Alfred Bader

Alfred Bader Fine Arts - Painting file

Lastman

1999-2008

The Agnes Etherington Art Centre
Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6

Condition Report: Incoming Loan

Exhibition: **An Enduring Passion: The Bader Collection**
Venues: **2 September 2007 – 6 January 2008**

Information on the Work:

Artist:	Pieter Lastman (1583-16)33
Title:	The Angel with Manoah and his Wife
Medium:	oil on panel
Dimensions:	35.1 x 30.3 cm
Date:	1617
Source:	Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

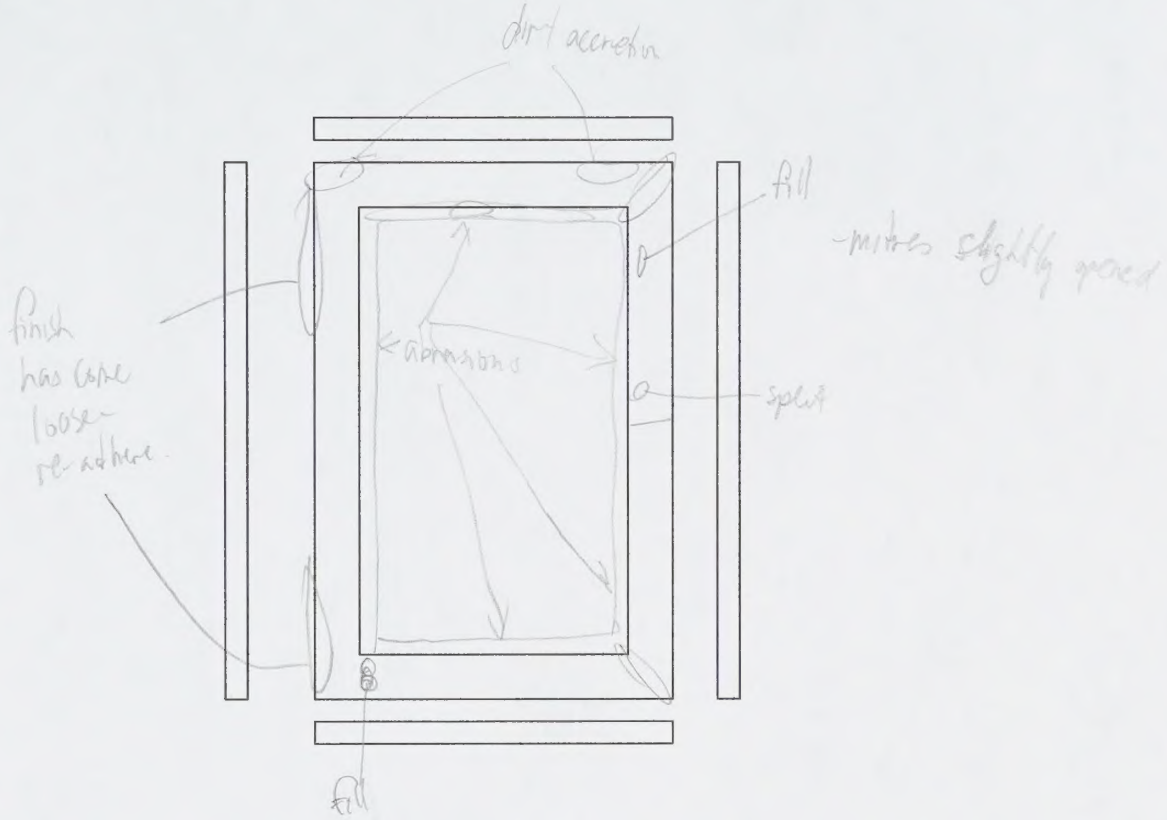
Condition:

separation of white layer along grain lines: under layer shows through

regomed ~~Attd~~ split at seam (little loss)

tiny fill

irregular surface: under layer?



Details

In/ Out	Venue	Examiner	Title	Signature	Date
In	Agnes Etherington Art Centre	David de Witt	Curator		30.8.07
Out	Agnes Etherington Art Centre	Jennifer Nicoll	Collections Manager		March 6/08
In	Milwaukee, Alfred and Isabel Bader				

LASTMAN

Before Treatment, detail

LASTMAN

Clean state

LASTMAN

Clean state, detail

LASTMAN

Finished state, detail


Kodalux
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I N V O I C E

28 April 1993

To:
Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 N. Shepard
Mil., WI 53211

Services performed.

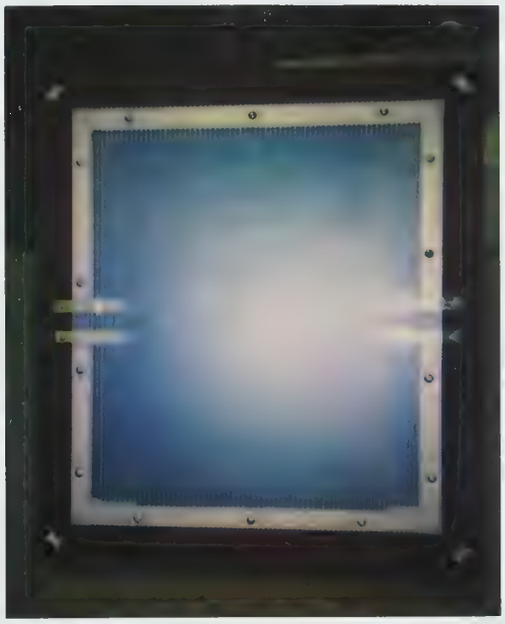
Select and purchase moulding.
Assembled frame using wood connecting joints. Touched up corners.
Carefully removed panel painting from old frame and examined it for cracks or losses. Mounted it in new frame and built up back .
Installed backing board.

Materials		$135.00
Time	6 hrs.	180.00
Total		$315.00

Remit to:

David Moynihan
428 S. 3rd. Street
Mil., WI 53204

273 2235



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small circle on same line as other side
3/8
2
small circle
shows the sign is front here

SPLIT →

LastMan PAINTING

TO: Dr. Alfred Bader FROM: The Israel Museum

Dear Dr. Bader:

Your paintings have arrived in Jerusalem. Alas, there was no condition report to accompany them. Therefore, we do not know if the split that appears in the middle of the Lastman painting was there originally or if it occurred during transit. If the latter is the case, we will have to inform our insurance company. Please let us know.

We are delighted to have the two paintings and I thank you again for your generosity in lending them for our show.

Sincerely, Martin Weyl, Director

Chemists Helping Chemists in Research and Industry
aldrich chemical company, inc.

Dr. Alfred R. Bader
President

March 25, 1980

Mrs. Stefanie Maison
7 Bryanston Square
London W1H 7FF, England

Dear Mrs. Maison:

I must be getting old and forgetful because I forgot, in my last letter, to write about Lastman's painting of Manoah, monogrammed and dated 1617. The painting is absolutely genuine, but not one of Lastman's better works. Hence, I would rather not buy it at L6000. I do hope that you will understand.

Best personal regards,

Alfred Bader

AB:mmh

P.O. Box 355, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201 USA, Telephone (414) 273-3850, Cable Aldrichem TWX 910-262-3052, Telex 26-843

PIETER LASTMAN IN THE LITERATURE: FROM IMMORTALITY TO OBLIVION

AMY GOLAHNY

Pieter Lastman (1583-1633) was either too young or too dimly remembered to receive more than passing mention in the significant seventeenth-century writing about art. The earliest account of Lastman is that by Arnold Houbraken (1718), who stated that he had not had the occasion to see any of the painter's works. This was indeed a circumstance that should have led Houbraken to devote little space to Lastman in his compilation of artists' lives, the *Groote Schouburgh*; but instead, he patched together some pages that passed for a chapter on Lastman and that became authoritative for the artist in the eighteenth century. In contrast to Lastman's shadowy appearance in the art literature, his presence in Dutch poetry around 1650 is striking. The best of that poetic attention shaped Houbraken's 'biography'. This essay surveys the seventeenth-century literary appreciation for Lastman and examines how Houbraken crafted his account of the artist.

Today as three hundred years ago, Lastman is identified primarily as a teacher of Rembrandt. In that capacity, Lastman would be consistently mentioned in the literature. As early seventeenth-century artists received more critical attention, so did Lastman. Recently, his work has been featured in several notable exhibitions and a one-man show.[1] Documents concerning his life and associates have been collected and analyzed.[2] His role in the formation of Rembrandt's style and method of composing history subjects has also been examined.[3] For the early Baroque in the north Netherlands, Lastman is now regarded as a foremost contributor to the development of a painterly language rooted in narrative clarity, historical accuracy, and natural observation.

Chronologically first, and also foremost, among these four poets is Joost van den Vondel, whose interest in painting flourished between 1640 and 1660, in large measure due to his contacts among the Amsterdam art world and, specifically, to his friendship with Joachim von Sandrart.[13] Maintaining rhetorical conventions in evoking narrative, setting, gesture, action, abundance, variety, and emotion, and in honouring artist and owner of Lastman's *Paul and Barnabas at Lystra* (1614; formerly Warsaw; *fig. 1*), Vondel paid unusually sustained attention to a painting in his *Lastmans Offerstaatsie te Lystren*. This poem, fifteen stanzas of six lines each, may well be unique in the Dutch Baroque for its full description of a painting. First written in 1647 in the *album amicorum* entitled 'Pandora' of Jan Six, the painting's owner, it was published in Vondel's play, *Salomon*, in 1648 and in subsequent collections of his works.[14]

Fulfilling rhetorical custom, Vondel not only inventoried the activities, paraphernalia, and characters in the crowded picture, but also elaborated upon the depicted action with reference to the biblical narrative (*Acts of the Apostles* 14:8-20). After praising Six and exalting Lastman, he introduced antiquity and described the dignified pagan priest and religious procession (verses I-III). Vondel noted how Paul and Barnabas are mistaken for Mercury and Jupiter because they have seemingly miraculously cured a young crippled man, born lame, and how those near him react with amazement as he stands without his crutches (verses IV-V). Vondel described the long row of celebrants approaching from the distant gate and temple (verse VI), and the procession of people playing musical instruments or bringing cattle, vessels, and tools for the sacrifice (XII). The resolution of the conflict between pagan ritual and Christian faith occurred when the apostles tore their garments in grief; at this, the sacrifice was suspended. By indicating this resolution (XIII and XIV), Vondel extended the narrative beyond Lastman's depicted moment to include subsequent actions; the apostles tearing their clothing, jumping down from their podium, mingling with the people, halting the sacrifice, and then being stoned by the angry crowd. Vondel had also repeated the anecdote of the woman telling the foreigner about the cripple (V), and mentioned the rabble-rousing Jew, probably the man at the far left in the painting (XIV). In the seventh stanza, Vondel remarked that the artist had been guided expertly by Nature herself to compose varied elements into a work that rivalled Nature's achievements. Vondel emphasized the *copia* and *varietas* present in the painting by selecting those figures, activities

and paraphernalia essential to the narrative. Having posed the self-evident question of Lastman's achievement, extolled his skill in portraying immediacy of effect, and compared him to Apelles, Vondel returned to the theme of artistic glory in his conclusion. The painter is great because he subordinated the individual elements to the whole, and made a unified image from an array of activity, characters, and apparatus. Lastman's painting, dedicated to St. Paul, ensures the saint's immortality, and the eloquent image - just as the saint's eloquence - is in the service of Christ.

As Vondel's lengthiest commentary on an image, this poem indicates his capacity to regard the painted image as a staging of the narrative. And yet, what is Vondel's real estimation of Lastman, who, as *onze Apelles*, should attain immortality through this painting? Vondel preferred narrative pictures with intrinsic drama and a painterly style that presented well-defined forms, expressions, and actions. These qualities are most obviously present in the works of Lastman and artists around him, Sandrart, Rubens, and some of the Amsterdam painters involved with the Stadhuis commissions, notably Govaert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol. Vondel's poems on pictures by these artists are evidence of both his high regard for their paintings and his interest in the friendships and ceremonies related to the artists and their works.[15]

Vondel's comparative judgement and outright praise, however, are rare, and perhaps the singular instance is his well-known passage on Jan Pynas's painting *Jacob shown Joseph's Bloody Coat* (1618; The Hermitage, St. Petersberg). In his preface to *Joseph in Dothan* (1640), Vondel wrote that this painting 'hung in the house of the doctor Robbert Verhoeven near *meer kunstige* pieces by Lastman' (italics added).[16] Whether or not this is an observation original to Vondel is not known; we might imagine that he could certainly have heard such remarks from acquaintances. Such an expression of the comparative aesthetic value of a painting indicates at least that Vondel recognized differing levels of skill and achievement in various artists' works.

