

DUTCH PAINTINGS

of the Seventeenth Century



National Gallery of Art • Washington

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THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART
SYSTEMATIC CATALOGUE

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Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century



DUTCH
PAINTINGS

OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr.

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NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART
SYSTEMATIC CATALOGUE

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART • WASHINGTON

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FOREWORD

One of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of the visual arts is the emergence of the Dutch school of painting in the early seventeenth century. The Netherlands had only recently become a political entity and was still suffering from the effects of a long and arduous war against Spain. Nevertheless, from their hardships the Dutch seem to have drawn strength. The success of the small republic in gaining independence from such a powerful adversary resulted in an enormous sense of self-esteem. The Dutch were proud of their achievements, proud of their land, and intent upon creating a form of government that would provide a broad and lasting foundation. They also expressed pride in their unique social and cultural heritage, especially in literature and art.

The parallels in the origins of the Dutch republic and those of the United States have helped create a special bond between the two lands, one that is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the splendid examples of Dutch art that American collectors have brought to these shores. The National Gallery is particularly fortunate that its collection contains so many works by the finest masters of the Golden Age of Dutch art, among them Rembrandt van Rijn, Johannes Vermeer, Frans Hals, Jacob van Ruisdael, and Aelbert Cuyp. The collection also contains outstanding examples by other masters, many of whom were specialists in a particular type of painting: for example, a still life with dead game by Willem van Aelst; a church interior by Pieter Saenredam; and a moonlit landscape by Aert van der Neer.

Paintings by these and other masters have attracted American collectors for many reasons. Certainly the types of subjects depicted—landscape, still-life, portrait, and genre—are ones to which Americans respond. The craftsmanship of Dutch artists—their ability to depict textures and the nuances of sunlight across a landscape vista—also has had great appeal. Some of these artists, of course, have long been universally recognized as among the great masters. Not insignificant for the history of collecting in this country, the appreciation

and eventual acquisition of Dutch paintings has always been seen as befitting a cultured and wealthy individual.

For late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century collectors, such as P.A.B. Widener, his son Joseph, and Andrew W. Mellon, whose extraordinary bequests form the basis for the collection of Dutch paintings at the National Gallery, Rembrandt, Vermeer, Hals, and Cuyp were artists whose paintings clearly belonged to that highest echelon of art. One can also assume that the emotional poignance of a Rembrandt painting, the serenity of a Vermeer genre scene, the bravura of Hals' brushwork, and the pastoral beauty of a Cuyp landscape were appreciated then to the extent that they are now, but unfortunately none of these collectors left behind accounts that elucidate their feelings as they stood before the masterpieces in their collections. The only exception is *The Mill*, which was the central focus of the great picture gallery in Lynnewood Hall, Widener's Philadelphia estate. According to Edith Standen, Joseph Widener's long-time secretary and acting curator, when a distinguished guest visited, Widener would often deliberate whether or not he wanted to have the painting spotlighted, which gave it greater drama, or seen under natural light, which was kinder to the other paintings. In the end, it seems that he almost always spotlighted the painting.

This catalogue has been written by Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., curator of northern baroque painting here at the National Gallery. It has been for him an exciting project, not only because it has meant delving into the history and appreciation of so many outstanding paintings, but also because of the many discoveries and new interpretations that inevitably come about from intensive study. In undertaking the research on this catalogue, he has worked closely with scholars, conservators, and scientists on the National Gallery staff and around the world. This important volume is the result of his years of study and collaboration.

Earl A. Powell III
Director



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have always felt privileged to have been given the responsibility for writing the catalogue of this outstanding collection of Dutch paintings. The project has taken a long time, as such projects are wont to do, since competing demands constantly challenge a curator's abilities to focus his or her energies in any one direction. The time taken, however, has had its benefits for both the collection and for my own development as an art historian. New acquisitions have greatly expanded the range of Dutch artists represented at the Gallery, and conservation treatments have transformed the appearance of a large number of works from the core of the collection, paintings from the Mellon and Widener bequests. As these changes have come into effect, relationships among paintings have been rethought, and the galleries have been rehung. The learning process is never ending. Every time a painting is examined in the laboratory something is learned; every time a painting goes out on loan, and is seen in relationship to other works, new insights are to be gained; and every time a comment by a friend, pupil, or colleague results in looking differently at familiar works, the learning process continues.

Writing this catalogue has taught me much about the paintings in this collection, but questions of provenance, interpretation, and attribution still exist for many works. These questions are reminders that this catalogue has to be understood as a work in progress: both the collection and my ideas will undoubtedly continue to evolve. Nevertheless, much new information is contained here that I hope will provide a new point of departure for understanding this remarkable group of Dutch paintings.

Trying to acknowledge all those who have helped me in one way or another prepare this catalogue is a rather daunting task, in part because it is virtually impossible to identify "the" moment when my general education as a curator ended and the active pursuit of writing the catalogue began. The defining moment, however, is probably when Suzannah Fabing, who planned and launched the systematic catalogue in the early 1980s, found funds to hire a research assistant, Gregory Rubenstein, who came to the Gallery as an intern from the Williams College graduate program in art history. For two years he worked diligently in that capacity, not only unraveling complex provenances for many of the works, but

identifying a number of the issues to be considered in the individual entries. He also compiled artist biographies, many of which have served as the basis for those appearing in this volume. A second research assistant, Dennis Weller, came to the Gallery initially as an intern from the University of Maryland. Dennis worked tirelessly on this project for two years in the early 1990s. Not only did he help organize the large amount of information that had been accumulated over the years, he also compiled a number of the artist biographies. More important, however, he read every entry and offered numerous suggestions that have helped enrich the content of the catalogue. I am greatly indebted to the Mellon Foundation, which provided funds specifically designated for hiring research assistants such as Dennis to help work on the permanent collection.

While I have benefited greatly over the years from research carried out by interns who have worked in the department, two students from the University of Maryland have been particularly helpful, Sally Wages and Shirley Bennett. During the final stages of the catalogue, another intern from the University of Maryland, Quint Gregory, became an indispensable member of the team as he took responsibility for a multitude of projects. During the summer of 1993, Catherine Whitney, a volunteer summer intern from the University of Maryland, and Kristina Nguyen, a graduate student from Harvard University, worked extensively to help prepare the final manuscript for editing, with Kristina putting the artist biographies in final form. Finally, in 1994, two more summer interns, Meredith Hale and Melinda vander Ploeg Fallon, read through the entire manuscript, suggesting many refinements.

While working on the early stages of this catalogue I had the good fortune to have had two excellent secretaries who greatly facilitated my job, Janice Collins and Valerie Guffey. It was Megan Teare, however, who with continual good spirits and good judgment brought order to this multifaceted project during the final push to completion.

Among the outside scholars in the field who have offered advice and support, as well as information about the paintings in this collection, I would like to thank first and foremost Professors Seymour Slive and Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann. Not only were they involved in the initial stages of our research on

the Rembrandt paintings at the Gallery in the mid-1970s, they have continued to share their insights with me over the years. Moreover, they have generously given their time and energy to serve as readers of the manuscript for this catalogue. Their comments have been astute and to the point, and I, as well as the catalogue, have benefited from them.

I am also grateful to the many other friends, students, and scholars who have shared their ideas with me about the Dutch paintings at the National Gallery, in particular Ann Adams, Ronni Baer, David Bomford, Karen Lee Bowen, Christopher Brown, C. J. de Bruynkops, H. Perry Chapman, Alan Chong, Frits Duparc, Burton B. Fredericksen, Martina Friedrich, Claus Grimm, Karen Groen, Frima Fox Hofrichter, Lea Eckerling Kaufman, Alice Kreindler, Walter Liedtke, Otto Naumann, Charles Parkhurst, Ashok Roy, Peter Schatborn, Cynthia Schneider, Gary Schwartz, Sam Segal, Leonard Slatkes, Peter Sutton, Joaneath Spicer, Anke van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, Mariët Westermann, and Ernst van de Wetering.

I am indebted for the assistance and generous help I have received at various research centers, primarily the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam; the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague; the Frick Art Reference Library, New York; the Getty Provenance Index; and the Duveen Archives at the Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts. I would also like to thank the library staff at the National Gallery of Art, in particular Neal Turtell, who has worked so hard to acquire Dutch books for the library's collections, resources that have enhanced my own research immeasurably. Ted Dalziel, Lamia Doumato, and Tom McGill, moreover, have been exceptionally helpful over the years in tracking down difficult-to-find references.

To produce a catalogue such as this the assistance and cooperation of a great many other individuals within the National Gallery has been necessary. I have particularly benefited from the advice of Edgar Peters Bowron, senior curator of paintings, who carefully read through the manuscript and offered numerous suggestions for improvement. My understanding of the paintings in this collection has also been greatly enhanced by the many discussions I have had with members of the National Gallery's conservation and scientific departments, both in the context of restorations and

technical analyses, but also in a far broader sense of how Dutch paintings have been conceived and executed. Among the many members of those departments to whom I am indebted, I would like to thank not only the head of the conservation department, Ross Merrill, but also David Bull, Carol Christensen, Sarah Fisher, Susanna Griswold, Anne Hoenigswald, Kay Silberfeld, and Michael Swicklik.

Much new technical information has been found on the paintings through examinations conducted by the scientific department, under the leadership of René de la Rie, by Barbara Berrie, Melanie Gifford, Barbara Miller, and Michael Palmer.

Finally, within the conservation department, I thank Catherine Metzger, Melissa Katz, and Elizabeth Walmsley for their careful review and comments on the technical notes, which comprise a concise summary of all of the technical information that had been accumulated over many years.

I would also like to thank the art handlers, under the guidance of John Poliszuk, who have made it possible to examine the works in optimum circumstances; the department of imaging and visual services, under the leadership of Richard Amt, which provided the majority of the photographs included in this volume; the department of curatorial records, in particular Nancy Yeide and Anne Halpern, who carefully checked the provenance information and data kindly provided by the Getty Provenance Index Project.

In the editors office, Mary Yakush has been responsible for overseeing the final product, and has offered innumerable suggestions for improving the structure and organization of the volume. Myriad details for this volume have been handled by Barclay Gessner. She tirelessly, and with unfailing good grace, checked factual information and served as the liaison with Kathleen Luhrs, who edited the manuscript and to whom I am much indebted for her sharp eye and keen sense of the English language. Klaus Gemming skillfully and sensitively designed the volume.

Last, this catalogue could not have been completed without the support of my family, my wife, Perry, as well as Tobey, Laura, Matthew, and Sarah and Louisa. To them all I give my thanks and appreciation for the ways they listened, shared their ideas, and encouraged me over the years.

A. K. W.

INTRODUCTION

The collection of Dutch seventeenth-century paintings at the National Gallery of Art is not large, numbering fewer than one hundred works, but it is exceptional in quality. Its core—twenty-three paintings by Rembrandt and his school, seven by Frans Hals, five by Meindert Hobbema, four by Aelbert Cuyp, three by Pieter de Hooch, and four by and attributed to Johannes Vermeer—as well as excellent works by other major landscape and genre painters—come from Andrew W. Mellon and the Widener family. Although the Dutch collection has greatly benefited from subsequent donations and acquisitions, its essential character remains remarkably true to the collecting philosophies of these early benefactors.

P.A.B. Widener (1834–1915), his son Joseph (1893–1943), and Andrew W. Mellon (1855–1937) shared a desire to collect seventeenth-century Dutch paintings exemplary of the “Golden Age.” Works from the beginning and the end of the century held little appeal. They also wanted their paintings to look “Dutch.” While portraits, scenes of everyday life, and depictions of native landscape were acceptable, Dutch Italianate landscapes or works by the Dutch Caravaggists were not. With the exception of Rembrandt, they did not collect painting by artists who depicted biblical or mythological scenes. Curiously, not a single Dutch still life was included in their combined bequests. Essentially, the Dutch paintings the Wideners and Mellon admired were those they would have seen in the picture galleries of English country houses. They acquired most of their Dutch paintings from major art dealers in New York, London, and Paris, among them Sedelmeyer, Duveen, Sulley, and Knoedler. The dominant authority on Dutch art at the turn of the century was the great German art historian Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929), and his opinions, particularly on Rembrandt, seem to have held great sway for both Widener and Mellon. Indeed, Bode’s protégé, Wilhelm Valentiner (1880–1958), eventually became an advisor for the Wideners.

Without question, Rembrandt towered above all other Dutch artists in the estimation of the Wideners and Mellon, each of whom eagerly sought out masterpieces to add to their collections. The dealers with whom P.A.B. and Joseph Widener worked often acted as agents, establishing contacts with

owners of great Rembrandt paintings, for example, the Marquis of Lansdowne in England and Count Youssoupoff in Saint Petersburg, to attempt to persuade them to part with their treasures. Their success owed much to timing, persistence, and, of course, wealth. The Marquis of Lansdowne, for example, decided to sell *The Mill* in 1911 when the English Parliament decreed that death duties should be imposed. Secret negotiations were then carried out on Widener’s behalf by his London dealer Arthur Sulley. The sum of £100,000 Widener agreed to pay for the painting was enormous, but the cost would have been prohibitively higher had not import duties on old master paintings been eliminated the previous year in the United States. A few years later the combination of persistence, timing, and wealth allowed the Wideners to acquire two late Rembrandt portraits owned by Count Youssoupoff. P.A.B. Widener had long coveted the two paintings, but they only became available after Youssoupoff fled Russia because of the Revolution. Likewise, in the early 1930s, Mellon was able to take advantage of political developments abroad to acquire five major Rembrandt paintings from the Hermitage when the Russian government sold works of art to raise hard currency. The intrigues involved in these, and other, acquisitions have become an integral part of the lore surrounding a number of works discussed in this catalogue, and have, in many ways, contributed to their fame and notoriety.

P.A.B. Widener acquired his first Rembrandt painting, *Saskia*, in 1894. His son Joseph, who did much to refine the collection and to improve on the quality of old master paintings, purchased his last Rembrandts, *Philemon and Baucis* and *The Descent from the Cross*, in 1922. Mellon, who bought his first Rembrandt, *An Old Lady with a Book*, in 1920, culminated his collecting activities with his acquisitions from the Hermitage in the early 1930s. All of the Widener and Mellon Rembrandts, thus, were acquired within a thirty-year time span, one that was dominated by the connoisseurship of the two Rembrandt scholars mentioned above, Wilhelm von Bode and Wilhelm Valentiner. The National Gallery’s collection of Rembrandt paintings, as a result, offers a remarkable glimpse into an important phase in the history of Rembrandt connoisseurship. In recent years, opinions about Rembrandt attributions have evolved,

and a number of paintings once considered to be important works by the master are now believed either to have been executed entirely by members of his workshop or by students in collaboration with Rembrandt. These issues are discussed at length in the essay beginning on page 205, "Issues of Attribution in the Rembrandt Workshop."

Aside from their acquisition of Rembrandt paintings, the Wideners and Mellon purchased paintings by Cuyp, Hals, Hobbema, De Hooch, and Vermeer that were among the finest and most celebrated by these artists. The combined legacy of these collectors also brought to the Gallery single works by other major Dutch artists: Gerard ter Borch, Gabriel Metsu, Adriaen van Ostade, and Jacob van Ruisdael. A few major paintings have been added to this core group through the generosity of recent donors, for example, Vermeer's *A Lady Writing*, given by the Havemeyer family; an early painting by Aelbert Cuyp, donated by the Petschek family; and an important painting by Isack van Ostade, donated by Richard A. and Lee G. Kirstein.

As with two Saenredam paintings given by Samuel H. Kress, however, most acquisitions during the last fifty years have served to expand the parameters of the collection beyond those established by the bequests of Mellon and Widener. One of the most important needs has been to provide an adequate representation of still-life painting. Fortunately, a number of excellent examples of this important aspect of Dutch art have now entered the collection, not only, as in the case of the Willem Claesz. Heda *Banquet Piece*, with purchases made possible from donated funds, but also as a result of generous gifts of works of art, including those of Mr. and Mrs. H. John Heinz III, Mr. John S. Thatcher, and Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon. Although Dutch mannerists and Italianate landscapists are still inadequately represented, Robert H. and Clarice Smith have recently donated paintings by Roelandt Savery and Nicolaes Pietersz. Berchem, the first works by either artist to enter the collection.

While all of the seventeenth-century Dutch paintings belonging to the Gallery are included in this catalogue, a few works that originally entered the Gallery's collection as seventeenth-century Dutch have been found to belong to other schools or periods; thus they are published in other volumes of the systematic catalogue. *The Lacemaker* and *The Smiling Woman*, both of which were attributed to Johannes Vermeer when they entered the Gallery in 1937 as part of the original Mellon bequest, were sub-

sequently determined to be twentieth-century imitations (see appendix, p. 404).

This catalogue is arranged alphabetically by artist. Each artist is given a short biography and selected bibliography. Bibliographic references appear in a shortened form, with full titles given in the bibliography at the end of the catalogue. (Ben.) and (Br.) are cataloguing designations found in Benesch 1954-1957 and Bredius [1935], respectively. Individual entries are organized in a roughly chronological fashion, using the following convention for dates:

1650	Executed in 1650
c. 1650	Executed sometime around 1650
1650-1655	Begun in 1650, completed in 1655
1650/1655	Executed sometime between 1650 and 1655
c. 1650/1655	Executed sometime around the period 1650-1655

Acquisition numbers for each work are followed by old, pre-1983 acquisition numbers within parentheses. Dimensions are given in centimeters, height preceding width, followed by dimensions in inches within parentheses. Signatures and dates have been transcribed as accurately as possible. An appendix (pp. 399-403) illustrates those signatures that could be properly photographed.

Each entry includes technical notes, which summarize the contents of examination reports prepared by members of the Gallery's conservation department. These notes discuss the painting's support, the ground and paint layers, and the surface condition. They also contain information about changes in size or composition that can be determined from scientific examinations, including pigment analysis, x-radiographs, and infrared reflectography. These notes also indicate treatments that have been undertaken since the painting's acquisition by the Gallery.

In the Provenance section of the entries, parentheses indicate a dealer, auction house, or agent. A semicolon between two names indicates a direct transfer of the painting from one owner to the other, whereas a period indicates that no direct transfer is documented. Short titles are used for frequently cited exhibitions and catalogues. Titles in the References and Notes are given in short form. Monographs and articles are abbreviated using the author's name; exhibition catalogues are

abbreviated using the city where the exhibition originated; and museum catalogues are listed under the name of the museum.

The following attribution terms are used to indicate the nature of the relationship to a named artist:

Attributed to: Indicates that a degree of uncertainty surrounds the attribution of the painting to the named artist. The basis for the uncertainty may be stylistic or iconographic, but it may also be as a result of the physical condition of the work.

Studio or Workshop: Indicates that the painting was produced in the named artist's workshop or studio, by students or assistants, possibly with some participation by the named artist. It is important that the creative concept is by the named artist and that the work was meant to leave the studio as his.

Follower of: Indicates that the work was created by an unidentified artist working specifically in the style of the named artist, who may or may not have been trained by the named artist. Some chronological continuity of association or a time limit of about a generation after the named artist's death is implied.

Circle of: Indicates an unidentified contemporary

of the named artist, working in a similar style, who could be either a follower or an independent master who had contact with the named artist.

Style of: Indicates a stylistic relationship only, possibly vague, in which there need not be an implied chronological continuity of association.

This catalogue is a reflection on the character of the Dutch collection of seventeenth-century paintings as it existed at the National Gallery in the spring of 1994. It is hoped that the collection will continue to grow and that its character will even more accurately reflect the varied nature of seventeenth-century Dutch art than it presently does. The acquisition of small-scale paintings, for example, which are presently difficult to hang in the large, wood-paneled Dutch galleries, will be possible as construction of three new cabinet galleries, generously funded by a donation from Lee and Juliet Folger, is completed in the fall of 1995. The appearance of the paintings will continue to be enhanced by conservation efforts as well as by the acquisition of seventeenth-century frames to replace eighteenth- and nineteenth-century frames, whose styles are often inappropriate for Dutch paintings.

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CATALOGUE



Willem van Aelst, *Still Life with Dead Game*, 1682. 36.1

Willem van Aelst

1626–1683

VAN AELST was a pupil of his uncle, Evert van Aelst (1602–1658), a still-life painter in Delft. His father held the respected position of *Notaris* in Delft; hence, it is likely that Van Aelst came from a wealthy family. He joined the town's Saint Luke's Guild on 9 November 1643. Swillens has determined that Van Aelst was a Catholic; otherwise little information is known about his personal life. From 1645 until 1649 he lived in France and subsequently in Italy until 1656. While in Florence, Van Aelst worked as an assistant to the Dutch still-life painter Otto Marseus van Schrieck (1619/1620–1678) when that artist was employed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II de Medici. Van Aelst eventually received a gold medal and gold chain for his service. In 1656 he and Van Schrieck returned to the north. After a short period of time in Delft, Van Aelst moved to Amsterdam, where he remained for the rest of his life. At his death he left a wife and three children.

In 1672 Van Aelst was one of seven Dutch painters, including Van Schrieck, who were asked to judge the merits of a collection of Italian paintings sold to the great elector of Brandenburg by the Amsterdam art dealer Gerrit Uylenburgh. They declared the paintings worthless.¹ The flower painter Rachel Ruysch (1664–1750) was a student of Van Aelst's, and he influenced a number of other artists, including W. G. Ferguson (1632/1633–after 1695), Elias van den Broeck (c. 1650–1708), and Simon Verelst (1644–1721).

Van Aelst specialized in still-life painting, but within this genre he was quite versatile, painting fruit and flower pieces, and, above all, hunting scenes, with dead game and hunting gear. This type of picture became very popular after mid-century. Van Aelst seems to have been particularly influential in the development of this genre; his paintings were greatly praised and fetched high prices.

Notes

1. Bredius 1886: 41–46.

Bibliography

- Houbraken 1753, 1: 228–230, 358.
Swillens 1946.
Bergström 1956: 220–224.
Bol 1969: 324–327.
Montias 1982.
Sullivan 1984: 51–56, 70–72, 97.

1982.36.1 (2858)

Still Life with Dead Game

1661

Oil on canvas, 84.7 x 67.3 (33³/₈ x 26¹/₂)
Pepita Milmore Memorial Fund

Inscriptions

At lower right: *Güill.^{mo} van. Aelst. 1661.*

Technical Notes: The support, a fine-weight, plain-weave canvas that has been lined, has been trimmed slightly at the top and sides. A thin, smooth, brownish beige ground layer was applied overall. A slightly darker imprimatura lying under the dead game was employed as a mid-tone.

The image was constructed with various layers of opaque paint of thin to moderate consistency as well as with glazes. The overall condition of the painting is excellent, with losses confined to the edges and the hare's muzzle. Thin upper layers and glazes are moderately abraded, particularly in the pouch and strap, bas-relief shadows, and background, and often expose the ground. Abraded rooster and partridge feathers have been retouched. No conservation treatment has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Dr. C. J. K. van Aalst, Huis-te-Hoevelaken, by 1939; (sale, Sotheby Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, 18 May 1981, no. 489); (Richard Green, London).

VAN AELST DEPICTS a number of dead animals hanging above and resting upon a stone ledge, on which also lies a blue and gold hunter's game pouch. The animals are painted very precisely, and most of them can be identified. The largest are a European hare (*Lepus europaeus*) and two roosters, one white and one dark. Hanging before the legs of the hare is a European partridge (*Perdix perdix*). Suspended in the upper left with two falconer's hoods are an adult kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis*) and a common wheatear (*Oenanthe oenanthe*). The third bird in this group, which is only partially visible, has not been precisely identified. These animals must have been killed by a falcon as no bullet wounds are visible.¹

The tightly cropped and carefully orchestrated composition is characteristic of Van Aelst's paintings from the 1650s and 1660s. Through his use of light, color, and texture, Van Aelst focuses our attention on the animals and game pouch. The dark background gives the scene a somber, almost brooding quality. The impact of the painting, however, comes from its extraordinary illusionism. Van Aelst care-

fully records the various textures of the fur, feathers, stone, and satin, and even includes a fly on the rooster's comb.

Such paintings may have been collected by rich burghers who owned game parks and hunting lodges. Sullivan has argued that these paintings appealed to the aristocratic aspirations of the Dutch burgher because hunting and falconry traditionally had been a pastime of the Dutch court.² The diversity of animals indicates that Van Aelst composed the scene from a repertoire of studies that he had made after specific models. Virtually the same kingfisher, for example, hanging in a similar position, occurs in a signed and dated 1664 painting (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. no. NM 301). The game pouch is also found in other Van Aelst paintings, such as *Still Life with Game and Hunting Gear* (Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, inv. no. 350).

That Van Aelst's painting was intended to represent the general theme of the hunt rather than the spoils of a specific hunt is evident from the relief depicting Diana and Actaeon on the front of the stone ledge. Diana, visible between the shoulder straps of the game pouch, leans over to splash water on Actaeon. He recoils, but stag horns are already sprouting from his head. Van Aelst's relief is based on one of the most famous mannerist compositions, Paulus van Vianen's gilded silver plaquette of 1612 (fig. 1).³ The exquisite works of both Paulus and his older brother Adam elicited great admiration in the seventeenth century, and their silver basins and ewers frequently appear in paintings by Dutch artists. Intricate silver vessels, similar to those created by the Van Vianens, occur in a number of Van Aelst's flower still lifes. As Klessmann has pointed

out, artists included these finely wrought objects in their biblical and mythological paintings as symbols of worldly treasures that should be forsaken for more lasting values.⁴ In this instance, since Van Aelst has depicted a stone relief rather than the gilded silver plaquette, he emphasized instead the thematic relationship of the story of Diana and Actaeon to the hunt.⁵

The juxtaposition of the relief with the dead game may have also been chosen for moralizing reasons.⁶ The story of Diana and Actaeon was frequently interpreted in Dutch seventeenth-century literature as a warning against succumbing to sensual pleasure. Actaeon's downfall resulted from his unregulated desires that led him to overstep the bounds of chastity by peering at Diana.⁷ The partridge, rabbit, and rooster hanging above the relief are all animals that, like Actaeon, are associated with unbridled lust.⁸ Thus, the unusual array of animals in this trophy painting may have less to do with the specifics of a hunt than with the underlying iconographic content of the painting. The entire scene, painted with such trompe l'oeil illusionism, probably also alluded to the transience of sensual pleasure.

Notes

1. George E. Watson, curator, Division of Birds, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, letter, 13 July 1982, in NGA curatorial files.

2. Sullivan 1984, 41–42; and Sullivan 1980, 236–243.

3. Inv. no. 14745. The connection with Van Vianen was pointed out to me by Joaneath Spicer. For further information on Van Vianen's work, see Duyvene de Wit-Klinkhamer 1955; Amsterdam 1979, 42–54.

4. Klessmann 1981, 367–372.

5. Van Aelst included this relief in at least two other paintings, *Still Life with Poultry* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A1669) and *Still Life with Game Pouch* (art market, London, 1993).

6. For the following analysis I am indebted to Pamela Hall, who, as a graduate student at the University of Maryland, analyzed this painting in a seminar report in 1987 (in NGA curatorial files).

7. See Sluijter 1986, 168–187.

8. The most comprehensive assessment of the symbolic implications of dead birds is De Jongh 1968–1969, 22–74. See also Philadelphia 1984, 184–185, 251. For a genre painting with sexual overtones where the same types of dead animals occur see Hieronymus van der Mij's *A Kitchen with a Servant Girl and Two Boys* (Derekamp, Stichting Adwina van Heek, Huize Singraven), repro. in Leiden 1988, 171.

References

- 1936 Moltke: 50, pl. 11.
 1984 Sullivan: 91, note 32.
 1985 NGA: 17, repro.
 1988 Grimm: 172, reprints 115–117.
 1992 NGA: 134, color repro.

Fig. 1. Paulus van Vianen, *Plaquette with the representation of Diana and Actaeon*, gilded silver, 1612, Utrecht, Centraal Museum



Balthasar van der Ast

1593/1594–1657

BALTHASAR VAN DER AST was born in Middelburg. Although the date of his birth is not recorded, legal action by his guardian and brother Jacob on 30 June 1618 and on 13 September 1619 indicates that Balthasar turned twenty-five (his maturity) around this time. He was orphaned when his father, Hans, a wealthy widower, died in 1609. After his father's death he may have lived with his older sister Maria and her husband, the still-life painter Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder (1573–1621). The precise technique and symmetrical compositions of Van der Ast's early paintings show the impact of Bosschaert's art, which he could have seen in his brother-in-law's studio. He seems to have accompanied Bosschaert when he moved from Middelburg to Bergen op Zoom and then to Utrecht.

In 1619 Van der Ast joined the Saint Luke's Guild in Utrecht. While there he probably trained Bosschaert's three sons after their father died in 1621. He also taught Jan Davidsz. de Heem (q.v.). There too Van der Ast was influenced by Roelandt Savery (q.v.). As a result he began to paint in a softer, more atmospheric manner than previously and to animate his still lifes with small animals and insects. In 1632 he moved to Delft and joined the town's Saint Luke's Guild. Although most of his still lifes are relatively small, his style loosened during his Delft period when he painted a number of larger scale works. Van der Ast died in December 1657 and was buried in the Oude Kerk in Delft.

Bibliography

Bol 1960.
Bol 1982: 52–56.

1992.51.1

Basket of Fruits

c. 1622
Oil on oak, 18.1 x 22.8 (7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 9)
Gift of Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

At lower right: *.B.vander.ast . . .*

Technical Notes: The support is a single, horizontally grained wood board with thin wood strips attached to edges beveled on the back. Paint is applied over an off-white ground

in thin, opaque, and translucent layers with minimal brushmarking. Discolored retouching covers scattered minor losses, particularly in the fruit. The ground is visible through small areas of moderate abrasion. No conservation has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Probably Princess Amalia van Solms, The Hague, by 1632. Private collection, possibly Mrs. Beaumont. (sale, Christie's, London, 19 March 1906, no. 17). (Fritz Gerstel Gallery, Berlin); his sale, Kunstsalon Keller & Reiner, Berlin, 21–22 January 1908, nos. 36 and 37). (Kunsthandel Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, c. 1938). Dr. Hans Wetzlar, Amsterdam, by 1952; (his sale, Sotheby Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, 9 June 1977, no. 5); (John Mitchell & Son, London); sold November 1977 to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.

Exhibited: *Jubileumtentoonstelling Gebroeders Douwes* [Kunsthandel Gebr.], Amsterdam, 1955, nos. 1, 2. *La Nature Morte et son Inspiration*, Galerie André Weil, Paris, 1960, no. 1.

1992.51.2

Basket of Flowers

c. 1622
Oil on oak, 17.8 x 23.5 (7 x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$)
Gift of Mrs. Paul Mellon

Inscriptions

At lower left: *.B.vander.ast . . .*

Technical Notes: The support, a single, horizontally grained wood board, has a slight concave warp. Thin wood strips are attached to edges beveled on the back. Paint is applied over an off-white ground in thin, opaque, and translucent layers with minimal brushmarking. Retouching covers scattered minor losses. Abrasion is moderate throughout, particularly in the darks of the shells. No conservation has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Same as 1992.51.1.

Exhibited: Same as 1992.51.1 (no. 2).

BY THE EARLY 1630s, when an inventory of their possessions was made, the Prince of Orange, Frederik Hendrik, and his wife Amalia van Solms, had formed an imposing collection of contemporary Dutch and Flemish paintings. Their taste led them to collect mythological and allegorical paintings, as well as princely portraits. Only four still lifes are listed, two of which hung in a small room belonging to the princess that also contained two allegorical



Balthasar van der Ast, *Basket of Fruits*, 1992.51.1



Balthasar van der Ast, *Basket of Flowers*, 1692.51.2

paintings attributed to Rubens and a portrait of Amalia van Solms by Rembrandt. As described in the inventory, the still lifes were "two small paintings in ebony frames, one a basket with fruit and the other a basket with flowers, by Van der Ast."¹ These two paintings must be *Basket of Fruits* and *Basket of Flowers*, one of the rare sets of companion pieces created by this early seventeenth-century master.² While it is not known when or how Van der Ast's paintings were acquired by Amalia van Solms, their existence in the princely collection indicates the esteem in which this artist was held by his contemporaries.³

Van der Ast, who was trained by his brother-in-law, Ambrosius Bosschaert, had learned from him the fundamentals of painting, in particular the accurate depiction of flowers, fruits, shells, insects, baskets, and Chinese-export ceramics—the subjects of his paintings.⁴ It was undoubtedly from Bosschaert that Van der Ast derived the idea of representing a symmetrically placed wicker basket filled with flowers and with shells scattered on the tabletop.⁵ He may also have learned from Bosschaert the art of making drawings or watercolor studies of flowers, fruits, and shells to use as models that could be variously combined. The elegant red-and-white variegated tulip that hangs over the edge of the basket in *Basket of Flowers*, for example, can be found in a number of Van der Ast's compositions.⁶

A clear difference, however, exists between the two artists. Whereas Bosschaert's blossoms are crisp and their colors vivid, Van der Ast, in his *Basket of Flowers*, softens his forms with diffuse contours and more muted colors. Light no longer plays evenly over the surface, but selectively highlights the central core of the composition, creating a more dynamic image than any comparable painting by Bosschaert. Van der Ast reinforces this effect by bringing his forms close to the picture plane and compressing the space between the various compositional elements. Finally, he adds variety to his scene, not only with the plethora of flowers in his basket, which range from tulips, roses, irises, fritillary, and columbine to an anemone, hyacinth, carnation, and cyclamen leaf, but also with the rare and exotic shells and fruit that lie on the table. Further enlivening the scene is a dragonfly in the upper right and a hermit crab in the lower left.

The same richness within a small scale is evident in the companion piece, *Basket of Fruits*. Here, arranged in an identical wicker basket, are three sorts of grapes, plums, apples, apricots, a Seville orange, and a quince. On the table are many of the same types of fruit, as well as medlars and cherries. Add-

ing elegance and preciousness to the scene are two Wan-Li plates that Van der Ast has placed at a slant on each side of the basket.

As pendants, the two works complement each other in a number of ways. Their compositions are virtually identical: a centrally located overflowing wicker basket with still-life elements grouped around it in a semicircular manner. The combination of fruit and flowers found in these two works creates a sense of the abundance and beauty of God's creation, a prevalent theme in early seventeenth-century still-life painting.⁷ Van der Ast may well have introduced the shells and the Wan-Li china for their exotic appeal, but their presence also allowed him to include all of the four elements; for traditionally fruit was associated with the earth, flowers with air, shells with water, and fine china with fire.

Van der Ast almost certainly created these works in the early 1620s. The soft, atmospheric character of his painting style reflects the influence of Roelandt Savery (q.v.), who had also joined the Utrecht Saint Luke's Guild in 1619. Van der Ast painted a number of comparable compositions in the early 1620s, where the same elements appear. Segal has noted that the Batavian rose, visible here in the front of the *Basket of Flowers*, was replaced in Van der Ast's repertoire by the Provins rose around 1623, further confirmation for the early dating of these paintings.⁸

Notes

1. Drossaers 1930, 212, cat. no. 76, 77: "Twee cleyne schilderikens met ebben lijsten, het een een mandeken met fruyten ende het ander een mandeken met bloemen, door [Balthasar] van der Ast gedaen." The inventory was made in August 1632.

2. The connection between the description in this inventory and these two paintings was first made by Bol 1955, 146, note 36. Bol 1960 has identified only three other pairs by Van der Ast, none of which answers to the description in the inventory: (cat. nos. 43, 44; 51, 52; 53, 80).

3. A large proportion of the paintings in the princely collection had been executed by artists from Utrecht; thus it may well be that Van der Ast's work was known to Amalia van Solms as a result of his residence in Utrecht during the 1620s.

4. See Bergström 1984–1985, 66–75.

5. See Bergström 1983–1984, 66, fig. 1.

6. Bol 1960 has identified this tulip, known as a "Summer Beauty," in at least nine other compositions: (cat. nos. 18, 20, 26, 46, 63, 116).

7. See Washington 1989a, 11–25.

8. Segal in Osaka 1990, 190.

References

- 1952 Friedländer: 8, nos. 2, 3, repros.
 1955 Bol: 138–154.
 1960 Bol: 38, 74 no. 38, 79 no. 72, pl. 39b, 102, note 85.
 1990 Segal in Osaka: 191.

Hendrick Avercamp

1585–1634

HENDRICK AVERCAMP, born in Amsterdam in a house next to the Nieuwe Kerk, was baptized in the Oude Kerk on 27 January 1585. In 1586 the family moved to Kampen, where Avercamp's father set up an apothecary's business that continued to be run after his death by his son Lambert. Another son also studied medicine, and the members of this well-educated family were for many years prominent citizens of Kampen.

For his artistic training, Hendrick went to Amsterdam to study with the Danish portrait painter Pieter Isaacks (1569–1625). In 1607, King Christiaan IV recalled Isaacks to Denmark, and Avercamp appears among the list of buyers at the auction of his teacher's effects as "de stom tot Pieter Isacqs" [Pieter Isaacks' mute]. Various other records testify to Avercamp's disability: in 1622, a document refers to him as "Hendrick Avercamp de Stomme," and his mother's will, drawn up in 1633, instructs that her unmarried, "mute and miserable" son Hendrick should receive, in addition to his portion of the inheritance, an extra allowance of one hundred guilders a year for life from family capital.

During his apprenticeship in Amsterdam, Avercamp came under the influence of the Flemish painters of mannerist landscapes who were then living in the city, notably Gillis van Coninxloo (1544–1607) and David Vinckboons (1576–1630/1633). It has been suggested on stylistic grounds that Vinckboons may have been another of Avercamp's teachers, but no documentation of such a relationship exists.

From his earliest works, however—the first dated examples of which come from 1601—Avercamp's style is quite individual, and is most strongly connected, not with any Amsterdam trends, but with the work of the minor Kampen artist Gerrit van der Horst (1581/1582–1629). By 28 January 1614 Avercamp was back in Kampen, where he seems to have remained until his death in May 1634.¹ There, in relative isolation from the mainstreams of Dutch art, he devoted himself almost entirely to the painting of winter scenes and specifically to depictions of crowds of people engaging in a wide range of activities on frozen rivers.

Avercamp had no important direct followers, although his nephew Barent Avercamp (c. 1612–1679) was his pupil, as were Arent Arentsz. (called Cabel

(1585/1586–1635), and Dirck Hardenstein II (1620–after 1674).

Notes

1. Avercamp, however, must have occasionally returned to Amsterdam, as is suggested by a drawing he made of the Haarlemmerpoort in Amsterdam, which was constructed between 1615 and 1618. See Amsterdam 1993a: 56, no. 23, repro.

Bibliography

Welcker 1933/1979.
Amsterdam 1982a.
Blankert 1982a.
Wiersma 1985.
Amsterdam 1987: 254–261.
Brown/Maclaren 1992: 3.

1967.3.1 (2315)

A Scene on the Ice

c. 1625
Oil on oak, 39.2 x 77 (15⁷/₁₆ x 30⁷/₁₆)
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund

Inscriptions

At lower left (in ligature): HA

Technical Notes: The support, a single oak panel with a horizontal grain, has been thinned and a cradle attached. Dendrochronology shows the panel to be from a tree felled between 1606 and 1616.¹ Triangular wood inserts replace the bottom right and left corners. The wood grain is quite prominent, due to increased transparency of the aged oil paint and moderate abrasion overall. A thin, smooth, white ground layer is followed by a coarse, granular, gray imprimatura. The horizontal, striated strokes of the imprimatura application, visible through the thin sky, are incorporated into the design of the foreground figures.

Paint is applied in thin, smooth transparent layers with more opaque paint used in the details and white highlights. Very fine contours were applied around the figures with liquid black paint. While discrete losses are few, the paint surface has been heavily abraded, most notably in the sky near the right and along all four edges. Some figures in the middle ground were almost totally reconstructed when the painting was restored in the early twentieth century. The horse and most foreground figures have also been reinforced, sometimes quite inaccurately (see text). No conservation treatment has been carried out at the National Gallery.

Provenance: Said to have been at the Imperial Hermitage Gallery, Saint Petersburg;² (D. Katz, Dieren), by 1933; J. M.

B. Beuker, Heelsum, by 1938; by inheritance to Mrs. J. C. Beuker; (A. Martin de Wild, The Hague).

Exhibited: *Kunsttentoonstelling van 17e Eeuwse Schilderijen*, Gemeentegalerie, Zutphen, 1933, no. 45. *Tentoonstelling van Schilderijen van Oud-hollandsche Meesters uit de Collectie Katz te Dieren*, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, 1934, no. 45. *Meesterwerken uit Vier Eeuwen 1400–1800*, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1938, no. 52.

THE SMOOTH ICE of a frozen river or canal was (and is) a source of great pleasure for the Dutch. The sense of freedom it provided created an almost holiday spirit for both young and old, rich and poor. For the upper class it was a time to enjoy the brisk winter air in beautifully crafted horse-drawn sleighs; for the young at heart it offered a chance to skate along holding hands with a loved one; for others it provided a chance to play *kolf*, to ice fish, or just to watch the array of humanity enjoying their shared experience.

Perhaps winter days spent on the frozen ice were not always as carefree as such a description would imply, but the pictorial and literary traditions from the seventeenth century do not allow for any other interpretation.³ Primary among those who created this idyllic image was Hendrick Avercamp. In numerous landscapes such as this one he recorded the experiences of his countrymen as they skated, sleighed, talked, or just quietly observed the open expanse of smooth ice on a Dutch waterway.

Fig. 1. Hans Bol, *Winter Landscape with Skaters*, c. 1584/1586, brown ink and wash, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Gift of Robert H. and Clarice Smith, in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art



Avercamp, who lived and worked in Kampen, far removed from the artistic centers of Haarlem and Amsterdam, worked his entire career in a style that derived from sixteenth-century prototypes, where landscape vistas were viewed from above to allow for a panoramic overview of the scene below. The specific type of winter scene that Avercamp favored follows a rich tradition that goes back to Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Winter Landscape with Bird-Trap*, 1565 (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Brussels), a composition whose popularity can be measured by the frequent copies made by Bruegel's son, Pieter Brueghel the Younger (1564–1638). Similar scenes appeared in prints and drawings by numerous artists, including Hans Bol (1534–1593) (fig. 1) and David Vinckboons (1576–1630/1633). A number of ice scenes, including compositions by Bol and Vinckboons, were conceived as parts of series representing the seasons of the year.⁴ Other depictions of skaters appear in emblematic prints, where the difficulty of staying upright was associated with the slipperiness of human life.⁵

While Avercamp never strayed very far from these traditions, he did develop this subject matter into a specialty with its own distinctive feel. The primary way in which his work differs from that of his predecessors is in the attention he paid to the individuality of the figures in his scenes and the prominence he gave them over the surrounding landscape elements. These characteristics are particularly evident in *A Scene on the Ice*, where landscape elements are schematically rendered while differences in the social classes and even the individuality of the figures are emphasized by their activities, costumes, and attitudes. Little vignettes can be identified: the proper middle-class burghers who stand to watch more elegant aristocrats gliding in their horse-drawn sleigh; the two friends who skate in tandem; the working-class family who unloads barrels from a work sledge; or the couple in the far distance whom others helped to their feet. Avercamp does not appear to have been interested in using his winter scene as a means for expressing abstract concepts, such as those associated with seasons of the year or emblematic images. On the contrary, he delighted in capturing the variety of social interactions that occur when whole communities share in the pleasures of the ice.

Avercamp, as is characteristic of Dutch seventeenth-century painters, did not paint such scenes from life; rather, he composed them in his studio on the basis of drawings. One such drawing depicts the standing couple to the right of the sleigh (fig. 2). Other drawings of individual figures and figure



Hendrick Avercamp, *A Scene on the Ice*, 1667. 3.1



Fig. 2. Hendrick Avercamp, *Standing Couple*, pen and ink and wash, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

groups also exist. A consequence of this method of working is that the same figures continually recur in Avercamp's paintings. Sometimes he placed them in relatively the same position, but often in new arrangements among a different cast of characters. In a finished watercolor from Berlin (fig. 3), a number of figures similar to those in *A Scene on the Ice* occur, including the figure in the horse-drawn sleigh, the man leaning over to tie his skate, and, in reverse, the young couple skating hand in hand.⁶ A painting that has close compositional relationships to *A Scene on the Ice* is one of Avercamp's masterpieces, his *Winter Scene on a Frozen Canal* in the Carter Collection (fig. 4). Here, not only are the landscape elements identical, but no less than fourteen figure groups can be found that equate to those in the Washington painting. Certain of these are in comparable locations, while others are repositioned, as in the vignette of the father pushing his wife and pointing child in a sled, which appears on the right edge of the Washington painting and the left center of the Carter painting.⁷

The close relationship of the Washington and Carter paintings, and the clear superiority of the latter, has raised the question as to whether Avercamp actually executed *A Scene on the Ice*.⁸ The question here, however, is less one of attribution than the possible impact of market forces and the degree of preservation. The Carter painting is so finely conceived that

Fig. 3. Hendrick Avercamp, *Scene on Ice*, watercolor, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



it seems probable that it was commissioned directly from the artist. The Gallery's painting was most likely painted for the open market; in any event, it was not given the care and attention allotted to *Winter Scene on a Frozen Canal*. Moreover, the appearance of the Gallery's painting today is hardly what it was during the seventeenth century. The paint surface has been abraded through old restorations with the result that many of the smaller figures in the middle ground and background have lost their precise forms. Some figures have been so badly damaged that they have been almost completely repainted. Occasionally, peculiar mistakes of interpretation have occurred in the repainting. One, for example, is the pole with a fish hanging at its tip that can be seen stuck in the ice in the middle of the composition. This pole should actually be held by the boy skating hand in hand with the girl, just as in the Carter painting (fig. 4). Another error in an earlier restorer's interpretation occurs with the man tying on his skate in the lower left. The small bird that so intently watches him is the restorer's creation. As in the Carter painting, the bird should be the man's other skate.⁹

The differences in the character of the Carter painting and the Washington painting may also be ones of chronology, although the chronology of Avercamp's work is extremely difficult to discern, for he only dated his paintings infrequently and may

well have worked in various styles simultaneously. Stylistic evidence seems to indicate that the Carter painting dates from about 1615 to 1620.¹⁰ It may be assumed that the Gallery's painting was executed shortly thereafter since logic dictates that *A Scene on the Ice* must be a somewhat simplified variant. Not only is the landscape more schematically rendered, the various figure groups are not as coherently integrated. A date for the Washington painting in the early 1620s is not contradicted by dendrochronological dating, which indicates a felling date for the oak panel in the range of 1606 to 1616.¹¹ Stylistically a date in the 1620s also makes sense, for in those years Avercamp favored compositions with relatively small figures and with a loosely structured pictorial organization.¹²

Notes

1. Dendrochronology by Dr. Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg, 12 February 1987 (letter in NGA curatorial files).

2. Although catalogues for exhibitions held during the period that the dealer D. Katz owned the painting state that it was previously in the collection of the Hermitage, the picture is not listed in any of the museum's collection catalogues.

3. See Chandelier 1657.

4. See, in particular, Hessel Gerritsz's engraving after Vinckboons, *Heyms.*, ill. in Amsterdam 1982a, 150–151, cat. 33.

5. A print by Johannes Galle after Pieter Bruegel the Elder of an ice scene, dated 1553, is entitled "De slib-

Fig. 4. Hendrick Avercamp, *Winter Scene on a Frozen Canal*, oil on panel, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Edward William Carter



berachtigheyt van 's menschen leven." For a discussion of emblematic literature of ice scenes see Van Straaten 1977, 43–48.

6. For other paintings in which figure groups found in the Washington painting occur, see Welcker 1933/1979, (1979) plates xxii, xxv.

7. The relationship between these two paintings was thoughtfully analyzed in 1986 by Kathleen Pedersen in a graduate seminar paper at the University of Maryland (in NGA curatorial files).

8. Keyes in Amsterdam 1982a, 55, note 25.

9. I owe these observations to Kathleen Pedersen (see note 7 above). The extended bottom edge of the pole (with fish attached), now worn away, can be faintly observed in the x-radiograph and in the surface of the paint itself when examined with a binocular microscope. The skate/shoe,

turned into a bird, is apparent as overpaint when it is examined with a binocular microscope.

10. For an excellent analysis of the Carter painting see Los Angeles 1981, 3–7.

11. See note 1.

12. See Amsterdam 1982a, 28.

References

- 1934 "Collectie der Firma Katz."
1934 Niehaus.
1968 NGA: 2, no. 2315, repro.
1975 NGA: 14–15, no. 2315, repro.
1933/1979 Welcker: 216, no. S 73.3.
1982 Keyes in Amsterdam 1982a: 37–55, note 25.
1985 NGA: 33, repro.
1986 Sutton: 305, repro.

Ludolf Backhuysen

1631–1708

LUDOLF BACKHUYSEN, whose name appears in the literature in a number of different forms (e.g. Bakhuisen, Backhuisen, Bakhuisen), was born in the German town of Emden on 18 December 1631. He was the son of a scribe, Gerhard Backhaus, and initially followed in his father's footsteps, working as a clerk in the government offices at Emden. After the family moved to Amsterdam in 1649, he held a similar post with the firm of the wealthy merchant Guilielmo Bartolotti van den Heuvel, a fellow native of Emden.

In 1656, while still apparently working for Bartolotti, Backhuysen is recorded as a member of *Kaligraphie*, a society of those proficient in beautiful penmanship. From 1650 onward he was also working as a draftsman, producing "pen-paintings" and *grisailles*. In documents of 1657 and 1660 he is still referred to as a draftsman, and although his earliest dated oil painting was executed in 1658, he did not join the painters' guild until February 1663. By this time any formal training he may have received in the art of painting must have been completed. No contemporary records of any apprenticeship survive, but Houbraken states that Backhuysen studied first with Allart van Everdingen (1621–1675) and then with Hendrick Dubbels (1620/1621–1676?).

His late start as a professional painter did not prevent Backhuysen from rapidly gaining widespread fame and patronage. After Willem van de Velde (c. 1611–1693) and his son Willem van de

Velde the Younger (1633–1707) emigrated to England in late 1672 or early 1673, he was unchallenged as the leading seascape painter of the Netherlands. Even as early as 1665 it was to him that the burghomasters of Amsterdam turned when commissioning a large view of the city's harbor to send as a gift to Hughes de Lionne, Marquis de Berny, a minister of Louis XIV of France. For this painting the artist was paid the sizable sum of 1,275 florins.

Backhuysen's clientele is reported to have included a number of other European rulers—among them Peter the Great of Russia, the king of Prussia, the elector of Saxony, and the grand duke of Tuscany—and his works continued to be extremely popular with leading collectors throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. After about 1850, however, his reputation began to wane, and only recently has he once more come to be considered a leading master of Dutch marine painting.

Backhuysen's canvases are often large and frequently depict stormy scenes. His lighting and color schemes are typically more dramatic than those of his contemporary, Willem van de Velde the Younger, although some of their works of the 1670s are rather similar and have on occasion been confused. It is not clear if one artist influenced the other at this time, or if their stylistic convergence was coincidental. A painter upon whom Backhuysen certainly did exert an influence was Abraham Storck (1644–after 1704).

He also had a number of pupils, including Hendrick and Jan Claesz. Rietschoof, Michiel Maddersteg, Jan Dubbels, Pieter Coopse, and Anthonie Rutgers.

In addition to the seascapes for which he is famous, Backhuysen painted some portraits, allegorical compositions, and townscapes. Besides his work as a calligrapher, he was also a printmaker. He was married four times, and died after a long illness in Amsterdam, where he was buried in the Westerkerk on 17 November 1708.

Bibliography

Houbraken 1753, 2: 236–244.
Smith 1829–1842, 6 (1835): 401–458, 561–568; 9 (1842): 777–785.
HdG 1907–1927, 7 (1923): 211–322.
Bol 1973: 301–307.
Preston 1974: 3–6.
Nannen 1985.
Amsterdam 1985.
Minneapolis 1990: 82–97, 402–403.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 5–6.

1985.29.1

Ships in Distress off a Rocky Coast

1667
Oil on canvas, 114.3 x 167.3 (45 x 65 7/8)
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund

Inscriptions

On rock at lower center: *J.Backh/1667*

Technical Notes: The painting has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. No reduction of the picture plane has occurred. A cream-colored ground, which covers the fine-weight, plain-woven support, is visible through the thinly applied paint. Thin, fluid, opaque paint layers are blended wet into wet with minimally impasted highlights and finely drawn paint lines in the rigging. The paint condition is excellent, with losses confined to the paint edges and only minor abrasion. Discolored varnish and retouchings were removed when the painting was restored in 1985.

Provenance: Arthur George, 3rd Earl of Onslow [1777–1870], West Clandon Place, Surrey.¹ (Sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 22 July 1893, no. 24); J. W. Vokins. Del Monte, Brussels.² (P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London, in 1959); (sale, Christie's, London, 19 April 1985, no. 111).

Exhibited: *Tentoonstelling van Schilderijen*, Kunstzaal Kleykamp, The Hague, 1932, no. 41. Minneapolis 1990, no. 4.

BUFFETED BY VIOLENT WINDS and raging seas, three Dutch cargo ships struggle desperately to stay clear of a rocky coast. The threat of destruction is

real, for the remnants of a shipwreck are ominously present in the foreground: a mast from the doomed ship, its Dutch flag still aloft, and cargo floating in the waves. An even more imminent danger for two of these ships is the threat of collision. One ship, its reefed sails filled with wind, races past two rock outcrops and bears down on another cargo ship that has turned into the wind to try to ride out the storm. Anxious sailors, struggling to bring their vessel under control, gesture wildly as spray from a huge wave crashes against its side. The other vessel's rear mast has broken, and the crew has cut down the top portion of its mainmast to prevent further damage. Most of its crew is on deck frantically trying to control the disengaged mast and sail.³ The outcome of the drama is not known, but Backhuysen creates the impression that man will prevail in this battle against the forces of nature: although massive steel gray clouds loom overhead, clear skies and a golden light in the upper left signal that the storm is about to pass.⁴

Backhuysen painted this dramatic scene in 1667, fairly early in his long and successful career as an artist. Most of his paintings from the 1660s depict identifiable ships massed in the waters offshore, whether outside the port of Amsterdam or near the island Texel north of the Zuider Zee. While Backhuysen delighted in activating such scenes with billowing clouds, choppy seas, and strong accents of light and dark, nothing anticipates the concentrated drama of this work. Indeed, it is remarkable that this painting, which is both large in scale and assured in concept and execution, is the first known representation of a tempest in his oeuvre.⁵

Houbraken states that Backhuysen began his career as an artist by drawing boats.⁶ While the careful, descriptive style of a number of his early drawings and pen paintings suggests that at the outset he was extremely influenced by the preeminent marine painters of the day, Willem van de Velde the Elder and his son Willem van de Velde the Younger, the influences that Houbraken mentions are Backhuysen's first teacher, Allaert van Everdingen, and the marine painter Hendrick Dubbels. Indeed, Everdingen's seascapes, with their convincing representations of turbulent seas and rugged terrains, include rocks not unlike those in Backhuysen's painting (fig. 1).⁷ In the end though, Backhuysen's fascination with the effects of weather in a seascape undoubtedly stemmed from an inherent interest in the sea. According to Houbraken, "nature" was Backhuysen's true teacher. He often sailed to the mouth of the sea to observe changes of light and water along the shore; such excursions provided a vivid impres-



Fig. 1. Allart van Everdingen, *Ships in a Rough Sea*, c. 1645, oil on canvas, Städelsches Kunstinstitut Frankfurt, photo: Ursula Edelmann

sion of natural effects for his paintings and drawings.⁸

The vessels depicted by Backhuysen are flutes. These cargo ships were at the core of the enormous merchant fleet that was so essential to Dutch prosperity. Flutes were particularly important for trade with Scandinavia, and they traversed the Baltic Sea with loads of grain or lumber destined for Dutch markets. It would be along these trade routes that sailors would encounter cliffs and rocky shores reminiscent of the rugged terrain threatening the ships

in Backhuysen's painting. Many of the ships in this fleet came from Hoorn, one of the most important ports on the Zuider Zee, the seat of one of the chambers of the East India Company, and the city where the flute was first built in the late sixteenth century.⁹ Since the red-and-white striped flag of Hoorn flies from the foremast of the ship to the right, Backhuysen's scene may relate to a specific event in Hoorn's history.¹⁰

Even if a historic episode lies behind its conception, this tempest scene belongs to a Dutch and Flemish pictorial tradition that reaches back to the late sixteenth century. Artists as diverse as Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625), Paulus Bril (1554–1626), Bonaventura Peeters (1614–1652), Adam Willelaerts (1577–1664), Simon de Vlieger (1601–1653), and Jacob Adriaensz. Bellevois (q.v.) found a ready market for such works not only because of the inherent drama of their subjects, but also because these scenes spoke to a deep-seated fear for all those whose lives depended on the sea. Rocky shores, in particular, had ominous overtones. On a practical level, they were to be feared in the midst of a storm, but they also symbolized inhospitable, foreign lands, the Dutch coast being predominantly lined by dunes.

Bellevois' *Sea Storm on a Rocky Coast* (fig. 2), which was executed in 1664, only three years before Backhuysen's work, offers a particularly interesting compositional and thematic comparison. As ships are

Fig. 2. Jacob Adriaensz. Bellevois, *Sea Storm on a Rocky Coast*, 1664, oil on canvas, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum





Ludolf Backhuysen, *Ships in Distress off a Rocky Coast*, 1985.29.1

cast about in the stormy sea, some survivors of a wreck have made it to shore and are praying to God. The painting is anecdotal in the extreme, yet its underlying allegorical concept is fundamental to this genre of images: these survivors have overcome the turbulence of life and have reached the rock of their salvation, through the intervention of God, to whom they offer prayers of thanksgiving.¹¹ Backhuysen, on the other hand, focuses the entire drama on the boats at sea. He simplifies the image and removes the obvious theological and allegorical messages. For these sailors to survive, they must overcome the forces of nature through their own prowess as well as through the good graces of a deity above.

The painting is in a remarkable state of preservation. All of the details are intact, including the masts, sails, and lines on the ships. Particularly fascinating is the manner in which Backhuysen has indicated the spray from the waves by flicking a brush loaded with lead-white paint against the canvas. This technique gives an immediacy to the scene that is not often found in his later works, when his manner of painting became heavier. Although no preliminary drawing for this painting is known, a drawing of a *Ship in Distress in a Thunderstorm* (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam) has much the same spirit and may have been executed about the same time.¹² A smaller version of the painting, attributed to Backhuysen, was on the New York art market in 1987.¹³

Notes

1. The Arthur George ownership, as well as the Del Monte reference cited below, come from labels that were formerly affixed to the stretcher.

2. Information taken from an old label on the back.

3. George Keyes in Minneapolis 1990, 88, interprets the vessel as floundering because it has "suffered terrible damage to its masts." However, the crew has taken control of the situation by removing the upper portion of the mast. A similar strategy against the forces of a storm can be seen in Backhuysen's 1694 painting of the Dutch men-of-war *Ridderschap* and *Hollandia* in the midst of a hurricane in the Straits of Gibraltar (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; inv. A 4856, repro. in

Rijksmuseum 1992, 20); the *Hollandia* is likewise shown without the top portion of the mainmast because its commander had it cut down to save the ship during the storm. See Kattenburg 1989, 42.

4. Goedde 1986, 142, views the situation more negatively. He writes that "few of the sailors in Backhuysen's picture will survive these cliffs."

5. Backhuysen painted a number of tempest scenes in later years, among them actual events (see note 2), imaginary scenes, and a few representations of biblical stories, such as *The Shipwreck of Paul*, c. 1690–1700, Stiftung Henri Nannen, Emden (color repro. in Nannen 1985, 43).

6. Houbraken 1753, 2: 237.

7. Everdingen's tempest views may reflect his own experiences: Houbraken 1753, 2: 238 relates that Everdingen had been shipwrecked off the coast of Norway.

8. Houbraken 1753, 2: 238. As Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann has noted (personal communication), Houbraken's comments have the character of *topoi*, rather than statements of fact.

9. Minneapolis 1990, 305.

10. Rob Kattenburg, letter of 1 October 1987, identifies the flag and adds, "Such a flag flown from the foremast usually signifies the residence of the shipowner, whereas a townflag flying from the rear mast indicates the home of the skipper." In the opinion of H. W. Saaltink, curator of the Westfries Museum, "no special event from the Hoorn history has been depicted" (letter of 28 November 1991). Both letters are in NGA curatorial files.

11. For an iconographic assessment of this painting, see Jochen Luckhardt in Braunschweig 1991, 28–31. Also relevant to the interpretation of such paintings is a long emblematic tradition in which storm-tossed ships, threatened by rocky shores, are given various allegorical meanings. In Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* (Leiden, 1556), for example, this motif represented danger to the ship of state, whereas Adriaan Spinniker, in his *Leerzaame Zinnebeelden* (Haarlem, 1714), uses it to illustrate the dangers to the soul that result from a life unmindful of God.

12. Inv. no. H. 209. This connection was noted by Keyes in Minneapolis 1990, 221–222, no. 62 (repro.).

13. Sale, Christie's, New York, 13 January 1987, no. 72, oil on canvas, 26 x 31 inches.

References

- 1986 Sutton: 306.
 1986 Goedde: 142.
 1989 Goedde: 177, 202, 203, 204, fig. 161.
 1990 Minneapolis: no. 4.
 1991 Walsh: 645–646, repro.

Jacob Adriaensz. Bellevois

1620/1622–1676

THE MARINE PAINTER Jacob Adriaensz. Bellevois was born about 1620 or 1622 in Rotterdam. His teacher is not known, but the influence of Julius Porcellis (1609?–1645), who worked in Rotterdam, seems apparent in the monochrome tendencies evident in his style. Bellevois presumably lived and worked in Rotterdam at least until after the death of his first wife, Cornelia Vythoecs, in 1653. Three years later he married Maria 't Hert from Gouda. A

document indicates that he was living there in 1671. Around 1673 or 1674 he is mentioned as being in Hamburg. He was buried in Rotterdam on 19 September 1676.

Bibliography

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Bredius 1915–1922, 5 (1918): 1648–1650.

Bol 1973: 192–196.

Circle of Jacob Adriaensz. Bellevois

1947.3.1 (890)

Dutch Ships in a Lively Breeze

probably 1650s

Oil on canvas, 122.5 x 147.8 (48¼ x 58¼)

Gift of Mrs. Robert Giles

Technical Notes: The picture support is comprised of two pieces of fabric sewn with a horizontal seam just below the center. All tacking margins were removed when the picture was lined, but cusping at the edges suggests that the original dimensions have been retained. The fabric support sustained damage in the form of a long tear in the upper right, in the sky. A thin, reddish brown ground was laid overall. The sky, the most thickly painted area of the picture, was painted first, followed by the water, then the boats. The paint used for the water and boats is thinly applied. The paint is in fairly poor condition, with extensive abrasions and much repaint. Overpaint covers several centimeters on either side of the seam and the tear, as well as extending beyond the perimeters of the several small, but significant losses in the sky. The varnish is very discolored.

Provenance: Mrs. Robert Giles, Washington.

Exhibited: *Inaugural Exhibition: European Paintings*, Art Museum, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 1969–1970, no cat.

UNDER THE BILLOWING CLOUDS of an expansive sky, a large three-master, carrying the Amsterdam coat of arms on its stern, sails in brisk winds through crowded shipping lanes. While no land is visible, the

mixture of both large and small vessels sailing in a variety of directions suggests that the setting may be one of the broad river estuaries along the coast of the Netherlands that were so important for fostering the Dutch mercantile empire. Nevertheless, given that the ships seem to be generic in character rather than identifiable, it would appear that the scene is a fanciful construction conceived in the artist's workshop.¹

The attribution of this painting is difficult to determine, in large part because the condition is poor and the surface is heavily overpainted. A more essential problem, however, is that the quality of the work is not very high, indicating that the artist was not a master of the first rank. Ships are ill-drawn and do not sit comfortably in the water, the waves are not convincingly rendered, and the composition lacks focus and a sense of cohesion.

When the painting was accepted at the National Gallery in 1947 it was attributed to Abraham Storck (1635–1710), presumably on the basis of an old label that was once attached to the back of the original canvas that read: "Storck Dietsch 1696—Shipping in the Scheldt." Storck, however, was a rather talented marine painter, whose style is quite different. Instead of the elongated, insubstantial forms of the vessels found in this painting, he gave his ships a physical presence. Both through his dense brushwork and effective modeling, for example, he could convey the weight and mass of the sail in a way not remotely suggested by the artist of this work.²

The attribution to Storck was changed in 1964

after Horst Gerson suggested, on the basis of a photograph, that the painting was close to the manner of Hendrick van Anthonissen (1605–1656).³ This Amsterdam marine painter, who studied with his brother-in-law Jan Porcellis (1585–1632), was an effective painter of naval battles, but he never developed Porcellis' compositional sensitivity or achieved the atmospheric qualities that emanated from the older artist's palette. Anthonissen's retardative style is in many ways quite close to that found in this painting, although his mastery of ship details quite surpasses that evident in this work.⁴

A closer comparison, however, can be made with the work of another retardatory marine painter, Jacob Adriaensz. Bellevois. This Rotterdam artist was influenced by Jan Porcellis' son, Julius Porcellis (c. 1609–1645), who practiced his tonal style in that port city. Just as with Hendrick van Anthonissen, however, Bellevois never did develop into an effective tonal artist, in large part because he remained wedded to earlier pictorial traditions, particularly those of Hendrick Vroom (1566–1640).⁵ Whether painting shipwrecks or vessels sailing in a brisk wind along the Dutch coast (fig. 1), he spread his vessels randomly along the breadth of the picture plane rather than uniting them into an integrated whole. While his palette remained largely limited to monochromes of gray and brown, he differentiated between foreground and middle ground with artificially constructed zones of shadow and sunlight rather than with the diagonal compositional schema developed by Julius Porcellis and his father. Also characteristic of his style is that he painted rather loosely, never softening details of the boats or of the riggings so that they merged atmospherically into the broader tonal character of the image. All of these mannerisms are evident in the Gallery's painting.

Also consistent with his style is the lack of weight felt in the material of the sails and, perhaps most tellingly, the distinctive staffage figures that populate the ships. The figures in Bellevois' paintings are quite schematically rendered and almost always wear hats with wide, flat brims.

The one mitigating feature in any effort to attribute this work to Bellevois is that the quality level is perhaps lower than his standard. His whitecaps tend to be more softly rendered and integrated into the waves than they are in this work. Likewise, the three-dimensional qualities of his ships are usually more convincing than they appear here. Whether this range of quality is acceptable within his work is uncertain given our fragmentary knowledge of his life and work. Little is known of the evolution of his style, thus one cannot say whether this painting would date early or late. Perhaps Bellevois had a workshop, or perhaps the problems noticed here are exacerbated by the painting's poor condition. At this time too many unknowns exist to be able to establish a firm attribution for this work.

Notes

1. Margarita Russell memo, in NGA curatorial files, suggests that the prominent ship in the foreground is "an East Indiaman."

2. Margarita Russell memo, in NGA curatorial files, speculates that the reference to Dietsch [Dietzsch] on the old label was to a member of a prolific eighteenth-century family of Nuremberg painters and graphic artists who produced paintings in the Dutch manner. For Johann Israel Dietzsch (1681–1754) and his family see Thieme-Becker, 9: 275–277; Gerson 1942, 98, 327. Russell's hypothesis is that this painting was executed by a member of the Dietzsch family after a now lost painting by Storck that was dated 1696. Since comparative material does not exist to buttress her arguments, and since nothing in the manner of execution suggests that the painting is eighteenth century in origin, it is perhaps more prudent to conclude that the inscription on the old label



Fig. 1. Jacob Adriaensz. Bellevois, *Two Warships Bringing in a Capture*, 1660s, oil on panel, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery



Circle of Jacob Adriaensz. Bellevois, *Dutch Ships in a Lively Breeze*, 1947. 3.1

is not reliable than to try to base an attribution upon it.

3. Gerson letter, 17 November 1964, in NGA curatorial files.

4. Quite close to Van Anthonissen in style is the work of Aert Anthonisz. (1580–1620), alias Aert van Antum, an Amsterdam follower of Hendrick Vroom (1566–1640) about whom little is known. For both artists see Preston 1974, 2, 65–66; Bol 1973, 11–29, 36–40.

5. For the importance of Vroom for the development of Dutch marine painting, see Russell 1983.

References

1965 NGA: 8, no. 890 (as Circle of Hendrick van Anthonissen).

1968 NGA: 2, repro. (as Circle of Hendrick van Anthonissen).

1975 NGA: 14–15, repro. (as Circle of Hendrick van Anthonissen).

1980 Archibald: 60, repro. 54 (as Hendrick van Anthonissen) (also 1989 2nd ed.: 67, repro. 56).

1985 NGA: 31, repro. (as Style of Hendrick van Anthonissen).

Nicolaes Pietersz. Berchem

1620–1683

NICOLAES BERCHEM was one of the most popular and successful of the Dutch seventeenth-century Italianate landscape painters. Aside from views of Italy, his extensive oeuvre consists of hunt scenes, biblical and mythological paintings, drawings, and etchings. Born in Haarlem in 1620, Berchem received his early training under his father, the still-life painter Pieter Claesz (1596/1597–1661). Houbraken, however, enumerated other teachers, including Jan van Goyen (q.v.), Claes Moeyaert (1592/1593–1655), Pieter de Grebber (c. 1600–1652/1653), Jan Wils (c. 1600–1666), and, somewhat improbably, Berchem's younger cousin Jan Baptist Weenix (1621–1660/1661).

Berchem entered the Guild of Saint Luke in Haarlem in 1642 and took on three pupils in that very year. He married Catrijne Claes de Groot in Haarlem in 1646; three years later the couple made out their wills. In 1650 Berchem made a trip with Jacob van Ruisdael (q.v.) in the area around Bentheim near the German border, and in 1652 and 1653 the artists collaborated on several paintings.

If certain works by Berchem in the early 1650s are close in style to Ruisdael's landscapes, other paintings already demonstrate an awareness of Italianate painters who had returned to the Netherlands in the 1630s and 1640s. The most important of these artists for Berchem's work were Pieter van Laer (1599–1642), Jan Baptist Weenix, Jan Both (c. 1615–1652), and Jan Asselijn (c. 1615–1652). While Van Laer was instrumental in formulating Berchem's figure style, the artist who had the most lasting impact on his landscapes, in particular his harbor scenes, was Asselijn.

Despite the fact that Italianate-style paintings exist in Berchem's oeuvre in the late 1640s and early 1650s, it seems unlikely that Berchem had actually visited Italy by this date. Although no documentary evidence confirms any trip to Italy, recent scholars have postulated, for stylistic reasons, that Berchem may well have been there between 1653 and 1656. By the late 1650s he had developed into one of the most sensitive interpreters of both the pastoral and exotic character of Italy.

Berchem apparently moved permanently to Amsterdam in 1677, although he is mentioned there as early as 1660. In his later years he also painted a number of allegorical scenes and executed designs for maps. He had many pupils throughout his career, including Karel Dujardin (c. 1622–1678), Pieter de Hooch (q.v.), and Jacob Ochtervelt (1634–1682). His pupils Abraham Begeyn (c. 1630–1697) and William Romeyn (c. 1624–1694) emulated their teacher's style quite closely, while other artists copied the master's work. Even more indicative of Berchem's fame was the large number of prints made after his paintings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, by the mid-eighteenth century, he was valued as one of the foremost seventeenth-century Dutch painters.

Bibliography

Houbraken 1753, 2: 109–114.

Schaar 1958.

Blankert 1978a: 147–171.

Amsterdam 1987: 262–268.

Montreal 1990: 55–78.

Brown/MacLaren 1992: 19–20.

View of an Italian Port

Early 1660s

Oil on canvas, 48 x 59.5 (18 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 23 $\frac{3}{4}$)

Gift (Partial and Promised) of Robert H. and Clarice Smith, in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art

Inscriptions

At lower right: *Berchem*

Technical Notes: The support, a medium-weight, plain-weave fabric, is loosely woven of irregularly spun threads. Part of the original tacking margins were retained at the time of lining and incorporated into the picture plane, slightly expanding the dimensions on all four sides. Lining has reinforced the weave texture.

Paint is applied over an off-white ground in thin opaque layers worked wet into dry. Minor losses are confined to the edges. The upper right corner of the sky is abraded, as are the edges. No treatment has been undertaken at the National Gallery.

Provenance: Probably J. van Lanschot, Leiden, by 1753.¹ M. van Leyden, Amsterdam; (sale, A. Paillet and H. Delaroche, Paris, 10 September 1804, no. 8);² M. La Roche. John Parke, Esq., London; (sale, Peter Coxe, London, 8 May 1812, no. 37). (John Smith, London); John Webb, Esq., London. Chevalier Erard, Château de la Muette; (sale, Lacoste and Henry, Paris, 7 August 1832, no. 62);³ A. N. Pérignon, Paris. Jonkheer Johan Steengracht van Oostcapelle, The Hague; (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 9 June 1913, no. 4); Mr. Boyer.⁴ By inheritance from the grandfather of the 9 April 1990 anonymous seller; (sale, Adar Picard Tajan, Paris, 9 April 1990, no. 82); Robert H. and Clarice Smith, Washington.

Exhibited: Washington 1991.

IN THIS IDYLIC SCENE Berchem captures both the beauty of the Italian landscape and the cool, crystalline light that imbues it with its distinctive atmospheric quality.⁵ Situated against a backdrop of towering cliffs that drop straight down to the calm waters below, the exotic character of this harbor setting is defined not by buildings or wharfs, but by the various types of figures that have come together at the water's edge. The most prominent of these is the elegant couple who, fresh from the hunt, sit astride their steeds. Dressed in wide-brimmed hats with flowing feathers, the couple talk to a standing gentleman while the woman's falcon airs its wings. The gentleman holding his staff is probably the keeper of the hunting dogs who are seen mingling, two of them being held by a young assistant in the lower left. What has brought them to the harbor is not certain, but they may well be awaiting a ferry

to transport them either to one of the ships anchored in deeper water or to the far shore. Behind them two wide-bottomed ferries are already loaded with cargo. In the one filled with cattle, two figures wrestle a recalcitrant goat along a gangplank, while before the other ferry two orientals stand and talk, while a third sits, waiting for the boat to push off. Also waiting for a ride is a shepherd who sits in the right foreground with a cow and some sheep.

Although no documentary evidence exists that proves that Berchem actually visited Italy, it seems probable that he traveled there sometime between 1653 and 1656.⁶ Otherwise, without firsthand experience, it is virtually inconceivable that he could have captured with seeming effortlessness the special light and character of this faraway land. While *View of an Italian Port* does not represent an identifiable location, such specifics as the characteristic Italian ship anchored off the shore, with its long red oars stretching to either side, point to Berchem's careful observation of what, for a Dutchman, was an unusual form of a ship. Just where Berchem might have seen such cliffs is not known, but similar formations surmounted by large buildings appear in the background of a number of his paintings.⁷

As with most of his Italianate paintings, Berchem executed *View of an Italian Port* in the Netherlands, probably in the early 1660s.⁸ He painted for a Dutch clientele eager for idealized views of the Italian landscape. Judging from the various copies of this painting, his scene struck a responsive chord.⁹ Its qualities were greatly admired in the mid-eighteenth century, when the image was engraved by A. Delfos,¹⁰ and in the early nineteenth century, when the first written descriptions of it are known. In the famous sale of Chevalier Erard in 1831, for example, the catalogue entry reads in part: "On admire dans ce tableau... tout le goût, tout l'esprit du célèbre Berchem. La composition en est bien ordonnée, les groupes en sont disposés et variés avec beaucoup d'intelligence; l'air circule partout, la dégradation des plans est parfaite. L'exécution, la conservation ne laissent rien à désirer."¹¹

The stylistic characteristic that most compellingly places this painting in the 1660s is its classicism, which stems from the strong horizontal and vertical accents in the landscape, and from the clear, crystalline light. Also consistent with this date is the fluidity of the handling of the paint and the elegance of the couple on horseback. A comparison of *View of an Italian Port* to another harbor scene by Berchem, *Mediterranean Coast Scene with Crab Fishermen* (fig. 1), datable to 1658,¹² demonstrates the evolution in style



Fig. 1. Nicolaes Pietersz. Berchem, *Coastal Scene with Crab Catchers*, c. 1658, oil on canvas, York City Art Gallery, presented by F.D. Lycett Green, Esq., through the National Art-Collections Fund



Fig. 2. Nicolaes Pietersz. Berchem, *Wild Boar Hunt*, 1659, oil on canvas, The Hague, Mauritshuis

that Berchem's work underwent between the late 1650s and early 1660s. Here one encounters a comparable contrast between foreground figures and a distant vista of cliffs across a body of water, but the foreground and background elements are not as closely integrated. Not only are distinctions of light and color more pronounced, but also the careful interplay of horizontals, verticals, and diagonals found in *View of an Italian Port* have not been so

subtly developed. Another comparison with this work is Berchem's *Wild Boar Hunt* (fig. 2), signed and dated 1659, where a similar grouping of figures on horseback occurs. While the position of the white horse in both paintings is virtually identical, the horse in the National Gallery's painting is somewhat more schematically rendered, which is characteristic of Berchem's style of the 1660s.¹³

Notes

1. Van Lanschot is identified by means of a reproductive print of the painting executed by A. Delfos in 1753. As Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann has noted, it is possible that the painting in question is one of the copies after *View of an Italian Port* (see note 9).

2. An annotated copy of the sale catalogue at the RKD indicates that the sale took place on 15 November 1804 rather than the 10 September date printed on the title page. Reasons for this change of date were not stated. The same annotated catalogue also states that the picture fetched Fr 4,800 when it was purchased by Mr. La Roche.

3. This sale, originally scheduled for 23 April 1832, was moved to 7 August of the same year.

4. An annotated copy of the auction catalogue housed at the NGA library notes that Boyer purchased the picture for Fr 7,900.

5. I would like to thank Yonna Yapou for sharing with me the research she did on this painting while it was in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Smith.

6. See Biography.

7. Such cliffs have been associated with the port of Genoa, as in *The Old Port of Genoa*, Wallace Collection, London [see repro. in Wallace Collection 1992, 26, no. P25], but at the very best they are fanciful evocations of actual formations.

8. This date is also suggested by Schaar 1958, 86.

9. Copies and versions include: Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth; possibly sale, Paris, 1853; sale, Artaria and others, Vienna, 12 January 1886, no. 8; and possibly sale, P. van den Bogaerde, Amsterdam, 16 March 1778, no. 3.

10. For a discussion of the print, see Hollstein 1949-, 1: 271, no. 111. It is described as a "Harbour, on the right nobleman and lady on horseback—oblong format."

11. Erard 1831, 83.

12. See Utrecht 1965, 158–159, cat. 81; and Blankert 1978a, 158–159, cat. 81.

13. The same white horse appears in Berchem's *A Hawking Party Halting at a Farrier's Shop*, formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, reproduced in Staatliche Museen, Berlin 1932, cat. 896 (see Smith 1829–1842, 5: 99, cat. 310), and in a related drawing in the British Museum, London, inv. 1895.9.15.1112 [see Hind 1926, 3: 33–34, no. 34, pl. xviii].

References

- 1829–1842 Smith, 5 (1834): 47, no. 137.
 1854–1857 Waagen, 2 (1854): 95.
 1907–1927 HdG, 9 (1926): 80, no. 107.
 1958 Schaar: 58.



Nicolaes Pietersz. Berchem, *View of an Italian Port*, 1690.62.1

Gerard ter Borch II

1617–1681

THE MOST ACCOMPLISHED MEMBER of a gifted and well-to-do artistic family, Gerard ter Borch was born in 1617 in Zwolle. Probably not long after the death of his mother, Anna Bufken, in 1621, Ter Borch began his training with his father, the draftsman Gerard ter Borch the Elder (1584–1662). He was clearly a precocious pupil: an accomplished drawing of a figure seen from behind (Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) is dated 25 September 1625, when he was only eight years old. An inscription on another drawing suggests that he was in Amsterdam by 1632, but in 1633 he was back in Zwolle. The following year he went to Haarlem to study with Pieter Molijn (q.v.) and entered the guild there in 1635. The same year Ter Borch undertook the first of his many trips abroad, traveling to London to work with his uncle, the engraver Robert van Voerst. According to Houbraken, the painter visited Italy, Spain, and France, as well as various parts of the Netherlands and Flanders, in subsequent years.

By 1646 Ter Borch was in Münster, Westphalia, where he painted a number of small works and also his famous group portrait depicting *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster* (1648, National Gallery, London, inv. no. 896). Houbraken suggests that it was also in 1648 that Ter Borch traveled with the Conde de Peñaranda to Madrid, where he painted portraits of Philip IV and his court. Other documents place the artist in Amsterdam in November 1648, The Hague in 1649, Kampen in 1650, and Delft on 22 April 1653, when he and Johannes Vermeer (q.v.) were co-witnesses to the signing of an affidavit. On 14 February 1654 he married Geertruyt Matthijs, with whom he settled in Deventer, becoming a citizen on 13 February 1655 and a *gemeensman* [city counselor] in 1666. Although documents indicate he again visited Amsterdam in 1674 and The Hague and Haarlem in 1675, he lived in Deventer until his death on 8 December 1681.

In his earliest works, Ter Borch depicted barrack-room scenes similar to those of Willem Duyster (1598/1599–1635) and Pieter Codde (1599–1678). Most of his later genre scenes, however, focused on the more refined elements of Dutch society. These works are generally small and upright in format and typically depict two or three elegantly clad, full-length figures engaged in an activity such as letter

writing or music making. They are executed with great sensitivity of touch and show an interest in the psychology of the sitters. Ter Borch also painted a large number of small-scale, full-length portraits. His most important student was Caspar Netscher (c. 1635/1636–1684), who learned many of his master's techniques for rendering luxurious textures, and who painted, in addition to his own original compositions, a number of signed copies of Ter Borch's works.

Bibliography

- Houbraken 1753, 3: 32, 34–40.
Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 111–142; 9 (1842): 529.
HdG 1907–1927, 5 (1913): 1–145.
Hannema 1943.
Plietzsch 1944.
Gudlaugsson 1959–1960.
The Hague 1974.
Philadelphia 1984: 152–154.
Kettering 1989.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 31–32.

1937.1.58 (58)

The Suitor's Visit

c. 1658
Oil on canvas, 80 x 75 (31½ x 29⅞)
Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Technical Notes: The tightly woven, plain-weave fabric support, composed of fine irregularly spun threads, was lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Broad cusping is visible along the left and right edges. A smooth beige ground is striated with white in places, suggesting the presence of a white underlayer.

Thin fluid paint layers are applied freely and blended wet into wet in a series of thin scumbles of liquid, soft-edged colors. Fine details are painted wet over dry. Flesh tones are composed of a gray underpainting, thinly glazed to form shading, more thickly overpainted to create light areas. Microscopic examination reveals a change in the placement of the dog's front legs and an adjustment of the suitor's proper lefthand gesture.

Although the background has probably darkened over time, the painting is in relatively good condition, with small abraded losses in the thinly applied darks. The suitor's proper right arm was extensively retouched and the musician's necklace reinforced. No conservation work has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, Duc de Morny [d. 1865], Paris; (sale, Paris, 31 May 1865, no. 82); José Salamanca y Mayol [Marquès de Salamanca, d. 1866], Madrid; (sale, Paris, 3–6 June 1867, no. 126); Baron Adolfe de Rothschild [d. 1900], Paris; by inheritance to Baron Maurice de Rothschild [d. 1957], Paris; (Duveen Brothers, New York, in 1922); sold July 1922 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: New York 1939, no. 369.

NO DUTCH ARTIST captured as did Gerard ter Borch the elegance and grace of wealthy burghers, nor did any express with such subtlety psychological interactions between figures. Both of these aspects of his artistic genius are combined in this work, one of his most refined, yet provocative masterpieces.

Ter Borch's scene is situated in the diffuse light of a high-ceilinged room whose walls are decorated with a gilded leather wallcovering remarkable for the intricacy of its design. With the setting helping to establish the mood, the encounter taking place at the doorway seems the height of gentility. A debonair young man, having just entered the room, bows slightly, hat in hand, as he responds to the alluring gaze of the young woman who has come forward to greet him. She apparently has just risen from her green velvet seat where she has been playing a duet with the woman strumming on her theorbo: her music book and bass viol can be seen lying on the table. Behind the women stands a man who, in the dimness of the interior light, warms himself before the hearth as he turns to peer at the visitor.

Ter Borch painted this work in Deventer in the latter part of the 1650s, shortly after he had married a woman from that quiet, aristocratic city and decided to become one of its citizens. While his whereabouts just prior to his move in 1654 are not known, he very likely spent much time in Zwolle with other members of his artistic family, his father Gerard ter Borch the Elder (1583–1662), his half-sister, Gesina (1631–1690), and his half-brothers Harmen (1637–1677) and Moses (1645–1667). There he would have been part of the intellectual, literary, and artistic discussions that were clearly integral to Ter Borch family life. His father, who was an accomplished topographic draftsman, was also a poet and author of a songbook that Ter Borch helped illustrate.¹ The amorous verses and accompanying drawings show an appreciation for the intricacies of love that parallel those of contemporary playwrights, in particular Gerbrand Adriaenszoon Bredero (1585–1618) and Jan Hermanszoon Krul (1601/1602–1646).² By the

mid-1650s Gesina had embarked on her own artistic and literary career with her album *De Papiere Lauwekranen*, which is filled with arcadian images of love's pleasures and disappointments. As with her father's songbook, Gesina's poetry and pictorial images in this and other albums belong to that important Dutch literary genre that both celebrates the delights of love and warns against the dangers of becoming ensnared in ill-advised attachments.³

It is against this background of family interest in art, music, and emblematic literature about love and its complexities that one must consider the nature of the narrative that unfolds in *The Suitor's Visit*. Under the veneer of gentility is a scene that is alive with sexual innuendo. The gazes of the couple at the door are at once enticing and yearning, a private communication that does not go unnoticed by the gentleman standing before the hearth. More explicitly sexual, however, is the nature of their gestures. The young woman clasps her hands in a manner that could be construed as an invitation for intercourse, as the thumb of her right hand protrudes between the index finger and second finger of her other hand in a most unconventional, and expressive, manner. His gesture in response appears to be an assent, for as he bows he forms a circle between the thumb and index figure of his left hand.

The outcome of the woman's ploy—for her central position in the composition and the dog's inquisitive gaze clearly indicate she is the initiator of the intrigue—is not spelled out by Ter Borch. Undoubtedly, however, a viewer within Ter Borch's circle of acquaintances would have recognized that his composition had remarkable parallels with an image found in Jan Krul's influential *Eerlycke Tytkorting* [*Honorable Pastimes*], published in Haarlem in 1634, which contains emblems devoted to the delights and travails of love.⁴ The related print (fig. 1) accompanies an emblem entitled “De Overdaed en Doet Geen Baet,” which roughly translates “The Excess That Brings No Profit.” The thrust of the emblem is a warning that encouragement by a woman is not always to be trusted. Whereas a suitor might feel that love and commitment would follow, all too often the lover is rejected and then belittled. Krul writes (*Eerlycke Tytkorting*, 16) of the lover's lament, “If you never intend to have me, why so much courtship?/ It would honor you best to send me straight away.” The similarities between the painting and the print seem to imply that the outcome of this match will likewise be disappointment.

The subtlety of Ter Borch's narrative is matched by the gracefulness of his figures and the delicacy



Fig. 1. Jan Krul, "De Overdaed en Doet Geen Bact," from *Eerlycke Tytkorting*, Amsterdam, 1634

and refinement of his touch.⁵ No artist could convey as effectively as he the shimmering surface of a long white satin skirt or the undulating rhythms of a translucent lace cuff. His brushstrokes, while small, are quite loose and rapidly applied with the result that the surface has an animated quality. Such an effect is particularly felt in the figures' expressions, which do not appear frozen or posed but show an inner life. Ter Borch's effectiveness in his representation of the human psychology in his genre paintings may well stem from his experiences as a portrait painter. Even the poses are sometimes similar. For example, the way in which the suitor holds his wide-brimmed hat while greeting the young woman has parallels in a portrait Ter Borch created in 1656.⁶

Ter Borch drew upon his surroundings for creating such a sense of immediacy in his composition. The objects in this work, including the tapestry on the table, the chair, the theorbo, the hearth, and the leather wallcovering, reappear in different contexts in a number of other paintings from the mid-1650s.⁷ The model for the suitor has also been identified. He is Caspar Netscher, a student of Ter Borch's in Deventer in the mid-1650s.⁸ Indeed, Netscher made a copy of this painting before he set sail for Rome in 1659, a date that establishes a *terminus post quem* for this work.⁹

Notes

1. Snoep 1968/1969, 77–134.
2. See The Hague 1974, 211.
3. The entire contents of the Ter Borch family bequest are in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. For an assessment of this collection of drawings, albums, and sketchbooks, see Kettering 1989.
4. The contents of this emblem book were reprinted in Krul's *De Pampiere Wereld* (Amsterdam, 1644), 295. Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 1: 116–117; 2: 148, was the first to draw attention to the relationship between Ter Borch's composition and the print from Krul's emblem, which he cited in its republished form in *De Pampiere Wereld*.
5. Since Ter Borch was in London in 1635 studying with his uncle Robert van Voerst, an engraver who made prints for Anthony van Dyck's *Iconographie*, he may well have learned at that time something of the sense of grace Van Dyck incorporated into his figures and compositions. Although there is no record of Ter Borch actually meeting the great Flemish master, Van Dyck did return to England in the spring of that year after having spent a number of months in Antwerp and Brussels working for the Flemish court.
6. See The Hague 1974, 136, cat. 36a.
7. Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 2: 148, has carefully indicated all of the instances in which these objects reappear in Ter Borch's work. The table carpet, for example, is also seen in *The Letter Writer* (Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. no. 797), the chair in *The Visit* (Bührle Foundation, Zurich; Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 2: no. 149), the mantelpiece in *A Young Woman at Her Toilet* (Wallace Collection, London, inv. no. P235), and *A Lute Player with a Boy* (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, inv. no. 349).
8. Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 1: 116. The identification is based upon Wallerant Vaillant's mezzotint after a lost Netscher *Self-Portrait*, reproduced in Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 2: pl. xiv, no. 3. Netscher also appears as a model in two other paintings, *An Officer Dictating a Letter* (National Gallery, London, inv. no. 5847) and *Officer Writing a Letter* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. E24.3.21).
9. For information about Netscher's signed copy on wood, see Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 2: 148, cat. 139a. Unfortunately, the identities of the other models are not known. Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 2: cat. 139b, also notes the existence of a copy on copper of the head of the standing woman that he has tentatively ascribed to Eglon van der Neer (1643–1703). A partial copy of *The Suitor's Visit* was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 7 April 1982, no. 145.

References

- 1863 Lagrange: 289–306, repro.
 1939 New York: no. 369.
 1941 Berenson and Valentiner: no. 208, repro.
 1944 Plietzsch: 21, 47, no. 57, repro.
 1948–1949 Gudlaugsson, 2: 235–267.
 1959–1960 Gudlaugsson, 1 (1959): 116–119, repro. 119, 296; 2 (1960): 147–148, no. 139.
 1963 Walker: 190, repro.
 1965 NGA: 126, no. 58.
 1965 Haverkamp-Begemann: 38–41, 62–63, fig. 8.
 1968 NGA: 113, no. 58 repro.
 1974 Robinson: 53–54.
 1974 The Hague: 37.
 1975 NGA: 336–337, repro.
 1976 Walker: 284, color repro.



Gerard ter Borch II, *The Suitor's Visit*, 1937.1.58

1984 Wheelock: 30–31, color repro.
 1985 NGA: 387, repro.
 1987 Smith: 423–424, repro.
 1991 Ydema: 188, no. 860.

1991 Roodenburg: 152–189, fig. 7.1.
 1992 NGA: 133, color repro.
 1993 Kettering: 97, repro.

Studio of Gerard ter Borch II

1960.6.10 (1562)

The Music Lesson

c. 1670
 Oil on canvas, 69 x 55.1 (27 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 21 $\frac{3}{4}$)
 Timken Collection

Technical Notes: The support, a fine-weight, tightly and plain-woven fabric, has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Three moderately sized complex tears in the background to the left and right of the man's head have become visible again due to the cleaving and lifting of paint along the tear edges. Thin fluid paint is applied over a thin, smooth white ground with little layering and no appreciable impasto or brushmarking. Losses are few and abrasion is moderate overall. Reglazing over parts of the man's costume may be covering local abrasion. The varnish layer is matte and discolored.

Provenance: (Van Diemen, Berlin and New York, in 1929)¹. William R. Timken [1866–1949], New York; by inheritance to his wife, Lillian S. Timken [d. 1959], New York.

WHILE SHE INTENTLY STARES at her music book, an elegantly attired young lady strums on her bent-necked theorbo to the beat established by her music instructor. The scene is one that must have been familiar in the homes of well-to-do Dutch burghers, for the playing of music was a popular and socially acceptable activity among unmarried young people, particularly women. Numerous depictions of music lessons exist in Dutch art, and, in particular, it was a theme favored by Gerard ter Borch. Not only did the subject provide an opportunity to depict a leisure activity within a domestic setting, but it also was one in which the many symbolic allusions of music, from harmony to love and seduction, could be thematically exploited. It is not by accident, for example, that an ace of hearts lies on the floor in a painting of a similar scene by Ter Borch in the National Gallery, London (fig. 1). Since no card is present in *The Music Lesson*, nor are there other motifs that provide a romantic subtheme to the London



Fig. 1. Gerard ter Borch II, *A Woman Playing a Theorbo to Two Men*, 1667–1668, oil on canvas, London, National Gallery

painting such as the bed, the dog, or the young suiter, it would seem that the artist's intent here was to focus solely upon the woman's intent concentration as she strives to learn the complexities of the music and her instrument.

If the comparison with the London painting suggests that there exists here a different pictorial intent, it also demonstrates that this work contains fewer psychological nuances. More importantly, in terms of its attribution, the comparison points out that elements of the painting, particularly the woman, but also the general disposition of the room and still-life elements on the table, have been taken over entirely from the London composition. While



Studio of Gerard ter Borch II, *The Music Lesson*, 1960.6.10

Ter Borch did occasionally repeat compositions and readapt figures in his paintings, stylistic comparisons between the woman in the London and Washington paintings demonstrate that, while the images are very similar in character, different hands were at work. The modeling of the woman's face and hands in the London painting is slightly fuller than that in the Washington version, which gives the forms a greater sense of three-dimensionality. The sense of sheen on the satin dress and the soft textural qualities of the fur on the jacket are also more convincingly rendered in the London painting than in *The Music Lesson*. Similar comparisons can be made with the outstretched hand of the music master, and with the candlestick and cloth on the table.

Connections between *The Music Lesson* and other paintings, however, also exist. As Gudlaugsson has pointed out, the music master replicates in reverse a figure in another depiction of a music lesson, in the Roach Collection.² The present painting is rightly considered by him a pastiche, a joining together of motifs from the London and Roach paintings. Just when such a pastiche would have been made is difficult to determine. Since Gudlaugsson brings into his discussion a later mezzotint by Jan Stolker (1724–1785) that reproduces the Roach painting in reverse, he seems to imply that *The Music Lesson* must have been produced long after Ter Borch's lifetime.³ The quality of the painting, however, is certainly sufficient to assume that it was created by an artist working under Ter Borch's supervision.

While little is known about Ter Borch's studio, the large number of replicas and versions of his paintings suggests that a widespread demand existed for his works. It is known that Caspar Netscher (c. 1639–1684), who studied with Ter Borch before

going to Italy in 1658 or 1659, made copies of his master's paintings.⁴ Presumably Ter Borch continued to use assistants and students for such work, even to the extent of encouraging them to create new compositions by combining elements from a variety of his images. In this regard it could well be that Ter Borch's assistant derived his reversed image of the music master from a counterproof of one of Ter Borch's preliminary drawings.⁵

Notes

1. While no earlier provenance is known for certain, Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 2: 206, proposed that this painting might be the one that was sold at auction in Rotterdam on 3 August 1811, no. 48 (HdG 1907–1927, 5: 55, no. 146). The dimensions (63.5 x 49.5 cm) of this depiction of a music lesson, however, were somewhat smaller than 1960.6.10, so it may well have been yet another variant of the composition.

2. Reproduced by Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 1: 355, no. 221, as being in the collection of Mrs. W. J. Roach. This same figure is also found in at least three other paintings once attributed to Ter Borch (see Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 2: 203–206, for discussion of these and other paintings).

3. Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 2: 203. In addition to his prints after Ter Borch, Stolker also executed mezzotints and drawings after paintings by other Dutch artists, including Rembrandt, Dou, Steen, and Adriaen van Ostade.

4. Gudlaugsson 1959–1960, 2: 288–289, identifies a number of signed copies Netscher made of Ter Borch compositions. As indicated in note 9 in the entry on 1937.1.58, Netscher made a signed copy of *The Suitor's Visit*.

5. Amsterdam 1981a, 28–29, discusses the use of counterproof drawings by Gerrit Berckheyde and Adriaen van de Velde.

References

- 1959–1960 Gudlaugsson, 2 (1960): 206, no. 221r.
 1965 NGA: 126, no. 1562.
 1968 NGA: 113, repro.
 1975 NGA: 336–337, repro.
 1985 NGA: 387, repro.

Aelbert Cuyp (Cuijp)

1620–1691

AELBERT CUYP, one of the foremost Dutch landscape painters of the seventeenth century, was born in Dordrecht in October of 1620. His father, Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp (1594–c. 1650) was a successful portrait painter in the city, and from him Aelbert received his earliest training as a painter, assisting his father by supplying landscape backgrounds for portrait commissions. It is uncertain whether Cuyp had

apprenticed with a landscape painter, but he soon abandoned his father's style and subject matter and turned almost exclusively to landscapes and river-scapes, painting only an occasional portrait in his mature period. Arnold Houbraken, a native of Dordrecht, noted that Cuyp was a man of "*onbesproken leven*" [irreproachable character], and the surviving documents concern his active involvement in the

Dutch Reformed Church and the city of Dordrecht, rather than his activities as a painter. His marriage to Cornelia Bosman (1617–1689), the wealthy widow of Johan van den Corput (1609–1650), a representative to the admiralty at Middelburg and member of an important Dordrecht family, took place on 30 July 1658. After his marriage, Cuyp appears to have painted less frequently, probably owing to a combination of his increased church activity and the absence of financial pressures. He was buried in the Augustinian Church at Dordrecht on 15 November 1691.

Houbraken commented that only the artist's own works were found in his home at the time of his death, proof that nature alone served as his model. The stylistic evolution of his oeuvre, however, disproves Houbraken's conclusion. Cuyp's early landscapes are clearly inspired by the compositional approach and monochromatic palette of Jan van Goyen (q.v.), but by the middle of the 1640s, the influence of the Utrecht painter Jan Both (c. 1615–1652) becomes apparent. Cuyp never lived in Utrecht, but probably his parents had met there while his father was studying, and Aelbert apparently visited the city regularly. By the mid-1640s, Jan Both had returned from Italy, bringing with him a new style employing the *contre-jour* effects associated with the style of Claude Lorrain. Cuyp soon recognized the possibilities of this new compositional approach and began to employ large foreground elements in his panoramic scenes, infusing them with a warm light and atmosphere. The occasional classical motif and Italianate lighting effects that are found in his mature works are derived from an association with Both, and perhaps other Italianate landscape painters Cuyp may have had contact with in Utrecht, and not to an Italian trip. Although no documents exist, drawn landscapes and townscapes do indicate that Cuyp traveled within the Netherlands and along the lower Rhine in Germany.

Cuyp seems to have worked for a number of important Dordrecht families. He was clearly an important artist in the city, although little is known about the organization or production of a workshop. Houbraken mentions only one pupil, Barent van Calraet (1649–1737), whose brother Abraham van Calraet (1642–1722), if not a pupil of Cuyp, certainly was a follower. It appears that many of Abraham van Calraet's works were among those mistaken for autograph Cuyp paintings by the beginning of the twentieth century when Hofstede de Groot included over eight hundred entries in his catalogue raisonné

of the master. By the late eighteenth century, Cuyp had many other followers and imitators, including Jacob van Strij (1756–1815).

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Dordrecht 1977.
Amsterdam 1987: 290–304.
Dordrecht 1992: 117–136.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 86–87.
Chong 1992.

1986.70.1

River Landscape with Cows

1645/1650
Oil on oak, 68 x 90.2 (26¾ x 35½)
Gift of Family Petschek (Aussig)

Inscriptions

At lower right: *A:Cuyp*

Technical Notes: The support is a cradled wood panel composed of three, slightly warped, white oak boards joined horizontally. The horizontal grain is prominently visible through the extremely thin, off-white ground layer and paint. Paint is applied in thin opaque layers worked both wet into wet and wet over dry. Small elements, such as the boats, are painted over landscape and sky, while reserves were left for larger elements, such as the cows. Parallel strokes from a dry brush pulled through drying paint give texture to areas such as the distant landscape, while the sky is vigorously brushmarked.

Small losses are found along the edges, the lower panel join, and the foreground, where a caustic liquid dripped on the surface. Dark passages are moderately abraded. In 1987 discolored varnish and retouching were removed.

Provenance: Caroline Anne, Marchioness of Ely, Eversley Park, Winchmore Hill, London; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 3 August 1917, no. 43); (C. Huggins, London); (Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, 1917 to 1919);¹ Guston Neuman, Brussels. (Sale, Frederik Muller & Co., Amsterdam, 30 November 1920, no. 1024, bought in). (Perhaps Steinmeyer, Lucerne, by 1923);² (Paul Cassirer & Co., Berlin, by 1924). Ignaz Petschek, Aussig, Czechoslovakia, by 1927; by inheritance to his son Frank C. Petschek, New York;³ by inheritance to his daughters Elisabeth de Picciotto, New York, and Maria Petschek Smith, Falls Church, Virginia.

Exhibited: *Pintores bolandeses dibujos, escultura, litografia y arte aplicado, llevados por la comisión del consejo para las artes representativas de la comisión holandesa en el extranjero*, Madrid, 1921, no. 51. *Udstilling af Aeldre og Nyere Hollandsk Malerkunst*

og *Moderne Anvendt Kunst*, Copenhagen, 1922, no. 30.⁴ *Ten-
toonstelling van Werken door Dortsche Meesters*, Pictura, Dor-
drecht, 1924, no. 10.⁵

ALONG THE NEAR BANK of an inland waterway a herd of eight cows quietly enjoys the gentle winds of a late afternoon in summer. A few sailboats glide along the river beyond them, their reflections shimmering in the peaceful water. On the crest of the gentle rise to the right, two herdsmen converse with a rider mounted on a large brown horse. Their diminutive forms are accented by shafts of light that break through the billowing clouds that fill the sky.

Cuyp was not the first Dutch artist to focus on a herd of cows for his subject matter, but in his hands the theme took on a grandeur and dignity lacking in the work of his predecessors. Whether in the hilly, dense forest landscapes of Roelandt Savery (q.v.) or the flatter landscapes of Cornelis Saftleven (1607–1681), cows are portrayed as inelegant, graceless animals that mill together in haphazard formations. Cuyp, however, seems to have perceived a certain nobility in the beasts. He simplified and purified their forms, giving the cows' heads sharp, angular shapes. He emphasized the noble profiles of these animals by orienting his herd on a horizontal axis along which their overlapping forms become visually connected. Finally, he projected their heads forward, even those lying in the grass, in a way that suggests a degree of alertness and even intelligence not normally associated with the species.

This painting is one of several similar images that Cuyp painted in the late 1640s and early 1650s, such as *Seven Cows on a River Bank* (fig. 1).⁶ In each of these

works the viewpoint is low so that the animals take on added grandeur. The compositions are also linked by the way in which the herd is placed in the immediate foreground, along the bank of an inland waterway, and by the dramatic cloud formations that activate the sky. The stylistic evolution that led Cuyp to these imposing visions of pastoral life is complex. His picturesque scenes of rural life from the late 1630s and early 1640s belong to a tradition first introduced to Dutch art by Abraham Bloemaert (1564–1651), and developed by, among others, his pupil Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp, Aelbert Cuyp's father. By the early 1640s, however, Aelbert began to move away from this style and developed a tonal approach to landscape under the influence of Jan van Goyen (q.v.). His compositions, painted largely in yellow ochers, became simpler as he eliminated many picturesque elements from his scenes. Van Goyen's interest in vigorous cloud formations, evident in his river landscapes from the late 1640s, also seems to have awakened Cuyp to the possibilities of incorporating such skies in his works. In *River Landscape with Cows*, Van Goyen's influence can be seen in the way Cuyp's free and energetic brushwork in the clouds creates effects that capture the varied atmospheric conditions of a Dutch midsummer day.

By the late 1640s, however, Cuyp also began to incorporate stylistic elements into his paintings that derive from the Dutch Italianate artists who were then returning to the Netherlands, among them Jan Both (q.v.), Nicolaes Berchem (q.v.), Jan Baptist Weenix (c.1621–c.1660), and Jan Asselijn (after 1610–1652). Although his interest in depicting rural Dutch scenes remained essentially the same, Cuyp dramatized his images by portraying large foreground forms, particularly cattle, within a generalized, arcadian landscape. He gave his scenes an aura of pastoral well-being by placing the viewer at a low vantage point and silhouetting the cattle against a light-filled background.⁷ Indeed, as has often been noted, the cow represented for the Dutch the prosperity of their nation, and this concept may well underlie the significance given to the herd in this painting as well as in comparable works around mid-century.⁸

As did other Dutch landscape artists, Cuyp based his paintings on drawings made from life. He used two basic types of drawings for his scenes: extensive landscape drawings and studies of single figures and animals. He may have used one of the latter, that of a horse seen from behind, as a basis for the horse on the crest of the hill.⁹ Although a number of his studies of cows resemble those in this painting, no

Fig. 1. Aelbert Cuyp, *Landscape with Cows*, oil on panel, private collection, on loan to Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum





Aelbert Cuyp, *River Landscape with Cows*, 1686.70.1

known drawing seems to have served as a direct prototype for any of these cows.

Notes

1. Agnew's purchased the painting on 9 August 1919 and sold it to Gaston Neuman two years later (information provided by Alan Chong, letter in NGA curatorial file).

2. Steinhilber's possible ownership is cited in the files at the RKD.

3. The picture was removed from Czechoslovakia in, or shortly before, 1938 by Frank C. Petschek.

4. An annotated catalogue shows that the picture was being offered for sale by Muller in 1922. This catalogue states that the picture was formerly in the possession of "W. M. Mensing," which was the previous name for Muller's company. The exhibition was held in a provisional pavilion, built on an old railway yard near the Vesterport.

5. Alan Chong, associate curator of paintings, Cleveland Museum of Art (letter of 2 June 1994 in NGA curatorial files) has confirmed that this exhibition was held in Dordrecht.

6. Reiss 1975, 76; HdG 1907–1927, 227.

7. Since this painting exhibits elements of both Van Goyen's style and that of the Italianate artists, it probably dates to the late 1640s. Cuyp's compositional organization, in which a large diagonal form fills the lower right quadrant, is characteristic of the so-called "single-wing composition" so prevalent in Dutch landscapes from this period. For a full discussion of the changes in the compositional structure of Dutch landscapes, see Stechow 1966, 38–40, 50–64.

8. Spicer 1983, 251–256.

9. Private collection, Heemstede. Reproduced in Dordrecht 1977, 164–165, no. 66.

References

1907–1927 HdG, 2 (1909): 79, no. 243.

1975 Reiss: 206.

1987 Amsterdam: 294.

1988 Chong: 82, repro.

1940.2.1 (501)

The Maas at Dordrecht

c. 1650

Oil on canvas, 114.9 x 170.2 (45¼ x 67)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

On sideboard of ship in right foreground: *A. cuyyp*

Technical Notes: The original support is a single, moderate-weight, plain-weave fabric with threads of various thicknesses, which has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Cusping along all edges indicates that the dimensions are unchanged.

The pale ground is thinly applied, and a darker imprimatura is used as a mid-tone in the foreground. Paint is applied in thin layers, at times blended wet into wet, at times

scumbled wet on dry, with thin lines drawn fluidly in brush-applied paint. The x-radiograph shows no changes.

The painting is in good condition, particularly for a work of its size. Moderate abrasion to the thin upper paint layers is visible in dark passages of the boats; figures, and seascape. Discolored retouching is present throughout the sky and along the edges. The painting was lined in 1944 and cleaned in 1958.

Provenance: Johan van der Linden van Slingeland [1701–1782], Dordrecht, by 1752.¹ (Sale, Dordrecht, 22 August 1785, no. 70); "Rens" or "Delfos."² (Alexis Delahante, London, c. 1804 to 1814); Abraham Hume, Bart. [1749–1838], Wormley, Hertfordshire;³ by inheritance to his grandson, John Hume Cust, Viscount Alford, M. P. [1812–1851], Ashridge Park, Hertfordshire; by inheritance to his son, John William Spencer, 2nd Earl Brownlow [1842–1867], Ashridge Park; by inheritance to his brother, Adelbert Wellington, 3rd Earl Brownlow, P. C., G. C. V. O. [1844–1921], Ashridge Park and London; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 4 May 1923, no. 75); (Duveen Brothers, New York and London); by exchange 1940 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom*, British Institution, London, 1815, no. 67;⁴ 1838, no. 37; and 1867, no. 21. Nottingham Castle, 1878, no. 78.⁵ *Loan Collection of Pictures*, Corporation Art Gallery (Guildhall), London, 1892, no. 85. *Loan Exhibition of Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1925, no. 3. *Inaugural Exhibition*, Art Gallery of Toronto, 1926, no. 143. *Exhibition of Art Treasures*, Grafton Galleries, London, 1928, no. 1424. *Exhibition of Dutch Art, 1450–1900*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1929, no. 267. *Cinq Siècles d'Art*, Exposition universelle et internationale, Brussels, 1935, no. 714. *Tentoonstelling van Oude Kunst*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1936, no. 37. *Loan Exhibition of Dutch Landscape Paintings*. 20th *Loan Exhibition of Old Masters*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1939, no. 7. *Rétrospective d'art*, Exposition internationale, Liège, 1939, no. 54. *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, Mauritshuis, The Hague; Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1990–1991, no. 17.

IN THE MID-1830S, Gustav Waagen, director of the Royal Gallery at Berlin, made an extensive tour of British private collections, which, after the events surrounding the French Revolution, had become one of the greatest storehouses of Old Master paintings in the world. Cordially greeted everywhere because of his charm and expertise, Waagen had the rare privilege of experiencing firsthand many of the great examples of European painting that were not otherwise accessible to the public. With this knowledge in mind, Waagen took careful notes and in 1838 published an account of the works of art he had seen in English private collections.

He published a revised and better known edition, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, in three volumes from 1854 to 1857. One of the outstanding masterpieces he described was a painting in the collection

of Sir Abraham Hume, Aelbert Cuyp's *The Maas at Dordrecht*. He wrote:

The chief picture, however, of the whole collection is a view of the Maas, with the town of Dort, and numerous ships, by this master, in a moderately warm but extremely clear evening light. The delicacy of aerial gradation in a series of vessels seen one behind the other is not to be described, and, at the same time, all is executed with the greatest ease and freedom. This picture, 3 ft. 10 in. high, by 5 ft. 6½ in. wide, is a proof not only of the extraordinary talent of this master, but also of the astonishing height which the art of painting in general had attained in Holland in the seventeenth century.⁶

Waagen's enthusiastic response to *The Maas at Dordrecht* was widely shared, and the painting was featured in a number of exhibitions of Dutch painting from the time it was first brought to England in 1804.⁷ The appeal, as Waagen suggests, has much to do with the extraordinary light effects that Cuyp achieves as the rays of the early morning sun stream across the landscape, creating horizontal shadows in the clouds and striking at full force the tower of the great church of Dordrecht and the sails of the ships.⁸ It has to do, as Waagen also indicates, with the massive scale of the work, which gives the scene a dominating presence, a presence enhanced by the sweep of the clouds and powerfully conceived composition.

Cuyp's great fame as an artist comes primarily from his many representations of idyllic landscapes, populated by shepherds and cowherds and their respective charges (1937.1.59). The quiet, contented mood of these works is also reflected in a number of poetic river views (1986.70.1). Paintings such as this, however, which focus on the activity and drama of ships in port, are rare. More characteristic of Cuyp's world are the atmospheric views of Dordrecht seen across the still and relatively empty expanse of water in the paintings in the Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood (fig. 1) and at Ascott.⁹

In all three of these paintings Cuyp portrayed Dordrecht as it is seen from Papendrecht, across the river Maas to the north. From this vantage point one is able to see an impressive panorama of the city, a vista accented by the distinctive port building, the city gate known as the Groothoofdspoort (the large building with a pointed spire), and the Grootte Kerk, with its massive yet unfinished tower dominating the city. All three of these paintings may have been made from a drawing of the site that Cuyp made in

the late 1640s (fig. 2): each painting, for example, contains two sailboats to the right of the Groothoofdspoort that are identical to those in the drawing.¹⁰

In the Washington painting the cityview acts as a backdrop to the scene on the water: the river is filled with innumerable ships, each crowded to capacity with human forms. While many of these are ordinary transport ships, a few yachts also can be seen, including one in the distance, displaying the Orange coat of arms and firing a salute. Throughout the painting one senses the drama and activity of an uncommon event, undoubtedly a specific one. This feeling is enhanced by Cuyp's portrayal of two rowboats in the foreground carrying distinguished-looking passengers. One boat, carrying a gentleman wearing a black suit and red sash, has clearly reached its destination, a large sailing ship in the right foreground, where an orange-sashed officer wearing a feathered hat and red jacket stands amidst a crowd of onlookers awaiting his guest (see frontispiece). As a drummer beats on his drum, a bugler in the second rowboat announces the impending arrival of other dignitaries.

Waagen seems not to have been particularly curious about the event being depicted, but others have been. In 1822 John Burnet identified the scene as "The Embarkation of the Prince of Orange."¹¹ This identification relates back to an eighteenth-century tradition in which the officer in the sailing ship was misidentified as Prince Maurits,¹² who had died in 1625. Neither the costume nor the physiognomy of the officer, however, resembles either Frederik Hendrik or Willem II, Princes of Orange who might be associated with this scene. The only recorded references to visits to Dordrecht by Frederik Hendrik and his family were in 1638 when they accompanied Maria de Medici on 20 September during her exile from France, and in 1643 when the Prince of Orange and Amalia van Solms, accompanied by their son Willem II and his fourteen-year-old wife Mary anchored for the night at Zwijndrecht, on the opposite side of the river Merwede from the city of Dordrecht. Not only did these events involve personalities not present in this painting, but the style of the work is incompatible with that of Cuyp from the late 1630s and early 1640s.

Another interpretation of the scene was proposed in 1929, when the painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy, London. "The event represented is probably Charles II in the Dordrecht roads, May 26th, 1660, during his journey from Breda, where he had lived sometime, to The Hague and thence to England."¹³ Although the association of the scene



Fig. 1. Aelbert Cuyp, *View of Dordrecht*, early 1650s, oil on canvas, London, Kenwood, Iveagh Bequest



Fig. 2. Aelbert Cuyp, *Dordrecht*, late 1640s, black chalk and gray wash, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



Aelbert Cuyp, *The Maas at Dordrecht*, 1940.2.1

with Charles II's visit to Dordrecht has been frequently repeated in the literature,¹⁴ a number of objections weigh against it. As with the theory of the Princes of Orange, one searches in vain for a figure that resembles the king of England. No English flags or other signs of English royalty are visible. Moreover, the elaborate account of Charles II's trip published in 1660 makes it clear that the royal fleet sailed past Dordrecht and only anchored beyond the city at the river Lek, near the lands of one of the most important dignitaries of the city, Heer van Beverweert. There the king first heard the dramatic news that he had been restored to the crown, news that quickly changed his plans to spend the night, before proceeding to Delft. As the message also indicated that an English fleet was off the coast of Holland ready to bring the royal couple back to London, they embarked immediately.

Even though the specifics of Cuyp's artistic evolution are difficult to determine due to the absence of dated works, stylistic considerations make it highly unlikely that he has represented Charles' visit. Cuyp's paintings from the 1660s are not executed with the same emphasis on the weight and density of materials and with such concern for the characteristics of texture. These qualities, which are reinforced here through the application of quite thick impastos, are far more characteristic of works from the late 1640s and early 1650s. Further indicating a date from this period is the style of the costumes, which is comparable to that seen in paintings from the late 1640s.¹⁵

The event depicted in this painting appears to involve no royalty and probably for that reason has never been properly identified. Margarita Russell, however, has persuasively proposed that the scene depicts the assembling of the Dutch fleet at Dordrecht in July 1646.¹⁶ This remarkable event is extensively described in Balen's chronicle of the city's history.¹⁷ Balen writes that an enormous transport fleet, consisting of more ships than had ever come together at Dordrecht, and over 30 thousand foot soldiers gathered at Dordrecht for two weeks. The city magistrates ordered that free board and lodging should be provided for the men. Everything the soldiers needed was provided: beer as well as bacon, bread as well as cakes added to the festive air. Onlookers from Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam, Gouda, Rotterdam, The Hague, and elsewhere crowded into the city.

Balen's description of the ships and their locations is extremely precise. The ships were anchored in the tidal current of the Merwede rather than moored alongside the piers. As is clear from his account, the

"fleet" was a disparate group of ships, consisting of warships but also a wide variety of utilitarian and transport boats. Among them were the kitchen boats used as ancillary "kitchen" and sleeping accommodations for the private servants and personnel of the princely household, sailing vessels called *Uytlegers* that were used for guard and pilot duties in the approaches to the entrances of the internal waterways, and *pleyten*, single-masted, wide-bodied ships that were commonly used as ferryboats. Balen concludes his account by noting that the entire fleet set sail on 12 July, some for Bergen op Zoom, and others for Sas van Gent. Prince Frederik Hendrik's intent was almost certainly one last show of force against the southern Netherlands at the onset of negotiations for the truce, which would ultimately be signed at Münster in 1648. Nothing ever came of the plan, however, and so this event of such significance in the history of Dordrecht was of no consequence in the broader course of Dutch political history.¹⁸

Balen's description of the locations of the ships carrying the various regiments can be applied to the situation depicted in Cuyp's painting. In the foreground left a warship flying the Dutch tricolored flag seems under sail in midstream. The large massing of ships beyond it may be those containing the Frisian and English troops that Balen describes as being anchored near the Groothoofdspoort. Beyond these ships, to the right of the Groote Kerk, a large yacht fires a gun salute. This ship, which displays the Orange coat of arms, must be that of the lifeguards (*Lijf-Scut-Bende*) of Prince Frederik Hendrik that Balen indicates was anchored near the Blaupoort.

The focal point of Cuyp's composition is not, however, an elaborate warship but the relatively simple *pleyt* in the right foreground. He painted it with great care. The ship is at anchor, with her bow in an easterly direction, not to the wind, but with the tidal current to the bow. It seems to be slack tide, about high water on the Maas, for the anchor cable hangs loosely and no one is busy with the halyards. The large and wide jib is lowered and the spritsail is in a half-lowered position. As is characteristic of these ships, the wooden hull is broader along the waterline than at the deck level. This profile kept the ship high in the water and allowed it to sail along the shallow inland waterways. One of the sideboards used to stabilize the craft when it was under sail is seen drawn up midway along its side.

Standing in the *pleyt* awaiting the arrival of the dignitaries in the rowboats is a portly officer who wears an orange sash under his brown cloak. Unfortunately his identity is unknown, but the distinctive

flags on the ship, that hanging from the stern with blue-white-blue bars and the smaller orange flag atop the mast, may well provide a clue.¹⁹ The smaller red flag atop the mast has also not been identified. In all likelihood the officials who are approaching the *pleyt* are coming to bid farewell just before the fleet's departure. With the exception of the *pleyt*, all the ships have their sails fully raised. They would have waited for the ebb tide to help carry them along the inland waterways to Bergen op Zoom and Sas van Gent. To judge from the slack anchor line, the ripples of water against the bow of the *pleyt*, and the way it rests in the water, the ebb tide has just begun.

The probability is strong that these figures are representatives of Dordrecht because the standing young officer wears a red and white sash, which are the city's colors. Even though he is given particular prominence in the painting, it seems unlikely that he was the most important emissary. His rowboat is quite undistinguished, particularly in comparison with the other transport boat carrying three officials and the bugler. The burgomaster of Dordrecht at that time was Cornelis van Beveren, a distinguished patriarch, who was also the head of a family who were frequent patrons of Aelbert Cuyp. Van Beveren is certainly not the relatively youthful officer standing in the small rowboat, for in 1646 he was fifty-six years old. Serving with Van Beveren on a council were three other officers of the "Gecommiterde ten Beleyde van Stad" [administrative council], Jacob de Witt, Johann Dionijsz, and Cornelius van Someren. The standing figure is probably not one of these men either, not only because he is so young,

but also because it is unlikely that one of the three would have been distinguished above the others.

The identity of the figure who is so clearly silhouetted against the shimmering water is of some interest because he may well have been the person who commissioned this large, complex painting. One possibility is that he was Matthijs Pompe, Vry-Heer van Slingeland. In 1646 he was twenty-five years old and already held the public office of *shepen* [bailiff, magistrate]. It seems quite probable that given his official position and family connections he could have been granted the honor of being the emissary sent by the city to present the burgomaster and other high-ranking city officials to an officer of the fleet as it was about to set sail. Pompe was married to a daughter of Cornelis van Beveren and was also the brother of Michiel Pompe van Meerdervoort, an important patron of Cuyp.²⁰ Whether or not a relationship existed between Michiel Pompe, Vry-Heer van Slingeland, and Johan van der Linden van Slingeland, the eighteenth-century Dordrecht collector who is the first documentable owner of this work, is not known, but is certainly quite probable.²¹

The Washington painting, however, should also be considered in relation to a painting at Waddesdon Manor, which may well have been executed as a companion piece (fig. 3). The two works, which are virtually identical in size and which apparently hung together in the Slingeland collection in 1752, depict a continuous panoramic sweep of this impressive assemblage of ships anchored off Dordrecht in 1646.²² Here a comparable scene takes place, with

Fig. 3. Aelbert Cuyp, *View on the Maas near Dordrecht*, probably late 1650s, oil on canvas, National Trust, Waddesdon Manor and Courtauld Institute of Art

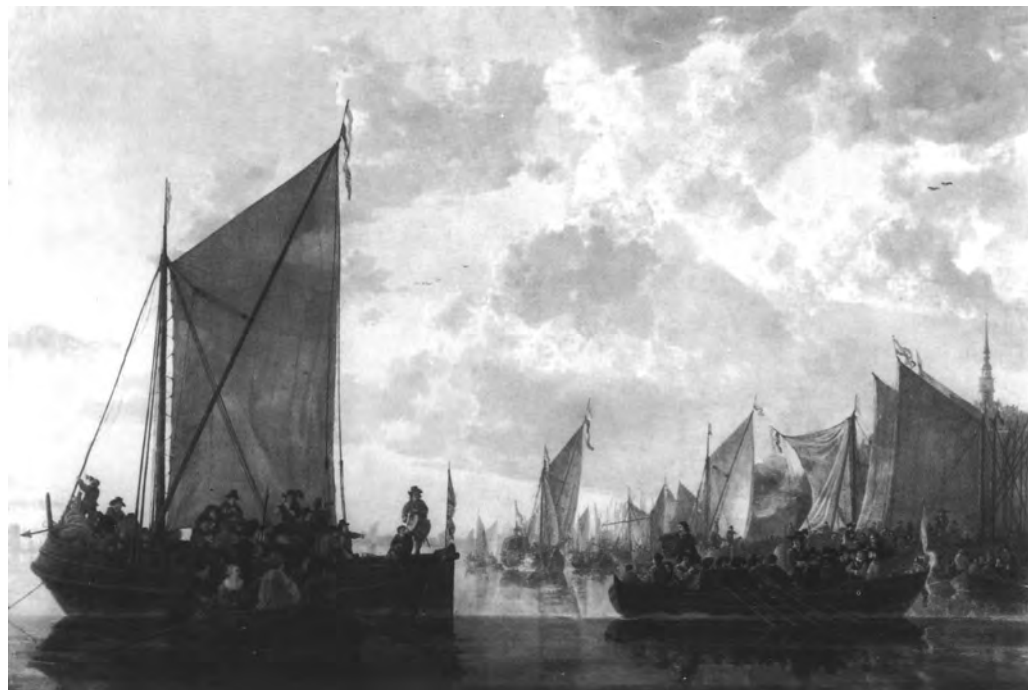




Fig. 4. Jan van de Capelle, *Marine Parade*, 1645, oil on canvas, Switzerland, private collection

distinguished individuals being transported to an awaiting sailing ship. It has been proposed that the rowboat contained Prince Frederik Hendrik inspecting the Dutch fleet, an uncertain but plausible identification.²³ Frederik Hendrik may have been present at the “Groote Vergaderinge” in Dordrecht, for Balen mentions that his lifeguard was there. It seems, however, that he accompanied the troops by land rather than by water, at least as far as Breda.²⁴

While these paintings were almost surely commissioned works related to a specific event associated with Dordrecht, Cuyp’s masterful creations stemmed from a long-abiding interest in depicting scenes along the Maas and Merwede, rivers surrounding Dordrecht. In his *Fishing Boat at Anchor*, c. 1644, in the Getty Museum, for example, he depicts a panoramic, light-filled river view that focuses on a sailing boat with its jib lowered, very similar in character to the *pleyt* in the Washington painting.²⁵ Also preceding the Washington painting is a painting in the Wallace Collection, which depicts a scene of *Shipping on the Maas*.²⁶ Here a number of the same compositional elements can be found, including a man drumming in the *pleyt* as a small rowboat approaches its side. In the Wallace painting, however, the clouds in the sky do not take on such an active, compositionally significant role. Such dramatic clouds only begin to appear in Cuyp’s work around 1650, probably under the influence of Italianate painters returning to the Netherlands.

While the compositional motif of a ferryboat transferring passengers to small rowboats most likely derives from the example of Jan van Goyen (q.v.), Cuyp’s depictions of the “Groote Ver-

gaderinge” of 1646 in Dordrecht are more specifically related to the marine “parade” pictures created in the mid-to-late 1640s by Simon de Vlieger (1600/1601–1653) and Jan van de Cappelle (1625/1626–1679) (fig. 4). The remarkably imposing yet atmospheric images of the large-scale massing of ships in a calm sea created by these artists probably provided Cuyp with the visual vocabulary necessary to transform his innate concerns with water views into such compositionally complex and yet balanced images. Cuyp, however, differs from these artists in the way he emphasizes the weight and massiveness of his forms, something that gives his scenes a tangibility that no other marine painter achieved to such a degree.

Notes

1. Hoet 1752, 2: 490. Van Slingeland’s inventory describes two paintings as: “Two pieces, being the view of the City of Dordrecht to the Huys Merwede with many yachts and ships, being a rendezvous there [of] Prince Maurits of Orange in a ‘Chaloup’ with several other Princes of the city brought over to the yacht along which ‘Chaloup’ is another in which Oldenbarnevelt stands to see Prince Maurits, from life, by Aelbert Cuyp. each h. 43 d. w. 64½ d.” [“Twee stukken, zynde het Gezigt van de Stad Dordrecht tot het huys Merwede met veele Jachten en Scheepen, zynde een Rendezvous daar Prins Maurits van Orange in een Chaloup met eenige andere Prince van de Stad na het jagt wert gevoert tegens over welke Chaloup een andere is waarinne Oldenbarnevelt overend staande op Prince Maurits siet, na het Leven, door Albert Kuyp. ieder h. 43 d. br. 64 en een half d.”] The description and dimensions seem to identify these paintings as Cuyp’s *View on the Maas near Dordrecht* at Waddesdon Manor (fig. 3) and *The Maas at Dordrecht*. As Oldenbarnevelt was executed in 1619 and Prince Maurits had died in 1625, these identifications were clearly fanciful.

2. Margin note in NGA copy of sale catalogue gives buyer as Delfos (who also bought several other paintings in the sale), but a note in a copy at the British Library gives the buyer as “Rens.” HdG 1907–1927, 2: 17–18, no. 36, says lot 70, which he mistakenly believed to be the Waddesdon Manor painting (Reiss 1975, 145, no. 106), was sold to “Reus,” and although the note in the copy of the catalogue in the RKD could be read as either “Reus” or “Rens,” the one in the British Library is not ambiguous. HdG also does not note that “Rens.” is an abbreviated form of a longer name, as seems clear from the quotation marks after the name in the NGA and British Library copies.

3. Buchanan 1824, 192.

4. As Alan Chong has kindly noted, an 1824 index of the British Institution exhibitions mistakenly dates this exhibition to 1813.

5. Cited in Schneider 1930, no. 57. An undated Nottingham Castle label was formerly affixed to the back of the picture; it was removed when the painting was lined in 1944 (now in NGA curatorial files).

6. Waagen 1854–1857, 2: 316.

7. In addition to its popularity in exhibitions, a number of copies of the work were executed. They include a signed copy by Jacob van Strij (1756–1815), oil on wood, 59 x 74 cm,

with Rob Kattenburg, Aerdenhout, in 1983; a copy formerly in the collection of Matthew Anderson, exhibited in Leeds in 1868, no. 898; and a copy formerly owned by Guy Sebright, oil on canvas, 109 x 165 cm, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1907, no. 57.

8. Waagen mistakenly believed that the scene was illuminated by a setting sun.

9. Reiss 1975, no. 97 (HdG 1907–1927, 2: nos. 165 and 631) and no. 98 (HdG 1907–1927, 2: no. 164). For an extensive discussion of the Ascott *View of Dordrecht*, see Dordrecht 1992, 132–136.

10. This drawing was made after 1647, when modifications were made to buildings along the water's edge. (An earlier drawing of the same site is in the De Boer collection, Amsterdam. See Reiss 1975, 117.) It is unlikely, however, that all three paintings were executed in the late 1640s. As is argued below, *The Maas at Dordrecht* probably dates c. 1650, while the more delicately rendered views in Kenwood and at Ascott probably date in the mid-1650s.

11. Burnet 1822, 15.

12. See note 1.

13. London 1929, 29.

14. See, for example, Berenson and Valentiner 1941, no. 209.

15. See, for example, Govaert Flinck's *The Amsterdam Civic Guard Celebrating the Signing of the Peace of Münster, 1648*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. C.1. See Moltke 1965, pl. 53.

16. Russell 1990, 31–82. Her article is the outgrowth of research she undertook at the National Gallery in 1981 and 1982. Her article also incorporated a number of observations provided by Commodore C. J. W. van Waning, who undertook an in-depth study of the painting in the fall of 1982. The text of his research, as well as navigational charts he provided, are in NGA curatorial files.

17. Mathys Balen, *Beschrijvinge der Stad Dordrecht* (Dordrecht, 1677), 880–881.

18. According to Professor Paul Hofszÿzer (letter, 6 August 1986, in NGA curatorial files), the intent of the expedition was to lay siege to Antwerp. Antwerp, however, was heavily defended and the campaign became bogged down by autumn.

19. All efforts to identify these flags have been unsuccessful, despite the kind assistance of both T. N. Schelhaas, director of the Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, The Hague (letter, 5 March 1982, in NGA curatorial files), and H. C. 't Jong, archivist at the Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, Dordrecht (letter, 10 March 1982, in NGA curatorial files). One possibility is that the flag is related to Colonel Varik, the only officer mentioned by Balen. Although the exact identity of Colonel Varik is not known, one form of the Varik family crest was a diagonal cross (color unknown) that is not unrelated in shape to the flag at the stern of the *pleytl*. See Anspach 1892, 68–69, 149. Commodore Van Waning (see note 16) believed that the small orange flag represented a “banner or regimental colour with its finely carved top and wooden bar along the topside of the flag.” He believed that the flag may well represent the regimental colors of Colonel Varik. Mr. Schelhaas, however, believes that the flag depicts a fleur-de-lis and thus may relate to the coat of arms of the Van Beveren family. Finally, Mr. H. C. 't Jong has suggested that the flag depicts a tower or castle on a red field, which would associate the ship with Middelburg.

20. Reiss 1975, no. 119 (HdG 1907–1927, 2: no. 168); and

no. 121 (HdG 1907–1927, 2: nos. 85 and 617); and no. 128 (HdG 1907–1927, 2: nos. 173 and 174).

21. See note 1.

22. See note 1. For an assessment of the relationship of this painting and that in the collection of the Duke of Sutherland (Reiss 1975, 142, no. 103), see Russell 1990, 34–35.

23. Reiss 1975, no. 106 (HdG 1907–1927, 2: no. 36).

24. Ter Raa 1918, 4: 151.

25. Reiss 1975, no. 32 (HdG 1907–1927, 2: 6486 and 649).

26. Reiss 1975, no. 93 (HdG 1907–1927, 2: 34 and 1676). (Reiss dates this work c. 1647.) The attribution of this work, however, has been called into question by Ingamells and Chong in Wallace Collection 1992, 4, 78, no. P138, where it is called a later work in the “Manner of Cuyp.”

References

- 1752 Hoet, 2: 490.
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 1822/1880 Burnet, part 2: 8, pl. 2, fig. 4 (etching, in reverse).
 1824 Buchanan, 2: 192, no. 10.
 1829–1842 Smith, 5 (1834): 311, no. 98.
 1838a Waagen, 2: 206.
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 1884 Veth: 284, no. 70.
 1891 Cundall: 96–97, 163.
 1907–1927 HdG, 2 (1909): 15–16, no. 28.
 1925 Washburn Freund: 17: 460–464.
 1928 “America Lends”: 1, 12–14.
 1929 Borenius, 3: 57–64.
 1929 Gibson, 9: 1–12, 81–94, repro.
 1929a Martin: 199–202, 299–303.
 1929b Martin: 131–142.
 1929 Rutter: no. 380, 66, 64, repro.
 1929 Zwartendijk: 385–393, repro.
 1929–1930 Bauch: 9–23.
 1930 Schneider: no. 57, repro.
 1936 Hennis: 219–253, repro.
 1941 Berenson and Valentiner: no. 209, repro.
 1941 NGA: 51.
 1949 Mellon: 97, repro.
 1960 Baird: 20–21, repro.
 1961 Reitlinger: 204.
 1963 Walker: 196–197, repro.
 1965 NGA: 35.
 1966 Stechow: 119, fig. 237.
 1973 Bol: 268–269, fig. 271.
 1975 NGA: 90–91, repro.
 1975 Reiss: 143, no. 104, repro., 204, 212.
 1976 Walker: 296–297, repro.
 1977 Butlin and Joll, 2: 92 (also 1984 rev. ed.: 104).
 1978 Reiss: 88, note 12.
 1982 Reitlinger, 2: 204.
 1984 Wheelock: 22–23, repro.
 1985 NGA: 109.
 1986 Sutton: 306.
 1990 Russell: 31–82.
 1992 NGA: 129, color repro.

1937.1.59 (59)

Herdsmen Tending Cattle

1655/1660

Oil on canvas, 66 x 87.6 (26 x 34½)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

Signed lower left: *A. cuyp*

Technical Notes: The original, plain-woven, medium-weight fabric support has been lined. Tacking margins have been removed, and the remaining paint edges are worn. Cusping is slight on all sides but particularly along the left edge, suggesting that the painting's dimensions may have been slightly reduced along that side. A large paint loss and a long horizontal tear are present in the upper left sky. The ground is of medium thickness, is pigmented, and has a cool, pale ochre color.

The paint, applied in thin layers with no appreciable texture or impasto, is modified with transparent and translucent glazes and thin opaque scumbles. Aside from the loss around the tear, scattered small losses occur in the distant landscape, along the edges, and in a vertical band through the cows. Moderate abrasion is present overall, particularly in the clouds and dark areas in the foreground and cows.

Conservation was carried out in 1958 to adjust inpainting in the sky and in 1978 to consolidate minor local flaking. A complete restoration was undertaken in 1994 in which old repaint and discolored varnish were removed.

Provenance: Possibly Gerard Vandergucht [1696–1776], London, c. 1750.¹ Henry Penton [d. 1806], London by 1760;² (sale, Skinner & Dyke, London, 10 June 1800, no. 49); Sir Henry Paulet St. John-Mildmay, 3rd Bart. [1764–1808]; by inheritance to his widow, Lady Jane St. John-Mildmay [1765–1857]; by inheritance to her grandson, Sir Henry Bouverie Paulet St. John-Mildmay, 5th Bart. [1810–1902]; by inheritance to his son, Sir Gerald Anthony Shaw-Lefevre-St. John-Mildmay, 7th Bart. [1860–1929], Dogmersfield; (M. Knoedler & Co., New York, from 1902); sold April 1905 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom*, London, 1866, no. 43. *Works by Old Masters and by Deceased Masters of the British School* (Winter Exhibition), Royal Academy, London, 1883, no. 243. *Loan Collection of Pictures*, Guildhall, London, 1894, no. 51. *Exhibition of Painters of the Dutch School*, Guildhall, London, 1903, no. 176. *Paintings by Old Masters from Pittsburgh Collections*, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, 1925, no. 10.

THIS PAINTING of herders and cattle situated along an inland waterway and near an evocative ruin has more arcadian than agricultural associations. In this respect it parallels a rich literary tradition that glorified the values of country life. These ideals es-

poused by P. C. Hooft, J. van Heemskerck, and other Dutch writers and playwrights were ones that seemed to have particular resonance in and around Dordrecht.³

As is mentioned in the entry for Cuyp's *River Landscape with Cows* (1986.70.1), Cuyp's father and teacher, Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp, painted a number of pastoral scenes in the 1630s and 1640s that had a profound influence on his son's early style and choice of subject matter.⁴ By the time Cuyp executed this work his style had evolved to the point where the rhythms of the landscape, the foliage, and the clouds had been fully transformed. Even though the theme has Dutch precedents and the ruin in the background is a free adaptation of the Merwede Tower near Dordrecht, one no longer has the sense that the scene is situated in a site specific to the Netherlands. Cliffs, diffused in golden light, now border the inland waterway; clouds hang quietly over the land rather than being swept by winds off the North Sea; and the bright red jacketed cowherd could as well be Italian as Dutch. Indeed, in the interim between *River Landscape with Cows* and this picture the influences of Cuyp's father and of Jan van Goyen (q.v.) have been fully replaced by that of returning Italianate artists, particularly Jan Both (c. 1615–1652) and Jan Baptist Weenix (1621–1660/1661). From these artists Cuyp also derived his broad, planar technique as well as the elegant and artificial rhythms of the foreground vines and branches.

Although it seems probable that Cuyp executed *Herdsmen Tending Cattle* in the mid- to late-1650s, establishing a precise date for this work is difficult given the dearth of dated paintings in his oeuvre. Many of the components of this work—the *contre-jour* light effects, the atmospheric character of the distant landscape, the abstract shapes of foreground rocks and lacy branches, and even the donkey and its saddle—are similar in character to *Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle* (1942.9.16), a painting that probably also dates in the mid- to late-1650s. The comparison between the works, however, points out that nuances of light, abstractions of form, and compositional organization are not as developed in *Herdsmen Tending Cattle* as in *Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle*, which suggests that this work was executed somewhat earlier, before Cuyp had fully mastered Italianate ideas.

Although *Herdsmen Tending Cattle* has been widely published and praised, its poor condition prior to the 1994 restoration made it difficult to fully appreciate its original qualities. Discolored varnish and extensive overpaint distorted its appearance; it has suffered various losses, and the surface is gener-



Aelbert Cuyp, *Herdsmen Tending Cattle*, 1937.1.59



Fig. 1. Copy of *Herdsmen Tending Cattle*, oil on canvas, Norfolk, England, Collection Graham Baron Ash of Wingfield Castle, Diss

ally abraded (see Technical Notes). The painting appears to have been slightly trimmed, which would account for the rather cramped quality of the composition. Its original appearance can perhaps be deduced from an old copy (fig. 1).⁵

Notes

1. The only source to mention Vandergucht (also written van der Gucht) in the provenance of this painting is the draft catalogue of Knoedler pictures in the National Gallery of Art (Mellon Collection), written about 1937 by G. H. McCall for Duveen and Company (copy at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts). McCall says that the picture was in the Vandergucht sale of 1777, whence it was acquired by Penton, but it is clear from the inscription on Vivares' engraving (see note 5) that the picture was in fact already in Penton's possession by 1760. Simpson 1953, 41, lists a *Landscape with Cattle etc.* by Cuyp as being no. 66 in a 1757 Vandergucht sale, where it was bought by "Jennens." It has not been possible, however, to confirm this reference or to know whether the painting in question is identical to *Herdsmen Tending Cattle*.

2. See Duveen notes in NGA curatorial files.

3. Lambert van den Bos, for example, the headmaster of a local school in Dordrecht, wrote a book entitled *Dordrechtsche Arcadia* in 1662.

4. For Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp see Reiss 1975, 82–105; Dordrecht 1977, 22–41; Dordrecht 1992, 144–155.

5. François Vivares' reproductive engraving, entitled *The Evening*, is dated 1760. It depicts the composition in reverse but, with the exception of a group of two birds, it is otherwise identical. The reduction in size, thus, must have occurred prior to this date. This print is listed in Le Blanc 1854–1889, 4: 141, no. 20; and Andresen 1870–1873, 2: 678, no. 17. In addition to the Ash copy of the composition, a replica is owned by Dr. Wallace B. Shute, Ottawa.

References

1827/1880 Burnet (1880): 26–27, pl. 6, fig. 1 (etching).

1829–1842 Smith, 5 (1834): 305, no. 75.
 1891 Cundall: 161.
 1894 Temple: 14, repro.
 1907–1927 HdG, 2 (1909): 68, no. 203.
 1913–1915 Graves, 1: 245, 247, 250.
 1941 NGA: 50–51.
 1949 Mellon: 96, repro.
 1963 Walker: 314, repro.
 1965 NGA: 35.
 1968 NGA: 28, repro.
 1975 Reiss: 129, no. 92, repro.
 1975 NGA: 88–89, repro.
 1976 Walker: 298, no. 402, color repro.
 1983 Spicer: 251, 253, fig. 2.
 1985 NGA: 109, repro.
 1986 Sutton: 306, fig. 456.

1942.9.16 (612)

Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle

1655/1660

Oil on canvas, 120 x 171.5 (47³/₈ x 67¹/₂)

Widener Collection

Inscriptions

In lower right corner: *A. cuyp.*

Technical Notes: The original, medium-weight, plain-weave fabric support has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Cusping on all sides indicates that the original dimensions have been retained. A warm white ground layer is present. The paint is applied in thin layers, both opaque and translucent, blended wet into wet with minimal brush-marking and no appreciable impasto. Cuyp appears to have enlarged the scale of the Monterberg, the hill on the far left.

Numerous scattered tiny losses indicate a history of flaking, but abrasion is slight. Inpainting is discrete but discolored. An aged varnish layer reinforces the golden tonality of the painting, with brown remnants of old coatings trapped in the interstices.

In 1967 the painting was lined, partially cleaned, and inpainted, and a natural resin varnish applied over the existing surface coating.

Provenance: Johan van der Linden van Slingeland, Dordrecht, by 1752;¹ (sale, Yver, Delfos, Dordrecht, 22 August 1785, no. 71);² Fouquet. M. Albert Dubois, Paris; (sale, Lebrun, Paris, 20 December 1785, no. 16, bought in). William Smith [1756–1835], Norwich;³ Edward Gray, until 1830.⁴ Alexander Baring, later 1st Baron Ashburton [1774–1848], London, by 1834;⁵ by inheritance to his son, Lord Ashburton, The Grange, until 1907; (Thomas Agnew & Sons, London). (Arthur J. Sulley, London, until 1909); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Italian Recollections: Dutch Painters of the Golden Age*, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1990, 109–110, no. 28.

FIRST RECORDED in the distinguished Slingeland Collection in Dordrecht in the mid-eighteenth century, this broad, panoramic view of a river valley has long been considered one of Cuyp's most masterful works. In the soft golden light of the late afternoon sun, the moist air in the valley softens the landscape and casts a quiet, peaceful spell over the scene. In the foreground two elegant travelers, one astride a white horse and the other on a brown one, appear to have paused to discuss the route. Behind them, in the shadow of a group of large trees, two men, one of whom holds his donkey on a rope, rest amidst a small flock of sheep and a cow. Another herdsman and two cows appear on the left. The only active element in the scene is a rider who gallops along in the middle distance.

This painting is a prime example of the broad panoramic landscapes that evolved in the Netherlands during the 1650s. In counterdistinction to Jacob van Ruisdael (q.v.) and Philips Koninck (1619–1688), the two other artists who developed this genre, Cuyp did not attempt to convey the broad, flat landscape of the Dutch countryside. His paintings, rather, evoke a pastoral scene that defies localization. While the windmill and drifting sailboats in the distance remind us that Cuyp was a northern artist, one who never traveled to Italy, the soft, golden light that floods the scene, the elegant rhythms of the trees, and the staffage motifs of herders, sheep, cows, and donkeys are reminiscent of Claude Lorraine's evocations of the Roman campagna. Indeed, the pastoral quality of the scene reflects the influence of Dutch artists who had traveled to Rome and brought back images of this faraway world. Particularly important for Cuyp in this painting was the work of Jan Both (c. 1615–1652) who also enframed his vistas of distant river valleys with a large tree mass to one side. Jan Both also specialized in the *contre-jour* effects of the late afternoon light and frequently painted the long diagonal shadows cast by the setting sun.

Despite the evocative quality of this scene, the landscape that Cuyp has represented here has a basis in reality: the Rhine Valley near the towns of Kleve and Kalkar, not far from the Dutch border. The identifying features are the two hills surmounted by buildings that appear in the background. The steep-sided hill on the left with twin towers at its summit is Monterberg, and the distant hill is Eltenberg, on top of which is visible the partially ruined monastery of Hochelten.

Cuyp visited this area of the Rhine around 1651–1652 and compiled a sketchbook, including a large number of scenes that it has been possible to iden-

tify.⁶ He depicted both Eltenberg (fig. 1) and Monterberg (fig. 2).⁷ He also based another painting upon the view from the opposite direction than that seen here.⁸ He must have made a similar drawing of Eltenberg, for in the mid-1650s he painted a comparable topographic scene with this mountain in the background.⁹

A comparison between the sketches and *Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle* demonstrates that Cuyp freely interpreted the topographic elements in the painting. Monterberg is represented much higher than it was in actuality.¹⁰ The two towers, moreover, are only seen to such advantage from the opposite viewpoint. Finally, Monterberg and Eltenberg do not lie in such close juxtaposition and cannot be seen together in this way.¹¹ Given the freedom with which Cuyp combined these landscape elements, one hesitates to try to identify the towns that are vaguely

Fig. 1. Aelbert Cuyp, *Eltenberg*, c. 1651–1652, black chalk and wash, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



Fig. 2. Aelbert Cuyp, *Landscape near Calcar, with the Monterberg in the Distance*, c. 1651–1652, black chalk with white wash, collection Groninger Museum



discernable through the late afternoon mist.¹² No such towns exist in the two paintings that are closely based on his drawings made from life, and one may conclude that they are Cuyp's own creations, intended to suggest the character of this beautiful stretch of the Rhine Valley.

The Washington painting is not the only instance in which Cuyp introduced these landscape motifs. Monterberg can be seen in the background of his *Five Cows, Herdsmen and Two Riders* in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, and in a landscape belonging to the National Trust at Waddesdon Manor.¹³ Eltenberg also reappears in the distant background of his *Two Young Horsemen with Their Tutor*, 1652–1653, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see p. 52, fig. 2).¹⁴

Aside from reusing landscape motifs, Cuyp also repeated figures and animal motifs in his paintings. The gray horse is identical to that in *Lady and Gentleman on Horseback* (1942.9.15); the brown horse is similar to the horse in the Waddesdon Manor painting; and the galloping horse and rider motif is found again in *Two Young Horsemen with Their Tutor* (see p. 52, fig. 2). This motif also appears in *The Coast at Scheveningen* (New York art market, 1960s, formerly Viscount Ridley).¹⁵

The ease with which Cuyp continually reused motifs in his paintings and the fact that he hardly ever dated his landscapes make it difficult to establish an exact chronology for his work. In this instance Cuyp's use of sketchbook drawings made around 1651–1652 provides some frame of reference. Most likely he painted this work in the latter half of

the 1650s. The expansiveness of the panorama, the soft, atmospheric qualities of the river valley, which derive from Cuyp's broad, planar technique of applying paint, and the elegance of the riders are elements associated with this period. Other distinctive characteristics of his mature style are the increasing artificiality of light effects and the introduction of twisted branches and large decorative leaves in the foreground. A striking example of this type of artificiality in this painting is the diagonal shadows that fall across rocks and foliage without any indication of the three-dimensional forms of the landscape elements.

