OLD MASTERS

2016

SALOMON LILIAN

OLD MASTERS

2016

Rue Verdaine 6
CH - 1204 Geneva
Switzerland
Telephone +41 22 310 5688
Fax +41 22 702 9239
E mail: salomonlilian@aol.com

Website: www.salomonlilian.com

Exhibition and research:
Spiegelgracht 5
1017 JP Amsterdam
The Netherlands
Telephone +31 20 6206307
Fax +31 20 6246018
E mail: info@salomonlilian.com

Acknowledgements

In this, already our 23rd, year of producing an annual catalogue of Dutch and Flemish Old Master Paintings, we were able once again to present an interesting collection of fresh *Masterpieces*.

Amongst the recent acquisitions is a masterpiece by *Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy*, a painting which is totally unknown in the literature. Because the painting had not been cleaned for at least 300 years, all the impasto has been preserved, and we will show it this year in all its glory.
Another masterpiece that we discovered is the only signed version of the 'Battle of Lekkerbeetje' by *Sebastian Vrancx*. Although there are many existing versions of this subject, none are signed. The pendant of this work is in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow.
Then we discovered an unknown *Frans van Mieris the Elder*. Unknown in the literature, this painting by Frans van Mieris is an important addition to his oeuvre. This small masterpiece is all about light in a work of art.
Another masterpiece is the early work by *Jan Lievens*. This painting was in a neglected, badly restored condition. After cleaning, the real power of this early *Jan Lievens* emerged. *Jan Lievens's* broad painting technique – his rough manner – is magnificent in this work of circa 1625.
We also discovered one of the finest paintings by *Dominicus van Tol* in a French private collection. Although a minor artist, this work by van Tol is a small masterpiece in its own right. The light is beautiful in this very atmospheric painting.
We should not forget the 'Philosopher in his study' by *Salomon Koninck*, which also had not been cleaned for 200 years. Now one sees again the impressionistic touch of the artist in the background. With the Rembrandtesque clair-obscure, this remarkably fresh masterpiece by *Salomon Koninck* is a splendid work of art.
Another of our best paintings is an amazing work by a small artist, *Jan Woutersz Stap*. The Amsterdam artist painted 'The Money Changer' of circa 1630, clearly influenced by Marinus van Reymerwaele and Quinten Massys. This is also one of the best and most exciting works by the artist.
Another very interesting painting is the 'Hunting Scene with an Eagle Owl' by *Dirk Valkenburg*. This large, striking painting on canvas, in mint condition, is the only known representation of an eagle owl in Dutch Art.
Finally we have some other captivating Music paintings; the beautiful music making company by *Jan Miense Molenaer*, and the 'Young man holding a Violin' by *Matthias Stom*.
To sum up, this year we have a catalogue full of life, bravura and music!

I would like to thank Fred G. Meijer who wrote the entry on the painting by Dirk Valkenburg, I am thankful to Wendela Wagenaar-Burgemeister and Jasper Hillegers, who conducted the entire project as well as thorough art historical research on the paintings before writing the entries, and to Natasha Broad, who edited them.

Salomon Lilian
February 2016

cat. no.

1 Quiringh Gerritsz van Brekelenkam
2 Edwaert Collier
3 Frans Francken the Younger
4 Salomon Koninck
5 Jan Lievens
6 Frans van Mieris the Elder
7 Jan Miense Molenaer
8 Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy
9 David Ryckaert III
10 Jan Woutersz Stap
11 Matthias Stom
12 Domenicus van Tol
13 Dirk Valkenburg
14 Sebastiaan Vrancx
15 Adriaen van der Werff

cat. no. 1

Quiringh Gerritsz van Brekelenkam
Zwammerdam after 1622 – after 1669 Leiden

Interior with Card Players

Signed lower right *Q V Brekelenkam . f . 1648*
Oil on panel
39 x 50 cm.

Provenance:
Berlin, collection C. Beer
Berlin, collection Paul Schwabach (1867-1938) (handed over in 1931 as deposit to Gebr. Arnhold Bank, Dresden/ Berlin; in 1934 stored in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)
Collection Adolf Arnhold (1884-1950), 1937- until at least 16 December 1938
Dieren, D. Katz Gallery
Amsterdam, Goudstikker/Miedl Gallery, 14 August 1940
Berlin, collection Dr. E. Quitzbach
Collection Hermann Goëring
Nederlands Kunstbezit, 1947
The Hague, Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties (later ICN, RCE), inv. no. 2924
England, private collection, after 17 December 2012 (restitution)

Literature:
A. Woltmann, K. Woermann, *Geschichte der Malerei*, 4 vols., Leipzig 1878-1888, 3 (1888), p. 798
A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon auf Grund archivalischer Forschungen bearbeitet*, 3 vols., Vienna 1906-1911, 1, p. 181 (Berlin, collection Beer)
P.C. Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth Century Dutch Genre Painting*, exh. cat. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, London, Royal Academy of Arts 1984, p. 161, note 1
E.A. Honig, in: E.J. Sluijter et al., *Leidse Fijnschilders : Van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge 1630-1760*, exh. cat. Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal 1988, pp. 81-82, as dated 164(7?), or 1644
A. Lasius, *Quiringh van Brekelenkam*, Doornspijk 1992, p. 8, note 3, pp. 13, 156, cat. no. B43

Quiringh van Brekelenkam was in all probability born in Zwammerdam after 1622, as the son of Gerrit Adriaensz de Plutter and his wife Magdalena Crijnendr.[1] Nothing is known about his upbringing, nor about his apprenticeship. Although Gerard Dou (1613-1675) is traditionally mentioned as his teacher, there is no evidence to support this. Brekelenkam is first documented in March 1648 – the year of the present painting – when he was among the founding members of the Leiden Guild of St Luke. A month later, in April, he married Marie Jansdr Charle, and in the following years six children were born. In 1655 Maria died, and a year later Brekelenkam married Elisabeth van Beaumont, with whom he was to have three children. Brekelenkam was always short of money, as is confirmed both by documents and by his eighteenth century biographers. According to an anonymous author, Brekelenkam was short of stature, was very funny and gifted at imitating people, and yet was burdened with a huge family and hence little means. Jacob Campo Weyerman's (1677-1744) rather anecdotal statement that Van Brekelenkam was a habitué of Jan Steen's (1626-1679) inn, where he would have hung out with Frans van Mieris (1635-1681), Ary de Vois (c. 1632-1680) and Jan Lievens (1607-1674), seems hard to believe.[2] Likewise, the often stated belief that in order to make ends meet, he



obtained a licence to sell beer and brandy, can be disregarded, since the document on which this assumption is based dates from long after the painter's death, and must therefore refer to someone else. Van Brekelenkam's last payment to the Guild of St Luke dates from 1667, and his last work dates from 1669, suggesting he might have died from the Plague, which took thousands of casualties in Leiden in 1669-1670. Van Brekelenkam is mostly known for his genre works, the majority of which are domestic interiors and workshop scenes. In addition, he painted a range of hermits, a handful of portraits and some still lifes. Although Brekelenkam's subject matter is often relatable to the Leiden school of *Fijnschilders* – with whom he is sometimes understandably included – his technique seems looser. In keeping with the general fashionable tendencies in the 1660s, Brekelenkam's output of his last decade is more elegant, and his subject matter more inclined towards high life genre. Although his paintings betray his knowledge of the work of such colleagues as Gerard ter Borch (1617-1681), Gebriel Metsu (1629-1667) and Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675), Brekelenkam rarely strived for their level of meticulous execution.

Together with *Old Woman Combing a Child's Hair* in the Leiden Lakenhal, also from 1648, the present *Interior with Card Players* is Brekelenkam's earliest known work.[3] But whereas that work fits in neatly with the Leiden tradition of depicting homely activities and foreshadows the direction in which Brekelenkam would go, the present work treats a different theme, not often encountered in Brekelenkam's subsequent oeuvre.[4] In a rather simple, wooden-floored interior, defined by a backwall with a central mantelpiece and the right wall decorated with a map, two groups of figures make merry. On the left hand side a young girl plays cards with a soldier, who is dressed in a feathered hat, coat and leather boots. A second man, dressed in a grey mantle and a high black hat, leans over the woman and points with his pipe at the woman's hand, no doubt to offer some helpful advice. The empty *berckemeyer* glass on the table clearly requires a refill from the tin tankard on the floor. To the right, a hostess greets a third man by taking his hand. Dressed in a black mantle, a black hat and fancy yellow stockings, he turns towards the viewer with a knowing smile. Another mantle, a leather bag and a sword are thrown on a chair beside him. They could be the soldier's, but since he wears his coat, they could also belong to someone else.

Notwithstanding the title of the painting, the scene depicted is less innocent than meets the eye. The cards, the drinking, the smoking and the ladies, but most of all the right man's all revealing smile at the



Fig. 1 Gerard ter Borch, *The Tric-Trac Game*, c. 1640, oil on panel, 42.5 x 56 cm., Bremen, Kunsthalle

moment the hostess (or procuress) takes his hand, make clear that we are looking at a brothel. That theme boasts an age old pictorial tradition, but within the more or less military context that is presented here, its direct forerunners seem to be the so-called *cortegaardjes*, paintings of guardrooms, mostly filled with soldiers playing and drinking. In fact, Brekelenkam might well have been aware of an early *cortegaardje* by Gerard ter Borch, his *Backgammon Players* in Bremen (fig. 1). The painting shows a similar guardroom, with a fireplace against the back wall and a map hanging on the right wall, underneath which – remarkably – a chair with a mantle and a sword is positioned. Although the women are absent, the resemblance of the group gathered around the table to that of the present work is so manifest, that – considering the spatial correspondence of the two works and the fact that Brekelenkam based his work on Ter Borch on other occasions as well – one is led to conclude that Brekelenkam borrowed from Ter Borch's work in the Lilian painting (figs. 2, 3).

Interestingly, Brekelenkam's present *Interior with Card Players* itself seems to have been the source for a much more important work, Johannes Vermeer's famous *The Procuress*, now in Dresden (fig. 4). This impressive, large figure work of 1656 (the earliest of the only three dated Vermeers), depicting a brothel scene with two men, a procuress and a young courtisan gathered around a table, is of a completely different



Fig. 2 Fig. 1, detail



Fig. 3 Cat. no. 1, detail

scale and complexion than the Brekelenkam, in size, execution and ambition. Traditionally art historians have pointed towards two sources for Vermeer's work; Dirck van Baburen's (1594/95-1624) *Procuress* of 1622 in Boston, and the 1626 dated *Bordello Scene* by Christiaen van Couwenbergh (1604-1667).[5] Indeed, Vermeer's work surely reflects the grandeur of the large figure compositions of these artists. Moreover, the inclusion of the Boston Van Baburen in two of Vermeer's later works, and the fact that his mother-in-law apparently owned the work (or a version of it), point to its importance in the creation of *The Procuress*. Yet



Fig. 4 Johannes Vermeer, *The Procuress*, signed and dated 1656, oil on canvas, 143 x 130 cm., Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister



Fig. 5 Imaginary collage of cat. no. 1 using Vermeer's carpet



Fig. 6 Johannes Vermeer, *The Art of Painting*, oil on canvas, 130 x 110 cm., Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



Fig. 7 Quiringh van Brekelenkam, *Assessment of a Painting in the Painter's Studio*, 1659, oil on panel, 49 x 36.5 cm., St Petersburg, Hermitage

as ambitious as *The Procuress* is, the hithertho overlooked comparison with the present small figure *Interior with Card Players* – see for instance the gesture of the standing man's right hand – inevitably points towards the Vermeer's derivation from it. In fact, the present work, in one form or another, already contains most of the pictorial and narrative motifs found in the Vermeer, such as the hostess or procuress, and the man smiling knowingly towards the viewer, as can be demonstrated with a modest imaginary rearrangement of the present work (fig. 5). The result is – compositionally at least – surprisingly close to Vermeer's effort, and reveals part of the nature of his working method, and that of many other seventeenth century masters.[6] A similar case of Vermeer borrowing from Brekelenkam further underlines this practice. For his *The Art of Painting* of c. 1666 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (fig. 6), Vermeer no doubt relied on Brekelenkam's 1659 *Assessment of a Painting in the Painter's Studio*, now in the Hermitage, St Petersburg (fig. 7) Rather than viewing such borrowing and 'copy-pasting' of pictorial elements and schemes – in this case from Ter Borch to Brekelenkam, and from Brekelenkam to Vermeer – as a plagiarism, it should be understood in the spirit of *Aemulatio*, of the permanently vitalising process of action and reaction, of inspiration and emulation, of artistic rivalry and creative competition. The present *Interior with Card Players* surely was part of these dynamics.

JH

Notes

1 Biography based on Lasius 1992, 'Introduction', pp. 7-15; E.A. Honig, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Ditctionary of Art*, 34 vols., 4, pp. 740-741.

2 This would have presumably been in Leiden, but it seems that there is no evidence that locates these painters in Leiden at the same time. Moreover, Steen lived elsewhere between 1649 and 1671. Jan Lievens could technically also refer to Lievens' son, Jan Andrea Lievens (1644-1680).

3 See: Leiden 1988, cat. no. 1, inv. no. 47, also signed and dated *Q.V.Brekelenkam 1648*, on the chimney in the same handwriting. The painterly resemblance, the similar spatial arrangement, the extensive use of thin brown underlayers and the near identical colour scheme leave no doubt about the correctness of the attribution of the present work, which is incomprehensibly listed among the Doubtful Attributions in Lasius' catalogue, apparently on 'stylistic grounds' (Lasius 1992, p. 13, note 24). One even recognises the same earthenware Delft plate in both paintings.

4 This observation caused Elisabeth Honig, in: Leiden 1988, p. 81, to relate the work to the iconographic traditions of Haarlem, rather than of Leiden.

5 See for instance: A. Blankert et al., *Vermeer*, Amsterdam 1987, pp. 87-90; W. Liedtke, *Vermeer : the Complete Paintings*, Antwerp 2009, pp. 62-65, cat. no. 3. In addition to the Van Baburen in Boston, Liedtke also points to Baburen's *Prodigal Son* in Mainz.

6 On borrowing, see: E.J. Sluijter, 'Over 'rapen' en wedijver in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw', in: *De zeventiende eeuw* 21 (2005), pp. 267-291. In 2017-2018, the The Musée du Louvre, Paris, the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington organize an exhibition entitled *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting : Inspiration and Rivalry*, in which borrowing and emulation take a central place.



Cat. no. 1. detail

cat. no. 2

Edwaert Collier
Breda 1642 – 1708 London

Vanitas Still Life with a Skull, Musical Instruments, a Globe, Books and Writing Paraphanalia

Monogrammed and dated on the book *EC 1661* (*EC* interlaced)
Oil on canvas
91 x 76 cm.

Provenance:
San Francisco, The Fine Arts Museum, inv. no. BL84.55
Sale, New York Christie's, 15 January 1985, lot 33
Paris, Galerie Gismondi, 1986
Switzerland, private collection

Literature:
F. G. Meijer, in: E. Buijsen, L.P. Grijp et al., *The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Music & Painting in the Golden Age*, exh. cat. The Hague, Hoogsteder en Hoogsteder, Antwerp, Hessenhuis Museum 1994, pp. 178, 181, note 1
M. Brunner-Bulst, *Pieter Claesz : der Hauptmeister des Haarlemer Stillebens im 17. Jahrhundert : kritischer Oeuvrekatalog*, Lingen 2004, p. 336
M. Tuominen, *The Still Lifes of Edwaert Collier (1642 – 1708)*, dissertation Helsinki 2014, pp. 43-44, 269, fig. 95

The present painting is Collier's earliest dated *Vanitas* still life. In this upright painting with a strong light source emanating from the left, Collier's carefully chosen objects were depicted and arranged to remind the viewer of the transience of life. Although painted when he lived in Haarlem, Collier's detailed rendering of the objects shows his affinities with the Leiden *fijnschilders*, or fine painters. On a table draped with a cloth, a book entitled *Historien der Vromer Martelaren*, 'Histories of the Devout Martyrs' is propped up on an hourglass and a globe standing behind it, opened up on a page showing an illustration of five martyrs (fig. 1). Beside the book sits a laurelled skull, which had been overpainted by a vase. The laurel wreath served as a decoration on the vase until the removal of the vase in 1985. In the same year as this work, Collier depicted a similar laurel wreath, crowning a skull on a *Vanitas* still life in the collection of the Finnish National Gallery.[1] In front of the open book on our painting, an overturned *roemer* rests on top of a pearl necklace. Among the musical instruments are a violin, a lute and a shawm. Just as the hourglass unmistakably alludes to the transitory nature of human existence and the march of time, the instruments suggest the parallel between the fleeting nature of music and of time itself, and refer to earthly pleasure; while the empty candleholder suggests the extinguishing of life. The open almanac, coins and glasses are shown next to an open quill-case.

The present work belongs to Collier's early period. The artist was born in about 1640 in Breda, and moved to Haarlem in the 1650s. He probably received his training there, since his earliest work demonstrates the influence of Pieter Claesz (1597-1661). Indeed, the present painting is the earliest example showing Claesz's impact on Collier. Similarities can be found in the arrangement of the coins, the dog-eared corner of the book pages, the tassel hanging from the violin, and other details. However, the young Collier changed the contents of the book, as well as including a curtain instead of a column in the background of the painting. Collier's early work also shows the influence of Vincent Laurensz van der Vinne (1628-1702); Collier's large *Vanitas Still-life* of 1656, inscribed *V. Laurens*





Fig. 1 Adriaen Cornelisz van Haemstede, *Historien der Vromer Martelaren*, Amsterdam 1634, fol. 71v

several times on one of the documents included in the composition, testifies to this.[2] The artist moved to Leiden where his residence is fully documented from 1667 to 1693; he was admitted to the Guild of St Luke there in 1673. Collier moved to London in 1693 and seems to have travelled there on several occasions, as many of his *trompe l'oeil* paintings incorporate English documents. His late works are brilliant *trompe l'oeil* assemblages of papers, combs, quill pens, scissors, watches and other objects tucked into letter boards. Clearly legible papers, such as newspapers or dated parliamentary speeches, pin these works to a time and place. From the numerous examples of his paintings in existence, it seems likely that he returned in Leiden in 1702 and was still there in 1706. He must have moved back to London in 1707 because an extant work of his is signed with the addition 'fecit London' and dated from this year. His burial in London was registered the following year.

Two similar *Vanitas* still lifes, though larger and both dated 1662, can be found in the collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.[3]

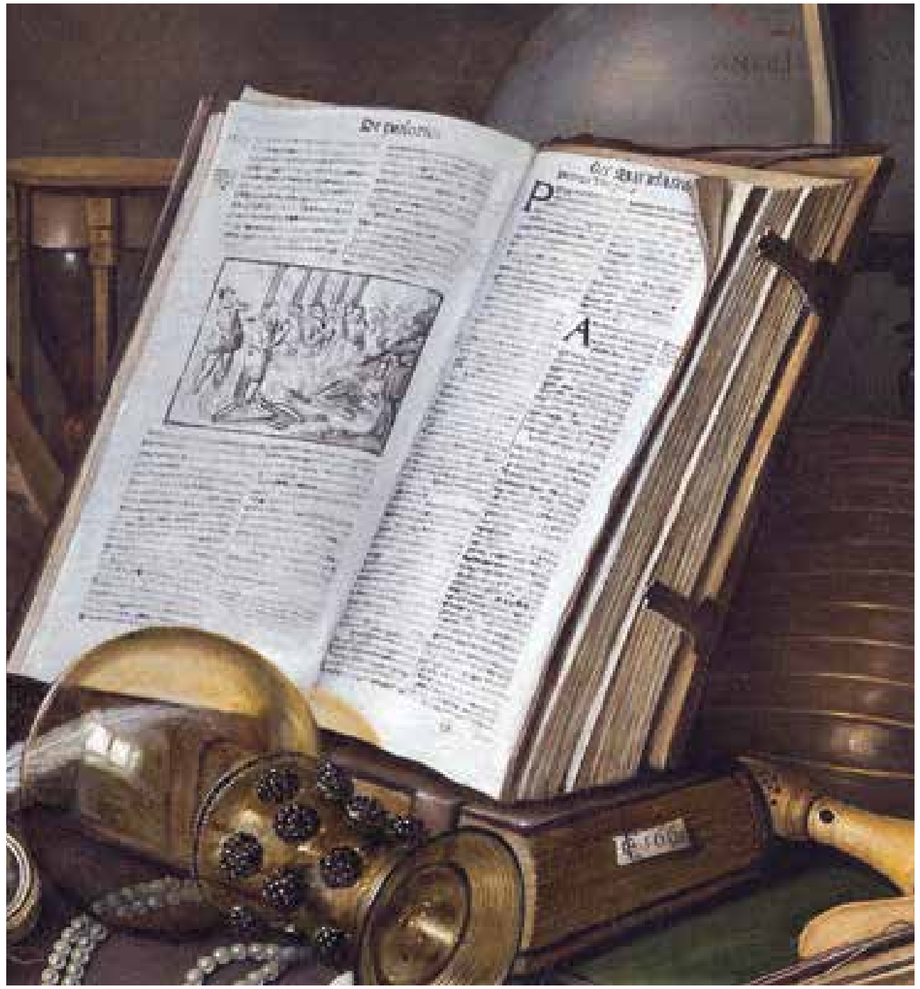
WWB

Notes

1 Inv. no. A IV 3457, 63.5 x 47 cm.

2 See: M. Wurfbain, in: *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., New York 1996, 7, p. 568. This painting was with Galerie Kleinberger, Paris.

3 Oil on panel, 94 x 112 cm., accession number: 71.19. The Rijksmuseum work is also on canvas, 102.5 x 132 cm., inv. no. SK-A-3471.



Cat. no. 2, detail

cat. no. 3

Frans Francken the Younger
1581 – Antwerpen – 1642

Descent from the Cross with St Bernard of Clairvaux Holding the Arma Christi

Signed lower right *Do FFRANCKEN.IN.F.T.*
Oil on panel
68 x 51 cm.

Provenance:
Belgium, Jean-Baptiste Comte d'Hane-Steenhuyse (1757-1826)[1]
France, private collection

Frans Francken the Younger descended from an Antwerp family of painters. In 1605, at the age of about twenty-four, the artist became a master of the Guild of St. Luke in Antwerp, serving as a deacon in 1616. During the course of his career, he collaborated with a number of colleagues, including the landscape painters Abraham Govaerts (1589-1626), Joos de Momper II (1564-1635) and Tobias Verhaecht (1561-1631), as well as the architectural painters Bartholomeus van Bassen (c.1590-1652), Pieter Neeffs (c.1578-1656/61) and Paul Vredeman de Vries (c.1567-1630). To distinguish himself from his painter father, he added the abbreviation to his signature 'D.J.,' standing for *den jongen*, 'the younger.' However, after his father died in 1616, and as his son Frans (1607-1667) began to paint, the artist began to sign with 'Den ouden Fr. Francken', or 'D.o. Ffranck', standing for *den ouden*, 'the elder'.
The present painting was recently discovered in France and has never been published before. It is the only version of this subject known by the artist, although Francken painted many scenes from the Passion of Christ, which encompasses the sequence of events beginning with Christ's Entry into Jerusalem and ending with the Resurrection. The purpose of these representations was to represent the sufferings of Christ during his Passion and invite the viewer's empathy. The Passion was a popular theme in iconography because of its clear and concrete symbolism; during the 16th and 17th centuries, prints with Passion images had contributed appreciably to the process of shaping iconographic formulations, which were then spread on a large scale. Religious painting flourished in Catholic Antwerp, where the vast altar paintings, created with psychological verity, inspired contemplation of the mysteries of the faith amongst large groups of the faithful gathered in big churches. Cabinet paintings, made for private collectors, aimed to give the viewer an experience of a profound message, characteristic of the persuasive art of the Baroque. The present work is painted as a small altarpiece or cabinet painting on a beautiful piece of wood.