Vondel also wrote a poem on a now-lost portrait of Lastman by Thomas de Keyser. Published in 1660, it is evidently not a visual response to an actual likeness; it is a celebratory verse that compares Lastman to Apelles and Rubens:[17]

The scene appears to be a pagan subject which includes a woman lamenting over a dead or injured man, and a landscape setting. The scene might be Pyramus and Thisbe or Venus and Adonis.[18]

The subject of the second painting is, however, the Widow of Sarepta:

verse 51:

Ach Lastman sien ick weder an
U brave Konst, jae toover-swieren
Door eyndeloose lof te vieren
In 't Vrouwken van Sarepta staen?
(Do I behold yet again, O Lastman, your excellent Art, even [your] deceptive magic, [which is] to be celebrated by endless praise in the little Woman of Sarepta?)

Although no painting by Lastman of this subject is now extant, certainly it is possible that he made one. The subject was rendered by other Pre-Rembrandtists, perhaps after Lastman's now-lost prototype.[19]

This poetic enumeration of the Kretzer collection is a problematic document - not all of the forty or so paintings that appear in the stanzas are named or described specifically enough to permit identification of subject or even artist. On the other hand, Rembrandt, Lievens, Rubens, Titian, and Van Dyck are represented; only Lastman and Titian (for an *Ecce Homo*) receive a five-stanza description for a single painting. Kretzer's collection, often cited as evidence of the abundance of Netherlandish and Italian paintings in Amsterdam, was sold in 1670 by his heirs.[20]

In an obscure, perhaps understandably overlooked, publication of 1658, Simon Ingels published a quatrain about a Lastman picture, now lost: *Stoning of St Stephen*.[21]

Op een St. Steven van Lastman

Zint' Steven steent hier niet, om dat grove Steenen
Hem pletten borst en hooft, en springen voor de scheenen;
O neen, hy steent alhier om dat de grove steenen
Zyn Steenigers niet zouden springen voor de scheenen.
(Saint Steven sighs here not because the rough stones batter his breast and head, and jump before his legs; O nay, he sighs here because the rough stones of his stone-throwers jump [back] before their legs.]

Although no painting has survived of this subject by Lastman, one might well have been made on the basis of other evidence. First, an apparent copy after a composition, probably a painting, by Lastman of the subject exists, in black chalk. Second, Rembrandt's 1625 painting of St. Steven (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon) could easily have been prompted by a similar composition by Lastman. The pattern for a Lastman composition serving as the main compositional guide for an early Rembrandt painting is strong, and Rembrandt's 1635 etching of the same subject may also recall a Lastman model.[22]

An Amsterdam attorney, Ingels also wrote a few occasional stanzas on history pictures by Rubens (a *Mars and Venus*), Van Dyck (a *Crucifixion*) and on portraits of Dutch writers, including Huygens, Hooft and Vondel. The verses on Lastman's three paintings by Van den Bos and Ingels demonstrate that Lastman's reputation around mid-century was sufficiently respectable to place him, at least in such poetic contexts, on a par with Rubens, Van Dyck and Titian - for whom public esteem was never doubted.

And in 1657, Joachim Oudaan, proprieter of a tile-baking factory in Rotterdam, penned *Lastmans Offer-stryd, Tusschen Pylades en Orestes*, a response to Vondel's *Offerstaatsie te Lystren*, a poem on Lastman's *Iphigenia, Orestes and Pylades* (1614, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; *fig.* 2).[23] Imitating Vondel's poem in form, Oudaan declared as pendants the two paintings that had inspired Vondel's and his own poems. Oudaan emphasized the theme of faithful friendship, with specific reference to the friendship between Vondel and Gerard Hulft (who died 1654 in Colombo). As Vondel had addressed his poem to Jan Six, and called him *Kunstgeleerde* (learned in art), so Oudaan addressed his to the owner of the *Iphigenia*, the Rotterdam brewer Reinier van der Wolf, and called him *Konstrycke* (rich in art).[24] Also following Vondel, Oudaan commenced by invoking antiquity, referring to the narrative, and evaluating the reputation of the artist. This last point is perhaps indicative of the broader appreciation of Lastman beyond Vondel's 1647 eulogy of the *Lystra*. Oudaan declared that Lastman's name had fallen into obscurity:

I. Of schoon, konstryke Van der Wolf,
Vergetelheid den naam bedolf
Van dees' beroemden Konstenaar,
Die heerlyk uitbeeld aan 't altaar
Den trouwen Lyfstryd, daar twee Vrinden
Elkand'ren tot de dood beminden.

1700.[53] Yet, as recently proposed by B. Cornelis, Houbraken's own attitudes may not fit so neatly within the classicistic codes. Houbraken regarded Dutch art of the 1650s as a high point of development and praised many artists who were not history painters. Houbraken's original intent was to provide a classicistic polemic, which would have relied upon Pels, at the end of the biographies, but this became unnecessary, for he quoted Pels extensively and scattered the digressions within the text to serve that purpose.[54]

Houbraken's compendium of artists' lives is hardly a linear narrative of biographies, which are nonetheless presented in chronological order. The *Groote Schouburgh* is an integration of biography with practical and theoretical discussion. Ever mindful that his publication is a theatrical production with appropriate pomp, ceremony, and staging, Houbraken offered frequent breaks from providing an account of artists' lives and works. The life of Lastman offered more opportunity for digression than for linear narrative - since Houbraken had no material for a straightforward account. Despite its non-biographical format and content, Houbraken's account would serve writers for over hundred years as the source of information on Lastman.

A survey of the citations of Houbraken's 'Life of Lastman' reveals the authority invested in the *Groote Schouburgh*. In his own time and ours, Jacob Campo Weyerman enjoyed notoriety as much for his eccentric and flamboyant life as for his wholesale repackaging of Houbraken's *Groote Schouburgh* into his own *De Levens-Beschryvingen der Nederlandsche Konst-Schilders* of 1729ff.[55] Although plagiarism was itself not unacceptable, Weyerman overstepped bounds of decency and was imprisoned for slander. As Weyerman lifted the portion on Lastman from Houbraken's text, he compounded its own errors. Repeating Houbraken's assertion that Lastman had been a pupil of Cornelis van Haarlem, Weyerman assigned Cornelis' birth date of 1562 to Lastman. (Never mind that Houbraken explicitly gave Lastman's birthdate as 1581 three times - in his passages on Lastman, Thoman, and Pynas.) After quoting the stanza by 'Vader Vondel' on Thomas de Keyser's portrait of Lastman, Weyerman continued to paraphrase Houbraken's own paraphrase of Vondel:

> Den gemelde J. van Vondel, die door den dagelijkschen ommegang met de braafste Schilders vry diep begon te zien in de stomme Poëzy, zegt; Dat de ordonnantien van den Schilder Lastman aardiglyk woelden, en gevoeglyk Koppelden; dat zyn naakte Beelden wel getekent, en waaren geplooit, en de Koleuren zuyverlijk vloeyden.

and foreign customs, including Guillaume Du Choul, also cited by Oudaan.[41] Houbraken's intent in digressing for ten pages on this material appears sincerely didactic, as he stated in introducing it; but the impetus for doing so appears to be Vondel's *Lastmans Offerstaatsie te Lystra*, which listed many of these implements. In his explanation of the *wierookkandelaar*, Houbraken referred to Vondel's poem. In the pagan sacrifice, this was a tall, single candlestick with a bowl on top, used for burning incense; but Houbraken could not resist the opportunity to mention the Jewish menora, whose shape and purpose were different.[42]

Oddly, Houbraken did not make use of Oudaan's poem on Lastman's *Iphigenia, Orestes and Pylades*, written in 1657 and published in 1660; the poem was reprinted in the complete poetry and other writings by Oudaan in 1712, an edition for which Houbraken himself designed the titlepage.[43] Evidently Houbraken did not read carefully the three-volume work, or he might have noticed that Oudaan's *Iphigenia* offered potential for instructing the artist as well as glorifying the painted image, as had Vondel's *Lystra*. He did, however, quote several other poems by Oudaan in the contexts of other artists.[44]

Elsewhere in the *Groote Schouburgh*, Houbraken referred to Lastman six times, as a teacher or associate of another artist. Although these references give a fuller measure of Lastman's status in the seventeenth century, they do not reveal any original thought on Houbraken's part. In the life of Jakob Ernestus Thoman, known as Hagelstein after his birth place (born 1588), who arrived in Italy around 1605 and remained there fifteen years, Houbraken reported that:

> Hy verkoos inzonderheid tot zyn gezelschap te Rome Adam Elshaimer, Pieter Lastman en Johannes Pinnazio anders Jan Pinas, die dagelyks met veel vlyt, wanneer de Zon boven de kimmen rees, de vermakelyke landsigten na 't leven afteekende.
> (He especially enjoyed the company in Rome of Adam Elsheimer, Pieter Lastman, and Johannes Pinnazio a.k.a. Jan Pynas, who daily with much dedication, as soon as the sun rose above the horizon, drew the pleasing landscape). [Houbraken also repeated here that Lastman was born in 1581, and that Thoman met him in Rome in 1605.][45]

Houbraken gave brief notices of Jan and Jakob Pynas: 'Jan [Pynas] ... spent several years in Italy around 1605 with P. Lastman, who was born in 1581.' He continued to discuss Jan's drawings: 'Zyn penceelwerk helde naar den bruinen kant, waarom vele gelooven dat Rembrant hem daar in na geaapt heeft.' (Jan's brushwork [in his drawings] inclined toward the

Houbraken then stated the need for artists to depict accurately ancient paraphernalia, costume, and ritual:[35]

> 'T heeft geen tegenspraak, dat, wanneer wy een oulingse Hebreeusche, Grieksche, of Romeinsche gebeurde zaak, or Historie willen vertoonen, wy ons dan in opzichtig van de bekleedingen der Beelden naar 's Lands gebruik, wyze van plechtigheden, met hun gantsche aankleeven, toestel, en gereedschappen, moeten bedienen van die Schryvers welke het naast aan die tyden geleefd hebben: of van de verbeeldingen of marmere gedenkstukken, en muntstempels....
> (There is no denying that, whenever we wish to show an ancient Hebrew, Greek, or Roman event, or a History, we should keep in view the costumes of the figures of that land, the manners of ceremonies, with all their appurtenances, apparatus, and preparations, [and we] ought to use the writers who lived during or close to those times: or of the statues or marble monuments, and medals,...)

Without missing a beat, Houbraken invoked Rembrandt as the antithesis of the learned artist. He counselled artists not to do as Rembrandt had done, searching the second-hand markets for exotic costumes and weaponry that he found *schilderachtig* (picturesque) - such rags were not accurate models for ancient costume, according to Pels, and Houbraken quoted nine lines of Pels' *Gebruik, en Misbruik des Tooneels*.[36] In his life of Arent de Gelder, Houbraken repeated four of these lines; the image of Rembrandt looking for *Harnassen, Mariljons, Japonsche Ponjerts, Bont, en Rafelkragen* was a fond and powerful one.[37] From his account of Lastman, who upheld decorum and archaeological accuracy, Houbraken elided into a castigation of the artist who typified the opposite, Rembrandt. And Houbraken quoted Pels again, this time the latter's edition of Horace, to note that those who notice others' mistakes should be silent about them.[38] According to this etiquette, Houbraken was acting correctly by not naming those artists who may have erred, as in showing Caiaphas tearing his robe in the inappropriate, top-down, manner.

Acknowledging that 'artists usually do not bury their noses in books in order to learn how to portray accurately ancient paraphernalia and customs,' Houbraken conveniently provided an engraving of over twenty-four items necessary for a Roman sacrifice, so that the *Leerbegeerige Schilderjeugt* should not be ignorant or misunderstand the practice of pagan antiquity (*fig. 3*).[39] He catalogued these vessels, tools, clothing, and ceremonial objects, and commented on their correct ritualistic usage. His authority for this material was Joachim Oudaan's *Roomsche Mogentheyt*, a thick volume first published in 1671.[40] In his explanations for the sacrificial apparatus, Houbraken cited other authors as experts on antiquity

Houbraken - despite living in Amsterdam and having many contacts among the city's artists and collectors - apparently did not seek out Lastman's paintings.

Houbraken consulted Van Mander's *Schilderboeck*, cited by him in the second edition of 1618, and began by reporting that Lastman 'was een Leerling van *Kornelis Kornelisz. van Haarlem* geboren 1562'.[27] Evidently Van Mander and Houbraken intended the 1562 date to refer to Cornelis' birth - but later readers would persistently apply this date to Lastman's own birth (see below). In fact, Van Mander listed Lastman as a pupil of Gerrit Pietersz in the life of that artist, which followed that of Cornelis: 'Oock eenen Pieter Lasman, daer goede hope toe is, wesende nu in Italien' (There is also a Pieter Lasman, for whom one holds much promise, now in Italy). Houbraken repeated this, crediting Van Mander, with slight variation:[28] 'Lastman is een Jongman van goede hoop, en thans in Italien' (Lastman is a young man of much promise, and now in Italy). As Houbraken understood it, Lastman's Italian sojourn took place when the artist was 23 years old, and Houbraken deduced his birth year to be 1581. Houbraken wrote that he had heard much about Lastman's work, but not had the opportunity to see any of it, not even his portrait by Thomas de Keyser:

> 'K heb dikwils met grooten roem van zyne Konstwerken hooren spreken, doch geen gelegenheid gehad om 'er veel van te zien nog ook zyn Beeltenis, door Thomas de Keizer geschildert, daar Vondel dus op zeit.

