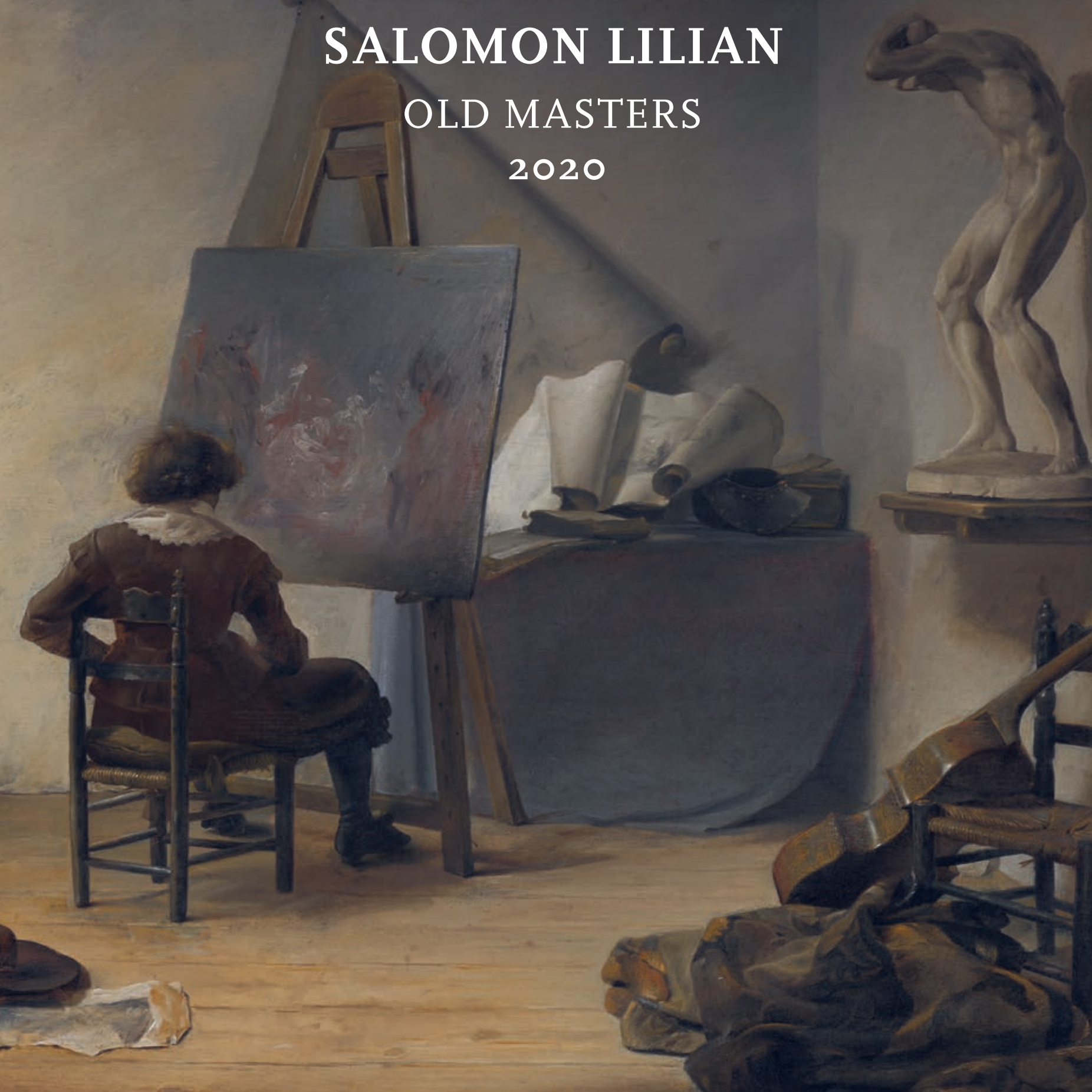
SALOMON LILIAN

OLD MASTERS

2020



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Acknowledgements

We are very pleased to be able to produce our 27th annual catalogue of Dutch and Flemish Old Master Paintings.

Amongst the recent acquisitions are some interesting discoveries. The most striking is a *Studio Interior* by Jan Davidsz de Heem. This intriguing early painting by Jan Davidsz de Heem is an important addition to his oeuvre. Another important discovery is the *Hercules* by Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem. A very powerful image.

We are also showing *A Merry Company* by Jan Steen, an early work by the artist. This painting was only known in literature, and we will now show it for the first time.

We also show a fascinating *Soldier Holding a Glass and a Pitcher* by Willem van der Vliet, a *View of the Dam, Amsterdam* by Jan Ekels the Elder, a fantastic winter landscape by Isaac van Ostade as well as an impressive trompe l'oeil by Edwaert Collier.

I would like to thank Dr. Fred G. Meijer who wrote the entry on the painting by Jan Davidsz de Heem and Wouter Kloek, who wrote the entry on the painting by Jan Steen.

And as always, I am thankful to Wendela Burgemeister and Jasper Hillegers, who conducted the entire project as well as thorough art historical research on the paintings before writing entries, and to Natasha Broad, who edited them.

Salomon Lilian
February 2020

cat. no.

1 Edwaert Collier

2 Jan Ekels the Elder

3 Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem

4 Jan Davidsz de Heem

5 Gerard van Honthorst

6 Anthonie Leemans

7 Gerrit Lundens

8 Isaack Luttichuys

9 Jan Miense Molenaer

10 Pieter Mulier

11 Isaac van Ostade

12 Cornelis Saftleven

13 Jan Steen

14 Matthias Stom

15 David Teniers the Younger

16 Willem van der Vliet

17 Sebastiaen Vrancx

cat. no. 1

Edwaert Collier
Breda 1642 – 1708 London

A Vanitas Still Life with a Flag, Candlestick, Musical Instruments, Books, Writing Paraphernalia, Globes and an Hourglass

Signed and dated lower centre: Eduwaert / Collier / 1662
Oil on canvas
98 x 129.7 cm.

Provenance:
Warsaw and London, collection Count Edward Raczynski
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Fielding Lewis Marshall, by 1960
Their sale, London, Bonhams, 28 March 1974, lot 28
Sale London, Sotheby's, 17 December 1998, lot 39
Sale New York, Sotheby's, 31 January 2013, lot 68
United States, private collection

Literature:
E. Zarnowska, *La nature-morte hollandaise : les principaux représentants : ses origines, son influence*, Brussels 1929, p. 11 (as dated 1665)

Exhibited:
North Carolina, Chapel Hill, William Hayes Ackland Memorial Art Center, no. L-61.4.7 (according to a label on the reverse)
London, Sotheby's, The Marshall Collection, 31 December 1973 - 8 January 1974, cat. no. 19, illustrated
Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, *La Nature-Morte Hollandaise*, 1929





Fig. 1 Frederick de Wit, *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula*, engraving, published in: H. Doncker, *De zee-atlas ofte water-waereld : vertoonende alle de zee-kusten van het bekende deel des aerd-bodems seer dienstigh voor alle schippers en stuurlieden, mitsgaders koop-lieden om op 't kantoor gebruyckt te werden*, Amsterdam, 1660


NAERDER VERCLARINGE
Van
OVT BATAVIEN
Nu ghenaemt
HOLLANDT.

Fig. 2 Page from: P. Scriverius, *Beschrijvinghe van Out Batavien, met de Antiquiteyten van dien: mitsgaders daf-komst ende historie der Edelen/ hooghgeboren Graven van Holland, Zeeland, ende Vrieslandt*, Arnhem 1612

Presumably born in around 1640 in Leiden, the painter Edwaert Collier is first mentioned in Haarlem in 1663, where it seems that he studied.[1] From 1667 until 1691 Collier is documented in Leiden. He was married three times between 1670 and 1681 and was twice made a widower. An intended marriage in 1674 was cancelled because the intended bride had already given her nuptial vows to a suitor from The Hague. Collier probably moved to London in around 1693, though inscriptions on his paintings indicate that he was back in Leiden between 1702 and 1706. In 1706 the artist returned once more to London, where he died and was buried in St. James's, Piccadilly, on the 9th of September 1708.

The present painting is one of Collier's earliest dated paintings, executed when the artist lived in Haarlem. In this horizontal painting, Collier's detailed rendering of the objects show his affinities with the Leiden *fijnschilders*. Collier's carefully chosen objects were depicted and arranged to remind the viewer of the transience of life; mostly, the objects refer to wealth and individual accomplishment, with the vanity of learning given particular emphasis. On a table draped with an opulent green cloth embroidered with gold, a terrestrial and a celestial globe stand behind an array of books, with an inkwell standing on an open pamphlet in the foreground, while in the background, a flag, violin and lute can be seen. Collier's detailed rendering of the globes enables us to identify the terrestrial globe on the left as that made by Jodocus Hondius in 1601, which shows Mexico and the Pacific, an area of active colonial and trade expansion in the time.[2] It also appears on other paintings by Collier. Its counterpart, the celestial globe, shows the constellations. Just in front of the globes, two large open books occupy a carefully balanced position in the composition. Collier often included books in his paintings; some of them are representing worldly diversions, while others are meant for the viewer's edification. The book on the left is open on the page entitled "Nova Totius Terranum Orbis Tabula Auctore F. de Wit" and on the right page "Namen der Eylanden". The page with the world map might be based upon a print in Hendrik Doncker's (1626-1699) "Zee-Atlas ofte Water-Waereld", by Frederick de Wit (1630-1706), which was first published in Amsterdam in 1660 (fig. 1). De Wit derived it from the hemisphere maps from Blaeu's wall map of 1648, reducing them



Fig. 3 Edwaert Collier, *Vanitas Still Life*, signed with monogram and dated 1662, oil on canvas, 94 x 112.2 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 4 Edwaert Collier, *Vanitas Still Life*, signed and dated 1662, oil on canvas, 102.5 x 132 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

in scale and making some changes. Doncker's charts were the most up-to-date in the second half of the seventeenth century, continuing the expertise and reputation established by his predecessors in the 50 years following the establishment of the Dutch East India Company in 1602. The other book is open on the title page: "Naerder Verklaringhe van Out Batavien nu genaemt Hollandt'. This book was written by Petrus Scriverius and J. Duym and entitled "beschryvinghe van Out Batavien met de Antiquiteyten van dien", 1612 (fig. 2).[3] In this book, Scriverius boasts about the Batavian past of the province of Holland.[4] The text on the pamphlet beneath the ink well reads 'den Doorluchtighe Hoogh Ghe', which might refer to the pamphlet by Caspar Barlaeus, dated 1618, with which he as a Remonstrant sought Prince Maurice's protection in the struggles within the church. The flag must refer to civic guard service and is thus a sign of worldly honour. The musical instruments and the songbook on the left all suggest the parallel between the fleeting nature of music and of time itself, and refer to earthly pleasure. A string on the violin has conspicuously snapped. In this familiar context one hardly needs the candle, the time piece, hourglass, money bag and the inscription on a little slip of paper containing the motto: 'Vanitas Vanitatu et Omnia Vanitas'.

Two similar *Vanitas* still-lifes from 1662, can be found in collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (figs. 3, 4). The open book in the Rijksmuseum displays an illustration on the right-hand page, similar to the present work.

WB

Notes

1 For biographical references, see M. Wurfbain, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., New York 1996, 7, pp. 381-382; F.G. Meijer, in Saur (*Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon : die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*), vol. 1ff, Munich 1992-, 20 (1998), pp. 299-300; F.G. Meijer, in : A. van der Willigen, F.G. Meijer, in: *A dictionary of Dutch and Flemish still-life painters working in oils, 1525-1725*, Leiden 2003, p. 64.

2 According to P. van der Krogt, *Globi Neerlandici : The Production of Globes in the Low Countries*, Utrecht 1993, pp. 474-475.

3 As pointed out by Arine van der Steur, Antiquariaat Arine van der Steur, The Hague; e-mail dd. September 12, 2019.

4 S. Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht : Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw: Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius*, Hilversum 2001, p. 218.

cat. no. 2

Jan Ekels the Elder
1724 – Amsterdam – 1781

View of the Dam, Amsterdam

Signed lower left: J.Ekels
Oil on canvas
37.5 x 49 cm.

Provenance:
Spain, private collection

The present, hitherto unpublished painting, is a beautiful example of the work of Jan Ekels, in which he depicts the Dam in Amsterdam from a unique point of view. The Dam square is not only the historic heart of Amsterdam, but is also the nation's epicentre. Its 4.5 acres, paved with 2.5 million cobblestones, are associated with a plethora of events and memories. Many meticulously rendered figures, going about their everyday business, enliven the present scene, depicted in golden afternoon light. The buildings, as well as the figures with their various activities, like trading, give this painting fascinating historical value. At the left the Town Hall (now the Royal Palace), acts as a *repoussoir*, while the Waag (weigh house) stands to the left of middle, and on the right the Damrak and the Commander's House ('t Huisje onder het Zeil' – 'The House under the Sail'), which was built in 1599, are seen. The wooden building to the left of the Commander's House is the office of the fish market,[1] while the church tower rising above the houses on the Damrak belongs to the Oude Kerk. The Waag (weigh-house) was originally built in 1565 in dark blue stone, with the purpose of weighing goods from overseas, before they were traded at the stock market, which was also at the Dam. This Renaissance building had seven doors on the ground floor, with an imposing stairway at the front leading to the first floor, which was originally the 'Soldaaten wachthuys'. Flanking the stairs two stone lions were displayed with the coat of arms of Amsterdam and Holland.[2] The Waag was renovated in 1775-1777, but finally demolished in 1808 by order of Louis Bonaparte who, upon taking up residence in the newly converted Royal Palace, complained that his view was obstructed. In front of the Waag a number of barrels are laid out, displaying the city's beer trade. These barrels are being transported by horse-drawn sledges or in boats, visible on the Damrak.

Jan Ekels the Elder was born in Amsterdam, where he was apprenticed to the landscape painter Dirck Dalens III (1688-1753). He specialized primarily in cityscapes and found his inspiration in the paintings of the seventeenth-century pioneers of the genre, Gerrit Berckheyde (1638-1698), Jan van der Heyden (1637-1712) and Jacob van Ruisdael (c.1628-1670). Particularly Ruisdael's *The Dam with the Weigh House at Amsterdam*, now in the collection of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin (fig.1), seems to underlie the present composition.[3] Together with Isaak Ouwater (1753-1793), Hendrick Keun (1738-1788) and Jan ten Compe (1713-1761), Ekels was one of the leading painters of urban views in the eighteenth century, depicting scenes of everyday life in several Dutch cities. Ten Compe was Ekels's fellow pupil in Dalens' workshop. Jan Ekels the Younger (1759-1793) became a painter as well and is mostly known for his scenes from every day life as well as such allegorical themes as the Five Senses.





Fig. 1 Jacob van Ruisdael, *The Dam with the Weigh House at Amsterdam*, c. 1670, oil on canvas, 52 x 65 cm., Berlin, Gemäldegalerie



Fig. 2 Jan Ekels the Elder, *View of the Dam in Amsterdam*, oil on panel, 48 x 62.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Another *View of the Dam, Amsterdam* by Ekels is in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Twente, Enschede.[4] This painting is dated 1772 and painted from another viewpoint: the Waag on the left and the Town hall on the right. A painting from almost the same point of view as the present work is in the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, although without the Commander's House (fig. 2). The Amsterdam Museum holds five paintings by Ekels with different views of Amsterdam, but none representing the Dam. A contemporary, more panoramic bird's eye view in print by the German printmaker Georg Balthasar Probst (1732-1801), provides a nice overall shot of the scene (fig. 3).

WB

Notes

1 This office is known as *Comptoir van het Sint Pietersgilde*.

2 In 1617, the former city gate on Nieuwmarkt square was re-purposed as a weigh house, to relieve the weigh house on Dam square, which had become too small for the needs of the rapidly growing city.

3 A drawing by Ruisdael in the collection of Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts in Brussels *View of the Dam and Old Church at Amsterdam* served as a preliminary study for the Berlin picture. See S. Slive, *Jacob van Ruisdael : A complete catalogue of his paintings, drawings and etchings*, New Haven/London 2001, pp. 520-521, cat. nos. figs. D37, D38. Ruisdael painted three other views of the Damrak seen from the square but without the prominent Weigh House: now in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam and in The Frick Collection, New York, See Slive 2001 cat. nos. 6, 8, 7.

4 Jan Ekels, *View of the Dam in Amsterdam*, signed and dated 1772, oil on panel, 48 x 60.5 cm., inv. no. 637.



Fig. 3 Georg Balthasar Probst, *A View of Dam Square*, engraving, hand-coloured, c. 1750, Amsterdam, Stadsarchief



Detail of cat.no. 2

cat. no. 3

Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem
1562 – Haarlem – 1638

Hercules (possibly a 'portrait-historié' of the painter Hans Bol)

Oil on panel
44 x 34.5 cm.

Inscription on the reverse of the panel:
'Cette tête peinte par Michel ange Buonarotti a été rapportée de Rome par M Le Comte Ducrest de Villeneuve et lui fût donnée comme cadeau de grand prix par le cardinal Fesch'

Provenance:
Rome, collection Cardinal Joseph Fesch (1763-1839)
Probably in the collection of Alexandre Louis du Crest de Villeneuve (1777-1852)[1]
France, private collection

Hercules

The magnificent, swiftly painted lion's skin covering the head of the bearded man depicted so grippingly in this recently surfaced painting unequivocally identifies him as Hercules, the greatest hero of Greek mythology, the immortal demigod, epitome of strength and masculinity. Hercules was the son of the mortal Alcmene and Jupiter, who impregnated her by disguising himself as her husband, Tiryns' king Amphitryon. Hercules features in innumerable Greek myths, but is best known for the 'dodekathlos', the twelve incredible labours the Delphi oracle ordered him to perform, as repentance for killing his own children in a fit of madness induced by Jupiter's jealous wife Juno. The first of these labours, the slaying of the Nemean lion, a vicious monster with impenetrable golden fur, yielded Hercules his most characteristic attribute. Noticing that his arrows bounced off the lion's pelt, Hercules drove the creature back in its cave, where he strangled it with his bare hands and clubbed it to death. He then used the lion's own claws to cut loose its impenetrable hide, and thereafter dressed himself in it, wearing its scalp as a helmet. Alternatively, some authors – for example the pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*), and Karel van Mander (1548-1606)[2] in the early modern period – state that Hercules in fact wore the hide of the lion of Cithaeron, which threatened the herds of his stepfather Amphitryon. Hercules tore an olive tree from the soil of Mount Helicon, fashioned it into a club – his other well-known attribute – and slew the lion with it. After completing the twelve labours – which included killing the Hydra, capturing the Cretan Bull, stealing the golden apples of the Hesperides, and delivering the three-headed Hell hound Cerberus to Eurystheus – Hercules found redemption. His virtuous struggles and his suffering – summarized in the Greek concept of 'pathos', of which he was the perfect embodiment – won him fame and immortality.

Goltzius and Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem

According to a nineteenth century inscription in French, found on the reverse of the present panel, the painter of this robust, tightly cropped Hercules, with his right hand gesturing so remarkably close to the face, was no less than Michelangelo Buonarotti (1475-1564). That attribution, however, was a case of wishful thinking. Rather, one ought to look for the artist among the later sixteenth century Netherlandish Mannerists. Specifically Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) and his circle in Haarlem shared, towards the end of the 1580s, a notable interest in the figure of Hercules. Goltzius' phenomenal engraving of 1586, the *Wedding*



of Cupid and Psyche, after a design by Bartholomeus Spranger (1546-1611), prominently featured Hercules, and was followed by his own and equally impressive *Hercules and Cacus* chiaroscuro woodcut of 1588 (fig. 1).[3] A year later Goltzius surpassed himself with one of his undisputed masterpieces, the *Great Hercules* engraving (fig. 2).[4] In both these extremely ambitious, large-scale prints we find the same lumpy, proto-'kwab' (lobate style) conception of the lion's skin draped over the head, also encountered in the present work. In the latter print, Hercules holds the horn of the river god Achelous. In the shape of a bull Achelous fought Hercules, who defeated him, thereby breaking off his horn.

It is surely no coincidence that Goltzius' younger colleague and close friend, Haarlem born Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem (1562-1638), painted a sizeable *Hercules Fighting Achelous* the following year, in 1590 (fig. 3), probably the work in the possession of the Amsterdam merchant, art dealer and collector Jacob Engelbrechtsz Rauwaert (c. 1530-1597), whose impressive collection contained among others fifteen works by Cornelis Cornelisz.[5] The *Hercules Fighting Achelous*, although more finished in execution, depicts Hercules in a similar manner to the present work, with a firm nose, and an undulating lion's skin over his head, prominently displaying the animal's whiskers.



Fig. 1 Hendrick Goltzius, Hercules and Cacus, 1588, chiaroscuro woodcut, 40.8 x 33 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 2 Hendrick Goltzius, *Great Hercules*, 1589, engraving, 56.1 x 40.2 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 3 Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *Hercules Fighting Achelous*, 1590, oil on canvas, 192 x 244 cm., New York, private collection

Cornelis Cornelisz, the son of the Haarlem draper Cornelis Thomas (d. 1580) and his wife Alijdt Jacobszdr (d. 1616), was apprenticed to the painter Pieter Pietersz (1539/41-1603) before travelling to Rouen and Antwerp, where he studied with Gillis Coignet (1542-1599).[6] By around 1580 he was back in Haarlem, where he joined the Guild of St Luke, and soon became the most prominent Haarlem painter of his generation. Cornelis' reaction to Goltzius comes as no surprise: together with Karel van Mander (1548-1606) the three artists formed, from about 1584 onwards, the so-called 'Haarlem Academy for the study after life'.[7] In 1588, Goltzius engraved several of Cornelis's paintings, including his *The Companions of Cadmus Devoured by the Dragon*, now in the National Gallery (fig. 4), once owned by the afore mentioned Jacob Rauwaert, to



Fig. 4 Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *The Companions of Cadmus Devoured by the Dragon*, 1588, oil on canvas, stuck on panel, 148.5 x 195.5 cm., London, National Gallery



Fig. 5 Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *Study of a Head of a Screaming Man*, c. 1688, oil on panel, 34 x 29 cm., New York, private collection



Fig. 6 Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *The Fall of Lucifer*, c. 1588, oil on canvas, 239 x 307 cm., Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

whom both artists jointly dedicated the engraving after the painting.[8] Moreover, the composition of Cornelis' figure of one of Cadmus' devoured companions closely relies on the figure of Cacus in Goltzius' *Hercules and Cacus* woodcut of 1588 (fig. 1), again underlining the close ties of the two artists'. Around the same period Cornelis paints several intriguing close-ups of character faces, one of which is the *Study of a Screaming*



Fig. 7 Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *Democritus and Heraclitus*, 1588, oil on panel, c. 48.5 x 73 cm., sale Vienna, Dorotheum, 13 November 1956, lot 49



Fig. 8 Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *Democritus*, oil on panel, 41 x 30 cm., Haarlem, Teylers Museum

Man (fig. 5), related to the bitten-off head in *The Companions of Cadmus Devoured by the Dragon*, but likewise referencing the expressive faces of his own masterful *Fall of Lucifer* of c. 1588, an enormous canvas now in Copenhagen, once more in the possession of Cornelis' patron Jacob Rauwaert at the time (fig. 6).[9] A superb demonstration of Cornelis' exceptional capacities in rendering the human body, the painting also highlights his ability to express intense emotions: through facial expression, and through his remarkable predilection for depicting gesturing hands. Two more 'close-up' paintings from those years further emphasise this. The first, the *Democritus and Heraclitus* dated 1588 shows these two Greek philosophers – one laughing, the other weeping – tightly cropped in the picture plane, with their gesturing hands framing their faces (fig. 7). The other, a singular *Democritus* in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, features a similar tightly-cropped face, again in combination with a gesturing hand (fig. 8). Tellingly, both these paintings are comparable in height to the *Hercules* discussed here.

The cohesive, inter-referential group of works by Cornelis from the period 1588-1592 is the fitting artistic context for the present *Hercules*. Not only does the painting neatly fit in thematically (the Goltzius-inspired Hercules theme), pictorially (the preference for the tightly cropped face with a gesturing hand) and measurement-wise (no other artist is known to have painted such works); its stylistic qualities and execution likewise confirm Cornelis's authorship. The dynamic conception of shape in the painting is characteristic of the Mannerist expression for which Cornelis was known ('vloeyende' or fluent, according to Van Mander[10]). Hercules' face is boldly set up with both transparent and more opaque brushstrokes over a quickly painted delineation in brown, leaving part of the prime layers visible, thus creating the luminous, animated shading found throughout Cornelis's early works (see, for instance, *The Companions of Cadmus Devoured by the Dragon*). And the rhythmic build-up of Hercules' fingers, the round thumb, the thin white highlight on the finger bone, but also the rendering of the nails and the intuitive touches of pink between the knuckles, are strongly reminiscent of those same details in the *Democritus and Heraclitus* and the *Democritus*, particularly in the former.

A 'portrait-historié' of the painter Hals Bol?

In 1593 Hendrick Goltzius engraved the portrait of his friend, the admired painter Hans Bol (1534-1593) from Mechelen (fig. 9).[11] Having lived in Antwerp from 1572 until c. 1584, Bol arrived in Amsterdam at



Fig. 9 Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of Hans Bol*, 1593, engraving, 26.2 x 18.2 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

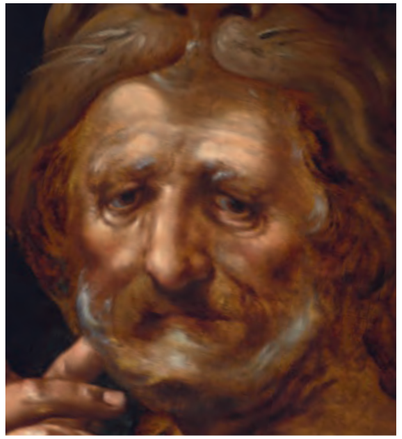


Fig. 10 Cat. no. 3, detail



Fig. 11 Fig. 9, detail in reverse



Fig. 12 *Bust of Commodus as Hercules*, 192 AD, Roman marble sculpture, 133 cm., Rome, Capitoline Museums



Fig. 13 Philips Galle, *Portrait Historié of an Unknown Man as Hercules*, 1582, drawing in the Album Amicorum of Janus Gruterus, Amsterdam, Six Collection

the end of the 1580s, where he was to remain until his death in 1593.[12] In his new hometown Bol resided within the same artistic and art-loving circles as Goltzius, Cornelis Cornelisz and Van Mander. Tellingly, all are represented in Jacob Rauwaert's collection.[13] The custom of engraving portraits of each other, created in a spirit of friendship and admiration, was widespread in Mannerist circles, as various examples of such portraits make clear.[14] Concerning Goltzius' portrait of Bol, Van Mander specifically notes that it is 'very striking in resemblance'.[15] Thus we learn that Bol had a rather distinctive face, characterized by a wrinkled forehead, a large, crooked nose, a beard with moustache and extremely droopy eyelids. Coincidentally or not, these are the exact features that characterize the present Hercules. In fact, the resemblance between our Hercules and Goltzius' portrait of Bol is quite compelling (figs. 10, 11). Might, then, the present work possibly be a 'portrait historié' (a portrait in which the sitter takes on the role of a historical or fictional persona) of Hans Bol as Hercules?