This fine and colourful painting shows the Deposition or Descent from the Cross; the moment when Christ is taken down from the cross. The

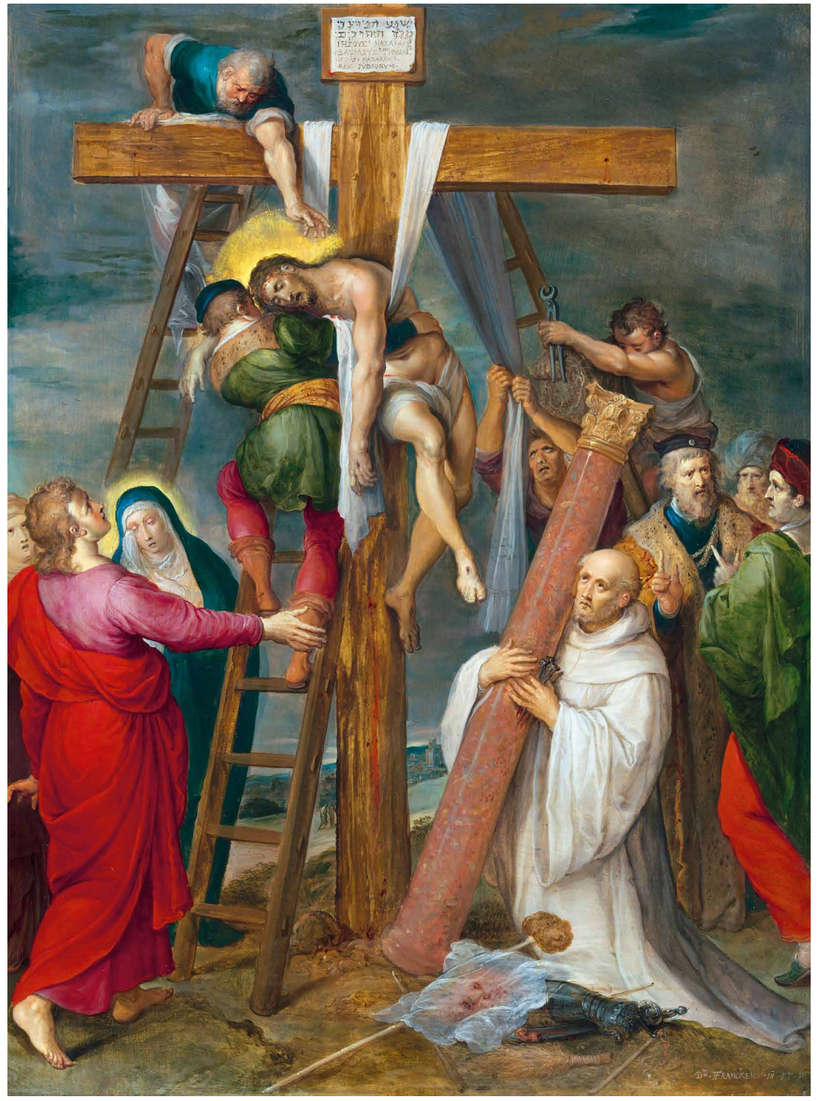




Fig. 1 Hieronymus Wierix, *St Bernard Kneeling in a Landscape and Holding the Arma Christi*, 1619, engraving, 8.3 x 6.1 cm., London, British Museum



Fig. 2 Anonymous, *St Bernard Embracing the Crucified Christ*, engraving, in: *Sancti Bernardi melliflui doctoris ecclesiae, pulcherrima & exemplaris vitae medulla*, Antwerp 1653



Fig. 3 Frans Francken the Younger, *The Holy Trinity*, oil on panel, 65 x 52.5 cm., Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie



Fig. 4 Albrecht Dürer, *The Holy Trinity*, 1511, woodcut, 39.1 x 28.7 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

town in the background is old Jerusalem. The last of the crowd has departed from Golgotha and is seen on the distant road as daylight fades. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea, standing to the right of the scene, engage in conversation. The bearded figure wearing a turban in the background between them, regarding the scene, may represent the artist himself. To the left, St. John the Evangelist, dressed in his red robe, is standing in front of the grieving Mary. Figures on the ladder are lowering the body of Christ with the aid of a shroud. A strong diagonal is formed through the painting, extending from the stretched arm of the man atop the ladder, through the light on Christ's limbs, to the kneeling form of a man in a white Cistercian habit holding the column, who can be identified as St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), French abbot and patron of the Cistercians.[2] One of the main themes in his writings is the suffering of Christ. He visited Flanders in 1131 and 1146 and he paved the way to the foundation of 163 monasteries in different parts of Europe. At his death, they numbered 343. Since the 15th century the saint was a favoured subject in paintings and prints (figs. 1, 2). The added meaning to the present painting lies in the presence of this figure in combination with the *Arma Christi*, or the Instruments of the Passion. The following combination of symbols associated with Christ's crucifixion can be seen, besides the Cross itself with its Latin-Hebrew inscription and the ladders of the Deposition: the column to which Christ was tied and whipped in the *Flagellation*; the whips; the Crown of Thorns, nails and the pincer which was used to remove the nails. In the middle foreground is the veil of Veronica, or the *Sudarium*, the piece of cloth bearing the likeness of the face of Jesus miraculously impressed upon it, lying on top of the reed sceptre bearing the Holy Sponge, with which gall and vinegar were offered to Jesus. Finally, one can see the sword and the gauntleted hand, which struck Christ, all beautifully rendered in detail. The variety of the garments, materials and textures, as well as the bright, cool colouring, testifies to the fact the painting can be dated to the late 1620s, or early 1630s. A typical feature of Frans Francken the Younger is that all the figures are of roughly the same height. Closely related in subject matter and style, but executed earlier is Francken's *Holy Trinity*, in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw (fig. 3).[3] This painting is datable to circa 1610 and represents the *Arma Christi* in a later sequence of the

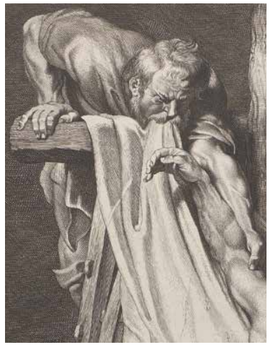


Fig. 5 Lucas Vorsterman after Peter Paul Rubens, *Descent from the Cross*, engraving, 58.5 x 43.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

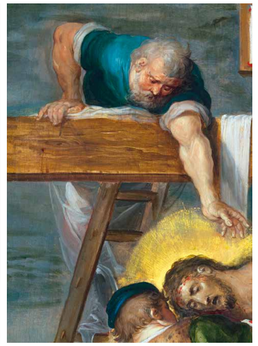


Fig. 6 Cat. no. 3, detail

Passion, when Christ was taken down from the cross. Frans Francken the Younger must have been familiar with the engravings and woodcuts of the Passion Series by Albrecht Dürer, which were of great influence in that time, since these prints were found in the estate of Frans Francken the Elder.[4] The printed source for this work was most likely *The Holy Trinity* by Dürer from 1511 (fig. 4). More important, Francken must have been familiar with Peter Paul Rubens's (1577-1640) famous *Descent from the Cross* in the Antwerp Cathedral, datable to 1611/14. The print after Rubens's work by Lucas Vorsterman (1595- 1675) shows the exact same figure on top of the ladder on the left also seen in the present work (figs. 5, 6). In the wake of this famous work Rubens painted other Depositions for churches. One of these, coincidentally or not executed for the Capuchins in Lille and datable c. 1616/17 seems closest to the present work in its general composition (fig. 7).[5]

WWB



Fig. 7 Peter Paul Rubens, *Descent from the Cross*, oil on canvas, 425 x 295 cm., Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille

Notes

1 According to a label on the reverse of the old frame.

2 For the iconography of St Bernard of Clairvaux, see: T. Hümpfner, *Ikonographie des hl. Bernhard von Clairvaux*, Augsburg 1927. Specifically in Fanders: D. Anselm Hoste, 'De iconografie van Bernardus van Clairvaux in Vlaanderen. Een korte inleiding', in: M. Sabbe, M. Lamberigts, F. Gistelinck (eds.), *Bernardus en de Cisterciënzerfamilie in België*, Leuven 1990, pp. 171-179.

3 U. Härting, *Frans Francken der Jüngere : Die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog*, Freren 1989, cat. no. 229, oil on panel, 65 x 52.5 cm. inv. no. 126093.

4 Härting 1989, p. 54, note 252, p. 199, note 252 and p. 390.

5 Oil on canvas, 425 x 295 cm., Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille, inv. no. P.74. According to Nico van Hout, 'Jordaens and the Rubens Descent from the Cross in Lille', in: *Rubens Bulletin* 4 (2012), pp. 35-49, this painting was probably invented by Rubens but executed by Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678).

cat. no. 4

Salomon Koninck
1609 – Amsterdam – 1656

An Old Man Counting Money

Signed and dated lower left *SKoninck fecit A. 1635* (*SK* in ligature)
Oil on panel
54.1 x 47.6 cm.

Provenance:
Sale London, Sotheby's, 21 November 1934, lot 113 (£ 160 to Capt. Butler), thence by descent
The Netherlands, private collection

Salomon Koninck was a member of an Antwerp family which was active in both the arts and crafts. His father, the goldsmith Pieter de Koninck, became a citizen in Amsterdam in 1595. Salomon became active as a painter in Amsterdam from circa 1629 until his death in 1656. He was the pupil of David Colijns (1581-1665) in 1621, and of both François Venant (1591-1636) and Nicolaes Moyaert (1592-1655) in the second half of the 1620s. By 1630 he had become a member of the Guild of St. Luke.

Although Salomon was never a pupil of Rembrandt (1606-1669), he must have had direct access to his early history paintings.[1] Besides history paintings, Salomon Koninck depicted a number of scholars reading or writing, men weighing their gold, counting their money or trimming quills. In these works, Koninck skilfully rendered the beauties of costume and accessories, exemplified in the present painting. An old man with a full white beard is seated at his desk, wearing a black velvet beret and black fur mantle, absorbed in counting silver ducats. With meticulous care Koninck described every detail of the man's face, and painted the fine, individual hairs of the beard in the wet-in-wet technique often executed by Rembrandt and Lievens (1607-1674). The source of light, coming from an unseen window on the left, beautifully illuminates the man's face. On the table, covered with a heavy, rumpled, ochre hued cloth threaded with gold, sit a pile of account ledgers, leather moneybags, scrumpled parchments, and gold and silver coins. A dark swathe of curtain acts as a *repoussoir*, separating the foreground, occupied by the



old man, from the background, and enhancing the depth of the room. One feels as if one is on the threshold of the room, regarding the old man who is unaware of our presence. The stone, hall-like interior behind the old man features some ornate architectural elements: the arched vaulting of the room is supported by a pilaster, formed from three fluted demi-columns and an ornately decorated capital. On the left a delicate curtain is drawn over the opening of a niche whose arched form echoes those of the room's Romanesque architecture, all painted *en grisaille*.

Scenes like these were associated at the time with such vices as miserliness and avarice. No doubt it is a warning against greed and avarice, for all the miser's richness cannot prevent Death's final curtain call. The tradition of painting moneychangers, moneylenders or tax collectors originated in the beginning of the sixteenth-century, with genre paintings by the Antwerp artist Marinus van Reymerswaele (1490-1546) and Quinten Massys (1466-1530).[2] The northern artists Abraham



Fig. 1 Rembrandt, *Old Scholar*, oil on canvas, 145 x 134.9 cm., Prague, Narodní Galerie



Fig. 2 Salomon Koninck, *A Philosopher*, oil on panel, 71 x 54 cm., Madrid, Museo del Prado

Bloemaert (1566-1651) and Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656) introduced the theme to The Netherlands. It may have been Rembrandt's *Rich man* of 1627 (now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), which inspired Salomon Koninck in his subject matter, while the compositional structure and such elements as the still life of books and the curtain, place this work in the same sphere as Rembrandt`s *Old Scholar*, dated 1634, in the Narodní Galerie, Prague (fig. 1). Koninck's beautiful, subtle treatment of chiaroscuro in the present painting are closer to Rembrandt's gentler treatment of light in *Old Scholar*, in contrast to the dramatic night scene chiaroscuro of the *Rich Man*. Very similar to the present work in style and execution, and also dated 1635, is Koninck's *Philosopher* in the Museo del Prado, Madrid (fig. 2). It seems fitting that a philosopher should remind himself of the vanities of the material world with the vanitas objects revealed in the background niche by a parted curtain; a skull, a crucifix and an hourglass. It could be argued that the closed curtain in the present painting represents the miser's closed mindedness to the world beyond. A version after the present work is in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (fig. 3). Interestingly, this version retains and emphasises the dark shadow to the right of the Lilian painting, balancing the dark curtain on the left, but excludes an undefined, spectral figure in the present painting which appears behind the door in the background. Iconographical tradition would suggest that it is a skeleton, symbolising Death surprising the rich man, although the contours of this figure appear fuller than those of a skeleton. Whether it is a *pentimento* revealed by thinning paint, or purposefully ghostly, is debatable. In contrast, older representations on the theme, embodied by the widely influential woodcut by Hans Lützelburger after Hans Holbein the Younger, of circa 1526, represents the visit of Death more explicitly (fig. 4).[3] Koninck was to return to this theme repeatedly in his career. The artist treated the subject two years before his death in his famous *Gold-Weigher* of 1654, now in the collection of Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

WWB



Fig. 3 Attributed to Salomon Koninck (or Adriaen Verdoel), *An Old Man Counting his Money*, oil on panel, 67.5 x 51 cm., Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



Fig. 4 Hans Lützelburger after Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Rich Man*, woodcut

Notes

1 See: E.J. Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals : History Paintings in Amsterdam 1630-1650*, Amsterdam 2015, pp. 199-213.

2 See: E. de Jongh, *Tot Lering en Vermaak : Betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw*. exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1976, pp. 139-141.

3 A. Janssen, *Grijsaards in zwart-wit : de verbeelding van de ouderdom in de Nederlandse prentkunst (1550-1650)*, Zutphen 2007, pp. 230-231, fig. 138.

cat. no. 5

Jan Lievens
Leiden 1607 – 1674 Amsterdam

Saint Simeon and the Christ Child

Signed upper left *J. Liviús*
Oil on panel
97.8 x 69.8 cm.

Provenance:
Possibly Amsterdam, collection Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)[1]
Possibly Amsterdam, collection Jan Six (1618-1700)
Possibly his sale, Amsterdam, Jan Pietersz Zomer, 6 April 1702, lot 48, to Jan Six II (1668-1750)
Possibly Middelburg, collection Jean Walran Sandra, 3 April 1713
Possibly London, collection Chaplin
Possibly his sale, London, Foster, 15 April 1835, lot 111, to Sherwood [?].
Trent, private collection[2]
Sale Munich, Galerie Hugo Helbing, 3 June 1908, lot 36

Literature:
H. Schneider, *Jan Lievens : Sein Leben und seine Werke*, Haarlem 1932, pp. 23, 98, cat. no. 26 (second edition H. Schneider, R.E.O. Ekkart, Amsterdam 1973, pp. 23, 98, 322, cat. no. 26)
H. Gerson, 'Twee vroege studies van Jan Lievens', in: *Oud Holland* 69 (1954), p. 180
K. Bauch, 'Zum Werk des Jan Lievens (I)', in: *Pantheon* 25 (1967), pp. 160-170, pp. 161-162, fig. 2
H. Gerson, 'Rembrandt's workshop and assistants', in: D.C. Stam (ed.), *Rembrandt after three hundred years : a symposium - Rembrandt and his followers : October 22-24, 1969*, The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago 1973, pp. 19-31, pp. 23-24
R. Klessmann, *Jan Lievens : Ein Maler im Schatten Rembrandts*, exh. cat. Brauschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 1979, p. 42, under cat. no. 1
W. Sumowski, *Drawings of the Rembrandt School*, 10 vols., New York 1979, 7, p. 3894; 9, p. 4794
E. Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Simeon and the Christ Child', in: *Rembrandt and his age : focus on man*, exh. cat. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum 1992-1993, pp. 30-40, p. 40, note 14
W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandtschüler*, 6 vols., Landau/Pfalz 1983-1994, 3 (1983), p. 1790, no. 1223, p. 1862, fig. 1223[3]
H. Gutbrod, *Lievens und Rembrandt : Studien zum Verhältnis ihrer Kunst*, Frankfurt am Main 1996, pp. 96, 309, 314
R. van Straten, *Young Rembrandt : The Leiden Years 1606 – 1632*, Leiden 2005, pp. 42-43, fig. 35
B. Schnackenburg, 'Jan Lievens und Pieter de Grebber', in: *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 68 (2007), pp. 181-218, pp. 194-195, fig. 11, pp. 197, 205
D. de Witt, *The Bader Collection : Dutch and Flemish Paintings*, Kingston 2008, pp. 189-190, fig. 113a



Jan Lievens' biography and critical fortune are well known.[4] A widely admired child prodigy from Leiden, he teamed up with his peer Rembrandt (1606-1669), with whose name and fame he became inescapably intertwined, not always to his advantage. He was born on 24 October 1607 to the tapestry weaver Lieven Hendricx and his wife Machteld Jansdr van Noortsant. Recognising their son's exceptional talent, they apprenticed him at the age of eight to Joris van Schooten (c. 1587-1651). In the winter of 1617/18 he was sent to Pieter Lastman (1583-1633) in Amsterdam, then the most renowned Dutch history painter. Returning home in c. 1619/20, he set up his own studio in his family home and soon found eager patrons amongst the astonished Leiden art connoisseurs. While still documented in Leiden in 1622, it proves difficult to locate Lievens during the next years. Judging from his work, he must have been well aware of the artistic developments in Utrecht, though an apprenticeship with one of the Utrecht masters has never been established.[5] In the latter half of the 1620s, Lievens and Rembrandt – the latter back in Leiden after his own apprenticeship with Lastman – engaged in a notorious artistic competition. Famous is the visit of Constantijn Huygens, secretary to the Prince of Orange Frederik Hendrik, who showered the young masters with the utmost praise, only critiquing Lievens' stubbornness 'which derives from an excess of self-confidence.' Still, Huygens granted Lievens the commission of painting his portrait, and proved to be instrumental in his obtaining commissions from the court. Lievens' inclusion in Anthony van Dyck's (1599-1641) prestigious *Iconography* series of famous artists and patrons (among them Huygens) is illustrative of his fame at the beginning of the 1630s.

Following Rembrandt's move to Amsterdam, Lievens left for London in 1632, where he again met with great success, receiving portrait commissions from the King and court nobility. Three years later he nonetheless moved to Antwerp, where he developed a more international style, combining elements of Flemish and Venetian painting. He married the daughter of sculptor Andries Colijns de Nole, Susanna, and teamed up with such artists as Adriaen Brouwer (1605/06-1638), David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690), and his old Leiden connection Jan Davidsz de Heem (1606-1684). More successes followed, but in 1644 monetary issues caused Jan, Susanna and their son, the future painter Jan Andrea Lievens (1644-1680), to move to Amsterdam. There, Susanna soon died and Jan re-married Cornelia de Bray. Participation in illustrious projects such as the decoration programs of the Oranjezaal (1648/50), Schloss Oranienburg near Berlin (1653/54) and Amsterdam's new City Hall (1656/60), as well as important portrait commissions, solidified Lievens' status. Still, the last period of his life was full of sorrow. While Cornelia died in 1668, Lievens' debts mounted. He stayed in The Hague and Leiden, but finally ended up – just like Rembrandt – in the Rozengracht in Amsterdam, where he died in poverty in June 1674.

While Rembrandt went on to become the indisputable figurehead of Dutch Golden Age painting, Jan Lievens initially seems to have been the more outstanding of the two. Rembrandt's junior by more than a year, and yet ahead in his own enterprises, Lievens was boldly ambitious, and his earliest surviving works, of around 1622-1625, attest to an intimate knowledge of the latest artistic developments. The present *Simeon and the Christ Child*, datable to the end of this earliest period, underlines this. The work, last recorded in 1908, shows Simeon of Jerusalem, who was 'just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel' (Luke 2: 22-40). Simeon was told by the Holy Spirit that he would not die before he had seen the Lord's Christ. One day, led by the Spirit, he arrived at the Temple, and as Mary and Joseph brought in the infant Jesus to present him there to the Lord, he took the child in his hands, blessed God and said: 'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word: For mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, Which Thou hast prepared before the face of all people; A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel.' It is this very moment, when the astonished Simeon turns his eyes up to his Lord and sings his hymn of praise, that young Lievens chose to depict. The painting brings to mind Constantijn Huygens's comment, when visiting Lievens and Rembrandt in their studio: while praising Rembrandt for his sure touch, liveliness of emotions and gift for small-scale concentration, he attributes to Lievens superior inventiveness and audaciousness of themes and forms. 'Everything his young spirit endeavours to capture must be magnificent and lofty. Rather than depicting his subject in its true size, he chooses a larger scale. [...] In painting the human countenance he wreaks miracles.'[6] Indeed, everything about the painting is grotesque, monumental and life-size plus – the exalted, rugged face of old Simeon illuminated by divine rays, his convex eyes, his toothless mouth, and his scruffy beard. The red of the massive garment contrasts with its fur lining, as the blue of his sleeve leads to the work's unifying zenith, the magnificent wrinkled hands, clasping the Christ child in such a grip as no one had ever depicted before. The pink, haloed Christ child, wrapped in the solid folds of a yellow cloth as he smiles disarmingly towards the beholder, is not the pretty baby seen in other renditions of the theme. But then again, prettiness is clearly not what Lievens was aiming for. Surely, he must have been supremely taken with his work, as he signed it with the exclusive, Latinised *J. Liviús*, found as such on only two other works from the same period, both now in Warsaw.[7]

What were Lievens' sources? With regard to the theme's pictorial tradition, the example of Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638) in Utrecht has been pointed out.[8] Moreelse's *Simeon*, dated 1614, is – apart from one sixteenth century example[9] – indeed the first half-figure rendering of the subject in the Netherlands and compositionally rather comparable to the present work (fig. 1). As mentioned above, Lievens closely studied the Utrecht masters – tellingly Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1652) and Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629) provided the direct examples for the Warsaw works – and it is thus quite plausible that he was aware of Moreelse's *Simeon*. But apart from the general scheme, Moreelse's soft and smooth finish is quite the opposite of Lievens' raw and direct effort, which is remarkably reminiscent of the rough studies of Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678), produced in Antwerp in around 1620 (fig. 2).[10] Lievens' most eye catching motif, the gesture of the clasped hands, is altogether absent in Moreelse's work, and it seems exceptional, if not unique, in the pictorial tradition of the subject. Regarding this gesture, Bernard Schnackenburg has focused attention on an upward looking *St Peter* with clasped hands of 1625 by Pieter de Grebber (c. 1600-1652) of Haarlem, which – according to him – would have been the source for the present work.[11] Yet Lievens had no need of De Grebber's example, as he no doubt had a variety of prints at his disposal depicting St Peter in similar fashion, or – for that matter – other saints such as Jeremiah (fig. 3). Moreover, Lievens had already picked up the clasped hand motif in the earliest days of his career, before 1625, since we come across it in two paintings by his hand depicting *St Peter*, evidently early works (figs. 4, 5). Indeed, Karel van Mander (1548-1606), in his chapter on the depiction of emotions in his *Schilder-Boeck*, already advised this gesture to young art students, saying that if 'the hands are together with the fingers interwoven,



Fig. 1 Paulus Moreelse, *Simeon with the Christ Child*, signed and dated 1614, oil on canvas, 76 x 63.5 cm., present whereabouts unknown



Fig. 2 Jacob Jordaens, *Study of Abraham Grapheus as Job*, oil on panel, 67 x 53 cm., Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 3 Cornelis Galle the Elder after Jan van der Straet, *Jeremiah*, 1613, engraving, 18 x 13.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 4 Jan Lievens, *St Peter*, oil on panel, 49.5 x 38.1 cm., New York, private collection



Fig. 5 Jan Lievens, *St Peter*, oil on panel, measurements unknown, The Netherlands, private collection

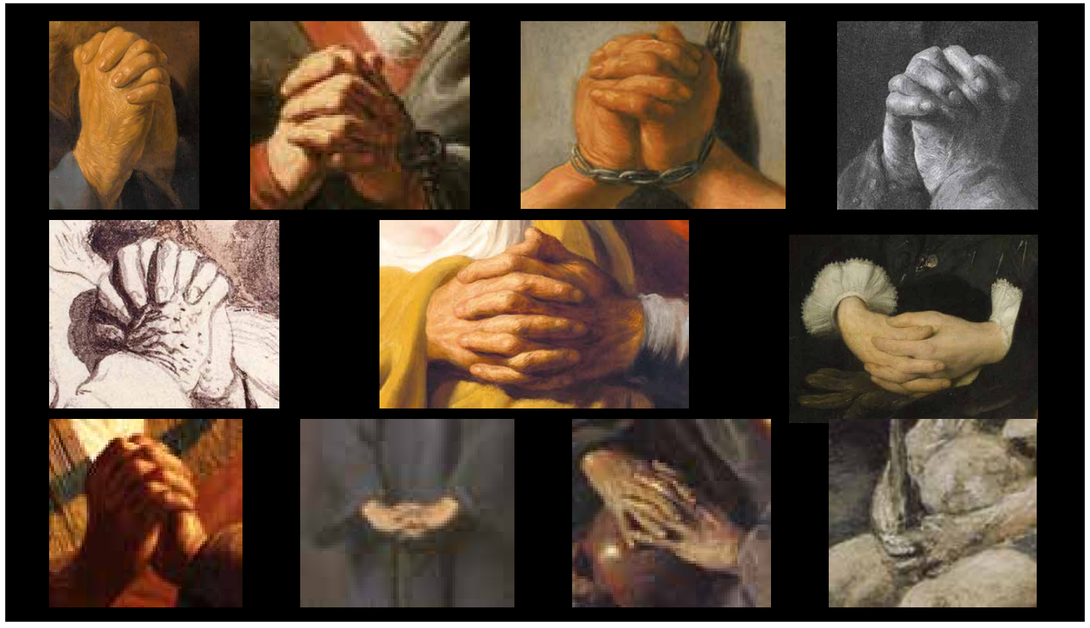


Fig. 6 Jan Lievens, clasping hands gesture

opposite to each other, like West and East the countenance also will look up sombrely.'[12] Lievens must have taken this advice to heart. In fact, during his Leiden period he employed it in at least 11 (mostly single figure) works (fig. 6), underlining that he – and Rembrandt in his wake – considered it ideal, not just for the depiction of despair, but for conveying a range of emotions from sorrow and regret to prayer, contemplation and devotion.[13] Surely no coincidence, Lievens again used the clasped hands in his *Portrait of Constantijn Huygens* of around 1628, an extremely important commission to him, of which Huygens notes that: 'So ardent was [Lievens'] desire [to paint my portrait] that he arrived within a few days, explaining that since seeing me his nights had been restless and his days so troubled that he had been unable to work' significantly adding to this that Lievens was 'content to paint my clothes and my bare hands (a task of which he acquitted himself most tastefully).' Given Lievens' predilection for the gesture, its rarity in portraiture in 1628, the prestige involved and the commissioner's clear appreciation ('tastefully'), we must assume that painter and sitter discussed the gesture, its range of meaning, and its inclusion in the portrait. Moreover, Huygens again emphasised his recognition and appreciation of the clasped hands by choosing precisely Rembrandt's emotion laden Judas as the topic of his famous praise of the artist's abilities (fig. 7): 'The gesture of that despairing Judas [...] begging for forgiveness, but devoid of hope [...] his hands clenched together until they bleed.' The gesture thus played an important role in the two young artists' semiotic repertoire, and credit goes to Lievens for fully utilising its potential, beyond Van Mander's advice.[14] Nowhere in his oeuvre are the clasped hands more outstanding and significant than in the present *Simeon*, in which they not only depict Simeon's song of praise, but beyond that seem to convey a positive, unifying and redeeming message, precisely the essence of the Biblical story depicted, in which Simeon recognises the Saviour and understands that God redeems his promise to him and mankind. The clasped hands here seem to symbolise both the fulfilment of the Lord's prophecy, and mankind's universal embrace of the Messiah.