Houbraken then quoted in full Vondel's poem on the Thomas de Keyser portrait of Lastman.[29] Of the over six hundred artists who are chronicled by Houbraken, only about a third also received portraits, often presented with the goal of conveying the character of the artist or his works. Many of these illustrations contain representations of a typical picture by the artist, as for example, in those portraits of Potter, Porcellis, and Poelenburgh. With no visual record of Lastman's features, Vondel's poem functioned to present a verbal portrait; it also served to demonstrate that, despite having seen none of Lastman's works, Houbraken recognized his importance as justified by Vondel's comparison with Apelles and Rubens.

Comparison with Rubens was perhaps a most compelling testimony to Lastman's importance; other artists were compared to Apelles as a routine praise, and Apelles represented the mythical apex of artistry. But Rubens had also left much to demonstrate his achievement, and such a comparison may have more than figurative intent. Continuing his reliance on Vondel, Houbraken quoted his assessment of Lastman:[30]

experience of Lastman's own paintings. By his poetic attention, Vondel unwittingly ensured and even controlled the critical reception for Lastman: this is a case of the endurance of word over image.

Lycoming College, Williamsport

NOTES

For Julius S. Held. Some of this material was given in the conference Presenting the Past, held at University College London, December 1994. My thanks to the conference organizers, especially Theo Hermans, for the opportunity to participate in that event. I also wish to thank Lida Ouwehand, and Andrew Fix for his useful comments with respect to Oudaan.

1. The catalogues for these exhibitions are: Astrid and Christian Tümpel, *The Pre-Rembrandtists* (Sacramento: E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1974); Albert Blankert et al., *Gods, Saints & Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1980); Peter Schatborn and Astrid Tümpel, *Pieter Lastman: Leermeester van Rembrandt*, (Amsterdam: Het Rembrandthuis, 1991); Ger Luijten, ed., *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580-1620* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum/Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1994), 575-7. The essential monographic study on the artist is still Kurt Freise, *Pieter Lastman: sein Leben und seine Kunst* (Leipzig: Verlag von Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1911).

2. For the documents concerning Lastman, see S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, 'Pieter Lastman (1583-1633). Een schilder in de Sint Anthonisbreestraat,' *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 1991 no. 2: 2-15, with additional bibliography.

3. Kurt Bauch, *Der frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit*, Berlin 1960; Wolfgang Stechow, 'Some Observations on Rembrandt and Lastman,' *Oud-Holland* 84 (1969), 148-62; B.P.J. Broos, 'Rembrandt and Lastman's 'Coriolanus': the history piece in 17th century theory and practice,' *Simiolus* 8 (1975-76), 199-228; and Christian Tümpel, 'Pieter Lastman and Rembrandt' in Schatborn and Tümpel, *Lastman*, 54-83.

4. Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem, 1604 (Reprint ed. New York: Broude International Editions, 1980), 193v.

5. Theodore Rodenburgh's poem is quoted by N. de Roever, 'Drie Amsterdamsche schilders,' *Oud-Holland* 3 (1885), 171-208, esp. 172, and by Schatborn and Tümpel, *Lastman*, 16.

6. For the passage by Huygens, see A. H. Kan ed., *De jeugd van Constantijn Huygens* (Rotterdam: Donker, 2nd ed., 1971), 73; Freise, *Lastman*, 226; and S. Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics 1630-1730* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1953), 13-14. Most interestingly, Huygens does not refer to the teachers of Rembrandt and Lievens by name, but rather notes that neither young artist owes anything to his teachers. According to Slive, Huygens 'states that they were quite ordinary because the artists' parents were poor and could not afford to send them to better ones.' Evidently, Huygens indicates the Leyden teachers, for his

> (The above-mentioned J. van Vondel, who through daily contact with the most excellent painters began to see truly deeply in mute Poetry, said: That the compositions of the painter Lastman [are] wonderfully lively and properly put together; that his naked figures are well drawn, and draped, and the colours truly glowing.)

It seems that Weyerman, in his revision of Houbraken's text, created the potential misunderstanding: that Vondel wrote something called *Stomme Poëzie*. Kurt Freise even cited this as the source for Weyerman's statement, and cited it in his listing of literary sources, with the date of around 1648.[56] However tempting it might be to imagine that Vondel *did* write such a work, we have no other evidence for it. Weyerman merely embellished Houbraken's phrasing. To conclude his portion on Lastman, Weyerman quoted Vondel's *Opperstaatsie te Listeren* [sic] straight from its disorganized appearance in Houbraken, and without annotations. We might easily dismiss Weyerman's text, were it not taken so seriously by subsequent authors.

In his encyclopedia of artists, J.B. Descamps recognized his limited familiarity with Lastman, and refrained from adding insult to injury by fabricating material. Distilling the accounts of Van Mander, Houbraken and Weyerman, he presumed, based upon Weyerman's account, that Lastman was born in Haarlem in 1562 and a pupil of Cornelis van Haarlem. Although Descamps credited Van Mander with the fact that, around 1604, Lastman was in Rome and showed much promise, Descamps may have repeated this line from Houbraken. Descamps stated that the historians (evidently Houbraken and Weyerman) reported several poems praising his paintings, and that these praises seem deserved:

> J'aurois mieux aimé voir de lui quelques Tableaux.... La rareté de ses Ouvrages ou le hazard m'en ont privé. Je puis dire seulement qu'il passe dans son Pays pour avoir bien composé & bien peint.
> (I would have liked to see some paintings by him.... Either the rarity of his works or chance has deprived me of doing so. I can only say that in his own country he is known for having composed and painted well.)

This last observation, lifted from Weyerman or Houbraken, seems based on the untraced Vondel statement.[57] Other eighteenth-century authors pay varying attention to Lastman. One lexicographer, Jan van Gool (1750), ignored the artist.[58] And another, Johann Rudolf Füssli (1779), repeated the information presented by Weyerman.[59]

17. Vondel's poem on the De Keyser portrait of Lastman was first published in *Hollantsch Parnas, of verscheide gedichten*, T. van Domselaar ed. (Amsterdam: J. Lescaille, 1660), 151. De Keyser was commissioned to make a copy of Lastman's window (designed 1611) of Cyrus returning the treasures of the temple to the Jews; this window was to be removed from the Zuiderkerk in 1660 (with the other windows of the church). For Lastman's drawing for this window, see Luijten, *Dawn of the Golden Age*, 572, cat. 245, and for De Keyser's painted copy, see Saskia Nihom-Nijstad, *Reflet du siècle d'or* (Paris: Collection Frits Lugt, Fondation Custodia, 1983), cat. 43. It seems likely that Vondel's poem on the De Keyser portrait would have been written close to the 1660 publication date, and perhaps the occasion was related to the painted copy of the window.

18. The difficulty of identifying this subject has been noted by Freise, *Lastman*, 81.

19. See Freise, *Lastman*, 43-4, and for Pre-Rembrandtist examples of Elisha and Widow of Sarepta, see A. Tümpel, 'Claes Cornelis Moeyaert,' *Oud-Holland* 99 (1974)1-163, esp. 58, ill. 78 (by Jan Pynas).

20. Though often cited, Lambert van den Bos' poem, *Konst-Kabinet van Marten Kretzer* (Amsterdam, 1650) is not as well studied as it might be. Of the forty or so works mentioned, only two are now extant and identified with any certainty: Ter Brugghen's *Sleeping Mars* and Honthorst's *Dying Seneca*, both in Utrecht, Centraal Museum. Van den Bos, perhaps best remembered as rector of the Dordrecht Latin school and chronicler of that city, translated various works into Dutch, including Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1657) and Castiglione's *Il Cortigiano* (1662). For his poem on the Kretzer collection, see J. H. W. Unger, 'Vondeliana. II. Vondel's Handschriften,' *Oud Holland* 2 (1884), 111-34; see further E. H. van den Berghe, 'Italiaanse schilderijen in Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw,' *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 84 (1992), 21-40, esp. 35. Kretzer evidently owned two Titian paintings, an *Ecce Homo* and a *Magdalene*; the second received an independent poem by Vondel, and was published in Vondel's *Salomon* in 1648, along with the *Offerstaatsie te Lystren*.

21. S. Ingels, *De Getrouwe Herderin. Lantspel. Met eenige gedichten* (Amsterdam: A. van Blanken, 1658), 49. The poem on Lastman's picture is reprinted by Freise, *Lastman*, 276, and mentioned by B. Broos, 'Rembrandt and Lastman's *Coriolanus*,' 205, n. 14. A marginal literary figure, Ingels (1618-after 1660) apparently had some associations with Vondel and his circle; see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1937), vol. 10, 407.

22. For the Lastman design, known from a drawn copy (SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin) and its influence on Rembrandt's 1625 painting and 1635 etching, see Schatborn and Tümpel, *Lastman*, 56.

23. Oudaan's poem was first published in *Bloemkrans van Gedichten* (Amsterdam: L. Spillebout, 1659), 602-05, and then in his *Poëzy*, 3 vols., Amsterdam, 1712, I, 305-07.

24. See further Golahny, 'Pendant Poems....'

25. For the notice of Reinier van der Wolf's sale of paintings and antiquities, see S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, 'Honderdvijftig Advertenties van Kunstverkopingen uit veertig jaargangen van de Amsterdamsche Courant 1672-1711,' *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 67 (1975) 149-73, esp. 154. For Jan Six and the arts, see Schwartz, 'Apollo, Apelles, en de derde man,' and G. J. Möller, 'Het Album Pandora van Jan Six (1618-1700)', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 76 (1984) 69-101.

26. Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen...*, 3 vols., Amsterdam, 1718-21 (reprinted The Hague: Bouquet and Gaillard, 1753), I: 97-114; the portion on Lastman, 97-102, is followed by a discussion on the customs of ancient pagan sacrifices (102-114).

27. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, I, 97.

28. Van Mander, *Schilder-Boeck*, 1604, 193v; 1618 ed., 207v.

29. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, I, 98.

30. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, I, 98.

31. Houbraken's quotes of Vondel's *Lystra*, *Groote Schouburgh*, I, 98-102

32. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, I, 101. His knowledge of Maimonides most likely came from W. Goeree, *Mosaïze Historie der Hebreeuwse Kerke*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1700), cited elsewhere by Houbraken.

33. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, I, 102.

34. Among those artists who were unclear about Caiaphas' method of tearing his robe, the most famed are Dürer, Lucas van Leyden, and Giotto (Arena Chapel).

35. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, I, 102.

36. A. Pels, *Gebruik, en Misbruik des Tooneels*, Amsterdam, 1681, 31-36.

37. For Houbraken's repetition of this Pels passage in his life of Aert de Gelder, see *Groote Schouburgh*, III, 207.

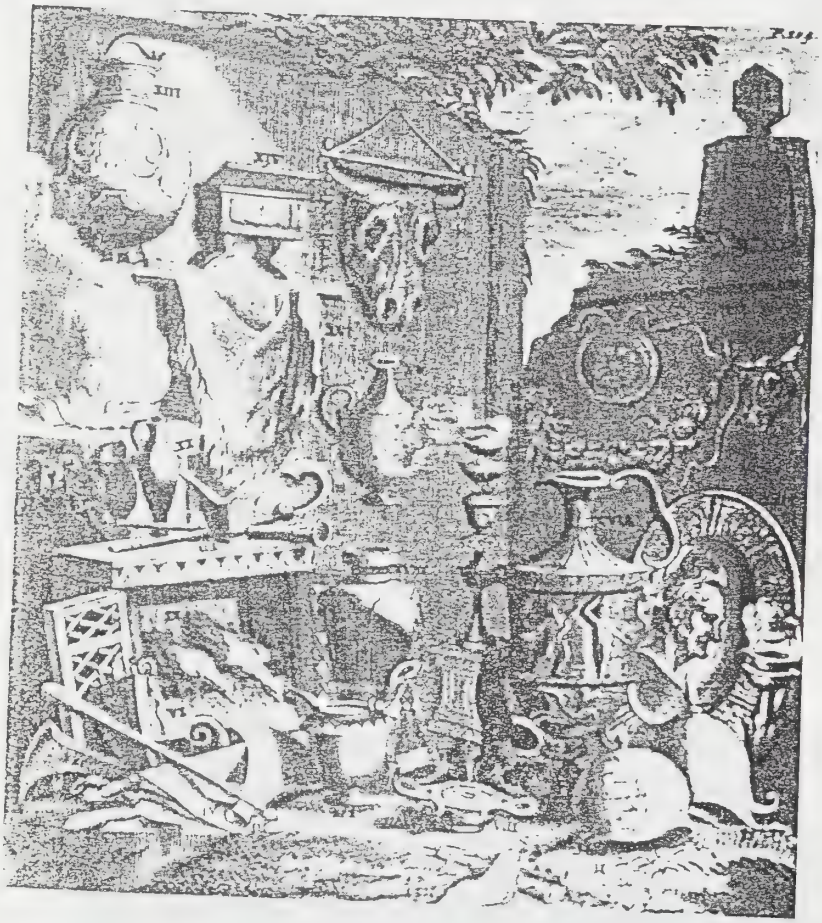
38. A. Pels, *Q. Horatius Flaccus dichtkunst, op onze tyden,...*, Amsterdam, 1677 For a discussion of Pels' importance for Houbraken, see B. Cornelis, 'A Reassessment of Arnold Houbraken's *Groote schouburgh*,' *Simiolus* 23 (1995) 163-80, esp. 171-74.