The genre of the portrait historié was repeatedly practiced by Goltzius and Cornelis Cornelisz, both of whom, on various occasions, included contemporaries in their history paintings, such as the Haarlem shell collector Jan Govertsz van der Aer.[16] Moreover, Haarlem artists were also familiar with the longstanding tradition of the Hercules portrait historié, which dated back to antiquity, when Alexander the Great (356-323 BC), and the Roman emperor Commodus (161-192 AD) had themselves depicted as the Greek hero (fig. 12). Goltzius' teacher, the engraver Philips Galle (1537-1612), donated a drawing of an unknown man as Hercules to the *Album Amicorum* of the Leiden philologist Janus Gruterus (1560-1627) (fig. 13) in 1582, the year in which Goltzius engraved Galle's portrait.[17] And in 1613, Goltzius himself painted the portrait of Johan Colterman II, the son of a Haarlem burgomaster, in the guise of Hercules slaying Cacus (fig. 14).

Still, why should Cornelis depict Hans Bol as Hercules? Within a political context, Hercules' iconography reflected strength and virtue, and thus offered an *exemplum* for rulership. As such, the French Kings Henry IV (1553-1610) and his son Louis XIII (1601-1643), following in Alexander's and Commodus's footsteps, had themselves depicted on various occasions as Hercules.[18] Likewise, Goltzius' *Great Hercules* (fig. 2) has been convincingly demonstrated to be an allegory of the political-military unity of the Northern provinces in their heroic struggle for deliverance



Fig. 14
Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait Historié of Johan Colterman as Hercules Slaying Cacus*, 1613, oil on canvas, 207 x 142.5 cm., The Hague, Mauritshuis, on loan to the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem





Figs. 15, 15a Jan Saenredam after Pieter Isaacsz, *Portrait of Hans von Aachen*, 1601, engraving, 40.2 x 32.3 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (and detail of medallion)

from Spanish oppression.[19] However, the *Great Hercules* also conveys an artistic significance. As art historians have pointed out, the engraving's bold imagery reflects Goltzius' own heroic virtuosity as an engraver, and can thus be read as a *laudatio* of (his own) superior artistic virtue.[20] Goltzius' afore mentioned *Hercules and Cacus* (fig. 14) should similarly be regarded within an artistic context. The painting was a later addition to a pendant pair of Mercury (depicted as a painter, holding a maulstick, a palette and brushes) and Minerva, two longstanding patrons of the art, embodying the practice and the theory of art, respectively.[21] Hercules' inclusion positions him as art's protector, and as the triumphant representative of fame, virtue and immortality.[22] These were aspects that were of cardinal importance to art and artists alike, specifically to those artists who craved to emancipate their profession from mere craftsmanship, elevating themselves instead as the practitioners of the noble and free art of painting. That the Hercules-iconography was directly connected with the artist portrait – precisely within the socio-artistic circles considered here – is underlined by the 1601 portrait of the Mannerist painter Hans von Aachen (1552-1616), engraved by Goltzius' former pupil and Cornelis' longtime associate Jan Saenredam (1565-1607) after a design by the Amsterdam painter Pieter Isaacsz (1568-1625) (fig. 15). The portrait shows Von Aachen within a medallion, flanked by *Pictura* (the allegorical representation of the art of painting, holding a palette and brushes in her hand) on the right, and Hercules on the left. In the small medallion underneath the portrait, we again see Hercules, joined by Minerva and Mars, choosing the mountainous road to the temple of immortal fame (fig. 15a).[23] The print's message – the immortality of the virtuous artist – is articulated once more in the inscription on the architrave: 'Vivit Post Funera Virtus' ('Virtue lives on after death'), a very strong statement, given that in 1601 Von Aachen was in the prime of his life.

The possibility therefore that Cornelis, around 1590, portrayed his senior and well-respected colleague Hans Bol – an artist from his own circle – in the guise of Hercules, therewith emphasizing the sitter's status, his artistic virtue, and the fame and immortality he had achieved through his work (paralleling Hercules' labors), remains an option. However, although the iconography of Hercules, as demonstrated, fits the concept of the artist portrait very well, no other portraits historié of artists as Hercules have yet come to light. Without further archival evidence or documentation, the idea entertained here thus remains a mere hypothesis, based on circumstantiality and supposed resemblance. Alternatively, one could interpret Hercules' droopy eyes from the perspective Van Mander's description of the antique Greek painter Nicearchus 'who painted a Hercules, melancholy and sad, because he had been delirious.'[24] If Cornelis indeed had Nicearchus in mind (after all, he and Van Mander were very close), Hercules' uplifted finger could be interpreted as an acknowledgement of his brutal rage, its consequences and his subsequent virtuous overcoming of it, eventually leading to redemption, fame and immortality.

JH

Notes

1 The 'M Le Comte Ducrest de Villeneuve' mentioned in the inscription on the reverse of the panel likely refers to Alexandre Louis du Crest de Villeneuve (1777-1852), a French navy admiral. Another possibility is Emile Ducrest de Villeneuve (1795-1857), a French historian. I am grateful to Annick Le Marrec of the Palais Fesch - musée des Beaux-Arts for her kind assistance with transcribing the inscription and researching the provenance.

2 K. van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem 1604, *Wtlegghingh*, fol. 75r.

3 See N.M. Ornstein, in: H. Leeflang, G. Luijten (eds.), *Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) : drawings, prints and paintings*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Toledo (OH), Toledo Museum of Art, 2003-2004, pp. 87-89, 100-102, cat. nos. 28, 34.

4 See N.M. Ornstein, op. cit., pp. 106-108, cat. no. 36; B.L. Holman, 'Goltzius' Great Hercules: mythology, art and politics', in: R. Falkenburg, J.P. Filedt Kok, H. Leeflang (eds.), *Goltzius Studies: Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) (Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 42-43 (1991-1992)), pp. 397-412.

5 See P.J.J. van Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem 1562-1638 : a monograph and catalogue raisonné*, Doornspijk 1999, pp. 29-30 (for Rauwaert), cat. no. 134. The painting is mentioned in Rauwaert's son Claes Rauwaert's 1612 inventory. See Montias Database (https://research.frick.org/montias), inv. no. 605: 'no.30 1 doeck per CC Hercules f 103', website visited 5 January 2020. On Rauwaert, see also J.L. McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638) : patrons, friends and Dutch humanists*, Nieuwkoop 1991, pp. 219-224.

6 For an extensive biography of Cornelis Cornelisz, see Van Thiel 1999, ch. 1, 2; I. van Thiel-Stroman, in: N. Köhler et al., *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1800: the collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, Haarlem/Ghent 2006, pp. 129-136.

7 See McGee 1991, ch. 4; Van Thiel 1999, pp. 59ff.

8 Van Thiel 1999, cat. no. 120.

9 Van Thiel 1999, cat. nos. 263 (*Study*), 87 (*Fall of Lucifer*).

10 Van Mander 1604, *Levens*, fol. 292v. 'de tronien, met goet ghelijcken, zijn seer wercklijck en vloeyende ghedaen'

11 On Goltzius' portrait of Bol, see E. Nesbitt, 'An Artist Picturing Art: Goltzius's *Portrait of the Painter Hans Bol* and *Pygmalion and Galatea*', in: G. Harcourt (ed.) *Hendrick Goltzius and the Classical Tradition*, exh. cat. Los Angeles, Fisher Gallery 1992, pp. 52-55; M. Schapelhouman, in: Amsterdam/New York/Toledo 2003-2004, pp. 162-163, cat. no. 54; J.P. Filedt Kok, 'Artists portrayed by their friends: Goltzius and his circle', in: *Simiolus : Netherlands quarterly for the history of art* 24 (1996), pp. 161-181, esp. pp. 164-166.

12 J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad van Hollands Gouden Eeuw*, Antwerp 1997, p. 301; H. de Visscher, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., New York 1996 4, pp. 251-252.

13 In addition to his fifteen works by Cornelis Cornelisz, Rauwaert also owned a work by the newly arrived Bol, no less than 22 works by Van Mander, and various prints by Goltzius.

14 See for this phenomenon Filedt Kok 1996.

15 Van Mander 1604, *Levens*, fol. 260v 'seer wel ghelijckende, en uytnemende wel ghedaen.'

16 For Goltzius' portraits historiés, see L.W. Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius 1558-1617 : A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, Doornspijk 2013, cat. nos. A-8, A-9, A-35, A-48, A-50, A-54, A-55. For Cornelis's portraits historiés, see Van Thiel 1999, pp. 151-152. Cornelis's *Neptune and Amphitrite* in the P. and N. de Boer Foundation is no doubt a portrait historié, but does not depict Van der Aer. See Van Thiel 1999, cat. no. 147; L.W. Nichols, in: H. Buijs, G. Luijten (eds.), *Goltzius to Van Gogh : drawings and paintings from the P. and N. de Boer Foundation*, exh. cat. Paris, Fondation Custodia, 2014-2015, cat. no. 5.

17 Galle was born in Haarlem, and lived there until 1570, when he moved to Antwerp. However, Goltzius' 1582 portrait engraving of him (N.B. the engraving mentions 'Henricus Goltzius fecit 1582', indicating that he was responsible for both the design and the execution), and his 1582 contribution to the Album Amicorum of Gruterus, who resided in Leiden at the time, suggest that he visited Holland that year.

18 See C. Vivanti, 'Henry IV, the Gallic Hercules', in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967), pp. 176-197. Henry IV was depicted as Hercules as early as 1592.

19 Holman 1991-1992.

20 See W.S. Melion, 'Piety and Pictorial Manner in Hendrick Goltzius's Early Life of the Virgin', in: Los Angeles 1992, pp. 44-51, esp. p. 46; W.S. Melion, 'Self-imaging and the engraver's virtù: Hendrick Goltzius's Pietà of 1598', in: *Image and Self-Image in Netherlandish Art, 1550-1750) (Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995)), pp. 104-143, esp. pp. 110-111; M. Bass, *Hendrick Goltzius, The Great Hercules, 1589*, see www.kemperartmuseum.wustl.edu/node/11289, October 2013, updated 2016. Website visited 12 January 2020.

21 See E. de Jongh, 'Realisme en schijnrealisme in de Hollandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw', in: P.J.J. van Thiel, H.R. Hoetink, *Rembrandt en zijn tijd*, exh. cat. Brussels, Paleis voor Schone Kunsten 1971, pp. 143-194, pp. 161-165; P.J.J. van Thiel, in: G. Luijten et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age : northern Netherlandish art 1580-1620*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1993-1994, pp. 544-546, cat. no. 216; K. Levy-Van Halm, in: N. Köhler et al. 2006, p. 452-455, no. 148; Nichols 2013, cat. nos. A-35, A-39, A-40

22 De Jongh 1971. The slain cattle thief Cacus here represents Vice, Envy, Ignorance and false opinion, the opposites of Hercules' Virtue, and the enemies of art.

23 Filedt Kok 1996, p. 170. The theme is derived from a 1591 engraving by Goltzius' pupil Jan Muller (1571-1628) after Bartholomeus Spranger.

24 Van Mander 1604, *Levens*, fol. 86v 'Hy maeckte oock eenen Hercules swaermoedigh en bedroeft, om dat hy uytsinnigh was gheweest.'

cat. no. 4

Jan Davidsz de Heem
Utrecht 1606 – 1684 Antwerp

Interior of a Painter's Studio

Oil on panel
52.5 x 80.5 cm.

Provenance:
France, private collection, by 2003

Literature:
F.G. Meijer, *Jan Davidsz. de Heem 1606-1684*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2016, vol. 1, pp. 48-49, 53, 55, vol. 2, pp. 15-16, cat. no. A 008a (ill.)
B. Schnackenburg, 'Neues zur Genremalerei des jungen Rembrandt und seines Kreises', in: *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 80 (2019), pp. 175-204, passim, fig. 1 (as by P. Codde)

This enigmatic *Interior of a Painter's Studio*, which surfaced a few years ago in a private collection in France, is an extremely interesting addition to the oeuvre of one of the most versatile and influential still-life painters of the Dutch Golden Age, Jan Davidsz de Heem.[1] It originated in a most exciting time and place in Dutch art history: in the city of Leiden, in about 1630.

Leiden, in the second half of the 1620s, was a hotbed of artistic talent. The city harboured several well-established local artists, such as the painter of allegories and Italianate city views Jacob van Swanenburgh (1571-1638), the portraitist and history painter Joris van Schooten (1587-1651), the landscape painter Coenraet van Schilperoort (c.1577-1636), and the brilliant portrait painter and draughtsman David Bailly (1584-1657). All were also active as teachers. Although younger, the influential landscape painter Jan van Goyen (1596-1656) was equally well-established by that time. Born in Leiden as well were two highly ambitious young painters making their mark, Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) and Jan Lievens (1607-1674), and by the end of the 1620s Rembrandt's first pupil, Gerard Dou (1613-1675), another native of Leiden, was rapidly developing his talents. Jan Davidsz de Heem, just a few months older than Rembrandt, one and a half year older than Lievens and seven years older than Dou, had moved to Leiden from Utrecht in mid-1625, at the age of 19. Shortly before this move, he had finished his training as a painter in Utrecht. There is no record of who his teacher was, but his earliest known paintings – starting in 1626 in Leiden – unequivocally point to Balthasar van der Ast (1593/94-1657); those early paintings are clearly emulations of van der Ast's work from the first half of the 1620s. De Heem was not a mere imitator or copyist, however, but a creative artist, who continuously searched to take his inspirations a step further. Nevertheless, works from his earliest years make it clear that he was not a child prodigy, and off on a relatively slow start, but eager to absorb and elaborate on trends and styles he encountered. His known paintings from 1626 and the following years show a rapid development in style and quality, and a substantial degree of individuality.





Fig. 1 Jan Lievens, *Portrait of Jan Davidsz de Heem*, black chalk, 26.5 x 20.1 cm., London, British Museum



Fig. 2 Jan Davidsz de Heem, *Still Life of Fruit with a Self-Portrait, Compass and Paper Scroll*, signed and dated 1628, oil on panel, 32.5 x 40.5 cm. Private collection

Jan Davidsz de Heem in Leiden, 1626 to 1631

Other than records concerning family matters and debts, there are no known written sources concerning de Heem's years in Leiden (1625-1631). The only aside made to an artistic relationship is the reference to the painter Pieter Simonsz Potter (1597/1600-1652), who acted as a witness at the baptism of Jan's son, the future still-life painter Cornelis de Heem (1631-1695). Potter had settled in Leiden in 1628 and would leave the town in the same year as de Heem did, in 1631. There is no written evidence of specific connections in Leiden with Rembrandt, Lievens, or Dou, but the painting discussed here, among others, clearly suggests that Jan Davidsz de Heem must have been moving in their close circles. It is unlikely that in a city like Leiden, with a population of fewer than 50.000 in the second half of the 1620s, young, ambitious painters of about the same age did not connect. Moreover, in 1629, Jan Davidsz de Heem was living in Breestraat, one of Leiden's main and most central streets. Lievens' parental home was situated on a side street. In any case there is ample evidence that de Heem and Lievens frequented the same circles several years later, after they had both settled in Antwerp in the mid-1630s. It may even be that it was Lievens who suggested to de Heem to come and try his luck in Antwerp. The first evidence of his move there is his presence as a witness when Jan Lievens had a contract drawn up concerning his tuition of a pupil. The well-known genre painter Adriaen Brouwer (1605/1606-1638) was the other witness. At around the same time, Lievens drew de Heem's portrait (fig. 1) and both he and de Heem feature in a little picture by Adriaen Brouwer showing a group of five artists carousing in a tavern.[2] In Leiden, in a painting from 1629 (fig. 5), de Heem depicted a man who also frequently modelled in Leiden for Rembrandt, Lievens, and Dou. Jan Davidsz de Heem first deviated somewhat from van der Ast's idiom in a dated still life from 1628 (fig. 2): in the corner of a van der Ast-inspired still life of fruit, he included a small, framed oval self-portrait, a scroll of paper, and a compass, motifs clearly borrowed from the work of the Leiden portraitist and still-life painter David Bailly (fig. 3). From then on, books and documents became de Heem's main subject, for little over a year.

In part, the choice for this subject may have been inspired by the learned clientele of his stepfather, Johan Jacob Coornhert (formerly named Kerver or Kerner), a bookbinder and book dealer. De Heem painted seven known small panels of compositions of books and documents, some with a distinct Vanitas connotation, borne out by the presence of a skull. Four of them are dated 1628, two 1629, and one is only signed and not dated.[3] At the same time, de Heem was experimenting with still lifes on a table inspired by the Haarlem 'monochrome banketjes', resulting in three known examples, the first from 1628, and two dated 1629.[4] No dated works from 1630 are known. With this early group of works, de Heem already proved himself a true painting chameleon, exploring subjects, styles and various approaches in execution.



Fig. 3 David Bailly, *Self-Portrait*, signed and dated 1625, pen and brush in brown, with brown and grey wash, 18.2 x 13.7 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

The *Interior of a Painter's Studio* in connection with Jan Davidsz de Heem's work from 1628 to 1631

This *Interior of a Painter's Studio*, apart from its connection with de Heem's still lifes of books and documents, is best analysed as part of a small group of five or six interiors by the artist, dating from 1628 to 1631. The best known of these is a large panel, virtually the same size as the *Painter's Studio*, a work from 1628 in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (fig. 4), which shows a young man, who can be recognized as the artist himself, sitting at a table full of books and manuscripts.[5] Dated 1629 is an interior with an old scholar in a Netherlandish private collection (fig. 5), and a privately owned undated barn interior from the same period is also known (fig. 6).[6] A second barn interior is signed and dated 1631 (fig. 7), de Heem's only known (dated) work from that year.[7] A serious candidate for attribution to Jan Davidsz de Heem, particularly in connection with the *Painter's Studio*, is an interior with a smoker in the collection of the Narodni Galerie in Prague (fig. 8). Unfortunately the state of preservation of that painting is quite poor, which makes is difficult to assess. The painting in Oxford, in contrast, is extremely well preserved. It connects seamlessly with the dated book still lifes from the same year with its meticulous handling of detail, pasty, brushy paint employed where most effective, for instance on the white pages and in the floor boards, with scratching into the wet paint of the edges of the pages of the books, and delicate washes for the tonal nuances, as can also be observed in the example in the Mauritshuis, The Hague (fig. 9 and 10) . Most probably, the pose of the young man was modelled on the protagonist in a painting in the Musée des Beaux-Art in Lille (fig. 11), which was formerly given to Pieter Codde, but which for the moment remains anonymous.[8] That painting must have originated in or (shortly) before 1628, considering the fact that de Heem, as an inexperienced figure painter, modelled his figure on the one in that painting, which in that respect is of a much higher quality. In this context, it seems less than a coincidence that the panel leaning against the wall in the *Painter's Studio* (fig. 12) looks uncannily like the reverse of the painting in Lille (fig. 13).



Fig. 4 Jan Davidsz de Heem, *A Young Man in an Interior*, signed and dated 1628, oil on panel, 60 x 82 cm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Photo Carla van de Puttelaar, Amsterdam



Fig. 5 Jan Davidsz de Heem, *Interior with an Old Scholar*, signed and dated 1629, oil on panel, 48.5 x 65 cm., The Netherlands, private collection. Photo Carla van de Puttelaar, Amsterdam



Fig. 6 Jan Davidsz de Heem, *Barn Interior*, signed, oil on panel, 37.8 x 51 cm., Munich, private collection



Fig. 7 Jan Davidsz de Heem, *Barn Interior*, signed and dated 1631, oil on panel, 38 x 49 cm., Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal



Fig. 8 Attributed to Jan Davidsz de Heem, *Interior with a Smoker*, oil on panel, 53 x 73.5 cm. Prague, Národní Galerie



Fig. 9 Detail of figure 4

If de Heem did indeed own the Lille painting, this might explain why the treatment of the back wall and the floor boards in that painting is very similar to that in de Heem's interiors, including the *Painter's Studio*. It also includes the same black, broad-brimmed hat found in the painting in Oxford as well as in the *Painter's Studio*, while the still life of books is not unlike those de Heem painted around that time. The Lille painting may have been a gift to de Heem, perhaps even specifically as an example for his *Interior with a young man*, perhaps without a finished background, or he may have traded it for one of his own works. We will probably never know. It seems likely, however, that the Lille painting was painted in Leiden, and by a very skilled artist, judging from the quality of the figure. Few candidates can be suggested, if any. Rembrandt's and Lievens's handling in 1627/28 was quite different from what we see in the Lille painting, as was Joris van Schooten's. David Bailly's manner of painting was also somewhat different, as far as we can tell, but considering the possibility that the Lille painting – if it were made as a gesture and perhaps even as an example to his younger colleague – does not have the full finish of Bailly's portraits and considering the obvious connection between him and de Heem, his authorship of the Lille painting might – very hypothetically – be taken into consideration.



Fig. 10 Jan Davidsz de Heem, *Still Life of Books and a Violin*, signed and dated 1628, oil on panel, 36.1 x 48.5 cm., The Hague, Mauritshuis



Fig. 11 Unidentified artist (David Bailly?), *A Young Man Sitting by a Table*, bears indistinct monogram PC (?), oil on panel, 46 x 34 cm., Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Fig. 12 Detail of cat. no. 4



Fig. 13 Reverse of the panel of the Lille painting (figure 11)

Dated 1629 is the *Interior with a Scholar* (fig. 5) on a somewhat smaller panel than the Oxford interior and the *Painter's Studio*.[9] It was probably painted early in 1629, since the handling of the still-life motifs is still very similar to that of the book still lifes from 1628. The figure, unfortunately, is less accomplished than that in the painting in Oxford, for which the example of the Lille painting certainly must have helped de Heem. The scholar is rather bulky, his arms are too long and his hands too large. His head is undoubtedly modelled on that of a man from Leiden, who regularly sat for Rembrandt, Lievens, and Dou.[10] While the protagonist of this painting is clearly a scholar, with his books, maps and writing implements, the space he is represented in looks more like a painter's studio.[11] Above him hangs a pair of palettes, behind him, against the wall, stand two relatively large panels, and upon a ledge to the right are two plaster casts. The pose of the larger cast is somewhat reminiscent of that in the *Painter's Studio*, with the arm over the head, but clearly modelled on a different sculpture.[12] Placed against the back wall is a chest that is very similar to the one in the Oxford painting, and on that wall is the same large pamphlet, headed 'VANITAS VANITATIS' that also features in de Heem's still life in Liberec from 1629 (fig. 14).[13]

In this interior with a scholar, like in the majority of his still lifes of books, de Heem is intrigued by the fall of the light, coming in here through a door that stands ajar on the left, and through a high window above it. Similarly, and even more so, the fairly large painting in Prague (fig. 8) is an ultimate experiment in lighting, which, together with the choice of motifs, advocates its inclusion in the oeuvre of Jan Davidsz de Heem, be it with some reservation, due to the state of preservation.[14] To the left stands a dark structure, perhaps a piece of furniture, behind which light is flooding in onto a table covered with a grey cloth, as in the *Painter's Studio*, upon which some documents are illuminated. A chair, apparently toppled over, lies on the floor of plain wooden boards. Behind the table hangs a large, greyish map, unrolled from its rod. This may be the same object as seen hanging askew on the back wall in the *Painter's Studio*. To the right of it hangs a framed oval portrait of a man, and below it two bags hang on top of each other, a game bag at the front. To the right, a figure is smoking by a fireplace, slumped on a chair and strongly reminiscent of the figures, both the chairs and the attire, in the paintings in Lille and Oxford, and in the *Painter's Studio*. Above the fireplace hangs a portrait print of an officer, not unlike the portrait of Christian of Brunswick in the Oxford interior. Above the figure is a wooden partition, probably covering a staircase, as in the Oxford painting. From a shelf attached to it hangs a print or drawing and next to it a sword, also as in the Oxford painting. Beside the fireplace is a chair of the same type as the old scholar's in the privately owned interior. The back wall, between the smoker and the table, seems to show some *repentirs*, like the walls in the *Painter's Studio* and the painting in Lille.[15] The handling of this painting in Prague, as far as can be judged in its present condition, is as loose and painterly as that of the *Painter's Studio*.

De Heem's earliest, undated barn interior (fig. 5), quite a different kind of space, also manifests the artist's interest in incoming light. However it was painted less meticulously than, for instance, the interior in Oxford and as such the handling is more akin to that of the *Painter's Studio*. A cluster of a wooden lid, a barrel, a tub, and a bucket in the left foreground serves as a *repoussoir* behind which the light falls in. Clearly, in the course of 1629, de Heem experimented with a less tight and more painterly handling. This also becomes manifest, for instance, in his vanitas still life from 1629 in the Oblastní Galerie in Liberec (fig. 14), in which the treatment of the papers and other objects is also more brushy than before. It may well be that he studied Rembrandt's and Lievens' painterly style, or that they had even commented on his work, resulting in an attempt to handle the paint less tightly. De Heem's second barn interior, dated 1631, in the collection of the Lakenhal Museum in Leiden (fig. 7), was also painted quite loosely, apart from the meticulously rendered vessels in the foreground. The treatment of the pieces of firewood and turf are reminiscent of the propped-up oriental carpet in the foreground of the *Painter's Studio*. As in the *Painter's Studio*, the light in the Leiden barn interior is rather even, and in both paintings de Heem appears to have become less concerned with light effects than he was in 1628 and 1629. This suggests that the *Painter's Studio* may have been painted in 1630 rather than earlier, and as such helps fill in the gap between the dated works from 1629 and the barn interior from 1631. This is corroborated by the dendro-chronological dating of the panel, which resulted in a probable creation date of the painting from 1629 upwards.[16] A similar date may be assigned to the painting in Prague, assuming that it is by de Heem in view of its similarity in handling.



Fig. 14 Jan Davidsz de Heem, *Still Life with Books and a Skull*, signed and dated 1629, oil on panel, 26.5 x 35 cm., Liberec, Oblastní Galerie

Jan Davidsz de Heem's *Interior of a Painter's Studio* in detail

The *Interior of a Painter's Studio* under scrutiny here immediately raises the question -what is it exactly that we are witnessing here? In the centre of the painting sits a young man on a rather plain wooden chair with a wicker seat, contemplating a large panel upon an easel. In a corner of the room to his right is a table draped with a grey cloth, hanging down onto the plain wooden floor boards. Upon the table are several books, a steel gorget, and a large, scrolling folio of prints. To the left, against the white plastered back wall, leans an oak panel of about 50 by 35 centimetres, facing the wall. It has already been demonstrated above that this panel may be the anonymous painting of a young man sitting at a table in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lille (figs. 10, 11 and 12). On the back wall, behind the easel, is a greyish sheet hanging askew from one corner, perhaps the same map as seen in the Prague interior discussed above. In the left foreground, on the floor, we see an array of papers, drawings or prints, a book, and a broad-brimmed hat. A very similar or even the same hat appears in de Heem's interior in Oxford and in the Lille painting. To the right in the foreground, is a second chair, identical to the one that the young man is sitting upon, with a *viola da gamba* leaning on its side. In front of it is a heavy oriental rug, rumpled up in a disorderly heap. Behind the chair, on a short wooden shelf resting on two beams sticking out of the wall, stands a large plaster cast of a naked man, slightly bent, covering his head with his left arm. To the far right is a rough wooden door, presumably the entrance door to the room. The presence of the easel with an unfinished painting on it, the panel against the wall, the plaster cast, and the prints seem to leave little doubt that this space is



Fig. 15 Infrared photo of cat. no. 4



Fig. 16 Detail of cat. no. 4

a painter's studio. There are, however, no painting implements to be seen. The young man is not working on the painting in front of him, but seems to be contemplating it. There is no firm indication that he is the painter. Nonetheless, his attire is very similar to that of de Heem himself in the Oxford painting and to the costume of the young man in the Lille painting. Infrared-reflectography of the painting (fig. 15) shows that either the position of the young man has changed, or that a second figure was initially planned and underpainted to the left, leaning towards the sitting youth and the painting. Was this figure intended to represent the painter, explaining the painting to the potential client on the chair? Or was he supposed to be the master instructing the young painter after setting up his composition? If the young man sitting at the easel is ultimately a painter, it may have been de Heem's intention that he is contemplating his next step, indicating that painting is not purely manual labour, but also involves contemplation and consideration.

