conscious juxtaposition of normative and naturalistic forms is a typical characteristic of Dutch mannerism.

In his Amsterdam period (1591/93), Abraham Bloemaert must have had contact with the Haarlem circle of artists. His large *Death of the Niobes* (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst) of 1591 is unthinkable without the Haarlem model. Such contact must also be assumed for Joachim Uytewael when his *Deluge* (Nurnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum) is rightly given an early date. After their return to their home town Utrecht, both artists remained fervent adherents of mannerism.

Late mannerism is the ultimate consequence of sixteenth-century *maniera* styles. As such, this style represents a final phase much more than a new beginning. Nevertheless, it contains elements which instead of dying off, thrived splendidly in the fertile climate of the Golden Century, as the Dutch call their greatest age. One of these elements is naturalism, which in the modern estimation of seventeenth-century art came to the fore to such a degree that another essential component was cast entirely into the background. That element was the intellectual ambition of a number of painters who strove for a higher goal than the depiction of reality. As history painters they successfully traveled the



fig. 3 Cornelis van Haarlem, *Massacre of the Innocents*, signed and dated: C.C.f.A. 1591, c. 270 x 255 cm, Mauritshuis, on loan to the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem (photo: A. Dingjan, The Hague).



fig. 4 Cornelis van Haarlem, *A Monk and a Nun*, 1591, canvas, 116 x 103 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum.

honored road which Van Mander had pointed out to them.

It is doubtful whether Van Mander's influence would have been so great if he had not settled in Haarlem. It was there that he met kindred spirits. Since the Middle Ages Haarlem had been a city with a flowering cultural life. The city had very nearly received a charter to establish a university within its walls—an honor which, however, in 1575 had fallen to neighboring Leiden. Haarlem remained a commercial city but with an intellectual circle and a long tradition not only in painting but also in publishing. The dominant artist had been Maerten van Heemskerck (1498-1574) whose paintings and numerous prints reflected the humanistic ideas of the scholars Hadrianus Junius and Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert. The devastating siege and occupation of the city by the Spaniards in the years 1572 to 1577 seemed to have brought an end to this lucky time. The intelligentsia fled elsewhere. Heemskerck and Junius died in the same year during this period.

Yet in every respect Haarlem mended quickly, and soon

the city became a haven of refuge for Flemish immigrants, among whom, as we have seen, was Carel van Mander. Coornhert returned, and Goltzius accompanied him. The talented young Cornelis was generally seen as the natural successor of Maerten van Heemskerck. In 1590 the city awarded him the honored commission for paintings to decorate the Prinsenhof, the residence of Prince Maurits when he visited the city. Cornelis painted the *Massacre of the Innocents* (fig. 3) which served as a replacement for the central panel of the *Draper's Altarpiece* (1546) by Maerten van Heemskerck, which was destroyed in 1578 during the aftermath of the Spanish occupation. He also produced a satirical representation of *A Monk and a Nun* (fig. 4), the *Fall of Man* mentioned above, and the major canvas depicting *The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* (see Sluijter, fig. 2). This group, which with the exception of the *Fall of Man* is preserved in the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem, can be considered the first official manifestation of Dutch history painting.

Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem

1562 Haarlem 1638

Born the son of well-to-do parents in 1562 in Haarlem, Cornelis was the student of Pieter Pietersz. (c. 1572-1578). He left in 1579 by ship for France (probably destined for Paris), but upon arrival in the port city of Rouen he took refuge in Antwerp because of the plague. He settled for good in Haarlem in 1580/81, where he received his first official commission in 1583 (a militia company group portrait). In c. 1584 he became the friend of Goltzius and Carel van Mander. Together these three established the so-called Haarlem Academy, which must have flourished in 1588-90 but perhaps survived until c. 1600. Between 1590 and 1593 Cornelis made four paintings for the Prinsenhof on commission from the city of Haarlem. Later he also carried out municipal commissions for the civic guard (1599), the Commanders of the Order of St. John (1617 and 1624), the stadtholder's court (1622), and the Heilige Geesthuis hospital (1633).

Sometime between 1593 and 1603 Cornelis married Maritgen Arentsdr. Deyman, daughter of a burgomaster, and she died childless in 1606. As a result of an illegitimate liaison with Margriet Pouwelsdr., Maria Cornelisdr. was born; around 1630 she married the silversmith Pieter Jansz. Bagijn. From this marriage the painter Cornelis Bega was born in 1631/32.

From 1613 to 1619 Cornelis was regent of the Old Men's Home. From 1626 to 1629 he was a member of the Catholic St. Jacob's guild. Together with other artists, he established a new set of regulations for the Saint Luke's guild in 1630. He died on November 11, 1638.

As a painter Cornelis van Haarlem was in many ways the spiritual heir of Maerten van Heemskerk. Between 1588 and 1620 he played an important role in the circle of Haarlem artists. His artistic development ran almost parallel with that of Goltzius. Besides history paintings he also painted several portraits. His paintings are well represented today (about 250 survive), but few of his drawings have been preserved. Between 1588 and 1602 he produced twenty-two designs for prints. He had many students, among whom only Gerrit Pietersz. and, to a lesser extent, Cornelis Jacobsz. Delff and Cornelis Engelsz. van der Goude still enjoy some renown.

P. v. Th.

1 *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, 1590

Oil on canvas; 85 x 62.5 cm (33½ x 24⅞ in.)

Signed and dated: C.C.H. fec. A° 90

Provenance: Dealer Edward Speelman Ltd., London

King Herod heard from three wise men from the East that a new king of the Jews was born. To secure his own future, he decided to do away with the child. When he could not find the baby, he had all children under two years of age in Bethlehem killed. An angel had warned Joseph, saying, "Rise, take the child and his mother, and flee to Egypt." Joseph left immediately, and thus

the words of God spoken through the prophet were fulfilled, "Out of Egypt have I called my Son."

Many legends were later attached to the story of the flight into Egypt (Matthew 2:13-15). To these belongs the episode of the rest on the flight to Egypt, which is not mentioned in the Bible.

Particularly after the late fifteenth century, the flight, as well as the rest on the flight, were often depicted. The mannerists, who with the exception of the Mennonite Carel van Mander, were probably all Catholics, had a preference for the theme of the rest on the flight. Cornelis van Haarlem treated it several times. The painting of 1590 is the most attractive of the series and is also one of the best works from his early period.

The various meanings of the subject can be deduced from Latin inscriptions on three prints, two by Jacob Matham after Goltzius (Holl. 120 and 121) and one by Jacques de Gheyn after Cornelis van Haarlem (Holl. 348), which all date from 1589. The texts on the prints after Goltzius were written by the Catholic humanist Franco Estius (b. 1544), who composed many inscriptions for prints by Haarlem engravers. In both cases he alludes to the Virgin, Mother of God, who enabled the heavenly light to take refuge in Egypt. The text on the print after Cornelis van Haarlem is by the unidentified monogrammist HIR and emphasizes the sublime purity of the child which sprang from the Virgin Mary and the chaste Joseph. In the painting Joseph gives the child cherries as a symbol of the Resurrection.¹ In this way a connection is drawn between Jesus' return from his hiding place in Egypt and his later return from the grave.

Note

1. H. Aurenhammer, in *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, Vienna, 1967, I, col. 174.

New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery, The Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., B.A. 1913, the Stephen Carlton Clark, B.A. 1903, and the James W., B.A. 1933, and Mary C. Fosburgh Funds

P. v. Th.



Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem

2 *The Fall of Man*, 1592

Oil on canvas; 273 x 220 cm (107½ x 86⅝ in.)

Signed and dated: C.C.H.f. A° 1592

(Exhibited in Amsterdam only)

Provenance: Commissioned by the city of Haarlem to decorate the Prinsenhof. Along with four other paintings exchanged in 1804 with the Dutch State for the town hall in Haarlem which the city had sold to the Batavian Republic in 1800. From 1804 to 1808 in the National Museum in The Hague, which was moved to Amsterdam in 1808 and later was called the Rijksmuseum.

Bibliography: C. van Mander, *Schilder-Boeck*, 1604, fol. 293 recto. A. van der Willigen Pzn., 1866, p. 99. H.E. Greve, 1903, p. 207. F. Wedekind, 1911, pp. vi and 20. C.J. Gonnet, 1922, p. 177. L. Baldass, 1923. W. Stechow, 1935, p. 81. J. Bruyn, 1954, p. 53. H. Kauffman, 1954, pp. 40-42. P.J.J. van Thiel, 1965, pp. 128, 130-31. G. Faggini, 1967, p. 3, 5. P.J.J. van Thiel, 1967/68, p. 97. H. Gerson, 1968, p. 10. J.R. Judson, 1970, p. 80, note 7.

After Goltzius' return from Italy, Cornelis van Haarlem tempered his exuberant Sprangerian style in imitation of his friend. The first appearance of his new, more classicized design is the *Fall of Man* of 1592, in which the composition and the figure of Adam are based on Dürer's engraving of 1504 (B. 1). Eve is strongly reminiscent of the female figures by Anthonis Blocklandt (1533/34-1583) and could be based on the *Andromeda*, which Goltzius engraved in the Blocklandt style in 1583 (H. 157).

Dürer's *Fall of Man* also includes the cat, which Panofsky¹ connected with a scholastic idea which couples the Fall with the theory of the four humors or temperaments: the phlegmatic, the melancholic, the choleric, and the sanguine. According to the theory, the four temperaments should be in perfect balance in the ideal and absolutely healthy person. However, such a human being would be immortal and free of sin, as were Adam and Eve before the Fall. Since the Fall one of the four temperaments has always had the upper hand, and this dominating factor defines the personality of each individual.

Animals, on the other hand, have been mortal and sinful from the beginning of creation, and their dispositions have always been defined by one of the temperaments. Thus the pig was melancholic, the lamb phlegmatic, the cat choleric since it is a cruel animal, and the ape sanguine because of its inclination to sensuality.

Cornelis van Haarlem seems to have been the first artist to have worked out this idea further by depicting, in addition to the cat, an ape in the representation of the Fall. He did it in a naturalistic, inventive way. The sanguine ape was placed on the side of Adam, who succumbed to female temptation, and the choleric cat on Eve's side as the symbol of her cunning cruelty. As emblems of folly, the pair of animals forms in a more general sense a clever allusion to the foolish act which the first human couple is about to commit.

The other animals in this painting also have a symbolic func-

tion. The dog, in contrast to the foolish cat and ape, is the good teacher who watches over the human spirit and punishes peoples' sins (Van Mander, *Wtbeeldinghe*, fol. 128 verso). According to Jacob Cats (*Silenus Alcibiadis*, p. 158), the hedgehog, half-hidden by Eve's right foot, is the symbol of the devil and his crafty art of seduction. The unclean snail signifies a "terrestrial disposition" (*Wtbeeldinghe*, fol. 132 verso), and the frog has a similar meaning. The butterfly which has settled on the trunk of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, is located, not without reason, in the geometric center of the picture. Just as the butterfly is drawn by the flame of the candle and burned, so Adam himself and all of mankind are ruined by thoughtless impetuosity (Ripa, *Iconologia*, ed. 1644, p. 361).

Between 1590 and 1593 Cornelis van Haarlem made four paintings on commission from the city of Haarlem to decorate the Prinsenhof, the residence of the stadtholder when he sojourned in Haarlem. Besides the *Fall of Man* there was the *Massacre of the Innocents* (1591), *A Monk and a Nun* (1591), and *The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* (1593), all three now in the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem. This ensemble formed the first monument of Dutch history painting on a large scale.

Note

1. E. Panofsky, 1948, vol. 1, p. 85.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

P.v.Th.



Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem

3 *John the Baptist Preaching*, 1602

Oil on canvas; 100 x 181 cm (39³/₈ x 71¹/₄ in.)

Signed and dated: CvH 1602

(Exhibited in Washington and Detroit only)

Provenance: Sale London (Philips), March 14, 1977, no. 81, with ill.

John the Baptist preaching baptismal conversion as a pardon for sins (Matthew 3:1-12; Mark 1:1-8; Luke 3:1-18; John 1:15-34) is a subject with a long tradition and was often represented by the Flemish and Dutch mannerists.

The Bible speaks of a large crowd which came out of Jerusalem and the surrounding countryside to listen to John in the Jordan Valley. Artists had often interpreted the origins of the crowd in a wider sense, and Cornelis van Haarlem obviously followed this tradition. At the extreme left on the second plane stands a group of orientals who are recognizable by their exotic (Turkish?) head-dresses. These represent the heathens. In the left foreground sits a group picnicking. These are the people who give themselves over to earthly delights and remain deaf to God's word. The two men at the right of this group no longer listen to John but clearly are discussing him. By their costumes they are recognizable as priests, probably Ananias and Caiaphas. The handsome young man and the pretty girl seem to turn willfully away from John. The young man wears long feathers in his hat, a symbol of vanity. He represents the prodigal son type, just as Cornelis van Haarlem depicted the figure elsewhere. The couple undoubtedly alludes here to careless youth. At the right one sees soldiers and riders with the commander astride a white horse. These doubtless are the Romans under the leadership of King Herod Antipas who later would have John beheaded. Finally the man with the wide-brimmed hat standing in the center and chatting with the seated woman possibly is Jesus. His hat is like an aureole, his face is quite Christlike, and he stands precisely in the center of the composition. If this identification is correct, then Cornelis van Haarlem followed a very special iconographic tradition which is based on John 1:26 where it is reported that John, answering the Pharisees who asked him whether he himself was the Christ, answered, "Among you stands one whom you do not know." The oldest known representation of this iconography is the *Preaching of John the Baptist* of 1566 by Pieter Bruegel the Elder in Budapest.

In this large canvas of 1602 Cornelis van Haarlem painted no large figures as he had ten years earlier. The painting is large, but the figures are relatively small and the whole gives the impression of a blown-up version of the type of composition which he executed in the late 1590s in a much smaller format.

London, The Trustees of The National Gallery

P. v. Th.



Abraham Bloemaert

1564 Gorinchem—Utrecht 1651

As a child Bloemaert moved from his birthplace in Gorinchem to Utrecht. He was a student of Joos de Beer who familiarized him with the work of Anthonis Blocklandt. Bloemaert visited Paris from 1580 to 1583, where he, among others, worked with Hieronymus Francken. From 1591 to 1593 he was active in Amsterdam, where he became acquainted with Haarlem mannerism. Although he was in Utrecht most of his career, he maintained contact with Amsterdam, where he remarried in 1600, and in 1603 he carried out a commission for a glass window for the Zuiderkerk in Amsterdam. In 1611 he belonged to the founders of the Utrecht Saint Luke's guild. After 1620 he followed the examples of Honthorst and other Caravaggists for several years.

Beside history paintings in which the landscape often forms an important element, he also painted scenes with a moralizing purport and several portraits. He was at the same time a productive draftsman of figures and landscapes. A number of engravers made prints after his works. His *Fondamenten der Teecken-Konst* (Foundations of the Art of Drawing), engraved by his son Frederick, was used in the training of artists until the nineteenth century. Bloemaert himself had a large number of students, among others, Gerard Honthorst, Jan van Bylert and the later "Italianisanten" (Italianate Painters) Jan Both and Jan Baptist Weenix.

P. v. Th.

4 *Judith Displays the Head of Holofernes to the People*, 1593

Oil on panel; 34.5 x 44.5 cm (13⁵/₈ x 17¹/₂ in.)

Monogrammed and dated: AB 1593

(Exhibited in Amsterdam only)

Provenance: Collection Hoschek, Prague. In 1926 bought from dealer O. Fröhlich, Vienna.

Exhibitions: Naples. 1952, no. 106, fig. 93. Amsterdam, 1955, no. 26.

Bibliography: E. Diez, 1909/10, p. 93. G. Delbanco, 1928, pp. 22-23, cat. no. 3, plate 2, fig. VI, 1. F.

Antal, 1929, pp. 215, 231, 239, plate 68. E.K.J.

Reznicek, 1961, vol. 1, p. 167. M.A. Lavin, 1965, p. 123, note 2.

Judith was the Jewish heroine who ventured into the camp of the Assyrians during the siege of Bethulia and there won the trust of the commander-in-chief, Holofernes, through her beauty. Three days later she decapitated him as he lay in a drunken sleep after a banquet. She put the head in her marketing sack and secretly returned the same night with her serving maid to Bethulia where she displayed the head triumphantly to the inhabitants of the besieged city (Judith 13:1-31).

This fascinating painting, executed in Amsterdam where from 1591 to 1593 Bloemaert became acquainted with the mannerism developed in nearby Haarlem, must have aroused admiration

among his contemporaries for its artful treatment of the light in this macabre subject. The painting demonstrates precisely what Carel van Mander wrote in his didactic poem about light reflections and especially those of artificial light. Van Mander himself chose as an example a (now no longer known) painting of the Judith story by Gillis Coignet ("Grondt," 6, 44). The Antwerp artist Coignet (1542/43-1599), under whom Cornelis van Haarlem studied, had as a history painter specialized in night scenes. While Italian mannerists also executed such scenes, it probably was Coignet who, during his stay in Amsterdam (1586-93), first breathed new life into this genre in Holland where it had not been entirely unknown. Two such works by Bloemaert, another *Judith* and a *Burning of Troy* are now in Frankfurt (Städelsches Kunstinstitut). Cornelis van Haarlem painted a *Judith* around 1596 (present location unknown).

Delbanco and Reznicek believe the pair in the foreground are derived from a print after Goltzius (B. 45) but the resemblance between the two figure groups is too small to speak of direct borrowing. Certain elements in the composition, like the man who leans against the column and especially the half-cropped figures in front of the flight of stairs, give the impression that Bloemaert here depended directly on Spranger or on the cradle of the latter's art—late Italian mannerism (Hans Speckaert, Taddeo Zuccaro).

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

P. v. Th.



Abraham Bloemaert

5 *The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*, c. 1593/1594

Oil on canvas; 101 x 146.5 cm (39¾ x 57⅞ in.)

Provenance: Transferred from the Aschaffenburg Gallery to the Bavarian Art Collection.

Bibliography: E. Bassermann-Jordan, 1907, vol. 1, fig. 17 (Spranger). E. Diez, 1909/10, p. 132 ff., fig. 29

(attributed to Bloemaert). G. Delbanco, 1928, cat. no.

7. F. Baumgart, 1944, p. 192, fig. 5. Henry Brandon,

1960, pp. 31-32. F. Württenberger, 1962, fig. p. 113.

The mannerists made many representations of gatherings of gods. Often it is not clear if a specific meeting is intended. In this case the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis seems to be represented since above the crowd the figure of Eris can be seen with the apple of Discord. All the gods were invited to celebrate the marriage of Peleus and Thetis on Mount Pelion, except for Eris, the goddess of Discord (Catullus, *Carmina*, 64). During the festivities Eris took revenge, throwing a golden apple among the guests which was destined for the most beautiful goddess. The quarrel which ensued was settled by Paris.

Carel van Mander (*Wtleggingh*, fol. 90 recto-92 recto) interpreted the moral of this story as follows. As long as the gods were without Eris they lived in friendship and moderation, the foundations of a good society. But when discord appears, any society is ruined.

In accordance with the story, Bloemaert depicted the entire family of gods, enveloped in clouds, descending to the earth (Mount Pelion) because Peleus was a mortal. At the left sit Bacchus and Ceres, in front of the scene are Mars and Venus, at the upper right Mercury flies in, Apollo plays his violin on a cloud, and at the upper left one recognizes Fame with her two trumpets.

Bloemaert doubtless made this picture, which presumably dates from his Amsterdam period,¹ primarily to demonstrate his virtuoso command of the Spranger style. It is a paraphrase of Spranger's famous composition of *The Marriage of Amor and Psyche* which was engraved by Goltzius in 1587.² In this connection reference must be made to a drawing by Bloemaert which is based on the figure of Fame in Spranger's composition and which is used for her counterpart in this painting (only the attitude of the head differs).³ On the reverse of the drawing is the inscription "d Heer Barth. Spranger van den Schildr." (to Mister Barth. Spranger from the Painter). The drawing appears to have been presented by Bloemaert to Spranger as a token of his admiration for the master.

Notes

1. 1593/94 appears to be a plausible dating. Compare the *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* dated 1594 in the Mauritshuis in The Hague (cat. 1977, no. 1046). The pose of the (Ganymede?) bending down beside the wine cooler returns to the *Baptism of Christ* in 1602 in the Museum in Ottawa (cat. exh., Vassar College Art Gallery, 1970, no. 4, plate 39). The repetition of a certain pose after a period of time is not uncommon in the works of the mannerists.

2. Spranger's drawing is in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam (cat. Boon, 1978, no. 418, with i11.).

3. Collection I.Q. van Regteren Altena, Amsterdam. Cat. exh., Rotterdam/Paris/Brussels, 1977, no. 19, with i11. There exist two repetitions of this drawing, of which one is in the Uffizi (W. Th. Kloek, 1975, no. 7).

Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, on loan to Munich, Alte Pinakothek

P. v. Th.



Abraham Bloemaert

6 *The Adoration of the Kings*, 1624

Oil on canvas; 168.5 x 194 cm (66³/₈ x 76³/₈ in.)

Signed and dated: A. Bloemaert fe. 1624

Provenance: Original commission unknown. Presumably installed after 1692 as a chimneypiece in the house at Janskerkhof 16 in Utrecht and substantially cut down at that time. In 1861 sold in the Martens van Sevenhoven (owner of the house) sale to the former Museum Kunstliefde in Utrecht. In 1918 sold by this museum to the Centraal Museum (established in 1916).

Bibliography: G. Delbanco, 1928, pp. 56-57, cat. no. 28, pl. 10, fig. XXVIII, 1. Arthur von Schneider, 1933 (reprint Amsterdam, 1967), p. 55. P.T.A. Swillens, 1945/46, p. 115. M.E. Houtzager et al., 1967, pp. 34, 78, 122-23, 218-19, ill. 20. A. Hauser, 1973, p. 251.

The Gospel of St. Matthew 2:1-12 contains the only biblical mention that several wise men from the East came to adore the Christ child and that they brought with them gold, incense, and myrrh as presents. In the Middle Ages this episode, like so many other Bible stories, was expanded. On the basis of Psalms 71:10-12, where it is foretold that kings shall bring him gifts, all monarchs shall pay homage to him and all people shall serve him, it was assumed that the wise men were kings. Furthermore, one of them must have been a Negro because he came from Sheba in Ethiopia. Their number was placed at three because of the number of gifts mentioned in the Bible. They were given names and ages: Melchior (60), Balthasar (40), and Caspar (20), the Negro. They were viewed as envoys of the entire world as it was then known—Europe, Asia, and Africa. Their gifts were given a symbolic meaning: Melchior brought gold as a symbol of the divine kingship of the child, Balthasar myrrh to signal that God's son would die, and Caspar incense as a tribute to the godhead. This interpretation of the original story has since become an established tradition.

The painting by Bloemaert must originally have been much larger. An engraving from 1692 by Giovanni Girolamo Frezza (1659- after 1741), which mistakenly identifies the painting as a work by Rubens (the print is inscribed "P.P. Rubens pinxit"), depicts the original composition in reverse.¹ The picture was about twice as high as at present and somewhat broader. Under the star of Bethlehem which shines above in the middle (the present star must have been added when the picture was cut down), hovers a group of angels high in the air. The foreground was also much larger. The Madonna sat on a low flight of stairs before which lay Melchior's crowned turban and sword. The rest of the foreground is grown over with plants. At the right behind Caspar stands a page, who holds the hem of his cloak, and behind him two other figures. Apart from the vacant foreground, which is unusual for Bloemaert and can be attributed to Frezza, the print gives a convincing image of the original composition which shows a relationship to Bloemaert's large *Adoration of the Magi* (canvas, 424 x 256 cm) in the Museum in Grenoble (Delbanco, no. 29).

Frezza worked in Florence and Rome, and one wonders how he knew this painting. It may be noteworthy that Frezza was a

student of the Antwerp engraver Arnold van Westerhout (1651-1725) who worked in Rome from 1680 and lived there with Cornelis Bloemaert, a son of Abraham Bloemaert. Perhaps Cornelis owned a drawing of his father's painting and Frezza worked from it. However, in that case, it would be strange that he mistook the painting for a work by Rubens. It is also possible that the painting itself was in Rome in the seventeenth century in the possession of the son or someone else.

Besides the mention of Rubens' name, something else is odd in the engraving by Frezza. The man who stands behind the three kings—obviously the portrait of a contemporary of the painter—is omitted in the print. Perhaps Frezza deliberately eliminated the figure or worked from a drawing after or a painted copy of the painting in which the figure did not appear. Delbanco (p. 76) believes that the portrait, despite a resemblance to Bloemaert himself, cannot be a self-portrait because the man appears younger than sixty years of age, the painter's age in 1624; J.A.L. de Meyere, the curator of the Centraal Museum, who kindly placed at my disposal his dossier on the painting, however, believes that it is justifiably a self-portrait.

If the picture was indeed in Rome it must have later returned to Utrecht. There it was cut down and made to fit above a fireplace (see *Provenance*). How it appeared then is probably shown in a painted copy² in which the three figures behind Caspar are visible, but the remainder corresponds with the present form of the picture. The strip on the right edge, therefore, was not cut until after the painting served as a chimneypiece.

In its original form the painting much more clearly revealed Bloemaert's attempt to rival Rubens' large altarpieces. The motif of the gothic cope which Melchior wears also stems from Rubens.³ On the *aurifrisia* (border) of the garment are embroidered figures of saints—an anachronism which evidently did not disturb Bloemaert but which Rubens always avoided because in his work such a garment is worn exclusively by medieval saints. Bloemaert could have had a special reason for clothing Melchior in this way. The Catholics of Utrecht carefully preserved a similar cope which is still famous today—the cope of David of Burgundy, a bastard son of Philip of Burgundy who was bishop of Utrecht from 1456 to 1496.⁴ The pomegranate design of this cope and especially that of the matching dalmatic closely resembles the pattern of Melchior's garment, but Bloemaert painted royal ermine on the cape since Melchior was a king.

The style of the painting is hybrid. Rubenesque elements are combined with a Caravaggesque Madonna (in 1624 Bloemaert had practically left his Caravaggesque period behind) and figures conceived in a purely manneristic fashion, such as Balthasar and the retinue of the kings in the background.

Notes

1. Dr. Albert Blankert brought the existence of this print to my attention, which is described in C.G. Voorhelm Schneevoogt, Haarlem, 1873, p. 23, no. 90; Max Rooses, vol. 1 (1886), p. 235, correctly refers to Bloemaert but only knew his painting in Grenoble.

2. Sale Brunswick, New York, January 22, 1948, no. 79, with ill. Schweitzer Gallery, New York, 1974. Canvas, 183 x 238 cm.



3. Compare his *St. Gregory and St. Domitilla* (Grenoble), *Disputa* (Antwerp) and *St. Ambrosius and Emperor Theodosius* (Vienna).

4. Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent (on loan from the Oud-Katholieke Kerk). Cat. exh. *Bourgondische pracht*, Amsterdam, 1951, no. 149.

Utrecht, Centraal Museum der Gemeente

P. v. Th.

Joachim Uytewael 1566 Utrecht 1638

The son of a glass painter in Utrecht, Uytewael was, like Bloemaert, a student of Joos de Beer. Between 1586 and 1590 he spent two years in Padua and two years in France. In 1592 he was mentioned as a member of the Utrecht saddler's guild (Zadelaarsgilde), to which painters also belonged. In 1596 he made designs for two glass windows in the St. Janskerk in Gouda. In 1611 he belonged to the founders of the Saint Luke's guild in Utrecht; until 1624 his name appeared regularly in the guild's registers. It also seems that he ran a flax and linen business.

Besides history paintings Uytewael also painted portraits. Of his contemporaries he was the most fervent and consistent adherent to mannerism.

P. v. Th.

7 *Jupiter and Danaë*

Oil on copper; 20.5 x 15.5 cm (8 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Provenance: Galérie d'Orléans, Paris, eighteenth century.

Acquired in 1979 at an auction in Paris where the painting was labeled "attributed to Platzer."

Bibliography: *Description des tableaux du palais Royal avec la vie des peintres . . . dédiée à Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans*, Paris, 1727, p. 254. *Galérie du Palais Royal*, Galérie d'Orléans, Paris, 1786, with engravings by J. Couvé.

Foucart, 1979, p. 154, no. RF 1979, 23, with illustration.

Danaë was the daughter of Acrisius, king of Argos. The oracle of Delphi prophesized that the king would be killed by his daughter's son, and he therefore locked up Danaë and her nurse in a bronze tower to keep suitors away. Nevertheless, Jupiter visited her in the form of golden rain falling through cracks in the roof. As a result Danaë conceived her son Perseus, who eventually killed his grandfather by accident. The story, which is mentioned briefly by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* IV, 611), was related in more detail by Horace and other classical authors (Panofsky, 1933, p. 203; Ettlinger, 1954).

In the painting Jupiter, who has entered in the form of radiant light beams at the top left, has just changed back into an anthropomorphized god. His eagle, more closely resembling an emblem on a coat of arms than a flying bird, follows him. Jupiter, flying without wings, seems to be on the verge of crushing Danaë, who looks up at him overcome with fear. Jupiter's body casts hers in shadow, leaving only her head illuminated by the strong, supernatural light.

The light beams are characterized as golden rain by the gold coins falling with them into Danaë's lap. The old nurse at the left, only partially draped, is interrupted from her spinning. Her face and pose, like Danaë's, express sudden fright. Her body, bending to the left side of the picture, and Danaë's figure, outstretched to the right, form the two sides of a triangular space

into which Jupiter soars. A fourth nude figure, the winged god Cupid, seen from the rear with outstretched arm, clearly is the conductor.

The subject of Jupiter and Danaë was very popular with painters from the sixteenth century on (see Pigler). The main prototypes were paintings by Titian that influenced depictions of the theme by the Dutch artists Abraham Bloemaert and Hendrick Goltzius (Panofsky, 1933, figs. 18-22; the Amsterdam mannerist Cornelis Ketel also painted the subject, see Van Mander, 1604, fol. 279; now lost). These works differ greatly from cat. no. 7. In the former the nude Danaë is lying quietly, or resting, in an elegant, relaxed pose, resembling depictions of the resting Venus. Jupiter is physically absent, his presence being indicated only by strong light and a rain of gold coins, which are eagerly gathered up by the nurse. In Goltzius' version, dated 1603, a casket brimming with jewels and amoretti carrying full purses are added, along with the figure of Mercury, the god of commerce, who looks on with a mocking expression (Van Mander, 1604, fol. 286; Panofsky, 1933, fig. 22, private collection). Goltzius' friend Carel van Mander explained that the story proved that, "because of the power of insatiable greed, one can practice and accomplish everything through riches and gifts. Undoubtedly Jupiter seduced and cheated his girlfriend and her nurse with lavish gifts of gold. We may well say that gold, loved and desired everywhere, conquers everything . . . climbs the highest walls . . . smashes the strongest ties . . . stains the purest hearts . . . destroys chastity, virtue, fidelity, honor, and good laws and everything else that man ought to value higher than his own life" (Van Mander, "Wtleggingh," fol. 39). Danaë as a symbol of mercenary love is far removed from her interpretation in the Middle Ages, when she was seen as a prefiguration of Mary, since both Jupiter's golden rain and God's holy ghost mysteriously caused a virgin's pregnancy; see Panofsky, 1933.

When the Louvre acquired the picture Jacques Foucart recognized it as the *Jupiter and Danaë* that had been in the collection of the Duc d'Orléans in the eighteenth century. Until its purchase it had been known only through the description in that collection's catalogue of 1727 and an engraving after it by J. Couvé, done in 1786. According to these early sources the painting was a work by the German artist Hans Rottenhammer (1564-1625). Its true author was recognized by Foucart.

While other painters depicted Danaë quietly receiving the golden rain and her nurse picking up the gold, it is typical of the arch-mannerist Uytewael that he employs as the central motif Jupiter frightening the girl and her companion. The figures resemble those of the crowds of frightened people seeking refuge in equally distorted positions in Uytewael's favorite theme *The Deluge* (Lindeman, 1929, pl. XXI-XXIII; Lowenthal, 1974, fig. 4). The pose of Danaë and the way her face is foreshortened are similar to other known works by Uytewael (Lindeman, 1929, pl. XLIV, t. 17, LIX, t. 44). One of his *Deluge* scenes is datable 1592/95 (Nuremberg, Nationalmuseum; Lowenthal, 1974, p. 130, note 12, fig. 4). Our painting also must date from the 1590s (on the chronology of Uytewael's oeuvre see Lowenthal, 1974).

A drawing long accepted as by Uytewael is the only other representation of Jupiter and Danaë depicting Jupiter bodily flying



through the air (Munich, Printroom; Lindeman, 1929, pl. LI). As in our painting, Danaë holds her arm before her face, and her slippers are next to the bed. The traditional attribution to Uytenwael of another, quite different drawing of the subject was doubted by Lindeman (1929, pl. LII, p. 260, no. 36) and Panofsky (1933, p. 211, note 1); at the R.K.D. this sketch is now attributed to Gerrits Pietersz. (in DIAL). Another painting listed as "Jupiter in a golden rain with Danaë by Uytewael" was sold in The Hague in 1737 for 50 guilders (Hoet, III, p. 17, no. 798).

Paris, Musée du Louvre

A.BI.

Hendrick Goltzius

1558 Mühlbracht—Haarlem 1617

Born in Mühlbracht (now Bracht) near Venlo, Goltzius moved at a young age to Duisburg where he was trained as a glass painter in his father's atelier. He studied engraving with the humanist Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert in neighboring Xanten. Shortly after Coornhert's return to Haarlem, Goltzius too settled in that city. After having executed many commissions for the Antwerp publisher Philips Galle, he set up his own printing shop in 1582. Carel van Mander, who settled in Haarlem in 1583, aroused his interest in the art of Spranger. Besides working with Van Mander, Goltzius also maintained close contact with Cornelis van Haarlem. He traveled to Italy (1590-91) where he visited Venice, Bologna, Florence, Naples, and Rome. His interests ran not only to antique art but also to the art of his Italian contemporaries.

His return to Haarlem was followed by a very productive period in which his work as an engraver and draftsman was characterized by an application of mannerist principles to the Renaissance theories of proportion. In 1600 Goltzius ceased engraving and began his career as a history painter. He died on January 1, 1617.

Through his masterful engravings after his own designs and those of Italian and Dutch masters, Goltzius achieved an international fame. Around him formed a group of young engravers, including, among others, Jacques de Gheyn II, Jan Muller, Jacob Matham, Jan Saenredam, and Zacharias Dolendo. Among his drawings, the studies from the nude model and the landscapes were of particular importance for the later development of Dutch art. As a painter he was the teacher of Pieter Fransz. de Grebber and perhaps of Werner van den Valckert.

P. v. Th.

8 *Venus and Adonis*, 1614

Oil on canvas; 114 x 191 cm (44⁷/₈ x 75¹/₄ in.)

Monogrammed and dated: HG 1614

Provenance: Sale Philips de Flines, Amsterdam, April 20, 1700, no. 93. Sale Willem Six, Amsterdam, May 12, 1734, no. 72. Sale J. van Vliet, Amsterdam, December

16, 1750, no. 26. In the beginning of the last century transferred from Schloz Bayreuth to the Bavarian Art Collection.

Bibliography: O. Hirschmann, 1916, p. 57, cat. no. 21, fig. 10. G. Faggini, 1967, plates 14-15.

Venus, whose swan chariot appears at the right in the background, was in love with the handsome young hunter Adonis. She warned him continually of the dangers of the hunt and made him swear above all that he would not hunt wild animals. This was in vain, however, since one day the god of war, Mars, who loved Venus, sent a wild boar to Adonis. Despite all warnings, the hunter attacked the animal, missed it, and was himself killed by the beast (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10: 529-559). According to Van Mander (*Wtleggingh*, fol. 88 verso), Adonis is the symbol of reckless youth who casts good advice to the wind.

Goltzius probably intended to supplement the moral of the representation by the way in which he depicted Cupid. Ambitious history painters like him never passed up an opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge and inventiveness. The little son of Venus, here depicted as older than usual, is about to sit on a large hunting dog who looks at him loyally. This motif recalls the engraving which Goltzius made in 1597 and in which he depicted his student and protégé, Frederick de Vries, likewise mounting the back of a dog. Reznicek¹ has demonstrated that the dog symbolizes the good teacher and guide (in that case with the implication that the dog represents Goltzius himself) who keeps the youth on the correct path.

Representations of Venus and Adonis were often depicted in sixteenth-century Italy. In Holland the popularity of the theme began with the Utrecht artist Anthonis Blocklandt (1533/34-1583) who treated it in 1580. His art was of great importance for the late mannerists.² Cornelis van Haarlem painted the subject several times, the first being in 1600. In the version from 1611 (Kiev, State Museum, cat. 1931, no. 269; probably lost in the war) he depicted Cupid in the same manner as Goltzius would three years later.

Reznicek³ considered a late drawing by Goltzius to be a preparatory study for this painting, but the composition of that drawing is very different.

Notes

1. E.K.J. Reznicek, 1961, cat. no. 415.

2. Ingrid Jost, 1960, pp. 90-93, cat. nos. 37-40 (engraved by Ph. Galle).

3. E.K.J. Reznicek, 1961, cat. no. 108, fig. 445.

Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, on loan to Munich, Alte Pinakothek

P. v. Th.



9 *Juno Receiving the Eyes of Argus from Mercury*, 1615

Oil on canvas; 131 x 181 cm (51 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 71 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Monogrammed and dated: HG A° 1615

Provenance: In 1864 presented to the Museum by S.B. Bos of Harlingen.

Bibliography: C. Vosmaer, 1882, p. 82. A. Michel, vol. 2, p. 854. C. Hirschmann, 1916, pp. 57-58, cat. no. 25, fig. 11. H. Kauffmann, 1923, p. 194, note 1 (reviewed by W. Stechow, 1927/28, p. 54). R.H. Fuchs, 1978, p. 34, fig. 21.

The painting depicts the moment when Juno descends from heaven in her peacock chariot to receive the eyes of Argus from Mercury (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1: 721-24). Juno, wife of Zeus, had ordered the hundred-eyed shepherd Argus to watch over Io, Zeus' beloved who was disguised as a white cow (to the right in the background). But Zeus commanded Mercury to kill Argus. Mercury lulled the watchman to sleep and cut off his head. Thereupon he presented Argus' eyes to Juno. Juno, so as to honor Argus eternally, used them to decorate the tail of the peacock, which was consecrated to her.

Carel van Mander explained this story as follows (*Wtleggingh*, fol. 9 recto). The watchful Argus with his eyes observing everything symbolizes man's common sense. He was killed by Mercury, the personification of egoism and desire. Thus man was deprived of his sense and judgment (*ratio*) by desire (*cupiditas*).¹ The eyes which had once contemplated all just and virtuous things were used to decorate the peacock's tail. The peacock (*Wtbeeldinge*, fol. 131 verso) symbolized the indecency of riches, because with its tail spread and raised this bird is beautiful from the front but not from the back (wealth appears attractive but seems often to be amassed by immoral means). With Argus' dead eyes, the evil bird struts about, the symbol of lust for wealth and vain honor.

In Italy this subject was very seldom represented; in the North it was first treated by Goltzius in 1589 as number nineteen of his first series of twenty illustrations of the *Metamorphoses*, which were influenced by Van Mander.² Here the accent is placed on the death of Argus. In 1611 Rubens painted the moment in which Mercury gives the eyes to Juno (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, cat. 1967, no. 1040). However, Goltzius evidently did not know this composition, which was brought out in a print only after his death. The Tintoretto-like Juno by Goltzius arrives on earth like the angel of the Annunciation. Yet the entire composition, with the figures arranged across the surface like dancers from a modern ballet, and the motif of the hands appearing close by one another, seems to me to be inspired by the late print of *The Fall of Man* (B. 10) by Lucas van Leyden (1489 or 1494-1533), the famous engraver and painter so much admired by Goltzius.

1. The struggle between *ratio* and *cupiditas* is the subject of a print of 1545 by Nicolas Béatrizet after Baccio Bardinelli. See Hessel Miedema, 1973, vol. 2, p. 515, ill. 51.

2. E.K.J. Reznicek, 1961, vol. 1, pp. 73-74, cat. no. 99, fig. 119.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

P. v. Th.



10 *Saint Sebastian*, 1615

Oil on canvas; 101 x 90 cm (39¾ x 35½ in.)

Monogrammed and dated: HG 1615

Provenance: Bequeathed to the Museum in 1887 by Kaiser-Seppeler.

Literature: O. Hirschmann, 1916, cat. no. 24, fig. 5. G. Foggin, 1967, plate 16.

According to legend, the martyr Sebastian was a handsome young Gaul who served as a centurion in the army of Emperor Diocletian. He converted to Christianity and was sentenced during the persecution of the Christians to be killed with arrows. However, he continued to live and was nursed by Saint Irene, the widow of his friend Castulus. Later Sebastian was seized again and killed with cudgels. In the Middle Ages he was venerated as one of the foremost patron saints, offering protection against the plague, the illness which in antiquity was under the power of Apollo. Thus in a certain sense, Sebastian is the Christian counterpart of the pagan Apollo, who also was known for his youthful beauty. Since the Renaissance, Sebastian's physical qualities have been exploited by artists.

The version of Sebastian by Goltzius is very special in an iconographic sense. Sebastian was typically depicted either in the company of the archers or, much more often, hanging alone, wounded and suffering on a column or tree like the scourged Christ. The ministrations of Irene are rarely painted; one of the most beautiful examples is the painting of 1625 by Hendrick ter Brugghen in the Museum at Oberlin. Sebastian, accompanied by angels in his suffering, also seldom appears. One encounters it in Titian (Brescia, Averoldi altar) but much more often in the works of Rubens (Rome, Galleria Nazionale) and Van Dyck (Leningrad, Hermitage) and several of their followers. In these Flemish examples a number of angels are busy extracting the arrows from Sebastian's body and untying the ropes around his feet and hands. Only one angel pulling an arrow from the side of the body appears in a late oil sketch by Van Dyck.² These iconographic particulars clarify the gesture of the angel in the Goltzius. He is cautiously extending his left hand to pull the arrow from Sebastian's stomach. Simultaneously, with his right hand, he crowns the martyr with laurels, a motif which, to my knowledge, appears nowhere else in a representation of Sebastian.

The compositional scheme corresponds to that of the *Venus and Amor* (Brunswick) painted by Cornelis van Haarlem five years earlier. However, this connection is largely superficial. Conceptually the painting is more closely related to Goltzius' own *Ecce Homo* of 1607 (Utrecht, Centraal Museum).

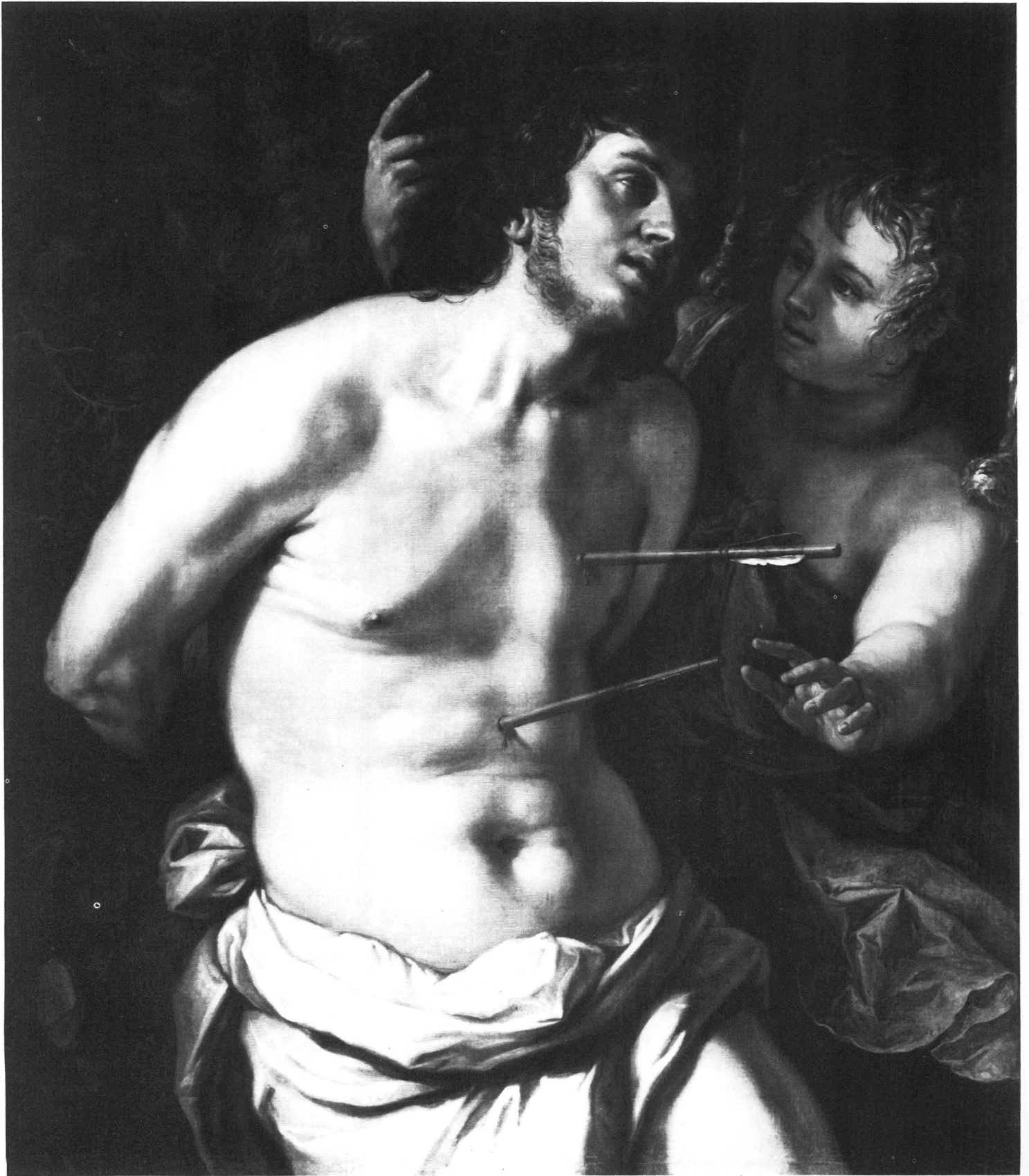
Sebastian was also the patron saint of the workman's guild of the Sebastiaandoelen, the municipal militiamen who in the Middle Ages were equipped with bows and arrows. Haarlem had such a guild. It is possible, although not very likely, that Goltzius made this picture for that guild. For that purpose, however, this work by the Catholic painter has too much of the character of a devotional piece.

1. Victor Kraehling, 1938. L. Réau, 1959, vol. III, p. 1198. Kirschbaum/Braunfels, vol. 8 (1976), pp. 322-24.

2. Coll. Sir Kenneth Clark; see cat. exh. *Antoon van Dyck: Tekeningen en olieverfschetsen*, Antwerp/Rotterdam, 1960, no. 125, fig. 75.

Münster, Westfälischer Kunstverein

P. v. Th.



The Utrecht Caravaggisti

Christopher Brown



BY 1600 THERE WAS ALREADY A LONG-ESTABLISHED tradition that a young Dutch painter would complete his training with a visit to Italy. He set out soon after having finished his apprenticeship, and more often than not his final destination would be Rome, which Carel van Mander, writing in 1604, called “the capital of Pictura’s schools.” In Rome the young painter studied not just the monuments of antiquity and the achievements of the High Renaissance but also contemporary painting. The generation of Dutch painters who visited Rome in the early years of the seventeenth century were enormously impressed—as were the native Italian painters—by the work of Caravaggio, who was one of those rare artists who effected a revolution in the history of Western painting. A modern spectator looking at Caravaggio’s work is immediately struck by his use of chiaroscuro, the contrasts of light and shadow, which he employed to heighten the dramatic power of a scene. However, if we read the reactions of contemporaries to Caravaggio’s paintings, it is clear that it was not this technical device as much as his realistic treatment of sacred subjects which so impressed—and in some cases horrified—them. Van Mander, for example, wrote that Caravaggio “does not execute a single brush stroke without taking it directly from life.” To a generation accustomed to the self-consciously intricate linear patterns of the mannerists and the saccharine idealizations of artists like the Cavaliere d’Arpino, Caravaggio’s all-too-human saints came as a revelation—or an outrage.

Despite Caravaggio’s short stay in Rome—he arrived around 1592 and had to leave after killing a man in 1606—he managed to execute a number of important commissions. Painters eager to study his work could go to the Contarelli chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi to see his *Scenes from the Life of St. Matthew* and to the Cerasi chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo to see his *Scenes from the Lives of Saints Peter and Paul*, as well as to collections of such nobles as the Cardinals del Monte and Scipione Borghese. Caravaggio

does not seem to have had any pupils, but his influence was enormous. In Rome his followers included Orazio Gentileschi (who later worked in Paris and London), Bartolommeo Manfredi, and Carlo Saraceni. Caravaggism had lost its impetus in Rome by about 1620, but it continued to flourish elsewhere in Italy (notably in Naples) and in Europe, especially in the Netherlands and in France. Caravaggio influenced individual painters to differing degrees. The art of Ribera, for example, or Caracciolo, depends heavily on his example, while Velázquez, Georges de la Tour, and Rembrandt all studied his work, sometimes at second hand, but retained their own quite independent visions. Rome was not the only place where Caravaggio’s work could be seen and studied. His *Madonna dei Rosario*, for example, was in Amsterdam and later in Antwerp during the seventeenth century.

Prominent among the Dutch painters who were particularly impressed by the work of Caravaggio and his Roman followers were a number from Utrecht. The most important reason for this is that Utrecht was traditionally a fervently Catholic city, the seat of an archbishop, and had remained so despite the progress of Protestantism elsewhere in the north Netherlands. A sixteenth-century pope—Adriaen VI—had come from Utrecht, and his favored painter, Jan van Scorel, was from his native city. In Utrecht painters still received large-scale religious commissions and were trained in history painting in the leading workshop in the town, that of Abraham Bloemaert. Utrecht painters were thus particularly receptive to the great achievements of Caravaggio. The first Caravaggesque painter to return to Holland was Hendrick Ter Brugghen who was back in Utrecht in 1614 after ten years in Italy. Ter Brugghen adopted the chiaroscuro, the realism, and the monumental compositions of Caravaggio and his followers; his *Calling of St. Matthew* of 1621, for example, is a reinterpretation of Caravaggio’s great canvas in San Luigi dei Francesi (figs.



fig. 1 Caravaggio, *The Calling of St. Matthew*, c. 1599, canvas, 328 x 348 cm, Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi.

1 and 2). He continued, however, to draw upon the knowledge of earlier Netherlandish models which he had gained in Bloemaert's studio; a striking example is the deliberately archaic *Crucifixion* (cat. no. 11). To this combination of Italian and Netherlandish elements, Ter Brugghen brought his own remarkable palette of near-pastel colors and his quite original treatment of contrasting textures.

Gerrit van Honthorst returned to Utrecht in 1620, having already established a considerable reputation in Rome where he had worked for a number of prominent patrons, including the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani for whom he painted *Christ before the High Priest* (fig. 3). His candlelit scenes had gained him the nickname "Gherardo della Notte." Honthorst went on to gain an international reputation. He worked not only for the court at The Hague but also for those in London and Copenhagen. However, his religious paintings from his years in Rome are among his greatest artistic achievements. In Utrecht he rarely received challenging commissions and in his later years turned increasingly toward single and multifigure genre scenes and portraiture.

Dirk van Baburen, another Utrecht painter who traveled to Rome and returned bearing the gospel according to Caravaggio, had also received at least one important commission in Rome—the decoration of a chapel in San Pietro in Montorio. The altarpiece in the chapel, *The Entombment* (fig. 4), is a dramatic reinterpretation of Caravaggio's famous treatment of the subject which hung in the Chiesa Nuova while Baburen was in Rome. Baburen returned to Utrecht around 1621 but died less than three years later. He had time, however, to establish a reputation, for when around 1629 Constantijn Huygens, the influential secretary to the Prince of Orange, came to list in his autobiography the leading Netherlandish history painters in recent years, he included Baburen along with Honthorst, Ter Brugghen, and Bloemaert.



fig. 2 Hendrick Ter Brugghen, *The Calling of St. Matthew*, 1621, canvas, 102 x 137.5 cm, Utrecht, Centraal Museum.

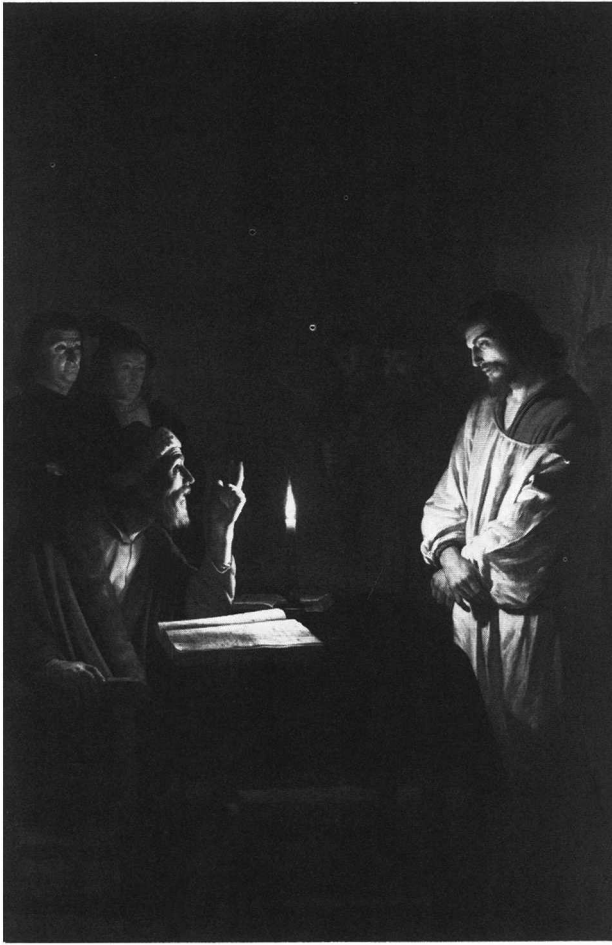


fig. 3 Gerrit van Honthorst, *Christ before the High Priest*, c. 1617, canvas, 272 x 183 cm, London, National Gallery.

It was not only the religious elements in the work of Caravaggio and his followers that the Utrecht painters admired. They borrowed individual figures such as the brightly dressed young men who occupy so prominent a position in *The Calling of St. Matthew* and their counterparts in Caravaggio's profane paintings. Ter Brugghen and Honthorst isolated such figures, giving them musical instruments or wine glasses and often placing them at an open window or behind a balustrade looking directly at the spectator. In doing so they also lightened Caravaggio's somber palette.

The Utrecht painters form a quite distinct group within the Caravaggesque movement as a whole. Although differences in technique between the various artists do, of course, exist (Ter Brugghen's palette is lighter than Honthorst's, for example, and Baburen's color contrasts stronger than Ter Brugghen's), their paintings share a recognizable Utrecht style which sets them apart from the French and Italian followers of Caravaggio. It is characterized by a particular range of colors (including light blues, lemon, purple, and cerise), the placing of dark figures against light backgrounds, as well as a preference for a half-length figure format and for certain biblical and pastoral subjects.

After about 1630 the Utrecht school of Caravaggisti lost its vitality. Ter Brugghen and Baburen were dead, and Honthorst had largely abandoned his Caravaggesque manner in favor of a labored classicizing style which was admired at the court in The Hague. It was also criticized in theoretical treatises for its flouting of classical principles; as early as 1628, the Amsterdam writer Jacques de Ville, in his *T'samenspreekinghe betreffende de Architecture, ende schild-erkonst*, attacked the Caravaggist treatment of light and the use of half-length figures. The places of Ter Brugghen and Baburen were taken by painters like Jan van Bijlert, who spent his whole career after his return from Italy in Utrecht. Of the survivors of an earlier generation, Abraham Bloemaert, who had adopted a form of Caravaggism from his pupils, was active until his death in 1651, and Paulus Moreelse, who had been in Italy in the 1590s, worked mainly as a portraitist but also painted a number of history paintings which displayed his understanding of developments in Italy subsequent to Caravaggism.

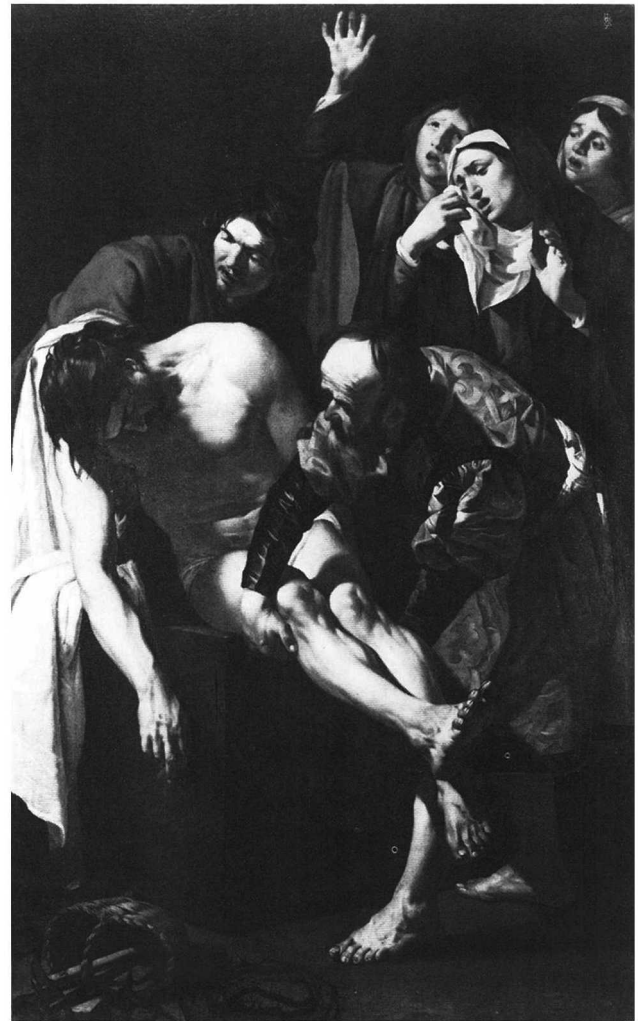


fig. 4 Dirck van Baburen, *The Entombment*, 1617, canvas, 222 x 142 cm, Rome, San Pietro in Montorio.

Hendrick Ter Brugghen

1588 (?) Deventer—Utrecht 1629

He was born near Deventer in the province of Overijssel into a wealthy, long-established Catholic family, and his family settled in Utrecht when he was very young. He was apprenticed to the leading Utrecht history painter, Abraham Bloemaert, but left the studio early (when about fifteen, in c. 1604) for Italy. He was in Italy for about ten years, principally in Rome, but he also visited Milan and other cities, and returned to Utrecht in the autumn of 1614. He married and entered the guild in 1616/17 and spent the rest of his life in the town. His earliest dated painting is *The Adoration of the Magi* of 1619 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

His style is an individual interpretation of Caravaggio's Roman work and that of Caravaggio's followers. His work also shows evidence of his study of the Bassano family, Saraceni, Orazio Gentileschi, Guido Reni, and of sixteenth-century Netherlandish and German graphic work. He was the first important Dutch Caravaggist to return to Holland. None of his Italian-period work is known. His paintings are largely of genre and religious subjects, though there are also a few mythological and literary scenes.

C.B.

11 *The Crucifixion with Mary and St. John*, c. 1624-26

Oil on canvas; 154.9 x 102.2 cm (61 x 40¼ in.)

Signed: HTB in monogram and dated 162(?) at the foot of the cross, above the skull.

Provenance: The inventory of Johannes de Renialme, Amsterdam, 27 June 1657 (137) includes: *Een Christus aen het Cruys van van der Brugge* with the high valuation of 140 fl. (placed on it by the dealer Martin Kretzer who owned Ter Brugghen's *Sleeping Mars*). It is probably this painting. Christ Church, Hackney, East London, 1956. (c. 1878 [?]-1956) Acquired by Mr. Nigel Foxell, 1956. Sold by him at Sotheby's, 28th November 1956 (lot 115). Purchased by M. Sperling, from whom acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Bibliography: C. Virch, 1958, pp. 217-226. B. Nicolson, 1958, A49.

There are two remarkably unusual features of this painting—its subject, which is rare in the north Netherlands during the seventeenth century, and its deliberate archaism (the simple three-figure composition and the gold stars in the dark blue sky) which recalls the work of Dürer and Grünewald. Both these features suggest that this was a particular commission, perhaps a replacement for a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century altarpiece, in which both subject and style were specified by the patron. Such a commission would certainly have come from a Catholic patron. It is noteworthy that a copy was ordered from an unknown artist by a member of a Utrecht family named Ploos to commemorate his Catholic ancestors (see under *Versions and copies*).

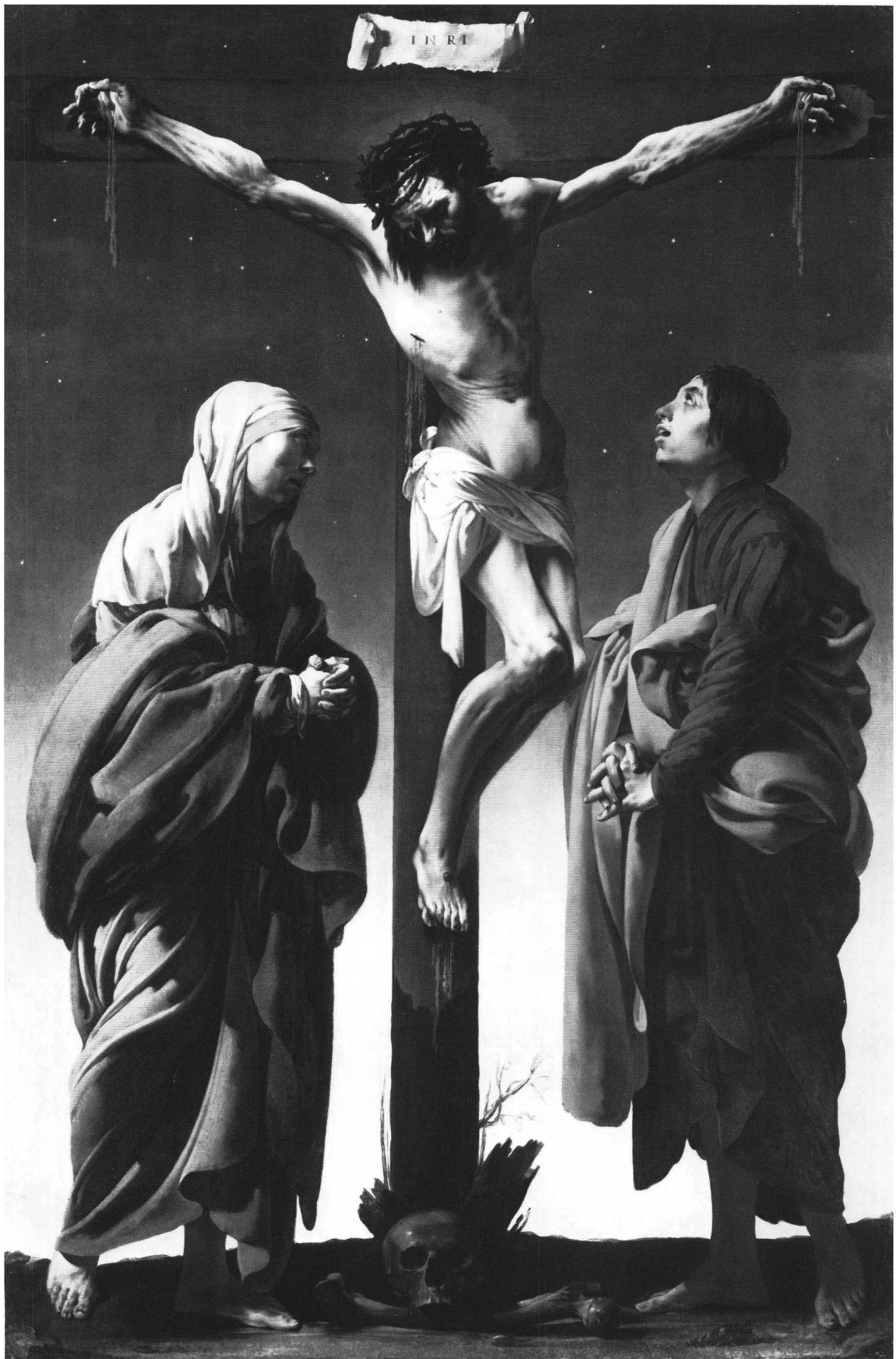
Most writers (see literature section in L.J. Slatkes, 1965-66) have stressed the links with German sixteenth-century treatments of the subject, in particular Dürer and Grünewald. Slatkes (1965-66), however, stressed the importance of earlier Netherlandish Crucifixions: in Utrecht itself, there was the wall painting in the Chapel of Guy van Aresnes in the Cathedral (which has been associated with the Master of Zweder van Culemborg and dated c. 1425-35). He also noted the similarity of a woodcut by the Delft artist, the Master of the *Virgo inter Virgines*.

The dating of Ter Brugghen's religious paintings is notoriously difficult, and the archaism of this painting adds to that difficulty. Nicolson suggested c. 1624-26, and Slatkes concurred. There are similarities with the *Lazarus and the Rich Man* (Utrecht, Centraal Museum) and the *Saint Sebastian* (Oberlin, Ohio, Allen Memorial Museum) both dated 1625.

Versions and copies: Nicolson (1958) illustrates a copy (canvas, 160 x 80.5 cm) which was on the art market in The Hague in 1957. To Ter Brugghen's composition had been added a family kneeling at prayer with an inscription in Dutch: "In the year of Our Lord MV and XL (1540) on St Mary Magdalen Eve died Adriaen Willmsz Plois. In the year of Our Lord MV and XXXIX (1539) on New Year's Eve died Gervit Adriaensz, his son. In the year of Our Lord MV and XV (1515) on the 14th October died Nelle Adriaen Willemsz, his wife. May God receive their souls. Amen." Nicolson considered that the painting was commissioned after 1630 from an unknown artist by a member of the Ploos family and that the artist made a copy of Ter Brugghen's original, inserting portraits of the Ploos family, probably based on near-contemporary representations (perhaps by some provincial follower of Jan van Scorel) in the foreground.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

C.B.



Hendrick Ter Brugghen

12 *King David Playing his Harp, Surrounded by Angels*, 1628

Oil on canvas; 150 x 190 cm (59 x 74¾ in.)

Traces of a signature (no longer visible) and the date 1628

Provenance: Purchased by the National Museum from a private collector, B. Gutnajer, in 1938.

Exhibitions: Trésors d'art polonais. Chefs d'oeuvres des musées de Pologne, Bordeaux, 1961, no. 127.

Bibliography: B. Nicholson, 1958, A77. J. Bialostocki, 1956. Warsaw, cat., 1969, I, p. 67.

This is generally taken to be the best of the four versions of this composition. The ones at Hartford and at Kiel may be replicas by Ter Brugghen, while that at Frankfurt is probably an old copy. Certainly the modeling of David's face and various other passages in the flesh areas and the costumes are described in a simplified (even schematized) manner in the Hartford painting when compared to this picture.

When compared to the Hartford painting, this picture seems to have been extended at the top and cut down on the left and right edges. Slatkes (1965-66) has suggested that the Warsaw picture may have been intended as part of the decorative scheme of an organ, but he does not quote any comparable examples.

Nicolson (1958) has noted that the figure of King David is adapted from Honthorst's *David* of 1622 in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht. There is not, however, a close resemblance, and the impression made by Ter Brugghen's composition is quite different to that made by Honthorst's single half-length figure. Honthorst seems to have used Bolognese models for his *David*, but Ter Brugghen followed instead an established northern compositional arrangement. Slatkes (1965-66) has pointed to a general resemblance to Lastman's *King David* of 1618 (Braunschweig), while the authors of the Hartford catalogue mention the drawing by Dirck Barendsz in the Amsterdam Print Room.

