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HAN JÜNGELING

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B. W. BLYDENSTEIN & CO.
LONDON, E.C. 2, 13-14 Austin Friars

Beëdigd Makelaar, Expert en Taxateur
Schilderijen, Antiquiteiten en Kunstvoorwerpen
Erkend Veilingbouder

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DEN HAAG
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tevens gevestigd:
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SCHIPLUIDEN
TELEFOON (01738) 311

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211
U.S.A.

DEN HAAG, July 16th 1970

Dear Alfred,

I do hope your wife approves of the Mater Dolorosa by Terbrugghen. Do you still think that a's a Ter brugghen the ugly lady is unsaleable? Don't let us argue. We both agree that the painting is beautiful.

I had to write to Benedict Nicolson about several things. I asked him if he knew the Drost(?) picture. His answer: I have known the so-called Willem Drost for many years and think it a fine picture but have no idea of its authorship. Drost is still a vague name.

He also writes me about the Mater Dolorosa of which I sent him a photo. An attribution to Caesar van Everdingen: "prepostorous". I enclose what Mr. Benedict has written and I mentioned this also to the Rijksbureau, telling them too that you are the owner of the painting now.

Hartelijke groeten ook van Saskia,



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STECHOW
325 WEST COLLEGE STREET
OBERLIN, OHIO 44070

29. Juli 1970.

Liebes Herr Dr. Bader,

Lasen Sie herzlichen Dank für Ihre Briefe vom 19. und 22. 7. M. mit ihren sehr anfragenden Beilagen! Ja, das Bild eines ich wirklich bald einmal zu sehen bekommen, kann da tut sich ja in die Tat etwas! Das für eine außordentliche Originalität der Hoffassung - ich kenne nichts Vergleichbares ikonographisch - und überhaupt. aber ich muss erst das Original sehen, bevor ich mehr sage. Vielleicht ergibt sich die Möglichkeit in Zusammenhang mit meinem Besuch in Madrid am 11.-12. September.

Wir sehen Sie doch wohl hin eortes?

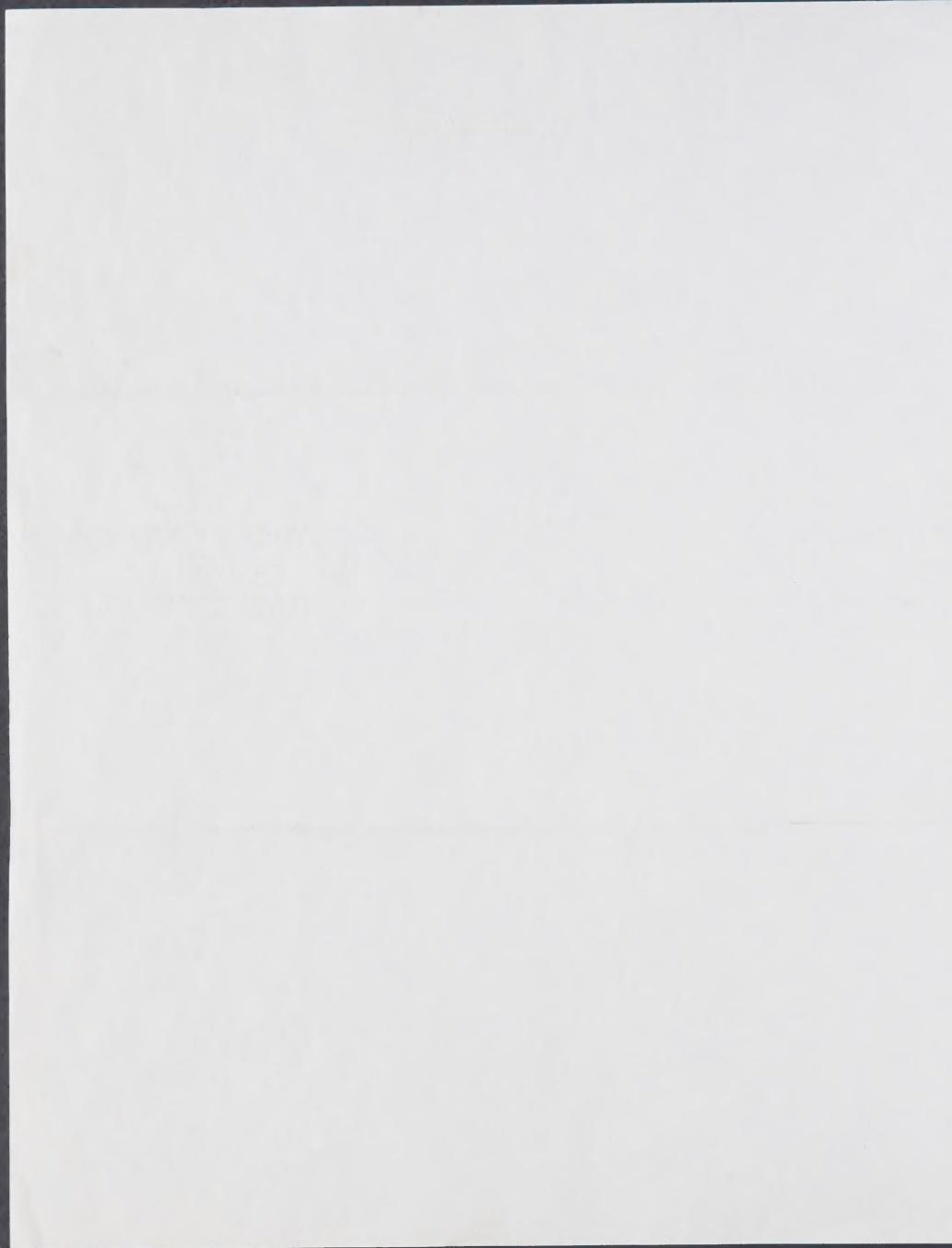
Ih vergaß heute morgen, mir die Abbildung Ihres Stoff - de sollte im Sotheby - Katalog an - zusehen, habe es aber baldigst nach.

Herzlichen Glückwunsch und sei revois,

W.

Wolfgang Stechow.

Prof. Markowitz schickte mir heute seine Photos und interessanten Ausführungen zu seinem Pfeiler von Lint.
Sie finde mich natürlich, dass ich da nicht gerade daneben geschrieben habe!



ULRICH MIDDENDORF
9, VIA DE' BERRAGLI
50124 FIRENZE - ITALIA

6. VIII. 1790

Dear Alfred:

Many thanks for your last letter. Let us hope that the affair in Rome goes well. I am sure that Tony Clark will manage.

Congratulations on the latest acquisitions. The Terbrugghen looks very good, much better than the Harrach picture. The background seems to be most interesting.

The boy's head could easily be one of the Bassano. Is it a fragment or a study of a head? Which Bassano, I cannot tell. I confuse them constantly.

The other boy could easily be by one of the Carracci, as Tony Clark says. It is a rather nice study.

I hope that you'll keep the Terbrugghen, despite the subject matter. It seems to be beautiful; and they are rare and very precious nowadays.

Warmest regards von Haus zu Haus,

Stets Ihr,

Ulrich Middendorf



THE MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ARTS

201 East 24th Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404 Telephone: 339-7661 Cable address: Minnart

Office of the Director

August 28, 1970

Dr. Alfred Bader
Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc.
940 West St. Paul Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

Dear Alfred:

Thank you for your letter of August 25th. I don't see why you think it is nice to be back home after an August in Rome. Anyhow August isn't even over!

I am delighted to hear about your Terbrugghen; if Ben says so, it is. I am dying to see a photograph of the Mengs painting.

I don't know what the two boys are; it does look like a late (?) Keil in poor condition, but probably isn't.

I am returning the photograph of a man's head. I am certain this is a copy and have written the indication of the original on the back. The date of 1782 is too late for the original but could be the date of the copy.

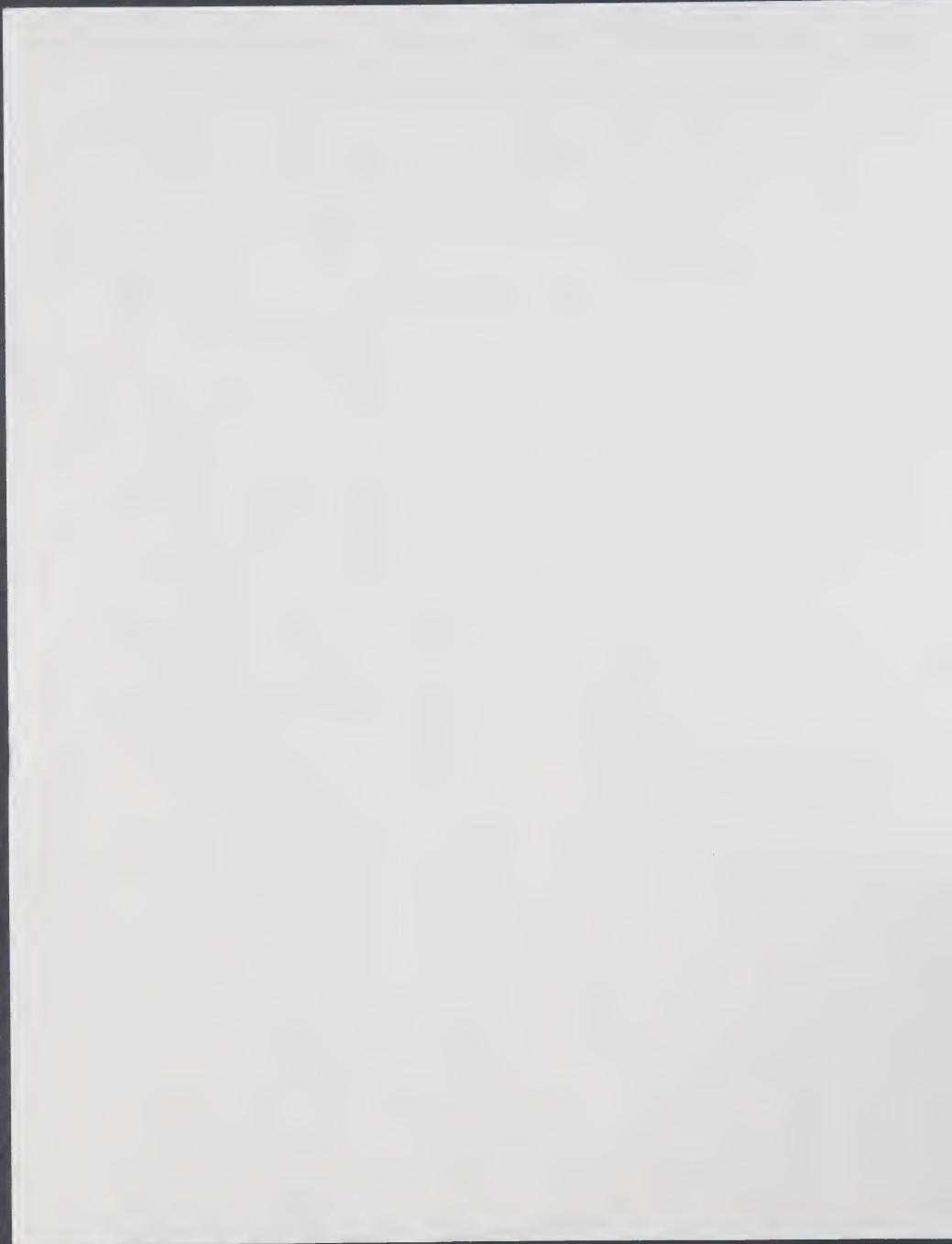
With warm regards,

Yours ever,



Anthony M. Clark
Director

AMC:ehm



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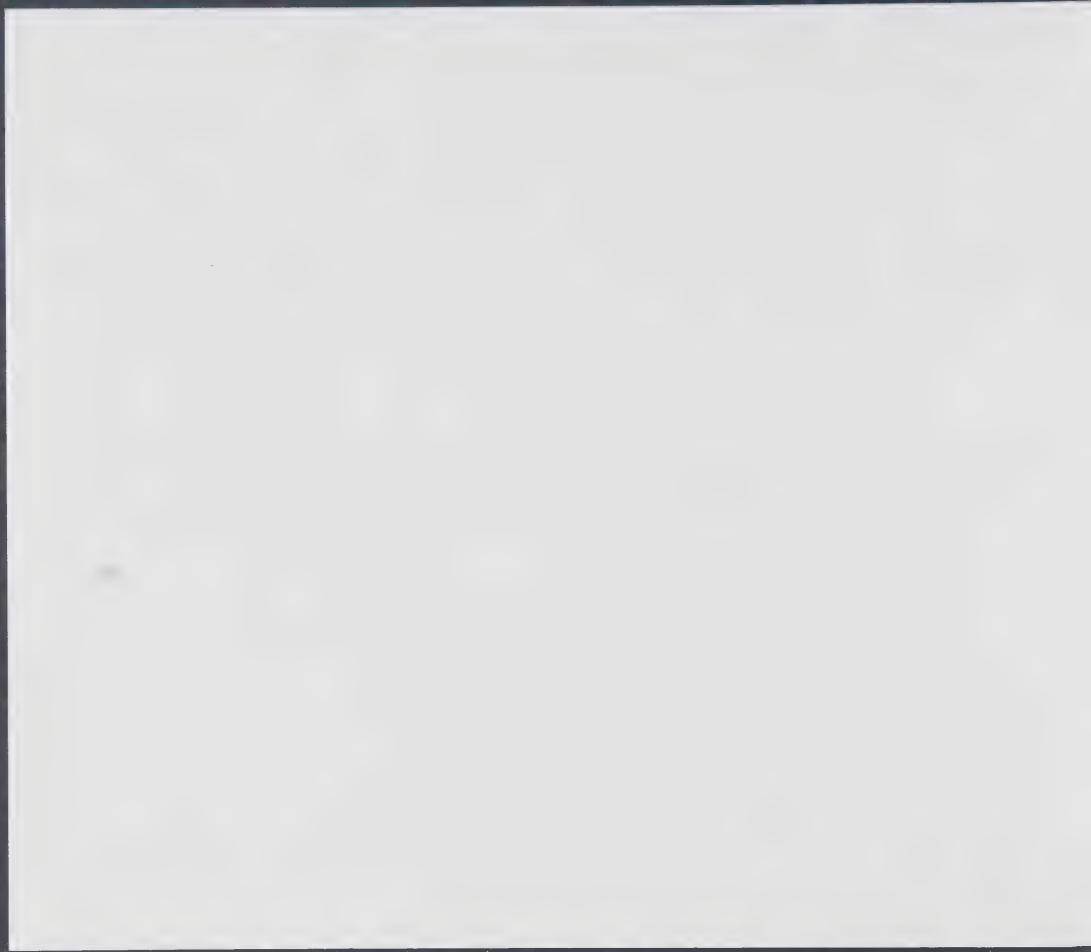
DEN HAAG,

July 3d 1970

Factura

1 framed 17th century picture (Mater Dolorosa),
on wood, 77 by 62 cm *f 7.500,--*

*1/306 Benedictus Nicolson
as Tertiusgilia*



HAN JÜNGELING

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Dr. Alfred Bader
North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211
U.S.A.

DEN HAAG, July 3d 1970

Dear Alfred,

Thank you for calling. Fine that you bought that portrait in London. It's certainly quite something.

The crate for the Mater Dolorosa will be ready next Tuesday so I think I can deliver the picture at the RHM Freight Office next Wednesday. The necessary paper will be ready by then.

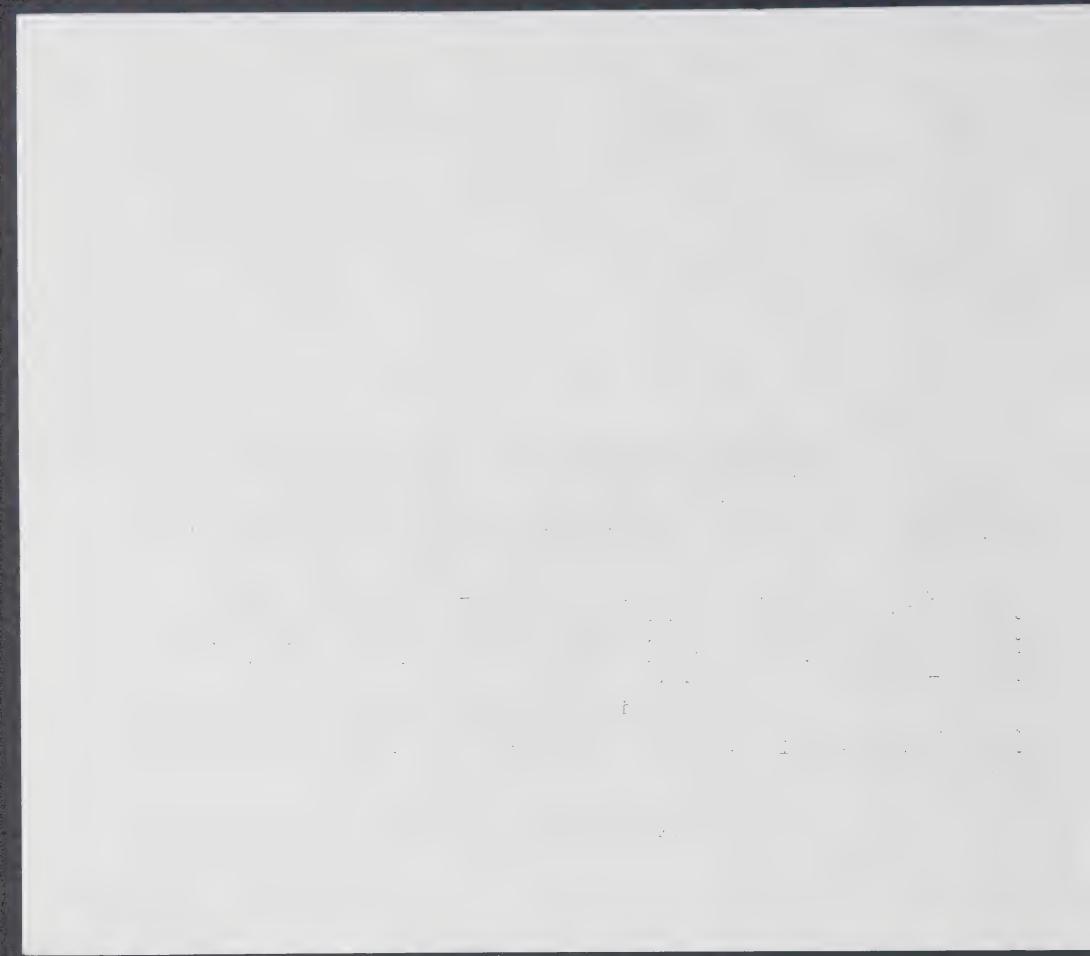
The pictures at the Delft's Antiques Fair, most of them, are a shame. I cannot understand the so-called experts let these badly and too much restored pictures pass. The papers write that the Delft Fair is the best so far and also the best fair in the world. So the pictures must have been viewed by blind people or bad eye-sufferers. I am angry.

Our Torrentius is now in the Lakenhal Leiden exhibition of Vanitas still lifes (Dutch). The best picture in the exhibition is the Rembrandt - it is now called Remorandt at last - from the Rijksmuseum, which the Rijksmuseum got from us. I am proud of it.

Whishing you all the luck!

Hartelijke groeten, ook van Saskia,







Negentiende jaargang 1971 - aflevering 3

BULLETIN VAN HET RIJKSMUSEUM

Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum

Negentiende jaargang - aflevering 3 - december 1971 - verschijnt in vier afleveringen

Inhoud

Dr. P. J. J. van Thiel, De aanbidding der koningen en ander vroeg werk van Hendrick ter Brugghen	191
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Op de omslag:

Hendrick ter Brugghen. De aanbidding der koningen (detail), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Aanwinst 1970.

Redactie

A. L. den Blaauwen, C. A. Burgers, G. J. van der Hoek,
J. W. Niemeijer, P. J. J. van Thiel, J. Verbeek.
Correspondentie bestemd voor de
redactie te richten aan C. A. Burgers,
Rijksmuseum, Hobbemastraat 21,
Amsterdam, telefoon 732121

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P. J. J. VAN THIEL

De aanbidding der koningen en ander vroeg werk van Hendrick ter Brugghen

INLEIDING

De eerzuchtigsten onder de schilders zijn altijd de historieschilders geweest, die zich toelegden op het schilderen van mythologische, bijbelse en historiële onderwerpen, waarbij de menselijke figuur en de hartstochten van de mens het eigenlijke thema vormden. De dubbele uitdaging, waar sinds de tijd van Scorel en Heemskerck iedere jonge historieschilder zich voor gesteld zag, was: z'n leermeester overtreffen en de Italianen evenaren. Zijn leermeester overtreffen in het evenaren van de Italianen, daar kwam het voor de meesten op neer. Generatie na generatie ging naar het zuiden, naar de directe erfgenamen van de antieken, die de natuur – de ware leermeester van de kunst – het meest nabij gekomen waren. Twee noorderlingen zouden het zover brengen, dat zij – om zo te zeggen – Italiaan werden onder de Italianen en aan hen gelijkwaardig: Dürer en Rubens.

Met Rubens is men al in de zeventiende eeuw en ook in die tijd bleef het Italiaanse ideaal in de kring van de historieschilders onvermindert van kracht. Specialisten in andere, tevoren (voorover ze al beoefend werden) geminachte categorieën – portret, genre, stilleven, landschap enz. – konden het tot een zeker aanzien brengen, maar alleen met historieschilderen – en ook Rembrandt wist dat – kon men roem en eer behalen. Naast Italianen werd al spoedig Rubens het voorbeeld en wat later ook dat andere fenomeen, die Nederlander die – zoals Huygens zegt – *de hoogste roem van Griekenland en Italië... in de Nederlanden*¹ had overgeplaat: Rembrandt.

De Italiaanse reis, die in de zestiende eeuw eigenlijk een verplicht programmapunt was geweest, raakte in de loop van de zeventiende eeuw bij de historieschilders meer en meer in onbruik. De laatste generatie, die de traditie nog voortzette, was die van 1580/90: de pre-Rembrandtisten met Lastman, Pynas en Tengnagel als voornaamste vertegenwoordigers en de Caravaggisten, van wie Ter Brugghen, Honthorst en Baburen in Utrecht de kerngroep vormen. Wanneer ook twee vertegenwoordigers van de volgende generatie, Jan van Bijlert en Jan van Bronchorst (beiden van 1603), nog naar Rome gaan, vormen zij al Utrechtse uitzonderingen op de Hollandse regel².

LEVENSLOOP

Wat er bekend is over Ter Brugghen's leven, is in weinig woorden verteld. Hij werd geboren in de provincie Overijssel, hoogstwaarschijnlijk in 1588. Enkele jaren na zijn geboorte verhuisde het gezin naar Utrecht, waar Hendrick volgens Sandrart (1675) in de leer ging bij Abraham Bloemaert. Al in 1604 zou hij naar Italië zijn gegaan (Houbraeken, 1718), vanwaar hij volgens zijn eigen verklaring van 1615 tegen de herfst van het jaar 1614 in Utrecht terugkeerde³. In 1616 (misschien 1617) werd hij er lid van het Sint Lucasgilde en op 15 oktober 1616 trouwde hij er. Hij werd vader van acht kinderen. Begin november 1629 werd hij begraven in de Utrechtse Buurkerk.

De veronderstelling, dat Ter Brugghen omstreeks 1620 een tweede reis naar Rome zou hebben gemaakt, werd in 1952 door Longhi geponeerd. Nicolson laat de kwestie min of meer open, maar



Afb. 1. Hendrick ter Brugghen. De aanbidding der koningen, 1619. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Aanwinst 1970.

hij houdt zo'n reis toch voor mogelijk, zelfs voor waarschijnlijk. Critici van Nicolson's monografie hebben zich meestal in negatieve zin over de mogelijkheid van zo'n tweede reis uitgelaten, maar in het vrij recente boek van Moir over de Italiaanse Caravaggisten duikt die reis toch weer op als een zo goed als vaststaand gegeven⁴. Het verzinsel van die reis berust op verkeerde uitgangspunten, nl. op een aantal mijns inziens ten onrechte aan Ter Brugghen toesgeschreven al te 'Italiaanse' schilderijen (zie p. 104) en op een verkeerde verklaring van de gelijkenis tussen het

vroege werk van Serodine (die pas ongeveer 14 jaar oud was toen Ter Brugghen Rome verliet) en dat van omstreeks 1620 van Ter Brugghen. De vraag, of Ter Brugghen in 1604 (16 jaar oud) naar Italië ging om er de meesters te bewonderen, die zijn maniëristische leermeester Bloemaert hem aangeprezen zal hebben of met het bewuste voornehmen om er van Caravaggio te leren, wiens faam toen al in het noorden was doorgedrongen⁵, kan men gevoegelijk in het midden laten. Hij raakte er in elk geval in de ban van het Caravagisme en volgens De Bie⁶ zou hij in die kring ook

Rubens ontmoet hebben (waarschijnlijk in 1606–1608). De Vlamingen Louis Finson (Finsonius), Rubens en Theodoor van Loon en de Hagenaar Everard Crijnsz. van der Maes, de eerste noorderlingen die met Caravaggio's kunst zouden kennis maken, waren weliswaar een paar jaar eerder dan Ter Brugghen naar Rome gegaan, maar toch behoort hij tot die voorlopers, want hij ging jaren eerder dan zijn Utrechtse leeftijdgenoten. Gerard van Honthorst (1590–1656) vertrok in 1610/12 en was eind juli 1620 terug in Utrecht⁷. In datzelfde jaar of misschien pas in 1621 keerde Dirck van Baburen (1594/95–1624) terug, die waarschijnlijk in 1612 naar Rome was gegaan⁸. Het merkwaardige is nu, dat er niets bekend is over Ter Brugghen's Italiaanse tijd en dat er geen enkel werk uit die periode valt aan te wijzen⁹, terwijl Honthorst en Baburen er belangrijke opdrachten uitvoerden en er naamsmaakten. Honthorst, die er zich om zijn vermaarde kaarslichteffecten de bijnaam *Gherardo delle Notte* verwierf, keerde in zijn vaderland terug als een beroemdheid. Judson catalogiseerde circa 15 werken uit zijn Italiaanse tijd. Baburen kon zich – voorzover bekend – niet beoroemen op een even groot succes, maar ook hij had belangrijke opdrachten gekregen. Zijn Romeinse oeuvre telt volgens de catalogus van Slatkes circa acht werken.

Men zou kunnen denken, dat Ter Brugghen van zijn 16de tot zijn 26ste jaar in Italië maar wat heeft rondgekeken, maar dat wordt door hemzelf tegengesproken in zijn al eerder genoemde verklaring van 1615, waarin hij en zijn reisgenoot Thymian van Galen te kennen geven dat zyl ettelieke jaren in Italien heurlieder conste geexerceert hebben. Het is al vreemd genoeg, dat er geen spoor van dat werk is teruggevonden, maar nog bevreemdender is het, dat Nicolson geen enkel schilderij heeft kunnen aanwijzen, dat met zekerheid gedateerd kan worden in de eerste vijf of zes jaren van Ter Brugghen's Utrechtse tijd, volgend op zijn thuiskomst in 1614. Zijn oeuvre-catalogus gaat uit van het vroegste hem bekende gesigneerde en gedateerde schilderij, de *Doornenkroning* van 1620 (Kopenhagen), en bouwt het oeuvre verder op aan de hand van gedateerde werken, die uit alle

volgende jaren – behalve uit 1622 – bewaard zijn tot een totaal van circa 80 schilderijen. Het is het œuvre, dat de kunstenaar schip van zijn 32ste jaar tot aan zijn dood, negen jaar later.

DE AANBIDDING DER KONINGEN

De nieuwe aanwinst van het Rijksmuseum, de *Aanbidding der koningen* (afb. 1–9), werd in 1966 door de Londense kunsthandel B. Cohen & Sons als een naamloos Italiaans schilderij verworven uit een landhuis in Yorkshire. Men schreef het in eerste instantie toe aan Domenico Fetti (1589–1624). Door bemiddeling van de heer Vitale Bloch werd het schilderij aangeboden aan het museum in de toestand waarin het was aangetroffen, maar immiddels herkend als een werk van Hendrick ter Brugghen. Ofschoon het kunstwerk duidelijk voor het museum in aanneming kwam, kon op dat moment niet op de aankondiging ingegaan worden in verband met lopende onderhandelingen over andere aankopen. Maar de belangstelling ervoor bleef bestaan. Vier jaar later, toen er weer aan nieuwe uitbreiding van de verzameling gedacht kon worden, bleek het schilderij nog altijd te koop. Na een technisch onderzoek werd het aangekocht als geschenk van de Commissie voor Fotoverkoop met financiële steun van de Vereniging Rembrandt in samenwerking met het Prins Bernhard Fonds¹⁰.

Dat onderzoek was vooral gericht op het formaat van het schilderij en op de toestand van het Christuskind. Pal boven en onder de figuren vertoonde de verflag doeknaden. Aangezien de figuren voor een Ter Brugghen-compositie vreemd in het vlak stonden, rees het vermoeden, dat er bovenaan een brede en onderaan een smalle strook was aangezet, zodat het oorspronkelijke, voor Ter Brugghen normale formaat-in-de-breedte om de een of andere reden was veranderd in een formaat-in-de-hoogte. Röntgenonderzoek toonde aan, dat dat inderdaad gebeurd was. De schilderijzijde en de kleur van de brede bovenstrook weken ook duidelijk af van de rest van het schilderij. De manier, waarop de ruïne en de bladeren waren geschilderd, deed veel later aan



Afb. 2. Detail van afb. 1.



Afb. 3. Detail van afb. 1.



Afb. 4. Detail van afb. 1.

ongeveer zoals Isaac de Moucheron (1670-1744) het zou hebben gedaan, waarmee overigens niet gesuggereerd wil worden, dat de stroken (waarvan de onderste als tegenwicht diende tegen de bovenste, zodat de figuren niet al te laag in het vlak zouden komen te staan) er niet in Engeland aangezet kunnen zijn. Helaas is er niets over de geschiedenis van het schilderij bekend.

Van het opmerkelijke zwak geschilderde Christuskind, dat er bovendien nogal versleten uitzag, werd een röntgenfoto gemaakt, die werd vergeleken met een röntgenfoto van de prachtig bewaarde kop van Jozef (links bovenaan). Onder het zichtbare kind bleek een totaal ander kind schuil te gaan en aangezien dit tweede kind een even helder röntgenbeeld gaf als de kop van Jozef, mocht aangenomen worden dat het er bij verwijdering van de overschildering acceptabel onderuit zou komen. Acceptabel bleek achteraf een veel te bescheiden kwalificatie voor het unieke kind dat te voorschijn kwam.

Na de aankoop werd een begin gemaakt met de restauratie, die ongeveer een jaar zou gaan duren. Hoe die verliep en wat er allemaal veranderde, valt te lezen in het restauratieverslag, dat hierachter gepubliceerd wordt. Eén gegeven daaruit kan hier niet onvermeld blijven. In een late fase van de restauratie werd de signatuur ontdekt: *HT-Brugghen fecit 1619* (p. 135,afb. 15, 16). Zo'n signatuur valt niet te versmaden, maar Ter Brugghen sprak al zo overduidelijk uit het hele schilderij, dat ook zonder zijn handtekening zijn hand er gemakkelijk in herkend kon worden. Het jaartal, daarentegen, is een vondst van buiten gewone betekenis. Niet, dat het schilderij zonder dat gegeven niet in verband gebracht zou zijn met het vroegst bekende werk van Ter Brugghen, maar precies in welk jaar het gedateerd moet worden zou altijd een strijdvrang gebleven zijn. Nu dat 1619 blijkt te zijn (één jaar voor de *Doornenkroning van Kopenhagen*), openen zich nieuwe perspectieven ten aanzien van de nog vrij problematische formatie en chronologie van het vroegst bekende werk van de Utrechtse meester, die verderop besproken zullen worden.

De onverwrikbare kompositie en het briljante

koloriet zijn resultaten van een meesterlijk samenspel van alle mogelijke picturale elementen. De horizon laat zich moeilijk bepalen maar moet even boven het midden liggen, ter hoogte van het hoofd van het kind. Op de plaats van dat hoofd ligt ook het verdwijnpunt, dat men vindt door de schuine lijn van het naar voren stekende, in het verkort geziene stuk muur van het poortachtige bouwsel naar beneden toe te verlengen. Het kompositorische en het thematische centrum vallen dus samen.

Het licht beschijnt het taferel van links en iets van voren, zodat de gezichten van de koningen en hun gevolg het volle licht vangen, maar de gelaats trekken van het kind en zijn ouders in de schaduw vallen. Een prachtige vondst, want zo valt de volle aandacht op het aanschouwen en blijft het aanschouwde geborgen in een waas van geheimenis. Maar het Christuskind vertegenwoordigt ook de hoogste lichtwaarde binnen het schilderij. Die boreling die men het embryonale stadium nog aanziet en die tegelijk toch oneindig veel ouder is dan de grijasaard, dat loodzware kind dat de reus Christoforus haast niet kon torsen, is het stralende middelpunt. Zelden is de heilige ernst van het moment, waarop de wereld, die Melchior, Baltazar en Caspar als afgezanten zond, zijn opwachting maakt bij de verlosser, zonder theater, zonder enige praat en zonder schilderkunstig vertoon, zó waarachtig uitgebeeld.

De contour en de prachtige schedellijn van het kinderkopje worden verdedeld herhaald in het hoofd van Maria en vervallen gespiegeld in de oude kop van Melchior. Op die diagonaal gebouwde hoofdgroep, die naar rechts toe aflopend eindigt met de knielende page en naar links toe opklint en overgaat naar het tweede plan in de figuur van Jozef, blikken de staande koningen neer; Caspar met zijn donkere kop en face, Baltazar profilerend tegen een donker fond en zo het effect spiegelend van Jozef's profiel in tegenlicht, de één met een zilveren bokaal, de ander met een gouden. Die sobere eenvoud van het arrangement, die al voor starheid werd behoed door de negerkoning niet precies midden tussen de beide profielkoppen op te stellen, wordt met mate ver-

levendigd door de vrijere plaatsing van de overige figuren: de ruiters en de page, van wie het niet erg duidelijk is of hij nieuwsgierig achter de rug van de vorst langs gluurt of – en dat zou dan wel een ikonografisch unicum zijn – zijn meester met een greep onder diens mantel beroeft van zijn beurs. Hoe weloverwogen de hele compacte groep in scène is gezet, blijkt uit het doorlopen van de lange mantels van de staande koningen in de spleten tussen de voorgondfiguren. Die vorsten krijgen daardoor een rijzigheid, waarvan de monumentaliteit nog versterkt wordt door de verticale lijnen van het houtsel op de achtergrond, dat volgens de ikonografische traditie de ruïne van het paleis van David voorstelt. De hele compositie zou ongetwijfeld (vgl. p. 118, afb. 1) een te platte, reliefachtige indruk gemaakt hebben als de schilder geen ruimte had gesuggereerd door er een lucht achter te zetten, die (en dat is het knappe) niet alleen links door de poort heen te zien is, maar ook voor de hals van de staande koning, waardoor die figuur nog wijnt aan plastic. Bij Jozef is het weer precies andersom; daar ziet men voor zijn hals nog een klein stukje van de donkere ruïne. Prachtig steekt de rugcontour van Balthazar af tegen de lucht, een effect dat herhaald wordt bij de figuur onder de poort. De subtile Ter Brugghen plaatste niet de donkere negerkop tegen de heldere lucht, maar hij durfde het aan die juist tegen een donker fond te zetten, waardoor de ingetogenheid van die man wonderlijk mooi is uitgebeeld.

De verfopdracht is over het hele oppervlak vrij pasteus. Glimlichten zijn iets vetter opgebracht, maar op de zwaar in de verf gezette tulbanden is de verflaag tamelijk gelijk van dikte. De contouren sluiten meestal volkommen tegen elkaar aan, maar op enkele plaatsen (b.v. bij de schouders van de man onder de poort) is de roodbruine grondring zichtbaar door een kier. Dat de vormen tijdens het schilderen bepaald werden, blijkt uit de vaak overkragende vormranden. Hier en daar is een vorm hernomen, maar behalve in het moeilijk ontwarbare gedeelte met het landschap en de beesten en in de door de page gedragen tulband, waarvan het aanvankelijk anders gewonden wind-

sel in een slip neerhing, vertoont het schilderij geen ingrijpende repenties. De penseelvoering is steeds aangepast aan de vorm, de stofuitdrukking en de aard van het motief. Meestal zijn de streken breed en vaak eindigen ze stomp. Hier en daar, zoals in de koppen van de staande koning en van de oudste ruiter zijn ze heel kort gehouden en is de penseelbeweging zelfs deppend. Maar gewoonlijk zijn de streken lang en vloeiend en modelleren ze de plastic van koppen, handen en draperieën. De nog nauwelijks gevormde kinderhand is met losse toetsen aangeduid, de hand van Maria is gladder en vaster geschilderd, de oude hand van Melchior is met brede streken en vette contourelintjes gevormd. De stoffen, lichte, zware, soepele en stugge, hebben elk een eigen structuur en of de schilder zich nu bedient van lange sierlijke halen, zoals in de gewaden van Maria, van dwarse vegen en haarslijfje arceringen, zoals in de mantel van Melchior, of van vaste zorgvuldige streken, zoals in de lange mantel van Balthazar, altijd zijn zijn bewegingen trefzeker en energiek. Bijzonder functioneel zijn de verschillende gradaties van voltooiing: de doorgroefde kop van Jozef biedt het summum aan realisme, het gezicht van de man met de hoge muts is iets globaler gevormd en de profielkop naast deze man is schematisch aangeduid. Tenslotte, welke schilder zou in staat zijn om temidden van die vormenrijkdom de fijn geschilderde bokalen nog zo krachtig uit te laten komen. Die pronkstukken, Utrechts werk van circa 1600 (?)¹¹, zijn kennelijk 'naar het leven' gedaan en zonder de grote vorm ook maar een moment uit het oog te verliezen met een wirwar van suggestieve streekkjes en haaltjes zo magnifiek uitgebeeld, dat de associatie met onze beste stillevenschilder, Willem Kalf, zich opdringt. In het totaalbeeld domineren het rood van de koningsmantels en het rood maar vooral het blauw van Maria's kleding, dat bleker terugkeert in de lucht. Die kleurstelling verheft zich tegen een variëteit van bruine en grijze tinten, maar wordt zelf toch weer glansrijk overstraald door de blanke, lichte okerkleur van het Christuskind, dat ook binnen het koloriet de blikvanger is. Schitterend harmonieert die tint met het lichte ver-



Afb. 5. Detail van afb. 1.

miljoen van Maria's jak, dat het transparante, helaas wat dum en al te doorzichtig geworden blauw (lapis lazuli) van haar gewaad extra kracht verleent. In de rode mantel van de staande koning keert het vermiljoen van Maria's kleding terug, maar hier toont het zwaarder door het donkerder rood van het patroon, dat in de stof geweven is. Hoe mooi dit rood ook tegen het blauw is afgewogen, in de mantel van de knielende koning toont Ter Brugghen pas goed, waartoe hij in staat is.

De stof is lichtbruin met ingeweven donkerbruin patroon. Geel gecardeerde hoogsels doen het gouddraad glinsteren op het licht. Maar de brede opgenaaide banen in donker kraplakrood met felle lichtrode hoogsels maken die brokaten mantel tot

een fonkelend koningsgewaad, waartegen de transparant bruine met groene haarlijntjes gehoopte gordel, die op enige afstand een olijfkleurige indruk maakt, prachtig uitkomt. De page heeft een rustige, roodbruinejas met een bruinige sjerp. Typisch Ter Brugghen is de jas van Jozef, roodaardig met een groene weerschijn. De witgepluimde frambozerode hoed van de man naast Jozef doet het schitterend tegen het blauw van de hemel. Zijn kleding heeft een wonderlijke kleur, die bij nader toezien blijkt te bestaan uit paarsachtige en lichte en donkere groenige banen. De ruiters zijn licht van toon; de linker heeft een witte tulband met rose banen en een lichtgroenejas, de rechter een gelig witte tulband en een grijzejas. De witten zijn altijd aangelengd en kleurig ge-



Afb. 6. Detail van afb. 1.

schaduwde: de tulbanden van de koningen, die als lichtplekken zo mooi over het vlak verdeeld liggen ten opzichte van het heldere kind, zijn rose getint, de mouw van Maria is in bruin gescha duwd en de mouwen van de negerkoning in grijs-bruin. Ook hier, in de kleur, zijn het weer de bokalen die als juwelen schitteren. De zilveren tegen het staalblauw van de man met hoofddoek op de achtergrond en het rood van de koningsmantel, de gouden tegen het grijzige hermelijn en bij de voet tegen het rood van een draperie. En dat kleur voor Ter Bruggen licht betekent blijkt ten overvloede uit de reflexen. De rode mantel spiegelt in het zilver, het beschaduwde gezicht van Maria licht op door de helderheid van het kind op haar schoot en (wonderlijk effect) de ivoorwitte coupe werpt een wittig reflexlicht op het gezicht van het kind.

HERGROEPERING VAN HET VROEGE WERK

Met de verschijning van Nicolson's monografie in 1958 heeft het oeuvre van Ter Bruggen gestalte gekregen. Hoe verward de kennis van deze kunstenaar voordien was, blijkt uit de voortreffelijke overzichten, die Nicolson in zijn catalogus geeft van de oudere literatuur, die voortaan als verouderd bestempeld mocht worden. Het beeld, dat Nicolson ontwerp ontleent zijn kracht niet in de laatste plaats aan de persoonlijke visie van de auteur op zijn onderwerp. Het prachtige boek verdiente lovende kritiek en kreeg die ook ruimschoots toebedeeld van Kitson, Gerson en Judson. Intussen zijn er enkele nieuwe gegevens aan het licht gekomen, die hoofdzakelijk te vinden zijn in Judson's monografie over Honthorst (1959), Nicolson's *Second Thoughts about Terbruggen* (1960), Slatkes' monografie over Baburen (1965) en in de catalogus van de tentoonstelling *Hendrik Terbruggen in America* (1965/66), die werd ingeleid door Stechow en van uitvoerig commentaar voorzien door Slatkes.

De nieuwe aanwinst van het Rijksmuseum gaf mij aanleiding tot een hergroepering van het vroege werk van Ter Bruggen, die ik afsluit met het jaar 1623, omdat ik het wat de samenstelling

en de chronologie van het latere werk betreft in grote lijnen eens ben met Nicolson's zienswijze. Nicolson stelde voor de vroege periode de volgende lijst van werken op (de A-, B- en D-nummers zijn de catalogusnummers van zijn boek; cursief gezette jaartallen zijn dateringen):

- early *Hieronymus*, gravure door W. van de Pas (D 87, afb. 2a)
- 16 [16] *Biddende Petrus*, Utrecht sinds 1967 (D 90, afb. 2b)
- 1616/18 *Roeping van Mattheus*, Le Havre (A 36, afb. 4)
- vóór 1620 *Onthoofding van Johannes*, Edinburgh (A 28, afb. 5)
- 1620 *Doornenkransing*, Kopenhagen (A 18, afb. 7)
- 1620/21 *Pilatus wast zijn handen*, Kassel (A 13, afb. 12)
- ca. 1621 *De Ennausgangers*, vroeger Potsdam (A 59, afb. 13)
- 1621 *Vier evangelisten*, Deventer (A 21-24, afb. 16-19)
- 1621 *Fluitspeler*, Kassel (A 14, afb. 21)
- 1621 *Fluitspeler*, Kassel (A 15, afb. 20)
- 1621 *Roeping van Mattheus*, Utrecht (A 69, afb. 27)
- ca. 1621 *Johannes de Evangelist*, Turijn (A 68, afb. 23)
- na 1621 *De Ennausgangers*, Wenen (A 73, afb. 22)
- 162 [2] *Onthoofding van Johannes*, Kansas City sinds 1964 (A 12, afb. 28)
- 162 [2] *Keizer Claudius*, Berlijn (A 9, afb. 31a)
- 1622/23 *Mater Dolorosa*, Wenen (A 75, afb. 30b)
- 1622/25 *Onthoofding van Catharina*, New York (A 45, afb. 29)
- 1623 *Jongen met pijp en kaars*, Erlau (A 29, afb. 32)
- 1623 *De gokkers*, thans Minneapolis (A 52, afb. 34)
- 1623 *Jongen met wijnglas en kaars*, Raleigh (B 80, afb. 35b)
- 162 [3/4] *Zingende jongen*, thans Boston (A 27, afb. 30a)
- 1623/24 *Lachende man*, ubi (A 33, afb. 38a)



Afb. 7. Detail van afb. 1.

Aan deze lijst van 25 schilderijen (de vier *Evangelisten* te Deventer apart geteld) moeten op grond van nieuwe gegevens drie schilderijen worden toegevoegd:

- 1619 *Aanbidding der koningen*, Amsterdam
1623 *De vrouwen begroeten de held David*, Raleigh
(A 50, afb. 89). Nicolson gaf het jaartal op als
162 [8?]. Gerson (1959) las het als 1623, waarmee

Nicolson (1960) instemde. Deze vroege datum wordt thans algemeen geaccepteerd¹².

De *Ongelijke liefde* (A 64), aanvankelijk door hem teruggeplaatst naar 1623/24 wegens vermeende verwantschap met de *David*-voorstelling¹³, moet wel degelijk laat zijn. Tot die monumentale vereenvoudiging van vormen en samenballing van volumen, tot zo'n sublieme

vertolking van een vulgaar thema was Ter Bruggen pas op het eind van zijn leven in staat. Alleen al de gelijkenis, zowel wat het uiterlijk als de lichtbehandeling van het gezicht betreft, met de vrouw op het *Duet* van 1629 (A 60) pleit voor een datering in dat jaar.

1623 *Meisje een kaars aanstekend*, ubi. In 1960 overtuigend door Nicolson aan zijn catalogus toegevoegd en 1623/24 gedateerd¹⁴. Ik zie geen reden voor het alternatief en kies voor 1623, omdat het schilderij qua opvatting identiek is met de *Jongen met pijp en kaars* te Erlau (A 29).

Opmerking:

De *Doornenkroning* te Lille, die Nicolson in 1960 toevoegde aan zijn œuvrecatalogus en die hij 1615/20 dateerde¹⁵, lijkt mij volstrekt onacceptabel.

De *Bespottung von Christus* in het Musée de l'Assistance publique te Parijs, welk schilderij in 1962 werd ontdekt door Thuillier en in 1970 gepubliceerd door Mme Noël-Bouton, die de mogelijkheid niet uitsluit dat het een atelier-herhaling is terwijl Nicolson het volgens zijn mededeling aan Mme Noël voor een origineel houdt, kan mijns inziens circa 1625 gedateerd worden en niet zo vroeg als Mme Noël voorstelt (ca. 1620)¹⁶; vergelijk de Christusfiguur met de Lazarus op *Lazarus en de rijklaard* van 1625 te Utrecht (A 70, afb. 65), de profielkop van de oude man met die van de oude vrouw op *Jacob en Laban* te Keulen (A 16, afb. 85), waarvan de datum mijns inziens niet als 1628 gelezen moet worden¹⁷, maar als 1626 zodat het stuk volgt op de *Lazarus*-voorstelling van 1625 (o.m. dezelfde honden) en vooraf gaat aan de *Jacob en Laban*-voorstelling van 1627 te Londen (A 40, afb. 80).

Kitsom stelde voor het *Concert* te Eastnor Castle (A 37) niet in 1626/27 (Nicolson), maar in 1622/24 te dateren¹⁸; het is echter duidelijk contemporain met het *Concert* van 1626 te Leningrad (A 38).

De andere suggestie van Kitsom (*ibidem*), namelijk om de *Zingende jongen* te Gothenburg (A 32) in 1622/23 i.p.v. 1625/28 (Nicolson) te dateren, kan ik niet goed beoordeelen, omdat het materiaal mij ontbreekt om te kunnen uitmaken, of dit schilderij werkelijk aansluit bij de *Harpspelende David* van

1628 te Warschau (A 77). Mocht dat niet het geval blijken, dan zie ik (o.m. op grond van het geachteerde brokaat, dat precies zo voorkomt in de mantel van de knielende koning op de *Aanbidding*) overeenkomst met werk uit de jaren 1619/21. Het feit, dat Honthorst (althans voorzover bekend) pas in 1623 het *di sotto in su* effect toepast, acht ik geen beletsel voor zo'n vroege datering.

Uit de Nicolson-lijst kunnen volgens mij verwijderd worden:

A 28 – *Onthaarding van Johannes*, Edinburg. Nicolson presenteert vooral de kleurstelling van dit schilderij als een 'pre-view' of the mature *Terbruggen*, maar hij vindt het in de vormgeving en uitvoering zeer ongelijk van kwaliteit. De zwakheden en gebreken hanteert hij impliciet als argument voor zijn vroege datering. Ofschoon het schilderij op het eerste gezicht bepaald een *Ter Bruggenhachtige* indruk maakt, is het zowel wat betreft de kleur als de vormgeving en de compositie zelfs voor de jonge *Ter Bruggen* toch veel te zwak. Een meester van zijn niveau wordt van het begin af aan door de kwaliteit van zijn gave behoed voor inferieure prestaties. De schaduwbaan over het beulsblok, dat overigens op de tenen van de man met tulband staat zonder dat hem dat merkbaar hindert, de uitgeknipte slagschaduwen van die man (kennelijk Herodes) en van de beul op de muur, de onhandig en onkundig toegepaste perspectief van beulsblok, zuil en venster, de uit onmacht gezocht oversnijdingen waardoor niemand behalve de beul op de grond staat, het lege gat onder de schotel, de onbeholpen anatomie, de slechte belichting, de vreemde koppen links boven, de stijve draperieën, de zinloze hoekvulling links beneden en de droge, onpersoonlijke schilderwijze waarin het geheel is uitgevoerd, kunnen niet op rekening van *Ter Bruggen's* onervarenheid geschreven worden. Ik houd er een tamelijk onervaren navolger van hem voor verantwoordelijk en zie in het schilderij een kopie of een imitatie van *Ter Bruggen's* manier omstreeks 1622. Het biedt geen 'pre-view' maar een 're-view' of the mature *Terbruggen*. Het HTB monogram op het

beulsblok heb ik niet waargenomen, maar de authenticiteit ervan wil ik op voorhand betwijfelen. Vóór 1620 signeerde Ter Brugghen trouwens anders (zie p. 104). Longhi heeft het schilderij in 1966 als eerste verworpen¹⁹.

