

SALOMON LILIAN

OLD MASTERS

2018

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Acknowledgements

In this, already our 25th year of producing an annual catalogue of Dutch and Flemish Old Master Paintings, we were able once again to present an intriguing collection of paintings that are fresh to the market.

Amongst the recent acquisitions is a *Self Portrait* by Michael Sweerts, a painting which is entirely unknown in the literature. The copy of this work is in the Fogg Museum in Boston. The painting in the Fogg Museum was rejected by the experts. We discovered the original *Self Portrait* in an Italian collection. The spectacular use of chiaroscuro in this work, together with the self- assured air of the artist, are utterly captivating.

Another important revelation is the early still life by Pieter Claesz, that we discovered in in a French private collection. Never published, and signed in full 'PClaessen', this is a highly important addition to his oeuvre. Only two paintings now exist by Pieter Claesz that are signed in full. Apparently Pieter Claesz was very proud of this painting.

Then we discovered a signed and dated *Violin Player with a Wine Glass* by Dirk van Baburen. Also unknown in the literature, this painting by the artist is an important addition to his oeuvre. The virtuoso painting technique and exceptional economy of style that characterize this vital and sensual work place it among one of the most fascinating pictures produced by the artist after he returned to Utrecht.

We also brought to light a pair of early *Winter* and *Summer* landscapes by Jan van Goyen in a French private collection. The paintings had later additions and had been totally neglected. We brought them back to their original state; an amazing transformation. Additionally we have a fantastic *Head Study of Minerva* by Frans Floris, a superb *Vanitas Still Life* by Simon Luttichuys, a *Battle Scene* by Antonio Tempesta, a caricature drawing of *Old Women* by Jacob Jordaens and more interesting paintings.

I would like to thank Martina Brunner-Bulst who wrote the entry on the painting by Pieter Claesz. 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 2018

cat. no.

1 Denis van Alsloot

2 Dirck van Baburen

3 Pieter Claesz

4 Jacques de Claeuw

5 Adam de Coster

6 Laurens Craen

7 Frans Floris

8 Jan van Goyen

9 Cornelis de Heem

10 Jacob Jordaens

11 Alexander Keirincx

12 Simon Luttichuys

13 Claes Moyaert

14 Jan Steen

15 Michael Sweerts

16 Antonio Tempesta

cat. no. 1

Denis van Alsloot
Mechlin c. 1570 – c. 1627

The Sonian Forest in Winter

Oil on panel
48.5 x 66.8 cm.

The reverse of the panel is stamped with the Antwerp panel makers' mark and the initials G.G. (Guilliam Gabron, active 1614-1626)

Provenance:
France, collection of M. R. Payelle, 1954
Sale Paris, Palais Galliera, 23 November 1972, lot 23
London, collection of E. Speelman, 1972
London, Richard Green, 1974
England, private collection
Sale Paris, Tajan, 20 December 1994, lot 33
Sale London, Sotheby's, 8 December 2004, lot 13
Turin, private collection

Literature:
G. C. Sciolla, *Cielo, terra e acque: Il paesaggio nella pittura fiamminga e olandese tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (*[Ciels, terres et eaux]: le paysage dans la peinture flamande et hollandaise entre le XVIe et le XVIIe siècle*), exh. cat. Aosta, Museo archeologico regionale Aosta 2006-2007, pp. 116, 231, cat. no. 46, illustrated
S. van Sprang, *Denijs van Alsloot (circa 1568-1625/26): Landscape Painter at the Service of the Court of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella*, Turnhout 2014, p. 122

Exhibited:
Aosta, Museo archeologico regionale Aosta, 16 December 2006 – 9 April 2007



Not much is known about the life of the landscape painter Denis van Alsloot, except that he was the son of a tapestry weaver from Brussels and that he took on four apprentices between 1599 and 1625 at the Brussels painters' guild. In 1599 or 1600 he became painter to the Court of the Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Isabella. The present painting can be dated to *circa* 1614 and is one of several landscapes by the artist of the Sonian Forest, which lies to the south east of Brussels. A central clump of frosted trees clearly divides this snowy scene; to the left a river meanders under a bridge, stretching into a panoramic view of snowy trees and fields, while on the right the subject of the Flight into Egypt is depicted on the distant path. Very subtly done are the haloes in gold leaf above the figures' heads. This subject from the New Testament was depicted in several of the artist's landscapes.[1] Such narratives give these romantic landscapes the high moral purpose associated with biblical subjects.

Van Alsloot's work can be regarded as transitory in the development of landscape art in the early 17th century. Inspired by the style of Gillis van Coninxloo III (c. 1581-c. 1620) and Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625), van Alsloot precedes a group of painters including Lodewijk de Vadder (1605-1655), Jacques d'Artois (1613-1686), Lucas Achtschellink (1626-1699) and Ignatius van der Stock (1636-after 1665), who all favoured the Sonian Forest as subject.

That van Alsloot was also a great draughtsman is made evident by a drawing in the J. Paul Getty Museum, *Forest Landscape with Distant Castle*, signed and dated 1608.[2] This refined composition displays his characteristic technique of delicate drawing, ranging from the elegant curves of the tree trunks, to squiggles suggesting leaves, to the almost dot-like notations on the ground, features which are also visible in the present painting.

The present painting shows a marked resemblance to *Winter Landscape, the Abbey of Groenendael in the Background*, dated 1614 in the Staatliche Museen Schloss Mosigkau, near Dresden.[3]

WWB

Notes

1 Sale London, Christie's, 16 November 1973, lot 130; Sale Zürich, Koller, 30 March 2012, lot 3031; Sale London, Sotheby's, 3 December 2014, lot 171. A landscape in the collection of The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond depicts the subject of the Flight into Egypt in a more prominent way, with Joseph, and Mary and the Christ child on a donkey in the foreground.

2 Denis van Alsloot, *Forest Landscape with a Distant Castle*, 1608, pen and brown ink, with brown and blue-grey wash, 20.3 x 27.6 cm, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 86.GA.9.

3 Oil on panel, 52 x 85 cm.



Detail of cat. no. 1

cat. no. 2

Dirck van Baburen
Wijk bij Duurstede c. 1592/95 – 1624 Utrecht

Violin Player with a Wine Glass

Signed and dated upper left: T . D . Baburen . / F . A° 1623
Oil on canvas
80.4 x 67.1 cm.

Provenance:
Switzerland, private collection

Literature:
Unpublished

Dirck Jaspersz van Baburen

More than anything else, the story of the Utrecht school is that of its connection with Rome, especially with Caravaggio (1571-1610) and his followers. The most glorious chapter of the story is certainly devoted to this special connection, and centres on three main protagonists: Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629), Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656) and Dirck van Baburen (c. 1592/95-1624). All three travelled to Italy, where they lived, worked and matured in the Eternal City, but all three returned in time as seasoned artists to their home port: Ter Brugghen in 1614, Van Honthorst in 1620, and Van Baburen shortly thereafter, in c. 1620/21. Although the latter was the youngest of the three, he was the first to pass away, at the unfortunate young age of around thirty years old. Nonetheless, during his short-lived career he attracted the attention of some of the most prominent international art patrons, received prestigious commissions and proved to be a herald of trans-Alpine cultural exchange and a forceful catalyst for artistic innovation and emulation.

Van Baburen was the son of the affluent Jasper Petersz van Baburen and his wife Margareta van Doyenburgh, both servants to the noblewoman Geertruid van Bronckhorst van Batenburg, who lived at Batestein Castle, in Vianen near Utrecht.[1] They married in the summer of 1592, and in November of that year Jasper was, thanks to his half-brother, the burgomaster of Wijk bij Duurstede, appointed as toll collector for commercial shipping traffic in that town, a job he would hold until 1599 when the family likely moved to nearby Utrecht. Dirck's birth date is



unknown, but he was probably born between 1592 and 1595.[2] Dirck is first recorded in 1611, when he was registered in the Utrecht Guild of St Luke, and paid tuition fees in that year for studying with the well known Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638).

Since Baburen's name is not to be found among Moreelse's pupils in the following years, he presumably left for Italy in 1612. However, he is not recorded there until 1615, when he painted a now lost *Martyrdom of St Matthew* in Parma, apparently on his way to the artistic melting pot of Rome, where he can be located in around 1615/16. In 1617 he landed – together with his friend David de Haen (c. 1597-1622) – an impressive commission, when the Spanish diplomat Pietro Cussida hired the two Dutchmen to execute the paintings in his family chapel in San Pietro in Montorio, a church which already housed frescoes and altar pieces by Raphael (1483-1520), Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547) and Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), among others. The *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles* commissioned by the important Maecenas, Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani – whose collection included over 600 paintings, 15 of them by Caravaggio alone – provides further evidence that Baburen's exceptional talents did not go unnoticed in Rome. Paintings from this period reveal the young painter's intimate knowledge of the work of Rome's leading Caravaggisti, Jusepe de Ribera (1591-1652) and Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582-1622), both of whom he probably knew personally. While Van Baburen is mentioned in 1619 and 1620 as living with, among others, De Haen and the French/Southern Netherlandish painter Nicolas Régnier (c. 1588-1667) in the Roman parish of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, he probably aimed to be home before the end of the Twelve Year Truce between The Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic in April 1621.

Van Baburen's return to Utrecht launched a short, but intense period of frenzied production. During a fascinating period fuelled by intense artistic competition, Baburen, Honthorst and Ter Brugghen overnight – and with huge success – introduced their unique take on Caravaggism to the Netherlands, where it proved to be a major source of inspiration well beyond Utrecht's city borders. Van Baburen's inclusion in 1622 among those select painters –Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem (1562-1638), Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651), Paulus Moreelse, Ter Brugghen and Honthorst – commissioned by Prince Maurits of Orange to produce a series of busts of the twelve Roman Emperors – testifies to his new status.[3] The circumstances leading to Baburen's premature death in February 1624 remain unclear. In all probability he fell victim to the plague, leaving behind an admirable, if relatively small oeuvre, consisting nowadays of little over 40 authentic paintings, to which the present, newly discovered picture forms an important addition.[4]

'Laboratory Utrecht'

Because of the unique, local and relatively short lived and intense 'give-and-take artistic relationship' between Baburen *cum suis*, Utrecht Caravaggist expert Wayne Franits has rightly dubbed the period 1620-1624 'Laboratory Utrecht'.[5] Indeed, these three painters created and worked in an atmosphere where the urge for experiment, the landing of commissions and the powerful sense of competition were key forces for lasting innovation. One of the most conspicuous new types of paintings they introduced was the single, bust-length genre figure – fancifully dressed musicians, drinkers, courtesans, boys blowing on firebrands etc. – of which the present *Violin Player Holding a Wine Glass* is a formidably exciting example. The following will mainly concentrate on such works and specifically on those depicting musicians – of which a substantial number have survived.

Remarkably, these three young and ambitious painters had hardly painted any works like these themselves back in Italy. Yet overnight they embarked upon a frenzy of reciprocal emulation, painting variations, new motifs and novel poses and lighting – a veritable artistic ping-pong – no doubt stimulated by an enthusiastic buying public of these new, modern and impressive works. All of these works are – in hindsight – pieces of an intriguing puzzle, each of them offering an essential insight into that environment of inventive artistic competition, each offering a puzzle piece to help reconstruct a near four hundred year old creative hub the Netherlands had rarely seen before – or after. The present work is – apart from its autonomous beauty – such a puzzle piece, a newly found core item of information at the heart of the emulative artistic environment, fully signed and dated 1623.

A penchant for pendants

Clearly, the genre relied on Italian examples. Caravaggio had done several ground-breaking portrayals of youths with fruit baskets, lutes and so on, and in his footsteps Bartolomeo Manfredi and others had transformed the former's idiom into monumental half-lengths of card players and musicians.[6] In fact, single-figure busts of young musicians had been produced in Italy since the sixteenth century. As scholars have rightly pointed out, two pendants of a *Flute Player* and a *Singer* by an anonymous



Fig. 1, 2 Anonymous Italian artist, *Singer* and *Lute Player*, 16th century, both oil on canvas, 102 x 78 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese

late-sixteenth century artist were part of the collection of one of Rome's foremost art patrons, Scipione Borghese, one of Van Honthorst's greatest admirers and a collector of his work.[7] The pendants, still in the Borghese collection today (figs. 1, 2), then thought to be by Giorgione (1475-1510), would have been relatively easily accessible for the young Dutch painters. Moreover, a *Bust of a Flute Player*, thought to be by Correggio (1489-1534) at the time, was with an art dealer in Utrecht prior to 1623.[8]

It was this artistic background, then, that spurred two of the first works Baburen painted after returning to Utrecht: his *Youth Playing a Mouth Harp* of 1621, now in the Centraal Museum (fig. 3), and its now lost pendant, a *Flute Player* known through a workshop version (fig. 4).[9] While it has rightly been argued that for the Utrecht painting Baburen looked at Honthorst's nocturnal imagery – his specialty, earning him his nickname 'Gherardo delle notti', Gerard of the nights – it was with these pendants that Baburen ignited the creative fire, as they doubtlessly inspired Ter Brugghen to paint his two *Flute Player* pendants now in Kassel.[10] Then again in 1622, Baburen came up with another pendant pair of musicians, the superb *Singing Young Man* in Frankfurt, and its companion, the *Lute Player* in Utrecht. Moreover, during that same year, he loosely repeated the pose of the Utrecht *Lute Player* in his *Woman Playing a Lute*, a mature woman leaning out of a window while playing her instrument.[11] A pendant belonging to this work is not known, but given the emerging pattern of pendants she was quite possibly once joined by a musical companion, male or female. In any case, in around 1622 Honthorst, too, took over his personal corner of the 'laboratory', to stick with Franits' analogy. Honthorst had obviously been on the artistic scene – he had even painted pendants, of *Boys Blowing on a Firebrand*, c. 1621/22[12] – yet his new interest in depicting duos of musicians was now stimulated by Baburen's recent achievements. His earliest efforts seem to have been the *Woman Tuning a Lute* and the *Violinist by Candlelight* – still in his *tenebrist* style, which he would soon abandon – of which a workshop copy pair is kept in Leipzig. During the next year, 1623 – and it is no coincidence that this was also the year in which the present work was painted – Honthorst painted another two pairs of musicians, among them the celebrated *Merry Violin Player with a Wine Glass* in the Rijksmuseum, and its pendant, the *Singing Elder with a Flute* in Schwerin.[13]

The culture of emulation that kicked off with Baburen's 1621 pair, soon developed into a properly cohesive cluster of works. To provide some insight into this artistic flux, a general overview spanning the period between 1621-1624 – Baburen's Utrecht years – is given here (fig. 5).[14] This scheme aims to comprehensively present 34 single figure 'musicians' painted by these three artists during this specific period, currently known (paintings are only included in one version). All images are presented as being of the same height; needless to say the measurements of these works vary in reality. However, if two paintings are framed together, indicating that they are pendants, or



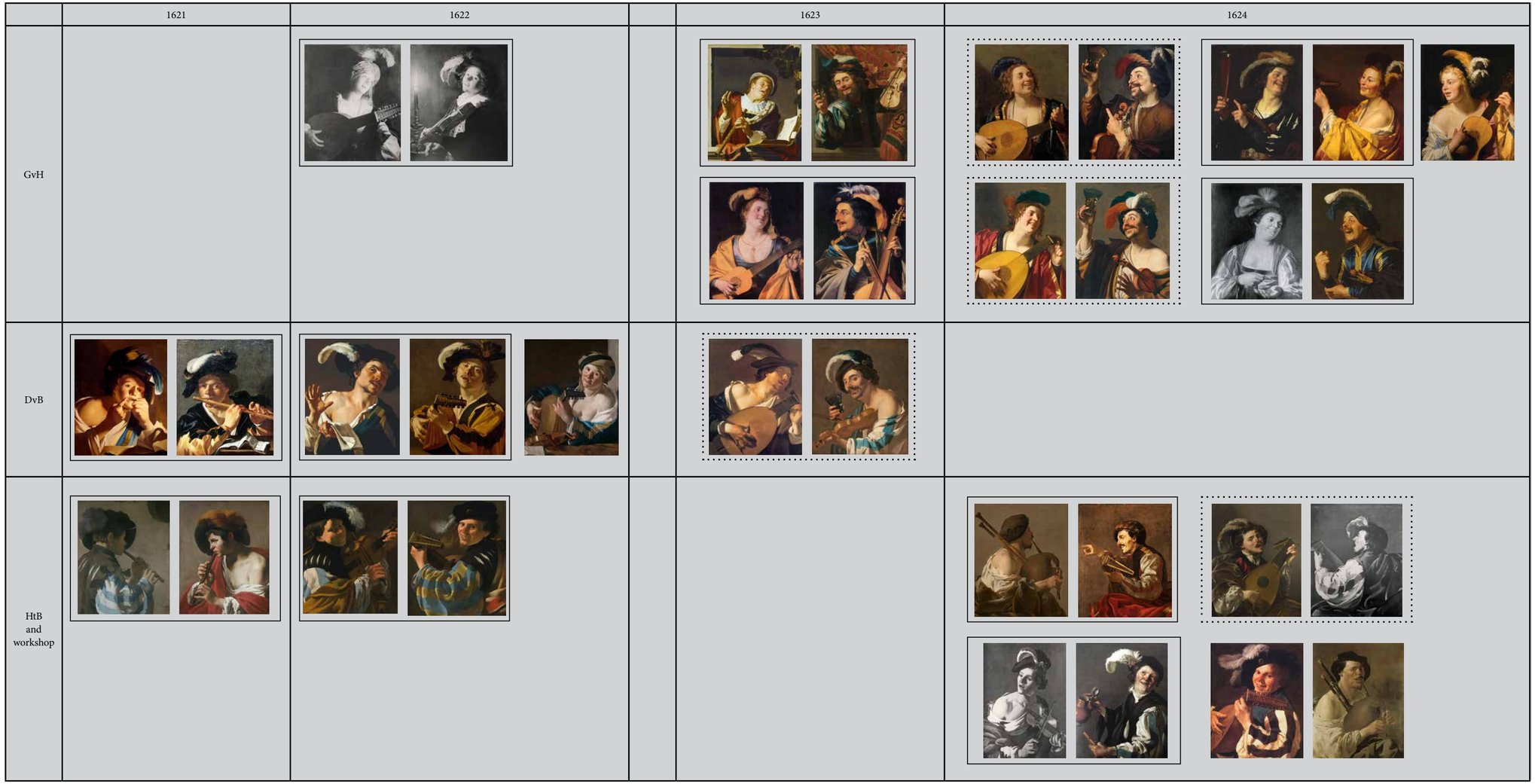
Fig. 3 Dirck van Baburen and workshop, *Youth Playing a Mouth Harp*, 1621, oil on canvas, 65 x 52 cm, Utrecht, Centraal Museum



Fig. 4 Workshop of Dirck van Baburen, *Flute Player*, c. 1621, oil on canvas, 71 x 55.4 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie

Fig. 5
Overview of single figure musicians / pendants in the 'Utrecht Laboratory' 1621-1624

Paintings listed from left to right, top to bottom, with ref. to their resp. *cat. raisonné* no. (GvH: J/E 1999; DvB: Fr 2013; HtB: Sl/Fr 2007). **GvH 1622**: *Woman Tuning a Lute / Violonist by Candlelight*, c. 1621/23, both workshop GvH, both Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, J/E 223, 248; **GvH 1623**: *Singing Elder with a e*, 1623, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, J/E 244; *Merry Violonist with a Wine Glass*, 1623, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, J/E 241; *Woman with a Mask Tuning a Guitar / Viola da Gamba Player*, c. 1623, both Lvov, Picture Gallery, J/E 219, 246; **GvH 1624**: *Woman Tuning a Lute*, 1624, Paris, Louvre, J/E 222; *Merry Violinist Holding a Wine Glass*, c. 1624, Mexico City, Franz Mayer Museum, J/E 239; *Merry Violinist Holding a Wine Glass / Woman Playing a Lute*, 1624, both St Petersburg, Hermitage, J/E 240; *Woman Playing a Guitar*, 1624, Paris, Louvre, J/E 220; *Woman Tuning a Lute*, 1624, Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, not in J/E; *Merry Violinist with a Wine Glass*, c. 1624, Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, J/E 242; *Girl Counting Money* (workshop GvH) / *Merry Musician with Violin under His Right Arm*, c. 1624, both Pommersfelden, J/E 214, 236; **DvB 1621**: *Youth Playing a Mouth Harp*, 1621, DvB and workshop, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, Fr BW1; *Flute Player*, c. 1621, workshop DvB, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Fr W5; **DvB 1622**: *Singing Young Man*, 1622, Frankfurt, am Main, Städel Museum, Fr A24; *Lute Player*, 1622, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, Fr A25; **DvB 1623**: *Lute Player*, c. 1623, present location unknown, Fr A20 (as c. 1621/22); *Violin Player with a Wine Glass*, Amsterdam/Geneva, Salomon Lilian, not in Fr; **HtB 1621**: *Fife Player / Flute Player*, 1621, both Kassel, Gemäldegalerie alte Meister, Sl/Fr A62/A61; **HtB 1622**: *Man Playing a Theorbo / Man Playing a Viola da Braccio*, said to be dated 1622, both workshop HtB, sale New York, Sotheby's, 30 January 2015, lot 428, Sl/Fr WTBVB 14/15 (Fr R123/124); **HtB 1624**: *Bagpipe Player in Profile*, 1624, Washington, National Gallery of Art (formerly Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum), Sl/Fr A71; *Pointing Lute Player*, 1624, Switzerland, private collection, Sl/Fr A72; *Singing Lute Player*, 1624, London, National Gallery, Sl/Fr A67; *Singing Lute Player in Lost Profile*, 1624, Algiers, Musée Nationale des Beaux-Arts d'Alger, Sl/Fr A63; *Boy Violinist*, c. 1624, workshop HtB, present location unknown, Sl/Fr WTBVB16 (Fr R128); *Boy with a Flute and Mug*, c. 1624, workshop HtB, sale Amsterdam, Christie's, 13 October 2009, lot 46, Sl/Fr WTBVB17 (Fr. R127); *Smiling Lute Player Facing Left*, c. 1624, HtB and workshop, present location unknown, Sl/Fr TW13; *Bagpipe Player*, 1624, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Sl/Fr A70.



proposed pendants (framed with a dotted line), this means that their measurements are similar. Some cross references will be pointed out below, providing the urgently needed context for the present *Violin Player with a Wine Glass*, which is obviously also included in this scheme.

Violinists and lute players

A first glance at the overview immediately makes one thing clear: almost invariably these musicians were painted, presented and no doubt sold as pendants. Apparently this was a business model which functioned well. Of the 34 paintings in the overview, only four, about 12%, seem definitely not to belong to a pair. Another observation worthy of remark is that Baburen's known pendants feature two males, which is also the case with Ter Brugghen. Yet Honthorst's pendants seem to consist, with one exception, of a female and a male. Nonetheless, one observes how the initial competitive dynamics between Baburen and Ter Brugghen quickly shifted over to Baburen and Honthorst during 1622 and 1623.[15] As mentioned above, in 1622 Baburen painted his *Woman with a Lute*, who leans out of a window casement, an illusionistic pictorial novelty in Utrecht (fig. 6). Clearly, this must have been an eye-opener for Honthorst, who immediately followed with the *Merry Violin Player with a Wine Glass* dated 1623 in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 7) and the *Singing Elder* in Schwerin, both of whom likewise lean out of window frames. At the same time – and it is hard to tell who came up with what, first – Baburen must have studied Honthorst's spectacular efforts eagerly. A violin player



Fig. 6 Dirck van Baburen, *Woman Playing a Lute*, c. 1622, oil on canvas, 85.3 x 69.6 cm., Milan, Koelliker collection



Fig. 7 Gerard van Honthorst, *Merry Violinist Holding a Wine Glass*, 1623, oil on canvas, 108 x 89 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 8 Peter Rollos, *Man Playing a Woman with a Bow*, illustration in: P. Rollos, *Vita Corneliana, sive Cytherea studiosorum*, first published Berlin 1624

was, in addition to players of lutes, flutes, mouth harps and recorders – yet another new ingredient to add into the mix, and so he tried his hand at the theme.

Like Honthorst's *Violin Player*, our violinist is also up for merriment and a good romp. While he holds his instrument – one and the same as that seen protruding from the window ledge in Baburen's *Woman with a Lute* – against his chest, he raises his Berkemeyer glass to us with the other hand, as if we had just entered the room. The alcoholic element seems all too familiar to us now, but at the time and within the context of these musicians the inclusion of a glass of wine was another novelty, not done before (see the overview). Meanwhile, the violinist dangles the bow from his little finger, inserted between the bow stick and hair, adding more recklessness to the atmosphere. The violin was a barely respectable instrument, with a clear sexual connotation. In jest books one comes across dirty jokes involving girls who want their strings to be stroked by a violin bow; in prints one sees a naked girl being played like a violin (fig. 8); and the captions beneath prints after the kind of works discussed here time and again refer to these instruments as sexual metaphors.[16] Our violinist's attire, which one might call picaresque, relating to picaresque literature – contemporary comical adventure books with roguish protagonists – further adds to that carefree mood.[17] His naked shoulder



Fig. 9 Fig. 7, detail with missing tooth

and his wide-open linen shirt (lusciously painted, with much bravura) with the playful blue stripe and sash seems particularly extravagant, and makes one think of a carefree summer time. This choice of garment was decisively Baburen's at this point, and resembles the outfit of the *Boy Playing a Mouth Harp* or that of the Frankfurt *Singer* much more than that of Honthorst's *Merry Violin Player* in the Rijksmuseum. More so than the latter, our musician is a real vagabond with a scruffy moustache, and presumably a character to suit. While both violinists have a missing tooth (another vulgar feature, no doubt the result of smoking clay pipes) (fig. 9), Baburen – more than Honthorst, whose almost jack-in-the-box type of image seems to act on physical movement and illusion – emphasised rakish looseness.

As regards the composition, Baburen must have surely looked at Honthorst. This follows from a comparison between the present *Violin Player*, and Honthorst's *Violin Player by Candlelight* of c. 1622, of which a studio version survives in Leipzig (fig. 11). Although the figures exude a different sentiment, the compositional similarities – the way in which they they hold their instrument, whilst regarding the beholder – cannot be missed. While within the context of the 'Utrecht laboratory', such congruence can certainly not be dismissed as coincidental, another argument needs to be addressed here concerning the pendants of these violinists. The Leipzig *Violin Player by Candlelight* is joined by a *Woman Tuning a Lute* (fig. 10). As said, and demonstrated in the overview, all these musicians were almost invariably conceived as pendants. This raises the question of whether we might be able to produce a pendant





Fig. 10, 11 Workshop of Gerard van Honthorst, *Woman Tuning a Lute* and *Violinist by Candlelight*, c. 1622, oil on canvas, 87/87.5 x 72/72.5 cm., Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste



Fig. 12 Dirck van Baburen, *Lute Player*, oil on canvas, 82.5 x 66 cm., sale New York, Christie's, 16 January 1992, lot 92



Fig. 13 Cat. no. 2

for the present *Violin Player* as well. A suitable candidate within Baburen's extant oeuvre is in fact available. This work, a *Lute Player* of near identical measurements that was sold at Christie's New York in January 1992 (fig. 12), forms a completely cohesive unit with the present work, both in terms of the models' relative physical proportions, the brownish background colour and the lighting, which in both paintings comes from the upper left. What's more, their joint composition (figs. 12, 13) fully matches that of Honthorst's Leipzig pendants (figs. 10 and



Fig. 14 Dirck van Baburen, *The Concert*, c. 1623, oil on canvas, 99 x 130 cm., St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum

11). Franits proposed a slightly earlier date for the *Lute Player*, c. 1621/22, but necessarily did so without knowledge of the present work dated 1623, with which it fits so well.[18] Baburen must have been very taken with this specific combination of a lute player and a violinist. Looking at his masterful *The Concert* datable to that same year 1623, known in two autograph versions, one suddenly realises that he recycled in this work the same pictorial scheme of the proposed pendant pair of the *Lute Player* and the present work (fig. 14).[19] Notwithstanding the additions of a young flautist in the right background, and a nymph crowning the lute player, the general scheme – with the lute player leaning over to the right, and the violin player holding the neck of his instrument in his left hand – the same violin found in our picture and in the *Woman with a Lute*, but now seen from the back – is consistent with both Honthorst's Leipzig pendants, and even more so with the present work and its proposed pendant, the *Lute Player*.

From this moment onwards in 1623, it is revealing that all of a sudden the lute player and the violin player become the artist's combination of choice. Honthorst explored this specific duo further in his monumental *Merry Group behind a Balustrade with a Violin and a Lute Player* of c. 1623, auctioned at Sotheby's for a jaw-dropping 7.5 million dollars in 2014 (fig. 15).[20] Likewise, Baburen's *Loose Company* dated 1623 in the Landsesmuseum, Mainz, is also grouped around a female violinist and a lute player.[21] It was specifically with pendants that the lute player and the violinist became the duo of choice,[22] certainly in the case of Honthorst. His brilliant *Merry Violinist Holding a Wine Glass* and its counterpart, the *Woman Playing a Lute*, both dated 1624 and now in the Hermitage, St Petersburg, again focus on this combination (see overview). The basic idea of the violinist with his glass must derive from the present *Violin Player* of the year before, to which the Hermitage violinist is much closer than to Honthorst's own *Merry Violin Player* in the Rijksmuseum.