Versions and copies: (1) Autograph replica; Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn. (Sumner Collection, 1942.29) Canvas, 143.5 x 218 cm (Cat. Vol. I, 1978, p. 195/6). (2) Copy. Kunsthalle, Kiel (No. CAU 50); canvas, 142.5 x 201 cm (cat. 1958, p. 23 as D. Baburen). (3) Copy. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (inv. no. 1998); canvas, 149-195 cm. The upper two corners were originally rounded.

Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe

C.B.



Hendrick Ter Bruggen
13 *The Annunciation*, 1629

Oil on canvas; 216.5 x 176.5 cm (85¼ x 69½ in.)

Signed and dated bottom right: *H T Bruggen 1629*

(HTB in monogram)

Provenance: Bredius (1915-22, p. 1147) published a promissory noted dated 18th April 1638 in which the painter Lucas Luce authorized the painter Anthoni Kentelingh at Deventer to ask the widow of a certain Ryssen at Deventer to hand to him: "that painting which represents the Annunciation to Mary, made by the late Master Hendrick Ter Bruggen, which he has brought on the 5th of the present month for the sum of 240 florins—which sum of money he has already sent him."

The painting was probably purchased, together with other works of art, in the second half of the eighteenth-century from one of the religious houses suppressed by the Emperor Joseph II. It hung in the St. Katharina or Begijnhof Church in Diest until it was transferred to the Stedelijk Museum. Unfortunately the archives of the Begijnhof do not survive, and subsequently there is no precise record of when the painting arrived there. On loan to the Mauritshuis, The Hague, from 1963-67.

Exhibitions: *Caravaggio en de Nederlanden, Utrecht/Antwerp*, 1952. *Rembrandt en zijn tijd*, Brussels, 1971, no. 106.

Bibliography: D. Roggen, 1949-50, p. 278. H. Pauwels Nieuwe, 1951, pp. 153-67. B. Nicolson, 1958, A25.

The subject is an unusual one in the north Netherlands in the seventeenth century as it was associated with Catholicism. This painting was presumably commissioned by a Catholic patron to hang above an altar, perhaps in one of the clandestine churches of Utrecht or another town. It may have been in Deventer by 1638 (see *Provenance*). Other examples of this subject are Pieter de Grebber's picture of 1633 (cat. no. 47) and Adriaen van de Velde's of 1667 (cat. no. 66).

Ter Bruggen painted a second, smaller version of this subject (Bloch, 1968, pl. 1), which gives a greater prominence to the kneeling angel and shows the Virgin full-face with crossed arms kneeling before a prie-dieu.

Jan Janssens adopted Ter Bruggen's composition for his own *Annunciation* (Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten). His most significant variation is in the figure of the angel, which he apparently took from another painting by Ter Bruggen, the *Release of St. Peter from Prison* in Schwerin, also painted in 1629.

Diest, Belgium, Stedelijk Museum

C.B.



Dirck van Baburen c. 1595 Utrecht 1624

Dirck van Baburen was born in the province, if not actually within the city, of Utrecht, and his date of birth is unrecorded but has been calculated (Slatkes, 1965) as c. 1595 on the evidence of a passage in Giulio Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla Pittura* (probably written c. 1620). Nicolson (Nicolson, 1962, pp. 539-543; see also Slatkes, 1966, pp. 173-186) disagreed with Slatkes' interpretation, believing that the "giovane di 22 o 23 anni" mentioned by Mancini referred to David de Haen, Baburen's collaborator in the decoration of San Pietro in Montorio.

Baburen is first mentioned in 1611, in the records of the Guild of St. Luke in Utrecht, registered as a pupil of Paulus Moreelse, who is best known as a prolific portraitist but who also painted a number of religious and mythological subjects. Baburen traveled to Italy, perhaps as early as 1612. With David de Haen, he decorated the Pieta chapel in San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, between 1615 and 1620. The altar painting, *The Entombment* (still in place), was said in 1875 to bear the date 1617, though this is no longer visible. In Rome, Baburen was patronized by the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani and by Cardinal Scipione Borghese (who may have secured the San Pietro in Montorio commission for him).

Baburen is recorded as living (with de Haen) in the parish of San Andrea delle Fratte in 1619/20. He returned to Utrecht, probably in 1620, certainly by 1622. From 1622 until his death in 1624 he had a close working relationship, perhaps shared a studio, with Hendrick Ter Brugghen. He was buried in the Buurkerk, Utrecht, on February 28, 1624.

In Rome Baburen was influenced by the work of Caravaggio and his followers, in particular Bartolommeo Manfredi. With Honthorst and Ter Brugghen, he was one of the principal figures in the group of Utrecht Caravaggisti. He was an important iconographic innovator, being the first painter in the North to depict such subjects as *Saint Sebastian attended by Saint Irene* (Hamburg, Kunsthalle) and *Granida and Daifilo* (New York, Private Collection) from the play by Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft. He also painted half-length single figures (lute players, singers, etc.), concerts, card players, as well as religious and mythological subjects.

C.B.

14 *Prometheus Chained by Vulcan*, 1623

Oil on canvas; 202 x 184 cm (79 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 72 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Signed and dated, lower right: T D Baburen fecit/An^o 1623, and lower left: Teodoer de Baburen fecit An^o 1623

Provenance: A painting of this subject (and size) by Baburen was lot 15 in the sale of Isaak van den Blooken in Amsterdam on May 11, 1707: "Prometheus gebonden (levensgroote) konstig en heerlyk geschildert, van Theodorus Barbure. 20—0 [Prometheus bound (life size)

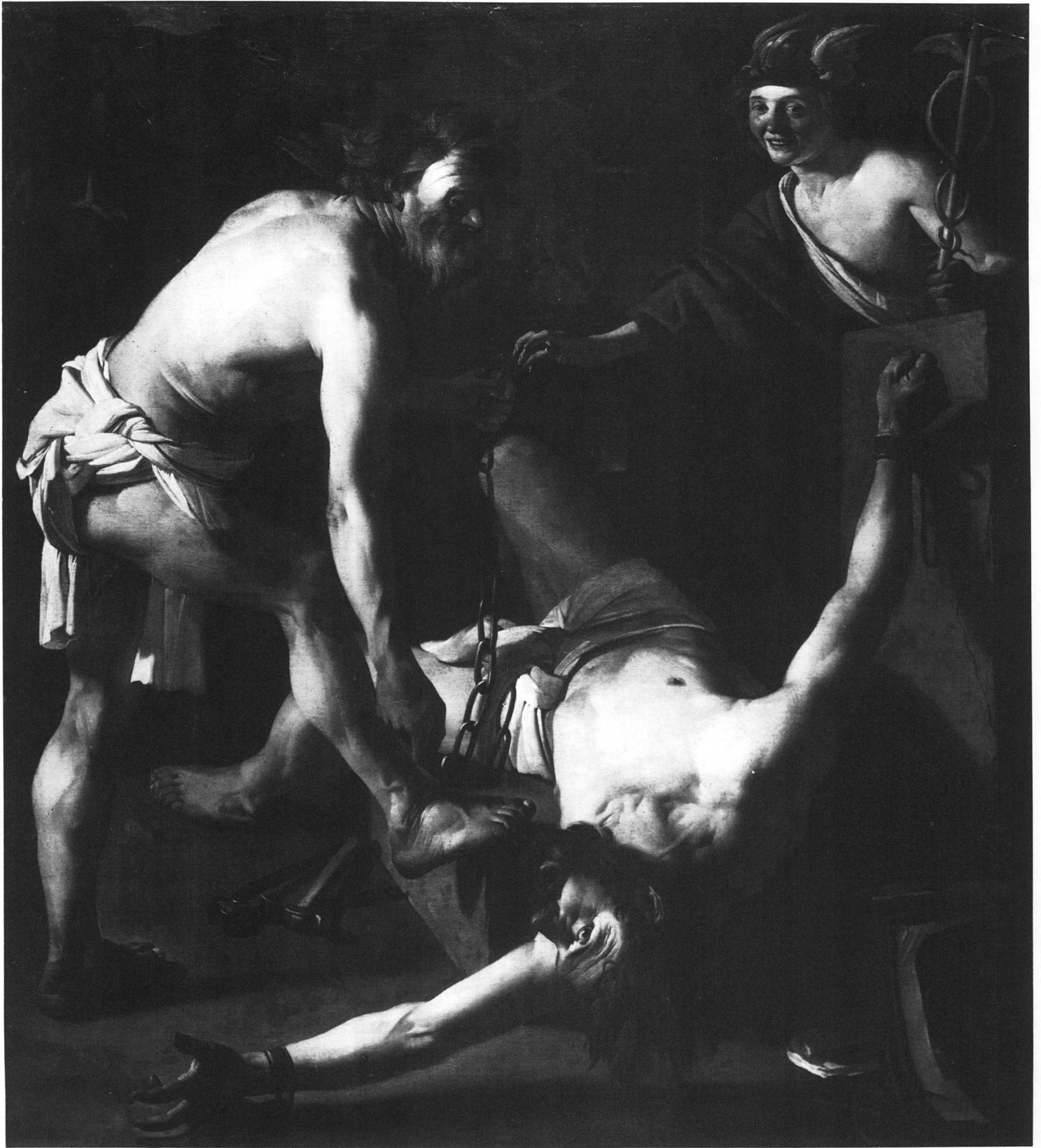
artfully and splendidly painted, by Theodorus Babure. 20 guilders] (Hoet, 1752)." The same painting seems to have been lot 57 (as Honthorst) in the sale of Joan de Vries, Burgomaster of Amsterdam, The Hague, October 13, 1738: "Prometheus met Mercurius en Vulcaan, levens groote, door Honthorst. 10—0. [Prometheus with Mercury and Vulcan, life size, by Honthorst. 10 guilders] (Hoet, 1752)." In 1820 said to be in the Scholl collection, Mainz (*Kunstblatt*, 1820, I, p. 376). Presented to the Rijksmuseum in 1893 by J von Loehr, German consul in Cairo. (Placed on loan at the Centraal Museum, Utrecht from 1924 to 1942; cat. 1933, no. 3). *Exhibitions:* Nederlandsche Italianiserende Schilderijen, Amsterdam (Arti et Amicitiae), 1934, no. 4. *Bibliography:* Slatkes, 1965, A21. Schleier, 1972, p. 787. *All the Paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam*, 1976, no. A1606.

Rather than the more usual scene of Prometheus' liver being pecked at by an eagle, Baburen chose to represent the moment in the story when the Titan was chained to a rock by Vulcan. The eagle hovers in the top left-hand corner.

The story of Prometheus (Raggio, 1958, pp. 44-62) is told by three Greek writers—Hesiod, Aeschylus, and Plato. He was a Titan, the son of Isapetus. He created the first man from clay, stole fire from the gods to give it to mankind, and was punished for his hubris by Jupiter, who instructed Vulcan (some sources say Mercury) to chain him to a rock in the Caucasus. Every day an eagle came to feed on his liver. He was released by Hercules. Each of the Greek writers put a different gloss on the story, as did later Roman and medieval authors. Aeschylus, for example, interpreted the fire that Prometheus gave to mankind not just as the natural element but also as the spark of divine nature which distinguished man from the animals. Christian writers identified Prometheus with Christ, and his punishment with the Crucifixion.

Prometheus' punishment was similar to that of Tityus, another Titan, who was chained to a rock and whose liver was pecked by a vulture. Michelangelo drew the subject of Tityus and the vulture (Hartt, 1971, no. 353) and his composition was reproduced in a print of the mid-sixteenth century by Nicholas Beatrizet (Bartsch 39). Titian also treated the subject in a painting now in the Prado (Wethey, 1975, no. 19). Titian's composition served as a model for an engraving of 1566 by Cornelis Cort, the subject of which, however, is clearly Prometheus. Rubens, in his magnificent *Prometheus* now in Philadelphia, painted c. 1612-18 (Kimball, 1952, pp. 67-68; Held, 1963, pp. 16-33), seems to have been conscious of both Titian's and Michelangelo's interpretations. His example was followed by Jordaens (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, 1967, cat. no. 1044) and by Abraham van Diepenbeeck (known only in an engraving by Cornelis Bloemaert, see Hollstein 90-148). Rubens' *Prometheus* was sold to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador at The Hague in 1618. Since Carleton remained until 1625 in The Hague, Baburen could have seen Rubens' painting.

Baburen chose to represent a different and more unfamiliar



moment in the story of Prometheus' punishment, but the figure of Prometheus shows a clear indebtedness to Cort's print. The composition was also profoundly influenced by Caravaggio's *Conversion of St. Paul* in Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Slatkes has suggested that the figures of Vulcan and Prometheus may show knowledge of a plate by Simon Frisius in Winsemius' *Chronicle of Friesland*, published in Franeker in 1622. He has also noted (Slatkes, 1966, p. 183) the similarity of the placing of the figures in *Prometheus Chained by Vulcan* to that in an earlier painting by Baburen, *The Taking of Christ* (Florence, coll. Longhi). There is also a striking similarity between the figures of Prometheus and Malchus in the two paintings. *The Taking of Christ* is clearly closely modeled on Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of St. Matthew* in San Luigi dei Francesi, and so Caravaggio as well as Titian would seem to have influenced the composition of *Prometheus*.

The presence of the grinning figure of Mercury, prominently holding his caduceus on the right and the hovering eagle in the top left-hand corner underline the identification of the victim as Prometheus. The fire in the background alludes not just to Vulcan's forge, where Prometheus' fetters were made, but to the fire which Prometheus gave to mankind.

In the Isaak van der Blooken sale (see Provenance) the painting was sold with *Adam and Eve* by Baburen (Hoet, 1752, p. 98). It is tempting to suppose that the two paintings constituted an iconographically related pair—Prometheus, the creator of the first man according to classical mythology, and Adam and Eve, the first couple created by God according to the biblical account. Baburen used a closely related composition for his *Apollo and Marsyas* (Collection Fürst Schaumburg-Lippe, Schloss Bückeburg, West Germany).

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

C.B.

Dirck van Baburen

15 *Cimon and Pero (Roman Charity)*, c. 1623

Oil on canvas; 127 x 151.1 cm (50 x 59½ in.)

Provenance: A painting by Baburen of this subject is mentioned in a 1675 inventory of the Antwerp art dealing firm of Forchoudt, no. 73. "I grooten doek van Barbier Caritas/Romeyn oft Suijger van Babuer niet/ gevonden, maer in plaets eenen Blomkrans naer/Bruegel geronden." (J. Denucé, 1931, p. 144). This first definite mention of this particular painting is in the collection of A. Heppner, 1938. then the art dealer Bottenweiser, Berlin. Sotheby's, London, March 3, 1944 (94). A. Scharf, London, 1946. coll. Lycett Green, on loan to the South Africa National Gallery, Cape Town, 1952. entered the City of York Art Gallery, Lycett Green gift, 1955 (*Preview*, 1955 p. 299).

Exhibitions: Lycett Green Gift, York Art Gallery, 1955, no. 68.

Bibliography: D. Bax, 1952, p. 108-109. L. J. Slatkes, 1965, A22, p. 127-129.

The literary source for this subject (Pigler, 1934, pp. 87-108) is Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium*, book 9, chapter 4. The section in which the story is told is entitled "De pietate in parentes." The aged Cimon, in prison awaiting execution, was denied food. The jailer permitted his daughter Pero to visit him, and she nourished him by giving him her breast. Baburen has stressed the secretiveness of Pero's action by showing her glancing apprehensively over her shoulder at the guards who can be seen through the barred window of the cell.

The subject was a popular one in both the north and south Netherlands in the seventeenth century, allowing as it did the painter to depict a classical subject of familial duty with a strongly erotic content. It had been painted by Bartolommeo Manfredi in a now-lost painting recorded in the collection of the Duke of Buckingham (R. Davies, 1906/1907, p. 380), which may have influenced the treatment of the subject by the Utrecht Caravag-gisti. However, the principal source for Baburen's composition, painted around 1623, was Rubens' treatment, now in Leningrad (Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 43). Rubens' painting dates from c. 1612; Panneel's etching of the subject after Rubens is dated 1630-32 by Bodart (Bodart, 1977, no. 191). Baburen closely followed Rubens' composition in the Leningrad painting, even to placing a window in the top left hand corner.

The subject was also treated by, among others, Hendrick Ter Brugghen, though his version is now lost (Nicolson, 1958, C83); Gerrit van Honthorst (preserved in a copy, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. no. 6670; see Judson, 1959, p. 99); Paulus Moreelse, in 1633 (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland; Shorter Catalogue, 2nd ed., 1978, no. 1024); Hendrick Bloemaert (present whereabouts unknown; coll. Kooveman, Gorinchem, pre-1930, photo in Warburg Institute); Christian van Couwenburgh, in 1639, in a version which would seem to have been influenced by Baburen's treatment (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1966 cat. no. 1893; a second version is in Leningrad); Willem van Honthorst, in 1645 (Potsdam, photo in Warburg Institute); and Dirk Hardenstein in a strongly Ruben-sque manner, in 1653 (Zwolle, Town Hall).

Versions and copies: Madrid, Academia de S. Fernando, Canvas, 172 x 215 cm. Inscribed: IOANNES JANSENIUS GANDENSIS INVENIT ET FECTI; Exhibitions: *Pintura italiana del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1970, no. 103, pp. 322-23; *Caravaggio y el naturalismo español*, Seville, 1973, no. 43. Although Slatkes was reluctant to accept the evidence of the inscription, the organizers of the Seville exhibition and Nicolson (Nicolson, 1979, p. 17) believed the painting to be a copy by Jan Janssens (1590-c.1650), who after a stay in Rome from after 1612 until 1620/21, worked in Ghent. The possibility that Baburen's painting was in Antwerp at around this time (see Provenance) supports the evidence of the inscription. Stylistically, the painting is acceptable as a characteristic work of Janssens, who was strongly influenced by Baburen and Honthorst.

York City Art Gallery

C.B.



Gerrit van Honthorst 1590 Utrecht 1656

Born in Utrecht, he was a pupil there of Abraham Bloemaert. He went to Rome, perhaps as early at 1610, where he developed a style based on that of Caravaggio and his Roman followers, in particular, Manfredi. He enjoyed a considerable reputation in Rome (where he was known as "Gherardo della Notte"); his patrons included the Marchese Vincenzo Guistiniani, Cardinal Scipione Borghese, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He was back in Utrecht late in 1620, joined the guild in 1622, and often served as dean during the 1620s. In Holland he increasingly painted portraits and genre, allegorical and mythological subjects, rather than the religious subjects he had painted for Roman patrons. In 1627 Rubens visited him in Utrecht. In 1628 he went to England for six months where he painted the *Mercury Presenting the Liberal Arts to Apollo and Diana* (Hampton Court) for Charles I. In 1635 he sent to Denmark the first of a long series of classical and historical pictures commissioned by King Christiaan IV. In 1637 he entered the guild in The Hague and was there until 1652 as painter to the stadtholder, for whose palaces at Rijswijk and Honselaersdijk he produced portraits and allegorical paintings. In 1649-50 he contributed to the decoration of the Huis ten Bosch. During his years in The Hague the Queen of Bohemia and her daughters were among his pupils. Among his many other pupils were Joachim van Sandrart (in whose *Teutsche Akademie*, published in 1675, is the fullest account of Honthorst's career) and Jan Gerritsz. van Bronckhorst.

Honthorst was one of the few Dutch painters of his day who had an international reputation. He played an important part in bringing knowledge of the work of Caravaggio and his followers to the Netherlands. In the large-scale decorative works which he painted toward the end of his career, he was influenced by his study of Rubens and the Carracci. His portraits are a development of the court style of Michiel Mierevelt.

C.B.

16 *The Denial of St. Peter*, 1620-25

Oil on canvas; 118.4 x 144.8 cm (46 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 57 in.)

Provenance: Christie's, 2nd July 1906 (Lot 139) as in the possession of Charles Davis, dealer. Bought by Johnson or Johnston as "Honthorst." with Gorry, Dublin, 1926. Dublin Art Market, 1971. Acquired (1971) by Minneapolis Institute of Arts from Hazlitt Gallery, London.

Bibliography: Judson, 1965, no. 42.

The incident is succinctly described by St. Matthew (26: 69-70): "Now Peter sat without the palace: and a damsel came unto him, saying, Thou also wast with Jesus of Galilee. But he denied before them all, saying, I know not what thou sayest."

The subject was first painted by Honthorst during his years in Rome (Rennes, Musée des Beaux Arts). That composition is

profoundly indebted to Manfredi. The present painting was dated by Nicolson (1971-73, pp. 39-41) to the years 1620-25, just after Honthorst's return from Rome to Utrecht. It is less crowded and less dramatic than the earlier painting, and it employs a far more colorful palette.

The subject was also painted by Hendrick Ter Brugghen (Chicago, The Art Institute, dated c. 1628-29; see Nicolson, 1958, A3), though his treatment shows no knowledge of either of Honthorst's versions. Nicolson (1971, pp. 304-309) has discussed the numerous versions of the subject which were painted by the Antwerp Caravaggist Gerard Seghers during 1620-28. These clearly show Seghers' study of Honthorst.

Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The Putnam Dana McMillan Fund

C.B.



Gerrit van Honthorst

17 *Artemisia*, 1630-1635

Oil on canvas; 170 x 150 cm (67 x 59½ in.)

Signed, lower left: G *Honthorst*

Provenance: Possibly in the Huis ten Bosch, The Hague (see above). Purchased by the Paris dealer François Heim from a French chateau. S. Nijstad, The Hague, 1953. D. Koetser, New York, 1956. Purchased by the Art Museum, Princeton.

Bibliography: Judson, 1959, no. 97.

Artemisia was the wife of Mausolus, the ruler of Caria in Asia Minor. She succeeded her husband on his death in 353 B.C. and erected a great monument to his memory, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, which became one of the seven wonders of the world. She drank her husband's ashes, making herself, as Valerius Maximus relates (*Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium*, book 4, chapter 6), a living tomb. The story of Artemisia came to symbolize a widow's devotion to the memory of her husband.

There are not many examples of this subject in the North during the seventeenth century. Earlier, in 1562, Nicolas Houel had written the story of Artemisia with a dedication to Catharina de Medici, widow of the French King Henri II. He drew a parallel between Henri II and Mausolus (Fenaille, 1923, I, p. 109ff). A series of tapestries recounting the story was woven for Catharina from designs by Antoine Caron.

A painting of this subject by Rubens is recorded in the inventory of 1632/33 of the Huys op het Noordeinde, the palace of the House of Orange in The Hague (S.W.A. Drossaers, 1936, p. 227). It hung in one of the rooms of Amalia von Solms, widow of the Stadtholder Frederick Hendrik. This painting has been identified as the so-called *Sophonisba*, now at Sanssouci (J. G. van Gelder, 1950/51).

It has been persuasively argued (Scheurleer, 1969, pp. 57-58) that Honthorst's treatment of this unusual subject was also commissioned by Amalia van Solms and that it can be identified with "een schilderije voor de schoorsten, sijnde bij Honthorst gemaect," listed in the 1654 inventory of the Huis ten Bosch, the palace built by Pieter Post for Amalia between 1645 and 1652. If it can be identified as this item, the painting would have hung above the fireplace on the south wall of the front room on the west side of the house.

Judson dates the painting 1630-35. Honthorst may well have had Rubens' *Artemisia* (painted c. 1615-16) in mind when painting his version, but the two have few formal similarities.

Princeton, The Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. George L. Craig, Jr.

C.B.



Paulus Moreelse 1571 Utrecht 1638

Although born in Utrecht, he is said to have been a pupil of Michiel van Mierevelt in Delft. He visited Italy, probably in the years 1598-1602. He must have been back early in 1602, as he married in June of that year. He soon received important portrait commissions in Amsterdam as well as Utrecht and took a prominent part in the founding of the St. Luke's Guild in Utrecht in 1611, for which he served as dean on a number of occasions between 1611 and 1619. In 1618 he joined the town council, and in 1627 he became an alderman. In the same year he received a civic commission for paintings of a shepherd and a shepherdess which were to be presented to the Stadtholder Frederick Hendrik and his bride Amalia van Solms. He continued to be active in civic affairs until just before his death. In 1637 he served as city treasurer.

Moreelse worked principally as a portrait painter, but he also painted a small number of mythological and religious paintings. He painted a number of shepherds and shepherdesses in the pastoral mode of the 1620s and 1630s. Among his pupils were Dirck van Baburen.

The monogram on a pair of Caravaggesque canvases representing the philosophers Heraclitus and Democritus in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, is probably that of his son Johan (K. Freemantle, "The Identity of Johan Moreelse, Painter," *The Burlington Magazine*, 116, 1974, p. 619-20).

C.B.

18 *Vertumnus and Pomona*, c. 1630

Oil on canvas; 130 x 114 cm (51¼ x 44⅞ in.)

Signed (on Pomona's scythe): P Moreelse (P M in monogram)

Provenance: Purchased by the Centraal Museum, 1865

Exhibitions: *Nederlandsche Italianiserende schilders uit de 16e en 17e eeuw*, Amsterdam (Arti et Amicitiae), 1934, no. 46.

Paulus Moreelse 1571-1638, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1938, no. 49.

Bibliography: C. H. de Jonghe, 1938, p. 42, no. 296.

Rotterdam cat., 1962, p. 92.

The story of Vertumnus and Pomona is told by Ovid in book 14 of the *Metamorphoses* (lines 623-771). Vertumnus, god of the seasons, fell in love with the wood nymph, Pomona, who was a skilled cultivator of fruits and gardens. Vertumnus tried without success to woo Pomona by disguising himself in various rustic forms, for example as a reaper and as a herdsman. He then assumed the disguise of an old woman and sang his own praises to the nymph. Finally he revealed himself in his own shape, and Pomona was won. In Moreelse's painting Vertumnus' gesture refers to his comparison between the tree and Pomona: "If that tree stood there unmated to the vine, it would have no value save for the leaves alone; and this vine, which clings to and rests safely on the elm, if it were not thus wedded, it would be languishing, flat

upon the ground. But you are not touched by the vine's example and you shun wedlock and do not desire to be joined together" (see De Jongh and Vincken, 1961, pp. 117-52).

The subject and Moreelse's treatment of it belong to the pastoral mode so fashionable in Utrecht in the 1620s and 1630s. This picture is dated by De Jonghe to c. 1630. Pomona is close in type (and décolletage) to the shepherdesses whom Moreelse was painting in the 1620s. The subject was extremely popular in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. It was painted by, among others, Hendrick Goltzius in 1613 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum); by Cornelis van Haarlem (the composition is preserved in an engraving by Jan Saenredam, Bartsch 38); by Abraham Bloemaert (also preserved in an engraving by Saenredam, Bartsch 27); Pieter Lastman and Hendrick Bloemaert (Pomona alone) in 1635 (Utrecht, Centraal Museum).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

C.B.



Paulus Bor

c. 1600 Amersfoort 1669

Born in Amersfoort, Paulus Bor traveled to Italy in the early 1620s and is recorded in Rome from 1623 until 1626. He was a founder of the Schildersbent and took the name "Orlando" (according to a drawing now in Berlin of c. 1625 which is inscribed *Paulus Borro alias Orlando*). In 1626 he is recorded as living in the Via Babuino in the same house as Joris Bossart. He had returned to Holland by 1628, the date of a group portrait of the Van Vanerelt family at Amersfoort (Pietersen Blokland Gas-thuis). He seems to have remained in Amersfoort (he married there in 1637 and is also recorded there in 1655 and 1656) although he worked for at least one Utrecht patron and participated in the decoration of the royal palace at Honselaersdijk (Snoep, 1969, pp. 270-294) and the Huis ten Bosch.

Although profoundly influenced by the work of Orazio Gentileschi and the Utrecht Caravaggisti, his work also has affinities with that of the young Jan Lievens and Salomon de Braij.

He painted religious and mythological paintings, as well as portraits (Gudlaugsson, 1969, pp. 120-122). A painting of 1641 in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, represents the fortuneteller in *Het Spaens Heydinnetje* from Jacob Cats', *Trou-ringh*.

C.B.

19 *Jesus in the Temple*, mid-1630s

Oil on canvas; 113 x 96 cm (44½ x 37⅞ in.)

Provenance: Amsterdam, van Emben sale, 1896, no. 7 (as P. de Grebber). Amsterdam, Donati-Martini sale, 8th November 1898, no. 28. C. Kribben collection, Berlin 1916. Art dealer K. W. Bachstitz, The Hague (1921 cat. no. 38). Gallery Abels, Cologne, 1955. Sold at auction in Cologne (Lempertz) 14th November 1963 (lot 17; photograph in Catalogue). Art dealer De Boer, Amsterdam 1963-64, purchased by the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1964.

Exhibitions: *Winter Exhibition*, P. de Boer, Amsterdam, 1963-64, cat. no. 4. *Keuze uit tien jaar aanwisten*, Centraal Museum, 1971-72, cat. no. 15.

This incident in Christ's childhood is related in the gospel of St. Luke (2:41-50): "Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem after the custom of the feast. And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother knew not of it. But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance. And when they found him not, they turned back to Jerusalem, seeking him. And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions. And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers. And when they saw him, they were amazed: and his

mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business? And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them."

The subject was popular in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century, and many of the treatments demonstrate consciousness of Albrecht Dürer's famous painting of 1506 (Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection) with its expressive use of hands to convey the doctors' reactions to Christ's words. The subject was painted by such Utrecht artists as Joachim Uytewael (present whereabouts unknown), and Dirck van Baburen in 1622 (Oslo, National Gallery), but although the three paintings are compositionally and stylistically related, none of them significantly influenced Bor's original and markedly static composition.

Two few of Bor's paintings are dated to permit a precise chronology to be constructed, but the *Jesus in the Temple* should probably be placed in the mid 1630s.

Utrecht, Centraal Museum der Gemeente

C.B.



The Pre-Rembrandtists

Astrid Tümpel



AROUND THE FIRST DECADE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY the importance of mannerism as an artistic style declined. In its place arose a group of young artists in Amsterdam who laid the foundation for the development of historical painting. The work of this group had far-reaching repercussions for the entire future course of painting in that city. Today, modern researchers refer to these painters as the Pre-Rembrandtists. Included among them were Pieter Lastman, Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, the brothers Jan and Jacob Pynas, Jan Tengnagel, and François Venant. They all depicted primarily historical scenes. Their importance, especially the exceptional accomplishments of Pieter Lastman, was first recognized in the 1920s and 1930s and only recently has the full extent of their influence on Rembrandt and his school been established. The paintings by these artists, who frequently knew or were related to one another, form a homogeneous stylistic and formal entity. Yet, in the course of their respective developments, each painter evolved his own personal style.

Lastman and Moeyaert were the most artistically productive, while Jan and Jacob Pynas were less so and Tengnagel and Venant the least. Although all of them, with the exception of the Pynas brothers who were referred to only as "Pinas," were mentioned by name in the Knight Rodenburgh's laudatory poem of 1618, their respective contemporary success varied greatly.¹ Apparently Moeyaert most easily attained a secure place within the cultural life of Amsterdam. However, historically the most important painter among them was certainly Lastman.²

By and large, the narrative and stylistic techniques of the Pre-Rembrandtists were similar. A close scrutiny of their oeuvre reveals a clear development. The influence of Venetian and Roman painting, as well as of the art of Elsheimer, is unmistakable in their early works—continuing, in the case of some, into their middle periods. An example of how these foreign influences were utilized is Jan Pynas' *The Rais-*

ing of Lazarus (fig. 1). It is evident that all the Pre-Rembrandtists eagerly studied Italian art, whether in Italy or at home. In their middle periods they freed themselves from foreign influences and, with the guidance of Lastman's concept of history, developed their own individual style. This latter style never changed, although many of their works did become increasingly monumental in scope. The late paintings of Lastman, for example, *Manoah's Sacrifice* (fig. 2), or of Moeyaert, *The Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 3), reveal a penchant for ponderous, heavy figures.

With the exception of Moeyaert, who also executed numerous extant portraits of leading Amsterdam personalities, the Pre-Rembrandtists produced historical paintings almost exclusively. In Lastman's case, biblical themes predominated, especially those from the Old Testament. He particularly liked to do scenes involving conversations, meetings, or the performance of miracles, and the works in this exhibition belong to this category. Lastman's penchant for such themes was also adopted by Moeyaert, the Pynas brothers, and Venant. In addition to biblical scenes, Tengnagel also favored mythological themes and secular history. Not much interested in dramatic historical content, Moeyaert preferred subjects which allowed him to indulge his proclivity for decorative motifs. Perhaps that is the reason behind his inclination for richly elaborate and well-populated subject matter.

This concentration on historical themes was only possible through the rejuvenation provided by Lastman. He was the first to discover the broad treasure trove of graphic images and adapt these subjects to historical painting. He thereby not only influenced the entire future course of seventeenth-century historical art, but also significantly determined its representational and narrative style. Innumerable subjects which had previously been treated exclusively in the graphic medium were now done by Lastman as paintings. In this way, he made them available to his compatriot Pre-Rem-



fig. 1 (top) Jan Pynas, *The Raising of Lazarus*, signed and dated 1605, panel, 45 x 60 cm, Aschaffenburg, Museum.

fig. 2 (bottom left) Pieter Lastman, *Manoa's Sacrifice*, monogrammed and dated 1622, transferred from panel to canvas, 66 x 53 cm, Guernsey, Collection Daan Cevat.

fig. 3 (bottom right) Claes Cornelisz. Moyaert, *The Raising of Lazarus*, monogrammed, c. 1653, panel, 83 x 118 cm, Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe.



fig. 4 (top) Jan Tengnagel, *The Raising of Lazarus*, signed and dated 1615, panel, 90 x 140 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst.

fig. 5 (bottom) François Venant, *Gideon's Offering*, panel, 30.6 x 46.6 cm, Amsterdam, Collection J.F. Minken (c. 1929), present location unknown.



brandtists who, apparently, did not possess such exceptional knowledge of developments within the graphic field. Therefore, Lastman must be viewed as the most independent, influential, and important artist among this group of painters. And, as one might imagine, all of the Pre-Rembrandtists were deeply indebted to him. It is hardly possible to conceive of one Pre-Rembrandtist painting that was not influenced by him.

In addition to adopting historical themes, the Pre-Rembrandtists also copied Lastman's thematic and formal narrative style. They strove to accommodate his innovations within their own idiosyncratic style. Typical of Lastman's work is a rich panoply of gestures, a leaning toward iconographic clarity, and the embellishment of his compositions with material and landscape motifs. In their attempts to imitate Lastman, Moeyaert (fig. 3), Tengnagel (fig. 4), and Jacob Pynas tended to overload their compositions. In his historical works, Pynas sought to concentrate on the people involved and to pay particular attention to their facial expressions (fig. 1). Venant tended to prefer calmer representations and a simplified narrative style, with the result

that his paintings have a rather restrained quality (fig. 5). Completely in contrast to Venant's work are the paintings of Tengnagel, who overexaggerated and intensified Lastman's gestural accent. Indeed, Tengnagel's figures often seem animated by a dancelike quality.

The themes which the Pre-Rembrandtists developed, as well as their representational types and narrative style, were taken up by Rembrandt, who in turn passed them on to his numerous students. Consequently, the kind of painting practiced by Lastman was of central importance during the early development of historical art. That a second-rate, albeit industrious, artist like Lastman could occupy such a position for more than three generations is indeed a rarity in European art.

Notes

1. Compare Astrid Tümpel, *Oud Holland*, 1974, p. 17.
2. A Lastman monograph with catalogue raisonné of his paintings is currently being prepared by Astrid Tümpel.

Pieter Lastman

c. 1583 Amsterdam 1633

Lastman was a student of Gerrit Pietersz. (called Swelinck) who, in his own time, had been one of the first to try to overcome mannerism. According to Carel van Mander, Lastman traveled to Italy in 1603/04. To judge from the residual traces of Venetian and Roman influence in his early works, Lastman probably visited Venice and Rome. In 1607, he was mentioned again as residing in Amsterdam and seems to have remained there for the rest of his life. He was a Catholic and never married. The most important historical painter among the first generation of seventeenth-century Amsterdam artists, Lastman was also the leader of the so-called Pre-Rembrandtists—a group of historical artists partly related by marriage and stylistically very similar. Not only were Lastman's innovations decisive among the Pre-Rembrandtists, but they also influenced his most important student, Rembrandt, who was apprenticed to him for about six months in 1623. Indeed, Rembrandt's students themselves frequently referred back to Lastman's principles. Generally his work was not the result of commissions. The only significant exceptions were three paintings on copper—*The Adoration of the Magi*, *Christ Blessing the Children*, and *Christ Carrying the Cross*—commissioned by the Danish king in about 1619 for the chapel at Castle Frederiksborg. These works were later destroyed by fire. Because Lastman was almost entirely free to choose his themes, we can pinpoint within his oeuvre—after allowance is made for general developmental trends—particular evolutionary forces within historical painting which led him to a new and deeper understanding of the themes he treated. As he was well-respected in Amsterdam, it seems likely that these accomplishments were already recognized during his own lifetime. In 1618, the Knight Rodenburgh, in his laudatory poem of Amsterdam, counted Lastman among the city's most important artists, and Vondel wrote extensive poems on Lastman. His paintings also continually sold well at auctions. That he was considered to be an authority on contemporary Italian art is attested to by his appraisal of a painting by Caravaggio, that is, a copy based on Caravaggio. His entire artistic production is well known today. Lastman's earliest dated work is *The Adoration of the Magi* (1606) in Prague. Thereafter, a dated painting exists at nearly regular two year intervals. His last known picture is *The Triumph of Joseph* (1631) in San Francisco.

A.T.

20 *Jephta and His Daughter*, c. 1611

Oil on wood; 121 x 200 cm. (47½ x 78¾ in.)

Provenance: Willem Six, Mayor of Amsterdam, Auction May 12, 1734, no. 136. Dordrecht, Gildemeester collection. St. Nicolas, van der Aa collection. J.L. Menke, Auction, Cologne, October 27, 1890, no. 47. Stockholm, Traugott collection. Djursholm (Sweden), F. Odquist collection.

Exhibitions: Holländska Mästare, Nationalmusei Utställningskatalog, no. 309, Stockholm 1967, p. 76, no. 84.

Bibliography: Hoet, I, 1752, p. 417. Vosmaer, 1863, p. 177. Vosmaer, 1877, p. 474. Freise, 1911, no. 23a. Müller (-Hofstede), 1925, p. 94. Pigler, 1974, p. 120. Astrid Tümpel (Oud Holland), 1974, p. 254, with no. 65.

The story concerns an unwitting sacrificial offering. Jephta, a judge, was born out of a liaison between a whore and Gilead, who was banished for his offense and fled to the land of Tob. After a dispute involving the Gileadists and the Ammoniterists, Jephta's half-brother asked for his assistance. Before leaving, Jephta vowed that if he vanquished the Ammonites, he would give thanks by burning at the stake as an offering the first person he met on his homeward journey. As he was returning victorious from battle, he encountered a group of dancing, jubilant people, led by his tambourine-playing daughter. Jephta tore the clothes from his body, but did sacrifice his only daughter as he had vowed. The moral is summarized in the Merian Bible of 1626: "unnecessary vows cause heartrending sorrow."

In the literature, two additional paintings have been ascribed to Lastman, although no known reproductions of the works exist (Inventories of Jan Looten, Deichgraf von de Beemster, June 13, 1676; Auction, London, July 25, 1913, no. 82. The painting identified in 1947 as a work of Lastman in the A. Bjerke collection, Oslo, is not by him.) The story of Jephta had already enjoyed a long pictorial tradition before Lastman took it up. An illustration in the Coburg Bible (Nuremburg, 1483) does not follow the biblical account literally since the daughter is shown playing the lute while her father cuts up his garments with a sword. In an engraving by Nicolaes Rijckemans after P. de Jode (from the series "Die Geschichte Jephtas," Hollstein, 20, 1978, p. 200, 1-6; Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet), the daughter also plays the lute, but the rending of clothing is not depicted. In contrast, Lastman literally followed the description in the Bible. Jephta's daughter bangs a tambourine, and he tears at his clothing with his hands. According to ancient Jewish law, which is still practiced in many Orthodox households, at the death of a child the parents tear their garments (information kindly supplied by Mr. Nystad). Lastman, who apparently was aware of this custom, implies in the painting that Jephta already knows he has lost his child at the moment he sights her. Once again, Lastman adheres to his ideal of depicting a historical scene as accurately and in as humanly compelling a way as possible. Further, he supplemented the composition with various additional motifs to help unify and thus further emphasize his unspeakable "heartrending sorrow." Surrounding him are motifs referring to the recent battle: weapons, banners, a suit of armor, prisoners, and, finally, the head of the enemy chieftain gruesomely mounted on a pole as a symbol of victory. The elephants at the far right remind us that the event occurred in the Orient. In contrast to the world of war represented on the left-hand side, the right side emphasizes the festive atmosphere. The women are richly dressed, and flowers lie strewn about the ground. As is so often the case in Lastman's



historical painting, this separation is intended to reveal the dichotomy between the one figure's (Jephtha) knowledge of the impending tragedy, and the other's (his daughter) complete innocence of it.

This historically accurate and precisely rendered depiction was followed in several other Dutch paintings (for instance, E. v.d. Veldes grisaille dated 1625, formerly Ingram collection, Great Pednor, Chesham, Bucks., England; compare also DIAL 71F 19.53). Nevertheless, the Lastman painting contains many more narrative motifs. Consequently, his version most closely mirrors in all respects the biblical account of the tragic manner in which one unwittingly causes "heartrending sorrow."

In this context, we need to clarify that the important Tegnagel work *David's Triumphal Procession* (1954 in the Art Gallery Katz, London) has been mistakenly entitled *The Meeting of Jephtha and His Daughter*. Because of certain thematic parallels between the two subjects and because David's upper thigh makes it hard to recognize Goliath's head, it is easy to understand how this long-standing mislabeling of the Tegnagel piece came about (see, in addition, illustration 87 in Astrid Tümpel, *Oud Holland*, 1974).

The Hague, S. Nystad Collection

A.T.

Pieter Lastman

21 *Tobias Catching the Fish*, 1613

Oil on wood panel; 78 x 101.5 cm (30¾ x 40 in.)

Remnants of a monogram and a date at right: 163 (?).

Transferred from wood to canvas in the eighteenth century. At the same time, a c. 15 cm (c. 5¾ in.) wide strip of canvas was added at the top. In 1967, the piece was again transferred to another canvas.

Provenance: Collection N. Cevat, Amsterdam.

Collection Stanton, Cambridge. Collection Nanne

Ottema, Leeuwarden. Between 1957 and 1972,

intermittently in the Doopsgezinde Kerk in Leeuwarden.

Bibliography: Müller (-Hofstede), 1925, p. 75, 96, 102,

103. Thieme-Becker, vol. 22, 1928, p. 413. 1929, p. 53.

Czobor, 1969, no. 1. C. Tümpel, 1971, p. 24. A.

Tümpel, 1974, p. 17f.

The theme of *Tobias Catching the Fish* is a characteristic Lastman subject. It depicts an unrecognized heavenly messenger who offers his help to a very amazed, if threatened, man. The painting is traditionally composed. We glimpse the angel in profile and recognize him because of his wings (which Tobias does not, however, perceive). Bent over, Tobias wrestles with the powerful fish which threatens his life. He has nevertheless managed to grasp it so securely that he can look up at the angel. The prototype for Pieter Lastman's work was, among others, a woodcut and an engraving after Maerten van Heemskerck from two series dealing with the story of Tobias. The subject of the engraving is listed as "Angelus Tobias Liberat ne de = voretur a pisce Tob. 6" (The angel keeps Tobias from being swallowed by the fish). Next to the angel, the dog, which accompanied Tobias and Raphael on their journey, stares in amazement at the large fish. To the right, on the rocks, lie Tobias' clothes. On the left in the background, a group of hunters are approaching, who observe the unusual event with astonishment. The scene occurs at the fork of a river. The delineation of the landscape, as well as of the individuals, still bears faint traces of the art of Elsheimer.

A copy of the painting is in the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest, inv. no. 1048. The fragment of a third example with the head of Tobias and a small segment of shrubbery in the background currently belongs to the J. H. Schlichte Bergen Art Gallery, Amsterdam. Since I have yet to see the original, the question of attribution must remain unanswered until the appearance of my forthcoming monograph on Lastman.

Leeuwarden, Gemeentelijk Museum Het Prinsessehop

A.T.



- Pieter Lastman
 22 *David and Uriah*, 1619
 Oil on wood; 42 x 63 cm (16½ x 24¾ in.)
 Signed and dated lower right: *PLastman fecit 1619* (P and L in monogram)
Provenance: Amsterdam, Goudstikker Collection.
 Munich Auction (Helbing), April 20, 1917, no. 72.
Exhibitions: Goudstikker Collection, St. Louis, 1922.
 Goudstikker Collection, Amsterdam, 1926, no. 30.
 Schilderijen en teekeningen van nederlandsche, italianiseerende schilders uit de 16e en 17e eeuw, Amsterdam, Arti et Amicitiae, 1934, p. 12, no. 41.
 Bijbelsche Kunst, Amsterdam, 1939, no. 53a. Ter herdenking Gijsbert Japicx, Amsterdam, 1966, no. 41.
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Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties, The Hague, on loan to Groningen, Groninger Museum

A.T.

Themes of guilt and innocence continually occupied Lastman. A case in point is *David and Uriah*, a painting which deals with the question of King David's guilt. David wanted to marry the wife of Uriah, Bathsheba, who was pregnant with his child. Consequently, David not only sent Uriah into battle, but also sent a letter to the commanding officer telling him to place Uriah on the front lines in the hope that he would be killed. Previously the subject of David and Uriah had been treated only in biblical illustration. Contrary to Hans Holbein's print, Lastman also included David's scribe, the person who actually wrote the letter to the commanding officer. The viewer, like the scribe, knows the contents of the letter.

Lastman based this painting on the composition of a 1611 work with the same subject (The Detroit Institute of Art). He reversed the arrangement and gave the figures more space. As a result, King David—already an imposing figure—receives even stronger emphasis. He has been positioned slightly off-center in the picture. The letter he holds in his hand, which orders Uriah to the front and certain death, consequently becomes both the formal and narrative center of interest. Lastman thus makes forcefully clear that through the letter, the elegant King David is transformed into a murderer and adulterer.

Lastman's transposition of rare graphic motifs into painting was quickly adopted by later historical painters (compare DIAL 71 H 66.7). Flinck and Bronckhorst (attributed) also took up the theme. Interestingly enough, the iconography in the painting assigned to Bronckhorst changed decisively: Bathsheba is also portrayed in order to have all three people involved in the triangular affair depicted in the picture.



Jacob Pynas

c. 1585/89(?)–1656(?)

Pynas' date and place of birth and death, as well as the details of his life, are unknown. He was the brother of the painter and draftsman Jan Pynas. Because he outlived Jan and signed all documents below the name of his brother, it is assumed that Jacob was the younger of the two. We do not know who his teacher was and are uncertain whether he was part of the group around Carlo Saraceni, with whom earlier research has often linked him. In 1605 he traveled to Italy. In 1608 and 1618, he was mentioned as being in Amsterdam; in 1622, in The Hague; in 1632 and 1639, in Delft; and in 1641 and 1643, again in Amsterdam. Houbraken believed that Rembrandt was his student and that the latter's penchant for brown hues came from Pynas, but this assumption is still unsubstantiated. Should this be true, then it probably would have occurred sometime around 1623. A stylistic explanation of their relationship is impossible, since both Jacob Pynas and Rembrandt took their departure from Lastman. Jacob Pynas' oeuvre is not extensive, but it is stylistically very distinct from the other Pre-Rembrandtists. His earliest known work is *Adoration of the Magi* in Hartford dated 1617 (or perhaps 1613; cat. no. 23). However, because it is technically a very accomplished picture, it is widely assumed that other paintings must predate it. His latest work is a drawing entitled *Apollo and Daphne* in the Lugt collection, Paris. It bears the date 1656.

A.T.

23 *Adoration of the Magi*, 1617 (or 1613)

Oil on copper; 41.9 x 55.5 cm
(16½ x 21⅞ in.)

Signed with monogram and dated lower right: AP f 1617 (13)

Provenance: Kleinberger and Co., New York, 1959.

Exhibitions: Toronto, 1969, no. 102. Sacramento, 1974, no. 9 (ill. p. 69).

Bibliography: Cunningham, 1959, pp. 10-13. "Accessions of American and Canadian Museums, October-December 1959," *Art Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (Spring 1960), p. 93.

Oehler, 1967, pp. 148-170.

When Christ was born, a star guided the magi from the Orient to the newborn King of the Jews. They came to pay their respects and brought with them gold, frankincense, and myrrh. The gospel does not mention that they were three men nor that they were kings. However, the term king was used by Tertullian to describe them as early as the third century. The church historian Bede (seventh century) called them Kaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar. To show that Jesus was revered by all ages and races, the three kings, since the twelfth century, were depicted as being of different ages. Beginning with the thirteenth century, the youngest of the three was represented as a Moor.

On the left, Jacob Pynas depicts the Adoration of the Christ

Child by two kneeling kings. In the right foreground, the arrival of the Moor and his entourage can be seen. This peripheral motif is embellished in a characteristic fashion: the Moor is in the act of dismounting from his horse while a servant draws the gift out of a box. In this manner, the arrival scene acquired additional weight in comparison to the Adoration which has been situated farther back in the pictorial plane. In rendering the entourage of the three holy kings, Pynas has adopted Lastman's solution, showing them winding through the landscape. On the relief on the wall to the right is a scene of heathen sacrifice, a conscious allusion to antique cults which Christianity overcame. In most versions of the Adoration of the Magi, Mary is shown in a seated position. The different postures assumed by the Virgin denote various symbolic meanings. When seated on the ground, as was not uncommon in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Mary acquires an attitude of humility. When perched atop a stone pedestal or seated in a chair, she can, in conjunction with architectural or other weighty decorative motifs, be characterized as the Queen of Heaven. In the seventeenth century, Mary was depicted standing in the *Sacra Conversazione* paintings of several artists. This rare prototype has been adopted by Jacob Pynas.

Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection

A.T.



Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert
c. 1590/91(?)–Amsterdam 1655

Born into an old Amsterdam family which had earlier emigrated from the city, Moeyaert returned to Amsterdam at the age of fourteen. We do not know with whom he studied, but he must have rapidly advanced, since Knight Rodenburgh's laudatory poem of 1618 to the city of Amsterdam counts him among the city's famous artists. Dated paintings from Moeyaert exist between the years 1624 and 1653. His students were Salomon Koninck, who studied with him probably before 1630; Nicolas Berchem, Jacob van der Does, and Jan Baptist Weenix, who were his students after 1640. As with all the Pre-Rembrandtists, Moeyaert's oeuvre is heavily weighted toward freely selected historical themes. Still, he received comparatively numerous commissions; in fact, no other Pre-Rembrandtist did so many portraits. In 1631, he painted Sibrandus Sixtius (Amsterdam Begijnhof), the ranking Catholic priest in Amsterdam. Moeyaert participated in the decoration of the triumphal arch welcoming Maria Medici in 1638. In 1639, and again in 1640, he painted theater decorations, and also in 1639, he was commissioned by the Danish king to paint two large pendants with historical themes for Castle Kronborg: *The Burning of the Last Heathen King of Denmark* (Sweden, Castle Skokloster) and *The Baptism of the First Christian King of Denmark* (private collection). Both pieces were completed in 1643. In 1640, Moeyaert did an elaborate portrait of the director and directress of an old age home (Amsterdam, Historisches Museum). Toward the end of the 1640s he produced more portraits of Amsterdam's religious figures and completed an assortment of altarpieces; for example, the three paintings for the Church in the Begijnhof.

Many researchers surmise that he belonged to various cultural associations such as the rhetorical club "In Liefde Bloeiende," the St. Luke guild, and the Academy. But no documentary evidence exists to verify that he actually was a member of these groups. What is certain is that he was a member of the theater's board of directors in 1640 and 1641. This group was responsible for choosing the plays and for making all the practical arrangements for the performances. Hence, Moeyaert can be regarded as a well-known personality within Amsterdam's cultural life. His art, however, was not known for painterly innovativeness. He died a well-to-do man who was able to provide his sons with lifetime pensions.

A.T.

24 *Triumph of Bacchus*, 1624

Oil on wood panel; 53.5 x 83 cm (21 x 32½ in.)

Signed and dated lower left: C.L. Moeyaert fc A^o 1624.

Provenance: Mr. Kaiser, Frankfurt, 1874.

Bibliography: The Hague catalogue (Mauritshuis), 1877, p. 23, no. 93a. Vosmaer, 1877, p. 468f. Riegel, II, 1882, p. 227. Bode, 1883, p. 347. Bredius, before 1885, p. 19. Semenov, I, 1885, p. 176, 177. Granberg, I, 1886, p. 98. Woltmann/Woermann, III, 1888, p. 668.

Bredius, 1891, p. 36, no. 222. Frimmel, 1894, p. 70f., 116. The Hague catalogue (Mauritshuis), 1895, p. 247, no. 395(222). Wurzbach, II, 1910, p. 174. Freise, 1911, p. 169. Lilienfeld, 1911, p. 512. Burchard, 1912, p. 92, note 3. The Hague catalogue (Mauritshuis), 1914, p. 231, with no. 394. Drost, 1928, p. 14. 1933, p. 183; The Hague catalogue (Mauritshuis), 1935, p. 221, no. 39; Martin, 1935, p. 145. DIAL, 92 D 1 (+ 17,1): 43 A43 photo L. no. 14869. Pigler, II, 1956, p. 44. The Hague catalogue (Mauritshuis), 1960, p. 60, no. 395. Weisner, 1963, p. 98ff, note 5 for p. 98. Rosenberg/Slive/ter Kuile, 1966, p. 20. Van Thiel, 1972/73, p. 44. A. Tümpel, 1974, p. 82, 88, 105, and cat. no. 156.

The subject of the triumph of Bacchus had been treated in the Renaissance but did not attain its full potential until the baroque. Bacchus was the son of Semele, a daughter of Kadimus, who bore the name Thyone (the raving one). When Semele was killed by lightning when she was pregnant, the child's father snatched the six-month fetus from its mother's womb and concealed it until it reached full maturity within his own thigh. Born from the thigh of his father as an immortal god, Bacchus was transported by Mercury to the mountains of Nysa, where he was raised by nymphs. According to a later poem, Bacchus, along with an army of reveling men, women, and lower nature gods, was supposed to have undertaken a three-year journey in a chariot drawn by a lion and a tiger through Syria, Egypt, and India to the banks of the Ganges river. Everywhere he went he subdued nature's raw power, taught the conquered people to make wine and to enjoy refined pleasures, and planted the seeds of Hellenistic culture among them.

Moeyaert's painting depicts this triumphal journey of Bacchus. Owing to the similarity in dimensions, as well as to their date of execution and 1874 provenance, this picture is believed to be a pendant to a painting of Mercury and Herse listed in the museum's catalogue (The Hague, Mauritshuis; A. Tümpel, 1974, no. 167). Solely on the basis of their themes, however, the two pictures are certainly not pendants. Frimmel mistakenly believed that they belonged to a series depicting the four seasons and that the picture of Bacchus was therefore the allegory of fall (see: Tümpel cat., 1974, 199-202). Drost sees an influence on Jordaen's *Bacchus* in Brussels. Moeyaert frequently depicted this theme (see: Tümpel, cat. 1974, 157-160).

The Hague, Mauritshuis

A.T.



Rembrandt and the Rembrandt School

Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr.



REMBRANDT'S REPUTATION AS AN ARTIST is so elevated that one often fails to consider him within the context of his time. His distinctive personality, particularly evident in his history paintings, further suggests that he stands apart from his contemporaries. No other Dutch artist so poignantly portrayed scenes from the Bible, mythology, and ancient history as Rembrandt did in his paintings, drawings, and etchings. He depicted scenes drawn from these sources throughout his life, devoting over one third of his painted oeuvre to this particular genre. Nevertheless, as is seen in this exhibition, Rembrandt's fascination with biblical and mythological scenes and his conviction that they comprised the most significant genre of painting was not unique. This conviction belongs to the very core of Dutch humanistic traditions, which was shared by patrons, theorists, and painters alike.

The inherent strength of Rembrandt's historical scenes lies in his perceptive characterization of the protagonists portrayed in them. These individuals have a truthfulness that comes less from the historical accuracy of the setting or their costumes than from the validity of their emotional responses to the circumstances surrounding their lives, however extraordinary or symbolic they may be. Rembrandt depicted these individuals as human beings reacting in fear, awe, bewilderment, anger, or repentance. The truthfulness of Rembrandt's portrayals of history scenes was greatly admired by his contemporaries. Constantijn Huygens, secretary to Prince Frederick Hendrik and a perceptive connoisseur of art, lavishly praised the young Rembrandt around 1630 because of his expressive depiction of the repentant Judas in his painting *Repentance of Judas* (fig. 10 of General Introduction), 1629. Philips Angel admired Rembrandt's *Marriage Banquet of Samson* (fig. 1 of General Introduction), 1638, for his careful interpretation of the biblical text, his understanding of the customs of the ancients, and for the naturalistic way in which he portrayed Samson as he posed his riddle.

The wellspring of Rembrandt's portrayals of historical figures was his close observation of the world around him in his drawings and etchings. No other Dutch artist actively exploited these mediums in the manner that Rembrandt did. Chalk, pen, wash, and burin all created different effects in his drawings and etchings that helped him characterize his own image as well as that of his

family, friends, and scenes he saw in his daily life. His many drawings and etchings of old men and women convey a sympathetic understanding of these figures, but he also saw in them manifestations of the types of characters he envisioned in stories from the Bible and mythology.

Such freedom of association does not imply, however, that Rembrandt ignored or was oblivious to the pictorial traditions that surrounded him. From the beginning of his career Rembrandt was an inveterate collector of works of art, particularly prints by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Northern and Italian masters. By 1656, when an inventory of his possessions was made, he owned prints by or after fifty-eight artists, including Hendrick Goltzius, Maerten van Heemskerck, Lucas van Leyden, Pieter Paul Rubens, Antonio Tempesta, Annibale Carracci, Andrea Mantegna, Raphael, and Titian. Rembrandt considered his work to belong to this pictorial heritage, and he frequently used earlier prints as compositional sources for his own interpretations of ancient texts. Rembrandt's painting *The Visitation* (cat. no. 27), for example, is based on a woodcut of the same scene by Albrecht Dürer.

In many respects, Rembrandt seems to have felt himself the spiritual heir to Lucas van Leyden, the greatest Leiden artist of the sixteenth century. Not only did he derive various compositions from Lucas' prints, but he also used a number of Lucas' pictorial devices. Both artists delighted in introducing a variety of types of figures into their scenes dressed in unusual clothing that evoked the impression of a past era of history. Many of these figures act as spectators to the central scene and are situated in a subsidiary space. Lucas frequently combined various moments of a narrative into one composition, a mode of representation that virtually only Rembrandt in the seventeenth century continued to use. The best known example of Rembrandt's conflation of episodes into one scene is *The 100 Guilder Print*, but Rembrandt also conflated episodes in a number of paintings, including the *Denial of St. Peter* (cat. no. 30).

No one source, however, can fully account for Rembrandt's interest in or the style of his history painting. This interest seems to have grown and been nurtured by every experience he had as a young artist, whether it was his years of study in the Latin



fig. 1 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Blinding of Samson*, 1636, canvas, 236 x 302 cm, Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut.

School in Leiden, his apprenticeship with Pieter Lastman, or his close working relationship with Jan Lievens. The style and subject matter of his paintings from the 1620s (cat. no. 25) indicate the impact of these influences, but at the same time one senses a growing awareness on Rembrandt's part of artistic developments beyond the confines of Amsterdam and Leiden. The use of chiaroscuro paintings by the Utrecht Carravaggisti, in particular, those by Honthorst, clearly appealed to him. Perhaps even more important to Rembrandt's development, however, was the impact of Adam Elsheimer and Peter Paul Rubens. Although biblical and mythological scenes by these masters were known to Rembrandt primarily through prints, the intense chiaroscuro of their often dramatic compositions made a distinct impression on the young master.

Rembrandt, moreover, was acutely aware of and clearly coveted the enormous reputation and prestige accorded Elsheimer and Rubens. Indeed, one senses that underlying much of Rembrandt's development as a history painter during the 1630s was a conscious emulation and even competitive urge to surpass their achievements. This tendency culminates in the exuberance of *Belshazzar's Feast* (cat. no. 26) or the shocking brutality of the *Blinding of Samson* (fig. 1) in the mid 1630s.

Rembrandt also undoubtedly realized the high esteem in which Rubens was held by Constantijn Huygens, the man who guided the artistic patronage of the House of Orange. Although the circumstances surrounding the commission given to Rembrandt to paint a Passion series for the House of Orange are not known,

Rembrandt's successful assimilation of Rubens' style may have been instrumental in this choice. It seems likely that Huygens requested that Rembrandt and his colleague in Leiden, Jan Lievens, both submit a competition piece, *Christ on the Cross*, to determine who would receive this prestigious commission. Both of these artists completed versions of this scene in 1631 in virtually identical formats, but Rembrandt's painting contains an expressive energy far more comparable to Rubens' example than does that of Lievens. The five scenes Rembrandt painted for this series during the 1630s are night pieces, and in them Rembrandt used a variety of artificial and supernatural light sources to enhance the drama and mystery of Christ's Passion. Indeed, this series clearly proclaimed Rembrandt's mastery of chiaroscuro effects and had a tremendous impact on his students and followers.

Unfortunately, with the exception of this Passion series, we know little about commissions for history paintings that Rembrandt received after he moved to Amsterdam in the early 1630s. Information about relationships between Rembrandt and his patrons that could shed light on the choice of subjects and the style in which they were painted is sadly lacking. For example, one would like to know more about Rembrandt's commission to paint a series of scenes from Ovid for a merchant-magistrate in Amsterdam that is mentioned by Baldinucci in 1686. Only in one instance, when he presented a large painting, believed to be the *Blinding of Samson*, as a gift to Constantijn Huygens, do we know how Rembrandt preferred his painting to be displayed. "My Lord," he wrote in 1639, "hang this piece in a strong light and so that

one can stand at a distance from it, then it will sparkle best.”

Whether totally on his own account or partially because of changing tastes of his patrons, Rembrandt's style of history painting and choice of subject matter changed in the 1640s. He began to depend less extensively on dramatic foreshortenings and chiaroscuro effects than he did in the 1630s. When he added two scenes to the Passions series in 1646, for example, he included an *Adoration of the Shepherds* that has a tenderness and quietude unknown in the turbulent scenes of the 1630s. Instead of scenes portraying supernatural effects and physical drama, he tended to depict domestic ones where human relationships could be more subtly expressed. Scenes from the Old Testament and mythology, favored in the 1630s, become rare as Rembrandt focused on portrayals of the Holy Family. In no other period does the relationship of his prints and drawings of the world about him and his biblical paintings seem so close.

Although the style and type of historical subjects that Rembrandt portrayed varied throughout his career, certain constant elements remain. He favored moments of transition; whether they be the physical arrival (cat. no. 27) or departure of figures, a vision or new psychological awareness (cat. no. 26), a moment of accusation (cat. no. 28) or decision (cat. no. 30). Such scenes allowed Rembrandt a range of expressive possibilities, but they have in common a concern with the psychological moment when one is faced with different, and often conflicting, emotions.

This interest is evident not only in Rembrandt's history paintings, but also in his approach to portraiture, as for example, in his double portrait of *Cornelis Anslo with a Woman*, 1641. Actually, the divisions between portraiture and history painting are

not always easy to establish in Rembrandt's oeuvre, particularly in the 1650s and 1660s. In both his late portraits and his late history paintings, Rembrandt intensified his interest in portraying aspects of human psychology and of human relationships. In his *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife* (cat. no. 28) and other history paintings, he subordinated narrative elements of a story by eliminating anecdotal references. In the *Jewish Bride* (fig. 2) the connection between portraiture and history painting is so complete that the identity of the pair as Isaac and Rebecca can only be tentatively established.

Rembrandt remained virtually unaffected by the influence of French tastes after mid-century and by the increasingly classicistic vogue of Dutch art. Clearly, however, his broad and rough painting technique and his deep, yet somber palette still had great appeal. In the last decade of his life he created some of his largest and most moving biblical scenes, including the *Denial of St. Peter* (cat. no. 30). Although he never traveled outside his own land, his reputation had spread throughout Europe, and he received commissions from as far away as Messina.

The greatest of the “official” commissions, however, the decoration of the main gallery in the Amsterdam town hall, passed him by. This honor was given to Govaert Flinck, a former student of his, who had adapted a classicistic mode of painting (cat. nos. 36, 37). Only after Flinck's unexpected death in 1660 was Rembrandt given the commission to paint one of the scenes Flinck was to have executed, *The Conspiracy of Julius Civilis* (fig. 3), appropriately, a night scene. For reasons which have never become completely clear, Rembrandt's painting was returned for alterations and was, in the end, never accepted. The officials of

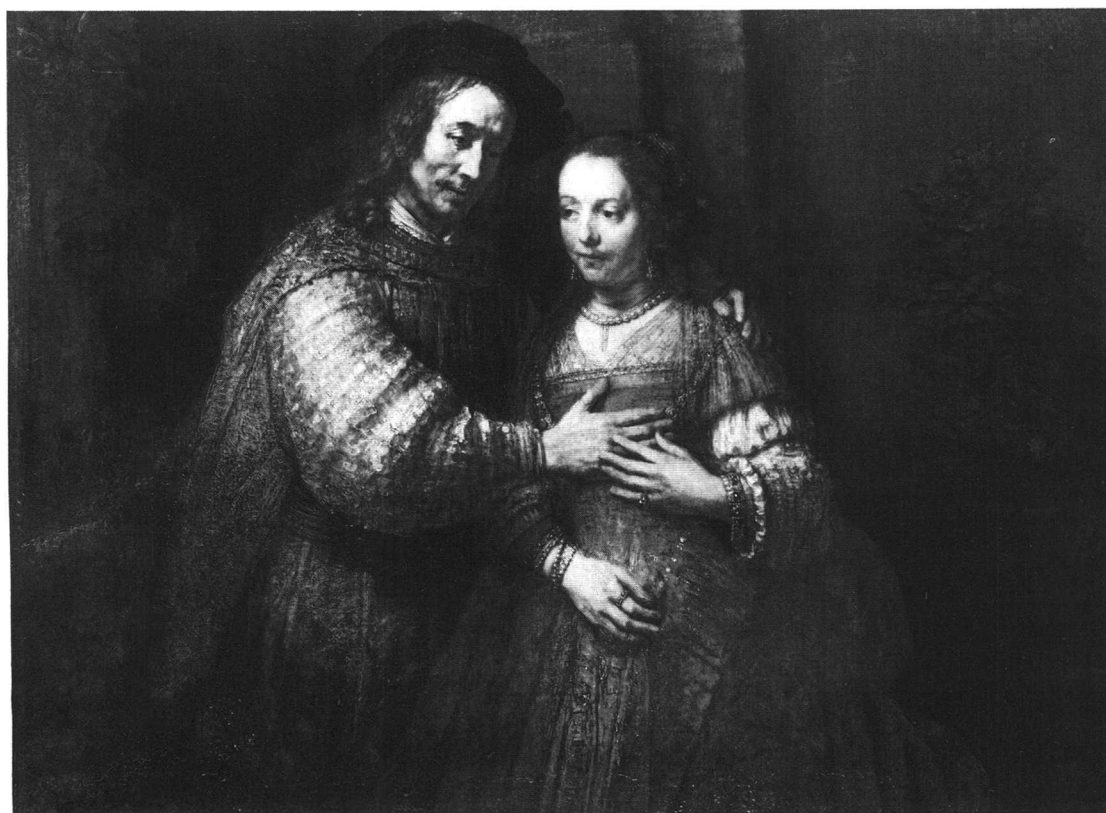


fig. 2 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Jewish Bride*, c. 1666, canvas, 121.5 x 166.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



fig. 3 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Conspiracy of Julius Civilis*, 1661, canvas, 196 x 309 cm, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.

the town hall probably felt that Rembrandt's conception of the scene lacked the sense of decorum they felt suited the representation of the spiritual forefathers of the Dutch Republic. Today, it seems particularly ironic that Rembrandt's haunting depiction of this scene, the greatest of all his history paintings, could have been considered unsuitable as an evocation of the powerful convictions that underlay the origins of the Dutch heritage.

