





FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCE OFFICE OF THE DEAN Queen's University Kingston, Canada K7L 3N6 Tel 613 545-2448 Fax 613 545-6805

November 24, 1993

Dr. Volker Manuth Eschenstrk. 3 D-1000 Berlin 41 Germany

Dear Dr. Manuth:

This is to confirm the terms of your academic appointment in the Department of Art and as holder of the Bader Chair in Northern Baroque Art at Queen's University, which I am prepared to recommend to Principal Smith. Once you and I have agreed on the terms of appointment, Principal Smith will extend the official offer of employment.

Your appointment in the Department of Art will be at the rank of Professor, subject to approval by the Board of Trustees, effective July 1, 1994. Your appointment will be with tenure. Your academic salary effective July 1, 1994 will be \$70,000.

At the completion of six years of service, you will be entitled to a one-year sabbatical leave at 75% of your academic salary.

Your appointment to the Bader Chair will be for an initial five-year term and will be renewable upon a successful review by the Head of the Department of Art, reporting to the Dean of Arts and Science. As holder of the Chair you will be entitled to an annual stipend of \$10,000.

You will be provided with a \$15,000. research grant per year to assist you with travel expenses. Any unspent balance could be used to purchase books and research materials. Should you wish to use these funds take a four to six week course in English next summer, you will be allowed to access these funds upon acceptance of this offer.

The University will assist in defraying all reasonable expenses in moving to Kingston following approval of an estimate.

As a member of the University staff, you will be entitled to participate in the Queen's fringe benefits on the basis of your salary. When you arrive in Kingston, you should contact the Payroll Division of Financial Services (545-2050) to set up an interview to arrange these matters.

Dr. Bader is donating \$50,000 per year for three years to improve the Art Library, and we will be seeking your advice on the expenditure of these funds.



It has been agreed that your wife will be offered an appointment as an Adjunct Assistant Professor to teach one full course per year in Medieval Art History. Her remuneration for teaching will be at the rate of \$7,500 per full course.

This offer is conditional upon your obtaining the appropriate status from Employment and Immigration Canada to permit you to accept this appointment. You should wait until we obtain approval from Employment and Immigration Canada before contacting them regarding your application for permanent resident status.

I have enclosed a copy of a letter from William M. Mercer Ltd. which outlines the comparative tax structure of Canada and Germany.

I would appreciate your decision regarding this offer as soon as possible so the Principal can formalize the agreement by December 31, 1993.

Yours sincerely, Turpin David Dean

Faculty of Arts and Science



NCV-23-1993 10:42 FROM WILLIAM M MERCER T4 TO 916135456377 P.02



Writer's Direct Dial Number: 868-2891

#### Private & Confidential

November 22, 1993

Mr. William M. Forbes Director Pension & Staff Benefits Queen's University Kingston, Ontario. K7L 3N6

Dear Mr. Forbes:

### Re: Employee Who is Potentially Relocating from Germany to Canada

As you requested, we have taken a brief look at the taxation differences between Germany and Canada for the purpose of determining this employee's comparative financial position in the two countries.

Set out below are some highlights of the major elements of the German tax system, as compared to Canadian provisions. We have looked at both income tax requirements, as well as statutory withholdings for social security and other benefits.

For purposes of this simple comparison, we have assumed that the employee is relocating from West Germany to Canada on a permanent basis and that he will have annual earnings of approximately \$75,000 in his new position in Canada, which we further assume is similar to what he would have earned in Germany. We have also assumed that he is married and that his spouse does not have any taxable income. The exchange rate which we have applied is Can \$1.00/DM 1.28 which is the applicable rate as of October 27, 1993.

### Income Tax

German income taxes are based on progressive marginal rates, in a similar manner to Canadian taxes. As income increases, the marginal tax rate on the incremental amount of income also increases. In contrast to the Canadian system, however, married couples are permitted to file joint tax returns, which allows for income splitting and, generally, lower marginal tax rates applied to the joint income.

> BCE Place 161 Bay Street, P.O. Box 501 Toronto, Ontario M5J 2S5 Tel: 416 868 2000



TO



Mr. William M. Forbes November 22, 1993 Page 2

In the case of this employee, whose joint taxable income with his spouse is assumed to be equivalent to Can. \$75,000, the applicable German marginal tax rate would be approximately 32%, with average taxes of about 22%. In comparison, the marginal rate applicable on this employee's income in Canada would be about 52%. Without taking into account all possible tax deductions, the average Canadian taxes on \$75,000 of income would be approximately 40%.

In Germany, most fringe benefits are subject to income tax, including, for example, the private use of a company car and employer contributions to certain retirement plans. In this respect, the German system is fairly similar to Canada.

Some tax deductions are available in Germany which are not seen in the Canadian system. The major example of this is the deduction available for home owners. Annual deductions are based on 6% of the cost of the home (maximum Can \$15,500) for the first four years of ownership and 5% of the cost (maximum Can \$12,900) for the next four years of ownership, plus an annual deduction for mortgage interest of up to Can \$9,400 for the first three years of home ownership.

It should be noted that Germany offers only limited deductions for employee contributions to retirement savings plans. The limits on tax deductible contributions to RRSPs and pension plans in Canada are much more liberal. This employee will likely have greater tax deductions available in this regard in Canada than the deductions which he would have had in Germany.

### Social Security and Payroll Deductions

Set out below are the major payroll taxes payable in Germany. These contributions are usually shared equally between the employer and the employee.

Tax/Contribution	Rate	Covered Earnings
Social Security	17.5%	Can \$67,500
Unemployment	6.5%	Can \$67,500
Health Insurance	12.9%*	Can \$50,600

\* This is the average cost of health insurance in Germany. In addition, as the employee's earnings are above the covered earnings ceiling, he would have



1 V-23-1993 10:43 FROM WILLIAM M MERCER T4

TO



Mr. William M. Forbes November 22, 1993 Page 4

You may also wish to look at the adequacy of this individual's retirement benefits, taking into account both his German and Canadian social security and private pension benefits.

With regard to the social security benefits for this individual, please note that the social security agreement between Canada and Germany will likely ensure that he is fully vested in benefits earned in the two countries. Benefits in each country would be determined based on the actual years of participation in each country. The maximum 1993 monthly retirement benefit under each country's system (for full career participation) is:

Germany	\$2,500	
Canada - CPP	670	
- OAS	380	

The above summary is a very simplistic overview of the tax system in Germany and Canada. We would be pleased to assist in a more detailed, personalized comparison for this employee of the tax and other factors relevant to salary determination.

We will be in touch soon to see if we can be of any further assistance. In the meantime, please give us a call if you have questions regarding the above.

Yours truly,

hi faraver

Leslie J. Sarauer<sup>-</sup> Associate International Consulting Unit

/ac

Copies to:

Mr. M. Banks, William M. Mercer Limited Mr. P.W. Pittman, William M. Mercer Limited



TO



Mr. William M. Forbes November 22, 1993 Page 3

been permitted to opt out of the government health insurance program. As a result, his costs (and benefits) in this regard could be quite different.

As this employee's earnings are assumed to be above the covered earnings ceiling in all of these cases, total German payroll taxes in respect of the employee would be approximately Can. \$22,700, of which the employee would likely have paid one-half or \$11,350. In other words, approximately 15% of the employee's total earnings would have been deducted to cover these payroll taxes. About one-half of the employee's share of these social security contributions would be deductible by the employee for income tax purposes.

In comparison, the employee would have been subject to Canadian payroll taxes (Canada Pension Plan and Unemployment Insurance) of approximately \$1,900 in 1993 or 2.5% of total earnings.

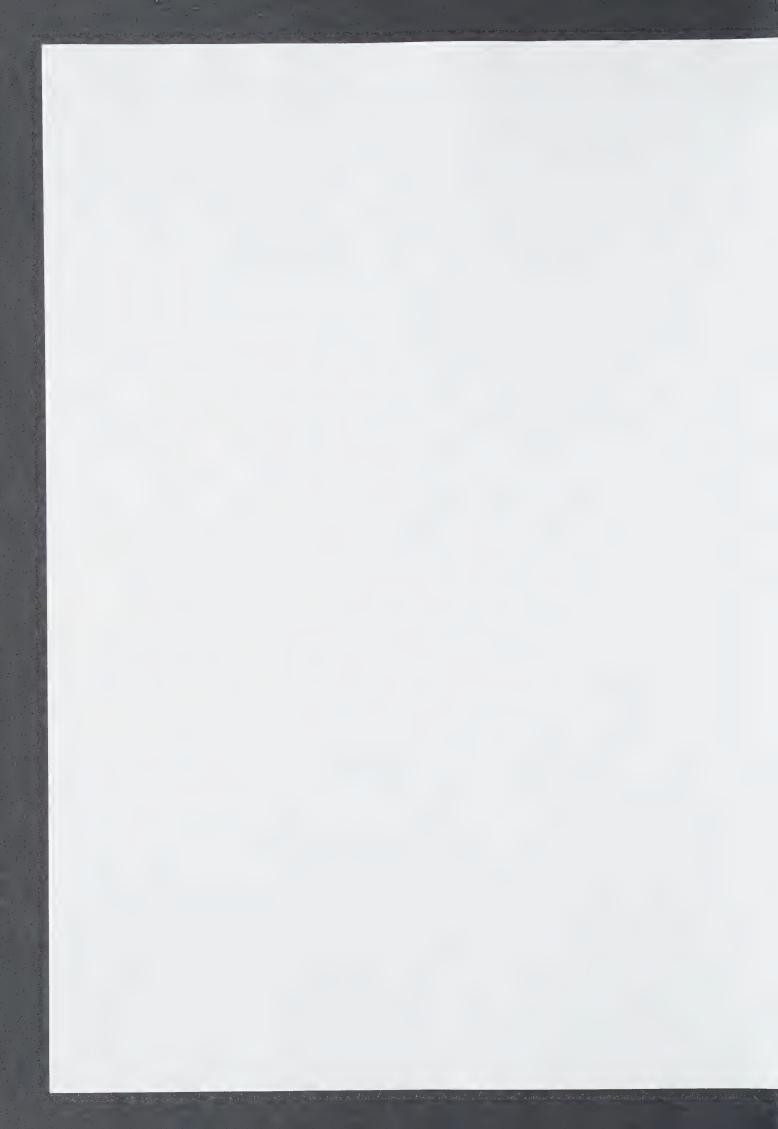
#### Summary

Set out below is a table summarizing the approximate amounts of income tax and social security costs for this employee in Germany and Canada:

	Germany	Canada
Taxable Income	\$75,000	\$75,000
Income Tax	(16,500)	(30,000)
Social Security	(11,350)	(1,900)
Net Income	\$ 47,150	\$ 43,100

Please note that these figures are very approximate and do not take into account all tax deductions which would be available in the two countries.

We also wish to note that, in addition to the tax issues involved in determining the appropriate Canadian salary for this individual, you may wish to consider other relevant factors, such as the comparative cost of living and housing costs in the two locations.





Professor Volker Manuth (A. Bader Chair of Northern Baroque Art)

DEPARTMENT OF ART

September 28, 1995

Queen's University Kingston, Canada K7L 3N6 Tel 613 545-6166 Fax 613 545-6891

The Honourable Michael Dupuy Minister of the Department of Canadian Heritage 15 Eddy Street, 12th Floor Hull, Quebec KIA OM5

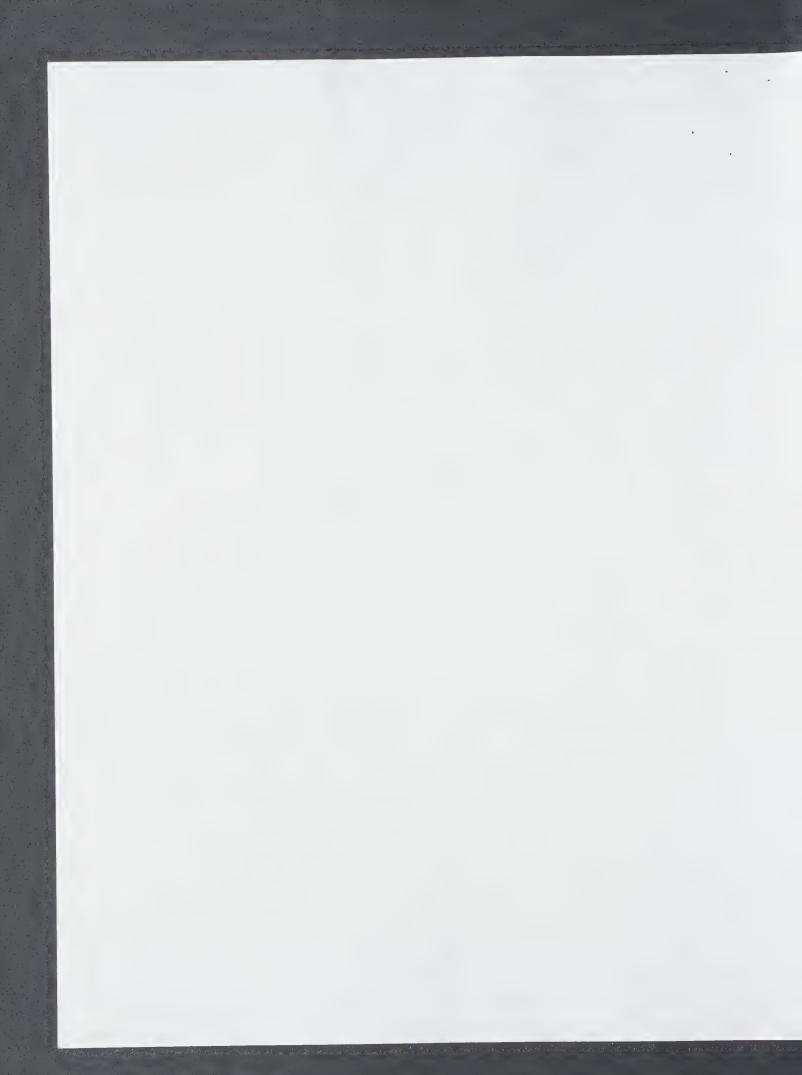
Dear Sir,

As a newly-appointed Professor of Art History at Queen's University and member of the Amsterdam based Rembrandt Research Project which consists of leading Rembrandt specialists who are working on the publication of a catalogue raisonne of Rembrandt's paintings under the auspice of the Dutch Government, I am writing this letter of assessment on the promised Bader collection. In doing so I would like to express my strongest support for the Agnes Etherington Art Centre's proposed extension and its application for funding.

Throughout the history of collecting, individuals have shaped the profile of art collections according to their personal preferences, taste, and fortune. Numerous public art institutions have benefited from passionate art lovers and their donations. Because the prices for excellent Old Master Paintings went to dizzy heights within the last decades, connoisseurs who successfully started to built up a collection after the War are scarce. Important private collections of exquisite paintings from 'The Golden Age' of Dutch art are even fewer. One of these is the internationally acknowledged collection of paintings by Rembrandt and his circle owned by Dr. Alfred and Isabel Bader in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Since the 1950s Dr Bader has acquired c. 160 Old Master Paintings for

1



his own collection. The core of the collection focuses on Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn (1606-1669) and his pupils. The collection includes works by almost all major artists who were at one stage of their career connected with the master, for example Jacob Adriaensz Backer, Lambert Doomer, Willem Drost, Abraham van Dyck, Arent de Gelder, Nicolaes Maes and Jan Victors. It should be noted that such outstanding artists like Jan Lievens (1607-1674) with whom Rembrandt probably shared a studio in the late 1620s, and Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout (1621-1674) who was not only a pupil but also a close friend of the master, are represented in the Bader collection with more paintings than in any other collection in the world, private or public. I consider Lievens's depiction of an old woman with a veil called 'Rembrandt's Mother' a painting which not only equals Rembrandt's technical skills, but should be counted among the very best pictures produced in Northern Baroque Art.

Although focusing on the Rembrandt School, the Bader collection includes highly important paintings from other Dutch (and even Flemish) Schools. Jacob van Ruisdael, already considered Holland's foremost landscape painter by Goethe, is represented by more than one picture. Hendrick Terbrugghen's depiction of 'Mary Praying' is a very fine example of the art of the so-called Utrecht Caravaggisti, a group of painters from the city of Utrecht who went to Rome and came under the influence of Caravaggio, the most influential painter of his time. Almost forgotten for a long time, many scholars rank Terbrugghen fourth on Mount Olympus of Dutch painting, after Rembrandt, Frans Hals and Jan Vermeer van Delft. There are no works by Terbrugghen in public collections in Canada. This, by the way, is true for many other painters who are represented in the Bader collection, like the still-life painter Pieter Claesz and Jacob van Campen. The latter was the most significant Dutch architect of his time who designed the famous Amsterdam Townhall which today is the Royal Palace of Her Majesty the Queen of The Netherlands. However, Van Campen was a gifted painter too. His oeuvre is extremely small; we know of fewer than ten authentic paintings. One of these, his earliest known work is in the possession of Dr Bader. Paintings by Rembrandt's teacher Pieter Lastman, born in 1583, and by Rembrandt's latest known pupil Arent de Gelder who died in 1727 bridge the centuries. In other words, the

2



 Bader collection is a visual history of one of the greatest periods of painting.

The collection has a worldwide reputation. It has attracted and will attract numerous scholars and visitors. Many of Dr Bader's paintings have toured the world with major exhibitions and are included in scholarly books and catalogues. As a result of all this many art institutions and important museums in Europe and the United States are eagerly watching the future of this collection which could add tremendously to the fame of Canadian museums.

Giving the Bader collection a suitable home would be an enormous contribution of any country's Government to the benefit of its people. I remain optimistic that the Federal Government will support the extension of the Agnes Etherington Art Centre in Kingston for the benefit and prestige of the people of Canada as well as for the international reputation of the country's cultural and educational policy.

I am, Sir, Yours faithfully

1. Alana

(Dr Volker (Manuth)





## ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

October 6, 1995

Professor Volker Manuth Department of Art History Queen's University Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6 Canada

Dear Volker:

Many thanks for your help with the non-Eeckhout at Sotheby's.

Isabel and I much look forward to meeting you at 4:00 p.m. on Sunday, October 22nd and then joining you and the McTavishes for dinner in the evening.

In the afternoon, I would like to discuss with you in some detail whether and how we could collaborate on an index of all Biblical paintings depicted by Dutch artists in the 17th century. Of course, by Biblical, I mean Old Testament.

We will be arriving from Toronto by car on Friday afternoon, October 20th, and somehow, I would then like to deliver to you the two paintings by Trautmann, which you like so well, as well as about 15 to 20 rough drafts of entries for the Bible book.

Pigler lists 157 Bible stories and my perhaps rather wild guess is that there are about 500 such stories.

I have never collaborated with anyone on a book, but I have watched what horrors can happen with joint efforts with von Moltke's de Gelder book.

Naturally, I want to avoid any serious arguments during the preparation of the book.

I can think of various possibilities:

- (a) You like the layout and general format of the entries you will see and then feel that you would like to join me in the authorship and share the work; or
- (b) You don't think that the layout is at all suitable.

By Appointment Only ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622 924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202 TEL 414 277-0730 Fax 414 277-0709





Professor Volker Manuth October 6, 1995 Page 2

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If (a), then we should discuss how we can best share the work; if (b), then I hope that you would nonetheless be willing to advise me from time to time as I do the main work by myself.

I think that after each quote from the Bible should come a general statement if there is more than just one painting known. I have not written these, as I am convinced that you could do a much better job than I.

At the end of these entries, there should be a Pigler-like list of every painting of that subject which we know.

Finally, a publisher will have to be found who would be willing to print a work with so many illustrations. Yet I think that such a publisher can be found.

I very much look forward to getting together with you briefly either on Friday afternoon or evening of the reunion weekend and then more leisurely on Sunday afternoon and for dinner with the McTavishes.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

AB/cw





# ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

February 16, 1996

Mr. Neville Orgel 20 Gloucester Gardens London NW11 9AB England

Dear Neville:

You may recall that I told you that Queen's University is planning an exhibition depicting scholars at work in 17th century Dutch art, an exhibition being planned by Professor Volker Manuth.

One of the paintings being considered is the oil on canvas of a young scholar by candlelight, photo enclosed. You owned that painting quite a few years ago and at first considered the possibility that it is by Joseph Wright of Derby. After having it cleaned, I believe that you changed your mind and considered the possibility that it is by J. Berckhaeyde. In fact, on the letter next to the book, there is a faint signature not unlike that of Berckhaeyde.

I purchased that painting from you and have just recently reacquired it. Could you please refresh my memory and tell me who you believe painted this and what its provenance is?

With many thanks for your help and best personal regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

AB/cw

Enclosure bc: Professor Volker Manuth (w/encl.)

P.S. to Volker:

No doubt you will realize that the statue is very similar to the statue in the alchemical painting of 1648 by David Ryckaerd. Best wishes,

By Appointment Only ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622 924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUF MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202 TEL 414 277-0730 FAX 414 277-0709



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To. PROF. VOLKER MANUTH 19596 54/1) grages 5 20 (1) RENESSE: Pourse from Lusken pringeling, 30. VI 1974 protonome T. HARRIS, NotEnby's London 23. I. 1972 (7) Fortrail of R. Purchased from Nevilles Orgel, July 1977 Ex William MULREATH (1786-1963). an Irish Raint (3) Van Aprennoen : I have asked Ollo Nonman. (4) Pieta Franchoys (?) Purchased from Trafalga Gallesier, Landon, Necembro 1980. Dec Fei. 1979 catalog entry - le pages ! Many opinious allached (5) Pieter Nason: Bought from Neville Orgen, London, 1987. Ex James S. Murghalian, Mubl. (14) T. Wyelk : Digned but not dated. Lot 137 Norstann 28 Ki 1967. Pauce 55× Ag .... Ex collin. LLD RLillips, Excter P. Lesire Quillenter, Expertises: Bredins, Val it .... (0) Voss, Fiedlander encloped. Purchased in 1967 from Mrs. Jelua Zielinsky - Moos, Züsich. Ex gallery Claude Letin, Paris; Menning Anesterdam Marting No. 117. Revocation: Afil checking. ( Jacob Best wishes



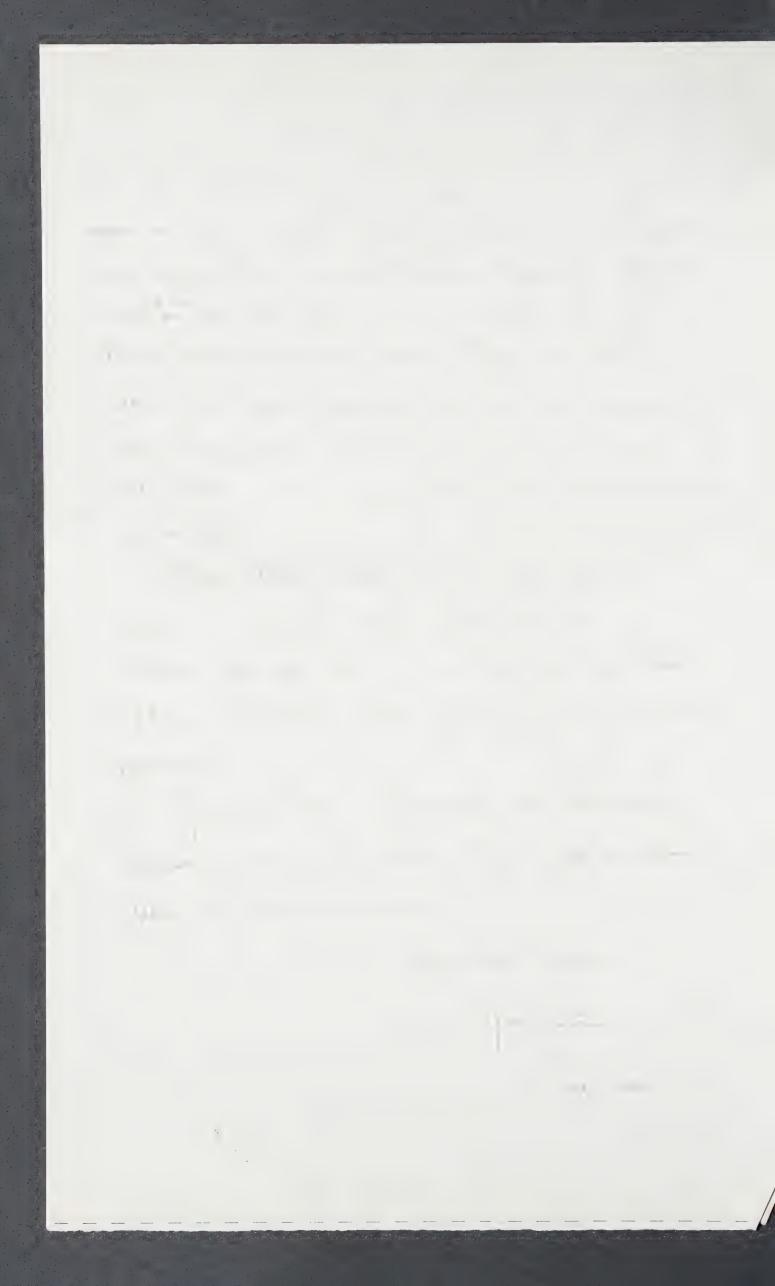
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c/o Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Herengracht 286. NI, 1016 BX Amsterdam, telefoon 020 + 5253026, tax 5253023







## ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

August 16, 1996

Professor Volker Manuth Department of Art History Queen's University Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6 Canada

Dr. Otto Naumann Otto Naumann, Ltd. 22 East 80th Street New York, NY 10021

Dear Volker and Otto:

I have just received the enclosed eight-page request from the National Gallery of Victoria to loan four of my paintings - all of which will, I hope, come to Queen's - for the Rembrandt exhibition in Australia.