That our 1623 *Violin Player* was indeed the direct example for Honthorst's production in 1624 becomes even clearer in the case of a *Merry Violinist with a Wine Glass* in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (fig. 17), a variant of which is kept in the Franz Mayer Museum in Mexico City (see overview). In both paintings, the same bare shouldered violinist with a plumed beret raises his glass with his right hand, his instrument tucked under his left arm. He might well be the same model who posed for our Baburen. Whether this is the case or not, Honthorst repeated the motif of the missing tooth, impossible to overlook, as the violinist broadly smiles at his raised glass. The evident parallels with the present work require no further explanation. Until now, the Madrid *Violinist* has remained without a counterpart. But as with the present work, a possible candidate is available. In January 2013



Fig. 15 Gerard van Honthorst, *Merry Group behind a Balustrade with a Violin and a Lute Player*, c. 1623, oil on canvas, 99.4 x 138.5 cm., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Van Otterloo Collection



Fig. 16 Gerard van Honthorst, *Woman Tuning a Lute*, 1624, oil on canvas, 81.5 x 64.5 cm., Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts



Fig. 17 Gerard van Honthorst, *Merry Violinist with a Wine Glass*, c. 1624, oil on canvas, 82.5 x 67 cm., Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza



Fig. 18 Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Violinist and Girl with a Glass*, 1624, oil on canvas, 102 x 85 cm., Krefeld, Kaiser Wilhelm Museum



Fig. 19 Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Violinist with a Glass*, c. 1626, oil on canvas, 106 x 86 cm., Milan, formerly Koelliker Collection

an unknown, identically sized *Woman Tuning a Lute* by Honthorst, dated 1624, surfaced with Sotheby's New York, and was bought by the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 16). The 2013 auction catalogue hesitantly connected the painting with Honthorst's *Woman Playing a Guitar* in the Louvre (see overview).[23] Yet given Honthorst's demonstrated preference for male-female combinations, and given both Honthorst and Baburen's demonstrated preference for the pairing of lute and violin, the Montreal *Woman Tuning a Lute* forms a more logical match with the Madrid *Violonist*, whose background colours, moreover, fit very well. Furthermore, the slight upward gaze of the Montreal woman fits ill with the Louvre *Woman Playing a Guitar*, but makes perfect sense in combination with the Madrid *Violinist*, who raises his glass, both looking happily up to it, thus forming a joint composition. Likewise, the *Woman Playing a Guitar*'s ill-fitting pendant, a *Woman with a Lute* also in the Louvre, highly reminiscent of the Montreal *Woman Tuning a Lute*, might be paired with the aforementioned *Merry Violinist with a Wine Glass* in Mexico City (see overview).[24] Viewed as such, these two variant pairs (Montreal-Madrid and Paris-Mexico City) essentially show Honthorst mimicking Baburen's here-proposed pair of the *Lute Player* and the present *Violin Player with a Wine Glass*.

Aftermath

Baburen died in February 1624, at the height of his career. It must have shocked those near him, such as Honthorst and certainly also Ter



Fig. 20 Theodor Matham after Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Man with a Violin and a Berkemeyer*, engraving, 215 x 157 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Brugghen. The latter was wholly absent in the reciprocal dynamics of producing pendant musicians over the years 1622-1623, but caught up in 1624, from which year we know of at least two, but probably three or more pendant pairs of musicians (see overview).[25] While these works show musicians with different instruments, Ter Brugghen did react to Baburen's *Violin Player with a Wine Glass* very directly that year. In his *Violinist and a Girl Raising a Glass* in Krefeld he absorbed Baburen's subject matter and composition, whilst adding a barely dressed female who now holds up the glass (fig. 18). In this way, Ter Brugghen made explicit the more subtle erotic implications of his friend Baburen's work. Commenting on the Krefeld painting, Leonard Slatkes and Wayne Franits observe that the 'rendering of the male musician is especially important in that he introduces a type that appears in a number of later compositions by the artist'.[26] Further to this, it is not just the type, but specifically the subject and Baburen's composition that we encounter again in several works by Ter Brugghen, such as his masterful *Violinist with a Glass* in the Koelliker Collection (fig. 19), known in several versions, the *Laughing Violinist with a Glass* associated with Ter Brugghen's workshop, and his *Man with a Violin and a Berkemeyer*, known from a print by Theodor Matham (1605/06-1676), with an accompanying naughty caption by the humanist Petrus Scriverius (1576-1660) (fig. 20).[27] Again, these artworks confirm the status of the present *Violin Player with a Wine Glass* as a vital source of inspiration for Dirck van Baburen's colleagues, and as one of the more crucial rediscovered pieces of the puzzle created in the Utrecht laboratory.

JH

Notes

1 For Van Baburen's biography, see M.J. Bok, in: A. Blankert, L.J. Slatkes, *Nieuw Licht op de Gouden Eeuw : Hendrick ter Brugghen en Tijdgenoten*, exh. cat. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 1986-1987, pp. 173-175; W. Franits, 'Dirck van Baburen: A Caravaggist Active in Rome and Utrecht', in: W. Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen : Catalogue Raisonné*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2013, pp. 1-58.

2 Slatkes' educated guess of 1595 was largely based on a passage in the writings of the Italian physician and art broker Giulio Mancini. However, Franits (2013, pp. 2-5) rightly points out that Slatkes misread this passage. Instead, he proposes a date of c. 1592/93 as the most plausible.

3 Franits 2013, cat. no. A26.

4 Franits 2013 lists 41 authentic paintings (cat. nos. A1-36, including several autograph second versions), and 4 works that he attributes to Van Baburen and his workshop (cat. nos. A3BW1, A7BW1, A22BW1, BW1).

5 W. Franits, 'Laboratorium Utrecht. Baburen, Honthorst und Terbrugghen im künstlerischen Austausch', in: J. Sander, B. Eclercy, G. Dette, *Caravaggio in Holland : Musik und Genre bei Caravaggio und den Utrechter Caravaggisten*, exh. cat. Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum 2009, pp. 37-52.

6 Franits demonstrated how Van Baburen must have been familiar with the work of the rather obscure Italian painter Angelo Caroselli . See W. Franits, 'Dirck van Baburen and the "Self-Taught" Master, Angelo Caroselli', in: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 5:2 (Summer 2013) DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2013.5.2.5.

7 Franits 2013, pp. 44-45, note 234, with reference to A. Bini et al., *Colori della musica : dipinti, strumenti e concerti tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, exh. cat. Rome, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica Roma, Siena, S. Maria della Scala 2000-2001, cat. nos. 11, 12.

8 M.J. Bok, 'On the origins of the flute player in Utrecht Caravaggesque painting', in: R. Klessmann (ed.), Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland : Beiträge eines Symposions aus Anlass der Ausstellung "Holländische Malerei in neuem Licht. Hendrick ter Brugghen und seine Zeitgenossen" im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, vom 23. bis 25. März 1987, pp. 135-141. As Bok convincingly argues, it probably concerns the *Boy with a Pipe*, attributed to Titian at Hampton Court.

9 Franits 2013, cat. no. BW1.

10 L.J. Slatkes, W. Franits, *The paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen, 1588-1629 : catalogue raisonné*, Amsterdam 2007, cat. nos. A62, A61.

11 Franits 2013, cat. no. A27.

12 See J. Hillegers, in: J. Hillegers et al., *Salomon Lilian Old Masters 2017*, Amsterdam 2017, cat. no. 5. In addition to the *Boy Blowing on a Firebrand* that was already known (see Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. no. 231, as c. 1621, now with Salomon Lilian), I there presented another *Boy Blowing on a Firebrand*, also by Honthorst, in the Hermitage, St Petersburg (there as Matthias Stom). The Hermitage work is said to be dated 1622.

13 Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. nos. 241, 244.

14 In one case, Honthorst's *Woman Tuning a Lute* of c. 1623 and its pendant, the *Violinist by Candlelight*, the works depicted are studio versions after lost originals. See Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. nos. 223, 248. The attribution of Honthorst's *Girl Counting Money* in Pommersfelden is doubtful. In addition she is the only non-musician. However beause she is clearly the pendant to the autograph *Merry Musician with a Violin Under his Arm* of 1624, also in Pommersfelden, she is included here after all. See Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. nos. 222, 236. The *Musician with a Violin Under his Arm*, an autograph replica of a 1624 dated prime version is preferred here over that prime version, as it still belongs to a pendant pair.

15 The pendant pair of a *Man Playing a Theorbo* and a *Man Playing a Viola da Braccio* by Ter Brugghen's workshop (sale New York, Sotheby's, 30 January 2015, lot 428) are both said to be signed and dated indistinctly: HTB 1622, according to the 2015 sale catalogue. However, Slatkes/Franits 2007, cat. nos. WTBVB14-15 states that one needs 'some imagination' to read 'a date that could be read as 1622.' Although included in the overview as in 1622, it rather seems to have been painted two years later, in 1624. Franits 2013, cat. nos. R123-124, no date.

16 A joke about an eighteen year old who laments how her strings are still not stroked by a fiddlestick is found in the anonymous jest book *Pans Fluytje*, Amsterdam 1706, pp. 102-103. For the sexual connotations of musical instruments in the work of the Utrecht Caravaggists, see M. Dekiert, *Musikanten in der Malerei der niederländischen Caravaggio-Nachfolge : Vorstufen, Ikonographie und Bedeutungsgehalt der Musikszene in der niederländischen Bildkunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Münster 2003, esp. pp. 185-200 concerning string instruments. See also M. Dekiert, '"Hätte ich nun einen Burschen, der mir die laute spielte" : Vom Lautenschlagen, Saitenstimmen und Flötenblasen : Musikinstrumente und ihre Bedeutungen in der Genreszenen der Utrechter Caravaggisten', in: Frankfurt am Main 2009, pp. 65-79.

17 See for a recent overview of the discussion on the clothing of these musicians, and the connection with picaresque literature Franits 2013, pp. 49-50.

18 Franits 2013, cat. no. A20, as c. 1621/22. Franits's dating is stylistically driven, as he places the work between the *Youth Playing a Mouth Harp* of 1621 and the *Lute Player* of 1622, both in Utrecht.

19 Franits 2013, cat. no. A35 (Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts), A35a (St Petersburg, Hermitage). According to Franits, the Detroit work is the prime version.

20 A copy of the work was listed in Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. no. 285. See for the re-surfaced original W. Franits, 'Catalogue notes', in: sale catalogue New York, Sotheby's, 30 January 2014, lot 34, who emphasises the example of Baburen's *Woman with a Lute* (here fig. 6).

21 Franits 2013, cat. no. A32.

22 See also the pendant pair dated 1625 of a *Lute Player* and a *Violinist with a Glass* in the Gemäldegalerie alte Meister in Kassel, by an anonymous follower of Baburen and Ter Brugghen (Franits 2013, cat. no. R120/121).

23 Sale New York, Sotheby's, 30 January 2013, lot 39.

24 Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. nos. 220, 222 describes the Louvre *Woman with a Lute* (canvas, 82 x 68 cm.) and *Woman Playing a Guitar* (canvas, 82 x 68 cm.) as an unfavourable match. Mentioned in the same inventory since 1632 (see 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. 183, nos. 50, 51, listed consecutively, but not as pendants), they did not hang together and were only perceived as pendants as late as 1793. Although of similar size, they are pictorially ill-fitting. The Mexico City work (78.5 x 64 cm.) is a few cm. smaller, but seems slightly cropped (especially at the top, where the edge of the canvas touches the glass). See Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. no. 239. In principle, one could also combine the Montreal painting with the Mexico City work, and the Paris painting with the Madrid work. Both female compositions are similar, as are the two male compositions.

25 The idea that the London and Algiers lute players were conceived as pendants was first proposed by Benedict Nicolson in his 1958 monograph on Ter Brugghen. See Slatkes/Franits 2007, cat. nos. A63, A67. As several versions of both paintings exist, it is likely that these were also conceived as pairs (A67, 'Comments'), a production method similar to Honthorst's variant versions of female lute players and male violinists of the same year 1624, which – as suggested above – could also be paired. For a presumably fourth pendant pair painted in 1624 (but allegedly dated 1622), see note 15. The *Lute Player* of this pair shows great affinity with the *Smiling Lute Player Facing Left* of c. 1624 by Ter Brugghen and workshop (Sl/Fr TW13).

26 Slatkes/Franits 2007, cat. no. A66.

27 Slatkes/Franits 2007, cat. nos. A83 (*Violinist with a Glass*); WTBVB12 (*Laughing Violinist with a Glass*). For the latter work, see also Franits 2013, cat. no. R119.

cat. no. 3

Pieter Claesz
Berchem c. 1597 – 1660 Haarlem

Still Life with Drinking Utensils and Smoking Paraphernalia

Signed on the table edge lower left: . Pclaessen . 1625 . (Pc interlaced)
Oil on panel
30 x 43 cm.

Provenance:
France, private collection, by inheritance

Literature:
Unpublished



Pieter Claesz was Haarlem's most important still life painter in the first half of the 17th century. He was born in Berchem near Antwerp around the year 1597[1]; nothing is known about his first years and his artistic training. However, his earliest works demonstrate close contact with the Antwerp masters Osias Beert (1622-c. 1678) and Clara Peeters (c. 1594-before 1657). In 1620 a *Pieter Clasens* was mentioned as a master painter in the membership roll of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke.[2] In around the year 1621 Pieter Claesz moved from the Southern Netherlands to prosperous Haarlem, where in around the year 1622 his son Nicolaes Berchem, who would become the famous painter of Italianate landscapes, was born. The earliest known still life by Pieter Claesz, dated 1621, is the *Fruit still life with a stoneware jug*,[3] which reveals his stylistic Antwerpian roots as well as the influence of the elder Haarlem still life painter, Floris van Dijck (1575-1651). This painting indicates the presence of Pieter Claesz in Haarlem that same year. In the following period he matured his unquestioned talent, becoming both a virtuoso and productive painter of meal, tobacco and *vanitas* still lifes. In reducing objects and colours, he developed a specific type of still life, the so-called *monochrome banketje*, masterfully rendering different materials such as silver and gold, pewter and ceramic, glass, and various types of food, all of which are illuminated by an invisible source of bright light. Inventories of 17th century Haarlem collections reveal Pieter Claesz as the

most represented still life painter in the city.[4] His fellow citizen Willem Claesz Heda began painting still lifes much later (in 1628), closely influenced by Pieter Claesz, with whom he was in close competition in the early 1630s, when they were both prolific painters. Pieter Claesz died in Haarlem in 1660, aged 63, having painted for a period of forty years and leaving an œuvre of about 260 still lifes.[5]

Kept in a private collection until 2017, this small, luminous "Still life with smoking Utensils", hitherto unknown even to the specialists of Dutch 17th century painting, is presented for the first time here to an interested public. In addition to its outstanding artistic quality, this early painting by Pieter Claesz is especially important for its singular signature (see below). Inviting the beholder to an intimate dialogue, the painter offers on a blank slab of grey stone (apparently a table-top) some vessels and requisites for smoking and drinking. Some of these objects rise above the rear edge of the stone slab, which divides the surface of the panel horizontally into half, leaving the upper part of the composition to an undefined grey background, gradually lightening towards the right side. The foreshortened left end of the stone slab enhances the perception of space and serves at the same time as a hint to the beholder on how to enter in the arrangement on the table, moving his eye from the left side to the right, corresponding to our reading custom. At first sight, the single objects offer themselves to the viewer in seeming disorder, as if a time of leisure had been suddenly interrupted. In the composition of our painting, however, nothing has been left to chance: instead, we gradually become more and more aware of a calculated net of geometric and spatial relationships, according to an artistic principle which is characteristic of Pieter Claesz's entire œuvre.

The subject of this still life are the modest – if not universally approved of – pleasures of every day life for Dutch people in the 17th century: smoking tobacco and drinking, alone or in merry company. On the left side stands a little pewter tankard on a high pedestal, whose cool grey surface reflects in a multitude of ways the light falling in from above through an invisible window. This jug is shown in profile, so that its shining spout is turned to the right towards a small light green drinking glass on a similar high base, a *berkemeyer*, half filled with liquid. A knife with a handle of ivory, dividing the two upright vessels, is directed from the left edge of the table to the centre, where the point of the blade ends under a musical score, folded to form a little bag for cut up tobacco.[6] It is half opened, so we can see the crumbs of brown tobacco inside. This humble motif reveals itself as a little masterpiece of pictorial *bravura*, considering the gradation of light and shade on the sheet of paper which connects with its falling and rising contours the two parts of the composition dedicated to drinking and smoking. The right side is dominated by a clay-pot with glowing coals, which preserve the fire under a crust of ashes. The warm brown colour of this earthenware vessel shining in full light forms a counterpart to the cool reflections of pewter and glass on the other side. The primary utensils for smoking are displayed near the front edge of the table: a curled roll of tobacco and the typical long pipe of white clay. Both turn the eyes of the beholder back to the centre, where the bowl of the pipe rests upon a bundle of matches. The lit pipe and the loose matches having just been used for this purpose, two with burnt ends and one still glowing, suggest the dimension of time by visualizing the transitory moment. The bundle of matches nearly touches the oval tobacco box of pewter with framing rims of brass, arranged on the left side of the table. The cool gleam relates this box to the tankard behind it, while its rich ornamental decoration contrasts with the smooth surface of the jug. Finally, a small piece of bread with some crumbs beside it (the only food on the table) set a second minor accent of warm colour in the lower left corner of the picture, balancing the delicate equilibrium of the composition.

Pieter Claesz appears to have been the first painter to whom the pastimes of smoking, drinking, and musical performance – themes omnipresent in contemporary prints and literature[7]– gave inspiration to create a new kind of still life. As far as we know, it was he who invented the new type of still life which became known as *toebackje* or *rookertje*.



Fig. 1 Tobacco box, c. 1625/37, brass, 3 x 4 x 6.6 cm., Amsterdam, Pipe Museum



Fig. 2 Crispijn van den Queborn, *Tobacco Shop*, engraving, illustration to Johan van Beverwyck, *Schat der Gesontheyt*, Amsterdam 1660



Fig. 3 Gillis van Scheyndel, *Tobacco Vanitas*, engraving, 83 x 94 mm., detail from title-page of Petrus Scriverius, *Saturnalia*, 1630, Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek

Subsequent to the discovery of America, tobacco had reached Europe and spread quickly, due to its supposed medicinal virtue and to its obvious stimulating effects. An important role in its diffusion was played by the merchants of Zealand with their far reaching commercial relationships, so that tobacco in dried form or as a plant was already generally known in Holland around 1600. The enormous success of the new drug (figs. 1, 2)[8], which while on the one hand provided the customs with high revenues, did not fail to provoke vehement criticism on the part of Calvinistic authorities on the other. A prominent enemy of smoking was the eminent scholar Petrus Scriverius (1576 - 1660), resident in Leyden, whose Latin verses on the use and abuse of tobacco were translated into Dutch in 1630 by the reformed parson and historiographer of the city of Haarlem, Samuel Ampzing (fig. 3).[9] An admonition not to exaggerate the consumption of tobacco and alcohol had already been expressed by Johannes Torrentius in his famous still life from 1614, now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, an emblematic allegory of temperance (fig. 4).[10] No such overt moralistic intentions seem to have been pursued by Pieter Claesz when he took up the requisites of the new custom of smoking tobacco, to add a special variant to his intimate arrangements of the utensils of a middle class household, ennobling the ordinary motifs through his artistic vision.



Fig. 4 Johannes Torrentius, *Allegory of Temperance*, signed and dated 1614, oil on panel, 52 x 50.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 5 Pieter Claesz, *Still Life with Smoking Implements*, signed, c. 1622, oil on panel, 38.4 x 58.4 cm., Belgium, private collection



Fig. 6 Pieter Claesz, *Still Life with Smoking Implements*, signed and dated 1622, oil on panel, 26.5 x 33.5 cm., private collection

An undated *rookertje*, possibly painted in 1622 (fig. 5),[11] offers on its left side the familiar implements for smoking beside a glass holder (*bekerschroef*) with a *berkemeyer* filled with wine, while the other side of the picture presents a pile of books (two of them opened to show musical notations on white paper) and a violin on top. This still life, notwithstanding certain insecurities typical of an artist at the beginning of his career, already shows us Pieter Claesz's personal mode of composing. The painting probably belongs to the very earliest works painted by him in Haarlem and seems to be the first example of the new type of *toebackje*.

In the same year 1622 but probably later, Pieter Claesz painted another very small *toebackje* (fig. 6).[12] The reduced format may be one reason why very little space is left between the components of this dense arrangement on a table seen from above. Motifs recurring in our still life from 1625, such as the clay pot with glowing coals, the pipe and the bundle of matches, the sheet of paper with tobacco, the bread and the knife, the quasi identical tankard, the tobacco box, and the glasses are here combined with a glass of beer, playing cards, and dice. This picture is the first dated *toebackje* and has been, before the discovery of the painting here published, the only work signed by Pieter Claesz with his full name *pieter claessen*.

In later years the painter normally signed his still lifes only with his initials *PC*, often adding, but not always, the year of execution. Consequently, the master had been forgotten for centuries until the late nineteenth century, when Abraham Bredius and Sydney Colvin succeeded in identifying the author of the still lifes listed in older catalogues as the works of an enigmatic monogramist PC. The full signature of the *toebackje* from 1622, discovered only in 1988, was the first confirmation of the identification proposed by the two eminent art historians.[13]

The discovery of the still life of 1625 signifies an important enrichment of the œuvre of Pieter Claesz, because the picture bears on the left front edge of the table a signature never to be repeated afterwards: Pclaessen, combining his initials in the usual monogram, but integrated by the full patronymic written in minuscule. This is the definite proof that the painter Pieter Claesz active in Haarlem in the first half of the 17th century is in fact the author of the still lifes signed with the monogram *PC*.

Looking back to the two *toebackjes* of 1622, we observe in our painting a decisive step forwards in the artistic evolution of Pieter Claesz. The point of view is now lower, and therefore the beholder is looking at the arrangement on a table nearer to their eye level. Notwithstanding the limited surface of the panel, each object is developed in its own space, while minimal intersections only serve to create a net of relationships. As with the earlier still lifes, and nearly with all his later paintings, the source of light is not visible, but from this point on Pieter Claesz succeeds to illuminate all his motifs in a unique light which falls in from above, creating a harmonious atmosphere. This effect is enhanced by the background, which is no longer an impenetrable darkness, but by being made lighter to the right side, a space in crepuscular light is suggested behind the table. By virtue of these pictorial decisions this early still life of the emerging master already represents the best qualities of the art of Pieter Claesz.

MBB

Notes

1 Two notarial acts of 29 September and 11 October 1640 record that Pieter Claesz was at that time 43 years old. In elder literature he was thought to be from Steinfurt (Westfalia), but this was a misunderstanding. He came from Berchem, as it is stated in the register of the Haarlem Municipal Orphanage, where his twin daughters were admitted several days after his death; see M. Brunner-Bulst, *Pieter Claesz : der Hauptmeister des Haarlemer Stillebens im 17. Jahrhundert : kritischer Oeuvrekatalog*, Lingen 2004, pp. 134, 194 (note 185); P. Biesboer (ed.), *Pieter Claesz : Master of Haarlem Still Life*, exh. cat. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, Zürich Kunsthaus Zürich, Washington (DC), National Gallery of Art 2004-2006, p. 16; Q. Buvelot et al., *Slow food : Dutch and Flemish meal still lifes, 1600-1640*, exh. cat. The Hague, Mauritshuis 2017, p. 199 (citing all literature).

2 P. Biesboer in: Haarlem/Zürich/Washington 2004-2006, pp. 16, 137 (note 22).

3 Private collection; see Brunner-Bulst 2004, cat. no. 1, pp. 9 (colour plate), 137, 138, 145, 146, 206. Haarlem/Zürich/Washington 2004-2006, cat. no. 1.

4 P. Biesboer, *Collections of paintings in Haarlem 1572-1745* (*Netherlandish Inventories* I), Los Angeles 2001; P. Biesboer, in: Haarlem/Zürich/Washington 2004-2006, p. 25.

5 My *catalogue raisonné* published in 2004 includes 243 paintings. About 15 hitherto unknown paintings by the master have been discovered in the last 13 years.

6 It seems to be a page of a songbook, but neither the sequence of the notes, nor the title, make sense. Pieter Claesz didn't paint real music notes, but wanted to give the impression of music as a part of human transient pleasure.

7 See E. de Jongh, G. Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life : genreprints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1997.

8 G.A. Brongers, *Van gouwenaar tot bruyère pijp*, Amerongen 1978, p. 58 (ill. Tobacco box); p. 29 (ill.) one of the first illustrations of a tobacco shop at a Dutch inn (the engraver is erroneously named Chrispijn van der Passe).

9 Petrus Scriverius, *SATURNALIA, Ofte Poëtisch Vasten-avond spel Vervatende het gebruyk ende misbruyk VANDEN TABACK*, translated by Samuel Ampzing, Haarlem 1630.

10 See A. Chong, W. Kloek, *Still Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1999, cat. no. 11, p. 132.

11 Belgium, private collection; Brunner-Bulst 2004, cat. no. 8; Haarlem/Zürich/Washington 2004-2006, cat. no. 3. The execution for the undated painting I proposed in about 1623, close to Pieter Claesz' still life in the Louvre dated 1623, but I am now convinced that the painting must have been created earlier.

12 Brunner-Bulst 2004, cat. no. 4; Haarlem/Zürich/Washington 2004-2006, cat. no. 2.

13 Brunner-Bulst 2004, p. 134; Haarlem/Zürich/Washington 2004-2006, p. 36.

cat. no. 4

Jacques de Claeuw
Dordrecht 1623 – 1694 Leiden

Still Life with a Roemer, Chestnuts, a Lemon and Grapes on a Table Ledge

Signed and dated on the table ledge: JDClaew 1648
Oil on panel
65 x 52.5 cm.

Provenance:
Sale Paris, Galerie Jean Charpentier (the late Mr. J. Braz), 12 May 1938, lot 4 (sold to De Boer for 8.000)
Amsterdam, Kunsthandel P. de Boer
Hittarp, collection Countess Harriet Wachtmeister, 1947
Sweden, private collection, since 1974

Literature:
I. Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, London 1957, pp. 245-246, fig. 205
A. van der Willigen, F.G. Meijer, *A dictionary of Dutch and Flemish still-life painters working in oils: 1525-1725*, Leiden 2003, p. 63

Jacques Grief was born in Dordrecht, a small river town in northern Holland. Because of a physical deformity, he was given the nickname of 'de Claeuw', meaning 'the claw.' Together with a number of colleagues, he set up the Dordrecht Guild of St. Luke in 1642, after which he became a member of the Guild of St. Luke in The Hague in 1646. Three years later, in 1649, he married Maria van Goyen, thereby becoming Jan van Goyen's (1596-1656) son-in-law and brother-in-law of Jan Steen (c. 1626-1679). From 1651 onwards the couple lived in Leiden. One of the relatively few works known by Jacques de Claeuw, the present, early painting is a very good example of his oeuvre, and elegantly signed and dated 1648, at which date de Claeuw lived in The Hague. This still life shows a corner of a table, with a dark green-brown *roemer* filled with white wine, surrounded by a bunch of white grapes, half a lemon with its curling peel and a pewter plate with chestnuts on it. The table is partly covered with a dark green velvet cloth with gold fringes, which falls in deep folds over the edge of the table. Light comes from the upper right corner, revealing the warm richness of the colours in a tonality ranging from saturated yellow-brown to brown. Painted with loose and fluid brushstrokes, in an almost impressionist manner, he builds the paint up in several translucent layers. In The Hague the artist must have been familiar with the still life paintings by his contemporary Abraham van Beijeren (circa 1620-1690), but we do not know who influenced the other.[1] In the collection of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm a painting by Van Beijeren, *Still Life with Rummer and Grapes*, shows similarities to the present work both in concept and execution.[2]

WWB

Notes
1 E. Buijsen, *Haagse schilders in de Gouden Eeuw : het Hoogsteder Lexicon van alle schilders werkzaam in Den Haag, 1600-1700*, exh. cat. The Hague, Haags Historisch Museum, 1998-1999, p. 110.
2 A. van Beijeren, *Still Life with Rummer and Grapes*, signed with monogram, oil on panel, 64 x 47 cm., inv. no. NM1559.



cat. no. 5

Adam de Coster
Mechelen 1585/86 – 1643 Antwerp

The Denial of St Peter

Oil on canvas
109 x 131.5 cm.