Rembrandt's impact on the character of Dutch art is particularly extensive because of the influence he had on the paintings and drawings of his contemporaries. From as early as 1628 when Gerard Dou first entered his workshop, Rembrandt attracted numerous aspiring artists as pupils. Joachim von Sandrart, who knew Rembrandt when he was in Amsterdam from 1637 to 1641, wrote some years later in his *Teutsche Akademie* that Rembrandt "worked relentlessly, and Fortune made him wealthy and filled his house in Amsterdam with countless distinguished children for instruction and learning of whom every single one paid him 100 guilders annually, not to speak of the profit which he gained by selling paintings and prints of these pupils. . . ."

The actual number of students Rembrandt had throughout his life is not documented and has never been determined. Many of them were probably amateurs whose works have never been identified. A number of other factors further complicate our conception of the "Rembrandt School." In a few instances, as with

Willem de Poorter, an artist clearly influenced by Rembrandt (see cat. no. 33), no documentary evidence remains to establish whether a student-teacher relationship existed. Some established artists, including Jan Lievens (cat. nos. 31, 32), came under Rembrandt's sphere of influence even though they cannot be properly thought of as students. Other artists, for example Benjamin Cuyp (cat. no. 79), who apparently had no direct contact with Rembrandt, developed styles particularly close to his.

The peak of Rembrandt's popularity as a teacher seems to have been from c. 1635-45. During these years he had a number of important pupils, among them Govaert Flinck (cat. nos. 36, 37), Ferdinand Bol (cat. nos. 38-40), Carel Fabritius (cat. no. 34), and Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout (cat. nos. 41, 42). Perhaps his most talented and devoted follower, however, was Aert de Gelder (cat. nos. 43, 44) who studied with Rembrandt in the 1660s. De Gelder painted in Rembrandt's broad late style until his death in 1727.

These students undoubtedly came to Rembrandt to learn his manner of painting. We know from surviving drawings that Rembrandt encouraged his students to draw after nature, specifically from nude models, but his interest was evidently in effects of light and shade rather than in anatomical accuracy. Pupils also learned by copying other works of art, not least among them Rembrandt's paintings and drawings. The success of their training

in the techniques and underlying conceptions of Rembrandt's style is evident when one considers the confusion surrounding the identification of paintings from the Rembrandt school. Not only were students encouraged to paint in Rembrandt's manner, but also, as Sandrart relates, their works were sold by the master. Whether he signed and dated these works is not known.

Problems of attribution are compounded by the probability that Rembrandt and his students occasionally worked on the same paintings. We know that Rembrandt corrected a number of drawings by his students, particularly ones by Constantijn van Renesse. He may have also corrected their paintings, but no examples of this type of revision by Rembrandt can be identified with certainty. One might further expect that Rembrandt exploited his workshop by having students work on parts of his large compositions. Rubens worked in this manner, and particularly during the 1630s when he emulated Rubens in so many ways, one might think that Rembrandt would have adapted Rubens' workshop procedure. Evidence of such workshop participation, however, is also difficult to uncover. Although at present it appears that collaboration was a rare phenomenon in his work, in fact we do not know its extent and the question is unresolved.

Students presumably also came to Rembrandt with the expectation that they would be trained in portraiture and history painting. Rembrandt excelled in these two genres, and so did most of his pupils. His students, moreover, focused on many of the themes that Rembrandt favored, including stories from the books of Genesis, Tobit, and Esther. They also portrayed scenes which emphasized moments of transition: scenes of blessing, parting, or greeting. In general, however, their scenes are portrayed in a more narrative fashion than are Rembrandt's. In this respect they often show an affinity to Pieter Lastman's compositional principles. One suspects that Rembrandt emphasized Lastman's importance as a history painter to his pupils.

Although Rembrandt imparted his manner of painting to his students while they were with him, his style was sufficiently personal that few tried to maintain it consistently after leaving his workshop. His style, moreover, was not always suitable to the subjects and commissions they later received. His deep chiaroscuro and rich modeling were particularly suited to religious scenes where light effects could suggest miracles of divine intervention. His manner, however, was less appropriate for allegorical painting or for stories from antiquity than was the classicizing style of Rubens and Flemish art. Govaert Flinck, for example, quickly adapted a classicistic style patterned on Flemish art when he began working for Amalia van Solms in the Huis ten Bosch (cat. no. 36). Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout varied his style throughout his career: his religious paintings are clearly more Rembrandtesque than are his scenes from antiquity.

The impact of Rembrandt on his students and contemporaries is easy to recognize in its broadest sense but difficult to define precisely. Too many questions of attribution, date, and intent still exist. Clearly, however, his example as a history painter served to stimulate and guide an extraordinarily large number of artists and helped determine the character of seventeenth-century Dutch art.

Rembrandt van Rijn 1606 Leiden—Amsterdam 1669

Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn, born July 15, 1606, was the son of a miller Harmen Gerritsz. van Rijn and his wife Neeltje van Suydtbroeck. According to Orlers, his earliest biographer, he spent seven years at the Leiden Latin School and was enrolled briefly at Leiden University. His natural inclination, however, was for painting and drawing, and his father soon arranged to have him study the fundamentals of art with a Leiden artist, Jacob Isaacsz. van Swanenburch. After three years (c. 1624) he went to study with Pieter Lastman in Amsterdam where he stayed for six months. Houbraken adds that Rembrandt also studied with Jacob Pynas before returning to Leiden as an independent master.

Rembrandt's Leiden period lasted from c. 1625 to c. 1631. During that time he worked closely with Jan Lievens and had the first of his many students, Gerard Dou. Willem de Poorter (cat. no. 33) may also have studied with him during this period. Rembrandt's reputation as a history painter and portraitist spread, partially through the intervention of Constantijn Huygens. By 1632 Rembrandt had moved to Amsterdam where he completed the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp* (The Hague, Mauritshuis), a painting which brought him much acclaim. During the 1630s he received many portrait commissions as well as the commission for a Passion series for Prince Frederick Hendrik.

Rembrandt married Saskia van Uylenburgh, daughter of a wealthy and prominent Frisian family, in 1634. In 1639, at the height of his success, he purchased a large house on the Breestraat for a considerable amount of money. The artistic culmination of this period of his life was *The Night Watch* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), which he completed in 1642. Among his many students in the 1630s and 1640s were Govaert Flinck (cat. nos. 36, 37), Ferdinand Bol (cat. nos. 38-40), Carel Fabritius (cat. no. 34), and Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout (cat. nos. 41, 42).

Beginning in the 1640s life became more unsettled for Rembrandt. Although a son Titus was born in 1641, Saskia died the following year after a long illness. Geertghe Dirckx soon entered the household as a nurse for Titus and became a companion for Rembrandt. In the late 1640s Rembrandt dismissed her and entered into a life-long relationship with Hendrickje Stoffels. Financial difficulties beset Rembrandt in his later years, and he was forced to declare insolvency in 1656. His estate, including his large art collection, was auctioned in 1657 and 1658. Hendrickje and Titus subsequently formed a business partnership to protect him from further losses.

Despite these difficulties Rembrandt continued to have students, the most important of whom was Aert de Gelder (cat. nos. 43, 44). He also received a number of important portrait commissions, including the *Group Portrait of the Cloth Samplers (The Syndics)*, 1662 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). Rembrandt's late works are among his most moving creations. His broad painting techniques and deep, rich colors helped him produce works which evoke his profound psychological understanding of the figures he portrayed. He was recognized as the greatest artist of the day although his particular style of painting was criticized as not

conforming to classicistic ideals. The most serious consequence of this conflict in taste was the rejection of Rembrandt's *Conspiracy of Julius Civilis*, 1661 (fig. 3) for the Amsterdam town hall.

A.K.W.

25 *Historical Scene*, 1626

Oil on panel; 89.8 x 121 cm (35 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 47 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Signed and dated (indistinctly) in lower right: RL 1626

Provenance: Perhaps Petrus Scriverius (Amsterdam, sale, no. 3, 1663). Asscher, Koetser and Welder, London, 1924. J.J.M. Chabot, loan to Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1925. (The Hague, Van Marle and Bignell, sale cat., September 1, 1942, no. 24, ill.). Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties, The Hague, on loan to Stedelijk Museum "de Lakenhal," Leiden.

Exhibitions: The Hague 1946, no. 46, (as *Clemency of Emperor Titus*). Leiden 1956, no. 4, (as *Clemency of Emperor Titus*). Leiden 1977, no. S26 (ill.) (as *Palamedes before Agamemnon* [!])

Bibliography: Hofstede de Groot, 1924, p. 126f., fig. Stechow, 1929, p. 134, fig. Müller (-Hofstede), 1929, p. 78. Bauch, 1933, pp. 8, 173, fig. Bredius, 1935, no. 460, fig. Benesch, 1935, p. 2. Martin, 1936/37, p. 56, fig. Schmidt Degener, 1941, pp. 106-111, fig. Pelinck, 1949, pp. 229-232, no. 814, fig. Van de Waal, p. 124. Van Gelder, 1953, p. 12f., fig. Knuttel, 1955, p. 44, fig. Saxl, 1957, I, pp. 298-301, fig. Sumowski, 1957/58, p. 23. Benesch, 1959, p. 310, fig. Bauch, 1960, pp. 99-101, fig. Slive, 1963, fig. Bauch, 1966, p. 7, fig. Gerson, 1968, p. 18f., fig. S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 1969, p. 252f. Guratzsch, 1975, p. 247f., fig. Broos, p. 203f., fig. Van de Wetering, 1977, fig. Groen, 1977, figs. S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 1978, p. 167f.

Rembrandt's training with Pieter Lastman provided him with stylistic and thematic models for his early attempts at history painting. This particular painting, which is one of Rembrandt's earliest known works, is clearly indebted to a Lastman prototype for its composition, *Coriolanus and the Roman Matrons*, 1622 (Dublin, Trinity College, The Provost's House; Broos). As had Lastman, Rembrandt conceived his scene in the ancient form of the *Adlocutio*, where an emperor or king, on a raised podium, addresses his petitioners before him. The ruler's prominence is stressed by the low vantage point from which he is seen.

As in other instances where Rembrandt has based his composition on Lastman prototypes, for example, *The Baptism of the Eunuch*, 1626 (Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent) and *Balaam and the Ass*, 1626 (Paris, Musée Cognacq-Ray), Rembrandt has enlarged the central figures and brought them closer to the picture plane. He may have been encouraged to enlarge his figures through the influence of Jan Lievens, with whom he had a close working relationship in the mid-1620s. Indeed, the figures' gestures in this painting have a stiff angularity that is



reminiscent of Lievens' drawing of *Mucius Scaevola and Porsenna* (Leiden, Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit) from the same period.

Ironically, despite its elaborate and developed composition, the precise scene Rembrandt has depicted has remained elusive. No less than nine different interpretations of the subject have been suggested in recent years, ranging from Old Testament stories to scenes from classical antiquity and to Germanic history. Each interpretation has its merits, but no suggestion thus far adequately accounts for the precise character and number of participants in this painting (for a summary of these interpretations see Leiden, 1976). The question of subject in this painting is so puzzling that one even wonders whether Rembrandt, in this early work, accurately interpreted the historical episode he was depicting. Nevertheless, one senses from the gesture of the king or emperor and from the earnest expressions of the three figures who have come before him that the ruler is blessing (and pardoning?) the men in return for their loyalty. The scene would thus represent an ideal of good government as seen in the wise judgment of a

just ruler. Such an interpretation is consistent with the compositional format Rembrandt used, one which is also found in comparable scenes depicting exemplary acts of justice, for example in Lastman's *Coriolanus* and Van den Eeckhout's *The Magnanimity of Scipio* (cat. no. 41).

This painting possibly formed a pendant to *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, 1625 (Lyons), and belonged to the important Leiden historian and poet Petrus Scriverius (Leiden, 1976). If these paintings were commissioned as pendants they may have been intended to represent two forms of justice: one brutal and criminal, and the other humane and forgiving. A close examination of Scriverius' writings may give further clues to the meaning of this painting.

Technically, this work is a fascinating example of Rembrandt's experimental approach to painting. In the background figures, including his self-portrait to the right of the ruler, he has created the effect of hair by dragging the blunt end of his brush through the wet surface paint to reveal the underlying color. X-radiographs reveal many changes of design and clear evidence that Rembrandt

completed the foreground figures after he had finished his background design (Van der Wetering). This latter procedure may help explain the clear separation between the richly colored and opaquely painted figures in the foreground and the more mutely painted background design. Despite the awkward relationship of the foreground and background figures, no evidence suggests, as some scholars have hypothesized, that two artists worked on this picture.

The Hague, Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties, on loan to Leiden, Stedelijk Museum "de Lakenhal"

A.K.W.

Rembrandt van Rijn

26 *Belshazzar's Feast*, 1635/37

Oil on canvas; 167 x 209.5 cm (66 x 82⅜ in.)

Signed and dated along right edge:

Rembrandt f 163(?)

(Exhibited in Washington and Detroit only)

Provenance: Bought by Hamlet Winstanley for James Stanley, 19th Earl of Derby (d. February 1, 1735/36).

The painting had been continuously in the family collection at Knowsley Hall, Lancashire until sold to the National Gallery, London in 1957.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1822, no. 21.

Manchester 1857, no. 695. Stockholm 1956, no. 18.

Manchester 1957, no. 131.

Bibliography: Smith, 1836, VII, no. 40. Hofstede de Groot, 1916, VI, no. 52. Landsberger, 1946, p. 151.

J. van Gelder, 1953, p. 38. Sumowski, 1956, p. 233.

Haussherr, 1963, pp. 144-46. National Gallery, *Report for 1962-1964*, 1965, pp. 41-42. Bauch, 1966, no. 21.

Gerson, 1968, p. 54, no. 77. Bredius (Gerson), 1969, no. 497. Kauffman, 1978, pp. 167-176.

The story of Belshazzar's feast comes from the Book of Daniel, chapter 5. Belshazzar, King of Babylon, gave a great banquet for a thousand of his lords. Under the influence of wine he ordered that the gold and silver vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the Temple in Jerusalem, be brought to be used at the banquet. Suddenly, the fingers of a human hand appeared and wrote these words on the wall: "Mene, Mene, Thekel, Upharsin." Daniel, who had entered the king's service because of his abilities to interpret dreams, was summoned to the banquet. Daniel told Belshazzar that the words represented God's judgment against him because of his sacrilege. The words foretold Belshazzar's death and the end of his kingdom. That night the king was slain.

Rembrandt has portrayed the climactic moment in which Belshazzar and his entourage react to the foreboding apparition. Belshazzar, his eyes fixed on the inscription, rises to his feet and thrusts out his arms, knocking over a silver wine vessel. Others draw back in fear and incomprehension. As in other religious paintings from the 1630s, including *The Angel Leaving Tobias and his Family*, 1637 (Paris, Louvre), and *The Ascension of Christ*, 1636 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek), from the Passion series, Rem-

brandt has depicted the impact of the supernatural on human life as a dramatic, almost theatrical event. This extraordinary painting is one of Rembrandt's most exuberant works from the 1630s. The closeness of the figures to the viewer, their enormous scale, and the rich impastos of the paint give the scene an immediacy that enhances its impact.

No information is known about a possible commission, although the large scale of the painting suggests that one may have existed. The Hebrew inscription, which reads vertically from right to left, must have come from Menasseh ben Israel, an influential Dutch rabbi, who published this formula in his book *De termino vitae*, 1639 (Haussherr). This publication, however, should not be considered a terminus post quem for the painting. Rembrandt, who had etched Menasseh ben Israel's portrait in 1636, could have conferred with the rabbi before the publication of the book. Indeed, the similarities in scale and dramatic conception between *Belshazzar's Feast* and the *Blinding of Samson*, 1636 (see fig.1), suggests a date around 1635-37.

The subject of Belshazzar's feast is not frequently found in Dutch art, and no clear prototype exists for Rembrandt's composition. Pieter de Grebber's large and dramatic composition, 1626 (Kassel), seems to have had no visible impact on Rembrandt's design. A possible source for Rembrandt's portrayal of Belshazzar is Lastman's *Ahasuerus' Fury*, 161? (Warsaw), where Ahasuerus reacts to Haman's supplications to Esther with similarly outstretched arms. Rembrandt was extremely responsive to Lastman's figural prototypes during the mid-1630s and could easily have adapted the pose of Ahasuerus for that of Belshazzar.

X-radiographs reveal many changes in design. The inscription has been modified, suggesting that Rembrandt conferred with Manasseh ben Israel during the course of executing the painting. At least one figure has been eliminated to the left of Belshazzar's head, and the figures surrounding Belshazzar seem to have been altered. The still life on the table has also been changed considerably. Belshazzar's right hand, which now rests on an overturned platter, once grasped the handle of another object. Although it is difficult to interpret Rembrandt's intent with these changes, many of them seem designed to isolate and emphasize the figure of Belshazzar.

London, The Trustees of the National Gallery

A.K.W.



Rembrandt van Rijn

27 *The Visitation*, 1640

Oil on panel; 56.5 x 48.1 cm (22¼ x 18⅞ in.)

Signed and dated bottom center on lowest step:

Rembrandt 1640

Provenance: King of Sardinia. Prince Eugène of Savoy, Vienna, no. 122. Imported into England by Nieuwenhuys about 1807. Purchased by Marquis of Westminster, 1812. Marquis, later Duke, of Westminster, at least until 1899. Alfred de Rothschild, Halton Manor. M. Knoedler & Co., The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1927.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1834, no. 114. London, Royal Academy, 1870, no. 36. London, Royal Academy, 1895, no. 88. Amsterdam, 1898, no. 45. London, 1899, no. 52. New York, 1925, no. 4. Detroit, 1930, no. 30, ill. Los Angeles, 1947, no. 16.

Cambridge, Mass., 1948, no. 5. New York, Toledo, Toronto, 1954-55, no. 62, ill. Raleigh, 1956, no. 13, ill. Raleigh, 1959, no. LII, ill. Chicago, 1969, no. 7, ill. *Bibliography:* Smith, 1836, VII, no. 57. Hofstede de Groot, 1916, VI, no. 74. Bruyn, 1959, p. 6. Bauch, 1966, no. 70. Gerson, 1968, p. 312f., no. 203. Haak, 1969, p. 264f. Bredius (Gerson), 1969, no. 562.

The angel who announced to Mary that she would have a child that would be called the Son of God also announced to Mary that her aged cousin Elizabeth had conceived a son. As described in Luke 1:39-41, Mary then went into the hill country to visit Elizabeth and her husband Zacharias. Upon hearing Mary's salutation, Elizabeth's babe jumped in her womb, and Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost. Rembrandt has depicted the moment when the two cousins greet and embrace each other at the steps of the door. Zacharias is excitedly descending the steps, being assisted by a young boy. A black servant removes Mary's cape, and, in the middle ground, Joseph leads the donkey. In the far distance a building with a large tower dominates the surrounding city.

The Visitation is one of Rembrandt's tenderest and most intimate biblical paintings. The subtle light that falls on Mary and Elizabeth and the relatively detailed handling of their forms help focus on the central significance of their embrace. The figures and architecture around them reinforce their importance while further enlivening and structuring the composition. Rembrandt's concept for the composition, depicting figures greeting on the steps of a structure that rises before a distant vista, is one that occurs often in his works from the 1630s. It appears, for example, in his etching *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1636 (Münz, no. 207), and in the painting *The Risen Christ Appearing to the Magdalen*, 1638 (London, Buckingham Palace).

Rembrandt depicted the Visitation only once in his life. The inspiration may have been a woodcut of *The Visitation* by Albrecht Dürer. This woodcut belonged to Dürer's series, *The Life of the Virgin*, that Rembrandt purchased at the Gommars Sprange sale in February 1638. At that time he bought no fewer than eight examples of this series, as well as prints by Lucas van Leyden and

Hendrick Goltzius. Associations with the subject, however, may also have been personal. Elizabeth bears a striking resemblance to Rembrandt's mother who died on July 14, 1640 (cf. Rembrandt's portrait of his mother, 1639, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Saskia was, in fact, expecting a child during the first half of 1640. Her daughter Cornelia was born on July 29, 1640 and died two weeks later, August 12, 1640.

Rembrandt's perceptive characterization of old age came from his many drawings and etchings of figures he saw in his daily life. The manner in which Zacharias leans on the young boy for support, for example, is reminiscent of a drawing Rembrandt made in the late 1630s of a blind old woman resting her hand on the shoulder of a boy (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Museum Dahlem).

The Detroit Institute of Arts

A.K.W.



Rembrandt van Rijn

28 *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife, 1655*

Oil on canvas (transferred from old canvas in 1854); 106 x 98 cm (41 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Signed and dated in the lower right: *Rembrandt. f. 1655.*

Provenance: G. Hoet (The Hague, sale cat., August 25, 1760, no. 44. J. E. Gotzkowsky, Berlin. Empress Catherine II, for the Hermitage, 1763. M. Knoedler & Co., New York City. Andrew W. Mellon, Washington, D.C., 1937. National Gallery of Art, 1937.

Exhibitions: Knoedler Galleries, New York City, April 1933. Chicago, 1934, no. 105 (ill. plate XVIII). Amsterdam, 1935, no. 17 (ill.). Washington, D.C., 1969, no. 13 (ill. p. 23).

Bibliography: Smith, 1836, no. 21. Somof, 1901, II, no. 794. Hofstede de Groot, VI, no. 18. Bauch, 1966, no. 33. Bredius (Gerson), 1969, no. 523. Kauffman, 1973.

The story comes from the Book of Genesis, chapter 39. Joseph, who had been sold to Potiphar, an officer of the pharaoh, came to be trusted and honored in Potiphar's household. He was, however, falsely accused by Potiphar's wife of having tried to violate her when her repeated attempts at seduction had failed. When he fled from her, she held on to his robe and eventually used the robe as evidence against him. In Rembrandt's painting Potiphar's wife is pointing to Joseph's red robe which is draped over her bed post. Potiphar is listening to the story while Joseph stands quietly on the far side of the bed.

Rembrandt's scene differs from the biblical text in that it depicts all three protagonists together at the time of the accusation. Joseph's presence is not mentioned in the Bible. Iconographically, the presence of Joseph is also unusual. One precedent Rembrandt might have known, first mentioned by Bauch, 1960 (note 96) is Jan Pynas' painting of the same subject (see fig. 6 of Religious History Painting essay). Compositionally, however, the paintings are quite different and the connections are not compelling. Rembrandt may have arrived at this conception as a result of viewing Vondel's play of *Joseph in Egypten*, which first appeared in 1639/40, where all three protagonists appear together (Kauffman, 1973). Rembrandt, however, often took liberties with biblical texts to enhance the emotional poignancy of the scene. In *The Visitation* (cat. no. 27), for example, he depicted the aged Zacharias descending the stairs to greet Mary, although Elizabeth's husband is not mentioned in this biblical episode. Aside from the presence of Joseph in *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife*, Rembrandt also varied from iconographic traditions by situating the protagonists around the bed (compare Lucas van Leyden's representation of this scene in Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).

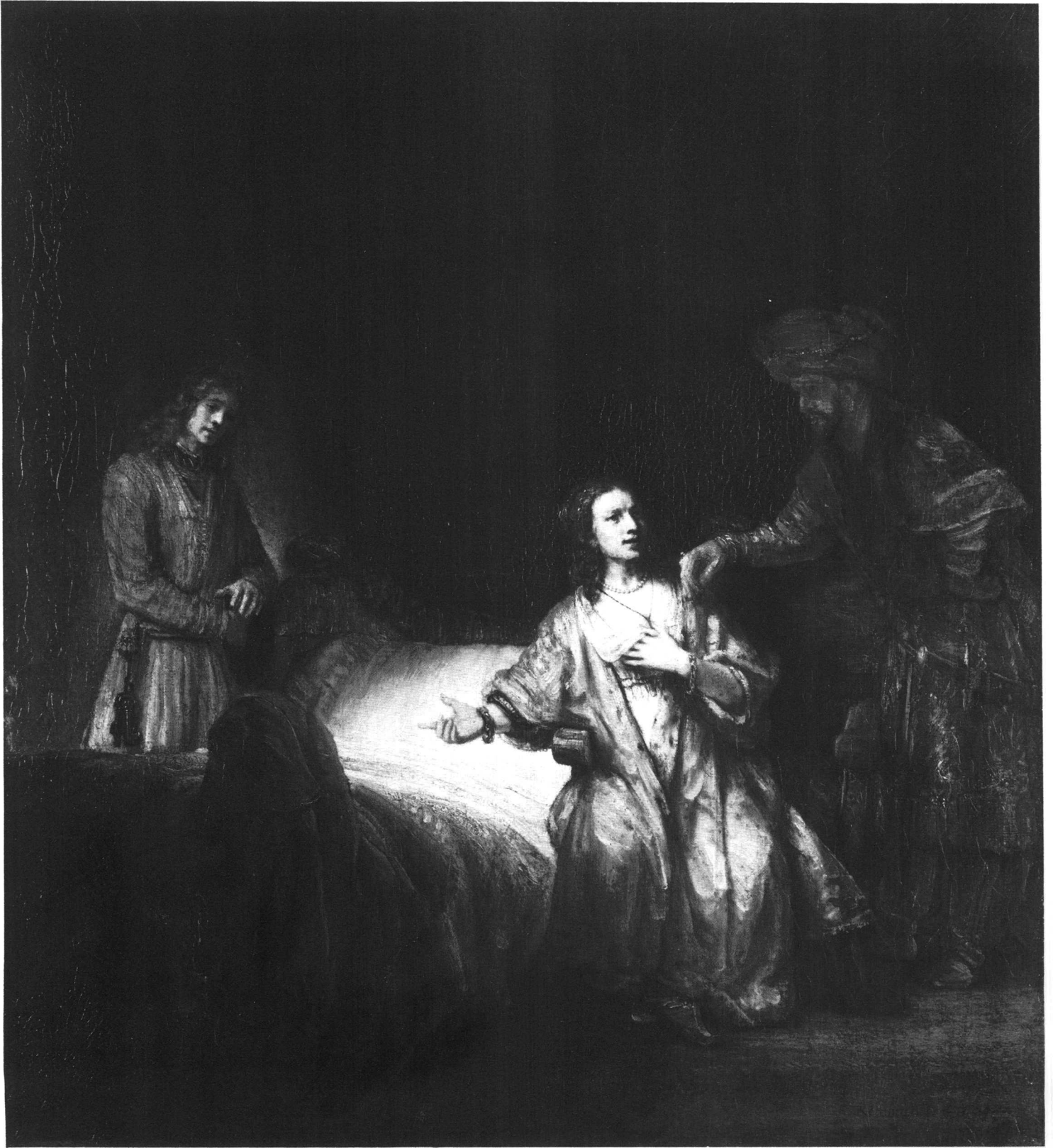
The story of the family of Joseph was one of Rembrandt's favorite biblical subjects. He graphically portrayed Joseph fleeing Potiphar's wife's attempted seduction in an etching in 1634. The scene of accusation occurs twice: in the Washington painting and in one in Berlin, also dated 1655. The compositions of these paintings are virtually identical, but the moods are different. In the Berlin version Joseph appears outwardly agitated rather than restrained: his eyes glance upwards and one hand is raised. Such

close compositional similarities are unusual in Rembrandt's oeuvre unless one of the works is known to have been commissioned. No commissions are known in this instance; hence questions have been raised as to whether one of these paintings is the work of a student. These paintings, however, create very different impressions and are not mere repetitions. Now that the Washington painting has been cleaned, the vibrancy of its colors and the rich handling of paint can be fully appreciated.

Although the reasons that two versions exist are not known, the subject must have had personal associations for Rembrandt. Titus served as the model for Joseph. As Kauffman has emphasized, Rembrandt may have been drawn to the subject because, at this time, he was also beset by accusations from a woman scorned, Geertje Dircx. In 1649 she sued Rembrandt for breach of promise, a suit that was followed by years of litigation. The theme of false accusation also arises in Mantegna's drawing *Calumny of Appelles* which Rembrandt owned and copied at about this time. The costume and angular stance of Potiphar are reminiscent of a number of studies after Indian miniatures that Rembrandt made in the mid-1650s (see Benesch 1190-1194).

Washington, National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection, 1937

A.K.W.



Rembrandt van Rijn

29 *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*, 1659/60

Oil on canvas; 137 x 116 cm (54 x 45¾ in.)

Signed in lower right on an added piece of canvas:

Rembrandt f.

(Exhibited in Amsterdam only)

Provenance: Perhaps J. B. Horion, Brussels (sale, Sept. 1, 1788, no. 172); E. Solly, 1821. Acquired by Berlin Museum.

Exhibitions: Amsterdam, 1935, no. 23. Amsterdam, 1956, no. 81 (ill.).

Bibliography: Smith, 1836, VII, no. 14. Hofstede de Groot, 1916, VI, no. 13. Heppner, 1935, p. 259f.

Bauch, 1966, no. 36. Gerson, 1968, no. 346. Bredius (Gerson), 1969, no. 528. Tümpel, 1969, p. 175f. Berlin cat., 1978, no. 828.

Rembrandt's painting of *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* portrays one of the most evocative scenes described in the Book of Genesis (32: 23-30). Jacob, who was spending the night near a stream, wrestled there with a man "until the breaking of the day." In the midst of his struggle, Jacob's opponent "touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint, as he wrestled with him." Jacob refused to let go, and at dawn when Jacob's opponent demanded to be released, Jacob refused to do so "except thou bless me." The angel agreed to bless him and told him that since he was able to prevail with God as well as with man his name should no longer be Jacob but Israel.

The scene of *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* does not occur frequently in Dutch art. The only other representations of the scene are by M. van Uytenbroeck, 1623 (p.c., Switzerland), and B. Breenbergh, 1639 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). In both of these paintings, however, the wrestling pair are small figures within a broad landscape. Rembrandt, as so often in his late paintings, has focused on the interaction of the figures to the exclusion of the setting. Despite the massive scale of the figures one does not sense the intensity of their physical struggle. Brought together by their physical embrace, the two antagonists are united by a profound tenderness and compassion.

This type of physical interaction between a spiritual and human being is seen frequently in Rembrandt's late work, as for example in his etching of *Abraham's Sacrifice*, 1655, and the painting *The Evangelist Matthew Inspired by the Angel*, 1661 (Paris, Louvre). The angel in the *Matthew* and in the *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* are both modeled after Rembrandt's son, Titus (see also cat. no. 28). An oil sketch of the same figure (Bredius, no. 125) is also attributed to Rembrandt. Jacob is also taken from a model seen in other of Rembrandt's works: *The Apostle Bartholomew*, 1657 (San Diego, Timken Art Gallery) and *The Apostle Simon*, 1661 (Zurich, Kunsthau). These similarities in figure types as well as stylistic considerations suggest a date for this work around 1659-60.

A number of aspects of this painting suggest that it is a fragment of a larger work. The broad, planar execution and the strong contours around the figure of Jacob suggest that it was meant to be seen from a distance. X-radiographs, which permit one to view

the pattern of the weave of the canvas, indicate that the support has no thread distortions along its edges such as those caused by tacks in the stretcher. The position of the horizontal seam through the upper part of the painting (at the level of the head of the angel) is unusual for a painting of the present format. Finally, a painting of this subject but of larger dimensions (172.5 x 165 cm) was sold in Brussels in 1788. One wonders whether the canvas piece which contains the signature and which has been attached to this painting comes from a section that has been cut away.

The theory has been proposed by Heppner (1935) that both this painting and *Moses with the Tables of the Law*, 1659 (Berlin, Dahlem Museum) were originally planned by Rembrandt for the decorative scheme of the Amsterdam town hall. The theory, while attractive, has no documentary evidence to support it. Unfortunately, nothing is known about Rembrandt's intent for this work, or the reasons he chose this unusual theme for this impressive painting.

West Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie

A.K.W.



Rembrandt van Rijn

30 *The Denial of St. Peter*, 1660

Oil on canvas; 154 x 169 cm (60 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 66 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Signed and dated lower right: *Rembrandt* 1660

Provenance: Marquis Voyer d'Argenson, Paris. Comte de Vence (Paris, Feb. 9, 1761, no. 49). Comte de Baudouin, Paris, 1780. Purchased by Empress Catherine II for the Hermitage. Rijksmuseum, 1933.

Exhibitions: Amsterdam, 1935, no. 27. Brussels, 1946, no. 88. New York, 1950, no. 22. Toronto, 1950. Chicago, London, 1952/1953, no. 188 (ill.). Zürich, 1953, no. 122 (ill.). Rome, 1954, no. 122. Milan, 1954, no. 125. New York, Toledo, Toronto, 1954-55, no. 66. Stockholm, 1956, no. 35 (ill.). Amsterdam, 1956, no. 82 (ill.). Montreal, 1967, no. 112.

Bibliography: Smith, 1836, VII, no. Somof, 1901, II, no. Hofstede de Groot, 1916, VI, no. 121. Henkel, 1933, p. 292. H.E. van Gelder, 1948. Judson, 1964, p. 141. Rosenberg, Slive, and Ter Kuile, 1966, p. 80, no. 92. Gerson, 1968, p. 418, no. 353. Bredius (Gerson), 1969, no. 594.

Around 1660 and 1661 Rembrandt painted a number of half-length studies of apostles and evangelists that may have constituted a series (Bredius 612-619). Related in mood to these paintings but somewhat apart from them because of its scale and narrative quality is the impressive *The Denial of St. Peter*, signed and dated 1660. As in Rembrandt's other representations of apostles and evangelists one senses the internal struggle felt by Peter as he attempts to reconcile his faith with human doubt and incomprehension. In the surrounding darkness two soldiers expectantly await Peter's answer, and in the even more dimly lit background, a group of figures, including Christ, have turned to listen.

Rembrandt has focused on Peter's bewildered countenance by illuminating it with a hidden light source, a compositional device that he had exploited in his earlier work (cf. *The Descent from the Cross*, 1634, Leningrad, Hermitage) but had not developed in his mature paintings. He also added poignancy to Peter's denial by subtly modifying the biblical account. As described in the Gospel of St. Luke (22:54-62) Peter followed Christ after his capture to the house of the high priest. As Peter sat outside the house by a fire "a certain maid beheld him . . . and earnestly looked upon him, and said, 'This man was also with him.' And he denied him, saying, 'Woman, I know him not.'" Peter, however, denied Christ two more times. The third time he spoke to a man. "Peter said, 'Man, I know not what thou sayest,' and immediately the cock crowed. And the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter." Rembrandt has conflated these episodes into one scene. Thus not only does Peter's face express the initial bewilderment he must have felt when first questioned by the maiden, but also the presence of Christ in the painting symbolizes the finality of the denial.

Two drawings have been associated with *The Denial of St. Peter* (Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts; Madrid, Bibliotheca Nacional), although the authenticity of both has been questioned. The drawing in Paris is particularly interesting because the scene it depicts

contains more bystanders than appear in the painting. Whether the drawing is by Rembrandt or one of his students, it may reflect an earlier conception of this painting than evident today. As Judson has pointed out, the present composition of the painting is extremely close to a drawing by Jan Pynas of the same subject (P. de Boer, Amsterdam).

This painting, along with *The Conspiracy of Julius Civilis* (fig. 3), stands at the culmination of Rembrandt's portrayals of night scenes. The broad and bold brushwork with which it is painted, so characteristic of Rembrandt's late style, gives added force to the vigor and strength of his conception.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

A.K.W.



Jan Lievens

1607 Leiden—Amsterdam 1674

Lievens lived and worked in Leiden until the early 1630s. He was an extremely precocious artist. By the age of ten he had already served as an apprentice to Joris van Schooten in Leiden. Probably around 1619 he went to Amsterdam to study for two years with Pieter Lastman. The influence of Lastman and also of the Utrecht Caravaggisti are evident in his bold, half-length figured compositions of the early to mid-1620s (cat. no. 31). After Rembrandt returned to Leiden from Amsterdam around 1625-26 Lievens developed a stronger sense of chiaroscuro than evident in his early work. In the later 1620s Lievens and Rembrandt painted many similar subjects and may even have worked together on the same paintings, although no evidence exists that they shared a studio.

By the end of the 1620s Lievens and Rembrandt were considered the foremost artists in Leiden. Their paintings were praised by both J. Orlers (1641) and Constantijn Huygens. Huygens' comments in his unpublished autobiography (written around 1630) are particularly interesting. He wrote that Lievens' paintings had a grandeur of invention and boldness that Rembrandt did not achieve. Huygens believed, however, that Rembrandt surpassed Lievens in judgment and in the representation of lively emotional expression.

Around 1632 Lievens left for England where he worked as a portrait painter until c. 1635. No works, however, can be currently attributed to this period despite evidence that he painted portraits of Charles I. During this period in England Lievens must have met Van Dyck, an artist whose style had an enormous impact on Lievens' subsequent work.

Lievens entered the Guild of St. Luke in Antwerp in 1635. He remained in Antwerp until 1644, at which time he moved to Amsterdam. He lived in Amsterdam from 1644-53 and from 1659-69, and in The Hague from 1654-57 and from 1670-71. Although he seems to have kept in contact with Leiden throughout his life, he eventually returned to Amsterdam where he died in 1674.

Lievens' Flemish style of painting was much in demand after his return to the Netherlands in 1644, and he received a number of important commissions, including paintings for the Huis ten Bosch, the new town hall in Amsterdam, and the Rijnlandhuis in Leiden. His late history paintings, however, are clearly derivative of Van Dyck and appear today to lack the conviction of his earlier work. Only in his drawings, etchings, and woodcuts did he maintain a high level of quality throughout his career.

A.K.W.

31 *The Feast of Esther*, 1625/26

Oil on canvas; 130 x 165 cm (51¼ x 65 in.)

Provenance: Perhaps identical to a painting of this subject attributed to Rembrandt in the collection of Johannes de Renailme, Amsterdam, 1657. C.A. de Calonne

(London, sale cat., March 25-28, 1795). B.

Sommelinck, Ghent (Brussels, Fievez, Dec. 16, 1936, no. 80 [dated 1632 and by Aert de Gelder]). P. de Boer, Amsterdam, 1937. Charles A. de Burlet, Basel, 1952. Schaeffer Gallery, New York, 1952. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh.

Exhibitions: Raleigh, 1956, no. 1 [as Rembrandt] (ill.).

Raleigh, 1959, no. 68 [as Rembrandt] (ill.).

Sarasota, 1960, no. 17 [as Rembrandt] (ill.).

Oberlin, 1963, no. 11 [as Rembrandt] (ill.).

Montreal and Toronto, 1969, no. 1 [as Rembrandt]

(ill.). Leiden, 1976-77, no. S29 [as Rembrandt, attributed to], (ill. p. 72).

Bibliography: Martin, 1936-37, p. 54f., fig. Bredius, 1937, no. 631, fig. J. G. van Gelder, 1937, pp. 353-355, fig. Bauch, 1939, p. 240, fig. H. E. van Gelder, 1948, p. 58f., fig. Rosenberg, 1948, p. 248. J. G. van Gelder, 1953, p. 9f., fig. Knuttel, 1955, p. 45f. Bloch, 1955, p. 260. Knuttel, 1956, p. 242. Valentiner, 1956, p. 398f. Gerson, 1957, p. 122. Sumowski, 1957-1958, p. 225. fig. Bauch, 1960, pp. 112-119, fig. Bialostocki, 1962, p. 186f. Slive, 1963, pp. 139-144, fig. Rosenberg, 1964, pp. 14, 345, 364. Bauch, 1966, no. A1, fig. Rosenberg, Slive, and Ter Kuile, 1966, p. 85, fig. Bauch, 1967, p. 162f., fig. Gerson, 1968, pp. 22, 38, fig. Bredius (Gerson), 1969, p. 616, no. 631. Gerson, 1969, p. 139. Gerson, 1973, p. 23f. Schneider-Ekkart, 1973, p. 344, no. S349, fig. 53. Bialostocki, 1979, p. 17, fig.

The Feast of Esther records the dramatic moment in the Book of Esther when the queen accuses Haman of delivering her people to "destruction, slaughter, and extinction." King Ahasuerus, with his sudden realization of Haman's treachery against the Jews, reacts in instant anger, his arms outstretched and his hands clenched. Haman, silhouetted and seen from behind, recoils in fear, realizing the probable consequences of the king's displeasure. Behind the table stands Harbonah, the king's chamberlain.

The Feast of Esther is one of the most impressive and yet provocative paintings from the Leiden School. Since it first appeared on the art market in 1936 as an unknown Rembrandt painting, numerous proposals as to its attribution have been proposed. To many, the broad painterly style and bold colors as well as the dramatic energy contained in the confrontation between King Ahasuerus and Haman have argued for an attribution to Rembrandt. Others have found sufficient parallels in painting techniques and figure types to Lievens' paintings from the early to mid-1620s to argue that Rembrandt and Lievens must have collaborated on this work. No evidence, however, exists to indicate that two different artists participated in this work, and most recent opinions have rightly supported an attribution to Lievens.

Lievens probably executed this painting around 1625, a few years after he had returned to Leiden after his apprenticeship with Pieter Lastman. The life-size, half-length figures seen in this painting are comparable to those found in other works from the mid-1620s, including the *Christ at the Column* (The Hague, S.



Nystad), or *Pilate Washing His Hands* (Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal). The execution of these early works is rough and bold, as though he had enlarged small portions of Lastman's paintings. *The Feast of Esther*, however, differs from Lievens' other early works in the clarity of its spatial organization. The compositional arrangement of half-length figures situated around a table with a foreground figure silhouetted against a light backdrop is derived from the Utrecht Caravaggisti, specifically Honthorst.

Lievens' successful fusion of Honthorst's and Lastman's styles in *The Feast of Esther* shows him to be a far more advanced artist

than Rembrandt at this time (see cat. no. 25). When comparing these works, one can understand Constantijn Huygens' opinion that Lievens' paintings of the 1620s had a grandeur of invention and boldness that Rembrandt did not achieve.

Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, Original State Appropriation

A.K.W.

Jan Lievens

- 32 *Prince Charles Ludwig of the Palatinate and his Governor as Alexander and Aristotle* (?), 1631
Oil on canvas; 106 x 96 cm (41¾ x 37¾ in.)
Signed and dated, on the armrest in center: IL/1631
Provenance: A. Sydervelt, Amsterdam, sale cat., April 23, 1766, no. 58 [as G. Flinck, 40 florins]. Earl of Craven, Combe Abbey (catalogue, 1866, no. 20). Cornelia, Countess of Craven, and J. Taylor, London (London, Christie's sale cat., April 13, 1923, no. 11 [bought in]). Cornelia, of Craven, London (London, Sotheby's sale cat., Nov. 27, 1968, no. 88 [as *Jacob Cats Instructing the Prince of Orange*]). H. Shickman Gallery, New York, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. Exhibitions: Birmingham, 1833, no. 134. London, 1853, no. 47 [as by Flinck and entitled *Samuel and Eli*]. Manchester, 1857, no. 922 [as by Rembrandt]. London, 1952-53, no. 202 [as *Jacob Cats Instructing the Prince of Orange*]. Chicago, 1969, no. 78 [as *Eli Instructing Samuel*], (ill.). Minneapolis, 1972, no. 36 [as *Eli Instructing Samuel*], (ill.). Braunschweig, 1979, no. 28 [as *Eli and Samuel*], (ill. p. 92). Bibliography: Moes, 1897, I, p. 171f., no. 1503; p. 608, no. 9095. Moes, 1901-02, p. 184. Schneider, 1932, p. 32, no. 135. Münz, 1952, II, p. 66. Van Gelder, 1953, p. 37. Von Moltke, 1965, p. 236. Fredericksen, 1972, no. 95. Schneider-Ekkart, 1973, p. 328, no. 135, fig. 46. Fredericksen, 1975, p. 118. Brown, 1980.

In this painting a young boy, dressed in a bright lemon-yellow cloak and wearing a laurel wreath on his head, sits listening to an aged mentor. His teacher, who is dressed in black and wears a medallion on a gold chain, is discussing the contents of the enormous volume lying open between them. The old man, who has a stern yet sympathetic face, is portrayed with his hand extended toward the boy, a gesture commonly referred to as a "speaking hand."

Lievens' painting clearly belongs to the tradition of historicizing portraits, although the identity of the pair and the historical personages they were meant to represent have been a matter of debate. Sir Oliver Millar, however, has recently determined that the young man is Prince Charles Ludwig of the Palatinate (1617-80). The older man may be his tutor, Wolrad von Plessen (c. 1560-1632) (see Brown, 1979). This identification of these figures is supported by the apparent ages of the sitters and similarities with other portrayals of the young prince (see Mierevelt's portrait, 1634, in Hardwick Hall). Prince Charles Ludwig was the son of the Winter King Frederick V (1596-1632) and was living in Leiden in 1631 under the supervision of his governor, von Plessen. Lievens, who had recently painted the portrait of Constantijn Huygens (Douai, Musée de la Chartreux), probably received the commission to paint the young prince upon Huygens' recommendation.

The costumes of the figures suggest that they were meant to represent classical figures rather than the frequently suggested identification of Eli and Samuel. The most probable historical

association for this pair is Aristotle instructing the young Alexander. Both Alexander and Charles Ludwig, moreover, were about fourteen years of age when they underwent instruction from their learned tutors. Since the political aspirations of the family of Prince Charles Ludwig rested on his shoulders, the associations implied in his portrayal as the young Alexander are particularly appropriate.

For all of its historical interest, however, the painting does not totally succeed as a work of art. Although Lievens' portrayal is bold in scale and color and the painting has many beautiful passages, the figures do not interact. Lievens apparently attempted to depict the mesmerizing effect of the tutor's words, but instead, the two figures seem to stare past each other.

Malibu, California, The J. Paul Getty Museum

A.K.W.



Willem de Poorter 1608 Haarlem (?)—after 1648

Little is known about De Poorter's family other than that his father, Pieter, came from Flanders. De Poorter worked primarily in Haarlem, although after 1645 he is also mentioned in Wijk bij Heusden. His earliest paintings are from about 1633. The strong stylistic associations between these works and Rembrandt's paintings from the late 1620s and early 1630s suggest that he studied with the master during these years, but an apprenticeship is not documented. De Poorter also borrowed themes and specific figures from paintings by Lastman (see cat. nos. 20-22) and Jan Pynas.

Rembrandt's biblical and mythological scenes with small figures and dramatic lighting effects also affected other Haarlem artists during the 1630s, particularly Jacob de Wet, Adriaen van Ostade, and Pieter de Grebber. De Poorter's early work is often confused with that of Jacob de Wet, and his later paintings, which are more loosely executed than his early works, are occasionally attributed to Leonard Bramer. Aside from biblical and mythological themes, De Poorter also painted a few portraits and a number of still lifes.

A.K.W.

33 *Saint Paul and Saint Barnabas at Lystra*, 1636

Oil on panel; 55 x 82 cm (21 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 32 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Signed and dated, on board in lower left: POORTER: 1636

Provenance: M. Wolff, Amsterdam, before 1938, (Amsterdam, Mak van Waay, sale cat., April 4, 1942, no. 22 (ill.). Dienst Verspreide Rijkskollekties, The Hague, inv. no. 2786 [as *Solomon Worshipping Foreign Gods*].

Bibliography: *Schilderzijenzaal Prins Willem V*, 1977, no. 36 [as *Solomon Worshipping Foreign Gods*].

This painting has been traditionally identified as *Solomon Worshipping Foreign Gods*, presumably because of compositional similarities with other paintings of this subject by De Poorter (see Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. 1898). The picture, however, depicts Saint Paul and Saint Barnabas who tear their clothes and implore the people of Lystra not to offer a sacrifice on their behalf. The incident, described in Acts 15: 11-18, occurred after Paul had healed a cripple. The people immediately proclaimed him to be the god Mercury, and Barnabas the god Jupiter come to earth in disguise. The priest of Jupiter then proposed to offer a sacrifice on their behalf.

The subject was a popular one with artists in the early decades of the seventeenth century, particularly among Amsterdam history painters. Pieter Lastman (formerly Warsaw, signed and dated 1614) and Jan Pynas (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, signed and dated 1628), for example, both painted the scene. De Poorter clearly knew Lastman's painting and based his figure of the high priest on Lastman's example. De Poorter's emphasis, however, is dif-

ferent from that of Lastman. Lastman dramatically silhouetted the gesturing saints against the sky, whereas De Poorter integrated them into the surrounding crowd.

The most important difference between De Poorter's and Lastman's compositions, and the one that demonstrates Rembrandt's profound influence on the Haarlem artist, is De Poorter's use of chiaroscuro effects. The technique of spotlighting the altar and surrounding figures while throwing the rest of the scene into darkness is derived from Rembrandt's paintings from around 1630-31 (see *Simeon's Song of Praise*, 1631, The Hague, Mauritshuis).

The basic compositional format used by De Poorter, in which figures kneel before a person of authority standing on a raised platform, is found in paintings by Rembrandt (cat. no. 25) and his school (cat. no. 41) and may derive from a Lastman painting, specifically *Coriolanus and the Roman Matrons* (1622, Dublin, Trinity College). Unlike these other artists, however, De Poorter used this compositional format as a foil to his specific subject matter. His intent was not to depict the authority of the priest, but to portray the disruption of his authority by the two saints. De Poorter's creative use of an established compositional type, which is enhanced by his dramatic chiaroscuro effects, establishes this painting as one of his most expressive works.

The Hague, Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties, Prince William V Gallery

A.K.W.



Carel Fabritius

1622 Midden-Beemster—Delft 1654

Carel Fabritius is considered by many to be the most gifted and original pupil of Rembrandt, the initiator of the Delft school of painting around 1650, and a major influence on the art of Vermeer. For an artist with such an extraordinary reputation, it comes as a surprise to realize that less than a dozen paintings can be firmly attributed to him. The dynamic qualities of these works, however, indicate that he was an artist with a strong and independent personality, one which could have made a significant impact on his contemporaries.

Fabritius was the son of Pieter Carelsz., a schoolmaster who lived in Midden-Beemster, a small town about fifteen miles north of Amsterdam. Fabritius initially worked as a carpenter, a profession which probably explains why he attached Fabritius to his Christian name (*faber* is the Latin word for carpenter). We do not know when Fabritius first began to paint, but in 1641 he and his bride probably moved to Amsterdam so that he could begin an apprenticeship with Rembrandt. As with most Rembrandt pupils he probably only stayed a couple of years. While he was in Amsterdam his wife died, and in 1643 a child, probably his son, was buried in Midden-Beemster. Fabritius probably lived in Midden-Beemster during the rest of the 1640s, although he certainly could have remained in close contact with Amsterdam. Fabritius had an important influence on the paintings of his younger brother Barent (1624-73) and, more importantly, on the paintings of Jan Vermeer.

Fabritius remarried in 1650 and is recorded in the same year as living in Delft. He became a member of the Delft guild in October 1652 and lived in Delft until his tragic death at the time of the explosion of the Delft powder magazine on October 12, 1654.

A.K.W.

34 *The Raising of Lazarus*, 1643/45

Oil on canvas; 210 x 140 cm (82 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 55 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Signed on bottom center of sarcophagus: *Car. Fabr*

Provenance: Perhaps painting sold in Amsterdam in 1739 (Amsterdam, sale cat., Sept. 16, 1739, no. 151 [as by Rembrandt]). Church of St. Alexander, Warsaw by 1855 [as by C.W.E. Dietrich]. Museum Narodowe, Warsaw.

Exhibitions: Warsaw, 1956, no. 38 (ill.). Leiden, 1956, no. 43 (ill.). Chicago, 1969, no. 57 (ill.).

Bibliography: Starzyński, 1936, pp. 95-113. Simon, 1936, pp. 317-320, figs. Bredius, 1939, p. 8, figs. Schuurman, 1947, pp. 20-27, 28 ff., fig. Bialostocki-Malicki, 1957, p. 529, no. 240, figs. Starzyński, 1956, pp. 402-418. Rosenberg, Slive and Ter Kuile, 1966, p. 93. Gerson, 1968, p. 68, fig. Haak, 1969, p. 182.

The raising of Lazarus is one of the most dramatic of Christ's miracles. As described in John 11:1-45, Jesus, upon hearing of

Lazarus' illness from Lazarus' sisters, Mary and Martha, traveled to Judea to learn that Lazarus had been dead for four days. Jesus ordered the stone to be rolled from the tomb, prayed to God, and called in a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth." Fabritius depicted the moment when Lazarus just started stirring to life. Christ stands boldly above the tomb; his right hand is raised as he commands Lazarus to rise. The figures crowded around the tomb react in amazement: some draw back, some press forward, and excitement is registered in their hands and faces.

This extraordinary painting is Fabritius' earliest known work. Although it is not dated, one can safely assume that he executed it around 1643-45, shortly after leaving Rembrandt's workshop. It exhibits many qualities that he learned from Rembrandt. In 1641-42, for example, when Fabritius arrived in Amsterdam, Rembrandt was occupied with the *Night Watch*, a painting whose drama and excitement are clearly felt in this work. The way in which Fabritius created the semblance of a crowd by partially obscuring the faces of those in the background is also found in the *Night Watch*.

Fabritius, however, like most Rembrandt pupils, also based his composition and pictorial effects on earlier periods of his master's work. He was particularly dependent for his conception on Rembrandt's painting of the same theme from the early 1630s (Los Angeles County Museum of Art). He enlivened the scene by using pictorial devices Rembrandt had developed in his Passion series. The flickering of illuminated hands and faces against the darkness that Fabritius created to enhance the drama of his scene, for example, is reminiscent of Rembrandt's *Resurrection of Christ*, 1639 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek). Interestingly, Rembrandt's relatively subdued rendition of this scene in his etching of 1642 had no impact at all on Fabritius' interpretation of the story.

Despite Fabritius' successful assimilation of Rembrandt's styles of paintings, *The Raising of Lazarus* is somewhat of an anomaly in Dutch art. Fabritius' dramatic conception of the scene is more characteristic of the 1630s than of the 1640s. This apparent stylistic inconsistency may explain why it was long attributed to a German imitator of Rembrandt, C.W.E. Dietrich (1712-74). Its correct attribution only came to light when a signature was discovered when the painting was cleaned in 1935 (Starzyński, 1936).

By the mid-1640s Fabritius, himself, may have felt uncomfortable with this mode of representation. To our knowledge, he never again returned to this type of subject. He devoted the rest of his career to portraits, figure studies, genre, and perspective scenes.

Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe

A.K.W.



Jan Victors

1619/20 Amsterdam—Dutch East Indies 1676 or later

Very little is known about the life of Jan Victors. His exact birth date is not recorded, but when he announced his engagement in 1642 he noted that his age was twenty-two. Victors apparently studied with Rembrandt in the late 1630s. He must have left Rembrandt's workshop by 1640, the year he signed and dated his painting, *A Woman Looking out of the Window*, in the Louvre. During the 1640s and early 1650s Victors painted a number of portraits and large-scale biblical scenes. Although these works are strongly Rembrandtesque in character, his style is crisper and his compositions more theatrical than those of Rembrandt. In his later works Victors turned increasingly to the representation of genre scenes. Victors is documented as being in Amsterdam until 1676 at which time he left for the Dutch East Indies.

A.K.W.

35 *Isaac Blessing Jacob*, c. 1640s or early 1650s

Oil on canvas; 165 x 203 cm (65 x 80 in.)

Provenance: Sale (after his death) of Vincent Donjeux "former dealer of paintings and curiosities," Paris, April 29, 1793, no. 152, as "Philippe Cöning [sic] and bought at this sale by Constantin for 5,999 francs. Sale of July 21, 1795, Paris, no. 64 as "Philippe Cöning;" catalogue written, like the preceding, by Lebrun; sold for 36,100 livres to Gambe, agent for the National Museum; before the sale Lebrun proposed that the painting be bought by the museum to avoid having it leave France; it was delivered to the National Museum August 8, 1795; it was acquired at the recommendation of the painter, Vincent, a member of the commission of the museum. *Exhibition:* Paris, 1970-71, no. 225.

Bibliography: Archives du Louvre, P4, 2 Thermidor, year 3 (July 29, 1795). Archives Nationales, F4, 2570. Archives du Louvre, tAA I, p. 156. Lavallée et Filhol, V, 1808, pl. III of the 57th installment or pl. 339 of the entire work (as "Cöning," but accompanied by a note correcting the attribution to Victors; the engraving is by d'Oortman). Landon, IX, 1825, p. 40, with a line drawing (Salomon Koninck). Villot, cat. 1852, no. 168 (Victors). Thoré, 1860, p. 41. Waagen, III, 1864, p. 36. Vosmaer, 1869, p. 102. Havard, II, 1880, p. 98. Havard, 1881, p. 101. Blanc, 1883, II, appendix, p. 10. Cat. Musée, 1922, p. 18, no. 2370. Réau, II, vol. I, 1956, p. 145. Pigler, 1956, T.I., p. 55. Foucart, 1970, p. 233, no. 225, illus. Blankert, 1971, p. 61, illus. p. 62. Zafran, 1977, p. 97, fig. 6, p. 96. Foucart-Bréjon, 1979, p. 146 illus. For all the transactions relative to the purchase of the painting, see an upcoming publication on the proceedings of the Commission of the National Museum (Louvre) by Madame Cantarel-Besson.

The aged Isaac, bedridden and blind, holds the hands of the kneeling Jacob, whom he is about to bless under the mistaken assumption that he is his older son, Esau. Lebrun and Paillet inadvertently described the painting in the Donjeux sale catalogue as *Jacob Blessing Esau*. At the right is Isaac's wife Rebecca. On the platter in the foreground are the remains of a goat dinner, Isaac's favorite dish, which had been served to him so that the goat skin could be used to cover the hands and neck of Jacob who was less hairy than Esau. In the background is Esau returning from the hunt (Genesis 27:1-30).

The proper attribution of the painting to Jan Victors has been accepted since the work of Lavallée and Filhol in 1808. Note that at the sale, the painting was listed as by Philips Koninck (undoubtedly intended to mean Salomon Koninck), an error which went back to the 1793 sale catalogue, even though it was put together by such experts of northern painting as Lebrun and Paillet. The attribution is easily corroborated by comparison with several biblical paintings by Victors, especially those with similar organization and comparable scenes. In his *Jacob Blessing the Children of Joseph* (Warsaw and Budapest), the old Jacob is very similar to the old Isaac.

The voluminous drapery, monumental format, smooth and correct execution with moderately soft light and richness of color, and the rounded forms are common traits in all his paintings. The bright tones of *Isaac Blessing Jacob*, comparable to those of *Young Girl at the Window* in the Louvre (exhibition *The Age of Rembrandt in French Public Collections*, 1970-71, no. 224, ill.), indicate that this painting should also date from the 1640s or the very beginning of the 1650s. One can compare *Isaac Blessing Jacob*, certainly one of the most successful of the master's characteristic religious production, with other of his biblical works, which are equally monumentally and amply composed, use the same sumptuous colors, are characterized by the expressive play of hands. For example, the *Feast of Esther* (1651, Bob Jones University) shows the same beautiful spreading of the drapery and both the *Angel Leaving Tobias' Family* (1651, Munich) and the *Repudiation of Hagar* (1650, Museum of Jerusalem) display the same breadth of gesture. The style of his history paintings later became more austere and sparse, as demonstrated by *Portrait of a Family in Oriental Costume*, 1670 (Zafran, 1977, fig. 36) or the *Reconciliation of Jacob and Laban* in Budapest. Victors' oeuvre is remarkable for the abundance of biblical subjects handled on a grand scale, especially around 1640-50, as is also evident in the works of other pupils and followers of Rembrandt. Zafran ingeniously suggested that the artist was then working primarily for the Jewish circles (perhaps the Marranes—Hispano-Portuguese of Amsterdam) who were attracted to biblical themes, particularly those representing benedictions and paternal legacies such as the *Blessing of Jacob*, the *Repudiation of Hagar*, *David and Samuel*, or the *Angel Leaving Tobias*. This was an essential theme in the Old Testament, pointing to the constancy of the God of Israel.

A second version of the Louvre painting, though in reverse (canvas, 107 x 160 cm) belonged to the dealer Douwes in Amsterdam in 1931, and another *Isaac Blessing Jacob* by Victors appeared in the Talleyrand sale of 1899. The theme seems to have enjoyed great favor among the followers of Rembrandt;



Rembrandt himself drew it several times in the 1640s. There are painted versions by Horst (Berlin), Bol, Aert de Gelder, Paudiss (?) (Munich, formerly attributed to Flinck; cf. Moltke, 1965, doubtful works, no. 5), Eeckhout (1642, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), Flinck (1638, Amsterdam), and in the former Six Collection (Moltke, nos. 8 and 9).

The Flinck painting of 1638, even more than any example by Rembrandt who apparently never painted the subject, could have served as a model for Victors; both display the same use of large figures, softened chiaroscuro, shimmering colors. Scheltema and Thoré suggested that a contest on the theme of *Isaac Blessing Jacob* might have been held among the pupils of Rembrandt. However, this rather implausible hypothesis has been wisely doubted by Vosmaer. It is more likely, as in the case of the *Young Woman at the Window* in the Louvre, that Rembrandt gave the same subjects to his students to paint. The conception of these history

paintings, with large figures, vaguely oriental trappings, and bright, smooth colors reflects a certain influence of Abraham Bloemaert (for example, the *Suzanna and the Elders*, Rome, Borghese Gallery) and of his son Hendrick Bloemaert (*Plato and Diogenes*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek). Victors never belonged to the inner circle of Rembrandtists in the way that Flinck, Salomon Koninck, or Bol did. His position is more comparable to other painters of grand ambitions such as Aelbert Cuyp, Lievens, Van den Tempel, Metsu, or De Grebber.

A watercolor copy by the Polish artist Plonsky (1778-1812) is in the Cabinet des Dessins of the Louvre (Demonts, 1938, no. 637).

Paris, Musée du Louvre

J.F.

Govert Flinck 1615 Kleve—Amsterdam 1660

Govert Flinck, who was born in Kleve, a city in Germany near the Dutch border, first studied painting around 1630 with Lambert Jacobsz. in Leeuwarden. According to Houbraken, Flinck became Jacobsz.'s student only when Jacobsz., who was also a Mennonite preacher, succeeded in persuading Flinck's father that painting was an honorable profession. Lambert Jacobsz. worked in a style similar to that of Pieter Lastman and probably influenced Flinck's narrative approach to history painting.

Around 1633 Flinck moved to Amsterdam where he studied with Rembrandt until 1636. He became completely absorbed in Rembrandt's compositional style and painting techniques. Many of his paintings from the 1630s have been confused with works by Rembrandt, and it seems probable that he participated in the execution of some of Rembrandt's works (see, for example, *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, 1636, Munich, Alte Pinakothek).

Flinck became a popular portrait painter during the 1640s and had close contacts with important patrons in both Amsterdam and his native Germany. After his marriage in 1645 to Ingerkje Thoveling his social and economic status grew quite elevated. He built a large studio and accumulated a collection of Greek and Roman sculpture as well as paintings and objets d'art. He adapted an elegant style of portrait painting based on Flemish prototypes, particularly works by Van Dyck. His paintings were highly praised by contemporary poets, including Joost van den Vondel and Jan Vos.

Apparently because of his successful adaptation of Flemish styles, Flinck's services as a painter of allegorical scenes for palaces and public buildings were also in demand. He received an important commission for the Huis ten Bosch from Amalia van Solms in the early 1650s (cat. no. 36) and shortly thereafter two separate commissions for the new Amsterdam town hall (see cat. no. 37). In 1659 Flinck received the most prestigious commission of his life; he was asked by the burgomaster to execute twelve large paintings for the great civic hall of the Amsterdam town hall. Flinck was commissioned to paint eight scenes depicting the wars between the Batavians under Julius Civilis and the Romans, and four scenes of ancient heroes. Unfortunately, within two months of signing the contract he died and produced only a few preliminary sketches for the project. The commission was eventually divided among a number of artists, including Jan Lievens, Jacob Jordaens, and Rembrandt van Rijn. When difficulties arose over Rembrandt's painting of the *Conspiracy of Julius Civilis* (fig. 3) Juriaens Ovens was commissioned to complete Flinck's unfinished design for that scene.

A.K.W.

36 *Allegory on the Memory of Frederick Hendrik* (1584-1647), Prince of Orange, with the portrait of his widow Amalia van Solms, 1654

Oil on canvas; 307 x 189 cm (123 x 75½ in.)

Signed and dated in right background: G. Flinck f. 1654

Provenance: Amalia van Solms, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague (inventory 1667). The Hague, Mauritshuis.

Transferred to Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst in 1876, and later to Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum in 1885 (cat. no. A 869).

Exhibitions: Kleve, 1965, no. 18, p. 26 (ill.).

Bibliography: Martin, 1936, fig. 63. Heppner, 1940, p. 254, fig. Moltke, 1965, pp. 39f.; cat. 118, fig.

Scheurleer, 1969, fig. Drossaers-Scheurleer, 1974, I, p. 281f.

Amalia van Solms sits in mourning before the tomb of her deceased husband, Prince Frederick Hendrik. She holds a book in her lap and looks toward a kneeling figure who is holding an anchor and a sprig from an orange tree. Beside Amalia van Solms is a young woman holding a palm branch and wearing an olive wreath who is gazing into the book. Her presence indicates that the book is dedicated to the triumphs of Frederick Hendrik. Such a book was published by I. Commelyn in 1652. An angel, appearing from the left, gestures to the sky above where light beams break through the storm clouds. In the distant background three infants mourn the death of a soldier. Above them a phoenix flies from flames atop a monument.

Flinck designed this large painting for the private apartments of Amalia van Solms in the Huis ten Bosch, specifically as part of the decorative program for the large picture gallery (see Scheurleer, 1969). Opposite Flinck's painting, which hung in the center of the west wall, was an *Annunciation* by Th. Willeboirts. Willeboirts collaborated with Daniel Seghers for another painting in this room, a *Madonna and Child* surrounded by a garland of flowers. On the doors were painted six virtues: Love, Faith, Providence, Temperance, Justice, and Constancy. The seventh virtue, Hope, is found in Flinck's painting. She is the figure holding the orange branch who kneels before Amalia van Solms in the pose of an announcing angel.

As Scheurleer has emphasized, the significance of this figure can be understood only in terms of the dynastic fortunes of the House of Orange. After Frederick Hendrik's death in 1647, Amalia van Solms' son, Willem II, became the stadtholder of the United Netherlands. Willem II, however, died suddenly in 1650 after contracting smallpox. The death of Willem II seemed to denote the end of the lineage of the House of Orange, but fortunately a son, Willem III, was born eight days later.

The birth of Willem III after the death of his father was likened to the phoenix rising from the ashes in a coin struck in 1655 (Van Loon, 1726), and similar associations exist in this painting. Implications of political regeneration may also be relevant to the painting. Although the United Provinces had agreed in 1651 that the position of stadtholder should remain vacant, in 1654, the date of the painting, the Province of Overijssel officially pro-



claimed Willem III stadtholder and captain-general. Thus in the painting Amalia van Solms looks up from the book describing the exploits of her husband to see symbolic evidence of the continuation of the House of Orange and the promise of future good fortune.

The type of allegorical scene Flinck depicted clearly derives from Rubens' magnificent series of the life of Maria de Medici, now in the Louvre, albeit without the exuberance of the Flemish master's compositions. As with Rubens, Flinck combined actual portraits with allegorical figures. The tomb of Frederick Hendrik in the painting is, moreover, a loose paraphrase of the tomb of Willem I in the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft, where Frederick Hendrik was buried. For a theory that the tomb reflects a lost design by Pieter Post, see Kleve, exhibition catalog 1965, p. 26.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

A.K.W.