My first reaction was to say 'yes' until I saw that the chief curator is Albert Blankert.

I have never met Blankert, but he has treated me horribly: One of my favorite paintings was also Wolfgang Stechow's favorite, the Drost, Sumowski's 316. In the 19th century, the painting belonged to a well-known Victorian artist, G.F. Watts, and Wolfgang suggested that I should have the painting restored at Oberlin, which I did.

Some years ago, I looked at the photograph of this painting in the RKD and saw a notation on the mount, written by Blankert, saying that this painting is a fake by Van Meegeren. I wrote to Blankert in great detail, sending him the provenance and the Oberlin condition report, which leaves no doubt that the painting is 17th century. Blankert replied with a form letter saying that if I would send him a check for \$300, he would tell me all he knows about this painting.

Should I loan my four paintings - three of which are on panels - to an exhibition curated by Blankert?

If the answer is 'yes', then there is an additional question, which concerns particularly you. Volker. My finest Eeckhoudt is *The Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, signed and dated 1653. As you both know, this painting is now much more attractive, after Charles Munch's recent cleaning, than it was when illustrated by Sumowski. Should I suggest or would you like to suggest that this painting be added also?

By Appointment Only ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622 924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202 TEL 414 277-0730 FAX 414 277-0700





Professor Volker Manuth and Dr. Otto Naumann August 16, 1996 Page 2

Incidentally, both the Drost and Eeckhoudt's *Rest on the Flight* were in the 1953 Matthiesen exhibition "Rembrandt's Influence", as were a number of other painting in my collection. That was some exhibition!

With many thanks for your help and best regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

AB/cw

x

Enclosures





## ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

August 5, 1996

Dr. Volker Manuth Department of Art History Queen's University Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6 Canada

Dear Volker:

As you will be returning to Queen's later this month, here are just a couple of questions, the answers to which are not in any hurry.

In working through *Dial*, I found under 71K61.2 the reproduction of a very large painting of Elisha being mocked by the children, Xerox enclosed. Sometime in the 1940's, this was sold in Rotterdam as a Rembrandt, but undoubtedly it is a pre-Rembrandtist, nd the bears killing one or two of the children have probably been painted out. The painting was offered to me recently, and while I like some if it, I am sort of worried about size and condition. What do you think?

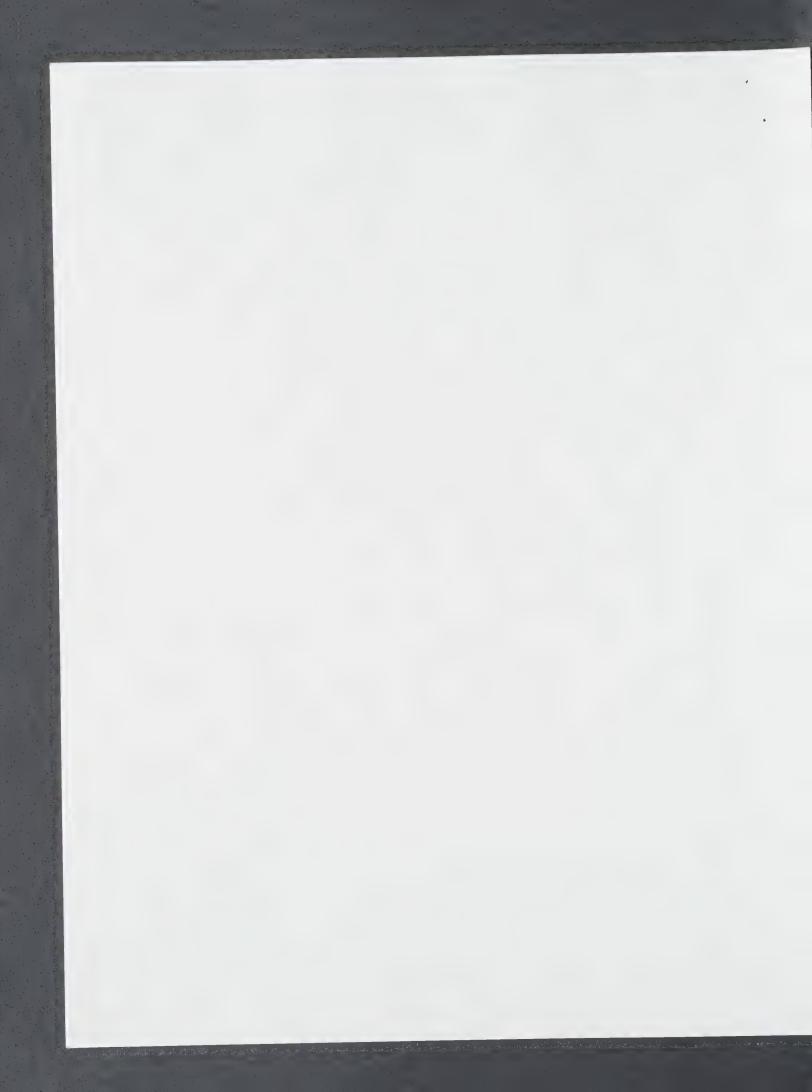
Under 71S85, the story of Susannah, I found the painting now owned by Queen's. You will note that back in 1929, it was owned by a very good art gallery in Vienna, St. Lucas, who attributed the painting to de Roore, an artist whom I don't know. This is just for your files.

With best regards, as always,

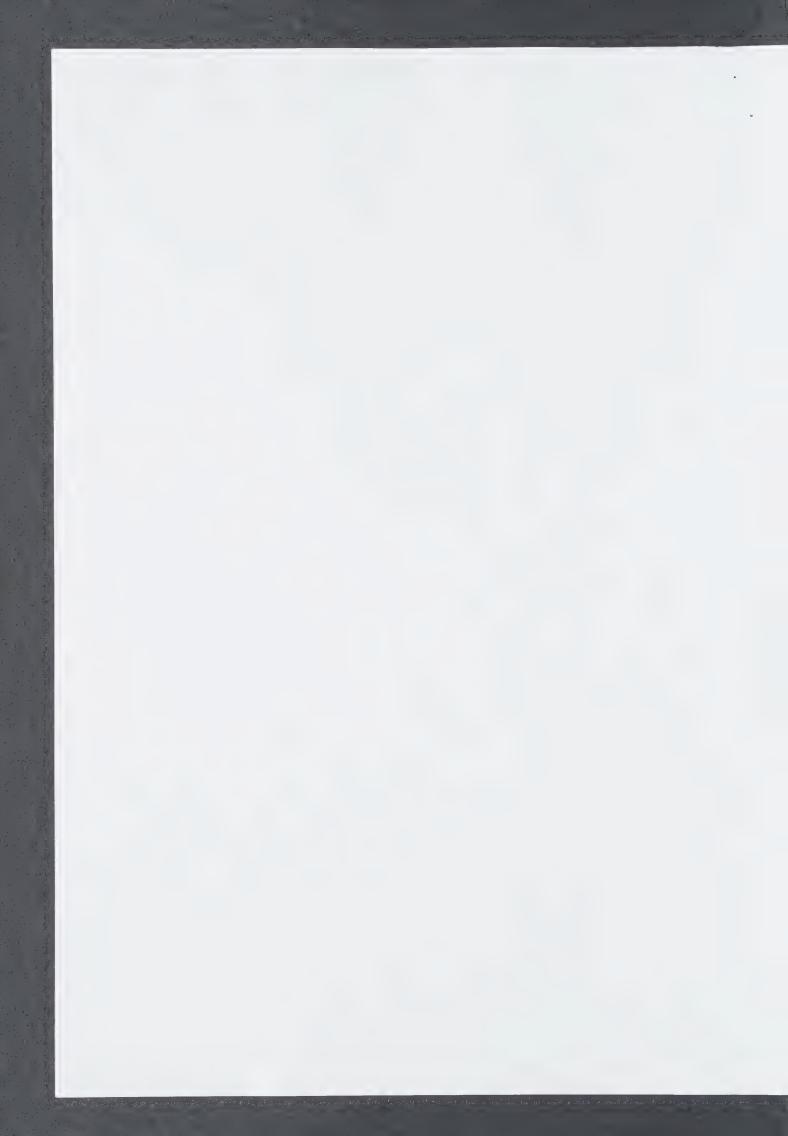
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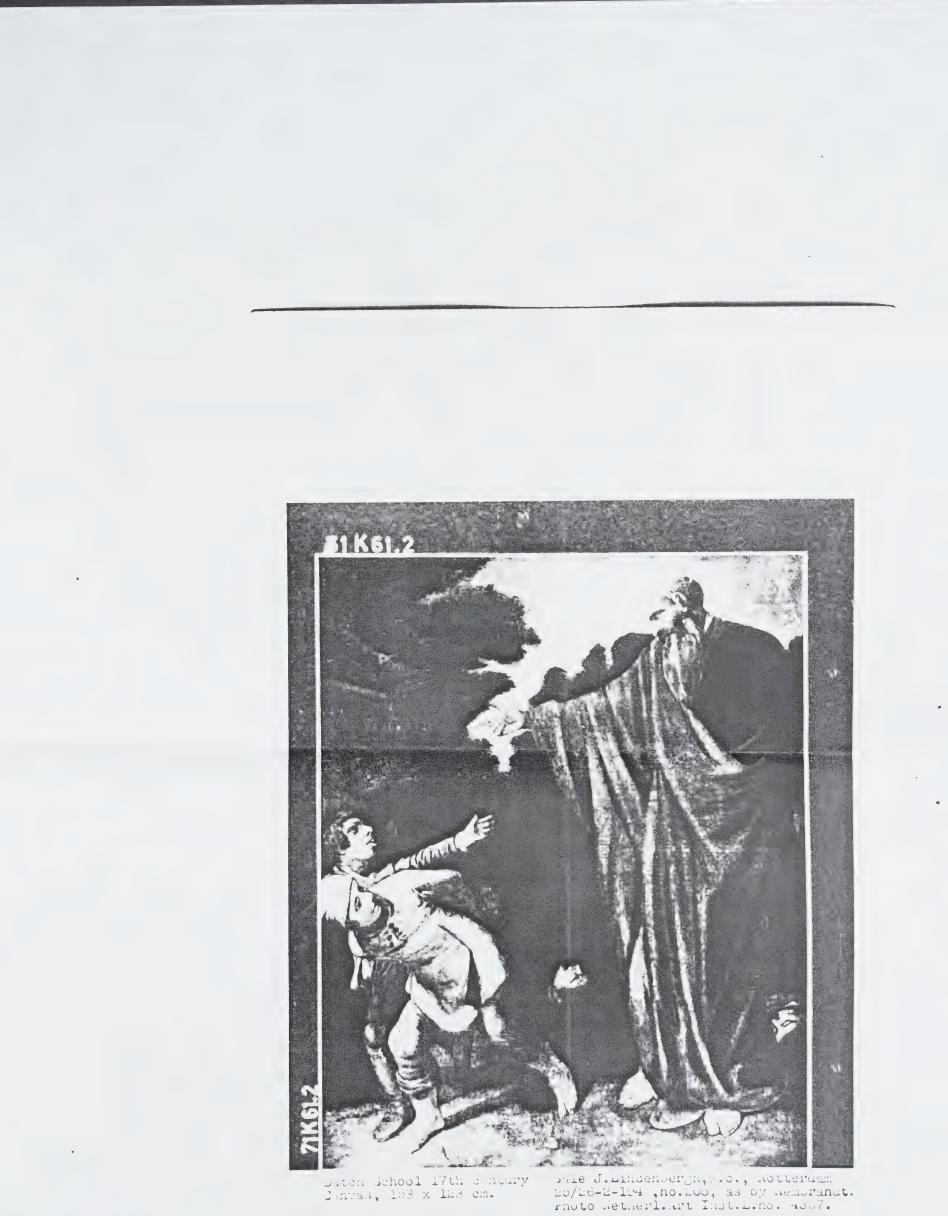
Enclosures

By Appointment Only astor hotel suite 622 924 East Juneau avenue Milwaukee wisconsin Usa 53202 Tel 414 277-0730 Fax 414 277-0709









Alisho mocked by the Children. (II Kinja 2:20).





FAX FROM



DR. ALFRED BADER'S OFFICE

Suite 622 924 East Juneau Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202 Telephone: 414/277-0730 Fax: 414/277-0709

November 15, 1996

To:Dr. Volker ManuthFax:613/545-6891

Dear Dr. Manuth:

Thank you for the copy of the review of the exhibition. It sounds spectacular!

I will be including your article in Dr. Bader's next mail package, to be sent on Monday. I'm sure he'll enjoy reading it, too.

Best wishes,

Cheryl Weiss



FAX FROM



DR. ALFRED BADER'S OFFICE Suite 622 924 East Juneau Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202 Telephone: 414/277-0730 Fax: 414/277-0709

December 2, 1996

To:Dr. Volker ManuthFax:613/545-6891

Dear Dr. Manuth:

Alfred's address is England: 2A Holmesdale Road Bexhill-on-Sea East Sussex TN39 3QE England

His telephone number is 011-44-1424-222223. There is an answering machine with a switcher for faxes if they are out. He should be home late this afternoon, as I plan to speak with him about 3:00 pm our time.

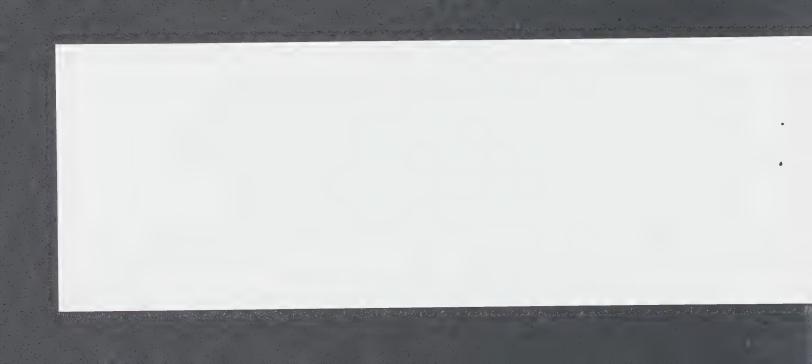
Best wishes,

Cheryl Weiss

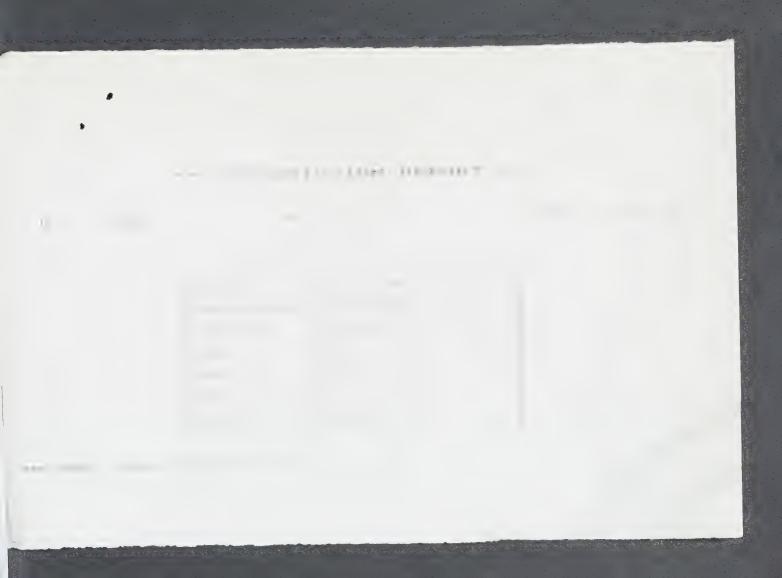
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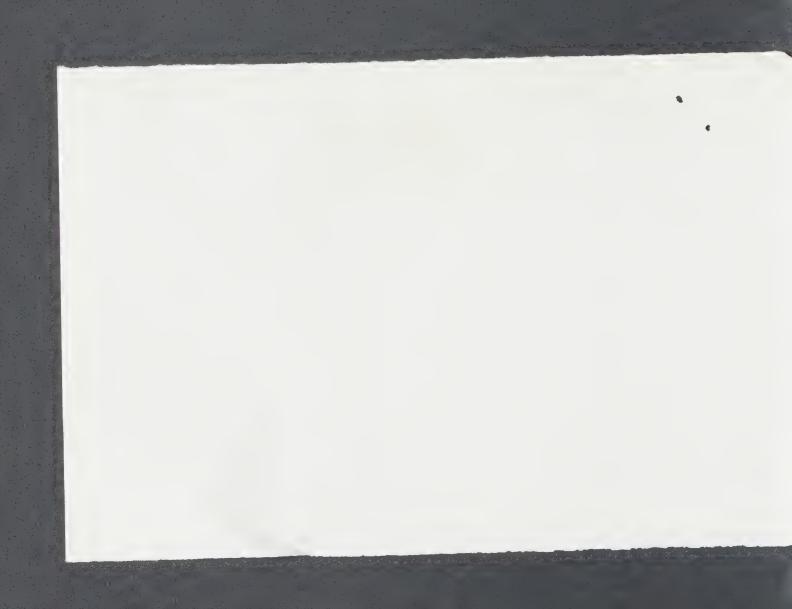












DR. ALFRED BADER WHITE GABLES 2A HOLMESDALE ROAD BEXHILL-ON-SEA EAST SUSSEX TN39 3QE TEL: 01424 222223

Fax and phone

Professor Velker Manurk RRP fax 31 20 525 3023

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DR. ALFRED BADER WHITE GABLES 2A HOLMESDALE ROAD BEXHILL-ON-SEA EAST SUSSEX TN39 3QE TEL: 01424 222223

Aline 1. jax

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## ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

3.

ESTABLISHED 1961

September 15, 1992 1. XII 9-Lieber Velker Hier ist Kopie der Dr. Volker Manuth Verloren gegangenen Briger. Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project Es war so pihon, Dich c/o Centraal Laboratorium Postbus 75132 in folland yn pehan. 1070 AC Amsterdam The Netherlands Mavid McTavish has Meni Dear Volker: Jax enhalten.

Although Isabel and I have thought and talked about you a great deal, I haven't written, because we have been so busy moving into the new gallery.,

Needless to day, I haven't opened the gallery for the purpose of becoming even wealthier, but because I love the wheeling and dealing with paintings and hope to sharpen the quality of the collection which will go to Queen's.

Of course, we did not buy the Rembrandt to keep, as we do not want to live in a fortress.

Enclosed are photographs of three recent acquisitions:

- 1. The small head of an old man, on panel. When Ian Kennedy visited last week, he thought this a work of Jan Lievens, but to me it looks like a sketch by/Flinck, which I like very much.
- 2. In London, I bought a large ram doing what I often do--scratching my ear. I find this a beautiful painting. The seller, Neville Orgel, called it J. B. Weenix, whereas to me, it looks closer to Potter. What do you think?

The third, with rather unsharp black and white photograph, is of a praying monk, surely influenced by Dou, but fully signed by a Flemish artist, Pieter Ykens.

Nauke fi, Jeine Kilpe mit den Bilden hei Jaskia. By Appointment Only pehon, dan RRPASO vin guess fein Milwaukee wisconsin USA 53202 Jefunden hat. Hergliche Grüppe an Euch Beide Def a



- 2 -

Do you like any of these?

Isabel and I would very much like to visit you in Amsterdam for a few days around the 26th of November. Will you be in Amsterdam at that time? We will arrive in Bexhill at our English home on the 16th of November and stay in England until the 22nd of December. You probably still have our English telephone number--44 424 222 223.

I am afraid that I have forgotten what was in the large envelope, enclosed, which I sent to you in April and which was returned in August. Obviously the post office in Berlin did not try very hard, and I hope that this entire package will now reach you safely at the Rembrandt Research Project.