Provenance:
Possibly identical with the *Denial of St Peter* sold by Adam de Coster to the Antwerp art dealer Jehan van Mechelen, mentioned in a notarial document dated 27 January 1627[1]
Possibly Vienna, collection of the deceased art dealer Bartholomeus Floquet (c. 1650-1690)[2]
Said to have been in the Visconti collection during the 18th century[3]
Milan, Koelliker collection, 2000

Literature:
J.T. Spike, in: E. Capon (ed.), *Caravaggio and his world : darkness and light*, exh. cat. Sydney, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria 2003-2004, pp. 124-125, cat. no. 23
J. Bikker, in: idem., G. Papi, N. Spinosa, *The International Caravaggesque Movement : French Dutch and Flemish Caravaggesque paintings from the Koelliker collection*, exh. cat. London, Robilant & Voena 2005, pp. 36-37, ill.[4]
G. Papi, *Gherardo delle Notti : Quadri bizzarrissimi e cene allegre*, exh. cat. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi 2015, cat. no. 52, pp. 238–239
A. Delvingt, 'A Magnificent Nocturnal Work by the Flemish Caravaggist Adam de Coster', in: M. Korchane, G. Perthuis (eds.), *Varia : peintures, dessins et sculptures, de Coster a Hartung : acquisitions récentes*, exh. cat. Lyon, Galerie Michel Descours 2015, pp. 13-19 (cat. no. 2), p. 18, fig. 4 (English transl. pp. 125-127)

Exhibited:
Sydney, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, *Caravaggio and his world: darkness and light*, 2003-2004
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, *Gherardo delle Notti : Quadri bizzarrissimi e cene allegre*, 2015

Copy:
Sale London, Christie's, 4 July 1991, lot 632, as Circle of Georges de la Tour



In a notarial document dated 27 January 1627, Adam de Coster 'painter in the city of Antwerp, and about 40 years old' declared that he had recently sold a number of paintings to the Antwerp art dealer Jehan van Mechelen.[5] An intriguing document in itself, it estimates the painter's year of birth to be around 1586, a date confirmed by the age of 57 indicated at the time of his passing at 4 May 1643. We are barely informed about what happened during those 57 years. Undoubtedly, De Coster must have enjoyed a firm reputation in his time. His admired colleague Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) conferred on him the honour of including him in the *Iconography*, his portrait print gallery of 80 celebrities of his time – international politicians and statesmen, artists, art-lovers and scholars. Judging from his portrait (fig. 1), De Coster comes across as a self-assured, handsome man.[6] The caption underneath describes him as a 'Pictor Noctium Mechliniensis', a painter of nocturnal scenes from Mechelen, and it is as such that the artist's biographer Cornelis de Bie praises him in his *Gulden Cabinet* of 1662.[7] That he was indeed from Mechelen seems to be confirmed by another document from 1627, which informs us that his parents Jan de Coster and Clara van der Borcht owned properties in and outside of Mechelen, as well as near Brussels.[8] Consequently, we might identify him with a certain Adam de Cuestere, who in 1598 was apprenticed to the otherwise little known painter Peter Ceulemans (1570-?) in Mechelen. In 1607 De Coster is first documented in Antwerp, when he was inducted into the city's Guild of St Luke. Nothing further is heard of him until 1626/27, when a certain Pauwels Telliers was apprenticed to him in Antwerp. Given the clear Caravaggesque character of De Coster's work, a sojourn in Italy seems likely. However, it has not proved possible as yet to locate De Coster there. Or as Caravaggism expert Benedict Nicolson once put it, 'no Monsù Adamo yet fits him.'[9] However, there is one 'Adamo' which might in fact qualify. In 1623, a certain 'Adamo Fiamengo' is recorded as living in a house on the Via Frattina, in the Roman parish of San Lorenzo in Luchina, in the company of the painters 'Sebastiano Fiamengo, pittore', 'Cornelio, pittore Fiamengo' (in all probability Cornelis van Poelenburch) and 'Francesco, pittore francese'.[10] As Adam was not a very common name among the Netherlandish painters in Rome, one might recognise the name De Coster here. However tangible evidence remains insubstantial.[11] Be this as it may, that De Coster did travel is proven by his presence in Hamburg in 1635, where he sold two nocturnes to the jeweller Abraham de la Ruelle. In his will, made up at his Antwerp house at the Schoenmarkt in September 1642, De Coster (who remained a bachelor) bequeathed two paintings to a friend in Holland. He died several months later, on 30 April 1643, in the house of his sister in the Hochstetterstraat (now the Borzestraat).



Fig. 1 Pieter de Jode II after Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Adam de Coster*, engraving, 237 x 168 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

The first attempt to reconstruct De Coster's oeuvre was made by Nicolson, in two articles in *The Burlington Magazine* in 1961 and 1966.[12] As De Coster never signed his works, Nicolson's reconstruction was necessarily based on Lucas Vorsterman's (1595/96-1674/75) engraving after a *Backgammon Players by Candlelight*, which mentions De Coster as the painter (fig. 2).[13] Whereas Nicolson initially grouped no more than 8 pictures, he later pieced together a little over 20 autograph works,



Fig. 2 Lucas Vorsterman after Adam de Coster, *Backgammon Players by Candlelight*, engraving, 272 x 352 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

almost all nocturnal genre scenes.[14] Since then the artist's oeuvre has expanded to over 30 works, now also including a large number of history paintings (interestingly the larger part of what is known about De Coster's production from contemporary sources).[15] Although De Coster's refined style has been linked to the work of several contemporaries – specifically the nocturnes of the slightly younger Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656) and the Caravaggesque works of his Antwerp colleague Gerard Seghers (1591-1651) – no direct, documented ties with these painters have so far been demonstrated.

The present *Denial of St Peter* belongs to the post-Nicolson additions to the artist's slender *oeuvre*. Initially recognised as a De Coster by professor Leonard J. Slatkes[16], the work was first published in 2003, when it was in the renowned Koelliker Collection. The painting depicts one of the New Testament's most damning moments, following the Last Supper – during which Christ had prophesised to Peter that before the cock crowed twice he would have denied him three times – and the subsequent capture by night of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, as instigated by Judas. Related by all four Gospels, Christ was arrested by the guards of the high priest Caiaphas, who led him away to the latter's residence.[17] Peter followed the group at a distance, and upon arrival entered Caiaphas's courtyard where he sat down by the fire with the soldiers, 'to see the end'. According to Matthew and Mark, St Peter was then recognised twice by a servant girl: first as he sat down, and the second time when he stood up to leave:

'And Peter had followed him at a distance, right into the courtyard of the high priest. And he was sitting with the guards and warming himself at the fire. […] And as Peter was below in the courtyard, one of the servant girls of the high priest came, and seeing Peter warming himself, she looked at him and said, "You also were with the Nazarene, Jesus." But he denied it, saying, "I neither know nor understand what you mean." And he went out into the gateway and the rooster crowed. And the servant girl saw him and began again to say to the bystanders, "This man is one of them." But again he denied it. And after a little while the bystanders again said to Peter, "Certainly you are one of them, for you are a Galilean." But he began to invoke a curse on himself and to swear, "I do not know this man of whom you speak." And immediately the rooster crowed a second time. And Peter remembered how Jesus had said to him, "Before the rooster crows twice, you will deny me three times." And he broke down and wept.'[18]

Of course, Peter's lie was prompted by his fear of sharing his master's fate, and he thus succumbed to inner conflict, which ended in self-loathing. De Coster chose to depict the suspenseful moment just before the alarm was sounded. The artist situates the main narrative towards the left background of the scene, where the faces of the servant girl and Peter are illuminated with a candle obscured by her hand – a painterly device De Coster used over and again. She confronts Peter, who sanctimoniously protests with a gesture that he is not the man she takes him for. Meanwhile, the foreground of the picture is reserved for Caiaphas's guards – tough men, who measure out their time with card playing –whom De Coster cleverly arranged around a candle-lit table. Although this scene is not mentioned in any of the gospels, this became the subject's established iconography, alluding to the forthcoming drawing of lots for Christ's garments. Just as he is about to roll the dice, one soldier suddenly gets wind of the discomforting conversation behind him, enough to make him turn a wary eye. His comrade, too, is on the alert, as he points at Peter and the servant girl. The guard in front of the table slowly rises up from his chair as well, and – suspicious of the situation – reaches for his rapier. De Coster set up his canvas with great feeling for theatrical suspense, creating what one author dubbed sheer 'Shakespearean intensity'.[19] The spatial arrangement of the figures ensures that the two hidden light sources are brought out to optimal effect, thus enabling the painter to display his outstanding abilities in rendering the *chiaroscuro* so fitting to the dark character of the story.

The effect of candlelight on the eavesdropping soldier's face dramatically highlights his emotional peripety, the sudden change of circumstances; the reflections of the candle flame on his black and gold cuirass are breath taking, as is the spectacular rendering of the illuminated feathers on his hat. His vibrant vermilion sleeves interact beautifully with the resonant green of the servant girl's dress. Whereas the guard in front of the table essentially functions as a *repoussoir* against the light source, a recent restoration has revealed the rich plasticity and fine nuances of hue of his shadowy costume and the rapier frog hanging from his belt. This long-obscured wealth of depth and form can be observed everywhere in the picture, which has regained much of its original three-dimensionality.

Given the story's dramatic tension and its nocturnal setting, which provided a fine opportunity to show off an artist's virtuosity in chiaroscuro, the *Denial of St Peter* was understandably a popular subject among Caravaggists. De Coster had probably had seen numerous examples – in Italy, or possibly in Utrecht or on the Antwerp art market – which could have served as examples for him. Was he aware of Gerard van Honthorst's interpretations of the subject, specifically the work now in Rennes, painted during his last Italian years c. 1618/20 (fig. 3)?[20] Ultimately deriving from Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582-1622), Van Honthorst's compositional scheme includes a dark silhouette of a guard in front of a table with card players,



Fig. 3 Gerard van Honthorst, *The Denial of St Peter*, oil on canvas, 150 x 197 cm., Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Fig. 4 Gerard Seghers, *The Denial of St Peter*, oil on canvas, 157.5 x 227.3cm, Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art

with Peter and the maidservant on the left. Undoubtedly, De Coster's Antwerp colleague Gerard Seghers knew of Van Honthorst's composition when he painted his own masterly *Denial of St Peter*, now in Raleigh (fig. 4).[21] A splendid work, Seghers nonetheless takes a completely different take on the Biblical story from De Coster. Whereas Seghers created a rowdy spectacle, De Coster seems to switch the positions of Van Honthorst's dark *repoussoir* guard with the latter's card player looking over his shoulder, thereby shifting the emphasis from action to suspense. His painting is about the sense of danger, the imminent alarm call, the psychology of the lie and the subsequent fear of its discovery. Ultimately, De Coster makes us re-think Peter's cowardly betrayal not so much by cashing in on his denial, but by focusing on the sleeping dogs awoken.

In recent years, several works by De Coster have surfaced, thus providing new points of reference by which to re-evaluate his oeuvre, deepen our knowledge and establish cross connections. Interestingly, the Lilian *Denial of St Peter* finds itself at the centre of these connections, making a dating to the mid 1620s plausible. For one, its composition shows great affinity with



Fig. 5 Cat. no. 5

the lost *Backgammon Players by Candlelight* engraved by Vorsterman, so essential in the reconstruction of De Coster's oeuvre. Viewed in reverse (as prints reproduce original compositions in mirror image) the Vorsterman print presents virtually the same pictorial scheme as our painting, with a *repoussoir* figure in front of a table and blocking the light, two illuminated figures both to his left and right, and a slightly distinct group of two to the left (fig. 5, 6). De Coster in fact favoured this particular scheme on other occasions, as seen in his *Card Sharpers with a Lute Player*, known in two versions (fig. 7).[22] Huge similarity can also be observed between the present work and another *Denial of St Peter* by De Coster, now in a private collection in Turin (fig. 8). Not only do the two paintings share the same subject, but the models who posed for St Peter and the maidservant are no doubt the same individuals in both works. In fact, the same girl posed a third time for De Coster, now by herself, in a picture that recently made an astonishing auction record for De Coster in New York (fig. 9). Additionally, we may recognise the model for the central guard in De Coster's *Lute Player* in Dresden (figs. 10, 11). As for St Peter, we encounter him again in a number of workshop versions of the same theme, attributed by



Fig. 6 Fig. 2, mirrored

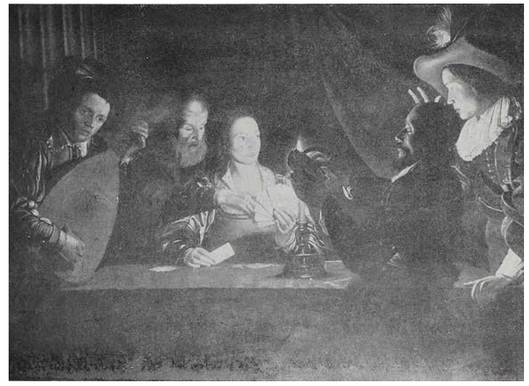


Fig. 7 Adam de Coster, *Card Sharpers with a Lute Player*, oil on canvas (?), measurements unknown, Santiago de Compostella, Rectorado de la Universidad

Nicolson to Gerard Seghers in his article of 1971, which focused on that painter's alleged predilection for the theme of St Peter's Denial.[23] However, given their much stronger likeness to the work of De Coster, these paintings should rather be given to his workshop. Another *Denial of St Peter*, which surfaced with Clovis Whitfield in 2004, was rightly given to De Coster as well, raising the number of versions of the subject by the artist to four.[24] Moreover, when the present Lilian painting was exhibited in the Uffizi galleries in 2015, professor Gianni Papi proposed – I believe completely convincingly – the re-attribution of another three Denials of St Peter previously given to Seghers, to De Coster as well (in fact, more paintings previously given to Seghers should be reconsidered as works by De Coster).[25] Whereas Benedict Nicolson remarked on Seghers that, due to some erroneous attributions 'nobody had realized quite how often he attacked this theme', it seems that this remark applies at least as much to the 'Pictor Noctium' *par excellence* Adam de Coster.

JH



Fig. 8 Adam de Coster, *The Denial of St Peter*, oil on canvas, 119.4 x 101.6 cm.,Turin, private collection



Fig. 9 Adam de Coster, *A Young Woman Holding a Distaff before a Lit Candle*, oil on canvas, 134 x 94.9 cm., sale New York, Sotheby's, 25 January 2017, lot 23



Fig 10 Cat. no. 5, detail of the central guard



Fig. 11 Adam de Coster, *Lute Player*, oil on canvas, 105 x 77.5 cm., Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

Notes

1 E. Duverger *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 14 vols., Brussels 1984-2009, 3: 1627-1635 (1987), pp. 10-11, doc. 598: 'une paincture de Sainct Pierre deniant Nostre-Seigneur, de laquelle est encoires ung principal.'

2 J. Denucé, *Kunstuitvoer in de 17e eeuw te Antwerpen : de firma Forchoudt* (*Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche Kunst* 1), Antwerp 1931, p. 231: '88. Verloogeninge Petri van Adam de Koster'. It concerns a letter dated 22 April 1690 from Floquet's sister in Antwerp to the Flemish art dealer Marcus Forchoudt in Vienna, in which she asks him to assist on her behalf in the matter relating to her deceased brother's legacy, consisting of, among others, more than 157 paintings in storage in Vienna.

3 According to Prof. Leonard J. Slatkes in an unpublished research report on the present painting, dated 18 May 2000, to Mr. L. Koelliker. Report available upon request.

4 The same catalogue was also published in Milan in 2005 under the title *French, Dutch and Flemish Caravaggesque paintings*.

5 Duverger loc. cit. (note 1). See for De Coster's biography S. Somers, in: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon : die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker.*, var. vols. Munich/Leipzig 1992-, 21 (1999), pp. 485-486.

6 This was also noted by Benedict Nicolson in his ground-breaking article on De Coster. See: B. Nicolson, 'Notes on Adam de Coster', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 103 (1961), pp. 185-189. See further B. Nicolson, 'Candlelight Pictures from the South Netherlands', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 108 (1966), pp. 253-254 (where he attributes several pictures of boys to an unknown master close to De Coster, which he later included in De Coster's oeuvre after all).

7 C. de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet vande edele vry schilder-const*, Antwerp 1661 (1662), p. 124: 'Adam de Keuster, die fray schilder was van nachten'.

8 See also F.J.P. van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche schilderschool*, Antwerp 1883, pp. 654-656.

9 Nicolson 1961, p. 186. Nicolson has also pointed to the stylistic similarities between De Coster and the Lombardian painter Antonio Campi (1522-1587). See B. Nicolson, *The International Caravaggesque Movement : List of Pictures by Caravaggio and his Followers throughout Europe from 1590 to 1650*, Oxford 1979, pp. 44-45.

10 G.J. Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche kunstenaars te Rome (1600-1725) : uittreksels uit de parochiale archieven*, The Hague 1942, p. 92. Hoogewerff proposes that 'Cornelio, pittore fiamengo' could be identified with Van Poelenburch, as does N. Sluijter-Seijffert, *Cornelis van Poelenburch 1594/95-1667 : The Paintings*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2016, p. 21. Adamo is not mentioned as a painter (as opposed to the others). This happened more often (random examples are the Antwerp painter Balthasar Lauwers, who is mentioned as 'Baldassarre Fiamengo' in the Via Condotti, and Leonard Bramer, listed as Leonardo de Brava in the Via dei Pontifici, alongside Wouter Crabeth, who is mentioned as 'pictore'. See Hoogewerff 1942, pp. 81, 92). Interestingly, the Antwerp painter Gerard Seghers – whose work seems very close to that of De Coster – lived in the same street, Via Frattina, several years earlier, before he moved back to Antwerp.

11 The evidence found in a painting by De Coster in Copenhagen, said to depict the sculptors Francois Duquesnoy (1597-1643) and Georg Petel (1601-1635), who could only have met in Rome in c. 1622 – is feeble, as there is no consensus over the identification of the sitters. See O. Koester, *Flemish paintings 1600-1800* (collection catalogue Statens Museum für Kunst), Copenhagen 2000, pp. 85-89, inv. no. KMSsp810. The painting – not a portrait in the strict sense – depicts two men inspecting sculptures at a dimly lit table. Specifically, the identification of Duquesnoy has proven problematic. Moreover, Petel was in Antwerp 1620/21.

12 See note 6.

13 See for this print in particular G. Luijten, in: E. de Jongh, G. Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life : genreprints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1997, cat. no. 39.

14 B. Nicolson, L. Vertova, *Caravaggism in Europe*, 3 vols., Turin 1990, pp. 100-101. Nicolson lists 18 compositions, some of them in several autograph versions, adding up to 24 works. However, two of these works are known only through copies: the *Concert*, formerly Arcade Gallery, now Oldenburg (Niedersachsen), Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Oldenburg, inv. No. LMO 14.296; and the *Backgammon Players by Candlelight*, known only through Vorsterman's engraving. Moreover, the Prado *Judith and Holofernes* is listed as an 'unconvincing attribution', leaving 21 attributed works.

15 The basis for this number is Nicolson 1990 (see previous note). To these can be added several more recently discovered/attributed works: 1) the present *Denial of St Peter*; 2) *The Denial of St Peter* (sale New York, Sotheby's, 5 June 2008, lot 58); 3) *The Denial of St Peter* (sale London, Christie's, 3 December 2014, lot 172); 4) *St Francis in Meditation with Brother Leo* (with Michel Descours, see Delvingt 2015); 5) *Card Players* (Skokloster, see Somers 2000); 6) *Lute Player* (Dresden, see Somers 2000); 7) *Young Woman Holding a Distaff before a Lit Candle* (sale New York, Sotheby's, 25 January 2017, lot 23); 8) *Denial of St Peter* (Tours, see Papi 2015); 9) *Denial of St Peter* (Milan, private collection, see Papi 2015); 10) *Denial of St Peter* (St Petersburg, see Papi 2015); 11) *Capture of Christ* (Madrid, private collection, see Papi 2015). Contemporary sources mention many works, including more than half history paintings. See, for instance, the notarial document of January 1627 referred to above (note 1), which mentions six history works (plus one *Crucifix*), and two copies thereafter; Denucé 1931, 16 works (possible overlap), 8 of which qualify as history paintings. In addition, the 1638 inventory of Cornelis van de Geest in Antwerp mentions a *Judith and Holofernes* by De Coster. See J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche "Konstkamers" : inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen* (*Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche Kunst* 2), Amsterdam 1932, p. 53.

16 Noted by Slatkes in his unpublished research report (see note 3), in which he confirms the attribution, and dates the panting to c. 1625.

17 Matthew 26:69-75; Mark 14:66-72; Luke 22:54-62; John 18:17-18; 25-27.

18 Mark 14:66-72. ESV. Matthew states that it was another servant who recognised him for the second time, whereas according to Luke, Peter is seated when the girl addresses him. John mentions that the girl opens the door of the courtyard to Peter.

19 Slate 2003-2004.

20 R.J. Judson, R.E.O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst 1592-1656*, Doornspijk 1999, pp. 75-77, cat. nos. 54 (Rennes), 55 (England, private collection) and 56 (Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Art).

21 As noted by Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. no. 54. B. Nicolson, 'Gerard Seghers and the Denial of St Peter'', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 113 (1971), pp. 304-309, p. 304, argues that not the Raleigh version, but the version in the collection of the Earl of Mansfield (Scone Palace) is the prime version.

22 The other version was auctioned in Berlin (Bauer sale), 12 May 1928, lot 60. See Nicolson/Vertova 1990, p. 101.

23 Nicolson 1971, p. 309, fig. 17 (two versions: with Wildenstein (1947) and at Drouot (1934). See also Nicolson/Vertova 1990, p. 175. A third version, not listed by Nicolson, is in the Utrecht Catharijneconvent, inv. no. BMH s995.

24 The painting was with Clovis Whitfield in 2004, and subsequently in a sale, London, Christie's, 3 December 2014, lot 172 (see note 15, no. 3).

25 Papi 2015. In addition, I'd like to propose another two attributions from the same group: it seems that the two versions of a *St Jerome* in St-Leu-St-Gilles, Paris and in Honfleur, previously given to Trophime Bigot (A. Blunt, 'Review of F.-G.Pariset, *Georges de la Tour*', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 92 (1950), p. 145) and Gerard Seghers (Nicolson 1971, pp. 307-308, fig. 17; Nicolson/Vertova 1990, p. 174, no. 1428, ill. (Honfleur); see also L.J. Slatkes, 'Master Giacomo, Trophime Bigot and the Candlelight Master', in: M.J. Harris (ed.), *Continuity, innovation, and connoisseurship : old master paintings at the Palmer Museum of Art*, University Park 2003, pp. 63-83, pp. 66-67, fig. 9 (St-Leu-St-Gilles)) should also be given to De Coster. Not only is the painterly style completely consonant with the works rightly given to De Coster by Papi 2015 (hence Nicolson's shared attribution of all these works to Seghers), the model for St Jerome is no doubt the same man who also posed for the Milan *Denial of St Peter*, for the former Whitfield *Denial of St Peter* and for the *Card Sharpers* in Santiago de Compostella (here fig. 7) and the other version in the Bauer sale (see note 22). Moreover, there is a huge resemblance with the recently discovered *St Francis in Meditation with Brother Leo*, which shows brother Leo with the same folded hands praying behind a table, and the exact same crucifix and skull in front of him on the table. Delvingt 2015 rightly connects this work with the aforementioned 1627 notarial document (note 1), in which this very rare subject is described in detail. The same document also mentions a *St Jerome* ('Et encoires une paincture de St Jérosme'), and a second version of that painting with the same measurements as the original ('Et aussy une paincture de St Jérosme de la grandeur du principal'). It could very well concern the two versions of *St Jerome* here attributed to De Coster, which are nearly identical in size (St-Leu-St-Gilles: 90 x 121 cm.; Honfleur: 91.4 x 129.9 cm.), the Honfleur painting being the superior one.

cat. no. 6

Laurens Craen
The Hague 1620 – 1670 Middelburg

A Still Life with a Pomegranate and Other Fruits, Oysters, Shrimps and Shells on a Velvet Box on a Table

Signed lower left (on table): Laurens Craen
Oil on panel
52 x 66 cm.

Provenance:
London, collection Clark, 1912
Brussels, collection Robert Finck, 1962-1964
England, private collection

Literature:
E. Greindl, *Les peintres flamands de nature morte au XVIIe siècle*, Sterrebeek 1983, p. 355, no. 7 (as by Jasper Geeraerts)

The present painting has been attributed to Jasper Geeraerts (ca. 1620-ca. 1654) in the past. During a recent restoration the signature *Laurens Craen* was revealed on the table, which had previously been obscured by a layer of yellowed varnish. On the stone table, partially covered by a green cloth, a pewter plate is set with an open pomegranate, a wine glass *à la façon de Venise*, lemons, grapes and oysters. A draped velvet box topped with shells can be seen in the background. By gradually toning down the hues, the skilfully and precisely depicted objects appear almost real, the metal appears cold due to the reflected shape of light, and the fruit and textiles appear soft. These so called *pronkstillevens* or sumptuous still life paintings were popular in the artist's time.

Laurens Craen is mentioned as being a member of the Middelburg Guild of St. Luke from 1654 to 1664. In a letter to Constantijn Huygens, secretary of the Prince of Orange, dated 14th October 1649, he offered his services to the court. There is no record of Craen's presence in Antwerp in the 1640s, but his work shows similarities with the paintings of Jan Davidsz de Heem (1606-1683/84). Few works by Laurens Craen are known; his earliest dated work is supposed to be from 1635, while the latest dated work is from 1666. In 1984 Sam Segal listed twenty paintings by the artist, of which the majority were signed, but only a small number were dated. This tonal still life is treated characteristically by Craen, with the illuminated and vertically accentuated projection on a wall or a corner of the room.

Craen's still lifes, often arranged on a table, portray a table either to the left or right-hand side of the picture, partially draped with a cloth, on which a pewter plate is placed, bearing pomegranates and fish or crustaceans. This central motif is often accompanied by a partially peeled lemon and invariably by grapes, whose vine leaves are reminiscent of those in the paintings of Balthasar van der Ast (1593-1957); though it is this motif which makes the difference between the master and his follower most apparent. Craen chose to render his vine leaves larger and integrates them into the main diagonal of the composition. The leaves trail between the light and the shadow, thus working as an intermediary between the foreground and the background. Balthasar van der Ast, on the other hand, painted his vine leaves as if they were silhouettes against the background.

WWB



cat. no. 7

Frans Floris
1519/20 – Antwerp – 1570

Minerva

Monogrammed upper right: FF . F
Oil on panel
41.5 x 31.5 cm.

Provenance:
England, private collection

Literature:
Unpublished
The work will be included in the forthcoming *catalogue raisonné* on Frans Floris by E.H. Wouk.

On reading Karel van Mander's biography on Frans Floris, one feels his grievance when it comes to the attitude shown towards the painter by some Italians.[1] The comment of Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) proved particularly stinging to van Mander. When addressing the enormous praise Frans Floris received in the Netherlands for his unparalleled ability to render the so-called 'passions of the soul' or the human emotions, to the point that he was nicknamed the 'Flemish Raphael' by his countrymen – Vasari dryly noted that at any rate such an epithet could not be deduced from the prints after Floris's work. This remark hit a nerve with Van Mander, who reposted that 'if this writer [Vasari] had seen Frans' original brushstrokes and true handling, his pen (if it weren't misguided by envy towards the foreigner), would have produced a different sound, and would have reserved higher esteem for his [Floris's] praise.'[2] Although Vasari's view is understandable when all he had to base his judgement on were prints rather than the original works (and admittedly, Raphael (1483-1520) is in a league of his own), one has to agree with Van Mander that Floris deserved far better than the Florentine's derogatory verdict.

In fact, during his lifetime, Floris was considered by many to be *the* greatest painter in Antwerp. In 1565, Floris's pupil Lucas de Heere (1534-1584) honoured his former master in a poem which proclaimed Floris as having overthrown the greatest painter of Antiquity, Apelles, in such a way that from now on, if one wished to laud a painter with the utmost compliment, he should no longer be given the appellation of Apelles but rather Floris 'by which the greatest painter is meant.'[3] Even if De Heere were biased, foreigners, too, recognised Floris's prime status among the Netherlandish painters. 'Let us now speak of the living [painters] and put in the first place Frans Floris, such an outstanding painter in his own art of invention and design' says Lodovico Guicciardini, an Antwerp-based merchant from Florence in his *Descrittione di Tutti I Paesi Bassi* (*Description of the Low Countries*) of 1567, when Floris was still alive.[4] And one year after his passing, in 1571, the Spanish, Brussels-based humanist Benito Arias Montano described Floris in similar wording in a letter to the Spanish King Philip II as 'Francisco Flores, el mas famoso de estos Estados', the most famous painter in these lands.