The painting represented on the easel is only a rough sketch, a first set-up in *doodverf*, a monochromatic layout of the composition. The panel has been primed in a dark red-brown, upon which the composition has loosely been sketched in grey, white and black. It appears to represent an *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 16). In fact, it seems to follow the greater part of an engraving of that subject by Jan Harmensz Muller (1571-1628) from 1598, in reverse (fig. 17). A drawing of the same composition, in the same direction as the painting and in the collection of the department of Arts Graphiques of the Musée du Louvre is nowadays considered as a design by Muller for the print (fig. 18).[17] Like the print, the drawing shows more figures to the left than the painting in preparation. No such painting by Jan Davidsz de Heem is known, and while he was interested in light effects, as shown above, the kind of *clair-obscur* seen in the painting on the easel is only visible to some degree in the Prague painting (fig. 8). Rembrandt, on the other hand was experimenting extensively with such light effects during this period. In fact, a preparatory drawing for his *Judas returning the thirty pieces of silver* (fig. 19) recalls both the drawing attributed to Muller, as well as the painting on the easel in the *Painter's Studio*. Rembrandt's painting of the same subject (fig. 20), which is dated 1629, deviates from the drawing, but the brightly lit books and papers on the table to the right make a clear connection with de Heem's work. This by no means indicates that the painting on the easel could be by Rembrandt – if only because it is not likely that he would copy part of an existing, 30-year old print – but it does indicate de Heem's immediate connection with Rembrandt's circle.[18]



Fig. 17 Jan Harmensz Muller, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1589, engraving, 35.2 x 43.6 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 18 Attributed to Jan Harmensz Muller, *Adoration of the Magi*, chalk and wash, 14.9 x 16.9(?) cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques



Fig. 19 Rembrandt, *Judas Returning the 30 Pieces of Silver*, pen, chalk and wash, 11.3 x 14.6 cm., location unknown



Fig. 20 Rembrandt, *Judas Returning the 30 Pieces of Silver*, signed and dated 1629, oil on panel, 79 x 102.3 cm. England, private collection

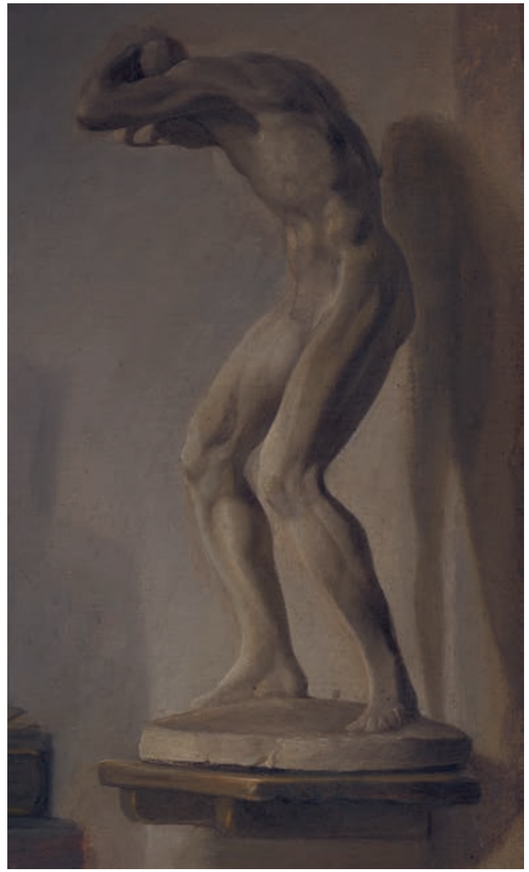


Fig. 21 Detail of cat. no. 4

The other prominent object in the room is the exceptionally large plaster cast on a shelf to the right, representing a nude male figure covering his head with his left arm (fig. 21). The model is related to sixteenth-century Venetian bronzes, which, however, are only known on a smaller scale. It is conceivable, however, that a larger cast existed that would have been the model for this example. It appears to be closely related to designs by Tintoretto (1518-1594) (fig. 22), who in his turn appears to have been inspired by the *Slave Atlas* by Michelangelo (1475-1564) sculpted for the tomb of Pope Julius II.[19] No other representation of this model, or more specifically of this cast, can be found in Dutch paintings. One may wonder whether de Heem actually had this object at hand, or if he was perhaps working from an image of it. Probably the cast was simply included as an example of the kind of object that could be found in a painter's studio. From an iconographic point of view such a representation of Atlas seems to have no specific meaning in this image. It does not relate to the subject of the painting on the easel, or to the painter's profession as such.[20] As a model, the pose of the figure seems to have only restricted possibilities in history paintings including somewhat tormented figures.

While the panel against the wall appears to be the painting now in Lille, it is also striking that the space of this *Painter's Studio* is almost identical to that of Rembrandt's *Artist in his Studio* from *c.* 1628 in Boston (fig. 23).[21] While the construction of the room is virtually the same, details differ. Rembrandt's door has a lock and a bolt, while de Heem's only has a door handle in the shape of a ring. The hinges also differ, although they are of the same length, while the individual boards of the door also seem to differ. De Heem's rendering of the door itself raises questions, since the top seems to sit straight in the frame, while the lower edge is clearly at an angle, as if the door is ajar, but in the wrong direction. The light in both painters' studios appears to be falling in through a large window, out of sight, to the left. But unless there was some painterly freedom involved in the execution, the two paintings do not seem to represent exactly the same space. On the other hand, how many spaces used as painter's studios of the same shape could be found in Leiden around 1629/30? Or did de Heem see Rembrandt's painting of figure 23 and did he decide to copy the space for his own composition? By no means must the *Painter's studio* be considered to represent a literally existing situation in a specific studio. Even more so than Rembrandt's Boston interior, it can be considered as a general allusion to the trade of the painter.[22]

As stated at the beginning of this essay, this *Interior of a Painter's Studio* is an enigmatic painting. While it can be situated in Leiden in or around



Fig. 22 Tintoretto, *Atlas*, black chalk heightened with body colour on blue paper, 26.8 x 18.1 cm. Moscow, Pushkin Museum, formerly Franz Koenigs Collection

1630 and while the attribution to Jan Davidsz de Heem is convincing, it still leaves us with many unanswered questions. The identity of the young man at the easel remains unclear – is he the same youth represented in the painting in Lille, as might be assumed from his attire and haircut? Just as much remains unclear about the specific relationship between De Heem and Rembrandt in particular, and about the precise location of this painter's studio, if it ever existed. This painting perhaps lifts a tip of the veil, but as ever there is certainly more to this than meets the eye and, hopefully, more to be discovered.

FGM



Fig. 23 Rembrandt, *Young Artist in his Studio*, oil on panel, 24.8 x 31.7 cm., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (Zoë Oliver Sherman Collection, given in memory of Lillie Oliver Poor)

Notes

1 I was first introduced to the painting in the Autumn of 2015, briefly before finishing my dissertation on Jan Davidsz de Heem (see literature, abbreviated in the following notes as Meijer 2016, available online at https://dare.uva.nl/search?identifier=b57017f0-4361-423c-a85e-46dc01608fd7). I included this interior as an added cat. no. A 008a, following cat. no. A 008, de Heem's painting of a young man (the artist himself) in an interior in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and as probably painted in 1628.

2 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 32.100.21.

3 Meijer 2016, cat. nos. A 009, A 010, A 011, A 013 (1628), A 014 (not dated), A 015 and A 016 (1629).

4 Meijer 2016, cat. nos. A 012, A 019 and A 020.

5 For a discussion of this painting, see my catalogue *The collection of Dutch and Flemish still-life paintings bequeathed by Daisy Linda Ward*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 2003, cat. no. 36 (pp. 216-219) and Meijer 2016, vol. 1, pp. 47-49 and vol. 2, cat. no. A 008.

6 Meijer 2016, cat. nos. A 008, A 018, and A 017, respectively.

7 Meijer 2016, cat. no. A 021.

8 Ever since I argued (in Meijer 2003, see note 5) that the attribution to Codde could not be upheld, speculation about the attribution has evolved. B. Schnackenburg initially suggested an attribution to the young Rembrandt, in his article 'Der lustlose Student. Ein Gemälde in Lille berühmt als 'Mélancholie' des Pieter Codde, neu vorgestellt als satirisches Meisterwerk des jungen Rembrandt', exh. cat. *Rembrandt. Genie auf der Suche*, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, 2006, pp. 186-201 and cat. no. 6, p. 250. More recently, the same author in *Jan Lievens Friend and Rival of the Young Rembrandt*, Petersberg 2016, p. 130, fig. 193, illustrated it as 'Gerrit Dou (?)', without any reference in the text, however. In a recent article (see literature), Schnackenburg deals with the present painting, which he very unconvincingly argues to be by Pieter Codde. Equally unconvincingly, he gives the painting in Lille to Dou and Rembrandt. This is highly unlikely in my view: his arguments and comparisons for attribution to Rembrandt do not hold ground, and if Dou worked on the painting, it would have been months (at most) after he first started painting in oils under Rembrandt's guidance – assuming that Rembrandt immediately let him work on oil paintings. Dou was 14 or 15 at the time, and while he probably was an experienced draughtsman and glass painter (trained and employed as such by his father) he could not have acquired the substantial skills of an oil painter which are apparent in this picture.

9 I discussed that painting extensively in a *festschrift* for Hana Seifertova, *Haně Seifertové k 75. narozeninám*, Prague 2009, Anja K. Ševčík (ed.): 'An Interior with an Old Scholar from 1629 by Jan Davidsz de Heem (1606-1683/84)', pp. 46-51. Unfortunately, the painting has suffered some abrasion and discolouration in the past.

10 Compare Schnackenburg 2016 (see note 8), pp. 56, 57, particularly fig. 58, a detail from a painting by Lievens from *c.* 1625, Schnackenburg 2016 cat. no. 9, p. 169.

11 The image clearly has a connection with a painting by Gerard Dou from *c.* 1632, where a similar figure – apparently even the same model – writing in a book, sits behind an easel, see K. Kleinert, *Atelierdarstellungen in der niederländischen Genremalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts : realistisches Abbild oder glaubwürdiger Schein?*, Petersberg 2006, cat. no 15, pp. 210-211. Kleinert (pp. 168 and 170, 171) also signals how much, iconographically, painters' studios and interiors with scholars can be alike and that this is a typical Leiden subject.

12 In Meijer 2009 (see note 9), I identified the possible model as the *Apollo Citharoedos*, a Roman copy of a Hellenistic type, in Florence. The cast is very similar to a cast in a still life formerly attributed to David Bailly, which I associate with Bailly's teacher, Jacques de Gheyn II (1565-1629), sale Amsterdam, Sotheby's, 16 November 1993, lot 39, colour ill., as attributed to David Bailly.

13 Meijer 2016, cat. no. A 016 and Meijer 2009, fig. 1.

14 I was alerted to this painting by Hana Seifertova in 2011 but at the time judged the quality to be too low to allow attribution to de Heem. Since I did not include a catalogue of rejected works in Meijer 2016, I omitted it there, but in hindsight should at least have mentioned it. Reconsidering this group of interiors again for the present essay, my judgment of the Prague painting has changed.

15 Schnackenburg 2019 (see literature) illustrates an x-ray photo of the painting in Lille (fig. 18), showing several changes, also around and in the figure.

16 The painting was examined by Dr. Peter Klein, Hamburg, report dated 11.10.2017, which concludes: "Regarding the sapwood statistic of Eastern Europe an earliest felling date can be derived for the year 1621, more plausible is a felling date between 1625..1627....1631 + x. With a minimum of 2 years for seasoning an earliest creation of the painting is possible from 1623 upwards. Under the assumption of a median of 15 sapwood rings and 2 years for seasoning a creation date is plausible from 1629 upwards".

17 See http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/175/1106990-LAdoration-des-Rois (retrieved December 2019), giving the measurements as 149 x 149 mm, which cannot be correct. If the height is 149 mm, the width is 169 mm.

18 Schnackenburg 2019 (see literature), p. 189, argues that the painter of the *Painter's Studio* (who he identifies as Codde), with the inclusion of the painting on the easel, was mocking Rembrandt's 'rough manner', which strikes me as extremely far-fetched.

19 I am indebted to Frits Scholten, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, for this information (email correspondence, 4 December 2015). A related, but much smaller bronze, which is tentatively attributed to Alessandro Vittoria (1525-1608) is in the Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig. Thus far, no example or cast of this model was known to have existed in the early seventeenth century in the Northern Netherlands. Of Tintoretto's design, several drawn studies are known, amongst others in the former Koenings collection, now in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (fig. 22). Scholten also relates the type of this statue to Adriaen de Vries' *Bacchant*, which was acquired by the Rijksmuseum in 2014 (inv. no. BK-2015-2-1). The connection with Michelangelo's sculpture was suggested by Maxime Georges Metraux in an email to Salamon Lilian of 25 September 2019.

20 For the possession and use of casts and sculptures by painters, see Kleinert 2006 (note 11), pp. 72-77 and 171.

21 Kleinert 2006 (note 11), p. 165, signals that Rembrandt's studio interior seems to stand at the beginning of a substantial number of interiors of painter's studios, already starting in the same year or shortly after. Thus, as with his barn interior of fig. 6 (as I have argued in Meijer 2016, p. 59), de Heem picks up on an innovative motif at a very early stage. Kleinert also remarks (loc. cit.) that about a third of the known seventeenth-century paintings of painter's studios were produced in Leiden. She suggests that, due to the fact that Rembrandt pupils such as Dou and Isaac de Jouderville also painted studio interiors, Rembrandt may have kept his interior from *c.* 1628 in his studio for his pupils to study (p. 166). Since in terms of composition Dou's and Jouderville's interiors have no real similarity to Rembrandt's, this may be a bit far-fetched, however. For a summary of the interpretations of Rembrandt's painting see Kleinert 2006 pp. 296,297, cat. no. 58.

22 See also Kleinert 2006, p. 178: 'Als Fazit lässt sich für die Atelierdarstellungen daher feststellen, dass das Bild, welches dem Betrachter hier von der täglichen Werkstattpraxis des 17. Jahrhunderts präsentiert wird, nicht mit der Realität in Übereinstimmung zu bringen ist, sondern als geschickte Bildinzenierung betrachted werden muss'.



Detail of cat. no. 4

cat. no. 5

Gerard van Honthorst
1592 – Utrecht – 1656

Shepherdess Holding Plums

Signed upper right: GHonthorst
Oil on canvas
78 x 63.5 cm.

Provenance:
Possibly the work mentioned in the death inventory of Jan Artentsz van Naerden, Amsterdam, 11 December 1637, no. 45 ('een harderintje van Hontos')
Walton-on-Trent (Derbyshire), Catton Hall, collection Sir Robert Wilmot-Horton, 3rd Baronet (1784-1841), by 1811
Walton-on-Trent (Derbyshire), Catton Hall, collection Colonel George Henry Anson (d. 1957), by descent[1]
England, private collection, until 2018

Literature:[2]
Anonymous, *An exhibition of treasures from Midland Homes*, exh. cat. Birmingham, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery 1938, p. 42, cat. no. 149 ('Paulus Moreelse')
G. Isham, E.K. Waterhouse, *Works of art from Midland houses*, exh. cat. Birmingham, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery 1953, p. 22, cat. no. 89 ('Dutch School')
E.K. Waterhouse, 'Some Notes on the Exhibition of 'Works of Art from Midland Houses' at Birmingham', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 95 (1953), pp. 305-309, p. 306 ('a Honthorst design')
J.R. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst : a discussion of his position in Dutch art*, The Hague 1959, pp. 98 (note 3), 216, cat. no. 133
B. Nicolson, 'Gerrit van Honthorst : by J.R. Judson' (review), in: *The Burlington Magazine* 102 (1960), pp. 80-81, p. 81, note 4
H. Braun, *Gerard und Willem van Honthorst*, dissertation Göttingen 1966, pp. 211-212, cat. no. 71 ('unsigned')
B. Nicolson, *The international Caravaggesque movement : list of pictures by Caravaggio and his followers throughout Europe from 1590 to 1650*, Oxford 1979, pp. 61, 225, fig. 144
A. McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch arcadia : pastoral art and its audience in the Golden Age*, Montclair 1983, pp. 33, 56-57, 60, fig. 33
B. Nicolson, L. Vertova, *Caravaggism in Europe*, 3 vols., Florence 1990, I, p. 127, III, pl. 1299
P. van den Brink, in: idem., *Het gedroomde land : Pastorale schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, exh. cat. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, Frankfurt, Schirn Kunsthalle, Luxemburg, Musée Nationale d'Histoire et d'Art 1993-1994, pp. 168, 171, note 13
R.J. Judson, R.E.O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst 1592-1656*, Doornspijk 1999, p.166, cat. no. 197

Exhibited:
Birmingham 1938 (see Literature), cat. no. 149, as Paulus Moreelse
Birmingham, 1953 (see Literature), cat. no. 89 as Dutch School



As son of the textile and tapestry designer Herman Gerritsz van Honthorst and his wife Maria Wilhelmsdr van der Halm, Gerard van Honthorst grew up in an artistic milieu.[3] While his brother Herman was trained as a sculptor, Gerard himself was apprenticed to Utrecht's foremost painter Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651). In turn, Gerard taught his younger brother Willem. In around 1610-1615 Honthorst travelled to Rome, where he soon received numerous commissions from prominent art collectors such as the banker Vincenzo Giustiniani and cardinal Scipione Borghese – both former patrons of Caravaggio (1571-1610). Although Honthorst's early production leans strongly on Caravaggio's work and on that of the latter's most successful interpreter Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582-1622), he quickly developed his own trademark adaption of it, the Caravaggesque night scene. Honthorst's masterful *chiaroscuro*, his applications and rendering of artificial light and light effects soon brought him huge success, and his nickname 'Gherardo delle Notti', Gerard of the Nights.

Leaving Rome in the spring of 1620 with a solid reputation, Honthorst returned in Utrecht in July, where he was welcomed with a feast in his honour, attended by – among others – the scholar Arnhout van Buchell, his former teacher Abraham Bloemaert, Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638) and Crispijn de Passe I (1564-1637). Honthorst married Sophia Coopmans in October of that same year. The most prominent among the Utrecht Caravaggists – the other two most important being Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-629) and Dirck van Baburen (1594/95-1624) – Honthorst became a member of the Guild of St Luke in 1622, serving several times as its dean in the latter half of the 1620s. During these early Utrecht years he further perfected his artificially lighted night scenes, resulting in a number of critically acclaimed masterpieces, both history and genre works. The mid 1620s saw Honthorst expanding his style, as he started working with bright colours and cool daylight. Also, the period saw the first of a long row of commissions from the House of Orange. From April 1628 to December 1629 Honthorst was in England, where he painted several well received – and well paid – portraits of Charles I and his family. As his international reputation grew, Honthorst's style took new directions as well. While gradually abandoning the Caravaggist style in favour of what Slatkes has called the 'insipid but financially rewarding style of courtly portraiture', Honthorst also started to produce large-scale allegorical works in huge decorative schemes. In 1637 Honthorst – due to his enormous success as a painter to the Court – decided to move to The Hague, where he was involved in the decoration of the palaces Honselaersdijk and Rijswijk, and later the famous Oranjezaal at Huis ten Bosch. In 1652 Honthorst – internationally regarded as one of the most important painters of his time – retired to Utrecht, a very wealthy man.

The pastoral movement

Traditionally in Netherlandish art, shepherds and shepherdesses served as *staffage* in the representation of mythological or biblical stories. Sometimes they assumed a central role within the narrative, most notably in the case of Christ himself, who was sometimes represented as a shepherd, and in the oft depicted themes of the Annunciation to - and the Adoration of - the shepherds. Likewise, shepherds were part of the iconography of country life, and the seasons. However, around 1600 a change came about, and quickly these rural inhabitants became themselves the subjects of a new pictorial genre. It was Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) in Haarlem, who c. 1600 gave the go-ahead by supplying the design for a print depicting an amorous shepherd's couple with the Arcadic names of Coridon and Sylvia (fig. 1)[4]; behind his initiative, though, lay a broader, bourgeoning interest in pastoral subject matter, supplied by recent translations of such classical examples as Virgil's *Eclogae* (or *Bucolica*) by Goltzius' friend Karel van Mander (1548-1606) in 1597, which the latter dedicated to Goltzius. Such pastoral poetry dealt not with the rough, laborious life of work on the land, but with a glorified harmonious idyll, far from the noisome city in ever sunny Arcadia, a pastoral ideal of nature, inhabited by simple shepherds and shepherdesses concerned with chastity, love and making love.

Following classical and recent Italian examples (e.g. Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, and Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*) Dutch poets and playwrights soon picked up on the theme's possibilities. The most well-known effort must be Pieter Cornelis Hooft's popular *Granida* of 1605, a pastoral play about the love between the shepherd Daifilo and the princess Granida, whom we encounter time after time in paintings and prints of the period, by Van Honthorst amongst others.[5] Samuel Coster's *Ithys* from 1615 counts as another pastoral, but mostly we find shepherds and shepherdesses in poems and songbooks, such as Dirck Pietersz Pers's *Den bloem-hof der Nederlantsche ieught*, the 'herders-klachten' (*Shepherds' Lament*) by Jacob Cats, or Daniel Hensius's poetry on young shepherds in love. Many of these poems and songs carried erotic overtones – to various degrees. The poet Jan Harmensz Krul, for example, wrote sensual poems about young shepherds who muse over their shepherdess's physical blessings, such as the one about Phillis, who drives her flock to the shores of a sea, eyed by her yearning shepherd. While her sheep quench their thirst, Phillis comes to the beach and:

'rinses her cream-white little feet / and wades through the water [...] never sweeter joy, never happier day / as when I saw my Phillis / drying off herself / Her bare bosom, fully nude / Dulled even alabaster white / Her pale cheeks, blushing red / Robbed Aurora of her shine / How craved my loving desire / After this pleasure for sweet love.'[6]



Fig. 1 Jacob Matham (?) after Hendrick Goltzius, *Coridon and Sylvia*, c. 1600, engraving, 48.2 x 35 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

The Lilian work

Whereas there is no reason to think that the pretty, brown-eyed shepherdess in the present work is about to paddle through the surf, she clearly shares some qualities with Krul's Phillis. Her soft skin is white like hers, her rosy cheeks are evenly blushing, and her pale breasts – a pink nipple protrudes out of her bodice – are provocatively exposed, far beyond the limits of propriety. The *tenue* she wears, too, breathes the Arcadian idyll: a green silk-lined straw sun hat decorated with flowers is placed upon her elegantly drawn back golden locks; a loose, low-cut Caravaggesque yellow-striped chemise, playfully trimmed with lace; and a simple plain blue skirt. Her shepherd's crook is propped up against her bodice, but our attention is mostly directed to a branch with two heavily ripe plums that she holds in between her fingers, while delicately supporting them with her right hand. Meanwhile, she irresistibly smiles over her right shoulder, undoubtedly towards an amorous shepherd.

The lustful overtones in Honthorst's painting are not to be missed: smiling sweetly our shepherdess offers her ripe plums to her craving shepherd.[7] One comes across such sensually charged fruit symbolism in many pastoral poems, in which shepherds metaphorically offer shepherdesses fruit – plums, for instance – as a token of their love and desire. Elias Herckmans' 1633 song 'Pastorelle' is a case in point, as it relates the shepherd Cordidon's foolish love for the beautiful Alexin:

'Turn, Alexin, turn / See Coridon adores you / with much desired fruits / Blueberries galore / and yellow plums / Quinces huge / and Chestnuts rough and nude / Coridon to your fire, / Alexin has no desire / you are a just a knave / your mild gifts / she does not crave [...] / Return in time / and other daughters you'll find.'[8]

We find further insinuation in Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, in which Dorinda refuses Sylvio's offer of 'two fair Queen's Apples', saying 'for apples I want none, / I could give thee two fairer of my own, / and sweeter too.'[9]

Visually, Honthorst is equally explicit: one is hard-pressed to overlook the correspondence between the shepherdess's impressive cleavage and the fleshy plums dangling in front of it. Simultaneously the two suspended plums together with the shepherd's staff undeniably form a phallic and testicular innuendo. That this is by no means reading too much into it is demonstrated by its appearance once more in contemporary pastoral poetry. A rather steamy 'Pastorelle or Shepherd's Song' in a Dutch volume of poetry from 1615 does not beat around the bush. The song relates how the lascivious ('lodderlijck') shepherdess Silvia invites the sensual ('sinnelijcke') shepherd Coridon (again the same 'stock character' names) to sit down next to her, so that their flocks can wander and



Fig. 2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Shepherdess* (Isabella Brant?), c. 1615, oil on panel, 68 x 58 cm., private collection



Fig. 3 Paulus Moreelse, *Shepherdess*, signed and dated 1617, oil on panel, 53.6 x 42.2 cm., The Kremer Collection

mingle. When Silvia expresses the wish that she could also wander so 'freely' ('vrijen', ambiguous in Dutch, as it above all means love making) their conversation intensifies:
'Silvia's love is the Queen / for which the shepherds crave / You Coridon with your verse / enthral the shepherdesses / You Silvia with your visage / enchant the shepherds' senses / That Coridon won Silvia / Where would one find the cause? [...] Well impatient shepherd! Naughty shepherd, / not too brash / I still owe you something / and Coridon would give Spain / And Silvia France's crown / She'd swap it for his shepherd's crook / He'd swap it for her pretty flower / With which she would Crown him, / with which he wished to reward her.'[10]

Such impudent poetry – Coridon wishing to reward Sylvia with his shepherd's staff! – feeds the curiosity for the object of our shepherdess's attentions. Who was she smiling to? Given Gerard van Honthorst's demonstrated penchant for large half figure pendants – his busts of merry musicians almost invariably came as pairs[11] – one would expect a yearning shepherd. Yet peculiarly, no paintings of single shepherds by Honthorst are known. Looking at the subject's pictorial tradition as a whole, it seems that the pairing with a male pendant is not in fact a necessity. The earliest half figure bust of a shepherdess in the Netherlands was painted by Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), whose wife Isabella Brant might have posed for it (fig. 2). Already we see the





Figs. 4, 5 Salomon de Bray, *Shepherd and Shepherdess*, 1635, both oil on panel, 75 x 59 cm., Dresden, Gemäldegalerie alter Meister (the *Shepherdess* lost since the Second World War)

theme's main ingredients present: a pretty, young shepherdess wearing a broad-brimmed straw hat decorated with flowers, and clothing that barely conceals her voluptuous décolletage, holding a shepherd's crook. Not much later, Paulus Moreelse introduced the theme in the North, leading to widespread popularity, mostly among the Utrecht painters, who must have satisfied a demand among buyers of art. Moreelse's beautiful *Shepherdess* dated 1617 completely follows Rubens's example, gazing into the viewer's eyes even more sensuously (fig. 3). Both these paintings lack counterparts. Still, other examples show that shepherd pairs were not uncommon. When in 1627 the States of Utrecht offered a gift to the Stadholder's wife Amalia van Solms, it included both a shepherd and a shepherdess by Moreelse, clearly a pair.[12] Other painters, too, produced pendants. In Utrecht Jan van Bijlert (1597/98-1671) from the late 1620s onwards, painted many bust length shepherds and shepherdesses, including several pendants.[13] A pair dated 1635 by Salomon de Bray (1597-1664) from Haarlem (figs. 4, 5) even shows the shepherdess holding plums as in our picture (although in a distinctly less risqué manner).