Fond regards to you and Sorine,

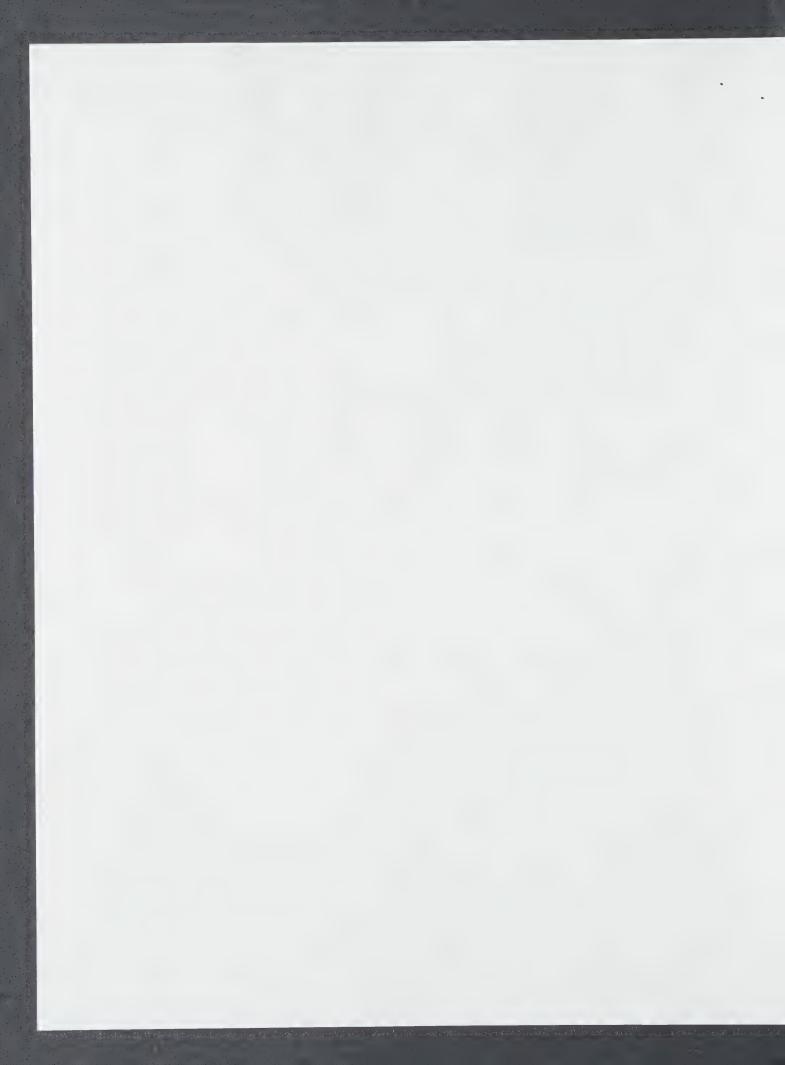
Enclosures

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**O**ffprint

V. Manuth

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## Volker Manuth

In the past, art historians have shown relatively little interest in the connection between the personal religious beliefs of seventeenth-century Dutch artists and their representations of sacred subjects. This has recently begun to change, partially as a result of the re-evaluation of the history painting of the Golden Age, which began in 1980-81 with the Gods, saints and heroes exhibition<sup>1</sup>--a show that successfully disengaged this art from the ongoing debates about realism in genre painting. It was only with the greatest hesitation that scholars began to incorporate the knowledge offered by affiliated historical disciplines into their examinations of the seventeenthcentury religious painting of the northern Netherlands: this material, however, has now allowed them to arrive at a more differentiated picture of the relationship of Protestantism to the fine arts. Research into various aspects of Dutch culture has corrected a dominant, and often simplified, vision of Calvinist society. Above all, it has become apparent that the communal and religious structures of the northern provinces-born of the Dutch Revolt against Catholic Spain and generally believed to be homogeneously Calvinist-were far more complex and varied than previously assumed. Art-historical literature has only now begun to examine questions whose answers Seymour Slive regarded in 1956 as ne-

\* The following article is an expanded version of a lecture given at the International Rembrandt Symposium, held on 16-17 January 1992 at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. My earliest ideas on the subject were presented on 4 December 1990 at the symposium "Het Oude Testament in de Gouden Eeuw," organized by Christian Tümpel in Nijmegen, under the title "Zur Ikonographie alttestamentlicher Historien im Amsterdamer Rembrandtkreis—Auftraggeber, Besitzer und Künstler" and were based on my dissertation, *Ikonographische Studien zu den Historien des Alten Testaments bei Rembrandt und seiner frühen Amsterdamer Schule.* My special thanks go to S. A. C. Dudok van Heel of the Amsterdam City Archives, who generously shared his knowledge of the complex genealogical, political and religious constellations within the regent families of the seventeenth century. I would also like to thank Peter Hecht for his critical reading of this manuscript and for bibliographic references. cessary to a fuller understanding of the links between Dutch art and religion. Slive wrote: "How much do we really know about Protestantism in The Netherlands during the seventeenth century? What percentage of the population of the Northern Provinces remained Catholic and for how long? How fundamental was the effect of conversion upon the work of former Catholic painters? What was the relative strength of various Protestant sects, and what was the nature of, and how effective was their control of the artist?"<sup>2</sup>

The so-called Alteration—the assumption of power by the Calvinist faction in Amsterdam in 1578—did not lead to a radical and abrupt change in the denominational and political make-up of the city. It was only much later, namely on 18 April 1580, that Catholic services and "preaching, marrying, baptizing and other practices in the Roman manner" were banned.<sup>3</sup> Many ruling families were related by marriage, and such ties were considered more important than differences in faith. Furthermore, varying opinions on religious questions led to continual conflicts between the actual representatives of the church and the Amsterdam regents. This tension is certainly one of the causes for the failure of the Dutch Reformed Church to achieve the status of an official state-sanctioned religion. Nonetheless, it was a powerful

The translation from the German is by Rachel Esner.

I A. Blankert *et al.*, exhib. cat. *Gods, saints and heroes: Dutch painting in the age of Rembrandt*, Washington (National Gallery), Detroit (Institute of Arts) & Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1980-81.

**<sup>2</sup>** S. Slive, "Notes on the relationship of Protestantism to seventeenth-century Dutch painting," *The Art Quarterly* 19 (1956), pp. 3-15, esp. p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See H. Roodenburg, Onder censuur: de kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578-1700, Hilversum 1990, p. 149 "...prediken, trouwen, doopen en andere oefeningen naar de Roomsche wyze." On the relationship of the Dutch Reformed Church to the other denominations from the Alteration of 1578 to the end of the seventeenth century in Amsterdam see Roodenburg, op. cit., and A. T. van Deursen, Bavianen en slijkgeuzen: kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldebarnevelt, Francker 1991.

social and civic force. It soon became extremely difficult for members of other denominations to attain public office, thus making it nearly impossible for them to have any direct political influence.

After the events of the Alteration, a religious dissident's political beliefs to a large extent determined his treatment by the authorities. It was primarily the Catholic members of the Amsterdam city council sympathetic to Spain who were the targets of repression, and some of them were expelled as early as 1578. In the wake of fear caused by the Spanish reconquest of Antwerp, they were followed by a second group in 1585. Among the latter was Pieter Segersz (1548–1603?), the father of Rembrandt's teacher Pieter Lastman.<sup>4</sup> Until the Alteration he had been a city messenger; that same year he was removed from his post and his name appears on the list of Catholics exiled in 1585.<sup>5</sup> He was, however, able to return to Amsterdam a short time later.

Tolerance towards dissenters also depended on the ability of the liberal regents to assert themselves in the face of the church administration. The orthodox clergy's complaints about members of other denominations, and its subsequent demands that measures be taken against them, often went unheeded. Particularly in the first period without a stadtholder (1650-72), when the controversy over the primacy of religious or civil law was at its height, the Amsterdam city fathers sought to strengthen their position against the clerics' continual attempts at interference. The friction between the two groups became apparent in the debate as to whether the dome of the enormous new town hall could be higher than the projected tower of the Nieuwe Kerk (the old tower had been damaged in a fire in 1645).

The regents' position in this conflict was given visual form in the iconographic program of the Amsterdam

4 The extensive archive materials on the genealogy of Rembrandt's teacher Pieter Lastman have recently been published, see S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, "De familie van de schilder Pieter Lastman (1583-1633): een vermaard leermeester van Rembrandt van Rijn," *Jaarboek* van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconographisch Bureau 45 (1991), pp. 111-32; on Pieter Segersz see pp. 111, 115-17.

5 See S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Waar waren de Amsterdamse katholieken in de zomer van 1585? Enkele aanteekeningen bij de uitgave van het kohier van 1585," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 77 (1985), pp. 13-53, esp. p. 39.

6 On the history of Bol's painting see A. Blankert, Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680): Rembrandt's pupil, Doornspijk 1982, pp. 109-10, cat.

Town Hall, in which Moses (the giver of the law) is opposed to Aaron (a high priest). The magistrates' chamber, for example, is decorated with a representation of Moses bringing the Israelites the tables of the law (Exodus 34:29-32). Ferdinand Bol's large painting shows Moses returning from Mount Sinai, striding toward his people as they pray at the foot of the mountain.6 Albert Blankert has correctly indicated the political and theological implications of this choice by pointing to the ongoing struggle between the theocratic and orthodox Calvinists and the moderate Remonstrants during this period.7 The latter sought the subordination of the church to the state, justifying this position by reference to the hierarchy of the Old Testament: Moses had not only designated Aaron as the high priest, but was given the role of leader of the Jewish people.

This divisiveness was one of the reasons that the liberal regents were able to treat groups outside the dominant church (e.g. Catholics, Lutherans, Mennonites, Jews) with relative leniency-all the more important considering the role members of these denominations played in the economic development of the city. Pieter van Thiel recently noted that one result of this tolerance was that "religious life in the seventeenth century was a rich and many-colored tapestry, which is not to say that all were active participants."8 The varied religious backgrounds of Rembrandt's Amsterdam clients in the 1630s and 40s illustrate this point well. The artist portrayed moderate Calvinists such as the Remonstrant minister Uyttenbogaert, and Mennonites like the parish teacher Cornelis Claesz. Anslo and his wife Aeltje Gerritszdr. Schouten, Maarten Looten and Catrina Hooghsaet. He also painted such Catholics as the shipbuilder Jan Rijksen and his wife Griet Jans, and members of the Amsterdam Jewish community such as Ephraim Bueno

nr. 47, pl. 49.

7 See A. Blankert, Kunst als regeringszaak in Amsterdam in de 17e eeuw, Lochem 1975. On the art policies of the Amsterdam city government see also K. Fremantle, The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam, Utrecht 1959, and S. Faber et al., exhib. cat. Van Heeren, die hunn' stoel en kussen niet beschaemen: het stadsbestuur van Amsterdam in de 17e en 18e eeuw, Amsterdam (Paleis op de Dam) 1987. The latter is a duallanguage publication in Dutch and English.

8 P.J.J. van Thiel, "Catholic elements in seventeenth-century Dutch painting: apropos of a children's portrait by Thomas de Keyser," *Simiolus* 20 (1990-91), pp. 39-62, esp. p. 49. Denomination and iconography



I Jan van Bijlert, Holy Trinity with St Willibrord and St Boniface. Formerly Huissen (Gelderland)

and Menasseh ben Israel.9

What influence did the more or less "multi-denominational" nature of Dutch society at this period have on history painters' choice of subject matter, particularly when they elected to treat episodes from the Bible? Is the adoption of a certain biblical theme basis enough for an interpretation of the work as advocating a specific religious ideology? It is comparatively easy to answer these questions in the case of non-biblical, but nonetheless religious, paintings whose content relates directly to Roman Catholic practices. Abraham Bloemaert's Triumph of the Eucharist with the four church fathers, for example, was most certainly not painted for a Protestant patron.10 The clandestine Catholic churches-called "papist meeting-places" by the Reformed Church councils of the seventeenth century-needed altarpieces.<sup>11</sup> Orders for such works were placed with both Catholic and Protestant painters, however, as Jan van Bijlert's Holy Trinity with St Willibrord and St Boniface demonstrates. The work was formerly in the Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk in Huissen (Gelderland) and was probably commissioned by a Catholic brotherhood (fig. 1).<sup>12</sup>

In this context it is also necessary to mention Jacob Jordaens-one of the most popular painters in the northern Netherlands at this period. This Antwerp painter was to contribute to the decoration of the Amsterdam Town Hall and was also among the Flemish artists commissioned by Amalia van Solms, widow of Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik, to work on the Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch. Jordaens was of Catholic family but had converted to Protestantism at an unknown date. In the 1650s he was accused of possessing heretical literature and was fined by the Catholic city government.<sup>13</sup> By this time his sympathies for the Reformation were no longer a secret; nonetheless, he still received commissions from Catholic institutions, even those situated outside the southern Netherlands. Between 1655 and 1660, for example, he painted a large Carrying of the Cross for the clandestine church "De Krijtberg" (Chalk Hill) in Amsterdam, founded for the Jesuits in 1654 by Petrus Laurentius.14

Recent research has shown that Samuel van Hoogstraeten's statements regarding the lack of commissions for Catholic churches in the northern provinces in the seventeenth century need to be qualified.<sup>15</sup> Many artists, both prominent and less well-known, were asked to

complete work for Catholic patrons: Wouter Pietersz. Crabeth, Abraham and Hendrick Bloemaert, Pieter de Grebber, Gerard van Honthorst, Jan van Bijlert and Nicolaes Roosendael, to name only a few.<sup>16</sup> There were a number of instances in which Catholic churches ordered altarpieces in series, rotating the paintings in the course of the ecclesiastical year.17 Only in exceptional cases, however, do the archives allow for an exact reconstruction of the circumstances surrounding these commissions.<sup>18</sup> Provenances can seldom be traced back as far as the seventeenth century, and inventories or illustrations of church interiors which would help identify certain works are generally non-existent before the eighteenth or nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup> The difficult task of designating a work as an altarpiece once it has been removed from its original context is compounded when the representation does not differ iconographically from the biblical text-placing it in a broad tradition which spans the different denominations. Although the majority of such works were vertical formats (often 1.5 to 2 meters wide and between 2 and 3 meters high), size alone is not always proof of a painting's original function.20

Paintings with biblical themes commissioned for private use were nearly ubiquitous among the members of all denominations. Here we can be certain that Catholic artists worked for Protestant patrons and vice versa. Unfortunately, too little is known about these unofficial commissions for biblical history paintings. Although it is sometimes possible to follow the provenance of such a work back to a private collection of the seventeenth century, there is no guarantee that that particular owner was also the original client.<sup>21</sup> Taking into account the enormous output of Dutch painters,<sup>22</sup> and the highly developed art market in Amsterdam, the buying and selling of biblical paintings must have been widespread.<sup>23</sup> There is no convincing evidence that any one denomination privileged certain themes or iconography.24 Works that closely follow the biblical text, without dogmatic or iconographical peculiarities, can be connected only with difficulty, if at all, to specific doctrines. The motivation behind either the original commission or a painting's later purchase, in so far as it can be reconstructed, appears to have nothing to do with the denomination of the artist. Paintings of biblical history by Rembrandt's students can be found in the collections of adherents of

9 The widely accepted identification of Rembrandt's engraving (Bartsch 269) as a portrait of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel has recently been disputed: see F.J. Dubiez, "Drie beeldende kunstenaars en drie rabbijnen te Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw," Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis 92 (1992), nr. 2, pp. 23-32. The mistaken belief that Govert Flinck's Portrait of a 44-year-old man (The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. nr. 866) is also of Menasseh ben Israel has persisted to this day: see most recently H.T. Carstensen, Empirie als Bildsprache: Überlegungen zum jüdischen Einfluss auf Rembrandts Kunst, Hamburg 1993, pp. 41-42. The artist clearly states the sitter's age ("AE 44"); in 1637 (the date of the painting), however, Menasseh ben Israel (1604-57) was only 33 years old. On this issue see A. Behr, "The iconography of Menasseh ben Israel," The Jewish Historical Society of England Transactions, Sessions 1955-59 19, pp. 191-98, esp. pp. 192-95, and W. Sumowski, Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler, 5 vols., Landau 1983, vol. 2, p. 1036, nr. 687 (ill.).

10 On this painting and Bloemaert's other Catholic commissions see most recently M.G. Roethlisberger, "Bloemaert's altarpieces and related paintings," *Burlington Magazine* 134 (1992), pp. 156-64, esp. p. 163, fig. 12.

11 The expression used was "paepsche vergaderplaetsen." See J. Kalf, De katholieke kerken in Nederland, Amsterdam 1906, and W.P.C. Knuttel, "Vergaderplaatsen der katholieken te 's Gravenhage in de zeventiende eeuw," Archief voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis 5 (1895), pp. 106-10. On the specific situation in Amsterdam see, among others, I.H. van Eeghen, "De eigendom van de katholieke kerken in Amsterdam ten tijde van de Republiek," Bijdragen Bisdom Haarlem 64 (1957), pp. 217-77; W. Tepe, XXIV Paepsche vergaderplaetsen: schuilkerken in Amsterdam, Amstelveen 1984; and most recently S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Amsterdamse schuil- of huiskerken?," Holland: Regionaal-Historisch Tijdschrift 25 (1993), pp. 1-10. Further bibliographical references to Catholic churches and their furnishings in other Dutch provinces are given in P. Dirkse, "Kunst uit Oud-Katholieke kerken," exhib. cat. Kunst uit Oud-Katholieke kerken, Utrecht (Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent) 1989, pp. 6-33 (see notes, pp. 30-33).

12 The painting (oil on canvas, 296.5  $\times$  201 cm) was destroyed in 1943. It is illustrated in P.H. Janssen, "Dated and more or less dated works by Jan van Bijlert," in *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggtos in Holland: Beiträge eines Symposions aus Anlass der Ausstellung "Holländische Malerei in neuem Licht. Hendrick ter Brugghen und seine Zeitgenossen,*" ed. Rüdiger Klessmann, Braunschweig 1987, p. 152, fig. 190, and idem, Jan van Bijlert (1597/98-1671: schilder in Utrecht (diss.), Utrecht 1994, pp. 99-101, cat. nr. 30, fig. 10.

13 See exhib. cat. Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678), vol. 1, Antwerp (Koninlijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 1993, p. 16. On Jordaens as a Protestant artist in Catholic Antwerp see C. Tümpel, "Jordaens as a Protestant artist in a Catholic stronghold," ibid., pp. 31-37.

14 See P. Dirkse, exhib. cat. Jezuiten in Nederland, Utrecht (Rijksmuseum Het Catharijnconvent) 1991, pp. 77-78, cat. nr. 1.; on the furnishings of the secret churches of the Jesuits in the northern provinces see especially X. van Eck, "Haar uitstekend huis en hoge kerk: enkele gegevens over de bouw, inrichting en aankleding van schuilkerken der jezuieten in Gouda en andere Noordnederlandse steden," ibid., pp. 41-52, and idem, "From doubt to conviction: clandestine Catholic churches as patrons of Dutch Caravaggesque painting," Simuolus, this issue, pp. 217-34.

15 See Dirkse, op. cit. (note 11); R. Schillemans, "Schilderijen in Noordnederlandse katholieke kerken uit de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 8 (1992), pp. 41-52; and idem, "Nicolaes Roosendael: katholiek historieschilder" (graduate thesis, University of Utrecht, 1985). I would like to thank Robert Schillemans for allowing me to see his manuscript. This recent scholarship has shown that L.J. Rogier's assumption, in *Geschiedents van het Katholicisme in noord-Nederland in de 16de en 17de eeuw*, Amsterdam 1947, p. 984, that few such commissioned altarpieces have been preserved needs to be corrected. See Samuel van Hoogstracten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* Rotterdam 1678, p. 257: "...dat de konst, sedert de Beeltstorming in de voorgaende eeuw, in Holland niet geheel vernietigt is, schoon ons de beste loopbaenen, naementlijk de kerken, daer door geslooten zijn" ("that art in Holland has not been entirely destrôyed since the Iconoclasm of the previous century, although our best patrons, the churches, have been lost as a result")

16 A list of artists who belonged to the Catholic Church can be found in P.T.A. Swillens, "Roomsch-Katholicke kunstenaars in de 17de eeuw," *Katholiek Cultureel Tijdschrift* 1 (1946), pp. 416-19. The list has recently been supplemented on the basis of I. van Thiel's research in van Thiel, op. cit. (note 8), p. 55, note 73.

17 Cf. X. van Eck, "Wouter Pietersz. Crabeth 11 en de parochie St Johannes de Doper in Gouda," *Oud Holland* 101 (1987), pp. 35-49. Van Eck has conclusively shown that the Catholic cleric Petrus Purmerent ordered five paintings for his church in Gouda from Crabeth: an *Assumption of the Virgin*, an *Adoration of the Magi*, an *Entombment*, a *Doubting Thomas* and a scene of *St Bernard converting William of Aquitaine*, see van Eck, "From doubt to conviction," cit. (note 14), pp. 220-22. Besides the many paintings that in turn decorated the altars during the course of the ecclesiastical year, commissions were given for series of paintings to cover the church walls, for example the five scenes from the Passion completed in 1664 for the church of the Augustines "de Ster" (The Star); see Schillemans, "Schilderijen," cit. (note 15), p. 42.

18 Schillemans, "Schilderijen," cit. (note 15), p. 43.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 42. There are examples of much smaller altarpieces also commissioned by the Catholic churches. One of these is the *Crucifixion* by the practically unknown artist "H.C.been" that has been in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent in Utrecht since 1977 (inv. nr. BMH s. 8608i.). The work was executed around 1645 and measures 97 × 84 cm; it probably belonged originally to the chapel "Het Hofje der Zeven Keurvorsten" (Court of the Seven Electors) in Amsterdam, see R. Schillemans, exhib. cat. *Bijbelschilderkunst rond Rembrandt*, Utrecht (Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent) 1989, pp. 27-30 (ill.)

21 As J. Bruyn has pointed out, the possible difference between patron and owner is not usually taken into account; see "Patrons and early owners," in J. Bruyn *et al.*, *A corpus of Rembrandt paintings*, vol. 2, Dordrecht, Boston & Lancaster 1986, pp. 91-98.

22 For information on the output of Dutch artists see J.M. Montias, "Estimates of the number of Dutch master-painters, their earnings and their output in 1650," *Leidschrift* 6 (1990), pp. 59-74, and A. van der Woude, "The volume and value of paintings in Holland at the time of the Dutch Republic," in *Art in history, history in art: studies in 17th-century Dutch culture*, ed. D. Freedberg and J. de Vries, Santa Monica 1991, pp. 285-331.

23 See B. Kempers, "Opdrachtgevers, verzamelaars en kopers: visies op kunst in Holland tijdens de Republiek," *Holland: Regionaal-Historisch Tijdschrift* 23 (1991), pp. 196-209, and M.J. Bok and G. Schwartz, "Schilderen in opdracht in Holland in de 17e eeuw," ibid., pp. 183-95.

24 J.M. Montias, "Works of art in seventeenth-century Amsterdam: an analysis of subjects and attributions," in Freedberg and de Vries, op. cit. (note 22), pp. 331-72. nearly all of the creeds that were common in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, independent of the artists' own beliefs.<sup>25</sup>

Often there was a great discrepancy between the theological ideals of certain groups and their actual practice when it came to works of art. The following example will serve to demonstrate this point. In July 1682, eight years before his death, Diego Duarte, a Jewish jewelry and art dealer from Antwerp, made an inventory of his large art collection.<sup>26</sup> Duarte noted the artist, subject matter and price of approximately 200 high-quality works of Italian, Flemish and Dutch painting. Since Duarte certainly practiced his own religion in secret, and since he was an art dealer, the actual objects he owned do not tell us much about preferences in religious themes. Much more indicative is the fate of a number of these works after Duarte's death.<sup>27</sup> His principal heir was a relative, Manuel Levy Duarte, who lived in Amsterdam and belonged to the board of governors of the Portuguese Synagogue. He resold the works he had inherited and kept an exact record of his transactions. In this context, one sale in particular stands out: on 2 November 1692, Jacques Vaz Faro (alias Mosseh Vaz Faro), the leader of the Sephardic community in Amsterdam, bought 11 works from Manuel Levy, who sold them at the price listed in Diego Duarte's inventory of 1682, i.e. without a surcharge. They included a Peasant kermis by Teniers; a Pan by P. Brill; a Neptune with nymphs by an anonymous artist; the Portrait of a praying man by J. Gossaert; two oil sketches by Rubens; two portraits of English aristocratic ladies by van Dyck; and, particularly unusual for

25 See V. Manuth, Ikonographische Studien zu den Historien des Alten Testaments bei Rembrandt und seiner frühen Amsterdamer Schule (diss.), Berlin (Freie Universität) 1987, pp. 44-69.

26 Ibid., pp. 82-84. This inventory, now in the Royal Library in Brussels (MS 1194), was originally published by F. Muller, "Catalogus der schilderijen van Diego Duarte, te Amsterdam in 1682, met de prijzen van aankoop en taxatie," *De Oude Tijd* (1870), pp. 397-402. Muller's indications were corrected on some important points by G. Dogaer, "De inventaris der schilderijen van Diego Duarte," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1971), pp. 195-221. In particular, Dogaer was able to show that the original site of the collection was Antwerp (p. 198, note 10).

27 See E.R. Samuel, "The disposal of Diego Duarte's stock of paintings 1692-1697," Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (1976), pp. 305-24.