Govert Flinck

37 *Solomon's Prayer for Wisdom*, 1659

Oil on canvas; 113.9 x 101.8 cm (46¾ x 40¾ in.)

Provenance: Probably painting referred to in a letter of August 29, 1659 by the municipal corporation of Kleve (Houbraken, p. 122). Art market, London. Bob Jones University Collection, 1963.

Exhibitions: Kleve, 1965, no. 5, pp. 19-21 (ill.).

Bibliography: Moltke, 1965, p. 71, cat. 31b, fig.

This oil sketch depicting *Solomon's Prayer for Wisdom* is probably the replica of a large painting for the Amsterdam town hall that Flinck delivered to the municipal corporation of Kleve in 1659 (see Houbraken, p. 122). The original composition, which measures 186 x 220 in., was painted by Flinck in 1658 as a chimney-piece for the council chamber known as the "Heren XXXCI Raaden." This chamber is called today "The Moses Room" after the other chimneypiece in the room, Jan van Bronckhorst's *Jethro's Counsel to Moses*.

The Old Testament subjects of these two paintings were designed to characterize the functions and ideals of the chamber. Jethro's Counsel to Moses was to choose a group of wise men to administer over the people, ones who could help guide Moses in his decisions. Flinck's painting depicts the wisest of all the kings of Israel, Solomon, praying to God for guidance as a ruler. In his prayer Solomon asked that God give him "an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad . . ." (I Kings 3:9).

Solomon's prayer occurred in a dream he had in Gibeon where he had gone to sacrifice at the great altar there near the beginning of his reign. Flinck, in his imaginative interpretation of the scene, portrayed the heavens opening to Solomon as he is being blessed by an allegorical figure of Wisdom. The joyous and beneficent blessing bestowed on Solomon by God is reinforced by the music-playing angels perched on the cloud formations.

The presence of the clouds has created some confusion in the identification of the subject. Moltke (p. 71) interpreted the paint-

ing to represent a later episode in the story of Solomon: the moment when God entered the temple built by Solomon and "the house was filled with a cloud" (II Chronicles 5: 13-14). This passage, however, neither relates to the function of the painting in the council chamber nor to contemporary descriptions of its meaning. Both Joost van den Vondel and Jan Vos wrote poems about the painting, stressing the importance of wisdom for the government of the state (see Jan van Dyck, 1790).

This painting is the culmination of Flinck's allegorical compositions (for an earlier example see cat. no. 36). In no other work does he so effectively integrate allegorical and heavenly figures with historical personages. With the assurance evident in this work, one can well understand the basis for Flinck's reputation as a history painter in 1659. In that year he received the important commission for the decorative cycle for the great civic hall of the Amsterdam town hall, a commission which he did not live to complete. Flinck's painting of *Solomon's Prayer for Wisdom* continued to be admired throughout the eighteenth century. Van Dyck, writing in 1790, lavishly praised it and recommended that all history painters use it as an example of order, grouping, attitude, and color ("Ordonnantie, Groeping, Houding en Couleuren").

Greenville, South Carolina, Bob Jones University Collection

A.K.W.



Ferdinand Bol

1616 Dordrecht—Amsterdam 1680

Bol, the son of a Dordrecht surgeon probably studied painting in his hometown, perhaps from Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp. In 1635 he was mentioned four times in documents in Dordrecht as a painter. To complete his training, Bol later entered Rembrandt's studio in Amsterdam, the city in which he was to remain for the rest of his life. On the back of a drawing of c. 1637, Rembrandt made notes about works by his pupils, including "Fardynandus . . . work by him sold." In 1640 Bol signed as a witness to a document concerning money inherited by Rembrandt's wife Saskia. During this period Bol probably was no longer a student but rather a full-fledged assistant in Rembrandt's highly productive studio.

Around 1642 Bol established himself as an independent master. Throughout his entire career he addressed the same subjects as Rembrandt—histories, portraits, and a type of painting which falls somewhere in between, namely single figures in fanciful and/or exotic costumes.

Initially he also imitated Rembrandt's style, as witnessed in his early masterpiece *Jacob's Dream* in Dresden (c. 1642). However, around 1650 Bol began to exhibit a taste for more "modern" trends. The plans for the decorations of the new Amsterdam town hall surely were a crucial factor in these changes (see cat. no. 38). In his chimneypiece for the burgomasters' chamber in the town hall *The Intrepidity of Fabritius*, dated 1656, Bol demonstrated his mastery of a baroque idiom with a Flemish flavor (see fig. 5 of General Introduction). Typical of his later style is his even more highly active *Moses Descending from Mount Sinai*, the chimneypiece which he executed in c. 1663 for the court room in the town hall.

No other painter in Amsterdam was as successful as Bol in being awarded official commissions. After his splendid *Regents of the Lepers' House* of 1649 (Amsterdam, Historisch Museum), he portrayed regents and painted history pieces for many Amsterdam institutions in the 1650s and 1660s. In addition he received commissions from out of town—a militia company portrait for the city of Gouda (1653) and a large *Allegory* for the burgomasters' chamber at Leiden (1663/64).

Bol was also successful in his personal and social life. In 1653 he married Lysbeth Del, whose father and brother, Elbert Del Sr. and Jr. were high officials in the admiralty, regents of the Women's House of Correction, leaders of the wine merchants' guild and church masters of the Zuiderkerk. Lysbeth's mother was the daughter of Hendrick Spiegel who was the burgomaster when the paintings for the town hall were commissioned. It surely was not a coincidence that the son-in-law, Bol, received orders for important paintings from precisely these same institutions.

After Lysbeth Del's death, Bol married a wealthy merchant's widow in 1669. From this point on he painted very little or not at all. Evidently he was content to live as a patrician administering his fortune. In 1673 he was appointed to the board of regents of one of Amsterdam's two almshouses for the homebound poor. Earlier, in 1657, Bol had portrayed the regents of the other

almshouse (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). In 1675 he was portrayed as a dignified gentleman in Pieter van Anraadt's portrait of the *Regents of the Almshouse of the "Nieuwezijde"* (Amsterdam, Historisch Museum).

Literature: Blankert, 1975. Blankert, 1976.

A.Bl.

38 *The Intrepidity of Fabritius in the Camp of King Pyrrhus*

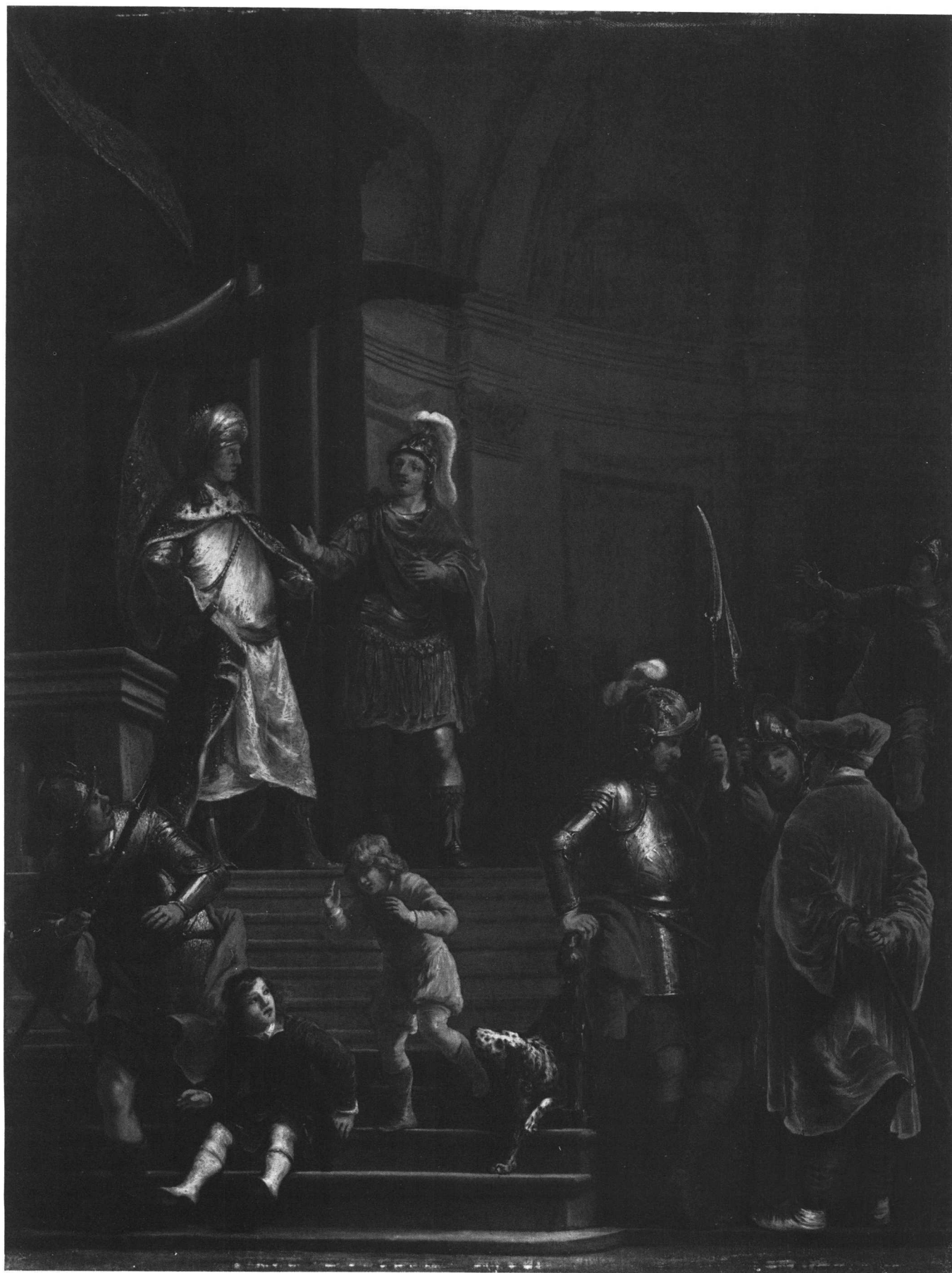
Oil on canvas; 71 x 54.5 cm (28 x 21 ½ in.)

Provenance: Sale Fiseau, Amsterdam, August 30, 1797 no. 5. Sale H. ten Kate, Amsterdam, June 10, 1801, no. 20, to Van Dyck for 34 guilders. Auction H. Croeze Ezn., Amsterdam, September 18, 1811, no. 28, to Dupré for 26.50 guilders. Art dealer Martin B. Asscher, London, 1953. Art dealer St. Lucas, The Hague, 1957. Auction Rotterdamse Kunstkring, Rotterdam, February 26, 1959, no. 5 with ill. Art dealer L. van Eerden, Rotterdam. Acquired 1974.

Bibliography: Blankert, 1975, p. 21, fig. 14. Blankert, 1976, p. 58, p. 186, no. A50. Blankert/Ruurs, p. 51, no. 66.

The man standing on top of the steps on the right in full armor and wearing a plumed helmet is the Roman consul Gaius Fabritius Luscinus. The one to the left of him, with the large turban with the small crown perched on top is King Pyrrhus. The Romans were at war with Pyrrhus, and Fabritius went to Pyrrhus' camp to negotiate. On the first day Pyrrhus vainly tried to bribe Fabritius with expensive presents. Plutarch, who is the source for the story, related the episode in the painting as follows: "The next day Pyrrhus ordered that an elephant be brought behind the curtains during their talks to upset Fabritius, who had never seen such a monster. . . . Then, at a prearranged signal, the curtain was pulled aside, and the monster suddenly raised his trunk above Fabritius' head and uttered horrifying noises. Yet Fabritius turned calmly, laughed, and said to Pyrrhus: 'Yesterday your gold did not change me, today your monster does not change me either.'" The elephant appears on the left. A *repentir* which is visible through the paint shows that Bol had first depicted the animal with a much smaller, less frightful tusk.

The picture is an oil sketch for fig. 5 in the General Introduction. The later painting is one of the two colossal mantlepieces, both of 1656, that dominate the burgomasters' room in the new town hall on the Dam square in Amsterdam. (The other mantlepiece is by Govert Flinck and represents *Consul Marcus Curius Dentatus Prefers Eating his Turnips to the Gifts of the Samnites*.) After 1650, when Stadtholder William II died, the burgomasters of Amsterdam were the most powerful men in a nation that was the richest in Europe and the strongest at sea. The immense town hall that they built was a tangible manifestation of their tremendous prestige (it is now the Royal Palace). In its decoration, they sought to justify and glorify their position and prestige by emphasizing historical precedents, on the one hand, and personal



integrity, on the other. The burgomasters chose the Roman consuls as their example. In 1651 they proclaimed their country to be a republic, a state without a monarch; the consuls of Rome had been the highest authority in the period between monarchy and empire, when Rome too was a republic. In seventeenth-century translations of the Latin authors, the word *consul* was always translated as *burgomaster*.

Fabritius' incorruptibility and intrepidity must have served as examples for the assembled burgomasters. By the same token, visitors, who could wander freely in the burgomasters' chamber when no meetings were being held, were encouraged to believe that the leaders of Amsterdam were as incorruptible and steadfast as Fabritius. This interpretation was rendered by Vondel in a four line poem underneath the painting.

Cat. no. 38 is one of the five preserved studies by Bol for his *Pyrrhus and Fabritius* (ills. in Blankert, 1975). They serve as a unique illustration of his development from a Rembrandtesque to a truly baroque history painter. In the first, a drawing in Munich, all figures are placed on a horizontal plane. Fabritius wears a large beret and a fantastic Rembrandtesque costume. In a second drawing in Munich, steps in the middle with boys playing on them are introduced. They serve as a platform for Pyrrhus and Fabritius, giving them more prominence. In our oil sketch, which shows the next phase, the boys on the steps are no longer playing; they flee in fright from the elephant and are thus more functional. For the first time Fabritius wears the impressive armor and plumed helmet of the Roman hero as it had been established by Rubens. Yet the figures of Pyrrhus and Fabritius still make a somewhat spindly and hence unheroic impression. In the last two studies and in the final painting, they are much more voluminous: Fabritius is turning to Pyrrhus, while pointing to the elephant on his other side. This movement harmonizes perfectly with the spiral suggested by his head, trunk, and legs. One detail, however, that first appears in cat. no. 38 and is preserved in the final painting stems directly from Rembrandt. It is the rather obese gentleman in the right foreground, holding a stick with both hands, whom we see from the back. This figure, who watches the turmoil in as unperturbed a way as Fabritius, is taken from Rembrandt's *Hundred Guilders* etching, in which he watches Christ preaching with the same attentiveness.

Amsterdam, Amsterdams Historisch Museum

A. Bl.

Ferdinand Bol

39 *Elisha Refuses Naaman's Gifts*, 1661

Oil on canvas; 151 x 248.5 cm (59½ x 97⅞ in.)

Signed and dated right below: *f Bol. 1661* (f and B in monogram)

Provenance: Amsterdam, Lepers' House, mentioned by J. Wagenaar in 1765. Transported to the Amsterdam Townhall, c. 1860. City of Amsterdam, on loan to the Rijksmuseum 1899-1972.

Bibliography: *Catalogus der schilderijen* . . . ,

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1934, no. 550. Goetz, 1937, p. 226, note 7. Blankert, 1975, pp. 43-46, ill. 38. Blankert, 1976, p. 69, 77, 78, 150, no. A 18 (with older literature in full). Blankert/Ruurs, no. 61 (with older literature in full).

"Naaman, commander of the army of the king of Syria . . . a great man with his master and in high favor" was a leper (2 Kings: 5-1). To find a cure he was sent to the prophet Elisha. On Elisha's advice Naaman dipped himself seven times into the river Jordan and was healed. The painting depicts Naaman's subsequent efforts to express his gratitude to Elisha by offering him many costly gifts. At the left of the painting Naaman's servants are unloading the animals. Another servant is kneeling in the center with a richly decorated pitcher. To the right of him stands Naaman himself, wearing the Rubenesque armor and plumed helmet of the ancient commander. He is trying to persuade the white-bearded Elisha to take a costly beaker, saying "Behold, I now know that there is no God in all earth but in Israel." Elisha, however, refuses to accept anything.

Bol painted the picture for the lepers' house in Amsterdam, which was founded in c. 1400 outside the city walls to isolate the sufferers of this contagious disease. By the seventeenth century leprosy had become rare, and the fear of contact with lepers had diminished. With the expansion of Amsterdam the asylum was included within the city walls. In Bol's time the house accommodated some thirty-five lepers, a dozen mentally retarded persons and about seventy *proveniers*—people who paid a set fee upon entry in exchange for "shelter, good food and drink and fire and light" for the rest of their lives.

The daily work in the house was done by eleven employees. Their superiors were a board of four male and three female regents, selected from the rich patrician class and appointed for life by the burgomasters. Once a week, on Wednesday afternoons, the regents held their meetings in the regents' room in the house. Bol executed a group portrait of the four regents for this room in 1649. In 1668 he portrayed both the regents and the female regents of that year, in a pair of companion pictures (all three now in the Amsterdams Historisch Museum).

When the regents of 1661 commissioned Bol to depict *Elisha Refusing Naaman's Gifts*, they no doubt wished to identify with the steadfast prophet Elisha. It was quite common for the leaders of Amsterdam to decorate the walls of their meeting rooms with paintings illustrating the integrity of their great historical predecessors (see cat. no. 38).

In the extreme right of the painting stands a man in the doorway of Elisha's home, listening attentively. He is Elisha's servant Gehazi, who also plays a part in the story. When Elisha refused the gifts, Naaman insisted on giving some reward to Gehazi, but the prophet forbade that as well. After Naaman's departure, Gehazi followed him and told him that Elisha had changed his mind and that he wished to have one talent of silver and two suits of clothing. Naaman gave Gehazi twice that. Upon his return Elisha asked him where he had been. Despite Gehazi's denials the prophet knew he was lying and punished him by "smiting him with Naaman's leprosy." In Bol's painting, however,



Gehazi is merely pensive; he has not yet sinned. No doubt this figure was intended to warn the employees of the lepers' house of the dire consequences of disobeying orders in the absence of their masters, the regents.

In cat. no. 39 Bol's style is close to that of Gerbrand van den Eeckhout. The mule with its elaborate headgear was derived from an etching by Carel Dujardin (*Hollstein VI*, p. 29, no. 2, with ill.). The two treasure bearers in the middle of the picture were borrowed from a print after Rubens representing Abraham and Melchizedek (Blankert, 1975, fig. 18).

Amsterdam, Amsterdams Historisch Museum

A.Bl.

Ferdinand Bol

40 *Venus and Sleeping Mars*, c. 1660

Oil on canvas; 228 x 200 cm (89¾ x 78¾ in.)

Provenance: Recorded in the collection from 1733 onwards.

Bibliography: Eberlein, p. 52, no. 171. Riegel, p. 183.

Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Verzeichnis der Gemälde . . . , Braunschweig, 1969, p. 35. Blankert, 1976, p. 68/69, 165, cat. no. A33.

at that time was in the collection of stadtholder Frederick Hendrik's widow Amalia van Solms. Bol may very well have seen that painting. Another version of cat. no. 40 is known through an illustration in *Der Kunstwanderer*, September 1921, p. 39.

Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

A.Bl.

Homer and Ovid tell the story of Venus, the goddess of love, who was seduced by Mars, the god of war. Venus' husband, Vulcan, caught them in the act in a tight iron net. The sight of this caused the gods' proverbial "Homeric laughter." Lucretius, however, in his *Rerum Natura* from the first century B.C. interpreted this piquant story as an allegory of peace. Venus as the goddess of love was the only one able to pacify and tame the raging god of war and thus secure peace. From the couple's "concordant discord" a daughter, Harmony, was born. In the Italian Renaissance the idea was elaborated upon in paintings showing a new motif: a Venus in the company of a sleeping Mars, with little satyrs or amoretti playing with Mars' armor and weapons (Botticelli, London, National Gallery). In the Netherlands the theme of Venus and Mars also became popular (Rubens, Cornelis van Haarlem). There too the underlying idea was that love creates peace (see De Jong, 1980, p. 14 ff). Yet Bol's Venus and sleeping Mars seems to be unique in northern Europe.

Venus, enveloped in a milky sfumato, glows against a background of saturated reds and browns. The smoothness of her nude standing figure contrasts beautifully with the hard and shiny metal of the shield and armor of Mars. This picture of c. 1660 may be considered the best of Bol's later period. It can be placed among other pastoral scenes of love (*Venus and Adonis*, dated 1661, Miami Beach, Bass Museum of Art). It is quite remarkable that in the masterpiece of Bol's early Rembrandtesque period, his *Dream of Jacob* in Dresden of c. 1642, the main motif is also the combination of a brightly lit standing figure (the angel) with a reclining figure (Jacob) at its feet.

Venus' small companions, the amoretti, play freely with Mars' attributes, thus converting the instruments of war into toys. At the right three of them are busy taking Mars' shield away from under his resting arm. The boy in the middle foreground, who is the only one with wings, is Cupid himself, recognizable by his arrow and quiver lying at his feet. He fastens Venus' sandal, while exchanging a glance with her. The boy on the left wears Mars' sash and sword, which are much too large for him, the sword dragging over the ground. He tries to lift the war god's heavy, beautifully carved helmet from his shoulders. This motif appears in a picture by Anthony van Dyck, *Venus in Vulcan's Forge*, which



Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout 1621 Amsterdam 1674

Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout, born August 19, 1621, was the son of a goldsmith, Jan Pietersz. van den Eeckhout. According to Houbraken (II, p. 173f.) he was a pupil and great friend of Rembrandt. The precise dates of his apprenticeship with Rembrandt are not known, but most scholars suggest the latter half of the 1630s. Van den Eeckhout died a bachelor on September 22, 1674 and was buried seven days later.

Van den Eeckhout was primarily a history painter, although he also depicted genre scenes, portraits, and *portraits-historiés* (cat. no. 41). His style of painting history scenes was influenced by Rembrandt's work of the late 1630s and early 1640s, particularly in their broad execution, chiaroscuro effects, and narrative qualities. Van den Eeckhout, however, was also strongly affected by Lastman's compositional principles. Rembrandt, whose works from the 1630s are clearly indebted to Lastman, may have encouraged the young artist to study Lastman's paintings as well. Rembrandt possessed a number of works by Lastman that he could have used as teaching aids, including two sketchbooks of drawings that he probably purchased after Lastman's death in 1633.

Van den Eeckhout adopted his style of painting according to the genre within which he was working. While his history paintings remained very Rembrandtesque throughout his career, his genre scenes, which he began to depict in the 1650s, anticipate paintings by Pieter de Hooch. His portraits reflect the impact of Flemish prototypes and are painted in a more elegant style than his history paintings.

A.K.W.

41 *The Magnanimity of Scipio*, 165(?)

Oil on canvas; 138.1 x 161.5 cm (54 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 63 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Signed and dated in lower right: G.V. Eeckhout *fel*/Ano 165(?)

Provenance: Sir John Cotterell (London, Christie's, sale cat., June 7, 1912, lot 9). Asher Wertheimer, London.

T. J. Blakeslee, 1912-23. Vose Gallery, Boston, 1923.

The Toledo Museum of Art.

Exhibitions: Montreal, 1944, no. 64.

Bibliography: Noe, 1927, pp. 38-39, fig. Wit-Klinkhamer, 1966, p. 92. Toledo, 1976, pp. 57-58, fig.

Van den Eeckhout, who was an accomplished portrait painter as well as history painter, frequently included portraits in historical scenes. In this painting the two parents kneeling before Scipio and the young married couple standing behind them appear to be portraits, although the names of the sitters are not known. The scene in which they are portrayed was meant to represent an ideal of good government. Scipio, as described by the Roman historian Livy (Book XXVI, 50), was the commander of the Spanish provinces and an extremely effective ruler. A famous example of his judicious rule was his decision to return a captive

woman to her fiancé and her parents after learning of their devotion to her. His only requirement was that the family should continue their friendship with the Roman people.

Scenes from Roman history were of particular importance to the Dutch people. The Dutch saw in Roman heroes the embodiment of virtues that could serve as models for the Dutch Republic. Scipio's equanimity and justice, for example, were greatly admired, and many representations of this scene occur in Dutch art. Van den Eeckhout actually repeated this basic composition on three other occasions (1669, formerly New-York Historical Society; 1669, Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts; The Hague, Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties). A copy of the Toledo painting, present whereabouts unknown, is signed and dated Aert de Gelder, 1669 (photo, RKD). Unfortunately, the circumstances surrounding the commissions of these paintings are not known.

Van den Eeckhout's composition is based on a format commonly used to depict an emperor addressing his troops, a format frequently referred to as an *Adlocutio*. Lastman used this type of composition for his *Coriolanus and the Roman Matrons*, 1622 (Dublin, Trinity College) and it was also used by Rembrandt (cat. no. 27) and others of his students (cat. no. 33). Stylistically *The Magnanimity of Scipio* is less influenced by Rembrandt than are Van den Eeckhout's biblical paintings (see cat. no. 42). Instead of dark chiaroscuro areas and broad handling of paint, Van den Eeckhout has kept the palette light and given his figures an unusual elegance. This particular style was probably chosen because it better reflected, in contemporary eyes, the heroic ideals embodied in Scipio. Van den Eeckhout's portrait style during the 1650s, moreover, was comparatively light and smooth, and hence could be easily integrated into this historical scene.

The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Arthur J. Secor

A.K.W.



Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout

42 *The Expulsion of Hagar*, 1666

Oil on canvas; 54.6 x 68.6 cm (21½ x 27 in.)

Signed and dated in lower left: *G.v.eeckhout fe./1666*.

Provenance: Cabinet Lebrun, Paris, 1792, Castle Nemiroff, Podolie, J. Lyverberg, Cologne (cat., 1837, no. 59). Count Gregoire Stroganoff, Rome (Munoz, 1912, II, p. 82, pl. 63.). Schaeffer Gallery, New York before 1952. In 1952 bought by the North Carolina Museum of Art.

Exhibitions: Raleigh, 1956, no. 23. Jerusalem, 1956, no. 8 (ill.).

Bibliography: Lebrun, 1792, II, p. 10, fig. (engraving after the painting). Hamann, 1936, pp. 486f., 536, fig. 21. Valentiner, 1956, p. 48, no. 56. Chicago, 1969, p. 188. Roy, 1972. North Carolina Museum of Art, cat. 1956, no. 56.

The numerous differences between the drawing and the painting, however, indicate that Van den Eeckhout did not specifically base his painting upon it when he returned to the subject some twenty years later.

Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, Original State Appropriation

A.K.W.

The story of *The Expulsion of Hagar* comes from the Book of Genesis (21: 1-21). Abraham, when he was an old man of eighty-six, was urged by his wife Sarah, who was childless, to go to his maid Hagar to conceive a son. From this union Ishmael was born. Some years later Sarah herself conceived and bore Isaac. Shortly thereafter Sarah told Abraham to cast Hagar and Ishmael from the house. Although Abraham was much grieved by Sarah's ultimatum, he acceded. Early one morning he brought Hagar a bottle of water and some bread and sent her and Ishmael away.

In Van den Eeckhout's painting Abraham stands staring at Hagar, his hands outstretched in a gesture of resignation. Hagar and Ishmael, who are crying, turn away as they begin their journey into the wilderness. Sarah views the scene from the door of the house, while Isaac peers intently from the steps.

The Expulsion of Hagar was one of the favorite Old Testament themes of Amsterdam history painters, beginning with Pieter Lastman (1612, Kunsthalle, Hamburg). Part of the appeal of the scene was that it touched on so many basic human feelings: love, jealousy, fear, and the sense of indecision that derives from conflicting loyalties. Indeed, as in Van den Eeckhout's painting, most contemporary representations of the theme stress equally the painful role Abraham was forced to assume and the forlorn state of Hagar's mind.

It is difficult to cite a precise prototype for Van den Eeckhout's composition. Similar groupings of figures and architectural elements occur in compositions by Rembrandt, including an etching of this scene from 1637 (Münz, no. 174) and a drawing from the 1650s (London, British Museum). The motif of the crying Ishmael goes back to Lastman's composition in Hamburg. Van den Eeckhout depicted the scene at least twice in the 1640s, once in a painting dated 1642 (last known whereabouts: Munich, Edzard Collection, 1937) and in a drawing (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett). The drawing contains many elements found in the Raleigh painting, including the peacock and the archway in the background.



Aert de Gelder 1645 Dordrecht 1727

Aert de Gelder learned the fundamentals of painting in Dordrecht from Samuel van Hoogstraten, a Rembrandt pupil from the 1640s. He apparently moved to Amsterdam in the early 1660s to study with Rembrandt because, as Houbraken related (III), Rembrandt's style of painting was still very fashionable at that time. De Gelder studied with Rembrandt for at least two years before returning to Dordrecht. He proved himself to be one of Rembrandt's most gifted pupils. He painted portraits and history paintings in Rembrandt's manner throughout his career.

Houbraken, who also lived in Dordrecht and knew De Gelder, gave much information about De Gelder's working techniques (III, p. 207). He described, for example, how De Gelder would create the impression of the fringe of a piece of cloth by broadly applying paint with a palette-knife and then scratching it with the blunt end of his brush. De Gelder probably learned this technique from Rembrandt, and it suited ideally the impressionistic style of his paintings.

De Gelder painted basically two types of history paintings throughout his career: ones populated with large half-length figures (cat. no. 43) and ones with numerous small figures (cat. no. 44). Both types essentially derive from Rembrandt's oeuvre. The compositions with half-length figures are comparable to paintings like *The Jewish Bride* (fig. 2) where attention is focused on the psychological interaction of the figures and narrative elements are minimized. De Gelder's compositions with small figures are frequently related to Rembrandt's etchings, as for example, his *Ecce Homo*, 1671, in Dresden. Archaistic elements, including elongated figures and exotic landscape and architectural elements, are evident in De Gelder's late work.

Houbraken notes that De Gelder was in good health and working on a Passion series (see cat. no. 44) in 1715. He never married and died in Dordrecht on August 27, 1727.

A.K.W.

43 *The Feast of Belshazzar* (?), 1682-85

Oil on canvas; 112 x 139 cm (43¾ x 54¾ in.)

Signed in upper right: A. de Gelder f.

Provenance: Private French collection. Lips Collection, Dordrecht. Goudstikker, Amsterdam, 1930 (cat. no. 38). David M. Koetser, New York, 1956. London, Sotheby's, sale cat., July 11, 1973, no. 72. Douwes, Amsterdam. J. Paul Getty Museum, 1978.

Exhibitions: Rotterdam, 1938, no. 73. Delft, 1952. Raleigh, 1956, no. 44.

Aert de Gelder, perhaps more than any other Rembrandt pupil, shared the master's profound interest in the human aspect of biblical stories. Most of his history paintings focus on the private interaction of a few large-scale figures where psychological relationships rather than narrative gestures are emphasized. Al-

though De Gelder repeatedly portrayed the tender warmth of the holy family in his paintings, he was also fascinated with the human frailties of biblical characters that underlie and help explain their actions. In this instance the drunkenness of the richly turbaned ruler who sits spilling his drink into his lap is the focus of De Gelder's composition.

De Gelder's approach to his subject often makes the precise identification of his scenes difficult to determine. Not only did he frequently eliminate iconographic and narrative elements commonly associated with stories, he often depicted moments that precede the climactic episode of the narrative (see, for example, De Gelder's *The Jewish Bride* in Munich, Alte Pinakothek, a painting which probably represents Esther preparing to visit Ahasuerus). Such appears to be the case with this imposing painting. The subject has been traditionally identified as *The Feast of Belshazzar*, but the iconographical elements commonly associated with this event are notably absent in De Gelder's painting. He has represented neither the lavish display of gold and silver vessels taken from the temple in Jerusalem that Belshazzar ordered to be used for the feast, nor the climactic moment when the handwriting appears on the wall to denounce Belshazzar and his kingdom (Daniel 5) (see cat. no. 26). One explanation may be that De Gelder has focused on an earlier moment of the story, the drunkenness of King Belshazzar that preceded his order to bring the sacred vessels to his feast. Another possibility is that the painting represents a totally different biblical episode, for example the drunken King Ahasuerus in one of the banquet scenes from the Book of Esther. However, neither the painting's setting, the identification of the individuals at the table, nor the nature of their discussion can be clearly identified. Without good reason to the contrary, it seems preferable to maintain the painting's traditional title. (For a theory that this painting represents a scene from the story of Esther, see the forthcoming article by D. Lettieri in the *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*.)

De Gelder often used a table as a central compositional device in his paintings, a concept he may have derived from a number of Rembrandt's late paintings, for example, *The Conspiracy of Julius Civilis*, 1661 (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, fig. 3). The broad, painterly technique with which he executed this work also reflects Rembrandt's influence. Although the painting is not dated, similarities of concept and technique between it and De Gelder's *David Playing the Harp before Saul*, 1682 (Bremen, Kunsthalle) suggest a date in the mid-1680s.

Malibu, California, The J. Paul Getty Museum

A.K.W.



Aert de Gelder

44 *The Way to Golgotha*, 1710/15

Oil on canvas; 71.9 x 60.1 cm (28¼ x 23⅝ in.)

Signed at bottom-center: *AD Gelder* (A and D are joined)

Provenance: Belongs to series of twenty-two paintings representing the Passion of Christ cited in the inventory of Aert de Gelder's effects, 1727. Hugo Franz Carl Graf von Eltz, Mainz, 1779. Galerie Aschaffenburg. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

Exhibitions: Schaffhausen, 1949, p. 39, no. 33. Oslo, 1955, no. 109. Leiden, 1956, p. 36, no. 54 (ill.).

Bibliography: Houbraken, III, 1721, p. 208. Weyerman, III, 1729, p. 41. Descamps, III, 1760, p. 176. Hofstede de Groot, 1893, p. 66f., p. 125, p. 466f. Lilienfeld, 1914, pp. 60ff., 162f., no. 91. Wichmann, 1923, p. 208. Gerson, 1952, p. 20, fig. Rosenberg, Slive and Ter Kuile, 1966, p. 99f., fig. Gerson, 1969, p. 148, fig. Galerie Aschaffenburg cat., 1975, no. 63337.

This painting is one of De Gelder's most haunting portrayals of an episode from the Bible. We stand on the crest of Golgotha watching the condemned Christ struggle under the weight of the cross, his pitiful form stooped low to the ground and half hidden by the hillside. He seems to have stumbled, and one soldier helps lift the cross to keep him moving. His arrival is announced by a man who carries the sign that will eventually be nailed on to the cross. Around Christ are other soldiers and onlookers, and behind him stretches a long road, dotted with people, that passes through the barren terrain between Golgotha and the city of Jerusalem. The city itself rises from the mountains and has the appearance of a medieval fortified town.

The Way to Golgotha is one of a series of scenes from Christ's Passion that De Gelder painted near the end of his life. Houbraken relates that he had completed twenty of the twenty-two projected scenes by 1715. Since all twenty-two paintings were in De Gelder's possession at his death, it seems that they were not painted on commission. Unfortunately only twelve paintings belonging to this series still exist, ten of which hang today in Galerie Aschaffenburg. The other two paintings from the series belong to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

De Gelder's extraordinary vision of *The Way to Golgotha* has no clear precedent in the seventeenth century. Rather than stressing Christ's agony by focusing on the figure itself, De Gelder emphasizes the barren and lifeless world in which this tragic event took place. Indeed, De Gelder's conception is reminiscent of sixteenth-century approaches to the scene, particularly those of Lucas van Leyden and Pieter Brueghel. Even the elongated figures with small heads are reminiscent of mannerist elements in Lucas van Leyden's prints.

The other paintings in the series also share these features. Whether interior or exterior scenes, figures are placed in the middle distance and are dwarfed by architectural or landscape elements. Most of these paintings are quite dark with strong light accents illuminating the figures. The comparatively rich use of color in *The Way to Golgotha*, including blue, red, and olive-

green, gives this painting a fresher appearance than the others and probably indicates that it was one of the first of the series to be executed. Particularly interesting in this work is the broad impressionistic technique De Gelder used to create his landscape. Much of the articulation of the hills and rocks is achieved by scraping the wet paint with the blunt end of the brush or with the edge of a palette-knife.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, on loan to Galerie Aschaffenburg.

A.K.W.

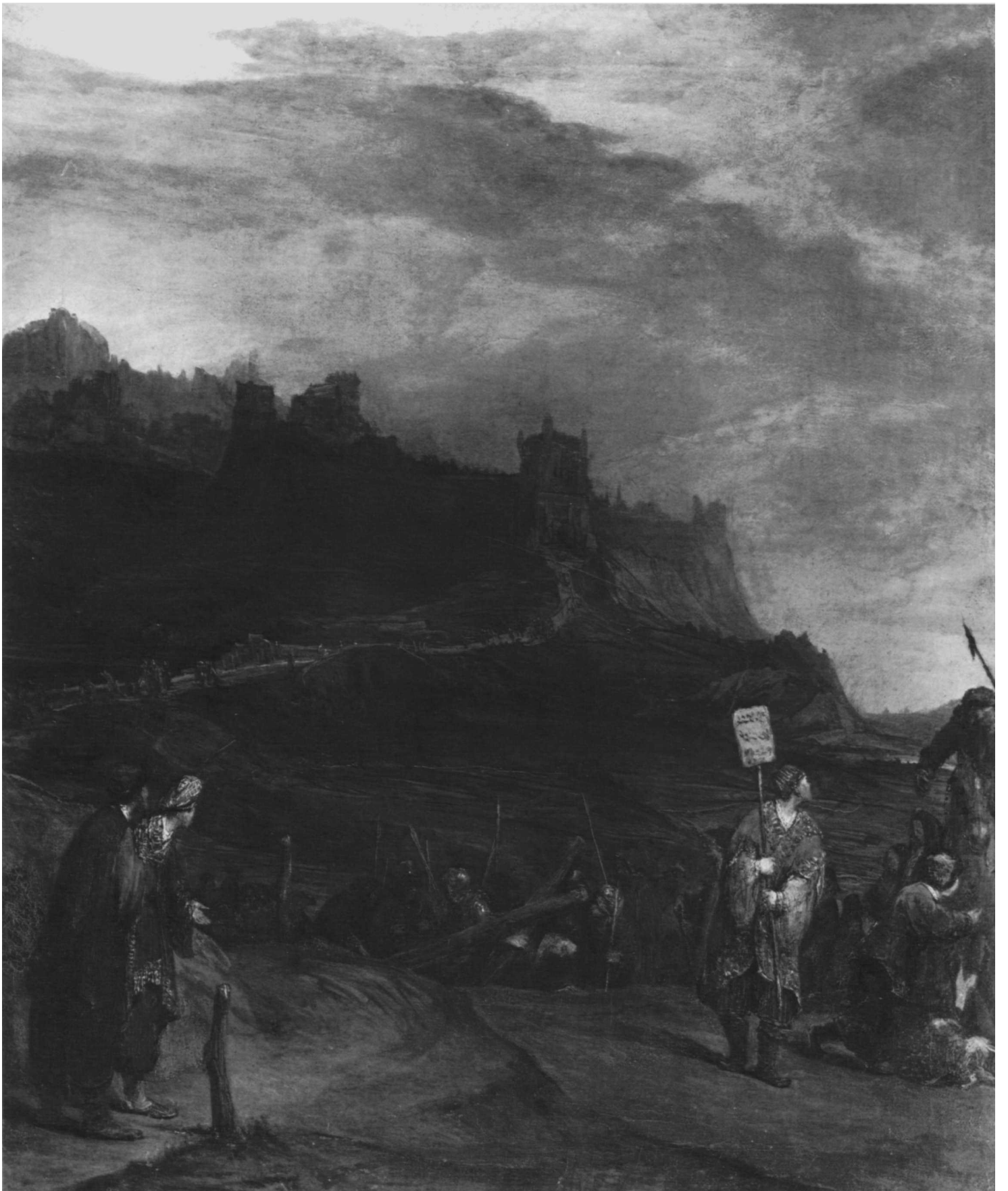




fig. 1 Gerrit Berckheyde, *View of the Dam in Amsterdam with the Town Hall Built by Jacob van Campen*, signed, panel, 41 x 55 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie.



fig. 2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Venus and Adonis*, c. 1635, canvas, 197.5 x 242.9 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Harry Payne Bingham, 1937.

Classicism in Dutch Painting, 1614-1670

Albert Blankert



ALTHOUGH DUTCH MANNERISM, PRE-REMBRANDTISM, AND Caravaggism have long been recognized as distinct styles, the equally large and important role that classicism played has not been paid adequate attention. Often seen as a trend, it more often is very clearly a style. Classicism is essentially different from the "baroque" Rubenesque style which dominated in the southern Netherlands. This must be stressed because many products of classicism have thus far been wrongly described as derivations of Flemish art.

The difference between architecture in the north and the south has long been distinguished.¹ Typically Dutch is the "eighth wonder of the world," Jacob van Campen's Amsterdam town hall, started in 1648 (fig. 1). Two years later, what is generally considered the masterwork of southern Netherlandish baroque, the Church of St. Michael in Louvain was erected.² The facade of the town hall consists of horizontal rows of identical pilasters and windows, framed by strict rectangles of corniches and bays. Straight horizontal lines separate the floors from each other and from the triangular tympanum above. The whole is sober and easily legible at first sight. The facade of Louvain's St. Michael is crowded with clusters of pilasters, pillars, and other ornaments. Breaks in the corniches make it appear that the floors flow into one another. In comparison to the static Amsterdam building, Louvain's St. Michael is filled with movement.

A corresponding difference existed between paintings in the north and in the south. In 1614 Hendrick Goltzius in Haarlem depicted *Venus and Adonis* (cat. no. 8). Over thirty years later the Amsterdam artist Jacob Backer painted the same subject (cat. no. 52), and in Antwerp Rubens treated the theme in c. 1635 (fig. 2). In general terms the three pictures have much in common. All are large canvases containing a few full-length figures, which fill much of the picture surface; in all three the nude goddess is seated on a cloth spread out in a lush landscape. She leans amorously

toward the heroic figure of the hunter Adonis. A minor role is assigned to the love god Cupid, and hunting dogs also appear in all three paintings.

In Goltzius' picture (cat. no. 8) Adonis has seized his hunting spear but remains seated quietly with Venus. In Backer's version (cat. no. 52) Adonis is getting up to leave her, but the pose of his body seems to have been chosen to show him frontally exposed rather than to express movement.

In comparison to the two Dutch paintings, Rubens' piece is filled with violent action. Adonis, who is seen from the rear, forcefully pulls away from Venus, striding in the direction indicated by his spear. Venus is placed in counterpose, her outstretched arms slipping from Adonis' shoulder and arm. The muscles of the figures are strained by their movement, and the contour of Adonis' arm holding the spear is contorted. In comparison, the contours of the figures in the Goltzius and the Backer are smooth. In the Rubens Adonis' drapery flutters in the air and even the trees in the background seem to shiver with the action. This movement is enhanced by the broad, vital brushstrokes Rubens employed. In the Goltzius and the Backer, we encounter a much more careful and minute rendering of details, suggesting that these paintings were done more at ease. The roses next to Venus in Goltzius' painting and the quiver and arrow in the lower right of Backer's are depicted with minute and loving care, as if done by still-life painters.

Haarlem

Surprisingly the first artist to represent the classicist trend was Hendrick Goltzius. He had introduced Bartholomaeus Spranger's agitated mannerism to the Netherlands in 1585 (fig. 1 in essay on Late Dutch Mannerism). Thus, when this catalogue and exhibition were planned Goltzius was automatically placed in the section on mannerism.

Yet in his drawings of the surroundings of his hometown

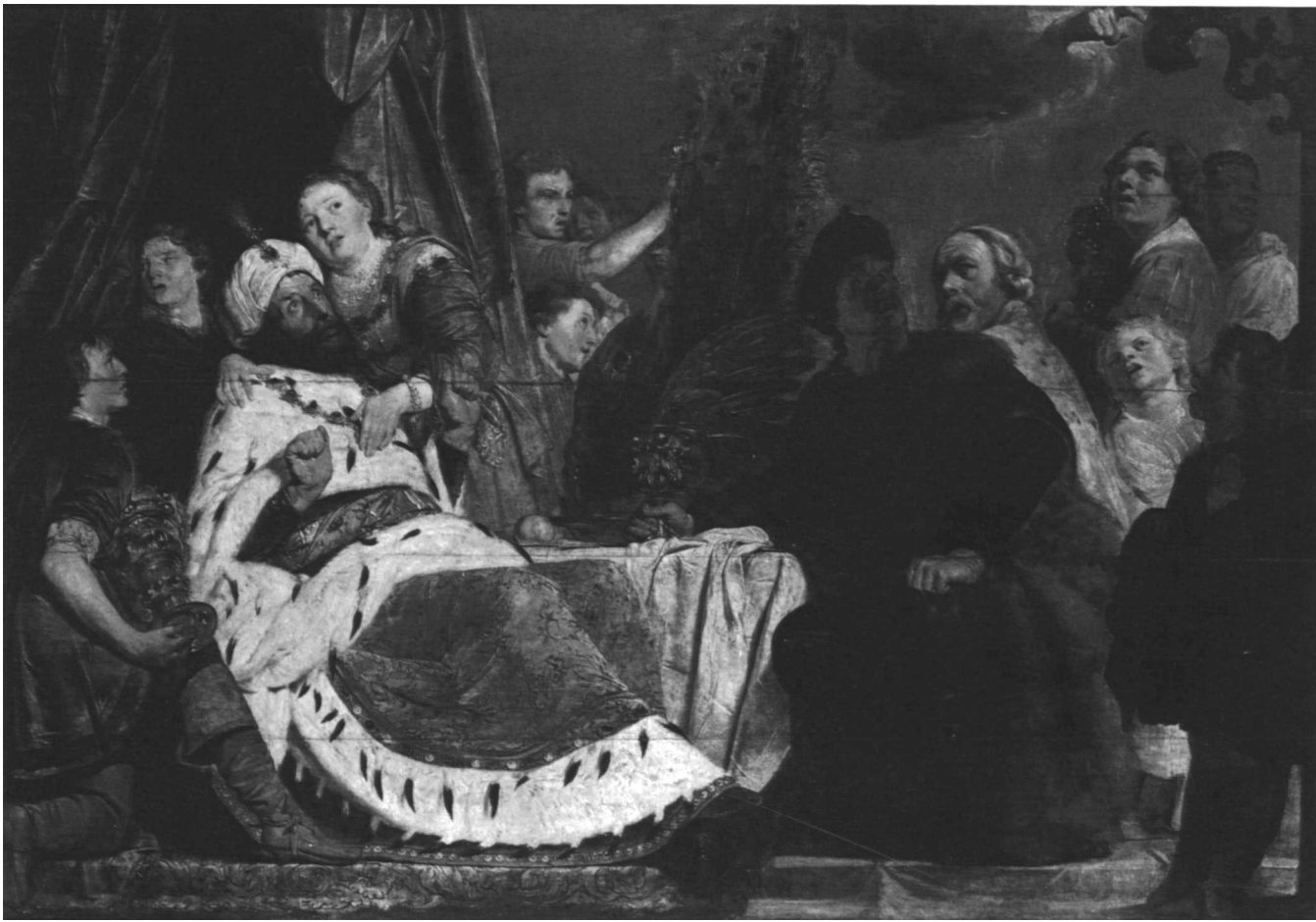


fig. 3 Pieter de Grebber, *Belshazzar's Feast*, monogrammed and dated 1625, panel, 151 x 223 cm, Kassel, Gemäldegalerie.

Haarlem, Goltzius also laid the foundation for “realistic” Dutch landscape.³ Moreover, Goltzius was also the first Dutchman to draw nudes after live models.⁴ When after 1600 Goltzius concentrated on painting instead of engraving and drawing, all traces of mannerism vanished. In his paintings of the 1610s it seems he had fully understood and mastered the innovations introduced by Annibale Carracci in Rome around 1600 as a reaction against mannerism. In his *Juno Receiving the Eyes of Argus from Mercury* of 1615 (cat. no. 9), action and drama are convincingly rendered but in a restrained and easily legible way when compared to the crowded turbulence in a mannerist piece like his engraving after Spranger's *The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*.

Goltzius' example made Haarlem the first center of Dutch classicism. Perhaps the much debated Academy which he allegedly founded with other Haarlem artists provided a fertile soil.

To judge from preserved works, *Belshazzar's Feast* by Goltzius' pupil Pieter de Grebber is a key piece in Dutch classicist painting (fig. 3).⁵ Its date—1625 (De Grebber was

in his twenties at the time)—is astonishingly early. The piece has a grandeur that makes pictures of the same period by Lastman or the young Rembrandt look old-fashioned (cf. cat. nos. 22, 25). The violent baroque motion of Rubens' painting of that time is completely absent in De Grebber. In his painting (fig. 3) a group of sitting, kneeling, and standing figures are arranged on a horizontal line. Their grouping is strictly symmetrical. The turbaned king at the left has his counterpart in the turbaned, silhouetted figure at the right (the king is in the light, the other figure in shadow). The heads of the figures beside and between them are all placed farther back and are, in turn, somewhat higher or lower. At the extreme left and right, a boy in profile flanks the scene. The figures barely move. As if frozen by fear, they look up at the hand of the Lord writing on the wall. Details such as the costume and ornaments of the king and the concubine with her arms around him are meticulously rendered, although with a more fluid technique than in the case of Goltzius. Blond flesh tones and brightly colored textures are also typical of De Grebber. He



fig. 4 Salomon de Braij, *Triumphal Procession*, signed and dated 1649, canvas, 385 x 205 cm, The Hague, Huis ten Bosch, Oranjezaal.

continued to practice this style in later years (cat. no. 47), but as far as we know it was not immediately followed at Haarlem.

Salomon de Braij, a Haarlemer of the same generation as De Grebber, did a drawing in 1622 that has a French neo-classicist flavor.⁶ Yet his painting *Jael, Deborah, and Barak* of 1635 looks archaic with its half-length figures (cat. no. 48).

His first paintings to display a monumental grouping of figures were those for the Huis ten Bosch of 1649-51. There the heads are arranged in quietly rhythmic rows reminiscent of De Grebber's *Belshazzar's Feast* of 1625 (figs. 3 and 4).

The mature style of Salomon culminated in the brilliant work of his son Jan de Braij, who painted his best pictures in the 1660s and 1670s (cat. nos. 61-63). Jan rendered the blond flesh tones and stately draperies of his large-size figures with a skill and apparent ease that in Dutch painting were generally only achieved in the second half of the century.

Caesar van Everdingen must also be considered among the Haarlem group, although he was born and died in

Alkmaar and studied in Utrecht. He lived in Haarlem in 1648-57, the period during which his best dated works were done. Being a staunch Calvinist, he was an exception among the classicists, remarkably many of whom were or became Roman Catholics. A specialty of Van Everdingen's was mythological scenes with nude figures in elegantly graceful groupings (cat. no. 57). In 1655 he depicted *Duke Willem II Granting Privileges to Rijnland* (cat. no. 58), placing the main group on top of horizontal steps in the foreground, a device borrowed from paintings like De Grebber's *Belshazzar's Feast* (fig. 3). Van Everdingen's meticulous depiction of detail and his preference for strong light imbue cat. no. 58 with a crystalline clarity reminiscent of Ingres. His bright light and minute technique are also evident in his portrait group *Diogenes Searching for a Man* (cat. no. 56), yet its composition is disorderly in a way that has struck many observers as odd. Perhaps Van Everdingen did not think it worthwhile or possible to make a cohesive whole out of a portrait group with so many full-length figures. In his militia pieces, the composition is also awkward when compared to militias by Rembrandt, Bartholomeus van der Helst, and Frans Hals.

It is puzzling that the brilliant painter of human figures Frans Hals (1581/85-1666) who lived in the same milieu as these Haarlem classicists painted only portraits and a few genrelike pictures. Traditional art historical literature holds that Hals was only interested in rendering "real life." Recently it has been argued that either he lacked ambition or "that adverse circumstances kept him from achieving what for many others were primary ambitions."⁹ We could also speculate that his moral or religious convictions forbade him to depict biblical subjects and/or nudes.¹⁰

Of the younger generation, the landscapist Nicolaes Berchem is, in most of his history pieces, a representative of Haarlem classicism. In his *St. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra* of 1650 (St. Etienne, France, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire) horizontal steps separate the viewer from the main scene, as in Pieter de Grebber's *Belshazzar's Feast* of 1625 (fig. 3) and in cat. nos. 58 and 63.

Leiden

We observed that Pieter de Grebber's style of 1625, represented by his *Belshazzar's Feast* (fig. 3) did not have a traceable direct impact in his hometown. It is therefore surprising that the painting immediately made a strong impression in Leiden. The young, experimenting Jan Lievens adopted its monumentality, bright coloring, and the figure types in his *Feast of Esther* (cat. no. 31).¹¹ This remained, however, an isolated case. Lievens, in turn, influenced the Haarlem classicist Salomon de Braij (see text cat. no. 48). Not until as late as 1650/51 did true classicism



fig. 5 Gerard van Honthorst, *Solon Before Croesus*, signed and dated 1624, 170 x 215 cm, Hamburg, Kunsthalle.

make its entry into Leiden in the work of Abraham van den Tempel (cat. no. 53).

Utrecht

Apart from Haarlem, a strong early inclination toward classicism is conspicuous only in Utrecht. The *Adoration of the Kings* painted in 1624 by the mannerist Bloemaert (cat. no. 6) is still clearly mannerist in the wavy lines of the hair of the bowing king and of the headgear of the king directly behind him. Yet for the monumental arrangement of the massive figures, the word "classicist" seems more applicable, particularly when it is realized that the picture is a fragment and originally depicted the main actors at full length.

A large and important part of the work by the painters who until now have been labeled "the Utrecht Caravaggisti" should also best be dubbed "classicist." In 1624, the same year that Bloemaert painted his *Adoration*, Gerard van Honthorst *della notte*, famous for his night scenes with half length figures (cat. no. 16), executed his impressive *Solon for Croesus* (fig. 5). The painting depicts life-size, full-length figures brought together in a rhythmic, horizontal arrangement. Space is evenly lit, allowing all details to be equally clear.¹² Croesus' splendid treasures that are displayed on the floor catch particular attention. Honthorst's *Artemisia* of c. 1630-

35 (cat. no. 17) shows similar classicist features, the smoothness of its lineation and execution anticipating Caesar van Everdingen.

Van Everdingen's teacher was the Utrecht Caravaggist Jan Gerritsz. van Bronchorst (c. 1603-61), whose *Idolatry of Solomon*, dated 1642 or 1643, is equally classicist (Greenville, S.C., Bob Jones University). That is also the case with Paulus Moreelse's *Vertumnus and Pomona* (cat. no. 18) of c. 1630, although its three-quarter-length rendering of the protagonists is still a typically Caravaggist device. The three-quarter-length figure is also used in a beautiful *Madonna and Child* by the Utrecht Caravaggist Jan van Bijlert (1597-1671), a painting so strongly classicist that the traditional attribution to Simon Vouet was not questioned until 1933, when Arthur von Schneider recognized its true author.¹³

Amsterdam

There is no indication that a classicist tendency existed in Amsterdam at an early date. The style of Pieter Lastman and his followers remained predominant for a long time. They are rightly called the Pre-Rembrandtists. Their crowded scenes of linearly depicted figures (i.e. figures which appear more drawn than painted, more outlined than modeled),

making emphatic gestures are also typical of Rembrandt's early work (cat. no. 25).

An isolated example of an Amsterdam picture that can be said to display classicist features is the chimneypiece *Ulysses received by Nausicaa* by the cosmopolitan German Joachim Sandrart (fig. 9 in the General Introduction). It was painted as late as 1639. The mature history pieces of Jacob Backer and Jacob van Loo, who were respectively two and eight years younger than Rembrandt, have all the features of classicism which were outlined above (cat. nos. 51, 52). Since none of them can be dated earlier than c. 1645, classicism was late on the scene in Amsterdam.¹⁴ Ten years later the city was to become its principal center.

The Palaces of Frederick Hendrik—Jacob van Campen

In 1638/39 Pieter de Grebber did large-scale decorations for stadtholder Frederick Hendrik's palace Honselaersdijk, and Honthorst for the palace Rijswijk. Only preliminary drawings and a small fragment of the ceiling of the main hall of Honselaersdijk are preserved.¹⁵ Pieter de Grebber, Salomon de Braij, Caesar van Everdingen, Nicolaes Berchem, Gerard van Honthorst, Jacob Backer, and Jacob van Loo all appear on the lists of painters which Constantijn Huygens and Jacob van Campen drew up in 1647 when they planned the decoration of Huis ten Bosch at The Hague, a palace which still exists. A score of Flemish artists were also on the lists.¹⁶ The southern provinces of the old Netherlands were at that time not yet considered a foreign country.¹⁷ The main scene, *The Triumph of Frederick Hendrik*, was entrusted to the Antwerp artist Jacob Jordaens.

For the decoration of these palaces all artists had to follow the instructions and probably also the sketches of Jacob van Campen, who planned the overall design of the decoration. Van Campen (1595-1657) was a painter by profession but must have received a very broad education.¹⁸ In his birthplace, Haarlem, he displayed an interest in medieval art that was unique for his time.¹⁹ His archeological inclination had as a natural counterpart a preference for pure classicism. He had occasionally worked as an architect before 1635/36 when Frederick Hendrik entrusted to him the construction and decoration of the various palaces he was building. Undoubtedly Van Campen was introduced to the court by the stadtholder's secretary Constantijn Huygens, who had been in love with Van Campen's sister. Van Campen single-handedly created Dutch classicist architecture. He and Huygens must have judged that the austere style of the exteriors of buildings required a coherent, well-ordered interior decoration. It is no surprise that they chose the painters labeled above as classicists. That Rembrandt was not asked does not mean he was not appreciated at court.²⁰ Van Campen himself contributed only a few paintings. Perhaps

he was aware that depicting large-scale figures was not his forte: the anatomy of his nudes always displays flaws.²¹

Van Campen's architectural classicism was practiced in Leiden by his former collaborator Arent van s'-Graveande who designed the new building of the Drapers' Guild in 1639/40. In 1650/51 the building was decorated with paintings by Abraham van den Tempel, who was a brilliant follower of Jacob Backer (cat. no. 53). Backer's style is also echoed in an excellent painting by Nicolaes van Galen for the town hall of the provincial city of Hasselt (cat. no. 59).

The Amsterdam Town Hall and Amsterdam Classicism

The largest building in the classicist style was Van Campen's monumental town hall in Amsterdam, which was begun in 1648 (fig. 1). The sculpture and its iconography were also carried out almost entirely by Flemish artists according to plans by Van Campen. It is doubtful whether Van Campen also had much of a say regarding the numerous paintings in the building. He left the project after a quarrel in 1654, when no pictures had yet been installed.²²

The plans for the decoration had an enormous impact on Amsterdam artists. Rembrandt's pupils Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol, who had been close followers of their master, did mantlepieces in a heroic classicist style for the main rooms in the town hall (fig. 5 in General Introduction, cat. nos. 37, 38). Flinck also did a painting in the same manner for the Huis ten Bosch (cat. no. 36).

Unlike the planners of Huis ten Bosch, the leaders of Amsterdam felt that their famous fellow townsman Rembrandt should also contribute. The result was most unfortunate. In the *Conspiracy of Julius Civilis* which he painted for the town hall's main gallery, none of the rules required of the painter of monumental decorations at that time were observed.²³ Soon after its installation the picture was removed and only a preparatory study and a fragment of the original canvas survived. Apparently Rembrandt had demanded to have a free hand until the painting was finished. Bol had to submit at least five subsequent studies before he was allowed to carry out his *Pyrrhus and Fabritius* (see cat. no. 38). Rembrandt was not the only artist to have trouble working under the rules. When Jacob Jordaens did his *Triumph of Frederick Hendrik* for the Huis ten Bosch and proposed changes in the iconography that had been thought out by Van Campen, he complained in a letter to Huygens that he, Jordaens, "should not be tied too much by the bondage of another person."²⁴ It should be remembered that the strong-willed Van Campen also left his own town hall project.

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The various classicist tendencies fused together into one style in Amsterdam in the 1650s. The Utrecht Caravaggist

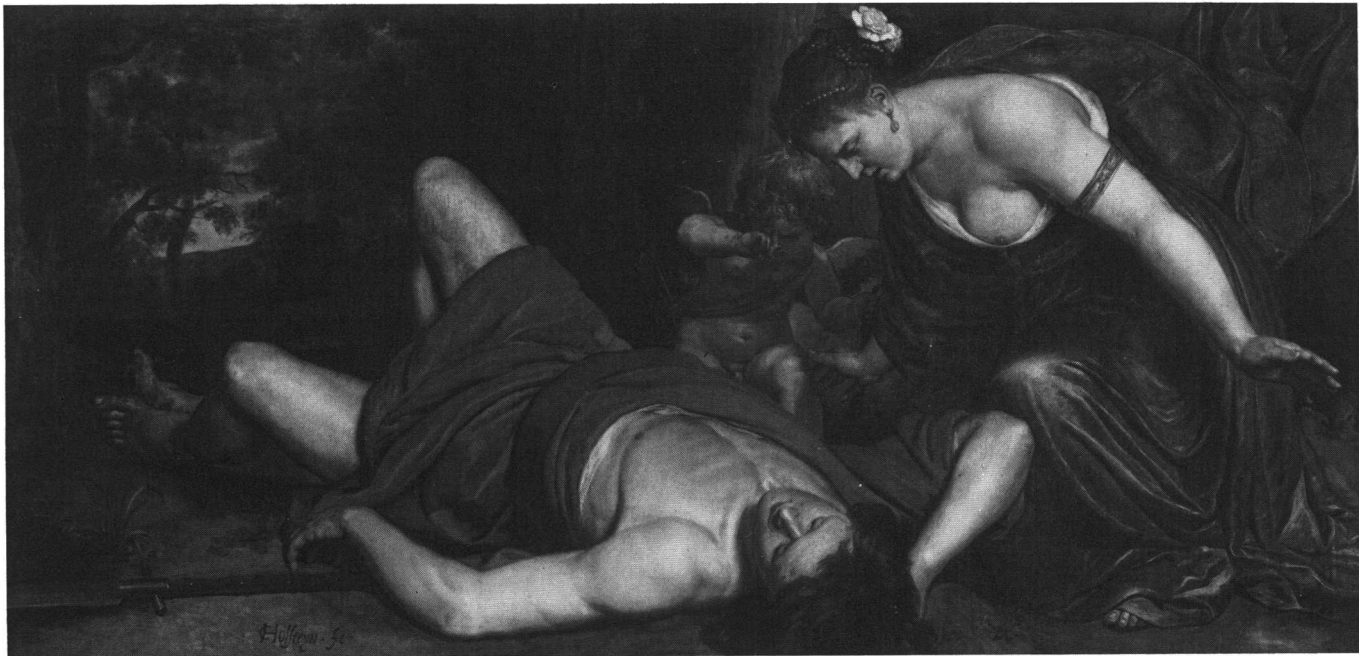


fig. 6 Cornelis Holsteyn, *Venus Lamenting the Dead Adonis*, signed, canvas, 99 x 206 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum (photo: A. Dingjan, The Hague).

Jan Gerritsz. van Bronchorst and Cornelis Holsteyn (1618-1658), who was born and trained in Haarlem, moved to Amsterdam and executed mantelpieces for rooms in the town hall. Holsteyn's *Venus Lamenting the Dead Adonis* is a typical example of this Amsterdam style of the 1650s (fig. 6).

In works Ferdinand Bol painted in this style, direct borrowings from Rubens and Van Dyck can be detected.²⁵ Jordaens' influence is evident in the work of the Amsterdam painter Jan van Noordt (cat. no. 55). Yet the Amsterdam history painters retained a distinctly Dutch style. Few pictures done in Amsterdam have ever been mistaken for Flemish works. In general the brushstroke is less fluid, the movement more restrained, and the modeling tighter than in Flanders.

One of the artists who was influenced by Amsterdam classicism drew directly from its ultimate source: Italian art. In his *Diana and Her Companions* (cat. no. 54) of 1654-56 the young Johannes Vermeer displays a broadness of touch and strong, deep colors that are elsewhere found only in works by a master like Titian. Vermeer could have seen such works in Amsterdam's bustling international art market.

Carel Dujardin and Adriaen van de Velde enriched Amsterdam history painting in the 1660s. The rare history pieces by these landscapists suggest that they too studied Italian art closely (cat. nos. 64, 66). The monumentality of their paintings has its roots in Amsterdam classicism of the 1650s, their smooth design is reminiscent of Italian

painting, and the minute delicacy of their execution is similar to Vermeer's later genre works.

Subordination and Cooperation

No academy in the modern sense of the word seems to have existed in Holland in the seventeenth century. Yet the artists who aspired most to be truly "antique"—the classicists discussed in this chapter—worked together in a more or less organized way. When they worked under Van Campen or for the Amsterdam city fathers, cooperation also meant subordination. Cooperation on a voluntary basis also occurred. Hendrick Goltzius and his friends allegedly founded an academy where drawing from live models presumably was practiced. A committee that reorganized the Haarlem guild of St. Luke in 1631 specifically stipulated that "Joint sessions in drawing, anatomy and other skills and exercises will be held, as well as public lectures, lessons and demonstrations by the best masters." Most likely Salomon de Braij was the instigator.²⁶ In 1658 five Amsterdam artists testified that a Catharina Jans "had posed for them as colleagues as a model stark naked and that they had drawn and painted her."²⁷ They included Ferdinand Bol, Govert Flinck, and two other artists who did paintings for the Amsterdam town hall in a similar style.²⁸ The fifth was their fellow classicist Jacob van Loo (who for unknown reasons did not receive a commission for the town hall). Thus in their efforts to "reproduce the most perfect work of God on earth" these artists also worked together from live models.

Notes

A stay as a visiting scholar at The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, provided me with the opportunity to work out my notes in ideal circumstances, where I greatly profited from many people's generous assistance.

1. Ter Kuile, 1960, p. 14. See also E.H. ter Kuile in Rosenberg/Slive, p. 237.
2. Ter Kuile, 1960, p. 26, pl. 6A.
3. Stechow, 1966, p. 17.
4. Reznicek, 1961, pp. 215, 219. Reznicek discussed a splendid drawing by Goltzius, apparently after a nude model, made as early as 1594 (Reznicek, 1975, fig. 1). Reznicek's characterization: "an iconographic *novum* . . . in my view an intimate drawing" was criticized at great length by Miedema (1976). Unlike the Goltzius, none of the many examples Miedema cites as comparable representations of nude women depicts the labia.
5. Since the painting is large and on numerous panels of wood, it was not requested as a loan for the exhibition. A monograph on Pieter de Grebber is being prepared by Dr. Peter Sutton, Philadelphia.
6. A madonna with saints, Vienna, Albertina, Moltke, 1938 S.B., fig. 3.
7. Van Everdingen and his wife, who were members of the Calvinist church and had no children, left the yearly interest of thousand "carolus" guilders as a legacy to "a poor young student, who studies theology or is planning to do so" (Jansen, 1979, p. 5). Pieter de Grebber and Salomon and Jan de Braij were Catholics. Of the painters who will be mentioned later Abraham Bloemaert and Gerard van Honthorst also belonged to this church. Jacob van Campen, Johannes Vermeer, and Adriaen van de Velde converted to Catholicism. Jacob Backer, Govert Flinck, and Abraham van den Tempel were Mennonites.
8. The only exceptions are two half-length evangelists of c. 1625, which originally were part of a series of four (Odessa, Museum; Slive, 1970/74, cat. nos. 43, 44; pl. 72, 73). Hals' *Prodigal Son* mentioned in archival documents in 1646/47 could very well be the merry company in seventeenth-century dress now titled *Jonker Ramp* (Slive, 1970/74, I, pp. 100-103, pl. 42).
9. Broos, 1978, p. 119.
10. At a scandalous trial held in Haarlem in 1627 the then famous painter Johannes Torrentius (1589-1644) was tortured and sentenced to twenty years imprisonment on a variety of vague charges, one of them being that he had made obscene paintings. In lists of his pictures made up for the occasion the subjects seem innocuous (Adam and Eve, etc.), yet his paintings were publicly burnt. His only preserved work is a masterful still life that has to be interpreted as symbolic of moderation (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).
11. This was observed by Bauch, 1960, p. 114.
12. J.R. Judson discerns influence of Raphael in the picture (Judson, 1959, p. 97).
13. Von Schneider, 1933, p. 132, pl. 25A.
14. In Backer's *Christ and the Canaanite Woman*, dated 1640, the ar-

range of the figures is still rather awkward and reminiscent of the Pre-Rembrandtists (private collection; Bauch, 1926, pl. 30). Much more elegant and purely classicist are his *Allegory of Liberty* in Schloss Grünewald, Berlin, for which he was paid in 1645, and *Amarillis Crowns Mirtrillio*, signed and dated 1646 (formerly art market Vienna; Bauch, 1926, pl. 31). Around 1640 Jacob van Loo was still painting genre pieces in the style of Pieter Codde. Of his favorite theme of his classicist period, *Diana with Nymphs*, the earliest dated example is from 1648 (East Berlin, Bode Museum).