A 13 – *Pilatus wast zijn handen in onschuld*, Kassel. Afgewezen door Judson, die er een werk in ziet van een close follower. Zijn argumentatie overtuigt mij volkomen²⁰.

A 59 – *De Emmausgangers*, vroeger Potsdam. Voorzover mij bekend is dit schilderij nimmer betwijfeld en het was ook bepaald niet het eerste, dat mijn argwaan wekte. Het staat ongetwijfeld dicht bij Ter Brugghen, maar na enig wikken en wegen wonnen de negatieve aspecten het bij mij duidelijk van de positieve. De kop-typen wijken af van Ter Brugghen's repertoire. De schedels van de beide gasten van Christus zou hij die prachtige contouren gegeven hebben van zijn *Evangelisten* te Deventer. Het effect van het handenspel zou hij niet bedorven hebben door de hand van de linker Emmausganger zo dicht bij de handen van Christus (zie, hoe zwak de aanzet van de stakerige vingers van de rechterhand aan de onderhand is uitgebeeld) te plaatsen. Een regelrechte vergelijking, die ten nadele van dit schilderij uitvalt, is die van de hand die de stoelleuning omvat met de hand van de tollenaar, die de tafelrand grijpt op de *Roeping van Mattheus* te Utrecht. De eerste hand is een vormeloos geval vergeleken bij die andere. En wat betreft de handeling, die voltrekt zich in de historiestukken van Ter Brugghen altijd binnen het schilderij zelf. Er valt niet één voorbeeld aan te wijzen (ik spreek niet over de muzikanten en de late genre-voorstellingen), waar de hoofdfiguur zich – zijn medespelers totaal negerend en daarmee de concentratie binnen het schilderij verbrekend, rechtstreeks wendt tot de toeschouwer.

A 73 – *De Emmausgangers*, Wenen. Dit schilderij, dat zo duidelijk uit de toon valt, werd reeds afgewezen door Kitson, Gerson en Judson; Moir daarentegen aanvaardt het en borduurt door op Nicolson's geforceerde theorie, dat het schilderij gemaakt zou zijn in samenwerking met een Noord-italiaanse schilder²¹.

A 68 – *Johannes de Evangelist*, Turijn. Kitson, Gerson, Judson, Slatkes en Moir accepteren dit schilderij niet; Nicolson deelde aan Slatkes mee, dat ook hij het niet meer als een Ter Brugghen beschouwt²².

A 75 – *Mater Dolorosa*, Wenen. Gerson noemde dit schilderij terecht een *Fremdkörper* in het oeuvre van Ter Brugghen²³. Het Maria-type lijkt weliswaar veel op de Maria op de *Kruisiging* te New York, maar daarmee houdt de vergelijking dan ook op. De plooien van de draperieën zijn voor Ter Brugghen veel te gezwollen en te saai van vorm. Een dergelijk schilderij, waarop Maria haar handen ineen geslagen voor de borst houdt (75 x 62,5 cm) bevond zich in 1965 bij kunsthandel Agnew te Londen als 'Utrecht School'.

A 33 – *Lachende man*, part. verz. De beide versies van dit schilderij lijken mij, naar de reproducties te oordelen, veel te zwak voor een origineel, dat er wel aan ten grondslag zal liggen.

Opmerking: De *Jongen met wijnglas en kaars* van 1623 te Raleigh (B 80) werd in 1960 door Nicolson als eigenhandig werk geaccepteerd²⁴.

Op de *Zingende jongen* te Boston (A 27) is inmiddels het jaartal 1627 aangetroffen²⁵.

De lijst van Nicolson bevat enkele aanvechtbare dateringen:

D 90 – *Biddende Petrus*, Utrecht. Aanvankelijk kende Nicolson dit schilderij slechts van een foto en catalogiseerde hij het in de rubriek *Copies of Lost Works*, omdat hij er geen origineel in kon zien. Nadat hij het schilderij had leren kennen, bleef zijn oordeel negatief (*As I suspected, it is definitely not an original, and the signature (with the HT and the B divided by an impossible gap) is false. The date is not legible*)²⁶. Bij onderzoek bleek mij, dat de signatuur in lichte oker op donkerbruin staat geschreven in een minder vast handschrift dan latere signaturen van Ter Brugghen, maar ik zie geen enkele reden om hem als vals te kwalificeren. Er staat (afb. 11): *HT brugghen fecit.* (*HT* in monogram en de achternaam zonder hoofdletter). Het gat tussen het monogram en de achternaam is niet *impossible*, want in 1619 schreef de schilder zijn naam vrijwel net zo, maar met een hoofd-



Afb. 8. Detail van afb. 1.



Afb. 9. Detail van afb. 1.

letter. Van 1620 af signeert hij *HTB* of *HT Brugghen*, de hoofdletters altijd in monogram²⁷. Uit al deze signaturen blijkt, dat het correcter is zijn naam te schrijven als Hendrick ter Bruggen dan als Hendrick Terbrugghen. In 1615 signeerde hij een acte aldus²⁸: *heyndrick ter Brugghen*. Op een gravure naar hem (zie p. 108) wordt zijn naam *Henricus ter brug* geschreven, dus ook weer met een kleine b. Het jaartal op het Utrechtse schilderij, dat ik onder de microscoop heb kunnen bekijken²⁹, luidt: 161. Van het laatste cijfer resteert alleen een kleine nul, die wel het restant moet zijn van een 6; bij 1610

zou de nul groter zijn en voor 1618 of 1619 is het schilderij stilistisch nog te weinig ontwikkeld. Petrus, gekleed in een groenejas met over de onderarmen een gele draperie, zit in zijn cel (Hand. XII, 5), leunend op een vlag, dat wel een tafel moet voorstellen. Zijn gezicht wordt beschenen door lichtstralen, die van links boven neerschijnen. Uit zijn oog biggelen twee tranen. Achter hem hangen twee sleutels aan de celwand, een gouden en een zilveren. Het zijn de sleutelen van het koninkrijk der hemelen, die Christus hem toezegde (Mattheus XVI, 19) en die volgens Molanus³⁰ van goud en zilver waren; de gouden sym-



Afb. 10. Hendrick ter Brugghen. Biddende Petrus, 1616. Detail. Centraal Museum, Utrecht.

bolisert Petrus' macht om de zonden te vergeven, de zilveren zijn bevoegdheid om onwaardigen buiten de gemeenschap van gelovigen te sluiten. De zielenood van deze vertwijfelde, eenzame Petrus is krachtig uitgedrukt in handen en blik, zelfs iets krampachtig misschien. Het sleutelmotief is zinvol toegepast: Petrus kon er mee binden en ontbinden op aarde, maar zijn celdeur kon hij er niet mee open krijgen; een engel moet hem komen bevrijden.

Ofschoon het schilderij hier en daar wat geleden heeft, is de factuur van Ter Brugghen toch duidelijk te zien, vooral in de sleutels, die door

een kopiist nooit zo vrij en trefzeker uitgebeeld zouden zijn, en verder in de handen en in de neus- en oogpartij. De vette randjes, die de verfstreken omzomen, de typische manier waarop de wangpartij tegen de neus aan is gezet, de vorm van het oor, de behandeling van het haar en de mooie contour van de schedel corresponderen ten nauwste met de uitvoering van de kop van de knielende koning op de *Aanbidding* (afb. 9-10).

A 45 – *De onthoofding van Catharina*, New York. Nicolson dateert dit werk in 1622/25, Slatkes in 1624/25³¹. Door het schilderij af te beelden naast de *Onthoofding van Johannes* te Kansas City (resp.



Afb. 11. Signatuur van afb. 10.

afb. 29 en 28) suggereert Nicolson een algemeen onderling verband, dat echter alleen opgaat voor de compositie (en dan nog maar ten dele, want m.i. vult Nicolson de fragmentarisch bewaard gebleven *Johannes*-voorstelling zonder voldoende bewijs aan tot een formaat in de hoogte; het kan net zo goed in de breedte geweest zijn en mij lijkt dat wel zo waarschijnlijk). Stilistisch springt het verschil tussen het relatief tekentachtige *Johannes*-tafelcentrale en de schilderachtige *Catharina*-voorstelling duidelijk in het oog. Dat verschil wordt niet alleen veroorzaakt door het feit, dat de *Onthoofding van Catharina* op paneel is geschilderd, al is dat natuurlijk wel van invloed op de techniek³². Vergelijking met de *Aanbidding* van 1619 levert tal van punten van overeenkomst op. De 'gotisch' in een punt uitlopende geplooide mantel van Catharina vindt men terug in de mantelstrip voor de knieën van de knielende koning. Zo'n draperievorm maakt Ter Brugghen later niet meer. De plooivorm van het hemd van de beul laat zich uiteenkend vergelijken met de neerhangende ondermouwen van de negerkoning en het over de schede vallende einde van de broekband van de beul lijkt, evenals de stroken van de rok van de soldaat, sprekend op de ceintuur van de knielende page. De wat plompe benen van de beul en de brede arm van de soldaat hebben die onbeschrijfelijke 'lelijke schoonheid' van het kind op Maria's schoot. Er is nauwelijks verschil in uitvoering tussen de hand van Catharina en die van Maria. Wat de koppen betreft gaat de vergelijking tussen de beul en de man in profiel links van de negerkoning nog beter op dan die met de in profiel staande koning. Het motief van keizer Maxentius die zich naar de soldaat wendt, vindt men terug in de ruitergroep rechts op de achtergrond (vergelijk ook de hand van de keizer met de hand aan

de teugel en de kop van de soldaat met die van de rechter ruiter). Maar overigens komt Maxentius (tulband, gezicht en kleding) heel dicht bij Herodes op de *Onthoofding van Johannes*, die ik 1621/22 dateer.

De monumentaal werkende architecturaanduiding op de achtergrond komt na 1620 niet meer voor. De uitvoerige repenties, die Nicolson heeft gesignalerd (het tralievension, het beulszaard, de arm van de beul komen in later werk niet in die mate voor. De onmiddellijke samenhang met de *Aanbidding* brengt mij tot een datering van dit schilderij in 1618/19 met een marge tot 1621 vanwege de gesignalerde overeenkomst tussen Maxentius en Herodes.

D 87 – *Hiëronymus in een grot*, gravure: *Henricus ter brug pinxit. Wilhelmus Passeus Sculp. Crisp. Pass. ex.* Nicolson houdt het origineel voor vroeg, maar laat in het midden hoe vroeg. Toch kan het vrij nauwkeurig gedateerd worden, want Willem van de Pas of Passe (1597/98–1636/37) was werkzaam in Utrecht van 1618–1620 en daarna van 1621 tot zijn dood in Londen³³. De uitgever kan zijn broer Crispyn van de Pas II (1694/95–1670) geweest zijn, die van 1613–1618 en in 1621 te Utrecht was gevestigd, maar waarschijnlijk was het hun vader Crispyn van de Pas I (ca. 1560–1637), die van 1612 tot zijn dood in Utrecht prenten uitgaf. Het is theoretisch mogelijk, dat Van de Pas een 'oud' schilderij in prent heeft uitgegeven maar waarschijnlijk is dat niet; bovendien bevat de voorstelling geen elementen, die op een datering voor 1618 wijzen. Blijft over de vraag welk jaar dan het meest waarschijnlijk is: 1618, 1619 of 1620. Mijn keus valt op 1619/20, omdat de bergen en het stuk lucht en voorval ook de manier waarop de voorgond met wat oversteekende takjes daar tegenaan is gezet, terug te vinden zijn in de partij

rechts op de *Aanbidding* van 1619, terwijl de houding van de heilige toespeelt op de houding van *Johannes de Evangelist* van 1621 te Deventer en dezelfde agressieve leeuw daar optreedt als attribuut van Marcus.

Samen met de *Biddende Petrus* van 1616 (D 90) bevond dit schilderij zich in de verzameling van A. R. van (der) Waay te Utrecht, die in 1764 werd geveld (resp. nr. 136 en 81). Alleen de maten van de op doek geschilderde *Biddende Hieronymus met de Leeuw* werden daar opgegeven, nl. 4½ bij 5½ voet (ca. 135 × 165 cm). De heilige was dus levensgroot afgebeeld en de gravure (29,3 × 36,2 cm) beslaat 1/16 deel van het oppervlak van het doek.

▲ 36 – *De roeping van Mattheus*, Le Havre. Nicolson herkent in dit schilderij *what one would expect of the (relatively) very early Terbrugghen* en handhaaft daarmee zijn eerder gepubliceerde datering: ca. 1616/18. Maar tussen de *Petrus* van 1616 en de *Aanbidding* van 1619 blijkt het schilderij beslist niet te passen. Er mag directe of, zoals Judson aannemelijk heeft gemaakt³⁴, indirekte invloed van Marinus van Reymerswaele in gevonden worden, veel duidelijker is Caravaggio aanwezig in de compositie, die ondenkbaar is zonder preciese kennis van diens *Roeping van Mattheus*, het eerste doek van de beroemde Mattheus-trits die hij tussen 1598–1602 schilderde voor de Contarelli Kapel in de S. Luigi de Francesi te Rome³⁵. Maar archaïscrende tendensen noch directe ontleningen aan Caravaggio kunnen gehanteerd worden als argumenten voor vroege datering. Voor zover ik kan zien, pleiten ze juist eerder voor een later tijdstip. Komen ze immers niet het duidelijkst en minst betwistbaar tot uiting in de *Kruisiging* van circa 1625 te New York (A 49) en in de *Ongelovige Thomas* van circa 1624 te Amsterdam (A 2). De *Kruisiging* is inderdaad naar vorm en sentiment erg 'gotisch', al vind ik de verwijzing naar Grünewald toch wat te specifiek, en de *Ongelovige Thomas* werd onmiskenbaar geïnspireerd door de zgn. Giustiniani-versie van Caravaggio's beide uitbeeldingen van dit onderwerp³⁶. Dit stuk, thans te Potsdam (Sanssouci), behoorde tot de verzameling van Vincenzo Giustiniani, de beschermheer van

Caravaggio en later zowel van Honthorst als van Baburen (van beide schilders bezat hij werk), maar voor zover bekend niet van Ter Brugghen, die overigens het schilderij wel in die collectie gezien kan hebben³⁷.

Hoe kwam Ter Brugghen in die latere tijd, jaren na zijn terugkomst in Utrecht, tot zulke directe Caravaggio-ontleningen? Zijn herinnering aan wat hij in zijn jeugd gezien had, was vervaagd; misschien had hij getekende kopieën van zijn reis meegebracht, maar waarom heeft hij die dan niet eerder gebruikt? Ik vermoed, dat het Honthorst is geweest, die in 1620 met tekeningen naar Caravaggio terugkeerde en er Ter Brugghen's belangstelling voor de Italiaan mee aanwakkerde. Eén zo'n tekening werd door Van Gelder teruggevonden: een kopie naar *Het martelaarschap van Petrus*, in 1600/01 geschilderd voor de Sta Maria del Popolo³⁸.

Wat heeft de *Roeping van Mattheus* te Le Havre gemeen met het overige werk van Ter Brugghen, in het bijzonder met dezelfde voorstelling van 1621 te Utrecht (A 69)? De prachtige kop van de staande jongen op de achtergrond lijkt, zowel wat de gelijkenis als de schilderwijze betreft, op de knielende page op de *Aanbidding*. Groot is ook de overeenkomst tussen de koppen van de gebrilde tollenaar en Jozef, een type dat tot 1624 regelmatig terugkeert (*Bevrijding van Petrus* van 1624, Mauritshuis; *Ongelovige Thomas*, Rijksmuseum) om in 1628 nog eens model te staan voor de *Heraclitus* van het Rijksmuseum. Mattheus zelf met zijn massieve, fijngerimpelde kop is op de versie van 1621 precies dezelfde gebleven; het enige verschil is, dat hij daar beleefd zijn muts in de hand houdt. De groep tollenaars is minder ruimtelijk opgesteld en het handenspel is onbeduidend, terwijl dat op het Utrechtse stuk zo magnifieker is uitgewerkt in de diagonaal gerichte, evenwijdig lopende, elkaar opponerende wijsgebaren (*Volg mij; ik?; en de contracten dan?; en het geld dan?*). In dit opzicht doet de Le Havre-versie beslist onder voor de Utrechtse, maar is dit een kwestie van onvermogen uit onervarenheid en moet men daarom het artistiek minst geslaagde van de beide versies voor het vroegste houden of

heeft de ambitie om Caravaggio te parafraseren de eigen verbeeldingskracht verland? Het is opmerkelijk, dat Ter Brugghen bij dit stuk in letterlijke zin zoveel afstand nam van zijn onderwerp, duidelijk in navolging van Caravaggio's voorbeeld. Zijn composities uit de jaren rond 1620 hebben, als het al geen close-up's zijn, nooit voorgrond³⁹. Ook later is dat nauwelijks het geval en waar de voorgrond nog enigzins een rol speelt – bij de Keulse *Jacob en Laban*-voorstelling, die ik in 1626 dateerde – vindt men ook het motief terug van de lange spillebenen en de stok die naar voren steekt, al is het daar ontgezegd dat veel plastischer en met een veel grotere vormenrijkdom toegepast. De fraai uitgedoste jongeling doet bepaald laat aan. Alleen al het profiel van de kop herinnert aan het profiel van de soldaat op de *Trik-trak spelers* van 1627 (A 67,afb. 84). En tenslotte, de lange plooien van de neerhangende mantel zijn meer verwant aan de grote plooval op de *Ongelovige Thomas* dan aan de breed gedrapeerde, maar toch uit relatief kleinere vormeenheden opgebouwde gewaden op de *Aanbidding*. Zo blijkt het schilderij een aantal elementen te bevatten, die verwijzen naar werk uit het midden van de jaren twintig. Maar waar Ter Brugghen wel vaker over de jaren heen terugrijpt op vroegere motieven (een sprekend voorbeeld biedt de vergelijking van de engel die Petrus komt bevrrijden (1624; Mauritshuis) met de engel Gabriël op de *Verkondiging* van 1629 te Diest⁴⁰) zegt dat weinig.

De schilderwijze is geacheveerd, maar heeft naar mijn gevoel nog niet het niveau bereikt van de Utrechtse versie van 1621. De wonderlijke kleuren komen in 1619 nog niet voor, maar wel (zij het meestal minder bont) in het begin van de jaren twintig.

De datering van dit merkwaardige schilderij schijnt moeilijkheden te blijven bieden. Vóór 1619 is het nog niet denkbaar; daarvoor biedt het teveel aanknopingspunten met later werk. In 1621, het jaar waarin niet alleen de prachtige Utrechtse versie van de *Roeping van Mattheus* ontstond, maar ook de meesterlijke *Evangelisten*-serie in Deventer en de sublieme *Fluitspeler* in Kassel, heeft Ter

Brugghen een hoogtepunt bereikt waaraan hij, die zich juist in deze jaren zo snel ontwikkelde, nog niet niet toe is. Blijft over het jaar 1620, onmiddellijk na de terugkeer van Honthorst met zijn Caravaggiokopieën. De proef op de som is de vergelijking met de *Doornenkroning* van 1620 te Kopenhagen (A 18). De conceptie van dit meesterwerk gaat uit boven het schilderij van Le Havre. Maar zijn er in het vlak van gelijkheid van uitvoering directere parallellen te vinden dan tussen de blote benen (de tenen van de ene voet belicht) van de tollenaar met bril en van Christus, tussen de staande jongeling op de achtergrond en de spotter die zijn onderlip uittrekt, tussen de tulband van de tollenaar rechts en die van koning Herodes en niet in de laatste plaats tussen de globaal aangeduide wegwendende apostel gehele links op de achtergrond en de identiek behandelde en geheel overeenkomstig in de compositie fungerende figuur op dezelfde plaats op de *Doornenkroning*? Mij dunkt, dat er weinig twijfel mogelijk is over een datering van het Le Havre-schilderij in 1620.

Op grond van bovenstaande waarnemingen en overwegingen ziet mijn lijst van Ter Brugghen's oeuvre tot 1624 er als volgt uit (p. 112-113, afb. a-q):

- a 1616 *Biddende Petrus*, Utrecht (p 90)
- b 1618/20 *Onthoofding van Catharina*, New York (A 45)
- c 1619 *Aanbidding der koningen*, Amsterdam
- d 1619/20 *Hieronymus in een grot*, gravure (D 87)
- e 1620 *Doornenkroning*, Kopenhagen (A 18)
- f 1620 *Roeping van Mattheus*, Le Havre (A 36)
- g 1621/1/2 *Onthoofding van Johannes*, Kansas City (A 12)
- h 1621 *Vier evangelisten*, Deventer (A 16-19)
- i 1621/2/2 *Keizer Claudius*, Berlijn (A 9)
- j 1621 *Fluitspeler*, Kassel (A 15)*

* Compositorisch passen beide Kasselse schilderijen eigenlijk niet goed bij elkaar. Als pendants komen ze voor het eerst voor in de verz. Winkler in 1768. Ik vraag mij af, of Winkler A 15 niet heeft verkleind tot het formaat van A 14 en ik zou er geen enkel bezwaar tegen hebben om A 15 iets later te dateren.

- k 1621 *Fluitspeler*, Kassel (A 14)
 l 1621 *Roeping van Mattheus*, Utrecht (A 69)
 m 1623 *De gokkers*, Minneapolis (A 52)
 n 1623 *De vrouwen begroeten de held David*,
 Raleigh (A 50)
 o 1623 *Jongen met pijp en kaars*, Erlau (A 29)
 p 1623 *Jongen met wijnglas en kaars*, Raleigh
 (B 80)
 q 1623 *Meisje een kaars aanstekend*, ubi.

TER BRUGGHEN EN HET CARAVAGGISM

Op het moment, dat Ter Brugghen, de Caravag-
gist, door zijn werk voor ons gestalte krijgt, heeft
hij zijn eigen manier van doen reeds lang gevonden.
Zo omstreeks 1620 moet zijn herinnering
aan wat hij meer dan zes jaar eerder in Italië had
gezien, zich verdicht hebben tot een algemeen
beeld, dat door zijn dominerende eigen persoon-
lijkheid meer en meer de trekken van zijn eigen
zienswijze was gaan vertonen. Van wat er na 1614
door Caravaggio's navolgers was gepresterd,
daarvan had hij geen weet.

Al ontbreekt dan het werk, dat inzicht zou kunnen
geven in de genese van Ter Bruggen's latere stijl
uit het Italiaanse voorbeeld, toch valt daaruit
duidelijk op te maken, dat dat voorbeeld niet
alleen en uitsluitend het werk van Caravaggio zelf
is geweest. Anderen hebben er reeds op gewezen,
dat Caravaggio zelfs niet op de eerste plaats komt,
maar dat diens directe navolgers, met name Gentile-
scchi, Borgianni en Saraceni feitelijk belang-
rijker zijn geweest voor zijn vorming. En ook
voor de kwaliteiten van een oudere meester als
Cesare d'Arpino, in wiens atelier Caravaggio had
gewerkt, heeft Ter Bruggen oog gehad.⁴¹ Maar
– en in dat opzicht is men mijns inziens vaak te
ver gegaan – het is uiterst twijfelachtig of men van
dat latere oeuvre de voorstadia kan aflezen en de
invloeden die daarbij gegolden hadden, maar die
allang in de eigen visie waren geïntegreerd. Het
enige element, dat zich afzonderlijk laat aanwijzen
omdat het eigen is noch Italiaans, is het Dürer-
Lucas van Leyden-aspect, dat Nicolson reeds heeft
aangetoond.

Het is misschien toch niet zo verwonderlijk als het

schijnt, dat Ter Bruggen, die (ook op interna-
tionaal niveau) gerekend mag worden tot de
begaafde Caravaggisten, zulke nauwe verwant-
schap vertoont met bepaalde schilders, terwijl hij
hun werk niet of nauwelijks gekend kan hebben.
Ook al leefde hij in Utrecht, hij was en bleef hun
geestverwant. Wanneer Giovanni Serodine (ca.
1600–1630) tussen 1616 en 1625 in een stijl werkt
die sterk aan Ter Bruggen doet denken, getuige
o.m. zijn *Laurentius de kerksschat uitdelend aan de
armen*⁴², dan kan hier alleen sprake zijn van par-
alleliteit; twee onafhankelijke ontwikkelingen
voortvloeiend uit dezelfde bron. Misschien ligt
het niet anders bij Domenico Fetti (1589–1623),
wiens *Ecce Homo* (Florence) en *Archimedes* (Dres-
den)⁴³ het begrijpelijk maken, dat de *Aanbidding*
eerst aan hem werd toegeschreven. Fetti ver-
trok in 1613 van Rome naar Mantua en ging later
naar Venetië. In zijn geval sluit de chronologie
niet persé uit, dat Ter Bruggen zijn werk heeft
gekend en indien dat werkelijk het geval is ge-
weest, dan moet zeker ook Fetti met Gentileschi
en consorts gerekend worden tot degenen, aan
wie Ter Bruggen veel verschuldigd is geweest.
De *Aanbidding der koningen*, ontstaan vóór de
terugkeer van Honthorst en Baburen, dus voordat
Ter Bruggen via hen opnieuw met Caravaggio
en het Romeinse Caravaggisme werd geconfron-
teert, heeft met Caravaggio niets en met diens
directe volgelingen niet zo veel te maken. Het
onderwerp is in die Romeinse kring niet vaak geschilderd en voorzover dat is gebeurd, verschilt
de compositie aanmerkelijk.⁴⁴

Eénmaal, in Saraceni's *Madonna met de heilige Anna*
(Rome, Galleria Corsini)⁴⁵ van 1610–1614/15,
treft men een overeenkomst aan, die toch bepaald
niet als een ontlening of citaat geïnterpreteerd be-
hoeft te worden, nl. het herhalen van de vorm
van Maria's hoofd in het hoofd van het kind. Een
vormenspel, dat Ter Bruggen overigens veel
effectiever en verfijnder uitspeelt dan zijn Itali-
aanse voorganger.

De in de breedte gebouwde compositie, rechts af-
gesloten door de knielende page, verwijst veleer
naar het Venetië van Veronese en Bassano, dan
naar Rome. In het noorden had Rubens dit sche-



a



1616



1618.20

c 1619



g

162(1/2)

h¹

1621



1621

h²

1621



1621



1621



m

1623



n

1623



d 1619 20



e 1620



f 1620



i 162(0 2)



j 1621



k 1621



l 1623



m 1623



n 1623

ma ten grondslag gelegd aan zijn *Aanbidding* van 1609/10 in het Prado, waarvan de schets in Groningen wordt bewaard⁴⁶ en aan zijn *Aanbidding* in Lyon⁴⁷, die omstreeks 1617/18 ontstond. Vergelijken bij de dynamiek van Rubens lijkt er geen schriller tegenstelling denkbaar dan de stabiliteit van Ter Brugghen. Maar toch, eenmaal op het spoor van Antwerpen gezet, vraagt men zich af, wat eigenlijk meer voor de hand ligt dan dat Ter Brugghen na 1614 van zijn Utrechtse isolement uit contact zou hebben gezocht met Rubens en Jordaens, die gedurende het tweede decennium van de eeuw het Caravaggisme in Antwerpen luisterrijk vertegenwoordigden. Een van spanning vibrerende, gebalde compositie als Jordaens' *Jezus onder de schrifgeleerden* van 1617/18 in het Louvre⁴⁸ laat zich niet alleen in dat opzicht vergelijken met de hoofdgroep van de *Aanbidding*; men vindt er bij de rechter figuur ook die superrealistische kop, kenmerkend voor de vroege Jordaens en een van zijn sterkste troeven, die Ter Brugghen met zijn Jozef-kop in kracht van voordracht lijkt te hebben willen evenaren. En als men zoekt naar een voorbeeld, een uitgangspunt voor dat merkwaardige, plompe kindersoort van Ter Brugghen, komt men dan ook niet bij Jordaens terecht?

Het landschap rechts levert geen bijzondere problemen op. Het bevestigt wat nogal voor de hand ligt, nl. dat Ter Brugghen vertrouwd was met de kunst van Lastman en diens kring.

Een zeker archaïsme, dat Nicolson al heeft gesignaleerd als typerend voor Ter Brugghen, speelt ook in dit schilderij enigszins mee. Met name een figuur als de rijzige staande koning met zijn scherpe profiel herinnert aan Lucas van Leyden, aan wie ook de generatie van Goltzius eer had bewezen.

TER BRUGGHEN'S REPUTATIE

Als Ter Brugghen niet een pleitbezorger had gevonden in de persoon van zijn zoon Richard, die in 1707 toen hij tegen de negentig liep een actie ondernam tot herstel van zijn vader's naam en daarbij ook Arnold Houbraken benaderde, die

toen al bezig was aan zijn *Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, dan zou hij er in dat gezaghebbende boek waarschijnlijk even beklaaid afgekomen zijn als Baburen, over wie de geleerde levensbeschrijver niets wist te zeggen, als dat ik uit zekere omschryving begryp, dat zyn Konst bestond in een diergeelyk werk als dat van den voorgemelden⁴⁹. En dat slaat dan op de architectuurschilder Pieter Neefs! Maar al kreeg Ter Brugghen dan tenminste nog een plaatsje in Houbrakens boek naast de altijd gerespecteerde Honthorst, het mocht hem weinig baten. Sandart, de ook reeds naar klassicistische normen oordelende biograaf, had hem in 1675 al voorgoed geschaard onder de blindgangers, die hun talent hadden verspild door zich niet te storen aan kunstregels; hij had immers nach seiner eignen Inclination zwar durch tiefsinne, jedoch schwermütige Gedanken in seinen Werken die Natur und derselben unfreundliche Mängel sehr wohl, aber unangenehm gefolgt⁵⁰. Zo moest Ter Brugghen, ondanks de rebellie van zijn zoon tegen de artistieke vooroordelen van diens tijd, ingeschreven raken in het vergeetboek; een lot, dat hij overigens eervol zou delen, niet alleen met Baburen, maar ook met Frans Hals en Vermeer.

De herontdekking van Ter Brugghen is een facet van de herwaardering van Caravaggio en het Caravaggisme, die in het begin van onze eeuw plaatsgreep. Roberto Longhi publiceerde in 1927 in het Italiaanse tijdschrift *Vita Artistica* een artikel (*Ter Brugghen e la Parte Nostra*), dat de meester voor het eerst tot zijn recht deed komen en dat pas in 1958 achterhaald zou worden door de uitstekende biografie van Benedict Nicolson. Uiteraard was het niet alleen Ter Brugghen maar was het de hele groep noordelijke Caravaggisten, die aandacht kreeg. Arthur von Schneider's studie van 1933 over *Caravaggio und die Niederländer* en de grote overzichtstentoonstelling *Caravaggio en de Nederlanden*, die in 1952 in Utrecht en in Antwerpen te zien is geweest, markeren belangrijke momenten in de geschiedenis van deze herwaardering, die wat Ter Brugghen aangaat al spoedig tot de erkenning leidde, dat de kwaliteit van zijn kunstenaarschap hem plaatst op het niveau van de

begaafdste schilders van zijn tijd en dat hij niet 'slechts' de grootste Caravaggist van het noorden is, maar een kunstenaar, die ook zonder dat Caravaggisme op eigen wieken een hoge vlucht genomen zou hebben.

Nu zijn naam weer waarde kreeg, dook ook zijn werk weer op, dat in het verleden maar al te vaak op naam van destijds bekendere schilders was gesteld. De *Aanbidding* vormt de jongste vondst en wellicht zal het ook één van de laatste blijken te zijn, want aan elke 'hause' komt eens een eind en wat Ter Bruggen betreft zal er misschien zo veel niet meer ontbreken aan zijn werk.

Het duurde niet lang of een goede Ter Bruggen kwam op het verlanglijstje te staan van elk museum, dat niet toevallig vanouds zo'n schilderij bezat. In Europa (ons land niet meegerekend) werden sinds 1926 in totaal tien schilderijen aangekocht door musea in Londen, Parijs, Wenen, Rome, Keulen, Stuttgart, Warschau, Gothenburg, Oxford en zelfs Algiers. Amerika kreeg iets later belangstelling, maar de achterstand werd daar even snel als glansrijk ingehaald. Waren er in 1940 drie Ter Bruggenhens in Amerikaans bezit, nu zijn het er zestien met zulke hoogtepunten daarbij als de *Sebastiaan van Oberlin* (1953) en *Maria en Johannes onder het kruis* te New York (1956). In 1965 werd het complete bezit tentoongesteld in Dayton en Baltimore onder de titel *Hendrick Terbruggen in America*.

Hoe stond het en hoe staat het intussen met Hendrick ter Bruggen in zijn vaderland? In het begin van onze eeuw zou er in ons land niets meer van zijn hand te vinden geweest zijn, als zijn zorgzame zoon Richard in 1707 als onderdeel van zijn actie niet vier schilderijen geschenken had aan de stad Deventer. Het zijn de vier *Evangelisten*, die daar nog altijd te zien zijn op het stadhuis. In 1916 deed de meester zijn intreden in de musea toen het Rijksmuseum de *Democritus* en *Heraclitus*, het duo van de lachende en de wenende filosoof, ten geschenke kreeg van de heren B. Asscher en H. Koetsier. Ongetwijfeld een geschenk, dat pas veel later naar waarde zou worden geschat. Beide schilderijen werden aanvankelijk uitgeleend aan het Utrechtse museum, waaraan het initiatief tot aankopen werd

overgelaten. Pas in 1956 – het filosofenpaar was inmiddels weer teruggekeerd – kon Amsterdam door aankoop van de *Ongelovige Thomas* een wat veelzijdiger beeld van de schilder tonen.

Utrecht – noblesse oblige – was, zoals gezegd, al veel eerder actief. In 1925 kocht het Centraal Museum de *Roeping van Mattheus*, in 1928 kreeg het de *Slapende Mars* cadeau, in 1954 kocht het museum de *Lazarus en de rijke man*, in 1955 de *Man met bierkruij en bokking* en in 1967 de *Biddende Petrus*. Een prachtige reeks, die nog fraaier had kunnen zijn als twee aankopen (in 1925 en 1942) later geen miskopen waren gebleken.

Het museum Boymans-Van Beuningen kocht in 1958 de *Heilige Hieronymus* en het Mauritshuis in 1963 de *Bevrijding van Petrus*.

Met de *Aanbidding der koningen* is het getal nu op vijftien gebracht en daarmee is Ter Bruggen ook in eigen land zo langzamerhand numeriek op sterke gekomen. Het is een collectie, die weliswaar geen volledig maar wel een vrij representatief beeld geeft van de Utrechtse schilder, die zijn leermeester zo glansrijk overtrof in het evenaren van het Italiaanse voorbeeld.

Noten

Afgekorte literatuur: Nicolson 1958 - Benedict Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen*, The Hague 1958; Gerson 1959 - Horst Gerson, Review of B. Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen*, Kunsthronik XII, 1959; Kitson 1959 - Michael Kitson, *The Art of Terbrugghen*, The Burlington Magazine CI, 1959; Judson 1959 - J. Richard Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, The Hague 1959; Nicolson 1960 - Benedict Nicolson, *Second Thoughts about Terbrugghen*, The Burlington Magazine CI, 1960; Judson 1961 - J. Richard Judson, Review of Benedict Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen*, The Art Bulletin XIII, 1961; Slatkes 1965 - Leonard J. Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen*, Utrecht 1965; Slatkes 1965/66 - Leonard J. Slatkes, *Exhibition Catalogue Hendrick Terbrugghen in America*, Dayton/Baltimore 1965/66; Moir 1967 - Alfred Moir, *The Italian Followers of Caravaggio*, 2 vols., Cambridge (Mass.) 1967.

¹ A. H. Kan, *De jeugd van Constantijn Huygens door hemzelf beschreven*, 2e druk, Rotterdam 1971, p. 80 (het Latijn geciteerd in de vertaling van Kan; de opmerking van Huygens dateert van 1628/31).

² Die regel betreft alleen de historieschilders. De relatie van de landschapsschilders tot Italië heeft een andere achtergrond.

³ Nicolson 1958, pp. 36-37.

⁴ Roberto Longhi, *Caravaggeschi Nordici*, Paragone 33,

- sept. 1952, pp. 52-58; Nicolson 1958, pp. 10-12; Moir 1967, I, pp. 128 noot 1, 138 noot 24, 125.
- ⁵ In 'Het leven der moderne Italiaansche Schilders', gedrukt te Haarlem in 1603 en opgenomen in het Schilderboek dat in 1604 uitkwam, vist Carel van Mander al te berichten (uitg. 1618, fol. 115 rovo) over een zekere Caravaggio 'die te Room wonderlijke dingen doet' en 'met zijn werken groot gerucht, cere, en naem gecreghen heeft en wiens handelinghe . . . seer bevallijk is, en een wonder tracy maniere, om die Schilder-jeugt na te volghen.'
- ⁶ Nicolson 1958, p. 36.
- ⁷ Judson 1959, p. 58; Judson 1961, p. 345 noot 38.
- ⁸ Slatkes 1965, pp. 8-11, 14 noot 1.
- ⁹ Arnolf Houbraken vermeldt wijn in zijn Groote Schouburgh, dl. I (1718), pp. 133-134, 'te Napels een groot stuk geplaatst boven het hoge Altaar in de Groote Kerk', dat niet gesigneerd was.
- Nicolson 1960, p. 466, fig. 1 in kleur, publiceerde een Doornenkroning als een werk uit Ter Bruggen's Italiaanse tijd, maar Longhi, Terbrugghen e Valentijn, Paragone 131, 1960, pp. 57-60, toonde de onjuistheid van deze toeschrijving aan, die Judson 1961, p. 346 noot 43, onafhankelijk al had vastgesteld. Later zou Longhi zelf zich vergissen door de Aanbidding der Koningen als te Rome geschildeerde te publiceren: *Una cosa giovanile del Ter Bruggen*, Paragone 201, 1956, pp. 70-72, fig. VII in kleur.
- ¹⁰ Vóór de aankoop in 1970 werd het schilderij op 10 juli 1968 te Londen bij Sotheby geveild onder nr. 38 met afb., maar het vond geen kooper. Het werd met afbeelding geadvertiseerd in de jaargangen 1968 van *The Burlington Magazine*, *The Connoisseur* en *Apollo*. Behalve in 1966 door Longhi (zie noot 9) werd het ook gepubliceerd door Anna Ottavi Cavina in 1968 (zie noot 44).
- ¹¹ Voor zijn deskundige opinie dank ik de heer J. Verbeek.
- ¹² Gerson 1959, p. 318; Nicolson 1960, p. 469; Slatkes 1965/66, cat. nr. 3.
- ¹³ Nicolson 1960, p. 469; zie ook Slatkes 1965/66, p. 16.
- ¹⁴ Nicolson 1960, p. 466, fig. 3.
- ¹⁵ Nicolson 1960, p. 466, fig. 8.
- ¹⁶ Véronique Noël-Bouton in cat. tent. *Le siècle de Rembrandt*, Parijs (Petit Palais) 1970/71, nr. 32 met afb.
- ¹⁷ Het Keitsel is ook gelezen als 1613, 1618 en 1623. De catalogus van het museum in Keulen van 1967, pp. 24-26, nr. 1026, geeft de signatuur op als geschreven met één g (drukfout?) en het jaartal als 1628 met de aantekening dat 'die Bezeichnung bis auf HTB und seit (?) erneuert' is.
- ¹⁸ Kitson 1959, p. 111.
- ¹⁹ Slatkes 1965/66, p. 12 ('the earliest certain Terbruggen that has come down to us'); Catalogus van het museum te Edinburgh van 1970, p. 94; R. Longhi, *Una cosa giovanile del Ter Bruggen*, Paragone 201, 1966, p. 72.
- ²⁰ Judson 1961, p. 346.
- ²¹ Kitson 1959, p. 111; Gerson 1959, p. 318; Judson 1961, p. 344; Moir 1967, I, p. 138, II, p. 125.
- ²² Kitson 1959, p. 111; Gerson 1959, p. 319; Judson 1961, p. 344; Slatkes 1965/66, pp. 20, 22 noot 2; Moir 1967, I, p. 138, II, p. 125.
- ²³ Gerson 1959, p. 319.
- ²⁴ Nicolson 1960, p. 469.
- ²⁵ Slatkes 1965/66, cat. nr. 13.
- ²⁶ Nicolson 1960, p. 470 noot 24.
- ²⁷ Nicolson 1958, p. 43.
- ²⁸ Nicolson 1958, fig. 111d.
- ²⁹ Dankzij de vriendelijke medewerking van de directie van het Centraal Museum, in het bijzonder van drs. J. A. L. de Meyere.
- ³⁰ Ontleend aan J. J. M. Timmers, *Symboliek en iconographie der christelijke kunst*, Roermond-Maastricht 1947, p. 979.
- ³¹ Slatkes 1965/66, p. 20-21.
- ³² Ter Bruggen heeft zelden op paneel geschilderd. De enige bekende voorbeelden zijn: Keizer Claudius van 1620/22 (A 9), Slapende Mars van ca 1624 (A 71) en Harpspelende David van 1628 (A 77), waarvan ook een exemplaar op doek bestaat (vgl. Slatkes 1965/66, p. 42, cat. nr. 15).
- ³³ F. G. Waller, *Biographisch woordenboek van Noord-Nederlandse graveurs*, 's-Gravenhage 1938, p. 250.
- ³⁴ Judson 1961, p. 343.
- ³⁵ Moir 1967, II, fig. 3.
- ³⁶ Moir 1967, II, p. 57, nr. 5a, fig. 7.
- ³⁷ Judson 1959, pp. 6, 164; Slatkes 1965, pp. 6, 8.
- ³⁸ Judson 1959, cat. nr. 218, fig. 47.
- ³⁹ Ik vermoedt dat de smalle strook onderaan de Doornenkroning, die met op een foto en ook op de reproductie bij Nicolson 1958, afb. 7 waarnemt, een latere toevoeging is.
- ⁴⁰ Nicolson 1958, afb. 97 en 100. Geen wonder, dat Nicolson de Bevrijding van Petrus, waarop het jaartal pas later ontdekt werd (Vijfentwintig jaar aanvinden Mauritshuis, 's-Gravenhage 1970, cat. nr. 14) in de buurt van de Verkondiging plaatste.
- ⁴¹ Zie voor de algemene relatie Nicolson 1958, pp. 3-25 (*The Art of Terbruggen*). Wolfgang Stechow, Hendrik Terbruggen in America, inleiding tot de catalogus van de gelijknamige tentoonstelling, Dayton/Baltimore 1965/66, p. 8, formuleerde het samengaan in Ter Bruggen's werk van innerlijke verwantschap met Caravaggio en uiterlijk verschil, als een 'synthesis of contrast and kinship'. J. G. van Gelder, inleiding tot cat. tent. *Caravaggio en de Nederlanden*, Utrecht/Antwerpen 1952, p. XX, merkte op, dat Ter Bruggen's koloriet dichter staat bij dat van Cesare d'Arpino dan van Caravaggio.
- ⁴² Moir 1967, II, fig. 169; Roberto Longhi, Giovanni Serodine, Florence 1955, fig. 6-8 en Tav. I in kleur.
- ⁴³ Moir 1967, II, fig. 56 in 394.
- ⁴⁴ Vgl. G. B. Caracciolo: Moir 1967, II, fig. 194; C. Saraceni: Anna Ottavi Cavina, Carlo Saraceni, Florence 1968, p. 108 bij cat. nr. 38, fig. 43 en 22 (Het verband, dat de schrijver die de Aanbidding overigens nog in de oude toelichtende kende, ziet tussen beide schilderijen, ongaat mij volledig).
- ⁴⁵ Moir 1967, II, fig. 93; Anna Ottavi Cavina, op. cit. p. 47, cat. nr. 58, fig. 75-79.
- ⁴⁶ Klassiker der Kunst, afb. 26; Cat. tent. Olieverfschetsen van Rubens, Rotterdam 1953, cat. nr. 4, afb. 6.
- ⁴⁷ Klassiker der Kunst, afb. 162.
- ⁴⁸ L. van Puyvelde, Jordana, Paris/Bruxelles 1953, pp. 87-88, afb. 60.
- ⁴⁹ A. Houbraken, *Groote Schouburgh*, dl. I (1718), p. 221.
- ⁵⁰ Joachim von Sandrart, *Deutsche Academie* (1675), ed. Peltzer, München 1925, p. 178.

Restauratie-verslag van Hendrick ter Brugghen's Aanbidding der koningen

Het officiële restauratierapport werd op verzoek van de redactie bewerkt tot een verslag,
leesbaar voor belangstellenden

A TOESTAND VOOR DE RESTAURATIE (afb. 1)

I OPTISCH ONDERZOEK ZONDER HULPMIDDELEN

1.1 Doek en spieraam

a Het doek was gedoubleerd (lijmdoubling). Beide doeken waren uitgedroogd. In de verflaag was de aftekening zichtbaar van drie horizontale nadelen. Ter weerszijde van de middelste naad waren de stukken doek (b en c) even groot. Het stuk doek geheel bovenaan (a) was smaller dan elk van de middelste stukken. Het stuk doek geheel onderaan (p) was nog veel smaller dan het bovenste stuk (afb. 2).

Tijdens het opnieuw doubleren (b.1) werd het oorspronkelijke doek waarover door röntgenfoto's al nadere informatie was verkregen (a.3.1), aan de achterkant onderzocht (afb. 3). Dit onderzoek gaf de volgende resultaten:

1 De schering- en inslagdraden werden per samenstellend gedeelte van het totale doek steeds op twee plaatsen (x en y) geteld. De uitkomst in draden per $4/4 \text{ cm}^2$ luidt:

bovenstuk (a) – bij x, 16-15; bij y, 16-15

middenstuk (b) – bij x, 19-14; bij y, 19-14

middenstuk (c) – bij x, 19-14; bij y, 19-14

onderstuk (p) – bij x, 16-15; bij y, 16-15

2 Het stiksel van de middelste naad was fijner en regelmatiger dan dat van de onderste en bovenste naad.

3 Het fijner weefsel van de beide middenstukken (b en c) vertoonde langs de rand van het totale oppervlak rondom golfbewegingen (z.g. span-

randen). Ook de grovere stukken A en D vertoonden, zoals te verwachten was, spanranden, maar deze lopen niet parallel aan de spanranden in de stukken B en C.

b Het spieraam van vurenhout had een kruisverbinding maar geen opstaande rand.

1.2 Verflaag: retouches en overschilderingen (afb. 4)

a De verflaag was over het algemeen intact, maar vertoonde hier en daar loszittende verfdelen.

b De mantel van Maria was geheel overschilderd met donkerblauw.

c De bovenhelft van het oor van Maria was overschilderd.

d Langs en over de contour van het gelaat van Jozef waren retouches.

e De pluim op de hoed van de figuur naast Jozef was groter gemaakt.

f De achtergrond rondom de figuur naast Jozef was geheel overschilderd met bruin.

g De haren van de man in profiel naast de negerkoning waren lichter van toon gemaakt.

h De achtergrond rondom het hoofd van de staande koning met tulband en achter diens rug was geheel overschilderd met bruin.

i Het kind was geheel overschilderd in beige en met zwarte retouches in donkerblauw waren de contouren van rug, hoofd, benen en tenen afgedeekt.

j In het landschap met paarden en kameel werden tal van retouches geconstateerd.

k De verflaag op de stukken A en D was anders van kleur en structuur dan op de stukken B en C.



Afb. 1. Hendrick ter Brugghen. De aanbidding der koningen, 1619. Toestand voor de restauratie. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Abt. 2. Toestand voor de restauratie met aanduiding van doeknaden en maten.



Afb. 3. De naad tussen c en d en de spanrand in stuk c.

2 MICROSCOPISCH ONDERZOEK

2.1 Verflaag

a De middenstukken (b en c) hebben een roodbruine gronding; deze werd niet aangetroffen bij het boven- en onderstuk (a en d).

b Op het middenstuk (b en c) werden rechts in de lucht drie verflagen aangetroffen; waar de lucht zich boven de naad voortzet op het bovenstuk (a) werd slechts één verflaag gevonden: laag 1 (onder) bevat relatief weinig blauw; laag 2

(midden) bevat meer blauw; laag 3 (boven) bevat ongeveer gelijke delen wit en blauw. De lagen 1 en 2 waren op sommige plaatsen met elkaar verweven en niet duidelijk te onderscheiden. Er werd hier geen tussenlaag (olie- c.q. bindmiddellaag) geconstateerd (vgl. echter A.6.1.a).

c Onder de bruine overschildering voor het gelaat van Jozef bleek een dubbele laag blauw te zitten, die correspondeerde met de lagen 1 en 2 rechts in de lucht.

d Onder het landschap werd een dubbele wit-

lauwe laag waargenomen, die correspondeerde met de lagen 1 en 2 rechts in de lucht.

e De meest rechtse takken van het geboome op het bovenstuk (a) bleken met een smal penseel dun glacerend aangebracht te zijn; ze zijn desondanks nog volkomen gaaf, zodat ze beduidend later dan de overige verf van stuk A toegevoegd moeten zijn.

f De bovenste en de onderste naad bleken over de volle lengte overlapt te worden door een ca. 3 cm brede plamuurlaag.