28 Ibid., p. 317, appendix 2.

29 On Amsterdam Jews and the fine arts see Manuth, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 69-85, and G.M.C. Pastoor, "Bijbelse historiestukken in particulier bezit," in C. Tümpel *et al.*, exhib. cat. *Het Oude Testament* 

a Jewish collection, a *Last Judgment* by Jakob de Backer.<sup>28</sup> Apparently it was not even inappropriate for a member of the Jewish faith to own a *Last Judgment*, which in the Christian iconography has to include the figure of Christ.<sup>29</sup> Thus it would appear that for the majority of the different faiths religious paintings were viewed as unproblematic, at least in the private sphere, and biblical representations were not used as a means of defining the various Reformed factions.

All the more remarkable, then, is the case of Rembrandt's student Jan Victors.<sup>30</sup> His painting *Jacob burying the idols under the oak tree by Sichem*, a rarely depicted scene from Genesis 35:4, is in many ways programmatic (fig. 2).<sup>31</sup> As a painter of biblical histories, Victors uncompromisingly and, as far as is known, without exception, chose to paint themes from the Old Testament. This limitation is unique in the Rembrandt circle, and has led art historians to mistakenly seek Victors's patrons among the Jews of Amsterdam.<sup>32</sup> Instead, as Christian Tümpel pointed out in 1983, Victors's choice of subject should be seen in the context of his orthodox Calvinist beliefs.<sup>33</sup> A previously unknown source, to be discussed in detail below, seems to confirm Tümpel's hypothesis.

Although it is not possible to engage here in an indepth description of Protestantism's complex relationship to the visual arts, some indication of Calvin's position is necessary. As is well known, Calvin was more severe in his condemnation of images than were either Luther or most of the other reformers.<sup>34</sup> In his *Institutio* of 1536 he listed the prohibition of images as the second

in de schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw, Amsterdam (Joods Historisch Museum) & Zwolle 1991, pp. 122-33, esp. pp. 124-25. Another unusual example demonstrates that even among the ultra-doctrinal Mennonites there were certain individuals who were not so rigid in their practices when it came to matters of art: Hendrick Uylenburgh's wife allowed herself to be portrayed by Rembrandt in a fantastic oriental costume, a most unconventional move considering the strict dress code of the group they belonged to. See S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Doopsgezinden en schilderkunst in de 17de eeuw: leerlingen, opdrachtgevers en verzamelaars van Rembrandt," Doopsgezinde Bijdragen 6 (1980), p. 108. A copy of the painting is listed in the 1637 inventory of the Mennonite preacher and painter Lambert Jacobsz (ca. 1592-1637) as "Noch een cleine Oostersche vrouwen tronie, het conterfeisel van H. Ulenburgs huysvrouwe nae Rembrant" ("Another small head of an oriental woman, the portrait of Hendrik Uylenburgh's wife, after Rembrandt").

30 See Manuth, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 44-68. On Victors and the iconographic controversy see also D. Miller, "The word of Calvin in the art of Jan Victors," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 61 (1992), pp. 99-105.



2 Jan Victors, Jacob burying the idols under the oak tree by Sichem. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

commandment of the Decalogue. In contrast to Luther, Calvin was unrelenting in his rejection of anthropomorphic representations of God the Father: since it was impossible to capture him in visible bodily form, he argued, any image at all would be sacrilegious. God's enormity and majesty could not be perceived by the human eye and therefore could not be represented. Calvin also prohibited the possession of such pictures, even

31 Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst; oil on canvas, 180  $\times$ 194 cm; the work is signed "Johan' Victors" at lower left. See D. Miller, *Jan Victors (1619-76)* (diss.), 2 vols., Ann Arbor 1985, vol. 1, p. 295, cat. nr. 49. On the traditional iconography of this seldompainted subject see Manuth op cit. (note 25), p. 152, cat. nr. 24.

32 Given the known contacts between Rembrandt and members of the Sephardic community in Amsterdam, E. Zafran, "Jan Victors and the Bible," *Israel Museum News* 12 (1977), pp. 92-120, esp. pp. 92, 96, 117, has assumed "that Victors' clients may have been the wealthy Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam." D. Miller, "Jan Victors: an Old Testament subject in the Indianapolis Museum of Art," *Perceptions* 2 (1982), pp. 22-29, has shown that a painting by Victors with an Old Testament subject was in the collection of an Amsterdam Jew in 1677. In her opinion, this supports Zafran's hypothesis and thus provides an explanation for the large number of "Judaic themes" (sic) in Victors's *oeuvre* (p. 28). Although without reference to Zafran and Miller, C. Tümpel has expressed his doubts that Victors worked primarily for Jewish patrons: see "Die Reformation und die Kunst der Niederlande" in exhib. cat. *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst*, ed. W. Hofmann, in cases where they would not be misused for idolatry. He wrote: "Meanwhile, seeing that this brutish stupidity has overspread the globe, men longing after visible forms of God, and so forming deities of wood and stone, silver and gold, or of any other dead and corruptible matter, we must hold it as a first principle, that as often as any form is assigned to God, his glory is corrupted by an impious lie."<sup>35</sup>

Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle) & Munich 1983, pp. 309-21, esp. p. 317. Miller, too, has distanced herself from her earlier statements, writing in her work of 1985 that "no real patterns of patronage can be charted from such scanty data;" see Miller, op. cit. (note 31), p. 161. 33 Tümpel, op. cit. (note 32), p. 317.

34 See Calvin's statements on the iconographic controversy in the Institutio christianae religionis (1, 11) of 1536. See also M. Stirm, Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation, Gütersloh 1977, pp. 161-223. On the situation of the fine arts during the Iconoclasm see C. M. N. Eire, War against the idols: the reformation of worship from Erasmus to Calvin, Cambridge 1986; D. Freedberg, "De kunst en de beeldenstorm, 1525-1580: de noordelijke Nederlanden," exhib. cat. Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse kunst 1525-1580, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1986, pp. 39-68; and idem, Iconoclasm and painting in the revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609, New York & London 1988.

35 John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian religion, trans. J. Beveridge, London 1949, p. 91; I, 11, 1.



3 Jacob de Wet, Twenty-four elders before God the Father and the Lamb. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

Understandably, this issue played an important role in the definition of Protestant belief in the Netherlands, particularly in the early period of religious and political emancipation from Catholic and Habsburg Spain. As the Reformed Church became more and more established, however, the controversy abated. In theological circles, however, the question as to what images were permissible continued to give rise to complaints and discussion. According to the strictest Calvinists, those who violated the ban were not punished with the proper rigor. One such case was the Amsterdam sculptor Hen-

36 J.Z. Kannegieter, "Het St. Jansbeeld van het Bossche oxaal," *Oud Holland* 59 (1942), pp. 110-11: "...aldaer in de Kerk tot afgoderij gebruyckt,... het beelt, om ergenis te mijden, van der hant te leggen." The controversial sculpture is probably identical with the alabaster figure of the standing evangelist now in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. The attribution of the work to Hendrick de Keyser follows E. Neurdenburg, "Hendrick de Keyser en het oxaal van Coenraat van drick de Keyser. On 19 December 1613, dominie Lucas was ordered to take de Keyser to task for his statue of St John the Evangelist for the Janskerk in Den Bosch. There seems to have been some fear that the figure would be "misused for idolatry by all who came to the church." A week later Lucas could report to the parish council that "in order to avoid causing any offense" de Keyser had assured him that he would "discontinue his work on the statue."<sup>36</sup>

The Reformed Church had been the only faith allowed to worship openly in Haarlem since 1581. As late

Noremberg," Bulletin Nederlands Oudheid Bond 13 (n.d.), pp. 159-62. See also exhib. cat. Dawn of the Golden Age: northern Netherlandish art, 1580-1620, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1994, p. 405, cat. nr. 60, p. 286 (ill.). Interestingly, the initiative against de Keyser's sculpture came originally from the Amsterdam Reformed Church council and not from the Amsterdam city council; for the contrary view see W.T. Klock in exhib. cat. Dawn of the Golden Age, p. 40. as 1619 and 1622, however, the parish council was still busy demanding the removal of the remaining representations of saints, so-called "public idols" ("publijcke affgoden"), from the city: for example "a *St Bavo* on the Grote Kerk, a *Holy Family* in the Pand, a *St Nicholas* on Witte Herensteeg, a *St Anne* on Bakenessergracht, in the Prinsenhof a statue of God the Father and a *St Hubert*."<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, a fair portion of the population had remained true to its old beliefs.<sup>38</sup> Catholics were still clients for paintings with religious subject matter, destined either for private use or for the decoration of clandestine churches.

A case in point is Jacob de Wet's Twenty-four elders before God the Father and the Lamb, signed and dated 1649 and now in the collection of the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen (fig. 3).39 The subject points to the liturgy for All Saints' Day from the book of Revelation as the iconographic source, an assumption further supported by the texts being held by the lion and the angel. The representation of God the Father in human form also speaks in favor of a Catholic context for the work. The conspicuous praying figure on the right is not mentioned in the biblical text, but can be explained by reference to a typical Haarlem institution. She is probably a "klopje," one of the Catholic lay sisters responsible for the care of the sick, the elderly and the poor, who also played an important role in the (unsuccessful) attempts to re-Catholicize the city. Pieter Fransz. de Grebber's Man of sorrows (fig. 4), monogrammed and dated 1632, was also made for a Catholic patron, probably as an altarpiece.<sup>40</sup> De Grebber, himself a Catholic, produced numerous history paintings for clandestine

37 See J. Spaans, Haarlem na de Reformatie: stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven, 1577-1620, The Hague 1989, p. 126: "...een St Bavo aan de Grote Kerk, een Heilige Familie in het Pand, een St. Nicolaas in de Witte Herensteeg, een St. Anna aan de Bakenessergracht, in het Prinsenhof een afbeelding van God de Vader en een St. Hubertus."

38 According to a cautious estimate, the population of Haarlem around 1620 was approximately 20% Calvinist, 14% Mennonite, 10-12.5% Catholic, 1% Lutheran and 1% Walloon; the remaining residents were either not official members of one of these groups, or only participated sporadically in the religious life of the city; see Spaans, op. cit. (note 37), p. 104.

39 See Sumowski op. cit. (note 9), vol. 4, p. 2809, nr. 1842, fig. 1842.

40 New York, J. Kilgore & Co., Inc.; oil on canvas,  $160 \times 80.5$  cm, signed and dated at lower right: "P.DG (interlaced) 1632".

4 Pieter de Grebber, Man of sorrows, 1632. New York, J. Kilgore & Co.



churches and painted portraits of Catholic clergymen.<sup>41</sup> However, he also painted for Protestants. Between 1648 and 1650 he belonged to the group of painters who worked for Amalia van Solms on the embellishment of Huis ten Bosch.<sup>42</sup>

How far apart ideology and reality actually were when it came to decorating Protestant houses of worship can be readily demonstrated by the many works from before the Reformation that can still be seen in Dutch churches today. The relief busts (1552) in the choir of the Bovenkerk in Kampen, which include a figure of Christ, are but one example.<sup>43</sup> Between 1538 and 1541 Jan Aertsz. Terwen (1511-89) decorated the choir stalls of the Groote Kerk (Onze Lieve Vrouwenkerk) in Dordrecht with biblical scenes and representations of the saints. Although the city had joined the revolt against Spain in 1572, and in 1578 became the site of the first national synod of the Reformed Church, no one took offense at these prominently placed art works. In 1609 the churchwardens made a most surprising move, recorded as follows in the parish register: "And since the men's bench



5 Rembrandt, Abraham and the three angels, etching (B29), 1656

in the Grote Kerk, the pulpit and especially the chairs and the facings were never cleaned and therefore criticized by all passersby, the bursar, with the prior knowledge of my lords the churchwardens, has employed Jan Willemsz. Smit, also called Jan de Soete, for this purpose, paying him 11 stuivers a day out of his own purse." So this relic of the Catholic past was not only saved, but was cleaned and restored as a result of public protest. In 1661 there appear to have been plans to "remove the popish benches," but the wardens refused to heed the parish council and the work remained intact.<sup>44</sup>

Rembrandt, who kept his distance from the orthodox Calvinists, dealt with the problem of representing God the Father in various ways. The decision for or against such an image was generally determined by the visual tradition. As is well known, the artist based his 1656 engraving *Abraham and the three angels* on an Indian miniature; he also characterized one of the angels as God the Father by giving him the form of a wise old man (fig. 5). Clearly, certain iconographic tropes were permissible in the graphic arts that would have been unthinkable in a painting. Here, too, however, there were exceptions, as Aert de Gelder's treatment of the same subject in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam effectively demonstrates (fig. 6).<sup>45</sup>

Non-Catholic artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries rarely wrote on the problem of anthropo-

41 See P. Dirkse, "Pieter de Grebber: Haarlems schilder tussen begijnen, kloppen en pastoors," *Jaarboek Haerlem* (1978), pp. 109-27, and R. Hazeleger, *Pieter Fransz. de Grebber: schilder tot Haerlem* (graduate thesis), Utrecht 1979.

42 On the decoration of the Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch and de Grebber's paintings see H. Peter-Raupp, *Die Ikonographie des Oranjezaal*, Hildesheim & New York 1980, esp. cat. nrs. 8a, 16, 16a, 19, 27, 33, 33<sup>a</sup>.

43 On the history and development of the decoration of northern Netherlandish churches since the Reformation see C.A. van Swigchem *et al.*, *Een huis voor het woord: het protestantse kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900*, The Hague 1984. On the works remaining from the pre-Reformation period see pp. 128-30.

44 See J.L. van Dalen, *De Groote Kerk te Dordrecht*, Dordrecht 1927, pp. 61-62: "Ende alzoo de Heeren sitbanck in de Grootekerck, item den predyckstoel ende insonderheyt de Gestoelten ende 't voorwerck in 't Hoochcoor nooyt en was schoongemaeckt ende mitsdien van alle vremde passanten wiert misprezen, zoo heeft den Rendant met voorweten van mijn heeren den kerckmeesters daertoe in 'twerck gestelt en aengenomen... Jan Willemsz. Smit alias Jan de Soete op een dachgelt van XI st. daachs op sijn zelffs cost."

45 On de Gelder's painting see Sumowski, op. cit. (note 9), vol. 2, nr. 759, and most recently exhib. cat. *Het Oude Testament*, cit. (note 29), p. 213, nr. 5.

'Denomination and iconography



6 Aert de Gelder, Abraham and the three angels, Rotterdam. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

morphism. One exception was Henry Peacham, who commented in his 1606 drawing manual: "there be some things that ought to be free from the pencill, as the picture of God the father: or (as I have seene) the whole Trinitie painted in a glassewindow: which one cannot do without artificiall blasphemy, and reviving from hell the old heresie of the Anthropomorphites who supposed God to be in the shape of an old man, sitting upon his throne in a white Robe, with a triple crowne on his head."<sup>46</sup> Nearly 100 years later, Gerard de Lairesse devoted a chapter in the second part of his *Groot schilderboek* to the problem of representing God the Father in human form. Under the heading "Disquisition touching the representation of the Trinity" the author com-

46 Henry Peacham, *The art of drawing with the pen*, London (Richard Braddock) 1606, p. 8.

47 G. de Lairesse, *Het groot schilderboek*, Haarlem 1740, vol. 2, book 9, ch. 12, pp. 162-69, esp. p. 163-64: "Het grootste deel der Christenheid (Holland, Engeland, en een kleen gedeelte van Duitschland uitgezondert) stemmen eenpaarig de verbeelding... toe... [van] God den Vader, in de gedaante van een oud man, met een lange gryze plained of the "concern" among artists that had resulted from the debate surrounding depictions of God. He argued that "the greatest part of Christendom (Holland, England and a part of Germany excepted) allow the representation of... God the Father, in the shape of an old man with a long grey beard and hair." This being the case, anthropomorphic images had a kind of tradition, one that could be justified and that he supported: "I think then, that a painter has no nearer expressions in such representations where God himself is acting, than to exhibit his figure in an human shape, as best agreeing with those likenesses."<sup>47</sup>

In light of what has been said, Jan Victors's strict stance regarding this problematic aspect of artistic crea-

baard en hair.... Zo oordeel ik, dat, ten opzichte van een Schilder, hy geen nader uitdrukkingen heeft, in dusdanige verbeeldingen daar God zelve in werkt, om zich klaarder te doen verstaan, dan het beeld Godts in een menschelyke gedaante te vertoonen, dewyl het met die gelykenissen allerbest overeen komt." The English of this quotation is from G. de Lairesse, *The art of painting*, trans. J.F. Fritsch, London 1738, pp. 471-72.

tion seems all the more remarkable. As an orthodox Calvinist whose beliefs had a strong influence on his work, Victors felt bound to adhere to the tenets of the Decalogue. Furthermore, he abstained altogether from depicting Christ or events from the New Testament. He seldom painted Old Testament scenes that involved the presence of angels since, according to Calvin, divine announcements by these supernatural messengers required the presence of Christ as "mediator." As Debra Miller has pointed out, Victors's *oeuvre* contains no nudes.<sup>48</sup> In cases such as the Dresden *Finding of Moses* of 1653 (fig. 7) the artist avoided the problem by depicting not the traditional moment of the baby's discovery by the bathing handmaidens, but rather a later scene where he is being nursed by his mother.<sup>49</sup>

It should also be noted that the biblical themes that are absent in Victors's work are precisely those that were the subject of one of the most virulent Protestant attacks on religious painting. The work referred to is *Idolelenchus* (fig. 8) by Johannes Evertz. Geesteranus (1586-1622), a Latin polemic against the fine arts. The book was translated and annotated by Geesteranus's friend, the poet and theologian Dirck Rafaelsz. Camphuysen (1586-1627).<sup>50</sup> Camphuysen, who was himself trained as a painter,<sup>51</sup> praised Geesteranus and his conclusions, which amounted to a radical and all-encompassing rejection of art. As a professional artist, Victors could hardly follow them to this extreme. Nonetheless, he

48 Miller, op. cit. (note 31), p. 166.

49 On the iconography of this painting compared to the traditional representation see Manuth, op. cit. (note 25), cat. nr. 37.

50 Tegen 't geestig-dom der schilder-konst, straf-rymen ofte anders Idolelenchus, in Dirck Rafaelsz. Camphuysen, Stichtelycke rijmen, om te lesen ofte singhen. Onderscheyden in drie deelen. Op nieuws over-sien en grootelijckx vermeerdert, oock de noten, Amsterdam (Jacob Colom) 1647, pp. 215-52, esp. pp. 211-15 (Camphuysen's commentary, entitled: "Aen I.G. over sijn Idolelenchus of beeldenstraf"). The exact date of Camphuysen's translation and commentary is not known; it was, however, probably produced before 1622, the year of Geesteranus's death. The first edition of Camphuysen's Stichtelycke rijmen appeared in 1624; in the course of the seventeenth century it became the most popular songbook of the Protestants and by 1658 it had reached its 12th printing (published by Joannes Naeranus in Rotterdam). Most of the editions published after Camphuysen's death contain the Idolelenchus. See A. Meesters, "Didericus Camphuysens verhouding tot de schilderkunst," Vondel Kroniek 10 (1939), pp. 277-87. On Geesteranus's and Camphuysen's opinions regarding the iconographic controversy see J.A. Emmens, "Apelles en Apollo: Nederlandse gedichten op schilderijen in de 17de eeuw," in idem, Kunsthistorische opstellen, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1981, pp. 5-97, esp. p. 24. See also never depicted scenes that the author of the *Idolelenchus* had condemned for their ability to awaken desire in whatever form: the naked Eve, Lot and his daughters, Jael and Judith, David and Bathsheba, or Susanna bathing. Victors's art moved solely in the spheres expressly approved by Calvin: he painted only historical events (*historiae ac res gestae*) or multi-figural scenes and individual persons (*imagines ac formae corporum*) without reference to history, <sup>52</sup> such as portraits and genre scenes.

The artist appears to have cultivated contacts with the most rigid Calvinists in Amsterdam. On 25 June 1645 Petrus Wittewrongel (1609-62) baptized Victors's daughter in the Noorderkerk.53 Wittewrongel came from Middelburg, a center of pietistic orthodoxy; he had studied in Leiden and was active in Renesse and Zierikzee before coming to Amsterdam in 1638. He was considered a stalwart and stern clergyman: he was strongly influenced by the Puritanical ideas of the orthodox wing of the Reformed Church-a movement that preached scrupulous adherence to all aspects of Protestant teachings.<sup>54</sup> He opposed everything that he felt broke God's commandments: dancing, drinking, entertainment, expensive clothes, the profanation of the day of rest, and so on.<sup>55</sup> Wittewrongel had also helped Victors to his only known public commission, two large canvases depicting the lady regents of the Reformed Church Orphanage (Diaconieweeshuis) with their orphans, painted between 1657 and 1662.56 In 1656, after long and difficult

Manuth, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 59-61; Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and painting*, cit. (note 34), pp. 97-102; and Pastoor, op. cit. (note 29), p. 127.

51 On Camphuysen's life and work see Arnold Houbraken, De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1718-21, pp. 123-28. The Idolelenchus left a lasting impression in artistic circles; as Houbraken reported, op. cit., p. 126, many thought Camphuysen himself was the author: "He [Camphuysen] left a son who practiced painting, but cannot be greatly praised for his work. We find it strange that a father who set out to frighten everyone away from art did not arouse a dislike of art in him. Indeed, the good man had already been accused of foolishness until we came into possession of the biography of D.R. Camphuysen, printed by J. Rieuwertsz in 1699, from which it became clear that he was not the author but merely the translator of the castigatory poem, Idolelenchus, which is included in his Rijmwerken" ("Hy heeft een Zoon naargelaten, welke de Schilderkonst geoeffent heeft, maar daar kan niet breed van geroemd worden. En 't scheen ons vreemd dat een Vader, die getragt heeft elk van de Konst af te schrikken, in hem geen af keer tot de konst verwekte: ja men had dien goeden man al beschuldigt van onverstant, tot ons het levens bedryf van D.R. Kamphuizen, gedrukt by J. Rieuwertsz. 1699. in handen kwam, en aanwees dat hy niet de



7 Jan Victors, The finding of Moses. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

Schryver, maar alleen de vertaler is geweest van het Straf-Rym, Idolelenchus, dat in zyn Rymwerken staat").

52 Calvin, op. cit. (note 35), p. 100; I, 11, 12.

53 The registration of the baptism was first published by A.D. de Vries, "Biografische aanteekeningen," *Oud Holland* 4 (1886), pp. 220-22; see Miller, op. cit. (note 31), p. 165, esp. p. 251, doc. 35.

54 On the history of the orthodox movement and its relationship to Puritanism see C. Graafland, "De toekomstverwachting der Puriteinen en haar invloed op de Nadere Reformatie," *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 3 (1979), pp. 65-95, and idem, "De invloed van het puritanisme op het ontstaan van het gereformeerd pietisme in Nederland," *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 7 (1983), pp. 1-24. For information on the leaders of the movement see T. Brienen et al., De Nadere Reformatie: beschrijving van haar voornaamste verlegenwoordigers, The Hague 1986. On Wittewrongel and his major work, Oeconomia Christiana ofte christelicke huyshoudinge, see L.F. Groenendijk, De Nadere Reformatie en het gezin: de visie van Petrus Wittewrongel op de christelijke huishouding, Dordrecht 1984.

55 See R.B. Evenhuis, Ook dat was Amsterdam, vol. 2, Amsterdam 1967, pp. 42, 115, 128, 131, 292.

56 Miller, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 124, 165, 285, cat. nrs. 19, 20.

Stichtelijcke Rijmen. I D O L E L E N C H V S



t Ifraëlijtfche volek, verlaet den Heer der Heeren, En 't Kalf gemaeckt, van Goudt (aenbiddende) gaenf' eeren. Ogrouwel! Moyfis quam, van Godt met grammen moet, En deed' hun went'len, elek in 'sand'ren Broeders bloet

8 Anonymous artist, The Israelites worshipping the golden Calf. Engraving from D.R. Camphuysen, Stichtelijcke rijmen, Amsterdam  $1\sqrt[6]{47}$ 

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negotiations with Amsterdam's burgomasters, Wittewrongel had finally received both the land and the necessary capital to begin work on the building on the banks of the Amstel.