A final note on the painting's dating. Given the identical signatures on the two Warsaw works and the present *Simeon*, one must assume a more or less simultaneous creation for the three works. The year 1623, then, is the *terminum post quem*, since the Warsaw *Boy with a Pipe (Allegory of Smell)* strongly relies on Ter Brugghen's dated *Boy Smoking a Pipe* of 1623 in the Dobó István Värmúzeum, Eger.[15] On



Fig. 7 Rembrandt, *Judas Returning the Thirty Silver Pieces*, oil on panel, 79 x 102.3 cm., England, private collection, detail



Fig. 8 Here attributed to Jan Lievens, *Laughing Child Holding a Wicker Rattle*, oil on panel, 50 x 38.5 cm., London, Victoria and Albert Museum

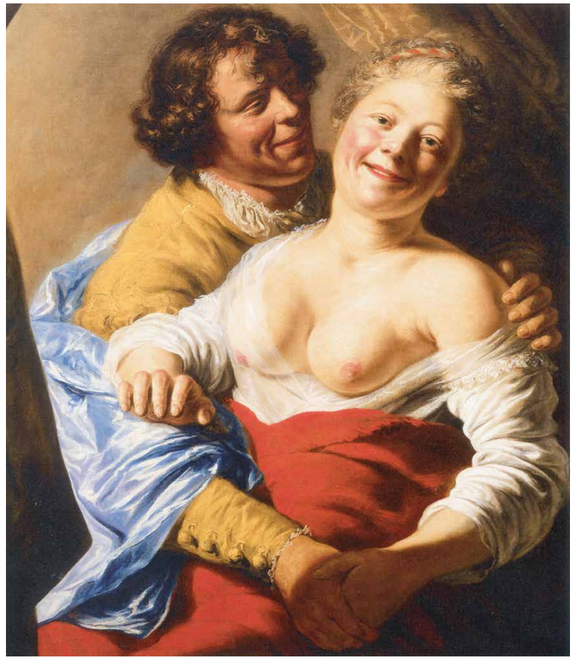


Fig. 9 Jan Lievens, *Youth Embracing a Young Woman*, oil on canvas, 97 x 84 cm., private collection

the other hand, the date of execution of these works cannot have been more than a year or two after 1623, if one accepts the identification of the present Christ child with the boy depicted in a *Laughing Child Holding a Wicker Rattle* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 8). This work is currently attributed to Jan de Bray (1622-1697) but, as was suggested by Dr Eddy Schavemaker, the painting might in fact be by Lievens, and the child the same boy from the present work, only slightly older.[16] Indeed, not only is there a striking resemblance between the children in these two paintings; the facial features, colouring, shading and overall impression of the London boy are highly comparable to the young woman in Lievens' *Youth Embracing a Young Woman*, datable to 1627/28 (fig. 9). If one estimates the Christ child in the present work to be somewhat less than a year old, and the London boy about four, this would suggest a dating of around 1624/25 for the present work, which concurs with most expert opinions.

JH

Notes

1 Two seventeenth century records of a Simeon are connectable to Lievens. 1) A painting of the subject 'done by Rembrants or Jan Lievensz', in the 1632 inventory of the Stadhouder (S.W.A. Drossaers, Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmee gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, 3 vols., The Hague 1974-1976, 1, p. 186). Given its prominent signature Liviús, the present Simeon cannot be identified with that work. 2) An anonymous 'Simeon' mentioned in a deed of 13 September 1658 regarding Rembrandt selling three paintings to Jan Six (W.L. Strauss et al., *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York 1976, doc 1658/18. See also: J. Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* 3, Dordrecht/Boston/London 1989, pp. 86-87, under cat. no. A 106, 5. Documents and sources.). One painting, a *Portrait of Rembrandt's Wife*, was sold to Six on 5 October 1652, the other two, a *St John the Baptist Preaching* and the *Simeon* at another time. In any case the works are not listed in Rembrandt's 1656 inventory (Strauss et al. 1976, doc. 1656/12). Forty years later, the paintings appeared in the Six sale of 6 April 1702 (Lugt no. 183). While the former two works are nowadays identified as Rembrandt's *Portrait of Saskia* in Kassel (Br. 101) and his *St John the Baptist* in Berlin (Br. 555), the sale catalogue also mentions: '48. Simeon in den Tempel, van Jan Lievensz. De Oude.' (sold for f. 50 to Jan Six II). Given the presence of the other two works, no. 48 would have been the third painting mentioned in the 1658 deed. In theory three paintings qualify to be this work: the present *Simeon*, and two paintings of the subject by Lievens in the Bader Collection (De Witt 2008, pp. 189-190, 193-195, cat. nos. 113, 115) Lack of archival evidence only allows for an educated guess. Given Rembrandt's irrefutable adaption of the small figure *Simeon* of c. 1631 in the Bader collection, both for his *Circumcision* painting of c. 1646 (known through a copy presumably by Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. no. 24) and his *Presentation in the Dark Manner* etching of c. 1654 (B. 50) (convincingly argued by De Witt 2008, cat. no. 115), the small figure Bader work seems the most likely candidate. Rembrandt's inventory lists no less than eight works by Lievens, among them also the latter's *Raising of Lazarus*, no doubt the work in Brighton (Sumowski 1983-1994, 3 (1983), no. 1193), comparable to the Bader *Simeon* both in style and execution, and dated 1631. The resemblance between the present *Simeon* and Rembrandt's late work of that subject (Br. 600) seems too superficial to draw conclusions.

2 This follows from the Munich 1908 sale catalogue, in which it is stated that the works in the auction come from a Trent private collection, unless otherwise indicated ('Alte Meister aus Trientiner Privatbesitz, sowie aus verschiedenem, teils adeligem Besitze [...] Die Künstlernamen und Provenienzbezeichnungen sind nach Angabe des bisherigen Besitzer beibehalten.') In 1908, Trent was part of the Austrian Empire.

3 Contrary to the bibliography listed by Sumowski, the present work isn't mentioned by P. Eikemeier in his review of Braunschweig 1979, in: *Pantheon* 38 (1980), pp. 5-7, p. 6.

4 This biography is largely based on Arthur Wheelock's essay 'Bringing New Light to an Old Master', in: A.K. Wheelock, Jr. et al., *Jan Lievens : A Dutch Master Rediscovered*, exh. cat. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Milwaukee, Milwaukee Art Museum, Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis 2008-2009, pp. 1-27.

5 Wheelock, in: Washington/Milwaukee/Amsterdam 2008-2009, pp. 6-8 alludes to the possibility of such an apprenticeship.

6 Translation taken from: E. van de Wetering, B. Schnackenburg, *The Mystery of the Young Rembrandt*, exh. cat. Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis 2001-2002, pp. 396-399.

7 *Young Man With a Pipe, Blowing on Glowing Coals (Allegory of Smell)*, signed *J.Liviús*, oil on panel, 82 x 64 cm.; *Boy Lighting a Torch (Allegory of Sight)*, signed *J. Liviús*, oil on panel, 82 x 64 cm., both Wilanów (Warsaw), Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, inv. nos. Wil. 1525/1526. See: Sumowski 1983-1994, 7, nos. 1225, 1226. The suggestion of Jan Białostocki that Lievens signed the two Warsaw works to associate himself with certain painters from antiquity who had captured naturalistic light effects in their rendering of daily life seems implausible, mostly since he has not taken into consideration the identical signature on the present work – in which such light effects are altogether absent. See: J. Białostocki, 'Puer Sufflans Ignes', in: idem., *The Message of Images : Studies in the History of Art*, Vienna 1988, pp. 139-144, p. 144. See also: A.K. Wheelock, Jr., in: Washington/Milwaukee/Amsterdam 2008-2009, p. 8, who follows Białostocki's reasoning. One might as well view these as Latinised, huge signatures as manifestations of Lievens' ambitions and ego, as underlined by Huygens. N.B.: the signature *I. Livyus fecit 1638* appears on Lievens' *Greedy Couple Surprised by Death* (Sumowski 1983-1994, 7, no. 1197), and his prints are sometimes signed *Livius*, or variations on that, as well.

8 Schneider/Ekkart 1979, p. 23.

9 Attributed to Jan Massys, location, support and measurements unknown. See: L. Buynsters-Smets, *Jan Massys : een Antwerps schilder uit de zestiende eeuw*, Zwolle 1995, pp. 174-175, cat. no. 20.

10 That Lievens travelled to Antwerp during this period has, however, never been established.

11 Schnackenburg 2007. The *St Peter* is signed nor dated, but the work's pendant, a *St Paul* of identical size, bears De Grebber's signature and the date 1625. Following Schnackenburg, the present work would have been painted at the earliest in 1625. Schnackenburg further supports his hypothesis with a comparison between the nails of De Grebber's *St Peter*, and those of the present *Simeon* and of Lievens' *Card Players* (New York, private collection). Despite a certain correspondence, his comparison seems too superficial for conclusions.

12 K. van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 26v: 'De handen t'samen met vinghers doorvlochten, Contrary van een, als Westich en Oostich, Sal t'Aenschijn elderswaert op sien mistroostich.'

13 Details: row 1, left to right: fig. 5; fig. 4; Sumowski 1983-1994, no. 1120; Schnackenburg, 2007, fig. 24; row 2: Sumowski 1979, no. 1625x; the present cat. no. 5; Sumowski 1983-1994, no. 1286; row 3: Sumowski 1983-1994, nos. 1221; 1193; 1237; 1242.

14 One also comes across the clasping gesture in the oeuvre of Pieter Lastman, through which Lievens and Rembrandt would have been familiar with it. However, Lastman employed the gesture among many others within his multi-figure history paintings, which has little to do with the strong emphasis in Lievens' single large-figure busts.

15 See: A. Blankert, L. Slatkes, *Nieuw Licht op de Gouden Eeuw : Hendrick ter Brugghen en tijdgenoten*, exh. cat. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 1986-1987, cat. no. 13. The Warsaw *Boy Blowing a Torch* (and the *Allegory of Fire* in Kassel) relies on Van Honthorst's work with the same subject. See: J.R. Judson, R.E.O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst, 1592-1656*, Doornspijk 1999, pp. 183-184, cat. no. 231.

16 I thank Dr. Eddy Schavemaker for his insightful comments and atrribution. The *Laughing Boy* was previously attributed to Salomon de Bray (1597-1664). See: C.M. Kauffmann, *Catalogue of Foreign Paintings I : Before 1800*, London 1973, p. 46, cat. no. 46.



Cat. no. 5, detail

cat. no. 6

Frans van Mieris the Elder
1635 – Leiden – 1681

A Candlelit Interior with a Woman Searching her Garment for Fleas

Oil on panel
27 x 20 cm.

Provenance:
France, private collection

Frans van Mieris the Elder, already internationally renowned in his own time, was the son of the Leiden goldsmith Jan van Mieris (1585/86-1650).[1] Destined to follow in his father's trade, Jan apprenticed his son to his relative, the goldsmith Willem van Mieris, at the age of 10. However, the boy's abilities clearly lay elsewhere, and soon he was taking drawing lessons from the glass painter and draughtsman Abraham Toorenvliet (c. 1620-1692). Van Mieris then moved to the studio of Gerard Dou (1613-1675), the founder of the school of Leiden *fijnschilders*, and subsequently studied with Abraham van den Tempel (1622/23-1672). Before 1655 he was back with Dou who, recognising Van Mieris' exceptional talent, called him 'the prince among my pupils'. In around 1656, Van Mieris met Cunera van der Cock, whom he married after their daughter Christina was born, in the spring of 1657. The couple had two more daughters and two sons, Willem and Jan, who would become successful painters themselves. On 14 May 1658 Van Mieris joined the Leiden Guild of St Luke, of which he would later become Dean. Although the earliest signed work known today is dated 1657, several works can be dated even earlier on stylistic grounds. During the next twelve years Van Mieris produced a steady flow of masterpieces, mostly genre works, but also portraits and a handful of history pieces. While initially leaning heavily on Dou's



subject matter and style, Van Mieris quickly developed his own artistic language. While maintaining – and even surpassing Dou's meticulous achievements – he expanded his colour palette and the possibilities of light effects, emphasising human interaction and sometimes adding a frivolous touch, all betraying his intimate knowledge of the work of colleagues (and competitors) such as Gabriel Metsu (1629-1667) and Gerard ter Borch (1617-1681).[2] Not surprisingly, Van Mieris found a wealthy clientele among the Leiden élite, who were willing to pay large sums for his work. Internationally, too, his work was in great demand. Most significant is the interest of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III de' Medici, who visited Van Mieris (whom he lists alongside Rembrandt (1606-1669) and Dou as famous painters) during his tour through the Republic, commissioning various works from him over the years. Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria was so pleased with Van Mieris' work that he invited him to become his court painter, an offer Van Mieris refused. In spite of this, Van Mieris had money problems throughout his career, not least because of excessive alcohol consumption. The quality of Van Mieris' work of the 1670s is less consistent than his previous efforts. His treatment seems harder, and one discerns an inclination towards a more polished elegance. After Van Mieris' untimely death at age 45, his two sons continued in their father's footsteps.

The discovery of a new Frans van Mieris is a rather exceptional affair.[3] The present work, which recently surfaced in France and has never been published before, thus adds significantly to Van Mieris' oeuvre, specifically to a qualified group of candlelight scenes by his hand into which the present work fits neatly, as will be demonstrated. In the foreground of a dark interior, a young woman rests her right elbow on a tabletop. The light of a candle in a candle holder, standing on the same tabletop, illuminates her. While a delicate still life is formed behind the candle of a glass vase with a piece of cloth stuffed in its neck, and what seems to be the handle and part of the body of a tin tankard, a leather canteen hanging above the table is lit by the flame below. Once accustomed to the dim light, the outlines of the interior space become apparent. To the right of a central bed a passage with an arched roof leads to a doorway and an adjacent room, dimly lit by another candle, which faintly illuminates a bundle of onions and a painting on the right wall. Underneath this painting, in front of the passage, a man seated on a chair has dozed off. The woman, whose red and brown striped dress is warmly lit by the light of the candle, has pulled down her *décolletage* a little, enough to expose her right nipple, just above the edge of her inner garment. For all this candid intimacy, the young girl pays no attention to us beholders. Instead, she seems fully concentrated with her own *décolletage*, more precisely with searching herself for fleas. Her gaze directed downwards (not un-reminiscent of Vermeer's *Milkmaid*), she pulls away her garment from her bosom with her right hand and thumb, while touching her breast with her left hand, her little finger graciously pointing outwards. The stilled atmosphere, the delicate hand eye coordination and the somewhat risqué subject matter muster a tranquil, voyeuristic admiration in the spectator, as much towards the girl as towards Van Mieris' superb skills.

The subject of a male or female searching him or herself for fleas had been popular with Netherlandish artists for a long time – in the works of, for example, Cornelis Saftleven (1607-1681), Harmen Hals (1611-1669) and Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685) – and could thus boast a rich pictorial tradition containing a variety of meanings, ranging between solicitous mothers de-fleeing children, grubby peasants checking their garments, and allegorical works depicting the sense of Touch.[4] However, the flea had another, more specific connotation. Already in antiquity the bug was associated with eroticism. Following the *Eligia de Pulice*, the 'Elegy about the Flea' by the pseudo Ovid, a whole genre of 'flea-poetry' flourished, which glorified the flea's habitat in between the sheets, its accessibility to the female body's intimate parts, and its ability to sting, as a metaphor for intercourse. In some cases poets even declared their desire to be a flea. Sixteenth and seventeenth century flea poetry continued the concept, most famously in John Donne's



Fig. 1 Gerard van Honthorst, *The Flea Hunt*, c. 1622, oil on canvas, 131 x 195.5 cm., Dayton, The Dayton Art Institute

The Flea, published in around 1610.[5] In the visual arts, the addition of candlelight to the flea theme would prove a fertile niche, since it enhanced associations with the night, intimacy, and ultimately with nightly visitors and sex. Already in the 1620s, Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656) had tried his hand on the subject, depicting a procuress assisting a half-naked courtesan while two men covertly watch the scene (fig. 1). Others followed in his wake.[6] From this perspective Van Mieris' work – although distinctly different from Honthorst's painting – gains new meaning. While Van Mieris deliberately refrains from giving all too obvious hints, we realise we are not merely witnessing an innocent young woman, but rather we are spying upon a loose woman,



Fig. 2 Frans van Mieris, *A Boy Smoking*, black chalk on parchment, 20.5 x 16.2 cm., Paris, Fondation Custodia

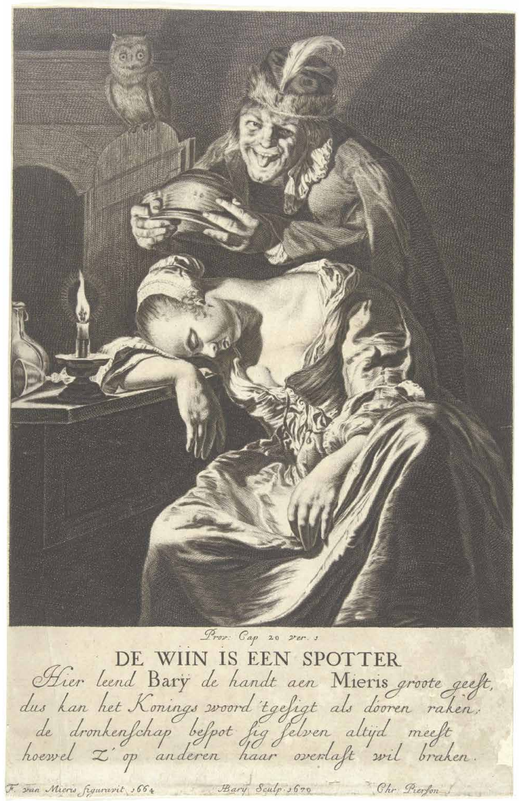


Fig. 3 Hendrick Bary after Frans van Mieris, *Wine is a Mocker*, 1670, engraving, 29 x 19.3 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

a prostitute in a brothel after hours. Tellingly, the contemporary poem *Curse against the Fleas* by Jacob Westerbaen, published in 1672, deals with similar content, being written from the viewpoint of a man in a brothel. As the weather does not allow for him to continue on his way, one of the 'damsel-creatures' leads him to her bed. But as he lays down



Fig. 4 Frans van Mieris, *Woman Playing a Lute*, 1665, oil on panel, 22 x 17.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 5 Frans van Mieris, *Lady Sealing a Letter*, 1667, oil on panel, 27 x 20 cm., United States, private collection

a flea bites him, and he cries that the bug has got the wrong person: 'It's not to the damsel / That you offer your point [...] Since your teeth are clamping me / You don't find damsel breasts.[7]

One can image how keenly interested Van Mieris must have been in the then still marginal subtheme, especially given his predilection for the candlelit scene and the artistic and narrative opportunities which it offered. Van Mieris, no doubt inspired by the recent exertions by Dou in that field, had embraced the candlelit scene early on, when he was still under his master's tutelage. Two drawings, *A Boy Examining Coins by the Light of a Lantern* and *A Boy Smoking* (fig. 2), both executed in around 1655, show the young artist's interest in observing the chiaroscuro effects of artificial light.[8] During the 1660s, the decade generally regarded as Van Mieris' most successful period, the number of candle light scenes increased. The drawing *Woman Reading by Candle Light*[9] dates from around 1662, while in 1664 Van Mieris produced a now lost drawing, engraved under the title *De Wiin is een spotter* ('Wine is a Mocker') by the printmaker Hendrick Bary (1640-1707) in



Fig. 6 Frans van Mieris, *Lady Writing a Letter by Candle Light*, 1670, oil on panel, 16 x 12 cm., private collection

1670 (fig. 3).[10] With *Woman Holding a Lute* of 1665 in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (fig. 4),[11] the *Lady Sealing a Letter* of 1667 (fig. 5)[12] and the *Lady Writing a Letter by Candle Light* dated 1670 (fig. 6), Van Mieris ventured into painted candle light scenes as well.

Although Van Mieris returned to candle light scenes on a few occasions during the last decade of his career, the cluster described here provides the correct context for the Lilian work. Above all, these works – especially the paintings – share the same sophisticated rendering of light and shadow effects, and a similar treatment of the different fabrics of the protagonist's clothes. While thematically all different to a certain extent, the works in general all share the same pictorial characteristics: a seated male or female leaning on a table, engaging in one or another form of (in)activity, illuminated by a candle standing on the table, or – in one case – an oil lamp. Yet on a more specific level, too, these works show a conspicuous feature in common. Three of the works – *A Boy Smoking*, *Wine is a Mocker* and *Lady Sealing a Letter* – share a foreground scheme wholly comparable with that of the present work: a table on the left, on which there stands a candle stick with a candle accompanied by a small still life, as the protagonist leans his or her right elbow upon the tabletop.[13] In two of these works – *A Boy Smoking* and *Wine is a Mocker* – we even see the same candle stick found in the present work (fig. 7a-c). Another, seemingly peculiar element in the Lilian work, a thin black vertical *repoussoir* edge on the far left side of the panel, is found likewise in *A Boy Smoking*. The Lilian work further shares with *Lady Sealing a Letter* exactly the same outline and execution of the background: a huge, sketchily rendered dark four poster bed, and to the right an arched passage leading to another room, enlivened by an indistinct figure (the sleeping man in the Lilian work, a female servant in the *Lady Sealing a Letter*), while a second candle provides a minimal light.[14] What is more, the two panels are equally rounded at the top and both measure 20 x 27 cm. While in his paintings Van Mieris chose orange and red clothing for all four ladies, thus cleverly maximising the beautiful warm tonality to be expected of the candlelight, it is the clothing in the *Wine is a Mocker* print that corresponds most closely with that in the present work. The shape and simplicity of the girl's dress, its long, diagonal, sweeping fold, the result of one knee being lifted up; and the low neckline with the pushed up bosom all feel akin to those seen in the Lilian work.[15]



Fig. 7a-c Cat. no. 6, figs. 2, 3, details



Fig. 8 Gerard Valck after Michiel van Musscher, *Girl Searching her Clothes for Fleas by Candle Light*, mezzotint, 34.5 x 25 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 9 Cornelis Dusart, *Girl Searching her Clothes for Fleas by Candle Light*, mezzotint, 19 x 13.9 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Never repetitive, Van Mieris continuously sought for thematic variation and pictorial modulation, ever avoiding the cliché, emulating both other artists and himself, every time with astonishing, original results. Given the multiple interrelations within Van Mieris' oeuvre, he likely executed the present work in around 1665-1667. While Van Mieris was the first *fijnschilder* to treat the theme, others followed. Candlelight specialist *pur sang* Godfried Schalcken (1643-1706) must have been aware of the present work as a Paris sale description of 1907 mentions a remarkably similar panel by his hand.[16] A mezzotint by Gerard Valck (1651/52-1726) after a now lost painting by Michiel van Musscher (1645-1705), shows that the latter also treated the subject in a similar fashion (fig. 8). They were in turn succeeded by younger artists such as Arnold Boonen (1669-1727)[17] and Cornelis Dusart (1660-1704), who appropriated the theme for one of his own mezzotints (fig. 9). While none of these efforts are without merit, they all remain tributary to Van Mieris' earlier, freshly surfaced achievement.