Afb. 4. Het gearceerde gedeelte duidt aan, waar de overschilderingen en retouches zich bevonden.

g Op het middenstuk (b en c) werd tegen de bovenste naad aan onder de plamuurlaag een olieachtig laagje ter dikte van ca. 2 mm aange troffen; ook tegen de onderste naad aan werd dit laagje gevonden, zij het minder duidelijk.

h De toevoegingen in het landschap vertoonden hetzelfde groen als het groen in de bladerpartij op het bovenstuk (A).

i Het linker paard bleek te zijn uitgespaard in de dubbele blauw-witte laag, die onder het landschap werd gevonden (A.2.i.d). Het tweede paard

bleek eveneens uitgespaard maar met onder de contourrand een groen-blauwe en wit-blauwe onderschildering. De kameel is geheel wit-blauw onderschilderd met onder de contourrand weer groen en blauw.

Opmerking: Ten aanzien van punt i dient te worden opgemerkt dat hier geen duidelijk beeld verkregen kon worden, doordat repentirs, retouches en overschilderingen hier haast onontwarbaar door een lagen (vgl. B.1.2).

3 RÖNTGENONDERZOEK

3.1 Doek

De röntgenfoto's geven hetzelfde beeld te zien van structuur en fijnheid van het linnen, de naden en de spanranden als onder A.1.1.a beschreven.

3.2 Verflaag

a Het röntgenbeeld van de boven- en onderstukken (A en D) is waziger dan dat van het middenstuk (B en C), waarop de penseelstreken, voorzover zichtbaar, duidelijk en helder tonen.

b De brede plamuurlagen over de twee naden (A.2.i.f) zijn duidelijk zichtbaar.

c Bij de boven- en onderrand van het middenstuk (B en C) is een donkere streep te zien, die wordt veroorzaakt door het ca. 2 mm dikke olieachtige laagje (A.2.i.g). Deze lijn geeft de grens aan van de verflaag van het middenstuk. Een rechte witte streep eronder bij de bovenrand en erboven bij de onderrand markeert het begin van grondering en verflaag.

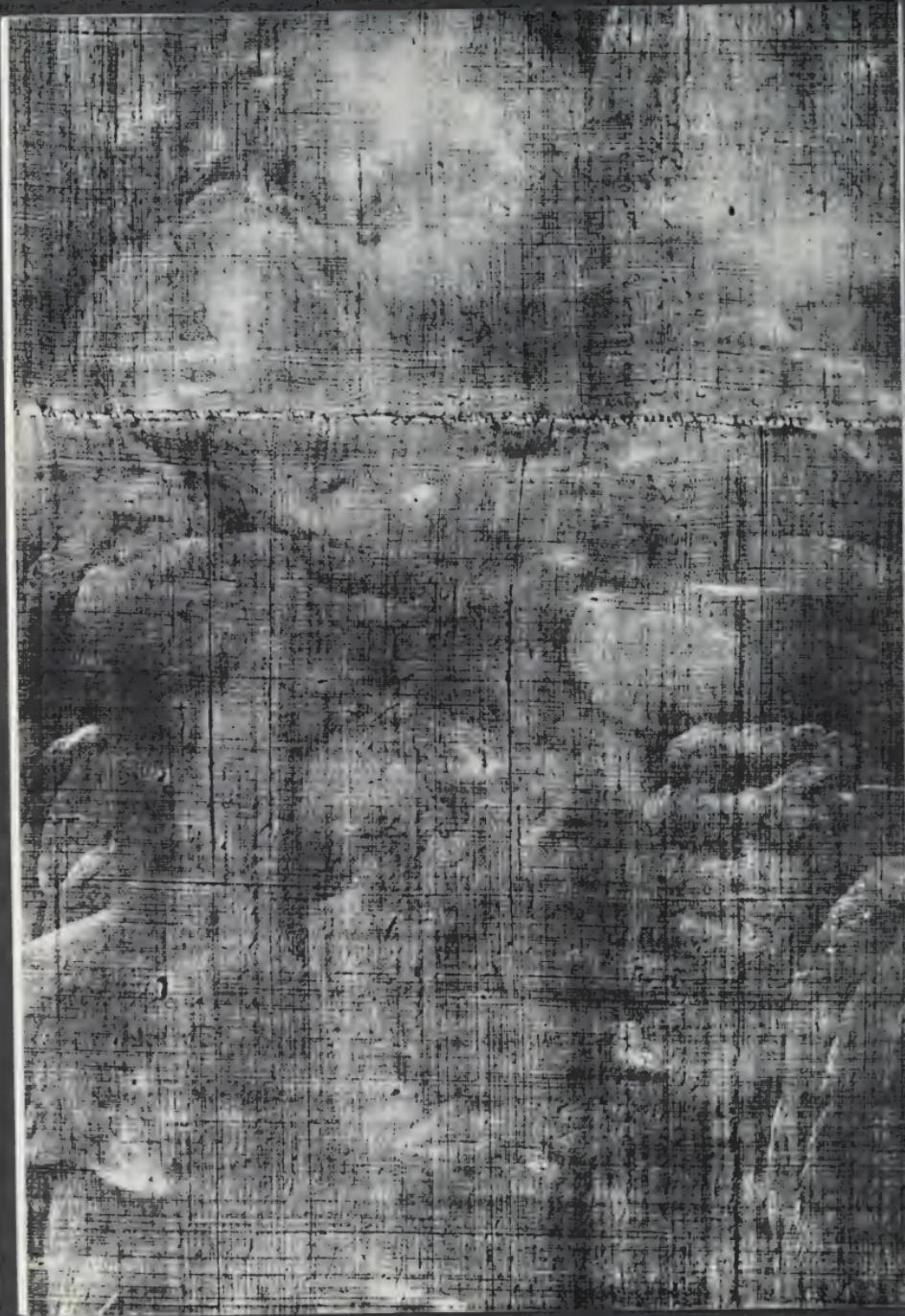
d Bij het hoofd van Jozef is een afscheiding te zien tussen het gelaat en de veel lichtere maar donkerbruin overschilderde achtergrond (A.1.2.f en A.2.i.c).

e Duidelijk tekent zich de contour af van de rode hoed van de figuur naast Jozef (A.1.2.e).

f De oorspronkelijke contouren van het hoofd, de schouders, de rug en de nek van het kind zijn duidelijk zichtbaar (A.1.2.i). De stand van het oor is op de röntgenfoto verticaler (afb. 5).

g Achter de tulband van de staande koning is een wolkenpartij zichtbaar.

h In het landschap vertonen zich bossages die



zich aan het blote oog onttrokken door overschilderingen.

i Tussen de borst van het achterste paard en de hals van de kameel toont het röntgenbeeld een witte zone. De contour van de borst van dit paard verloopt anders dan bij waarneming met het blote oog.

4 INFRAROOD ONDERZOEK

4.1 Verflaag

a De witte zone vermeld bij a.3.2.i is duidelijk te zien (afb. 12).

5 ULTRAVIOLET ONDERZOEK

5.1 Verflaag

Geen aanvullende informatie.

6 PIGMENT ONDERZOEK EN CROSS-SECTIONS

De verfmonsters en cross-sections werden onderzocht door het Centraal Laboratorium voor Onderzoek van Voorwerpen van Kunst en Wetenschap te Amsterdam (mevr. C. M. Verdun-Groen).

6.1 Verflaag

a De uit drielagen opgebouwde verflaag van de lucht (a.2.1.b) op het middenstuk (b en c) bestaat inclusief de ondergrond uit: een laag smalt met loodwit (laag 3 = overschildering), een olielaag c.q. bindmiddellaag, een laag smalt met loodwit (laag 2 en 1, hier en daar slechts één laag vormend), een laag bruine en zwarte pigmentkorrels en een laag ijzeroxyde met krijt, die samen de gronding vormen.

Opmerking: Bolusgronding is een veelgebruikte term voor een roodbruine gronding. Bij een dergelijke gronding kan i.p.v. bolus echter ook rode oker gebruikt zijn. Bolus is een ijzerhoudend aluminiumsilicaat en op deze stof is de onderste laag niet getest.

b De verflaag van het kind bestaat uit: een laag

loodwit met een weinig rood (beige overschildering), een olielaag c.q. bindmiddellaag, een laag loodwit met organisch rood (oorspronkelijke schildering van het kind), een laag bruine en zwarte pigmentkorrels en een laag ijzeroxyde met krijt, die samen de gronding vormen.

c Het groen van de overschilderingen in het landschap en op de zone tussen de borst van het tweede paard en de hals van de kameel is van dezelfde samenstelling als het groen dat op het bovenstuk (a) werd gevonden (vgl. a. 2.1.h), nl. azuriet, krijt en een weinig oker. Het blauwgroen van het landschap bevatte azuriet, verder volgden een dikke laag smalt met loodwit (laag 1/2 van de lucht), een laag bruine en zwarte pigmentkorrels en een laag ijzeroxyde en krijt, die samen de gronding vormen.

d De lucht op het bovenstuk (a) bestaat uit: een laag smalt met loodwit (laag 3), een laag loodwit met fijn bruin pigment, een lichtbruine ondergrond.

e Het wit van de stenen op het bovenstuk (a) bestaat uit: een laag loodwit, een laag loodwit met fijn bruin pigment, een lichtbruine ondergrond.

f De verflaag van het onderstuk (p) bestaat uit: een laag bruin pigment, een laag loodwit met fijn bruin pigment, een lichtbruine ondergrond.

Opmerking: Uit dit onderzoek van de verfsubstantie en van de opbouw van de verflaag viel te concluderen dat: 1. het toegevoegde groen voornamelijk bestaat uit azuriet met krijt en oker; 2. de bruin-zwarte laag en de laag met ijzeroxyde en krijt over het gehele oppervlak van het middenstuk (b en c) kan worden gevonden; 3. er in de lucht tussen laag 2 en 3 een bindmiddellaagje c.q. olielaagje ligt; 4. er ook een bindmiddellaagje ligt bij het kind tussen de originele verf en de overschildering; 5. het bovenstuk (a) en het onderstuk (p) zijn opgebouwd met loodwit en fijn bruin pigment, terwijl daar de roodbruine gronding ontbreekt, die het gehele middenstuk (b en c) wel heeft.

7 CONCLUSIE VAN HET ONDERZOEK (A.1-6)

i Het oorspronkelijke schilderij bestaat uit

◀ Afb. 5. Röntgenfoto van het kind voor de restauratie.



Afb. 6. Het kind voor de restauratie.



Afb. 7. Het kind tijdens de restauratie.



Afb. 8. Het kind na de restauratie.

twee aancengenaide stukken doek van gelijke afmetingen (*b* en *c*) en is groter gemaakt door het aanzetten van stukken doek aan de bovenkant (*a*) en de onderkant (*d*), waardoor tevens het oorspronkelijke formaat in de breedte (131 × 158 cm) werd veranderd in een formaat in de hoogte (185 × 158 cm).

Argumentatie: a. het doek van het oorspronkelijke schilderij is fijner van structuur dan het doek van de aangezette stukken en het vertoont spanranden rondom; b. de oorspronkelijke, middelste naad is zorgvuldiger genaaid dan de beide andere naden en deze naad loopt in tegenstelling tot de andere niet zuiver recht, hetgeen wordt veroorzaakt doordat beide stukken linnen ongeprepareerd aan elkaar zijn gezet, waarna de naad tijdens grondering en opspannen door vocht en spanning iets uit het lood is getrokken; c. de boven- en ondernaad bleven recht, doordat de aanzetstukken *A* en *D* werden aangehecht en aangespannen op een moment, nadat het oorspronkelijke linnen met de daarin aanwezige spanranden reeds was gefixeerd door het hard worden van grond- en verflaag; d. de middelste naad is niet, zoals de beide andere naden, weggewerkt door een plamuurlaag en veroorzaakt op maar enkele plaatsen barstvorming in de verflaag; e. alleen het oorspronkelijke schilderij heeft een roodbruine gronding; f. de ca. 2 mm dikke olieachtige laag bij de boven- en onderrand wijst erop, dat het oorspronkelijke schilderij daar ophield; g. de verflagen op de aangezette stukken zijn anders van substantie en structuur dan die op het middenstuk.

B DE RESTAURATIE

I DOUBLERING

De toestand van het originele doek en van het daarachter gelijmde verstevigingsdoek en de losrakende verfdelen maakten een nieuwe doublering noodzakelijk. Het gehele schilderij, dus inclusief de aangezette stukken *A* en *D*, werd gedoubleerd, omdat in dit beginstadium nog onvoldoende vaststand, of deze stukken wellicht met medeweten

2 De overschilderingen van het oorspronkelijke schilderij waren vrijwel steeds het directe gevolg van het vergroten van het schilderij.

Argumentatie: a. de overschildering van de lucht rondom het hoofd van de figuur naast Jozef en achter de staande koning met tulband was de consequentie van het beschilderen van het bovenstuk met een ruïnebouwsel; b. de overschildering van de oorspronkelijke lucht diende om de gehele lucht een homogeen aanzien te geven; c. de overschilderingen in het landschap rechts dienden om de blauwgroene kleur ervan meer in overeenstemming te brengen met het groen van het aangroeisel aan de ruïne op het bovenstuk.

3 De aangezette stukken zijn niet door Ter Brugghen zelf, maar geruime tijd na zijn dood toegevoegd.

Argumentatie: a. de schilderwijze van de aangezette stukken is duidelijk van later datum; b. de latere schilder is er (uit onbegrip of onkunde) niet in geslaagd de ruïne logisch te laten aansluiten op de ruïnachtige poort op het oorspronkelijke schilderij; c. de overschildering van het landschap was mede bedoeld om dit een minder ouderwets aanzien te geven; d. het allermindst door slijtage aangetaste oorspronkelijke kind werd ongetwijfeld overschilderd om het aan te passen aan de veranderde smaak; e. de signatuur staat niet op een van de aangezette stroken maar op het middenstuk en op normale afstand van de onderrand daarvan (dit argument kan pas gehanteerd worden, nadat de signatuur was ontdekt in een latere fase van de restauratie).

van Ter Brugghen waren aangezet of om andere redenen behouden dienden te blijven. De slechte hechting van deze oude lijm liet toe, dat het verstevigingsdoek van het oorspronkelijke doek werd afgetrokken. De lijmresten werden uit het oorspronkelijke doek verwijderd door behandeling met een zwakke lijmoplossing. Het oorspronkelijke doek werd wat bijgeschuurd, waarbij er

vooral op werd gelet, dat de drie naden zo vlak mogelijk werden. Vervolgens werd het schilderij gedoubleerd met een was-hars verbinding van drie delen bijenwas en twee delen colophonium. Tenslotte werd het gedoubleerde schilderij opgespannen op een nieuw spieraam.

2 VERWIJDERING VAN VERNIS EN REINIGING VAN DE VERFLAAG

Bij de eerste oppervlakkige verwijdering van vernis konden meteen de meeste retouches worden weggenomen, omdat ze op een onderliggende vernislaag waren aangebracht en er een zwak medium als bindmiddel voor de retoucheverf was gebruikt. De volgende bruinachtige vernislaag werd gedeeltelijk afgenoemd. Het restant van deze vernislaag kon een zekere bescherming bieden bij het wegnemen van de overschilderingen, die intensief met oplosmiddelen behandeld zouden moeten worden. De met donkerblauw overschilderde lichtblauwe mantel van Maria kwam gaaf maar nogal dun en transparant tevoorschijn. Bij het gehele overschilderde kind werd op verschillende plaatsen aan de contouren van de figuur voorzichtig getest, of de oorspronkelijke verflaag inderdaad nog intact en nog acceptabel was, zoals het voorafgaande onderzoek deed vermoeden. Dit bleek zelfs boven verwachting het geval, zodat de overschildering geheel verwijderd kon worden (afb. 6, 7, 8).

De zwaar met bruin overschilderde lucht rondom het hoofd van de man naast Jozef en achter de staande koning met tulband en de daarop aansluitende met blauw overschilderde luchtpartij werden deels chemisch deels mechanisch ontdaan van de overschildering (afb. 9, 10, 11). In de vrijkomende luchtpartij links kwamen groene blaadjes tevoorschijn, die door slijtage geleden hadden. In de luchtpartij rechts verdwenen met de overschildering de vlag en de speren. Ongeveer 10 cm onder de vlag werden de contouren zichtbaar van een andere vlag. Deze was echter praktisch geheel weggekrabbd. Ter plaatse geconstateerde resten van een olie- c.q. bindmiddellaagje bewijzen, dat ook deze vlag niet tot de oorspronkelijke compo-

sitie heeft behoord. In de vrijkomende lucht achter de koning met tulband kwamen witte wolkjes te voorschijn. Door het wegnemen van de vele overschilderingen in het poortachtige bouwsel kwam er duidelijkheid in de constructie daarvan.

De compositie van het landschap rechts met de paarden en de kameel bleef na zo goed mogelijke verwijdering van een wirwar van repentirs en overschilderingen echter enigszins problematisch. De reiniging kon hier niet volledig zijn, omdat de hechting van de oorspronkelijke verfstof niet solide bleek te zijn zodat het gevaar bestond dat bij een al te rigoreus afnemen van overschilderingen de oorspronkelijke verflaag te lijden zou hebben (afb. 12, 13). Er is naar gestreefd het landschap zijn originele opzet terug te geven, maar veel overschilderingen moesten blijven staan. Bij de paarden en de kameel lag het aanvankelijk nog moeilijker. Geen enkele onderzoeksmethode had hier volkomen duidelijkheid gebracht, zodat de restauratie uiterst behoedzaam moest worden uitgevoerd. Door langzaam oplossen en voortdurend waarnemen en reconstrueren werd inzicht verkregen in de originele compositie van deze gekompliceerde partij en kon hij ontdaan worden van al te hinderlijke toevoegingen. De situatie was in hoofdzaak de volgende: *het voorste paard* – 1. onder het oog was een tweede oog zichtbaar, 2. onder de mond was een tweede mond zichtbaar, 3. langs de contour van het gezicht liep een tweede contour, die aansloot bij de tweede mond, 4. links van het oog liep de lijn van het tuig; *het achterste paard* – 1. onder het oog was een tweede oog zichtbaar (origineel), 2. de contour van de neus liep anders, 3. boven de band om de neus zat een tweede neus, 4. het linker oor was vals, 5. er liepen drie banden over het voorhoofd, 6. de borstcontour was ca. 1 cm naar rechts toe verlegd; *de kameel* – 1. de linker halscontour was ca. 1 cm naar links toe verlegd, 2. de aanzet van de bult werd zichtbaar.

In dit complex van vormen viel soms moeilijk te onderscheiden wat latere overschilderingen zijn en wat repentirs van Ter Brugghen zijn. Het is evident, dat de schilder met dit gedeelte van zijn compositie heeft geworsteld. Waarschijnlijk moet



Afb. 9. De linker bovenpartij bij het begin van de restauratie.

de verticale witte streep (zichtbaar met het blote oog, maar beter waarneembaar op röntgen- en infraroodfoto) worden opgevat als een poging van Ter Brugghen om duidelijkheid te scheppen in het complex van contourlijnen.

3 VERWIJDERING VAN BOVEN- EN ONDERSTUK (A EN D)

Nadat de resultaten van het onderzoek ten aanzien van de stukken A en D bevestigd waren door de



Afb. 10. De linker bovenpartij tijdens de restauratie.

bevindingen tijdens het schoonmaken, werd het besluit genomen deze later toegevoegde stukken te verwijderen.

Allereerst werden de beide plamuurlagen op de naden met zware oplosmiddelen en gebruiksmaking van mesjes weggenomen. Daarna werd het schilderij van het spieraam afgenoem. Vervolgens werd het nieuwe doubleerdekoek ongeveer 5 cm boven de bovennaad en onder de ondernaad over de volle breedte doorgesneden, losgehaald en teruggerold tot even voorbij de naden. De naden werden losgemaakt en de aangezette stukken A en D werden verwijderd. De teruggerolde uiteinden van het doubleerlinnen dienden nu als omslagrand, nodig voor het opspannen van het schilderij op een nieuw, kleiner spieraam.

Opzettelijk is dit spieraam iets groter gehouden (134×160 cm) dan de afmetingen van het beschilde oppervlak van het schilderij, opdat na het inlijsten de lijstrand de verflaaier niet overlapt. De overschietende smalle rand rondom het beschilde oppervlak werd opgevuld met was, hars en pigment, zoveel mogelijk in de kleur van de aangrenzende kleuren van het schilderij.

De verwijderde stukken A en D werden gemonteerd op een stuk hardboard, dat op het beschikbaar gekomen spieraam werd bevestigd. Bovenaan werd stuk A geplakt, onderaan stuk D. Daartussenin werd een vergrote foto geplakt van het middenstuk (B en C), die de toestand van voor de restauratie weergeeft. Zo werd een reconstructie van het schilderij gemaakt in de gedachte waarin



Afb. 11. De linker bovenpartij na de restauratie.

het zich bevond voor de aanvang van de restauratie. (afb. 14)

4 VOLTOOIING VAN DE REINIGING EN OPVULMING VAN LACUNES

Tijdens het wegnemen van nog achtergebleven resten van de overschilderingen en het verder verwijderen van de bruine vernislaag werd in de linker benedenhoek naast de naar links uitwijkende plooï van de mantel van Maria de signatuur en datering van Ter Brugghen gevonden. Ofschoon de inscriptie sterk gesleten is, zodat hij met het blote oog moeilijk leesbaar is, bleek hij onder de binoculairmicroscoop zonder mogelijkheid tot enig misverstand gelezen te kunnen worden: *HT-Brugghen fecit 1619* (afb. 15, 16). De lacunes in

het schilderij beperkten zich tot kleine gaatjes, die opgevuld werden met een mengsel van was, hars en pigment, waarna deze werden geïsoleerd met shellak, omdat anders de vernis niet zou hechten.

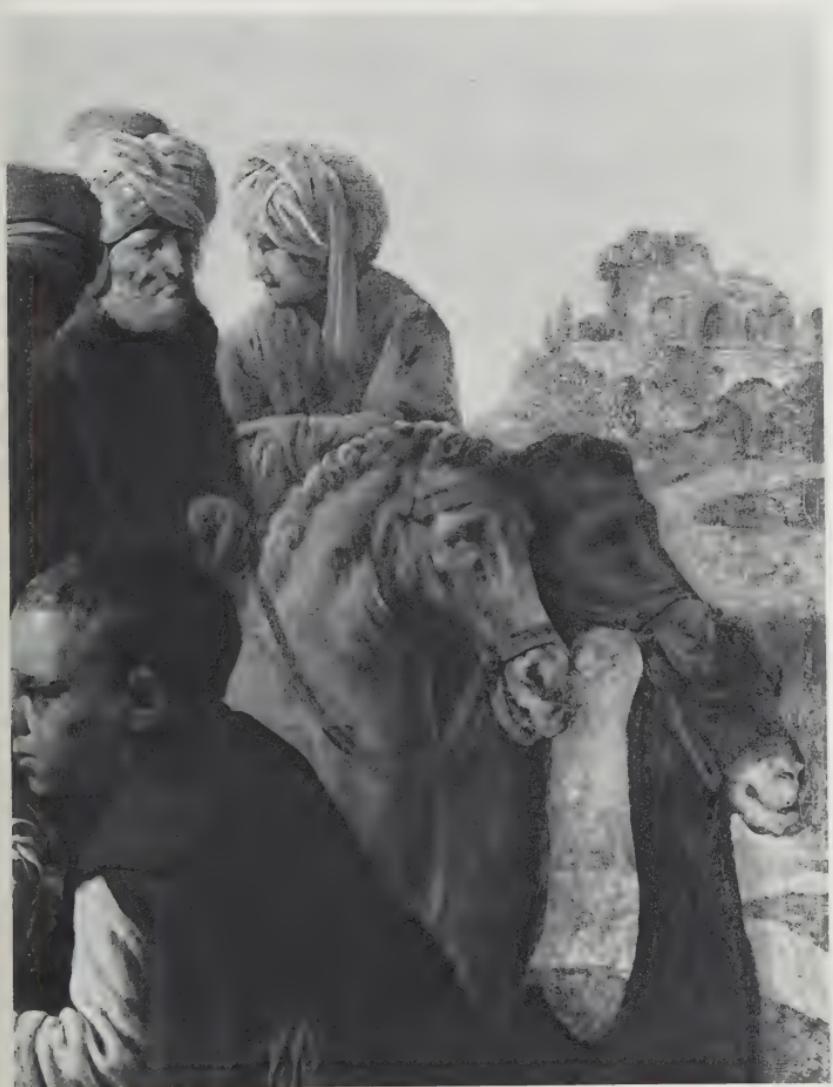
5 RETOUCHES EN VERNIS

Retouches bleken slechts op enkele plaatsen nodig. Met name de hier en daar wat al te dunne transparant-blauwe mantel van Maria werd met geringe glaceringen iets aangevuld. De rode mantel van de staan koning werd, waar hij zichtbaar is in de spleet tussen de knielende koning en de page, wat opgehaald. Het landschap rond de kameel werd iets afgetoond.

De voor-retouches werden aangebracht met caseïne-tempervverf. Ook hier was een isolatie-



Afb. 12. Infrarood-foto van de rechter middenpartij voor de restauratie.



Afb. 13. De rechter middenpartij tijdens de restauratie.

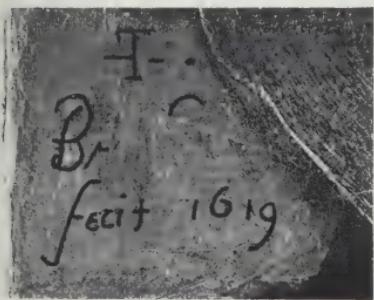


Afb. 14. Montage van de stukken A en D op een foto van de toestand voor de restauratie (vgl. afb. 1).



Afb. 15. De signatuur.

Afb. 16. De signatuur, ingetekend.



laag nodig, daar dit bindmiddel makkelijk wordt aangetast door atmosferische invloeden. De retouchevernis, op basis van verdunde damarhars samengesteld volgens eigen recept, werd gelijkmataig aangebracht, nadat het verfoppervlak vrij was gemaakt van verontreinigingen. De eindretouches werden in olieverf op de retouchevernis uitgevoerd. De tubevers werd verschaald door verwijdering van overtollige olie en met een harsmedium dun glacerend aangebracht. Na het schilderij twee maanden te hebben laten drogen werd de eind-vernis, weer op basis van damarhars, aangebracht.

Nieuws uit het Rijks- museum

TENTOONSTELLINGEN

Van 15 december 1971 t/m 15 februari 1972 wordt er een kleine tentoonstelling gehouden van de restauratie van de in dit nummer besproken aanwinst: De aanbidding der koningen van Hendrick ter Brugghen. Het schilderij, de montage van de verwijderde stukken en D (p. 134, afb. 14) en foto's van de restauratie worden getoond in kabinet 230 van de regalerij.

De tentoonstelling 'Ontmoetingen met Italië' in het Rijksprentenkabinet duurt nog t/m 9 januari 1972.

De tentoonstelling 'Gewezen boeket' duurt nog t/m 30 januari 1972.

KERSTKAART 1971

De kerstkaart met kleurenreproductie van Ter Brugghen's Aanbidding der koningen (f. o. 90) is verkrijgbaar bij de fototafel in de voorhal.

Summaries

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI AND OTHER EARLY WORK BY HENDRICK TER BRUGGHEN

BY P. J. J. VAN THIEI

Introduction and life

Hendrick ter Brugghen belonged to the last generation of Dutch history-painters who, following the tradition established by Scorel and Heemskerk, felt it a matter of necessity to make a journey to Italy. He was born, probably in 1588, in Overijssel, but soon afterwards moved to Utrecht where, according to Sandrart (1675), he studied under Abraham Bloemaert. Houbraken (1718) says that he went to Italy as early as 1604 and we know from his own account of 1615 that he was back in Utrecht by the autumn of 1614 (Note 3). In 1616 or 1617 he became a member of the Guild of St. Luke there, he married there in 1616 and died there in 1629. It has been suggested that he went to Italy a second time in about 1620 (Note 4), but this idea is based on false premises, i.e. a number of Italianate paintings wrongly attributed to him and a mistaken explanation of the similarity between his work of that period and the early paintings of Scodine.

By 1604 Caravaggio's fame had spread to Northern Europe (Note 5) and Ter Brugghen certainly came under the spell of Caravagism and perhaps even met Rubens in those circles (Note 6). He clearly belongs amongst the first Northerners who got to know Caravaggio's work. His contemporaries in Utrecht,

Gerard van Honthorst (1590-1656) and Dirck van Baburen (1594/5 1624), did not go to Rome until around 1610-12 (Notes 7 and 8). However, though these two got important commissions and made their names in Italy, nothing whatsoever is known of Ter Brugghen's activities there, and so far no paintings by him have been securely dated either to that period or to the first five or six years after his return to Utrecht (Note 9). The first dated painting in Nicolson's catalogue of his work, in fact, is *The Crowning with Thorns* of 1620 in Copenhagen.

The Adoration of the Magi (Figs. 1-9) This painting was acquired by the London dealers B. Cohen & Sons in 1966 from a country house in Yorkshire. It was at first attributed to Domenico Fetti (1589-1624). After it had been recognized as a Ter Brugghen it was brought to the attention of the Rijksmuseum and eventually bought for it in 1970 (Note 10), after an X-ray examination which revealed that the original composition had been enlarged by the addition of pieces of canvas at top and bottom. Both these were painted at a later period rather in the style of Isaac de Moucheron (1670-1744), although the alteration may of course have been carried out in England. X-ray photographs also revealed under the existing weakly-painted Christ-child a far finer Child which obviously lent itself to restoration. Towards the end of the process of restoration a signature and date were discovered: *HT - Brugghen fecit 1619* (Pag. 135, Fig. 15). The composition is a masterly one, centred on the Child whose head is at the level of the horizon and marks the vanishing point. The Child is also the lightest point in the painting, though the play of light is such as to illuminate the faces of the kings and their train and leave those of the Child and His parents in shadow, thus expressing the mystery of the world's first recognition of the Redeemer. The beautiful contours of the Child's head are repeated in those of His mother and mirrored in the head of the old

king, the three of them forming the main diagonal group on which the composition is based. This rises on the left to the figure of Joseph in the second plane, who is facing the monumental figures of the other two kings, there being numerous subtle echoes here also. This simple, but far from stiff arrangement is given an added life by the positioning of the subsidiary figures, the compactness of the grouping as a whole being relieved by the suggestion of space afforded by the glimpses of sky in the background.

The paint is overall rather impasted and there are almost no *repentirs*. The sure, energetic brush-strokes are mostly broad, long and fluent and perfectly adapted to the various textures depicted (note in particular the brilliant rendering of the two goblets), while the various degrees of finish are thoroughly functional (compare the realism of Joseph's head with the broader rendering of that of the man in the tall cap, and the sketchy profile of the man next to him).

The colour, of which the lightest accent is the pale ochre-colour of the Child, is dominated by the red of the kings' robes and the red and blue of the Virgin's garments, with a variety of grey and brown tints elsewhere. Joseph's coat of red shot with green is very typical of Ter Brugghen.

Re-arrangement of the early work (1616-24)

This new discovery makes it possible to revise the order of Ter Brugghen's early work, which was first drawn up in 1958 by Nicolson in his brilliant monograph and subsequently modified by other writers as well as by Nicolson himself in 1960. Nicolson's original list was as follows (the A, B and D numbers are the catalogue numbers in his book; dates in italics are Nicolson's):

early *St. Jerome*, engraving by W. van de Pas (p87, Fig. 2a)
16(16) *St. Peter in Prayer*, Utrecht since 1967 (p90, Fig. 2b)

- 1616/18 *The Calling of St. Matthew*, Le Havre (A36, Fig. 4)
before 1620 *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, Edinburgh (A28, Fig. 5)
1620 *The Crowning with Thorns*, Copenhagen (A18, Fig. 7)
1620/21 *Pilate Washing his Hands*, Kassel (A13, Fig. 12)
c. 1621 *Christ at Emmaus*, formerly at Potsdam (A59, Fig. 13)
1621 *The Four Evangelists*, Deventer (A21-24, Figs. 16-19)
1621 *Flute Player*, Kassel (A14, Fig. 21)
1621 *Flute Player*, Kassel (A15, Fig. 20)
1621 *The Calling of St. Matthew*, Utrecht (A69, Fig. 27)
c. 1621 *St. John the Evangelist*, Turin (A68, Fig. 23)
after 1621 *Christ at Emmaus*, Vienna (A73, Fig. 22)
162(2) *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, Kansas City since 1964 (A12, Fig. 28)
162(2) *The Emperor Claudius*, Berlin (A9, Fig. 31a)
1622 23 *Mater Dolorosa*, Vienna (A75, Fig. 30b)
1622 25 *The Beheading of St. Catherine*, New York (A45, Fig. 29)
1623 *Boy Lighting a Pipe from a Candle*, Erlau (A29, Fig. 32)
1623 *The Gamblers*, now at Minneapolis (A25, Fig. 34)
1623 *Boy with Wineglass by Candlelight*, Raleigh (p80, Fig. 35b)
162(3/4) *Boy Singing*, now at Boston (A27, Fig. 30a)
1623/24 *Laughing Man*, ubi (A33, Fig. 38a)

To this can now be added:

1619 *The Adoration of the Magi*, Amsterdam
1623 *David Saluted by Woman*, Raleigh (A50, Fig. 89), originally thought to be dated 1628, but now accepted by all as 1623 (Note 12).
1623 *Girl Lighting a Candle*, ubi. Dated 1623/4 by Nicolson in 1960

(Note 14), but surely 1623 since it is identical in conception with the *Boy Lighting a Pipe from a Candle* at Erlau (A29).

Other suggested early datings which seem unacceptable are: *A Scene of Mercenary Love* (A64), dated by Nicolson first 1625/28, later 1623/24 (Note 13), which is completely late in style, cf. for the lighting of the face, the woman in *The Duet* of 1629 (A60).

The Crowning with Thorns at Lille (Note 15), which the present writer does not accept.

The Mocking of Christ in Paris (Note 16) which must surely date from c. 1625, cf. Christ with Lazarus in *Lazarus and the Rich Man* of 1625 at Utrecht (A70, Fig. 65), the profile head of the old man and that of the old woman on the *Cologne Jacob and Laban* (A16, Fig. 55), which cannot belong to 1628 (Note 17) and must come between the 1625 *Lazarus* and the London *Jacob and Laban* of 1627 (A40, Fig. 80).

The Concert at Eastnor Castle (A37; Note 18), which is clearly contemporary with *The Concert* of 1626 at Leningrad (A38).

The present writer is not able to confirm Kitson's early dating of the *Boy Singing* at Gothenburg (A32) for lack of material, but it seems to show similarities with work of 1619/21.

The following can be removed from Nicolson's list:

A28 *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, Edinburgh (Note 19), which is far too weak in colour, form and composition even for the young Ter Brugghen. It may be a copy or imitation of his style of c. 1622. The authenticity of the monogram must be doubted, since Ter Brugghen used a different signature before 1620.

A13 *Pilate Washing his Hands*, Kassel (Note 20).

A59 *Christ at Emmaus*, formerly at Potsdam. This is certainly close to Ter Brugghen, but the heads are different from any in his repertoire and the hands weak.

Moreover the figure of Christ turning towards the spectator and breaking the concentration within the composition is an arrangement totally foreign to him.

a73 Christ at Emmaus, Vienna
(Note 21).

a68 St. John the Evangelist, Turin
(Note 22).

a75 Mater Dolorosa, Vienna,
rightly doubted by Gerson (Note
23), for though the Virgin is very
like the one in the New York
Crucifixion, the draperies are too
puffed out and weak in form for
Ter Bruggen.

a33 Laughing Man, private
collection. Both versions seem
too weak to be originals by
Ter Bruggen, though they may
be based on one.

Further to this, the *Boy with Wine-*
glass by Candlelight of 1623 at
Raleigh (a80) was accepted by
Nicolson as a genuine Ter
Bruggen in 1960 (Note 24) and
the date 1627 has been found on
the *Boy Singing* at Boston (a27;
Note 25).

The following datings in the
original list can be challenged:
a90 St. Peter in Prayer, Utrecht
(Fig. 10).

This Nicolson rejected (Note 26),
but there seems no reason to doubt
the signature, *HT bruggen fecit*
(Fig. 11), for he used exactly the
same one, except with a capital B,
in 1619, changing from 1620
outwards to HTB or HTBruggen
(Note 27). A microscopic exami-
nation of the date (Note 29) shows
that it reads 161 with a small o
that must be the remains of a 6.
The composition is a fine one and
the execution of keys, hands and
facial features in particular (*cf.* the
kneeling king in *The Adoration*
of the Magi, Fig. 9) leaves no doubt
that it is by Ter Bruggen.

a45 The Beheading of St. Catherine,
New York (Note 31). This shows
many similarities to *The Adoration*
of the Magi, especially in the drapery-
es and in other details, such as the
hands of St. Catherine and the
Virgin, and the placing of some of
the figures, such as the Emperor
Maxentius, who is also very similar
to Herod in *The Beheading of St.*
John the Baptist here dated to
1621/22. Other early features are
the indications of monumental
architecture in the background and
the many *repentirs*. The painting
must, therefore, date from 1618/
19–1621.

d87 St. Jerome in a Landscape,
engraving. This can in fact be
fairly precisely dated, since the
engraver Willem van de Pas
(1597/8–1636/7) worked in Utrecht
from 1618–20 and was thereafter
in London until his death (Note
33). 1619/20 seems the likeliest
date from a comparison with
The Adoration of the Magi and
St. John the Evangelist of 1621 at
Deventer. The measurements of
the original painting are given in
the 1764 catalogue of the sale of
the collection of A.R. van (der)
Waay of Utrecht (No. 136).
St. Peter in Prayer was No. 81)
and show that the figure must
have been life-size.

a36 The Calling of St. Matthew, Le
Havre. This shows archaizing
tendencies and strong Caravaggio
influence (Notes 34 and 35) which
suggest a later date than the 1616/
18 originally posited, *cf. The*
Crucifixion of c. 1625 at New York
(a49) and *The Incredulity of St.*
Thomas of c. 1624 at Amsterdam
(a2), the latter being clearly inspired
by a Caravaggio belonging to
Vincenzo Giustiniani which Ter
Bruggen may have seen (Notes 36
and 37). Ter Bruggen's borrowings
from Caravaggio may well be the
direct result of Honthorst's return
from Italy, with drawings after Ca-
ravaggio's compositions, in 1620
(Note 38). The Le Havre painting
shows many points of comparison
with later works and cannot thus
be put before 1619, but it is clearly
not so successful as the 1621
version of the same subject at
Utrecht. The date 1620 would
seem to be confirmed by a com-
parison with *The Crowning with*
Thorns at Copenhagen (a18),
which even has an identical sketchy
drawn figure walking away
in the background.

A revised list of Ter Bruggen's
work to 1624 would, therefore
read as follows (Pags. 112–113, Figs.
a-q):

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| a 1616 | St. Peter in Prayer
(d90). |
| b 1618/20 | The Beheading of St.
Catherine (a45). |
| c 1619 | The Adoration of the
Magi |
| d 1619/20 | St. Jerome in a Land-
scape (d87) |

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| e 1620 | The Crowning with
Thorns (a18) |
| f 1620 | The Calling of St.
Matthew (a36) |
| g 162 (1/2) | The Beheading of St.
John the Baptist (a12) |
| h 1621 | The Four Evangelists
(a16–19) |
| i 162 (o/2) | The Emperor Claudius
(a49) |
| j 1621 | Flute Player (a15)* |
| k 1621 | Flute Player (a14) |
| l 1621 | The Calling of St.
Matthew (a69) |
| m 1623 | The Gamblers (a52) |
| n 1623 | David Saluted by
Women (a50) |
| o 1623 | Boy Lighting a Pipe from
a Candle (a29) |
| p 1623 | Boy with Wineglass by
Candlelight (a80) |
| q 1623 | Girl Lighting a Candle |

Ter Bruggen and Caravaggism

Since we know Ter Bruggen's
work only from the period when
he had thoroughly assimilated all
early influences, it is hard to make
these out, though it seems he was
inspired more by such followers of
Caravaggio as Gentileschi, Borgiani
and Saraceni, than by Caravaggio
himself (Note 41). The close
similarity between his work and
that of later Caravagists such as
the *St. Laurence Giving the Church*
Treasures to the Poor (Note 42) by
Serdine (1600–30) and the *Eccle-*
Homo and *Archimedes* (Note 43) by
Domenico Fetti, can probably
best be explained as the result of a
parallel development, though
Fetti might have had a more direct
influence.

The *Adoration of the Magi* is not
so strongly Caravaggesque, though
it has some things in common with
Saraceni's *Madonna with St. Anne*,
and even if its static quality seems
far removed from Rubens' dynamic
versions of the same subject of
1610–1614/15 (Note 45). Its
composition suggests, rather, the
Venice of Veronese and Bassano,
and even if its static quality seems
far removed from Rubens' dynamic
versions of the same subject of
1609/10 and 1617/18 (Note 47), it

* A14 and A15 seem rather odd companion
pieces and one wonders if Winkler, in
whose collection they first appear as such
in 1768, did not cut down A15 to make it
match A14. If so, A15 could certainly be
later.

nonetheless does not seem too far fetched to suggest that it does in fact show the influence of the Antwerp School, notably of Jordaeus, cf. his *Jesus Amongst the Scribes* of 1617/18 (Note 48). It certainly seems that in the head of Joseph Ter Brugghen has followed the realistic heads typical of the young Jordaeus. The landscape clearly shows the influence of Lastman and his circle, while the standing king with sharp profile recalls Lucas van Leyden.

Ter Brugghen's Reputation

Thanks to the efforts of his son Richard in 1707, Ter Brugghen was granted a reasonable mention in Arnold Houbraken's book (Note 49), but he had previously been dismissed by Sandrart as one of those who had squandered their talents by neglecting the rules of art (Note 50). It was not until the revival of esteem for Caravaggio and his school in the present century that he came back into his own again. Since then his work has been much in demand by museums in Europe and America.

RESTORATION REPORT

HENDRICK TER BRUGGHEN: THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

BY I. KUIPER

Before restoration (Fig. 1) the painting was thoroughly examined first by eye and later by means of a microscope, X-ray, infra-red and ultra-violet photographs and analysis of pigments and paint-layer. From this it appeared that the painting originally consisted of two equal pieces of canvas sewn together (131 x 158 cm.) and that it had been enlarged (to 185 x 158 cm.) by the addition of extra pieces of canvas at top and bottom (Fig. 2). That these were in fact later additions was clear from, among other things, the coarser texture of the canvas, the less careful sewing of the seams which, unlike the original seam, were disguised by a layer of priming, the absence of the red-brown grounding that covered the original canvas and other differ-

ences in the paint-layers (Fig. 3). It was, moreover, discovered that virtually all the overpainting on the original (Fig. 4) was the result of this enlargement, the sky and landscape background, for example, having been made to tone in with the colours of the added sections. These were clearly painted in a later style, the additional ruins did not fit logically on to the architectural features in the existing painting, and the landscape and the Christ child had been altered to suit a changed taste.

As a first step in restoration the whole painting was relined and mounted on a new stretcher, since it had not been decided at that stage whether the additions were to be removed. When a start was made on removing the varnish, it was found that most of the overpainting came away with it, since it had been painted over a previous layer of varnish which, in the event, afforded some protection to the original paint-layer during the cleaning process. When the overpainting had been removed, the Virgin's mantle appeared as light instead of dark blue, the Child proved even finer than had been anticipated from the results of various tests (Figs. 6, 7 and 8), various details such as leaves and clouds appeared in the sky and the construction of the building became clearer. In the landscape on the right with the horse and camel there was such a mixture of *repentis* and overpainting that it was impossible to sort them out completely and some of the overpainting had to be left for fear of damaging the original paint-layer (Figs. 12, 13). The next stage was the removal of the later additions at top and bottom. These were mounted on hard-board on either side of a photograph of the painting before restoration, so as to preserve a record of its original state (Fig. 14). The original painting was mounted on a new, smaller stretcher in such a way that the whole of it would be clearly visible when it was framed. During a late stage in the removal of overpainting and old varnish the signature and date were discovered in the bottom lefthand corner. Though

damaged, they could be read with the aid of the binocular microscope (Figs. 15, 16). Only a few small holes needed to be made good and almost no retouching was necessary, apart from a few places on the thin, transparent blue of the Virgin's mantle. When this had been done, the painting was left to dry for two months and then given a coat of a varnish based on dammar.

108250*

OBERLIN COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF ART
OBERLIN, OHIO 44074

September 15, 1970

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 N. Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Dr. Bader:

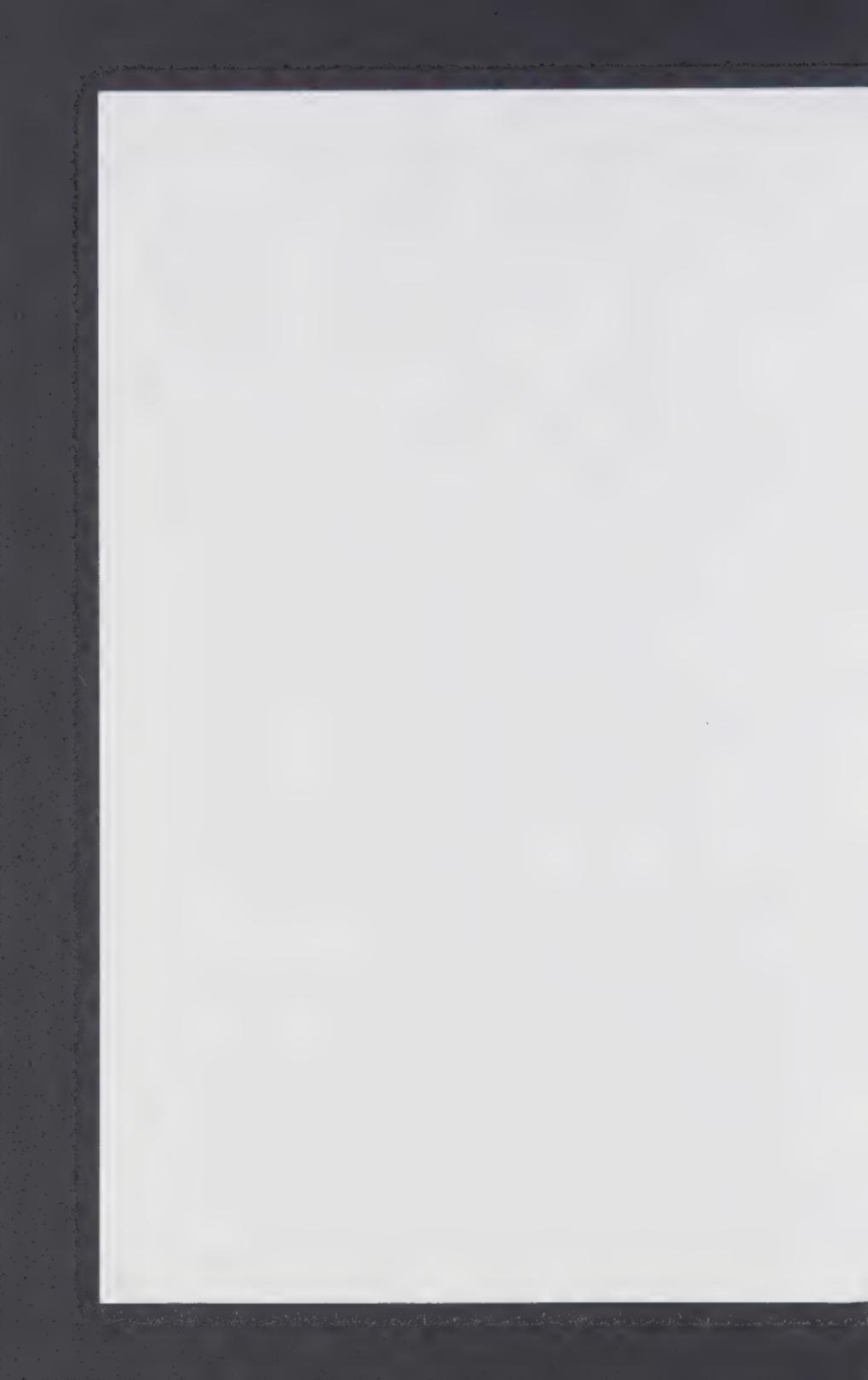
Through Professor Stechow I have become familiar with a few of the seventeenth century pictures in your collection, and as I believe he recently told you, I would very much like to see your collection some time if it were possible. The Terbrugghen, from photo, seems to be a wonderful painting, and surely autographic. I also am very anxious to see the head of a youth attributed to Annibale Carracci.

I am planning to attend the meetings of the Midwest Art Association in Madison on October 22-24. If you would be at home prior, or after, the meetings, and would be willing to show me your collection, I would be most grateful; of course I would try to work out a schedule convenient for you. There still is considerable time before the meetings, and in fact I do not know when I will leave for them, and whether I will drive or fly. But in either event, I should like to visit you if it would be at all possible.

I thank you very much for the photo you sent to me with Professor Stechow, and hope that I shall have the opportunity of personally expressing my gratitude next month.