A painting that contains similar characteristics and that must date from approximately the same period is Cuyp's *The Riding Lesson* in the Toledo Museum of Art (fig. 3).¹⁶ Indeed, this painting, which is exactly the same size as the Washington picture, hung as its companion when they were together in the Slingeland Collection in the eighteenth century.¹⁷ Slingeland had a large and distinguished collection of Cuyp's paintings, but unfortunately little is known about its origins. Whether he acquired these two paintings as companion pieces or whether their identical sizes and related styles inspired him to hang them together is not known. Neither thematic nor compositional relationships are sufficiently strong to settle the question.¹⁸

Notes

1. Hoet 1752, 2: 495.
2. The entry in the sale catalogue for no. 71 reads as follows:



Fig. 3. Aelbert Cuyp, *The Riding Lesson*, 1655/1660, oil on canvas, Toledo Museum of Art; Purchased with funds from the Florence Scott Libbey Bequest in memory of her Father, Maurice A. Scott



Aelbert Cuyp, *Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle*, 1642.9.16

CUYP (ALBERT)

Op Doek, hoog 46, breed 66 duim.

Een zeer capitaal Stuk, verbeeldende een ruim Landschap in den vroegen Morgenstond; by een aangenaam Zonlicht, zeit men, op den Voorgrond, ter rechterzyde, twee Heeren te paard, en daar nevens twee Landlieden rustende by hun Vee; ter linkerzyde een Herder by een staande en leggende Koe, waar by een Man die te paard komt aanrennen; verder ziet men een Rivier met Schepen gestoffeerd, en in't verschieft verscheide Gebouwen en hoog Gebergte; dit Konststuk is van een ongemeene schoone uitwerking, en een der beste van deezen Meester.

An annotated copy of the auction catalogue at the RKD notes that no. 71 was purchased by "Fouquet."

3. Cited by HdG 1907-1927, 2: 131, no. 430.

4. Smith 1829-1842, 5: 288. Perhaps this was the same Edward Gray, of Harringay Park, Hornsey, whose collections were auctioned at Christie's, London, May 1839.

5. HdG 1907-1927. Baring, created Baron Ashburton in 1835, was a notable politician (architect of the 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty with the United States) and connoisseur (trustee of the British Museum and of the National Gallery).

6. J. G. van Gelder and Ingrid Jost have managed to piece together this sketchbook, and have deduced, from datable architectural details in the townscapes, that Cuyp visited the region in 1651-1652. (Unpublished research, referred to in an entry they wrote in Hartford 1973, 66.)

7. I would like to thank Professor Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann (letter, 6 January 1986) for sharing with me the identifications of the sites represented in these drawings that had been proposed by Jan G. van Gelder and Ingrid Jost.

8. Several versions of this composition exist, the best of which seems to be that in the Castle Howard Collection, Yorkshire (HdG 1907-1927, 2: no. 71).

9. Reiss 1975, no. 120 (HdG 1907-1927, 2: no. 72), Collection of the Duke of Bedford, Woburn Abbey. Eltenberg, as seen from the opposite side, also features in a painting that was on the New York art market in 1936 (formerly Beckford Collection, Fonthill Abbey). Reiss 1975, no. 125 (HdG 1907-1927, 2: no. 596).

10. Close examination of the painting indicates that Cuyp originally painted Monterberg somewhat lower. He seems to have enlarged the hill for compositional reasons.

11. Compare with the more topographically accurate depictions of the area produced by Joris van der Haagen (drawing, c. 1663, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. no. 11821; repro. Dattenberg 1967, no. 211) or Romeyn de Hooghe (engraving, c. 1685/1695, repro. Gorissen 1964, no. 106).

12. J. K. van der Haagen (letter, 29 November 1964, in NGA curatorial files), tentatively identifies the towns as Griethausen (to the left), and Emmerich (immediately to the left of the pale horse, partly behind the twigs of the foreground sapling).

13. Reiss 1975, no. 89 (HdG 1907-1927, 2: no. 424); Reiss 1975, no. 137 (HdG 1907-1927, 2: nos. 458a and 711).

14. Reiss 1975, no. 121 (HdG 1907-1927, 2: nos. 85 and 617).

15. HdG 1907-1927, 2: no. 679.

16. Reiss 1975, no. 135 (HdG 1907-1927, 2: no. 448).

17. Smith 1829-1842, 5: 288, and HdG 1907-1928, 2: 125, both state that the two pictures were hung as pendants in the Slingeland Collection, information that they would have gained from Hoet 1752, 2: 495, who listed *Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle* as one of a "pair of landscapes," the other

of which was probably *The Riding Lesson*. The Toledo picture, moreover, came directly after the Washington picture in the 1785 Slingeland sale catalogue (see note 2), and was described as "een Meesterstuk van konst en een weerga van de vorige" (a masterpiece of art and a pendant of the previous [work]).

18. A nineteenth-century oil sketch *Landscape with Lake and Two Figures Riding*, in the collection of Paul Mellon, formerly attributed to J. M. W. Turner, is a free adaptation of Cuyp's *Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle*. The sketch, which is oil on paper and measures 21.6 x 27.3 cm, is one of a group of fifteen oil sketches by an unknown English artist working around 1850.

References

- 1752 Hoet, 2: 495.
- 1829-1842 Smith, 5 (1834): 288, no. 10.
- 1838b Waagen, 2: 282-283.
- 1854 Jervis, 2: 217, 325.
- 1854-1857 Waagen, 2 (1854): 110.
- 1891 Cundall: 163.
- 1907-1927 HdG, 2 (1909): 131, no. 430.
- 1913-1916 Widener: no. 12, repro.
- 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
- 1930 Holmes: 165-185.
- 1931 Widener: 40-41, repro.
- 1936 Leslie: 113-115.
- 1942 Widener: 5.
- 1948 Widener: 57, repro.
- 1961 Hutton: 79-85, repro.
- 1965 NGA: 36.
- 1967 Dattenberg: 72-73, repro. 79a.
- 1968 NGA: 29, repro.
- 1975 Reiss: 179, no. 136 repro.
- 1975 NGA: 90-91, repro.
- 1976 Walker: 298-299, color repro.
- 1976 Toledo Museum: 47.
- 1982 White: 32.
- 1985 NGA: 110, repro.
- 1986 Sutton: 306.

1942.9.15 (611)

Lady and Gentleman on Horseback

c. 1655, reworked 1660/1665
Oil on canvas, 123 x 172 (48½ x 67¾)
Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At lower left: *A. Cuijp*.

Technical Notes: The original support, a fairly coarse fabric, has been lined with the vertical tacking margins trimmed. Cusping is visible along all edges. At both the top and bottom tacking margins have been unfolded and incorporated into the picture plane. Tears are found near the top edge, left of center, and the right edge, near the lower right corner. A coarsely pigmented red ground was applied overall followed by a gray preparatory layer under the landscape and a white layer in the sky.

Paint is applied in thin opaque layers. Numerous artist's changes are visible as pentimenti and in infrared reflectography and x-radiography. The man had shorter hair and wore a brimmed hat, a decorated tunic, and an embroidered cape tied under his plain collar. The woman, whose proper right arm was raised to hold the reins, wore a large brimmed hat pushed back on her head, a cape, and an ornate dress that fell over the horse's right side. The white horse's decorated martingale was slung lower. The boy in the middle ground was running, accompanied by five greyhounds. Contour changes were made in the seated rider at the far left and in the lower left landscape.

Old discolored overpaint covers many of the pentimenti. Scattered small and moderately sized losses have been retouched, often without prior filling, and all edges have been overpainted, extending well into the picture. A thick coating of discolored natural resin varnish is present, along with remnants of aged coatings from prior selective cleanings.

The lining canvas was in place when the painting was treated privately in 1942, and records indicate at least two generations of retouching were present. Prior to acquisition, discolored varnish and earlier retouching were removed, and a surface coating of mastic applied. No conservation work has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Thomas Emmerson, London, before 1834. Edmund Higginson, Saltmarsh Castle, Herefordshire, before 1842; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 16 June 1860, no. 34); Charles J. Nieuwenhuys [1799–1883], Brussels. Probably Lord Henry Francis Hope Pelham-Clinton-Hope;¹ (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 30 June 1894, no. 22); Charles Wertheimer, London. (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, by 1894); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, in 1894; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

THIS extraordinary double portrait of a couple on horseback in an extensive landscape is unique in Dutch art. Unfortunately neither the identity of the sitters nor the circumstances surrounding the commission of this large work is known. Elegantly dressed—the woman wears a black cap decorated with ostrich feathers, pearl necklace, and elaborate blue dress with split sleeves, and the man has on a brown jacket with a gold-trimmed sash across his chest—the couple appear to be participating in a hunt. Three hounds accompany them and sniff the bushes and ground in the lower left, apparently trying to track the scent of game. Two other hunting dogs that resemble greyhounds are held on a leash by an attendant who carries a stick for flushing out the quarry. In the middle distance two gentlemen on horseback journey through the countryside. Beyond them rises a large stone building with turrets and a rectangular tower, which overlooks a broad, low river valley.

The hunt became a popular pastime for the aristocracy in the second half of the seventeenth century,



Fig. 1. Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Abraham Delcourt and His Wife Marie de Keerssegieter*, 1654, oil on canvas, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

and numerous representations of the sport exist. In the paintings of Meindert Hobbema, for example, hunters can be seen walking through wooded landscapes (see *A Village near a Pool*, 1942.9.32). Philips Wouwerman (1619–1668) often focused on activities surrounding the hunt itself, and still-life painters like Willem van Aelst represented the trophies of the hunt (see *Still Life with Dead Game*, 1982.36.1). Cuyp is one of the few Dutch painters who used this theme as a point of departure for portraits of the huntsmen, in works such as *The Huntsmen Halted* (Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham) and *The Three Huntsmen* (formerly in the collection of Thomas Fee, Oklahoma City).²

The Washington painting differs from other examples by Cuyp not only in that a woman rider is present, but also in that the main figures seem disconnected from the hunt. They and their mounts are much larger than the accompanying figures and ride past the hounds, oblivious to their presence. Although, to judge from Wouwerman's paintings, it seems that women occasionally participated in the hunt, in this instance the hunt theme merely served as a pretext for the unusual portraits. Indeed, no prior tradition existed in Dutch art for portraits of a



Fig. 2. Aelbert Cuyp, *Starting for the Hunt: Michiel (1638–1653) and Cornelis Pompe van Meerdervoort (1639–1680) with Their Tutor and Coachman (Two Young Horsemen with Their Tutor)*, c. 1652–1653, oil on canvas, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931

couple on horseback. While double portraits frequently have rural, outdoor settings, on the grounds of country houses, as, for example, in Bartholomeus van der Helst's *Portrait of Abraham Delcourt and His Wife Maria de Keerssegieter*, 1654 (fig. 1), or evocative, pastoral landscapes, most of these figures are shown seated, standing, or walking.³

Only Cuyp and the Amsterdam portrait painter Thomas de Keyser (1596/1597–1667) portrayed couples on horseback. De Keyser began painting his small-scale equestrian portraits around 1660.⁴ Since Cuyp worked in Dordrecht and De Keyser in Amsterdam and since their styles were so completely different, it seems unlikely that one artist influenced the other. In any event, De Keyser almost certainly did not influence Cuyp, who began painting subjects on horseback by the early 1650s, particularly for the Dordrecht family of Pompe van Meerdervoort. In *Two Young Horsemen with Their Tutor* (fig. 2)⁵ the young riders, Cornelis and Michiel Pompe van Meerdervoort, are situated in the foreground while behind them the hunt is in full chase. Such equestrian portraiture, which must have helped satisfy the family's aristocratic inclinations, was particularly suited to Cuyp's dual interest in portraiture and in depictions of domestic animals. The equestrian double portrait in Washington, thus, was a

direct outgrowth of Cuyp's own innovations in this genre.

Interestingly, in the Washington picture Cuyp did not follow the traditional portrait convention that the woman should be to the left or sinister side of the man.⁶ Indeed, the woman, resplendent in her gorgeous blue dress and mounted on a white horse with a brilliant red and gold saddlecloth, is given great prominence in the composition. Her position may reflect her high social or economic status, or it may be an expression of pastoral, courtly love.

Cuyp arrived at his compositional arrangement for *Lady and Gentleman on Horseback* with a great deal of effort. Close observation of the surface of the work and of the x-radiographs (fig. 3) reveal that he overpainted and changed major portions of the painting. Both figures have been extensively modified. The man originally wore a hat and had shorter hair. His collar lay flat on his shoulders. He also wore a military-style tunic-and-cape combination, resplendent with braids and buttons (presumably gold), and it seems that the overall color of his costume was brilliant red, rather than its current brown. The costume was in many respects not unlike that worn by Jan Six in Rembrandt's famous portrait of 1654 in the Six Collection, Amsterdam (see p. 258, fig. 2).



Aelbert Cuyp, *Lady and Gentleman on Horseback*, 1942.9.15



Fig. 3. Detail of x-radiograph of 1942.9.15

The woman's costume was also substantially changed. She wore a different shaped hat with feathers that sat back on her head rather than over her forehead. Her dress fit more loosely and seems to have fallen over the right flank of her horse. In place of the fairly low, elegantly gathered neckline in the final version, Cuyp originally painted a plain flat collar that covered her shoulders. The costume was comparable to that seen in Van der Helst's work of 1654 (fig. 1). From the evidence of these two costumes one can thus conclude that the original version is datable to about 1654–1655.

Aside from the changes in costume, Cuyp also substantially modified the mood of the painting through changes in the arrangement of figures and landscape. The woman, for example, originally assumed a less demure pose and extended her right arm, presumably to hold the reins tightly.⁷ This gesture would have suggested more movement than is evident in the final version. The background also had more activity. Instead of the two greyhounds and the young attendant walking behind the riders,

Cuyp originally included five running greyhounds and a somewhat larger young man in red socks running with them. The juxtaposition of the portraits and the background figures would thus have been similar to that seen in the painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 2).⁸ Finally, the landscape also sloped in from the left, and Cuyp may also have made changes to the building.

The couple probably represents a husband and wife, although the suggestion has been made that the woman, because of her younger appearance, may be the man's daughter.⁹ The distinctive crescent and star brass on the bridle of the man's horse, which might be thought a means of identifying the sitter, was a standard form of horse brass and is unrelated to family crests.¹⁰ One possible clue to the identity of the sitters may be the two letters, *JH*, embroidered on the woman's saddle cloth, but these initials have not yet been connected with any name.

A more promising clue to their identity may well be a bust-length portrait, based on the male rider in this painting, that has been traditionally identified as Adriaen Stevensz. Snouck (c. 1634–?).¹¹ Alan Chong, who discovered the resemblance between the two heads, notes that Snouck, originally from Rotterdam, lived in The Hague until his marriage to Erkenraad Berck Matthisdr. (1638–1712) in 1654. This marriage would have brought Snouck into contact with Cuyp because Erkenraad was the daughter of Matthijs Berck, *Raad-Pensionaris* of Dordrecht, and an important patron of the artist. This theory may well account for the prominence of the woman in this painting. Since the date of the wedding accords rather well with the style of costume seen in the underlying image, one could also hypothesize that the initial commission was to commemorate that event.

Although no specific symbolism relating to marriage exists in the painting, the hunt as a theme was metaphorically linked with the game of love.¹² The large burdock leaves in the foreground were also frequently associated with love. Although the burdock leaf can be symbolic either of virtue and fidelity or vice and lust, the context of the scene clearly points toward the first alternative.¹³ Cuyp had a special fondness for this plant. He made three drawings of burdocks (two in the British Museum, London, and one in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam) and included this plant in the foreground of a number of his paintings (see *Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle*, 1942.9.16). In most of these works the symbolic associations of the burdock leaf seem irrelevant to the meaning of the painting, but in this instance, with the dog calling attention to

its presence, Cuyp may have intended to convey its symbolic associations.¹⁴

The remarkable revisions in the painting indicate that the patrons must have been dissatisfied with the original composition. One may speculate that the activity of the hunt was too predominant an element in the scene and distracted from the character of the double portrait. The substantial modifications in costume, however, also reflect the radical change in the style of clothing that occurred in Dordrecht in the 1660s, and suggest that the sitters wanted to update their image. Particularly revealing in this respect are the changes in the male figure. The dignified brown jacket crossed by a sash and the long wavy hair worn to fall over the shoulders came into vogue around 1660.

The style also differs from that of Cuyp's earlier portraiture. Indeed, the careful modeling and psychological penetration in these figures is far greater than that which he achieved in portraits such as those in the New York painting (fig. 2). Cuyp's new style reflects that of Nicolaes Maes (1632–1693), who, after arriving in Dordrecht in the mid-1650s, initiated a new vogue of portraiture in Dordrecht by the end of that decade. Maes captured the elegant, aristocratic aspirations of a Dordrecht society that had begun to follow French styles of dress and decorum, and Cuyp clearly learned from his example.

Notes

1. The 30 June 1894 auction of paintings from the "Adriaen Hope Collection," which was formed in the eighteenth century, included works acquired by descendants of Hope. At the time of this auction, Lord Henry Francis Pelham-Clinton-Hope had acquired the collection.

2. For reproductions of these paintings, see Reiss 1975, nos. 122 and 123.

3. An example of the rural type of portraiture is: Adriaen van de Velde, *Family Group in a Landscape* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. C248). Typical of the "grounds of the country house" category is the Van der Helst reproduced here and Frans Hals' portrait of *Isaac Massa and Beatrice van der Laen* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A133) or Cornelis Holsteyn's *Reiner Pauw and His Family at Westwijk* (private collection; reproduced in Robinson 1979, 493, fig. 6), all works in which the country house itself can be seen in the background.

4. See *Equestrian Portrait of Pieter Schout*, dated 1660 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A697); *A Lady and Gentleman Riding Through a Wood* (Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, Buckingham Palace; London 1982, cat. no. 95); *Two Horsemen* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, inv. no. 1543).

5. Reiss 1975, no. 121 (HdG 1907–1927, 2: no. 85).

6. While this convention was not absolutely rigid (see, for example, Anthony van Dyck's companion portraits of *Peeter Stevens*, 1627, and *Anna Wake*, 1628, in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. nos. 239, 240), most Dutch artists

placed the male to the right of the female.

7. In the original concept a fur-trimmed cape may also have hung over her shoulders.

8. Another connection with this painting is the architecture of the building, which, though not identical, is similar in character to that in the Washington painting. This structure has not been identified and is probably a fanciful evocation of an ancient fortified château such as Cuyp may have seen on his trip along the Rhine (see also *Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle*, 1942.9.16).

9. This suggestion was made in a number of catalogues of the Widener Collection.

10. Reiss 1975, 165, says that the gentleman "may be a member of the Pompe [van Meerdervoort] family, perhaps Cornelis Pompe (1639–1680), younger of the two boys seen in the New York picture" (fig. 2), but this conclusion rests on the assumption that the horse brass in the Washington picture contains, like that in the New York picture, a star. Alan Chong letter, 25 February 1984, in NGA curatorial files, at one point suggested that the device in the NGA picture's horse brass is similar to the stylized five-pointed oak leaf that appears in the Berck family crest. According to the archivist of the Municipal Archives in Dordrecht, however, these horse brasses were standard decorative elements of Turkish origin and cannot be connected with family crests. Indeed, exactly the same motifs occur on the horse brass on Paulus Potter's 1653 life-size equestrian portrait of Dirck Tulp, in the Six Collection, Amsterdam.

11. The painting is housed in the Zeeuws Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschap, Middelburg. This information was kindly provided by Alan Chong in a letter, 5 February 1990, in NGA curatorial files.

12. Eddy de Jongh writes: "The hunt is synonymous with the game of love and it... was a current and naturally obvious metaphor." De Jongh 1968–1969, 34.

13. Parsons and Ramsay 1983, 200.

14. Another example in which symbolism seems intended is *Landscape with Cattle and Figures* in the National Gallery, London (inv. no. 53; Reiss 1975, no. 183; HdG 1907–1927, 2: no. 426). There the scene of a horseman talking to a shepherdess has clear romantic implications. Cuyp included in the foreground not only burdocks, but also a goat (a traditional symbol of lust), and two dogs frolicking. Reiss 1975, 188, no. 143, quite wrongly rejects the attribution to Cuyp himself, believing it to be by an unknown follower. For a further discussion of the attribution see Brown/MacLaren 1992, 87–88.

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Gerard Dou

1613–1675

GERARD DOU, considered the founder of the Dutch school of *fijnschilderij*, or fine painting, was born in Leiden on 7 April 1613, the son of the glassmaker and engraver Douwe Jansz. and Marytje Jansdr. van Rosenberg. According to Orlers, Dou received his first artistic instruction, in the art of glass engraving, from his father. He was an apprentice with the copper engraver Bartholomeus Dolen-do (c. 1571–active 1629) for a year and a half, beginning in 1622 at the astonishingly young age of nine, and then trained with the glass painter Pieter Couwenhorn for two years. As he was a member of the glaziers' guild from 1625 to 1627, it is tempting to make a connection between this youthful career and the smooth, shiny surface effects characteristic of his later panel paintings.

On 14 February 1628 Dou began his apprenticeship with Rembrandt van Rijn (q.v.), which seems to have lasted until the master moved to Amsterdam some three or four years later. At the time he entered Rembrandt's workshop Dou was not quite fifteen years old and Rembrandt was only twenty-one. Although there are no dated works by Dou from this period, a number of his pictures are so close in style to those of his teacher that they must have been painted at this time. Indeed, early works by Dou have at times been attributed to Rembrandt himself, a confusion in part due to the fact that Dou and Rembrandt shared subjects and models during these years.

After Rembrandt went to Amsterdam, Dou produced ever more finely wrought, highly finished compositions with increasingly smooth, enamel-like surfaces. He also began to employ a range of cooler, paler colors in preference to the warm, darkish browns of his earlier works.

Dou painted a wide range of subjects, including genre scenes, history paintings, still lifes, portraits, and—unusual for a seventeenth-century Dutch

painter—nudes. He also began painting candlelit scenes during the 1650s. His fame quite rightly rests, however, on the meticulously painted, small genre scenes that make up a large portion of his oeuvre. These typically depict one or two figures engaging in some kind of domestic activity, either in an interior or else looking out over a windowsill—a compositional device that Dou was chiefly responsible for popularizing. Many of these works are also open to a considerable degree of symbolic interpretation, containing numerous, if sometimes ambiguous, visual references to well-known contemporary proverbs or emblems.

Dou had remarkable success. From his own lifetime until late in the nineteenth century, his work was considered one of the crowning achievements of Dutch art, and his pictures consistently fetched higher prices than those of Rembrandt. By 1648, when he is recorded as one of the founder-members of the Leiden Guild of Saint Luke, his pictures commanded some of the highest prices of their day, and he had already gained a remarkable international reputation. Pieter Spiering, the agent in The Hague of Queen Christina of Sweden, apparently paid 1,000 guilders per year to secure for his queen first refusal of whatever Dou produced. In 1660 the States General of the Netherlands included several paintings by Dou amongst their gifts to Charles II of England on the occasion of his restoration to the throne. He subsequently invited Dou to travel to England and work at the royal court, an invitation the artist did not accept.

Indeed, it seems that Dou hardly ever left his native Leiden, where his work was as appreciated as it was in the royal courts of Europe. In 1641 the mayor of Leiden, J. J. Orlers, wrote admiringly of Dou's technique in his general description of the city, *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden*, and in 1665 a local collector, Johan de Bye, rented a room in which he

exhibited twenty-seven of the artist's paintings, one of the first recorded occasions of an exhibition devoted to the works of a single painter.

A factor in Dou's enduring fame must be the fascination for the products of extremely painstaking and skillful labor. The time that went into the creation of Dou's minutely detailed works is legendary: one anecdote relates how, when complimented on the patience with which he had painted a tiny broom the size of a fingernail, he replied that he still had three days' work to do on it. He is also said to have spent five days on the underpainting of a single hand in a portrait. Since he charged six guilders an hour for his services as a portrait painter, it is hardly surprising that these do not constitute a large proportion of his oeuvre.

Dou never married. He was buried in the Pieterskerk at Leiden on 9 February 1675. His pupils included Godfried Schalcken (1634–1706) and Frans van Mieris (1635–1681), as well as a number of less well-known painters, such as his nephew Domenicus van Tol (c. 1635–1676), Abraham de Pape (c. 1621–1666), Carel de Moor (1656–1738), and Godfried Matthijs Naiveu (1647–c. 1721).

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1960.6.8 (1560)

The Hermit

1670
Oil on oak, 46 x 34.5 (18 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{5}{8}$)
Timken Collection

Inscriptions

On book strap: *GDou 1670* (GD in ligature)
On right page of book: *GDou* (GD in ligature)

Technical Notes: The original support is a vertically grained oak panel with an arched top. At a later date it was squared

off with a horizontally grained oak board attached with a half-lap joint that overlaps the arched area on the back of the original panel. Both the original and extension panel are attached to a cradle.

Paint is applied over a smooth, thick white ground in successive thin layers with low brushmarking and transparent glazing. A broad, wide-aperture, drying craquelure, most prominent in dark passages where a black underpaint layer is found, is absent in the later addition where no original paint or ground is found. The black layer serves as a base for translucent shadows, and is found over underlayers in the hands, suggesting reworking by Dou. Other artist's changes visible in the x-radiograph and as pentimenti are the shifting of the arched ruin to the right and repositioning of the book, which tilted upward at the rear, perhaps held by the hermit.

An area of severe abrasion along the bottom edge has been repainted, and foliage from the later extension has been continued on the original panel. An aged varnish layer is present, covering remnants of earlier coatings and possible reglazed dark passages. No conservation work has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Probably Kurfürst Karl Albrecht, Munich, by 1742. Kurfürstliche Galerie, Munich; Alte Pinakothek, Munich, by 1829; deaccessioned in 1927;¹ (Galerie van Diemen, New York and Berlin); William R. Timken [1866–1949], New York; by inheritance to Lillian S. Timken [d. 1959], New York.

WITH CLASPED HANDS resting on a well-thumbed page of the open Bible, an old hermit dressed in a Franciscan habit kneels before a crucifix. He is situated in an outdoor setting before a grotto-like edifice consisting of large brick arches. The book and crucifix lie on a large rock that is covered by a frayed cloth woven from brightly colored threads. At the base of the crucifix is a human skull and beside it an hourglass. The crucifix itself leans against a large wicker basket, which in turn rests against an old moss-covered tree stump that arches over the scene. The stump appears dead, although sprigs with green leaves emerge from its withered form. Hanging from the stump, above the crucifix, is a lantern, its door opened and the candle within it extinguished. In the foreground right grows a large thistle from the marshy soil. Lying on the ground is a waterpouch, an overturned earthenware jug, and the remains of a horse's skull.

The intensely spiritual gaze on the hermit's face and the fervor with which he clasps his hands as he stares toward the crucifix indicate that he is contemplating the mysteries of Christ's death and resurrection. Dou has reinforced his message with reminders of the brevity of man's life: the skull, hourglass, and extinguished light of the lantern. He has alluded to the hermit's constancy in his devotions with the thistle, a common symbol for this virtue in Dutch painting.²

The tree has complex symbolic associations. As Kuretsky has argued, the dead tree in conjunction with the Crucifixion implies life through death.³ Traditionally the cross was believed to have been constructed of wood from either the Tree of Knowledge or the tree that grew from the seeds of the forbidden apple that sprouted from the skull of Adam. Only through Christ's sacrifice on the cross was it possible for man, through death, to gain everlasting life. The symbolism of life through death is reinforced by the living branches that sprout from the dead tree stump.

The basket against which the crucifix leans contains references to the life of Christ that can be understood through its appearance in another painting from Dou's workshop. In *An Artist in His Studio*, formerly attributed to Dou and dated 1635, the same basket, with its lid askew, appears in a scene of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* that is shown on the aged artist's easel (fig. 1). Although the basket undoubtedly served as the baby's bed in this scene, it has been argued that, placed as it is in front of a low archway before a dark recess, the empty basket also prefigured Christ's empty tomb.⁴ Such religious symbolism for the basket is also appropriate in this painting, for it reinforces the central theme: the hermit's contemplation of the death and resurrection of Christ.

Fig. 1. Leiden school, detail of *An Artist in His Studio*, 1635, oil on panel, Milwaukee Art Museum



Dou painted this scene near the end of his life, but it was a subject that had occupied him throughout most of his career. Martin lists eleven hermit scenes that were painted between 1635 and 1670.⁵ Dendrochronological examination has revealed that Dou used a panel from a tree that had been felled in the early 1630s, a fact that may suggest he kept a supply of panels in his workshop.⁶ Too little information, however, is available about his working methods to be certain about the reason for the chronological gap between the felling date and the painting's execution. Many of the elements found in this painting occur in different combinations in other works, indicating that Dou must have owned these objects and painted them from life. The horse's skull bone, for example, also appears in *An Artist in His Studio* (fig. 1). The skull bone, as well as the water pouch and overturned jug presumably had specific allegorical meanings in his hermit scenes beyond their obvious generic ones, but they are presently unknown.

Dou's inspiration for his hermit scenes was probably a painting by Rembrandt of *St. Jerome in Prayer* that is known today only through an etching from 1631 by Joris van Vliet.⁷ Although Dou's hermit scenes contain many of the same objects found in this etching, he rarely painted attributes that could identify the figure as a specific saint. His intent was not to represent an actual moment from church history, but to suggest the virtue of the *vita contemplativa*. This subject is frequently alluded to in Dutch seventeenth-century portraits, still lifes, and genre scenes. In numerous paintings Dutch artists called the viewer's attention to the brevity of life and the importance of preparing oneself for the eventual Last Judgment. Although Dou's focus on the spiritual bond between a Franciscan hermit and the crucified Christ would seem to have Catholic overtones, he emphasized the importance of the written word in his scene, a significant component of Protestant belief, and it is unlikely the subject was viewed in specific denominational terms. That the Bible was of considerable importance to him is evident from the x-radiograph. Originally the Bible was turned in a different position as though the hermit supported it in his arms. The initial shape of the Bible is vaguely visible under the hermit's arm and can be further distinguished by a change in the crackle pattern on the present Bible.

The moralizing function of such a painting in Dutch society can be deduced from a work traditionally attributed to Dou in the Brooklyn Museum, the *Burgomaster Hasselaar and His Wife* (fig. 2).⁸ On the back wall of their home hangs a painting of a hermit that is similar in conception to *The Hermit*.



Gerard Dou, *The Hermit*, 1960.6.8



Fig. 2. Attributed to Gerard Dou, detail of *Burgomaster Hasselaar and His Wife*, c. 1635, oil on panel, Brooklyn Museum

The burgomaster, quill in hand, is seated before a table on which lie an open book and a globe. The woman rests her hand on an overturned lute. The objects on the table refer to the arts and letters, humanistic endeavors. The suspended glass sphere was metaphorically meant to represent heaven.⁹ The Brooklyn painting, therefore, can be interpreted to mean that humility and prayer, exemplified by the hermit, combined with intellectual endeavor are the means to transcend mortality. Only by balancing humanism with piety can one lead a full and truly virtuous Christian life.¹⁰

Much of Dou's fame as an artist derived from the exquisite refinement of his painting technique. This work is no exception. The care with which he has painted the hermit's features, hair, and beard, or the various threads of the woven cloth covering the rock is remarkable.

Notes

1. Before it was sold in 1927, *The Hermit* was part of the collection at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (inv. no. 399). It had been there since at least the mid-eighteenth century. On the back of the painting are two wax seals that were detached from the original panel when it was cradled and then reapplied. One of these seals is that of Kurfürst Karl Albrecht (1697–1745). According to Dr. Susan Neuburger (letter, 6 November 1981, in NGA curatorial files) this seal was used until 1742. The other seal may also be that of Karl Albrecht, or alternatively of Kurfürst Maximilian II Emmanuel (1662–1726). A painting by Dou sold at auction in Amsterdam in 1779 (May 19, no. 49), traditionally thought to be *The Hermit*, thus must have been another work.

2. For a discussion of the symbolism of the thistle, see De Jongh and Vinken 1961, 117–152; also Haverkamp-Begemann 1978, 1: 157, no. 83. The thistle can also relate to the crowning of thorns.

3. Kuretsky 1974, 571–580.

4. London 1980, 15–17. Dou used the basket motif in a complex vanitas painting where it had a comparable meaning, *A Vanitas Still Life with a Boy-Angel Blowing Bubbles*, c. 1635–1636 (National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, inv. no. P1981–1). See London 1980, cat. 3.

5. Martin 1913, 5–11, repro.

6. Letter from Peter Klein of the Ordinariat für Holzbiologie, Universität Hamburg, 28 January 1987, in NGA curatorial files. Klein has determined a felling date of 1633.

7. See Kuretsky 1974, 578.

8. While universally accepted as by Dou since first published by Smith 1829–1842, 9: 23, no. 76, the attribution of this picture has been rejected by Ronni Baer, who has kindly provided me with a draft of her entry on the painting for the forthcoming catalogue of paintings for the Brooklyn Museum.

9. De Jongh 1975–1976, 74.

10. I would like to credit Ronni Baer for this interpretation of the meaning of this theme for Dutch society. She worked on the painting as a research project when she was an intern at the National Gallery of Art. For her further thoughts on Dou, see Baer 1990.

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Jan van Goyen

1596–1656

BORN ON 13 January 1596, Jan Josephsz. van Goyen began training as an artist in his native city of Leiden at the early age of ten. The series of teachers with whom he studied included, according to Orlers' near-contemporary account, Isaac van Swanenburgh (c. 1538–1614). Orlers also says that Van Goyen spent a year in France before going to Haarlem, where he is known to have been a student of Esaias van de Velde (c. 1591–1630) in 1617. His early works closely resemble those by Esaias.

By 1618, Van Goyen had returned to Leiden, where that same year he married Annetje Willemsdr. van Raelst. His name occurs frequently in Leiden documents between 1625 and 1632. In 1625 he bought a house on the Sint Peterskerkstraat, which he sold in 1629 to the marine painter Jan Porcellis (c. 1584–1632). Probably in the summer of 1632 he moved to The Hague, becoming a citizen two years later. Although he also worked in Haarlem in 1634, at the house of Salomon van Ruysdael's brother Isaack (1599–1677), he is thereafter only recorded in The Hague. He bought a house there on the Wagenstraat in 1635 and built another the following year on the Dunne Bierkade, where Paulus Potter (q.v.) is known to have lived from 1649 to 1652. Although a prolific and successful painter, Van Goyen engaged throughout his life in various business ventures, usually unsuccessfully; these included art dealing, auction sales, and speculation in real estate and tulip bulbs.

During the 1630s, Van Goyen, along with the Haarlem artists Pieter Molijn (q.v.) and Salomon van Ruysdael (1600/1603–1670), developed a new approach to the representation of landscape that focused on local subjects and utilized a tonal palette, initiating what has come to be recognized as the golden age of Dutch landscape painting. Van Goyen was a highly respected figure in the artistic community of The Hague. In 1638 and 1640, he was chosen to be *hoofdman* of the painters' guild, and received further official recognition in 1651, when he was commissioned to paint a panoramic view of the city for the burgomaster's room in the Town Hall. In 1649, both his daughters were married to artists, Margaretha to Jan Steen (q.v.), and Maria to the still-life painter Jacques de Claeu (d. after 1665).

Despite his artistic success, he died insolvent in The Hague on 27 April 1656.

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1978.11.1 (2720)

View of Dordrecht from the Dordtse Kil

1644
Oil on oak, 64.7 x 95.9 (25 x 37¾)
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund

Inscriptions

On the stern of boat at center: *VGoyen 1644*

Technical Notes: The support is a thin oak panel composed of three horizontally grained boards of equal width joined horizontally. The support has been mounted onto another thin panel and cradled, with a slight dislevel along the upper join of the original panel. Paint is applied over a thin white ground with low, fine brushmarking, in thin semi-transparent darks and thicker opaque lights.¹ In the sky and light areas of water, the buildings and boats were painted over a thin, pale underpaint layer. A thicker, more opaque upper layer was then applied, passing around the boats and townscape.

Small amounts of repaint cover the panel joins, edges, and areas of slight abrasion. In a prior restoration, four undamaged areas in the central sky were overpainted to make the clouds appear denser.

Provenance: (Possibly E. Glaenzer, New York and Paris, by 1906).² Baron V. de Gunsburg, Paris; by inheritance to his family; (Heim Gallery, Paris, by 1978).

ON A CALM DAY with overcast sky a sailboat stops across from the city of Dordrecht to take passengers from a rowboat. This sailboat, heavily laden with travelers, served as a ferryboat, one of a number of types of boats that transported people along the



Fig. 1. M. Merian, *Map of Dordrecht*, from *Neuwe Archontologia Cosmica*, Frankfurt, 1646, Washington, Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division

many inland waterways of the Dutch republic. In the foreground another passenger boat, a rowboat filled with men, women, and children, heads across a wide body of water known as the Dordtse Kil.

Van Goyen has situated the viewer southwest of Dordrecht on the bank of the Dordtse Kil. The spit of land on the left, on which the fisherman stands while attending his traps, is actually the northwestern tip of this shoreline and marks the juncture of the Dordtse Kil with another river, the Oude Maas. The sailboat, which is behind this spit of land, is on the Oude Maas at the point where it joins with the Dordtse Kil and begins to flow north around Dordrecht.

Dordrecht was an old and extremely important city in the Dutch republic. By 1644, when Van

Goyen painted this view, it had become a major mercantile center. Dordrecht's importance grew as a result of its favorable geographic situation, at the juncture of a number of major inland waterways. The conservative character of the city's rich patrician class was reinforced by the formidable presence of the Dutch Reformed church that resulted from the victory of the Counter-Remonstrants at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618–1619.³ The real and symbolic center of the church's power in the city was the Grootte Kerk, the large cathedral with the unfinished spire that rises in the distance.

Van Goyen traveled frequently throughout the Netherlands during his long and productive career. On these trips he would fill sketchbooks with scenes that he later amplified in paintings executed in his

Fig. 2. Jan van Goyen, *View of Dordrecht*, c. 1648, black chalk, white wash, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett





Jan van Goyen, *View of Dordrecht from the Dordste Kil*, 1978.11.1

studio. Working from such sketches he painted over twenty views of Dordrecht from the southwest between the years 1644 and the early 1650s.⁴ These paintings contain, in various combinations, many of the same compositional elements: the passenger sailboat, rowboats, the fisherman, boats sailing along the distant shore, as well as buildings associated with the city profile itself. Without exception Van Goyen featured the activities of the ferryboat loading and unloading passengers as it passed the juncture of the Oude Maas and the Dordtse Kil. He seems to have been intrigued as much by the activities associated with the site as by the dramatic view of Dordrecht that it offered.

This painting comes at the beginning of the series and is exceptional in the extraordinary stillness of the water. Reflections of the boats, buildings, and even the sky create subtle patterns across its surface. Van Goyen suggested the translucency of the water in the immediate foreground by allowing the ochre-colored ground to be visible through the thin brownish glaze laid on top of it. This painting technique, in which one looks through the surface to an underlying layer, parallels the experience of viewing water in nature.

The thinly painted distant view of Dordrecht in this painting is conceived in these terms. The softly undulating tones and suggestive brushwork create the sense that the buildings, rather than sharply defined solid masses, are enveloped in a misty shroud. This painting, however, is not a pure “tonal” painting such as those executed by Van Goyen in the late 1630s and early 1640s; instead, it marks a transition to his later “classical” style. The sky is relatively densely painted, and areas of blue peek through the cloud cover. Touches of local color—blues, reds, and pinks—appear on the clothes of the figures.

Many elements of Dordrecht’s architecture in this painting can be found on contemporary maps. The windmills to the right, the walled bulwark visible before the Grootte Kerk, the ships clustered at the Vuylpoort beyond the bulwark, and the round bas-

tion at the south bank of the Sagerspoort, for example, are visible on the 1646 bird’s-eye-view map of Dordrecht (fig. 1) in M. Merian’s *Neuwe Archontologia Cosmica* (Frankfurt am Main, 1646). The windmill on the bastion near the north end of the Nieuwe Haven visible on the map is seen in the painting along the distant left edge of the Dordrecht coastline. While Van Goyen has accurately recorded the general disposition of the topographical elements, he has exaggerated the distances between them. If one compares this scene with a drawing of Dordrecht found in a sketchbook Van Goyen made around 1648 (fig. 2),⁵ one sees that the architectural elements were in reality more compactly grouped when seen from that vantage point. Van Goyen sought to give the view a panoramic character by stretching out the topographical elements. The eye scans across the horizon instead of being thrust into depth. It is not fortuitous that the large sailboat in the foreground is situated over the natural vanishing point of the scene. Through compositional decisions that minimize the effects of deep recession into space, Van Goyen thus sought to enhance the peaceful nature of the scene, encouraging his viewer to partake of the quiet mood engendered by the delicate atmospheric effects.

Notes

1. Pigment analysis is available in the Scientific Research department, 4 August 1982.
2. Cited by Beck 1987–1991, 3: 177.
3. For an account of the Remonstrant/Counter-Remonstrant dispute see Geyl 1966, 38–63.
4. Beck 1972–1973, cats. 290–317.
5. The Dresden sketchbook is published in full by Beck 1972–1973, 1: cat. 846. An illustration of the comparable view of Dordrecht, cat. 846/72, is found on page 278.

References

- 1981 Juffermans: 594–595, repro.
 1984 Wheelock: 14–15, repro.
 1985 NGA: 185, repro.
 1986 Sutton: 305.
 1987–1991 Beck, 3 (1987): 177, no. 296A, repro.
 1992 NGA: 120, color detail, 125, color repro.

Frans Hals

c. 1582/1583–1666

SON OF FRANCHOYS HALS, a cloth worker from Mechelen, and Adriana van Geertenryck of Antwerp, Frans Hals was probably born in Antwerp in about 1582 or 1583. Sometime after the fall of Antwerp to the Spanish in August 1585, his parents moved the family to the northern Netherlands. Frans' brother, Dirck, was baptized in Haarlem in 1591. Dirck Hals (1591–1656) also became a painter; apparently so did a third brother, Joost (died before 16 October 1626), none of whose works have been identified.

In the posthumous second edition of Karel van Mander's *Het Schilder-boeck* (1618), it is stated that Frans Hals had studied painting with the author (1548–1606); if so, his apprenticeship was probably before 1603, when Van Mander left Haarlem for a country estate outside the city to finish writing his book. This alleged apprenticeship, however, did not appear to have much effect on Hals, whose style bears no obvious resemblance to that of Van Mander, and who rarely depicted the type of subjects that *Het Schilder-boeck* urged young artists to choose. Nonetheless, it should also be noted that extremely little is known of Hals' activities prior to his late twenties, and it is conceivable that as-yet unearthed or unidentified juvenilia will necessitate a reappraisal of his early career.

Hals is first documented as an artist in 1610, when he entered the Haarlem guild. In June 1615, the artist's wife, Annetje Harmansdr., died, leaving him with two young children, one of whom, Harmen (1611–1669), became a painter. The next year Hals made his only recorded trip outside Holland, traveling to Antwerp, where he stayed from August until November. Then, in 1617, he remarried. His second wife, Lysbeth Reynier, was reprimanded by the city authorities on several occasions for brawling. She bore the artist at least eight children—one baptized nine days after the wedding—amongst them the artists Frans the Younger (1618–1669), Reynier (1627–1671), and Nicolaes (1628–1686). Another artist son named Jan or Johannes (active c. 1635–1650) was also probably a child of this marriage, and a daughter, Adriaentje, married the Haarlem genre and still-life painter Pieter Gerritsz. van Roestraten (1627–1698), bringing the total number of artists in

the family to about a dozen, if one includes Hals' brothers and nephews.

Although portraiture was always Hals' specialty, he also painted genre scenes and a handful of religious paintings. In his early maturity, from 1616 to 1625, he was associated with a Haarlem *rederijkerskamer* (rhetoricians' chamber), *De Wijngaertrancken*. The appreciation of his painting skills, to which a number of important group portrait commissions testify, was documented as early as 1628, when Samuel Ampzing's general description of the city of Haarlem included a passage praising Hals' ability to capture the spirit of his portrait sitters. Despite this recognition, Hals was continually plagued by financial difficulties. Even during the 1630s, when his services as a portraitist seem to have been in the greatest demand, he is known to have been sued by his butcher, baker, and shoemaker in pursuit of unpaid debts. In 1654, he paid a debt to a baker by surrendering his household goods and several paintings, and from 1662 until his death he received relief from the burgomasters—an initial gift of 50 guilders, plus an annual allowance of 150 guilders per year, increased to 200 guilders in 1663.

Hals died in Haarlem on 29 August 1666, and was buried in Saint Bavo on 1 September. His only documented pupils are his son-in-law Pieter Gerritsz. van Roestraeten and Vincent Laurensz. van der Vinne (1628–1702). Houbraken states that Adriaen Brouwer (1606–1638), Dirck van Delen (1605–1675), Philips Wouwerman (1618–1668), Adriaen van Ostade (q.v.), and Hals' sons also trained in his studio. His style also had an impact on his brother Dirck, as well as Judith Leyster (q.v.) and her husband, Jan Miense Molenaer (c. 1610–1668). Despite his artistic success during his lifetime, Hals was almost totally forgotten after his death. It was not until the 1860s and the rise of realism and then impressionism in the nineteenth century that the vigorous and free brushwork that brought his portraits of Dutch burghers vividly to life was once again appreciated by critics, collectors, and contemporary artists.

Bibliography

- Van Mander 1618: fol. 130.
Ampzing 1628: 371.
Schrevelius 1648: 289.
Houbraken 1753, 1: 90–95.
Bode 1871.
HdG 1907–1927, 3 (1910): 1–139.
Valentiner 1921a.
Haarlem 1962.
Slive 1970–1974.
Grimm 1972.
Jowell 1974.
Baard 1981.
Middelkoop 1988.
Washington 1989b.
Grimm 1990.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 154–155.

1940.1.12 (498)

A Young Man in a Large Hat

1626/1629

Oil on oak, 29.3 x 23.2 (11⁹/₁₆ x 9¹/₈)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Technical Notes: The original support is a single oak panel with a vertical grain set into a 0.5 cm wide collar of oak that does not appear to be original. Dendrochronology dates the panel to an earliest felling date of 1625, with an estimated date for use of 1629.¹ Both panel and protective collar are beveled along all four edges on the back. A check at the top right corner is the only damage to the support. The ground is a thick white layer that leaves the grain pattern visible and extends to the edge of the original panel in all areas save the lower right corner.

Paint is applied thinly in quick fluid strokes with rounded ends. Highlights are applied thickly, worked wet on wet into the thin underlayers. The sketchy nature of the painting is enhanced by some intentional rubbing in of thin paint layers. The painting is in excellent condition, with scattered small losses discretely inpainted. An aged but only slightly discolored varnish layer is present. No major conservation treatment has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: C. J. Bredius, Woerden by 1918.² (M. Knoedler & Co., New York and Paris); sold 30 January 1929 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 June 1937 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: Washington 1989b, 244, no. 39, color repro.

THE IDENTITY of the impish young man who turns in his chair and smilingly gazes out at the viewer in this oil sketch is not known. Whether Hals' perceptive characterization was exclusively due to his artistic genius or was aided by a personal relationship to

the sitter may never be determined; nonetheless, it should be noted that Hals' son Harmen (1611–1669) would have been in his middle to late teens when this sketch was painted, 1626/1629.⁴ This age seems probable for the sitter, particularly given his fashionable wardrobe and sporty mustache.

That the painting depicts a specific individual can be argued not solely on the basis of the characterization but also because of the oval illusionistic frame that surrounds the figure. Hals frequently included such painted framing devices on small-scale portraits in the 1610s and 1620s. An identical painted frame, for example, acts as a foil for the sitter's expressive gesture in Hals' *Portrait of a Man*, 1627 (fig. 1). Although the dramatic effect of the man's gesture as he reaches through the picture plane is not as pronounced in the Washington painting, the young man's elbow does extend slightly beyond the painted frame. More important compositionally for Hals was the use of the oval frame in this painting to reinforce the dynamic spatial character of the pose.

A number of Hals' small-scale portraits were en-

Fig. 1. Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Man*, 1627, oil on copper, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie





Frans Hals, *A Young Man in a Large Hat*, 1640.1.12

graved, and the theory has been advanced that the painted sketches were intended as *modelli* for that purpose.⁵ While it may well be that those who wished to have their portraits engraved, primarily preachers and scholars, specifically requested small-scale portraits to present to reproductive engravers, not all portraits of this scale—among them *A Young Man in a Large Hat*—were engraved. Thus it should not be assumed that the sketch's primary function was as an engraver's model. A strong tradition of hanging small-scale painted portraits existed in the Netherlands, particularly in Haarlem, during the 1620s and 1630s. In Jan Miense Molenaer's *Family Portrait Making Music*, c. 1636 (Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, on loan from the Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst, The Hague), for example, a sequence of small portraits of family members can be seen on the back wall of the room.⁶

If Hals' small portrait of a young man fits into this tradition, it nevertheless breaks from it in a fundamental way. As the figure turns in his chair and smiles at the viewer, he seems more related to genre scenes than to contemporary portraits, which are more formal. Hals' painting technique, moreover, is extremely free. The closest stylistic parallels in his work are with genre figures, in particular the *Boy Holding a Flute*, c. 1626–1628 (Staatliches Museum, Schwerin),⁷ which suggest that in this memorable sketch he sought to merge portrait and genre imagery.

Indirectly, the connections to genre painting are also evident in the relationship of the pose of the young man with those of figures in contemporary merry company scenes, particularly works by Hals' younger brother Dirck.⁸ The National Gallery's picture is even closer to Dirck's imagery when one considers the freely executed oil sketches on paper that served as models for figures in such paintings, for example a *Seated Man*, c. 1627, now in Paris (Institut Néerlandais).⁹ In another of Dirck's sketches, *Seated Man with a Pipe*, c. 1627 (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, inv. no. 1965:180), the figure leans over exactly the same type of chair as does the young man in the Washington oil sketch.¹⁰ While comparisons with these studies by Dirck Hals help place *A Young Man in a Large Hat* thematically and chronologically, they also demonstrate the masterful execution of the Washington panel. Dirck never developed the ability to suggest the form of a hand with bold, swelling touches of the brush or to soften the modeling of a face with a sequence of short parallel strokes, effects so brilliantly rendered in this work. Frans Hals also used a wide range of

quick notations to animate the costume, from the broad angular strokes of the jacket sleeve to the delicate touches of the brush that indicate the white lace.

Notes

1. Dendrochronology by Dr. Peter Klein, Ordinariat für Holzbiologie, Universität Hamburg, 1 May 1987.
2. According to Schneider 1918–1919, 368, Bredius acquired this sketch for fl 60 as part of an inheritance. The painting was at that time attributed to Jan Miense Molenaer. The attribution to Hals was made by Abraham Bredius, who persuaded his relative to lend the painting for a while to the Mauritshuis. Later references to earlier owners Van der Hoop and Slochteren (see Slive 1970–1974, 3: 41–42, no. 66) cannot be confirmed.
3. The painting was also exhibited at the Mauritshuis, The Hague, in 1919.
4. Washington 1989b, 375; Harmen, who was baptized in Haarlem on 2 September 1611, followed in his father's footsteps as a painter, although he inherited none of his father's ability. He was buried on 15 February 1669 in Haarlem. Professor Seymour Slive has kindly drawn my attention to an unpublished drawing in the Haarlem archives that depicts Harmen Hals later in his life. The facial characteristics seen in the drawing are not unrelated to those in the painting.
5. Slive 1970–1974, 1: 124.
6. Reproduced in Haarlem 1969, 69, cat. 213b.
7. Washington 1989b, cat. 28, repro.
8. Discussed in Berlin-Dahlem 1978, 199, no. 816A.
9. Collection Lugt, inv. no. 1796.
10. See Schatborn 1973, 107–116.

References

- 1918–1919 Schneider: 368–369, repro.
 1921b Valentiner: 309, 50 repro. (also 1923 rev. ed.: 309, 51 repro.).
 1930 Dülberg: 94, 95, repro.
 1936 Valentiner: unpaginated, no. 16, repro.
 1941 NGA: 96, no. 498.
 1941 Trivas: 31–32, no. 23, pl. 36.
 1965 NGA: 65, no. 498.
 1968 NGA: 58, repro.
 1970–1974 Slive, 2 (1970): pl. 110; 3 (1974): 41–42, no. 66.
 1972 Grimm: 27, 80, 201, no. 42.
 1974 Montagni: 94–95, no. 67, repro. (also 1976 French ed.)
 1975 NGA: 170–171, no. 498, repro.
 1976 Walker: 268–269, no. 354, repro.
 1985 NGA: 197, repro.
 1989b Washington: 244, no. 39, repro.
 1990 Grimm: 277, no. 48, repro., 234–235, fig. 123 b.

1937.1.67 (67)

Portrait of an Elderly Lady

1633

Oil on canvas, 102.5 x 86.9 (40 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 34 $\frac{1}{16}$)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At left of sitter's head: *AETAT SVAE 60 / AN^o 1633*

Technical Notes: The original support, a medium-weight, plain-weave fabric, has been lined with the original tacking margins trimmed. Part of the painting surface has been turned over the stretcher edges to form a new tacking margin, reducing the height by 3 cm and the width by 2.5 cm (see text). The x-radiograph shows only faint cusping along the top and left edges. Above the book at the juncture of the dress and arm is a large repaired hole and adjacent vertical tear.

Paint is applied over a thin, creamy white ground as a fluid paste, with impasto in thicker passages such as the brocade and book. The face and black dress are thinly glazed. Brushstrokes in the skirt and hands are left unblended, but the brocade, lace, ruff, and cap are painted with precision and restraint. Adjustments to the silhouette of the black drapery are visible to the naked eye. A cluster of small losses is found in the upper right corner, along with scattered small losses in the background and drapery, and a linear diagonal loss that passes through the proper left thumb. The painting has not been treated since its acquisition by the National Gallery.

Provenance: Jurriaans; (sale, Van de Schley, Roos, and De Vries, Amsterdam, 28 August 1817, no. 20); Cornelius Sebille Roos [1754–1820], Amsterdam. Charlotte-Camille, Comtesse Boucher de la Rupelle, Paris; (sold by 1905 to Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris); James Simon [1851–1932], Berlin, by 1906. (Duveen Brothers, London and New York; and Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, June to November 1919); (Duveen Brothers, London and New York); sold June 1920 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *Catalogue of 100 Paintings by Old Masters*, Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, 1905, 20, no. 13. *Ausstellung von Werken alter Kunst*, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, 1906, 18, no. 49. New York 1939, 86–87, no. 179. Washington 1989b, 262–263, no. 45, color repro., as *Portrait of a Seated Woman*.

ALTHOUGH THE NAME of the sitter in this impressive portrait is not known, Hals has inscribed her age, sixty, and the date of the painting, 1633, in the background on the left. The prayer book she holds in her right hand and her conservative black costume with its white millstone ruff collar clearly indicate her pious nature, yet Hals conveys far more about her through her face and hands than through her costume or book. With broad strokes of the brush he captures her lively, robust personality. Her self-con-

fidence is expressed in the twinkle of her eyes, in the firm grasp of her hand on the arm of the chair, and in the strong silhouette of her form against the light gray background.

This painting demonstrates the range in Hals' brushwork for commissioned portraits of the early 1630s. Of primary importance for him at this period of his career was projecting the three-dimensionality of the figure through strong modeling of the features. The form of the head is built up in planes of light that are accented with firm strokes in the highlights and shadows. The white cap and collar are carefully depicted, as the artist sought to project not only their detail but also their translucence. While he also articulated the design in the black jacket with great care, he indicated the folds of the skirt with comparatively free brushstrokes that suggest the flickering of light off its surface.

The woman's pose is adapted from a portrait Hals had executed two years earlier, *Cornelia Claesdr. Vooght* (fig. 2),¹ but the differences between these paintings are as remarkable as their similarities. By intensifying his light in the Washington painting, Hals has accented the woman's features and given her greater three-dimensional presence. He has augmented this effect by flattening the angle of her collar, shifting the position of her right hand so that it is turned more toward the viewer, and placing her in a low-backed chair to allow her form to be silhouetted against a light background. The result of these changes is that the personality of the woman in the Washington painting is projected in a remarkably forceful and direct manner.

Cornelia Claesdr. Vooght was the wife of the Haarlem burgomaster Nicolaes van der Meer, whose companion portrait Hals also painted in 1631 (fig. 1).² Following portrait conventions that had been developed by Peter Paul Rubens in the late 1610s, Hals juxtaposed a standing man with a seated woman.³ The pose of Nicolaes van der Meer, who rests one hand on the back of a chair and holds his gloves with the other, offers a clue to identifying a possible pendant to the Washington painting. It may well be the *Portrait of a Man* (fig. 3)⁴ in which the figure assumes a pose similar to Van der Meer's. The proposal, first advanced by Valentiner, has been a matter of some dispute.⁵ In 1974, Slive argued against it, largely because he dates the Frick painting 1628–1630. He also noted that their provenances and dimensions differ (the Frick painting measures 115.6 x 91.4 cm).⁶ In 1989, however, he noted that neither provenance extends back before the nineteenth century, and both works have been



Fig. 1. Frans Hals, *Nicolaes Woutersz. van der Meer*, 1631, oil on panel, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum



Fig. 2. Frans Hals, *Cornelia Claesdr. Vooght*, 1631, oil on panel, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum



Fig. 3. Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Man*, c. 1631, oil on canvas, New York, Frick Collection

trimmed, the Frick painting along the bottom and the Washington painting on all four sides.⁷ It is possible that the original format of these paintings approached that of the Haarlem ones, which are more vertical in shape.

Stylistically, there are arguments for placing the Frick man about 1633, despite the blond tonality of the painting that Slive rightly associates with works from the late 1620s. Here, as in the National Gallery picture, the figure boldly faces the viewer as light firmly models his features. His costume, particularly in the shoulder and sleeve design, is similar to that in the *Portrait of a Man*, 1633, now in the National Gallery, London.⁸ These works are also comparable stylistically, not only in the careful way in which the hair is delineated and in the broad, plain modeling of the face, but also in the bold strokes of the costume. Finally, one may also argue for the relationship of the Washington and Frick paintings in the way each of them varies from their prototype in the Haarlem pair. The hierarchical, frontal images of the burgomaster and his wife have given way to more informal poses in which the figures turn toward the viewer and communicate through their direct glances and smiling, open expressions, a suggestion, perhaps, of a different social status.⁹



Frans Hals, *Portrait of an Elderly Lady*, 1937.1.67

Notes

1. Slive 1970–1974, 3: cat. 78; 2: pl. 1240.
2. Slive 1970–1974, 3: cat. 77.
3. Pendant portraits by Rubens of *Peter van Hecke* and *Clara Fourment* (London art market), with the man standing and the woman seated, are illustrated in Rosenberg 1911, 172–173. These same paintings have been attributed unconvincingly to Van Dyck by Larsen 1980b, 1: nos. 25 and 26.
4. Frick Collection 1968, 1: 209, no. 10.1.69; Slive 1970–1974, 3: cat. 67.
5. The possible relationship of these paintings was first proposed in Valentiner 1921a, 108; and Valentiner 1936, no. 41; it was followed by Trivas 1941, 41.
6. Slive 1970–1974, 3: cat. 67. Grimm 1990, cat. 44, also dates the Frick painting about 1628.
7. Washington 1989b, 262, no. 45. The current tacking margins of *Portrait of an Elderly Lady* are covered with original paint. If they were flattened, the dimensions would be 105.6 x 89.4 cm. Since virtually no cusping of threads is visible along the edges, it seems probable that the image was still larger; its original size, however, cannot be determined. For a discussion of the original shape of the Frick painting see Frick Collection 1968, 1: 209–210, no. 10.1.69.
8. MacLaren 1960, no. 1251; Slive 1970–1974, 3: cat. 81.
9. Although no inscription appears on the Frick painting, it may have disappeared through abrasion; the background is quite thin. In Hals' companion portraits *Lucas de Clercq* and *Feyna van Steenkiste*, 1635 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. nos. c 556, c 557; Slive 1970–1974, 3: cats. 104, 105), only the woman's portrait bears a date.

References

- 1907–1927 HdG, 3 (1910): 108, no. 371.
1909 Moes: 108, no. 186.
1914 Bode and Binder: 1: 40, no. 138, pl. 79 (also English ed., Berlin, 1: 43, no. 138, pl. 79).
1921a Valentiner: 313, 103, 109, repro. (also 1923 rev. ed., 313, 109, repro.).
1930 Dülberg: 114.
1936 Valentiner: no. 41, repro.
1941 Trivas: 39, no. 41, pl. 59.
1941 Berenson and Valentiner: no. 191, repro.
1941 NGA: 94.
1965 NGA: 57, no. 67, repro.
1968 NGA: 65, no. 67.
1970–1974 Slive: 1 (1970): 115; 2 (1970): pls. 135, 138; 3 (1974): 42, 50, no. 82.
1972 Grimm: 90, 202, no. 69, 89, repro.
1974 Montagni: 97, no. 83, 96, repro., pl. 31 (also 1976 French ed.).
1975 NGA: 168, no. 67, 169, repro.
1976 Walker: 268, no. 350, repro.
1981 Baard: 57, fig. 60.
1984 Wheelock: 10, repro.
1985 NGA: 196, repro.
1986 Sutton: 308.
1989b Washington: 262–263, no. 45, color repro.
1990 Grimm: 168 color repro., 183, 279, no. 63, repro.
1992 NGA: 123, color repro.

1937.1.68 (68)

Portrait of a Member of the Haarlem Civic Guard

c. 1636/1638

Oil on canvas, 86 x 69 (33¼ x 27)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Technical Notes: The original support consists of a medium-weight, plain-weave fabric, with part of the original tacking margin incorporated into the top edge. In a past restoration, the top, left, and right tacking margins were trimmed, and these edges were extended with 1.5 cm wide fabric strips. The paint layer present on the extensions is neither original nor of recent application. The original fabric and extensions have been lined. Cusping is found along all edges of the original support, indicating that the present dimensions have not been greatly reduced.

Paint was applied over a smooth white ground in fluid pastes and thin washes, in unblended brushstrokes, dots, and dabs of low impasto. A red underlayer visible in some areas may be part of an overall or locally applied imprimatura. Colored glazes were used extensively in the drapery. Lining has emphasized the canvas weave and slightly flattened the paint texture. Apart from a small loss in the hat, losses are confined to the edges. The brown glazes of the face and hair and blue green paint of the landscape are moderately abraded, and the darks of the clothing slightly abraded. The painting was restored in 1991.

Provenance: Catherine II, empress of Russia [1729–1796], by 1774; Imperial Hermitage Gallery, Saint Petersburg; sold March 1931 through (Matthiesen Gallery, Berlin; P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London; and M. Knoedler & Co., New York) to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 30 March 1932 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: Washington 1989b: not in catalogue.

WITH GREAT BRAVURA, this fashionably clad member of the Haarlem civic guard stands with arm akimbo, staring out at the viewer. His flamboyant character, evident in his stance but reinforced through his arched eyebrows, stylish mustache, beard, and long, flowing locks of hair, conveys the sense of pride the Dutch felt in their military prowess during the formative years of the republic. By the late 1630s, when Hals painted this image, the Dutch had clearly demonstrated their superiority over the Spanish forces that had attempted to stem the revolt against Spanish rule. Haarlem, in particular, had proven itself in the early years of the conflict when it had refused to capitulate to the Spanish siege that laid waste the city. Thanks to its citizens' endurance, when Haarlem finally succumbed in the summer of 1573, the northern forces had gathered



Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Member of the Haarlem Civic Guard*, 1937.1.68



Fig. 1. Frans Hals, *Claes Duyst van Voorbout*, c. 1638, oil on canvas, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jules Bache Collection, 1949

enough strength to counter effectively the Spanish threat. Haarlem's civic guards were not confronted with comparable crises in later years, and indeed became more notable for social rather than military exploits. Nevertheless, they remained mindful of their role in preserving the peace and harmony of the city.

Hals' most lasting achievements are probably his remarkable portraits of these civic guard groups, most of which are in the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem. As Houbraken and countless others have remarked, Hals painted the members of the civic guard "so forcefully and naturally... that it is as if they would address the onlooker."¹ The same could be said of this work, which is one of only two individual portraits of a soldier in Hals' oeuvre.² Hals, whose broad yet agile brushwork could so effectively suggest the outward exuberance of the sitter, has used a pose here that he favored throughout his career. Variations of it can be found in single portraits as early as about 1625 in the magnificent full-length *Willem van Heythuisen* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich)³ and as late as the mid-1650s in the seated *Portrait of a Man* in the Hermitage.⁴ Hals used virtu-

ally the same pose, but in reverse, in his portrait of the portly *Claes Duyst van Voorbout*, c. 1638 (fig. 1), which is datable about the same time as the *Portrait of a Member of the Haarlem Civic Guard*.

The condition of the picture is much better than has been suggested in the recent literature. Conservation treatment on the painting in 1991 revealed a vibrancy in the flesh tones and costume that had long been obscured by discolored varnish. The whites of the lace collar and cuffs, the sheen of the metal clasp on the officer's cuirass, and the ochers and oranges of his jacket and sash are vividly rendered. Aside from the gray glaze that softens the area between the eyes, the face has not been abraded as Slive thought,⁵ nor has the figure been altered by extensive overpainting as Grimm believed.⁶ Finally, the restoration confirmed that the background landscape vista that Grimm called into question is Hals' original concept. While this view onto a distant, evening landscape with its striking orange and blue palette is unusual for Hals, the character of the paint is totally consistent with the rest of the work.⁷

The rich blues in the landscape have in the past been thought to represent the sea, and thus the painting has at various times since the nineteenth century been interpreted as representing an admiral or naval officer.⁸ The vista, however, is quite undefined other than the suggestions of trees in the foreground. The flat plain in the background could as well be land as water, particularly since no boats are visible. Nothing in the costume, moreover, indicates that the sitter is a naval officer, or, for that matter, an officer of any type. He is wearing a standard pikeman's cuirass, such as was worn in Haarlem's civic guard companies or in the army of the Dutch republic.⁹ Given Hals' close ties to the Haarlem civic guard companies of Saint George and Saint Hadrian, the former possibility is the more likely.¹⁰ The orange sash probably signifies that the sitter belonged to the "oranje" (orange) company of one of the civic guards.¹¹ Outfitted as he is in a broad-brimmed black hat and fashionable lace collar and cuffs, he clearly has dressed for the painter's brush and not for battle.

This portrait has been dated at various periods of Hals' career, but recent scholars have placed it at the end of the 1630s on the basis of comparisons with Hals' civic guard painting *Officers and Sergeants of the Saint George Civic Guard Company* in the Frans Halsmuseum, which he executed about 1639 (fig. 2).¹² The associations with Hals' last civic guard group portrait are well founded. Not only are the tonalities of the ochers and oranges comparable, but so are the slashing diagonal strokes used to indicate



Fig. 2. Frans Hals, *Officers and Sergeants of the Saint George Civic Guard Company*, c. 1639, oil on canvas, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum

the folds in the sleeve and sash. The style of the costume is similar, as well as that of the sitter's hair, mustache, and beard. Nevertheless, the face is not as freely executed as those in the group portrait. The features are quite precisely delineated with firm strokes of the brush and modeled with crisp shadows. These stylistic characteristics share much in common with portraits from the mid-1630s, such as the *Portrait of a Man, presumably Pieter Tjarck* in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, which Slive dates 1635/1638.¹³ Thus it is probable that this work predates Hals' 1639 civic guard group by a year or two.

Notes

1. Houbraken 1753, 1: 92; a translation by Michael Hoyle is in Washington 1989b, 18.
2. The other portrait, *Portrait of an Officer*, is in the Museum of Art, São Paulo, Brazil. See Slive 1970–1974, 3: 50, no. 83.
3. Washington 1989b, cat. 17, ill.
4. Washington 1989b, cat. 73, ill.
5. Slive 1970–1974, 3: 67, no. 125.
6. Grimm 1972, 25, no. 99.
7. Hals included landscape vistas in only two other portraits of single figures, a portrait of *Isaac Abrabamsz. Massa*, 1626 (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto), and *Portrait of a Man in a Slouch Hat*, c. 1660–1666 (Hessisches Landesmuseum, Kassel).
8. The first association of the figure with a naval officer

was in the 1863 catalogue of the Hermitage, 165, no. 773, where it was termed "Portrait d'un amiral." Most subsequent references continue this designation. Although Slive 1970–1974, 3: 67, no. 125, gave the painting the neutral title "Portrait of a Man Wearing a Cuirass," he wrote: "The view of the sea seen through the opening in the wall suggests that the model may have been a naval officer."

9. For a comparable pikeman's cuirass see Zwolle 1988, 218, no. 35, repro.

10. Not only did Hals paint the Saint George civic guard company three times and the Saint Hadrian civic guard company twice, he was a member of the Saint George civic guard from 1612 to 1624. See Irene van Thiel-Stroman in Washington 1989b, 375–376, doc. 11.

11. Slive 1970–1974, 1: 41, explains that the civic guards were divided into three companies "designated 'orange' (*oranje*), 'white' (*witte*) and 'blue' (*blauwe*), the colors of the newly established country."

12. The early catalogues of the Hermitage proposed that this painting was a pendant to the *Portrait of a Man* of the 1650s. This association might have been made if Catherine the Great purchased them together, which seems possible, for in the catalogue of 1774 they are listed sequentially as nos. 268 and 269. No information is known about their earlier provenance, despite the statement in NGA 1941, 94, cat. 68, that the *Portrait of a Soldier* was acquired by Catherine the Great from the Walpole Collection. The Hals painting Catherine acquired from that great collection was the National Gallery's *Portrait of a Young Man* (1937.1.71). Bode 1883, 90, no. 131, was the first to note that these works belonged to different periods of Hals' career. He dated them 1635 and 1660 respectively. Valentiner 1921a, 222, dated the *Portrait of a Soldier* around 1646–1647. Trivas 1941, 49, no. 74, was the

first to date the painting about 1639. He was followed in this dating by Grimm 1972, 25, no. 99, and Slive 1970–1974, 3: 67, no. 125.

13. Slive 1970–1974, 3: 59, no. 108.

References

- 1774 Hermitage no. 269.
1838 Hermitage: 2: 254, no. 773.
1863 De Köhne: 165, no. 773 (also 1870 2nd ed., 2: 124, no. 773); 1895 3rd rev. ed. A. Somof, 2: 123, no. 773, repro.; and 1901 ed., 2: 141, no. 773, repro.
1864 Waagen: 172, no. 773.
1883 Bode: 90, no. 131.
1896 Knackfuss: 38, repro. (also 1923 ed.: 46–48, repro.).
1896 Conway: no. 773, repro.
1902 Davies: 144 (also 1908 rev. ed.: 140).
1903–1905 Bryan/Williamson: 3: 10.
1907 Williamson: 205–217, repro.
1907–1927 HdG, 3 (1910): 89, no. 310.
1909 Moes: 138.
1912 Péladan: 89–90.
1914 Bode and Binder: 2: 15, no. 214, pl. 137 (also English ed., 2: 191, repro.).
1921a Valentiner: 320, 222 repro. (also 1923 rev. ed.: 320, 235 repro.).
1930 Dülberg: 186.
1936 Valentiner: no. 92, repro.
1941 Trivas: 49, no. 74, repro.
1941 NGA: 95, no. 68.
1965 NGA: 65, no. 68.
1968 NGA: 166, 57 repro.
1970–1974 Slive, 1 (1970): 57; 2 (1970): no. 202 repro.; 3 (1974): 67, no. 125.
1972 Grimm: 25, 100, 204, no. 99.
1974 Montagni: 101–102, repro., no. 46 repro. (also 1976 French ed.).
1975 NGA: 170–171, no. 68 repro.
1976 Walker: 268, no. 351 repro.
1985 NGA: 196, repro.
1986 Sutton: 308.
1990 Grimm: 67–68, repro., 284, no. 100 repro.

1937.1.69 (69)

Willem Coymans

1645

Oil on canvas, 77 x 64 (30¼ x 25)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At center right: *AETA SVAE.22 / 1645*¹

Technical Notes: The original support is a fine, tightly woven, plain-weave fabric with weave irregularities. It has been lined with the original tacking margins trimmed and the edges of the painting turned over to form the present tacking margins. The reduction in size appears minimal, as marked cusping is present on all sides.

A moderately thick tan ground layer lies under a light brown imprimatura layer. Paint was applied thinly, frequently exposing the imprimatura. Both low and high impasto articulate the sleeve and jacket brocade. Although the paint and ground are cupped, there are only minor flake losses, and abrasion is confined to the edges. The painting was restored in 1986.

Provenance: Coymans family, Haarlem. Mrs. Frederick Wollaston, London. (Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, before 1894); Rodolphe Kann [d. 1905], Paris, by 1897; (Duveen Brothers, London and New York, in 1907); Arabella D. [Mrs. Collis P.] Huntington [d. 1924], New York; by inheritance to her son, Archer M. Huntington [1870–1955], New York; (Duveen Brothers, New York); sold 7 May 1929 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: New York 1909, no. 37 (as *Balthasar Coymans*).² 1928 *International Exhibition of Antiques and Art*, Olympia, London, 1928, no. X22 (as *Portrait of Young Koeymanszoon van Ablasserdam*). *Masterworks of Five Centuries*, Golden-Gate International Exposition, San Francisco, 1939 (as *Portrait of Balthasar Coymans*). Washington 1989b: no. 61.

WITH UTMOST CASUALNESS Willem Coymans has turned to look out at the viewer while resting his right arm lightly on the back of his chair. He is dressed in an elaborately brocaded jacket with slit sleeves, under which he wears a pleated white blouse. His large, flat, white linen collar and modish black hat, jauntily placed on his head and decorated with a black pom-pom on its brim, enframe a handsome face with an alert expression. Long wavy hair that reaches to his shoulders completes the impression of a man confident in himself and in his position in society.

This remarkable portrait, which carries so many of the dynamic qualities admired today in Hals' work, was only rediscovered at the end of the nineteenth century. The coat of arms in the right background was immediately recognized as that of the distinguished Coymans family, but the inscribed age of the sitter, twenty-two, did not correlate with any member of the family then known in genealogical studies. Perhaps to make the sitter's age consistent with that of one of the family's most prominent members, Balthasar Coymans, who was born 15 March 1618, the last digit of the age in the inscription was changed from two to six sometime between 1898 and 1907.³ This identification was generally accepted in the literature from about 1909 until 1958, when Slive noted the changes in the inscription and concluded that the sitter could not be Balthasar.⁴ The proper identification of the sitter as Willem was made only in 1970 by Taylor on the basis of docu-



Frans Hals, *Willem Coymans*, 1937.1.69

ments in the archives of Amsterdam and Haarlem.⁵

Willem (Guilliam) Coymans was baptized in Amsterdam on 20 August 1623 and was buried in the Church of Saint Bavo in Haarlem on 28 April 1678. He was the son of Coenraet Coymans and Maria Scheryl van Walhorn, who had been married in Antwerp in 1614. As had other members of this large family, Coenraet emigrated to Amsterdam, perhaps to work in the successful family firm of Balthasar Coymans and Brothers. By the 1640s Coenraet seems to have moved to Haarlem, where he was buried in the Church of Saint Bavo on 29 November 1659. Even less is known about Willem's life, but his name appears on notarized business records in Amsterdam and Haarlem.⁶ It seems improbable that he married, for his name is not included in a family genealogy that seems to have been based on marriage rather than birth records.⁷

Hals' connections with the Coymans family were extensive. In 1644 he painted portraits of Willem's enormously wealthy uncle Joseph Coymans (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford) and his wife Dorothea Berck (Baltimore Museum of Art).⁸ In the early 1650s he painted striking portraits of Joseph's daughter Isabella (Baronne Edouard de Rothschild Collection, Paris) and her husband Stephanus Geraerds (Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Antwerp).⁹ Finally, in 1660, along with Pieter Molijn, Hals appraised the paintings listed in the inventory of Coenraad Coymans' effects.¹⁰

The worldly success of the family is vividly evident in Willem Coymans' demeanor and mode of dress. Hals utilizes them to characterize Coymans' personality and give his image immediacy. With rapid yet certain strokes of the brush he suggests the rich patterns and flickering light on the elegantly embroidered jacket. Perhaps with even greater *tour-de-force* he has captured the translucent qualities of the sleeve by applying dense white strokes of paint over layers of gray. A few firm slashes of black complete the modeling. As is characteristic of Hals, the face is more strongly modeled than the costume. While the touch is firm and bold around the features, the skin on the nose and cheek is relatively smooth.

The pose is one that Hals used from the mid-1620s, when it first appeared in the portrait of *Isaac Abrahamsz. Massa* (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto),¹¹ until the end of his career. Although this pose had been used in the Netherlands by the late sixteenth century in group portraits in which an artist was faced with the problem of representing figures seated around a table, Hals was the first to recognize its potential for portraits of single figures. It was a perfect device for half-length, relatively

informal portraits in which he wanted to project the sitter's personality as directly as possible. Aside from the implied movement in the pose, the figure, by resting an arm over the back of the chair, seems to break through the picture frame and enter into the viewer's world.

Notes

1. The second two of the sitter's age has been changed to a six. Above the inscription are placed the sitter's coat of arms: three black oxen's heads and necks on a gold field.
2. Valentiner 1909, 1: 38, notes that the "identification of the person is uncertain."
3. The inscription reads "22" in Sedelmeyer 1898, 66, but "26" in *Kann* 1907, 1: XIII. Moes 1897, 205, no. 1779, first identified the sitter as Balthasar, who was Lord of Streefkerk and Nieuw Lekkerland and town councillor of Haarlem. The biographical data on the Coymans family was first published by Elias 1905, 3: 762.
4. Slive 1958, 20–21, note 7.
5. Taylor 1970, 106–108.
6. Taylor 1970, 107.
7. Vorsterman van Oijen 1885.
8. For the portraits of Joseph Coymans and Dorothea Berck see Slive 1970–1974, 2: pls. 243 and 244; 3: cats. 160 and 161. For information on the Coymans family see Slive 1958, 12–23.
9. For portraits of Stephanus Geraerds and Isabella Coymans see Slive 1970–1974, 2: pls. 290 and 291; 3: cats. 188 and 189.
10. Bredius 1923–1924, 27.
11. Slive 1970–1974, 2: pl. 64; 3: no. 42.

References

- 1897 Moes: 1: 205, no. 1779 (as Balthasar Coymans).
1898 Sedelmeyer: 66, no. 54, repro. (as Koeymans Loon van Ablasserdam).
1900 Bode: xviii, pl. 49 (as Koeymanszoon van Ablasserdam).
1907–1927 HdG, 3 (1910): 53, no. 168.
1907 *Kann*: 1: 13, 42 no. 40, repro. (as *Portrait of Young Koeijmanszoon van Ablasserdam*).
1908 Grant: 3–15, fig. 1 (as *Young Koeijmanszoon van Ablasserdam*).
1908 Holmes: 197–205, repro. (as *Young Koeijmanszoon of Ablasserdam*).
1908 Van Lennep: 293–294.
1909 Moes: 101, no. 27.
1909 "Portrait by Hals": 109–110 (as *Joban Koeijmans*).
1914 Bode and Binder: 2: 65, no. 245, pl. 155a (also English ed., 2: 19, no. 245, pl. 155a).
1921a Valentiner: 319, no. 212, repro. (also 1923 rev. ed.: 320, no. 225, repro.).
1930 Dülberg: 178–180, repro.
1936 Valentiner: unpaginated, no. 82, repro.
1941 NGA: 95, no. 69.
1941 Berenson and Valentiner: no. 194, repro.
1958 Slive: 13–23, fig. 10.
1963 Beeren: 89, no. 49, repro.
1965 NGA: 65, no. 69.
1968 NGA: 57, no. 68, repro.
1970–1974 Slive, 1 (1970): 160, 185; 2: pls. 253, 255; 3: 85–86, no. 166.

- 1970 Taylor: 106–108, fig. 1.
 1972 Grimm: 17, no. 130, figs. 145, 148.
 1974 Montagni: 104, no. 167, repro., color repro. 51 and cover (also 1976 French ed.).
 1975 NGA: 170–171, no. 69, repro.
 1976 Walker: 266–267, no. 349, repro.
 1978 Haverkamp-Begemann: 148.
 1981 Baard: fig. 66.
 1985 NGA: 196, repro.
 1986 Sutton: 308, fig. 460.
 1989b Washington: no. 61.
 1990 Grimm: 95 color fig. 15a, 186 color fig. 66, 193–194, 288 no. 127 repro.

1937.1.70 (70)

Adriaen van Ostade

1646/1648

Oil on canvas, 94 x 75 (37 x 29½)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Technical Notes: The support, a fine-weight, plain-weave fabric, has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Cusping indicates no change in dimensions. Lining has reinforced the impression of the canvas texture in the paint surface. The smooth, white ground layer is visible through the transparent background paint, appearing light brown to the eye.

Paint is applied freely in thin layers defined by broad, distinct, sure brushstrokes. A dark layer was applied first to serve as a color for the background and an underpaint layer for the jacket, with reserves left for the face and hands. The face, collar, hands, and gloves were brought to a higher degree of finish in fuller bodied paint with brushwork blended wet into wet. X-radiography shows a minor adjustment to the right half of the collar, which was initially straighter. The entire collar may have been slightly smaller.

Two small losses are found above and below the mouth on the left side, along with scattered small losses in the lower half of the jacket. The black paint of the jacket is moderately abraded and a 3 cm section of hair to the left of the face is severely abraded. The painting was treated in 1990 to remove discolored varnish and retouching.

Provenance: (Sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 5–6 May 1919, no. 285);¹ (Thomas Agnew & Sons, Arthur J. Sulley & Co., and Colnaghi & Co., London); (M. Knoedler & Co., London); sold 1 November 1919 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *Catalogue of Paintings by Old Masters from Pittsburgh Collections*, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, 1925, no. 24 (as *Portrait of Nicholas Bergben* [Berchem]).

THIS MASTERFUL PAINTING by Frans Hals, which is neither signed nor dated, is unrecorded prior to 1919, when it appeared at a London auction as a self-portrait by the Dutch Italianate painter

Nicolaes Berchem (q.v.).² The identity of the sitter as Berchem cannot be sustained anymore than can the attribution to that artist. A self-portrait drawing of about 1660 represents a heavier-set person with a more rounded face than that seen in this portrait (fig. 1). The identification must have been made by an English owner during the nineteenth century when Dutch Italianate paintings were in vogue. Since collectors and connoisseurs often associated an artist's appearance with his type of subject matter, the identification of this handsome and refined sitter as Berchem, a painter of elegant views of the Roman campagna, is understandable.

The artist portrayed, however, was not a painter of landscapes but a painter of peasants, Adriaen van Ostade (1610–1685). The connection between this painting and seventeenth-century representations of Ostade was made by Grimm who compared this image to two established likenesses of the artist.³ The first is a small-scale self-portrait in the background of Ostade's group portrait of the De Goyer family (Bredius Museum, The Hague) of about 1650.⁴ An even more striking comparison is Jacob Gole's mezzotint portrait of Ostade that was executed after a lost painting by Ostade's pupil Cornelis Dusart (1660–1704) (fig. 2).⁵ As Trautscholdt was

Fig. 1. Nicolaes Pietersz. Berchem, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1660, pen and ink and wash, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet





Fig. 2. Jacob Gole, *Adriaen van Ostade*, c. 1685, mezzotint after a lost Cornelis Dusart painting, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

the first to recognize, Dusart must have based his portrait on an earlier representation of the artist, for Dusart—who was born in 1660 when his master was fifty years old—depicted Ostade as a considerably younger man than he had ever known.⁶ Moreover, he dressed Ostade rather anachronistically in a kimono, scarf, and wig, fashionable garb for the late seventeenth century. Grimm convincingly concluded that the National Gallery's painting by Hals was Dusart's model. Its remarkable resemblance to the image in Gole's mezzotint reversed (thereby reproducing the pose in Dusart's painting) argues for the direct connection between the two works.⁷

Houbraken writes that Adriaen van Ostade was for a time a pupil of Frans Hals.⁸ If Houbraken is correct, this apprenticeship must have occurred before 1634, when Ostade became a member of the Saint Luke's Guild in Haarlem. Although later contacts between the two artists are not documented, they were among the preeminent artists in Haarlem during the middle decades of the century and must have known each other. Hals seems to have had close relations with the Haarlem artistic community. He made portraits of a number of his colleagues, among

them now lost portraits of Jan Miense Molenaer and Judith Leyster, the painters Thomas Wyck and Jan van de Cappelle, and the architect Jacob van Campen. The only surviving portraits of identifiable artists are those of Vincent Laurensz. van der Vinne (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto) and Frans Post (Worcester Art Museum).⁹

Hals represents Ostade as a gentleman, dressed in the best of fashion. The pose is similar to one Hals used for the wealthy Rotterdam merchant Paulus Verschuur in 1643 (fig. 3).¹⁰ Both, moreover, hold their right glove in their left hand, a variant of a gesture seen frequently in Hals' portraits. While the exact meaning of this motif is not known, the symbolism of gloves was apparently a well-understood aspect of seventeenth-century decorum. Smith writes that to take off one's gloves was a sign of friendship,¹¹ and it may be significant that in both of these instances the right hand, the hand used for greeting, has been ungloved. Its position, with the palm exposed to the viewer, reinforces the quality of openness and forthrightness evident in these works.

Although Slive dates this work in the early 1650s,

Fig. 3. Frans Hals, *Paulus Verschuur*, 1643, oil on canvas, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Archer M. Huntington in memory of his father, Collis Potter Huntington, 1926





Frans Hals, *Adriaen van Ostade*, 1937.1.70

an earlier date seems probable. The thematic and compositional relationships already noted between the Washington painting and the portrait of Paulus Verschuur, 1643, are also found with other works of the mid-1640s, specifically the *Portrait of a Standing Man* in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.¹² The looser handling of the paint in the Washington picture, most evident in the abstract, angular brushwork in the gloves but also in the broken contour of the silhouetted right arm and in the bold highlights along the nose and under the right eye, however, suggests a somewhat later date, 1646/1648.¹³ These stylistic characteristics can be seen in a number of other works from this period, among them the *Seated Man Holding a Hat*, c. 1648–1650, (Taft Museum, Cincinnati).¹⁴ By the early 1650s Hals' style had become less agitated, as comparison with the National Gallery's *Portrait of a Gentleman* (1942.9.29) demonstrates. At that time he blocked in the silhouettes of his figures with broad, angular strokes rather than with the broken contours of the late 1640s. The explicit virtuosity of his technique for rendering Ostade's gloves with rapidly applied diagonal accents later gave way to simpler forms with more measured rhythms. Hals' brushwork here is crisper than it became in the 1650s, when he applied paint in softer and broader strokes. The face of the *Portrait of a Gentleman* is modeled with more facets of color than that of the Ostade portrait as Hals sought to suggest nuances of light falling across its form.

A date of 1646/1648 also seems compatible with Ostade's age. In 1646 he would have been thirty-six years old, and the image seems to represent a man in his mid-thirties. The portrait was possibly intended to commemorate a significant moment in Ostade's artistic career: in 1647 he was elected to be one of the heads of the Saint Luke's Guild in Haarlem. While many of Hals' three-quarter-length standing male figures have a female counterpart, no evidence exists that one ever accompanied this portrait. At the time Hals painted it Ostade had no wife: his first had died in 1642, and he did not remarry until 1657.¹⁵

Notes

1. In this auction the picture was listed as *Portrait of the Artist* by Nicholas Berghem [Berchem]. The auction catalogue states that the painting came from an "anonymous collection (gentleman)."

2. An old label on the back of the painting reads: "3. Portrait of Berghem, the celebrated Painter. By himself. Small half-length, curved gilt frame." A painted inscription on the back reads "Nicholas Berghem."

3. Grimm 1970, 170–176.

4. Blankert 1978b, 95–96, no. 121.

5. Grimm 1970, 173.

6. Trautscholdt 1969, 153.

7. It has been proposed that a painting in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, *Seated Man Holding a Branch* (inv. no. 15, 901), may also represent Ostade. The attribution of this work and the identification of the sitter, however, have been debated. The work is attributed to Frans Hals by Slive 1970–1974, 3: cat. 155, and in Washington 1989b, 298, cat. 59, but to Frans Hals the Younger by Grimm 1971, 162, no. 15, 171, repro. 25, and in Grimm 1990, 292, to Workshop (Group B). While the model shares a certain likeness to the sitter in the Washington painting and even more closely resembles the previously mentioned mezzotint by Jacob Gole after a lost painting by Cornelis Dusart, no firm conclusion can be made about the sitter's identity (see Slive 1970–1974, 3: fig. 46; Scheyer 1939, 134–141). If the Ottawa portrait does represent Ostade, its proposed date of 1645 presents some difficulties, for Ostade was born in 1610 and the figure appears older than thirty-five. Slive 1970–1974, 3: fig. 47, discusses a copy of a lost Ostade self-portrait by Jan van Rossum (active c. 1654–c. 1673) now in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin; see Potterton 1986, 132–133, no. 623, fig. 141. No conclusions about the identification of the Washington sitter can be made, however, from this image.

8. Houbraken 1753, 1: 347.

9. Slive 1970–1974, 3: cat. 203; Slive 1970–1974, 3: cat. 206. Ironically, Hals' works representing a painter with the tools of his craft have remained unidentified (Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 94.1023; Slive 1970–1974, 3: no. 164; and Frick Collection, New York; Slive 1970–1974, 3: no. 186).

10. Slive 1970–1974, 3: no. 144.

11. Smith 1982, 78. See also Schweineköper 1938, 127–128.

12. National Gallery Scotland 1976, 47, no. 691; Slive 1970–1974, 3: cat. 156, note.

13. Grimm 1972, 106, dates the painting 1643–1644; Slive 1970–1974, 3: 99, no. 193, dates it 1650–1652.

14. Slive 1970–1974, 3: cat. 173, fig. 268, note.

15. I would like to express my appreciation to H. Rodney Nevitt, Jr., for his assistance in preparing this entry.

References

- 1925 Pittsburgh: no. 24.
 1935 Valentiner: 86–103, no. 21, fig. 2.
 1936 Valentiner: 100, repro.
 1941 NGA: 95, no. 70.
 1963 Walker: 337, 312 repro.
 1965 NGA: 65, no. 70.
 1968 NGA: 58, no. 625, repro.
 1970 Grimm: 170–176, figs. 5 and 6.
 1970–1974 Slive, 1 (1970): 190–191, fig. 203; 2 (1970): fig. 303; 3 (1974): 78–79, 99–100, no. 192.
 1971 Grimm: 146–178, fig. 24.
 1972 Grimm: 105–106, 204, no. 122, figs. 136–138, 142.
 1974 Montagni: 105, no. 72, repro. (also 1976 French ed.).
 1975 NGA: 170–171, no. 70, repro.
 1976 Walker: 268–269, no. 356, repro.
 1981 Baard: 138.
 1985 NGA: 196, repro.
 1986 Sutton: 308–309.
 1988 Middclkoop and Van Grevenstein: 72–73, repro.

(also 1989 English ed.: 72–73, repro.).

1990 Grimm: 46–49, fig. 40e, 256, fig. 104b, 287, no. 123, repro.

1937.1.71 (71)

Portrait of a Young Man

1646/1648

Oil on canvas, 68 x 55.4 (26¾ x 21⅞)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At center right: *FHFH*

Technical Notes: The original support is a plain-woven fabric composed of heavy threads irregularly spun with numerous slubs, loose ends, and weave faults. It has been lined with the original tacking margins retained. Pressure upon lining has caused an emphasis of the coarse canvas texture and flattening of impasto. The support was laced onto a temporary strainer for priming. Remnants of the thick laces remain along the left and right edges. Cusping patterns also suggest that the primed fabric was relaced to the strainer for painting before attachment to a stretcher. The support is sound, aside from a small hole to the right of the head.

A warm tan granular ground or imprimatura layer is visible between broad brushstrokes of paint, applied in thin layers worked rapidly wet into wet, and modeled with sharp unblended brushstrokes. The background was applied first, with a reserve left for the face, which was painted next, followed by the clothing. The hair was worked over the face to define its precise contours.

Scattered small losses are found overall, particularly along the edges. The bottom edge is ragged and damaged, with many unfilled losses. Abrasion is slight. The thin, aged varnish layer is slightly discolored and matte. The painting has not been treated since its acquisition at the National Gallery.

Provenance: Sir Robert Walpole, 1st Earl of Orford [1676–1745], Houghton Hall, Norfolk, by 1736; by inheritance to his son Robert Walpole, 2nd Earl of Orford [d. 1751]; by inheritance to his son, George, 3rd Earl of Orford [1730–1791]; Baron A. S. Moussine-Pouchkin, agent for Catherine II, in 1779; Catherine II, empress of Russia [1729–1796]; Imperial Hermitage Gallery, Saint Petersburg; sold February 1931 through (Matthiesen Gallery, Berlin; P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London; and M. Knoedler & Co., New York) to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 1 May 1937 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

IN THIS bust-length portrait, a portly young man rests his elbow on the back of his chair while he turns and looks directly at the viewer. His alert, handsome face is enframed by shoulder-length curly hair and a black hat that rests squarely on his head. His black

jacket is decorated with a flat white collar that is edged with an intricate lace pattern.

Hals seems to have favored this portrait convention because of its relative informality. The momentary, turning pose and the rapid and bold brushstrokes enhance the lifelike quality of the image. As discussed in *Willem Coymans* (1937.1.69), Hals used this pose at many stages of his career, but particularly in the 1640s. Indeed, one of the closest parallels to this image is the National Gallery's *Willem Coymans*, signed and dated 1645. Not only are the poses similar, but also the way in which the faces are more firmly modeled than the broader, more suggestively rendered costumes. On the basis of such relationships Slive has dated this painting about 1645.¹

Minor variations in technique between these portraits, however, suggest that this one must date slightly later than the portrait of Willem Coymans. Hals has animated this sitter's face with rapidly applied light accents over the broad flesh tones that define the nose, cheeks, lower lip, and forehead. These strokes, just as those that articulate the eyebrows and mustache, are less integrated into the structure of the face than those in the Coymans portrait. Similarly, whereas in the Coymans portrait Hals conveys a sense of the translucent material from which the collar and sleeve are made, and of the elegantly brocaded pattern on the jacket, in the abstract rendering of the costume in *Portrait of a Young Man*, neither the material character of the lace collar nor the lace pattern are suggested to such a degree. Finally, the lion-head finial of the chair is depicted with a few wavy strokes that give little information about structure.

The precise period of execution for this work is difficult to determine because Hals' dated so few paintings after 1645. A probable date, however, is 1646/1648. Both the style of the collar and shape of the hat were in fashion in these years, as was shoulder-length hair. Hals' portrait of *Adriaen van Ostade* (1937.1.70), which can be dated about 1646/1648, shows comparable characteristics in the style of costume as well as the abstract way in which it is rendered. That portrait also exhibits the use of highlights to enliven the otherwise firmly structured face and its features.

The double monogram, unique in Hals' work, has never been adequately explained. Slive suggests that a second monogram might have been added after the first one had been painted out for some reason.² The two monograms, however, overlap, and there is no evidence of an intervening paint layer between them. In the eighteenth century the double



Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Young Man*, 1937.1.71

monogram seems to have been interpreted as an indication of both the artist and the sitter. In 1736 Horace Walpole described the painting as a self-portrait of Frans Hals,³ an identification repeated in an engraving (in reverse) after the painting, published in 1777.⁴ This identification was also followed by subsequent Hermitage cataloguers. Later, when it became obvious that the sitter was too young to be Frans Hals, he was identified as Frans Hals the Younger.⁵ Bode speculated, on the basis of the monogram, that the artist might be Frans Hals' son Harmen Hals, but, after Bredius discovered this artist's monogram was different in character, Bode immediately rejected his own hypothesis.⁶ Indeed, whatever the explanation for the double monogram, there is no reason to question the attribution of this expressive portrait.

Notes

1. Slive 1970–1974, 3: 86, no. 167.
2. Slive 1970–1974, 3: 86, no. 167.
3. Walpole 1736. He identified 430 paintings in his father's various houses. In the list entitled "A Catalogue of Sir Robert Walpole's Pictures at Chelsea," pp. 33–34, appears: "Francis Halls, Master to Godfrey Kneller... Francis Halls."
4. The engraving was made by J. B. Michel. According to Slive 1970–1974, 3: 86, the print is inscribed: "FRANCIS HALLS./In the Common Parlour at Houghton/Size of the Picture 1F 3/4 [nches] by 1F 7/2 [nches] high/Published May 1st, 1777 by John Boydell Engraver in Cheapside, London./F. Halls Pixit. G. Farington del. J.B. Michel sculpsit."
5. Semenoff 1885, 1: 254.
6. Bode 1883, 90, no. 128.

References

- 1736 Walpole.
 1747 Walpole: 40 (also 1752 2nd ed.: 40).
 1809 Gilpin: 69.
 1838 Hermitage: 2: 254, no. 26 (as *Self-Portrait*).
 1863 De Köhne: 2: 165, no. 770 (as *Portrait of Frans Hals*) (also 1870 2nd ed., 2: 123, no. 770; 1895 3rd rev. ed. A. Somof, 2: 122–123, no. 770, repro.; and 1901 ed., 2: 139–140, no. 770, repro.).
 1864 Waagen: 172, no. 770.
 1883 Bode: 90, 101, no. 128.
 1885 Semenoff: 1: 254 (as portrait of *Frans Hals the Younger*).
 1896 Knackfuss: 52, repro. 37 (also 1923 ed.: 64, repro. 45).
 1902 Davies: 144, no. 770 (also 1908 rev. ed.: 139, no. 770).
 1907–1927 HdG, 3 (1910): 88.
 1909 Moes: 108, no. 180 or 182.
 1909 Wrangell: 145 repro. (also 1923 German rev. ed. by P. P. von Weiner: 117 repro.).
 1912 Péladan: 89–90, repro. opposite 162.
 1914 Bode and Binder: 2: 62, no. 213, pl. 136 (also English ed., 2: 15, no. 213, pl. 136).
 1921a Valentiner: 320, no. 219, repro. (also 1923 rev. ed.: 320, 234, repro.).
 1930 Dülberg: 186.

- 1936 Valentiner: no. 91, repro.
 1941 Trivas: 55, no. 92, repro. no. 123.
 1941 NGA: 95–96, no. 71.
 1946 Gratama: 98, repro.
 1965 NGA: 65, no. 71.
 1968 NGA: 58, no. 78, repro.
 1970–1974 Slive, 1 (1970): 52, 160–161; 2 (1970): fig. 256; 3 (1974): 86–87, fig. 60 (monogram).
 1972 Grimm: 107, 205, no. 134., repro. no. 150.
 1974 Montagni: 105, no. 171 repro. (also 1976 French ed.).
 1975 NGA: 170, no. 71.
 1976 Walker: 268, no. 352 repro.
 1976 Gerson: 422–424.
 1981 Wheelock: 14–15, repro. (also 1988, 100, fig. 6).
 1985 NGA: 197, repro.
 1985 Washington: 324.
 1990 Grimm: 241–242, 257, fig. 105a, 288, no. 129 repro.

1942.9.28 (624)

Portrait of a Man

1648/1650
 Oil on canvas, 63.5 x 53.5 (25 x 21)
 Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At lower left along the edge: *FH*

Technical Notes: The original support, a medium-weight, plain-weave fabric, has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Cusping is visible in the x-radiograph along the left, right, and top edges. Striations are visible from the brush used to apply the thin white ground. Paint is applied in opaque layers, thinly in the sketchy background, and with more body in the figure. Lively brushstrokes are applied wet into wet but left distinct and unblended. Losses are small and scattered, and moderate abrasion is present, particularly in the black hat and adjacent background.

Prior to 1883, when the painting appeared in the art market in Vienna, the background had been overpainted to cover up the hat, and the hair repainted in a longer style (fig. 1).¹ The restoration of the painting in 1990 and 1991 removed the later repaints and exposed the original hat, hair, and background. Although abraded, enough original paint remained to permit reconstruction of these elements.

Provenance: Remi van Haanen, Vienna, by 1883;² (Laurie & Co., London), by March 1898;³ (Bourgeois, Paris, in 1898); (Léonardus Nardus, New York, in 1898); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania;⁴ inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Gemälde alter Meister aus dem Wiener Privatbesitze*, Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, Vienna, 1873, no. 38. New York 1909, no. 32, repro.



Fig. 1. 1942.9.28 prior to treatment

THE VAGARIES of Frans Hals' artistic reputation are more extreme than those of most artists. After having been the preeminent portrait painter in Haarlem during his day, he was almost totally forgotten after his death. It was not until the late nineteenth century that the vigorous and free brushwork that brought his portraits of Dutch burghers vividly to life was once again appreciated by critics, collectors, and contemporary artists. Paintings long relegated to obscurity in back rooms or in attics were proudly brought forward, sent to exhibitions, and sold to dealers and collectors eager to own his works.⁵

This *Portrait of a Man* first became known to the public when it was exhibited in Vienna in 1873. The New York dealer Léonardus Nardus, who was not above manufacturing old provenances for the paintings in his possession, sold it to P. A. B. Widener in 1898.⁶ The work was featured in 1908 in an enthusiastic article about acquisitions of Dutch and Flemish paintings in the United States by one of the foremost authorities of the day, Willem Martin, who

in that year was appointed director of the Mauritshuis in The Hague. He wrote of this work: "It is treated with splendid dash and fluency, without a single *repentir*. every stroke was absolutely right, and nowhere is there any alteration of the original composition." He then proceeded to date the portrait to the years 1640–1645 on the basis of comparisons with other Hals' portraits.⁷

The vagaries of time, however, affect paintings as well as artistic reputations. Despite Martin's claims, a great deal had been changed in this work. As was first noted by Grimm in 1972,⁸ the dim shadow of a hat once worn by the sitter could be seen against the gray background. The long wavy locks that flowed over his collar were later additions, as is evident from a drawing made after the painting by Pieter Holsteyn II (c. 1614–1673) (fig. 2).⁹ Since Holsteyn's drawing does not include a hat, it appears that the portrait had been altered at least twice in its history, once prior to 1673 and again at a later date. In 1991 National Gallery conservators removed the overpainted locks of hair and the overpainting in the background that covered the remains of the badly abraded hat. Technical examination helped determine that the hat had been an original part of the composition, and the decision was made to recon-

Fig. 2. Pieter Holsteyn II, drawing after *Portrait of a Man*, black ink, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet





Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Man*, 1642.9.28

struct its appearance.¹⁰ It is not known why the hat was originally removed, although it may have been a question of fashion.¹¹

Since Martin's initial assessment that the painting should be dated to 1640–1645, various other dates have been proposed. Valentiner suggested c. 1650, Grimm c. 1648, and Slive c. 1655/1660.¹² A dearth of dated paintings makes it difficult to determine a precise chronology of Hals' mature works, but the information gained from the conservation of the painting suggests that a date of 1648/1650 is the most probable. The fluid brushwork in the face, on the whites of the collar, and in the blacks of the costume is more broadly executed than comparable areas in Hals' portrait of *Willem Coymans* (1937.1.69). The broad handling of paint, however, is consistent with his style from the end of that decade (see *Adriaen van Ostade*, 1937.1.70). A date from the mid-1650s seems less plausible than it once did, now that the overpainting in the hair has been removed. Brushwork defining the individual strands of hair has been revealed that is consistent with Hals' style at the end of the 1640s. Also helpful for narrowing the date is the style of hat. Similar hats, with cylindrical crowns and raised brims, worn high on the head, are found in a number of Hals' portraits from the 1640s, but they go out of fashion in the 1650s.

The identity of the sitter has not been established. Although Grimm saw a certain resemblance to Michael Willmann, a German artist active in the Netherlands in the 1640s, no evidence of contact between Hals and Willmann has come to light.¹³ The idea that the sitter may be an artist, however, is plausible, for Hals represented a number of artists without specific attributes.¹⁴ The manner in which the right hand is brought near the chest, and by implication the heart, is comparable to an established iconographic tradition for artists' portraiture. This rhetorical gesture conveyed not only the sitter's sincerity and passion, but also his artistic sensibility.¹⁵

Notes

1. Pigment analysis, available in the Scientific Research department (28 March 1991), found pigments not available before the eighteenth century in all overpaint and repaint layers.

2. Cited by Bode 1883, 89.

3. HdG 1907–1928, 3: no. 311.

4. The 1898 date for *Bourgeois and Nardus* comes from notes by Edith Standen, Widener's secretary for art, in NGA curatorial files.

5. For an excellent assessment of Hals' reputation see Frances S. Jowell, "The Rediscovery of Frans Hals," in Washington 1989b, 61–86.

6. The Widener files and Widener 1885–1900, no. 207,

list the previous owner as Roo van Westmaas, Woortman, Holland, perhaps a fictional provenance provided by Nardus, since no supporting evidence has been found, and there is no town of Woortman in the Netherlands.

7. Martin 1908, 60.

8. Grimm 1972, 24.

9. The drawing was first published in Slive 1970–1974, 3: 102–103, cat. 198.

10. See Technical Notes.

11. Another Hals portrait suffered the same fate, his powerful *Portrait of a Man*, c. 1650–1653 (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg) (see Washington 1989b, cat. 73).

12. Valentiner 1921, 238; Grimm 1972, 107, no. 137; Slive 1970–1974, 3: 102–103, no. 198.

13. Grimm 1972, 107. A comparison with Willmann's self-portrait in Breslau is not convincing. See Maul 1914, frontispiece.

14. Hals' depictions of artists include *Adriaen van Ostade* (1937.1.70) and a half-length bust comparable in format to this work, *Vincent Laurensz. van der Vinne*, c. 1655–1660 (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto) (see Washington 1989b, cat. 76).

15. On the meanings of such gestures see Raupp 1984, 108–115.

References

- 1883 Bode: 122.
 1885–1900 Widener, 2: no. 207, repro.
 1908 Martin: 59–60, repro.
 1907–1927 HdG, 3 (1910): 89, no. 311.
 1913–1916 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
 1914 Bode and Binder: 2: 191, repro. 120b (also English ed.).
 1921a Valentiner: 320, 238 repro. (also 1923 rev. ed.: 321, 251 repro.).
 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
 1930 Dülberg: 198.
 1931 Widener: 80, 81 repro.
 1936 Valentiner: no. 96, repro.
 1942 Widener: no. 624.
 1963 Walker: 337, repro. 311.
 1965 NGA: 66, no. 624.
 1968 NGA: 170, repro. 58.
 1970–1974 Slive, 2 (1970): no. 310 repro.; 3 (1974): 102–103, no. 198.
 1972 Grimm: 24, 28, 107, 205, no. 137, repro., 161.
 1974 Montagni: 106, no. 187, repro. (also 1976 French ed.).
 1975 NGA: 170–171, no. 624 repro.
 1976 Walker: 268–269, no. 353 repro.
 1985 NGA: 197 repro.
 1989b Washington: no. 73 repro.
 1990 Grimm: 194–195, repro., 288, no. 132 repro.

Portrait of a Gentleman

1650/1652

Oil on canvas, 114 x 85 (45 x 33½)

Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The original support is a loosely woven, plain-weave fabric of medium weight, with the original tacking margins trimmed. A non-original 2.5 cm wide fabric strip was attached to the top edge at an unknown date. Prior to the attachment of the extension, approximately 2.5 cm of the painting surface along all four sides was turned over the stretcher edges to form a tacking margin. Regularly spaced damages, presumably former tacking holes, are visible in the x-radiograph along all four edges. Prior to acquisition, the painted edges were restored to the picture plane, and the original support and extension lined. Slight cusping is visible along the top, bottom, and left sides, but absent on the right.

A thin, smooth, white ground layer is visible through the thinly painted background. Fluid paint was applied over thin washes in distinct brushstrokes blended wet into wet. Several pentimenti are visible. The hat was reworked several times to a narrower form, and the proper right index finger was raised and repositioned. The upper edge of the proper right shoulder, arm, and collar were initially higher. Light highlights in the sitter's proper left shoulder were also painted out by the artist.

In addition to the edge damages, small- to moderate-sized losses of paint and ground are scattered throughout the costume, background, and proper right hand. The thin background and dark costume are extensively abraded, with slight abrasion to the face. Conservation treatment was carried out in 1984–1985 to remove later repaints and a discolored varnish.

Provenance: Probably bequeathed by Lord Frederick Campbell [d. 1816] to William Pitt, 1st Earl Amherst [1773–1857], Montreal, Sevenoaks, Kent;¹ by inheritance to William Pitt, 2nd Earl Amherst [1805–1886]; by inheritance to William Archer, 3rd Earl Amherst [1836–1910]; by inheritance to Hugh, 4th Earl Amherst [1856–1927];² (Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, in 1911); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Winter Exhibition*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1894, no. 81 and *Winter Exhibition*, 1910, no. 89. *100 Paintings by Old Masters*, Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, 1911, no. 11. Washington 1989b, no. 71.

THIS IMPOSING middle-aged gentleman is depicted in a three-quarter-length pose with his right shoulder turned slightly toward the viewer and his left arm akimbo. His shoulder-length, wavy brown hair falls on either side of his face from under a black hat with a moderately wide brim. A black cape at his back that encompasses his shoulders and arms is gently pulled forward with the right hand. Three fingers of

a glove he is holding are visible below his left hand.

The dates 1650/1652 generally suggested for the Washington painting seem probable, although as Slive has cautioned, “[documentary] evidence to establish a firm chronology for the last period of Hals’ life is meager.”³ Part of the difficulty in dating Hals’ portraits is that he frequently returned to earlier conventions for his poses. He had used the energetic pose of this gentleman, for example, as early as 1625 in his portrait of Jacob Petersz. Olycan (Maurits-huis, The Hague).⁴ Nevertheless, the style of the costume, the broad brushwork used to articulate it, and the bold silhouette of the figure against the gray background are consistent with other works generally dated to the early 1650s. The features are modeled with broad, bold strokes that have great strength and surety. The closest equivalent among Hals’ paintings is the equally impressive *Portrait of a Man* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) that Slive also dates to this same period.⁵

The identity of the sitter is not known, but his fashionable attire and dignified bearing indicate that he was a person of some means. Not unreasonably, the title given to the picture in the nineteenth century was *Portrait of a Burgomaster*. Quite possibly, although not necessarily, he was part of a pair. Valentinier suggested that the pendant might be the *Portrait of a Woman* in the Louvre, Paris.⁶ Although the dimensions of the Louvre painting are smaller, there is technical evidence that the *Portrait of a Gentleman* was once on a stretcher whose dimensions were identical to that of the Louvre portrait. Nevertheless, sufficient reasons exist to reject Valentinier’s proposal. Slive rightly argued against it on grounds of date (he dates the woman about 1648–1650 and the Washington portrait about 1650–1652) and composition (the woman is comparatively small in the picture). To these objections, one could also add costume, for the woman’s clothes are unacceptably conservative for a mate to this dashing gentleman.

A number of pentimenti are visible in the background area around the figure, particularly near the hat, as Hals altered its shape more than once. The hat now has a narrower brim. These alterations are presently visible because the background, and, indeed, much of the black jacket and cape, are somewhat abraded. The face and hands, however, are in excellent condition. Damages exist along all four edges of the painting as a result of its having once been placed on a smaller stretcher. At that point the image was about one inch smaller along both sides and the bottom, and two inches smaller along the top edge. At the time of this reduction a strip may have been cut off the top. In any event, during a later



Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Gentleman*, 1642.9.29

restoration the canvas was restored to its present large stretcher and a strip 2.5 cm in width was added to the top to provide some space between the hat and the top edge of the painting area.

Notes

1. According to HdG 1907–1927, 3: 294, bequeathed by Lord Frederick Campbell to an ancestor of Earl Amherst. According to notes of Edith Standen, Widener's secretary for art, in NGA curatorial files, the painting was bequeathed about 1820 by Lord Frederick Campbell to Lord Amherst. Getty Provenance Index identified this ancestor of Earl Amherst as William Pitt.

2. Although the ownership of the 2nd and 3rd Earl Amherst cannot be documented, Sedelmeyer 1911, no. 11, lists the work as from the collection of Lord Amherst, in whose family it had been for nearly one hundred years. Transcript of bill of sale (in NGA curatorial files) from Sedelmeyer Gallery to Widener repeats this information.

3. Slive 1970–1974, 1: 182.

4. Mauritshuis 1977, 103, no. 459 repro.; Slive 1970–1974, 3: no. 32.

5. Inv. no. 91.26.9; Slive 1970–1974, 2: no. pl. 298, 3: no. 190.

6. Inv. no. M.I.927, 108 x 80 cm; Valentiner 1921a, 320; Slive 1970–1974, 2: pls. 252, 254; 3: no. 171.

References

1907–1927 HdG, 3 (1910): 84, no. 294.

1909 London: no. 9, repro.

1909 Moes: 107, no. 162.

1910 “New Prints”: 237–238.

1911 Paris: no. 11.

1913–1916 Widener, 1 (1913): unpaginated, no. 16, repro.

1914 Bode and Binder: 2: 66, no. 247, pl. 156 (also English ed., 2: 19, no. 247, pl. 156).

1921a Valentiner: 320, 242 repro. (also 1923 rev. ed.: 321, repro. 256).

1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro. opp.

1930 Dülberg: 194, 198, repro. 196.

1931 Widener: 84, repro. 85.

1932 Hind: 89, pl. 64.

1935 Tietze: 336, 164 repro. (also 1939 English ed., New York).

1936 Valentiner: unpaginated, no. 97, repro.

1938 Waldmann: 335–343.

1942 Widener: 5, no. 625.

1948 Widener: 50, no. 625, repro.

1963 Walker: 337, repro. 312.

1965 NGA: 66, no. 625.

1968 NGA: 170, no. 625, repro. 58.

1970–1974 Slive, 2 (1970): pl. 302; 3 (1974): 88, 99, cat. no. 191.

1972 Grimm: 110–111, 155, 205, no. 145, figs. 163, 167.

1974 Montagni: 106, no. 183 repro. (also 1976 French ed.).

1975 NGA: 170–171, no. 625, repro.

1976 Walker: 268–269, no. 355, color repro.

1985 NGA: 197 repro.

1986 Sutton: 309.

1989b Washington: no. 71.

1989 Grimm: 189, fig. 69, 194–195, 289, no. 135, repro.

Adriaen Hanneman

c. 1603/1604–1671

ADRIAEN HANNEMAN was born in The Hague in either 1603 or 1604. In 1619, he became a pupil of The Hague portrait painter Anthony van Ravesteyn the Younger (before 1580–1669), and from this point on was exclusively a portraitist.

In 1626, Hanneman went to England, where he lived and worked until 1638. In 1630, he married an Englishwoman named Elizabeth Wilson, the first of three marriages, none of which seems to have produced any children. A crucial event in Hanneman's career was the arrival of Anthony van Dyck in London in 1632. Van Dyck's style had a lasting effect on Hanneman, who was described by Cornelis de Bie in 1661 as a counterfeiter of the style of Van Dyck. Although the pejorative implications of this comment are perhaps misplaced, it is certainly true that some of Hanneman's better works, including

the National Gallery's *Henry, Duke of Gloucester* (1937.1.51), are so strikingly Van Dyckian that their correct attribution has on occasions gone undetected.

In 1640, shortly after his return to The Hague, Hanneman was married for the second time, to Maria, daughter of Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn, the elder brother of his teacher. Hanneman entered the city's Guild of Saint Luke in the same year. During the 1640s he assumed leadership positions within the guild: in 1643 he was elected *boofdman*, and two years later he was named *deken*, the highest position in the guild. In 1656, Hanneman played an important part in setting up a rival guild for painters, engravers, and sculptors—the Confrerie—serving as *deken* and *boofdman* several times during the 1660s.

Hanneman continued to paint portraits in an aris-

tocratic, Anglo-Flemish manner in The Hague, where a great demand existed for portraits made in the style of Van Dyck. His patrons included the exiled members of the English court, a number of whom visited Mary Stuart, the daughter of Charles I and the wife of Willem II, the Prince of Orange.

Hanneman's work was favorably received. By 1641 he was wealthy enough to buy a house in The Hague's fashionable Nobelstraat and to purchase the adjoining property in 1657. After 1668, however, he appears to have had serious financial problems, and it is possible that an illness from which he is known to have suffered in that year left him unable to paint. He was married again in 1669, to Alida Besemer, but died not long after, in July 1671.

Bibliography

- De Bie 1661/1971: 412.
Bredius 1896.
Toynbee 1950.
Toynbee 1958.
Ter Kuile 1976.

1937.1.51 (51)

Henry, Duke of Gloucester

c. 1653

Oil on canvas, 104.8 x 87 (41¼ x 34¼)
Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Technical Notes: The original support, a medium-weight, plain-weave fabric, was lined with the tacking margin cropped, but the original dimensions retained. Paint has been applied fluidly over a smooth, moderately thick white ground layer. Dark sketchy glazes were employed to create shadows and broad outlines of forms, and small lumps of impasto were applied to the brocade and highlights. A gap between the background paint and the hair reveals a lighter underpaint layer and creates a halo effect around the head.

X-radiography reveals minor adjustments by the artist to the folds of the white cuffs. Discolored retouchings cover numerous small losses in the lower quarter of the painting. Moderate abrasion is found overall, and glazes have been thinned around the collar and hands. A thick, discolored varnish layer covers the surface. The painting was last treated in 1931, when it was cleaned and lined.

Provenance: Count Heinrich von Brühl [1700–1763], Dresden; his heirs, until 1769; Catherine II, empress of Russia [1729–1796], Saint Petersburg; Imperial Hermitage Gallery, Saint Petersburg; sold November 1930 through (Matthiesen Gallery, Berlin; P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London; and M. Knoedler & Co., New York) to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 30 March 1932 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

THE SPLENDIDLY DRESSED YOUTH in this three-quarter-length portrait looks out assuredly at the viewer from a landscape setting. With a commanding gesture, he rests his right hand on a staff before him while he turns to his left and places his near hand over the hilt of a gold-topped rapier. His gold doublet, richly brocaded with gold and silver threads, has split sleeves that reveal a white blouse with large, pleated cuffs. His breastplate is crossed by a blue ribbon that lies under his flat, white collar and tassel. The brown rock cliff, which provides a neutral background for this elegant figure, is broadly painted, as is the distant landscape vista to the left.

Both the identity of the sitter and the artist who painted him have been the subject of much speculation in the literature.¹ Descamps, who was the first to mention the painting, while it was in the possession of Count Heinrich von Brühl (1700–1763) in Dresden, identified it as a portrait of Willem II by Hanneman.² Smith catalogued it in 1831 as a portrait by Anthony van Dyck,³ and most, although not all, subsequent writers followed suit. Just prior to the sale of the painting from the Hermitage in 1931, the attribution issues were so intense that, as Walker recounts, large amounts of money were paid to ensure that scholarly authorities upheld the Van Dyck attribution.⁴ However, neither the attribution to Van Dyck nor the identification of the sitter as Willem II, Prince of Orange, can be supported. As Toynbee has pointed out, other depictions of Willem II are quite different from the youth represented in this portrait.⁵ Moreover, while this youth wears the blue sash of the Order of the Garter, Willem II was only made a Knight of the Garter on 2 March 1644 at the age of nineteen,⁶ some years after Van Dyck's death in 1641. Since the sitter in this painting must be about twelve or thirteen years of age he cannot represent this prince. An alternative suggestion that he represents Prince Willem III of Orange is also unlikely. Willem III received the garter at the age of two-and-a-half in April 1653. He was invested in the following May and was installed by dispensation in 1661.⁷

Toynbee was the first writer to identify the sitter properly as Henry, Duke of Gloucester, on the basis of an inscription on a bust-length copy after this painting in the collection of Earl Fitzwilliam at Wentworth Woodhouse (fig. 1).⁸ Staring suggested that *Henry, Duke of Gloucester* was painted at the time of Henry's investiture as Knight in the Order of the Garter, to which he had been appointed by a decree of his brother Charles, the Prince of Wales, on 25 April 1653, and which took place in The Hague on 4



Adriaen Hanneman, *Henry, Duke of Gloucester*, 1937.1.51



Fig. 1. Bust-length copy after 1937.1.51, oil on canvas, The Earl Fitzwilliam, Wentworth Woodhouse, Milton, Peterborough, England

May 1653. Henry was at that time twelve years old, having been born on 8 July 1640, the third son of Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria. He had been a virtual prisoner of the English Parliament from the age of eighteen months until he was given permission to sail to the Netherlands at the end of 1652. The artist called upon to represent this distinguished member of the exiled Stuart family was the most important portrait painter in The Hague at that time, Adriaen Hanneman, a personal favorite of Henry's sister, Maria Henriette Stuart, Princess of Orange.⁹

The attribution disputes that have occurred over this painting are understandable. Not only is the quality extremely high but the elegance of the pose and setting are typical of Van Dyck's English period. Hanneman, who studied with Van Dyck in England and followed his style after returning to the Netherlands, became the most fashionable portraitist of the English and Dutch aristocracy in The Hague around mid-century. Close stylistic comparisons may be made with other of Hanneman's portraits from this period. The portrait of Johan de Witt, 1652 (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 1280), particularly, is painted with the same smooth

brushwork in the face and attention to detail in the fabrics. Both portraits also exhibit a curious idiosyncrasy of Hanneman's style: a slight halo effect around the head that comes from applying the darker background tones over the light brown-gray ground only after painting the head from life.

The elegant manner in which Hanneman portrayed Henry, Duke of Gloucester, is more Van Dyckian than usual for this artist. The pose and bearing specifically refer back to Van Dyck's last known portrait of Charles II, painted in 1641 (Collection of Sir Hereward Wake).¹⁰ A variant of this painting, with Charles II dressed in civilian clothes, was etched by Wenceslaus Hollar in 1649 for Van Dyck's *Iconographie*.¹¹ This three-quarter-length image of Charles may have been known by Hanneman when he painted his portrait of Charles II in 1649,¹² and certainly formed the prototype for the Washington painting. In all probability the iconographical continuity for the pose chosen for Henry, Duke of Gloucester, was a political as well as pictorial decision. The Stuart court was at this time in exile and was trying desperately to maintain its integrity in hope of an eventual restitution of the monarchy. In 1653 Charles II was living in Paris, but a large contingent of the Stuart court was in The Hague being cared for by Henry's aunt Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, the sister of Charles I of England and Maria Henriette Stuart, Princess of Orange. The family probably desired a style and pose consistent with Van Dyck's official portraits of Henry's older brother, Charles II, to stress the continuity of the Stuart dynasty.

Henry's stay in The Hague after his investiture in April 1653 was comparatively short, for his mother, Queen Henrietta Maria, requested that he join her in Paris. At the Restoration in 1660 he accompanied Charles back to England. He contracted smallpox shortly thereafter and died in London on 13 September 1660.

Notes

1. Van Puyvelde 1943, 206–207.
2. Descamps 1753–1763, 2: 187.
3. Smith 1829–1842, 3: 203, no. 712.
4. Walker 1974, 116–118.
5. Toynbee and Van Puyvelde 1943, 257–258.
6. Shaw 1906, 1: 33 (as cited in Toynbee and Van Puyvelde 1943).
7. Toynbee and Van Puyvelde 1943, 257–258.
8. Toynbee 1950, 76. For the accuracy of the inscription see Staring 1956, 158–161.
9. Staring 1956, 153–162.
10. London 1982, 103, no. 63.

11. Pennington 1982.
12. Ter Kuile 1976, cat. 14.

References

- 1753–1763 Descamps: 2 (1754): 25.
1774 Hermitage: no. 279.
1805 Labenskii: 2: 73–74, no. 9, repro.
1829–1842 Smith, 3 (1831): London: 203, no. 712.
1838 Hermitage: 366, no. 25.
1863 De Köhne: 2: 134, no. 611; (also 1870 2nd ed., 2: 70, no. 611; 1895 3rd rev. ed. A. Somof, 2: 65, no. 611, repro.; and 1901 ed., 2: 73–74, repro.)
1864 Waagen: 150–151, no. 611.
1890 Von Reber and Bayersdorfer: 2: xix, no. 233, repro.
1896 Conway: repro. 7.
1900 Cust: 154.
1900 Philips: 134–144.
1904 Conway and Bode: pl. 7.
1907 Williamson: 205–217.
1909 Schaeffer: 488–489, repro., 521.
1909 Wrangell: XVII, 147, repro.
1912 Réau: 471–488.
1923 Weiner: 251, repro. (also German trans.).
1931 Glück: 506 repro., 577.

- 1941 NGA: 204–205, no. 51.
1941 De Tolnay: 174–200, repro.
1943 Van Puyvelde: 204–207, repro.
1943 Toynbee and Van Puyvelde: 257–258.
1949 Imbourg: 88, repro.
1949 Mellon: 72, repro.
1950 Toynbee: 73–80.
1956 Staring: 153–162, repro.
1958 Toynbee: 249–250.
1960 London: 22.
1963 Piper: 140.
1965 NGA: 46, no. 51.
1968 NGA: 40, no. 51, repro.
1972 Walker: 68–87.
1974 Walker: 116–118, repro.
1975 NGA: 118–119, no. 51, repro.
1976 Ter Kuile: 79–80, no. 22a, repro.
1980 Larsen: 2: 126–127, no. 981, repro., and color repro. (also German ed., 2: 90, no. 689, repro.).
1981 Walker: 245–266, repro.
1982 Brown: 224.
1983 Wheelock: 197, pl. 44, color repro.
1984 Walker: 264–265, repro.
1985 NGA: 198, repro.
1988 Larsen: 357, repro.

Gerret [Gerrit] Willemsz. Heda

active 1640s and 1650s

LITTLE INFORMATION EXISTS concerning the life of Gerret Heda. The earliest document to mention the painter is an entry dated 7 July 1642 in the register of the Saint Luke's Guild of Haarlem. In it, Willem Claesz. Heda affirms that his second son, Gerret, Maerten Boelema (d. after 1664), and Hendrik Heerschop (1620/21–after 1672) are his pupils. Assuming that Gerret entered his father's workshop as a pupil in his early to mid-teens, it is likely that he was born in the 1620s. His death date is not known, but it probably occurred sometime between 1658, when a Gerrit Heda is listed as an active member of the Saint Luke's Guild, and 1661, for he is not named along with his other siblings in a will made by his parents in that year.¹ It is certainly earlier than 1702 when he is listed as dead in a compilation of past members of the guild.

In style and ability Gerret Heda compares closely to his father, and it has at times been difficult to distinguish between the two. Gerret made copies of some of his father's breakfast scenes while he was a

member of the workshop. His independent breakfast pieces, which can approach the quality of his father's compositions, are often signed simply •HEDA•.

Notes

1. A theory that Gerret Heda died in 1649 was advanced by Vroom 1980, 1: 66. His conclusion was based on the rather inconclusive evidence that a tomb was opened in the cathedral of Saint Bavo in Haarlem in 1649 for the burial of a son of Willem Claessen Heda (see correspondence from Dr. Pieter Biesboer, curator, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, 10 June 1982 and 28 October 1991, in NGA curatorial files). The name of the son, however, is not mentioned in the document, and there is no assurance that the tomb was meant for Gerret. Another possibility is another son of Heda's, whose name is not known, who may well be the artist who signed paintings "jonge Heda" in the 1640s. Vroom believed that the "jonge Heda" and Gerret Heda were the same person, further confusing the attribution issues in paintings by the Heda family. Information about the identity of the various members of the Heda family will be published in the forthcoming catalogue of paintings of the Frans Halsmuseum. Segal in Delft 1988, 133–136, who lists the different signatures of the Heda family, also rejects Vroom's

theory. For the listing of a Gerret Heda in the register of the Saint Luke's Guild in Haarlem for the year 1658, see Miedema 1980, 2: 1035.

Bibliography

Bergström 1956: 136–140.
Vroom 1980, 1: 166–176; 2: 56–65.
Delft 1988: 133–136.

1985.16.1

Still Life with Ham

1650

Oil on oak, 98.5 x 82.5 (38½ x 32½)

Gift of John S. Thacher

Inscriptions

On the right edge of the tablecloth: ·HEDA· 1650

Technical Notes: The panel consists of three vertically grained oak boards joined vertically. All boards are of similar width, and the outer ones are slightly thicker. Dendrochronology gives a use date of 1646 onward.¹ Bevels appear on all sides of the reverse, which was not smoothly finished. A thin, off-white ground is visible through the brushstrokes of the tablecloth and background, giving a warm tonality, while the wood grain is prominent overall.

Paint was applied thinly and smoothly in multiple layers with great transparency, much glazing, and crisp brushwork in the fuller bodied light passages. Impasted highlights are blended wet into wet. A pentimento of a plate or tablecloth appears beneath the ham, and a short length of fringe was begun and abandoned in the lower left of the tablecloth. Scattered small losses and abrasions have been retouched in at least two distinct restorations, and the shadow below the white cloth has been reinforced. Pale hazy spots have formed in the aged varnish layer. No major conservation has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: John S. Thacher, Washington.

THIS IMPRESSIVE STILL LIFE, which is signed and dated “Heda 1650” at the lower right edge of the white tablecloth, came to the National Gallery in 1985 as a work by Willem Claesz. Heda (q.v.). Despite its high quality and the many similarities to paintings by Willem Claesz. Heda, subtle differences in style and concept pointed to the hand of his talented son Gerret Heda. The attribution was subsequently changed, with the realization that Gerret, who emulated his father's style, may well have worked with the elder Heda to produce generic “Heda” paintings for the open market. Complicating such an attribution is the assumption, occasionally found in the literature, that Gerret Heda is identical

with the son of Willem Claesz. Heda who had died in 1649, a year before this painting was executed.² No compelling documentary reason, however, exists for accepting this assumption. Stylistic similarities between signed Gerret Heda paintings from the 1640s and “Heda” still lifes from the 1650s, moreover, are so striking that it must be assumed that Gerret not only remained alive, but was active for at least ten years after this purported death date.³

Among the paintings that can be used as a basis for the attribution of this work to Gerret Heda is a comparable still life by him, signed and dated 1645 (fig. 1). This painting, which is likewise on wood and has similar dimensions (98 x 79 cm), also depicts an upright tabletop still life situated against a plain gray background. In each instance an identical tall fluted glass provides a vertical accent to the display of food, plates, pitchers, glasses, and overturned vessels that are placed either on a dark green, fringed tablecloth or on the white linen that covers it.

Characteristic for Gerret Heda is the relative disarray of the still-life elements, despite the basic pyramidal composition. The white linen is arranged in a haphazard manner so that objects nestle down in its crumpled folds. Even the objects resting on the flat green tablecloth seem slightly askew, in part because Gerret Heda never quite managed to achieve the same mastery of perspective found in paintings by his father (see, for example, *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie*, 1991.87.1). Adding to this effect is the distinctive way in which Gerret Heda has bunched the white linen cloth to activate the surface with an array of shimmering folds. By creating this effect he sacrificed the stabilizing function that the horizontal and vertical shapes of similar linens perform in his father's paintings. Further comparison with paintings by Willem Claesz. Heda also confirms that, as talented as he was, Gerret did not achieve his father's sensitivity of touch: his paint is somewhat denser, reflections are not as nuanced, and distinctions between materials are not as finely wrought.

The objects on the table do not represent a specific meal, as is quite clear when one compares this work to other examples where like elements are found in similar arrangements (figs. 1 and 2).⁴ Whereas the same fluted glass and pewter pitcher are found in the Frans Halsmuseum painting, the identical mustard pot and a similar ham appear in the Pushkin Museum still life.⁵ In all three of these still lifes Heda has displayed a sumptuous feast, each of which calls to mind the richness and bounty that the Dutch had come to enjoy around mid-century. In each instance Heda has indicated a human presence in the way that the food and drink have been partially con-



Gerret Willemsz. Heda, *Still Life with Ham*, 1985.16.1



Fig. 1. Gerret Willemsz. Heda, *Still Life with Shrimp*, 1645, oil on panel, Amsterdam, private collection, on loan to Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem

sumed, the tablecloth left in disarray, and vessels overturned.

Given the explicit iconographic programs found in certain of his father's paintings (see entry on *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie* 1991.87.1), it may well be that in his choices of objects and their arrangement Gerret also strove to provide a moralizing message. Just as his compositional organization lacks the structure of his father's, however, so too is his message less clearly evident. In the Washington painting the ham and the wine and beer have been only partially consumed, perhaps evidence that the enjoyment of this meal has been undertaken with proper restraint. Nothing in the work seems to hint of the transience of life found in the comparable Pushkin Museum still life, where a snuffed-out candle occupies a corner of the table (fig. 2). Whether or not such a warning was included in some other guise in the *Still Life with Ham* cannot be determined with our current knowledge of the significance of the various elements of this composition. Would, for example, the open lid of the pewter pitcher have symbolized an idea along these lines to a Dutch viewer of the mid-seventeenth century? Another un-



Fig. 2. Gerret Willemsz. Heda, *Still Life with Ham*, 1649, oil on canvas, Moscow, Pushkin Museum

answered question is whether the untouched roll in the Pushkin and Washington paintings has eucharistic allusions similar to those found in paintings by Pieter Claesz. and Willem Claesz. Heda (see *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie*). In neither instance is the evidence compelling, and it may well be that Gerret adapted many of the motifs found in his father's work without providing a comparable intellectual and theological foundation to his still lifes.

Notes

1. Dendrochronology by Dr. Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg, 4 May 1987.
2. See note 1 in Biography.
3. Since Gerret is not named in a 1661 testament made by his mother and father, it is reasonable to assume that he had died previously.
4. *Still Life with Ham*, oil on wood, 97 x 80 cm, inv. no. 1947.
5. The identical salt cellar can be found in Gerret Heda's masterpiece in the Hermitage, *Still Life with Lobster*, signed and dated "Heda 1648," a painting frequently attributed to Willem Claesz. Heda. See Vroom 1980, 2: 77, no. 372.

References

- 1986 Sutton: 309.

Willem Claesz. Heda

1593/1594–1680

ALTHOUGH documents do not indicate the date or place of his birth, Willem Claesz. Heda was probably born in Haarlem either in 1593 or 1594. This assumption is based on the inscription “aetate 84” found on a 1678 portrait of Heda by the Haarlem painter Jan de Braij (c. 1626/27–1697). Heda’s entire career was spent in Haarlem, where he took an active role in the Guild of Saint Luke. His name first appears on the guild rolls of 1631, the year in which he assisted Salomon de Bray (1597–1664) in its reorganization.¹ Heda was elected *deken* in 1642 and 1652, and was a *hoofdman* in 1637, 1643, and 1651. One of his sons, Gerret Willemsz. Heda (q.v.) was mentioned as his apprentice in a document dated 7 July 1642.

Although he painted some portraits and figural compositions, Heda specialized in still-life painting. He was unquestionably one of the greatest masters of the genre. As is evident from his early vanitas still lifes, Heda was influenced by the Haarlem painter Floris van Schooten (active c. 1617–1655). His breakfast pieces also grew out of the Haarlem still-life tradition of the early seventeenth century, as was already noted during his lifetime by Haarlem historian Theodorus Schrevelius, who wrote that Heda painted “fruit, and all kinds of knick-knacks” in the manner of Floris van Dijck (1575–1651). Heda’s paintings evolved from additive compositions to monumental, monochrome breakfast and banquet pieces, executed with delicate brushwork that captured a wide range of materials and textures.

Heda and Pieter Claesz. (1597/1598–1660) were the principal still-life artists in Haarlem until well after mid-century. Heda also had great influence on painters in other artistic centers, among them the Amsterdam artist Jan Jansz. den Uyl (c. 1595–1640).

Notes

1. See Taverne 1972–1973, 50–69.

Bibliography

- Schrevelius 1648: 390.
Van der Willigen 1870: 156–157.
Van Gelder 1941.
Bergström 1956: 123–134.
Vroom 1980, 1: 53–78; 2: 65–80, nos. 324–392.
Delft 1988: 121–140.

1991.87.1

Banquet Piece with Mince Pie

1635
Oil on canvas, 106.7 x 111.1 (42 x 43¾)
Patrons’ Permanent Fund

Inscriptions

On edge of tablecloth at right: ·HEDA· 1635·
On edge of tablecloth at left: unidentified monogram

Technical Notes: The support, a medium-weight, plain-woven fabric, is unlined and delicate, with small tears and fraying where folded over the stretcher. Small patched holes are found in the upper right corner and in the glass ewer at center. The paint layer continues onto the original tacking margins, suggesting it was primed on a stretching frame. A thick mustard-colored ground layer is employed as a mid-tone in the tablecloth.

Paint is applied in smooth wet-over-dry layers with impasted highlights, transparent glazes, and thin opaque scumbles. Scattered small losses and areas of slight abrasion have been retouched. A small remnant of an aged varnish remains in the shadows to the right of the fallen tazza. No conservation has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Private collection, the Netherlands, 1948; by inheritance to a subsequent owner; (sale, Ader-Picard-Tajan, Paris, 22 June 1990, no. 39); (Galerie Sanct Lucas, Vienna; Bruno Meissner, Zurich; and Otto Naumann, New York).

DISPLAYED in this imposing painting are the remains of a sumptuously laden table. The care with which the precious vessels were arranged prior to the meal is still evident despite the disarray of the white linen tablecloth, the snuffed-out candle, the tipped-over silver tazza and glass *roemer*, and the broken one lying on a pewter dish. Heda has led us to believe that the focal point of the meal has been the mince pie, which, flavored with currants, raisins, and exotic spices from the Far East, was a special dish reserved for holidays and lavish banquets. Freshly cut slices of lemon added to its flavor. As an adjunct to the meal were oysters, to be seasoned with vinegar from the shell-shaped Venetian glass decanter. Salt, prominently displayed in the silver salt cellar, and pepper, contained within the paper cone made from an almanac page, were also expensive seasonings available to the guests. Imported olives and a simple roll rounded out the feast,



Fig. 1. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Banquet Piece with Oysters*, 1635, oil on panel, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 2. Jan Davidsz. de Heem and Nicolaes van Veeerndael, *Flowers with Crucifix and Skull*, c. 1665, oil on canvas, Munich, Alte Pinakothek

which would have been washed down with ample glasses of beer.

This banquet piece, one of the largest known still lifes by Willem Heda, may well have been a commissioned work, although nothing is known of its early provenance. Because of its scale, Heda painted it on canvas rather than on a wood support, which was his norm. Partly because the original canvas has never been relined, the remarkable sheen of glass, pewter, silver, and gilded bronze, for which Heda is so admired, is extremely well preserved. The rich impasto of the lemon peel hanging over the table's edge likewise have maintained their character. Adding to the harmonious whole is the soft shimmer of the white linen tablecloth as light catches the nuances of the fabric's texture.

Despite the apparent reality of the scene, which is reinforced by the lifelike scale of the objects, this composition is an artificial construct and does not record the aftermath of an actual meal. By 1635, the

date of this work, Heda had already executed a number of similar, albeit smaller still lifes, which include many of the same objects in different arrangements and combinations. The silver tazza, for example, appears in three earlier paintings, one dated 1632 and two dated 1634.² It also occurs in two still lifes from 1635, including the *Still Life with Gilt Goblet* (fig. 1).³ The same broken *roemer* occurs in one of the still lifes from 1634.⁴ The Venetian glass decanter, the salt cellar, the large glass *roemer*, and the pewter pitcher all appear in other works (see especially the Amsterdam painting).

Heda's intent, so far as one can determine, was to bring together food and objects that might be found on a festive occasion and present them in a harmonious and convincing manner. The composition is arranged in a broad triangular form, its apex defined by the magnificent gilt bronze goblet, whose decorative top is surmounted by the figure of Triton. Heda enlivened his scene in the way he suggested



Willem Claesz. Heda, *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie*, 1691.87.1

light reflecting off the various textures of the objects and gave the whole immediacy by situating the table in the frontal picture plane. By placing the lemon rind, the pewter plates, and the black-handled knife over the table's front edge, he created the illusion that they actually protrude into the viewer's space. Although these compositional ideas had been current in Dutch and Flemish still-life painting from the first decades of the century, Heda utilized them here with unprecedented forcefulness and conviction.

Heda's selection of objects was carefully chosen to convey a general thematic message, one frequently encountered in still-life paintings of the time.⁵ The sensual pleasures of the feast and the luxuries of the world are only temporary and not eternal. The snuffed-out candle indicates not only the end of the meal, but also the transience of life itself.⁶ The same message is conveyed by the broken glass and the sheet of the almanac used to hold the pepper.⁷ Underlying these warnings were theological issues current in both Catholic and Protestant thought: sensual pleasures threatened to distract man from the message of Christ's sacrifice and from the overriding significance of God's word. Jan Davidsz. de Heem (q.v.), a Catholic artist, explicitly conveyed this Christian message by juxtaposing a crucifix with a luscious bouquet of flowers (fig. 2).⁸ De Heem included a text in his painting that laments that man does not observe the "most beautiful flower of all." The implication is that instead of focusing on the message of Christ's sacrifice, man is distracted by the temporal pleasures of flowers and luscious fruit.⁹ With Heda, the same idea is conveyed in a more subtle way. Here, while man has enjoyed the pleasures of exotic spices, rich meats, and oysters¹⁰ and dined with expensive and finely wrought objects made of rare materials, he has overlooked the most fundamental nourishment of all, the simple roll in

the foreground. Given the central placement of the roll on a plate that extends into the viewer's space, and the fact that it has traditional eucharistic connotations, its untouched state is neither accidental nor without iconographical significance.¹¹

Notes

1. An unusual feature of this painting is this unidentified monogram. It does not appear to be an artist's monogram. Dr. Pieter Biesboer, curator, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, has suggested (verbally) that it is the mark of the linen maker.

2. See Vroom 1980, 1: no. 335, fig. 71 (private collection, the Netherlands), signed and dated 1632; no. 340, fig. 74 (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam), signed and dated 1634; no. 341, fig. 67, (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), signed and dated 1634.

3. Inv. no. A 4830, acquired in 1984, oil on wood, 88 x 113 cm. The other 1635 dated picture where the *tazza* appears was auctioned at Sotheby's, New York, 10 January 1991, no. 66.

4. Vroom 1980, 1: no. 340.

5. For a discussion of these issues see Wheelock in Washington 1989a, 11–25.

6. Cats 1629, 1: section title "Emblemata Moralia et Aeconomica," Emblem XX, "Liceat Sperare Timenti." I would like to thank Quint Gregory, a graduate student at the University of Maryland, for calling my attention to this emblem.

7. See Delft 1988, 137.

8. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. no. 568.

9. See the entry on De Heem's *Flowers with Crucifix and Shell* in Washington 1988, cat. 33, 136–138.

10. Oysters were seen as a potent aphrodisiac. For a discussion of the meaning of oysters in Dutch art see Cheney 1987, 135–158.

11. This interpretation was first suggested to me by Quint Gregory. Similar ideas are found in still-life paintings by Pieter Claesz. See Lowenthal 1986b, 188–190. See also Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Introduction," in Winterthur/Washington 1989, 26; and also 50, cat. 11.

Jan Davidsz. de Heem

1606–1683/1684

JAN DAVIDSZ. DE HEEM was born in Utrecht to a Catholic family. He received his early training with his father, David de Heem the Elder (1570–1632), who was also a painter. In 1626 he moved to Leiden where he married his first wife, Aletta van Weede, a native of Utrecht. Nearly a decade later, in

1635, De Heem moved to Antwerp and entered its Saint Luke's Guild. A year after the death of Aletta in 1643, the painter married Anna Ruckers, a native of Antwerp. Although he would spend many years in her hometown, De Heem also spent periods of time in the north. In addition to an extended stay in

Utrecht in 1649, he also resided there between 1667 and 1672; he rejoined its painter's guild in 1669. Following the French invasion of the city in 1672, De Heem returned to Antwerp, where he lived until his death in 1683 or 1684.

The few works known from De Heem's first Utrecht period resemble those of the still-life painter Balthasar van der Ast (q.v.). While active in Leiden, De Heem painted tonal still lifes with vanitas subjects—books, writing and smoking implements, musical instruments, skulls, and hourglasses—that relate to works by contemporary Leiden artists David Bailly (1584–1657) and Harmen Steenwijck (1612–after 1656). Following his move to Antwerp, the work of Flemish still-life painter Daniel Seghers (1590–1661) provided an important model for De Heem. His compositions became more elaborate, and he depicted bouquets and garlands of flowers, baskets of fruit, and other motifs, such as glasses, insects, and illusionistically painted drapery. Occasionally he incorporated background views to a distant landscape or seascape.

During his long and productive career De Heem was especially admired for the realistic way he painted gold and silver. His paintings vary from small cabinet pieces to large banquet paintings containing luxurious *pronk* objects. He also is known to have collaborated with other painters, including Jan Lievens (1607–1674). Among his many students and followers were Abraham Mignon (q.v.), Cerstiaen Luyckx (1623–after 1674), and Joris van Son (1623–1667).

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Bergström 1956: 191–228.
De Mirimonde 1970.
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Utrecht 1991.

1961.6.1 (1649)

Vase of Flowers

c. 1660
Oil on canvas, 69.6 x 56.5 (27³/₈ x 22¹/₄)
Andrew W. Mellon Fund

Inscriptions

At lower left on parapet: *J. D. De Heem f.*

Technical Notes: The support, a medium-weight, plain-weave fabric with irregularly spun threads, has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Cusping is visible along all edges.

Paint is applied over a thin, smooth off-white ground in thin, liquid layers blended wet into wet. Outer flowers are painted over the dark background, while the central bouquet is painted directly over the white ground. The red-and-white poppy is painted over a light green underlayer. Reserves were left for details when final glazes were applied. Thin glazes are slightly abraded. Small losses in the background have been retouched. No major treatment has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Baron Edmond de Rothschild [1845–1934], France. Mr. McIntosh, Bridge Allen, Scotland.¹ (William Hallsborough Gallery, London, 1958). (Fritz Nathan and Peter Nathan, Zurich, 1959); (Paul Rosenberg & Co., New York, in 1961).

Exhibited: *Exhibition of Fine Paintings and Drawings of Four Centuries*, William Hallsborough Gallery, London, 1958. *Jan Davidsz de Heem en zijn Kring*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht; Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, 1991, no. 30. *The Age of the Marvelous*, Hood Museum of Art, Hanover, New Hampshire; North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, 1991, no. 157.

THE EXTRAORDINARY DELIGHT the Dutch and Flemish took in the richness of the visual world is nowhere better expressed than in the flower paintings of Jan Davidsz. de Heem. In his *Vase of Flowers*, the brightly colored blossoms, fruits, vegetables, and grains that seem to burst forth from the glass vase are painted with such sensitivity that they seem almost alive. Whether it be in the translucency of the petals, the sheen of dew drops on the leaves, or the minute insects that crawl about the stems and blossoms, De Heem has exerted painstaking care to capture the very essence of the still-life elements that make up his composition.

While De Heem's concern with illusionism was shared by other still-life painters, none matched his ability to convey a sense of organic life. Poppies, tulips, roses, wheat, and peas reach out in dynamic rhythms, while insects crawl and flutter about as though the air around them were rife with the varied smells of the richly laden bouquet. Through his artifice, De Heem has allowed the viewer not only to enjoy the beauty of the individual forms but also to imagine the richness of their fragrances. He has done so, moreover, with an arrangement of flowers, fruits, and vegetables that would never have been placed together in the same bouquet, for they grow at different seasons of the year.

While De Heem's ability to capture the full range of one's sensual experiences in appreciating flowers is exceptional, the underlying attitude in his work

reflects concerns that were fundamental to still-life painting since the early seventeenth century. For example, Cardinal Borromeo, the patron of Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625), wrote how he enjoyed the sight of the flowers during icy winters and the pleasure he received from imagining the odors of the flowers.² In 1646 a Dutch poet, Joachim Oudaan, described not only the beauty of the blossoms but also the fragrance of a still-life painting.³

De Heem's dynamic yet harmonious composition is also exceptional, but, once again, the fundamentals of his arrangement belong to a long-standing tradition. In the early seventeenth century, symmetrically arranged bouquets of flowers by Ambrosius Bosschaert (1573–1621) were dominated by a large, centrally placed blossom. Stems of flowers were relatively short and flowers did not overlap. De Heem's work has evolved from this fairly rigid format—he breaks the symmetry, overlaps blossoms, and, in particular, creates rhythms through his greatly elongated plant stems.