39. Houbraken stated that these instruments are to be seen in an ancient relief, and most likely he meant that now in the Museo Capitolino, Rome which was well known to artists since the fifteenth century; see P. P. Bober and R. Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (New York: Harvey Miller & Oxford University Press, 1986), cat. no. 193.

drawings, one of pen sketches and the other of red chalk, by Lastman are listed in Rembrandt's 1656 inventory, which is well published; see, for example, G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt, his life, his paintings* (New York: Viking, 1985), 289, for the works by Lastman: items 41 (A painting of Tobias), 119 (a painting of an ox), 263 (a small book of pen sketches) and 264 (a small book of red chalk sketches).

68. For the theoretical framework of copying others' inventions in seventeenth-century Dutch art, see Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, 131-37, citing Van Mander, Angels, Hoogstraten, and others.

2. Lastman, Iphigenia, Orestes and Pylades, 1614, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



L. Lastman, Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, 1614, formerly Warsaw

source was Vondel's *Stomme Poëzie* according to Houbraken; Houbraken, in fact, did not coin the phrase, which is first used by Weyerman.

57. J. B. Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandais*, Paris, 1753, I, 242-3

58. J. van Gool, *Nieuwe Schouburg*, 2 vols., The Hague, 1750-51, omitted mention of Lastman. For van Gool's motives and methodology, see Lyckle de Vries, 'Jan van Gool als geschiedschrijver,' *Oud-Holland* 99 (1985): 165-90.

59. J. R. Füssli, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon*, 3 vols., Zurich, 1779, 1806-20, I:97; see further Schatborn and Tümpel, *Lastman*, 11, n. 31.

60. G. F. Waagen, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Verlag von Ebner & Seubert, 1862) I:303-04.

61. Waagen, *Handbuch*, II: 89.

62. C. Vosmaer, *Rembrandt Sa Vie et Ses Oeuvres*, 2nd ed., (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1877), 68- 81.

63. See Freise, *Lastman*, 218-24, and scattered throughout the more recent literature are observations about the topic.

64. See the *Catalogus van uitmuntende ... Schilderyen ... nagelaten door de Ed. Heer Jacob Cromhout*, Amsterdam, 1709, which includes two paintings by Lastman: no. 53. 'Een Zuzanna zeer fraay van Pieter Lastman' and no. 70. 'De geboorte Christi en de drie Koningen van P. Lastman, zyn beste Trant.' The 1704 inventory of the Pieter Six collection included 'de Coning David, van Lastman' [Amsterdam, Not. Arch. no. 4720]. I am indebted to S. A. C. Dudok van Heel for these two citations. For Jan Six's collection, see the *Catalogus van schilderyen...*, Amsterdam, 1702, nos. 31 (*Lystra*) and 32 (*Iphigenia*) and for R. van der Wolf's paintings, see G. Hoet, ed., *Catalogus of Naamlyst van Schilderyen*, 3 vols. The Hague, 1711-70, II:344.

65. A Golahny, 'Rembrandt's Early *Bathsheba*: The Raphael Connection,' *Art Bulletin* 55 (1983): 671-75. The painting, which presents a variety of brushwork, has come under technical and stylistic scrutiny, and is now considered to be by Rembrandt; see W. Liedtke et al., *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, 2 vols. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), I:64, cat. 10.

66. For Lastman's influence within the Rembrandt school, see Robert Schillemans, *Bijbelschilderkunst rond Rembrandt* (Utrecht: Kwadraat, 1969); W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, Landau, 1983ff; Paul Huys Janssen and Werner Sumowski, *The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Rembrandt's Academy* (Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder, The Hague/Waanders Publishers, Zwolle, 1992).

67. Rembrandt's known drawings after Lastman paintings are catalogued by O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, 6 vols. (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1973): *Abraham, Hagar and Ishmael* (no. 447); *Susanna* (no. 448); *Lystra* (no. [illegible] 446). Two paintings and two small books of

40. J. Oudaan, *Roomsche Mogentheyt*, Amsterdam, 1671 (reissued 1706 and 1723), 485 ff.

41. Guillaume Du Choul, *Discours de la Religion des anciens romains*, Lyons, 1556 (reprint, New York and London: Garland, 1976), 238 ff.

42. Vondel's *wierookkandelaar* is cited first by Houbraken, I, 100, line 5 and again on page 106, with reference to Goeree, *Mosaïze Historie*, IV, 88.

43. Oudaan, *Poëzy*, for *Lastmans Offer-stryd*, I, 305-07, with Houbraken title page in volume I.

44. For Houbraken's citations of other poems by Oudaan, see C. Hofstede de Groot, *Arnold Houbraken und seine 'Groote Schouburgh'* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1893), 411-12.

45. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, I, 132.

46. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, I, 214.

47. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, I, 254.

48. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, I, 296.

49. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, II, 11.

50. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, II:27. See further Schatborn and Tümpel, *Lastman*, 11-12.

51. For Van Hoogstraten's sense of himself as a history writer, see Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: the art and writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 8, 223, and passim.

52. G. de Lairesse, *The Art of Painting*, tr. J. F. Fritsch, London, 1738, 555 ff.

53. P. T. A. Swillens, ed. *De Groote Schouburgh...door Arnold Houbraken*, 3 vols., Maastricht, 1943-53, Introduction to vol. II, x-xl, and J. A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, (Amsterdam: G. A. van Oorschot) 1979, 103 ff.

54. B. Cornelis, 'A Reassessment of Arnold Houbraken's *Groote schouburgh*,' passim.

55. Jacob Campo Weyerman, *De Levens-Beschryvingen der Nederlandsche Konst-Schilders...*, The Hague, 1729ff, I:358-62, for portion on Lastman. For Weyerman's life and work, see Ton Broos, *Tussen zwart en ultramarijn. De levens van schilders beschreven door Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677-1747)* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990).

56. The annotator of Houbraken, Hofstede de Groot, *Arnold Houbraken und seine 'Groote Schouburgh,'* omits this source; Freise, *Lastman*, 226 stated that the

inclusion of Lastman among the list of Netherlandish history painters would merit another judgement.

7. S. van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst...*, Rotterdam, 1678, 257; Freise, *Lastman*, 227. See further Slive, *Rembrandt*, 101.

8. J. J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden*, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1641, 375-77; Slive, *Rembrandt*, 203.

9. J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Edelen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste...*, Nuremberg, 1675, Part II, Book III, Chapter XXII, 326; see also Slive, *Rembrandt*, Appendix D, 208.

10. Roger de Piles, *Abregé de la Vie des Peintres...*, Paris, 1699, 433. See also Slive, *Rembrandt*, 216.

11. Slive, *Rembrandt* is still the most useful survey of this literature with respect to Rembrandt.

12. For the concepts and bibliography relevant to poetry about pictures see K. Porteman, 'Geschreven met de linkerhand? Letteren tegenover schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw,' *Historische letterkunde: facetten van vakbeoefening*, ed. M. Spies (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1984), 93-113. G. Schwartz has addressed some of the issues pertaining to the publication of poetry collections, in 'Apelles, Apollo and The Third Man,' *De zeventiende eeuw* 11 (1995), 122-31.

13. For Vondel and the visual arts, see Edg. van de Velde, *Vondel en de plastische kunsten* (Ghent: Erasmus, 1930); Slive, *Rembrandt*, 67-82; K. Porteman, *De maanden van het jaar* (Wommelgem: Den gulden engel, 1987).

14. For a more thorough discussion of Vondel's *Lystra* and Oudaan's pendant poem *Lastmans Offer-Stryd...*, see A. Golahny, 'Paired Poems on Pendant Paintings: Vondel and Oudaan interpret Lastman,' in *The Eye of the Poet: Studies in the Reciprocity of the Visual and Literary Arts from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. A. Golahny (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1996), 154-78.

15. For the assessment, generally negative, of Vondel's ability to judge a good painting (with respect to the gift of a painting from the Archbishop of Malines, which the poet understood to be inferior only because connoisseurs pointed this out to him), see Slive, *Rembrandt*, 75.

16. Moreover, Pynas' *Jacob shown Joseph's Bloody Coat* inspired Vondel, at least partially, to write his play *Joseph in Dothan*. The scene depicted in the painting would not fit into the play as it appears on stage, for it would have violated the unity of time and place, so the episode is narrated by Reuben. Vondel noted the presence of Isaac, who at this time is already dead, in the doorway, and described how the patriarch's aged form is supported under his armpits. For Jan Pynas' apparent misunderstanding of the Biblical text, which caused him to include Isaac, see Tümpel and Tümpel, *The Pre-Rembrandtists*, 1974, 136.

In the nineteenth century, a more systematic approach to the history of art developed. As Rembrandt received more critical attention, so did the artists associated with him, including Lastman. Among the methodical authors is G. F. Waagen, whose handbook of the history of painting appeared in 1862.[60] Waagen, who knew at least several pictures first-hand, apparently followed Weyerman (or Descamps or Füssli) in asserting 1562 as Lastman's birthdate, but he observed that Lastman was influenced by Elsheimer and Brill, that he made paintings for Christian IV of Denmark (then in Copenhagen but lost to fire in 1859) and that: 'Er war ein guter Zeichner, seine Köpfe haben öfter viel Empfindung, seine Fleischfarbe ist warm und kräftig.' (He was a good draughtsman, his heads often project much emotion, his flesh-colouring is warm and strong.) In his chapter on Rembrandt, Waagen mentioned that, according to Houbraken, Lastman was the second teacher of Rembrandt; but there his reading of Houbraken was sufficiently close to catch the 1581 birthdate, given twice, for Lastman.[61]

As monographs on Rembrandt began to appear with some regularity during the later nineteenth century, they included portions about artists around him. The earliest chapter devoted to Lastman in such a monograph is that written by C. Vosmaer (1877), which served as the earliest catalogue of Lastman's oeuvre.[62] Vosmaer listed fifty-three paintings, fourteen items concerning drawings (whether actually known or mentioned in documents), and four items of prints. Not only did Vosmaer quote fully Vondel's poem on the Thomas de Keyser portrait of Lastman, he also mentioned Vondel's poem on the *Lystra*, and partially quoted Oudaan's poem on the *Iphigenia*.

If now, in the twentieth century, Lastman's reputation is recovered, in the seventeenth century it was haphazardly established. Despite having Rembrandt as a pupil, Lastman was largely ignored in the literature of the seventeenth century, with the exception of the four poets. Several circumstances contributed to Lastman's relative obscurity. He did not leave a family to continue his workshop nor did he accrue anecdotes of eccentric behaviour that might produce good gossip. There were few prints after his designs, and the artist himself made only one etching.[63]

Lastman's pictures were evidently in some of the best and most famous collections in Amsterdam - Kretzer (1650 poem; 1670 sale), Rembrandt (1656 inventory), Jacob Cromhout (1709 sale), Jan Six (1702 sale), Pieter Six (1704 sale) - and Rotterdam (Reinier van der Wolf, 1676 sale) - but they did not necessarily come up at auction with great frequency.[64] The gap in biographical writing about Dutch artists between Van Mander

(1604), Sandrart (1675) and Houbraken (1718) affected adversely the literary trail of the generation of artists called the Pre-Rembrandtists. Compounding this gap in art writing was the limited interest in these Dutch artists by Sandrart and Houbraken. Sandrart, whose German bias exalted Elsheimer, largely ignored the Dutch artists with whom Elsheimer may have associated. Even Moeyaert, who had contributed with Vondel to the festivities and the publication of the 1638 entry of Maria de' Medici into Amsterdam, did not offer compelling interest to Houbraken, who took Vondel's writings on artists so seriously in other instances.