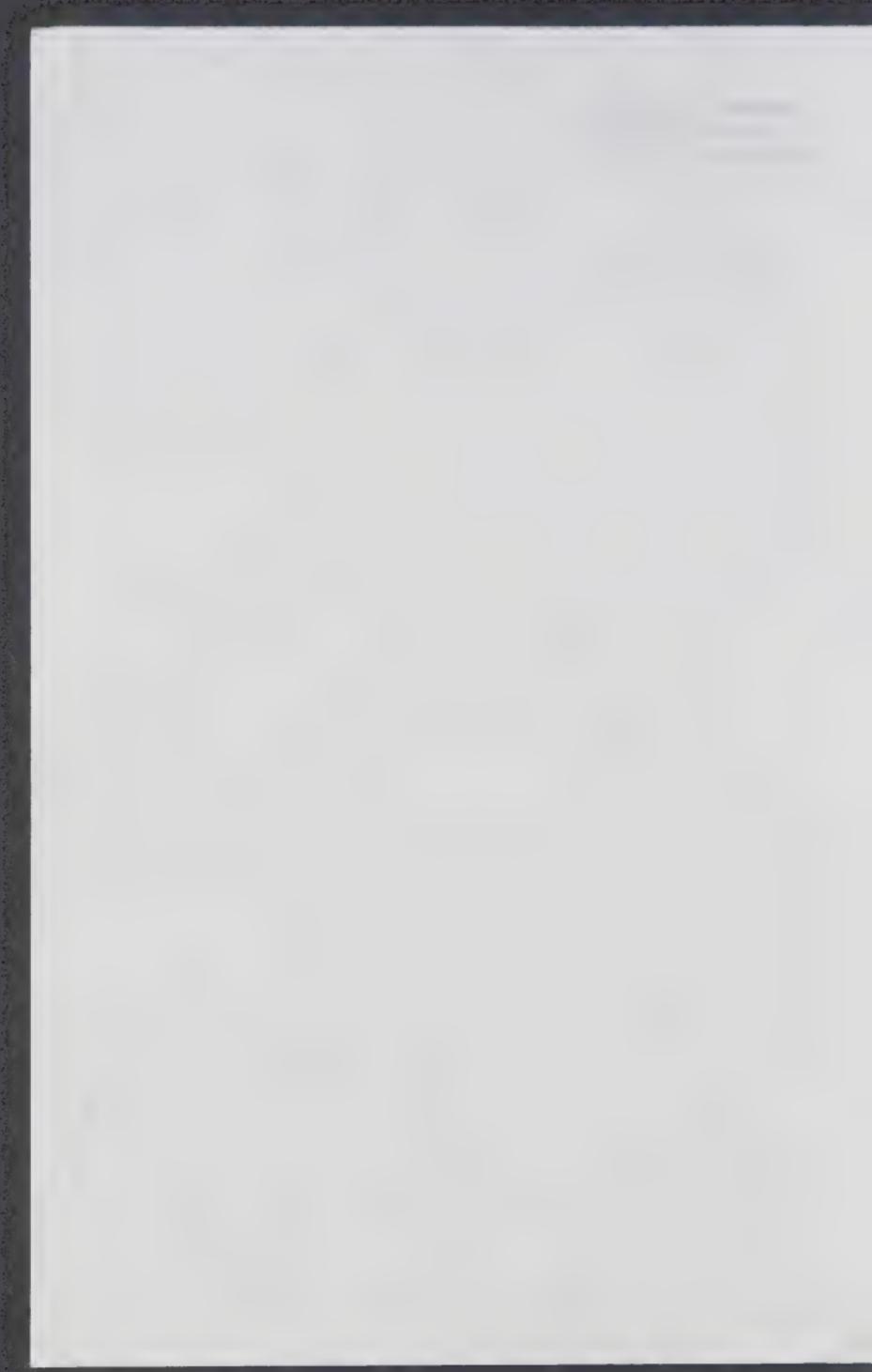
Yours sincerely,

Richard E. Spear



ULRICH MIDDENDORF
9, VIA DE' SERRAGLI
50124 FIRENZE - ITALIA

Ulrich Middendorf



AK Delft voor Algemene Documentatie
Norte Universiteit
18 JULI 1970

18 Juli 1970

Naar: M. J. Veth,

Wat u vandaag omtrent de schilderijen van ons o.a. een foto
van een schilderij, verstuurd uit de bibliotheek (van de oude zaal
paneel), dat door mij, teruggestuurd van mijzelf, maar (naar
de overeenkomst met een soortgelijke voorstellin) voor Benedictus
Benedictus aangeboden is aan u.

Het schilderij is niet leeg en om zijn vellen achter
bevindt zich een in de collectie van M. Bilderdijk te
Bilthuizen. De doos waarin het schilderij was gestopt,
die op naam van Caesar van Verdin was in een kleine lossektje
opgedoed.

Het schilderij is een foto van het schilderij van
Benedictus Benedictus, die nu op 19 juli g.a. het voorstel heeft.

Many thanks for sending me photograph of the other painting.
I think there can be little doubt that this is by the same hand
as the portrait picture. The only thing that seems a slightly
point at is the hands, which are not like Verbeke's. Is it
possible that these have been freshly painted? They
certainly look a bit crude, the kind of the last hand in
particular. I am most intrigued by what one sees of the figures
in the background which remind me of the caravaggio-like in the
piece of De Philosopher (y 1607, pl. 21, 16), which is now in
London and proves to be a original.

I have never had reason to doubt the attribution to Verbeke
of the portrait picture, in spite of its poor condition, but in
fairness to Verbeke, it should be pointed out he rejected it in his
Algemeen review of my book. The idea of Caesar van Verdin
is preposterous.





↓
426



Fogg Art Museum

Harvard University · Cambridge · Massachusetts 02138

October 21, 1970

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

Dear Dr. Bader:

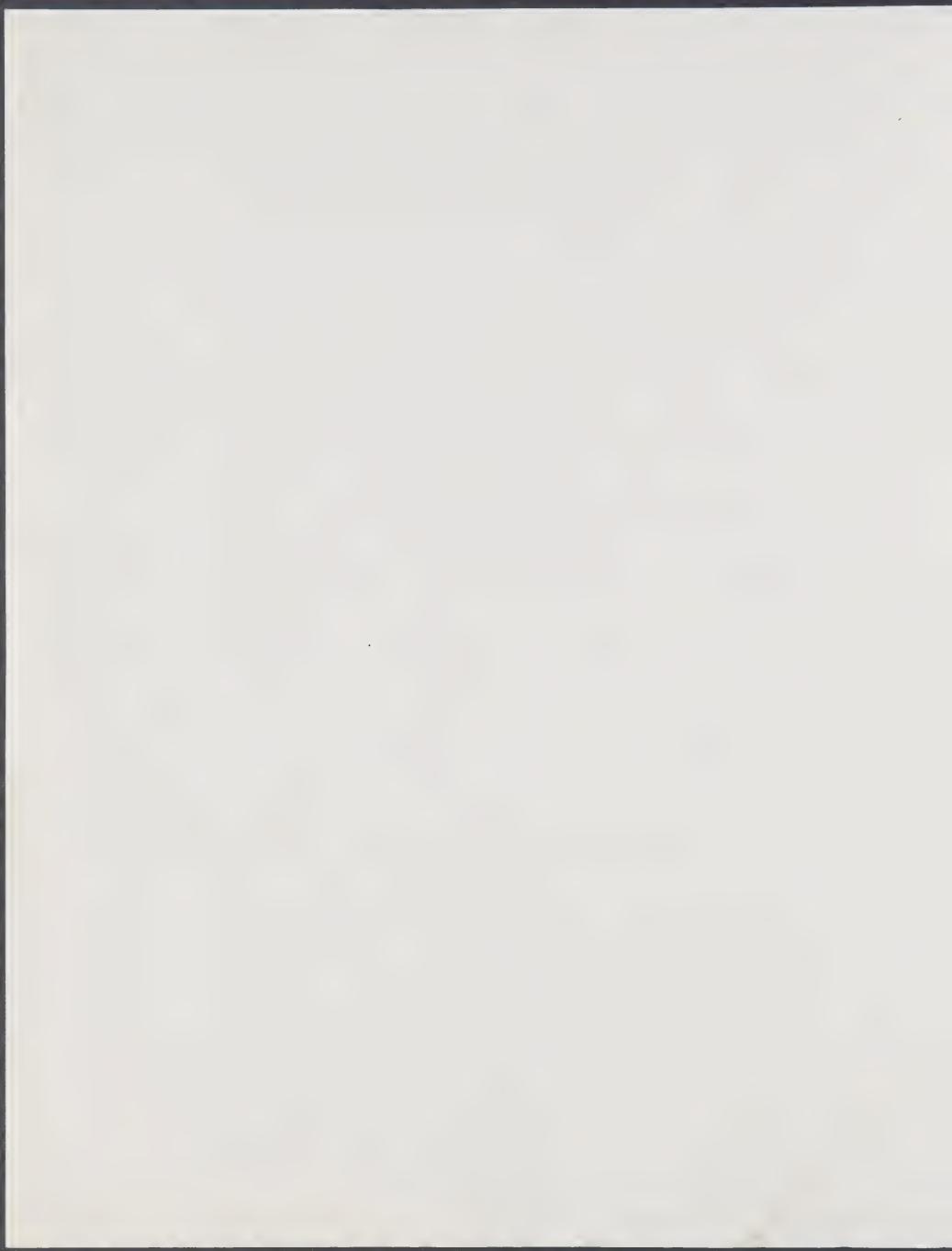
Thank you so much for sending me a photograph of your Mary Magdalene by Terbrugghen. The painting is an intriguing one indeed and I very much look forward to seeing it. But goodness knows when I will have a chance to visit Milwaukee. My term schedule is a very crowded one and these days I even find it difficult to get to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston!

With all best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Seymour Slive
Seymour Slive
Chairman
Department of Fine Arts

SS/ms



ganz leichter etwas erhalten, als in den USA. Ich
würde experimentieren, ob ich es fände, dass ich nicht
Geben, sondern ein E-Card-Pin für das System verwenden, also
Sich erneut mit der Firma beschäftigen muss, kostet mich
nicht mehr Geldchen - und es ist ganz logisch, wenn die
Stufe nur auf dem Post!

Am Ende kann man natürlich auch die Company
durchsetzen, aber ich kann nicht sagen, ob es sich lohnen würde.
Ich habe mir über längere Intermissionen bei mir unterre-
gnete, ob ich eben so tun, und andererseits ist jetzt in einer man-
nigfachen Bevölkerung (so kann ich davon schließen) eine solche
Art von Schutz (in Form von Probenabholung und so weiter, so
dass man die Abholung nicht mehr machen muss) sehr
teuer zu gestalten. Ich kann mir vorstellen, dass es
aber vielleicht mit Prämienpolitik Kompensation geben wird, aber ich
bin mir nicht sicher.

Ich kann Ihnen von Ihnen

Effrey Wilson

200 "C" 14 SE,
Washington, D.C.
2-22-23
X 15

Dear Mr. L. Bader.

Thank you very much for your kind letter with the very nice new photo, in which you will be
elegantly presented. Yes, this photo will be
shown, I am greatly looking forward to what Dr.
Sear does with it, and I hope to contribute to the
iconographic problem itself. The business
of characteristic attributes is fascinating and
absorbing.

Hi there, I am very sorry that I can't
show you my catalogues, but I am
cataloguing Karsch's collection and have no
time for portraits, but I will send you some
when you write.

I am sorry to say that on the 22. X. didn't go to New
York. The catalog I had given you, but was
not able to come back for it, so I am very sorry. The Ele-
phantine, for the last Seldeneys' a very difficult
problem, and the bronze figures did not receive
the attention they deserved, so I am very sorry.
I am sending you a copy of the catalog of the
Minneapolis Art Institute, where the
exhibition is now open, and the catalog is
now available, and I am sending you a copy of the
catalog of the Canadian exhibition, where the
exhibition is now open, and the catalog is
now available, and I am sending you a copy of the

THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE PUBLICATIONS LTD

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3rd August 1970

Alfred Bader Esq.,
2961 N. Shepard Avenue,
Milwaukee, Wisc. 53211.

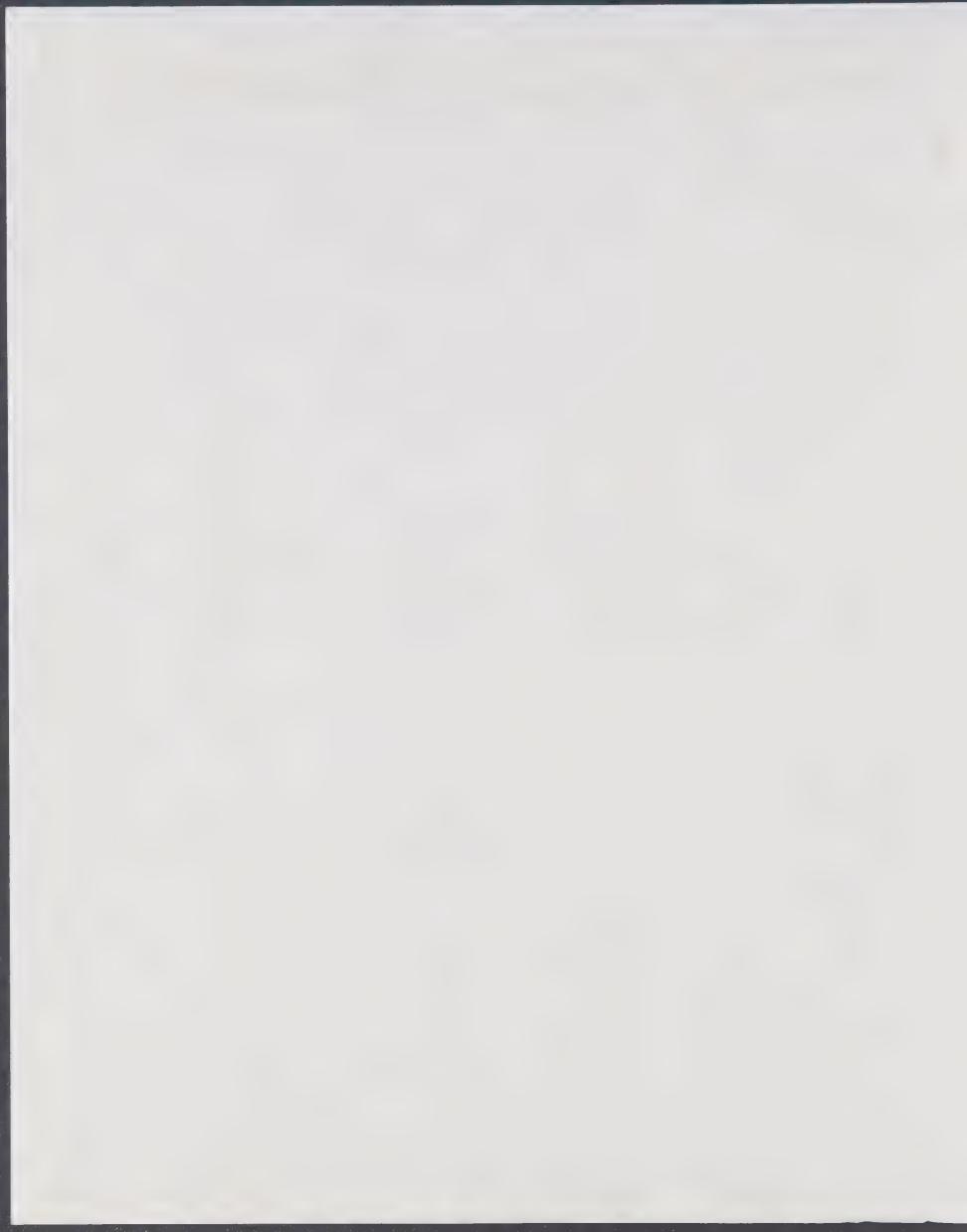
Dear Mr. Bader,

Thank you for sending me the photograph of the Magdalen. As you know, it appeared in the Mak van Waay Sale at Amsterdam in February 1969 as Delft School and was bought by Han Jüngeling from whom you, I understand, acquired it. I think there can be no doubt it is by the same hand as the Harrach picture, and therefore by Terbrugghen, but it is only fair to add that Gerson does not accept the attribution of the Harrach picture.

Yours sincerely,

Benedict Nicolson

Benedict Nicolson



FRICK ART REFERENCE LIBRARY

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NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021

MISS HELEN C. FRICK, DIRECTOR
MISS ETHELWYN MANNING
HONORARY LIBRARIAN

MRS. HENRY W. HOWELL, JR., LIBRARIAN

August 10, 1970

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 N. Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

Dear Dr. Bader:

Thank you for the reproduction of Aert de Gelder's painting of a "Wineseller" ("Elisha with the widow of the prophet, Obadiah"?) and for the photograph of the portrait of a woman, possibly by H. Terbrugghen. We are pleased to have both for the Library's collection.

Judging from a comparison of your photograph with those in our file of Terbrugghen's works, it is the personal opinion of the members of the staff that your painting is probably by that artist. (Cf. the treatment of drapery and style of head-gear in "The Crucifixion with Mary and St. John" (#51,56 in Nicolson); the profile, deep-set eye and heavy modeling of the hands in "St. Sebastian tended by Women" (#58,60 in Nicolson); and the sharp, angular profile and continuous line from forehead to nose in the detail from "Jacob, Laban and Leah" (#87 in Nicolson).)

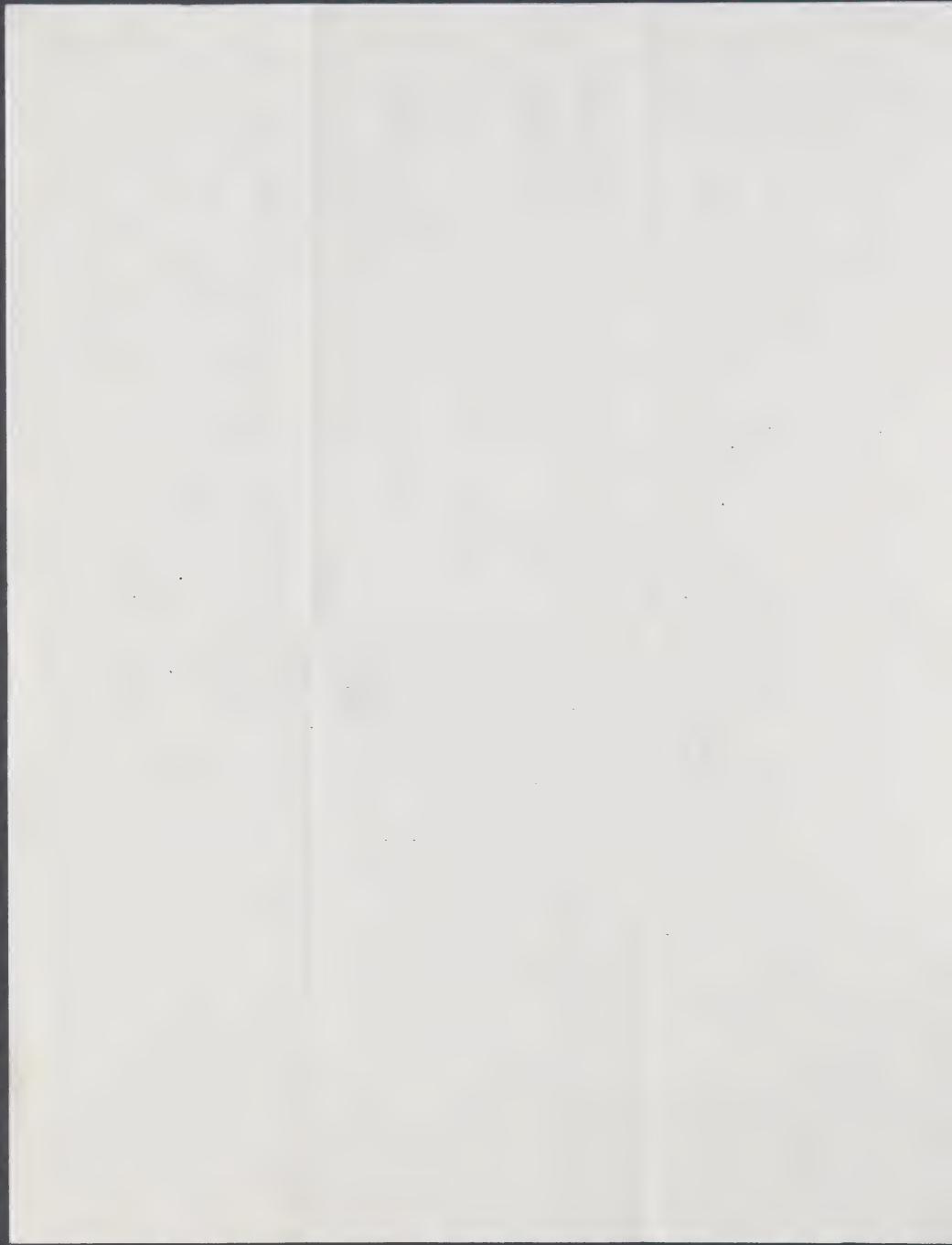
Your order for a photocopy from "Oud Holland" will be placed as soon as we receive your payment of \$5.80.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Sanger

(Miss) Helen Sanger
Reference Librarian

Research: V.S. Radow
HS:CH





Dartmouth College HANOVER • NEW HAMPSHIRE • 03755
Department of Art

OCT. 10

Dear Dr. Sacher

Thank you very much for your kind letter and all your enclosures - I'm very sorry to be so slow in replying, I've been doing a lot of teaching and getting settled in Hanover,

on and off.

The Act of Gold on the cover of Adrichimica Acta is, of course, a work (sculpture - an exciting painting? - and I think your idea about its subject, the widow of Obadiah, is extremely convincing. It's clearly, not "straight" glaze (is anything any more?).

- 2 -
you will paint the
Magdalene, in an absolute sense out.
Judging from the photograph, I would
have to say it should be large.

or his most profound. One reason
many ~~of her~~ ^{conqueror} is in holding
them with his hands - e.g., the Mater
Vitae in the Galleria Thorvaldsen,
the Crucifixion in St. Sebastian, the Virgin
and Child in St. John the Baptist, &
Crucifixion, the Saviour, Jesus, Saviour, &
Saviour. I would fit him up
for a picture. If we do not have
the opportunity, we had better
practically overlooking it though you
get an opportunity from time to time
to - It's certainly a very difficult
thing and there's no
way out but to go ahead and do
what you have to do.



Dartmouth College HANOVER • NEW HAMPSHIRE • 03755
Department of Art

I've looked through Dartmouth's files on Daniel Webster portraits (we have more than a hundred of them), and I've shown the photo of your work to our people in the museum who've worked on the problem. The conclusion seems to be that the portrait is mid-19th century, probably posthumous, and probably after another portrait of him (or a photograph).

I hope you can get a copy to the Chicago meeting of the (AIA) in January — will do you a favor? I hope no — and hope via (A)

To see some of your new acquisitions, as well as what I've already seen, you'll be most welcome.

efficiency of the business
and more time available
for more selling. I will be
in the country to take a good care
of you & would like to thank you.

Very truly yours,

W. J. - S.

P.S. If you're inclined of getting ~~more~~ more
done in the latest catalog, you
will find it at 98 Kildare, or 2nd floor,
between Nassau and Broadway.

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vlieg gelezen
→ vlot bezorad



Mrs A. Bader

2961 N Shepard Ave.

Milwaukee, Wisc 53211

U.S.A.

PAR AVION / PER LUCHTPOST

EXPÉDITEUR / AFZENDER

Prof. Dr. J. G. van Regteren Altena

Vossiusstraat 25

Amsterdam, Z. Holland

NIETS INSLUITEN!

GEEN ADRESSTROKEN, SLUITZEGELS, PLAKBAND, ENZ. GEBRUIKEN.

As to the "Terbrugghen" I had no opportunity to consult B. Nicholson's book, but from the photograph it looks very good indeed and typical for the early Terbrugghen.

P.S.

With kind regards,

I'm sorry to have yours very sincerely
misaken the Boga for a Wijck! Herman Rethem alting

KLEP

(in the
Hague)

Subject, in which the veil is dark gray. Notwithstanding this restoration I think this is the better of the two paintings given to de Gelder. The other one might also be an original one, but I ought to see it before forming a definite judgment. I don't see how it corresponds with the text of the Bible on Elijah and the better seems to refer to Elijah and the widow of Sarepta! (1 K. 17: 7-16). The man, then, is either Elijah or the son of the widow. She may hide the cake made for the prophet, under her sleeve.

It seems, that your painting of Iuda and Thamar was seen by Hopstede de Groot in 1909, with Corant Santar in Lisbon (K. Lilienfeld, A. de Gelder, p. 131-132; it was there called Rembrandt and the conspicuous red, probably in his cloak or frock, was noticed by Hopstede de Groot). Does this fit?

The Wijck seems to be an exceptionally characteristic and well preserved work of that master.

Aug. 10, 1970

Dear Mr. Bader:

It was nice to hear from you and to see how busy you have been. One could not expect anything else!

You want me to say what impression the reproductions made on me: of course that I am sorry not to be able to see the originals.

"
an
ophthalmologist
of great
reputation

What a curious man Rembrandt de Gelder has been! I never could make out if his eyes-defect (slanting eyes) has anything to do with his way of looking at things. Prof. Colebrander of Leiden, at the time with one of my pupils, who worked on de Gelder's "Consultation" and consulted him about this, did not see a reason to see a connection which I had suggested might exist with the absence of depth in his paintings...

I could agree with you when calling the old man approaching the seated woman "Jude and Thamar, if her veil had been taken away by a later restorer," and there is a mark in deed which seems to represent the rim of the veil. Otherwise de Gelder would have been untrue to the text of Genesis and to his own conception known from another painting of The

THE NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART
RALEIGH 27601

CHARLES W. STANFORD, JR.
DIRECTOR

4 December 1970

Mr. Alfred Bader,
2961 N. Shepard Avenue,
Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 53211

Dear Mr. Bader:

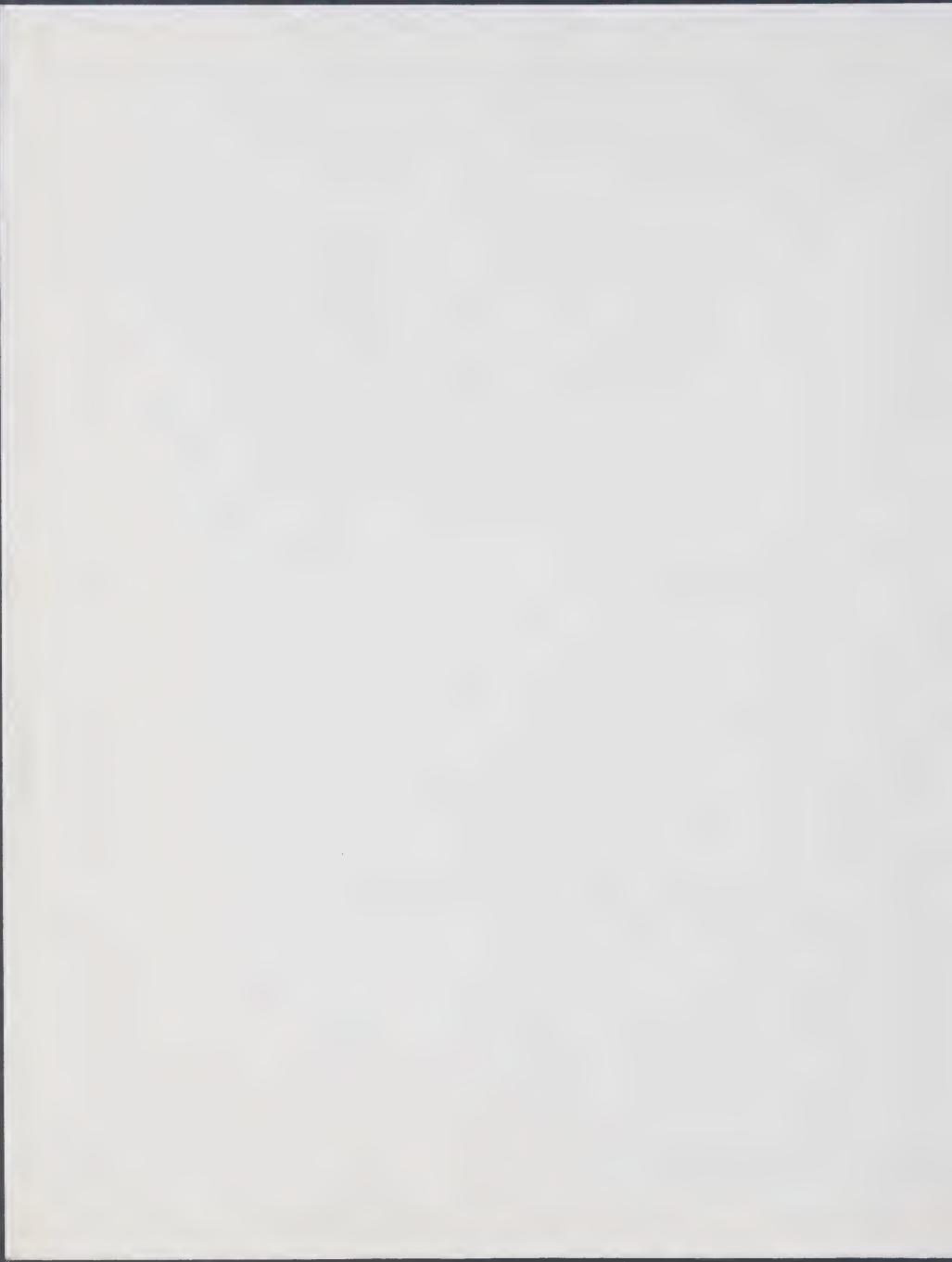
Enclosed I am sending you two photographs of paintings by Terbrugghen in the collection of the North Carolina Museum of Art. We should appreciate if you would be so kind as to send us in exchange a photograph of the Terbrugghen you just acquired, as I learned from Dr. Middeldorf.

Very sincerely yours,

Justus Bier
Justus Bier,
Director Emeritus and Curator of Research

encs: 2 photographs
cc: Registrar, Librarian

JB/iaw







NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

Raleigh, North Carolina

ARTIST-COUNTRY-PERIOD Hendrik Terbrugghen (Dutch, 1588-1629)

TITLE or DESCRIPTION "Young Man with Wineglass by Candlelight"

SIGNED Signed with initials DATED 1623

MEDIUM Canvas SIZE H. 26 1/2 W. 22 1/4

SOURCE Gift of David M. Koetser, N.Y.

NEGATIVE NO. 249 ACCESSION NO. G.55.5.1

The following words must be used in connection with the publication of this photograph:

Courtesy of

NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED



PHOTOGRAPHY BY GENE ALBINO
KEN BROWN STUDIO

File No. B7709



April 23 1977

OBERLIN, OHIO 44074 (216) 774-1221, EXT. 3117

Liebe gewohnte Frau Barth,

Dank für Ihren Brief vom 19 d. m.
w. Sie interessierende Seite aus dem Brud.
von J. C. Block, Berlin, Salok, sei über
und seine Werke, Danzig - Leipzig - Wien 1890
(jetzt von Kirschbaum in Leipzig übernommen).
Leider ich morgen verordnet kalkigen und hirn
verloren - ich rechne an, dass Sie die Tafel
haben wollen, nicht den Text (S. 31-32). Es
wicht mich besonders auf, dass es in
S. 31 von Salok signiert und 1861 (dient nicht
verloren). Die Tafel misst 768 x 575 mm. und
ist Nr. 14 von Saloks 40 Tafeln. Erwarte Sie liegt
in einem Rahmen, der leicht beschädigt ist. Prof. Dr.
Klaus Tschudi weiß kein einziges Blatt
ih., wir alle wissen nicht genau, ob es mehr,
aber lassen Sie das an. Ich bin sehr sicher dass
Sie mit der That. Salok's Recht hatten - obwohl
Sie doch ja Salok, der kann Ihnen nicht so sagen
und mich bestimmt auch nicht für Magnatena!).

8. die nach dem ersten Sonntag im Mai, wenn
die ersten Blüten nach und nach entblühen.
Ich bin nicht sehr oft in West- oder zentral
deutschland weil die Landschaften dort sehr
ähnlich sind und die Menschen dort eben
so wenig wie wir. Ich habe daher in dieser
Art wichtigen Raum für mich in Südtirol.
In Südtirol kann man die alten und neuen
und künftigen und wurde ich von Frau Dr. Sophie
Papen und Frau Dr. Sophie Wachter.
Ich kenne nicht nur eins - das ist der
zweite Teil, und wenn Sie gebeten hätten, da Papen und
wir hier sehr unterschiedlich. Es kommt manchmal
alle Proprietäten zusammen und verbinden.

Der zweite Teil besteht aus drei Teilen
Central Italien, wo der 17. Mai, ferner 18. Jänner und
so weiter. Da ist ein neuer Fleiß und es ist ein großer
weiter Bereich zwischen Rom und Florenz, ganz
mit kleinen Gemeinden, die mit Fleiß gearbeitet haben.

Die 3. Gruppe am 26. Mai und 1. Juni ist
Trentino-Südtirol und Oberitalien, wo auch ein großer
weiter Bereich ist, wo es alte kleine Höfe gibt, die
eigentlich auf Kriegs-Patt zu leben und dann standen
Zwischen ihnen Fleiß und etwas Rassengemisch, ja leichter
als oben. Und es wurde gebracht, um die ganze Zeit
durch den Krieg so viele alte Höfe wieder aufzubauen
wie es nur geht. Und diese Arbeit soll die Proletarier
mit Krieg und anderen sozialistischen Hilfgegenständen
ausführen.

Die Proletarier sind ja sehr gut organisiert, und sie
werden nicht schwanken, sondern sie werden

7. 31. 12. 72

Liebster Arno,

Vielen Dank für Ihren Brief und die interessanten Photographien.

Ihr Fragestellung zu jungen Faschistinnen sehr einleuchtend vor. Früher habe ich eine Reaktionsschrift auf der Postil, bestehende Ausschreitungen zu Ähnlichkeiten zwischen. Jetzt falls eine gute Erweiterung!

(zu Ihnen natürlich bekannt ist)

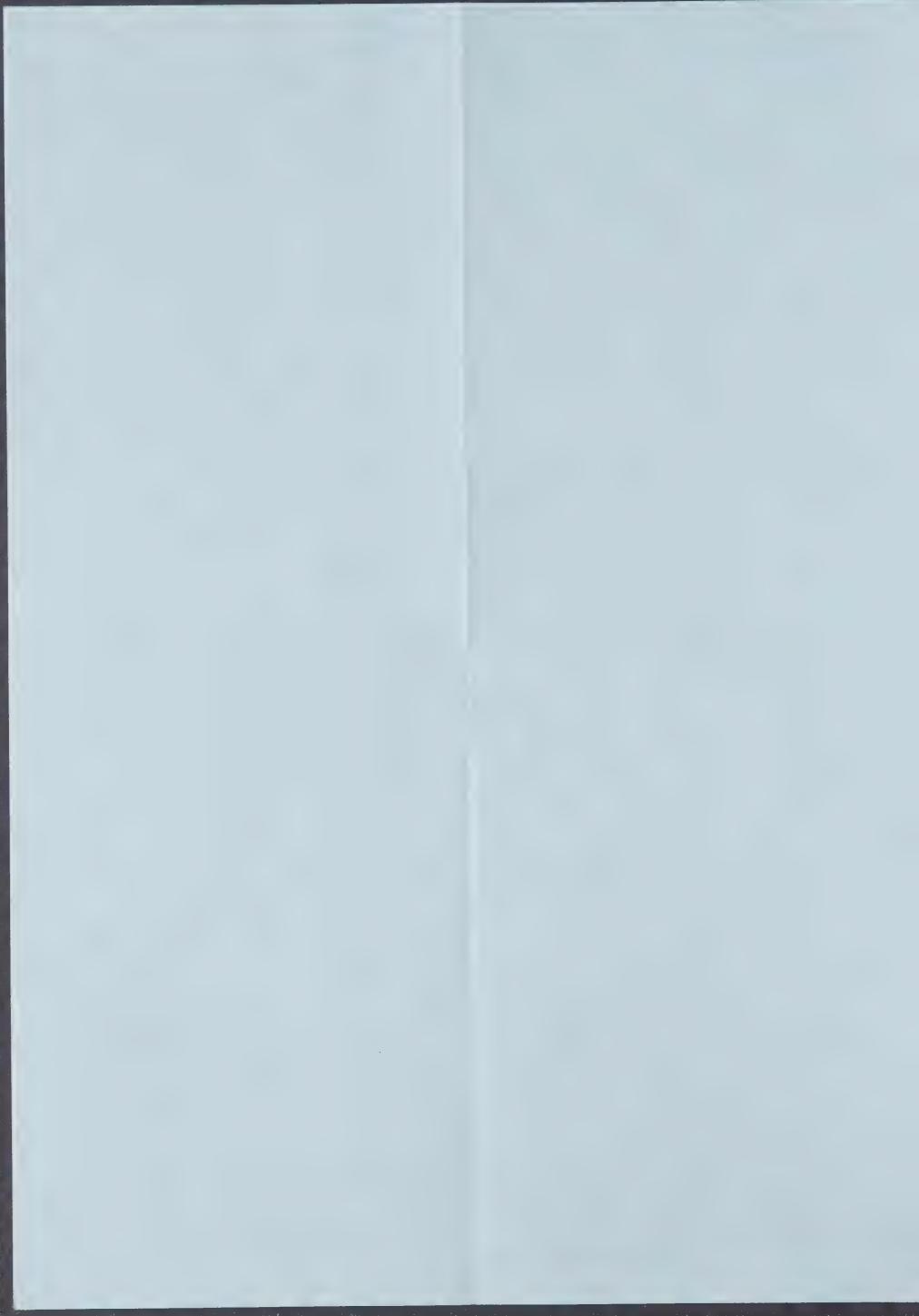
Zu den beiden jg. Männern mit den Vierer-Symbolen weiß ich leider nicht soviel. Hollaersch reicht mir das Briefes nochmal nicht zu sein. Ob man davon auf dem Papier nichts mehr ablesen kann oder ob es verschwunden ist. Schriftstücke waren da ja jednfalls, vielleicht kann sie mich durch Aufschluss noch weiter machen? Vielleicht ist "Kunst" ? Welche mir nach Ihren Empfehlungen überreicht werden.

Praktikum geben wir anjetzt in keinem Fällen nicht mehr. So kann ich Ihnen über Wünsche wegen der kleinen Landeskirche nur nicht erfüllen. Ihren Antrag enthielt einen Brief wenig Positives. Hoffentlich kann ich Ihnen ein zweites Mal mehr helfen. Es würde mich immer freuen, wenn Sie mir behalten würden von Ihren Neuerwerbungen Mitteilung machen.

Meine Wünsche zum Neuen Jahr! Falls Sie 1972 in die Nähe kommen, würde es mich freuen, Sie wiederzusehen. Halten Sie uns dann bitte auch Ihre Gedanken, bis ich Ihnen

! / J. /

Danke nochmals für auch den beiden liebenswerten Kollegen, ja ich bin Ihnen sehr meine besten Grüße.



26 Jan 1911

Dear Mr. Parker,

At noon Park fair, New Braunfels, 23
with some friends. It was the usual fare,
but we saw nothing there, nothing new
in the goatherd's barn, and Park's report on the Miller
Picard, or winter pasture, is almost surface soil,
and his wife and Mrs. Westfall may do the same -
if not, Miller's Bolson, say, have trees, while mine
are long and thin, growth was difficult
soils, not available sand, but see "C. S. C. Report"
which, even so, seems to have been done
on a much smaller scale than the writer thinks.

For, according to Park's report and my own
experience, the best soil is not even the
soil of a J. Miller's soil and so on, the
water in our Rio Grande, etc., the Sandia, seems to
be the best we could have for a crop.

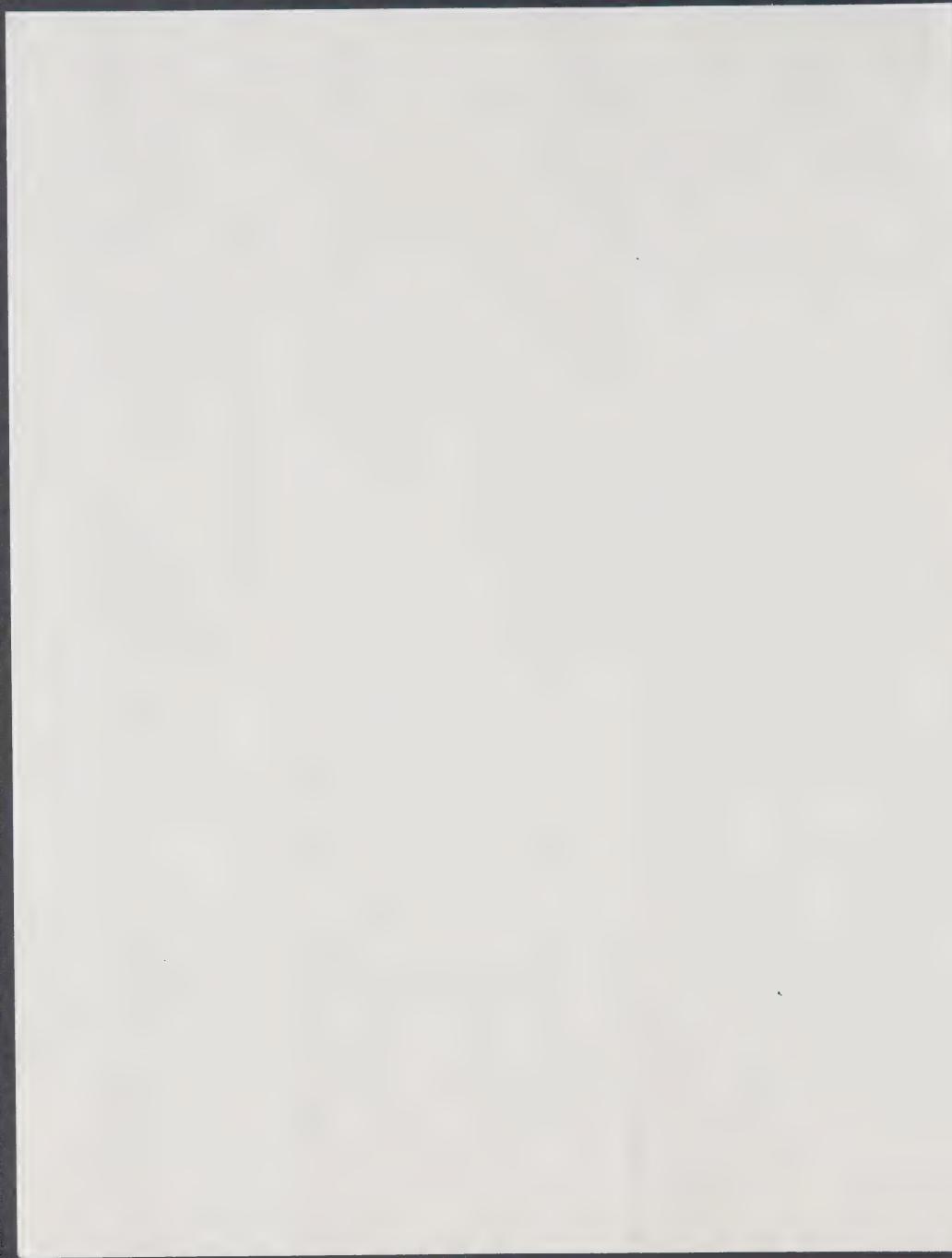
The plants growing, less the three species and those
of broken surfaces, those species with no August winds but
seen, frayed like hair and all. There can hardly
be 2. Mc Kinley, and another far from it and other species
seen first time last month in the Rio Grande.

For, although Park says his crop was in for
about two years before we got on, we had little
good soil here until recently), as I have found, mostly in
the late and the working out of the higher regions.
There are 3 or 4 and others, Spanish and Gandy.

After late these others, such as

the Begonias and the

bigging species



E. Panofsky
Problems in Titian, NYU Press, 1960

SOME BIBLICAL AND HAGIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS 39

way, from the sacred event that takes place within it. In indicating the *era ante legem* by a mere torso, he made the beholder aware of the fact that Greek and Roman paganism was no longer a problem while Judaism was still very much alive. And in replacing the merchants — who, though bent on profit, sell things required for the cult — with an old hag selling nothing but eggs — entirely unrelated to even the Jewish ritual — he produced the symbol of a mentality not only unenlightened but incapable of ever seeing the light: the spirit of those of whom the Evangelist (*John* 12, 40) says that the Lord “hath blinded their eyes and hardened their heart.”

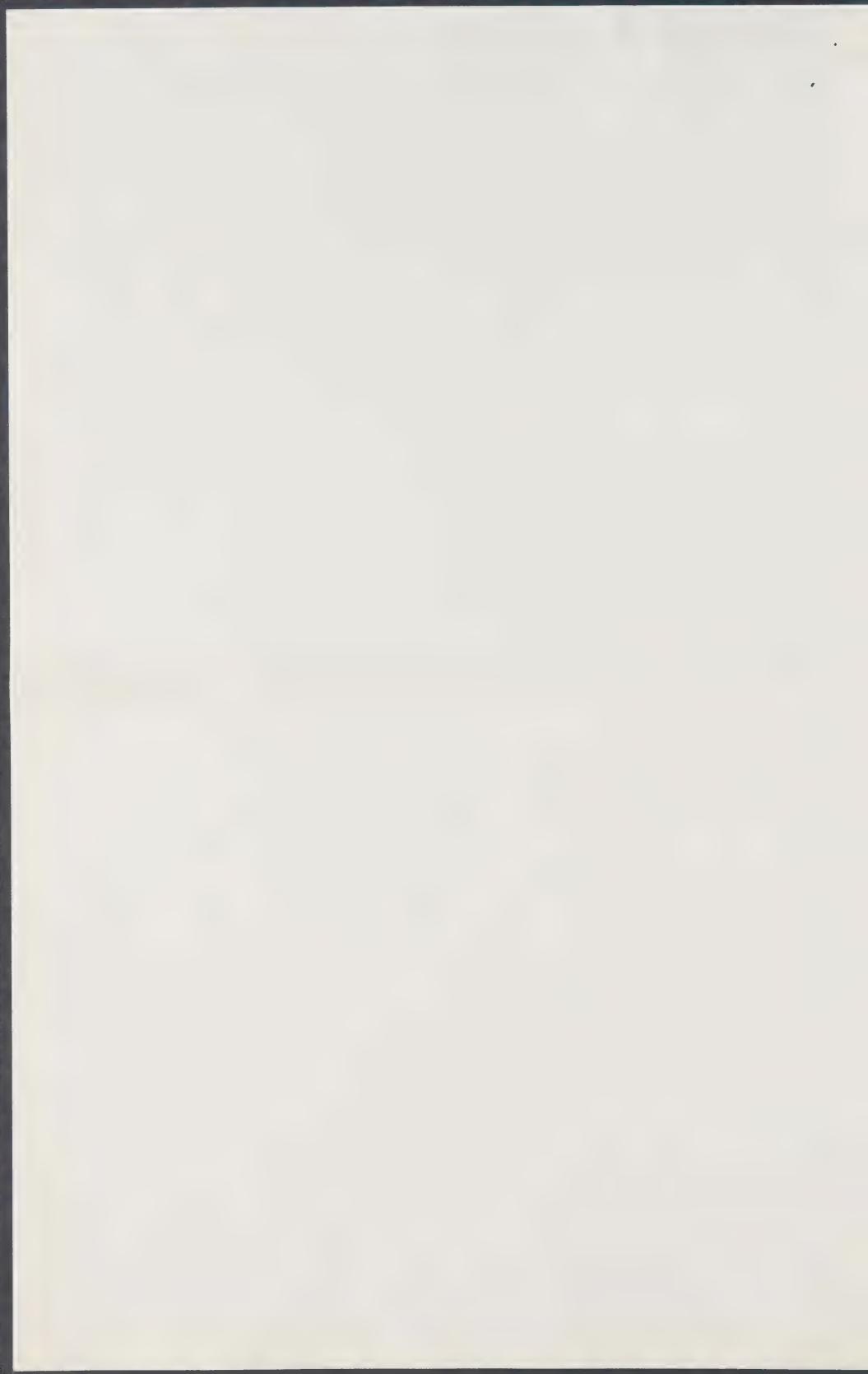
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In the special literature on Titian, as far as I know it, the Medole Altarpiece is always described as *Christ's Appearance to His Mother*; and while a very competent article devoted to the general iconography of this

27. V., II, Pl. 64. Titian had old relations with the Collegiate Church of S. Maria at Medole. Federico Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (d. 1540), had granted one of the canonries at Medole to Titian's prodigal son, Pomponio. On April 26, 1554, Titian asked Federico's son and successor, Gug-

lielmo (d. 1587), to authorize the transfer of this benefit to one of Titian's more deserving nephews (C.-C., II, pp. 240 ff., 507), and the altarpiece may well have been donated on the occasion of this nephew's admission to the Chapter of S. Maria at Medole.



40 SOME BIBLICAL AND HAGIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

subject acknowledges the uniqueness of Titian's composition, it does not specify its theological content.²⁸

That Christ appeared to the Virgin Mary after His death is not recorded in the Bible; but from the earliest times it was taken for granted that He, before appearing to so many others, must have appeared to His own mother. He was believed either to have shown Himself to her near the sepulchre on Easter morning or — more frequently in Western art — to have visited her, after His descent into Limbo, in her house on the Sabbath between the Friday of the Crucifixion and the Sunday of the Resurrection. And from the end of the thirteenth century the description of these sweetly sad reunions was embroidered with many touching, sometimes unabashedly sentimental details.