Fig. 1. Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Memento Mori*, c. 1653, oil on canvas, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister



Finally, De Heem's decision to include so many types of flowers and insects from different seasons of the year in his composition does not differ substantially from the work of many of his predecessors. Such artfully constructed compilations of elements that could never be seen together in nature gave still-life painting a status it could never have achieved if the artist had remained servile to the specifics of nature. Such a composition as this, while built upon careful observation of God's wonders, emphasized the importance of the role of the artist's imagination. That such a still life was far more than mere craft was also confirmed by the symbolic associations De Heem brought to the work. The transient beauty of flowers, for example, was commonly used metaphorically to remind the viewer of the temporality of life. The bugs and snails that climb about the blossoms were understood allegorically to represent forces that help hasten the demise of temporal beauty. While De Heem clearly wished to convey this concept, by including such a wide range of seasons he also sought to make a statement about the value of art. These flowers will continue to blossom after nature's flowers have died and withered. Indeed, the concept *Ars longa, vita brevis* was fundamental to seventeenth-century northern still-life painting.

De Heem's flower still lifes often had specific moral, and even religious, connotations. Occasionally this Catholic artist included a skull and the words *memento mori* adjacent to a flower piece (fig. 1); in other instances he added a crucifix. In such cases, careful analyses of the flowers and grains he has included in his composition indicate that they were chosen because of the symbolic associations that were attached to them.⁴ The question then arises whether similar symbolic associations exist regarding the flowers and other plants in paintings with no explicit symbols of death or resurrection.⁵ In the case of the National Gallery's painting the answer is most certainly yes.

This carefully conceived composition was not only a compilation of the beauties of God's creations, a statement of the value of art, and a reminder of the transitoriness of life, it also put forth the hope of salvation and resurrection. While no crucifix exists in this work, the allusion to the cross in the reflection of the window on the glass vase serves the same purpose. Within such a context the prominent position of the white poppy upon which a butterfly alights has to be understood symbolically.⁶ The poppy, which was associated with sleep and death, often alluded to the Passion of Christ, and the butterfly to the Resurrection. Other flowers, grains,



Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Vase of Flowers*, 1961.6.1

fruits, and vegetables reinforce this message. The morning glory, for example, symbolizes the light of truth, for it opens at the break of day and closes in the evening. The bramble, which was believed to be the burning bush in which the angel of the Lord appeared to Moses, was associated with divine love that cannot be consumed. Grains of wheat can allude to the bread of the Last Supper, but they can also symbolize resurrection, because the grain must fall to earth to regenerate. Like wheat, or peas, man must die and be buried before achieving eternal life.

Vase of Flowers is signed but not dated. Although De Heem's chronology is not easy to reconstruct, he probably executed this painting in Utrecht around 1660.⁷ The painting has more elaborate rhythms in its forms and a more complex iconography than does De Heem's similar composition from the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, which is signed and dated 1654. However, it cannot date too much later than the Dresden painting from the mid-1650s (fig. 1), which contains many like elements, including a poppy at the top of the composition and the image of a cross in the reflection on the vase. In any event, the composition must have been known by Abraham Mignon (q.v.) in Utrecht, for after he joined De Heem's workshop in 1669 he executed a *Vase of Flowers* that shares many similar elements.⁸

Notes

1. The names of the previous owners Rothschild and McIntosh were provided by Nathan and Nathan, but without documentation.

2. See Wheelock in Washington 1989a, 14–15.
3. See Lawrence O. Goedde, "A Little World Made Cunningly: Dutch Still Life and Ekphrasis," in Washington 1989a, 40.
4. For an analysis of the *Flower Piece with Shell and Skull* in Dresden (fig. 1), see Utrecht 1991, cat. 28, 181–184.
5. For the identity of the plants and animals in this painting, see Segal in Utrecht 1991, 187.
6. Much has been written on the symbolism of flowers in Dutch art. For an excellent overview of the problem, see Sam Segal, "The Symbolic Meaning of Flowers," in Amsterdam 1982b, 12–25; see also Segal in Utrecht 1991, 182–184.
7. For a similar De Heem composition, also undated, see Fechner 1981, 28, 169, pl. 62–63.
8. For this painting, see Rotterdam, 1989, cat. 23, 94–95.

References

- | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|
| 1958 | Bury: 175–177. |
| 1958 | Nicholson: 145. |
| 1963 | Walker: 198–199, color repro. |
| 1964 | Walker: 198–199, color repro. |
| 1965 | Pavière: 20, colorplate 7. |
| 1965 | NGA: 66, no. 1649. |
| 1968 | NGA: 58, no. 1649, repro. |
| 1975 | NGA: 172–173, repro. |
| 1982b | Amsterdam: 12–25. |
| 1984 | Wheelock: 18–19, color repro. |
| 1985 | NGA: 199, repro. |
| 1988 | Grimm: 143. |
| 1989 | Rotterdam: no. 23. |
| 1989a | Washington: 14–15. |
| 1991 | Utrecht: no. 30. |
| 1992 | NGA: 127 color repro. |

Jan van der Heyden

1637–1712

JAN VAN DER HEYDEN was born 5 March 1637 in Gorkum, the third of eight children. His eldest brother, Goris, was a mirror maker by trade, and Van der Heyden's first training in art came from a local glass painter. The difficult—and irreversible—technique of painting images on the back of a sheet of glass enjoyed a certain popularity at the time, and several works of this type by Van der Heyden have survived. On 26 June 1661, in Amsterdam, he married Sara ter Hiel of Utrecht. He is known to have been practicing as an artist at this time, but no dated paintings survive from before 1664.

Van der Heyden's oeuvre is largely composed of cityscapes and other depictions of groups of buildings, although he did paint about forty pure landscapes. Some of his works are relatively faithful depictions of a real location, but many others are entirely imaginary architectural fantasies. Typically, his scenes are bathed in a brilliant, crisp light of almost unnatural clarity and characterized by remarkable attention to detail. Throughout his paintings, minute features are painstakingly rendered with the greatest precision, and yet he never seems to have allowed this technique to stand between him

and the creation of a balanced and harmonious composition. The great skill with which Van der Heyden distributes areas of light and shade and his general mastery of subtle atmospheric effects are in no small way responsible for the coherence and unity of his works.

Although his artistic output was considerable, the majority of documentary records of Jan van der Heyden's life concerns activities in fields totally unrelated to the arts. In 1670 he was appointed Amsterdam's overseer of streetlights, and in 1673 he assumed responsibility for the city's fire brigade. He was clearly greatly preoccupied with the problem of how to fight fires effectively, and, with his brother Nicolaes, devoted much time between 1668 and 1671 to inventing a new, highly successful water pumping mechanism. In 1679, he bought land on the Koesstraat on which to build a house and fire engine factory. In 1690 he and his eldest son, Jan, published a large, illustrated book on the fire hose, entitled *Beschrijving der nieuwlijks uitgevonden en geotrojerde Slangbrandspuiten*.

When he died on 28 March 1712, Van der Heyden was a wealthy man and had in his possession some seventy of his own paintings. His influence on other seventeenth-century artists was relatively limited, but he was an extremely important source for architectural painters of the following century, both in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe.

Bibliography

- Houbraken 1753, 3: 80–82.
HdG 1907–1927, 8 (1927): 325–426.
Wagner 1970.
Wagner 1971.
Van Eeghen 1973.
Sluijter 1973.
De Vries 1984.
Amsterdam 1987: 342–345.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 168.

1968.13.1 (2349)

An Architectural Fantasy

c. 1670

Oil on oak, 49.7 x 70.7 (19⁹/₁₆ x 27¹³/₁₆)
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund

Technical Notes: The support consists of a single piece of oak, with horizontal grain. The support is in stable condition, although it has developed a moderate concave warp both along and across the grain. There are a number of fairly small cracks in the panel, including one about 10 cm long in the

lower left, three smaller ones along the top edge, and another near the center of the bottom edge. In general, the edges of the panel have suffered minor damages, and the extreme top left corner is missing.¹

The panel is covered with a thin white ground. Examination of the painting with infrared reflectography did not reveal any clear evidence of underdrawing. The paint is probably in an oil medium and is applied fairly smoothly. In some areas the application is wet into wet, and in others there is evidence of discrete layering. The figures appear to be painted on top of the background. In general the paint and ground layers are in fairly good condition. Small losses associated with the damages to the support mentioned above have occurred. As the ultraviolet photograph shows, there is extensive retouching from past restorations throughout the sky. In some areas, particularly along the edges, these cover abrasion, wear, and small losses. In other areas, however, the overpaint appears to be covering small linear "staining." Much of the overpaint covers areas of original paint, and in general the retouching in the sky is heavy, opaque, and discolored. Extensive strengthening has been carried out in certain areas, for example, in some of the clouds and in the balustrade. The surface of the painting is covered with a number of layers of aged natural resin varnish. No restoration on the painting has been undertaken at the National Gallery since its acquisition.

Provenance: Woltgraft family, Kampen.² Catellan family, Freiburg im Breisgau, prior to 1816; (sale, Paris, 16 January 1816, no. 6);³ Charles Ferdinand de Bourbon, Duc de Berry [d. 1820], Paris;⁴ by inheritance to his widow, Marie Caroline Ferdinande Louise de Naples, Duchesse de Berry, Paris; (sale, Paris, 4–6 April 1837, no. 72); Hazard.⁵ Charles Heusch, London, by 1842;⁶ F. Heusch, London, by 1854. Possibly Lionel Nathan de Rothschild [d. 1879], London; Alfred Charles de Rothschild [1842–1918], London, by 1884;⁷ by inheritance to his nephew, Lionel Nathan de Rothschild [d. 1942], London; by inheritance to his son, Edmund Leopold de Rothschild, London; (Thomas Agnew and Sons, London).

Exhibitions: *Duchesse de Berry Collection*, London, 1834, no. 112. Possibly British Institution, 1838, no. 91.⁸ *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters, (Winter Exhibition)*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1886, no. 83 (as *View of a Chateau*). *Dutch Pictures, 1450–1750*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1952–1953, no. 469 (as *The Gate of a Palace*). *In the Light of Vermeer*, Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1966, no. 31 (as *Chateau in a Park*).

THIS PAINTING evokes the pleasures of elegant country life. Gentle sunlight illuminates the façade of a handsome Palladian villa situated on a small rise in a park. Passing through the magnificent classical gateway, a master and his servant approach a waiting beggar woman with a child on her back. In front of the gate a man seated on a fragment of antique sculpture works on the harness of two sleek hunting dogs. The casual poses of the other figures—the two men who in eager discussion lean on the garden balustrade, the servant who lounges in the doorway of the villa, and the dogs who sniff, urinate, or curl

up and doze—contribute to the liveliness of the scene. Much of the painting's appeal arises from the contrast between the easy informality of the figures and the restrained formality of the setting. Although the painting is not signed, its attribution to Jan van der Heyden is not in doubt; the broad areas of light and shadow, the minute detail, and especially the brick walls are hallmarks of his style.

While best known for his cityscapes, Van der Heyden was also the foremost Dutch painter of country houses.⁹ His depictions of these houses and their surrounding gardens reflect the importance of country estates in Dutch culture after mid-century. By then many, if not most, wealthy city dwellers owned land in the country.¹⁰ A number of Amsterdam burghers owned estates near the river Vecht, some of which Van der Heyden painted in the 1660s and 1670s. He also painted views of country estates in other areas, for example, Elswout outside of Haarlem, one of the grandest burgher properties in Holland (fig. 1).¹¹ Elswout was unusual not only for its elegance and its architectural design, but also because it was built on a high dune.¹² In the late 1660s, Van der Heyden painted the Huis ten Bosch, a small palace Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van

Solms, the Prince and Princess of Orange, had built outside The Hague.¹³

The identification of the country estate in the National Gallery's painting has long been a matter of discussion. Smith and Hofstede de Groot both considered the subject to be the Castle of Rozendaal near Arnhem, but the villa bears no resemblance to the building represented in numerous views of Rozendaal.¹⁴ Recent scholars have rightly concluded that the scene, as is so often the case with Van der Heyden, is a fanciful construct, imaginatively created from motifs he had seen in real life and from printed architectural sources.¹⁵

This assessment is supported by an analysis of the building's architectural elements. The Palladian style villa is striking for the apparent classicism of the building and the abundance of architectural and free-standing sculpture.¹⁶ While many features of the building are consistent with Dutch classical architecture after mid-century,¹⁷ the extensive sculptural elements are not. These, particularly the sculptured panels on the basement level of the façade, derive from decorative architecture such as tombs, designs for triumphal arches, and, above all, fantastic architectural compositions in book frontispieces.¹⁸

The combination of paired pilasters and triangular pediment enclosing an arched opening, used on the villa's façade and repeated in the gateway, may also have been drawn from decorative architecture. A similar combination of elements is seen in an engraving depicting one of the stages erected in Amsterdam in 1642 at the time of the visit of Queen Henrietta Maria of England.¹⁹ This stage setting, with minor alterations, was used again in 1648 on the Dam, the city square, for the celebration of the Peace of Münster (fig. 2).²⁰ Finally, the concept for the gateway may well be derived from one of Serlio's designs.²¹

Like most of Van der Heyden's works, this painting is difficult to date precisely. The architectural character of the scene compares closely with his depictions of the Huis ten Bosch, one of which bears the date 1668.²² Huis ten Bosch is a similarly classical building with a projecting central block situated in the midst of an elegant garden decorated with marble statues. The general compositional arrangement—a sunlit villa in the background, a gateway in the middle ground, and figures in the foreground—resembles Van der Heyden's *Harteveld on the Vecht* from about 1670 (fig. 3). Finally, the setting for Elswout could have been the source of Van der Heyden's idea to site the house on elevated ground.

The staffage figures have been traditionally, and

Fig. 1. Jan van der Heyden, detail of *Elswout*, oil on panel, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum





Jan van der Heyden, *An Architectural Fantasy*, 1968.13.1



Fig. 2. Engraving of a stage erected in 1648 on the Dam in Amsterdam to celebrate the Treaty of Münster, Atlas Van Stolk, Rotterdam

probably rightly, attributed to Adriaen van de Velde (1636–1672), an artist with whom Van der Heyden frequently collaborated. It should be noted, however, that they resemble figures Van der Heyden drew for his book on his invention of water pumps, *Slang-Brand Spuiten*, published in 1690, eighteen years after Van de Velde's death, so it is not inconceivable that they were painted by Van der Heyden himself.²³ The figures, in any event, were painted after the landscape was completed. Another interesting issue is whether the presence of the beggar woman and other staffage figures have thematic implications. Schama has proposed that the beggar woman near the archway provided commentary on

Fig. 3. Jan van der Heyden, *Harteveld on the Vecht*, late 1660s, oil on canvas, Paris, Louvre, © Photo R.M.N.



the social responsibility of the rich to the poor.²⁴ The architectural fragments upon which is seated the man tending the dogs may allude to the mutability of earthly possessions.

Notes

1. The back of the panel bears the inscription *van der heyden*, undoubtedly by another hand at a later date.

2. The coat of arms on one of the two wax seals affixed to the back of the panel displays a stork with an eel in his beak and three stars in the chief. This has been identified by C. W. Delforterie (subdirector, Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, The Hague) as that of the Woltgraft family of Kampen, Overijssel (letter, 25 May 1981, in NGA curatorial files).

3. Smith 1829–1842, 5: 396, records that the seller in 1816 was “Madame Catalan,” a claim that is reinforced by the design of the second wax seal on the back of the panel, which shows a golden castle in a field of gules, surmounted by a crown. Walter Angst, senior conservator, Smithsonian Institution, has confirmed in conversation (10 June 1981 and 15 January 1982) that this coat of arms is consistent with that of the noble family of Catellan, of Freiburg im Breisgau, and so it seems reasonable to assume that the painting was in their possession sometime before 1816. (For reproduction of the Catellan arms, see Rietstap 1953, 2: pl. 40.) Lugt 1938, 1: no. 8797, gave the seller's name as “Le Rouge,” and on the copy of the sale catalogue (RKD), both names are written in and crossed out. It is not currently clear who Le Rouge was, and no evidence now exists to substantiate his ownership of *An Architectural Fantasy*.

4. Ink notation in copy of the 1816 sale catalogue (RKD). The picture is described in this catalogue as “La vue d'un superbe château...”

5. Ink notation in NGA copy of sale catalogue. (In this catalogue, the subject is described as “La maison de plaisance.”) The collection was also described as the “Ancienne Galerie du Palais de l'Élysée.”

6. Smith 1829–1842, 9: 675, no. 21, as a “View of a handsome Chateau;” Smith calls the entry an “improved” description of 5: 396, no. 87. In the expanded version, he mentions the telling detail of a man seated on an architectural fragment, “putting a collar on a dog,” which allows the picture he describes to be conclusively identified as *An Architectural Fantasy*. It should be noted, however, that in 1842 there was already confusion about the identity of the painting, which appears in the literature under a variety of titles—confusion that must be at least partly due to Van der Heyden's habit of reusing the same genre elements in different works and of painting several versions of the same scene. Smith suggests that 9: no. 21 is also “probably” the same as 5: no. 21. The latter, entitled *A View of the Château of Rosindal*, corresponds closely to *An Architectural Fantasy* in its dimensions and genre elements, in so far as they are described, but it has a different provenance that can be traced through sale catalogues. According to the earliest of these (Blondel de Gagny, Paris, 10 December 1776, 59, no. 154), *La vue du Château de Rosindal* was painted on copper. *An Architectural Fantasy*, on the other hand, is painted on wood, and the building in it bears no resemblance to the Château of Rozendaal as it was depicted in numerous drawings and engravings (see note 14). Compounding the confusion, Charles Heusch exhibited a painting entitled *Château de Rosindaal* at the British Institu-

tion, London, in 1838 [no. 91; see Graves 1913–1915:4, 1471]. While the painting in his collection may have been the above-mentioned painting on copper, it may equally have been *An Architectural Fantasy* mistitled, for Waagen does not mention a depiction of Rozendaal in his 1854 description of the Heusch Collection. He does, however, list the collection as containing two paintings by Van der Heyden, both acquired from the De Berry collection, one a *View of a château... on wood* (which corresponds in both dimensions and description to *An Architectural Fantasy*) and the other a... *view of a Broad Street in Cologne* (Waagen 1854–1857, 2: 256).

HdG 1907–1927, 8: 426, no. 227, proposed that a third entry in Smith, 5: 385, no. 49, was a variant description of Smith nos. 21 and 87, undoubtedly because similar genre details, including the gentleman giving alms to a beggar, were described in all three entries. Hofstede de Groot's proposal can, however, be rejected, firstly because Smith no. 49 was a vertical painting measuring 18 x 16 in., and secondly because examination of the sale catalogues Smith lists under his nos. 49 and 21 clearly demonstrates that these were two different paintings. Both works are now apparently lost and are not included in Wagner's 1971 catalogue raisonné.

7. The description in Rothschild 1884, 1: no. 34, is a direct transcript of Smith 1829–1842, 9: 675, no. 21. Although there is no indication where Alfred Charles de Rothschild acquired the picture, in the preface he states that the "principal objects" in his collection were inherited from his father, Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.

8. See note 6 above. Wagner 1971, 101, does not list this 1838 exhibition but states that the painting was exhibited at the British Institution, London, in 1834, as no. 112. This exhibition did not in fact contain any paintings by Van der Heyden. She confused the British Institution exhibition with an exhibition from the same year of paintings belonging to the Duchesse de Berry. (Information provided by Marijke C. de Kinkelder from the RKD in a letter, 16 December 1987, in NGA curatorial files.) The location of this exhibition in London has not been discovered.

9. Wagner 1971 lists 152 views of Dutch and foreign cities and 28 views of country palaces.

10. Land was not only a safe investment, but on even a small plot one could raise one's own fruit and vegetables and other household provisions. Furthermore, landholdings, from small vegetable plots to large country estates, provided retreats in nature away from the tensions of city life. Finally, landownership in itself had a certain prestige, for during earlier periods it had been the prerogative of the nobility.

11. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, inv. no. 74–352.

12. Behind the house was a sunken garden carved out of the dune.

13. Wagner 1971, cat. nos. 133–138.

14. As in anonymous pencil drawings of *Het huis Rozendaal, bij Arnhem*, dated 1707, Album L3, Museum Nairac (neg. RKD Top. L. 1670 in the collection of the Afdeling Topografie of the RKD), which show the castle in its medieval state before it was remodeled in the Palladian style. Its appearance after remodeling can be seen in an engraving by Peter Schenk, pl. 79, in the collection of engravings, *Nederland*, in the Dumbarton Oaks Garden Library collection. This small palace with extensive formal gardens is now destroyed, but it would have been well known in the eighteenth century.

15. Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, quoted by NGA in press statement announcing acquisition of the painting, 12 December 1968. In a letter dated 13 June 1968, J. van der Klooster, keeper of the Topographical Department, RKD,

stated that a villa like the one in *An Architectural Fantasy* never existed in the Netherlands (in NGA curatorial files). See also letters in NGA curatorial files from Eric Forssman, director of the Kunstgeschichtliches Institut of the University of Freiburg (8 February 1981); Wilhelm Diedenhofen (12 August 1981); and Guido de Werd, director of the Municipal Museum of Cleves (8 August 1981). Wagner 1971, 39, suggests that the villa is based on an engraving or an architectural project for a French château. She entitles the painting "Französisches Gartenschlosschen." The villa differs from seventeenth-century French châteaux in three important respects, however: the gentle pitch of the roof, the absence of dormers and chimneys, and the façade consisting of only three blocks. In contemporary French châteaux the façade was usually more complex, consisting of five or more blocks, with the central pavilion complemented by projecting end pavilions. See plates in Hauteceur 1948, 2: parts 1 and 2.

16. I would like to thank Sally M. Wages for her research into the architectural character of this château, which has formed the basis for this entry.

17. The façade reflects the new concept of a building as a symmetrical organization of blocks. Giant orders, statues at the roofline, urns of carved fruit, and panels with festoons were motifs widely adopted by Dutch builders. They were prominently displayed on the Amsterdam Town Hall. While deeply projecting central blocks were rare, they were used on the side façades of Prince Frederik Hendrik's country residence, the Huis ten Bosch, and on the front façade of the Amsterdam Town Hall. See Wagner 1971, nos. 133–138, for the Huis ten Bosch and nos. 1–4 for the Amsterdam Town Hall. Other architectural elements in the painting, while found in Italian treatises, were not common in Dutch buildings of the time. Steeply pitched roofs with dormer windows and chimneys were still standard in northern Europe. The gently pitched roof without dormers and chimneys here corresponds to Palladio's designs suitable for a mild climate. The stringcourse that continues behind the pilasters was not adopted by Dutch builders, but is a frequent motif in façade elevations by Palladio and his compatriots. See Palladio 1615, 2: iii, 14; Serlio 1584/1978, 7: xlii–xliii, 103, 105; Scamozzi 1615, Parte Prima, 2: viii, xiv, 126, 281.

18. For tombs, see Panofsky [1964], esp. fig. 331. For wall decorations see Lewis 1981–1982, fig. 60. For triumphal arches see Joannes Boschius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu Sereniss. Principis Ernesti Archiducis Austriae...* (Antwerp, 1602), or Gevartius 1641/1972, pls. 15, 56, 90, and 91. For frontispieces see Judson and Van de Velde 1978, 2: pls. 26 and 55.

19. Reproduced in Snoep 1975, fig. 34. Another unusual architectural component found in this building and in one of the arches for Queen Henrietta Maria's visit to Amsterdam is the stringcourse that continues behind the pilasters. Snoep 1975, figs. 38 and 40, reproduces the design of the stages in Samuel Coster's *Beschrijvinge* (Amsterdam, 1642).

20. Snoep 1975, 78, figs. 42 and 43. The two side stages in fig. 42 incorporate the motif of crossed palms encircled by a wreath, a device that also ornaments the basement of the villa in *An Architectural Fantasy*.

21. Serlio 1584, ff. 4 recto, 7 recto, 19 recto, 20 verso, 26 verso. Serlio employs this combination of elements for the centerpiece of only one villa façade, 7: xvii, 41, which is remarkably similar to that in *An Architectural Fantasy*.

22. Wagner 1971, nos. 133–139.

23. The earliest source for this painting, the 1816 Paris auction catalogue, states that the figures are by Adriaen van

de Velde. Wagner 1971, 101, accepts this attribution.
24. Schama 1987, 573.

References

1829–1842 Smith, 5 (1834): 396, no. 87; 9 (1842): 675, no. 21.
1854–1857 Waagen, 2: 256.
1884 Davis: 1: no. 34, repro.
1907–1927 HdG, 8 (1923): 397, no. 227.

1969 “Recent Accessions”: 155, repro.
1971 Wagner: 39, 61, 101, no. 151, repro.
1975 NGA: 174–175, repro.
1981 Agnew: 9, 97, repro.
1984 De Vries: 33–35, repro.
1984 Wheelock: 40–41, color repro.
1985 NGA: 201, repro.
1987 Schama: 573, repro.
1992 NGA: 139, color repro.

Meindert Hobbema

1638–1709

MEINDERT HOBBEEMA, who is viewed today as one of the most characteristic and highly valued Dutch landscape painters of the seventeenth century, is not mentioned in a single seventeenth-century literary source. The earliest reference to his work occurs in Johan van Gool’s 1751 lexicon of Dutch artists, where Hobbema is mentioned in passing as having painted “modern landscapes.”

He was baptized as Meyndert Lubbertsz. in Amsterdam on 31 October 1638. His parents were named Lubbert Meynerts and Rinsje Eduwarts. Although he signed his name M. Hobbema on paintings as early as 1658, he only used his baptized name on legal documents until 1660. The reasons for this use of the name Hobbema are unknown. In July 1660, the landscape painter Jacob van Ruisdael (q.v.) testified that Hobbema had “served and learned with me for a few years.” The apprenticeship may have begun around 1658, shortly after Ruisdael moved to Amsterdam. Nevertheless, the impact of Ruisdael’s work on Hobbema is not apparent until after 1660. Hobbema’s earlier work seems more closely related to the lighter and more delicate landscapes of Jacob’s uncle Salomon van Ruysdael (1600/1603–1670).

Hobbema’s relationship to Jacob van Ruisdael must have remained close during the 1660s, both personally and professionally. Many of Hobbema’s compositions produced during this period evolve from those of his master, and in 1668 Ruisdael was a witness at Hobbema’s marriage to Eeltien Vinck. Vinck was a kitchen maid to Lambert Reynst, a burgomaster of Amsterdam, and through this connection Hobbema seems to have been awarded the well-paid position of a wine gauger of the Amster-

dam *octroi*. After his marriage he painted relatively infrequently. He outlived his wife and five children and was buried a pauper at the cemetery of the Westerkerk, Amsterdam, in 1709 at the age of seventy-one.

Although Brouhiet attributes about five hundred paintings to Hobbema in his monograph, many of his attributions cannot be defended. A number of the paintings he gives to Hobbema are by contemporaries who painted in similar styles, as for example Jan van Kessel (1641–1680). Others are probably nineteenth-century imitations painted at a time when Hobbema’s style was extremely fashionable. Nevertheless, a range of quality does exist in paintings whose attribution to Hobbema seems justifiable. While we have no documentary evidence about his workshop practices, it seems likely that he had assistants working under his direct supervision, producing variations of his compositions. He also employed a number of staffage specialists to paint small figures in his landscapes.

Bibliography

Van Gool 1751, 2: 490.
Smith 1829–1842, 6 (1835): 109–163; 9 (1842): 719–729.
Cundall 1891.
HdG 1908–1927, 4 (1912): 350–451.
Bredius 1910–1915.
Rosenberg 1927.
Brouhiet 1938.
Stechow 1959.
Stechow 1966: 76–80, 127–128.
Amsterdam 1987: 345–354.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 175.

1942.9.31 (627)

The Travelers

166[2?]

Oil on canvas, 101 x 145 (39⁷/₈ x 57)

Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At lower right: *m .bobbema . f 166[2?]*

Technical Notes: The support is a heavy-weight, loosely and plain-woven fabric. Moderately thick paint is freely brushed over a light tan colored ground in paste consistency.

Small losses are scattered overall. The sky is abraded, particularly in the dark cloud at top left, while the foreground is well-preserved. Prior to acquisition, two linings had been attached to the support. In 1981, a third lining was added and the painting cleaned. At that time discolored varnish and old overpaints were removed where possible. Aged insoluble overpaint in the horse, sky, and dark cloud were toned.

Provenance: Alberda van Dyksterhuys, Château d'Alberda van Dyksterhuys, Province of Groningen by 1829; R. Gockinga and P. van Arnhem, Groningen, after 1829; (sale, Amsterdam, 5 July 1833, no. 11);¹ R. Gockinga, Groningen. Colonel Biré, Brussels;² (sale, Bonnefons de Lavielle, Paris, 25–26 March 1841, no. 2); William Williams Hope, Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire, and Paris;³ (sale, Christie & Manson, London, 14–16 June 1849, no. 124); purchased by Fuller or perhaps bought in;⁴ (William Williams Hope sale, Pouchet, Paris, 11 May 1858, no. 2). William Ward, 1st Earl of Dudley [d. 1885], Witley Court, Worcestershire, by 1871; by inheritance to his son, William Humble Ward, 2nd Earl of Dudley [d. 1932], Witley Court, Worcestershire; (sale, Christie, London, 25 June 1892, no. 9); (P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London, until 1894); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1871, no. 369, and London (Winter) 1894, no. 60.⁵

THIS WOODED LANDSCAPE VIEW was formerly titled *A Watermill* because of the picturesque mill in the middle distance on the left. Presumably because many similar watermills exist in Hobbema's oeuvre, a new title was chosen to emphasize the distinctive staffage figures in this work, the two men on horseback who ride along the winding path in the center of the composition. A third traveler in the lower right rests on a fallen log, while others in the distant right walk toward a church whose steeple rises behind a dense group of trees.

This work has an intriguing history, first published by C. J. Nieuwenhuys in 1834.⁶ The painting and its companion, *The Old Oak*, 1662 (now in Mel-

bourne, see fig. 1) were discovered in 1829 by the president of the fine arts society of Groningen, P. van Arnhem, in the château of Alberda van Dyksterhuys, a fifteenth-century manor house that was situated near Groningen. Van Arnhem, who was a collector of old paintings, was judging a local exhibition of landscape paintings when he recognized that one of the finest works on show bore a great resemblance to paintings by Hobbema. Upon questioning, he found that the artist had copied a painting that was hanging in the château of Alberda van Dyksterhuys. Van Arnhem visited the château and eventually persuaded the owner of the château, Alberda van Dyksterhuys, the last member of a family with a long and distinguished history, to sell his two large paintings by Hobbema. Shortly thereafter, however, Alberda van Dyksterhuys also received an offer from another "amateur" from Groningen, R. Gockinga. Before any transaction could be completed, the owner died. The two interested parties eventually agreed to purchase the two paintings jointly, which they then brought to auction in Amsterdam in 1833. At the sale Gockinga bought the present picture outright for himself, while *The Old Oak* was bought by the dealer Nieuwenhuys.⁷ Soon afterwards the two paintings were reunited in the collection of Colonel Biré in Brussels.

According to Alberda van Dyksterhuys, the two pictures represented views from the surroundings of the château, and were painted for the family by Hobbema. While the identical size of these extremely large paintings does suggest that they were commissioned pieces, no evidence exists to substantiate this family tradition. In any event, neither work was painted from nature, for both are clearly based on compositions by Jacob van Ruisdael. *The Old Oak*, signed and dated 1662, is derived from Ruisdael's etching *A Forest Marsh with Travelers on a Bank*.⁸ The National Gallery of Art painting, which is also signed and dated, is a close variant of Ruisdael's 166[1?] painting of a watermill, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (fig. 2).⁹ In this painting one not only sees a comparable watermill, but also the same large oak tree rising to the left of the path with its roots clinging to the river bank. Although the last digit of the date is obscured and is difficult to read, it appears to read 1662.¹⁰ A date of 1662 is not only consistent with that of the Melbourne painting, it is also justifiable on compositional and stylistic grounds.

Among the works related to *The Travelers*, the most similar in composition is an undated painting formerly in the collection of the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio (fig. 3).¹¹ This painting is also Hobbema's



Fig. 1. Meindert Hobbema, *The Old Oak*, 1662, oil on canvas, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest 1949/50

closest adaptation of Ruisdael's *Landscape with Watermill* in the Rijksmuseum. With the exception of the staffage figures, Hobbema has here copied all of the compositional elements, including the cut logs strewn on the path by the woodsman. Since *The Travelers* is a freer adaptation of the Ruisdael composition than is this work, it almost certainly follows it chronologically.

The evolution of this composition for Hobbema does not, however, begin with this work. At least three other paintings have similar compositions, but with a simpler mill and a differently shaped tree in the foreground.¹² Hobbema certainly painted the

ex-Toledo and Washington versions, which were influenced by Ruisdael, after he painted the three scenes with the simpler watermill; nevertheless, since one of these later works is signed and dated 1662,¹³ the time frame in which this evolution occurred was very narrow. Hobbema and Ruisdael may both have derived their compositions from an actual site, although Hobbema's earlier watermill compositions may more accurately reflect that site than Ruisdael's. Ruisdael often freely altered the character of buildings to give the scene added drama and grandeur. The changes in Hobbema's conception of the scene are thus fascinating evidence of the

Fig. 2. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landscape with Watermill*, 166[1?], oil on canvas, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 3. Meindert Hobbema, *Landscape with Water-mill*, c. 1662, oil on canvas, private collection





Meindert Hobbema, *The Travelers*, 1942.9.31

nature of Ruisdael's influence on his young protégé at this stage of his career.

Despite their relatively old provenance, the attribution of the two works from the château Alberda van Dyksterhuys to Hobbema is not without question. Smith wrote in 1842 that when this painting and its companion appeared in the Amsterdam sale of 1833, they "were then considered by several connoisseurs to be by the hand of some imitator of Hobbema, in which opinion the writer then coincided." He added, however, "lining and judicious cleaning have since so greatly improved them, that he feels no hesitation in now recording them among the works of the master."¹⁴

Although the attribution of the painting to Hobbema has never subsequently been doubted, Smith's initial hesitation is understandable because the painting style lacks many of the nuances of touch found in Hobbema's other works from the early 1660s. Brushstrokes are quite regular, and forms are comparatively simplified, particularly in the reeds in the lower left and the foliage in the bushes on the right. As a result, the painting does not exhibit the warmth and seeming spontaneity of Hobbema's more characteristic landscape views.

Various explanations can be advanced for the relative dryness of the painting, and, to judge from photographs, its companion. Primary among them is that both works are exceptionally large in scale for Hobbema and are replicas of smaller variants he made of compositions by Jacob van Ruisdael.¹⁵ These factors may have affected Hobbema's manner of painting and rendered his style less spontaneous than usual. Though nothing is known of his workshop practices, it is also possible that these paintings were produced in Hobbema's studio under his direct supervision. The staffage figures are, in any event, by another hand, which is a common occurrence in Hobbema's paintings. One nineteenth-century reference plausibly suggests that they are by Barent Gael.¹⁶

Notes

1. Both Van Arnhem and Gockinga had individually offered to buy the two pictures by Hobbema, including 1942.9.31, that Alberda van Dyksterhuys owned. Before either had closed the deal, however, the owner died. It was later arranged that the two would purchase the paintings together; see Nieuwenhuys 1834, 147–149.

2. The catalogue of this sale bears the title *Catalogue d'une riche collection de tableaux des écoles Flamande et Hollandaise, Recueillie par M. Hérís de Bruxelles...*, but although the collection was "recueillie" ("collected/gathered") by Hérís and was offered for sale under his name, he may not himself have been the owner of the paintings. In the copy of the sale catalogue

at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the words "Recueillie par M. Hérís de Bruxelles" in the title are followed by the handwritten addition, "...pour M. le Colonel Biré," and alongside the title in the Victoria and Albert Museum's copy is written "mais c'est la collection de M. le Colonel Biré," which suggests that Hérís may have been acting as Biré's agent in acquiring and selling the pictures.

3. The buyer's name is noted in the Philadelphia copy of the sale catalogue as "hoppe," which is probably a misspelling of Hope. (The 1858 Hope sale catalogue states that Hope bought the picture at the Hérís sale.)

4. HdG 1907–1927, 4: 406, lists the 1849 sale in the provenance of his no. 100, a painting that may or may not be identical with HdG 1907–1927, 403–404, no. 94 (which is definitely *The Travelers*). The compositional descriptions given in both these HdG entries are similar, but the dimensions listed for no. 100, 51 x 54 in., are impossible for the National Gallery picture. The identity and whereabouts of HdG 100 remain unclear; it is possible that HdG was mistaken in the dimensions that he gave for this picture, and that it was indeed the same painting as his no. 94. HdG further confuses the issue by listing part of the provenance of *The Travelers* under no. 94, and part (the 1841 Hérís sale) under no. 100. The 1849 Hope sale catalogue does not give dimensions, so it is impossible to establish whether the painting offered there was *The Travelers* or the unknown, and perhaps apocryphal, "HdG 100." The picture in question fetched £367.10, and HdG, citing as his source a handwritten note in Smith's own copy of his *Catalogue Raisonné*, says that it was bought in. (In this copy, which is at the RKD, Smith gives the buyer as "Fuller," but this is not necessarily contradictory, as Fuller may have been a Christie's employee.) Smith's statement is probably correct, for the National Gallery of Art's painting remained in the possession of W. W. Hope until 1858, when it was sold in Paris.

5. The Royal Academy label, removed from the stretcher during conservation in 1981, is now in NGA conservation files. The label identifies Colnaghi as the lender. A label from the Art Institute of Chicago shipping room, dated 27 January 1943, was also removed from the stretcher at this time, but neither the Art Institute nor the NGA registrar's office records this movement.

6. Nieuwenhuys 1834, 147–149.

7. Annotated copies of the sale catalogue and HdG give the prices fetched by each picture as fl 3,000, although Hérís 1839, 7 says that *A Watermill* fetched fl 4,000 and *The Old Oak* fl 3,225. A price of fl 3,000 was quite high for a painting by Hobbema at that time.

8. The Hague 1981, 108.

9. Van Thiel, et al. 1976, inv. no. C213. While the catalogue indicates that the painting is signed and dated 1661, Seymour Slive has informed me that the last digit of the date is no longer legible.

10. Koppius 1839, 117, described the painting as being dated 1662 in his enthusiastic account of the work's pictorial and aesthetic qualities. Over the years, however, the date has become difficult to read. Widener 1913, 78, acknowledged the ambiguity of the date, stating that the picture is inscribed: "M. Hobbema 1660 (the last figure is uncertain)."

11. Stechow 1966, fig. 150.

12. Broulhiet 1938, 33; HdG 1907–1927, 4: 401, no. 88; oil on canvas, 57 x 72, J. Hage Collection, Nivaa, Denmark, 1908. Broulhiet 1938, 34; HdG 1907–1927, 4: 408, no. 108; oil on panel, 61 x 83, sale *Important Old Master Paintings*,

Sotheby's, New York, 11 January 1986, lot 109 (as "from the Collection of an East Coast Museum"). Broulhiet 1938, 35; HdG 1907–1927, 4: 403, no. 93; oil on panel, 52 x 66, National Trust, Petworth House, England. All of these paintings are illustrated by Broulhiet.

13. See Broulhiet 1938, 34.

14. Smith 1829–1942, 9: 727, no. 25. Although it seems probable that Smith's comments relate to the two Hobbema paintings, it should be noted that provenance information he provides about these paintings is inaccurate.

15. A smaller version of the Melbourne painting (Broulhiet 1938, 224) is in Schloss Rohoncz, Lugano.

16. Barent Gael (Haarlem before 1635–after 1681 Amsterdam) was a pupil of Philips Wouwerman and sometimes painted staffage figures for Jan Wynants as well. (Bernt 1948/1960, 1: 295.) Although no documentary evidence exists that Gael worked with Hobbema, a collaboration between the two painters would have been possible. The figures in Gael's *Travelers at a Village Well* (sold Christie's, London, 20 February 1986, lot 237) are quite similar to those in *The Travelers*. Gael also painted horses in motion in comparable ways: see *Peasants Merry-making Outside an Inn* (sold Christie's, London, 25 October 1974, lot 136) and *Horsemen Halting Outside an Inn* (National Trust, Dyrham Park, near Chippenham).

References

- 1829–1842 Smith, 9 (1842): 727, no. 25.
 1834 Nieuwenhuys: 147–149.
 1839 Koppius: 114–128, repro. (as dated 1662).
 1839 Hérís: 54: 5–7, repro.
 1854 Jervis: 2: 225.
 1859 Thoré (Bürger): 28–44.
 1861–1876 Blanc: 12 pages.
 1864 Scheltema: 214–226.
 1891 Cundall: 157.
 1885–1900 Widener, 2: no. 212, repro.
 1907–1927 HdG, 4 (1912): 385–386, no. 94, 387–388, no. 100.
 1913–1916 Widener: introduction, 78 repro.
 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
 1927 Rosenberg: 139–151.
 1931 Widener: 78–79, repro.
 1937 Roos: 183, repro.
 1938 Broulhiet: 71, 381, no. 32, repro. (as after Ruisdael, dated 1664).
 1948 Widener: 59, repro.
 1959 Stechow: 3–18.
 1965 NGA: 68, no. 627.
 1968 NGA: 60, repro.
 1975 NGA: 176–177, repro.
 1981 Schmidt: 156, 198, note 192.
 1985 NGA: 203, repro.
 1987 Sutton: 350.

1937.1.61 (61)

A Wooded Landscape

1663

Oil on canvas, 94.7 x 130.5 (37 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 51 $\frac{3}{8}$)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At lower right: *meijndert hobbema*

F 1663

Technical Notes: The support is a medium-weight, tightly and plain-woven fabric which has been double lined. The original dimensions are slightly enlarged on all sides. A small L-shaped tear occurs in the clouds to the right of center.

Paint is applied over a thick, warm dark gray ground layer in thin pastes with vigorous brushwork. Low impasto is found in foliage and figure highlights. The x-radiograph shows a change in the lower left corner, where the artist painted out a small tree trunk. Small losses are confined to the tear and edges, and abrasion is minimal. Discolored varnish was removed when the painting was cleaned in 1987.

Provenance: Possibly Charles Cobbe, archbishop of Dublin [1687–1765]; by inheritance to his grandson, Charles Cobbe [1782–1857], Newbridge House, Donabate, near Dublin.¹ (F. B. Brown, London, in 1839); Robert Stayner Holford, M. P. [1808–1892], Dorchester House, London, and Westonsbirt, Gloucestershire; by inheritance to his son, Lieut.-Col. Sir George Lindsay Holford, K.C.V.O. [1860–1926].² J. Pierpont Morgan [1837–1913], New York, in 1901; by inheritance to J. P. Morgan, Jr. [1867–1943] in 1935; (consigned to M. Knoedler & Co., New York); sold 20 December 1935 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.³

Exhibited: British Institution, London, 1840, no. 22, and 1851, no. 49. *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Museum of Ornamental Art, Manchester, 1857, no. 767. British Institution, London, 1862, no. 3. *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters, Winter Exhibition*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1887, no. 59. *Exhibition of Pictures by Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1900, no. 24. New York 1909, no. 48, repro. *Loan Exhibition of the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914.

IN THIS IDYLIC VIEW of the world, the season is summer, the foliage of the trees is dense and lush, sunlight breaks through the billowing clouds in soft pools of light to give warmth to the day, and men and women wander along paths, stopping to converse, or sit idly by a pool of water to fish. Hobbema's view of *A Wooded Landscape*, one of his most harmonious compositions, has been highly praised since Smith first published it in 1835, when it was in the collection of Charles Cobbe.⁴ Waagen, for example, wrote in 1854: "Seldom has the power of art in expressing the effect of the low afternoon sun in the light clouds in



Fig. 1. Attributed to Meindert Hobbema, *A Wooded Glade*, chalk, ink, and wash, New York, Collection of Emile Wolf



Fig. 2. Meindert Hobbema, *A Wooded Landscape*, c. 1663, oil on canvas, London, Trustees of the Wallace Collection



Fig. 3. Meindert Hobbema, *Landscape with Cows and Travellers*, 1663, oil on canvas, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland

the sky, on tree, bush, and meadow, been exhibited with such astonishing power, transparency and freshness as in this picture."⁵

Signed and dated 1663, this painting is among the first of Hobbema's fully mature works. Here he has freed himself from the overt dependence on Jacob van Ruisdael (q.v.) evident in his compositions from the previous years, for example, *The Travelers* (1942.9.31). The landscape is now open and spacious, the painterly touch more delicate and varied, and the palette considerably lighter than in paintings from 1662. Hobbema draws the viewer back into the forest with pools of light that accent distant foliage and silhouette tree trunks rising before them, a device he more fully exploits in his later paintings, for example, *Hut among Trees* (1942.9.30). He uses this technique effectively to enhance the recession into space of the small trees growing along the side of the dike in the right middle ground. Stechow has noted that the configuration of these trees, which he terms "tin-soldier trees," relates back to Hobbema's earliest compositions (for example, *A River Scene*, 1658, Detroit Institute of Arts).⁶ One might thus argue that Hobbema was here sufficiently free of Ruisdael's influence to reach back and draw upon motifs that were part of his repertoire before becoming Ruisdael's student. The location of Hobbema's scene is not known, although the close similarities to a drawing of this wooded glade attributed to Hobbema, in the Emile Wolf Collection, New York (fig. 1) suggest that it is based upon an actual site. Hobbema also painted a second slightly simplified version of the scene, now in the Wallace Collection (fig. 2).

When Smith published the painting in 1835, he indicated that it was a companion piece to the masterful landscape of the same dimensions and date now in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (fig. 3). Both paintings have a distinctive signature in which Hobbema wrote out in full his complete name. At that time the Washington painting was in the collection of Charles Cobbe in Ireland and the Beit painting was owned by an English politician, the Rt. Hon. Edward John Littleton (1791–1863), who was created 1st Baron Hatherton in 1835. No earlier provenance, however, exists to confirm that the paintings were ever together.⁷ Both paintings can stand by themselves as independent creations and compositional parallels are not particularly strong. In the Dublin painting, moreover, the cows appear to be painted by Adriaen van de Velde while no such collaboration with a staffage painter is evident in the Washington work. Smith's statement must therefore be treated with some scepticism. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that we know so



Meindert Hobbema, *A Wooded Landscape*, 1937.1.61

little of the types and character of seventeenth-century landscape pendants that his assertion cannot be totally discounted.⁸

Notes

1. Information found in the draft catalogue of Knoedler paintings in the Mellon Collection at the National Gallery of Art, written c. 1940 by G. H. McCall for Duveen Brothers. Other sources also state that the picture was owned by the younger Cobbe and that it was owned during the eighteenth century by one of his ancestors, but there is no other specific mention of Charles Cobbe, archbishop of Dublin.

2. *Holford Collection* 1927, 2: ix, produced by the executors of Sir G. L. Holford's estate, says that the Hobbema that had belonged to "Mr." (i.e. R. S.) Holford was sold to help pay his death duties. Holford also owned another painting that came to the National Gallery of Art by way of The Andrew W. Mellon Collection, Anthony van Dyck's portrait of *Marchesa Balbi* (1937.1.49).

3. The painting (Knoedler no. CA 787) was taken in on consignment in February 1935 and sold to the Mellon Trust in December of that year. (Letter from Nancy C. Little, librarian, M. Knoedler & Co., New York, 12 September 1987, in NGA curatorial files.)

4. Smith's 1835 entry for the painting consisted of only a brief description, but in his 1842 supplement he described the work in great detail, and praised it lavishly, saying: "This brilliant epitome of Nature is justly entitled to the highest commendations, and is in truth an example of...rare occurrence...." (Smith 1829-1842, 9: 725). The painting was also clearly greatly appreciated by its owners, to judge by a fascinating account of the circumstances of its sale by Charles Cobbe in 1839, published by his daughter Frances Power Cobbe in 1894. She wrote as follows:

Though often hard pressed to carry out with a very moderate income all his projects of improvements, he was never in debt. One by one he rebuilt or re-roofed almost every cottage on his estate, making what had been little better than pig-styes, fit for human habitation; and when he found that his annual rents could never suffice to do all that was required in this way for his tenants in his mountain property, he induced my eldest brother, then just of age, to join with him in selling two of the pictures which were the heirlooms of the family and the pride of the house, a Gaspar Poussin and a Hobbema, which last now adorns the walls of Dorchester House. I remember as a child seeing the tears in his eyes as this beautiful painting was taken out of the room in which it had been like a perpetual ray of sunshine. But the sacrifice was completed, and eighty good stone and slate "Hobbema Cottages," as we called them, soon rose all over Glenasmole. Be it noted by those who deny every merit in an Anglo-Irish landlord, that not a farthing was added to the rent of the tenants who profited by this real act of self-denial. (Cobbe 1894, 1: 23-24.)

5. Waagen 1854-1857, 2: 203.

6. Stechow 1959, 9, 15.

7. Gregory Rubinstein has pointed out verbally that it is nonetheless possible that both paintings could have been together in Ireland in the early 1830s. Littleton was appointed chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1833, and must therefore have spent a considerable amount of time there during this period.

8. A case in point is *The Travelers* and *The Old Oak* (discussed in the entry on *The Travelers*, 1942.9.31), which are apparently companion pieces, but whose commonality, other than dimensions and date, is essentially that the compositions were both derived from Jacob van Ruisdael.

References

- 1829-1842 Smith, 6 (1835): 149, no. 100; 9 (1842): 724-725, no. 18.
 1854-1857 Waagen, 2: 202-203.
 1854 Jervis, 2: 225, 344.
 1857 Thoré (Bürger): 291.
 1859 Thoré (Bürger): 28-44.
 1860 Waagen, 2: 444.
 1861 Blanc, 2: 12.
 1864 Scheltema: 214-226.
 1865 Thoré (Bürger): 291.
 1890b Michel: 18, 50, 52.
 1891 Cundall: 56-58, 157.
 1894 Cobbe, 1: 23-24.
 1901 "Sale room": 190-197.
 1907 Roberts: unpaginated, repro.
 1907-1927 HdG, 4 (1912): 412-413, no. 171.
 1913 Burroughs: 2-13, repro.
 1913 Bode, 3: 21.
 1927 *Holford Collection*, 2: ix.
 1938 Brouhiet: 68, 275, 424, no. 347, 373, pl. 581, repro. of signature.
 1941 NGA: 97, no. 61.
 1942 NGA: 26, repro.
 1949 Mellon: 98, repro.
 1959 Stechow: 3-18, fig. 13.
 1960 MacLaren: 170.
 1965 NGA: 67, no. 61.
 1966 Stechow: 77, fig. 151.
 1966 Cairns and Walker, 1: 248, repro.
 1968 NGA: 59, repro.
 1975 NGA: 174-175, repro.
 1976 Walker: 295, no. 397, color repro.
 1985 NGA: 202, repro.
 1986 Sutton: 305-306.
 1987 Sutton: 349, note 2.

1942.9.30 (626)

Hut among Trees

c. 1664

Oil on canvas, 96.5 x 108 (38 x 42½)

Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At lower left: *M Hobbema*

Technical Notes: The support, a medium-weight, plain-weave fabric, has been double lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Diagonal trowel marks from the application of the white ground are visible in the x-radiograph.

Paint is applied fluidly with vigorous brushmarking and refined with transparent glazes.¹ After an initial freely painted sketch, more detailed layers were applied. Infrared reflec-



Meindert Hobbema, *Hut among Trees*, 1942.9.30

tography shows tree trunks and branches blocked out first, then dense foliage applied, followed by individual outer leaves. Scattered small losses are found overall. The figures and horse were severely damaged at a later date by an apparently intentional attempt to remove them.

The painting was treated in 1964 when a lining was added and losses were retouched. Discolored varnish and some repaints, including staffage figures, were removed when the painting was cleaned in 1983–1985. At that time remains of the woman and child, which were found underneath the overpaint, were reconstructed.

Provenance: H. Hammersley [Hamersley]; (sale, Rainy, London, 1841);² Charles J. Nieuwenhuys [1799–1883], Brussels and London. Lord William Bingham Baring, 2nd Baron Ashburton [d. 1864], Grange Park, Hampshire, by 1854;³ by inheritance to Francis Baring, 3rd Baron Ashburton [d. 1868], Grange Park; by inheritance to Alexander Hugh Baring, 4th Baron Ashburton [d. 1880], Grange Park; by inheritance to Francis Denzil Edward Baring, 5th Baron Ashburton, Grange Park; (jointly purchased in 1907 by Thomas Agnew & Sons, Davis, Arthur J. Sulley & Co., and Charles Wertheimer, London); sold 1909 by (Arthur J. Sulley) to Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters* (Winter Exhibition), Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1890, no. 85.

HOBBEEMA was a master of rearranging frequently used compositional elements in his paintings. One encounters time and again familiar vistas, houses, groupings of trees, and figures who wander along meandering paths that pass through wooded landscapes. He built his scenes along established compositional principles, which included leading the viewer gently into the distance, either along paths or by means of alternating zones of light and dark. Remarkably, though, Hobbema's delicate touch and

ability to suggest the varied light conditions of a partly cloudy day invariably transmit the feeling of a scene painted directly from life.

Three different versions of this composition exist, none of them dated.⁴ Slight differences in the shape and position of the houses and in the treatment of light suggest that the Washington painting is the earliest of the four. It is the only instance in which the house on the right is so dilapidated, with large portions of its thatched roof missing. In all the other versions the house is less oblique and lacks the small addition on the side. In these paintings the path swings slightly to the left and a large broken tree trunk in the lower left arches upward, whereas in *Hut among Trees* the path continues diagonally to the right and the tree trunk is less substantial.

Because Hobbema's compositions tended to become more open during the course of the 1660s, the comparatively dense band of trees that stretches across the middle ground in this work suggests that it is the earliest in this sequence of related scenes. In the version now in the Mauritshuis (fig. 1), the trunks are comparatively thinner and the view into the distance is less obscured than in the Washington example.⁵ Since *Hut among Trees* is slightly more open than *A Wooded Landscape* (1937.1.61), which is signed and dated 1663, and less so than *A View on a High Road* (1937.1.62), signed and dated 1665, one can ascribe to it a tentative date of about 1664. To help confirm this date, a similar comparison may also be made between the structure of the trees in these three works. Those in this painting are less compact and dense than the ones in *A Wooded Landscape*, but more so than those in *A View on a High Road*. This approximate date is also consistent with the distinctive light gray green color of the trees that Hobbema used in 1663 and 1664.

The painting is in excellent condition, except for the figure group. In 1984, it was discovered during cleaning that the figures as they then existed were not original and were probably nineteenth-century creations. At the same time, the remains of two other figures, slightly larger and somewhat to their left, were discovered under the additions. The old remains were then reconstructed. More figures, including a horse, may once have accompanied them. Why these figures were at some point physically removed and replaced is not known. Perhaps the owner felt that they were awkward, or drew too much attention to the foreground. The staffage painter who originally inserted these figures has not been identified.

Fig. 1. Meindert Hobbema, *Huts under Trees*, c. 1664, oil on panel, The Hague, Mauritshuis



Notes

1. Pigment analysis reports are available in the Scientific Research department (4 April 1984, 3 May 1984, and 16 August 1984).

2. Cited in Smith 1829–1842, 9: 729; HdG 1907–1927, 4: 433. Lugt 1938, however, lists no “Hammersley” or “Hammersley” sales and only one 1841 sale conducted by Rainy, on 21 August 1841, the property of Skammers.

3. Jervis 1854, 344. Not listed in Waagen 1838b or Waagen 1854–1857.

4. The location of one of these is not known (HdG 1907–1927, 4: 410, no. 114; Broulhiet 1938, 209; formerly Robarts Collection, England). The other two are in London (National Gallery, inv. no. 995; Smith 1829–1842, 6: 133, no. 63; HdG 1907–1927, 4: 427, no. 162; Broulhiet 1938, 269) and The Hague (Mauritshuis, inv. no. 1061; HdG 1907–1927, 6: 434, no. 184).

5. For a discussion of the Mauritshuis painting and its relationship to *Hut among Trees*, see Broos 1987, 208–211.

References

- 1829–1842 Smith, 9 (1842): 729, no. 28.
1854 Jervis, 2: 225, 344.
1859 Thoré (Bürger): 28–44 (either *Hut among Trees* or Ashburton's other Hobbema is mentioned).
1891 Cundall: 157.
1907–1927 HdG, 4 (1912): 415–416, no. 181.
1913–1916 Widener: intro., 20, repro.
1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
1931 Widener: 56–57, repro.
1938 Broulhiet: 236, 413, no. 268.
1948 Widener: 60, repro.
1960 MacLaren: 170.
1965 NGA: 68, no. 626.
1968 NGA: 60, repro.
1975 NGA: 176–177, repro.
1985 NGA: 203, repro.
1986 Paris: 256–257, repro.
1987 Broos: 211, repro.
1992 Brown/MacLaren, 1: 182, fig. 43.

1937.1.62 (62)

A View on a High Road

1665
Oil on canvas, 93.1 x 127.8 (36 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 50 $\frac{1}{16}$)
Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At lower left: *m. hobbema./1665*

Technical Notes: The support, a fine-weight, plain-weave fabric, has been lined with the top tacking margin trimmed. In prior interventions, painted canvas along the top edge was twice folded over the stretcher to serve as a tacking margin. This edge was then later restored to the picture plane along with the unfolded bottom, left, and right original tacking margins. The present dimensions are thus slightly expanded

at the bottom and sides. A thin, reddish brown ground layer is covered by a pale brown imprimatura, which has been incorporated as a mid-tone in the sky and foreground.

The design was sketched in thin dark paint, then painted in thinly applied pastes. The sky was painted first with reserves left for the houses and trees. The foreground figures were painted over the completed landscape. The gabled house at far right was made smaller, and the tree to the right of the pathway was shifted slightly.

Thin bands of loss occur along fold lines and around tacking holes. The paint, with the exception of some thinness in the sky, is in excellent condition. The painting is currently in restoration, and the accompanying color plate was taken with the painting in stripped condition.

Provenance: Mmc Jean Etienne Fizeau [néé Marie Anne Massé, d. 1790], Amsterdam; (sale, Amsterdam, 27 April 1791);¹ Henry Welbore Ellis Agar, 2nd Viscount Clifden [1761–1836], until 1806; Robert Grosvenor, 1st Marquess of Westminster [1767–1845];² by inheritance to his grandson, Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, 1st Duke of Westminster [1825–1899], Grosvenor House, London; Alfred Charles de Rothschild [1842–1918], Tring Park, Hertfordshire, probably between 1884 and 1888;³ bequeathed to Almina Wombwell Dennistoun, Countess of Carnarvon, Highclere, near Newbury, Berkshire; (Duveen Brothers, New York); sold November 1924 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: British Institution, London, 1834, either no. 136 or 139 and 1845, no. 49 or 52. *Works of Old Masters*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1871, either no. 35 or 41.⁴ *A Loan Exhibition of Dutch Paintings*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1925, no. 11. *Paintings by Old Masters from Pittsburgh Collections*, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, 1925, no. 28.

HOBBEA'S STYLE developed very rapidly throughout the 1660s. By the middle of the decade he had opened his compositions to give a light-filled and spacious feeling to his scenes. This painting, signed and dated 1665, is an excellent example of this period of his work.⁵ The road that passes through the rural village meanders diagonally into the distance, passing half-timbered homes that sit comfortably within the wooded landscape. The trees, which in earlier works form dense barriers in the middle distance (see *A Wooded Landscape*, 1937.1.61), rise only to the left of center. Otherwise, Hobbema has kept them low and relegated them to the peripheries of his scene. To judge from the patterns of light and shade, it seems to be midday. Villagers sit and relax beside the road or talk over the front stoop. Two children play with boats at a small pond beside the road, along which a mounted falconer and his attendant pass into the distance. In the center foreground an elegant couple, the man holding a stick, passes near a traveler with his knapsack resting on a cut log.



Fig. 1. Meindert Hobbema, *Village among Trees*, 1665, oil on panel, New York, Frick Collection

Hobbema lived and worked in Amsterdam, yet with only a few exceptions, his paintings represent rural scenes, most of which have never been precisely identified. As in many of his paintings, the half-timbered buildings with their tie-beam construction seen in this small village are characteristic of the vernacular architecture in the eastern provinces of the Netherlands, in the border area between the river Twente in the province of Overijssel and the western part of the German state of Nordrhein-Westfalen.⁶ Two paintings by Hobbema containing buildings of this type have been identified as representing watermills that belonged to the manor house of Singraven near Denekamp, a Dutch village in Overijssel.⁷ It seems probable that he derived many of his scenes from visits to this area (see also *A Farm in the Sunlight*, 1937.1.60). Hobbema's interest in this region was probably spurred by the experience of

Fig. 2. Meindert Hobbema, *A Wooded Landscape with Cottages*, c. 1665, oil on canvas, The Hague, Mauritshuis



his teacher Jacob van Ruisdael, who had visited Overijssel, and specifically Singraven, on his trip to Bentheim in the early 1650s.⁸ The date of Hobbema's trip or trips is not known, although buildings of this type first appear in his work around 1662 (as in *The Travelers*, 1942.9.31).

Part of the difficulty in identifying the exact location of such a view is that Hobbema freely varied architectural motifs and the placements of buildings within his works. Although this painting convinces the viewer of its fidelity to nature through the careful observation of light, gentle flow of the landscape, and attention to architectural detail, a smaller variant in the Frick Collection, New York, from the same year, 1665, *A Village among Trees* (34½ x 47¼ in.), differs in many respects (fig. 1). While the general disposition of elements in the two paintings is extremely close, the relative scale, placement, and structural elements of the buildings are not identical. Both of these paintings, moreover, essentially elaborate upon a composition now in the Louvre, Paris, that Hobbema painted in 1662.⁹

Another similar composition, *A Wooded Landscape with Cottages* (fig. 2),¹⁰ in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, has been traditionally considered a companion piece to *A View on a High Road*. The paintings hung as such in the Fizeau, Agar, and Grosvenor collections until the Washington painting was sold to Alfred Charles de Rothschild at the end of the nineteenth century. It is highly unlikely, however, that they were actually designed as pendants, for the compositions are parallel rather than complementary; the dimensions are also slightly different.

An unusual feature of the Washington painting is the presence of the elegantly dressed couple strolling on the road through the village. Hobbema did not usually include such figures in his paintings. Whether they represent country gentry or city visitors, vast differences exist between their social status and that of the peasants seated by the edge of the road. Curiously, given the importance of these figures within the composition, they are poorly painted. They float above the surface of the road and lack physical substance. They were painted by an unidentified artist different from the one who painted the peasants. Although the names Adriaen van de Velde (1636–1672) and Johannes Lingelbach (1622–1674) have been suggested, the style of the figures does not resemble that of either artist.¹¹ Indeed, it has been suggested that these figures were added by a later hand, perhaps in the eighteenth century, at a period when it is known that artists “finished” a number of seventeenth-century land-



Meindert Hobbema, *A View on a High Road*, 1862

scape drawings by adding figures to their foregrounds.¹² The figures, in any event, had been added by 1786 when the painting was engraved, in reverse, by James Mason.¹³

Notes

1. The Fizeau (variously spelled Fiseau, Fezeau, or Fiziau) sale was known to Lugt not from an actual example of the catalogue, but because it is listed in Willigen 1873.

2. The Ellis Agar Collection was to be sold at Christie's, London, 2–3 May 1806, and a sale catalogue was produced, but before the auction could take place, the complete collection was instead sold to Lord Grosvenor, for 30,000 guineas (Redford 1888, 1: 95).

3. It is not clear exactly when the picture was separated from its so-called pendant, now in the Mauritshuis (see text), and sold to Rothschild. It cannot have been before 1884, because the catalogue of the Rothschild collection produced in that year includes only one Hobbema, a much smaller painting that clearly does not correspond with *A View on a High Road* in either description or dimensions. (Davis 1884, no. 208.) On the other hand, the 1888 and 1913 versions of *Grosvenor House* both list only one of the two paintings (no. 39 and no. 62 respectively), and since the Mauritshuis picture remained in the family much longer than *A View on a High Road*—it was eventually sold by Lady Mary Grosvenor in 1966 (Sotheby's, London, 6 July 1966, no. 75)—it seems reasonable to assume that this was the picture described in these two catalogues and that *A View on a High Road* had already been sold by 1888. This hypothesis would seem to be confirmed by the fact that a 1901 account of the collection describes and reproduces only the Mauritshuis painting and makes no mention of its partner (Erskine 1901, 209–216). Two pieces of information appear to conflict with this assumption. Firstly, HdG 1907–1927, 4: 413, states that at the time he was writing, *A View on a High Road* was still in the Grosvenor Collection while the pendant was not. Secondly, the 1913 catalogue of the Westminster Collection states that the Hobbema listed was “engraved by Mason,” but the only known print by Mason after Hobbema is after *A View on a High Road*. It seems likely, however, that both of these pieces of information are incorrect, and that *A View on a High Road* did pass to Rothschild between 1884 and 1888.

4. Cundall 1891, 158, mentions the 1845 and 1871 exhibitions under his listing for *A View on a High Road* and its pendant, but without saying which of the two pictures is supposed to have been exhibited in each case. HdG 1907–1927 does not mention these exhibitions under either picture. Graves 1913, 515, 517, says that two landscapes from the Westminster Collection were in each of these exhibitions but does not provide sufficient details to be able to identify them. (He also says that one Westminster Hobbema was in the 1871 Royal Academy exhibition, but from the dimensions this must have been the Mauritshuis picture.) The British Institution exhibition catalogues themselves are no more help than Graves, as in both cases they give the two pictures almost identical titles and do not include any descriptions of the works.

5. The date is nowadays completely legible below the signature, but may not always have been so clear. Indeed, the first reference to the picture that describes it as being dated is NGA 1965, 68 (although Wolfgang Stechow did challenge the statement in NGA 1941, 97–98, that the picture was

“painted probably in 1665,” saying “I thought I could read the date quite distinctly below the signature.” Stechow letter, 9 June 1941, in NGA curatorial files.) The date appears to be old, but is painted in a different color from the signature. Its form does not conform with the inscription on the so-called pendant, which reads “M[e]yndert Hobbema.” Accounts of the signature itself are also inconsistent: Waagen 1854–1857, 166, the brochure produced c. 1940 by Duveen Brothers, and NGA 1941 all state that, like the earlier *A Wooded Landscape* (NGA 1937.1.61), *A View on a High Road* is signed “Meyndert Hobbema,” and Broulhiet 1938, 401, and HdG 1907–1927, 4: 413, also say that it is “signed in full.” Today the lettering on the canvas clearly reads “m. hobbema,” a form of signature that the artist employed more frequently than his full name. It seems likely that all or part of the original signature and date were somehow damaged, and subsequently reconstructed. Further changes may have occurred at a later date, perhaps a result of restoration or cleaning. Forthcoming technical examination may help clarify this problem.

6. See Schepers 1960.

7. Döhmman and Dingeldein 1934, 3: 144–145. The paintings are in the Louvre, Paris (no. M.1.270; HdG 1907–1927, 4: 401–402, no. 89, Broulhiet 1938, 441). (Cf. fig. 1 under *A Farm in the Sunlight*, 1937.1.60) and the National Gallery, London (no. 832; HdG 1907–1927, 4: 397, no. 76, Broulhiet 1938, 220).

8. Slive in *The Hague* 1981, 79, no. 22.

9. Acc. no. R.F. 1526, 31 x 40 in.; HdG 1907–1927, 4: 431, no. 173; Broulhiet 1938, 192.

10. 86.4 x 119.4 cm, Smith 1829–1842, 6: 134, no. 64; HdG 1907–1927, 4: 413, no. 120; Broulhiet 1938, 188.

11. Young 1820, 37, says that the figures were painted by Adriaen van de Velde. Several other nineteenth-century writers (Smith 1829–1842, 4: 134–135; Waagen 1854–1857, 166; Michel 1890b, 50) attribute them to Lingelbach.

12. See Broos 1989, 34–55.

13. The print was published by Boydell, London, 20 February 1786.

References

- 1820 Young: 37, no. 109, etched repro.
 1829–1842 Smith, 6 (1835): 134–135, no. 65.
 1844 Jameson: 266, no. 99.
 1854 Jervis, 2: 225, 344.
 1854–1857 Waagen: 2 (1854): 166.
 1859 Thoré (Bürger): 28–44.
 1861–1876 Blanc, 2: 1–12.
 1890b Michel: 19, 50.
 1891 Cundall: 58, 158.
 1907–1927 HdG, 4 (1912): 394–395, no. 121.
 1930 Rosenberg: no. 59, repro.
 1931 Frankfurter: 22–34, repro.
 1935 Tietze: 338, no. 194, repro. (also 1939 English ed.: 322).
 1938 Broulhiet: 59, 196, 401, no. 189, repro.
 1941 NGA: 97–98.
 1949 Mellon: 99, repro.
 1960 Baird: 22–23, repro.
 1965 NGA: 68, no. 62.
 1966 Stechow: 78.
 1968 NGA: 59, repro.
 1968 *Frick Collection*, 1: 224.
 1975 NGA: 174–175, repro.

- 1976 Walker: 295, color repro.
 1982 Leeds: 16.
 1984 Wheelock: 38–39, color repro.
 1985 NGA: 202, repro.
 1987 Sutton: 347.
 1992 NGA: 138, color repro.

1937.1.60 (60)

A Farm in the Sunlight

1668
 Oil on canvas, 81.9 x 66.4 (3¼ x 26⅞)
 Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

Remnants of a signature and date at bottom right corner:
 . . .bbema .668¹

Technical Notes: The support, a fine-weight, plain-weave fabric, has been lined with the tacking margins folded out and incorporated into the picture plane, slightly enlarging the original dimensions. A dark reddish brown ground layer was applied overall, followed by a light brown imprimatura in the foreground, which also serves as a mid-tone. The x-radiograph shows a preliminary sketch rapidly executed in rough paint strokes with a loaded brush. Pentimenti are visible in the largest tree, whose trunk initially continued down to the figures and whose foliage extended higher. The artist also repositioned the figures and may have removed a figure group.²

Paint is applied in thin paste layers, with the foreground, middle ground, and background blocked in with vigorous strokes and individual features added with smaller brushes. The sky was painted first, with reserves left for the trees and landscape. Background elements are worked wet into wet, while middle distance reserves were left for barns and trees. Figures lie over the thinly painted foreground. Scattered small losses and abraded areas exist, along with two extremely large horizontal losses across the lower foreground. Conservation was carried out in 1992 to remove discolored varnish, retouchings, and nineteenth-century overpaint in the foreground. At this time foreground losses were inpainted, re-creating missing landscape details.

Provenance: Possibly R. van Smidt, Brussels. Corneille Louis Reijnders [d. 1821], Brussels, possibly by 1788;³ William Buchanan, London; George Watson Taylor, M. P. [d. 1841], London and later Erlestoke Park, Devizes, Wiltshire;⁴ (sale, Christie, London, 13–14 June 1823, no. 56, bought in);⁵ (sale, Robins, 9 July to 1 August 1832, no. 69);⁶ Charles J. Nieuwenhuys [1799–1883], Brussels and London; (sale, Christie & Manson, London, 10–11 May 1833 no. 128). Henri Hérís, Brussels and London; Leopold I [1790–1865], Palais Royal, Brussels; inherited by his son, Leopold II [1835–1909], Brussels; (F. Kleinberger & Co., Paris, in 1909); August de Ridder [1837–1911], Cronberg, near Frankfurt-am-Main, in 1910; (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 2 June 1924, no. 26); (M. Knoedler & Co., New York); sold December 1924 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington;⁷ deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon

Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom*, London, 1818, no. 84. *Ausstellung der De Ridder Sammlung*, Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1911–1913.⁸ *Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, Knoedler Galleries, New York, 1925, no. 17, repro. *El Siglo de Oro del Paisaje Holandés*, Madrid, 1994–1995, no. 32, repro. 132.

THIS RURAL LANDSCAPE scene has long been esteemed as one of Hobbema's finest paintings. In 1890 Michel described it as one of Hobbema's most remarkable works, and Bode, in the translation of his 1910 catalogue, termed it "a masterpiece with which few can compare."⁹ Its distinguished provenance dates back to the end of the eighteenth century. From its earliest appearance in the literature it formed a pendant to Hobbema's famous painting of a watermill in the Louvre (fig. 1).¹⁰ The two works were separated at the Nieuwenhuys sale in 1833.

As in other instances where pendant relationships seem to exist, no irrefutable proof exists that these works were originally intended to be hung together, although compositional and stylistic similarities reinforce the historical evidence. In both paintings the focus of the composition is the sunlit farm buildings in the middle ground. The shaded large trees that occupy the foreground have long, flowing trunks surmounted by an open structure of branches and foliage. Their dark brownish green tones act as a foil to the yellow glow of the sunlit distance. Above all, the vertical formats of the paintings, rare among Hobbema's works, argue for the hypothesis that they were intended to hang together. Other artists, including Salomon van Ruysdael, used this format for companion pieces.¹¹

The vertical format was one of the reasons given by Jakob Rosenberg for dating this work around or after 1670. Rosenberg also argued for a late date on the basis of the transparency of the upper parts of the trees, the exaggeration of specific Hobbema effects, and the reduction of the corporeality of the landscape.¹² Rosenberg it seems pushed the date too late. Painting in a vertical format became fashionable by about 1665 and often occurred in the work of Jacob van Ruysdael during the late 1660s. Although the trees in this work are somewhat elongated and the foliage is relatively transparent, stylistically they do not differ substantially from those in Hobbema's *A View on a High Road* (1937.1.62), signed and dated 1665. The most significant difference between these paintings is the increased complexity of the compositional structure of *A Farm in the Sunlight*. In this case, the viewer is denied easy access into the background

along a meandering road: the foreground path leads out of the composition to the left, and one is forced to retrace and find other routes to the distant vistas. This complex spatial organization seems a natural evolution from Hobbema's compositional structures of the mid-1660s and offers further evidence for a 1668 date of execution.

The watermill in the Louvre painting has been identified as that belonging to the manor house of Singraven near Denekamp in the province of Overijssel.¹³ If the two paintings are indeed pendants one might expect that the Washington composition also represents a precise location. No specific site, however, has yet been suggested for the scene, and it seems unlikely that the buildings here represented, none of which have distinctive characteristics, can ever be identified. Nevertheless, the type of vernacular architecture represented, with the high-peaked roof of the half-timbered barn, is representative of that found in the eastern provinces of the Netherlands, including Overijssel.

Finally, as is typical of Hobbema's paintings, the figural group in the foreground is probably by another hand. The names of Abraham Storck (1644–after 1704) and Adriaen van de Velde (1636–1672) have been proposed, but neither suggestion is acceptable.¹⁴

Fig. 1. Meindert Hobbema, *The Mill*, c. 1668, oil on canvas, Paris, Louvre, © Photo R.M.N.



Notes

1. Some sources (HdG 1907–1927, 4: 379; Broulhiet 1938, 437; NGA 1941, 97; De Ridder sale catalogue; and G. H. McCall in the Duveen-produced draft catalogue from about 1940 of Knoedler contributions to the Mellon Collection) say that the picture is signed, while others (Smith 1829–1842, 6: 128–129; NGA 1965, 67; and NGA 1975, 174–175) do not. Conservation treatment undertaken at the NGA in 1991–1992 uncovered the remnants of the signature and date in the heavily damaged bottom part of the painting.

2. Limited pigment analysis is available in the Scientific Research department (6 January 1992).

3. According to Nieuwenhuys sale catalogue (Christie & Manson 1833).

4. Broulhiet 1938, 437, and HdG 1907–1927, 4: 362. In the general election return of 1826, Taylor's address was given as Erlestoke Park, Wiltshire, while in earlier elections he was said to be from London (Saville Row in 1816, Portland Place in 1818 and 1820). (Letter, C. C. Pond, House of Commons Information Office, London, 12 May 1986, in NGA curatorial files.)

5. A results sheet bound into copy of the sale catalogue in archives at Christie's, London, gives the buyer as "Seguire." This auction catalogue also notes the previous ownership of the painting by R. van Smidt.

6. Various sources say that the picture was "sold by his heirs in 1832," but Taylor did not die until 1841 (a date confirmed by the librarian at the House of Commons). This error may have arisen because the 1832 sale was described as containing the "magnificent property" of George Watson Taylor, a description that could easily be interpreted as signifying the estate of someone who had died.

7. Nancy C. Little, librarian, M. Knoedler & Co., New York, says that the painting (Knoedler no. 15993) was bought by Knoedler from Lair Dubreuil, Paris, in June 1924, and was sold to Mr. Mellon in December of the same year (letter, 12 September 1987, in NGA curatorial files.) Annotated copy of the De Ridder sale catalogue in the NGA library does not, however, mention Dubreuil, and gives the buyer as Knoedler.

8. No catalogue for this exhibition was produced. Information was kindly provided by Dr. Hans Joachim Ziemke in a letter of 7 September 1987 (in NGA curatorial files). Although unverified, there is mention of another exhibition containing this painting from the period; Kleinberger Galleries, New York, 1913, no. 60. The notation comes from G. H. McCall, draft catalogue (see note 1).

9. Michel 1890b, 49; Bode 1910/1913, 14.

10. Inv. no. 2404. Smith 1829–1842, 6: 129, no. 53; HdG 1907–1927, 4: 401–402, no. 89; Broulhiet 1938, 441. The dimensions of the Louvre painting (80 x 66 cm) are similar to those of *A Farm in the Sunlight*.

11. Compare his pair of dune landscapes at the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, reproduced in Stechow 1938, cats. 35, 36, figs. 48, 49.

12. Rosenberg 1927, 151.

13. Döhmman and Dingeldein 1934, 3: 144–145.

14. Smith 1829–1842, 6: 129 (under no. 53), said the figures are by Storck. Thoré (Bürger) 1859, 35, said they were "attributed to Adriaen van der Velde, but they are not by him."

References

1824b Buchanan, 2: 303.

1829–1842 Smith, 6 (1835): 128–129, no. 52.



Meindert Hobbema, *A Farm in the Sunlight*, 1660

- 1834 Nieuwenhuys: 138–139.
 1839 Hérís: 5–7.
 1857 Thoré (Bürger): 287.
 1859 Thoré (Bürger): 28–44.
 1864 Scheltema: 214–226.
 1890 Michel: 24, 49.
 1891 Cundall: 155.
 1895 Lafenestre and Richtenberger: 132.
 1897 Roberts: 1: 106.
 1906b Michel: 207 (also 1910 English trans.: 164).
 1909 Holmes: 238–243, repro.
 1909 Roberts: 203–210, repro.
 1909 Wauters: 5.
 1910 Bode: 30 (also 1913 English trans.: 14, pl. 60).
 1907–1927 HdG, 4 (1912): 362, no. 28.
 1924 Catroux: unpaginated, no. 26, repro.
 1927 Rosenberg: 139–151.
 1938 Broulhiet: 52–53, 326, 437, no. 449, repro.
 1941 NGA: 97.
 1949 Mellon: 100, repro.
 1965 NGA: 67.
 1966 Stechow: 78–79.
 1968 NGA: 60, repro.
 1975 NGA: 174–175, repro.
 1976 Walker: 295, color repro.
 1985 NGA: 201, repro.
 1994 Madrid: no. 32, repro.

1942.9.32 (628)

Village near a Pool

c. 1670

Oil on canvas, 81 x 107 (32 x 42)

Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The original support is a tightly woven, plain-weave fabric, lined with the tacking margins removed and the original dimensions retained. The double ground consists of a thick pale ocher lower layer covered by a thin black layer. Paint is applied thinly in dark passages, and with more body and with visible brushmarks in lighter passages.

Hobbema appears to have reworked several areas of the composition, particularly the trees at the center, where long, low branches were eliminated from the left sides of the left and central trees. The x-radiograph does not show clearly Hobbema's changes, which are easily confused with later repaints to the extensively abraded trees. Due to abrasion in the sky, birds painted out by Hobbema have become visible again at left and center, and were reinforced with later overpaint. Most of the foreground is in good condition, although the cow and horse are abraded and part of the rider's hat is lost. Numerous small losses exist in the sky and lower left foreground.

The painting was lined in 1963. Vandalism in 1966 produced large scratches in a regular grid pattern, which were treated locally. Conservation was carried out in 1974 to remove discolored varnish layers and the more obvious repaints in the sky, water, and trees. The overpainted tree trunks were left as is. In 1981, adjustments were made to the sky inpainting, and a pigmented synthetic varnish was applied locally to unify the appearance.

Provenance: Count Santar, Lisbon, and around 1850, London.¹ (Hamburger, Paris, by 1909); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, in 1909; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

A SUNLIT VILLAGE with half-timbered houses sits nestled among trees beyond a small pond. A dirt road, skirting the pond to the right, passes beneath two large trees and leads out of the painting. A falconer, riding a white horse and accompanied by his helper and four dogs, travels along the road, while a fisherman in a red jacket on the near shore casts his line. Although this idyllic scene is neither signed nor dated, it has always been attributed to Hobbema, an attribution that is justified by the compositional schema, the fall of light in the middle distance, the building types, and the delicate touch evident in the landscape in the distant left. The painting has, indeed, many beautiful passages, but it has also suffered badly over the years, and many of its original qualities are no longer evident.

The most disturbing elements in the painting are the two large trees that rise in the right foreground. Their trunks seem too heavy for their size and the branches lack the rhythms characteristic of Hobbema's work. The leaves are also not as clearly articulated as usual. These stylistic problems are the result of old overpainting that was probably applied to cover abrasion to the surface as well as pentimenti that became obvious because of the increasing translucency of the paint. Still evident, because of the dense crackle pattern in the paint, is the original form of a large branch that extended out just above the steeple of the church and the large tree rising from the village. The trees, however, are not the only areas that have suffered. General abrasion and old overpainting can be found throughout the composition, with only the sunlit area in the center remaining essentially intact. When the painting was restored in 1974 it was found that much of this old overpainting was extremely hard and should not be removed for fear of damaging the original paint.

The distortions in form due to overpainting have been intensified by the denser and darker character of the additions. As a result, the spatial flow of the composition has been affected, and the contrast between, for example, the silhouetted trees and the sky must be greater now than Hobbema originally intended.

Even with the modifications to the image that have occurred, one can place this work chronologically around 1670. As with *A Farm in the Sunlight* (1937.1.60), which dates 1668, Hobbema has focused



Meindert Hobbema, *Village near a Pool*, 1942.9.32

his attention on the middle ground and has left the foreground in shadow. The painterly touch, however, is here more delicate, and the rhythms less vigorous than in *A Farm in the Sunlight*. The greenish brown tones of the shadows are also darker and more opaque. The scene has, moreover, an open and spacious quality characteristic of Hobbema's work in the early 1670s, a spaciousness that would have been more pronounced before the overpainting. Since dated paintings from this period are rare, chronological guideposts are difficult to find. Nevertheless, a painting with similar compositional characteristics is the *Wooded Landscape with Watermill* in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, a work that probably also dates around 1670 and that is freely based on the watermill at Singraven (see discussion under *A Farm in the Sunlight* (1937.1.60) and *A View on a High Road*, 1937.1.62). The village in the Washington painting has not been identified, although it depicts the type of scene Hobbema could have en-

countered in Overijssel and the eastern provinces of the Netherlands. Unusual in this scene are large blocks (perhaps of stone) that lie randomly in the grassy area between the village and the pond. The character and function of these blocks have yet to be explained.

Notes

1. HdG 1907–1928, 4: 385, no. 47.

References

- 1907–1927 HdG, 4 (1912): 368, no. 47.
 1913–1916 Widener: intro., no. 21, repro.
 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
 1931 Widener: 72–73, repro.
 1938 Broulhiet: 152, 391, no. 100, repro.
 1948 Widener: 61, repro.
 1965 NGA: 68, no. 628.
 1968 NGA: 60, repro.
 1975 NGA: 176–177, repro.
 1985 NGA: 203, repro.

Pieter de Hooch

1629–1684

PIETER HENDRICKSZ. DE HOOCH (occasionally spelled de Hoogh) was baptized in the Reformed Church in Rotterdam on 20 December 1629. His father was a master bricklayer and his mother a midwife. His only recorded teacher was the landscape painter Nicolaes Berchem (q.v.), with whom he studied in Haarlem at the same time as Jacob Ochtervelt (1634–1682). The exact dates of this apprenticeship are not known. Berchem's interest in landscape apparently had little effect upon De Hooch, as his earliest paintings are almost all barrack-room scenes.

De Hooch is next recorded in Delft on 5 August 1652, when he and another painter, Hendrick van der Burch (active 1649–1678), witnessed the signing of a will. The following year he is documented as a painter and *dienaar* (servant) to a wealthy merchant named Justus de la Grange, a resident of both Delft and Leiden whose collection contained eleven of the artist's paintings when it was inventoried in 1655. De Hooch witnessed a baptism in Leiden in 1653, but in 1654, when he married Jannetje van der Burch of Delft, he was living in Rotterdam. He and his wife, who was probably the sister of the painter

Hendrick van der Burch, had seven children.

De Hooch entered the Delft guild in 1655, and is recorded as having paid dues in 1656 and 1657. He remained in Delft until the end of the decade, but sometime between mid-1660 and April 1661 he settled in Amsterdam. Apart from a visit to Delft in 1663, he apparently lived there for the rest of his life. At some point his mental health suffered, and by the time of his death at the age of fifty-four, he was an inmate in the *Dolhuis* (lunatic asylum). He was buried in the Sint Anthonis Kerkhof on 24 March 1684.

Between about 1655 and 1662, De Hooch's work rose to the very highest level of achievement. His paintings of these years almost all depict interiors or courtyards containing just a few people, engaged either in domestic activities or in some restrained form of entertainment or merrymaking. The atmosphere in these works is characteristically calm, spacious, and airy, effects created through De Hooch's masterly control of light, color, and complex perspectival construction. These are also all essential elements of the style of Johannes Vermeer (q.v.), with whom he must have had contact.

By the end of the 1660s his work had lost much of its delicacy and finesse. His later compositions became grander and more contrived, and his color harmonies and light effects harsher. Although De Hooch had no known pupils, artists whose works have been confused with his include Hendrick van der Burch (active 1649–1678), Ludolf de Jongh (1616–1679), Pieter Janssens Elinga (1623–before 1682), Esaias Boursse (1631–1672), and Jacobus Vrel (active c. 1654–1662).

Bibliography

Houbraken 1753, 2: 27, 34–35.
Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 217–242; 9 (1842): 563–574.
HdG 1907–1927, 1 (1907): 471–570.
Rudder 1913.
Valentiner 1929–1930.
Fleischer 1978.
Sutton 1980.
Philadelphia 1984: 214–222.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 195–196.

1942.9.33 (629)

The Bedroom

1658/1660
Oil on canvas, 51 x 60 (20 x 23½)
Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The original support, a fine, plain-weave fabric, has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Cusping appears along the top, right, and bottom edges but not on the left edge.

Paint is applied over a smooth white ground in thin layers followed by thin glazes and scumbles. Lining has flattened the impasted highlights.

The paint is in good condition with no abrasion and losses confined to the edges. Discolored varnish was removed when conservation treatment was carried out in 1982.

Provenance: Possibly S. J. Stinstra Collection; (possibly sale, S. J. Stinstra, Amsterdam, 1822, no. 86).¹ Lord Radstock [William Waldegrave, 1753–1825], Longford Castle, Wiltshire, and Coleshill, Berkshire; (sale, Christie, London, 12–13 May 1826, no. 14); George Granville Leveson-Gower, 1st Duke of Sutherland [1783–1833], Dunrobin Castle, Highland, Scotland; by inheritance to George Granville Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, 2nd Duke of Sutherland [d. 1861]; (Emery Rutley, London, in 1846);² Morant.³ Robert Field, London; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 6 June 1856, no. 520). Charles Scarisbrick [d. 1860], Scarisbrick Hall, Lancashire; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 10 May 1861, no. 119). (Francis Nieuwenhuys, London); Adrian Hope, London; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 30 June 1894, no. 32); (Charles Wertheimer, London and Paris); sold 30 July 1894 to Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheri-

tance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Illustrated catalogue of 300 Paintings by Old Masters . . .*, Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, 1898, no. 70. New York, 1909, no. 55. *Masterworks of Five Centuries*, Golden Gate Exposition, San Francisco, 1939, no. 81a. *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, Mauritshuis, The Hague; Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1900–1991, no. 35.

DE HOOCH painted this intimate scene of domestic life around 1658 to 1660, during the last years of his Delft period. The painting depicts an everyday occurrence, in which a child opens a door to an inner room, where its mother, busy with her household chores, airs out the bedcovers. The scene, however, is instilled with a sense of intimacy and warmth that transcends the mundane subject matter.

De Hooch achieved this effect through his sensitive arrangement of the interior space and his treatment of light. Light enters this inner room from two sources: the double windows on the left and the open door and window at the front of the house. Light from both of these sources illuminates the child, whose radiant glow is made palpable by the light streaming through its hair. Light also enlivens the interior space in the way it plays across a variety of surfaces. De Hooch suggests, for example, the different character of light as it passes through an exterior window, an interior window, and through both an exterior and interior window. He differentiates too between the sheen of reflections off the marble floor and the more specular highlights from the orange tile floor. He also captures the nuances of tone in the shadows as they vary due to the multiple light sources.

The extreme naturalism of these optical effects suggests that De Hooch painted this scene, or at least the room, from life. The same room is found in two similar, but independent works, *A Woman Delousing a Child's Hair* (fig. 1) and *"Kolf" Players* (fig. 2), both of which were also painted from 1658 to 1660. The landscape seen through the doorway, however, differs in each example.

Another version of this painting, signed with a monogram, is in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe. The only difference between the two is that the mirror on the wall between the figures has ornaments on its top and bottom in the Karlsruhe version that do not appear here. Valentiner states that the Washington version is an autograph replica of the Karlsruhe painting.⁴ Sutton, while he believes that the Karlsruhe painting is the better of the two, does not feel that one can designate either as the original version. His assessment that the Washington paint-



Fig. 1. Pieter de Hooch, *A Woman Delousing a Child's Hair*, 1658–1660, oil on canvas, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

ing is “of the highest quality” was born out in 1982 when the darkened varnish that had obscured many of the painting’s nuances was removed.⁵ X-radiographs taken at that time show no significant pentimenti, although the pattern of light falling on the wall from the window on the left has a more defined rectangular shape than that apparent in the final composition. Little is known about the creation of autograph replicas by seventeenth-century Dutch artists. As yet unanswered is whether such works were painted for commission or the art market.⁶

Bode sought to identify the woman, who reappears in a number of De Hooch’s paintings, as the artist’s wife, Jannetje van der Burch, and the child as one of their own.⁷ Most authors are quite circumspect about the sex of the child, for distinguishing between young boys and girls is notoriously difficult given the similarity of their dress. In any event, De Hooch did have both a boy and a girl, born in 1655 and 1656 respectively, either of whom could possibly have served as the model.⁸ Given that the same child appears in the Polesden Lacey painting with a slightly older boy in the background, it may well be that the child is a depiction of De Hooch’s daughter Anna. In the Polesden Lacey painting the child carries a “kolf” stick, a popular game at the time, which she has been playing out of doors with the boy.⁹ In the Washington painting the

child holds a ball in her hand, probably a “kolf” ball. De Hooch has situated the child in a doorway flanked by rows of Dutch tiles depicting children’s games.

As Broos has emphasized, the traditional title of this painting, *The Bedroom*, is slightly misleading, for it suggests that Dutch homes had rooms with separate functions.¹⁰ To the contrary, bedboxes, situated against one wall, frequently were part of a room serving many functions. Nevertheless, the activities of the woman, as she straightens the bed and tends the chamber pot, were part of the morning ritual that many Dutch housewives faced as they prepared the room for its daily functions. The Dutch prided themselves on orderliness and cleanliness, virtues that were seen as metaphoric of spiritual purity.¹¹

The harmonious character of the scene and the emphasis on the mother’s dual responsibilities of child nurturing and caring for the home embody an ideal of Dutch domestic felicity that is nowhere better represented than in the paintings of Pieter de

Fig. 2. Pieter de Hooch, *‘Kolf’ Players*, 1658–1660, oil on panel, Surrey, Polesden Lacey, photo: National Trust





Pieter de Hooch, *The Bedroom*, 1942.9.33

Hooch. These ideals, which had by mid-century been well formulated in the writings of Jacob Cats,¹² are also to be found in many of the moralizing messages in the extensive emblematic literature of the day. While reality may not have lived up to the images evoked by De Hooch and Cats, the Dutch concern for orderliness and cleanliness, as well as their sympathetic manner of child rearing, was often remarked upon by foreign travelers.¹³

Notes

1. Hofstede de Groot (HdG 1907–1927, 1 [1907], 498, no. 78) includes a reference to this sale in his provenance of *The Bedroom*. The De Hooch painting in that sale, however, need not necessarily refer to 1942.9.33, since other versions of the composition exist (see text and note 6).

2. According to a note by John Smith contained in Hofstede de Groot's typescript supplement, ad. no. 78, to HdG 1907–1927 in the RKD.

3. Information provided by the Getty Provenance Index.

4. Valentiner 1929, no. 59.

5. Sutton 1980, 87.

6. Aside from these two versions, a third version was tentatively listed by Sutton as autograph and it was auctioned in New York on 29 February 1956, no. 17, repro. The large number of copies of the composition that Sutton lists further attests to its popularity (see Sutton 1980, 87–88).

7. Bode 1906, 58.

8. De Hooch's eldest son, Peter, was baptized on 2 February 1655, and a daughter, Anna, was baptized on 14 November 1656. Broos in *The Hague* 1990, 303, assumes that the child is a boy and postulates that it may represent Peter.

9. For the history of "kolf" see Van Hengel 1985. Although most depictions of "kolf" players represent boys and men, the game was enjoyed by all. For a portrait of a girl holding a kolf stick and ball see Van Hengel 1985, 29, fig. 16.

10. *The Hague* 1990, 304.

11. *The Hague* 1990, 304.

12. An extremely important and influential expression of Cats' ideal of family existence is found in his *Houwelyck, dat is de gantsche gbelegbentbeydt des echten-staets* (Middelburg, 1625). For a particularly insightful quotation from this poetic treatise see Sutton 1980, 46.

13. See Sutton 1980, 47–48.

References

- 1829–1842 Smith, 4 (1842): 227, no. 9.
 1833 Passavant: 63.
 1837–1839 Waagen, 2 (1838): 67.
 1838b Waagen, 2: 253–254.
 1844 Jameson: 205, no. 124.
 1854–1857 Waagen, 2 (1854): 71.
 1857 Thoré (Bürger). Paris: 319.
 1865 Thoré (Bürger): 319.
 1879–1881 Havard, 3 (1881): 61–138.
 1885–1900 Widener, 2 (1900): 215, repro.
 1894 Richter: 331–333.
 1897 Roberts, 1: 193.
 1901–1912 Mireur, 3 (1911): 482.
 1906 Bode: 58.
 1907–1927 HdG, 1 (1907): 498, no. 78.
 1910 Breck: 41–47.

- 1910 Valentiner: 5–12.
 1913 Rudder: 105.
 1913–1916 Widener, 1 (1913): no. 23.
 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
 1925 Collins Baker: 6.
 1926–1927 Valentiner: (December) 45–64; (February) 67–77.
 1927 Brière-Misme, no. 15, 361–380; no. 16, 51–79 and 258–286.
 1929–1930 Valentiner: xv, 59 repro., 274 (1930 English ed.).
 1931 Widener: 82, repro.
 1938 Waldmann: 334–343.
 1939 Godwin: 106.
 1940 "Widener Collection": 10–11.
 1942 Widener: no. 629.
 1948 Widener: 63, repro.
 1960 *Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe*: no. 25, repro.
 1961–1970 Reitlinger, 1 (1961): 344.
 1964 *Polesden Lacey*: 24.
 1965 NGA: 69, no. 629.
 1966 Lauts, 1: 152, no. 259; 2: 360, repro.
 1968 NGA: 61, repro.
 1975 NGA: 178–179, repro.
 1976 *Toledo Museum*: 81.
 1979 Wheelock: 111, fig. 7.1.
 1980 Sutton: 21, 26, 87, no. 40B, pl. 44.
 1981 Wheelock: 34, fig. 34 (also 1988, 33, fig. 34).
 1982 Clark: 73–94.
 1984 Philadelphia: 222, repro.
 1985 NGA: 206, repro.
 1986 Sutton: 311.
 1990 Schneider: 105–106, repro.

1942.9.34 (630)

Woman and Child in a Courtyard

1658/1660
 Oil on canvas, 73.5 x 66 (29 x 26)
 Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At lower left on the trough: *P D Hooch*

Technical Notes: The original support is a medium-weight, plain-weave fabric with an irregular weave pattern. The fabric was prepared with a smooth white ground followed by a gray imprimatura.¹ The presence of white lead in the gray layer obscures the paint image in the x-radiograph.

Paint is applied thinly and smoothly with slightly impasted highlights. The paint surface is in poor condition with extensive abrasion and retouching due to flaking paint. A number of elements have been reconstructed, including the features of the woman and the delineation of the bricks. The sky is heavily glazed. A discolored pigmented varnish covers the surface, masking the extent of damage.

In 1944 the painting was attached to a cradled wood panel.²

Provenance: (T. Lawrie & Co., London, 1903);³ (Arthur J. Sulley & Co., London); (M. Knoedler & Co., London, Paris,



Pieter de Hooch, *Woman and Child in a Courtyard*, 1942.9.34



Fig. 1. Pieter de Hooch, *A Family in a Courtyard*, 1658–1660, oil on canvas, Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste



Fig. 2. Pieter de Hooch, *A Woman and a Maid in a Courtyard*, c. 1660, oil on canvas, London, National Gallery

and New York, 1904–1905); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: New York 1909: no. 54.

THE SCENE IS SET near the old town wall of Delft, the site of many of De Hooch's courtyard paintings. Against the wall is a wooden arbor in which two gentlemen and a woman are seated. A maid servant carrying an earthenware jug and a basket, which seems to hold bread under a white cloth, and a little girl holding a birdcage traverse the courtyard on their way toward a water pump that is attached to the building on the left. Behind them are steps leading upwards to a door in the wall, through which can be seen more steps, another door and, perhaps, the city ramparts.

This idyllic view of city life with spacious courtyards, trees, and vines contains compositional elements that are found in two other of De Hooch's

paintings that date 1658–1660. The arbor, the wall, and the stairs leading to the door in the wall form the setting for his painting *A Family in a Courtyard* (fig. 1). Here one can see that the arbor projects out from the wall and that its columns and capitals are made of flat boards attached to the wooden framework. The same arbor, wall, and stairs are visible in the foreground of *A Woman and a Maid in a Courtyard*, that probably dates 1660 (the last digit is illegible) in the National Gallery, London (fig. 2). Visible also in this painting is the water pump. In both of these works, however, the relationship of these objects to the site varies. In neither of them does a building rise to the left of the doorway. In the London painting, a small garden house is situated just to the right of the arbor, and the pump is in a totally different location.⁴

These variations among the works confirm that De Hooch felt free to alter architectural elements for compositional reasons. Visible pentimenti on the right side of the wall in the Washington painting may be traces of the structure visible in the courtyard scene in London. While it is unlikely that any of

these scenes represent a specific location as it actually appeared, MacLaren is undoubtedly correct in stressing that many of these views were based on views from gardens behind the houses on the west side of the canal, the Oude Gracht.⁵ This area, near the Binnenwatersloot, is where De Hooch's wife lived before they were engaged and is presumably where De Hooch moved after their marriage.

In this painting, as in other of De Hooch's courtyard scenes, one senses a harmonious relationship between the serving woman and her employers. Although no commissions for these works are known, one wonders if De Hooch's interest in the theme stems from his own experiences working as a servant for the linen merchant Justus de la Grange in the early 1650s. De Hooch's sensitivity to the relationship of women to children may also relate to his own family experiences: a son, born in 1655, and a daughter, born in 1656, would have been approximately the ages of the children he so often represented in his paintings from the end of that decade.

Notes

1. Pigment analysis of ground and paint layers is available in the Scientific Research department (26 October 1978).
2. When this treatment was undertaken a double-fabric lining, attached in 1942, was removed. That lining had replaced an earlier one.
3. HdG 1907-1927, 1: no. 294, noted that he saw the painting with this dealer in March of 1903.
4. First noted by MacLaren 1960, 186.
5. MacLaren 1960, 185.

References

- 1904 Armstrong: 43.
 1907-1927 HdG, 1 (1907): 558-559, no. 294.
 1909 New York: no. 54.
 1913 Rudder: 100.
 1913-1916 Widener, 1 (1913): n.p.
 1923 Widener: n.p., repro.
 1925 Collins Baker: 4-5.
 1926-1927 Valentin: 45-64, fig. 3; 67-77, no. 13.
 1927 Brière-Misme, no. 15: 361-380; no. 16: 51-79 and 258-286.
 1929-1930 Valentin: 39, repro., 271 (also 1930 English ed.).
 1931 Widener: 90, repro.
 1942 Widener: no. 630.
 [1945] Van Thienen: 20, 29-30, fig. 17.
 1948 Widener: 62, repro.
 1960 MacLaren: 186.
 1965 NGA: 69, no. 630.
 1968 NGA: 61, repro.
 1975 NGA: 178-179, repro.
 1980 Sutton: 25, 63, note 45, 86, no. 39, repro. no. 42.
 1985 NGA: 206, repro.
 1986 Sutton: 310-311, repro.

1937.1.56 (56)

A Dutch Courtyard

1658/1660

Oil on canvas, 69.5 x 60 (27 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 23 $\frac{3}{8}$)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Technical Notes: The fine, plain-weave fabric support has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. A smooth off-white ground was applied somewhat thickly to the support. The ground is coated with a transparent brown wash imprimatura that becomes thinner in the area corresponding to the sky. With the brown wash used as an undertone, De Hooch applied paint in thin, transparent layers. The impasted highlights are constructed of small dabs of color placed in close proximity, often overlapping. This technique produces a flickering effect, particularly in the flesh tones. Infrared photography reveals artist's changes in the placement of the figures.

The paint is in good condition with little loss and minor abrasion. Inpainting is limited and a slightly discolored aged surface coating is present. The painting was last treated in Holland in the 1930s. No conservation has been carried out since acquisition.¹

Provenance: Cornelis Seville Roos [1754-1820], Amsterdam; (sale, Amsterdam, 28 August 1820, no. 51); Isaac van Eyck. Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild [1808-1879], Gunnersbury Park, Middlesex, by 1842; by inheritance to Baron Alfred de Rothschild [1842-1918], Halton Manor, Hertfordshire;² by inheritance to Almina, Countess of Carnarvon [née Almina Wombwell Dennistoun, d. 1969], Highclere Castle, Hampshire; (Duveen Brothers, London); sold November 1924 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *Masterworks of Five Centuries*, Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco, 1939, no. 81a.

SITUATED in a walled courtyard behind a brick house, two soldiers seated at a table enjoy a moment's banter with a serving woman. While one of the soldiers puffs smoke from his clay pipe, the other, who is holding a Raeren earthenware jug, laughingly watches as the woman drinks from her glass. A young girl on the right brings hot coals for the men's pipes. The open door in the brick section of the back wall reveals a stepped path that leads past a wooded yard to a distant house. The house and the trees around it are also visible above the wall. The tower of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft rises over the wooden wall on the far left.

The painting is one of the most accomplished of De Hooch's "Delft Style" from c. 1660. The ordered, harmonious arrangement of architectural and figural elements creates a quiet and peaceful



Fig. 1. W. J. Laquy, 1783, *Interior Genre Scene*, 1783, watercolor, The Netherlands, private collection

mood. The soft light that pervades the scene and the careful way in which De Hooch indicates the bricks and mortar of the buildings and courtyard enhance the painting's naturalistic qualities. The painting's measured harmony also comes from De Hooch's sensitivity to color and the way in which he intersperses accents of red, blue, and white throughout the scene. Particularly effective is the satiny sheen of the young girl's blue dress, which he has suggested through the use of yellow highlights.

De Hooch has achieved this sense of order by carefully manipulating the perspective and determining how compositional elements should be placed. An infrared photograph indicates that he strengthened the figural group by adjusting the woman's position and bringing her closer to the table. He also seems to have enlarged the little girl and moved her nearer to the house so that she became superimposed over the juncture of the house and the rear wall of the courtyard. Through her placement and that of the bright orange red window shutter directly above her, De Hooch reduced the strong sense of recession created by the perspective of the building.

The brick wall behind the figures is presumably a section of the old city wall of Delft.³ As in *Woman and Child in a Courtyard* (1942.9.34), this courtyard was probably situated in the area of the city near the Binnenwatersloot. It is, nevertheless, unlikely that De Hooch represented the setting exactly. As can be demonstrated in other of his paintings, including *Woman and Child in a Courtyard*, he frequently combined architectural motifs in an imaginary way for compositional reasons. In this instance, he has also taken liberties in his depiction of the peaked roof on top of the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk: it lacks the small spires that ring the top of the tower.⁴

The theme of soldiers sitting around a table smoking and drinking, attended to by a serving woman, is frequently found in De Hooch's earliest genre scenes, although this painting is the first instance in which he moved the scene outdoors into a middle-class courtyard.⁵ The men and women in his early scenes are frequently quite animated and playfully interact with each other.⁶ While the easy banter between the soldier and maid in this painting continues in this tradition, the sunfilled setting with the distant church tower gives the scene an added sense of good will and optimism, one in which the threat of war that had so recently weighed heavily on the Dutch no longer was felt.

A possible autograph replica of this painting exists in the Mauritshuis, The Hague.⁷ The major compositional difference is that the seated soldier is not present. This figure, however, appears in x-rays of the painting and seems to have been painted out by a later hand. The breastplate worn by this soldier appears in other De Hooch paintings from this period, including *A Soldier Paying a Hostess*, which is dated 1658.⁸

The Washington painting appears in a watercolor of an interior genre scene, dated 1783, by W. J. Laquy (1738–1798) (fig. 1).⁹ Laquy, a German artist, was working at that time in Amsterdam. The drawing is informative in that it illustrates how the painting was then framed. The provenance of the painting is unknown before 1820, and we do not know in whose home Laquy saw it.

Notes

1. Pigment analysis is available in the Scientific Research Department (26 October 1978).
2. See Davis 1884, no. 19.
3. Valentiner 1929–1930, 272.
4. Smith 1829–1842, 9: 573, no. 30, incorrectly identifies it as the tower of the cathedral in Utrecht.
5. See Sutton 1980, cats. 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13.
6. These scenes probably reflect the influence of the Rotterdam artist Ludolph de Jongh (1616–1676), whom De



Pieter de Hooch, *A Dutch Courtyard*, 1637.1.56

Hooch must have known before moving to Delft and joining the guild in 1655.

7. Sutton 1980, cat. 35b.

8. Marquise of Bute Collection; Sutton 1980, cat. 27.

9. Laquy's drawing was kindly brought to my attention by C. J. de Bruyn Kops, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

References

1829–1842 Smith, 9 (1842): 573, no. 30.

1854–1857 Waagen, 2: 130.

1879–1881 Havard, 3 (1881): 128.

1884 Davis, 1: no. 15, repro.

1907–1927 HdG, 1 (1907): 559, no. 295.

1913 Rudder: 61, 65.

1925 Collins Baker: 6–7.

1926–1927 Valentiner: 45–64, fig. 4; 67–77.

1927 Brière-Misme, no. 15: 361–380; no. 16: 51–79, 258–286.

1929–1930 Valentiner: xiv, xv, 44, repro. (also 1930 English ed.).

1939 New York: 97.

1939–1940 San Francisco: no. 81a.

1965 NGA: 69, no. 56.

1968 NGA: 61, repro.

1975 NGA: 178–179, repro.

1976 Walker: 288, no. 384, ill. 289.

1980 Sutton: 85, no. 35a.

1981 Wheelock: 22, ill. 16. (also 1988, 20, fig. 16).

1984 Wheelock: 28–29, repro.

1984 Sutton: 219.

1985 NGA: 205, repro.

1992 NGA: 132, color repro.

Jan van Huysum

1682–1749

JAN VAN HUYSUM was born in Amsterdam on 15 April 1682. His father, Justus van Huysum the Elder (1659–1716), was also an artist, as were his three brothers, Justus the Younger, Jacob, and Michiel. Justus the Elder was a prolific painter of large flower pieces—often as part of complete decorative schemes that he designed for patrons' houses—and also seems to have been active as an art dealer, so the early training that Jan received from his father was in the context of a flourishing art business. Among the few facts known about his life is that he married Margrieta Schouten in Amsterdam in 1704.

Van Huysum rapidly established a reputation as the leading still-life painter of his time. Auction records indicate that his paintings sold for as much as 1,450 guilders during his lifetime, and his noble patrons included Prince William of Hesse, the duc d'Orléans, the kings of Poland and Prussia, the elector of Saxony, and Sir Robert Walpole, later Earl of Orford. He was, furthermore, highly praised by contemporary authors; Houbraken described him as "the phoenix of flower-painters."

Van Huysum is reputed to have been fiercely secretive about his techniques, forbidding anyone, including his own brothers, to enter his studio for fear that they would learn how he purified and applied his colors. He only had one pupil, Margaretha Haverman (1720–1795), whom he apparently took on only in response to great pressure from his uncle. It is widely reported that Haverman's

work soon inspired such jealousy in her teacher that she had to leave his studio.

Unlike most Dutch still-life painters, Van Huysum produced a large number of drawings, mostly compositional studies for entire flower paintings but also some detailed depictions of individual blooms. His keenness for studying flowers from life led him to spend a portion of each summer in Haarlem, then as now a horticultural center. He probably also executed at least some elements of his easel painting from life, rather than from drawings. This method of working may explain why some of his paintings bear two different dates.

Van Huysum's reluctance to teach anyone else his techniques did not prevent the perpetuation of his popular style of painting by numerous followers and imitators, both during and after his lifetime. Some of the most notable were Jan van Os (1744–1808), his son Georgius Jacobus Johannes van Os (1782–1861), the brothers Gerard (1746–1822) and Cornelis van Spaendonck (1756–1840), and Wybrand Hendriks (1744–1831). In addition to still lifes, Van Huysum painted a number of Italianate landscapes.

Bibliography

Smith 1829–1842, 6 (1835): 465–491; 9 (1842): 786–789.

Grant 1954.

Bergström 1956: 226–228.

White 1964.

Brown/MacLaren 1992: 207–208.



Jan van Huysum, *Flowers in an Urn*, 1977.7.1

1977.7.1 (2705)

Flowers in an Urn

c. 1720

Oil on wood, 79.9 x 60 (31 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 23 $\frac{3}{8}$)

Adolph Caspar Miller Fund

Inscriptions

On front of marble tabletop at left: *Jan Van Huysum fecit*

Technical Notes: The support, a single vertically grained wood panel, has been thinned and cradled. A small vertical check in the top edge, left of center, has been repaired. Thin paint layers have been applied over a smooth, thin white ground in paste consistency with slight impasto in light passages. The background is composed of two layers, and the artist made numerous changes in the composition while painting, which are visible through the slightly translucent paint. Scattered small losses of paint and ground were retouched prior to acquisition.

Provenance: Jacques Goudstikker, Amsterdam, by 1919. Vas Diag, before 1924; (Leggatt Brothers, London); acquired 21 July 1924 by Lord Claud Hamilton; by inheritance to Lady Claud Hamilton; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 28 November 1975, no. 23); (Alexander Gallery, London).

Exhibited: *Collection Goudstikker d'Amsterdam*, Pulchri Studio, The Hague, 1919, no. 13. *Spring Exhibition*, Alexander Gallery, London, 1976.

SITUATED as they are against a pale greenish ocher background, the subtle colors and organic rhythms of Van Huysum's exuberant floral display create an elegant ensemble. The poppy, morning glory, and ranunculus tendrils that weave in and out of the densely massed rose, vinca, carnation, iris, and tulip blossoms carry the eye throughout the bouquet, so that the viewer takes in the entire arrangement without focusing unduly upon any individual blossom. The image's decorative character is further enhanced by the terracotta vase decorated with playful cupids and the precariously perched nest containing three pale blue eggs.

Van Huysum is known to have studied with his father, Justus van Huysum, yet in this work the primary artistic inspiration must have been that of Jan Davidsz. de Heem (q.v.). De Heem, whose realistic depictions of natural forms were greatly admired in the early eighteenth century,¹ similarly organized his flower bouquets with sweeping rhythms that draw the eye in a circular pattern throughout the composition (see 1961.6.1). His remarkable painting techniques allowed him to create illusionistic images of individual blossoms. De Heem's complex bouquets included flowers that

would never be found together in nature, for example tulips and morning glories, combinations of improbable types that Van Huysum also delighted in including in his paintings. Perhaps following De Heem's lead, Van Huysum also depicted both tightly formed blossoms at the height of their beauty and tulips with wide opened petals, indicative that the blossoms were past their prime. Moreover, as had De Heem, Van Huysum enlivened his scenes with insects of various types, be they small ants crawling on, and occasionally eating, petals, or butterflies alighting on the uppermost blossoms. Finally, whether as an artistic conceit or to emphasize the freshness of the bouquet, both artists delighted in depicting dewdrops gathered on the green leaves that act as a foil to the delicate colors and shapes of the blossoms.

The similarities in concept between the works of these two men also point out profound differences. De Heem preferred a dark background against which he could contrast the whites and vibrant colors of his bouquet and concentrate the energy of his composition. Van Huysum chose a background with a light tonality so that he could create a more delicate and, ultimately, more decorative image. De Heem also included in his composition nonfloral elements, such as stalks of grain and bean pods that were instrumental in conveying the underlying religious meaning of his painting. Indeed, in a manner quite distinct from De Heem, Van Huysum does not appear to have chosen specific types of flowers for their symbolic associations. Rather, it would seem that the combination of elements in Van Huysum's arrangement was more broadly conceived to suggest both the richness and fertility of nature, and, through allusions to the cycle of life, the transience of earthly existence.

The chronological evolution of Van Huysum's style is difficult to determine because of the relative paucity of dated still lifes. This work, however, with its clear references back to compositions by Jan Davidsz. de Heem, apparently belongs to the beginning of Van Huysum's mature phase, around 1720. It seems to have been in the 1720s that Van Huysum developed the light palette so characteristic of this work. It was also during these years that he tended to place his flowers within this type of terracotta vase, decorated with playful putti fashioned after the relief sculptures of Francois Duquesnoy.² It is more lyrically composed than an early flower still life in Karlsruhe that is dated 1716,³ but the composition is not as complex as, for example, the asymmetrically conceived 1624 *Bouquet of Flowers in an Urn* in the Carter Collection (fig. 1). Other charac-

teristics of the somewhat later style of the Carter painting are that the bouquet rests on an ornately shaped stone ledge and is situated in an outdoor setting.⁴

Van Huysum's lasting fame has centered on his technical virtuosity and his precise observations of flowers and fruit. He could convey both the varied rhythms of the petal of a striped tulip, for example, and the glistening sheen of its variegated surface. Just how he achieved these effects has never been determined because he was a secretive artist who isolated himself from the world. Nevertheless, it would seem that in some measure he achieved these effects by painting from life rather than from models. In a letter to one patron in 1742, he complained that he could not complete a still life that included a yellow rose until it blossomed the following spring.⁵ The rose in question was presumably similar to the hybrid known as *Rosa huysumiana* seen in the left center of this painting. Indeed, certain of his paintings have dates from consecutive years.⁶ While it is not known whether Van Huysum painted this work over an extended period of time, a number of pentimenti do exist, particularly near the poppies at the top of the bouquet, indicating that he made significant changes in the arrangement of these compositional elements.

Notes

1. See Houbraken 1753, 209–211.

2. For Duquesnoy's relief sculpture see Fransolet 1942. John Walsh and Cynthia P. Schneider in Los Angeles 1981, 66, believe that although the figures were inspired by Duquesnoy, the vases were actually designed by Van Huysum himself.

3. Lauts 1966, cat. 380, ill.

4. Walsh and Schneider, in Los Angeles 1981, 66, note 9, have determined that the first dated painting by Van Huysum with an outdoor background is 1720.



Fig. 1. Jan van Huysum, *Bouquet of Flowers in an Urn*, 1724, oil on panel, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Edward William Carter

5. Schlie 1900, 141. The letter, dated 17 July 1742, was written to A. N. van Haften, agent for the Duke of Mecklenburg.

6. Grant 1954, cat. 19, *Vase of Flowers*, 1723/ 1724; cat. 162, *Fruits and Flowers*, 1732/1733.

References

- 1954 Grant: no. 3.
1985 NGA: 208, repro.

Willem Kalf

1619–1693

WILLEM KALF, baptized in Rotterdam on 3 November 1619, was one of the foremost still-life painters of the seventeenth century. His father, Jan Jansz. Calff (Kalf), was a well-to-do textile merchant and town council member who died in 1625. Shortly after the death of his mother, Machtelt Gerrits., in 1638, Kalf settled in Paris, where he was active as a

painter until his return to Rotterdam in 1646. Five years later his name appears in the marriage book for the city of Hoorn: "Willem Jansz. Kalf, bachelor of Rotterdam, and Cornelia Pluvier, girl of Vollenhoven, both living at Hoorn, on 22 October 1651." Not long after his marriage he is mentioned as a member of the Saint Luke's Guild in Amsterdam.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Kalf spent his lifetime in comfortable circumstances. He seems to have stopped painting around 1680 to concentrate his energies on being an art dealer. He died in Amsterdam on 31 July 1693 and was buried on 3 August in the Zuiderkerk.

Houbraken stated that Hendrik Gerritsz. Pot (c. 1585–1657) was Kalf's teacher, but there is little in Kalf's early work to suggest such a relationship. Because of the stylistic and coloristic resemblance between the work of François Rijckhals (d. 1647) and Kalf's early peasant kitchen interiors and *pronk* still lifes, it seems that this Rotterdam artist was an important influence on the young artist.

Kalf's mature work developed during the 1650s, after his move to Amsterdam. In these works he focused on a few objects that he organized with great restraint against a dark background. He delighted in depicting the sheen of silver, the translucency of glass, and the rich textures of intricately patterned oriental rugs. His luminous manner of painting highlights has often been compared to that of Johannes Vermeer (q.v.), and it is entirely possible that his work influenced the Delft master.

Although Kalf probably had pupils who made replicas of his work, none are documented. His most successful follower was Jurriaen van Streeck (c. 1622–1683).

Bibliography

- De Lairese 1740: 266–268.
Houbraken 1753, 2: 218–219.
Van Gelder 1941.
Van Gelder 1942.
Bergström 1956: 260–290.
Grisebach 1974.
Delft 1988: 180–196.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 213.

1943.7.8 (745)

Still Life

c. 1660
Oil on canvas, 64.4 x 53.8 (25 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{16}$)
Chester Dale Collection

Technical Notes: The support, a fine-weight, plain-weave fabric, has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. The x-radiograph shows broad cusping along the top edge. A very large complex tear is present in the upper right quadrant. The double ground consists of a red lower layer and an opaque light gray upper layer. Both thin layers are brush applied and leave the weave pattern prominent.

Paint handling varies according to the surface texture being rendered, from thin opaque layers to richly textured pastes, with glazes confined to carpet details and the dark background.¹ Abrasion is minimal. Scattered small losses are found overall, with a larger loss in the center of the Seville orange. The tear edges have been retouched and the orange rind heavily overpainted. No major treatment has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Possibly Jos. Dan. Böhm, Vienna; (possibly sale, Alexandre Posonyi, Vienna, 4 December 1865, no. 1682).² (Cottier & Co., New York); sold 1889 to Mrs. Henry Osborne Havemeyer [née Louise Waldron Elder] [1855–1929], New York; (sale, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, New York, 10 April 1930, no. 46); Chester Dale [1883–1962], New York.

NESTLED in a luxurious and exotic oriental carpet is a restrained arrangement of sumptuous objects brought to life by the delicate play of light across their surfaces.³ With deft touches of his brush Kalf invokes the soft texture of wool, the vitreous gleam of Chinese porcelain, the dense rind of lemon, and the transparent sheen of an elegantly wrought Venetian-style goblet. Viewed individually the objects have no logical relationship to each other, yet orchestrated as they are through Kalf's unerring sense of composition, these and the other objects he depicted come together as a harmonious whole, the rationale for which one does not even question.

As is evident from examining the full extent of his oeuvre, Kalf's style developed in quite distinct phases that parallel, to a certain extent, his periods of residence in Rotterdam, Paris, and Amsterdam. Within each phase a precise chronology is difficult to determine as he dated only a few of his paintings. Because Kalf favored a few compositional types and tended to use many of the same objects in various combinations, however, one can often arrive at an approximate chronology.

This painting, with its pyramidal composition set off-center, is one of the purest examples of a compositional format used by Kalf in Amsterdam in the late 1650s and early 1660s.⁴ Also characteristic of this type is the presence of the Chinese porcelain fruit bowl tipped at an angle to reveal its decorated interior. This Wan-Li bowl was a favorite of Kalf's, possibly because the blues and creamy whites of the interior played off so well against the oranges, yellows, and reds of the fruit.⁵ The tall Venetian-style goblet surmounted by a glass bird with spread wings, however, does not appear in other of his paintings. As can be frequently demonstrated, Kalf was not always scrupulously accurate in his representation of objects and varied their character to



Willem Kalf, *Still Life*, 1643-78

accord with his fantasy or compositional demands.⁶ Such may be the case with this somewhat fancifully conceived goblet.

Kalf's paintings were meant for an elite audience, one that not only took pride in the mercantile prosperity of the Dutch republic, but had also shared in the wealth. His works from the Amsterdam period do not contain Dutch cheeses, breads, hams, and pies, but rather items that had been imported from the far reaches of the world—Venetian glass, oriental carpets, agate-handled knives, Seville oranges, and, above all, Chinese porcelain.⁷ He then placed these exotic objects against a dark, contrasting background that would allow him to illuminate their forms with accents of light.

To judge from paintings such as this, Kalf's primary intent must have been to create an arrangement of elegant and luxurious objects that could be enjoyed for its aesthetic appeal. As opposed to earlier Haarlem still-life painters, he seems to have had little interest in instilling moralizing messages into his works. Confirmation of his attitude can be gained from the writings of Gerard de Lairese (1614–1711), an important Amsterdam painter and theorist who knew Kalf personally and who admired his work.⁸ De Lairese writes that paintings of the type Kalf executed, which include “expensive items, such as gold, silver, crystal and other glasses, pearls, rare stones and pearl necklaces,” are commonly called “*Vanitassen*,” or vanitas paintings.⁹ Nevertheless, according to De Lairese, Kalf did not include objects in his paintings for a specific meaning or moralizing message. Indeed, he decided which objects to paint somewhat according to whim and without any preconceived program.¹⁰ While the rarity and fragility of the objects he included in his paintings might call to mind questions of transience associated with vanitas issues, these were merely by-products of his work, not the driving force behind it.

Notes

1. Limited pigment analysis is available in the Scientific Research Department (12 October 1983).

2. Grisebach 1974, 258, no. 102, suggests that the *Still Life* might be identified as the Böhm painting auctioned on 4 December 1865 (Alexandre Posonyi, Vienna, no. 1682). The painting in this sale, however, may have been another composition, for it is described in the auction catalogue as having four pomegranates, “vier spanische Granatäpfel.”

3. Such carpets were, and still are, often used by the Dutch as covers for tables. In the seventeenth century, they were probably only to be found in the homes of the wealthy because of their high cost. They were imported to the Netherlands from Persia and India by the Dutch East India Company. Because this particular carpet is only partially visible, and because it is possible that the artist has taken

some license in its design, its country of origin is difficult to determine. One carpet expert, Mr. Chester Ellis of Kingston, New York, has indicated that he believes it is an Indian carpet (conversation with Mr. Ellis, September 1980). For a fuller discussion of carpets in Dutch art, see Ydema 1988, 15–28; and especially Ydema 1991.

4. Grisebach 1974, 114–115, 258, cat. 102, uses this painting as the characteristic example of this type of composition. He expressly compares the painting to four other works: three paintings dated 1659, his cat. nos. 95–97; and an undated painting in the Detroit Institute of Arts, his cat. no. 100. The compositional and stylistic characteristics of this work are so similar to those of other Kalf paintings from the early 1660s that I cannot agree with Claus Grimm's assessment that the painting is the work of Jurriaen van Streeck (1622–1683). See Grimm 1988, 223, repro.

5. Kalf, who seems to have abandoned painting as a profession to be an art dealer around 1680, may well have collected Wan-Li porcelain, for he depicted many exquisite pieces in his paintings. The bowl in this painting is known as a *clapmuts* in the Netherlands. See Volker 1954, repro. 4.

6. Polak 1976, 121; Segal, in Delft 1988, 195, discusses Kalf's artistic license in reference to other paintings.

7. Porcelain made in China during the reign of Wan Li (1573–1619) was highly valued in the Netherlands. Most of it was brought by ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, which had been founded on 20 March 1602. The real craze for Chinese porcelain occurred after the capture of Portuguese ships carrying a large cargo of Wan-Li porcelain in March 1603. When the cargo, consisting of over one hundred thousand pieces of porcelain, was sold in Amsterdam on 15 August 1604, buyers came from all over Western Europe. See Volker 1954, 22; and Le Corbeiller 1974, 1–4.

8. In a document of 1672 Kalf appeared as a witness before a notary in Amsterdam along with a number of other artists, including Gerard de Lairese. The case concerned the evaluation of Italian paintings. See Grisebach 1974, 193, doc. 20. How well De Lairese and Kalf were acquainted is not known, but to judge from De Lairese's laudatory comments about Kalf in his treatise on painting, one would assume that a friendship existed. See De Lairese 1740, 266–267. “De vermaarde *Kalf*, die veel heerlyke en uitmuntende voorbeelden daar van heeft nagelaaten, heeft in deze zeer uitgemunt, en boven allen den hoogsten lof verdiend.”

9. De Lairese 1740, 266. “Het is die welke in allerhande kostelykheden bestaat, als goud, zilver, kristalle en andere glazen, paerlen, edelgesteentens en paerlemoer, gemeenlyk *Vanitassen* genaamd.”

10. De Lairese 1740, 268:

Hoewel wy hier voor gezegt hebben, dat de vermaarde *Kalf* in de Stillevenen boven anderen heeft uitgemunt, heeft hy nochtans, zo min als zyne voorgangers en navolgers, reden van zyne verbeeldingen weeten te geeven, waarom hy dit of dat vertoonde: maar slechts het geen hem in den zin schoot (als een porcelyne pot of schaal, een goude bokaal, een fluit of roemer met wyn, en daar in een citroenschil hangende, een horologie, paerlemoere hoorn op een goude of zilvere voet, een zilvere schaal of bord met persikken, of wel opengesnedene chinaasappelen of citroenen, een tapyt, en diergelyke gewoonlyke dingen) verbeeld, zonder eens zyne gedachten te hebben laten gaan om iets van belang voort te brengen daar een byzondere zin in stak, of 't geen ergens op toegepast kon worden.

References

- 1959 NGA: 15 repro.
1965a NGA: 71, no. 745.
1965b NGA: no. 15, repro.
1968 NGA: 63, no. 745 repro.
1974 Grisebach: 114–115, 122, 130, 258, no. 102, repro.
116.

- 1975 NGA: 184–185, repro.
1985 NGA: 213, repro.
1986 Sutton: 309.
1983 Grimm: 223, repro.
1991 Ydema: 161, no. 455.

After Willem Kalf

1974.109.1 (2676)

Still Life with Nautilus Cup

1665/1670

Oil on canvas, 68.2 x 58 (26⁷/₈ x 22³/₁₆)

Gift of Robert H. and Clarice Smith

Inscriptions

At lower left on edge of table (probably by another hand):
W. Kalf

Technical Notes: The support, a medium-weight, tightly and plain-woven fabric, is composed of irregularly spun threads and was originally stretched off-square. It has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed, although cusping present along all edges suggests that the original dimensions have been retained.

Paint is applied over a smooth, thin beige ground in thin fluid layers, with thinned liquid washes and full-bodied pastes employed to simulate surface texture. Smooth surfaces were rendered with highlights blended wet into wet, while a finger was used to texture the orange peel. Dark passages such as the background are moderately abraded, particularly the darker design elements of the rug and sugar bowl. Minor losses are scattered at random. The signature at the lower left crosses over drying crackle but not the age cracks. It was added after the paint had dried, presumably by another hand. No conservation has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Possibly G. L. M. van Es, Wassenaar.¹ Probably Colonel Towers. (Leonard Koetser, London); (Edward Speelman, London, in 1946); (Pieter de Boer, Amsterdam, probably in 1950). Mr. W. Reineke, Amersfoort, 1958–1968; (Pieter de Boer, Amsterdam, and Newhouse, London); sold by (Newhouse, London) 21 January 1969 to Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Smith, Washington.

Exhibited: 1948 *Exhibition of Dutch and Flemish Masters*, Eugene Slatter Gallery, London, 1948, no. 13.² *Zomertoonstelling 1950*, Pieter de Boer Gallery, Amsterdam, 1950. *Kunstbezit rondom Laren*, Singer Museum, Laren, 1958, no. 106. *Nederlandse stillevens uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Dordrecht Museum, 1962, no. 65.

KALF'S RENOWN as an artist was such that he was eulogized in verse during his own lifetime by Jan Vos and Joost van den Vondel and written about enthusiastically in the early eighteenth century by Gerard de Lairese and Arnold Houbraken.³ Although these sources provide some insight into the character of his art, they say nothing about his workshop practice. Likewise, no mention is made of students, although some artists, particularly Jurriaen van Streeck (c. 1622–1683), come so close to him in style and composition that it seems improbable that they did not spend some time in his studio.⁴ The issue is of some consequence because two or three versions of certain of Kalf's compositions do exist. While later imitations may also have been made, it would have been consistent with seventeenth-century workshop practice for studio assistants, perhaps with the aid of the master, to make replicas of the master's most successful compositions. Even without documentary evidence to confirm the existence of a Kalf workshop, these replicas suggest that he worked with various assistants, particularly during his Amsterdam years.⁵

Despite exhibiting all the characteristics of a Kalf composition, *Still Life with Nautilus Cup* must be one of these replicas.⁶ The differences in handling between this work and an authentic work by the master are clear in a comparison with the National Gallery's *Still Life* (1943.7.8), where many of the same objects appear (figs. 1 and 2). The most obvious difference between the two is in the depiction of the lemon rind. In Kalf's own hand the rind has a three-dimensional presence as it twists and turns in space. Its edges are carefully wrought to show both the irregular cut of the knife and the thickness of the skin. Finally, the rough texture of the skin has been recreated with sure touches of the brush. The illusionism is so complete that the paint seems to take on

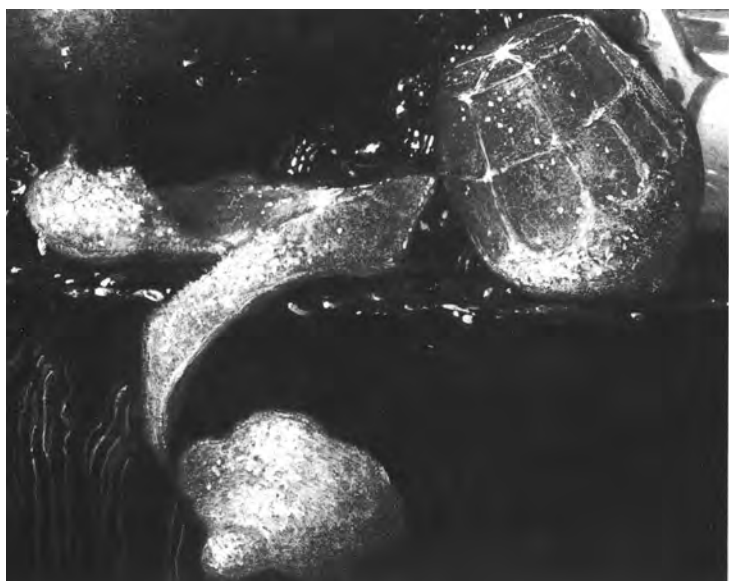


Fig. 1. Detail of lemon in 1974.109.1



Fig. 2. Detail of lemon in Willem Kalf, *Still Life*, 1662.7.8

the character of the skin itself. The lemon peel in the replica exhibits none of these characteristics. Form is simplified, edges give no hint of the rind's thickness, and paint highlights sit on the surface, doing little to create the sense of texture. Comparable differences in technique are evident in comparisons with the peeled lemon, the Seville orange, and the tapestry.⁷ Grisebach, who, in 1974, was the first to recognize that *Still Life with Nautilus Cup* was a replica, considered Kalf's original composition to be a painting formerly on the art market.⁸ This painting, however, is also a replica, but by a different hand.⁹ As seems to have happened in a number of instances, Kalf's original is lost.¹⁰

The compositional components of this work indicate that Kalf's original composition was executed in the late 1660s.¹¹ Although the blue and white Wan-Li porcelain bowl, decorated with colored biscuit figures representing the eight immortals of Taoist belief, is already found in Kalf's paintings from the early 1660s, most prominently in his *Still Life with Nautilus Cup* of 1662 (Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid),¹² the unusual nautilus cup appears only later in the decade.¹³ This cup consists of a polished turban shell mounted on an elaborately wrought, gilded-silver base made in the form of a putto holding a horn of plenty.¹⁴ While the turban shell was particularly prized for its mother-of-pearl luminosity, its shape, with the symbolic association with a horn of plenty, made it a particularly appro-

priate focal point for Kalf's image of wealth and prosperity.¹⁵

Notes

1. Noted in Grisebach 1974, 279. As the author mentions, however, the painting did not appear in the sale of the Van Es collection on 16–17 March 1943. Subsequent provenance was provided by the dealers who owned the painting for periods between 1946 and 1969 (letters in NGA curatorial files).

2. According to a letter from Edward Speelman (in NGA curatorial files), the picture belonged to him at the time of this 1948 exhibition to benefit the National Art-Collections Fund. The catalogue, however, makes no mention of past or present owners.

3. For Jan Vos' poem, written in 1654, see Grisebach 1974, 21; for Vondel's poem, published in 1663, see Grisebach 1974, 32. See also Houbraken 1753, 2: 218–219; and De Lairese 1740, 266–268.

4. Jurriaen's brother, Hendrick van Streeck (1650–1712), also painted in the manner of Kalf. For a discussion of artists working in Kalf's manner, see Blok 1919, 143–145.

5. Grisebach 1974 attributes 147 paintings unreservedly to Kalf. He also lists various copies of these works, copies of lost originals, questionable works, and wrongly attributed paintings. He does not, however, discuss the workshop problem. Segal 1988, 180–181, writes that Kalf, "like De Heem, allowed his pupils to make copies of his paintings to which he himself would add the finishing touches. Besides numerous copies by others, we also know of contemporary replicas signed by Kalf himself." Segal, however, does not present the evidence for his claim.

6. The signature is no assurance of authenticity as it is a later addition (see Technical Notes).

7. Similar comparisons can be made with other paintings



After Willem Kalf, *Still Life with Nautilus Cup*, 1974.109.1

containing identical objects, such as the blue-and-white Chinese bowl in Kalf's *Still Life with Nautilus Cup* in the Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza.

8. Grisebach 1974, 279, cat. 140a. He gives no reason for having determined this work to be a copy. The attribution has also been doubted verbally by Ingvar Bergström, Sam Segal, Claus Grimm, and Fred G. Meijer.

9. Sir Geoffrey Agnew letter, 9 January 1976, in NGA curatorial files, indicates that after they had acquired this painting at Sotheby's in 1964, they determined after restoration that it was an "old copy" (see Sotheby sale catalogue, 11 March 1964, lot 70, repro.). They subsequently sold the painting at auction on 18 August 1970. Its present location is unknown.

10. See, for example, Grisebach 1974, 286, cat. nos. B6, B7, B8.

11. Grisebach 1974, 279, however, explained the weakness of the painting he considered to be the original by dating it to the end of Kalf's career: "Qualitativ stellenweise recht schwaches Spatwerk."

12. For an illustration, see Gaskell 1989, cat. 10, 74–77.

13. For example, see his *Still Life with Nautilus Cup* (Muse-

um der bildenden Künste, Leipzig). Grisebach 1974, 160, 276–277, cat. 136, repro. 135, dates this painting to the late 1660s because of the dark tonality and the prevalence of gold tonalities in the work.

14. Timothy Anglin Burgard letter, 10 January 1989, in NGA curatorial files.

15. While the bases of the Leipzig and National Gallery paintings are similar, slight differences do occur. The turban shell, for example, sits directly on the head and hand of the putto in the Leipzig painting, whereas in the National Gallery painting it is raised above the putto by three circular forms. Such free adaptations in the shapes of objects are common in Kalf's paintings; a variant of this same base is used as a support for a glass in his *Still Life* of 1663 in the Cleveland Museum of Art (inv. no. 62.292; see Segal 1988, 195, 249, cat. 56).

References

1965 "Les cours de ventes": 159–167, repro. no. 12.

1974 Grisebach: 279, as copy of no. 140.

1985 NGA: 213, repro.

Philip van Kouwenbergh

1671–1729

PHILIP VAN KOUWENBERGH, the son of Frans van Kouwenbergh, a sculptor, was baptized in Amsterdam in the Nieuwe Kerk on 25 February 1671. On 11 September 1694 he was betrothed to Cornelia van der Mars, whom he married on 26 September 1694.¹ The first of their three sons, Wilhelmus [Willem], was born the following spring and baptized in the Nieuwe Kerk on 6 March. On 31 January 1721 Philip and Willem became burghers in Amsterdam. Having outlived his wife by almost ten years, Philip was buried in the Noorderkerkhof on 11 March 1729.

The few paintings known by Van Kouwenbergh are either flower paintings or woodland scenes containing ruins, flowers, and insects. While no information about his artistic training exists, Meijer has suggested that Van Kouwenbergh might have studied with the still-life painter Elias van den Broeck (c. 1650–1708). Van den Broeck, having returned from Antwerp in 1685, was active in Amsterdam at the time Van Kouwenbergh would have been learning his trade. Documents indicate that Van Kouwenbergh's paintings were on the market by 1694, so he had probably become an independent master by the time of his betrothal.

Notes

1. S.A.C. Dudok van Heel letter 3 September 1976, in NGA curatorial files. For biographical information on the artist see Meijer 1988a.

Bibliography

Meijer 1988a.

1976.26.2 (2695)

Flowers in a Vase

c. 1700

Oil on canvas, 67 x 51 (26¾ x 19¾)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Draper Blair

Inscriptions

At lower right (damaged): [P] Kouwe[]be[]h

Technical Notes: The support, a heavy-weight, loosely and plain-woven fabric, has been lined with the tacking margins removed. Cusping is visible along all edges. Colored imprimaturas were applied locally over a fawn-colored ground. Thin, fluid paint layers are subtly blended, exploiting darker underlayers, and modified with light glazes and scumbles. The fading of a fugitive yellow pigment imparts a blue tonality to the leaves, which overlap the completed vase.



Philip van Kouwenbergh, *Flowers in a Vase*, 1976.26.2

The bottom edge and lower left corner are extensively damaged and reconstructed. A small loss is found in the red flower at center. Moderate abrasion overall has exposed darker underlayers, altering the tonal balance. The painting was lined in 1969, prior to acquisition.

Provenance: Viscount de Beughem, Brussels; by inheritance to Mr. and Mrs. William D. Blair, Washington.

THIS DECORATIVE STILL LIFE is one of the few signed works by this relatively unknown Amsterdam painter. The execution is fairly broad, and the colors are deep and rich. Van Kouwenbergh has displayed his floral arrangement around an elaborate earthenware urn situated at the edge of a stone ledge. The composition is organized along a diagonal that is not embellished with intricate rhythms of blossoms or twisting stems. In this respect the artist belongs to the tradition of late followers of Jan Davidsz. de Heem (q.v.): Elias van den Broeck, who may have been his teacher, and Rachel Ruysch (1664–1750), with whom his still lifes are sometimes confused.¹ None of Van Kouwenbergh's few known paintings are dated, which means it is impossible to establish a meaningful chronology for his work. Nonetheless this painting should probably be dated early in his career because of its stylistic similarities to paintings by Van den Broeck.²

Van Kouwenbergh includes here many of the plants found in paintings by Jan Davidsz. de Heem

and his followers, including roses, poppies, morning glories, white lilacs, and stalks of wheat. He also incorporates insects: a banded grove snail, two centipedes attacking each other, and a butterfly. In De Heem's still lifes, for example, *Vase of Flowers*, 1961.6.1, flowers, wheat, and insects are often imbued with symbolic meaning related to the cycle of life or Christian concepts of death and resurrection. The philosophical concepts underlying De Heem's carefully conceived compositions may have been understood by Van Kouwenbergh, but too little is known of his oeuvre to be able to judge this with certainty. In this painting the rather whimsical sculptural element surmounting the urn would seem to set a tone quite contrary to the weighty messages De Heem sought to convey.

Notes

1. See Meijer 1988a, 319. Meijer has been able to assemble an oeuvre for the artist of fewer than twenty still-life paintings.

2. Van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven 1991, 253–254, has proposed a date at the end of the seventeenth century on the basis of the palette and the appearance of the wheat. She expressly compares this painting with another undated still life at Stourhead House, Wiltshire (National Trust) (her fig. 2).

References

- 1985 NGA: 217, repro.
1991 Van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven: 252–255, color repro.

Judith Leyster

1609–1660

JUDITH LEYSTER was born in Haarlem and baptized there on 28 July 1609. Her father, Jan Willemsz., was the owner of a brewery called the “Leyster” (*lodestar*), from which the family took its surname. Little is known of Leyster's early training, but she clearly made a name for herself at a very young age: she is mentioned as an active artist in Samuel Ampzing's description of the town of Haarlem, which was published in 1628 when she would have been just nineteen years old.¹

Not long thereafter, Leyster's family moved to Vreeland near Utrecht, and many have speculated that at this time she came under the influence of the Utrecht *Caravaggisti*. Nevertheless, the dramatic ef-

fects of indirect, artificial lighting that these painters typically employed are not entirely paralleled in any of her canvases. It seems more likely that the superficial similarities to the style of the Utrecht *Caravaggisti* came by way of Frans Hals' circle of painters in Haarlem. By September 1629, Leyster's parents had moved to Zaandam, near Amsterdam, although it is not clear how long she remained with them there before returning to Haarlem. She was certainly back in her native town by November 1631 when she was a witness at the baptism of one of the children of Frans Hals (q.v.).

No records survive to prove that Leyster studied with Hals in his studio, but a number of her works

show her to have been one of his closest and most successful followers. Furthermore, other comparisons suggest that she was also influenced by the work of his brother, Dirck Hals (1591–1656). Should Leyster have been in either of their studios, it would seem that she would have been there prior to 1629, the year she starts to sign and date her paintings, and probably before 1628, when Ampzing implies that she was working as an independent artist.

In the years following her return to Haarlem, Judith Leyster achieved a degree of professional success that was quite remarkable for a woman of her time. By 1633 she was a member of the Haarlem Guild of Saint Luke, the first woman admitted for which an oeuvre can be cited, and in 1635 she is recorded as having three students. One of these, Willem Woutersz., subsequently defected to the studio of Hals, presumably without adequate warning, for Leyster went before the Guild of Saint Luke in October 1635 to make a (successful) demand for payment from Woutersz.'s mother.

In 1636 she was married to Jan Miense Molenaer (c. 1609/1610–1669), a fellow artist and at times close follower of Hals. The couple subsequently moved to Amsterdam, where they lived until 1648. She painted very little after her marriage. In October of 1648 the couple bought a house in Heemstede, near Haarlem, but continued to make regular visits to Amsterdam, where they had another house, and also to Haarlem. Leyster died in 1660 and was buried in Heemstede on 10 February.

Stylistically, much of her work resembles that of Frans Hals. Her brushwork is quite free and spontaneous, and she favored the same types of subjects and compositions, notably energetic genre scenes depicting one or two figures, often children engaged in some kind of merrymaking. In addition to these compositions, Leyster also painted still lifes. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between her early works and the works of her husband, a problem that is aggravated by the fact that they often shared studio props and models, and may even have worked on each other's pictures.

Notes

1. Ampzing's text is known to have been written prior to 1 February 1627. His discussion of Judith Leyster occurs in the context of his comments on the artistic achievements of the De Grebber family. Hofrichter 1989, 14, raises the possibility that he placed Leyster here because she was at that point studying with Frans Pietersz. de Grebber (1573–1649).

Bibliography

Ampzing 1628: 370.
Schrevelius 1648: 290.
Harms 1927.
Hofrichter 1975.
Philadelphia 1984: 233–235.
Hofrichter 1989.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 226.
Haarlem 1993.

1949.6.1 (1050)

Self-Portrait

c. 1630

Oil on canvas, 72.3 x 65.3 (29 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{5}{8}$)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss

Technical Notes: The support, a plain-woven fabric with numerous slubs and weave imperfections, has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. A large horizontal rectangle of original canvas is missing from the bottom left in an area corresponding to the red skirt, and has been replaced with a fine-weight, tightly woven fabric insert. The x-radiograph (fig. 1) shows cusping along all edges except the insert, which is also bereft of original paint or ground layers.

A smooth, thin, white ground layer was applied overall and followed by a gray brown imprimatura layer. Paint handling varies from fluid paint applied in loose liquid strokes in the black peplum, to thicker pastes blended wet into wet in the flesh tones. White cuffs were applied wet over dry above the thinly scumbled purple sleeves, and red glazes laid over opaque pink underpaint in the original passages of the red skirt.

Infrared reflectography reveals a major change in the easel painting, which originally showed a woman's head, with parted lips, turned slightly to the left, now partially visible as a pentimento. With the exception of the loss in the lower left, actual paint losses are few: small losses in the top at center and in the proper left cheek. The paint surface, however, is in poor condition, with minute pitting throughout of the type caused by superheating during a lining procedure, exacerbated by moderate abrasion overall, and flattening. The unfinished violin player on the easel is heavily abraded.

The painting was treated in 1992 to remove discolored varnish layers and old retouching. The later insert was retained.

Provenance: E. M. Grainger, Hastings, Sussex. (Sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 16 April 1926, no. 115, as Judith Leyster); private collection or art market, Paris, 1927. (Ehrich Galleries, New York, in 1928); purchased 1929 by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, Washington.

Exhibited: *A Century of Progress Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture*, Art Institute of Chicago, 1933, no. 64 (as Frans Hals). *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis, 1937, no. 22 (as Frans Hals). *Frans Hals Tentoonstelling ter gelegenheid van het 75-jarig bestaan van het gemeentelijk Museum te Haarlem*, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, 1937, no. 9 (as Frans Hals). *Paintings by Frans Hals:*

Exhibition for the Benefit of New York University, Schaeffer Galleries, New York, 1937, no. 3 (as Frans Hals). *People at Work: Seventeenth Century Dutch Art*, Hofstra Museum, Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, 1988, no. 11. *Judith Leyster: A Dutch Master and Her World*, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem; Worcester [Massachusetts] Art Museum, 1993, no. 7. *Judith Leyster: "Leading Star,"* National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, 1993–1994.