15. They were identified by Snoep, 1969 (figs. 6, 9-12). Snoep accepted the traditional attribution of the drawings to Cornelis Holsteyn. However, this artist was only twenty years old when the ceiling was executed. I see no reason to doubt that the drawings are either studies by De Grebber himself or by Paulus Bor, who also took part in painting the ceiling.
16. For unknown reasons Berchem, Backer, and Van Loo did not participate in the final project, nor did the Haarlem history painter Bleecker (Dirck or Gerrit), who also appears on Huygens' list. Other contributors of paintings were: Cornelis van Couwenbergh (1604-1667), a Delft artist who practiced an original mixture of Caravaggism and classicism; Pieter Soutman (c. 1580-1657) from Haarlem, whose works resemble De Grebber's but are in a more Flemish, Rubenesque style than any other Dutchman's; Jan Lievens; Jacob van Campen; and five Flemish painters (see Van Gelder, 1948).
17. Belgium did not yet exist.
18. On Van Campen: Swillens, 1961.
19. A print of 1629/30 after the *Lamentation of Christ* by Geertgen tot Sint Jans (c. 1465- c. 1495) is the only one of the period to reproduce a fifteenth-century picture. The print is dedicated to Van Campen, who is mentioned as a "great lover" of the painting. Maybe it was also Van Campen who encouraged his friend Pieter Saenredam in the latter's decision to make faithful and minute depictions of Dutch Romanesque and Gothic churches (see Swillens, 1935, p. 10ff.; 1961, pp. 33-35).
20. In 1636-1645 Frederick Hendrik acquired a series of passion paintings from Rembrandt through Huygens (Bredius/Gerson, nos. 548, 550, 557, 560, 574). With two of these rather small paintings Rembrandt in 1639 sent a large picture as a present to Huygens, probably his 263 x 302 cm (103 3/8 x 119 in.) *Blinding of Samson*, now in Frankfurt am Main (Bredius/Gerson, no. 501). This present certainly could be interpreted as a hint from Rembrandt that he too was prepared to paint large-size-figure paintings. It is also interesting that Frederick Hendrik had an *Abduction of Ganymede* by Pieter de Grebber as a ceiling piece in one of his palaces (Slothouwer, 1945, p. 306; see also Snoep, 1969, p. 285, note 28; now lost). This is a unique subject on a large Dutch painting except for Rembrandt's *Abduction of Ganymede* now in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden on which the date is read as 1635 (Bredius/Gerson, no. 471).
21. His earliest preserved painting is his *Diogenes in Search of a Man*, signed and dated 1628, which employs Caravaggist half-length figures (Utrecht, Centraal Museum; Swillens, 1961, pl. 2). His pictures in the Huis ten Bosch are illustrated in Van Gelder, 1948, figs. 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21. For his few other known paintings see Van Gelder, 1948, fig. 16, 19; Swillens, 1961, pls. 8, 11; Fremantle, 1959, pl. 90.
22. Clear indications exist, however, that the selection of painters for the town hall had become a serious issue as early as 1652 (Blankert, 1976, p. 56).
23. Bredius/Gerson, p. 595; Van de Waal, 1974, pp. 28-44; Blankert, 1975, p. 27.

24. "niet te veel gebonden (sal) staan onder eens anders dienstbaarheid" (Swillens, 1961, p. 187).
25. See cat. no. 39. Blankert, 1976, cat. nos. A18, 28, 33, 41, 45, 48.
26. Taverne, 1972, p. 53. Taverne (p. 66) advocates labeling De Grebber and father and son De Braij and their circle not as "classicists" but as "academists." In my opinion the word "academist" has too many pejorative connotations to be applied to the fresh, often brilliant works of these artists.
27. Bredius *Künstler*, Inv., p. 1255.
28. Nicolaes de Helt Stockade (1614-1669) and Willem Strijcker (1602-c. 1675).

Cornelis van Poelenburgh 1586/95 Utrecht 1667

Cornelis van Poelenburgh was born in Utrecht at an unknown date. Early sources indicate that he was a pupil of Abraham Bloemaert in his hometown. It has previously gone unnoticed that Poelenburgh was mentioned in a list of famous contemporary painters of Amsterdam in a volume of poems published in 1618 (*Amstel's Eglentier* by Theodoor Rodenburgh). During the years 1617-25 he is mentioned as living in Rome. Undoubtedly he also stayed in Florence during this period. From the beginning of 1627 on he was back in Utrecht, where he is recorded many times. He also paid visits to England. Recently discovered documents prove that he lived on London's Orchard Street in 1638-41. For the remainder of his life, he probably resided in Utrecht.

Van Poelenburgh did a few pure history paintings (*Clorin saves Sophronia from the Stake*, Ottawa, National Gallery). However, his fame rests on his Italian landscapes. He was the first master to render Italian sunlight and atmosphere in a convincing manner. These small paintings, which date from 1620 on, made him the founder of Dutch Italianate landscape painting. He always depicted his figures—often nude nymphs pursued by satyrs, less frequently merchants or peasants with cattle—in careful detail. In other paintings he depicted biblical and mythological scenes. Van Poelenburgh's figures were highly regarded as is testified by the fact that he did the figures in the landscapes of other painters (i.e. *The Judgment of Paris* by Jan Both, National Gallery, London).

Literature: Schaar, 1959/60. Blankert, 1978, pp. 60-75. Data on *Amstel's Eglentier* and on Van Poelenburgh's stay in London communicated by Mrs. N. Sluijter-Seijffert, who is preparing a monograph on the artist.

A.Bl.

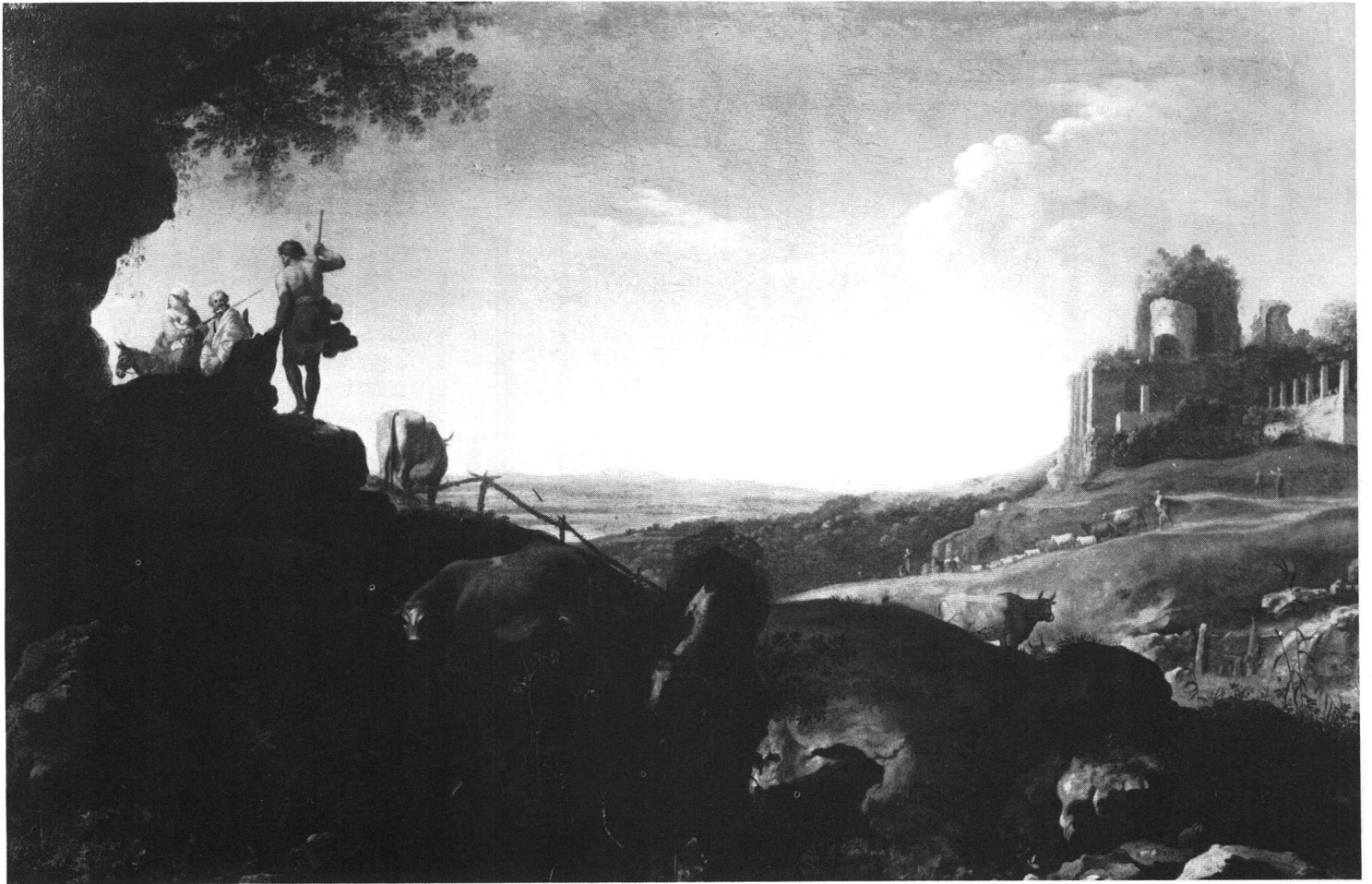
- 45 *Landscape with the Flight to Egypt*, 1625
Oil on canvas; 48 x 71 cm (18 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 28 in.)
Monogrammed and dated, bottom left, C.P. 1625
(formerly read as 1626)
Exhibitions: Collection of paintings, lent for the exhibition by the Marquess of Bute, London, South Kensington Museum, 1883, no. 7. Mostra di pittura olandese del seicento, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, 1954, cat. no. 102, fig. 10. Mostra di Pittura olandese del seicento, Palazzo Reale, Milano, 1954, cat. no. 105. Krajobraz Holenderski XVII Wieku, Museum Narodowe, Warsaw, 1958, cat. no. 74, with ill. Breda, 1960/61, cat. no. 50, with ill. Dordrecht, 1963, cat. no. 98, with ill.

When he was told that the King of the Jews had been born in Bethlehem, King Herod ordered all boys under the age of two, to be murdered. Joseph was forewarned by an angel of the Lord and, with Mary and the child Jesus, fled to Egypt (Matthew 2: 13-18). The tiny group at the left, depicted at the moment before disappearing behind a rock, represents the Flight into Egypt. The iconography is wholly traditional; Mary holding the child in her arms, rides a donkey, and Joseph, characterized as an elderly man, walks with them, holding a staff over his shoulder. Joseph appears to greet the shepherd who is watching them. The shepherd, silhouetted against the sky, is the largest and most conspicuous figure in the picture. His muscular torso, viewed from the back, and his robe fluttering in the wind remind one of the figures in Italian High Renaissance painting. He brings to mind a statement of Van Poelenburgh's younger contemporary and acquaintance, Joachim von Sandrart, who wrote that in Rome Van Poelenburgh "exerted himself to the utmost to paint his figures in the manner of Raphael" (Sandrart, p. 175).

However, the figures here are hardly more than accessories, dwarfed by the landscape. The painting, executed in the period when the master returned from Italy to Utrecht, testifies to Van Poelenburgh's accomplishment as a painter of Italian landscapes. The bright colors and the delicate nuances, especially in the lighted areas in the background, create a sunny atmosphere. The overgrown ruin at the right resembles the ones the master drew in Rome after actual antique ruins. After pictures like this one by Van Poelenburgh had set an example, the cows herded by a shepherd and the meticulously painted foliage of the foreground became common elements in the oeuvre of most Dutch Italianate landscape painters such as Berchem and Asselijn.

Utrecht, Centraal Museum der Gemeente

A.Bl.



Pieter de Grebber

c. 1600 Haarlem 1652/1653

Pieter de Grebber's date of birth is unknown but is generally estimated as c. 1600. He studied at Haarlem under his father, Frans Pietersz. de Grebber, and Hendrick Goltzius. Although only a few group portraits by Frans de Grebber (1573-1649; see Valkenburg) are known today, during his lifetime he was quite well known as a history painter as well as a portraitist (Hazeleger). He was also the teacher of Peter Lely.

In 1618 Frans visited Antwerp as Rubens' representative. There he handled the exchange in which Rubens traded paintings for antique sculptures owned by Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador in The Hague. On this occasion Rubens wrote of Frans de Grebber as "my friend" (Rooses/Ruelens, p. 161). In the same year Carleton mentioned in a letter "... the son of Frans de Grebber . . ." (Rooses/Ruelens, p. 179). This may indicate that the young Pieter traveled with his father to Antwerp and possibly visited Rubens (Hazeleger). In 1621 Pieter was recorded in a list of Haarlem painters, published by Adriaen Roman (Moes, 1900). He was praised as an important painter, especially of histories, in the descriptions of Haarlem by S. Ampzing (1628) and P. Schrevelius (1648) and in Philips Angel's 1642 treatise on painting.

His earliest dated work is a *Caritas* of 1622, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston, Texas. In 1625 he painted his highly important *Feast of Belshazzar* in the Museum in Kassel (fig. 3) and the group portrait of the *Van Teylingen Family* (Alkmaar, Museum). In 1638 he did many large paintings for Frederick Hendrik's palace Honselaersdijk, including *Nymphs Resting from the Hunt* and a *Sacrifice*. Only one of these paintings has been preserved (Snoep, 1969, with ill.). In 1648-50 he executed four large canvases for Huis ten Bosch at The Hague (Van Gelder, 1948, p. 154). In 1649, he published his eleven "rules of art" on a single broadside. He probably also worked at the courts of Copenhagen and/or Hollstein.

In Haarlem the artist became a member of the guild in 1632. In 1634 he bought a house in the area where the Beguines lived and is recorded as living with his father there in 1644 (Hazeleger, p. 11). In 1642 he was dean of the Haarlem guild. He had close ties with prominent Roman Catholics in Haarlem, Delft, and Utrecht, e.g. Father Jan Albertz. Ban, who corresponded with Constantijn Huygens and Descartes. He painted altarpieces and portraits of priests for several Roman Catholic "hidden churches" in Holland and even executed altarpieces for churches in the Flemish cities Bruges and Ghent (Hazeleger, pp. 28-30). Pieter also translated Latin poetry and set it to music. Together with Ban, the Haarlem burgomaster Guldewagen, and the painter Salomon de Braij he played a prominent part in Haarlem musical life (Snoep, 1969, p. 292).

Of the approximately seventy preserved works by Pieter de Grebber, most are history paintings of religious subjects. About twenty are portraits, many of them of Roman Catholic priests (Dirkse; Hazeleger).

With his large figure pieces, dating from c. 1625 on, Pieter

de Grebber was the pioneer of the Haarlem classicist school.

Literature: Dirkse. Hazeleger.

A.Bl.

46 *The German Emperor Awards the Sword to the Haarlem Coat of Arms*

Oil on canvas, 168 x 196 cm (66½ x 77¼ in.)

Monogrammed and dated on the shield: P.DG 1630.

Provenance: Town Hall, Haarlem, still in its original place in the former City Council Room.

Bibliography: (compiled by R. Hazeleger). De Koning, 1808, p. 204 (as by Frans Pietersz. de Grebber).

Immerzeel, 1842, p. 292 (as by Frans Pietersz. de Grebber). Vosmaer, 1863, p. 77 (for the first time as Pieter de Grebber). Koenen, 1866, p. 509. Van der Willicen, 1870, p. 137. Göbel, 1922, p. 924 (as a design for the tapestry). Miedema, 1926, p. 64, with ill. Van Regteren Altena, 1935, p. 74, with ill. Van Ysselsteyn, 1935/36, I, p. 130, 247. Van Regteren Altena, 1938/39. Van der Boom, 1940, I, p. 132. G.H. Kurtz, in: "Het Haarlems Dagblad," 6, 1952. Van de Waal, 1952, p. 32, 247, pl. 11. Blankert/Ruurs, p. 424. Hazeleger, pp. 48-68.

The scene depicts Emperor Frederik II in 1219 (according to other sources the emperor is Frederik Barbarossa in 1188) handing over a sword to the city of Haarlem, represented by a kneeling man at the right. The sword was then added to the city's coat of arms, which had formerly consisted of four stars on a red field (as depicted on the shield of the kneeling man). At the left sits the Patriarch of Jerusalem with a cross in his hand which he gave to Haarlem after the awarding of the sword as another addition to their coat of arms. The city received this honor because, according to legend, during the crusade in which the city of Damiate in Egypt was captured, a Haarlem warship broke through the chain which blocked the entrance to the harbor (see fig. 3 of General Introduction). Dutchmen were indeed involved in the taking of Damiate under the leadership of their duke, but the breaking of the chain by the sailors from Haarlem and the augmenting of this coat of arms as a reward are legendary. The story first appeared in print in c. 1450 and subsequently became exceptionally popular. After about 1520 the conferring of the additions to the coat of arms (*wapenvermeerdering*) and the taking of Damiate were popular subjects in the visual arts in Haarlem. In 1595 the *wapenvermeerdering* was chosen as the subject for the largest and most important window, on the west facade, of the St. Bavokerk. At that time Carel van Mander wrote two poems about the subject.

When the town hall was rebuilt around 1630 all the walls of the city council's chamber were decorated with representations of this story. These are still in situ. On the longest wall is a tapestry about ten meters wide representing the breaking of the chain. On the short walls above the fireplaces are the current painting and a tapestry showing the patriarch handing over the



new coat of arms. According to documents, the tapestry was done after designs by De Grebber, although the window in the St. Bavokerk mentioned above clearly served as the direct model (Van de Waal, pp. 30-31, 247 ff.; Hazeleger).

Van Regteren Altena recognized a drawing in the Municipal Archive in Haarlem as being done by De Grebber and representing The Patriarch Handing Over the Coat of Arms. He also published a reproduction of a painting by De Grebber which is monogrammed and, like the present work, dated 1630 (known from sales catalogues; Van Regteren Altena, 1934/35 and 1938/39 with illustrations). This painting is just as large as cat. no. 46 and represents

precisely the same composition, in reverse, as the drawing. The double eagle above the head of the prince represents the German emperor. On the coat of arms is a standing naked man with a beard; on his feet appears an object in the form of a six pointed star (photo in Kunsthistorisch Institut, Utrecht). This painting may have been commissioned for another city (Hazeleger suggested Schagen) and was inspired by the Haarlem example.

Haarlem, Town Hall

A.Bl.

Pieter de Grebber

47 *The Annunciation*, 1633

Oil on panel, 85 x 112.5 cm (33½ x 44¼ in.)

Signed and dated in monogram on lectern: *P d G 1633*.

Provenance: Sale Dr. Walcker, G. Eberle et al., Cologne, Nov. 16, 1909, no. 44 (as "probably dated 1637"). Sale Frau Jandorf, Berlin (Lepke), March 4, 1936, no. 209 (information from Dr. P. Sutton, Philadelphia). Sale Berlin, Feb. 8, 1916, no. 134. Art dealer W.A. Lutz, Berlin, before 1958 (note on R.K.D.).

Bibliography: Dance.

The story of the Annunciation (Luke 1:26-35) has been represented in many paintings. The archangel Gabriel appeared to the Virgin Mary when she was betrothed to Joseph and told her, "behold, you will conceive in your womb and bear a son, and you shall call his name Jesus. . . ." And Mary said to the angel, "How can this be, since I have no husband?" The angel answered: "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you. . . ."

The figures of Mary and Gabriel dominate the scene. They wear brilliantly colored garments; Gabriel's is elaborate and Mary's far more humble. The background appears to be a gray sky. In the upper center the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, breaks upon the scene as a flash of white. A cloud envelops the lower part of the winged Gabriel, linking him to the sky.

Gabriel is dressed in Roman Catholic liturgical vestments—a white alb and a brilliant black and gold dalmatic. The dalmatic is normally worn by a Roman Catholic deacon during the celebration of the Eucharist, and on the archangel it indicates that priesthood comes from God alone and that the Roman Catholic Church is the one true medium between God and humanity (Dance). With his right hand Gabriel points to heaven, while with his left he offers Mary an olive branch. The only precedent for an olive branch in an Annunciation is found in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Sienese painting (Dance). Usually the angel extends a white lily toward Mary as an allusion to her purity (see cat. nos. 13, 66).

The olive branch is above all a symbol of peace, and in fact peace negotiations were being held between Spain and the northern Netherlands at the time the picture was painted (peace was not signed until 1648).

Mary sits or kneels at the right reading the Bible which is placed on a lectern. On the open page is written: "Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium," (Behold, a virgin will conceive and bear a son), the prophesy from Isaiah 7:14 that is often encountered in Annunciation paintings.

The same Mary appears in a very similar pose on De Grebber's *Adoration of the Shepherds* also of 1633 in the Roman Catholic church in the village Oude-Ade near Leiden (Monumenten . . . Rijnland, II, pl. II, 2). Also from 1633 is *The Descent from the Cross*, which is from the Catholic church in Enkhuizen, where De Grebber's brother-in-law was priest (Hazeleger, p. 29; now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, cat. 1976, no. A2311, with ill.). The splendor and the large size of its figures suggest that

cat. no. 47 also was painted for a Roman Catholic church or private chapel.

Although the painting may have been out of public view in a Roman Catholic "hidden church," it attracted the attention of at least one other painter; an old copy after it has been preserved (in 1971 in the Central Picture Gallery in New York; 80 x 110 cm; photo in J.P. Getty Museum, Malibu, California). Another *Angel of the Annunciation* by De Grebber, wearing a similar dalmatic and also holding an olive branch, is on the art market (Spencer & Samuels, New York; signed in monogram; illustration in *Burlington Magazine*, Jan. 1979, p. xc). The companion painting showing Mary apparently is missing.

Hannover, Dr. Amir Pakzad

A.Bl.



Salomon de Braij 1597 Amsterdam-Haarlem 1664

Salomon de Braij was born in Amsterdam, according to Houbraken, in 1597. When still young he moved to Haarlem, where Cornelis van Haarlem and Hendrick Goltzius were his teachers. By 1615 he had already become a member of the Militia of St. Adriaen at Haarlem. In the same period he was a member of one or more Chambers of Rhetoricians. In 1621 he planned to travel to Copenhagen to enter into the service of the Danish king Christian IV, but nothing came of it. In 1625 he married Anna Westerbaen of The Hague, a sister of the portraitist Jan Westerbaen and of the poet Jacob Westerbaen. The Westerbaen family was Protestant, while the De Braijs were Catholics. The couple had at least ten children, four of whom died at a very young age. The children were, as far as we know, Catholics. The sons Jan, Dirck, and Joseph became painters. The sitters in fig. 8 of the General Introduction were probably members of this family.

Salomon published a collection of love poems and a book on contemporary architecture (*Architectura Moderna*, 1631; reprint, Soest, 1971). He referred to himself as "painter and architect" and was indeed very active in the field of architecture, though many of his designs were not actually carried out. This was the case with his plans for the expansion of Haarlem, to which he devoted much skill and energy (Taverne, 1978). He also designed coats of arms, silver cups, and church vessels (Taverne, 1972, Jb.). In 1630 he was appointed to the committee to plan the reorganization of the Haarlem guild of St. Luke. Cornelis van Haarlem, the landscapist Pieter Molijn, and the still life painter Willem Claesz. Heda also took part in the reorganization, which was realized in the subsequent years. De Braij apparently was the driving force behind this and other activities of the guild (Taverne, 1972). From 1633 to 1640 he was a member of its board. In 1633 he and other Roman Catholic members tried to recover a relic that had formerly been in the guild's possession.

In 1649-50 he contributed two large paintings, each representing a *Triumphal Procession* (see fig. 4) and a grisaille painting to the decorations for the Huis ten Bosch at The Hague. In August 1663 the French nobleman Balthasar de Monconys, who visited several painters on his trip through the Netherlands (e.g. Johannes Vermeer of Delft) also came to see Salomon de Braij and bought a picture representing Hermaphroditus from him. In the same period an outbreak of the plague hit the De Braij family. Salomon's wife Anna Westerbaen died in March 1663, and four of their children died in the next year. Salomon himself died on May 11, 1664.

Notwithstanding the valuable study of Von Moltke (Von Moltke, 1938), the development of Salomon de Braij as a painter is not yet entirely clear. In 1635 he still seemed to favor compositions of half-length figures, which at that time had become rather old-fashioned (cat. no. 48). By c. 1640 the influence of Rembrandt's chiaroscuro made itself felt. Most of his classical compositions with full-length figures seem to have originated in the following years, although they closely resemble the style that was introduced as early as 1625 by De Braij's fellow townsman and contemporary,

Pieter de Grebber. Salomon's handling of details, however, is generally more delicate than De Grebber's, and his palette is richer. His late paintings are often similar to those of his son Jan (fig. 4). Yet typical of Salomon are the peculiar plumpness of his figures, with their round, often large heads. Apart from his history paintings he also made a few portraits and landscapes. *Literature*: Moes, 1910. Van der Marel. Von Moltke, 1938. Taverne, 1978.

A. Bl.

48 *Jael, Deborah, and Barak*, 1635

Oil on panel; 86 x 71 cm (33 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 28 in.)

Dated on the hammer: 1635

Provenance: Coll. W.I. Mjatjewo, St. Petersburg, 1909.

Coll. Pierre Stepanoff, Leningrad, 1931, Paris, 1927.

Coll. Ir. C.Th.F. Thurkow, The Hague. Coll. Thurkow van Huffel, The Hague, on loan to the museum (data from R.K.D.).

Bibliography: Moltke, 1938. pp. 320-322, fig. 9. Bloch, 1940, p. 14, afb. 1. Bauch, 1960, p. 114, fig. 79, p. 257, note 87.

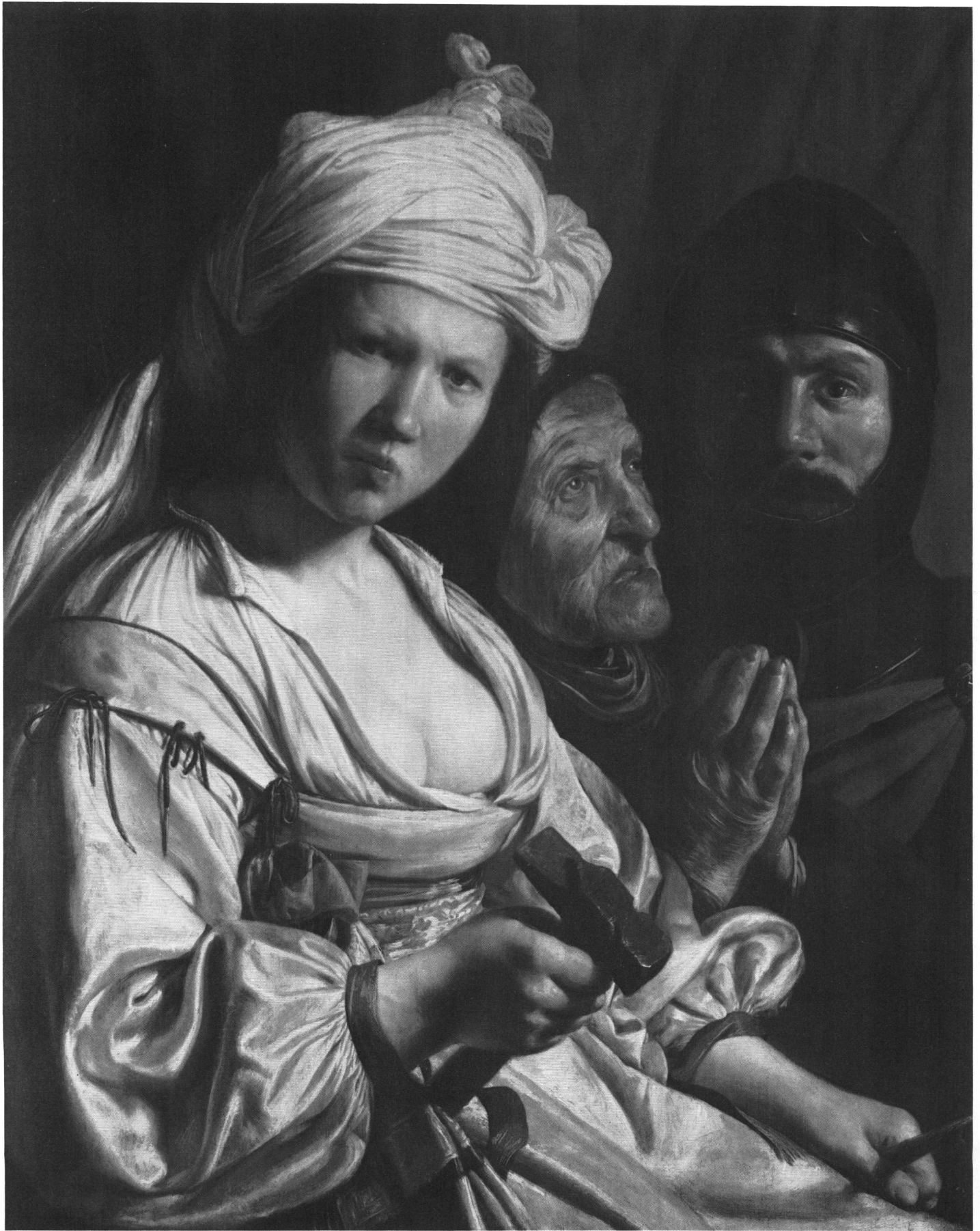
Exhibitions: *Old Paintings*, St. Petersburg, 1909, no. 430.

Bijbelse Kunst, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1939, cat. no. 38A, fig. 13.

For twenty years the Canaanite commander Sisera cruelly oppressed the people of Israel. Then, at the instigation of the prophetess Deborah, Barak assembled 10,000 men and defeated Sisera's forces in battle. Sisera managed to escape and fled into the tent of the woman Jael, who appeared to be friendly and hospitable. However, when Sisera fell asleep, Jael "took a tent peg, and took a hammer in her hand, and went softly to him and drove the peg into his temple, till it went down into the ground. . . . So he died." Then Jael invited Barak, who was pursuing Sisera, into her tent and showed him the dead body (Judges 4). The biblical text continues with a long song in praise of God, sung by Deborah and Barak on the same day.

In the picture Jael is the dominating figure at the left. Still holding the hammer in one hand and the peg in the other, she looks at us with an intense expression. Barak, the man with the helmet at the right, also stares at the viewer. Squeezed between them, the old Deborah prays her thanks to God with folded hands. Physically the figures are very close to each other. Immediately behind them the back of Jael's tent closes off the space. This cramped, uncomfortable grouping also suggests a psychological constriction, while at the same time emphasizing the contrast between the faces and hands of the young and beautiful Jael and of the old, wrinkled Deborah.

In the seventeenth century Jael was extolled as one of the Old Testament heroines and liberators of her people, together with Judith and Esther (see cat. nos. 4, 31, 85; Knipping, 1974, p. 210). In 1635, the same year as our painting, Salomon de Braij did a similar painting of half-length figures representing *Judith*



with the *Head of Holofernes Accompanied by a Servant* (Madrid, Prado, cat. 1952, no. 2097, 89 x 71 cm; Moltke, 1956, with ill.; another version in a private collection, see Benesch, 1957, with ill.). The chiaroscuro on the *Judith* is reminiscent of the Utrecht Caravaggisti, while its lineation has the smoothness of Pieter de Grebber, to whom the painting was formerly attributed. Our picture, however, very much resembles paintings by Jan Lievens of c. 1625. The strong colors, the thick impasto, especially in the wrinkled head and hands of Deborah, are very similar to those of Lievens' *Feast of Esther* (cat. no. 31), as has been pointed out by Bauch (1960).

Jael, Deborah, and Barak bears no signature and was introduced into art-historical literature as a work by Salomon de Braij only as late as 1938-40 (Von Moltke, 1938, Bloch, 1940). Nonetheless it can safely be accepted as his work, since exactly the same man with helmet appears on top of his signed *Triumphal Entry* (fig. 4). Moreover a bust figure representing Samson (which shows De Grebber's influence) is signed and dated 1636 by De Braij and has a companion piece, *David with Sword* (Malibu, California, J. P. Getty Museum; Fredericksen, nos. 100, 101, with ill.), who wears a scarf that is similar to Lievens' technique and colors. In his bust and half-length figures of Old Testament heroes and heroines of c. 1635/36 De Braij apparently took the Utrecht Caravaggisti, De Grebber, and Lievens as his models. The strong affinity of cat. no. 48 with a work considered old-fashioned in 1635 by Lievens of ten years earlier (cat. no. 31) may also be explained by the theory that cat. no. 48 is a replica of an earlier work by De Braij (suggested by Bauch, 1960, p. 257). A 1634 drawing by the master which is a virtually unchanged replica of a drawing he made in 1624 may serve as a parallel (Moltke, 1938, figs. 33, 34).

A copy after cat. no. 48 was last noticed at a sale in London (Christie's), November 23, 1956, no. 140 (Moltke, 1938, fig. 10, as replica, dated 1635; Bloch, 1940, as dated 1630; Knipping, 1974, fig. 211). In 1660 De Braij made a drawing of Jael actually driving the peg through Sisera's head (formerly art market, Amsterdam; Moltke, 1938, fig. 78).

Mrs. L. Thurkow-Van Huffel, on loan to Rijksmuseum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht

A.Bl.

Nicolaes Berchem 1620 Haarlem—Amsterdam 1683

Nicolaes or Claes Petersz. Berchem was the son of the still life painter Pieter Claesz. According to Houbraken (1719), who generally was well informed about who studied with whom, Berchem was first an apprentice of his father and later of the landscapist Jan van Goyen, the history painters Claes Moyaert and Pieter de Grebber, and the Italianate landscape painters Jan Wils and Jan Baptist Weenix. The last mentioned apprenticeship is improbable, because Weenix was a year younger than Berchem. Yet Weenix certainly influenced Berchem, and an important painting *The Calling of St. Matthew* (The Hague, Mauritshuis) is signed by both artists.

In 1634 Berchem's father Pieter Claesz. was summoned to pay money to the Haarlem guild "for teaching drawing to his son." In 1642 the son entered the Haarlem guild, and in the same year had three of his own pupils. In 1646 Berchem married in Haarlem, where the couple made their will in 1649.

Preserved drawings indicate that he traveled in c. 1650 with his fellow townsman and colleague landscapist Jacob van Ruisdael, through the hilly area of Westphalia, directly across the eastern border of the United Provinces. Both artists depicted the Westphalian Castle of Bentheim in their paintings.

In 1654-57 and in 1670 Berchem is again mentioned in Haarlem. Like many first-rate artists of his generation (e.g. Jacob van Ruisdael) he was so strongly attracted to the rich art center of Amsterdam that he settled there. He is recorded in 1660, 1667, and 1680 as living in Amsterdam, where he died three years later.

Lexica and handbooks state that Berchem visited Italy, but no definitive proof has been found that he actually made the journey. Circumstantial evidence indicates that the artist indeed traveled to Italy, most probably during the years 1653-54. The strongest indication for the trip is the fact that Berchem's vast oeuvre consists, for the greater part, of Italian landscapes, drenched in southern sunlight. From his own lifetime onwards, Berchem has been the most famous Dutch Italianate landscape painter.

His landscapes, painted during a forty-year period, show a great variety of themes, a rapid sequence of stylistic changes, and an extraordinary virtuosity and many-sidedness. Much less well known is the fact that Berchem also executed many first-rate history paintings. In his early history pieces, dating from 1648-50, he carried on the cool classicism that was first implemented by his fellow townsmen Pieter de Grebber and Salomon de Braij (*The Education of Jupiter*, 1648, The Hague, Mauritshuis). His masterly *Allegory of Amsterdam*, now in the Amsterdams Historisch Museum, was painted some thirty years later, when he lived in that city. The picture shows the same meticulous execution as the history paintings of the 1660s by the Italianate landscapist Carel Dujardin. In comparison to the work of both the Haarlem academists and to Dujardin, Berchem's history paintings have livelier outlines and are more dynamic in character.

Literature: Schaar, 1958. Blankert, 1978, pp. 147-174, 261

A.Bl.

49 *Landscape with Jacob, Rachel, and Leah or Elkana and His Two Wives*, 164(?)

Oil on canvas; 166 x 138 cm (65 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 54 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Signed and dated on the large rock in the bottom left, toward the center: *C. Berghem 164(?)* (It is almost certainly 1647 rather than 1644 or 1643, and certainly not 1664 as was generally read until now, with the exception of Schaar who proposed 1644).

Provenance: Until at least 1777, in the hospice St. Elisabeth in Haarlem (see the drawing copy by W. Hendriks in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, purchased in 1952 and exhibited in 1972 in *W. Hendriks*, no. 71).

Sold A. Vermanck and others, Haarlem, May 6, 1811, no. 1, for 1,580 florins to A. v. d. Willigen (undoubtedly the coauthor with R. van Eijnden of the famous *Geschiedenis der Vaderlandsche Schilderkunst*, 4 vols., Haarlem, 1816-1840). Collection of Mme. Rivière, Paris. Acquired by the Louvre from her in 1816 for 3,500 francs (with some Clodion sculptures, but the Berchem was the only painting from this collection).

Exhibitions: Paris, 1979-1980.

Bibliography: Smith, V, 1834, no. 148. Villot, II, 1852, no. 27. *Catalogue sommaire*, 1889-1903, no. 2323.

Hofstede de Groot, IX, 1926, p. 67, no. 59. Schaar, 1958, p. 10. Catalogue of the exhibition *W. Hendriks*, 1972, under no. 71. Emile-Mâle, 1976, p. 50-51, with color illus. Foucart-Bréjon, 1979, p. 24, with illus. (dated 164[3?], and figures by J.B. Weenix).

Since the catalogue of the Hendriks exhibition in 1972, the subject has been identified as Jacob, Rachel, and Leah. One can accept it provisionally, but without absolute certainty, since the episode does not explain the presence of the two children in the foreground. According to S. Nystad (article to be published in *Tableau*, autumn, 1980), the subject is Elkana and his two wives—Pennina who had children and Anne who did not (Samuel 1:1-9).

Jacob invited Rachel and Leah, the daughters of his uncle Laban, to go with him to Canaan, his native country, as he had been ordered to do by Yahweh, the God of Israel (Genesis 31:4-16). Whether or not one accepts this as the subject of the painting, it is clear that the figures, with their rich oriental clothing, stand out significantly against the other figures—simple and anonymous shepherds. This stylistic difference will be discussed later. Berchem's oeuvre includes other paintings on the Jacob and Rachel theme (Historic Museum, Frankfurt; unknown to Hofstede de Groot but cited by A. Blankert in the catalogue of the Utrecht exhibition, 1965, p. 152) and on the theme of Laban (Munich). Hofstede de Groot cites as a probable copy of the Louvre Berchem a *Ruth and Boaz*, sold in Amsterdam, October 31, 1905, no. 10 (sale Adr. Holtzman, Van Baerle, Vane Romunde and others).

It is remarkable that the identification of the subject was not considered a problem until recently (Hofstede de Groot called the painting *Landscape with an Oriental*; Villot was content with *Landscape with Animals*), even though the figures, with their

oriental costumes, are very similar to those of *Ruth and Boaz* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, or the Munich *Laban* dated 1648, which have always been properly considered paintings of biblical subjects.

Until the recent restoration (1974-77), which now permits us to read the date more easily, the date was almost always read as 1664 (except by Schaar who saw it more accurately). The conservation has also returned to the painting all its brilliance and effectiveness, which had not been apparent since at least the war of 1914-18 (it was therefore not catalogued by Demonts in 1922). It can now be considered as one of the large, early masterpieces of the artist.

The last digit of the date still causes a problem. Even after the cleaning, it was first read as 1643, which would have made this painting one of Berchem's earliest and most accomplished works, attesting to the precocity of a very young artist already in full possession of his skills. But even interpreting the date as 1647 scarcely changes the fundamental analysis. The bright, supple, and able finesse of the typically pastoral and arcadian landscape is Italianate and owes essential parts to Jan Both (who returned from Italy in 1641) and Van Poelenburgh (another Utrecht native who returned from Italy in 1627). It bears clear witness to Berchem's remarkable precocity. His *Landscape* of 1645 at Antwerp shows the essential traits of the "Berchemesque" world and confirms that Berchem had absolutely no need to go to Italy to become a perfect Italianist.

In the context of such a fine, light painting, one can also cite the possible influence of other masters mentioned by Houbraken in his biography of Berchem, namely Van Goyen and Jan Wils. The importance of his local training in Haarlem is confirmed in the style of the figures in the background, all borrowed in a superficial way from Moeyaert (the slightly dazed expressions, the round faces modeled with brown shadows, the reserved sculpturality, and the monochrome appearance). They are quite different from the oriental figures in the foreground. Indeed, these colorfully opulent figures raise the question of whether they might be the invention of someone other than Berchem. Comparison between them and the figures in the Munich *Laban*, which are less lively and less clearly set off from the others, has led to speculation (Mme. Linnick, oral communication) that they were done with the participation of Jan Weenix. The meeting of Berchem and Weenix and the fortunate influence of the latter on the former has often been mentioned, but rarely has such a concrete and convincing proof of it been offered as in this painting. However, the very heavy hands and disproportion of the figures are too maladroit to be by the talented Weenix. The very rapid and hasty sketching of the folds is the same, though more insistent, in the foreground figures as in the background figures which are so well integrated into the landscape and truly "Berchemesque," as remarked above, reflecting the influence of Moeyaert. This painting then must be considered the work of Berchem alone but very strongly influenced by Weenix to the point of pastiching him almost to deception.

If the Louvre painting was done in 1643, this collaboration with Weenix or at least this veritable mimicking of Weenix by

Berchem would have to have taken place very early in that year, before Weenix' departure for Italy (which could not have been before his testament at the end of October 1642). But in 1647 such a connection between Weenix and Berchem is even better explained, since apparently Weenix returned from Italy in 1647 and is mentioned in Amsterdam from that year on. It is precisely in the years 1648-50 that a number of Berchem's biblical paintings with large figures were done (*Jacob and Rachel*, dated 1648, Frankfurt, Historic Museum; *Laban* in Munich, which Blankert, 1965, p. 151, wished rightly to place later than 1643, since Brockhagen in *Kunstchronik*, 1965, p. 180, stated that the Munich painting was indeed dated 1648, and it is true that the foliage of the trees is very similar in the Louvre and Munich paintings). Also from that period are the purely pastoral paintings, stamped clearly by Both and Weenix, such as the *Mountainous Landscape* of 1649 in Toledo. Similarly in his *Hunters by Some Ruins* of 1648 (Collection Millikin, Cleveland) Weenix used a typical Berchem motif (woman milking a cow), as A. Blankert pointed out (1965, p. 177).

From the very beginning, Berchem asserted himself as a painter of landscape and pastoral genre scenes. His few history paintings were done with the participation or under the stylistic inspiration of another specialist such as Jan Baptist Weenix, whose brilliant personality seems to have prevailed in the beginning over that of Berchem. This fortunate influence continued during the 1650s and 1660s when Berchem executed his most turbulent works, marked by a true pre-rococo feeling (Rouen, Stockholm, Hartford, Geneva, etc.).

Paris, Musée du Louvre

J.F.



Nicolaes Berchem

50 *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, 1656

Oil on canvas; 110.4 x 147.3 cm (43½ x 58 in.)

Signed and dated lower center: *Berchem 1656*

Provenance: Colonna Palace, 1783, cat. no. 580

(according to Bristol Museum). Bought by C. Barring Wall from Palazzo Colonna, Rome, c. 1818. Art dealer J. Smith, in 1833 sold to the Earl of Leitrim for 300 Gns. (data from Smith). Sale London (Christie's), Dec. 18, 1953, no. 85. Purchased from Hazlitt Galleries, London, Nov. 1954.

Bibliography: Smith V, 1834, p. 16/17 m.33.—Hofstede de Groot, IX, 1926, p. 57, m. 17. Catalogue of oil painting in the City Art Gallery, Bristol, 1957, p. 96, no. K2402, pl. 51. Tümpel, 1974, p. 34, note 193. Blankert, 1978, Bredius, p. 78, p. 169, fig. 21

Exhibitions: British Institution for Promoting of Fine Arts in the United Kingdom, London, 1828, cat. no. 148. *17th Century Dutch Painting*, Art Gallery, Hull, 1961, cat. no. 5. *Primitives to Picasso*, Royal Academy, London, 1962, cat. no. 91.

Throughout his entire career Berchem's main theme was landscapes populated with herdsmen and their cattle. In hundreds of his paintings the herdsmen are to be interpreted as inhabitants of the Roman Campagna. In this rich and elaborate composition they illustrate a popular episode from the Gospel of Luke which takes place directly after the birth of Christ:

And in that region there were shepherds out in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. And an angel of the Lord appeared to them, and the glory of the Lord shone around them, and they were filled with fear. And the angel said to them, "Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good news of a great joy which will come to all the people; for to you is born this day in the city of David a Savior who is Christ the Lord. And this will be a sign for you: you will find a babe wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger." And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men with whom he is pleased!" (Luke 2:8-14).

A shepherdess on the right is still sleeping, the old man to her left wakes up, the others stare in utter amazement at the angel, who stands on a low floating cloud. The dog in the foreground directs its head to the heavenly appearance. The cows and sheep remain unperturbed, as is usual in representations of this scene (Rembrandt's etching of the theme of 1634 is unique in showing the flock stampeding away in terror, as fearful as the shepherds). Above the angel "a multitude of the heavenly host [is] praising God." At the top is, as John Smith put it in 1834, "a company of cherubim, soaring in light, the effulgence of which illuminates the whole country."

Astrid Tümpel detected similarities with a painting of 1639 by C. Moyaert, who was one of Berchem's six teachers (private collection; Tümpel, 1974, fig. 219). Berchem's overall composition is derived from an *Annunciation to the Shepherds* of c. 1630/

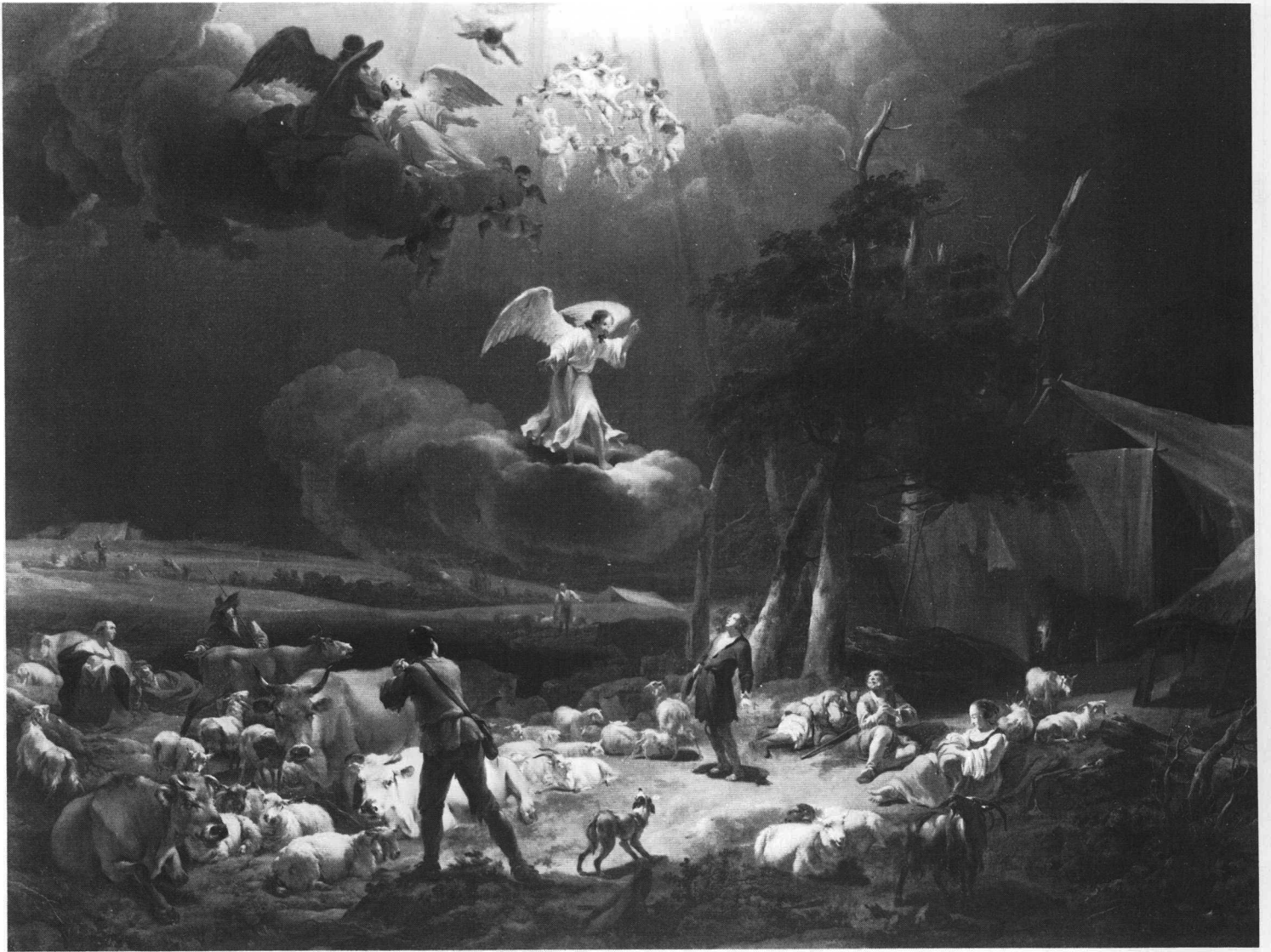
32 by Pieter van Laer, an artist who also was Berchem's main source of inspiration for his shepherd pieces which were not intended as history paintings. The Van Laer, now in the Bredius Museum in The Hague, also consists of a main flock on the left, sleeping and awakening people on the right, and a tentlike hut behind them at the far right (Blankert, 1978; Bredius, no. 90, with ill.). The standing man in the foreground who is seen from the back and the dog next to him are almost the same in both paintings.

Berchem's composition, however, is much more elaborate than Van Laer's. Enormous beams of light stream from above the top center into the picture and brightly illuminate the main scene, the huge, smokelike clouds, the grand vista over the fields at the left, and the powerful group of trees at the right.

A conspicuous contrast exists between the two largest trees; the one in front is in full foliage, while the one behind it is bare and dead. Perhaps an allusion is intended here to the New Testament, which begins spectacularly in this scene and supersedes the Old. Berchem painted the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* several times (Hofstede de Groot, IX, nos. 14-21) but never with the same great vision as here.

Bristol, The City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery

A.Bl.



Jacob van Loo

1614 Sluis—Paris 1670

Jacob van Loo was the son of an unknown painter, Jan, from whom he probably received his first instruction as an artist. As early as August 1635, Van Loo's name is mentioned in an Amsterdam notarial document in connection with the delivery, under contract with the dealer Marten Cretzer, of ten paintings. It is not certain but quite possible that Jacob van Loo was then already active in Amsterdam. The earliest known works by his hand, datable before or around 1640, are genre paintings in the manner of Pieter Codde. It is plausible, therefore, that the paintings of 1635 were works of this sort rather than portraits or history paintings.

In August 1642 Van Loo was betrothed in Amsterdam to Anna Langele (died Amsterdam 1656), sister of The Hague painter Martinus Lengele (died Paris 1668) and niece of Jan Mijtns (1614-1670), a prominent portraitist from The Hague. From this marriage seven children were born. The youngest of the four sons, Abraham (who called himself Abraham Louis or Louis; 1652-1712), and Johannes (1654-after 1694) were also painters. Abraham was the progenitor of the French family of painters Vanloo.

Toward the middle of the century, Jacob van Loo, whose activities extended to portraiture, genre, and history paintings, had made a name for himself both in Amsterdam and elsewhere. In 1649 Constantijn Huygens, the erudite secretary to the stadtholder Frederick Hendrik, had placed his name on a list of artists under consideration to decorate the new Huis ten Bosch palace near The Hague. His local fame is most clearly demonstrated by his mention, amidst many renowned fellow Amsterdamers like Rembrandt, Flinck, Bol, and Van der Helst, in a poem written by Jan Vos in 1654.

Meanwhile, in January 1652, at the same time as Bol, Flinck, and De Helt Stockade, Jacob van Loo purchased Amsterdam citizenship. This fact is doubtless connected with commissions which were then expected for the decoration of the new Amsterdam town hall. Although Van Loo never did receive commissions from either the stadtholder's court or the Amsterdam municipal administration, he nevertheless did receive other important commissions. For example, in 1657 he painted *Allegory on the Distribution of Food to the Poor* for the Oudezijds Huiszittenhuis, one of the workhouses in Amsterdam. It was one of three works ordered at the same time; the other two were executed by Jan van Bronchorst and Cornelis Holsteijn. His relationship with the Haarlem artist Holsteijn, who was dead by 1658, perhaps gained Van Loo the important commission to paint the portraits of the Regents (1658) and Regentesses (1659) of the Aalmoeneniers Armen Werkhuis (Almoners Workhouse for the Poor) in Haarlem. The commission was all the more significant for having been won over local Haarlem painters who were active at that time, such as Hals, Verspronck, and Jan de Braij.

A fight with fatal consequences compelled Jacob van Loo to abandon Amsterdam in the autumn of 1660. Shortly thereafter he established himself in Paris, where in 1663 he was admitted to the Académie de peinture. He died there on November 26, 1670.

51 Diana and her Nymphs

Oil on canvas; 162.5 x 199 cm (64 x 78 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Signed lower left: J. v. Loo

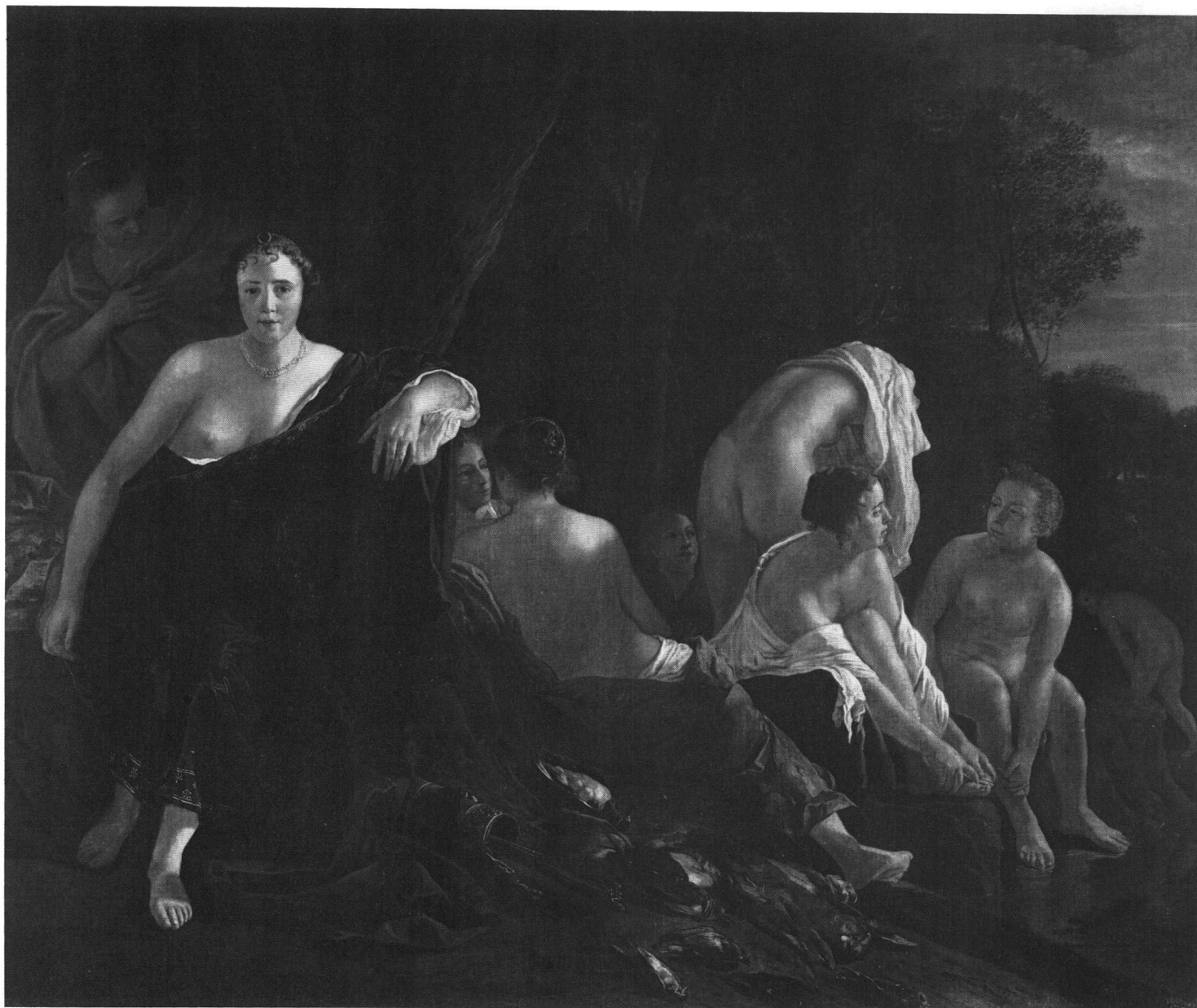
Provenance: Probably in Sale Amsterdam (De Winter et al.), April 27, 1774, no. 58 ("Diana met haare Jagtnimphen, zich Badende. Teder en natuurlyk van Coloriet en fraay op Doek geschildert, door van Loo, h. 64 br. 82 duim"). In the Galerie at Salzdahlum, as appears from the inventory of 1776, first gallery, no. 172, as "Johann Van Loo." After the French occupation included in the Herzogliches Museum in Braunschweig, initially as a work by Jean-Baptiste van Loo; as "Jakob van Loo" for the first time in the "Guide" of 1883, p. 92, no. 208.

Bibliography: Herman Riegel, *Beiträge zur niederländischen Kunstgeschichte, II. Die niederländischen Schulen im herzoglichen Museum zu Braunschweig*, Berlin, 1882, pp. 289-91; Arthur von Schneider, "Jacob van Loo" in *Zeitschrift für bildende kunst*, 59, 1925-26, pp. 71-72.

Diana sits at the left viewed from the front and looking out to the right. She is dressed in a dark blue garment which reveals only her shoulders, right breast, right arm, and feet. She leans with her left arm on an unseen supporting object; her right arm hangs along her body. Behind her and at the extreme left stands a wholly clothed nymph who leans her head toward Diana. Farther back in the middle and to the right are seven nymphs, some sitting, others standing. The two at the extreme right are entirely naked, the rest half-clothed. One nymph, standing and seen from behind, is busy removing her chemise. In the foreground lie hunting attributes—quivers with arrows, a dead rabbit, and dead birds. The background is formed by thick trees. Only at the right is a section of reddish evening sky to be seen.

In contrast to the works of Flinck, Bol, Van den Eeckhout, and other Amsterdam artists who were trained in the circle of Rembrandt, religious history painting plays a very subordinate role in Jacob van Loo's oeuvre. The subjects of Van Loo's history paintings are, almost without exception, based on mythology and especially arcadian literature. They reveal Van Loo as a master *par excellence* of the nude. In this regard he, more than any other Dutch classicist, is comparable to Cornelis van Haarlem. In the works of both artists the staffage of naked figures takes primacy over the landscape in which they are situated. On the other hand, the mythological staffage of bathing nymphs and the like in the works of other groups of artists who addressed themselves to this genre—to wit, Cornelis van Poelenburg and the masters primarily active in Utrecht and The Hague who are considered among his circle—were almost always subordinated to the landscape. It is perhaps for this reason that representations of Diana with nymphs (with or without Actaeon or Callisto) are encountered relatively far more abundantly in the oeuvres of Van Poelenburg and his circle than in the case of the Amsterdam and Haarlem classicists. Such subjects are far better suited to the landscapist than to the painter of true figure paintings.

Paintings which take Diana as their subject appear remarkably often in Van Loo's oeuvre. Various representations of Diana were



mentioned in old inventories and sales catalogues. Five are known today, three of which depict Diana and her nymphs, the remaining two, Diana and Callisto. The first three (which include this picture) are located in museums (Copenhagen, 1644; East Berlin, Bode-Museum, 1648). Of the last mentioned, one is in the museum in Alès (Département Gard, Southern France), the other, known for a long time only through the print by Nicolas Verkolje, turned up on February 9, 1973 in a sale at Christie's in London.

Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

W. L. v. d. W.

Jacob Backer

1608 Harlingen—Amsterdam 1651

He moved with his parents to Amsterdam in 1611 and later studied with Lambert Jacobsz. in Leeuwarden. He spent the rest of his life in Amsterdam, except for a brief stay in Flushing in 1638. He painted portraits of single figures, group portraits of regents and militias, and history paintings.

In all newer literature (after Wurzbach, I, 1906, p. 40) it is claimed that he studied with Rembrandt and/or was strongly influenced by the master. The first claim is unproven and unlikely, and the second applies only to a few head studies (Bauch, 1926, pl. 19A, 20A). Some of these, moreover, have been attributed to Backer without foundation (Bauch, 1926, pl. 20B as Backer; now in Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum, correctly as Lievens).

His first major commission, the *Female Regents of the Amsterdam Orphanage* of 1633/34 is a quietly arranged group situated in a spacious, strictly rectangular room which is lit by a cool, even light (Bauch, 1926, pl. 14). It is quite different from Rembrandt's group portraits which, in comparison, may be called romantic. Backer's *Militia Company of Captain Cornelis de Graef* of 1642 likewise differs greatly from Rembrandt's *Nightwatch* of the same year, which was hung in the same room in the Kloveniersdoelen. The last major group portrait by Backer was his *Governors of the Almshouse of the 'Nieuwezijde'* of 1651 (see on these paintings Blankert/Ruurs, nos. 22, 18, 19).

In 1645 he received 300 guilders for his depiction of *Liberty*, painted for the castle in Buren, now preserved in Schloss Grünewald in West Berlin. Together with Jacob van Loo he was one of only two Amsterdam painters to be chosen for the decoration of the Huis ten Bosch in The Hague (Slothouwer, 1945, p. 315). For unknown reasons neither painter actually executed any of the paintings.

Backer, who today is hardly known other than as "Rembrandt's pupil," earned a great reputation in his own time. He is one of the rare artists to be mentioned in almost all contemporary printed sources. In 1642 Philips Angel called him the "greatly respected Backer" (Angel, p. 47). Cornelis de Bie's *Gulden Cabinet* "of the noble and free art of painting" of 1661 contains a print portraying Backer and a laudatory inscription, both dating from 1649. The inscription praises him as an "excellent painter in the large . . . who knows very well how to make a good nude." The German painter Joachim von Sandrart, who was in Holland c. 1638-44, commented on Backer's "large modern paintings." The poets Jan Vos and Ludolf Smids wrote rhymes on, respectively, Backer's "sleeping shepherdess spied upon by Cymon in the great hall of Abraham van Bassen" and his "Iphigeneia of Cyprus." Samuel van Hoogstraeten, who studied in Amsterdam with Rembrandt c. 1642, extolled Backer's way of rendering flesh colors (see references in Hofstede de Groot, 1893, pp. 339, 429, 417, 334 and Bauch, 1926, p. 3). When Backer died in his early forties, a commemorative medal was struck to honor him.

Literature: Bauch, 1926. Wijnman, 1926. Wijnman, 1959, pp. 68-71.

52 *Venus and Adonis*, c. 1645-50

Oil on canvas; 200 x 237 cm (78¾ x 85¼ in.)

Provenance: Old property of the Prince Elector of Hessen (communication of owner). In the gallery in Kassel, as evident from the inventory of 1749, no. 336, Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, cat. 1883, no. 238. After 1888 in depot (according to Bauch).

Bibliography: Eisenmann, 1888, no. 238 (383). Bauch, 1926, pp. 46, 50, cat. no. 55, ill. pl. 36. White, 1962, no. 80. Moltke, 1965, p. 48. Sumowski, 1979, p. 38, no. 12.

Venus and Adonis look adoringly at each other, hand in hand, on a cloth in the woods. The two turtledoves at the left symbolize and reiterate their love. Despite Venus' violent objections, Adonis has risen to go to the hunt. The little god of love, Amor, has climbed on Venus' chariot in his effort to restrain Adonis. With his free hand Adonis pushes Amor aside to reach his heavy hunting spear which rests against Venus' chariot. Of his two hunting dogs that are already standing at the left, one tensely looks on, apparently awaiting the departure.

The picture was painted after Backer's less sophisticatedly composed *Amarillo crowning Mirtillo* of 1646 (Bauch, 1926, pl. 31; formerly Vienna art market). Bauch dated *Venus and Adonis* to Backer's very last years, c. 1650. He believed that it was painted for the town hall in Amsterdam; however, the plans for its decorations were not yet outlined when Backer died in 1651. Rather, the possibility must be considered that one of the Amsterdam burgomasters commissioned the work for his own home.

White discovered a preliminary study for the figure of Venus, which presumably was made from the nude model, because, unlike the Venus in the painting, she is entirely undressed (Boston, Maida and George Abrams Collection; see also Sumowski, 1979, with ill.). The pose of the woman in the painting and in the drawing is precisely the same. The only difference is that in the drawing the woman supports herself with her left arm and hand resting on the cloth on which she sits, while in the painting Backer omits this arm entirely. Undoubtedly this was done to avoid what Pieter de Grebber in 1649 called "the confusion of the figures" (see De Grebber, 1649, rule 8). Had he depicted the arm in the painting as it appears in the drawing, only its extremities would be visible behind Adonis' leg, which would result in an untidy if not unclear effect. The picture was formerly in the museum in Kassel, where it was kept in storage "because of its indecency" (Bauch).

Kronberg (Taunus), Kurhessische Hausstiftung, Schlossverwaltung Fasanerie

A.Bl.



Abraham van den Tempel 1622/23 Leeuwarden—Amsterdam 1672

Abraham van den Tempel was a pupil of his father Lambert Jacobsz., a painter and Mennonite preacher at Leeuwarden. Both Lambert Jacobsz. and his wife died in 1636. In the next year the young Abraham is recorded in Amsterdam. Between 1637 and 1641 he probably was in Emden, Germany. Because of the close affinity of his style to that of Jacob Backer it is plausible that he studied in Amsterdam with Backer, who had also been a pupil of Abraham's father Lambert Jacobsz. Abraham was baptized as an adult in Amsterdam in 1643 because he was a Mennonite. In 1645 Abraham and his brother Jacob were given disposal of their inheritance from their parents' estate.