From Honthorst's hand we know, in addition to the present work, a few more single bust shepherdesses. Three of them, however, are portraits of women dressed up as shepherdesses.[14] A fourth – playing a violin, but



Fig. 6 Theodor Matham after Gerard van Honthorst, *Shepherdess Playing the Violin (Phyllis)*, engraving, 21.3 x 16 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 7 Gerard van Honthorst, *Shepherdess Holding a Nest of Doves*, c. 1625, oil on canvas, 80.1 x 65.3 cm., Utrecht, Centraal Museum

recognisable as a shepherdess from the flowers in her hat – is known only from a print (fig. 6), but might be the painting mentioned in the 1715 sale catalogue of the late Burgomaster of Hoorn and VOC director Nicolaes van Suchtelen's collection as a 'Shepherdess playing a violin', surprisingly the pendant ('een weerga') to a 'King David playing the Harp, lifesize by Hondhorst' mentioned above it.[15] An odd pair (King David would have married down considerably), it seems to have resulted from Van Suchtelen's creative matchmaking (both King and shepherdess play an instrument), rather than Honthorst's original intention. The last is the brilliant *Shepherdess Holding a Nest of Doves* in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht (fig. 7). Certainly the closest in composition, execution, size and mood, the Utrecht shepherdess frees two little doves from their nest, certainly an erotic innuendo.[16] Although it is signed and dated 1652, the painting – possibly mentioned as 'a shepherdess with a white turtle dove in her hand' (again without pendant) in the 1633 inventory of the King of Bohemia in Rhenen – is generally thought to have been executed around 1625, a suggested dating that fits the present work as well. Finally, could our painting be the work mentioned as 'een harderintje van Hontos' in the 1637 inventory of the Amsterdam merchant Jan Arentsz van Naerden, who owned a surprising number of Utrecht paintings?[17] Again, this shepherdess is, already in 1637, mentioned without a shepherd, another indication that Honthorst might have produced at least some of these paintings without counterparts. On the other hand, since our shepherdess gazes prettily over her shoulder, one cannot but hope that it is reciprocal, and that her long-lost shepherd one day will resurface.

JH

Notes

1 Since the present painting is recorded in Cottan Hall uninterrupted from at least 1811 until 1953 (See Literature), the suggestion by Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. no. 197 (under Provenance) that the painting may be identical with the work auctioned in a Brussels sale, A.G. De Berge, 7 June 1906, lot 47 (canvas, 76 x 63) must be incorrect.

2 Judson/Ekkart 1999 mention two more literature references, which the present author was unable to trace: Davis 1811, pp. 277-279, and Nicolson 1968, p. 125. The former apparently gives the earliest reference of the painting in Cottan Hall, as Judson/Ekkart 1999 lists the provenance as 'Catton Hall, collection Sir Robert Wilmot-Horton, 3rd Baronet (1784-1841), by 1811'. The second is an untraced publication by Benedict Nicolson. Prof. Dr. Ekkart (oral communication March 2019), who finished the work begun by Judson, for the sake of completeness took over the latter's literature references, even if he was unable to trace them, as is the case here.

3 For an extended biography, see esp. Judson/Ekkart 1999, pp. 1-46.

4 For the origins of the amorous shepherd's idyll, see E.J. Sluijter, 'De entree van de amoureuze herdersidylle in de Noord-Nederlandse prent- en schilderkunst', in: Utrecht/Frankfurt/Luxemburg 1993-1994, pp. 33-57

5 Gerard van Honthorst, *Granida and Daifilo*, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. no. 5571. Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. no. 189.

6 Jan Harmensz Krul, 'Gezang', in: *Minne-spiegel ter deughden*, Amsterdam (C. Danckertsz van Zeevenhoven, ed.) 1639. pp. 151-153.

7 In the catalogue to the 1938 Birmingham exhibition (see Literature), the fruits are thought to be peaches. Judson 1959, Braun 1966, and Kettering 1983, p. 56 assume the plums are apples. The latter relates them to the 'fruit of Venus' and to the temptation of the flesh'. All three authors knew the painting only from a black and white photo. Nicolson 1979 was the first to suggest plums.

8 E. Herckmans, 'Pastorelle', in: J.P. Wachter (ed.), *Hollands Nachtegaeltien verryct met een nieu twede deel genaemd Hollandts en Zeeuws Nachtegaels t'samen-gezangh*, Amsterdam 1633, pp. 34-35: 'Keert weer Alexin keert, / Siet Coridon vereert / U met fruytjes wel begeert / Blaeuwbessen veel, / En pruymen geel, / Que-Appels groot, / Met Karstanjen ruygh en bloot. / Op Coridon u last / Alexin niet en past, / Want ghy zijt een boerigh gast, / U giften milt, / Sy niet en wilt, [...] In tijts keer weer, / Me vint noch wel dochters meer.'

9 Quoted from Kettering 1983, p. 56.

10 Dirck Pietersz. Pers (ed.), *Apollo of Ghesangh der Musen*, Amsterdam 1615, pp. 25-26, 'Pastorelle, of Herder-Sangh': 'Silvias min, is Coninghin Daer d'Herders na verlanghen. / S. Ghy Coridon met u ghedicht / Betovert d'Herderinnen, / Ghy Silvia met u ghesicht / Betovert d'Herders sinnen, / Dat Coridon, Silvia won, / Waer soumen d'oorsaeck vinnen. [...] Wel Herder onverduldich! / Herdertjen stout, niet al te bout, / Ick bleef u noch wat schuldich. / Die Coridon heel Spagnien gaf / En Silvia Vranckrijcks kroone. / Sy ruyldent om sijn Herders staf, / Hy om de bloeme schoone, / Waer meed' hy wou, waer meed' sy sou. / Hem kroonen, hy haer loonen.'

11 Honthorst used to paint his large bust length figures in pairs. See J. Hillegers, in: *Salomon Lilian Old Masters 2018*, Amsterdam 2018, pp. 12-16.

12 E. Domela Nieuwenhuis, in: Utrecht/Frankfurt/Luxemburg 1993-1994, cat. no. 42. Discusses the shepherd, now in Schwerin. Unfortunately, the shepherdess is missing.

13 Paul Huys Janssen, *Jan van Bijlert 1597/98-1671 : Catalogue Raisonné*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1998, cat. nos. 77-97 lists 21 shepherds and shepherdesses, of which 6 (cat. nos. 91-96) are pendants.

14 Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. nos. 349, 492, 493.

15 See G. Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen met derzelver pryzen*, 3 vols., The Hague 1752-1770, 1 (1752). pp. 178-184, p. 181, lots 46, 47.

16 See P. van den Brink, in: Utrecht/Frankfurt/Luxemburg 1993-1994, cat. 26. Judson/Ekkart 1999, cat. no. 193. For the motif of freeing birds as a metaphor for losing sexual innocence, see J. Hillegers, in: Haarlem 2017-2018, cat. nos. 33 (Jan Steen), 35 (Godfried Schalcken).

17 Montias Database (https://research.frick.org/montias), inv. no. 266 (Montias2 Record 6671). Website visited 22 September 2019.

cat. no. 6

Anthonie Leemans
The Hague 1631 – 1671/73 Dordrecht or Amsterdam

A Trompe L'Oeil with Hunting Gear and Bird Catcher's Equipment

Signed and dated upper left: A. Leemans F A. 166[?]
Oil on canvas
81 x 99.5 cm.

Provenance:
Langbroek, H.J.E. van Beuningen (1920-2015)
Thence by descent

Literature:
S.A. Sullivan, *The Dutch Gamepiece*, Totowa (NJ) 1984, p. 101

Anthonie Leemans was born in The Hague, the elder brother of artist Johannes Leemans (1633-1688). He moved to Amsterdam in 1655, but is also recorded in Alkmaar in 1660, Utrecht in 1663 and in Dordrecht in 1671. His father was a wine trader and cloth merchant. The brothers Leemans may have received first-hand knowledge about weapons from their grandfather, who is mentioned in The Hague archives as an armourer. Anthonie and Johannes Leemans devoted themselves to painting *trompe l'oeils*, mainly of hunting equipment as in the present picture, choosing not to focus on the hunt itself, nor on the trophies, but on the actual implements involved in trapping and killing the game. The genre gained popularity in the mid-seventeenth century. Those working in this genre often selected large canvases in order to represent the hunting equipment on a life-size scale.

Not many works by Anthonie Leemans are known. The present *Trompe L'Oeil with Hunting Gear and Bird Catcher's Equipment* is signed and dated 166.. Against a brown wall, hunting paraphernalia is elegantly arranged. Through well observed effects of light and shadow and meticulous attention to the smallest detail, the artist gives the painting a deceptively natural look. At the top of the composition, an upturned flintlock-sporting gun rests upon two protruding nails, above a birdcage with a terracotta water bowl attached on the outside. The bird decoy is vaguely discernible inside. Underneath, a hunting horn hangs on a leather strap. Flanking the ox horn are two bird-whistles suspended from a nail, one on a blue ribbon and one on a red ribbon. On the far left of the composition a metal trap and other gear hanging from a nail is counter balanced by a yellow game bag suspended on the far right. At the bottom of the composition a large, ornate white game pouch hanging together with a hunting knife in its sheath.

This kind of painting by Anthonie Leemans, which can be found in museum collections,[1] appear rarely on the market. Johannes Leemans, who had a much bigger painting production, made another version of the the present composition, dated 1669, although Johannes did not include the rifle in his version.[2]

WB

Notes
1 E.g. Anthonie Leemans, *Still Life with Bird Catcher's Equipment*, oil on canvas, 74 x 58.7 cm., Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery, inv. no. GLAHA_43750; Anthonie Leemans, *Hunters and their trophies*, signed, oil on canvas, 162.5 x 200 cm., Warsaw, National Museum, inv. no. M.Ob.1729; Anthonie Leemans, *Hunting Gear Still Life*, signed and dated 1661, oil on canvas, 77 x 102.5 cm., Stockholm, The Royal Armory.
2 Sale, London, Sotheby's, 10 December 2015, lot 140.



cat. no. 7

Gerrit Lundens
1622 – Amsterdam – after 1683

Nightscape with the Old Amsterdam Town Hall on Dam Square Burning Down, 7 July 1652

Oil on panel
52 x 69 cm.

Provenance:
Österbybruk (Uppland, Sweden), The Österby collection, since at least 1876, thence by descent

Literature:
Värdering och uppdelning i tre lotter av konstsamlingen pa Österby utförd av H Bukowski och N F Sander, 1876, no. 212, lot 3 (as School of Aert van der Neer)
L. Sjöberg, C.P.A. Tamm, *Gyllene tider : Österbysammlingen*, exh. cat. Österbybruk, Österbybruks Herrgård 1981, cat. no. 39 (as Egbert van der Poel)
Furstligt besök 1838, exh. cat. Österbybruk, Österbybruks Herrgård 1989
C.P.A. Tamm, *Österbysamlingen : "en rätt artig samling af målningar"*, Mjölby 2008, pp. 92-93, cat. no. 18, ill. (as School of Aert van der Neer)

'The night, at Amstel's stream,
Appeared neither bright nor dark, under heaven's flickering vault.
The tired citizens, of daytime's fatigues,
Rested on soft, fresh feathers.
In neither human nor animal was there motion or noise.
All the city's life floated, as in river Lethe's foam.
Except for the nightwatch, in such foul times,
More needed, and possibly someone else like me,
Who lay awake from heat, tossing and turning,
Crushing for coolness the sheets.

In such stillness, shht! Hear, listen, arose,
A fearful screech. Fire! Fire! Fire! Neighbours screamed,
And doorknockers knocked. A barking dog cried.
Anxious trumpeting began to startle my inside.
The fire bells grimly chimed. I left my bed,
Dazed, barely-dressed, flying out the doors,
Like a Trojan, when Greek treason set fire in the night,
In Priamos' court, at that moment both my eyes saw,
With sadness, this colossus, from Lady Jacoba's time,
And Count William the Sixth, the Townhall burning bright.'

From: Jan Six van Chandelier, *Stadhuisbrand*, 1657[1]

Thus the Amsterdam poet Jan Six van Chandelier (1620-1695) articulates his chilling memories of the ungodly early hours of Sunday July 7, 1652, when Amsterdam's old townhouse burnt to the ground. Seeing the old building ablaze must have been an extremely frightening spectacle, all the more since the fire leaping from building to building had potential catastrophic effects in those days, when many houses and buildings were still largely constructed of wood ('this nightly Sun thus threatened to become Amstel's downfall' Six writes). Exactly two centuries earlier, in 1452, a colossal fire had destroyed most of medieval Amsterdam. That such a threat was still very real would become painfully clear fourteen years later, in 1666, when the horrific Great Fire of London was to destroy 80 percent of that city. Six de Chandelier's epic poem goes on in detail about what happened next. Other sources, too, inform us of the dramatic event. In addition to legal statements from the days following the fire, eye-witness accounts and other written sources such as periodicals (the *Hollandsche Mercurius* of 1652) or Olfert Dapper's 1663 *Historische beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam*, the calamity is also recorded in various prints and paintings, the present work taking a new (its subject went previously unrecognised) and significant place among them.[2]

The origin of the old townhall at Dam Square, most famously depicted by Pieter Saenredam in a painting now in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 1), is not known, but by 1395 a townhall existed at that location (then called





Fig. 1 Pieter Saenredam, *The Old Townhall of Amsterdam*, 1657, oil on panel, 65.5 x 84.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 2 Salomon Savery after Jan Martsz de Jonge, *The Old Townhall of Amsterdam, with the Departure of Maria de' Medici*, 1638, etching and engraving, 28.5 x 37.7 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Plaetse).[3] During the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the complex was expanded with a tower and a pavilion with an open, protruding arcade on the Dam side, in which the so-called 'vierschaar' (the city's court of justice) was located. After the 1451 fire, large parts of the building were rebuilt or thoroughly restored. Already in 1557 the city government first decided upon building a new townhall and prison. However, only the prison was completed, and it took until the later 1630s for renewed impetus. When, in 1638, the Queen Mother of France Maria de' Medici visited Amsterdam, she was welcomed with grand festivities and shown around the town in a carriage, which obviously passed the Dam and the townhall (fig. 2). In his commemorative *Blyde Inkomst*, the humanist Caspar Barlaeus (1584-1648) somewhat embarrassedly recounts this moment: 'Here she saw the Townhall [...] reputable only for its old age and its decay [...] The City Council, under whose government the whole world is sailed, is poorly housed itself. The townhall, whose immense commerce cannot even be measured, takes in a mere few square feet. It disconcerts foreigners'.[4] Indeed, the townhall's floorplan of 1639 shows a labyrinth of narrow, cramped rooms (fig. 3). An extra room hanging over the Vogelsteeg, visible in the present painting, was even built to accommodate the Bankruptcy Chamber. In January 1640 a commission, set up to investigate the situation, prophetically concluded that 'As the Townhall is rather ramshackle in various places, to the point that it is to be feared that at one point an accident might happen, one could agree to build a new one instead.'[5]

Eight years later, in the European peace year of 1648, construction finally began on the new townhall, designed by the architect/painter Jan van Campen (1596-1657). By then it was established that the new townhall would not only occupy most of the space taken by the old townhall, but also that of all the adjacent houses to the north of the Vogelsteeg. While construction on the new townhall was well on the way on the side of Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal (Dapper informs us that the back of the old townhall had already been taken down, the front still being in use), on Sunday the 7th of July, 1652, at around 2am, fire broke out in the old townhall. How the fire started was much debated during the following days.[6] A guard named Ide Martensz, 'about 34 years old', declared that he had slept in the building and, woken up by his colleague after the latter's round, heard the sound of roaring fire on the 'turfsolder', the attic where firewood was stored. Peeping through a crack in the locked door, he understood the imminent danger, alerted his comrades and ran downstairs without rescuing anything. Ide explicitly declared that no tobacco had been smoked, and that all the candles were still in their



Fig. 3 After Cornelis Dankerts de Rij, *Floorplan of the Old Townhall*, in or after 1639, Amsterdam, Stadsarchief

lanterns (for what it was worth, his story was confirmed by other guards). Downstairs they had told the trumpeter, who had left the tower, to go back and blow the fire signal. He had refused, replying: 'what would I do upstairs? I would burn there!'

Taking a look at our painting, the trumpeter made a wise decision. According to eyewitness accounts, not much later a barrel of gunpowder exploded in the tower, blowing away part of its wall.[7] This, it seems, might well be the moment depicted. Observed from a relatively high perspective point at the south side of the Dam – presumably the so-called 'Huis onder 't zeil' (fig. 4) – our panorama allows, from left to right, for a view of the houses on the south side of the square, the corner house on Kalverstraat (with a peep-through into the Gasthuissteeg towards Nieuwezijdsvoorburgwal), the burning townhall itself, the houses on the other side of the Vogelsteeg with the Nieuwe Kerk towering above, and to the far left the southern corner of the Waag (Weigh House). Crowds of people (mostly men, but several women and children as well) orange-lit by the inferno's immense glow, under the fuming dark blue sky, have hastily gathered at the Dam. While many are mere spectators, others actively participate in extinguishing the fire. The bucket brigade at the right – an effective firehose system was only invented later by the Amsterdam painter cum inventor Jan van der Heyden (1637-1712) – passes on leather buckets filled with water from the Damrak, and empty ones the other way. Behind them three men carry a 'brandhaak' (a long pole with an iron hook, used to poke holes in rooftops or drag down walls, in order to prevent the fire from spreading). And to the left four men rush forward with a ladder. Others have already positioned their ladder against the burning gable, trying to quench the flames by throwing buckets of water, or rescue valuables. Brave men are hanging out of the windows, throwing out registers, books, certificates and other documents rescued from the Secretary and the Orphans' Chamber in the building's interior. Whirling around, the paperwork is – where possible – picked up and gathered by others. Money, gold and silver, too, were rescued. Six van Chandelier describes how he ran into the Wisselbank (the Exchange Bank), where all of Amsterdam's silver and gold was kept. 'There I found the rabble ['t graauw], grazing money as if it were flowers'. He breaks open a safe, fills a bucket 'with metal', and hands it over, just before the ceiling collapses. Indeed, as confirmed by other sources, buckets full of silver and gold were thrown out of the window, and plunderers saw their chance. For this reason, the City Council had immediately ordered the municipal militia, recognisable in the painting as the many men holding, halbards, lances and rifles, to guard the scene. Days after the

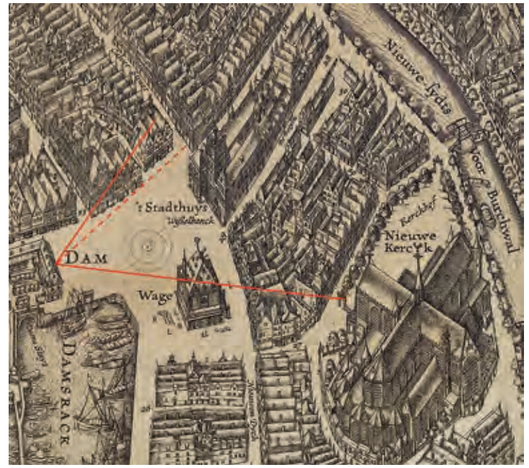


Fig. 4 Balthasar Florisz van Berckenrode, Map of Amsterdam, 1625, detail of Dam Square with sightlines indicating the perspective of cat. no. 7

fire big, re-solidified clumps of silver and gold coins, some worth twenty to thirty thousand guilders, were still found amongst the rubble.

Mere hours after the fire had started, the Vroedschap (City Council) ordained to those who had taken any valuables from the fire to immediately return them, under penalty of corporal punishment. They did so from the tavern 'De Prins', where they had taken up temporary residence. 'De Prins' is the fifth house seen from the corner of the Vogelsteeg, as is indicated on Cornelis Danckerts de Rij's map of the area (fig. 5). On its south side (fourth from the corner) we find another tavern, the famous 'T Schilt van Vranckryck', where from 1626 until his death the painter Barent van Someren (1572-1632) was the innkeeper.[8] To the north of 'De Prins', only half visible, is the house 'De Bril' where the art dealer Hendrick Uylenburgh (1587-1661), Rembrandt's (1606-1669) former business partner, ran his shop from 1647 until 1653, when the house was torn down to make way for the new townhall.[9] We might imagine how Rembrandt visited his old friend Uylenburgh after the fire, discussing everything that had happened. He was surely intrigued, for on 9 July he made a drawing of the old townhall's ruin, seen from the Waag (fig. 6).

On the far left of the painting we recognise the house 'De Wackere Hond' ('The Wakeful Dog'), well known from the landmark dog sign on the façade, where the important publisher Hendrick Hondius (1597-1644/51)



Fig. 5 Cornelis Dankerts de Rij, *Map of Dam Square*, 1639, Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, detail



Fig. 6 Rembrandt, *The Ruin of the Old Townhall of Amsterdam after the Fire*, 9 July 1652, pen in brown on paper, later additions in red chalk, 14.9 x 20 cm., Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis

and his successors ran their shop with maps and prints.[10] Behind the corner house with the curious leg as a sign board we see, on the corner of Kalverstraat, the house 'De Vergulde Ploeg', rented by Joost Hartgers, the publisher of Joost van den Vondel's (1587-1679) poetry.[11] Hartgers is actually mentioned in Jan Six van Chandelier's poem *Stadhuisbrand*, where he describes how the flames 'sought Hartger's roof, three rooftops away from ours', which also explains where he himself lived, and why he immediately saw the fire upon leaving his house.[12] 'His gutter' Six continues, 'and the [wet] canvases stretched to his house caught fire.' Indeed, we do seem to able to discern that the men on the ladder are trying to hang a large canvas from the side wall in order to protect the house from the flames.

The 1652 fire, and the insufficiency of the firefighting methods at the time, led to drastic improvements during the following decades. In his book of 1690 on the latest firefighting developments that he had invented, the afore mentioned Jan van der Heyden, who had witnessed the 1652 fire as a teenager, exemplifies it as one that could have been extinguished with his newly developed methods. Analysing the 1652 situation, he concludes that, although enough water was close at hand and people made an inspired effort, the buckets arrived at least half-

empty, those on the ladders could only carry one bucket at a time, and the heart of the fire could not be reached.[13] He illustrates his argument with a print of the fire, in which both the old and the new situation are depicted side by side: on the left the chaotic former situation, on the right the orderly and efficient new method, with a powerful firehose system spraying efficiently from the right rooftop, straight into the core of the fire (fig. 7).

In addition to rethinking firefighting methods, the fire and subsequent demolishing of the old townhall also inspired a number of commemorative depictions, such as Saenredam's 1657 rendition of it (fig. 1), painted for the burgomaster's chamber in the new townhall.[14] The present painting likewise forms part of that production. Although unsigned, we can safely attribute it to the Amsterdam painter Gerrit Lundens (1622-after 1683), who was 29 years old in July 1652, and may have witnessed the fire himself. A smaller variation of the present work, kept in the Amsterdam Museum and fully signed and dated 'G. Lundens 1652', unmistakably makes this clear (fig. 8).[15] Although the Amsterdam Museum's work is less panoramic in scope than the work presented here – it largely omits the houses on the south side of Dam square, and those leading to the Nieuwe Kerk – the work retains the



Fig. 7 Attributed to Jan van der Heyden, Jr. after Jan van der Heyden, *The Fire in the Old Townhall of Amsterdam*, 1690, etching and engraving, 35.4 x 45.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 8 Gerrit Lundens, *The Fire of the Old Town Hall of Amsterdam*, 1652, oil on panel, 29.5 x 33.5 cm., Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum

same basic composition. Many of the same details, including the specific way of rendering the crowds and the inclusion of the little roof on top of the tower, that in reality had been removed in 1640, confirm Lundens' authorship of both works.

Lundens, ironically best known for his copy of Rembrandt's *Nightwatch*, was born in Amsterdam as the son of the Antwerp born dyer Berend Lunden and his wife Catharyne van Sichem.[16] After a possible training with his brother-in-law, the painter Abraham van den Hecken (c. 1610/15-1655/69), he married Angeniet Mathijs in 1643. In 1659 we find him as a wine merchant, and in 1660 he is mentioned as an inn-keeper at the Nieuwmarkt, where the painter's Guild of St Luke was located. He was buried in Amsterdam in July 1686. Lundens mainly painted merry peasant scenes, portraits and miniature portraits, although several nightscapes by his hand are mentioned in inventories as well.[17] A lifelong Amsterdammer, the subject of the fire of the old townhall must have had special meaning for him.

JH

Notes

1 Fragment, originally published in 1657, taken from J. Six van Chandelier (A.E. Jacobs, ed.), *Gedichten*, Assen/Maastricht 1991, pp. 505-509, no. 305: 'De nacht, langs Amstels stroom, / Scheen licht, noch duister, langs gestarnde flikkersaalen. / De moede burgery van moeite, by den dagh, / Geleeden, verontmoeide, op sachte varsche pluimen. / In twee, en viergevoet was roeringh, noch gewagh. / Al 't leeven van de stad dreef, als in Lethes schuimen. / Behalven dat de wacht, in zulken valschen tyd, / Meer noodigh, waakte, en licht een ander van de hette, / Gelyk ik, wakker lagh, en 't bedde, aan elken syd, / Die onbeleegen was, om koeligheit verplette. / In zoo een stilte, sus, hoor, luister toe, ontstond / Een bangh gekrysch, brand, brand, brand, alle buure schellen, / En ringen ringkelden. Voorts kreet de blafsche hond. / 't Benaauwt trompet begon myn ingewand t'ontstellen. / De brandklok bomde naar. Ik liet de leedekant, / Verduisemt, half in 't hemd, de deuren uitgevloogen, / Als een Trojaan, wanneer het Grieksch verraad den brand / 's Nachts stak, in Priams hof, met saagen bei myne oogen, / Met droefheit, dat gevaart, van Vrouw Jakobaas tyd, / En Wilm den sesten, Graaf, het Raadhuis louter branden.'