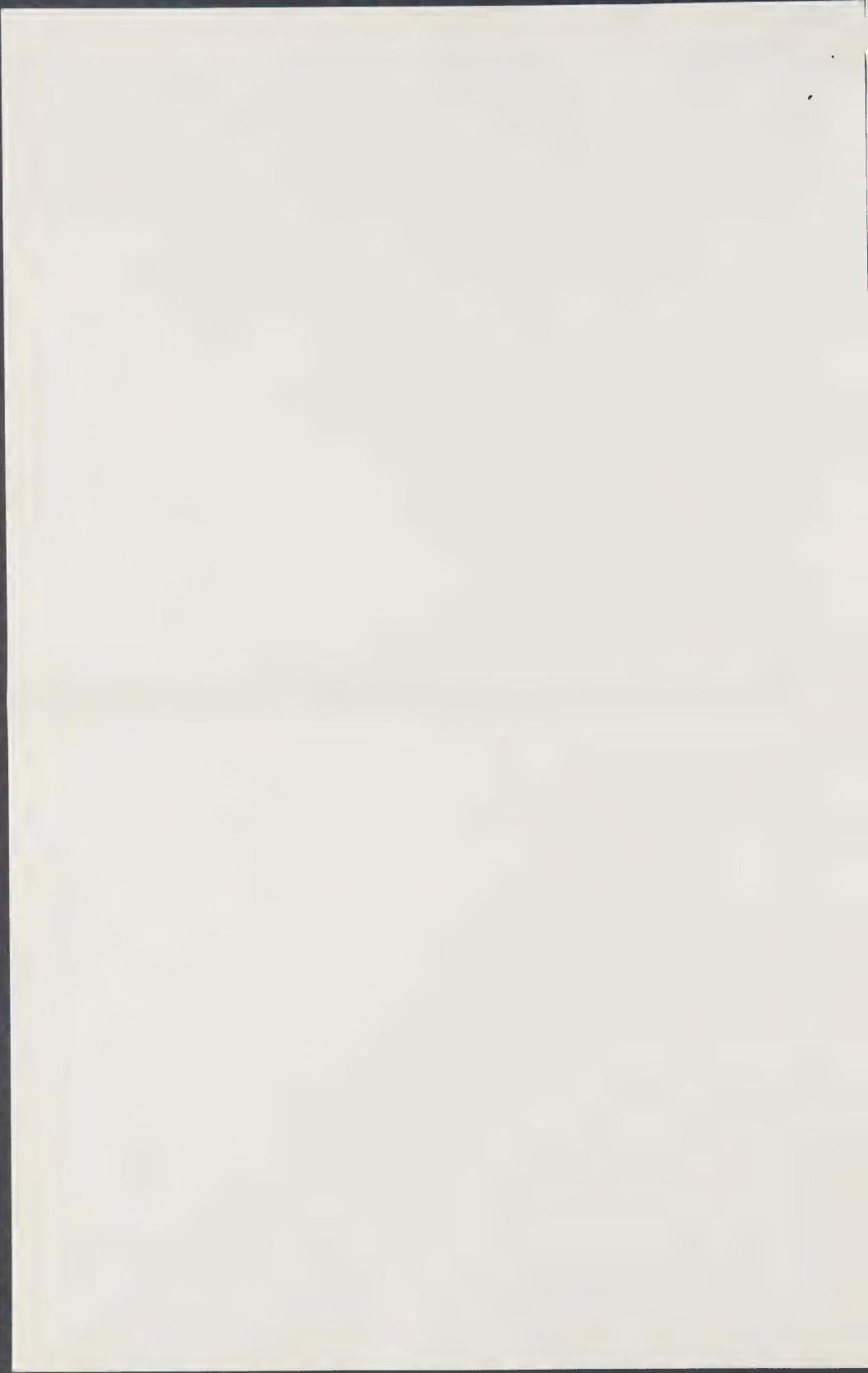
In rendering the unrecorded encounter most artists, except for those few who preferred to show Christ and His mother shaking hands or fervently embracing each other as was described in Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditations*, patterned the scene either after the *Noli me tangere* (the Virgin Mary kneeling and facing her son in an out-door setting) or after the *Annunciation* (the Virgin Mary surprised by His appearance while reading or praying in the privacy of her room). And this applies even where Christ, having redeemed the Patriarchs from Purgatory, appears in their company (Fig. 48).²⁹ But wherever the miraculous event is staged, it is staged on earth. Titian, however, transposes it to Heaven. While he retains what may be called the *Noli me tangere* type, he shows the two figures surrounded by angels and supported by clouds.

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28. J. D. Breckenridge, "'Et Prima Vidi': The Iconography of the Appearance of Christ to His Mother," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIX, 1957, pp. 9ff., specifically p. 30. Cf. now I. Haug, "Erscheinungen Christi," *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, V, cols. 1350ff., particularly cols. 1360f., and T. Dobrzeniecki, "Legenda Średniowieczna W Piśmiennictwie I Sztuce Chrystofania Marii" (with English summary entitled "The Christophany to the Virgin; a Mediaeval Legend in Literature and

Art"), *Średniowiecze Studia o kulturze*, II, 1965, pp. 7ff. Here, however, the uniqueness of Titian's Medole Altarpiece (unconvincingly connected with the homilies of St. Vincent Ferrer on p. 130) has not been recognized.

29. For the probable origin of this motif — a concretization of Ludolf of Saxony's account, according to which Christ merely tells His mother of His descent into Limbo — see Breckenridge, *ibidem*, p. 28.

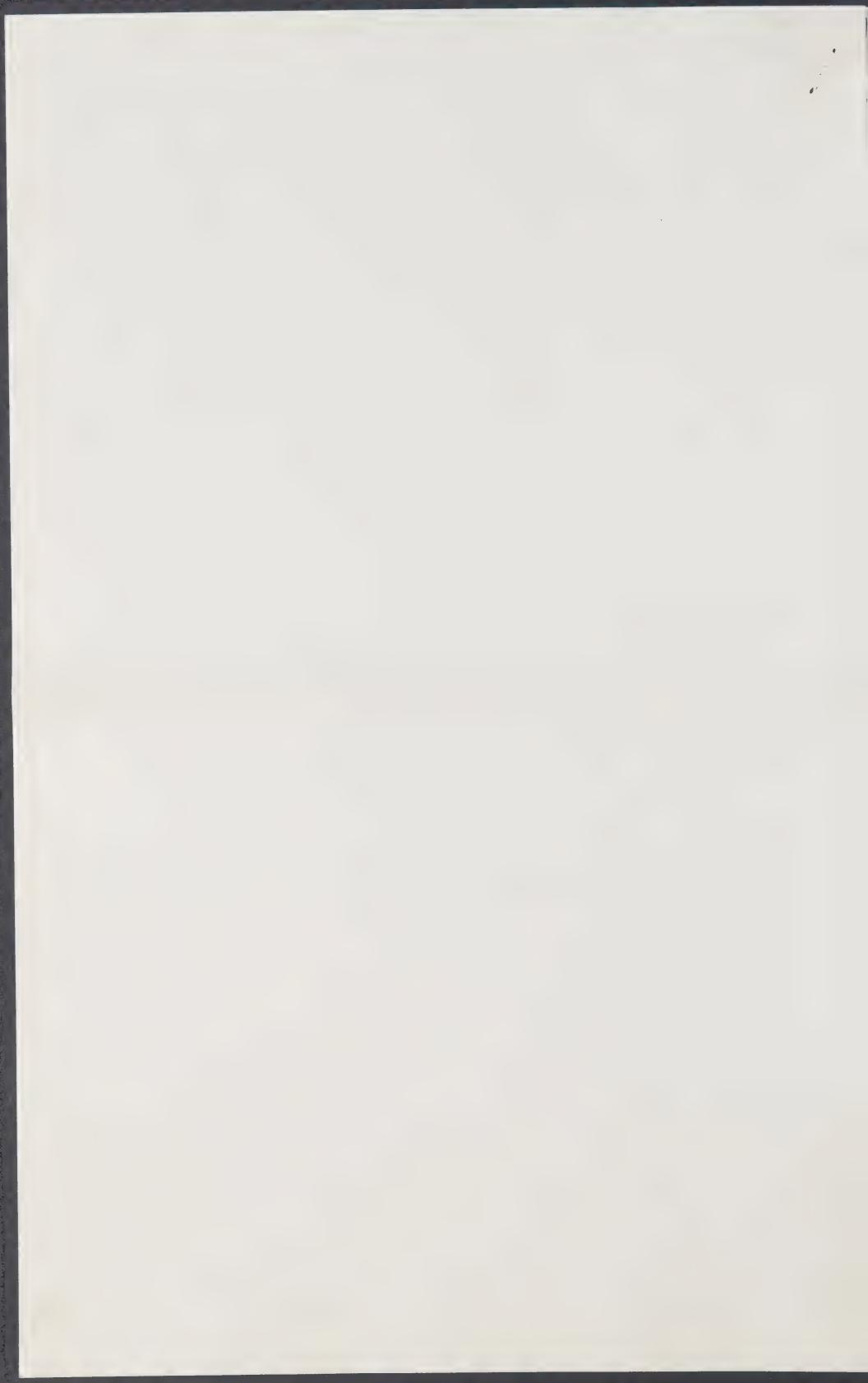


protection, they had been spreading the belief that the Virgin Mary would descend into Purgatory on the Saturday after the death of one of her special votaries in order personally to liberate him, particularly of course, if he was a member of the Carmelite Order itself. This belief — formalized in a spurious papal Bull, known as *Bulla Sabbatina* — was untenable from a theological point of view, since only Christ Himself has the power of redemption. Yet it had taken root so firmly that, from 1577, a series of genuine Bulls acknowledged it precisely by restricting it to acceptable limits: while the Virgin Mary was denied the power to redeem in person, she was credited (as she still is in Chapter viii, 3, 62 of the section *De Ecclesia* adopted by the Vatican Council of 1964) with the office of "assisting the souls of the deceased by her perpetual intercession, pious prayer and special protection."³⁰ It is this Perpetual Intercession for the Souls of the Deceased — performed, of course, in Heaven rather than in Purgatory or on earth and "neither taking away from nor adding to the dignity and efficaciousness of Christ, the only Mediator" — which is the true subject of Titian's Medole Altarpiece. But so closely did Titian keep to the traditional way of representing Christ Appearing to His Mother in the Company of the Redeemed, that his composition could serve as a model for the most beautiful of those visualizations of the *Bulla Sabbatina* which, all objections notwithstanding, sprang up by 1580 and show the Perpetual Intercession in Limbo rather than in Heaven. Guido Reni's "*Harrowing of Hell in the Presence of the Virgin Mary*" (formerly Dresden, our Fig. 49) is hardly imaginable without the influence, direct or indirect, of Titian's Medole Altarpiece.³¹

30. Cf. E. Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis . . ." (cited above, p. 26, Note 42), p. 306, Note 107: "post eorum transitum sui intercessionibus continuis, piis suffragiis et speciali protectioni adiuvabit." Subsequently this limited power of intercession for the souls in Purgatory was extended to certain saints, particularly St. Theresa, who in a well-known composition by Rubens (original in the Antwerp Museum, illustrated in *Rubens, Klassiker der Kunst*, 4th edition, p. 339; reduced replica in the Metropolitan Museum, reproduced in J. A. Goris and J. S. Held, *Rubens in America*, New York, 1947, p. 53, No. A. 73, Appendix Pl. 3) is represented kneeling before Christ, with the soul in Purgatory emerging from the lower margin. But in

contrast to Titian's Medole Altarpiece the scene is not transposed to Heaven.

31. For these unorthodox compositions, which begin with Alessandro Allori's altarpiece in S. Marco at Florence, see Breckinridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 30ff. It should be noted, however, that the picture there reproduced in Fig. 19 as a work of Guido Reni is actually a work of Lodovico Carracci (H. Bodmer, *Lodovico Carracci*, Burg bei Magdeburg, 1939, Fig. 54), the confusion arising from the fact that both paintings are (or, in the case of Reni, were) preserved in the Gemäldegalerie at Dresden. For the real Guido Reni, see C. Gnudi, *Guido Reni*, Florence, 1955, p. 74, No. 51, Fig. 99.





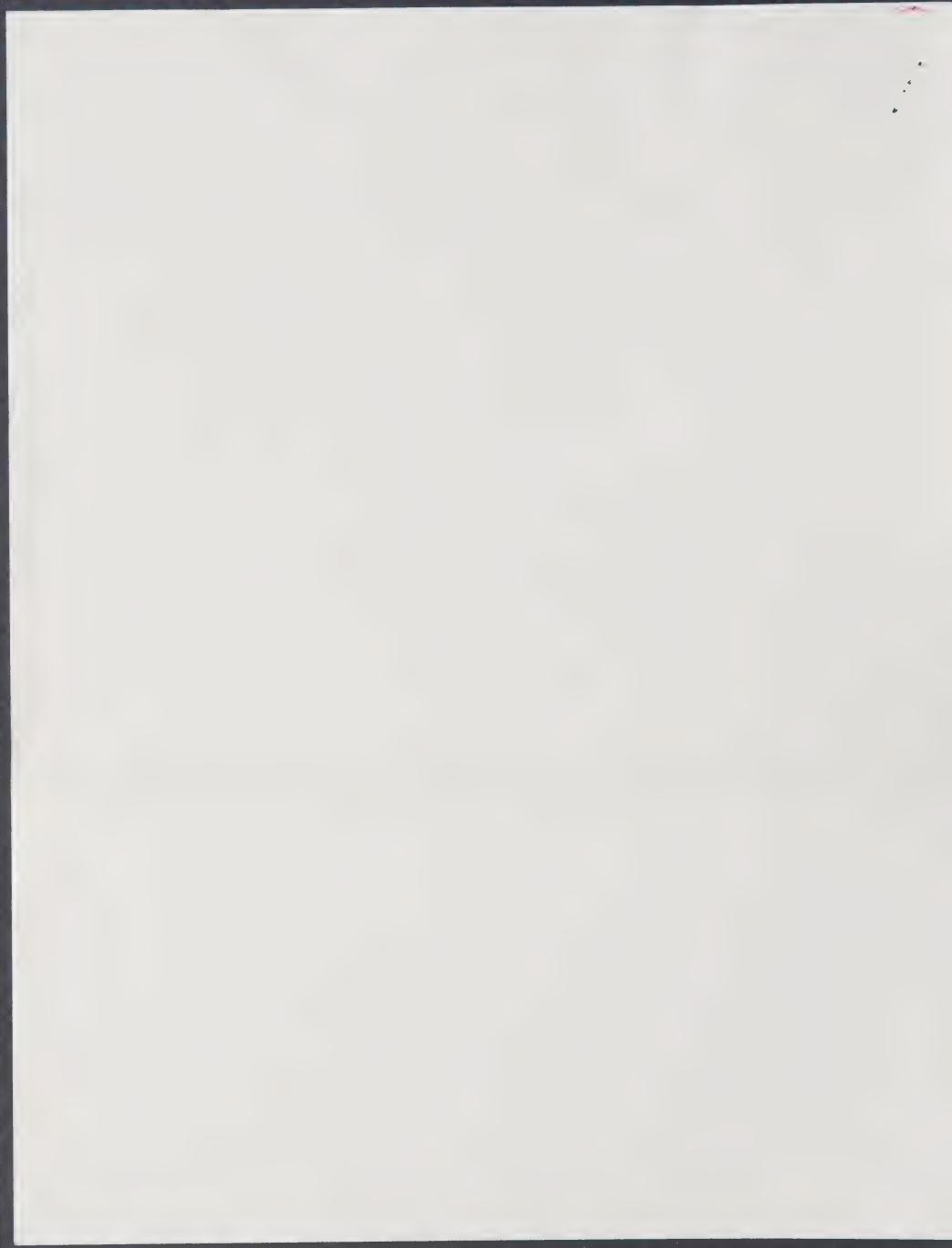
17. Relief, *The Dancer's Tomb*, Mycenae, C. 1300 B.C.



18. Relief, *The Dancer's Tomb*, Mycenae, C. 1300 B.C.

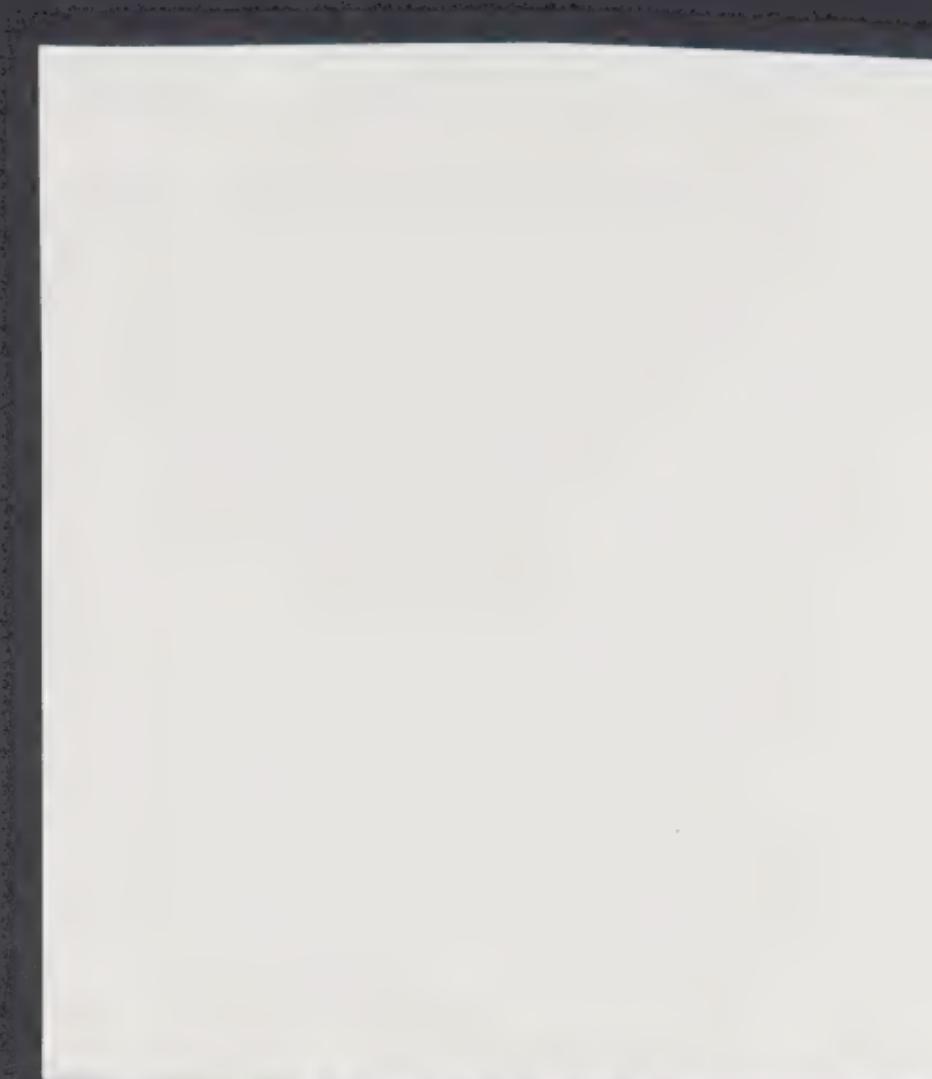


19. Relief, *The Dancer's Tomb*, Mycenae, C. 1300 B.C.





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oberlin college
department of art
oberlin, ohio 44074

37 12

7. In addition to some brief

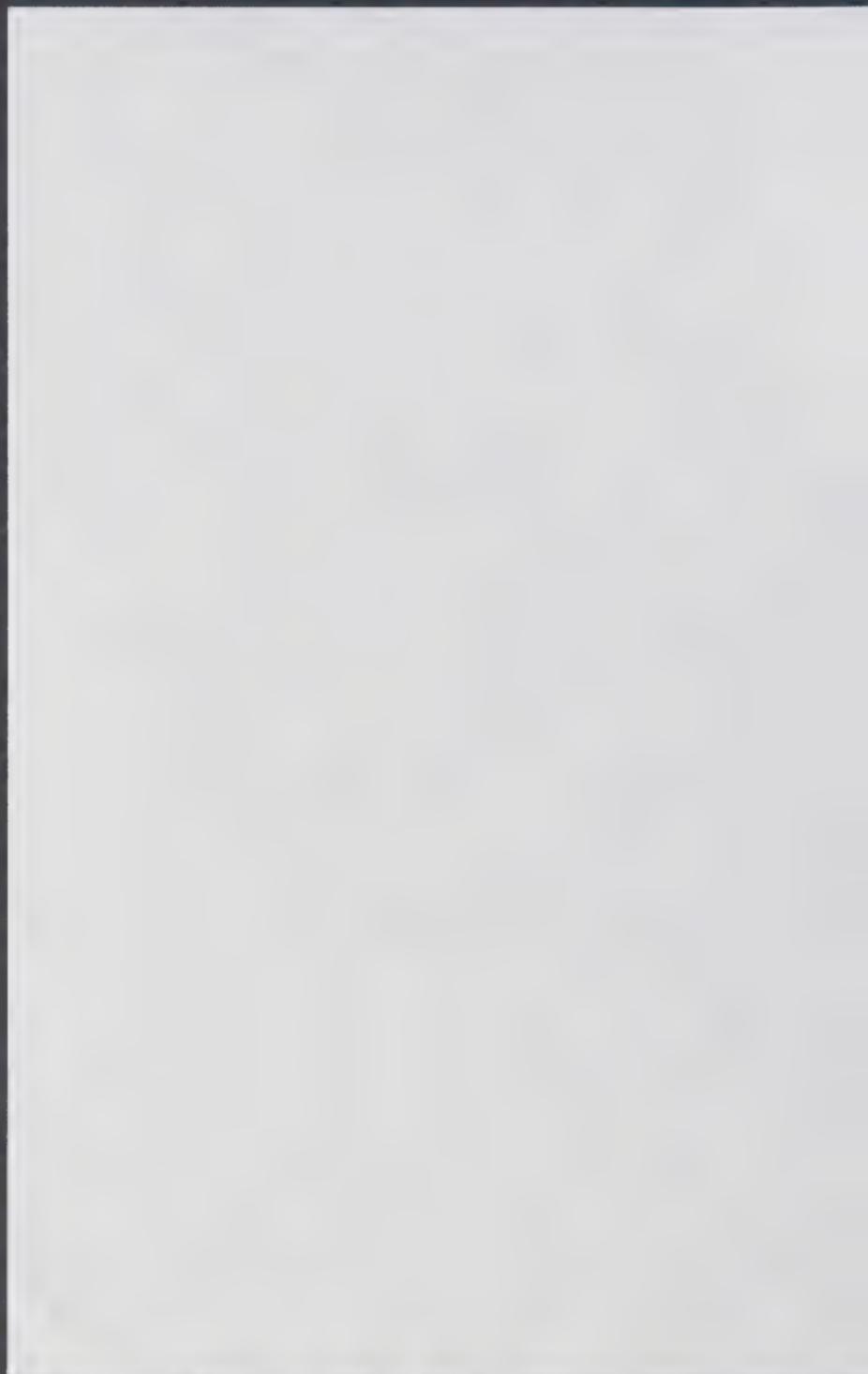
notes elsewhere,

In Bulletin No. 62, 1921, p. 107,

in Green Bay, Fox River, Green Bay,
Wisconsin, in sandstone,
about 100 feet above the
Calumet Limestone and about one
mile from the mouth of the
Fox River, two species of
and two or three smaller fish, were
found. The climate ^{probably} was the
same as at present. The
first fish, "Sturisoma" in 1905
had been described by
Schmidt in "Naturforsch. Z.",
while in "Naturf."?

v. 6.

8. In Bulletin No. 10, 1919,
in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.



DR. ALFRED R. BADER
2961 NORTH SHEPARD AVENUE
MILWAUKEE, WIS. 53211

1031

DAY
TO
THE
ORDER
OF

D. R. Bader, M.D.

19

81

S. G. L. C. O. D. H. E. S. T.

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\$ *25.00*

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& TRUST COMPANY

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53203

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Prier and Sonnen's
Agents

Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.
The Hague, Teurneveld

190



PHOTO MEYER K.G.
Wien VI., Theobaldgasse 15
1061 Wien Postfach 260
0222, 575233 / 575184

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

April 22, 1977

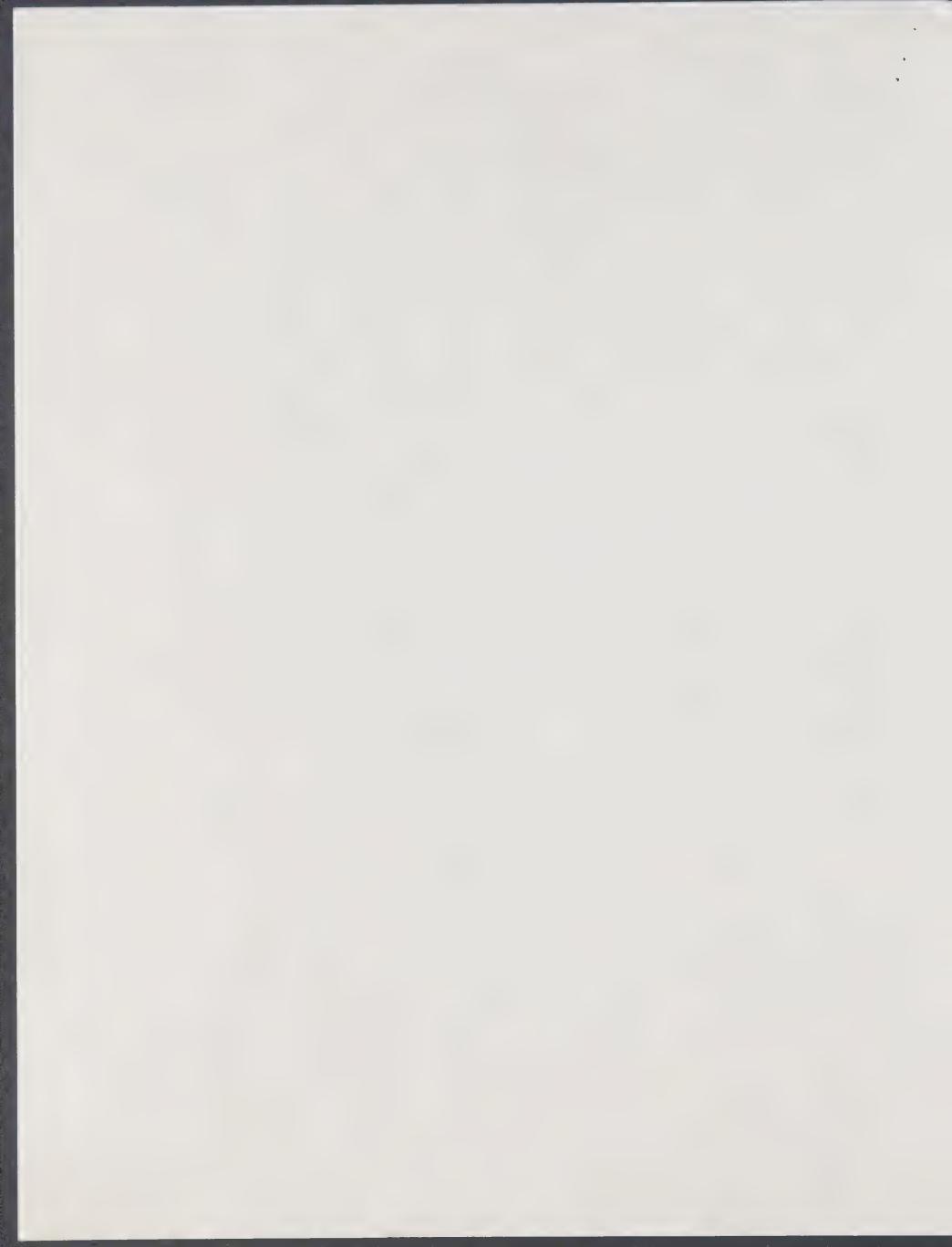
Dear Dr. Jackson:

Please thank you so much for writing me. I am very interested in your article on Tetracycline.

As you will have noticed from my letter, I am not particularly fond of tetracycline. I am not particularly fond of penicillin either. I would like to make a few comments about the use of tetracycline.

It is to be regretted that the use of tetracycline has become very common in dentistry. The best way to use it is to use it sparingly. It should be used sparingly and long-term use should be avoided. There are many reasons for this. One reason is that tetracycline is a strong antibiotic and it can cause side effects such as discoloration of the teeth and other side effects such as liver damage. Another reason is that it can cause antibiotic resistance. This is a big concern for dentists because it can lead to more difficult infections.

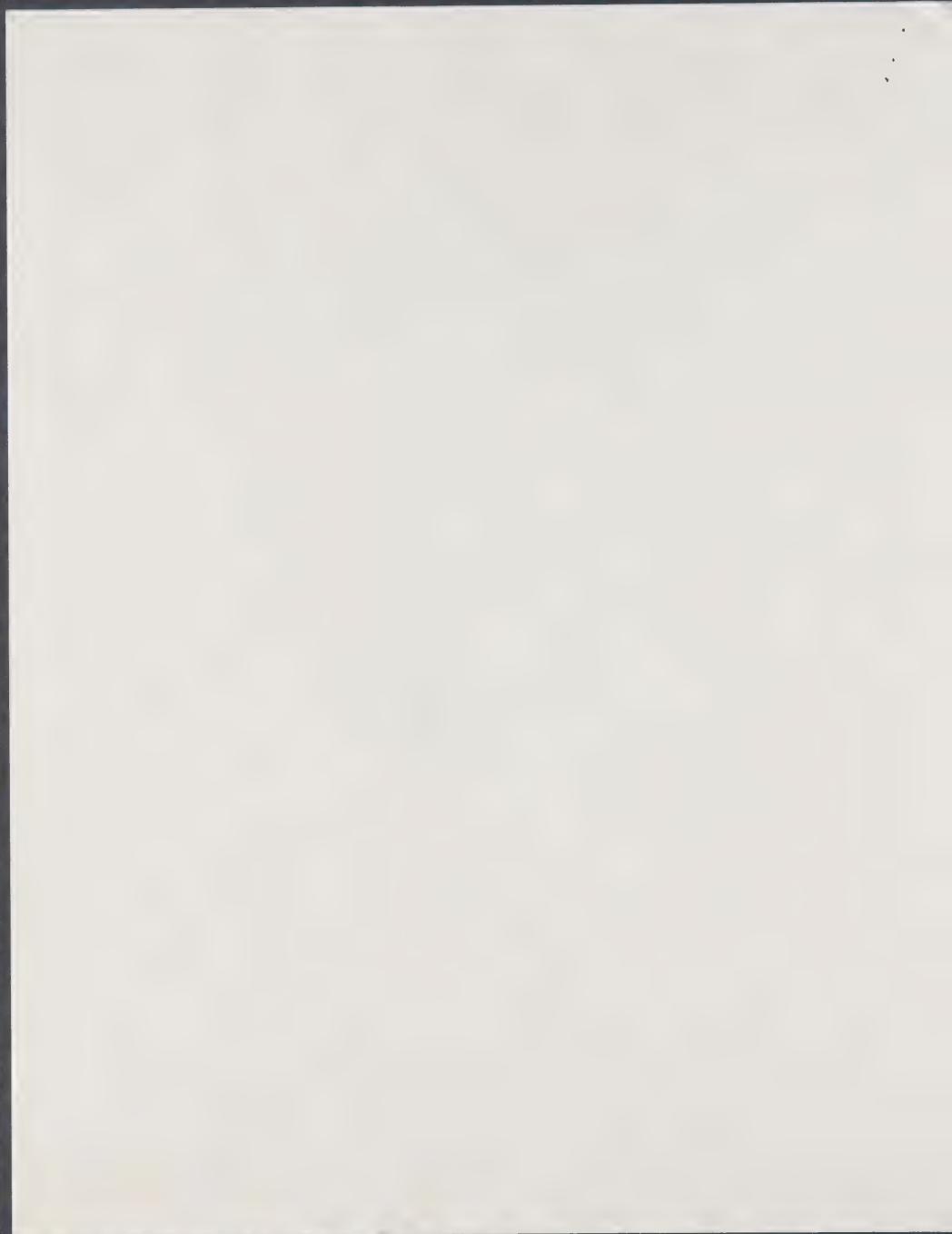
I hope that this information will be helpful to you. Please let me know if you have any questions or concerns. Thank you for your interest in this topic.



and the only answer.

The man I bought had the following
for him as well & made his plan. He said
you should be anxious for his money, when
you have one who is careful will have it.
He said he had a good time, & when he got
home he told his wife about it, she thought he
had been drinking, & when he told her
he had been working, she said "I don't care
what you do, but don't drink."

John has a son, and a daughter, &
the son is a good boy, & the daughter
is a good girl. John has a son, &
the son is a good boy, & the daughter
is a good girl. John has a son, &
the son is a good boy, & the daughter
is a good girl. John has a son, &
the son is a good boy, & the daughter
is a good girl. John has a son, &



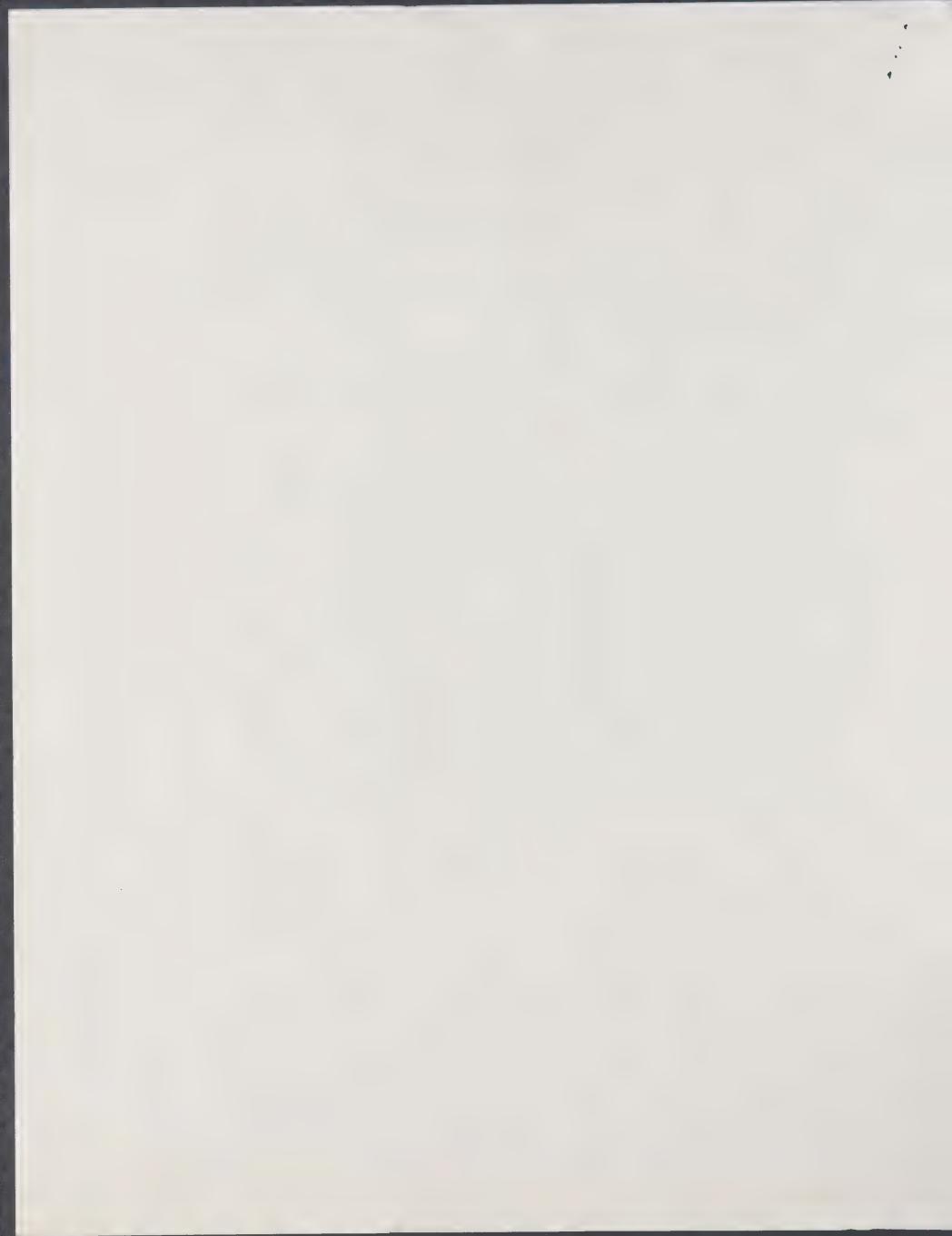
Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

Tony Clark has come here. He is the greatest
surgeon I know - a physician and a
gentleman who places his patients' welfare above
all else. He is a Minneapolis until he came to this
country. He is here in the interest of research
and to help our countrymen.

I hope to see in Lincoln the best of him.
He is a great man and we must have him here
as long as we can. He is a man of great
ability and we must do all we can to help him.

Best regards and regards

John C. O'Hearn



OBERLIN COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF ART
OBERLIN, OHIO 44074

August 14

Dear Mr. Bader,

Thank you so much for your kind letter of Aug 10. I would like to study your work more but am afraid it won't be possible until after school has started; your offer of a loan was most appreciated, however for now. Richard Spear informs me that he has very good color slides of

your painting. I am
enclosing the Pandesley
pages - sorry the quality of
the xerox isn't better.

In haste with

best regards,

Craig Harrison

way, from the sacred event that takes place within it. In indicating the era *ante legem* by a mere torso, he made the beholder aware of the fact that Greek and Roman paganism was no longer a problem while Judaism was still very much alive. And in replacing the merchants — who, though bent on profit, sell things required for the cult — with an old hag selling nothing but eggs — entirely unrelated to even the Jewish ritual — he produced the symbol of a mentality not only unenlightened but incapable of ever seeing the light: the spirit of those of whom the Evangelist (*John* 12, 40) says that the Lord “hath blinded their eyes and hardened their heart.”

Of all the other representations of subjects from the New Testament I shall discuss only two: one, because it still tends to be misinterpreted; the other, because it confronts us with what seems to be an anachronism involving more than three hundred years.

The first of these pictures (Fig. 47) is an altarpiece, impressive in spite of the fact that it was carried out with the help of the workshop. In 1554 it was donated by Titian to the Collegiate Church at Medole near Mantua, which still owns it.²⁷ It shows a dialogue between the Risen Christ and His Mother who is shown kneeling before Him. She is alone; but He is accompanied by some of the patriarchs whom He had freed from Purgatory before His Resurrection: Adam, his posterity, Lot, revealing the influence of Michelangelo's *Roncallino*, Isaac, Noah, and Abraham (the two last-named mentioned together in *Thessalonians* 1, 6-8). And a special expressiveness is lent to this dialogue by the gestures of the two hands, the Virgin's right and the Redeemer's left. According to a preference already noticeable in such early works as the *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (Fig. 114) and the *Assunta* (Fig. 14), they are sharply bent at the wrist and silhouetted against the sky.

In the special literature on Titian, as far as I know it, the Medole Altarpiece is always described as *Christ's Appearance to His Mother*; and while a very competent article devoted to the general iconography of this

27. U., in *Pl. 103*, p. 103, with the Collegiate Church at Medole. Federico Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (d. 1540), had canonries at Medole to which he gave the sum of 100 ducats a year to his son, Pomponio. On April 26, 1543, Titian sent a letter to the chapter of S. Maria in Medole, asking Federico's son and successor, Duke Federico Gonzaga, to give him



40 SOME BIBLICAL AND HAGIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

subject acknowledges the uniqueness of Titian's composition, it does not specify its theological content.²⁸

That Christ appeared to the Virgin Mary after His death is not recorded in the Bible; but from the earliest times it was taken for granted that He, before appearing to so many others, must have appeared to His own mother. He was believed either to have shown Himself to her near the sepulchre on Easter morning or — more frequently in Western art — to have visited her, after His descent into Limbo, in her house on the Sabbath between the Friday of the Crucifixion and the Sunday of the Resurrection. And from the end of the thirteenth century the description of these sweetly sad reunions was embroidered with many touching, sometimes unabashedly sentimental details.

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In making this unique innovation, Titian, apparently advised by one of the canons of Medole, defined the correct solution of a major theological dispute which had come to a head at the time. Ever since, in 1245, the Carmelite Order had adopted the style and title of *Fratres Beatae Mariae Virginis* and begun to wear a special scapular to insure her

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Art"), *Średniowiecze Studia o kulturze*, II, 1965, pp. 7ff. Here, however, the uniqueness of Titian's Medole Altarpiece (unconvincingly connected with the homilies of St. Vincent Ferrer on p. 130) has not been recognized.

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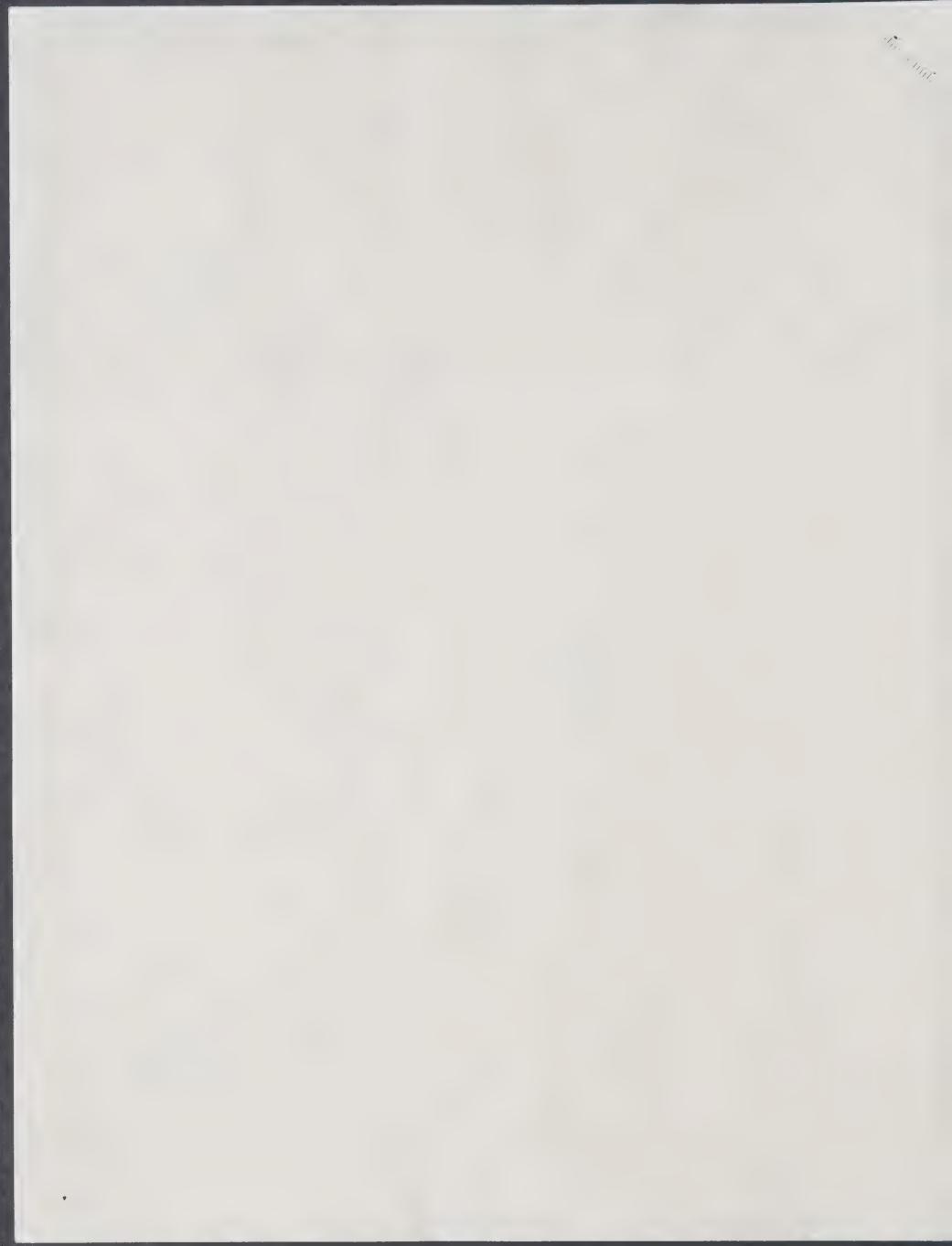
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protection, they had been spreading the belief that the Virgin Mary would descend into Purgatory on the Saturday after the death of one of her special votaries in order personally to liberate him, particularly of course, if he was a member of the Carmelite Order itself. This belief — formalized in a spurious papal Bull, known as *Bulla Sabbatina* — was untenable from a theological point of view, since only Christ Himself has the power of redemption. Yet it had taken root so firmly that, from 1577, a series of genuine Bulls acknowledged it precisely by restricting it to acceptable limits: while the Virgin Mary was denied the power to redeem in person, she was credited (as she still is in Chapter viii, 3, 62 of the section *De Ecclesia* adopted by the Vatican Council of 1964) with the office of "assisting the souls of the deceased by her perpetual intercession, pious prayer and special protection."³⁰ It is this Perpetual Intercession for the Souls of the Deceased — performed, of course, in Heaven rather than in Purgatory or on earth and "neither taking away from nor adding to the dignity and efficaciousness of Christ, the only Mediator" — which is the true subject of Titian's Medole Altarpiece. But so closely did Titian keep to the traditional way of representing Christ Appearing to His Mother in the Company of the Redeemed, that his composition could serve as a model for the most beautiful of those visualizations of the *Bulla Sabbatina* which, all objections notwithstanding, sprang up by 1580 and show the Perpetual Intercession in Limbo rather than in Heaven. Guido Reni's *Harrowing of Hell & the Presence of the Virgin Mary* (formerly Dresden, our Fig. 49) is fully imaginable without the influence, direct or indirect, of Titian's Medole Altarpiece.³¹

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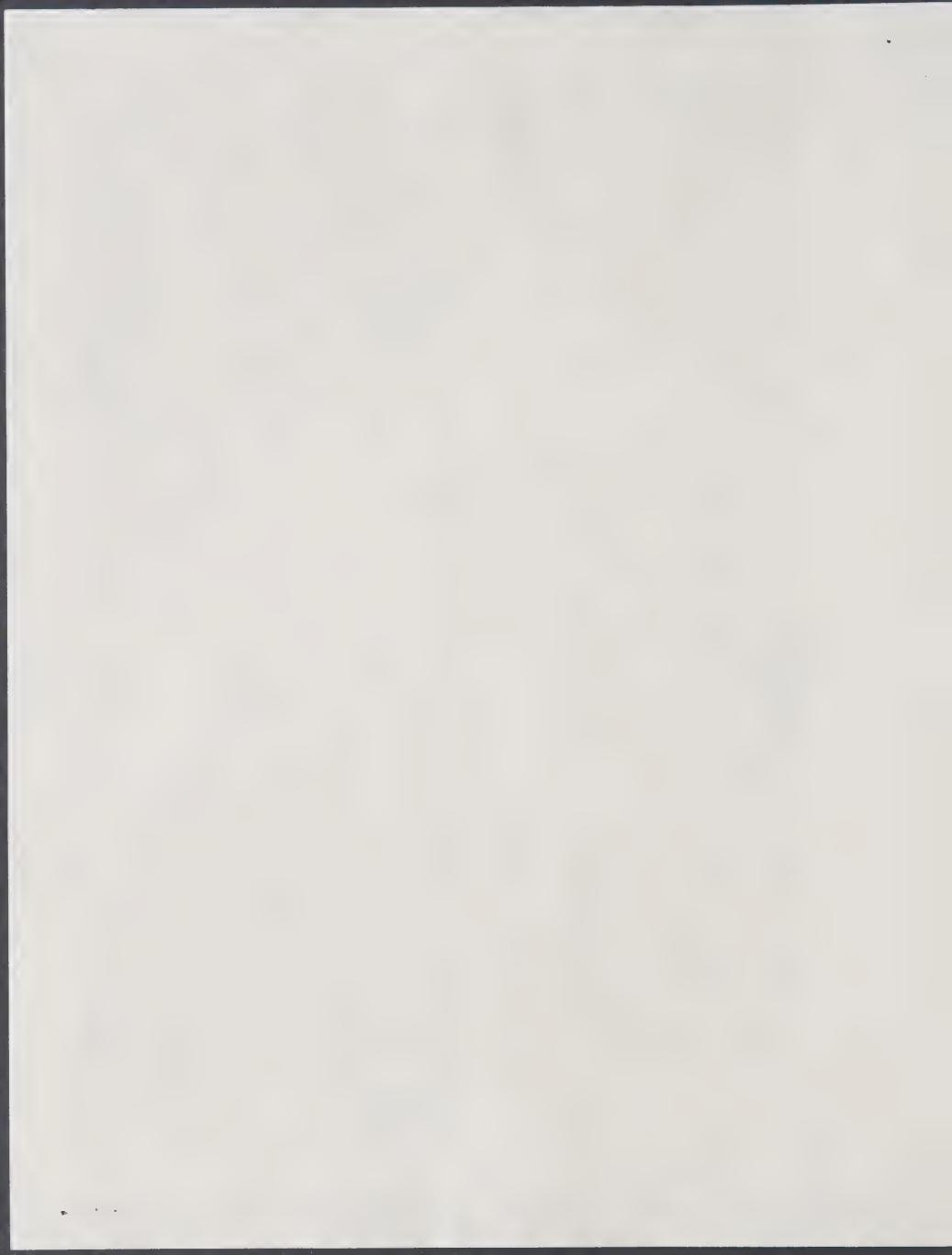
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47. Titian, *The Penitent Magdalene*, from *The Virgin Mary*. Medole, Collegiate





48. Miguel Esteve (?), *Christ and the Redeemed Patriarchs Appearing to the Virgin Mary*,
Williamstown, Williams College Museum of Art



49. Guido Reni, *Intervention of the Angel in Heaven* (c. 1610), Dresden, Gemäldegalerie (destroyed?)

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R I J K S M U S E U M

AFDELING Schilderijen

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uw brief:

AMSTERDAM, April 21, 1972

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
MILWAUKEE Wisconsin 53211
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Bader,

Thank you very much indeed for your letter
of April 11 1972.

It is really too bad what they did to your
picture. Pure vandalism! Still your restorer seems to
have done a good job.

If this really is a Terbrugghen (and as I said
in my last letter I have little doubt) I would suggest
a date ca. 1625.

The iconography is very puzzling indeed. I do
not remember having seen a similar representation before,
although one could expect to find relevant material in
16th century graphic art. Perhaps prof. Heckscher (Duke
University) can put you on the right track.

I enclose the photo taken during restoration
and under separate cover I am sending an ektachrome of
the Agnew painting. Please do return this to me as it
belongs to our files.

I am indeed a member of the group of six forming
the Rembrandt Research Project. We are always travelling in
groups of two but the combination varies. I have just been
in South-America and at the end of this year will go to
Melbourne. I am very sorry that I shall miss the opportunity
to meet you. As far as I know dr. Levi will be coming with
Mr Van de Wetering.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

P.J.J. van Thiel
(dr. P.J.J. van Thiel)
Director of the

(1 μm)

1 μm

Kob 21

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

Dear Professor Becker.