On the other hand, interest in Lastman's work by other seventeenth century artists was remarkable. The works of his most famous pupil, Rembrandt, demonstrate enduring interest in Lastman's inventions, in choice of subject, gestures, expressiveness, composition, and archaeologically significant settings, costumes, and paraphernalia. The *Bathsheba* of 1643 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) is an example of Rembrandt's dependence upon several Lastman sources in one picture; in this panel, are motifs from two Lastman paintings (The *Susanna* of 1614 [Gemäldegalerie, Berlin] and the *Bathsheba* of 1619 [The Hermitage, St. Petersburg]), and a nude which blends a Raphael model with life study.[65] In many cases, especially with respect to biblical subjects such as Abraham, Hagar and Ishmael, compositions by Rembrandt's pupils may be traced to a Lastman model. Lastman's motifs are often mediated by Rembrandt and his own works.[66] We may conclude that in his teachings, Rembrandt passed on compositional arrangements, subject choices, and even considerations for narration, expression, and archaeological exactitude, but did not necessarily credit Lastman. Rembrandt's own drawn copies after Lastman paintings may well have been used as teaching tools.[67] By not admitting his debt to that artist, Rembrandt was acting according to seventeenth-century ideas about appropriation: it was acceptable, even praiseworthy, as long as it went undetected, or, if recognized, it was perceived to be an improvement over the source. As Van Mander and others cautioned, borrowings should enhance the resultant design and be well integrated into the final composition.[68]

By relying upon Vondel's poetry for his account of Lastman, Houbraken was, similarly, following the lead of an eminent author. Vondel's testimony counted for far more than the visual evidence, and could be invoked in place of the pictures. Little could Vondel foresee that his *Offerstaatsie te Lystren* would be the primary vehicle for conveying Lastman's art in the eighteenth century, when Houbraken could admit never having seen any paintings by the artist. The literary tradition surpassed in strength, and perhaps even suppressed, the perceptual

> Gemelde Vondel, die door stadig met de braafste Konstenaren te verkeeren goed oordeel van Konst had, zeit: Dat zyne ordonnantien woelig waren, en zig welvoeglyk koppelden: zyn naakte wel geteekent, zyne Kleederen natuurlyk en vlak geplooit, en de Koleuren vloeyende en kragtig geschildert.
> (The above-mentioned Vondel, who, through his [social contacts] with the most excellent artists, had good judgement in Art, said: That his compositions were lively, and properly put together, his nudes [were] well drawn, his draperies [were] naturally and smoothly hung, and the colours [were] painted luminously and strongly.)

The source for such a straightforward assessment of Lastman is untraced, and perhaps may yet come to light. Vondel could have made such a statement on the basis of the *Lystra*, which he certainly had seen. These generic observations could apply equally to other paintings by Lastman, and are hardly specific to that artist. Such a tightly phrased assessment, in a sentence of clear parallel structure, is more in keeping with Vondel's writing style than that of Houbraken. It is unlikely that Houbraken, ever eager to bolster his arguments with the opinions and erudition of others, would have fabricated it.

Extending his dependence on a third Vondel source, Houbraken quoted - and reorganized - most of the poet's stanzas on Lastman's *Lystra*. (Houbraken omitted stanzas 5, 14, and 15, and placed stanza 6 between 10 and 11, and stanza 7 after stanza 13.)[31] In all fairness to Houbraken, he did not merely repeat most of Vondel's poem, he copiously annotated it. His annotations, here briefly summarized, concern the customs of the ancient pagans and Hebrews. To Vondel's line about Mercury and Jupiter, Houbraken observed that the pagans believed that the gods appeared in human form and that the stories about these gods are found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; he further explained that Mercury and Jupiter transformed Philemon and Baucis into trees so that neither could die without the other. To Vondel's *bekranste en witte Stieren*, Houbraken noted that the animals intended for the sacrifice were adorned with garlands around their necks and backs, as seen in various depictions from antiquity; sometimes the backs would be hung with golden and silken cloths and the heads hung with *pragtige offerhuif* or adornment between the horns as one sees in an ancient marble frieze *hier nevens in print aanwyzen* (see below and *fig. 3*). Houbraken went on to mention that sometimes the horns of the animal to be sacrificed would be gilded, for even greater embellishment; he cited Ovid (Metamorphoses [Book X, 270]: *Indutaque cornibus auro victima, Dat is: 'T slachtofferdier hebbende de hoorenen verguld*). And finally, to complete his notes to Vondel's *witte Stieren*, Houbraken added that the sacrificial animals for the supreme gods must be without

blemish and pure white, and that the animals to be sacrificed to the gods of the underworld should be pitch-black.

In his footnote to Vondel's thirteenth stanza, which states that the apostles tore their garments in grief ['en van harteleet /En rouw verscheuren elk zyn Kleet'], Houbraken added that this was a proper reaction to blasphemy of the ancient Israelites:[32]

> *Het scheuren der kleederen was gemeen by de Hebreeuwen, wanneer iemant godslasterlyke woorden hoorden spreken. In later tyd is hier omtrent zekere bepaling gemaakt: want wy lezen by R. Maimonides,* indien iemant een Israëliet zynde, een Israëliet Gods naam hoort lasteren, die moet zyn kleederen scheuren, maar indien hy het hoort van een Heiden zoo is het niet nootzakelyk. *En dus zouden d'Apostelen zig hier in hebben vergrepen.... Hier komt alleen te pas, dat wy (om de Leerbegirige [sic] jeugt in 't regte spoor te leiden) aantoonen de wyze van het Kleederscheuren.*
> (The tearing of clothing was customary among the Hebrews, whenever blasphemous speech was heard. In later centuries, it is more precisely defined: because we read in R. Maimonides that 'anyone who is an Israelite must tear his clothing upon hearing God's name blasphemed by an Israelite, but if he hears [blasphemy] from a pagan, it is not necessary.' And thus the Apostles would have here breached the rules ... Thus we {in order to guide the youth desirous of learning along the right track} indicate the way of tearing the clothing.)

Houbraken continued to discuss the manner in which the garment should be torn, whether from the neck down to the waist, or from the waist up to the neck (as befits the High Priest). Yet it is his concluding remark that hammers home his purpose:[33]

> Volgens deze leiding hebben zig onze braafste Konstoeffenaars vergist, als zy den Hoogenpriester Kajaphas hebben verbeeld, zyne Kleederen van de borst nederwaarts scheurende.
> (According to this guidance, our most excellent masters of art have erred, when they have shown the High Priest Caiaphas tearing his clothing from the breast downward.)

Perhaps the most stunning example of a reaction to blasphemy in the New Testament is Caiaphas' response to Christ (Matthew 26:65), and among those artists who rendered it in widely disseminated prints, Dürer and Lucas van Leyden both showed Caiaphas' tearing his robe from the top down.[34]

brown, for which many believe that Rembrandt imitated him in this regard.) Here, Houbraken quoted Vondel, in his preface to *Joseph in Dothan* about the Jan Pynas painting of Jacob being shown Joseph's bloody coat, as hanging near *meer konstige stukken van P. Lastman....*[46]

In the biography of Rembrandt, Houbraken stated that Rembrandt studied with Lastman in Amsterdam for six months.[47] And in his life of Jan Lievens, Houbraken reported that Lievens spent two years as a pupil of Joris van Schooten. Then, when he was ten years old, his father 'bragt hem by den vermaarden schilder Pieter Lastman tot Amsterdam; by welken hy twee volle jaren bleef, en braaf in de Konst vorderde' (...his father brought him to the eminent painter Pieter Lastman in Amsterdam; he remained there two full years, and made excellent progress in art).[48] Houbraken further noted that Jan Albertsz Roodtseus, from Hoorn, was a portrait painter and a pupil of Lastman.[49] Finally, in the context of the life of Flinck, Houbraken stated that the landscape painter Pieter Pietersz Nedek was a pupil of Lastman.[50]

The first two of these citations concern Lastman's relationship with Elsheimer and Pynas, the second two concern Rembrandt and Lievens as pupils of Lastman, and the last two concern pupils of Lastman. These six references indicate that Houbraken had gleaned some facts about Lastman's associates, but that he did not incorporate them into his portion on Lastman, for which he was content to rely upon Vondel.

The diligent reader might easily catch on that Houbraken was padding his 'life of Lastman' with one quotation from Van Mander and three from Vondel. 'Padding' is an understatement. Houbraken constructed his passage on Lastman from these four sources, exploited Vondel's *Lystra* to discourse on ancient customs, contrasted methodological soundness with Rembrandt's rags, and concluded with an inventory of Roman sacrificial paraphernalia. But why would Houbraken deem it essential, or even of interest, to provide amplification on matters as the colour of the sacrificial bulls, the method of tearing garments, and the apparatus of pagan sacrifices? Certainly Houbraken considered these passages useful to the aspiring artist, who should be properly instructed in knowledge of past customs. And these practical digressions offered him the chance to display his own erudition. Houbraken's annotations to his passage on Lastman and his other passages on esoteric topics (ancient burial customs; augury) seem entirely based on a handful of publications, for the most part in Dutch and produced in the Netherlands around 1700; these are often mentioned by author and occasionally even by title and page reference. By consulting and citing history writers, notably Oudaan and Goeree, Houbraken gave

a legitimacy and broad base to his writings on art. Houbraken's reliance on history writing has largely been passed over by those who have considered Houbraken's sources and position within the art literature, and well within the precedent and tradition established by Houbraken's own teacher, Samuel van Hoogstraten.[51]

By including this material, that was not only obscure but also not readily available in the vernacular, Houbraken was filling a gap in the general literature for the practising artist in the early eighteenth century. One book, written for artists and praised by Houbraken, was De Lairesse's 1707 *Groot Schilderboek*. De Lairesse mixed practical advice with anecdotal evidence that supported his generally classicistic approach. Consistently he advocated the need for decorum and accuracy; toward the end of the *Groot Schilderboek*, within the chapters on still-life, he described various ancient accoutrements, articles of dress, etc., that were essential in the painting of histories and other subjects.[52] Lacking in De Lairesse's book was information on ancient sacrificial and burial practices, augury, and the tearing of clothing. Houbraken, who paid particular attention to these matters in the *Groote Schouburgh*, recognized the need for a vernacular, compact publication that could serve the art student who did not have much inclination toward the reading of primary or encyclopedic sources - the works of De Lairesse and Houbraken would suffice for the practising artist who is not inclined to 'bury his nose' in books.

In contrast to Houbraken's practical digressions, his other digressions are theoretical, and concern the relationship of innate talent, training, and practice in the education of the artist, according to the schema of Pels. Houbraken would elevate the painter above the status of artisan; by emphasizing the painter's role as scholar and historian, Houbraken would place the artist's social position close to that of gentleman of letters. Functioning within the milieu of Nil Volentibus Arduum, Houbraken perhaps desired to show off, and demonstrate learning as essential to the painter. He also demonstrated how even the best artists may have erred - that is, such is the difficulty of the art of painting, which entails mastering all branches of knowledge, that even the best may be faulted.

This brief examination of Houbraken's account of Lastman with its digression on ancient sacrificial apparatus is but an initial foray into Houbraken's sources and methodology. Houbraken's *Groote Schouburgh* has been placed within the late seventeenth century literature on art by P.T.A. Swillens, and within a classicistic theory of art by J. A. Emmens, who established a polarity between the pre-classicistic and classicistic criticism, in order to account for critical attitudes about Rembrandt around

II. Bedreventheid riep overluid,
De schikkunst brengt haar' Meester uit,
Die als hy zulk een toonstuk kleed,
Vernuft, en vlyt, en schat besteed,
Gelukkig, zinryk, stout, en schrander:
Die lof kom Lastman, en geen' ander'.

(I. Although, Connoisseur van der Wolf, Oblivion buried the name of this famous artist, who gloriously expresses at the altar the sworn mortal conflict, in which two Friends loved one another unto death.

II. Skillfulness called very clearly; the art of composition reveals her master, who, as he clothes such a tableau, bestows genius, diligence, and treasure, happily, meaningfully, boldly, and cleverly: may the praise come to Lastman, and no other.)