Victors's devotion to this form of Calvinism certainly did not further his career as an artist. The members of his religious community could not be counted among the art patrons of Amsterdam. As the prosperity of his former fellow student Govert Flinck pointed up to him, it was those artists connected with the liberal Remonstrant regents who were most in demand. Their need to visually underscore their prestige kept pace with their growing influence, guaranteeing a steady flow of commissions. Nonetheless, although only moderately successful when compared to Flinck and Bol, Victors was occasionally able to interest a few members of this rich and powerful elite in his art.

The 1707 inventory of Maria Temminck (1662-1703), widow of Joan Huydecoper III (1656-1703), for example, lists a number of paintings by Victors.<sup>57</sup> The majority were genre scenes such as a *Vegetable seller*, a *Fortune-teller* and a *Wedding*. The two biblical paintings mentioned were given nearly the same descriptive title: "Jacob's blessing by Victors" and "Jacob's blessing by the old [sic] Victors," probably referring to works now in Warsaw and Budapest.<sup>58</sup>

Because of their ages at the time of the works' creation, Joan Huydecoper III and Maria Temminck could not have been the first owners of the paintings, which

58 See Miller, op. cit. (note 31), cat. nrs. 59, 60: "Jacobs segeninge van Victor," and "Jacobs zegeninge van den oude Victor;" Manuth, op. cit. (note 25), cat. nrs. 36, 37; Sumowski, op. cit. (note 9), vol. 4, nrs. 1744, 1751.

59 Maria Temminck was also close to another influential Amsterdam regent who had commissioned a portrait from Victors: she was the granddaughter of the shipowner and merchant Jan Appelmann (1608-94), who became a magistrate in 1673 and burgomaster in 1688; see J.E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795*, vol. 2, Amsterdam 1963, p. 558. Victors's portrait of Jan Appelmann, signed and dated 1661, is now in the collection of the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem; see Miller, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 121-24, and Sumowski, op. cit. (note 9), vol. 4, p. 2618, nr. 1818 (ill.). The portrait was probably they probably inherited. In my opinion, the purchaser (and possibly the original client) was the husband's grandfather, an art-loving and influential regent with well-documented connections to the Rembrandt circle.59 In 1628, at the beginning of his career, Joan Huydecoper I (1599-1661),60 Lord of Maarsseveen and Neerdijk, had been among the signatories of a petition sponsored by the city fathers of Amsterdam that demanded religious freedom for the exiled Remonstrants. In 1620 he became a magistrate and on 10 August 1637 he was knighted by Queen Christina of Sweden. Between 1639 and 1642 the architect Philip Vingboons built him a magnificent canal house, referred to as "het huis van Huydecoper," destroying three older buildings in the process.<sup>61</sup> In 1651 Huydecoper became a burgomaster, an office to which he was re-elected no fewer than six times before his death. In addition, he was a churchwarden, a captain in the crossbowmen's civic guard and a dike-reeve.

In the course of his life, Huydecoper became one of the most important art patrons in the city. Gary Schwartz has discussed this role in detail,<sup>62</sup> pointing in particular to a document that indicates that Huydecoper owned "a head by warmbrant" (i.e. Rembrandt) as early as 1628, i.e. before the artist moved to Amsterdam.<sup>63</sup> It was Govert Flinck, however, who became Huydecoper's painter of choice. In celebration of the Peace of Münster, Flinck was asked to execute a group portrait of the Amsterdam civic guard, led at the time by Captain

commissioned as a wedding present for his only daughter, Aagje Appelmann (1638-63) on the occasion of her marriage to Adriaen Temminck (1635-88) in 1661; see Elias, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 786. Another portrait of Jan Appelmann can be found in Govert Flinck's group portrait of the Amsterdam civic guard, painted on the occasion of the Peace of Münster in 1648 and now in the Amsterdam Historical Museum (see note 64). He is the figure at the extreme lefthand edge of the painting.

60 On Joan Huydecoper 1 see Elias, op. cit. (note 59), vol. 1, pp. 384-86; idem, Geschiedenis van het Amsterdamsche regentenpatriciaat, The Hague 1923, pp. 150-62; and M.S. Polak, Inventaris van het archief van de familie Huydecoper 1459-1956, Utrecht 1987, pp. 5-15.

61 K. Ottenheym, *Philips Vingboons (1607-1678): architect*, Zutphen 1989; on Huydecoper's architectural patronage see esp. pp. 37-45.

62 G. Schwartz, "Jan van der Heyden and the Huydecopers of Maarsseveen," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11 (1983), pp. 197-220.

63 G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt: his life, his paintings*, Harmondsworth 1985, p. 134.

<sup>57</sup> Amsterdam City Archives, Notarial Archive, Notary J. Schrieck, 5653, 267-69; a first reference to this document, without the exact wording of the content, can be found in A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der Holländischen Kunst des 16.*, 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, vol. 4, The Hague 1915-21, p. 1239. I would like to thank S.A.C. Dudok van Heel for bringing the inventory to my attention. Miller, op. cit. (note 31), p. 262, nr. 105, has published selections from it.

## Joan Huydecoper (fig. 9).64

We owe our relatively precise knowledge of Huydecoper's collection to the poet Jan Vos (1610-67), who wrote verses on several of his paintings.65 Jan Vos, son of Jan Jansz. Vos (1568-1631/39) and Acltje Direx Opmeer (1569-after 1639), came from an old Catholic regent family (fig. 10).66 In contrast to his brother Lijntgen Jan Vossen (1572-1601), Jan Jansz did not convert to Protestantism, a decision underscored by his marriage to a Catholic in 1594. His son Jan not only successfully ran the family glassmaking business in Kalverstraat but also built a career as a poet. From 1647 to 1652, and again from 1653 to 1667, Jan Vos was regent of the Amsterdam Playhouse. Although a Catholic, he was highly respected by the tolerant and influential ruling families. They seem to have been less suspicious of the poetic glassmaker, himself a great patriot and a liberal, than of the over-zealous representatives of orthodox Calvinism who refused to stop trying to influence the course of city politics. In the many conflicts between the various Reformed groups, Vos was clearly on the side of his tolerant patrons in the Amsterdam government.

In 1652 a fire destroyed the old town hall and it became necessary to complete its replacement as soon as possible. Jan Vos was appointed to carry out the glazing for this and all other public buildings. This was an important step in his career and a guarantee of future prosperity, and it is certainly no coincidence that Cornelis de Graeff, who had been Vos's patron for some time, was the president of the college of burgomasters at the time. It is also not surprising that many of Vos's works are dedicated to such influential members of Amsterdam's ruling elite as Andries Bicker, Cornelis de Graeff and Joan Huydecoper. The poems and rhymes were a form of thanks for their support and hospitality. Like Joost

64 Amsterdam Historical Museum; oil on canvas, 265 × 513 cm. signed and dated at lower left: "Flinck 1648". On Flinck's painting see J.W. von Moltke, Govaert Flinck, 1615-1660, Amsterdam 1965, cat nr. 476, and Sumowski, op. cit. (note 9), vol. 2, nr. 717

65 In Jan Vos, Alle de gedichten van den poeet Jan 1 os verzamelt en uitgegeven door J.L., Amsterdam (Jacob Lescaille) 1662, esp. pp. 536 "Schildereyen & c. in 't huis van den Heer Joan Huydekooper, Ridder, Heer van Marseveen & c., Burgermeester, Raadt & c." ("Paintings etcetera in the house of Joan Huydecoper, knight, Lord of Maarsseveen etcetera, burgomaster, councillor, etcetera")

66 The following biographical information is taken from S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Jan Vos (1610-1667)," Jaarboek Genootschap Amstelodamum 72 (1980), pp. 23-43

9 Govert Flinck, The Amsterdam creac guard celebrating the signing of the Peace of Münster, 1648 (detail with Captain Joan Huydecoper) Amsterdam Historical Museum





van den Vondel, his competitor, Vos also wrote light and entertaining works at the behest of the city's other patricians. Particularly popular were the verses on works of art that were designed to honor the patron as much as the painter.

Vos was intimately familiar with the Amsterdam art world. It was on the occasion of a festive meeting of the city's artists in 1654 that he composed his "Strydt tusschen de Doodt en Natuur, of Zeege der Schilderkunst" (The struggle between death and nature, or the triumph of painting), a long epic poem dedicated to his benefactor Cornelis de Graeff.<sup>67</sup> Among the painters he praised in this work were Rembrandt, Govert Flinck, Ferdinand Bol and Salomon and Philips Koninck. A number of other documents and poems demonstrate Vos's close ties with the Rembrandt circle, particularly with Bol and Flinck: in 1659, the two painters, Vos, and Vondel were honored by the burgomasters (including Joan Huydecoper) for the work they had done for the reception of the Electress of Brandenburg.68 Albert Blankert has characterized this foursome as "a group of artists who not only moved in the same circle but also worked for the same patron(s)."69 It is through Jan Vos that we know of additional artists who were associated with Rembrandt and whose paintings were in Huydecoper's collection, such as Salomon Koninck, Jan Lievens and Joachim von Sandrart.<sup>70</sup>

Vos's uncommissioned occasional poetry—so-called "aphorisms" or lampoons—reveals the Catholic's critical, even vicious attitude towards his strictly Calvinist

67 On this poem see G.J.M. Weber, Der Lobtopos des "lebenden" Bildes: Jan Vos und sein "Zeege der Schilderkunst" von 1654, Hildesheim, Zurich & New York 1991, pp. 46-55. See also the review of Weber in Simiolus, this issue, pp. 326-31. On the popularity of Vos's writings among, and the poet's close contacts with, Amsterdam artists see G. Luijten, "De Triomf van Schilderkunst: een titeltekening van Gesina ter Borch en een toneelstuk," Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 36 (1988), pp. 283-314; on the reception of the "Strydt tusschen de Doodt en Natuur" see esp. p. 284.

68 The receipt of payment to Vos, Vondel, Bol and Flinck's assistants (dated 3 December 1659) is reprinted in Blankert, op. cit. (note 6), p. 74.

69 Ibid., p. 21.

70 The Salomon Koninck painting described by Vos, op. cit. (note 65), p. 536, representing *Tarquin and Lucretia* is dated 1641 and is now in an unknown private collection; see Sumowski, op. cit. (note 9), vol. 3, nr. 1083 (ill.). Vos also described two portraits of members of Huydecoper's family by Jan Lievens (whereabouts unknown); see H. Schneider, *Jan Lievens: sein Leben und seine Werke (mit einem Supplement von R.E.O. Ekkart)*, Amsterdam 1973, p. 146, nr. 234, p. 147,

contemporaries. In a four-line poem addressed to an anonymous person with the initials "B.L.F.," Vos derided the credulity of those who readily believed men "who spoke from the Bible." In his view, Satan was capable of doing this as well.<sup>71</sup> His deep disapproval of the Protestant principle of *sola scriptura* cannot be mistaken. Vos also inveighed against the Calvinist ban on representations of God the Father:

"To a certain painter.

He who dares paint God's picture on canvas is a sinner, you say,

Because no man has ever seen God.

Who has led you to this false conclusion?

God made man in his own image for the most glorious of destinies.

He who has seen a man, does he not then see an image of God?"<sup>72</sup>

In his work on Jan Vos, Gregor Weber has interpreted a number of such poems as a reaction to the Calvinist attitude towards art.<sup>73</sup> In some of the verses, however, it is apparent that Vos's aim was not merely a general critique. It seems that he also often used actual cases from the Amsterdam art world as the basis for his polemics. In a satirical work addressed to a brass caster with the initials "J.G.," Vos criticized the production of a monumental candelabra as a gift to the Shogun in Japan. Instead of a candelabra, whose only purpose was to illuminate the idols of a heathen ruler, the poet thought the

nr. 242. The portraits were of Huydecoper's son, Joan Huydecoper 11 (1625-1704) and his cousin and wife Sophia Coymans (1636-1714); see Elias, op. cit. (note 59), vol. 1, pp. 518-19. Joachim von Sandrart (1606-88) also worked for Joan Huydecoper I during his stay in Amsterdam, painting *Ulysses and Nausicaa* for the house on Singelgracht. The work can now be seen, along with its original wooden mantlepicce, in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (inv. nr. A4278); see Blankert, op. cit. (note 1), p. 25 (ill.), and C. Klemm, *Joachim von Sandrart: Kunst-Werke u. Lebens-Lauf*, Berlin 1986, p. 127, cat. nr. 50 (ill.).

71 Vos, op. cit. (note 65), p. 381, nr. 154: "Aan B.L.F./ Wie uit de Bybel spreekt acht gy voor vroom van aart./ De duivel deedt dit ook: wat schat gy hem dan waart?/ Nooit wordt men deugdtzaam door het Bybelbladt te leezen:/ Of staat dit vast? zoo moedt de duivel deugtzaam weezen."

72 Ibid., p. 359, nr. 31: "Aan zeeker Schilder./ Hy zondigt die Godts beeldt, zegt gy, op doek durft maalen,/ Om dat men Godt nooit zag. wie helpt u dus aan't dwaalen?/ Godt schiep den mensch naar zich voor't heerelykste lot./ Wie dat den mensch dan ziet, ziet die geen beeldt van Godt?"

73 Ibid., pp. 64-114.

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10 Jan Lievens, Portrait of Jan Vos. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut

artist should have made a crucifix. "J.G." refers to the Amsterdam caster Joost Gerritz who, in 1638, had been commissioned to make the work by the East India Company.<sup>74</sup>

Victors's idiosyncratic practice of painting biblical subjects but refusing to depict either God the Father or Christ must have offered another welcome opportunity for Vos to sharpen his satirical skills. Although, as far as we know, he never wrote a poem about any of Victors's works, there is one rhyme which seems to point directly to the artist:

"Hans would not paint a figure of Christ.

Hans paints beautifully, admirably, so Fame tells us Nature gave Apelles great gifts, but Hans even greater ones.

He paints all things, except divinity.

Hans is a virtuous man, but a 'God-less' painter."75

The painter in the verse, mockingly characterized as a commendable and pious man, and an artist with natural talent (although "god-less" in his representations), appears to be none other than Rembrandt's student Jan Victors.<sup>76</sup> On 13 June 1619 he was baptized "Hans" in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam.<sup>77</sup> This was a name frequently found among Flemish immigrant families

like Victors's. Vos's satirical poem about the Calvinist painter is an interesting commentary on the iconographic controversy within the Rembrandt circle. It is also the only non-archival reference to Victors before the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>78</sup>

It is probable that there were other orthodox Calvinist painters of the period who renounced religious themes out of personal conviction and not only because there was a lack of official church commissions. In order to paint freely, profitably and without moral conflict there were enough opportunities in the other genres, for example in portraiture or landscape. Is the cause of such specialization really explained either by reference to the absence of church patronage or to the preferences and talents of individual artists? Victors's compromise-his decision to limit himself as a history painter to noncontroversial scenes from the Old Testament or to nonreligious subjects-offers an interesting starting point for the further investigation of the conditions surrounding the development of specialization in Dutch art of the seventeenth century.

KUNSTHISTORISCHESINSTITUT FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN

Separtment of Art Eucen's University, Kinjotan, Canada

74 The poem is discussed in T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Koperen kronen en waskaarsen voor Japan," *Oud Holland* 93 (1979), pp. 69-95, esp. 93.

75 Vos, op. cit. (note 65), p. 367, nr. 76: "Hans wou geen Christus schilderen./ Hans schildert loffelyk, zoo ons de faam verbreidt./ Natuur beschonk Apel. maar Hans beschonk zy milder./ Hy schildert alle ding, behalven godtlykheidt./ Hans is een deugdtlyk man: maar 't is een godtloos schilder." 76 Cf. Manuth, op. cit. (note 25), p. 66; see also Weber, op. cit. (note 67), p. 73, who quotes the poem without reference to Jan Victors.

77 The notation of the baptism on 13 June 1619 from the registry of the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam is given in Miller, op. cit. (note 32), p. 23, note 6; see also idem, op. cit. (note 31), p. 14, 248, doc. 12.

78 See Miller, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 12-35, for data on the artist's biography and a commentary on the unusually late interest of art historians in his life and work.

FAX FROM



DR. ALFRED BADER

Suite 622 924 East Juneau Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202 Telephone: 414/277-0730 Fax: 414/277-0709

September 19, 1995

Page 1 of 5

To: For Dr. Volker Manuth Fax: 613/545-6891

Dear Volker:

As you will see from the enclosed list, there may well be between 15 to 20 in my collection that you would find suitable for an exhibition of scholars.

Of these paintings, you know every one except the Eversdyck and the second Heerschop. The second Heerschop, which is an attribution, is now being restored, and I will have it back, I hope, before I leave for Kingston next month. If so, I will bring a photograph with me.

I foresee two problems with that exhibition and hope that you can solve both.

- (1) I don't think that we could arrange for packing and shipping and would like to have a truck from Queen's to come to Milwaukee to bring the paintings to Kingston and then to return them. The two most valuable, small paintings, RRP-C18 and the Verhout, could undoubtedly be hand-carried.
- (2) I don't think that such an exhibition would make any sense without an illustrated catalog. It doesn't have to be a lavish catalog, but without illustrations, it would be useless to scholars.

All of this will be expensive and hence difficult in today's financial climate. could you perhaps arrange to share the exhibition, perhaps with the Art Gallery of Ontario?

Somehow I don't think it would be right for me to offer financial support for an exhibition showing my own paintings.



Dr. Volker Manuth September 19, 1995 Page 2

Isabel and I much look forward to being in Kingston next month and hope to have an hour or two alone with you to discuss the book on Biblical scenes. I will have a few draft examples for your comments.

What do you think about Karin Groen's fax from the RRP, received today?

With all good wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

bur

AB/cw

Enclosures

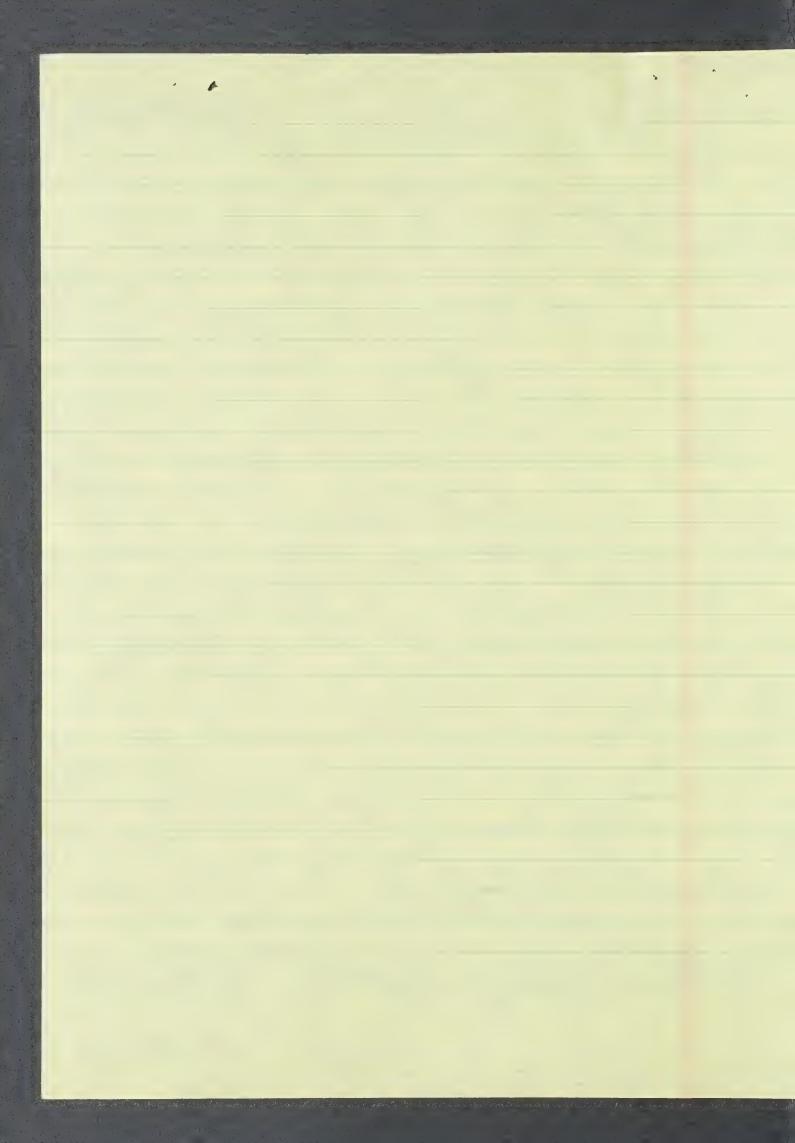
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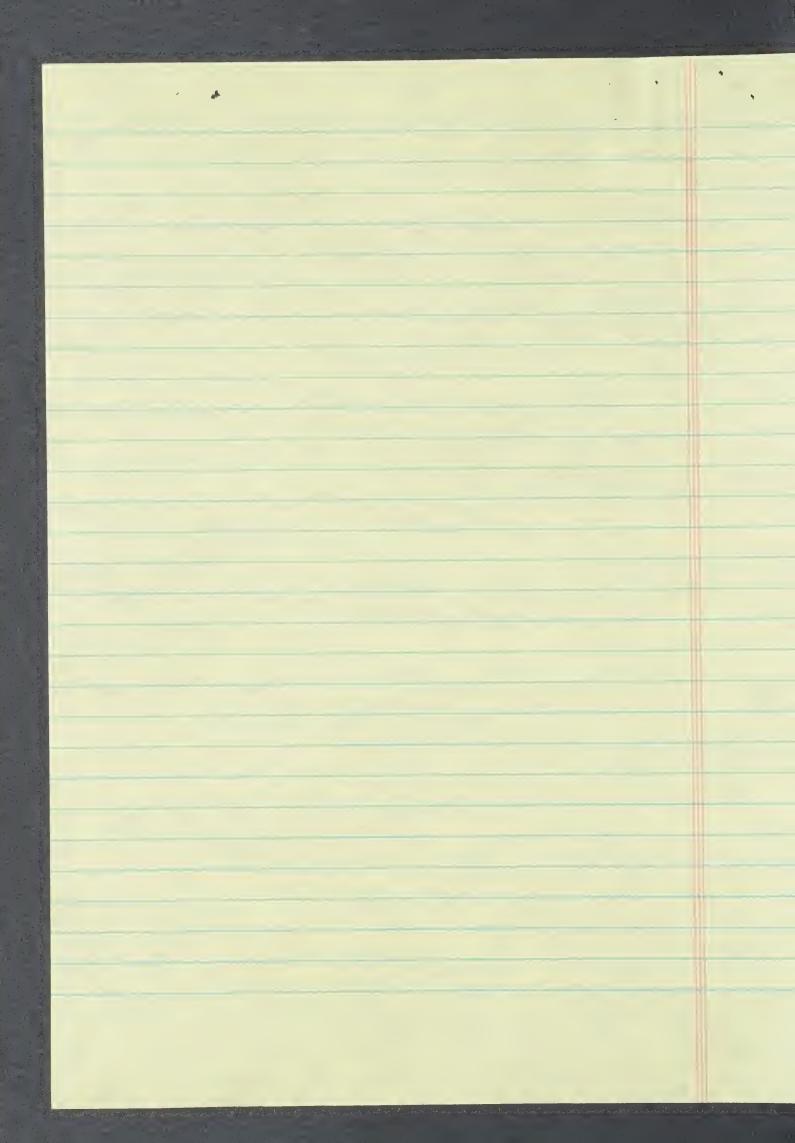




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## ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

March 22, 1995

Professor Volker Manuth Department of Art History Queen's University Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6 Canada

Dear Volker:

What do you think of the little painting of Jacob blessing his grandchildren, photograph enclosed? That over-powering curtain is a parrot-green. Surely the artist must have seen Rembrandt's painting in Kassel and also the dying David by Aert de Gelder in Zurich. Incidentally, I have recently been offered that very painting albeit at a very high price, \$300,000.