JH

Notes

1 Biography based on: Q. Buvelot 'De reputatie van Frans van Mieris' and O. Naumann, 'De stilistische ontwikkeling in het werk van Frans van Mieris', in: Q. Buvelot, *Frans van Mieris 1635-1681*, exh. cat. The Hague, Mauritshuis, Washington, National Gallery of Art 2005-2006, pp. 12-27.

2 O. Naumann, in: The Hague/Washington 2005-2006, p. 32, where the author discusses emulation in relation to Van Mieris.

3 I thank Otto Naumann for endorsing the attribution to Frans van Mieris the Elder of the present *Candlelit Interior with a Woman Searching her Garment for Fleas*, after first hand inspection, September 2015. Expertise on request.

4 See for instance: E. de Jongh, G. Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life : genre prints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1997, cat. no. 79.

5 See: J.F. Moffitt, '*La Femme à la puce*: the textual background of seventeenth-century painted 'flea-Hunts'', in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 110 (1987), pp. 99-103.

6 See for Honthorst's takes on the subject: R. Judson, R.E.O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst 1592-1652*, Doornspijk 1999, pp. 198-200, cat. nos. 257, 258, with reference to the subject's erotic connotations. Another early example is by Pieter Codde, *Woman Catching Fleas by Candle Light*, oil on panel, 27 x 24 cm., Bad Bentheim, private collection. In France, the theme is picked up on by Georges de la Tour, *La Femme à la puce*, c. 1638, oil on canvas, 123.3 x 89 cm., Nancy, Musée Lorrain.

7 J. Westerbaen, *Alle de Gedichten van Jacob Westerbaen, ridder, heer van Brandwijck en Gybland &c*, The Hague 1672, pp. 444-446: 'Het is de Ioffer niet Die ghy uw punten biedt [...] Daer my uw tanden klemmen Vint ghy geen Ioffre-memmen'.

8 See: O. Naumann, 'Frans van Mieris as a Draughtsman', in: *Master Drawings* 16/1 (1978), pp. 3-34, cat. nos 5, 15.

9 See: The Hague/Washington 2005-2006, p. 194, fig. 42c, p. 241, no. 34.

10 The caption underneath the print reads 'Van Mieris figuravit 1664 / H Barij sculp. 1670'. The term 'figuravit' clearly indicates that the print was made after a drawing, as opposed to the term 'pinxit', painted, which is found on many other prints by Bary after the paintings of other painters. See: Naumann 1978, cat. no. 24 for a drawing copied after the lost original.

11 See for this work and its restoration: L. Nijkamp, Z. Benders, 'Nieuw licht op een nachtstuk van Frans van Mieris', in: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 55 (2007), pp. 208-217.

12 The Hague/Washington 2005-2006, cat. no. 41.

13 Naumann 1978, cat. no. 24, considers the drawn copy of *Wine is a Mocker* faithful to the original. Since that drawing is not mirror-imaged to the print by Bary, one can assume that neither was the lost original.

14 Clearly the indistinct background scene with dim candlelight was part of Van Mieris' repertoire, for we come across it again in the Rijksmuseum's *Woman Holding a Lute*.

15 The diagonal drapery in the dress is found more often in Van Mieris' oeuvre. Especially similar, compositionally, is his *Woman Playing the Lute*, 1663, oil on panel, 22 x 17 cm., present whereabouts unknown. See: O. Naumann, *Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635-16810)*, 2 vols., Doornspijk 1981, 2, cat. no. 53.

16 Martin Rikoff sale, Paris, 4 December 1907, lot 18: 'La Chercheuse de puces. Une chandelle, brûlant dans un flambeau massif, vient éclairer le visage de la jeune femme. Celle-ci écarte de ses deux mains son corsage entr'ouvert sur la poitrine et scrute des yeux, avec une grande attention, les plis de l'étoffe. Signé à gauche sous le flambeau. Bois. Haut., 28 cent.; larg., 23 cent.' See also T. Beherman, *Godfried Schalcken*, Paris 1988, p. 399, cat. no. 198.

17 A 'femme occupée à chercher ses puces à la lueur d'une lampe' by Boonen was offered at a sale in Ghent, Fernand, 25 July 1801, lot 88, 10 x 8.5 in.





cat. no. 7

Jan Miense Molenaer
c. 1610 – Haarlem – 1668

Company Making Music

Signed and dated on the chair *Molenaer 1629*
Oil on panel
45 x 66.5 cm.

Provenance:
Collection Bartels
Oldenburg, Landesmuseum, no. 202 (as by Honthorst)
Frankfurt, J & S Goldschmidt gallery, 1929
London, Leger Gallery
Germany, private collection

Literature:
W. Bode, *Die Grossherzogliche Gemälde Galerie zu Oldenburg*, Vienna 1888, p. 43 (as by Honthorst)
F. von Alten, *Verzeichniss der Gemälde, Gypse und Bronzen in der Grossherzoglichen Sammlung zu Oldenburg*, Oldenburg 1890, no. 234
A. Bredius et al., *Die Grossherzogliche Gemälde-Galerie im Augusteum zu Oldenburg*, 2 vols., Oldenburg 1906-1912, 2 (1912), illustrated no. 47
J. Harms, 'Judith Leyster', in: *Oud Holland* 44 (1927), pp. 226-227, no. 18
P. Biesboer, J. Wely (eds.), *Judith Leyster : A Dutch Master and Her World*, exh. cat. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum 1993, pp. 300-301, fig. 32c

Jan Miense Molenaer was born in Haarlem in 1610. He was the eldest son of the tailor Jan Mientsen Molenaer, and his second wife Grietgen Adriaens. The artist's brothers Bartholomeus (*c.* 1618-1650) and Nicolaes (1628/9-1676) were both born in Haarlem too, and were also painters. The name of Jan Miense Molenaer is first mentioned in the contribution list of the Guild of St. Luke of 1634, but it is not known exactly when he joined the guild. His earliest known work dates from 1629, when he was approximately 19 years old. Molenaer occasionally collaborated with his nephew Klaes Molenaer (1630-1676), a landscape painter. In 1636 Jan Miense Molenaer married the genre painter Judith Leyster (1609-1660) in Heemstede, near Haarlem; only two of their five children, Helena and Constantijn, survived childhood. In the same year, following the court's confiscation of Molenaer's property to pay debts, they moved to Amsterdam. One year later he was commissioned to paint an elaborate wedding portrait for the van Loon family, the *Wedding of Willem van Loon and Anna Ruychaver* (Amsterdam, Museum van Loon). The artist's financial situation appears to have improved during his Amsterdam years, thanks in part to an inheritance received by Leyster in 1639. It was during this period that the painter Jan Lievens (1607-1674) briefly lived with Molenaer. According to a notarial deed of 1 March 1644, Jan Lievens





Fig. 1 Cat. no. 7, detail

worked on a landscape in Jan Miense's house in Amsterdam. After 12 years in Amsterdam, Molenaer purchased a house in Heemstede, where he moved in October 1648.

The present *Company Making Music* is a beautiful example of the artist's early work. Six figures are gathered in an inn; two youths play upon a violin and a lute, with an old lady and a little girl listening and a woman playing cards with a peasant in the background. The little girl is warming her hands over a terracotta pan with burning coals, looking up wonderingly at the lute player. The woman seated between the players seems to smilingly regard the child, while she fills her pipe. The violin player, seated in the middle of the painting, attracts the eye of the beholder most (fig. 1). He smiles winningly as he concentrates on his playing, his face finely painted and strongly lit, while his companion sings. He holds the bow of the violin in the Italian manner, with his thumb between the bow and the horsehairs. A distinctive bust of dark wood crowns the scroll of the instrument. The fabrics of his fancy, theatrical costume and feathered beret are beautifully rendered and executed in detail, contrasting with the plainer attire of the other sitters in the interior.[1]

Molenaer repeatedly used a number of recognisable elements in his paintings, as can be seen in the present work. *The Violin Player*, in a private collection in Zürich, features the same violin seen in the present work.[2] Other elements, like the glazed stoneware jug, the empty chair, the cat, and the little girl as well as the lute, can be seen in other paintings from that period. Furthermore, by re-using models, Molenaer was probably well aware of the recommendations of Karel van Mander (1548-1606) in his *Schilderboeck* of 1604.[3] In fact, Molenaer might have called upon himself as a model in the present work. Comparing the features of the young lute player in the present work with those of the artist's *Self-Portrait* of 1639/40 in Munich (fig. 2), one is struck by the



Fig. 2 Jan Miense Molenaer, *Self-Portrait*, oil on canvas, 87 x 68 cm., Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen



Fig. 3 Judith Leyster, *Serenade*, signed and dated 1629, oil on panel, 45.5 x 35 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

facial resemblance and similar expression, and we might therefore assume that Molenaer painted himself here as a musician. Not only would such an assumption fit in neatly with the boy's presumed adolescent age, but it would also align well with Molenaer's personal preference for the lute, an instrument he chose to depict himself with at least twice more, both in his *Self-Portrait as a Lute Player* of circa 1635, and in his famous *Duet* of circa 1635-1636.[4] It is worth recalling that the lute was the most popular instrument of the time. The theme of musicians, depicted half-length and dominating the foreground, originated in Italy, and the painter Dirck van Baburen (circa 1595-1624), after travelling to Rome between about 1612 and 1615, introduced this subject to the Northern Netherlands with his *Lute Player* of 1622, now in Centraal Museum, Utrecht. A few years later Frans Hals painted his *Lute Player*, in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Molenaer's *Family Scene* and *Two Boys and a Girl Making Music*, both signed and dated 1629, can be ranked among other early works by the artist and seem to be related to the present painting in subject matter and style.[5] It is also interesting to compare the present painting with *The Serenade*, also dated 1629, by Judith Leyster in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (fig. 3). In that painting Leyster also uses an invisible source of light. Since Leyster was a pupil of Frans Hals (c. 1582-1666) in this period, Hals' *Lute Player* could very well have inspired her and it seems likely that Molenaer used the same lute for his painting. This possibility would be supported by the close working relationship between Molenaer and Leyster in the late 1620s and early 1630s, for which Von Bogendorf Rupprath offers evidence in her essay devoted to workshop practices and the sharing of studio props in the catalogue of the exhibition devoted to the artist. Dennis Weller, principal author of the catalogue, supports this view.[6]

WWB

Notes

1 This contradiction can be a reflection of Molenaer's tendency to combine contrasting images in his work. See: Haarlem1993, p. 300.

2 Jan Miense Molenaer, *The Violin Player*, oil on panel, 24.1 x 21.6 cm., illustrated in: Haarlem 1993, p. 299.

3 D.P. Weller, *Jan Miense Molenaer : Painter of the Dutch Golden Age*, exh. cat. Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, Columbus, Indianapolis Museum of Art (Columbus Gallery), Manchester, The Currier Museum of Art 2002-2003, p. 34.

4 See: Raleigh/Columbus/Manchester 2002-2003, cat. nos. 22, 24.

5 Jan Miense Molenaer, *Family Scene*, signed and dated 1629, oil on canvas, 70 x 85.5 cm., Mainz, Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum, and *Two Boys and a Girl making Music*, signed and dated 1629, oil on canvas, 68.3 x 84.5 cm., London, National Gallery.

6 Raleigh/Columbus/Manchester 2002-2003, p. 16. See further: Harms 1927, p. 227. Harms even suggested that the present work may have been a joint effort by the young artist couple and that Judith Leyster may have been responsible for the violin player.

cat. no. 8

Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy
1588 – Amsterdam – 1650/56

Portrait of the Wine Merchant Dirck van Dans (1584-1678)

Dated upper right *Aº . 1626*
Oil on panel
63 x 51 cm.

Provenance:
Probably Amsterdam, 17 September 1681, death inventory of Milca van Dans (1626-1681)
France, private collection

Like many of his Amsterdam colleagues, the painter Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy was of Flemish descent.[1] His parents, the heraldic stone carver Eliasz Claesz Pickenoy (1565-1640) and his wife Elisabeth Vermeren, no doubt left Antwerp after the fall of the city in 1585, marrying in Amsterdam in June 1586. On this occasion they are recorded as living in the Warmoesstraat. In January 1588, Nicolaes, the first of at least six children, was baptised in the Oude Kerk. While in 1606 the family is recorded as living behind this church, in 1616 and 1621 they were living opposite the church on the corner of the Minderbroedersteeg and Oudezijds Voorburgwal (now no. 73), in the former studio of Cornelis van der Voort (1576-1624), Amsterdam's most renowned portraitist at the time, who had moved to St Anthonisbreestraat. Pickenoy probably lived and worked opposite the church until around 1635/36, and the present work will therefore have been painted there. Although there is a lack of evidence, it is generally assumed that Pickenoy – who almost exclusively practised portraiture – was trained by Van der Voort. Pickenoy's earliest work is dated 1614, and in 1619 he was first commissioned to do a group portrait. However, it was not until Van der Voort's death in 1624 that Pickenoy, filling the vacuum, saw his true breakthrough as an artist



and became Amsterdam's leading portrait painter. From April 1621 Nicolaes was married to Levina Bouwens from Amsterdam, and during the following years the marriage produced eight children. While in 1633 Nicolaes bought a house on the opposite side of the canal next to the Duifjessteeg (now no. 220) he and his family probably never lived there. In 1637 we find him in the former house and studio of Van der Voort at 2 St Anthonisbreestraat, previously rented by Hendrick van Uylenburgh (c. 1587-1661), who in the years before had employed Rembrandt (1606-1669) there as his *chef d'atelier*. Although Rembrandt was a leading competitor on the portrait market during the 1630s, a considerable number of the city's élite – Pickenoy's usual clientele – remained in favour of Pickenoy's style. During the years 1639-1645, Pickenoy received no less than three commissions for imposing civic guard portraits, testifying to his ongoing success. In 1645 he sold his house in the Breestraat, moving to the stately Singel. His presumed pupil, Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613-1670), had by then taken over the leading position on the Amsterdam portraiture market.

The Lilian portrait

The present work, which recently surfaced in France and is published here for the first time, portrays a man of about 40 years old with an auburn moustache and goatee beard, who swiftly looks over his right shoulder, straight into the eye of the beholder. His face is painted with a vivid frankness which – especially in the application of unmingled pink and ochre brush strokes on the right cheek and under the eye – may remind one of Frans Hals's (c. 1582-1666) portraits of the 1620s, and yet the overall execution is much tighter. Set against a dark, olive hued background, the man wears a tall, black brimmed hat, a white millstone collar and a fitted black jacket embellished with a finely embroidered floral pattern, immaculate stitching and slashed sleeves. Is it because of the implied movement, the snapshot spontaneity of looking over one's shoulder – similarly used to stunning effect by such great artists as Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) and Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675) (figs. 1, 2) – that this portrait has an unusually gripping effect on the viewer? Is it the man's self assurance, his intriguing eyes, or the shiny velvet of his jacket? All the portrait's iconic qualities are paired here with the reconstruction of the sitter's identity, which simultaneously places the work firmly within the artist's oeuvre.



Fig. 1 Anthony van Dyck, *Self Portrait*, c. 1640, oil on canvas, 56 x 46 cm., London, Royal Portrait Gallery

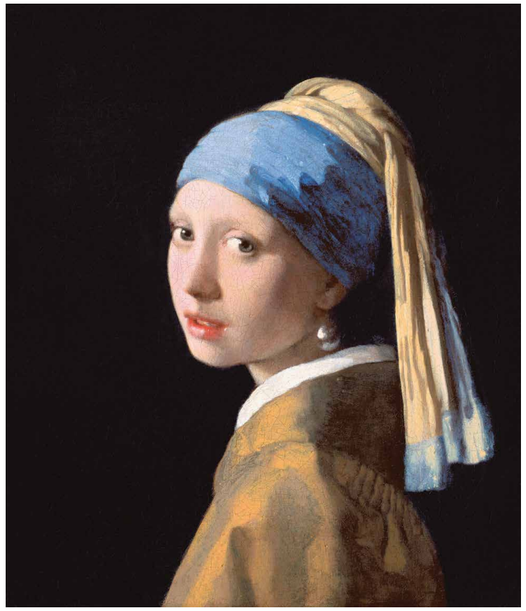


Fig. 2 Johannes Vermeer, *Girl with the Pearl Earring*, c. 1665, oil on canvas, 44.5 x 39 cm., The Hague, Mauritshuis



Fig. 3 Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy, *Portrait of a Surgeon*, inscribed and dated upper right *Æta 36 . / . 1627*, oil on panel, 60 x 46.5 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 4 Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy, *Anatomical Lesson of Dr. Johan Fonteijn*, 1626, oil on canvas, 100 x 200 cm., Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum

Identification

The quest for the identity of the sitter begins in Paris, where the Louvre collection holds an outstanding portrait by Pickenoy which shows considerable overlap with the Lilian work, both in composition, detail, format and period of execution: the *Portrait of a Man*, labelled in the museum as the artist's 'Self Portrait' (fig. 3). This still persisting identification is an impossible one, if only because the Louvre portrait is dated 1627 and the sitter's age is inscribed as *Æta 36*.[2] After all, Pickenoy was baptized in January 1588 and was therefore 39 years old in 1627. Moreover, the man in the Louvre portrait clearly appears as one of the sitters in Pickenoy's 1626 *Anatomical Lesson of Dr. Johan Fonteijn*, now in the Amsterdam Museum (fig. 4).[3] Although this *Anatomical Lesson* was unfortunately severely damaged in a fire in 1723 and since then only depicts seven of the eleven original heads, luckily, we still recognise the sitter of the Louvre portrait as the sitter in the lower left corner. Since the identities of all the sitters of the *Anatomical Lesson* are documented – albeit unclear who is who – Pickenoy is not one of them, and this unequivocally excludes the attribution of the current Louvre description.[4] The sitter of the Louvre portrait had thus – the previous year and in similar vein – been portrayed by Pickenoy within a group portrait of physicians. For reasons we can only guess, this man apparently requested Pickenoy to record his individual traits in a single portrait. In later times this man's identity was lost, the connection between the Louvre portrait and the Amsterdam *Anatomical Lesson* was forgotten, and scholars erroneously labelled the Louvre work a *Self Portrait*, no doubt because of the sitter's vivid,

self aware pose, strongly akin to the pose of the sitter in the Lilian work.[5] Taking this into account, plus the fact that the Lilian work precedes the Louvre portrait by just one year, a similar scenario might be hypothesised for the Lilian work as well. In other words, might we – as is demonstrated for the Louvre work – also be able to find a group portrait by Pickenoy, done halfway the 1620s, in which we recognise the same gentleman found in the Lilian work?

As it turns out, such a painting indeed exists. Although mostly overlooked in literature on Pickenoy and only known through an old black and white photograph, in 1945 a group portrait was auctioned at Christie's London, where it was attributed to Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613-1670).[6] In 1949, the London-based art dealership Duits & Co. sold this work to a private collector in Johannesburg, this time as by Thomas de Keyser (1596-1667). In South Africa the painting was finally attributed correctly to Pickenoy by P.J. Snijders, who discovered the signature *Nicolaes Elias 1625* on the open book on the table.[7] The work (fig. 5) shows six male regents around a table – five behind it, one sitting on a chair in front – while a seventh man stands behind them to the left, holding a *berckemeijer* glass entwined with vine leaves. Our focus is immediately drawn to the sole figure seated in front of the table. He is unmistakably the sitter of the Lilian portrait, in the same pose, complete with hat, collar, moustache and jacket (fig. 6). But who are these regents? Credit again goes to P.J. Snijders, who correctly linked the portrait to a notarial document, dated 17 July 1626, first published by Jan Six in 1886, in the latter's quintessential article on Pickenoy.[8] This document introduces the three current commissioners of the 'Wijncopers-Confrery', the brotherhood of wine merchants (established in Amsterdam in 1621); Lambert Princen, Josias Tulkens and Willem Calschuyr, who were gathered that day – 17 July 1626 – in the brotherhood's office, together with its six founding commissioners, Willem Hendricksz, Outgert Pietersz Spieghel, Reynier van Buyren, Cornelis Wilhelmus, Isaak van Gherwen and Dirck van Dans. The reason for their gathering is the handing over of 'a certain large painting [...] done by Mr. Niclaes Elias [Pickenoy]' which depicts the six founding commissioners and the brotherhood's servant, Dirck Jansz Pool. The six founding commissioners wish to donate the painting to the brotherhood's office, as an enduring memory of its faithful beginnings, although the ownership of the work remained with the sitters, or their heirs. Finally, the current commissioners declare that neither they, nor the brotherhood, but only the sitters themselves have paid all the costs of their portraits individually, as is confirmed once more by 'Mr. Niclaes



Fig. 5 Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy, *Six Founders and Servant of the 'Wijncopers-Confrery'*, signed and dated on the book *Nicolaes Elias 1625*, oil on canvas, 154.9 x 232.4 cm., Johannesburg, private collection (1949)



Fig. 6 Fig. 5, detail

Elias', who is apparently present as well. All ten men attending the meeting signed the document.

Although Six in 1886 still feared that 'whatever happened to this painting, we'll surely never know', we can now, thanks to Snijders, safely identify the Johannesburg group portrait with the painting cited in the 1626 document. However, Snijders made no further efforts to identify the individual sitters, which is precisely what interests us most; specifically in relation to the merchant sitting in front of the table. We know the sitters' names from the document, but who is who? To begin

with the servant, Dirck Jansz Pool; he must be the only man standing and not wearing a hat, as he holds up the wine glass with vine leaves, a clear reference to the brotherhood's line of business. Yet the other men – the founding commissioners – are all seated, all wear the same black hats, black jackets and white collars. Disappointingly, too, none of the men portrayed – except for our sitter – are known through other portraits, which would help to identify them. Still, one element distinguishes our sitter from his companions: his age. He is clearly the youngest of them all. Had the man we are looking for been the man portrayed to the far left, we might have never known his identity. Had he been the second from right, it would have likewise caused an immediate problem. But luckily we can quite safely exclude the option that our man is *not* the youngest sitter, let alone the option that one of his five colleagues would be several years younger.

To proceed, we will therefore have to determine the sitters' ages. A second notarial document, dated 27 August 1627, offers paramount assistance with this. To our benefit this document (which records the testimony of six individual wine merchants on behalf of the commissioners of the 'confrery' regarding the customs of wine controlling in Amsterdam) is signed by no less than five of the six sitters of the Johannesburg group portrait. What is more, the document produces the ages of all signatories, thus conveniently excluding the identification of the four eldest of them, Willem Hendricksz (63), Outgert Pietersz Spieghel (53), Reynier van Buyren (60) and Isaak van Gherwen (47).[9] The only two remaining possible sitters of the Lilian work are therefore Dirck van Dans, who was 43 years old when he signed the document, and Cornelis Wilhelmus, the one sitter of the group portrait whose name is not found in the 1627 document. To find information about the latter in the Amsterdam city archives is not necessarily a simple task, since both his first and last name are fairly common. However, in the Amsterdam baptism registers we find that on 17 November 1616 a certain Kornelis Wilhelmij and his wife Trijntje Heemskerk baptised their son Machiel.[10] The register mentions no age, but what attracts attention is the profession of the father: wine merchant. It offers confirmation that this specific Kornelis Wilhelmij is our subject. A subsequent search for the couple in the Amsterdam marriage registers produces the following record: on 1 August 1609, Cornelius Wilhelmi and Catharina (i.e. Trijntje) van Heemskerk gather before the notary for their intended marriage.[11] This time the register does mention Cornelis' age, namely 32 years old. It thus follows that at the time of the 1627 document Cornelis Wilhelmus was about 50 years old, much older than Dirck van Dans, who therefore remains the only possible sitter of the Lilian portrait.