AS SHE TURNS from her painting of a violin player and gazes smilingly out at the viewer, Judith Leyster manages to assert, in the most off-handed way, that she has mastered a profession that had traditionally been a masculine domain. While women drew and painted as amateurs, a professional woman painter was a rarity in Holland in the seventeenth century. Leyster was quite a celebrity even before she painted this self-portrait in about 1630. Her proficiency, even at the tender age of nineteen, had been so remarkable that in 1628 Samuel Ampzing had singled her out for praise in his *Beschryvinge ende Lof der Stad Haerlem in Holland* some five years before she appears to have become the first woman ever to be admitted as a master in the Haarlem Saint Luke's Guild.¹ Even after 1636, when she moved to Amsterdam with her husband, the artist Jan Miense Molenaer, her artistic reputation remained intact in her native city. In the late 1640s another historian of Haarlem, Theodorus Schrevelius, wrote that

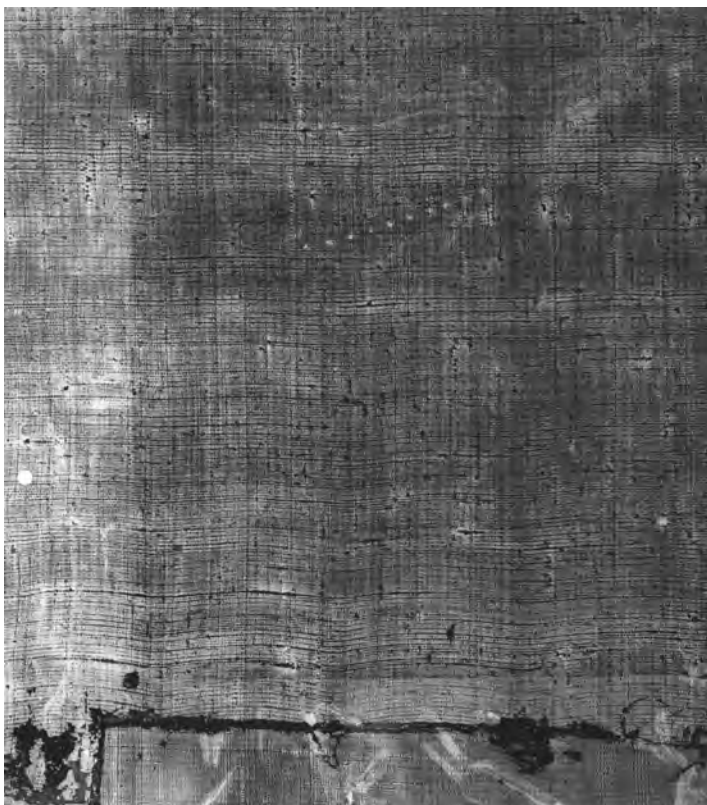
"There also have been many experienced women in the field of painting who are still renowned in our time, and who could compete with men. Among them, one excels exceptionally, Judith Leyster, called 'the true leading star' in art...."²

The young artist sits in a remarkably casual manner, with her right arm resting on the back of her chair. As she looks out at the viewer with one hand holding a brush and the other her palette, a large bundle of brushes, and a white painter's cloth, it appears as though she has just been interrupted from her work. Indeed, Leyster has purposely left the figure of the violin player on the canvas in an unfinished state. Nevertheless, she is dressed in quite formal attire, inappropriate for an artist busy working. One could hardly imagine her painting while wearing such a firmly starched, broad, lace-trimmed collar.

The inconsistencies can be explained in the dichotomy that existed between the traditional iconography for artists' self-portraits and the relatively new informal concept of portraiture that had developed in Haarlem in the 1620s through the influence of Frans Hals. It had long been accepted for an artist to depict him or herself dressed in fine clothes before an easel, as, for example, did one of the few successful women artists of the sixteenth century, Catharina van Hemessen (1528–after 1587), in her self-portrait of 1548 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Basel).³ This tradition developed as artists sought to raise their social status from craftsmen to members of the liberal arts. The parallel that could be drawn between the noble character of painting and the social position of the artist is also evident in Cesare Ripa's insistence that the personification of "Artificio of Konststück" should be dressed in expensive and ingeniously made (*konstigh*) clothes. "He should be dressed ingeniously and nobly because art by itself is noble, which men can also call the second Nature."⁴ Leyster abided by this tradition, yet she was also aware of the innovations of the greatest Haarlem portrait painter of the day, Frans Hals. While her brushwork is not as vivacious as that of Hals, the momentary quality of the image, conveyed through informality of pose and open expression, is related to his portrait style of the 1620s.⁵

The exact date of this self-portrait is not known. Hofrichter has argued that Leyster executed it as a presentation piece at the time of her entry into the Haarlem Guild of Saint Luke in 1633. The new regulations, which were established in 1631, required that each new master present to the guild "a painting two feet large" as testimony of skill.⁶ Nevertheless, for a number of reasons this attractive

Fig. 1. Detail of x-radiograph of lower left corner of canvas, showing insert, in 1949.6.1





Judith Leyster, *Self-Portrait*, 1649.6.1



Fig. 2. Judith Leyster, *Merry Company*, 1629/1631, oil on canvas, The Netherlands, private collection

hypothesis is probably not correct. First, the costume cannot date that late. This flat, lace-edged style of collar can be found in portraits from the late 1620s but not in the 1630s.⁷ The style of the cap, moreover, is extremely close to one in Leyster's *Carousing Couple* (1630, Louvre, Paris, inv. no. R.F. 2131). The smooth modeling of the heads of the women in these two paintings is also extremely close. Their features are somewhat superficially rendered in comparison to the more three-dimensionally conceived genre figures that Leyster painted in the early to mid-1630s.⁸ Finally, the painting of a violin player displayed on the easel in the *Self-Portrait* derives from a *Merry Company* that she executed between about 1629 and 1631 (fig. 2). It seems unlikely that she would have returned to this subject in 1633 to demonstrate her abilities for admission to the guild. All of this evidence suggests a date of about 1630 for this work, when Leyster was about twenty-one years old.

Leyster did not initially plan to paint the violin player on the canvas, but rather a portrait of a woman, whose face is visible in an infrared photograph (fig. 3). Following the iconographic tradition of artist portraits at an easel, the woman's portrait

was probably of Leyster herself.⁹ She may have decided to depart from that tradition because of the popular success of the *Merry Company* scene from which the violin player derived, or to emphasize her versatility as a painter of both portraits and genre scenes.¹⁰ In any event, the happy disposition of the violin player gives the *Self-Portrait* a joyous character that adds much to its charm.¹¹

Notes

1. Ampzing 1628, 370, praises Leyster's bold hand and mind in the context of a discussion of the De Grebber family, probably because Frans de Grebber's daughter Maria (c. 1602–1680) was also a painter. The rarity of women artists is implicit in Ampzing's rhetorical question concerning Maria: "Who ever saw a painting made by the hand of a daughter?" ["Wie sag oyt schilderij van eene dochtershand?"]

2. Schrevelius 1648, 384–385. "Daer zyn ook veel Vrouwen gheweest in de Schilder-konst wel ervaren/die voornamelyck by onse tijdt noch vermaert zijn/die met de mans haer soude kunnen versetten in de mael-konst/van welke een insonderheydt uytmunt, JUDITH LEISTER, weleer genaemt/de rechte Leyster inde konst..." The English translation has been taken from Hofrichter 1989, 83. The ref-

Fig. 3. Detail of infrared photograph of 1949.6.1



erence to "the true leading star" is a pun on Leyster's name; see Hofrichter 1989, 13.

3. Illustrated in Raupp 1984, 390, repro. 20.

4. Ripa 1644, 259. "Konstigh en eedel wort hy gekleet, om dat de konst door haer selven eedel is, die men oock de tweede Natuyre kan heeten." For a discussion of this type of self-portraiture, see Raupp 1984, 36–38.

5. For example, Hals' *Isaac Abrabamsz. Massa*, 1626, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, inv. no. 54/31, illustrated in Slive 1970–1974, 2: pl. 64. Although the National Gallery's work was given to Judith Leyster in 1926, many scholars attributed it to Frans Hals during the 1930s (see Exhibited and References).

6. Hofrichter 1983, 106–109. For the guild regulations, see Tavern 1972–1973, 52.

7. A similar style collar is seen in family portraits of the late 1620s, such as Pieter de Grebber's *Family Portrait at a Meal*, 1625 (Stedelijk Museum, Alkmaar); Paulus Bor's *Portrait of the Family Van Vanevelt*, 1628 (Sint Pietersen Blokland Gasthuis, Amersfoort); and Andries van Bochoven's *The Artist and His Family*, 1629 (Centraal Museum, Utrecht). These paintings are illustrated in Haarlem 1986, nos. 72, 74, 75.

8. For example, *Young Flute Player* (inv. no. 1120); see Hofrichter 1989, no. 38.

9. See, for example, Catharina van Hemessen's *Self-Portrait* of 1548 (see note 3).

10. As suggested by Hofrichter 1983, 107.

11. For a discussion of the symbolic implications of the violin player see Raupp 1984, 346–347.

References

1928 Valentiner: 238–247, repro.

- 1930 Gratama: 71–75, repro.
1930 Dülberg: 42, 41 repro.
1933 Rich: 372–381, repro.
1937 Rich: 130–137.
1937 Trivas: 227–231, repro.
1963 Van Hall: 187, nos. 2, 5.
1965 NGA: 75, no. 1050.
1968 NGA: 66, repro.
1970–1974 Slive, 3 (1974): 152–153.
1971 Grimm: 146–178, repro. 146, 148.
1973 Iskin: 4–14.
1974 Tufts: 71, repro.
1974 Montagni: 113, no. 249, repro. (also French ed. 1976).
1975 Munsterberg: 26–27, repro.
1975 NGA: 194, no. 1050, repro. 195.
1975 Walker: 287, no. 382, repro.
1976 Nochlin and Harris: 139.
1976/1977 Daniëls: 329–341, repro. 340.
1983 Hofrichter: 106–109, repro. nos. 1, 3.
1984 Raupp: 346–347.
1984 Philadelphia: 234–235, repro.
1985 NGA: 227, repro.
1986 Sutton: 309.
1987 Heller: 213, note 20.
1987 Schama: 415–416, repro. no. 196.
1988 Wheelock: 214–245, figs. 9–19, 9–20, 9–21.
1989 Hofrichter: 15, 24, 51–53, no. 21, pls. 21, 55, 56, 57, color plate x.
1990 Grimm: 238–239, fig. 127b (detail) (also 1990 English trans.: 238–239).

Nicolaes Maes

1634–1693

MAES WAS BORN in Dordrecht in January 1634, the son of a well-to-do soap boiler.¹ The details and dates of his early career are not precisely known, but Houbraken tells us that Maes' first instruction in drawing came from "an ordinary master" (*een gemeen Meester*), probably locally in Dordrecht. At some point in the late 1640s, however, he went to Amsterdam and studied with Rembrandt (q.v.), becoming one of the master's most accomplished pupils.

By the end of 1653, Maes was back in Dordrecht, where he was betrothed on 28 December to Adriana Brouwers, the widow of a preacher. They were married there on 13 January 1654, and had three children (one of whom died young). The influence of Rembrandt, and specifically the style and subject matter of his work of the 1640s, continued in Maes' work after his return to Dordrecht. This influence is espe-

cially strong in the case of his drawings, which are often difficult to distinguish with certainty from those of Rembrandt. Maes produced almost all of his small-scale paintings of domestic interiors during the mid-1650s, one of the two types of picture for which he is best known.

By 1656, Maes began painting portraits, and eventually he became exclusively a fashionable portrait painter. He sought to infuse his depictions of Dutch merchants with an elegance comparable to that found in paintings by Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), and Houbraken relates that Maes actually traveled to Antwerp to study the works of Flemish masters. His own portraits, however, always retained a more literal likeness of the sitter than did those of Van Dyck.

Houbraken attributed the stylistic changes evi-

dent in Maes' painting during the 1660s to market pressure, saying that Maes abandoned Rembrandt's way of painting "when he took up portraiture and discovered that young ladies would rather be painted in white than in brown." At this time, Maes not only altered his style, but also completely changed his signature from block letters to a more elegant form. Were it not for the existence of transitional paintings signed in the earlier manner but showing signs of the artist's later style, we might well conclude that the late portraits were painted by an entirely different N. Maes.

In 1673 Maes moved to Amsterdam, where he died in December 1693.

Notes

1. Houbraken reported that Maes was born in 1632, but a Dordrecht archivist discovered the correct date: see Martin 1942, 512, note 325.

Bibliography

Houbraken 1753, 2: 273–277.
 Veth 1890.
 HdG 1907–1927, 6 (1916): 473–605.
 Valentiner 1924.
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 Sumowski 1983, 3: 1951–2174.
 Philadelphia 1984: 239–242.
 Brown/MacLaren 1992: 239.

1937.1.63 (63)

An Old Woman Dozing over a Book

c. 1655
 Oil on canvas, 82.2 x 67 (32³/₈ x 26³/₈)
 Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At upper right above keys: *N. MAES*

Technical Notes: The support, a medium-weight, plain-woven fabric, has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Cusping visible along all edges indicates the original dimensions have been retained. A long horizontal tear in the book is slightly depressed. A smooth off-white ground application was followed by a dark imprimatura layer, applied overall and incorporated into the background.

Paint was applied thinly in all but the flesh tones with low impasto in light passages and transparent glazing in the darks. Wet-into-wet blending softens the edges of the controlled brushstrokes. The proper right hand and proper left side of the face are severely abraded and awkwardly retouched. The signature is reinforced. A thick, matte, discolored varnish covers the surface. No conservation has been carried out since acquisition.

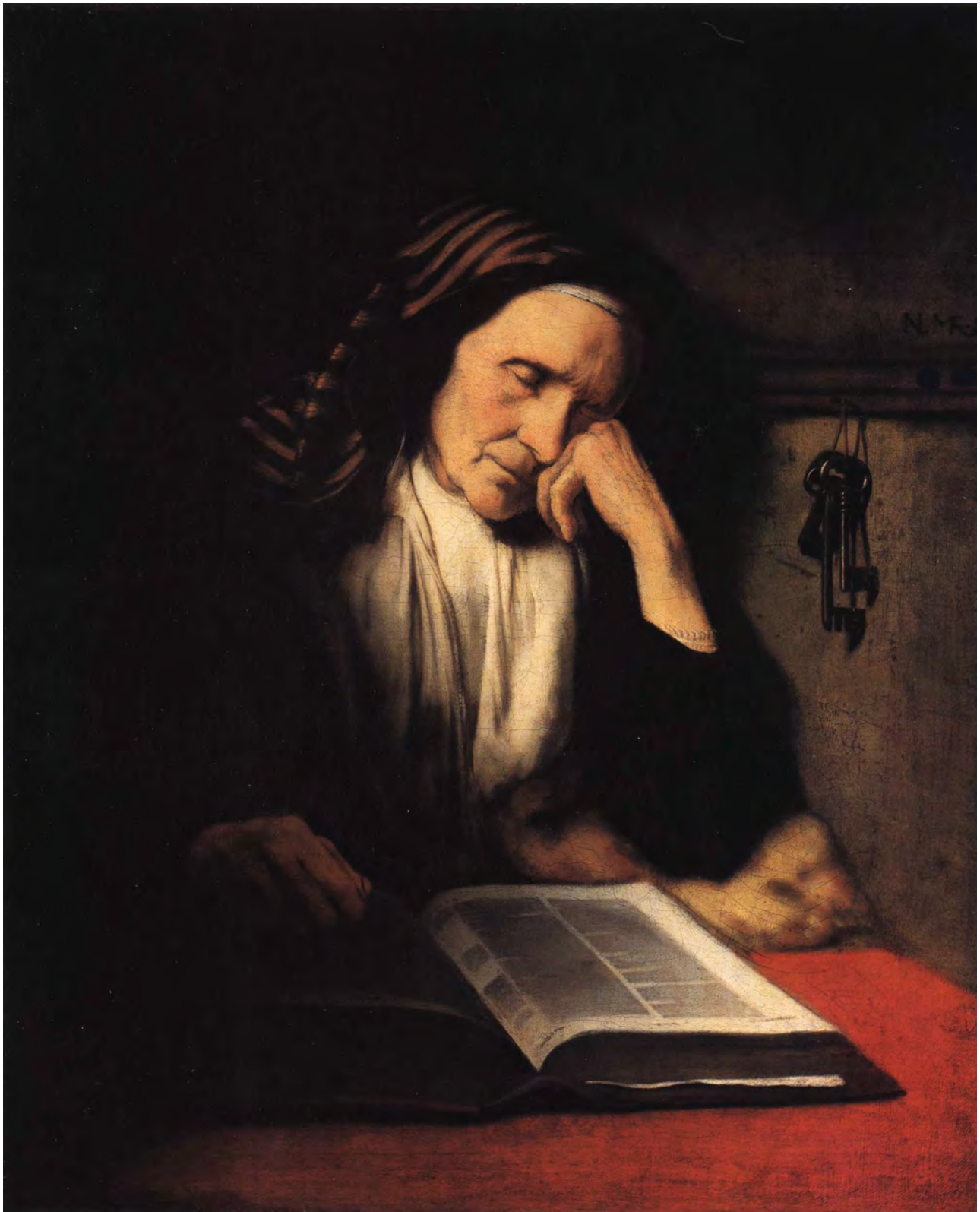
Provenance: Anonymous sale, Worcester, in 1856; Thomas Grove Smith [d. 1879], Rashwood House, Droitwich, Worcestershire; by inheritance to his son, Herbert George Smith [d. 1918], Apsey House, Batheaston, Somerset;¹ (Arthur J. Sulley & Co., London, in 1919). (Possibly with Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, c. 1920).² Nils B. Hersloff, Baltimore, and East Orange, New Jersey, by 1933; (consigned to M. Knoedler & Co., New York, April 1933–May 1934 and January 1935–April 1936);³ purchased 16 April 1936 by The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *Autumn Exhibition*, Victoria Art Gallery, Bath, 1900, no. 41. *Exhibition of Twenty Masterpieces (1400–1800) in Aid of King George V's Jubilee Trust*, M. Knoedler & Co., London, 1935, no. 10. *Bilder des Alters*, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, 1993–1994, no. 44, repr.

SEATED AT A TABLE in a darkened room, an old woman leans her head on the back of her hand, having fallen asleep over her book. Her right hand, which is vaguely distinguishable in the shadow, rests on the book and holds her reading spectacles. Hanging from a nail in the molding on the wall to her left are three large keys. The mood of the painting is somber and quiet. The light that falls on her face from the upper left also illuminates the keys, book, and red tablecloth, but most of her body and background are thrown into deep shadow.

Maes explored the theme of a sleeping woman a number of times in the mid-1650s, shortly after he left Rembrandt's studio. Invariably these paintings have an admonitory character, for the woman is always shown sleeping instead of fulfilling her duties and responsibilities. In *The Idle Servant* of 1655 (National Gallery, London, inv. no. 207), Maes made his point by having a gesturing woman point out the irresponsible servant to the viewer.⁴ Dirty pots and pans lie at the woman's feet, and behind her a cat steals a chicken. As if the point needed reinforcement, Maes also placed the sleeping maid in a pose that was well known as a representation of Acedia (Sloth) (fig. 1). He clearly intended to convey a comparable message in his representations of women sleeping over their books, particularly when the book was the Bible, as is the case here.

The identification of the book as a Bible can be made through comparison with a related painting in Brussels (fig. 2), in which this same Bible lies opened to the first page of the Book of Amos. Throughout most of this text the Lord describes how he will no longer overlook the misdemeanors of the Israelites and intends to punish them like anyone else. Reinforcing the message that the woman's behavior cannot be condoned is the fact that her lacemaking, a symbol of domestic virtue, also goes unattended.⁵



Nicolaes Maes, *An Old Woman Dozing over a Book*, 1937.1.63



Fig. 1. Jerome Weirix, after P. Galle, *Acedia*, engraving, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953

Finally, the hourglass, propping open the book, and the extinguished candle in the niche are symbols of the transitoriness of life. Since life is fleeting, the shirking of responsibilities signifies an unfulfilled existence in the eyes of both man and God.⁶

The message in the Washington painting is less explicit than in the examples from London and Brussels because the iconographic elements have been greatly reduced. Still, the underlying theme is clearly the same. The woman also assumes the pose of sloth; the only accessories, other than the Bible and spectacles, are the keys hanging on the wall. Traditionally, keys suggest responsibility; left unattended, they indicate her failure to uphold her duties. Keys, however, have many metaphorical associations, among them, by association with the keys of Saint Peter, entry into heaven. Since a key also hangs on the back wall in the Brussels painting, where themes of sloth and transitoriness of life are both present, they too may carry such dual symbolism. Falling asleep over one's Bible is not a means for discovering the keys to heaven. Indeed, in

another metaphorical sense of the work, the Bible provides us with keys for understanding life and guiding our salvation. As it lies unread, these keys are neglected. Similarly, spectacles, which serve to improve vision and sharpen our awareness, are effective only when used. An old Dutch proverb reads: "What good is the candle or eyeglasses if the owl does not want to see."⁷ The devotion with which the woman in a Maes painting in the Worcester Art Museum prays (fig. 3), with her awareness of the transitoriness of life evident in the skull and hourglass on the table before her, is a far more acceptable exemplar than that seen in either the Brussels or Washington paintings.⁸

Although *An Old Woman Dozing over a Book* is not dated, it must be from around 1655, when Rembrandt's influence on Maes' style was still strong. The broad touch, the dark palette with the deep reds of the tablecloth, and the strong chiaroscuro effects are comparable to effects found in Rembrandt's paintings from the mid-1640s.

The moralizing character that is so predominant in Maes' genre paintings of the mid-1650s, however,

Fig. 2. Nicolaes Maes, *An Old Woman Asleep before a Bible*, c. 1655, oil on canvas, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts





Fig. 3. Nicolaes Maes, *An Old Woman Praying*, c. 1655, oil on canvas, Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum

has no direct prototype in Rembrandt's paintings or in those of his other pupils and followers from the late 1640s and early 1650s, when Maes was in Amsterdam. Indeed, depictions by Rembrandt and his school of old women actively reading inevitably invoked the sitter's pious nature.⁹ Maes' moralizing images were made after his return to Dordrecht and after his marriage to the widow of a preacher in January 1654. Dordrecht had a strong Calvinist tradition, and themes that stressed moral responsibility may have had a ready market.

Many of the props Maes used in this work reappear in other paintings from this period. So too does the model, who is in both the Brussels and Worcester paintings,¹⁰ and in the latter wears the identical striped headdress as here.¹¹ Although the identity of the model is not known, she was in all probability a relative. One wonders if Maes followed Rembrandt's example and used his mother for his representations of old women in these strongly didactic works.

Notes

1. The early provenance for this painting comes from a three-page typewritten pamphlet concerning the work written by W. Roberts in 1919. It was probably produced for Sulley and Co., London, and is currently in the library at M. Knoedler & Co., New York.

2. Handwritten note by Frits Lugt in a copy of a 1935 Knoedler exhibition catalogue (now at the RKD): "fraai, heb ick bij Agnew ± 1920 gemist."

3. On 7 April 1933 the picture was received by Knoedler, on consignment from "H. B. Hersloff, Compania De Trafico Y Formento" (no address given, transaction no. CA 513 in stockbook). It was returned to the consigner on 8 May 1934, but returned again in January 1935 (transaction CA 768, again from "H. B. Hersloff"). The painting is listed in the 1935 Knoedler exhibition catalogue as having come from the collection of "Nils B. Hersloff, Esq.," however, rather than "H. B.," as was entered in the normally reliable Knoedler stockbooks. (Stockbook information kindly provided by Nancy C. Little, librarian at M. Knoedler & Co., New York).

4. For a discussion of this theme see Robinson 1987, 283–313.

5. For a discussion of the symbolism in this work see E. de Jongh in Amsterdam 1976, 143.

6. De Jongh in Amsterdam 1976, 143, quoting Johan de Brune, *Banquet-Werk van Goede Gedachten* (Middelburg, 1657), 287, no. 728 ('Ledigheyd'): "Aen 't verlies van den tijd hanght het verlies van de eeuwige zaligheyd."

7. Heinrich Schwarz and Volker Plagemann, "Eule," in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* 6 (1973): 267–322 (n.b. 308), fig. 28. "Wat baetes kaers of bril, als den uijl niet sien en wil." (See Amsterdam 1976, 247, cat. 65.)

8. Wayne Franits in Braunschweig 1993, 174, associates the warm clothes the woman wears in the Washington painting with the belief that the body becomes cold and dry in old age as it approaches death. He, thus, sees the character of the clothing as reinforcing the theme of transitoriness that otherwise exists in the painting. Arguing against this theory, however, is the fact that the very alert woman in the Worcester painting is dressed warmly as well.

9. Gregory Rubinstein has noted that the theme of a woman reading a book only developed in Dutch painting around 1630, perhaps as a result of a contemporary increase of literacy among women. In the following decades many painters depicted old women reading; it would be interesting to investigate the reasons for the introduction and popularity of this motif. See, for example, Rembrandt, *Rembrandt's Mother in the Guise of the Prophetess Anna* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A 3066); Rembrandt and Workshop, *An Old Lady with a Book*, NGA 1937.1.73; and Gerard Dou, *Old Woman Reading* (Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 2627).

10. This same model also appears in *A Woman Spinning* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A246) and *An Old Woman Peeling Apples* (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 819C).

11. Robinson 1984, 540, note 6, has observed that Maes also used this cloth in his *Dismissal of Hagar*, 1653 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 1971.1.73), and the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, c. 1655–1658 (Alfred Bader Collection, Milwaukee).

References

- 1919 Bode: 68 (possibly a reference to 1937.1.63).
- 1924 Valentiner: 72, no. 33, repro.
- 1941 NGA: 118.
- 1949 Mellon: 89, repro.
- 1965 NGA: 80.
- 1968 NGA: 71, repro.
- 1974 Worcester Art Museum, 1: 112–114 (entry by Seymour Slive).

1975 NGA: 208–209, repro.
1976 Walker: 286–287, repro.
1979–1992 Sumowski, 8 (1984): 4066, 4084.
1983 Sumowski, 3: 2019, 2021, 2022, 2094, cat. 1368, color repro.

1984 Philadelphia: 241, note 2.
1984 Robinson: 540–544.
1985 NGA: 240, repro.

Gabriel Metsu

1629–1667

GABRIEL METSU was born in Leiden in January 1629, only two months before the death of his father, the Flemish painter Jacques Metsue. In 1644, at the age of fifteen, Gabriel Metsu is recorded as one of a group of artists who were lobbying for the establishment of a Leiden Guild of Saint Luke, and in 1648 he became a founder-member of the organization. With the exception of short absences in the early 1650s, he spent the next decade in Leiden.¹ By July 1657, however, he had moved to Amsterdam. On 12 April 1658 he married Isabella de Wolff, a relative of the Haarlem classicist painter Pieter de Grebber (c. 1600–1652/1653). In January of the next year, Metsu became a citizen of Amsterdam, where he died in 1667 at the age of only thirty-eight.

It has been assumed that Metsu must have studied with Gerard Dou (q.v.), Leiden's leading genre painter during the 1640s. This assumption may well be correct but is not without problems, given that early works from Metsu's Leiden period tend to be executed in a fairly broad and fluid manner, far removed from the meticulously crafted, small-scale paintings of Dou and the other Leiden *fijnschilders*. With the possible exception of the local painter Jan Steen (q.v.), Metsu, in fact, seems to have been influenced more by the Utrecht artists Jan Baptist Weenix (1621–c. 1660) and Nicolaus Knüpfer (c. 1603–1655). Interestingly, after moving to Amsterdam, Metsu's style demonstrates more of the high level of detail and finish associated with the Leiden school.

The influence of several other artists—notably Johannes Vermeer (q.v.), Gerard ter Borch (q.v.), and Pieter de Hooch (q.v.)—is sometimes very evident in Metsu's work. Despite the existence of a sizeable number of dated paintings, however, these influences occur without any clear chronological pattern, and it is difficult to establish a firm structure for Metsu's stylistic development.

Metsu's most widely acclaimed paintings are the elegant genre pictures, generally depicting a small number of relatively large figures within an upright composition. In addition to indoor genre scenes, he painted a few depictions of outdoor markets, religious scenes, portraits, and still lifes.

His only known pupil was the genre and portrait painter Michiel van Musscher (1645–1705).

Notes

1. While annotations in the guild book for 1650 and 1651 by Metsu's name state that he had left the city, subsequent documents confirm that this absence was of a short duration; see Robinson 1974, 12.

Bibliography

Houbraken 1753, 3: 32, 40–42, 51, 211.
Smith 1829–1842, 4 (1833): 70–110; 9 (1842): 517.
HdG 1907–1927, 1 (1907): 253–335.
Leiden 1966.
Gudlaugsson 1968.
Robinson 1974.
Philadelphia 1984: 248–253.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 253–254.

1937.1.57 (57)

The Intruder

c. 1660
Oil on oak, 66.6 x 59.4 (26½ x 23¾)
Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

On the step to the bed beneath the white skirt of the central figure: *G. Metsu*

Technical Notes: The original support, an oak panel with vertical grain, has been thinned, backed, and cradled. An x-radiograph taken in 1940 shows the painting prior to cradling and suggests the panel is composed of a single board. Paint is applied smoothly over an off-white ground in a thin series of glazes in the darks and more thickly in the lights,

with small brushstrokes blended wet into wet and the highlights in low impasto. The upper layer of light-colored paint in the floorboards was deliberately scraped back in places to reveal the dark underlayer.

Infrared reflectography shows several pentimenti, some of which are visible with the naked eye. The proper right hand of the seated figure at left has been reworked, and the rear leg of her chair has been shortened. The chair at right was once wider to the left and the nearby pitcher was once squatter with a wider mouth. The vertical bed curtains at far left below the tassel were also adjusted. At high magnification preliminary drawing along the mouth of the pitcher and the proper right hand of the seated figure at left are visible.

Several areas of abrasion were extensively repainted in the past. Much of the repaint was removed during a 1986 conservation treatment. Remnants of old repainting remain over the green bed curtains, which are quite abraded, the dark chair cushions at right, and the white fur trim of the green jacket. The green jacket at left is somewhat abraded and the upper paint layer has blanched. An upper layer of glaze has also been abraded in the brown skirt of the maid in the right background. Original paint in the deeper shades of the red slippers and red clothing on the chair at right has blanched and the pigment altered to gray.¹

Provenance:² Colonel Gregory Holman Bromley Way [1766–1844], Denham Place, Buckinghamshire; John Smith, London, by 1830; George John Vernon, 5th Baron Vernon [1803–1866], Sudbury Hall, Derby, in 1830; (sale, Christie & Manson, London, 15 April 1831, no. 50); John Smith, London; Sir Charles Bagot [1781–1843], by 1833; (sale, Christie & Manson, London, 18 June 1836, no. 56); Albertus Brondgeest, The Hague, buying for Baron Johan Gijssberg Verstolk van Soelen [1776–1845], The Hague; (probably sale, The Hague, 29 June 1846); Thomas Baring [d. 1873], London, and Stratton Park, Hampshire;³ by inheritance to Thomas George Baring, 1st Earl of Northbrook [1826–1904], Stratton Park, Hampshire; by inheritance to Francis George Baring, 2nd Earl of Northbrook [1850–1929], Stratton Park, Hampshire; (Duveen Brothers, London and New York, by 1927); sold November 1927 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *Exhibition of Works by the Ancient Masters*, British Institution, London, 1834, no. 103. *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Museum of Ornamental Art, Manchester, 1857, no. 1059. *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters, and by Deceased Masters of the British School...*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1871, no. 211; (Winter Exhibition) London, 1889, no. 128. *Loan Collection of Pictures*, Corporation of London Art Gallery (Guildhall), London, 1895, no. 121. *Loan Exhibition of Pictures*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1900, no. 47.

PERHAPS no Dutch artist was as facile with the brush as was Gabriel Metsu. His ability to capture ordinary moments of life with freshness and spontaneity was matched only by his ability to depict materials with an unerring truth to nature. These qualities were particularly admired by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century critics, from Houbraken to Fromentin. In 1754, for example, Descamps, who

wrote with great admiration about Metsu's sense of design, softness of touch, and harmony of color, concluded by proposing, "Metzu comme le plus grand modèle qu'ait fourni la Hollande, à tous ceux qui voudront suivre ou imiter le même genre."⁴ By 1821 Metsu's art was so esteemed that it was said to have reached the level to which "de perfection l'art imitatif peut être porté."⁵ Thus it is of some consequence that in 1833, when John Smith described *The Intruder* in his catalogue of Metsu paintings, he termed it "a *chef d'oeuvre* of the master. The beauty of the composition, the elegance of the drawing, the delightful effect which pervades it, together with the colour, and accomplished execution, fully entitle it to this appellation."⁶

Smith's enthusiasm for this painting has been shared by all subsequent critics, and, indeed, *The Intruder* stands as one of Metsu's most finely wrought and carefully conceived works. Despite some losses in the glazes, all of the fluidity of his touch is evident in the array of fabrics and materials that give such luster to the image: the soft velvet of a morning jacket, the sheen of a silk skirt, the smoothness of carefully laid wooden floorboards, and glistening reflections on the pewter pitcher and candlestand. Moreover, in a painting that displays a wide range of human emotions, Metsu indicated the gestures and expressions of his figures with remarkable ease and naturalness.

All of these qualities show Metsu at his best and confirm the accolades that have always been accorded him. Nevertheless, truthfulness to nature, whether in the depiction of fabrics or human emotions, was merely incidental to the narrative he wanted to portray. For above all, Metsu was a storyteller. In painting after painting he sets up encounters between the sexes, in which individuals respond to interruptions or proposals, unimportant incidents that nevertheless elicit strong emotions. While his scenes often have an anecdotal character, they also appear to be true to life, particularly in that he does not always indicate just what the outcome of the scenario he portrays will be.

This painting is no exception. While the physical activities of the protagonists are clear, the particular set of circumstances that preceded the event and those that will follow are impossible to fathom. Just why has this handsome young officer burst into the room and which of the two comely young ladies has he come to visit? It is difficult to judge from his gaze. In any event, the woman at her toilet is clearly delighted to see him, and the maid, who gently restrains him, smiles at his impertinence with a good-natured expression. The young woman who

emerges from her bed, however, looks at him with undisguised disdain. To judge from the disarray of her clothes and the presence of her fur-lined red jacket and skirt thrown over the chair, she must have been lounging in bed and has quickly tried to dress after hearing the commotion at the door. Her relative undress, as well as the fact that she is putting her foot into her slipper as she clambers from the bed, adds a sexual overtone to the unexpected visit.⁷ The pewter pitcher and candle Metsu placed side by side on the floor in the immediate foreground may have a similar intent, for their shapes have sexual allusions that would have been understood as such by contemporary observers.

Metsu's painting had an afterlife that may help in an assessment of the character of his narrative. In 1675 Eglon van der Neer (1634–1703) painted *A Woman Washing Her Hands* (fig. 1) in which a suitor in the background is restrained by a maid in much the same way as in *The Intruder*. In this instance, the object of the suitor's attention is quite clearly the woman leaving the bed rather than the lady at her toilet. In contrast to Metsu's integrated composition,

Fig. 1. Eglon van der Neer, *A Woman Washing Her Hands*, 1675, oil on panel, The Hague, Mauritshuis



no psychological connection exists between the foreground figures and the background scene. Indeed, Van der Neer apparently juxtaposed the two as thematic opposites rather than intending them to be an integrated narrative: in emblematic literature, handwashing was considered synonymous with purity, a virtue not to be expected from the sexual inclinations of the couple in the background.⁸ Metsu, in his more subtle composition, may have also incorporated a similar, although less extreme, contrast between domestic virtue and sensual pleasure. The woman at her toilet holds a comb in her hand, which, like the basin and ewer in Van der Neer's painting was symbolically related to moral cleanliness and purity in Dutch emblematic literature.⁹ It is thus not inconceivable that Metsu wanted to suggest in this work those spiritual and sensual choices that continually confront man in the course of his daily life. This interest in depicting individuals in the midst of a moral dilemma is found elsewhere in his oeuvre.¹⁰

Metsu was not only a keen observer of everyday life, but also of other artists' works; indeed, few other Dutch artists managed to forge their style from so many countervailing influences. During his early years he was influenced by the Utrecht artist Nicolaes Knüpfer (c. 1603–1655), whose history paintings and freely executed bordello scenes clearly appealed to him.¹¹ Elements of Dou's style and choice of subject matter also can be found in his work from this period. After Metsu moved from Leiden to Amsterdam in 1657, he responded to other artistic models as well: Nicolaes Maes (q.v.), Gerard ter Borch II (q.v.), Pieter de Hooch (q.v.), and, eventually, Johannes Vermeer (q.v.).

Although *The Intruder* is not dated, it was almost certainly executed around 1660 when the influences of De Hooch and Ter Borch were strongest.¹² From De Hooch, who moved to Amsterdam about 1660, Metsu gained an appreciation for the importance of establishing a structural framework for his scene through the spatial clarity of the room. Here, for example, the bond between the woman sitting at her toilet and the suitor is visually enhanced by the way each is enframed by an arch-shaped architectural component. Compositionally, Metsu has used the chair in the right foreground and the bright red robes thrown upon it as a means to separate the intruder from the women's space, which is defined by the clearly articulated floorboards in the foreground.

The nature of the narrative owes far more to Ter Borch than to De Hooch. The sexual innuendos associated with a suitor's visit was a theme Ter Borch



Gabriel Metsu, *The Intruder*, 1672.1.57

explored in the late 1650s, in a painting also at the National Gallery of Art (1937.1.58), a work that Metsu certainly knew.¹³ Indeed, one can see enough subtle compositional and thematic reminders of *The Suitor's Visit* in this painting to suggest that Ter Borch's work served as a point of departure for Metsu. Metsu, however, opted for a more anecdotal approach than did Ter Borch: his narrative is more complex, and the gestures and expressions more specific to the situation described. This narrative style, which may well be an outgrowth of Metsu's early attraction to Knüpfer's overtly theatrical compositions, gives his work great sensual appeal, but at a cost. As in this painting, all too often the activities of the moment override the subtle nuances of psychological insight that are at the core of Ter Borch's greatest works.

Notes

1. Pigment analysis is available in the Scientific Research department (1 August 1986).
2. See Weale 1889, introduction, regarding the early provenance of this picture.
3. Thomas Baring jointly purchased the Verstolk Collection in 1846 with Chaplin, Milday, Humphrey, and Overstone. That same year he obtained the sole ownership of the painting from the joint purchase.
4. Descamps 1753–1763, 2: 240–241.
5. Josi 1821.
6. Smith 1829–1842, 4: 103. Smith knew the painting well, for he owned it for two brief periods of time between 1830 and 1833. See Provenance.
7. While it is a natural gesture, placing one's foot in a slipper often had sexual overtones in Dutch literary and pictorial traditions. See De Jongh in Amsterdam 1976, 245, 259–260.
8. See Amsterdam 1976, 195.
9. For a related emblem by Jacob Cats (*Spiegel van den ouden en nieuwen tijdt*, The Hague, 1632) Part 3, 147, emblem 45. See De Jongh in Amsterdam 1976, 197, repro. (in reverse).
10. See, for example, *The Hunter's Gift*, c. 1658–1660 (City

of Amsterdam, on loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, no. C177), discussed in Philadelphia 1984, 250–251.

11. See Wheelock 1976, 457–458.
12. This painting can be associated with a few other paintings that must date at about this time. Primary among them is the *Cello-Player* (Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace, London), in which a woman wears a costume identical to that worn by the woman leaving the bed. See Robinson 1974, 139, ill. 69. The same model wears the fur-lined jacket of the woman seated at the table in *Oyster Eaters* (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg). See Robinson 1974, 183, fig. 137.
13. Metsu quoted the figure of the suitor in Ter Borch's *The Suitor's Visit* in his own depiction of *The Visit*. Although Metsu's painting is now lost, the composition is known from an engraving by I. Ch. Lingée. See Robinson 1974, 182, fig. 136. A similar figure appears in *Visit to the Nursery*, 1661 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 17.190.20). See Robinson 1974, 178, fig. 130.

References

- 1829–1842 Smith, 4 (1833): 102–103, no. 94; 9 (1842): 524, no. 29.
- 1854–1857 Waagen, 2: 183.
- 1857 Thoré (Bürger): 275–276.
- 1860 Viardot: 155.
- 1860 Waagen, 1: 367.
- 1879 Crowe, 2: 399.
- 1889 Weale, 2: 55 no. 74, 202, repro. 30.
- 1907–1927 HdG, 1 (1907): 314–315, no. 190.
- 1909 Kronig: 213–224, repro.
- 1926 Collins Baker: 24, color repro.
- 1941 Duveen Brothers: no. 211, repro.
- 1941 NGA: 134, no. 57.
- 1949 Mellon: 90, no. 57, repro.
- 1963 Walker: 315, repro.
- 1965 NGA: 90, no. 57.
- 1968 NGA: 78, no. 57, repro.
- 1974 Robinson: 56–57, 67, 181, repro. 133.
- 1975 NGA: 232–233, no. 57, repro.
- 1975 Walker: 286, no. 379, repro.
- 1976 Amsterdam: 195, note 3.
- 1985 NGA: 268, repro.
- 1986 Sutton: 310, repro. 463.
- 1991 Ydema: 138, no. 129.

Michiel van Miereveld

1567–1641

MICHIEL VAN MIEREVELD (or Mierevelt) was born in Delft on 1 May 1567. His father, Jan Michelsz. van Miereveld (1528–1612), was a goldsmith. Although Michiel was to become one of Holland's leading exponents of formal portraiture during the first decades of the seventeenth century, his earliest training was as a history painter, working in the

international late mannerist style. Karel van Mander wrote that Miereveld's first teacher was Willem Willemsz. and that he then studied with "Augustijn at Delft" for about ten weeks before moving on at the age of about fourteen to the studio of Anthonis Blockland (1533/1534–1583) at Utrecht. There he remained for more than two years, and, following

Blockland's death, he returned to Delft and set himself up as a portraitist.

Miereveld registered as a member of the Delft painters' guild in 1587 and served as its *boofdman* on two occasions, 1589–1590 and 1611–1612. He is not known to have traveled any farther than The Hague, where he worked frequently at the stadholder's court. He was inscribed in that city's Guild of Saint Luke in 1625, but it is not clear whether he ever lived and worked there on a full-time basis. Both his marriages took place in Delft, in 1589 and 1633, and he bought a house there in 1639. He died in that city on 27 June 1641.

Miereveld's work was extremely popular and brought him fame and fortune. At his death, he owned two houses and various pieces of land and belonged "to the wealthiest stratum of the bourgeoisie in Delft."¹ Sandrart claimed that Miereveld painted more than ten thousand portraits. While this figure must be an exaggeration, the artist's oeuvre is indeed very large and is further swelled by numerous repetitions and variations of his compositions executed by pupils and followers. His most notable pupils were Paulus Moreelse (1571–1638) and Anthonie Palamedesz. (1600/1601–1673/1680). His sons Pieter (1596–1623) and Jan (1604–1633) were also portraitists.

Notes

1. Montias 1982, 129.

Bibliography

- Van Mander 1604: 301.
Sandrart 1675 (1925 ed.): 171.
Havard 1894.
Bredius 1908.
Montias 1982.
Haarlem 1986: 131–133.
Brown/Maelaren 1992: 261.

1961.5.4 (1648)

Portrait of a Lady with a Ruff

1638
Oil on oak, 70.5 x 57.8 (27 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 22 $\frac{3}{4}$)
Gift of the Coe Foundation
(On indefinite loan to the American Embassy, London)

Inscriptions

At right edge below ruff: *AEtatis, 26*
A^o 1638
M. Miereveld

Technical Notes: The cradled support is a single, vertically grained oak board with beveled edges on the reverse. Small checks along the right side follow the grain, and a longer check runs vertically from the bottom edge, right of center. A thin, pale warm brown ground layer was applied, followed by a gray imprimatura under the flesh and ruff.

Paint is applied thinly and smoothly with slightly impasted highlights. Retouching covers scattered small losses and abraded areas of the drapery, flesh, and hair. The background is extensively abraded, particularly at the right. The thick, discolored varnish layer is cloudy and matte in patches.

Provenance: Possibly Collection Van der Bogaerde, 's Hertogenbosch. (Possibly sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 23 November 1901, no. 142). (Possibly sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 15 December 1902, no. 80). (Eugene Fischhof, Paris, by 1903);¹ Clement Acton Griscom [1841–1912], Philadelphia, in 1903; (sale, Plaza Art Galleries, New York, 26–27 February 1914, no. 11). Coe Foundation, New York.

TODAY, when considering Dutch seventeenth-century portrait traditions, Michiel van Miereveld has the unfortunate distinction of being the foil against which the stylistic innovations of Frans Hals (q.v.) and Rembrandt (q.v.) are placed. Whereas Hals and Rembrandt introduced a sense of movement and psychological penetration into their portraits, Miereveld maintained throughout his long artistic career a preference for formal and formulaic images. In his portraits, whether full length or half length, he excelled in careful descriptions of external features and costume details but, the criticism goes, provided little feeling for life.

While this *Portrait of a Lady with a Ruff* will do little to dispel the general assessment of his work, it nevertheless has a quiet charm in the understated warmth of the woman's gaze. Miereveld, who painted the portrait in 1638 at the twilight of his career, was by this time too set in his ways to break entirely free of the formulas that had earned him accolades for over four decades. The strength of the tradition he followed and the subtle efforts he made to modify them can be seen in a comparable portrait of an admittedly more attractive young woman painted some fourteen years earlier (fig. 1). While the costume and pose are virtually identical, he has created a more three-dimensional image in the later work through the perspective of the collar and stronger modeling of light and dark.

Although minor changes in Miereveld's style can be detected, it is still quite astonishing that he continued to work in this manner through the 1630s, at a period when so much more lively and penetrating images were being created by his younger colleagues in Haarlem and Amsterdam. In large part he must have continued in this vein because he had a market



Fig. 1. Michiel van Miereveld, *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 162(4?), oil on panel, London, Trustees of the Wallace Collection

for such images, clearly a conservative market that still abided by the idea that portraits should describe a sitter's features but not expose much psychological character through gesture or expression. Miereveld's manner of portraiture may also have retained its hold on a Dutch clientele because it reinforced a philosophic ideal that was current in the Netherlands, Neo-Stoicism.² One of the guiding principles of the Neo-Stoic was *tranquillitas*, which was achieved through rational control of inner emotions. Thus, a calm outward demeanor would suggest the sitter's tranquil inner state achieved through rational thought and self-knowledge.

Aristocratic circles in Delft and The Hague, where Miereveld worked throughout his long career, remained conservative long after more dynamic attitudes had affected the upper social strata of Amsterdam and Haarlem. The character of these cities during the 1620s and early 1630s was largely determined by the presence of the House of Orange, whose leader, Willem the Silent, had taken as his motto the Neo-Stoic sentiment *saevis tranquillvs in vindis* [calm in the midst of raging seas].³ Miereveld, who worked extensively for the court, not only for

Willem the Silent, but also Prince Maurits (1567–1625) and Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647), was clearly rewarded for the continuity of image he provided, which accorded well with its philosophy of rule.⁴

The other aristocratic sitters who patronized Miereveld, most of whom were from Delft and The Hague, clearly took their lead from the court and eagerly embraced the portrait style it preferred. Although the identity of this sitter is not known, one may judge on the basis of her elaborate costume that she was a wealthy member of society. Her wide, lace-edged ruff, finely fluted lace-edged cuff, and embroidered black garment are remarkable for their craftsmanship and refinement. The elegant embroidery on her stomacher, with its intricate pattern of flowers and birds, may have had some personal significance to the sitter, but the meaning, if it existed, is now lost.⁵ Whether or not this female sitter ever had a male counterpart is not known.

Notes

1. This early provenance information was cited in the 1914 auction catalogue for the Griscom Collection.

2. The concept of Neo-Stoicism has been related to portraiture of this type, although not specifically to Miereveld, by Ann Adams in a lecture presented at the Rembrandt symposium in Amsterdam in 1992, "The Two Faces of Self Knowledge in Rembrandt's Portraits: Neo-Stoic *Tranquillitas* and Calvinist Worldly Activity." I would like to thank Professor Adams for providing me with a transcript of her lecture, which was based on a chapter in her forthcoming book on Dutch portraiture.

3. This motto appears on the verso of a medal struck in his honor in 1568. This reference comes from Ann Adams' lecture (see note 2).

4. No better example of Miereveld's importance as the creator of the image of Frederik Hendrik can be cited than the commission the prince gave to Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) when this great Flemish painter came to The Hague in the winter of 1631–1632 to paint his portrait. Instead of allowing Van Dyck to come up with his own invention, he was given as a model to follow a painting executed around 1610 by Miereveld (Stadhuis, Delft). See Washington 1990, 238, note 7.

5. For an excellent discussion of period costume, see Bianca M. du Mortier, "Costume in Frans Hals," in Washington 1989b, 45–60.

References

- 1914 Levy, 9: 497.
 1965 NGA: 90, no. 1648.
 1968 NGA: 79, no. 1648, repro.
 1975 NGA: 232–233, repro.
 1985 NGA: 268, repro.
 1989b Washington: 45–60.



Michiel van Miereveld, *Portrait of a Lady with a Ruff*, 1961.5.4

Abraham Mignon

1640–1679

THE SON of shopkeepers, Abraham Mignon was born in Frankfurt and baptized in the Calvinist Church on 21 June 1640. When his parents moved to Wetzlar in 1649, Mignon was placed under the care and artistic apprenticeship of Jacob Marrell (1614–1681), a still-life painter and art dealer. Marrell was undoubtedly impressed with Mignon's abilities, for he entrusted his affairs to him whenever he was away in Holland on business. Furthermore, Marrell asked Mignon to instruct his stepdaughter, Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717), in still-life painting. By 1664 Marrell and Mignon had left Frankfurt for Utrecht, and in 1669 both were registered in the Saint Luke's Guild there. While in Utrecht, Mignon maintained the strong religious beliefs of his family. In 1672 he was elected deacon of the Waalse Kerk of Utrecht, a position he held for five years. He married Maria Willaerts, the cousin of the seascape painter Adam Willaerts (1577–1664), in 1675. He died just a few years later, and was buried on 27 March 1679 in Utrecht.

Throughout his short career Mignon painted a variety of still-life subjects, but he is best known for his lush compositions of flowers and fruits placed on stone ledges and in niches, or set within ruins and grottos. He developed a distinct style marked by precise detail and drawing. His oeuvre clearly reflects the influence of a number of painters, including Marrell and, most importantly, Jan Davidsz. de Heem (q.v.). Mignon and De Heem both entered the Utrecht painters' guild in 1669, and Mignon must have studied with him. De Heem's influence is best seen in Mignon's use of bright colors, assurance of drawing, and increasingly elaborate compositions.

Considering that he died before his fortieth birthday, many of the approximately four hundred still-life paintings that have been attributed to Mignon are undoubtedly the works of followers and imitators. Nevertheless, this enormous following attests to the popularity of his compositions, which were eagerly sought by collectors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the elector of Saxony and Louis XIV of France.

Bibliography

Houbraken 1753, 3: 82–83.
Bol 1969: 320–323.
Kraemer-Noble 1973.

1992.51.5

A Hanging Bouquet of Flowers

probably 1665/1670
Oil on oak, 38.1 x 29.9 (15 x 11¾)
Gift of Mrs. Paul Mellon, in Honor of the 50th Anniversary
of the National Gallery of Art

Inscriptions

At the lower left: *AB Mignon f.*

Technical Notes: The support is a single, vertically grained wood board with thin wood strips attached to edges beveled on the back. The lower right corner is chipped and worn. Thin opaque paint is applied over a thin, smooth, pale gray ground layer in layers blended wet into wet with slightly impasted highlights.¹ Abrasion is extensive, particularly in the background. In 1994 the painting underwent treatment to consolidate flaking and remove discolored retouching and varnish.

Provenance: Private collection, England;² (John Mitchell & Son, London); purchased November 1961 by Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.

MIGNON has united this decorative floral piece through the free-flowing rhythms of flowers, fruits, and grains that hang from a blue satin bow. With crystalline clarity and an exquisite sense of design, he has arranged blossoms in such a way that their various shapes and vivid colors complement each other with an easy naturalness. At the center of the composition are the large forms and pale colors of the white viburnum, the light pink carnation, and the white and red variegated tulip. Surrounding these flowers are smaller orange red poppies, crab apple blossoms, Chinese lanterns (*Physalis alkekengi*), amaranthus, and long grains of wheat. While the bouquet hangs gracefully, the whole has an energetic feel as a result of the way various flowers, including the morning glory, yellow rose, and the blue love-in-a-mist (*Nigella damascena*), turn back upon themselves as they reach up to the light.

Mignon painted a large number of such hanging



Abraham Mignon, *A Hanging Bouquet of Flowers*, 1992. 51.5

bouquets, sometimes focused on flowers, sometimes on fruit.³ Although they are essentially decorative ensembles, complete with requisite insects to add to their illusionistic character, they derive from a tradition that began in a far more serious vein. The origins of such hanging bouquets are to be found at the beginning of the seventeenth century in paintings by Daniel Seghers (1590–1661). By the mid-1620s Seghers had developed a specialty in which he painted garlands of flowers hanging from ribbons around a painted image of an altarpiece.⁴ Seghers, a devout Jesuit, developed his concept from the floral garlands painted by his teacher, Jan Brueghel the Elder, but also from the Church practice of surrounding altarpieces with garlands of live flowers.⁵

Seghers' innovation was widely emulated in Flemish art. Paintings of flowers and fruits surrounding illusionistically painted sculptures and religious scenes were executed by a number of Flemish artists, among them Joris van Son (1623–1667), Jan Pauwels Gillemans I (1618–c.1675), Frans Ykens (1613–c.1679), and, most significantly in this context, Mignon's teacher, Jan Davidsz. de Heem (q.v.). All of these artists, moreover, followed Seghers' practice of choosing flowers and fruits that were imbued with symbolism related to the religious image at the center of their compositions.⁶ De Heem expanded upon this genre in two basic ways. Occasionally he depicted a single bouquet of fruit or flowers, or combination thereof, hanging from a stone niche in which rested various religious objects, thereby shifting the focus of the painting from a centrally placed religious image to the floral/fruit arrangement.⁷ He also occasionally removed the religious component of the scene entirely. A number of his paintings depict garlands of flowers or fruit hanging from blue ribbons before an otherwise empty painted stone niche.⁸

Mignon, in this painting, has removed even those vague references to the origins of this pictorial genre that remained in De Heem's garland paintings. Not only is there no reference to the central devotional character of Seghers' paintings, but he has also eliminated all references to a niche. All that remains from the earlier tradition is the blue ribbon from which the festoon hangs. Despite this adaptation in the character of the motif, the strong relationship this work has with De Heem's paintings suggests that Mignon must have executed it shortly after he left De Heem's workshop, thus probably in the late 1660s. There is absolutely no basis for questioning the attribution as was done by Kraemer-Noble.⁹

Notes

1. Limited pigment analysis is available in the Scientific Research department (17 August 1993).
2. Correspondence from Peter Mitchell, 22 June 1992 (in NGA curatorial files). The painting may have come to Mitchell from a Mr. Phillips, of Hitchin (Antiques) Ltd., for it is noted as having been in his possession by Pavière 1965, 32.
3. For a listing of these see the catalogue of Mignon's paintings in Kraemer-Noble 1973.
4. Seghers collaborated with a number of other artists in these works, including Cornelis Schut the Elder (1597–1655), Gerard Seghers (1591–1651), and Abraham van Diepenbeeck (1596–1675).
5. These observations are made by Ildiko Ember in Wausau 1989, 66.
6. For an assessment of the symbolic relationships of a number of these paintings see Paris, 1987.
7. See Segal in Utrecht 1991, cat. 27, 177–180. In this painting from the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, signed and dated 1653, a crucifix and a skull rest in the niche from which hangs a garland of fruit. Segal analyzes extensively the symbolic associations of the fruit.
8. Segal in Utrecht 1991, cat. 23, 171–172. According to Segal, De Heem painted more than ten such paintings. One of these is dated 1675. In 1669, however, Cosimo de' Medici acquired such a garland painting, which hangs today in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence.
9. See Kraemer-Noble 1973, 53, cat. no. B142.

References

- 1965 Pavière: 32, color repro.
1973 Kraemer-Noble: 53, no. B142.

1989.23.1

Still Life with Fruit, Fish, and a Nest

c. 1675
Oil on canvas, 94 x 73.5 (36.7 x 28.7)
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. H. John Heinz III

Technical Notes: The support, a fine-weight, plain-weave fabric, has a double lining. The tacking margins are trimmed but cusping visible along all edges indicates the original dimensions have been retained. A long horizontal tear in the lower right corner transverses the fish, while a smaller area of damage has occurred along the bottom edge at the left. A smooth, thin white ground was applied overall, followed by a brown imprimatura also employed as the background tone. Infrared reflectography reveals a grid layout for the transfer of the precise brush-applied underdrawing in the fish and fruits.

Thin, smooth paint layers were applied in a slow, deliberate manner with some strokes blended wet into wet. Leaves painted transparently over the background incorporate the brown layer as a shadow. Abrasion is minimal, and losses are confined to the edges and tears. Remnants of a selectively removed aged varnish layer are found over the background, while a fresher semi-matte varnish is present overall. No conservation has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Private collection, Germany. Mr. and Mrs. H. John Heinz III, Washington.

Exhibited: Washington 1989a: no. 28.

THE CELEBRATION of the richness and fertility of the land is a theme that reappears in different forms throughout the seventeenth century, whether in still-life, landscape, or mythological scenes. This work, painted in the mid-1670s, is an evocative image of abundance in which the fruits of the water are depicted along with the fruits of the land. The catch of the day, still hanging from hooks attached to lines that drape over the edge of the bait box, glistens in the subdued light of this cavernous scene. The fishing pole and its case can be seen resting on the fruit piled in the wicker basket. A nest with four eggs, which lies in the branches of the hibiscus, is watched over by a European goldfinch and a great tit perched on branches of a craggy, moss-covered tree, and by a goldfinch standing on the handle of the basket.¹ Frogs by a pool of water in the lower left, snails, caterpillars, and lizards, one of which is dead and has attracted a horde of ants, further enrich this woodland scene.

While the components of this painting belong to an allegorical tradition of abundance, they also seem to represent various stages in the cycle of life. Mignon has included eggs, which stand for birth, as well as birds, who communicate with each other in a flirtatious way. Ripe fruit and blossoming flowers indicate maturity, while old age is included in the guise of the gnarled tree. The lizard and fish represent death. Complementing these dual aspects of abundance and the life cycle are religious concepts that reflect upon the broader theme of the cycle of life. The wheat and grapes, so prominently displayed in the still life, traditionally represent the Eucharist. These varied symbolic associations are fused together in such a way as to create a metaphorically rich image that could be appreciated by the viewer on many levels.

This flowing composition, and the complex symbolism contained within it, was clearly inspired by the work of Jan Davidsz. de Heem (q.v.), with whom Mignon worked in Utrecht. A particularly close prototype, *Ruins with Fruit and Bird's Nest* (fig. 1), must have been executed by De Heem during the late 1660s, at a time when Mignon was presumably active in the master's studio. This still life, likewise set in a grotto, includes so many of the same elements—luscious fruit, gnarled tree, bird's nest and eggs, live and dead animals, all drawn together by the rhythms of long stalks of wheat—that one wonders whether



Fig. 1. Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Ruins with Fruit and Bird's Nest*, late 1660s, oil on canvas, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

Mignon might not have had an active hand in its execution. In any event, from this basis, Mignon executed a number of related works, which became progressively more decorative and mannered as a result of his luminous colors and crisp articulation of forms. One composition, *Still Life with Flowers, Fish and Bird's Nest* (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 3539), is particularly close in concept, the basic difference being that a selection of flowers instead of fruit serves as the primary still-life motif.

The large number of such complex compositions still extant confirms Houbraken's statement that Mignon's paintings were in great demand. Although Houbraken avows that Mignon worked from life, the artist frequently reused motifs, such as the frogs, in various paintings. He also painted variants and multiple versions of his most successful works. At least three other versions of 1989.23.1 exist: a signed version (fig. 2) in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (inv. no. 53.260); an unsigned version in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (inv. no. 1358); and an unsigned version sold on the New York art market (Sotheby's, 12 January 1989, no. 187).



Fig. 2. Abraham Mignon, *Still Life*, c. 1675, oil on canvas, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen

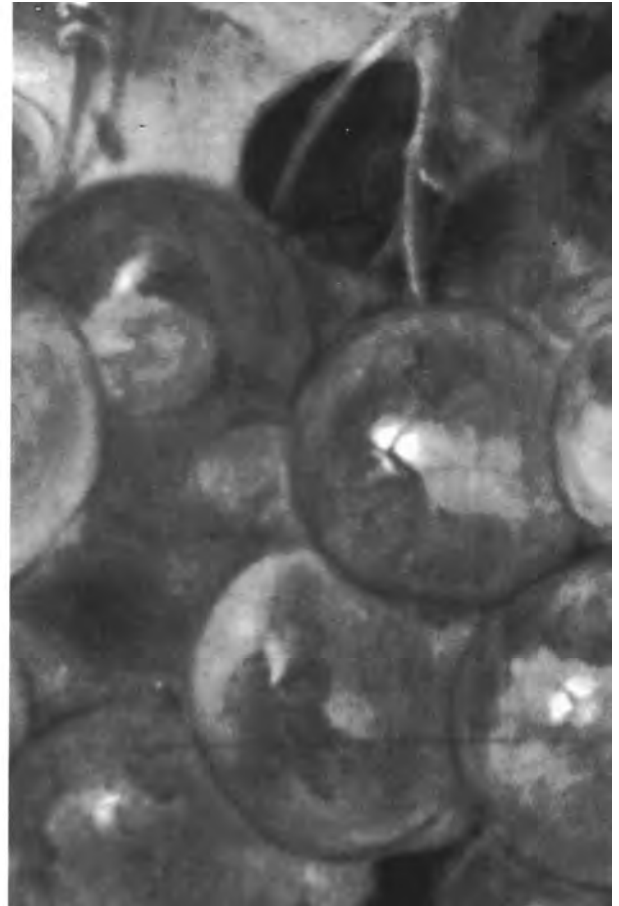


Fig. 3. Detail of infrared reflectogram of 1989.23.1

The signed Munich version is the prime example of this composition, while the Gallery's painting is most likely an autograph replica. Infrared reflectography reveals an extensive, vigorously executed, underdrawing, outlining the composition (fig. 3). Evidence of a grid pattern in the underdrawing indicates that Mignon transferred the composition from another source, probably a preparatory drawing.² While he had various students who may well have made replicas, and his paintings were reputed to have been copied after his death,³ the quality of this example is so high that one must assume he was primarily responsible for its execution. Not only is the brushwork vigorous throughout, the range of textures created, from the soft skin of the peaches to the crisply articulated forms of the grains of wheat, are consistent with those found in Mignon's autograph works.⁴ The National Gallery's painting,

moreover, is not an exact replica of the Munich version: slight variations exist in the position of the frog and dead lizard in the foreground relative to the other still-life elements.

Notes

1. Dr. Stoons L. Olson, curator at the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, has kindly identified the birds and the fish (perch, pike, and roach) in this painting.
2. Kraemer-Noble 1973, who did not know of this painting, believes that Mignon only signed paintings he actually executed, a position I believe to be too extreme.
3. See Segal in Utrecht 1991, 214, 217, note 2.
4. The surety of execution is also evident in the x-radiograph of the painting. The areas where some studio participation may exist are the basket and the background.

References

- 1989a Washington: no. 28.



Abraham Mignon, *Still Life with Fruit, Fish, and a Nest*, 1989.23.1

Pieter Molijn

1595–1661

PIETER MOLIJN, born in London of Flemish parents, was baptized on 6 April 1595. He became a master of the Haarlem guild of painters in 1616. It is not known when he left England or where and with whom he studied painting. There is no evidence to support the tradition that he was a pupil of Frans Hals (q.v.), although it is quite likely that he received his instruction in Haarlem.

In 1624 Molijn joined a Haarlem civic guard company, and from 1630 to 1649 he was also a prominent figure in the administration of the guild. He held office as either *boofdman* or *deken* in 1630, 1633, 1637, 1638, 1645, and 1649. Little else is known of his professional career, except that he seems to have remained in Haarlem until his death in 1661. His pupils included the genre painter Gerard ter Borch (q.v.) and probably also the landscapist Allart van Everdingen (1621–1675).

During the course of Molijn's long career, Dutch landscape painting underwent rapid and dramatic changes. Until 1625 his work was inspired by the mannerist, Flemish tradition of landscape painting practiced in the Netherlands by artists such as Roelandt Savery (q.v.). Perhaps through the inspiration of his fellow Haarlem painter Esaias van de Velde (1587–1630), however, Molijn helped forge the way for a new mode of landscape during the latter half of the 1620s with compositions unified by a sweeping diagonal. These small landscape views, executed with a limited palette, anticipate the tonal style that Jan van Goyen (q.v.) and Salomon van Ruysdael (1600/1603–1670) refined during the late 1630s and 1640s. Molijn was also a talented draftsman and graphic artist.

Bibliography

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Van der Willigen 1870: 18, 21, 27, 225–227, 229.
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Stechow 1966: 23–28.
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Allen 1987.

1986.10.1

Landscape with Open Gate

c. 1630

Oil on oak, 33.6 x 47.9 (13¹/₄ x 18⁷/₈)

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund and Gift of Arthur K. and Susan H. Wheelock

Technical Notes: The support, a single, horizontally grained oak board, has several minor cracks parallel to the grain. Dendrochronology has determined a felling date between 1628 and 1634, with the most plausible date being 1630.¹ The back is wax-coated and the edges beveled. The double ground consists of a lower white layer and an upper light brown layer. The smooth, thin ground masks the wood grain and is extensively incorporated into the design. The fluid, brush-applied strokes of the extensive underdrawing, which is more agitated and oblique than the final composition, are readily visible to the naked eye as well as with infrared reflectography. The two small foreground figures, which do not appear in the underdrawing, seem to be later additions.

Translucent paint is applied thinly and rapidly, with slightly impasted highlights and stiff brushwork in the sky. Frequently the ground is merely glazed over lightly or highlights applied to exposed underdrawing lines, as in a quickly executed sketch. Discolored retouching covers scattered small losses and reinforces lines in the gate and the figures to its right. Remnants of aged varnishes indicate past selective cleaning.

Provenance: Private collection, France; Arthur K. and Susan H. Wheelock, Washington, in 1980.

Exhibited: *Haarlem: The Seventeenth Century*, Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1983, no. 85 (as "Attributed to").

THIS SMALL WORK, so evocative of the windswept terrain near the dunes along the Dutch coast, captures the essence of early seventeenth-century landscape painting. With free and fluid strokes, Molijn has created a vigorous and animated scene, where sea breezes, which have so molded the craggy form of the dead, vine-covered oak and the wood slats of the gate and fence, rustle the leaves of trees surrounding the farm. The painting does not have a composed feeling, but appears as though it were a view suddenly happened upon along a sandy road. From the low vantage point, nature rather than man takes precedence. The road, gate, and craggy tree are boldly depicted, while the only figures Molijn included, a shepherd returning with his sheep just



Pieter Molijn, *Landscape with Open Gate*, 1986.10.1



Fig. 1. Pieter Molijn, *Road Between Trees near a Farm*, 1626, pen and ink on blue paper, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

over the rise and a man behind the fence, are small and insignificant.²

Landscape with Open Gate is not signed, but the attribution to Pieter Molijn is without doubt. Comparisons with his painting *Dune Landscape with Trees and Wagon*, signed and dated 1626 (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. no. 338), and with his signed pen drawing of the late 1620s, *Road between Trees near a Farm* (fig. 1), demonstrate the same approach to landscape.³ In each instance, this Haarlem artist has dramatically broken with pictorial tradition and situated the viewer below the horizon. With vistas limited by low viewpoints, the roads that pass through the rolling, windswept landscapes have no beginning and no end. Only the small, insubstantial figures traveling just behind the crests of the rises suggest the world beyond. Stylistically, a particularly interesting comparison can be

made between the vigorous rhythms of the pen lines in the drawing and the black chalk underdrawing in *Landscape with Open Gate*, which is visible with infrared reflectography (fig. 2).

When Molijn created these works in the late 1620s he was one of the most adventurous landscape artists of his day, one who conveyed an unprecedented sense of realism to his scenes. Not only did he limit his range of motifs and color tonalities, he also organized his compositions with powerful diagonal accents that were reinforced through strong effects of light and dark. Through these means he gave his paintings both a specific visual focus and a unifying path into the distance. By 1626 his bold and vigorous brushwork had already attracted the attention of Frans Hals for whom he painted the landscape in the celebrated portrait *Isaac Abrahamsz. Massa* (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto).⁴ As early as 1628 Samuel Ampzing praised Molijn for these same qualities in his chronicle of Haarlem.⁵ At about the same time, Molijn's influence in both style and subject matter is evident in the work of his Haarlem contemporary Salomon van Ruysdael and in paintings by the Leiden artist Jan van Goyen.

Molijn's distinctive style of landscape painting owed much to the drawings and etchings of three artists who already had been active in Haarlem at the time he joined the Saint Luke's Guild in 1616: Esaias van de Velde (1587–1630), Willem Buytewech (c. 1591–1624), and Jan van de Velde II (1593–1641). However, the restive character of his line indicates that he also drew inspiration from other artists, including Jacob de Gheyn II (1565–1629) and Abraham Bloemaert (1564–1651), whose landscape drawings often focused on old barns and rugged trees.⁶ While Molijn's historical importance was his ability to translate these precedents into painted images,

Fig. 2. Infrared reflectogram of 1086.10.1





Fig. 3. Roemer Visscher, "Keur baert angst," emblem from *Sinnepoppen*, Amsterdam, 1614

ones that helped usher in the tonal phase of Dutch landscape painting, it may also be that he translated thematic concepts as well. Dilapidated farms and starkly silhouetted dead trees would have been understood in moralizing terms by some of his contemporaries.⁷ The dead tree in *Landscape with Open Gate* may have called to mind Roemer Visscher's emblem "Keur baert angst" [Choosing causes anxiety] (fig. 3), which juxtaposes a rotten and a healthy tree to stress that false appearances and lack of knowledge often lead one to make wrong choices in life.⁸ This

Aert van der Neer

1603/1604–1677

AERT [AERNOUT]. VAN DER NEER was probably born in Amsterdam. Documents from later in his life indicate that he was born in 1603 or 1604; the names of his parents are not known. He spent his youth near Gorinchem in the south of the Netherlands, where he most likely trained with the landscape painter Raphael Govertsz. Camphuysen (c. 1597/1598–1657). By 1632 Van der Neer was living in Amsterdam where he had moved shortly after his marriage to Lysbeth Goverts. The couple's children were all born in Amsterdam. One son, Eglon van der Neer (1634–1703), became a painter.

Because Aert van der Neer did not receive high

tree could also have been seen as a reminder of the transitoriness of life, an idea taken up with even greater force somewhat later in Haarlem by Jacob van Ruisdael (q.v.) (see 1942.9.80).

Notes

1. Dendrochronology by Dr. Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg, 7 January 1987.
2. Two small, out-of-scale figures before the fence have been added by a later hand; they are in the shadows so they do not detract very much from the overall impact of the painting.
3. For a discussion of this drawing, see Schapelhouman and Schatborn 1987, 26, where a date from "the second half of the twenties" is postulated.
4. Slive 1970–1974, 3: 25–26, cat. 42, where the attribution of the landscape to Molijn is first made.
5. Ampzing 1628, 372: "...En van het stout pinzeel en hand'ling van Molijn, die in de schilder-konst twee dapp're meesters zijn." That Molijn would have been so well regarded by 1628 is surprising for no paintings are dated before 1625. For an assessment of Molijn's artistic evolution see Allen 1987.
6. See, for example, Bloemaert's drawing *A Shepherd with Sheep near a Dead Tree* (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, inv. no. 11898 A 3740) illustrated in Schapelhouman and Schatborn 1987, 3.
7. For a rather controversial assessment of the moralizing character of Dutch landscapes see Josua Bruyn, "Toward a Scriptural Reading of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Paintings," in Amsterdam 1987, 84–92.
8. Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen* (Amsterdam, 1614), 11, as discussed by Peter Sutton in Amsterdam 1987, 15.

References

- 1983 New Brunswick: no. 85.
1987 Allen: 133, fig. 145.

prices for his pictures, in 1659 he was forced to supplement his income as the proprietor of an Amsterdam tavern, "de Graeff van Hollant." His career as a *wyntapper* failed three years later, and on 12 December 1662 he declared bankruptcy. The inventory of his possessions made at the time indicates the low prices his paintings fetched; most were appraised at five guilders or less. He lived in impoverished conditions during the last years of his life and died in Amsterdam on 9 November 1677.

Van der Neer's earliest known painting, dated 1632 (Národní Galerie, Prague), is a genre scene, a type of subject he did not depict again. During the

early years of his career, he painted realistic tonal landscapes and winter scenes inspired by Camp-huysen, Esaias van de Velde (1587–1630) and Hendrick Avercamp (q.v.). By the 1640s, he had begun to specialize in nocturnes, the earliest known of which is dated 1643. It is with his representations of moonlit landscapes that Van der Neer distinguished himself as one of the most important and innovative Dutch landscape painters. The Dutch cities and villages found in his evocative nocturnal scenes appear extremely realistic, but these views, as well as his woodland and winter scenes, are, in fact, fanciful re-creations of the Dutch countryside.

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Brown/MacLaren 1992: 275.

1990.6.1

Moonlit Landscape with Bridge

probably 1648/1650
Oil on walnut, 110.2 x 78.4 (43 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 30 $\frac{7}{8}$)
Patrons' Permanent Fund

Inscriptions

At lower right (in ligature): *AvdN*

Technical Notes: The support is a single piece of thin, horizontally grained walnut cut across the entire tree trunk width.¹ All sides of the back are beveled, and the panel is slightly bowed. The wood grain is plainly visible through the smooth, extremely thin white ground. The thick fawn-colored imprimatura is incorporated as a mid-tone in the foreground and sky.

Paint is applied in thin layers. Brushwork is prominent in the sky, and stippling was employed in the foliage and lawn. Slight cupping has formed along the wood grain. Judiciously applied retouching covers scattered small losses and local abrasions.

Provenance: Jacob van Beek Fredsz.; (sale, De Vries, Amsterdam, 2 June 1828, no. 49); Engelberts.² F. Tielens, Brussels. J. Walter, London. Baron Bentinck Thyssen, London;³ (Galerie Sanct Lucas, Vienna, by 1989).

THIS EVOCATIVE LANDSCAPE is one of the most masterful of all of Van der Neer's night scenes. Here he has captured the subtle atmospheric effects of the

Dutch landscape illuminated by the glow of a moonlit sky. The light of the full moon, somewhat diffused by the varied cloud formations that enliven the sky, is nevertheless intense enough to create strong reflections in the water of the slowly moving river that skirts the city and on the windows of buildings lining the shore. This light brings to life the gnarled tree trunks at the left and accents the uppermost leaves on the graceful trees that arch over the water. It reveals piles, paths, and bridges, picks out the family returning home over the stone bridge with their dog, and highlights the elegant couple standing in the shadows of the trees at the right.

Van der Neer, in conceiving this image, was more interested in creating the mood of nature than in recording an actual setting. The large dwellings to the left are similar to those found in Amsterdam where the artist lived most of his life, but the church adjacent to the dwellings and the houses beyond are reminiscent of those found in smaller cities and towns. The building complex in the background on the opposite shore of the river appears to be (the ruins of?) an ancient small castle or country house surrounded by a high wall of a type traditionally situated in country settings.⁴ Likewise, the elegant couple on the right stands before a stone gate similar to those that served as entrances to country houses, particularly along the river Vecht. The setting, thus, is a composite of various aspects of city and country life that Van der Neer has brought into a harmonious whole.

Although few of Van der Neer's paintings are dated, broad patterns within his stylistic development suggest that he executed this work near the end of the 1640s. It stands at the culmination of a period when his nocturnal scenes depicted the reflections of a full moon in the quiet waterways of the Dutch countryside.⁵ This painting exhibits a number of remarkable techniques that Van der Neer developed for conveying his atmospheric effects. He suggested the translucency of the clouds, for example, by allowing the reddish ocher ground covering the walnut panel to remain visible through thinly applied bluish gray paint. In the foreground, he has articulated a number of objects with light contours. Sometimes he highlighted them with paint applied with a brush and sometimes by scratching the wet paint with an instrument to reveal the ground layer.⁶

Interest in moonlit landscapes in the Netherlands can be traced to engravings Hendrick Goudt (1585–1648) made after paintings by Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610) in the second decade of the seventeenth century. One of the few Dutch painters to venture into this new domain was Raphael Govertsz. Camp-



Aert van der Neer, *Moonlit Landscape with Bridge*, 1990.6.1

huysen, with whom Van der Neer may well have studied in Gorinchem during the 1620s.⁷ That Camphuysen's early influence encouraged Van der Neer to develop this genre of painting after he moved to Amsterdam in the early 1630s seems unlikely, but virtually nothing is known of Van der Neer's artistic contacts during the 1630s and 1640s except that Camphuysen was a witness at the baptism of his daughter in Amsterdam in 1642.⁸ Nevertheless, because his scenes appear to be based on excursions he made in and around Amsterdam, it seems that Van der Neer developed his style rather independently. Only one artist comes to mind who explored the transformation of a landscape through light as profoundly as did Van der Neer, Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). Should Van der Neer have known Rubens' landscapes from the 1630s, either first hand or through the prints of engravers such as Schelte à Bolswert (c. 1581–1659), he succeeded in adapting Rubens' atmospheric effects to a Dutch landscape setting.

Notes

1. See report by Michael Palmer, wood scientist, in the Scientific Research department (25 February 1992).

2. HdG 1907–1927, 7: 406, states that “Engelberts” purchased the picture for fl 200.

3. Galerie Sanct Lucas provided the names of the previous owners Tielens, Walter, and Thyssen.

4. The edifice does not conform to any recognizable structure. Sutton in Amsterdam 1987, 381–383, cat. 59, relates a similar structure in *Moonlit View on a River*, 1647, to the manor house Kostverloren, which stood along the river Amstel not far from Amsterdam. It is indeed possible that Kostverloren provided the inspiration for such castle-like forms in the background of some of Van der Neer's paintings from the late 1640s (see also *Moonlit Landscape with Castle*, 1646, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. 3561–8–55), but, if so, he has so transformed its appearance as to make it unrecognizable.

5. This dating has been proposed by Bachmann 1982, 68–73.

6. For a discussion of Van der Neer's painting techniques from this period see Zeldenrust 1983, 99–104.

7. For an illustration of one of Camphuysen's nocturnal scenes, which probably dates from the mid-1640s (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, no. 1546), see Bernt 1969, 1: repro. 222.

8. For the relationship of Raphael and his brother Govert Dircksz. Camphuysen (1623–1672) to the early work of Van der Neer see Bachmann 1970, 243–250, and also Bachmann 1975, 213–222. The earliest known dated landscape by Van der Neer is 1635, executed after he had moved to Amsterdam.

References

1907–1927 HdG, 7 (1923): 406, no. 347.

1982 Bachmann: 68–73, repro. no. 66.

1989 Vienna: no. 4, color repro.

Adriaen van Ostade

1610–1685

BAPTIZED ON 10 December 1610 in Haarlem, Adriaen van Ostade was the third of the eight children of Jan Hendricx van Eyndhoven and Janneke Hendriksdr. Although no documents survive relating to Ostade's training, Houbraken states that he studied with Frans Hals (q.v.). He also says that Adriaen Brouwer (1606–1638), the Flemish painter of low-life and tavern scenes who lived in Haarlem until 1631, was a pupil of Hals at about the same time. Whether or not the two artists were fellow pupils, Brouwer's influence is readily apparent in Ostade's early works.

By 8 June 1632, Ostade was working successfully as an artist. Due to incomplete guild records, the date that he entered the Haarlem guild is unknown. Nevertheless, he was certainly a member by 1634; for one of his paintings was included in a lottery of

guild members' works that Dirck Hals (1591–1656) organized in April of that year. Two years later Ostade is recorded as a member of the Oude Schuts civic guard company. Later in his career, he played an active part in the administration of the Saint Luke's Guild, holding office as *hoofdman* in 1647 and 1661 and as *deken* in 1662. It must have been at about the time he was elected *hoofdman* in 1647 that Frans Hals painted his portrait (1937.1.70).

On 26 July 1638 Ostade married Macheltje Pietersdr. They drew up a will on 8 March 1642, six weeks before she died. Fifteen years later, on 26 May 1657, Ostade married Anna Ingels, a wealthy Catholic woman from Amsterdam. He appears to have converted to Catholicism at this time. His second marriage prompted a change in residence. After living for some years in the house on the Cromme

Elleboochsteech that he had purchased in September 1650, he settled first in the Koningstraat and by August 1663 moved to the Veerstraat. The couple had one child, a daughter named Johanna Maria. In 1655 Ostade became guardian of his sister Maeyeken's five children, and from 1668 he was also responsible for the children of his brother Jan. After the death of Anna late in 1666, Ostade inherited considerable sums both from her and from her father. His prolific output must also have provided a substantial income, for by 1670 he was living in relative comfort on the Ridderstraat. In 1672, at the time of the French invasion of the Netherlands, he temporarily fled Haarlem and moved to Amsterdam.

On 21 April 1685, Ostade was a signatory to his daughter's marriage settlement. Six days later he died and was buried in Saint Bavo's on 2 May. According to an announcement placed by his daughter in the Haarlem *Courant* on 19 June, the contents of the artist's studio were to be sold at auction on 3 and 4 July; a second sale is known to have taken place on 27 April 1686.

Ostade's productivity was remarkable. His known works include more than eight hundred paintings, about fifty etchings, and numerous drawings, some of which are subtly tinted with watercolor. The vast majority of this oeuvre consists of genre scenes, but he also produced a small number of portraits and history paintings.

It is likely that Ostade's younger brother Isack (q.v.) was an early pupil, and other artists who may have studied with him include Jan Steen (q.v.), Cornelis Bega (1631/1632–1664), Michiel van Musscher (1645–1705), and Cornelis Dusart (1660–1704).

Bibliography

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 Weyerman 1729–1769, 2: 91.
 Houbraken 1753, 1: 320, 347–349.
 Smith 1829–1842, 1 (1829): 107–178; 9 (1842): 79–136.
 Gaedertz 1869.
 Van der Willigen 1870: 21–23, 29, 233–241.
 Rosenberg 1900.
 HdG 1907–1927, 3 (1910): 140–436.
 Leningrad 1960.
 Miedema 1980, 2: 613, 665–672, 1060–1062.
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 Brown/MacLaren 1992: 297–298.

1977.21.1 (2706)

Tavern Scene

Early 1660s

Oil on oak, 23.8 x 20.4 (9 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8)

Gift of John Russell Mason

Inscriptions

At lower left: *Av Ostade 166*—

Technical Notes: The cradled panel support is composed of a single oak board with the grain running vertically. There is a slight convex warp. Dendrochronology estimates a felling date of 1650 for the tree and a period of 1655–1670 for the panel use.¹ A thin, off-white ground layer prepared the panel to receive thin paint layers whose low-covering power left the wood grain visible.

Moderate flaking in the past has occurred overall, and damage across the center of the painting has left a series of seven horizontal losses in the hat of the man farthest to the left and in the cardplayers (at the same height), as well as a vertical scratch through the arm of the central standing figure. The figures are slightly abraded, although the faces are free of loss or abrasion. Discolored varnish and old repaints were removed when the painting was treated in 1978.

Provenance: Probably private collection, Belgium, prior to 1930. Mrs. Edwin M. Watson [née Frances Nash], Washington and Charlottesville, about 1930; by inheritance to Ellen V. Nash, Charlottesville; by gift to John Russell Mason [d. 1981], Washington.²

WITHIN the dark confines of a spacious tavern interior peasants have gathered to pass the evening hours warming themselves by the fire, playing cards or backgammon, or just kibitzing while enjoying the soothing effects of tobacco and beer. The trees silhouetted against the moonlit sky, which can be seen through the leaded-glass windows, situate the tavern in a rural setting. One senses that this scene is a recurring evening ritual, in which peasants from the local community play out familiar roles night after night.

Much of the appeal of this small painting comes from the sense of atmosphere that helps unify the composition. One can imagine the quiet din of conversation within the dark recesses of this smoke-filled space. Light from various sources—the fire, the candle attached to the hearth, and the hidden candles on the tables—gives a warmth to the scene that is reinforced by the attitudes and expressions of the figures themselves.

Ostade, perhaps more than any other Dutch artist, devoted himself to the depiction of the lower echelons of Dutch society. Almost certainly influenced by Adriaen Brouwer (1606–1638) in his early years, Ostade initially executed images of peasant



Adriaen van Ostade, *Tavern Scene*, 1977.21.1

life that were far from flattering. By the 1660s, when he executed this small panel, his images had changed considerably. Instead of raucous behavior within taverns that look more like barns than public structures, the peasants here enjoy their leisure hours with exemplary deportment. Despite the presence of beer, tobacco, playing cards, and a backgammon game, none of these peasants has succumbed to vices so often associated with those who have yielded to sensual pleasures: no one has passed out, vomited, or threatened a fellow cardplayer with a knife or jug. The tavern itself is substantial and well kept: the fireplace is large, the leaded windows and ceiling beams in good order.

As the character of his peasants changed during the course of Ostade's career, so did his style of painting. By the 1660s, his technique became more refined as he sought to develop a more subtle use of light and dark. This evolution in style might have developed in conjunction with his extensive work in etching during the 1640s and 1650s. Many of his etchings of interior scenes, for example, explore the subtle effects of various light sources to establish mood. Certainly the smallness of this painting and the delicacy of his touch bring to mind the scale and character of his etchings.

Since the last digit of the date is illegible it is not certain when during the 1660s this scene was actually painted. The general disposition of the interior, however, is comparable to Ostade's 1661 *Peasants in an Interior* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. C200). Not only are the architectural elements similar, but the peasants are likewise organized in two groups, one situated before the hearth and the other around a table set in the background beneath the leaded-glass windows. It thus seems probable that this work also dates from the early 1660s.

Ostade must have composed his scenes with the aid of individual figure studies, of which many exist.³ Although no such study from the 1660s exactly matches any of the figures in this composition, a watercolor from the 1670s, part of a series by Ostade recording earlier studies, depicts the seated man before the fireplace (fig. 1).⁴

Notes

1. Dendrochronology by John Fletcher, Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford University, 16 November 1979.

2. The provenance information was provided by John Russell Mason.

3. See Schnackenburg 1981. For a discussion of Ostade's use of drawings, see Peter Schatborn in Washington 1981, 79–80.

4. Schnackenburg 1981, 1: cat. 336 (Ashmolean Mu-



Fig. 1. Adriaen van Ostade, *Seated Peasant*, 1670s, watercolor, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

seum, Oxford, inv. no. P.I. 170/7). Schnackenburg 1981, 1: 42, makes the point that a characteristic of Ostade's late drawings is that they depict motifs from his earlier work.

References

1985 NGA: 295, repro.

1942.9.48 (644)

The Cottage Dooryard

1673
Oil on canvas, 44 x 39.5 (17 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 15 $\frac{5}{8}$)
Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At lower left center: *Av. Ostade 1673* (Av in ligature)

Technical Notes: The support is a moderately coarse-textured fabric, tightly woven in a plain weave. It has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed, but cusping visible in the x-radiograph indicates the dimensions have not been altered. The fabric weave is visible through the thick, smooth white ground.

Paint is applied in thin layers with no appreciable brushmarking or impasto. The vehicular pastes of the figures, architecture, and sky give way to fluid opaque washes in the foreground. Lean granular yellows and transparent green glazes are employed in the foliage. A pentimento is visible in the upper left tree. The condition of the painting is excellent. Abrasion is slight, and losses are confined to the edges and an area of flaking around the foreground figures at right.

In 1975 a double lining was removed and the support relined. An aged surface coating was removed.

Provenance:¹ Adriaen Swalmius [1689–1747], Schiedam; (sale, Rotterdam, 15 May 1747, no. 2); Jacob de Roore [1686–

1747], Antwerp; (sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747, no. 84); Pieter and Jan Bisschop, Rotterdam, 1747–1771; Adrian [1709–1781] and John Hope [1737–1784], Amsterdam and London; John Hope, Amsterdam, The Hague, Heemstede; by inheritance to Henry Hope [1736–1811], London; by inheritance to Henry Philip Hope [1774–1839], London (in possession of Thomas Hope [1769–1831], London); by inheritance to Henry Thomas Hope [1808–1862], London; by inheritance to his widow, née Adèle Bichat [d. 1884], London; by inheritance to Henry Francis Hope Pelham-Clinton-Hope, London, by whom lent 1891–1898 to the South Kensington Museum; (Asher Wertheimer, London, 1898–1899); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: British Institution, London, 1815, no. 142. *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Museum of Ornamental Art, Manchester, 1857, no. 735. *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters, and by Deceased Masters of the British School*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1881, no. 106. New York 1909, no. 69. *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, Philadelphia Museum of Art; Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin; Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1984, no. 93. *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, Mauritshuis, The Hague; Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1990–1991, no. 47.

SITUATED within the earthen courtyard of a vine-covered, rustic cottage is a tender vignette of domestic harmony and tranquility. At the center of the family group is the mother, who busily cleans mussel shells in preparation for the evening meal. While the husband watches from the doorway of the wooden wall at the rear of the courtyard, an older sister cares for her youngest sibling as two other children play with the family dog. No comings or goings, no exceptional confrontations or other unusual circumstances provided motivation for this scene; rather, Ostade celebrated here the peaceful existence of this peasant family tending to daily life.

Arnold Houbraken, while writing about Ostade in the early eighteenth century, marveled at the lively and spirited nature of his peasant scenes. To emphasize Ostade's remarkable naturalism, he compared the artist's images of peasant life to those found in an early eighteenth-century poem about a country kermis.² Houbraken's associations between Ostade's images and poetry are, at first glance, surprising, largely because one does not generally associate poetry with depictions of peasant life. Ostade's scenes, moreover, do not appear to be idealized. In this painting, for example, he not only captured the various attitudes of the members of the peasant family, but also the sense of their home environment, whether it be the earthenware pots scattered here and there, the clothes hanging over the line, the dovecotes, the beehives, or the broken panes of glass

in the upper windows. Their world seems real and tangible; the textures of the bricks, mortar, wood, glass, and cloth are convincingly indicated through subtle nuances of his brush. Finally, his organization of light and shadow helps unify the scene while his selected color accents enliven the image.

Ostade almost certainly composed this work from various studies made from life. Although no preliminary drawings have been associated with this work, throughout his career Ostade made drawings of figures that he then used as points of departure for his paintings and etchings.³ Specific evidence that he composed this work in the studio comes from a comparison with a finished drawing from the same year entitled *Pig Slaughtering in Peasant Village* (fig. 1). While many elements in the two compositions are identical, including the wash hanging on the line, Ostade has modified the building and setting in subtle ways: he changed the leading in the windows and opened the vista to the background to create the sense of a village street rather than a courtyard. One motif, however, has remained the same: the vine clinging to the cottage, a traditional image of fertility and conjugal felicity.⁴

Ostade painted *The Cottage Dooryard* near the end of a long and illustrious career that included numerous drawings and etchings of peasant life as well as paintings (see 1977.21.1). As his style evolved from a relatively dark to a light palette, his attention shifted from depictions of rowdy peasants to those whose lives embodied family values centered around mutual caring and sharing of domestic responsibilities. Peasants in his late work no longer occupy hovels, but rather more substantial structures, which are rustic in appearance and simply furnished.

The stylistic evolution, in many ways gradual and quite understandable in the broader context of Dutch art, does, nevertheless, raise questions about the changing nature of Ostade's image of peasant existence. If, following Houbraken's lead, one views Ostade's images of peasants as poetic evocations of rural life that he has "thought up" rather than as descriptive reality,⁵ then it is important to try to understand his attitudes toward his subject matter. The shift in style and concept may be sociological as well as artistic. Whereas during the 1630s and 1640s there seemed to be widespread assumptions that lower-class people were bestial or vulgar, by the 1670s the rural Dutch, unaffected by the influx of foreign influences and the pursuit of wealth that was so evident in city life, came to embody ideal virtues that were at the foundation of Dutch culture. These, in large part, had been codified in the prolific writ-



Adriaen van Ostade, *The Cottage Dooryard*, 1942.9.48



Fig. 1. Adriaen van Ostade, *Pig Slaughtering in Peasant Village*, 1673, pen and ink and watercolor, London, British Museum

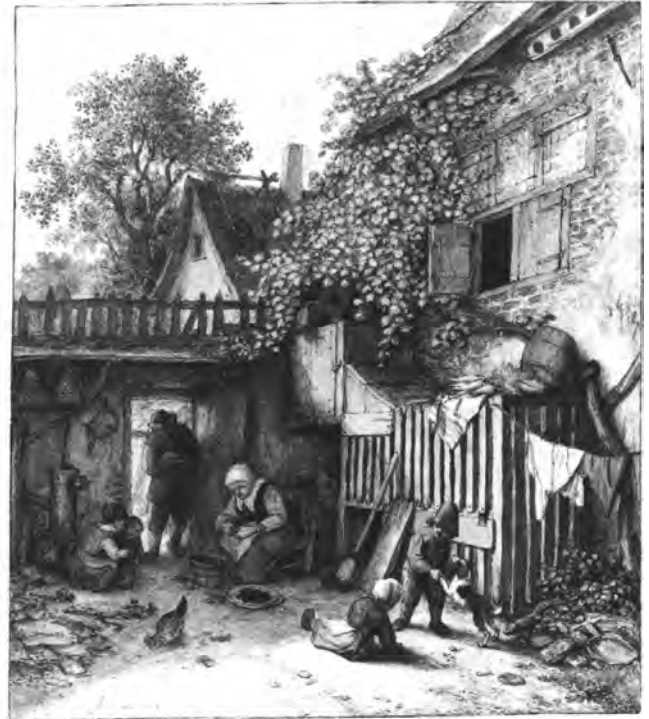


Fig. 2. Adriaen van Ostade, *The Cottage Dooryard*, 1673, watercolor, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Museum Fodor, Legacy Collection

ings of Jacob Cats, whose work was frequently republished throughout the century, and would continue to be so until the mid-nineteenth century. The domestic tranquility and homey virtues found in Ostade's depictions of lower-class households during the latter part of his career thus represent a view of peasant existence seen through a veil of nostalgia for a simpler, less complex way of life, one that incorporated values that had been at the essence of Dutch society. In this regard, it is interesting that Ostade created this idyllic scene of *The Cottage Dooryard* the year after he had fled Haarlem because of the French invasion of the Netherlands.⁶

One also wonders whether the exquisite watercolors (fig. 2) Ostade made after this and other similar late paintings spoke to the same need.⁷ The positive response to these late paintings and their related watercolors was immediate and lasting⁸ and may explain much about the widespread appeal of mid-seventeenth-century Dutch art in the Netherlands at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Notes

1. For a detailed discussion of the provenance of *The Cottage Dooryard* see The Hague 1990, 355–359.

2. Houbraken 1753, 1: 348. The poem by L. Rotgans, *Boerekermis* [Country Fair], was published in 1708. The identification of the poem was made by Broos in The Hague 1990, 359.

3. The drawings have been catalogued by Schnackenburg 1981. For a discussion of Ostade's use of drawings see Peter Schatborn in Washington 1981, 79–80.

4. As Robinson has noted in Philadelphia 1984, 289, note 4, the image was inspired by Psalm 128: "Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine by the side of thine house: thy children like olive plants round thy table."

5. Houbraken 1753, 1: 347–348. "Als ook de beeltjes in hunne bekleeding, en allerhande bedryven, zoo natuurlyk boers en geestig, dat het om to verwonderen is; hoe hy 't heeft weten to bedenken."

6. Houbraken 1753, 1: 347. Houbraken writes that Ostade left Haarlem for Amsterdam in 1662, but the explicit mention of the French invasion in his sentence makes it clear that he meant to write 1672.

7. Schnackenburg 1981, 1: 41, 73, note 111a, who lists more than fifty such watercolors from the period between 1672 and 1684, suggests that Ostade's technique was influenced by the watercolors of Hendrick Avercamp (q.v.). Broos in The Hague 1990, 359, has noted that the art dealer with whom Ostade stayed in Amsterdam after he had fled Haarlem, Constantijn Sennepart (1625–1703), who purportedly suggested to Ostade that he make such watercolors, owned drawings by Avercamp.

8. Houbraken 1753, 1: 347.

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1854–1857 Waagen, 2 (1854): 119, no. 3.
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1869 Gaedertz: 157.
1885–1900 Widener, 2 (1900): 234, repro.
1898 *Hope Collection*: LXXVI, repro.
1907–1927 HdG, 3 (1910): 294, no. 503.
1910 New York: 16, 242, repro.
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1915–1932 Hind, 4 (1931): 17.
1923 Widener: n.p., repro.
1931 Widener: 218–219, repro.
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1981 Niemeijer: 127–232.
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1982b Clark: 73–94.
1985 NGA: 295, repro.
1986 Sutton: 308–309.
1990 The Hague: no. 47.

Isack van Ostade

1621–1649

ISACK VAN OSTADE, the youngest of the eight children of Jan Hendricx van Eyndhoven and Janneke Hendriksdr., was born in Haarlem, and baptized on 2 June 1621. He became a member of the Haarlem painters' guild in 1643 and died in 1649, at the age of twenty-eight.

Ostade's first surviving dated painting is from 1639, a mere ten years before his early death. Although his career was very short, his output was prodigious, and his creativity and originality striking. According to Houbraken, Isack was a pupil of his more famous brother Adriaen van Ostade (q.v.), and his early paintings of low-life interiors and peasant scenes are indeed extremely close in style to the work of his brother.

It was not long, however, before Isack began to develop his own distinctive artistic personality and started to paint larger outdoor peasant and village scenes in which elements of genre scenes are combined with an evocative treatment of their landscape settings. These compositions, which typically show travelers or peasants resting in front of inns or houses, are executed with quite subtle atmospheric and seasonal effects. Isack also excelled at depicting winter scenes.

Bibliography

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Paris 1981.
Schnackenburg 1981.
Amsterdam 1987: 390–394.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 303.

1942.9.49 (645)

The Halt at the Inn

1645
Oil on canvas, 50 x 66 (19 x 26)
Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At lower right corner: *Isack van Os.../164* []

Technical Notes: The original support was a horizontally grained wood panel composed of two boards joined horizontally just above the grouped figures. A horizontal check extended from the right edge through several of the figures and the head of the brown horse. Prior to 1837, when the painting was in the sale of the collection of the Duchess de Berry, it was transferred from wood to a fine-weave fabric and lined with the dimensions expanded. The transfer canvas has a small vertical tear in the foreground near the gray horse's tail. In 1982 the lining was removed and the transfer canvas marouflaged to a honeycombed aluminum solid support panel consistent with the original panel dimensions.

The artist incorporated a smooth, off-white ground layer into the light tones of the design. He applied paint in thin layers with minimal impasto. Transparent glazes were laid

over opaque layers in the upper sky in the dark foreground. The paint craquelure is characteristic of both paintings on wood and fabric supports, although the solid support mounting minimizes the impression of the weave texture.

A thin line of loss exists along the panel join and check and adjacent to a canvas tear that occurred in 1979. Scattered small losses found overall include losses in the signature and date, the beggar woman, and the structures at right. Dark gray stains in the sky were minimized through inpainting when the painting was varnished in 1982.

Provenance: Duchess de Berry, Paris; (sale, Paris, April 4, 1837, no. 19). Count de Morny, Paris; (sale, Phillips, London, 20–21 June 1848, no. 108). Mrs. Lynne Stephens, Norfolk, Rochampton, and Paris; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 9 May 1895, no. 340); (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1895).¹ (Fischhof, 1898); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: New York 1909: no. 70.

WHILE Isack van Ostade lived in Haarlem, little of his work reflected his native cityscape. Rather, he took delight in depicting life outside the city, particularly as a traveler would have experienced it passing through one of the small villages in the vicinity of Haarlem. In this painting he portrayed the bustle of activity outside a village inn as two well-dressed travelers arrive and dismount from their horses.² A beggar woman with a child strapped to her back stands to watch while other figures converse with one of the travelers. The main street of the village is filled with other groups, among them, men smoking pipes on a bench before the inn, a child playing with its mother's apron, and a man talking to a woman who spins yarn. Ostade creates a sense of conviviality by the apparent informality of these human contacts and the inclusion of an array of animals within the scene. He added to the picturesque character by emphasizing the aged brick and mortar of the inn and the vines that grow over its weathered tile roof.

This sympathetic view of village life is an outgrowth of attitudes evident in various series of landscape etchings published in Haarlem and Amsterdam in the second decade of the seventeenth century during the Twelve-Year Truce (1609–1621).³ Prints by Claes Jansz. Visscher (1587–1652), Willem Buytewech (1591/92–1624), Esaias van de Velde II (1590/91–1630), and Jan van de Velde II (1593–1641) depicted meandering roads on which travelers pass from one village to the next, occasionally resting before an inn, as in Jan van de Velde's etching of spring (*Ver*), 1617.⁴ Title pages to these series emphasized that these views were of "pleasant places"

in the vicinity of Haarlem and that they were made for the enjoyment of city viewers. Except for occasional depictions of specific inns or ruins, precise locations were of less consequence than the sense of delight one would receive traveling through the landscape and its villages.

Ostade began painting such "halt before an inn" scenes as early as 1643, the year he entered the Haarlem Saint Luke's Guild.⁵ While the delight he took in depicting peasant life, already evident in paintings from the early 1640s, may have derived from the inspiration of his older brother Adriaen, this particular subject matter was his own invention. Not only did the varied activities before an inn give him an opportunity to exploit his talents as a genre painter, such scenes also suited his abilities as a landscapist. As is evident from this example, he was particularly adept at depicting landscape elements and atmospheric effects. Part of what makes this scene so vivid are the nuances of light on the buildings and figures that have filtered through the overcast sky and the suggestions of smoke that rise from the inn's chimney.

To judge from a large number of surviving drawings, Ostade seems to have traveled along such roads and to have carefully observed the buildings and peasants he found on his journeys.⁶ None of the motifs in the drawings, however, specifically relate to the paintings, which suggests that he used his drawings as a point of departure and freely elaborated on his observations when he came to compose his paintings. Interestingly, the buildings in the painting seem somewhat more dilapidated than those he drew, which suggests that he purposely sought to create this picturesque effect.

While Isack's village may be understood as a fanciful creation based on his experiences traveling south of Haarlem, the church tower rising in the background seems to be based on the Oude Kerk at Warmond. A print by Abraham Rademaker, based on an image from 1600, shows the ruins of this parish church as it appeared after it had been set on fire by the Spanish in 1573 (fig. 1).⁷ Ostade may have included this church tower to orient the scene topographically, but he may have juxtaposed these ruins with the relaxed genre scene in the foreground for iconographic reasons. Just as the print series of the 1610s were intended to demonstrate the fruits of the Twelve-Year Truce by stressing that people could once again travel in the countryside without fear of attack, so this ruin served as a reminder that the freedom to travel in peace had only been gained through the efforts of those who had fought so valiantly against foreign oppression.



Isack van Ostade, *The Halt at the Inn*, 1642.9.49

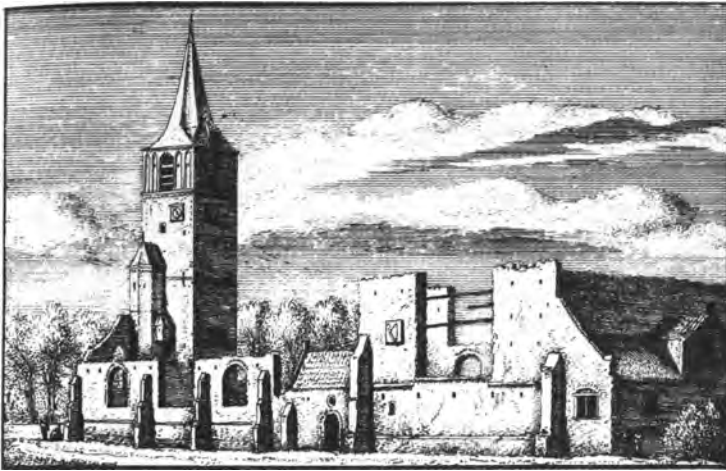


Fig. 1. Abraham Rademaker, *Oude Kerk at Warmont*, etching, pl. 81, from *Kabinet van Nederlandsche Outbeden en Gezichten*, Amsterdam, 1725

The painting, when sold in 1837 from the collection of the Duchesse de Berry, was identified as being on canvas. In fact, it had originally been on a wood support and had been transferred to canvas prior to that date (see Technical Notes). When the old lining fabric was removed and the painting backed by an aluminum panel during restoration in 1982–1983, the old panel-induced craquelure returned, much improving the appearance of the painting. During the restoration it was found that the signature and date, which had read 1645, were partly reconstructed. Since 1645 seems appropriate for stylistic reasons, this date probably reflected the one originally inscribed on the painting.

Notes

1. Reproduced in Sedelmeyer 1895, 34, no. 28.
2. A replica of *The Halt at the Inn*, entitled *A Village Scene*, is in the Wallace Collection, London (inv. no. P21). It is described in the 1992 catalogue of the Wallace Collection as a "weak copy."
3. For a discussion of these prints, see Freedberg 1980, 28–38.
4. See Hollstein 1949–, 33: 18, no. 26; and 34: 20, repro.
5. *Country Inn with a Horse at the Trough* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A303).
6. See Schnackenburg 1981, 1: 52–54.
7. Abraham Rademaker, *Kabinet van Nederlandsche Outbeden en Gezichten* (Amsterdam, 1725), plate 81. This tower is the only one depicted by Rademaker that has a central arched window flanked by two blind arches. Distinctive also is the turret attached to its side.

References

- 1829–1842 Smith, 9 (1842): 127–128, no. 17.
 1885–1900 Widener, 2 (1900): 235, repro.
 1895 Sedelmeyer: 34, no. 28, repro.

- 1907–1927 HdG, 3 (1910): 450–451, no. 37.
 1909 New York: no. 70.
 1913–1916 Widener, 1 (1913): unpaginated, no. 29, repro.
 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
 1931 Widener: 92, repro.
 1938 Waldmann: 335–342.
 1942 Widener: 6.
 1948 Widener: iv, 52, repro.
 1965 NGA: 98, no. 645.
 1968 NGA: 86, no. 645, repro.
 1975 NGA: 256–257, repro.
 1981 Schnackenburg, 1: 35, 274, no. 59 repro.
 1984 Wheelock: 16–17, color repro.
 1985 NGA: 295, repro.
 1991 Washington: 72.
 1992 NGA: 126, color repro.

1991.64.1

Workmen before an Inn

1645

Oil on oak, 66 x 58.4 (26 x 23)

Gift of Richard A. and Lee G. Kirstein, in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art

Inscriptions

At lower right corner: *Isack van Ostade 1645*

Technical Notes: The painting is on an oak panel with a vertical grain. The support is a single panel. The original chisel marks are visible on the back.

The ground is a smooth, light brown layer of medium thickness. It is allowed to show through the thinly applied paint layers. In the sky the paint is applied more thickly, with low impasto and strong brushwork. The painting is in very good condition, although small, scattered losses are visible in ultraviolet light. Minor pentimenti in the large tree in the center of the painting and the dogs in the foreground are visible to the naked eye. The painting has not been treated since acquisition.

Provenance: Van Tol, Souterwoude [near Leiden]; (sale, Amsterdam, 15 June 1779, no. 13); Wubbels, J. E. Fiseau, Amsterdam; (sale, Amsterdam, 30 August 1797, no. 165); (J. de Bos, Amsterdam). Baron Guillaume-Joseph de Brien van de Grootelindt, Amsterdam, by 1842; by inheritance to Baron Guillaume-Thierry-Armand-Maria de Brien van de Grootelindt, Amsterdam; (sale, Paris, 8 May 1865, no. 23); Marquis H. de V[illefosse?], Paris; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 5–6 June 1871, no. 218); Comte Henri Greffulhe [1848–1932], Paris. (Sale, Sotheby & Co., London, 22 July 1937, no. 74); (Roland & Delbanco, London, 1937–1939); Adolf Mayer, The Hague; (Edward Speelman, London); private collection, England; (A. Duits, London); (Christian Humann, Paris and New York, 1968–1973); Claus Virch, Paris, 1973–1977;¹ (Brod, London, 1977). Richard A. and Lee G. Kirstein, Washington.



Isack van Ostade, *Workmen before an Inn*, 1991.64.1

Exhibited: *A Loan Exhibition of Dutch and Flemish Painting: The Collection of the Late Adolf Mayer*, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio, 1948, no. 9. *Old Master Paintings: Exhibition of Recent Acquisitions*, Brod Gallery, London, 1977, no. 20. Washington 1991: 72, repro. 73.

WHILE Isack van Ostade frequently represented travelers halting before an inn (see 1942.9.49), the focus on the activities of workmen restocking an inn, as in this painting, is exceptional. Here a horse-drawn sledge has stopped before the mottled, brown brick façade of a rustic village inn where two laborers strain under the weight of a keg of beer they are lifting with the aid of a yoke. The innkeeper stands in the doorway ready to direct them inside. Above him hang traditional Dutch symbols of welcome and promised conviviality for an inn, the beer jug and a circular wreath adorned with a grapevine.² Perched on the chimney is a stork, which, as traditional emblem of the traveler, was encouraged by innkeepers.³ Around the building are sights that would have greeted visitors to such a village. A woman seated under a canopy sells her wares, probably pancakes, to an eager clientele of men and children. Near this group a cripple hobbles along supported by his cane and stick. Farther down the road a quack, standing before a large bulletin board, tries to convince his audience of the wonders of his cures. Adding to the

picturesque character of the scene are the animals that occupy the foreground: a hen and rooster scratch and peck, and two dogs sniff the ground, nose to nose, while a third, anxious to join them, demands the full attention of his youthful master.

Inns were the social meeting point for all facets of Dutch society. Whether a welcome wayside in the midst of the dunes, an imposing building on a city square, or, as in this instance, a modest structure in one of the small villages that dotted the countryside, the inn provided food, drink, and occasional lodging. More important, however, it served as a forum for entertainment, whether it be conversing, gaming, or relaxation during the celebration of a kermis or other holiday. As is suggested in Ostade's painting, the environment may have been picturesque, but it was seldom genteel. John Ray, an English traveler who visited the Netherlands in 1663, described innkeepers as being "surly and uncivil." He also found the food hardy—stews, beef, pickled herrings, cheeses, bread—but rather basic and quite expensive: "Their strong Beer, (thick Beer they call it, and well they may) is sold for three Stivers the Quart, which is more than three pence *English*."⁴

In contrast to the horizontal format of *The Halt at the Inn* (1942.9.49), which he probably also painted in 1645, Ostade chose a vertical format for this work. As a consequence this painting is composed along a



Fig. 1. Isack van Ostade, *Halt at the Inn*, 1646, oil on panel, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

single diagonal that recedes to the left rather than with the counterbalancing diagonals found in *The Halt at the Inn*. This dynamic composition reinforces the sense of activity and enlivens the streetscape. As seems to have been his standard procedure, Ostade must have composed this painting in his studio on the basis of drawings he made from life. A comparison with his *Halt at the Inn* of 1646 in Vienna (fig. 1) suggests how he may have freely adapted his models from one painting to the next: the cripple in the Washington painting certainly derives from the same prototype as does the man carrying a bucket at the left in the Vienna painting. Presumably similar modifications occurred with building and animal studies as well.

Paulus Potter

1625–1654

PAULUS POTTER came from a family of artists. His father, Pieter Simonsz. Potter (c. 1600–1652) was a practicing artist, and his mother, Aaltje Paulusdr. Bartsius, was the sister of the painter Willem Bartsius (born c. 1612). Paulus was baptized in Enkhuizen, on 20 November 1625. In 1631, the family moved to Amsterdam, where, according to Houbraken, Potter studied painting under his father. Other writers, however, have argued that Potter studied with the Amsterdam painter Claes Moeyaert (c. 1590/1591–1655), whose style was similar to that of Pieter Potter. Since a “P. Potter” was registered in 1642 as a student of the Haarlem artist Jacob de Wet (1610–1671/72), it seems probable that Potter would have also been familiar with artistic currents in that city during the early 1640s.

By 1646, Potter was living in Delft where he joined the painters’ guild on 6 August of that year. In 1647 he seems to have moved to The Hague, for in that year his father registered with the guild in that city and his sister was baptized there. Potter himself is first mentioned in guild records there in 1649. On 3 July of the next year he married Adriana Baleken Eynde, the daughter of the city architect. From 1649 to 1652 Potter lived in a house on the Dunne Bierkade owned by the landscape painter Jan van Goyen (q.v.).

It may have been through his father-in-law, who worked on royal building projects, that Potter came

Notes

1. I would like to thank Dr. Claus Virch, a former owner of *Workmen before an Inn*, for providing information regarding the painting’s provenance (see letter of June 1991 in NGA curatorial files).

2. See Linda A. Stone-Ferrier in Lawrence 1983, 216.

3. There seems, however, to have been no scarcity of storks in the Netherlands if one is to judge from the comments of John Ray, see Ray 1673, 56.

4. Ray 1673, 50–51.

References

1829–1842 Smith, 9 (1842): 132–133, no. 32.

1877 Gueullette: 154–171.

1907–1927 HdG, 3 (1910): 466, no. 96.

1977a London: no. 20.

1991 Washington: 72, repro. 73.

to receive commissions from Amalia van Solms, widow of Prince Frederik Hendrik. Potter executed at least one picture for her, now in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, but apparently did not fulfill other obligations: in 1651 he was sued by the royal court for failure to deliver paintings.

By 1 May 1652, Potter had returned to Amsterdam, according to Houbraken at the bidding of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp. In the following year he painted the impressive life-sized equestrian portrait of Nicolaes Tulp’s son, Dirck Tulp (Six Collection, Amsterdam). Potter died from tuberculosis shortly thereafter. He was buried in the Nieuwezijdskapel on 17 January 1654. Despite the fact that he died at the age of only twenty-eight, Potter’s work was both original and influential. From very early in his career, he accorded animals an extremely important position in his compositions and was one of the first artists to depict them as subjects in their own right. He also produced some two dozen etchings of animal subjects.

Although he had no documented pupils, Potter may have influenced Karel du Jardin (c. 1622–1678); for landscapes he produced around the time of Potter’s death are quite similar in style.

Bibliography

Houbraken 1753, 2: 126–129.

Smith 1829–1842, 5 (1834): 113–165; 9 (1842): 620–628.

Michel 1906a.
HdG 1907–1927, 4 (1912): 582–670.
Zoege von Manteuffel 1924.
Von Arps-Aubert 1932.
Walsh 1985.
Amsterdam 1987: 416–422.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 313–314.
The Hague 1994.

1942.9.52 (648)

A Farrier's Shop

1648
Oil on oak, 48.3 x 45.7 (19 x 18)
Widener Collection

Inscriptions

In transom frame above doorway on left: *paulus potter f. 1648*

Technical Notes: The cradled-panel support consists of a single oak board with a vertical grain. Worm tunnels are visible in the x-radiograph and on the back of the panel, and a small vertical hairline crack is found right of center in the bottom edge. Vertical striations are visible from the brush application of the moderately thick white ground. Opaque paint is applied in light passages with impasted highlights, while dark passages are thinly glazed in a series of translucent layers.

Pentimenti of a chicken and a stick are visible in the lower right corner, and minor changes were made in the legs of the standing dog. The sky and dark passages are moderately abraded, and there are scattered small losses and local abrasions, particularly along the right edge in a vertical band. The painting was treated in 1981 to remove discolored varnish and repaints, although insoluble overpaint was left in place in some areas.

Provenance: (Sale, Ghent, 23 September 1777, no. 49). Jacques Clemens, Ghent; (sale, Maison Mortuaire, Ghent, 21 June 1779, no. 212; Neijman, Amsterdam. Johan Philip de Monté, Utrecht; (sale, A. Lamme, Rotterdam, 4–5 July 1825, no. 1); M. L. J. Nieuwenhuys, London.¹ Count François-Alexandre-Charles Perregaux [1791–1838], Paris; by inheritance to Madame Perregaux; (sale, Ridet & Seigneur, Paris, 8 December 1841, no. 26); Madame Autran, Marseilles, by 1867. (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris). M. Rodolphe Kann [d. 1905], Paris and Marseilles; (Duveen Brothers, London and New York, 1907); sold 1909 to Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Illustrated catalogue of 300 Paintings by Old Masters . . .*, Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, 1808; no. 108. *Winter Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters and Deceased Masters of the British School*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1908, no. 66.

ACCORDING TO Paulus Potter's widow, whenever the artist had an extra hour to take a walk, he would put a little sketchbook in his pocket. When he saw something that was intriguing or enjoyable and would serve his purpose, he straight away sketched the subject.² This anecdote about Potter's working process may well help explain how he came upon the idea to depict this intense little drama between man and animal outside a farrier's shop, a subject no other Dutch artist ever depicted. One can only imagine that Potter, on one of his walks near the polders outside of The Hague, was attracted by the commotion caused by a horse whose muzzle was being pinched to open his mouth so that his teeth could be filed, or floated.³ There he must have seen the horse pawing the air with his left foreleg; the intense concentration of the old, bespectacled man as he braced himself to work the rasp; and the openmouthed expression of his younger accomplice who held the twitch. There too he may have witnessed the slack-jawed gaze of the young bystander, who, with hands stuffed in his pockets, looks up at the operation in amazement. Inside the shop, hard at work at his anvil, is the blacksmith, taking no more interest in the proceedings than the dogs or the chickens scratching for food. Whether Potter recorded his impressions in his sketchbook or merely carried them home in his head, the subject was so vividly imbued in his mind that he was able to create a work that captured the sense and emotional intensity of the moment.

While the basic compositional scheme is one that Potter had developed in the previous year, particularly in *Barnyard Scene: Horses with Figures*, signed and dated 1647 (Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. E 24–3–17), this painting is unique in its vivid characterization of a scene. To enhance the dramatic effect Potter situated the action along a shaded diagonal wedge formed by the farrier shop and the small wooden structure attached to it. Long shadows on the ground and the brightly illuminated white horse behind the central group of figures accentuate the chiaroscuro contrasts between foreground and background. Above, gray smoke from the blacksmith's fire rises from the chimney and merges into the dark clouds of the windswept sky.

It is not known what influences inspired Potter to develop this compositional scheme, although enough similarities exist between it and paintings by Isack van Ostade (for example, *The Halt at the Inn*, 1942.9.49, and *Workmen before an Inn*, 1991.64.1) to suggest that he might have been familiar with that artist's work. Indeed, Potter apparently spent some



Paulus Potter, *A Farrier's Shop*, 1665.9.52



Fig. 1. Paulus Potter, *Study of a Horse*, pencil, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham

time in Haarlem in the mid-1640s. It was only after he joined the Saint Luke's Guild in Delft in 1646, however, that he began to incorporate *contre-jour* light effects, which he would have learned from Italianate painters.⁴

As is evident from the anecdote about his walks with his sketchbook, and also from his drawings (fig. 1) and etchings, Potter observed the world carefully and recorded his impressions without idealization. A comparison of the Birmingham study of a horse and the white horse in *A Farrier's Shop* suggests that he composed his paintings on the basis of such drawings. Presumably, comparable studies also existed that he would have used for other figures in this painting.

The intense realism of Potter's style was particularly appreciated in the nineteenth century, and his works commanded enormous sums of money.⁵ This painting, for example, fetched Fr 15,000 in the Perregaux sale of 1841, perhaps in part because of the enthusiastic, and extensive, description in the sales catalogue. The special place reserved for the painting within this esteemed artist's oeuvre is particularly evident in the concluding sentence of the catalogue entry: "En dernière analyse, c'est un tableau de Paul Potter aussi parfait de coloris, de faire, de sentiment, de verité, que les plus beaux qu'il ait jamais enfantés,

avec l'avantage inappreciable d'une composition plus savante, plus variée et plus animée."⁶

Notes

1. An annotated copy of the De Monté sale states that Nieuwenhuys purchased the picture for 7,100 guilders. For a discussion of the sale and Nieuwenhuys' purchase of the work, see Nieuwenhuys 1834, 186–188.

2. Houbraken 1753, 2: 129. Houbraken received this information in a letter written by Nicolaas van Reenen, the son of the widow. The full text quoted by Houbraken is: "Dat hy zyn Moeder dikwerf heeft hooren zeggen: Dat zy haar Man nooit ledig heeft gezien; dat hy zelf wanneer hy een uur voor haar over had om een zyn zak by zig droeg; om als hy iets zag dat geestig was, en in zyn kraam konde dienen, staks dat voorwerp af te schetsen."

3. Much confusion has existed in old references about the exact operation being undertaken by the old man in the red shirt. In the Clemens sale of 1777 in Ghent it was thought that he was giving a cure to the horse ("fait une cure à un cheval"). In the Johan Philip de Monté sale, the action was described as "bettering the teeth" ("de tanden te verbeteren"). The catalogue text in the Perregaux sale of 1841 described the man as examining the horse's mouth with an iron probe ("examiner, avec une sonde de fer, la bouche à demi ouverte de l'animal"). When the painting was exhibited as part of the Rudolphe Kann collection in Paris in 1907 (see *Kann* 1907), it was thought that the man was extracting a tooth, an interpretation that was maintained in the Widener catalogues.

4. Potter first used *contre-jour* light in his *Cows Driven to Pasture*, 1647, in the Residenzgalerie, Salzburg. For an illustration of this work see Amsterdam 1987, 418, fig. 1.

5. Smith 1834, 5: 117, noted the high prices commanded by Potter's paintings.

6. Perregaux sale, Paris, 25 November 1841, 52 (see Provenance).

References

- 1829–1842 Smith, 5 (1834): 144, no. 63.
- 1834 Nieuwenhuys: 186–188.
- 1857–1858 Blanc, 2 (1858): 448.
- 1867 Van Westrheene: 178, no. 22.
- 1898 Paris: no. 108, repro.
- 1907 *Kann*, 1: viii, 64 repro, 65.
- 1907–1927 HdG, 4 (1911): 654, no. 154.
- 1908 "Farrier's Shop": 20, repro. frontispiece.
- 1913–1916 Widener: n.p., intro., repro.
- 1923 Widener: n.p., repro.
- 1931 Widener: 98–99, repro.
- 1932 Von Arps-Aubert: 37, no. 28.
- 1938 Waldmann: 334–343.
- 1942 Widener: 6, no. 648.
- 1948 Widener: ix, 54, no. 648, repro.
- 1965 NGA: 104, no. 648.
- 1968 NGA: 92, no. 648, repro.
- 1975 NGA: 274–275, repro.
- 1985 NGA: 317, repro.
- 1986 Sutton: 306.
- 1990 Sutton: 240.

Adam Pynacker

c. 1620–1673

PYNACKER'S approximate date of birth can be deduced from a document of 22 January 1652 in which he is recorded as being thirty-one years old. He was almost certainly born in Schiedam. Following the occupation of his father, Christiaan Pynacker, he first appears to have had a career as a wine merchant. In this capacity he traveled to Delft where he met the Delft innkeeper, painter, and art dealer Adam Pick (c. 1622–before 1666) who became a close associate of Pynacker's family. Only one painting by Pick survives, making it impossible to establish any stylistic influence he may have had on Pynacker, though he presumably helped him establish his career as a painter. Pynacker is recorded in Delft from 1649 to 1651 and in 1657. He seems to have worked frequently in that city, although he may have continued to live in Schiedam, where documents mention him in 1651, 1652, and 1658. In 1654 and 1655, Pynacker worked for the Brandenburg court at Lenzen in Germany. Several of his paintings appear in Delft inventories of the early 1650s, and in about 1653 the Delft painter Leonaert Bramer (1596–1674) sketched copies of three of his landscapes.

On 20 September 1658, Pynacker married Eva Maria de Geest, the daughter of the portrait painter Wijbrand de Geest (1592–after 1660). Upon his marriage he converted to Catholicism, and his two children were baptized as Catholics in Schiedam in 1660 and 1661. During the 1660s Pynacker moved to Amsterdam, where he is recorded in 1669 and 1671, although he is also documented in Schiedam again in 1670, the year of his last dated painting. He died in Amsterdam in March 1673.

Houbraken states that Pynacker spent several years in Italy. While his atmospheric, idyllic landscapes have a strongly Italianate character, no documentary evidence proves that he did indeed travel to Italy. He may have learned about the Italian *campagna* through the works of other artists, particularly Jan Asselijn (c. 1615–1652), Jan Both (c. 1615–1652), and Herman Saftleven (1609–1685), whose works seem to have been a source of inspiration. Nevertheless, Pynacker's landscapes are compositionally quite imaginative and adhere only rarely to the classical principles of composition favored by other Italianizing Dutch landscape painters. He also

executed a few series of large landscapes that were commissioned by wealthy merchants as decorative ensembles to adorn their town houses and country properties.

Bibliography

- Félibien 1666–1688, 5: 44.
Houbraken 1753, 2: 96–99.
Smith 1829–1842, 6 (1835): 285–300; 9 (1842): 750–755.
Blankert 1978a (1965): 184–194.
Amsterdam 1987: 394–402.
Harwood 1988.

1979.27.1 (2765)

Wooded Landscape with Travelers

late 1640s

Oil on canvas, 57 x 48 (22⁷/₁₆ x 18⁷/₈)

Gift of Ruth B. Benedict and Bertha B. Leubsdorf in memory of Sophie and Carl Boschwitz

Technical Notes: The support, a medium-weight, plain-weave fabric, has been lined with the right, left, and top tacking margins trimmed and the bottom tacking margin turned out and incorporated into the picture plane. A hard brittle layer of size is discernible below the thin, tan ground layer. Paint is applied as fluid pastes and stippling in the foliage.

The condition of the painting is only moderately good. The greens in the landscape, moreover, have darkened over time with the result that landscape details are not easy to distinguish and the sense of spatial recession has lessened. Discrete inpainting covers scattered small losses, and later repaint is found along the bottom edge. In 1978 the painting was lined and discolored varnish and retouching removed.

Provenance: (Galerie van Diemen, Berlin, 1925). Carl Boschwitz, New York. By inheritance to Dr. Ruth B. Benedict, Washington, and Bertha B. Leubsdorf, New York, in 1977.

THIS LANDSCAPE, which is neither signed nor dated, has been attributed to Pynacker by Bode, Nieuwstraten, and Harwood.¹ An early work, probably dating from the late 1640s,² it relates closely to a *Wooded Landscape with a Ford* (fig. 1) which Harwood dates about 1648.³ The stump in the foreground of the painting in the Museum Bredius, with its high projecting branch on the left and a lower branch on the right, is strikingly similar to the stump on the far



Fig. 1. Adam Pynacker, *Wooded Landscape with a Ford*, c. 1648, oil on panel, The Hague, Museum Bredius

bank in the *Wooded Landscape with Travelers*. The horizontal log with its lacelike branches is also very much like the boughs of the dead tree enclosed in lacy underbrush in the National Gallery painting. More significantly, the handling of space in these paintings is much the same. In both works the artist composed his scene with a series of planes approximately parallel to the picture plane. Furthermore, similar disparities of scale between the foreground and middle ground occur in the two works.

As an early painting, *Wooded Landscape with Travelers* is of considerable art historical interest. It demonstrates that characteristic features of Pynacker's style, particularly his use of light to accent figures and foliage and the lively rhythms of branches and trees and shrubbery, exist throughout his oeuvre. It also indicates that he was aware of recent developments in landscapes by Utrecht artists Jan Both, the most important of the Italianate artists, and Herman Saftleven. Pynacker may have learned from Jan Both how to use light as a unifying feature of his composition and as a means to accent forms, while the focus on a large tree stump resembles works by Herman Saftleven from the late 1640s.⁴

Notes

1. Wilhelm von Bode, director of the Prussian Royal Museums, 1906–1920, label attached to back of *Wooded Landscape with Travelers*, probably 1925. [Label reads: "Die vorstehend abgebildete Landschaft ist ein tüchtiges u. charakteristisches Bild der Adam Pynacker, von beste Erhaltung, W. V. Bode"]. See letter to purchaser Carl Boschwitz from Dr. Eduard Plietzsch, director, Galerie van Diemen, Berlin, 24 September 1925, in NGA curatorial files. J. Nieuwstraten, director, RKD, letter, 26 April 1979, also in NGA curatorial files. Harwood 1988, 113, no. 9.

2. This date is also proposed by Nieuwstraten letter, 26 April 1979. Harwood 1988, 113, no. 9, proposes c. 1649. Pynacker's earliest dated painting is 1650. See Harwood 1988, 18, no. 15.

3. Harwood 1988, 101, no. 4. Reproduced in Blankert 1978b, 102, where, however, Blankert suggests a date of 1650/1655.

4. See Saftleven's *Resting Riders in the Forest*, signed and dated 1647, Museum Bredius, The Hague. See Blankert 1978b or 1990, 197, cat. 145.

References

- 1988 Harwood: no. 9.
- 1994 Williamstown: no. 2, repro.



Adam Pynacker, *Wooded Landscape with Travelers*, 1979.27.1

Rembrandt van Rijn

1606–1669

REMBRANDT HARMENSZ. VAN RIJN, born 15 July 1606 in Leiden, was the son of a miller, Harmen Gerritsz. van Rijn (1568–1630), and his wife Neeltgen van Zuytbrouck (1568–1640). The youngest son of at least ten children, Rembrandt was not expected to carry on his father's business. Since the family was prosperous enough, they sent him to the Leiden Latin School, where he remained for seven years. In 1620 he enrolled briefly at the University of Leiden, perhaps to study theology. Orlers, Rembrandt's first biographer, related that because "by nature he was moved toward the art of painting and drawing," he left the university to study the fundamentals of painting with the Leiden artist Jacob Isaacsz. van Swanenburgh (1571–1638). After three years with this master, Rembrandt left in 1624 for Amsterdam, where he studied for six months under Pieter Lastman (1583–1633), the most important history painter of the day.

After returning to Leiden, Rembrandt quickly developed a reputation as a history painter and portraitist. By 1628 his work, and that of his colleague in Leiden, Jan Lievens (1609–1674), was enthusiastically praised by the secretary to the Prince of Orange, Constantijn Huygens (1596–1674). Huygens admired particularly Rembrandt's uncanny ability to convey feeling through gesture and expression and through dramatic contrasts of light and dark. That same year, Rembrandt, at the age of twenty-two, took on his first pupils, Gerard Dou (q.v.) and Isaac Jouderville (1612–1645/1648). Documents indicate that Jouderville paid Rembrandt one hundred guilders a year to study with him.

By 1631 Rembrandt had become financially involved with the Amsterdam art dealer Hendrik van Uylenburgh (c. 1587–1661). The nature of Van Uylenburgh's enterprise, which was called "an academy" in its day, is not entirely understood, but it appears that he orchestrated an active art studio that specialized in portrait commissions. In any event, around 1632 Rembrandt moved to Amsterdam, where he lived with Van Uylenburgh and ran his "academy" until 1635. Rembrandt achieved tremendous success. He received many commissions and attracted a number of students who came to learn his method of painting. Artists who had previously been trained elsewhere, including Jacob Back-

er (1608–1651), Govaert Flinck (1615–1660), and Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680), worked during these years at Van Uylenburgh's studio under Rembrandt's guidance.

In 1633 Rembrandt became engaged to Van Uylenburgh's niece Saskia (1612–1642), daughter of a wealthy and prominent Frisian family. They married the following year. In 1639, at the height of his success, Rembrandt purchased a large house on the Sint-Anthonisbreestraat in Amsterdam for a considerable amount of money. To acquire the house, however, he had to borrow heavily, creating a debt that would eventually figure in his financial problems of the mid-1650s. Rembrandt and Saskia had four children, but only Titus, born in 1641, survived infancy. After a long illness Saskia died in 1642, the very year Rembrandt painted *The Night Watch* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

During the 1640s life became more unsettled for Rembrandt. Geertje Dirckx (1600/1610–1656?) soon entered the household as a nurse for Titus and became a companion to Rembrandt. In 1649 he dismissed her and entered into a lifelong relationship with Hendrickje Stoffels (1626–1663). While Hendrickje seems to have been a warm and caring companion for Rembrandt, the early 1650s were fraught with personal turmoil. Rembrandt and Geertje Dirckx became embroiled in a number of contentious lawsuits that give the impression that he treated his former mistress quite badly. Rembrandt and Hendrickje never married because of stipulations in Saskia's will;¹ this situation caused Hendrickje public humiliation when she became pregnant in 1654. She was called before a council of the Dutch Reformed church and censored for having "lived with Rembrandt like a whore." Their daughter, Cornelia, was baptized on 30 October 1654.

Financial difficulties also beset Rembrandt during these years, and he was forced to declare insolvency in 1656. His estate, including his large art collection, was auctioned in 1657 and 1658. He then moved to an artist's quarter in the Jordaan district of Amsterdam, eventually renting a relatively small house on the Rozengracht where he lived for the rest of his life. Hendrickje and Titus subsequently formed a business partnership to protect Rembrandt from further demands of creditors.

Although Rembrandt did receive a number of important portrait commissions during the late 1650s and early 1660s, stylistic trends had veered away from his deeply personal manner of painting. He became more and more isolated from the main-streams of Dutch art. No students are documented as having worked with him during the latter half of the 1650s, and only one student, Aert de Gelder (1645–1727), is known to have come to study with him in the 1660s.

Rembrandt's financial situation remained poor during the 1660s. He owed a substantial amount of money, in particular to the art dealer and collector Lodewijk van Ludick, a debt he hoped to repay with the money he would receive from his large painting for one of the lunettes in the Amsterdam Town Hall, *The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). Rembrandt's composition, however, was rejected by city authorities in 1662. To raise funds he was then forced to sell Saskia's grave in the Oude Kerk. He never regained financial solvency and during his last years lived on the savings of his daughter, Cornelia.

Although Rembrandt remained famous as an artist, there seems to have been little to lighten the burdens of his life during his last years. In 1663 a plague that ravaged Amsterdam claimed the life of Hendrickje. Four years later Titus married Magdalena van Loo (1642–1669), but in 1668 he also died, the victim of another epidemic. When Rembrandt died on 4 October 1669, he was buried in an

unknown rented grave in the Westerkerk, Amsterdam.

Notes

1. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 320, doc. no. 1654/15. Dudok van Heel in Berlin 1991, 57, explains that according to Saskia's will Rembrandt, should he remarry, was bound to transfer half of their joint assets to Titus. After her death their net value was determined to have been over forty thousand guilders. Presumably Rembrandt did not have twenty thousand guilders to give to Titus in the early 1650s.

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Issues of Attribution in the Rembrandt Workshop

AS AN INTRODUCTION to the following entries on paintings by Rembrandt and his school it seems appropriate to discuss briefly the history of Rembrandt connoisseurship as it pertains to this collection. This overview is intended to provide a framework for understanding the approach to attributions that is taken in this catalogue.

That Rembrandt was a genius has never been questioned, yet one of the ironies of Rembrandt scholarship is that each generation has developed its own perception of his genius.¹ This phenomenon is most clearly seen in the different character attributed to the artist's oeuvre since the early nineteenth century. In 1836 John Smith accepted 614 paintings

as being by the master, although many of these he knew only from written descriptions or from prints after the originals.² Still, Smith was convinced that the qualities of Rembrandt's genius are evident to an "experienced eye." According to Smith, these qualities, beyond manual dexterity, consist of "beauties which emanate from a higher source, such as expression, delicacy of gradation, and harmony of tints, [and] are beyond the reach of all who are inferior to the master himself."³ Smith, however, knew neither the very early nor the very late paintings by Rembrandt, the latest dated work with which he was familiar being Rembrandt's 1664 depiction of *Lucretia* (1937.1.76). As was so often the case with

Smith, moreover, he saw in Rembrandt's choice of subject reflections of the artist's own life. Lucretia's tragedy, he felt, was painted in reaction to the trouble Rembrandt had experienced during the painful close of his life.⁴

In reality the nature of Rembrandt's oeuvre, as well as its autobiographical nuances, has proved to be far more complicated than Smith anticipated. By the beginning of the twentieth century the great Rembrandt scholar Wilhelm von Bode had rejected a large number of works included in Smith's catalogue and added an almost equal number of new discoveries in his eight-volume corpus of Rembrandt's works.⁵ Many of the fifty to sixty newly discovered works included in the last volume of his corpus were oil sketches, unfinished preparatory works, or boldly executed paintings from the end of Rembrandt's career. One of Bode's major discoveries, for example, was the *Man with a Gilded Helmet* (see 1942.9.70, fig. 2) that he bought for the Berlin Museum.⁶ The broad brushwork of paintings such as this epitomized for Bode Rembrandt's independence and creative genius. Bode, with a mindset influenced by the nineteenth-century romantic movement and its ideals of creative genius, greatly admired Rembrandt's chiaroscuro effects, which suppressed surface details to such an extent that the artist could render "souls rather than... existences."⁷ Indeed, Rembrandt's art marked for Bode "a climax in the development of universal art."

As great as Rembrandt was as an artist, Bode maintained that the "thinker and poet in him were still greater than the painter; they even worked occasionally to the detriment of the artist, seducing him into a fantastic handling of simple motives that demanded a purely realistic treatment."⁸ Bode noted that not all of Rembrandt's works were of equal quality, their failings being "merely the defects incidental to his great and original genius."⁹ For him, Rembrandt had to be "studied as a whole, only thus is he comprehensible and unsurpassable." Bode meant by this the need to look at Rembrandt's drawings and prints as well as his paintings, but even more the need to accept the coarse, the refined, the elegant, and the harsh as all part of the totality of his genius.

Bode's inclination to incorporate a wide range of styles into his Rembrandt corpus was expanded upon by his protégé Wilhelm Valentiner, who, through his publications on Rembrandt in the first decades of the twentieth century, also introduced a large number of paintings into Rembrandt's oeuvre.¹⁰ With works added by Bode, Valentiner, and Hofstede de Groot,¹¹ the corpus of Rembrandt's

work grew to over seven hundred paintings. Many of Bode's Rembrandt discoveries, and most of Valentiner's, however, have not withstood the test of time. Later scholars, in particular Abraham Bredius, Jakob Rosenberg, and Kurt Bauch, rejected a number of attributions given by Bode and Valentiner,¹² but until 1969, when Horst Gerson published a revised edition of Bredius' 1935 catalogue, art historians had not recognized the degree to which Rembrandt's oeuvre had become bloated with wrongly attributed paintings.¹³

Gerson's publication, which accepted only 435 paintings as authentic, shocked the art world, for he rejected a number of paintings that had long been considered among Rembrandt's major works, including *The Descent from the Cross* (1942.9.61) and the 1650 *Self-Portrait* (now called *Portrait of Rembrandt*) in the National Gallery of Art (1942.9.70). Gerson attributed a large number of his rejected paintings to Rembrandt's pupils but also maintained that many had been painted by later imitators.

In recent years the issues of Rembrandt attributions have been kept very much alive by the publications of the Rembrandt Research Project (RRP), hereafter referred to as the *Corpus*. This project was organized in 1968 with the intent of studying Rembrandt paintings within a scientific framework.¹⁴ Working first under the leadership of Josua Bruyn and then under Ernst van de Wetering, the RRP has applied even more stringent standards than those found in Gerson's publication. Rembrandt's oeuvre, as a result, is once more in the process of being radically trimmed. All indications are that the RRP will accept no more than 250 paintings as authentic works by the master.

The RRP has been extremely critical of the interpretation of Rembrandt as an artist that grew out of the romantic era. It has maintained that Rembrandt's artistic development is quite predictable and logical, and has thus tended to limit the range of styles of painting that Bode, among others, found acceptable. To substantiate its belief, the RRP has given great weight to matters of painting technique, including the types and sizes of the supports, composition of the grounds, buildup of paint layers, and individual characteristics of brushwork. Relatively less weight has been given to questions of iconography.

The RRP has provided a new foundation for subsequent Rembrandt research. Aside from its careful descriptions of the works themselves, which also include the publication of much new technical information, the project has analyzed anew contemporary documents, including inventories, and exam-

ined issues of Rembrandt's workshop. The *Corpus*, however, has not been without criticism.¹⁵ The most consistent objections are that the RRP's view of Rembrandt's range of style and technique has been too narrow. The evidence gained from Rembrandt's etchings and drawings is that he often radically altered both style and technique to create different effects, sometimes within the same image. The RRP also appears to have made too many precise judgments of attribution given the unknowns that exist in our understanding of various aspects of Rembrandt's life and work, whether they be his relations to his patrons or the running of his workshop.¹⁶ On a personal level, I also differ from the approach taken by the RRP in that I do not entirely disregard the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century interpretations of Rembrandt's paintings. I tend to believe that Rembrandt's personal circumstances may well have affected the mood and subject matter of his works. While his career has certainly been over-romanticized, there are usually germs of truth in the myths surrounding his life and art.

One assumption that has been made in the *Corpus* that is consistent with the tradition of Smith and Bode is that Rembrandt executed paintings without the assistance of members of his workshop.¹⁷ While the discussions of some paintings in the *Corpus* raise the possibility of workshop collaboration in the master's works, such instances have been treated as the exception rather than the rule.¹⁸ Indeed, the designations A, B, C that the RRP has used in its first three volumes to differentiate between "accepted," "do not know," and "rejected" paintings do not provide a framework for works produced collaboratively in the workshop.¹⁹ The precise distinctions the RRP has made between autograph and non-autograph works, however, does not accord with workshop practice in the seventeenth century. Despite the opinions of Bruyn, it seems most likely that Rembrandt, like Rubens in Antwerp and Van Dyck in England, used his studio to help him produce paintings for the market, especially during the 1630s when his work was in great demand.²⁰

Despite the research of Van de Wetering, Bruyn, and others, many questions still remain about the practices of the Rembrandt workshop.²¹ Nevertheless, documentary evidence indicates that during the mid-1630s, in particular, Rembrandt worked together with pupils and assistants on the same compositions. The evidence for such an integrated approach to workshop production comes from many sources: inscriptions on paintings and etchings, re-workings found on drawings, collaborative works listed in his inventory, and, finally, the visual and

technical evidence of the works themselves. Indications of workshop collaboration include the series of four etched oriental heads from 1635 that are based on prototypes by Jan Lievens and are signed "*Rembrandt geretuckert*" [Rembrandt retouched]²²; the large *Abrabam's Sacrifice* in Munich, a version of Rembrandt's painting in the Hermitage that is inscribed "*Rembrandt, veranderd. En over geschildert. 1636*" [Rembrandt, changed. And painted over. 1636]; and a number of paintings in the 1656 inventory of Rembrandt's possessions that are described as having been "*geretukeert*" [retouched] by Rembrandt, and one work that is said to have been "*gemodelt*" [designed by] Rembrandt.²³ Although much debate exists over the meaning of these inscriptions and terms, it seems quite clear that Rembrandt occasionally worked together with members of his workshop on the same paintings. In some circumstances his intent may have been to demonstrate the correct manner of executing a painting, as he sometimes did with students' drawings. It also seems probable, however, that he developed various ways to utilize his workshop to increase his own production, particularly during the 1630s, when he received a large number of commissions.

Although the size of Rembrandt's workshop at various stages of his career is uncertain, a number of artists, including Govaert Flinck (1615–1660), came to Rembrandt only after they had had preliminary training with another master. They must have come to learn his style, but presumably they were proficient enough to assist Rembrandt with his own productions. The collaboration in Rembrandt's workshop thus could have taken many forms: Rembrandt could have provided a model, either a drawing or oil sketch, for an assistant to use as a basis for a painting executed in his style; he could have blocked in the composition on the canvas or panel before it was completed by an assistant;²⁴ he could have had assistants paint costumes and even hands on commissioned portraits;²⁵ finally, he almost certainly retouched and improved upon works produced for him by students and assistants. One can also imagine that two or more students could have worked on the same painting. Moreover, many paintings that were probably worked on over a period of time are a frequently overlooked complicating factor. Whether or not the nature of workshop productions appreciably altered from one decade to the next is difficult to determine, particularly since little documentation about the workshop exists after Rembrandt's financial difficulties of the 1650s.²⁶

The hypothesis that Rembrandt worked closely with members of his workshop at various stages of

his career accounts for the many Rembrandtesque paintings that are difficult to attribute to a specific member of his workshop. It also is consistent with his documented practice of signing works made by members of his workshop. It helps explain why paintings not executed primarily by Rembrandt were inscribed with the master's name, and, finally, why so many works listed in Rembrandt's inventory as being by his hand appear to have been workshop productions.²⁷

This synopsis of the history of Rembrandt connoisseurship in the last century and a half has specific implications for the National Gallery. The Rembrandt paintings here, almost without exception, came from two major collections, that of the Widener family and that of Andrew Mellon.²⁸ Both collections were formed at a time when Bode's influence on Rembrandt connoisseurship was at its height. The Wideners collected their Rembrandt paintings from 1894 until the 1920s. Peter A.B. Widener probably met Bode when the German art historian came to Philadelphia in 1893, during his tour of American collections after viewing the Chicago World's Fair.²⁹ Widener's later advisor and the advisor of his son Joseph Widener was none other than Wilhelm Valentiner. Mellon collected slightly later than did Widener, and he acquired many of his paintings from the Hermitage in the 1930s. Nevertheless, his generation had also learned to love and appreciate Rembrandt through the eyes of Bode. Thus, as a collection, the Gallery's paintings tend to be the types of paintings Bode and Valentiner most admired, works from the end of Rembrandt's life, when his brushwork is bold and evocative. Following romantic inclinations, paintings intimately associated with the artist also appealed to these collectors. Widener's first painting by Rembrandt was a portrait of Saskia (1942.9.71), and his most famous work was thought to represent the mill of Rembrandt's father (1942.9.62); each collector owned a self-portrait (1942.9.70 and 1937.1.72). Virtually all the Rembrandt paintings in these collections were covered with discolored and even tinted varnishes to give them that "golden glow" so admired in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

A large number of paintings acquired by Widener and Mellon were extremely famous at the time of their purchase, and their acquisitions were highly acclaimed by both the leading experts and the popular press. Nevertheless, as scholars have reduced the size of Rembrandt's oeuvre in the second half of the twentieth century, many of these same works have been viewed critically; some have been attributed to pupils of Rembrandt, some have been called later

imitations. Other paintings have entered into an undefined limbo, where vague doubts about the attribution are expressed verbally or in the literature, but where no specific arguments have been advanced to explain why they should not be accepted as authentic.

In trying to determine the attribution of paintings to Rembrandt and his school for this catalogue, a wide range of material has been analyzed, from the provenances of the works, to old reproductive prints and descriptions in sales catalogues, to the opinions of other scholars. Iconographic issues have been explored by looking at both texts available to Rembrandt and probable visual sources. A concerted effort was made, moreover, to examine all of the paintings carefully in the laboratory. Paintings were looked at under the microscope, x-radiographs were taken, infrared and ultraviolet photographs were made, and panel and canvas supports were analyzed. A number of works were restored so that discolored varnish and old overpaint could be removed. Much new information has also been acquired from investigations undertaken in collaboration with members of our scientific department.³⁰

The results of the restorations and technical examinations have often been dramatic, providing reassessments of the quality of a number of individual works, and, in some instances, leading to new attributions. Nevertheless, not all issues of attribution have been fully resolved. In some instances the style and technique could not be identified with specific artists from the Rembrandt workshop. Other paintings were discovered to be in such poor condition that a clear assessment of painterly qualities was not possible. Finally, some paintings could not be restored in time for the deadline for this publication, with the result that discolored varnish and overpaint continue to hinder an informed judgment of the character of the surface.

The paintings from the Rembrandt school have been grouped in this catalogue in four categories: Rembrandt van Rijn, Rembrandt Workshop, Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn, and Style of Rembrandt van Rijn. The distinctions are in basic accordance with National Gallery practice, as is outlined in the introduction to this volume. Within the Rembrandt van Rijn section, however, are also works designated "Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop," a distinction here used when stylistic evidence indicates that Rembrandt collaborated in the execution of a painting. Collaboration between Rembrandt and members of his workshop may also have occurred in one form or another in paintings designated here simply as "Rembrandt Workshop," but in

these instances Rembrandt's hand cannot be identified in the final image. When a specific artist can be associated with a painting executed in the workshop that was produced to be sold under Rembrandt's name, the name of that artist is indicated in parentheses following the designations "Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop" or "Rembrandt Workshop."

Notes

1. For overviews of earlier assessments of Rembrandt, see Slive 1953; Scheller 1961, 81–118; and Emmens 1968. For a general account of the history of Rembrandt criticism see Broomgaard and Scheller 1991, 106–123.

2. Smith 1829–1842, 7.

3. Smith 1829–1842, 7: 244.

4. Smith 1829–1842, 7: xxiv.

5. Bode 1897–1906.

6. Despite the enormous fame of this work, the *Man with a Gilded Helmet* is no longer attributed to Rembrandt. See Kelch et al. 1986.

7. Bode 1897–1906, 8: 19.

8. Bode 1897–1906, 8: 22.

9. Bode 1897–1906, 8: 30.

10. Valentiner's publications on Rembrandt are numerous; for the most important see Valentiner 1908 and Valentiner 1921b (2nd ed. 1923). For a full listing of his publications, see Raleigh 1959, 297–319.