From 1647-48 both brothers lived in Leiden. In 1648 Abraham married the daughter of a draper there. On that occasion he recorded his own profession also as "draper." Yet in the wedding poem written by the preacher and fellow draper Reynier Anslor, Abraham is referred to consistently as a painter. It seems that his brother Jacob conducted most or all of the draper's business.

Also in 1648 Abraham became a member of the Leiden guild of St. Luke, which was then just being established. In 1653 he enrolled as a "student in mathematics" in the course of Floris van Schooten the younger, and was inscribed on their records as "famous painter." He was alderman of the Leiden guild in 1657-1658, its dean in 1659. Until 1659 he also was a member of the Leiden militia. In the beginning of 1660 he and his brother moved to Amsterdam, where they remained for the rest of their lives, while their prosperity declined. After Rembrandt's son Titus made a statement in Leiden in 1664 concerning his father's ability to engrave after paintings, Rembrandt made a print after a portrait by Van den Tempel.

Apart from his *Peter and John Asking for the Foal of a Donkey*, signed and dated 1646 (Bauch, 1926, pl. 42, present location unknown), our cat. no. 53 of 1651 and the two paintings forming a series with it, only portraits by the master are preserved. These resemble those of Bartholomeus van der Helst, yet typical of Van den Tempel are the strong highlights.

Literature: Bredius, *Künstlerinv.*, VII, pp. 222-231. Bauch, 1926, p. 55 ff. Wijnman, 1959, pp. 39-93.

A. Bl.

53 *The City of Leiden Inviting the Manufacture of "Laken,"* 1651

Oil on canvas; 207 x 266.5 cm (81½ x 104⅞ in.)

Signed and dated bottom right: AB van d Tempel f A 1651

Provenance: Made for the *Lakenhal*, see below.

Bibliography: Van Gool, I, 1750, p. 38. F. van Mieris, *Beschryving der stad Leyden* II, Leiden, 1770, p. 464. Van Eynden/Van der Willigen, I, 1816, p. 439. *Catalogus van het Stedelijk Museum te Leiden*, 1879, no. 1372.

Wurzbach, II, p. 692. *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux . . . Mauritshuis*, 1914, p. 366. Bauch, 1926, p. 55. Pelinck, 1949, p. 282, no. 427. Wijnman, 1959, p. 64, with ill.

The painting is one of a series of three allegories of equal size, one signed and dated 1650, the other two 1651. They were ordered by the municipal government of Leiden in 1648 for the decoration of the governor's room in the *Lakenhal*. In December 1651 several artists appraised the finished paintings at 1,000 guilders. This sum was paid out to Van den Tempel on January 12 of the next year (Pelinck). The pictures have always been in the *Lakenhal*, which became the Municipal Museum in the nineteenth century.

At the center of the composition is a lady, who personifies the city of Leiden, standing on top of two steps. With her right hand "Leiden" points to the left side of the painting, where Minerva, who is recognizable from her helmet, and Mercury, wearing a winged hat, stand together. Minerva's presence guarantees that wisdom can be found in Leiden, specifically referring to the city's university. Minerva holds the olive branch of peace in her hand. Mercury, who has put his arm around Minerva's shoulder, is the god of commerce and assures Leiden's prosperity (see the same combination of Minerva and Mercury in cat. no. 58). Freedom is kneeling at Leiden's feet, apparently offering her services to the city. She points at her attributes, the stick and the hat, in the foreground. With Wisdom, Prosperity, and Freedom at her disposal, Leiden has the confidence to invite and escort the lady who steps in from the right, carrying a book under her arm. She no doubt represents the manufacture of *laken* (refined wool), the book under her arm being the charter of the drapers' guild, which was granted in 1638 (see below; until now the painting was titled *The City of Leiden Receives Commerce*).

Behind the city maiden, Justice, dressed in red and holding a sword is seen at the right. A young black at the left represents Leiden's retinue. In the niche behind the city's coat of arms is depicted.

Since the Middle Ages cloth industry had prospered in Leiden. All its products were examined in the *Saaihal* (cloth hall); in 1612, 47,000 pieces were counted. Around the same time the manufacture of the finer product *laken* (refined wool) made by drapers was introduced in the city. From a production of 400 pieces in 1621, this industry rose to over 17,000 in 1639. Later in the century a yearly output of about 100,000 pieces was exported all over Europe and to the West Indies, making the city wealthy and famous. In 1672 the proceeds amounted to 20,000,000 guilders.

In 1638 the guild of the drapers was reorganized and received a new charter. Their *Lakenhal* (sheet hall), erected in 1639-40 in a refined classicist style, was the most beautiful and conspicuous building in the new part of the city. Here all pieces of *laken* were assayed under the supervision of three governors, "chosen from the notables of the manufacturers," assisted by two magistrates of the city (Blok, 1916, p. 191 ff; posthumous, 1939, p. 468 ff).

Abraham van den Tempel was himself one of about 100 drapers in Leiden when he received the commission in 1648. The Peace of Westphalia signed in that year, which was celebrated with



many commissions for buildings and paintings as well as festivities, was probably the occasion for this commission. Other indications that this was the case are Minerva's olive branch and the subject *The War God Mars Trampling Freedom and Routing Manufacture* of the second painting of Van den Tempel's series. The third painting (dated 1650) represents *Leiden Crowned by Minerva*.

Undoubtedly Van den Tempel used the series of seven allegories on the Introduction and Manufacture of Cloth in the old Leiden *Saaihal* as his principal models for this series. They had been executed in 1594-1612 by the Leiden artist and burgomaster Isaac van Swanenburgh and are now also located in the Lakenhal Museum. One of them, called the *Granting of the Charter* (Pelinck, 1949, no. 424) shows the Leiden city maiden handing the charter to Manufacture (Neringe), in a similar pose as in our painting. Mercury is also present, in the form of a putto wearing the god's winged hat and a purse. Compared to the Van den Tempel, the Van Swanenburgh looks awkward and old-fashioned. No doubt Van den Tempel purposely imitated and surpassed Van Swanen-

burgh (cf. De Jongh, 1969). In the same way the rich drapers' elegant *Lakenhal* outdid the old *Saaihal*.

It has rightly been observed that the series to which cat. no. 53 belongs is very close in style to Jacob Backer. For the types of figures and the modeling Backer's *Venus and Adonis*, cat. no. 52 has rightly been mentioned for comparison (Bauch, 1926). The clothes are rendered even more delicately, their lighted parts shining more brilliantly than in the Backer. The care taken with the clothes reflects that the draper Van den Tempel made the painting for the governors' room of the drapers' guild.

Sumowski recognized a drawing attributed to Backer and in his style as a study by Van den Tempel for the figure of Minerva in our painting (private collection; published with ill. in Gilbert, 1979, no. 40). The pose and outlines are the same, but in the drawing Minerva's helmet is missing and the clothes look more ordinary than the goddess' dress in the painting. It is most probably a study after life to be used for the painting.

In 1750 Van den Tempel's series for the Leiden *Lakenhal*, was

regarded by Van Gool as outstanding and “deliciously painted,” but it has been treated disdainfully in our century (Wurzbach: “lamentable hackwork”; catalogue Mauritshuis: “pitiful tastelessness”).

Leiden, Stedelijk Museum “De Lakenhal”

A. Bl.

Johannes Vermeer 1632 Delft 1675

Johannes Vermeer was the son of a Protestant silk worker, who eventually purchased a large house and inn “Mechelin” on the Delft market square. It is likely that Vermeer’s teacher was Leonaert Bramer, who was the most highly respected artist in Delft during Vermeer’s youth. A recently discovered document reveals that Vermeer and the other outstanding master of Dutch genre, Gerard ter Borch, met in Delft in 1653. In April of the same year Johannes married Catharina Bolnes, the daughter of a rich Roman Catholic divorcée. His mother-in-law first refused to give her permission for the marriage in an affidavit to which Bramer was a witness. The couple lived in the house Mechelin, where Vermeer’s father had died in 1652. Catharina Bolnes gave birth to at least eleven children. Eventually good relations were established with Catharina’s mother, and Vermeer and his family moved into her house. At some point in his life Vermeer also became a Catholic.

In December 1653, nine months after his marriage, the artist registered himself as a member of the Delft guild. In 1662, 1663, 1670, and 1671 he was one of its aldermen.

On his trip through the Netherlands in 1663, the French nobleman Balthasar de Monconys visited Vermeer in Delft and wrote “[He] did not have any of his works: but we did see one at a baker’s, for which six hundred pounds had been paid, although it contained but a single figure.”

Vermeer was the youngest artist listed in Dirck van Bleyswyck’s *Description of Delft*, published in 1667. In a poem cited in that book, he is called the worthy successor of the “Phoenix” Carel Fabritius, who had died in Delft in 1654. Vermeer was also esteemed as a connoisseur of paintings: in 1672 he was called to The Hague to judge a collection of paintings, including works by Titian, Giorgione, Raphael, etc., whose authenticity was disputed. The economic crisis of that year hit him severely, as it did many other artists. From documents made up shortly after his death in 1675, we learn that debts for food had run up to more than a thousand guilders. The widow, who was left with ten children, applied for bankruptcy.

Vermeer must have been a very deliberate worker. His total output can hardly have been more than forty paintings. His history paintings, datable to 1654-56, are his earliest (see cat. no. 54). *The Procuress* of 1656 (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) shows his earliest interest in genre, yet is still influenced by large-scale figure pieces of the Utrecht Caravaggisti. At the end of the 1650s

Vermeer’s direction changed completely, most probably because of the impression the achievements of the mature Pieter de Hooch made upon him. From then on, one to three figures in contemporary dress in simple Dutch living rooms became his subject. He paid careful attention to the perfect rendering of space and textures. A radiant sunlight, most often streaming in through a window at the left, envelops and unifies men and objects. The themes are simple activities such as drinking wine, making music, or reading a letter. His two surviving city views seem to anticipate color photography.

In his *Allegory of Painting* of c. 1662-65, the painter, in pseudo-antique outfit, is seen depicting Clio, the muse of history, indicating that for Vermeer “the” painter still was the history painter.

Because of his small output Vermeer was overlooked in the eighteenth century. When exported from Holland, his paintings were attributed to G. Flinck, P. de Hooch, and F. van Mieris, among others. Only Dutch connoisseurs remembered his name and cherished his works. It was not until after a series of articles by the great French art critic E.J. Thoré-Bürger had appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* of 1866 that Vermeer was recognized as one of the greatest painters of all time.

Literature: Blankert, 1978, V.

A.Bl.

54 *Diana and her Companions.*

Oil on canvas; 98.5 x 105 cm (38¾ x 41¾ in.)

Indistinctly signed lower left on the rock.

Provenance: Art dealer Dirksen, The Hague, sold to N.D. Goldsmid for 175 guilders. Sale Neville D. Goldsmid (who lived in The Hague), Paris, May 4, 1876, no. 68 as by Nicolaes Maes.

Bibliography: Blankert, 1978; pp. 13-17, 75 note 15, 76 note 21, 155 no. 2, citing older literature. Cat. Mauritshuis, 1971, p. 247, no. 406.

The signature, of which only traces are left, was read as “N.M.” in the last century. This was interpreted as signifying Nicolaes Maes, and the painting was described as a masterpiece by this pupil of Rembrandt. Only a few people imagined that it might be a Vermeer, which proved to be right, when in 1901 the fully signed *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* (now Edinburgh National Gallery) was discovered; it is very similar in style and composition. Both pictures depict a prominent seated figure, a second figure at the feet of the first, and, uniting these two, the vertical form of a third figure standing behind them. *Diana and her Companions* is the more complex of the two. Diana—identified by the crescent moon on her forehead—is flanked on the right by a seated nymph who grasps her own foot, a gesture reminiscent of the pose of the famous antique statue of the boy pulling a thorn from his foot. At Diana’s left is a seated figure seen from the back. The group closely resembles the figures in the background of a *Diana and her Companions* of 1648 by the Amsterdam artist



Jacob van Loo (East Berlin, Bode Museum; Blankert, 1978, fig. 6). The cropped figure and the rather abrupt conclusion of the composition at the right suggest that the painting may have been cut along the right side.

The lively arrangements of linear highlights in the sleeve of the woman who washes the feet of the goddess is also adapted from Van Loo (in the picture in Edinburgh, which is much better preserved, the garments of all figures display folds reminiscent of Van Loo).

The motif of Diana in repose having her feet washed by one

of her nymphs is not Vermeer's invention. It can be traced back to the *Diana Surprised by Acteon* that Titian painted c. 1556/59 for King Philip II of Spain (now Edinburgh, National Gallery). In the Titian, as in the Vermeer, a small dog is Diana's animal companion. The Titian served as a model for Rubens' *Diana and Acteon* of c. 1635/40, which is known through a fragment (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, cat. 1962, no. 2296) and copies after the Rubens have been preserved. In the Rubens painting we also meet the small dog again; a squatting nymph bends toward the goddess, taking her leg, in a fashion similar to

her counterpart in the Vermeer. It seems Vermeer knew Rubens' composition and reduced the Flemish artist's assortment of expensive washing utensils to a simple sponge, water basin, and towel.

The paintings by Titian and Rubens are scenes of turmoil, showing the moment when the chaste goddess and her company try to hide Diana's nakedness from Acteon's view when he stumbles upon them. In the Vermeer, Diana and her nymphs are still fully dressed, and their attitude seems to be reflective and even meditative.

The Hague, Mauritshuis

A.Bl.

Jan van Noordt c. 1620—after 1676

Place and date of birth and death are unknown. Van Noordt was probably living in Amsterdam before the middle of the 1640s. He left the city almost certainly in 1675 because of debts. The date 1676 appears on a painting depicting the Holy Family at Castle Gaunö (Denmark).

The earliest dated works by Jan van Noordt are two etchings, one of which (from 1644) depicts a composition by Pieter van Laer; the other (from 1645) represents one by Pieter Lastman. Neither, therefore, was his own invention. The date 1645 also appears on a painting representing Mary with the Christ Child and the young Saint John in a landscape (American dealer, 1924 and 1947). The earliest dated painting after that carries the date 1659.

Jan van Noordt was principally a history and portrait painter; however a small number of genre paintings by his hand are also known. Besides influences evident in his works from Dutch artists in the circle of Rembrandt, such as Jacob Backer and Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout, one also observes strong Flemish influences, especially from Jacob Jordaens.

W. L. v. d. W.

55 *Susanna and the Elders*, c. 1660

Oil on canvas; 116 x 93.5 cm (45 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Provenance: Collection Dr. F. Schmidt Degener, Amsterdam. Dealer Fetter, Amsterdam, 1941. Sale M. C. Ph. de Vassy et al., Amsterdam (Fred. Muller & Co.), October 20, 1942, no. 69, Dealer W. Paech, Amsterdam. Dealer Dr. Eduard Plietzsch (For the German occupation authorities in the Netherlands during the Second World War). Recuperation, Collecting Point Munich. Stichting Nederlandsch Kunstbezit, 1945. Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties, The Hague, inv. no. N.K.1700 (given on loan to the Rijksmuseum "Het

Catharijneconvent," Utrecht).

Exhibitions: *Bijbelsche Kunst*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, July 8 - October 8, 1939, no. 69a, fig. 16.

Seen full-length, Susanna sits turned to the right on the edge of a basin. Behind her rises a column with red drapery. Frightened, she looks around at the two old men who approach her from the right and tries to defend herself against them. Her clothes—white, red, and orange draperies—lie on her lap and along the edge of the basin. Red is also the color of the bare-headed man's costume. The other elder is dressed in a moss green cloak and a violet beret.

The story of Susanna comes from the Apocrypha, the third appendix to the Old Testament book of Daniel. When Susanna, the pretty and God-fearing wife of the rich and prominent Jew, Joachim, decided to take a bath on a very warm day in her husband's garden where she thought herself unexposed, she was accosted by two elders, judges of the Jewish people, who had hidden themselves in the garden. They approached with indecent proposals and threatened to accuse her of adultery with a young man if she did not give in to their desires. When the God-fearing Susanna still refused, she was actually brought to trial. Before the court, however, Daniel proved her innocence and saved her from the death penalty. Moreover, in accordance with Jewish law, her false accusers were sentenced to death in her place.

The painting by Jan van Noordt depicts the moment when the two elders have just surprised the unsuspecting Susanna and made their evil intentions known. It is perhaps not the most dramatic but certainly the most eloquent detail from the story and thus was preferred by artists who depicted the subject.

A painting by Jan van Noordt with a representation of Susanna was mentioned in 1681 as in the possession of Michiel van Coxie in Amsterdam. The question of whether it is identical with one of the three works known today of this subject by Van Noordt's hand unfortunately cannot be determined. (The other two are Leipzig, Museum; Sale H. T. Höch, Munich, September 19, 1892, no. 192, as "Schalken.")

None of the three bears a signature or date. While one encounters little trouble in identifying the hand of the artists here, as in other of his works, one is hard pressed to define his oeuvre's chronology. Van Noordt left few dated works, and his development as an artist attests that he was receptive to various influences which apparently were not always limited to a specific period of his career. One feels in this *Susanna* a diversity of influences, partially from Dutch (Rembrandtesque) and partially from Flemish (Jordaensesque) sources. For this Amsterdam artist who was schooled in the sphere of Rembrandt, the influence of Jordaens was certainly one which made its impact felt in the later phases of his development.

The representations of Susanna by Jordaens stem from various periods of his career and give no starting point for the dating of our *Susanna*. The proposed dating of around 1660 thus must be considered provisional and approximate.

The work by Jan van Noordt exhibited here may be considered a representative example of his work in the field of history painting. Nevertheless as a result of abrasion and restorations in dif-



ferent places it has suffered a good deal. This must be taken into account in assessing the work.

Rijksmuseum "Het Catharijneconvent", Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties, on loan to Utrecht

W. L. v. d. W.

Caesar van Everdingen

c. 1617 Alkmaar 1678

Van Everdingen studied under Jan Gerritsz. van Bronchorst in Utrecht. From 1632 to 1648 he lived in Alkmaar where he was a member of the St. Luke's guild. In 1643 he painted the shutters for the organ which Jacob van Campen designed for the Grote Kerk in Alkmaar, a commission which took Van Everdingen to Amersfoort for a period (Obreen, I, pp. 141-44; Kluiver, 1974). In 1646 he and his brother, the landscape painter Allart van Everdingen, sued Allart's second teacher Pieter Molijn at the court in Haarlem to force him to pay for a painting which Caesar delivered. Frans Pietersz. de Grebber and Hendrick Pot came along as arbitrators (Arch. Bredius, Everdingen, p. 9). In the years 1648-57 the brothers are mentioned as living together in Haarlem. Caesar also executed several large canvases between 1648 and 1650 for the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch in The Hague. In 1654 (not 1653; see Van de Poel, 1975, pp. 110-11) he was on the board, and in 1655-56 the dean of the Haarlem guild. In 1657 he returned with his wife to Alkmaar, where, except for a short stay in Amsterdam in 1661, he spent the rest of his life. Besides history paintings, he painted portraits and, at Alkmaar, militia companies in 1641, 1657, and 1659 (Dresch, 1932). From some ten notarial acts in which Van Everdingen figures as a moneylender, it appears that he was a man of means and realized income from his wealth (Jansen).

Literature: Maclaren, 1960, p. 120 ff. Van de Poel, 1975. Jansen, 1979.

A.Bl.

56 *Diogenes Searching for a Man*, 1652

Oil on canvas on panel; 76 x 103.5 cm (30 x 40¾ in.)

Monogrammed and dated: Anno 1652 CVE

Provenance: Inherited by Stadtholder Willem V in 1784; see below.

Bibliography: Thoré-Bürger, I, 1858, p. 284. Van Eijnden/Van der Willigen, IV, 1840, p. 150. Kalf, 1922, p. 291. Wishnevsky, 1967, p. 91-93. De Jongh, 1962, p. 111-113. Bruyn, 1970, p. 44-47. Van de Poel, 1975. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1976, p. 210. Brenninkmeyer, 1976, p. 163, no. 36. Brown, 1976, no. 38, with ill. Jansen, 1979, p. 23-33.

In the midst of a crowd stands the philosopher Diogenes with his lamp. According to the ancient story, he brought it with him to

the marketplace in Athens on a bright day. When questioned about what he was doing, Diogenes answered that he was seeking a human being. In the background to the left is another representation of Diogenes sitting in the barrel which served as his home. There Alexander the Great (the figure with the staff) asked the philosopher if there was anything he could do for him, to which Diogenes replied with the request that he stand out of his sun. In the left foreground a man pushes a wheelbarrow full of turnips, Diogenes' favorite food. The dogs in the left foreground refer to Diogenes' nickname, the cynic (in Greek doglike). Judging from the clothing of the figures and the architecture in the background, Van Everdingen has transferred the scene to a Dutch seventeenth-century marketplace. The result has been characterized as "whimsical" (Van Eijnden, Van der Willigen), "grossière" (Thoré-Bürger), "persiflagious" (Wishnevsky) and the model of a "disastrous result" of an "archaizing tendency" (Bruyn).

Furthermore it appears surprising that the ten figures directly around Diogenes with the lamp are clearly portraits. They are the interrogators, whom, according to seventeenth-century versions of the story, Diogenes answers by telling them that they are not human beings. In Vondel's words, "Your beastly life proves that you are men only by name and beasts in your deeds." (Vondel, I, p. 350-351). De Jongh and Jansen observed in this context that in countless instances in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature Diogenes was praised as an edifying and enlightening model of austerity. In the painting this austerity is illustrated by his refusing Alexander's earthly goods and satisfying himself with a diet of turnips and a home in a barrel.

As a motto to his verse on Diogenes mentioned above, Vondel refers to Isaiah I, "The Ass knows its master's cribs, the ox its owner/ But Israel knows not about God, not about his teachings." Thus Vondel compared the non-men whom Diogenes encountered with the people of Israel who, more ignorant than animals, had no knowledge of God. This recalls Calvinistic ideas about the inevitably erring and sinful ways of men who can only attempt to live in a moderate and pious way. Perhaps in this context the austere moderation of Diogenes and the church which dominates the background of the picture should be understood.

According to a tradition going back to 1789, the church in the background is St. Bavo Church in Haarlem (see Lunsingh Scheurleer and recently Brown, 1976). Hofstede de Groot was reminded of the Grote Kerk in Alkmaar (note at the RKD). Close comparison reveals that the building has as much (or as little) in common with both, which certainly indicates that "the" Church rather than "a" church was intended. Thus, Van Everdingen transfers the pagan story to his own Christian age just as Vondel did in the continuation of his poem,

Those who search with Diogenes like the blind
Still would be able to find few men today.

Jansen, moreover, found another Diogenes in a market of that period. In the book *The Amsteldamsen Diogenes* by Axilium Roos (1684), Diogenes comes to stay in Amsterdam and lives in a fish basket in the marketplace (the Dam). On the title page he is depicted in this way with the town hall with the weigh-house in the background.

Since the time that the picture was in the collection of Stadt-



holder Willem IV, the individual portraits have been identified as members of the Steyn family in Haarlem. From 1874 the individual family members were given identifications in the catalogues of the Mauritshuis, which were made more precise by Van Kretschmar in 1976 (published by Brown). These identifications are based on the fact that the painting came to Willem IV from his advisor, Pieter Steyn (1706-1772; also the Grand Pensionary of Holland).

Jansen pointed out that the ages and the number of persons portrayed did not correspond at all to the Haarlem Steyns in 1652. Furthermore, he observed that the picture, in fact, was not left to the stadtholder by Pieter Steyn but by his widow, Cornelia Schellinger, and that her will specified that if the stadtholder

“would not accept [it, it must go] to the eldest member of *her* Family” (see Valck Lucassen). This last fact makes it very probable that the painting also came from her family and thus represents the Schellingers rather than the Steyns. Cornelia Schellinger’s ancestors were Amsterdam patricians with Haarlem connections (Elias, I, p. 300; cf. the dossier on Schellinger in the Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie in The Hague). Like the artist Van Everdingen, both the Steyn and Schellinger families were Calvinists.

The Hague, Mauritshuis

A.Bl.

Caesar van Everdingen

57 *Jupiter and Callisto*, 1655

Signed in monogram: 55 CVE

Oil on canvas; 165 x 193 cm (65 x 76 in.)

Provenance: Acquired in 1872.

Bibliography: G. Göthe, *Notice descriptive des tableaux du Musée National de Stockholm*, 1893, p. 100. *Aeldre utländska målningar och skulpturer*, Stockholm, 1958, p. 70.

The picture has always been called *Jupiter and Semele* (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 287-309), but the title *Jupiter and Callisto*, proposed by E.J. Sluijter, seems more appropriate (oral communication; *Metamorphoses*, II, 442-453). The man of the embracing couple is quite clearly Jupiter. He wears the crown of the king of the gods. The eagle with its magnificent wings behind him, holding the thunderbolt in its beak, is his attribute. When Jupiter had an affair with Semele, Juno, his jealous wife, tricked Semele into asking the god to make love to her in his full, divine glory. He did so reluctantly, and the power of his lightning reduced the mortal Semele to ashes. In representations of this story, Jupiter is seen with an enormous lightning bolt in his hand, while Semele is terrified or dying. If cat. no. 57 represents Jupiter and Semele, it clearly does not illustrate their final meeting.

The nymph Callisto was the favorite of the chaste goddess Diana. When Jupiter noticed her "the fire of passion kindled the very marrow of his bones." After the hunt, Callisto took a rest in a grove "and lay down on the turf, resting her head on her painted quiver." Jupiter went to the grove and "assumed the appearance and the dress of Diana, and spoke to the girl: 'Dearest of all my companions, where have you been hunting?' She raised herself from the grass and began to tell of her hunting exploits." Jupiter then embraced and raped her and she became pregnant. Although she had resisted Jupiter with all her might, when her pregnancy was detected by Diana's nymphs, the goddess punished her by changing her into a bear and setting the dogs on her.

The story is applicable since the reclining girl indeed "raises herself" after "resting her head on her painted quiver," which is visible at the right. Gesturing with her right hand, she seems "to tell of her hunting exploits." Jupiter, however, is not disguised as Diana, as he is in the story and in other depictions of it. The irony may be that while Callisto does not recognize Jupiter, we do. The only suggestion of disguise is the mask, which two amoretti in the upper left hold up toward the nymph. The mask is a symbol of deceit and disguise. The amoretti, and it seems Jupiter too, regard her with a mocking expression. The amoretto who holds the mask in one hand makes an obscene gesture with the other. The nymph as yet has no suspicion. Only her hunting dog on the left raises its head, watchfully sniffing the air.

A parallel to the undisguised Jupiter may be found in depictions of *Tobias and the Angel* and *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* (cat. nos. 21, 29). Tobias does not recognize his companion as an angel, nor does Jacob realize who he is wrestling with. However, the angels' wings are quite clearly visible to the viewer. Van Everdingen also seems to have enjoyed puzzling his public. A

major work by him in the museum in Dresden has been called *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* but may very well represent *Bacchus and Ariadne at Naxos* (Jansen, 1979, p. 6-10; Plietzsch, fig. 241). Another large painting by him, in Düsseldorf, shows Bacchus (?) and several nymphs (?) assembled for unexplained reasons (Plietzsch, fig. 242).

Jupiter's mantle flutters behind him, the nymph gestures, the grinning amoretti fly in the air, and the dog, too, is about to spring into action. Nonetheless, a great calm pervades the scene.

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum

A.Bl.



Caesar van Everdingen

- 58 *Duke Willem II Granting Privileges to the High Office of the Dike-reeve of Rijnland in 1255*, 1655
Oil on canvas; 218 x 212 cm (85 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 83 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Provenance: Painted as chimneypiece for the great hall in the house "Zwanenburg" at Halfweg in 1655.
Transported from there to the High Office of the Dike-reeve (the Gemeenlandshuis) in Leiden in 1862.
Bibliography: Van der Aa, 13, 1851, p. 402-403. Ter Kuile, 1932, p. 11. Blok, 1942, p. 134. Ter Kuile, 1944, p. 49. Van de Waal, 1952, p. 32, afb. 15. Snoep, 1972, with color ill. Van de Poel, 1975. Jansen, 1979, p. 11-22.

The scene depicts Willem II, Duke of Holland, handing over a document in 1255 to the High Office of the Dike-reeve (hoogheemraadschap) of Rijnland, which is comprised of approximately the area bounded by Haarlem, Amsterdam, Gouda, and Leiden. The "hoogheemraadschap," then as now, managed water control (canals, dikes, locks, and bridges) outside the cities. In the document the duke delegated part of his supreme power over water control to the board of the "dijkgraaf" and "heemraden," which formed the administration of the High Office of the Dike-reeve.

The canvas was executed in 1655, exactly 400 years after the conferring of the privilege in "MCCLV" (1255), the date which appears in the background. It must have been painted for this anniversary (Jansen).

It hung originally in the great hall of the house "Zwanenburg" in Halfweg, which the High Office of the Dike-reeve had built in 1644/48 according to plans by Pieter Post. The canvas was wrongly attributed to Post for a long time. However, it is clear from documents that Post painted only the architectural background and that the figures are by Van Everdingen's hand. In the great hall, this painting was the chimneypiece and center of an extensive decoration program designed by Post and now lost. The documents mention "pouetse historijen" (poetic histories): a Pan as protector of animal husbandry, and Ceres, Bacchus, Pomona, and Flora presenting the fruits of agriculture (Jansen). On the piers were representations of "theory, practice, agriculture, and architecture." This was all painted in grisaille by the Haarlem artist Adriaan de Valck (Jansen). Thus, the tangible results of the activities of the High Office of the Dike-reeve were represented in the room.

Besides the chimneypiece, only the centermost ceiling decoration of "vliegende Kinderkens" (flying children) was in color and was also executed by Van Everdingen (Jansen). The room was so designed that the perspective and Post's classical architecture corresponded precisely to that which appears in the chimneypiece (Snoep, with ill.).

Duke Willem wears a crown because he was elected "Roman King" in 1247 (had he not died in 1256 he would have become emperor of the German Empire). In the gilt leather hanging behind his throne we see the coat of arms of Holland upon the German eagle (Snoep). Around his shoulders he anachronistically

wears the ornaments of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which was not established until 1430 (Jansen). The costumes of his retinue at the right are pseudo-historical as are those of the representatives of the High Dike-reeve (Hoogheemraadschap). One of the latter steps forward to receive the charter on which one reads "De Kooning . . ." (The King). The actual document, which is preserved in the archives of the High Dike-reeve in Leiden looks entirely different (Van de Poel). From a gallery the public watches the event.

The relief in the right foreground is explained by a document that served as a guideline for making the picture and which has been preserved: "A section of a dike and lock, with Neptune and other sea gods, etc. violently attacking it; this dike is protected by Pallas and Mercury . . . indicating, that through Pallas, goddess of learning, and Mercury, overseer and patron of expenses, means will be found to prevent Neptune's violence from dominating" (Blok; Jansen; compare Pallas and Mercury in the same combination in cat. no. 54).

Mercury doubtless alludes to the tax money which each landowner had to pay the High Dike-reeve. Pallas Athene symbolizes the expertise with which this money was spent. The 400-year-old granting of privilege illustrates the respectability of the power of the High Dike-reeve.

That this power needed justification is evident from the serious infringements which the cities (always apprehensive that the dams and locks would hamper water traffic) made upon it. In 1637 a conflict between the water regulating authority and the cities of Haarlem, Gouda, and Dordrecht resulted in the cities' breaking up a dike in the Rijnland by force of arms (further information in Jansen).

Leiden, Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland (Gemeenlandhuis)

A.Bl.



Nicolaes van Galen Active 1647-1683

Nicolaes van Galen was the son of Juriaen van Galen and of Rijkien van Ittersum, a woman of noble birth. He was first mentioned in Hasselt in 1647. In 1652 he lived at Kampen, where he had dealings with the Amsterdam art dealer Jacob Ritsma. In 1676 he was recorded as superintendent of the hospital at Hasselt, in 1683 as keeper of the city's pawn shops (bank van lening) (Lilienfeld). It has been suggested that he was a Hasselt patrician who painted for the love of it rather than as a profession (Van de Waal, I, p. 279). The exquisite signed painting cat. no. 59 is the only known work by the master. A picture, *The Trapped Thief*, that has recently been attributed to him (Nicolson, 1979, fig. 240), must be by another hand, since in comparison to the signed painting, its facial expressions are more exaggerated and the execution is tighter and more laborious. A "Halting place by Van Galen" listed in a sale catalogue of 1742 (Van de Waal, II, n. 279-2), may well have been by the Haarlem horse painter Barent Gael.

It has been argued that Van Galen signed cat. no. 59, but that this work was actually painted by a traveling painter named Van der Planck. The theory is that Van der Planck was not allowed to sign it himself, since the guild regulations forbade an artist from outside Hasselt from doing a painting for the city. However, the archival documents on the matter are hardly conclusive (see Verbeek).

A.Bl.

59 *The Judgment of Count William the Good*, 1657

Signed and dated bottom center: *N. van Galen F. A° 1657*

Oil on canvas; 192 x 231 cm (75½ x 91 in.)

Provenance: Undoubtedly painted for the Hasselt town hall.

Exhibits: *Caravaggio en de Nederlanden*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht/Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1952, cat. no. 35, with ill. *Stedenspiegel*, Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, 1964. *The Age of Rembrandt*, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco; Museum of Art, Toledo; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1966/1967, p. 27, 47, cat. no. 14, with ill.

Bibliography: A.J. van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek der Nederlanden* 5, Gorinchem, 1844, p. 211, as by C. Dujardin, 1683. B.F.W. van Riemsdijk, 'Een merkwaardig stadhuis en een merkwaardig schilderij,' in: *Eigen Haard*, 1903, p. 246 e.v. B.F.W. van Riemsdijk, "De schilder Nicolaes van Galen," *Bulletin van de Nederlandsche Oudheidkundige Bond* 4, 1902/3, p. 240-242. *ibidem* 5, 1903/4, p. 115-116, "Nog iets over den schilder Nicolaes van Galen." Lilienfeld, 1920. Van de Waal, 1952, I, p. 279, II, pl. 111-3.

Plietzsch, 1959. Verbeek, 1970, p. 338. Nicolson, 1979, p. 49.

The painting depicts an event which allegedly took place in 1336. A peasant in a village in south Holland owned a beautiful cow with which he supported his entire family. The bailiff tried repeatedly to buy the animal but without success, and eventually took it away by force, leaving an inferior one in its place. On the advice of friends the peasant went to Count William III the Good of Holland to complain. Although the count was very ill he nonetheless investigated the case thoroughly and passed judgment. He pulled the sword from his sheath and had the bailiff executed at the spot.

The story originates from the chronicle of 1478. In 1582 the first depiction of the subject was installed in the courtroom of the Leiden town hall. It subsequently became immensely popular as a decoration of courtrooms in the newly independent Dutch cities. The story of the cow must have been seen as typically Dutch. Moreover it compared favorably with *Count Erkenbald Executes a Rapist*, the most famous depiction of which was by Rogier van der Weyden in the town hall of Brussels (now lost). A common feature of the two stories was that both counts lay ill at the moment of the adjudication.

Count William III is usually depicted lying in bed, handing the sword to the executioner, while the bailiff is seen kneeling blindfolded, making his last confession (Van de Waal, I, p. 258-280; II, pl. 104-107). Van Galen was quite original in rendering the later, more dramatic moment when the executioner has raised the sword to decapitate the bailiff. The count who is overseeing the scene, sits at the left.

Van Galen may not have been a professional painter, but his skill is astonishing. He is often considered to be a member of the Utrecht Caravaggisti school, and in truth his colors and light are rendered as delicately as in paintings by Ter Brugghen. Yet the bright colors and strong light are reminiscent of Italianate landscape painters. It is hardly surprising that in the nineteenth century the picture was attributed to one such artist, Carel Dujardin (Van der Aa).

The silhouetted clerk at the left, who reads or records the verdict in a large book, is similar to figures in early paintings by Rembrandt representing scholars. The silvery lights on the clothes of the dignitaries at the right resemble Jacob Backer's technique. Elegance and sophistication are combined with an inclination toward caricature. The executioner, sweeping his enormous sword, calls to mind the distorted mannerist soldiers on prints by Simon Frisius of c. 1620 (Van de Waal, II, pp. 44, 45). A touch of humor is also present in this most dramatic scene. The count's elegant outfit, haughty look, and dignified pose notwithstanding, he takes care to lean back and to the side to avoid the sword, which the next moment will swing in his direction. The count's fearful action exposes the beautifully lighted carved coat of arms of the city of Hasselt above his seat.

Hasselt, Province of Overijssel, Town Hall

A.Bl.



Thomas de Keyser 1596/97 Amsterdam 1667

From 1616 on, he was a pupil of his father, the architect and sculptor Hendrick de Keyser. As far as is known Thomas lived in Amsterdam all his life. He painted individual and militia company portraits and a few history paintings.

A.Bl.

Thomas de Keyser, after Pieter Lastman

60 *King Cyrus Returns the Vessels from the Temple of the Lord to the Jews*, 1660

Oil on canvas; 118 x 92 cm (46½ x 36¼ in.)

Signed and dated lower middle: PL. (ligated) ASMAN INVENTOR/TDKEYSER PINXIT 1660 (TDK ligated).

Provenance: Auction Wilhelm Godart Johan van Gendt, The Hague, Oct. 25, 1830, no. 2, as Ahasverus and Haman. Coll. Lord Deramore, Heslington Hall, County of York. Art dealer M. Asscher, London, 1955, sold to Frits Lugt. Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, inv. no. 6781.

Bibliography: Oldenbourg, 1911, p. 61, cat. no. 67 (cites sale cat. 1830, not yet knowing the painting).

Sumowski, 1975, p. 152, p. 180, note 18. Ter Molen, 1979, p. 40, no. 19.

Information on the painting was provided by Saskia Nystad, The Hague, who is preparing a catalogue of the paintings of the Institut Néerlandais.

The Jews were in exile in Babylon until Cyrus became king and allowed them to return to Jerusalem. He assisted them greatly and ordered the temple of the Lord to be rebuilt. "Cyrus the king also brought out the vessels of the house of the Lord which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from Jerusalem and placed in the house of his gods. Cyrus . . . brought these out in charge of Mithredath the treasurer, who counted them out to Sheshbazzar the prince of Judah."

Cyrus, who gestures with his scepter, wears a turban on which is perched a small crown like that worn by King Pyrrhus in fig. 5 of the General Introduction and an ermine cape like the king in cat. no. 43. To his right Mithredath, the treasurer, is checking the number of the vessels in a book; they totaled 5,469. The man with the plumed turban who kneels at the opposite side must be Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah.

That this is the story depicted is indicated by the inscription on a drawing in the print room in Berlin of the same composition. The painting has only been known for a short time, but the drawing was published in 1930 (Bock Rosenberg, p. 333, no. 3793). They were first reproduced together by Sumowski, 1975 (the drawing is also reproduced in Tümpel, 1974, fig. 10). The inscription on the drawing, which is dated 1611, was deciphered by Frits Lugt: "Cyrus' favor promotes building the House of the Lord/The goldsmiths here are pleased to honor God's church" (Lugt, 1931). The drawing is criss-crossed by bars like a stained

glass window, from which Lugt concluded that the drawing is a study for one of the fifteen stained glass windows which the Amsterdam guilds presented to the Zuiderkerk. The Zuiderkerk, built in 1603-1611, was the first large Protestant church to be erected in the Netherlands. Since the windows made the church very dark, they were removed in 1658.

On the basis of its style Lugt (1931) attributed the drawing to Pieter Lastman, an attribution that is now fully supported by the signature on the painting. The signature "P. Lasman inventor, T. de Keyser painted" indicates that it is a copy by Thomas de Keyser after Lastman. From the date 1660 we may conclude that De Keyser made the copy after Lastman's window at the time of its removal. Apparently he felt that the image's appearance should be preserved. It is remarkable that interest in the work of Lastman, who died in 1633, still remained so strong in 1660.

Saskia Nystad suggests that the guild of the goldsmiths, which had commissioned the window, ordered the copy when the window was removed. De Keyser may also have been motivated by the fact that his father Hendrick de Keyser had been the architect of the Zuiderkerk and may well have planned the inclusion of the windows. De Keyser tried to render the technique of Lastman's paintings, though using a broader and more forceful touch.

The scene takes place on the top of three horizontal steps, a motif that later became very popular with the Haarlem classicists (fig. 3). The young man kneeling at the right links the lowest step with the main scene. The vessels in the left foreground resemble show pieces of Dutch gold- and silversmiths, alluding to the accomplishments of the members of the goldsmiths' guild. The *tazza* which lies at the left can be identified with a masterpiece by the Utrecht silversmith Paulus van Vianen, now in the Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen at Rotterdam (Ter Molen, 1979, with ill.). It represents *Susanna besieged by the Elders*, which at the time of the event that is represented in the painting was recent history: it took place during the Jews' exile in Babylon. The actual *tazza* is dated 1612, which indicates that Lastman's window was executed at least one year after his drawing of 1611.

In the middle background more vessels are introduced. The scene is dominated by the temple of the Lord, here rendered as an exact replica of Michelangelo's cupola of St. Peter in Rome. The entire scene is framed and unified by the classical architecture of an enormous arch.

Paris, Fondation Custodia (Coll. F. Lugt), Institut Néerlandais

A.Bl.



Jan de Braij

c. 1627 Haarlem 1697

Jan de Braij spent most of his life in his hometown Haarlem. We may assume that his father Salomon was his teacher. In 1661 he made a drawing in the *album amicorum* of the Amsterdam school-teacher Jacob Heyblock, to which Rembrandt also contributed a sketch (The Hague, Royal Library). In 1663/64 both Jan's parents, two brothers, and two sisters died of the plague. Undoubtedly Salomon de Braij, his wife, and all their children were the sitters for Jan's *Anthony and Cleopatra* in the Currier Museum, Manchester, New Hampshire (fig. 8 in the General Introduction).*

During the years 1667-84 Jan was on the board of the Haarlem guild of St. Luke; in 1675 he portrayed himself together with his five colleagues in a group portrait (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). Jan married three times, always to well-to-do patrician women. His first two spouses died the year after the weddings; the third two years after the marriage. Their deaths in 1669, 1673, and 1680, respectively, were all followed by quarrels and lawsuits brought against Jan by his brides' families concerning the division of the estates. Only one son survived to maturity. In the years 1664-83 Jan made six wills, which turned out to be of no use, as he went bankrupt in Haarlem in 1689. A year earlier he is recorded as having been living at the Lindengracht in Amsterdam for the past two years. He presented the Amsterdam city council with an elaborate plan for building an enormous basin for the storage of fresh water. It is unclear whether the undertaking was the cause of his bankruptcy or a last effort to forestall it. The plan, in any event, was not carried out (the storage of fresh water by the city was not introduced until 1853).

Jan de Braij was very productive as a history painter and portraitist and made many *portraits historiés*. In the history pieces of his early period he closely followed his father's style (*Judith and Holofernes*, 1659, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Moltke, 1938, fig. 28). Later he developed his own brilliant approach in monumental canvases with large figures (cat. no. 61 of 1661). It seems Jan's bankruptcy in 1689 also broke him as an artist. The *Four Evangelists* he painted for a secret church in Amersfoort in 1696 betrays a considerable decline in skill (now in the church at Udenhout; see Van Haaren, with ills.).

Literature: Von Moltke, 1938. Van Marel.

A.Bl.

*The couple is the same as in the painting of two overlapping profile heads, which is described in Jan's will of 1664 as portraits of his parents (now in the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York; Van Marel, col. 14, ill. to col. 12/13). The *Anthony and Cleopatra* is dated 1669, which means the portraits are posthumous. In another version, in the collection of the Queen of England, the date has been read as 1652 (Brown, 1976, no. 17). If that date is correct, it indicates when the portrayed event (a costume party?) occurred. Stylistically, as Moltke rightly observed (Moltke, 1938, p. 447), the picture cannot have been executed before 1660.

61 The Finding of Moses, 1661

Oil on canvas; 121 x 164 cm (47⁵/₈ x 64⁵/₈ in.)

Signed and dated lower right on the little basket: J. de Braij (in ligature) 1661

Provenance: Sale Marie Maes (Ghent), Ghent (Lamme), October 25, 1837, no. 181, with extensive description, for 80 to Verdier of Ghent. Sale douairiere B.A. Baron van Verschuer née Brants, Amsterdam (F. Muller), November 26, 1901, no. 370, with ill., for f. 2,150 to Museum Boymans.

Exhibitions: Winter Exhibition, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1876, *Bijbelsche Kunst*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1939, no. 30a. *Old Masters and the Bible*, Jerusalem, The Israel Museum, 1965, no. 26, ill. *The Age of Rembrandt*, San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor; Toledo, The Toledo Museum of Art; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1966-67, no. 95, ill. (color).

Bibliography: P.M. Turner, "Two Attributions to Carel Fabritius," *Burlington Magazine*, 38 (1921), p. 227. H. Schneider, "Jan de Bray's Portrait Works," *Burlington Magazine*, 39 (1921), p. 67. Martin, I, p. 118, ill. 68. Moltke, 1938, p. 451-52, ill. 29, p. 465, cat. no. 1. S.J. Gudlaugsson, "Representations of Granida in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting, II," *Burlington Magazine*, 90 (1948), p. 351, note 9. Bernt, I, fig. 180.

The large figure in the left center is Pharaoh's daughter. While bathing in the Nile she discovered the infant Moses lying in a basket made of bulrushes in the reeds. At her command three female slaves at the right have come to bring it to her. At the left of this group are several reed stalks. The woman in the center has been identified as the "favorite servant" (sale cat. 1901).

Outside the circle of these figures stands a young girl at the left, who is the only one to look at the viewer. She must be Moses' sister, who has observed the scene from some distance off. She is now on the point of addressing the princess, "Shall I go call a wet nurse from the Hebrew women to nurse the child for you?" In this way Moses was returned to his mother (see Exodus 2:3-10).

The princess and the "favorite servant" wear costumes which were in style in Holland around 1660. Thus, the picture is probably a *portrait historié*, for which De Braij did not even feel it was necessary to clothe his models in an antique mode. Only the small crown on the princess' head indicates that she is royalty.

The Finding of Moses was a very popular subject in Dutch visual arts, not only in scenes with small figures in a landscape (B. Breenbergh, 1636, London, National Gallery) but also in large figure compositions (see, for example, the work of De Braij's fellow Haarlemer, Pieter de Grebber, 1634, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie). The large stone vessel with a wreath of leaves draped around it that looms so prominently in the foreground in cat. no. 61 appears nowhere else.

Paintings of the same subject have appeared under the name



of Jan's father, Salomon de Braij, in the Sale, Amsterdam, April 30, 1821 (no. 21, panel 86 x 64 cm) and in the Sale, London, March 17, 1916 (no. 73, panel, 175 x 221 cm).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen

A.Bl.

- Jan de Braij
62 *A Couple Represented as Ulysses and Penelope*,
1668
Oil on canvas; 109.9 x 165.1 cm (43¼ x 65 in.)
Signed and dated on frame of needlework: JDBray 1668
(JDB in ligature)
Provenance: Coll. Mrs. L. Spruce (information from the
museum). Coll. Mrs. C.A. Barnes (lender to exhibition
1938). Auction, London (Sotheby), July 10, 1974, no.
60 with ill.
Exhibition: *17th century Art in Europe*, Royal Academy of
Arts, London, 1938, cat. 168.
Bibliography: Moltke, 1938, p. 448, cat. no. 178, ill. p.
447.

The large, three-quarter-length figures of a lady and a gentleman sitting together, bending toward each other are clearly portraits. The man wears a cuirass, a toga, and a short knickerbocker with slits like those worn by sixteenth-century lansquenets. His legs are bare, and he wears boots, similar to those on the figures of Bol's Pyrrhus and Fabritius in fig. 5 of the General Introduction. His outfit characterizes him as an antique warrior. The lady's dress differs little from the styles current at the end of the 1660s, when the picture was painted. Yet the weaving loom she holds on her lap indicates she is Penelope, the faithful wife of Ulysses. Ulysses failed to return from the Trojan war until ten years after it had ended, with the result that everybody thought he had died. Only Penelope continued to wait, surrounded by a host of suitors. She put them off by saying she had first to finish weaving a winding sheet for her father-in-law. Each night she would secretly undo the day's work, thus postponing the issue. It has been suggested that Penelope is depicted here with one of her imper-tinent suitors (cat. exh. 1938). The other explanation, that the man is the faithful Ulysses himself is more likely (Moltke, 1938). He has killed all the suitors and is now happily reunited with Penelope. The weaving loom is present as an attribute for her identification. The same applies to the dog that is jumping up to Ulysses. He is Ulysses' old dog Argus, whom he had owned and trained before going to Troy. Argus was the only one to recognize Ulysses when he returned disguised as a beggar.

Scenes from Homer's *Odyssey* were rare in Holland up to the last decades of the seventeenth century. *The Shipwrecked Ulysses Received by Nausica* was an exception, being depicted by several artists (P. Lastman; J. von Sandrart, fig. 9 in the General Introduction; and T. de Keyser). Another exception were two works by Salomon de Braij, who represented *Ulysses and Circe* in two drawings and in a painting (Moltke, 1938 S.B., fig. 33, 34, 65). His son Jan was the first northern Netherlandish painter to depict *Ulysses Detects Achilles Among the Daughters of Lycomedes* in a large picture of 1664, now in Warsaw (Moltke, 1938, fig. 42).

Later on Gerard Lairesse treated this theme in at least three paintings. Jan de Braij's picture in Warsaw is a pure history painting. In our *Ulysses and Penelope* the portrait aspects seem to dominate over the story.

Louisville, Kentucky, J.B. Speed Art Museum

A.Bl.



Jan de Braij

63 *The Judgment of King Zaleucus*, 1676

Oil on canvas; 212 x 255 cm (83½ x 100⅜ in.)

Signed and dated lower right: J D Bray 1676 (JDB in ligature)

Provenance: Commissioned in 1676 by the burgomasters of Haarlem as a mantlepiece for the magistrates' room of the town hall in exchange for a house next to De Braij's home on the Bakenessergracht (Municipal Archives, Haarlem, Burgemeesters Resoluties, May 28, 1676; communication Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem). Still in its original place.

Bibliography: Van Eijnden/Van der Willigen, I, 1816, p. 400 (as by "D. de Braij"). Martin, I, p. 49, ill. 27, p. 118. Moltke, 1938, pp. 457, 468, no. 34.

De Braij made allowances for the fact that the picture would be installed high on the mantlepiece. We view the scene from below in foreshortened perspective.

Haarlem, Town Hall

A. Bl.

The King of Locri in southern Italy in the sixth century B.C., Zaleucus was known for the severity of the laws he issued. For the crime of rape (or according to the Dutch versions of the story, only adultery) he decreed that the offender should have both eyes poked out. While he was judge, he found his own son guilty of this crime, and the people pressured him to revise the punishment. Wanting to carry out the law which he himself had established, Zaleucus decided that he and his son would each have an eye removed (Valerius Maximus 6:5; Aelianus, *Variae Historiae* 13, 24).

As a chimneypiece the painting dominates the former "Schepenkamer" (courtroom) in the Haarlem town hall. Its message is that clemency for a blood relative found guilty can occur only at the expense of the judge. The story was depicted in many courtrooms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Lederle/Grieger, pp. 8-9; Pigler, II, p. 347; Helliesen, pl. 2, ill. 17). In Holland the theme was depicted (c.1530) in the courtroom of the town hall in Hoorn (*van de Waal*, II, no. 265-2). The scene most often represented was that of the son having his eye poked out (Beccafumi, Sienna, Town Hall). In Holbein's fresco for the town hall in Basel, which is preserved only through copies, the father and son are sentenced at the same time (Ganz, 1919, fig. 167).

The idea of depicting the moment when the father and judge Zaleucus has his own eye poked out while his son sits waiting his turn with his hands intertwined at his father's feet, undoubtedly derives from Artus Quellinus' marble relief in the courtroom in the new town hall in Amsterdam. There, too, the executioner leans over Zaleucus from behind (see Fremantle, 1977, fig. 23). The architecture of the building in the background at the right of cat. no. 63 is strongly reminiscent of the Amsterdam town hall. At the left behind Zaleucus stands a woman with a sword in one hand and a scale in the other. She is the living embodiment of Justice.



Carel Dujardin

c. 1622—Venice 1678

Dujardin probably studied with Nicolaes Berchem and presumably traveled to Italy as a young man. In 1652 and 1655 he lived in Amsterdam, in 1656-58/59 in The Hague, and after that again in Amsterdam. In 1675 Dujardin traveled to Italy; it was possibly his second trip. On the way he visited Tangier in North Africa. At the time of his death, three years later, he was still in Italy.

Dujardin is famous principally for his finely detailed Italianate landscapes which, for the most part, are seen under a bright summer sun. Besides these works, he painted *bambocciati* (Roman street scenes), portraits, and a series of history paintings. This last group primarily originated after 1658/59, after his move from The Hague to Amsterdam, where he came under new influences (see Brochhagen, 1958, p. 59 ff.).

Literature: Brochhagen, 1958. Blankert, 1978, pp. 195-212.

A. Bl.

64 *Hagar and Ishmael in the Wilderness*, c. 1665-67

Oil on canvas; 187 x 141.9 cm (73 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 55 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Signed on a fragment of the cornice, lower left: K DU JARDIN fe

Provenance: Sale John van Spangen (London), February 10, 1748, no. 30 for £5.6 (note in copy of sale cat. in RKD) or for £5.10 to Clark (Simpson, 1953). Sale Catharina van Hunthum, Amsterdam, April 22, 1762, no. 2, for f.330 to Weninx for Locquet (see Hofstede de Groot). Sale Pieter Locquet, Amsterdam, September 22, 1783, no. 165 for f.4,430 to Yver (see Hofstede de Groot) or for "1000 fs.901" (see Smith, copy of sale cat. at RKD). Sale de Vouge, Paris, March 15, 1784, for 3,400 livres (see Blanc). John Ringling Collection, 1936.

Bibliography: Smith, V., 1834, p. 246, no. 39. Blanc, II, p. 89. Hofstede de Groot, IX, 1926, p. 297, no. 3. Gerson, 1952, p. 22, pl. 52. Brochhagen, 1958, p. 79 ff. *Fifty Masterpieces in the Ringling Collection*, Sarasota, 1961. P. Rosenberg, "Le Musée de Sarasota en Florida," *L'Oeil*, no. 138, June 1966, pp. 4-11, color pl. 6. Simpson, 1953, p. 41. Robinson.

Abraham was forced by his jealous wife Sarah and her young son Isaac to send his concubine Hagar and her child out into the desert of Berse-ba. When the vessel of water which they had with them was empty and they were about to die of thirst, an angel of God came to their rescue by pointing out a fountain. This moment of Hagar's *peripeteia* appeared many times in the visual arts, but only Dujardin treated the actions which followed this crucial moment. Hagar "went and filled the vessel with water and gave it to the young boy to drink" (Genesis 21:19). In the present work the attractive little figure of the young Ishmael drinks eagerly from the cup which Hagar offers him. A small angel supports

him. Hagar looks up at the rescuing angel who, according to tradition, was the archangel Michael. "The left hand of the angel points to the fountain that has miraculously appeared . . . and his right points upwards to the real source of her help" (Robinson).

The picture is similar in style to a series of dated history paintings by Dujardin from the 1660s (see Brochhagen, 1958, and Robinson). With its animated large figures and fluttering draperies, the painting most resembles the *Deification of Aeneas* of 1665 (Mainz, Museum) and the *Centaur and Lapiths* of 1667 (Potsdam, Sanssouci). It must be dated between these two (see Brochhagen, 1958).

The painting has been called wholly Italian and French in style (Gerson; *Fifty Masterpieces*; Robinson). Brochhagen (1958) saw the influence of P. Francesco Mola and Guido Reni, but the resemblances he points out are of a too general character to prove a relation with the Dujardin. With its fine detail, the painting is more reminiscent of Leiden *fijschilderkunst*.

Unusual are the baroque putti and the classical architecture of the fountain at the left, which would be more appropriate in a park than in a desert. In the seventeenth century, "Desertum" did not yet mean a desert but only a deserted region. Perhaps this is why a fragment of architecture of the fountain has fallen off.

Sarasota, Florida, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art

A. Bl.



Abraham Hondius

1625/30 Rotterdam—London c. 1695

Abraham Hondius was a son of the Rotterdam mason Daniel Abrahamsz. His marriage took place in Rotterdam in 1653, where he is mentioned again in 1659. In 1666 he was in Amsterdam and later lived in London (data from Wurzbach).

Hondius did many history pieces and a few elegant interiors and views of London (London Museum). His preferred subjects were hunting parties and animal pieces, which often depict animals pursuing or fighting.

Literature: Wurzbach, I, p. 705. Stechow, 1924. Hentzen, 1963. Bol, 1969, p. 254 ff.

A.Bl.

65 *Pyramus and Thisbe*, c. 1660-65

Oil on canvas; 69 x 80.7 cm (27¼ x 31¾ in.)

Provenance: Art dealer Vitale Bloch. Acquired 1966.

Bibliography: Bloch, 1967, pp. 94-97, fig. 2. Bol, 1969, p. 254, note 346. *Old Paintings 1400-1900*, illustrations, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1972, p. 212, ill. p. 84.

Exhibitions: *Le choix d'un amateur éclairé, oeuvres de la collection Vitale Bloch provenant du musée Boymans-Van Beuningen avec quelques apports de la Fondation Custodia*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1979, no. 39, with ill. (text by J. Giltay).

The popular story depicted here is from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (4:55-166). The Babylonian Pyramus and Thisbe loved each other, but their parents forbade them to marry. One night the couple planned to meet in secret outside the city walls by a mulberry tree beside a spring. Thisbe arrived first, but as she waited a lioness, fresh from a kill, with her jaws soaked with blood, came to quench her thirst. Thisbe hastily fled, dropping her veil, which the animal tore to shreds. When Pyramus arrived and discovered the bloody garment, he believed Thisbe had been killed. Blaming himself for her death he stabbed himself with his sword. His dead body lies at the foreground of the painting. Thisbe has returned and finding him dead, throws herself upon Pyramus' sword. Their blood was said to have permanently colored the mulberries red.

In the right background the lioness is seen moving away. In the right foreground the spring is represented as a fountain, filled by a spout of water that is falling from the edge of the picture. Only the ends of three branches of the mulberry tree are visible at the upper right. The cropped appearance of the fountain and of the tree proves that the picture has been cut off at the right and on top.

In 1604 Carel van Mander drew several lessons from the story of Pyramus and Thisbe. It might serve as a warning to young people to avoid carnal love and love which defies their parents' will. Parents in turn could learn that they should not try to force

their children to give up their natural feelings of love (Van Mander, "Wtleggingh," fol. 27 r).

The picture is not signed or documented as a work by Hondius, but its style is very typically his. The porcelainlike figures, their clothes fluttering behind them like coiling smoke, appear quite similar to those in his *Hunting Party*, signed and dated 1664, in the Kunsthalle in Hamburg (Hentzen, fig. 3; also noted by Bloch). Thisbe's figure resembles the descending angel in an *Annunciation*, signed and dated 1662, in the National Museum at Krakow (Hentzen, no. 14). These pictures show the same sophisticated elegance as our cat. no. 65, which must date from the same period, c. 1660-65. Hondius' later figure paintings are in the same style but often coarser in execution.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen

A.Bl.



Adriaen van de Velde 1636 Amsterdam 1672

Adriaen was the son of Willem van de Velde the Elder and the brother of Willem the Younger, both marine painters. According to Houbraken (1721) he was first an apprentice to his father, and later to Jan Wijnants at Haarlem. In 1657 Adriaen married in Amsterdam, where he was recorded on many later occasions (De Vries, 1886). In 1666 he signed a contract to teach drawing and painting to Johannes Innevelt. In the next year he settled his quarrel with the painter Jan Hackaert over drawings and prints Hackaert had sold him (Arch. Bredius).

Over the years 1658-70 six of Adriaen's children were baptized in several Roman Catholic hidden churches. (At the baptism of the second child, his brother Willem, the marine painter, served as a witness. Willem himself had three children baptized as Protestants, but in 1671 his fourth was baptized in a Catholic church, probably under Adriaen's influence; De Vries, 1886, Haverkorn van Rijswijk, 1901.) A document of November 26, 1671 shows that Adriaen himself had become a Catholic (Arch. Bredius: Notary Lock).

Adriaen van de Velde is famous for his delicately painted landscapes. In most of them figures and cattle are prominent. In his choice of these themes, Paulus Potter's work must have been an inspiration. The sunny atmosphere in his meadows and countrysides was inspired by Italianate landscape painters.

Adriaen was highly esteemed for his figures; he often painted the staffage in landscapes by Jacob van Ruisdael, Philips de Moucheron, Jan van der Heyden, and others. Sometimes his landscapes were given themes like *Laban's Departure* (London, Wallace Collection). A beautiful *Allegory*, consisting mostly of figures, is in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (dated 1663). Singular in his oeuvre is a group of large-scale paintings of biblical themes (see cat. no. 66).

Literature: Hofstede de Groot, IV, pp. 447-607

A.Bl.

66 *The Annunciation*, 1667

Oil on canvas; 128 x 176 cm (50 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 69 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Signed and dated lower right: A.V.Velde.f./1667.

Provenance: Sale P.N. Quarles van Ufford, Amsterdam, October 19, 1818, no. 54, for 42 guilders to L'Année.

Sale Viscount Weymouth, London (Robins), April 18, 1828, no. 455 for £157, 10 sh., bought in. Coll. Edward W. Lake, London, acquired 1845 for £42. Sale E.W.

Lake, London, (Christie's), April 7, 1848, no. 151, for £40, 19 sh. to J.S. Woodin. Sale London(?), December 9, 1911, no. 107. Bought by the Rijksmuseum in London, September 1913, from R. Langton Douglas. On loan to Dienst voor's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen; from 1959 on to Museum Amstelkring.

Exhibitions: *Schilderijen en teekeningen van Nederlandsche Italianeerende schilders uit de 16e en 17e eeuw*, Arti et

Amicitiae, Amsterdam, 1934, no. 65.

Bibliography: Smith, V, no. 108. Hofstede de Groot, 4, no. 3. A.B. de Vries, in *Eigen Haard*, 1914, p. 1018. E. Plietzsch, "Nebenwerke holländischer Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 51, 1916, p. 129, fig. 7. Martin, I, pp. 110, 112, fig. 166. A. Heppner, in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunst*, 24, 1948, p. 119. H.C. de Wolf, "Kunst uit de schuilkerkentijd," in *Antiek*, 1, April 1967, p. 8, fig. 5. A. Blankert, "Adriaen van de Velde," in *Kindlers Malerei Lexikon*, IV, Zürich 1968, with ill. Cat. Rijksmuseum 1976, no. A2688, with fig.

The date, which clearly reads 1667, was given as 1664 by Smith, in sale cat. 1848 and by Hofstede de Groot. Concerning the theme of the Annunciation see cat. no. 47. In fifteenth-century depictions of the subject we encounter Mary and the angel Gabriel together in a room, with little to distinguish them from ordinary mortals, except one has wings. During the period of the Counter-Reformation a new iconographic formula was introduced throughout Europe. From then on Gabriel appears in or on a cloud, accompanied by other angels, and very often also by God the father. Lighting effects imply that heaven is entering triumphantly into Mary's room (see Mâle, 1932, pp. 239-241). Van de Velde's treatment of the theme is influenced by this formula. The angel appears in a cloud, suffused by supernatural light. Yet his encounter with Mary remains remarkably intimate. Gabriel is alone, and instead of rushing down to Mary, he quietly walks toward her. With one arm, which in other seventeenth-century depictions of the theme he always stretched out toward Mary, he points backward over his shoulder, indicating his heavenly master. The whiteness of the lily in his other hand alludes to the Virgin Mary's purity. Mary sits at a table, looking up from the Bible. Her outstretched hands and spread fingers are the traditional gestures of a fearful person, yet her overall attitude seems to express utter calm as if she reacts to the angel's words: "Do not be afraid, Mary, for you have found favor with God." The legs of the table consist of beautifully carved heads and wings of cherubim. Behind Mary, her tentlike bed is visible in the background.

The only other figure paintings with no landscapes by Adriaen van de Velde also depict religious subjects. They represent five scenes from Christ's Passion, each measuring 88 x 138 cm. Adriaen's daughter told Houbraken that they were in the Roman Catholic Spinhuischurch in the Spinhuissteeg, where Hofstede de Groot rediscovered them in 1893 (Houbraken, III, p. 91; Hofstede de Groot, 1893, p. 173; Hofstede de Groot, nos. 11, 14-18). The church is now closed, and the paintings are in the collection of the Augustine friars in Nimwegen.

The Spinhuischurch was built in 1696-99 to replace an older Roman Catholic church, De Ster (The Star), which had become too small. De Ster was in the attic of the house of the rich cloth merchant Jacob van Loon at Oudezijdsachterburgwal 81 (Meischke, 1959, col. 109 ff.). Van Loon is the old gentleman sitting at the far left in Rembrandt's *Syndics of the Cloth Guild* of 1662, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Van Eeghen, 1957). Thus, Van de Velde made his Passion series for Van Loon's church.



Two of the paintings in Van de Velde's Passion series are fully signed and dated 1664 (Hofstede de Groot, no. 11, 15). In 1666 and 1667 Adriaen van de Velde had his daughters baptized in De Ster (De Vries, 1886, p. 143), and in 1667 he also painted our *Annunciation*.

Religious themes, a large format, large-scale figures, and lack of background are common features of *The Annunciation* and the Passion series. It seems very likely that *The Annunciation*, if not also painted for De Ster or for Van Loon, was intended for another Roman Catholic church.

In the sale of 1818 our painting fetched 42 guilders, compared to 2,025 guilders for Jan Steen's *Moses Striking the Rock*, cat. no.

86, which happened to be at the same auction. In 1916 Plietzsch commented on our picture: "happily enough the demand for such religious paintings was not strong in protestant Holland" (Plietzsch, 1916). Martin's reaction in 1935 was even stronger. Yet it cannot be denied that the subdued gestures of the stately figures harmonize beautifully with the refined execution, which is especially evident in the angel's wings, the folds of his dress, and his protruding left leg.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan to Museum Amstelkring

A.BI.

Classicism and History Painting in the Late Seventeenth Century

D. P. Snoep



THE MOST IMPORTANT LATE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY Dutch art theorist was Gerard Lairesse. In his long-winded *Groot Schilderboek*, first published in 1707 and possibly intended as a reformulation of Van Mander's *Schilderboek* of 1604, Lairesse set down his theories. They were part of an already accepted system of thought which was rational and rather rigidly constructed. The system dictated conditions for both the pictorial and literary arts in the later seventeenth century.

This "classicistic" art theory originated in Italy. The close relationship between art and letters was proclaimed there around the middle of the sixteenth century. As sister arts born from the same womb, they differed only in the fact that the artist working on walls, panel, or canvas could represent only what presented itself before his eyes, while the poet could record not only tangible objects but also everything which revealed itself in his spirit. The Renaissance theorists based their concept of a blood relation between art and literature on classical authors. Aristotle and particularly Horace in his *Ars Poetica* were among the first to develop this analogy between the two arts. The often-repeated adage "ut pictura poesis" (as is poetry so is painting) occupied the thoughts of artists and theorists until well into the nineteenth century.¹ Further development of the theory of this relationship established the image of the painter as a silent poet and the poet as speaking painter.

Also under the influence of the classical authors, Renaissance artists, following the theorists of their own period, considered themselves to be reaching their highest goals when they selected their motifs from antique mythology, classical history, or the Bible. Only then could the artist satisfy the high demands made of him by the theorists; only then, according to the conceptions of the theorist Alberti, was he a history painter.² His intellect was the means by which he would learn to grasp the rules of classical art. The artist thus became the scholar, the *pictor doctus*, whose

knowledge must be at the service of his art—an image which the seventeenth-century theoretician borrowed from the antique *doctus poeta*.³ Outfitted with this classical equipment, history painting should inspire elevated sentiments and noble deeds through its beauty and through its themes, which must, above all, be instructive.