While the argument presented above is sufficient in itself, the identification of our sitter as Dirck van Dans is solidly confirmed by a last piece of unexpected evidence. During research on the panel, an old inscription in pencil was discovered on its reverse. Although barely visible with the naked eye, examination with infrared reflectography proves revealing. Clearly legible, the text reads: 'Ætatis Suæ 42 / A° 1626' (fig. 7). Surely this inscription refers to the sitter of our portrait, in fact

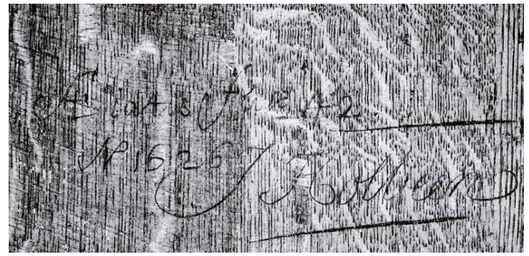


Fig. 7 Infrared reflectography of the reverse of the panel of cat. no. 8



Fig. 8 Cat. no. 8, detail upper left corner, dating

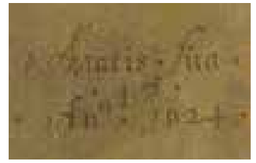


Fig. 9 Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy, *Man with a Celestial Globe*, 1624, oil on panel, 104.8 x 76.2 cm., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, detail of the inscription

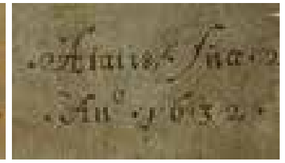


Fig. 10 Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy, *Portrait of a Man*, 1632, oil on panel, 121.9 x 85.1 cm., Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, detail of the inscription

it no doubt repeats the inscription once legible in the upper right corner of the portrait, of which nowadays only the last part 'A° 1626' remains (fig. 8). Comparing the first part 'Ætatis Suæ 42' with age inscriptions on period works by Pickenoy (figs. 9, 10), we see that the person who once copied the inscription on the reverse of the panel – presumably the portrait's owner at the time – made an effort not only to transcribe the content of the inscription, but also to render the shape of the letters accordingly. Whatever the cause for the transcription to the reverse,[12] its presence there fully supports our identification. Since Van Dans was 43 years old in the 1627 document, he would have been 42 years old in 1626, which perfectly matches the inscription on the Lilian work. Lastly, the reverse bears a pencil inscription 'J. Holbeen'. It is unclear if this name was added at the same time of the transcription. In any case, it will in all probability refer to Hans (Johannes) Holbein the Younger (1497-1543), to whom the portrait was apparently attributed at one point.[13]

Dirck van Dans, an Amsterdam wine merchant from Arnhem

Dirck van Dans is first recorded in the Amsterdam archives on 4 May 1616, when he and Susanna van Reidt announced their notice of marriage.[14] From the banns register we learn that Dirck was born in the city of Arnhem, that he was 31 and living at the Montelbaensburgwal (Oude Schans), and that he was accompanied by his father Willem van Dans, a descendant of the Van Dans family of Arnhem regents. This Willem, no doubt identical to the merchant of that name, and his wife Segevijn van Revebergh, had at least five children, baptised in Amsterdam between 1588 and 1598, suggesting that they arrived in the city between 1584 (when Dirck was born in Arnhem) and 1588.[15]Among the siblings we find Adolf van Dans, Dirck's youngest brother, a poet. The bride, Susanna van Reidt, 23 years old and living on the Breestraat, was accompanied by her mother Milca der Loo, widow of Johan van Reidt, the deceased of the Arnhem burgomasters Everhard and Joost van Reidt.[16] Dirck and Susanna thus had an upper class family background. In the following years they had at least five children: Jan (1617), Geertrui (1619), Geertruijt (1620), Susanna (1623), and Milca (1626), all baptised in the Reformed Church.[17]

While the family expanded, Dirck built up his career as a wine merchant. On 3 October 1619 he is first mentioned in a notarial document in which he and 76 other wine merchants are summoned in connection with wine taxes. Van Dans was then living 'over the Bantammerbrug' in the Binnenbantammerstraat, in a house called *Noach*, a witty reference to the biblical Noah's drunkenness from wine (Genesis 9: 20-24).[18] In the same street we also find the aforementioned wine merchants Josias Tulkens and Willem Hendricksz in the aptly named houses *Bordeaux* and *Conjack*, respectively.[19] The other commissioners of the 'confrery' also lived at close range. On the other side of the bridge, on the Zeedijk, we find Willem Calschuyr and Cornelis Wilhelmus, and a little further, in the Warmoesstraat, Outgert Pietersz Spieghel and Isaak van Gherwen in the house *De Twee Rochens*, and Reynier van Buyren in the house *Ghendt*.[20] As one of the 'confrery's' six founding commissioners on 30 January 1621, Van Dans fashioned a steady position for himself.[21] The fact that not only Van Dans, but also Van Gherwen and Van Buyren were again commissioners in 1631, indicates that these men had a firm grip on Amsterdam's wine business.[22] The last professional record that mentions Van Dans, again in relation to wine taxes, dates from 1639.[23] By then he was 55 years old. The impression one gets is that the leading wine merchants were closely allied; they worked together, had themselves portrayed together and lived near one another. This intimacy comes across from Dirck's personal records as well.

Dirck's closest ties were with Josias Tulkens (b. 1592), and it is no coincidence that he was also a descendant of an affluent Arnhem regent family.[24] At the baptism of Dirck's children Jan and Susanna, Josias Tulkens acted as witness,[25] and at the notice of marriage of Tulkens to Elisabeth van Meurs in October 1625, Dirck was not only a witness, but even mentioned as Tulckens's cousin.[26] When one year later Dirck and Susanna baptised their daughter Milca (named after Susanna's mother), Tulkens' wife Elisabeth acted as witness. But while the wine business flourished, Susanna died in 1631. Notably, she was taken to be buried from the house *Noach* in the St Anthonisbreestraat, which implies that sometime after 1619 the family had moved there, taking with them the name of their former house.[27] In 1635 the oldest son Jan was sent to university in Leiden, where he studied philosophy.[28] He must be the Johan van Dans who was the editor of the *Poemata*, a posthumous volume of poetry written by 'Adolphi à Dans Amstelodamensis', his uncle Adolf (also a former Leiden student[29]), published by Isaack Commelin in Leiden in 1636.[30] Interestingly, Johan dedicates the volume to his 'avunculo dilectissimo' (very beloved uncle) Everhard Sluysken, burgomaster of Arnhem, who was indeed the husband of Johan's aunt Catharina van Reidt, Susanna's sister.[31] Clearly there were ongoing ties between these intertwined Arnhem families.[32] What happened to Johan remains uncertain, but he may have sailed to the East Indies in 1637 and died on board.[33]

In 1636 we find Dirck ratifying an agreement with creditors on behalf of the wine dealer Reynier van Buyren the Younger, the son of his colleague Reynier van Buyren the Elder.[34] This same Reynier van Buyren the Younger accompanied his brother-in-law Gerard Jansz Cappit, a young Amsterdam lawyer, when the latter drew up his prenuptials with Dirck's daughter Geertruijt in 1644.[35] Geertruijt was accompanied by her father Dirck, her uncles Jan van Reidt and Everhard Sluysken, and the Arnhem tax collector Arnout van Dans, clearly family as well. In 1649 we hear again from Dirck, again in connection with Josias Tulkens. It concerns the acquisition of Tulkens's painting collection, consisting of 34 expensive paintings that are split in two lots, to be divided incidentally between Dirck van Dans and Geertruyt Fensels, who was accompanied by her son Johannes Klenck, professor in philosophy at Amsterdam's *Athenaeum Illustre*.[36] Both Van Dans and the widow paid Tulkens the rather high amount of 1500 guilders for each of their 17 paintings, almost 90 guilders per painting. In Van Dans's lot we find a *Tronie* by Raphael (1483-1520), a *Lot and his Daughters* by Pieter Aertsen (c. 1508-1575), a *Tronie* by Adriaen Brouwer (1605/06-1638) and a *St Paul* by Jan Lievens (1607-1674). On top of that, both kept a 50% share in a *Diogenes* by Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678) valued at no less than 1600 guilders, a scholarly painting of an antique philosopher, probably the famous work now in Dresden (fig. 11).



Fig. 11 Jacob Jordaens, *Diogenes Searching for an Honest Man*, oil on canvas, 233 x 349 cm., Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

The last we hear from Dirck van Dans is on 10 March 1655, when he accompanied his daughter Susanna at her notice of marriage. Bride and father were still living on the Breestraat.[37] Yet Van Dans continued to live for a long time. On 31 December 1678 he was buried in the Oude Kerk, aged 94. Although exceptionally old, it no doubt refers to the wine merchant as the register mentions that he was taken to his burial from the Breestraat.[38] So, we have gained a picture of Van Dans as a successful businessman from an élite regent family, who lived in a cultured, intellectual milieu that valued poetry and art. The Lilian portrait was made in the sitter's best years, after he had founded the 'confrery', when his youngest daughter Milca was born, and when his wife Susanna was still alive. Dirck must have been satisfied with Pickenoy's effort on the 1625 group portrait, and subsequently commissioned his individual portrait for his home. Maybe he got a good deal from Pickenoy. While executing the present work in 1626, Pickenoy must have simultaneously worked on the *Anatomical Lesson of Dr. Johan Fonteijn*. One of the sitters, the man we still recognise in the Louvre portrait, may well have seen Van Dans's portrait in the studio, and asked Pickenoy to do the same for him.

Three years after Van Dans's passing, his youngest daughter Milca van Dans died, at the age of 55 years. The inventory drawn up on 17 September 1681 in her house at the Lauriergracht lists eighteen paintings.[39] Among them we find several of the works her father had bought from Josias Tulkens, such as Aertsen's *Lot*, the *St Paul* by Lievens (this time without attribution), and the *Tronie* by Brouwers. Moreover, we find three portraits of special interest. One is the 'Portrait of the old Ruigenbergh's face', no doubt depicting a family member of Milca's maternal grandmother, the aforementioned Segevijn van Revebergh. The others are 'The Portrait of Dirck van Dans' and the 'Portrait of Dirck van Dans's Housewife', all without attribution. Although we therefore cannot be sure, we might assume that Milca, together with other works from her father's collection, inherited his portrait, painted by Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy.

JH

Notes

1 For biographical references, see: J. Six, 'Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy', in: *Oud Holland* 4 (1886), pp. 81-108; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'De schilder Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy (1588-1650/56) en zijn familie: een geslacht van wapensteensnijders, goud- en zilversmeden te Amsterdam', in: C.P. Briët, N. Plomp (eds.), *Liber Amicorum Jhr. Mr. C.C. van Valkenburg*, The Hague 1985, pp. 152-160; D. Burmeister Kaaring, 'Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy (1588-1650/56) og den amsterdamske portrætkunst, ca. 1620-45', in: *Statens Museum for Kunst Art Journal* 2005, pp. 60-81 (English version: 'Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy (1588-1650/56) and Portraiture in Amsterdam 1620-45', pp. 127-137); S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten : Godsdienst en schilderkunst in Leiden en Amsterdam*, dissertation Nijmegen 2006, esp. p. 65.

2 The work is currently on display in the museum as a self portrait. See also: J. Foucart, *Catalogue des peintures flamandes et hollandaises du musée du Louvre*, Paris 2009, p. 136 (as *Self-Portrait*).

3 See A. Blankert, R. Ruurs, *Amsterdams Historisch Museum : Schilderijen daterend van voor 1800*, Amsterdam 1975-1979, pp. 103-104. Albert Blankert appears to be the first to recognise the Louvre sitter in Pickenoy's *Anatomical Lesson of Dr. Fonteijn*. I thank Norbert Middelkoop for focusing my attention on Blankert's remark.

4 Six 1886, p. 86, citing J. Monnikhoff (1746), lists the names of all eleven sitters. This list has been wrongly interpreted by Blankert (see note 3), who assumed that in addition to the eleven names mentioned an additional number of several 'collegiemeesters' was included in the painting as well. However, the document clearly lists the names of those 'collegiemeesters', and all of them are already included in the list of eleven names. The painting will thus have consisted of eleven portraits and not, as Blankert assumed, of eleven portraits plus 'eenige collegiemeesters'. The sitter of the Louvre portrait was born c. 1591, but as several sitters were born approximately that year (e.g. Jacob van Leeuwen, Steven Jacobsz Vennekool), identification on that basis alone is impossible.

5 See, for instance, G. Luijten, in: idem., C. Depauw, *Anthony van Dyck as a Printmaker*, exh. cat. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1999-2000, pp. 92-100, who discusses Van Dyck's etched *Self-portrait* in which the artist looks over his shoulder, and erroneously adduces Pickenoy's Louvre portrait as another example of a self-portrait in that fashion (p. 98, fig. 5).

6 Sale London, Christie's (L.W. Nield, Esq), 14 July 1945. Lot 63 (as Bartholomeus van der Helst). According to a letter from Sotheby's London, dated 24 August 1995, addressed to the Documentation du Louvre in Paris (available there), the work was considered for auction at that point. The letter mentions the signature as being *Nicolaes. Elias. / 1625.* It also mentions that the work was exhibited in the National Gallery of South Africa.

7 P.J. Snijders, 'Een teruggevonden regentenstuk van Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy', in: *Oud Holland* 65 (1950), pp. 73-74. Snijders gives the signature as 'Nicolaes Elias' and the date 1625. The RKD mount mentions 'Nic....Amstelodamensis 1625'.

8 Six 1886, pp. 85-86. The 1626 document had previously incorrectly been linked to another group portrait by Pickenoy. See J.O. Kronig, 'Een teruggevonden regentenstuk van Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy', in: *Oud Holland* 27 (1909), pp. 229-230.

9 J.G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam*, 3 vols., 1929-1974, 2 (1933), p. 631, no. 1118. The only merchant not depicted in the Johannesburg group portrait, who signed the 1627 act, is Jan Pietersz. van Delft, who was 41 years old at the time.

10 SAA (Amsterdam Municipal Archives), DTB (baptism, marriage and burial registers) 5, p. 199.

11 SAA, DTB 762A, p. 276.

12 The reason underlying this transcription remains unclear, but a quick look at the reverse shows that the lower, left and right sides of the panel are neatly bevelled, while the bevelling at the top is missing, an indication that a few centimetres of the top were probably cut off in the past, possibly through damage or to fit another frame, thereby relinquishing the original age inscription. Reproducing the inscription on the reverse would have thus been an effort to salvage it for the future.

13 The spelling 'Holbeen' for Holbein regularly occurs in Dutch seventeenth and eighteenth century inventories.

14 SAA, DTB 420, p. 170.

15 SAA, DTB 1, p. 374 (Jan, b. 29 September 1588); 38, p. 135 (Willum, b. 19 March 1590); 2, p. 85 (Pieter, b. 13 March 1591); 38, p. 259 (Anne, b. 06 September 1592); 3, p. 111 (Adolf, b. 16 January 1598). The name Segevyn van Revebergh appears at the baptism of Willum and Pieter. We later come across a 'Portrait of the old Ruigenbergh's face' in the inventory of Milca van Dans, Dirck van Dans's daughter, which also contains the portraits of Dirck van Dans and his wife.

16 Johan de Reidt was a brother of Everhardt van Reidt (1550-1602), burgomaster of Arnhem. See: Gelders Archief (www.geldersarchief.nl), 0580 Studentenfonds Van Reidt te Arnhem, Introduction.

17 SAA, DTB 39, p. 453 (Jan, b. 19 March 1617); 5, p. 287 (Geertrui, b. 20 June 1619); 40, p. 102 (Geertruijt, b. 13 October 1620); 40, p. 209 (Susanna, b. 23 April 1623); 6, p. 149 (Milca, b. 20 August 1626).

18 SAA, 5075 (not. arch.), 363, fol. 433-434v. See also: Van Dillen 1929-1974, 2 (1933), p. 341, no. 569.

19 John Michael Montias misunderstood this document and situated these wine merchants in the cities Bordeaux and Cognac, and Dirck van Dans therefore in the city of Noach, which does not exist. See: The Montias Database (http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php), inv. 205, commentary.

20 The Montias Database, Montias2 record 31437.

21 Van Dillen 1929-1974, 2 (1933), pp. 390-393, no. 675.

22 Van Dillen 1929-1974, 2 (1933), p. 763, no. 1363.

23 Van Dillen 1929-1974, 3 (1974), p. 230, no. 438.

24 J. Anspach, *De Veluwsche familie Tulleken en hare aanverwanten : een genealogisch-historische proeve*, The Hague 1882, esp. p. 81.

25 The baptism registers mention Joost Tulks, which could theoretically also refer to Josias's father, Joost Tulkens. However, Josias's name is also written elsewhere as Joost. In any case, the families were very close.

26 The Montias Database, inv. 205, commentary.

27 SAA, DTB 1045, pp. 37vo, 38 (15 October 1631, as Susanna van Reet, and Davit van Dans 'op de Bre[e]st[r] In noach').

28 *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV : accedunt*, The Hague 1875, p. 272: '18 jun. 1635, Johannes a Dans, 20 jr, Amsterodamensis, P[hilosophiae Studiosus]', under professor Johannes Polyander van Kerckhoven. I am very grateful to Dr. Piet Bakker for his help in finding this source.

29 The Hague 1875, p. 156: '15 sep. 1621, Adolpho a Dans, 24 jr, Amsterodamensis, J[uridicae Studiosus]' under professor Everard Vorstius. See further: A. Pars, *Index Batavicus, of Naamrol van de Batavise en Hollandse schrijvers*, Leiden 1701, p. 273: Adolphus Dans, Poeta [...] Amstelodamensis'.

30 *Adolphi à Dans Amstelodamensis : Poemata [...] post excessum authoris edidit Joannes à Dans*, Leiden 1636. Confusingly, another Johan van Dans, from Arnhem, studied law in Leiden at the same time as the Amsterdam Johan van Dans. See: The Hague 1875, p. 256 '17 sep. 1633, Johannes Dans, 22 jr, Arnemiensis, J[uridicae Studiosus]', under professor Anthonie Thysius. This Johannes graduated on 27 July 1637 from Leiden University and takes his oath as a lawyer in Arnhem on 12 October 1637. See: Gelders Archief (Gelderland Archive), 0124 ('Hof van Gelre en Zutphen'), 6.2.2.1 (Album advocatorum Curiae Ducatus Gelriae et Comitatis Zutphaniae, list of lawyers, 1610-1649): Dans, Johan van (Arnhem); member brotherhood of St Luke. He is no doubt the author of *Darodilace, ofte Kus Hemel van Ledee*, a volume of poetry published in Arnhem in 1637. See for this lawyer and poet: M. Potjer, 'Johan van Dans, een onbekende Arnhemse dichter uit 1638', in: *Arnhem de Genoeglijkste* 27/2 (2007), pp. 55-57. He probably died in Arnhem in 1639 (Gelderland Archive, RBS 158, fol. 59, 24 June 1639). Potjer understandably, but erroneously, assumes that the two individuals with the name Johan van Dans are the same.

31 Gelders Archief (Gelderland Archive), DTB 0176, 127, 29 March 1612 (marriage of Everhard Sluysken and Catharina van Reidt, daughter of Johan van Reidt). In turn, Johan's dedication might be seen as a respectful emulation of that of his deceased uncle Adolf, as the latter had once dedicated a poem to the already mentioned Arnhem burgomaster Everhard van Reidt, the uncle of his sister-in-law, Dirck's wife Susanna. See for this poem: Pars 1701, p. 273.

32 In 1619 and 1620, respectively, Everhard Sluysken and Joost van Reidt acted as witness at the baptisms of Geertrui and Geertruijt. Also present at the baptism of Geertrui (1619) was Clara van Reidt, who was probably Sluysken's wife Catharina van Reidt.

33 The Montias Database, inv. 205, commentary, where it is stated that on 4 November 1637 a surgeon Barent Jacobsz testified that he had sailed to Sumatra the previous April with Jan van Dans, and that the latter had gotten sick and died. Theoretically this could refer to Dirck's brother Jan, born in 1588, or Dirck's son Jan.

34 The Montias Database, Montias2 record 31437.

35 The Montias Database, inv. 370, commentary.

36 The Montias Database, inv. 205. Fensels was the widow of Georg Everhardt Klenck, a wealthy merchant trading with Russia.

37 SAA, DTB 474, p. 197. The groom was Jan de Jonge. Since he married for the second time on 2 September 1661 (DTB 482, p. 242), we may assume Susanna had died in the meantime.

38 SAA, DTB 1047, p. 259. Though exceptional, such grand old ages did occur. Famous examples are Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) and Constantijn Huygens (1598-1687), who were 91 and 90, respectively, when they passed away.

39 SAA, 4538 (film 5317), ff. 81-91, Joannes. See further: The Getty Provenance Index Databases (www.getty.edu), archival inventory N-40, p. 1, item 5a-b.

cat. no. 9

David Ryckaert III
1612 – Antwerp – 1661

The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Signed and dated lower left *D . Ryckaert / 1647*
Oil on copper
56 x 73.5 cm.

Provenance:
Belgium, private collection

David Ryckaert III was a descendant of an Antwerp family of painters.[1] His grandfather, David Ryckaert I (1560-1607), was a decorator of woodwork and sculptures. David I had three sons who followed in his footsteps: David II (1586-1642), who became a master of the Guild of St Luke in 1607/08 and specialised in genre pictures; Marten Ryckaert (1587-1631), who went to Italy between 1605 and 1610 and became a landscape painter; and Pauwels Ryckaert (1592-1649/50), a painter of little renown. The present painter, David III, was the son of David II. Taught by his father, he became a master of the Guild himself in 1636/37. In his father's studio he may have met the somewhat younger apprentice Gonzales Coques (1618-1684). Coques was to marry his master's daughter, Catharina Ryckaert, in 1643, and thus became David III's brother-in-law. David III and Coques must have been close, for in later years they even formed a partnership for the acquisition of properties. In 1647, the year of the present painting, David married Jacoba Palmans, with whom he had eight children. During the first years after establishing himself, he started producing mainly peasant scenes in the vein of Adriaen Brouwer (1605/06-1638) and David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690). These scenes were often enriched with still life, an element he must have taken over from the work of Cornelis Saftleven (1607-1681), with whom his work shows a clear affinity. During the 1640s and 1650s, Ryckaert expanded his artistic vocabulary by depicting the (mostly lower) middle classes, often as a merry company and even in an elegant setting. In addition, he painted professional settings, such as scholars in their studios and alchemists, as well as witches and several versions of the temptation of St Anthony. A limited number of history paintings by his hand are known. Ryckaert counted a number of important collectors among his clientele, among them Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, governor of the Southern Netherlands, who owned at least four paintings by him.

By the time David Ryckaert painted the present *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, the subject had been popular in Western European art for over 150 years. Famous artists of the past such as Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450-1516), Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533) and Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1526/30-1569) had treated the theme in paintings and prints, and in more recent times David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690) and Cornelis Saftleven had revived that old tradition. This is not surprising, since the subject lent itself extremely well to the depiction of a parade of crazy, fantastic monsters. We are first informed about Saint Anthony of Egypt (251-356) by his presumed biographer, Athanasius of Alexandria





Fig. 1 David Ryckaert III, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, 1649, oil on copper, 64.1 x 89.9 cm., South Hadley, Mount Holyoke College Art Museum

(328-373). Anthony was born the son of a wealthy landowner, but when at the age of 18 his parents died, he decided to give up his comfortable life, and he retreated to the eastern Egyptian desert to live an ascetic existence. In later life he was joined by a following of disciples, whom he organised into worshipping communities. Hence he is credited as being the 'father of monks'. During his exile in the desert Anthony was often visited by seductive, or horrible creatures sent by the Devil to tempt him. Despite these sufferings, the steadfast Anthony failed to be seduced, but instead was strengthened by his faith. As his attribute, Saint Anthony is often depicted with the Tau cross (or Saint Anthony's cross), referring to salvation. During the Middle Ages the congregation of the Hospital Brothers of Saint Anthony or *Antonites*, who wore black habits with the Greek letter 'tau', founded hospitals to succour those suffering from diseases such as St. Anthony's fire, leprosy, and the Black Death. These patients were often required to wear a bell, as were the Antonites. To maintain a living the community were allowed to hold pigs, explaining the pictorial tradition of depicting Saint Anthony with a bell and a pig.

All of these elements are present in the newly surfaced, hugely exciting Lilian work. Set within a humble dwelling in a natural, outdoor setting, Saint Anthony – with a 'tau' on his cloak – is kneeling down before a prayer book and a cross, surrounded by harassing demons and monstrous creatures. The most prominent of these is the beautiful woman in the red dress with the plunging décolletage, and the strange little gnome-like man behind her with pointed ears and a burning fire on his head, who holds up the train of her dress. The woman offers Saint Anthony a glass of wine and a little cake on a platter, but the claws underneath her dress reveal her true demonic nature and corrupt intentions. On Anthony's other side are, among others, a bare-breasted woman with a skull head who holds a snake aloft, as well as another a gruesome creature whose nose forms a flute. The egg-shell bird on his head defecates on the pate of the poor saint. Likewise, another little demon poops from the ceiling joist, while smoke escapes his rectum. Underneath the bell post two devilish, parchment-skinned creatures, with reptilian and amphibian-like traits, complete the group. Against the sky at the left, a flying fish fights a bird-like monster, while another fish on the ground eats porridge from a pot. In the background a procession of demons approach the scene. Even the friendly looking pig in the right foreground, often Anthony's loyal attribute, is endowed with claws.

Ryckaert treated the subject of the *Temptation of St Anthony* at least five times. The earliest effort was painted in 1645 and is now in Lisbon, while two other works, dating from the early 1650s, are in the Uffizi in Florence.[2] However, the work closest in conception and composition to the Lilian painting surfaced just recently. Also on copper, it is now in the Mount Holyoke College Art Museum and is dated 1649 (fig. 1).[3] The Holyoke painting clearly follows the pictorial scheme Ryckaert



Fig. 2 David Teniers the Younger, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, oil on canvas, 111.3 x 148.9 cm., Ponce, Museo de Arte de Ponce

used in the Lilian work of two years earlier, with an architectural unit to the right and a receding natural background to the left. In the middle we see once more the woman with bird's claws as feet about to offer a drink to the praying hermit, who is likewise surrounded by a herd of strange creatures. Her dress is again carried by a little figure behind her. In slightly altered form, we come across the egg-shelled bird and the monster playing on his flute-nose. For the Lilian composition, in turn, Ryckaert no doubt consulted a *Temptation of St Anthony* by David Teniers the Younger, now in the museum in Ponce, which again features the woman holding the glass and a creature behind her bearing her train (fig. 2).[4] Whereas the Lilian work, with its slanted roof and St. Anthony with folded hands kneeling behind a stone ledge is still closer to Teniers's conception, the Mount Holyoke work shows Ryckaert balancing out the composition. However, by doing so he simultaneously let go of the nervous, cropped, magnified picture of harassment that St. Anthony endures in the present work, which is precisely one of its great qualities. The creatures themselves, however (surely the true eye catchers of the painting), though sometimes inspired by the work of the masters of the past, such as Lucas Cranach (c. 1472-1553), Martin Schongauer (1448-1491) and Hieronymus Wierix (c. 1553-1619) (figs. 3, 4) all sprout from Ryckaert's idiosyncratic mind.