11. HdG 1907–1927, 6.

12. Bredius 1935; Rosenberg 1948 (rev. ed. 1964); Bauch 1966.

13. Gerson/Bredius 1969.

14. Funding for this project was provided by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO).

15. A partial listing of the various reviews of the publications of the Rembrandt Research Project is as follows: Editorial, *Burlington Magazine* 125 (1983): 661–663; J.R.J. Van Asperen de Boer, Review of vol. 1, *Akt* 9 (1985): 14–19; Peter Schatborn, Review of vol. 1, *Oud-Holland* 100 (1986), 55–63; Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "The State of Research in Northern Baroque Art," *Art Bulletin* 69 (1987), 510–519, particularly 514–516; Walter Liedtke, "Reconstructing Rembrandt: Portraits from the Early Years in Amsterdam (1631–1634)," *Apollo* (May 1989): 323–331, 371–372; Sylvia Hochfield, "Rembrandt: The Unvarnished Truth?," *Art News* (December 1987), 102–111; Mansfield Kirby Talley, Jr., "Connoisseurship and the Methodology of the Rembrandt Research Project," *International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship* 8 (1989), 175–214; Leonard J. Slatkes, Review of vol. 2, *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989), 139–144. For an excellent overview of the controversies surrounding the Rembrandt Research Project, see Anthony Bailey, "The Art World ("The Polish Rider")," *New Yorker* (5 March 1990), 45–77.

16. To demonstrate how subjective interpretations of painting technique can be, it is necessary only to compare the results of the research of the RRP and those of Claus Grimm in Grimm 1991. Grimm, who also carefully analyzes artists' painting techniques as a basis for attribution, has arrived at a very different list of paintings he believes were executed entirely by the master than that found in the *Corpus*. He is, in fact, more restrictive in the paintings he attributes to Rembrandt than the RRP.

17. For an excellent assessment of Rembrandt's workshop practice, examined from the vantage point of the RRP, see Bruyn 1991, 68–89, and in particular pages 83–85: "On the whole, one may say that with Rembrandt design and execution were closely bound up. Instead of making use of sophisticated workshop procedures which could in part replace the share of the master's hand, he seems to have allowed invention and execution to be separated only in the early stages of the assistants' activities. Later, they would be welcome to their own design and only rarely did they intervene with his own work."

18. See, for example, Bruyn 1991, 85.

19. In the *Burlington Magazine* 135 (1993), 279, J. Bruyn, B. Haak, S. H. Levie, and P. J. J. van Thiel wrote a letter saying that they were no longer involved with the RRP. They indicated that the project would in the future be headed by Ernst van de Wetering, who intended to eliminate the A, B, C categorization in future volumes of the *Corpus*.

20. For discussions of the workshops of Rubens and Anthony van Dyck, see Wheelock in Washington 1990, 11–16, and Barnes in Washington 1990, 17–25. Bruyn (Bruyn 1991, 83), who does not believe that Rembrandt had assistants help him in the manner of Rubens, expressly contrasts the types of commissions Rembrandt and Rubens received and notes that no evidence of workshop participation has been found in the few large-scale commissions Rembrandt did receive, among them *The Blinding of Sampson* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, inv. no. 1383) and *The Night Watch* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. C5). Bruyn, however, is not consistent in his belief; for he argues that the horse in Rembrandt's *Portrait of Frederick Ribel on Horseback*, 1663(?) (National Gallery, London, inv. no. 6300), was executed by an assistant.

21. See, in particular, E. van de Wetering, "Problems of Apprenticeship and Studio Collaboration," in *Corpus* 1982–, 2: 45–90; Bruyn 1991, 68–89; and De Jager 1990, 69–111.

22. For a discussion of these works, see Peter Schatborn in Amsterdam 1988.

23. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 349–388, doc. 1656/12. Inventory numbers 25, 27, 28, 33, 120, and 123 record paintings retouched by Rembrandt, while inventory number 79 mentions a painting "designed by" Rembrandt. None of these works have been identified.

24. One large painting, however, that I am certain was executed with the help of assistants was *Belsazzar's Feast*, c. 1635 (National Gallery, London, inv. no. 6350; see p. 216, fig. 1). Although the attribution of this painting solely to Rembrandt's hand has never been questioned in print, the peripheral figures in this composition are executed in a range of styles that are inconsistent with Rembrandt's own manner of painting.

25. It has been recognized that an assistant painted the hands in one of Rembrandt's most prestigious commissions, his *Portrait of Johannes Uytenbogaert*, 1633 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SKA4885). See Amsterdam 1993b.

26. The large number of unfinished ("onopgemaect") paintings listed in the inventory of Rembrandt's estate taken on 5 October 1669 indicates that the artist did not immediately complete paintings that he had commenced. Perhaps he intended some of these to be worked up by assistants. For the inventory, see Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 586–589, doc. 1169/5, nos. 8 and 11.

27. Bruyn 1991, 70–71.

28. The one exception is *Old Woman Plucking a Fowl*, which was given by Dr. and Mrs. Walter Timme in 1956.

29. Bode 1895, 13–19, 70–76, does not explicitly mention visiting Widener, but he does write that he went to Philadelphia. Since he was actively visiting museums and collectors, however, it hardly seems possible that he and Widener did not meet. Widener had been collecting Dutch paintings prior to 1893, but only in 1894 did he begin to acquire major examples (Rembrandt's *Saskia*, for example, from Sedelmeyer in Paris, the dealer who would publish Bode's corpus on Rembrandt). In that same year he also bought a number of

other important Dutch pictures, including Meindert Hobbema's *The Travelers* (1942.9.31), Pieter de Hooch's *The Bedroom* (1942.9.33), and Aelbert Cuyp's *Lady and Gentleman on Horseback* (1942.9.15). At about this time he also began to sell minor works from his earlier collection.

30. We have also benefited enormously from discussions with colleagues from other institutions, in particular Ashok Roy, David Bomford, Ernst van de Wetering, and Karen Groen.

1942.9.71 (667)

Rembrandt van Rijn

*Saskia van Uylenburgh,
the Wife of the Artist*

probably begun 1634/1635 and completed 1638/1640
Oil on poplar, 60.5 x 49 (23¾ x 19¼)
Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The cradled wood support consists of a single poplar board with a vertical grain, with a 2.1 cm L-shaped wood strip added along the left and bottom edges, and a 5.1 cm square insert at the lower right.¹ The frame hides the added strip. A thin chalk and lead white ground covers the surface.² A preliminary sketch in black paint is visible under the features.

Paint was applied fluidly in the background and figure, with slight impasto in the chain and collar. The x-radiograph shows changes in the design, some of which are visible with the naked eye (see fig. 4). The white collar and dark neckline were originally lower, exposing more of the neck. The dress was slightly fuller, as were the chin and cheek profile. The paint is in good condition, with little inpainting or abrasion.

The date of cradling is not known, nor is the date of the attachment of the L-shaped strip. The painting was cleaned in 1930. In 1976, the painting again underwent treatment. A lower natural resin layer was left in place, along with a hardened, pigmented natural resin layer on the dress.

Provenance: Bouchier Cleeve [d. 1760], Foots Cray Place, Kent; Sir George Yonge, Bart.; (sale, London, 24–25 March 1806, no. 79). William Wells, Redleaf, Kent; (sale, Christie & Manson, London, 12–13 May 1848, no. 67). (Sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 10 and 12 May 1890, no. 93); (P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London); H. Bingham Mildmay, Devon; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 24 June 1893, no. 58). (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, in 1894; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: British Institution, London, 1831, no. 85. *100 Paintings of Old Masters*, Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, 1894, no. 31. New York 1909, no. 81. Washington 1969, no. 2.

SASKIA VAN UYLENBURGH, baptized on 12 August 1612, was raised in Leeuwarden, the principle city of the Province of Friesland. Her family members were leading patricians of that Frisian city, and her father, Rombertus Rommertsz. van Uylenburgh, served as burgomaster of Leeuwarden. Two of Saskia's cousins, Aaltje Pietersdr. van Uylenburgh and Hendrik van Uylenburgh, lived in Amsterdam, and it was presumably on a visit there that Saskia met Rembrandt, who had moved from Leiden to live in the house of Hendrik van Uylenburgh in 1632. Van Uylenburgh was a painter and flourishing art dealer, and Rembrandt, who as early as 1631 invested in the business, lived there and worked with Van Uylenburgh until 1635.³

Rembrandt and Saskia were betrothed on 8 June 1633. Married a year later on 22 June 1634, they lived together for nine years before her death on 14 June 1642. The couple had four children, but only one, Titus, born in 1641, survived infancy.

The image of Saskia that has been preserved for us through Rembrandt's many drawings, etchings, and paintings is incredibly varied. One sees through them her warmth and tenderness (fig. 1), but also a certain haughtiness; her robust energy and zest for life, but also the debilitating illnesses that frequently weakened her after the mid-1630s. One senses that a strong bond existed between Rembrandt and Saskia, but that, at the same time, her conservative upbringing and character seem to have made it difficult for her to fully accord to the kind of life she was expected to lead as the wife, and occasional model, of this extraordinary painter.

In this painting the personal nature of Rembrandt's representation is enhanced by Saskia's pose. Glancing over her right shoulder she looks out at the viewer. With her head tilted slightly forward she has a gentle yet engaging appearance. Nevertheless, one senses even in this appealing portrait the duality of Saskia's nature. While she wears a fashionable, albeit



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Saskia van Uylenburgh, the Wife of the Artist*, 1642.9.71



Fig. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Saskia van Uylenburgh*, 1633, silverpoint, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

conservative dress appropriate to her upbringing, the diaphanous shawl that covers her head and falls gently over her shoulders was not customary for a woman of her stature. Its associations are arcadian and similar veils are seen in representations of shepherdesses.⁴ Rembrandt almost certainly provided Saskia with the veil to suggest a softer, more intimate portrayal than could have been possible with a conventional bonnet.

This painting, which is neither signed nor dated, was probably begun by Rembrandt around 1634–1635, shortly after his marriage to Saskia. The idealization of Saskia's features, which derived from Rembrandt's conscious attempt to impart an arcadian quality to the portrait, makes it difficult to date this work precisely by comparing her features to securely dated portraits of her.⁵ She is decidedly more attractive than she appears in other paintings, as is evident in a comparison with Rembrandt's portrait of Saskia in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, signed and dated 1633 (fig. 2). In the Gallery's painting Rembrandt has minimized Saskia's double chin and softened her features. A close comparison, however,

can be made between her features in this work and in the double portrait with Rembrandt, which was almost certainly executed in about 1635 (fig. 3). In both paintings Saskia looks out at the viewer in such a way that the similarities in the shapes of her wide eyes and fully rounded nose are particularly evident.

The techniques Rembrandt used to convey different textures in this painting are also difficult to date precisely. They are remarkably varied. The paint on the highlighted portion of the face is applied in a dense, enamel-like fashion with diagonal strokes of the brush. Underlying this dense layer is a thinner layer of a slightly darker flesh color, visible on the shaded side of her face, that must have defined, almost as an imprimatura layer, the form of Saskia's head. Over this layer Rembrandt placed freely executed strands of hair and the diaphanous shawl, which he highlighted with strokes of green, yellow, and orange. The shawl also overlays the elaborate form of Saskia's collar, the diamond-shaped design of which was created with a rich variety of strokes executed wet on wet. Finally, Rembrandt indicated

Fig. 2. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Saskia van Uylenburgh*, 1633, oil on panel, Amsterdam Rijksmuseum



the gold chain she wears with a succession of rapid angular strokes that were deftly applied to suggest both the shapes of the links and the light reflecting off them.

The surety of the execution is characteristic of Rembrandt, particularly the sensitivity to the various effects of light as it illuminates the face, passes through the translucent veil, and reflects off the gold chain. Despite the painting's qualities, its attribution to Rembrandt has been disputed by the Rembrandt Research Project (RRP), which considers the painting to be the work of a pupil in the workshop from around 1640.⁶ Because of the late date ascribed to the work, the RRP has also concluded that the figure does not represent Saskia. The RRP therefore identified the painting as a *Bust of a Young Woman*. The RRP has buttressed its arguments for a late date for this work by comparing the technique involved with that in other paintings dated between 1639 and 1641. At the same time, the RRP pointed out differences in technique between this work and paintings from around 1640 to justify its rejection of the Rembrandt attribution.

The circular nature of these arguments is difficult to counter, in part because the extremely rigid interpretation of Rembrandt's oeuvre found in the first volumes of the RRP has eliminated so many works from this period that seem acceptable within the parameters of his style. The RRP, for example, has rejected all bust-length portraits from Rembrandt's oeuvre between 1635 and 1639 that might have served as points of comparison for an earlier dating. The one bit of technical evidence that might reinforce a date around 1640 is that the wood support is poplar rather than oak; Rembrandt painted a few other paintings on poplar between 1639 and 1641.⁷ If, however, one studies the pattern of his use of other exceptional woods, including walnut and mahogany, it is clear that he used them over an extended period of time.

The x-radiograph provides interesting information about the genesis of this work that has not previously been sufficiently analyzed (fig. 4). It demonstrates that Saskia initially resembled much more than she now does the image in the Rijksmuseum painting (fig. 2). Not only did she originally have a pronounced double chin, she also had a bare neck, which was illuminated by a strong light below her hair, and a wide white collar that extends below the present edge of her black clothing. The background in the lower right was built up with lead white, and the contour between the background and the dress was different than it is now. It would thus seem that Rembrandt substantially revised this image by re-



Fig. 3. Detail of Rembrandt van Rijn, *Rembrandt and Saskia*, c. 1635, oil on canvas, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

working the face, changing the collar, and adding the veil.⁸

The complex genesis of this painting helps explain some of the anomalies of this image that raised doubts about its attribution. While the character of the image clearly relates to images of Saskia from 1633 to 1635, the diversity of painting techniques evident in the final image is admittedly unusual for that period. Nevertheless, definite comparisons can be made between certain techniques found in this work and those in other of Rembrandt's paintings from around 1635, in particular the use of white and pink accents for highlighting the nose and a strong black line to articulate the opening of the mouth. These comparisons, as well as the physiognomical relationship to images of Saskia around 1633 to 1635, place the initial execution of this work in the mid-1630s. Rembrandt's reworking of the image may well have occurred toward the end of the 1630s to judge from the freely executed veil, which has parallels in other works by him from about 1640.⁹ The style of her collar, moreover, relates to that found on



Fig. 4. X-radiograph of 1942.9.71

the *Bust of Rembrandt*, signed and dated 163[8], in the Norton Simon Collection, Pasadena.¹⁰ A similar lozenge-shaped pattern on the collar can be found in Rembrandt's etched *Self-Portrait* of 1638.¹¹

This painting is of particular interest within the Gallery's collection because it was the first Rembrandt acquired by P. A. B. Widener. He purchased it from Charles Sedelmeyer in 1894, perhaps at the recommendation of Wilhelm von Bode. The provenance of the painting has been confused with another portrait of Saskia in the earlier literature.¹² The earliest owner of this painting to be identified is Bouchier Cleeve of Foots Cray Place, Kent, who died in 1760.

Notes

1. Dendrochronology cannot be used to date poplar panels. Report by Dr. Joseph Bauch, Universität Hamburg, 29 November 1977.

2. Pigment and media analysis of ground and paint layers is available in the Scientific Research department (various dates, 1976).

3. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 75, doc. 1631/4.

4. Louttit 1973, 317–326. A surprising number of portraits of Saskia throughout the 1630s by Rembrandt and his school depict Saskia in arcadian guise (Bredius 1935, nos. 92, 93, 94, 98, 104, 105, 106, 108, 634).

5. Nevertheless, with the exception of the RRP, which rejects the painting and believes that it was executed about 1640 (see *Corpus* 1982–, 3: 651–656, C103), all significant Rembrandt scholars have dated this work about 1633–1634. Grimm 1991, 57, who accepts *Saskia* as entirely by Rembrandt's hand, dates the painting about 1638 to 1640.

6. *Corpus* 1982–, 3: 651–656, C103.

7. Bauch and Eckstein 1981: 251–263.

8. The veil covers freely executed strokes representing strands of Saskia's hair. These are visible above the ribbons from which the pearl hangs.

9. See the arguments defending the Rembrandt attribution by Ernst van de Wetering in *Corpus* 1982–, 3: 656.

10. This comparison is also made in *Corpus* 1982–, 3:

655. The RRP has, unconvincingly to my mind, proposed that the painting was executed by Carel Fabritius (c. 1622–1654) rather than Rembrandt himself. See *Corpus* 1982–, 3: 617–624, C97. The RRP rejects the authenticity of the signature and date, which read “Rembrandt f/ 163[8],” and dates the painting about 1641, the year of Fabritius’ arrival in Rembrandt’s workshop.

11. B. 1797, 20.

12. HdG 1907–1927, 6: 297, no. 615, includes in his provenance for this painting three sales that refer to a lost painting, Smith 1829–1842, 7: no. 502. The sales are: De Gaignat, Paris, 1768; De Calonne, Paris, 1788; De Choiseul-Praslin, Paris, 1793.

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 1991 Grimm: 61, fig. 105, 72, color repro. 36 (detail).

1940.1.13 (499)

Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop (probably Govaert Flinck)

Man in Oriental Costume

c. 1635

Oil on canvas, 98.5 x 74.5 (38³/₁₆ x 29⁵/₁₆)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

Center left: [R]embrandt ft

Technical Notes: The original support is a fine-weight, tightly and plain-woven linen fabric that has been lined to two fabrics at separate intervals. The original tacking margins have been trimmed, and 1 cm of the original support and design layers has been turned over the stretcher edges. Cusping is absent along the right and bottom edges and slightly visible on the top and left edge, indicating that the painting’s dimensions have been reduced more extensively at the top and bottom than along the sides. In any event, the *R* from the signature has been cropped along the left edge. The x-radiograph shows a long horizontal tear in the background in the upper right.

The double ground is oil-bound with a thin, red-earth lower layer and a thicker, light gray upper layer composed largely of lead white. The x-radiograph indicates that the gray layer was smoothed with a broad sharp-edged tool in diagonal strokes. The thin, sketchy underpainting, applied with a wide brush in short strokes, is visible in the unfinished lower third of the painting and between the wide brushstrokes of the finished area.

Paint was applied wet into wet in layers of moderate thickness with impasto in the turban. The medium has been identified as oil and the pigment mixtures are complex.¹ Paint in the turban was intentionally scraped away in areas to expose the gray ground before design details were added, and lines in the feather were incised with the butt end of a brush. The hands are painted with a thin, semi-transparent layer over the gray ground, and, like the lower half of the costume, are unfinished. Long, thin, broken lines of losses occur on either side of the head, in the background and turban, and below the proper left hand. Numerous small areas of abrasion are scattered overall.

The painting was cleaned in 1987, at which time disfiguring overpaint was removed. Remnants of an aged discolored oil coating remain on the light background, and sections of the upper paint layer of the drapery have blanched.

Provenance: Johan Ernst Gotskowsky, Berlin, before 1756;² acquired 1764 by Catherine II, empress of Russia [1729–1796];³ Imperial Hermitage Gallery, Saint Petersburg; sold through (Matthiesen Gallery, Berlin; P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London; and M. Knoedler & Co., New York) to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 8 March 1938 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *Rembrandt Tentoonstelling*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 1932, no. 5. *Art Treasures*, Christie’s, London, 1932, no.

1367. *Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Rembrandt*, M. Knoedler & Co., New York, 1933, no. 3. *A Collection of Old Masters*, Wilmington Society of the Fine Arts, Delaware, 1935, no. 9. Washington 1969, no. 1. *A Question of Rembrandt*, Marion Koogler McNay Art Museum, San Antonio, 1988, no cat.

IN THIS imposing half-length portrait a bearded man wearing an elaborate, bejeweled turban stares out at the viewer, his features strongly modeled by light streaming in from the left. A fur-lined cape, loosely clasped at the neck with a gold chain, covers his shoulders. His right hand grasps the sash that wraps around his waist, while his other hand rests upon a wooden staff.

During the 1630s Rembrandt depicted numerous figures in his paintings, drawings, and etchings who wear middle-eastern attire. While the commercial enterprises of the Dutch republic had reached the Middle East by the early seventeenth century and Levantines were to be seen in the streets and marketplaces of Amsterdam, Rembrandt's images are not portraits of these people.⁴ Rather they are imaginative evocations of a distant culture that have as their basis Dutch models, including Rembrandt himself, dressed in exotic costumes.

The reasons for this fascination with the Middle East are many. There existed a great interest in exotica in the Netherlands during this period, which was also manifested in the collecting patterns of wealthy patricians. Objects from all parts of the world, including shells, swords, musical instruments, and costumes were avidly sought by collec-

tors. Rembrandt's own collection was a *kunstkamer* of this type. Scheller has demonstrated that Rembrandt's motivation for his encyclopedic collection of art and artifacts was that he wanted to be recognized as a member of this class of gentlemen-virtuosi.⁵

Rembrandt's interest in the East, however, had deeper significance than mere exoticism. His aspiration as an artist was to be a history painter—a painter of biblical and mythological subjects who would not only portray the stories that comprised his cultural heritage but would also evoke the essential character of those whose lives and actions had had such an impact upon mankind.⁶ The appeal of the Middle East to Rembrandt was largely that the stories of the Bible had taken place in that distant region. The images of Levantine patriarchs that appear in his paintings, etchings, and drawings of the early 1630s evoke the character of those people, their inner strength, and dignity.

The sitter in this painting has no attributes to indicate that he represents a specific person. It is not even possible to determine whether Rembrandt considered this mode of dress to be that of a contemporary or of a biblical figure. Given the presence of similarly dressed figures in his biblical scenes from the early to mid-1630s, the latter seems more probable. Particularly close to *Man in Oriental Costume* is the frontally posed oriental figure on horseback in *The Raising of the Cross*, 1632 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), which Rembrandt painted as one of a series of the Passion scenes for Prince Frederik Hendrik. The



Fig. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Belsazzar's Feast*, c. 1635, oil on canvas, The National Gallery, London



Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop (probably Govaert Flinck), *Man in Oriental Costume*, 1940.1.13



Fig. 2. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Man in Oriental Costume*, 1632, oil on canvas, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of William K. Vanderbilt, 1920

model for *Man in Oriental Costume*, dressed in a similar although more elaborate costume, is also seen as the main protagonist in Rembrandt's dramatic *Belshazzar's Feast*, c. 1635 (fig. 1).⁷ Comparisons with this latter work, and with a number of etchings of similar oriental figures dated 1635,⁸ suggest an approximate date of 1635 for this painting.

As seen today, *Man in Oriental Costume* is not what Rembrandt originally intended: x-radiographs reveal that the canvas has been cut on all four sides. No evidence of thread distortions appears at either the right or bottom, and only traces of them appear along the left side and top. One may speculate that the original dimensions approached those of a comparable painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the three-quarter-length portrait of a *Man in Oriental Costume*, 1632 (fig. 2). Just when the Gallery's painting was cut down is unknown, although it occurred after the signature was applied, for the *R* of Rembrandt has been cut off, and before G. F. Schmidt's etching of the painting (in reverse) in 1756 (fig. 3).⁹

The image seems never to have been completed. The lower half of the body has been blocked in, in thinly applied paints, gray for the cloak, maroon for

the undergarment, and ochers for the hands. Only the chain attaching the cloak has some impasto. None of the final modeling tones, which would have given this portion of the torso volume and density, have been applied. The head, in contrast, is fully defined with densely applied paints that carefully delineate the features, the wrinkles around the eyes, the beard, and the turban. The contrast between the treatment of the head and turban and the lower torso is unique among Rembrandt's paintings. Because it serves no logical stylistic or iconographic purpose, one can only conclude that the painting has been left in an unfinished state, and that the paint on the lower torso represents the underpainting, or, as it was known in the seventeenth century, dead-coloring, that was intended to serve as a basis for the final modeling of the form.¹⁰ Since the painting appears to be unfinished, it seems curious that it is signed. The signature may have been added somewhat later. The straight stem on the *b*, unusual for the early to mid-1630s, is similar to that on etchings later in the decade.¹¹

The extent to which the treatment of the torso and head differ has long been obscured by layers of

Fig. 3. G[eorg] F[riedrich] Schmidt, etching in reverse of 1940.1.13, 1756, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



discolored varnish. With the recent restoration, this remarkable phenomenon, which can now be studied more precisely than was previously possible, provides much information about Rembrandt's working procedure. The ground layer upon which he worked was light gray and seems to have been uniform across the whole surface.¹² He then added a deeper gray color for the background, modeling it slightly to indicate the play of light against the backdrop. The area in which he intended to place the figure was left in reserve, although he extended the background color slightly beyond the proposed contour of the figure's form.¹³ The extent of this layer, as it defined the general parameters of the figure, can be seen in the x-radiograph of the head (fig. 4).

After completing this process, Rembrandt blocked in the form in muted colors that related to his eventual color scheme. He modeled the right hand more completely than the left because it was illuminated by light and the other was not. He depicted the chain with a few rapid strokes of lead-tin yellow, but only sketchily indicated its form.

In its surety and similarity to other, more completed images by Rembrandt, this underpainted layer is totally convincing as being the work of the master. The right hand of *Man in Oriental Costume*, for example, is remarkably similar in structure to that of *A Polish Nobleman*, 1637 (1937.1.78). The relatively finished execution of the face and turban, however, is problematic.¹⁴ While bold strokes around the eyes suggest the wrinkles and folds of the skin, the eyes lack that sense of life so characteristic of Rembrandt's images. An excellent comparison is the painting of *A Man in Oriental Costume*, 1633 (fig. 5), where Rembrandt's characterization of the face through the eyes is unmistakable. The treatment of the beards in these two paintings is also different: while the curls of the hair of *Man in Oriental Costume* have a quite regular rhythm, a variety of waves animate the beard of the oriental figure in Munich. Finally, the yellow highlights in the colorful turban in the Gallery's picture sit on the surface of the cloth and do not become part of its structure as they do in the Munich painting.

A similar comparison can be made with the head of Belshazzar in Rembrandt's large-scale painting of about 1635, *Belshazzar's Feast* (fig. 1). In this instance the similarities in the brushwork on the face, particularly in the modeling around the left eye, are extremely close, so much so that it would seem to confirm an attribution to Rembrandt. Nevertheless, the comparison also points out the relative lack of vitality in the man's face. The technique used to paint Belshazzar's turban and crown, moreover, is



Fig. 4. X-radiograph of head in 1940.1.13

much freer. Whereas dense paint seems to have been applied with broad and rapid strokes of the brush in *Belshazzar's Feast*, in *Man in Oriental Costume* the paint is more carefully applied to distinguish the various colors and patterns of the turban.

The range of techniques Rembrandt used to execute his works during the mid-1630s is extremely broad. Since nothing is known about the circumstances of this painting, whether it was a commissioned piece, or why it was left unfinished, one must be cautious in discussing attribution issues. Nevertheless, this work appears to be an instance where Rembrandt blocked in a composition to provide a foundation for a particularly talented assistant, one who had mastered the techniques Rembrandt had devised for painting such fanciful portraits. In this instance that assistant worked up the turban, head, and shoulders before the final execution was for some reason or other abandoned. It may well be that at a final stage Rembrandt would have returned to the painting to add accents that would enliven the



Fig. 5. Rembrandt van Rijn, *A Man in Oriental Costume*, 1633, oil on panel, Munich, Alte Pinakothek

image. Such a process, which admittedly is not documented by contemporary sources, would help explain why it is so difficult to distinguish the hands of such talented assistants as Govaert Flinck (1615–1660) and Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680) while they were active in Rembrandt's workshop. Once they had left the workshop and begun to provide their own compositional foundations the individualities of their style become quite obvious.

While the identity of the assistant who worked on *Man in Oriental Costume* is not known, it may well be the same artist who executed *The Apostle Paul* in Vienna (fig. 6). This painting, which must date to about 1634, is executed with much the same bold modeling in the face, and the gentle flow of the rhythms of Paul's beard and hair are comparable. Also similar in the two paintings are the simplified contour of the shoulders and the broad zigzag pattern of folds in the robe of the oriental figure and on Paul's right arm. The Vienna painting has been con-

vincingly attributed to Govaert Flinck; thus it may be hypothesized that he was also responsible for the finished portions of *Man in Oriental Costume*.¹⁵

Flinck, who came to Rembrandt in 1633 after having studied with Lambert Jacobsz. (c. 1598–1636) in Leeuwarden, must have been particularly suited for working as an assistant on such historicizing paintings, for he would have been trained in such works by his teacher. Indeed, Lambert Jacobsz. painted a large image of *Saint Paul in Prison* in 1629 (Frisian Museum, Leeuwarden, inv. no. 2463) that is quite close in concept to the Vienna painting.

Whether or not the assistant of the National Gallery's painting was Flinck, the involved interworking of Rembrandt and an assistant, which seems to be demonstrated in this piece, serves as a reminder to those who would try to separate too narrowly Rembrandt's work from paintings produced in the studio. The fundamental question that needs to be asked is whether Rembrandt perceived collaborative paintings, such as *Man in Oriental Costume*, which were executed in the workshop, as fundamentally different from those executed totally by his own hand. Thus far there is no indication to that effect.

Fig. 6. Govaert Flinck, *The Apostle Paul*, c. 1634, oil on canvas, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



Indeed, given the fact that the imagination had priority over execution in contemporary art theory it seems virtually certain that he would have understood such works as forming an integral part of his artistic production.

Notes

1. Reports are available in the Scientific Research department on media analysis (21 August 1987) and pigment analysis (1 April 1987).

2. Gotskowsky originally bought the picture on behalf of Frederick the Great, king of Prussia (1712–1783). Due to the financial straits of Prussia during the Seven Years' War (1756–1762), the painting remained in Gotskowsky's hands until he sold it to Catherine II of Russia in 1764. The inscription on a reproductive etching of the painting (in reverse) by Georg Friedrich Schmidt notes that it was in Gotskowsky's collection in 1756.

3. Acquired by the empress with over two hundred other paintings from Gotskowsky's collection.

4. Such oriental figures are seen in street and market scenes by, for example, Gerrit Berckheyde, in addition to many by Rembrandt. See also Slatkes 1983.

5. Scheller 1969, 81–147.

6. See Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Rembrandt and the Rembrandt School," in Washington 1980, 137–141.

7. This recurrence of the model was pointed out to me by Gregory Rubinstein.

8. Illustrated in Münz 1952, 2: 58–61.

9. The painting may also have been reduced in stages. One can imagine that it could have been changed initially from a three-quarter-length to a bust-length portrait that included the signature. The signature could have been cropped when the support weakened and the canvas needed to be restretched.

10. See Van de Wetering 1986, 23–29, for further discussion of Rembrandt's use of dead-coloring in his early work.

11. See, for example, *Rembrandt Leaning on a Stone Sill*, 1639 (B. 21).

12. Van de Wetering 1986, 42, notes that grounds on Rembrandt's canvas paintings are generally gray during the early phase of his career, whereas he used an ocher-colored ground when he painted on wood. The ground on canvas paintings generally consists of two layers, an under layer comprised of red ocher and an upper layer consisting of a mixture of white lead and a black pigment.

13. The process is characteristic of Rembrandt's work in his early period. See Van de Wetering 1986, 25–31.

14. *Corpus* 1982–, 2: B8, 581–588, the attribution to Rembrandt is considered uncertain. They date the painting about 1633.

15. Moltke 1965, 18–19, no. 71; Sumowski 1983, 2: no. 643. The attribution to Flinck, however, was rejected by the RRP (*Corpus* 1982–, 3: 28), which compared this work to the admittedly tame execution of Flinck's earliest dated paintings, his *Rembrandt as Shepherd* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A 3451) and *Saskia as Shepherdess*, 1636 (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. no. 252). These paintings, however, were executed after Flinck had left Rembrandt's workshop and were neither built on a foundation provided by Rembrandt nor executed in a manner intended to pass as his style.

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1937.1.78 (78)

Rembrandt van Rijn

A Polish Nobleman

1637

Oil on oak, 96.8 x 66 (38 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 26)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At upper right: *Rembrandt. f.: 1637*

Technical Notes: The panel is composed of a single piece of oak with a vertical grain and has been cradled. Dendrochronology dates the tree felling to about 1633.¹ Old repaired vertical splits are found at top center and bottom left. Moderate-sized losses of splintered wood have occurred in the panel edges.

The ground consists of two layers, a lower white layer of medium thickness covered by a very thin ochre layer.² A rich paste paint layer of moderate thickness has been applied with a dry brush producing a highly textured surface, with thick impasted accents on the jewels and staff. The tan ground layer is visible between the broad, opaque brushmarks and is incorporated into the structure of the cloak. Individual fur hairs have been delicately painted with a fine brush. The fur hat has been incised with the butt end of a brush to expose the ground layer. Glazing is minimal, employed chiefly in the dark shadows of the face and hand.

Several pentimenti are visible with the naked eye and in the x-radiograph. Slight color variations in the background to the sitter's right were occasioned by the artist's repainting of the facial contour to slim the profile. X-radiography confirms alterations as well that reshape the lower portion of the head and shows that the thumb was once inclined downward at a sharper angle and the index finger more tightly curved. This original position of the hand corresponds to the grip necessary to hold the staff in its initial position, inclined away from the sitter, as evidenced by a reserve left in the background. Once adjusted to its more upright position, the staff was longer than it now appears. Its earlier form is visible through the gray covering paint of the background. A pearl drop, which once hung from the hat jewel, and a pearl earring attached to the proper left earlobe were both painted out.

The paint layer is in excellent condition, with minimal abrasion and only minor losses in the face and around edges. Conservation was carried out in 1985 to remove an aged varnish and discolored repaints.

Provenance: Possibly Harman van Swol; (sale, Amsterdam, 20 April 1707)³. Catherine II, empress of Russia [1729–1796], Saint Petersburg; Imperial Hermitage Gallery, Saint Petersburg; sold February 1931 through (Matthiesen Gallery, Berlin; P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London; and M. Knoedler & Co., New York) to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 30 March 1932 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: Washington 1969, no. 3.

ONE of Rembrandt's most powerfully evocative paintings from the late 1630s, *A Polish Nobleman* displays a richness of conception and technique that is unmatched by any other painting by the master in the National Gallery's collection. As this imposing figure stares out beneath his tall beaver hat, he at once confronts the viewer with directness and draws him in with his introspective gaze. His confident stance as he grasps a gold-topped wooden staff, his broad mustache, and the gold chain and pendant that hang over the broad fur collar that covers his jacket give him an air of authority and exotic grandeur. At the same time, the shaded eyes, furrowed brow, and partially opened mouth suggest a caring and thoughtful individual, far more approachable than the pose and costume would initially imply.

Largely because of the individualized character of the sitter, but also because of the obvious care with which Rembrandt modeled the forms, scholars have since the nineteenth century sought to identify this sitter with a specific individual.⁴ The earliest, and most persistent, of these identifications is the one mentioned by Smith in 1836: Jan III Sobieski (1629–1696), who was king of Poland from 1674 until his death.⁵ Since Sobieski was only eight years old in 1637, such an identification is clearly impossible. Stefan Batory, the other Polish king whose name was mentioned in the nineteenth century in connection with this painting, is likewise mistaken, for he died in 1586.⁶

Another identification more recently proposed, that the figure represents the Polish nobleman Andrzej Rej, would seem to have more merit.⁷ Rej, well-traveled, well-educated, and well-bred, had a close and cordial relationship to the royal court in Poland. As one of the most influential and trusted Protestants in the country, he was chosen by King Wladyslaw in 1637 to act as a special envoy to England and to the Netherlands at a time when relations between Poland and these countries were rather frosty.⁸ His diplomatic ventures, first in England, where Charles I would not even receive him, and then in the Netherlands, were not successful. After leaving The Hague on 19 December 1637 he seems to have traveled to Amsterdam where his son was enrolled as a student at the Amsterdam "Athenaeum Illustre." Although he must not have stayed long, for he was documented in Hamburg by 19 January 1638, he did take time to have his portrait painted. In a document from 1641 Rej's son, Mikolaj, acknowledges that he owes Hendrik van Uylenburgh fifty guilders "for portraying my father."⁹

The coincidence of Rej's presence in Amsterdam in 1637 and Rembrandt's portrait of a Polish noble-



Rembrandt van Rijn, *A Polish Nobleman*, 1637.1.78



Fig. 1. Detail of x-radiograph of 1937.1.78

man of that date would lead one to hypothesize a connection even if a document did not exist confirming that a portrait was in fact painted. Since Hendrik van Uylenburgh, who was of Polish descent, had had a business connection with Rembrandt in the early 1630s, one might assume that Van Uylenburgh would have arranged for Rembrandt to paint a portrait of Andrzej Rej. Nevertheless, the evidence is not compelling enough to make a convincing connection. To begin with, Rembrandt is not mentioned in the document. Secondly, the price for the portrait would have been extremely low

Fig. 2. Detail of face in 1937.1.78 in raking light



for such a large-scale, fully worked out painting of this date by the master. Moreover, despite their earlier business relations, it is unlikely that in 1637 Hendrik van Uylenburgh was actively procuring commissions for Rembrandt or administering his financial affairs. Finally, the costume is not one that a Polish nobleman on an official diplomatic mission would have worn in 1637. While the elements of the costume are essentially Polish, they had been in fashion some twenty years earlier.¹⁰

Rather than depicting a specific individual, *A Polish Nobleman* is very likely part of the same tradition of fanciful portraits of figures in oriental costumes to which *Man in Oriental Costume* belongs (for a discussion of this type of portraiture see the entry on 1940.1.13).¹¹ The models for such paintings seem to have been people close to Rembrandt, among them Saskia, his mother, possibly his father, and his brother Adriaen.¹² Rembrandt also used himself as a model for fanciful figures in his etchings and paintings. Quite frequently he radically changed his appearance with different hairstyles, beards, and mustaches. The penetrating expression of *A Polish Nobleman* and the striking resemblance of the sitter's features to Rembrandt's, particularly in the area around the eyes and nose, make one wonder if this painting is not, in fact, a fanciful self-portrait. The main objection to this hypothesis is that Rembrandt had not developed such a jowled countenance at this date. X-radiographs, however, clearly indicate that the pronounced jowls were not part of the initial concept but were an adaptation done when Rembrandt altered the right contour of the face (fig. 1).¹³ At that time he also eliminated the earlobe and a pearl earring.¹⁴

The extraordinary power of *A Polish Nobleman*, which is painted on a single, large oak panel, is all the more enhanced because it has been so well preserved. Rich impastos on the face, which can be seen in the photograph taken in a raking light (fig. 2), reinforce the three-dimensional presence of the image. Similar impastos accent the gold medallion falling over his shoulder. The brown collar and reddish brown sleeve of the jacket, however, are painted thinly to suggest the softer textures of fur and cloth. In these areas the ocher ground, which is allowed to show through the surface paint, provides a unifying tone. Rembrandt has consciously sought to reveal this tone by wiping his wet paint with a cloth or, as in the beaver hat, by scratching the surface with the butt end of his brush. Even the background, which because of the painted crack must represent a wall, has been carefully modeled. Since the recent restoration of the painting, the care with which he mod-

ulated his paints over the entire surface is once again visible. Indeed, he even left a thumbprint along the lower edge.

Notes

1. Dendrochronological examination by Dr. Joseph Bauch of Universität Hamburg in 1977 has determined that the wood comes from a tree felled around 1633. Panels from the same tree were used for two other paintings by Rembrandt at the end of the 1630s, the *Concord of State* (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen; Rotterdam) and *River Landscape with a Windmill* (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, Kassel). See Dr. Peter Klein letter, 25 September 1987, in NGA curatorial files.

2. Reports are available in the Scientific Research department on pigment analysis (December 1984) and pigment and media analysis (25 February 1985).

3. See note 4 below.

4. No identifications to specific individuals are given in eighteenth-century references. In the Harman van Swol sale in Amsterdam on 20 April 1707 a painting described as "Een Ambassadeur van Moscovien, van Rembrandt kragtig geschildert" may have been this work; the association of this painting with *A Polish Nobleman* was first made in the *Corpus* 1982–, 3: 247. When *A Polish Nobleman* was first described in the catalogue of the collection of Catherine II of Russia, compiled between 1773 and 1783, it bore the title "Portrait d'un Turc."

5. Smith 1829–1842, 7: 310: "A Military Gentleman, styled 'Sobieski'..." Although the tradition was already questioned in Hermitage 1838 ("n'est justifiée par aucun des documents que nous avons notre disposition"), the identification continued to be proposed as an option throughout most of the nineteenth century.

6. Bode 1883, 464.

7. First proposed by Odlozilik 1963, 3–32. This identification was supported by Broos 1974, 210–213.

8. King Wladyslaw had just gone back on his highly controversial plan to marry the niece of Charles I of England. The niece was Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick V, king of Bohemia and elector of the Palatinate, and his consort Elizabeth Stuart. The king and queen of Bohemia, the so-called Winter King and Winter Queen, were also intimates with the Prince of Orange, Frederik Hendrik, and his wife, Amalia van Solms. Not only was Frederik Hendrik the uncle of Frederick, but when the Bohemian king and queen had come to The Hague in exile in the 1620s, Amalia van Solms came with them as one of Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting.

9. Broos 1974, 213, note 49. The document was published by Bredius 1915–1922, 5 (1918), 1688.

10. I am indebted for this information to Dr. Julius Chroszczicki, from the University of Warsaw, who, as a fellow at the NGA's Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts, was studying the problem of Rembrandt's depictions of Polish subjects.

11. *Corpus* 1982–, 3: 247, considers this work a *tronie*, a term that seems inappropriate for such a large, fully conceived three-quarter-length figure. Although the meaning of the term as used in the seventeenth century is not clear, it seems most probable that *tronies* were bust-length studies of heads rather than finished paintings. The prices paid for *tronies* were quite low, as noted by Bruyn in *Corpus* 1982–, 3 (1989): 23, "a relatively cheap product."

12. Bauch 1960, 168, suggested that the model for *A Polish*

Nobleman was Adriaen. No identifiable portraits of Adriaen, however, are known.

13. The connections to Rembrandt's own physiognomy in the original concept for the portrait are particularly evident in a comparison of the x-radiograph with those of other Rembrandt self-portraits from the late 1630s. See in particular the x-radiograph of *Bust of Rembrandt with an Architectural Background*, Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 1746, repro. in *Corpus* 1982–, 3: 499.

14. A few other minor changes, such as on the staff and gold medallion on the hat, are evident in the x-radiograph and upon close observation of the painting itself.

References

- 1774 Hermitage: no. 44.
 1783 Hermitage: no. 44.
 1829–1842 Smith, 7 (1836): 113, no. 310.
 1838 Hermitage: 125, no. 23.
 1864 Waagen: 182, no. 811.
 1863 De Köhne: 172, no. 811 (also 1870 2nd ed., 2: 137, no. 811; 3rd ed. Somof, 2: 285, no. 811, repro.).
 1868 Vosmaer: 449 (also 1877 2nd ed.: 515, 576).
 1873 Blanc, 2: 404.
 1879 De Ris: 377–388, repro.
 1883 Bode: 464–465, 601, no. 335.
 1885 Dutuit: 38, 64, 67, no. 387.
 1886 Wurzbach: 87, no. 402, repro.
 1893 Michel: 216, 507 (also 1894 ed., 1: 216–217, repro.; 2: 246).
 1897–1906 Bode, 3 (1899): 36–36, 200, no. 228, repro.
 1899 Bell: 70, 179 (also 1907 rev. ed.: 65, 150, repro.).
 1899 Knackfuss: 18, repro. no. 15.
 1902 Neumann: repro. 93 (also 1922 ed., 2 vols., 2: 414–415, repro.).
 1906 Schmidt-Degener: 89–108.
 1906 Rosenberg: 166, repro., 427 (also 1909 rev. ed.: 216, repro., 556).
 1907b Michel: 46, repro.
 1907 Brown: 254–255, 302.
 1907–1927 HdG, 6 (1916): 165, no. 271.
 1909 Wrangell: xxix, 111, repro.
 1911 Bode and Knapp: unpaginated, repro.
 1912 Réau: 471–488, repro.
 1923 Weiner: unpaginated, repro.
 1923 Meldrum: 190, pl. cxix.
 1924 Knackfuss: 62, repro.
 1926 Hymans: no. 47, repro.
 1935 Bredius: no. 211, repro. (also 1936 English ed., 211, repro.).
 1937 Frankfurter: 9–13, repro.
 1937 Cortissoz: 38–39.
 1941 NGA: 166, no. 78.
 1943 Benesch: 20–33, fig. 1 (also reprint in Benesch 1970, 1: 140–146, fig. 108).
 1948 Rosenberg, 1: 43, fig. 59 (also 1964 rev. ed.: 71, fig. 59).
 1949 Mellon: 80, repro.
 1960 Bauch: 168–169, repro.
 1963 Odlozilik: 3–32, repro.
 1965 NGA: 109, no. 78.
 1966 Bauch: 10, no. 174, repro.
 1968 NGA: 96, repro.
 1968 Gerson: 56, 495, 298, repro.
 1969 Gerson/Bredius: 565, 170, repro.

- 1969 Washington: no. 3.
 1974 Broos: 192–218, repro. fig. 19.
 1975 NGA: 286–287, repro.
 1976 Walker: 273–273, no. 359, color repro.
 1977 Bolten and Bolten-Rempt: 186, no. 264, repro.
 1981 Chroscicki: 441–448.
 1984 Wheelock: 12, color repro.
 1984/1985 Schwartz: 200, no. 219, color repro. (also 1985 English ed.).
 1985 NGA: 330, repro.
 1986 Tümpel: 197, color repro., 406, no. 137.
 1986 Sutton: 312.
 1986 Guillaud and Guillaud: 311, no. 366, color repro.
 1986 Hermesdorf: 35–49.
 1988 Wheelock: 214–245, fig. 9–28.
 1982–*Corpus*, 3 (1989): 242–247, repros.
 1990 Schneider: 68, 69, repro., 70, 95, 154, 171, 233
 note 80.
 1991 Le Bihan: 362.
 1991 Grimm: 95, pl. 51 (color detail), 97, fig. 179.
 1992 NGA: 124, color repro.

1937.1.73 (73)

Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop

An Old Lady with a Book

1637
 Oil on canvas, 109.7 x 91.5 (43¼ x 36)
 Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

On the bottom left: *Rembr[an]dt. /f.1[63]7.*

Technical Notes: The support, a medium-weight, tightly and plain-woven fabric, is relined with the tacking margins trimmed. Cusping is present on all sides, suggesting the original dimensions have been retained. The double ground consists of a thin, red lower layer followed by a very thin, gray upper layer.¹ Paint is applied as thin pastes in dark passages and thicker paste in the lights, with individual brushstrokes blended wet into wet. Visible in the x-radiograph surrounding the head are the limits of a rather large reserve left for this area.

Losses are found in the signature and date, to the left of the head, and along the edges. Minor flaking has occurred at crackle junctures, and the pale halo around the figure is moderately abraded. The painting underwent treatment in 1981–1983 at which time early linings were removed, the painting was relined, and discolored varnish and repaints were removed.

Provenance: Johan van der Marck, Amsterdam; (sale, 25 August 1773, no. 259). M. Thélusson, Paris; (sale, Paris, 1 December 1777, no. 17).² Montesquieu (sale, Paris, 9 March 1788, no. 45); purchased by Lebrun. C. A. de Calonne (sale, London, 23 March 1795, no. 38); purchased by John Julius Angerstein, London; by gift to Sir Thomas Lawrence [1769–1830], London.³ John Allnut, London, (sale, London, 18–20 June 1863, no. 502); purchased by François Nieuwenhuys,

Brussels. Louis Lebeuf de Montgermont, Paris; Prince de Broglie, Paris, by 1920; (Duveen Brothers, London and New York, in 1920); sold November 1924 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: British Institution, London, 1861, no. 123. *Paintings by Old Masters from Pittsburgh Collections*, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, 1925, no. 60. *Paintings by Rembrandt*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1930, no. 36. Washington 1969, no. 4.

ALTHOUGH the identity of this formidable woman is not known, her black cap indicates that she is in mourning and is probably a widow. Her stern demeanor, wide-wheel ruff collar, and the Bible she holds in her lap suggest that she was a conservative member of Dutch society and dedicated to her religious beliefs. Despite the bold execution, the portrait is remarkably subdued. The sitter does not communicate directly with the viewer either through a gaze or gesture, but rather is lost in her thoughts as she ponders the words of the Bible she has just read.⁴ As she stares outward but looks inward, she gently fingers the clasp of the Bible with one hand while holding her spectacles between the fingers of her other.

Because such black, fur-trimmed costumes are found in Dutch painting from the mid-1630s until the late 1650s, the dating of this imposing painting has posed particular problems. Until a date was discovered in the lower left at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was generally described in an all-inclusive way as belonging to Rembrandt's "best period." First read as 1643,⁵ the date was later believed to be 164[7].⁶ The confusion is understandable because damage in this area of the painting obliterates a portion of both the signature and the date. The restoration of the painting in 1983, however, revealed that the date should be read as 1637. While the damage does affect both the "6" and the "3," enough of each number survives to identify them (see Appendix). The signature and date are integral with the paint structure and are of a type characteristic of the late 1630s.

This information is of some consequence when discussing the attribution of the work, which has been rejected in recent years by both Gerson and Schwartz.⁷ Indeed, while the execution does not relate easily with Rembrandt's paintings from the late 1640s, close comparisons can be made with other women's portraits from the late 1630s, in particular *Alotte Adriaensdr.* of 1639 in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam (fig. 1).⁸ Not only are the costumes of both figures similar, but also the sure



Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop, *An Old Lady with a Book*, 1937.1.73

modeling of features through a variety of short, unblended brushstrokes. Among those areas of the face that best bear the characteristics of artistic approach are the articulation of the eyes, the modeling of folds just below the eyes, the formation of the mouth, and the way the drawn-back hair is indicated with thin black strokes drawn from the forehead to the hair. Since the features of the somewhat older woman in the Washington painting are rougher and the thrust of light on the face stronger, the brushwork is freer than in the Rotterdam portrait. In both works, nevertheless, Rembrandt used his paint to suggest at once the structure of the face and the patterns of light and dark that accent the form.

The woman's hands and the Bible in *An Old Lady with a Book* are likewise modeled with bold strokes and great surety. While their forms are quite geometric and their positions carefully conceived, Rembrandt has suggested the nuances of texture and modeling with great sensitivity. The sheen of the flesh as it is accented by the light seems to glow from within, while the metallic corners of the book glisten with specular reflections. Also remarkable is the subtle translucence of the eyeglasses, which reveal the diffused images of the thumb and finger beneath them.

Fig. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Alotte Adriaensdr.*, 1639, oil on panel, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



Fig. 2. Detail of x-radiograph of head in 1937.1.73

The surety of Rembrandt's modeling of form is particularly evident in the x-radiograph (fig. 2). Here also the distribution of lead white is compatible with that of other portraits from the mid- to late 1630s. No pentimenti are evident as Rembrandt seems to have worked directly on the canvas with great confidence of his intent. As is evident from the surface but also from the x-radiograph, the collar is painted very densely. Technical analysis indicates that it was executed in two layers. This technique was probably developed to help convey the translucent quality of the material. Folds along the edges of the material were articulated with strokes of gray for the shadows and strokes of white for the accented portions.

Despite stylistic connections with Rembrandt's work from the late 1630s, the figure is unusually stiff and formal in its presentation. Gerson complained that the hands were "without expression," but the same criticism could be more aptly applied to the upright position of the woman as she sits rigidly in the armchair.⁹ Indeed, compared to most Rembrandt sitters, she seems rather remote. In part, Rembrandt's characterization must be seen in response to the personality of the patron, an intangible in the process of portrait painting that can never be adequately assessed. The woman's restrained de-

meanor must also be understood within the iconographic content of this work. Unlike most of Rembrandt's subjects the woman does not make eye contact with the viewer. His intent was to emphasize how the word of the Bible has made an impact on the woman's state of being rather than to enliven her form with momentary expression or gesture.

The fascinating conceit of depicting the woman contemplating a written text is consistent with Rembrandt's interest in extending the limits of portraiture during the late 1630s and early 1640s. Just how remarkable the concept is can be seen through a comparison with Solomon Koninck's *Portrait of an Elderly Lady*, 1634 (fig. 3). Here, while all of the components of the painting are comparable, the woman has posed as though she has been interrupted from her text rather than immersed in her thoughts. Rembrandt's interest in demonstrating the effect of words on a sitter's mind can also be found in his graphic work from the 1630s and early 1640s, in particular his etched portrait of Jan Cornelis Silvius, 1633, and his etching *Man at a Desk Wearing a Cross and Chain*, 1641.¹⁰ In painting, this conceit culminated in 1641 in his magnificent *Portrait of Anslo and*

His Wife, 1641 (Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. no. 828L), where he conveyed the impact of the preacher's words through the quiet, reflective mood of the woman.

Despite the inventiveness of the portrait concept and the painterly qualities evident in the face, it seems probable that Rembrandt relegated the costume, chair, and background to a studio assistant. The brushwork in those portions of the painting is comparatively uninspired. A close comparison of the treatment of the millstone ruff on this portrait and that of *Alotte Adriaensdr.* (fig. 1), for example, demonstrates that this collar is executed with less sensitivity to the delicate nuances of light and form. The result is that the translucency of the material is rendered less illusionistically than it is in the Rotterdam portrait. A small but telling detail confirms that the collar was executed after the head was completely finished: a stroke of white paint overlaps the woman's right cheek.

It may well be, then, that Rembrandt, after devising the concept for the portrait, blocked in the form in his customary manner, executed the head and the hands, and then passed on the unfinished canvas to an assistant to bring it to completion. Although this pupil cannot be identified, a strong candidate would be Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680), a trained artist who had moved from Dordrecht to Amsterdam to work as an apprentice and assistant with Rembrandt between the years of about 1636 to 1641.¹¹ While it is difficult to determine which works Bol actually executed during those years, in his later career he painted a large number of portraits as well as biblical and mythological scenes. One portrait that has been convincingly attributed to him from the 1640s, and which is comparable to *An Old Lady with a Book*, is the *Portrait of Elizabeth Jacobsdr. Bas* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A714).¹² While the brushwork in the costume is somewhat rougher and bolder in the Washington painting because of the need to paint in Rembrandt's style, the bodies of both women have a massive yet static character that is quite similar, as is seen, for example, in the way the fur-edged jackets fall across the women's laps. Similar also is the manner in which the shadows fall across the women's millruffs. Finally, the oblique perspective of the circular form of the chair arm is identical.

Fig. 3. Solomon Koninck, *Portrait of an Elderly Lady*, 1634, oil on panel, Hopetoun House Preservation Trust, near Edinburgh



Notes

1. Pigment analysis and microscopy reports of both paint and ground layers are available in the Scientific Research department (17 July 1981, 31 July 1981, 3 August 1981, 7 August 1981, 18 May 1983).

2. Smith 1829-1842, 7: 163, no. 505, includes a provenance listing: "Collection of an Artist, 1783." This reference, however, could not be verified.

3. For the circumstances of the gift, see Williams 1831, 1: 129. I would like to thank Burton Fredericksen, director of the Getty Provenance Index, for bringing this reference to my attention (letter 5 February 1988 in NGA curatorial records).

4. It is clear that she has finished reading the Bible since the back cover is on top, the normal position of a book when one closes it.

5. See, for example, HdG 1907-1927, 6: 401, no. 876.

6. Rosenberg 1948, 1: 45.

7. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 578, no. 362, suggest associations with Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout (1621-1674). Schwartz 1984/1985, 380, rejects the painting in his concordance without explanation. Ernst van de Wetering (personal communication, 1991) has indicated to me that he does not accept the attribution of this painting to Rembrandt.

8. *Corpus* 1982-, 3: 321-327, A132. The painting is generally in a poor state of preservation with the exception of the area around the face. The signature and date of 1639 are not considered by the RRP to be authentic, but the date is accepted as appropriate on the basis of style.

9. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 578, no. 362.

10. For illustrations of these two etchings, see Münz 1952, 2: 54 and 61.

11. For an excellent overview of Bol's work see Blankert 1982b; and also Sumowski 1983, 1: 282-425.

12. For an extended discussion of the various attributions that have been given to this painting and convincing reasons for the attribution to Bol, see Van Thiel in Berlin 1991, 322-327, no. 65.

References

- 1829-1842 Smith, 7 (1836): 163, no. 505.
1831 Williams, 1:129.
1858 Blanc: 168.
1897-1906 Bode, 4 (1900): 35, 168, no. 288, repro.
1906 Rosenberg: not cited (1908 ed.: 590, no. 267).
1907-1927 HdG, 6 (1916): 401, no. 876.
1923 Meldrum: 195, pl. 236.
1924 Knackfuss: 62.
1926 Hymans: no. 47.
1930 Schmidt-Degener: no. 53, repro.
1931 Valentiner: no. 79.
1935 Bredius: 16, 362 repro. (also 1935 English ed.: 15, 362 repro.).
1937 Cortissoz: 39, repro. opp. 38.
1941 Berenson and Valentiner: no. 196, repro.
1943 Benesch: 26, fig. 13, repro., 33 (reprinted in Benesch 1970, 1: 142-143, fig. 116, repro.).
1948 Rosenberg, 1: 45; 2: pl. 65 (also 1964 rev. ed.: 77-78, fig. 65, repro. 76).
1949 Mellon: 83.
1960 Roger-Marx: 201, repro. 200, no. 61.
1965 NGA: 109, no. 73.
1968 NGA: 97, no. 73, repro.
1966 Bauch: 26, no. 508.
1968 Gerson: 348-349, no. 264, repro., 498.
1969 Gerson/Bredius: 578, no. 362, repro. 283.
1975 NGA: 284, no. 73, repro. 285.
1976 Walker: 279, no. 368, repro. 278.
1976 Fowles: 137.

1984-1985 Schwartz: 380 (also 1985 English ed.: 380).

1985 NGA: 328, repro. 238.

1986 Tümpel: 241, repro.

1990 The Hague: 391.

1942.9.62 (658)

Rembrandt van Rijn

The Mill

1645/1648

Oil on canvas, 87.6 x 105.6 (34½ x 41⅞)

Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The original support is a fine-weight, tightly woven, plain-weave fabric, lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Cusping, which extends 7 cm into the painting, is present along the bottom edge, indicating that it is original. No cusping exists along the top or sides of the painting, which would seem to indicate that these edges have been cut. The right edge, however, has a puzzling characteristic: the paint ends approximately 1 cm short of the edge, although the ground extends until the edge. Whether the paint had been left unfinished along this edge, or whether the painting is not, in fact, trimmed, cannot be established with certainty.

A double ground is present, consisting of a reddish brown lower layer followed by a yellowish gray upper layer.¹ A thin black or dark brown underpaint layer is present under the mill. Paint is applied thinly and fluidly in the dark areas and thickly in the sky, water, and foliage, with broad brushmarking and low impasto.

Numerous changes and reworkings by the artist are evident. The x-radiograph shows that a reserve was left for the mill, the contour of the hill, a bridge that originally crossed the water from the promontory to the right edge, and its reflection in the water below. Cross-sections indicate that the span of the bridge was blocked in with a black or dark brown layer of paint. In executing the painting, the profile of the hill was lowered on the left and the bridge and reflection were eliminated. At that time a second layer of blue was added to the sky. The water was reworked and the boat and oarsman introduced. Striations in the trees show the paint was reworked while still wet. Infrared reflectography also shows the adjustment to the hill, with a pentimento of a form, perhaps a building, on top. Other pentimenti indicate slight adjustments to the left side of the mill and the top blade position, a lowering of the church tower, and the substitution of the small crouched figure for a large standing figure on the promontory.

The painting is in excellent condition, with only minor flake losses along the edges, and a small loss and abrasion in the upper left corner. Dark gray stains in the sky may be due to the discoloration of the pigment smalt. Small residues of hardened old varnishes and retouchings are present.

In 1976, a small slit in the lower left corner was repaired. Treatment was carried out in 1977-1979 to consolidate flaking paint, remove the old lining and replace it, and remove discolored varnish and retouching.

Provenance: Philippe, duc d'Orleans [1674–1723], Paris; Louis Philippe Joseph [1723–1792], Paris; T. M. Slade, London; William Smith, Norwich; Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne [1780–1863], Bowood Hall, Wiltshire, by 1824; by inheritance to Lord Lansdowne, until 1911; (Arthur J. Sulley, London); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: Pall Mall, London, 1793–1794, no. 125. British Institution, London, 1806; London, 1815, no. 137; London, 1864, no. 112. *Works by the Old Masters and Deceased Masters of the British School*, (Winter Exhibition), Royal Academy, London, 1878, no. 172; (Winter Exhibition), Royal Academy, London, 1888, no. 74. *Rembrandt Tentoonstelling*, Stedelijk, Amsterdam, 1898. *Exhibition of Works by Rembrandt*, (Winter Exhibition), Royal Academy, London, 1899, no. 40. Washington 1969, no. 6.

OF ALL THE PAINTINGS by Rembrandt in the National Gallery, none has provoked stronger feelings over the years than has *The Mill*. The enormous fame accorded it in the nineteenth century, when it was admired by artists and critics alike, culminated when it was sold in London in 1911 for the extraordinary sum of £100,000.² The purchaser was Peter A. B. Widener, the millionaire collector from Philadelphia. Before *The Mill* left England, it was brought to the National Gallery in London to be put on public exhibition for two brief days. Newspaper reports indicate that over eleven thousand people visited the painting each day (fig. 1). Somewhat later, Wilhelm von Bode, director of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, and the greatest Rembrandt scholar of his day, visited Widener's son at his residence in Philadelphia, Lynnewood Hall, and pronounced the painting "the greatest picture in the world. The greatest picture by any artist."³ The prominence the painting enjoyed at Lynnewood Hall was also accorded it at the Gallery after the Widener bequest of 1942. It has always been viewed as the most important Rembrandt painting in the collection. When John Walker retired as director of the National Gallery in 1969 he posed for photographers in front of *The Mill*.

Despite the painting's renown, which can be traced back to the eighteenth century when it was in the collection of the Duc d'Orleans, and the enthusiastic endorsement of Bode, the attribution of *The Mill* has been a matter of great dispute throughout this century. The expert who seems to have first questioned the attribution was Woldemar von Seidlitz. Although Seidlitz had raised the question in newspaper articles since 1902, his first serious analysis of the stylistic problems concerning the attribu-



Fig. 1. *The Illustrated London News*, volume 274, March 25, 1911

tion of *The Mill* appeared in the art journal *Kunst und Künstler* just after the sale of *The Mill*.⁴ Seidlitz objected that the concept of this painting was different from other Rembrandt landscapes, that its low horizon, its lack of multiplicity, and above all, the strong contrasts of light and dark were uncharacteristic of Rembrandt. Seidlitz suggested that Aert de Gelder (1645–1727) might be considered as the artist since De Gelder preferred the warm transparent colors found in *The Mill*. Seidlitz, however, also admitted that landscapes by De Gelder were not known.

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of Seidlitz's article were newspaper reports that a recent cleaning of *The Mill* had uncovered the signature of Hercules Seghers (1589/1590–in or before 1638), a report that encouraged further speculation about the attribution.⁵ Subsequent clarification of these reports revealed that the painting in question was not *The Mill* but another landscape. The associations between Seghers and *The Mill*, however, remained strong for many years.⁶ As a result of these attacks on the attribution of *The Mill* (including the quite unfeasible idea that the painting was a nineteenth-century English forgery), Wilhelm von Bode, Abraham Bredius, Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, Woldemar von Seidlitz, and Jan Veth wrote a series of

short essays on *The Mill* in the October 1912 issue of *Kunst und Künstler*.⁷ Bode, Bredius, Hofstede de Groot, and Veth all emphatically defended the Rembrandt attribution and rejected the arguments advanced by Seidlitz in his previous article. Seidlitz agreed that *The Mill* could not have been painted by Seghers, but continued to question the attribution to Rembrandt.

After the flurry of excitement in 1911 about the sale of *The Mill* and the issues of attribution, the painting, interestingly enough, was not again seriously discussed in the literature for over sixty years. While the painting continued to be admired in the United States, and was accepted as a Rembrandt by scholars working in this country, primarily Rosenberg and Stechow,⁸ a number of important Rembrandt scholars working in Europe quietly eliminated the painting from the artist's accepted oeuvre. Bredius, after having defended the attribution of *The Mill* in 1911, omitted it in 1935 from his corpus of Rembrandt paintings. Neither Bauch (1966) nor Gerson (1969) included the painting in his catalogue of the oeuvre.⁹

Interest in *The Mill*, however, peaked once again in 1977 when the decision was made at the National Gallery to clean the painting. *The Mill* was found to be structurally unsound, reason enough for the proposed restoration, but an added incentive was the issue of attribution. Only by removing the heavy layers of discolored varnish that had come to obscure the surface of the painting could anything be learned about the existing color tonalities and painting techniques, information, it was hoped, that could help determine whether or not the image had been executed by Rembrandt.¹⁰

The decision to clean *The Mill*, however, unleashed a storm of controversy that eventually even threatened the existence of the conservation program at the National Gallery.¹¹ The main point of contention was that the removal of the discolored varnish would alter irreparably the emotional impact of the image.¹² What became clear during the controversy was the unique position this work occupied among Rembrandt's paintings: *The Mill* was greatly admired for its inherent drama, but, at the same time, the darkly brooding image of the mill was central to the mythology surrounding Rembrandt's life. At issue, thus, was not just the matter of changes in the appearance of the painting, but also the way these changes would threaten fundamental beliefs about the artist.

The myths that so integrally linked this painting to Rembrandt's life grew in the romantic era, when the dramatic lighting and stark silhouette of the mill

against the stormy sky struck a particularly responsive chord.¹³ An old tradition that the painting represented the mill of Rembrandt's father added a personal aspect to the painting that appealed to nineteenth-century sensibilities.¹⁴ A number of descriptions of the painting interpreted the foreboding mood of the stormy sky as an indication of the personal traumas many believed Rembrandt experienced late in his life. One writer saw in the "dark, forbidding clouds...the symbols of his financial worries, social stress, and personal bereavements."¹⁵ Another critic wrote: "Dating from the late 1650's, when Rembrandt had drunk to the dregs the cup of sorrow, *The Mill* is by general consent, alike in conception and treatment, the most profoundly impressive landscape in Western art."¹⁶

Such interpretative assessments of *The Mill* were encouraged by the layers of discolored and darkened varnish that had accumulated on the painting. These thick layers of varnish, which had given the painting a golden tone, also obscured many landscape details, allowing for a more generalized effect. The chiaroscuro effects so admired by nineteenth-century critics were enhanced in 1911 when *The Mill* was selectively cleaned to bring out the contrast of the dark mill against the light sky.¹⁷

Just how distorted this image had become over time was evident by comparing the painting as it appeared before its restoration with an etching of it in reverse in the 1786 catalogue of the Duc d'Orleans' Collection (fig. 2). While in the print the mill is the dominant motif, other elements, including the surrounding buildings, little figures on the hillside and near the water, the cows on the far shore, and the church steeple beyond the dense profile of the distant trees, are clearly articulated. In the accompanying description, *The Mill* is found to be picturesque rather than dramatic:

This painting, as all those of this master, is of a vigorous and animated effect which has the principal interest of a site copied faithfully after nature. This simple composition does not owe to Rembrandt any other richness than that of harmony, and the magical effect which nourishes and revives everything. He possessed to an eminent degree this portion of picturesque genius, above all so essential in the genre of landscape (painting) where nature herself dictates the disposition of the scene, in determining the planes, the masses, and creates the borders that the fire of enthusiasm is unable to go beyond without risking to disfigure it.¹⁸



Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Mill*, 1642.9.62



Fig. 2. Etching in reverse of *The Mill*, from 1786 catalogue of the Duc d'Orleans Collection

Neither the description nor the engraving emphasizes the effects of light and dark, the deep brooding, almost mysterious mood, so admired throughout most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In 1793 the painting was acquired for £500 by William Smith, a prominent politician from Norwich and friend of J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851).¹⁹ Its subsequent impact on English art and aesthetics was enormous. By 1806 *The Mill* was included in an exhibition of old master paintings at the British Institution. It was also among those works selected from the exhibition for artists to copy, as is evident in a drawing by Alfred Edward Chalon (1780–1860), which depicts three artists copying *The Mill* (fig. 3).²⁰ The artist wearing a top hat in this drawing is none other than Benjamin West (1738–1820).

The numerous copies, variants, and descriptions of *The Mill* in the early to mid-nineteenth century provide further information about its appearance during these years. A watercolor copy probably made between 1806 and 1811 by William Marshall Craig (c. 1765–c. 1834) emphasizes, as does the Duc d'Orleans catalogue, the picturesque qualities of the scene.²¹ The blue sky in Craig's watercolor, as well as the vividly blue sky in a free derivation of *The Mill* painted by James Ward (1769–1859) around 1806, *Asbourne Mill* (on loan to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts), also demonstrate how different the color tonalities were before the accumulation of discolored varnish, and perhaps tinted varnish, affected the appearance of the painting.

It is with Turner that the first truly romantic interpretation of *The Mill* is to be found. His notes

on Rembrandt's "celebrated" picture stress Rembrandt's forceful use of extreme contrasts of light and shade in the painting rather than its picturesque qualities: "But the sails of the mill are touched with the incalculable(?) ray, while all below is lost in inestimable(?) gloom without the value of reflected light, which even the sky demands, and the ray upon the Mill insists upon..."²² The strikingly different appreciation of the painting may have to do with Turner's mindset, but the actual appearance of *The Mill* was also changing as the result of discolored or tinted varnish. In 1834 the painting was described by C. J. Nieuwenhuys in the following manner: "It is toward the approach of evening, when the remaining light of day illumines the horizon, and with the reflection of the water, throws the surrounding scenery into solemn gloom. The mysterious tone of the whole conveys to the mind a poetical effect."²³ By mid-century writers had begun to attribute much of the poetic charm of the painting to its rich golden tone, a legacy that continued unabated for 130 years.²⁴

Not surprisingly, the restoration of 1977–1979 revealed that much of the painting's somber mood was the result of darkened varnish. The most dramatic changes were in the sky where the golden tonalities had been so prominent. The sky is now blue on the right, steel gray on the left and along the top edge. White clouds swirl across the sky behind the mill, creating a sweep of movement that adds drama to the setting. The water in the lower right is gray and blue, reflecting the color of the sky.

The land has changed as well, although the transformations have not been as dramatic as in the other areas. Instead of a large undifferentiated mass of brown in the foreground, a rich range of earth tones and blacks articulates the ground, the foliage, and the bricks that form the wall of the bulwark. The figures have emerged from the darkness, in particular a man climbing the hill on the left, who was virtually indistinguishable in the painting's former state. On the far shore are two cows and what appears to be a herd of sheep. The reflections in the distant water are soft and lucid and add to the greatly enhanced feeling of depth that the painting now has.

Finally, the appearance of the mill itself has changed: it does not appear as massive as it formerly did. It is painted in a wide range of earth tones that culminate in a soft salmon color at the ends of the sunlit sails. The mill, moreover, is clearly not situated in the foreground plane, but in the middle ground, behind the bulwark rising above the water. Just below the mill are fences that help integrate its

architectural character with the surrounding landscape.

The changes that occur after a painting has been cleaned are often dramatic. In this instance they carried even added weight. Few paintings have been revered in the way that *The Mill* has for qualities that were derived from darkened varnish. Many feared that the impact this painting created would be destroyed if the varnish were removed, that it somehow could lose its sense of mystery. Fortunately, that fear was groundless, and the painting continues to impress the viewer with the profundity of its conception. The drama is still present, only it is richer, more varied, and less somber. The appearance is now quite comparable to that found in early nineteenth-century copies and variants of *The Mill*, although it is probable that viewers then were able to see even more detail in the landscape than is presently possible.²⁵ These areas of relatively thin paint may well have darkened over time as a result of relinings that affected the color and texture of the support and ground.

While the restoration of *The Mill* has done much to correct the misinterpretations of the mood of the scene, it has not solved the controversy about the attribution. As mentioned (see note 7), neither Schwartz nor Tümpel have included the painting in their recent monographs on Rembrandt, and Josua Bruyn, in an essay for the Rembrandt Research Project, has attempted to attribute *The Mill* to Rembrandt's pupil Ferdinand Bol.²⁶ On the other hand, this author and Cynthia Schneider have firmly supported the attribution to Rembrandt.²⁷

The problem of attribution is admittedly difficult but, while I am clearly in the minority among scholars today, I feel that an attribution to Rembrandt is the correct one. *The Mill* is admittedly different from other Rembrandt landscape paintings: it focuses quite dramatically on a single motif, rather than integrating a number of smaller elements as do both his fantasy landscapes of the late 1630s and his small *Winter Landscape* of 1646 (Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, inv. no. 242). *The Mill* is also painted on canvas rather than on wood, Rembrandt's normal support for his landscapes. Nevertheless, neither of these differences is reason to exclude the landscape from Rembrandt's oeuvre, and there are many compelling reasons for including it. The difference in support is related to the painting's large size, larger than that of other Rembrandt landscapes. While the paint is applied more thickly than in Rembrandt's panel painting *Landscape with a Castle*, c. 1640–1642 (Louvre, Paris, inv. no. R.F. 1948–35), it is used in a



Fig. 3. Alfred Edward Chalon, *Study at the British Institution*, 1806, pen and ink and wash, London, British Museum

manner consistent with his paintings on canvas. Rembrandt invariably painted quite fluidly and thinly on panel, using glazes to create translucent effects. He utilized a canvas support differently, particularly by dragging a fully loaded brush across its rough surface to create variety in his textures. This technique is effectively used in *The Mill* to suggest the broken ripples circling out from the woman washing her clothes at the water's edge. Despite this fundamental difference, the techniques employed in these two paintings are not entirely different. The bulwark below the mill is defined by black strokes painted over brown earth tones in a manner comparable to Rembrandt's definition of the dark architectural forms in *Landscape with a Castle*.

While *The Mill* was consistently dated in the 1650s by earlier scholars, particularly those who wanted to associate the somber character of the image with Rembrandt's hardships during that decade, the color tonalities that emerged after the restoration are more consistent with the 1640s. Compositionally, moreover, the combination of dramatic elements (swirling clouds and silhouetted mill) with prosaic ones (figures washing clothes at the water's edge) has its closest parallel in Rembrandt's etching *The Three Trees* of 1643 (fig. 4), where a multitude of figures go about their daily lives within a landscape threatened by dramatic storm clouds. Also reminiscent of Rembrandt's work of the 1640s are the Elsheimer-like qualities of the reflections of trees and animals along the distant shore, effects that Rembrandt most explicitly developed in *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1647 (fig. 5).²⁸ Comparable as well in the two paintings are the blocky, somewhat generalized forms of



Fig. 4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Three Trees*, etching, 1643, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Gift of R. Horace Gallatin

the staffage figures. The figure types in *The Mill* are also those found in Rembrandt's drawings from the mid-1640s. The old man walking along the path is similar to his *Three Studies of an Old Man*, c. 1643–1644 (British Museum, London), while the man rowing the boat is reminiscent of *Two Men Rowing* (fig. 6).²⁹

The painting as we see it today is not how it was originally conceived. X-radiographs indicate that in an initial stage of the painting a landscape mass rose behind the mill and a stone bridge on large piers

spanned the water before the bulwark (fig. 7).³⁰ The reflection of the bridge can even be seen in the calm water below. The x-radiograph has also revealed that no thread distortions in the weave of the canvas exist along either side or the top of the painting, an indication that the support may have been trimmed in these areas (see Technical Notes). Just how much time elapsed before the changes were made cannot be said with certainty, but probably not much. The presence of wrinkled paint along the upper right edge indicates that this covering layer was applied before the underlying paint was completely dry.

The information gained from the x-radiograph provides a number of clues about the nature of this image. To begin with, the changes in composition required that the artist paint over the right part of the sky as well as the distant landscape and water above the level of the boat, reworkings that added to the dense quality of paint in these areas. More important, such major compositional changes demonstrate that Rembrandt was not attempting to paint a topographically accurate view, although he may well have been inspired by windmills situated on bulwarks on the outskirts of Amsterdam or Leiden. The shape and isolated character of the mill in this painting calls to mind the bastion "Het Blauwhoofd" on the outskirts of Amsterdam, a site he frequently drew in the 1640s and early 1650s.³¹ Far more interesting as a possible visual source is the Pelikaansbolwerk in Leiden. As is seen in a 1649 drawing by Jan de Bisschop (1640–1686) (fig. 8), a



Fig. 5. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1647, oil on panel, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland



Fig. 6. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Two Men Rowing*, c. 1645, pen and ink, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum

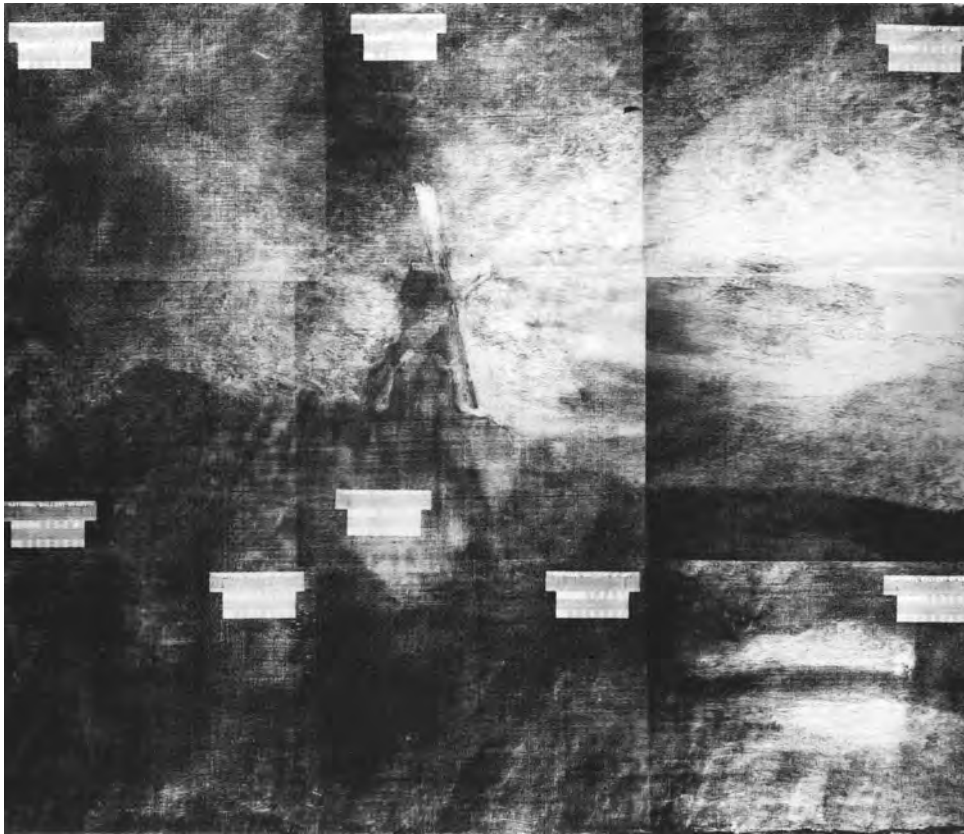


Fig. 7. X-radiograph of 1942.9.62

stone bridge supported on arched piers joined the bulwark with the tree-lined far shore, much as it appeared in the initial stage of *The Mill*. The mill on the Pelikaansbolwerk was, in fact, the mill of Rembrandt's father,³² thus Smith's romantic associations may well have more validity than one might expect.

Whether or not his father's mill was Rembrandt's source of inspiration, the compositional changes he brought about served to give the mill an imposing grandeur. As it stands by itself on a rise just beyond the walled bastion, the mill becomes an almost iconic image, imbued with symbolic significance. In this respect, as well as for the compositional reasons mentioned above, *The Mill* is comparable to the etching *The Three Trees*, which almost certainly is a symbolically conceived landscape.³³ Whereas the symbolism traditionally associated with *The Mill* has been personal to Rembrandt and seen as a reflection of the tragedies that so affected his life in the 1650s, a closer examination of the painting in its cleaned state makes it clear that the symbolism is positive

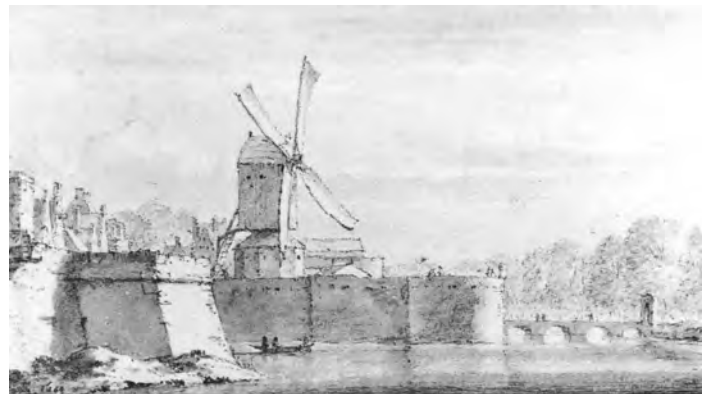


Fig. 8. Jan de Bisschop, *Pelikaansbolwerk*, pen and ink, Leiden, 1649, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



Fig. 9. Roemer Visscher, "Ut emergant," emblem from *Sinnepoppen*, Amsterdam, 1614

rather than negative.³⁴ The storm clouds have passed, and the salmon-colored sails face clear skies. Beneath the mill's reassuring presence, a male figure leans over the bastion's wall to gaze at the water and pastoral landscape beyond while others meander along the path in the foreground or go about their daily tasks on and near the water.

As Kauffmann has persuasively argued, the windmill had numerous associations in Dutch literary traditions, ranging from temperance to religious imagery. Zacharias Heyns, for example, in his emblem book of 1625, draws a parallel between the mill, which only turns when the wind blows, to man, who is dead in his heart until the spirit gives him life and makes him whole.³⁵ Another emblematic interpretation of the windmill that Kauffmann does not mention, however, may have more direct relevance to *The Mill* than a religious one. Roemer Visscher, in his extremely important emblem book *Sinnepoppen*, published in Amsterdam in 1614, gave political symbolism to the mill. His emblem "Ut emergant" (That they may rise up) depicts a mill quite similar to that in Rembrandt's painting (fig. 9). His text compares a windmill, which endures the onslaught of winds and harnesses them to remove the water from the land to make it viable for the populace, to a good prince who works tirelessly for the greater good of his people.³⁶ One cannot help but sense that Rembrandt's painting conveys something of this same sentiment. Whether or not he associated the mill with Prince Frederik Hendrik or, in a broader sense, with a strong, watchful government cannot be said, but the mill does seem symbol-

ically to act as a guardian. Silhouetted dramatically in the evening light, it faces a calm sky and still waters as storms threaten the landscape behind it. With its image comes a reassurance that peace and prosperity are at hand, and people can go about their daily lives without fear of war or uncertainty.

Political associations are often found in Rembrandt's work, most explicitly so in his allegorical painting *The Concord of the State* (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 1717), which he probably completed in the early 1640s.³⁷ While the exact meaning of that painting is not understood, the issues of unity and concord that he addressed there are related to the same underlying concerns for peace and prosperity evident in *The Mill*. These concerns were of particular interest in the 1640s as efforts were being made to finalize a treaty with Spain. Indeed, the years in and around the Treaty of Münster of 1648 saw a great number of paintings by Dutch landscape artists that seemed to celebrate their cultural and political heritage.³⁸ *The Mill*, in its imaginative re-creation of a characteristic Dutch landscape feature, is one of the most profound of all of these works.

Notes

1. Pigment analysis is available in the Scientific Research department (26 September 1978 and 9 May 1979) for paint and ground layers.

2. The National Gallery curatorial files contain seventy pages of typed excerpts from English newspapers and magazines from the period of its sale in 1911.

3. Widener 1940 as quoted by Walker 1963, 274.

4. Seidlitz 1911, 550–552.

5. Arthur J. Sulley, the dealer who bought *The Mill* for Widener, alluded to such reports in London newspapers in a letter dated 24 July 1911 (NGA archives), which he wrote to A. Hauser, the restorer who cleaned *The Mill* in 1911.

6. Waterhouse 1932, 238–239: "the sight of *The Mill* has always given me a Hercules Seghers feeling, and I think Mr. Hind seems also to have wondered."

7. Bode et al. 1912, 21–27.

8. Rosenberg 1948, 1: 978; Stechow 1966, 137.

9. Although the attribution of *The Mill* was not questioned in the 1969 exhibition of Rembrandt paintings at the National Gallery (Washington 1969, no. 6), Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, who curated that exhibition, has indicated to me (personal communication, 1993) that he did not believe in the attribution of the painting to Rembrandt at that time. He indicated to me that he did not express this opinion in the catalogue because he "was a guest of the National Gallery (Kress Professor)." He did, however, admit to a reporter from *Newsweek* (March 10, 1969, 88) that "chances are remote that 'The Mill' is a Rembrandt."

10. Prior to the restoration, I also had serious doubts about the attribution of *The Mill* to Rembrandt.

11. The controversy about the restoration of *The Mill* lasted about two years and involved a large number of museum directors, curators, and restorers. Indeed, the issues were quite complex emotionally, philosophically, and politically,

but neither the extent of the controversy nor its level of intensity would have existed had another painting been at issue. For Paul Mellon's recollections of the controversy see Mellon 1992, 311–313.

12. An article on the restoration in the *Washington Post* (16 September 1977) by Paul Richard, for example, had as a heading: "The Mystery of 'The Mill': Is It a Rembrandt? And When They Clean It, Will the Mood Go Along with the Varnish?" Walker 1984, 274, wrote a postscript on *The Mill* after the restoration. "In my opinion, it has gained in colorfulness but has lost in sublimity. The patina of time often adds to the beauty of a work of art, but how this painting looked when Rembrandt finished it we shall never know."

13. For a fuller treatment of this subject than offered in this entry see Wheelock 1977a.

14. Buchanan 1824, 1: 195, seems to have been the first to write that Rembrandt had depicted "a view of his Father's Mill on the banks of the Rhine." Smith 1829–1842, 7: 189, cat. 601, gave the painting the title *Rembrandt's Mill*. Smith (7: xiii) placed special significance on the mill in Rembrandt's training, writing: "...having acquired a knowledge of the rules of art, he retired to his father's mill, and from the somber interior of this mill, he is supposed to have first caught the hint of that powerful opposition of light and shade, which he subsequently carried to such high perfection in his works, and hence he may be said to have created a new Era of painting."

15. Taverner 1911.

16. "Huge Offer for 'The Mill'" 1911.

17. On 8 April 1911, Arthur Sulley, the dealer who had bought *The Mill* for Widener, sent a letter to Dr. Bode in Berlin to inform him that he had just sent *The Mill* by special messenger to Berlin to have the painting examined by Professor Hauser, Bode's restorer. Sulley felt that Hauser knew "more about the cleaning of Rembrandt pictures, and of Rembrandt's manner of painting, than everyone else put together." He asked Bode to consult with Hauser as to whether the picture should be cleaned. He wrote, in a manner that mirrors the concerns expressed during the conservation controversy of 1977–1979: "I have the feeling that if it is cleaned right down that the picture may lose some of the poetic charm which it has, and which is perhaps intensified by the old and discoloured varnish." Bode, however, was in Italy at the time, so the decision about the nature and extent of the cleaning was left entirely in the hands of Professor Hauser. He telegraphed Sulley on 10 April: "...it would spoil the picture to clean off all the varnish. It is enough to remove the yellow patches on the right side of the sky and water to heighten the effect." Sulley telegraphed his permission for partial cleaning that same day. (The correspondence between Arthur Sulley and Widener, Bode, and Hauser is preserved in the NGA archives.)

18. Abbé de Fontenai 1786, 1:

Ce tableau, comme tous ceux de ce Maître, est d'un effet vigoureux et piquant qui fait le principal intérêt d'un Site copié fidelement d'après Nature. Cette composition simple ne doit à Rembrandt d'autre richesse que celle de l'harmonie, et la Magie d'effet qui feconde et vivifie tout. Il possédoit à un degré éminent cette portion de génie Pittoresque, si essentielle surtout, dans le genre du Paysage où la Nature dicte elle même l'Ordonnance de la Scène, en détermine les Plans, les Masses, et pose des bornes que le feu de l'enthousiasme, ne peut franchir sans risquer de la défigurer.

19. The Duc d'Orleans sold his Dutch, Flemish, and German paintings to an English speculator, T. M. Slade, in 1792 in the midst of the French Revolution. The selling price was 350,000 francs. Slade, who secreted the paintings out of France, exhibited them for sale the following spring at the Old Academy Rooms in Pall Mall. *The Mill* was bought by Smith at this exhibition.

20. I would like to thank Ernst van de Wetering for bringing this drawing to my attention.

21. The watercolor, which measures 27.2 x 32.4 cm, is in the Boston Athenaeum. Craig, who in 1812 was appointed Water-Colour Painter to Queen Charlotte, frequently exhibited at the British Institution. This watercolor was made as part of an ambitious attempt to publish a series of books containing engraved reproductions of old master paintings then in England. Only one volume was completed (*Tresham's British Gallery of Pictures*, London, 1818), in which *The Mill* was not included. This information was kindly provided to me by Harry Katz, Art Department, Library of the Boston Athenaeum (letter, 15 July 1983, in NGA curatorial files).

22. As quoted in Gage 1969, 198–199.

23. Nieuwenhuys 1834, 12.

24. Waagen 1854–1857, 3: 158, wrote: "The contrast between the warm gleams of the setting sun, with the deep, golden, transparent tones of the foreground, the luminous evening sky, and dark rain-clouds are as finely conceived as they are splendidly executed." Walker 1984, 274, wrote: "And this melancholy sentiment, this mood of sublime sadness, which Rembrandt conveys through the stark simplicity of a windmill silhouetted in the fading light against the mist-filled sky, is indescribably moving."

25. The amount of detail described in *The Mill*, however, may also have been exaggerated as a result of the aesthetic of the picturesque that was current in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

26. Schwartz 1984; Tümpel 1986. Josua Bruyn, in *Corpus* 1982–, 3: 49, attributes *The Mill* to Bol and dates it around 1650. Bruyn's primary point of comparison, Bol's only known landscape painting, *River Landscape with Cattle* (art market, 1992), is not convincing. Albert Blankert, the author of the Bol monograph, also does not believe Bol painted *The Mill*. (He expressed this opinion at the Rembrandt Symposium in Amsterdam in 1992. Blankert, however, also doubts the Rembrandt attribution for this painting.) Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann (personal communication, 1993) is presently emphatic in his belief that *The Mill* is not by Rembrandt (see note 9).

27. Wheelock 1979; Schneider 1990, 44–46, cat. 6, 183–190. Seymour Slive (personal communication, 1993) also accepts the attribution of *The Mill* to Rembrandt.

28. The relationship of the color tonalities in these two paintings is particularly close.

29. The London drawing is illustrated in Benesch 1954–1957, 4: no. 668; Benesch 1954–1957, 2: no. 361, dates the Budapest drawing "about 1637." In my opinion, however, his date is too early. The blocky forms of the figures are more consistent with those of the early to mid-1640s (see Benesch 1954–1957, 4: no. 659).

30. An infrared photograph also reveals the shape of the hill. A cross-section taken through the sky area in front of the bulwark has shown that a layer of black once defined the shape of the bridge.

31. See Schneider 1990, 91–92, cat. 10.

32. For information on Rembrandt's family in Leiden see P. J. M. de Baar and Ingrid W. L. Moerman, "Rembrandt van

Rijn en Jan Lievens, inwoners van Leiden," in Leiden 1991, 24–38. Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann (personal communication, 1993) has brought to my attention the fact that De Bisschop's drawing "Rembrandt's Mill" was reproduced by means of an etching by Flameng (as "le vrai moulin de Rembrandt") in Blanc 1859–1861, 1: 15.

33. For a discussion of the religious symbolism of *The Three Trees*, see Schneider 1990, 240–242, cat. 75.

34. Kauffmann 1977, 382, is the only author to interpret the scene in a positive manner: "Eine Komposition, die die Mühle himmeln hebt, aufsehenerregend, als hätte der Maler Jugenderinnerungen verklären und glorifizieren wollen."

35. Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemata, Emblemes Chrestienes et Morales* (Rotterdam, 1625): "De mensch is doot in syn gemoet/ Den Geest verquict en leven doet."

36. Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen* (Amsterdam, 1614), emblem XL: "Een Prince die zijn ampt wel bedient, doet alle vlijt ende neerstigheyd dat zijn onderdanen ende burghers welvaren, ende goed neeringhe hebben: overleggende dagh en nacht in zijn herte, om alle hinder en ongheluck af te wenden, met den meesten oorboor en minste schade: ghelijck de Watermeulen lijdt den aenstoot van alle winden, om deur kracht van dien het water met zijn schepraden uyt te werpen..."

37. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 593, cat. 476, repro.

38. For a discussion of this issue see Wheelock 1989, 165–184.

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1942.9.59 (655)

Rembrandt van Rijn (and Workshop?)

The Apostle Paul

c. 1657
 Oil on canvas, 131.5 x 104.4 (51¼ x 41⅞)
 Widener Collection

Inscriptions

On desk at right: *Rembrandt f*

Technical Notes: The original support is a medium-weight, plain-weave fabric with non-original triangular fabric inserts in the lower left and lower right corners. Another diagonal insert with yet another weave pattern and ground has been added to the upper left. The support and inserts have been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. No cusping is visible, suggesting a reduction in dimensions on all sides.

A moderately thick, off-white ground was applied in a roughly oval form, with the upper right of the oval unfinished. The oval shape once extended below and substantially above the present confines of the composition (figs. 5 and 6). An oversized canvas may have been selectively primed with the intent to trim it to an oval shape and mount it on a smaller or shaped stretcher. At some point, however, this idea seems to have been abandoned and the composition was reconceived in a rectangular format. Original paint covers both primed and unprimed sections of the rectangular support.

The application pattern of the ground is visible in the x-radiograph, along with several artist's changes. Initially the apostle's elbow rested on a book lying on an inclined lectern. Minor changes are found in the proper right shoulder and adjacent to the proper left arm.

Paint was applied thinly in dark passages and thickly in light passages, with brushes and a palette knife. Flesh tones are heavily impasted and blended wet into wet. Severe abrasion in thinly painted passages has exposed the ground layer, and thicker passages are moderately abraded. Heavy retouching is found throughout, especially on the triangular corner inserts, which appear to be primarily later repaint. A thick, discolored, natural resin varnish covers the surface. No conservation work has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Johan van Schuylenburg, The Hague; (sale, The Hague, 20 September 1735, no. 31). Marquis de Livois [d. 1790], Angers; (sale, Angers, 1791, no. 65). Gamba; (sale, Paris, 17 December 1811, no. 26). Ferdinando Marescalchi, Bologna, by 1824. Sir George Hayter; (sale, Christie & Manson, London, 3 May 1845, no. 82). M. le comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier, Paris; (sale, "son hôtel," Paris, 27 March–4 April 1865, no. 182). Lord Wimborne [formerly Sir Ivor Guest, 1835–1914], Canford Manor, Dorsetshire; (Arthur J. Sulley & Co., London); Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania by 1912; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: British Institution, London, 1841, no. 71 (as *Portrait of Cornelius Pietersz Hooft*). Washington 1969, no. 17.

SITTING BEFORE A TABLE in the recesses of his prison cell, Saint Paul has brought his hand to his head as he ponders the words he is about to write in the epistle that lies before him. The weighty expression of his strong features underscores the depth of his belief and the purposefulness of his mission to spread Christianity to the heathen. The sword visible above the book is as much the "sword of the Spirit," the term he used to describe the word of God in his letter to the Ephesians, as it is the symbol of his military might before his conversion or the foreboding of his eventual martyrdom.

This large and imposing painting from the late 1650s depicts a figure that preoccupied Rembrandt throughout his life, from his 1627 *Saint Paul in Prison* (fig. 1), to his moving 1661 representation of himself in the guise of Saint Paul (fig. 2). As is evident from



Fig. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Saint Paul in Prison*, 1627, oil on panel, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie

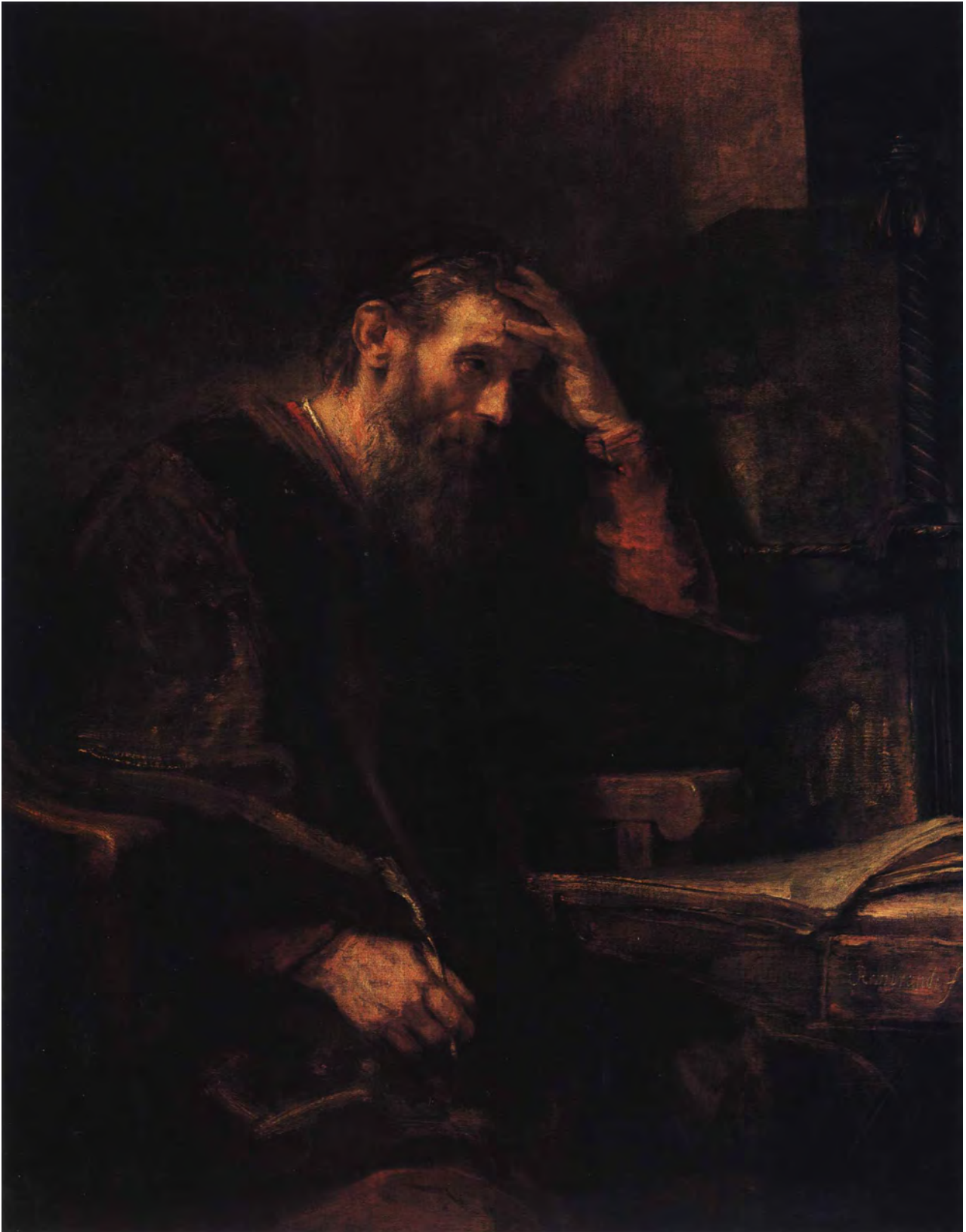


Fig. 2. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-Portrait as the Apostle Paul*, 1661, oil on canvas, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

these three paintings, Rembrandt's concern with Paul, or Saul, was not the dramatic moment in the apostle's life when he was converted to Christianity on the road to Damascus. Rembrandt apparently never depicted, as did so many before him, Saul felled from his horse by a blinding light from heaven, or the companions of Saul accompanying their leader to Damascus, where, after his sight was restored, he was baptized and had his name changed to Paul. Paul the apostle, however, fascinated Rembrandt, perhaps because his writings were the most important source for Reformation theology, or perhaps because he personified the Christian ideal of grace received independently of merit. As Rembrandt grew older and experienced the pain and shame of his unfortunate relationship with Geertje Dirckx and the financial crises of the 1650s, the latter associations must have been strongly felt. Certainly, by the mid-1650s, Rembrandt began to focus on the frailty and the strength of the man, both as Saul, in his moving depiction of *Saul and David* in the Mauritshuis, The Hague,¹ and as the apostle Paul in such paintings as this work and his portrait of *An Elderly Man as Saint Paul* of 1659 (National Gallery, London, inv. no. 243).

The 1627 representation of *Saint Paul* in Stuttgart offers a fascinating point of comparison with the Washington painting; for it demonstrates differences in attitude characteristic of Rembrandt's stylistic and iconographic evolution. Whereas the Rembrandt of 1627 placed Paul in an identifiable environment, where bricks and mortar, wood and straw have been carefully delineated, and where the light source can be specifically identified, the Rembrandt of the late 1650s suppressed such references to time and place. In his later representation he created the sense of the prison cell rather than its specific character. The gentle light that illuminates Paul's head, hand, and epistle, for example, has not passed through the arched opening behind him; indeed, it has no defined point of origin. The late Rembrandt has also brought the viewer closer to the figure of the saint. He depicted Paul at half length rather than full length to allow the viewer to experience more fully the intensity of his expression.

Paul's expression is also markedly different in the two works. Whereas in the Stuttgart painting Paul brings his hand to his mouth and stares into the distance, seemingly uncertain of the meanings of the words inscribed in the tomes surrounding him, in



Rembrandt van Rijn (and Workshop?), *The Apostle Paul*, 1942.9.59



Fig. 3. Rembrandt van Rijn, *A Bearded Man in a Cap*, oil on canvas, 165(7), 78 x 66.5 cm, National Gallery, London

the Washington painting Paul's hand has come to his forehead as though he is pondering the significance of Christ's life. As he stares toward his sword, his demeanor is pensive rather than bewildered. The differences are in part due to the broadness of Rembrandt's mature painting technique, which emphasizes the structure of form without focusing on the specifics of veins, wrinkles, and hair, and in part due to the way light strikes Paul's head, which leaves his eyes obscured in shadow.

The distinctive features of Rembrandt's late Saint Paul are those of a model that the artist occasionally depicted in the 1650s and early 1660s. While this model is most directly represented in two portrait studies, *A Bearded Man in a Cap*, 165[7] (fig. 3), and *A Bearded Man*, 1661 (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, inv. no. 751), Rembrandt also adapted his features for another contemplative, historicizing painting, *Aristotle Contemplating a Bust of Homer*, 1653 (see p. 310, fig. 1).²

The period of execution for *Saint Paul* can be established not only by comparing the sitter's physiognomy with Rembrandt's other representations of the apostle, but also through stylistic and iconographic means. While the model appears some-

what younger and less wan than he does in the 165[7] *A Bearded Man in a Cap* (fig. 3), the broad modeling in the heads of these two figures is comparable. In each instance Rembrandt has drawn his brush across the canvas with economical strokes that suggest but do not define form. The flesh tones are applied in a single layer over a warm, underlying layer. Features such as the eyes and nose are indicated with planes of color but are not accented with sharp contours. The beard and hair are suggested with long, flowing strokes, in which a few lightly colored strands stand out against the darker forms of the rest.³

Stylistically and iconographically, *Saint Paul* relates closely to a comparably large-scale depiction of *Saint Bartholomew*, which is signed and dated 1657 (fig. 4).⁴ Saint Bartholomew, who leans forward and almost aggressively stares out of the picture with an alert, inquisitive expression enlivening his rugged features, holds before him a knife signifying his martyrdom.⁵ He seems to have an active, dynamic personality in contrast to Saint Paul's more contemplative one, and it has been suggested that the

Fig. 4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Saint Bartholomew*, 1657, oil on canvas, San Diego, Timken Museum of Art, Putnam Foundation

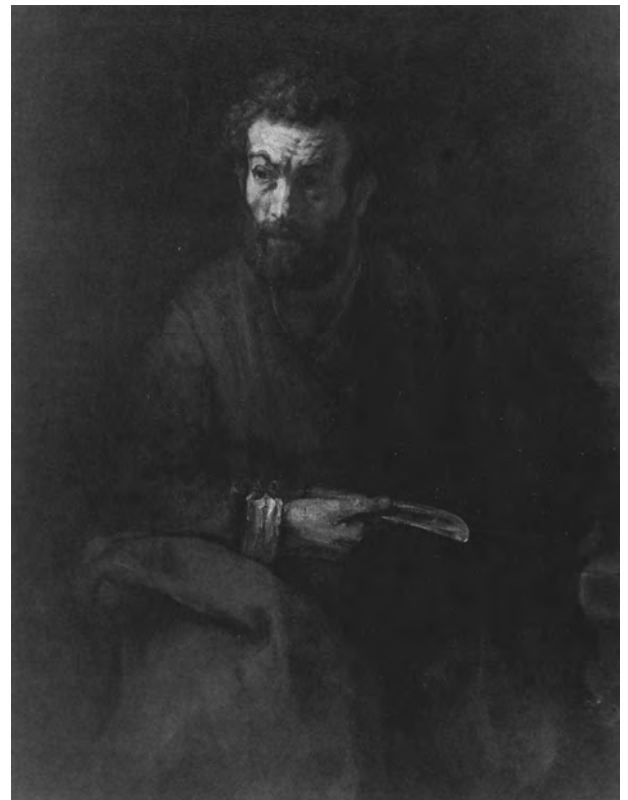


Fig. 5. X-radiograph of 1942.9.59

two works were conceived as complementary images.⁶ If they were, however, technical evidence would suggest that Rembrandt only matched them after having conceived of *Saint Paul* separately; for it was originally painted in a different format.

X-radiographs reveal that Rembrandt, quite remarkably, may have conceived of Saint Paul at the outset as an oval composition (figs. 5 and 6). Lead white from the ground layer was applied in an oval shape, which extended somewhat below and substantially above the present confines of the composition.⁷ The fact that the composition may have originally been oval raises the possibility that the painting was done for a specific commission. One can imagine, for example, that this broadly executed image could have been planned for an architectural setting, to be seen from below.⁸ Apparently a major compositional change accompanied the change in format: the epistles that lie on the desk before Saint Paul were initially propped on a slanted surface at the level of Paul's left elbow. As originally conceived, the apostle was leaning his elbow on the desk in a pose not unlike that of David in Rembrandt's pen and wash drawing *Nathan Admonishing David* of 1654–1655 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Ben. 948). By lowering the surface of the desk, Rembrandt effectively changed the meaning of the gesture of Paul's left hand. Rather than providing physical support for the apostle's head, it emphasizes the spiritual intensity of Saint Paul's thoughts as he ponders the mysteries about which he writes. The x-radiograph also gives the impression that in the original concept the apostle was staring at the epistles before him. In any event, the transformations in the composition, which emphasize the psychological over the physical, give a particularly fascinating insight into Rembrandt's creative process during this period of his career.

Until restoration of this painting, which is covered by very thick and uneven layers of discolored varnish, has been undertaken, it will remain difficult to determine very much about the appearance of the original image. One wonders, for example, whether the sword was in Rembrandt's original concept. It would have been too obscured by the raised desk and too close to the edge of the presumed oval composition to have occupied its present position. If the sword was not present, it may be that the figure was



Fig. 6. Diagram of x-radiograph of 1942.9.59



Fig. 7. Unknown follower of Rembrandt, *Man in a Military Costume*, 1650, oil on panel, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

not specifically identified as Saint Paul. He may have represented a philosopher or an Old Testament patriarch.

At this point, it is not possible to determine how the transformation from an oval to a rectangular composition occurred. The x-radiographs indicate that two triangular pieces of a different canvas, with a dense ground of lead white, were attached at the bottom left and right to fill out the rectangular shape. A triangular-shaped canvas piece of a different character and with a different ground was attached to the upper left. A slight addition also fills out the upper right corner. The only one of these additions visible in infrared examination, the lower right, absorbs light in such a way as to suggest it is a later addition, or at least that it was totally overpainted. In any event, the painting was probably in a rectangular format by the eighteenth century; for no mention of an oval- or octagonal-shaped painting occurs in the earliest reference to this work, which is the Johan van Schuylenburg sale of 20 September 1735.

While a proper assessment of the work cannot really be made because of the abrasion, overpaint, and heavy layers of discolored varnish, the paint

surface on the large central canvas appears to be continuous, an indication that the alterations in the composition were done in close sequence to the original concept. The areas where the primary alterations can be distinguished, the table, epistles, and background above them, are executed with broad, somewhat dry strokes of the brush that appear to be consistent with Rembrandt's technique. The sword, however, has a different character. Its handle is quite carefully modeled and lacks the freedom of execution evident in the rest of the painting. The sword's shape, and the relatively smooth painting technique used for it, is comparable to the sword in the painting *Man in a Military Costume* by an unknown follower of Rembrandt in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (fig. 7). It may well be that this artist was responsible for introducing Paul's attribute, either at Rembrandt's request or at a later date after the painting had left Rembrandt's workshop. Whether or not more extensive workshop participation existed on this painting cannot be determined from its present unrestored state. The signature, however, was almost certainly added later. Painted in lead white, it is unusually pronounced and sits on top of the surface. The letters are not brushed in a fluid manner. Since the signature comes just to the edge of the original canvas, its position raises the possibility that the painting's composition was altered in two stages: first from an oval to an octagonal shape before being enlarged to its present rectangular shape.

Notes

1. For the most reasoned assessment of the attribution of this painting, with which I agree, see De Vries, Toth-Ubbens, and Froentjes 1978, 148–165. The authors argue that the painting was executed at two distinct periods, about 1655 and about 1660–1665.

2. Benesch 1956, 339–340. Although Held 1969, 29, does not mention *Saint Paul* when discussing the model for Aristotle, he does associate this model with one other painting, *An Old Man Wearing a Linen Head-Band*, 1651 (Br. 263).

3. The primary difference is that the head of Saint Paul is executed in somewhat dryer, thinner paints, which may well be a function of the figure's more abstracted nature. The large scale of the Washington painting also suggests that it was designed to be seen from a distance, a factor that may also have affected Rembrandt's manner of execution.

4. Br. 613. This painting measures 126.5 x 100.5 cm.

5. One of Christ's disciples, Bartholomew, is thought to have been flayed alive and then crucified by heathens on his return home from teaching in Armenia.

6. Benesch 1956, 338, suggested that Rembrandt planned a cycle of apostles that never progressed past these two paintings. This interesting hypothesis, however, cannot be substantiated by documentary evidence. Since no iconographic tradition for juxtaposing these two apostles exists, it would seem that the two works were conceived separately.

Rembrandt based *Saint Bartholomew* on a model found in other paintings (see *A Bearded Man*, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 2060) in much the same way that he based *Saint Paul* on a model.

7. No other large-scale paintings depicting apostles or evangelists are known to have been painted in an oval format. Rembrandt's *The Risen Christ*, 1661 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. no. 6471; Br. 630), was cut into an oval form at some point in its history, but was probably conceived as a rectangular painting. The central portion of Rembrandt's *Christ* in the Hyde Collection, Glens Falls, New York (Br. 628), was also cut into an irregular oval before being reattached to the original canvas.

8. No commission for such a work is known.

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 1956 Benesch: 335–354, fig. 3 (also reprint in Benesch 1970: 190–203, fig. 158).
 1965 NGA: 110, no. 655.
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 1986 Guillaud and Guillaud: 528, no. 615, repro.

1942.9.65 (661)

Rembrandt van Rijn

Philemon and Baucis

1658

Oil on wood,¹ 54.5 x 68.5 (21½ x 27)

Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At lower left: *Rembrandt f. 1658*

Technical Notes: The painting has been transferred and is now on a cradled, horizontally grained wood panel with a layer of gauze between the panel and paint layer. The original support also appears to have been wood. No ground layer is present; it was probably removed during transfer.

The paint is applied in successive, medium-rich layers of varying thickness, with broad and free brushmarking giving way to finer strokes in the faces. X-radiographs indicate that Mercury's right arm was originally higher and extended farther from his body. The upper edge of this underlying arm is now visible on the surface as a thin, white line. The nature of this line was mistaken by a previous restorer, who used it to form the upper edge of the glass that Mercury now appears to hold. The paint has suffered severe abrasion, particularly in the darks where the gauze interleaf is visible. Extensive repainting and reinforcement is found throughout.

A discolored, aged, natural resin varnish is present. Because of the extensive losses in the painting the decision was made in 1977 not to remove the old, somewhat disfiguring overpaint and discolored varnish. Conservation was undertaken only to consolidate flaking and cupped paint.

Provenance: Captain William Baillie [1723–1792], London; (his sale, Langford & Son, London, 1–2 February 1771, no. 73). Possibly English private collection by 1772.² Major Stanton; (sale, Christie & Ansell, London, 1 February 1777, no. 75); Moris.³ (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris); Charles T. Yerkes [1839–1905], Chicago, by 1893; (sale, American Art Association, New York, 8 April 1910, no. 1160); (Scott and Fowles, New York); Otto H. Kahn [1867–1934], New York, by 1914; (Scott and Fowles, New York); Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, in 1922;⁴ inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, after purchase by funds of the Estate.

Exhibited: *Paintings by Old Masters of the Dutch, Flemish, Italian, French, and English Schools*, Charles Sedelmeyer Galleries, Paris, 1898, no. 137. *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1920, no. 9. *Rembrandt Paintings, Drawings, and Etchings*, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1922.⁵ Washington 1969, no. 18.

OVID'S *Metamorphoses* provided Dutch artists with a wide range of mythological subjects, most of which contain underlying moralizing messages on human behavior. Surprisingly, the story of the visit of Jupiter and Mercury to the aged couple Philemon and Baucis, described by Ovid in the eighth book of



Jupiter et Mercurius in domo Philemonis et Baucidis
Philemon et Baucis in domo Philemonis et Baucidis
Philemon et Baucis in domo Philemonis et Baucidis
Philemon et Baucis in domo Philemonis et Baucidis

Fig. 1. Hendrick Goudt, after Adam Elsheimer, *Jupiter and Mercury in the House of Philemon and Baucis*, 1612, engraving, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Gift of W. G. Russell Allen



Fig. 2. Rembrandt van Rijn, after Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper*, c. 1635, red chalk, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975

his commentaries, was only rarely depicted.⁶ For those who found in Ovid subjects that allowed them to represent sensual scenes of love, betrayal, or deceit, the story had no appeal. For Rembrandt, however, the story of deities quietly revealing themselves to humble and devoted individuals struck a responsive chord that allowed him to penetrate the essence of the myth as no artist ever had.

The moral of the story, as interpreted by Karel van Mander at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is that hospitality and openness to strangers are virtues that are always rewarded.⁷ While Rembrandt evoked the warmth of the old couple's personality and suggested much of Ovid's vivid description of their humble abode, including the fire where Baucis had cooked the cabbage and bacon for their meal, his interest was not in the eventual rewards of their generosity but in the moment of revelation. Ovid writes that Philemon and Baucis recognized that they were in the presence of gods when their bowls of food and wine kept replenishing themselves. In fear, they raised their hands in prayer. Then, in an effort to offer better fare, they tried to catch their only goose, who escaped their grasp and fled to the strangers for refuge. The moment Rembrandt has depicted is that in which Jupiter both commands them not to kill the goose and blesses their offering with a firm yet comforting gesture.

Early in his career, Rembrandt had painted a number of episodes from Ovid, including the *Abduction of Proserpina*, now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin,⁸ but the dramatic characterization of their narratives are totally different in kind from this quiet, reverent scene. The differences in subject matter and presentation, between the dynamic theatricality of one and the subdued, evocative nature of the other, are characteristic of Rembrandt's artistic evolution. Throughout his life, he carefully considered textual sources, whether they were biblical or mythological, but he also drew on others' interpretations of comparable scenes for his inspiration.⁹ When he first turned to Ovid around 1630, he did so under the influence of Rubens and, for example, clearly derived his inspiration for the *Abduction of Proserpina* from a print by Pieter Soutman¹⁰ after a Rubens composition. For *Philemon and Baucis*, painted in 1658, the visual sources are entirely different. They reflect a fusion of mythological and biblical images that helps account for the intense spirituality of the scene.

Adam Elsheimer's painting *Philemon and Baucis*, 1608 (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, inv. no. 1977), known to Rembrandt through Hendrick Goudt's engraving of 1612 (fig. 1),



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Philemon and Baucis*, 1642.9.65



Fig. 3. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Christ at Emmaus*, 1628, oil on panel, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André

was a primary source of inspiration.¹¹ One sees here the gods lounging in the corner of the dimly lit, humble home of the old couple who are busy preparing the meal. Elsheimer, however, depicted an earlier moment of the episode than did Rembrandt, before Philemon and Baucis had become aware of the divinities' identities. Rembrandt switched the relative positions of Jupiter and Mercury so that Jupiter, the primary deity, faces the viewer frontally. Dressed in exotic and loosely draped robes, he dominates the scene, and takes on a Christ-like appearance that strongly echoes that from Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*. Rembrandt knew of this composition from a number of sources and made at least three drawings after it, the most extensive of which he executed around 1635 (fig. 2). Leonardo's composition had a profound impact on Rembrandt's art for the rest of his life, and he adopted it for a number of different subjects in prints, drawings, and paintings.¹² In his 1654 etching of *Christ at Emmaus*, for example, he depicted Christ in a pose comparable to that seen in the *Last Supper*.¹³ As Stechow and others have emphasized, Jupiter in *Philemon and Baucis* partakes of much the same spirit.¹⁴

Rembrandt's appreciation of the thematic connections between Ovid's story and *Christ at Emmaus*, however, did not just develop at the end of his life.¹⁵ His earliest depiction of the biblical story, in 1628 (fig. 3), used as its compositional basis Goudt's same print of *Philemon and Baucis* (fig. 1).¹⁶ Here, however, Rembrandt transformed the light of the oil lamp into

a mystical aureole of light behind Christ that frightens and astonishes the apostles. Rembrandt remembered this dramatic effect when he painted a comparable glow of light behind Mercury. Although the light here is more subdued, it serves to give a mysterious radiance to the darkness and illuminate the golden raiments of Jupiter.

As in Rembrandt's depictions of *Christ at Emmaus* (fig. 3), light, rather than symbolic attributes, signifies the revelation of divinity. Rembrandt also uses light to help accent important compositional elements. He reinforces the significance of Jupiter's gesture, for example, by placing it on axis with a vertical board on the rear wall that is illuminated by Mercury's aureole of light. He uses other elements of the dwelling to reinforce his figural composition: the diagonal beams and rope draped over the table both draw the group together and suggest the subdivision within it.

This work is the only extant painting of *Philemon and Baucis* in Rembrandt's oeuvre. Quite possibly, however, he included this subject within the series of scenes from Ovid that Baldinucci reports he painted for a Dutch merchant/magistrate.¹⁷ Baldinucci probably learned of this series from Bernhardt Keil (1624–1687), a Danish artist and Rembrandt pupil who traveled to Italy after being in Amsterdam from about 1642 to 1651. Although no dates for this series of paintings are known, it may belong to the period of Keil's residence in Amsterdam. Two drawings in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin¹⁸ have frequently been considered preliminary drawings for the Wash-

Fig. 4. Thomas Watson, mezzotint after *Philemon and Baucis*, 1772, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



ington painting. The episodes from the story of Philemon and Baucis depicted in the drawings, however, are so different that they have to be understood as independent creations. Closer in concept is Rembrandt's sympathetic drawing of *St. Peter's Prayer before the Raising of Tabitha*, c. 1654/1655 (Musée Bonnat, Bayonne),¹⁹ in which Saint Peter's pose resembles, in reverse, that of Philemon.

The painting is in poor condition. Perhaps as a result of the transfer process, which was probably undertaken in the nineteenth century, there are losses in many of the thinly painted areas of the painting. A good deal of old overpaint exists on the surface. The awkward lower portions of Mercury's torso almost certainly result from such reconstructive work.²⁰ A mezzotint by Thomas Watson of 1772 (fig. 4) demonstrates that the head of Jupiter has also suffered. The overpaint has flattened Jupiter's nose into a flat triangular shape, whereas the mezzotint suggests that his nose was originally accented along its ridge.

Notes

1. The painting has been transferred from one wood panel to another. See Technical Notes.
2. A mezzotint of the composition was executed in 1772 by Thomas Watson (see fig. 4; Charrington 1923, 151, no. 182).
3. In a copy of the Earl of Essex sale catalogue at Christie's, London, the consignor's name is written in the margin as "Maj. Stanton." A handwritten results sheet bound into the same volume gives the following result: "75. 32/11/-Moris." The Getty Provenance Index has confirmed that it was Stanton who offered the picture for sale and Moris who purchased it.
4. *American Art News* (9 December 1922) reported that the seller of the picture was Scott and Fowles. Scott and Fowles, however, had not owned the painting since 1910, as the journal also reported. Various other sources, including HdG 1907-1927, 6: 141, indicate that the owner during the mid-1910s was Otto H. Kahn.
5. No checklist or catalogue exists for this exhibition, but Fogg Art Museum records show that the picture, which was then owned by Otto Kahn, entered the museum on 26 March and left on 13 April.
6. See Sluijter 1986, 100. Schwartz 1984/1985, 323, notes that Jan Vos mentions a painting of Philemon and Baucis by "Van Zorg" in a poem published in 1662. He interprets this reference to mean Hendrick Martensz. Sorgh (1611-1670).
7. Karel van Mander, *Wtleggingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidii Nasonis*, Van Mander 1604. For an English translation of the story of Philemon and Baucis see Ovid *Metamorphoses*, 200-204.
8. For an illustration, see Gerson/Bredius 1969, cat. 463.
9. Tümpel 1969, 107-108.
10. See Clark 1966, 6, 8.
11. Andrews 1977, 153-154, cat. 24. The painting may also have been known to Rembrandt if, as seems possible, it was in the collection of Jan van de Cappelle (1626-1679).
12. This phenomenon has been extensively discussed in

the literature. See in particular Gantner 1964; Clark 1966; Washington 1983, under nos. 15-20.

13. Münz 1952, 1: 265, repro.
14. Stechow 1941a, 103-113. Stechow also stresses a connection between Rembrandt's concept and Rubens' composition of this scene (probably known to Rembrandt through a print by Meyskens). The relationship, however, is very tenuous. See also Rosenberg 1948, 1: 185 (also 1964 ed., 300).
15. Stechow 1941a, 103, emphasizes that the story of Philemon and Baucis was easily given a Christian interpretation. The old couple epitomized Christian virtues through their gentleness and willing sacrifice of worldly possessions. The story has Eucharistic connotations because of the importance of wine in it. Finally, the story parallels a number of biblical stories in which gods reveal themselves to mortals, among them Abraham entertaining the angels, a subject depicted by Rembrandt in his memorable etching of 1656 (B. 29).
16. Stechow 1941a, 111.
17. Slive 1953: 109. Filippo Baldinucci's comments appeared in his treatise *Cominciamento, e progresso dell'arte dell'intagliare in rame, colle vite di molti de' più eccellenti Maestri della stessa Professione* (Florence, 1686), 78.
18. Illustrated in Benesch 1954-1957, 5: no. 958, figs. 1170-1171; and 6: no. A76, fig. 1668.
19. Benesch 1954-1957, 5: 263, no. 949, fig. 1226. I owe this observation to Christine Boeckl.
20. So many losses exist in the painting that the decision was made in 1977 that it would not be advisable to undertake restoration of the painting, despite the presence of extensive overpaint and severely discolored varnish. See Technical Notes for a discussion of the glass apparently held by Mercury.

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1942.9.67 (663)

Rembrandt van Rijn

*Portrait of a Gentleman
with a Tall Hat and Gloves*

c. 1658/1660
 Oil on canvas,¹ 99.5 x 82.5 (39³/₈ x 32¹/₂)
 Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The original fabric support was removed when the painting was transferred to a fine, plain-weave fabric with a gauze-like fabric interleaf. The x-radiograph shows a herringbone pattern that probably indicates the original canvas weave. An original, smooth, gray brown ground layer was retained at the time of transfer and reinforced with an additional, thick white layer that contains zinc white, a pigment available only after 1840. A double ground may have been applied originally, and the lower layer removed in the transfer; only a single original layer is visually evident.

The paint is applied thinly in the dark background and

costume, with glazed shadows and blended contours. Lighter areas are painted more thickly with pronounced brushmarking and low impasto in the face and collar. The x-radiograph (fig. 1) reveals changes in the white collar during painting; it was enlarged slightly and the lace border was added. The x-radiograph also reveals vigorously painted hands and cuffs that differ slightly from those presently visible. The transfer procedure has flattened the impasto and brushwork.

The paint layer is in poor condition and has been significantly overpainted on at least two separate occasions, once probably in the nineteenth century and again about 1922 (see below). The face is largely free of overpaint, as are the lighter hair, white collar, and right background. In the first restoration, the hands and white cuffs were overpainted, along with the mid-gray tones of the proper right arm and chest. The second restoration, in response to significant abrasion in the darker areas, was more extensive. Much of the hat, cloak, right sleeve, the clothing between the hands, and wide bands along the top and left edges were retouched, and the hands and cuffs were repainted a second time. In 1993 an attempt was made to remove the old inpainting in the sitter's left hand, but it was determined that the old restorations could not be removed without danger to the original paint layer.

1942.9.68 (664)

*Portrait of a Lady
with an Ostrich-Feather Fan*

c. 1658/1660
 Oil on canvas,² 99.5 x 83 (39³/₈ x 32³/₈)
 Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The original fabric support was removed when the painting was transferred to a fine, plain-weave fabric with a gauze-like fabric interleaf. A herringbone pattern in the background paint probably indicates the original canvas weave. An original ground, a smooth, gray brown layer, was retained at the time of transfer and reinforced with an additional, thick white layer which contains zinc white, a pigment available only after 1840. A double ground may have been applied originally, and the lower layer removed in the transfer; only a single original layer is visually evident.

The paint handling varies from thin glazes to rich, blended strokes with stiff paste accents in a broad range of brushwork and layering. The transfer procedure has flattened the impasto and brushwork, and a discolored varnish covers the surface. The paint layer is in poor condition and has been significantly retouched, though not as extensively as the companion portrait. Dark passages have been extensively abraded, exposing a broad and thinly executed underpainting.

The x-radiograph reveals a succession of losses along the left edge that have been covered with a band of overpaint extending in to the sitter's elbow and up to her shoulder. The infrared photograph suggests an equally large area of repaint along the top of the painting above the sitter's head. The hands and bracelets have suffered small losses, but the face, white costume, and fan are largely intact.

The transfer and overpainting date prior to Mr. Widener's

purchase of the painting in 1921, and no major conservation treatment has been undertaken since it was acquired by the National Gallery.

Provenance: Possibly Gerard Hoet, Jr. [d. 1760], The Hague; (sale, The Hague, 25 August 1760, nos. 49 and 50).³ Possibly Prince Nicolas [Nicolay Borissovitch] Youssouppoff [1751–1831], Saint Petersburg;⁴ by inheritance to Princess Zenaïda Youssouppoff [1861–1939];⁵ sold 1921 by her son Prince Felix Felixsovitch Youssouppoff [1887–1967], Saint Petersburg and London; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, after purchase by funds of the Estate.

Exhibited: *Rembrandt: Schilderijen Bijgebracht ter Geleghenheid van de Inbuddiging van Hare Majesteit Koningin Wilhelmina*, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1898, nos. 110–111. *Les anciennes Ecoles de Peinture dans les Palais et Collections privées Russes*, Saint Petersburg, 1909, nos. 282, 291. Washington 1969, nos. 14–15.

THE EARLY HISTORY of these paintings is shrouded in mystery, although it seems likely that they were in the Gerard Hoet sale in the Hague in 1760. They may have entered the Youssouppoff Collection in the beginning of the nineteenth century, since the core of that collection was acquired in Paris by Prince Nicolas Borissovitch Youssouppoff (1751–1831). The first published descriptions of the paintings, however, did not occur until 1864 when the director of the Berlin Museum, Gustav Waagen, discussed the Youssouppoff Collection, so it is also possible that they were acquired by the prince's grandson. Waagen's comment that they were "Von ausserordentlicher Energie" was the first of many subsequent positive responses to these works.⁶

The paintings remained secluded and unavailable to most Americans and Europeans until they were shown at the great Rembrandt exhibition in Amsterdam in 1898. There they made a tremendous impact.⁷ By 1911, when Roger Fry reviewed a publication describing an exhibition of old master paintings from Russian private collections held in Saint Petersburg in 1909, he singled out these portraits as follows: "There are, it is true, many interesting and curious works, but very few masterpieces—none indeed of the first rank, if we except the already well-known Rembrandt portraits of the Youssouppoff collection. These, indeed, are of unsurpassed beauty; the woman especially must count, I think, among the greatest of all Rembrandt creations."⁸

For those who had not had the opportunity to view the paintings in Amsterdam in 1898, engravings of the works in the commemorative volume of that exhibition or in Dr. Wilhelm von Bode's monumental catalogue of Rembrandt's paintings, pub-

lished in 1902, provided excellent visual images.⁹ Perhaps it was through Bode's publication that the paintings became known to Peter A. B. Widener who, according to his grandson, made a special effort to visit Saint Petersburg to see these two works. Widener apparently managed to see the paintings, even though Prince Youssouppoff was reluctant to show them to visitors. "The minute he saw them, he wanted them. He made an offer, but it was promptly rejected. . . . He was very much disappointed."¹⁰

Widener had not as yet developed into the remarkable collector of Rembrandt paintings he was to become, but it was clear that these works made a lasting impression on him. After having been rebuffed by Youssouppoff, Widener turned to his London dealer, Arthur J. Sulley, to ask him to find a way to convince the prince to part with his treasures. On 7 April 1911, Sulley wrote to Peter A. B. Widener saying that he would try to approach Youssouppoff in the same way that he had approached the Marquis of Lansdowne concerning Rembrandt's *The Mill*. "That is to say that my friend is getting an introduction to the owner from one of his personal friends, and is trying to get him to name a price. If the owner will not name any price, I propose (if you agree) to offer him one million rubles, which is about £100,000."¹¹ Apparently, though, negotiations proved to be more difficult than Sulley had expected; for in a subsequent letter of 12 May 1911, he wrote to Joseph Widener that "as far as it is possible to understand anything if anyone gets the Russians we will but as I wrote you last week it is very difficult. I do not think Agnew or anyone else is working at that business now. It has been tried so often without success that people are discouraged. If I do not succeed it will not be because I have left any stone unturned."¹²

While the allure of Widener's money did not in and of itself convince Youssouppoff to sell his paintings, these offers clearly pointed out to him the immense value collectors placed upon his two Rembrandt portraits. Thus, when the Russian Revolution persuaded his son, Prince Felix Felixsovitch Youssouppoff, that he should leave Russia, he took with him, among other personal possessions and family jewels, the two Rembrandt paintings.¹³ When Youssouppoff, notorious as the assassin of Rasputin, arrived in London in April 1919, stories of his dramatic escape quickly spread, enhancing the appeal of the Rembrandt paintings.¹⁴ Youssouppoff sought to exploit his circumstances by offering the paintings for sale at extraordinary prices. Newspapers report £500,000.

In the fall of 1920, Joseph E. Widener received a



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Tall Hat and Gloves*, 1642.9.67



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of a Lady with an Ostrich-Feather Fan*, 1942.9.68

letter from a Mr. Harold Hartley offering him Youssouppoff's paintings for £210,000. He indicated that the prince preferred to sell to an "approved buyer" rather than to a dealer. He also mentioned that the "Prince considers both paintings far superior to 'The Mill' and of greater value."¹⁵ Apparently Widener did not agree to the price; for on 26 July 1921 he received a letter from Mr. Francis Tarbox offering him the paintings. "These are being offered for sale at a very low cash price and I am in a position to negotiate same at much lower figure that they can ever again be obtained."¹⁶

Joseph Widener arrived in London during the summer and examined the paintings in a bank vault where they had been kept as collateral for a loan to the prince. Perhaps totally in good faith, or perhaps as a way to purchase the paintings for a lower price, Widener offered to pay the prince £100,000 with the stipulation that Youssouppoff could repurchase them within three years at eight percent interest should his financial situation improve to the point where he could once again "keep and personally enjoy these wonderful works of art."¹⁷ After a series of negotiations, including transatlantic cables, Youssouppoff agreed, and the paintings were shipped to Lynne-wood Hall with much public acclaim. The £100,000 was paid to the prince by Widener's London agent Arthur J. Sulley, some ten years after he had begun negotiations to acquire them for Widener's father.

The story of Widener's acquisition of these extraordinary paintings does not, however, end with the events of 1921. Shortly after Widener acquired them, the collector Calouste Gulbenkian was told by the dealer Joseph Duveen that he had "just lost the two best Rembrandts in the world to Widener. He bought them both for a hundred thousand pounds, and each of them is worth that."¹⁸ Gulbenkian, knowing of Widener's arrangement with Youssouppoff, then offered to lend the prince £200,000 to allow him to reestablish his financial position, an offer Youssouppoff found hard to resist. He thus tried to force Widener to return the paintings. Widener refused, and from this ensued a notorious lawsuit in 1925 over the nature of the arrangement between Widener and Youssouppoff. Eventually, the case was decided in Widener's favor, and the paintings remained, along with *The Mill*, at the core of his collection of Rembrandts at Lynne-wood Hall.¹⁹

Neither painting appears to be signed or dated, although Valentiner in his 1931 catalogue of the Widener Collection noted that the woman was signed, "*Rembrandt f. 1667* (the last figure illegible)."²⁰ Dates given to the paintings have all been in the

1660s. When the portraits were exhibited in Amsterdam in 1898, they were dated c. 1660. Bode placed them c. 1662 in his catalogue of 1902. Valentiner redated the paintings in 1921 to c. 1668, probably because he tried to identify the figures as Rembrandt's son Titus and Magdalena van Loo who were married in that year.²¹ While Valentiner's identification found little approval, a date of c. 1667 was retained for the paintings in the catalogue of the Widener Collection of 1923. Valentiner revised his dating to the first half of the 1660s in his 1931 publication.²² Bredius, however, returned to the c. 1667 dating in his 1935 edition of Rembrandt's paintings,²³ a dating that was followed by Bauch and Gerson.²⁴

One exception to the consistently late dates given the paintings since the 1930s occurred in the catalogue of the Rembrandt exhibition at the National Gallery in 1969. Here it is noted that neither the costumes nor the painting techniques indicate such a late date for the works.²⁵ Although these observations are not elaborated upon, the suggestion for an earlier dating than traditionally suggested is a valid one. The woman's hairstyle, costume, and use of ornate jewelry are all datable to the 1650s rather than the late 1660s. The translucent lace collar that covers her shoulders and whose elaborate lower edge continues horizontally across her body is seen in a number of portraits from this period: Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613–1670) in his portrait of *Abraham Delcourt and His Wife Maria de Keerssegieter*, 1654 (see p. 51, fig. 1); and Isaak Luttichuys' *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1656 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. C1477). Finally, the plain white cuffs edged with lace are similar to those in *A Woman Holding a Pink* of 1656 (1937.1.75). Also similar in these examples is the manner in which the collar is fastened by an ornate bow and decorated with a circular pin or pendant.

The hairstyle and costume of the man are more difficult to date than those of the woman, partly because virtually all of his costume was repainted in the nineteenth and again in the twentieth century (see Technical Notes).²⁶ To judge from x-radiography (fig. 1), the simple rectangular shape of the collar the man originally wore, however, was also comparable to styles in the mid-1650s. After the early 1660s, the mode changed, and men began to wear collars that extended farther down their chest (see, for example, *Portrait of a Man in a Tall Hat*, c. 1663, 1942.9.69). Just when the more decorative lace collar was added is not known, but its style is most unusual for either the 1650s or 1660s. The billowing cuffs are more elaborate than the normal flat cuffs,

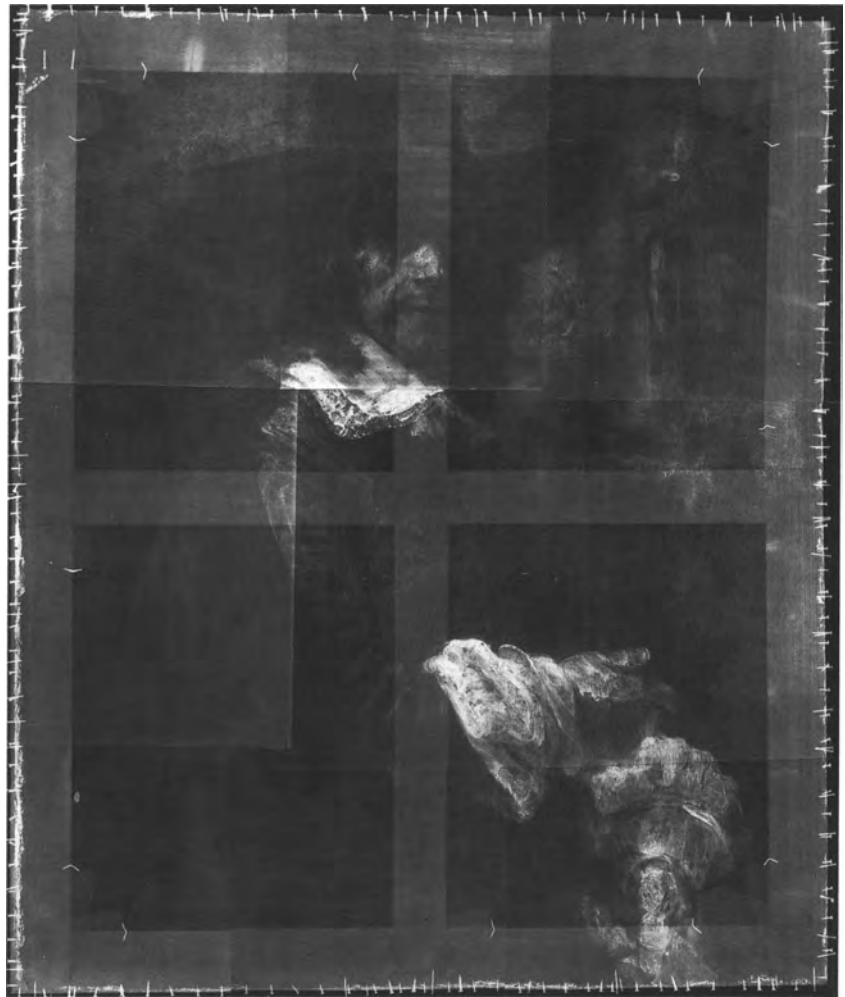


Fig. 1. X-radiograph of 1942.9.67

but they do resemble those seen in Bartholomeus van der Helst's *Portrait of a Young Man*, 1655 (Toledo Museum of Art, inv. no. 76.12).²⁷

Costume styles are usually only a rough measurement of date because old styles were frequently worn after new ones were introduced, particularly by older and more conservative people. These sitters, however, appear to be in their late thirties or early forties, and, judging from the woman's jewelry, wealthy. It seems unlikely that they would have had themselves portrayed in outmoded fashions, which would suggest a date for these portraits in the late 1650s.

Stylistically, such a date for these paintings is also compatible with Rembrandt's other works. In no painting from the mid-1660s does one find the careful modeling of the woman's hands and face, the suggestions of texture as seen in her features,

jewelry, and lace, or the broad planar way in which forms are illuminated by the light. No hint of the palette knife is to be found in either work. Similarities of style and technique, however, do exist in paintings from the late 1650s, in particular between the woman and Rembrandt's portrait of *Catherine Hooghsaet*, signed and dated 1657 (Penrhyn Castle, Wales).²⁸ The left hand of each sitter, for example, is depicted in a similar manner.

The portrait of the man is more boldly executed than that of the woman in that the modeling does not have the same restrained, planar quality. Brushstrokes on the face are broken and roughly juxtaposed as Rembrandt modeled his sharply illuminated features with sure strokes of varying tones of pinks and ochers. The boldness of Rembrandt's touch originally must have been even more pronounced; for x-radiographs demonstrate that both of

the man's cuffs and hands were more abstractly rendered than they now appear. Their present appearance only superficially resembles Rembrandt's intent. One wonders if the sitters, or some later owners, felt that the hands were too broadly executed and had them repainted.

The bold manner with which *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Tall Hat and Gloves* is executed is related to Rembrandt's painting technique in male portraits of the late 1650s and early 1660s. In earlier portraits, such as *Jan Six*, 1654 (fig. 2; Br. 276), Rembrandt firmly modeled the face with similar short, bold strokes, but his approach in these two instances is slightly different. Whereas the short strokes in the face of the Six portrait join to form distinct planes of light and color, those in the Washington portrait are more roughly executed and loosely blended. In this respect they approach the technique he used in his *A Young Man Seated at a Table* (1937.1.77), which dates c. 1660. Particularly close in these two portraits are the techniques used to model the nose, where strokes from the flesh tones are drawn over a darker color that defines the shadowed edge of the nostril. Similar techniques occur in the shadowed areas around the eyes (figs. 3 and 4).

An unusual technical feature reinforces the probability that Rembrandt executed these works c. 1658:

Fig. 2. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jan Six*, 1654, oil on canvas, Amsterdam, Six Collection



they were both originally painted on a herringbone-weave canvas, a support Rembrandt is not known to have used earlier in his career. The paintings were removed from these supports and transferred onto finely woven canvases in Russia in the nineteenth century.²⁹

There seems little question that these works were conceived as companion portraits. Not only were they together in the Youssouppoff Collection by the mid-nineteenth century, but the poses assumed by the figures are comparable to those in paintings by other masters that were designed to go together. Van Dyck, for example, painted pendant portraits of *Pee-ter Stevens* and *Anna Wake* in 1627 and 1628 (Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. nos. 239, 240), in which Stevens gestures to his bride, who holds an ostrich-feather fan in her hand.³⁰ In 1641, Johannes Verspronck painted a standing couple in much the same way: he holding his gloves (Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede, inv. no. 515), she an ostrich-feather fan (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A3064).³¹ In Rembrandt's portraits the subtle interaction of the two, he gesturing toward her while looking at the viewer and she glancing in his direction and holding the fan so that it inclines toward him, are restrained yet poignant. Their expressions have qualities of warmth and trust that convey much about the nature of human relationships.

The question that remains unanswered is the identity of the sitters. The circle of rich friends and acquaintances at that period of Rembrandt's life who might have ordered portraits was rather small. Valentin's hypothesis that they represented Rembrandt's son Titus and his wife Magdalena van Loo has long since been rejected. A more recent suggestion by Dr. I. H. van Eeghen that they represent Jacob Louysz. Trip (1636–1664) and his wife Margarita Hendricksdr. Trip (1637–1711) is intriguing.³² Van Eeghen's premise was primarily that the Trip family was one of the few rich families in Amsterdam who continued to give portrait commissions to Rembrandt during his later years. Nevertheless, these sitters appear to be in their late thirties or early forties and not in their mid-twenties, as Jacob and Margarita would have been around 1660. Thus, it seems that their identities still cannot be determined, which is particularly unfortunate since so little is known about Rembrandt's patrons at the end of his life.

Notes

1. The painting has been transferred from one canvas support to another. See Technical Notes.



Fig. 3. Detail of eyes in 1942.9.67



Fig. 4. Detail of eyes in Rembrandt van Rijn, *A Young Man Seated at a Table*, 1937.1.77

2. The painting has been transferred from one canvas support to another. See Technical Notes.

3. Hoet 1752/1770, 3: 225, nos. 49, 50. The two paintings are listed as: "Een Mans-Pourtrait, met twee Handen, door *denzelven*; hoog 39, breed 30½ diemen. Een dito Vrouws-Pourtrait: de weergaa, door *denzelven*; van de eige groote."

4. Weiner et al. 1910, 8. Credit for the formation of the collection was given to Nicolas Youssouppoff in the introduction of this catalogue of an exhibition of old master paintings from private Russian collections held in Saint Petersburg in 1909. The two Rembrandt portraits were among the seventeen paintings from the collection included in the exhibition. Youssouppoff reports that Prince Nicolas "had one of the largest collections of pictures in Russia," and that he acquired works not only for himself but also for the Imperial Museum of the Hermitage. (Youssouppoff 1952/1953, 18.) Both Dr. Idris Traylor and Dr. Ronald Moe, who are jointly writing a book on the Youssouppoff family, however, believe that the paintings may have been acquired by Nicolas Borissovitch's grandson, Nicolas Borissovitch (1827–1891) who added a number of paintings to the collection. Waagen 1864, 413, writes that the second Nicolas Borissovitch did add paintings to the collection. I would like to thank both Dr. Traylor and Dr. Moe for their help in clarifying for me the complex and fascinating history of the Youssouppoff family.

5. Should the Nicolas listed here in the provenance have acquired the works they would have passed through three generations of Youssouppoffs before being inherited by Princess Zenaida Youssouppoff (1861–1939): Boris Nicolaiovitch (1794–1849); Nicolas Borissovitch (1827–1891). See also, however, note 4.

6. Waagen 1864, 414: "Ein männliches und ein weibliches Bildniss, fast Kniestücke. Pendants. Von ausserordentlicher Energie. Der kühle Ton der Lichter, wie der Schatten. die sehr breite Behandlung, beweisen, dass diese Bilder der späteren Zeit angehören." The Rembrandt paintings were not mentioned in Viardot 1844, which may be an indication that

they were not yet in the collection. Nevertheless, as Viardot only listed a few works, many of which were the same as those discussed by Waagen some twenty years later (see Waagen 1864), one wonders if he had access to the total collection. According to later reports, the family had always been quite reluctant to show off their treasures, so it is possible that Viardot was not given access to them. An article on Widener's acquisition of the paintings (*American Art News* 20 [10 December 1921], 4) quoted a *London Times* article in which it was written that: "The grandfather of the present Prince was a man of parsimonious disposition who guarded his picture gallery from all ordinary mortals and sightseers. At a ball given in the palace to the Imperial Court, Czar Alexander III wished to see the Rembrandts. Prince Youssouppoff personally conducted the czar and two Grand Dukes to see his gallery but kept out all other guests." Widener 1940, 61, writes that the czar was allowed to see the collection only after he ordered Youssouppoff to unlock his picture gallery. Another possibility is that Viardot may not have seen the Rembrandts because they were not in the Youssouppoff residence in Saint Petersburg but the one in Moscow.

7. The *London Times* (15 September 1898), for example, described "the immortal, unchanging interest" of these two portraits.

8. Fry 1911b, 353.

9. Hofstede de Groot 1899b, nos. 34–35. Bode 1897–1906, 7: nos. 489–490. The high quality of the reproductions in Bode's publication was remarked upon by Roger Fry in 1921 when he had the occasion to publish photographs of the paintings in the *Burlington Magazine* (Fry 1921, 210).

10. Widener 1940, 60–64. The date of Widener's purported trip is not known. His grandson writes that he went to Russia "around the turn of the century." According to Dr. Ronald Moe, a more probable date is 1909, since that year the Kiel canal opened, which would have provided access to Saint Petersburg for Widener's yacht *Josephine*. The "Prince Youssouppoff" with whom the negotiations were carried out

during those years was Prince Felix Youssouppoff, Count Soumarokoff Elston (d. 1928), husband of Princess Zenaide Youssouppoff.

11. Letter in NGA curatorial files.

12. Letter in NGA curatorial files. Sulley may indeed have traveled to Saint Petersburg to try to arrange for the purchase. An article in the *American Art News* (20 [17 December 1921], 4) says that "the late P.A.B. Widener before the war sent an emissary to Russia and arranged for their purchase, the price being \$500,000. Prince Youssouppoff backed out of the deal by cable, after the emissary had returned to England."

13. See note 9. Felix Felixsovitch, according to Dr. Moe, was a student at Oxford from 1909 to 1912. He was not given the title Prince Youssouppoff until 1914.

14. According to Dr. Moe and Dr. Traylor, Youssouppoff actually sailed from the Crimea on the British warship *Marlborough*, which had been sent by King George V to take his aunt, the Dowager Empress Maria Federovna, to London in April 1919. Youssouppoff and his wife disembarked in Malta and traveled via Brindisi and Paris to London. Contemporary reports about Youssouppoff's "escape" from Russia, however, raise the possibility that he may have dramatized his circumstances. Holmes 1936, 376, writes, for example: "In 1919 Prince Youssouppoff suddenly appeared with his two famous Rembrandt portraits, still concealed by the "Modernist" canvases under which he had contrived to bring them out of Russia. Thrilling as was his account of the death of Rasputin, the story of his own escape, in the disguise of an art student, with the family jewels swathed around his body in long, painful chains, was no less vivid. Trying indeed must the moment have been when a *kommisar*, much interested in the arts, took a fancy to one of the Prince's first experiments in painting, and wanted to buy it, in ignorance of the fact that it covered a Rembrandt masterpiece." Variants of this story appeared in news reports in 1921 (see NGA curatorial files). It seems improbable that the Rembrandt portraits were over-painted, and more likely that they were "sandwiched" between canvases painted in a modernist style.