It is not surprising that at the time of the flowering of the arts in France, around the middle of the seventeenth century, the Académie des Beaux-Arts, founded in 1671 under Louis XIV's supervision, established a strict doctrine based on the art of Roman antiquity. Just as the arts glorified the regime and secured the authority of the emperor in imperial Rome, the Académie propagated the newly acquired power of the autocratic Louis XIV. French art theorists like Fréart de Chambray, Abraham Bosse, Charles Dufresnoy, and Roger de Piles set down the theoretical rules for French classicism in their publications. Artists like Nicolas Poussin (the *pictor doctus*), especially Simon Vouet, and Charles le Brun had already incorporated these rules in their paintings.

Gerard Lairesse's *Groot Schilderboek* is the standard work codifying these theories for the Dutch Republic. Appearing in Holland not until after his death, when it was published in 1707 in Amsterdam, it was later translated into various languages and remained a widely used handbook until well into the nineteenth century.⁴

Lairesse considered history painting and the history painter with especially high regard. If the noble art of painting was to be effectively employed, the artist would do well to choose themes involving "distinguished and edifying matters, such as beautiful stories and spiritual and moralistic emblems."⁵ However virtuous, decorous, and elegant, the paintings should also be useful and pleasurable. The true *pictor doctus*—Lairesse undoubtedly included himself in this category—should base his knowledge on antique authors, the Bible, and several "modern" emblematic works. Lairesse

specified them: Herodotus, Tacitus, Flavius, Josephus, Plutarch, and the Bible he considered as history books. Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and Herodotus were poets, while Cesare Ripa was the source for symbolic pictures. Joachim Oudaens' *Roomsche Mogentheyd* (Roman Power) offered material for antique iconography.⁶ It is striking that as far as the literature of his own time was concerned, Lairese restricted himself to publications which had appeared in the Dutch language.

The epithet "deftig" (distinguished, elegant) also applied to the history painter himself. As a learned artist his social position was elevated by the fact that he had at his disposal much, indeed more, knowledge than other practitioners of the arts and sciences. According to Lairese (and here he followed, among others, the French theorist Fréart de Chambray), the artist should know "in part Mathematics, Natural Science, Geography, History and other matters."⁷ Among the Romans the artist was so highly regarded that only noblemen considered taking instruction in art. Their thoughts, more than those of the common man, were always "fixed upon lofty and lordly things."⁸ In the art theories of the late seventeenth century, Emmens has discerned a certain "aristocratizing."⁹ Lairese provided specific evidence of this when, in his classification of painting according to themes, he presented a theory of art evolving from the vulgar, via the bourgeois, to the courtly, whereby Rembrandt was relegated to the "burgerlijke" category.

This explains why the artist, in imitation of the antique, preferred history painting, the most highly esteemed and aristocratic type of art—it raised his own social status. This elevated social standing is implicit in the very name of Gerard de Lairese and even more evident in that of *Chevalier* Adriaen van der Werff, who actually acquired a certificate of nobility.¹⁰

Lairese distinguished four categories of scenes, which, when they satisfied the established requirements, might attain the status of the highly valued art of history painting. He arrived at a system of classification divided among so-called historical, poetic, moral, and hieroglyphic scenes.¹¹

To the first category belonged simple and true stories in which everything was represented in a straightforward way; thus the glory of daybreak should actually be painted rather than being symbolized by the figure of Aurora, the Dawn.

In the case of the second category, Lairese discussed "poetic scenes." They depicted mythological or "pretended stories" (cat. no. 68) in which gods and men interact. This type of story could, on the one hand, contain allusions to "the course of the world" which is determined by the elements of fire, water, air, and earth, while on the other hand, such tales should be conceived as moralizations urging the viewer to virtuousness. The third category, the moral scenes, contributed to the edification of the viewer through

the depiction of true stories or events. These were *exempla virtutis*—models of virtue—whereby the meaning of the narrative represented would be strengthened by the inclusion of a so-called "zinbetekenend" (symbolic) image. Lairese offered as an example the story of Scipio Africanus who returned the young girl whom he took as war booty to her fiancé. This model of the virtue of temperance could be elucidated still further by the addition of the symbolic personification of Moderation.

The fourth category—the most intricately composed—also had the intention of edification, but differed from the former category with regard to its components. It too depicted virtue or the lack thereof but also dealt with combinations of symbolic images, such as God's Bountifulness with Freedom and Love. The meaning must clearly proceed from these combinations (see cat. no. 69). Lairese divided the representations according to their form into two groups—Christian and pagan. The artist who wished to depict Strength could choose between Michael and Hercules; for Love he could use either Caritas or Venus, but never together.

Moreover, Lairese emphatically warned against superfluous additions which, wholly in conflict with classical ideals of clarity, could render the allegories opaque. A number of Lairese's paintings were connected with these categories, but the theoretician himself confessed in his preface to the *Groot Schilderboek* that he had not always strictly adhered to his own prescriptions.

Lairese's formulations of the possibilities for the history painter were thoroughly thought through, instructive, and exceptional within the tradition of classical art theory for their clarity.¹² These qualities point to the origins of his *Groot Schilderboek*, which must have begun as a series of art lectures which he delivered at home to a group of artists and art lovers.

It is probable that shortly after his arrival in Amsterdam in 1667, Lairese began to play an important role in the avant-garde literary society which embraced the saying "Nil Volentibus Arduum" (Nothing is difficult for those with the will). Lairese drew the vignette—a man climbing a steep cliff—for the society, which was dedicated to the improvement of contemporary literature and expressly to a renewal of the theater. "Nil" was comprised of a group of rich intellectuals who tried to introduce French literary theories into the Dutch Republic.¹³ Notably, Andries Pels, who had Lairese illustrate his published plays, published the literary theories of Horace—the basis for the classicistic *ut pictura poesis* concepts—in a Dutch edition, *Q. Horatius Flaccus Dichtkunst*.¹⁴ The work appeared in 1677, and Lairese did the frontispiece. Pels drew his sword against artists, notably Rembrandt, who failed to satisfy the high demands of "Nil." In his subsequent publications he railed against the theater of his contemporaries, such as the deceased Jan

Vos, whose plays continued to be performed. According to “Nil” these plays excelled in coarse language, spectacular scenes of horror, and sensational stage machinery, all of which were in conflict with the restrained, elegant, and edifying ideals of the classicists. These concepts were expressed in Pels’ *Gebruik en Misbruik des Tooneels* (*Use and Misuse of the Theater*), which appeared in 1681 under the auspices of the society.¹⁵ Meanwhile, “Nil” had succeeded in gaining a controlling position in the administration of the Amsterdam theater. The popular plays of the *poeta vulgaris*, Jan Vos, vanished from the stage to be replaced by works by the *poeta doctus*, Adries Pels, and his colleagues.¹⁶

Clear connections exist between the views of the “Nil Volentibus Arduum” with respect to the theater and literature and Lairese’s conceptions of the art of painting. Analogous to Pels’ publication on the theater, Lairese gave his chapter on history painting the title “Van het Gebruik en Misbruik der Schilderkunst” (*On the Use and Misuse of the Art of Painting*). In that section he argued that the noble art of painting should represent only edifying matters, which are virtuous and decorous.¹⁷ Lewd and slanderous representations were the work of the devil. Thus, Lairese, as a model of the *pictor doctus*, sought in his own elaborate history paintings to meet the same requirements which had been placed upon the classical theater in Amsterdam. In the relatively brief period of his career, from about 1667 until he went blind around 1690, Lairese created a staggering volume of work. Part of this is comprised of his extensive graphic oeuvre, which is of high quality.¹⁸ As one of the few who revealed an aptitude for “official history painting,” his work was in demand from Willem III, who imitated his European counterpart Louis XIV in having himself glorified in paintings and prints.¹⁹ Large-scale commissions from the city of Amsterdam failed to appear, but he received orders from members of the rich and devout Mennonite business community, whose large houses on the canals were decorated according to the newest stylistic requirements with classical ceiling paintings and grisailles.²⁰ It is hardly surprising that it was precisely in these circles where Lairese’s requirements that the pictorial arts be edifying, admonitory, elegant, and decorous were well received.

Because of his importance as a theorist, the impression may arise that Lairese alone defined the image of late seventeenth-century history painting. His work, however, was focused primarily in Amsterdam. Other centers were dominated by other artists: the Terwesten brothers and Adriaen van der Schuur were active in The Hague; Gerard Hoet worked in Utrecht.²¹ Most importantly, Adriaen van der Werff worked in Rotterdam.²²

Van der Werff’s oeuvre developed for the most part in

the eighteenth century and distinguished itself from the robust forms and varied colors of Lairese’s works by certain mannered qualities—the attenuated, highly idealized figures, the rather clear contours, and the soft enamellike colors.²³ Whereas the tastes of seventeenth-century connoisseurs and collectors first ran to monumental “decorative” paintings similar to those Lairese produced, later in the century these trends gave way to a preference for paintings in a smaller format in the tradition of the Leiden *fijnschilders*. These small, richly and colorfully painted cabinet pieces were like exquisite objects assembled in collectors’ cabinets, sometimes screened from the light by a brocaded curtain. More than Lairese’s works, which were less portable, Van der Werff’s pictures were directed toward the European art market. Famous collectors competed for his paintings, which primarily depicted religious and mythological subjects. Indeed, the extremely high value placed on his works continued until the mid-nineteenth century.

Notes

1. See, among others, Lee, 1967, p. 3ff.
2. Lee, 1967, p. 17 ff.
3. Lee, 1967, p. 41 ff, and Emmens, 1968, pp. 30-31.
4. Lairese, 1740. In the edition used here which was printed in Haarlem in 1740—the so-called second edition—Houbraken’s biography of Lairese appears. Dutch editions appeared in 1707, 1712, 1714, 1716, 1740, and 1836. Translations and/or adaptations of the *Groot Schilder-Boeck* also appeared in German (1728 and 1784), English (1738, 1778, and 1817), and French (1787). The standard work on Lairese remains that of Timmers, of which only the first volume appeared. In it and in Snoep, 1970, information appears on the classicistic milieu around Lairese.
5. Lairese, 1740, p. 106.
6. Lairese, 1701, p. 70. Cesare Ripa’s iconographic handbook, which was highly recommended by Lairese, appeared in translation in 1644 with the title *Iconologia of uybeeldingen des Verstands*. J. Oudaen, *Roomsche Mogenthey of Naewkeurige Beschrijving*. . . , Amsterdam, 1664.
7. Lairese, 1740, p. 169; Emmens, 1968, pp. 48-49.
8. Lairese, 1740, p. 170.
9. Emmens, 1968, p. 121.
10. On the aristocrat Van der Werff, see exh. cat. Rotterdam, 1973, pp. 7-8.
11. Lairese, 1740, pp. 116-119.
12. Van Helsdingen, 1971, p. 144.
13. For the literary background of “Nil,” see Te Winkel, 1922-1927, IV, pp. 412-513.

14. Publication of the text and commentary by Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, 1973.
15. For publication of the text and information on the stage in Amsterdam and "Nil," see Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, 1978.
16. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, 1978, p. 21.
17. Lairesse, 1740, p. 106.
18. Timmers, 1942, pp. 85-132.
19. Snoep, 1975, pp. 101, 105-106. See exh. cat. Amsterdam 1979.
20. See Snoep, 1970.
21. See Martin, 1936, pp. 476-77, and Plantenga, 1938, pp. 20-27.
22. See Hofstede de Groot, 1928, and exh. cat. Rotterdam, 1973, with contributions and entries by D. P. Snoep and Ch. Thiels.
23. Concerning Adriaen van der Werff, besides other archival data, an exceptionally large amount of material has been preserved which originally was intended for an autobiography. This material possibly was the same which Houbraken used for his biography of Van der Werff. See exh. cat. Rotterdam, 1973, p. 6.

Gerard Lairesse

1640 Liège—Amsterdam 1711

A member of a family of artists, Lairesse first studied with his father and from 1655 on with Bertholet Flémalle. This brought Lairesse in contact with French classicism of the 1650s, and through copies and engravings he came to know the work of the great Italians, Raphael, Correggio, and the Bolognese School. During his student days and shortly thereafter, Lairesse received commissions from the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Aachen and Liège. With their animated and dramatic compositions in large formats, these canvases were influenced primarily by Flémalle. After stormy amorous adventures involving a broken marriage contract, Lairesse traveled via Den Bosch and Utrecht to Amsterdam, where he quickly gained a highly respected reputation through a number of patrons. He moved in an intellectual circle which propagated French theater and French literature in Amsterdam. Lairesse played an important role in the society called "Nil Volentibus Arduum." Somewhat earlier he had officially adopted citizenship. He gave art lessons to dilettantes and artists, and commissions flowed in. A skillful etcher, he made illustrations for publications by authors from his circle. For the famous anatomy book by Govert Bidloo, he executed drawings for the illustrations, and the author possibly introduced him to the stadtholder. As a result he received commissions for decorations at Soestdijk and a court of justice in The Hague.

His paintings and especially his decorative works were highly regarded by Amsterdam merchants. Lairesse gave decorative painting in the republic an entirely new thrust. His paintings for the most part depicted allegorical-mythological subjects which later appeared in etchings with interpretative inscriptions. These

paintings were much sought after by, among others, exceptionally rich Mennonite businessmen.

Lairesse delivered lectures on his theories about pictorial arts of his age and specifically the theoretical context of drawing and painting. Around 1690 the artist went blind, and his sons collected the lectures in two publications which formed the basis of classical art theory in the Netherlands. In the absence of a student atelier, his work resulted in no formal school or following. Rather, it prepared the way for the fusion of Dutch classicism with the international court style, which we encounter in the works of Van der Werff.

Literature: Timmers, 1942. Snoep, 1970.

D.P.S.

67 *Venus Presenting Arms to Aeneas*, 1668

Oil on canvas; 161.8 x 165.8 cm (63¾ x 65¼ in.)

Signed left: G. Lairesse inv. F. 1668

Provenance: Sale Sijdervelt, Amsterdam, 1766, no. 38.

Sale Braamcamp, Amsterdam, 1771, no. 106. Sale Paillet, Paris, 1777, no. 59. Sale Abbé de Gévinney, Paris, 1779, no. 832. Sale De Montriblond, Paris, 1784, no. 21. Sale Chamgrand, Paris, 1787, no. 34. Sale De Montesquiou, Paris, 1788, no. 139. Sale Langlier, Paris, 1789, no. 55. Sale Donjeux, Paris, 1793, no. 272. Sale Mensart, Amsterdam, 1824, no. 91. Sale (Fievez), Brussels, 1896, no. 121.

Bibliography: Sandrart (Peltzer), 1925, p. 366.

Venus, the mother of Aeneas, was incensed over the opposition of the inhabitants of Laurentum to her son who, after many exploits with his Trojans, had reached Latium where he was to found Rome. Venus asked her husband, Vulcan, to forge weapons for Aeneas. Among these was the famous shield which was made in the forge with the help of the cyclops. In a holy wood, consecrated to Sylvanus, by the river of Caere, Venus shows her son the promised gifts which will render him invincible to all Laurentians. Aeneas is delighted by the golden weapons—the helmet, the sword, the cuirass, the spear, and above all, the shield on which Vulcan had embossed the future history of Italy and the Triumph of Rome. Virgil, who recounts these stories in his *Aeneas* book III, vs. 608-625, describes the shield with the foretelling decorations. Venus' helpers assist in the transfer, and in the left foreground sits the river god Tiber, who shortly before had fervently welcomed Aeneas (vs. 31-66), urging him to be courageous and disclosing the future site of Rome.

An etching by Lairesse's own hand (Timmers, 1942, p. 119, no. 31, and Hollstein, no. 31) bears the inscription "Semper Pii Praesidium" (The virtuous are always assisted). As in many of Lairesse's mythological scenes, Aeneas is represented here as the paragon of virtue who, despite all sorts of difficulties, fulfills his assigned task. The Aeneas story offers good examples of virtues which conquer the "lustful or unbridled passion" of one such as Dido.

As *pictor doctus* with knowledge of Roman antiquity, Lairesse



sought to conjure up a faithful image. In his *Groot Schilderboek*, II, p. 332, he excused himself for providing his Aeneas with a Greek rather than a Roman helmet.

This canvas from 1668 is one of the earliest preserved works from the artist's Dutch period. It bears little resemblance to the southern Netherlandish/French tradition in which his teacher Bertholet Flémalle still worked. The coloring and the treatment

of the nude form reminds one somewhat of the later works of Nicolaes Berchem.

Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh

D.P.S.

Gerard Lairese

68 *Selene and Endymion*, 1677/80

Oil on canvas; 177 x 118.5 cm (69⁵/₈ x 46⁵/₈ in.)

Provenance: Huis Soestdijk, 1799. The Hague, Nationale Kunstgalerie

Exhibitions: Amsterdam 1950, no. 624, Liège 1975, no. 360, ill. pl. xxxix.

Bibliography: Sandart (Peltzer), 1925, p. 366, Moes van Biema, 1909, pp. 18-20. Ryszkiewicz, 1964, pp. 230-235. Snoep, 1970, p. 198. Hendrick, 1973, p. 56, fig. 13. Pigler, II, 1974, p. 290. Drossaers/Lunsingh Scheurleer, I, 1974, p. 622.

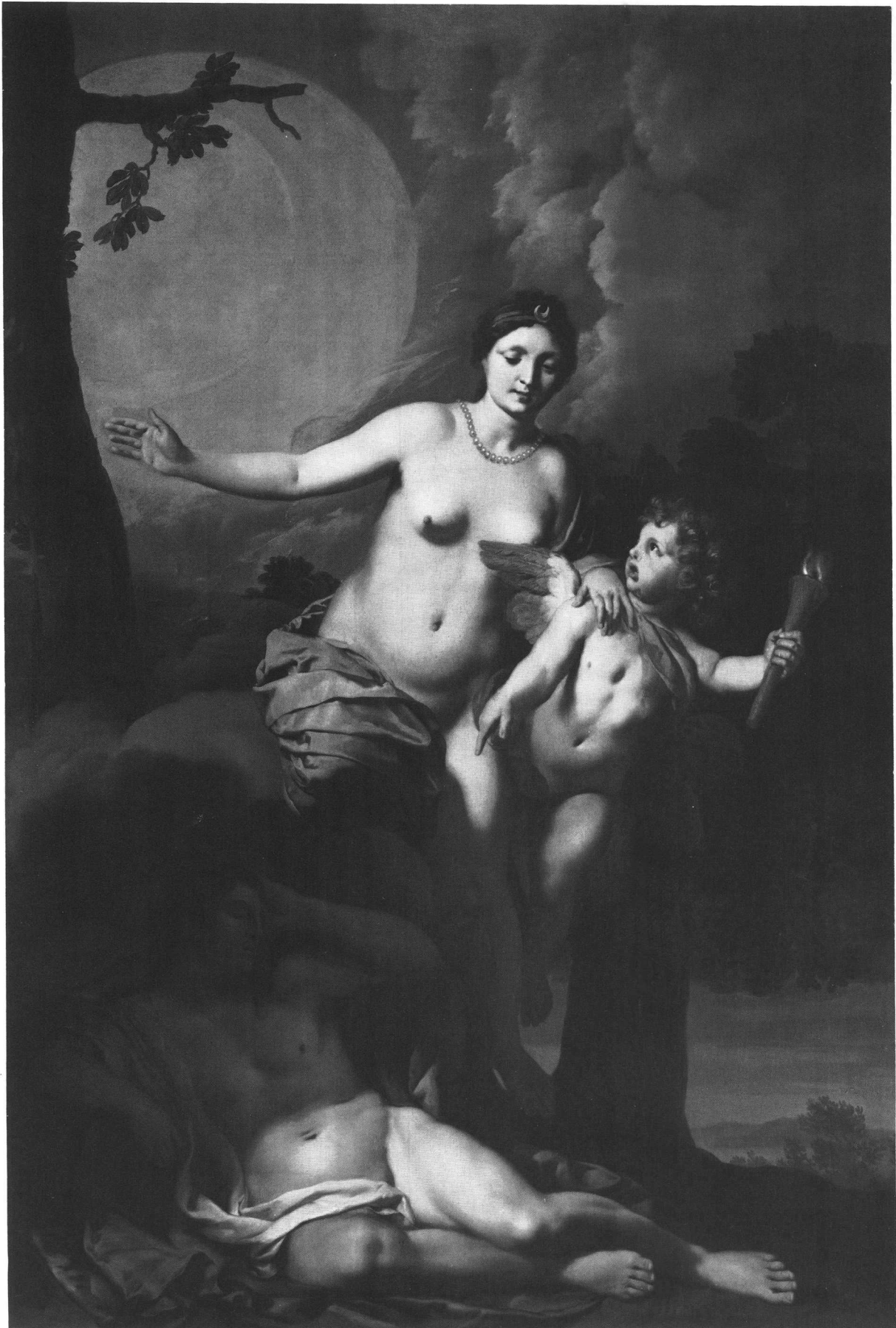
Selene, the moon goddess, fell in love with the shepherd Endymion. Each night she came down from her chariot to watch or kiss her beloved. Endymion was not conscious of her love and slept without ever growing a day older (Apollodorus, I, 7.5-6; Pausanias, V, 8, 1-2). At Selene's side is Amor holding the burning torch of love and pointing to the shepherd. In the background the full moon is seen.

Lairese probably designed this work as a chimneypiece for the bedroom of Mary Stuart in Het Huis Soestdijk, the residence of Stadtholder Willem, to whom she had recently been married (Snoep, 1970, p. 198; Drossaers/Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1974, p. 622). Thanks to an etching by Lairese (Hollstein, no. 25) after a somewhat different version of this theme (Ryszkiewicz, 1964, p. 230), we know his interpretation of the Endymion story: "Nil amore divino praestantius" (Nothing is more excellent than love like that of a diety). In this case the unconsumated love is that of a goddess for a virtuous mortal. In his *Groot Schilderboek*, I, pp. 128-131, Lairese offered a digression on the assimilation of this motif by the history painter. According to the two categories of history painting, this is a poetic scene which must stimulate virtue as a moralizing fable. A chaste goddess as *exemplum virtutis* in a painting hung in a bedroom is quite appropriate and all the more so for being flanked by two other love scenes by the same artist—his *Odysseus and Calypso* and *Mercury Ordering Calypso to Release Odysseus* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, A 211 and A 212). We know Lairese's etching after the latter work (Hollstein, no. 32) which is inscribed "Fortior est qui se, quam fortissima vincit moenia" (He who conquers himself is stronger than he who conquers the mightiest cities). Calypso overcame her love for Odysseus and against her will permitted him to continue his journey. The pendant to this theme is not *Odysseus with Calypso* but rather a moralistic counterpart, the impure love between *Venus and Mars* (suggested by Erik de Jongh, Utrecht). Thus we encounter here allegories of love, respectively *in bono* and *in malo*; the controlled and uncontrolled forms of love are dominated by chaste love, which always deserves a central position in marriage.

Thus, the recently married Princess Mary permitted herself to be brought into the compass of classical virtues.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

D.P.S.



Gerard Lairese

69 *The Iron Age*, 1682

Oil on canvas; 231 x 125 cm (91 x 49¼ in.)

Provenance: (David) Hunthum, Amsterdam, 1682.

Chateau du Ménéil-Hubert (Orne) Coll. Valpinçon. Sale Valpinçon, Deauville, 1975.

Exhibitions: Paris 1976-77, no. 26, with ill.

Bibliography: Abry, 1867, p. 258, *Revue du Louvre*, 1975, p. 135. Foucart, 1979, p. 375 and p. 379, n. 32.

allegories on the Labors of Hercules. Both series were originally located in the residences of the Mennonite family De Flines. The series in Orléans and Amsterdam are some of the best examples of Lairese's work in this field.

Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts

D.P.S.

The god of war, with torch and sword, and Envy call to battle. Astrea, goddess of justice, leaves the earth. A man attempts to take the life of a woman and child, and Piety and her altar are trod upon. The scales of Justice are also trampled under foot. Above the niche, painted in imitation of architecture, a tondo with a violent scene is ringed by thorny leaves.

This grisaille formed part of a series of the Four Ages—Golden, Silver, Bronze, and Iron, as described in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, I, 89-150. According to antique myth, man lived long ago with security, freedom, and justice in an abundant and everlasting springtime—the Golden Age. Through the following ages humanity descended to the Iron Age, where evil and violence reigned and war began (Levin, 1969, *passim*). "See here the Age of Iron, in which people torment each other/The World full of strife and wholly deteriorated into evil" wrote Vondel in his *Gulden Winckel*, XXXI.

According to Lairese's categories of history painting this is an example of a "hieroglyphic" scene, which serves as a deterrent admonishing viewers to return to the golden times of old. In Lairese's view, moreover, the inhabitants of the so-called Golden Age (the seventeenth century) still lived on into the Iron Age.

These recently discovered grisailles (the *Bronze Age* is signed and dated: G. Laire f. 1682) must have been located in the vestibule of the house on the Keizersgracht owned by the Amsterdam merchant David Hunthum, who owned other Lairese's such as the *Antony and Cleopatra*. The grisailles were installed, two on each side facing one another, in the marble vestibule; the *Iron Age*, judging from the fall of the light, was seen directly to the right after one entered the front door.

A preparatory study for the *Iron Age* (The Hague, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie) was published before the series was known (Snoep, 1970, p. 188). P. Vaisse connected the series in Orléans with a seventeenth-century reference in the works of L. Abry, p. 258.

Lairese theorized at length about special functions of paintings in the *Groot Schilderboek* (Snoep, 1970, pp. 172-189). He claimed that grisailles at the entrance of a house should edify the visitor by their moralizing character. In the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam is a series of five grisailles (A4174—A4178), recently acquired in France, and the castle at Zeist houses a series of four with



Adriaen van der Werff 1659 Kralingen—Rotterdam 1722

As the son of a miller, Van der Werff belonged to the social strata of well-off burghers. After a period of instruction with the Rotterdam portrait and genre painter Cornelis Picolet (1626-1679), he joined Eglon van der Neer (1634-1703) around 1671, from whom he learned true *fijnschilder* painting. Van der Werff's contract required that he work half of his time for his teacher. After 1676 he established himself as a portrait painter. Of the little work known from his early periods, most was influenced by the themes of the Leiden *fijnschilders*. A preference for night scenes in a kind of Caravaggesque tradition is evident. In Rotterdam he was patronized by Nicolaes Flinck (1646-1723) whose drawing and painting collection was studied by the artist. In 1692 he saw the Amsterdam antique collection owned by Six and the paintings and grisailles by Lairese in the collection of De Flines. He decorated his own house with pastoral scenes, now in the Museum in Kassel. In 1696 he met Johan Willem, Elector of the Palatinate, who placed him under contract for several years. Van der Werff satisfied the elector's taste for religious themes and over the course of a number of years painted the Mysteries of the Rosary series. After the elector's death in 1716 Van der Werff sold his works at very high prices to famous collectors in Russia, France, Germany, and England. As an honored Rotterdam citizen he also received and executed architectural commissions for merchants' houses and a stock exchange in Rotterdam.

Several documents and *realia* in an extant family archive shed light on Van der Werff's biography. Of particular interest is a list compiled in 1722 of sixty-eight autograph and completed pictures which were made between 1697 and 1722. The 220 works mentioned by Hofstede de Groot point to the quantity of copies and forgeries which surround the authentic oeuvre. Although Van der Werff had no students, his brother Pieter (1661-1722), who assisted him in his atelier, was one of his most faithful followers. In an existing notebook the brothers recorded a daily calculation of how much work each had devoted to a given panel. Prices were subsequently determined from these calculations.

Van der Werff's oeuvre does not fit easily into the traditions of Dutch painting. Except for connections with the Leiden *fijnschilders*, his work had more in common with an international, elegant, and fashionable style which was much in demand in European courts.

Literature: Hofstede de Groot, X, 1928. Snoep, 1973.

D.P.S.

pp. 70-76. De Pigage, 1778, no. 229. Levin, 1911, p. 6. Hofstede de Groot, 1928, p. 253. Cat. Rotterdam, 1973, p. 16.

Shortly after he was apprehended in Gethsemane, Jesus was brought before Pilate. Soldiers crowned him with thorns and placed a red king's robe on him. The scourging took place, and the people's judgment commenced. Barabas, the robber, could go free for Passover, but Jesus was to be crucified.

Van der Werff depicted the tumultuous situation in a highly compressed fashion. From his judge's bench, Pilate speaks, "See the man" (*Ecce Homo*), and the high priests reply, "crucify him." Pilate announces "See your King." The priests, however, recognize no king, only the emperor. "Then he gave him over to be crucified," so concludes John 19:16.

Van der Werff situated this episode from the Passion before an imposing architectonic decoration. Pilate appears on the *lithostroton*, the place where he adjudicates as imperial procurator in the name of Tiberius, whose bust is visible above Pilate's seat. At the left of the architecture above the entryway appear the she-wolf and the founders of Rome. The architectonic motif of staircase, platform, and balustrade and the flanking figures were probably inspired by Rembrandt's late *Ecce Homo* etching. Rembrandt's frontally disposed architecture is turned at an angle to the picture plane in Van der Werff's picture so that the latter work's architectonic illusionism is not found in Rembrandt's etching. On Van der Werff's second visit to the Düsseldorf court of Elector Johan Willem of the Palatinate, he painted the portraits of the elector and his wife (Hofstede de Groot, nos. 186 and 187, now in Munich) for which the artist received 9,000 guilders. Besides the vast honorarium, the *Ecce Homo* was rewarded with a golden chain and a medal. Part of this is still preserved in the family archive (cat. Rotterdam 1973, no. 47).

In the electoral gallery Rembrandt's Passion series and Van der Werff's religious scenes hung close by one another (see Pigage, 1778). Visitors could compare the works of both antipodes. The changing views of this confrontation are found, among other places, in the *Niederrheinisches Taschenbuch*, p. 9, where the author states that Rembrandt affects the eye more, while Van der Werff appeals more to the spirit and heart.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, on loan to Alte Pinakothek

D.P.S.

70 *Ecce Homo*, 1698

Oil on canvas; 131 x 110 cm (51 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 43 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

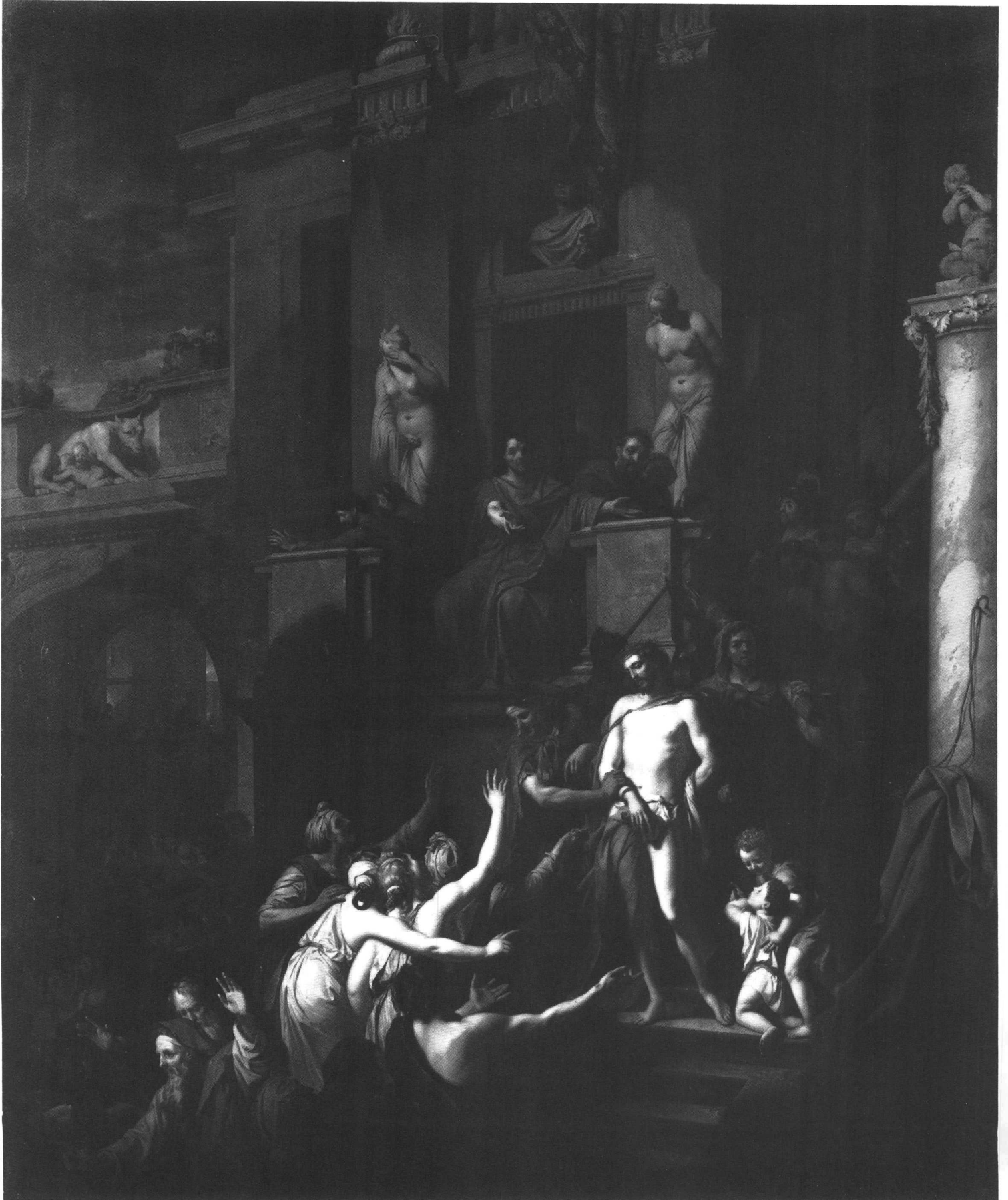
Signed: A.V. Werff 1698

Provenance: Düsseldorf, Galerie, 1698.

Exhibitions: Munich 1972, no. 12. Karsch 1719, no. 218.

Bibliography: Houbraken, II, 1722 (1953), p. 316. Van

Gool, II, 1751, p. 548. Fredou de la Bretonnière, 1776,



Adriaen Van der Werff

71 *Deposition*, 1703/1710

Oil on metal; 62.9 x 50.5 cm (24¾ x 19⅞ in.)

Provenance: Lord Lee.

In the *Deposition* a bright light falls on Christ's body, on St. John kneeling at his feet, and on the grieving women in the background. The two lighted zones in the fore- and backgrounds are divided by a somber middleground where the grieving Joseph of Arimathea and Mary, together with John, look upon the dead Christ's countenance.

Van der Werff depicted this old motif in a very modest and carefully conceived composition which accents the different moods with facial expressions and gestures. He painted a rather large number of scenes derived from the story of the Passion. On the international market high prices were paid for "highly finished" scenes with biblical subjects. With their polished smoothness and sensuous languishing nudes, these works at present are not highly valued. In the partially preserved Van der Werff family archives a commendatory reference to one of the artist's *Depositions* is offered by a family member, "Pass then to a consideration of Christ's *Deposition*; the pathos of the women moves the heart! And the affectionate care of Joseph of Arimathea ignites, indeed sets fully afire, the spectator's tender compassion for mankind! How noble! How lofty! are all the accessories. No improper, no vulgar object here disturbs the attentive eye. This proper selection of accessories extends to all of his [Van der Werff's] pictures."

Van der Werff painted his first *Deposition* in 1696 (Amsterdam Museum Amstelkring; cat. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam A 469; cat. Rotterdam 1973, no. 2). In that year Elector Johan Willem of the Palatinate visited Van der Werff's studio. As a result of that visit the artist received a series of honors, and also probably the commission for the *Deposition* of 1703 which Van der Werff sold to the elector (Hofstede de Groot, no. 73). In the same year the artist was also contracted to work nine months per year for the elector and was awarded a certificate of nobility. He also began working on the commission for the series of *The Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary*, executed between 1703 and 1716 (Houbraken, III, 1721; ed. 1953, p. 316), now in Munich.

In 1703 Van der Werff produced a rather different version of a *Deposition*, which is found in Leningrad (Hofstede de Groot, no. 72; cat. Hermitage, Leningrad, 1958, no. 1067). The version exhibited here returns to this second type, in which John is added and two grieving women are moved from the foreground to the background. The similarities between these two versions raise the question as to whether the exhibited painting might have been executed by Adriaen's brother, Pieter. Pieter worked in Adriaen's studio from the 1710s until 1722, and many questions of attribution among Van der Werff's late works still remain unsettled.

Scottsdale, Arizona, Lewis J. and Lenore G. Ruskin Collection

D.P.S.



Adriaen Van der Werff

72 *Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph*, 1720–1722

Oil on oak panel; 62.5 x 47.5 cm (24 1/16 x 18 11/16 in.)

Provenance: Sale Amsterdam, June 5, 1765, no. 1. Coll. King Frederic II of Prussia, Sanssouci, Potsdam, 1770.

Collection of the House of Hohenzollern until 1925.

Sale London (Christie's) May 24, 1963, no. 152.

Exhibitions: Cleveland 1973. Milwaukee 1976, no. 26.

Washington 1976, no. 336.

Bibliography: Hoet and Terwesten, III, 1770, p. 451.

Oesterreich, 1770, p. 112. Nicolai, II, 1779, p. 924.

Hofstede de Groot, X, 1928, p. 241, no. 17. Stechow, 1965, pp. 67-73, with ill. Buck, 1965, pp. 74-76.

Stechow, 1967, pp. 159-60, with ill. Stechow, 1968, pp. 460-65, with ill.

Werff's date of death. Curiously neither this panel nor its lost pendant appear in the highly detailed list of sixty-eight autograph works which Van der Werff made between 1699 and 1722 (Snoep, 1973, p. 6).

Oberlin, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Mrs. F. F. Prentiss Fund

D.P.S.

As an old man Jacob traveled to Egypt where his son Joseph had become viceroy. When he felt near death he had Joseph and his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, brought to him to be blessed (Genesis 48:13-19). Since his father had gone blind, Joseph moved his elder son Manasseh closer to Jacob's right hand and placed the younger, Ephraim, by his left. The old man was supposed to bless them in this order. However, Jacob first blessed Ephraim with his right hand and afterward Manasseh with his left, despite the fact that the latter was the elder. Joseph considered this in conflict with the birthright of the firstborn, but Jacob answered that the smaller and younger, Ephraim, would become the progenitor of the greater people. Van der Werff recorded precisely this dramatic moment, the last blessing of Jacob, who with covered head and sightless eyes blesses the two grandsons with crossed hands. With gentle pressure Joseph tries to shift his father's hands.

In the collections of the Hohenzollerns this picture was always accompanied by a pendant, now lost, depicting Isaac Blessing Jacob (Genesis 27:1-4). This did not represent the fraudulent exchange of Jacob and Esau, whereby the paternal blessing fell to Jacob, but the rarely depicted moment when Isaac blesses Jacob just before he, out of fear of Esau, travels to Laban. In both cases, the Bible raises the appearance of injustice; the paternal blessing for the younger son, as well as the way in which it was obtained, are justified in inscrutable ways.

Van der Werff's biblical themes are seldom interpretable and for the most part are regarded as biblical scenes "in their own right." In the working out of such a theme Van der Werff is the preeminent history painter, who accurately interprets his textual source and clarifies its treatment with a functional use of pose and gesture. The Old Testament's tendency to excess, so often suggested in late seventeenth-century biblical history painting, is replaced here by a sober tone. The figures seem more suited to a classical drama than a biblical story.

Although the painting is neither signed nor dated, an unusual feature in Van der Werff's oeuvre, the work must come from the end of his career. Technical examination has determined that Prussian blue appears on the panel (cf. Buck, 1965, p. 76), a pigment which was in use no earlier than around 1722, Van der





fig. 1 Jan Miense Molenaer, *The Denial of Peter*, dated 1636, oil on canvas, 99.5 x 136 cm, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 57.26.

Independents and Eccentrics

Susan Donahue Kuretsky



ARTISTS WHO WORKED OUTSIDE THE MAJOR CIRCLES of Dutch history painters offer a remarkable range of styles and ways of interpreting narrative themes. Within this diverse group, those who can be classified primarily as history painters formulated highly personal styles while responding to many of the same influences as their contemporaries. But for many artists who specialized in nonhistorical subjects such as genre painting or landscape, the production of narrative scenes was a secondary or occasional concern. Such works—intimate, witty, often engagingly earthy—reveal that Dutch history paintings were frequently based as much upon the artist's response to the world around him as upon his use of pictorial tradition or his interpretation of literary texts.

One of the most interesting independent biblical painters is Jacob Hogers of Deventer, an artist still unfamiliar to many specialists in Dutch art. Hogers' *Dance of Salome* of c. 1640 (cat. no. 76), a work whose large scale, elaborate costumes and broad facial types recall the Utrecht Caravaggisti as well as the Haarlem classicists, creates a distinct and unusual mood despite recognizable stylistic sources. With her stiff-kneed, heavy-footed gait, Salome seems more farmer's daughter than femme fatale. Her direct glance at the viewer heightens the illusion that the scene is an event in progress, not merely an illustration of legend from the distant past.

Like Hogers, Leonard Bramer, a Delft painter more famous in his time than Vermeer, found an original approach to history painting, while maintaining a somewhat peripheral relationship to major artistic trends of the period. Bramer's dramatic lighting was clearly influenced by the Utrecht Caravaggisti, especially Honthorst, but his small scale and intricately detailed treatment of figures and settings relate him to Adam Elsheimer and the Pre-Rembrandtists. Unlike the finely finished productions of these artists, however, Bramer's works display a rapid, sketchy technique and vivid,

phosphorescent highlights, inspired perhaps by Bassano and Feti. It is appropriate that Bramer also painted allegories of transience (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). No artist was more adept at capturing a fleeting moment, as illustrated by his vertiginous image of 1623 of Simon Magus plunging to his death (cat. no. 73).

Small-scale, freely painted historical scenes were also the specialty of the gifted Utrecht master Nikolaus Knüpfer, Jan Steen's teacher, who also contributed historical staffage to landscapes by Jan Both (cat. no. 81). In richly costumed, theatrically lighted scenes such as *Solon before Croesus* of c. 1650-52 (cat. no. 82), Knüpfer is remarkably close in style to Bramer. Indeed, the two artists have often been compared with one another, and occasionally confused. Both have also been related to the early style of Rembrandt, but the question of who influenced whom has yet to be clearly resolved. Furthermore, both Bramer and Rembrandt seem to have been partial stylistic sources for Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuypp of Dordrecht, one of the most individualistic Dutch history painters of the seventeenth century. Cuypp's religious paintings, monochromatic in tonality and executed with loose, almost frenzied brushwork, take their cast of characters from the lowest strata of peasant life. In scenes of heavenly intervention such as *The Freeing of Peter* (versions in Cologne, Kassel, Warsaw, and Worcester, Massachusetts), even the angels become disheveled commoners. The literally thunderstruck peasants in Cuypp's *Conversion of Paul* of c. 1640-50 (cat. no. 79) illustrate how effectively the artist could combine intensely naturalistic figures with supernatural light to evoke mystical exaltation.

For Benjamin Cuypp, whose history paintings are no different in style from his low-life genre scenes, elevated subject matter clearly did not require special refinements of technique or interpretation. A similarly unpretentious attitude is evident in the works of Dutch genre painters who experimented less frequently with narrative themes. In Jan



fig. 2 Cornelis Saftleven, *The Trials of Job*, dated 1631, oil on panel, 57.5 x 80 cm, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, no. 251.

Miense Molenaer's *Denial of Peter* of 1636 (fig. 1), for example, the biblical subject is translated so fully into the vocabulary of everyday life that one's recognition of the subject comes as something of a surprise. Peter denies Christ to the servant girl at the right background, as the cock crows outside the open door. Yet the incident occurs within a tavern interior dominated by cardplaying, beerdrinking ruffians: a witty and appropriate moral context for Peter's betrayal of Christ. Like Molenaer, who worked primarily in or near Haarlem, Cornelis Saftleven of Rotterdam freely combined biblical figures with motifs from his genre paintings. Saftleven's tormented *Job* of 1631 (fig. 2), a St. Anthony-like victim surrounded by fantastic demons, appears in a setting whose dunghill, weedy foliage, and tumbled pottery recall his stableyards or cottage interiors.

Not surprisingly, the most popular historical themes chosen by Dutch painters of peasant and country life were those requiring rustic imagery, such as the Adoration of the Shepherds—a subject depicted by both Benjamin Cuyp (Antwerp, Berlin) and Cornelis Saftleven (Schleissheim), as well as Adriaen van Ostade (Dublin, Beit Collection), Hendrik Martensz. Sorgh (Copenhagen), Philips Wouwerman (Stuttgart) and Jan Steen (Aix-en-Provence, Amsterdam, Bredius Museum, The Hague). The example by Steen in this exhibition (cat. no. 84) has the same warm-hearted humor and intimacy as the artist's depictions of secular celebrations, such as *The Birth Feast* (London, Wallace Collection). For such animal painters as Philips Wouwerman, the Annunciation to the Shepherds also offered

the opportunity to include favorite motifs. Indeed, the attentive, dignified horse in the foreground of Wouwerman's *Angel Appearing to the Shepherds* of c. 1645 (cat. no. 78) seems to absorb the angel's message with deeper understanding than the drowsy shepherds. And in a *Conversion of Paul* of c. 1650 (cat. no. 80) by Aelbert Cuyp, nephew of Benjamin Cuyp, the apostle's bolting stallion at the right reflects the same equestrian expertise found in the artist's hunting scenes.

Genre painters who specialized in the more refined domestic scenes that became popular after mid-century also tended to choose historical subjects compatible with their customary interests. Gabriel Metsu's disconsolate *Hagar* of 1653 (cat. no. 83) is clearly a sister in sorrow of the tearful women in his depictions of *The Usurer* in Boston of 1653 and *The Blacksmith's Shop* in Stockholm of the same period (ills., Robinson, 1974, figs. 10 and 12). Jan Steen's painting of *Bathsheba receiving David's Letter* of c. 1660 (Private Collection, Sussex, ill., Kirschenbaum, 1977, fig. 34) presents the biblical heroine in elegant seventeenth-century costume within a bedroom interior that recalls the artist's many representations of lovesick women and doctors' visits. Eglon Hendrik van der Neer used a similarly contemporary boudoir as the setting for his depiction of *Gyges and the Wife of Candaules* of c. 1675 (cat. no. 87). An interpretation of *The Holy Family* of 1681 by Frans van Mieris, the elder (fig. 3), whose classicizing treatment of figures and drapery reflects late seventeenth-century taste, still includes the type of domestic setting so often used by Leiden genre



fig. 3 Frans van Mieris, the Elder, *The Holy Family*, dated 1681, oil on panel, 34 x 44 cm, present location unknown (photo, R.K.D.).

painters. The genrelike flavor of the scene is intensified by the manner in which each figure is absorbed in activity. As Joseph works at his carpentry and Mary reads, the young Christ fashions a cross of scraps of wood, prefiguring his future sacrifice.¹

In a predominantly Protestant culture that fostered the rapid development of genre painting, and whose open art market was primarily directed to the private buyer, the production of such genre/history paintings is not difficult

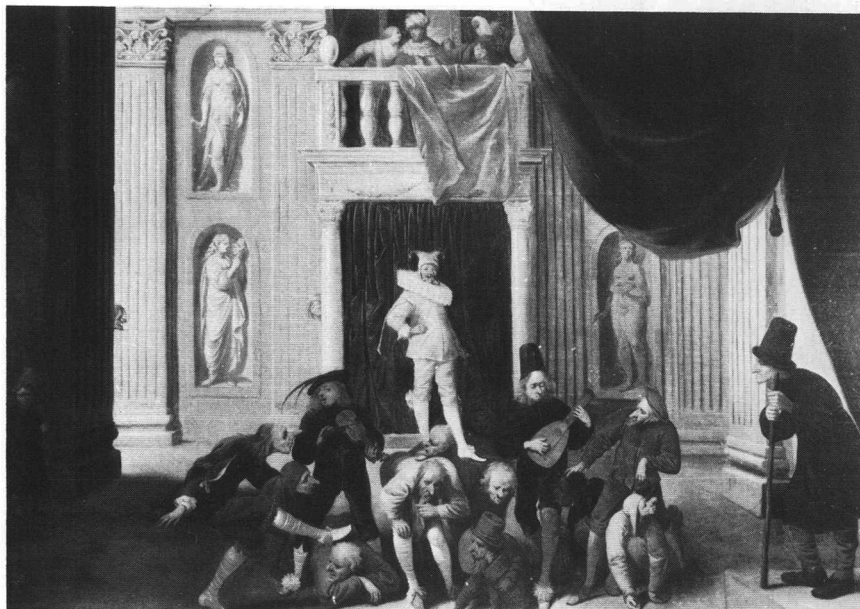
to understand. And since both types of figure painting involve similar compositional problems, artists could merge the two, shifting easily from depictions of contemporary scenes to representations of figures or stories from the past. Even a strict specialist in genre painting and portraiture such as Frans Hals might occasionally make this shift. Hals' bearded and balding *St. Luke* and *St. Matthew* (c. 1625, Odessa, ill., Slive, II, 1970, figs. 72 and 73), from a lost series of the Four Evangelists, are presented with the bluff vigor characteristic of the artist's half-length portraits and single genre figures of the same period. Similarly, the only known history paintings by Gerard ter Borch, also a genre painter and portraitist, are his *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* (c. 1648, ill., Gudlaugsson, I, 1959, figs. 66 and 67). For Ter Borch, always keenly sensitive to individual psychology and mood, these ancient philosophers were a natural choice, since they personify the contrast between laughter and melancholy.²

Aside from the use of historical subjects for their own sake, a number of Dutch genre painters found an even more subtle means of combining history and genre. A history painting hung on the wall of a domestic interior might be used as a pictorial parallel to or comment on the contemporary scene in the foreground. An early example of this device is a *Merry Company* of c. 1630 by Jacob Duck (fig. 4) in which a young man is being undressed by two mischievous women to the amusement of his companions. On the back wall of the room at the right is a copy of Pieter Codde's *The Dancing Lesson* in the Louvre. At the left is a copy of Bramer's *Salome Receiving the Head of John the Baptist* (Gauno, Thott Collection), depicting the gruesome



fig. 4 Jacob Duck, *Merry Company*, c. 1630, oil on panel, 40 x 68 cm, Nîmes, Musées d'Art et d'Histoire (photo: Musée du Louvre).

fig. 5 Pieter Quast, *Brutus before Tarquinius*, signed and dated: P.Q 1643, oil on canvas, 69.5 x 99 cm, Amsterdam, Toneelmuseum.



tribute Salome demanded after her dance before King Herod. Thus, Duck's scene can be read as a moralizing comment on the follies of men who submit to the caprices of women.³ Vermeer, who had begun his career as a history painter (cat. no. 54), used the same device in his *Woman Holding a Balance* in Washington of c. 1665. Here the figure appears in front of a large painting of the Last Judgment. By overlapping the image of St. Michael weighing souls, she acts as its contemporary counterpart.⁴

Yet another way in which Dutch genre painters treated historical themes was through the depiction of theatrical performances. In a sense, such scenes may be considered very close to experience, since they represent happenings the artists might actually have witnessed. *Tableaux vivants* and dramatized renditions of stories from the Bible and from history and mythology were performed by the professional actors of the Amsterdam Schouburgh, by itinerant players from other parts of Europe and by the amateur Dutch *rederijker* groups. Yet the more specifically such staged performances are represented, the more removed the stories seem from their original physical and temporal context. In Molenaer's painting of 1639 of a scene from *Lucelle* (cat. no. 75), for example, the protagonists are clearly actors in costume, seen within the rather barren framework of a stage set. Indeed, when Pieter Quast, known for his soldier scenes and peasant interiors, depicted Brutus playing the fool before the Roman tyrant Tarquinius (fig. 5, dated 1643), he chose an architectural setting borrowed directly from the stage of the Amsterdam Schouwburgh.⁵ Similar motifs derived from the Schouwburgh may be seen in *Esther*, *Haman* and *Ahasuerus* of c. 1668 (cat. no. 85) by Jan Steen, an artist whose genre and history paintings were both profoundly influenced by the theater.

Historical subjects also appear in the works of Dutch artists who did not specialize in figure painting. But in these examples the context of the story is frequently more important than the story itself and, in fact, the figures were sometimes contributed by another artist. The early phase of Dutch architectural painting saw the development of fantastic church and palace constructions in which the main emphasis is on perspective and on the play of architectural forms and light. Compositions by Hans Vredeman de Vries, Bartholomeus van Bassen, Dirck van Delen, and Nicolaes de Giselaer, however, often include unobtrusive but thematically appropriate incidents from the Bible. Thus, in De Giselaer's *Church Interior with the Angel Gabriel appearing to Zacharius* of c. 1625 (fig. 6), a vast, shadowed Renaissance portico frames a lighted view of a Gothic nave. In the background the angel announces to the temple priest Zacharius that his wife will bear a son: the future John the Baptist (Luke 1: 8-13). Later in the century, most architectural painters preferred to record known churches without historical staffage. In a sense, the many representations of bare, whitewashed Calvinist interiors by Pieter Saenredam, Gerard Houckgeest, and Emmanuel de Witte, among others, seem to constitute a kind of secular alternative to the production of altarpieces, whose worship was banned by the Dutch Reformed Church. Paintings of the church, then, replace paintings for the church.

In the seafaring society of the Netherlands, marine painting became another popular specialty, and, although narrative seascapes are rather uncommon, a suitable text could inspire impressive results. The immediacy of Simon de Vlieger's *Christ in the Storm* of c. 1638 (cat. no. 74) is intensified enormously by the artist's assured manner of representing both the sailboat and the stormy waters. More

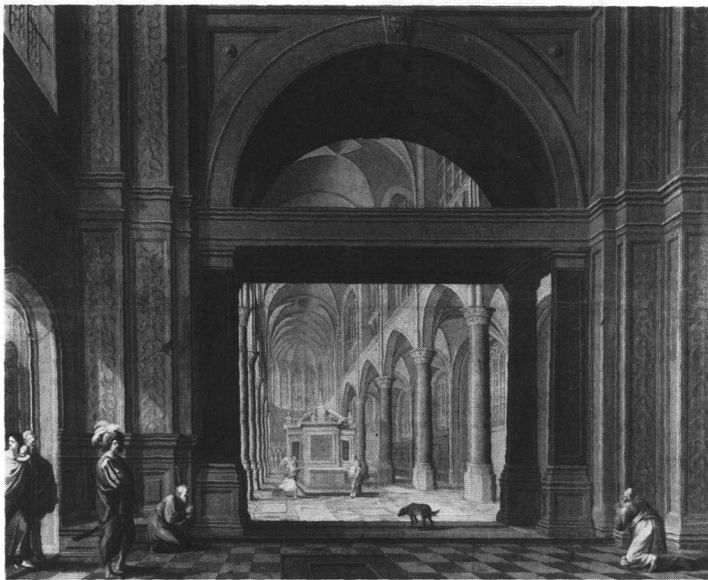


fig. 6 Nicolaes de Giselaer, *Church Interior with the Angel Gabriel appearing to Zacharius*, c. 1625, oil on panel, 56 x 73 cm, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, no. 114.

frequent was the production, throughout the seventeenth century, of landscapes incorporating historical themes. It is interesting that most of these scenes depict foreign rather than domestic terrain, considering the fact that genre painters often gave historical subjects a distinctively Dutch interpretation. By far the most bizarre example of this type is *The Sacrifice of Manoa* of 1648, the only known history painting by Frans Post (cat. no. 77). A specialist in West Indian views, Post collaborated with another artist to produce this remarkable image of an Old Testament miracle, set in a steamy Brazilian jungle.

Italianate landscapes served as the most popular setting for biblical and mythological stories, since they represented the world of antiquity to Dutch artists and viewers.⁶ When Cornelis van Poelenburgh, the founder of Dutch Italianate landscape, painted *The Flight into Egypt* in 1625 (cat. no. 45), he devoted most of the picture space to a panoramic vista of ancient ruins and sweeping hills. This vast, sunlit space at the right serves as the pictorial counterpoint, and metaphor, for the journey of the tiny figures disappearing behind the rocks at the left. Similarly, Jan Both, the major representative of the second generation of Italianate landscapists, created scenes of intensely poetic harmony by coordinating his depictions of nature with figure groupings by other artists such as Poelenburgh and Nikolaus Knüpfer. Both's *Landscape with Juno, Mercury, and Argus* of c. 1651 (cat. no. 81), to which Knüpfer contributed the figures, is so sensitively adjusted to the narrative that nature repeats the same shapes and the same moods as the figures.

As a group, these rather independent approaches to his-

tory painting reveal that an interest in depicting narrative subjects was as widespread in the Netherlands as it was diverse. Moreover, the development of nonnarrative artistic specialties seems to have encouraged Dutch painters to explore new ways of interpreting traditional historical themes, often with surprising results. Perhaps the most vivid illustration of the originality of Dutch history painting is a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Domenicus van Wijnen (cat. no. 88), a Dutch artist working in Rome at the end of the seventeenth century, whose career has yet to be investigated by modern scholars. Surely one of the most eccentric images in all of seventeenth-century art, this traditional religious scene seems more startling than the fantasies of Bosch. Its impact, indeed, is created largely by the artist's willingness to combine observation of the world around him with the freest flights of the imagination. In accordance with their individual interests, other Dutch artists, too, found their own approaches to interpreting the common human heritage of myth, legend, and belief. Through their paintings, the old stories live again for us in new and exciting ways.

Notes

1. This rare iconographic motif was noted by Naumann (I, 1979, pp. 186-87), who also pointed out that the painting was left unfinished at the time of Frans van Mieris' death and was completed by his son, Willem.
2. For full discussion of the depiction of Democritus and Heraclitus in seventeenth-century Dutch art, see Blankert, 1967, pp. 31-124.
3. On the identification of the paintings within Duck's painting, see Beguin, 1952, pp. 112-16. Complete discussion of the moralizing meaning of Duck's interior and its emblematic sources may be found in De Jongh, 1976, pp. 94-97.
4. Of the numerous examples of Dutch genre interiors in which history paintings are displayed, the following are especially clear: Isaak Elyas, *Merry Company*, Amsterdam (The Deluge); Pieter de Hooch, *Merry Company*, Lisbon (The Rape of Ganymede); Jacob Ochtervelt, *The Dancing Dog*, Hartford, Connecticut (The Fall of Man); Gabriel Metsu, *The Sick Child*, The Hague, Mauritshuis (The Crucifixion); Jan Steen, *The Doctor's Visit*, London, Apsley House (Venus and Adonis); Rembrandt, *The Musicians*, Amsterdam (The Angel conducting Lot from Sodom); Vermeer, *The Astronomer*, Paris, private collection (The Finding of Moses).
5. Quast's painting, however, was probably not based directly upon his own experience of a performance. Heppner (1937, pp. 370-79) has shown that Quast's composition corresponds closely to a print by Claes Jan Visscher, depicting a performance of *Brutus and Tarquinius* that was performed (as a *tableau vivant*) on the Dam in Amsterdam on May 5, 1609, as part of a celebration marking the beginning of the Twelve Years' Truce with the Spanish. The story was selected because of its parallels to the Spanish oppression of the Dutch.
6. On the use of Italianate landscape to evoke antiquity, see C. Tümpel, 1974, p. 140.

Leonard Bramer 1596 Delft 1674

Neither Bramer's teacher nor his pupils are known, although it has been suggested that Vermeer may have studied with him in Delft. One of the many well-traveled Dutch artists of the seventeenth century, Bramer departed for Italy in 1614 with stops in Arras, Amiens, Paris, Aix-en-Provence (where on February 15, 1616, he inscribed his name in the album of Wybrand de Geest), Marseilles, Genoa, and Livorno. During his six-year stay in Rome he came under the influence of Adam Elsheimer and of Gerrit van Honthorst, the Utrecht Caravaggist. Visits to Parma, Venice, and Mantua introduced him to the styles of Correggio, the Bassani, and Domenico Feti. Bramer left Italy suddenly in 1627, following a tavern brawl, and was back in Delft by 1628. In 1629 he enrolled in the St. Luke Guild in Delft, serving as its governor in 1654, 1655, 1660, 1664, and 1665.

In his own time Bramer was a celebrated wall and ceiling painter and one of the rare Dutch artists to paint frescoes. Little of this work has survived the damp Dutch climate. Before 1647 he decorated the palaces of Frederick Hendrik at Rijswijk and Honselaersdijk and in 1661 painted a ceiling, representing the Liberal Arts, for the St. Luke guild in Delft. Between 1667 and 1669 he decorated the walls and ceiling of the great hall of the Princenhof in Delft with biblical scenes. Bramer is best known today for small-scale nocturnal scenes—primarily religious paintings and vanitas allegories. His compositions often recall those of his Utrecht contemporary, Nikolaus Knüpfer, while his use of impasto and vivid highlights suggests connections with early Rembrandt and with Rembrandt's follower, Willem de Poorter. *Literature:* Wichmann.

S.D.K.

73 *The Fall of Simon Magus*, 162(3?)

Oil on copper; 29 x 39 cm (11½ x 15½ in.)

Dated, on cartouche at upper left: 162(3?)

Provenance: Declé Bequest to museum, 1906.

Bibliography: Longhi, 1959, pp. 41-43. Voss, 1964, p. 31.

This painting was bequeathed to the Dijon Museum with a tentative attribution to Adam Elsheimer. But since Elsheimer died in 1610, his name was eliminated after discovery that there is a date of 1623 (or possibly 1625) at the upper left of the scene. Both Longhi and Voss proposed that the picture be assigned instead to Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, another German artist who worked in Rome. Schönfeld, however, was born in 1609 and thus would have to have painted the work at the age of fourteen or sixteen before he had been to Rome. Longhi's attempt to revise the date to 1633 (p. 42) is not convincing. The most recent attribution to Leonard Bramer, an unpublished suggestion of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague, seems very probable on stylistic grounds. If the date of

1623 is correct, this painting would become the artist's earliest known dated work (cf. Blankert, 1978, p. 35).

The story of Simon Magus, recorded both in *The Golden Legend* (Da Voragine, 1969, pp. 332-336) and in the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (Lipsius, II, 1887, p. 77), is the tale of a magician who claimed to be the son of God. He arrived in Rome from Jerusalem, won Nero's admiration, and challenged the apostles Peter and Paul to trials of supernatural skill. The most spectacular of Simon's demonstrations was his flight from the Capitoline Hill, supported by the angels of Satan. Peter fell to his knees and prayed for the demons to release Simon, who then plunged to his death. Although this subject is very rare in Netherlandish art, it makes an interesting Christian parallel to the popular myth of the Fall of Icarus, a theme frequently chosen to illustrate the adage: "Pride goes before a fall."

In Bramer's interpretation, Nero is enthroned at the left and Peter kneels at the right, as the body of Simon falls from the sky above him. The excitement of the moment is intensified by the artist's rapid brushwork and vivid lighting and by daring contrasts in scale between foreground and middleground. The treatment of the setting illustrates that Bramer studied antique monuments closely during his years in Rome. Richard Pommer (conversation, 1980) has identified the circular structure in the background as the Round Temple (commonly called the Temple of Vesta or the Temple of Mater Matuta) in the Forum Boarium beside the Tiber. Bramer's depiction of the temple is accurate, for the wall areas between the columns, which had been added during the medieval period, were not removed until the restoration of the building in the early nineteenth century (Rakob and Heilmeyer, 1973, p. 2 and pl. 43). Furthermore, Christine Mitchell Havelock (conversation, 1980) has pointed out the similarity of the large relief at the right to a panel from the Arch of Marcus Aurelius (Ryberg, 1967, fig. 14a) which depicts the emperor pouring a libation before the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline. Except for the painter's addition of a base under the tripod, the two compositions correspond closely, even to the placement of the sacrificial ox. Since 1572 this Roman relief has been displayed on the wall of the stairwell landing of the Conservatori Palace, where Bramer could have seen it and where it remains to this day (Helbig, II, 1966, no. 1444, pp. 260-261).

Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

S.D.K.



Simon de Vlieger

c. 1600 (?) Rotterdam—Weesp 1653

De Vlieger's date of birth is unknown but can be placed near the beginning of the seventeenth century, since his marriage in January of 1627 in Rotterdam is documented. In 1634 he joined the St. Luke guild in Delft where his presence was again recorded in 1637. The following year he moved to Amsterdam. In 1640 and in 1641 he was paid for tapestry cartoons made for the town of Delft and in 1642 was commissioned to paint wings for the new organ of the Grote Kerk in Rotterdam. De Vlieger acquired citizenship in Amsterdam in 1643 and seems to have lived there until mid-century. In 1648 he was given a commission to design windows for the south side of the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam. By 1650 he had moved to the town of Weesp (about ten miles from Amsterdam) where he remained until his death in 1653.

Simon de Vlieger was primarily a specialist in marine painting, although he also painted and etched landscapes, animal studies, and genre pieces. His early monochromatic seascapes developed under the influence of Jan Porcellis. His mature works with their firmly structured compositions and calmer seas influenced the styles of Jan van de Capelle and Hendrick Dubbels, as well as Willem van de Velde the Younger, who, according to Houbraken, was De Vlieger's student. De Vlieger's few history paintings, like those of his younger contemporary Ludolf Backhuizen, concentrate on themes with marine settings.

Literature: Kelch, 1971.

S.D.K.

74 *Christ in the Storm*, c. 1638

Oil on canvas; 119.5 x 140.5 cm (47 x 55¼ in.)

Signature, on barrel at right: S DE VLIEGER

Provenance: Purchased in the eighteenth century by

Benjamin West for the collection of Lord Clive of India.

Bibliography: Kelch, 1971, pp. 58-70, 168, cat. no. 3.

For a marine painter, the most appropriate and interesting narrative themes to explore would naturally include the miracles Christ performed upon the water. The event depicted in this painting took place when Christ and his disciples were crossing the Sea of Galilee. As Christ slept, a great tempest arose and waves swamped the boat. The terrified disciples awakened Christ, crying: "Lord save us, we perish." He rebuked them for their lack of faith and calmed the winds and waters (Matthew 8: 23-27; Mark 4: 35-41; Luke 8: 22-25). De Vlieger painted at least three versions of this scene, including a dated painting of 1637 in the collection of the University of Göttingen and an undated work owned by the Benedictine seminary at Melk. Kelch (1971, pp. 61-62) has argued persuasively that all three works date before 1640 and that the painting exhibited here should be placed shortly after the dated version in Göttingen, in which the artist's main emphasis was on the actions of the sailors in their battle against the elements. In the later painting, De Vlieger focuses more

directly on the narrative itself. Christ reclines in the stern of the tossing boat in the focus of the light—accented further by the blue of his costume and by the red vest of the frantic disciple behind him.

As Kelch has pointed out (pp. 62-65), De Vlieger's style of the late 1630s is partially based upon representations of sea storms by the Flemish marine painter Bonaventura Peeters. At the same time, his lighting effects and choice of subject testify to his familiarity with Rembrandt's *Christ in the Storm*, dated 1633 (Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum; ill., Bredius/Gerson, no. 547). Furthermore, both Rembrandt and De Vlieger were apparently influenced by mannerist prints of the subject after Maerten de Vos (Kelch, pp. 65-67). While Rembrandt seems to have derived his composition from the corresponding subject (no. 8) in the *Vita Christi* series, published by Adriaen Collaert and Jan Sadeler, De Vlieger's figural design is closer to no. 18 in a second series after De Vos, executed by Cornelis Galle: *Vita, Passio et Resurrectio Jesu Christi* (Hollstein, IV, p. 202, nos. 65-115). A significant link in the pictorial tradition between the De Vos prototypes and De Vlieger's and Rembrandt's depictions is provided by Pieter Stalpaert's *Christ in the Storm*, dated 1617, now in a private collection in Berlin (Kelch, correspondence, February 6, 1980. Ill., Bol, 1973, fig. 38, p. 40). De Vlieger's achievement lies in his complete integration of a clearly defined narrative with a fully developed seascape. The impact of his accomplishment seems to have been felt as late as the end of the seventeenth century, as indicated by Ludolf Backhuizen's *Christ in the Storm*, dated 1695 (Collection Anthony de Rothschild), which presents a similarly unified combination of the figures in their storm-tossed craft with the full force of the elements that surround them.