Thank you so much for your detailed letter of August 26.

I don't know I have ever seen a painting by Breughel the Younger, and will look at his "Jesus or the Name of Oliver" when next I am in Munich. I do have with a sketch & the inscription on the back, #2, 1570. Suggessions are therefore welcome.

As far as I know, no one has connected the "Jesus Son Maria" w/ my Fabio myself. Craig Gabison now has doubts whether it depicts "Mary Praying for the Condemned in Purgatory" (cf. Bader #26), and has put me down interesting readings by one of my students, Christopher Witschner, heretofore unpublished.

If people like David T. Schaefer put up, it is one of my favorite paintings. Truly unique. I have had the background figures photographed more clearly in two photos w/ the center figure somewhat. As you are interested, I enclose them.

Also, as you are writing on Bruegel's last book,

-2-

you might be interested in these drawings. I am sending
you photo of Bas my son because - he has drawn it.

I looked at a lot, did not identify it with Jan Mathieu's
prints, and suggested I show it to you, to ask whether
it is Belaere.

Bas exists *Portrait of a man* (p. 75), a rare
Utrecht artist. Recently I gave a portrait painting by
him to my alma mater, Drexel University, in memory

I only acquired two paintings for my collection
this summer. One, a head of a peacock, quite unusual,
might be Utrecht - it bears an old attribution
to Belaere, and I look forward to your comments.
The other is a bust that I find, probably authentic
you should.

I'd like very much to have you visit soon
I am sure, to look at my paintings! It would give
me such pleasure to meet you personally!

Best regards,

Cyril D. Beeson

Sept. 15 '83

telefoon 732121
postgiro 425180

R I J K S M U S E U M

AFDELING Schilderijen

AMSTERDAM, April 21, 1972

uw ref.:
onze ref.: PvT/FK
uw brief:

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
MILWAUKEE Wisconsin 53211
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Bader,

Thank you very much indeed for your letter
of April 11 1972.

It is really too bad what they did to your
picture. Pure vandalism! Still your restorer seems to
have done a good job.

If this really is a Terbrugghen (and as I said
in my last letter I have little doubt) I would suggest
a date ca. 1625.

The iconography is very puzzling indeed. I do
not remember having seen a similar representation before,
although one could expect to find relevant material in
16th century graphic art. Perhaps prof. Heckscher (Duke
University) can put you on the right track.

I enclose the photo taken during restoration
and under separate cover I am sending an ektachrome of
the Agnew painting. Please do return this to me as it
belongs to our files.

I am indeed a member of the group of six forming
the Rembrandt Research Project. We are always travelling in
groups of two but the combination varies. I have just been
in South-America and at the end of this year will go to
Melbourne. I am very sorry that I shall miss the opportunity
to meet you. As far as I know dr. Levi will be coming with
Mr Van de Wetering.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely



(dr. P.J.J. van Thiel)
Director of the
Dept. of Paintings

11/10

For Mrs. Baden, with best regards,
Craig HARBISON

SHORTER NOTICES

entry for 1607, however, shows more precisely that these four artists in fact inhabited the same house in the Via Condotti looked after by two servants:-

Anibale caracci pictore c vineo. 11° servos,
Sisto badalogi c
Gio. Antonio solari c
Antonio Caracci c
franc. serva c

The 'c' behind the names indicates that these persons were communicants and had received communion. It is now also clear that the Gianantonio whose family name had unwittingly been turned into 'scolaro' in the entry in the Bologna catalogue, was Giovanni Antonio Solari, the painter from Milan. On the other hand, Solari did indeed figure in the Roman records and those of the Accademia di S. Luca, as late as 1633, as 'Gianantonio, scolaro di Anibale Caracci' and Gio. Antonio del Caracci.⁵

⁵ POSNER, *op. cit.* I p.179, n.66.

A Note on Terbrugghen's 'Sleeping Mars'

BY CRAIG HARBISON

HENDRICK TERBRUGGHEN's portrayal of a sleeping soldier (today in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht; Fig.53) is no doubt one of the masterpieces of the last five years of the artist's activity. In the Utrecht painting, what might well be an individual contemporary Dutch soldier has removed his leg-guards, put down his instrument, and fallen asleep head in hand, his arm resting upon the quieted drum. In a style that minglest virtuosity with realism, the artist has painted the warrior dressed in a suit of armour which provides much of both the visual and the iconographic interest in the painting.

The type of armour pictured, of which only about fifty examples remain, is in the Milanese style of about 1580 and was widely used in Holland well into the seventeenth century (compare Fig.54).² It is interesting to note that in another late Terbrugghen painting of a seated soldier, this time viewed from behind, a similar if not identical suit of armour is portrayed (Fig.55). That Terbrugghen had first-hand knowledge of this particular type of armour seems undeniable.

Being impressed by the extent of Terbrugghen's realism, one might feel inclined to interpret the Utrecht work as a simple genre painting. But contemporary references to and poems about the painting have aided art historians in understanding that Terbrugghen probably intended a moral meaning as well.³ Terbrugghen's soldier is referred to as the god of war, Mars; thus the repose of this figure brings rest from war and strife in general. Painted in the 1620's at the height of the Dutch Wars of Independence, Terbrugghen's portrayal has been rightly interpreted as a kind of pacifist painting.⁴

¹ A version of this paper was given at the College Art Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 27th January 1972. My wife Sherill, Mr Benedict Nicolson and Professor Wolfgang Stechow have made helpful suggestions.

² I am grateful to Mr J. B. Kist, Afdeling Nederlandse Geschiedenis, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, who generously provided me with information about the armour in question, as well as the photograph reproduced as Fig.54. The reader should also consult the article by R. B. F. VAN DER SLOOT: 'Harnassen uit einde 16e en begin 17e Eeuw in de Noordelijke Nederlanden,' *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, Vol.10 (1959), pp.99-124 (Terbrugghen's painting is illustrated there as fig.4, p.115). Mr C. Blair, Keeper, Department of Metal-work, Victoria and Albert Museum, was also helpful.

³ See WOLFGANG STECHOW: 'Zu zwei Bildern des Hendrik Terbrugghen,' *Oud-Holland*, Vol.XLIV (1928), p.281. This reference is carefully cited by BENEDICT NICOLSON: *Hendrik Terbrugghen*, London (1958), p.103.

⁴ See the fundamental study of BENEDICT NICOLSON, *op. cit.*, p.103. This interpretation has been supported by SEYMOUR SLIVE: 'Een dronk slapende

A clue to possibly more precise significance comes from the armour. It has thus far escaped attention that on Mars's left breastplate, in an inverted heart-shaped medallion, is a representation of a lion which I believe is meant as *Leo Belgicus*, the lion of the Netherlands (Fig.57). This regal animal appeared on countless Dutch coins used throughout the seventeenth century (Fig.59).⁵ It is however not this typical heraldic form of the lion which the artist has painted. The Dutch lion also came to be used as an ingenious cartographic device. Mapmakers adapted the body of the lion to fit the geographic outline of the Lowlands in several ways (Figs.58 and 60). In these forms, the beast seemed to roar in defiance at its neighbours both south and east. It is this Dutch lion as Dutch land which Terbrugghen seems to have adapted for Mars's armour.⁶

I have not been able to trace any surviving suit of armour used at this time which displays a lion where Terbrugghen painted it. The device can thus certainly be called unusual. And the fact that Terbrugghen has not portrayed the typical heraldic lion but chosen an anomalous form borrowed from cartography does seem suggestive. For even if one found a suit of armour on which the lion was portrayed in the same place, it is highly unlikely that it would be in this form.⁷ Thus I believe that its existence can add to an understanding of the subtle but deliberate nature of Terbrugghen's symbolism.

It seems possible that the figure of the lion was meant to add a nationalistic and patriotic note to the painting which would qualify its apparent pacifism. In this way Terbrugghen – or, should we say, his patron – indicates his belief in the Dutch struggle for independence, while at the same time asking for a respite from the siege, a period in which war, fighting and turmoil would be put to rest.

Could a modified pacifism of this sort refer to a particular time or occasion when such an attitude seemed more possible, even pragmatic, than the previous description – 'at the height of the Dutch Wars of Independence' – might indicate? This question is obviously affected by the date of Terbrugghen's work. The Utrecht painting is signed in full and dated; unfortunately the last digit of the date has become illegible. Various but most often read as a 4, 5 or 9 (the first three digits are clearly 162), it seems almost certain that visual evidence alone will never convince the majority of critics to accept one date. Nor does it seem that stylistic evidence is decisive enough to connect the *Mars* with other works of the middle, rather than the latter part of the decade.⁸

Meyd aan een tafel" by Jan Vermeer," in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, Berlin [1968], p.455. Nicolson convincingly compares Terbrugghen's work to an engraving of a *Sleeping Mars* by Jacques de Gheyn III (the Younger) (Hollstein 22; Fig.56). The moral purpose lying behind de Gheyn's engraving is clearly indicated by its inscription: 'Mars rests after crowning himself with glory; may he rest more gloriously from now on for the good of the people.'

MADLYN MILLNER KAHR ('Vermeer's Girl Asleep, a Moral Problem,' *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol.6 [1972], p.123, n.16) wrongly, in my opinion, ignores such contemporary evidence and analogy and claims that Terbrugghen's work might have had an outright militaristic intention, warning against Mars's 'laziness' leading to defeat.

⁶ Cf., e.g., CHARLES WILSON: *The Dutch Republic, and the civilisation of the seventeenth century*, New York (1968), pp.185ff.

⁷ Neither of the maps illustrated, nor another example reproduced in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, part V (1567-1609), Utrecht [1952], as colourplate 2 (a seventeenth-century engraving by Jan van Doetecum), was exactly copied by Terbrugghen. But their particular form, and perhaps even a particular example unknown to me, certainly influenced the painter's conception.

⁸ Milanese style armour could possibly have been manufactured in the Netherlands (Antwerp and Brussels were probably primary centres). More likely, a part of an original Italian suit of armour might have been replaced by a Dutch armourer because of damage or long use. In any case, only such instances as these could account for the device of the lion. See, e.g., R.B.F. VAN DER SLOOT, *op. cit.*, pp.100ff. and *passim*.

⁹ BENEDICT NICOLSON (*op. cit.*, *passim*.); and 'The Rijksmuseum "Incredulity" and

A further hypothesis about the meaning of Terbrugghen's painting could give reason to suspect that its execution was connected with political events which transpired in the year 1629. At that time due to a series of defeats Spain and the southern Netherlands decided to sue, at first secretly, for peace. When the public learned of the enemy's offer of truce, sentiment split predictably. The militant Protestant Contra-Remonstrants saw no reason to cease fighting when the advantage was on their side.⁹ In scores of pamphlets this faction viciously attacked and questioned the patriotism of any who would wish to make peace with the popish forces of the south.¹⁰

Against such a barrage of both insult and insinuation, the more liberal religious and mercantile interests of the north made little headway. Attempts to achieve a truce at this time were therefore soon abandoned. But not, one is perhaps justified in suspecting, before Terbrugghen made the plea for peace which his Utrecht painting represents. Clearly stating his position that war was best left asleep and alone, Terbrugghen perhaps also tried to protect himself and his patron from the common charge of being unpatriotic. Regal and defiant, emblazoned on the god of war's armour, the lion of the Netherlands stands ready to fight off all foes. For Terbrugghen and many other loyal Dutchmen, however, this could best be done not with vindictiveness but with pragmatism and justice.

The lion on Terbrugghen's armour emerges faintly from its glistening surroundings. If the hypothesis presented here concerning its meaning seems reasonable, the artist's symbolic intent also emerges as both more subtle and more profound.

Terbrugghen's Chronology,¹¹ THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, Vol. XC VIII [1956], pp. 103ff. and esp. p. 108), clearly points out the futility of trying to be overly precise in dating Terbrugghen's works on the basis of stylistic evidence alone. For such an artist, one might be more inclined to place reliance on evidence gained from external circumstances than on any totally abstract notion of internal development.

⁹ See PIETER GEYL: *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, part I (1600-1648), New York [1961], pp. 90 ff.; and C. M. DAVIES: *The History of Holland and the Dutch Nation . . .*, London [1851], Vol. II, p. 575.

¹⁰ Many of these polemical works are preserved in LIEUWE VAN AITZEMA: *Saken van Staat en Oorlog, in ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden . . .*, part I (1621-1633), The Hague [1669], pp. 897-903 and 965-68. See also C. M. DAVIES, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 575.

Contributions to the late Chronology of Giuseppe Mazzuoli*

BY ROBERT AND JEAN WESTIN

THE sculptural decorations by Giuseppe Mazzuoli (1644-1725) for the two monuments of Maria Camilla Pallavicini¹ (Fig. 61 and Stefano Pallavicini² (Fig. 62) in the Rospigliosi-Pallavicini chapel of the church of San Francesco a Ripa in Rome have been until now traditionally dated 1713 and 1714 respectively on the

* We would like to thank Professor Robert Engass for his generous help and encouragement towards the completion of this article.

¹ The symmetrical pyramidal shaped monument to Maria Camilla Pallavicini is balanced by two over-life-size seated marble allegories resting on either side: *Charity* with two *putti* to the right and *Prudence* to the left. Marble portrait busts of the Duchess and her husband, Duke Gian Battista Rospigliosi are placed in oval niches held by a figure of Death. Duke Gian Battista Rospigliosi, nephew of Pope Clement IX (1667-69), purchased the Dukedom of Zagarolo from the Ludovisi in June, 1668. He married Maria Camilla Pallavicini from Genoa in 1670.

² Stefano Pallavicini's tomb is compositionally similar and is flanked by the statues of the virtues *Justice*, right, and *Fortitude*, left. Instead of niches for the portrait busts, the figure of death sitting on top of the monument holds oval medallions with marble bas-relief portraits of Stefano Pallavicini, left, and Cardinal Lazzaro Pallavicini, right. Cardinal Lazzaro Sforza Pallavicini (1603-80), uncle of Maria Camilla, was created Cardinal on 29th November, 1669 by Pope Clement IX. Stefano Pallavicini, brother of Cardinal Lazzaro was the father of Maria Camilla and died in 1687.

basis of the inscriptions placed on the foundations of the monuments.³ It has always been assumed that the inscription dates indicated these works were completed. From newly found documents we learn that Mazzuoli did not finish this commission until several years later in his career.

Mazzuoli's early biographers concur on his authorship of these monuments and list them generally among his late works. Pascoli states that Mazzuoli returned to Rome from Siena where he was working on various commissions to do three portraits for the Rospigliosi house as well as the tombs in their chapel in San Francesco a Ripa.⁴ Guglielmo della Valle in 1786 repeats Pascoli.⁵ The early guides are also of little help in dating this work. The first to mention the Rospigliosi chapel is in 1725, but fails to identify the tombs, artists, or dates. It simply states: '*Incontro si vede ora mai perfezionata la nobil Cappella de Signori Pallavicini ricca tutta di marmi.*'⁶ This is of little assistance since it only confirms that the work was done before Mazzuoli's death. The first citation identifying Mazzuoli as the author of the sculpture is not until 1745: '*... i Depositi della Famiglia Rospigliosi con varie statue, lavorati da Giuseppe Mazzuoli.*'⁷ The 1763 Titi guide book confirms this under its description of the church: '*Giuseppe Mazzuoli scolpi le quattro virtù cardinali, ...*' and adds that '*L'architettura è di Niccola Michetti.*'⁸ Thus, Mazzuoli's participation in the chapel decoration is evident, but the inscriptions have

³ The inscriptions are cited by V. FORCELLA: *Iscrizioni delle Chiese e d'altri Edifici di Roma dal Secolo XI fino ai Giorni Nostri*, IV, Rome [1874], No. 1049 and No. 1050, p. 427, with minor errors. The correct inscriptions are:

DEO VNI AC TRINO
MARIAE CAMILLAE PALLAVICINAE EX ZAGAROLI DVCIBVS
PRVIDENTIA, PVFDICITIA, ET PIETATE INCOMPARABILI,
QVAE ROSPIGLIOSAM GENTEM, EX PATRVO PONTIFICE
ILLVSTREM
EXEMPLIO OPIBVS, ET MULTIPPLICI PROLE AVXIT,
IO. BAPTISTA ROSPILIOVS ZAGAROLI DVX
CLEMENTIS IX. PONT. MAX. NEPOS
CONIVGEM BENEMERENTISSIMAM HIC CONDI VOLVIT,
ET SIBI MORITVR TVMVLVM CONDERUM ELEGIT
ANNO DOMINI MDCCXII.

and

DOM
MONVENTVM
QVOD STEPHANO PALLAVICINO GALICANI PRINCIPI
PARENTI OPTIMO
MARIA PALLAVICINA ERIGI TESTAMENTO MANDAVIT
IOANNES BAPTISTA ROSPILIOVS DVX ZAGAROLAE
TANTAE CONIVGIS HAERES EXTRVXIT
ADIECTA IMAGINE
LAZARI S.R.E. CARDINALIS PALLAVICINI
VT NON TAM VXORIS INCOMPARABILIS PIVM VOTVM
QVAM PVBLICVM GRATI SVANI ANIMI TESTIMONIVM
ERGA FRATRES
COMMVNIS SANGVINIS BENEFICIORVMQUE VINCVL
SIBI CONIVNCTISSIMOS
AD OMNEN POSTERITATIS MEMORIAM PROPAGARET
ANNO SAL. MDCCXIV.

⁴ L. PASCOLI: *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti Moderni*, II, Rome [1736], p. 482: 'Ed essendo qualche tempo, che pensava di trasferirsi a Siena parti; . . . Poco vi dimorò, perché fu quasi subito richiamato a Roma, dove ritornato scolpi dette due statue, tre ritratti per casa Rospigliosi, e i depositi de' medesimi nella lor cappella di S. Francesco a Ripa'.

⁵ G. DELLA VALLE: *Lettere Sanesi sopra le belle arti*, III, Rome [1786], p. 445: 'In seguito lavorò le statue ai depositi di casa Rospigliosi in S. Francesco a Ripa . . .

⁶ G. F. CECCHI: *Roma Sacra e Moderna*, Rome [1725], p. 411.

⁷ ROMA antica e moderna, Rome [1745], p. 168.

⁸ F. TITI: *Descrizione delle Pitture, Sculture e Architetture*, Rome [1763], p. 48.

⁹ Archivio di S. Francesco a Ripa, Ludovico da Modena, *Cronaca*, Ms. del Sec. XVIII, f. 237. See G. R. ANSALDI: 'La Cappella Rospigliosi Pallavicini in San Francesco a Ripa', in *Altari Barocchi in Roma*, Rome [1959], p. 199 and F. PANSEGGHI: 'Il Modello della Cappella Pallavicini Rospigliosi in S. Francesco a Ripa', *Boletinino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, 9 [1962], p. 21.



53. *Sleeping Mars*, by Hendrick Terbrugghen, 1629 (?). (Centraal Museum, Utrecht.)



54. Suit of Milanese-style armour, c.1580. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; from the Amsterdam City Armoury.)



55. *Backgammon Players*, by Hendrick Terbrugghen. Signed and dated 1627. (Sale Christie's, 8th December 1972.)



56. *Sleeping Mars*, by Jacques de Gheyn III (the Younger). Engraving, c.1625 (Holstein 22).



57. Detail from *Sleeping Mars*, by Terbrugghen.

58. *Leo Belgicus*. Anonymous, Dutch, 1636. Engraving published by Rombout van den Hoeye, Amsterdam.

59. *Silver Lion Dollars*. Anonymous, Dutch. Overijssel, 1688; Gelderland, 1589; Deventer, 1640, top to bottom.

60. *Leo Belgicus*. Anonymous, Dutch, 1617. Engraving published by Pieter van den Keere, Amsterdam.



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2nd May 1973

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

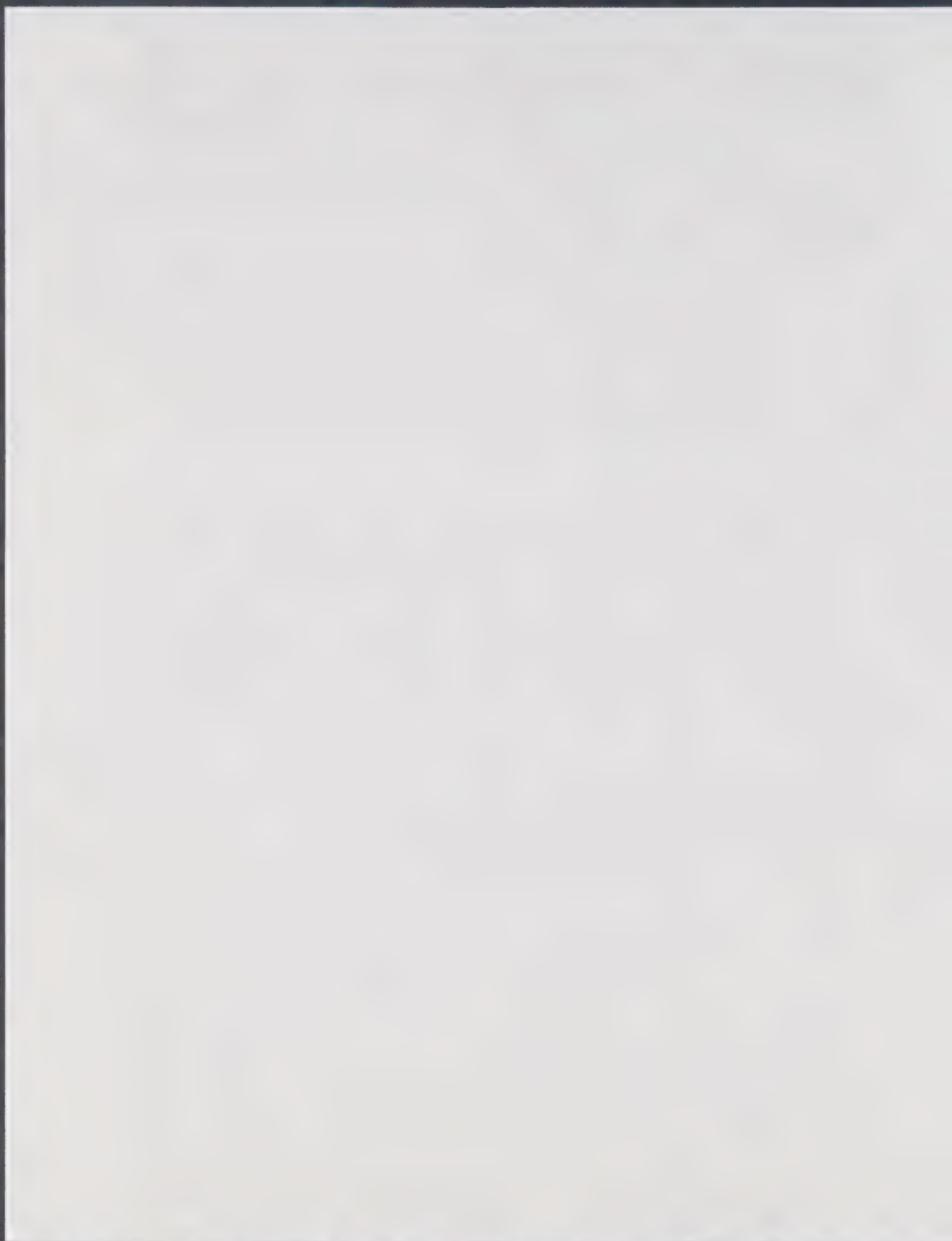
Dear Dr Bader,

It is as you say: I had the information about Bernt's opinion from Jungeling. I never had a photograph of the Agnew picture, and think you must be correct in supposing it was not the same as yours. I must try to get one. I very much look forward to seeing you in July. Please ring my office when you arrive. I lunched with Tony Clarke in London a fortnight ago. The Trustees of Minneapolis have behaved idiotically--but what else can you expect from Trustees? I do not mind for Tony who will certainly be offered a better job.

Yours sincerely,

Benedict Nicolson

Benedict Nicolson



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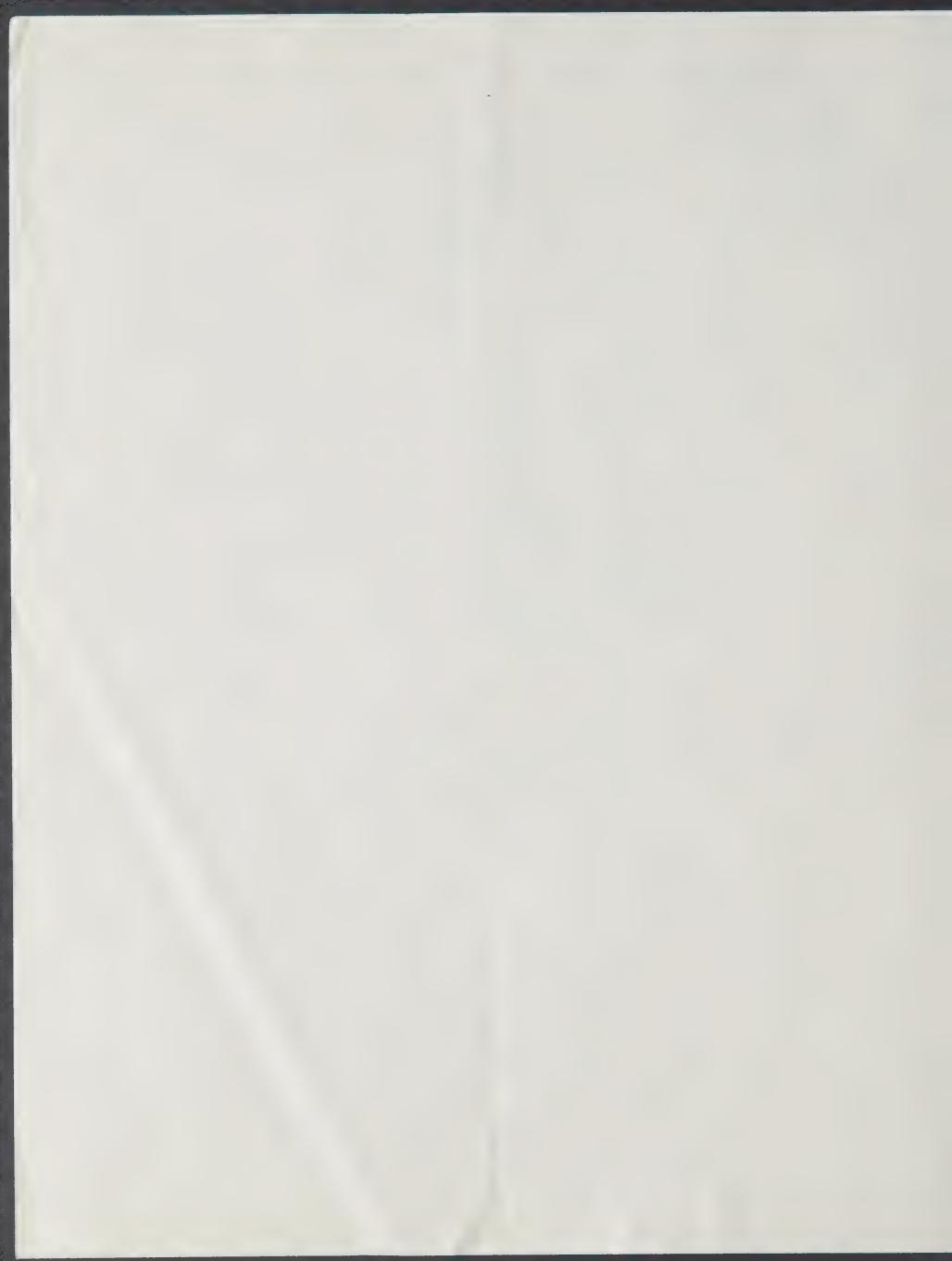
Dear Dr Bader,

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Yours sincerely,

Benedict Nicolson

Benedict Nicolson



München, Mottlstrasse 13, am 1. August 1970

Lieber Herr Doktor Bader!

Über den traurigen Verlust unserer geliebten Bilder werden sie schon gehört haben. In der kommenden Weltkunst werden auch die Abbildungen der zehn Gemälde erscheinen. Sie können sich ja denken, wie dankbar wir für jeden Hinweis sind, wenn eines der Bilder auftauchen sollte.

Über Ihr Frauenbildnis habe ich noch nicht viel forschen können, leider sind wir über diese Erwerbung nicht ganz begeistert, aber von einer Kopie kann keine Rede sein. Ausserdem scheint Ihr Bild sehr gut erhalten. Be rufener zu einer Aussöhnung zu diesem Bild wäre B. Nicolson in London, d dem Sie eine Photo senden sollten.

Wie bedauerlich, dass auch Sie durch den Autoeinbruch geschädigt wurden, ich habe ja einige dieser Zeichnungen machen und wende darauf achten Vielen Dank für die Übersendung des Lint-Blattes, den ich sicher Ihnen zu verdanken habe und ich gratuliere zu dem Ergebnis Ihrer Forschung.

Wir hatten noch einen Schaden; im Schreibtisch wurden 3000 DM eigenes Bargeld und die 1280 in Ihrem Kuvert für Frau von Lilienthal zurechtgelegt und mitgestohlen (ich habe sie heute bezahlt). Frau von L. war mehrere Wochen wegen des Todes ihrer Mutter verreist.

Heute in Eile mit sehr herzlichen Wünschen

Ihre alten

Bernd's.

Bernd III soll Ende Aug. erscheinen und wird Ihnen gleich zugesandt?

etwas

wie kein ander gewünscht, ganz ohne See. In den 6
Stunden für die

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2nd May 1973

Dr Alfred Bader,
2961 North Shepard Avenue,
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Dear Dr Bader,

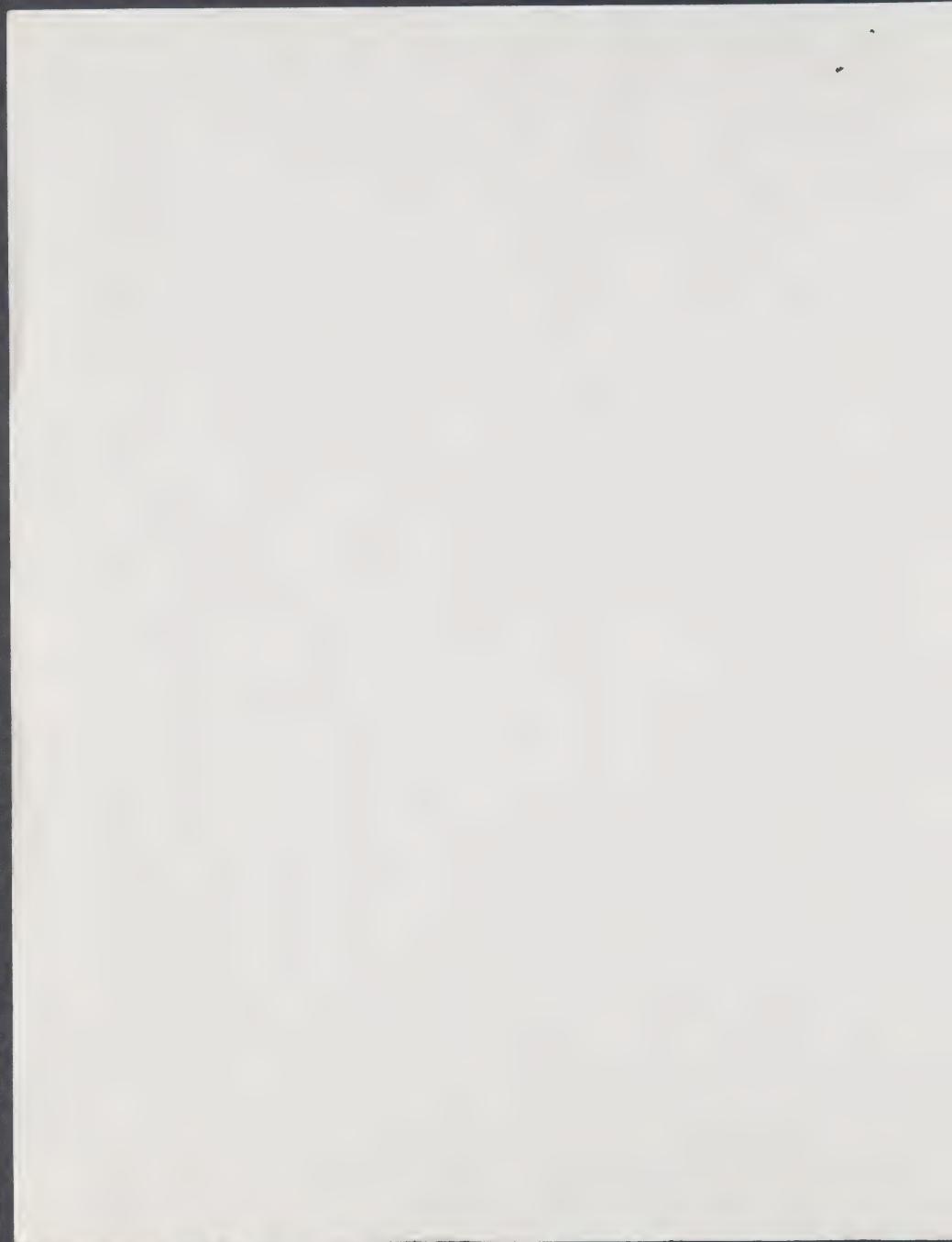
It is as you say: I had the information about Bernt's opinion from Jungeling. I never had a photograph of the Agnew picture, and think you must be correct in supposing it was not the same as yours. I must try to get one. I very much look forward to seeing you in July. Please ring my office when you arrive. I lunched with Tony Clarke in London a fortnight ago. The Trustees of Minneapolis have behaved idiotically--but what else can you expect from Trustees? I do not mind for Tony who will certainly be offered a better job.

Yours sincerely,

Benedict Nicolson

Benedict Nicolson

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

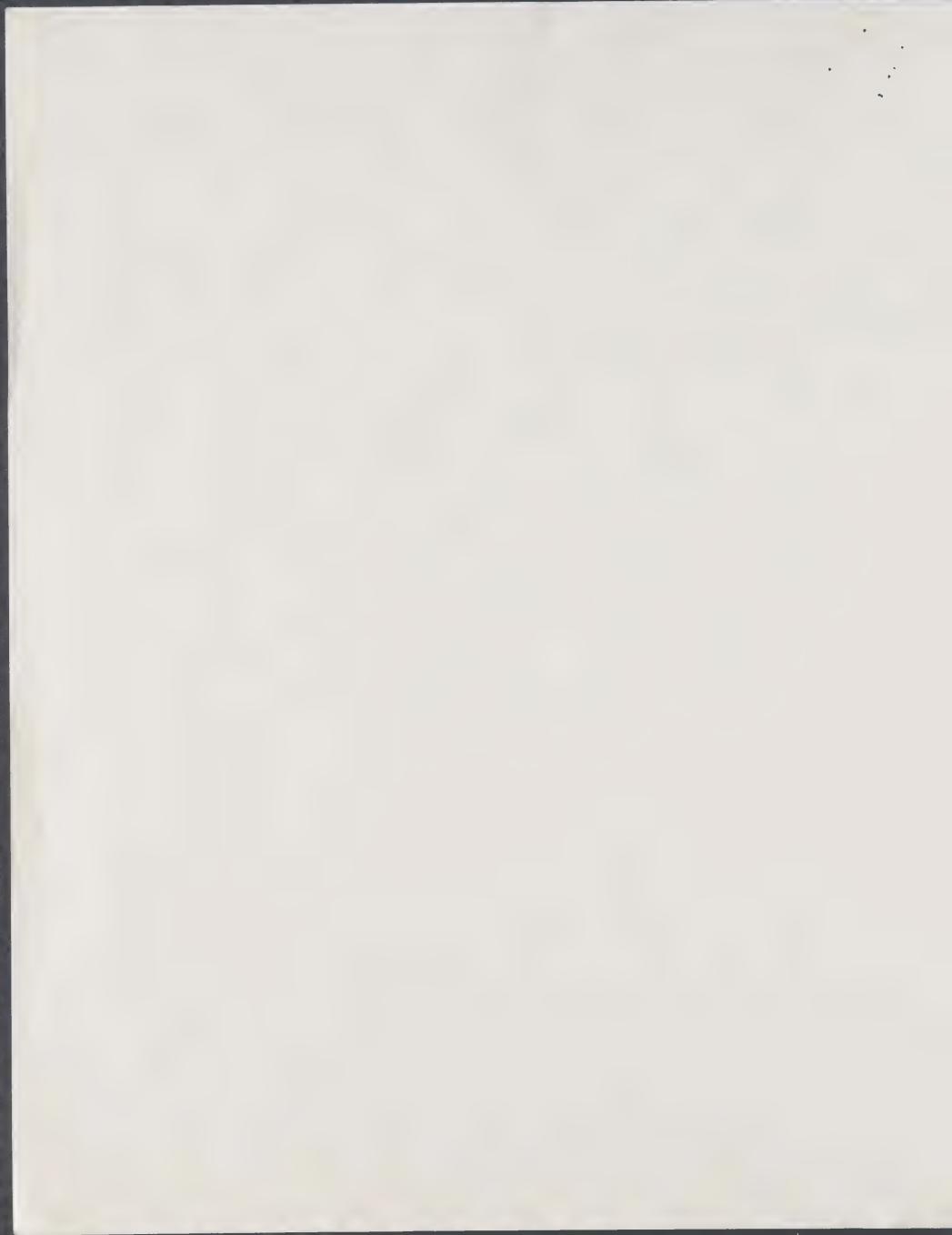
Aug. 27, 1973

Dear Dr. Bader:

I thank you so much for sending me a
copy of your article on "Fibrolymphoma".

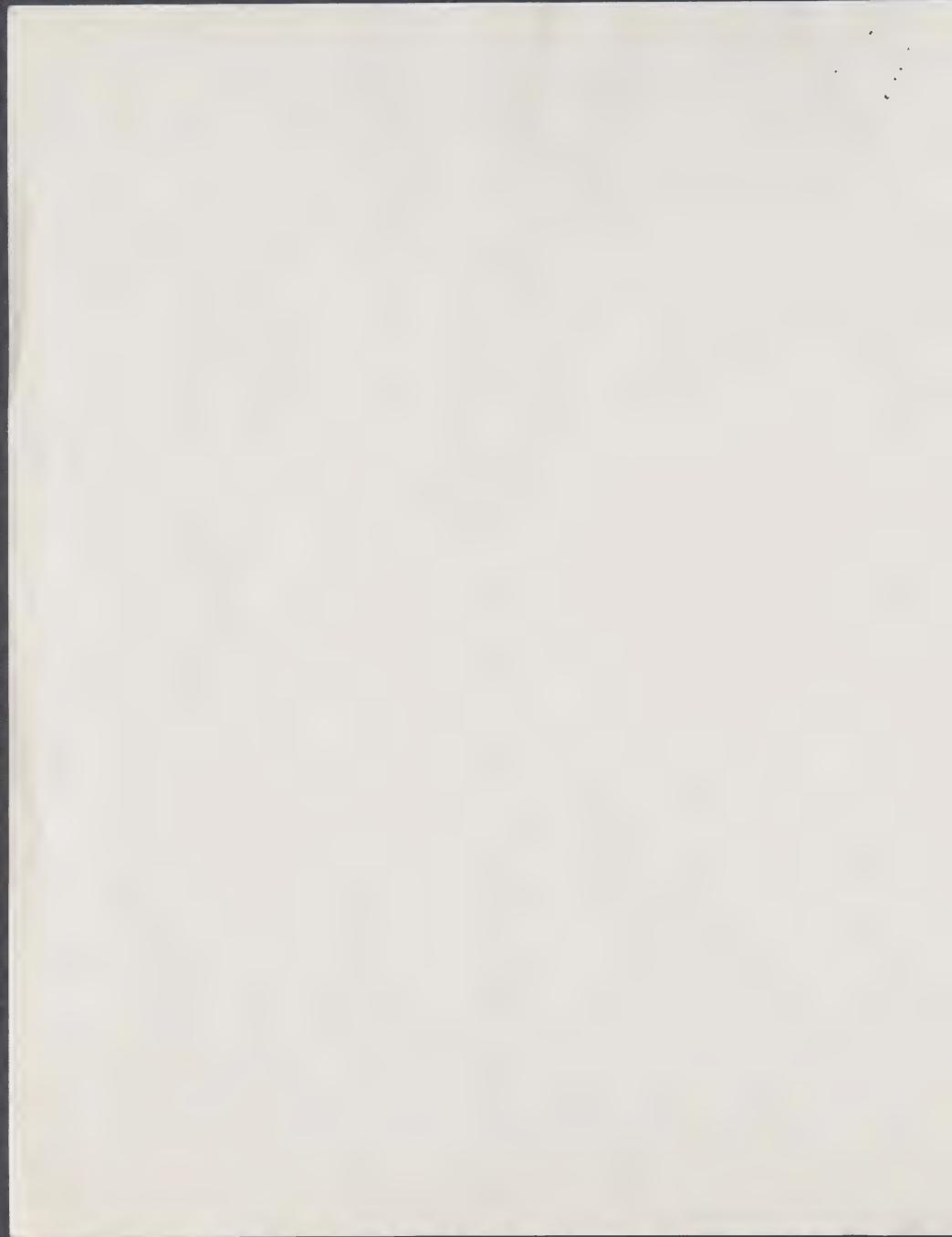
I am a physician and went over it carefully.
I am very interested because it seems
to be a very interesting disease. I have
seen a few cases myself.

It seems to be such a rare disease. I think
it is important to have a name for it.
The name you have chosen is good.
I would like to add one more thing. I think
that the name "Fibrolymphoma" should be
used for a variety of diseases. It would be
good to have a name for each disease.



and with varying degrees.

The man I know about the primitive
Indian tribes it was a remarkable characteristic
of them to always have their men and women
in separate houses though they were married.
And this is a custom that has been observed
among all the Indian tribes in America,
and among the Indians of Australia, and
among the Indians of South America,
and among the Indians of Africa,
and among the Indians of Asia,
and among the Indians of the Pacific Islands.
And this is a custom that has been observed
among all the Indian tribes in America,
and among the Indians of Australia, and
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and among the Indians of Asia,
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Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

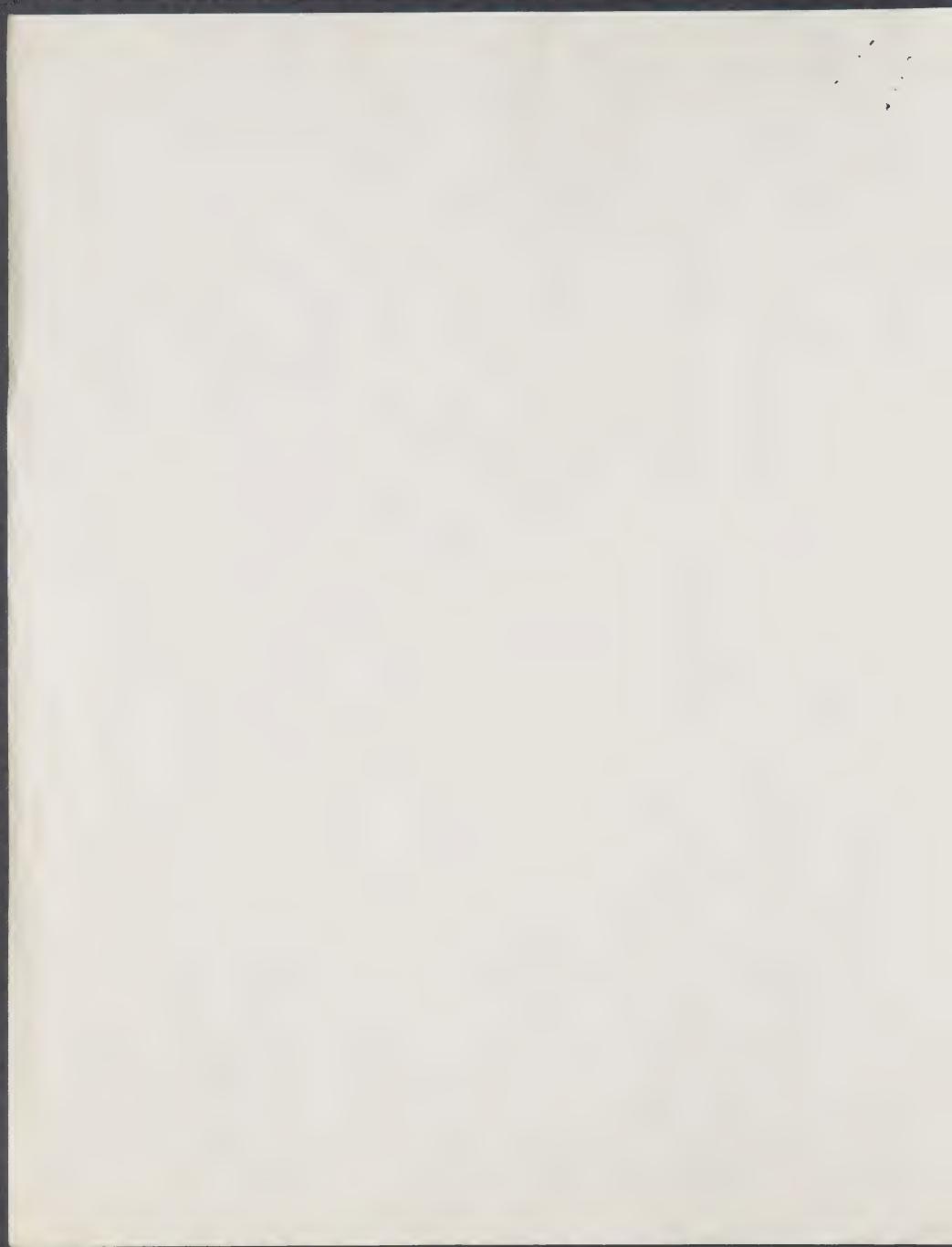
-3-

Tony Clark has come true. He is the best
university director I know - a scholar and a
gentleman who places his knowledge and training
to people in Minneapolis must be out of this
world. If only he were in the Senate, our country
was in much better condition.

I hope he is to be in Congress this year
to speak and demand that our country do
more towards abolition of nuclear weapons.

It's a pleasure to write to you.