Although the phrase 'oblivion buried the name of this famed artist' (line 2) might reveal how little known Lastman had become by 1657, it is more likely a rhetorical device to enhance Oudaan's role in reclaiming the artist's reputation; that reclamation is fulfilled at the end of the next stanza, 'May the praise come to Lastman, and no other' (line 12). Indeed, it is implausible that Lastman's reputation could have plummetted so steeply between 1647, when Vondel declared that Lastman would live immortally through his painting, and 1657, when Oudaan stated that the artist's name connoted oblivion. One possible effect of Oudaan's poetic notice was that Jan Six bought Lastman's *Iphigenia* at the 1676 sale of Reinier van der Wolf's paintings and antiquities. The two pictures hung adjacent in the Six house, and are declared pendants in the 1702 catalogue of the Six collection.[25]

In the historiography of Dutch seventeenth-century art, Arnold Houbraken occupies a crucial position, for it was his continuation of Van Mander's Netherlandish artists' lives that would determine subsequent study of the material. Houbraken's method of compiling his three-volume theatrical production of biographies and instruction, practical as well as theoretical, is as revealing as his accounts of artists and their works. Houbraken had no ready-made life - reliable or not - of Lastman on which to base his own.[26] The sources were meagre, even if Lastman was clearly worthy of attention, as evidenced by his association with Rembrandt and by his inclusion in lists of important artists. But perhaps the most serious impediment to an informed chronicle of Lastman was Houbraken's complete lack of knowledge of any of his paintings. Since antiquity, ignorance of an artist's works had not deterred authors from writing about them. The actual appearance of a picture mattered less than its verbal evocation. Authors could use anecdotes and legend, and if the resulting account was not quite accurate, it could not easily be disproved. Yet

verse 31:

Als hier ô Lastman u penceel,
Verruckt door ongemeene weelde
Van konst en verw, weet uyt te beelden,
Op't treurigh gloeyende paneel.
(As here you brush, O Lastman, works wonder through rare flourishing of art and paint, [and] knows how to make imagery on the sorrowful, glowing panel.)

verse 32:

Maer gints, wat schoone en nieuwe stof
Gaet ons de oogen weêr bekooren,
En om in't Heydensch niet te smooren,
Ons trecken van het Heydensch of.
(But there, what beautiful and new material goes before our eyes to beguile us, and in order not to suffocate [us] in Paganism, [it] draws us away from the Pagan.)

verse 33:

O wel geloovigh ongeloof!
Hoe smeeckt u tongh, u handt, u oogen,
Aen hem die over langh bewoogen,
Self eer ghy badt, noch schijnt als doof,
(O truly believing disbelief! How your tongue, your hand, your eyes entreat him who moved long ago; but even before you asked, he still appears as deaf,)

verse 34:

Als doof voor kermen en gebeên,
Iae schijnt als honden te verachten,
Die hy alreedts in sijn gedachten
Verheft naer boven van beneên.
(As deaf, [he scorns] laments and entreaties, he even scorns the dogs, he who already in his thoughts is raised on high from below.)

verse 35:

Schept moed ô droevigh vrouwen beelt,
Ick sie alreedts van sijne stralen
Vergoode schijnsels op u dalen,
En u sijn zegen met gedeelt.
(Take courage, O pitiful image of woman, for already I see the godlike rays from his halo descend upon you, and you share in his blessing.)

Op d'Afbeeldinge van Peter Lastman, Den Apelles onzer eeuwe.

De geest van PETER voer in 't ordineeren speelen,
En volgde vrouw Natuur op doeken en pannelen,
Zyn Kunstgetuigen. Toen, wie 't oordeel stryken kan,
Of LASTMAN Fenix was, of RUBBENS zyn genan.
De Keizer heeft hem dus zyn ommetrek gegeven:
Maar anders tekend hy zich in zyn Konst naar 't leven.

(The genius of PETER delighted in composition, and followed Dame Nature on canvases and panels, the Testimonies to his Art. Yet who can be the judge whether LASTMAN was the phoenix, or RUBENS, his namesake. De Keizer has thus given him shape: But otherwise he drew himself in his art from life.)

Without the title, 'On the Portrait of Peter Lastman, Apelles of our Age,' the poem's subject is clarified only in line 5: *ommetrek* (shape, outline). The last line suggests that De Keyser made this image not *naar 't leven*, but rather, from an intermediate model and perhaps after Lastman's death, and furthermore that this image is a marked contrast with the other portraits made by De Keyser from living models. This portrait of Lastman could be a drawing as well as a painting. The sole record of any portrait made of Lastman, by any artist, the poem provides little information of the appearance or character of the portrayed.

Vondel's poems on Lastman are two cases of comparison of the artist with that glorious exemplar, Apelles. However unoriginal this comparison was, it still held enormous cachet. Vondel unwittingly ensured Lastman's reputation through these verses, and most cogently, through the equation that could not be ignored by later pedants, Lastman as Apelles.

Roughly contemporaneous with Vondel's interest in Lastman is that of two other poets, Lambert van den Bos (1610-1698) and Simon Ingels (1618-after 1660). These minor authors are better known for their translations than for their original work. Written in 1650, Lambert van den Bos' versified catalogue of the paintings owned by Marten Kretzer included stanzas on two paintings by Lastman. The first picture is difficult to identify:

Yet Lastman's reputation in his own century is decidely less clearly understood. Had he been a bit older and already established as a painter in the earliest years of the seventeenth century, he might have been given more notice by Karel van Mander, who, in 1604, wrote one line stating that Lastman, a promising artist, was then in Rome.[4] On his return to the Netherlands in 1607, Lastman appears to have established himself quickly and successfully in Amsterdam. In 1618, Theodore Rodenburgh's laudatory poem about Amsterdam included his name in a list of painters who brought that city glory.[5] And Lastman would appear in two of the lists of noteworthy Dutch painters in the ensuing decades. Huygens mentioned him in his autobiography, *ca.* 1631, in a list of gifted history painters.[6] In 1678, Samuel van Hoogstraten put his name in a list of worthy painters in his *Inleyding*.[7]

Lastman would also be mentioned merely as the teacher of Rembrandt and Jan Lievens. Orlers' (1641) description of the city of Leiden twice mentions Lastman as *vermaerde* (eminent) in his accounts of the training of the two young artists from Leiden.[8] In his 1675 artist biographies, written to continue those of Van Mander, Sandrart mentioned Lastman as the *berühmte* (famed) teacher of Rembrandt and Lievens, but did not otherwise notice him.[9] Roger de Piles (1699) remarked that Rembrandt studied with 'Lesman'.[10] And some writers, including Philips Angel (1641), Cornelis de Bie (1661), Simon van Leeuwen (1672), Andries Pels (1681), Filippo Baldinucci (1686), André Felibien (1685), and Gerard de Lairesse (1707) omitted mention of Lastman altogether, notwithstanding their interest in Rembrandt.[11]

Yet four Dutch poets, of varying talent and renown, paid homage to Lastman's paintings around mid-century. Poems about paintings in the Dutch Baroque are occasionally evidence of appreciation by cognoscenti for visual imagery. But they are not a reliable method of determining the depth of such appreciation. Often the writing of a poem about a painting may be due to personal ties between poet, painter, and owner of the painting; the motivation for penning such a poem might be financial, or linked to the intricacies of social status, religious matters, political gain, marriage, or friendship. Rarely, if ever, can it be demonstrated that the poem might have been written solely because the poet was interested in the painting itself. The rhetorical conventions in writing about pictures similarly override aesthetic interest.[12]

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Lastman: 'Dido's Sacrifice to Juno' Identified

Amy Golahny

Signed and dated 1630, Pieter Lastman's panel, known as the *Sacrifice to Juno* (fig. 1), has been on view in Stockholm's National Museum since 1861.[1] Yet a more precise subject seems not to have been suggested. The imposing woman in the center is here identified as Dido, who, according to Virgil (*Aeneid*, Book IV), prepares a sacrifice to Juno, protectress of Carthage, in the hope of a felicitous outcome to her affair with Aeneas. Her obscurity is understandable in view of Lastman's own critical fortune, which is only now being recovered.

During Lastman's lifetime (1538-1633), his reputation was high: in 1604, Carel van Mander praised the painter as a young man 'of much promise, now in Italy'; in 1618, Theodoor Rodenburgh put him on the list of those artists who brought glory to the city of Amsterdam; and c. 1631, Constantijn Huygens considered him among the gifted history painters in The Netherlands.[2] After Lastman's death, his reputation plunged, and in the later seventeenth-century art literature, he was mentioned merely as Rembrandt's teacher. But a poetic document served to establish Lastman's fame and ensure its survival. Joost van den Vondel wrote a fifteen-stanza poem, *Offerstaatsie te Lystren*, concerning Lastman's *Lystra* (fig. 2). Written in 1647 in the *album amicorum* 'Pandora' of Jan Six, the painting's owner, the poem was published in Vondel's play *Salomon* in 1648, and in subsequent collections of his works. The poem treats the subject as a conflict between Christian and pagan rituals and beliefs, and provides an inventory of the paraphernalia used in a pagan sacrifice. Vondel's lavish praise for Lastman's invention, design, and craft could not be ignored by later writers; nor could they ignore his rhetorical comparison of Lastman to Apelles, even if they had no other knowledge of Lastman. It would be from Vondel's *Offerstaatsie te Lystren* that Arnold Houbraken fabricated his 'life of Lastman' for his *Groote Schouburgh* of 1718.[3] Houbraken admitted he was unfamiliar with any works by Lastman, but recognized his significance from the poetic evidence. He took the opportunity offered by Vondel's description of the painting to offer extensive annotations on ancient sacrifices, and to discuss at length their apparatus and procedures. Houbraken's passage, which implicitly presents Lastman as expert in depicting ancient ritual, would become the vehicle for carrying the artist's fame through the next century; it is a curious case of the survival and triumph of the printed word over the painted image.[4]

2
Pieter Lastman, 'Paul and Barnabas at Lystra', 1614, panel, 89.6 x 123.6 cm (present whereabouts unknown)

Indeed, Lastman deserved notice for his depiction of ancient ritual in his *Lystra* (fig. 2). To render expertly the sacrificial procedure, he studied Roman reliefs and Renaissance paintings of sacrifices (notably Raphael's tapestry design of the Lystra episode) as well as Renaissance scholarship about pagan rites. Among his textual sources was Guillaume Du Choul's *Discourse de la Religion des anciens romains* (Lyon, 1556), a book later cited by Houbraken in his own annotations to Vondel's poem on the *Lystra*.[5] And in other paintings, most remarkably the 1614 *Iphigenia, Orestes and Pylades* (fig. 3, p. 40), possibly created

1
Pieter Lastman, 'Dido's Sacrifice to Juno', 1630, panel, 74 x 106 cm, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum

3
Pieter Lastman, 'Iphigenia, Orestes and Pylades', 1614, panel, 83 x 126 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

as a pendant to the *Lystra*, Lastman also meticulously portrayed ancient ritual. Aware that Taurian custom was to preserve victims' heads so that they could be mounted upon stakes and kept as trophies, Lastman made sure to show these grisly relics, which are carried by the participants in preparation for the planned human sacrifice. Joachim Oudaan, a Rotterdam tilebaker, collegiant, and antiquarian, wrote a poem in 1657 upon this painting, in deliberate imitation of Vondel's poem on the *Lystra*; Oudaan noticed the heads upon stakes, as well as other motifs indicating the Taurian locale.[6] In recent years, Lastman's *Lystra* and *Iphigenia*, and the poems written about them by Vondel and Oudaan, have received much attention.[7] *Dido's Sacrifice to Juno* was not fortunate enough to leave a poetic trail. In it, the artist showed a similar regard for pagan customs. And like other paintings by Lastman, including the *Lystra* and *Iphigenia*, it, too, demonstrates how the artist selected salient aspects of a text for depiction.

Dido's Sacrifice to Juno shows a crowd gathered before an elevated statue of Juno and an altar; three buildings and a column provide an ancient setting. The altar, comprising a rectangular base surmounted by an oval, is covered with burning, smoking wood. Dido, robed in purple, red and yellow, wears a green hood; she bears an elegant gold cup. A youth, half hidden in the smoke and carrying an incense box, and a hooded woman, probably Anna, stand either side of Dido. Dido's majesty is enhanced by the unattached column, just behind her, which mimics her upright stance, as its corinthian capital echoes her laurel-wreath crown. The foreground figures, from left to right, are: an old man holding an incense burner; a standing woman playing a fiddle; a kneeling youth holding a plate and an ewer; another youth carrying a goose; a kneeling man, seen from the back, grasping a peacock; a bare-chested man tending to a white cow; a kneeling man, preparing to slaughter a sheep; a boy bearing a plate and a basin, near the cow; and a priest holding a divining rod and a leather book. Emblematic of his duty to Juno are the peacocks trimming the edge of his robe.

In the background, more participants add to the ceremony. Two figures are to the left of the

statue of Juno: a youth playing the horn and a little boy pointing. Upon the balcony are two tiny figures. To the right of the statue of Juno stand an old man, a man playing the double flutes, and a turbaned man. Five more figures stand behind the priest: two men holding incense candelabra, and three other spectators visible as heads.

In keeping with rules of compositon set forth by Van Mander in *Den Grondt* (the didactic preface to *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 1604), the figures present variety and decorum in pose, expression, dress, and attitude. They are fitted into the setting as if upon a shallow stage; their differences in age, height, size, and grouping indicate their relative importance within the story. Light and color contrasts, too, offer variety. The statue of Juno, reflecting the light of the flames, glows against the shaded building in the background. The blue sky is largely covered with smoke merging into the white-gray clouds. The garments, of red, yellow, white, blue, purple, orange, and green, gaily mix primary and secondary hues. Conforming with precepts articulated by Van Mander, and supported by theatrical rhetoric, Lastman composed this painting as he did his others, with a pictorial language based upon narrative clarity, textual accuracy, and variety and richness of participants, accoutrements, and setting.