JH



Fig. 3 Martin Schongauer, *Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons*, engraving, 29.4 x 20.9 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 4 Hieronymus Wierix, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, engraving, 9 x 6.2 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Notes

1 Biography based on J.E. van der Sterre, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., New York 1996, 26, pp. 390-391; B. van Haute, *David III Ryckaert : A Seventeenth Century Flemish Painter of Peasant Scenes*, Turnhout 1999, chaps. 1-5.

2 Van Haute 1999, cat. nos. A64 (1645, Lisbon), A147, A148 (both Florence, early 1650s).

3 Van Haute 1999, cat. no. B1, which the author knew from an old photo and listed under doubtful attributions. Van Haute has since confirmed the attribution to Ryckaert. See sale, Amsterdam, Christie's, 6 May 2008, lot 86, lot notes. The work is now in the Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, inv. no. MH 2009.2.2.

4 See T.J. Loughman, in Vv.Aa., *Masterpieces of European painting from Museo de Arte de Ponce*, exh. cat. Phoenix, Phoenix Art Museum, Memphis, Memphis Brooks Museum of Art, Nashville, Frist Center for the Visual Arts 2008-2010, cat. no. 32. Loughman dates the painting c. 1665, to my mind at least 18 years too late. Another version of the painting is in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille, oil on panel, 63 x 87 cm., inv. no. P 95. Van Haute 1999, pp. 36-36 states on the subject of St Anthony that Ryckaert was not 'impressed by Teniers's example' on the basis of the three Teniers paintings with the subject that were taken up in M. Klinge, *David Teniers de Jonge : Schilderijen, tekeningen*, exh. cat. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten 1991, cat. nos. 9, 41, 90. However, the Lilian work and to a lesser extent the Holyoke work prove otherwise.

cat. no. 10

Jan Woutersz Stap
1599 – Amsterdam – 1663

The Tax Collector and his Wife

Monogrammed lower right *IWS*[I]
Oil on panel
120 x 90 cm.

Provenance:
London, The English National Trading Bank collection, 1975
Sale London, Sotheby's, 12 July 1978, lot 225
The Hague, John Hoogsteder art trade, 1979
England, private collection
USA, collection Saul P. Steinberg
New York, Christie's, 29 September 2008, lot 166
Italy, private collection

For a long time Jan Woutersz Stap was identified with a sixteenth century painter who became a citizen of Amsterdam in 1542. However, the discovery of a document of 1630, in which the 30 year old painter Jan Woutersz Stap testifies to the delivery of a certain frame, and the discovery of the date 1636 on the signed *Landlord's Steward* in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (fig. 1), made it indesputably clear that Stap was a seventeenth, not a sixteenth century painter.[2] Born in Amsterdam in July 1599, Stap was the first of at least four sons of the bricklayer Wouter Jansz and his wife Aaltje Tijssen, who wedded in 1595, each having been married previously.[3] Although documents regarding Stap's life are scarce – it is unknown, for instance, where he received his education – we do know that he married Barbara Andries in the spring of 1622, and that the couple were reformed.[4] Between 1623 and 1634 Jan and Barbara had at least five children.[5] Whereas Arthur van Schendel listed 13 paintings by Stap's hand in 1937, nowadays some 30 works are steadily attributable to him, only seven of which – including the present work – are signed. Apart from a handful of history paintings, Stap's oeuvre consists of large-figure genre works, with a preference for the adjacent themes of *The Notary's Office* and *The Landlord's Steward*, of which at least seven versions exist. An inscription with the date 1614 on





Fig. 1 Jan Woutersz Stap, *The Landlord's Steward*, 1636, oil on panel, 83.3 x 68.8 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Stap's *Landlord's Steward* in the Schleissheim Gallery would suggest that the artist was already active at that time. The only two other known dated works, both in the Rijksmuseum, are *The Notary's Office* of 1629, and the aforementioned *Landlord's Steward* of 1636.[6] Although the painter's alleged death in 1663 was noted down by the trustworthy Amsterdam archivist Nicolaas de Roever (1850-1893), the source for this assertion has not emerged as yet. Taking Stap's rather *retardataire* output into consideration, the initial confusion about his period of activity comes as no surprise. Although a certain affinity has been pointed out with the archaism in the work of Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629)[7], Stap's style and subject matter primarily lean on the production of Flemish sixteenth century predecessors, specifically Quinten Massys (1465/66-1530), his son Jan Massys (1509-1575) and Marinus van Reymerswaele (c. 1490-before 1556). It is, in fact, rather amazing that Stap was apparently able to find a niche for his paintings in the booming, highly competitive art market in Amsterdam around 1630, when Rembrandt (1606-1669) above all others dictated the taste of the day. It implies that there was a demand among a certain public for large, newly produced 'retro-style' paintings.

The reliance on sixteenth century examples is particularly apparent in the present *Tax Collector and his Wife*, tentatively datable to c. 1630-1635.[8] Ranking among Stap's most ambitious works both in execution, level of detail and iconography, *The Tax Collector and his Wife*, as its point of departure, conflates the themes and compositions of Quinten Massys' *The Moneychanger and his Wife* of 1514 in the Louvre, and Marinus van Reymerswaele's *The Tax Collectors*, of which many versions exist. Painted in Stap's typical 'retro-style', his work shows an old couple in a cropped interior behind a classically ornamented desk lined with blue leather, laden with a large money pouch and moneybags spilling over with golden coins. While the man is occupied with writing in an account book – we actually see the word 'ontfangen', that is, 'received', in the book – his wrinkled wife, who somewhat conspiringly drapes her arm over her husband's shoulder, attentively surveys his business, her index finger resting against her temple in an attitude of deep concentration. Behind the couple in the background we see another large leather money pouch hanging from the wall, and a shelf with a stack of ledgers, some papers, a little casket, and a candle. In order to grasp the full range of Stap's image, and to determine to what extent we can equate his work with that of his sixteenth century predecessors, it is instructive to consider the latter first.

Both Massys' and Van Reymerswaele's works are known for their multi-layered iconography, in which dialectical concepts such as affluence and wise stewardship on the one hand, and social comment and satire of greed on the other, are paired to variable degrees.[9] Just as in Stap's work, Massys' *Moneychanger and his Wife* presents a couple – young and beautiful this time – sitting behind a table full of valuables (fig. 2). As the man is weighing golden coins, his wife looks up from her breviary and, like her counterpart in the Stap, turns her attention towards her husband's activities and the worldly splendour beside her. In itself the idea of opulence, with its attendant motif of weighing money or gold, or accounting, could be deemed a positive thing. According to Christianity, Man is only the temporary steward of earthly goods, entrusted with God's gifts that he not only has to account for, but as a caretaker has to



Fig. 2 Quinten Massys, *The Moneychanger and his Wife*, 1514, oil on panel, 74 x 68 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 3 Aert Schouman after anonymous, *Double Portrait of the Bailiff Gijsbert Scharlaken Pietersz and his Wife Adriana van Slingelandt*, 1751 (orig. 1552), black pen and grey wash on paper, 24.3 x 30.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

nurture and allow to flourish and multiply. In Matthew 25: 14-30 this Christian duty is even explained through an explicitly monetary parable. In principle, making money in itself was therefore not necessarily at odds with Christian theology. Husbanded with balance and wise stewardship it could even be deemed virtuous, as a double portrait of a prosperous Dordrecht bailiff and his wife dated 1552, known through an eighteenth century drawing, goes to show (fig. 3).[10] The work depicts a young couple, not unlike that of Massys' painting, and makes use of a remarkably similar iconography. In addition to money, a pair of scales, a wallet and account books we see the Psalters of David on the table, and a book that reads 'scrutamini scripturas'; 'study the scriptures'. In the background a *tondo* with the Last Judgement is accompanied by the text 'na liden comt verbliden', 'after abiding comes joy', the deserved reward for good stewardship. In *The Moneychanger and his Wife* Massys subtly makes play with these same themes, intriguingly leaving open the question whether the wife will resume her devout activity, or if her attention will remain on the valuables beside her. However, decidedly negative connotations are absent, and the painting merely seems to stimulate the viewer's contemplation about value, balance and the transience of life.[11]

Van Reymerswale, who was probably well acquainted with Massys[12], eagerly adapted the latter's themes as several of his own versions of *The Moneychanger and his Wife*, all essentially dependent on Massys, testify. As it is unlikely that Stap knew Massys' original at first hand, he might in fact have been familiar with the theme through one of Van Reymerswaele's versions. Surely Stap knew of Van Reymerswaele's adaption of another work by Massys, the latter's *The Usurers*, which more unambiguously belongs to the world of satire and social comment (fig. 4).[13] This painting depicts an office in which two caricatured, mean looking men, one with his arm around the other's shoulder, are seated behind a table full of coins, a book and a moneybag, while behind them two poor peasants hold an empty purse. The work thus satirizes



Fig. 4 Studio of Quinten Massys, *The Usurers*, oil on panel, 75 x 93.3 cm., Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj

greed, specifically in relation to the excesses of a then bourgeoning economic system in which a class of covetous monetary professionals – tax collectors, bankers, moneychangers, lawyers and the like – acquired exorbitant profits, and thus became subject to growing social concern and critique. Van Reymerswaele adapted this satirical theme in his own *Tax Collectors*, an extremely successful composition, drawing from the great quantity of versions and copies produced inside Van Reymerswaele's studio, but also outside of it (fig. 5).[14] Leaving out the victims, Van Reymerswaele returned to a two-figure composition, but kept the book and the right man's hand conspiratorially on the other's shoulder. Moreover, although the left hand man is rendered in a seemingly reputable fashion (he writes with a serious, concentrated face in an account book (as demonstrated above a virtuous activity in principle) his fellow tax collector reveals the underlying avarice of the scene as he regards the viewer with a distinctly unpleasant smirk, while pointing with his finger to his colleague's lucrative activity. The scene seems respectable, but in reality it is not. It was this well-known composition by Van Reymerswaele that Stap used as his template for the present *Tax Collector and his Wife*.

Thus, while following the seemingly positive pictorial tradition of Massys' *Moneychanger and his Wife*, Stap's work mimics Marinus Van Reymerswaele's satirical *Tax Collectors* in composition, choice of motifs, and even in its colour scheme. The husband, like the writer in the Van Reymerswaele, wears a blue-grey fur-lined coat, a hat of a red, ruched fabric, and writes with his right hand in his account book. With his left hand he firmly holds the pouch that we also see on the table in The Royal Collection example. His ugly wife with her complementary red dress, green headdress and right arm draped over her husband's shoulder, corresponds perfectly to Van Reymerswaele's smirking tax collector. The bookshelf with the candle and office paraphernalia frames the image on top, while a sandbox and inkpot are identically placed in the left corner of the table. In so closely adapting Marinus' example, Stap explicitly took over his satirical pretensions as well. However, to fully capitalise on the satirising effect, Stap cleverly integrates a third theme connected



Fig. 5 After Marinus van Reymerswaele, *The Tax Collectors*, oil on panel, 118 x 98 cm., London, The Royal Collection



Fig. 6 Crispijn de Passe the Elder, *The Age of Sixty*, in or before 1599, engraving, diam. 12 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 7 Michel le Blon, Label on the inside of a coin-weight box, in or before 1629

with riches since antiquity: old age.[15] Absent from the Massys and Van Reymerswaele, the introduction of old age subtly shifts the painting's satirical emphasis from mocking greed to mocking miserliness and avarice in old age, and from a general implication of earthly transience towards an explicit reminder of forthcoming death, and the warning that all these riches will do you no good in the hereafter.

The pictorial tradition of the old miser, male or female, was old itself and well known, mostly within the context of the iconography of *Avaritia*, one of the seven deadly sins. That of the old miserly couple was newer and less common. First encountered in the *Ages of Man* print series by Crispijn de Passe the Elder (1564-1637) of around 1599, the age of sixty is depicted by a man and a woman at a table with scales, a pouch and a coin weight box (fig. 6).[16] A label found inside precisely such a coin weight box, manufactured in 1629, elaborates on the theme. Etched by the Amsterdam-based printmaker Michel le Blon (1587-1658), the label again presents the elderly couple, but now introduces – as with Stap – the man writing in an account book (fig. 7). Moreover, the couple is surprised by the figure of Death, a skeleton holding an hourglass and pointing a spear at them, thus underlining the image's moral message. Although the figure of Death is absent in the present work, Stap was arguably familiar with Le Blon's label, which seems to only shortly precede his own work,



Fig. 8 Jan Lievens, *Old Miserly Couple Surprised by Death*, 1638, oil on panel, 60 x 79 cm., private collection



Fig. 9 David Teniers, *The Covetous Man*, oil on canvas, 62.5 x 85 cm., London, National Gallery

and which was reprinted and reworked endlessly in in the Republic and abroad the following years.[17] Interestingly, the caption accompanying the image on the label reads 'Luc. 12', clearly referring to the biblical parable of the Covetous Man (Luke 12: 15-21) in which God condemns a hoarder, saying 'Fool! This night your soul is required of you: then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided? So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.' The parable does not mention a woman, but the inclusion of the biblical reference on the label indicates that such associations were close at hand.[18] The theme was picked up on elsewhere, too. At the end of the 1630s Jan Lievens (1607-1676) in Antwerp (coincidentally or not a city in which Le Blon's coin-weight labels were copied) painted a miserly old couple surprised by Death (fig. 8), and in around 1650 David Teniers the Younger (1610-



Fig. 10 Abraham Teniers after David Teniers the Younger, *Old Miserly Couple*, etching and engraving, 23.8 x 19.9 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 11 Jan Woutersz Stap, *The Money Changer and his Wife* (reconstruction of two separated canvases), man, left: 101 x 78.8 cm., sale Amsterdam, Sotheby's, 18 May 2004, lot 54; woman, right: 88.5 x 60.2 cm., London, The Courtauld Gallery

1690), also from Antwerp, used a similar iconography for a painting of an old miserly couple now in the National Gallery, London (fig. 9). A print after this painting, in contrast to the painting showing Death in the background holding an hourglass, is accompanied by a quotation in Latin from Luke 12 once more (fig. 10). Since Teniers' brother Abraham (1629-1670) was the publisher of this print, one could assume that both Death and the quotation were added with the artist's consent and thus conveyed his own ideas. If this is so, one could imagine that Stap in the present work tentatively referred to the biblical parable as well, or at least that he left this open for interpretation. In any case, he clearly took a vivid interest in the theme and its imagery, as is demonstrated by other works from his hand dealing with the theme, such as *The Money Changers* (divided in two during the twentieth century), which combines many similar motifs in a different combination (fig. 11).[19] Yet in no other work did Stap intertwine pictorial traditions surrounding value, transience, greed and avarice, classic compositions and recent innovations in such a compelling way as in the present *Tax Collector and his Wife*. Within that perspective, the present painting is both an anachronistic fulfilment of sixteenth century traditions, as well as a fresh, hitherto unnoticed link towards later seventeenth century imagery of the subject.

JH

Notes

1 The present monogram is remarkably similar to the wool card monogram used by Pieter Aertsen (c. 1508-1575) and his son Pieter Pietersz (1540/41-1603), both of whom were active in Amsterdam during considerable periods of their careers. However a relationship between Stap and the Aertsen family has not been established.

2 A. Bredius, in: *Oud Holland* 52 (1935), p. 48. See foremost the quintessential article by A. van Schendel, Jr., 'Johannes Woutersz Stap', in: *Oud Holland* 54 (1937), pp. 268-282.

3 Amsterdam Municipal Archive (SAA), DTB 407, p. 311, 23 December 1595. Wouter Jansz had previously been married to Geerte Gerrits, Aaltje Tijssen to Arent Jansz. The couple had at least four children: Jan, baptised 22 July 1599 (SAA, DTB 38, p. 744); Mijchgiel, baptised 8 April 1601 (SAA, DTB 38, p. 873); Tijs, baptised 3 September 1606 (SAA, DTB 39, p. 103); Gerrit, baptised 6 January 1608, SAA, DTB 39, p. 141).

4 SAA, DTB 462, p. 277.

5 Maria, baptised 12 November 1623 (SAA, DTB 6, p. 64); Sara, baptised 11 October 1626 (SAA, DTB 40, p. 362); Wouter, baptised 22 February 1629 (SAA, DTB 6, p. 231); Petrus, baptised 16 February 1631 (SAA, DTB 41, p. 123); Andries, baptised 15 January 1634 (SAA, DTB 41, p. 294). At the baptism of Marija and Wouter the profession of the father is given as painter. At the baptism of Marija, Wouter and Petrus, Stap's mother Aaltje Thijssen is documented as godmother, reaffirming the validity of the identification of the painter Jan Woutersz Stap with the child baptised on 22 July 1599. This argument was first put forward by Jonathan Bikker. See J. Bikker et al., *Artists born between 1570 and 1600 (Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam 1)*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 2007, I, pp. 359-361.

6 Van Schendel 1937, pp. 272-273 further mentions a signed work dated 1635 by Stap in a sale, Amsterdam, Roos, 9 November 1866.

7 See A. Blankert, 'Heraclitus en Democritus: in het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 18 (1967), pp. 31-124, p. 99, no. 38; A. Blankert, in: idem., L. Slatkes, *Nieuw Licht op de Gouden Eeuw : Hendrick ter Brugghen en tijdgenoten*, exh. cat. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 1986-1987, p. 28; Bikker 2007, p. 359. Blankert notices Stap's and Ter Brugghen's rare shared use of an identical celestial globe in their respective works with the Heraclitus and Democritus subject. Bikker points out the close pictorial correspondence between both painters' versions of *Pilate Washing his Hands*.

8 Although a chronology in Stap's oeuvre is hard to establish, a date around 1630-1635 seems probable given the stylistic resemblance with the 1629 work in the Rijksmuseum, especially in the rendering of the hands, and the loose repetition of the man with the red headdress in the 1636 work, also in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 1). As will be argued here, the motif of the man with the red headdress relies strongly on an example found by Marinus van Reymerswaele, to which the present work remains much closer than the 1636 work, which implies an earlier date.

9 For an interesting, sometimes very associative interpretation of Massys' *Moneychanger and his Wife*, see: J. Woodall, 'De Wisselaer: Quintin Matsys' *Man weighing gold coins and his wife*, 1514', in: C. Göttler, B. ramakers, J. Woodall (eds.), *Trading Values in Early Modern Antwerp : Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 64 (2014), pp. 38-75.

10 I thank Adri Mackor for focusing my attention to this drawing.

11 In the seventeenth century the painting's frame was inscribed with a (possibly

original) biblical text: 'Statura iusta & aequa Sint Pondere', 'Use honest scales and honest weights'. See: F. Lammertse, in: idem., P. van der Coelen (eds.), *De ontdekking van het dagelijkse leven van Bosch tot Bruegel*, exh. cat. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen 2015-2016, pp. 95-96. The couple's relatively modest *antique* costume probably serves as an agent for a certain anecdotal quality, but also seems to echo a now lost example by Jan van Eyck (c. 1390-1441). The costume does not allow for a satirizing interpretation. Likewise, the books and candle in the background seem to merely remind us of the transience of worldly goods in general, rather than voicing a serious critique.

12 A recently discovered text on a painting by Van Reymerswaele in the Hermitage, St Petersburg, mentions Quinten Massys as 'eersame, goede en bemynde vrient Quin. Masys' (honourable, good and beloved friend Quin. Massys). See: F. Lammerste, in: Rotterdam 2015-2016, pp. 104-105.

13 Another version was at a sale, London, Christie's, 7 July 2009, lot 9. See also Rotterdam 2015-2016, pp. 95-96, fig. 86, and cat. no. 25 (as studio works, possibly by Quinten's son Jan.)

14 I thank Alice Taatgen and Adri Mackor for their helpful advice regarding Van Reymerswaele's versions of *The Tax Collectors*, November and December 2015. See for a discussion of the various versions and some iconographical nuances: A. Mackor, 'Are Marinus' Tax Collectors collecting taxes?', in: *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 36 (1995), pp. 3-13. Mackor rightly argues that the version in Warsaw – of which the version depicted here (fig. 5) essentially derives – depicts (imaginary) tax collectors of the city of Reymerswaele. See further: B.S. Yamey, *Art & Accounting*, New Haven/London 1989, pp. 51-56 for a discussion of versions, authorship and interpretation; M. Huiskamp, 'Van wisselaars en woekeraars, van tollenaars en vrekken : Het wegen van geld in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw', in: idem., *Gewogen of bedrogen : Het wegen van geld in de Nederlanden*, Leiden 1994, pp. 11-47. Recently Larry Silver has argued that the version now in the Liechtenstein Collection is in fact the prime version by Quinten Massys. This seems hard to believe, as the texts in the painting – concerning the village of Reymerswaele – repeat similar texts in authentic versions, but simplified and incorrect. See: L. Silver, 'Massys and Money: The *Tax Collectors* Rediscovered', in: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 7/2 (Summer 2015, available at http://www.jhna.org/index.php/vol-7-2-2015/312-silver-larry). F. Lammertse, in: Rotterdam 2015-2016, p. 113, note 78, rejects Silver's attribution.

15 See for a thorough analysis of the iconography of old age, avarice and greed in Dutch contemporary prints: A. Jansen, *Grijsaards in zwart-wit : De verbeelding van de ouderdom in de Nederlandse prentkunst (1550-1650)*, Zutphen 2007, chapter 5 'Gierigheid en hebzucht', pp. 221-245.

16 On the theory and iconography of the *Ages of Man* theme, especially concerning old age, see: Jansen 2007, chapter 2, pp. 67-174.

17 For an overview of these labels, see: A. Pol, 'Enkele Zuid-Nederlandse imitaties van Amsterdamse muntgewichtdoosetiketten', in: *Jaarboek van het Europees Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 73 (1986), pp. 109-131. The present label must be dated between 1622 (the dating of the coin tariffs) and 1629 (the date of the box). A date between 1627 and 1629 seems most likely (compare next note).

18 The coin-weight box label depicted here (fig. 7) is a variation on another, probably earlier version of a similar print by Le Blon, datable to 1627, depicting the rich man (without a woman) visited by Death. Le Blon directly based this print on Albrecht Dürer's (1471-1528) famous woodcut of the subject. Le Blon's earlier print lacks a reference to Luke 12, but the theme must have been self-explanatory. See: Pol 1986, pp. 125-128, nos. 30a-c, 31.

19 A painting by Stap described as *The Money-Changers* was in a sale, London, Christie's (John R. Clayton Esq., a.o.), 30 January 1914, lot 62, 32.5 x 51.5 in. (approx. 82.6 x 130.8 cm.). Another work possibly by Stap depicts an old man and a young woman accounting (oil on panel, 70 x 91 cm., London, art dealer Paul Larsen 1956, RKD no. 208809, as manner of/after Jan Woutersz Stap).



Detail of cat. no. 10

cat. no. 11

Matthias Stom
? 1599/1600 – Sicily (?) in or after 1652

A Young Man with a Violin

Oil on canvas
81.4 x 62 cm.