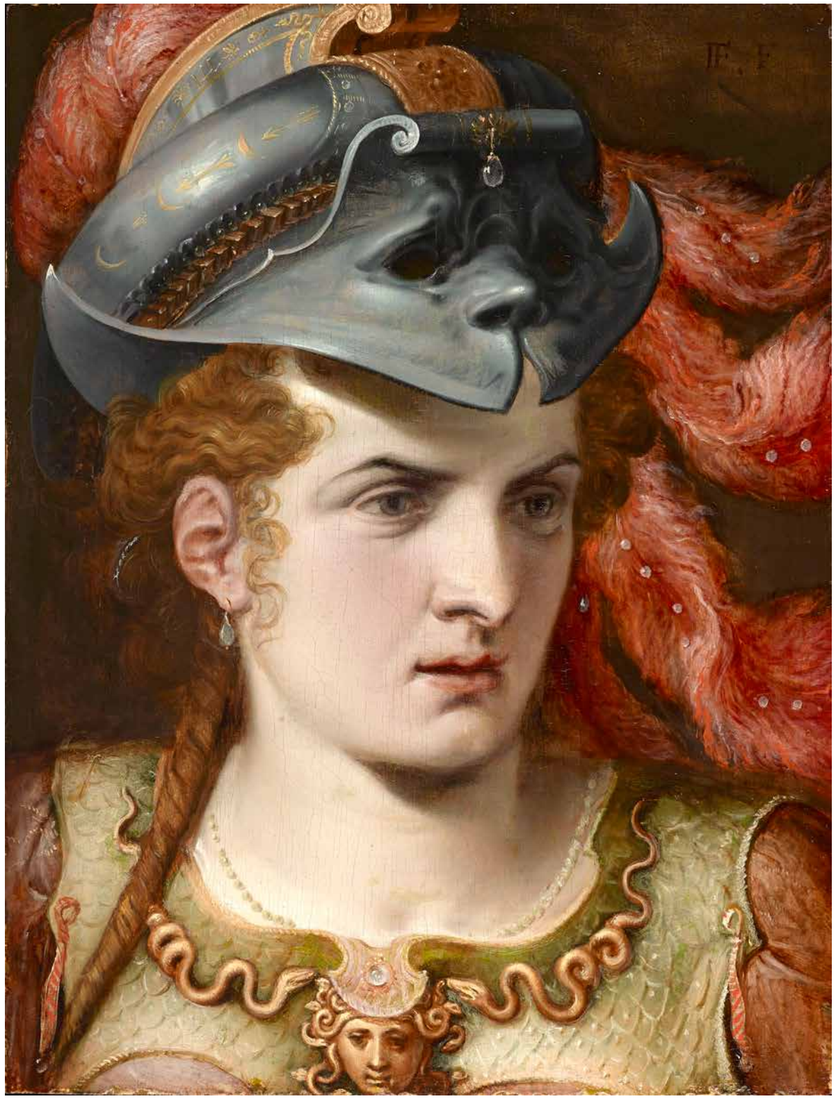




Fig. 1 Frans Floris, *Minerva visiting the Muses on Mount Parnassus*, c. 1565/70, oil on panel, 173 x 224 cm., Condé sur l'Escaut, city hall



Fig. 1a Fig. 1, detail

Frans Floris de Vriendt was a descendant of an old family of stonemasons. Born in Antwerp between 17 April 1519 and 1 October 1520, Frans was the second of the four sons of stonemason Cornelis Floris and his wife Margriete Ghoos. After his father's passing in September 1538, Floris was apprenticed to Lambert Lombard in Liège. An apparently peculiar choice, it was probably due to previous ties between Lambert Lombard and the Floris family having been established in Rome, where Frans' older brother Cornelis Floris II (1514-1575) had travelled, and where he must have met Lombard, with whom he shared a passion for antiquity. The Liège apprenticeship was relatively short, for in 1540/41 Frans became a master in the Antwerp Guild of St Luke. However, soon thereafter he chose to follow in his brother's footsteps, undertaking the journey over the Alps. During his years in Italy he must have visited Rome, Mantua, Genoa, and Florence, where he was deeply affected by the art of antiquity and the Renaissance, specifically the work of Michelangelo (1475-1564), but most of all by the works of Raphael. Frans was back in his native Antwerp in 1547, where he married Clara Boudewijns on 29 October of that year. He then organised his workshop according to the Italian model, in which, according to Van Mander, as many as 120 assistants worked at one point or another, among others Hendrick (1525-1590/95) and Marten van Cleve (1527-1577/81), Lucas de Heere, Frans Pourbus the Elder (1545-1581) and Frans (1542-1616) and Ambrosius Francken (1544/45-1618). He took part in the decorations for the Joyous Entry of Philip II into Antwerp in 1549, painted altarpieces such as his famous *Fall of the Rebel Angels* for Antwerp Cathedral on behalf of the Antwerp fencers' guild in 1554, and received many public and private commissions not only in Antwerp, but also in Delft, Brussels and Ghent. With his Italianate, monumental compositions he dominated Antwerp's artistic climate. According to Van Mander, Floris had a decisive predilection for alcohol and merriment. Still, he was such a driven painter, that even when he came back home 'half or more drunk', he would still grab his brushes and create a stack of works 'seemingly more spirited', hence his motto 'If I work, I live, if I start to play, I die'. His success fuelled his ambitions to build a city palace *cum* studio in the Antwerp Arendbergstraat, a project that ultimately caused his bankruptcy. Floris died in 1570.

A distinct and important part of Floris's production were his head studies, or *tronies*. Frans Floris expert Carl van de Velde defines them thus: 'They are oak panels, most of them about 46 x 43 cm., or with dimension close to these, showing the head or bust of a man or woman. All of these paintings are, as opposed to some compositional works, in which the studio had a part, completely by Floris's own hand. Many carry his monogram, consisting of two or three Fs. As far as they could be identified and dated, they span a period between about 1553 and 1565.'[5] The present, hitherto unpublished work is an exquisite, and



Fig. 2 Frans Floris, *Mars and Venus Discovered by the Gods*, 1547, oil on panel, 150 x 198 cm., formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum



Fig. 2a Fig. 2, detail

outstandingly elaborate example of this specific type of painting, and completely fits Van de Velde's description. Depicted is Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and warfare, born fully armed from her father Jupiter's head. She is identical to the Greek goddess Pallas Athena. In accordance with her character, Floris's image of her is decisively powerful. Minerva – a young woman with flawless pale pink skin, green-blue eyes and fierce eyebrows – glares out of the picture to our right with intense, steadfast determination. She wears an imposing dark metal helmet, with an anthropomorphically fashioned visor, set with gold and precious stones, and gilded symbols and motifs, to which we shall return. This helmet is topped with luxuriant red ostrich feathers studded with pearls, which sway dynamically behind Minerva's head. Her strawberry blonde hair is partly bound up in a braid. She wears pearl earrings and a pearl necklace, which is partially hidden under her impressive breastplate of green scales, which is flamboyantly ornamented with the golden head of the Gorgon Medusa, Minerva's attribute, flanked by golden snakes coiling vigorously along the neckline.

Through Van Mander we are informed that these *tronies* were used for the assembling of large compositions. Pondering over the question as to why Floris had so many outstanding pupils, Van Mander cites a conversation he had with the Alkmaar painter Frans Menton (c. 1545-1615), a former pupil of Floris, who states that this was due to the many large works that Floris executed, to which the master put his students to work: 'After he had drawn up his idea with some chalk, he let them go ahead, saying: insert there these or those *tronien*: because he had many of those on panels always near him.'[6] This method, according to Menton, gave the students the confidence to work up canvases themselves, and thus to compose and paint something from their own mind.[7] Indeed, the present *Minerva* confirms such a working process, as the head was indeed transferred – whether by Floris himself and/or his students – into a large work depicting *Minerva Visiting the Muses on Mount Parnassus*, now in the city hall of Condé-sur-l'Escaut, in the north of France, near the Belgian border (figs. 1, 1a).[8] Although this work is datable to Floris's later years, the painter had already showed a notable interest in depicting Minerva since the start of his career. We come across the goddess in several works, the earliest of which seems to be the *Mars and Venus Surprised by the Gods* of 1547, formerly in Berlin (figs. 2, 2a).[9] Here Minerva is rendered as an attractive, if somewhat undefined character. Her finely designed feathered helmet and breastplate, though, already show Floris's conception of her. Minerva appears as similarly handsome in the *Judgement of Paris* now in Kassel and datable to the same period (figs. 3, 3a).[10] This time, however, she wears no breastplate, as the subject required that all three goddesses Minerva, Juno and Venus be naked, in order for Paris to be able to judge who was the most beautiful and award the golden apple to her. Minerva's dark metal helmet – fashioned here



Fig. 3 Frans Floris, *The Judgement of Paris*, c. 1547, oil on panel, 120 x 159.5 cm., Kassel, Museumlandschaft Hessen-Kassel, Gemäldegalerie alte Meister



Fig. 3a Fig. 3, detail



Fig. 4 Frans Floris, *The Judgement of Paris*, c. 1559, oil on panel, 134 x 158 cm., St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum



Fig. 4a-b Fig. 4, details



Fig. 5 Frans Floris, *Venus in the Forge of Vulcan*, c. 1560/65, oil on panel, 170 x 231 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie





Figs. 5a-b Fig. 5, details

in the form of an eagle – ornamented with gold and crowned with the distinctive red feathers is first encountered in a version of that same subject datable to c. 1559, now in the Hermitage, St Petersburg (figs. 4, 4a).[11] The Hermitage Minerva looks fiercer than before. Although she is nude, she is not without her breastplate by her side, again ornamented with the head of Medusa, propped up against the rock upon which she sits.[12] While Minerva herself is absent from Floris's *Venus in the Forge of Vulcan*, dating from the early 1560s, now in Berlin, we do notice the breastplate and shield that Vulcan made for her, easily recognisable since both are adorned with Medusa's head (figs. 5, 5a-b).[13] Floris took visible pleasure in depicting Minerva's spectacular outfit and attributes, which were more elaborate than those of most gods. Interestingly, the Berlin picture also shows Venus holding a helmet – part of her son Aeneas' armour – with the same sort of anthropomorphic features seen in the present helmet. Finally, Floris also depicted Minerva for a print engraved by Hieronymus Cock, part of a series of ten depicting the Seven Liberal Arts (fig. 6).[14] Minerva owed her addition to this series to the fact that she, in her guise of goddess of wisdom, was the protector of the Liberal Arts, together with Apollo and Industria. Just as in the Hermitage picture, Minerva wears a helmet with a bird-shaped visor, and her cuirass ornamented with a Medusa head relates to those encountered in the paintings.



Fig. 6 Hieronymus Cock after Frans Floris, *Minerva*, 1551, engraving, 298 x 198 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 7 Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio, *Minerva*, 1526, 210 x 110 mm., London, British Museum



Fig. 8 After Francesco Primaticcio after Léon Davent, *Minerva*, c. 1540/55, engraving, 226 x 155 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 9 Lucas van Leyden, *Minerva*, c. 1530, engraving, 119 x 77 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig.10 Virgil Solis, *Minerva*, c. 1535, engraving, 85 x 57 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

What are we to make of this? Although the appearance of Floris's Minervas fluctuated marginally over the years, in general a certain codification of iconography is to be seen. This might seem self-evident, but one only has to take a quick look at the various Minerva prints available in Floris's time (prints being the most long established, fastest and commonest means of transmitting imagery) to see that there was a huge variety of iconographic possibilities, ranging between the classical, statuesque nude type, Minerva as the protector of the arts, the toughened matriarch, or as a celestial type (figs. 7-10). Floris, on the other hand, deliberately chose a classical warrior-like representation with the Medusa-ornamented breastplate, as encountered in an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi (1480-1534) presumably after Raphael, or his most gifted pupil Giulio Romano (1499-1546) (fig. 11). Moreover, the design of the present elaborate helmet shows significant similarities with a helmet encountered in a print of an ornamental subject by the artist's brother Jacob Floris (1524-1581) (figs. 12, 13). As this print is part of a series dated 1567 – the design being made in the years immediately preceding it – this would indicate a date of the mid 1560s for the present work as well, which fits in nicely with the date suggested for the *Minerva Visiting the Muses* in Condé-sur-l'Escaut, for which it served as a model. Jacob's print shows a similar human or leonine visor, with nose, eyes with heavy eyebrows and the forehead ending in a scroll. A stylised olive wreath adorns both helmets.

It is at this point that we come to the helmet's particular iconography. Cesare Ripa in his famous *Iconologia* of 1593, followed by Van Mander in 1604, offer descriptions and explanations of the goddess's attire.[15] Van Mander tells us that the olive wreath belongs to Minerva because of the oil extracted from olives, which fuels lamps and thus gives the light needed for studying. The hybrid man/leonine visor alludes to the sphinx that, according to Ripa, Minerva bears on her helmet. The Sphinx, half man/half lion, was known for its wisdom, and according to Ripa removes every doubt. The gilded motifs on the crown of the helmet – from left to right a mirror, a spider, three capital Ls, a winged creature, another mirror and a dragon – can also mostly be explained. The mirrors allude to the mirrored shield Minerva gave to the Greek hero Perseus, which he used to defeat the snake-haired Gorgon Medusa (her hair of snakes was a punishment by Minerva). Anyone who beheld her face was known to turn into stone, so Perseus approached Medusa with his mirrored shield, thus avoiding direct eye contact. This enabled him to behead her, after which he gratefully offered her head to Minerva, who placed it on



Fig. 11 Marcantonio Raimondi (after Raphael or Giulio Romano?), *Minerva*, c. 1520/27, engraving, 271 x 161 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 12 Cat. no. 7, detail



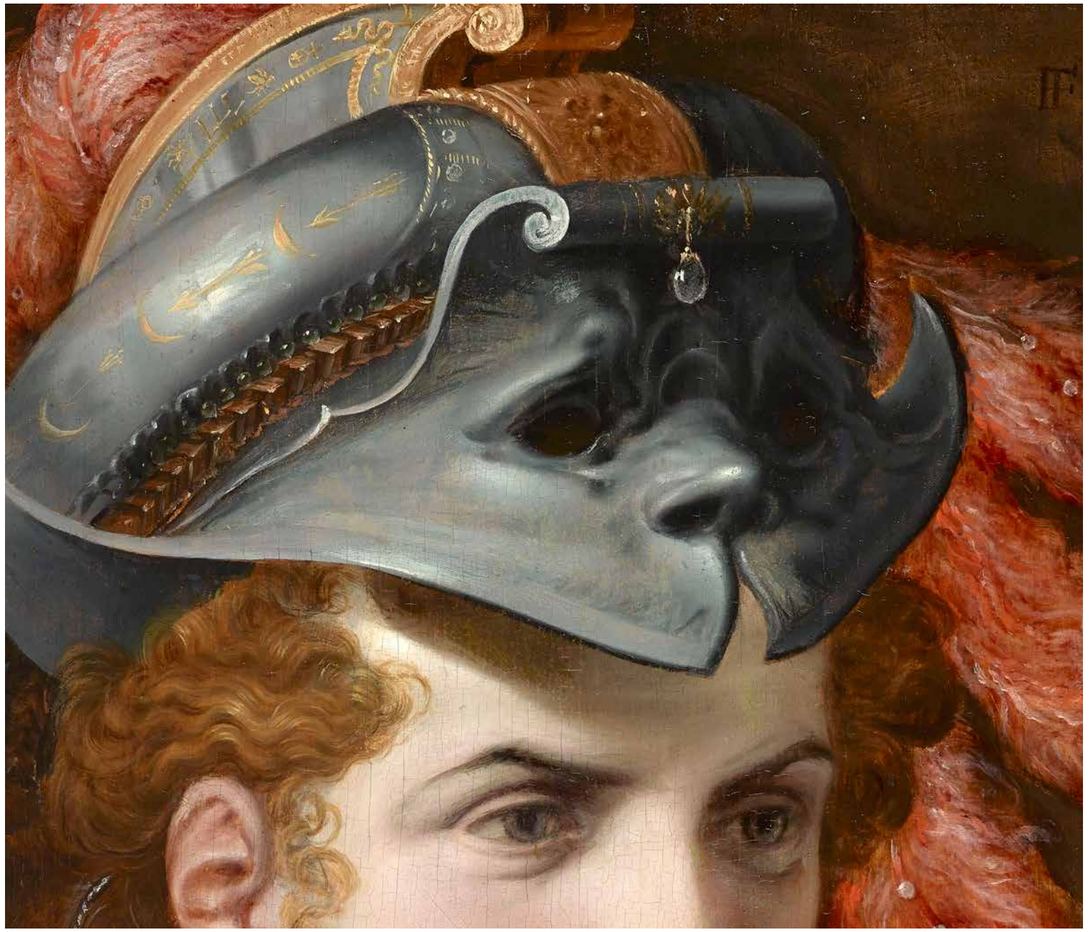
Fig. 13 Pieter van der Heyden after Jacob Floris, *Ornament Print with Two Weapon Trophies*, 1567, engraving, 204 x 134 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, detail, mirror image

her shield, or armour. The spider, not mentioned by the two authors, refers to the antique story of Arachne, who had the audaciousness to challenge Minerva to a weaving contest, which she won, thus enraging the goddess, who mercilessly beat her. Arachne committed suicide, but was allowed to live on by Minerva in the form of a spider. While the three Ls remain mysterious, the winged animal is doubtlessly a griffin, the legendary creature with the body, tail and back legs of a lion, and the head and wings of an eagle. Ripa mentions the griffin 'on both sides of Minerva's helmet', again representing wisdom. Finally, the dragon at the upper right is described by both Ripa and Van Mander as an attribute of Minerva because of its watchful and alert character, which according to both authors is a requisite of studying the arts. By displaying such elaborate knowledge in such a compact and intense bust, Floris showed himself worthy of Guicciardini's contemporary comment of 1567 cited above, who placed Floris at the head of the Netherlandish painters, being such 'an outstanding painter in his own art of invention and design'. Floris shows himself here to be a true *pictor doctus*, a learned painter, a child of the Renaissance and of Minerva, who after all was the protector of the Liberal Arts, to which the art of painting so aspired to belong.

JH

Notes

1 K. van Mander, *Het schilder-boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 238v-243v.
2 'Dan ick acht, hadde desen Schrijver ghesien de aer- dighe cloecke Pinceel-streken, en wercklijcke handelinghe van Frans, zijn Pen (soose niet misleydt en waer gheweest door afgunst tot de vreemde) hadde wel ander gheluyt van hem gheslaghen, en zijnen lof in hoogher ghedacht behouden.'
3 Quoted by Van Mander 1604, fol. 243r-243v.
4 L. Guicciardini (ed. P. Montanus), *Beschrijvinghe van alle de Neder-landen*, Amsterdam 1612, p. 80: 'Frans Floris, soo uytnemende Schilder in zijn eygen conste van vindinghe ende beworpinghe, dat herwaerts 'tgheberghte in soo veel Provincien zijns ghelijck veel licht niet en is: want hy is een sonderlingh meester, ende daer en boven een rustich ende beleeft man van natueren: desen wordt de prijs ghegheven dat hy uyt Italien ghebracht heeft de conste van muysvleesch ende vel des lichaems aerdichlijck ende wonderbaerlijck te schilderen.'
5 C. van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570) : leven en werken*, 2 vols., Brussels 1975, 1, p. 65.
6 Van Mander 1604, fol. 242v: 'als hy hun wat met crijt gheteyckent hadde zijn meeninghe, lietse voort varen, segghende: brenght daer te pas sulcke en sulcke tronien: want hy daer een goet deel op Penneelen altijt by hem hadde.'
7 Elaborating on this, Van de Velde 1975, 1, pp. 66-68 has warned not to interpret this description too narrowly. One should not therefore conclude from this passage that none of these head studies were tailor-made for specific larger compositions*, nor that all heads were necessarily transferred into the larger compositions by Floris's students alone. Floris himself surely did so as well.
8 Van de Velde 1975, 1, pp. 330-331, cat. no. S 193; 2, fig. 102. See further J. Foucart, in: R. Bacou (ed.), *Le XVIe siècle européen : peintures et dessins dans les collections publiques françaises*, exh. cat. Paris, Petit Palais 1965-1966, p. 110, cat. no. 142, ill.
9 Van de Velde 1975, 1, pp. 153-154, cat. no. S 2; 2, fig. 2.
10 Van de Velde 1975, 1, pp. 158-159, cat. no. S 6; 2, fig. 4.
11 Van de Velde 1975, 1, pp. 261-262, cat. no. S 119; 2, fig. 57.
12 Floris probably painted the theme a third time, but it remains to be seen if this version is fully autograph. See Van de Velde 1975, 1, pp. 301-302, cat. no. 162.
13 Van de Velde 1975, 1, pp. 275-276, cat. no. S 134; 2, fig 68.
14 Van de Velde 1975, 1, p. 425, cat. no. P 114; 2, fig 263.
15 Van Mander 1604, *Uutleggінghe*, fol. 42r-43r; C. Ripa (D.P. Pers, transl.), *Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des verstands , Amsterdam* 1644 (orig. published 1593), pp. 269-270.



Detail of cat. no. 7

cat. no. 8

Jan van Goyen
Leiden 1596 – 1656 The Hague

A pair:

A Winter Landscape with Skaters on a Frozen Moat before a Castle and a Walled Town

Signed and dated lower left: I. V. GOIEN 1622
Oil on panel
13.9 x 25.2 cm.

A Summer Landscape with a House and Dovecote near a River with Fishermen, a Ferry Boat and a Village in the Background

Signed and dated lower left: I. V. GOIEN / 1622
Oil on panel
13.5 x 25.2 cm

Provenance:
France, private collection

Literature:
Unpublished

Widely considered today as one of the seminal pioneering forces in Dutch seventeenth century landscape painting, Jan van Goyen grew up under less than favourable conditions.[1] His father, the Leiden cobbler Joseph Jansz van Goyen, suffered from fits, to the point that his wife Geertgen Dirckx van Eyck had him confined to the city's asylum in 1609. However, Van Goyen's biography by Leiden burgomaster Jan Jansz Orlers also tells us that his father was a 'lover of the arts of drawing and painting' who encouraged his son to study the arts, and – at the tender age of ten – apprenticed him to the then well known landscape painter Coenraet van Schilperoort (c. 1577-1636).[2] Having studied with him for three months, Van Goyen was sent to former burgomaster Isaac Nicolai van Swanenburgh (1537-1614), who was then the city's most renowned painter. Van Goyen spent only a short period with him, too, after which he was further trained by the otherwise little known painter Jan Arentsz de Man (c. 1565-1625). As his father apparently wished for his son to become a glass-painter, he took Jan to a certain Hendrick Clock. Jan, however, had no leanings at all towards that profession, so his father then made the curious choice of the unknown painter Willem Gerritsz (before 1582-in or after 1628) in far away Hoorn as his son's master. Jan remained in Hoorn for two years. Once he was back in Leiden, he practised the art of painting by himself, and, at the age of nineteen, travelled to France for a year. Upon his return, his father recognised his son's progress and ambition, and in around 1617/18 he once more sent him to a master in another city, the excellent Esaias van de Velde









Fig. 1a-b The pair at their discovery

(1587-1630) in Haarlem, with whom Van Goyen stayed for a year. In Haarlem, Van Goyen became acquainted with the latest developments in representing naturalistic landscape. In addition to Van de Velde, the encounter with such artists as Willem Buytewech (1591/92-1624) and Jan van de Velde (1593-1641) struck a decisive chord with Van Goyen, whose earliest works in particular are much indebted to the pioneering efforts of these Haarlem realists.

In 1618 Van Goyen returned to Leiden, where he married Anna Willemsdr van Raelst. A few years later, in 1622 (the year of the present Lilian pendants) they bought a house in the Zonneveldsteeg (now the Zonneveldstraat). After 1626/27, Van Goyen replaced Van de Velde's style with a more monochromatic approach and – competing with painters such as Pieter de Molijn (1595-1661), Pieter van Santvoort (1604/05-1635) and Salomon van Ruysdael (1600/03-1670) – started to favour diagonal compositions extended over richly staffaged village landscapes. In 1631 Van Goyen and his family moved to The Hague, where in 1638 he became the dean of the Guild of St Luke. In 1639 he purchased a house on the Singelgracht (now no. 16, Bierkade). During the 1630s, Van Goyen established himself as the market leader in the landscape genre.[3] His quick, virtuoso and monochrome technique enabled him to produce prolifically (he produced an estimated 1200 works during his career), while maintaining an admirably high artistic quality. Due to his large output he was potentially able to sell at affordable prices and work from a profitable business model. Yet in reality, Van Goyen did not enjoy financial success. Suffering from the many competitors and imitators, he tried his luck at art dealing, appraising and auctioneering, but experienced great losses during the tulip mania phenomenon. Partially as a result of poor speculation on the house market, he found himself unable to pay his debts. Towards the end of his life, in 1652 and 1654, he had to auction his possessions twice. Despite his best efforts, the many debts at his death in April 1656 forced his widow to once again organise a sale of all his possessions. Van Goyen's two daughters Maria and Margaretha were, both in the year 1649, married to the painters Jacques de Claeuw (1623-1694) and Jan Steen (1626-1679), respectively.

What underlies the later changes made to works of art in the course of centuries often remains a mystery. Sometimes, in the case of





Fig. 2a-b Later additions

overpainting, we may suspect that a moral cleansing of the image, or the deletion of some somehow undesirable pictorial element, was thought necessary. If a painting has been cut down, this may be because it has suffered at the edges, or has failed to fit into its new location, or even its frame. But what are we to make of the enlarging of a painting? Is this done to add more surface to a work of art? To add quantity to quality? It seems that the vast majority of such attempts are unwise and undesirable, displaying a lack of respect for the artistic creation at stake. Still, it happens, and it happened to the two works discussed here, a rare unpublished pair of a *Winter* and a *Summer Landscape* by Jan van Goyen, signed and dated 1622. When these two brilliant early pendants were recently discovered, their surface was twice as large, and their appearance therefore seriously distorted (fig. 1a-b). Instead of the present two small horizontals, one saw two square paintings with large skies, clearly meant to convince as the originals. Yet closer inspection quickly revealed that a complete sky had been added, doubling the height of the original panels, while the *Winter* also received an additional strip of foreground (fig. 2a-b). On the reverses, however, nothing was to be seen of these later additions; they appeared as regular, bevelled panels (fig. 3). Only



Fig. 3 *Summer*, reverse

after taking the works out of their frames was it revealed that both of the original panels had been laid into the larger panels (fig. 4). In part this would have been done to support the original panels, yet the construction also attempted to mask the extensive additions to the unsuspecting beholder. Probably dating from the nineteenth century, the painterly execution of the enlargements was poor in quality in comparison to Van Goyen's original work, and consequently much over painting was added to van Goyen's paint surface in order to smoothen out the transition and conceal the stark contrast. Now that they are restored to their original measurements and to their original lustre, we can once more fully appreciate Van Goyen's authentic brushwork, and dense compositions.

The *Winter*, built up in tones of terracotta, brown, light blue, grey and greens, portrays a frozen moat before a wonderfully picturesque castle, and a walled Dutch village where a chimney smokes in the background. The squat tower with a long flat wall that forms part of the city wall recalls the famous 'Swijgh Utrecht' tower in Amsterdam (demolished in 1882), but its resemblance is generic and the architectural motifs that make up this little village appear to be assembled together by the artist, rather than being topographically correct. Cheerful activities take place on and around the icy moat. No less than nineteen figures, some accentuated with bright red touches of paint, are busy ice skating or walking, alone or in company. One man ties his bootlaces, his foot resting on the edge of a boat that has been grounded in the ice; another man skates his way towards us to the right, a barrel and red sack in his sleigh; yet others are looking on from the riverbanks. On either side of the composition two leafless trees comfortably crop this ideal, rural snapshot of the Dutch seventeenth-century winter. As for the *Summer*, its colour scheme is comparable, if somewhat warmer, with darker browns for the water, deeper greens for the trees, and even a purple tint in the sky. Van Goyen chose a rural river view, with the ferry boat as its main motif. Laden with cows and figures, it is about to arrive at its destination, where an old couple awaits in front of a river house. The left foreground is reserved for two boats with fishermen, and a dovecote on the shore. In the background the opposite shore is seen with a little bridge, and a modest abode with a church tower rising above it.