Yours sincerely,



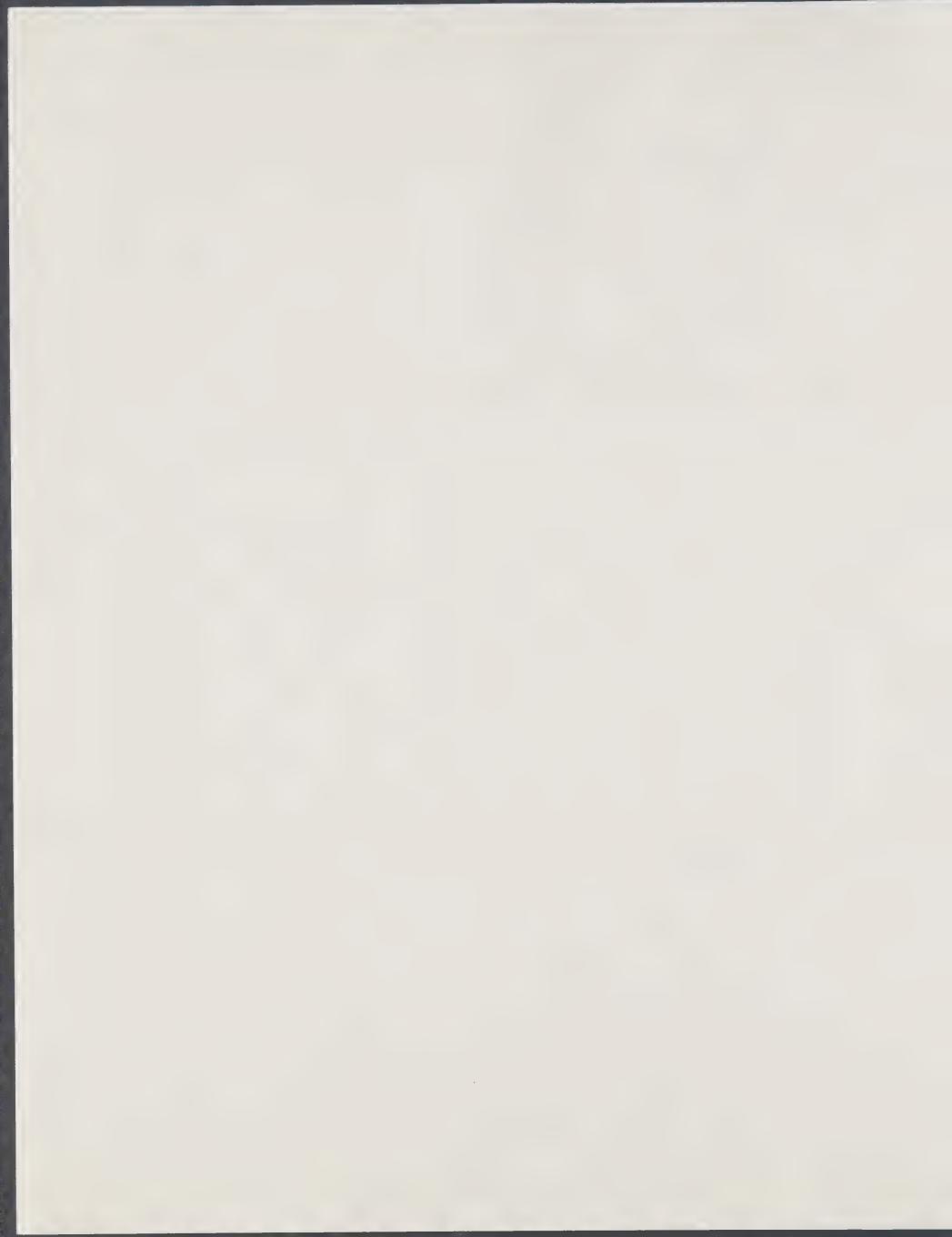
CHARLES MUNCH
& JANE FURCHGOTT
ART RESTORERS
RT. 5, STURGEON BAY
WISCONSIN 54235
TEL. 414 · 743 9679
September 21, 1975

Alfred Bader Fine Arts
2901 N. Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisc. 53211

FOR RESTORATION WORK:

Terbrugghen, Mary Weeping for the Souls in Purgatory,
oil on panel: blister repair, retouching,
and revarnishing

\$180.--



William J. Welstead, Jr., Ph.D.
Director of Chemical Research

A. H. Robins Company
Research Laboratories
1211 Sherwood Avenue
Richmond, Virginia 23220
Telephone (703) 257-2371

A-H ROBINS

Dr. Alfred R. Bader
Aldrich Chemical Company
940 West St. Paul Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

Dear Dr. Bader:

April 7, 1975

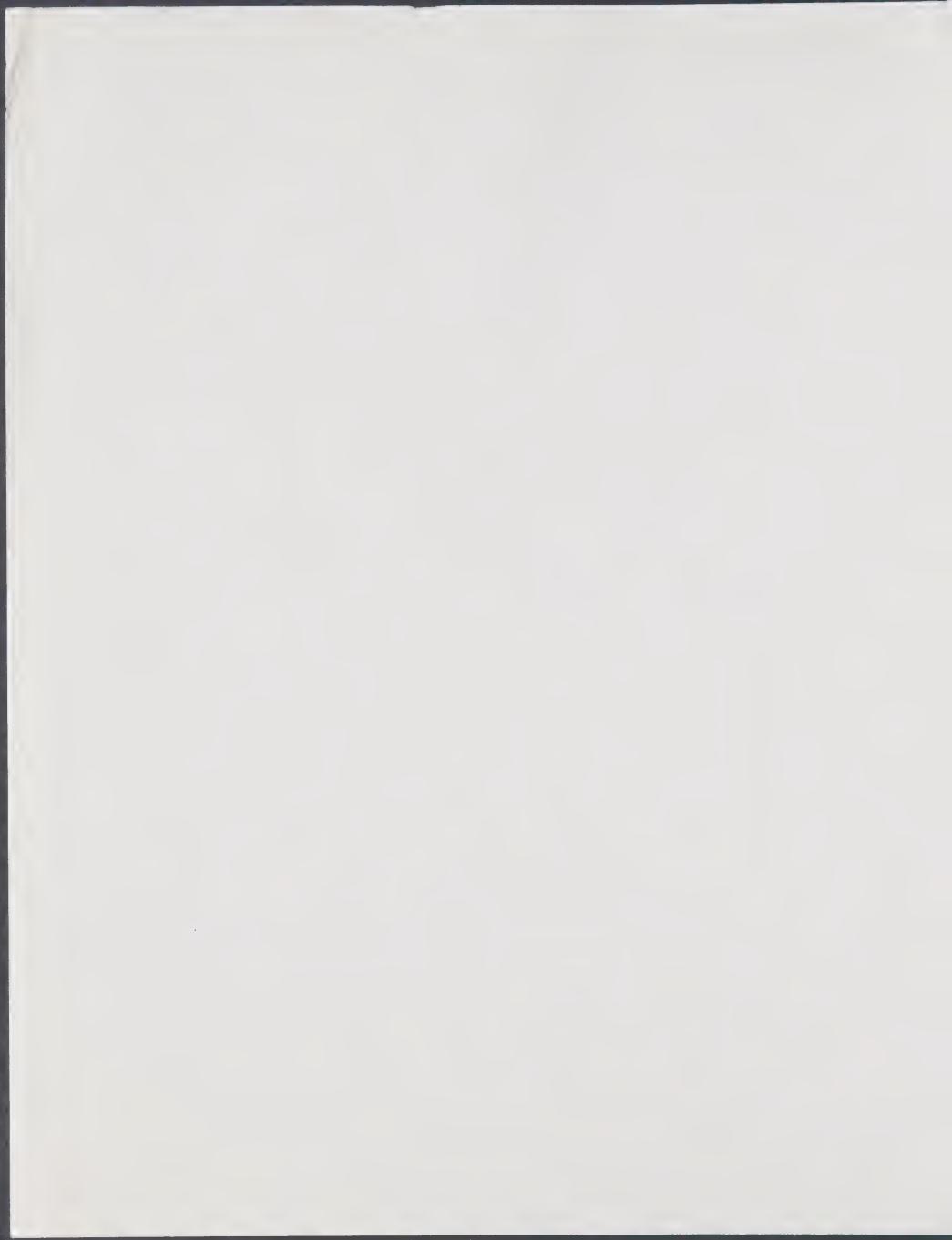
Your comments concerning the beautiful paintings reproduced on the covers of Aldrich publications are always interesting, but the painting of Mary Praying for the Condemned in Purgatory, along with the associated comments, reach a high point in meaning, expression and sensitivity. Perhaps a dozen sermons could not express the qualities of love, concern and compassion in such a profound and moving way as a minute of reflection on this painting.

Sincerely,

William J. Welstead, Jr.

William J. Welstead, Jr.

WJWJr:ac



Yale University New Haven, Connecticut 06520

RECEIVED

MAY 14 1976

DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ART

Box 2009, 56 High Street Tel. 203-436 8853

Chicago, O'Hare, 11.5.76

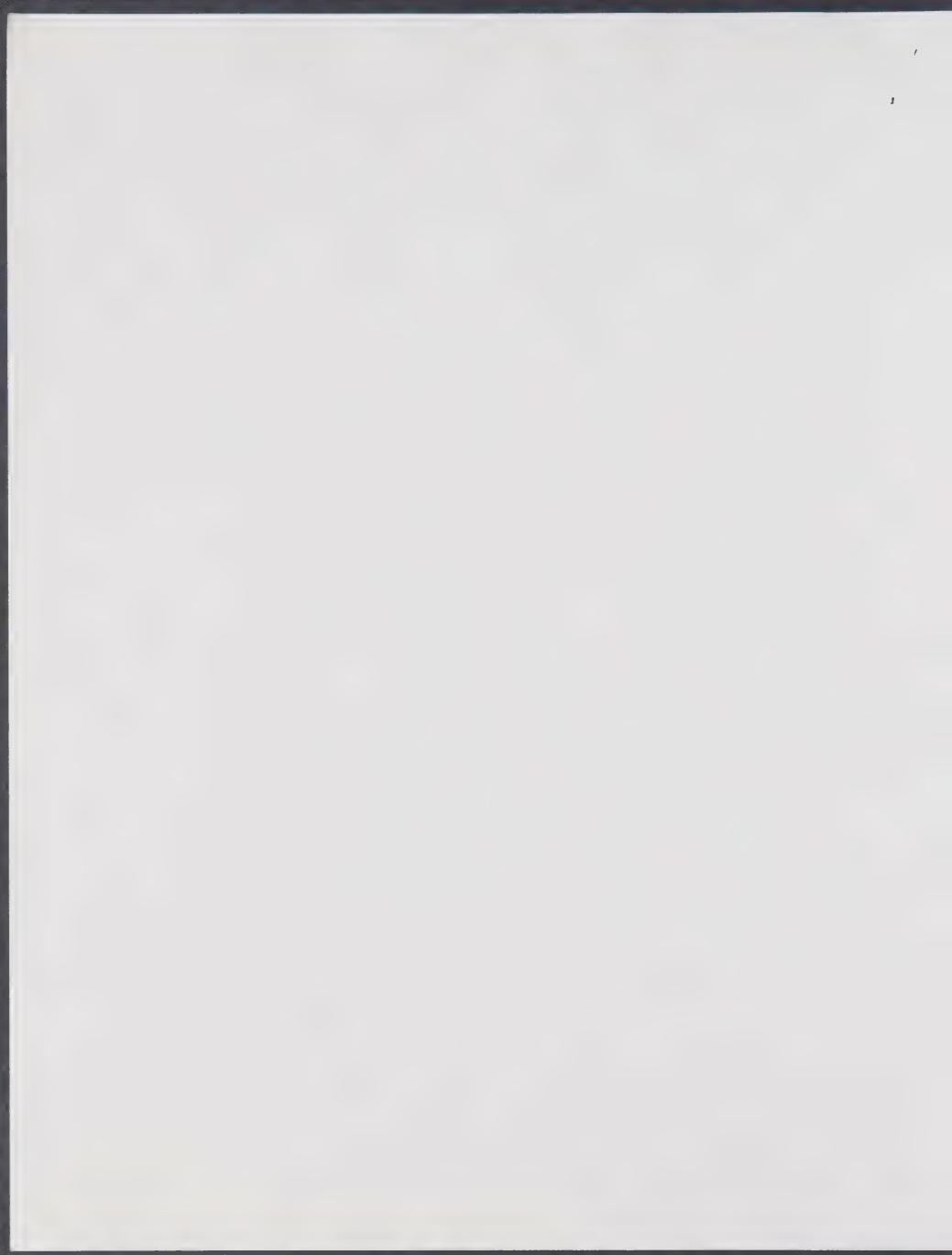
ALDRICH CHEMICAL CO., INC.

Dear Al,

(If I may address you this informally) - Thank you so much for your hospitality. I am equally grateful to your wife.

Both your collection and the exhibition have impressed me greatly. It is amazing what you have achieved with your enthusiasm, and your unusual combination of skills and interests - scientific, religious, arthistorical.

I wonder whether you sent copies of your catalogue (I mean the one of the exhibition) to those magazines that list 'publications received'; in particular: Art Bulletin, Burlington Magazine, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Kunstchronik, Weltkunst, Choice. If you did not yet, just send a copy with request to review it. The periodicals will either review it, or list it. Libraries and individuals read those lists, and may order copies. The addresses are obvious, with the exception perhaps of CHOICE: 100 Riverview Center, MIDDLETON, conn. 06457. Choice is



is a magazine for college librarians who often rely on it, particularly in small colleges.

I looked somewhat more closely at some of your paintings this morning. The Jacob Backer is excellent, and what fine condition. Surprising that no Dutch museum or collector bought it when it was in the trade in The Hague.

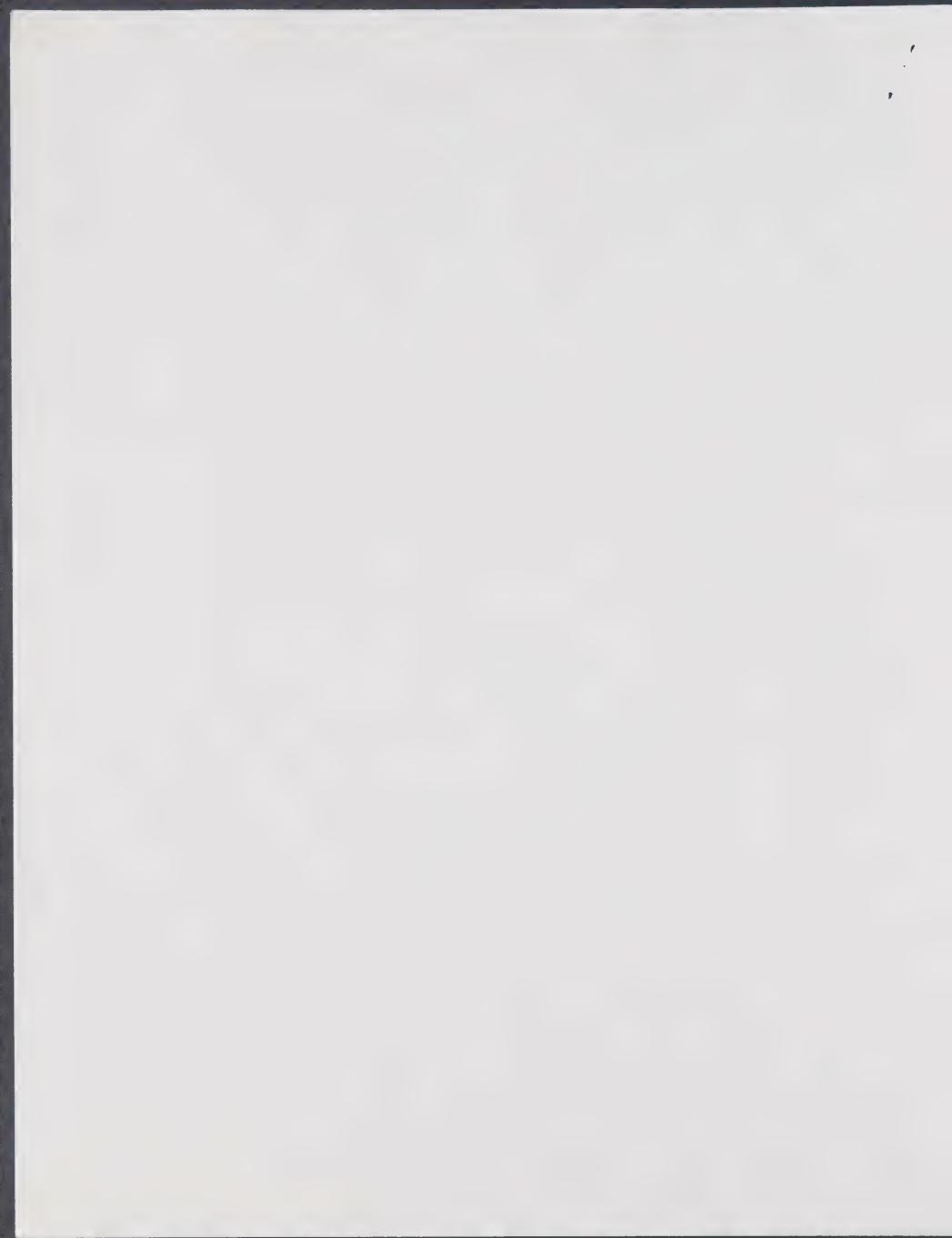
The Cuyp puzzles me. He has some features of the early Cuyp (left foreground), but trees, houses, background, sky are entirely different. Unusual is the circumstance phenomenon of houses, background, church etc. having been painted over the sky, which ~~itself~~ itself has been brushed on in unusually bold brushstrokes. The shadows in the river are certainly later additions. But there is more than those shadows that I don't trust. Could it be a fixed up ruin?

The Sweerts, the Terbrugghen are master pieces, or to put it more objectively, are really very good examples of these artists' work.

Thank you again.

Yours

Egbert H. Bergmann





*The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
University of Massachusetts
Amherst 01003*

Art History
Bartlett Hall
March 2, 1983

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 No. Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

Dear Dr. Bader,

I am at last returning your slides along with xeroxes of the two versions of my CAA talk. I do hope to be able to publish my ideas about your TerBrugghen (as well as the Rembrandt etching which I feel might represent the same thing) some time soon. I will keep you informed.

I certainly do appreciate your willingness to lend me your slide. As I mentioned before, I have duplicated it here so that I might be able to use it in my lectures and seminars. It is certainly a fascinating painting.

Thanks again for your cooperation and generosity.

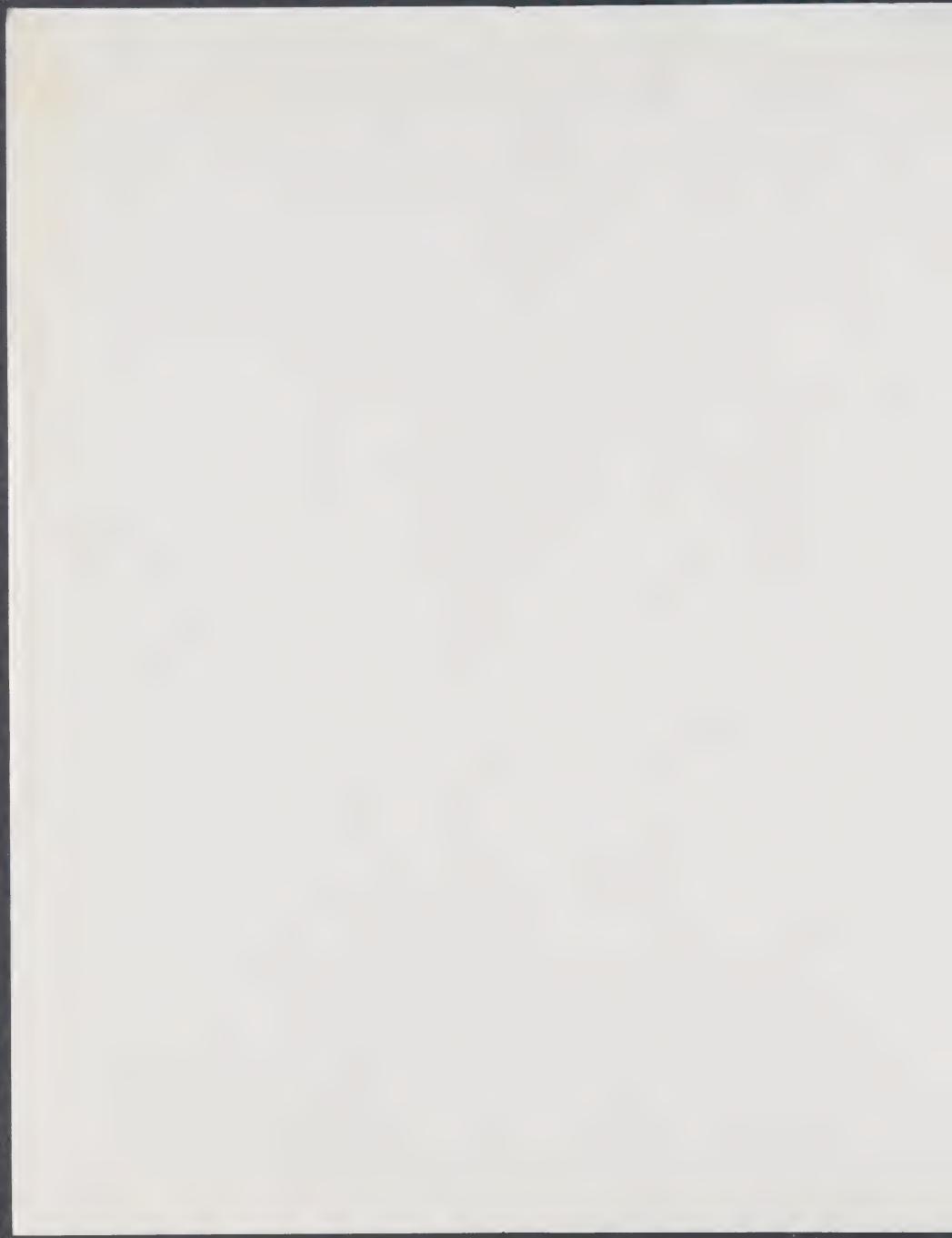
Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that appears to read "Craig Harbison".

Craig Harbison
Associate Professor

CH:s
Enclosures

P.S. I have returned your restorer's slide directly to him.



QUEENS COLLEGE

of THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

FLUSHING • NEW YORK 11367

DEPARTMENT OF ART

HICKORY 5-7500

February 7, 1972

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 North Shepherd Ave.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

Dear Dr. Balder:

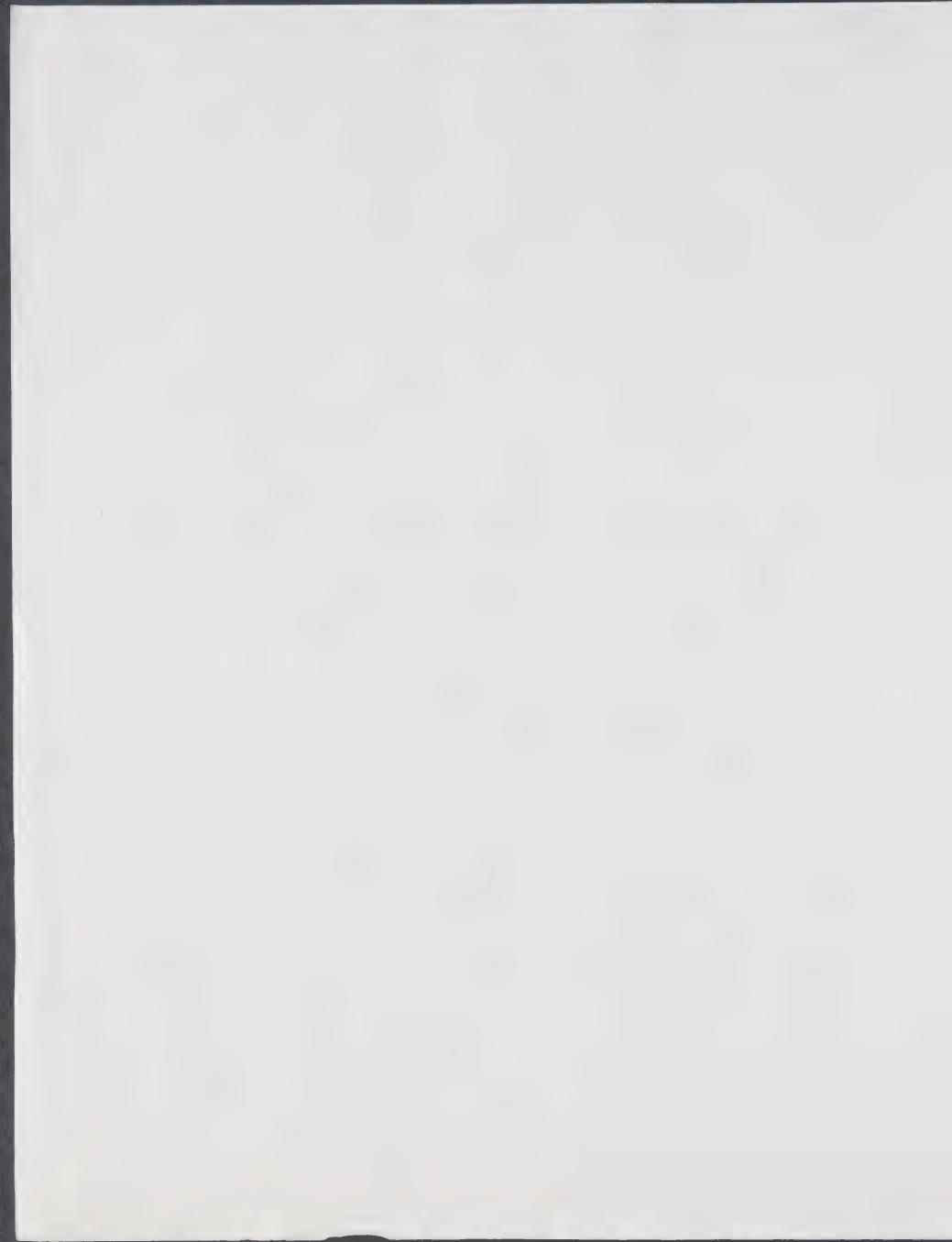
Thanks very much for the photo of your Terbruggen - judging from the photo it looks good. I've always had my doubts about the Harrach, Vienna version, and your picture would seem to confirm them. Probably a late work - 1628 or 1629 would seem right - close the Pommersfelden Magdalen.

As far as the Rembrandt David's Farewell in Leningrad - I was tempted to use it in my talks. However, there are some problems about the identification of the subject and not everyone accepts it... rather than link my interpretation to another problematic one I just left it out.

Also, thank you for the off-prints - while I am not convinced of Mrs. Kahr's interpretation, on the basis of costume I have reservations about your identification. The "David" is dressed as a prince with a very large turban which is somewhat unusual- usually Rembrandt did not use this type for David. unless he already was king. However, this obviously needs more work. If I come up with anything I will keep you posted.

Sincerely,

Leonard J. Slatkes
Leonard J. Slatkes



Graf Harrach'sche Gemäldegalerie

HENDRICK TERBRUGGHEN

Geboren 1588 in Deventer. Schüler von Abraham Bloemaert in Utrecht. 1604—1614 in Italien, seit 1616 wieder in Utrecht nachweisbar, wo er bis zu seinem Tod 1629 tätig war.

8 Mater dolorosa

Leinwand 68×56,5 cm.

W. F. 295.

Perger, Kunstschatze Wiens, S. 412, „Von Morellone“, bei Gruss als „Unbekannt“, im Katalog von 1897 nicht enthalten. Vgl. A. v. Schneider, Caravaggio und die Niederländer, Marburg/Lahn 1933, Longhi, Ter Brugghen e la Parte nostra, Vita artistica 1927, B. Nicolson, The Rijksmuseum Incredulity and Terbruggens chronology, The Burlington Magazine 1956, derselbe Hendrick Terbrugghen, London 1958, Nr. A 75, S. 107 f. Um 1622/23 entstanden. Ritschl, S. 105, Nr. 418.

JAN THOMAS

Geboren 1617 in Ypern. Schüler des Rubens in Antwerpen. 1639/40 Mitglied der Lukasgilde. Nach 1654 in Mainz, 1658 in Frankfurt. Seit 1661 in Wien in Diensten Kaiser Leopolds I. nachweisbar, wo er 1678 starb.

48 Der verliebte Greis

Bezeichnet: „Joannes Thomas fecit 1661“.

Leinwand 60,3×53 cm, auf beiden Seiten 3,5 cm angesetzt.
Gegenstück zu Nr. 59. W. F. 162.

Ebenso wie das Gegenstück bei Wurzbach, II, S. 709 und im Oeuvreverzeichnis von Zoego v. Mantouffel in Thieme-Beckers Künstlerlexikon. Ritschl, S. 15, Nr. 47.

59 Die verliebte Alte

Bezeichnet: „J. Thomas fecit 1662“.

Leinwand 60,5×53,5 cm, links 3 und rechts 4,5 cm angesetzt.
Gegenstück zu Nr. 48. W. F. 163.
Ritschl, S. 15, Nr. 48.

DOMENICO

Geboren 1581
Atelier er
1635.

148 Die Ve

Leinw
Mögl
erwor
W. F
Die Zu
von ei
Kompl
gemalt

LUCAS V

Geboren 1590
arbeiter d
wo er 167

62 Lands

Bezeic
Eiche
W. F
Rückv
Vgl. T
Ritsch

ANDREA

Geboren
in Neapel

119 Der S

Leinw
W. F



THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE PUBLICATIONS LTD

49 Park Lane, London, W1
Telegrams: Rariora, London W1

Telephone: 01-493 2622



29th June 1971

Dr Alfred Bader,
2961 N. Shepard Avenue,
Milwaukee 53211.

Dear Dr Bader,

It was too stupid of me to ask you for details of the background of your Terbrugghen. I had quite forgotten you had given them to me, and I found them a few minutes ago safely filed away in their correct places! I am returning the duplicate prints. I have had a letter from Dr Stechow about his interpretation of the subject matter, which will make me very cautious about saying anything positive about it. I see it presents great problems which deserve further study.

Thank you for sending me the photo of the supposed Copley. To judge from this (though I cannot be sure without seeing it) it looks like a fine early Wright portrait. The treatment of the light is characteristic of him, and also the streaky painting of the wig. It must be about 1760, or slightly later.

Yours sincerely,


A handwritten signature in cursive ink, appearing to read "Benedict Nicolson". The signature is fluid and somewhat slanted to the right.

Benedict Nicolson



[REDACTED], 1971

Mr. Benedict Nicolson
The Burlington Magazine
49 Park Lane
London, W1, England

Dear Mr. Nicolson:

Thank you for your kind letter of June 14th.

hen I was with you early in April, I left with you two detailed photographs of the background of the Terbruggen, and I now enclose two more. These are, however, my last ones, and I would appreciate your returning these at your convenience. I know very little about New Testament iconography, and in fact, mistakenly thought that the painting represented the Mater Dolorosa. Professor W. Stechow kindly pointed out to me that I was mistaken and that this really depicted Mary Magdalene. Also, it was Professor Stechow who discovered the meaning of the background figures, St. Peter, King David and the good thief, with the whole painting thus depicting the four repentant sinners. I believe that Professor Stechow may wish to publish this, and you may want to discuss this with him during your visit to Oberlin.

I will, of course, make arrangements for you to see the Sweerts.

I also enclose photograph of a large (circa 50 x 40 inches) portrait which turned up here recently. This was said to be a portrait of a Dr. Richardson and was attributed to Copley. I can see you smile about this, though I must say that I like the portrait very much despite the misattribution, and I have seldom seen an 18th century painting in such mint condition. Do you believe that the painting could be by Joseph Wright of Derby?

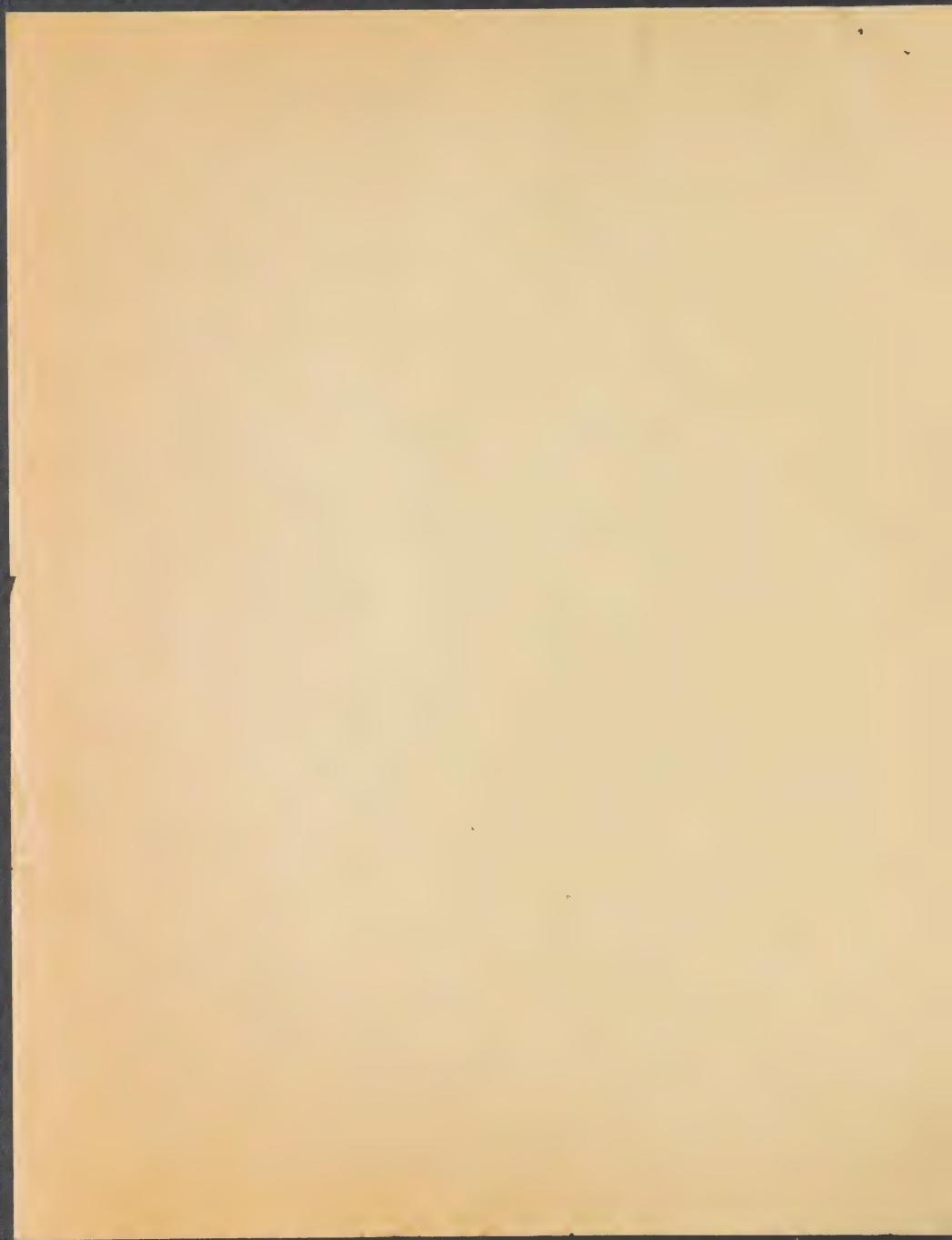
Best personal regards.

Very sincerely,

Alfred Bader

AB/ds

Enc.



THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE PUBLICATIONS LTD

49 Park Lane, London, W1
Telegrams: Rariora, London W1

Telephone: 01-493 2622



14th June 1971

Dr Alfred Bader,
2961 N. Shepard Avenue,
Milwaukee, Wisc. 53211.

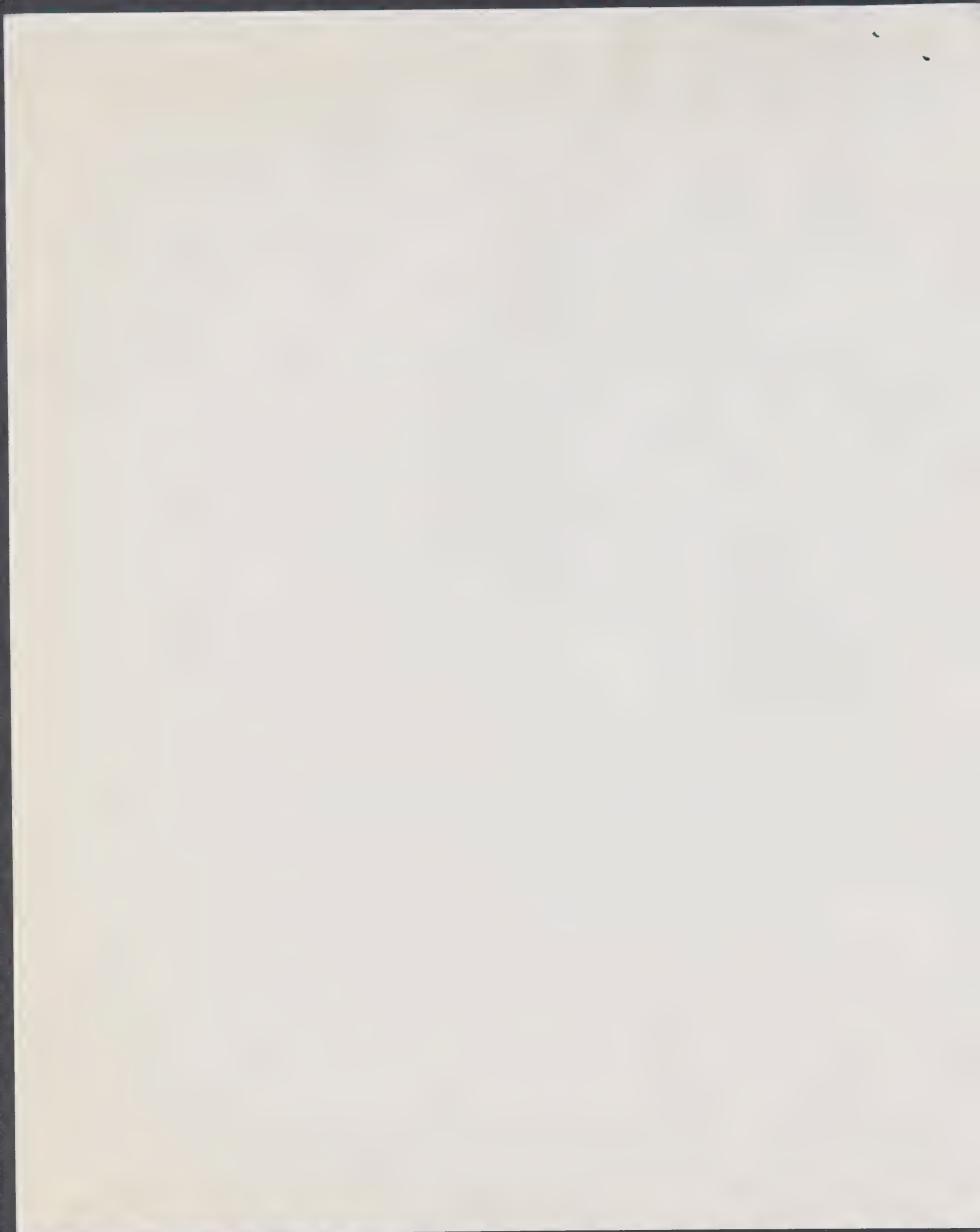
Dear Dr Bader,

Thanks for your letter of May 26th. I look forward to seeing the Sweerts at Oberlin, where I shall be spending most of the day of 1st November and lecturing there that evening. I am lecturing in Detroit on the 3rd and will probably spend the night there. But unfortunately I have to be back in New York almost at once to catch my transatlantic boat back, and therefore find it quite impossible to travel any further westwards. I shan't, therefore, have the pleasure of seeing the Terbrugghen, but since I am convinced of the authenticity of this picture and would like to discuss it in my Van Gelder Festschrift article on recent Terbrugghen discoveries, I wonder if you would be kind enough to let me have detail photographs of the strange background figures, and also your interpretation of the subject.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Benedict Nicolson". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a horizontal line underneath it.

Benedict Nicolson



Mr. Bader say

BERLIN COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF ART
BERLIN, OHIO 44074

August 7, 1973

Dr. Alfred Bader
c/o Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc.
940 West St. Paul Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

Dear Dr. Bader:

Thank you so much for the photographs of your beautiful and intriguing Terbrugghen; and excuse me for being so tardy in expressing my thanks.

I have not had much time yet to look into the iconographical problem of your work. It does seem that Nicolson's suggestion of a Crucifixion scene is probably wrong and that Tümpel's idea about the souls in purgatory may be more to the point.

If the background figures are those in purgatory, then Panofsky in his Studies in Titian, pp. 39ff., does give at least a partial explanation of the symbolism of the work; Titian's painting (now in Medole) of the perpetual intercession of the Virgin for the souls in purgatory is iconographically rather unusual in Italy. As far as I have been able to find out so far it is almost unknown in northern Europe. Such a subject matter for Terbrugghen's work would interestingly also almost confirm his continued Catholicism.

I look forward to being able to study your work more in the near future; and with the help of those excellent photographs that should not be too difficult. Thank you again.

Sincerely,

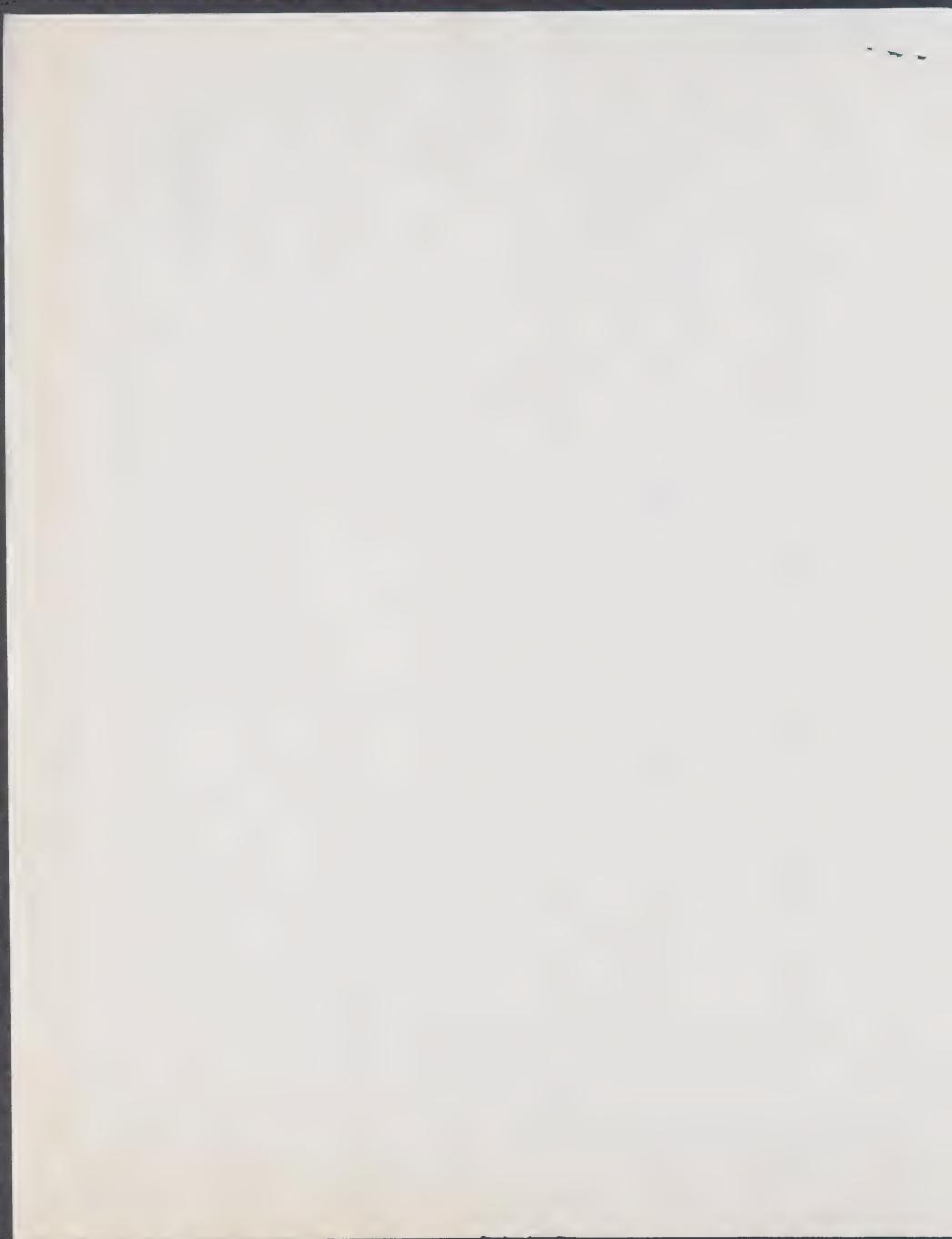
Craig Harbison

Craig Harbison
Assistant Professor

RECEIVED

1-23-73

ALDRICH CHEMICAL CO., INC.



Dr. Alfred R. Bader
President



August 10, 1973

Professor Craig Harbison
Assistant Professor
Oberlin College
Department of Art
Oberlin, Ohio 44074

Dear Professor Harbison:

Please accept my sincere thanks for your most interesting letter of August 7th.

Unfortunately, Panofsky's Studies in Titian is not in the Milwaukee Library; could I impose on you to send me Xerox copies of the relevant pages.

If you would like to study the Terbrugghen in more detail, then I would be happy to loan it to your museum, and have it delivered when our salesman next comes to Ohio. However, should you decide that you would like to study the original, then I would like to have it transported only in the fall or in the spring because the painting is on a panel, and does not look very stable. It has not moved while in my house these last three years, but there are indications that it might blister if handled unevenly.

Please give my very best regards to Professor Stechow with whom I am sure you have discussed your thinking. Professor Stechow combines enormous scholarship with being a truly angelic person, and I only ~~saw~~ that I lived in Oberlin.

W.A.B.

Best personal regards.

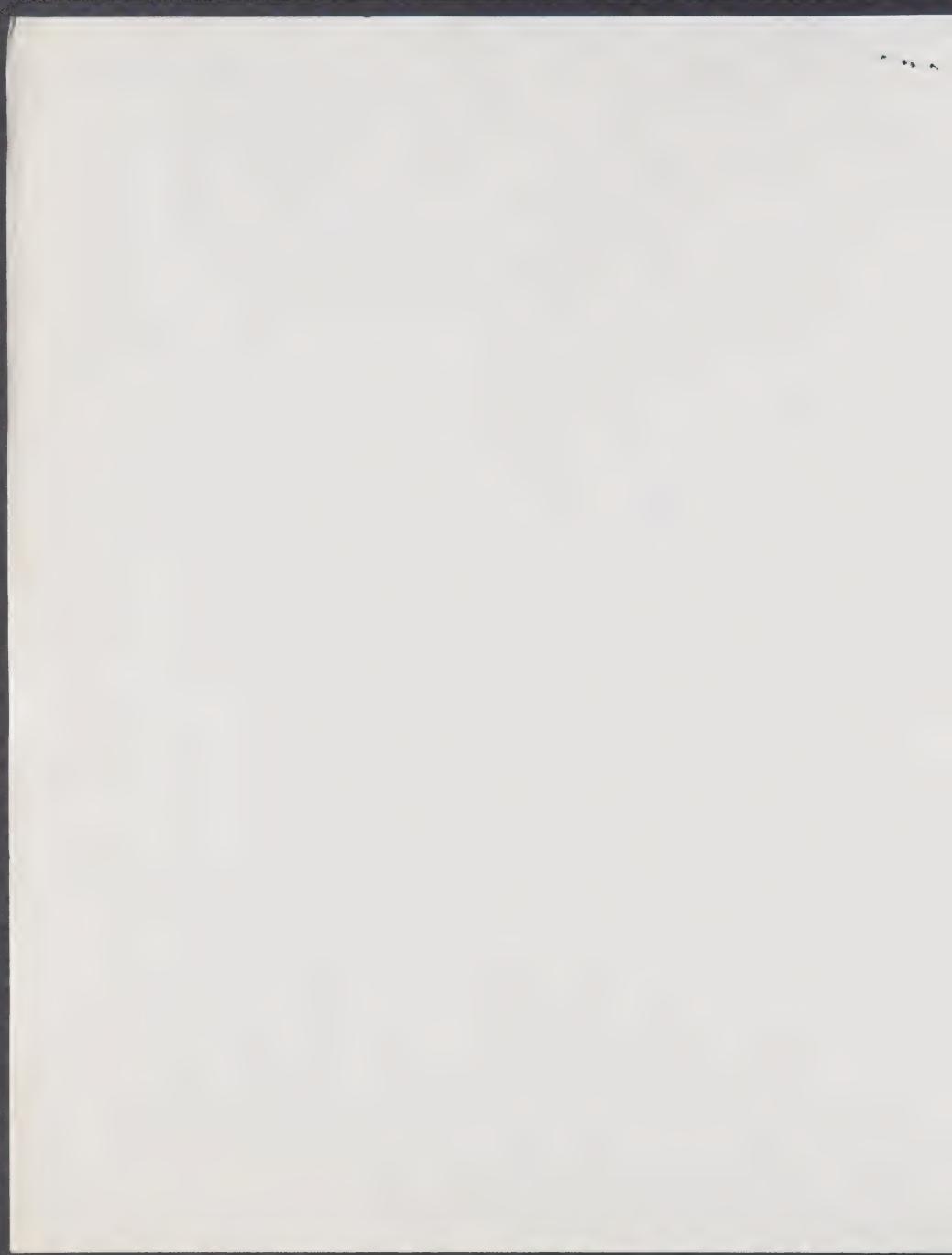
Sincerely,

AB:saw

Alfred Bader

Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc.

940 West St Paul Ave Milwaukee Wisconsin 53233 USA Telephone (414) 273-3850 Cable Aldrichem TWX 910-262-3052 Telex 26-843





The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

University of Massachusetts

Amherst 01003

Art History

Bartlett Hall

February 11, 1983

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

Dear Dr. Bader:

You were extremely kind to forward the slide of your Terbruggen from the restorer. I actually think your slide seemed to me of better quality.

I am writing now to tell you that I have unfortunately had to cut almost all the 17th century material out of my CAA talk. The chairman of my session is absolutely insisting that we limit ourselves to 20 minutes, and so I saw no alternative to this. I wanted to let you know in time so that you might pass this information on to your son.

I do however hope to be able to publish and speak on my latest ideas about your painting at some time in the near future. I am therefore taking the liberty of having our slide room here duplicate your color slide. I will certainly credit you whenever I use it. As soon as the duplicate returns from the photo center (which should be on Monday), I will send your original back to you. I will also send you at that time a copy of the earlier, long version of my talk, as well as the later short version.

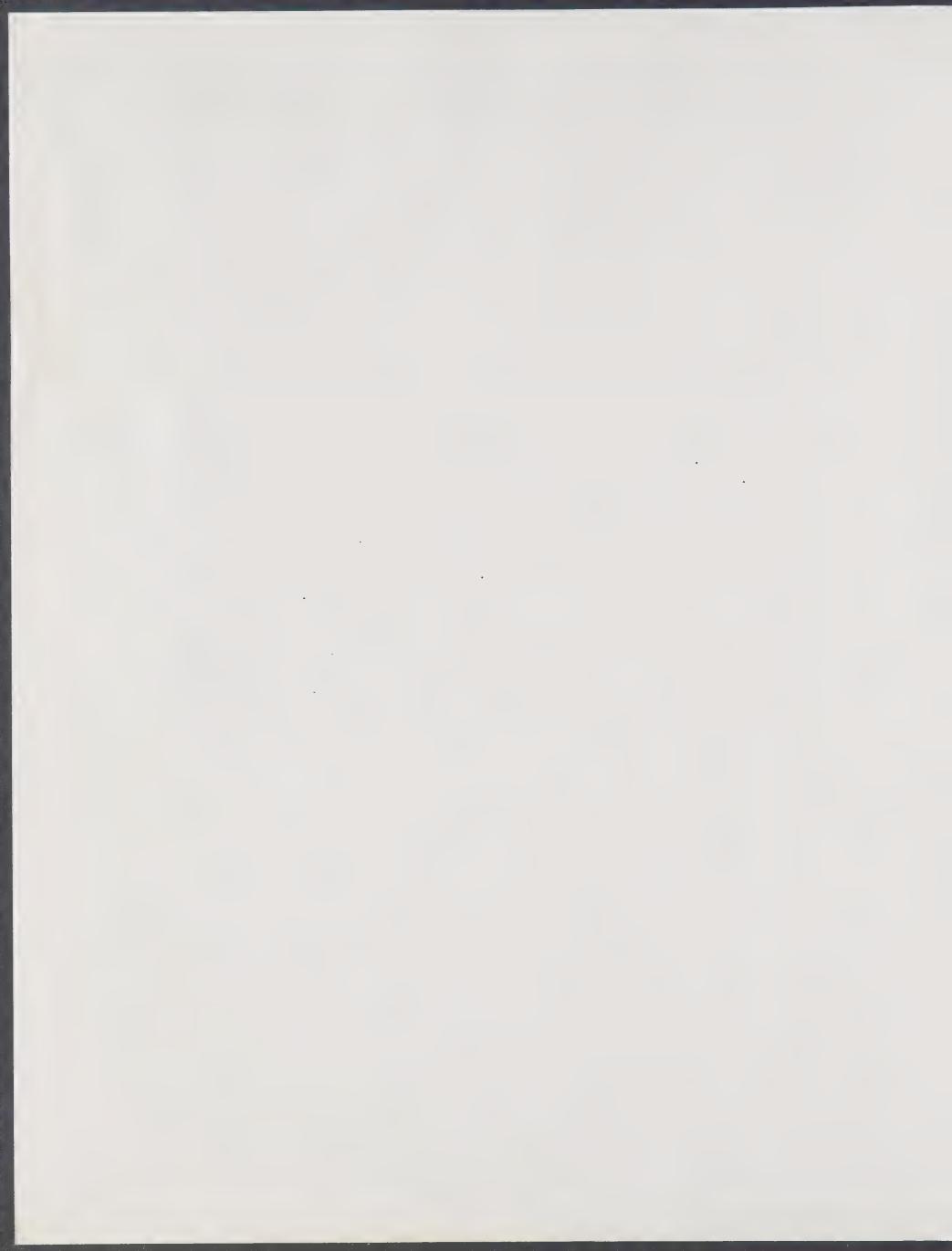
Again, I do appreciate your help.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that appears to read "Craig Harbison".