Am I correct in thinking that this little painting dates to around 1700-1720?

What do you think of the two heads of old men on pages 99 and 100 in Rosenberg? Which do you like the better? Are they by the same hand? I can now hang them together after looking at them so often in that book!

All good wishes, as always,

AB/cw

By Appointment Only ANIOR HOIFE SUITE 622 924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE MELWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202 TEL 414 277-0730 FAX 414 277-0700



FAX FROM

DR. ALFRED R. BADER Suite 622 924 East Juneau Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202 Telephone 414-277-0730 Fax No. 414-277-0709

April 7, 1994

To: Dr. Volker Manuth c/o Rembrandt Research Project

31 20 525 3023

Dear Volker:

I am so happy to have your fax of today, because I had called you a number of times in Berlin during the last two weeks and always heard Sorine's pleasant recording.

I chatted at length with David McTavish and assured him that the first \$50,000 gift from us for the art history library will come to Queen's this year. He is happy to have your pick and negotiate for books to be purchased in Amsterdam and would like to double check that there are no duplicates.

I wrote to Dr. J. P. Filedt Kok, asking him whether I could have slides of the Rembrandt I sold to the Rijksmuseum, both before and after cleaning, and if possible, slides taken during the work. I have not yet heard from him; could I impose on you to ask him whether he has received my request.

If Sorine can help me with slides of two famous paintings in Berlin, namely <u>The Man with the Golden Helmet</u> and the <u>Daniel</u>, which is probably by Drost, then I really require only a few more slides to complete my talk. They are:

Bredius 545	The Good Samaritan in the Wallace Collection
PRP C	Flight to Egypt in Tours
Bredius 511	The Parting of David and Jonathan in the Hermitage
Bredius 488	David and Saul in Basle

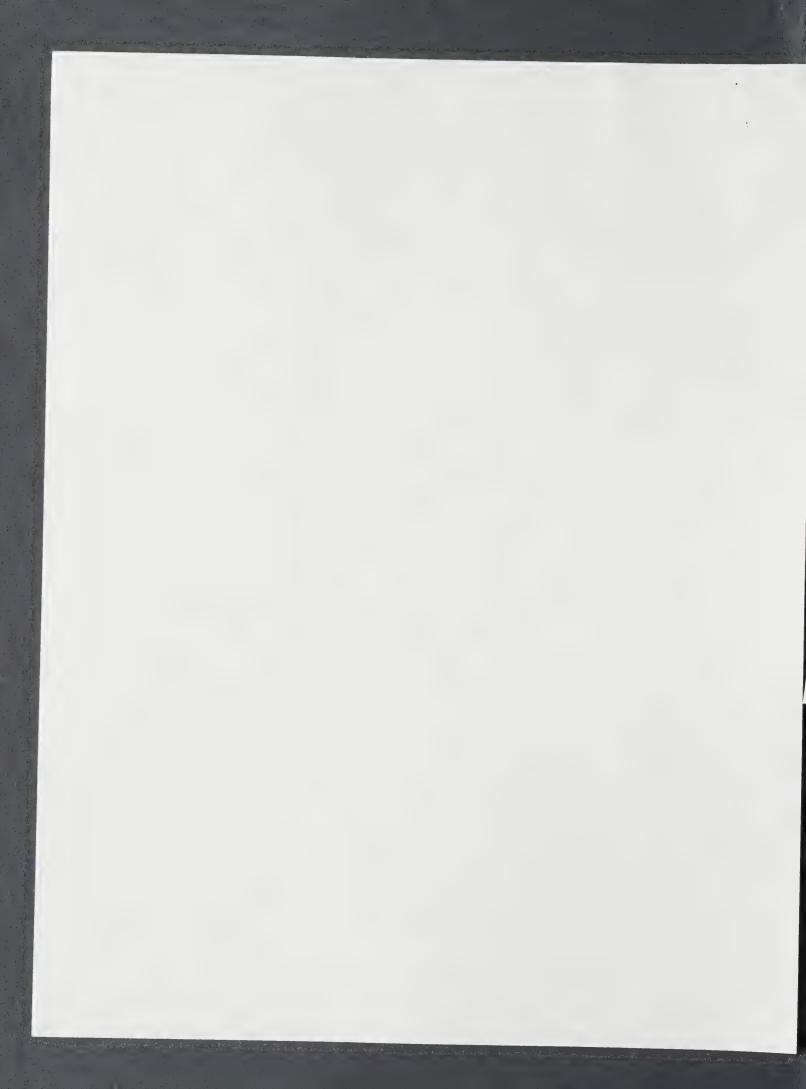
If it would be easy for you to get slides through the RRP, please do send them to me with your invoice.

I very much liked the Braunschweig catalog, although the color reproduction of my Solomon de Bray is terrible. This is surprising because they took the photograph in Braunschweig.

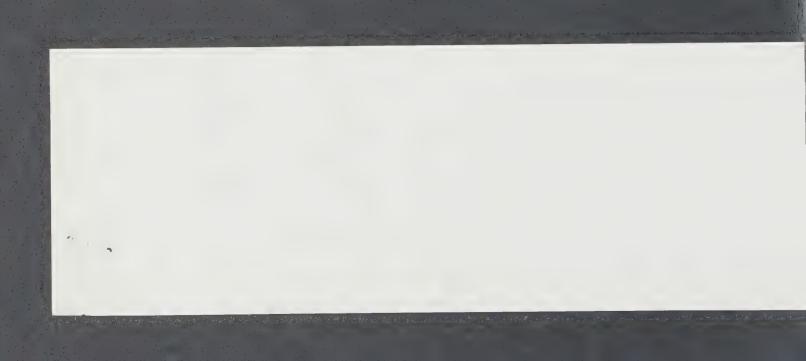
Unfortunately, we will not have a chance to visit Germany this summer, but we much look forward to seeing you in London in July. Where should the auction catalogs be sent?

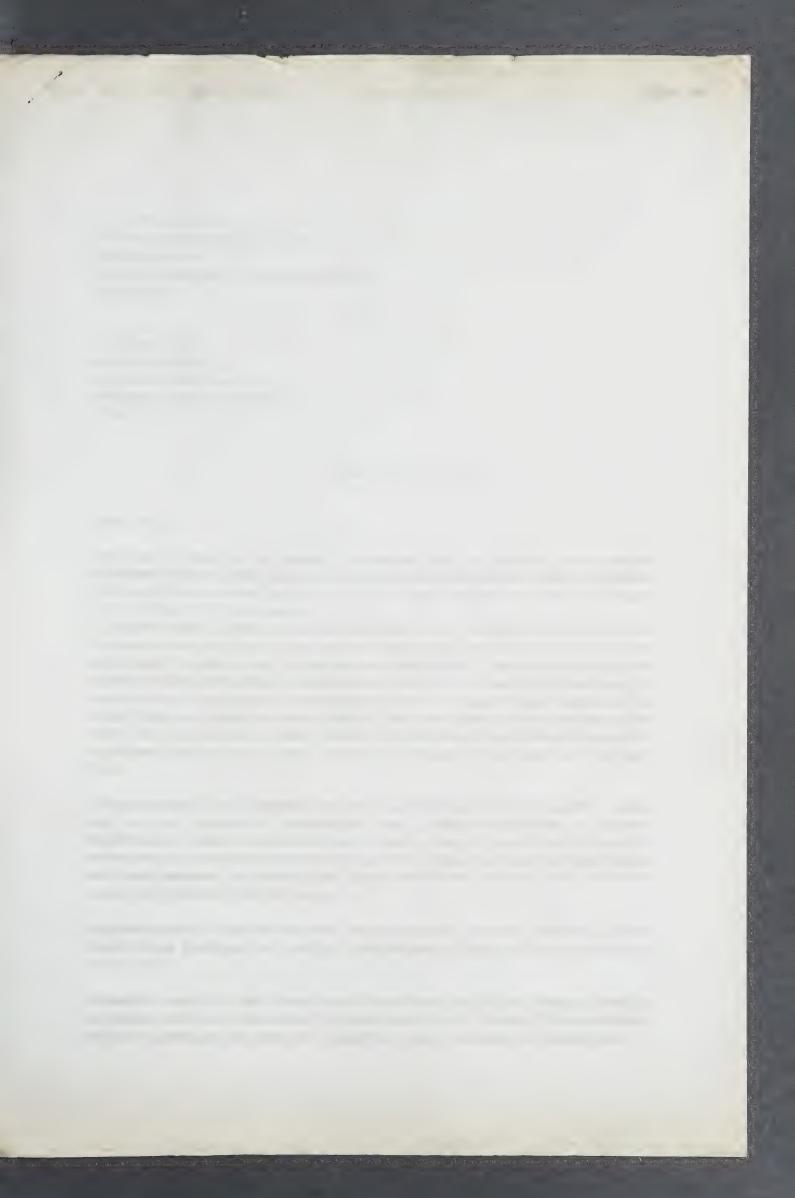
Fond regards to you and Sorine,

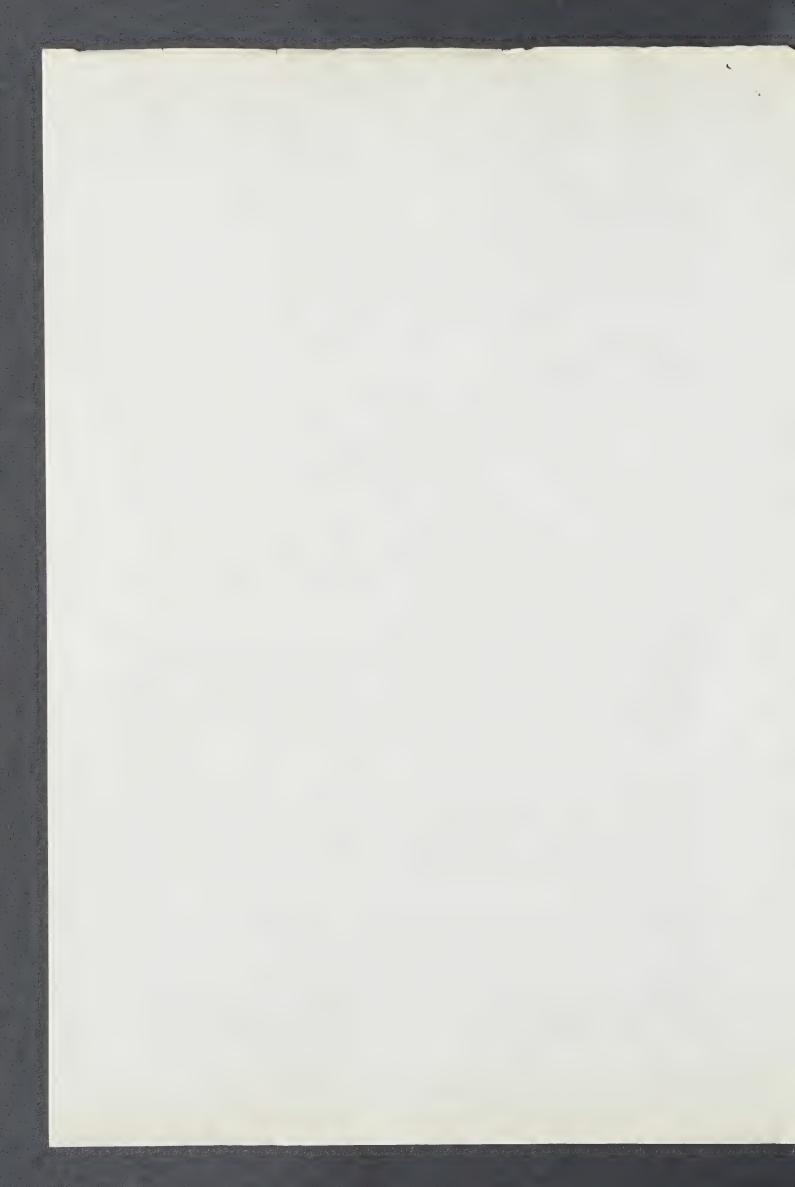
Jergliche hipsen















March 30, 1994

Dr. Volker Manuth Eschenstrasse 3 D1000 Berlin 41 Germany

Dear Volker,

Life is getting more and more hazardous as evidenced by what happened to a recent letter to you. All we received back was that bit of an envelope which was torn in transit.

In that letter there may have been the list of slides which I would very much like to receive. In the last few days, I have called you by telephone a number of times, but have always just heard Serine's pleasant recording that you are away. I hope that you are on an enjoyable, and surely well deserved, Easter holiday.

The slides which I would much like to have from you, and surely easily obtained in Berlin, are those of the <u>Man with a Golden Helmet</u> and of Bredius No. 519, the <u>Daniel</u>, probably by Trost, also in Berlin.

I had a long chat with David McTavish who agrees that you should be able to pick what books you can acquire reasonably in Holland. He would just like to have a list before you place the order, to make certain that there is no duplication.

David also told me that the first PhD students would begin their work at Queen's this coming September, i.e., in September 1994. That of course is great news.

All good wishes to both of you.

Sincerely,



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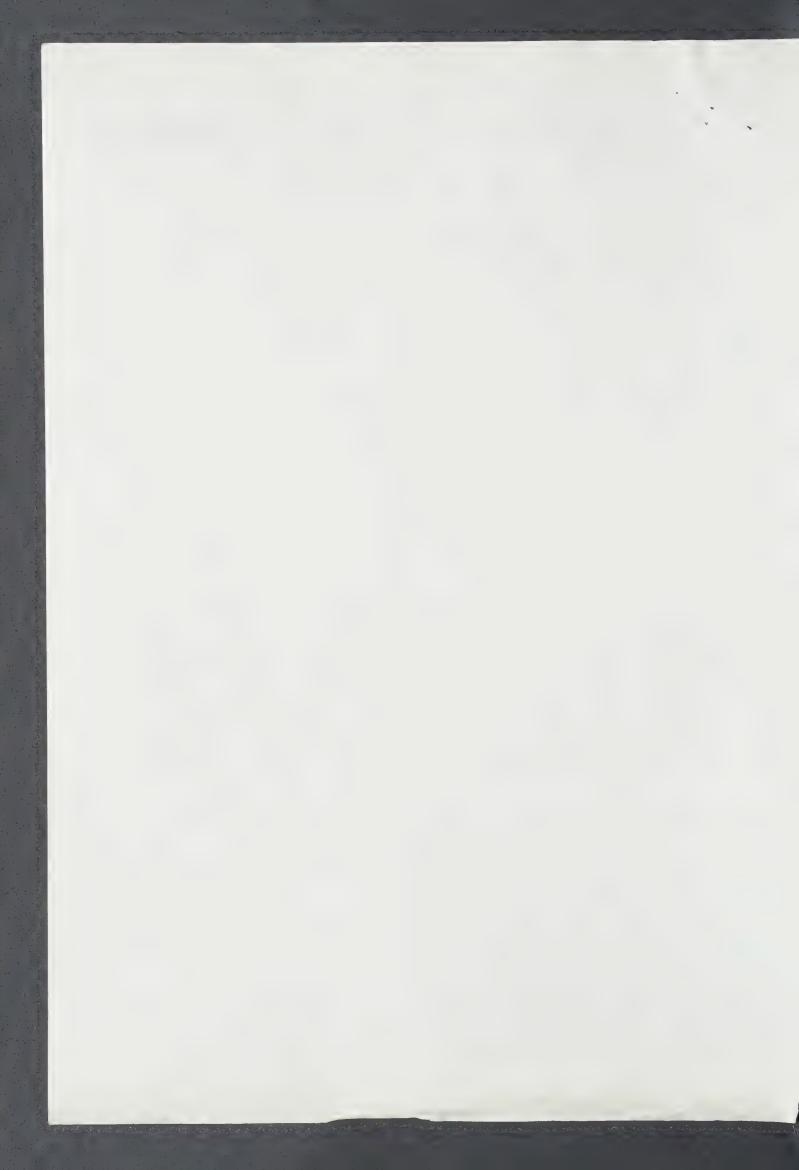
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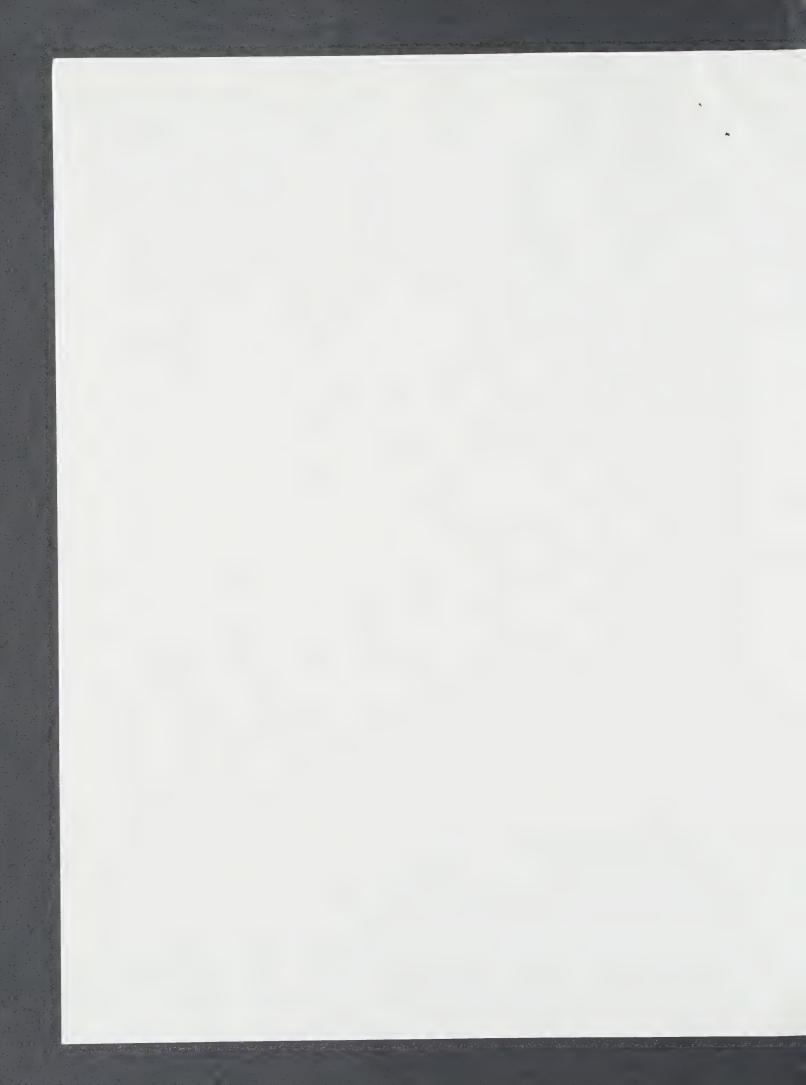
## • FAX FROM

DR. ALFRED R. BADER Suite 622 924 East Juneau Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202 Telephone 414-277-0730 Fax No. 414-277-0709

fax 44 17 203 113

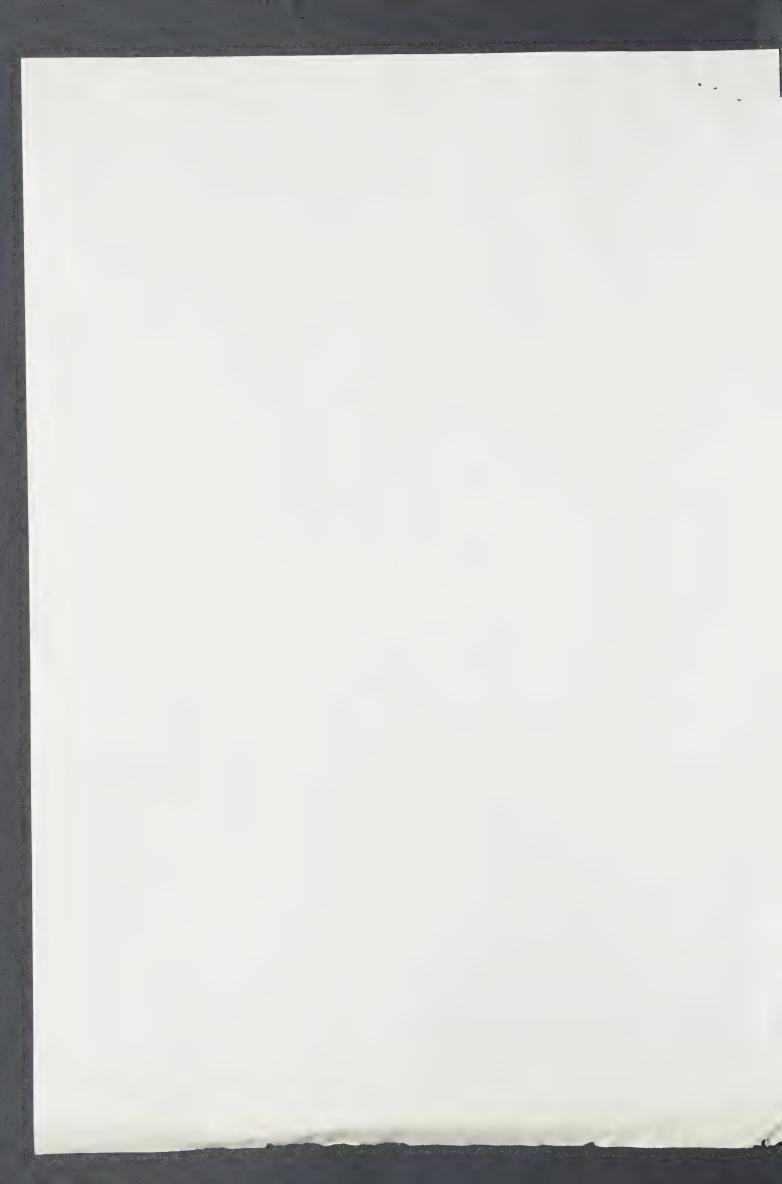
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### FAX FROM

DR. ALFRED R. BADER Suite 622 924 East Juneau Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202 Telephone 414-277-0730 Fax No. 414-277-0709

Dr. Volker Manut

RRP

31 20 675 1661

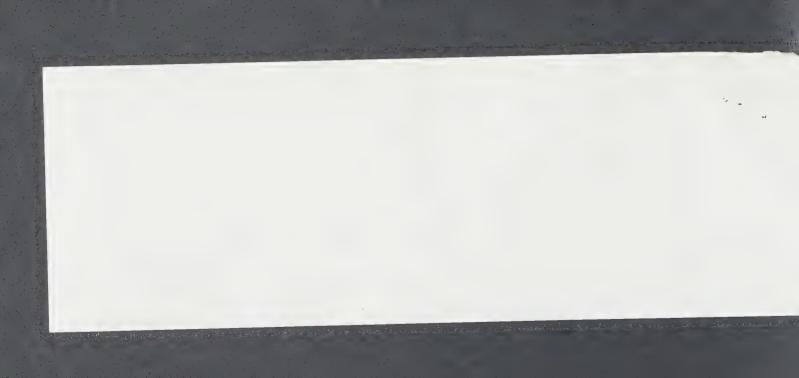
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Lieber Velker Der Mieronymus is under, etwas reclus vou der Mille piquiert A. Bloemaert fer, aber wicht duriert. Jargliche houpse den Isabel & mil. 1) ein Jeg.a

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DR. ALERED BADER

August 20, 1993

ESTABLISHED 1961

Dr. Volker Manuth Eschenstrasse 3 D1000 Berlin 41 Germany

Dear Volker:

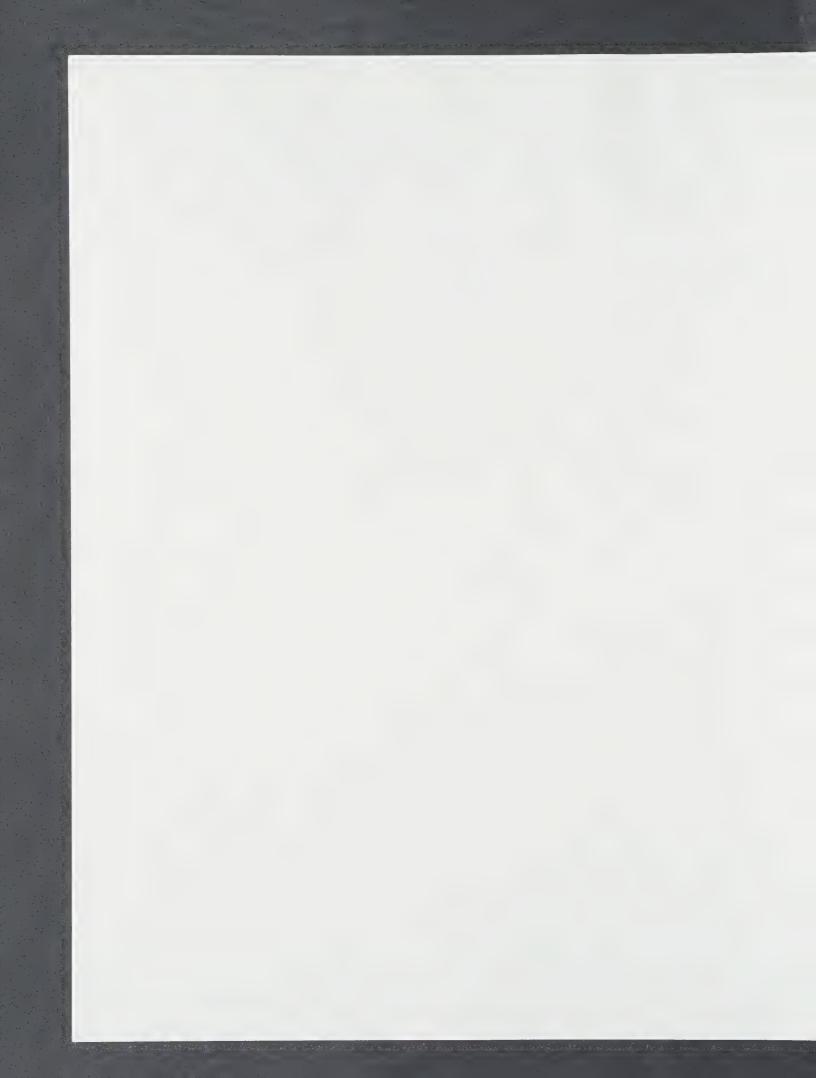
I understand from the people running the Netherlandish Art Historians meeting in the Boston area that it is filling up rapidly, and so I would urge you to register quickly.