Following in the footsteps of his former mentor Esaias van de Velde, Van Goyen frequently explored the theme of the *Winter*/*Summer* pair during his early career. Except for a single round *Summer* dated 1620, his two earliest surviving efforts, two pairs on round panels, date from the following year, 1621.[4] Whilst these are undoubtedly charming, these



Fig. 4 *Winter*, side view in larger panel



Fig. 5 Jan van Goyen, *Landscape with a View of Leiderdorp*, 1622, oil on panel, 30.3 x 43.2 cm., private collection

sets still lack the matured ambition of Van Goyen's 1622 output. The *Landscape with a View of Leiderdorp* (fig. 5) of that year demonstrates how rapidly van Goyen was expanding his horizons. The painting relates back to Van de Velde's *The Cattle Ferry* of the same year in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 6), a masterful work that also directly inspired the present *Summer*, not only in its identical subject matter, but in its style, execution, choice of motifs, colour range and atmosphere, too. In addition, Van Goyen was surely aware of Van de Velde's landscape print series, for the present *Summer* closely follows – in mirror image – the compositional scheme of its title page (fig. 7).[5] Both painting and print show a curve in a river, with a tree on the left bank acting as a *repoussoir*, followed by architecture, and another clump of trees at the bank's farthest point. As for the present



Fig. 6 Esaias van de Velde, *The Cattle Ferry*, 1622, oil on panel, 75.5 x 113 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 7 Esaias van de Velde, *Farm with a Dove Till on the Water*, etching, 91 x 172 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (mirror image)



Fig. 8 Esaias van de Velde, *Winter Landscape with Ice Skaters near a Tower*, c. 1619, oil on panel, diam. 25 cm., Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal



Fig. 9 Jan van Goyen, *Winter Scene*, 1625, oil on panel, diam. 33.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



10a



10b



10c



10d



10e



10f



10g

Figs. 10a-g Jan van Goyen, Winter/Summer landscapes, c. 13.5 x 26 cm.
10a. *Winter*, Salomon Lilian
10b. *Summer*, Salomon Lilian
10c. *A Winter Landscape on a Frozen River by the Walls of a Town*, oil on panel, 13.3 x 25.4 cm., sale New York, Sotheby's, 28 January 2000, lot 47
10d. *A Winter Landscape with a Farmhouse and Skaters*, signed and dated lower left *I.V. GOIEN 162*., oil on panel, 13.6 x 26.8 cm., private collection
10e. *A Winter Landscape*, signed and dated lower left *I.V. GOIEN 1624*, oil on panel, 13.2 x 26 cm., private collection
10f. *A Summer Landscape*, signed and dated lower left *I.V. GOIEN 1624*, oil on panel, 13.2 x 26 cm., private collection
10g. *A Winter Landscape*, signed and dated lower right *I.V. GOIEN 1623*, oil on panel, 17 x 30 cm., present whereabouts unknown

Winter, no such immediate templates present themselves. Clearly, previous winter scenes with ice skaters skirting castles, such as Hendrick van Avercamp's (1585-1634) *Winter Scene with Skaters near a Castle* of c. 1608/09 in the National Gallery in London[6], or more directly Esaias's *Winter Landscape* of c. 1619 in the Leiden Lakenhal (fig. 8) underlie it, but its essential form seems to have been Van Goyen's entirely. We only come across the same type of castle again in his *Winter Scene* in the Rijksmuseum, of 1625 (fig. 9), also one of a pair, but already belonging to the next phase in Van Goyen's development.

Our two newly discovered works are representative of the artist's growth just prior to this phase. They are the latest additions to a select group of small scale, rectangular winters and summers, totalling six, all measuring about 13.5 x 26 cm. and painted between 1622 and 1624. In addition to the Lilian pendants of 1622, the group consists of another two winter scenes (likely once belonging to now lost summer pendants), one of which is signed and dated (the last digit illegible), while the other one lacks a signature and date; and another pair of pendants, dated 1624 (fig. 10a-f).[7] A seventh, slightly larger *Winter*, dated 1623, also belongs to this group (fig. 10g).[8] Comparing the works in this strongly interdependent cluster makes clear that for Van Goyen, every work was an experiment, a new excavation of a cohesive artistic idea. The layout of the present *Winter* is echoed in the undated *Winter Landscape on a Frozen River by the Walls of a Town* (fig. 10c), which shows another city wall with a flat-sided wall tower, and uses two similar *repoussoir* trees to frame the image. Likewise, the *Winter* of 1623 (fig. 10g) sees Van Goyen re-phrasing the present *Winter*'s example even more closely, with a crane and a house replacing the castle. In the same vein, the present *Summer*'s composition, while directly deriving from the example of Esaias van de Velde as demonstrated, is elaborated upon in the *Winter Landscape with a Farmhouse and Skaters* (fig. 10d), but does so just as well in the 1624 *Winter Landscape* (fig. 10e), and – although lacking a river – in its pendant, the 1624 *Summer Landscape* (fig. 10f). As the earliest dated works of this group, the Lilian pendants form its very core. The fact, moreover, that they are still together as a pair makes them stand out even more as two of the most significant Van Goyen discoveries of recent years, and as important additions to the artist's early oeuvre and our understanding of it.

JH

Notes

1 Biography based on H.-U. Beck, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., New York 1996, 13, pp. 255-258; C. Vogelaar, 'Inleiding', in: C. Vogelaar et al., *Jan van Goyen*, exh. cat. Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal 1996-1997, pp. 10-21.
2 J.J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden: Inhoudende 't Begin, den voortgang, ende den wasdom der selver*, Leiden 1641, pp. 373-374.
3 See E.J. Sluijter, 'Jan van Goyen als martktleider, virtuoos en vernieuwer', in: Leiden 1996-1997, pp. 38-59.
4 See H.-U. Beck, *Jan van Goyen 1596-1656 : ein Oeuvreverzeichnis*, 4 vols., Amsterdam/Doornspijk 1972-1991, 2 (1973), cat. nos. G 1, G130. See also C. Vogelaar, in: Leiden 1996-1997, cat. nos. 1a-b.
5 G. Keyes, *Esaias van den Velde, 1587-1630*, Doornspijk 1984, cat. no. A65 (series: A65-70), not dated. For the preparatory drawing, which Keyes compares to a drawing datable c. 1616-1618 (N.B. in the years Van Goyen was his pupil), see his cat. no. D105.
6 Inv. no. NG1346.
7 For 10c-f, see Beck, op. cit., cat. nos. G 33 (10e), G 87 (10c), G 88 (10d), G 223 (10f). For 10d, see also W. Wagenaar-Burgemeister, in: J. Hillegers et al., *Salomon Lilian Old Masters 2013*, Amsterdam 2013, cat. no. 6, esp. note 2, where it is convincingly argued that the painting's supposed (undated) pendant (Beck, op. cit., cat. no. G 244) is not likely to have been intended as such, both given its different measurements, and lack of pictorial cohesion. For 10e-f, see C. Vogelaar, in: Leiden 1996-1997, cat. nos. 3a-b.
8 Beck 1972-1991, 2 (1973), cat. no. 31.

cat. no. 9

Cornelis de Heem
Leiden 1631 – 1695 Antwerp

Still life with fruits and chestnuts on a stone ledge

Signed lower left: C. De Heem
Oil on panel
20 x 23,7 cm.

Provenance:
Switzerland, private collection

Literature:
Unpublished



Fig. 1 Cornelis de Heem, *Fruit Still Life*, oil on panel, 25,1 x 33,9 cm., Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. 882

This sparkling little still life, painted in the artist's finest manner, focuses in on an array of luscious grapes, plums, cherries, peaches, blackberries, chestnuts and a pomegranate overhanging a stone ledge, seen at close range and rendered with great skill and attention to detail. Although in all respects a characteristic work by Cornelis de Heem in execution and subject, it is firmly rooted in the tradition of the fruit still lifes of the artist's father and master, Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606-1684), and relates in particular to the numerous smaller works which Jan Davidsz. painted in the first half of the 1650s. Whereas Cornelis has adopted the meticulous attention to the fruits and other objects from his father's examples, the composition is undoubtedly his own. Cornelis de Heem moved with his parents to Antwerp, where he became a member of the Guild of St Luke in 1660/1661. A few years later, in 1667, he was living with his father in Utrecht, who had moved there by the mid 1660s. Subsequently, Cornelis probably moved to Amsterdam. He is recorded as being in nearby Ysselstein in 1676, but in the same year he moved to The Hague, where he became a member of the *Confrerie Pictura* until at least 1687. Sometime in around 1690 he returned to Antwerp, where he died in 1695.

Cornelis de Heem painted flower pieces, fruit, and banquet pieces; dated works are known from 1654 to 1671 only. From at least 1654, Cornelis signed his own still lifes, thereby enabling us to date the present work from *circa* 1654. Earlier works can not be identified with any certainty, but he had probably started to paint in oils around 1650, or even in the late 1640s. The present painting resembles the painting *Fruit Still Life* in the collection of the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (fig. 1).

WWB



cat. no. 10

Jacob Jordaens
1593 – Antwerp – 1678

Four Grotesque Female Heads

Graphite, red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash on paper
203 x 311 mm.

Provenance:
Birmingham, collection William Bates (1824-1884)[1]
Switzerland, private collection

Literature:
Unpublished

Little need be said about the formidable reputation of Jacob Jordaens. Already widely recognised as being amongst the most talented and original artists of the 1610s, he worked with Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) as an independent collaborator, providing assistance with the latter's many commissions, mostly for the public domain. Jordaens' position as the third of the 'Big Three' of the Flemish school of painting, alongside Rubens and his greatest pupil Sir Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641), was cemented in the 1620s. He set up his own imposing studio, and achieved huge international success, both artistically and commercially. Deeply rooted in the art of Rubens, Jordaens was nevertheless no mere adaptor of the pictorial idiom of the role model who was sixteen years his senior. Even more than Rubens – and certainly more than Van Dyck – Jordaens from early on developed a distinctive preference for physicality, volume and palpability, for cropped compositions, for exuberance, caricature and the grotesque. After Rubens and van Dyck died quickly in succession in the early 1640s, Jordaens remained the sole heir to the painter's throne of honour of Antwerp, a position he undisputedly kept until his death in 1678.

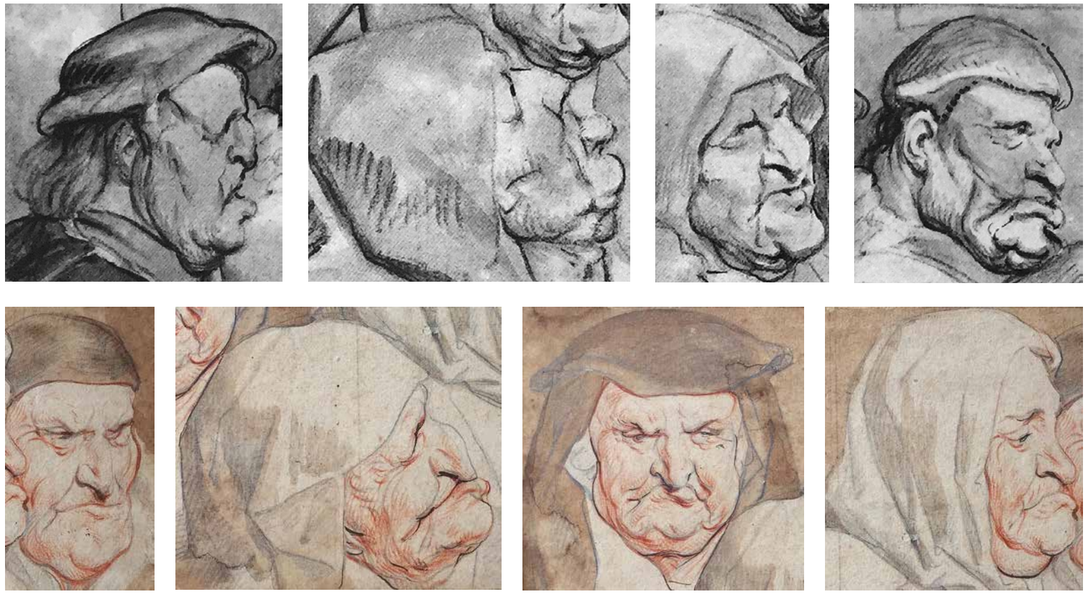


In addition to his vast painted oeuvre, Jordaens left behind a substantial body of drawings, both preliminary sketches and finished works. The present *Four Grotesque Female Heads* belongs to the latter part of his career. Four elderly women are depicted here, with coarse faces. The woman on the left is seen frontally, the two women in the middle in profile, and the woman on the right in three-quarter profile. Portraying their ugliness seems to have been Jordaens' primary interest, yet if one were to make a guess as to their emotional state of mind, we might judge them to be in bad humour. Although swiftly drawn with great skill and facility, the drawing is not a preparatory study, and it does not relate to any known painting. In fact, it is a rather carefully worked out drawing, in which the artist applied a number of different techniques to achieve the desired effect. After initially outlining his figures with graphite, Jordaens added detail and shape to the faces with his favourite red chalk. He then added brown and grey wash to the drawing, thereby adding more volume, tone and compositional differentiation. Finally, he added some judiciously chosen dark contours around the women's eyes, wrinkles and sagging bulges with pen and brown ink, to further enhance the contrasts.

But how exactly did Jordaens arrive at these laughable faces with their grotesque physiognomies? Were these four women real models? In his *Descrittione di Tutti i Paesi Bassi* ('Description of all of the Low Countries'), published in 1567 and translated into Dutch in 1612, the Florentine author and merchant Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589) begins his description of the Netherlandish people by stating how handsome they are, repeating this judgment once more in relation to the women 'who are beyond their aforesaid beauty also very chaste, friendly and lovely.'[2] Guicciardini's praise for Netherlandish women is certainly not reflected in the countenances of Jordaens' ugly, ill-conditioned foursome. Be that as it may, another drawing by Jordaens' hand seems to indicate that Jordaens did indeed work from life. This drawing, a quick sketch which last appeared at Christie's Amsterdam in 1992, depicts four equally deformed, ugly types – two women and two men – and a fifth face of a younger, and contrastingly beautiful female (fig. 1).[3] It is of interest that Jordaens personally wrote a caption underneath this drawing, explaining its origins: 'Several strange mugs [Verscheyden vreemde backhuyse] seen in The Hague, in church and at other places, drawn from memory in May 1664'.[4] Thus, according to Jordaens himself, he drew these faces after he had seen them in The Hague. Comparing the Lilian sheet with the Christie's drawing, it becomes clear that the affinity between them goes beyond shared subject matter. Although the Christie's drawing



Fig.1 Jacob Jordaens, *The Heads of Two Grotesque Old Men, Two Crones and a Young Woman*, 1664, red and black chalk, brow wash, pen and brown ink on paper, 216 x 143 mm., sale Amsterdam, Christie's, 25 November 1992, lot 543



Figs. 2a-h details fig. 1, cat. no. 10

depicts both men and women, the overlap with the women depicted in the Lilian drawing is so evident that one must consider the latter to be an elaboration of the former, in which Jordaens changed the two men into women. Thus Jordaens transformed the old man to the right into the woman on the far left, while leaving the woman in profile in the lower region of the sketch largely intact, and in the same position in the lower middle foreground. He turned the central woman 90 degrees into a frontal pose, and transformed the uppermost man into the woman in profile in the middle of the Lilian sheet. (fig. 2).

Are we therefore, in essence, looking at four 'vreemde backhuyse', strange 'mugs', from The Hague in the 1660s? Yes and no. It is more complicated than that. The interest in depicting the grotesque goes back to the ancient world. During the Renaissance it was above all Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) who showed an interest in human disfigurement, in ugliness and grotesque deformation. From the sixteenth century onwards, such Antwerp artists as Quinten Massys (1465/66-1530), Hieronymus Cock (1518-1570) and Hans Liefrinck (1518-1573) eagerly absorbed Leonardo's work – and vice versa, since Leonardo and Massys seem to have exchanged drawings[5] – which they copied and adapted into their own work, both paintings or prints.[6] If these artists lacked access to Leonardo's own drawings, their source may have been the copies after Leonardo by his circle, especially Leonardo's favourite pupil Francesco Melzi (1491-1578/90) (figs. 3-5). In any case a familiarity with – and affinity for – the grotesque developed over the years amongst Antwerp artists, which was transmitted to the next generation, including



Fig. 3 Leonardo da Vinci, *Caricature Study of an Old Man*, red chalk on paper, 98 x 82 mm., Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle



Fig. 4 Attributed to Francesco Melzi after Leonardo da Vinci, *Four Grotesque Heads, Including a Caricature of Dante*, red chalk on paper, 196 x 145 mm., London, Royal Collection



Fig. 5 Hans Liefrinck after Leonardo da Vinci, *Two Grotesque Heads*, engraving, 11.5 x 15.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 6 Leonardo da Vinci, *Satire on Aged Lovers*, c. 1490, black chalk and ink on paper, 262 x 123 mm., London, Royal Collection



Fig. 7 Leonardo da Vinci, *A Grotesque Old Man in Profile*, c. 1490/95, black chalk and pen and ink on paper, 159 x 93 mm., London, Royal Collection



Fig. 8 Lucas Vorsterman after Leonardo da Vinci, *A Man Giving a Woman a Ring and Six Grotesque Heads*, c. 1624/30, brown ink and wash on paper, 291 x 200 mm., Vienna, Albertina

Rubens, who probably studied the Leonardo drawings in the collection of the Italian sculptor and art collector Pompeo Leoni (1530/33-1608) during his sojourn in Madrid in 1603, or later after his return to Milan, where other parts of the Leoni collection were kept.[7] Alternatively, he may have also seen the Leonardo *Grotesques* during his visit to England in 1629, when he was in close contact with Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646), who had been the greatest collector of these works since the dispersal of Leoni's collection. Undoubtedly, Rubens' most beloved engraver Lucas Vorsterman (1595/96-1674/75), who lived and worked in England between 1624-1630, had been in the service of Arundel, for whom he had drawn meticulous copies after grotesques by Leonardo (figs. 6, 7, 8).[8] Vorsterman must have been well acquainted with Jordaens. Not only were they peers, they collaborated with Rubens during the same period at the end of the 1610s. Moreover, Vorsterman is known to have collaborated with Jordaens in order to engrave several of the latter's paintings and designs. It is thus beyond doubt that Jordaens was well aware of Leonardo's drawings, and of both Rubens' and Vorsterman's interest in them; and so it was natural that they should also have been of interest to their colleague Jordaens. Moreover, these were drawings that had preoccupied Antwerp artists for generations.

During the 1640s, another artist undertook to reproduce the Leonardo *Grotesques* in the Arundel collection, this time in print. Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677) from Prague, who had worked in London, and is

recorded as being in Antwerp during this period, made a series of prints after Leonardo's *Grotesques*, thus giving fresh impetus to the drawings' exposure and fame. Again, Jordaens must have been well aware of this development. One of Hollar's etchings in particular, datable to c. 1644-1652, seems relevant here. It is a group of four grotesque male heads placed in a vertical composition (fig. 9). Although these four heads do not relate on a one-on-one basis to those of the Christie's drawing by Jordaens, the spatial arrangement and the types are so similar, that a direct relationship is evident (figs. 10, 11). This brings us back to the question as to whether or not Jordaens' grotesque heads should be seen as what he claims them to be: heads drawn from memory after a visit to The Hague in 1664. While Jordaens' words should surely be taken 'at face value' (pun intended), it seems clear that he deliberately gilded these memories within a pre-existing format with which he was familiar, thus placing himself within in a long tradition of Antwerp-based artists who had worked and re-worked Leonardo's *Grotesques*, and recycled them, mostly for the sake of their humour and wit. The present Lilian drawing, then, is the statement of a mature, celebrated artist, who wished to take on the work of famous predecessors, and give his very own, magnificent interpretation of it.

JH

Notes

1 Lugt no. 2604. According to a handwritten note on the reverse of the sheet, and William Bates' collector's stamp ('WB') in the lower right corner of the drawing.
2 L. Guicciardini (ed. P. Montanus), *Beschrijvinghe van alle de Neder-landen*, Amsterdam 1612, pp. 25, 29.
3 R. d'Hulst, *Jordaens drawings*, 4 vols., Brussels 1974, cat. no. A401, fig. 422; see also F.W. Robinson, *Selections from the collection of Dutch drawings of Maida and George Abrams*, exh. cat. Hanover (NH), Hopkins Center Art Galleries, Wellesley (MS), Wellesley College Museum, Jewett Arts Center 1969, cat. no. 7, ill.
4 'Verscheyden vreemde backhuyse gesien inde Haeg Inde kercks en op andere plaetsen by memorie geteeken In May 1664.'
5 L. Campbell, in: idem. et al., *Renaissance Faces : Van Eyck to Titian*, exh. cat. London, National Gallery 2008-2009, cat. nos. 70/71.
6 See for Leonardo's grotesque drawings E.H. Gombrich, 'The Grotesque Heads', in: idem., *The Heritage of Apelles : Studies in the art of the Renaissance*, Oxford 1976, pp. 57-75; M. Clayton, *Leonardo da Vinci : the divine and the grotesque*, exh. cat. Edinburgh, Palace of Holyroodhouse 2002-2003, pp. 73-99, cat. nos. 26-41. For the absorption of these grotesques in Antwerp during the sixteenth century, see: J. Muylle, 'Groteske koppen van Quinten Metsijs, Hieronymus Cock en Hans Liefrinck naar Leonardo da Vinci', in: *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 10/2 (1994), pp. 252-265; J. Muylle, 'Tronies toegeschreven aan Pieter Bruegel : Fysionomie en expressie (1)', in: *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 17 (2001), pp. 174-204; J. Muyle, 'Tronies toegeschreven aan Pieter Bruegel : Fysionomie en expressie (2)', in: *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 18 (2002), pp. 115-148.
7 See J. Wood, *Rubens : copies and adaptations from renaissance and later artists : Italian artists. 3, Artists working in Central Italy and France* (*Corpus Rubenianum* 26), 2 vols., London 2011, 1, pp. 114-120, cat. no. 169.
8 See for Vorsterman's drawing (here fig. 8) Wood 2011, p. 442, cat. no. R17



Fig. 9 Wenceslaus Hollar after Leonardo, *Four Grotesque Heads of Elderly Men in Profile*, c. 1644/52, etching, 65 x 45 mm., London, British Museum


Fig. 10 Fig. 9, mirror image


Fig. 11 Jacob Jordaens, *Grotesque Heads* (see fig. 1)

cat. no. 11

Alexander Keirincx
Antwerp 1600 – 1652 Amsterdam

A Wooded Landscape with Travellers

Signed lower right: A. Keirincx
Oil on panel
38 x 56 cm.

Provenance:
France, private collection

Literature:
Unpublished

Alexander Keirincx was born in Antwerp, and admitted to the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke in 1619. Abraham Govaerts (1589-1626), whose influence is clearly visible in his early landscapes, may have been his teacher. In 1622 Keirincx married Clara Matthaussen in the church where he had been baptized. In 1627 he left Antwerp and moved to the north of the Netherlands to establish himself among the numerous artist emigrants from the south. In Utrecht he probably met Cornelis van Poelenburgh (1594-1667), with whom he collaborated when he moved to the court of Charles I in London. In 1641, Keirincx and his wife moved back to Amsterdam, where he is mentioned in the city archives as living on the Lauriergracht[1] in 1652, the year of his death.

Stylistically, the present piece can be placed among the artist's early works, due to the still strongly evident influence of Abraham Govaerts, and the general adherence to the Flemish landscape painting tradition established by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) and Gillis van Coninxloo (1544-1607). Keirincx must have carefully studied the rules of painting landscapes as expounded by Karel van Mander (1548-1606) in his *Schilderboeck* of 1604. The three-tone convention, as was prevalent in 16th century landscape painting, is still in evidence here. The dark tones in the foreground alternate with lighter tones in the middle plane, which diminish and stabilize the effect of depth and mobility. The dynamic construction of the different planes, as well as the twisted forms of the tree trunks and boughs, contribute to the painting's impression of movement. The concept of a forest landscape with a peep-through was a theme the artist regularly returned to in the 1620s.[2] The painting perfectly shows Keirincx's ability to carefully observe nature and his technical approach as a painter of trees. In the middle plane a shepherd with his flock can be seen, with two figures ahead of him. For the finely executed figures in the foreground, Keirinckx may have collaborated with a staffage painter such as Pauwels van Hillegaert (1595/96-1640) or Hendrick Pacx (1602/03-after 1658). The swords carried by the travellers on horseback carry suggest that they are soldiers.

The present painting is comparable to Keirincx's *Forest Landscape* of c. 1622 in the Staatliches Museum in Schwerin, inv. no. G 12 (oil on panel, 37 x 66 cm.).

Notes
1 R. C. Coone, *Alexander Keirincx' (1600-1652) leven en werk : een Vlaamse boslandschap-schilder in de Bruegheliaanse traditie*, dissertation Open Universiteit 2013, p. 485.
2 Idem., p. 487.



cat. no. 12

Simon Luttichuys
London 1610 – 1661 Amsterdam

Vanitas Still Life with Books, Prints, Paintings and a Globe on a Table

Monogrammed on the ring of the globe: SL
Oil on panel
48.3 x 36.8 cm.

Provenance:
New York, collection I.N. Cargher
Sale London, Christie's (I.N. Cargher et al.), 6 October 1950, lot 52, to Einstein (as Isaac Koedijck)[1]
U.S.A., private collection
Sale New York, Sotheby's, 20 May 1993, lot 67 (as circle of Rembrandt)
London, Johnny Van Haeften Ltd., 1993-1994 (as Simon Luttichuys)
Amsterdam, Salomon Lilian Old Master Paintings, 1995 (as Simon Luttichuys)
The Netherlands, private collection

Literature:
W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, 6 vols. Landau/Pfalz 1983-1994, VI (1994), pp. 3526 (as Simon Luttichuys), p. 3754, cat. no. 2514, p. 4137, ill.
D. von Flemming, 'The European Fine Art fair : Maastricht Exhibition and Congress Centre : 12. Bis 20. März', in: *Weltkunst* 64 (1994), pp. 437-445, p. 439
S. Lilian, B. Coenen, *Drs Salomon Lilian : Old Master Paintings : Nineteenth Century Paintings 1995*, Zwolle 1995, pp. 26-27, cat. no. 11
B. Purc-Stepniac, 'Martwa natura z czaska z Muzeum Narodowego w Gdansku. Z badan nad symbolika kuli jako Vanitas', in: *Studia z historii sztuki I kultury Gdanska I Europy Polnocnej, Prace poswiecone pamieci Doktor Ktarzyny Cieslak, Materialy z sesji naukowej, Gdansk 2000*, Danzig 2003, pp. 279-300, pp. 283-284, fig. 6
R. van Straten, *Young Rembrandt. The Leiden Years, 1606-1632*, Leiden 2005, pp. 239, 321, cat. no. 419
B. Ebert, *Simon und Isaack Luttichuys : Monographie mit kritischem Werkverzeichnis*, Berlin 2009, pp. 98-115, note 550, pp. 356-357, Sim. A5



On a table covered with a brown embroidered cloth, lies a copy of Andreas Libavius' *Syntagma Selectorum*, which was printed in Frankfurt in 1611, opened up on the title page (fig. 1).[2] This book was an important record of the knowledge of alchemy and chemistry at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[3] A skull sits between this book and a standing book entitled *Historia Anatomica Humani Corporis* by Andreas Laurentius from *circa* 1600, opened up on pages 190-191, showing on the right page an illustration of the muscle anatomy of a man seen from behind, with the names of the muscles listed on the left hand page (fig. 2). This book was one of the most widely used anatomy books in the first half of the seventeenth century.[4] The celestial globe featuring constellations standing behind this work seems to be a Mercator globe, of which the original design dates from 1551. On the table, two prints, which are rendered very accurately, can be identified. The furthermost one represents an etching by Jan Lievens (1607-1674), dating from his



Fig. 1 Andreas Libavius, *Syntagma Selectorum*, Frankfurt 1611-1613, title page

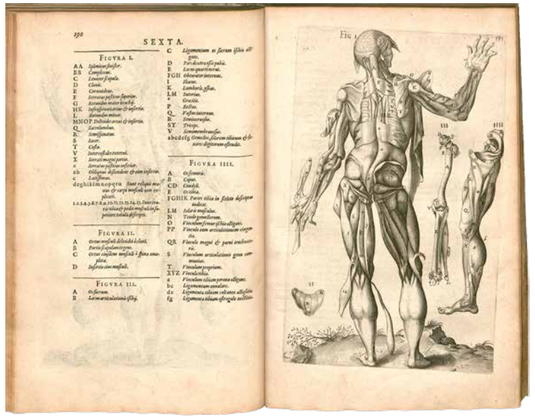


Fig. 2 Andreas Laurentius, *Historia Anatomica Humani Corporis*, Frankfurt 1600, pp. 190-191

Leiden period, while the one in the foreground represents an etching by Rembrandt (1606-1669). Two of the three paintings depicted here can be connected to existing prints. The small, painted portrait of an old woman in profile is related to an etching by Lievens, generally assumed to be Rembrandt's mother. Next to this a couple of closed books are stacked in front of a larger painting, propped up against the wall behind the table, representing the head of an old man in profile. The model for this man was probably Rembrandt's father, and again, the same head can be found in a print by Lievens. The subject of the third painting, hanging on the wall, represents a recumbent ox, probably originating from a painting by Roelandt Savery (1576-1639). Above the laden table hangs a mirrored sphere, which reflects the still life and the unseen part of the room opposite the still life with a window whose light illuminates it, and the painter behind his easel, along with another, youthful male figure. The present still life is a beautiful example of a painting exemplifying the *Vita brevis, ars longa* theme, a variation of the Vanitas theme. This painting, dense with layers of meaning, explores the varying forms of artistic and scientific endeavour, focussing on the relationships between prints and paintings, as well as fruitful and inspiring relationships between artists, namely the relationship between Lievens, Rembrandt, and the artist in question. The works represented here reflect not only the close collaboration between Rembrandt and Lievens, who were sharing a studio together in Leiden, in the late 1620s, but also their shared use of models and subjects, which was unusual practice at the time. Regarding the influence of Lievens' work in these paintings, we can assume Luttichuys and Lievens must have met in Amsterdam in 1644, but there is no evidence to confirm that.[5]

In the context of the *vita brevis, ars longa* theme, the presence of the group of mixed media works by Rembrandt and Lievens certainly functions as a homage to them and their impact on the present artist, the longevity of their art and its influence, and the longevity of art itself. Moreover, on a metaphysical level the painting excavates the layers of humanity itself, working upwards from the skull, through to the muscle-clad skeleton as seen in the *Historia Anatomica Humani Corporis*, to the human figure clad in flesh and given form by paint. This anatomy of humanity itself ranges from the youthful self-portrait of the artist with his assistant (?), reflected in the mirrored sphere, to the portraits of the elderly (assumed) parents of Rembrandt. That Luttichuys depicted himself in the mirrored sphere demonstrates that he was aware of his own transience; this object embodies particularly well the idea of the artist's transience, since his presence is represented as a fleeting reflection, while it simultaneously showcases the artist's virtuosity. Pieter Gerritsz Van Roestraten (c. 1666-1700) also made use of the mirrored sphere as a vehicle for a self-portrait in the context of a Vanitas painting, housed in the Royal Collection.[6] The presence of Savery's humble ox on the wall may serve the attribute of St. Luke, patron saint of painting, and in the present *vanitas* context arguably serves as a salutary exhortation to the artist to remain humble. Ultimately the survival of the present painting gives real meaning to its theme.