15. Letter, 20 October 1920, in NGA curatorial files.

16. Letter in NGA curatorial files.

17. Behrman 1952, 18 (1972, 16). According to Dr. Moe, Behrman's implication that Youssouppoff's reacquisition of the paintings was contingent upon a restoration of the old regime in Russia is inaccurate.

18. Behrman 1952, 18 (1972, 16).

19. Behrman 1952, 22-24 (1972, 20); Walker 1974, 244.

20. Widener 1931, 74-77.

21. Valentiner 1921b, 484-485.

22. Valentiner 1931, nos. 171-172. Valentiner identifies the paintings as "A Gentleman with a High Hat" and "A Lady with an Ostrich-Feather Fan" and dates them "slightly after paintings dated 1662."

23. Bredius 1935, no. 327, 14 note.

24. Bauch 1966, nos. 446 and 528, 23 note 446, 26 note 528; Gerson/Bredius 1969, 255, 313, 575 note 327, 582 note 402.

25. Washington 1969, 25.

26. Weiner et al. 1910, 8, lament the damage that had occurred to the Youssouppoff paintings as a result of poor restoration: "Cette collection est restée intacte, on plutôt seulement complète, car la restauration du professeur Prakhoff y causa tout récemment un dommage irréparable: un certain nombre de toiles...en a cruellement souffert."

Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann (letter 8 January 1985, NGA curatorial files) has kindly provided information about the twentieth-century restoration: "I spoke with C. F. Louis de Wild who checked his notes. The paintings were brought to his father's home by Duveen in 1922. His father was mortally ill at the time, and only cleaned the man, with the help of his son (Louis), but did not retouch, inpaint or complete the restoration in any way. Louis does not remember what the painting looked like at the time. The woman was not touched. What this means is that De Wild Sr. and Jr. started cleaning the man in 1922, then gave up because of personal circumstances. Neither he nor I know who did carry out the cleaning."

27. See Toledo Museum 1976, 247, no. 101, repro.

28. Gerson/Bredius 1969, no. 391, repro.

29. Inscribed in Russian on the back of the *Portrait of a Lady with an Ostrich-Feather Fan* is: "Painting transferred from an old canvas on to a new canvas. I. Sidorov." Translation kindly made by Dauphine Sloan.

30. Discussed by Wheelock in Washington 1990, 196-200.

31. See Haarlem 1979, 158, no. 32, repro., 161, no. 33, repro.

32. Van Eeghen 1983, 71-73, 121 note 105.

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 1931 Valentiner: intro., pl. 171, 172.
 1931 Widener: 74-77, repros.
 1935 Bredius: 14, 17, 327 and 402, repros. (also 1936 English ed., 14-15, 327 and 402, repros.).
 1935 Tietze: 175 repro. (*Portrait of Woman*, identified as Magdalena van Loo), 321.
 1936 Holmes: 376.
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- ed.: 82–83, repros.).
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 - 1968 NGA: 97, repros. 663–664.
 - 1968 Gerson: 158–159, color repros., 450, nos. 411–412, repros., 504.
 - 1969 Gerson/Bredius: 255, repro., 313–314, repros., 575, no. 327, 582, no. 402.
 - 1969 Haak: 293–295, repros. 489–490, color. repros. 490 a & b (details).
 - 1969/1982 Kitson: 44, color repro. (*Portrait of a Woman*, 89, no. 44) [also 1982 ed.: no. 46, repro. (*Portrait of a Man*), color repro. (*Portrait of a Woman*)].
 - 1969 Washington: nos. 14–15.
 - 1975 NGA: 288–289, repros.
 - 1975 Wright: 119–122, pls. 99–100.
 - 1977 Bolten and Bolten-Rempt: 166–168, repros., color pl., 203, repros.
 - 1983 Van Eeghen: 27–125, repros. 25–26.
 - 1984/1985 Schwartz: 344–345, color repros.
 - 1985 NGA: 332–333, repros.
 - 1986 Guillaud and Guillaud: 377–378, color repros.
 - 1986 Tümpel: 328–329, color repros., 413, no. 221, 416, no. 250.
 - 1986 Sutton: 314.

1937.1.72 (72)

Rembrandt van Rijn

Self-Portrait

1659
Oil on canvas, 84.5 x 66 (33¼ x 26)
Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At center left: *Rembrandt f. 1659*

Technical Notes: The original support, a tightly, plain-woven fabric with fine threads, has been lined, with the tacking margins trimmed, and a coating of white lead applied to the back of the lining. The double ground consists of a thick, reddish brown lower layer and a very thin, light gray layer.¹ The design was then sketched in a transparent brown underpaint layer intentionally left visible in the proper right sleeve and in the nostrils, mouth, and neck bordering the collar. The exposed areas of the brown sketch are abraded, which has diminished their significance.

The figure is painted with opaque, broad, flat brushstrokes, while the background and hands are thinly painted. Hair has been articulated by fine brushstrokes and lines incised with the butt end of a brush into the still-wet paint. Highlights of the face were first created overall with heavy short strokes of richly impasted paint, with individual brushstrokes swirled wet into wet rather than blended. Once dry, the paint was reworked with unblended, short, distinct

strokes of darker colors following the initial brushwork pattern, which were softened with half-shadow mid-tones. Strokes of white paint under the beret indicate that Rembrandt initially planned a lighter color beret than the present black one.

While the face and hands are largely intact, most of the figure and the background at the left are extensively abraded. The left collar and background adjacent to the proper right cheek are quite damaged and now obscured by black overpaint. The painting underwent treatment in 1992 to remove discolored overpaint. The blackish paint to the left of the figure and a patchy semi-opaque coating, applied in a prior restoration to disguise abrasion, were left in place where they could not be safely removed.

Provenance: George, 3rd Duke of Montagu and 4th Earl of Cardigan [d. 1790], by 1767;² by inheritance to daughter, Lady Elizabeth, wife of Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch of Montagu House, London; John Charles, 7th Duke of Buccleuch; (P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., New York, 1928); (M. Knoedler & Co., New York); sold January 1929 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *Winter Exhibition of Old Masters*, Royal Academy, London, 1872, no. 181. *Rembrandt. Collection des oeuvres des maîtres réunies, à l'occasion de l'inauguration de S. M. la Reine Wilhelmine*, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1898, no. 102. *Exhibition of Works by Rembrandt*, Royal Academy, London, 1899, no. 6. *The Thirteenth Loan Exhibition of Old Masters: Paintings by Rembrandt*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1930, no. 62. *A Loan Exhibition of Sixteen Masterpieces*, Knoedler Galleries, New York, 1930, no. 8. Amsterdam 1935, no. 26. *Loan Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings and Etchings by Rembrandt and His Circle*, Art Institute of Chicago, 1935–1936, no. 6. New York 1939, no. 307. Washington 1969, no. 19. *Masterpieces of Western European Painting of the XVIth-XXth Centuries from the Museums of the European Countries and USA*, Hermitage, Leningrad, 1989, no. 13. *Dutch Art and Scotland: A Reflection of Taste*, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1992, no. 53.

THE FACE is familiar, as is the searingly penetrating gaze with which the sitter stares directly out at the viewer. No question it is Rembrandt, late in his life, at a time when he has suffered through the cruel indignities of failure after so many years of success. Indeed, this portrait, painted in 1659, dates to the year after Rembrandt's possessions and his house on the Sint-Anthonisbreestraat had been auctioned as a result of his insolvency. It may well have been one of the first works he painted in the small house on the Rozengracht in the painters' quarter of Amsterdam where he had moved when his fortunes and his prospects were at a low ebb. In the following year Rembrandt set up a business agreement with his son Titus and Hendrickje Stoffels that prevented him from being sued by any of his dissatisfied creditors for recovery of debts.³

Rightly or wrongly it seems almost impossible to ponder this work without interpreting it in light of what is known about Rembrandt's life. This inclination is felt in part because of the extensive biographical information that has come down to us, through which we feel a closer contact with the man and his life than we do with most artists of this period. It also seems possible to interpret Rembrandt's mood in such paintings because he painted, drew, and etched so many self-portraits that changes in his appearance can be measured and analyzed by comparing one to the other. Even more significantly, however, we read these images biographically because Rembrandt forces us to do so. He looks out at us and confronts us directly. His deep-set eyes peer intently. They appear steady, yet heavy and not without sadness. As Hofstede de Groot remarked in reference to this painting when it was shown in the 1898 Rembrandt exhibition in Amsterdam, "It would be difficult to find in any of his paintings a pair of eyes that peer at us more sharply or penetratingly."⁴ Émile Michel, in his review of the exhibition, was even more expressive about the forcefulness of Rembrandt's gaze through the heavy wrinkles that had come to age his face so prematurely.⁵

While the observations of Hofstede de Groot and Michel seem entirely appropriate to the image, too often this painting has been subjected to overly

romantic interpretations, in which authors have tried to read into this somber image Rembrandt's own reflections upon the profound tragedy of his life.⁶ Interpreting paintings on the basis of an artist's biography is dangerous, particularly with an artist whose life has been romanticized to the extent that Rembrandt's has.⁷ In this instance the inclination to interpret this image as a tragic one has been reinforced by the thick layers of discolored varnish that had given the portrait a heavy, brooding quality. With the removal of the discolored varnish during restoration in 1992, the fallacy of such interpretations became particularly apparent. With the rich range of pinks and other flesh tones on his face once again visible, Rembrandt's state of mind seems to have improved remarkably. While the thick impastos and bold strokes he used to model his face still create the dynamic vigor of the head, apparent now as well is the economy with which Rembrandt handled his paint: he has allowed a greenish gray imprimatura layer to read as the shadowed area around the eyes. Finally, the firmness of his touch is accented by the wiry rhythms in his mustache and in the hair protruding from under his beret, which he has delineated by scratching the wet paint with the blunt end of his brush.

An added benefit from the restoration was the removal of overpaint that had flattened the appearance of Rembrandt's torso. With the three-dimensional character of this portion of the painting restored, the head seems far more firmly planted on the body than previously. The light that so effectively illuminates the head now also accents Rembrandt's left shoulder and, to a lesser extent, his broadly executed clasped hands. The x-radiograph of the head, which reveals the vigorous, almost sculptural character of Rembrandt's handling of paint, also indicates, through the density of the paint in the beret, that Rembrandt initially painted the beret a different color (fig. 1). It may well have been white since the upper ridges of a whitish paint layer can be seen through the overlying black paint.

Although Rembrandt's pose seems so appropriate to the forcefulness of his gaze, quite surprisingly, it was inspired by Raphael's portrait of Balthasar Castiglione (fig. 2). The memory of Castiglione's direct gaze and clasped hands, which Rembrandt first saw when the painting appeared in an auction in Amsterdam on 19 April 1639,⁸ must have remained deeply ingrained in his mind for the intervening twenty years. This famous work had made a tremendous impact on Rembrandt, for he even made a rough sketch after it at the sale (Albertina, Vienna, Ben. 451). In that same year, 1639, Rembrandt etched a

Fig. 1. X-radiograph of head in 1937.1.72





Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-Portrait*, 1633.1.72



Fig. 2. Raphael, *Balthasar Castiglione*, c. 1514–1515, oil on panel, Paris, Louvre, © Photo R.M.N.

self-portrait that was in part inspired by Raphael's image and in part by Titian's portrait, then known as *Ariosto*, which was in Amsterdam in the Alfonso Lopez Collection (National Gallery, London, inv. no. 1944).⁹ In the following year, 1640, Rembrandt painted a self-portrait (National Gallery, London, inv. no. 672) that reflected in composition and intellectual concept both the Raphael *Balthasar Castiglione* and Titian's *Ariosto*. In this 1640 *Self-Portrait*, Rembrandt, dressed in a fanciful historicizing costume, portrayed himself with all of the elegance and dignity of the renowned Renaissance men of letters thought to have been depicted by Raphael and Titian.¹⁰

In Rembrandt's 1659 *Self-Portrait*, all compositional references to Titian's portrait have disappeared, particularly the stone parapet upon which the artist rests his arm in the 1639 etching and the 1640 painting.¹¹ Perhaps at this later moment of his life he was drawn to Raphael's painting because of its self-contained composition, which he must have felt appropriate for expressing the quiet intensity with which he wished to imbue his self-portrait; perhaps he remembered the subdued colors of Cas-

tiglione's costume or the effective way in which Raphael used the beret to frame his head. Clearly Rembrandt has adapted all of these aspects of Raphael's painting in his self-portrait, while at the same time transforming the nature of his image through dramatic light effects and the rich impastos of his paint.

Most fundamentally, however, Rembrandt returned to Raphael's prototype because he found in it a vehicle for expressing his perception of himself as a learned painter, a theme that in one way or another underlies a number of his late self-portraits, particularly his magnificent paintings in the Frick Collection, c. 1658 (inv. no. 06.1.97), and in the Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, c. 1665 (inv. no. 57). In all three of these works Rembrandt projects a strikingly positive self-image, in which allusions to his self-esteem as an artist are conveyed through pose, costume, and expression.¹²

Notes

1. Pigment analysis is available in the Scientific Research department (30 July 1992).

2. This early provenance is established by presence of a mezzotint after the portrait by R. Earlom (1743–1822), dated 1767. See Charrington 1923, no. 49.

3. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 462–465, doc. 1660/20.

4. Amsterdam 1898, 13. "Het zou moeilijk wezen in al zijn schilderijen een paar oogjen aan te wijzen, die ons scherper en doordringender aanzien."

5. Michel 1898, 478–479, 480. "Sous l'influence d'une vie trop casanière, une graisse malsaine envahit les chairs flasques et boursouflées; des rides nombreuses et profondes sont creusées sur son large front. . . . Avec leur paupières épaissies, les yeux, devenus plus petits, ont conservé leur étincelle et sous les sourcils en broussaille, le regard interrogateur et pénétrant du peintre persiste, obstiné, ardent comme le charbon sous la cendre. Sans l'abattre, les soucis et les malheurs n'ont fait qu'épurer en lui la passion de son art qui le soutient et cet amour de la nature qui lui permet de découvrir des trésors de beauté et de poésie là où les autres passent indifférents."

6. Perhaps the most insupportable claims about this painting were suggested by John Walker (Walker 1976, 270), who wrote, in part: "[Rembrandt] saw a mouth and a chin weak, infirm of purpose, manifesting that flaw in his character which had ruined his life. His hands are grasped as though in anguish at the spectacle of a self-ruined man. There exists no painting more pitiless in its analysis or more pitiful in its implications."

7. For the nature of these myths see Slive 1953; and Emmens 1968.

8. The painting was acquired by Alphonso Lopez, a Portuguese Jew who lived in Amsterdam from 1636 to 1640. See Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 177, doc. 1639/8. Lopez had a large collection which included Titian's *Ariosto* and *Flora* (see Washington 1991–1992). He was also known to Rembrandt since he bought directly from the artist his early *Balaam and the Ass* (*Corpus* 1082–, 1: A2).

9. B. 21.

10. For a discussion of the relationship of Rembrandt's self-portraits from 1639 and from 1640 to Raphael and Titian, see De Jongh 1969, 49–67; Chapman 1990, 72–78.

11. Van Rijckevorsel 1932, 150, however, did suggest the additional influence of Titian's *Portrait of Ariosto* (National Gallery, London, see above) on Rembrandt's 1659 *Self-Portrait*. The illusionistic format of self-portraiture was put in the context of the northern portrait tradition by Stephanie Dickey during a Rembrandt symposium held in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, January 1992.

12. For a discussion of various interpretations of these paintings see Chapman 1990, 94–95, 97–101.

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1888 Champlin and Perkins: 4: 24.
1893 Michel, 2: 235 (also 1894 English ed.).
1897–1905 Moes: 315, no. 60.
1897–1906 Bode, 6 (1901): 13–14, no. 431, repro.
1898 Michel: 467–480.
1899 Bell: 83–84, 145 (also 1907 ed.: 79–80, 126).
1899a Hofstede de Groot: no. 33, repro.
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1960 Baird: 8, 14, 15, repro.
1965 NGA: 109, no. 72.
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1968 Gerson: 443, no. 736, repro., 503.
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1972 Roberts: 353–354.
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1937.1.77 (77)

Rembrandt van Rijn

A Young Man Seated at a Table (possibly Govaert Flinck)

c. 1660

Oil on canvas, 109.9 x 89.5 (43¼ x 35¼)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At center right: *Rembrandt 166[?]*

Technical Notes: The support, a medium-weight, plain-weave fabric, has been lined with the original tacking margins trimmed. A row of later tacking holes along the left and top edges of the original support suggest a prior reduction in size, although cusping at right and bottom indicate that the present dimensions are close to or slightly smaller than the original dimensions. Large complex tears are found in the lower right background and between the hands.

The double ground consists of a thick, red brown lower layer followed by a slightly thinner pearly gray layer. Paint is applied as dry to fluid pastes, with glazes and scumbles, occasionally incised with the butt end of a brush. Brushstrokes have been worked wet into wet or drawn over dry impasto to create texture, although lining has flattened the texture. The x-radiograph shows changes in both hands, with the proper right hand loosely sketched and the proper left hand either lower, reconfigured, or both (fig. 1).

Paint loss is confined to the tears and the edges, where sections of the original fabric have been torn away. Overpaint on the hands, background, hair, and face suggest that these areas may have suffered from abrasion. A discolored varnish layer obscures the surface. No treatment has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: Possibly Gustaf Adolf Sparre [1746–1794], Göteborg and Castle Kulla Gunnarstorp, near Helsingborg; by inheritance to his wife [d. 1830], Castle Kulla Gunnarstorp; by inheritance to her grandson, Adolf de la Gardie [1800–1833], Castle Kulla Gunnarstorp; by inheritance to his father, Jacob, Count de la Gardie, Castle Kulla Gunnarstorp; Carl, Count de Geer, Leustra, before 1855; by family trust to his granddaughter, Elizabeth, Countess Wachtmeister [1834–1918], Castle Wanås, Sweden;¹ Count Carl Wachtmeister [Wachtmeister Trust], Wanås, until 1926; (Duveen Brothers, New York and London); sold December 1926 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *Utställningen af äldre Mästares taflor ur Svenska privatsamlingar*, Bukowskis, Stockholm, 1893, no. 161. *Exhibition of Dutch Art, 1450–1900*, Royal Academy, London, 1929, no. 83. Amsterdam 1935, no. 29. *Masterworks of Five Centuries*, Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco, 1939, no. 88a. Washington 1969, no. 20. *Giorgione to Picasso*, Musée Marmottan, Paris, 1976, no cat. *Paintings from American Museums*, State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow; Museum of Ukrainian Art, Kiev; Belorussian State Museum of Fine Arts, Minsk, 1976. *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, Mauritshuis, The Hague; Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1990–1991, no. 53.

THIS PAINTING of a stylish young man, posed with one arm akimbo and the other gracefully resting on the table beside him, is one of Rembrandt's most sympathetic late portraits. The sitter's handsome features and gentle expression, enframed by the long locks of his hair, suggest warmth and sensitivity. At the same time, the understated simplicity of his dress, from the plain white collar, left open at the neck, to his black costume and hat, reinforces the sense of self-assurance so evident in the pose.

The name of the sitter is not known. The traditional designation that he is a "young man" seems more based on his elegant pose than on the nature of his face or hands.² With his angular features and somewhat heavy eyes, the sitter seems more mature, probably in his early to mid-forties. Uncertainty has also surrounded the date of the painting, despite the fact that it is signed and dated in the middle right background. When the signature and date were first noticed at the end of the nineteenth century they were read: "Rembrandt f. 1662."³ By 1935 scholars interpreted the date as "1663."⁴ Indeed, the signature and date are extremely difficult to decipher, and today the last digit of the date is no longer legible. Whether it was more legible in 1893 or 1935, and whether the reading "1662" or "1663" was correct is impossible to determine. Although such dates are stylistically plausible, the face is more delicately modeled than one would expect after the boldly executed heads found in Rembrandt's paintings of *Jacob Trip* and *Margaretha de Geer* (National Gallery, London, inv. nos. 1674 and 1675) of c. 1661, and *The Syndics of the Cloth Drapers' Guild* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, on loan from the city of Amsterdam; see NGA 1942.9.69, fig. 1), which he executed in 1662. The impact of these works on his portrait style is evident in the impastos and rough execution of the face of *A Young Man*, a portrait said to be dated 1663 (Dulwich Picture Gallery, inv. no. 221), or in *Portrait of a Man in a Tall Hat* (1942.9.69), which must have been executed in the mid-1660s.

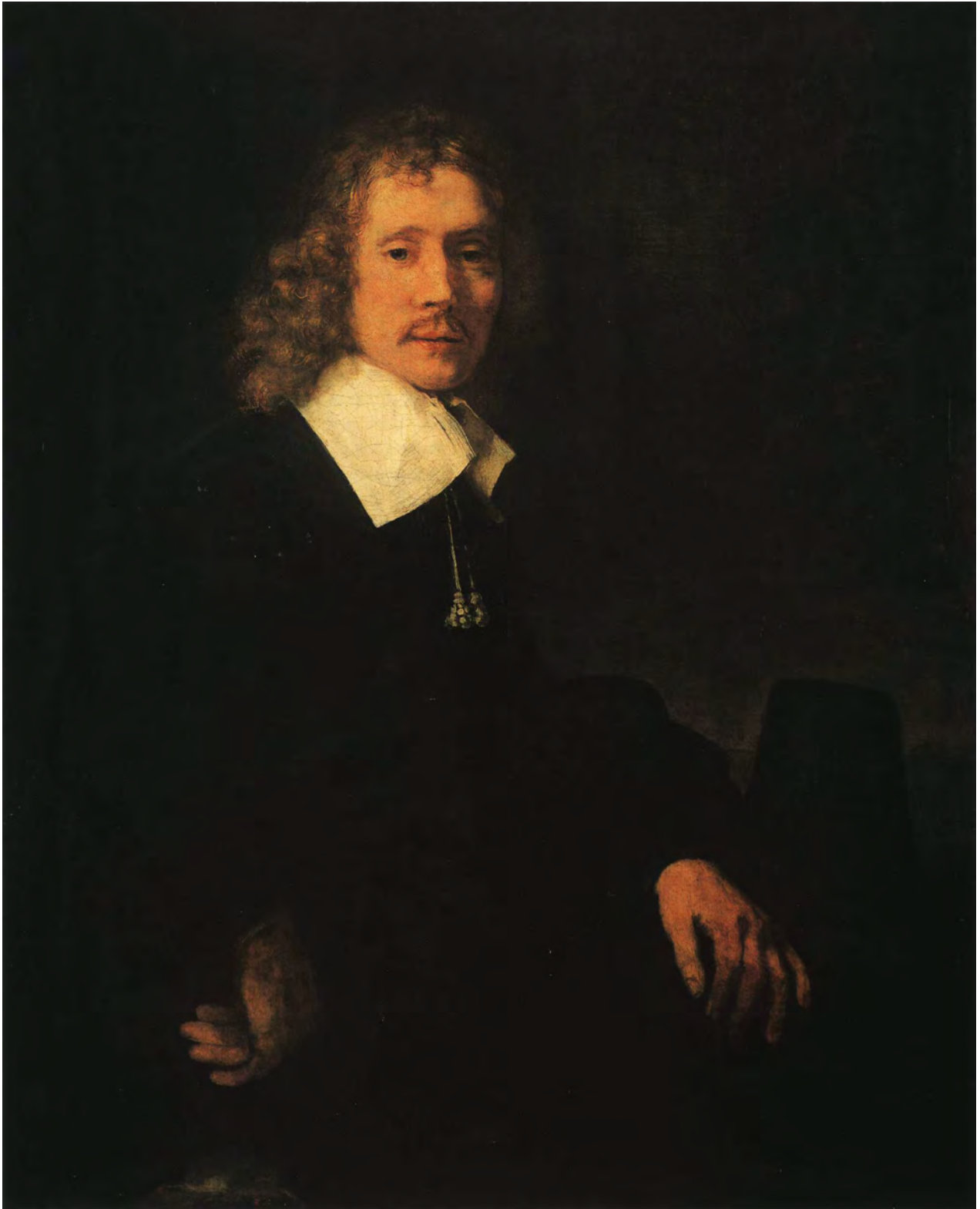
In this painting Rembrandt's brushwork is rela-

tively smooth, as is appropriate for the youthful appearance of the sitter. While he has used rapid strokes of the brush in the impastos on the forehead to suggest highlights and has painted the hair wet into wet, the features are not built up with striking juxtapositions of dense impastos and revealed underlying layers of paint. Instead, Rembrandt has modulated his forms with carefully nuanced strokes that capture the play of light on the sitter's face.⁵ Subtle accents along the eyelids, the lower portions of the whites of the eyes, and in the irises help bring the man's face to life. Since the style falls somewhere between the more densely painted and carefully articulated portraits from the late 1650s and the roughly executed portraits of the early 1660s, it seems appropriate to propose, as have others, a date of about 1660 for this work.⁶

The attribution of this painting has never been questioned, and there is no reason to do so. Indeed, Gerson considered it "one of the most beautiful of the late commissioned portraits."⁷ Much of its beauty stems from the subtle fusion of Rembrandt's vigorous brushwork with a graceful pose reminiscent of portraits by Anthony van Dyck. Unfortunately, as Gerson also mentioned, the work has suffered. The quite dense and discolored varnish that covers the painting obscures a certain amount of

Fig. 1. X-radiograph of left hand in 1937.1.77





Rembrandt van Rijn, *A Young Man Seated at a Table* (possibly Govaert Flink), 1937.1.77



Fig. 2. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jan Asselijn*, c. 1647, etching, drypoint and burin, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection

abrasion and old restoration and prevents the full three-dimensional character of the figure from being appreciated. Although there is retouching in the face, most predominantly in the mustache, the most obvious condition problems occur in the thinly painted hands. The repaint on the right hand is particularly unfortunate as it obscures the proper modeling of its form. The character of the left hand is confusing, for brushstrokes belonging to an initial concept are visible through the fingers. This earlier hand, which is more fully visible in an x-radiograph, was lower and may have had a stronger accent of light upon it than does the current hand (fig. 1). Another change evident in the x-radiograph is that the white collar originally jutted up higher and covered a bit of the sitter's face, just to the left of his chin.

One consequence of the opaque quality of the varnish is that the background cannot be properly read. Nevertheless, behind the figure can be vaguely discerned a large rectangular form that was read in the 1935 Rijksmuseum exhibition catalogue as a window opening with a beveled windowsill. To the left

was thought to be seen a bluish black curtain.⁸ The right edge of the shape, however, curves slightly outward near the bottom in such a way to suggest that the form is not a window but a stretched canvas. With such a backdrop the painting could well depict a painter seated before a canvas. Indeed, the relaxed, informal pose of the sitter speaks to such an interpretation. Rembrandt had already depicted the painter Jan Asselijn (after 1610–1652) in such a manner, seated before one of his paintings in an etching of about 1647 (fig. 2).⁹ Comparable as well is *Portrait of Paulus Potter*, 1654 (Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. no. 54), by Bartholomeus van der Helst (c. 1613–1670).

Should this portrait represent an artist, an unexpected but probable sitter is Govaert Flinck (1615–1660), if one is to judge from the engraved portrait of him, here shown in reverse, included in Arnold Houbraken's *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen* of 1753 (fig. 3).¹⁰ Although the source for Houbraken's print is not known, the image he depicts resembles to a remarkable degree the sitter in Rembrandt's portrait. Not only are the shapes of the eyes, nose, and mouth similar, Flinck had a similar mustache and also long, flowing hair. If it does represent Flinck, Rembrandt would have had to have painted him before 2 Feb-

Fig. 3. Arnold Houbraken, *Govaert Flinck*, shown in reverse, from *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, The Hague, 1753



ruary 1660, the date of Flinck's unexpected death at the age of forty-four, unless it was a posthumous portrait.¹¹

Whether or not Govaert Flinck would have asked Rembrandt for a portrait at this stage of his career is, of course, a legitimate question. He was at the height of his fame in 1660. He had long since left the orbit of Rembrandt, with whom he had studied in the mid-1630s, to become a successful portrait and history painter in a classicizing style admired by the important patrons he associated with in both Amsterdam and his native Germany. He was wealthy, well-connected, and had a remarkable collection with a heavy concentration of sculpture and paintings by Italian and Flemish masters, including Anthony van Dyck. In 1659 he had received the most prestigious commission of his life: he was asked by the burgomasters to paint twelve large paintings for the gallery of the Town Hall of Amsterdam. The world in which he operated seems so different than the one in which Rembrandt moved.

Nevertheless, Rembrandt's genius as a portrait painter was still widely acknowledged by certain segments of Amsterdam's population, including artists and art collectors. A number of his late portraits, both etched and painted were of artists or art collectors, and Flinck, despite the different style in which he then worked, could qualify on both accounts. More important, there is an immediacy to this portrait that suggests that the contacts between the sitter and the patron were personal as well as professional. That the old master, who had been bypassed for the enormous commission to decorate the Town Hall, produced such an affectionate portrait of his former protégé, either just prior to his unexpected death or in reaction to it, is perhaps too much to ask. Yet the evidence, such as it is, suggests this possibility.¹²

Notes

1. This possible provenance, and that which precedes it, is outlined by Ben Broos in *The Hague* 1990, 390.

2. Broos, in *The Hague* 1990, 392, proposed, on the basis of quite circumstantial evidence, that the sitter was Jacob Louysz. Trip (1636–1664) and that the portrait was commissioned on the occasion of his marriage in 1660. It is unlikely, however, that this portrait represents a sitter who was only twenty-four to twenty-eight years old.

3. The date was first mentioned in Stockholm 1893; it was repeated by Bode 1897–1906, 6: 3–4. The exact inscription was given by Granberg 1911–1913, 1: 125.

4. Amsterdam 1935, 60–61, no. 29; Bredius 1935, 14, no. 312.

5. These effects are evident despite some overpaint in the shaded portion of the face below the sitter's left nostril and in the mustache.

6. Washington 1969, 30, no. 20; Schwartz 1984/1985, 339, no. 396.

7. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 574, no. 312.

8. Amsterdam 1935, 61: "Hij is gezeten voor een vaag aangegeven venster-opening met afgeschuind kozijn. Links een blauwig-zwart venster-gordijn."

9. As Seymour Slive has pointed out to me (personal communication, 1993), in the case of Asselijn this pose was used as a means to hide his crippled left arm.

10. Houbraken 1753, 2: 18.

11. Rembrandt had made other posthumous portraits, including his painting of Saskia, 1643 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; Br. 109), and his etched portrait of Jan Cornelis Sylvius, 1646 (B. 280).

12. As Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann notes (personal communication, 1993), the portrait could have been commissioned by someone other than Flinck himself even if it represents Flinck.

References

- 1884a Granberg: 30–32.
 1885 Granberg: 3, no. 2.
 1886 Granberg: 27, no. 49.
 1892 "Rembrandt tafla": 311, no. 38.
 1893 Michel: 568 (also 1894 English ed., 2: 247).
 1893 Stockholm: no. 81.
 1895 Göthe: 24, no. 53.
 1897–1906 Bode, 7 (1902): 3, 4, no. 488, repro.
 1899 Bell: 183 (also 1907 ed.: 154).
 1906 Rosenberg: 405, 370, repro. (also 1908 and 1909 eds.: 564, 500, repro.).
 1907–1927 HdG, 6 (1916): 366, no. 784.
 1910 Hahr: 83, repro.
 1911–1913 Granberg, 1 (1911): 125, no. 536, repro. no. 56.
 1923 Meldrum: 203, pl. 431.
 1926 "Ein Rembrandt von Schweden": 207–208.
 1928 "America Lends": 1, 12, repro.
 1929 London: no. 83.
 1929 Rutter: 64–66.
 1929 Van Puyvelde: 151–169.
 1929 Gibson: 1–12, repro.
 1929–1930 Bauch: 9–23.
 1930b Valentiner: 1–4, repro.
 1931 Valentiner: no. 159, repro.
 1935 Amsterdam: no. 29.
 1935 "L'Exposition Rembrandt": 271–274, repro.
 1935 Rich: 2–5, repro.
 1935 Bredius: 14, 312, repro. (also 1936 English ed.: 13, 312, repro.).
 1935/1970 Benesch: 67 (reprinted 1970).
 1937 "A National Gallery": 143, repro.
 1939 San Francisco: no. 88a.
 1941 Berenson and Valentiner: no. 203, repro.
 1941 NGA: 167, no. 77.
 1943 Benesch: 20–33, repro.
 1949 Mellon: 88, repro.
 1952 Behrman: 28 (also 1972 ed.: 25).
 1956 Knuttel: 219, 273.
 1959 Bauch: 105–106, repro.
 1961 Porkay: 10–15, 28–29, figs. II, IV.
 1963 Porkay: 13, 15, 26–27, fig. II.
 1965 NGA: 109, no. 77.
 1966 Bauch: 23, no. 439, repro.
 1968 NGA: 98, 166, no. 77, repro.
 1968 Gerson: 504, no. 405, 153, repro., 446, repro.
 1969 Gerson/Bredius: 574, no. 312, 238, repro.

- 1969 Washington: no. 20.
 1974 Hasselgren: 111, 127, 131, 195, 198, no. G 53, repro.
 1975 NGA: 284, 285, no. 77, repro.
 1978 Bolten and Bolten-Rempt: 202, no. 549, repro.
 1984/1985 Schwartz: 339, no. 396, repro. (also 1985 English ed.).
 1985 NGA: 330, repro.
 1986 Sutton: 314.
 1986 Tümpel: 413, no. 217, repro.
 1986 Guillaud and Guillaud: 362, no. 416, repro.
 1990 The Hague: no. 53.

1942.9.60 (656)

Rembrandt van Rijn

The Circumcision

1661
 Oil on canvas, 56.5 x 75 (22¼ x 29½)
 Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At lower right: *Rembrandt. f. 1661*

Technical Notes: The original support, a medium-weight, loosely woven, plain-weave fabric, has been lined with the tacking margins unevenly trimmed. The absence of cusping and the presence of old, off-center, stretcher bar creases suggest the dimensions may have been substantially reduced. The double ground consists of a dark brown lower layer and a lighter brown upper layer.¹ The upper layer is translucent and has a rough texture to give it "tooth." A nearly pure black imprimatura or underpainting lies under the main figural groups and the left side of the design. The extreme solubility of this imprimatura may have contributed to the overall degree of damage.

The paint is applied in richly mixed and swirled layers, blended both wet into wet and wet over dry as glazes and scumbles. A number of cross-sections have been made to identify and locate the many complicated paint layers. The x-radiograph shows changes in the upper paint layers to enlarge the circumcisor's robe at the left, to expand the tent canopy horizontally, to alter the highlighting and positioning of the heads at the left, and to shade a once bright background area at the left.

The paint layers are quite damaged and areas of extensive repainting have been applied at various intervals. Old repainting, which was not possible to remove during the painting's restoration in the early 1990s, is found over the circumcisor's robe, the tent canopy, the heads and adjacent background of figures in the middle distance at left, Mary's headdress, and other areas of abrasion. The abraded portions include the shadows to the right of Mary and the Infant Jesus, much of the right side, the dark figures and shadows in the lower left, Mary's and the circumcisor's draperies, and the heads of the figures at center left.

Provenance: Probably Lodewijck van Ludick (1607–1669), Amsterdam, by 1662. Probably Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680)

by 1669.² Probably Isaak van den Blooken, the Netherlands, by 1707; (sale, Amsterdam, 11 May 1707, no. 1). Duke of Ancaster, by 1724;³ (sale, London, March 1724, no. 18); Andrew Hay; (sale, Cock, London, 14 February 1745, no. 47); John Spencer, 1st Earl of Spencer [1734–1783], Althorp House; inherited through family members to John Poyntz, 5th Earl of Spencer [1835–1910]; (Arthur J. Sulley & Co., London); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, by 1912; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Exhibition of Paintings*, Leeds Art Gallery, Leeds, 1868, no. 735. *Rembrandt: Schilderijen Bijgebracht ter Gelegenheid van de Inhuizing van Hare Majesteit Koningin Wilhelmina*, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1898, no. 115. *Winter Exhibition of Works by Rembrandt*, Royal Academy, London, 1899, no. 5. Washington 1969, no. 22. *Rembrandt and the Bible*, Fukuoka Art Museum, Fukuoka; National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, 1987, no. 11.

THE ONLY MENTION of the Circumcision of Christ occurs in the Gospel of Luke, 2:15-22: "...the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem.... And they came with haste, and found Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger.... And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called Jesus." This cursory reference to this most significant event in the early childhood of Christ allowed artists throughout history a wide latitude in the way they represented the Circumcision.⁴

The predominant Dutch pictorial tradition was to depict the scene as though it occurred within the Temple, as, for example, in Hendrick Goltzius' influential engraving of the Circumcision of Christ, 1594 (fig. 1).⁵ In the Goltzius print, the *mobel* circumcises the Christ Child, held by the high priest, as Mary and Joseph stand reverently to the side. Rembrandt largely followed this tradition in his two early etchings of the subject and in his now lost 1646 painting of the Circumcision for Prince Frederik Hendrik.⁶

The iconographic tradition of the Circumcision occurring in the Temple, which was almost certainly apocryphal, developed in the twelfth century to allow for a typological comparison between the Jewish rite of circumcision and the Christian rite of cleansing, or baptism. Integral to this tradition was the assumption that shortly after the Circumcision, Christ was presented in the Temple. A close reading of Saint Luke, however, reveals that a period of time lapsed between the two events. After Luke describes the naming of Jesus at the rite of Circumcision, he continues: "And when the [forty] days of [Mary's] purification according to the law of Moses were



Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Circumcision*, 1626. 19.6 x 25.6



Fig. 1. Hendrick Goltzius, *Circumcision of Christ*, engraving, 1594, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord.” Rembrandt’s beautifully evocative painting, which places the scene before the stable, thus reflects far more accurately the circumstances of Christ’s Circumcision than do representations of the event within the Temple.

Rembrandt must have reassessed the iconography of the Circumcision sometime between 1646 and 1654, the year in which he made his intimate etching *The Circumcision in the Stable* as part of a series of etchings of the life of the Christ Child (fig. 2; B. 47). Rembrandt’s break from Dutch pictorial traditions may have resulted from a closer reading of the text or from discussions with Jewish scholars. It may also have been a conscious attempt to shift the theological implications of the story itself. Representations of the Circumcision in the Temple emphasized the importance of adherence to Jewish law. The circumcision was the ritual act that cleansed the sins of the parents and was the moment that a name was given to the child.⁷ By depicting the scene in the humble surroundings of the stable, however, Rembrandt shifted the emphasis of the story to stress its implications for Christian beliefs.

In this painting of 1661 Rembrandt added a new component to his scene by having Mary, rather than Joseph or another male, hold the Christ Child. In this way he suggested the fundamental association between the Circumcision and Christ’s final shedding of blood at his Crucifixion. Mary holds her son tenderly in her lap before the ladder of the stable, just as she will do some thirty-three years later near a ladder leaning against the cross. A canopy, placed over her head, reinforces the sacramental character of the scene and offers a further reminder of the significance of this, the first of Mary’s Seven Sorrows.⁸

The Circumcision is performed by a priest, dressed in yellow ceremonial robes, who kneels before the Child in a gesture of serving and obeisance. Mary, who wears a red dress, tenderly holds the Child and gazes lovingly down at him. Visually, her body and that of the priest form a triangular shape that reinforces their shared sense of responsibility. While the bright colors of their clothing and centrally placed forms draw the viewer’s attention to this sacred rite, the onlookers in the painting peer not at the Christ Child but at the scribe who writes the name of the Child in a large book he holds in his left hand. The excitement and anticipation of the onlookers who crane forward to learn the name of the young Messiah, however, places the scene within a Christian context. Joseph is almost certainly the bareheaded, bearded man who stands nearest the Virgin and Child. Among the witnesses, on the far left, appears to be Rembrandt himself.⁹

The innovative and subtle interpretation Rembrandt has given to the scene has confused observers in the past. Hofstede de Groot, for example, believed that Rembrandt initially portrayed here the Adoration of the Magi. He argued that during the course of execution Rembrandt changed one of the Magi into the priest performing the Circumcision. He also suggested that Rembrandt changed the priest’s retinue into the observing crowd. Alternatively, he argued, the scribe might have originally been Zacharias and the scene initially the Circumcision of John the Baptist.¹⁰ While Hofstede de Groot’s theories did not receive widespread acceptance, a number of writers in ensuing years have used his ideas as a point of departure for assessing Rembrandt’s interpretation of the Circumcision in this painting.¹¹

Hofstede de Groot might have been mistaken in the types of changes he believed Rembrandt had made in this work, but x-radiographs have revealed a notable pentimento: the yellow cloak of the high priest performing the Circumcision was enlarged

and given a bolder form at some point during the course of the work (fig. 3). This change, which enhances the prominence and stateliness of the figure, is compositionally significant. It is of even greater interest, however, historically; for it confirms that this painting is one of two works, the other a *Nativity*, acquired from Rembrandt for 600 guilders by the Amsterdam collector and art dealer Lodewijk van Ludick. In a document dated 28 August 1662, Van Ludick stated that he was returning *The Circumcision* to Rembrandt to have him “repaint the circumciser.”¹² Since Van Ludick referred to his painting as being on a small panel (*bortje*), some have questioned whether the National Gallery’s *Circumcision*, which is on canvas, was the painting in his possession.¹³ The discovery of the alterations to the robes of the circumciser, however, should dispel all doubts. The small scale of this work, which is comparable to that of a panel painting, may well have created the confusion in his mind.

This document also raises the question as to whether the *Nativity* and *The Circumcision* Rembrandt painted for Van Ludick were pendants. One price is listed for both works. One could imagine that the quiet, reverential mood of the scene in *The Circumcision* might have been consciously conceived to complement a depiction of this thematically related episode from Christ’s life.¹⁴ Nevertheless, technical evidence indicating that Rembrandt reduced the size of *The Circumcision* on all four sides, makes it unlikely that he initially composed this work as a pendant to another composition.¹⁵ It is not certain how much the canvas was reduced, but the absence of distortions in the weave of the canvas on all sides suggests it was a substantial amount.¹⁶

The broadly expressive, painterly character of this intimate scene has long been admired,¹⁷ but in recent years questions have been raised as to whether the work was actually executed by Rembrandt. Both Schwartz and Tümpel have doubted the attribution, with Schwartz proposing that Rembrandt’s assistant at that time, Aert de Gelder (1645–1727), may have painted the scene.¹⁸ The splotchy character of the paint on many of the figures’ faces, particularly that of the scribe, the poor articulation of hands, and the general lack of firm structure evident in many areas of the painting are, indeed, reminiscent of Aert de Gelder’s later manner of painting. Associations between *The Circumcision* and Aert de Gelder are not new. In 1883 Bode noted that “in the cursory treatment, in the bright colors (the bright robe of the priest in front of Mary) and in the carelessness of expression the painting very much recalls Rembrandt’s student at that time Aert de Gelder.”¹⁹



Fig. 2. Rembrandt van Rijn, 1654, *The Circumcision in the Stable*, etching, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection

De Gelder, who is well known as the only Rembrandt pupil to continue in the master’s style into the early eighteenth century, was born in Dordrecht in 1645. Houbraken relates that after having been grounded in the fundamentals of art by Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678), De Gelder studied with Rembrandt in Amsterdam for two years.²⁰ The exact dates that he was with Rembrandt are not known, but because of stylistic and thematic connections with Rembrandt’s works during the early 1660s, it seems probable that he was in the workshop between 1661 and 1663.²¹ It is, in any event, highly unlikely that this recently arrived sixteen-year-old student would have been entrusted with the execution of a painting for a patron who knew Rembrandt’s work so well.²²

Fig. 3. X-radiograph of high priest in 1942.9.60



Judging this work on the basis of the manner of execution, however, is extremely difficult because of the painting's poor state of preservation.²³ Indeed, much of the apparently free handling of paint is a direct result of the severe abrasion and pronounced crackle that covers the surface. The area surrounding the Virgin, for example, is quite worn, perhaps because a strong solvent was at one time used to clean this area. Large portions of the background, particularly on the right, are extremely thin and almost impossible to read properly. Complicating a critical evaluation of the quality of execution are the old overpaints that have muddied certain forms, such as the Virgin's canopy, and have made a spatial reading even more difficult.

The recent restoration, while greatly improving the appearance of the painting, has revealed that the paint has been severely flattened when too much heat and pressure were applied during a relining.²⁴ In certain areas, as for example in the head of the scribe and the figures near him, it also appears that the heat has softened the black underlying layer causing it to ooze out around the overlying flesh tones. Even with careful technical analysis, it has proven impossible to determine just what the original appearance of the paint surface was.

Because of the poor condition of the painting, judgments of attribution cannot be based primarily on questions of technique. Nevertheless, in certain areas, particularly in the modeling of the priest's robes, the surety of Rembrandt's touch is evident. Comparison of technique can also be made between the figures of witnesses to the event, particularly the young woman at the upper left, and the small-scale figures in Rembrandt's *Anna and Tobit*, 1659 (fig. 4). Iconographic, compositional, and documentary evi-

dence, moreover, all point strongly to Rembrandt's authorship. The unusual and evocative iconography was clearly conceived by someone conversant with both Jewish and Christian traditions. Compositionally, the juxtaposition of the quiet group performing the rite of circumcision and the expressive energy of the crowd peering at the book is persuasively conceived in a manner that enriches the meaning of the story. Finally, the fact that a substantial amount of money was paid for this painting by a dealer who knew Rembrandt's work well, and who was in the midst of complex financial arrangements with him, makes it virtually certain that *The Circumcision* was executed by the master and not by a member of his workshop.

Notes

1. Pigment and medium analyses of paint and ground layers are available in the Scientific Research department.

2. Blankert 1982b; no. 14 in inventory of 8 October 1669.

3. See Simpson 1953, 41.

4. I am greatly indebted to Judith K. Lyon for the extensive research she undertook on this painting, which has provided the foundations for this entry.

5. Goltzius' composition derives from Albrecht Dürer's woodcut *The Circumcision*, 1504 (B. 86), which was part of his series devoted to the *Life of the Virgin*.

6. While the arrangements of the protagonist vary in all three representations, they share a common tradition in that the Christ Child is held by a male figure rather than by Mary. In his 1626 etching (Münz 1952, 2: no. 187, pl. 208) Rembrandt depicted the high priest performing the operation; in his etching of c. 1630 (B. 48) he represented the priest as standing behind the altar; and in his 1646 painting, as can be judged in a workshop replica in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (inv. no. 241), the priest holds the Christ Child.

7. Aurenhammer 1959, 356, indicates that this textually incorrect interpretation of the Circumcision in the Temple was forbidden during the Counter-Reformation.

8. Judith K. Lyon has stressed in her research that a medieval tradition exists in which Mary is shown holding the Christ Child while the priest or *mobel*, either bending or kneeling, performs the rite. Two primary examples are found in the *Nicholas of Verdun* altarpiece, Klosterneuberg Monastery (completed 1181), and in an illumination by the Master of the Berthold Sacramentary, from the Benedictine Abbey of Weingarten. A fifteenth-century example of this tradition is in a Book of Hours by the Master of Mary of Burgundy (see Alexander 1970, no. 78). Whether Rembrandt knew of this tradition is not certain, but highly probable.

9. In this respect Rembrandt follows Goltzius, who also depicted himself in the background, in his 1594 engraving of the same subject (see fig. 1).

10. See Hofstede de Groot 1899b, 159–166, no. 115; HdG 1907–1927, 6: 68, no. 82.

11. Douglas Lewis in Washington 1969, 32, no. 22, emphasizes Rembrandt's departure from artistic convention by placing the scene in the stable at Bethlehem. He notes as well that Rembrandt's 1654 etching of the same subject (fig. 2) also represents the scene as having taken place in the stable.

Fig. 4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Anna and Tobit*, oil on panel, 1661, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



Finally, he suggests that Rembrandt may have been inspired to give such prominence to the scribe through the description of the Circumcision of John the Baptist in Luke, 1:59–63. Tümpel 1981, 431–433, gives the best critique of Hofstede de Groot's assessment and correctly argues that Rembrandt had always intended to depict the Circumcision of Christ in this work. Not only does he point out the close reading of the biblical text evident in Rembrandt's painting, he also traces the evolution of the imagery and iconography of Christ's Circumcision.

12. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, doc. 1662/6, 499–502. The circumstances concerning Rembrandt and Van Ludick's financial arrangements are quite complicated. *The Circumcision*, along with a *Nativity*, were acquired by Van Ludick as part of an arrangement to satisfy debts Rembrandt had incurred with the art dealer-collector. The translation of the relevant passage is as follows: "Furthermore, they also settled and canceled the completion and delivery of two [other] paintings, a 'Nativity' and a 'Circumcision' which van Rhijn had sold to van Ludick for 600 guilders in exchange for prints and small pictures, which were delivered to van Rhijn personally after he had purchased them at van Ludick's [Dutch] auction. However, with the proviso that van Rhijn is to receive 118 guilders; this being the difference between 600 guilders and the sum of his purchase, but van Rhijn shall be obliged to repaint the circumciser in the aforementioned panel and improve it as is proper."

13. HdG 1907–1927, 6: 68, no. 82, for example, did not believe that this painting was the "Circumcision" listed in this document because it was allegedly on panel.

14. There is strong evidence that the two episodes from the life of Christ were connected in Rembrandt's mind. In 1646 Rembrandt delivered to Prince Frederik Hendrik an *Adoration of the Shepherds* and a *Circumcision* as part of his Passion series. In 1654 he included both scenes in a loose cycle of six etchings illustrating scenes from the childhood of Christ (B. 45; B. 47).

15. It could well be that the *Nativity* was painted as a pendant to this work in its reduced format.

16. Craquelure conforming to what must have been a vertically placed stretcher bar can be found to the right of the center. This information suggests that the canvas may have been cut at the right more than at the left.

17. Smith 1829–1842, 7: 28, no. 69, called it "an admirably finished study, remarkably brilliant and effective"; Waagen 1838b, 3: 336, considered it "Very spirited, and of striking effect"; Bode 1897–1906, 7: 13, mentioned its "sketchy handling"; Gerson/Bredius 1969, 611, no. 596, wrote that "Rembrandt's picture is a superb example of his late style, when he was turning away from a too emphatic and powerful construction of form to a looser, more sensuous, even picturesque rendering of the subject."

18. Schwartz 1984/1985, 324, no. 376; Tümpel 1986, 420, A12, removes this work from Rembrandt's oeuvre, and lists it as "Atelier de Rembrandt."

19. Bode 1883, 525: "in der weichen, flüchtigen Behandlung, in der hellen Färbung (der Priester vor der Maria trägt ein hellgelbes Kleid) und der Vernachlässigung im Ausdruck erinnert das Bild sehr an Rembrandt's damaligen Schüler A. de Gelder." Bode, however, never questioned the attribution to Rembrandt. It is interesting to note that when Aert de Gelder turned to the theme of Christ's Circumcision (*Circumcision of Christ*, c. 1700–1710, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), he followed the tradition found in the composition Rembrandt painted for Frederik Hendrik (see note 13).

Therefore, it is unlikely that De Gelder had anything to do with the execution of the National Gallery painting.

20. Houbraken 1753, 3, 206–207. Houbraken mistakenly wrote that De Gelder came to Rembrandt in 1645 (the year of his birth), so it is impossible to pinpoint his date of arrival in Amsterdam.

21. One particularly telling bit of evidence that De Gelder was in Amsterdam in 1663 is that he made a free adaptation of Rembrandt's *Homer*, 1663 (Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. no. 584), many years later (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 39.45). Since Rembrandt's painting was sent to Messina after its completion, De Gelder would not have had a chance to see it at a later date. It is unlikely that De Gelder based his painting on Rembrandt's preliminary drawing for *Homer* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. no. 1677/1875; Ben. 1066), as Rembrandt had presumably sent the drawing to his patron in Messina, Antonio Ruffo, for approval. For a discussion of the drawing's early history in Italy, see Börje Magnusson's catalogue entry in Stockholm 1992, 361, no. 160.

22. Josua Bruyn, "Rembrandt's workshop: its function and production," in Berlin 1991, 85, notes that De Gelder's hand has not been identified with any painting from Rembrandt's workshop during the early 1660s, with the possible exception of one portrait of Rembrandt.

23. The poor state of preservation was already remarked upon by Hofstede de Groot 1899b, 163.

24. I am greatly indebted to Sarah Fisher from the National Gallery's conservation department, Michael Palmer and Melanic Gifford from the Scientific Research department, and Karen Groen from the RRP for their helpful observations about the complex paint layers in this work.

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 1913–1916 Widener, 1 (1913): intro., no. 38, repro.
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 1931 Widener: 58–59, repro.
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 1969 Gerson/Bredius: 500, repro., 611, no. 596.
 1969 Washington: no. 22.
 1975 NGA: 286, repro.
 1976 Walker: 282, repro.
 1976 Garlick: 117–124.
 1978 Esteban and Monneret: 112–113, color repro.
 1979 Strauss and Van der Meulen: 480, 499–500.
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1942.9.69 (665)

Rembrandt van Rijn

Portrait of a Man in a Tall Hat

c. 1663

Oil on canvas, 121.3 x 94 (47¾ x 37)

Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The support is a medium-weight, herringbone-weave fabric consisting of two pieces seamed horizontally at center, 65 cm from the top. The seam protrudes slightly. The support has been double lined using a gauze interleaf visible in x-radiographs, with the tacking margins trimmed. Absence of cusping on all sides suggests reduction of the original dimensions. A pale, smooth ground layer was applied, followed by a thin, black imprimatura overall. A reddish brown underpainting occurs in selected areas such as the face.

Paint was applied as thick pastes with complex layering and lively brushmarking in the features. Brushes and a palette knife were used to apply paint, and lines were incised with the butt end of a brush. The figure was painted after the background. The red paint of the table continues underneath the black cloak. Artist's changes visible in the x-radiograph include the proper left arm, which originally bent sharply at the elbow with the proper left hand holding a glove, appearing at center (see fig. 2). The proper right arm originally extended downward, ending in a hand that grasped some

draped object. White cuffs were eliminated from both sleeves, the left collar tassel was moved to the right, the collar shortened, and the hat slimmed.

Numerous small losses occur in the white collar and scattered minor losses overall. The face is intact save minute flake losses. Severe abrasion in the background and costume has been retouched. Lining has flattened the paint texture overall. A thick, discolored varnish layer obscures the surface. No conservation has been carried out since acquisition by the National Gallery.

Provenance: Ivor Bertie Guest [1st Baron Wimborne, later Lord Wimborne, 1835–1914], Canford Manor, Dorsetshire, by 1883; possibly by inheritance to Ivor Churchill Guest [2nd Baron, 1873–1939], Wimborne, Dorsetshire. (Arthur J. Sulley & Co., London); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania by 1912; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: Washington 1969, no. 21.

THE IDENTITY of this imposing sitter has long been lost, but his dress and demeanor indicate that he was a well-to-do burgher, probably an Amsterdam merchant. The date of the portrait is also unknown, but similarities between this work and Rembrandt's *Syndics of the Cloth Drapers' Guild* of 1662 (fig. 1) suggest that the two paintings are not far removed in date. The sitter's hairstyle and costume, particularly his wide, flat collar with its tassels, are similar, as is the dignity and gravity that he projects as he focuses his eyes on the viewer from beneath his wide-brimmed black hat. Even the herringbone canvases that Rembrandt used for these paintings are comparable.¹

The vigor and surety of Rembrandt's brushwork is particularly evident in the head. He has modeled the man's face with broad strokes heavily loaded with a relatively dry paint. Since it is mixed with little medium, the paint has a broken character that enhances the sitter's rough-hewn features. Stylistically, this manner of execution is broader than that found in the National Gallery's *A Young Man Seated at a Table*, 1660 (1937.1.77), with which it is often compared,² and, to a certain extent, even broader than that of the *Syndics of the Cloth Drapers' Guild*, an evolution of style that suggests a date of execution subsequent to these works, perhaps 1663.

Unfortunately, aside from the well-preserved face and the relative disposition of the figure, it is extremely difficult to make precise assessments about this painting. The basic problem is that the original character of the painting has been distorted through flattening, abrasion, and discolored varnish.³ Infrared examination reveals that extensive abrasion in the reddish brown background has been heavily restored. The degree to which the massive



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of a Man in a Tall Hat*, 1642.9.69

black form of the man's robes has been damaged by abrasion and/or reworking, however, cannot be determined. Presumably, this illegible mass once had some definition of form that would have related to the three-dimensionality of the man's body.

The issue about the condition of the robe is of some consequence because x-radiographs reveal significant pentimenti in the figure's body. Rembrandt had originally depicted the gentleman with an even longer collar and with his hands in quite different positions. The sitter initially held his left hand higher, at waist level (fig. 2). His cuff was visible and he held a pair of gloves. The other hand is harder to read, but it appears as though it extended downward before him, perhaps resting on or holding some object. To judge from the x-radiograph these hands were fully modeled. Sharp ridges of lead white paint along their forms indicate that Rembrandt used a palette knife in creating them, a technique not otherwise evident in this painting, but one that Rembrandt began exploiting during the mid-1660s.⁴

As is also clear from the x-radiograph, the different placement of the hands affected the position of the arms. As a result the contour of the body is now much larger than it was originally. It may well be that the sitter did not initially have a cloak draped over his shoulders. X-radiographs also indicate that the crown of the hat was slightly smaller and was silhouetted against a lighter background than at present. At the time that the composition was changed, it is likely that the dimensions of the painting were also reduced.⁵

These changes may have been undertaken to give the sitter a greater presence and added austerity. Moreover, by minimizing the activity of the hands, the head received added emphasis. Unfortunately, in its present appearance, large portions of the figure are without visual interest. Because of the thick layers of discolored varnish, it is virtually impossible to determine whether the lack of modeling in the robes results from the condition of the painting or the quality of the artistic representation. One should not exclude the possibility that someone other than Rembrandt made these changes. In the hands, the only area of the body that can be seen properly, the evidence is not conclusive. The portrayal of the right hand is particularly unsuccessful, and the arm of the chair floats disconcertingly in the midst of the robes surrounding it.⁶ Nevertheless, the sitter's left hand is firmly modeled in a manner not unlike that of the face, so an ultimate judgment as to who executed these changes of composition must be reserved until the painting is restored.

Notes

1. Rembrandt used herringbone canvas in a number of paintings from the 1660s, including the *Claudius Civilis* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm), *Family Portrait* (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig), *Man with a Magnifying Glass*, and *Woman Holding a Pink* (both Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). See also discussion of pendants, 1942.9.67 and 1942.9.68.

2. Bode 1897–1906, 7: 3.

3. See Technical Notes.

4. See the discussion of Rembrandt's *Lucretia* (1937.1.76).

5. No thread distortions are found along any edge, which is evidence that the painting was once larger on all sides. It is rather unusual for a portrait of this size to have a horizontal seam, a fact that may indicate that the painting was initially quite a bit larger. The *Syndics of the Cloth Drapers' Guild* has a similar construction (its dimensions are 191.5 x 279 cm).

6. This area is so confusing that Bode thought that the sitter was holding a letter (Bode 1897–1906, 7: 36, no. 487). He titled the painting *Portrait of a Man in a High Hat Holding a Letter in His Right Hand*. This same reading was continued in Widener 1913–1916; HdG 1907–1927, 6: 365, no. 781; and Widener 1923.

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 1906 Rosenberg: 368, repro. (also 1908 ed.: 500, repro.).
 1907–1927 HdG, 6 (1916): 365, no. 781.
 1913–1916 Widener: intro., repro.
 1914 Valentiner: 249, no. 88.
 1921b Valentiner: 500, repro.
 1923 Meldrum: 203, no. 431, repro., 431.
 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
 1931 Widener: 66–67, repro.
 1931 Valentiner: intro., no. 160, repro.
 1932 Hind: 89.
 1935 Bredius: 14, 313, repro. (also 1936 English ed.: 13, 313, repro.).
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 1942 Widener: 6, no. 665.
 1948 Widener: 45, repro.
 1965 NGA: 111, no. 665.
 1966 Bauch: 23, no. 437, 437, repro.
 1968 NGA: 97, no. 665, repro.
 1968 Gerson: 442, repro., 504, no. 401.
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 1984/1985 Schwartz: 338, no. 395, color repro.
 1986 Tümpel: 324–325, color repro., 413, no. 219.
 1990 The Hague: 391, repro.



Fig. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn,
Syndics of the Drapers' Guild, 1662,
oil on canvas, Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



Fig. 2. X-radiograph of
1942.9.69

1937.1.76 (76)

Rembrandt van Rijn

Lucretia

1664

Oil on canvas, 120 x 101 (47¼ x 39¼)

Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At center left: *Rembrandt/1664*

Technical Notes: The original coarse, plain-weave fabric, composed of heavy, unevenly spun threads, has been lined. The top, right, and left edges are slightly trimmed, leaving worn and ragged edges. The bottom was at one time used as a tacking margin, but has now been returned to the picture plane. Slight cusping present along the top and sides, but not the bottom, suggests a reduction in that dimension.

The double ground consists of a thick, gray lower layer and a moderately thin, dark brown upper layer.¹ In the dark areas, particularly the background, the dark brown upper ground layer was incorporated into the design, and in the upper left and lower right quadrants the upper ground was deliberately scraped away to expose the gray lower ground layer as part of the composition. In the richly impasted details on the dress, paint was applied thickly and freely with broad brushwork. Paint was both blended wet into wet and scumbled with a dry brush to exploit the coarse canvas texture. Extensive use of the palette knife can be recognized in the proper left cuff and in the lower portion of the dress. Incisions with the butt end of the brush are found in the proper left cuff and on the neck.

Several pentimenti have become visible over time. The dagger was once 3.5 cm longer, and the proper white sleeve has been altered. Stray brushmarks cross the dress and white blouse at right, suggesting alterations to the neckline.

The paint is in good condition with few losses. Wide-aperture drying crackle has formed on either side of the head. Moderate abrasion has occurred in the darks, and the bottom tacking margin has been overpainted to incorporate it into the design. Conservation treatment was carried out in 1985 to remove an aged, discolored varnish layer and discolored repaints.

Provenance: M. Lapeyrière, Paris; (sale, Henry, Paris, 19 April 1825, no. 143). Lord Berwick; (sale, Phillips, London, 14–15 April 1826, no. 64). Michael M. Zachary, London; (sale, Phillips, London, 31 May 1828, no. 25). Sir T. Lawrence for Hugh A. J. Munro, Novar, Scotland, by 1832. Prince Paul Demidoff [1829–1885], San Donato, near Florence; (sale, Florence, 15 March 1880, no. 1146). Private collection, London; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 13 July 1889, no. 56). (Stephen and Gaspard Bourgeois, Paris). Léon Gauchez, Paris, by 1894. Matthew Chaloner Durfee Borden [1842–1912], New York, by 1906; (sale, American Art Association, New York, 13–14 February 1913, no. 28); (M. Knoedler & Co., New York and Paris); (Frederik Müller and Co., Amsterdam, 1913). August Janssen, Amsterdam. Hermann Heilbuth, Copenhagen, by 1918. (Ehrich Brothers, New York, 1921); (M. Knoedler & Co., New York and Paris); sold November 1921 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and

Washington; deeded 28 December 1934 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: British Institution, London, 1832, no. 44.² New York 1909, no. 105. *A Collection of Paintings* [H. Heilbuth], Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, 1920, no. 63. Washington 1969, no. 23. *Rembrandt's Lucretias*, National Gallery of Art, Washington; Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1991–1992.

IN A MOMENT of inner anguish Lucretia stands, with arms outstretched, just prior to her act of suicide. Although her body faces the viewer, she looks down toward the sharply pointed dagger clenched in her right hand. She holds her left hand open at the same height as the right, as though part of her resists completing the destructive act. The tension surrounding that awful moment adds a human touch to the drama that transforms the mythology of a Roman heroine into an image of an actual woman caught in the moral dilemma of choosing between life and honor.

The tragedy of Lucretia's impending suicide is intensified in the contrast Rembrandt develops between her elegant attire and the poignancy of her gesture and expressions. Richly adorned with golden diadem, pearl earrings, pearl necklace, and a necklace with a golden pendant from which hangs a tear-shaped pearl, she is a regal figure. Her golden dress with its attached cape that falls over her outstretched arms adds to her splendor. Rembrandt, however, arranged her robes so as to emphasize her vulnerability. The clasps that hook her dress at the bodice hang unfastened. With her dress parted, her chest covered only by the white chemise that fits so gracefully, she awaits the thrust of the dagger.

The tragic story of Lucretia, recounted by Livy, occurred during the reign of the tyrannical ruler Tarquinius Superbus in Rome in the sixth century B.C. While away during the siege of Ardea, Lucretia's husband, Collatinus, boasted that her loyalty and virtue were greater than that of his compatriots' wives. Taking the challenge, the men at camp rode immediately to Rome where they discovered Lucretia alone with her handmaidens spinning wool while other wives were idly enjoying their leisure. Lucretia's very virtue, however, enflamed the desire of Tarquinius' son, Sextus Tarquinius, who returned without Collatinus' knowledge a few days later. Having been received as an honored guest, he later stole secretly to Lucretia's chamber, drew his sword, and threatened to kill her if she did not yield to him. She resisted, but, when Sextus Tarquinius threatened to kill his own slave as well and place their naked bodies together to give the appearance



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Lucretia*, 1664.1.76



Fig. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Lucretia*, 1666, oil on canvas, Minneapolis Institute of Arts

that they had been killed in the act of adultery, she yielded to his demands rather than die in such disgrace.

The next day Lucretia summoned her father and husband to her side and related what happened, stressing that only her body had been violated, not her heart. Nevertheless, despite their protestations of her innocence, she was determined to take her punishment, saying: "Never shall Lucretia provide a precedent for unchaste women to escape what they deserve." Livy then relates that with these words Lucretia drew a knife from under her robe, drove it into her heart, and fell forward, dead.³

Overwhelmed by grief, the father, husband, and two accompanying friends swore to avenge her death. Lucretia's death helped raise the anger of the populace against the tyrannical rule of Tarquinius Superbus who then left in exile. Sextus Tarquinius, who was also driven from Rome, was shortly thereafter assassinated. In Livy's account Lucretia embodied chastity, but her tragedy assumed wider political dimensions because she was also considered a metaphor for Rome itself. Lucretia's rape came to symbolize the tyrannical subjugation of the city by

Tarquinius Superbus and his family.⁴ Her rape triggered the revolt that led to the overthrow of tyranny and the creation of political freedom in the form of republican government.

Rembrandt painted at least three images of Lucretia in his later years. The earliest of these is known only through an inventory of the possessions of Abraham Wijs and Sara de Potter, made on 1 March 1658. The inventory lists: "A large painting of *Lucretia*, by R: Van Rijn."⁵ The two extant images date from the last decade of Rembrandt's life, the Washington *Lucretia*, 1664, and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts' *Lucretia*, 1666 (fig. 1). In the Gallery's haunting image, Rembrandt has evoked both Lucretia's profound sadness and her resignation to the fate forced upon her. In the Minneapolis version, Rembrandt has portrayed Lucretia just after she has stabbed herself, her chemise already stained by blood from the mortal wound in her side. The two images complement each other, not only because their compositions and painterly qualities are similar, but also because they explore Lucretia's emotions as she readies herself prior to her self-sacrifice and then responds to the consequences of her action. Nevertheless, they do not seem to have been conceived as a pair. The models Rembrandt used are different and their robes and jewelry, though similar in type, are not identical.⁶

As Stechow has demonstrated, three traditions exist for the representation of the Lucretia story: "narrative combinations of various scenes pertaining to the legend; dramatic scenes concentrating entirely on Tarquinius' misdeed; and single figures of Lucretia stabbing herself."⁷ Rembrandt's image belongs to the last. He certainly knew a number of earlier representations of Lucretia through prints and engravings, although only one has been suggested as a prototype for the Washington painting: Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after a Raphael design (fig. 2).⁸ The essential transformation of the idealized statuesque figure into the emotionally evocative image of Rembrandt's *Lucretia*, however, argues that the relationship is more superficial than real. Far closer in spirit to Rembrandt, however, are half-length depictions of Lucretia by Titian and his school that represent the heroine dressed in loose-fitting robes and poised at the moment before she thrusts the dagger into her heart.⁹ Rembrandt, who was profoundly influenced by Venetian art during his later years, may have known of such depictions of Lucretia; for a number of such paintings ascribed to Titian or Paolo Veronese were in Archduke Leopold Wilhelm's collection in Brussels during the

1650s.¹⁰ The painting of this compositional type that Rembrandt certainly knew, and used as a basis for other paintings in the 1640s and 1650s, was Titian's *Flora* (fig. 3), which was auctioned in Amsterdam in 1639.¹¹ The similarities in the general disposition of Lucretia's head in the Washington painting and that of *Flora* suggest that this work continued to exert its influence on Rembrandt into the mid-1660s. Even supposing such antecedents could have helped provide the visual vocabulary for the rich pictorial effects and iconic composition of Rembrandt's painting, the psychological characterization of Lucretia's emotional state is entirely personal.

No record of commissions exist for these works, nor other information concerning Rembrandt's motivation for painting them. It is possible, as Schwartz has suggested, that the paintings have political overtones.¹² Because Lucretia's suicide precipitated the revolt that helped institute the Roman republic, she had traditionally been viewed, among her other qualities, as a symbol of patriotism. That such an attribute was associated with her in Rembrandt's time is clear from a poem Schwartz quotes written by Jan Vos in 1660 about a *Lucretia* painted by Govaert Flinck in the collection of Joan Huydecoper, one of the most influential patrons of

Fig. 2. Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, *Lucretia*, c. 1511–1512, engraving, Harvey D. Parker Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Fig. 3. Titian, *Portrait of a Woman, called "Flora,"* c. 1520–1522, oil on canvas, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi

the day: "In the red ink [of her blood] she writes a definition of freedom." Lucretia, thus, just as Claudius Civilis, may well have assumed particular allegorical importance in the parallels that were being drawn around 1660 between the foundations of the Roman and Dutch republics.¹³

The forceful impact of Rembrandt's paintings of Lucretia, however, seems also to have resulted from personal associations the artist made between experiences in his life and the emotional traumas that he projected onto Lucretia at the time of her suicide. Only thus can we explain the essential transformation of the pictorial traditions for portraying this legendary Roman heroine that occurs in these two majestic paintings.

Lucretia, in maintaining her honor through death, had, to a great extent, come to be revered as a symbol of chastity, honor, and faithfulness. Knuttel speculated that the 1664 *Lucretia* may have served as a psychological catharsis for Rembrandt after the death of Hendrickje the previous year. Indeed, parallels can be found between Lucretia's faithfulness and self-sacrifice and the indignities suffered by Hendrickje as a result of her commitment to Rembrandt.¹⁴

The mythology surrounding Lucretia, however, was complex. While she was honored for her faithfulness she was also criticized by later Christians for



Fig. 4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jewish Bride*, c. 1666, oil on canvas, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

having taken her own life, which was seen as a greater evil than adultery and a life of shame. As Garrard has written: "In Roman terms, Lucretia killed herself not out of guilt, but out of shame, concerned for her reputation and for the precedent of pardon that she might set for voluntary adulterers. Christian writers, schooled in a religion that placed the highest premium on the innocence of one's personal conscience, regarded such values as excessively concerned with appearances and the opinion of others."¹⁵ Rembrandt, as he so often did, fused here the pagan and Christian worlds to create an exceptionally profound image of the psychological moment just prior to Lucretia's fatal decision to thrust the knife into her heart. With her arms raised in a gesture that echoes that of Christ on the cross, she looks down toward the weapon of her destruction with an expression of one who in her decision to commit suicide must weigh issues never described by Livy. Rembrandt's Lucretia is not the assured tragic heroine who has determined her punishment and dies for honor, but one who hesitates at that crucial moment because of an awareness of the moral dilemma that she faces.

It may be, as Held has remarked, that Rembrandt drew upon a theatrical tradition to give added poignancy to the moment; for Lucretia, whose mouth is partially open, seems to address the dagger as though giving the closing monologue of this tragic

drama.¹⁶ Shakespeare did exactly that in his *Rape of Lucretia* when she asks:

Poor hand, why guiver'st thou in this decree?
Honour thyself to rid me in this shame;
For if I die, my honour lives in thee,
But if I live, thou livest in my defame.¹⁷

Rembrandt's late paintings, whether portraits, biblical, or mythological stories, often take on an almost sacramental character in the way that the artist confronts the viewer with his images. His broad execution, rich colors, impressive use of chiaroscuro, and iconic compositional structure give these works unparalleled forcefulness. In *Lucretia*, all of these elements of his late style are evident. Particularly remarkable in this painting is his use of chiaroscuro to transform an essentially symmetrical and static pose into an active one. Lucretia is lit not from the front but from the left. Light thus strikes her head, right arm, and shoulder. The dagger blade glistens against her white cuff. Although her left arm is thrown into shadow, her outstretched left hand catches the light. Through these subtle means of emphasis, which until recently had been hidden by thick discolored layers of varnish, Rembrandt heightened the drama by reinforcing the psychological and physical tension of the scene.¹⁸

Rembrandt painted this image using a broad

range of techniques. He modeled the face quite densely by applying a sequence of paint layers. Some layers, such as the soft lavenders that model the shaded portions of the lower cheeks and chin, are quite smooth. Others, such as the pinks and oranges that highlight the cheekbones and the yellowish-whitish areas on the nose and forehead, are brushed on more vigorously. The eyes, nose, and mouth are broadly rendered. Specifics of eyebrows, eyelids, pupils of the eyes, nostrils, and lips were of little concern; instead he heightened and accented them with deft touches of rust-colored paint. One particularly bold stroke of ocher paint defines the upper left edge of the top lip.

Rembrandt varied his painting techniques in Lucretia's cape and dress according to the play of light falling across her figure. Where light hits her right arm, Rembrandt casts a golden tone with a rich mixture of yellow, white, red, and salmon-colored paints. Under the lightest areas of the shoulder, he first laid in a light gray layer to give an added luminosity to the paints. On the shaded left sleeve, the paint is much less dense. A deep brown and reddish brown layer covering the ground in this area forms the basis for the sleeve's tonality. Over it, Rembrandt, often with a dry brush, has applied yellow, greenish yellow, red, and white highlights. In certain instances, for example, in a series of black strokes that shade part of the sleeve, he clearly used a palette knife as well as a brush.

Rembrandt utilized the palette knife even more frequently in the white of the left sleeve. Here he applied a rather dry paint onto the underlying brown layer to suggest the material's transparency. More extensive use of the palette knife is seen in the dress near Lucretia's waist. Here he spread broader areas of light ocher paint with the knife to suggest the luminous character of the fabric. In general, the treatment of this area of the dress resembles that of the left sleeve where the underlying dark brown paint becomes an important ingredient in the overall color tonality. The one area with thick highlights in the dress is the belt, but even here Rembrandt did not really overlap paints. The accents of yellow, orange, and white are loosely applied and do not define the belt to any great degree.¹⁹

Stylistically, this painting resembles the so-called *Jewish Bride* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (fig. 4). The head of Lucretia (fig. 5) is extremely close in type and in concept to that of the bride; both are built up in a comparable fashion. Remarkably similar are the ways in which the features are modeled with dense and somewhat roughly brushed strokes of paint. The similarities extend to the technique for

the modeling of the pearls and even for indicating the gold diadem in the back of the hair. While most of the robes in the *Jewish Bride* are more densely painted than those of *Lucretia* and are almost exclusively built up with a palette knife, in the shaded area under the collar of the man, Rembrandt used a modeling technique very similar to that seen in *Lucretia's* left arm. Here he also used a brownish imprimatura layer for the base collar of the robe and accented it lightly with a series of thin strokes of red paint applied with a palette knife.²⁰

Similarities in painting technique also exist between this figure of Lucretia and that in Minneapolis, even though the latter work was painted two years later, in 1666. As is appropriate to its starker concept, Rembrandt applied his paints in a more angular fashion in the Minneapolis version than he did in the Washington painting. Still, the modeling of the facial features is once again comparable. One notices in particular the way the top lip is defined with a bold stroke of flesh-colored paint along its upper edge. Also similar is the use of an imprimatura layer as a base color of the left sleeve, and finally, the structure of the hand holding the dagger.

Fig. 5. Detail of head in 1937.1.76



Notes

1. Reports are available in the Scientific Research department on ground composition (8 May 1985).
2. In 1833 Alfred Joseph Woolmer (1805–1892) painted a fanciful view of the exhibition of 1832 in which *Lucretia* can be seen hanging prominently to the right of an arched doorway (Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, inv. no. B 1981.25.694). See Fox 1992, 447, repro. no. 383.
3. Livy 1973, 1: 59, 99.
4. Donaldson 1982, 9, stresses the political significance of this point.
5. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, doc. 1658/8, 418. "In 't Voorhuis Een groot stuck schilderij van Lucretia van R. Van Rijn."
6. The features in the Washington *Lucretia* resemble Hendrickje, as she is seen in Rembrandt's paintings from the mid-1650s (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 828B). Hendrickje, who appears much older in the portrait of 1660 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, had died in July 1663. The model Rembrandt used for the Minneapolis *Lucretia* is not found in other of Rembrandt's paintings.
7. Stechow 1951, 114.
8. First suggested by N. Beets (see Beets 1914, 1). Northern prints and paintings of *Lucretia* have a quite different character and do not seem to have influenced Rembrandt in his depictions of *Lucretia*; for the prints see Veldman 1986, 113–127.
9. The most profound sixteenth-century images of *Lucretia* were created in Venice. In two memorable paintings, *Tarquin and Lucretia*, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna; and *Tarquin and Lucretia*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Titian focused on the dramatic confrontation between Tarquin and *Lucretia*, capturing the animal energy of Tarquin blindly driven by lust.
10. For paintings attributed to Titian see Wethey 1975, 3: 215, cat. x-24, 219, cat. x-33. For Veronese's *Lucretia* see Vienna 1965, 169, cat. 750.
11. Wethey 1975, 3: 154–155, cat. 17.
12. Schwartz 1985/1985, 330. It seems unlikely, however, that there is any pro-Orange or anti-Orange sentiment implied in these works, as Schwartz suggests.
13. For the parallels drawn between the story of Claudius Civilis and the foundation of the Dutch republic as seen in the decorations of the Town Hall in Amsterdam see Van de Waal 1974, 28–43.
14. The resemblance of *Lucretia* to Hendrickje (see note 6 above) seems to reinforce this hypothesis. Rembrandt's self-identification with a historic figure can be found in his *Self-Portrait as the Apostle Paul* of 1661 (see p. 242, fig. 2), in which the sword of Paul's martyrdom protrudes from Rembrandt's chest.
15. Garrard 1989, 219.
16. Held 1973, 123. The theatrical character of the image is reinforced by the suggestion of curtains hanging behind *Lucretia*. These may have been more apparent before the paint darkened and the background suffered from abrasion. *Lucretia's* theatricality, however, has not always met with favor. Bode 1883, 524, found the theatricality unconvincing given the portrait-like character of the image. The art dealer René Gimpel was more outspoken. When *Lucretia* was on the market in 1921 he wrote: "She is stabbing herself in her terror, with a ridiculous gesture. Neither realism nor idealism. A terrible lack of taste" (Gimpel 1966, 161).
17. This quotation was first associated with Rembrandt's

1664 *Lucretia* by Veth 1914, 25.

18. The discolored varnish also had the effect of flattening the three-dimensional character of the image, which reduced the emotional impact of the scene by making the spatial relationships more difficult to decipher. One such critique against the painting was levied by Gold 1921, 93.

19. While I find the painting techniques described here characteristic for Rembrandt, Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann (personal communication, 1993) is quite critical of the manner in which these areas are executed. He feels that the "paint has an abstract, unfunctional quality, and makes the impression of a method applied without regard for its reason." He rejects the attribution to Rembrandt and notes that the painting has "strong similarities with works by Aert de Gelder."

20. The similarities in technique in this area have become even more evident since the 1993 restoration of the *Jewish Bride*.

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 1991–1992 Washington.

1937.1.74 (74)

Rembrandt Workshop (possibly Carel Fabritius)

A Girl with a Broom

probably begun 1646/1648 and completed 1651
 Oil on canvas, 107 x 91 (42¼ x 36)
 Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At lower left: *Rembrandt f. 1651*

Technical Notes: The original support is a fine, tightly woven, plain-weave fabric, lined with the tacking margins removed. Lining has exaggerated the canvas texture in the paint layer. Cusping on all edges indicates that the dimensions have not been reduced. There are long vertical tears in the lower left of the fence and at bottom center to the right of the broom.

The double ground consists of an orange red lower layer and a thick, whitish translucent upper layer.¹ The upper ground is not employed as a mid-tone compositionally. Paint in the figure was applied thickly in broad, short strokes with vigorous brushwork and low impasto, while thin washes define the background. At least two distinct design layers of paint are apparent, with variations in handling. Underneath the present composition, as seen in the x-radiograph and raking-light examination, is a head, placed directly under

the girl's head, looking upward (see figs. 3 and 4). The x-radiograph also shows minor changes in the girl's sleeves. Her proper left thumb is visible in the x-radiograph under the broom handle. (For a further discussion of these changes see the entry.)

The upper paint layer was applied within a short time of the first, before the underlying paint had fully dried and without intermediate varnish application. An excess of medium and an improper drying of the paint layers have caused pronounced wrinkling in the upper paint layers, especially in the face and hands.

The paint has suffered abrasion throughout, and many of the glazes in the face, particularly the right eye, have been lost. The painting was treated in 1991–1992 to remove discolored varnish and retouchings.

Provenance: Almost certainly Herman Becker [c. 1617–1678], Amsterdam.² Pierre Crozat [1665–1740], Paris, before 1740; by inheritance to his nephew Louis-François Crozat, Marquis du Châtel [1691–1750], Paris; by inheritance to his brother Louis-Antoine Crozat, Baron de Thiers [1699–1770], Paris; sold by estate in 1772 to Catherine II, empress of Russia [1729–1796]; Imperial Hermitage Gallery, Saint Petersburg; sold February 1931 through (Matthiesen Gallery, Berlin; P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London; and M. Knoedler & Co., New York) to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 1 May 1937 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: Washington 1969, no. 11 (as Rembrandt). *Rembrandt Och Hans Tid*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1992–1993, no. 83 (as Carel Fabritius and Rembrandt Workshop).

AS SHE LEANS over the gate of a wooden fence a young girl stares directly at the viewer. In her left hand is a broom. The fence appears to surround a well, whose dark, round form is visible in the foreground. The well is flanked by a large, overturned bucket on the right and a dark object, perhaps a trough, on the left. While the girl's form is strongly lit from the left, the dark background, and even the area around the well, remain relatively undefined and obscured in shadow.³

A Girl with a Broom, in large part because of the appealing features of the young girl and the genre-like character of the subject, has long been admired as one of Rembrandt's most sensitive depictions of figures from his immediate environs. This attractive model has been repeatedly identified as a young servant girl who had come to help Hendrickje after she entered Rembrandt's household at the end of the 1640s.⁴ The extremely close physical resemblance between this figure and that in Rembrandt's *Girl at the Window*, 1645 (fig. 1), however, indicates that the same model was used. Both girls have comparable hairstyles; they have relatively broad faces with widely separated eyes and low, flat eyebrows; their noses, the tips of which have a slightly bulbous

appearance, are similar; and finally, their broadly formed lips are virtually identical.⁵ While it is probable that Rembrandt had servant girls to help with his household before Hendrickje's arrival, none are specifically mentioned in documents. It seems unlikely that the identity of the maidservant will ever be known.

Whether or not this work was meant as a portrait of someone in Rembrandt's household or as a genre scene is difficult to determine. Should it have been possible to identify the girl, the painting would almost certainly be classified as a portrait because of the frontal pose and careful depiction of the features.⁶ Despite the portrait-like nature of the image, however, the setting and accouterments give the painting the character of a genre scene, albeit one that is not fully explained to the viewer. Why, for example, is the girl holding the broom while leaning over the wall surrounding the well, and does the prominently placed bucket have any iconographic significance?⁷

Recent scholars have doubted the attribution to Rembrandt and have even speculated that the paint-



Fig. 2. Detail of 1937.1.74 in raking light

Fig. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Girl at a Window*, 1645, oil on canvas
London, Dulwich Picture Gallery



ing is eighteenth-century in origin.⁸ Since *A Girl with a Broom* has a distinguished provenance that reaches back to 1678, when it is almost certainly listed in the inventory of the collection of an acquaintance of Rembrandt, Herman Becker, the latter suggestion is clearly unacceptable. Even though the painting was attributed to Rembrandt when it was in Becker's collection, its style differs in enough fundamental ways from that of Rembrandt's authentic paintings to warrant the doubts mentioned in the literature.

The primary reason that *A Girl with a Broom* has been associated with eighteenth-century images is its physical appearance. The surface is deformed in areas, particularly in the face and hands, by pronounced wrinkling of the paint similar to that found in certain English paintings of the eighteenth century (fig. 2).⁹ This effect had, until the painting's restoration in 1991–1992, been exacerbated by the thick layers of pigmented varnish. Technical analysis undertaken at the time of the restoration indicated that the wrinkling in the surface resulted from the interference of an underlying paint layer that had not sufficiently dried. X-radiographs reveal that the girl's face was painted over an earlier head looking



Rembrandt Workshop (possibly Carel Fabritius), *A Girl with a Broom*, 1937.1.74



Fig. 3. X-radiograph detail of 1937.1.74

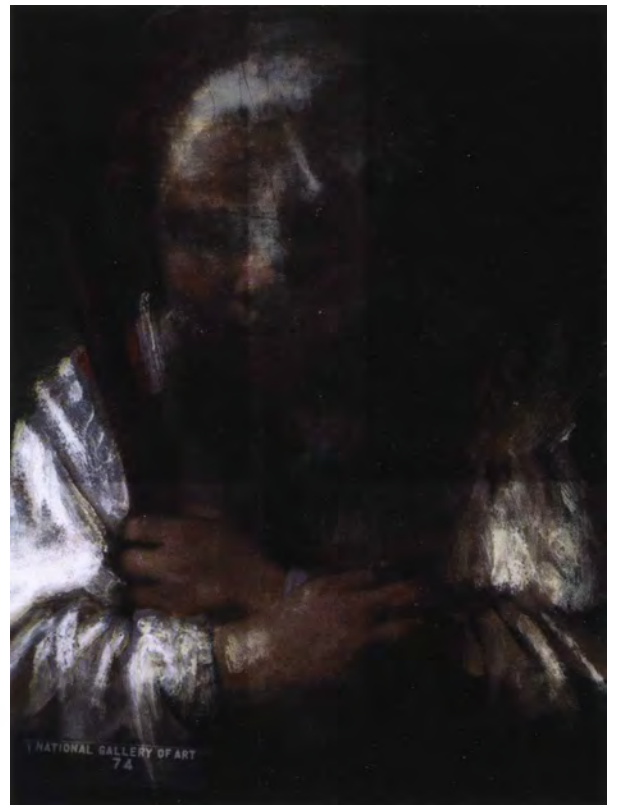


Fig. 4. Detail of 1937.1.74, x-radiograph superimposed on painting.

upwards to the right (figs. 3 and 4). To judge from the x-radiograph, the lead white modeling around the nose and cheek of the underlying head is quite dense. Little or no wrinkling appears on the surface image covering these areas of the underlying image. The wrinkling on the surface is most pronounced where it overlaps x-ray transparent areas of the underlying images, such as eye sockets. It thus appears that these shaded areas were modeled in dark, medium-rich glazes that had not yet dried at the time the top layers were applied.¹⁰

While the existence of an earlier form beneath the girl's head is fairly easy to distinguish in the x-radiograph, evidence of an underlying layer is more difficult to discern for the rest of the body. Nevertheless, an earlier shape for the blouse, blocked in with paints with little density, can be distinguished in various places.¹¹ The most obvious of these is along the outer contour of the girl's right sleeve. An earlier layer, probably the same, can also be made out under the handle of the broom both in the x-radiograph and with the naked eye. Also visible through the brown color of the broom handle is the full extent of the girl's thumb.¹² Since the girl's hands have surface distortions much as those found in the head, underlying paint layers here must have had paint charac-

teristics similar to those in the shaded portions of the earlier head.

Whatever the explanation for the unusual nature of the paint in the flesh areas, neither technical nor visual evidence provides an argument for removing *A Girl with a Broom* from the immediate orbit of Rembrandt.¹³ Not only is the image appealing in subject matter, the modeling of the features is sensitively rendered, and the folds in the girl's white blouse are executed with great bravura.

Notwithstanding its inherent qualities, a close comparison of *A Girl with a Broom* with two comparable paintings by Rembrandt, his *Girl at a Window*, 1645, in Dulwich (fig. 1) and his *Servant Girl at a Window*, 1651, in Stockholm (fig. 5) points out differences that clearly call into question the attribution to Rembrandt. The centrally placed figure remains isolated in the composition and does not activate the surrounding space as do the girls in the Dulwich and Stockholm paintings. Specifically, in comparison to the Dulwich painting, the modeling of the blouse in *A Girl with a Broom* is much freer, even in the folds of her right sleeve that are similar in character. Whereas Rembrandt created the illusion that the cloth actually rises and turns over upon itself, the folds in *A Girl with a Broom* have been formed with distinctive

brushstrokes highlighting the uppermost ridges of the fabric. Nothing in the Dulwich painting is comparable to the extremely expressive brushwork in the left sleeve, where chiaroscuro effects are achieved by highlighting illuminated folds with slashing strokes of white impasto. Finally, while the blouse is more freely rendered, the features are not modeled with the same degree of plasticity. In the Dulwich painting Rembrandt boldly modeled eyes, nose, and mouth with nuanced strokes that clearly convey the structure of the girl's head. In the face of *A Girl with a Broom*, as well as in the blouse, paint is more at the service of light than of structure. Accents effectively highlight the hair, forehead, nose, and upper lip, but they are not used to create underlying form. The difference in approach is most distinctly seen in the area of the right eye, where a general halftone shadow does little to suggest three-dimensional character. Instead, the eye's structure, particularly the upper eyelid, is created with painted lines.

Significant stylistic differences also exist between *A Girl with a Broom* and Rembrandt's *Servant Girl at a Window* (fig. 5) even though the two works are dated the same year. While the young woman represented in this painting is possibly, although not necessarily the same, the pose, like that of the Dulwich *Girl*, appears more natural and organic than in the Washington painting, where the girl's head seems too large for her body. The face of the Stockholm *Servant Girl* is more freely brushed than that in the Washington painting, and modeling is achieved with quick and certain strokes. Accents of light help enliven her form, particularly around the eyes, in a way that is absent in *A Girl with a Broom*. The Stockholm *Servant Girl*'s blouse, red jacket, and right hand are also modeled with broad strokes that are quite consistent throughout and help create the painting's harmonious effect. In the Washington painting, on the other hand, while the brushwork of the sleeves is bold and vigorous, that of the face and hands is relatively restrained, and that used to paint the broom is comparatively timid.

The contrasts in manner of execution between *A Girl with a Broom* and both of these related paintings are so intrinsic to an artistic approach that it seems improbable that *A Girl with a Broom* was executed by the same hand. The differences between the Washington and Dulwich paintings are such that it does not seem possible to account for them by differences of date, even if the Dulwich painting were executed in 1645 and the National Gallery's painting in 1651. It is even more improbable that Rembrandt would have created such different images as the Washington

and Stockholm paintings in the same year. The signature and date of *A Girl with a Broom*, moreover, are certainly suspect. Although there is no evidence to suggest that they have been added at a later date, they are written in an uncharacteristic form, placed, as they are, around the circular inner edge of the well.¹⁴ Should there have been no date inscribed on the painting, the similarity in the age, hairstyle, and general appearance of the girl in the Washington and Dulwich paintings would have called for a projected date for *A Girl with a Broom* of 1646/1648, only a few years after the Dulwich *Girl*.¹⁵ One possible explanation for the discrepancies of date and style, given the existence of an earlier image, is that the painting was begun in the late 1640s and only finished in 1651. This work, thus, may be one other example of a painting executed over an extended period of time (see, among the Rembrandt paintings discussed in this catalogue, *Saskia van Uylenburgh*, 1942.9.71; *The Apostle Paul*, 1942.9.59; and *The Descent from the Cross*, 1942.9.61).

Few specifics are known about the nature of Rembrandt's workshop in the late 1640s and early 1650s. Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678) in his *Inleyding*

Fig. 5. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Servant Girl at a Window*, oil on canvas, 1651, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm





Fig. 6. Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (or follower), *Young Woman at an Open Half-Door*, oil on canvas, 1645, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection, 1894.1022, photograph © 1994, The Art Institute of Chicago. All Rights Reserved

Fig. 7. Detail of hands in 1937.1.74



tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst (Rotterdam, 1678) indicates that he was active in the master's workshop before he returned to his native city of Dordrecht in April 1648. The fellow students he mentions were Carel Fabritius (1622–1654) and Abraham Furnerius (c. 1628–1654). Among other artists working with Rembrandt in the late 1640s were Karel van der Pluym (1625–1672), Constantijn van Renesse (1626–1680), and Nicolaes Maes (q.v.). It seems probable that Willem Drost (active 1650s) and Abraham van Dijck (1635/36–1672) also became Rembrandt pupils around 1650, although nothing certain is known about their relationship to Rembrandt. Indeed, many questions remain about paintings from Rembrandt's workshop around 1650 (see, for example, *Portrait of Rembrandt*, 1942.9.70) because it is extremely difficult to establish the independent identities of Rembrandt's pupils during these years. Nothing in the oeuvres of artists known or thought to have been working with Rembrandt in the early 1650s can be effectively compared either thematically or stylistically to this work. A more probable date, in terms of the manner of execution, appears to be the late 1640s, which would be consistent with the apparent age of the sitter as discussed above.

Although no documentary proof has survived that clarifies the different roles of student and assistant in Rembrandt's workshop during the 1640s, it seems probable that the more advanced of his students, for example Hoogstraten and Fabritius, would have worked as assistants in the workshop after they finished their apprenticeship.¹⁶ In all likelihood they continued to help execute paintings

Fig. 8. Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (or follower), *Young Woman at an Open Half-Door*, detail of left hand, oil on canvas, 1645, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection, 1894.1022, photo © 1994, The Art Institute of Chicago. All Rights Reserved



that would be sold under Rembrandt's name, even after they had begun working independently and signing their own works.¹⁷ Paintings created for Rembrandt's workshop, to judge from those that have been recently attributed to these artists, would often be free adaptations of Rembrandt's own compositions. These works, once accepted by the master as worthy of his production, would be inscribed with his signature and the date.

A Girl with a Broom appears to fit into this scenario. It is one of a number of paintings loosely derived from Rembrandt's *Girl at a Window* in Dulwich. Hoogstraten was particularly fond of this compositional type, if one is to judge from his depiction of a *Young Man in a Hat, at a Half-Door* in the Hermitage from the late 1640s.¹⁸ The quality of this work, however, is comparatively mediocre, and it is impossible to reconcile the simplistic handling of paint seen here with that found in *A Girl with a Broom*. A much finer painting of a comparable type that has recently been attributed to Hoogstraten, *Young Woman at an Open Half-Door*, signed and dated Rembrandt 1645 (fig. 6), is also executed in a manner distinctively different from that of *A Girl with a Broom*.¹⁹ As is evident in comparisons of the hands (figs. 7 and 8), the forms in the Chicago painting are executed in a far crisper manner, with flatter planes of color and fewer nuances of shading. Differences in character between the white sleeves of *A Girl with a Broom* and the white shirt of the girl in the Chicago painting also point out that the Washington painting was executed by an artistic personality that favored a freer, more painterly approach.

The artist in Rembrandt's circle during this period who was most capable of both the nuanced modeling of the face and hands and the rough bravura brushwork found in the sleeves was Carel Fabritius, but specific comparisons with other works by him are difficult to make because few paintings can be firmly attributed to him during the mid-1640s. Thus only a tentative attribution to him is here suggested.²⁰ One of the few comparisons to Fabritius' work that can be made is to his evocative *Self-Portrait*, c. 1645–1648 (fig. 9). Although the modeling of the face of the girl in *A Girl with a Broom* is more nuanced than that of the *Self-Portrait*, where modeling is achieved with vigorously applied broken impastos, these differences may well relate to different artistic intents. The boldly uncompromising application of paint in the *Self-Portrait* was clearly intended to help characterize the artist's personality, whereas the careful modeling in the girl's face was appropriate to her sex and age. The character of the

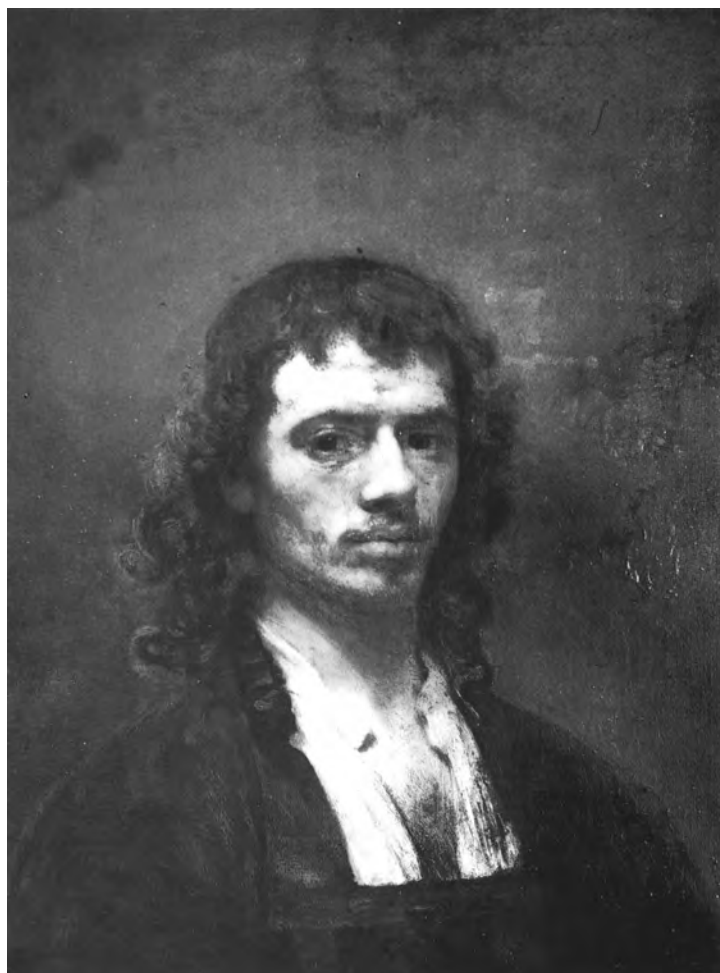


Fig. 9. Carel Fabritius, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1645–1648, oil on canvas, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

brushwork in the faces of these two paintings, indeed, is far more comparable than one might initially suspect. In both instances paint is densely applied with broad, interlocking brushstrokes that model facets or planes of the face. Similarly placed accents, moreover, help define the cheekbone and nose. A specific point of comparison is in the structure of the eyes: in each instance the upper portions of the relatively large, flat, almond-shaped eyes are defined by a black line rather than by modulations in tone. This particular manner of articulating eyes is not found in paintings by other artists in Rembrandt's circle.

One other painting can be brought into this discussion, a *Portrait of a Woman* recently attributed to Carel Fabritius by the Rembrandt Research Project.²¹ Although this painting is signed and dated "Rembrandt.f/1647," the RRP has concluded that it was executed by Fabritius around 1642. Whether or not such a redating is justified, and I would maintain that the date on the painting reflects the period of its

execution, the attribution of this portrait to Fabritius is convincing. The differences in style between the carefully modeled head of this woman and Fabritius' more broadly and roughly executed Rotterdam *Self-Portrait*, however, demonstrate the range of techniques Fabritius was capable of during these years. The head of *A Girl with a Broom* falls somewhere between these two works. The woman's hands and those of *A Girl with a Broom* also show marked similarities. In both instances they are modeled with interlocking planes of color that are generally brushed across the forms, particularly the fingers, rather than along their length.²²

The hypothesis that *A Girl with a Broom* could have been created during the mid-to-late 1640s by Carel Fabritius in response to Rembrandt's *Girl at a Window*, however, needs to remain extremely tentative because of the 1651 date inscribed on the painting. Fabritius almost certainly would not have added the signature and date because he had moved to Delft in 1650. It is possible, however, that the image was reworked and brought to completion by another artist at this date. The basis for this hypothesis is the stylistic discrepancy that exists between the execution of the broom, the bucket, and even the fence surrounding the well, and that of the figure. Neither the broom nor the bucket are executed with the same surety as the figure itself. The tentative brushstrokes do not model the forms with bold accents comparable to those found on the girl's blouse. The relationships of scale between the girl and these objects are also peculiarly discordant.

Technical evidence seems to support the hypothesis that the broom may have been worked up after the initial blocking in of the figure had occurred. As has been mentioned, an earlier form of the blouse and the girl's left thumb were painted under the broomstick. Whether or not the broom was part of the original concept is of some debate. In the x-radiograph (fig. 3) there is the appearance of a reserve left for the broom. The area of little density within the costume, however, would not have been blocked in with dense paints since it conforms to the position of her red shoulder strap. To the right of the broom this red is painted over a dark layer, while to the left of the broom the red is painted over the white shirt, which may be an indication that it was applied as a result of a design change. Immediately above the shoulder is a dark area in the x-radiograph that seems to conform to the shape of a portion of the broomstick. Whether or not this diagonal shape is a reserve is also difficult to determine, in part because it abuts another dark area adjacent to the girl's head that has no logical relationship to the final image.²³

In any event, the definition of the "reserve" that seems to correspond to the shape of the broom has been enhanced on the left by the paints containing lead white that were used at the last stage of execution to silhouette the figure against the dark background (and to cover pentimenti in the girl's shirt).

One bit of technical evidence that links the signature and date, the broom, and the bucket are their distinctive reddish orange accents, which have a vermilion component. Similar accents also appear on the girl's curls and on her shoulder to the left of the broom, indicating that these other areas of the painting may have been finalized at this time as well.²⁴ Just why *A Girl with a Broom* would have been worked on at two different stages is not known, although it may well be that the painting was not originally brought to completion because distortions in the surface from the wrinkling paint had quickly developed.

Notes

1. Pigment analysis of the ground and paint layers is available in the Scientific Research department (27 April 1992).

2. For Becker's collection, see Postma 1988, 1–21. The painting appears in the 1678 inventory (fol. 285r as "Een vrouwtje aende put van Rembrandt van Rijn").

3. This entry is a revised version of the text that appeared in the catalogue of Stockholm 1992, no. 83, and the symposium papers published thereafter (Wheelock 1993, 142–155). I have benefited greatly from my many conversations with Susanna Pauli Griswold about the issues discussed in this entry. I would also like to thank Dennis Weller and Melanie Gifford for their helpful comments.

4. This identification was first proposed by Michel 1893, 1: 75. It was reiterated by, among others, Benesch 1943, 26.

5. Computer examinations of the physical characteristics of the heads in these two paintings have been undertaken at the National Gallery. The results have reinforced the notion that the model was identical. I am particularly indebted to Ambrose Liao and Donna Mann for their enthusiastic research on this project.

6. See, for example, Rembrandt's *Titus at His Desk*, 1655 (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 512), which would probably be classified as a genre scene were the sitter not known.

7. Koslow 1975, 429, has associated the crossed-arm pose of the girl with idleness. This interpretation is, however, not convincing. The type of well depicted appears to be similar to that in *The Village Holiday* by Daniel Teniers the Younger (1610–1690) (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, no. 56–23). In this painting a broom and a bucket stand adjacent to the well.

8. Virtually all scholars since Gerson/Bredius 1969, 580, no. 378, have doubted the attribution to Rembrandt.

9. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 580, no. 378 wrote: "The surface is composed of small particles of paint curling slightly at the edges, such as one observes on pictures which have been exposed to extraordinary heat or on pictures of the eighteenth century. The latter possibility, in the present state of Rem-

brandt research, should not be excluded." The issue was further taken up by Von Sonnenburg 1976, 12. Von Sonnenburg associated the "gerunzelte Farbschicht" with that found in eighteenth-century English paintings. This effect, he wrote, resulted from an excess of drying oil or from the character of the medium itself. He questioned whether the painting had been made by a follower of Rembrandt and called for a serious scientific analysis of the work.

10. I would particularly like to thank Karen Groen who analyzed a group of samples taken from this painting and confirmed the assessment of the problem developed by the Scientific Research department at the National Gallery (letter, 4 December 1992, in NGA curatorial files). She specifically noted that medium-rich paint (high oil content) can be observed in many of the layers. A dark brown underlayer, sandwiched between medium-rich layers, contains manganese, probably in the form of umber, which promotes a fine type of wrinkling. Layers near the surface contain cobalt, which promotes surface drying. Once the surface dries prior to the drying of the underlying layers, wrinkling of the paint occurs. She also noted the presence of vermilion near the proper right hand that belonged to the later change in the composition.

11. The x-radiograph only measures the relative density of metal-based paints, hence other components of the initial paint layer could exist that cannot be read with this examination procedure. More information could possibly be gained through examination with neutron autoradiography.

12. The thumb is also visible in the x-radiograph.

13. While a comparable wrinkling effect is not found in the impastos of paintings by Rembrandt, similar problems do exist in the backgrounds of at least two works, *Abduction of Proserpine*, Berlin (Br. 463), and *Alexander* in Glasgow (Br. 480).

14. The signature appears to be integral with the paint surface, and no varnish has been found between it and the underlying paint.

15. It is a curious coincidence that the Stockholm *Servant Girl at a Window* is also dated 1651. Both paintings were in France in the eighteenth century, as was the Dulwich painting. One of these three paintings may have been the work described by Roger de Piles in the Preface to his *Cours de Peinture par Principes* (Paris, 1708), 10–11, as quoted in Slive 1953, 129: "... Rembrandt diverted himself one day by making a portrait of his servant in order to exhibit it at his window and deceive the eyes of the pedestrians. ... While in Holland I was curious to see the portrait. I found it painted well and with great strength. I bought it and still exhibit it in an important position in my cabinet."

16. Fabritius (1622–1654) seems to have studied with Rembrandt in the early 1640s before returning to Midden-Beemster in 1643. Virtually nothing is known about him during the late 1640s, but it seems unlikely that he remained in Midden-Beemster the entire time without continuing his contact with Rembrandt in Amsterdam. Midden-Beemster is only about thirty kilometers from Amsterdam and was a community that developed during this period with many ties to Amsterdam. In 1648 or 1649 Fabritius painted the portrait of a wealthy Amsterdam silk merchant, Abraham de Potter (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A1591). By 1650 he had moved to Delft. For further information on Fabritius see Brown 1981.

17. In this respect their relationship to Rembrandt would have been much the same as that of Van Dyck to Rubens during the late 1610s.

18. *Young Man in a Hat, at a Half-Door* is not signed. It was first attributed to Hoogstraten by Sumowski 1983, 2: 1339, no. 856. The painting was also catalogued as Hoogstraten in the Rembrandt exhibition, Berlin 1991, 356, no. 74.

19. The painting was included in the Rembrandt exhibition, Berlin 1991, 350, cat. 72, as Hoogstraten. I would like to thank Martha Wolff at the Art Institute for her observations about the differences in technique between these two paintings and for sending me detailed photographs of the Chicago painting. In addition to the Chicago painting, another Rembrandt school painting from this period, depicting a young boy leaning against a metal railing, is in the Cincinnati Art Museum. See *Cincinnati Art Museum* 1987, 107–110, cat. 38.

20. In 1993, at my suggestion, the attribution of this painting was changed from "Rembrandt van Rijn" to "Carel Fabritius and Rembrandt Workshop," and the painting was exhibited as such in Stockholm (Stockholm 1992, no. 83). The Fabritius attribution, however, was not generally accepted. A number of colleagues felt that insufficient comparative material existed to make a firm attribution. Liedtke 1992, 829–830, believes that the artist of the Chicago painting (fig. 6), which he attributes to Samuel van Hoogstraten, also executed *A Girl with a Broom*. Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann (personal communication, 1993) would prefer to leave the attribution of the Washington painting as "anonymous."

21. *Corpus* 1982–, 3: C107. The painting and its pendant (Br. 251), which are traditionally identified as portraits of Adriaentje Hollaer and her husband, the painter Hendrick Martensz. Sorgh, are in the collection of the Duke and Duchess of Westminster. See also Gerson/Bredius 1969, 291, no. 370.

22. For a detail photograph of the hands of the *Portrait of a Woman* see *Corpus* 1982–, 3: 677, fig. 4.

23. The only possibility that I can come up with is that the combined forms may have been a reserve for an implement with a horizontal piece at the end of the handle.

24. This observation has been confirmed through Karen Groen's analysis of the paint layers. See note 9.

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 1885 Dutuit: 39, 64, 69, no. 410.
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 1897–1906 Bode, 5 (1901): 34, 206, no. 598.
 1899 Bell: 80, 180, no. 826 (also 1907 ed.: 75, no. 151).
 1902 Neumann, 2: 358, fig. 83 (also 1922 ed.: fig. 100).
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 1906 Rosenberg: 401, repro. 273 (also 1908 ed.: 560, no. 325; 1909 ed.: 560, no. 325).

- 1907–1927 HdG, 6 (1916): 177, no. 299.
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 1923 Meldrum: 197, no. 285.
 1923 Weiner (German ed.): 140, repro.
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 1948 Rosenberg, 1: 52–53; 2: fig. 80, repro. (also 1964 rev. ed.: 93, 95, repro. 92).
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 1968 NGA: 98, fig. 74, repro.
 1968 Stuffmann: 11–143, repro.
 1969 Gerson/Bredius: 580, no. 378, repro. 295.
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 1972 Roberts: 353.
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 1975 NGA: 284, no. 74, repro.
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 1992 Stockholm: no. 83.
 1993 Wheelock: 142–155, repro.

1942.9.70 (666)

Rembrandt Workshop

Portrait of Rembrandt

1650
 Oil on canvas, 92 x 75.5 (36¼ x 29¾)
 Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At center right: *Rembrandt f. / 1650*

Technical Notes: The original support, a plain-woven fabric composed of tightly spun, irregular, fine threads, has been lined with the left and right tacking margins trimmed. The bottom and top tacking margins, which contain original selvages, have been opened flat and incorporated into the picture plane. Most likely, a large piece of canvas with full selvage-to-selvage width was primed on a stretching frame then cut to size. Original ground layers extend onto both tacking margins. Cusping is pronounced along the top and bottom edges, slight along the right edge, and absent at the left, suggesting that the present dimensions are slightly enlarged lengthwise and slightly reduced widthwise.

The double ground layer consists of a thick, red lower layer covered with a thin, dark gray upper layer.¹ The ground

layer is not incorporated as a mid-tone in the painting. Paint is applied thinly in broad, fluidly blended brushstrokes, with impasto in the beret and skullcap and the white and dark trim of the costume.² Layering is complex, resulting in some wide-aperture crackle, especially in the dark trim where dark paint was applied over thick, lighter-colored under layers. The proper left hand is unfinished. The background consists of a light paint layer overlaid with thin glazes.

Several artist's changes are found in the x-radiograph (fig. 1). The skullcap once continued farther beyond the rear of the head, and the hair farther outward on the left. The beret appears to have been repositioned several times, or perhaps reshaped. The x-radiograph also shows an area of confusing brushwork to the front of the beret, and sharp-edged marks that may be scrapings of a former lining adhesive.

A small loss is found in the upper right background, and slight abrasion in thin, dark passages such as the lower jacket. The painting was treated in 1992 to remove a discolored surface coating and retouchings, including a later black overglaze.

Provenance: Chevalier Sébastien Érard [1752–1831], Château de la Muette, Passy; (sale, Lebrun, Paris, 23 April 1832, no. 119, as Martin-Kappertz-Tromp). William Williams Hope, Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire, by 1836; (sale, Christie & Manson, London, 14 June 1849, no. 116, as a Portrait of Admiral Van Tromp); Anthony de Rothschild, London; by inheritance to Lady Anthony de Rothschild, by 1899, London; (Thomas Agnew & Sons, London); sold 13 May 1908 to Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Exhibition of Works by Rembrandt*, Royal Academy, London, 1899, no. 18. New York 1909, no. 94. Washington 1969, no. 10.

FOR AN ARTIST whose face is so well known through his numerous painted, drawn, and etched self-portraits, it is quite remarkable that early nineteenth-century critics did not recognize Rembrandt's image in this painting. While it was in the possession of Chevalier Érard and William Williams Hope, two important and discerning collectors, the sitter was thought to be Maerten Harpertsz. Tromp (1597–1653). One wonders what prompted this unexpected belief since Tromp's known portraits look totally different.³ To judge from the commentary in the Érard catalogue, the theory seems to have been partially based on the outmoded costume: the pleated white shirt, the dark overdress with its rich impastos bordering the front and slashed purple sleeves lined with yellow, and the jaunty angle of the brown beret worn over the elaborate yellow and red skullcap. The theory that the portrait depicted an admiral was reinforced by the gold-handled staff upon which the sitter rests his hand. But primarily, it seems, the depiction of the sitter's character fit



Rembrandt Workshop, *Portrait of Rembrandt*, 1942.9.70



Fig. 1. X-radiograph of 1942.9.70

what was thought to be Tromp's assured, noble, and philosophical nature.⁴

While the sitter's expression, created through subtle effects of lighting on the face as well as the unusual, sidelong glance, has continued to intrigue writers, entirely different interpretations of its character have been advanced by critics who recognized that the painting represented Rembrandt.⁵ Bode found little evidence of a philosophical mind in the image. He wrote that the "somewhat leering expression, half weary, half watchful, . . . is by no means favourable to his appearance."⁶ Valentiner, on the other hand, saw in the face "a forehead already deeply lined, melancholy, almost despondent of aspect, indicating how early he had experienced the tragic side of life."⁷ While Rosenberg described the same expression as "critical and deeply questioning,"⁸ Pinder, reflecting more closely the sentiments of Valentiner, felt that the portrait expressed the cares and worries that were beginning to beset Rembrandt.⁹ Contrary to these interpretations of the image as representing a despondent and questioning individual was that of Goldscheider who described the Rembrandt portrayed here as "a handsome, distinguished adventurer without the slightest re-

semblance to a humble Mennonite."¹⁰

While the reading of the emotional impact of the image may have varied markedly among these and other authors, they had in common a conviction that this painting was an exceptional work by the master.¹¹ Thus the shock that greeted Horst Gerson's 1969 pronouncement that the painting was an "18th- or 19th-century imitation, combining light effects typical of Rembrandt's early work with a composition and mood characteristic of the later period," was felt throughout the world of Rembrandt scholarship.¹² With that statement Gerson altered once again the way the painting has been viewed. For just as nineteenth-century critics had to reassess their interpretations of the figure's mood when the identification of the sitter changed, it is necessary to raise the more fundamental question as to whether the expressive character of the painting is, after all, consistent with Rembrandt, and even with seventeenth-century sensibilities.

Technical analyses have shown that Gerson's assertion that the painting is a later imitation is wrong. The character of the paint mixtures, the types of pigments used, and the presence of a double ground, a red lower ground covered by a dark gray upper layer, are all totally consistent with Rembrandt's workshop practices (see Technical Notes).¹³ There also appears to be nothing unusual in the canvas used or in the buildup of the image. The initial blocking-in of the form, which can be seen in the waist and unfinished right hand, is also consistent with Rembrandt's manner of painting. Finally, x-radiographs reveal that modifications to the shape of the hat were made during the execution of the painting (fig. 1), a phenomenon that is commonly found in Rembrandt's own paintings (see his *Self-Portrait*, 1937.1.72). Originally, the plaid-patterned skullcap under the beret extended out behind the head more than it presently does.¹⁴

The restoration of the painting in 1993, however, has revealed that Gerson was correct in his intuition that the execution was somehow at variance with that found in Rembrandt's own works around 1650.¹⁵ While the general disposition of the figure, standing at an angle to the picture plane and looking quizzically at the viewer over his near shoulder, is consistent with Rembrandt self-portraits (see *Self-Portrait as the Apostle Paul*, 1942.9.59, fig. 2), the brushwork used to model the figure lacks both Rembrandt's sensitivity and vigor. The most obvious instance where the modeling is at variance with Rembrandt's style is the hand resting on the staff. Its superficially rendered form has nothing to do with his manner of modeling hands.

The modeling of the face, likewise, lacks firmness and conviction. While the play of light across the features is sensitively rendered, the restrained brushstrokes only vaguely suggest the underlying form, whether it be the shape of the eyelids or the contour of the nose. The weakness of character conveyed through Rembrandt's questioning expression is also the result of the irresolute contours defining his features.

Another unusual aspect of this painting is that the costume is executed quite differently than is the face. While the features are modeled with a delicately nuanced manner of painting, the costume is indicated with a variety of bold techniques. Broad, flat planes of purple and yellow enliven the surface of the split sleeve; thick impastos, mixed with a variety of bright colors and then toned with a dark brown glaze, create the appearance of an embroidered frontispiece across the chest; and, finally, the plaid pattern of the skullcap is painted with vigorous, and quite specific, strokes of red and yellow. The attribution problems raised here are threefold. First, Rembrandt generally did not use such markedly different techniques in the face and costume of a portrait. Secondly, by the 1650s, he had developed a manner of painting that would allow him to suggest a wide range of textures in materials without significantly altering the techniques that he used to depict them. Finally, his paint always worked toward creating structure. In this costume, most of the accents of color, as for example on the sleeve or in the skullcap, do not work effectively to convey the nature of the material. This problem is also particularly evident in the superficial black strokes that define the collar of the costume.

While these stylistic considerations are sufficient to remove the painting from Rembrandt's own oeuvre, the identity of the artist who actually executed this portrait cannot be determined. The signature and date, while apparently not written by Rembrandt, appear to be integral to the surface and probably indicate that the painting was executed by a member of the workshop at about 1650 to be sold on the open market. It may well be that Rembrandt, after having posed for this painting, approved its concept and manner of execution before allowing its sale. To judge from the number of self-portraits Rembrandt painted and etched, and from the numerous portraits of him painted by members of his workshop, there must have been a ready market for images of the artist.

None of the painters known to have been in Rembrandt's workshop around 1650, Willem Drost (active 1650s), Jacobus Leveck (1634–1675), Nicolaes

Maes (q.v.), and Constantijn van Renesse (1626–1680), can be convincingly associated with this work. The differences in the handling of the paint in the head and the costume are so pronounced in this work that I have wondered whether two artists might have executed the painting. No technical evidence, however, suggests that the painting was a collaborative effort. The stylistic discrepancies are probably the result of a workshop assistant basing his style for modeling the head on Rembrandt's work of the mid-1630s and his manner of painting drapery on Rembrandt's style of the early 1650s. Close stylistic comparison can be made to *Man with a Gilded Helmet* (fig. 2), an unsigned and undated work from the Rembrandt workshop that is datable to the early 1650s.¹⁶ In this work as well, the face and costume are rendered in strikingly different manners. In the Berlin painting a marked contrast exists between the relatively delicate modeling of the face and the thick impastos in the helmet, a contrast in techniques quite similar to that found in the *Portrait of Rembrandt*. While various attributions have been suggested for *Man with a Gilded Helmet*, ranging from

Fig. 2. Rembrandt school, *Man with a Gilded Helmet*, early 1650s, oil on canvas, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie



Karel van der Pluym (1625–1672) to Heyman Dullaert (1636–1684), none is convincing.¹⁷ Whether or not *Portrait of Rembrandt* is by the same unknown artist as the Berlin picture is another puzzle yet to be solved.

Notes

1. Pigment analyses of paint and ground layers are available in the Scientific Research department (see reports 6 July 1981, 18 August 1981, 20 October 1981, and 14 May 1991).

2. Technical examination and pigment analysis by Ashok Roy and David Bomford, National Gallery, London, May 1988, confirmed the use of smalt as an extender in impasted areas of red and yellow paint.

3. Since the provenance for this painting is not known prior to the mention in the Énard Collection, it is not known whether the identification was based on an even older tradition. For an image of Tromp from the early 1650s, see Jan Lievens' *Portrait of the Vice-Admiral*, Maerten Harpertz Tromp (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A 838).

4. Sébastien Énard sale, Paris, 23 April 1832, no. 119, 136–137:

Des traits mâles, une contenance assurée, de la noblesse unie à beaucoup de simplicité, donnent une grande expression à ce beau portrait. Dans la demi-teinte qui l'enveloppe et qui va si bien à sa gravité, on pourrait voir une pensée philosophique, une allusion dont Rembrandt était bien capable. Martin Tromp, indifférent pour les titres, honorifiques, pour les chose d'apparat, modeste au plus haut point, ne dut trouver du plaisir à se montrer que quand il était en présence des ennemis de sa nation. Au surplus, quelqu'ait été l'intention du peintre, cette ombre répandue sur la figure d'un tel homme sied bien à son caractère.

5. Smith 1829–1842, 7: 86–87, no. 211, was the first to correctly identify the painting as a portrait of Rembrandt.

6. Bode 1897–1906, 5: 15.

7. Valentiner 1931, introduction.

8. Rosenberg 1948, 1: 28.

9. Pinder 1950, 81–82.

10. Goldscheider 1960, 174, cat. 65.

11. Goldscheider 1960, 174, cat. 65, considered it "one of the finest portraits ever painted."

12. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 550, cat. 39. The reaction can be judged by the fact that Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann 1971, 93–94, listed this work first among what he considered Gerson's "five or six spectacular 'dis-attributions' of well-known and admired paintings, in some cases never previously doubted." Haverkamp-Begemann noted that he continues to believe in the attribution to Rembrandt (personal communication, 1993).

13. I would like to thank Barbara A. Miller, former conservation scientist at the National Gallery of Art, who first analyzed the painting in 1981, Michael Palmer, and Melanie Gifford for their help in interpreting the technical data.

14. Its form can also be seen with the naked eye.

15. The restoration was undertaken in 1992–1993.

16. For an excellent discussion of this work, including information about its restoration, see Kelch et al. 1986.

17. The attribution of this painting to Karel van der Pluym was made by Adams 1984, 427–441. Grimm 1982–1983, 242–250, attributed the painting to Heyman Dullaert.

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 1893 Michel: 558 (also 1894 English trans., 2: 237).
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 1907 Brown: 256–257.
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 1968 NGA: 97, repro.
 1969 Gerson/Bredius: 35, repro., 555, no. 39.
 1969 Washington: no. 10.
 1971 Haverkamp-Begemann: 88–104.
 1975 NGA: 290–291, repro.
 1975 Walker: no. 360, color repro.
 1976 Bolten and Boltten-Rempt: 193, no. 378, repro.
 1982 Wright: 29–30, 43, no. 38, fig. 73.
 1985 NGA: 333, repro.
 1988 Alpers: 121, repro.

1942.9.61 (657)

Rembrandt Workshop (probably Constantijn van Renesse)

The Descent from the Cross

1650/1652

Oil on canvas, 142 x 110.9 (55% x 43%)

Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The support, a medium-weight, plain-woven fabric consisting of two pieces seamed vertically to the left of center through the Christ figure, has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Slight cusping is visible along

the top and right edges, but none at the left or bottom. A set of tacking holes and crease marks along all four edges within the picture plane indicate that they were once turned over a smaller stretcher and returned to plane at the time of lining. The seam and creases protrude slightly. Scattered small tears are visible in the x-radiograph, notably along the top edge at center and in the background right of center.

Paint was applied over a double ground composed of a thick, light gray lower layer followed by a thin, brown gray upper layer.¹ A black underpaint layer is present in most areas. Paint handling varies from rich opaque layers to thin glazes, with complex layering and dramatic brushmarking in light passages. The x-radiograph (see fig. 3) shows artist's changes to the figures supporting Christ's body, the legs of which were once bent farther backward. Initially a young man stood where the older man with a torch is placed. Two profiled figures, visible just below the younger figure's head, were also painted out. Upon removal of later repaint (1992), the turbaned foreground figure was found to have been painted over another figure that had been intentionally scraped down. It is unknown when and why this change was made.

Numerous small losses are scattered overall, and abrasion is light, save in the turbaned figure. The painting underwent treatment in 1991–1992 to remove discolored overpaint and later repaints.

Provenance: Viscountess Hampden, Harriot Burton [1751–1829], London; (sale, Christie & Manson, London, 18 April 1834, no. 83); Fuller, John A. Beaver, Green Heys, Lancashire; (sale, Christie & Manson, London, 20 June 1840, no. 87). E. W. Parker, Skirwith Abbey, Cumberland; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 2 July 1909, no. 99); (F. Kleinberger & Co., Paris); F. Gans, Frankfurt-on-Main. (Bachstitz, The Hague, in 1921); inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; after purchase by funds of the Estate.

Exhibited: Washington 1969, no. 12.

AFTER SPIRITED BIDDING between Mr. Lesser of New Bond Street and the Parisian dealer F. Kleinberger on 2 July 1909, Kleinberger paid 7,800 guineas for *The Descent from the Cross*. Although the painting had not been cited in the literature and was unknown to Rembrandt scholars until just before the sale, the price was a record for a Rembrandt painting sold in a London auction house. Aside from the excitement surrounding the discovery of a new Rembrandt, the high price was undoubtedly influenced as well by the positive opinion given about its authenticity the previous week by the leading Rembrandt authority of the day, Dr. Wilhelm von Bode.²

The painting, then signed and dated 1651, was recognized by Bode and, subsequently, by other scholars as a free variant of Rembrandt's earlier representations of *The Descent from the Cross*, his 1633 painting for the Passion series that was intended for Prince Frederik Hendrik (fig. 1), and, more specifi-



Fig. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Descent from the Cross*, 1633, oil on panel, Munich, Alte Pinakothek

cally, his large-scale depiction of this subject, signed and dated 1634, in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (fig. 2). Hofstede de Groot, Stechow, and Rosenberg, among others, noted how Rembrandt had in this work reduced the number of compositional elements that had appeared in the earlier examples. They also wrote movingly about how the changes had enhanced the scene's pictorial expression and emotional content.³ Scholars also identified the 1651 *Descent from the Cross* as one of the two paintings of this subject listed in the inventory of Rembrandt's possessions in 1656.⁴

The positive assessment given to the painting for the sixty years after it appeared at auction in London in 1909, however, came abruptly to an end in 1969 when Horst Gerson wrote that the painting was the work of a pupil. As far as he was concerned, "the gestures are lame, the expression sentimental and the composition as a whole lacks concentration." He suggested that the painting may have been executed by a "pupil like B. Fabritius or S. van Hoogstraten."⁵ Since Gerson's publication no Rembrandt authority has accepted the work as autograph. In 1984, the attribution of the painting at the National Gallery was changed to "After Rembrandt van Rijn." The Rembrandt Research Project later listed *The Descent*

from *the Cross* as a copy of the Hermitage painting, the attribution of which they also reject.⁶ The RRP suggested that the National Gallery's painting "may very well have been produced in his circle." It further allowed that Rembrandt may have permitted "variants done by pupils to be included in the 1656 inventory of his belongings as being his own work...."⁷ Finally, Sumowski placed the painting among those executed by anonymous members of the Rembrandt school.⁸

Heavily discolored varnish and extensive repainting (fig. 3) have profoundly affected assessments of the emotional content of the work and even its attribution, including that of the RRP.⁹ To try to come to a clearer understanding of the place of this work within Rembrandt's workshop, removal of the overpaint was undertaken in 1991–1992.¹⁰ While this conservation treatment has helped resolve some of

the questions about the complex genesis of this work that were first raised when the painting underwent technical examination in 1978, many questions still remain.¹¹ It is evident, for example, that the composition was entirely reworked in the seventeenth century. The following text will try to determine when the extensive seventeenth-century revisions were made, when the underlying version was painted, and how it looked. Finally it will examine the attribution of the work and its place within Rembrandt's workshop.

The compositional connections between the painting and *The Descent from the Cross* in the Hermitage, which have been noted ever since the time of Bode, are even closer than one would assume from looking at the surface. X-radiographs (fig. 4), which are admittedly difficult to read because of the unusual striations across the image caused by an un-



Fig. 2. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Descent from the Cross*, 1634, oil on canvas, Saint Petersburg, Hermitage



Rembrandt Workshop (probably Constantijn van Renesse), *The Descent from the Cross* 1942.9.61



Fig. 3. 1942.9.61 prior to treatment

even application of ground,¹² nevertheless do reveal much about changes in both design and the shape of the canvas. While slight distortions in thread patterns in the canvas at the top and right indicate that these edges have been only slightly trimmed, no such scalloping pattern is evident along the left or the bottom, a clear indication that the canvas has been reduced along these edges. Also evident in the x-radiographs is a vertical seam beneath the figure of Christ where two canvases have been joined.¹³ If one hypothesizes that this unusually situated seam originally marked the central axis of the painting, then it is clear that two-thirds of the left half of the original image have been eliminated. The original format thus would have been comparable to that of the Hermitage painting in that Christ was centrally placed in the composition. It is also probable that the proportions of the two compositions would have been comparable. The Washington painting would then have been substantially larger than the Hermitage version (the Hermitage painting measures 159.3 x 116.4 cm; the proposed width of the Gallery painting would have been approximately 80 cm x 2, or 160 cm, and the height about 248 cm).¹⁴

The hypothesis that the Washington painting was once a larger-scale version of the Hermitage painting is reinforced by the character of the design changes evident on the x-radiograph. The clearest of these is the change in the position of the man on the ladder who holds the torch that illuminates the scene. This middle-aged man (fig. 5) has been painted over a younger figure whose head, in a position identical to that in the Hermitage painting, can be seen in the x-radiograph at about his chest level (fig. 6). Although the image of Christ is difficult to read because of the density of the lead white paint, earlier legs are visible that were bent back in a position comparable to that in the 1634 composition. Also vaguely visible in the x-radiograph are the profiles of two figures found in the Hermitage painting that have been eliminated from the Washington version, that of the bearded man standing just below the youth with the candle and that of one of the male onlookers crowded to his right. Finally, the arm of the Virgin was originally illuminated as it is in the Hermitage painting.

Cross-sections have provided corroborating evidence that the paint layers are quite complex and that colors underlying the surface paint are similar

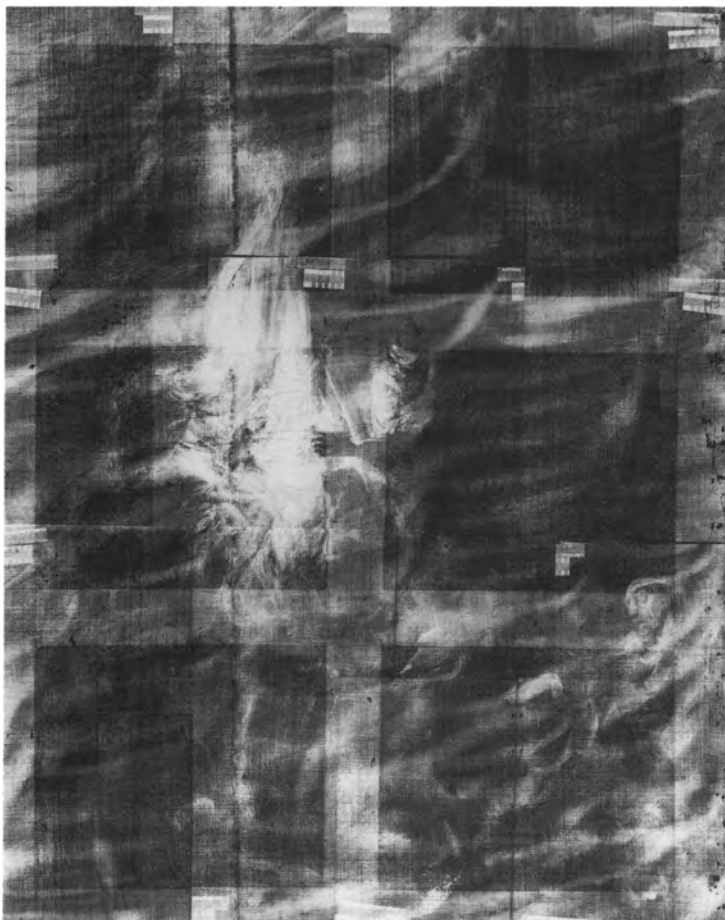


Fig. 4. X-radiograph of 1942.9.61



Fig. 5. Detail of head of middle-aged man in 1942.9.61

to those one would expect from the colors found in the Hermitage painting. The most striking instance is that a bright orange can be found in exactly the same area one finds the bright orange costume to the right of the turbaned man in the foreground of the Hermitage painting. The cross-sections also suggest that the extensive changes were made only after the first composition had been blocked out with a thin, dark layer of paint. This layer has been found in every cross-section with the exception of the neck of the Virgin. Indeed, the head of the Virgin does seem to be the only part of a figure in the painting not extensively reworked, although the broadly executed highlights on her face may have been added to the preexisting form to tie in to the handling of the other figures. Interestingly, associated with this pervasive layer of dark paint is an unpigmented layer. While this layer generally appears to lie on top of the dark layer, sometimes it seems to pass through it and sometimes to lie below it.¹⁵ The layer is almost certainly varnish, which may indicate that a short lapse of time existed between the execution of the underlying image and final composition.

If *The Descent from the Cross* was once larger, it has also been somewhat smaller than its present dimen-

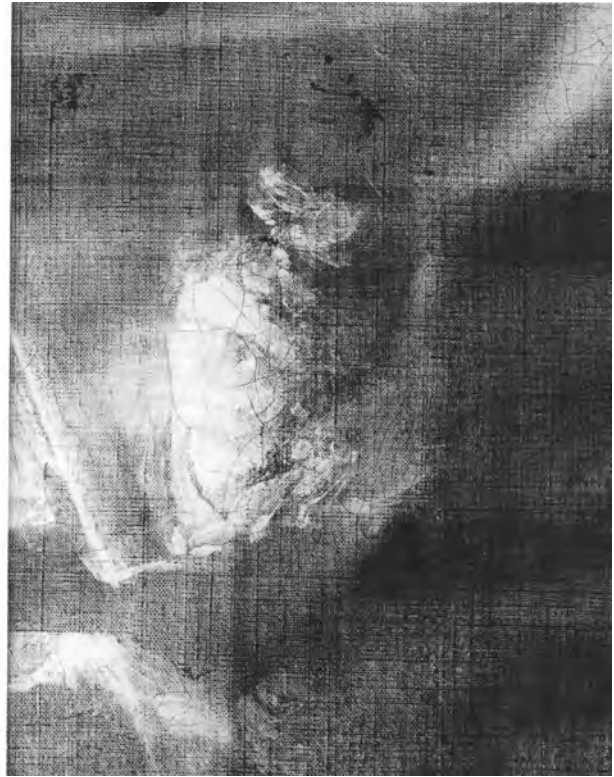


Fig. 6. X-radiograph of head in 1942.9.61

sions. A pattern of losses from tack holes along the four edges of the canvas, evident in x-radiographs, provides evidence that the canvas was once turned over a smaller stretcher. This smaller dimension may well have been the one decided upon in the Rembrandt workshop.

Restoration of the image seems to have taken place in two separate campaigns, one of which probably occurred when *The Descent from the Cross* was restretched on its present stretcher. The signature and date must have been added at that time, which is understandable. More difficult is trying to determine why the head, shoulders, and turban of the figure in the foreground were entirely repainted. When these later additions were removed during the treatment of 1991–1992, it was revealed that the paint surface in that area was badly abraded. The various underlying layers of paint are difficult to interpret with certainty. It appears that the turbaned figure in the foreground covered a comparable figure that seems to have been scraped down. Beneath that figure, however, was yet another one: remnants of his black, flat-shaped hat still exist in an underlying paint layer. When the head and shoulders of the turbaned figure were scraped away by the later re-

restorer, he apparently concluded that so few remnants of the earlier head with the flat-shaped hat existed that it behooved him to repaint the turbaned figure he had just removed.

One further compositional change that was made by a later restorer was the shape of Joseph of Arimathea's red coat. The restorer must have felt that this aged man's body should have been much more massive than it had been painted, and consequently he added significantly to its bulk. With this tempera repaint removed, the rigid angularity of the seventeenth-century image is now visible.

Without the reworkings it has become more apparent than ever that the seventeenth-century changes to *The Descent from the Cross* were undertaken with a great deal of sensitivity. Indeed, a comparison of the Hermitage painting and this work demonstrates the profound differences between the two works despite their apparent similarities. The Gallery's composition is far more focused than is the Hermitage version. Not only is the cross brought forward and the figures given greater prominence, but light is concentrated on only two major areas of activity: that surrounding the lowering of Christ's body by the aged Joseph of Arimathea and the swooning figure of the Virgin. Other hidden light sources that were included in the Hermitage version have here been eliminated. Light is also given a broader focus on the central figure group by having the figure holding the torch stand higher on the ladder and by having Christ's legs brought forward. These changes also reduce the diagonal thrust seen in the Hermitage composition, for the disposition of forms is more balanced, and gestures, including the arm holding Christ's waist, have a predominantly horizontal emphasis.

The feeling that is evoked by the Washington painting is more reverential than that in the Hermitage version. Christ seems to be held out and presented to the viewer by Joseph of Arimathea while the figures below quietly wait to assist. In the Hermitage painting, on the other hand, Joseph of Arimathea struggles with the weight of Christ's body as others labor to pull out the nail that secures Christ's left hand to the cross. The emphasis on the physical activity of removing Christ's body from the cross is reinforced by the angular gestures, the strong diagonal shadows on the white shroud, the ungainly position of Christ's body, and the press of the crowd around the foot of the cross.

This total rethinking of the composition speaks strongly for the participation of Rembrandt in the process, particularly because the emotional content of the work is so sympathetic with his approach to

religious imagery during the 1650s. The execution, however, while Rembrandtesque, is certainly not that of the master. Heavy impastos on the face of the man holding the torch, for example, are coarsely applied, while the white sheet wrapped around Christ is painted in flat planes of color that only superficially suggest folds in the material. Many questions thus remain: what was the date of the original composition of the Washington *Descent from the Cross*; who painted it; how and why were the later reworkings undertaken; and who was the artist responsible?

Dating the underlying image is quite difficult. Technical evidence gained from examinations of the canvas or paints used has not yet provided precise correlations with other works.¹⁶ On the basis of the compositional similarities with the Hermitage *Descent*, it would seem logical to assume that the Washington version would have been executed at approximately the same period of time. Just when that was, however, is a matter of some dispute. While the Hermitage *Descent* is signed and dated 1634 and was apparently painted on the same type of canvas as that used for Rembrandt's *Flora*, 1634, also in the Hermitage, the RRP has not only rejected the attribution to Rembrandt but has also argued on stylistic grounds that the painting was executed in Rembrandt's workshop around 1640. Nevertheless, the existence of the date, the evidence of the canvas weave, and the close compositional similarity to the 1633 *Descent from the Cross* from the Passion series make it seem most probable that the Hermitage *Descent* was conceived in the mid-1630s. It was during these years that Rembrandt was particularly fascinated with the drama and emotional intensity of this story, something he explored in comparable ways in oil sketches, prints, and drawings. It seems unlikely that in the 1640s he would have entrusted a student in his workshop to re-create a composition that resonated so distinctly a compositional idea first developed in 1633.

If the Hermitage *Descent* was first conceived in the mid-1630s, it then seems likely that the Washington painting was as well. Perhaps both large-scale works were made in anticipation of forthcoming commissions that never materialized. An added incentive may have been Rembrandt's desire to compete with Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). Rembrandt, who based his 1633 *Descent from the Cross* for the Passion series on Lucas Vorsterman's reproductive engraving after Rubens' altarpiece *The Descent from the Cross*, now in the Antwerp Cathedral, may have decided to emulate not only Rubens' composition, but also the large scale in which Rubens worked. Although the

degree to which Rembrandt was involved in the execution of either of these works cannot be determined, he may well have blocked in the composition for at least one of them. The final execution may then have been left to a student or students. In any event, there seems no stylistic or technical evidence by which to conclude that one of these works was a direct copy of the other.

Although the signature and date 1651 on the Washington *Descent* were determined to be later additions and removed during treatment in 1991–1992, the date is not inconsistent with the style of the figures painted over the earlier composition. As mentioned above, moreover, the artistic concept is also consistent with Rembrandt's work from this period. Again no documents provide information that help explain why such extensive reworkings were undertaken at this time. The reason may once again have been the hope that a commission for such a scene would materialize. Rembrandt may also have decided that the very large size of the original composition made the work particularly difficult to sell. He may also have felt that the original composition provided the foundation for a particularly fascinating challenge, and thus he reconceived a dramatic story by changing subtly the positions of the figures, the lighting effects, and even the moment depicted to create an entirely different mood and emotional effect.

While Rembrandt was undoubtedly closely involved in the rethinking of this composition and may well have blocked in forms to serve as a compositional guide, no evidence of his own brushwork exists in the final image. Just who may have been responsible for the execution had been difficult to judge before the recent restoration because of the extensive reworking and the accumulation of discolored varnish. The issue is still a matter of some speculation. Nevertheless, sufficient stylistic connections can be found between this work and paintings and drawings attributed to Constantijn van Renesse (1626–1680) to make a tentative attribution to this fascinating Rembrandt student.

Renesse, about whom very little is known, seems to have been with Rembrandt between 1649 and 1652.¹⁷ Rembrandt must have taken a great deal of interest in his work, if one is to judge from the drawings by Renesse that he corrected.¹⁸ Renesse had a preference for biblical scenes, many of which focused on the life of Christ.¹⁹ Stylistically, Renesse's figures compare closely to those in the Washington *Descent*. In his drawing of *Doubting Thomas* (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich), Christ has the same elongated proportions and anatomical



Fig. 7. Constantijn van Renesse, *The Good Samaritan*, 1648, oil on canvas, Paris, Louvre, © Photo R.M.N.

structure as Christ in the *Descent*.²⁰ Similar figure types also occur in paintings convincingly attributed to Renesse. In his *The Good Samaritan* (fig. 7), for example, the crossed legs of the wounded man have much the same structure as do those of Christ.²¹ Finally, Renesse's painting technique combines the smooth, flat planes of color and rough impastos found in *The Descent from the Cross*. This combination of techniques is particularly evident in his *Conviviality near the Inn* in the Corcoran Gallery of Art (fig. 8). Although this painting is not signed, the close compositional similarity between this work and Renesse's etching, signed and dated 1651, confirms the attribution.²² Despite the different nature of the subject, the manner in which a number of figures in this work have been executed has distinct parallels in *The Descent from the Cross* (see fig. 4).

This painting thus is a fascinating document about the complexities that sometimes exist with works produced in Rembrandt's workshop. The evidence suggests that it was initially painted in a much larger size, with a composition that resembled that of the Hermitage *Descent from the Cross*. The exact date of the first period of execution cannot be precisely determined, but it probably was during the mid-1630s. Around 1650, or shortly thereafter, it was severely cropped at the left and bottom, and virtually the entire composition was reworked. Although Rembrandt was probably involved in the rethinking of the composition, he does not seem to



Fig. 8. Constantijn van Renesse, detail of seated figure at right in *Conviviality near the Inn*, n.d., oil on canvas, Washington, Collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, William A. Clark Collection

have had any part in the execution. Stylistic evidence suggests that the artist responsible was Constantijn van Renesse. If this hypothesis is correct, one could then argue that Renesse was a far more central figure in Rembrandt's workshop in the early 1650s than has hitherto been believed. It may well be that he was involved in a number of other large-scale religious paintings from this period that were produced by unidentified members of Rembrandt's workshop.²³

Notes

1. Reports of the analyses of pigments and mediums in paint and ground layers are available in the Scientific Research department (July 1978, 8 July 1991, 10 August 1991, 14 August 1991, 8 October 1991, 15 November 1991, 2 December 1991, plus undated cross-section studies, 1991).

2. This information is taken from a clipping from an unidentified English newspaper, dated 3 July 1909, on file at the RKD. The title of the article was: "7,800Gs. For a Rembrandt." The commentator's response to the high price is also worth noting: "The explanation is simple enough, the ordeal by auction is not necessary to resolve the value of a great Rembrandt. If an owner wishes to release a famous master-

piece nowadays he knows dealers ready to give him his price straightway."

3. HdG 1907–1927, 6: 102, finds the differences between this painting and the Hermitage version so extensive that he considers the work to be a new representation of the same subject. Stechow 1929, 229, places the painting within the broad tradition of Rembrandt's paintings, drawings, and etchings. Rosenberg 1948, 1: 134–135 (also 1964, 220–221), emphasizes that while the action has been reduced, the emotional content has been enriched through the stability of the composition and the breadth and vigor of the paint handling.

4. The inventory of Rembrandt's possessions taken on 25–26 July 1656 is listed as document 1656/12 in Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 353, no. 37 ("A large 'Descent from the Cross' by Rembrandt, with a handsome gold frame by the same"); 379, no. 293 ("The 'Descent from the Cross' by Rembrandt"). It has also been assumed that one of these paintings is the 1634 version in the Hermitage.

5. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 610, no. 684.

6. *Corpus* 1982–, 2: 617–627, C49. The authors of the *Corpus* emphasize the complexities of the problems of attribution associated with this work. Despite the date on the painting and the use of a canvas available in 1634 they have concluded that the work could only have been painted around 1640 in Rembrandt's workshop. They discount the possibility that Rembrandt may have laid in the composition in about 1634 and that the work was completed later by another hand. Such a theory, however, seems quite plausible, particularly given the fact that a number of changes do exist between the x-radiograph and the final image (for example, the head of a man is visible in the x-radiograph between Christ's right arm and leg that does not appear in the final painting). The only member of Rembrandt's workshop that they mention as the possible artist is Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680).

7. *Corpus* 1982–, 3: 628–630, C49, copy 2.

8. Sumowski 1983, 4: 2961, cat. 1972.

9. While Rosenberg 1948, 1: 135, admired the painting's "colouristic warmth," which had largely resulted from the accumulation of discolored varnish, Gerson/Bredius 1969, 610, no. 584, responded with surprise that Bauch 1966, 6, 84, supposed (rightly) that the turbaned figure in the foreground of the painting was overpainted. Indeed, this figure must have been a later addition. Not only did the paint on the turban cover existing craquelure, it contained antimony, an element found in Naples yellow, a pigment not commonly used before the mid-eighteenth century. Another major change was the overpainting of the red cloak of Joseph of Arimathea, which substantially altered the shape of the figure's body. The overpaint must have resulted from a different restoration since it was executed in tempera. The RRP's assessment of the painting, *Corpus* 1982–, 3: 628–630, C49, is quite flawed. The information the RRP relates about the painting being transferred onto a new canvas in Russia in 1854 is false. The RRP also criticizes the attribution most severely precisely in areas that have been overpainted without recognizing that these areas are overpainted. Finally, the RRP never examined the x-radiographs and did not discuss the extensive compositional changes they reveal.

10. New technical examinations, including the taking of cross-sections, were made at that time with Carol Christensen, Michael Palmer, and Karen Groen.

11. The examinations in 1976 were undertaken with the assistance of Kay Silberfeld and Barbara Miller. A report on their findings was written by Cynthia P. Schneider, who was

at the Gallery then as a summer intern. The problems of the genesis of the painting as understood at that time were published in Wheelock 1988, 218–220.

12. Similar effects are found in the x-radiographs of Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait with Saskia*, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden. See the illustration in *Corpus* 1982–, 3: cat. A 111, page 134.

13. The piece to the left is approximately 37.9 cm wide and that to the right approximately 73 cm wide.

14. This calculation is based on the existing width of the righthand piece of canvas (about 73 cm) with an addition of about 7 cm for the apparent reduction along the right edge. This reduction is calculated by noting that, with the exception of his left hand, the man who supports Mary in the Hermitage painting was eliminated in the Gallery *Descent* when the canvas was cut.

15. In one instance it seems as though the unpigmented layer fills cracks in the dark layer.

16. See Technical Notes.

17. For Renesse's life, see Vermeeren 1978, 3–23, and Sumowski 1983, 4: 2469–2470. Renesse was born on 17 September 1626, in Maarssen, near Utrecht. His father, Ludovicus (Lodewijk) Gerardus van Renesse, was a preacher. After his father moved to Breda in 1638, Constantijn entered the University of Leiden, where he was inscribed for literary studies, although he later, in 1642, changed to philosophical studies. He may well have begun his artistic studies in Leiden, although nothing is known about his apprenticeship. An inscription on the back of a drawing of *Daniel in the Lion's Den* in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. no. MB 200), indicates that he had made the drawing in 1649, "the second time that he had been with Rembrandt." His artistic career was short-lived, presumably ending by 1654 when he was named secretary of the city of Eindhoven. In the same year he married a daughter of the burgomaster of Breda. He died on 12 September 1680.