Fond regards.

As always,

Enclosures

By Appointment Only ANTOR HOTEL SUITE 522 924 EANT JUNEAU AVENUE MILWAUKEE WISCONNIN UNA 53202 TLL 414 277-0730 Fix 414 277-0709





DR. ALFRED BADER

August 16, 1993

ESTABLISHED 1961

Via Fax 011 31 20 675 1661

Dr. Volker Manuth Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project

Dear Volker,

Thank you for your fax of today.

Fax numbers for David Smith and David McTavish are:

David Smith - 613 545 6838 David McTavish - 613 545 6891

There is a night train from Boston to Montreal, and a train from Montreal to Kingston is an additional 3 hours. I might be tempted to rent a car, as the colors in October are very beautiful and the roads good. (A.A. Auto Boston - 1)

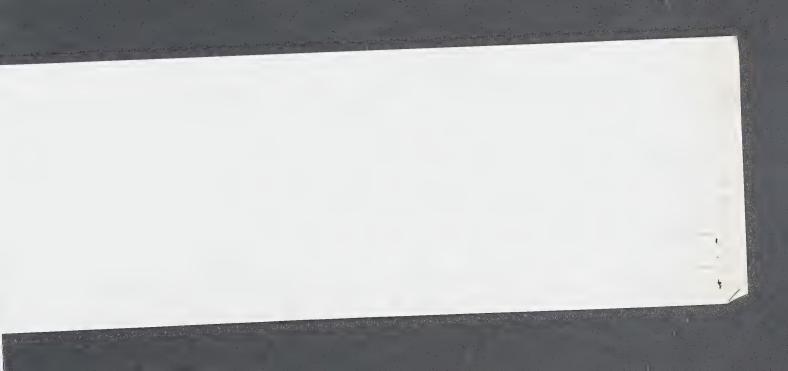
I have promised to speak at 2 New Jersey universities on October 13 and then at the Worcester Foundation on October 14 so that Isabel and I will not get to the Netherlandish Art Historian Conference until mid-morning of October 15. However, between than and Sunday the 17th, we will have ample time to talk about Queen's. Of course I plan to have long telephone discussions with David McTavish and David Smith while you are at Queen's.

Chy or

Fond regards,

By Appointment Only ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622 924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202 TEL 414 277-0730 Fax 414 277-0709









DR. ALFRED BADER

August 12, 1993

Dr. Volker Manuth Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project Via fax 011 31 20 675 1661 5 Jages in all

ESTABLISHED 1951

Dear Volker,

I am so happy to have your fax of today and hope that the next 4 pages will give you all the information you need about the St. Jerome. The museum in Braunschweig did not send you a photograph because I did not have a good color transparency to send them. We arranged to send them all the paintings, including the one from the Milwaukee Art Museum, in good time for them to take photographs in Braunschweig.

Surely I don't have to tell you where my hopes and dreams about Queen's are, and Queen's could not get a better scholar or finer human being than you. As David McTavish probably told you, the Ph.D. program is close to approval.

Isabel and I plan to be at the conference of Netherlandish art historians in the Boston area during the last 3 days (from Friday to Sunday, October 15--17), and then to fly home. We will then leave for a trip to Canada from the 23 of October to early November. On Monday and Tuesday, October 25, 26, I will lecture in Montreal, and between the 27th and about November 2, we will be visiting Isabel's sister in Ottawa, Queen's and Toronto, and then fly from Toronto to London. We will be in England until the end of December, with trips to Amsterdam and perhaps Braunschweig in between.

Do you plan to come to the conference in the Boston area from the 13th to the 17th of October? Or, might it be possible that we meet at Queen's at the end of October?

Were you able to find out anything about the <u>Head of an Old Man</u> from the Erickson sale in 1961?

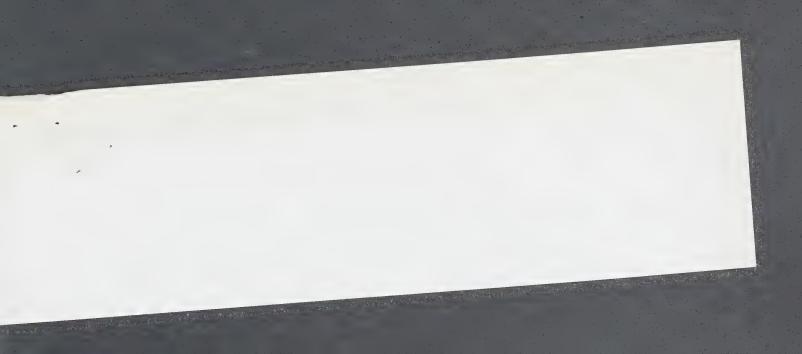
Bredius 295A

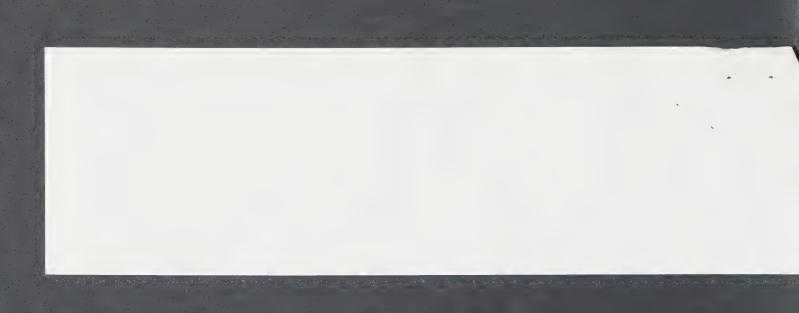
Fond regards,

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By Appointment Only ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622 924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202 TEL 414 277-0730 Fax 414 277-0709







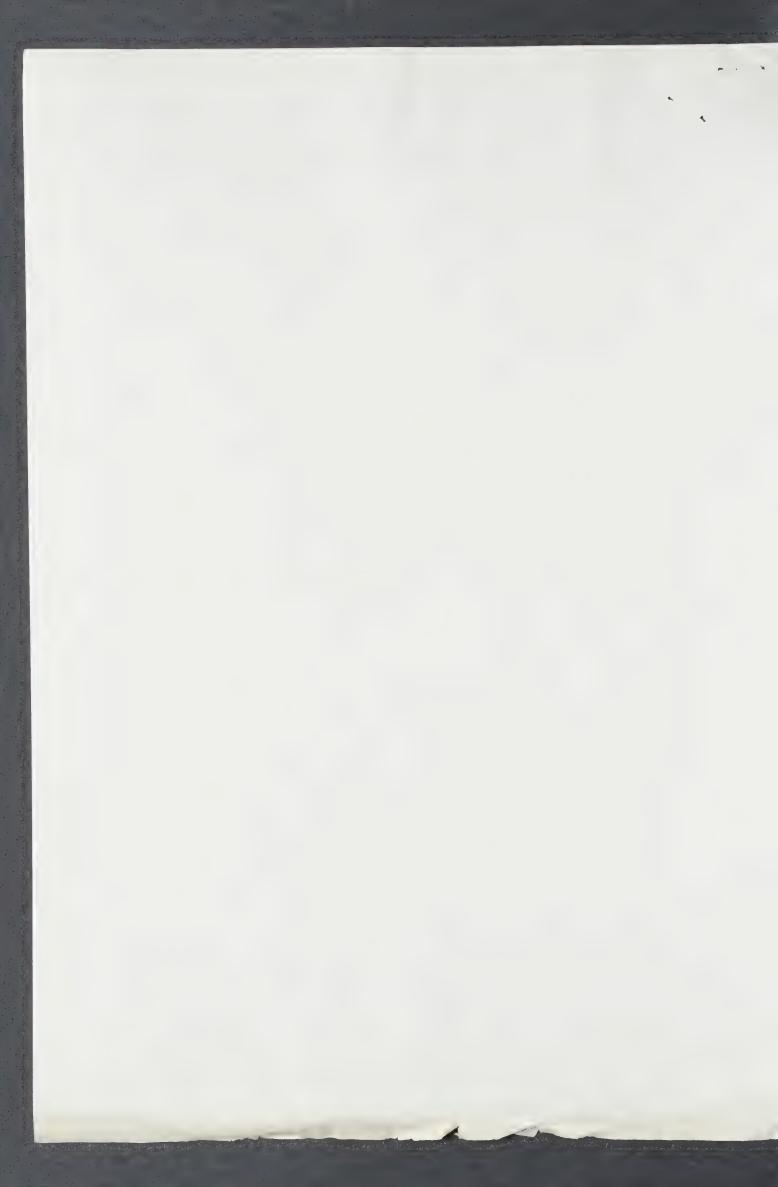
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Dr. Alfred R. Bader 2961 North Shepard Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

May 12, 1993

Dr. Volker Manuth Eschenstrasse 3 D1000 Berlin 41 West Germany

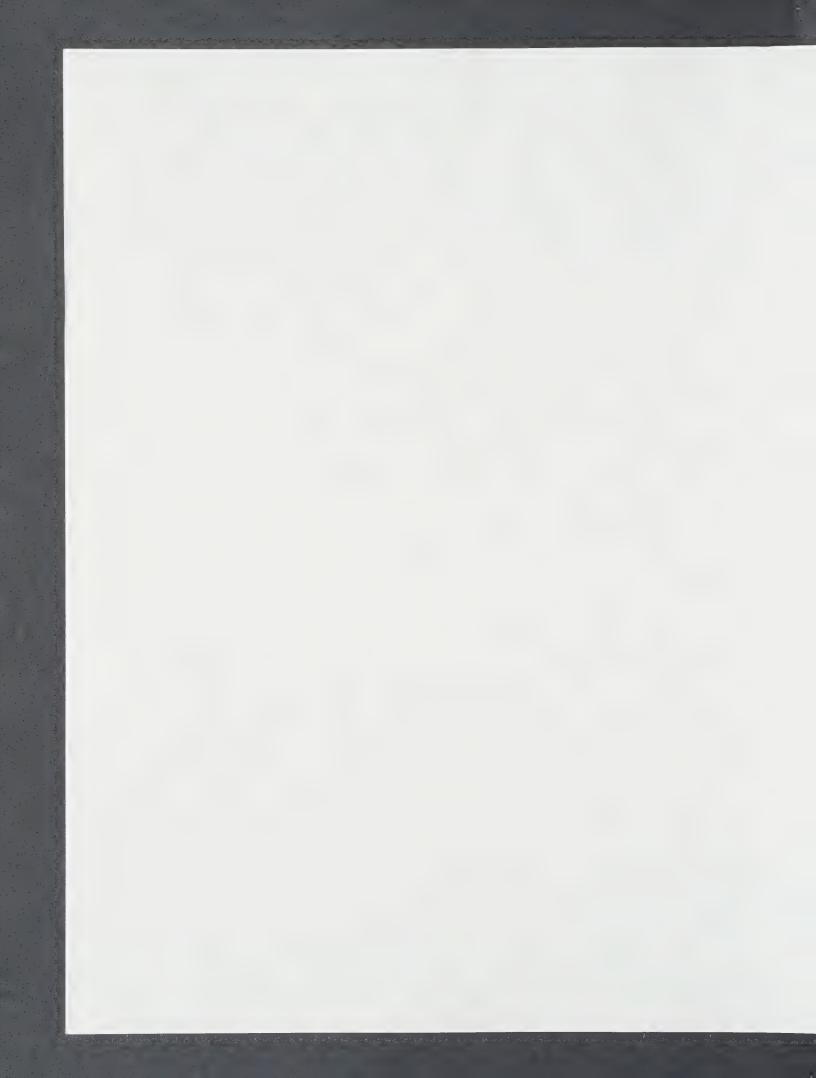
Dear Volker,

Do you have any idea who painted my latest acquisition, Bredius Gerson No. 295A, described on the enclosed. I love the painting, bit on it in 1961 but failed then.

Would it be possible to borrow, or perhaps even to purchase, a copy of your Ph.D. thesis when I visit you in Berlin?

Fond regards to you and Sorine,

Enclosure



Dr. Alfred R. Bader 2961 North Shepard Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

May 4, 1993

Dr. Volker Manuth Eschenstrasse 3 D1000 Berlin 41 Germany

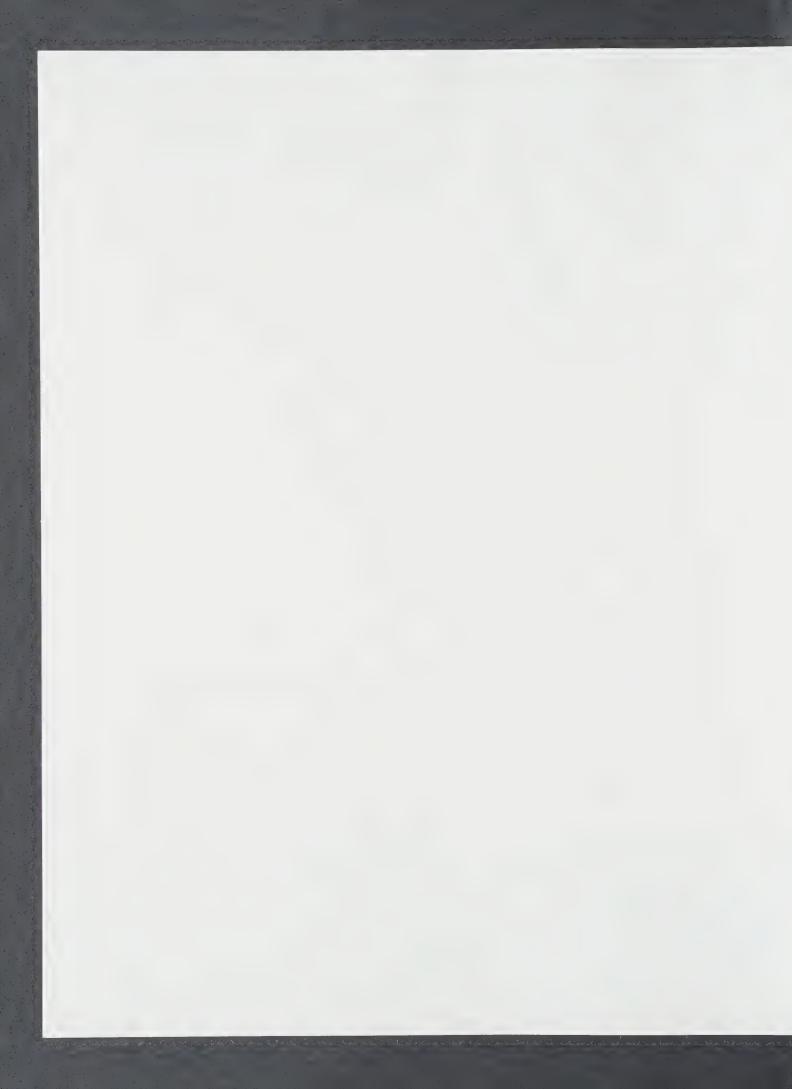
Dear Volker:

Isabel and I so look forward to arriving in Berlin on Saturday afternoon, June 5, and I will telephone you from Würzburg to give you our arrival time.

I have informed the Hotel Pension Enzian of my credit card number to reserve a room.

I think the best title for my talk will be "The Adventures of a Chemist Collector" and for that I will need 2 projectors to show 2 slides at the same time. If you need some kind of abstract, you might like to use our introduction to "The Detective's Eye" catalog, pages 6-7 of the Milwaukee Art Museum 1989 publication.

Fond regards to you and Sörine,





DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

April 8, 1993

Dr. Volker Manuth Eschenstrasse 3 D1000 Berlin 41 Germany

Dear Volker:

It is time to make plans for our visit to Berlin. I tried to telephone you several times, but I could not reach you. We plan to come to Berlin by train from Würzburg, leaving Würzburg on Saturday morning, June 5. On Tuesday morning, June 8, we plan to take a train from Berlin towards Prague, but then get out at the Czech border station where a good friend will pick us up by car. May I ask you for your help with the following details:

- 1. Could you please pick a good train leaving Würzburg on Saturday morning and telling us when it will arrive in Berlin.
- 2. Also, please select a good train from Berlin to the Czech Republic, letting me know when it leaves Berlin, when it arrives at the Czech border, and what the name of the Czech border town is.
- 3. Could you please make a reservation at a simple hotel for Isabel and me for the three nights, Saturday, Sunday and Monday (June 5, 6, 7), and let me know the name, address and telephone number (and fax number, if any) of that hotel.

I know how very welcome you made Isabel and me at your home, but this really could not have been simple for Sorine and you. Also, an old and good friend from Vienna, Dr. Paul Löw-Beer, said that he might want to visit Berlin to hear some lectures and then stay in the same hotel.

I do not recall when I have purchased as many good paintings as I did between last November and January, and I much look forward to discussing them with you.

> By Appointment Only VSTOR HOTEL SUITE 622 924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202 TEL 414 277-0730 Fax 414 277-0709



Dr. Volker Manuth April 8, 1993 Page Two

Bredius No. 295A is coming up for sale in London at Christie's on April 23. I bid on that painting in the Erickson sale in 1961 and did not get it. It was purchased by Speelman, probably for Lord Samuel. What do you think of that painting? I like it very much, although I don't think it is by Rembrandt.

Fond regards from house to house,

#### TELEX / FAX MEMO

TO: COUNTRY:

.

Dr. Alfred Bader c/o Principal D. Smith Queen's University 613 545 6838 FROM:

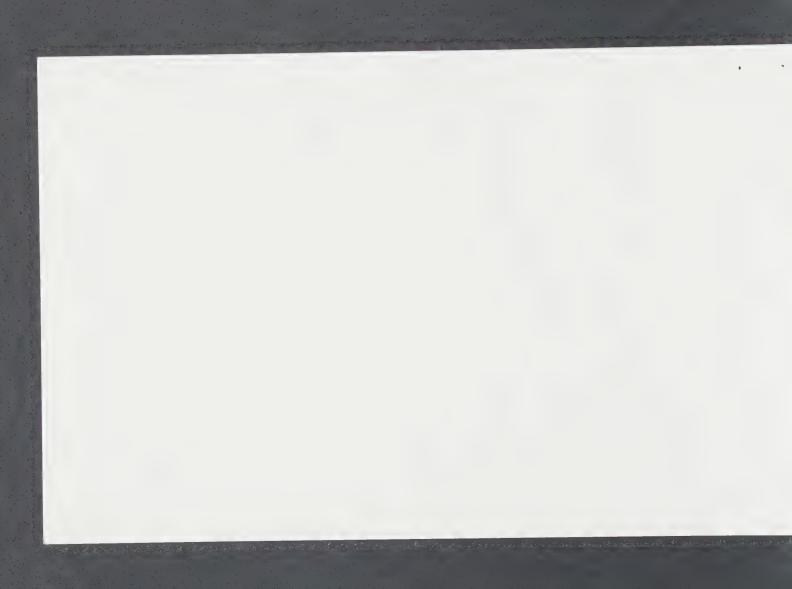
M. Hassmann

DATE: November 9, 1992

Please give the following 3 pages to Dr. Bader when he visits. It appears parts of pp. 1 and 2 are missing. If the message isn't urgent, Dr. Bader may wait to call Dr. Manuth from England.

Thank you.