Luttichuys painted three similar still lifes in or around 1645; the present painting is the only one available on the market. The other versions, of which one is dated 1645, are in a private collection in Taiwan and in the Muzeum Narodowe in Gdañsk, Poland.[7] The meaning and composition of all three paintings are essentially the same.

Simon Luttichuys was born in London and was first recorded in Amsterdam in 1649, where he worked as a painter until his death. Dated paintings are known from 1644 until 1657. He was mainly known for his still life compositions, but he started out as a portrait painter in England, where he spent more then half of his life. He also received commissions for religious paintings for college chapels in Cambridge.[8] His younger brother Isaack Luttichuys (1616-1673) was a portrait painter, living in Amsterdam.

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Notes

1 Possibly this painting was bought by Albert Einstein (1879-1955), whose *Out of My Later Years* was published in 1950 in London, but no proof of this has been found yet. Is is noteworthy in this respect that the painting was brought into the 1993 New York auction by a dealer who had purchased the work from a private American collection. Albert Einstein lived in Princeton until his death in 1955.
2 Ebert, 2009, p. 103, fig.42.
3 Van Straten 2005, p. 328.
4 Van Straten 2005, p. 325.
5 Van Straten 2005, p. 335.
6 A. Reynolds, L. Peter, M. Clayton, *Portrait of the Artist*, exh. cat. London, Queen's Gallery/Buckingham Palace 2016, cat. no. 105, ill.
7 Ebert 2009, pp. 351-356, Sim. A3-A4.
8 B. Ebert, ''Littlehouse in Cambridge': Das Frühwerk von Simon Luttichuys (1610-1661) in neuem Licht', in: : E. Buijsen, C. Dumas, V. Manuth (eds.), *Face book : studies on Dutch and Flemish portraiture of the 16th-18th centuries : liber amicorum presented to Rudolf E.O. Ekkart on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, Leiden 2012, pp. 243-252.

cat. no. 13

Claes Moyaert
Durgerdam 1591 – 1655 Amsterdam

A pair:

Joshua Carries the Ark of the Covenant Around Jericho
Signed lower left: CL M f / 1648
Oil on panel
65 x 85 cm.

The Sacrifice of Elijah on Mount Carmel
Signed lower left: CL . M . / 1648
Oil on panel
65 x 85 cm.

Provenance:
Freiburg im Breisgau, Städtische Sammlungen
Their sale, Frankfurt am Main, Rudolf Bangel, 19-23 April 1921, Lot 173, pl. XVII (as Benjamin Gerritsz Cuyp, *Joshua* as *David with the Ark*)
Berlin, private collection, thence by descent
Hessen, private collection

Literature:
A. Tümpel, 'Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert', in: *Oud Holland* 88 (1974), pp. 1-163, 245-290 ('Katalog der Gemälde'), pp. 254-256, cat. nos. 70, 83, figs. 227, 232 (*Joshua* as *The Philistines Bring Back the Ark*, fig. 227 referred to as 226)
C. Moiso-Diekamp, *Das Pendant in der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main/Bern/New York 1987, p. 395, no. B1 (*Joshua* as *The Philistines Bring Back the Ark*)

Through his paternal grandmother Aeff Claes Moyaertsdr (d. 1600), the painter Claes Cornelisz Moyaert was a descendant of a prominent Catholic Amsterdam family.[1] However, due to the Alteration in 1578 – the shift in the city's religious and political power balance during the war with Spain – the Moyaerts lost much of their influence. Claes was born in nearby Durgerdam where his father, Cornelis Jobz Moyaert, had moved after marrying Geert Jacobsdr, a girl from that village. Claes's mother died in 1605, when he was fourteen. The family then returned to Amsterdam, where they lodged with Claes's grandfather at Oudezijds Voorburgwal (currently no. 228). Although Moyaert's teacher is unknown, we can assume – on the basis of style and subject preference – that this was either Amsterdam's most successful history painter Pieter Lastman (1583-1633), or his colleague Jan Pynas (1581/82-1631).[2] These two talented young masters had both lived and worked in Italy, where they had sought out each other's company.[3] They probably travelled back together, as both of them are documented as being in Amsterdam on 19 February (Pynas) and 1 March 1607 (Lastman), when Moyaert was presumably apprenticed to one of the two. Information about these years of Moyaert's life is scarce, and a once presumed trip to Italy cannot be corroborated by any documents. However, we are notified of the artist's presence in Amsterdam in April/May 1617, when he married Grietje Claes van Zijl. By this time Moyaert appears to have become an established painter, as he is mentioned by diplomat and poet Theodoor Roodenburgh in his praise of Amsterdam's most talented and honourable artists, published in 1618, alongside Lastman and Pynas, among others. Still, Moyaert's earliest known dated works are from 1624,[4] and after a momentary artistic dip





Details of cat. no. 13

in the 1630s, it was not until the 1640s that his production reached its true peak. With the steady confidence of a locomotive, Moyaert painted a vast oeuvre of chiefly history paintings, reminiscent of and elaborating on the work of Lastman and Pynas, with a preference for biblical, mostly Old Testament scenes, inhabited by multiple figures, the ever-present cattle (an inclination towards the rural that he might have inherited from his youth in Durgerdam[5]) and classical architecture or ruins. In due time his career brought him prosperity, public office and honourable commissions – he became a regent of the Schouwburg and was, for example, responsible for arranging the *tableaux vivants* performed during Maria de' Medici's Joyous Entry in 1638.[6] In the 1640s, Moyaert was among the Amsterdam painters commissioned by the Danish King Christian IV to produce a number of large paintings for the hall of his Kronburg Castle. At the time of his death in August 1655, Moyaert was living in a comfortable house in the Rouaanse Kaai (now the Singel no. 97), which he bought in 1639. He was buried in the family grave in the Oude Kerk.

The two works here described are pendants, a relative rarity within Moyaert's *oeuvre*. Among the 313 paintings listed by Astrid Tümpel in her catalogue raisonné of the artist, only four pairs are to be found, while a fifth is mentioned by Moiso-Diekamp. Each of the five pairs shares a clearly related subject: three pairs depicting the three themes of *Bathseba*; *Mercury, Argos and Io*; *Bacchic Scenes*; two scenes from Danish royal history; and two deathbed portraits of Roman Catholic pastors.[7] In contrast, the present two works, depicting episodes from the Old Testament, are less readily reconcilable with each other, mostly because interpreting the subject of one of the two – depicting a procession with the Ark of the Covenant – has so far proven to be problematic. As the interpretation proposed here identifies the scene as a story that chronologically precedes that of the other work, this painting will be dealt with first. Depicted here is a procession through a biblical landscape, dominated by a city on the top of a hill, led by a warrior ruler on an ornately bedecked white horse, and closely observed by herdsmen and cattle alongside the road. The ruler wears a costly, fur-lined cloak, heavy, precious jewellery including a chain of office and a feathered turban on his head. He is accompanied by a group of armed and helmeted officers, seated on horses behind him, one of them carrying a heavy sword. To the ruler's right (our left) a young esquire carries his shield ornamented with a lion and a spear, while to his left a boy and a young priest with a wreath of flowers upon his head play on a shawm and a sackbut, respectively. Behind this frontal group, we see another boy playing a shofar, two little boys blowing on charcoal, and more priests bearing the Ark of the Covenant on a litter. One holds a vessel with incense, others carry treasures. Given the fact that the Judean lion on the shield is the symbol of the Israelites, we can assume that it is indeed a procession of Israelites portrayed here.

The earliest reference to the painting, in the 1921 auction catalogue of the Freiburg im Breisgau's collections, describes the work as *King David with the Ark of the Covenant*, thus referring to the story of King David entering Jerusalem with the ark (2 Samuel 6). At this point, the Bible explicitly mentions that 'David danced before the Lord with all his might. And David was wearing a linen ephod.' And again it is stated that when the ark was brought into the city 'Michal the daughter of Saul looked out of the window and saw King David leaping and dancing before the Lord'. The pictorial tradition of this subject was well established, and invariably shows a humbly dressed David, dancing before the procession and Jerusalem's walls, most often playing the harp. This narrative therefore is irreconcilable with the present iconography. In 1974 Astrid Tümpel, at the instigation of Christian Tümpel, proposed another interpretation: *The Philistines Bring Back the Ark* (1 Samuel 6). Apparently judged from a poor image, this suggestion is unconvincing.[8] The Bible relates how, after the Philistines had captured the Ark, nothing good came of it, and so they decided that they wanted to give it back to the Israelites. At the instigation of their priests, the Philistines placed the ark and a box with penitential offerings on a cart pulled by two cows, which they sent off into the direction of the settlement of Beth-shemesh. From a little distance, they saw that the cows indeed pulled the cart to the village, where it 'came into the field of Joshua of Beth-shemesh and stopped there. A great stone was there. And they [the people of Beth-shemesh] split up the wood of the cart and offered the cows as a burnt offering to the Lord.' Again, this passage does not fit with Moyaert's painting, which lacks cows pulling a cart into a field, but shows instead the ark carried by priests in a procession. Moreover, the lion on the ruler's shield implies, as said, that this company is Israelite, not Philistine. A third interpretation was proposed by the RKD, namely that the painting might depict the story of Mordecai, one of the protagonists of the book of Esther. The interpretation is no doubt based on a visual resemblance to Pieter Lastman's famous painting of Mordecai of 1617 (fig. 1). As Mordecai had discovered a plot against King Ahasuerus, the latter honours him by having Haman lead him through town on horseback, dressed in the royal regalia. Moyaert was undoubtedly aware of Lastman's work. His own version of the story, dated 1652, is clearly indebted to Lastman's (fig. 2). Moreover, Moyaert's *Mordecai* features the sackbut player in the present work, and shows a similar *repoussoir* with a woman, child and a dog on the left, thus further



Fig. 1 Pieter Lastman, *The Triumph of Mordecai*, 1617, oil on panel, 51 x 71 cm, Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis

underlining the parallels between these three works. Yet the subject of the present painting – involving the ark, and set in a landscape – has little to do with the story of Mordecai. With none of the previous interpretations fitting, a fourth, arguably more plausible interpretation is therefore proposed here, that of Joshua carrying the ark around the rival city of Jericho (Joshua 6). Joshua, known for his deep trust in God, was Moses' attendant and successor as the leader of the Israelites. A warlord and God's chosen servant, he established his people in the Promised Land of Canaan. Thus we read how God handed over Jericho to Joshua, ordering its demolition:

'You shall march around the city, all the men of war going around the city once. Thus shall you do for six days. Seven priests shall bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark. On the seventh day you shall march around the city seven times, and the priests shall blow the trumpets. And when they make a long blast with the ram's horn, when you hear the sound of the trumpet, then all the people shall shout with a great shout, and the wall of the city will fall down flat, and the people shall go up, everyone straight before him.' (Joshua 6:3-5)

Joshua carries out God's instructions and so causes Jericho to fall. All the narrative elements of the text fit with Moyaert's painting, whose military aspect is likewise satisfyingly explained.[9] The ruler on the white horse is Joshua, with the Judean Lion on his shield, symbol of the Israelites. The town on the top of the hill must therefore be Jericho. Pictorial tradition usually shows Jericho already falling. Presumably, Moyaert wanted to emphasize the aspect of putting trust in God, of obedience and following His divine will, rather than showing the immediate proof of His will.

The actual result of steadfastness and perseverance in God's word, then, is the theme of the pendant, which depicts the story of Elijah on Mount Carmel (1 Kings 18), an episode that takes place centuries later. It is crucial here to understand that the words spoken by Joshua upon Jericho's destruction – 'Cursed before the Lord be the man who rises up and rebuilds this city, Jericho. At the cost of his firstborn shall he lay its foundation, and at the cost of his youngest son shall he set up its gates' (Joshua 6:26) – are direct relatable to this later episode (as will be demonstrated below), thus providing the connection between Moyaert's pendants that was unclear until now.

The prophet Elijah lived centuries after Joshua, during the rule of King Ahab, who 'did evil in the sight of the Lord, more than all who were before him.' (1 Kings 16:29). Elijah fiercely criticized Ahab, who had married the



Fig. 2 Claes Moyaert, *The Triumph of Mordecai*, 1652, oil on canvas, 120 x 148.6 cm, sale New York, Sotheby's, 30 January 1998, lot 14

pagan Jezebel, and had turned to worshipping her god Baal, for whom he built a temple. Moreover (and here is the connection with the story of Joshua) 'In his [Ahab's] days Hiel of Bethel rebuilt Jericho. He laid its foundation at the cost of Abiram his firstborn, and set up its gates at the cost of his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spoke by Joshua the son of Nun.' (1 Kings 16:34). So, during Ahab's evil reign, God's warning words to Joshua had become reality, followed by the punishment that was to be expected. At the insistence of God, Elijah communicated to Ahab that God was displeased with his idolatry, and told him that no rain would fall until he (Elijah) would say so, after which he hid away in the Kerith Valley, fed by the ravens. In the third year, God ordered Elijah to confront Ahab:

'When Ahab saw Elijah, Ahab said to him, 'Is it you, you troubler of Israel?' And he answered, 'I have not troubled Israel, but you have, and your father's house, because you have abandoned the commandments of the Lord and followed the Baals. Now therefore send and gather all Israel to me at Mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal and the four hundred prophets of Asherah, who eat at Jezebel's table.' (1 Kings 18:17-19)

This is the narrative Moyaert depicted in the second painting. At Mount Carmel Elijah confronts those gathered, asking of them: 'How long will you waver between two opinions? If the Lord is God, follow him; but if Baal is God, follow him" (1 Kings 18:21). He then challenges Baal's prophets to a sacrificial contest: both prepare a bull, on the condition that no fire is lit, but that each will call upon his God to set fire to the offering. The prophets of Baal – mocked by Elijah – limped around the altar from morning until noon, crying 'Oh Baal, answer us! [...] and cut themselves after their custom with swords and lances, until the blood gushed out upon them' (1 Kings 18:26-28), but nothing happened. Then it was Elijah's turn. After calling all the people to come near, preparing the bull and repairing the altar with twelve stones 'according to the number of the tribes of Israel', he commanded three times to pour water over the offering and the wood. This being done, he called upon God, who instantaneously set fire to the offering, bewildering those gathered, saying 'The Lord, he is God; the Lord, he is God!' (1 Kings 18:39). Moyaert shows us the false prophets of Baal on the top of the hill, calling in vain upon their god. In the foreground, Elijah outspreads his arms, while behind him the shocked king Ahab, on horseback, fearfully observes God's miracle. While three men with buckets pour water on the altar, the Lord's lightning sets fire to the offering, astonishing the people of precarious faith, who are consequently re-affirmed in their true belief.

It is with this divine confirmation of Elijah's inner faith that, following the narrative of the two pendants, the message of obedience to the Lord, faith, perseverance, and, finally, reward is exemplified. Joshua's natural conviction of faith – the main emphasis of the first painting – underlies his obedience to the Lord's command, hauling the ark around Jericho in order to ensure the city's destruction. The pendant, depicting a moment in Biblical history when Jericho has been re-built under the reign of the evil king Ahab, who practises idolatry, underscores how holding on to one's faith, putting one's trust in God and executing His will is always followed by divine reward.

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Notes

1 For Moyaert's biography, see essentially Tümpel 1974, pp. 8-34 ('Moeyaerts Leben'); A. Tümpel et al., *The Pre-Rembrandtists*, exh. cat. Sacramento, E.B. Crocker Art Gallery 1974, p. 79; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'De schilder Claes Moyaert en zijn familie', in: *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 68 (1976), pp. 13-48; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten : Godsdienst en schilderkunst vin Leiden en Amsterdam*, dissertation radboud Universiteit Nijmegen 2006, chapter VI ('Claes Moyaert schildert portretten voor het Begijnhof en zijn familie als aartsvaderlijk geslacht'), pp. 268-313. For Moyaert's artistic development, see Tümpel 1974, pp. 70-132 ('Moyaert's Gemälde'); E.J. Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals : History Painting in Amsterdam 1630-1650*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2015, chapter III, pp. 150-173 ('Claes Cornelisz Moyaert (c. 1591-1655): His Most Productive Period, c. 1630-1655').

2 Although Jan Pynas was born in Alkmaar, the Pynas family moved to Amsterdam in or before 1590, when Pynas' father became a citizen of Amsterdam. See Dudok van Heel 2006, chapter III ('De schilders Jan en Jacob Pynas onder doopsgezinden aan de Nieuwendijk'), pp. 124-175, esp. p. 126.

3 Dudok van Heel 2006, chapter II ('Pieter Lastman (1583-1633) : een katholiek schilder in de Sint Anthoniesbreestraat'), pp. 52-123, p. 71.

4 *Triumph of Bacchus* and *Mercury and Herse*, both signed and dated 1624, The Hague, Mauritshuis. Tümpel 1974, cat. nos. 156, 167, figs. 105, 106. See also Sluijter 2015, p. 151, fig. III-1 (*Mercury and Herse*).

5 Dudok van Heel 2006, chapter VI ('Moyaert'), pp. 283-284, with reference to F. Grijzenhout, in: C. Boschma et al., *Meesterlijk vee*, exh. cat. Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, Leeuwarden, Fries Museum 1988-1989, pp. 120-122.

6 See for Moyaert's commissions Sluijter 2015, pp. 159-169.

7 Tümpel 1974, cat. nos. 70, 83 (the present pendants, 1648); 75, 76 (two works depicting *Bathseba*, mentioned in the death inventory of Balthasar Schouten of 1682); 163, C2/C3 (two works depicting *Mercury, Argos and Io*, before 1624); 186, 187 (*The Funeral of a Heathen King* and *The Baptism of Harald Bluetooth*, painted for Christian IV, 1643); 292, 295 (deathbed portraits of Leonardus Marius and Nicolaes Verwer (as Joan Banningh Wuytiers) on their respective deathbeds 1652, 1647). Moiso-Diekamp 1987, p. 395, no. C1 mentions a set of two *Bacchic Scenes* in the collection of Sir Francis Dashwood at West Wycombe Park (Buckinghamshire), without further information.

8 Tümpel 1974, cat. no. 70, notes that the image she has is very poor ('eine sehr schlechte Abbildung'). Tümpel explicitly mentions that the new interpretation is that of her husband.

9 I wish to thank Professor Volker Manuth (Radboud University, Nijmegen), to whom I submitted my views, for his kind comment and support for the interpretation (email November 2017).





Details of cat. no. 13

cat. no. 14

Jan Steen
1626 – Leiden – 1679

The Card Game

Signed lower right: JSteen (JS interlaced)
Oil on panel
36 x 48 cm.

Provenance:
Dordrecht, collection Lambert van Hairen
His deceased sale, Amsterdam, 13 October 1718, lot 8[1]
Dordrecht, collection Hendrick Verschuuring[2]
Dordrecht, collection Hendrik van der Vugt (?-1744)
His deceased sale, Amsterdam, Bernardus de Bosch, 27 April 1745, lot 73[3]
London, collection N. Baillie, Esq., 1831 (acquired for about 35 gns.)
London, collection Charles Brind, Esq., by 1842[4]
Paris, Odiot collection[5]
New York, collection Charles T. Yerkes (1837-1905), 1895
His sale, New York, The American Art Association, 7 April 1910, lot 137 (for $6,100)
New York, Kleinberger Galleries, acquired at the above sale
Paris, collection Allen Lobl, 1911
Paris collection Eugene Fischof
Amsterdam, Frederik Muller, acquired from the above in 1914
Berlin, collection Berthold Richter, 1914-1916
Berlin, collection Josef Block, 1917
Berlin/London, with Francis Matthiesen (a.k.a. Zatzenstein), acquired from the above in September 1937
Amsterdam, with Douwes, acquired from the above in September 1937
The Hague, collection J. Walter, acquired from the above in September 1937
London, with H. Terry-Engell Gallery, by 1962
The Hague, collection Pieter Alfons Blaisse (1911-1990), by August 1964
The Hague, with Galerie Cramer, 1965
England, private collection, acquired from the above in 1965, by descent

Literature:
A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1718-1721, 3 (1721), p. 17
Anon., *Maandelykse Berichten Uit de andere Waerelt; Of de spreekende Dooden. Bestaande in Redeneeringen tusschen allerhande verstorvene Potentaten en Personagien van Rang; zo van den Deegen, Tabbaart, Letteren, als anders. Driehondert en zevende Zamenkomst; Tusschen den beroemden Konst-Schilder en Ridder Petrus Paulus Rubens, en Den om zyn zonderling Leven en koddige stukken zo bekenden Jan Steen*, Amsterdam 1747, pp. 188-189
G. Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen met derzelver* pryzen, 2 vols., The Hague 1752, I, p. 219, cat. no. 8; II, p. 47
J.B. Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandois*, 4 vols., Paris 1753-1764, 3 (1760), p. 30
J. Smith, *A catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French painters*, 9 vols., London 1829-1842, 9 (*Supplement*, 1842), p. 503, cat. no. 77



T. van Westrheene, *Jan Steen : étude sur l'art en Hollande*, The Hague 1856, p. 120, cat. no. 91
C. Hofstede de Groot, *Arnold Houbraken und seine "Groote schouburgh" kritisch beleuchtet (Quellenstudien zur Holländischen Kunstgeschichte* 1), The Hague 1893, p. 168
C.T. Yerkes, *Catalogue from the Collection of Charles T. Yerkes, Chicago, U.S.A.*, Chicago 1893, cat. no. 58, illustrated
C.T. Yerkes, *Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of Charles T. Yerkes, Esq., New York*, 2 vols., New York 1904, 1, cat. no. 93, illustrated
C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke des hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 10 vols., Esslingen 1907-1928, 1 (1907), p. 182, cat. no. 730 (English edition, 1908, pp. 194-195, cat. no. 730)
Anon., *A Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of 150 Paintings by Old Masters of the Dutch, Flemish, German, Italian, Spanish, and French Schools from the Kleinberger Galleries*, Paris 1911, cat. no. 73
Anon., *Exposition des grands et petits maitres hollandais du XVIIe siècle*, exh. cat. Paris, Salle du Jeu de Paume 1911, cat. no. 147
Anon., *Ausstellung von Werken Alter Kunst aus Berliner Privatbesitz*, exh. cat. Berlin, Paul Cassirer 1915, cat. no. 133
T. Frimmel, *Studien und Skizzen zur Gemäldekunde*, 4 vols., Vienna 1915-1919, 4 (1919), pp. 142-143
Anon., *Gemälde alter Meister aus Berliner Besitz*, exh. cat. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein (Akademie der Künste), 1925, p. 57, cat. no. 372
A. Gold, *Ausstellung Alter Meister: Privatsammlung Josef Block Berlin*, exh. cat. Berlin, Dr. Alfred Gold 1928, cat. no. 7
Anon., 'Die Sammlung Josef Block: Zur Ausstellung bei Dr. A. Gold, Berlin', in: *Der Cicerone: Halbmonatsschrift für die Interessen des Kunstforschers & Sammlers* XX (1928), pp. 311-312, p. 312
E. Trautscholdt, in: U. Thieme, F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 37 vols., Leipzig 1907-1950, 31 (1937), p. 513
Anon., *Exhibition of Fine Paintings of the Seventeenth Century Dutch, Flemish, and French Schools*, exh. cat. London, H. Terry-Engell Gallery 1962, cat. no. 29
Anon., *Cramer* 11, exh. cat. The Hague, Galerie G. Cramer 1965, p. 13, illustrated
L. de Vries, *Jan Steen "de kluchtschilder"*, dissertation. Rijksuniversiteit Groningen 1977, p. 113, note 3
K. Braun, *Alle tot nu toe bekende schilderijen van Jan Steen*, Rotterdam 1980, p. 157, cat. no. A-562
M. Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen : Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, Zwolle 1997, pp. 235-236, fig. 139

Jan Steen's *Card Game* – a wonderful example of the painter's notorious wit – enjoys a reputation only very few works by the master can boast. Not only is its spectacular provenance traceable to the early eighteenth century, the painting is one of a mere three works by Steen discussed in elaborate detail by his earliest biographer Arnold Houbraken (1666-1719), the other two being the famous *Marriage of Tobias and Sara* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, and the *Celebration of St Nicholas*, almost certainly the work now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Having shared that he himself was for long the owner of the first painting with his readers, Houbraken mentions the second work in the collection of G. Franken in Dordrecht. He then goes on to describe how Steen likewise excelled in smaller paintings, exemplifying this statement with an elaborate description of the present work, which had been owned by Mr. Lambert van Hairen:

'Among his [Jan Steen's] smaller works of art one finds many which have been painted elaborately from life, and no less clever of conception. The Art loving Sir Lambert van Hairen in Dordrecht had one (for his Hon. is dead), which depicted a brothel in which the whores have targeted a strange Fop, who by deceit is being stripped of his money. One sees the earnestness in this man's being's being, and how he ponders in selecting the Card. Behind him stands an old wrinkled procuress, whose shrewdness emanates throughout, and who in a mirror shows the Card to his opponent across the table. Beside him sits a tawdry harlot who takes pleasure in the certain win to be had at the end of the game. Furthermore the Room and the Furniture are of a thoughtful construction, as is the tapestry covering the table, which is elaborately painted. However, he [Steen] didn't receive as much for it as one would give for it today. He was, nonetheless, always satisfied.'[6]

In addition to an adroit description of the actual scene taking place – one of hilarious deceit involving cards and a mirror – Houbraken's description conveys some striking characteristics of Steen's qualities in general, and of *The Card Game* in particular. To start, Houbraken uses the Dutch word 'geestig' (which translates best as clever, or inventive), by which he means that Steen's works – the *Card Game* in particular – have been thought out cleverly, both narratively and compositionally.[7] In other words, Steen was outstanding in processing an initial idea into a convincing image. This quality, Houbraken remarks, relied in part on Steen's praiseworthy circumstantiality and his elaborate painting after life ('uitvoerig naar 't leven geschildert'). Indeed, the figures and the room in the present work have been convincingly thought out (typically, the early eighteenth century catalogue of the Van Hairen sale specifically mentions how very well composed and orchestrated or 'zeer aerdig geordonneert' the work is). In addition, Houbraken mentions Steen's sharp eye for detail (the room, furniture and tapestry are of a 'thoughtful elaboration') as another important factor contributing to the realistic, convincing nature of the work. Yet possibly the most important aspect of Steen's talent – and Houbraken rightly points to this – was his ability to depict true to life emotions ('one sees the earnestness in this man's being, and how he ponders in selecting the Card' and 'the opponent [...] whose shrewdness emanates throughout'). Steen knew the importance of convincingly rendering all sorts of emotions for creating a satisfying narrative, in other words: he knew how to tell a story. It was precisely for this reason that the curators of the great Jan Steen exhibition in Washington and Amsterdam of 1996-1997 titled their show *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*.[8]

In addition to 'clever', the Dutch also used the word 'geestig' as a synonym for funny, or witty. These adjacent meanings (clever and witty) exemplify the close relationship between the two concepts, especially in an artistic context. Being funny or witty as a painter had much to do with being inventive, clever and able, and Houbraken certainly implied this meaning when choosing his words: just one page earlier he had



Fig. 1 Jan Miense Molenaer, *The Card Players*, c. 1635, oil on canvas, 57.8 x 73.8 cm., Manchester (NH), Currier Museum of Art

praised Steen for his 'geestige grappen', or his 'witty jokes'.[9] Steen thus really was the archetypical witty painter. Few could visually (or verbally, if we are to believe Houbraken) tell a joke like Steen could. A comparison between the *Card Game* and its forerunner brilliantly demonstrates this. This forerunner is the *Card Players* datable to c. 1635 by Steen's predecessor as a leading artist in the comic genre, Jan Miense Molenaer (1609/10-1668), now in the Currier Museum of Art (fig. 1). Steen must have been well aware of Molenaer's work, which essentially depicts the same joke. Credit thus goes to Molenaer for his invention, yet one immediately notices Steen's tremendous improvements in *telling* the joke. Whereas Molenaer sets the scene in an undefined interior, Steen elaborately structured architecture creates a more ambitious stage for the narrative taking place, as it informs the viewer that they are witnessing a tavern of ill-repute, i.e. a brothel. This naughty aspect in itself builds up a narrative tension absent in Molenaer's work and is strongly enhanced by all the details that Steen – being an excellent 'stage setter' – added to the scene, such as the oysters (a well known aphrodisiac), the glass, the pipe, the pewter tankard and the earthenware jug (the one object in common with Molenaer's work), and in addition the violin on the wall, the 'kerfstok' on which alcoholic consumptions were written up, and many other pleasantly scattered articles. Note, for instance, Steen's eye for detail in the various coins he put in front of the cardsharps, while the duped victim has none.