18. See Falck 1924, 191–200.

19. Particularly interesting in relation to the Washington *Descent from the Cross* is his drawing of the *Lamentation of Christ on the Cross*. Sumowski 1979–1992, 9: no. 2166a. Although executed around 1650, this scene is likewise a free adaptation of a Rembrandt composition from the mid-1630s, his grisaille oil sketch of c. 1635 (National Gallery, London, inv. no. 43). The main conceptual difference is that while Rembrandt depicted the dead Christ lying prone in the Virgin's lap so that he could emphasize the profound emotional reactions of the Virgin and the various bystanders to Christ's death, Renesse raised up the body of Christ so that the viewer focuses upon Christ himself. In so doing Renesse not only changed the arrangement of the main figure group, he also cropped the scene dramatically. It is exactly the same thought process that occurs in the Washington *Descent from the Cross*.

20. Illustrated in Sumowski 1979–1992, 9: no. 2188^{xx}.

21. See Foucart 1988, 108–113; Sumowski 1983, 4: no. 1658a.

22. For a reproduction see Hollstein 1949–, 20: 12, no. 5.

23. One such painting is the life-size *Lamentation* in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, inv. no. SN252, which is signed "Rembrandt f. 1650." The composition of this work resembles that of Renesse's drawing of the same subject (see note 19). The figure of Christ, as well as the old woman at his feet, is reminiscent of comparable figures in *The Descent from the Cross*. For a discussion of this painting, see Robinson and Wilson 1980, cat. 116.

References

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- 1907–1927 HdG, 6 (1916): 102, no. 133.
- 1909 "Sale Room": 57.
- 1909b Bode: 1–9, repro. no. 4.
- 1909 Hofstede de Groot: 173–183, repro. no. 6.
- 1921 *Bachstitz Gallery*, 1: 5, pl. 31.
- 1921b Valentiner: xxii, no. 72, reprints. 71–72.
- 1922 Neumann, 1: 205–206, repro.
- 1923 Meldrum: 64, note 2, 198.
- 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
- 1929 Stechow: 217–232, repro. no. 11.
- 1930b Valentiner: 2–84, repro.
- 1931 Widener: 86, repro.
- 1931 Valentiner: pl. 113.
- 1932 Hind: 24, 122, xcvi, repro.
- 1935 Bredius: 26, 584–585, reprints. (also 1936 English ed.: 25, 584–585, reprints.).
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- 1942 Widener: 6, no. 657.
- 1948 Widener: 38, repro.
- 1948 Rosenberg, 1: 134–135; 2: 186, repro. (also 1964 rev. ed.: 185, repro., 220).
- 1960 Goldscheider: 179, no. 92, reprints. 92–93.
- 1960 Roger-Marx: 272–273, no. 108, reprints.
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- 1966 Bauch: 6, no. 84, repro.
- 1968 NGA: 97, no. 657, repro.
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- 1982– *Corpus*, 2 (1986): 628–630, figs. 8–9.
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- 1985 NGA: 335, repro.
- 1988 Wheelock: 217–232, reprints. 9–11, 9–13, 9–14, 9–15.

1942.9.66 (662)

Rembrandt Workshop (possibly Willem Drost)

The Philosopher

c. 1653

Oil on walnut (oak extension and strips), 61.5 x 49.5
(24¼ x 19½)

Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The cradled panel support is composed of two vertically grained boards of wood joined horizontally through the hands. The join is 5.5 cm from the bottom edge. The main board is walnut, and the lower extension is oak. Edging strips have been added to the top and sides.¹

A thin white or beige ground layer is present on both upper and lower panel boards, with variations in composi-

tion. Density in the x-radiograph indicates the presence of a small amount of white lead in the ground in the main panel but not in the extension. A thin, dark, translucent red layer was laid directly on both panel boards, with variations in the pigment's composition.²

Paint is applied thickly in light passages, with low impasto and loose brushmarking, and more thinly in dark passages and the background. The imprimatura color is incorporated into the radiating lines on the hat, and into the flesh tones, where mid-tones are created by thinly glazing the red underlayer. Several changes are visible as pentimenti in infrared reflectography and in the x-radiograph. The contour of the proper right shoulder was raised slightly, and the hat was initially larger. The gray background was then drawn over the hat to decrease its size, followed by a repainting of the hat in its present size.

Provenance: (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1905). Maurice Kann, Paris, by 1906;³ (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris); sold 20 December 1906 to Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: New York 1909, no. 96. Washington 1969, no. 5.

WITH PIERCING, deep-set eyes, this bearded man leans forward and stares off to his right. He wears a wide, floppy barret and a red-and-yellow patterned robe draped over his shoulders. While this mysterious and intense figure has traditionally been identified as "The Jewish Philosopher," this designation is undoubtedly fanciful. Nevertheless, the image clearly depicts a concerned individual who seems to be actively brooding over his thoughts.

From 1639 until 1656 Rembrandt lived in a large house on the Jodenbreestraat on the edge of the Jewish quarter in Amsterdam. During those years, and particularly from the late 1640s, he frequently depicted Jewish models in his paintings. As Rosenberg has suggested, Rembrandt probably found in the picturesque faces of the Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews an intense spirituality that suggested to him the spirit of the people that populated the ancient world.⁴ At a time when he was searching for a deeper emotional understanding of biblical and historical figures, he found in these care-worn faces an underlying philosophical awareness of human existence. While a painting such as this was undoubtedly executed from life, it was not considered a portrait in the conventional sense, but rather a *tronie*, a bust-length figure study that was an imaginative evocation of the model.

This man, with his sad eyes and sharply chiseled features, is seen again in one of Rembrandt's most memorable figure studies, *A Bearded Man in a Cap* (National Gallery, London, inv. no. 190). He was



Fig. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Aristotle Contemplating a Bust of Homer*, oil on canvas, 1653, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchased with special funds and gifts of friends of the Museum, 1961

also the model Rembrandt used for his 1653 masterpiece, *Aristotle Contemplating a Bust of Homer* (fig. 1). Thus, although this work is neither signed nor dated, it must have been created at about this time, and, perhaps somewhat earlier, because the figure looks slightly younger. In both of these other paintings, moreover, Rembrandt has given the figure a fuller beard than is apparent in *The Philosopher*. The differences between *The Philosopher* and these other works, however, are more profound than those of age and beard size. In the latter paintings Rembrandt has suggested a more thoughtful individual both by emphasizing the wrinkles in his forehead and by throwing the upper portion of his face into shadow. In contrast to *Aristotle*, the expression of *The Philosopher* lacks subtlety and psychological understanding. The differences are in part ones of intent, but they also suggest that the works were created by different artistic personalities.

A close examination of the painting techniques in *The Philosopher* indicates that this work, while executed with great sensitivity, cannot be by the master. The primary difference between it and comparable works by Rembrandt from the early 1650s is that here the features are more sharply defined and articulated. The eyes are particularly distinctive because of the pink accents along the lower portion of



Rembrandt Workshop (possibly Willem Drost), *The Philosopher*, 1942.9.66

the lid. The nose, likewise, is forcefully modeled, with thick impastos along the bridge and thin translucent paints that reveal the ocher ground beneath in the shadow. Other areas, particularly the beard, are painted with feathery strokes that are unlike Rembrandt's brushwork. Also unusual in the beard is the way that the edges have been softened with strokes of white from the white shirt beneath it.

A more marked difference in handling from that seen in Rembrandt's own works is the rather superficial indication of the colored pattern of the man's robe. The contour of the robe, moreover, is not sensitively conceived. Not only does it not define a logical form, but the nuances of shading that one finds along such a contour in Rembrandt's paintings are absent. Finally, the hands lack structure.

The awkward appearance of the hands must have bothered an early collector or restorer. From the time that the painting first entered the Rembrandt literature in 1905 until it was cleaned in 1981, the hands were covered by two layers of overpaint, a gray layer with a dark brown resinous one over it (fig. 2). Just when they had been overpainted could not be determined by technical examination, but it was clearly done at a relatively late date because the

Fig. 2. Photograph of 1942.9.66 before restoration



overpaint covered old-age crackle and paint losses. Quite possibly the overpaint was applied during the eighteenth century, for in 1772 a larger version of the composition without the hands was auctioned in Paris.⁵

Although no trace of the painting from this sale has ever been found, another version of *The Philosopher*, also without hands but on canvas, appeared on the art market in London at about the same time as the Washington painting appeared in Paris. In 1911 this version passed through the collection of Maurice Kann in Paris, the same collector who had owned *The Philosopher* in 1905, the year before Peter A. B. Widener bought it. In 1914 Kann sold the recently discovered version to the Berlin collector Marcus Kappel, whose collection was catalogued by Wilhelm von Bode. Bode, who had published *The Philosopher* in his corpus on Rembrandt paintings in 1906, reversed himself in his catalogue of the Kappel Collection and argued that the Kappel painting was the original.⁶ Although the whereabouts of this painting is now unknown, Bode's assessment of the Kappel version has found little support in the literature.⁷ The National Gallery painting was accepted as a Rembrandt by all Rembrandt scholars until it was rejected in 1969 by Gerson.⁸

The questions concerning the hands are of interest because *The Philosopher* is painted on two different panels. While most of the image is painted on a walnut panel, joined to it along the bottom edge is an oak strip measuring approximately 5 cm in width on which the hands are painted. While no difference in execution or in pigments is evident in the treatment of the hands on the main panel and on the strip, the grounds are not identical. In the ground of the main panel appear the elements mercury and tin, indicating the presence of vermilion and possibly lead-tin yellow, elements that are missing on the smaller strip. The differences in the grounds suggest that the bottom strip was added after the composition had been planned on a smaller scale, and thus, presumably, without hands.⁹ Along with this alteration are a number of other design changes. The artist raised the model's right shoulder slightly and changed the shape of the hat at least three times. Initially he painted it substantially larger, then reduced it to the size of a skullcap, before painting it in its present size.

A number of stylistic similarities exist between this work and paintings by Willem Drost (active 1650s), who, according to Houbraken, was a pupil of Rembrandt.¹⁰ Although the dates of his apprenticeship to Rembrandt are not known, a number of signed and dated works from the early 1650s indicate

that in these years he was strongly influenced by the master.¹¹ This period corresponds to the time this work was probably executed. One characteristic of Drost's paintings of male sitters that parallels the pose of *The Philosopher* is that figures often stare very intently out of the picture plane.¹² Facial features tend to be firmly modeled, although he frequently had problems depicting hands. Not only do many of them lack structure, but the wrists join awkwardly with the foreshortened arms.¹³ Finally, he favored red and orange colors and patterned robes such as that worn by *The Philosopher*. A comparable example is his painting *A Young Woman* in the Wallace Collection, from about 1654 (fig. 3). Although Drost's artistic personality is not yet fully understood, the stylistic connection between his works and *The Philosopher* seems sufficiently strong to suggest that he may have depicted this striking image.

Notes

1. The exact method used to encase this painting is difficult to determine because of the presence of the cradle. Dating the panel was not possible because of the complex construction and the use of walnut, which does not yield chronological information from dendrochronological examination.

2. Pigment analyses of the ground layers in both the main panel and bottom extension are available in the Scientific Research department (22 August 1984, 24 August 1984, 24 April 1986). XRF and cross-sections indicate the presence of vermilion in the ground on the main panel but not on the extension.

3. Sedelmeyer 1905, 36, does not mention that the painting came from the Kann Collection. Since provenance was generally cited in Sedelmeyer's catalogues, and Maurice Kann bought almost all of his paintings from Sedelmeyer, it seems reasonable to infer that *The Philosopher* had not yet been owned by Kann when Sedelmeyer offered it for sale in 1905. When the picture was catalogued in 1906 (Bode 1897–1906, 8: 39, 126, 378), Bode noted on page 126 that the painting was in the Kann Collection and then on page 378 that it had changed hands and was with Sedelmeyer.

4. Rosenberg 1948, 1: 59–63.

5. Louis-Michel Van Loo sale, Paris, 14 December 1772, no. 29. The painting which measured "2 pieds 8 pouc. sur 2 pieds 2 pouc.," is not only fully described, but the image is also known through a summary sketch by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin who attended the sale. See Dacier 1909–1921, 5: 1911.

6. Bode 1914, 6–7.

7. Bredius 1935, 11, no. 260. Bredius writes about the Kappel version: "I am not convinced either by the authenticity of the signature, or by the attribution." One notable exception is the opinion of Douglas 1948, 69–74, who wrote that the Kappel version (then being offered for sale by Duveen in New York) was the original.

8. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 569. Gerson notes that the Kappel version was in the H. John Collection, Milwaukee, in 1962. Gerson is misleading when he writes: "Bredius was unwilling to attribute either version to Rembrandt." Bredius did reject the Kappel version (see note 6) but merely noted



Fig. 3. Willem Drost, *A Young Woman*, c. 1654, oil on panel, Trustees of the Wallace Collection, London

the existence of the National Gallery (then Widener) painting.

9. See pigment analysis undertaken in August 1984 by Barbara Miller (NGA curatorial files).

10. Houbraken 1753, 3: 61.

11. Sumowski 1983, 1: 608–651.

12. See, for example, Drost's *Sitting Man with a Plumed Hat*, formerly Baron Alphonse de Rothschild Collection, Paris, illus. in Sumowski 1983, 1: cat. 331.

13. See Sumowski 1983, 1: cat. 329.

References

- 1905 Sedelmeyer: 36, no. 27, repro.
- 1897–1906 Bode, 8 (1906): 39, 126, 378, no. 582.
- 1906 Rosenberg: not listed (1908 ed.: 365, repro.).
- 1908 Widener: 212.
- 1909 Marguillier: 1–32, no. 88.
- 1909 New York: no. 96.
- 1913–1916 Widener: unpaginated, intro., and no. 34.
- 1914 Valentiner: 247, no. 56.
- 1907–1927 HdG, 5 (1916): 233, no. 449. (also 1907–1928 German ed., 5 (1915): 203, no. 449).
- 1923 Meldrum: 197, no. 283.
- 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
- 1931 Widener: 70–71.
- 1931 Valentiner: no. 108.

- 1935 Bredius: 12, 260, repro. (also 1936 English ed.: 11, 260, repro.).
 1942 Widener: 6.
 1948 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
 1948 Rosenberg, 1: 59; 2: fig. 98 (also 1964 ed.: 111, fig. 98).
 1948 Douglas: 68–74.
 1959 Widener: 41.
 1963 Walker: 313, repro.
 1965 NGA: 110.
 1966 Bauch: 12, no. 214, repro.
 1968 NGA: 98, repro.
 1969 Gerson/Bredius: 539, 569, no. 260A, repro.
 1969 Washington: no. 5.
 1975 NGA: 288–289, repro.
 1975 Walker: 273, no. 362.
 1985 NGA: 334, repro.

1937.1.79 (79)

Rembrandt Workshop

Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife

1655
 Oil on canvas, 105.7 x 97.8 (41 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 38 $\frac{1}{2}$)
 Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

In lower right corner: *Rembrandt. f.1655.*

Technical Notes The original fabric support, consisting of a large piece (98.8 x 90.6 cm) with strips (6 cm in width) sewn onto the left and bottom edges, was transferred in 1854 to fabric with an open-weave, gauze-like fabric interleaf. In 1935 the transfer fabric was removed and the painting relined, with the interleaf retained. Sanding of the back of the original fabric during transfer removed the weave and cusping patterns and may have removed an original ground layer, had a double ground been employed. Only a single original layer is evident, a tan ground present on the main fabric and edge strips, situated above a white ground that was presumably added during transfer.¹ A black imprimatura was found under the figures of Joseph and the wife, and the tan ground was employed as a mid-tone in the wife's hair.

Paint is applied in complex, thin layers of medium-rich paint, creating a heavily textured surface enriched with transparent glazes. The x-radiograph and infrared reflectogram reveal changes, often visible as pentimenti, in the wife's proper right sleeve and index finger, above Potiphar's proper right wrist, and in the red cape, which was extended to the right. Abrasion in the background reveals remnants of a canopy, visible in infrared light, that initially was between Joseph and Potiphar.

Moderate abrasion is found in the background and in the dress of Potiphar's wife, along with moderate-sized losses, particularly in Potiphar and the background. Losses exist on all edges and along the seams of the narrow edge strips, where the paint application is original and consistent with the handling in the larger fabric piece. Conservation was carried out in 1979 to remove discolored varnish and soluble retouchings.

Provenance: Gerard Hoet, Jr. [d. 1760], The Hague; (sale, The Hague, 25 August 1760, no. 44).² Johan Ernst Gotzkowsky [1710–1775], Berlin; acquired in 1763 by Catherine II, empress of Russia [1729–1796]; Imperial Hermitage Gallery, Saint Petersburg; sold January 1931 through (Matthiessen Gallery, Berlin, P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London, and M. Knoedler & Co., New York) to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 1 May 1937 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *Rembrandt: Loan Exhibition of Rembrandt Paintings*, Knoedler Galleries, New York, 1933, no. 10. *A Century of Progress: Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture*, Art Institute of Chicago, 1934, no. 105. Amsterdam 1935, no. 17. Washington 1969, no. 13. *Gods, Saints & Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt*, National Gallery of Art, Washington; Detroit Institute of Arts; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1980–1981, no. 28. *In Quest of Excellence: Civic Pride, Patronage, Connoisseurship*, Center for the Fine Arts, Miami, 1984, no. 52. *Painting the Bible in Rembrandt's Holland*, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1993. *Im Lichte Rembrandts, Das Alte Testament im Goldenen Zeitalter der Niederländischen Kunst*, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster, 1994, no. 25.

THIS PAINTING depicts an episode in the life of Joseph that is described in 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, Iempsar, of trying to violate her, after her attempts at seduction had failed. When he fled from her, she held on to his robe and eventually used it as evidence against him. In this painting Iempsar recounts her tale to Potiphar as she gestures toward Joseph's red robe draped over the bedpost. While Potiphar listens intently to the story, Joseph, dressed in a long, brown tunic and with the keys denoting his household responsibilities hanging from his belt, stands serenely on the far side of the bed.

The story of Joseph was one that fascinated Rembrandt, for he devoted a large number of drawings, prints, and paintings to the life of this Old Testament figure. While his primary source of inspiration was undoubtedly the Bible, he also drew upon other literary traditions to amplify his understanding of the biblical text. Tümpel has argued that, in particular, Flavius Josephus' *Of the Antiquities of the Jews* was extremely important for Rembrandt's interpretations of Old Testament scenes.³ Rembrandt owned an expensive German edition of Flavius Josephus, which is listed in the 1656 inventory of his possessions, the year after the execution of this painting.⁴ Tümpel sees the pronounced focus on the bed in *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife* as a direct response on Rembrandt's part to the emphasis placed on the bed in Josephus' account of this scene. In the text found



Rembrandt Workshop, *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife*, 1937.1.79

in *Of the Antiquities of the Jews*, Potiphar's wife accuses Joseph with the following words: "O husband, said she, mayst thou not live a day longer, if thou dost not punish the wicked slave, who has desired to defile thy bed..."⁵

In one important respect the confrontation depicted in this painting varies from both Flavius Josephus' account and the biblical text: all three protagonists are present at the time of the accusation. In neither account is Joseph's presence mentioned. Rembrandt often took such liberties with biblical texts to enhance the emotional poignancy of the scene.⁶ Here the setting has been carefully conceived to reinforce the essential drama of the accusation. Potiphar's wife is the main protagonist, for it is around her accusation that the drama revolves. Strongly lit and centrally placed, she gestures across the white sheets of the bed to Joseph's red robes as she turns toward her husband to recount her story. At the same time she brings her left hand to her chest, holding up her chemise in a gesture that imparts at once innocence and modesty. Joseph, placed by himself on the far side of the expansive bed, appears isolated and vulnerable as he stares toward the red robe and involuntarily raises his hand in protest. Potiphar, dressed in a turban and an oriental costume, is effectively placed on the far right so that as his wife confides in him she must simultaneously turn away from Joseph. As Potiphar leans toward Iempsar, he rests his hand on the back of her chair and listens attentively. While Potiphar has directed his gaze at Joseph's robe, his relaxed pose makes it apparent that he has not yet fully grasped the import of her story.

It is difficult to determine whether Rembrandt invented this compositional concept purely from his own imagination or derived it from an earlier pictorial source. As was first mentioned by Bauch, Jan Pynas (c. 1585–after 1650) included Joseph in his 1629 depiction of the same scene, but the compositional connections are not strong.⁷ Pynas does not include the bed and depicts a member of Potiphar's household holding Joseph. A more probable source of inspiration is Vondel's play *Joseph in Egypten*, first performed in 1639/1640, in which all three protagonists appear on the stage at the time of Iempsar's accusation.⁸ Schwartz, who has also emphasized this connection with Vondel's play, has further noted that the production held in 1655 was a particular success, with a woman in the role of Iempsar.⁹ Even though Joseph appears on stage at the end of Iempsar's accusation rather than at the beginning, as would seem to be the case in the painting, the theatrical character of the image suggests that the play

may have been an important source of inspiration for this work.

There seems good reason, however, to believe that the choice of subject matter was not entirely the result of external influences. The decision to paint in 1655 this image of false accusation speaks too closely to Rembrandt's personal circumstances to be entirely coincidental. Rembrandt may have been drawn to the subject because he was beset at this time by accusations from a woman scorned, Geertje Dirckx. In 1649 she sued Rembrandt for breach of promise, a suit that was followed by years of litigation.¹⁰ The theme of false accusation also arises in Mantegna's drawing *Calumny of Apelles*, which Rembrandt owned and copied at about this time.¹¹

Complicating any assessment of this work, however, is the existence of a comparable painting of *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* in Berlin that is also signed Rembrandt and dated 1655 (fig. 1). In this version the three protagonists are placed in relatively the same position, although the drama here is expressed at a higher pitch. Joseph responds vigorously to Iempsar's accusation by looking upward and raising his left hand near his head. Iempsar accuses Joseph directly rather than indirectly through the medium of the discarded robe. As though to emphasize her disdain for Joseph she steps on the robe as it lies strewn over a step on the floor. Her body language is more active than in the Washington version: she turns at an angle in her chair, she has her legs crossed, and her facial expression seems quite agitated. Whereas the Iempsar of the Washington painting, dressed in jewelry and an ermine-lined orange robe, appears composed, the Iempsar in the Berlin version seems more disheveled: she wears no jewelry, and the richly brocaded surface of her robe is broken by numerous folds. Finally, the surface of the Berlin version is further enlivened by the elaborate gilded bedpost near Joseph.

The date inscribed on *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife* was a matter of great dispute in the early literature on the painting. Waagen in 1864 read the date of the Washington painting (when it was in the Hermitage) as 1657.¹² The Hermitage catalogue of 1870, however, interpreted the date as reading 1654, which would mean that this version predated the one presently in Berlin. Bode in 1883 and again in 1901 also agreed that the Hermitage version was originally dated 1654, but he believed that Rembrandt changed the "4" to a "5" when he reworked the painting the following year.¹³ Despite the opinion of Michel and later Somof, in his catalogue of the Hermitage paintings of 1901, that the date should read 1655 and that the so-called 4 was a misreading due to accidental

effects on the surface, Bode's suggestion continued to be accepted by most scholars until Bredius' 1935 catalogue of Rembrandt paintings.¹⁴

The subtle yet profound differences in concept in the Washington and Berlin paintings were, as a consequence of this confusion about the date, explained in relation to Rembrandt's chronological evolution. As late as the 1970s, for example, Kauffmann argued that the earlier double-dating hypothesis should not be ignored in considering which of these two paintings came first. He felt that it would have been unlikely for Rembrandt to have painted the emotionally charged Berlin version and then to have proceeded to the less dramatic, and to his mind, less successful Washington version.¹⁵

Opinions about the relative success of the two compositions that Kauffmann raised had concerned art historians ever since the late nineteenth century. Most argued that the Berlin version, in Michel's words, was "not only more dramatic in composition..., [but] more brilliant in colour, and in better condition" than the Hermitage [Washington] example.¹⁶ Bode, who considered the Berlin version to be later, saw in it "slight, but essentially advantageous alterations," but felt that, in the end, both "pictures are of the highest excellence in such qualities as the choice of the colours, splendour of harmony, and vigour of illumination."¹⁷ Neumann, in 1905, preferred the Berlin version as later did Rosenberg, who wrote that it was "superior to the one in Washington, its general effect being both richer and more striking."¹⁸ The Washington painting, however, has had its defenders. In 1936, the year after the painting had been exhibited at the Rijksmuseum, the museum's director, Schmidt-Degener, was reported to have remarked that the painting was "infinitely superior to the Berlin picture; in fact, he now began to even doubt the latter as being altogether by Rembrandt."¹⁹ Benesch wrote in 1943 that the Washington version "surpasses that of Berlin in depth of psychical expression. But the Berlin version seems to be a step further in pictorial refinement, so we may regard it as the later."²⁰

Since the 1960s, however, the general consensus has been not only that the Berlin version is superior, but also that the Washington painting is a workshop replica. This opinion was first expressed in 1966 when Bauch proposed that the comparatively muted depiction of the scene in the Washington painting was the creation of a good student who was following the Berlin example. He argued as well that Rembrandt subsequently reworked the painting and then signed it.²¹ Gerson allowed that Bauch might be proved correct in his assessment, but stressed that

the quality of the picture was difficult to assess because of the heavy varnish and "curious 'craquelure'" that covered the surface.²² While Schwartz accepted both versions as by Rembrandt, Tümpel removed the Washington painting from Rembrandt's oeuvre, calling it "nur eine schwachere Werkstattwiederholung."²³

While the restoration of the painting in 1979–1980 did not resolve issues of chronology and date, the removal of several layers of pigmented varnish with pronounced craquelure that had obscured the image did allow a clearer assessment of the pictorial qualities of the Washington version.²⁴ Two significant pentimenti were revealed, changes that were intended to strengthen the narrative (fig. 2). Iempsar originally gestured toward Joseph's robes with her fingers cupped. Only later was the index finger extended to direct the eye's attention to this significant item of clothing. At the same time the robe itself was enlarged to give it more presence within the composition.

The restoration confirmed that the surface had suffered from numerous small losses and general

Fig. 1. Rembrandt, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, oil on canvas, 1655, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie





Fig. 2. Infrared reflectogram of hand and robe in 1937.1.79

abrasion, particularly in the blue drapes behind the bed. In part the damages may have resulted when the painting was transferred from an old canvas to a new one by E. Sivers in 1854 in Saint Petersburg.²⁵ Because of the transfer, much information about ground layers and paint structure has been irretrievably lost. Nevertheless, x-radiographs do reveal that the original support consisted of three pieces of canvas, a large center piece with a six-centimeter strip along the left side and a six-centimeter strip across the bottom (fig. 3).²⁶ Evidence of the seams along these additions is also seen in the pattern of losses on the surface of the painting, which are easily identifiable in a photograph taken during restoration.

While technical examinations of the available ground layers and paint provide no evidence to suggest that these strips were later additions, it is most unlikely that the composition was originally conceived on a support with this unusual configuration. The decision thus must have been made during the course of execution that the composition should be enlarged in the foreground and to the left of Joseph. Perhaps it was thought that the floor did not recede properly under the feet of Potiphar's wife and

Fig. 3. X-radiograph of 1937.1.79



that Joseph appeared too cramped on the far side of the bed. Whatever the reasons for the additions, the result is that the figures are set back more into space and the dim half-lights of the bedchamber take on a greater atmospheric role in the presentation of the drama. They seem, in fact, to reinforce the subtle, understated interpretation of the accusation by Potiphar's wife that is depicted.

Whether or not the change in the shape of the composition provides evidence about the chronological relationship of the Washington and Berlin versions is difficult to determine. The Washington painting, before the strips were added to the left side and the bottom, measured approximately 98.8 x 90.6 cm, whereas the Berlin canvas measures 113.5 x 90 cm. Thus the widths of the two paintings appear to have been originally the same although the vertical dimensions differ.²⁷ Before the strip was added to the left of the Washington support Joseph would have been quite near the left edge, rather as he is in the Berlin painting. The addition along the bottom coincides almost exactly to the placement of the step in the Berlin painting, a device that is effectively used to place the figures back in space.²⁸ On the one hand, it would seem illogical, given the similarity in the positions of Joseph in the original composition and in the Berlin painting, to assume that the Washington painting, with its additions, preceded the Berlin version; on the other hand, it could also be argued that the change in composition along the bottom edge should not have been necessary had the Berlin painting been available as a point of reference. The most plausible conclusion appears to be that the paintings were being conceived simultaneously and that arguments about chronological precedence are essentially irrelevant to the compositional solutions arrived at in these works. Indeed, while these paintings obviously have many similarities, each is also consistent unto itself, not only in the way the story is presented, but also in the textures, colors, and painting techniques used to characterize the scene.²⁹

Should the two paintings have been executed at more or less the same time, one must wonder whether it would have been likely for Rembrandt to have executed both works. He may have done so to demonstrate how, with essentially the same composition, two quite different representations of the scene could be created. More likely, however, is that two different artists painted these works. Indeed, close comparisons of the painting techniques in these works demonstrate a quite different sense of modeling. An excellent point of comparison is the wife's left hand, which in the Washington version is softly modeled with extended strokes of the brush, while



Fig. 4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Titus*, oil on canvas, 1655, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

in the Berlin version it is more boldly formed with a rougher, more broken technique. Similar comparisons can be made in the modeling of her face and robes.

Comparisons indicate that a more adept hand executed the Berlin version. With a close examination of technique in the Washington painting comes an awareness that the anatomical forms, the hand and eyes, for example, and the folds in the robes are, in fact, not modeled with a convincing sense of three-dimensional form.³⁰ This weakness is also evident in the figures of Potiphar and Joseph. Although Joseph's attenuated form is sympathetically rendered, it remains quite flat. In the end, despite the many Rembrandtesque characteristics of this work, one must conclude that Rembrandt did not execute it. There is also no evidence that he reworked the painting, as proposed by Bauch, although he may well have suggested the additions and the change in the wife's gesture. Whether or not Rembrandt was responsible for the Berlin version is a different matter. Perhaps he was, but it may well be that this too was executed by an assistant, with both artists working from a common source.³¹ At the very least it

would seem that models, assuming the poses of the protagonists, must have been arranged in the studio. In the Washington painting the model for Joseph was almost certainly Titus, Rembrandt's fourteen-year-old son (fig. 4).

Too little, however, is known of the character of Rembrandt's workshop in 1655 to assess what type of working arrangements actually existed at that time, or, for that matter, which assistants he might have had working with him. Willem Drost (active 1650s) and Constantijn van Renesse (1626–1680) are two artists capable of painting such sensitive religious images. Renesse's style is indeed rather close to that seen in the Washington *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife*.³² His forms tend to lack strong three-dimensional characterization, and his figures are often attenuated in a manner quite similar to that of Joseph in his *Good Samaritan* in the Louvre, Paris (see p. 307, fig. 7). Nevertheless, it is very possible that Renesse had already left Rembrandt's workshop by 1654, for in that year he was named secretary of the city of Eindhoven. Whichever Rembrandt pupil actually executed this work, it does seem clear that, at the very least, the choice of subject and composition were determined by the master himself.

Notes

1. The ground, consisting of iron oxides, Van Dyck brown, and quartz sand, is apparently the same on both the main fabric and edge strips. Pigment analysis (XRF and cross-sections) of ground and paint layers is available in the Scientific Research department (17 April 1979, 18 April 1979, 6 August 1979, and 26 November 1979).
2. Hoet 1752–1770, 3: 225, no. 44. The painting, which was described as a "kapitaal en uitmuntend stuk," sold for fl 100.
3. Tümpel in Vekeman and Müller Hofstede 1984, 173–204; and reissued in an abbreviated form in Amsterdam 1991, 194–206. Flavius Josephus, who was born in Jerusalem shortly after Christ's death, based his text not only on the Old Testament but also on Jewish legends and antique writers. His work was translated into many languages and widely distributed.
4. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 379, no. 284: "Een hoogduijtsche Flavio Fevus gestoffeert met figueren van Tobias Timmerman" (a 'Flavius Josephus' in High German profusely illustrated by Tobias Stimmer).
5. *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus*, trans. William Whiston, 4 vols. (London, 1755), 1: 82–83. (*Of the Antiquities of the Jews*, book 2, chapter 4, section 5.)
6. In his *The Visitation*, 1640 (Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. 27.200), Rembrandt depicted the aged Zacharias descending the stairs to greet Mary, although Elizabeth's husband is not mentioned in this biblical episode.
7. Bauch 1960, 258, note 96. Pynas' painting, which is in the Alfred Bader Collection, Milwaukee, is also mentioned in this context by Christian Tümpel, "Religious History Painting," in Washington 1980, 51, fig. 6.
8. Joost van den Vondel, *Joseph in Egypten*, act. 5, verse 1348: "...daer komt die fraeie gast," as quoted in Kauffmann 1973, 52. The connection between this painting and Vondel's play appears to have first been made by Wustmann 1906, 81–84.
9. Schwartz 1984/1985, 274–275. Schwartz identifies the actors as Adriana van den Bergh, her husband Gillis Nooseman (Potiphar), and Cornelis Laurensz. Krook (Joseph).
10. Geertje Dirckx was released from the Gouda house of correction on 31 May 1655 after having spent five years confined in the "Spinhuis." Rembrandt purportedly tried to prevent her release and wanted to keep her there for another eleven years. For documents relating to this matter see Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 327, doc. 1655/2; 340, doc. 1656/5.
11. Kauffmann 1973, 53–57.
12. Waagen 1864, 179, no. 794. In this dating he follows De Köhne 1863, no. 794.
13. Bode 1883, 508, 599, no. 319; Bode 1897–1906, 6: 34, no. 401.
14. Michel 1893 (English trans. 1894), 2: 80; Somof 1901, 2: 308, no. 794. "Il se peut, du reste, que ce trait soit simplement l'effet du hasard, et qu'il soit produit bien plus tard, lors du nettoyage ou du rentoilage du tableau..." Bredius 1935, no. 523, dated the painting 1655 without further comment.
15. Kauffmann 1973, 50–51.
16. Michel 1893 (English trans. 1894), 2: 80.
17. Bode 1897–1906, 6: 3.
18. Rosenberg 1948, 1: 137.
19. From M. Knoedler & Co., letter, 10 March 1936, in NGA curatorial files. Schmidt-Degener's reactions seem to have been inspired by a recent restoration of the painting. Nothing is known about the restoration other than that the painting was relined in Amsterdam in 1935 by C. M. Jenner (an inscription in Dutch indicating this information is on the inside of the stretcher).
20. Benesch 1943, 27. Benesch's opinion about the chronological precedence of the Washington version was influenced by the relationship he saw between this painting and a drawing in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich (inv. 1448). He felt that the drawing was a preparatory study for this work. See Ben., 5: 277, no. 958. The drawing, however, belongs to a notorious group of forgeries of Rembrandt drawings in Munich and cannot be considered within this context. See Rosenberg 1959, 108–119.
21. Bauch 1966, no. 33.
22. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 601, no. 523.
23. Tümpel in Vekeman and Müller Hofstede 1984, 189; Tümpel 1986, 419–420, no. A2; and Tümpel in Amsterdam 1991, 200.
24. The "curious 'craquelure'" that Gerson had complained about in 1969 (see note 21) was from the heavy varnish layers.
25. The information comes from an inscription on the back of the painting.
26. It cannot be determined whether further alterations were made to the size of the original support.
27. The figures in the Berlin painting, however, are closer to the top edge than they are in the Washington version. The possibility that the Washington painting has been trimmed along that edge should not be excluded.
28. The step, however, makes no logical sense in that it runs under the bed; thus the bedposts at the foot of the bed rest on a lower level than those at the head of the bed.

29. For an assessment of the different character of the interpretations of the story in these two paintings see Bal 1991, 105–108.

30. I would like to thank Ernst van de Wetering for sharing with me his observations about these areas when he examined the painting in 1989.

31. The overly dramatic gesture of Joseph as he looks heavenward is quite uncharacteristic for Rembrandt in the mid-1650s. It is a gesture, however, that does appear in Willem Drost's drawing of *The Lament for Abel* (see Sumowski 1979–1992, 3: 1204, no. 553^x, repro.). This coincidence, as well as the relatively bold brushwork with thick impastos, which relates to Drost's known works, suggests that he may have been responsible for the Berlin version.

32. For an analysis of Renesse's style and biographical information on the artist, see *The Descent from the Cross* (pp. 301–309).

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1838 Hermitage: 128, no. 37.
1863 De Köhne: 169, no. 794 (also 1870 2nd ed., 2: 131, no. 794; 1895 3rd rev. ed., A. Somof 2: 273–274, no. 794; and 1901 ed., 2: 308, no. 794).
1864 Waagen: 179, no. 794.
1868 Vosmaer: 276, 490 (also 1877 2nd ed.: 551).
1872 Massaloff: 4, repro. engr.
1873 Blanc, 2: 259.
1879 Mollet: 93.
1879 De Ris: 377–388.
1883 Bode: 508, 599, no. 319.
1885 Dutuit: 39, 59, 69, no. 14.
1886 Wurzbach: no. 389.
1893 Michel: 566 (also 1894 English trans., 2: 80–81).
1897–1906 Bode, 6 (1901): 3–4, 34, no. 401, repro.
1899 Bell: 81, 181.
1902 Neumann: 357–358 (also 1922 ed., 2: 383–384).
1906b Michel: 93.
1906 Rosenberg: xxix–xxx, 301, repro., 403 (also 1908 and 1909 rev. eds.: xxxi–xxxii, 376, repro., 561; and 1921 English ed.: 20, 376, repro.).
1906b Wustmann: 82–83.
1906a Veth: 145.
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1909 Wrangell: xxix, 121, repro.
1921 Errera: 1: 282 (as “1655”).
1923 Weiner (German ed.): 138, repro.
1923 Van Dyke: 39.
1923 Meldrum: 201, pl. 396.
1933 “American Art Notes”: 275–277, repro.
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1934 Chicago: no. 105.
1935 Amsterdam: no. 17.
1935 Bredius: 24, 523, repro. (also 1936 English ed.: 24, 523, repro.).
1935 Chamot: 199–205, repro.
1935 Rich: 3–5, repro.
1935 Scharf: 247–255.
1941 NGA: 31, no. 79, repro.
1943 Benesch: 20–33, fig. 8 (also reprint in Benesch 1970, 1: 140–146, fig. 69).
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1949 Mellon: 85, repro.
1954 Münz: 114.
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1960a Goldscheider: 177 no. 85, repro. 85.
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1969 Gerson/Bredius: 432, repro., 601.
1969 Washington: no. 13.
1970 Benesch, in Benesch 1970, 1: 83–100, fig. 69.
1973 Kauffmann, in Simson and Kelch 1973: 50–57, repro. 14.
1973 Klessmann, in Simson and Kelch 1973: 44–49.
1974 Potterton: 268–273.
1975 NGA: 286–287, repro.
1976 Walker: 280, no. 371, repro.
1977 Bolten and Bolten-Rempt: 196, no. 437, repro.
1980 Washington: no. 28.
1984/1985 Schwartz: 275, color repro. (also 1985 English ed.: 274–275, color repro.).
1984 Tümpel, in Vekeman and Müller Hofstede: 173–204.
1985 NGA: 330 repro.
1986 Tümpel: 419, A2.
1986 Sutton: 312.
1991 Bal: 34–39, 43, 46–48, 105–108, 117, 123, 140, 199, 217, 405 note 24, 451 note 13, reprints. 1.2, 1.7, 3.4.
1991 Tümpel, in Amsterdam 1991: 194–206.
1992 NGA: 131, color repro.
1994 Münster: no. 252.

1937.1.75 (75)

Rembrandt Workshop

A Woman Holding a Pink

1656
Oil on canvas, 102.9 x 86 (40½ x 33¾)
Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At upper right: *Rembrandt. f.1656*

Technical Notes: The support, a tightly woven, fine-weight fabric, has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Cusping is visible along all edges in the x-radiograph, indicating the original dimensions have been retained. The thick complex ground appears to consist of four layers, a dark brown layer followed by a yellow layer, and again a brown layer followed by a yellow one.¹

Thin paint layers were applied in paste consistency, worked both wet into wet and wet on wet with low brush-marking. The background layer extends under the figure,

which was initially sketched in broad brushstrokes. The hands, face, and tablecloth are thickly painted and finished with transparent glazes. Some texture has been lost by lining. Scattered minor losses have been retouched as have losses along the edges. The background and scattered areas of the figure are moderately abraded. The varnish layers are pigmented uniformly. Minor consolidation and inpainting were carried out in 1942 and 1957; no major treatment has been necessary since acquisition.

Provenance: Pierre Crozat [1665–1740], Paris, before 1740; by inheritance to his nephew Louis-François Crozat, Marquis du Châtel [1691–1750], Paris; by inheritance to his brother Louis-Antoine Crozat, Baron de Thiers [1699–1770], Paris; sold by estate in 1772 to Catherine II, empress of Russia [1729–1796]; Imperial Hermitage Gallery, Saint Petersburg; sold March 1931 through (Matthiesen Gallery, Berlin; P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London; and M. Knoedler & Co., New York) to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 30 March 1932 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: Washington 1969, no. 16.

IN WRITING about Rembrandt's classicism of the mid-1650s, Sir Kenneth Clark juxtaposed illustrations of *A Woman Holding a Pink* and Rembrandt's 1658 *Self-Portrait* in the Frick Collection (fig. 1).²

Fig. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-Portrait*, 1658, oil on canvas, Frick Collection, New York



The comparison is striking, for the nobility of both figures has much to do with their frontal poses and direct gazes. Whether or not the foundation of Rembrandt's classicism of the mid-1650s derives from Titian, as Clark maintained, there is no question that Rembrandt increasingly sought to capture the essence of a sitter's presence by means of the triangular geometry of a frontal, seated pose.

The simplicity of concept, the forcefulness of execution, and the nobility of character of *A Woman Holding a Pink* are qualities that have been consistently admired in the literature. Despite its undeniable quality and its clear relationship to Rembrandt's portrait style of the mid-1650s, however, recent scholars have speculated that *A Woman Holding a Pink* may have been executed by an artist trained by Rembrandt rather than by the master himself. The essential issue is one of connoisseurship: is the manner in which the figure is painted sufficiently consistent with Rembrandt's own technique to warrant an attribution to the master?

The first art historian to question the attribution was Horst Gerson in 1969. He did not believe the signature and date were authentic, and wrote about the painting: "Its solid structure combined with a smooth surface, however, are more characteristic of the school of Rembrandt than of the master himself. It could be a work of Bol or Maes."³ Gerson's comments are rather cursory, but his general observation about the manner of execution in the painting has much validity. A more essential difference than the relative smoothness of the paint, however, is the absence of accents that firmly articulate features and help characterize the personality of the sitter. While the woman's face is carefully modeled, her features are not formed with bold strokes of the brush, as one would expect of Rembrandt's touch, but with a number of superimposed strokes. The relatively soft modeling of form that results from this manner of painting is also evident in the x-radiograph of the head, where concentrations of lead white can be seen but few individual brushstrokes are visible (fig. 2). A similar manner of painting was used to delineate the hands. The limitations of this technique for articulating form are particularly evident in the rather undefined structure of the left hand.

Although it seems improbable that the artist responsible for executing this fine work was either Nicolaes Maes (q.v.) or Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680), as Gerson has suggested, he may well have been correct to associate this work with the relatively smooth portrait style of a Rembrandt pupil who like those artists originated from Dordrecht.⁴ Comparisons with the work of yet another Dordrecht artist



Rembrandt Workshop, *A Woman Holding a Pink*, 1937.1.75

who came to study under Rembrandt, Jacobus Leveck (1634–1675), provide striking parallels in artistic concept and painterly technique. Leveck is identified as a student of Rembrandt in a document dated 16 September 1653, when he and another pupil (*dissipelen*) acted as witnesses for Rembrandt.⁵ Houbraken, who later briefly studied with Leveck in Dordrecht, not only mentions that Leveck had studied under Rembrandt, he also writes that “[Leveck] still had a painting in his house from his first period in which Rembrandt’s handling was so truthfully done that one would have taken it for a work of Rembrandt.”⁶ This “first period” must have lasted at least until 1655, the year Leveck entered the Saint Luke’s Guild in Dordrecht. Nothing certain, however, is known about Leveck’s stylistic evolution during the latter half of the 1650s. While he and Maes, who had returned to Dordrecht from Rembrandt’s workshop in 1654, became important portrait painters in that city, it is possible that Leveck maintained his contact with Rembrandt during these years. Only in 1660, after a trip to France, did his style radically shift away from Rembrandt’s manner.⁷

Leveck’s oeuvre is small. Only sixteen paintings are attributed to him, and of these only eight are

signed.⁹ The earliest signed and dated painting, *Portrait of a Nineteen-Year-Old Boy* of 1654 (fig. 3), suggests that from the outset of his career Leveck favored a frontal pose in which the sitter stares directly out at the viewer. He illuminated the youth with a strong light source from the left and modeled his form with relatively thick paint, but the flesh tones appear quite smooth. Just as in *A Woman Holding a Pink*, the lips are depicted as being very full, and the form of the upper lip is distinctly articulated.

A second comparison can be made with an unsigned work convincingly attributed to Leveck, *Portrait of a Gentleman Holding a Pair of Gloves in His Left Hand*.⁹ Although this painting, which has been dated between 1655 and 1660 by Sumowski, is not as assured as *A Woman Holding a Pink*, the sitter’s frontal pose and direct gaze create a forceful impression. The paint in the flesh tones is thickly applied in a manner similar to that of *A Woman Holding a Pink*. In the left hand of both sitters, for example, modeling is achieved with diagonal strokes that run from left to right. In each instance impastos overlay a thin, light brown layer that is left visible to provide the flesh tone for the tips of the fingers, which are bent and in shadow.

Should *A Woman Holding a Pink* have been executed by Leveck or another as yet unidentified artist associated with Rembrandt, how does one account for the imposing character of the portrait that has so struck writers over the years, or the signature and date that read “*Rembrandt. / f. 1656*”? Contrary to Gerson’s skeptical assessment of the signature’s authenticity, technical examination provides no evidence that it is a later addition.¹⁰ While it is virtually impossible to determine if the signature is contemporaneous with the rest of the painting, the character of the letters in Rembrandt’s name is consistent enough with those in other Rembrandt signatures of the mid-1650s.¹¹ The date, moreover, is perfectly appropriate for the simple, unadorned character of the woman’s costume.¹² Thus while stylistic comparisons make it unlikely that Rembrandt executed this work, there seems little doubt that *A Woman Holding a Pink* originated in his workshop. The high quality of this work makes it probable that Rembrandt was in some way or another involved in its creation and execution. As with the *Man in Oriental Costume* (1940.1.13), he may have helped compose the portrait, perhaps by blocking in its form, but no evidence of his hand in the final image can be detected.

The pink carnation held by the woman has a long history associating it with the sacrament of marriage, and it is often symbolic of a marriage or betrothal.¹³ Although allusions to a marriage or be-

Fig. 2. X-radiograph of head in 1937.1.75





Fig. 3. Jacobus Leveck, *Portrait of a Nineteen-Year-Old Boy*, 1654, oil on panel, Surrey, Polesden Lacey, National Trust, © National Trust 1991

trothal may be the reason for its inclusion in this portrait, such an interpretation seems unlikely as no reinforcing marriage symbolism is present. The carnation, however, which in Dutch is called *nagelbloem* [nailflower], is also associated with Christ's Crucifixion.¹⁴ Thus the carnation, when found in family portraits, alludes to the fact that true conjugal love finds as its inspiration the example of Divine love provided by Christ's Passion. The carnation in this painting may well have such a meaning if one assumes that it is symbolically related to the still life on the tabletop to the woman's left. The book probably represents the Bible and the apples, the legacy of original sin that the woman must strive to overcome through her faith.

Notes

1. This determination has been made through microscopic examination. No cross-sections or pigment analyses of the ground or paint layers have been made.
2. Clark 1966, 127–130, fig. 120.
3. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 581, no. 390.
4. Bruyn 1991, 89, note 84, associated *A Woman Holding a Pink* with a portrait of a woman by Abraham van Dijck (1636–1672), signed and dated 1655 (fig. 101 in this essay, presently in the collection of Dr. Alfred Bader, Milwaukee).

Besides the frontal pose of the woman, however, there seems little stylistic relationship between these two works.

5. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 305, doc. 1653/16. The document concerns Rembrandt's appearance before a notary in Amsterdam to authenticate a painting by Paulus Brill (1554–1626).

6. Houbraken 1753, 2: 153. "Hy hadde nog een stuk schildery van zyn eersten tyd in zyn huis, daar de handeling van Rembrandt zoo wel in was waargenomen, dat men het voor een stuk van Rembrandt zou hebben aangezien."

7. Houbraken 1753, 2: 153, writes that, at this stage of his career, Leveck began painting in a style similar to that of Jan de Baan (1633–1702).

8. Fifteen of these paintings are included in Sumowski 1983, 3: 1746–1747. For a further discussion of Leveck, see Dordrecht 1992, 220–225.

9. *Portrait of a Gentleman Holding a Pair of Gloves in His Left Hand* (art market, The Hague), attributed to Leveck by Sumowski, was included in The Hague 1992, 212, cat. 27; Dordrecht 1992, 221–222, repro.

10. The strong probability that the signature and date were applied at the time the painting was executed would seem to exclude the possibility that this work was executed by Leveck, since he had joined the Saint Luke's Guild in Dordrecht in 1655. One could hypothesize, however, that Leveck executed the portrait in Rembrandt's workshop before he left for Dordrecht, presumably in 1655, and that Rembrandt signed and dated it the following year.

11. The signature, for example, conforms in most respects to Rembrandt's *Jacob Blessing the Children of Joseph*, 1656 (Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, inv. no. 249). In this comparison only the *B* with its upper loop differs from the signature in the Kassel painting.

12. See Van de Watering 1976–1977, 38. Van de Watering emphasizes that, except for elderly or particularly conservative women, fashion began to change shortly after 1655–1656.

13. Mercier 1937, 233–236.

14. Koch 1964, 70–77.

References

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 1829–1842 Smith, 7 (1836): 171, no. 537.
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 1897–1906 Bode, 6 (1901): 22, 138, no. 453, repro.
 1899 Bell: 181, no. 819, 189 (also 1907 ed.: 152, no. 819).
 1902 Neumann: 430–431, repro. 104 (also 1922 ed.: 125).
 1906 Rosenberg: 310, repro., 403, no. 310 (also 1908 and 1909 eds.: 439, repro., 563, no. 439).

- 1907–1927 HdG, 6 (1916): 402, no. 878.
 1909 Wrangell: xxx, 129, repro.
 1919 Bode: 30, repro.
 1921b Valentiner: 439, repro.
 1923 Meldrum: 138–139, 200, no. 359.
 1923 Weiner: 148, repro. (German ed.).
 1935 Bredius: 16, 390, repro. (also 1936 English trans.: 16, 390, repro.).
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 1943 Benesch: 20–33, repro.
 1949 Mellon: 86, no. 75, repro.
 1960 Roger Marx: 65, 305, no. 131, repro.
 1965 NGA: 109, no. 75.
 1966 Bauch: 26, no. 515., repro.
 1966 Clark: 127–130, fig. 120.
 1968 Stuffmann: 11–143, no. 372, repro.
 1968 NGA: 96, no. 75, repro.
 1969 Walker: 26, no. 16.
 1969 Gerson/Bredius: 304 repro., 581, no. 390.
 1969 Washington: no. 16.
 1974 Slive: 113.
 1975 Walker: 279, no. 367.
 1975 NGA: 284, no. 75, repro.
 1976–1977 Van de Watering: 33–41, fig. 3.
 1977 Bolten and Bolten-Rempt: 197, no. 452, repro.
 1985 NGA: 329, repro.

1956.1.1 (1443)

Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn

Old Woman Plucking a Fowl

1650/1655

Oil on canvas, 133 x 104.7 (52³/₈ x 41¹/₄)

Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Walter Timme

Technical Notes: The medium-weight, plain-weave fabric support consists of two pieces seamed vertically at the left. It has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed. Diagonal marks from a tool used to apply the thick white ground are visible in the x-radiograph. Paint is applied both thickly and thinly in dry opaque pastes, with colored glazes applied over lighter base tones. Dry brushstrokes of varying length create impasto in light areas, such as the feathers. Extensive glazing is employed in dark passages to model forms and shadows, and impart a dark, glowing appearance.

Thin paint layers and glazes, particularly in dark passages, are severely abraded and covered by discolored retouching. The extent of repaint is difficult to determine precisely due to the heavy, discolored surface coating. Other than a relining and a layer of varnish applied in 1957, the painting has not been treated since acquisition (see text for discussion of restorations undertaken prior to acquisition by the National Gallery).

Provenance: Possibly Willem Six, Amsterdam; (possibly sale, Amsterdam, 12 May 1734, no. 170); possibly Wilkins. Possibly John(?) Blackwood; (possibly sale, England, 1752, no. 70).¹ Francis Charteris, Earl of Wemyss [1723–1808];

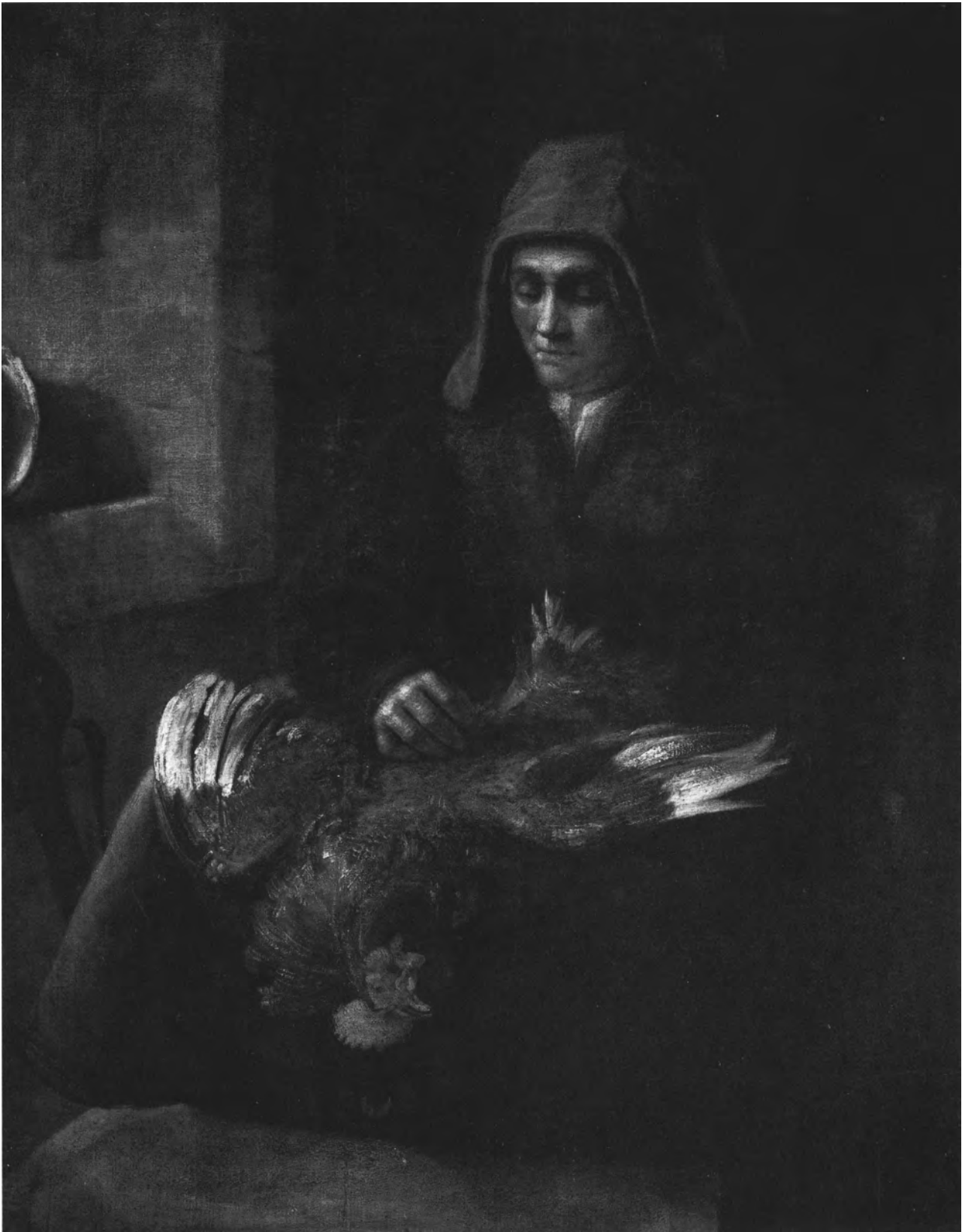
Ralph Willett [1719–1795], Great Canford, Dorset; bequeathed to his cousin, John Willett Adye [d. 1815], who later assumed surname Willett in lieu of Adye; (sale, Peter Cox & Co., London, 31 May 1813, no. 62, bought in); (sale, Christie's, London, 8 April 1819, no. 124); Anthony Stewart [1773–1846], London; Andrew Geddes [1789–1844], London; (sale, London, 12 April 1845, no. 646, bought in); by inheritance to Mrs. Andrew Geddes. Baron de Beurnonville; (sale, Chevalier, Paris, 3 June 1884, no. 295). Madame Levaigneur; (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 2–4 May 1912, no. 24). (F. Kleinberger & Co., Paris and New York);² (sale, American Art Association, New York, 18 November 1932, no. 50); (L. J. Marion); Dr. and Mrs. Walter Timme.

Exhibited: British Institution, London, 1861, no. 17. *Paintings by Rembrandt*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1930, no. 31.

THE EARLY HISTORY of *Old Woman Plucking a Fowl* is not known with certainty. Traditionally this painting has been associated with a work listed in the 1734 sale of paintings owned by Willem Six, where “Een Hoenderwyf, van Rembrandt” was purchased by Wilkins for 165 fl. (see provenance).³ Wilkins may have brought it to England, for a “*woman plucking a fowl*” by Rembrandt appeared in the Blackwood sale of 1757.⁴ The first secure reference to the painting is from the mid-eighteenth century when Richard Houston (c. 1721–1775) made his mezzotint with an inscription indicating that the painting was in the collection of Francis Charteris, Earl of Wemyss (1723–1808) (fig. 1).⁵

Viewed today, no one would for a moment confuse this painting with a work by Rembrandt; yet an attribution to the master was strongly defended when it surfaced in a Paris sale in 1912. The painting had previously only been known to the most important Rembrandt scholars of the day, Wilhelm von Bode, Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, and Abraham Bredius, through reproductive mezzotints, among them the one made by Houston. The painting's appearance generated much interest, and it was acquired by the Paris dealer Francis Kleinberger for a substantial price. Of the three scholars mentioned above, only Bredius demurred about the attribution, arguing that the painting was a workshop production, one of those paintings listed in Rembrandt's 1656 inventory as being retouched by Rembrandt.⁶ He wrote that the woman “with the strange wrinkles above her left eye and underneath her right eye, with the monotonously painted fur coat and the oddly-shaped hands,” had nothing to do with Rembrandt, but that the fowl was by the master. “You feel his genius in the light he gave to its wings and how the touches in its head make it perfect.”

Bredius' comments initiated an exchange of letters in the *Burlington Magazine* with Kleinberger,



Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn, *Old Woman Plucking a Fowl*, 1956.1.1



Fig. 1. Richard Houston, engraving of *Old Woman Plucking a Fowl*, mid-18th century, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

who vigorously defended the attribution to Rembrandt.⁷ He pointed out that large areas of the painting had been overpainted by an eighteenth-century restorer before the mezzotint had been made by Houston. Kleinberger added that shortly after acquiring the *Old Woman Plucking a Fowl* he had sent the painting to Berlin to be restored by Professor A. Hauser. Hauser removed overpaint in the background, which revealed the windowsill and gun leaning against it. As Hofstede de Groot also noted, Hauser discovered that the fowl's left wing was overpainted as were both of the woman's hands.⁸ Her costume had also been overpainted. Hofstede de Groot was quite enthusiastic about the changes that had been wrought by Hauser: not only had the woman's expression improved, but also the overall lighting and color harmonies as well. He compared the painting to Rembrandt's *Still Life with Two Dead Peacocks and a Girl* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A3981) and the *Dead Bittern Held High by a Hunter* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, inv. no. 1561), and concluded that this painting likewise must date c. 1638–1640.

Just what transpired in Hauser's studio is unknown. No records have been preserved that allow any judgment about the layers of paint that he removed and the extent of overpainting that he then added.⁹ Valentiner later wrote that Hauser had been forced to reconstruct "essential parts" of the painting, but just what these were has never been determined.¹⁰ If one were to judge the painting as it appears today, it is hard to imagine how anyone, let alone experts of the stature of Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner, could have reacted positively to Hauser's restoration. A close comparison with the photograph of the painting published in 1912 after the restoration, however, indicates that a second restoration must have been undertaken before the painting was given to the National Gallery in 1956. Not only has the shape of the headdress once again changed, the costume has lost definition in the folds, and the face and right hand have been heavily overpainted. The Rembrandt signature is also far less visible today than it was in 1912. With all of these layers of restoration, it is virtually impossible to determine the original character of the image. The sole exception is the dead fowl on the woman's lap,

Fig. 2. Attributed to Karel van der Pluym, *Woman Cutting Her Nails*, 1648, oil on canvas, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913



which seems to have survived fairly well intact.

The vigorous execution of this animal does reveal a boldness of touch that provides a glimpse of the qualities that the rest of the painting may originally have possessed.¹¹ While the dry brushwork used to suggest the feathers on the bird's body are, in fact, quite different in character from Rembrandt's handling of similar areas in the Rijksmuseum painting of the dead peacocks, a similar technique is found in the work of one of Rembrandt's pupils and followers from the early 1650s, Karel van der Pluym (1625–1672). A particularly close comparison is found in the brushwork on the armor of *Mars* in Leichtenstein, a painting convincingly attributed to Van der Pluym by Sumowski and dated to the early 1650s, after the artist had left Rembrandt's workshop and returned to Leiden.¹² If one were to extrapolate, moreover, from the general compositional format, large scale, and figure type, what the image might originally have looked like, a painting generally attributed to Van der Pluym, *Woman Cutting Her Nails* (fig. 2), once again serves as an excellent point of reference.¹³ Here one finds the same deep-set eyes, square face, and blocky hands. Even the thick, heavy fur-lined cloak is comparable.

The information available, however, is not sufficient to attribute this heavily overpainted work to Van der Pluym. Neither of the comparisons mentioned above is signed or dated, so their attributions to Van der Pluym should be understood as tentative. Moreover, other artists in the Rembrandt circle during the 1650s, Gerrit Willemsz. Horst (1612–1652), Abraham van Dijck (1635–1672), Heyman Dullaert (1636–1684), and Willem Drost (active 1650s), also painted large-scale, blocky figures that are comparable to the woman in *Old Woman Plucking a Fowl*. Indeed, a painting of this subject by Drost belonged to an Amsterdam collector in the 1670s.¹⁴ Despite the admirable efforts of Sumowski and others to construct a body of works for these painters, too little is presently known about their artistic personalities to make a precise judgment about the attribution of this work.¹⁵

Notes

1. This information comes from a two-volume manuscript in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, containing transcripts of catalogues. The information in these volumes is partially examined by Simpson 1953, 42.
2. Kleinberger 1912a reconstructs much of the earlier provenance of this painting.
3. I would like to thank Quint Gregory for helping reconstruct this provenance.
4. Simpson 1953, 42.
5. The provenance of this painting was confused by

HdG 1907–1927, 6: 176–177, cat. 298, with that of another work owned by the Marchese Riccardi in Florence, where it was exhibited in 1737 and 1767. A description of the Riccardi painting in 1764 by Edward Gibbon clearly indicates that the composition was different. Gibbon 1764 (1961), 205, visited the Riccardi Palace in Florence on 10 August 1764 and saw:

Un Rembrandt. Une Vielle femme qui deplume une poule. Quel sujet mais quelle verité dans l'exécution. La Nature elle même ne rendroit pas mieux la Vielle-elle-même, les plumes de la poule, la corbeille où elle les reçoit et le chauderon où elle doit la cuire. . . .

The Riccardi painting may have been acquired by Sir William Forbes, who bought many of his paintings in Italy. In the sale of his collection on 2 June 1842 he lists *An Old Woman Plucking a Fowl* by Rembrandt that had come from the collection of Count Lecchi at Brescia. The painting's dimensions were listed as 5 ft. 9 in. by 5 ft. 1 in. (175.3 x 154.9 cm), substantially larger than the painting in the National Gallery. This painting then may have passed into the collection of Lord Clinton, who exhibited a work of this description in Edinburgh in 1883. This painting's current location is not known.

6. Bredius 1912a, 164. None of the paintings so listed in the inventory, however, can be specifically identified with this work. See Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 349–388, doc. 1656/12.
7. Kleinberger 1912a, 296–297.
8. Hofstede de Groot 1912, 178–180.
9. Partial x-radiographs of the painting exist (head, left hand, and dead fowl). They reveal that the surface is very worn, suggesting that the eighteenth-century overpainting was necessitated by reasons of condition rather than those of aesthetics.
10. Valentiner 1923, pl. 50: "dabei wurden einzelne wesentliche Teile ergänzt."
11. As late as 1966 Jakob Rosenberg still maintained that the dead fowl had been painted by Rembrandt (letter, 25 April 1966, in NGA curatorial files).
12. Sumowski 1983, 4: 2364, cat. 1592b, 2374 repro.
13. Sumowski 1983, 4: 2365, cat. 1595, 2377 repro. Bernhard Schnackenburg, in Berlin 1991, 371, however, argues that the painting is too good for Van der Pluym, and attributes it to Nicolaes Maes (q.v.), and dates it c. 1650. I find the attribution to Maes unconvincing.
14. Bredius 1912/1913, noted that in 1676 "een hoenderwyff van Drost" was in the Spaarrough Collection in Amsterdam.
15. Sumowski 1983, 2: 1387–1417, discusses Horst; Sumowski 1983, 1: 666–711, discusses Van Dyck; and Sumowski 1983, 1: 652–665, discusses Dullaert.

References

- 1829–1842 Smith, 7 (1836): 70, no. 164.
1881 Dutuit, 3: no. 385.
1897–1906 Bode, 8 (1906): 158, no. 18, repro.
1907–1927 HdG, 6 (1916): 176–177, no. 298.
1912 R. E. D. : 113.
1912 "Sales in May": 122.
1912a Bredius: 164–169, repro.
1912a Kleinberger: 296–297, repro. on 248.
1912b Bredius: 359–360.
1912b Kleinberger: 49–50.
1912 Bredius and Kleinberger: 121–122.

- 1912 "Rembrandt's Woman Plucking": 138.
 1912 Hofstede de Groot: 173–188, 174, 178–181, repro.
 1912 Bode: 504–508, repro.
 1913 Bredius: 273–276.
 1930b Valentiner: 3–84, 4, repro.
 1931 Valentiner: no. 67, pl. 67.
 1965 NGA: 111, no. 1443.
 1968 NGA: 98, no. 1443, repro.
 1975 NGA: 292–293, no. 1443, repro.
 1985 NGA: 335, repro.

1942.9.64 (660)

Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn

Head of an Aged Woman

1655/1660
 Oil on oak, 21.1 x 17.5 (8¼ x 6⅞)
 Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At center left: *Rembrandt/f.1657*

Technical Notes: The support is a single, uncradled oak board with a vertical grain, cut from a tree felled between 1637 and 1643.¹ A vertical split caused a dislevel in the panel at the top edge in the center. A small, 1.3 x 0.5 cm, loss of paint and ground layers occurred there when the wood surface was mechanically planed. The left and right edges appear to have been planed, slightly reducing the panel's horizontal dimensions.

A thin, smooth, white ground layer covering the panel lies under a reddish brown imprimatura layer. This layer, which must have been left as a reserve for the woman's robe, is still visible in that area. Paint was applied freely with very loose brushwork, considerable impasto, and rapid scumbles. Paint was worked wet into wet in rapid succession, with the face painted first, followed by the background. Small losses are found in the dark background at the right and along the edges, and mild abrasion has occurred in the thin, dark passages. The painting was cleaned in 1992. At that time overpaint removed from the dark right background revealed a pentimento in the placement of the woman's shoulder.

Provenance: Probably H. Verschuring, The Hague, by 1751.² Gottfried Winkler, Leipzig, by 1765. Possibly with Stephen Bourgeois, Paris, c. 1803.³ Rodolphe Kann [d. 1905], Paris, by 1898; (Duveen Brothers, London, in 1907);⁴ (F. Kleinberger & Co., Paris, in 1909); Léonardus Nardus [1868–1930], Suresnes, France.⁵ Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, by 1911; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Rembrandt: schilderijen bijeengebracht ter gelegenheid van de inbuldiging van Hare Majesteit Koningin Wilhelmina*, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1898, no. 100. Washington 1969, no. 8.



Fig. 1. X-radiograph of 1942.9.64

INFORMAL bust-length figure studies, called *tronies* in the seventeenth century, were frequently painted by Rembrandt and members of his workshop.⁶ This small oil sketch of a wizened old woman is a painting of this type. The sitter stares out from under a white headpiece, her black cape fastened at the neck. The woman's creased and wrinkled visage is expressed with dense paints vigorously applied with a stiff brush. At the edge of the strokes are crisp and definite ridges, a characteristic of *alla prima* painting that is also evident in the x-radiograph (fig. 1). This technique is particularly apparent along the decorative pattern at the lower edge of the headpiece, which has been created by pushing a firm object, perhaps even a firm brush, into the wet paint. In contrast to the thick impastos on the face and headpiece, the black cape is thinly painted and summarily indicated. Surprisingly, the background is vigorously painted, particularly in the upper region. The paint in the background around the head is actually thicker than that of the thinly executed black cape.

The attribution of this painting to Rembrandt dates to at least 1765, when it was engraved in reverse



Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn, *Head of an Aged Woman*, 1942.9.64

by J. H. Bause. At that time it was in the Gottfried Winkler Collection in Leipzig.⁷ Nevertheless, despite the expressive character of the image, the attribution seems impossible for stylistic reasons. As Edith Standen implied in her notes on the painting when it was in Widener's collection, the compositional arrangement is rather awkward. She wrote: "Lower part unconvincing; head does not seem to join body, set of shoulders seems wrong...."⁸ As noted in the catalogue of the National Gallery's 1969 exhibition, the painting "differs markedly from the rest of Rembrandt's work, and it has not yet been possible to relate this study to any of his other paintings."⁹ Although the signature and date were questioned verbally by Stechow in 1937,¹⁰ the first author to publish that they were forged was Gerson in 1969.¹¹ Gerson also thought that the painting did not resemble "the style of Rembrandt's authentic oil sketches."

While the signature and date, 1657, differ markedly from Rembrandt's own, there is no technical evidence that they were applied a good deal after the execution of the painting itself. In any event, it would appear that the sketch was executed in the latter half of the 1650s. Dendrochronological examination has established the felling date for the tree from which the panel was made as between 1637 and 1643. Thus one can with some assurance conclude that the work was painted during Rembrandt's lifetime. The large number of such studies that have survived from Rembrandt's workshop indicates that he encouraged his students to learn his manner of painting in this way. Rembrandt's paintings of old women from the mid-1650s, including *An Old Woman in a Hood*, 1654 (Pushkin Museum, Moscow, Br. 383) and *An Old Woman in an Armchair*, 1654 (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Br. 381), probably served as models for this work.¹²

The old woman depicted in this painting also appears in a number of works by Abraham van Dijck (1635–1672), in particular his *The Old Prophetess*, c. 1655–1660, now in the Hermitage.¹³ While the harsh angular style of the oil sketch is not characteristic of the more finished works by this artist, it is entirely possible that he could have painted in such a manner when executing a preliminary oil sketch. Until more information is known about the full range of his work, however, it is not possible to offer more than an initial suggestion of this artist, who seems to have studied with Rembrandt in the early 1650s. If the painting were, in fact, executed by Van Dijck, then it almost certainly was painted after he had left Rembrandt's workshop and had begun painting on his own.

Notes

1. Dendrochronology by Dr. Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg, 28 September 1987.

2. Hoet 1752, 2: 482, lists "Een Oud Vrouwtje door Rembrandt. h.9d., br. 8d." The following painting listed was a pendant of an old man. The first of these two paintings is undoubtedly Verschuring's "Oud Vrouwtje," since it had such a pendant when it was in the Winkler Collection in 1765. See note 7.

3. Michel 1893 (1894 English ed.), 238, gives the following description of a painting in the possession of "M. Steph. Bourgeois": "Bust Portrait of a Woman, three-quarter to the front, small size. About 1640. [Wood]. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches." It is possible that this painting is in fact *Head of an Aged Woman*, and that Rodolphe Kann obtained it from Bourgeois, but so far no direct evidence has come to light that supports this theory.

4. Duveen 1957, 234.

5. HdG 1907–1927, 6: 255, and also provenance card index in NGA curatorial records, list Nardus as a previous owner of the picture, but his name is deleted on the Widener Collection file card for the picture. (Another study of a head that came to the Widener Collection from that of Rodolphe Kann, the *Head of Saint Matthew*, 1942.9.58, was owned by Nardus in the interim.)

6. Several of these appear in the 1656 inventory of Rembrandt's collection. See Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, 349–388, especially nos. 105, 115, 118, 294.

7. Although the painting is described as being in the Gottfried Winkler Collection in Leipzig, Bause, for some reason, dedicated his print to Johann Jacob Haid of Augsburg. Bause also engraved no. 496 from Winkler's catalogue as a pendant to this work. The description of the latter work is: "Der Kopf eines betagten Mannes, mit dickaufgeschwollener Nase, kurzem Haare und Barte...." This painting has disappeared but is listed in HdG 1907–1927, 6: no. 461. A photograph of Bause's engraving of the old man is in the NGA curatorial files.

8. Manuscript in NGA curatorial files.

9. Washington 1969, no. 18.

10. Notes of Edith Standen (Widener's secretary for art), in NGA curatorial files.

11. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 581, no. 392.

12. An earlier prototype that might also have been influential is Rembrandt's etching *Sick Woman with a Large White Head-dress*, c. 1640–1641 (B. 359).

13. Sumowski 1983, 1: 671, cat. 367. Van Dijck was probably a pupil of Rembrandt's in the early 1650s, although nothing definite is known about the exact period of his apprenticeship. Sumowski dates the Hermitage painting 1655/1660 on the basis of comparisons with Van Dijck's few dated works. The same model appears frequently in his oeuvre: see Sumowski 1983, 1: cats. 370, 372, 375, 377. An oil sketch on panel (23.8 x 20 cm) representing the same model in a similar headpiece was in a private collection in Ontario in 1973 (photograph in NGA curatorial files).

References

- 1768 *Gemaelde Gottfried Winkler*: 499, no. 495.
 1829–1842 Smith, 7 (1836): 182, no. 572.
 1897–1906 Bode, 6 (1901): 26, 176, no. 472, repro.; 8 (1906): 377.
 1899 Bell: 82, 158 (also 1907 rev. ed.: 78, 136).
 1900 Bode: no. 6., repro.

- 1906 Rosenberg: 320, 403, repro. (also 1908 3rd rev. ed.: 440, 563, repro.).
- 1907 *Kann*, 1: iv, 76, no. 75, repro.
- 1907–1928 HdG, 6 (1916): 255, 258, nos. 508, 518.
- 1913–1916 Widener: no. 36, repro.
- 1914 Valentiner: 248, no. 74.
- 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
- 1923 Meldrum: 178, 201, no. 383A.
- 1931 Valentiner: no. 131, repro.
- 1931 Widener: 52–53, repro.
- 1935 Bredius: 17, 392, repro. (also 1936 English ed.: 16, 392, repro.).
- 1942 Widener: 6, no. 660.
- 1948 Widener: 42, repro.
- 1957 Duveen: 234.
- 1959 Widener: 42, no. 660, repro.
- 1963 Walker: 313, 342, repro.
- 1965 NGA: 110, no. 660.
- 1966 Bauch: 15, no. 273, repro.
- 1968 NGA: 98, no. 660, repro.
- 1969 Gerson/Bredius: 301, 581, no. 392, repro.
- 1969 Washington: no. 8.
- 1975 NGA: 288–289, no. 660, repro.
- 1976 Fowles: 52, 205.
- 1985 NGA: 334, repro.



Fig. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Saint Matthew and the Angel*, 1661, oil on canvas, Paris, Louvre, © Photo R.M.N.

1942.9.58 (654)

Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn

Head of Saint Matthew

date uncertain

Oil on oak, 25 x 19.5 (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$)

Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The support is a vertically grained, thin, oak panel beveled on the back on all sides. It is not quarter sawn, resulting in an irregular grain pattern, and contains no sapwood, precluding the dating of the panel by dendrochronology.¹ Paint is applied over a granular gray priming in an impasted paint in the head and in thin glazes in the background, with many areas worked wet into wet. Pigment analysis indicates that the paints are consistent with those found in seventeenth-century studio practice.² The painting, which is in excellent condition, was restored in 1994.

Provenance: Alfred Buckley, New Hall, England, by 1882.³ Rodolphe Kann [d. 1905], Paris, probably after c. 1893;⁴ (Duveen Brothers, London, in 1907); (F. Kleinberger & Co., Paris, in 1909); Léonardus Nardus [1868–1930], Suresnes, France.⁵ Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, by 1911; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Exhibition of Old Masters, and by Deceased Masters of the British School...*, (Winter Exhibition) Royal Academy, London, 1882, no. 99. Washington 1969, no. 9.

THIS freely brushed sketch of a bearded old man wearing a beret is one of four oil studies on panel that depict the same model.⁶ Traditionally these works have been considered autograph sketches that Rembrandt made in preparation for his painting of *Saint Matthew and the Angel*, 1661, now in the Louvre, Paris (fig. 1).⁷ In recent years, however, only one of these sketches, in a private English collection, has been accepted as by Rembrandt.⁸

The broad, impressionistic handling of the paint of the *Head of Saint Matthew* was considered a hallmark of Rembrandt's late style when this sketch first entered the Rembrandt literature in the 1880s. Indeed, during the last years of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century, a large number of sketches attributed to Rembrandt's later years were added to his oeuvre, particularly by Wilhelm von Bode and Wilhelm Valentiner. Scholars now recognize that many of these works, including this one, lack the structure of form that underlies Rembrandt's own creations. An x-radiograph of the painting (fig. 2) confirms that the Rembrandtesque characteristics of the image derive from broad brushstrokes across the surface of the image and that



Fig. 2. X-radiograph of 1942.9.58

the head lacks the firm modeling so typical of Rembrandt's works.

The first scholar to reject the attribution to Rembrandt in print was Bauch in 1966.⁹ Van Regteren Altena concluded that the broad handling had characteristics of nineteenth-century imitations of Rembrandt.¹⁰ Gerson agreed that this work was "an imitation of a later period."¹¹ Subsequent authors have not discussed the painting.

Dating such studies can be extremely difficult, because followers of Rembrandt from his own time through the nineteenth century have emulated his work with little variation in style. In this instance examinations of the paints and panel have not yielded information that helps provide a specific chronological framework for the painting. While the character of the paints is consistent with seventeenth-century studio practice, similar materials are also found on later paintings. The only unusual feature for Rembrandt is the presence of verdigris under the beard, but verdigris is found in seventeenth-century paintings. Although dendrochronology could not date the oak panel, the irregular beveling is similar to that found in seventeenth-century paintings. There thus are no technical grounds

for questioning the work's seventeenth-century origin.

Because of differences in the figure's expression and in the character of the beret, it is unlikely that this study is a copy of the head of Saint Matthew from *Saint Matthew and the Angel*. It seems more probable that it and the other *tronies* depicting this figure were made by pupils or followers of Rembrandt while he was occupied with the Louvre painting.¹² From the evidence of drawings it is known that as part of his teaching process Rembrandt encouraged his students to work from live models. This painting could have been such a study piece, executed by an unidentified student of Rembrandt around 1661. Arguing against this hypothesis, however, is the lack of structure evident in the x-radiograph, which would seem to indicate that the artist was not seated before an actual model. The study could thus have been painted by a later follower who sought to create a Rembrandtesque effect with broad brushwork.

Notes

1. See the dendrochronology report by Dr. Joseph Bauch, Universität Hamburg, 29 November 1977, in the conservation files.

2. Reports of the analyses of pigments are available in the Scientific Research department (29 June 1994 and 1 August 1994).

3. Graves 1914, 3: 1011, states that the picture was lent by Buckley to the 1882 Royal Academy Winter Exhibition.

4. Michel 1893, 432–433, lists the picture as still in the possession of Buckley.

5. HdG 1907–1927, 6: 100, no. 174, cites this owner.

6. The other three studies are: *Head of an Old Man*, panel, 25 x 22 cm, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (Bredius 1935, 303); *Head of an Old Man*, panel 24.5 x 20 cm, private collection, England (Bredius 1935, 304); *Head of an Old Man*, panel 27 x 22 cm, formerly William McAneeny, Detroit (Bredius 1935, 305). Another study of the same man, also attributed to Rembrandt, is in the Museo Nazionale de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires (oil on paper set down on panel, 22 x 16 cm).

7. The opinion was most recently expressed by Rosenberg and Slive 1966, 78.

8. Gerson/Bredius 1969, 573, no. 304.

9. Bauch 1966, 48, suggested that this sketch was based on Bredius 1935, 304, rather than on the painting of *Saint Matthew and the Angel* in the Louvre.

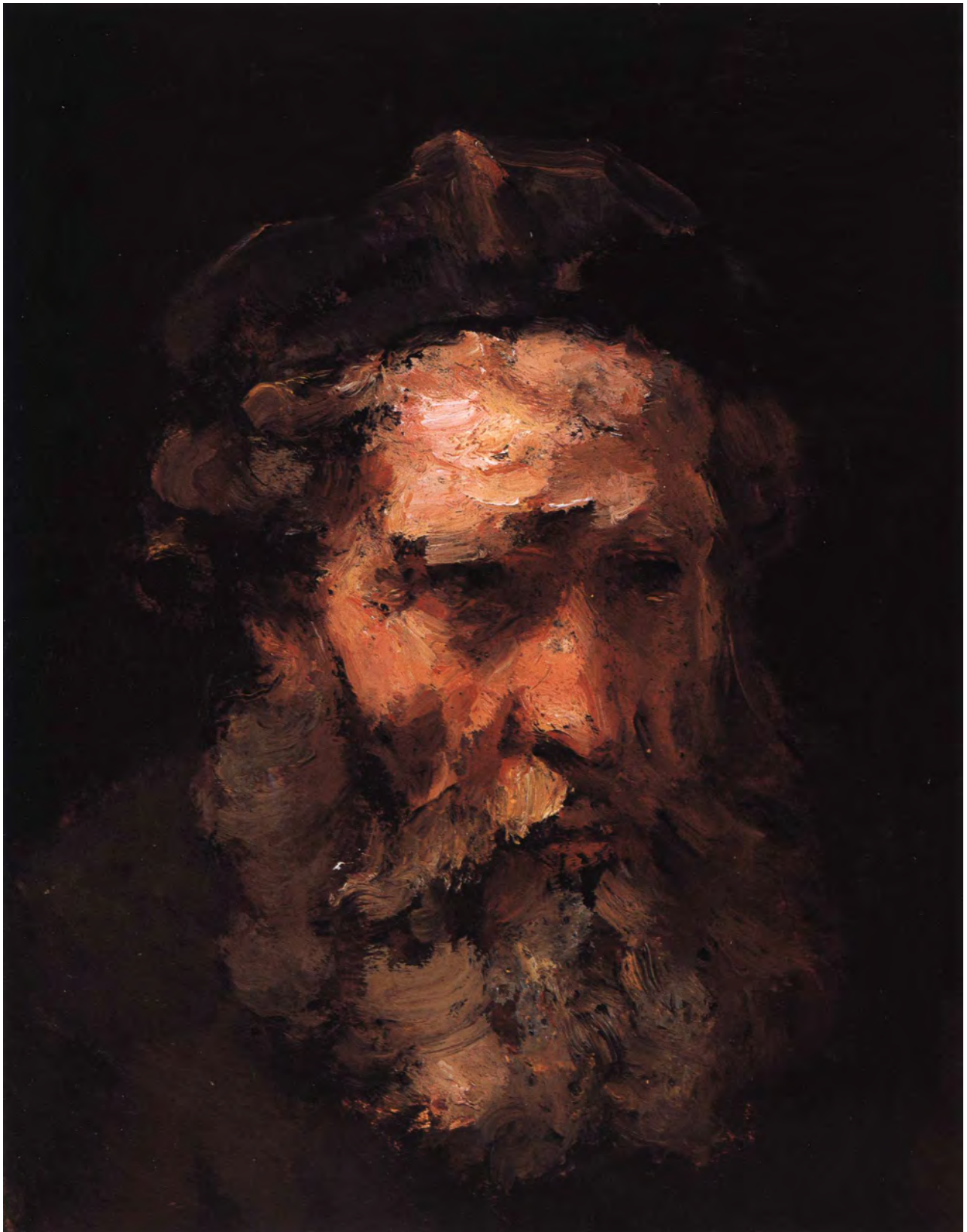
10. Van Regteren Altena 1967, 70–71.

11. Gerson/Bredius 1969, no. 305.

12. The only other instance where a number of studies from the same model by Rembrandt and his workshop exist is *Head of a Young Jew* from the 1640s (Bredius 1935, 620–627).

References

- 1883 Bode: 590, no. 248.
 1885 Dutuit: 43, 64, 69, no. 418.
 1893 Michel: 432–433, 559 (also 1894 English ed., 2: 114, 235).



Follower of Rembrandt, *Head of Saint Matthew*, 1942.9.58

- 1897–1906 Bode, 7 (1902): 15, 106, no. 522, repro.; 8 (1906): 378.
 1906 Rosenberg: 362, 405, repro. (also 1908 ed.: 455, 563 repro., and 1909 ed.).
 1907 *Kann*, 1: iv, no. 73.
 1907–1927 HdG, 6 (1916): 100, no. 174.
 1912 Hofstede de Groot: 173–188, 187–188.
 1913–1916 Widener, 1 (1913): intro., no. 39, repro.
 1914 Valentiner: 249, no. 85.
 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
 1931 Widener: 48, 49.
 1923 Meldrum: 202, no. 416A.
 1931 Valentiner: no. 155, repro.
 1935 Bredius: 13, 302 repro. (also 1936 English ed.: 13, 302, repro.).
 1938 Waldmann: 342.
 1942 Widener: 6.
 1948 Widener: 43, repro.
 1957 Duveen: 234.
 1963 Walker: 314, 342, repro.
 1965 NGA: 110.
 1966 Bauch: 48.
 1966 Rosenberg, Slive, and Ter Kuile: 78, repro.
 1967 Van Regteren Altena: 70–71.
 1968 NGA: 98, repro.
 1969 Gerson/Bredius: 230, 573, no. 302, repro.
 1969 Washington: no. 9.
 1975 NGA: 286–287, repro.
 1976 Fowles: 52.
 1985 NGA: 334, repro.

1942.9.63 (659)

Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn

Study of an Old Man

probably late 17th century
 Oil on oak, 28 x 21.5 (11¹/₈ x 8¹/₂)
 Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The support is a vertically grained oak panel composed of a single beveled board fitted with its original strips of wood to square off the beveled edges. Dendrochronology gives the panel a felling date of 1666.¹ A small vertical check in the bottom edge has been repaired. A thin off-white ground, consisting primarily of lead white bound in oil, is visible through thinly painted passages.²

The x-radiograph reveals the presence of another portrait, turned 180 degrees, lying below the present portrait (fig. 1). The earlier portrait is partially visible through the sketchy unfinished beard. Raking light reveals the outlines of the image, a head with a cap, smaller in size than in the current portrait. Cross-sections show no intermediate ground layer between the two paintings.

Paint in the present portrait is applied thinly, with impasted highlights, and hair curls incised with the butt end of a brush. The background was painted first with a reserve left for the head. Paint loss is minimal: retouching is confined to the edges and abrasion is minor. A moderately discolored varnish is present. No conservation has been carried out since acquisition.

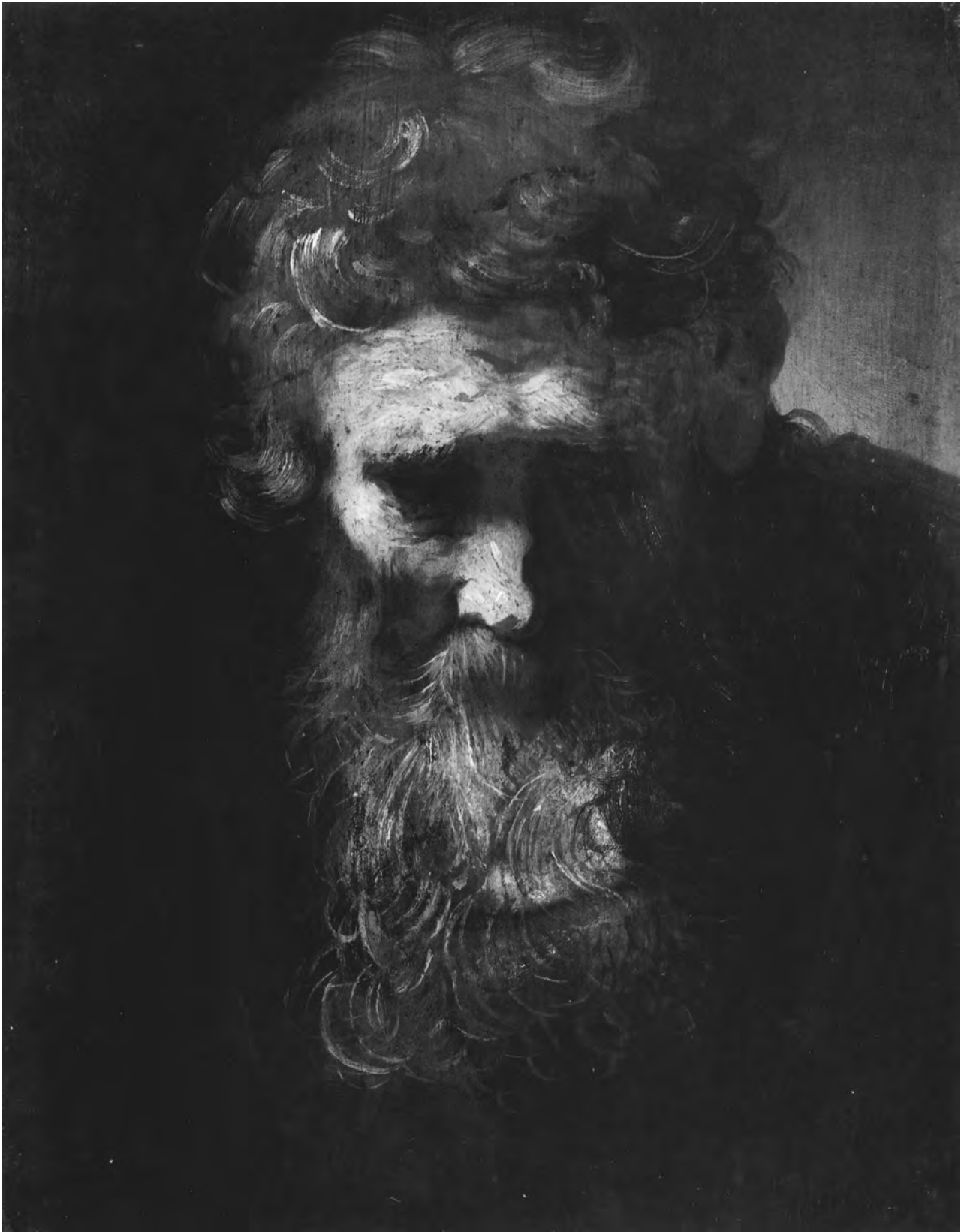
Provenance: (Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, London); sold 1905 to Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: Washington 1969, 18, no. 7.

THIS STUDY of an old bearded man with a sad, forlorn expression was acquired as a Rembrandt by Peter A. B. Widener from the London art market in 1905. When Wilhelm Valentiner catalogued Widener's paintings in 1913, he dated it about 1645 and emphasized the painting's "broad, powerful brushwork and deep thoughtful expression which characterize the artist's later style."³ Ensuing assessments, however, have been less enthusiastic. In most subsequent catalogues of Rembrandt's paintings the picture has been doubted, rejected, or omitted entirely. Martin questioned the attribution as early as 1921, and, while Bredius included the picture in his 1935 catalogue, he expressed his doubts in a note: "The



Fig. 1. X-radiograph of 1942.9.63, here shown upside down



Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn, *Study of an Old Man*, 1942.9.63

picture is known to me only from a photograph, and I am not entirely convinced of its authenticity.⁴ Kurt Bauch subsequently rejected it, as did Horst Gerson.⁵ Jakob Rosenberg is the only modern Rembrandt scholar to accept it as authentic.⁶ The National Gallery changed its attribution to "Style of Rembrandt" in 1984.

This painting is one of a large number of rapidly executed oil sketches that Valentiner introduced into Rembrandt's oeuvre in the early years of the twentieth century. Most of these attributions have now been rejected. Indeed, the painting has only the vaguest resemblance to Rembrandt's work. The figure type is uncharacteristic for Rembrandt; the anatomy of the head is not understood; and the superficial modeling of the skin and hair is foreign to Rembrandt's style.

A date of execution for the painting is difficult to establish. Dendrochronological examination has determined that the tree from which the panel was made was felled in 1666 plus or minus five years.⁷ The head, however, is painted over another painting of a head of a man. This figure, visible in an x-ray, is seen in profile and wears a hat (fig. 1). Since the handling of paint in this figure is quite different from that in the surface image it seems unlikely that both heads were painted by the same artist. Almost certainly, the head we see today was executed on an old panel after Rembrandt's death, in emulation, or imitation, of the master's work.

Notes

1. Dendrochronology by Dr. Josef Bauch, Universität Hamburg, 29 November 1977.

2. Cross-sections and pigment analysis of paint and ground layers are available in the conservation laboratory's files. Pigments identified in the upper painting were available during the seventeenth century.

3. Widener 1913–1916, no. 32.

4. Martin 1921, 34; Bredius 1935, 11.

5. Bauch 1966, 47; Gerson/Bredius 1969, 568.

6. Rosenberg 1948, 1: 244, in his concordance of paintings agrees with the conclusion reached by Bredius in the 1942 New York edition of Bredius 1935 (no. 243). Rosenberg had not changed his opinion in the 1964 rev. ed., 371, of his monograph.

7. Report from Dr. Josef Bauch of the Ordinariat für Holzbiologie, Universität Hamburg, 29 November 1977 (in NGA curatorial files).

References

- 1907–1927 HdG, 6 (1916): 233, no. 448.
 1908 Widener (typescript) 2: 173.
 1909 Hofstede de Groot: 173–183, 179, 180, fig. 5.
 1913–1916 Widener: intro., no. 32, repro.
 1914 Valentiner: 246, no. 52.
 1921b Valentiner: xx, 49, no. 53, repro. (also 1923 ed.: xxiv, 56, no. 61, repro.).
 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
 1931 Widener: 96–97, repro..
 1931 Valentiner: no. 95, repro.
 1935 Bredius: 11, 243, repro. (also 1936 English ed.: 11, 243, repro.).
 1942 Widener: 6, no. 659.
 1948 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
 1948 Rosenberg: 1: 242 (also 1964 rev. ed.: 371).
 1959 Widener: 37, repro.
 1963 Walker: 312, repro.
 1965 NGA: 110, no. 659.
 1966 Bauch: 47, no. 243.
 1968 NGA: 98, no. 659, repro.
 1969 Gerson/Bredius: 568, no. 243, repro.
 1969 Washington: no. 7.
 1975 NGA: 288–289, no. 659, repro.
 1985 NGA: 334, 479, no. 659, repro.

Jacob van Ruisdael

c. 1628/1629–1682

THE EXACT DATE of Jacob van Ruisdael's birth is not known, but a document from June 1661 gives his age as thirty-two. His father, Isaack, was born in Naarden in about 1599, at which time his family's surname was De Goyer. Isaack's brother Jacob (born c. 1594) adopted the name Ruysdael, possibly because his father had lived in the castle of Ruisdael (or Ruisschendael) near Blaricum. Only later did Isaack (d. 1677) and his younger brother, the landscape

painter Salomon van Ruysdael (1600/1603–1670), begin to use this surname, while a fourth brother, Pieter (born c. 1596), always called himself De Goyer.

On 12 November 1628, Isaack van Ruysdael, by then a widower, was married for the second time, to Maycken Cornelisdr. His son Jacob may have been the child of this marriage. In addition to his documented activities as a picture dealer and a maker of

ebony frames, Isaack van Ruysdael was also a painter. Jacob van Ruisdael's earliest works, dated 1646, were made when he was only seventeen or eighteen. He entered the Haarlem painters' guild in 1648. It is not known who his early teachers were, but he probably learned painting from his father and his uncle Salomon van Ruysdael. Some of the dunescapes that he produced during the late 1640s clearly draw on works by Salomon, while his wooded landscapes of these years suggest he also had contact with the Haarlem artist Cornelis Vroom (c. 1591–1661).

Houbraken writes that Ruisdael learned Latin at the request of his father, and that he later studied medicine, becoming a famous surgeon in Amsterdam. Two documents are cited by later authors in support of the latter claim, the first being a register of Amsterdam doctors that states that a "Jacobus Ruijsdael" received a medical degree from the University of Caen, in Normandy, on 15 October 1676. This entry in the register has been crossed out—it is not clear when—and it seems unlikely that in his late maturity, Ruisdael the successful painter would have gone to France to get a medical degree. Nonetheless, a landscape with a waterfall was sold in 1720 as the work of "Doctor Jacob Ruisdael"; thus the possibility that the artist Jacob van Ruisdael was also a practicing doctor cannot be entirely dismissed.

During the early 1650s, Ruisdael traveled to Westphalia near the Dutch-German border with Nicolaes Pietersz. Berchem (q.v.), whom Houbraken identifies as "een groot vrient" [a great friend] of Ruisdael. Among the sites they visited was the castle Bentheim, which appears in both artists' work from this period.

About 1656 Ruisdael settled in Amsterdam, where on 14 July 1657 he was baptized into the Reformed Church (he had been brought up a Mennonite). In 1659 he was granted citizenship in Amsterdam, and his name appears again in the records the next year when he testified on 8 July that Meindert Lubbertsz., who subsequently adopted the name Hobbema (q.v.), had been his pupil. In Amsterdam, Ruisdael must have known the work of Allart van Everdingen (1621–1675) who resided in that city from about 1652. Everdingen had traveled to Scandinavia in the 1640s and painted views of pine forests and rocky waterfalls, subjects that Ruisdael explored in the mid-1660s. From about 1670 until his death, Ruisdael lived over the shop of the Amsterdam art and book dealer Hieronymous Sweerts, located just off the Dam, Amsterdam's main public square. He was buried in his birthplace

of Haarlem on 14 March 1682, but may well have died in Amsterdam, where he is recorded in January of that year.

One of the greatest and most influential Dutch artists of the seventeenth century, Ruisdael was also the most versatile of landscapists, painting virtually every type of landscape subject. His works are characterized by a combination of almost scientific observation with a monumental and even heroic compositional vision, whether his subject is a dramatic forest scene or a panoramic view of Haarlem. Early in his career he also worked as an etcher. Thirteen of his prints have survived, along with a considerable number of drawings.

In addition to Ruisdael's numerous followers, most important of which were Meindert Hobbema and Jan van Kessel (1641/1642–1680), the names of several other artists are associated with him by virtue of their having contributed figures to his landscapes. Among these are Berchem, Philips Wouwerman (1619–1668), Adriaen van de Velde (1636–1672), and Johannes Lingelbach (c. 1624–1674).

Bibliography

- Houbraken 1753, 3: 65–66.
 Smith 1829–1842, 6 (1835): 1–107; 9 (1842): 680–718.
 Michel 1890a.
 HdG 1907–1927, 4 (1912): 1–349.
 Rosenberg 1928.
 Simon 1930.
 Wiegand 1971.
 Giltay 1980.
 Schmidt 1981.
 The Hague 1981.
 Amsterdam 1987: 437–465.
 Walford 1991.
 Brown/MacLaren 1992: 379.

1942.9.80 (676)

Forest Scene

c. 1655
 Oil on canvas, 105.5 x 123.4 (41 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 52 $\frac{1}{8}$)
 Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At lower right: *J v Ruisdael* (JvR in ligature)

Technical Notes: The picture support is a moderate-weight fabric from which all tacking margins have been removed in the process of lining. The fabric was prepared with a thin, cream-colored ground over which a grayish brown imprimatura, sparsely pigmented and transparent, was laid. The landscape is modeled with paint applied in moderately thick layers, with slight impasto. The picture is in good condition.

The few small retouches that exist are concentrated in the sky along the top and righthand edges. An area of whitened retouch is located halfway up the right edge. The varnish is in poor condition, with numerous areas of delamination which are opaque. The painting has not been restored since its acquisition.

Provenance: Probably owned by Francis Nathaniel, 2nd Marquess Conyngham [1797–1876], Mount Charles, County Donegal, and Minster Abbey, Kent.¹ Hugh Hume Campbell, 7th Bart., Marchmont House, Borders, Scotland, by 1857;² (sale, Christie, Manson, & Woods, London, 16 June 1894, no. 48); (P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London); sold 1894 to Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: British Institution, London, 1866, no. 59 (possibly also 1855, no. 54, and 1857, no. 79).³ *Exhibition of the Works of Old Masters . . .*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1877, no. 199.

RUISDAEL'S majestic forest landscape overpowers the viewer with its large scale as well as the forcefulness of the image. The view is across a broad waterfall to a forest glade, in which several sheep graze. In the middle distance, a man and a woman travel along a path that crosses the rolling hillside. The figures, however, seem all but insignificant in comparison to the massive trees and rocks that surround them. The broad, rocky ledge with its waterfall and gigantic, broken birch trees in the foreground is at once forbidding and foreboding.⁴ On a rock outcropping to the right a huge oak tree, its roots grappling for support and nourishment, towers above the forest. The stark, gray, cloudy sky and deep greenish hues of the foliage underscore the somber mood.

Ruisdael painted such forest scenes of water roaring over a rocky ledge many times during his long and productive career. As suggested by the half-timbered house visible in a similar landscape in Frankfurt (fig. 1), he may have encountered such landscape elements on his travels along the Dutch-German border in the early 1650s. The Washington painting also shares compositional characteristics with a landscape with a waterfall by Ruisdael in the Uffizi, Florence (fig. 2), including the diminutive figures and sheep.

Few of Ruisdael's paintings after 1653 are dated, so a precise chronology of his work is not possible. The general evolution of his style and range of interests, though, is now understood, and a framework exists for placing his works within certain time periods. The Uffizi painting, with its loose brushwork and more open composition, belongs to the 1670s, while the Washington landscape with its



Fig. 1. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Forest Scene with Waterfall*, mid-1650s, oil on canvas, Städelsches Kunstinstitut Frankfurt, photo: Ursula Edelmann

closed composition and densely painted trees, is characteristic of works from the mid-1650s. Also distinctive for this earlier period of Ruisdael's career is the combination of the scene's rather heavy and somber mood and the delicacy of the artist's painterly touch. In this work, for example, he carefully articulated individual blades of grass and leaves, patterns of bark, and the flow of the water cascading over the rocks.

In many respects *Forest Scene* shares characteristics with *The Jewish Cemetery* in Dresden (fig. 3). Although the subject and lighting effects are more

Fig. 2. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landscape with Waterfall*, 1670s, oil on canvas, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi





Jacob van Ruisdael, *Forest Scene*, 1642.9.80

dramatic in the Dresden painting than in *Forest Scene*, the somber mood, the closed composition, and the descriptive character of Ruisdael's technique for rendering details are comparable. The two paintings even share certain motifs, such as the presence of wild viburnum growing along the edge of the forest. The date of *The Jewish Cemetery* has been much debated, with suggestions ranging from 1653/1655 until 1679.⁵ A broad consensus, however, places it and the Detroit version of the same subject in the mid-1650s, a date likewise appropriate for the Washington work.⁶

Given the compositional and stylistic similarities between the *Forest Scene* and *The Jewish Cemetery*, one must also ask whether thematic ones exist as well. As has been frequently discussed, the presence of tombs, ruins, broken tree trunks, dead birches, and rainbows in the two versions of *The Jewish Cemetery* have explicit allegorical significance. They allude to the transience of life, particularly the temporal nature of man's endeavors, and also to the hope for renewed growth.⁷ Similar symbolic significance alluding to the power and force of the cycle of nature was almost certainly attached to the compositional elements of the Washington painting. The dramatic forms of the tree stumps and the fallen birch trees establish the somber tenor of the scene, but directly behind them grow the viburnum bushes that flower in the spring, the time of life's renewal. The stream itself, which also has a symbolic function in *The Jewish Cemetery*, traditionally has served as a metaphor for the continuum of the forces of nature.

Fig. 3. Jacob van Ruisdael, *The Jewish Cemetery*, mid-1650s, oil on canvas, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister



Notes

1. HdG 1907–1927, 4: 119. The only source of information concerning the picture's whereabouts prior to 1857 is HdG, whose listing of the painting is extremely confusing. It seems that any or all of four entries in his catalogue raisonné (nos. 285, 367, 418, and 643c) may contain information that relates to the *Forest Scene*, but these entries also contain additional—and contradictory—provenance listings, which must refer to at least one other painting. It nonetheless seems likely that before the *Forest Scene* was acquired by Sir Hugh Hume Campbell, it was owned by a member of the Conyngham family of Ireland, most probably the 2nd Marquess, but also possibly his father, Henry, 3rd Baron and 1st Marquess Conyngham (1766–1832).

2. Waagen 1854–1857, supplement: 441. The NGA's *Forest Scene* may or may not have been the Ruisdael painting from Campbell's collection that was in the British Institution exhibition of 1855 (see note 3).

3. None of the catalogues of these three exhibitions gives any description of the pictures exhibited, making positive identification difficult. By the time Waagen was writing in 1857, Campbell owned three Ruisdaels, and so it is not necessarily correct to assume that the "Landscape" that appeared in the 1855 exhibition, or the "Landscape with figures" of 1857, were actually the same painting as *Forest Scene*. In the case of the 1866 exhibition, however, the more specific title of "Rocky landscape with waterfall" does not fit either of the other two Campbell Ruisdaels described by Waagen. Assuming that Campbell did not acquire another Ruisdael similar to ours between 1857 and 1866, it seems certain that the NGA's *Forest Scene* actually was the painting shown in this exhibition.

4. The identification of the foreground trees as birches was made by Dr. Henry M. Cathey, director, U.S. National Arboretum, Washington, in conversation on 25 September 1985. According to Ashton, Davies, and Slive 1982, 2–31, Ruisdael depicted beeches rather than birches. For the purposes of this entry the trees will be referred to as birches.

5. The Hague 1981, 68. Here, in the bibliography to his catalogue entry for the Detroit version of *The Jewish Cemetery*, Slive lists the dates that various authors have ascribed to each of Ruisdael's two treatments of the subject. (Slive places both paintings in the mid-1650s.) Walford 1991, 95, dates the two versions of *The Jewish Cemetery* to "about 1653/4."

6. A much later date for the *Forest Scene* is not likely because by the mid-1660s Ruisdael had begun to paint his large vertical Scandinavian waterfall scenes that were derived from the example of Allart van Everdingen (1621–1675). In these works he developed a greater looseness of touch, particularly in representing the spray of water falling over rocks, than is evident in *Forest Scene*.

7. See The Hague 1981, 34; also Kuznetsov 1973, 31–41.

References

- 1854–1857 Waagen, supplement (1857): 441.
- 1866 London: no. 59.
- 1877 London: no. 199.
- 1885–1900 Widener: no. 274.
- 1907–1927 HdG, 4 (1912): 92, no. 285 (possibly also 4: 119, 134, 203).
- 1913–1916 Widener: unpaginated.
- 1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
- 1928 Rosenberg: 87, no. 241.
- 1930 Simon: 62, pl. 8.
- 1931 Widener: 94–95, repro.

- 1935 Tietze (English ed. 1939): 322, no. 192.
 1948 Widener: 58, repro.
 1960 Baird: 18–19, repro.
 1963 Walker: 194.
 1965 NGA: 119, no. 676.
 1968 NGA: 106, no. 676.
 1975 NGA: 326–327, repro.
 1976 Walker: 292–293, no. 391, repro.
 1981 Schmidt: 90.
 1984 Wheelock: 36–37, color repro.
 1985 NGA: 363, repro.
 1986 Sutton: 305.
 1991 Walford: 102–104, 117, 144, repro.
 1992 NGA: 136, color repro.

1961.9.85 (1637)

Landscape

c. 1670
 Oil on canvas, 53.2 x 60 (21 x 23³/₈)
 Samuel H. Kress Collection

Inscriptions

On rock to left of center: *J v Ruisdael* (JvR in ligature)

Technical Notes: The picture support is a moderate-weight fabric from which all tacking margins have been removed in the process of lining. The surface of the fabric was prepared to receive paint with a thin, cream-colored ground over which a grayish brown imprimatura, sparsely pigmented and transparent, was laid. The landscape is modeled with paint applied in moderately thick layers, with slight impasto. The picture is in good condition. The few small retouches that exist are concentrated in the sky along the top edge and along the righthand edge. An area of whitened retouch is located halfway up the right edge. The varnish is in poor condition, with numerous areas of delamination that are opaque.

Provenance: Baron Etienne Martin de Beurnonville [d. 1881], Paris; (sale, Pillet, Paris, 9–16 May 1881, no. 453); (Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris); Prince Johann II of Liechtenstein [d. 1929], Vienna and later Vaduz, by 1896;¹ (Frederick Mont, New York); purchased 1951 by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York.²

Exhibited: *Meisterwerke aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, Kunstmuseum, Lucerne, 1948, no. 175.

IN THIS LANDSCAPE Ruisdael has depicted a view across a small waterfall that transforms a smoothly flowing river into a turbulent stream. As the water rushes toward the lower left foreground it passes under a wooden bridge that is traversed by a mother and child and their dog. The path they follow enters a densely forested, somewhat hilly terrain, passing by three large oak trees that dominate the center of the composition. One of these trees is almost dead

and another has a dramatically broken branch hanging precariously over the falls.

In contrast to paintings by Hobbema, Ruisdael often composed his scenes so as to limit the viewer's easy access into the landscape. In this painting the land across the river can only be reached by way of the bridge, but the juncture of the bridge and the near shore does not occur within the picture. The effect is to make the landscape unapproachable and forbidding, a mood intensified by the ominous trees on the far shore and the steel gray clouds overhead. As in Ruisdael's painting *The Jewish Cemetery* (see 1942.9.80, fig. 3) and his *Forest Scene* (1942.9.80), the juxtaposition of dead and broken trees with a stream flowing turbulently through a rocky landscape is probably an allegorical reference to the transience of life.³

Despite Ruisdael's compositional schema and the presence of these allusions to metaphysical elements, the mood of the painting is less ominous than in comparable scenes. In large part the difference is one of scale. Not only is the painting relatively small, but also the forms themselves are not as massive and overpowering as in, for example, the *Forest Scene*. The landscape elements, moreover, are delicately painted. The branches of the trees are not formed with the contorted rhythms of those in Ruisdael's paintings from the early part of his career. Nuances of light on the leaves and branches of the trees are softly indicated with deft touches of the brush. These qualities, consistent with those of Ruisdael's later period, suggest that he probably executed this work around 1670, when he turned from the turbulent, vertical waterfall scenes of the preceding decade to more peaceful compositions in a horizontal format.

Ruisdael often adapted and modified motifs from one work to another. A landscape with a similar waterfall occurs in a painting of almost identical dimensions, also dated around 1670, that was formerly in a private collection in Oklahoma City.⁴ The bridge is of a type often found in his works, for example, in his landscapes in the Frick Collection, New York, and the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.⁵ The figure group on the bridge also appears in a different setting in his *A Wooded and Hilly Landscape, Evening* in the Cleveland Museum of Art (inv. no. 63.275).

Notes

1. The first reference to the existence of the painting in the Liechtenstein Collection is 1896 (see Bode 1896, 99). Waagen's account of a Ruisdael *Landscape with a Bridge* in the Liechtenstein Collection (Waagen 1866, 287) must refer to a



Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landscape*, 1961.9.85

different work because the Washington painting was sold by the Baron de Beurnonville only in 1881.

2. The provenance given in Strohmer's 1943 catalogue of the Liechtenstein Collection and in the 1948 Lucerne exhibition catalogue contains misinformation.

3. See The Hague 1981, 34, and also Kuznetsov 1973, 31–41.

4. Wright 1984, cat. 7.

5. *Landscape with a Footbridge* (inv. no. 49.1.156) and *Landscape with Bridge, Cattle, and Figures* (inv. no. 29).

References

- 1896 Bode: 99.
1903 Suida: 116.
1907–1927 HdG, 4 (1912): 94, no. 295; 129, no. 407.
1908 Höss: 58, l. 14, repro.
1911 Preyer: 247–248.
1927 Kronfeld: 184–185, no. 911.
1928 Rosenberg: 87, no. 252.
1943 Strohmer: 101, pl. 69.
1948 Lucerne: no. 175.
1965 NGA: 119, no. 1637.
1968 NGA: 106, no. 1637.
1975 NGA: 316–317, repro.
1977 Eisler: 146–147, fig. 132.
1982 Cleveland Museum of Art: 265.
1985 NGA: 364, repro.
1986 Sutton: 306.

1960.2.1 (1551)

Country House in a Park

c. 1675

Oil on canvas, 76.3 x 97.5 (30 x 38¾)

Gift of Rupert L. Joseph

Inscriptions

Signed at lower left: *J v Ruisdael* (JvR in ligature)

Technical Notes: The support, a fine-weight, plain-weave fabric, has been lined with the damaged, yet original, tacking margins retained. A thin, smooth white ground layer was applied overall followed by a warm light brown imprimatura under the foreground and trees. Infrared reflectography shows a brush-applied underdrawing that notes sketchily the position of the fountain and some trees and shrubs. An oval-shaped pentimento is found between the house and fountain, and the roofline of the house was originally higher.

Paint was applied in thin layers with scumbles and glazes. The sky was painted first with reserves left for the foreground and most trees. Scattered small losses exist, mostly confined to the edges, with moderate abrasion found overall, particularly in the sky. The painting was treated in 1993 to consolidate flaking and remove discolored surface coatings and retouchings.

Provenance: Savile family, Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire [possibly The Rt. Hon. Sir John Savile, 1st Baron Savile, 1818–1896, or his nephew John Savile Lumley-Savile, 2nd Baron Savile, 1853–1931]; George Halifax Lumley-Sav-

ile, 3rd Baron Savile [b. 1919], Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 18 November 1938, no. 123); Rupert L. Joseph (d. 1959), New York.¹

Exhibited: *Jacob van Ruisdael*, Mauritshuis, The Hague; Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1981–1982, no. 54.

DEPICTIONS of elegant country houses came into vogue in the latter half of the seventeenth century as increasing numbers of wealthy Dutch merchants built homes along the river Vecht and in other picturesque locations in the Netherlands. Artists who specialized in architectural painting, among them Jan van der Heyden (q.v.), depicted the houses and gardens in great detail. Surprisingly, however, not all of these seemingly accurate representations portray actual structures; sometimes the scenes were purely imaginary, intended to project an ideal of country existence rather than its actuality (see Van der Heyden's *An Architectural Fantasy*, 1968.13.1). Ruisdael, who painted views of country houses only rarely during his long career, was not an artist who felt constrained to convey a precise record of an actual site, and it seems probable that this view of a country estate is an imaginative reconstruction of one he had seen.

The elegant classicist villa standing beyond the informal, almost wilderness garden in this painting contains architectural elements characteristic of country houses from the period.² The façade of the yellow two-story structure in the Washington painting is articulated by pilasters, stringcourse, and balustrade. A triangular pediment, flanked by vases and small dormers, crowns the central bay. While no known structure in the Netherlands or in the western part of Germany is identical, the façade that most resembles this villa is Vredenburgh, designed by Pieter Post (1608–1669), and constructed on Frederick Alewijn's estate in the Purmer polder near Westwijk in 1652. Long since destroyed and known today only through a contemporary engraving, the façade of Vredenburgh differs in that it has giant pilasters rising the whole height of the building and no stringcourse or balustrade.³

Far more important for the composition than the villa, however, is the garden. The tall Norwegian spruces that soar above the other trees would have been seen by Ruisdael's contemporaries as exotic specimens imported from Scandinavia.⁴ They have been somewhat randomly placed within a form of pleasure garden, whose natural and artificial components are enjoyed by the various groups of people

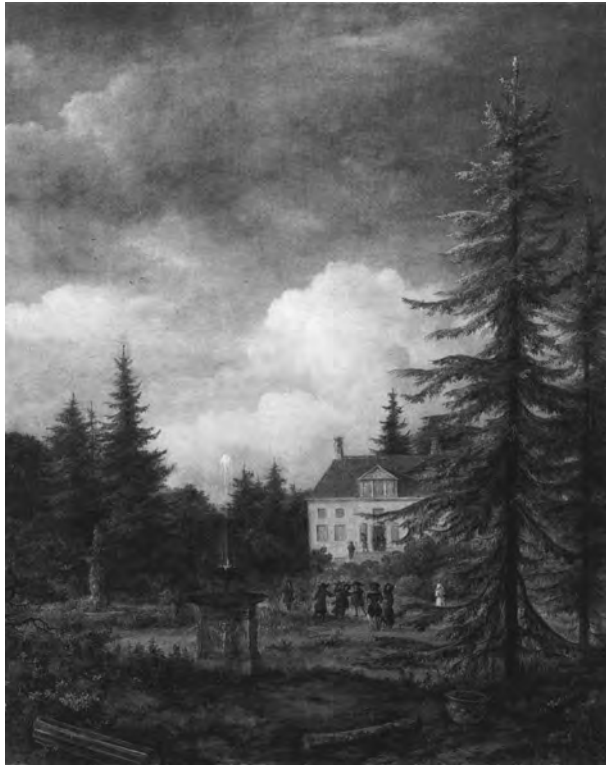


Fig. 1. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Country House in a Park*, late 1670s, oil on canvas, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie

that meander through the grounds. On the far right figures gather near the entrance of a large vaulted pavilion covered with foliage. On the opposite side of the garden three figures gaze at an elaborate fountain, which is surmounted by a small sculpted figure of a *mannekin pis*. An even more dramatic fountain is situated in the right center. Balanced in the water-spout high above the base is a small ball. Just beyond this fountain two figures gesture in surprise as they are suddenly caught within a trick fountain spurting up around them.

While the form of the pavilion and trick fountains were garden elements that existed by the late seventeenth century,⁵ Ruisdael does not seem to have based his scene on any particular site.⁶ It would be most unusual for formal garden elements, such as pavilions and fountains, to be placed within such a wilderness garden. Wilderness gardens, moreover, were generally not placed adjacent to classicist villas where formal gardens, geometrically designed and meticulously groomed, were to be found at both the front and back of the villa. Indeed, given the existence of the broken pine lying in the left foreground and the architectural fragment, perhaps a broken

cornice, lying in the lower right, it would seem that Ruisdael's intent was more didactic than topographic. These two elements, symbolic of the passage of time and the transience of existence, serve as a framework against which to measure the frivolous activities of the pleasure garden.⁷

In part because the painting lacks the heroic drama of Ruisdael's scenes from the middle of his career and in part because the brushwork is quite restrained, scholars have always placed *Country House in a Park* at the end of Ruisdael's career. The restoration of the painting in 1993, however, has revealed that the brushwork and color tonalities are far more vibrant than had been believed, which suggests that the painting may date from the mid-1670s rather than around 1680 as had previously been thought. The style of the costumes worn by the staffage figures would also be possible for the mid-1670s. The painting, in any event, certainly predates two related, but weaker, late works by Ruisdael, *Country House in a Park* in Berlin (fig. 1) and *Chateau in the Park* (Fisher Gallery, University of Southern California, Los Angeles).⁸

Ruisdael often collaborated with artists who executed staffage figures in his compositions, particularly at the end of his life. Similar figures in other of his paintings from the 1670s appear to have been executed by the Rotterdam artist Gerard van Battem (c. 1636–1684). The figures in this work, however, lack the solidity characteristic of Van Battem's style.⁹ Indeed, there is neither technical nor stylistic evidence to indicate that anyone other than Ruisdael executed them.

Notes

1. Labels on the stretcher indicate that the painting was lent to the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska, in 1942 and the Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1948.

2. The type of house and setting, for example, vaguely resemble those in a scene Ruisdael painted in collaboration with Thomas de Keyser around 1660 that depicts *The Arrival of Cornelis de Graeff and Members of His Family at Soesdijk, His Country Estate* (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin; repro. in *The Hague* 1981, 24). The house in the Washington painting, however, is far more elegant than that at Soesdijk, which, because it is part of a portrait commission, may be considered to be an accurate portrayal.

3. See Kuyper 1980, 159, 219, fig. 321.

4. Norwegian spruce, however, had been used in Dutch gardens at least since the 1640s. Constantijn Huygens, for example, had them at his country estate, Hofwijck, which was built about 1640. (See Kuyper 1980, 20: 153, fig. 314. The engraving there illustrated was probably made after drawings by Pieter Post and published about 1653.) By the latter decades of the seventeenth century, Norwegian spruce can be found in a number of representations of Dutch gardens. One of the most interesting of these is a print made by



Jacob van Ruisdael, *Country House in a Park*, 1660.2.1

I. Moucheron of a bird preserve on a large estate in Heemstede where a number of spruce trees can be seen. This print is included in a bound collection of prints at Dumbarton Oaks called *Nederland*. I would like to thank Sally Wages for bringing this print to my attention.

5. J. van der Groen, *Le Jardinier Hollandois* (Amsterdam, 1669). As gardener for the Prince of Orange, Van der Groen was quite influential in the Netherlands. Plate number 10 in his book depicts a comparable fountain in which a copper ball is suspended in the waterspout. Around the base of the fountain in the plate, moreover, waterspouts are shown spurting out of a rocky path. The accompanying text explains how these devices work and how they can be set off to "surprendre les spectateurs." I would like to thank Sally Wages for bringing this reference to my attention.

6. Gorissen 1964, 102, no. 62, and Dattenberg 1967, no. 312, associate this scene and Ruisdael's related view of a country house and garden in Berlin (fig. 1) with Prince Johan Maurits of Nassau's Villa Vreugdenberg (Haus Freudenberg) near Kleve. This proposition, however, cannot be supported by any documentary evidence. Since Johan Maurits' country house burned down in 1669 and the painting dates from the late 1670s, the image could only represent the house after it was rebuilt in 1678, the year before the prince's death. An engraving of the site, executed about 1685 (Gorissen 1964, fig. 68), however, includes neither buildings nor a roofline

that can be related to either the villa in the Berlin painting or that in *Country House in a Park*. Although the gardens surrounding Johan Maurits' villa contained tiered fountains, Roman ruins, and spruce, they were not found together at one site.

7. These associations with transience are also noted by Walford 1991, 168.

8. The relationship was noted by Slive in The Hague 1981, 151. The Berlin painting is on canvas and measures 65 x 51 cm. The Fisher Gallery painting is on canvas and measures 47 x 54.5 cm.

9. See, for example, The Hague 1981, cat. 55.

References

- 1907–1927 HdG, 4 (1912): 256, no. 819.
1928 Rosenberg: 67, no. 520.
1964 Gorissen: under no. 62.
1965 NGA: 119.
1967 Dattenberg: 283, no. 312.
1968 NGA: 106, repro.
1975 NGA: 316–317, repro.
1976 Walker: 294, no. 392, repro.
1981 The Hague: no. 54.
1981 Schmidt: 75, pl. 22, repro.
1985 NGA: 364, repro.
1991 Walford: 167–168, repro.

Pieter Jansz. Saenredam

1597–1665

PIETER JANSZ. SAENREDAM was born in the village of Assendelft on 9 June 1597. His father, Jan (b. 1565), an important late mannerist engraver and draftsman, died young in 1607, after which the family moved to nearby Haarlem. There Pieter began his artistic training in the studio of Frans Pietersz. de Grebber (1573–1649) on 10 May 1612. After a ten-year apprenticeship, he became a master in the Saint Luke's Guild in Haarlem on 24 April 1623. He was an officer in the guild in 1635 and 1640, and a *deken* in 1642.

Although Saenredam is not recorded as ever having studied with a specialist architectural painter, his interest in architecture may have been encouraged by various painter-architects active in Haarlem, most notably Salomon de Bray (1597–1664), Pieter Post (1608–1669), and Jacob van Campen (1595–1657), who subsequently designed both the Maurits-huis in The Hague and Amsterdam's Town Hall. A further contact that must have been important to the young artist was the mathematician and surveyor Pieter Wils. Soon after his apprenticeship, Saen-

redam began to produce the precise and restrained architectural compositions for which he is famous. De Bie wrote in 1661 that from about 1628 the artist "devoted himself entirely to painting perspectives, churches, halls, galleries, buildings and other things from the outside as well as the inside, in such a way, after life, that their essence and nature could not be shown to a greater perfection." The date that De Bie mentions in this passage is also that of Saenredam's earliest surviving dated church interior.

The two main churches of Haarlem—Saint Bavo and the Nieuwe Kerk—were among Saenredam's favorite subjects, although he also painted churches and cathedrals in a number of other cities, including 's-Hertogenbosch, Assendelft, Alkmaar, Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Rhenen. His representations of these and other buildings have a portrait-like quality. They were based on preliminary drawings made at the site and elaborate construction drawings made subsequently with the help of straight edges and compasses. In these drawings Saenredam worked out the proportions of columns and arches and the

overall perspective system. Interestingly, his paintings often date years later than the drawings upon which they are based. As in the instance of his painting the *Church of Santa Maria della Febbre* (1961.9.34), Saenredam also occasionally worked from drawings done by other artists of buildings and places he had never seen. His relatively small oeuvre consists of about fifty paintings, some one hundred and fifty drawings, and a few prints executed early in his career.

Saenredam married Aefje Gerritsdr. on 5 December 1638 at Bloemendael. He and his wife had one daughter. Saenredam, who had extensive archaeological interests, owned an impressive library of scholarly works as well as a collection of paintings and drawings, which included an album of views of Rome by the sixteenth-century Haarlem artist Maerten van Heemskerck (see 1961.9.34). He had only a few students, among them Claes Cornelisz. van Assendelft (1627–1668) in the early 1640s and Claes Heerman the Younger (dates unknown) in the early 1650s. It has often been argued that he asked other artists to paint figures within his architectural compositions, among them Pieter Post, Adriaen van Ostade (q.v.), and Jan Both (c. 1615–1652). Saenredam was buried in Haarlem on 31 May 1665.

Bibliography

- De Bie 1661/1971: 246.
 Van der Willigen 1870: 20, 261–262.
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1961.9.34 (1396)

Church of Santa Maria della Febbre, Rome

1629
 Oil on oak, 37.8 x 70.5 (14⁷/₈ x 27¹/₄)
 Samuel H. Kress Collection

Inscriptions

On paper attached to the base of the obelisk:
P. Saenreda. fē. / A° 1629

Technical Notes: The support is a beveled horizontally grained oak panel with a slight concave warp. Narrow oak strips, possibly original, are attached to the edges. The vertical strips are sawn at regularly spaced intervals to counteract splitting of the wood. Neither the smooth, thin, white ground layer nor the paint extends onto the strips. Infrared reflectography reveals a loosely executed underdrawing that delineates the church architecture. Minor changes in two of the windows and some architectural details are visible between the drawn and painted stages (see fig. 3).

Paint, applied thinly with small brushes, leaves both the wood grain and individual brushstrokes plainly visible. The sky was laid in first, followed by the buildings, with the figures painted over the completed background, in an economical technique employing opaque wet-into-wet layering and thin scumbles and glazes. Figures and landscape are handled similarly and appear contemporaneous.

Abrasion is minimal. Discolored retouchings cover small losses found primarily along the bottom edge, in the church architecture, and the sky. In a selective cleaning, prior to acquisition, a layer of discolored, aged varnish was left over the dark foreground in the lower left and over a clump of bushes rising from the building at the left. The painting has not been restored since its acquisition.

Provenance: Frederick II, king of Prussia [1744–1797]. (Sale, Frederik Müller and Co., Amsterdam, 25 November 1924, no. 60); Anton W. M. Mensing, Amsterdam;¹ (sale, Frederik Müller and Co., Amsterdam, 15 November 1938, no. 96); (D. A. Hoogendijk, Amsterdam); J. A. G. Sandberg, Wassenaar, 1950; (D. A. Hoogendijk, Amsterdam, 1951); Frederick A. Stern, New York, in 1951; sold 1954 to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York.

Exhibited: *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, 1597–1665*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam; Museum Fodor, Amsterdam, 1937–1938, no. 1. *Tentoonstelling Kunstbezit van Oud-Alumni Der Leidse Universiteit*, Stedelijk Museum Lakenhal, Leiden, 1950, no. 47. *Le Paysage Hollandais au XVII^e Siècle*, Orangerie, Paris, 1950, no. 82. *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1961, no. 111.

A FASCINATING development in the Netherlands in the early seventeenth century was the appearance of city histories, books that recount the important events and personalities that had determined the character of the community and brought it fame. One of the most important of these was Samuel Ampzing's *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland of 1628*.² Ampzing, for example, felt a justifiable sense of pride when he recounted those painters whose works still brought glory to their native city even after their deaths, among them Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), and Jan Saenredam (1565–1607), Pieter Saenredam's father. Ampzing illustrated his book with prints related to Haarlem's history that were based on drawings by various contemporary artists, including Pieter Saenredam. Saenredam's designs, which are among his earliest works, range from



Fig. 1. Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, plate from Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland*, Haarlem, 1628



Fig. 2. Maerten van Heemskerck, *Santa Maria della Febbre*, c. 1532, pen and ink, 79 D 2, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

maps depicting the history of the siege of Haarlem to a detailed rendering of the Town Hall beyond the Great Market Place (fig. 1). As is characteristic for Ampzing's approach, the print provided more than just an image of an important building: the poem inscribed beneath it stresses the building's historical and symbolic importance, both for Haarlem and the Netherlands.³

Ampzing's book was but one manifestation of a broader need for the people of this newly formed

country to trace their roots, emphasize their cultural heritage, and build a mythology that could define their place in history. Saenredam must have felt this impulse keenly; for throughout his career he carefully recorded, with annotated drawings and paintings of public buildings, both the world that he saw about him and the one he could reconstruct from careful examination of physical and documentary evidence.

It must have been in large part because of this impulse to immerse himself in his own heritage that Saenredam, at the very beginning of his career, turned so enthusiastically to Maerten van Heemskerck's drawings of antiquities. The most visible manifestation of Saenredam's interest in Heemskerck is this painting of *Santa Maria della Febbre*, 1629. Saenredam based his scene upon a drawing from Heemskerck's famous Roman sketchbook, which was filled with images of antiquity that the Haarlem artist had executed in Italy almost a century before.⁴ The sketchbook had remained in Haarlem and was at this time in the proud possession of one of the foremost painters of the day, Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562–1638).⁵ Saenredam probably had access to the sketchbook, which he would eventually acquire, because of family connections to this important artist.⁶

As is evident later in Saenredam's life, from the contents of his large library, the artist had broad humanistic interests, ranging from the history and development of the Netherlands to the literature of antiquity.⁷ Heemskerck's sketchbook provided him with a fascinating glimpse into one part of this world, Rome, a city he had never and would never visit. Studying the sketchbook also gave him an opportunity to learn from the earlier master's sense of line and composition components of his own work that were of particular concern to him. Saenredam based at least four paintings on this sketchbook and executed them over a fifteen-year period. The earliest, *Church of Santa Maria della Febbre, Rome*, is dated 1629, while the last was painted in 1643.⁸

The drawing in the sketchbook that Saenredam took as his point of departure for *Santa Maria della Febbre* (fig. 2) depicts a complex building mass situated at the Vatican in the center of Rome.⁹ In the foreground rises the Vatican obelisk (*agulia Sancti Petri*), distinguishable by the bronze ball at the top.¹⁰ Behind the obelisk is the round structure of a second-century Roman mausoleum, which in the sixth century became known as the Church of San Andrea and later as *Santa Maria della Febbre*. After 1506 it was converted into the sacristy of Saint Peter's, a function it served until it was demolished in 1776.¹¹



Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *Church of Santa Maria della Febbre, Rome*, 1961.9.34



Fig. 3. Detail of infrared reflectogram of 1961.9.34

Looming behind Santa Maria della Febbre is the towering structure of Saint Peter's, showing its state of construction in the 1530s. Visible here from the southeast are the huge pillar and coffered vault of the crossing as well as the coffered vault that connects to the façade of the sacristy. The irregularly shaped buildings to the right enclose chapels built along the southern aisle of Old Saint Peter's. One of these, Cappella del Coro, is located just to the right of the arched entrance to the complex. Its apse corresponds to the projecting circular shape of its roof. On the adjacent structure hangs a reminder of the pope's presence: the papal tiara displayed with ribbons from which hang two keys.

The drawing is a fascinating historical document, for it depicts a stage during the construction of Saint Peter's that has been difficult to reconstruct. By the time Saenredam laid eyes on the Heemskerck sketchbook, the situation had changed radically, not only through the construction of the imposing dome designed by Michelangelo, but also through the removal of the obelisk to Saint Peter's Square.¹² Saenredam, however, made no effort to update the architecture or to represent the dynamic character of Rome. Quite to the contrary, he placed the buildings in a country setting and depicted foliage growing from the structures, as though Santa Maria della Febbre were an abandoned building or Saint Peter's an ancient ruin. He reinforced this feeling by modulating the surfaces of the buildings with subtle touches of pinks and oranges that suggest age and venerability.

It would seem that Saenredam, given his humanistic leanings, would have recognized the buildings in Heemskerck's drawings. Nevertheless, it is telling that he neglected to paint the circular roof defining the apse of the Cappella del Coro, which is clearly delineated in the drawing. Such an omission indicates that he was unaware of the character of that building. That he did not follow Heemskerck's design slavishly is also evident from infrared reflectography, where the initial underdrawing is revealed (fig. 3). As it turns out, Saenredam made a number of adjustments in his composition, from eliminating windows to changing the perspective of the round structure of Santa Maria della Febbre itself. The pattern of changes suggests that he was interested in simplifying the structure and flattening the image.

One senses that Saenredam saw in Heemskerck's stark drawing images of architecture he associated with antiquity. Saenredam apparently sought to emphasize the age and venerability of the architectural setting, while at the same time to suggest the continuity of the Catholic presence in Italy through the staffage figures and the papal tiara attached to the wall of one of the buildings. This approach seems to be a visual counterpart to the literary historicizing to which he had been exposed through his involvement in Ampzing's *Beschryvinge*. The evocative power that this painting thus assumes makes it one of the most fascinating of Saenredam's early works.

One unresolved issue with the painting is whether the staffage figures—the cardinal riding in a horse-

drawn wagon and the two accompanying gentlemen dressed in seventeenth-century costumes—were actually executed by Saenredam or by Pieter Post (1608–1669), an artist-architect who joined the Saint Luke's Guild in Haarlem in 1628.¹³ While the figures in this work are not inconsistent with Post's style, an attribution to him must remain tenuous since his first known dated paintings are not until 1631.¹⁴ That a relationship between Post and Saenredam existed seems probable because of the broad, simplified character of the distant landscape, which is consistent with Post's work of the early 1630s.

Notes

1. A copy of the 1924 Müller auction catalogue cites Huber as the buyer. If this is true, he may well have been acting as an agent for Mensing.
2. Ampzing 1628.
3. The poem emphasizes both the historical importance of the Town Hall as the palace and home of Willem II, Duke of Holland, and the honor it had brought to the city as a symbol of justice. The poem ends with a broad statement on the importance of justice as a foundation for the country.
4. See Hülsen and Egger 1913–1916 (reprint ed. 1975). Heemskerck was in Rome between 1532 and 1536. Not all of the drawings in this sketchbook are now believed to be by Heemskerck. At least two other hands have been identified. See, in particular, Veldman 1987, 369–382.
5. When Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem died in 1638, he had in his estate "Het treffelyck getekent boeckje van Mr. Maertyn Heemskerck nae alle de fraiste antique van Roma." See Bredius 1915–1922, 7: 83; and Schwartz and Bok 1989, 324, note 26.
6. For a discussion of the relationship of Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem to Saenredam see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 23. That Saenredam eventually acquired the drawings seems probable given the announcement for the sale of his collection of graphic art after his death in 1669, which included "many drawings by Maerten van Heemskerck... made... from life in Italy." For a hypothesis on how this acquisition came about see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 185.
7. The contents of his library are described in the catalogue for the sale of his collection, which was held on 20 April 1677. The catalogue, discovered by Bert van Selm, has been analyzed, in part, by Schwartz and Bok 1989, 181–187.
8. The other paintings based on this sketchbook are: *The Colosseum, Rome*, signed and dated 1631 (Girardet Collection, Kettwig-Ruhr); *View from the Aracoeli, Rome, towards the Colosseum in the South*, signed and dated 1633 (formerly Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orleans, but destroyed in 1940); *Portico of the Panttheon, Rome*, signed and dated 1643 (private collection). These paintings are included in Schwartz and Bok 1989 as, respectively, cat. nos. 113, 112, 114.
9. The first art historian to connect the painting with the drawing, which is fol. 72r in the sketchbook, was Van Regteren Altena 1931, 1–3. He argued, on the basis of this information, that Saenredam had never traveled to Italy. Veldman 1987, 369–382, attributed the drawing in the Heemskerck sketchbook to another hand, "Anonymus B." For the purposes of this entry the designation "Heemskerck" will be used when referring to this drawing.

10. The following description of the buildings is largely based on Hülsen and Egger 1975, 7 (from the description of the plates in the second volume).

11. This information has been gleaned from Janson 1963, 97.
12. For a depiction of the site from a similar point of view in the early 1580s, showing the dome under construction, see Washington 1988b, 101, fig. E.
13. Gudlaugsson 1954, 59–71.
14. The Hague 1980, 77–79, cats. 765–766.

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 1938 Trivas: 154–155.
 1948–1960 Bernt, 3: no. 1017, repro.
 1950 Paris: no. 82.
 1951 Bersier: 102 note 1.
 1956 Kress: 158–159, no. 61, repro.
 1959 Kress: 323, repro.
 1960 Plietzsch: 123.
 1961 Swillens: 164–165, no. 111, pl. 115.
 1961 Seymour: 156, 158, repro.
 1962 Pensa: XI, repro.
 1965 NGA: 119, no. 1396.
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 1970 Cologne: (cited in discussion of no. 48).
 1975 NGA: 318–319, repro.
 1976 Walker: 298, no. 400, repro.
 1977 Eisler: 141–142, fig. 129.
 1985 NGA: 365, repro.
 1989 Schwartz and Bok: 73, color repro., 76, 272, no. 111 (also 1990 English ed.).

1961.9.33 (1395)

Cathedral of Saint John at 's-Hertogenbosch

1646
 Oil on oak, 128.9 x 87 (50% x 34¼)
 Samuel H. Kress Collection

Inscriptions

On the left choir stall:

A° 1646 | pieter Saenredam dit geschildert | de sintjans kerck in
 sbartogenbosch

On right escutcheon behind the altar:

AL. BERTO AVSTRIA CO
 1621
 PATRI PATRIAE SILVA-DVCIS DICAT
 CONSECRAT

On left escutcheon behind the altar:

1598

Technical Notes: The cradled support panel is composed of three vertically grained oak boards. Dendrochronology gives a felling date of approximately 1630 for all three boards.¹ Board widths are roughly equal at left and center and slightly

narrower at right. Several checks exist at top and bottom, and gouges, some fairly deep, are found along the edges and in an intermittent horizontal band across the center.

Infrared reflectography reveals a detailed fine-line underdrawing apparently based upon a preliminary construction drawing (see fig. 2). Minor changes appear in the spear held by the sculpted figure at the far right, in the statue to the right of center, and in the arc of the ribs in the vault.

Paint is applied thinly, in transparent washes, thin glazes, and fine brushwork that leave the thin off-white ground layer and architectural underdrawing plainly visible. Scattered small losses indicate a history of flaking. Abrasion is found overall, particularly in the stone floor, the pilaster and engaged statue to the right of the altar, and the pilaster to the left of the altar. Conservation was carried out in 1987–1990 to remove discolored varnish and retouchings and accurately reconstruct abraded passages.

Provenance: Possibly Pierre Daguerre, Bayonne and Amsterdam in the early eighteenth century; possibly by inheritance to his daughter Marie-Anne Daguerre Harader, Itxassou, near Bayonne;² parish church, Itxassou; (D. A. Hoogendijk, Amsterdam, by 1937). J. A. G. Sandberg, Wassenaar; (Wildenstein & Co., New York); sold 1954 to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York.

Exhibited: *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, 1597–1665*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam; Museum Fodor, Amsterdam, 1937–1938, no. 13. *Dutch Painting in the Golden Age*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Toledo Museum of Art; Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1954–1955, no. 74. *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1961, no. 94.

IN THIS DEPICTION of the Cathedral of Saint John (or Sint Janskerk), one of Saenredam's grandest paintings, the artist has brought the viewer into the apse of this great cathedral to experience the full majesty of the soaring architecture towering above. He achieved this sensation in many ways: through careful compositional arrangement that reinforced the dynamic character of the architecture; through subtle use of linear and atmospheric perspective that helped open the space and fill it with light and air; and, finally, through his choice of a vertically proportioned, large panel that allowed him to paint on a scale suitable for such an imposing setting.

The Sint Janskerk is the largest Gothic cathedral in the Netherlands. When Saenredam painted this image in 1646 he conceived it in such a way as to include the full scope of the late-fifteenth-century choir. From his low vantage point just inside the crossing, the pilasters that rise without interruption from their bases to the light-filled vaulted ceiling give the space a dynamic, vertical thrust. As the central ribs of the pilasters arch out to form the ribs that support the vault, their color changes from light ocher to delicate pink. He has placed the keystone of the vault at the very top of the painting in a way that

pulls together the richly ornate architectural elements. Despite the apparent reality of the scene, however, the relationship of this image to the actual site is quite complicated. Saenredam has shifted certain forms for compositional reasons. The two arches in the arcade on the right, for example, are rounded rather than pointed, an adjustment undoubtedly made because pointed arches would have appeared quite distorted in this perspective arrangement.³ He has also lowered the position of the central window of the clerestory to emphasize the central axis of the apse. One other change, the introduction of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1612, by Abraham Bloemaert (1564–1651), into the high altar, was made for different reasons, ones that relate to the complex issues surrounding the creation of this work that are discussed below.

The origins of the story actually predate the execution of the painting by seventeen years and are intimately connected with one of the most important military exploits during the reign of Prince Frederik Hendrik, the siege of Den Bosch ('s-Hertogenbosch) in 1629. With the capitulation of the city to the forces of the States General on 14 September of that year, Frederik Hendrik had achieved his greatest victory in the long struggle against the Spanish forces of the southern Netherlands. Efforts were immediately made to cleanse this Catholic stronghold from papist influence. Catholic services were forbidden to be held in the city, priests were forced to leave, and the churches were confiscated. Indeed, two days after he had entered Den Bosch, Frederik Hendrik, along with his wife Amalia van Solms, attended a Reformed Church service in Sint Janskerk.⁴

As part of the articles of capitulation, the northern forces did not hinder the clergy from taking with them objects from the churches. The bishop of Den Bosch, Michael Ophove (Ophovius), recorded in his diary how the clergy removed most of the precious objects from the treasury, which were packed and transported in carts, provided, interestingly enough, by the Prince of Orange. Among the sculptures taken for safekeeping was the miracle image of Onze Lieve Vrouw van Den Bosch (Our Virgin Mary of Den Bosch), the most sacred icon in the church, one that had made Sint Janskerk a mecca for pilgrims since the fourteenth century. Even the large altarpiece, Abraham Bloemaert's *The Trinity with the Virgin Mediatrix*, 1615, was removed from the high altar and transported to the southern Netherlands.⁵

Given the political situation, it seems unlikely that Saenredam had ever traveled to 's-Hertogenbosch prior to Frederik Hendrik's successful siege in



Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *Cathedral of Saint John at 's-Hertogenbosch*, 1961.9.33

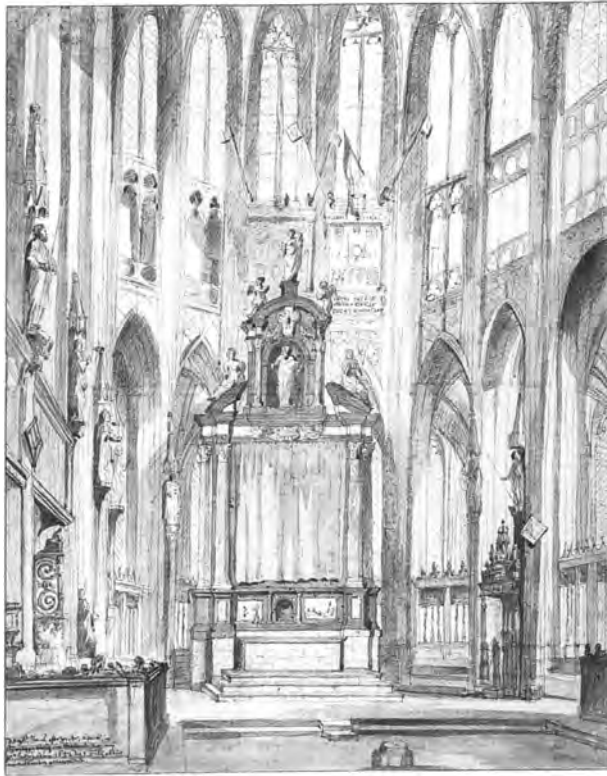


Fig. 1. Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *The Choir of Saint-Jan to the East*, 1 July 1632, pen and ink, watercolor, and black chalk, London, British Museum

1629, thus he never would have actually visited the cathedral when it was Catholic. When he did arrive at the end of June 1632, not all remnants of the Catholic past had been removed from the cathedral; however, the apse, obscured from the sight of worshipers by an enormous choir screen, was no longer used for services.⁶ As is evident from Saenredam's drawing of the high altar, which is dated 1 July 1632, the altar lay abandoned, stripped of all its liturgical objects (fig. 1). A large green hanging curtain covered the void left by the removal of Bloemaert's altarpiece.

While there is little doubt that this drawing served as a preliminary study for the painting, which is dated fourteen years later in 1646, it is remarkable that Saenredam has reconstituted the interior as though it were still a Catholic cathedral. Candles and flowers have been returned to the altar, and a small gilt crucifix occupies the altar niche. Instead of a curtain, Saenredam has filled the high altar with Bloemaert's *Adoration of the Shepherds*, a painting he would have seen in Den Bosch in the Convent of the

Poor Clares.⁷ Behind the sculptural elements at the top of the altar, the Virgin and Child with two adoring angels, hang two large plaques surmounted by flags. The one on the right is dedicated to Philip II of Spain, and the one on the left to his daughter, the Infanta Isabella, regentess of the southern Netherlands. Although no clergy or parishioners are depicted, the polychrome sculpture of the kneeling Bishop Masius, to the left of the altar, adds an aura of reverence to the scene. That Saenredam sought to create this effect through the sculpture is evident not only in the way he emphasized the startlingly realistic appearance of the figure, but also through the private space he created for Masius by choosing a low vantage point near the choir stall.

Saenredam's extraordinary painting, made so long after his visit to 's-Hertogenbosch, is remarkable in a number of ways. To begin with, it is difficult to see how the artist managed to convey the architectural details of the church so accurately on the basis of his drawing of the high altar. Although Saenredam often painted scenes long after he had made his preliminary studies, his painting of the choir of Sint Janskerk includes more of the church than does his drawing.⁸ Perhaps a construction drawing once existed that he used as his model. His working procedure often included such studies, and examination of the painting with infrared reflectography reveals an extensive underdrawing similar to his carefully proportioned and ruled working drawings.⁹ The painting follows the underdrawing almost exactly, with one important exception: Saenredam elongated the proportions of the apse in his final composition. In the underdrawing the ribs join the keystone slightly below rather than at the top edge of the painting (fig. 2).