The ancient poetic authority for Dido is found in the first four books of Virgil's *Aeneid*. There, her roles as queen of Carthage, lover of Aeneas, and her suicide are most fully given. Virgil portrayed Dido as a powerful woman who had previously led a full life, tragic though it was, in her native Sidon. The princess had endured the murder of her husband by her brother, escaped with her sister, and settled in Carthage. She began to build the settlement into a magnificent city and ruled it, unhappy, lonely, and lovelorn, until Aeneas arrived. In their attempt to reach the Italian peninsula after the fall of Troy, Aeneas and his men were blown off course to north Africa by the tempestuous sea, churned by Aeolus who was bribed by Juno to do so, and calmed by Neptune, who was Juno's opposition. Grateful for the shelter provided by Dido, Aeneas willingly became a help to her in constructing Carthage, although his sojourn there was a detour from his mission to settle in Italy.

The romance between Dido and Aeneas was contrived and ended by Venus, who wished to avenge Juno for having caused the storm that drove Aeneas to Carthage. Intending the romance as a cruel tease for Dido and brief diversion for Aeneas, Venus persuaded Cupid, disguised as Aeneas' son Ascanius, to cause Dido to fall in love with Aeneas during a feast (*Aeneid* I: 712-715). Dido spent time with Aeneas, showing him the city and dining with him. One day, they went hunting; Juno sent a storm but ascertained first that a cave was nearby to provide shelter. When the storm broke, Dido and Aeneas went to the cave and engaged in conjugal relations; 'Dido called it marriage' (*Aeneid* IV: 227). Soon thereafter, Mercury, performing Venus' bidding, appeared to Aeneas, and told him to get back to his destiny. As soon as Dido saw Aeneas preparing to depart Carthage, she became angry; upon his departure, she prepared her funeral pyre, and then stabbed and killed herself. Despite Juno's overture of harmony to Venus if she would permit Aeneas to stay in Carthage, the relationship between Dido and Aeneas was doomed from the start. Juno, guardian of Carthage and erstwhile antagonist of Aeneas, was unable to effect a happy resolution for Dido.

4
Marcantonio after Raphael, 'Dido's Suicide', engraving, c. 1510

5
Jost Amman, 'Dido has the Ox Hide Cut', woodcut

Virgil's passage on Dido's sacrifices to the gods is brief. It appears after a dialogue between Dido and her sister Anna (*Aeneid* IV: 9-54) and before a comparison of Dido, wandering heartsick through the city of Carthage, to a wounded doe with the arrow's point still in the flesh (*Aeneid* IV: 69-72). In the dialogue, Dido lamented her love to her sister, and confided her fears that her passion was unrequited, shameful, and unwarranted (*Aeneid* IV: 9 ff). Anna encouraged Dido in her love for Aeneas, and persuaded her that the romance might succeed (*Aeneid* IV: 31 ff). Following this dialogue, the sisters go to the temple precinct to propitiate the four gods, Ceres, Bacchus, Apollo, and Juno:[8]

principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras
exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis
legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo,
Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae;
ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido
candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit
aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiatur ad aras,
instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis
pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.
heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,
quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas
interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus.
(*Aeneid* IV: 56-57)

(First they visit the shrines and sue for peace at every altar; duly they slay chosen sheep to Ceres the law giver, to Phoebus and father Lyaeus, before all to Juno, guardian of wedlock bonds. Dido herself matchless in beauty, with cup in her [right] hand, pours libation midway between the horns of a white heifer, or in presence of the gods moves slowly to the rich altars, and solemnizes the day with gifts, then, gazing into the opened breasts of victims, consults the quivering entrails. Ah, blind souls of seers! Of what avail are vows or shrines to one wild with love? All the while the flame devours her tender heartstrings, and deep in her breast lives the silent wound.)

Virgil specified altars to the four gods, Ceres, Apollo, Father Bacchus, and Juno; sheep as the offerings; Dido's right hand holding the cup; and gifts to the rich altars of the gods. Yet Lastman did not remain entirely faithful to this text. He eliminated all altars but one to Juno, whose role as guardian of marriage made her most pertinent to Dido. Instead of several sheep, a single one lies bound, about to be slaughtered. Although Virgil described Dido as holding the cup in her right hand, Lastman's Dido rests it in her right, and steadies it with her left. In accordance with Virgil's rich altars and gifts, Lastman included vessels, incense box and burners, and musical instruments appropriate to the ceremony. He also added a goose and a peacock, Juno's own bird, among the offerings, feathered creatures that seem appropriate, but do not occur in any version of the Virgilian text.

To emphasize Dido, Lastman placed her near the center, in front of the altar. The moment depicted contains several activities: the slaughtering of a sheep, and the preparation of the libation. Taking into account the sisters' previous dialogue and Dido's infatuation, Lastman gave Dido a solemn demeanor with an ambiguous smile; this expression would seem to indicate her desire and hope for favorable results. Lastman's setting, of the shrine to Juno with a temple-like structure behind, evokes Virgil's account of the shrine built by Dido to honor Juno (*Aeneid* I: 625 ff). Inside the temple Aeneas and his men had admired the painted walls with scenes of the Trojan war, and first met Dido, as lawgiver and queen (*Aeneid* I: 715 ff) Even though Virgil discredited augury, a means of prediction by reading the animals' entrails, he stated that it gave Dido hope. Lastman has placed the priest prominently in the right corner, holding his divining rod and well-worn tome, and slyly looking out at the viewer. Lastman could certainly have relied upon Virgil's text, and created the focus on the Junonian aspects of the sacrifice.

It is worth asking if any other texts may have contributed to his picture. Variations upon Virgil's fourth book of the *Aeneid* abound in European literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In The Netherlands, four plays about Dido and Aeneas appeared during the seventeenth century.[9] One, by I. Bodecher Benning, appeared in 1634, and is of interest here, both for its inclusion of a sacrifice scene and its closeness in date to Lastman's painting from 1630. Benning's *Dido, oft Heylloose Minnetocht. Treurspel*, which was published in Leiden in 1634, carried the date October 1632 on its last page of text. There is no evidence that the play was ever performed, but it may have circulated prior to publication. Benning altered Virgil's text somewhat in the dialogue between Dido and her sister; he extended their conversation, changed the animal offerings, and gave the following passage about the sacrifice to Dido:

... Com Anna, suster com,
Gaen wy ten tempelwaert, aen de brandautaers, om
Te offren Ceres, die de Koorenaer doet rijpen,
Twee jonghe geytjens, en ons naerstigh oogh te slijpen
In't bloedigh ingewant te glueren door en door;
Com Anna, suster com, oft' treed my liever voor,
Wy zullen Bacchus een kromhoornde bock toedraeghen,
En Iuno, de echtgoddin, al wat haer kan behaeghen,
Oft water in lampet, oft' leven weckend vyer.
Ick voed met eygen uyt lust een witte stier,
Wiens hoorens blincken als de parlemoere schelpen
Gebraeckt uyt zee, daer zal ick selven tusschen stelpen
Een goude kelck, gevult met nieuw geperste wijn,
En laeten did de wegh tot 't offersmoocken zijn.[10]

(... Come, Anna, sister come, let us go to the temple precinct, to the altars of fire, in order to offer two young goats to Ceres, who makes the grain ripen, and to cast our keen eye into the bloody innards. Come Anna, sister come, rather, step before me, We shall bring Bacchus a crooked-horned male goat, and Juno, the goddess of matrimony, whatever can please her best, whether water in a pitcher, or live flame. For my own pleasure, I bring a white bull, whose horns shine as shells of mother-of-pearl thrown up by the sea. Between them I shall pour a newly made wine from a golden cup. Let this be the way to the sacrificial smoke. Unpaginated, page 8). Anna responded that this is piety, and that the gods look with pleasure upon those who adorn their altars and consult their augurs.

The Benning play, of the published translations and variants of the Virgilian narrative, is closest in date of publication and in narrative tone to Lastman's 1630 panel. Benning's Dido declares 'Ick voed [...] een witte stier' (I bring a white bull), in contrast to Virgil's Dido, who merely pours the libation upon the head of the animal, who is a 'vacca', or female, young cattle, in Virgil's text. The arrangement in Lastman's tableau of Dido accords with Benning's passage. Dido is holding the golden cup toward Juno, as if consecrating the vessel and its contents to the goddess, and the cow is following the queen, as if led to the altar.

6
P.S. Bartoli, 'Dido's Sacrifice', after the Vatican Vergil, from 'Antiquissimi Virgiliani codicis', Rome 1741, p. 78, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library

But there are also differences between Lastman's painting and the Benning text, which specifies two small goats as the offering to Ceres, and an old goat with twisted horns to Bacchus. Departing from Virgil's model, Benning omitted altogether the altar to Apollo. Benning's Anna has a large role as speaker and listener to Dido, and Lastman gave Anna a minor part, at least if Anna is the hooded woman to the right of the queen. In spite of the consonance between the passage in Benning's play and Lastman's painting, there seems to be no detail that indicates either work depended upon the other. It is just as likely that Benning knew of Lastman's painting as it is that Lastman knew of the play.

Virgil was the ancient poetic authority, and Livy, the historical one. In his history of the founding of Rome (*Ab urbe condita*, Book 16), Livy related how Dido purchased the land upon which Carthage would be built by establishing its circumference with a finely cut ox-hide. This event (c. 800 BC) became part of the lore of the Mediterranean, and it would appear in histories about the region, as it had been mentioned by Virgil (*Aeneid* I: 520), who wrote shortly before Livy. Renaissance commentators often remarked on the discrepancy in date (by 300 years) between the fall of Troy and the founding of Carthage; thus the historical and poetic figures of Dido were each accepted on their own terms, but not reconciled. Lastman, who had attended Latin school and was well-read in history, the Bible, and secular literature, would have been familiar with both the poetic story of Dido from the *Aeneid*, and the historical Dido from Livy's episode of the founding of Carthage.[11]

In Renaissance and Baroque art, Dido is usually depicted in one of three ways. Prints of her as a single figure stabbing herself were somewhat popular, and exemplified by Marcantonio's engraving after Raphael (fig. 4, p. 41). Such an image derived from the Virgilian text and may be related to images of virtuous and strong women.[12] In the illustrated editions of Livy, including those by Jost Amman and Tobias Stimmer, the historical Dido appears as overseeing the cutting of the ox-hide in order to found Carthage (fig. 5, p. 42).[13] As and adjunct to Aeneas, the poetic Dido appears in representations based upon the *Aeneid*; these generally show the first meeting between Dido and Aeneas, their romance, or Mercury appearing to the sleeping Aeneas to inspire him to leave Carthage; other popular episodes, with no concern for Dido, include Laocoon and his sons attacked by

7
Pieter Lastman, 'The Sacrifice of Manoah', 1624
(present whereabouts unknown)

8
Adam van Vianen, 'Silver Ewer', 1614, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

serpents (*Aeneid* II: 201 ff) and Aeneas in the underworld (*Aeneid* VI). A number of Italian fresco cycles were made during the sixteenth century, and these emphasize the divine mission of Aeneas, rather than the personality and power of Dido.[14] Print series accompanying the *Aeneid* similarly concentrate on Aeneas, rather than Dido. Typical of this emphasis but unusual for its attention to the narrative is the series of twelve prints accompanying an abbreviated text by Crispijn de Passe. The series, published in 1612, along with engravings to selections of poetry by Virgil, encapsulates the main events of each book.[15] The episode of Dido sacrificing to Juno, textually based on the *Aeneid*, was not often represented as a single image in Lastman's time, although it appeared occasionally as a scene in many series of printed illustrations and Italian fresco cycles during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[16]

Among the particularly famous illustrated editions of the *Aeneid* are those of Strasbourg (1502) and Lyon (1560), but neither is sufficiently close to Lastman's composition to have served as a guide. One illustrated *Aeneid* that may have been familiar to the artist is the *Vatican Vergil*, which entered the Vatican Library in 1604 from the estate of Fulvio Orsini. The manuscript, which was not engraved until Pietro Santo Bartoli's series, published in 1677 and again in 1741, was well-known to scholars and artists during the Renaissance; it was studied by Raphael, who would have seen it while it belonged to Pietro Bembo. When the manuscript entered the Vatican, it was considered one of the most prized acquisitions from the Orsini collection, and it was catalogued as the first of those items. Lastman, who was in Rome at the time, may have had the opportunity to see it. In the spare, narrative style of late antiquity, Dido's sacrifice appears as the twenty-second of forty-four illustrations interspersed in the manuscript (fig. 6, p. 44). Each figure plays a role: Dido at the altar, Anna behind her, two men about to slay the cow and single sheep, and an attendant. The props too are minimal and essential: a stepped temple, with its cult statue of a goddess in the portal, and an altar. Although the *Vatican Vergil* miniature has none of the embellishment so favored by Lastman, it could have contributed to the Stockholm painting in its general design.[17]