In positioning his figures, Steen likewise surpasses Molenaer. While in the latter's arrangement the figures seem randomly squashed in, Steen – by loosely rearranging the six figures – creates a well-defined stage for the joke, namely the table around which the entertainment takes place. In Molenaer's painting we are greeted by a finely painted soldier – the true artistic highlight of the work – who, however, has no dealings with the double dealing taking place behind him. Steen improved on Molenaer by



Fig. 2 Cat. no. 14, detail



Fig. 3 Fig. 1, detail



Fig. 4 Jan Steen, *Interior of a Tavern, with Cardplayers and a Violin Player*, c. 1665, oil on canvas, 81.9 x 70.6 cm., London, Royal Collection

replacing the soldier of the former with an attractive young working girl in a satin dress and pearl earrings. In contrast to her male predecessor, she is clearly participating in the game, and actively involves the beholder in the trickery by showing us her trump card with a knowing smile ('the whores have the card' is an old Dutch saying[10]). By switching Molenaer's two females (the standing maid has literally been transferred to the left, while the old procuress to the right now bears the mirror), Steen further constructed the spatial situation he desired. Moreover, through shuffling the figures around, Steen cleverly arranged his protagonists in such a way that the beholder is now able to see their facial expressions. Thus, while we see Molenaer's cheat from behind, the wily glance of Steen's cheat



Fig. 5 Jan Steen, *Card Players in an Interior*, c. 1660, oil on panel, 45.5 x 60.5 cm., United States, Van Otterloo collection



Fig. 6 Fig. 5, detail



Fig. 7 Cat. no. 14, detail



Fig. 8 Fig. 5, detail



Fig. 9 Cat. no. 14, detail

with his jaunty red beret brings liveliness to the table not encountered in the earlier prototype. Likewise, the grinning face of the old procuress holding up the mirror, and the naïve expression and gestures of the duped dandy are much more striking – and therefore funnier – than those of Molenaer's protagonists (figs. 2, 3).

Card games were tremendously popular during the Dutch Golden Age, in all strata of society. So popular, in fact, that playwright Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero (1585-1617) called the card deck lovingly 'the Bible with 52 sheets'.[11] Steen depicted card games on several occasions. Two of these works in particular – both including women secretly flashing a card to the beholder – seem to provide an apt context for the present *Card Game*. One is the splendid *Interior of a Tavern, with Card Players and a Violin Player* in the Royal Collection, London (fig. 4).[12] Painted on canvas, the work is of a larger, vertical format and is datable to around 1665. In this tavern we encounter a number of similar motifs, such as the fireplace to the left, the suspended crown with bell and the print hanging on the wall. The atmosphere, however, is somewhat rowdier, with an emphasis on drink and musical merriment. The double dealing card game – no longer the prime narrative – has here been delegated to the right. Even closer to the Lilian work is the brilliant *Card Players in an Interior*, painted on a panel of similar size, now in the Van Otterloo collection (fig. 5).[13] This masterly work was painted c. 1660/62 and shows a clearly related compositional scheme, including several similar pictorial motifs and objects. Again we are witnessing a treacherous card game situated in an interior with a wooden floor, with a lady – a courtesan – sitting before a table covered with a fine tapestry, while surreptitiously revealing to us her ace of hearts. Although the rich furniture and elegant interior decoration here point to a somewhat more up market, classier brothel (Steen grants us a peep into the back room, where a couple are becoming intimate), the works show remarkable affinities, with respect too to the characters: the standing man with the pipe echoes – both formally and in terms of position – the maid in the Lilian work, the card playing officer with the feathered hat strongly recalls the young man with a pipe sitting next to the fireplace (figs. 6, 7), and the figure offering the officer a glass of wine – with his long thin nose – is no doubt the same model as the behatted cheat in the Lilian work (figs. 8, 9). A close dating of the two works can thus be assumed. In fact, one is inclined to see a chronological order, leading from the Molenaer via the Lilian *Card Game* to the Van Otterloo painting. After all, the present work strongly adheres to the Molenaer, while it shares compositional, subject and figure-related characteristics with the Van Otterloo *Card Players*, a painting clearly further removed from Molenaer's work. Yet despite this seemingly logical sequence, such a conception seems at odds with the stylistic qualities of the Lilian work, which show a looser brush handling, probably pointing to a slightly later date, around 1663/65.

JH

Notes

1 Hoet 1752, 1, p. 219, cat. no. 8 'Een Bordeeltje, daer een Julfus geloert word, door Jan Steen zeer aerdig geordonneert en curieus geschildert, h. 1 v. 3 d.br. 1 v. 7 d.' for 110 florins.

2 Hoet 1752, 2, p. 474 ('Cabinet van den Heer Commies H. Verschuring'): 'Een stuckje verbeeldende een Hoerhuys waar in zy met de Kaart vals speelen, om een Boer zyn gelt af te winnen, zynde het zelve waar van Houbraken schryft, door Jan Steen, h. 14 en een half d. br. 19 d.' Hofstede de Groot 1907, cat. no. 730. Not in the 1770 Verschuuring sale.

3 'Een Bordeeltje van denzelven, waar een Heer zit te speelen, en daar de Hoerewaardin zyn kaarten verraat met een Spiegel, breed 1 voet, 7 duim, hoog 1 voet, 1 3/4 duim', to 'de maklaer de bos' for 110 florins.

4 Smith 1842, p. 503, cat. no. 77.

5 According to Yerkes 1893 and Yerkes 1904, who apparently bought it from the Odion Collection.

6 Houbraken 1718-1721, 3 (1721), p. 17: 'Onder zyne kleinder soort van Konststukjes vind men 'er vele die uitvoerig naar 't leven geschildert, en niet min geestig van gedagten zyn. De Konstlievende Heer Lamb. van Hairen, te Dordrecht, heeft 'er een gehad (want zyn Ed. is doot) dat een Hoerekot verbeeld, daar de hoeren een vreemden Doffer op slag hebben dien door bedrog zyn geld word afgestroopt. Men ziet den ernst in des mans wezen, en overleg in het trekken van de Kaart. Agter hem staat een oude berimpelde kochel, die in een spiegel de Kaart doet zien aan zyn party die tegen hem over zit, en dien de schelmagtigheid ten oogen uit ziet. Daar nevens aan zit een opgesmukt Hoertje dat zig vast vleit in de zekere winst, die op 't uiteinde van 't spel staat te volgen. Vorders is het Kamervertrek en de Huisraad van een geestigen toestel, als ook het tapyte kleed, dat op de Tafel leid, uitvoerig geschildert. Dog hy kreeg 'er toen zoo veel niet voor als men 'er thans wel voor geeft. Egter was hy altyd wel te vrede.' Houbraken briefly mentions another few works, but without references to a specific collection.

7 For the concept of 'geestig' in relation to comic paintings, Houbraken's use of the term, and qualities a painter had to possess to be successful in the comic genre, see E. Kolfin, 'De regte bootsemakery. Contemporaries on Comic Paintings in the Golden Age', in: A. Tummers, E. Kolfin, J. Hillegers, *The Art of Laughter : Humour in Dutch Paintings of the Golden Age*, exh. cat. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum 2017-2018, pp. 26-41.

8 H.P. Chapman, W. Kloek, A.K. Wheelock, *Jan Steen : Painter and Storyteller*, exh. cat. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1996-1997

9 Houbraken 1718-1721, 3 (1721), p. 16.

10 See E. De Jongh, in: E. De Jongh, G. Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life: genre prints in the Netherlands, 1550-1700*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1997, p. 213.

11 G.A. Bredero (ed. J. Daan), *Kluchten*, Culemborg 1971, p. 138, r. 539 ('De Bijbel van 52 blaeren').

12 See for a recent discussion of the work, Q. Buvelot, in: D. Shawe-Taylor, Q. Buvelot, *Masters of the Everyday : Dutch artists in the age of Vermeer*, exh. cat. London, Queen's Gallery/Buckingham Palace, Edinburgh, Queen's Gallery/ Palace of Holyroodhouse The Hague, Mauritshuis 2015-2016, cat. no. 24.

13 See W. Kloek, in: Washington/Amsterdam 1996-1997, cat. no. 14 for an elaborate discussion of the work



Detail of cat. no. 14

cat. no. 15

Michael Sweerts
Brussels 1618 – 1664 Goa

Self Portrait with a Pipe

Oil on canvas
58 x 40 cm.

Provenance:
Italy, private collection

Literature:
Unpublished

Copy:
After Michael Sweerts, *Self Portrait with a Pipe*, oil on canvas, 66 x 48.9 cm., Cambridge (MA), Harvard Art Museums / Fogg Museum, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing Fund, inv. no. 1941.110[1]

Prequel

'I am not competent to make more than a guess, but I venture to ask you to put your expert on the inquiry whether it is not by Ver Meer van Delft. The reproduction mightily recalls that master. If I could see the original, I might feel less timid about my guess.' Said legendary connoisseur Bernard Berenson (1865-1959), in a letter to Edward Forbes, director of Harvard's Fogg Museum, dated October 1941.[2] Forbes had asked Berenson about his thoughts on a portrait of a *Man Smoking a Pipe* he had recently acquired for the museum from New York-based art dealer David Koetser (fig. 1).[3] According to a label on the reverse, the painting came from the Argyle collection, and had been auctioned in London, as a work by Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675).[4] Did the well connected Berenson already know of the attribution to Vermeer, and merely feign a brilliant educated guess to Forbes? If not, it is quite remarkable that the portrait was twice identified as a work by the illustrious artist from Delft. Of course, it should be noted that just four years beforehand, in 1937, the art world had been dazzled by the 'discovery' of Vermeer's *Supper at Emmaus*, the notorious painting hailed as *the* masterpiece of the Golden Age, which soon after the war turned out to be a fake, painted by Dutch master forger Han van Meegeren (1889-1947). But in 1941, its true identity was still unknown, and the idea of discovering a Vermeer must have been as powerful as ever. Still, labelling the picture Vermeer was wishful





Fig. 1 After Michael Sweerts, *Man with a Pipe (Self Portrait)*, oil on canvas, 61 x 44 cm., Cambridge (MA), Harvard Art Museums, Fogg Art Museum



Fig. 2 Carel Fabritius, *Self Portrait*, oil on canvas, 62.5 x 51 cm., Munich, Alte Pinakothek

thinking. Forbes did as Berenson had suggested and 'put an expert on the inquiry', the best the east coast had to offer. Jakob Rosenberg, professor of art history at Harvard and specialist in Dutch art, studied the painting thoroughly, and published his conclusion in an article in the museum's 1945 Bulletin.[5] After first discussing and then dismissing the suggestion made by Koetser, namely that the work could be by Carel Fabritius (1622-1654) (Otto Benesch's proposal that it could be by Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629) was not considered any further) Rosenberg remarks that 'however, this suggestion brings our painting closer to its true origin, as we shall see.' He then directly proceeds to attribute the painting to Carel's younger brother Barent Frabitius (1624-1673), quickly adding that this was first suggested by none other than Frits Lugt, during his visit to the museum. Admittedly, the idea was not so far-fetched, especially as Rosenberg drew attention to the likeness of the sitter with a portrait in Munich, which he attributed to either Carel or Barent (now considered a *Self Portrait* by Carel), and which, according to him, depicted Barent (fig. 2).[6] 'In the young man's features, however' Rosenberg continues, 'this Munich portrait offers the closest similarity to our man with a pipe, and obviously represents the same person just a few years older.' The Lugt-Rosenberg attribution was not to last long. When in 1953 an *Artist's Studio* by the Flemish Italianate artist Michael Sweerts (1618-1664) was offered to the museum, the presumed resemblance of the man in that picture with the alleged *Self Portrait* by Barent Fabritius was considered so evident to those responsible, that the latter work was consequently attributed to Sweerts as well.[7] The matter was officially settled when Seymour Slive gave his blessing to the attribution in 1958 and dated the work c. 1655.[8] In 1967 the work was exhibited twice, curiously enough as a *Self Portrait* by Sweerts at one venue, at the other simply as *Man with a Pipe*.[9] The attribution to Sweerts was consequently accepted until 1990 (although the title *Self Portrait* was altered to *Man with a Pipe* again in 1985), when the author of the Fogg Museum's catalogue, following a suggestion by Leonard J. Slatkes, changed the attribution yet again, this time to the little known Antwerp artist Jan van Dalen (in or before 1620-after 1662), and dated to c. 1630.[10] Although published again that same year as a *Self Portrait* by Sweerts in the *Great Dutch Paintings from America* exhibition catalogue, the painting was listed among the rejected works in the *catalogue raisonné* on Sweerts that Rolf Kultzen published in 1996.[11] Meanwhile, then Fogg curator Ivan Gaskell's re-labelling of the work as Sweerts in 1992, with the prefix 'attributed to' and a dating to around 1650, has been maintained by the museum, and was adopted in the 2002 catalogue to the major Sweerts exhibition in Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford.[12]

A discovery

The above digression about a disputed portrait serves a purpose here. The history of the Fogg copy, and the continuous lack of scholarly consensus over it, showcases the painting as an intriguing, yet ill-fitting puzzle piece. Art history sometimes presents its students with problematic works like these, but the present case can now be laid to rest. The recent discovery in Italy of the as yet unknown prime version – discussed here for the very first time – just over 75 years after the appearance of the picture which now turns out to be a copy in the Fogg Museum, retrospectively resolves all the previous confusion. Still, the historiography of the copy in a sense reads like a phantom history of the present painting, and one wonders what all these eminent scholars – Berenson, Rosenberg, Benesch, Lugt, Slive and Slatkes – would have said had they known of this 'principaal'. Its discovery surely ranks among the most important additions to Sweerts' *oeuvre* in the past fifty years, and one of the more exciting discoveries in Netherlandish art recently.

Quite simply, the present portrait is breathtakingly beautiful. Now that the varnishes and retouchings of centuries have been removed, and the painting has undergone a careful restoration, one can only stand in awe of Sweerts's engaging image. The handsome face, framed in brown locks and a reddish-beige velvet cap, is painted with soft, refined colour modulations, and stands out gravely against the plain dark olive background and the simple burnt sienna of the sitter's jacket. The overall composition, with the sitter regarding the beholder over his shoulder, conveys a spontaneity which, together with its masterful execution, reminds one of the immediacy of Vermeer's *Girl with a Pearl Earring*, much more so than the Fogg copy ever could. The hand, which holds the pipe with such finesse, astonishes in its three-dimensionality. The subtleness of the gesture, the individuality of each separate finger, the sensitivity to the handling of the object, are all so acutely observed and translated into paint. Quite clearly, the model staring at us with his dark, intense eyes is – as will be demonstrated below – the painter himself. Whereas the copy version lacks the specific physiognomy with which Sweerts would render his own countenance, the Lilian work demonstrates a deep knowledge about the face and its psychology. Whereas the eyes in the copy eyes are seemingly empty, the eyes in the Lilian work reveal a nuanced personality who with a self-assured curiosity stares into the world as he softly blows out the invisible smoke from his barely opened, full lips (with regards to the copy, Rosenberg spoke of the 'Bohemian temper of the sitter', a romantic notion that nonetheless doubly applies to the prime version). Before further addressing the painting's iconography and its place within Sweerts' oeuvre, here follows a note on the artist and sitter, whose life reads like a novel.

Michael Sweerts

Initially Michael Sweerts was thought to have been born in the Republic.[13] Willem Martin, who published the first study on the painter in 1907, thus hailed him as the 'enigmatic Dutch Le Nain.'[14] However, he was later identified as the son of merchant David Sweerts and his wife Martynken Balliel from Brussels, in which city he was baptised on 29 September 1618. We only hear about Sweerts again in 1646 when he was documented as living in the Via Margutta in Rome, until 1651. Nothing is known about any training, previous journeys abroad, or possible artistic output before that date, although it may be assumed that he was well travelled and had already arrived in Rome at an earlier date, since, according to an acquaintance, he was well travelled and spoke seven languages.[15] Although not recorded as a member of the *Bentvueghels*, the society of Netherlandish artists in Rome, documents show that in 1646 he was entrusted – on behalf of the Accademia di San Luca – with collecting contributions amongst the Netherlandish painters for the feast of St Luke. During this period in Rome, Sweerts enjoyed success with paintings close to the *Bambochianti* in style, often choosing everyday life local subjects, showing a special interest in depicting artist's studios, yet with a solemn and slow monumentality that were completely his. In Rome he enjoyed the patronage of the wealthy Amsterdam Deutz brothers, who visited the city during their Grand Tour. Their inventories mention numerous pictures by Sweerts, among them their own portraits, genre works and some self-portraits by the painter.[16] Another important patron was the young nephew of pope Innocent X, Prince-Cardinal Camillo Pamphilj (1622-1666), who owned at least four paintings by Sweerts. It was in all probability through Camillo Pamphilj that *Cavaliere* Sweerts received his papal Knighthood. Pamphilj's account book shows that Sweerts performed other tasks for Pamphilj as well. In addition to paintwork for a performance, the most interesting entry in the book is the last one, dated 21 March 1652, which mentions 'various amounts of oils used since 17th February in His Excellency's Academy.' From this and further circumstantial evidence, it has been concluded that Sweerts set up a Panting academy in Pamphilj's palace.[17] Sweerts was back in Brussels by July 1655 at the latest, when he stood as godfather to his nephew. A document of February 1656 indicates that he had set up another academy, primarily to train tapestry designers. However, as the document states that he had been running this academy for a long time ('ende nu lange tijt'), we can presume that he had been back for a considerable period, a hypothesis also supported by Sweerts' collaboration with the Brussels painter Lodewijk de Vadder (1605-1655), who died in August 1655.[18] While working on this major project, he decided to join the just founded evangelical *Societé des Missions Etrangères*, or Society of French Missionaries, which is probably why he left for Amsterdam in 1660. As a farewell gift he donated his *Self Portrait* to the Brussels guild of St Luke at the beginning of that year. The diary of fellow missionary Nicolas Etienne, with whom Sweerts visited the churches and the poor of Amsterdam, describes Sweerts' life as 'tout extraordinaire et miraculeuse', relating that the artist was a vegetarian, slept on the floor and shared everything with others.[19] In December 1661 the missionaries sailed to Palestine, but during the trip Sweerts started to exhibit uncontrolled outbursts, finally leading to his dismissal from the mission at arrival in Tabriz (modern day Iran). The next thing we hear of is our painter's death in Goa, India, where he was with the Portuguese Jesuits in 1664. He left behind an oeuvre of little over 120 surviving paintings, only three of which are dated.

Self Portraits

As seen, Sweerts' biography mentions several self portraits, none of which, unfortunately, can be positively identified. In addition to the newly found Lilian work, at least four other painted self portraits are known.[20]



Fig. 3 Michael Sweerts, *Self Portrait as a Painter*, oil on canvas, 94.5 x 73.4 cm., Oberlin, Allen Memorial Art Museum



Fig. 4 Michael Sweerts, *Self Portrait with Skull*, oil on canvas, 78.7 x 60.9 cm., Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre



Fig. 5 Michael Sweerts, *Self Portrait*, oil on canvas on panel, 54.5 x 43.5 cm. (enlarged, original size 45 x 35 cm.), Florence, Galleria degli' Uffizi



Fig. 6 Michael Sweerts, *Self Portrait as a Man Reading*, oil on canvas, 35 x 30 cm., Basel, private collection

The basis for our knowledge of the painter's features is the famous portrait in Oberlin, which shows Sweerts as a fashionable gentleman of about 40 years old, his palette and brushes in his hand, standing before a mountainous landscape (fig. 3). The portrait is unsigned, yet Sweerts reproduced it in a signed etching. Although Adam Bartsch already recognised the etching as a self portrait in 1805, the painting was erroneously considered a *Self Portrait* by Gerard ter Borch (1617-1681) when it surfaced in 1902.[21] However, in his 1907 study on Sweerts, Martin rightly connected etching and painting, and dated the work to around 1656.[22] Jonathan Bikker has tentatively proposed that that this work was probably the *Self Portrait* which Sweerts donated to the Brussels Guild of St Luke in 1660.[23] A second painting, which surfaced in 1968 as a work by Peter Franchoys (1606-1654), was bought by Alfred Bader, who had it restored, at which time the skull appeared into which the painter curiously inserts his index finger. Bader recognised Sweerts' features as observed in the Oberlin work and published the work as a *Self Portrait* in 1972 (fig. 4).[24] There has been ongoing debate about the dating of the Bader work, but the general consensus now is that it was done in c. 1660, probably when Sweerts lodged in Amsterdam.[25] The identification of the Oberlin portrait, and in effect the Bader work as self portraits, was strongly corroborated in 1979, when Marco Chiarini connected an unsigned portrait in the Uffizi with an allusion to a self portrait by 'Suarz' in the 1675 death inventory of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici (1617-1675), who from 1664 on had formed a fabulous collection of self portraits of noteworthy artists (fig. 5).[26] The painting was thus already acknowledged as Sweerts' *Self Portrait* by contemporaries, and indeed depicts the same man, a few years younger, wearing a feathered beret. We might thus assume that the Uffizi *Self Portrait* was painted during Sweerts' Italian years. A fourth, lesser known small *Self Portrait* in a private collection is not so much a portrait in the strict sense. It depicts the painter reading (fig. 6). Sweerts expert Rolf Kultzen dates this picture in the Amsterdam period, but the painter's by now readily recognisable features make him appear considerably younger than he would have been in Amsterdam.[27] Rather, the work should – to the present author's mind – be dated to c. 1650/52, when the artist dwelled in Rome, and was in his early thirties.

In addition to these singular self portraits, a painting by Sweerts in Pommersfelden seems to depict him as well. Here, a mature, seated man rests his hand upon the shoulder of a boy, who presents a red chalk sketch (fig. 7). Seemingly, this painting reflects Sweerts's academic practice, since we seem to see the painter with one of his academy pupils.[28] Sweerts reproduced this painting in print, but strangely a pipe in the hand of the man, who now blows smoke from the corner of his mouth (fig. 8). He wears a chain of office, while the boy has swapped his sketch for something edible. This remarkable modification has been connected with Sweerts' depictions of the senses.[29] The man (and the boy) appears a third time, as part of a didactic series of etched head studies Sweerts issued while in Brussels, which confirms once more the association with his academy (fig. 9).

Dating of the Lilian painting

If we now return to our painting, we see that the man's facial features fit in neatly with the group, most strikingly with the Uffizi and Basel portraits, which seem to depict a man of similar age. Moreover, some distinguishing elements in the portrait – specifically Sweerts' costume and his hat, can be recognised in other works from the period, for instance in the *Painter's Studio* in the Rijksmuseum of c. 1648/50 (fig. 10), in which the painter's hat is identical to that of Sweerts in the Lilian portrait. Made of vertical strips of red-brown flannel or velvet, it was a typical artist's headgear.[30] Apparently favoured by Sweerts, we come across it again in his other studio portrayals of the same period, such as the pre-1650 *Painter's Studio with Model* from the Rau collection,[31] but most prominently in the celebrated *Artist's Studio* in the Detroit Institute of Arts, signed and dated 1652 (fig. 11). Visited by a potential client, the young artist points to a plaster cast while holding his palette and brushes in his other hand. Clearly, there are parallels with Sweerts' self-depiction in the Lilian work, as a young man with dark brown hair, a sienna jacket and again the similarly shaped reddish velvet hat. We can thus be sure that with this *Self Portrait*, Sweerts intended to present himself as an artist, more specifically as the kind of artist who inhabited the Roman studios of his canvases.

On the basis of the affinities between motifs, colours and presumed age of the sitter, one might be inclined to place the Lilian portrait in the same time period, c. 1648-1652, as maintained by the Fogg Museum with regards to the copy. The Italian provenance of the work and the relatively coarse canvas, which we might understand as Italian, also lend itself to such a hypothesis.[32] Still, other aspects of the portrait seem to preview a further development. Whereas much of the artist's Roman output can be classified as Italianate, often depicting scenes with full length, medium scale figures, solid colour and chiaroscuro contrasts, several works of the middle period, of around 1655, depict single bust length types seen against a dark background. The most famous example is undoubtedly the *Boy with a Hat* in Hartford, generally dated to c. 1655/56 (fig. 12). Notwithstanding the differences, the resemblance between the Lilian and Hartford works is fairly obvious. Both show half-length, behatted figures against a dark background, looking over their shoulder, one regarding



Fig. 7 Michael Sweerts, *Man in an Armchair with a Boy*, oil on canvas, 121 x 96 cm., Pommersfelden, Schloss

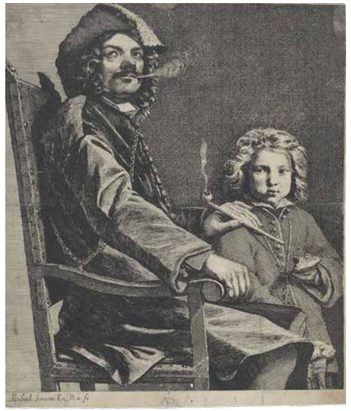


Fig. 8 Michael Sweerts, *Man in an Armchair with a Boy*, etching and engraving, 264 x 228 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 9 Michael Sweerts, *Bust of a Man with a Fur Cap*, etching, 85 x 82 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 10 Michael Sweerts, *A Painter's Studio*, oil on canvas, 71 x 74 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 11 Michael Sweerts, *An Artist's Studio*, 1652, oil on canvas, 73.5 x 58.8 cm., Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 11a Fig. 11, detail



Fig. 10a Fig. 10, detail



Fig. 12 Michael Sweerts, *Boy with a Hat*, oil on canvas, 36.9 x 29.2 cm., Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art

us, the other gazing into the distance. In both cases this shoulder area is rendered in a decisively similar way, occupying the same prominent position in the composition. The Hartford picture leaves more space behind the figure's shoulder, but as the Fogg copy shows, this may once have been the case with the present work as well. When it comes to Sweerts' specific hand gesture, it is noteworthy that there are two significant parallels within his *oeuvre*, both datable to the Brussels period. One is the Oberlin *Self-Portrait* of c. 1660, while the other is the superb *Boy Wearing a Turban and Holding a Nosegay* in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid, datable to c. 1655/56 (figs. 13-15). Although these two paintings belong to the next phase in Sweerts's progression, the closeness of the hand gestures, although executed in a more stylized manner in the latter works, is unmistakable. Thus, while drawing from motifs of the Roman period, the present painting foreshadows the Brussels works from the mid-1650s in its conception and in the choice of certain pictorial elements. Peter Sutton rightly speaks of the *tronies* of around 1656 (with specific regard to the Hartford *Boy*) as painted in 'a softer, more atmospheric manner with pale pink flesh tones, a powdery pastel-like surface, and white highlights.'[33] This observation then, accurate as it is, does not apply to our work, which does not yet belong to that development. A dating of the present work to c. 1652-1654, close to the Uffizi work with which it shares a clear affinity – might not be far off.[34]

Smoking painters

What, finally, were Sweerts' intentions in depicting himself smoking, and, as we have seen, so deliberately in his professional guise as a painter? Smokers occasionally figure in both his Roman and Brussels works. Still, the pictorial theme of smoking – and likewise of smoking artists – was decisively Netherlandish.[35] In Flanders, Adriaen Brouwer (1605/06-1638) famously depicted himself and his painter friends Jan Lievens (1607-1674) (fig. 16), Jan Cossiers (1600-1671), Joos van Craesbeeck (1605/06-1660/61) and Jan Davidsz de Heem (1606-1685) smoking in a tavern, and in his slipstream Van Craesbeeck repeated the grotesque smoking face, in what is believed to be his *Self Portrait*. In the Northern Netherlands, a modest pictorial tradition of painters smoking was established during the 1640s. Painters such as Gerrit Dou (1613-1675), Pieter Codde (1599-1678) Anthonie Palamedesz (1601-1673) and Jan Steen (1626-1679), among others, all depicted smoking painters, some recognisable as themselves in front of their easel. In the case of Gabriel Metsu (1629-1667), we can be sure that it was himself whom he painted smoking (fig. 17).[36] Smoking carried a wide range of implied meanings, from comedy to vice, contemplation to vanity. It could be an agent for vulgar sexuality, yet tobacco was also prescribed to prevent venereal diseases, considered a contraceptive and even an adequate medicine for the plague. Although negative explanations have been proposed in relation to these smoking



Fig. 13 Cat. no. 15, detail



Fig.14 Michael Sweerts, *A Boy Wearing a Turban and Holding a Nosegay*, oil on canvas, 76.4 x 61.8 cm., Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza



Fig. 15 Fig. 3, detail



Fig. 16 Adriaen Brouwer, *The Smokers*, oil on panel, 46.4 x 36.8 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 17 Gabriel Metsu, *Self-Portrait wit a Pipe*, oil on panel (?), 19 x 16 cm., present location unknown

painters, the general consensus is that – provided these painters are not unduly mocking themselves or their situation, as is the case with Brouwer *cum suis*, or with Steen – their pensive gaze and the quiet atmosphere evoked in such paintings seems to allude to a sense of contemplation on the one hand, and inspiration on the other, fuelled by the evident parallels between fleeting smoke and the ideally, pretended reality presented by art. As Eric Jan Sluijter eloquently put it: 'The contemplating over the possibilities and impossibilities of the art of painting, the game of appearance and essence ['schijn en wezen'], of illusion and reality, longevity and transience, a pleasant stimulation of the senses and the diversion of the mind, seems what is being portrayed by these smoking painters'.[37] Smoking thus acts as a metaphor for the art of painting, but also as an inspiring stimulant, and the catalyst for the creative impetus so fundamental to the artistic process. This certainly holds true for the *Self Portrait with a Pipe* by Michael Sweerts, who must have been aware of these developments. He painted a stunningly intense portrait, contemplative, mesmerising and utterly personal.