Particularly remarkable for a painting of 1646 is its emphasis on the Catholicism of the cathedral and the attention drawn to both Philip II of Spain and the Infanta Isabella. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that Saenredam was deliberately trying to re-create the character of Sint Janskerk as it looked before the overthrow of Spanish authority in Den Bosch, that is prior to the events of 1629.¹⁰ Just why he did that is not at all clear, but the large scale of the panel indicates that the painting was commissioned. To try to understand who might have commissioned this Catholic representation of Sint Janskerk and why Saenredam painted it in 1646, one has to return to 1632 and examine the circumstances surrounding Saenredam's visit to Den Bosch.

Although it has been suggested that Saenredam went to Den Bosch to visit the son of his childhood guardian, Jan Pietersz. de Jonge (Johannes Junius,

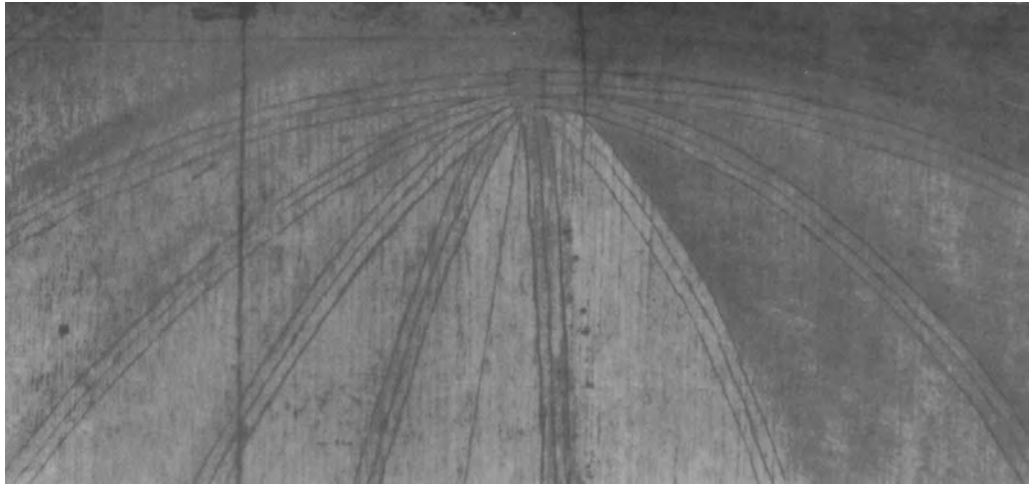


Fig. 2. Detail of infrared reflectogram of 1961.9.33

c. 1587–1635), who, as a Calvinist preacher, had been sent from his native Assendelft to help steer the local populace away from the Catholic religion, such may not be the case. Junius was at that time the preacher in another of the local churches, Sint Pieterskerk, which Saenredam also depicted during his visit that summer. His work at Sint Pieterskerk, however, did not begin until he had finished his campaign at Sint Janskerk, hence it seems more probable that the visit to Den Bosch was primarily to examine the cathedral and only secondarily to visit Junius. Saenredam's painting of the *Choir of the Sint Pieterskerk*, private collection, which he executed in 1632, moreover, also emphasizes the Catholic heritage of the church rather than its then Protestant character, a surprising focus given the emphasis of Junius' ministry.¹¹

The assumption thus could be made that Saenredam came to 's-Hertogenbosch for the purpose of painting Sint Janskerk. This hypothesis is reinforced by a surprising discovery from dendrochronological examination of the panel Saenredam used for his painting. The tree from which the panel was made was cut down around 1630.¹² It thus seems probable that Saenredam ordered this large and unusually shaped panel at the time of his visit to 's-Hertogenbosch in 1632 rather than in the mid-1640s. This bit of technical evidence reinforces the sense that a Catholic patron must have induced Saenredam to make the trip to 's-Hertogenbosch, a supposition reinforced by the nature of the drawings he made of the interior of the cathedral.

Saenredam's drawing of the high altar was but one of four imposing drawings he made of the in-

terior of Sint Janskerk between 30 June and 3 July 1632.¹³ Chronologically, the first of these drawings was of the *Tomb of Bishop Gisbertus Masius* (fig. 3), the tomb of the energetic bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch that is visible to the left of the altar in the painting. Masius was an important figure in 's-Hertogenbosch in the first decades of the seventeenth century, responsible for instilling the strong Jesuit presence in the city. After the beginning of the Twelve Year's

Fig. 3. Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *Tomb of Bishop Gisbertus Masius*, 30 June 1632, pen and ink and watercolor, 's-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum



Truce in 1609 he began an ambitious campaign to revitalize the cathedral. In 1610 an elaborate new choir screen was commissioned for the cathedral that contained a large number of sculptures and two altars.¹⁴ After Masius' death in 1614, the new bishop, Nicolaus Zoesius, oversaw the construction of Masius' tomb, a new organ, and, most important, the high altar, which was dedicated in 1620.¹⁵ As Saenredam's other two drawings of the interior of the cathedral focused on the choir screen, all four of his renderings—the high altar, Masius' tomb, and the two of the choir screen—depicted important architectonic and sculptural elements added to the cathedral during the tenure of recent Jesuit bishops.¹⁶

Although no documents identify Saenredam's patron, it may well have been a very powerful organization within the church structure, the Illustere Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. This brotherhood, founded in the early fourteenth century, had begun to add in the sixteenth century a number of honorary, non-religious members, called Zwanenbroeders ("Swan brothers," since they were supposed to supply a swan each year for a banquet). Among them was Willem of Orange, who joined in 1566. Since all subsequent Princes of Orange were members *ex-officio*, Frederik Hendrik was also a member of this body. It may well be for this reason that Frederik Hendrik was so considerate of Catholic interests after his victory in 1629, at a time when the Reformed Church was doing all it could to purge 's-Hertogenbosch of papist influence. In any event, special dispensation was given to the brotherhood, and it was the only Catholic organization in the city that was not forced to disband after the capitulation.¹⁷

Before Saenredam visited 's-Hertogenbosch he seems to have worked closely with Catholics in Haarlem who wanted to perpetuate the memory of bishops who served at the Church of Saint Bavo when it was a Catholic cathedral.¹⁸ Perhaps members of the brotherhood in 's-Hertogenbosch heard of these endeavors and requested that Saenredam come work with them in a comparable fashion. Just why Saenredam did not complete the painting right away cannot be said, but it may well have been judged politically imprudent to do so. During the 1630s leaders of the Reformed Church objected strenuously to the existence of this Catholic organization, particularly Gijsbert Voet (Voetius), a minister in Utrecht. Many heated discussions were held, and finally a compromise was reached whereby the brotherhood could continue in existence: its membership was limited to thirty-six members, half Pro-

testant and half Catholic. This issue was of such consequence that the final decision was made by the States-General, in 1646, the year in which Saenredam finally executed this painting.¹⁹ Thus, the commission for this depiction of the Sint Janskerk as it had appeared when it was a Catholic cathedral seems to have come to fruition only after this important issue had been resolved.²⁰

No record of this painting has been found in seventeenth-century archives, hence it is not yet possible to trace its early provenance. Just how the painting ended up in a small provincial church in southern France before it entered the art market in 1937 suggests a fascinating story that it is hoped some day will come to light.²¹

Notes

1. Dendrochronology by Dr. Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg, 27 January 1987.

2. This early provenance is based on information provided by Robert Poupel, Cambo-lès-bains, France (letter, 13 June 1970, in NGA curatorial files). He writes that during the seventeenth century Bayonne carried on a thriving sea trade with the Netherlands. Pierre Daguerre, who married Elisabeth de Papenbroeck, the daughter of one of the Dutch settlers in Bayonne, lived for a period in Amsterdam where he acted as "the King's agent in the City of Amsterdam." Poupel believes that Daguerre purchased the painting and then passed it to his daughter Marie-Anne Daguerre. In the 1720s she married Jacques de Harader, squire of Lassale-Vignolles, who owned extensive landed estates at nearby Itxassou. Although no written records exist, he believes that the Daguerre-Harader couple presented the painting to the local parish church.

3. It seems unlikely, as some have argued, that these changes were made for religious considerations. See Connell 1980, 30.

4. For a brief synopsis of the events from this period see Van der Heijden and Molhuysen 1981, 50–61.

5. This painting, executed by Bloemaert in 1615 and installed in the high altar in 1620, was returned to Sint Janskerk in 1845. After the destruction of the high altar in 1869, the painting was removed to the baptismal chapel. See Van Bavel 1980, 33.

6. For an excellent summary of the situation in the cathedral at the time of the capitulation see Gaskell 1990b, 249–261. Gaskell (page 256), also discusses the ongoing "purification" of the church through the gradual removal of sculptures that continued until 1649.

7. Despite the information given in Utrecht 1961, 142, this altarpiece was not made by Bloemaert for the high altar in Sint Janskerk. Rather, in 1612 Bloemaert painted *The Adoration of the Shepherds* for the Franciscan convent of the Poor Clares in Den Bosch. The painting was in Den Bosch in 1632, when it would have been seen by Saenredam. Although *The Adoration of the Shepherds* was much smaller than the *Trinity*, he must have deemed it suitable for the purposes of this work, since he had never seen the *Trinity*. It is also not impossible that an altarpiece from the convent was chosen because Saenredam's patron knew of the Infanta Isabella's close associations with the Poor Clares. She was raised by

them in Madrid. Bloemaert's altarpiece has survived and is now in Paris at the Louvre (inv. no. 1052). Saenredam's depiction of it is extremely accurate, and it may well be that he had access to a print made after the painting (in reverse) by Boëtius Bolswert in 1618 (for a reproduction of this print see 's-Hertogenbosch 1990, 312).

8. For discussions of Saenredam's working procedure see Liedtke 1971 and Ruurs 1987.

9. See Van Asperen de Boer 1971, 25–31.

10. With the realization, of course, that Bloemaert's altarpiece from the Convent of the Poor Clares had been substituted for *The Trinity with the Virgin Mediatrix*. See note 4.

11. Saenredam made one drawing of Sint Pieterskerk on 9 July and two drawings on 13 July. For a discussion of these issues and illustrations of his views, see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 85, 90–91, 96–97.

12. The dendrochronological examination was undertaken by Dr. Peter Klein from the Universität of Hamburg in 1986 (see letter of 27 January 1987, in NGA curatorial files).

13. Before Saenredam began with his views of the interior he made a groundplan of the cathedral on 29 June 1632. For an illustration of this drawing see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 55.

14. The choir screen, constructed by the sculptor Coenrad van Norenbeorch, was removed from the church in 1866. It is presently in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

15. The high altar was built between 1617 and 1620 by the Antwerp sculptor Hans van Mildert. Between 1617 and 1622 the organ case was built by François Symons from Leiden and decorated by Georg Schysler from the Tyrol. The organ was not functional, however, until 1634, after Saenredam's visit. See Van Oudheusden 1985, 91–94; Willem Bergé in 's-Hertogenbosch 1990, 439–463.

16. Saenredam made two drawings of the choir screen, one from the nave and one from the choir. Although he did not make a separate drawing of the organ, it is visible in the drawing of the choir screen seen from the choir. For illustrations of these drawings see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 86, 87.

17. The nuns, however, could remain in their convents for the rest of their lives. See Gaskell 1990b, 253.

18. For a discussion of this interesting issue see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 71–74.

19. See Van Dijk 1973, 317–381; Kappelhof 1985.

20. For a further discussion of these issues see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 204–206.

21. See note 2 for a probable scenario.

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- 1937 Swillens: 329–335, repro.
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 1953 Michel: 13.
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 1956 Kress: 160–161, no. 62, repro.
 1959 Kress: 324, repro.
 1960 Baird: 24–25, repro.
 1960 Plietzsch: 122–123.
 1961 Utrecht: 140–143, no. 94, pl. 96.
 1965 NGA: 119, no. 1395.
 1968 NGA: 107, repro.
 1971 Liedtke: 116–141.
 1975 NGA: 318–319, no. 1395, repro.
 1975 Chiarenza: 19–34, repro.
 1976 Walker: 298, no. 401, repro.
 1977 Eisler: 142–144, fig. 128.
 1980 Connell: 16–35, repro. no. 11.
 1980 Van Bavel: 34–43, repro.
 1983 Van der Heijden: 162, repro.
 1984 Wheelock: 20–21, repro.
 1985 NGA: 364, repro.
 1985 Baudouin: 165–169, repro.
 1987 Lawrence: 584–588, repro.
 1988 Ruurs: 39–42, repro.
 1989 Schwartz and Bok: 86, 204–206, color repro., 268 (also 1990 English ed.).
 1990b Gaskell: 249–261, repro.
 1990 's-Hertogenbosch: 13, 15, repro., 33, 44, 50.
 1992 NGA: 128, color repro.

Roelandt Savery

1576–1639

ROELANDT SAVERY was born in the Flemish city of Kortrijk (Courtrai). During the religious upheavals of the 1580s his family made its way to the northern Netherlands, finally settling in Haarlem where his older brother Jacques (Jacob, c. 1565–1603) entered the painters' guild in 1587. Roelandt studied with Jacques and accompanied him to Amsterdam where Jacques became a citizen in 1591. Roelandt's work suggests that he also had contact with Hans Bol (1534–1593) who came to Amsterdam in 1591 and with Gillis van Coninxloo (1544–1607) who settled

there in 1595. In 1604 Roelandt traveled to Prague to work for Emperor Rudolph II and, following Rudolph's death in 1612, for his brother Matthias. Roelandt was sent by Rudolph in 1606–1607 to the Tyrolean Alps to record the "marvels of nature." By 1613 or 1614 Savery had returned to Amsterdam. He was to move one more time, however, for in 1619 he settled in Utrecht and joined its painters' guild. The twenty years spent in Utrecht until his death proved to be very successful for the artist. In 1626, for example, the city of Utrecht paid him 700 guilders

for a painting of "all the animals of the air and earth," to be presented to the wife of the Prince of Orange, Amalia van Solms. Among his pupils were Allart van Everdingen (1621–1675), Willem van Nieulandt (c. 1584–1635), and Gilles d'Hondecoeter (c. 1575/1580–1638).

Savery's dramatic rocky landscapes are derived from the mannerist tradition of landscape which developed in Antwerp in the circle of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1525–1569), but they incorporate animals and figures carefully drawn from nature. He also painted flower still lifes strongly influenced by the work of Jan "Velvet" Brueghel (1568–1625).

Bibliography

- Houbraken 1753, 1: 56–60.
Erasmus 1908.
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Cologne 1985.
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Brown/MacLaren 1992: 411–412.

1989.22.1

Landscape with the Flight into Egypt

1624

Oil on oak, 54.3 x 91.5 (21½ x 36)
Gift of Robert H. and Clarice Smith, in Honor of the 50th
Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art

Inscriptions

At lower left: ·ROELANT / SAVERY FE / 1624

Technical Notes: The support consists of two horizontally grained oak boards joined horizontally at center. The panel has a slight convex warp, and a long check runs horizontally from the upper left corner. A thin, granular white ground was brush-applied overall except along narrow bands at the vertical edges. A dark reddish brown imprimatura was applied under the foreground. Infrared reflectography reveals brush-applied underdrawing, with the composition outlined and shadows crosshatched.

Paint was applied in thin, smooth layers modified by glazes and scumbles. Brushmarks are visible in the sky, and tiny flecks of impasto highlight the animals. Minimal amounts of retouching, of two distinct applications, cover gray stains in the sky, minor losses at left, and losses along the edges, check, and panel join. No conservation work has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: (Anthony Speelman, London); Robert H. Smith, Washington, by 1988; (sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 14 January 1988, no. 86, bought-in); Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Smith, Washington.

Exhibited: Washington 1991, 56–57.

A WATERING TROUGH nestled among ancient ruins high in a mountainous pass has drawn to it both man and animal, seeking nourishment from its refreshing waters. As cattle drink eagerly from the trough, and sheep rest in the surrounding sun-drenched glade, activity abounds on all sides. Two travelers dressed in exotic red and green costumes gesture expansively as they talk together near the base of an adjacent ruin. Wild deer and goats in the deeply shadowed foreground react to the commotion caused by a cowherd trying to lead his cattle and goats away from the spring. The sky above is filled with large birds circling the large, vine-covered, circular ruins, while others head off into the distance flying in a V formation.

Almost lost in this plethora of human and animal life is a group of travelers, led by camels. The travelers have already nourished themselves and are departing along a path that leads through an old stone archway to the rear. Small in scale and depicted only in ochers, the figures seem the least significant of all those present, yet the man, who has turned to look back at the scene, and the woman riding the donkey and holding her child, could be none other than the Holy Family on the Flight into Egypt. Although no episode from the Bible or from other accounts of the traumatic days in which Joseph, Mary, and the young Jesus fled Bethlehem corresponds with this scene, Savery's imaginative mind has here conceived a scenario such as might well have occurred in the rugged terrain the family had to traverse. As they fled, their identity remained unknown to most of those whom they met, but occasionally the story of their flight would have preceded them and the Child's divinity revealed to those who truly believed. Here, the three shepherds near the watering trough have doffed their caps because they have realized that they were in Christ's presence. One of them kneels, but the other two stare upward as though the light shining down were a miraculous light, somewhat as it had done on the day that an angel appeared before shepherds to announce the birth of the Child. The two gesturing figures near the Holy Family, less content than the shepherds to pause in simple adoration, may well be discussing excitedly the revelation that has just occurred. For the rest, particularly the cowherd tugging his cow's ear to lead his herd away from the water and the light, Christ's presence has remained unobserved.

Savery painted this scene during an extremely productive and successful period after his move to



Roelandt Savery, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*, 1989.22.1



Fig. 1. Roelandt Savery, *The Drink*, c. 1616, oil on panel, Kortrijk, Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Utrecht in 1619. By the 1620s his style had been well formed and clearly had great appeal. During these years he received major commissions from the city of Utrecht, and his paintings were collected in courts throughout Europe. Although his work could no longer be called innovative, Utrecht's international flavor allowed Savery to continue to paint in his mannerist style long after artistic trends in other centers had begun to focus on naturalistic images of the Dutch countryside. As in this example, Savery divided his fanciful landscapes into distinct zones of alternating light and dark to provide a framework for the multiple activities he invariably included in his scenes. The exotic character of his mountainous landscapes reflects his own travels in the Tyrolean Alps and in Bohemia when he was working at the court of Rudolph II, but the landscape formations and the ruins in his paintings are essentially creations of his own imagination. Likewise, while Savery drew animals from life, those in his paintings are arranged in ways that have little to do with everyday reality. Drawing from the inspiration of his older brother Jacques, with whom he studied before the latter's death in 1603, Roelandt delighted in bringing together in the same composition a wide range of animals such as might have lived in the Garden of Eden or listened to the harmonies of Orpheus' lyre.¹ Thus, his paintings have a fascinating sense of being built on carefully perceived real-

ity, despite their fanciful and rather decorative character.

The retardataire style of this work is particularly evident as its compositional prototypes are paintings Savery made during the 1610s. The earliest known of these paintings is a fanciful landscape, signed and dated 1616, that has the same basic compositional structure and distribution of light. In this work a comparable rounded ruin rises in the middle ground, at the base of which congregate cattle, cowherds, and similar gesticulating figures dressed in oriental garb.² Another version of this scene, now in Kortrijk, entitled *The Drink*, is also datable to about 1616 (fig. 1).³ Savery has added here a water trough from which cattle drink, similar to that in the National Gallery's later version.

The transformation of this scene from a fanciful landscape vista to a setting for an episode from the Bible, as seen in the Gallery's painting, is consistent with the way Savery has elaborated all aspects of his composition. In comparison with the Kortrijk version, the scene includes more animals and activity. To help structure the plethora of pictorial elements that he added, Savery has separated more distinctly than previously the various zones within the landscape. The scene, as a result, takes on a more artificial character, which is exacerbated by Savery's painting style in the 1620s, in which landscape elements are somewhat harder and less delicately ren-

dered than in earlier years. Despite such tendencies toward a decorative style in Savery's artistic evolution, this work is an impressive landscape, and one that has been beautifully preserved.

Notes

1. For examples of such themes in Jacques Savery's work, see Cologne 1985, cats. 93, 94.

2. Müllenmeister 1988, 272, cat. 168, repro. This work, whose location is presently unknown, measures 52 x 85.5 cm.
3. This scene does not appear to depict a historicizing subject. See Müllenmeister 1988, 278, cat. 169.

References

1988 Müllenmeister: 272, no. 168a, 275, repro.
1991 Washington: 56, 57, repro.

Jan Steen

1625/1626–1679

JAN STEEN was born in Leiden, the son of a brewer and grain merchant. His date of birth is not known, but he was twenty years old when he enrolled at the University of Leiden in 1646. In 1648, he is recorded as one of the founding members of Leiden's newly formed Guild of Saint Luke. Houbraken stated that Steen's artistic education came from Jan van Goyen (q.v.), the Leiden-born landscape painter who had settled in The Hague. According to Weyerman, Steen had previously studied with Nicolaes Knüpfer (c. 1603–1655) in Utrecht and Adriaen van Ostade (q.v.) in Haarlem.

Steen married Van Goyen's daughter Margaretha in September 1649, and he appears to have remained in The Hague until 1654. In that year, he is recorded on several occasions back in Leiden. From 1654 until 1657, Steen's father leased a Delft brewery by the name of "The Snake" on his son's behalf, but no other documents link Jan Steen with this city, and it seems unlikely that he ever spent much time there. From 1656 to 1660, Steen lived at Warmond, a small town near Leiden. The increased interest in still-life details and careful finish of works produced during this period suggest his contact with the work of the Leiden *fijnschilders*.

By 1661 Steen had moved to Haarlem, where he entered the Saint Luke's Guild in that year. During the nine years spent in Haarlem Steen created many of his greatest paintings, including a number of large, complex scenes of families and merrymakers containing witty evocations of proverbs, emblems, or other moralizing messages. His pictures, which are marked by a sophisticated use of contemporary literature and popular theater, often depict characters from both the Italian *commedia dell'arte* and the

native Dutch *rederijkerskamers* (rhetoricians' chambers), although Steen was not a rhetorician himself. In addition to genre subjects, he depicted historical and religious subjects during the 1660s and 1670s. He remained a Catholic all his life.

In 1670, one year after the death of his wife, Steen moved to Leiden after inheriting his father's house. Two years later, he received a license to open an inn, a fact that has contributed to his traditional reputation as a dissolute drunkard. While he sometimes included his self-portrait in this guise in scenes of apparent immorality and chaos, there is no incriminating evidence—beyond his possession of an acute sense of humor—to suggest that his real life mirrored his art.

In 1673 Steen married Marije Herculens van Egmont, who survived him by eight years. In 1674 he was elected *deken* of the Leiden guild, having served as an officer at the rank of *hoofdman* for the previous three years. There is no record of his having had any pupils, although a number of artists, notably Richard Brakenburgh (1650–1706), imitated his style.

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1942.9.81 (677)

The Dancing Couple

1663

Oil on canvas, 102.5 x 142.5 (40³/₈ x 56¹/₈)
Widener Collection

Inscriptions

At lower left: *JSteen 1663* (JS in ligature)

Technical Notes: The medium-weight, plain-weave fabric support is loosely woven. It has been lined with the tacking margins trimmed, and broad cusping is visible at top and bottom. A light-colored or white ground was applied smoothly and thinly overall. A creamy pink-colored underpainting of thick, rich paste paint was applied in broad striated strokes to the areas of the sky and floor, with reserves left for the dancing couple, barrel, trellis, musicians, and seated foreground figures. The poultry vendor and trio behind the fence were executed over the underpaint layer.

Paint was applied in thin, opaque layers of rich paste blended wet into wet with lively brushwork. The x-radiograph shows the underpainted areas and several artist's changes. The dancing man originally wore a smaller collar and was portrayed hatless with an outstretched proper left arm. When the arm was lowered to its present position he held the hat in his hand. The opened door was added over the sky, and changes were made in the hat of the man slouched against it. The church steeple was taller and the poultry vendor's raised left hand had a tall glass in it.

Small losses are found between the barrel and dancing man, to the left of the poultry vendor, in the serving maid at the far left, and along the edges. Slight abrasion is present overall. The blue skirt of the woman at far left and the bricks above her were unfinished. The painting was cleaned in 1930 and in 1944–1945.

Provenance: (Possibly sale, The Hague, 24 April 1737, no. 7).¹ Probably sale, Count van Hogendorp, The Hague, 27 July 1751, no. 6. Jan Bisschop [1680–1771] and Pieter Bisschop [c. 1690–1758], Rotterdam, by 1752; Adrian Hope [1709–1781] and John Hope [1737–1784], Amsterdam, in 1771; Henry Hope [1736–1811], London; Henry Philip Hope [1774–1839], London, in 1811; Henry Thomas Hope [1808–1862], London; his wife Adèle née Bichat [d. 1884], London; Lord Henry Francis Hope Pelham-Clinton-Hope, London; (P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. and Charles Wertheimer, London, 1891); (Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, by 1901); Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, in 1901; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: British Institution, London, 1818, no. 138; London, 1849, no. 84; London, 1866, no. 33; *Exhibition of Old Masters, and by Deceased Masters of the British School . . .*, Royal Academy, London, 1881, no. 124. *The Hope Collection of Pictures of the Dutch and Flemish Schools*, South Kensington Museum, London, 1891, no. 25. New York 1909, no. 126. *Loan Exhibition of Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, De-

troit Institute of Arts, 1925, no. 26. *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, Mauritshuis, The Hague; Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1990–1991, no. 59.

ARNOLD HOUBRAKEN begins his discussion of the life of Jan Steen with a general assessment of the relationship between an artist's personality and the nature of his creativity: "One whose nature is inclined toward farce and jest is more qualified to represent something seriously than is a dry-spirited man able to paint some droll activity;... The one who is jocular in spirit uses all sorts of objects... that he represents and models naturally, sadness as well as joy, calmness as well as wrath, in a word, all bodily movements and expressions that result from man's many emotions and passions."²

While Houbraken's musings about the relationship of an artist's character and his works of art may have no factual basis, there must be some such explanation for Steen's empathy for the remarkably wide range of character types that populate his paintings. Whether or not, as Houbraken would like us to believe, Steen's "paintings are as his manner of living, and his manner of living is as his paintings,"³ the artist must have felt comfortable among the young and the old as well as the wise and the foolish. In paintings such as *The Dancing Couple*, he could depict with equal ease the tender warmth of a mother's love and the raucous laughter of an inebriated country peasant. His empathy for people is not only evident through the conviction with which he represented such figures and their emotions, but also in the way he included himself as a participant in the scene. For who should be sitting at the banquet table in the midst of this outdoor celebration but Steen, grinning widely as he reaches over to chuck a woman's chin as she drinks from her wine glass.

To judge from the span of ages and social classes enjoying the festivities in *The Dancing Couple*, Steen must have intended the viewer to understand that the celebration was taking place under a vine-covered arbor outside a country inn. The crowds surrounding the tents visible in the background suggest that a local village fair, or kermis, occasioned this party. One visitor to the kermis was the young girl with a white cap seen talking over the porch railing: she holds a pinwheel, a child's toy of the type sold at booths associated with such fairs. Another trinket that may well have been sold at the kermis is the delightful hammer toy proudly held by the young child on her mother's lap.⁴

The kermis, however, was not only for children. People of all ages and social classes enjoyed the fes-



Jan Steen, *The Dancing Couple*, 1663.9.81

tivities, and they traveled from miles around to do so. Country and city folk alike marveled at the quacks who showed their wares, watched intently performances by traveling theatrical groups, and, most of all, ate, drank, and made merry. Indeed proscriptions for proper behavior were temporarily put aside. In *The Dancing Couple*, the celebrants gather, intent upon enjoying sensual pleasures to their fullest, to eat, drink, smoke, and flirt with abandon. Indeed, all five senses are represented in the scene as well as all ages of man. To the enormous delight of onlookers, a young country ruffian has even led a comely and seemingly shy city lass to dance. Lasciviously bedecked in a beret decorated with cock feathers, he robustly kicks his feet in tune with the music while she demurely ventures forth, uncertain, but not unwilling to join in the fun.

Steen was a marvelous narrative artist, in large part because of the way he could exaggerate expressions, attitudes, and even his figures' costumes to help tell his story. In this picture, infrared photography and x-radiographs indicate that he made a number of compositional changes to accentuate the contrast between the two main protagonists. Initially, the male dancer was bareheaded. He held a rather ordinary hat, with no feathers, and wore a smaller collar (fig. 1). His pose, in reverse, approached that of the comparable figure in a smaller scale depiction of the scene on panel, which may well have been Steen's first essay with this composition.⁵ By placing the beret with its cock feathers on

his head and by enlarging the collar to the point where it becomes inappropriate for the rest of his costume, Steen emphasized that this rude peasant was playing the role of a dandy in search of sensual pleasure.

A comparable change occurred with the laughing peasant standing outside the porch. Instead of the caged fowl he holds on his head, Steen initially depicted him thrusting aloft a tall beer glass.⁶ The transformation of the peasant from a celebrant to a passerby who has stopped to observe the scene may well have been made to emphasize the unusual character of this pair of dancers. By making the peasant into a poultry seller, however, Steen not only changed the nature of the man's participation but also his thematic impact. The Dutch verb *vogelen* means both "to bird" and "to have sexual intercourse," and a number of Dutch paintings of poultry sellers play upon the pun.⁷ The poultry seller, thus, was almost certainly intended to highlight the sexual character of the dance taking place directly before him.

No matter how humorous or empathetic Steen's narratives might be, they were rarely conceived without some comment on the fallacies of human behavior. In so doing he drew upon his wide-ranging familiarity with Dutch proverbs, as well as literary and emblematic traditions. A Dutch viewer, for example, would have recognized in the centrally placed empty barrel a reference to a well-known folk saying adapted as an emblem in Roemer Visscher's

Fig. 1. X-radiograph of 1942.9.81

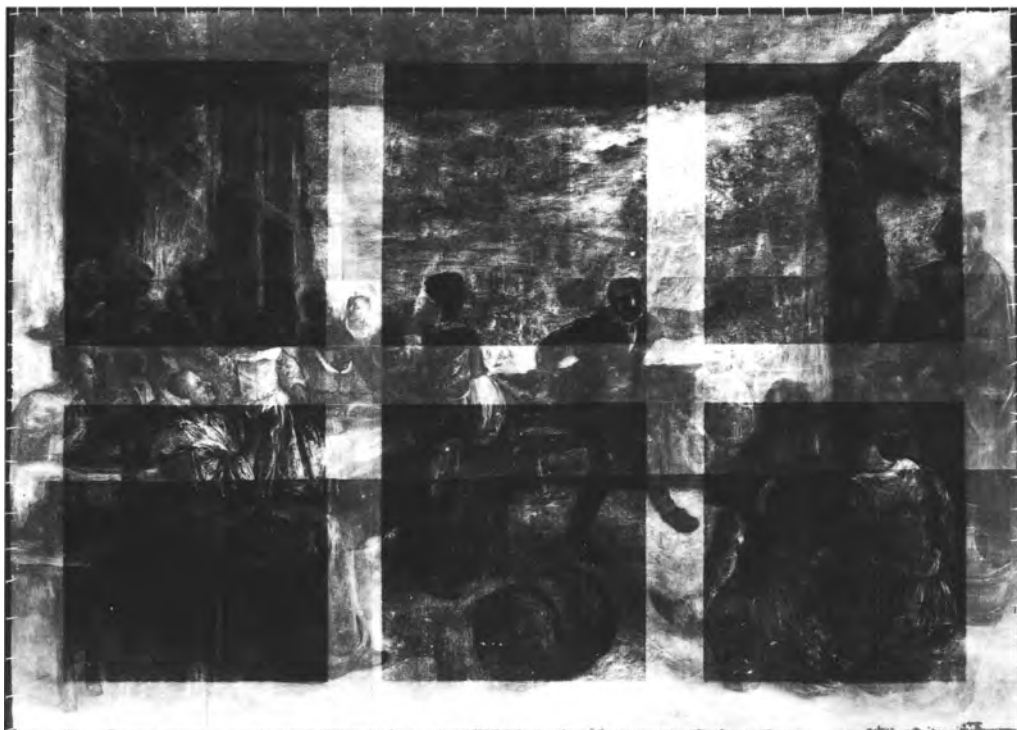




Fig. 2. Roemer Visscher, "Een vol vat en bomt niet," emblem from *Sinnepoppen*, Amsterdam, 1614

Sinnepoppen: "Een vol vat en bomt niet" [A full barrel doesn't resound] (fig. 2). Visscher's emblem implied that ignorant people fill the air with words, but wise, sensible people deport themselves in a quiet, capable manner.⁸ While this reference can be seen as a general commentary upon the foolishness of the dancing couple performing just behind the barrel, Steen also sought to emphasize the transient character of the illicit pleasures being sought and enjoyed by including other motifs that carried certain connotations. The most obvious of these are broken eggshells and cut flowers that have fallen onto the floor, motifs that have traditional *vanitas* associations in Dutch art. The same theme is more subtly indicated with the boy blowing bubbles, a visual reference to *homo bulla*, the idea that man's life is as a bubble.⁹ While it looks wondrous and glistening at its best, it can disappear in an instant.¹⁰

While Steen certainly sought to provide warnings about the transience of sensual pleasures so expressly evident in the ill-matched dancing couple, he also contrasted their foolish relationship with other couples whose attachments are built upon firmer foundations. Seated around the table are three couples whose love for each other can only be construed in a positive sense: the mother who playfully holds her child on her lap, an old couple who have grown together over the years, and the young adults, whose tender love is evident in the way the man reaches over to touch his partner.¹¹ To emphasize the contrast between the dancing couple and these groups Steen has once again included objects from daily life that have associations with images

from emblem books. Above the old couple, for example, hangs a cage with two birds, which resembles an emblematic image in P. C. Hooft's *Emblemata Amatoria*, first published in Amsterdam in 1611. The emblem "Voor vryheyt vaylicheyt" [Instead of freedom, safety] (fig. 3) stresses that love is strengthened when limits are placed upon it, and that with freedom comes danger.¹² The contrasts in meaning between this cage with birds and the cage held by the poultry seller could not be more extreme.

Finally, the toy that is so prominently held by the young child in her mother's lap may well have been chosen by Steen as a means for commenting on the importance of harmony in human relationships.¹³ This toy, which only appears in Steen's oeuvre in this and the earlier version of the composition, allows two men to hammer a stake in unison as the slats are moved to and fro. In character it relates to an emblem in Jacob Cats' *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijdt* (The Hague, 1632), in which a number of men work in timed unison as they hammer on an anvil (fig. 4).¹⁴ Cats' commentary broadens the theme of teamwork by emphasizing that to live together in harmony each must contribute their own special quality. In particular he notes that when the husband honors his wife and the wife her spouse, the household lives in peace.¹⁵

The large scale of this work is characteristic of Steen's paintings during the years that he worked in Haarlem. While evidence of the refined technique in which he worked during the mid- to late-1650s, when he was active in Leiden and Warmond, is still evident in the sheen of the fabrics worn by the women, Steen's brushwork is quite free and expressive. It would appear that the artistic climate in Haarlem, where both Frans Hals (q.v.) and Adriaen van Ostade (q.v.) were active, encouraged such

Fig. 3. P. C. Hooft, "Voor vryheyt vaylicheyt," emblem from *Emblemata Amatoria*, Amsterdam, 1611





Fig. 4. From Jacob Cats' *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijd*, The Hague, 1632

loosening in his painterly technique. It may also be that the traditionally strong bonds between Haarlem artists and Flemish traditions reinforced Steen's predilection to look back to Flemish prototypes for his composition.

Scenes devoted to dancing at a kermis occur in works by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1525–1569), and were frequently represented by other artists working in the Bruegel tradition.¹⁶ The closest in concept are the kermis paintings by David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690) (fig. 5), where festive peasants of all ages come together to enjoy the celebrations. Teniers' paintings were well-known to the Dutch, and one of his compositions may have inspired Steen to produce this memorable work.

Teniers often included a man seated at a table near the dancers who reaches over to chuck a woman's chin in much the same way that Steen does in *The Dancing Couple*. Teniers also delighted in dressing his rakish peasants in berets decorated with cock feathers. Should Steen have looked at a painting by Teniers for inspiration, he transformed his Flemish prototype into a specifically Dutch idiom, where visual delight in the sensuality of the image is tempered by a provocative intellectual and moralizing framework. To insure that the human issues involved are brought home, Steen confined his narrative to the foreground, where the pictorial world almost seems to mingle with the real, and the moral issues confronting the players become ones the viewer must consider as well.¹⁷

Notes

1. I would like to thank Mariët Westermann for the reference to the 1751 sale. See also The Hague 1990, 419–423.

2. Houbraken 1753, 3: 12–13: "Een, welks natuurgeneigt is tot klugt, en boertery, is bekwamer om iets ernstig te verbeelden, dan een droefgeestige om potsige bedryven door 't penceel te malen;...die boertig van geest is, bedient zig van allerhande voorwerpen...dat men alles even natuurlijk, zoo wel droefheid als vreugt, bedaartheit als toorn, met een woort, alle Lichaams bewegingen, en wezenstrekken, die uit de menigerhande gemoedsdriften ontspruiten, weet te verbeelden, en na te bootsen."

3. Houbraken 1753, 3: 13: "...zyn schilderyen zyn als zyn levenswyze, en zyn levenswyze als zyne schilderyen."

4. According to Nynke Spahr van der Hoek from the Speelgoed- en Blikmuseum, Deventer (letter of 27 July 1989, in NGA curatorial files), this toy is probably German in origin. It appears to be the oldest representation of this type known. Such toys were only sold by peddlers or at fairs because there were no toy shops in those days.



Fig. 5. David Teniers the Younger, *The Village Feast*, 1651, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

5. When this painting was exhibited (as *Dorpsfeest* or *Village Festival*, oil on panel, 59 x 37 cm) in The Hague 1958, no. 18, it was in the collection of the Duchess of Brissac, Paris.

6. The arm and beer glass are visible to the naked eye on the surface of the painting.

7. De Jongh 1968–1969, 22–74.

8. Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen* (Amsterdam, 1614). The full text of the emblem is as follows: “Dese Sinnepop is soo klaer datse weynigh uytlegginghe behoeft: want men siet dat de onverstandighe menschen de aldermeeste woorden over haer hebben, op straten, op marckten, op wagens en in schepen; daer de verstandighe wyse lieden met een stil bequaem wesen henen gaen.”

9. Hendrick Goltzius (after?), *Quis Evadet* (The Allegory of Transitoriness) 1594, engraving; see *Bartsch Illustrated*: 292, no. 10 (97).

10. For a discussion of this theme in Dutch art and literature see Amsterdam 1976, 45–47.

11. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the model for the man is Steen, and the woman has been identified as his wife. The identification was first made by Broos, in The Hague 1990, 422, on the basis of a comparison with an image of a woman who has been tentatively identified as Steen’s wife, Grietje van Goyen, in a painting in the Mauritshuis, “*The Way You Hear It, Is the Way You Sing It*.”

12. P. C. Hooft, *Emblemata Amatoria* (Amsterdam, 1611), 66, emblem 28: “Voor vryheyt vaylicheynt. In vancknis vordert my de Min; en was ick vry/Het ongheluck had onghelijck meer machts op my.”

13. For an excellent article that examines the ways in which children’s games could provide commentaries on adult life see Hindman: 447–475.

14. I would like to thank E. L. Widmann for calling my attention to this relationship in her seminar paper at the University of Maryland in 1990, “Jan Steen and the Philosophy of Laughter: Rederijkers and the Theatre of Genre.”

15. Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijd*... (The Hague, 1632), 14–15: “Die moeten yder mensch het sijne leeren geven, De man die vier’ het wijf, het wijf haer echten man, Soo isset dat het huys in vrede blijven kan.”

16. De Vries 1977, 130, note 91, suggests that the composition is based on a composition by Pieter Brueghel the Younger (c. 1564–1637/38) (see Marlier 1969), 440, 442, nos. 1, 2, and 3). Broos, in The Hague 1990, 423, on the other hand, suggests a painting by Pieter Aertsen (1509–1575).

17. As noted in The Hague 1958, no. 18, S. J. Gudlaugsson associated the subject of the painting with a scene from a play by Dirk Buysero, *De bruilof van Kloris en Roosje* (*The Wedding of Kloris and Roosje*). Since the play was not written until 1688, this theory cannot be supported.

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1990 Schneider: 105–106, repro.
1992 NGA: 135, color repro.

Johannes Vermeer

1632–1675

THE LIFE AND ART of Johannes Vermeer are closely associated with the city of Delft. He was born in Delft in 1632 and lived there until his death in 1675. His father, Reynier Vermeer, was a silk weaver who produced “caffa,” a fine satin fabric, but in 1631 he also registered in the Saint Luke’s Guild in Delft as a master art dealer. By 1641 he was sufficiently prosperous to purchase a large house, the “Mechelen,” which contained an inn on the market square in Delft and from which he probably also sold paintings. When Reynier died in 1652 Johannes apparently inherited his business. By that time he must have already decided on a career as a painter. It is assumed that he trained in Delft, perhaps with Leonaert Bramer (1596–1674), who seems to have had close associations with Vermeer’s family, or with Carel Fabritius (1622–1654). No documents, however, exist about his artistic training or apprenticeship, and he may have studied elsewhere, perhaps in Utrecht or Amsterdam.

Vermeer, who was baptized on 31 October 1632 in the Reformed Church in Delft, was raised a Protestant. In April 1653, however, he married into a Catholic family and seems to have converted to Catholicism shortly before that date to placate his future mother-in-law, Maria Thins, who lived in the so-called *Papenhoek*, Papists’ Corner, of Delft, adjacent to one of the two hidden churches where Catholics could worship, the Jesuit church on the Oude Langendijck. Vermeer and his wife, Catharina Bolnes, eventually moved into her house. They named their first daughter Maria and their first son Ignatius, after the patron saint of the Jesuit order.

Vermeer became a master in the Saint Luke’s Guild on 29 December 1653. His early aspiration was to be a history painter, and his first works were large-scale mythological and religious paintings. Shortly thereafter he began to paint the genre scenes, landscapes, and allegories for which he became so renowned. While Vermeer’s subject matter changed in the mid-1650s, he nevertheless continued to imbue his later works with the quiet, intimate moods he had preferred in his early history paintings.

Although very little is known about relationships

with other painters who might have influenced the thematic and stylistic direction of his art, Vermeer apparently knew Gerard ter Borch (q.v.), with whom he cosigned a document in 1653. Another artist who may well have had an impact on his work during the 1650s was Pieter de Hooch (q.v.), who painted comparable scenes in Delft during that period. Vermeer remained a respected artist in Delft throughout the rest of his life. He was named *hoofdman* of the Saint Luke’s Guild in 1662, 1663, 1670, and 1671.

Vermeer’s few works—they number about thirty-five—were not well known outside of Delft. It has been postulated that many of his paintings were concentrated in the collection of a patron in Delft who seems to have had a special relationship with the artist.¹ When Vermeer died, however, he was heavily in debt, in part because his art dealing business had suffered during the difficult economic times in the Netherlands in the early 1670s. He was survived by his wife and eleven children, ten of whom were under age. His wife petitioned for bankruptcy the following year. Antonie van Leeuwenhoek, the famed Delft microscopist, was named trustee for the estate.

Vermeer’s works were appreciated during the eighteenth century, but his fame did not develop until the late nineteenth century, partly a result of enthusiastic appraisal by Théophile Thoré, whose pseudonym was W. Bürger.²

Notes

1. Montias, 1989, 246, has proposed that Pieter Claesz. van Ruijven (1624–1674) may have been Vermeer’s patron.
2. Thoré (Bürger) 1866.

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1942.9.97 (693)

Woman Holding a Balance

c. 1664

Oil on canvas, 39.7 x 35.5 (15⁷/₈ x 14) paint surface; 42.5 x 38 (16³/₄ x 15) stretcher size
Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The original support is a fine, tightly woven fabric. When the painting was lined, the format was enlarged about one-half inch on all sides by opening out and flattening the tacking margins. The composition was extended by overpainting these unpainted edges. Regularly spaced tacking holes and losses in the ground layer along the folds of fabric bent over the original stretcher confirm that these smaller dimensions were the original format.

A moderately thick, warm buff ground is present overall, and a reddish brown underpaint is found under the blue jacket.¹ Opaque, fluid paint of various densities is applied with fine brushstrokes, with the ground incorporated into the design in the woman's features and headcovering. Dense paint layers overlap with thin glazes to soften the contours. Some contours are softened by leaving a thin line of ground between two edges.

Thin, diffused glazes are overlaid with rounded, thick strokes to create specular highlights. No pentimenti are visible in the x-radiograph (fig. 1); an infrared reflectograph reveals a change in the position of the balance.

Small losses are found in the figure, small areas of abrasion in the dark passages. Discolored retouching and old varnish were removed in 1994. Black overpaint covering the frame of the *Last Judgment* on the wall behind the woman has been removed, revealing two vertical bands of yellow paint along the right side of the frame. Overpaint that had been applied along the opened-out tacking margins when the painting was restretched on a larger stretcher has been removed. The painted image, now smaller, reflects Vermeer's original intention.

Provenance: Possibly Pieter Claesz. van Ruijven [1624–1674], Delft; possibly by inheritance to his wife, Maria de Knuijt [d. 1681], Delft; possibly by inheritance to her daughter, Magdalena van Ruijven [1655–1682], Delft; possibly by inheritance to her husband, Jacobus Abrahamsz. Dissius [1653–1695], Delft;² (sale, Amsterdam, 16 May 1696, no. 1);³ Isaac Rooleeuw, Amsterdam; (sale, Amsterdam, 20 April 1701, no. 6); Paolo van Uchelen [d. 1703], Amsterdam. (Sale, B. Tideman, Amsterdam, 18 March 1767, no. 6); Kok. Nicholaas Nieuhoff, Amsterdam; (sale, Ph. van der Schley, Amsterdam, 14 April 1777, no. 116); Van den Bogaard. PP. [initials of consigner]; (sale, Ph. van der Schley, Amsterdam, 11 May 1801, no. 48); bought for Ph. van der Schley by M[erem]. (Sale, Maximilian I Joseph [1756–1825], Munich, 5 December 1826, no. 101, as by Gabriel Metsu). Duc de Carman, Paris; (sale, Lacoste, Paris, 10 May 1830, no. 68). Casimir Périer; (sale, Christie & Manson, London, 5 May 1848, no. 7); Périer's son; by inheritance to Comtesse de Ségur-Périer; (P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London and M. Knoedler & Co., New York); sold 11 January 1911 to Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Exhibited: *Exhibition of Old Masters . . .*, M. Knoedler & Co., New York, 1912, no. 49; *A Loan Exhibition of Dutch Paintings*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1925, no. 33; *A Century of Progress . . .*, Art Institute of Chicago, 1934, no. 80; *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, Philadelphia Museum of Art; Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin; Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1984, no. 118.

THE YOUNG WOMAN standing before a table in a corner of a room gazes toward a balance held gently in her right hand. As though waiting for the delicate modulations of the balance to come to rest, she stands transfixed in a moment of equilibrium. She is dressed in a blue morning jacket bordered with white fur; seen through the parting of her jacket are vivid stripes of yellow and orange, perhaps ribbons or part of her bodice. Her white cap falls loosely to either side of her neck, framing her pensive yet serene face. Diffused sunlight, entering through an open window before her, helps illuminate the scene. The light, warmed by the orange curtain before the window, flows across the gray wall and catches the fingers of her right hand and the balance before resting on her upper figure.

Behind the woman looms a painting of the *Last Judgment*,⁴ which acts as a compositional and iconographic foil to the scene before it. The *Last Judgment*, its proportions echoing those of the overall painting, occupies the entire upper right quadrant of the composition. Its rectangular shape establishes a quiet and stable framework against which Vermeer juxtaposes the figure of the woman. The woman's white cap and blue morning jacket contrast with the dark painting. Her figure is aligned with the central axis of the *Last Judgment*. Her head lies at the middle of its composition, directly beneath the oval mandorla of the Christ in majesty. Her right hand coincides with the lower corner of the frame, which happens also to be the vanishing point of the perspective system. Her head and the central gesture of her hand are thus visually locked in space, and a seeming moment of quiet contemplation becomes endowed with permanence and symbolic associations.

The visual juxtaposition of the woman and the *Last Judgment* is reinforced by thematic parallels: to judge is to weigh. Christ, his arms and hands raised, sits in majesty on the day of judgment. His gesture, with both arms raised, mirrors the opposing direction of the woman's balance. His judgments are eternal; hers are temporal. Nevertheless, the woman's pensive response to the balance she holds suggests that her act of judgment, although different in consequence, is as conscientiously considered as that of the Christ behind her. What then is the

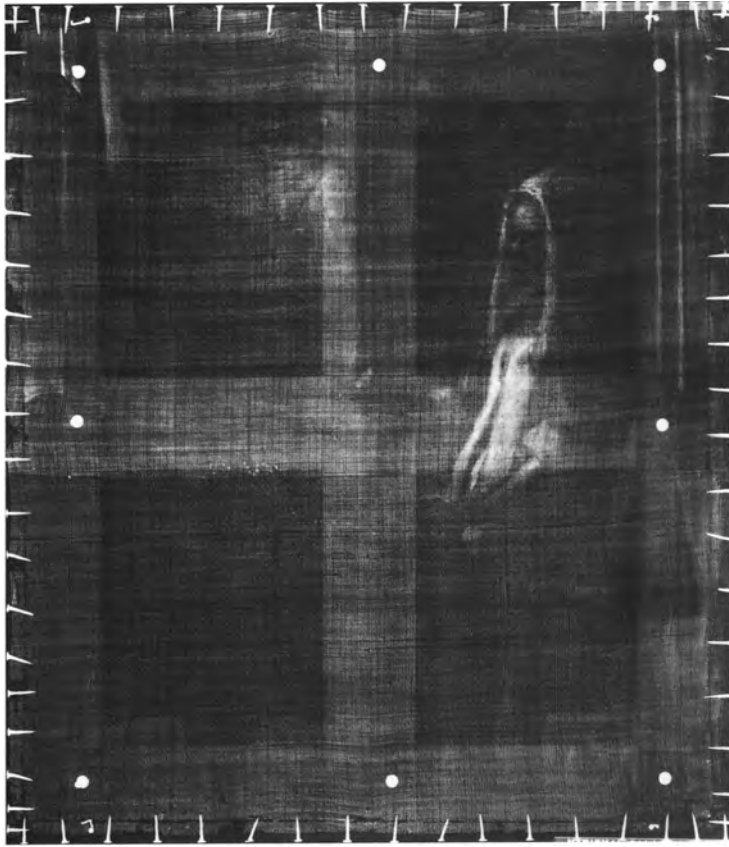


Fig. 1. X-radiograph of 1942.9.97

thematic relationship between her act and the painting on the wall behind her?

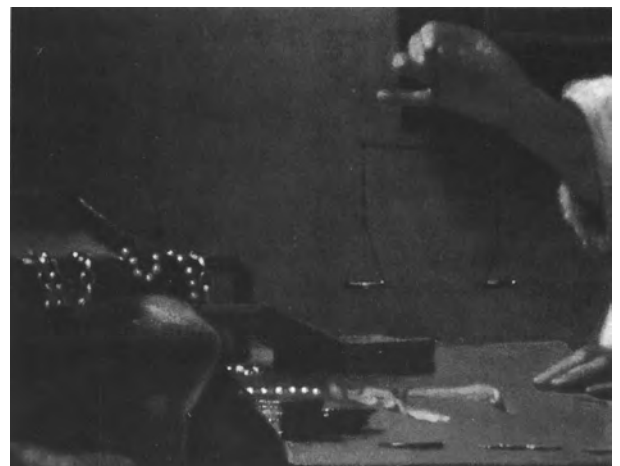
This question has been frequently asked and indeed, the actual nature of her act and its significance have been variously interpreted. Most earlier interpretations of this painting have focused on the act of weighing and were premised upon the assumption that the pans of the woman's balance contain certain precious objects, generally identified as gold or pearls. Consequently, until recently the painting had been alternately described as the *Goldweigher* or the *Girl Weighing Pearls*.⁵

Microscopic examination, however, has revealed that the apparent objects in the scales are painted quite differently from the representation of gold or pearls found elsewhere in this painting (fig. 2). The highlights in the scale certainly do not represent gold, for they are not painted with lead-tin yellow, as is the gold chain draped over the jewelry casket. The pale, creamy color is more comparable to that found on the pearls, but while the point of light in the center of the left pan of the balance initially looks

like a pearl, Vermeer's technique of rendering pearls is different. As may be seen in the strand of pearls lying on the table and in those draped over the jewelry box, he paints pearls in two layers: a thin, underneath (grayish) layer and a superimposed highlight. This technique permits him to depict their specular highlights and at the same time to suggest their translucent and three-dimensional qualities. In the band of pearls draped over the box, the size of the pearl (the thin, diffused layer) remains relatively constant although the highlights on the pearls (the thick, top layer) vary considerably in size according to the amount of light hitting them. The highlight in the center of the left pan is composed of only one layer—the bright highlight. Lacking the underlayer, the spot is not only smaller but also less softly luminescent than the other pearls. The more diffused highlight in the center of the right pan is larger, but it is not round and has no specular highlight. These points thus appear to be reflections of light from the window rather than separate objects. Reinforcing the sense that the scales are empty is the fact that the pearls and gold on the boxes and table are bound together and none lie on the table as separate entities as though waiting to be weighed and measured against one another.

Although it appears that the scales of the balance are empty, the jewelry boxes, strands of pearls, and gold chain on the table must be considered in any assessment of this painting's meaning. As riches, they belong to, and are valued within, the temporal world. They have been interpreted in the past as temptations of material wealth and the woman as the personification of *Vanitas*.⁶ Pearls, however, have many symbolic meanings, ranging from the purity of the Virgin Mary to the vices of pride and arrogance. As the woman concentrates on the balance in her hand, her attitude is one of inner peace and

Fig. 2. Detail of 1942.9.97





Johannes Vermeer, *Woman Holding a Balance*, 1942.9.97

serenity. The psychological tension that would suggest a conflict between her action and the implications of the *Last Judgment* does not exist.

Although the allegorical character of *Woman Holding a Balance* differs from the more genre-like focus of comparable paintings by Vermeer of the early to mid-1660s, the thematic concerns underlying this work are similar; one should lead a life of temperance and balanced judgment. Indeed this message, with or without its explicit religious context, is found in paintings from all phases of Vermeer's career and must represent his profound beliefs about the proper conduct of human life. The balance, the emblem of Justice, and eventually of the final judgment, would seem to denote the woman's responsibility to weigh and balance her own actions,⁷ a responsibility reinforced by the juxtaposition of her head over the traditional position of Saint Michael in the *Last Judgment* scene. Correspondingly, the mirror, placed near the light source, and directly opposite the woman's face, was commonly referred to as a means of self-knowledge.⁸ As Otto van Veen (1556–1629) wrote in an emblem book Vermeer certainly knew, "a perfect glasse doth represent the face, Iust as it is in deed, not flattring it at all."⁹ In her search for self-knowledge and in her acceptance of the responsibility of maintaining the balance and equilibrium of her life, the woman would seem to be aware, although not in fear, of the final judgment that awaits her. Indeed, in that pensive moment of decision, the mirror also suggests the evocative imagery of Corinthians I, 13: "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face; now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known." Vermeer's painting is, thus, a positive statement, an expression of the essential tranquility of one who understands the implications of the Last Judgment and who searches to moderate her life in order to warrant her salvation.

The character of the scene conforms closely to Saint Ignatius of Loyola's recommendations for meditation in his *Spiritual Exercises*, a devotional service with which Vermeer was undoubtedly familiar through his contacts with the Jesuits. As Cunnar has emphasized, before meditating Saint Ignatius urged that the meditator first examine his conscience and weigh his sins as though he were at Judgment Day standing before his judge. Ignatius then urged that one "weigh" one's choices and choose a path of life that will allow one to be judged favorably in a "balanced" manner.¹⁰

I must rather be like the equalized scales of a balance ready to follow the course which I feel is

more for the glory and praise of God, our Lord, and the salvation of my soul.¹¹

The many different interpretations of this painting that have appeared over the years, nevertheless, are a reminder of how cautious one must be in proposing a given meaning for this work. Beyond questions concerning the contents of the balance, some authors have speculated that the woman is pregnant, while others have concluded that her costume reflects a style of dress current in the early to mid-1660s, when this painting seems to have been executed.¹² If she is pregnant, does her pregnancy have consequence for the interpretation of the painting?¹³ Is she, as some have suggested, a secularized image of the Virgin Mary, who, standing before the Last Judgment, would assume her role as intercessor and compassionate mother?¹⁴ Cunnar has argued, for example, that the image of a pregnant Virgin Mary contemplating balanced scales would have been understood by a Catholic viewer as referring to her anticipation of Christ's life, his sacrifice, and the eventual foundation of the Church.¹⁵ Such theological associations were made in the seventeenth century and may have played a part in Vermeer's allegorical concept.¹⁶

This painting offers one of the most glorious examples of Vermeer's exquisite sense of balance and rhythm from the early to mid-1660s. The woman, her right hand gently holding the scale, is poised with her small finger extended, which gives a horizontal accent to the gesture. The left arm, gracefully resting on the edge of the table, closes the space around the balance and establishes an echo to the gentle arch of boxes, blue cloth, and sunlight sweeping down from the other side. The scales themselves, perfectly balanced but not symmetrical, are situated against the wall in a small niche of space created especially for them. Vermeer has taken the liberty of raising the bottom edge of the picture frame before the woman to allow sufficient space for the balance. Throughout, his interplay of verticals and horizontals, and of both against diagonals, of mass against void, and of light against dark, creates a subtly balanced but never static composition.

The degree of Vermeer's sensitivity can best be illustrated by comparing this scene with a close counterpart by Pieter de Hooch, *A Woman Weighing Gold* (fig. 3).¹⁷ Although De Hooch probably painted this scene in the mid-1660s after he left Delft for Amsterdam, it is so similar to Vermeer's that it is difficult to imagine that they were painted without knowledge of each other or of a common source.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the refinements and mood of the Ver-



Fig. 3. Pieter de Hooch, *A Woman Weighing Gold*, mid-1660s, oil on canvas, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie

meer are lacking in the De Hooch. The woman in De Hooch's painting is not serenely gazing at her scales; she is actively engaged in placing a gold coin or weight into one of the pans. By her active gesture she separates herself from the quiet rhythms and geometrical structure of the room.¹⁹

Woman Holding a Balance has a distinguished provenance that can be traced in a virtually unbroken line back to the seventeenth century. The enthusiastic descriptions of the work in sales catalogues as well as in critics' assessments attest to its extraordinary appeal to each and every generation. Perhaps the most fascinating early reference to this work is that of the first sale in which it appeared, the Dissius sale in Amsterdam of 1696. Not only is it the first painting listed in a sale that included twenty-one paintings by Vermeer, but also it is described in the following terms: "A young lady weighing gold, in a box by J. van der Meer of Delft, extraordinarily artful and vigorously painted."²⁰ Nothing more is known of the box in which it sat, but at the very least it was a protective device designed to keep light and dust away from its delicate surface. Whether the composition was conceived to be seen within the box and whether the box was itself painted are questions that cannot be answered.²¹

Notes

1. For pigment analysis of the paint layers see Kühn 1968, 191–192. Kühn's conclusion that the yellow of the curtain is Indian yellow is based on a sample taken from the overpaint near the edge of the painting. Subsequent pigment analysis of the ground was undertaken on 26 June 1974 by Robert L. Feller, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, and by Melanie Gifford in June, 1994 (available in the Scientific Research department, NGA).

2. The inventory of Magdalena's collection lists twenty paintings by Vermeer. For the complete transactions between her husband Jacob Dissius and his father Abraham Dissius following her death, see Montias 1989, 246–257, 359–360, docs. 417, 420.

3. For this sale see Montias 1989, 363–364, doc. 439.

4. The author of this painting has remained an enigma. No exact prototype for this composition of the Last Judgment is known. It appears, however, to be the work of a late-sixteenth-century mannerist painter, probably of Flemish origin. One distinct possibility, kindly suggested by Dr. Pieter J. J. van Thiel, is Jacob de Backer (Antwerp 1540–1595), a student of Frans Floris (c. 1516/1520–1570) and an artist who specialized in similar Last Judgment scenes. A distinctive characteristic of this composition, often found in De Backer's works, is that Christ sits in judgment with both of his arms raised. Vermeer probably owned this painting of the Last Judgment. He dealt in works of art and seems to have used works from his own collection in his paintings. In the instances where we know the actual painting Vermeer owned, as, for example, *The Procuress*, 1622 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 50.2721), by Dirck van Baburen (c. 1590–1624), a painting that appears in two Vermeer compositions, his depictions remain rather faithful to the actual painting. He apparently only modified the color schemes and the scale of the painting to satisfy the needs of his composition. He probably made similar adjustments in the scene of the *Last Judgment*. For documents relating to the Baburen painting see Van Peer 1968, 220–224. For other instances of Dutch artists altering the dimensions of paintings within paintings see Stechow 1960, 165–184.

5. A review of the diverse interpretations in the earlier literature on this painting is enlightening. It reinforces the notion that Vermeer often chose motifs and moments that have dual implications, ones which the protagonists, as well as the observer, must struggle to resolve.

Thoré (Bürger), to whom we owe so much for his enthusiasm and research of Vermeer, catalogued the painting as *La Peseurs de perles* in Thoré (Bürger) 1866, 555–556, cat. 27. Although some confusion existed in his mind as to the objects she was weighing in her balance ("La main droite en l'air tient la balance soulevée; dans les plateaux sont des perles et des pièces d'or (?)"), he recognized immediately that a relationship existed between the painting behind the girl and her actions: "— Ah! tu pèses des bijoux? tu seras pesée et jugée à ton tour!"

Hofstede de Groot (HdG 1907–1927, 1: 586), on the other hand, described the painting as *A Woman Weighing Gold*. He wrote: "In an interior a woman, wearing a dark blue velvet jacket trimmed with fur, stands weighing gold at a table with a blue cover." Later, in Hofstede de Groot 1910, 134, he offered a somewhat more complex interpretation of the scene: "Her attention is concentrated on weighing gold, or possibly on testing the accuracy of her scales, for the purpose of weighing the pearls lying before her on the table; thus the

picture is also mentioned by the title of *A Woman Weighing Pearls*." Hale 1937, 140–142, returned to this idea in his monograph on Vermeer. He catalogued the painting as "A Woman Weighing Gold sometimes called A Woman Weighing Pearls." In his description of the painting he wrote: "Either weighing gold or testing the weights of her scale to weigh some pearls lying nearby, a lady stands close to an open window."

Perhaps the most extensive analysis of the symbolism of this painting was in Rudolph 1938, 405–412. He reemphasized the observation of Thoré (Bürger) on the thematic importance of paintings within paintings in the Dutch and Flemish traditions, extending back to Jan van Eyck and the Master of Flémalle. Rudolph saw the scene of the *Last Judgment* as a central clue to the hidden symbolism of this painting, which he entitled *The Pearlweigher*. To help interpret the symbolism he emphasized that pearls and mirrors often had *vanitas* connotations, ones that were strengthened in the context of a scene of the *Last Judgment*. Indeed, he saw the woman as a personification of Vanitas. Rudolph noted, however, that the scales that the woman was holding were empty.

Swillens 1950, 105, also called the painting *Girl Weighing Pearls* but did not emphasize the *vanitas* nature of the scene as explicitly as did Rudolph. He wrote: "She endeavours to adjust her small scales, and is concentrating on this matter... The thought of 'The Judgment' compels her to adjust the balance to accuracy." Gowing 1952, 135, offered yet another interpretation. Entitling the painting *A Lady Weighing Gold*, he wrote: "In this painting a connection between the lady, who seems to be weighing pearls against gold, and the painting that hangs on the wall behind her turns the incident into a fanciful allegory of the Last Judgment." He then added: "she takes on something of the character of Saint Michael, the weigher of souls in the part of the Last Judgment which is hidden."

De Mirimonde 1961, 29, wrote about the symbolism of this painting:

Or pour une fois, dans la peseuse de perles, Vermeer s'est fait moraliste. Derrière la jolie femme, il a placé un grand tableau dont la signification est pleine de menaces: un jugement dernier. Qui sait si ces colliers d'un si bel orient ne seront pas d'un poids bien lourd dans la balance de l'Archange?

Goldscheider 1958, 38, searching for the symbolism of the painting wrote: "If pearls can be the embodiment of earthly, transient beauty, how are we to interpret the picture of the Last Judgment behind the *Lady Weighing Pearls*? Vermeer's symbolism is not hard to understand."

6. This was proposed by Rudolph 1938, 409. Actually since Christian iconography treats the pearl, the most precious jewel, as a symbol of salvation, it would be unusual for it to have strong *vanitas* connotations. See Ferguson 1959, 23.

7. Cesare Ripa, (see Ripa 1644, 144, 432) describes how the balance is one of the attributes of equality, *Vgvalita* or *Gelijckbeyt* ("Door de Weeghschaele wort verstaen de oprachte en waerachtige recht vaerdigheyt, die een ygelijck geeft, dat hem toebehoort"), and of Justice, *Giustitia* or *Gerechtigheyt*.

8. The mirror is frequently considered the attribute of *Prudentia* and Truth. For a discussion of the various connotations of the mirror in emblematic literature of the mid-seventeenth century, see The Hague 1974, 98.

9. Otto van Veen, *Amorum emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608), 182. The full verse is:

Fortune is loues looking-glass

Eu'n as a perfect glasse doth represent the face,
Just as it is in deed, not flattering it at all.

So fortune telleth by aduancement or by fall,

Th'euent that shall succeed, in loues luick-tryed case.

For further discussions of Vermeer's use of *Amorum emblemata* see De Jongh 1967, 49–50.

10. Cunnar 1990, 518.

11. Mottola 1964, 85.

12. In my opinion it seems unlikely that the woman is pregnant. As seen in numerous paintings by Vermeer's contemporaries, Dutch fashions in the mid-seventeenth century seem to have encouraged a bulky silhouette. The short jacket the girl wears, called a *pet en lair*, covered a bodice and a thickly padded skirt. The impression created, that of a forward thrusting stomach, was evidently a desirable one. This opinion is also shared by Albert Blankert in Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, 181.

13. The theory that the woman is pregnant was first proffered by Richard Carstensen and Marielene Putscher in 1971. The authors concluded that the woman, following an old folk tradition, was weighing pearls to help her divine the sex of the unborn child. Since then, many authors have accepted as fact her pregnant state of being, including Walsh 1973, 79, and Grimme 1974, 54, who, as a consequence of the supposed pregnancy, attempted to identify the model as Vermeer's wife, Catharina Bolnes, mother of his fifteen children. Salomon 1983 suggested that a pregnant woman holding scales would have been interpreted as a Catholic response to the religious controversy about the moment a Christian soul obtains grace and salvation. Instead of the predetermined state of grace accepted by the followers of Arminius or the efficacy of good works preached by Gomanus, Salomon argued, a Catholic would have understood that the state of grace of the unborn child was as yet undetermined. This opinion was also accepted by Sutton, in Philadelphia 1984, 342–343.

14. Jones 1989; Cunnar 1990.

15. Cunnar 1990 corrects a number of misconceptions about the theological arguments advanced by Salomon and focuses on the meditative character of the image. He then analyzes the ways in which a Catholic, a Protestant, and an Arminian viewer might have responded to this work in light of their beliefs. He also accepts as fact that the woman is pregnant and attempts to relate the image to biblical texts, specifically Genesis 3:15, by interpreting the support underneath the table as the vision of a dragon described by John in Revelations 12. While one may question the likelihood of this latter interpretation, Cunnar's assessment of the various possible theological responses to the painting is particularly useful.

16. For an argument that Vermeer represented here "the divine truth of revealed religion," see Gaskell 1984, 558–561. To support his argument Gaskell refers to one of the personifications of Truth described by Cesare Ripa in the 1644 Dutch edition of the *Iconologia*.

17. Oil on canvas, 61 x 53 cm. See Staatliche Museen, Berlin 1978, 212. The comparison of this painting with Vermeer's *Woman Holding a Balance* is not new. For comparisons with slightly different emphases see Bode 1919, 86–89, and Rudolph 1938, 405–412.

18. A possible source for such a motif is Gerard Dou (q.v.). Although Dou's painting style is far more minute than Vermeer's, many of the genre scenes painted by Vermeer have precedents in Dou's oeuvre. See Boström 1949, 21–24.

19. The thematic complexities of Vermeer's composition are also lacking in De Hooch's work. De Hooch's woman weighs her gold before a wall richly decorated with a gilded-leather wallcovering and a half-open door leading into a second room. Neither of these elements reinforces the thematic gesture of a woman with a balance as strongly as does the painting of the *Last Judgment*.

20. Blankert 1975, 136, doc. 62. "Een Juffrouw die goud weegt in een kasje van J. van der Meer van Delft, extraordinaer konstig en kragtig geschildert." It sold for fl 155, the third highest price in the sale.

21. In the 1683 inventory of goods accruing to Jacob Dis-sius after the death of his wife, Magdalena van Ruijven, three of Vermeer's paintings are listed as being in boxes (*kasjes*). See Montias 1989, 359, doc. 417. Presumably one of these was *Woman Holding a Balance*.

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 1952 Gowing: 44, 53, 135-136, pls. 44-46 (also 1970 2nd ed.).
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 1974 Grimme: 54, cat. 17, repros. 11, 12.
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 1986 Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias: 49, 51, 112, 114, 116, 183-185, repro. xv.
 1986 Sutton: 311, repro.
 1988 Bialostocki: 166-180, 271-273, fig. 129.
 1988 Reuterswärd: 55-59, fig. 2.
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 1991 Bal: 1-4, 19-23, 177, repro. o.i.
 1992 NGA: 137, color repro.
 1995 Wheelock: 97-103, color repro.

1962.10.1 (1664)

A Lady Writing

c. 1665

Oil on canvas, 45 x 39.9 (17¼ x 15¾)

Gift of Harry Waldron Havemeyer and Horace Havemeyer, Jr., in memory of their father, Horace Havemeyer

Inscriptions

On frame of picture on back wall: *IVMEER* (IVM in ligature)

Technical Notes: The tightly woven fabric support is composed of fine, unevenly spun threads. It has been lined, and fragments remain of the original tacking margins covered by the ground layer. A thin, smooth gray ground is found overall, and a brown imprimatura layer under the blue tablecloth.¹

Complex layering of paints creates a variety of effects, with fine brushstrokes highlighted with rounded strokes and thick dots. Thin, fluid paints are overlaid with thin, semi-transparent layers to soften hard surfaces and transparent under layers daubed with opaque paints to form specular reflections. Contours are softened by blending adjacent paint areas wet on wet, or by leaving a small area of ground

exposed along the edges. Minute pitting of the paint in areas suggests an emulsion technique. X-radiography and infrared reflectography show the pen inclined more to the right, with the proper right index finger adjusted accordingly.

A few flake losses exist, mostly on the edges. Small, regularly spaced holes along the left and right edges penetrate the paint and ground layer but do not align with the cusping pattern or appear to be tack holes from a dimensional change. Scattered areas of abrasion are found in the proper left cheek, hair, jacket, dark spots of fur, and background wall. Discolored retouching covers abrasion and losses, reinforces contours, and minimizes craquelure in the face. The highlight on the pearl earring to the right is repainted. In 1976, surface grime was removed, and adjustments made to discolored retouchings. The painting is now in restoration.

Provenance: Possibly Pieter Claesz. van Ruijven [1624–1674], Delft; possibly by inheritance to his wife, Maria de Knuijt [d. 1681], Delft; possibly by inheritance to her daughter, Magdalena van Ruijven [1655–1682], Delft; possibly by inheritance to her husband, Jacobus Abrahamsz. Dissius [1663–1695], Delft;² (sale, Amsterdam, 16 May 1696, no. 35).³ J. van Buren, The Hague; (sale, Scheurleer, The Hague, 7 November 1808, no. 22). Dr. Cornelis Jan Luchtmans [1777–1860], Rotterdam; (sale, Muys, Rotterdam, 20 April 1816, no. 90). F. Kamermans, Rotterdam, by 1819; (sale, Lamme, Rotterdam, 3 October 1825, no. 70); Lelie. (Sale, Jer. de Vries, Amsterdam, 5 April 1827, no. 26); François-Xavier, Count de Robiano [1778–1836], Brussels; (sale, Barbé, Brussels, 1 May 1837, no. 436); Ludovic, Count de Robiano [d. 1887], Brussels; by inheritance to Robiano's heirs until 1906; (J. & A. LeRoy, Brussels, 1907); J. Pierpont Morgan [1837–1913], New York; by inheritance to J. P. Morgan, Jr. [1867–1943], New York; (consigned to M. Knoedler & Co., New York, 1935–1939); Sir Harry Oakes [d. 1943], Nassau, Bahamas; by inheritance to Lady Eunice Oakes [d. 1946], Nassau, Bahamas; (M. Knoedler & Co., New York); sold 1946 to Horace Havemeyer [d. 1956], New York; by inheritance to Harry Waldron Havemeyer and Horace Havemeyer, Jr., New York.

Exhibited: *Exposition de tableaux et dessins d'anciens maîtres organisée par la société néerlandaise de bienfaisance à Bruxelles*, Musées Royaux, Brussels, 1873, no. 264. New York 1909, no. 136. *Vermeer. Oorsprong en Invloed. Fabritius, de Hooch, de Witte*, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1935, no. 86a. *Masterpieces of Art*, New York World's Fair, 1939, no. 399. *Loan Exhibition in Honor of Royal Cortisoz and His 50 Years of Criticism in the New York Herald Tribune*, M. Knoedler and Company, New York, 1941, no. 17. *Paintings by the Great Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, Duveen Galleries, New York, 1942, no. 136. *Giorgione to Picasso*, Musée Marmottan, Paris, no cat. *Paintings from American Museums*, Hermitage, Leningrad; Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow; Kiev Museum of Ukrainian Art; Museum of Belorussia SSR, Minsk, 1976. *Space in European Art: Council of Europe Exhibition in Japan*, National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 1987, no. 86. *Masterpieces of Western European Painting of the XVIth–XXth Centuries from the Museums of the European Countries and USA*, Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, 1989, no. 14. *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, Mauritshuis, The Hague; Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1990–1991, no. 67. *Lezelust: Niederländische Malerei von Rembrandt bis Vermeer*, Schirn Kunsthalle, Frankfurt, 1993–1994, no. 85.

VERMEER, to a greater extent than any other Dutch artist, was able to capture the delicate equilibrium between the physical stillness of a setting and a transient moment of an individual arrested within it. As in the *Woman Holding a Balance* (1942.9.97), he has focused here upon a psychological moment by subordinating all physical action. A woman, elegantly dressed in a lemon yellow morning jacket bordered with ermine trim, sits before a table. She holds a quill pen firmly in her right hand. Her left hand secures the paper upon which her pen rests. Although prepared to write, she has looked up from her task and regards the viewer with a slightly quizzical expression. As in so many of his masterpieces, Vermeer gives no explanation for the significance of her gaze. This characteristic has led to criticism that his paintings lack psychological penetration, but it is also an essential ingredient in the poetic suggestiveness of his images.

A Lady Writing is signed with a monogram on the lower frame of the picture on the back wall, but like most Vermeer paintings, it is not dated. The painting style and technique, as well as the woman's costume and hairdo, however, relate to other works that appear to belong to Vermeer's mature phase, in the mid-1660s. The woman's elegant yellow jacket, for example, is found in three other Vermeer paintings from this period: *Young Lady Adorning Herself with a Pearl Necklace* (Staatliche Museen, Berlin, inv. no. 912B), *Lady with a Lute* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 25.110.24), and *Mistress and Maid* in the Frick Collection, New York (fig. 1), a painting that is generally dated in the late 1660s.⁴ The ink wells and the decorated casket on the table are similar to those in the Frick painting. The hairstyle, with the braided chignon on the back of the head and the ribbons tied in bows formed like stars, was popular in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, particularly after the early 1660s.⁵

Conceptually, this painting relates to *Woman Holding a Balance* (1942.9.97), for in both works Vermeer has explored a moment in which the central figure has paused in the course of her activity. In comparison with *Woman Holding a Balance*, however, the woman's image in this painting is weightier. The delicate equilibrium between stillness and implied movement found in *Woman Holding a Balance* has shifted toward stillness. Likewise, Vermeer's concern for the woman's physical appearance, for her costume, hairstyle, and expression, has taken on greater importance. Such differences may be relevant chronologically, for they are characteristics found in a number of Vermeer's later works. Seen in conjunction with the refined elegance of the



Johannes Vermeer, *A Lady Writing*, 1665.10.1

woman's appearance, they suggest that *A Lady Writing* dates slightly after the *Woman Holding a Balance*.

Vermeer has here significantly reduced the number of compositional elements and focused intently on the woman's figure and a few objects in her environment. Not only is she proportionally larger and fuller than the woman holding the balance, she and the table on which she writes are quite close to the picture plane, a proximity emphasized by the directness of her gaze. Although in both paintings light enters from the left, in *A Lady Writing* no light source is shown. The diffused light softly illuminates the tabletop, the woman's face, and her rich lemon yellow morning jacket, but there is not the same dramatic emphasis.

Vermeer has not only limited his composition to a few select elements, he has also organized them to reinforce the central motif of a woman writing. He has, for example, clustered all the small objects in the painting on the table. This concentration of small shapes contrasts with the broad forms of the rest of the composition that create a geometric framework for the figure. For example, he has placed the painting on the back wall so that it covers two-thirds of the width of the composition. The width of the wall to the right of the picture is equal to the height of the

Fig. 1. Johannes Vermeer, *Mistress and Maid*, c. 1667–1668, oil on canvas, Frick Collection, New York



Fig. 2. Gabriel Metsu, *Music Company*, c. 1663, oil on panel, The Hague, Mauritshuis

table, or one-half the distance from the bottom of the picture to the bottom edge of the painting. The width of the table, moreover, is approximately one-half the width of the painting. Such proportional relationships help balance and harmonize the essentially asymmetrical composition.

In much the same manner that Vermeer has refined his composition by eliminating extraneous elements, so has he eliminated anecdotal elements that give clues to the meaning of the painting. While he has depicted a woman, pen in hand, looking directly at the viewer, he has not indicated whether she is contemplating her message or directing her attention outward. Unlike his other depictions of letter writers, for example the *Mistress and Maid*, no maid delivers a letter or awaits a reply. One possible indication of the general theme of the painting may be given by the picture hanging on the back wall. This dark and barely distinguishable painting appears to be a still life with musical instruments.⁶ The only recognizable instrument is a bass-viol. Musical instruments often carry implications of love, and thus it may be

understood that the letter is directed to an absent lover.⁷

Such an interpretation is supported by relating *A Lady Writing* to the iconographic tradition found in the works of many of Vermeer's contemporaries, particularly Gerard ter Borch (q.v.), Gabriel Metsu (q.v.), and Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635–1681). Many of these paintings of letter writers have explicit love connotations and can be related to emblematic literature. For example, Gabriel Metsu, in his painting *Musical Company* in the Mauritshuis (fig. 2), has depicted a woman sitting at a table contemplating the music she is writing.⁸ Behind her stands an attentive man, before her another woman playing a lute. Above the fireplace hangs a painting of a ship in a stormy sea. Aside from the sensuous connotations of the man and the music of the lute, the painting above the fireplace relates to emblems commenting upon the perils of love.⁹ The difference between *A Lady Writing* and the iconographic traditions of genre paintings of women writing or receiving love letters is in large part due to Vermeer's focus on the individuality of the woman. Indeed, with her distinctive features, direct gaze, and closeness to the picture plane, the painting is as much a portrait as a genre scene.

Notes

1. Robert L. Feller, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, has identified chalk, lead white, black, and red and yellow iron oxide pigments in the gray ground. His report of 26 June 1974 is available in the Scientific Research department, NGA.

2. The 1683 inventory of goods accruing to Jacob Dissius after the death of his wife Magdalena van Ruijven lists twenty paintings by Vermeer. For the complete transactions between her husband Jacob Dissius and his father Abraham Dissius following her death, see Montias 1989, 246–257, 359–360, docs. 417, 420.

3. For this sale see Montias 1989, 363–364, doc. 439.

4. Frick Collection, New York, no. 19.1.126, oil on canvas, 92 by 78.7 cm. For the dating of the painting, see Frick Collection 1968, 296–297.

5. This information was kindly supplied by A. M. Louise E. Mulder-Erkelen, keeper of textiles, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

6. Boström 1951, suggests that the painting may have been by Cornelis van der Meulen (1642–1692). The evidence, however, is not sufficient to sustain an attribution. A painting depicting “a bass viol with a skull” is listed in the inventory of Vermeer's possessions after his death in 1676. See Montias 1989, 340, doc. 364.

7. This thematic association was first suggested by De Mirimonde 1961, 40. For emblematic literature relating musical instruments to love see De Jongh 1967, 50–51.

8. Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. no. 94, oil on wood, 28 by 22.8 cm, signed: G. Metsu. Robinson 1974, 64–65, dates this painting to around 1667.

9. De Jongh 1967, 50–51.

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 1981 Wheelock: 124–127, no. 31, repros. 31–32.
 1985 NGA: 421, repro.
 1986 Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias: 11, 46, 52, 85,
 132, 189–190, no. 20, pl. 22.
 1989 Montias: 191–192, 196, 256, 259 note 21, 266,
 repro. 44.
 1990 The Hague: no. 67.
 1991 Buijsen: 7–12, repro.
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 1991 Nash: 34 color repro., 36–37.
 1993 Frankfurt: no. 85
 1995 Wheelock: 145, 179, repro.

1937.1.53 (53)

Girl with the Red Hat

c. 1665/1666
 Oil on wood (probably oak), 23.2 x 18.1 (9¹/₂ x 7¹/₈)
 Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Inscriptions

At upper center of tapestry: *IVM* (in ligature)

Technical Notes: The support is a single wood panel, probably oak, with a vertical grain. A cradle, including a wooden collar around all four sides of the panel, was attached before the painting entered the collection. A partially completed painting exists underneath the present composition oriented 180 degrees with respect to the girl. The x-radiograph reveals the head-and-shoulders portrait of a man wearing a white kerchief around his neck and a button on his garment (see fig. 3). An infrared reflectogram shows a cape across his shoulder, a broad-brimmed hat, locks of long curling hair, and vigorous brushwork in the background (see fig. 4).

The panel was initially prepared with a white chalk ground. The male bust was executed above, dead-colored in a reddish brown paint, before flesh tones were applied to the face and white to the kerchief. The portrait of the young girl was painted directly over the underlying composition, with the exception of the area of the man's kerchief, which Vermeer apparently toned down with a brown paint.

Paint used to model the girl was applied with smoothly blended strokes. Layered applications of paints of varying transparencies and thicknesses, often blended wet into wet, produced soft contours and diffused lighting effects. Paint in the white kerchief around the girl's neck has been scraped back to expose darker paint below.

The painting is in good condition, with only slight abrasion to the thin glazes of the face and a few scattered minor losses. Small amounts of retouching are found on both eyes, the right nostril, the dark corners of the mouth, and the left side of the upper lip. All edges have been overpainted to some degree. In 1933 and 1942 minor treatments were carried out. The painting is now in restoration.

Provenance: Possibly Pieter Claesz. van Ruijven [1624–1674], Delft; possibly by inheritance to his wife, Maria de Knuijt [d. 1681], Delft; possibly by inheritance to her daughter, Magdalena van Ruijven [1655–1682], Delft; ¹ possibly by inheritance to her husband, Jacobus Abrahamsz. Dissius [1653–1695], Delft; ² (sale, Amsterdam, 16 May 1696, probably no. 39 or 40).³ (Sale, Lafontaine, Hôtel de Bouillon, Paris, 10 December 1822, no. 28.) Baron Louis Marie Atthalin [1784–1856], Colmar; by inheritance to his nephew and adopted son Laurent Atthalin; by inheritance to Baron Gaston Laurent-Atthalin [d. 1911], Les Moussets, Limey, Seine-et-Oise; by inheritance to his widow Baroness Laurent-Atthalin, Paris; (M. Knoedler & Co., New York and London); sold November 1925 to Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington; deeded 30 March 1932 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh.

Exhibited: *Loan Exhibition of Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, M. Knoedler & Co., New York, 1925, no. 1. *A Loan Exhibition of Twelve Masterpieces of Painting*, M. Knoedler & Co., New York, 1928, no. 12.

THE *Girl with the Red Hat* has a curious status among Vermeer scholars. While it is widely loved and admired, the attribution of this small panel painting to Vermeer has been doubted, and even rejected, by some.⁴ The emotional response elicited by the figure is, indeed, different from that found in other of his paintings, for as the girl turns outward, with her mouth half opened, her eyes seem lit with expectancy. The lushness of her blue robes, the almost passionate flaming red of her hat, and the subtle interplay of green and rose tones in her face give her a vibrancy unique in Vermeer's paintings. Unlike most of his figures, she does not exist in a cerebral, abstract world. Situated before a backdrop of a figured tapestry,⁵ she communicates directly with us, both staring out and drawing us in.

The pose of a girl looking over her shoulder at the viewer is commonly found in Vermeer's oeuvre, although in no other instance does she lean an arm on the back of a chair. Nevertheless, similar poses are found in the works of other Dutch painters.⁶ As he did in other works, including *Woman Holding a Balance* (1942.9.97), Vermeer adjusted his forms to accommodate his composition. In actuality, the lion-head finials of the chair are too close to each other and are not correctly aligned. The left finial is much larger than the right one and is angled too far to the right. The top of the chair, if extended to the left finial, would intersect it above the bottom of the ring that loops through the lion's mouth. The finials, moreover, face toward the viewer, whereas if they belonged to the chair upon which the girl sits, they should face toward her.⁷ As in Frans Hals' *Portrait of a Young Man* (1937.1.71), only the back of the lion's head should be visible.



Johannes Vermeer, *Girl with the Red Hat*, 1937-1.53



Fig. 1. Detail of lion-head finial in 1937.1.53



Fig. 2. Experimental photograph of lion-head finial, photo: Harry Beville

The questions raised by the position of the chair and its spatial relationship to the girl have bothered observers of the painting in the past.⁸ Interestingly, the spatial discrepancies are not really noticeable until one begins analyzing the painting very closely. Visually, the spatial organization works; Vermeer succeeded in integrating his figure with the chair and at the same time in using the chair to help establish the specific mood he sought.⁹

Despite similarities in the way Vermeer adjusted his forms for compositional emphasis, the *Woman Holding a Balance* (1942.9.97) and this painting are undeniably different. Whereas the *Woman Holding a Balance* is an involved composition, imbued with complex forms and symbolism, the *Girl with the Red Hat* is no more than a bust, portrayed with a feeling of spontaneity and informality that is unique in the artist's oeuvre. It is as though this small painting were a study, or an experiment. Particularly striking are the light reflections on the right lion's finial, which have the diffused characteristic of unfocused points of light in a photograph, called "halation of highlights." It is highly unlikely that Vermeer could have achieved this effect without having witnessed it in a camera obscura.¹⁰ Indeed, it may well be that in this painting Vermeer actually attempted to capture the impression of an image seen in a camera obscura.

The hypothesis that Vermeer might have used a camera obscura while painting the *Girl with the Red Hat* was convincingly argued by Seymour.¹¹ He demonstrated, with the aid of excellent experimental photographs, the close similarity of Vermeer's painterly treatment of the lionhead finial and an unfocused image seen in a camera obscura (figs. 1 and 2). Vermeer exploited this effect to animate his surface and to distinguish different depths of field.¹²

One of the many misconceptions about Vermeer's painting style that has affected theories regarding his use of the camera obscura, including that of Seymour, is that Vermeer was a realist in the strictest sense, that his paintings faithfully record models, rooms, and furnishings he saw before him.¹³ As is evident in all of his other mature works, the compositions are the product of intense control and refinement. Figures and their environments are subtly interlocked through perspective, proportions, and color. This same mentality must have dictated his artistic procedure whether he viewed his scene directly or through an optical device like a camera obscura. As has been seen, even in this small *Girl with the Red Hat*, which perhaps most closely resembles the effects of a camera obscura of all his images, he shifted and adjusted his forms to maintain his compositional balance. Thus, even though he must

Fig. 3. X-radiograph of 1937.1.53

have referred to an image from a camera obscura when painting *Girl with the Red Hat*, and sought to exploit some of its optical effects, including the intensified colors, accentuated contrasts of light and dark, and circles of confusion, it is most unlikely that he traced the image directly on the panel.¹⁴ The possibility that he traced his more complex compositions is even more remote.

Vermeer's handling of diffused highlights in his paintings, including the *View of Delft* (Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. no. 92), suggests that he used them creatively, as well, and not totally in accordance with their actual appearance in a camera obscura. In the *Girl with the Red Hat* he has accentuated the diffuse yellow highlights on the girl's blue robes, whereas in a camera obscura reflections off unfocused cloth create blurred images. He even painted some of his diffused highlights in the shadows where they would not appear in any circumstance.

The actual manner in which he applied highlights is comparable to that seen in *The Art of Painting*, c. 1667 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 9128). Not only do the specular highlights on the finial share similarities with those on the chandelier in the latter work, but also the diffused highlights on the robe in *Girl with the Red Hat* are comparable to those on the cloth hanging over the front edge of the table in the Vienna painting. These similarities, as well as the comparably generalized forms of the girls' heads in the two paintings, argue for a close chronological relationship. It seems probable that both works were executed around 1666 to 1667, slightly before *The Astronomer* (Louvre, Paris), which is dated 1668.

Vermeer usually painted on canvas, and it is interesting to speculate on the rationale behind his decision to paint on panel in this particular instance.¹⁵ The explanation may simply be that for such a small study panel was a more appropriate support than canvas. The choice of support, however, may also relate to the use of the camera obscura. He may have chosen a hard, smooth surface to lend to his small study the sheen of an image seen in a camera obscura as it is projected onto a ground glass or tautly stretched oiled paper.

Vermeer selected for his painting a panel that had already been used. The image of an unfinished, bust-length portrait of a man with a wide-brimmed hat lies under the *Girl with the Red Hat*. It is visible in



Fig. 4. Infrared reflectogram of 1937.1.53

x-radiographs of the panel (fig. 3) and, as well, in an infrared reflectogram (fig. 4). Since the man is in the reverse position of the girl it is possible to examine his face in the x-radiograph without too much interference from the surface image. The painting style of this face is very different from that of Vermeer. The face is modeled with a number of bold rapid strokes that have not been blended together. The infrared reflectogram reveals a great flourish of strokes to the right of the face that represented the man's long curly hair.

Although it is impossible to attribute a painting to an artist solely on the basis of an x-ray, certain characteristics of the handling of the paint in the underlying image are remarkably similar to those seen in paintings by Carel Fabritius (c. 1622–1654). The small scale of the panel, the subject matter of a male bust, the rough bold strokes and impasto with which the head is painted are all features found in studies by Fabritius from the late 1640s, such as the *Man with a Helmet* in the Groninger Museum, Groningen.¹⁶ At his death Vermeer owned two *tronien* by Fabritius.¹⁷ Since he was an art dealer and may have studied under Fabritius, he could well have owned others during his lifetime.¹⁸

Notes

1. Perhaps the *Girl with the Red Hat* was one of the *tronien* listed with the April 1683 inventory of possessions accruing to Jacob Dissius after her death on 16 June 1682. See Montias 1989, 359, doc. 417.

2. The 1683 inventory of goods accruing to Jacob Dissius after the death of his wife, Magdalena van Ruijven, lists twenty paintings by Vermeer. For the complete transactions between Jacob Dissius and his father Abraham Dissius following Magdalena's death, see Montias 1989, 246–257, 359–360, docs. 417, 420.

3. Montias 1989, 363–364, doc. 439. Item no. 38 in the sale is described as “a *tronie* in antique dress, uncommonly artful”; item no. 39 as “Another ditto Vermeer”; and item no. 40 as “A pendant of the same.”

4. The attribution of the *Girl with the Red Hat* to Vermeer has been doubted by Van Thienen 1949, 23. The painting was rejected by Swillens 1950, 65; Blankert 1975, 167 (1978 English ed.), 172; Brentjens 1985, 54–58; and Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, 200–201. For reactions to Blankert's rejection of this painting, see the reviews by Christopher Brown (Brown 1977, 56–58) and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (Wheelock 1977b, 439–441).

5. Although only a portion of the tapestry is visible, it appears that two rather large-scale figures are depicted behind the girl. The patterned vertical strip on the right is probably the outer border. A. M. Louise E. Muler-Erkelen, keeper of textiles, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, relates this format to late sixteenth-century tapestries of the southern Netherlands. She also notes that the tapestries in Vermeer's paintings belong to the same period (letter in NGA curatorial files).

6. For example, Frans Hals, who apparently invented

the pose, used it often. It is employed in his *Portrait of a Young Man*, 1646/1648 (1937.1.71), to capture an informal, momentary impression of the sitter. He drapes the figure's arm over the chair, subordinating the horizontal for a more active diagonal emphasis. Vermeer minimized the diagonal thrust of the girl's arm by partially obscuring it behind the lion finials of the chair. It is possible that the girl was not sitting on the lion finial chair at all and that Vermeer placed it in the foreground to act as a foil. See Seymour 1964.

7. The first art historian to note this discrepancy was Wilenski 1929, 284–285. He hypothesized that the peculiar arrangement of the finials arose as a result of Vermeer's use of a mirror. His reconstruction of Vermeer's painting procedure, however, is untenable.

8. Blankert 1975, 109, in particular, emphasizes the position of the finials in his arguments against the attribution of the painting to Vermeer.

9. The idea that Vermeer adjusted forms in such a manner is incompatible with those who believe that he totally and faithfully recorded his physical environment. Swillens 1950 was the foremost proponent of this interpretation of Vermeer's manner of painting. This attitude also underlies the writings about Vermeer by Albert Blankert.

10. The literature on Vermeer and the camera obscura is extensive. See in particular Wheelock 1981, note 41.

11. See note 8.

12. He may also have recognized that the peculiarly soft quality of these unfocused highlights would beautifully express the luminosity of pearls. Thus even in paintings like the *Woman Holding a Balance*, whose genesis probably has little to do with the camera obscura, these optical effects are apparent.

13. This misconception lies at the basis of the interpretation of Vermeer's use of the camera obscura advanced by Fink 1971, 493–505. See also note 8.

14. As suggested by Seymour 1964, 323–331.

15. The only other panel painting attributed to Vermeer is the *Young Girl with a Flute* (1942.9.98).

16. Oil on panel, 38.5 x 31 cm; illustrated in Brown 1981, pl. 3.

17. Montias 1989, 339, doc. 364. The term *tronie* had various meanings in the seventeenth century, but generally it denoted a small, relatively inexpensive bust-length figure study. Although such studies could have been commissioned portraits, most were probably figure types, or character studies, produced for the open market.

18. For another small painting in the National Gallery collection where one artist has reused a panel previously painted by another artist by turning the image 180 degrees, see Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn, *Study of an Old Man* (1942.9.63).

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 1913 Hale: 359.
 1925 Barker: 222–227, repro.
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- 1925 Lavallée: 323–324, repro.
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 English ed.: 40, 90, pl. 22).
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Attributed to Johannes Vermeer

1942.9.98 (694)

Girl with a Flute

probably 1665/1670
 Oil on oak, 20 x 17.8 (7⁷/₈ x 7)
 Widener Collection

Technical Notes: The support is a single, vertically grained oak panel with beveled edges on the back. Dendrochronology gives a tree felling date in the early 1650s.¹ The panel has a slight convex warp, a small check in the top edge at the right, and small gouges, rubs, and splinters on the back from nails and handling. A thin, smooth, white chalk ground was ap-

plied overall, followed by a coarse-textured gray ground. A reddish brown dead coloring exists under most areas of the painting and is incorporated into the design in the tapestry.²

Full-bodied paint is applied thinly, forming a rough surface texture in lighter passages. Still-wet paint in the proper right cheek and chin were textured with a fingertip, then glazed translucently. The x-radiograph (fig. 1) shows extensive design modifications: the proper left shoulder was lowered and the neck opening moved to the viewer's left; the collar on this side may have been damaged or scraped down before being reworked in a richer, creamy white. The ear-ring was painted over the second collar. These adjustments preceded the completion of the background tapestry. The proper left sleeve was longer, making the cuff closer to the wrist. Probably at the same time, the fur trim was added to



Fig. 1. X-radiograph of 1642.9.98

Fig. 2. Infrared reflectogram of 1642.9.98



the front of the jacket, covering the lower part of the neck opening. An infrared reflectogram (fig. 2) suggests that changes may also have occurred by the shape of the hat and contour of the arm on the figure's proper right side. In many areas of the whites, particularly in the proper left collar and cuff, a distinctive wrinkling is present, disturbing the surface. Small, irregularly shaped losses over much of the surface may have resulted from abrasion to similar wrinkles that occurred during old restorations. The blue of the jacket has a lumpy texture with unusual traction crackle.

Disfiguring, coarse retouching covers the numerous small losses. The painting is in restoration.

Provenance: Possibly Pieter Claesz. van Ruijven [1624–1674], Delft; possibly by inheritance to his wife, Maria de Knuijt [d. 1681], Delft; possibly by inheritance to her daughter, Magdalena van Ruijven [1655–1682], Delft; possibly by inheritance to her husband, Jacobus Abrahamsz. Dissius [1653–1695], Delft;³ (sale, Amsterdam, 16 May 1696, probably no. 39 or 40).⁴ Possibly the van Son family; Jan Mahie van Boxel en Liempde and his wife, Geertruida van Boxel en Liempde [née van Son, d. 1876], 's-Hertogenbosch; purchased from the estate by their daughter, Jaqueline Gertrude Marie de Grez [Dowager de Grez, née Mahie van Boxel en Liempde, d. 1917], Brussels, wife of Jonkheer Jan de Grez [d. 1910]; sold 1911 to (Antiquar Jonas, Paris). August Janssen, Amsterdam. (Jacques Goudstikker, Amsterdam, by 1919); purchased jointly April 1921 by (M. Knoedler & Co., New York, and Frederick Muller & Co., Amsterdam); sold February 1923 to Joseph E. Widener; inheritance from Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, after purchase by funds of the Estate.

Exhibited: Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1907; *La Collection Goudstikker d'Amsterdam*, Pulchri Studio. The Hague, 1919, no. 131.

THE GIRL WITH A FLUTE, the only painting on panel attributed to Vermeer other than the *Girl with the Red Hat* (1937.1.53), is a work whose attribution has frequently been brought into question.⁵ Partially because of their wood supports and similarly small scale, and partially because of subject matter, these two works have frequently been cited as companion pieces and accepted or rejected together. They may even have been considered companion pieces in the Dissius sale in Amsterdam in 1696.⁶ Slight differences in the size of the panels, in the compositional arrangement of the figures, and in the quality of execution have led me to argue in previous publications that the paintings are not companion pieces and that the attribution of the *Girl with a Flute* to Vermeer could not be maintained.⁷ Subsequently, I have concluded that removing the *Girl with a Flute* from Vermeer's oeuvre was too extreme given the complex issues surrounding the nature of the image in its current condition. Until more technical analysis can be undertaken, the most appropriate desig-



Attributed to Johannes Vermeer, *Girl with a Flute*, 1942.9.98

nation for this work would seem to be "Attributed to Johannes Vermeer."⁸

A number of factors point to seventeenth-century origins for the *Girl with a Flute*, and, indeed, relate the work intimately with Vermeer's other paintings. Technically, dendrochronological examination of the panel has determined a felling date in the early 1650s.⁹ A paint sample taken from a yellow highlight on the girl's left sleeve, moreover, indicates the use of seventeenth-century pigments characteristic of Vermeer's paintings: natural ultramarine, azurite, and lead-tin yellow.¹⁰ Stylistically, the jacket worn by the girl is comparable to jackets seen in other works from the late 1650s to the mid-1660s, for example, the *Woman Holding a Balance* (1942.9.97) and *The Concert* in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. Other artists, particularly Gerard ter Borch (q.v.), Gabriel Metsu (q.v.), and Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635–1681), also depict women in similar costumes.

One unusual aspect of the girl's wardrobe is the hat she wears. No exact equivalent exists in any other painting of the period, although similar wide-brimmed hats are frequently found in Dutch prints and drawings of working-class women.¹¹ This hat, however, has an oriental character that may relate to a vogue for oriental dress apparent in the latter decades of the seventeenth century.¹² Chinese hats were generally constructed of woven bamboo. This one appears to have been modified by the addition of a gray, white, and black material covering, presumably to enhance its appearance.¹³ Indeed this strange hat actually reinforces the argument that the origins of this painting are seventeenth century. It would be extremely unlikely for an artist of a later period to include such a hat in a painting that purported to be a Vermeer.

The *Girl with a Flute* and the *Girl with the Red Hat* are so close in concept that one must assume that they were conceived at approximately the same time, most likely in the mid-to-late 1660s. In each painting the young women look toward the viewer with expectant expressions, their eyes alert, their mouths half open. Each wears an exotic hat, sits in a chair with lion finials, and leans on one arm. Behind each of them hangs a tapestry of which only a fragment is visible. In each picture, light entering from the left, an unusual feature in Vermeer paintings, strikes the girl's left cheek, nose, and chin.

The manner in which optical effects of color are exploited in the two works is also comparable, and, in both instances, characteristic of Vermeer. In each painting, he shaded the face by pulling a thin green glaze over the flesh tones, a technique he developed

more extensively in his later works. Colored highlights are a distinctive characteristic of Vermeer's style, and in the *Girl with a Flute* he accented the mouth with a turquoise green highlight in a manner comparable to the pink highlight he applied to the mouth of the *Girl with the Red Hat*. The actual color of the highlight is similar to the green accent in the eye of the *Girl with the Red Hat*. Finally, the sunlit blue jackets worn by the two girls are similarly animated by numerous yellow highlights.

Despite the many stylistic and technical similarities between these paintings, the differences in quality are surprisingly great. The *Girl with a Flute* is a much less successful composition. Whereas the pose of the girl in *Girl with the Red Hat*, as she turns and rests her arm over the back of her chair, subtly integrates suggestions of movement and stability, the frontal pose of the girl in *Girl with a Flute* is flat and immobile. Her hat, left shoulder, and right hand are awkwardly cut by the edge of the panel.¹⁴ The flute, actually recorder, that she holds is curiously undefined and seems inaccurately rendered.¹⁵

Aside from being a less successful composition, the handling of the paint in the *Girl with a Flute* is less assured than in the *Girl with the Red Hat*. The integration of tones and color in the *Girl with a Flute* also lacks the cohesiveness characteristic of Vermeer. Flesh tones in the girl's face are not modulated with the same degree of refinement. Transitions between the shadow of the eye and the sunlit cheek, between the shaded and unshaded portions of the chin, and the areas between the nose and mouth are abrupt.¹⁶ The girl's ill-proportioned hand is painted with a thick impasto. The thumbnail, for example, is indicated by a uniformly dense paint whereas during the mid-1660s Vermeer generally accents only a portion of a nail with a light highlight. Finally, the necklace the girl wears lacks the vibrancy of those he normally depicts. The uniformly thin, dark band has none of the modulations of accent and tone that Vermeer delighted in rendering.

Comparisons of the lion finials in the *Girl with a Flute* and the *Girl with the Red Hat* also point out the relatively unrefined brushwork of the former (fig. 3 and see fig. 1 in 1937.1.53). Whereas the lion finial in the *Girl with the Red Hat* is modeled wet into wet by subtle variations in the weight and thickness of the strokes, the finial in the *Girl with a Flute* does not have the same degree of articulation. The essential vocabulary of thin diffused strokes superimposed by opaque highlights is the same, but the lines necessary to create a sense of volume and form are less successfully integrated.¹⁷

Finally, although in both instances the girls' blue

jackets are animated with diffused yellow highlights, the quality of the execution is not as high. In the *Girl with the Red Hat* the diffused highlights are grouped with a certain optical logic. To heighten the blue color on her shoulder, for example, Vermeer first highlighted the area with light blue strokes and then superimposed a sequence of yellow strokes over the blues. He painted the ridges of the highlighted folds with opaque yellow strokes. The jacket of the *Girl with a Flute* is painted in a similar technique, but the logic of the groupings of the highlights and the surety of the execution are both lacking. The colors are not as fresh and the strokes are not as fluid as those in the *Girl with the Red Hat*.

Despite such distinctions in quality it seems unadvisable to remove *Girl with a Flute* from Vermeer's oeuvre, for it is frequently misleading to judge attribution issues on specific comparisons to a single other painting, particularly when so little is known about the chronology of his works. Indeed, stylistic comparisons can be made with other paintings in Vermeer's oeuvre. The soft modeling of the yellow highlights on the blue jacket of the girl in this painting, for example, is similar to the character of the blue and yellow modeling edging the yellow material that hangs from the turban in *The Girl with a Pearl Earring* from the mid-1660s (Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. no. 670). By the end of the 1660s, moreover, Vermeer begins to create more abrupt transitions in his modeling that are not unrelated to the way in which the face in this painting is handled.

Other complicating factors in trying to come to a determination about the attribution of this painting are that the surface of the painting is not in good condition (see Technical Notes) and the composition was extensively reworked in the seventeenth century. During the reworking the image was substantially altered. The patterns of folds of the collar on both shoulders were altered, the size of the left cuff reduced, and the contour of the right arm changed. Other changes include the addition of the fur trim on the front of the jacket and a reduction in the size of the hat (see Technical Notes). Finally, the girl's finger that rests on the recorder was also apparently added, a change that raises the question as to whether the flute was also added at that time. Without the added finger, the flute could not have been held.

It appears that when the painting was reworked, the initial composition was still at the blocking-in stage.¹⁸ The change in the composition seems to have been made to alter the pose of the figure. By dropping the left shoulder and adjusting the position of the cuff, the woman's pose has been made more



Fig. 3. Detail of lion-head finial in 1942.9.98

frontal. She no longer leans to such a degree on her left arm.

Although the reasons for the extensive reworking of this painting are not known, they may relate to damages in the original design layer. As is evident in the x-radiograph, quite defined losses exist under the white collar on the girl's left shoulder (fig. 1). Other losses exist below her left eye, between her nose and mouth, and on her cuffs and right hand. Just why these losses occurred is not known. Perhaps the initial design was scraped down,¹⁹ or some inherent problem of adhesion existed between the paint layers and the ground. That this latter explanation might account for some of the problem is suggested by the peculiar alligating that occurs in the paint on the woman's cuff and in the thin blues of her jacket.

It is conceivable that the alterations were made by someone other than Vermeer, perhaps to prepare the work for sale. However, Vermeer is not known to have had students or other close followers. Technical evidence, moreover, seems to discount the possibility that the alterations were made significantly after the initial composition was blocked in. The paint characteristics on the surface reflect those of the underlying layer.

The complex issues surrounding the attribution of this little painting can be summarized as follows:

the general character, appearance, and even painting techniques found in the *Girl with a Flute* relate closely to Vermeer's work, specifically to the *Girl with the Red Hat*, but the quality of execution does not appear to be of the same high level expected from this master; while it seems probable that the painting was executed in the mid-1660s, the image was extensively revised, perhaps after portions of the first composition were scraped down by the artist; finally, the unsatisfactory condition of the painting, as a result of abrasion and overpaint, is not only detrimental to the appearance of the image but also complicates any interpretation of the work's stylistic characteristics. It seems appropriate to indicate the uncertainty surrounding the attribution by designating this work: "Attributed to Vermeer."

Notes

1. Joseph Bauch and Peter Klein of the Universität Hamburg gave earliest possible felling dates of 1653 and 1651, respectively. See reports in the conservation files: Bauch, 29 November 1977; and Klein, 29 September 1987.
2. Kühn 1968, 194, analyzed the pigments. More information, however, will be forthcoming after the 1995 restoration is completed. Robert L. Feller, Carnegie Mellon University, found chalk with perhaps a trace of yellow ocher in the ground. His report, dated 12 July 1974, is available in the Scientific Research department, NGA.
3. The 1683 inventory of goods accruing to Jacob Dissius after the death of his wife Magdalena van Ruijven lists twenty paintings by Vermeer. For the complete transactions between her husband Jacob Dissius and his father Abraham Dissius following her death, see Montias 1989, 246–257, 359–360, docs. 417, 420.
4. For this sale see Montias 1989, 363–364, doc. 439.
5. The attribution of this painting to Vermeer was first rejected by Swillens 1950, 64–65. Blankert 1975, 108–110, 168, considered the work to be a nineteenth-century imitation. He restated this view in Blankert 1978, 172, and again in Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, 200–201. A similar opinion is held by Brentjens 1985, 54–58. Wheelock 1977b argued for the seventeenth-century origin of the painting, placing the work in the circle of Vermeer. He expanded upon this theory in Wheelock 1978, 242–257, and in Wheelock 1981, 156. Montias 1989, 265, note 2, proposed that "the painting was begun by Vermeer and finished after his death by an inferior painter, perhaps by Jan Coelenbier, who bought paintings from Vermeer's widow soon after his death." Liedtke in The Hague 1990, 43, on the other hand, defends the attribution to Vermeer. In the forthcoming exhibition catalogue *Johannes Vermeer*, organized by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and Mauritshuis, The Hague, the attribution of this painting as "Circle of Vermeer" reflects the divergent opinions of the National Gallery of Art and the Mauritshuis.
6. The *Girl with a Flute* measures 20 by 17.8 cm. The *Girl with the Red Hat* measures 23.2 by 18.1 cm. Montias 1989, 363–364, doc. 339. Items 38, 39, and 40 are described as "a tronie in antique dress, uncommonly artful"; "Another ditto Vermeer"; and "A pendant of the same." The unusual costumes in the *Girl with the Red Hat* and the *Girl with a*

Flute may well have been seen as depicting "antique dress" by the compiler of the catalogue.

7. See Wheelock 1978, 242–257, and Wheelock 1981, 156, where the painting was designated "Circle of Vermeer."
8. The change in attribution to "Attributed to Johannes Vermeer" was made at the National Gallery of Art in 1983.
9. See Technical Notes.
10. Kühn 1968, 194. These pigments were prevalent in the seventeenth century but not at later dates. Natural ultramarine, one of Vermeer's favorite pigments, is produced from the semiprecious stone lapis lazuli. It was an expensive pigment, prized as much for its intrinsic value as for the luminosity of its blue hue. Around 1830 an artificial means of producing ultramarine was invented in France, which soon supplanted the more expensive natural ultramarine in artists' palettes. Azurite never disappeared as completely as did natural ultramarine from artists' palettes, but it is infrequently found after the seventeenth century. Lead-tin yellow, another pigment frequently found in Vermeer's paintings, gradually was replaced by Naples yellow toward the end of the seventeenth century. It seems to have been unknown from the mid-eighteenth century until it was rediscovered in 1940.
11. A. M. Louise E. Mulder-Erkelens, keeper of textiles, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, has suggested (letter in NGA curatorial files) that the hat may have been intended to suggest some "archaic or exotic characteristics." She related it to hats seen on gypsies and shepherdesses in works by Abraham Bloemaert (1564–1651) and Karl van Mander (1548–1606). She also noted that artists often kept unusual headgear in their studios that could assist in giving chiaroscuro effects to the model's face. See Gudlaugsson 1938, 21. Similar wide-brimmed hats are frequently found in works by Rembrandt and his school. See Held 1969, 11–12.
12. See Slive 1957–1958, 32–39.
13. Thomas Lawton, formerly assistant director, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, has been most helpful in analyzing the nature of this hat.
14. There is no indication that the panel has been trimmed, as was first suggested by Martin 1907a and 1907b, who thought the painting to be a fragment. Not only has the back of the panel been beveled at some early date along all four edges, but also the paint along the edges does not appear fractured in a way that would suggest that it had been trimmed.
15. I am most grateful to Helen Hollis, formerly of the Division of Musical Instruments, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, for her observations on the nature of musical instruments in Vermeer's oeuvre and on the specific character of the "flute" in this painting. Although its fipple mouthpiece is correctly indicated by the double highlight, the air hole below the mouthpiece is placed off-line. As seen in the recorder hanging on the wall in a painting by Judith Leyster (q.v.), it should lie on an axis with the upper lip of the mouthpiece (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. no. NM 1126). The finger holes seen below the girl's hand are turned even further off this axis, although such a placement would be allowable if the recorder were composed of two sections.
16. These abrupt transitions between areas are accentuated in the x-radiograph of the painting (fig. 1).
17. Microscopic examination of the chair finial reveals that the surface is filled with small particles of foreign matter imbedded in the paint. This foreign matter, whether it be dust, brush hairs, or wood splinters, is found throughout the paint. In only one other work by Vermeer have I noted similar foreign matter imbedded in the paint, *The Guitar*

Player (Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, London, datable about 1672).

18. The thinness of the execution on the figure's proper right shoulder and arm is probably indicative of the level to which the painting was initially brought.

19. I am grateful to Melanie Gifford for suggesting this possible explanation.

References

- 1906–1907 Bredius: 385–386.
1907–1927 HdG, I (1907): 591–592, no. 22d.
1907a Martin: 20–23, repro.
1907b Martin: 20.
1907 Hofstede de Groot: 32, 34, no. 42, repro.
1910 Veth: 102–117.
1911 Plietzsch: 55, 78–79, 115 no. 13, repro.
1912 Dreyfous: 29.
1913 Hale: 244, 264–265, 373, repro.
1919 Bode: 79.
1920 Hirschmann: 17–26, 69–77, repro.
1921 Vanzype: 72, repro.
1923 Widener: unpaginated, repro.
1924 Hausenstein: 27, 33 repro.
1925 Constable: 269.
1925 Cortisoz: 47.
1925 Lloyd: 123–128, repro.
1925 Lavallée: 323–324.
1927 Siple: 297–309.
1929 Wilenski: 271, 277, 284 (also 1945 rev. ed.: 178, 187).
1929 Lucas: vii–viii.
1931 Widener: 100, repro.
1932 Valentiner: 305–324.
1932 Hind: 91, repro.
1934 Fell: 22, 67.
1935 Tietze (also 1939 English ed.): 189, repro., 322.
1937 Hale: 132, 143, pl. 28.
1938 Waldmann: 334–343, repro.
1939 Craven: 317–319, color repro. (also 1952 rev. ed.: 127, repro., 159, color repro.).
1939 Plietzsch: 29, 63 no. 39, repro. no. 29 (also 1948

- English ed.: 40, 89–90, pl. 21).
1939 De Vries: 48, 88–89, no. 28, repro. fig. 52.
1940 Bodkin: 67–68.
1940 Goldscheider: 7, 14, pl. 40.
1941 Comstock: 165–170, repro.
1942 Widener: 7.
1946 Blum: 30, 194.
1948 Widener: 64, repro.
1949 Van Thienen: 19, 23, no. 26, repro.
1950 Swillens: 64–65, no. E.
1952 Gowing: 64, 145, repro., color repro. (also 1970 2nd ed.: 146–147, repro.).
1952 Malraux: 94–96, no. xxvi, color repro.
1954 Bloch: 35, pl. 57 (also 1963 English ed.: 35, pl. 57).
1958 Goldscheider: 137 no. 18, color pl. 61.
1961 De Mirimonde: 29–52, repro.
1964 Seymour: 323–331, repro.
1965 NGA: 135.
1966 Descargues: 132–133, color repro. 104.
1966 Emiliani: repro.
1966 Rosenberg, Slive, and Ter Kuile: 122, pl. 96a.
1967 Bianconi: 94, no. 31, repro., color repro. pl. 41.
1967 Koningsberger: 141–142, repro.
1968 NGA: 122, repro.
1968 Kühn: 155–202.
1970 Walicki: 39–40, repro. no. 57.
1973 Fahy and Watson: 313–314, repro.
1973 Mistler: no. 28, color repro.
1974 Grimme: 61, no. 22, repro.
1975 Blankert: 108–110, 168, 203 repro. (also 1978 English ed.: 73–74, 172, cat. B4, color repro.).
1975 NGA: 362, 363, repro.
1976 Wright: 47, repro. no. 21, 81.
1978 Young: 282.
1981 Slatkes: 97–98, repro.
1981 Wheelock: 45, 156, color repro. no. 47.
1985 NGA: 421, repro.
1985 Brentjens: 54–58, repro.
1986 Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias: 200–201, no. B4, repro.
1989 Montias: 265.

Joachim Anthonisz. Wtewael

c. 1566–1638

BORN IN ABOUT 1566, this artist (whose surname is also recorded in such variant forms as Wtewael, Uytewael, Utenwael, and Wtenwael) was the son of Anthonisz Jansz. Wtewael, an Utrecht glass painter. Van Mander records that Joachim worked for his father until the age of eighteen, when he began to study oil painting with the Utrecht artist Joos de Beer (d. 1591). Abraham Bloemaert (1564–1651) was also a pupil of De Beer, whose works were influenced

by both the Italianate Flemish and Fontainebleau schools of painting.

In 1586, after two years with De Beer, Wtewael traveled to Italy in the retinue of Charles de Bourgneuf de Cucé, bishop of Saint Malo. He worked for the bishop for the next four years—two of them in Padua and two in France—before returning to Utrecht. In 1592 he joined the city's Saddlers' Guild, because at that time Utrecht had no artists'

guild. When one was established in 1611, Wtewael was a founding member. He was also active in various spheres unrelated to the arts, notably local politics, serving on Utrecht's city council in 1610, and again from 1632 to 1636. A Calvinist and staunch patriot, he also assisted in 1618 in the overthrow of the Remonstrant magistracy of Utrecht and its replacement with a Calvinist administration loyal to the House of Orange. Other activities included running a flax and linen business—to which, Van Mander complained, Wtewael devoted more energy than he did to his art.

Nonetheless, as Van Mander acknowledged, he did find time to produce a considerable number of paintings. Surviving works range in date from the early 1590s to 1628 and vary considerably in size, support, and subject. Although the majority represent biblical and mythological subjects, Wtewael also executed portraits and genre scenes. Stylistically, he was influenced by a number of different schools, most notably Venetian, Tuscan, and Dutch (the Haarlem mannerists Hendrick Goltzius [1558–1617] and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem [1562–1638]). He was one of the few Dutch artists who did not abandon mannerism after 1600, and his oeuvre demonstrates no clear stylistic evolution.

Wtewael died in Utrecht on 1 August 1638, having survived his wife, Christian van Halen, by nine years. He had four children, one of whom, Peter (1596–1660), was a painter who worked in his style.

Bibliography

- Van Mander 1604/1618: 296–297.
Lindeman 1929.
Lowenthal 1986a.
Brown/MacLaren 1992: 501–502.

1972.11.1 (2610)

Moses Striking the Rock

1624
Oil on oak, 44.6 x 66.7 (17⁵/₁₆ x 26¹/₄)
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund

Inscriptions

Signed and dated at lower left: *J Wt|wael fecit| Anno 1624*

Technical Notes: The support is a single, horizontally grained oak panel with narrow, oak edge strips attached to edges beveled on the back. Paint is applied over an exceedingly thin, smooth white ground in small, precise fluid strokes blended wet into wet, with slightly impasted high-

lights. A history of flaking has resulted in scattered small losses throughout the paint layer, particularly in the trees, distant and shadowed figures, and horse. Losses are retouched and design elements are reinforced with later repaint. No major conservation has been carried out since acquisition.

Provenance: H. C. Erhardt, Esq., London, by 1892; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 19–22 June 1892, no. 273, as by J. B. de Wael); “Leffer” or “Lepper.”¹ Francis Howard, Esq., Dorking, by 1955; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 25 November 1955, no. 52, as by J. B. de Wael); (Arcade Gallery, London);² Vincent Korda, London; (Arcade Gallery, London, in 1967); Vincent Korda, London; (Edward Speelman, London, in 1972).³

Exhibited: *A Loan Exhibition of Pictures*, Art Gallery of the Corporation of London, Guildhall, 1892, no. 99 (as by Jan Baptist de Wael). *Recent Acquisitions: Mannerist and Baroque Paintings*, Arcade Gallery, London, 1967, no. 23. *Gods, Saints, and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt*, National Gallery of Art, Washington; Detroit Institute of Arts; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1980 (only shown in Washington), 46–47.

THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL had found fault with Moses during their long exodus from Egypt because they had no water to drink. When Moses and his brother the High Priest Aaron appealed to the Lord for help, Moses was told to take the rod that he had used to part the waters of the Red Sea and strike the rock at Horeb. The Lord told him that he would be by him, and that when he struck the rock water would “come out of it, that the people may drink” (Exodus 17:6). “And Moses lifted up his hand and struck the rock with his rod twice, and water came forth abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their cattle” (Numbers 20:11). This dramatic miracle, so instrumental to the successful outcome of the Israelites’ strenuous voyage to the Promised Land, is the central moment of this highly evocative painting by Joachim Wtewael. Moses, accompanied by Aaron, is in the process of striking the rock. The water streaming from it has already created deep pools from which the surrounding Israelites and their animals drink and refresh themselves.

Wtewael’s emphasis in this exquisitely refined painting, however, is not on the miraculous nature of the event, but rather on the life-sustaining character of the water that Moses and Aaron have released.⁴ Except for the agitated pose of a man in the background who directs a caravan to the pools of water, no one seems in the least astounded by the miracle. A woman in the left foreground lies languidly on her side while her child sips contentedly from a small cup. Most of the Israelites are intent on scooping up water from the ground with pails and pitchers: two



Joachim Wtewael, *Moses Striking the Rock*, 1972.11.1

mothers, each grasping her child with one arm, hold dishes under the stream of water coming from the rock; others drink the refreshing liquid from hats, cups, and pitchers. Despite the plethora of elegantly and brightly clothed figures, their animals, and the utensils in the setting, the mood is surprisingly quiet and subdued as man and beast alike pause to accept the goodness of God's bounty.

Traditionally, the water that poured from the rock and refreshed the Israelites was understood symbolically as the gift of God's salvation, salvation granted through the actions of their leader Moses. The rock was likened to Christ and the water that flowed from it was seen as the blood flowing from the wounds suffered at his crucifixion. Thus the episode was typologically associated with the Eucharist and with Christ's forgiveness and man's redemption.⁵

The story also had specific significance to the Dutch, who often found historic parallels between their own history and biblical narratives, associating the tribulations of the early Jews with their own

struggles for independence against Spanish domination. The leader of their revolt, William the Silent, was likened to Moses in that while he personified the identity of the nation he also failed to reach the promised land that he had envisioned.⁶ Even before his assassination in 1584, however, an association had been established between William the Silent and Moses, which became part of Dutch mythology. In 1581 Hendrick Goltzius surrounded his portrait of the Prince of Orange with scenes from the life of Moses, the pillars of clouds and fire, the burning bush, and the passage through the Red Sea (fig. 1). As with the miraculous scene depicted by Wtewael, the passage through the Red Sea focused on the powerful symbolism of water in the Moses legend. For the Dutch, whose land was both nourished and protected by water, the imagery suggested that God's beneficence had guided their destiny just as it had that of the Israelites.

The allegorical associations contained in this work are consistent with Wtewael's own religious and political convictions. Although born a Catholic, Wtewael became a fervent Calvinist and firm advocate of the House of Orange. He felt strongly that the Dutch republic, under the leadership of the House of Orange, ought to continue the struggle to fulfill William the Silent's original goal of a United Netherlands and should not accept the compromise solution manifested in the Twelve-Year Truce of 1609, whereby the southern provinces would remain under Spanish domination. He expressed these concerns in both his art and his political activities.⁷ As early as 1595 he designed a stained-glass window for the Cathedral of Gouda that depicted Holland's Chariot of Freedom of Conscience victorious over Spain and Idolatry. In 1605 he engraved a cycle of scenes of *Thronus Justitiae*, which depicted historical exempla of justice that had clear propagandistic overtones. Shortly after the Twelve-Year Truce was signed, he designed a series of political allegories, personified by the maid *Belgica*, that focused on many of the famous patriotic incidents in the Eighty Years' War and argued for a United Netherlands. Finally, in 1610 he participated in a revolt of Calvinist and Roman Catholic burghers against the domination of Arminian (also known as Remonstrant) officials in the Utrecht government. He subsequently served on the city council.

The decision to paint this scene in 1624 may reflect an effort to revitalize the allegorical connections between Moses and the House of Orange after the conclusion of the Truce in 1621, at a time when Prince Maurits and Prince Frederik Hendrik were renewing their military efforts against Spanish ag-

Fig. 1. Hendrick Goltzius, *William of Orange*, engraving, 1581, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



gression. One may assume because of the complexity of the scene and refinement of the image that the painting was commissioned by, or at least was painted for, a specific patron. No surviving documents, however, elucidate this matter.⁸

Not much is known of Wtewael's working procedure, but in this instance a fragment of an elaborate preparatory drawing for the painting is preserved in the Albertina in Vienna (fig. 2).⁹ Surprisingly, given his penchant to reuse elements from his own works, none of the motifs in this richly varied painting appear to be exact quotations from his earlier images, although Lowenthal has identified close prototypes in a number of instances.¹⁰ Lowenthal also suggests that Wtewael adapted the child in the lower left from a painting by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem.¹¹

While Wtewael apparently derived his scene from careful readings of both biblical texts in which this story appears (Exodus 17:1–7 and Numbers 20:2–13), he carefully constructed his composition along mannerist principles outlined by Karel van Mander in *Den Grondt der Edel vrij Schilder-Const*, a long didactic poem on the rules of art that Van Mander published in his *Het Schilder-Boek* of 1604.¹² In the chapter entitled “Van der Ordinanty ende Inveny der Historien” [On the Composition and Invention of History Pieces], Van Mander describes how the corners of the composition should be filled with large *repoussoir* figures, while the composition should be arranged in a circular fashion around a central focal point “in such a way that a number of figures encircle the focus of the story, which remains standing as the center of the picture...” The painting should also have variety: “a profusion of horses, dogs and other domestic animals, as well as beasts and birds of the forest; but it is particularly pleasing to behold fresh youths and beautiful maidens, old men, matrons, and children of all ages.” Finally, Van Mander recommends discreetly introducing witnesses who appear behind and to the side of the central event and comment upon it. In every respect Wtewael has followed Van Mander's recommendations, enlivening them still further with striking colors and effective use of light and shade.¹³ Particularly remarkable in this work is Wtewael's delicate touch, seen in the way he has articulated the textures and people's expressions. The surface shimmers with light and color as the scene unfolds before us.¹⁴

Notes

1. Christie's in London no longer has its records from 1931 and thus was not able to help clarify the buyer's name. See correspondence from 25 September 1986 and 7 November 1986, in NGA curatorial files.



Fig. 2. Joachim Wtewael, *Moses Striking the Rock*, 1624, preparatory drawing, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

2. Information for this and the following provenance listing is taken from Arcade Gallery letter, 3 March 1987, in NGA curatorial files.

3. Anthony Speelman letter, 23 January 1987, in NGA curatorial files, states that Edward Speelman had bought the *Moses Striking the Rock* from Vincent Korda prior to selling it to the National Gallery of Art.

4. This observation was first made by Tümpel 1983, 314.

5. Lowenthal 1974, 134–135.

6. For a full discussion of the symbolic relationships the Dutch felt between themselves and the story of Moses see Schama 1987, 87–101.

7. For Wtewael's political attitudes see McGrath 1975, 209–217.

8. Lowenthal 1974, 135, speculates that the painting was commissioned for a “private chapel or a clandestine Catholic church.” Because of Wtewael's fervent Calvinist beliefs, however, it seems unlikely that he would have received a commission for such a location.

9. The drawing measures 9¼ x 12 in. (24.6 x 30.5 cm). It seems to have been trimmed on all sides. The four corners are later additions. It is inv. no. 8132.

10. Lowenthal 1974, 137–138.

11. Lowenthal 1986a, 151.

12. The following English translations of this text are taken from Broos 1975/1976, 202–203.

13. Lowenthal 1974, 136, identifies compositional similarities between this work and Venetian paintings by Leandro Bassano and Jacopo Tintoretto that Wtewael might have seen when he was in Italy in the 1580s. These Venetian connections, however, seem more generic than specific.

14. I would like to thank Karen Lee Bowen for her assistance in compiling this entry.

References

- 1892 London: no. 99 (as by Jan Baptist de Wael).
1974 Lowenthal 6: 125–141, 124, fig. 1.
1975 NGA: 358–359, repro.
1980 Washington: 46–47, fig. 1.
1983 Philadelphia: 18.
1983 Hofmann in Hamburg: 314–315, fig. 15.
1983 Tümpel: 314.
1984 Wheelock: 9, repro.
- 1985 Bosque: 94, 95, repro.
1985 London: 90.
1985 NGA: 440, repro.
1986 Sutton: 454.
1986 Wansink: 3, 4, fig. 2.
1986a Lowenthal: 41, 50–51, 55, cat. A–88, 151–152,
color pl. 22.
1992 NGA: 122, color repro.

Appendix of Signatures and Monograms

The signatures and monograms compiled here represent only a portion of the signed paintings by seventeenth-century Dutch artists in the National Gallery of Art's collection. Only those signatures that could be reproduced with sufficient clarity have been included.



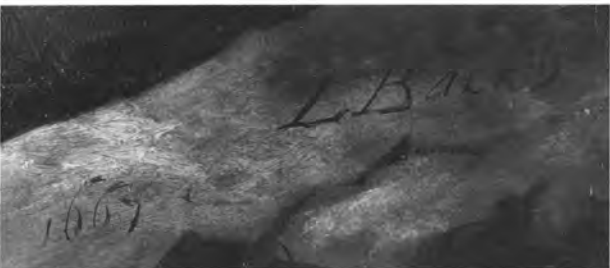
Willem van Aelst, *Still Life with Dead Game* (p. 2)



Balthasar van der Ast, *Basket of Fruits* (p. 6)



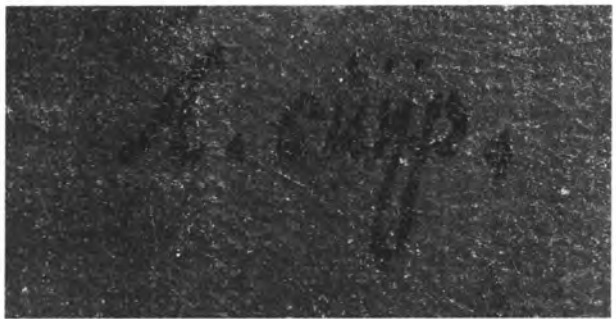
Hendrick Avercamp, *A Scene on the Ice* (p. 11)



Ludolf Backhuysen, *Ships in Distress off a Rocky Coast* (p. 17)



Aelbert Cuyp, *The Maas at Dordrecht* (p. 39)



Aelbert Cuyp, *Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle* (p. 47)



Aelbert Cuyp, *Lady and Gentleman on Horseback* (p. 53)



Gerard Dou, *The Hermit* (p. 59)



Jan van Goyen, *View of Dordrecht from the Dordtse Kil* (p. 63)



Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Vase of Flowers* (p. 105)



Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Young Man* (p. 84)



Meindert Hobbema, *The Travelers* (p. 115)



Gerret Willemsz. Heda, *Still Life with Ham* (p. 97)



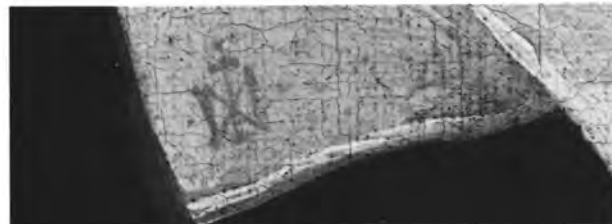
Meindert Hobbema, *A Wooded Landscape* (p. 119)



Willem Claesz. Heda, *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie* (p. 101)



Meindert Hobbema, *A View on a High Road* (p. 125)



Willem Claesz. Heda, *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie* (p. 101) (unidentified monogram)



Jan van Huysum, *Flowers in an Urn* (p. 144)



Nicolaes Maes, *An Old Woman Dozing over a Book* (p. 161)



Paulus Potter, *A Farrier's Shop* (p. 199)



Abraham Mignon, *A Hanging Bouquet of Flowers* (p. 173)



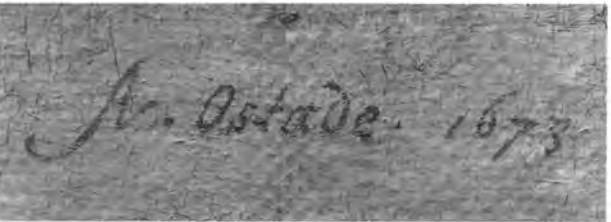
Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop (probably Govaert Flinck), *Man in Oriental Costume* (p. 217)



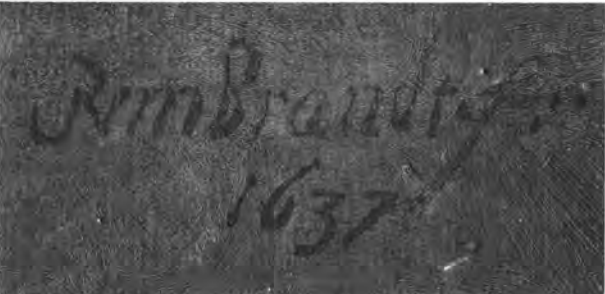
Aert van der Neer, *Moonlit Landscape with Bridge* (p. 183)



Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop, *An Old Lady with a Book* (p. 227)



Adriaen van Ostade, *The Cottage Dooryard* (p. 189)



Rembrandt van Rijn, *A Polish Nobleman* (p. 223)



Isack van Ostade, *Workmen before an Inn* (p. 195)



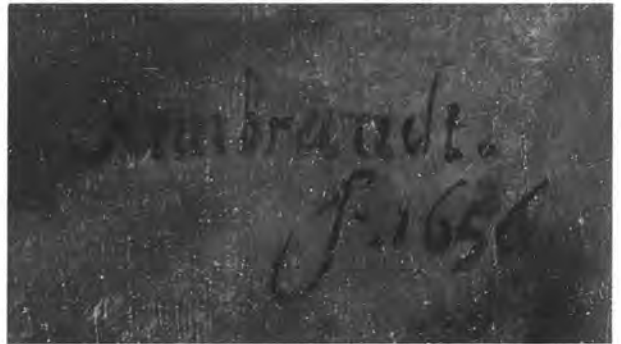
Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop, *The Apostle Paul*
(p. 243)



Rembrandt Workshop, *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife* (p. 317)



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-Portrait* (p. 263)



Rembrandt Workshop, *A Woman Holding a Pink* (p. 323)



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Lucretia* (p. 281)



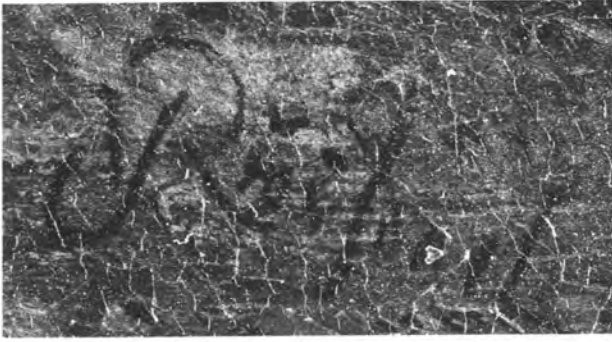
Jacob van Ruisdael, *Forest Scene* (p. 341)



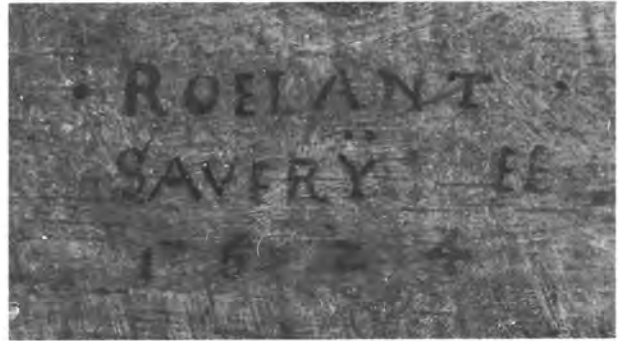
Rembrandt Workshop (possibly Carel Fabritius), *A Girl with a Broom* (p. 289)



Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landscape* (p. 344)



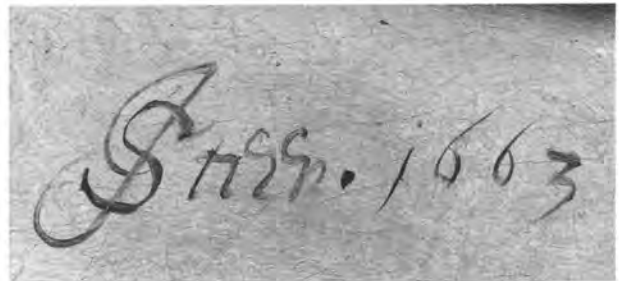
Jacob van Ruisdael, *Country House in a Park* (p. 347)



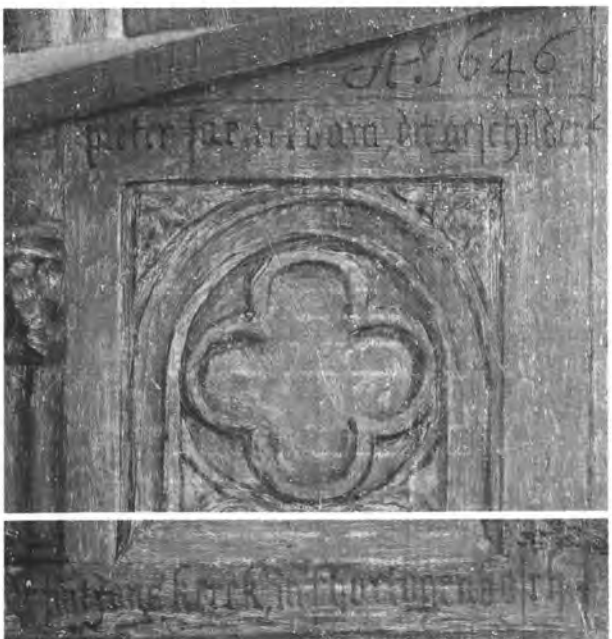
Roelandt Savery, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* (p. 361)



Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *Church of Santa Maria della Febbre, Rome* (p. 351)



Jan Steen, *The Dancing Couple* (p. 365)



Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *Cathedral of St. John at 's-Hertogenbosch* (p. 355)



Johannes Vermeer, *Girl with the Red Hat* (p. 383)



Joachim Anthonisz. Wtewael, *Moses Striking the Rock* (p. 395)

Appendix of Works Now in the Special Collection

Imitator of Johannes Vermeer
The Lacemaker
1937.1.54 (SP-23)

Imitator of Johannes Vermeer
The Smiling Girl
1937.1.55 (SP-24)

Dutch 18th Century
The Harbor
1964.19.4 (1918)

Imitator of Abraham Bosschaert
Vase of Flowers in a Niche
1992.51.3

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Abbreviations of Frequently Cited Institutions

F A R L	Frick Art Reference Library, New York
N G A	National Gallery of Art, Washington
R K D	Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague

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Concordance of Old-New Titles

Titles changed since publication by the National Gallery of Art of *European Paintings: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Washington, 1985).

<i>Artist</i>	<i>Accession Number</i>	<i>Old Title</i>	<i>New Title</i>
Circle of Jacob Adriaensz. Bellevois	1947.3.1	Ships in the Scheldt Estuary	Dutch Ships in a Lively Breeze
Frans Hals	1937.1.68	Portrait of an Officer	Portrait of a Member of the Haarlem Civic Guard
Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop (probably Govaert Flinck)	1940.1.13	A Turk	Man in Oriental Costume
Rembrandt Workshop	1942.9.70	Self-Portrait	Portrait of Rembrandt
Rembrandt van Rijn	1937.1.77	A Young Man Seated at a Table	A Young Man Seated at a Table (possibly Govaert Flinck)

Concordance of Old-New Attributions

Attributions changed since publication by the National Gallery of Art
of *European Paintings: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Washington, 1985).

<i>Old Attribution</i>	<i>Accession Number</i>	<i>New Attribution</i>
Style of Hendrick van Anthonissen	1947.3.1	Circle of Jacob Adriaensz. Bellevois
Willem Kalf	1974.109.1	After Willem Kalf
Rembrandt van Rijn	1937.1.73	Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop
Rembrandt van Rijn	1937.1.74	Rembrandt Workshop (possibly Carel Fabritius)
Rembrandt van Rijn	1937.1.75	Rembrandt Workshop
Rembrandt van Rijn	1937.1.79	Rembrandt Workshop
Rembrandt van Rijn	1940.1.13	Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop (probably Govaert Flinck)
Rembrandt van Rijn	1942.9.59	Rembrandt van Rijn (and Workshop?)
Rembrandt van Rijn	1942.9.70	Rembrandt Workshop
Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn (possibly Willem Drost)	1942.9.66	Rembrandt Workshop (possibly Willem Drost)
Style of Rembrandt van Rijn	1942.9.63	Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn
Style of Rembrandt van Rijn	1956.1.1	Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn
After Rembrandt van Rijn	1942.9.61	Rembrandt Workshop (probably Constantijn van Renesse)

Concordance of New-Old Accession Numbers

1937.1.51	51	Adriaen Hanneman, <i>Henry, Duke of Gloucester</i>
1937.1.53	53	Johannes Vermeer, <i>Girl with the Red Hat</i>
1937.1.56	56	Pieter de Hooch, <i>A Dutch Courtyard</i>
1937.1.57	57	Gabriel Metsu, <i>The Intruder</i>
1937.1.58	58	Gerard ter Borch II, <i>The Suitor's Visit</i>
1937.1.59	59	Aelbert Cuyp, <i>Herdsmen Tending Cattle</i>
1937.1.60	60	Meindert Hobbema, <i>A Farm in the Sunlight</i>
1937.1.61	61	Meindert Hobbema, <i>A Wooded Landscape</i>
1937.1.62	62	Meindert Hobbema, <i>A View on a High Road</i>
1937.1.63	63	Nicolaes Maes, <i>An Old Woman Dozing over a Book</i>
1937.1.67	67	Frans Hals, <i>Portrait of an Elderly Lady</i>
1937.1.68	68	Frans Hals, <i>Portrait of a Member of the Haarlem Civic Guard</i>
1937.1.69	69	Frans Hals, <i>Willem Coymans</i>
1937.1.70	70	Frans Hals, <i>Adriaen van Ostade</i>
1937.1.71	71	Frans Hals, <i>Portrait of a Young Man</i>
1937.1.72	72	Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Self-Portrait</i>
1937.1.73	73	Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop, <i>An Old Lady with a Book</i>
1937.1.74	74	Rembrandt Workshop (possibly Carel Fabritius), <i>A Girl with a Broom</i>
1937.1.75	75	Rembrandt Workshop, <i>A Woman Holding a Pink</i>
1937.1.76	76	Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Lucretia</i>
1937.1.77	77	Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>A Young Man Seated at a Table (possibly Govaert Flinck)</i>
1937.1.78	78	Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>A Polish Nobleman</i>
1937.1.79	79	Rembrandt Workshop, <i>Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife</i>
1940.1.12	498	Frans Hals, <i>A Young Man in a Large Hat</i>
1940.1.13	499	Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop (probably Govaert Flinck), <i>Man in Oriental Costume</i>
1940.2.1	501	Aelbert Cuyp, <i>The Maas at Dordrecht</i>
1942.9.15	611	Aelbert Cuyp, <i>Lady and Gentleman on Horseback</i>
1942.9.16	612	Aelbert Cuyp, <i>Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle</i>
1942.9.28	624	Frans Hals, <i>Portrait of a Man</i>
1942.9.29	625	Frans Hals, <i>Portrait of a Gentleman</i>
1942.9.30	626	Meindert Hobbema, <i>Hut among Trees</i>
1942.9.31	627	Meindert Hobbema, <i>The Travelers</i>
1942.9.32	628	Meindert Hobbema, <i>Village near a Pool</i>
1942.9.33	629	Pieter de Hooch, <i>The Bedroom</i>
1942.9.34	630	Pieter de Hooch, <i>Woman and Child in a Courtyard</i>
1942.9.48	644	Adriaen van Ostade, <i>The Cottage Dooryard</i>
1942.9.49	645	Isack van Ostade, <i>The Halt at the Inn</i>
1942.9.52	648	Paulus Potter, <i>A Farrier's Shop</i>
1942.9.58	654	Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Head of Saint Matthew</i>
1942.9.59	655	Rembrandt van Rijn (and Workshop?), <i>The Apostle Paul</i>
1942.9.60	656	Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>The Circumcision</i>
1942.9.61	657	Rembrandt Workshop (probably Constantijn van Renesse), <i>The Descent from the Cross</i>
1942.9.62	658	Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>The Mill</i>
1942.9.63	659	Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Study of an Old Man</i>
1942.9.64	660	Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Head of an Aged Woman</i>
1942.9.65	661	Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Philemon and Baucis</i>
1942.9.66	662	Rembrandt Workshop (possibly Willem Drost), <i>The Philosopher</i>
1942.9.67	663	Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Portrait of a Gentleman with a Tall Hat and Gloves</i>
1942.9.68	664	Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Portrait of Lady with an Ostrich-Feather Fan</i>
1942.9.69	665	Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Portrait of a Man in a Tall Hat</i>
1942.9.70	666	Rembrandt Workshop, <i>Portrait of Rembrandt</i>
1942.9.71	667	Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Saskia van Uylenburgh, the Wife of the Artist</i>
1942.9.80	676	Jacob van Ruisdael, <i>Forest Scene</i>

1942.9.8.1	677	Jan Steen, <i>The Dancing Couple</i>
1942.9.9.7	693	Johannes Vermeer, <i>Woman Holding a Balance</i>
1942.9.9.8	694	Attributed to Johannes Vermeer, <i>Girl with a Flute</i>
1943.7.8	745	Willem Kalf, <i>Still Life</i>
1947.3.1	890	Circle of Jacob Adriaensz. Bellevois, <i>Dutch Ships in a Lively Breeze</i>
1949.6.1	1050	Judith Leyster, <i>Self-Portrait</i>
1956.1.1	1443	Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Old Woman Plucking a Fowl</i>
1960.2.1	1551	Jacob van Ruisdael, <i>Country House in a Park</i>
1960.6.10	1562	Studio of Gerard ter Borch II, <i>The Music Lesson</i>
1960.6.8	1560	Gerard Dou, <i>The Hermit</i>
1961.5.4	1648	Michiel van Miereveld, <i>Portrait of a Lady with a Ruff</i>
1961.6.1	1649	Jan Davidsz. de Heem, <i>Vase of Flowers</i>
1961.9.3.3	1395	Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, <i>Cathedral of Saint John at 's-Hertogenbosch</i>
1961.9.3.4	1396	Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, <i>Church of Santa Maria della Febbre, Rome</i>
1961.9.8.5	1637	Jacob van Ruisdael, <i>Landscape</i>
1962.10.1	1664	Johannes Vermeer, <i>A Lady Writing</i>
1967.3.1	2315	Hendrick Avercamp, <i>A Scene on the Ice</i>
1968.13.1	2349	Jan van der Heyden, <i>An Architectural Fantasy</i>
1972.11.1	2610	Joachim Anthonisz. Wtewael, <i>Moses Striking the Rock</i>
1974.10.9.1	2676	After Willem Kalf, <i>Still Life with Nautilus Cup</i>
1976.26.2	2695	Philip van Kouwenbergh, <i>Flowers in a Vase</i>
1977.21.1	2706	Adriaen van Ostade, <i>Tavern Scene</i>
1977.7.1	2705	Jan van Huysum, <i>Flowers in an Urn</i>
1978.11.1	2720	Jan van Goyen, <i>View of Dordrecht from the Dordtse Kil</i>
1979.27.1	2765	Adam Pynacker, <i>Wooded Landscape with Travelers</i>
1982.36.1	2858	Willem van Aelst, <i>Still Life with Dead Game</i>
1985.16.1		Gerret Willemsz. Heda, <i>Still Life with Ham</i>
1985.29.1		Ludolf Backhuysen, <i>Ships in Distress off a Rocky Coast</i>
1986.10.1		Pieter Molijn, <i>Landscape with Open Gate</i>
1986.70.1		Aelbert Cuyp, <i>River Landscape with Cows</i>
1989.22.1		Roelandt Savery, <i>Landscape with the Flight into Egypt</i>
1989.23.1		Abraham Mignon, <i>Still Life with Fruit, Fish, and a Nest</i>
1990.6.1		Aert van der Neer, <i>Moonlit Landscape with Bridge</i>
1990.62.1		Nicolaes Pietersz. Berchem, <i>View of an Italian Port</i>
1991.64.1		Isack van Ostade, <i>Workmen before an Inn</i>
1991.87.1		Willem Claesz. Heda, <i>Banquet Piece with Mince Pie</i>
1992.51.1		Balthasar van der Ast, <i>Basket of Fruits</i>
1992.51.2		Balthasar van der Ast, <i>Basket of Flowers</i>
1992.51.5		Abraham Mignon, <i>A Hanging Bouquet of Flowers</i>