Provenance:
Sale New York, Doyle ('Property Sold by the Order of Ethel Griffin, Public Administrator, County of New York'), 25 January 1989, lot 68
New York, Berry-Hill galleries, 2000
New York, Joan Michelman Fine Art
New York, collection Stanley Moss, 2003
Sale New York, Sotheby's, 4 June 2009, lot 26
Italy, private collection

Literature:
B. Nicolson, L. Vertova, *Caravaggism in Europe*, 3 vols., Florence 1990, 1, p. 186, under no. 1462[1]
R.B. Simon, *Visions and Vistas : Old Master Paintings and Drawings*, exh. cat. New York, Berry-Hill Galleries 2000, pp. 30-31



The birthplace of Matthias Stom is unknown. The assumption that he was born in Amersfoort near Utrecht was put forward in 1942 by G.J. Hoogewerff, who cited a document he was subsequently unable to produce.[2] However, Dr Marten Jan Bok has retrieved this document, which relates to another Stom. It is, in fact, quite possible that Stom was from Southern Netherlandish origin, possibly Brussels.[3] Still, Stom's intimate knowledge of the work of the Utrecht *Caravaggisti*, especially Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629), Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656) and Dirck van Baburen (1595-1624), suggests that he spent time in Utrecht before following the example of these artists, and travelled to Italy himself. He is first documented in 1630, when 'Mattheo Sthom, fiamengo pittore, d'anni 30' is residing in a house on the Strada dell'Olmo, in the Roman parish of Santa Nicola in Arcione.[4] Unlike most Northern masters, Stom was never to return to his native land again. His presence is detectable in Rome until 1632, after which he seems to have moved to Naples in or after 1633. From 1641 onwards, Stom was in Sicily. A *Saint Isidore Agicola* from that year – his only dated painting – is still *in situ* in the Augustinian church of Caccamo. In 1652 we hear the last of Stom, when he was paid for an *Assumption of the Virgin with Three Saints*, commissioned by the church of Santa Maria Assunta in Chiuduno, near Bergamo. It remains unclear if this means that the artist spent his last years in Northern Italy. Stom mainly painted large figure history pieces in the Caravaggesque style, yet with his own, easily recognisable artistic vocabulary. In addition, a distinct part of his oeuvre, to which the present work belongs, consists of genre paintings. Stom's artistic development is commonly divided along the lines of his places of residence. The works he painted in Rome appear brighter and more youthful, while he reached his artistic maturity during his Naples period, in well-balanced, often candle-lit scenes. The paintings of the Sicilian period have a harsher appearance and are, in the words of Caravaggisti specialist Benedict Nicolson, characterized by 'faces and hands treated as if they were baked clay with ridges and furrows.'[5]



Fig. 1 Matthias Stom, *Flute Player with a Glass of Wine*, oil on canvas, 74.9 x 61 cm., collection Mr. and Mrs. John L. Stainton (1998)

Such late characteristics are surely not applicable to the present *Young Man with a Violin*, which undoubtedly belongs to Stom's Naples period. It fits in neatly with several period works, most obviously with the *Flute Player with a Glass of Wine* in a private collection, with which it shares size, composition and theme, but not its nocturnal setting (fig. 1).[6] The young man in the Lilian work, with his long, curly blond hair, his pinkish skin and grey-blue eyes, engages the beholder with an assured, almost defiant appearance. With left arm akimbo, he holds the neck of his violin firmly in his right hand. The black waistcoat and white silk shirt sleeves match his white-feathered black hat, which Stom cleverly accentuated with a deep blue lining. Against the toned dark background this judiciously chosen palette lends the work a cool and crisp quality, enhanced by the strong and clear lighting from the left. Although in both works the musicians pose – from the top of the feather to right hand – in near identical fashion, it is the fresh appearance of the *Young Man with a Violin* that sets it apart from the *Flute Player*, and most other period works by Stom. In that sense, the work is akin to another half figure musician rendered with the same exceptional cool tonality and comparable colour range, Hendrick ter Brugghen's *Flute Player* in Kassel, which Stom may have seen in Utrecht (fig. 2).



Fig. 2 Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Flute Player*, oil on canvas, 70 x 55 cm., Kassel, Staatliche Sammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meiste

During the seventeenth century neither the flute nor the fiddle were held in particular high esteem. Moreover, both instruments carried specific erotic overtones. As one might expect, the flute was often employed as a phallic symbol, especially (but not necessarily) in combination with drink. Captions underneath prints of flute players, such as 'come merry flute / and cool my lust. / Whistle with your lute / So that I can feel it' or 'Many have their pleasure of playing on this or that / Either a cittern, a lute a double bass or fiddles / But I say for my part and hold it for certain / That playing on the pipe is by far the best of all' (fig. 3) leave little to the imagination.[7] The violin was similarly associated with sexuality. To a print by Theodor Matham (1605/06-1676) after a *Boy with a Violin and a Glass* by Ter Brugghen, the Leiden based humanist Peterus Scriverius added the ambiguous caption 'Should Venerilla not fulfil the promise of the night to her lover, in this way the poor man arms himself to kill off his anxiety' (fig. 4). If one is still under the impression that the 'poor man' would seek refuge in wine and music only, another, even more explicit print



Fig. 3 Lucas Vorsterman after Otto Vorsterman, *Transverse Flute Player*, engraving, 26.1 x 19 cm.



Fig. 4 Theodor Matham after Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Man with a violin and a Roemer*, engraving, 21.5 x 15.7 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 5 Adriaen Matham, *The Fiddler*, etching and engraving, 21 x 17 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

of an old fiddler by Theodor's brother Adriaen Matham (c. 1599-1660), will disabuse that notion, as its caption reads 'My snares are still strong, as well as all the rest / So if my Aeltie helps then it will sure go best' (fig. 5).[8] While erotic connotations surrounding half figure flute, violin (or bagpipe) players were thus omnipresent, the present work differs from the examples discussed here in one important aspect: the protagonist lacks a glass, nor does he play his instrument. So although Stom used the same mould for the present work as he did for his *Flute Player with a Glass of Wine*, he deliberately differentiated significance between the two by adding or removing a pictorial element. The innuendo in the present work is thus deliberately less explicit, leaving more open to the interpretation of the beholder. The idea, however, that the present painting – a genre work – would portray an actual violin player, should be dismissed if only because of the man's costume, which is clearly fanciful and perfectly fits the Caravaggesque genre traditions. Likewise, the suggestion that the work may represent the Sense of Hearing in a series of the Five Senses seems implausible, since no other works by Stom can be connected to such a series.[9]

JH

Notes

1 Listed under no. 1462, *A Man with a Glass of Wine, a Pipe and a Fiddle*, oil on canvas, 86.5 x 66 cm., collection National Trust, Kingston Lacey, as by Stom (formerly attributed to Frans Hals and Gerard Seghers). The work seems not to be by Stom, but rather by Jan Lievens.

2 G.J. Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche kunstenaars te Rome (1600-1725) : uitreksels uit de parochiale archieven*, The Hague 1942, p. 279, note 2, and H. Pauwels, 'De schilder Matthias Stomer', in: *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis* 14 (1953), pp. 139-192, p. 142, note 15. For further biographical references, see M.J. Bok, in: A. Blankert, L. Slatkes, *Nieuw Licht op de Gouden Eeuw : Hendrick ter Brugghen en tijdgenoten*, exh. cat. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick 1986/87, and L. Slatkes, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols. New York 1996, 29, pp. 696-698.

3 I thank Marten Jan Bok for his advice in this matter.

4 Hoogewerff 1942, p. 279.

5 B. Nicolson, 'Stomer Brought Up-to-date', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 119 (1977), pp. 230-245, p. 233.

6 Nicolson 1977, cat. no. 81, as in Naples. See further: D. Weller et al., *Sinners and saints : darkness and light : Caravaggio and his Dutch and Flemish followers*, exh. cat. Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art 1998, cat. no 39, as c. 1633-1640. The face of the present young man is much akin to Stom's *David with the Head of Goliath*, as is stated by Leonard Slatkes. See: New York 2000. For the *David*, see: Nicolson 1977, cat. no. 30 (Naples period), and Nicolson/Vertova 1990, 1, p. 180. Federico Zeri's 1976 attribution of the *David* to Micco Spadaro is erroneous.

7 E. Buijsen, in: idem., L.P. Grijp, *The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Music in the Golden Age*, exh. cat. The Hague, Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder, Antwerp, Hessenhuis Museum 1994, pp. 224227, cat. no 24. See also: Raleigh 1998, p. 203.

8 Tellingly the old fiddler carries an empty bagpipe, another instrument held in low esteem and laden with erotic connotations. The violin as an erotic symbol in Dutch seventeenth century art is discussed at length by Eddy de Jongh, in: idem., G. Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life : genreprints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1997, cat. no. 38.

9 Both suggestions by Robert Simon in: New York 2000, who further suggests that 'it is quite possible that [the present work] was intended as an allegorical representation of Music'.

cat. no. 12

Domenicus van Tol
Bodegraven c. 1635 – 1676 Leiden

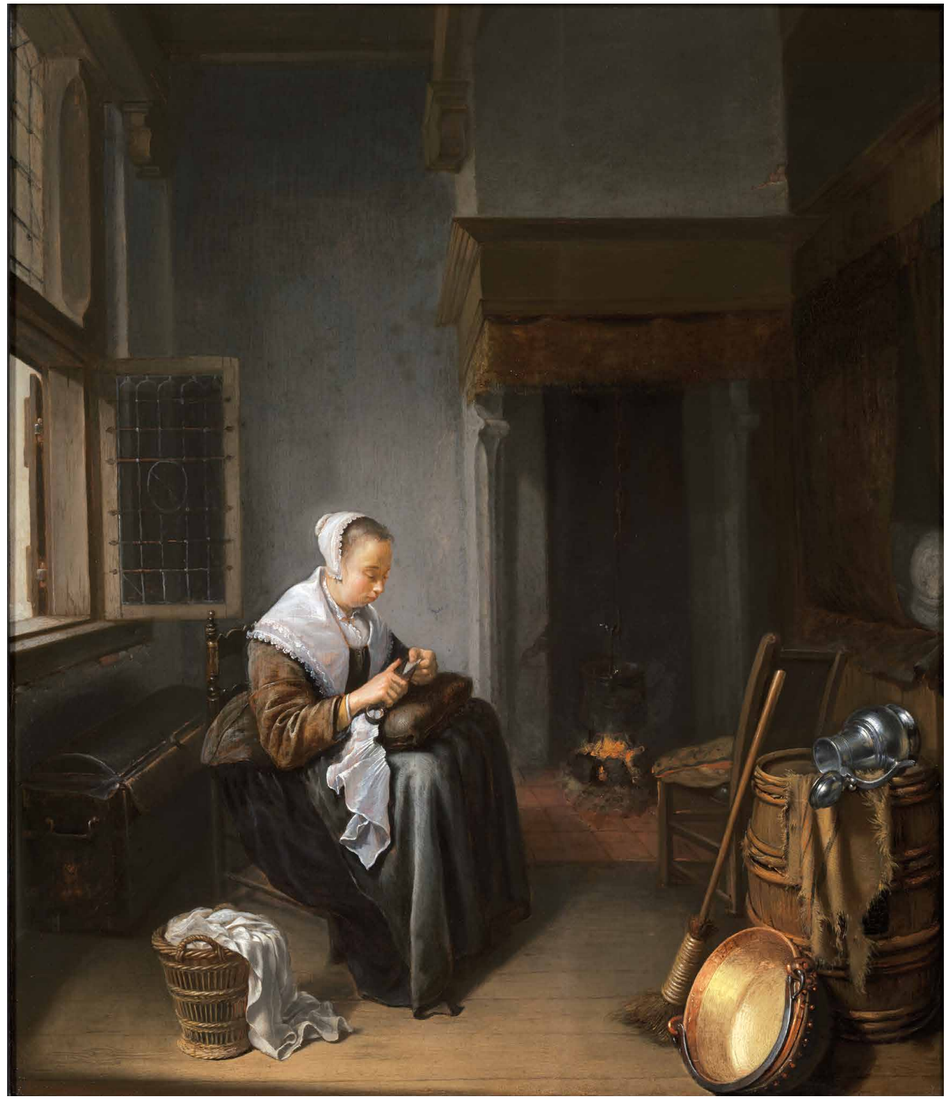
A Woman Sewing

Signed lower right *D.V.T.*
Oil on panel
53 x 45 cm.

Provenance:
Amsterdam/Velsen, Jhr. Mr. Johan (Jean) Goll van Franckenstein (1756-1821)
Jhr. Pieter Hendrik Goll van Franckenstein (1787-1832), by inheritance
Johan Goll van Franckenstein sale, Amsterdam, Roos etc., 1 July 1833, lot 74
Brussels, art dealer Lambert Jan Nieuwenhuys (1777-1862), or his son, the art dealer Christianus Johannes Nieuwenhuys (1799-1883)[1]
Collection Enard Rhoné (?)[2]
France, private collection

Domenicus van Tol was the nephew of the famous Leiden painter Gerard Dou (1613-1675), who was active in the city in the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century. In 1664, Domenicus enrolled in the Leiden painters' Guild of St Luke, but moved to Utrecht six years later, before returning to Leiden again in 1675 where he registered in the guild again the same year. He most probably received his training in Leiden from his uncle, the leader of the *Fijnschilders* or fine painters in Leiden, since he executed his paintings in a similar fine painting technique, as well as a similar choice of subject matter.

In this hitherto unpublished painting, a young woman, seated in front of an open window, is shown at her sewing, a pair of scissors



in one hand and fabric in the other, and a basket spilling over with cloth beside her. The interior is furnished with an empty chair before a fireplace, and a beautiful still life of domestic utensils; an upturned copper cauldron, a pewter flagon on a barrel, against which is propped a broom. The woman's face and hands, as well as the copper cauldron, are marvellously lit by the daylight entering she shadowy room through the window. She is entirely absorbed in her task, and shows no hint of awareness of the viewer. The empty chair might suggest the presence of a husband, and emphasizes his absence during his wife's household duties. Like young women sewing, old women spinning was a favoured subject for the Leiden *fijnschilders*. Spinning and sewing were regarded as exemplary domestic occupations, and symbolised female decorum and virtue in much the same way as did representations of women reading the Bible.

According to the biographer Van der Aa, Van Tol's interiors were conceived in the tradition of Van Brekelenkam's (c. 1625-1668), but are generally more elaborate.[3] Van Tol was more influenced by the work of his uncle Gerard Dou, as can be seen in the present painting. Between 1645 and 1650, Dou painted *Woman Reading the Bible* in the Musée du Louvre, in which a woman seen in profile is seated in front of a window, with a spinning wheel featuring prominently on the right (fig. 1).[4] In the same period Geertruyt Roghman (1625-1651/57) made a series of engravings of *Women at Domestic Chores* (fig. 2).[5] Of similar quality as the present work, is Van Tol's *Woman in a Window, Holding a Dead Fowl*, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 3).

WWB



Fig. 1 Gerard Dou, *Woman Reading the Bible*, oil on panel, 60.5 x 46 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 2 Geertruyt Roghman, *Women at Domestic Chores*, one of a series of five, engravings, 21.2 x 16.8 cm.



Fig. 3 Domenicus van Tol, *Woman in a Window Holding a Dead Fowl*, signed, oil on panel, 41.6 x 30.2 cm.

Notes

1 The printed list of buyers at the Goll van Franckenstein sale (Lugt no. 13555, available RKD) only mentions 'Nieuwenhuys'.

2 According to a handwritten note on an entry cut out from a sale catalogue on the reverse of the painting. The catalogue entry (lot 62) refers to the present painting, and mentions the provenance as 'collection Nieuwenhuys'. Sale not found.

3 Van der Aa et al., *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. 18 (1874), p. 162.

4 Gerard Dou, *Woman Reading the Bible*, oil on panel, 60.5 x 46 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 1221.

5 E.J. Sluijter, *Leidse Fijnschilders : Van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge 1630-1670*, exh. cat. Leiden, Museum de Lakenhal 1988, p. 238.

cat. no. 13

Dirk Valkenburg
(Amsterdam 1675-1721)

A Eurasian eagle-owl with a dead chicken in a landscape. A pigeon hovers above

Oil on canvas
127 x 101 cm.

Provenance:
France, private collection

Dirk Valkenburg was born in Amsterdam, where he became a pupil, first of a certain Kuilenburg, then of the portrait- and genre painter Michiel van Musscher (1645-1705), and finally of Jan Weenix (1640-1719), a highly successful painter of animals and still life. In 1696, Valkenburg left Amsterdam to travel. He was very successful, first settling in Augsburg and two years later in Vienna. In or around 1701 he returned to Amsterdam, where he acquired citizenship in March of 1703. In 1706, under contract for the Amsterdam plantation owner Jonas Witsen, he travelled to Surinam in order to draw and to paint scenes on Witsen's plantations, as well as the exotic birds and plants found there. Due to illness, the painter returned earlier than planned, probably with the autumn fleet of 1707, but a his stay had already resulted in a substantial body of work, particularly drawings. Dirk Valkenburg spent the rest of his life in Amsterdam, quite a few of his



paintings date from after this journey. Apart from for still lifes and animal paintings, Dirk Valkenburg painted Surinam landscapes and outdoor genre scenes, for poultry yards and scenes with wild animals, as well as for portraits, all of which are works of very high standard.

Dirk Valkenburg is mainly renowned for his paintings of still lifes of game and of live animals – he often combined the two motifs. The painting shown here borders on the genre of the game piece, but cannot properly be regarded as such. The owl as a motif, however, is often associated with the hunt for small birds. Captured owls were frequently used to attract other birds, luring them into traps and onto glue sticks.[1] Owls are night hunters and it is the nature of such small birds to chase them away by day with shrieks and flurried attacks. Paintings representing this hunting method, were quite common in the seventeenth century. In them, the owl is a victim, both of the hunter, who abuses him, and of the smaller birds mocking and threatening him. Here, in contrast and quite exceptionally, the owl, a large Eurasian or European eagle-owl (*Bubo-bubo*), is shown as a victorious hunter himself. This type of owl is one of the largest of the species and it is widespread, but it cannot be found in the Netherlands. The bird is a night predator and hunts for a wide range of prey species, from birds of various sizes to small mammals and insects. Thus, to find it represented with a chicken as its prey, as in this painting, is not surprising.

Already early on, Dirk Valkenburg proved himself a keen and able follower of his last teacher, Jan Weenix. His ability to mimic Weenix' style on a very high level resulted in commissions of several large pictures in Weenix's idiom during his stay in Vienna , among others from the Prince of Liechtenstein. As a result, in 1699, Valkenburg delivered a set of four magnificent paintings to Johann Adam von Liechtenstein. They had been commissioned in the previous year, and have been preserved in the Princely collection to the present day. The artist received the considerable sum of one thousand guilders for these four large canvasses.

While the Liechtenstein paintings clearly demonstrate Valkenburg's indebtedness to Jan Weenix's example, they clearly also show how he had attained an individual quality that could compete effortlessly with that of his master. It is no wonder that another sizeable example of his work, in the Statens Museum in Copenhagen, received a false Weenix signature long ago, and was only recognized as a work of Dirk Valkenburg in the last century. The present painting, too, had received a Weenix signature sometime in the past. Valkenburg's handling is both forceful and highly detailed, and his lighting is strong. The focus in this painting is on the birds in the foreground. The artist deliberately kept the background landscape somewhat vague. Also, there is a stark contrast between the peace and quiet of the landscape, with its restful lake and peaceful ducks in and by a pond, and the vigour of the scene in the foreground.

Dirck Valkenburg rarely dated his works prior to *c.* 1700. This painting however, is closely related to the series he painted in about 1698 for the Prince of Liechtenstein. The date of those, apart from through their provenance, is confirmed by a very similar painting that the artist actually dated 1698.[2] Moreover, the pigeon hovering over the owl is extremely similar to a flying pigeon in one of the Liechtenstein paintings.[3] Those similarities combined with the fact that the Eurasian eagle-owl thrives in mountainous areas, makes it highly likely that Valkenburg painted this work during his absence from the Netherlands between 1996 and 1701, likely in Vienna in about 1699. Its elaborate, probably early eighteenth-century frame suggests that the painting was always held in high esteem and must have belonged to a rich collection which, however, unfortunately could thus far not be identified. In type, this image is related to several other upright compositions by Dirk Valkenburg, in particular to a painting of a rather ferocious cat that has launched itself upon a dead chicken and a dead rooster in a park landscape. The measurements of that signed painting are virtually the same and, in terms of composition, it could almost serve as a pendant.

FGM

Notes

1 See, among others, L. Wepler, *Bilderzählungen in der Vogelmalerei des Niederländischen Barocks*, Petersberg 2014, particularly chapter 4.4 'Locken, beschimpfen – die Eule als Lockvogel', pp. 108-119. All kinds of small birds were eaten at the time.

2 Oil on canvas, 134 x 179 cm, signed and dated 1698, sale New York, Christie's, 15 April 2008, lot 355, colour ill., see also RKDimages on line database, artwork no. 214570.

3 Vaduz/Vienna, Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein, inv. no. 765, see exh. cat. *Im Lichte Hollands*, Basel 1987, cat. no. 100, colour ill.

cat. no. 14

Sebastiaan Vrancx
1573 – Antwerp – 1647

The Battle of Leckerbeetje

Monogrammed lower right on a horse *SV* (interlaced)
Oil on panel
50 x 82.5 cm

Provenance:[1]
Brussels, collection Alexis Capouillet (1910, 1913)[2]
Sale Brussels, Galerie J. et A. le Roy, frères, 27 June 1919, lot 41[3]
Collection Chevalier de Schoutheete (1919)
Belgium, private collection

Exhibited:
Brussels, *Exposition d'art ancien : l'art belge au XVIIme siècle*, 1910
Ghent, *L'Art Ancien dans les Flandres (Région de l'Escaut)*, 1913

Literature:
H. Fierens-Gevaert et al., *Exposition d'art ancien : l'art belge au XVIIme siècle*, exh. cat. Brussels, Exposition Universelle et Internationale (World Fair), Brussels 1910, 2nd edition, p. 265, cat. no. 595
J. Casier, P. Bergmans, L. Gilmont, *L'Art Ancien dans les Flandres (région de l'Escaut)*, exh. cat. Ghent, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Exposition Universelle et Internationale (World Fair), Ghent 1913, p. 252, cat. no. 1648 (Dutch edition, p. 254, cat. no. 1648)



The son of Jan Vrancx and Barbara Couterau, Sebastiaan Vrancx was baptized in Antwerp on 22 January 1573.[4] In around 1590 he became a pupil of the history painter Adam van Noort (1562-1641). The latter half of the 1590s were spent in Rome, where he studied with the influential Flemish-Roman master Paul Bril (c. 1554-1626). Upon his return to Antwerp in 1600-1601, Vrancx became a master of the Guild of St. Luke, of which he was appointed Dean in 1612. Soon a key figure in Antwerp's artistic and social life, Vrancx was made a member of the distinguished society of the Fraternity of SS Peter and Paul – of which, among others, Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) and Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) were members – in 1610. He was also actively involved in *De Violieren*, a Chamber of Rhetoric, to which he often contributed poems and plays.[5] In the same year that he was appointed Dean of the Guild, Vrancx married Maria Pamphi, the daughter of an art dealer and sister-in-law of the painter Tobias Verhaecht (1561-1631). From 1621 until 1631, he was a captain of the Antwerp Civic Guard of the Fencers. Vrancx regularly collaborated with other artists and provided *staffage* for, among others, Joos de Momper the Younger (1564-1735), Jan Brueghel the Elder, Pieter Neefs the Elder (c. 1578- after 1656), Frans Francken the Younger (1581-1642) and Jan van Balen (1611-1654). The artist's portrait was engraved after a design by Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) for the latter's *Iconography* series.[6]

The Battle of Leckerbeetje

In his *Schilder-boeck* of 1604, Karel van Mander explicitly mentions Sebastiaan Vrancx's talents as a painter of horses, figures and landscapes.[7] Indeed, Vrancx's mature work consists in large part of battle scenes, or *batailles*, and village plunderings. Through a peculiar set of circumstances, Vrancx's most famous battle scene is the so called 'Battle of Leckerbeetje', which was fought on the Vughterheide near 's-Hertogenbosch on 5 February 1600 between a cavalry of the Dutch States Army under French command, and a cavalry of the Spanish army under local Brabant command. Several sources precisely record the account of the battle – including preambule and aftermath – and thus enable a reliable reconstruction of events.[8] So what happened? In 1599 's-Hertogenbosch was part of the Southern Netherlands, under the Spanish régime. Gerard van Houwelingen (c. 1560-1600), nicknamed *Leckerbeetje* (meaning gourmand, or glutton) was a soldier from 's-Hertogenbosch who initially served under Prince Maurits, but was among those who betrayed the town of Geertruidenberg to the Spaniards. He switched to the enemy camp, and became a lieutenant under the Military Governor of 's-Hertogenbosch, Anthonie Schets van Grobbendonck (c. 1564-1640). One November morning, Van Grobbendonck sent out a patrol of riders under the command of Leckerbeetje. On their way Leckerbeetje's patrol captured another group of riders under the command of a certain lieutenant by the name of Jacques de Visé. This group was part of a company of French soldiers fighting for the Dutch States Army, under command of the 19 year old captain and nobleman Pierre de Bréauté (1580-1600). De Visé wrote to his captain for a ransom to buy his freedom. While Bréauté did send the money, he also sent his lieutenant a letter full of reproach. How could he, an officer in his sevice, have let this happen? He, Bréauté himself, *would* have had the pluck to fight, even with only 20 of his men to 40 of those bastards from 's-Hertogenbosch! Leckerbeetje, too, read Bréauté's fierce letter, and decided to accept the latter's challenge, given that both parties would go to combat with equal numbers. After Bréauté accepted Leckerbeetje's conditions (Bréauté initially preferred to fight Schets van Grobbendonck but this was refused), a date and location were set: on 5 February 1600, on the snowy Vughterheath 'between the gallows and the city, since the heath is plainest there' both parties lined up with 21 riders plus their commander, all armed with two muskets and a sword, and witnessed by at least 500 curious spectators. It was to be a fight to the death. After heralds of both parties had counted the riders and checked their armoury, they trumpeted for proceedings to begin. Leckerbeetje, joined by his men, had apparently attended Mass before the battle, asking God for 'support and glory', but on the battlefield it didn't help him in the slightest. A bullet from Bréauté himself, hitting him between helmet and cuirass, immediately wounded Leckerbeetje mortally. He fell to the ground, soon followed by his brother Anthonie, who fought alongside his brother. But, urged on by their commander's death, Leckerbeetje's men fought like lions, and in the midst of blood and dead horses managed to take down as many as fourteen French riders. After a while the remaining French fled or surrendered, relinquishing victory to Leckerbeetje's men. While Bréauté himself apparently survived the battle and was led away on a horse, several witness accounts state that Military Governor Schets van Grobbendonck subsequently ordered him and his stalwarts to be executed, completely against all the codes of chivalry.