JH

Notes

1 R. Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts : Brussels 1618 - Goa 1664*, Doornspijk 1996, cat. no. R33.

2 See E.M. Zafran, 'Michael Sweerts in America: Collecting, Commerce and Scholarship', in: G. Jansen, P.C. Sutton, *Michael Sweerts (1618-1664)*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art 2002, pp. 56-66, p. 59.

3 Koetser sold the work as 'Dutch, 17th century, *Man with a Pipe*' in a letter to then associate director of the Fogg Museum, Paul J. Sachs in May 1941. I am very thankful to Jessie Park at the Fogg Museum, for sharing the information in the museum's curatorial file on this painting (email 22 January 2018). See also notes below.

4 See J. Rosenberg, 'An Early Self-Portrait by Barent Fabritius', in: *The Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art* 10/3 (1945), pp. 80-86, pp. 83, 86, note 3. Rosenberg regrets not to have found the specific auction.

5 Rosenberg 1945.

6 The painting is nowadays considered a *Self Portrait* by Carel Fabritius. For a detailed discussion, see G. Seelig, in: F.J. Duparc, *Carel Fabritius 1622-1654*, exh. cat. The Hague, Mauritshuis, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum Schwerin 2004-2005, cat. no. 4.

7 Apprently, L.J. Roggeveen, in a letter of 17 November 1946, already expressed his doubts about Rosenberg's attribution, having seen the work with Koetser in New York, and suggested an attribution to Sweerts. A note from 19 March 1953 by Agnes Monran mentions that Louvre curator Charles Sterling visited the Fogg, and suggested an attribution to Sweerts as well. Mongan doubted Sterling's suggestion (Fogg Museum, curatorial file). Zafran 2002. pp. 59, 66, note 21 also refers to the archives of the Fogg Museum for the 1953/54 correspondence concerning this situation. For the painting, see Kultzen 1996, cat. no. 5. The dark reproduction makes it impossible to properly consider the validity of the presumed resemblance.

8 Given the similarities with the aforementioned *Artist's Studio* by Sweerts, John Coolidge wrote a letter to Slive proposing to change the attribution to Sweerts, which Slive confirmed in June-July 1958 (Fogg Museum, curatorial file). Apparently the aforementioned 1953/54 consensus over Sweerts's authorspip had not yet lead to a formal re-attribution.

9 Anon., *Paintings, Sculpture and Drawings from the Fogg Art Museum*, exh. cat. Buffalo (NY), Albright-Knox Art Gallery 1967, cat. no. 16, as Michael Sweerts (active about 1655), *Man with a Pipe*; anon., *Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture from the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University*, exh. cat. New Haven (CT), Yale University Art Gallery 1967, as Michael Sweerts, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1655. With thanks to Jessie Park for supplying me with these brochures.

10 E.P. Bowron, *European paintings before 1900 in the Fogg Art Museum*, Cambridge (MA) 1990, cat. no 119; Zafran 2002, p. 66, note 20. Slatkes, in a letter dated 17 April 1989, compared the work to Van Dalen's *Woman holding an Egg* and *Boy holding a Glass*, previously in the Liechtenstein collection (Fogg Museum, curatorial file).

11 J. Roding, in: B. Broos et al, *Great Dutch paintings from America*, exh. cat. The Hague, Mauritshuis, San Francisco, The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco 1990-1991, under cat. no. 64, pp. 444-445, fig. 4, as a *Self Portrait*.

12 Fogg Museum, curatorial file. For the exhibition catalogue: Zafran 2002, p. 59, fig. 53.

13 P.C. Sutton, 'Introduction', in: Amsterdam/San Francisco/Hartfort 2002, pp. 11-24, p. 12. For Sweerts' biography, see mainly Kultzen 1996, pp. 1-11, 'Life History'; J. Bikker, 'Sweerts's Life and Career – A Documentary View', in: Amsterdam/San Francisco/Hartfort 2002, pp. 25-36.

14 W. Martin, 'Michiel Sweerts als schilder. Proeve van een Biografie en een Catalogus van zijn schilderijen.', in: *Oud Holland* 25 (1907), pp. 133-156, p. 134. For Sweerts's historiography, see Kultzen 1996, 'Introduction', pp. XV-XX.

15 Kultzen 1996, p. 81, appendix G; Bikker 2002, pp. 25, 27 convincingly suggests that Sweerts might be identified with a 'Michele' who lived in the same Via Margutta in 1640. Within this respect, Bikker points to the fact that Jan Six owned two works by Sweerts, which he might have bought in Rome during his grand Tour, c. 1641/43.

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

17 See recently L. Yeager-Crasselt, *Michael Sweerts (1618-1664) : shaping the artist and the academy in Rome and Brussels*, Turnhout 2015.

18 Bikker 2002, p. 32.

19 See Kultzen 1996, pp. 77-83, Appendixes, for source documents.

20 Kultzen 1996, cat. nos. 84 (Florence, Uffizi), 89 (Oberlin, Allen Memorial Art Museum), 90 (Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre), 91 (Basel, private collection).

21 Roding, loc. cit.

22 Martin 1907, cat. no. 1, dating on the basis of the 1656 dated *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Hermitage, St Petersburg.

23 Bikker 2002, p. 32.

24 A. Bader, 'An Unrecognised Self-portrait by Michiel Sweerts', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 114 (1972), p. 475.

25 See D. de Witt, *The Bader Collection : Dutch and Flemish Paintings*, Kingston 2008, cat. no. 178, as c. 1661. Kultzen 1996, pp. 62-63, as a 'so-called self-portrait [...] The resemblance of this picture to the portrait at Oberlin is due not so much to the similarity of the sitters' physiognomy as tot heir identical bearing.' and compares it to Van der Helst. Sutton, in: Amsterdam/San Francisco/Hartfort 2002, as c. 1660.

26 M. Chiarini, 'L'autoritratto di Michael Sweerts già nella collezione del cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici', in: *Paragone* 30 (1979), pp. 62-65.

27 Kultzen 1996, pp. 63, 70, 71, 117, cat. no. 91, 'undoubtedly executed in Amsterdam' (p. 63).

28 Kultzen 1996, pp. 73-74, 126, cat. no. 121.

29 G. Luijten, in: idem., E. de Jongh, *Mirror of everyday life : genreprints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1997, cat. no. 67. For the etching, see Kultzen 1996, cat. no. E16. For Sweerts's depictions of the senses, see his cat. nos. 105-108.

30 Rosenberg rightly points to the *Self-Portrait* by Lorenzo Lippi in the Uffizi, in which the painter wears a similar cap.

31 Kultzen 1996, cat. no. 1. The attribution is not universally accepted, as acknowledged by Kultzen. See also Amsterdam/San Francisco/Hartfort 2002, p. 110, fig. XII-1, as by or after Sweerts.

32 I thank Gwendolyn Boevé-Jones, who restored the painting, for her thoughtful insights. She is inclined to date the Lilian picture to the Italian period. Although the painting has been relined, the canvas seems to be of a broad weave, which could point to an Italian origin.

33 Sutton 2002, p. 23.

34 Kultzen 1996, p. 58 dates the Uffizi work, given the early Florentine provenance, in the Italian priod, but notices close connections with the Brussels group of children's portraits, esp. his cat. nos. 82 and 83.

35 See on this theme I. Gaskell, 'Tobacco, Social Deviance, and Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century' in: W. Franits, *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, Cambridge 1997, pp. 68-77; and E. de Jongh, 'Vluchtige rook vereeuwigd : Betekenissen van tabaksgebruik in zeventiende-eeuwse voorstellingen', in: F. Bool et al., *Rookgordijnen : roken in de kunsten : van olieverf tot celluloid*, exh. cat. Rotterdam, Kunsthal 2003, pp. 84-126.

36 For Metsu's *Self-Portrait with a Pipe*, see A. Waiboer, 'Gone up in Smoke? : Gabriel Metsu's 'Missing' Self-Portrait with a Pipe', in: E. Buijsen, C. Dumas, V. Manuth (eds), *Face book : studies on Dutch and Flemish portraiture of the 16th-18th centuries : liber amicorum presented to Rudolf E.O. Ekkart on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, pp. 311-318.

37 E.J. Sluijter, 'Een zelfportret en "De schilder in zijn atelier": het aanzien van Jan van Mieris', in: H. Blasse et al. (eds), *Nederlandse portretten : Bijdragen over de portretkunst in de Nederlanden uit de 16de, 17de en 18de eeuw* (*Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8, 1989), The Hague 1990, pp. 287-307, p. 298.

cat. no. 16

Antonio Tempesta
Florence 1555 – 1630 Rome

Alexander the Great on his Horse Bucephalus

Oil on copper
32.7 x 44 cm.

Provenance:
Boston, private collection since the 1920s

Literature:
Unpublished

Born in Florence in 1555, Antonio Tempesta was probably first apprenticed to Santi di Tito (1536-1603), after which he continued his training with Jan van der Straet from Bruges, better known as Giovanni Stradano, or Stradanus (1523-1605), who had been taught by Pieter Aertsen (1508-1575) in Antwerp, but had been living and working in Italy since 1550.[1] Stradano remained in close contact with Antwerp print makers, whom he provided with designs for numerous print series, and Tempesta's later dealings as a printmaker doubtlessly had their origins here. After assisting his master in the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio, a project overseen by Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), Tempesta enrolled in the city's Accademia del Disegno in 1576. Shortly afterwards, however, he joined the Antwerp painter Matthijs Bril (1550-1583) in Rome, where they were commissioned by Pope Gregroy XIII to paint frescoes in the loggias of the Vatican. During these years he also participated in numerous other decoration projects, including that of the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, the Villa Farnese in Caprarola, and the Villa Lante in Bagnaia. In around 1585 Tempesta became involved in printmaking. In due course he was to become one of the most prolific printmakers of his era, leaving behind an oeuvre of over 1000 prints, consisting of hunting scenes, animal subjects, mythologies, scenes from the Old Testament, and many battle scenes, almost invariably involving horses. Tempesta had a marked predilection for collaborations with Netherlandish artists. In Rome his work was published by Brussels born Nicolaus van Aelst (1526-





Fig. 1 Antonio Tempesta, *Battle Scene*, oil on copper, 37 x 56.5 cm., Ajaccio, Musée Fesch

1613), among others. In addition Tempesta worked with several print publishers from Antwerp, such as Pieter de Jode (1573-1634), whom he no doubt knew from the latter's stay in Rome, and Jan Baptist Vrint (c. 1555-1610). Tempesta's best known collaboration was with his peer Otto van Veen (1556-1629), the teacher of Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). In 1611/12, their joint series of the *War of the Batavians against the Romans* was published in Antwerp, engraved by Tempesta after 36 designs by Van Veen. Another collaboration between the two resulted in a print series of the *Seven Infantes of Lara*. Due to the wide circulation of his prints throughout Europe, Tempesta was a major source of inspiration for many Northern artists, including Rubens, Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) and Rembrandt (1606-1669).[2] In addition to his prints, Tempesta painted frescoes, works for the public domain and exquisite works for wealthy clients, of which the *Battle Scenes* for the Medici family, now in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence are two spectacular examples.[3] While his works on stone are famous, he also produced a limited number of delicate works on copper, such as or the amazing *Battle Scene* in the Fesch collection in Ajaccio (fig. 1).[4]

The present, recently discovered battle scene, published here for the first time, also belongs to that exclusive group of copper plates. Painted with similar brilliant colours, it clearly resembles the work in the Fesch collection, which likewise shows a battle witnessed by a mounted commander and his entourage from a *repoussoir* hill to the left of the picture. Yet whereas the Ajaccio work presents a broad view of the battle, the Lilian work focuses on an individual personality, the self-aware centre of the composition. This figure, a heroic commander leading a charge on a rearing grey horse, is a handsome, long-haired young man who regards us forcefully from underneath his impressive, plumed helmet, as though he were urging us onwards. He is dressed in a lilac tunic with a virile, lionesque epaulette of gold, and his bright red cape flutters boldly behind him. In his hand he grips his spear. Together with his cohort he is about to ride his horse down to the battlefield below, where a battle is raging. Two armies are battling on a huge plain, against the background of a massive tower set upon a rocky hill; we see infantry, archers, horses, flags, spears and swords, a conflagration and riders going down. Some soldiers are



Fig. 2 Cat. no. 16, detail of the Draco and the Aquila



Fig. 3 Dacians with a Draco, detail of the relief on Trajan's Column, 113 AD, Rome



Fig. 4 Antonio Tempesta, *An Army Attacking Over a Bridge*, 1601, etching, 236 x 324 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

helmeted; others wear Eastern, oriental looking headdress. Searching for visual clues to identify the scene, the eye is directed toward the cavalry on the left. Standing out above the multitude is a golden dragon flying from a pole. This clearly is a *Draco* standard, yet its shape is somewhat unusual in comparison with known depictions on monuments from antiquity (figs. 2, 3). The *Draco*, carried by the *draconarius*, is best known as the symbol and focal point of the Roman cavalry, and was adopted by the Romans in the second century AD. However, its use was older and derived from such Eastern peoples as the Parths, the Skyths and the Dacians. The *draco* is comparable to the famous *Aquila* or eagle, the standard for the infantry, which we see below the *draco*, seemingly attached to the same pole. Amongst the cavalry on the left we see a horn blower on a horse, holding a *cornu*, a brass horn. This horn blower, or *cornicen*, signalled the general's coded sound instructions to the troops during battle. As with the *draco*, the *cornu* was in use by different peoples throughout antiquity. A rider visible underneath the central commander's horse carries a second wind instrument. It is most likely a *lituus*, another ancient type of brass horn.

Still, the question remains as to which commander engages us. Although one might initially be inclined to think of the general of a Roman legion, this is not the case, as further insights put forward here will demonstrate. When searching for connections within Tempesta's *oeuvre*, one comes across an extremely similar officer – in mirror image – in a print which was published in Rome by Nicolaus van Aelst in 1601, as part of a series of unidentified battle scenes (fig. 4). Although this rider's costume is significantly different (he is probably a Vandal, with long trousers) from that of the present commander, his composition is identical, even including the same horse visible underneath the main rearing horse, with another horse setting off before the rearing horse's foremost hoof. If anything, this tells us that Tempesta was at ease with adapting pre-existing figures to any given situation if they came in useful. He recycled the pose for its powerful impact. Furthermore, the print gives us an indication of the period in which our work was presumably painted, certainly after 1601. During the following decade, Tempesta embarked on an ambitious, twelve-part, large scale print series on the *Deeds of Alexander the Great* (356-323 B.C.), which was published in 1608 by Jan Baptist Vrint (c. 1555-1610) in Antwerp.[5] The most legendary ruler of Antiquity, the handsome, long-haired Macedonian king was much beloved during the Renaissance, in Italy and beyond. Polidorio da Caravaggio (1492-1543) had decorated the façade of the Palazzo Gaddi in Florence with scenes from Alexander's life; in Rome, Marco Pino (1521-1583) painted his Alexander series in the Castel Sant'Angelo's Sala Sala Paolina; several Alexander frescoes

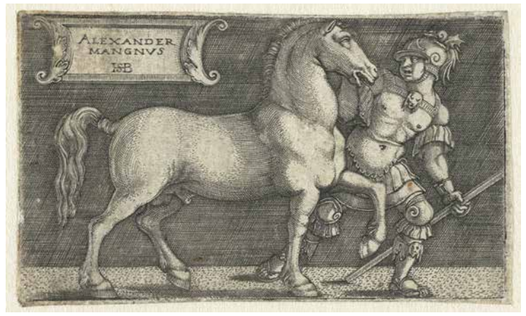


Fig. 5 Hans Sebald Beham, *Alexander with Bucephalus*, c. 1530, engraving, 45 x 74 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 6 Adriaen Collaert after Maerten de Vos, *Alexander as the Third King from the Vision of Daniel*, c. 1590, engraving, 225 x 262 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 7 Nicolaes de Bruyn, *Alexander Macedo*, c. 1590, engraving, 288 x 209 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

by Sodoma (1477-1549) adorned the walls of the so-called *Alexander and Roxane's Wedding Room* in the Villa Farnesina; and two other series, in the Palazzo Mattei-Caetani and the Castello Orsini-Odescalchi can be ascribed to Taddeo Zuccari (1529-1566).[6] Moreover, many northern printmakers had depicted Alexander astride his famous horse Bucephalus (figs. 5-7)[7]. Tempesta, being the famous printmaker that he was, surely knew of their imagery. If we now turn to Tempesta's own Alexander series, two of its sheets specifically show clear compositional overlap with the present work (figs. 8, 9). Beyond the compositional similarities, the way Alexander is depicted in these prints is comparable to the depiction of the commander



Fig. 8 Antonio Tempesta, *Alexander Directing a Battle* (plate 5 from *The Deeds of Alexander the Great*), 1608, etching, 220 x 283 mm., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 9 Antonio Tempesta, *Alexander Attacking Tyre from the Sea* (plate 7 from *The Deeds of Alexander the Great*), 1608, etching, 220 x 282 mm., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

in the present work. Moreover, just as we have observed in the present work, these prints include Persian archers and riders among Alexander's men (figs. 10-13). Their presence indicates that, from Tempesta's point of view, Alexander's army included Orientals. Presumably, he included the Persian costume to signify Alexander's reign over an empire that stretched from Greece to India, and to add exoticism to his imagery, exactly what one expected in relation to Alexander, who after all had spent most of his life leading his armies in the East. Therefore: given the fact that Tempesta clearly set out to depict an individual in the present painting, rather than an anonymous commander; given the existing, contemporary pictorial tradition of depicting Alexander upon his horse Bucephalus; and given the painting's clear resemblance with Tempesta's own Alexander print series of 1608, which followed the 1601 print from which he derived the present commander's composition, we have good reason to assume that Tempesta depicted the Hellenistic King here upon his legendary horse. Yet there is more to be considered.

Tempesta expert Eckhart Leuschner has argued that Tempesta had wanted to dedicate his Alexander series to the Florentine Alessandro de' Medici (1535-1605), better known as Leo XI, who was elected Pope in April 1605. As a Cardinal, Alessandro had been a major patron of Tempesta's teacher Stradano, and his name Alessandro would indeed add an extra dimension to a series about his famous namesake.[8] Moreover, argues Leuschner, the new Pope's intended increase of financial and political support for the Holy Roman Emperor's strides against the Turks found a parallel in Alexander's ongoing battles in the Orient. Although this is an interesting thought, the fact that Leo XI died within 27 days of his election (elected on 1 April, he died on 27 April 1605) does not makes this a very likely scenario. Still, there is other evidence that indicates that Tempesta found papal support for related Alexander imagery, without the similarity of name playing a role. For this we have to consider yet another print. Executed by Francesco Villamena (1564-1624) after a design by Tempesta, this print depicts allegorically the famous battle of Gaugamela (331 BC), where Alexander's desperately outnumbered troops managed to overcome the huge Persian army led by Darius III (380-330) (fig. 14).[9] Again – paralleling the Alexander series and our copper plate – we see the long-haired Alexander as the central victor astride his horse Bucephalus, this time with a dragon on his helmet, an attribute often depicted in images of Alexander (see for instance figs. 5, 7).[10] Presumably, this refers to Alexander's alleged encounter with a dragon in India, about which we are informed by Aelian (175-235), in his *De Natura Animalium*.[11] What is of specific interest here is that an eagle flies above the dragon, and that over



Fig. 10 Fig. 5, detail



Fig. 11 Cat. no. 16, detail



Fig. 12 Fig. 6, detail



Fig. 13 Cat. no. 16, detail



Fig. 14 Francesco Villamena after Antonio Tempesta, *The Battle of Gaugamela*, engraving, 365 x 488 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

these two creatures two putti with clarions hold up the papal coat of arms, consisting of the papal tiara and the keys of St. Peter. Clearly, the print seeks to identify papal policy in the East with Alexander's battles against the Persians. However, the print contains a more specific meaning, for the dragon and the eagle are the heraldic creatures featuring in the Borghese family coat of arms. After the sudden death of Leo XI, the new Pope was elected in May of 1605. While he chose as his papal name Paul V, his real name was Camillo Borghese (1550-1621). Paul V reigned until his death sixteen years later, and in his foreign policy tried to unite France and Spain to create a solid front against the Turks[12], hence the imagery of Tempesta's design: a successful battle against the Turks under the leadership of the Borghese pope, who logically identified with the great Alexander. If we now turn to our painting again, we suddenly understand the significance of the *Draco* and the *Aquila*. They must surely refer to the Borghese coat of arms. This also explains the unusual modelling of the *Draco*, which clearly recalls the Borghese dragon, known for its compact appearance (fig. 15).

Antonio Tempesta was no stranger to Borghese patronage. Paul V's nephew and adopted son Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1577-1633) was perhaps the greatest Maecenas of his time, and commissioned Tempesta – who was after all one of Rome's foremost artists – on many occasions. According to Leuschner, Tempesta held an 'exceptional reputation' with Scipione, their relations being so good that Tempesta was in a position to ask the Cardinal to mediate between the artist's brother and Cosimo II de' Medici (1590-1621), Grand Duke of Tuscany.[13] When Paul V's brother



Fig. 15 Borghese dragon, Rome, Villa Borghese



Fig. 16 Antonio Tempesta, *Battle Scene*, pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with gold, over traces of black chalk on brown washed paper, 353 x 518 mm., formerly London, Stephen Ongpin Fine Art

Giovanni Battista Borghese died in December 1609, Scipione asked six of Rome's foremost artists – among them Guido Reni (1575-1642), the Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568-1640) and Tempesta – to execute monumental paintings depicting biblical subjects, which were prominently displayed during the funeral service in de S. Maria Maggiore in March 1610.[14] Later that year Tempesta was employed to execute the frescoes in the Borghese Pauline chapel in the same church.[15] In 1614 he was responsible for two large frescoes in Scipione's *Loggia del Giardino* (Casino Rospigliosi) at the Quirinal, for which he was paid no less than 200 scudi. And in the following years, too, we see many, unfortunately unspecified payments from Borghese to Tempesta for drawings and pictures.[16] In one such case the description 'Two drawings in chiaroscuro on dark yellow paper with black frames, height 1 2/3, width 5 1/4, by Tempesta' tempted Leuschner to loosely connect it with a beautiful sheet, heightened with gold, that was recently on the art market (fig. 16).[17] Although this luxurious drawing, a finished artwork rather than a sketch, depicting a battle scene conspicuously close to the Alexander series and our copper plate, cannot be positively identified as one of the two works in the document (after all no subject is mentioned there), the description clearly refers to this specific kind of work. Intriguingly, it so happens that the drawing depicts both the *Aquila* and the *Draco* (albeit less developed), an absolute rarity within Tempesta's *oeuvre*. As Leuschner remarked, the sheet's finished execution 'gives it the impression of something precious, which must have appealed to a collector like Scipione Borghese, who was obsessed with art treasures and *kunstkammer* objects.' Our copper plate, then, fits in perfectly with such a description. Our work defines, as it were, a 'precious art treasure'. An art treasure, moreover, with a clear link to existing Borghese imagery, both with regard to its subject matter and its specific choice of Borghese heraldic motifs. Within the context of the Borghese pontificate in Rome between 1605-1621 – precisely the period in which this work was executed – and the warm relationship between the Borghese family and the painter of the present work, these elements seem to go beyond mere coincidence, making it more than likely that our painting was commissioned by, and painted for, that legendary family.

JH

Notes

1 Biography based on C. Höper, in: J. Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., New York 1996, 30, pp. 428-429; J.B. Lohff, *Malerei auf Stein : Antonio Tempestas Bilder auf Stein im Kontext der Kunst- und Naturtheorie seiner Zeit*, Munich 2015, pp. 23-25. The main study on Tempesta is E. Leuschner, *Antonio Tempesta : ein Bahnbrecher des römischen Barock und seine europäische Wirkung*, Petersberg 2005, who, however, primarily focuses of Tempesta's oeuvre on paper.

2 Leuschner 2005, chapter 15, esp. 15.4, 'Tempesta's influence on Netherlandish art'.

3 Two *Battle Scenes with Christians Against Turks*, both oil on canvas, 118 x 173 cm, Florence, Galleria Palatina. See N.Bastogi, in: E. Fumagalli, M. Rossi, R. Spinelli, *L'arme e gli amori : la poesia di Ariosto, Tasso e Guarini nell'arte fiorentina del Seicento*, exh. cat. Florence, Palazzo Pitti 2001, cat. nos. 5, 6.

4 See in addition to the Ajaccio work S. Pezzatti, 'Due dipinti trascurati di Antonio Tempesta e un misterioso disegno', in: *Paragone : rivista di arte figurativa e letteratura : arte* 53/43 (2002), pp. 71-80. Given the here demonstrated association of the dragon helmet with Alexander the Great (see below), the Ajaccio work might depict Alexander as well.

5 For this series, see Leuschner 2005, pp. 439-44.

6 Leuschner 2005, p. 440.

7 Bucephalus is said to have died in the Battle of the Hydaspes, in 326 BC. Although his coat was supposedly black, Renaissance artist mostly depicted him as a grey. See, for instance the fresco of Alexander Taming Bucephalus in the aforementioned *Alexander and Roxane's Wedding Room* in the Villa Farnesina, or Francesco Primaticcio's (1504-1570) *Alexander Taming Bucephalus in Fontainebleau*. See also the prints depicted here (figs. 5-7), which show a light coat.

8 Leuschner 2005, pp. 440-442 indeed points out several instances in which series about the life of Alexander were commissioned by contemporaries named Alessandro.

9 Leuschner 2005, pp. 224-227, fig. 7.9.

10 Other examples include a print by Hans Burgkmair in which Alexander holds a shield with a dragon, and two Alexander portrait prints by Crispijn van de Passe.

11 Aelian (A.F. Scholfield, transl.), *On the Characteristics of Animals*, 3 vols. London/Cambridge (MS) 1959, 3, book 15, chapter 21.

12 See F.L. Cross, E.A. Livingstone (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford/New York 2005, p. 1248.

13 See for Tempesta and Borghese patronage Leuschner 2005, pp. 478-492, esp. p. 491 for Tempesta's mediation request to Scipione Borghese.

14 See M. Schraven, 'Giovanni Battista Borghese's funeral 'apparato' of 1610 in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 143 (2001), pp. 23-28; M. Schraven, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy : The Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration*, London/New York 2016 (first ed. 2014), p. 241.

15 Ibid.

16 Leuschner 2005, pp. 489, 603 (Documents), nos. 56, 58-60, 62-68.

17 Leuschner 2005, pp. 489-490.

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Fig. 1, 1a (p. 42): Copyright Ville de Condé sur l'Escaut
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