Oakly Park, Collection The Earl of Plymouth

S.D.K.



Jan Miense Molenaer c. 1610 Haarlem 1668

The approximate date of Molenaer's birth is established by a document of November 21, 1637, which states that the artist was then about twenty-seven years of age. In 1636 he married the painter Judith Leyster at Heemstede near Haarlem and by November of 1637 was living in Amsterdam where he apparently remained until 1648. Molenaer bought a house in Heemstede in 1648 and in 1655 acquired houses in Amsterdam and Haarlem. Although he lived in Amsterdam from May through October of 1656, most of his time after 1648 seems to have been spent at Heemstede or Haarlem, where he was buried in 1668.

Molenaer's teacher is still unknown, but his early works show strong influences of Frans Hals and of Judith Leyster (Hals' pupil) with whom he probably shared a studio. His early feast scenes and genre interiors relate to the style of Dirck Hals. After his move to Amsterdam, Molenaer painted a number of small-scale portraits and genre scenes that seem to have been inspired by the styles of Thomas de Keyser, Pieter Codde, and Simon Kick. His later peasant interiors, painted in a broader and more monochromatic technique, were derived from Adriaen van Ostade.

Nearly all of Molenaer's paintings depict genre themes, often with allegorical meaning (i.e., *Lady World*, Toledo Museum of Art, fig. 4 of General Introduction; *The Five Senses*, The Hague, Mauritshuis, etc.). Less than ten history paintings have been attributed to him, all of which appear to date from the 1630s.

Literature: Gudlaugsson, 1954. Van Thiel, 1967/68.

S.D.K.

75 *Scene from Bredero's Lucelle*, 1639

Oil on canvas; 81 x 100 cm (31 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Signature and date, on threshold at left: *JMolenaer 1639*

Provenance: Collection M.F. Rappe, Stockholm. Sale, Bukowski, Stockholm, 1977. Leger Gallery, London, 1978.

Bibliography: Gudlaugsson, 1947, pp. 178-83, fig. 6.

Gudlaugsson, 1954, p. 53. Amsterdam, 1968, p. 54.

The influence of the theater on seventeenth-century Dutch art has been explored by Heppner (1939-40) and by Gudlaugsson (1938, 1945, 1947, 1954), who have examined the use of theatrical themes, costumes, and settings in both genre and history painting. The representation of a performance as it might have been seen on the stage is rather rare. Thus, Molenaer's painting is of special interest. It depicts the second and third scenes of Act V of *Lucelle*, a French tragicomedy by Louis Le Jars, written in 1563, which was translated by the Dutch poet G.A. Bredero and first performed on the Amsterdam stage between 1613 and 1615.

Lucelle, daughter of the wealthy merchant Carpone, disdains the attentions of Baron van Duytslandt and falls in love with her father's servant, Ascagnes. Lucelle's maid, Margriet, arranges for

the lovers to meet under the guise of a music lesson. Leckerbeetje, playing the role of the fool, overhears the plan and tells Carpone who gives poison (actually a sleeping draught) to the couple to avoid a scandal. Just as the lovers succumb, Captain Bastrulduus appears, sent by the King of Poland, and reveals that Ascagnes is the king's son. A dismayed Carpone summons the apothecary to restore the lovers to life. The play ends with the celebration of their marriage.

A number of Dutch artists depicted scenes from *Lucelle*. Buytewech's etching of Lucelle and Ascagnes being spied upon by Leckerbeetje may have been intended as the title page for the first edition of Bredero's play, published in Amsterdam in 1616. There are also examples by H.M. Sorgh and Jan Steen (Gudlaugsson, 1947, figs. 1-5) and a painting attributed to Steen's son, Cornelis (Gudlaugsson, 1954, fig. 2). Unlike these genre-like interpretations, Molenaer's scene is presented as if on a stage. His characters wear theatrical costume, and the climactic moment in the play can be identified by their actions. Lucelle and Ascagnes lie unconscious in the foreground as Bastrulduus enters at the left, wearing a Polish costume and eastern turban. The weeping Margriet appears at the right background between the lute (a reference to the music lesson) and the container of poison. The three men in the center represent, from left to right, the Baron, Leckerbeetje (in fool's costume), and Carpone who wears an old-fashioned tabard and fur cap. Molenaer painted a less precise version of the same scene in 1636 (Muiden, Collection Muider-slot; Amsterdam, 1968, no. 109, fig. 9) in which Bastrulduus wears Burgundian rather than Polish dress and the figures appear in a church interior, a setting sometimes used for *rederijker* performances. A boy and dog, not mentioned in Bredero's text, appear at the right of this composition.

Amsterdam, Theatre Museum of the Netherlands Theatre Institute

S.D.K.



Jacob Hogers

1614 Deventer—Deventer? c. 1660

Very little is known about the life and work of Jacob Hogers, to whom only thirteen paintings and eighteen drawings have been attributed (Renckens, 1955, pp. 64-65, cat. nos. 1-31). Hogers was completely ignored by the biographers of his time; indeed, the first mentions of him in the literature do not appear until the late nineteenth century. Documentary evidence has established that the artist was born in Deventer in 1614 and married in Amsterdam in 1641 at the age of twenty-seven. He seems to have settled in Deventer, since the baptisms of his three children were recorded there in 1642, 1644, and 1652. Wurzbach (I, 1906, p. 700) believed that Hogers may have spent time in Italy, but there is no documentary proof of such a trip. Nor has the artist's date or place of death been discovered.

Hogers' teacher is likewise unknown. A specialist in large-scale biblical scenes, the artist developed first under the influence of Haarlem classicists such as Pieter de Grebber, Jan de Braij, and Gerrit Claesz. Bleker. His handling of faces and lighting effects often recalls Honthorst and the Utrecht School. After 1645, Hogers' style takes on warmer coloring and stronger light/dark contrasts, under the influence of Moeyaert and possibly Rembrandt. Even in his most elaborate and formal scenes, Hogers' naturalistic treatment of pose and gesture creates an engagingly personal mood.

Literature: Renckens, 1955.

S.D.K.

76 *The Dance of Salome*, c. 1640

Oil on canvas; 176 x 133 cm (70½ x 52⅜ in.)

Falsely signed and dated: *F. Bol f. 16.*

Provenance: Count Rasponi Sale, Amsterdam, October 30-31, 1883, lot 13 (as Ferdinand Bol).

Bibliography: Hofstede de Groot, 1904, p. 31. Renckens, 1955, pp. 51-53, cat. no. 1, fig. 1. Bernt, II, 1970, no. 531. Rijksmuseum catalogue, 1976, p. 281, cat. no. A 804.

When King Herod married his sister-in-law, Herodias, John the Baptist condemned him for taking his brother's wife. Herod respected John the Baptist, but to placate his angry wife, he had him arrested and imprisoned. On Herod's birthday, Salome, daughter of Herodias, danced before the banquet guests, so pleasing the king that he promised her anything she desired. At her mother's instruction (and to her stepfather's dismay), she requested the head of John the Baptist on a platter (Matthew 14: 1-8; Mark 6: 17-26). In Hogers' painting, the violent dénouement of the story is not shown but is clearly implied by the shining platter seen above Herodias at the far right. In spite of the elaborate setting and costumes, Hogers' interpretation of Salome is surprisingly down-to-earth. A plump adolescent who performs her dance with touchingly awkward dignity, she is presented not

as a temptress, but as a childish instrument of her mother's vengeance. With considerable narrative subtlety, the artist conveys the idea that Herod, too, was a victim of his wife's pride, for the tailfeathers of the peacock pie on the table behind him give him an ironic "crown." A powerful sense of physical actuality is created in this scene by the lowered viewpoint and the placement of strongly modeled and lighted figures beyond a deeply shadowed foreground.

The Dance of Salome was once attributed to Ferdinand Bol on the basis of its signature (Hofstede de Groot, 1904, p. 31). Renckens, however, has convincingly suggested that it belongs to the earliest period of Hogers' career, a time when the artist was strongly influenced by paintings of the Haarlem classicists such as *The Feast of Belshazzar* by Pieter de Grebber (Kassel, Gemäldegalerie; Renckens, 1955, fig. 2) and *The Banquet of Cleopatra* by Jan de Braij (Queen's Collection, London, 1976, pp. 27-29, fig. 17). In addition, Renckens has pointed out (p. 64, footnote 5) that Hogers' composition with its diagonal steps, tiled floor, and corner figure seen from the back may have been based upon an even earlier Haarlem prototype: a print of the same subject by Jan Saenredam after Carel van Mander (Valentiner, 1930, no. 71, pl. XIX).

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

S.D.K.



Frans Post

c. 1612 Leiden—Haarlem 1680

Frans Post was the son of a glass painter, Jan Jansz. Post, and brother of the well-known Dutch architect, Pieter Post. In 1636 he sailed to Brazil with an expedition of engineers, architects, scientists, poets, and painters, under the leadership of the Dutch governor, Prince Johan Maurits of Nassau. The Dutch settlement established at Recife in northeast Brazil collapsed after eight years, following disputes with the States General and the local church and planters. The colonists returned to Holland in 1644. Post settled in Haarlem, joined the Haarlem guild in 1646 and remained in that city except for a trip to Paris in 1660-61 with Christiaan Huygens. Around 1655, Frans Hals painted a small portrait of Post (S. Slive, *Frans Hals*, London, 1974, III, p. 105 ff., cat. no. 206, pl. 318) which served as the modello for an engraving by Jonas Suyderhoef.

The first European landscape painted to record the terrain of the New World, Post continued to specialize in Brazilian and West Indian scenes even after his return to the Netherlands. Apart from his paintings, which were apparently in great demand, he also produced the illustrations for Caspar Baerlaeus' treatise on the administration of Johan Maurits in Brazil (*Rerum per octennium in Brasilia* . . ., Amsterdam, 1647) and for Marcgraf's wall map, *Brasiliae qua parte paret Belgis*, also of 1647.

Literature: De Sousa-Leão, 1948. De Sousa-Leão, 1973. Larsen, 1962.

S.D.K.

iguana in the center foreground. Within the clearing in the middleground appears the only known historical subject in Post's oeuvre. Indeed, these figures were probably contributed by another artist. The catalogue of the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (1962, p. 105) proposes Ferdinand Bol or Govaert Flinck. De Sousa-Leão (1973, p. 63) suggested Bol or Salomon de Braij. Albert Blankert (conversation, 1979) attributes the figures to Claes Moeyaert. Around 1649, Moeyaert painted his own version of the theme in an Italianate landscape (A. Tümpel 1974, p. 122, fig. 166); the figures are similar in style to those in Post's landscape, but their poses and placement are quite different.

Manoah's sacrificial offering (Judges XIII: 19-21) was made to honor a visitor who had told Manoah's barren wife that she would bear a son who would deliver Israel from the Philistines. As the fire ignited, the visitor revealed himself as the angel of the Lord by ascending the flame, and Manoah and his wife fell to the ground. Their son, Samson, became the military hero of Israel. Although numerous Dutch artists represented this subject, Post's tropical setting is both unique and bizarre. As suggested in the catalogue of the Prince Maurits exhibition (The Hague, 1953, p. 41), Post may have wished to include this Old Testament story because he saw in it a parallel to the recent downfall of the Dutch empire in Brazil. The artist himself had been one of the Brazilian colonists forced to return home in 1644 with the Dutch governor, Prince Johan Maurits. Possibly the painting expresses the hope that a new "Samson" would be sent again to Brazil to defeat the "Philistines" (i.e. the Portuguese).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

S.D.K.

77 *The Sacrifice of Manoah*, 1648

Oil on canvas; 191.5 x 166 cm (75 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 65 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Signature and date, left foreground, on papaya tree: F.

Post 3.27.1648

Provenance: Huybert Ketelaar Sale, Amsterdam, June 19, 1776, no. 167 (Lugt 2564). Sale, London, Christie's, July 7, 1933, no. 61. Acquired by the Boymans Museum, 1935.

Exhibitions: The Hague 1953, no. 17. Rio de Janeiro, 1968, no. 16. Ingelheim am Rhein, 1970, no. 15. The Hague, 1979-80.

Bibliography: Smith 1938, p. 258, 262, no. 11, pl. XIII. De Sousa-Leão 1942, p. 61. De Sousa-Leão 1948, no. 8, pl. X. Guimarães 1957, no. 65. Larsen 1962, no. 12, pl. LXXXVIII. Catalogue, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1962, p. 105, no. 1693. Rosenberg, Slive, Ter Kuile, 1966, p. 153. De Sousa-Leão, 1973, p. 26, 63, no. 9.

The landscape depicted in Post's painting, a section of the Brazilian coast near Olinda, includes the stone watch towers typical of the region. Characteristically, Post gives his composition a repoussoir frame of tropical foliage, including vines, giant cacti, and banana trees. A large armadillo appears at the left and an



Philips Wouwerman 1619 Haarlem 1668

Philips Wouwerman was the eldest son of the painter Paulus Wouwerman, who may have been his teacher, and spent his entire career in Haarlem where, according to Cornelis de Bie (*Het Gulden Cabinet*, 1661, p. 281), he studied with Frans Hals. A notation written by Wouwerman's pupil, Mathias Schreits, in his copy of Van Mander's *Het Schilder-Boeck* states that Wouwerman ran away to Hamburg to marry at the age of nineteen (in 1638 or 1639) and worked there for some weeks with Evert Decker, a painter of religious and historical subjects. In 1640 Wouwerman joined the Haarlem guild. He became an officer of the guild in 1645 and seems to have remained in Haarlem until his death in 1668.

An extremely prolific and successful painter, Wouwerman specialized in landscapes with horses and huntsmen, as well as scenes of battles and military encampments. He also produced a number of religious and mythological paintings, the majority of which depict the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Hofstede de Groot (II, 1909, nos. 9-17) lists a dozen versions of this subject under his name. Wouwerman's early works are similar to the paintings of Jan Wijnants and Pieter Verbeeck, but he was most strongly influenced by the Dutch Italianate artist Pieter van Laer ("Bamboccio") who returned to Haarlem from Rome in 1638. Wouwerman's style had a profound impact on the equestrian scenes of his younger contemporaries such as Abraham Hondius, Johannes Lingelbach, and Hendrik Verschuring. His paintings were extremely popular with French and German collectors during the eighteenth century, when many of them were engraved by Jean Moyreau.

S.D.K.

78 *The Angel Appearing to the Shepherds*, c. 1645

Oil on panel; 36.2 x 42 cm (14¼ x 16½ in.)

Provenance: Collection Sir Frederick Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, England. Collection Dr. H. Wetzlar, Amsterdam.

Bibliography: Hofstede de Groot, II, 1909, no. 12.

Catalogue of the Cook Collection, Doughty House, II, 1914, p. 116, no. 384.

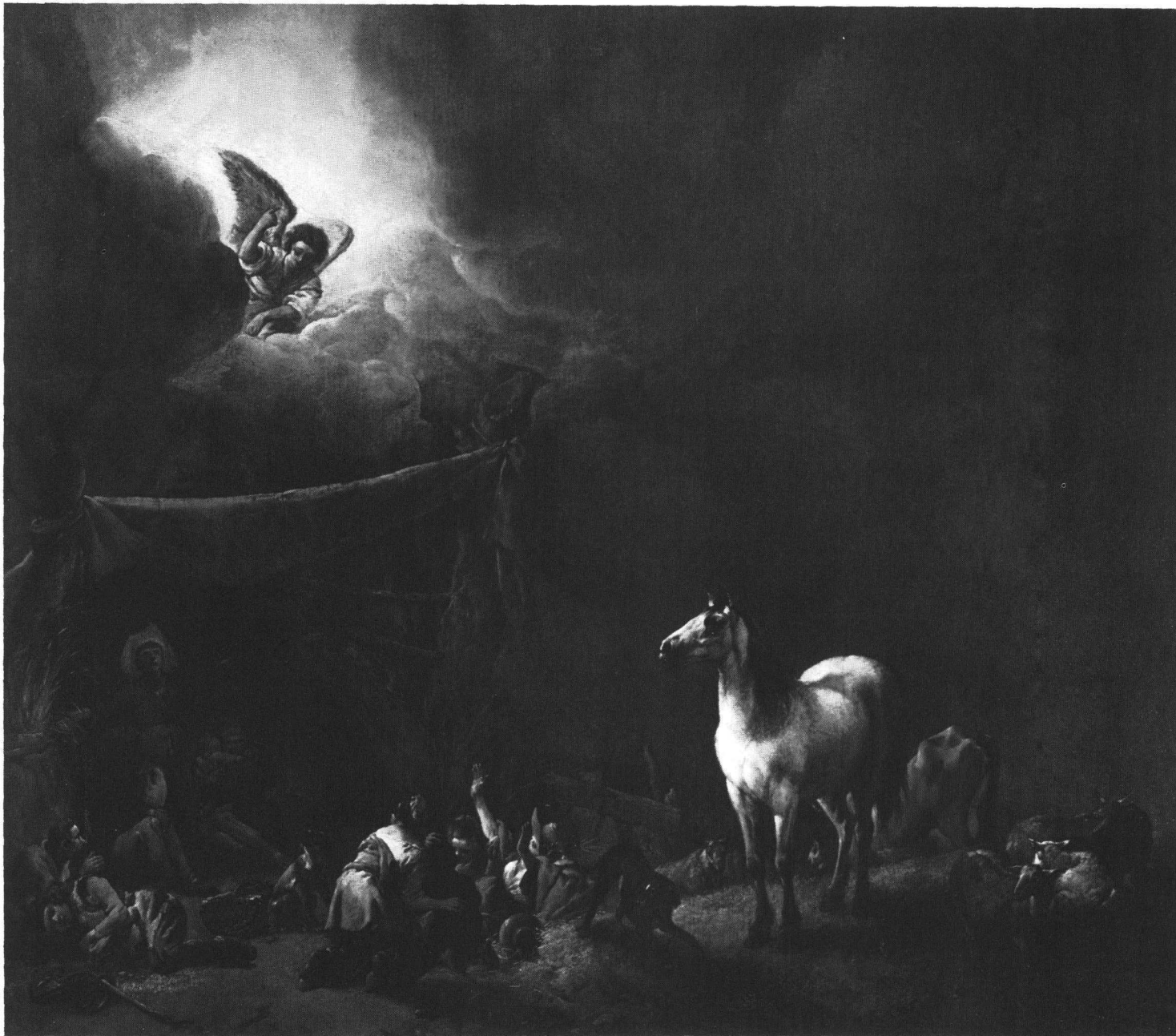
This selective, closely framed composition displays the deep, rather muted coloring and firm brushwork of Wouwerman's early style, while he was still under the influence of Pieter Verbeeck. A description of another Wouwerman *Annunciation* in Hofstede de Groot (II, 1909, no. 14) corresponds very closely to this composition, although its dimensions are slightly larger (14½ x 18½ in.) and its provenance is listed as T. Jones, London, 1837. Either Wouwerman painted two very similar compositions, or the two entries refer to the same picture.

When Wouwerman painted historical themes, he preferred subjects that would allow him to give animals, especially horses,

an important role. A white horse, in fact, is often used as the compositional focus in the artist's landscapes and genre paintings. The work in this exhibition is no exception, for the entire right half of the scene is devoted to representations of animals. The large white horse standing quietly in the foreground lifts his head to the heavenly light as if the angel's announcement were intended especially for his benefit. The interpretation of the angel is unusual too. Pointing with his right hand to the light beyond him, this smiling figure leans almost mischievously over the bank of clouds at the left to confide the miracle of the savior's birth. The "multitude of the heavenly host" (Luke 2: 13), often included in such Annunciation scenes (cf., cat. no. 50), has not yet materialized here. Instead, Wouwerman has chosen to represent an earlier moment in which the shepherds first begin to respond to the angel's appearance. The figures around and under the improvised shelter at the left are shown in all stages of consciousness—from deep slumber, to drowsy confusion, to ecstatic recognition. Thus, Wouwerman does not merely illustrate the miracle itself. He explores the process through which these common mortals reach awareness of its meaning.

New York, Mrs. Elisabeth M. Drey

S.D.K.



Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp 1612 Dordrecht 1652

According to Houbraken, Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp was the uncle of Aelbert Cuyp and his fellow student in the atelier of Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp—Aelbert's father and Benjamin's stepbrother. In 1631 Benjamin became a member of the Dordrecht St. Luke guild, along with his nine-year-old brother Gerrit Gerritsz. Cuyp, the Younger. Although his presence in The Hague in 1643 is documented, he was back in Dordrecht by 1644 and seems to have remained there for the rest of his life. An extremely productive artist despite his short career, Benjamin Cuyp painted numerous biblical subjects, as well as inn interiors, peasant scenes, cavalry charges, and a few landscapes. He was clearly one of the most original and individualistic of Dutch history painters, not only in his exceptionally free technique and monochromatic tonality, but also in his translation of biblical themes into the vocabulary of rowdy peasant genre painting. Apart from his many variants of the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Adoration of the Shepherds, he can be credited with depicting the least majestic magi of any seventeenth-century artist (*The Adoration of the Kings*, Brussels, no. 653). Benjamin Cuyp's broad sketchy brushwork recalls the styles of Leonard Bramer and Adriaen van de Venne. The deep chiaroscuro and vivid bursts of light found in many of his biblical scenes suggest connections not only to Bramer, but also to the paintings of Rembrandt's early Leiden period.

Literature: Boström, 1944. Dordrecht, 1978.

S.D.K.

79 *The Conversion of Paul*, c. 1640-1650

Oil on canvas; 166.7 x 153 cm (65 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 60 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Provenance: Collection Duc de Blaisel. Duc de Blaisel Sale, Vienna (G. Pisko), March 26, 1906, no. 6.

Bibliography: Boström, 1944, p. 64, pl. 5. Münz, 1948, p. 25, no. 45. Zurich, 1949-50, p. 14. Catalogue, Vienna Akademie, 1961, p. 44, no. 53.

The conversion of Saul, an orthodox Jew who had witnessed the stoning of Stephen, the first Christian martyr, took place when he was on the way to Damascus to bring back Christian prisoners. ". . . and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven: and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" (Acts 9: 3-4). After the revelation, Saul remained blind for three days. When his sight was restored, he was baptized and took the name Paul which, according to *The Golden Legend*, means "miraculously chosen." At the center of Cuyp's composition, the fallen figure of Saul lies beside his spiked staff in a blinding circle of light. The brilliant streams of light at the left, the boiling clouds and the violent gestures of Saul's companions—all rendered in the most rapid and fluid brushwork—create a sense of cataclysmic confrontation between heaven and earth. As Albert Blankert has pointed out

(*conversation*, 1979), this densely interwoven grouping of figures and horses relates to the tradition of Dutch paintings of battles and cavalry charges begun by Esaias van de Velde and continued by Philips Wouwerman later in the century.

Benjamin Cuyp frequently depicted themes of revelation, incorporating dramatic bursts of supernatural light (*The Freeing of Peter*, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, *The Resurrection*, etc.). Indeed, he painted several scenes of the Conversion of Paul, of which the painting in Vienna is the largest and the most dramatic. The present locations of two are unknown. (One was sold by Van Marle and Bignell, The Hague, March 3, 1967, no. 56, and the other was sold by Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, April 14, 1942, no. 5.) The painting in Vienna is closest in format and composition to the version in Zurich, Ruzicka Collection, Kunsthau (ill., Zurich, 1949-50, no. 7), which also includes a similar mounted horseman with raised arms seen from the back. The more complex, integrated design and freer brushwork of the painting in Vienna suggest that it should be dated later than the version in Zurich.

Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste

S.D.K.



Aelbert Cuyp 1620 Dordrecht 1691

Son and pupil of the painter Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp, Aelbert Cuyp was first influenced by his father (with whom he sometimes collaborated) and by Jan van Goyen's landscapes of the late 1630s. Around 1645 he began to paint landscapes with luminous golden atmosphere and Italianate motifs, inspired by Jan Both who had returned from Italy at the beginning of the decade. Cuyp is primarily associated with such idyllic landscapes with cattle and herdsmen, but he also painted a number of hunting scenes, portraits (in the style of his father), stable interiors, and genre pieces depicting various trades and professions. A few of his works represent contemporary events such as the siege at Breda. Since he dated few of his paintings, Aelbert Cuyp's chronology remains somewhat obscure. There are also problems of attribution. Many of the still lifes and genre scenes attributed to him by Hofstede de Groot have been more recently assigned to his follower, Abraham van Calraet, and a number of the biblical paintings to his uncle Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp.

Cuyp's artistic production seems to have diminished during his later years. After marrying a wealthy widow in 1658, he became increasingly involved in public life, both as an elder of the Calvinist Church in Dordrecht and as a member of the High Court of South Holland.

Literature: Reiss, 1975. Dordrecht, 1978.

S.D.K.

80 *The Conversion of Paul*, c. 1650

Oil on panel; 71 x 91 cm (28 x 35 in.)

Signature, lower right: A. cuyp

Provenance: Possibly in the following sales: Amsterdam, January 24, 1763; J. van der Linden van Slingelandt Sale, 1785, no. 101; Blanken Sale, The Hague, June 4, 1800. Collection Captain James Aston Roberts-West, Alscot Park, Warwickshire, 1950-64. Sale, London (Christie's), June 26, 1964, no. 122. Collection Dr. H. Wetzlar, Amsterdam, 1964-77. Wetzlar Sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), June 9, 1977, no. 66.

Exhibitions: Laren, 1966, no. 18. Dordrecht, 1978, no. 27.

Bibliography: Smith, V, 1834, p. 296, note to no. 35. Hofstede de Groot, II, 1909, nos. 9a (?) and 10. Reiss, 1975, p. 204.

Few history paintings by Aelbert Cuyp are known. Indeed, many of the ones attributed to him by Hofstede de Groot (II, 1909, nos. 1-19) have since been reassigned to his uncle, Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp. B.G. Cuyp painted several depictions of the Conversion of Paul, one of which is in this exhibition (cat. no. 79). Both artists represent the moment (Acts 9: 3-4) when Saul, later to become the apostle Paul, falls from his horse in a burst of heavenly light and is converted to Christianity (see the dis-

cussion to cat. no. 79). Like his uncle, whose painting appears to be slightly earlier in date, Aelbert Cuyp masses the figures in a broad triangle whose apex is a mounted horseman seen from the back, illuminated by rays of light entering from the upper left. The fallen rider at the far left seems to be a reverse variant of B.G. Cuyp's figure of Saul. There are, however, significant differences in interpretation and style. Aelbert's more refined, tightly painted figures appear in a setting whose soft, golden atmosphere and Italianate buildings reveal the influence of Jan Both. His figure of Saul is not unconscious but lies stunned in the center, shielding his eyes against the blinding, supernatural light. Perhaps most significantly, Aelbert Cuyp gives a far more prominent role to the horses in his scene, in accordance with his strong interest in equestrian and hunting themes. Indeed, the drama of the moment is conveyed here as much by the animals (especially Saul's bolting horse in the foreground) as by the human beings themselves.

Aelbert Cuyp's chronology remains rather unclear, but the date of c. 1650 assigned to this painting (Dordrecht, 1978, no. 27, p. 82) is supported by its similarities in lighting and setting to his *Baptism of the Eunuch*, Anglesey Abbey, National Trust, which Reiss has dated in the early 1650s (Reiss, 1975, no. 118, p. 158).

Amsterdam, Collection J.H. van Litsenburg

S.D.K.



Jan Both

c. 1618 Utrecht 1652

Jan Both's date of birth is not documented but can be placed close to 1618 on the basis of Cornelis van Poelenburgh's portrait of Both, dated 1648 (Heldringen, Wyttenhorst Collection), which depicts the artist at about thirty years of age. He began his training in Utrecht with his father, a glass painter, and then, according to Sandrart, Jan and his brother Andries became pupils of Abraham Bloemaert. The two artists then traveled to France and to Italy. Jan was recorded in Rome by 1638 and lived there with his brother between 1639 and 1641. After Andries' death in Venice in 1641, Jan returned to Utrecht where he remained for the rest of his life. In 1649 he became one of the governors of the St. Luke guild, along with Jan Baptist Weenix and Cornelis van Poelenburgh. One of the most innovative Dutch Italianate landscapists of the second generation, Jan Both specialized in idyllic scenes of woodlands and rustic paths saturated with golden light. His style influenced numerous followers including Nicolaes Berchem, Johannes Hackaert, Frederick de Moucheron, Aelbert Cuyp, Willem de Heusch, and Adam Pijnacker. Although he seems to have painted the genre staffage (in the manner of Pieter van Laer) in most of his landscapes, his landscapes with mythological or biblical scenes were done in collaboration with other artists such as Nikolaus Knüpfer and Cornelis van Poelenburgh. *Literature:* Burke, 1976. Blankert, 1978.

S.D.K.

81 *Landscape with Juno, Mercury, and Argus*, c. 1650-51

Oil on canvas; 116 x 102 cm (44 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 40 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Signature, bottom center: *JBoth fe.*

Provenance: Düsseldorf Galerie, before 1716. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 1904. Schlossgalerie, Bayreuth.

Exhibitions: Utrecht, 1965, no. 59.

Bibliography: Hofstede de Groot, IX, 1926, no. 16.

Bernt, I, 1948, no. 122. Willnau, 1952, pp. 212-15, fig.

4. Graves, I, 1955, p. 190. Kuznetsow, 1974, p. 207,

cat. no. 165. Burke, 1976, pp. 229-30, 164-66, cat. no.

81, fig. 75.

Hofstede de Groot (IX, 1926, nos. 14-20) listed seven paintings of Mercury and Argus by Jan Both, three of which are known today: two in Munich (Burke, 1976, cat. nos. 79 and 81, figs. 72 and 75) and one in Vienna (Burke, cat. no. 115, fig. 99). The painting in this exhibition should be placed close to 1650 on the basis of its similarities to the other version in Munich which is dated in that year. These two works, which display the broad brushwork and deep coloring of Both's late style, illustrate the collaboration of three artists. Jan Both painted the landscapes, while the figures were contributed by Nikolaus Knüpfer and the birds and animals by Jan Baptist Weenix. The same artists worked together on *The Seven Works of Mercy* in Kassel and on *Il Contento*

or *The Pursuit of Happiness* in Schwerin (Willnau, 1952, figs. 1 and 2).

The story of Mercury and Argus (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 677-717), a popular theme among artists of the Pre-Rembrandtist circle, was also painted by Abraham Bloemaert, the teacher of Both, Knüpfer, and Weenix (Utrecht, Centraal Museum, no. 24; Vaduz, Lichtenstein Collection, no. 349). According to this tale of love and jealousy, Mercury, disguised as a shepherd, was sent by Jupiter to save his beloved Io, whom he had transformed into a cow, to protect her from his jealous wife Juno. Suspecting the trick, Juno had ordered Argus, the monster with 100 eyes, to watch the animal. Mercury told stories and played his pipe until Argus slept, then beheaded him. Io escaped, and Juno placed Argus' eyes on the tail of her sacred bird, the peacock. Both's painting depicts the moment when Mercury begins his triumphal ascent, as Io lumbers away at the left background, looking nervously over her shoulder. The peacock's tail, with its prominently displayed "eyes," appears beside Juno who points to the severed head of Argus. The problems of artistic collaboration have been ingeniously solved here by the three artists' sensitive coordination of the inhabitants of this landscape with their setting. Io's form reiterates the slope of the distant hills behind her, Mercury repeats the graceful twisting curves of the trees at the right, while Juno is shaped like the unyielding rock at her feet.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen

S.D.K.



Nikolaus Knüpfer

c. 1603 Leipzig—Utrecht 1655

Knüpfer produced a few genre scenes and portraits but concentrated primarily on small-scale history paintings. In a number of works (c.f. cat. no. 81) he collaborated with the well-known Dutch landscapist, Jan Both. Little documentary evidence has been discovered about Knüpfer's life and work. An inscription on an engraved portrait of him by J. Meijssens, published in 1642, states that Knüpfer came from Leipzig where he studied with Emmanuel Nysen, then studied in Magdeburg, and finally, after 1630, became a pupil of Abraham Bloemaert in Utrecht. The year 1603 mentioned in the inscription probably refers to Knüpfer's date of birth. The artist married in Utrecht in 1637, the same year he joined the St. Luke guild and was assigned part of the important commission for Kronberg Castle by Christian IV of Denmark. (These three battle scenes, now lost, are known only through Houbraken's descriptions.) Aside from a possible stay in The Hague in the late 1640s, Knüpfer spent the remainder of his life in Utrecht.

Like his pupil Jan Steen, Knüpfer seems to have been frequently inspired, in subject matter and composition, by the *rederijker* theater (local rhetoricians' guilds which put on amateur performances). One of the major sources for his history paintings was Jacob Cats' *Toneel van de mannelicke achtbaerheyt* (The Theater of Manly Respectability), Middelburg, 1622, with its illustrations by Adriaen van de Venne. His masterwork, *Il Contento* or *The Pursuit of Happiness* (known in two versions in Munich and Schwerin), was inspired by Elsheimer. Knüpfer's sketchy technique and loose brushwork relate him to his contemporaries Leonard Bramer and Martin Stoop, while his warm tonality and dramatic chiaroscuro recall Rembrandt's early style.

Literature: Willnau, 1952. Kuznetsow, 1974.

S.D.K.

82 *Solon before Croesus*, c. 1650-52

Oil on oak panel; 59 x 87.5 cm (23¼ x 34½ in.)

Signature, lower left: NKnüpfer f.

Provenance: Turin art market. New York art market, 1951.

Exhibitions: Waltham, 1966, no. 6.

Bibliography: Plietzsch, 1960, pp. 33-34, fig. 32.

Kuznetsow, 1965, p. 221, cat. no. 113. Kuznetsow, 1974, p. 200, cat. no. 112, fig. 17.

Both Knüpfer and his Delft contemporary, Leonard Bramer, often created stagelike compositions with flights of steps leading to a dais upon which a ruler or judge is enthroned. Such settings appear, for example, in Bramer's *The Queen of Sheba before Solomon* (formerly Dresden, Gemäldegalerie; Wichmann, 1923, cat. no. 24) and in Knüpfer's dated *Anthony before Cleopatra* of 165(?) in Ljubljana, National Museum (Kuznetsow, 1974, cat. no. 107), which seems quite similar in style to the painting in this exhi-

bition. Knüpfer depicted the story of Solon before Croesus in at least five paintings (Kuznetsow, 1974, cat. nos. 110-113a), one of which (cat. no. 111) has also been attributed to Bramer (Wichmann, 1923, cat. no. 207; Willnau, 1952, p. 216). As a Utrecht painter, Knüpfer may have been introduced to the subject by Gerrit van Honthorst's earlier version of the theme, dated 1624, now in Hamburg, Kunsthalle (Judson, 1959, cat. no. 107). The Honthorst, however, is primarily a figure piece with only minimal definition of setting.

When Croesus, the Lydian king of legendary riches, gave an audience to Solon, the Athenian sage, he proudly displayed his immense wealth, then asked Solon to name the happiest man he had ever met. Solon responded that he could count no man happy until his life was judged happy at its end and pointed out that even humble people, when blessed with good fortune, may be happier than the richest kings (Herodotus I: 29-33). The moral of this story—the vanity of earthly riches—is frequently expressed in Dutch paintings of other subjects, particularly the Vanitas still life. In Knüpfer's interpretation, the king's glittering possessions are heaped in the shadowed foreground so that the confrontation of philosopher and potentate becomes the main focus of the scene. Croesus, dressed in brilliant pink satin, sits on his dais at an elegant table, laid with wine glasses and a peacock pie (symbol of pride) and points to his treasure at the left. Solon, wearing his simple brown toga and holding his traveling staff, stands on the floor at the right, isolated against an almost empty background. It is significant that pentimenti can be clearly seen in the area of his hand, indicating that the artist changed Solon's gesture to one that would most pointedly express moral admonition.

New York, Collection Emile E. Wolf

S.D.K.



Gabriel Metsu

1629 Leiden—Amsterdam 1667

Metsu seems to have been a precocious artist. In 1644 (when he was only fifteen) he was cited as one of a group of Leiden artists attempting to establish a St. Luke guild. In 1648 he became one of the founding members. The guild records note that he left Leiden sometime after 1650 (probably 1651) but returned to the city by 1652. By 1657 he had settled in Amsterdam and in 1658 married Maria de Wolff-de Grebber, daughter of the Haarlem artist Pieter de Grebber and a painter herself. Metsu remained in Amsterdam until his death at the age of thirty-nine.

Metsu's training is not documented, and despite the fact that nineteen dated works are known, his development remains somewhat problematic. His early style of the mid 1640s shows influences of Gerard Dou, who may have been his teacher, while the paintings of the next decade reveal the influence of Jan Steen and of two Utrecht artists: Nikolaus Knüpfer and Jan Baptist Weenix. During the early 1660s Metsu again responded to Dou's style and then to the styles of Vermeer, Ter Borch, and De Hooch. Metsu's contribution lies primarily in the area of genre painting, but he also painted a small number of portraits and still lifes and about a dozen history paintings—all of which are marked by an exceptional sensitivity to color and by a striking delicacy and refinement of technique.

Literature: Leiden, 1966. Gudlaugsson, 1968. Robinson, 1974.

S.D.K.

83 *The Dismissal of Hagar*, 1653 (?)

Oil on canvas; 115 x 89 cm (45¼ x 35 in.)

Signature, lower right, on step: G. METSU

Provenance: Countess Lacroix, Paris, Bürger Thoré Sale, Paris, 1892. H. von Kilenyi Sale, Budapest, November 26, 1917, no. 84, M. Schiffer, Budapest, 1935. A.P. de Biro Sale, London, Sotheby's, June 29, 1960, no. 42.

A.P. de Biro Sale, London, Christie's, April 1, 1966, no. 50. Harold Leger Galleries, London, 1966. Lord Belper Sale, London, Christie's, July 2, 1976, no. 56.

Acquired by the museum in 1978 with generous financial support from the Vereniging Rembrandt.

Exhibitions: Leiden, 1966, no. 1.

Bibliography: Hofstede de Groot, I, 1907, p. 257, no. 2. Wurzbach, II, 1910, p. 150, no. 11. Poglayen-Neuwall, 1926-27, p. 206. Thieme-Becker, vol. 24, 1930, p. 440. Plietzsch, 1936, p. 8. *Apollo*, vol. 83, no. 2, June 1966, p. lxiii (color ill.). Gudlaugsson, 1968, p. 13. Robinson, 1974, pp. 17-19, 22, 26, 30, 35, 59, 74, 105, fig. 5. Wurf bain, 1978, p. 19. Wurf bain, 1979, p. 14.

Robinson (p. 18) pointed out correctly that the date of 1653, cited in earlier literature, is no longer visible on the painting. The large scale of the work, however, its weighty, broadly modeled figures and dramatic light/dark contrasts are all characteristic

features of Metsu's early style. Indeed, Metsu's *Christ and the Adulterous Woman* in the Louvre, a painting clearly dated 1653, is very similar in style to the Leiden *Hagar*. Interestingly enough, both works present types of subjects seen frequently in both the artist's history and genre paintings: women victimized or unjustly punished by men.

The story of Hagar (Genesis 21: 9-14) was extremely popular in Dutch art, especially among artists in Rembrandt's circle, as illustrated by another painting in this exhibition by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (cat. no. 42). Both artists depict the moment when Abraham reluctantly banishes the servant girl Hagar with their son Ishmael—a banishment ordered by Abraham's jealous wife Sarah after the birth of her own son Isaac, in order to prevent Ishmael from sharing Isaac's inheritance. In Metsu's rather anecdotal interpretation, Isaac waves farewell from an open window above the unhappy trio in the foreground. The two dogs further clarify the meaning of the story. As the animal at the right is cast out of the household, Abraham points to the one at the left, entering the shelter of his doghouse, to indicate that Hagar and Ishmael must now find their own home. The focus of Metsu's composition, accentuated by Hagar's deep red gown, is the threshold of the house, the transition between home and homelessness. A similar interpretation of the incident, which may have influenced Metsu, is found in a Rembrandt etching of 1637 (Bartsch 30). In terms of style, however, Metsu's juxtaposition of such robust figure types with a sunlit Italianate vista in the background relates this painting most closely to the idyllic genre scenes of Jan Baptist Weenix.

Leiden, Stedelijk Museum "de Lakenhal"

S.D.K.



Jan Steen 1626 Leiden 1679

Born in Leiden, Jan Steen enrolled at Leiden University in 1646 at the age of twenty. According to Weyerman (II, 1927, p. 348), he studied first with Nikolaus Knüpfer in Utrecht, then with Adriaen van Ostade in Haarlem, and finally with Jan van Goyen in The Hague. He married van Goyen's daughter, Margaretha, in 1649. Steen's presence in Leiden was documented in 1644, in 1646, and in 1648, when he became a member of the newly founded painters' guild. By September of 1649 he was living in The Hague where he seems to have remained until 1654. Between 1654 and 1657, Steen's father, a brewer, leased a brewery for him in Delft. From 1656 to 1660 he lived at Warmond near Leiden, then settled in Haarlem where his presence was recorded intermittently until 1670, when he inherited a house in Leiden. The artist was given permission to keep an inn in Leiden in 1672; in 1674 he became governor of the Leiden guild.

A remarkably prolific artist, Steen is best known for his witty genre paintings of lower and middle class life, which often include emblematic motifs with moralizing meanings. The fact that he depicted Catholic celebrations such as the Feast of St. Nicholas and the Feast of the Epiphany suggests that Steen may have been a Roman Catholic. Kirschenbaum (1977, p. 25) estimates that some seventy history paintings can be attributed to Jan Steen, including both Old and New Testament subjects, as well as scenes from mythology and ancient history. Many of Steen's genre and history paintings reveal his knowledge of contemporary literature, particularly the didactic poems of Jacob Cats. The choice of subject matter, settings, and costumes in a number of his works also demonstrate that he had close connections with the theater of his day—both the performances of the local *rederijker* players and the professional productions of the Amsterdam Schouwburgh. *Literature*: Kirschenbaum, 1977. De Vries, 1977.

S.D.K.

84 *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1659

Oil on canvas; 53 x 69 cm (21 x 25½ in.)

Signature, lower left: *JSteen*

Provenance: Honas Witsen Sale, Amsterdam, March 31, 1717, no. 131. Sale, Amsterdam, September 17, 1727, no. 15. Collection Lord of Tabley, 1827. Franks Collection, London, 1842. Sabin, London, 1933. Hoogendijk, Amsterdam, 1934. Collection A.A. van Sandick, Rotterdam, 1937-47. Purchased for the museum from Sandick, 1947.

Exhibitions: London, British Gallery, 1835. London, c. 1933/34, no. 20. Rotterdam, 1938, no. 141.

Amsterdam, 1939, no. 78c. Zurich, 1953, no. 143.

Rome, 1954, no. 146. Milan, 1954, no. 149. Antwerp, 1954, no. 95. Utrecht, 1954/55, no. 95. Sheffield, 1956, no. 50. The Hague, 1958/59, no. 10.

Bibliography: Hofstede de Groot, I, 1907, nos. 31, 31a,

37. *Weltkunst*, August 1939, p. 2. De Jongh, 1939, p. 15. Bremmer, 1946, p. 163. Van Guldener, 1948, pp. 18-21. De Groot, 1952, pp. 33-34. Catalogue, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1956, no. 2250 A4. Van Leeuwen, 1966, pp. 57-64. Catalogue, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1976, no. A 3509. Kirschenbaum, 1977, pp. 40-42, 48, 127-128, cat. no. 37/31/31a, fig. 37. De Vries, 1977, pp. 40, 158, cat. no. 51.

Many Dutch painters who concentrated on peasant themes painted the Adoration of the Shepherds (Luke 2: 15-20), including Adriaen van Ostade, Philips Wouwerman, Cornelis Saftleven, B.G. Cuyt, and H.M. Sorgh. Steen painted at least five versions of the subject (Kirschenbaum, 1977, cat. nos. 32, 33/36, 35, 37/31/31a, 38; figs. 3, 4, 28, 36, 37), all of which appear to date within the period between the early 1650s and early 1660s. According to Kirschenbaum (p. 128), the painting exhibited here should be dated at the end of the 1650s because of its stylistic similarities to Steen's *Music Lesson* in London, National Gallery, dated 1659. A close replica of the composition is in Cracow, Wawel State Art Collection (Kirschenbaum, cat. Addendum, no. 3, fig. 126).

Like many of his contemporaries, Steen often presented the Adoration of the Shepherds as a night scene. Indeed, his other versions all include a figure with a large lantern. In this painting, the interior is shadowed, but the background sky is illuminated with the colors of dawn—a reference to Christ as the Light of the World and to the Nativity as the dawning of the Era under Grace. Although the scene also incorporates such traditional motifs as the ass and the ox (symbolizing the Old vs. the New Dispensations), Steen's interpretation has the same warmth and humor as the artist's depictions of everyday life. Mary, the only finely dressed figure in the group, uncovers the infant for a kneeling shepherd, as other visitors, more curious than reverent, crowd excitedly into the stable. Characteristically, Steen places his narrative within a context of diverse human incidents and concerns, such as the young girl absorbed in lighting a fire and the old woman offering food to Joseph at the left. Steen may well have been influenced by Rembrandt's treatments of the subject, for a similarly posed Virgin appears in Rembrandt's painting of 1646 in Munich (Bredius/Gerson, 1968, no. 574); Rembrandt's etching of c. 1654 (Bartsch 45, C. Tümpel, 1970, no. 43) also includes a suggestion of an archway behind the Virgin and Child, as well as a bagpiper standing at one side.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

S.D.K.



Jan Steen

85 *Esther, Haman and Ahasuerus*, c. 1668

Oil on canvas; 70 x 92.9 cm. (27⁹/₁₆ x 36⁹/₁₆ in.)

Provenance: Jolle Albertus Jolles and Hendrik de Winter Sale, May 23, 1764, no. 30. Collection Pieter Yver, Amsterdam. Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, before 1926. Collection W.J.R. Dreesmann, Amsterdam, 1926-60. Dreesmann Sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), March 22-25, 1960, no. 15. Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam. Collection W.J.R. Dreesmann, Jr., Wassenaar. G. Cramer, The Hague, 1963.

Exhibitions: Leiden, 1926, no. 37. Amsterdam, 1929, no. 140. Amsterdam, 1939, no. 60f. Delft, 1952, no. 88. Amsterdam, 1955, no. 59. Tel-Aviv, 1959, no. 106. Amsterdam, 1962, no. 7. Cleveland, 1973, without cat. Milwaukee, 1976, no. 59.

Bibliography: Bredius, 1927, p. 29, pl. 7. Martin, 1927-28, p. 325. Thieme-Becker, vol. 31, 1937, p. 511. Heppner, 1939-40, p. 42, pl. 4d. Catalogue, Barber Institute, Birmingham, 1952, p. 102. Pigler, I, 1956, p. 203. Van Braam, 1960, p. 440, no. 4961. *Weltkunst*, XXXII, April 1962, p. 17. *Burlington Magazine*, CVI, June 1964, p. 303, color ill., pl., I. Lurie, 1965, pp. 94-100, color ill., p. 93 and fig. 9. *Selected Works, Cleveland Museum*, 1966, no. 166. *Cleveland Museum Handbook*, 1969, ill., p. 125. Kirschenbaum, 1977, pp. 13, 48, 50, 66, 70, 78, 80, 88, 119, cat. no. 19a, fig. 74. *Cleveland Museum Handbook*, 1978, ill., p. 162.

Ahasuerus, king of the Medes and Persians at the time of the Babylonian captivity of the Jews, took Esther, a Jewess, as his queen. Haman, the king's evil minister, plotted to destroy the Jews by issuing a decree of execution in the king's name. Esther then went before Ahasuerus and invited him and Haman to a banquet where she exposed Haman's plot and pleaded for the life of her people. Ahasuerus rose in fury, accused Haman, and sent him to the gallows that had been prepared for Mordecai, the king's loyal Jewish minister (Esther 7: 1-10). In Christian art, Esther's intercession with Ahasuerus was commonly used as a prefiguration of the Virgin's intercession with God for the salvation of mankind. Since the Dutch identified themselves with the children of Israel in their fight for freedom from Spanish tyranny and religious oppression, the story of Esther became extremely popular in seventeenth-century Dutch art and literature. Aside from Purim plays performed by the Sephardic Jews in Amsterdam, three Dutch dramatizations of the story can be cited: Jacob Revius' *Haman, a Tragedy*, Deventer, 1630, Nicolaes Fonteyn's *Esther, or The Picture of Obedience*, Amsterdam, 1638, and Johannes Serwouter's *Hester, or The Deliverance of the Jews*, Amsterdam, 1659 (c.f., Van de Waal, 1974, pp. 201-225).

Indeed, Steen presents the story as if it were being performed on the stage. His figures display theatrical costumes and gestures and appear in a curtained setting whose columns and open wings recall the stage of the Amsterdam Schouwburgh (Kirschenbaum, 1977, fig. 109). In his depiction of the turbaned Ahasuerus, Steen may have been influenced by the oriental costumes and emotive

gestures found in Jan Lievens' depiction of the same scene (cat. no. 31) and in Rembrandt's *The Feast of Belshazzar* (cat. no. 26). A close variant of Steen's composition (which omits the court jester at the far right) was sold by Brandt in Amsterdam, November 14, 1972, no. 13. (Kirschenbaum, cat. no. 19, fig. 75). Steen repeated the same subject in paintings in Birmingham, England, the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, and in a private collection in England; he also depicted Esther before Ahasuerus in a painting in Leningrad, the Hermitage (Kirschenbaum, cat. nos. 17, 18, 20; figs. 59, 73, 76). The example in this exhibition, a work of exceptional quality, isolates the major protagonists, painted in delicate tones of pink, purple, and blue, against a darker, almost monochromatic background—a device found in other paintings of the late 1660s, such as Steen's *Samson and Delilah*, dated 1668 (Kirschenbaum, cat. no. 10, fig. 67).

The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund

S.D.K.



Jan Steen

86 *Moses striking the Rock for Water*, c. 1671

Oil on canvas; 96.5 x 101.6 cm (38 x 40 in.)

Signature, foreground below dog: *Steen* (almost illegible)

Provenance: Collection van Seger Tierens. Sale, The Hague, July 23, 1743, no. 176. Collection J. Tak. Sale, Soeterwoude, September 5, 1781, no. 18. Collection P.N. Quarles van Ufford. Sale, Amsterdam, October 19, 1818, no. 50. Roothan Sale, Amsterdam, March 29, 1826, no. 103 (to De Vries for Robiano). Collection Count Robiano. Robiano Sale, Brussels, May 1, 1837, no. 615 (to Nieuwenhuys, the dealer). Collection Prince Demidoff, San Donato, Florence. Demidoff Sale, Paris, April 18, 1868, no. 15 (to Hulot). Hulot Sale, Paris, May 9, 1892, no. 48. Collection Baron Königswarter, Vienna, 1893. Purchased by John G. Johnson in 1893 from Sedelmeyer, Paris.

Exhibitions: San Francisco, 1940, no. 82. Jerusalem, Israeli Museum, 1965, no. 35.

Bibliography: Sedelmeyer, 1898, no. 194. Hofstede de Groot, I, 1907, no. 9. Valentiner, 1914, II, pp. 100-101. Antal, 1925, pp. 107-116. Stechow, 1928/29, p. 175. Tietze, 1939, no. 182. Catalogue, Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, 1941, no. 509. Martin, 1954, pp. 56-57, pl. 64. Catalogue, Flemish and Dutch Paintings, Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, 1972, p. 81, no. 509. Kirschenbaum, 1977, pp. 51, 52, 73, 97, 112-113, cat. no. 9, fig. 88.

As Kirschenbaum has pointed out (1977, p. 113), the openness of space, emphasis on landscape, and brilliant foreground colors in this painting are characteristic of Steen's style of the early 1670s. Furthermore, the seated woman being offered water at the right is strikingly similar to the central figure in Steen's *Worship of the Golden Calf*, Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art (Kirschenbaum, fig. 85), which appears to date from the same period. In an earlier version of the theme dating from the early 1650s (Frankfurt-am-Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut; Kirschenbaum, 1977, fig. 27), Steen set the scene in a grotto and represented the moment when Moses strikes the rock. In the later painting, the aftermath of the miracle is depicted, so that the focus shifts from Moses to the Israelites as a group. Indeed, for a history painter this story offers the opportunity to explore an unusually wide range of human expressions, since it involves a large crowd of people being miraculously rescued from a desperate situation.

The event (Exodus 17: 1-6) occurred when the Israelites were on their way to the Promised Land and reached a place where there was no water. Moses asked the Lord for help and was counseled to smite the rock of Horeb with his staff. When water gushed forth, the people were saved from the trial of thirst. This Old Testament miracle of salvation through water clearly parallels the Christian sacrament of Baptism. Furthermore, St. Paul's description of the flight of the Jews gives the episode a Christian interpretation: "For they drank of the spiritual rock that followed

them and the rock was Christ" (I Corinthians 10: 4). Steen's figures collect the life-giving waters in an amusing variety of vessels: simple pottery cups, large vats of beaten brass, and even an elegant Nautilus cup offered to the woman at the far right. Moses stands with the elders at the left middleground, raising his eyes to Heaven and gesturing in thanksgiving. The two rays of light emanating from his head show that Steen was familiar with the long iconographic tradition associating Moses with horns or horns of light (attributes of salvation and divine kingship)—a tradition deriving from St. Jerome's translation (Exodus 24:29) of the Hebrew word *queren* into the Latin word *cornuta*, meaning "horns" or "horns of light" (Mellinkoff, 1970, pp. 138-140). Rembrandt, too, was aware of this tradition, for in his painting of *Moses Shattering the Tablets of the Law* (1659, Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie; Bredius/Gerson, 1968, no. 527), he represented Moses with horn-shaped locks of hair.

Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection

S.D.K.



Eglon Hendrik van der Neer 1634 Amsterdam—Düsseldorf 1703

Son of the landscape painter, Aert van der Neer, Eglon Hendrik van der Neer studied with his father and with Jacob van Loo. According to Houbraken, he went to France at the age of nineteen where he was painter to the Dutch governor of Orange for several years. By 1659 he was living in Amsterdam, having married in Rotterdam in that year. Until 1678 he lived in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague, where in 1670 he became a member of "Pictura," the painters' confraternity. Adriaen van der Werff studied with him in Rotterdam between c. 1671-75. Van der Neer spent a decade in Brussels from 1679-89. He married the miniaturist, Marie Duchatel, in 1681 and in 1687 was appointed court painter to Charles II of Spain (without, however, going to Spain). His presence in Amsterdam is again documented in 1689, but in the following year he was summoned to Düsseldorf to replace Johann Spilberg as court painter to Johann Wilhelm, the Elector Palatine. He married the painter Adriana Spilberg in 1697 and remained in Düsseldorf until his death in 1703.

Of the thirty history paintings by Van der Neer listed in Hofstede de Groot, less than ten are known today, four of which are landscapes with Tobias and the Angel (Berlin, Karlsruhe, Munich, Amsterdam). Aside from his portraits, which are similar to Caspar Netscher's in style, Van der Neer is best known for his aristocratic genre scenes. His elegant figures dressed in shining silks and satins recall the late works of Metsu and Ter Borch.

S.D.K.

87 *Gyges and the Wife of Candaules*, c. 1675-80

Oil on canvas; 85 x 99 cm (33½ x 39 in.)

Signature, lower right: *E. van der Neer fe.*

Provenance: H. Bredemann, Amsterdam. P. Norton, London. A. Schubert, M.-Gladbach. Sale, Brussels, March 10, 1930, no. 42.

Exhibitions: Düsseldorf, 1958, no. 39.

Bibliography: Hofstede de Groot, V, 1913, no. 22, pp. 22-23. Plietzsch, 1960, p. 187, fig. 344.

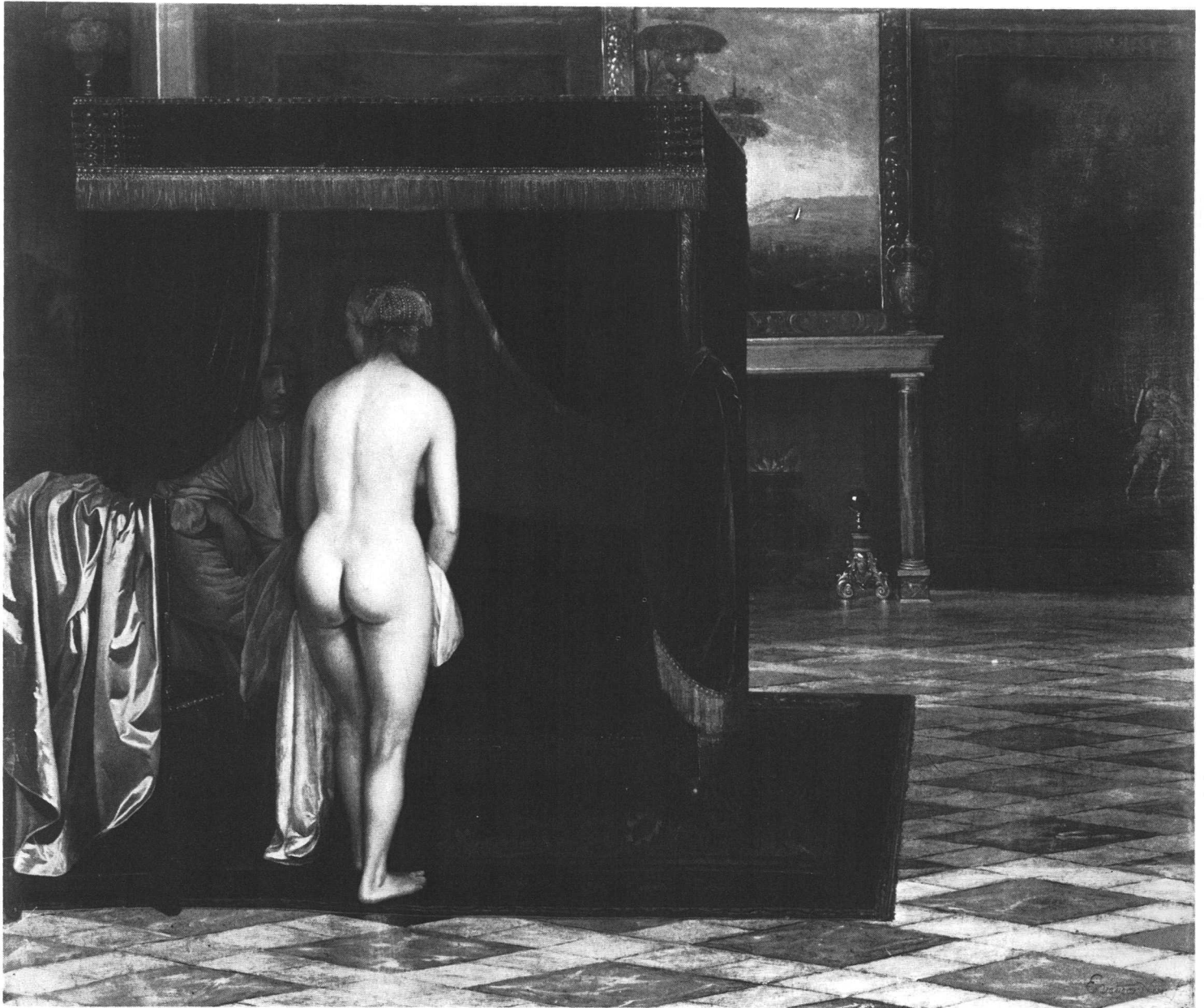
This extraordinary painting would seem, at first glance, to represent merely a genre scene in an elegant seventeenth-century interior whose perspectival recession recalls the late style of Pieter de Hooch. An approximate date for the painting is suggested by the woman's elaborate hairstyle which was fashionable between c. 1675-80. The story represented (Herodotus I: 8-12) is the tale of Candaules, king of ancient Lydia, who was so proud of his wife's beauty that he encouraged his servant Gyges to watch the queen disrobing in the royal chamber. (Candaules reclines in the curtained bed; Gyges looks on at the far left.) Aware of Gyges' spying, the queen summoned him the next day and offered him the choice of being slain himself or murdering the king and marrying her—which he did. As Naumann has pointed out (Naumann I, 1979, p. 191), the moral of the story is that the

nuptial chamber should not be violated, an idea also expressed in contemporary emblems such as Reusner's *Coniuij secreta tace: nudare maritam* (ill., Henkel/Schöne, 1967, col. 1603-04). The fact that Van der Neer's scene is presented in such a strikingly contemporary guise would surely have brought its message home to seventeenth-century Dutch viewers, especially as the representation of a nude in a domestic interior is startlingly unusual. Framed by the velvet bed curtains, the woman's nudity is further emphasized by the shining satin dress discarded on the chair beside her.

Little known today, the story of Gyges and Candaules would have been familiar to seventeenth-century Dutch artists and viewers because it was written and illustrated in Jacob Cats' *Toneel van de mannelicke achtbaerheyt* (The Theater of Manly Respectability), published in 1633. The print in Cats' volume clearly served as a partial source for Van der Neer's composition, as it also depicts Candaules in a curtained bed and the queen disrobing in the center foreground and seen from the back. Unlike Van der Neer's painting, however, the print presents the story as a nocturnal scene illuminated by candlelight—an interpretation followed by other Dutch artists. Aside from the painting in Schwerin (inv. no. 2345) by Frans van Mieris, the Elder (Naumann, II, 1979, cat. no. 83, pl. 88), there are two examples of the subject (present location unknown) by Nikolaus Knüpfer (Kuznetsow, 1974, cat. nos. 105 and 106, p. 197, fig. 15), as well as a painting attributed to Adriaen van der Werff (W. Speelman, London, 1976). A version of the theme was also painted, around 1645, by Jacob Jordaens (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, no. 1159). Plietzsch (1960, p. 187, note 1) noted that Van der Neer may have seen the Jordaens while he was active in Brussels.

Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum

S.D.K.



Domenicus van Wijnen (*Ascanius*) 1661 Amsterdam-?

Van Wijnen was born in Amsterdam in 1661 and in 1674 he studied in The Hague with Willem Doudyns, a history painter. Between 1680 and 1690 he was active in Rome. There he became a member of the Schildersbent, an association of Netherlandish artists that held boisterous festivals in which new members were initiated through rites of mock baptism and given "Bent" names. Van Wijnen's name, *Ascanius*, means "son of Aeneas." The increasing abandon of the Schildersbent practices led to a decree in 1720, banning the performance of such mock sacraments. An account of the Bent festivities was reported by Cornelis de Bruyn, who had traveled through Rome in 1675 on his way to the Near East. De Bruyn's journal, *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn door de vermaardste deelen van Klein Azië*, published in Delft in 1698, was illustrated with engravings by M. Pool, three of which were based on designs by Domenicus van Wijnen (ill., Hoogewerff, 1952, figs. 23 and 24). In addition, Van Wijnen recorded Bent rituals in at least two paintings: *Bacchanalian Allegory of a Bent Feast*, Paris, private collection, 1971, and *Inn Interior with a Bent Feast*, Pully-Lausanne, H.H. Cevat, 1954 (photos: Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague). The Cevat painting is the same composition (in reverse) as one of the Pool illustrations for De Bruyn's journal.

Only about a dozen paintings by Van Wijnen are currently known, two of which are in public collections: *The Temptation of St. Anthony* in Dublin (cat. no. 88) and *Don Quixote in an Inn* in Budapest (no. 374). He also painted mythological scenes and allegories with fantastic cosmic imagery whose extravagant, multi-figured compositions recall late sixteenth-century Dutch mannerist painting, as well as Italian baroque ceiling decoration.

S.D.K.

88 *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, c. 1680-90

Oil on canvas; 72 x 72 cm (28½ x 28½ in.)

Signature, left, on stone step: DVW [in monogram], *Ascanius*

Provenance: J.M. de Birkenstock Sale, Vienna (Artaria & Co.), March, 1811, no. 121. Presented to the museum by Mr. Arthur Ray of Glasgow, 1901.

Exhibitions: Leeds, 1868. Bordeaux, 1957, no. 168. Dublin, 1964, no. 69.

Bibliography: Von Frimmel, I, 1913, p. 127, no. 121. Hoogewerff, III, 1923, p. 235. Noack, I, 1927, p. 217, II, p. 659. Dublin catalogue, 1928, pp. 157-58, no. 527. Thieme-Becker, vol. 36, 1947, p. 332. Bernt, IV, 1962, no. 332. Bernt, III, 1970, no. 1447. Welu, 1979, p. 137, footnote 1.

The Temptation of St. Anthony, a theme with a long tradition in Netherlandish art, was most frequently depicted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, notably by Hieronymus Bosch and his followers. Seventeenth-century artists who painted the subject

include David Teniers II (in at least fifteen versions), Cornelis Saftleven, and Egbert van Heermskerck. St. Anthony, considered the father of monasticism, was a third/fourth-century hermit who withdrew to the desert to escape the temptations of the flesh, which he called his "demons." Thus, artists have usually shown him being attacked by monsters. Van Wijnen's nocturnal scene omits the traditional demons, but the artist's complex, often obscure imagery expresses the same conflict between virtue and vice.

St. Anthony appears at the lower left, holding his rosary and crucifix. The human skull, books, and candle beside him serve as *vanitas* allusions to the evanescence of earthly life and endeavor. Carnal temptation (Lust) is offered by the young woman behind him who holds a lantern illuminating her naked breasts. The other Deadly Sins seem to be represented by figures in the middleground: the chained man at the left with moneybags (Avarice), the old woman with serpentine hair (Envy), the nude woman borne aloft by men (Pride or Lust), the drinkers in the center (Gluttony), the men in combat at the right (Anger). A pig, one of the saint's attributes, may represent gluttony, lust, sloth, or the devil himself (Knipping, II, 1974, p. 398, pp. 484-86; Bax, 1979, pp. 62-64). The horse (?) skull in the center middleground, a symbol of folly often featured in carnival processions in the Low Countries, was also used to drive away demons and evil spirits (Bax, 1979, pp. 213-16). The drunken man astride the wine cask at the center of the composition is clearly an allusion to Bacchus, god of wine and revelry, who may also be considered a kind of anti-Christ inspiring false worship. Van Wijnen's Bacchus is not nude but wears contemporary dress and has an open book before him. Possibly a reference is being made here to initiation rituals of the Schildersbent in Rome of which Van Wijnen was a member (see biography). An engraving of a Bent initiation by M. Pool after Van Wijnen (Hoogewerff, 1952, p. 111, fig. 23) depicts Bacchus riding a wine cask. The same motif is found in a drawing of a Schildersbent feast by Jan van Bijlert in Rotterdam (Hoogewerff, 1952, fig. 20) and again in a painting by Philips Koninck (ill. Blankert, 1979, pp. 74-75). The display of cosmic fireworks in the background, representing the fall of the damned, recalls passages in the biography of St. Anthony: ". . . there came a brightness out of Heaven which enveloped him entirely and healed all his wounds, and drove forth his devils as dust flies before the wind . . ." (Bax, 1979, p. 10). Similar planetary spheres and transparent bubbles appear in Van Wijnen's *Divine Cosmos*, Massachusetts, private collection (ill., Welu, 1979, p. 135, no. 40) and in his *Allegory*, now on the London art market (J. Feilding). The bubble, most commonly a symbol of transience, may also represent the sphere of Heaven (E. de Jongh, 1975/76, pp. 71-74). Bubbles are even associated with sorcery and witchcraft as in Hendrik Goltzius' print, *The Magician*, in which plant and animal forms are pumped into the atmosphere from a transparent bubble (Storrs, 1972, no. 69, cover ill.).

Dublin, The National Gallery of Ireland

S.D.K.



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