The Lilian work and the plural versions of the battle

Spectacularly well executed, beautifully monogrammed and in mint condition, it is surprising that the Lilian *Battle of Leckerbeetje* has not surfaced sooner, after having been on public display last more that a century ago, at the World Fairs of Brussels (1910) and Ghent (1913). Depicting one of the last – if not *the* last – late medieval military duels, the work truly speaks to the imagination, all the more so since it closely follows the eye witness accounts of that cold winter day, one of the first of the seventeenth century. Opening up underneath an imposing sky, we see the Heath of Vught, with the town of 's-Hertogenbosch centrally on the horizon, the gallows on the left and Vught to the right. Despite the cold – the frost on the ground is visible – people have come from all around to witness the spectacle, which is already in full swing after the heralds, seated on horseback on the left and in the central midground have sounded their trumpet. Vrancx has rendered the event with great dynamics, most admirably in the foreground, where several magnificent horses – foremost the dapple grey in the centre – steal the show. As the riders (in fact Vrancx painted 47 of them rather than 44) all wear similar dark armour, the one party is recognisable from the red sash worn around the waist, the other by a dark green ribbon around the arm. In accordance with the account, all riders bear two muskets and a sword; and all of these weapons are used to excess. Bodies lie everywhere, horses bleed to death, and those who try to flee – all wearing a ribbon – are chased while trying. They are therefore the French, while those wearing a red sash are the Brabanders. Like the spectators in the picture we, the beholders, watch the proceedings with nervous excitement.

Ironically, the 'Battle of Leckerbeetje' – without any doubt the most depicted event from the Eighty Years War – is forever associated with Sebastiaan Vrancx and stands out as his most famous subject, although not a single autograph work by Vrancx of the subject has been known so far. The strong connection between Vrancx and the subject has grown up due to the fact that an exceptionally large number of often anonymous paintings, prints and even Delft tiles, silver platters, jugs and mother-of-pearl plaques have come down to us,[9] the majority of them based on an initial print, usually attributed to Joannes van Doetecum the Younger (c. 1560-1630), which was executed after an original composition by Vrancx (fig. 1).[10] However, Vrancx's prototype for this print remains untraced.[11] Encouraged by the numerous paintings after Vrancx's composition, one might easily be led to think that this prototype was a painting as well. But this remains to be seen. These initial prints merely mention Vrancx as the 'Inventor', whereas one would expect the word 'pinxit' if Vrancx's prototype had been a painting. Moreover, during the period 1600-1610, Vrancx supplied more designs for prints, all of them likewise inscribed with the word 'inven[tor]'.[12] We should thus seriously consider the option that Vrancx's prototype was merely a drawn design for a printmaker, and that a painted prototype never existed. However, many of the paintings relying on the prints have become associated with Vrancx, and have often



Fig. 1 Joannes van Doetecum after Sebastiaan Vrancx, *The Battle of Leckerbeetje*, etching and engraving, 74 x 98 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

been wrongly attributed to him by art historians, auction houses, the art trade, museums, etc. However, none of these paintings are accepted by Vrancx expert Dr. Joost vander Auwera, who in 1998 was quoted as saying that 'almost certainly no painting of this event was done by Sebastiaan Vrancx'.[13]

The Lilian work – a unique work in context

The Lilian work – the first ever autograph version of the battle of Leckerbeetje by Vrancx to surface – now changes that insight. Vander Auwera's remark was careful and reticent. And rightfully so, since nothing at the time pointed towards a 'lost' prototype; on the contrary, as is outlined above.[14] Indeed, the Lilian work is clearly not the lost prototype of the Doetecum print. Comparing them, it is clear that both compositions share a superficial affinity in their general outline and in a small number of pictorial elements, such as the rider fleeing away at the left. Yet for the larger part, no direct pictorial overlap connects both compositions. The Lilian work is thus a unique, autonomous work. But not in every sense. For as it turns out, a copy of the work is to be found in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht, where it is attributed to Gerrit van Santen (c. 1610-after 1687) (fig. 2). The Utrecht copy is not only of identical dimensions and on panel like the Lilian work, it is accompanied by a pendant painting of identical size and support, depicting the approach to the battle (fig. 3).[15] Given the fact that the Lilian

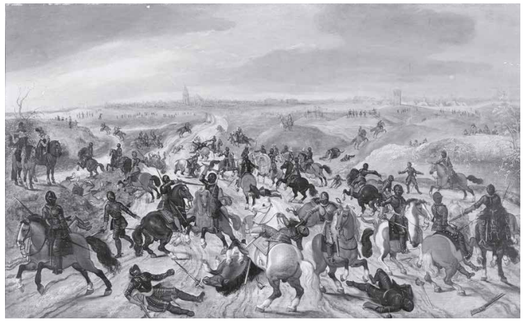


Fig. 2 Gerrit van Santen (?) after Sebastiaan Vrancx, *The Battle of Leckerbeetje*, oil on panel, 50.4 x 82.7 cm., Utrecht, Centraal Museum



Fig. 3 Gerrit van Santen (?) after Sebastiaan Vrancx, *Approach to The Battle of Leckerbeetje*, oil on panel, 50.5 x 82.5 cm., Utrecht, Centraal Museum



Fig. 4 Sebastiaan Vrancx, *Approach to The Battle of Leckerbeetje*, oil on panel, 50 x 81 cm., Moscow, Pushkin Museum



Fig. 5 Sebastiaan Vrancx, *Attack on a Caravan*, monogrammed an dated 1618, oil on panel, 73 x 166 cm., formerly London, Peter Tillou Works of Art

work is the monogrammed original, we are led to hypothesize the (one time) existence of an autograph *Approach*, a painting which would once have been the pendant to the Lilian work, and should thus depict the same composition found in the Utrecht *Approach*; it should be on panel, with measurements similar to that of the Lilian work. A painting that qualifies perfectly for these requirements in fact exists, and is found in the collection of the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (fig. 4).[16] The available photographic material does not permit of a final judgement, but the painterly quality of the Moscow work seems to be on a par with that of the Lilian work, which speaks for the hypothesis of the two works having once been a pendant pair.

In addition, the Lilian work shares similarities with another work by Vrancx, his *Attack on a Caravan*, monogrammed and dated 1618 (fig. 5). This impressive *bataille* features exactly the same three horses found in the foreground of the Lilian *Battle*, and is monogrammed on the same

brown horse's rear (figs. 6a-b, 7a-b). As Peter Sutton has pointed out, Vrancx recycled the soldiers in the left foreground of the *Attack* from the *Wapenhandelinghe* prints by Jacques de Gheyn the Younger (c. 1565-1629) of 1606 (figs. 8a-b, 9, 10).[17] Given that Vrancx so clearly appropriated other artists' imagery, we should reconsider the dapple grey horse so prominently displayed in both the *Attack* and the Lilian work. Obviously, Vrancx could have turned to the well known equestrian prints by Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630) for inspiration (fig. 11). But a much closer and more neatly fitting model is provided by Peter Paul Rubens, who, as mentioned above, was Vrancx's co-member of the brotherhood of SS Peter and Paul. In around 1616, Rubens started a new production line: the large hunting scene. His first work in this genre was the majestic *Wolf and Fox Hunt*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 12). The work, filled with energy and drama, would have caused quite a stir in Antwerp's artistic circles at the time, and it must have held a huge appeal





Fig. 6a-b cat. no 14, details





Fig. 7a-b Fig. 5, details

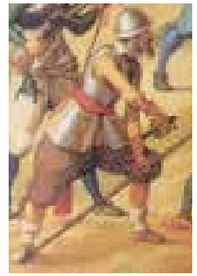




Fig. 8a-b Fig. 5, details





Fig. 9, 10 Jacques de Gheyn, *Soldiers* (from the *Wapenhandelinghe* series), 1606, engraving, 26.4 x 18.8 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 11
Egbert van Panderen after Antonio Tempesta, *Prancing Horse*, etching and engraving, 13.6 x 16.4 cm.



Fig. 12 Peter Paul Rubens and workshop, *The Wolf and Fox Hunt*, c. 1616, oil on canvas, 245.4 x 376.2 cm., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 13 cat. no. 14, detail

for Vrancx. It cannot be a coincidence that its eyecatcher, the gorgeous prancing dapple grey horse, corresponds completely with the animal in the Lilian work and in the *Attack*, both in pose and in coat colouring. Vrancx's pictorial adaption is even further corroborated by the pose and position of the brown horse to the left behind the grey (figs. 12, 13). This observation, then, also provides us with a dating for the painting, namely in the years just after 1616, which corresponds well with the date 1618 of the *Attack*.[18] At the same time, this observation poses a last question. Why did Vrancx paint (and quite possibly come up with the print design around that same time) a battle that was fought 16 or more years before, and was of little significance from a military point of view? Clearly, the battle became a *pars pro toto* for the Eighty Years War in general. In the Dutch Republic at the time, Leckerbeetje was seen as a traitor, and the killing of Bréauté as an act of utterly ignominious discourtesy. In Flanders on the other hand, the battle was viewed as a heroic victory for the Spanish Netherlands. Still, which specific event, or which specific commission triggered Vrancx to depict the battle remains unclear. Maybe it was the growing political and religious tensions in the Republic, where in 1618 the Calvinists assumed power. Or maybe the approaching end of the Twelve Years' Truce, which ended in 1621, triggered renewed war rhetoric. In any case, with his *Battle of Leckerbeetje*, Vrancx created an iconic template for generations to come.

JH

Notes

1 A label in French on the reverse of the panel indicates that the painting was probably in a sale in France or Belgium: '70 / S. Vranckx / Ecole flamande XVIIe siecle / Bataille de Lekkerbetje / Un combat entre cavaliers armés de pied en cap a lieu au premier plan sur une route; au fond la silhouette d'une ville. Episode plein de mouvement. / Bois. Haut. 0,50; Larg. 0.82. / Un cheval porte sur la croupe le monogramme S.V.' Sale not identified.

2 As appears from the two World Fair catalogues of 1910 (Ghent) and 1913 (Brussels). See Literature.

3 According to a handwritten note on the reverse of the panel: 'Bruxelles, le 27 Juin 1919. Monsieur, J'ai l'advantage de vous faire savoir que le no 41 de la vente de ce jour "Bataille de Lekkerbetje" a été adjugé fr 5.500.- à Monsieur le Chevalier de Schoutkeete. Veuillez agréer, monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués. A[...] Le Roy.'

4 Biography based on J. vander Auwera, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 36 vols., New York 1996, 32, pp. 722-724.

5 See: A. Keersemaekers, 'De schilder Sebastiaen Vrancx (1573-1647) als rederijker', in: *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* 1982, pp. 165-186.

6 C. Depauw, G. Luijten (eds.), *Anthony van Dyck as a printmaker*, exh. cat. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1999-2000, p. 138, fig. 3. The portrait, engraved by Schelte à Bolswert explicitly refers to Vrancx's position in the Civic Guard by depicting the artist with his foil.

7 K. van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 295 v.: 'Sebastiaen Vrancks, gheleert hebbende by Adam van Oort, en is nu oudt ontrent 31. Iaren, is seer aerdigh in Landtschap, Peerdekens, en beeldekens.'

8 N.N., *VVaerachtiche historie ende verhael van tgene datter is ghebeurt in dye bataillie geschiet op saterdachs den v. van februarius, int iaer 1600. omtrint de stadt van Shertoghenbossche*, 's-Hertogenbosch (?) 1600 (only copy: Tilburg, University Library: KOD 019 A 37). The account, although the most comprehensive, is clearly written from a Southern Netherlandish (i.e. Spanish) perspective. Other accounts, like that by Anthonie Duyck, the later Grand-Pensionary of Holland, were written from a Dutch perspective. See for a more recent overview: M.C.H. van der Heijden, *De Slag van Lekkerbeetje : op 5 februari 1600 op de Vughtse Heide*, exh. cat. Vught, Vughts Historisch Museum 1999-2000.

9 Several authors have made an effort to present a comprehensive list of these versions. Most notable are Ch.C.V. Verreyt, 'De slag van Lekkerbeetje en 50 schilderijen daarop betrekking hebbende', in: *Taxandria : Tijdschrift voor noordbrabantsche geschiedenis en volkskunde* 5 (1898), pp. 30-39, 81-89; M.J. de Koning, *The Battle of Lekkerbeetje : Imagery and Ideology During the Eighty Years War (1568-1648)*, dissertation University of Southern California 2003, pp. 229-243 (Appendix), where only museum and auction copies are listed.

10 The earliest print after Vrancx's composition was generally thought to have been made by Joannes van Doetecum the Younger (c. 1560-1630), who lived and worked in Rotterdam between 1598 and 1603, and thereafter in Amsterdam. Of this first print no copies survive, but the same print was re-published (possibly with new copperplates) in 1631 by Claes Jansz Visscher (c. 1587-1652) in Amsterdam, who had bought the original plates from Doetecum's death inventory in 1630. The print depicted here (fig. 1) is the 1631 reprint. For an overview, see: H. Nalis (comp.), *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts 1450-1700 : The Van Doetecum Family Part IV : The Northern Netherlandish Years 1583-1606*, Rotterdam 1998, pp. 250-251, cat. no. 1016 (with a list of copies). Another version of the same print, made by Michael Snijders (1586-1672) from Antwerp (the younger brother of the painter Frans Snijders, with whom Vrancx collaborated on several occasions) was executed at the latest before 1637, for it is dedicated to Anthonie Schetz, Baron of Grobbendonk, who became the Count of Grobbendonk in 1637. However, given the print's subject, an earlier date seems plausible. Since Vrancx was from Antwerp and closely connected with the Snijders family, it seems – counter to what is generally assumed – logical to assume that his original collaboration was with Snijders and not with Van Doetecum, although the surviving prints do not offer mutually exclusive evidence for one of them being the earlier one.

11 A monogrammed and dated work of 1601 in the Antwerp Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (inv. no. 772) is clearly a copy, as is also underlined by Sebastiaan Vrancx expert Joost vander Auwera. See Vander Auwera 1996, p. 723: 'numerous versions survive, including an incorrectly atttributed copy (Antwerp, Kon. Mus. S. Kst).'

12 A set of fashion prints dating from c. 1600-1610 by the Antwerp printmaker and publisher Pieter de Jode were made after after designs by Vrancx. See: C. Schuckman (comp.), *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts 1450-1700*, vol. XLIX (*Cornelis de Vos to Aert van Waes*), Rotterdam 1998, pp. 55-61, esp. pp. 59-60.

13 See M.P. van Maarseveen, 'Ruitergevechten en slagveldscènes uit de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw', in: J. Dane, J.W.L. Hilkhuijsen, M.P. Maarseveen (eds.), *Beelden van een strijd : oorlog en kunst vóór de vrede van Munster 1621-1648*, exh. cat. Delft, Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof 1998, pp. 107-133, p. 109: 'Toch is vrijwel zeker geen enkel schilderij van deze gebeurtenis een authentiek werk van Vrancx.', with reference to friendly communication with Dr Vander Auwera.

14 Even if Vander Auwera had been aware of the publications of 1910 and 1913 in which the present work was mentioned (see Literature), that still wouldn't have provided an essentially different insight, for nowhere it is mentioned that the work is monogrammed.

15 For the two paintings, see: L. Helmus, *De verzamelingen van het Centraal Museum Utrecht 5 : Schilderkunst tot 1850*, 2 vols., Utrecht 1999, B, pp. 1328-1330, cat. nos. 570-571, inv. nos. 2312, 2311. A third, very weak pendant set, of which the *Approach to the Battle* is largely similar to that of the Utrecht *Approach*, but the *Battle* itself too divergent from the Lilian and Utrecht composition to be called a copy, is depicted in: F.-C. Legrand, *Les Peintres Flamands de Genre au XVII^e Siècle*, Brussels 1963, p. 195, figs. 78, 79. See further: De Koning 2003, p. 239, as with Johnny van Haeften in June 1994; previously sale Monaco, Christie's, 20 June 1992, lot unspecified. Both oil on panel, 68 x 100.5 cm.

16 See: K.M. Malickoj, V.K. Silejko, *Katalog kartinnoj galerei : Gosudarstvennyj Muzej Izobrazitel'nych Iskusstv im. A.S. Puskina*, Moscow 1948, p. 20, cat. no. 450. Photo available at the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), The Hague. De Koning 2003, p. 234 lists the painting as being in the Roumiantzoff Museum in Moscow (erroneously located by her in St Petersburg, no doubt following the caption on the RKD mount). Another version with similar composition, support and dimensions was in a sale, Monaco, Sotheby's, 6 December 1987, lot 39 (See RKD, Vrancx 'voorordening'). Contrary to what is suggested by Koning 2003, pp. 235, 242, this painting is *not* identical to the Pushkin Museum work.

17 P.C. Sutton, *The Age Of Rubens*, exh. cat. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Toledo, Toledo Museum of Art 1993-1994, pp. 466-468, cat. no. 84.

18 The *Attack* seems to repeat the animals in the Lilian work, rather than the other way around, and is compositionally farther removed from the *Wolf and Fox Hunt*.

cat. no. 15

Adriaen van der Werff
Kralingen-Ambacht 1659 – 1722 Rotterdam

Bathsheba at her Bath

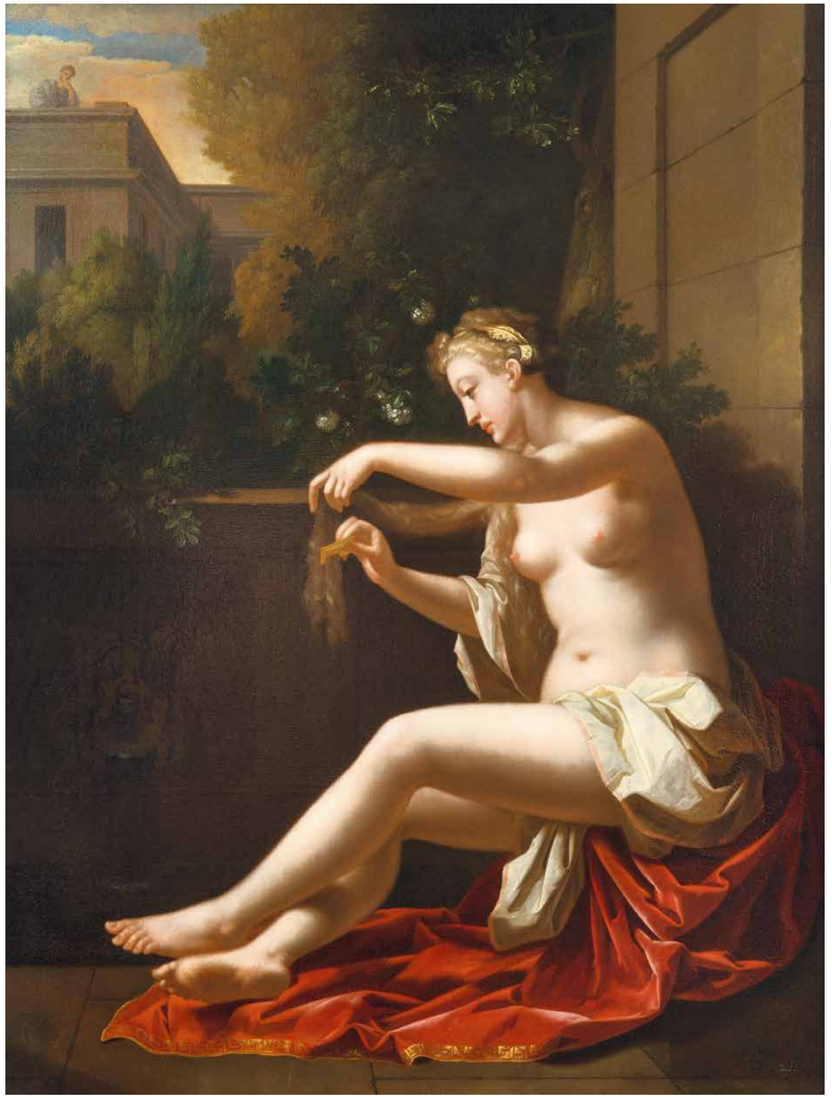
Signed and dated lower right *A. Vr. WERFF . fe 1714*
Oil on panel
45.5 x 33.5 cm.

Provenance:
The Hague, collection Wouter Johannes van Randwijk (1837-1913)[1]
The Hague, collection Jhr Hendricus Adolphus Steengracht van Duivenvoorde (1836-1912), no. 41
His deceased sale, Paris, 9 June 1913, lot 80, 5300 Francs to Furcy-Larue
France, private collection

Literature:
C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke des hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 10 vols., Esslingen 1907-1928, 10 (1928), pp. 243-244, cat. no. 25 (Adriaen van der Werff)
B. Gaehtgens, *Adriaen van der Werff 1659-1722*, Munich 1987, pp. 423-424, cat. no C. 9 (unseen, as probably by Pieter van der Werff, completed by Adriaen)
I. Ember, Z. Urbach (eds.), *Museum of Fine Arts Budapest : Old Masters' Gallery : Summary Catalogue Volume 2 : Early Netherlandish, Dutch and Flemish Paintings*, Budapest 2000, p. 181, under inv. no. 396

Adriaen van der Werff was apprenticed for one year by the portrait painter Cornelis Picolet (1626-1679), when he was only ten years old, and from *circa* 1671 by Eglon van der Neer (1635/36-1703) in Rotterdam, with whom he adopted a smooth painting style when he was only twelve. Here he regularly painted the clothes in his master's works and copied works by Frans van Mieris (1635-1681).[2] From 1677 he worked as an independent master and produced portraits as well as genre paintings. Between the years 1691 and 1695 he was head of the Rotterdam Guild of St. Luke. In 1696 the artist became court painter to the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm van de Palts, in Dusseldorf, where he employed a classical style for historical narratives. From 1697 until the Elector's death in 1716, Van der Werff's work consisted primarily of religious subjects. Elector Karl Philipp, Johann Wilhelm's successor, cancelled his annual salary in 1719. After that, he depended on the open market, where he found his work was greatly admired. His biggest commission for the Elector was a set of fifteen paintings called *Mysteries of the Rosary* (now in The Staatsgalerie, Schleissheim, and The Alte Pinakothek in Munich).

The present painting is from van der Werff's later period. Executed in his characteristically smooth painting technique, its subject matter and style showcase the art of the early eighteenth century. The painting represents the story of how King David (King of The United Kingdom of



Israel and Judah), while walking on the roof of his palace, caught sight of the beautiful Bathsheba, who was then the wife of Uriah, having a bath. He immediately desired her, and later made her pregnant. This story is beautifully depicted here with the near naked Bathsheba combing her long hair, her smooth skin spotlit by a light source emanating from the left, its whiteness set off by her rich red robe and the dark foliage around her. In the background, the figure of King David can be seeing contemplating her from high up on his roof top, whose edge blazes orange in the setting sun in a poetic touch.

Van der Werff's repeated use of motifs is a recurring feature in his work. The idealized female nude of the present painting seems to be a stock figure for several other works with biblical themes; for example, the female nude in a variant of another composition by Van der Werff, signed and dated 1694, depicting *Lot Made Drunk by His Daughters* (formerly in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) (fig. 1). Here, the woman is pressing grapes with her hand. Unfortunately this painting was destroyed during World War II. Another example, *Susanna and the Elders*, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (fig. 2), features the seated female nude surrounded by the Elders who spy on her as she bathes. The striking similarity of the present painting to Gerrit Dou's (1613-1675) *Nude Woman Combing her Hair* (one of a series) in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (fig. 3), strongly suggests that the artist was aware of this work through his master, Van der Neer. In turn, Dou's composition is highly likely to derive from Rembrandt's (1606-1669) *Susanna* in The Maurishuis, The Hague, particularly since Dou began his career as Rembrandt's pupil.

WWB



Fig. 1 Adriaen van der Werff, *Lot and His Daughters*, signed and dated 1694, oil on panel, 39.5 x 31.5 cm., formerly Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister



Fig. 2 Adriaen van der Werff, *Susanna and the Elders*, oil on panel, 41.5 x 32.5 cm., Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts



Fig. 3 Gerard Dou, *Nude Woman Combing her Hair*, oil on panel, 25 x 19 cm., St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum

Notes

1 According to the collector's seal on the back of the panel.

2 E. Schavemaker, *Eglon van der Neer (1635/36-1703) : his life and his work*, Doornspijk 2010, p. 128.

Colophon

Texts by:
Jasper Hillegers
Fred G. Meijer
Wendela Wagenaar-Burgemeister

Catalogue Editor:
Natasha Broad

Design:
Annelies Mikmak

Photography:
Pieter de Vries, Texel
René Gerritsen, Amsterdam
Atelier Van Wassenaer, Amsterdam

Printed by:
Ecodrukkers

New Salomon Lilian iPad App

These fast-loading, high quality images are zoomable, allowing the fine detail and brushwork of each painting to be seen clearly. The Salomon Lilian iPad App can be downloaded free from itunes.

© Authors and Salomon Lilian, Amsterdam