2 *Hollantsche Mercurius, Brengende 't Verhael der gewichtighste veranderingen, voorgevallen in Europa, binnen den tijt can het geheele Jaer 1652*, vol. 3, Amsterdam 1659, p. 71; O. Dapper, *Historische beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1663, pp. 332-334. The Amsterdam Museum's collection holds three paintings depicting the fire of the old townhall. See A. Blankert, *Amsterdams Historisch Museum : schilderijen daterend van voor 1800*, Amsterdam 1975/79, cat. nos. 54 (Cornelis de Bie), 255 (Gerrit Lundens); D. Carasso, in: J. Peeters et al., *Het Paleis in de schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw, exh. cat. Amsterdam*, Paleis op de Dam 1997, cat. no. 3 (Jan Abrahamsz van Beerstraten); N. Middelkoop, *De oude meesters van de stad Amsterdam : schilderijen tot 1800*, Bussum/Amsterdam 2008, pp. 108-109 (Jan Abrahamsz van Beerstraten).

3 For the old townhall, the fire and the topography of Dam square, see A.W. Kroon, *Het Amsterdamsche stadhuis. (thans paleis.) 1625-1700. Zyne geschiedenis naar onuitgegeven officiele bronnen bewerkt*, Amsterdam 1867; J.C. Breen, 'Topographische geschiedenis van den Dam te Amsterdam', in: *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 7 (1909), pp. 99-196; C.C. 't Hooft, 'Op zoek naar de oudheid van het middeleeuwsche stadhuis, voorgesteld op het schilderij van Pieter Saenredam, in burgemeesterskamer', in: *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 33 (1936), pp. 1-16; K. Fremantle, *The Baroque Townhall of Amsterdam*, Utrecht 1959, pp. 19-24; M.G. Emeis, *Het Paleis op de Dam : de geschiedenis van het gebouw en zijn gebruikers*, Amsterdam 1981, pp. 8-27; N. Middelkoop, 'Visies op de werkelijkheid : Damgezichten in het Amsterdams Historisch Museum', in: *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 93 (2001), pp. 152-171; P. Vlaardingerbroek, *Het paleis van de Republiek : geschiedenis van het stadhuis van Amsterdam*, Zwolle 2011, pp. 16-22.

4 C. Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst der allerdoorluchtighste koninginne, Maria de Medicis, t'Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1639 (Dutch transl. by J. van den Vondel of Barlaeus' *Medicea Hospes*, Amsterdam 1638), pp. 47-48: 'Hier zaghze het Stadhuis [...] D'ouderdom en bouwvalligheid geven dit gebouw eenige achtbaerheid. [...] de Raed, door wiens bestier men wijd en zijd zeilt, woont benaeuwt. Het Stadhuis, welcx koophandel naulijcx bepaelt kan worden, beslaet een plaets van luttel voeten. Het jaeght den vreemdelingen een verwondering aen'.

5 See P.T.A. Swillens, *Jacob van Campen : schilder en bouwmeester 1595-1657*, Assen 1961, p. 93.

6 See J.F.M. den Boer, 'De grote brand van 1452 en de stadhuisbrand van 1652', in: *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 39 (1952), pp. 87-91.

7 Emeis 1981, p. 25.

8 J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad van Hollands Gouden Eeuw 1585-1630*, Antwerp 1997, pp. 385-386 (Barend van Someren), note 14.

9 See J. van der Veen, in: J. van der Veen, F. Lammertse, *Uylenburgh & Son : Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to De Lairesse 1625-1675*, exh. cat. London, Dulwich Picture Gallery, Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis 2006, pp. 56-57.

10 On Hondius and the Amsterdam print industry centred around Dam, see E. Kolfin, 'Amsterdam, stad van prenten. Amsterdamse prentuitgevers in de 17de eeuw', in: E. Kolfin, J. van der Veen (eds.), *Gedrukt tot Amsterdam : Amsterdamse prentmakers en -uitgevers in de gouden eeuw*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis 2011, pp. 10-57.

11 See C.J. Gimpel, 'Het grondgebied van de Groote Club', in: *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 11 (1913), pp. 119-139, pp. 121-125.

12 Six van Chandelier lived in the house 'De Vergulde Eenhoorn'. See Gimpel 1913, pp. 129-135.

13 J. van der Heyden, J. van der Heyden Jr., *Beschryving Der nieuwlijks uitgevonden en geoctrojeerde slang-brand-spuiten, en Haare wijze van brand-blussen, Tegenwoordig binnen Amsterdam in gebruik zijnde*, Amsterdam 1690, pp. 9-10.

14 See G. Schwartz, M.J. Bok, *Pieter Saenredam : De schilder in zijn tijd*, Maarssen 1989, pp. 188-192. See note 2 for other paintings of the fire.

15 See Blankert 1975/79, cat. no. 255; Middelkoop 2001, pp. 160-161, fig. 10. Middelkoop warns that the date 1652 need not necessarily refer to the date of execution, but could also refer to the date of the occasion (c.f. the many paintings of the Delft fire explosion of 1654, that are all dated in that year).

16 On Lundens, see A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare : Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, 8 vols., The Hague 1915-1922, 3 (1917), pp. 966-973; Briels 1997, p. 355.

17 See, for instance, the death inventory of the Amsterdam soap manufacturer Gerrit Reijersz Elias, 7 January 1676, no. 20 'een nachtje door Linden gedaen'. See Montias Database (https://research.frick.org/montias, website visited 19 January 2020), inv. no. 130. For Lundens' copy of the *Nightwatch* (London, National Gallery, on permanent loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), see N. MacLaren, C. Brown (rev.), *The Dutch School 1600-1900*, 2 vols., London 1991, 1, pp. 235-239, cat. no. 289.



Detail of cat. no. 7

cat. no. 8

Isaack Luttichuys
London 1616 – 1673 Amsterdam

Portrait of a 25-Year Old Man, a Coastal Landscape in the Background

Signed and dated lower right: Isaack . Luttichúÿs . fe / Anno . 1641 Out 25
Oil on panel
48.3 x 36.8 cm.

Provenance:
St Petersburg, Kushelev-Bezborodko collection
Sale Paris, Drouot (Boussaton, Pillet), collection Count V. Kushelev-Bezborodko, 5 June 1869, lot 19 (to Marie Klein?)[1]
Paris, collection Mme Delacour
Her sale, Paris, Drouot (P. Chevallier), 11 December 1905, lot 82 (fr. 7800 to Heumans)
Sale Amsterdam, Muller, 24 April 1906, lot 86 (fl. 3600 to Heugel)
Paris, collection Heugel
Paris, Galerie de la Scala
Paris, private collection

Literature:
A. Siret, *Dictionnaire historique et raisonné des peintres de toutes les écoles depuis l'origine de la peinture jusqu'à nos jours*, 2 vols., Paris 1883, 2, p. 5 (as Simon Luttichuys)
W.R. Valentiner, 'Isaac Luttichuys : A little known Dutch portrait painter', in: *The Art Quarterly* 1 (1938), pp. 151-179, pp. 156-157, 159, 177, no. 3, ill.
B. Ebert, *Simon und Isaack Luttichuys : Monographie mit kritischem Werkverzeichnis*, Berlin 2009, pp. 212-214, fig. 147, p. 512, cat. no. Is. A2

The painter Isaack Luttichuys, the son of Dutch parents, was born in London in 1616 but moved at a young age to Amsterdam. He began his career as a still life painter working in the studio of his elder brother Simon Luttichuys (1610-1661) but soon turned to portraiture, developing a style firstly influenced by Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) and subsequently by the portraits of Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613-1670) in around 1635 on settling in Amsterdam.[2] Isaack Luttichuys belongs to the category of portrait painters who make their mark by being closely attuned to the trends of the day and the tastes of the clients whose wealth found expression in portrait commissions. While in the beginning of his career he only painted a small number of full-length portraits in outdoor settings such as the present one, from 1650 onwards the majority of his sitters are portrayed life-size and three-quarter length.

This unidentified young man in an outdoor setting, aged 25, is undoubtedly a commissioned work. The young man is captured as he appears to stride towards the spectator, smiling engagingly while doffing his hat. On the shore behind him distant fishermen are unloading a boat, while two large sailing boats can be seen off a rocky coast in the distance. Luttichuys excels here with a peculiar spatial sense and a naïve dramatic action of the figure. The painter has masterly captured the light reflected in the skin and eyes of the young gentleman. With an exceptional brilliance, the artist has immortalized the young man in the portrait, dressed in the latest fashion. The painting is a fine example of the idealized portrait around the middle of the seventeenth century.

WB

Notes
1 According to Ebert 2009, p. 512.
2 See R.E.O. Ekkart, 'Amsterdamse portretschilders in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', in: N. Middelkoop (ed.), *Kopstukken : Amsterdammers geportretteerd 1600-1800*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Amsterdams Historisch Museum 2002-2003, pp. 28-45, p. 36. According to Ekkart, Luttichuys settled in Amsterdam around 1635.



cat. no. 9

Jan Miense Molenaer
1609/10 – Haarlem – 1668

The Young Violinist

Signed centre left: Jmolenaer
Oil on panel
29.2 x 24.1 cm.

Provenance:
London, W. Wheeler & Son, Ltd., by August 1950
Amsterdam, Gebr. Douwes, by 1992
London, Johnny van Haeften, 1998
Amsterdam, Salomon Lilian, 1999
New York, private collection, 2006

Literature:
Connoisseur 126 (August 1950), p. X, ill.
J.A. Welu, P. Biesboer (eds.), *Judith Leyster : A Dutch Master and Her World*, exh. cat. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, Worcester, Worcester Museum of Art 1993, p. 372, under cat. no. 42, fig. 42d
N.T. Minty, *In the Eye of the Beholder : Northern Baroque Paintings from the Collection of Henry H. Weldon*, exh. cat. New Orleans, New Orleans Museum of Art 1997-1998, p. 76, under no. 31
D. P. Weller et al., *Jan Miense Molenaer : Painter of the Dutch Golden Age*, exh. cat. Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, Indianapolis, Indianapolis Museum of Art, Manchester, Currier Museum of Art 2002-2003, p. 32, fig. 5

Exhibited:
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Frans Hals in the Metropolitan Museum*, 26 July-10 October 2011



Jan Miense Molenaer was born in Haarlem in 1610, as the eldest son of the tailor Jan Mientsen Molenaer, and his second wife Grietgen Adriaens. The artist's brothers Bartholomeus (c. 1618 – 1650) and Nicolaes (1628/29-1676) were also painters. The name of Jan Miense Molenaer is first mentioned in the contribution list of the guild of St. Luke of 1634, but it is not known exactly when he joined the guild. The early years of Jan Miense Molenaer's career prove extremely difficult to reconstruct.[1] His earliest known work dates from 1629, when he was approximately 19 years old. In around 1629 Jan Miense Molenaer and his future wife Judith Leyster (1609-1660) seem to have used the same studio props, which may indicate that they worked in the same studio then.[2] In 1636 the pair were married in Heemstede. In the same year, following the court's confiscation of Molenaer's property to pay debts, the couple moved to Amsterdam. One year later Molenaer was commissioned to paint an elaborate wedding portrait for the van Loon family, the *Wedding of Willem van Loon and Anna Ruychaver* (Museum van Loon, Amsterdam). The artist's financial situation appears to have improved during his Amsterdam years, thanks in part to an inheritance received by Leyster in 1639. It was during this period that the painter Jan Lievens (1607-1674) briefly lived with Molenaer (1644); according to a notarial deed of 1 March 1644, Jan Lievens worked on a landscape in Jan Miense's house in Amsterdam. After twelve years spent in Amsterdam, Molenaer purchased a house in Heemstede, where he moved in October 1648. It is known that, in these years, Molenaer occasionally collaborated with his nephew Claes Molenaer (1630-1676), a landscape painter. The final phase of his career began in Heemstede and spanned twenty productive years. Unfortunately, mounting debt, relocations, energies directed to securing a second income, illness, and above all, Judith Leyster's death in 1660, all took their toll. The artist died in his hometown of Haarlem, one year after his last dated painting.

For Molenaer's artistic development in style and subject matter three artist were of special importance: Frans Hals (1582-1666), Dirck Hals (1591-1656) and Judith Leyster. Especially Dirck Hals inspired Molenaer to paint merry company scenes. Molenaer was more learned and well-read than other Haarlem painters, as he got his inspiration from proverbs and poems by Jacob Cats and Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero. Especially Bredero's *Boertigh, amorous, an andaechtig Groot lied-boeck* of 1622 appears to have been an important source for him.[3]

The present work can be dated to the early 1630s, painted when the artist lived in Haarlem.[4] An elegantly dressed youth draped in a brilliant, rich red garment and sporting a feathered red hat plays the violin while singing, gazing upwards to the upper left, his upturned eyes conveying his absorption in his music. The iron gorget around the neck of the young man is also found in other paintings by the artist. It was thus surely a studio prop, and Molenaer's use of it here seems to be motivated by aesthetics, rather than military display.[5] His fellow Haarlemmer Karel van Mander's (1548-1606) instruction that "all expressions of emotion, correct attitudes, reflections, everything that is mentioned about our art in the figure piece must come forth immediately", is perfectly fulfilled here.[6] Van Mander also encouraged the artist to properly represent fabric: "Let the folds arise from one another like the branches of a tree".[7] Some underdrawing is visible particularly around the head. In two of Molenaer's other genre-scenes with four children making music and dancing, datable to circa 1630, a figure in a similar pose is playing the violin.

WB

Notes

1 D.P. Weller, in: Raleigh/Indianapolis/Manchester 2002-2003, p. 9.
2 J.A. Welu, 'Introduction', in: Haarlem/Worcester 1993, pp. 11-14, p. 12.
3 D. P. Weller, in: Raleigh/Indianapolis/Manchester 2002-2003, p. 9, note 1.
4 A copy after the present painting was offered for sale at Sotheby's Amsterdam, 6 November 2001, lot 4. This painting bears an old label on the reverse by Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot, dated October 1920, recording an attribution to Judith Leyster.
5 C. Von Bogendorf Rupprath, 'Molenaer in His Studio : Props, Models, and Motifs', in: Raleigh/Indianapolis/Manchester 2002-2003, pp. 26-41, p. 32.
6 Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 18r.
7 Idem, fols.43r-43v.



Detail of cat. no. 9

cat. no. 10

Pieter Mulier
1595/1610 – Haarlem – 1659/61

Shipping in Stormy Weather at Sea

Signed with monogram on the leeboard of left hand vessel: PM
Oil on panel
39.6 x 61.1 cm.

Provenance:
London, private collection

Many details about Mulier's year of birth and early years still remain unclear, but the Haarlem painter Pieter Mulier enrolled in the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke in or shortly before 1638.[1] According to archival records he was married to Maycke de Graet in 1635, and they had at least two children, one of whom died in 1648. His son, Pieter Mulier the Younger (c. 1637-1701), trained in his studio and is better known as Pietro Tempesta. Pieter Mulier (the Elder) continued to work consistently in Haarlem throughout the 1640s and 1650s. He is known to have accumulated substantial personal debts as a result of excessive drinking. He died in Haarlem.

The oeuvre of Pieter Mulier consists almost exclusively of stormy, rough or choppy seas executed with a monochrome palette. His marine paintings executed with silver-grey and brown tonalities remind us of the monochrome paintings by Simon de Vlieger (c. 1600-1653), Jan Porcellis (1584-1632), Jan van Goyen (1596-1656) and of Abraham van Beijeren (c.1620-1690), in which the skies dominate the view. Mulier must have been familiar with the work of Jan Porcellis, who worked in Haarlem from 1621-1623. A Haarlem estate of 1669 lists 'a copy, a small piece by Mulier after Porcellis', valued at three guilders. A work of his own invention in that estate was valued at five guilders as well as a smaller pair by him, which was assessed at three guilders. A painting by Porcellis in this estate was estimated at thirty-six guilders.[2] Paintings by Pieter Mulier are mentioned frequently in contemporary private inventories and auction archives, in and outside Haarlem.

The present painting shows several ships on a rough sea with great waves. Light-dark contrasts in the clouded sky (which takes up most of the picture surface) and the water produce dramatic effects. This contrast between a dark foreground and a brightly lit surface in the middle ground is characteristic of the artist's work. A 'signature motif' of the master is the rowboat with fishermen that rises on the swell of a wave, beautifully lit by a ray of light here.[3] Close to the centre of the picture a piece of wood protrudes out of the waves, pointing towards a ship, bringing in its sails. This two-master, a so-called *hoeker*, appears on several other paintings by the artist,[4] while in the far left distance a Dutch three-master can be seen.

WB

Notes
1 For an extensive biography see also: J. van der Veen in: G. de Beer, *The Golden Age of Dutch Marine Painting : The Inder Rieden Collection*, 4 vols, Leiden 2019, 2, pp. 439-443.
2 Van der Veen, op. cit., p 443.
3 A.K. Ševčík, in: A.K. Ševčík (ed.), *Dutch paintings of the 17th and 18th centuries : National Gallery in Prague*, Prague 2012, p. 298.
4 Idem, p. 299.



cat. no. 11

Isaac van Ostade
1621 – Haarlem – 1649

A Winter Landscape

Signed and dated lower right: Isack van Ostade 1644
Oil on panel
34 x 44.5 cm.

Provenance:
Collection Right Hon. Sir Charles Bagot (1781-1843)
Paris, collection Théodore Patureau (1798-1876)
His sale, Paris, Drouot, 20-21 April 1857, lot 22 (3200 Fr. to Fould)
Wassenaar, private collection, until 2019 (on loan to the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem from 1985 until 2006)

Literature:
C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke des hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 10 vols., Esslingen 1907-1928, 3 (1910), p. 485, cat. no. 94 (English ed., London 1910, p. 465)
Chr. Brown, *Dutch landscape : the early years : Haarlem and Amsterdam 1590-1650*, exh. cat. London, National Gallery 1986, p. 212, cat. no. 102
P.C. Sutton, J. Loughman, *The Golden Age of Dutch Landscape Painting*, exh. cat. Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, under cat. no. 42, p. 160, fig. 1
P. Biesboer, in: N. Köhler (ed.), *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850 : the collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, Haarlem/Ghent 2006, p. 568, under cat. no. 353
F.J. Duparc, in: F.J. Duparc et al., *Golden : Dutch and Flemish masterworks from the Rose-Marie and Eijk Van Otterloo collection*, Salem/New Haven/London 2011, p. 231, under cat. no. 44



Isaac van Ostade was the son of the linen-weaver Jan Hendricx van Ostade and Janneke Hendricx, who had moved to Haarlem from the Eindhoven region.[1] His brother Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685), eleven years his senior, was one of the most prolific painters of the peasant and low-life genre in the seventeenth century in the Netherlands, and Isaac's first teacher.[2] Given that in 1640 Adriaen – a well-established painter – was sued by Salomon van Ruysdael (1600/03-1670) for 'sums due for board and tuition', one might conclude that he owed the latter money for the further education of his younger brother. In any case this date roughly coincides with Isaac's first known works, dating from 1639. Isaac registered as a member of the Haarlem guild of St Luke in 1643. During the eleven years spanning his short career, up until his untimely death in 1649 at the age of 28, he proved himself to be among the most talented and productive painters and draughtsmen of his generation. His oeuvre mostly consists of peasant interiors and exteriors, halts at the inn and (winter) landscapes.

The winter landscape was a classic Netherlandish genre. Its pictorial tradition originated in medieval book illumination, specifically within the traditional depictions of the winter months, December, January and February.[3] Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1526/30-1569) in particular can be credited for its emancipation as an independent genre. Initially a principally Flemish affair, émigrés such as Hans Bol (1534-1593) exported the winter landscape to the North, where the genre reached unprecedented popularity during the course of the seventeenth century. Following in the footsteps of the pioneering Hendrick Avercamp (1585-1634), it was Esaias van de Velde (1587-1630), originally from Haarlem, but working mainly in The Hague, who cornered the market in the 1620s. His economically produced views of casually staffaged wintry canals, creeks and rivers, seen from a low perspective, subsequently led the way for the early anecdotal winter scenes – and the subsequent, more monochrome work – by his pupil Jan van Goyen (1596-1656) and Salomon van Ruysdael (1600/03-1670), Van Ostade's probable teacher who, however, only painted winter scenes in 1627 (fig. 1) and 1629.[4]

No doubt well aware of his predecessors' efforts and their success, winters formed part of Isaac's production from the very start of his career, in 1639.[5] During the next decade, the winter scene would become his trademark genre: some fifty if not more winters by Isaac have come down to us, most of them painted on cabinet size panels, some in a larger format. Isaac, it is safe to say, was the marked leader of the winter scene in the north during the 1640s. After 1639, dated winters are known from 1641 until 1649 (with the exception of 1646).[6] While initially leaning on the works of Van de Velde, Ruysdael and Van Goyen – an early *Frozen River Landscape with a Travellers* by Isaac, for instance, completely relies on Van Goyen's *Winter Landscape with Figures near a Koek en Zopie* of 1637[7] – his production quickly took on artistic personality, and soon a pictorial unity emerged, an instantly recognisable product. Mostly of a horizontal format, Isaac's winters almost without exception are situated on – and seen from – the ice (a wintry country road with a carriage in Copenhagen being the only exception).[8] Still, the embankment is ever near, full of activity and an integral part of the imagery. Isaac nearly always includes a *repoussoir* tree, dogs, children tightening their ice skates, a little child in a 'prikslee' (spike sledge) and a man pushing his own sledge with wood, or children in it. However, it is the grey or white horse, often pulling a sleigh, either for the transport of goods, or with people in it, that stands out as Isaac's signature motif. In several of Isaac's finest winter landscapes – in the Louvre, the National Gallery, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the former Weldon Collection and the painting under discussion here (figs. 1-5) – the horse pulls up the sleigh onto a ramp, thus connecting the activities on the ice with those on the higher level, and creating a diagonal dynamic.[9] Together with Van Ostade's exceptional sensibility for colour, such clever spatial arrangements help create a unique, intimate atmosphere.

The present painting, an exquisite example of Isaac's well-constructed and beautifully coloured winters, is dated 1644 – three more hibernal scenes from that year are known – when the winter was exceptionally cold.[10] The scene is set against a *repoussoir* tree and a receding village on the left bank of a frozen river, comprising of several huts with thatched roofs, a hay barn, and dominated by a little church tower. On the right bank we see a mill and a 'koek en zopie' tent (where one could get pancakes and zopie, a warm brew of rum and bock), and in the far distance a larger church tower and a mill are visible. Some children put on their skates, others are already on the ice and have brought their dog. A girl in a sledge is being pulled; some boys are in a 'prikslee' themselves. In the right background, some people are about to take a sleigh ride; they have to wait, for the horse pulling the sleigh is being given water from a bucket. While in the middle background several people are in a conversation, our attention is mostly drawn to the white horse that pulls a sleigh up on to the land. It is an old workhorse, with marks on his flanks from the bridles, used to heavy labour. The horse's owner, a somewhat scruffy greybeard whose



Fig. 1-5
White horses pulling sleighs up the embankment, details (left to right, top to bottom:) from Winter Scenes by Isaac van Ostade in London, National Gallery; former Weldon Collection (sale New York, Sotheby's, 22 April 2015, lot 23); the Rose-Marie and Eijk van Otterloo Collection (promised gift to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); the present cat. no. 11; Paris, Musée du Louvre.

cargo seems to consist of hay and a barrel of beer, is easy on the reins; the animal clearly knows what is expected. By choosing to render the scene in a palette of subtle lighter and darker greys, brown and pink-purple, Van Ostade creates both a satisfying pictorial unity and an intimate, snug atmosphere, which would immediately remind every Dutchman – and thus the clientele – of cherished times spent on the ice in the hours before sundown, around 4 to 5 pm in the wintertime. We become all the more aware of the essential role of Isaac's choice of colouring once we compare our work to another winter by his hand, the brilliant *Ice Scene* in the Mauritshuis (fig. 6). Of practically identical measurements, and consisting of largely the same pictorial elements – a *repoussoir* tree on the left, a ramp from which a horse-drawn sleigh descends to the ice, a church tower, children on sledges, a dog and a 'koek en zopie' tent in the distance – the painting's atmosphere is distinctly different, brisker and not as intimate.

The Cabinet des Dessins in the Louvre has held, at least since 1886, a drawing that shows the same composition encountered in our work (fig. 7). According to a note on the mount, the drawing was once attributed to Jan van Goyen. In 1931 the Dutch art connoisseur Frits Lugt, cataloguer of the Louvre's Northern drawings, listed this drawing as a copy after Isaac van Ostade.[11] Apparently, Lugt's associating the drawing with Isaac van Ostade resulted from all of the typical, and recognisable motifs that together so consentiently point to him. The fact that he does not mention the present work in his entry (as he does elsewhere)[12] indicates that he was



Fig. 6 Isaac van Ostade, *Ice Scene*, oil on panel, 34 x 49 cm., The Hague, Mauritshuis



Fig. 7 After (?) Isaac van Ostade, *Village beside a Frozen River*, pen in brown, black chalk, wash in brown and grey, 16.9 x 31.3 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre

not familiar with it. Indeed, by the time Lugt wrote the Louvre catalogue, the painting had been off the radar for over 70 years. It had previously been in the possession of Sir Charles Bagot, who had served as the English ambassador to the United States, Russia, and the Netherlands, before becoming the second Governor General of the Province of Canada from 1841, until his death in 1843. It subsequently belonged to Théodore Patureau, the well-known French art collector, but after he sold it in auction in Paris in 1857, the work submarined. When Cornelis Hofstede de Groot in 1910 compiled his volume including the works of the Van Ostade brothers, all he could reproduce was the information of the 1857 auction catalogue. The work remained unseen for almost 130 years, until in 1985 it was loaned to the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem, Isaac's hometown.

Considering the relationship between the Paris drawing and the present painting, it seems that the drawing is not a slavish copy. Apart from missing a significant part of the sky, the white horse in the drawing wears a neck warmer, absent in the painting. The huts in the village are slightly re-proportioned, the boy pulling the girl on the sledge wears another hat, a sail in the background is differently (yet confidently) shaped, etcetera. Might we, then, be dealing with Isaac van Ostade's own preparatory drawing? Such a conclusion would seem precipitate, as its execution does not immediately relate to Isaac's known output as a draughtsman. Frits Lugt tentatively pointed to the Haarlem artist Barent Gael (c. 1630-1698) as its possible author. For now, the attribution and the drawing's possible function remain open for discussion.

JH

Notes

1 For biographies on both Van Ostade brothers, see: B. Schnackenburg, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., New York 1996, 23, pp. 609-616; I. van Thiel-Stroman, in: N. Köhler et al., *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1800: the collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, Haarlem/Ghent 2006, pp. 258-262.

2 A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1718–1721, 1 (1718), p. 347.

3 For an overview of the developments in the winter genre, see W. Stechov, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, New York 1968 (2nd ed.), pp. 82-100; A. van Suchtelen, 'Introduction', in: A. van Suchtelen et al., *Holland Frozen In Time : The Dutch Winter Landscape In The Golden Age*, exh. cat. The Hague, Mauritshuis 2001-2002, pp. 11-70.

4 A 1629 dated *Winter* by Van Ruysdael was recently sold in Vienna, Dorotheum, 22 October 2019, lot 79. See also J. Hillegers, in: J. Hillegers et al., *Salomon Lilian Old Masters 2015*, Amsterdam 2015, cat, no 12.