By 1614, Lastman's interest in pagan sacrifice was well established in his *Lystra* and *Iphigenia* (figs. 2 and 3). Having acquired expertise in ancient ritual, he may well have later looked for other opportunities to depict a sacrifice. The vessels, plates, incense candelabra, double-flutes, and animals used by the participants in *Dido's Sacrifice to Juno* make their appearance in other paintings by Lastman. A few of these occurrences are the *Sacrifice at Lystra* (1617; Amsterdam Historical Museum, for vessels), *Hippocrates and Democritus* (1622; private collection, for sheep) and *Sacrifice of Manoah* (1624; for vessels and peacock, fig. 7, p. 45).[18] The white cow is a sibling to Io as a cow in the small panel, *Juno, Jupiter and Io* (1615, National Gallery, London). Dido's golden cup is a variation upon the famed covered ewer of 1614 by Adam van Vianen, commissioned by the Amsterdam silversmiths guild in memory of Paulus van Vianen (fig. 8).[19]

Lastman occasionally sought subjects from ancient history and literature that had few visual prototypes, as in *Dido* and in the *Iphigenia*. In choosing such unusual subjects, Lastman may have been seeking themes of conflict laden with moral and emotional subtlety. The *Iphigenia* concerns the moment of human sacrifice that would have brought about the death of Orestes, himself

the brother of Iphigenia, now at Taurus as priestess to Diana, except that Iphigenia recognized her long-lost brother and they escape through divine intervention. In *Dido's Sacrifice to Juno*, Lastman portrayed an older woman who fervently and futilely wishes for a satisfactory outcome to an amorous involvement. As Aeneas, a foreigner, will shortly depart to fulfill his mission, he will leave behind the lovelorn queen who will end her life in response to his abandonment. The drama is evident in the expressiveness and action of Dido, for which the viewer must supply the text. As in other paintings related to ancient literature, notably the *Iphigenia*, Lastman focussed upon a rarely treated moment in which the main character is seen to resolve a conflict. Amidst the elaborate and opulent setting of a pagan ritual, Lastman's *Dido's Sacrifice to Juno* presents an emotionally expressive protagonist at a dramatic moment within a larger narrative.

The richness of Virgil's epic lent itself to the pictorial imagination. Rubens even painted a subject absent from the *Aeneid* but entirely appropriate to its content and tone. His *Aeneas Assisting Dido to Dismount*, from the early 1630s, depicts the moment just before the lovers take shelter from the storm in the cave (*Aeneid* IV: 165-166); as Juno looks on from the skies, the hunt continues in the background beneath gathering clouds.[20] In using the epic for an image that evokes amorous concern and trust in divine intervention, and that was rarely represented as an independent scene, Lastman was not unique. Future research may well uncover other instances of similarly rare subjects rendered by the artist with his customary embellishment, textual consideration, and archaeological exactitude.

Notes

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1. The painting was published by C. Vosmaer, *Rembrandt*, The Hague 1877, p. 477, as *Sacrifice à Junon* and under the same title by K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman: sein Leben und seine Kunst*, Leipzig 1911, p. 96, cat. no. 105, fig. 30. Most recently, the panel was discussed in the exhibition catalogue *Rembrandt och hans Tid*, ed. G. Cavalli-Björkman, Stockholm (Nationalmuseum) 1992, p. 162, cat. no. 39, with a provenance that possibly places the picture in the Prague, Imperial collection, by 1648, and in the collection of Queen Christina by 1652.
2. For Van Mander's remark about Lastman, see Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem 1604, p. 193v; for Rodenburgh's poem, see N. de Roever, 'Drie Amsterdamse schilders', *Oud-Holland* 3 (1885), p. 172; and for Huygens' autobiography, see A.H. Kan ed., *De jeugd van Constantijn Huygens*, Rotterdam 1971, p. 73 and also S. Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics 1630-1730*, The Hague 1953, pp. 13-14.
3. A. Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen...*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1718-21, vol. 1, pp. 97-114.
4. Significant publicatons on Lastman include the exhibition catalogues: A. and Chr. Tümpel, *The Pre-Rembrandtists*, Sacramento, E.B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1974; A. Blankert et al., *Gods, Saints & Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt*, Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1980; P. Schatborn and A. Tümpel, *Pieter Lastman: Leermeester van Rembrandt*, Amsterdam, Het Rembrandthuis, 1991; and G. Luijten, ed., *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580-1620*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1994, pp. 575-577. See further K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman*, passim; and S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Pieter Lastman (1583-1633). Een schilder in de Sint Anthonisbreestraat', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* (1991), no. 2, pp. 2-15, with additional bibliography. Essential studies on the meaning of Lastman's art for Rembrandt include K. Bauch, *Der frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit*, Berlin 1960; W. Stechow, 'Some Observations on Rembrandt and Lastman', *Oud Holland* 84 (1969), pp. 148-162; and B.P.J. Broos, 'Rembrandt and Lastman's "Coriolanus": the history piece in 17th century theory and practice', *Simiolus* 8 (1975-76), pp. 199-228. In two recent articles, I examine in greater detail Lastman's 1614 paintings of *Lystra* (location unknown) and *Iphigenia* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), Lastman's reputation, and the Dutch poems about his work: 'Paired Poems on Pendant Paintings: Vondel and Oudaan interpret Lastman', in *The Eye of the Poet: Studies in the Reciprocity of the Visual and Literary Arts from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. A. Golahny, Lewisburg 1996, pp. 154-178; and A. Golahny, 'Pieter Lastman in the Literature: From Immortality to Oblivion', *Dutch Crossing* 20 (1996), pp. 87-115.
5. For Lastman's uses of ancient reliefs and Du Choul, see Golahny, 'Paired Poems...' (note 2), p. 158.
6. For Lastman's use of Herodotus for Taurian customs and for his precision in following Euripides' play for his painting of Iphigenia, see idem, pp. 161-162.
7. See idem, and the exhibition catalogues *Pieter Lastman: Leermeester...*, pp. 20-21, cat. no. 7, pp. 98-99, and *Dawn of the Golden Age*, cat. no. 248, p. 575 ff (note 2).
8. Virgil's *Aeneid* was well known in Latin editions, and in a Dutch translation by C. van Ghistele, *Die twaelf boecken van Aeneas, ghenaemt ... Æneidos...*, Antwerp 1551, 1583 and 1609, and Rotterdam 1599 and 1609, among other imprints; see P. de Rijnck and A. Welkenhuysen, *De Oudheid in het Nederlands*, Baarn 1992, p. 380. The Van Ghistele translation of the passage about Dido's sacrifice does not include certain essential details, like the white heifer, that appear in Lastman's painting, and so, could not have sufficed as a literary source. For the Latin text and English translation cited here, see H. Rushton Fairclough, *Virgil, with an English Translation*, 2 vols., Cambridge MA

1965, vol. 1, pp. 400-401. It is further notable that translations of the complete *Aeneid* appear in numbers around the mid-seventeenth century, including those by Joost van den Vondel (prose, 1646; and poetry, 1660), Jacob Westerbaen (1662), and Dirck Doncker (1663).

9. The variations on the fourth book of the *Aeneid* in picture and text are discussed by E.J. Sluijter, 'Onderwerpen uit de Aeneis in de Noord-Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende en eerste helft achttiende eeuw', *Hermeneus* 54, no. 4 (October 1982), pp. 314-328, esp. p. 320. In noting the popularity of Dido's story around 1630, it is worth mentioning that a series of plays, first performed around 1551, was published only in 1621 by J.B. Houwaert, *Den handel der amoureusheyt. Inhoudende vier poetische Spelen*, Rotterdam 1621. This publicaton included four plays about pairs of lovers, the first being Dido and Aeneas, and the others Narcissus and Echo, Mars and Venus, and Hero and Leander. An engraved illustration accompanied each play; that for Dido and Aeneas represented a regal, standing Dido meeting a kneeling Aeneas. Gathering his material from the first through the fourth books of the *Aeneid*, Houwaert made no mention of Dido's sacrifice to the gods. Two later variations are Jacob van der Does, *Tragedie ofte ongeluckige liefde van de koninginne Dido* (1662), and Andries Pels, *Didoos doot* (1698).

10. I. Bodecher Benningh, *DIDO, Oft Heylloose Minnetocht. Treurspel*, Leiden 1634 (unpaginated, p. 8). Author's translation.

11. For Lastman's education and family background, see S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'De familie van de schilder Pieter Lastman (1583-1633)', *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 45 (1991), pp. 111-132.

12. For Renaissance representations of Dido's suicide in prints and literary versions of this episode, see H.D. Russell, *Eva/Ave: Women in Renaissance and Baroque Prints*, Washington, exh. cat. National Gallery of Art, 1990, cat. no. 5 for Marcantonio after Raphael, cat. no. 8 for Altdorfer, and cat. no. 12 for Beham.

13. In Livy's history of Rome, the founding of Carthage appears in Book XVI; the best known illustrations to this episode are by Jost Amman, in woodcuts for an abridged Livy text, *Icones Livianae*, 1568; and by Tobias Stimmer, illustrations to Titus Livius and Lucius Florus, *Von Ankunfft unnd Ursprung des Romischen Reichs...*, Strassburg 1581, p. 220 (Bartsch 64.42[348]).

14. Fresco cycles were painted by various artists, including Perino del Vaga, G.B. Castello, Daniele da Volterra, and Niccolo del'Abate; see J.L. de Jong, ' "Sub falso tegmine vera": Dido en Aeneas in de Italiaanse kunst der Renaissance', *Hermeneus* 54, no. 4 (October 1982), pp. 279-288, and A.W.A. Boschloo, 'De *Aeneïs* in de Italiaanse wandschilderkunst van de 16e eeuw: drie frescocycli in Emilia', *Hermeneus* 54, no. 4 (October 1982), pp. 289-303. The popularity of such decorative series survived for centuries; see E.J. Sluijter, 'Een zaalbeschildering van Gerard Hoet in "De Slangenburg": de liefdesgeschiedenis van Aeneas en Dido', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 31 (1980), pp. 299-316, and idem, 'Onderwerpen uit de *Aeneis*...' (see note 9).

15. See I.M. Veldman, 'Een prentenserie van de *Aeneis* door Crispijn de Passe de Oude (1612)', *Hermeneus* 42, no. 4 (October 1982), pp. 304-313.

16. See note 12.

17. The illustrated editions of Vergil have been surveyed by Th. K. Rabb, 'Sebastian Brant and the First Illustrated Edition of Vergil', *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 21, no. 4 (1960), pp. 187-199. Two Dutch artists in the seventeenth century made extensive series of drawings for the *Aeneid*; see L. Wood Ruby, 'Sebastiaen Vrancx as Illustrator of Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Master Drawings* 28 (1990), pp. 54-73, and J. ten Brink Goldsmith, 'From Prose to Pictures; Leonaert Bramer's illustrations for *The Aeneid* and Vondel's Translation of Virgil', *Art History* 7 (1984), pp. 21-37. The *Vatican Vergil* appeared in Bartoli's etchings in 1677 and again in 1741, in P.S. Bartoli, *Antiquissimi Virgiliani codicis...*, Rome 1741, where *Dido's Sacrifice* appears on page 78. The manuscript has been recently analyzed by Th.B. Stevenson, *Miniature Decoration in the Vatican Virgil: A Study in Late Antigue Iconography*, Tübingen 1983, and David H. Wright, *The Vatican Vergil, a masterpiece of late antique art*, Berkeley 1993.
See M. Fagiolo, ed., *Virgilio nell'arte e nella cultura europea*, exh. cat. Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome 1981, for Italian fresco cycles and also the tapestry cycle designed by Giovanni Romanelli, which includes a scene of Dido sacrificing to Juno that is sufficiently close to Lastman's painting to indicate either that Romanelli knew Lastman's design, or that a common model was known to both artists. For Romanelli's tapestry cycle, designed after 1630 and woven after 1635 in Antwerp, see further B. Kerber, 'Küpferstiche nach Gianfrancesco Romanelli', *Giessener Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, 1973, pp. 133-170, esp. p. 157.

18. For these paintings, see Schatborn and Tümpel, *Pieter Lastman: Leermeester van Rembrandt* (note 2), cat. nos. 11, 13, and 18, respectively.

19. For the ewer, see Luijten, ed., *Dawn of the Golden Age* (note 2), p. 452, cat. no. 112.

20. Rubens' oil sketch, whose present location is not known, is discussed by J.S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue*, 2 vols., Princeton 1980, vol. 1, cat. no. 229, p. 316 and vol. 2, plate 238.

~~SHEARSON LEHMAN~~
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