Marilyn



Volker Manuth Eschenstr. 3 1000 Berlin 41 Germany

Alfred Bader Fine Arts Dr. Alfred Bader Astor Hotel Suite 622 924 East Juneau Are. Vilwaukee, Wisconsin 53202 USA

Derlin, den 8. 11. '92

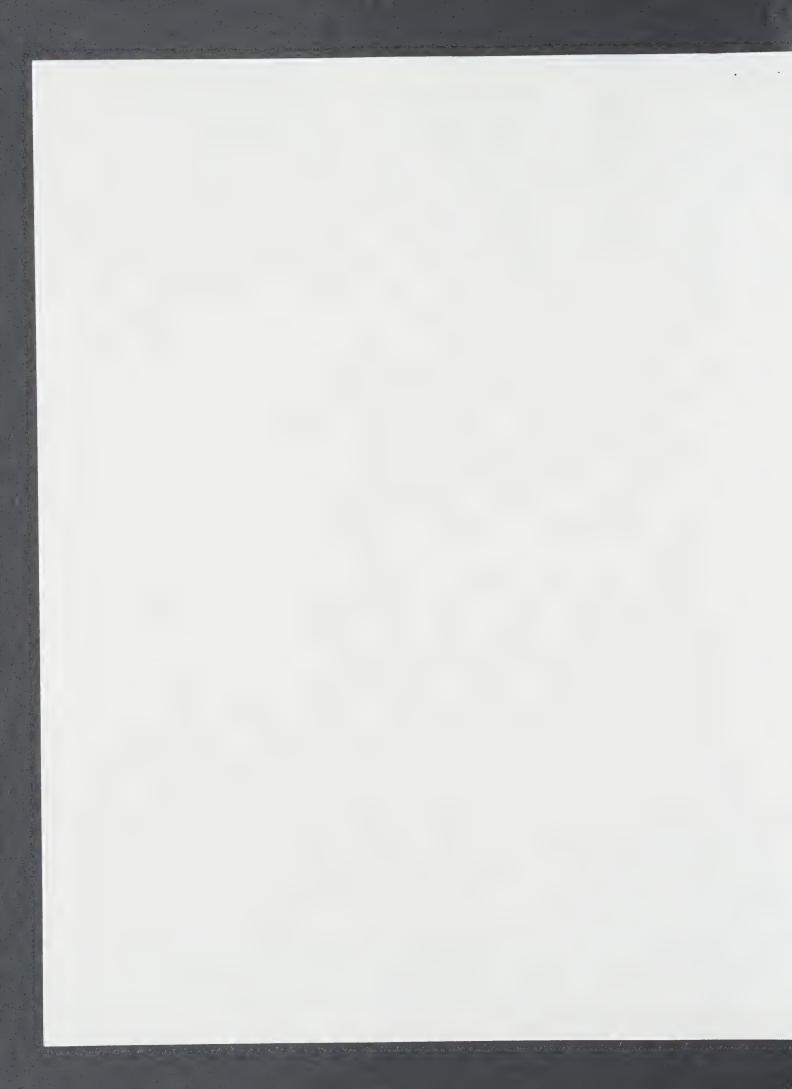
P.1

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tiles Afred,

Vielen Dank für Denie Eeilen vom 30. Oktober, dei iet erst gestern erheilt, da sie min aus etmster dam mach berlin perchicht verden mußten. Juit dem 15. Oktober ben ich meider in Derlin, da hier das Jemester begonnen hat und meine feste Eist in christe dam vorlui ist, was ich sehr bedaure.

Jet habe rolor to mark & l. 0 1 9 ... A . 1. 1



IS have rofort mach Erhalt Sumer Drifes met De Amsterdam telepronieit, und hideke Peese Binkhomt, die Euch in Milvaulie birucht hat, hat sich auf meine Ritte him mit Dordrecht in Verbuidung gesetzt : The wordet selbst verstandlich eine Einladung zur Eröffnung erhalten. Die Organisation in Dordrecht ist withlich recht chaotisch. Is worde sur Eröffnung aus Derlin nach Sordrecht hommen. Allerdings hann ich nicht vor dem 27. 11. abinds in Amstedam ankommen. Jementsynchend habe ich Lideke gebeten im metter Hotel in der Nahe des Rijksmuseums für luch in huchen, da ich privat his unem Hollegen in comste dans wohnen hann. Die honntes dann am 28. M. Eusammen mach Dordacht fahren und abinds mider surrich mad comsta dam. Ich wirde dann moch lui ca. 5. 12. in Holland sun, da ich in chroste dans und Den Haag sehr wil zu ar bei ten habe. Möglicherseise muß ich in beragter Woche and mod fir 1-2 For mach Loven. Dir könnten uns aber sicher 2. B. am 29. M. ( Sonntag) in Amsterdam noch schen und sprechen , was schar vare.

Langsam merke ich, dags sich suit 2 Jahren human Urlaub mehr simacht habe. Als meine Hallegen his in Derlin 3 Monate Temester ferrin hatten, habe is in Holland gearbuitet. Nur unen Vay nach meiner Richlets aus Amste dans by ann hus mide das Temeste.

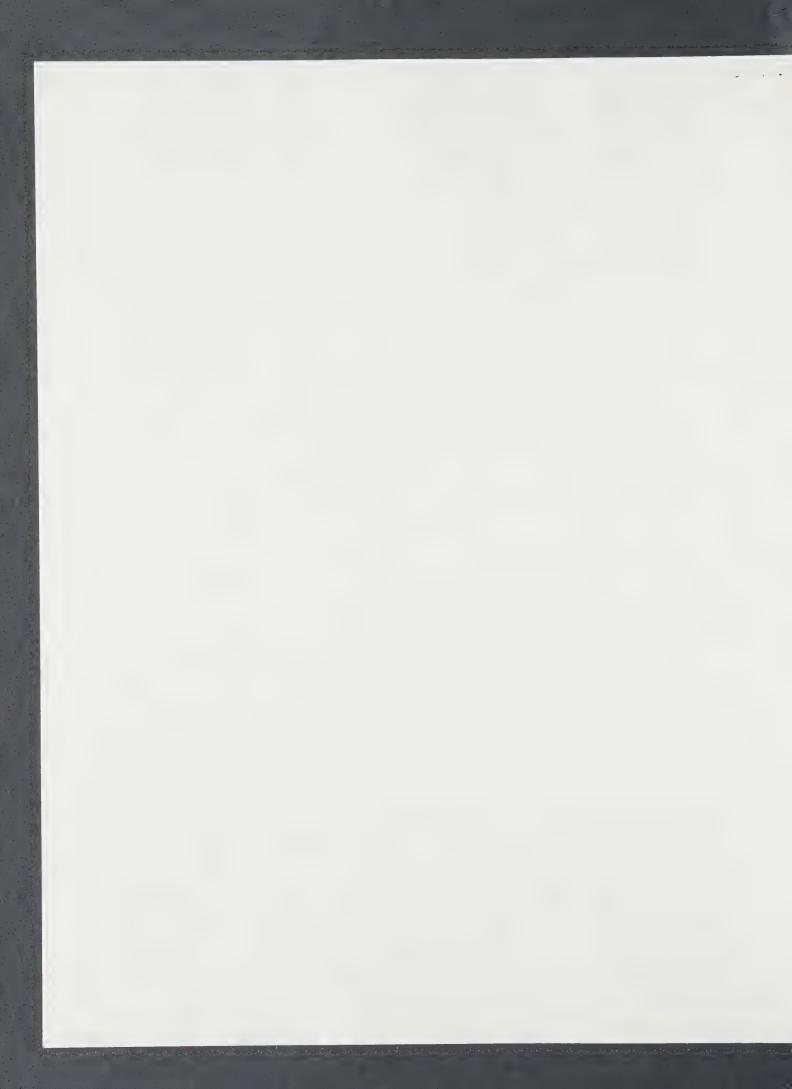


Num habe ich also mit den Studenten alle Hande voll in tim. Dazu derartig viele Encladungen 44 in Vortrajen an Universitäten und deuseen, dop is mir unmöglict ist, alle en ahreptissen. Ois um Februar muß ich für unen dusstellungshatalog unen dupate uber die bereihungen des dt. Malurs Januarius Eich zur molt. Malurei des 17. Jahrhunderts juschrieben haben, his sum Jeptember sinen Deitroj über Kichael Villmann als Eichner und. und. Jes finde herre East und Kuge für meinen gehibter Eckhaut, an dem ich so geme vuiter serveiben wir de. Ohne sablatical in abselibant buit hann ich das buch wohl micht so schnell abschliefen.

Vom 13. Juis 15. November worde ich mit meinen Itudenten nach Höhn zur großen churstellung icher Halerei in Antroryen von ca. 1550 Juis 1650 "Den Druegel Juis Rubens" fahren, da ich in duisem Temester ihrer Anthonis van Dyck in Teminar waanstalte.

Über winen chnsuf von Euch aus Deschill sourde ich mich freuen. In de Vorfreude auf unse Eusammentreffen in Holland gright Euch set kurshich p.s. FIAX in Berlin Valle

030 - 77303 113



, land to the second of the second Donkhows, due tuck in Milwankie burnelt had, hat sich and meine ditte bari mit Sordre Al in Varlandeng gesetet : The new det relbert me we also love linka and the brathand lit. - - 2

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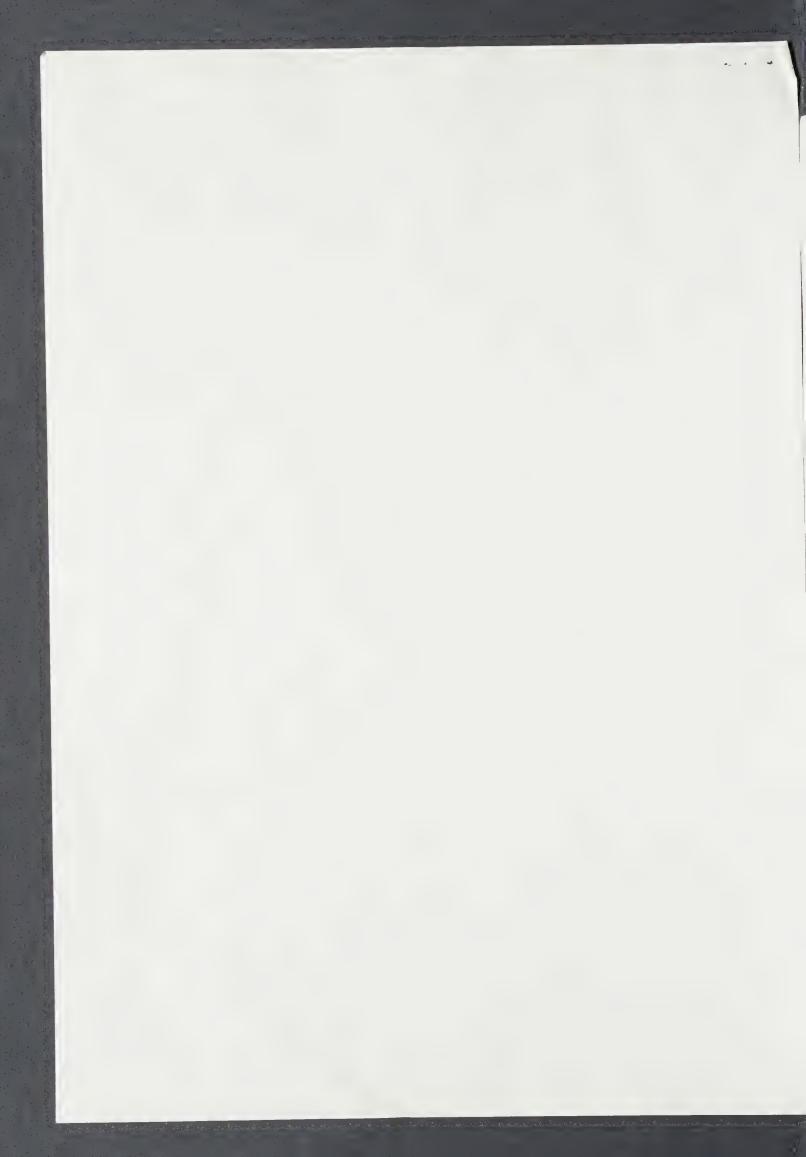
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### ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

October 30, 1992

Dr. Volker Manuth Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project c/o Centraal Laboratorium Postbus 75132 1070 AC Amsterdam The Netherlands

Dear Volker:

David McTavish spent last weekend with us at David Bader's wedding in Pennsylvania, and he told me that he hopes to be able to finalize on the professorship by the end of this year.

Isabel and I look forward to arriving in England (52 Wickham Avenue, Bexhill-on-Sea, East Sussex TN39 3ER, telephone 44 424 222 223) on Monday, November 16th, and to leave England on December 22nd. From about November 25th until the 29th, we hope to be in Holland, the first days in Amsterdam and the last in Dordrecht for the opening of the Rembrandt student exhibition.

The management of the Dordrecht Museum appears disorganized, and I have not received any reply to my letter and fax of October 9, copy enclosed.

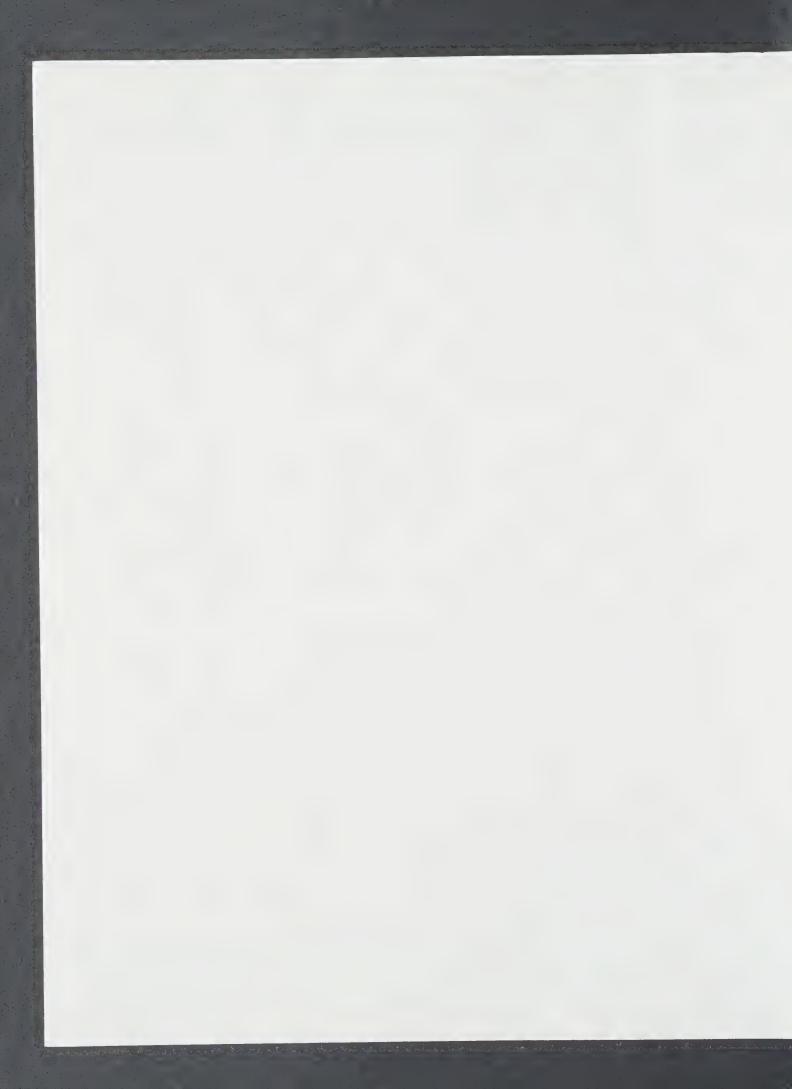
Originally they asked me for the loan of five paintings, and they are getting all five; three from me, the large Maes from Bill Robinson and the large de Lesire from Queen's. Surely such a loan should entitle Isabel and me to an invitation to the opening!

I plan to call you from Bexhill soon after our arrival to ask you for help in finding a modest hotel room near where you are staying. Also, could we then go with you to Dordrecht?

I have so many art historical problems to discuss with you, and we so look forward to seeing you.

Fond regards,

By Appointment Only ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622 924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202 TEL 414 277-0730 FAX 414 277-0709





## ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

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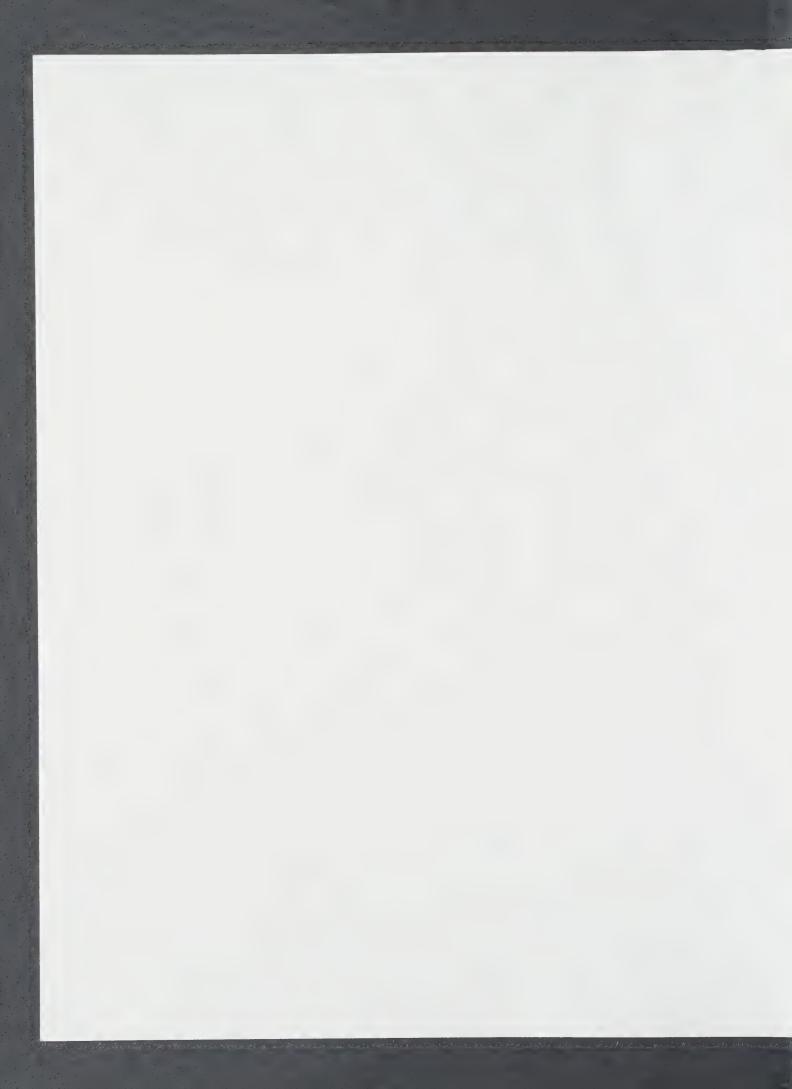
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By Appointment Only ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622 924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202 TEL 414 277-0730 FAX 414 277-0709





# ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

September 15, 1992

Dr. Volker Manuth Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project c/o Centraal Laboratorium Postbus 75132 1070 AC Amsterdam The Netherlands

Dear Volker:

Although Isabel and I have thought and talked about you a great deal, I haven't written, because we have been so busy moving into the new gallery.,

Needless to day, I haven't opened the gallery for the purpose of becoming even wealthier, but because I love the wheeling and dealing with paintings and hope to sharpen the quality of the collection which will go to Queen's.

Of course, we did not buy the Rembrandt to keep, as we do not want to live in a fortress.

Enclosed are photographs of three recent acquisitions:

- 1. The small head of an old man, on panel. When Ian Kennedy visited last week, he thought this a work of Jan Lievens, but to me it looks like a sketch by Flinck, which I like very much.
- 2. In London, I bought a large ram doing what I often do--scratching my ear. I find this a beautiful painting. The seller, Neville Orgel, called it J. B. Weenix, whereas to me, it looks closer to Potter. What do you think?
- 3. The third, with rather unsharp black and white photograph, is of a praying monk, surely influenced by Dou, but fully signed by a Flemish artist, Pieter Ykens.

By Appointment Only ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622 924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202 TEL 414 277-0730 FAX 414 277-0709



#### - 2 -

Do you like any of these?

Isabel and I would very much like to visit you in Amsterdam for a few days around the 26th of November. Will you be in Amsterdam at that time? We will arrive in Bexhill at our English home on the 16th of November and stay in England until the 22nd of December. You probably still have our English telephone number--44 424 222 223.

I am afraid that I have forgotten what was in the large envelope, enclosed, which I sent to you in April and which was returned in August. Obviously the post office in Berlin did not try very hard, and I hope that this entire package will now reach you safely at the Rembrandt Research Project.

Fond regards to you and Sorine,

Enclosures

STICHTING FOUNDATION REMBRANDT RESEARCH PROJECT c/o Centraal Laboratorium Postbus 75132 1070 AC AMSTERDAM

> Dr. Alfred Bader 2961 North Shepard Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211 USA

Amsterdam, den 22.9.1992

Lieber Alfred,

herzlichen Dank für Deine Post (zwei Umschläge), die mich gestern hier in Amsterdam erreichten. Einer der Umschläge hat offenbar wirklich eine Abenteuerreise hinter sich, wobei die Post in Berlin wohl geschlafen haben muss.

Es freut mich sehr, dass Du Dir die schuftige Vorgehensweise <u>Deiner</u> alten Firma Dir gegenüber nicht weiter zu Herzen nimmst; das hast Du auch nicht nötig! Vor allen Dingen wünsche ich Dir viel Vergnügen mit Deinem Bilderhandel, nun hast Du endlich alle Zeit der Welt Dich nur noch um Isabel und Deine Bilder zu kümmern. Willkommen im Kreis der Kunsthistoriker.

Ich schreibe Dir diese Zeilen in aller Eile, da ich auf gepackten Koffern sitze. Wir sind auf dem Sprung nach Stockholm, um dort die sog. Rembrandt-Gemälde zu untersuchen, zudem wird dort nächste Woche eine grosse Ausstellung mit Bildern von Rembrandt und seinen Schülern eröffnet, zu der es auch ein Symposium geben wird. Die meisten Bilder kommen aus skandinavischem Besitz (Dänemark, Schweden, Norwegen und Finnland). Auch aus den USA wird einiges zu sehen sein. Zehn Tage werde ich unterwegs sein.

Am 12. Oktober muss ich in Berlin an der Universität sein, da unser Semester beginnt, und die Studenten warten. Meine Tage hier sind also gezählt, zumindest mit festem Wohnsitz in Amsterdam. Ich werde von Berlin aus mit regelmässigen Reisen nach Amsterdam weiter für das RRP arbeiten. An welchem Schreibtisch ich schreibe spielt in diesem Zusammenhang keine Rolle.

Vielleicht können wir uns aber doch im November in Holland treffen, da ich sicher am 28. und 29. November in Amsterdam bzw. Dordrecht sein werde, wo eine Ausstellung über Dordrechter Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts eröffnet wird. Wir



sollten vorher telephonieren. Gerne würde ich sonst versuchen, im Dezember nach England zu kommen, um Euch – wenn Ihr erlaubt – zu besuchen.

In der Hoffnung, dass es Euch gut geht, grüsst Euch herzlich

Eur Valler

۵



TÉLEPH	ONE CONVERSATION SUMMARY
Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc.	
TO: Alfred Bader	
DATE: June 13, 1990	
Aldrich employee placing call	Marilyn Hassmann
Person calling	David LaCroix Title
Company name and address: Marsha	all & Ilsley Bank

Telephone number:

#### Message: (use back or additional sheets)

- Re: Account for Volker Manuth
- 1. Signature Card for signature by Manuth
- 2. W-8 for to be signed by Manuth (stating he is foreign and has to SS No. or other tax ID No.
- 3. Is sending checks (6)

Re transfer of funds from your account: Teller erroneously transferred \$2000 BACK to your account, then transferred \$2000 to account for Manuth--this will explain action when you receive your statement for account 30 00 100,

\$2000 out, \$2000 in, \$2000 out

Follow Up: (indicate action and use back or additional sheets)





Chemists Helping Chemists in Research and Industry

# aldrich chemical company, inc.

June 12, 1990

VIA FAX 765 7850

Mr. David LaCroix Marshall & Ilsley Bank 770 North Water Street Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

Dear Mr. LaCroix:

Confirming our telephone conversation, Dr. Bader would like you to open a savings account in the sum of \$2,000.00 in the name of:

Dr. Volker Manuth Eschenstrasse 3 D1000 Berlin 41, West Germany

the \$2,000.00 to be taken from Dr. Bader's account--you will use Dr. Bader's Manuth II. D D T. You will furnish a small number of checks for Dr. Manuth with no personalization so that he can write a few checks each year. The cancelled checks need not be returned to Dr. Manuth.

For your information, Dr. Bader is returning to Milwaukee briefly. He will be in the office on Friday and Monday, June 15 and 18. If you have any questions, please call him.

If I can furnish any further information, please let me know.

Cordially,

Marilyn Hassmann Secretary to Dr. Bader

P.S. You can fax directly to Dr. Bader's office by calling 273 3850 and requesting extension 5632.