5 P.C. Sutton, *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art 1987-1988, p. 392, note 1, and subsequent authors, refer for the 1639 dated picture to Hofstede de Groot 1907-1928, 3 (1910), no. 280, where no date is mentioned. The work is indeed dated 1639 (sign. and date reproduced in a Goudstikker sale catalogue, year unknown, cat. no. 29. See former image archive Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam, now RKD).

6 1641: Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lille, inv. no. P275; sale London, Christie's, 30 January 1925, lot 19; sale Zurich, Koller, 30 March 2012, lot 3047; 1642: Manchester, Manchester Art Gallery, inv. no. 1979.489; 1643: The Kremer Collection; 1644: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MI 952; RoseOtterloo Collection/Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (formerly sale London, Sotheby's, 7 July 2010, lot 27); private collection (formerly sale, Paris, Galliera, 29 November 1965, lot 129); the present Lilian work; 1645: Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerp, inv. no. 95517; 1647: sale Paris, 15 December 1958, lot 63; 1648: St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. ГЭ-907; 1649: sale, London, Sotheby's, 3 December 2008, lot 15.

7 Oil on panel, 37 x 49.5 cm., formerly art trade (see website Dutch University Institute for Art History Florence: http://nikipics.library.uu.nl/view/view_new.php?0043345, visited January 2020); The 1637 Van Goyen was in a London sale, Christie's, 3 December 1997, lot 26.

8 Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. no. KMSsp753.

9 For the Louvre painting, see P.C. Sutton, in: Amsterdam/Boston/Philadelphia 1987-1988, cat. nos. 63; for the National Gallery painting, see: A. van Suchtelen, in: The Hague 2001-2002, cat. no. 20; for the Van Otterloo work, see A. Chong, in: Amsterdam/Boston/Philadelphia 1987-1988, cat. nos. 64; A. van Suchtelen, in: The Hague 2001-2002, cat. no. 19; F.J. Duparc, in: F.J. Duparc et al. 2011, cat. no. 44; for the painting formerly in the Weldon Collection, see N.T. Minty et al., *An eye for detail : 17th-century Dutch and Flemish paintings from the collection of Henry H. Weldon*, exh. cat. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, cat. no. 36.

10 See P. Buisman (A.F.V. van Engelen, ed.), *Duizend jaar weer, wind en water in de Lage Landen*, 7 vols., Franeker 1995-2019, 4 (2000), pp. 475-483. For Isaac's winters of 1644, see note 6.

11 F. Lugt, *Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du nord : école hollandaise*, 3 vols., Paris 1929-1933, 2 (1931), p. 8, cat. no. 541 (inv. no. 22.618).

12 See Lugt 1931, p. 8, cat. no. 540 (inv. no. 23.028). It concerns another drawing after Isaac van Ostade, which Lugt recognises as depicting a painting listed by Hofstede de Groot 1910, cat. no. 10. Lugt suggests that this sheet might be by the same hand as the sheet depicting the present composition (our fig. 7).

cat. no. 12

Cornelis Saftleven
Gorinchem 1607 – 1681 Rotterdam

Death, the Reaper among the Animals (The Triumph of Death)

Signed and dated bottom center left: C. saft Leven . fe. 1649 .
Oil on panel
68.9 x 99.1 cm.

Provenance:
New Orleans, collection Hawkins
Chicago, collection Berghoffer
Richmond, collection Judge John Barton Payne
Richmond (VA), Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (gift from the above, 1919)

Literature:
L. Cheek, Jr., *European Art in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, Richmond 1966, p. 144
W. Schulz, *Cornelis Saftleven 1607-1681 : Leben und Werke : Mit Einem Kritischen Katalog der Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Berlin/New York 1978, pp. 8, 28, 188, cat. no. 518, fig. 32 (erroneously as on canvas)
P.C. Sutton, *A Guide to Dutch Art in America*, Grand Rapids (MI)/Kampen 1986, p. 255

Cornelis Saftleven was born to a family of artists, including his father Herman Saftleven (c. 1580-1627) and his brother Herman (c. 1609-1685).[1] After training in Rotterdam with his father, Cornelis travelled to Antwerp in around 1632. Among his earliest works are portraits and peasant interiors influenced by Adriaen Brouwer (1605/06-1638). In 1634 Cornelis was in Utrecht, where his brother Herman was living, and the two began painting stable interiors, a new subject in peasant genre painting. By 1637 Cornelis had settled in Rotterdam, where he became Dean of the Guild of St Luke thirty years later, in 1667. His subject matter was varied, ranging between rural genre scenes to portraits, beach scenes, and biblical and mythological themes. The artist's extraordinarily individual images of Hell and the supernatural realm are arguably his most individual contribution to Dutch painting. Equally innovative were his satires and allegories. Saftleven excelled at painting animals, which he often portrayed as active characters, occasionally with a hidden allegorical role. As a draftsman, Saftleven is best known for his black chalk drawings of single figures, usually young men, and his studies of animals, which betray Roelandt Savery's (1576-1639) influence. About two hundred of his oil paintings and five hundred drawings survive.

A key feature of Saftleven's allegorical animal paintings is the human-animal inversion: animals assuming human roles. This anthropomorphic



narrative concept was essentially derived from the fable, the exemplary moral story about human behaviour featuring animals as humans, already popular in antiquity. With the publication in 1567 of Edward de Dene's *De warachtige fabulen der dieren* (the true fables of the animals), an emblematic fable-book based on the work of the Greek fabulist Aesop (c. 620-564 BCE) and lavishly illustrated by Marcus Gheeraerts (c. 1520-c. 1590), the human-animal inversion settled in the field of Netherlandish visual culture.[2] Although by the time Saftleven entered the stage over 50 years had gone by, the human-animal inversion had largely remained within the domain of printmaking. Saftleven can thus be credited with popularising the genre in painting, especially in the Northern Netherlands. His earliest animal painting, *He who Goes to Law for a Cow* of 1629, in the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam (fig. 1), which depicts animals in a lawyer's office, makes use of the inversion, and so does one of his last, the famous Rijksmuseum's *Satire on the Trial of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt* of 1663 (fig. 2), in which the animals act as the judges in Holland's most notorious show trial.[3]

Whereas these works satirise human behaviour – the earlier mockingly, the latter with bitterness – the present work, dated 1649, halfway in between these works, seems to lack that sense of irony. Moreover, while in the Rotterdam and Amsterdam works the animals even wear clothes and use human utensils, this is not the case in the present work, which thus falls in a different category. And yet a similar underlying principle of human-animal inversion seems likewise at play here. The scene Saftleven serves up is that of Death the Reaper, a skeleton holding a scythe, appearing in an otherwise idyllic landscape under a pinkish blue sky, with mountains on the horizon, a sea or lake beyond the hill, and a gentle forest to the right. Death's presence, though, causes great distress. The foreground is completely taken up by a range of animals, some predators, some prey, most of them either in rage or in panic. The least affected seem to be the dromedaries, the bear and the elephant to the left, possibly because Death has passed them by. Several animals, though, fight for their lives, as they are attacked by others: a dog lying on his back is fiercely assaulted by a relentless red-eyed bear, and a prancing horse tries to escape the ferocious leopard that jumps up for the kill. Next to them a cow has already fallen victim to a furious lion, which now sinks his teeth in the animal's flanks. Chased by a wolf and a fox, more animals try to flee away, among them a ram, a sheep, a deer, a donkey and several rodents. Some – a goat, a cat and a wild boar – haven't made it: their blood flows on the ground. It is only in the background that we see a group of naked men and women fleeing away.



Fig. 1 Cornelis Saftleven, *He Who Goes to Law for a Cow*, 1629, oil on panel, 59.5 x 82 cm., Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



Fig. 2 Cornelis Saftleven, *Satire on the Trial of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt*, 1663, oil on canvas, 63 x 86 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Evidently the painting addresses the vanity of life and the inescapability of death, of which we are all the more reminded by the (human!) skull and bone amidst the fleeing animals. Would these human remains between the animals connect the animal scene to mankind? The context of the theme of the Triumph of Death might offer some interpretative support. This theme – immortalised by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1526/30-1569) in his grandiose, *staffage*-filled painting in the Prado (fig. 3) – is in fact not very common. Some sixteenth century prints, such as that by Philips Galle (1537-1612) after Maerten van Heemskerck (1498-1574) of c. 1565, depict Death on an ox wagon holding his scythe, while people flee away in vain, inevitably getting crushed under the wagon's wheels (fig. 4). The thematic overlap with the present painting speaks for itself. However, a more intriguing parallel is found in a later rendering of the theme, engraved in 1610 by Boëtius Adamsz Bolswert (c. 1580-1633) after a design by David Vinckboons (1576-1631) (fig. 5). Saftleven seems to have known this print. Here we see Death in a landscape, standing amidst great turmoil, aiming arrows at a mass of people coming out of a great porch on the right. Some have already succumbed and lie dead on the ground, yet others are – as seen in the present work – fighting. They fight, though, not among themselves but against Death – inevitably in vain (one man waves a grand flag showing the word 'Vanitas' on it, and a boy blows bubbles, a well-known *vanitas* motif) –Notably, in the background we see a group of animals (many of the same animals seen



Fig. 4 Phillips Galle after Maerten van Heemskerck, *The Triumph of Death*, c. 1565, engraving, 19.4 x 26.3 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 3 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Triumph of Death*, 1562, oil on panel, 120 x 160 cm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 5 Boëtius Adamsz Bolswert after David Vinckboons, *The Triumph of Death*, 1610, engraving, 27.5 x 37.7 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

in the painting) fleeing away, a motif conspicuously similar to that of the fleeing humans in the background of our picture. It thus seems that Saftleven effects a kind of human-animal inversion after all. Whereas the theme of the Triumph of Death deals with humanity losing its battle for life, Saftleven represents that battle through animals which, moreover, help out Death by killing each other, rather than to stand united against him, as futile as that is. Did Saftleven in this way allude to mankind's own cruelty, its penchant for violence? This would demonstrate a rather cynical outlook in the year following the great European peace treaties of 1648. Or does the painting rather satirise mankind's lack of solidarity? As one would say today: it's a dog-eat-dog world out there.

Although the painting's overarching theme is that of the Triumph of Death, alluding to human earthly existence, the aggressive action among the animals can be seen as a theme in itself. During the sixteenth century many print series were published which exclusively focused on animals, several more specifically on fighting animals, or the hunting of animals. We might assume that, since it was his specialty, Saftleven kept a professional collection of animal prints (and no doubt drawings by other artists and by himself) to work from, which at the same time must have pleased him tremendously. For our painting Saftleven gratefully quoted elements he found in them, some loosely, others in a more copy-paste fashion. It seems that an engraved series of animals hunting and being hunted by the afore mentioned Marcus Gheeraerts, who had supplied the engravings for De Dene's *Warachtige fabulen*, was Saftleven's template for a number of motifs, such as that of the bear attacking the dog (figs. 6, 7), the dead goat (fig. 14, 15), and the lion tearing up the cow (figs. 10, 11). The latter especially was a popular motif. We come across it in several




Figs. 6-7
6. Marcus Gheeraerts, *Landscape with Bear Hunt*, after 1570, engraving, 3.8 x 9.3 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, detail
7. Cat. no 13, detail






Figs. 8-11 (left to right, top to bottom)
8. Abraham de Bruyn, *Fighting Animals in a Landscape*, 1579, engraving, 21.1 x 5.8 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, detail
9. Adriaen Collaert, *Fighting Animals*, c. 1595, engraving, 12.6 x 18.9 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, detail
10. Marcus Gheeraerts, *Landscape with Hunters, Bear, Deer, Lion and Boar*, after 1570, engraving, 3.9 x 9.1 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, detail
11. Cat. no 13, detail

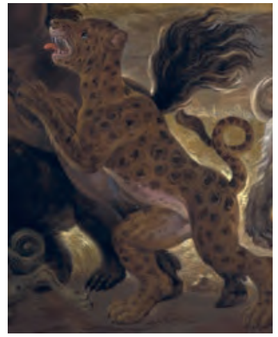



Fig. 12, 13
12. Anonymous after Jan van der Straet, *Foxes, Ram, Leopard and Tiger*, after 1635, engraving, 13.1 x 9.4 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, detail in reverse
13. Cat. no 13, detail

variations of which, we can assume, Saftleven was well aware (figs. 9, 10). Two more animals are directly quoted after the work of famous predecessors of Saftleven in the animal genre: the leopard relies on the animal depicted by the Flemish-turned-Italian artist Jan van der Straet (or Stradanus, 1523-1605), whose prints of hunting scenes and other *animalia* were broadly published in the latter sixteenth century (figs. 12, 13); and the wolf repeats that of the great Italian proponent of the animal figure, Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630) (figs. 16, 17). By implementing these animal citations into a completely new context, namely that of the Triumph of Death, Saftleven not only demonstrated his originality, he also paid homage to his forerunners in a genre that must have been essential to his artistic being.

JH




Figs. 14, 15
14. Marcus Gheeraerts, *Hunters and Hunting Animals*, after 1570, engraving, 3.9 x 9.3 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, detail
15. Cat. no 13, detail




Figs. 16, 17
16. Anonymous after Antonio Tempesta, *Two Dogs Fighting a Wolf*, in or after 1600, etching, 8.5 x 12.7 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, detail
17. Cat. no 13, detail

Notes
1 For biographical references, see W. Schultz, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., New York 1996, 27, pp. 516-517.
2 Several prints of monkeys acting as humans are datable to before 1567, such as Pieter Bruegel's series of monkeys in human roles, engraved by Pieter van der Borcht and datable to the late 1550s. Given the traditional resemblance between humans and monkeys, this category stands apart from the more general human-animal inversion noticed here (although monkeys could clearly feature in fables).
3 For these paintings see J. Hillegers, in: A. Tummers, E. Kolfin, J. Hillegers (eds.), *The Art of Laughter : Humour in Dutch Paintings of the Golden Age*, exh. cat. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum 2017-2018, cat. nos. 38, 41.

cat. no. 13

Jan Steen*
1626 – Leiden – 1679

Merry Company in an Inn

Signed lower left: JSteen
Oil on panel
40.5 x 54.7 cm.

Provenance:
London, David P. Sellar Collection
His sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 6 June 1889, lot 72
France, private collection, until 2019

Literature:
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. 149, cat. no. 616 (English edition, 1908, p. 161, cat. no. 616)
K. Braun, *Alle tot nu toe bekende schilderijen van Jan Steen*, Rotterdam 1980, p. 154, cat. no. A-421 (works known only from documents)

Merry Company in an Inn, a superb and important early work by Jan Steen, has recently resurfaced. The painting was virtually unknown,[1] even though it is among the earliest examples of interiors with people enjoying themselves, a genre in which Jan Steen excelled. The painting was first documented in 1889, when it was sold in Paris as part of the collection of David Sellar of London. The work was subsequently mentioned by the great art expert Cornelis Hofstede de Groot in his list of all the works by the major seventeenth-century Netherlandish masters that were known to him. His own description read as follows: 'A merry company of seventeen persons around a generously laid table. An old woman on the right makes pancakes. In the foreground a man puts a new string on his violin. On the left an old couple; she in red, he in blue.'[2] It is a brief description, but fortunately it does tell us the number of people in the picture. It mentions the dominant figure of the fiddler putting a new string on his instrument, and calls attention to the intense palette. Hofstede de Groot saw the work with his own eyes, undoubtedly at the sale in 1889.[3] His description concisely repeats the sale catalogue, where the painting was titled 'Les Crêpes'. Hofstede de Groot chose a more general title and mentioned some of the colours.

The few sentences Hofstede de Groot used to describe the work do not do justice to such an elaborate composition. The pivotal figure in the composition is indeed the fiddler resting the violin on his knee to string



it. He has placed his left foot on the rung of a triangular stool with a triangular back support. In his right hand, with which he grasps his violin, he also holds his bow.[4] He appears totally unconcerned by the noisy conviviality, and the company pays him little heed. Pentimenti (changes the artist introduced during the working process) to the cap and to both the fiddler's feet show that Steen found the final form for this figure while he was creating the composition. There is also a substantial pentimento to the leg of the stool under the back.

The group behind the table on the left sway, hand in hand, singing a song, evidently *a capella*. The young man on the right, wearing a hat, seems to have started it. With his smiling face he appears to anticipate Steen's countless self-portraits in his later work.[5] He may be responding to the man standing on the left, below the stairs, who brandishes his hat and raises a *pasglas* in his right hand in a toast.[6] Behind the group stands a man wearing a red beret; a kind of wallflower moving in time with the song. An older couple sits in front of the table, engaged in an intimate conversation. She sits on a low chair, keys hanging on a chain from her hip, hitting the ground crookedly. She has a cloth on her lap, possibly a handkerchief.[7] She wears a white cap, which was painted over a black one. A widow, she may be available for marriage by now. The balding man leans towards her, his left hand, in which he also holds his hat, resting on his right knee. There is a pentimento visible by that knee, which shows that Steen reduced the man's proximity to the woman. The man leans his right elbow on the table, as it were boxing the woman in. The colours of the clothes, blue and grey for the man, with a strip of red vest showing below the hem of his coat, and red for the woman's jacket, create a delightful effect with those of the two children standing to the right of the man at the end of the bench. The smaller child has hold of a glass (or perhaps a silver goblet), which was undoubtedly not the intention. Glass or silver, it would be a museum piece now. The slightly older child, painted swiftly with a fine lost profile, has probably scooped up something tasty into a napkin. A small board or slate, most likely with the alphabet on it, hangs from her waist. With her blue bodice, yellow pinned-in sleeves, green skirt and red cap, she contributes to the richness of colour of the little group around the bench. This part of the work clearly shows Steen's indebtedness to Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685), to whom, according to Weyerman, he was apprenticed for a while.[8] Standing on the floor behind her, ideally placed to trip someone up, is a large earthenware jug: it was typical of Jan Steen to strengthen the composition with a still-life element like this. Steen also included all sorts of objects to enliven the background. On the wall hang a lantern, bagpipes, a crossbow, a small painting of a *Virgin and Child*,[9] and a pair of boots. A birdcage dangles from the ceiling: a motif that often features in Steen's work, he had already used it in the *Meagre Kitchen* (fig. 1),[10] which was probably painted somewhat earlier. On the left, beside the door in the rear wall, there is a hat stand with a coat on it and a hat, which, given that all the men have hats or caps, does not belong to anyone. To the right of the door, a servant climbs a ladder and reaches forward to get something from the top of a box bed. The man in a hat seen from behind takes the opportunity to look up her skirt. A pentimento, easily seen with the naked eye, reveals that the girl was originally sketched leaning less far forward. A hat and a sword hang on the box bed surround, which could indicate that someone is actually sleeping in it; the mounded bedclothes also seem to suggest this. In front of these background events sits an older couple who at first glance appear to be watching the fiddler, but in fact, given the way the man holds his knife, they are eagerly anticipating the results of the activities of the fat woman cooking pancakes over the open fire on the right.[11] Steen painted this woman sublimely well, cleverly conveying the effect of her slouching on her stool while busying herself with the frying pan; she is hot from the fire and at the same time tries to keep her distance from it. There is a large pot of batter on her right and the first pancake lies on a plate. To the left of the plate we can see a pentimento, where another plate has been painted out. Beside her sits a young man with his hat pulled down over his eyes. It is evident that



Fig. 1 Jan Steen, *The Meagre Kitchen*, c. 1650/51, oil on panel, 69.7 x 91.9 cm., Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada

Steen widened the face of the chimneybreast quite significantly without taking the trouble to match the colour of the new area. A long, thin wedge, easy to see with the naked eye, runs from the left corner of the chimneybreast to the ceiling. The background around the fire contains all kinds of charming details, including a candlestick, an oil can, a cleaver and a trivet. Nailed to the side of the bed is a piece of paper with illegible notices, evidently a requirement for an inn. Hams hang from the ceiling, and there are earthenware or copper plates and pans around the fire. In the foreground on the right a dog licks a plate with a broken edge.

Among the many pentimenti in the painting, we have yet to refer to the shape of a much larger hat on the hat stand. Above the hat on the stand is a sketch line visible to the naked eye. It corresponds with the taller hat that can be seen in the infrared image (figs. 2, 3). This taller hat is roughly the shape of the one worn by the old man on the right of the table. The infrared image also shows that a lower hat was originally planned for the old man, more or less the same as the one the fiddler wears. In the end, Steen chose to hang a flatter hat on the hat stand and put the tall hat, with a comical dent in the crown, on the old man's head. The infrared reflectogram (fig. 4) reveals a few more changes in the composition. Steen had initially planned a rectangular window where the bagpipes and crossbow are. He had placed a seated child between the man with the glass and the older woman on the left in the foreground. Finely drawn lines can be seen with the naked eye, for instance in the left hand of the older man on the left.

The infrared reflectogram also provides more insights into Steen's working method. For example, there are visible sketch lines, particularly in the sleeves of the main figures, the fiddler, the pancake maker and the man and woman awaiting their pancakes. Almost the entire outline of the dog was sketched, but he drew only the right edge of the plate. The outline of the servant climbing the ladder beside the box bed is also very clear. It would appear that Steen had initially indicated the shape, enlarged it and then decided to return to the line of her back that he had originally intended. It is safe to say that Steen used these sketch lines at an early stage to establish the placement of the figures before he embarked on the underpainting. The reserves are likewise easy to see, for instance for the upper body of the seated woman on the left, and for the violin.[12] There is also bold underpainting for a curtain in the box bed (figs. 5, 6), evidently applied with a fairly broad brush. Interestingly, the curtain has disappeared under a back wall executed with a high degree of precision. Sketch lines can occasionally be found in Steen's early work.[13] It seems likely that he abandoned their use in later works.



Fig. 2, 3 Cat. no. 13, detail of the hat and infrared reflectogram of the same detail



Fig. 4 Infrared reflectogram of cat. no. 13

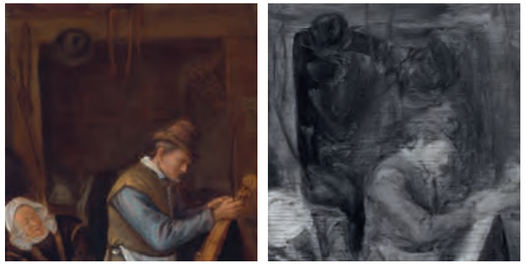


Fig. 5, 6 Cat. no. 13, detail of the box bed and infrared reflectogram of the same detail



Fig. 7 Jan Steen, *The Fat Kitchen*, c. 1650/51, oil on panel, 70 x 90 cm., United States, private collection

The young Jan Steen did not find it easy to become a painter, but from his early years he undeniably had strong ambitions and set the bar high for himself. He modelled himself on successful contemporaries like the Van Ostade brothers and Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/29-1682), although he also looked to older artists. The best-known example in this last category is Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1526/30-1569), whose *Fat Kitchen* and *Meagre Kitchen* he translated into contemporary variations (figs. 1 and 7). These two works are the benchmark for placing the painting under consideration in Jan Steen's oeuvre. With a probability bordering on certainty, they are the two *Kitchens* Harald Appelboom bought in The Hague in 1651 for Karl Gustav Wrangel, at that time Governor of Pomerania, who later built the famous Skokloster Castle in Sweden.[14] Although the work discussed here is close to the two *Kitchens*, in his the use of a subtle point of interest in the shape of the violinist facing right, Steen showed that he had taken a significant step forward. This painting can consequently be fairly reliably dated to around 1652/53. The *Village Wedding* of 1653 in Rotterdam is a key work among the quite rare dated or datable works.[15] Until recently, the leap from the rather average *Winter View* in Skokloster,[16] painted in the style of Isaac van Ostade (1621-1649) and dated to 1650/51, to the convincing and sophisticated composition of the work in Rotterdam, was almost incomprehensible. Meanwhile, the emergence of the small, vibrant fair scene in Bowes Castle, which is dated 1652, shows that Steen was able to manage the crowd in a chaotic fair scene with ease.[17] If we assume that the work under discussion was likewise made around 1652/53, the mystery of Steen's move to extravagant, complex compositions becomes somewhat more understandable.

The great surprise of the almost unknown *Merry Company in an Inn* is the progress Steen made relative to the *Fat* and *Meagre Kitchen*. Caricature still prevails in these two paintings. In *Merry Company in an Inn* Steen lets the energetic jollity revolve around the tranquil figure of the fiddler, who is not distracted from his task. Here Steen portrayed a figure in a truly authoritative pose. Steen was evidently pleased with it, for he reused it in the *Merry Company with a Violinist and a Bagpipe Player* (fig. 8).[18] A composition that in almost all respects corresponds to the painting under discussion, painted on copper, it is in fact a later copy in which the room has a higher ceiling (fig. 9).[19] These two paintings – the variation by the artist himself and the good old copy – prove that the *Merry Company in an Inn* was already appreciated quite early on. In 1889, when the work was sold with the Sellar Collection in Paris, it was in remarkably good company. David Sellar owned four paintings by Steen. Two of them are



Fig. 8 Jan Steen, Jan Steen, *Merry Company with a Violinist and a Bagpipe Player*, oil on panel, 34.2 x 44.4 cm., London, Agnew's (1948)



Fig. 9 After Jan Steen, *Merry Company in an Inn*, oil on copper, 36.2 x 41.3 cm., sale Amsterdam, Paul Brandt, 24/25 June 1959, lot 26

now in important art museums. The *Merry Company on a Terrace*, sold at the time under the title *Les Joyeux Convives*, one of the master's best late works, is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 10).[20] The almost two metre wide canvas *The Mockery of Samson*, an important history painting from the late sixteen-sixties, is in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne.[21]

All in all, we can conclude that with the *Merry Company in an Inn*, an important early work has come to light; a painting in which Steen made a huge leap forward. The use of focus in the composition, a central figure that claims attention in the scene, was a particularly important innovation.

WK



Fig. 10 Jan Steen, *Merry Company on a Terrace*, c. 1670, oil on canvas, 141 x 131.4 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Notes

* I am grateful to Ariane van Suchtelen and Jérôme Montcouquiol of the Cabinet Eric Turquin for their help.

1 When the painting recently surfaced in France it was covered with such a thick layer of brown varnish that it was almost impossible to appreciate its qualities. The exuberant colour emerged as the restoration progressed and the work proved to be in very good condition.

2 'Lustige Gesellschaft. Siebzehn Personen um einen reich besetzten Tisch. Rechts werden von einer alten Frau Pfannkuchen gebacken. Vorn zieht ein Mann eine neue Seite auf eine Violine auf. Links ein altes Liebespaar, sie in rot, er in blau.'

3 Hofstede de Groot identified the titles of paintings he had seen for himself by printing them in capital letters.

4 The fiddlestick is still bow-shaped. The violin has a shorter neck and the scroll is therefore not as square.

5 The man singing in *Inn Scene with Woman Suckling an Infant* in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (Hofstede de Groot 1907, cat. no. 579; Braun 1980, cat. no. 131) for example, comes very close, but there are many more.

6 A *pasglas* is a tall cylindrical glass with horizontal glass ridges. The glass was passed round in a company and every drinker had to drink from the glass down to the next ridge; anyone who failed had to go a ridge further. The Rijksmuseum has a number of examples in its collection (inv. nos. BK-NM-705, BK-1960-191, BK-NM-5809, BK-NM-9552), but there are also glasses like these in other collections elsewhere.

7 A handkerchief was often given as a gift as a proof of love (see E. de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw: Huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, exh. cat. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum 1986, p. 110). If that is the case, the couple here are certainly engaged in an intimate conversation.

8 J. Campo Weyerman, *De Levens-Beschryvingen der Nederlandsche Konst-schilders en Konst-schilderessen*, 4 vols., The Hague/Dordrecht 1729-1769, 2 (1729) p. 348.

9 A similar painting hangs on the chimneybreast in the painting in Hamburg, known as *The Twins* (Braun 1980, cat. no. 294, ill. p. 61).

10 See for this work and its pendant *The Fat Kitchen*, W. Kloek in H.P. Chapman, W. Kloek, A.K. Wheelock, Jr., *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*, exh. cat. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1996-97, pp. 103-08, cat. nos. 2, 3.

11 There is a similar scene with a company and a pancake maker by the fire in a painting in the Museum für bildenden Künste, Leipzig, which Braun incorrectly included among the rejected paintings; it was actually made somewhat later than the work under discussion, see Braun 1980, cat. no. B-152.

12 The many short, fine horizontal lines visible in the infrared image are the grain of the wooden panel.

13 See A. van Suchtelen, *In het Mauritshuis / Jan Steen*, exh. cat. The Hague, Mauritshuis 2011, p. 24, with reference to his *Peasants Dancing at an Inn* of c. 1646/48.

14 The details of this purchase of four paintings were published by O. Granberg, 'Schilderijen in 1651 voor Karl Gustav Graf von Wrangel te 's Gravenhage aangekocht', in *Oud Holland* 25 (1907), p. 132. I no longer consider my doubts about the identification of the two paintings with the works included in the sale in The Hague in 1651 (see Washington/Amsterdam 1996-97, p. 106) to be valid: throughout his life Steen seized the opportunity to use a very large stock of motifs time and time again.

15 H.P. Chapman, in Washington/Amsterdam 1996-97, pp. 116-18, cat. no. 6.

16 See, for example, W. Kloek, in Washington/Amsterdam 1996-97, pp. 100-02, cat no. 1.

17 See A. van Suchtelen, *Jan Steen en de historieschilderkunst*, exh. cat. The Hague, Mauritshuis 2018, p. 34, fig. 1.

18 Braun 1980, among the rejected works, cat. no. B-163, ill. Steen reused a figure or even parts of a composition more than once, sometimes reversed. For the reuse of parts of compositions and mirror imaging see W. Kloek, *Jan Steen 1626-1679*, Amsterdam/Zwolle 2005, pp. 54-62.

19 The painting had a certificate by Hofstede de Groot, dated March 1930.

20 See Braun 1980, no. 374; H.P. Chapman, in Washington/Amsterdam 1996-97, pp. 254-56, cat. no. 48.

21 See Braun 1980, no. 298, ill.; The Hague 2018, p. 102, fig. 6a. The fourth work is a copy after *The Effects of Intemperance* in the National Gallery, London. See Braun 1980, under cat. no. 250.



Detail of cat. no. 13

cat. no. 14

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

The Supper at Emmaus

Oil on canvas
107.5 x 173.4 cm.

Provenance:
Italy, private collection since at least 1960

That the painter Matthias Stom, sometimes referred to as Stomer, was born in Amersfoort near Utrecht was first remarked upon in 1942 by the director of the Dutch Historical Institute in Rome, G.J. Hoogewerff (himself from Amersfoort), who apparently based himself on a document that he was subsequently unable, according to H. Pauwels, to retrieve.[1] Still, there is some plausibility in this. In a document of 1630, 'Mattheo Sthom, fiamengo pittore, d'anni 30' is recorded as residing in a house on the Strada dell'Olmo, in the Roman parish of Santa Nicola in Arcione.[2] Some five years earlier, the Amersfoort artist Paulus Bor (c. 1601-1669) had lived in the same house, suggesting a possible connection between the presumed fellow townsmen. Although nothing is known about Stom's Dutch period, it becomes clear from his early paintings that he had intimate knowledge of the work of the Utrecht Caravaggists, most notably Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656) and Dirck van Baburen (1595-1624), who returned to Utrecht from their Roman sojourn in 1620 and 1621 respectively, and may have encouraged Stom to go to Italy. Unlike most Northern masters however, Stom did not return to his homeland again. His presence is detectable in Rome from 1630 until 1632, after which he seems to have moved to Naples in or after 1633.[3] In January 1640, Stom is documented as being in Sicily, where he carried on his career. A *Saint Isidore Agicola* from 1641 – his only dated painting – is still *in situ* in the Augustinian church of Caccamo. From 1646 to 1649, Stom received three documented commissions from Antonio Ruffo, Duke of Messina, who was subsequently to commission works by Rembrandt (1606-1669). In 1652 we hear the last of Stom, when he was paid for an *Assumption of the Virgin with Three Saints*, commissioned by the church of Santa Maria Assunta in Chiuduno, near Bergamo. It remains unclear if this means that the artist spent his last years in Northern Italy. Stom mainly painted large format histories – with a clear emphasis on dramatic biblical narratives, and busts of saints – and genre works in the style of the Caravaggists, of which he is one of the important representatives.

Going through the extensive list of Stom's paintings compiled by art historian Benedict Nicolson (172 in total), it immediately becomes clear that as an artist, he had a particular inclination to revisit certain subjects, often more than once.[4] However, with the exception of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, of which Nicolson lists no less than fourteen distinct and different renderings – versions or copies not included! – no subject was favoured as much by Stom as the *Supper at Emmaus*. Nicolson lists seven autograph compositions of the theme, and one copy after a lost original.[5] All but one of these works nowadays belong to prestigious collections, such as the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples, the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid and the Graf von Schonborn Collection in Schloss Weissenstein, Pommersfelden.[6] Our work, unknown to Nicolson and therefore not catalogued by him, forms the ninth rendition by Stom's hand.

The New Testament subject of our painting, so favoured by Stom, is derived from Luke 24:13-35. On the day of the discovery of the disappearance of Christ's body from the tomb, two of his disciples – one of them named Cleopas – walk from Jerusalem to nearby Emmaus, when the risen Christ – incognito – joins them and asks them what they are talking about. 'Haven't you heard?' they say, and they tell him of the crucifixion, the disappearance of the body from the tomb, and the angels proclaiming Christ's resurrection. Some of the disciples, they tell him, went down to the tomb but hadn't seen their master. 'How foolish you are, and how slow to believe all that the prophets have spoken!' says



Christ. 'Did not the Messiah have to suffer these things and then enter his glory?' And he explains to them what was said in all the Scriptures concerning himself. Arriving in Emmaus at sundown, the disciples ask their travelling companion to stay, and they sit down at the table to eat. When Christ breaks the bread 'their eyes were opened and they recognized him, and he disappeared from their sight. They asked each other, 'Were not our hearts burning within us while he talked with us on the road and opened the Scriptures to us?'

The present painting shows Christ on the right breaking the bread, and revealing himself. Cleopas (with the pilgrim's shell of Santiago de Compostella clipped on his hat) immediately starts out of his chair, his face bewildered, whereas the dark silhouette of the other disciple backs away in bafflement, dramatically spreading his arms. In doing so, his right hand blocks the candlelight, which adds magnificent tension to Christ's supernatural manifestation. Two servants bringing more food seem to wonder what is going on. One can easily imagine why Stom favoured the subject. Substantively it advocated a strong Christian message of faith, in Christ and in the Bible as the unfailing word of God. Narratively and pictorially, the subject offered intense emotion and amazement on the part of the disciples in the presence of the risen Christ, a challenge to successfully render the spectacle of peripety, and an excellent opportunity for Stom to showcase his outstanding abilities as a tenebrist in rendering the chiaroscuro of the dark tavern and the candlelight. As his oeuvre underlines, depicting confrontation oriented multi-figure narratives, composed around a light source in a dimly lit interior was Stom's trademark idiom. The fact, moreover, that he painted so many variations on this specific theme, implies a relatively comfortable commercial outlet for his work.

Whereas the pictorial tradition of the supper at Emmaus harks back to the medieval period, the common mode of depiction during the sixteenth century was the symmetrically-oriented scheme of Christ in the middle behind a table, with the two disciples on either side. Even the quintessential rendering of the subject by Caravaggio (1571-1610), painted in Rome in 1601 and now in the National Gallery, follows this basic compositional formula (fig. 1). This innovative painting, which before all else is unrivalled for the intensely expressive gesturing of the disciples, set the stage for many subsequent renderings of the subject, including those by major Netherlandish artists such as Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629), and Matthias Stom.[7] Caravaggio's echo is also present in our work, yet not so much because of its composition. While two out of Stom's nine renderings feature the traditional symmetrical formula – one of them, a painting last seen in Lucerne in 1994 clearly following Caravaggio's example in the positioning of the left disciple rising from his chair – our painting follows an asymmetrical build up, with all the attention directed to the figure of Christ to the right.[8] We see, rather, the impact of Caravaggio's painting in the gesture of the dramatically outspread arms of the disciple



Fig. 1 Caravaggio, *The Supper at Emmaus*, 1601, oil on canvas, 141 x 196.2 cm., London, National Gallery



Fig. 2 After Gerard van Honthorst, *The Supper at Emmaus*, oil on canvas, panel, 124 x 191 cm., Hartfort (CT), Wadsworth Atheneum



Fig. 3 Attributed to Willem van Honthorst, *The Supper at Emmaus*, black chalk, pen and wash, heightened in white on blue paper, 21.7 x 30.1 cm., Weimar, Goethe Nationalmuseum

in front of the table. Still, one wonders how directly Stom derived this motif from Caravaggio's work, in which the spectacular foreshortening of Cleopas' arm is the actual key element, whereas in Stom's work the emphasis lies instead on the breadth of the gesture, the right hand blocking the light source and the left hand theatrically lighting up in the dark background. In fact, one comes across this specific rendering of the gesture in the work of Gerard van Honthorst. A (studio?) copy after a lost *Supper at Emmaus* by Van Honthorst in Hartford depicts the silhouetted disciple and his gesture in a very similar way (fig. 2).[9] Presumably painted around 1620-1623, in the years directly following Van Honthorst's return to Utrecht, it fuels the idea that Stom might well have spent time in that city, before obtaining a one-way passage to the South. A strongly related drawing of the subject in Weimar shows the same motif again in a composition that resembles the present work even more closely, as it now also includes the figure of Cleopas, with his broad-brimmed hat and his outspread right hand, jumping up (fig. 3). Attributed to Gerard's younger brother Willem van Honthorst (c. 1604-1666) (although given the affinity with the present work a tentative, careful attribution to Stom would be worth considering), the drawing confirms the suspicion that Caravaggio's gesture found its way into Stom's work through Utrecht.[10]

Remarkably, one does not encounter the gesture of outspread arms in Stom's other renderings of the theme, such as the works in Madrid (fig. 4) and Pommersfelden (fig. 5). As these other works – the two symmetrically-oriented works aside – are all creative variations on one basic composition, one could argue that once Stom had established this compositional scheme, he stuck to it from then on. Since Nicolson dates all but the Pommersfelden work – which according to him was done in Sicily – to the Naples years, and since there is a demonstrated connection for the present composition with Utrecht during the 1620s, we might tentatively understand our painting to predate the other works, leading to a presumable dating in Stom's early Italian years, around 1630-1635.

JH



Fig. 4 Matthias Stom, *The Supper at Emmaus*, oil on canvas, 110 x 150 cm., Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza



Fig. 5 Matthias Stom, *The Supper at Emmaus*, oil on canvas, 117 x 172 cm., Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein der Grafen von Schönborn

Notes

1 G.J. Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche kunstenaars te Rome (1600-1725): uitreksels uit de parochiale archieven*, The Hague 1942, p. 279, no. 2, and H. Pauwels, De schilder Matthias Stomer', in: *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis* 14 (1953), pp. 139-192, p. 142, no. 15. For further biographical references, see M.J. Bok, in: A. Blankert, L. Slatkes, *Nieuw Licht op de Gouden Eeuw. Hendrick ter Brugghen en tijdgenoten*, exh. cat. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 1986-1987, and L. Slatkes, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols. New York 1996, 29, pp. 696-698.

2 Hoogewerff 1942, p. 279.

3 M. Osnabrugge, 'New documents for Matthias Stom in Naples', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 156 (2014), pp. 107-108.

4 B. Nicolson, L. Vertova, *Caravaggism in Europe*, 3 vols., Florence 1990, 1, pp. 179-188.

5 See B. Nicolson, 'Stomer Brought Up-to-date', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 119 (1977), pp. 230-245, nos. 48-54, 128; Nicolson/Vertova 1990, pp. 183-184. A solid discussion of this group of paintings is provided in I. Gaskell, *Seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painting : The Thyssen-Bornemisza collection*, London 1990, pp. 516-519, cat. no. 123.

6 Nicolson lists the following paintings (all on canvas): Naples, Museo di Capodimonte (2x): 157 x 202 cm; 153 x 205 cm.; Göttingen, Kunsthistorisches seminar, 117 x 188 cm; Paris, Heim Gallery (now: Madrid, Museo Thyssen Bornemisza), 110 x 150 cm.; Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble, 130 x 164 cm.; Bellagio, private collection (last seen sale Lucerne, Galerie Fischer, cat. 1994, lot 6), 126 x 229 cm.; Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein der Grafen von Schönborn, 119 x 172 cm.; Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, 120 x 165 cm. (copy after a lost original).

7 Rubens's painting is in Paris, St. Eustache (see D. Freedberg *The Life of Christ after the Passion : Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard VII*, London/Oxford/New York 1984, pp. 43-48). For Ter Brugghen's painting in the Toledo Museum of Art, see L.J. Slatkes, W. Franits, *The paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen, 1588-1629 : catalogue raisonné*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2007, cat. no. A22.

8 This concerns the copy in Rome and the work last seen with Fischer, Lucerne.

9 See R.J. Judson, R.E.O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst 1592-1656*, Doornspijk 1999, pp. 90-91, cat. no. 69.

10 The drawing has been attributed to Willem van Honthorst by Dorine van Sasse van Ysselt (2010) on the basis of the comparison with the Hartford painting. See website RKD: https://rkd.nl/explore/images/190592 (website visited 29 January 2020).



Detail of cat. no. 14

cat. no. 15

David Teniers the Younger
Antwerp 1610 – 1690 Brussels

At the Dentist

Remnants of a signature lower left: D. Teniers
Oil on panel
35.5 x 29 cm.

Provenance:
Guéret, Musée Principale
Sale Berlin, Leo Spik, 26 May 1967, lot 202
France, private collection

Literature:
C. Laborde, *Musée de Guéret: guide du visiteur*, Guéret 1956, p. 43
F.E.M. de Maar, *Vijf eeuwen tandheelkunde in de Nederlandse en Vlaamse kunst*, Nieuwegein 1993, pp. 63-64, no. II, 21a

David Teniers the Younger has always been looked upon, rightly, as the most accomplished painter of the Flemish dynasty of painters. He was a prolific artist with over two thousand pictures attributed to him, of which many of the greatest works were completed in the period between 1640 and 1650. A century later, a number of his most decorative paintings were made into designs for tapestries manufactured in Brussels. The artist painted almost every genre of picture, though in much of his work he favoured the subject of peasant life. At the beginning of his career he was most influenced by his father David Teniers the Elder (1582-1649) and by the peasant painter, Adriaen Brouwer (1605/6-1638). In 1637, at the age of 27, David Teniers married Anna Brueghel, daughter and heiress of Jan Breughel I (1568-1625). A few years later, in 1644/45, when Teniers was elected dean of the Antwerp Guild, his fame was reaching its peak. During these years he enjoyed the patronage of the art lover and connoisseur, Antonius Triest, Bishop of Ghent (1577-1657). It was through him that, in 1647, Teniers' work came to the attention of the newly appointed governor of the Southern Netherlands, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614-1662), who assigned him as court painter in 1650. His new role in these surroundings palpably influenced Teniers' choice of subject matter, as he began to paint mainly scenes of fashionable life.

Probably executed in the early 1640s, the present painting represents a seated dentist, who just removed some teeth. In his left hand he triumphantly displays one of them, while a young boy standing behind him, holding his cheek, is visibly suffering. The dentist's luxuriant fur coat and fur hat are in strong contrast with the plain clothing of the patient. Teniers made several variations on the theme, which were often imitated by his contemporaries and later artists.[1] There was a tradition in Flemish painting of ridiculing quack doctors and their practices, and this may be the case here. Another version is in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden.[2] In the Dresden picture, which includes a lying dog in the foreground, the dentist wears a red coat and a feathered hat. The table as well as the tablecloth shows differences. We can assume that Teniers had to paint a second version for a commissioner. A further version with the subject, circa 1645-1650 and with an arched top, is in the collection of the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Kassel. This work, in which a dentist has also just removed a tooth, was engraved by Raimondo della Croce. Underneath the print an inscription reads: 'The tooth apparently caused him much pain. When he saw that it had been removed, the patient regained his vitality. Evil engenders Good. The proverb is that after sadness follows happiness.' It is therefore debatable as to whether the painting is satirizing malpractice, or straightforwardly conveying the proverb of the print.

WB

Notes
1 E.g. Jacob de Hellemont-Zeger, *The Dentist*, oil on panel, 47.9 x 63.9 cm., Munich, Pinakothek, inv. no.5149.
2 David Teniers, *The Dentist*, signed, oil on panel, 35 x 30.5 cm., Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. no. 1080.



cat. no. 16

Willem Willemsz van der Vliet
c. 1584 – Delft – 1642

A Pikeman Holding a Glass and a Pitcher

Signed and dated centre right: w.vander vliet fecit / a 1627
Oil on canvas
91.7 x 71.2 cm.

Provenance:
United Kingdom, private collection since the 1890s

Literature:
Unpublished

According to the Delft mayor and city biographer Dirck van Bleyswijck (1639-1681), Willem van der Vliet was born in Delft, and passed away in 1644 at the age of 58.[1] This information has proven to be partly incorrect, as Van der Vliet died in December 1642.[2] Accepting his age as 58 in the year of his death, he was probably born during the notorious year 1584, when the country was startled by the murder of its political leader William of Orange, in Delft's Prinsenhof. The son of Willem Heijnricxsz van der Vliet and Maritgen Willemsdr (d' Overschie), Willem van der Vliet probably belonged to the distinguished Van der Vliet van der Woert family.[3] Additional information on his early life is lacking. Although undocumented, it is assumed that he studied with the famous Delft portraitist Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641).[4] After his apprenticeship he presumably worked in Van Mierevelt's studio for several years.[5] This would indeed explain the fact that Van der Vliet, then living in the Choorstraat, joined the Delft Guild of St Luke as late as 1615, when he was already 31 years old. In 1618 Van der Vliet married Maritge Jacobsdr Storm van Wena, and shortly afterwards the couple moved to the Nieuwe Langendijk. Unknown so far in art historical literature, the couple had a son named Jacob.[6] Family bliss, though, was short-lived: by February 1622 Maritge had passed away, and it was not until 1636 that Van Vliet – then living at Turfmarkt – remarried Jannitge Heyndricx van Buyren.[7] Van Bleyswijck informs us that Willem's nephew Hendrick van Vliet (1611/12-1675), his brother Cornelis's son, studied with him before being apprenticed to Michiel van Mierevelt, and – eventually – becoming a famous painter of church interiors. In 1632 Hendrick became a member of the guild, and in 1633 Willem himself became the guild's dean. We hear no more of Willem until his death on 6 December 1642. Given the fact that his wife Jannitge, in her testament of 17 December 1642, left Willem's self portrait to his brother Cornelis, we can assume that Willem's son Jacob did not reach maturity.

Van Bleyswijck writes that Willem 'first practiced history and inventions, but afterwards specialised in portraits, having a fluent and smooth manner of painting, creating striking resemblances, testified by the many





Fig. 1 Willem van der Vliet, *Portrait of the Priest Suitbertus Purmerent*, 1631, oil on panel, 113.5 x 85.4 cm., London, National Gallery



Fig. 2 Willem van der Vliet, *Merry Drinker with a Large Jug and a Glass of Beer*, signed and dated 1624, oil on panel, 96.5 x 75.4 cm., sale London, Christie's, 4 July 2019, lot 32



Fig. 3 Gerard van Honthorst, *The Merry Fiddler*, 1623, oil on canvas, 107.2 x 88.3 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

works in prominent burghers' houses, which are hugely appreciated by connoisseurs.' Indeed, about 40 signed and dated works – mostly portraits – are known from 1624 onwards, apparently the year in which Van der Vliet, aged 40, decided to start out by himself.[8] As recognised by Van Bleyswijck and modern scholars alike, Van der Vliet's oeuvre reveals a very talented painter who, with great care for detail, managed to convey a refined and fresh naturalism; qualities that are are exemplified by sophisticated portraits such as that of the Delft notary and collector Willem de Langue and his wife Maria Pijnacker, dated 1626, now in the Prinsenhof in Delft, or that of priest Suitbertus Purmerent, from 1631, in the National Gallery in London (fig. 1).[9] We know of no history works by Van der Vliet, and by 'inventions' ('Inventien') van Bleyswijck probably refers to larger compositions. We do, however, know of a number of strikingly original genre works. The first to seriously address this aspect of Van der Vliet's oeuvre was Christiana Wansink, who in 1987 gathered an allegory and five genre works by his hand, four of them dated, between 1624 and 1629.[10] Since Wansink's publication, at least four other genre works have come to light.[11] While two of these remain unsigned, the two most recently surfaced paintings – a *Merry Drinker with a Large Jug and a Glass of Beer* (fig. 2) and the work presented here – bear signatures, and the dates 1624 and 1627, respectively.

These latest additions thus corroborate the observation that Van der Vliet 's production of genre works is roughly limited to a time period at the beginning of his independent career, when he had already turned 40. It is noteworthy that these two works are depictions of drinkers, a subject so far unknown in Van der Vliet's oeuvre. Both are of roughly the same size and well worth comparing, for although they testify to similar ambition and feature a related composition and iconography, they are distinctly different in other respects. The grinning, corpulent man with his sanguine, bearded face in the 1624 work is dressed in a fanciful costume, bringing to mind the life-size busts of Picaresque drinkers and musicians painted during the early 1620s by the Utrecht Caravaggists, specifically Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656) (fig. 3). The



Fig. 4 Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Sleeping Mars*, oil on panel, 106 x 93 cm., Utrecht, Centraal Museum

man's large and old-fashioned plumed hat, his embroidered jacket with shoulder pads and the luxuriant fur mantle place him outside the reality of the 1620s; instead they frame him as a grotesque comical character (reminiscent of contemporary theatrical types such as Pekelharing, or John Flagstaff), an impression further emphasized by the very large earthenware jug he embraces, the huge fully filled beaker of beer he raises, and the playing cards and flute before him.

The seated man with his helmet and cuirass in the present painting, dated 1627, likewise echoes a type recently developed in Utrecht, confirming that Van der Vliet was well aware of the artistic developments in that city.[12] A life-size bust of a *Sleeping Mars* by Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629), datable to c. 1625 and likely referencing the desire for peace in the Netherlands, shows the war god, sitting asleep in full, glimmering sixteenth century Italian armour (fig. 4).[13] Life-size soldiers in armour were not unfamiliar to Dutch art at the time – one only has to think of the large history works by Honthorst and others featuring soldiers, or militia pieces, or portraits of noblemen and officers such as those produced in Van Mierevelt's studio, which as said above was presumably Van der Vliet's artistic stomping ground. Yet a non-portrait of a sole, life-size figure in armour was a novelty at the time, and the possibility, therefore, that Van der Vliet knew of this *Mars*, or a copy after it – one version has an early The Hague (thus close to Delft) provenance – is considerable. However, the present work differs from both the *Mars* and from Van der Vliet's 1624 *Drinker* in an important respect, which positions it outside the categories of history (*Mars*) and comical fiction (the 1624 *Drinker*): in contrast to these figures, the man depicted here wears a completely realistic, contemporary outfit, which identifies him as a a pikeman ('piekenier' in Dutch). Pikemen were soldiers fighting with three to five metre length pikes. They took a central position in early modern warfare, and were broadly deployed in the Dutch army (Staatse leger), where they formed the nucleus of the combat organisation.[14] An engraving from Jacques de Gheyn II's (1565-1629) famous *Wapenhandelinghe* from 1607, a richly illustrated instructional book on how to exercise military weapons, shows such a pikeman in action (fig. 5).



Fig. 5 Jacques de Gheyn II, *Pikeman Treating his Pike*, 1607, engraving, 36 x 26 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Possibly by coincidence, or because the colours of pikemens' clothing were relatively standard, the engraving's hand-colouring neatly matches the colours of Van der Vliet's pikeman's outfit: a white collar, a light tan for the jacket, and red for the trousers. Moreover, there is a notable visual correspondence between De Gheyn's engraving and the present work – in which the pikeman handles his jug and beer glass instead of his pike (figs. 6, 7). Again, this might be coincidence. However, it should be remarked that precisely during the same period Van der Vliet drew on De Gheyn's work more often: two of his genre paintings (one dated 1626) depicting the rare subject a teacher instructing his pupils, strongly rely on two works dated 1620 of the same subject by De Gheyn, one of van der Vliet's even quoting the same obscure Greek inscription found in De Gheyn's painting.[15] This is not to say that Van der Vliet relied on De Gheyn's engraving for his rendering of the individual textures in the painting. The pikeman's astonishing cuirass is executed with incredible competence and appreciation for the light reflections on the dark metal, and was certainly painted after life. Likewise, the earthenware jug, probably a specimen from the Belgian town of Raeren (near Liège), produced there from the early sixteenth until the mid seventeenth century (fig. 8), showcases Van der Vliet's delicate treatment of surfaces, and his superior ability to differentiate materials in paint.

The earthenware jug draws us to the pikeman's principal activity, drinking. Or rather, the opposite. Smiling sympathetically at the beholder, our pikeman conspicuously turns his beaker upside down, thereby emphasising its emptiness (and that of the jug), and no doubt hinting at a refill. There was a clear social resonance in a pikeman doing this, which must have added to the scene's humorous implications. As the archives of the States of Holland reveal, the State army did not pay their soldiers their salary in full once a month, but instead (and against their own rules, which stipulated full payment on the last day of the month) chose to pay in weekly terms because the soldiers would, as put in a period document 'generally not be wise enough to deal with so much money in a responsible way.'[16] In other words, the soldiers would surely spend their hard earned pay immediately on drink and women, or possibly even desert the army! As such, the present painting's imagery relates at least partly to other humorous displays involving empty glasses and jugs, such as depictions of 'kannenkijkers' ('pitcher-gazers') and assorted fools like the 'Joris' in a print by Cornelis Danckertsz (1597-1662) from c. 1630, who points to the empty jug, saying 'The jug is empty again Gooris' to which his mate replies 'Fill her up again Joris!' (fig. 9).



Fig. 6 Detail of Fig. 5



Fig. 7 Detail of cat. no. 16



Fig. 8 Earthenware Jug with zig-zag cannelures and stamped decoration, possibly Raeren 1550-1650, Rotterdam, Museum Rotterdam



Fig. 9 Cornelis Danckertsz after D. Waerden, *The Merry Drinker*, etching, 14.9 x 10.7 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 10 Frans Hals, *Banquet of the Officers of the Haarlem St George Civic Guard*, 1627, oil on canvas, 179 x 257.5 cm., Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, detail of Captain Michiel de Wael



Fig. 11 Frans Hals, *Banquet of the Officers of the Haarlem Calivermen Civic Guard*, 1627, oil on canvas, 183 x 266.5 cm., Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, detail of ensign Loth Schout

Just like the 'kannenkijker' motif, which we find in Haarlem as early as 1583, the gesture of the up-turned glass seems to originate in Haarlem as well.[17] If Van der Vliet visited the city in 1627 (the year of the present work), he might have been inspired by two brand new militia pieces painted by Frans Hals (1582/83-1666) in that year, which prominently feature the up-turned glass gesture (figs. 10, 11). Given the militia's reputation, the gesture seems to convey the amicable, humorous drinking atmosphere among the officers, although it has in fact also been suggested that it alludes to moderation.[18] However, Hals had already included the gesture, about two years earlier, in his *Boy with a Lute*, now in New York and datable to c. 1625 (fig 12). The work shows a young lute player who up-turns his glass and lets the last drop of wine fall on his fingernail (fig. 12).[19] A rather similar engraving of c. 1629 by the Haarlem engraver Theodor Matham (1605/06-1676) provides us with a welcome textual interpretation (fig. 13). The French caption underneath Matham's print explains: 'All those rubies, precious stones / what are they compared / To these delicious drops / Who can, as divine gifts / Remind us of the dead' (fig. 13).[20] This is a distinctly different epithet than the Joris/Goris buffoonery. Such a mixed message, which on the one hand amusingly glorifies alcohol and its effects, and at the same time references human mortality, is also present in a print by Anthony van der Does (1609-1680) after Jan Lievens (1607-1674), which depicts a grinning man with a tankard in his one hand, and an empty glass upside down in the other (fig. 14).[21] The Latin caption goes 'Why the friend of the painter, drunk, holds a cup in his hand – He laughs at things, which he sees that will perish; why does he consider worldly affairs as very similar to the empty glass? The reason for this is clear: he longs for what will not perish.'

Returning now to the similar imagery of Van der Vliet's work, it seems that his painting references both the drunken amusement and the vanitas element, the empty glass as a metaphor for the transience of life. And herein lies a profound beauty, for it neatly suits the life of the soldier, who after all deals with death every day. After the end of the Twelve Year's Truce (1609-1621), the hostilities had started again,



Fig. 12 Frans Hals, *Boy with a Lute*, c. 1625, oil on canvas, 72.1 x 59.1 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 13 Theodor Matham, *Merry Drinker*, c. 1629, engraving, 21 x 17 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

and in 1627 the war was a reality in the Netherlands, certainly for a pikeman. Sobering is the realisation that an average State army garrison every year lost a quarter to a third of its men.[22] Through such a clever weaving together of such a broad variety of sources, ideas and motifs, at a moment when these had hardly lifted off, Van der Vliet created a pioneering work of art, conveying a message still relevant today.

JH



Fig. 14 Anthony van der Does after Jan Lievens, *Man with a Tankard and an Upside Down Turned Glass*, engraving, 25.8 x 18.3 cm., Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk

Notes

1 D. van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft*, 2 vols., Delft 1667-[1680], 2, pp. 851-852.

2 See M.J. Bok, in: A. Blankert, L.J. Slatkes, *Nieuw licht op de Gouden Eeuw : Hendrick ter Brugghen en zijn tijdgenoten*, exh. cat. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 1986-1987, pp. 345-346.

3 Bok, op. cit.; H. Nagtegaal, 'Genealogie Storm van Wena', in: *Gens Nostra* 72 (2017), pp. 27-41.

4 See a.o. W. Liedtke, in: W. Liedke et al., *Vermeer and the Delft School*, exh. cat. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, London, The National Gallery 2001, p. 418. The assumption, although not implausible, is based on the account of Van Bleyswijck (repeated by Houbraken) who in fact speaks of Van Vliet's nephew and pupil, the painter Hendrick van Vliet. See Bok, op. cit., note 3. See also A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1718–1721, 1 (1718), p. 121.

5 See R.E.O. Ekkart, in: A. Jansen, *De portretfabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641)*, exh. cat. Delft, Museum het Prinsenhof 2011-2012, pp. 20-23. Ekkart refers to Liedtke for his assumption that Van der Vliet studied with Mierevelt.

6 Nagtegaal 2017. On 10 April 1623, Neeltge Jacob Storms van Wena, the aunt of Maritge, declares, with regards to her inheritance, that Maritge and her sister Lysbeth had both died, both leaving behind a child. This testimony is predated by the settlement of 11 February 1622 between Willem van der Vliet and his (former) mother-in-law Claesgen Jansdr van Buijren (Maritgen's mother) about the maternal inheritance of Willem's only son Jacob Willemsz van der Vliet, two years old.

7 For Maritgen's passing, see the previous note. Jannitgen may well have been a family member of Willem's former mother-in-law Claesgen Jansdr van Buijren.

8 Ekkart, op. cit., p. 20.

9 See, for instance, the favourable discussions of Van der Vliet's work by Liedtke, op. cit., pp. 49, 56-59, 418-420, cat. no. 85; Ekkart, op. cit., esp. pp. 20-21, 212-215, cat. nos. 23a-b (De Langue/Pijnacker).

10 C.J.A. Wansink, 'Some History and Genre Paintings by Willem van der Vliet', in: *Hoogsteder-Naumann Mercury* 6 (1987), pp. 3-10.

11 In addition to the present work, these are *The Money Counter*, oil on panel, 64 x 51 cm., Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium (see J. vander Auwera, *Art and finance in Europe : 17th century masterworks in a new light*, exh. cat. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium 2010, cat. no. 8); and the *Merry Drinker with a Large Jug and a Glass of Beer*, here fig. 2. A delicate *Old Woman with a Lantern*, oil on panel, 53 x 65 cm., sale Paris, Artcurial, 19 June 2012, lot 5 (as Utrecht School) must – considering the softly rendered wrinkles and the meticulously executed hands – be given to Van der Vliet as well. A small version on panel of Van der Vliet's large *Allegory* was attributed to him at a sale London, Christie's, 8 December 2017, lot 233. Two attributions in Stockholm, *Old Man with a Jug*, oil on panel, 67 x 50 cm., and *Young man with a Glass Goblet*, oil on panel, 65.2 x 50 cm., both Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (see G. Cavalli-Björkman, *Dutch and Flemish paintings II : Dutch Paintings c. 1600-c. 1800*, Stockholm 2005, pp. 306-309, cat. nos. 504, 505) should be met with careful reservation, as the general execution lacks the refined finishing seen in other works by Van der Vliet (in fingers, nails, faces, and clothing). Dendrochronology indicates a likely execution date of 1632 or later, whereas the works seem to align better – as pointed out by Cavalli-Björkman – with earlier works, such as the *Smoker and a Man Eating* of 1624 in Detroit. That said, the pair's condition seems sub-standard, which might obscure proper judgement.

12 That Van der Vliet must have been well aware of the work of his Utrecht colleagues – Peter Wtewael, Abraham Bloemaert, Paulus Moreelse (a pupil of Mierevelt), Van Honthorst and Ter Brugghen in particular – is addressed by, among others, Walter Liedtke, op. cit. pp. 56-57. See also W. Liedtke, *A View of Delft : Vermeer and his Contemporaries*, Zwolle 2000, pp. 15-16.

13 See L.J. Slatkes, W. Franits, *The paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen, 1588-1629 : catalogue raisonné*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2007, pp. 144-147, cat. no. A44.

14 See O. van Nimwegen, 'Het Staatse leger en de militaire revolutie van de vroegmoderne tijd', in: *Low Countries Historical Review* 118/4 (2003), pp. 494-518.

15 See Wansink 1987, pp. 8-10, figs. 9, 10.

16 Van Nimwegen, op. cit. p. 503.

17 For the 'kannenkijker' motif, see J. Hillegers, in: A. Tummers, E. Kolfin, J. Hillegers (eds.), *The Art of Laughter : Humour in Dutch paintings of the Golden Age*, exh. cat. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum 2017-2018, cat. no. 23.

18 See A. Tummers, in: A. Tummers et al., *Celebrating in the Golden Age*, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum 2011-2012, cat. no, 43. K. Levy-van Halm, in: N. Köhler et al., *Painting in Haarlem 1500- 1850: The Collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, Haarlem/Ghent 2006, pp. 476-478, cat. no. 177 interprets the gesture as implying moderation, therefore referring to own previous research. See J. (= K.) Levy-van Halm, 'De Haarlemse schutterstukken', in: M. Carasso-Kok, J. Levy-van Halm, *Schutters in Holland : Kracht en zeunuwen van de stad*, exh. cat. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum 1988, pp. 104-123, pp. 113-114.

19 W. Liedtke, *Dutch Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 2 vols., New York 2006, 1, pp. 269-272, cat. no. 61.

20 See G. Luijten, in: E. de Jongh, G. Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life : genre prints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1997, pp. 264-267, fig. 5, under cat. no. 53. The caption and dedication to 'le Roy' indicate that the engraving was done during Matham's Paris sojourn, c. 1629-1633.

21 Luijten, op. cit.

22 Van Nimwegen, op. cit. p. 503.

cat. no. 17

Sebastiaen Vrancx
1573 – Antwerp – 1647

Mercury in Love with Herse

Oil on panel[1]
23 x 23 cm.

Provenance:
Antwerp, collection of Gillis de Kimpe (d. 16 June 1625)[2]
The Netherlands, private collection, until 2019

Literature:
Unpublished

The son of the merchant Jan Vrancx and his wife Barbara Couterau, Sebastiaen Vrancx was baptized in Antwerp on 22 January 1573.[3] According to Karel van Mander (1548-1606), Vrancx was a pupil of the history painter Adam van Noort (1562-1641), who also taught Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). Vrancx spent the latter half of the 1590s in Rome, where he belonged to the circle of the influential Flemish-Roman master Paul Bril (c. 1554-1626), whose style Vrancx initially adopted. Bril no doubt stimulated Vrancx to make drawings after Rome's antique ruins; drawings that later served as templates for the production of Vrancx' paintings. Upon his return to Antwerp in 1601, Vrancx became a master of the Guild of St. Luke, of which he was appointed dean in 1612. Soon a key figure in Antwerp's artistic circles, Vrancx was made a member of the distinguished society of the Fraternity of SS Peter and Paul – of which, among others, Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) and Rubens were members – in 1610. He was also actively involved in *De Violieren*, the famous Antwerp chamber of rhetoric, to which he often contributed poems and plays. The same year that he was appointed dean of the guild, Vrancx married Maria Pamphi, the daughter of an art dealer and sister-in-law of the painter Tobias Verhaecht (1561-1631). From 1621 until 1631, Vrancx was a captain of the Antwerp Civic Guard of the Fencers. Vrancx regularly collaborated with other artists and provided *staffage* for, among others, Joos de Momper the Younger (1564-1735), Jan Brueghel the Elder, Pieter Neefs the Elder (c. 1578- after 1656) and Frans Francken the Younger (1581-1642). The artist's portrait was engraved after a design by Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) for the latter's *Iconography* series of Antwerp prominents.[4] Vrancx's diverse production ranges from neatly* executed history works such as the painting discussed here, to genre works, landscapes, village scenes, architectural pieces, allegories and battle scenes, in which he strut his preference for depicting horses.

With the newly discovered *Mercury in Love with Herse*. a well preserved and delicately coloured early work can be added to Vrancx' painted oeuvre. Depicted here is the mythological story of the God Mercury with his winged hat and sandals, and his caduceus in hand, who falls in love with Herse, the daughter of King Cecrops, the mythical founder of Athens. As related by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (Book II, 708-832), Mercury, flying over Athens' countryside, saw beneath him a procession in honour of the Goddess Minerva (Athena, in Greek mythology):

'That day happened to be a festival of Pallas [Athena], when, by tradition, innocent girls carried sacred offerings to her temple, in flower-wreathed baskets [...] The winged god saw them returning and flew towards them, not directly but in a curving flight, as a swift vulture, spying out sacrifical entrails; he wheels above, still fearful of the priests crowding round the victim, but afraid to fly further off, circling eagerly on tilted wings over its hoped-for prey. So agile Mercury slanted in flight over the Athenian



citadel, spiraling on the same winds.' It was then that he noticed Herse, 'pre-eminent among the virgin girls, the glory of that procession of her comrades. Jupiter's son was astonished at her beauty, and, even though he hung in the air, he was inflamed. [...] He altered course, leaving the sky, and heading towards earth'.

Although the story does not end here – Mercury is blocked in his way to Herse by her jealous sister Aglauros, whom he consequently turns into stone – it is the passionate moment of Mercury falling in love that Vrancx depicts here. The lovely Herse, dressed elegantly in yellow and blue, and holding a basket of flowers in her hand, is the radiant centre of the procession, which is headed by a boy in a red coat and a girl in a white gown carrying more flowers. She is accompanied by another fine-dressed young lady, possibly Aglauros; more maidens follow behind her. While several bystanders watch the cheerful procession pass, the inflamed Mercury espies Herse from above, as he heedfully spirals down. Yet whereas Ovid's original narrative takes place in Athens, Vrancx situates it on the Forum Romanum. During his years in Rome Vrancx produced many drawings of Rome's antique ruins, several of which are kept in the Devonshire Collection in Chatsworth House. These Chatsworth House drawings originally belonged to a sketchbook that Vrancx, according to its frontispiece, started on 20 July 1597.[5] Following comparison, we learn that the Roman *capriccio* of the present painting is largely assembled from these sketches. Thus we recognise the architectural structure framing the painting on the left as that seen in Vrancx' *View of the palazzo Quirinale*, even including the two flower pots at the stem of the tree (fig. 1). The column on the right is adapted from Vrancx' drawing of *The Temple of Saturn* (fig. 2), and the vaulted structure in the right background is a clearly recognisable mirror image of a drawing of *The Basilica of Constantine and Maxentius* (fig. 3).[6] Vrancx further adorned his Forum landscape – painted in cool greens, blues and pale orange – with the three Ionic columns of the temple of Castor and Pollux, the twelfth century campanile of the Santa Francesca Romana, the Villa Medici on the Pincian Hill to the right, and the arch of Septimius Severus in the far distance.[7]

One more drawing in the Devonshire Collection attracts our attention. This is a sketchy Forum landscape executed in simple black chalk, framed by the imposing columns of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina to the right, with a group of graceful women descending the Forum's Via Sacra (fig. 4).[8] 'What a pity this was abandoned!' comments Michael Jaffé, the Devonshire Collection's cataloguer, on this drawing. 'The figure groups, fashionably dressed ladies with their servants



Fig. 1 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *View of the palazzo Quirinale*, 1602, pen and brown ink, brown wash on paper, 41 x 27.7 cm., Chatsworth House (Derbyshire), Devonshire Collection



Fig. 2 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *The Forum Romanum with the Temple of Titus and Vespasian, the Temple of Saturn and the Arch of Septimius Severus*, pen and brown ink, brown wash on paper, 26.9 x 41.3 cm., Chatsworth House (Derbyshire), Devonshire Collection



Fig. 3 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *The Basilica of Constantine and Maxentius*, pen and brown ink, brown wash on paper, 27.5 x 42.2 cm., Chatsworth House (Derbyshire), Devonshire Collection



Fig. 4 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *View of the Forum from SS. Cosma e Damiano*, black chalk on paper, 27.5 x 42.1 cm., Chatsworth House (Derbyshire), Devonshire Collection



Fig. 5 Detail of fig. 4

accosted by a beggar, and two monks walking, are particularly alive and their actions well observed.'[9] Connecting the drawing with our painting, it seems to have served a purpose after all. Although lacking Mercury hovering in mid-air, its figure group, so explicitly placed within a Forum setting (fig. 5), strongly recalls the present *Mercury in Love with Herse*, for which it probably served as a template.[10]

The theme of Mercury falling in love with Herse was depicted early on by Bernard Salomon (1506-1561) and Virgil Solis (1514-1562), as part of both these artists' cycles of woodcuts after Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (fig. 6).[11] In the Netherlands Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) included it in his 1590 series with scenes from the second book of *Metamorphoses* (fig. 7).[12] While loosely relying on Salomon's compositional scheme, Goltzius' more elaborate, sophisticated engraving set the stage for Vrancx. The figure of Mercury, above all, anticipates Vrancx' effort, and must have served him as an example.[13] Vrancx might have also been aware of a work with the subject painted on copper by Paul Bril. This finely executed painting, which also forms part of the Devonshire Collection (fig. 8), is generally dated c. 1605 on stylistic grounds, thus after Vrancx' return to Antwerp.[14] However, given the close ties between Bril and Vrancx, one wonders if Bril may not have started work on the painting when Vrancx was still in Rome. In addition to a kindred palette, the works share some notable motifs, such as a child with the basket leading the procession, and the little dog running ahead. That said, Bril's and Vrancx's works might both rely on a no longer known shared example. The figures in Bril's work fully align with those found in a print by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677) (fig. 9), which credits Bril's Roman colleague Adam Elsheimer (1578-1610) as the painter, tentatively suggesting a presently unknown rendering of the theme by Elsheimer of c. 1600, which could have been known to both Bril and Vrancx.[15]



Fig. 7 Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury in Love with Herse*, 1590, engraving, 17.8 x 25.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 6 Bernard Salomon, *Mercury in Love with Herse*, woodcut, in: *La Metamorphose d'Ovide figuree*, Lyon 1557

At any rate, the theme of Mercury and Herse, and its conception must have preoccupied Vrancx after his return to Antwerp. In around 1606 he collaborated with the Haarlem printmaker Jacob Matham (1571-1631) on four ambitious engravings after his designs. Matham, the son-in-law of Hendrick Goltzius, had been in Rome from c. 1595 until 1597, which suggests that the two peers had already met there. In addition to a large *Cleopatra Welcoming Marc Anthony*, Matham engraved three of Vrancx's Rome-inspired scenes: two pendants, dated 1606, depict *The Supper at Emmaus* and the *Parable of the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus*; the third, undated but with practically identical lettering, is a *Mercury in Love with Herse*, following in reverse nearly exactly the composition encountered in the present work (fig. 10).[16] The engraving, however, follows a horizontal instead of a square format, which led Vrancx to adjust several pictorial elements. Whereas the painting depicts just one of the columns of the Temple of Saturn, the engraving shows a larger part of it, as recorded in Vrancx' drawing discussed above (fig. 2). Another ruin, seen behind the temple, is altogether lacking in the painting, as are several bystanders, one of the maidens in the procession, the Corithian capital and the base of the column in the foreground, and the column (Trajan's?) in the far distance. The engraving was thus not slavishly done after the painting (moreover, the print mentions 'Sebastiano Vrancx inventor', rather than 'pinxit'), nor vice versa, as painting and print are reversed. Rather, both the painting and the design for Matham's print were probably done at the same time after Vrancx's return to Antwerp, in around 1603/06.



Fig. 8 Paul Bril (the figures possibly by Adam Elsheimer), *Mercury in Love with Herse*, c. 1605, oil on copper, 26.8 x 38.9 cm., Chatsworth House (Derbyshire), Devonshire Collection

The painting's Antwerp genesis is confirmed once more, as it is recorded in the 1625 death inventory of the major Antwerp collector Gillis de Kimpe. The 'small piece of the beautiful Herse by Sebastian Vrancx on panel in an ebony frame' in the 'voercamer' (front room) can only



Fig. 9 Wenceslaus Hollar after Adam Elsheimer, *Mercury in Love with Herse*, c. 1644/52, etching, 8.5 x 9.9 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 10 Jacob Matham after Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Mercury in Love with Herse*, c. 1606, engraving, 17.8 x 25.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

refer to the present work.[17] A notary by profession, living in the house 'De witte pluym' (the white plume) near Antwerp's New Bourse (now Twaalfmaandenstraat), De Kimpe and his wife Magdalena Janssens assembled one of the most impressive and diverse collections in Antwerp. In addition to a huge library (over 1050 works mentioned in the inventory), De Kimpe owned a phenomenal collection of artefacts, rare scientific objects such as a telescope, naturalia, sculpture, prints (both in albums and framed), drawings and over 140 paintings. Among them we find three works by Jheronimus Bosch (c. 1450-1516), six by Gillis Mostaert (1528-1598), and works by Quinten Massys (1465/66-1530), Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533) and Jan van Scorel (1495-1562). The modern masters were evenly well represented. The inventory lists works by, among others, Joos de Momper (eight in total, plus three collaborations with Jan Brueghel the Elder, 1568-1625), Frans Francken, Pieter Brueghel the Younger (1564-1638), Guilliam van Nieulandt (1584-1635, three works) and no less than six works by Vrancx' brother-in-law Tobias Verhaecht. Overseeing De Kimpe's debtors as recorded in the inventory, we find among them Peter Paul Rubens, Jan Brueghel the Elder, the well known spice merchant and prominent collector Cornelis van der Geest, the art connoisseur and important collector Antonio de Tassis, and the Rockox and Duarte families. This all locates De Kimpe within the heart of Antwerp's socio-artistic and intellectual milieu. And it was in this rich environment, in which knowledge of science, art, poetry and nature were regarded as essential, that Vrancx' refined evocation of Ovid's love story was mostly appreciated.

JH

1 An old inscription in black ink on the reverse of the panel is difficult to decipher, but seemingly reads: '..... du Cabinet / du gerimont [?] victor'.

2 The painting is mentioned in De Kimpe's death inventory, drawn up 21-28 July 1625 in Antwerp: 'Een cleyn stucxken van de schoone Hersse van Sebastian Vrancx op paneel in ebbenhoutte lyste' ('A small piece of the beautiful Herse by Sebastian Vrancx on panel in an ebony frame'). See E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 14 vols., Brussels 1984-2009, 2 : 1618-1626 (1985), pp. 399-415, inv. no. 529, p. 403.

3 Biography based on J. van der Auwera, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 36 vols., New York 1996, 32, pp. 722-724; A. Keersmaekers, 'De schilder Sebastiaen Vrancx (1573-1647) als rederijker', in: *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* 1982, pp. 165-186.

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

5 See M. Jaffé, 'A Second Roman Sketchbook of Sebastiaen Vrancx at Chatsworth', in: idem., *The Devonshire collection of northern European drawings*, 5 vols., Turin 2002, 2 (Flemish Artists), pp. 250-305, esp. p. 300, cat. no. 1321.

6 Jaffé, op. cit., cat. nos. 1310 (*View of the Palazzo Quirinale*); 1313 (*The Forum Romanum with the Temple of Titus and Vespasian, the Temple of Saturn and the Arch of Septimius Severus*); 1302 (*Basilica of Constantine and Maxentius*).

7 Vrancx also applied this forum view in an *Autumn* (pendant to a *Summer*) recently auctioned in London, Christie's, 3 December 2019, lot 24 (both pendants), oil on canvas, 119 x 162.2 cm. The architectural unit seen in the drawing *View of the palazzo Quirinale* (here fig. 1) and the campanile of the Santa Francesca Romana are reused in Vrancx' *Seven Acts of Mercy*, dated 1608, in the Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover, inv. no. PAM 886.

8 Jaffé 2002, cat. no. 1299.

9 Jaffé 2002, p. 255. Previously published in 1995. See M. Jaffé, 'The Roman Sketchbook of Sebastian Vrancx in Chatsworth', in: E. Mai, K. Schütz, H. Vlieghe, *Die Malerei Antwerpens : Gattungen, Meister, Wirkungen : Studien zur flämischen Kunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts : Internationales Kolloquium Wien 1993*, Cologne 1995, pp. 194-205, p. 197.

10 See M.R. Nappi, in: H. Devisscher (ed.), *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608 : kunstenaars uit de Nederlanden en het prinsbisdom Luik te Rome tijdens de Renaissance*, exh. cat. Brussels, Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni Roma, 1995, pp. 402-404, cat. no. 236, esp. p. 403. Nappi discusses a print by Jacob Matham after Vrancx, based on the present painting's composition (our fig. 10).

11 Solis' rendering is a copy after Salomon's woodcut.

12 See M. Leesberg, H. Leeflang, *Hendrick Goltzius (The new Hollstein Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts 1450-1700)*, 4 vols, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel/ Amsterdam 2012, 3, pp. 242-257, cat. nos. 552-571 (1590).

13 Nappi, loc. cit., reaches the same conclusion, and points to the figure of the angel restraining Abraham in Raphael's (1483-1520) *Room of Heliodorus* in the Vatican as the pictorial source for Goltzius' and Vrancx' Mercury. In the additional remarks to Nappi's entry, L. Widerkehr (p. 404) points to another source, namely Raphael's Mercury on one of the pendentives in the Villa Farnesina's *Loggia of Cupid and Psyche*. In fact, another pictorial precedent is found in Annibale Carracci's (1560-1609) *Paris Receives the Apple from Mercury*, part of his *Love of the Gods* fresco cycle on the vault of the Farnese Gallery in the Palazzo Farnese, completed shortly before 1600 (see L. Pijl, 'Paintings by Paul Bril in collaboration with Rottenhammer, Elsheimer and Rubens', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 140 (1998), pp. 660-667, p. 664). Clearly, Vrancx will have seen these frescoes during his years in Rome, yet his Mercury above all relies on Goltzius.

14 See Pijl 1998, pp. 664-665; R. Klessmann, in: R. Klessmann et al., *Adam Elsheimer 1578-1610*, exh. cat. Frankfurt, Städel Museum, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, London, Dulwich Picture Gallery 2006, cat. no. 24.

15 There has been some discussion in art historical literature over this issue. K. Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer : Werkverzeichnis der Gemälde, Zeichnungen und Radierungen*, Munich 1985, p. 202, cat. no. A19 (rejected attributions) rejects the idea that Elsheimer contributed the figures to Bril's painting in the Devonshire Collection, which in his opinion is entirely by Bril. Rather, he proposes a lost, autograph painting by Elsheimer as the source for Hollar's print. Pijl 1998, p. 664, on the basis of the unusually detailed execution, considers the figures in Bril's painting as by Elsheimer, but simultaneously follows Andrews in assuming a lost work by Elsheimer. Klessmann, in: Frankfurt/Edinburgh/London 2006 considers Bril's painting to be the most likely source for Hollar's print, thus tentatively attributing the figures in Bril's painting to Elsheimer.

16 See L. Widerkehr, H. Leeflang, *Jacob Matham (The new Hollstein Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts 1450-1700)*, 3 vols, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel/ Amsterdam 2007, 1, pp. 57-58, 99-100, cat. nos. 25, 46; 2, pp. 87-88, 128-129, cat. nos. 184, 201. The *Mercury and Herse* (cat. no. 184) is dated c. 1606. Nappi, loc. cit. dates the engraving c. 1604/05. The fact that Vrancx' name is spelled the Italian way 'Sebastiano' instead of the Latin 'Sebastianus' as seen in the other three prints, might be an indication for an earlier, pre-1606 conception.

17 See note 2 for the reference to the inventory. On Gillis de Kimpe and his collection, see M. Rijks, 'A Painter, a Collector, and a Horseshoe Crab : Connoisseurs of Art and Nature in Early Modern Antwerp', in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 31/2 (2019), pp. 343-361.

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