Craig Harbison
Associate Professor

CH:s





*The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
University of Massachusetts*

Amherst 01002

Art History
Bartlett Hall
October 31, 1979

Dr. Alfred Bader, President
Aldrich Chemical Company
940 West St. Paul Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

Dear Dr. Bader,

It was very nice to meet you again, hear your lecture and have the opportunity to talk some at Mt. Holyoke.

I recently received the enclosed letter from a former student of mine, Chris Witcombe, who as I mentioned to you had done some work on the iconography of your Terbrugghen. Although the letter is somewhat incomplete, I thought it might be of interest to you.

Hopefully someday I will get to Milwaukee and be able to see this fascinating work in person.

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Craig Harbison".

Craig Harbison
Associate Professor

CH:s

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Somerville, Mass.

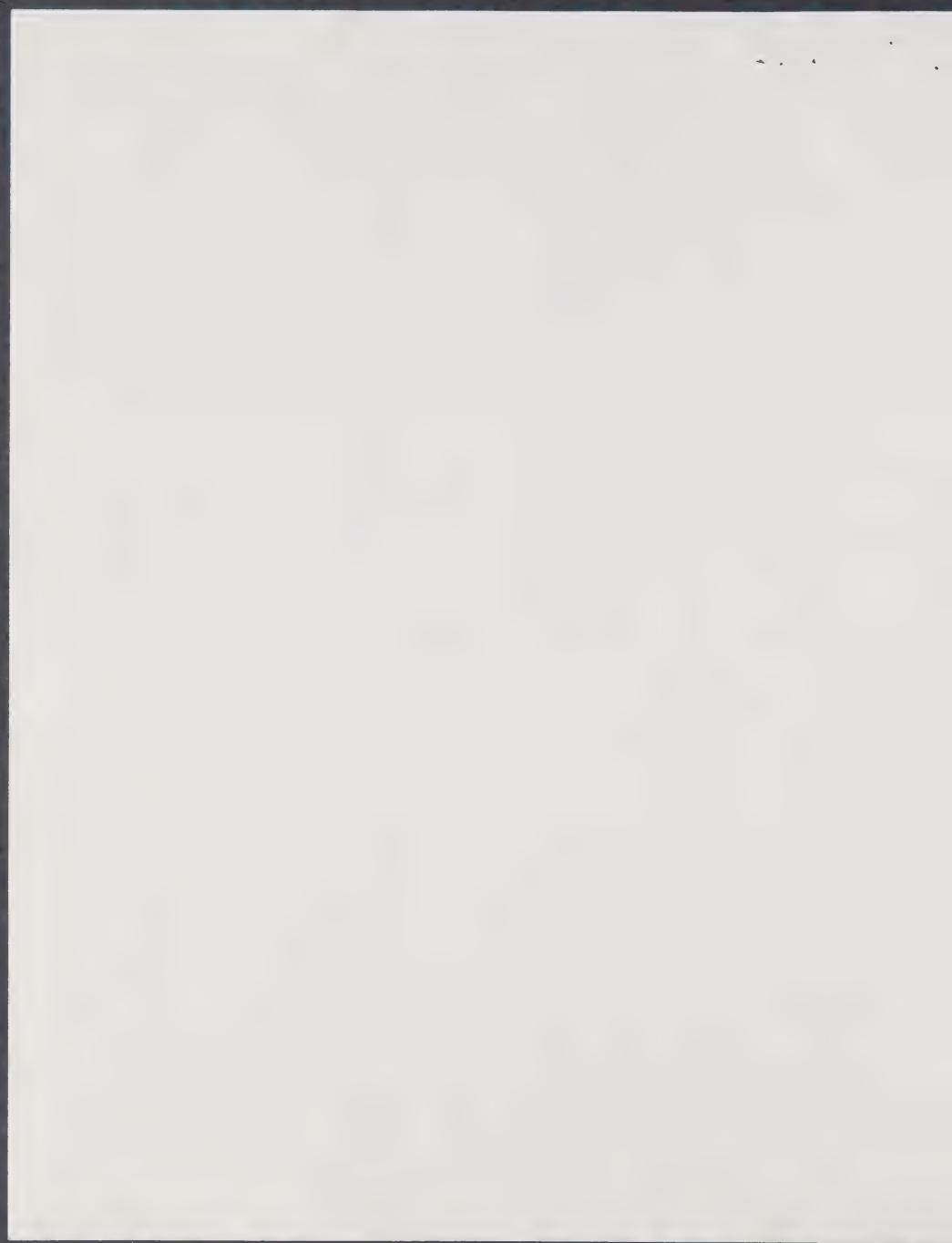
October, 16, 1979

Dear Craig,

In response to your inquiry after my paper on the Terbrugghen painting, I am sorry to say that it is at present tucked away with the rest of my worldly possessions in a garage in Albany, N.Y. It's a shame you didn't write earlier as I was in Albany a few weeks ago, and even more recently in Amherst. All I can offer you at the moment, I'm afraid, is a rough summary.

As I recall, I argued against your interpretation that the painting represented a Virgin praying for the souls in Purgatory (is that right?) on the grounds that it contained no clear reference to Purgatory, in particular there were no flames depicted which the iconography of the subject requires (cf. Rubens's painting of the foundress of the Carmelites, whose name escapes me now, interceding for the souls in Purgatory who appear amidst flames behind her).

The rest of the paper, it seems to me, was rather confused, with a lot of inconsequential mumbling about Christ's appearance to his mother and such like. However, from what I remember, the main argument was based on the assumption that the Virgin wept on only one occasion, the Crucifixion, and therefore I presumed that the images depicted in the background must necessarily allude in some way to that event. Following a close visual analysis of the background, I suggested that the scene on the left represents Adam and Eve with a combined symbol of the Cross of Christ and the Tree of Life, while the bearded figure and the youth on the right I identified as Abraham and Isaac. Both groups, it was then shown, could be associated with



the Crucifixion and the weeping Madonna in a number of ways. I concluded by stating that the painting was in fact a Mourning Virgin, but with the source of her grief revealed, through the background scenes, as something predestined and inevitable and, in a sense, perpetual.

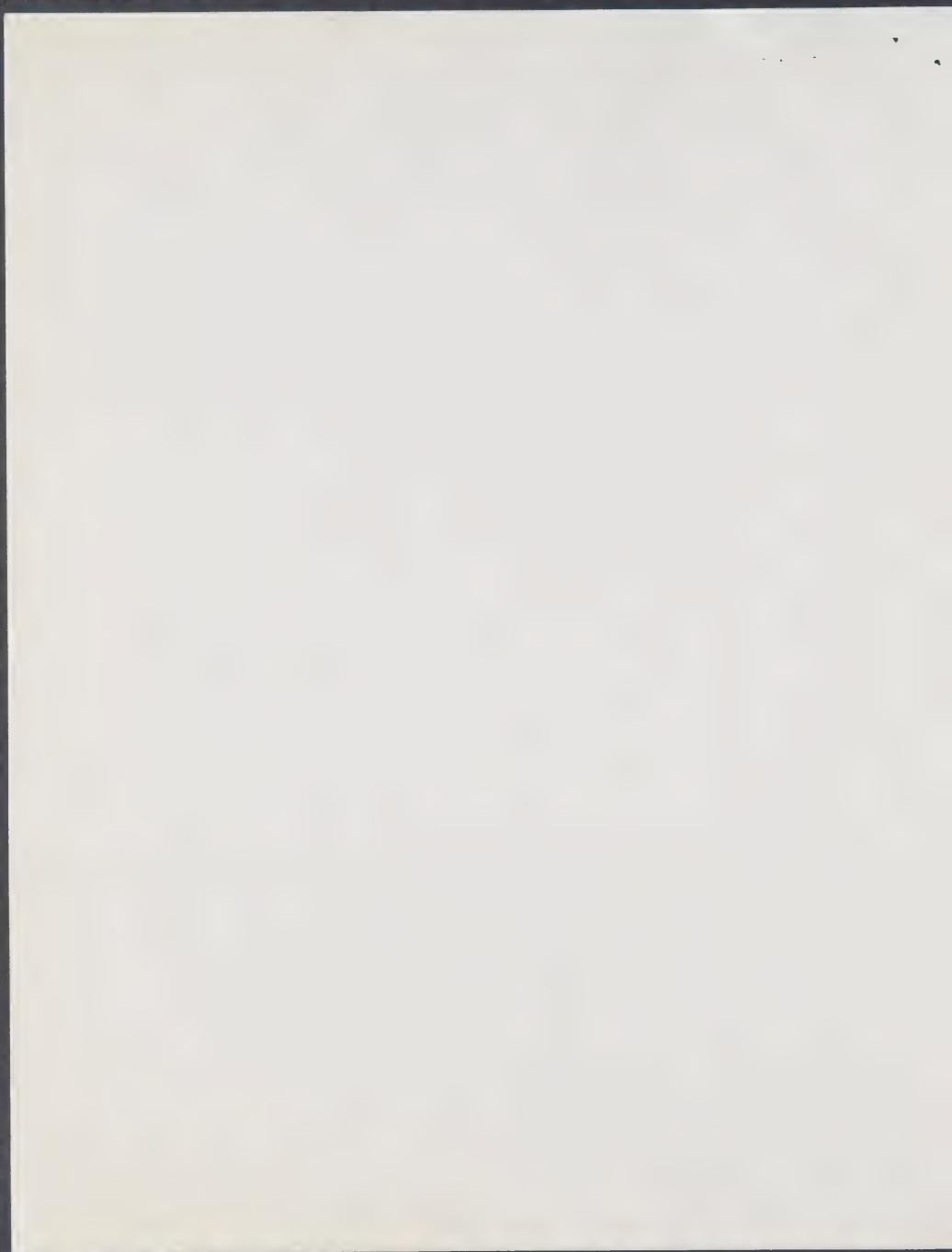
Well, there it is. I hope it is of some use to you Craig. The painting continues to puzzle me. The identification of those vague and shadowy figures in the background is still very much open to question. I've had an eye open over the years since I wrote the paper for clues to its interpretation, but have found nothing yet. I'm not planning to do anything with Terbrugghen, so please, feel free with whatever I have that may be of use to you.

This past year I've been having a marvellous time at Bryn Mawr's Villa Massenzia in Rome, getting lots of research done on my dissertation which is going to be a sort of monographic treatment of the brothers Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti. During the summer, spent looking after a friend's apartment in Florence, I was also able to write an article (nothing to do with the Alberti) which I hope will be accepted by the Archivum Historiae Pontificiae. At the moment, here in the States, I'm trying to write up another short article on a document I discovered last Spring in Rome. It contains a number of new and important pieces of information concerning the Farnese Gallery, Annibale Carracci's and Caravaggio's paintings in the Cerasi Chapel, and Cavaliere d'Arpino's work in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. All very exciting stuff. I'm hoping the Burlington will accept it. This past year I also discovered that I love working in archives, can't seem to do enough of it. Everything seems to be going very well.

I'm returning to Europe next week with Rosemary and Giulia (a new addition), so I probably won't be able to get to Amherst to see you until some time next year. I wish you, and everybody in the department, all the best.

Yours

Chris Wittman





443-545 - 3595

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

University of Massachusetts

Amherst 01003

Art History
Bartlett Hall
January 17, 1983

RECEIVED

JAN 19 1983

Aldrich Chemical Co., Inc.

Dr. Alfred Bader
President, Aldrich Chemical Company
940 West St. Paul Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

Dear Dr. Bader:

I have been thinking a lot about your Terbrugghen painting again lately; I have now decided that it represents the scene of Christ appearing to the Virgin with the Redeemed of the Old Testament. Partly in order to protect the work from any charges of idolatry, Terbrugghen has not painted the object of Mary's vision (Christ) but asks the viewer to imagine it (I think Rembrandt does the same thing in his etching of the Virgin with the Instruments of the Passion (B.85).)

This is all going to form the finale for a College Art Association talk which I am just in the process of writing up (to be given February 17, 1983, in Philadelphia). I have made some acceptable black and white slides from the photographs of your painting you sent me, but for the purposes of this talk a good color slide would obviously be better. Is it possible that you have had some made that I could have duplicated? Perhaps I could afford to have a new one made if it is not too expensive.

I should have written you sooner about this, since the time is growing short. Any help you can give me will certainly be appreciated; and I will send you a copy of my talk as soon as it is finished.

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Craig Harbison".

Craig Harbison
Associate Professor

CH:s



January 20, 1983

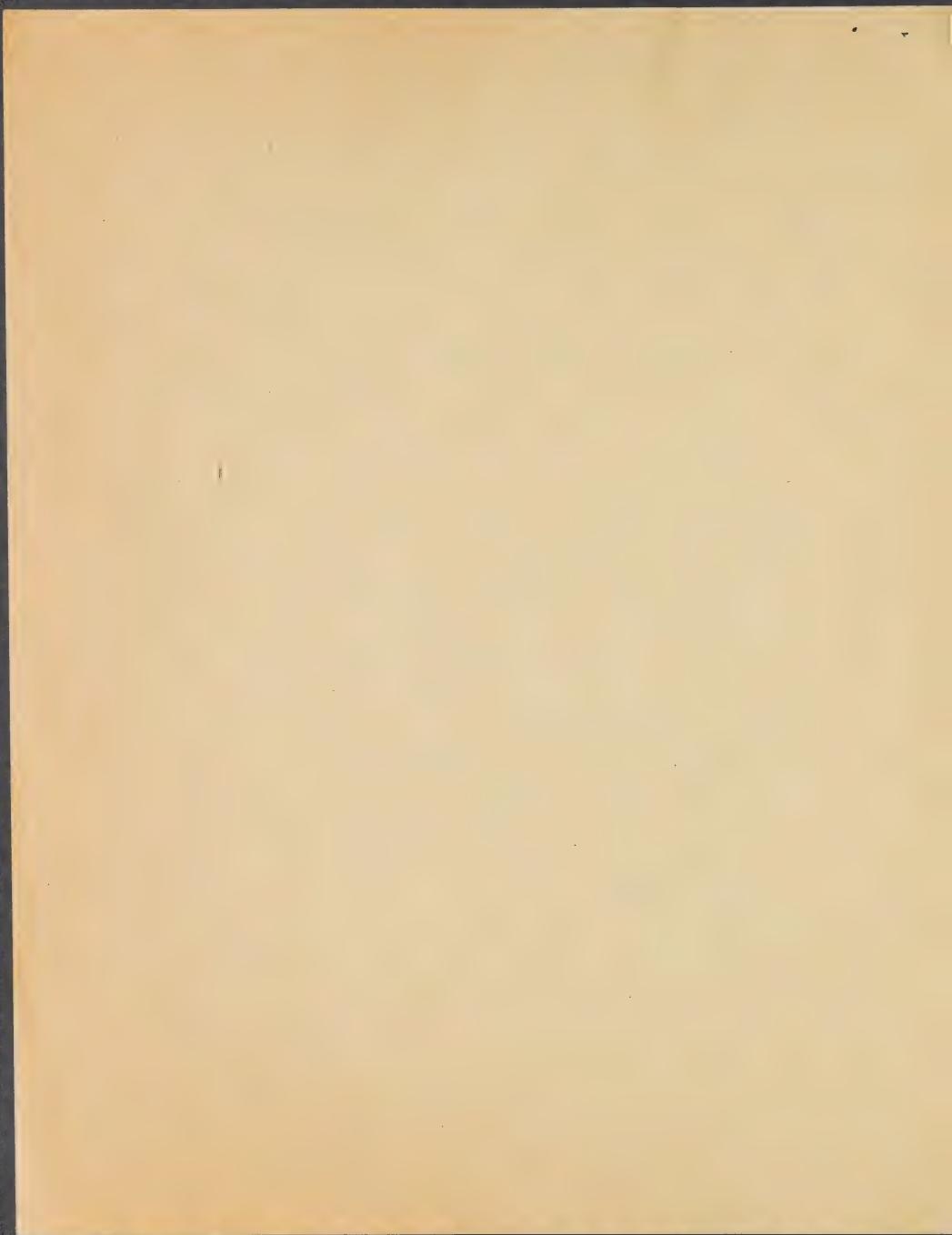
Professor Craig Harbison
University of Massachusetts
Art History Department
Bartlett Hall
Amherst, Massachusetts 01003

Dear Professor Harbison:

Dr. Bader is traveling in the East this week and will not return to the office until Monday, January 24. At that time your letter will be brought to his immediate attention for response.

Cordially,

Marilyn Hassmann
Secretary to Dr. Bader



telefoon 732121
postgiro 425180

R I J K S M U S E U M

A F D E L I N G S C H I L D E R I J E N

uw ref.:
onze ref.: PvT/BdV
uw brief:

AMSTERDAM April 7, 1972

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 North Sheppard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Bader,

Thank you very much for your letter of March 25, 1972.
I did not know your very interesting painting, which convinces me
more than the Harrach painting and its variant formerly at Agnew's.

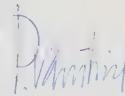
I assume your painting is on oak and I understand that
it is not signed nor dated.

The drapery, especially the folds at the back of the
head-shawl, seems very typical for Terbrugghen. The hands are
puzzling me. Are the sharply drawn outlines of the fingers original
or has somebody strengthened them? Also the dark parts in the neck
and under the lower lip look rather suspicious to me.

It is quite impossible to judge the painting definitely
without having seen the original, but I feel strongly inclined to
accept it and to look upon the Harrach and Agnew paintings as border-
cases.

Under separate cover I am sending you my article on
Terbrugghen (esp. p. 104 and 138).

Yours sincerely,



(Dr. P.J.J. van Thiel)
Director of the
Department of Paintings

11/10

FIRST DRAFT

The Fear of Idolatry and its relation to changes in Flemish and Dutch

devotional imagery, 15th - 17th century

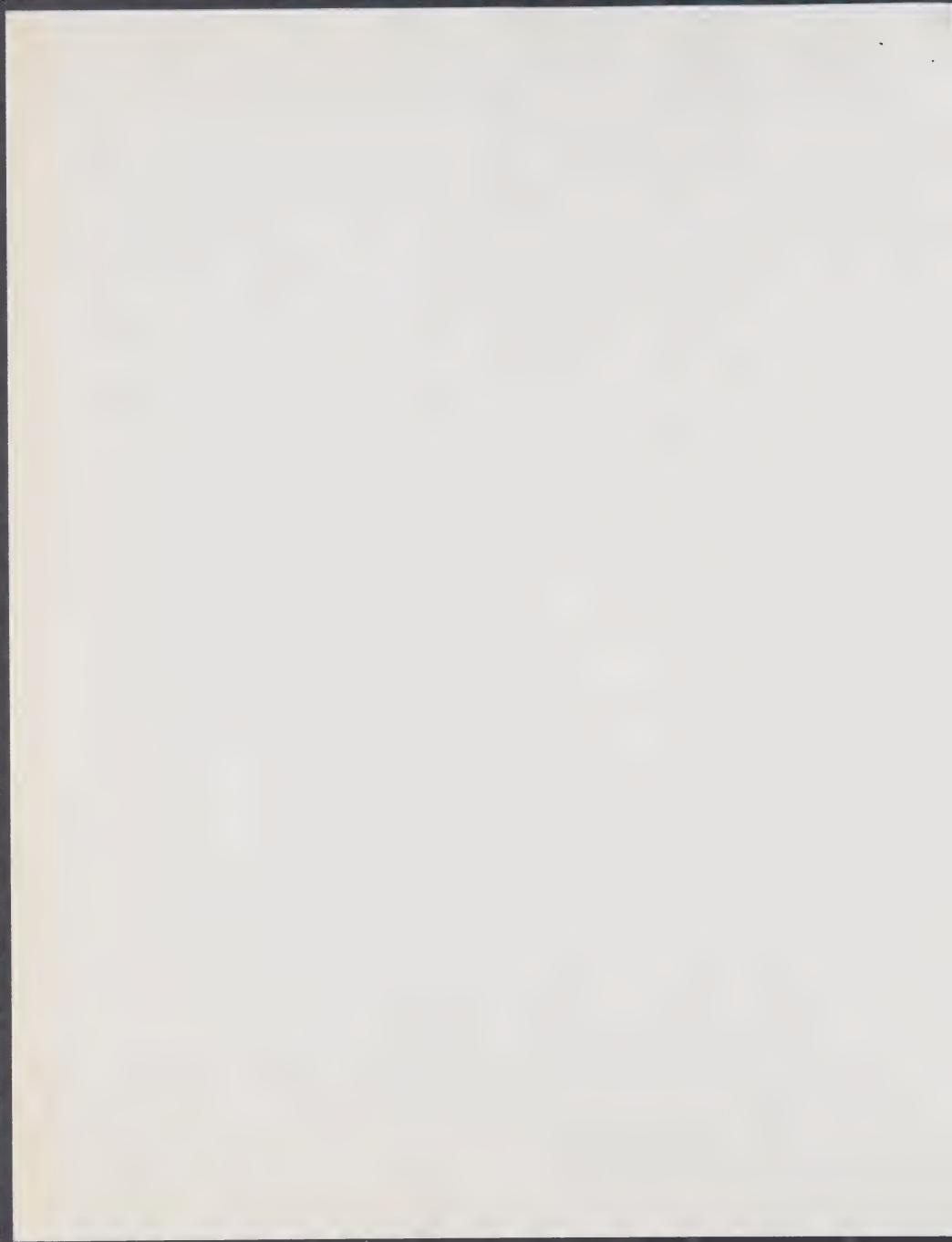
Craig Harbison

The fear of idolatry and its relation to changes in religious or devotional imagery from the 15th to the 17th century -- perhaps this title should be turned around. Because what I will be dwelling on here are what I feel are some symptomatic changes in religious art during these centuries.

I believe there is often a firm devotional use of art at either end of this long period, in contrast to the breakdown in this tradition in the sixteenth century. This breakdown is due in large measure to the controversy and scepticism associated with the Protestant Reformation. While outlining this particular understanding of the development of Northern devotional imagery, I want to point out the way that the fear of idolatry provides a useful, continuous perspective on the problem.

The scope of this topic is no doubt too great to be addressed completely in a 20-minute CAA talk. Yet I do hope, in this short time, to be able to highlight one thread of an admittedly complicated interwoven fabric.

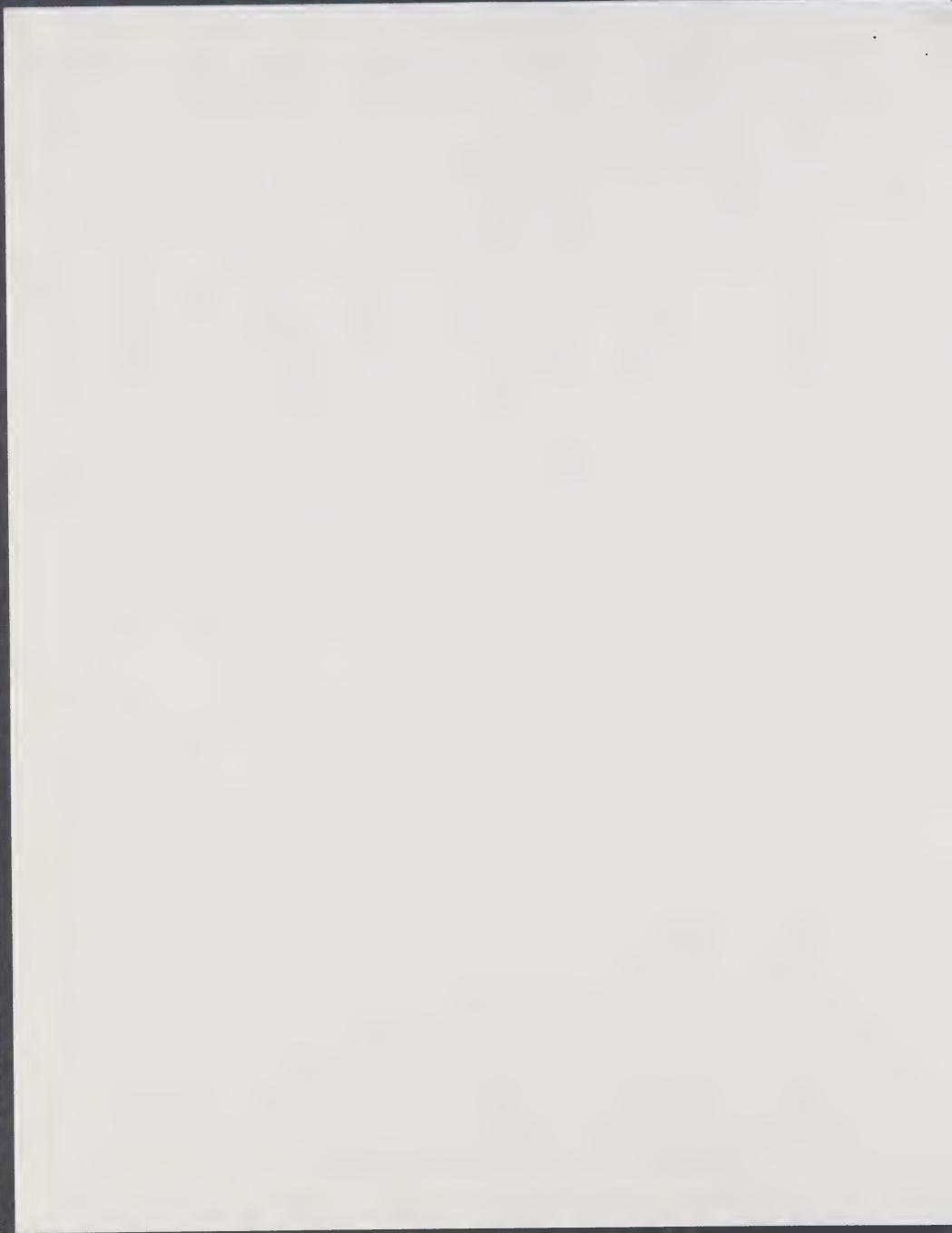
One other word of explanation from the start. In order to elucidate the simultaneously changing and constant picture I have just briefly outlined, I am not going to adhere to the traditional iconographic analysis of a single theme. In order to convey a richer sense of these changes in the imagery, various treatments of two, related themes will be intermingled. These are: the appearances of Christ after the Resurrection to his mother Mary and his appearance to Mary Magdalen. Interweaving these two themes will hopefully also serve to undercut the idea that I am talking about a simple linear development in devotional imagery. The picture is both more complex and more contextual than any notion of inevitable change would indicate.



Fifteenth century religious art in Flanders is, above all, concerned with visions and meditations. This visionary imagery is, however, not the product of an ecstatic, mystical experience such as that endured by saints like Teresa of Avila. Rather, in the more bourgeois Flemish version of things, it is private, methodical prayer which brings the transforming vision. Donors are shown backed up, or in most cases actually surrounded, by their visions, the products of their devout meditations. These paintings are, in turn, at least in part de-materialized. Their so-called "realism" is always employed selectively in order to convey a tension between sacred and secular worlds. Space, light, framing devices, convex-mirror-like compositions are manipulated in order to suggest the ultimate spiritual understanding of what is portrayed. Yet the insistent presence of contemporary donors ties the image to some very real devotional experience.

Mary of Burgundy in her devotion to the Virgin Mary envisions herself kneeling before the Virgin's throne (slide 1). And the donor in Roger van der Weyden's so-called Bladelin Altarpiece recreates in his own mind the vision which St. Bridget had of the Nativity (slide 2). In fact the theme of Roger's triptych is not derived from a single literary source as scholars have often sought to prove. It comes, rather, from the constantly-sought visionary experience which the emperor Augustus (left wing), the Three Magi (right wing) and the donor (center) all share. As with almost all Flemish fifteenth century religious art, the theme of this work is visions, how they come through windows, appear as a light in the sky and finally, ultimately and ideally, surround us.

Donors are allowed to be there, participating in a famous saint's vision. To turn to one of our themes, Charles VIII of France, in a miniature in the Morgan Library (slide 3) shares the Magdalen's vision of the Resurrected Christ. (As is usual in such scenes, his sidelong stare

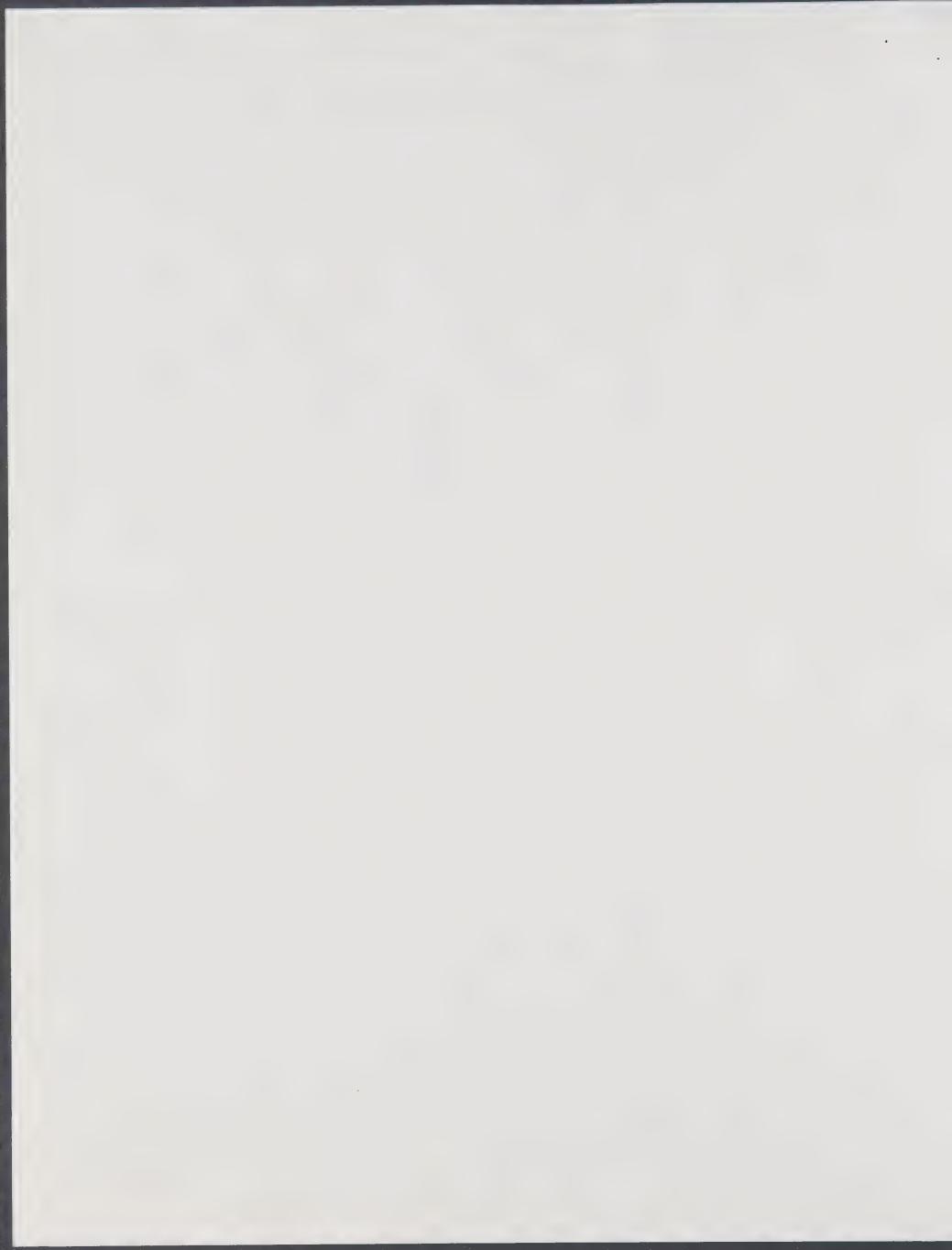


indicates that he is present, so to speak, only in his mind's eye.) Some donors go beyond this. They are shown actually taking the place of some devout or holy person from the past, stepping in so that they personally can receive the vision proffered long ago. Thus Margaret of York receives the Resurrected Christ as, several medieval sources tell us, the Virgin Mary once did (slide 4).

This kind of image is in full accord with the prayers, so frequently found in Books of Hours, which promise the pious lay person certain visions if certain prayers are said. One of these prayers, often repeated in late fifteenth century manuscripts, was accompanied by a rubric asserting that the Virgin herself guaranteed that the results would include five visions, one to be of Christ's appearance to her after his Resurrection.

Fifteenth century Flemish religious works were thus clearly meant to stimulate or record the pious devotional activity of the lay population. In so doing, they were not given unbridled freedom. Worshipping with the aide of images never received unmitigated support from the religious authorities. Images could be an aide but not an end. In order at all costs to avoid idolatry, one had, as the Parisian Chancellor Jean Gerson said, "to learn to transcend with our minds from these visible things to the invisible, from the corporeal to the spiritual. For this is the purpose of the image." In light of this widespread feeling in the 15th century, it cannot be accidental that Flemish paintings oftentimes concern themselves with the devotional or meditative process. These works hover carefully, paradoxically, but inevitably between the mundane (or real) and the other-worldly (or symbolic). Therefore, they are not idolatrous, and they also maintain a widespread appeal to an increasingly lay clientele.

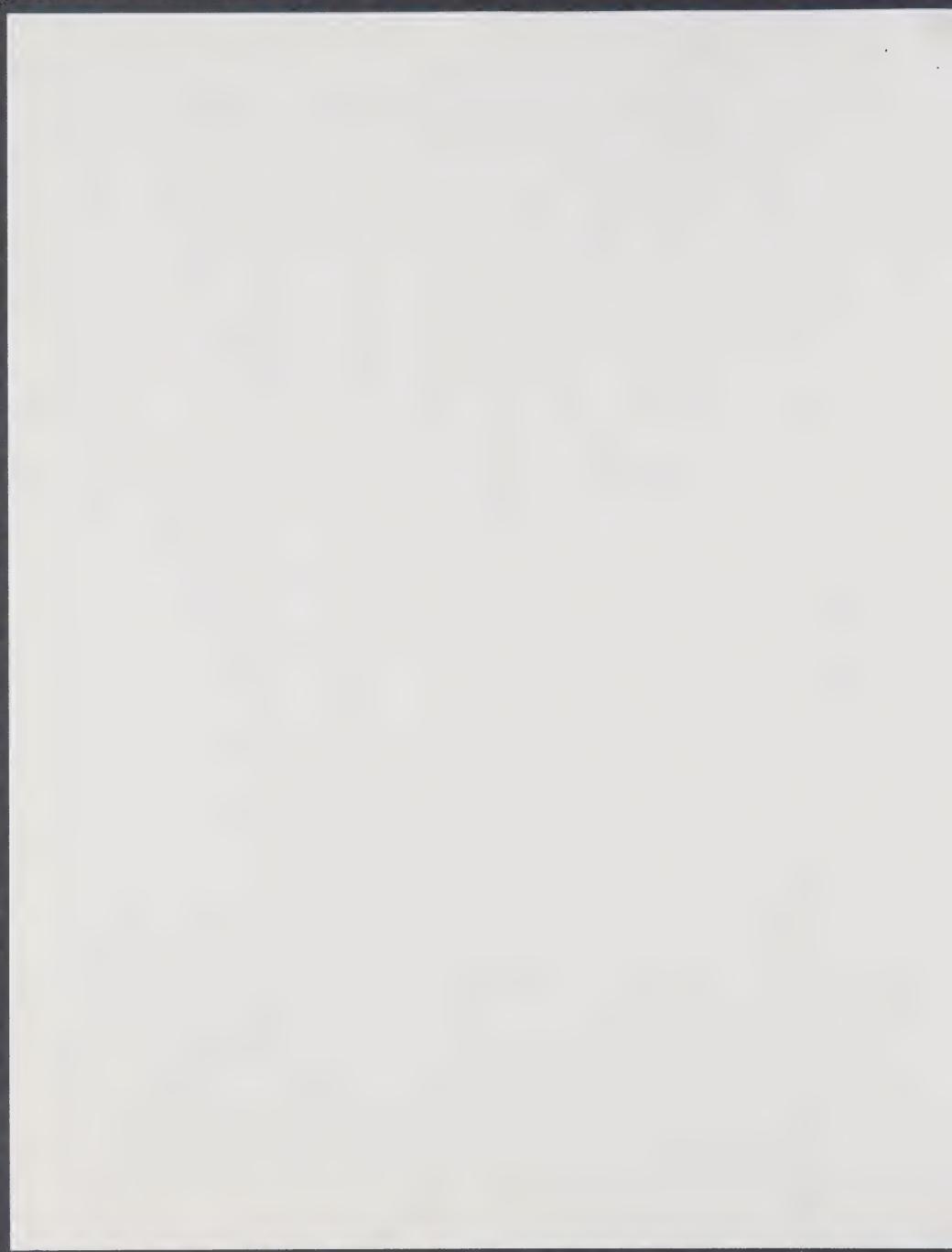
In the 16th century, a simple continuation of 15th century devotional art is found only very sporadically, for instance in the Catholic court



milieu around Margaret of Austria. It was presumably for Margaret that Jan Mostaert executed his diptych of Christ appearing to the Virgin with the Redeemed of the Old Testament (a detail that had been added in 15th century Spanish accounts (slide 5)). On the right wing of the diptych the artist painted a posthumous portrait of Margaret's mother, Mary of Burgundy, kneeling in her devotions. In fact, these devotions were somewhat literally out-of-date in the sixteenth century: representations of Christ appearing to the Virgin are much rarer during this period than they had been in the preceding century.

By way of contrast, the popularity of Christ's appearance to the Magdalen was great, as two examples by Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (slide 6) and Lucas van Leyden (slide 7) might indicate. In these two works controversial elements are brought to the fore, undercutting a straightforward devotional message. In order to understand this, it is necessary to review some contemporary theological discourse.

Late in 1517 the French humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples wrote a treatise (published the following year) attacking the traditional identification of the Magdalen. In fact, Lefèvre claimed that the prostitute who anointed Christ's feet, the woman called Mary Magdalen to whom Christ appeared after his Resurrection, and Mary, the sister of Martha and Lazarus, were three separate people. He was especially determined to distinguish this last figure from the elegant, converted sinner. Why did Lefèvre do this? For one thing, he was reading the Bible closely, and he found there no reason to consider these three individuals one. The Catholic Church had traditionally done just that, thereby creating one of its most popular saints, a person whose life became one dramatic incident after another, culminating in a perilous voyage across the Mediterranean Sea, retirement to a mountain cave and then a series of ecstatic experiences

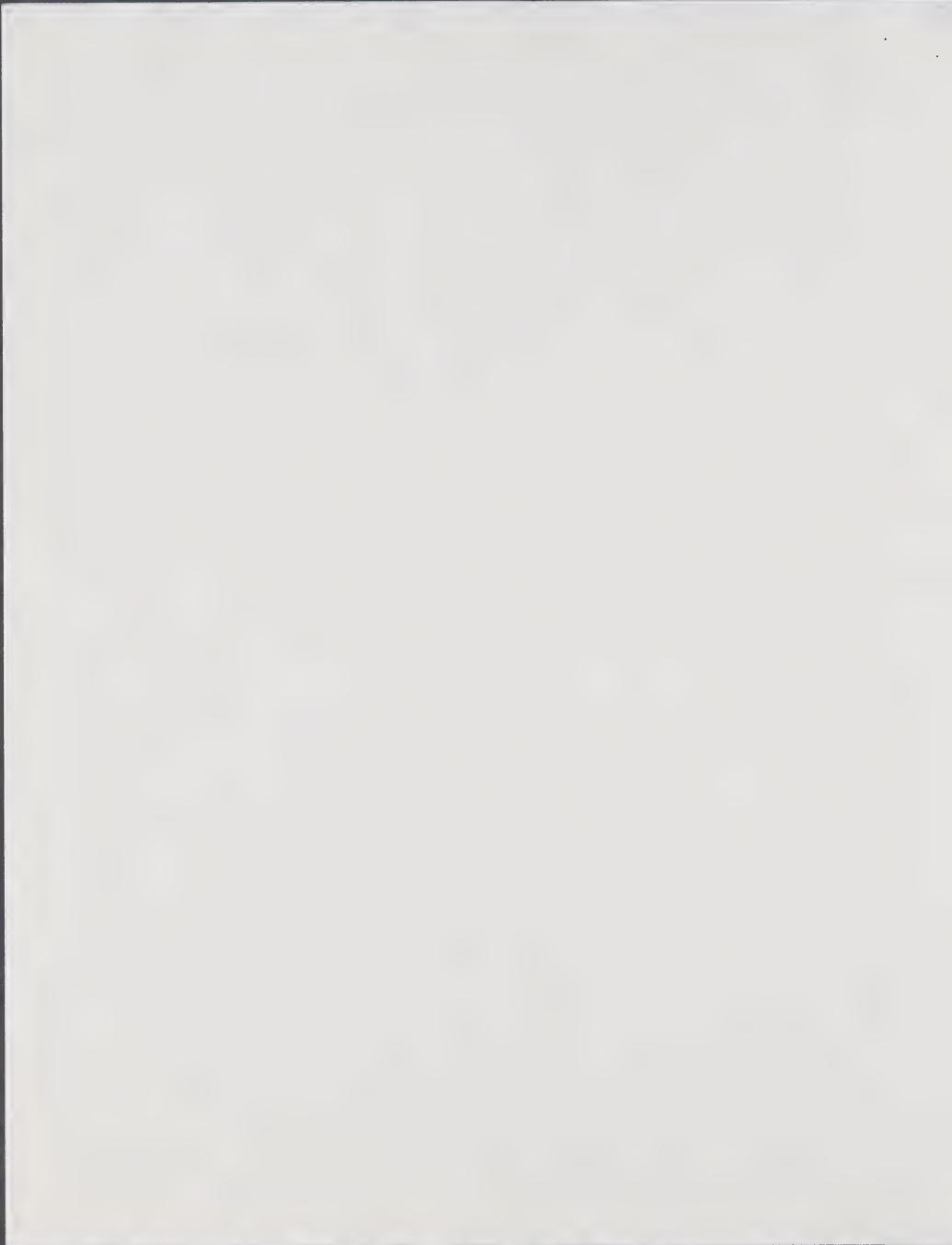


as she was carried heavenward, covered only by her hair, in order to daily see her Lord.

But, Lefèvre claimed, to change from sinner to a holy hermit is difficult at best. Surely, in any case, it is not an ideal. The ideal Christian existence is, rather, a consistent contemplative one. For Lefèvre a close and accurate reading of Scripture supported this. The harlot who repented her early life became a minor figure next to the time-honored symbol of the vita contemplativa, Mary, the sister of Martha and Lazarus.

The outcry against Lefèvre's critique of medieval conflation and elaboration was rapid and unanimous. Lefèvre's opponents stressed the traditional notion that the greatest sanctity and love are exhibited by the converted or repentent sinner. It was important, they felt, to maintain that the Lord could drive out sins and then raise the sinner to a life of contemplation. She who began as a courtesan could, almost miraculously, end as a hermit on a mountain top. This at least was the view proposed early in 1519 by Lefèvre's most well-known opponent, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester and Chancellor of Cambridge University.

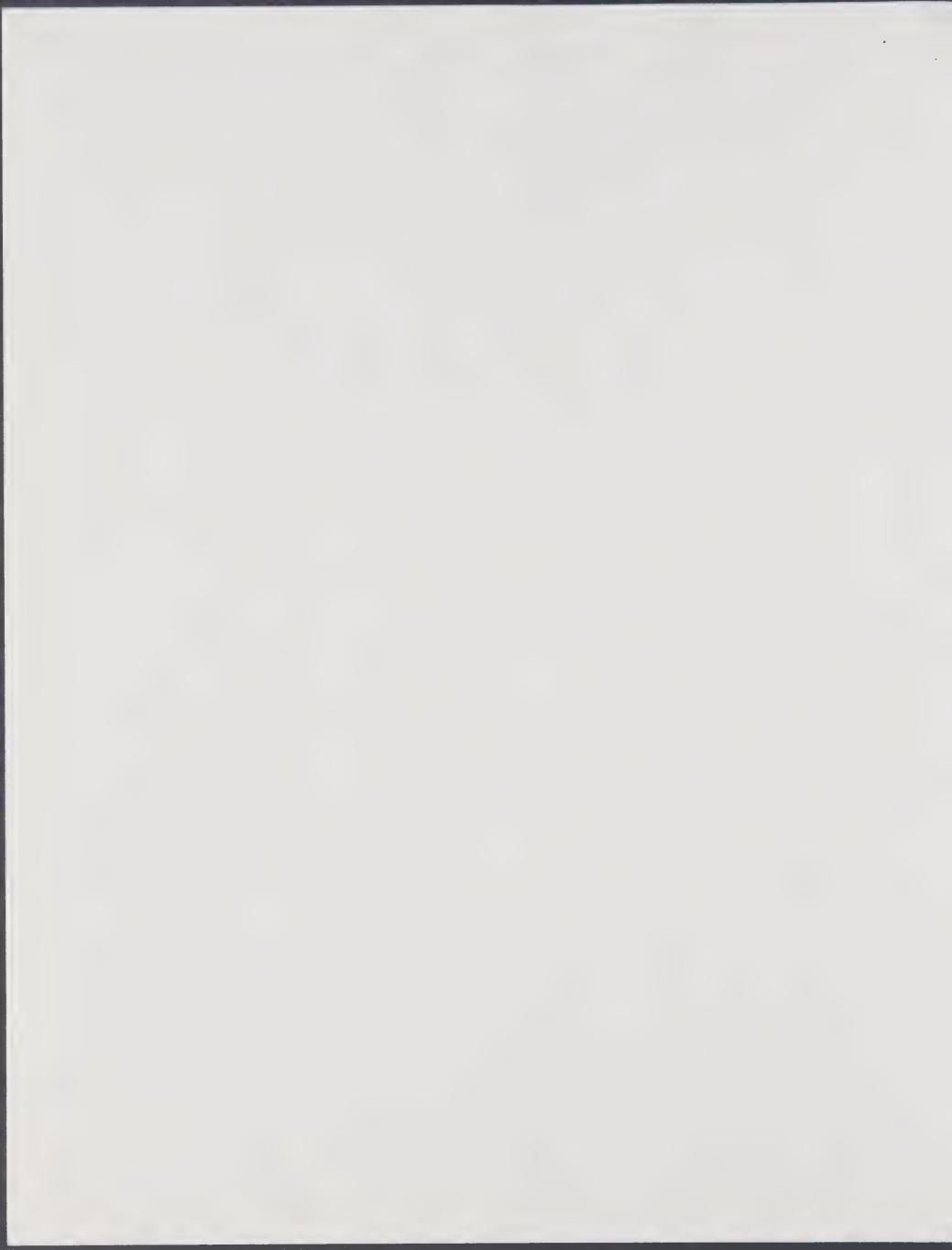
The response to Lefèvre's questioning seems to have been the increasing popularity of the traditional view of the Magdalen, complete with all the legendary accretions which the saint had acquired even through the late 15th century. A Dominican source at that time first recorded one particularly fascinating wrinkle in the story: the Magdalen appeared in a vision to Charles II, Duke of Anjou (d. 1481), and revealed that, despite the Biblical injunction, Christ had touched her forehead. This corresponded nicely to the fact that on the skull of the reliquary bust of the saint venerated in southern France a small bit of skin remained: the very spot, it turned out, which Christ had touched (slide 8).



Already in the late 15th and early 16th centuries artists like Hans Memling and Jacob Cornelisz. indicate an awareness of this legend. When Lucas van Leyden portrayed the touching incident in his 1519 engraving we may rightly suspect some more specific connection with the full-blown "Quarrel of the Magdalens." As with John Fisher's response to Lefèvre d'Etaples, Lucas shows his saint as a now contrite courtesan. And the visual artist further manages to emphasize the accretion of medieval legend relating to this individual, just the kind of thing that Lefèvre had meant to strip away.

It is worth noting here that these 16th century artists' emphasis on peculiarities of narrative and legend have the effect of pulling their images out of the sphere of transcendent meditation. In particular, Lucas' relation to the Magdalen controversy shows an obsession, not with the previous methodical devotional use of the image, but rather with the way an image can, minutely, counter scepticism. Whether intentionally or not, this focus also effectively removes the image from the realm of idolatry.

The non-idolatrous nature of these 16th century developments is even more apparent in a related kind of Magdalen image. This is the variety, illustrated here again by works of Jacob Cornelisz. (Mary Magdalen, St. Louis; slide 9) and Lucas van Leyden (Dance of the Magdalen, slide 10), both of 1519, which emphasizes the dramatic changes that this woman supposedly experienced in her life. In different but related ways, both these artists show, large and in great detail in the foreground, allusions to (as with Cornelisz.'s costly dress), or direct portrayal of (as with Lucas' courtly life), the Magdalen's early "sinful" existence. In contrast to this, in small background vignettes, we see the Magdalen praying in a cave (Cornelisz.) or lifted to heaven by angels from her mountain top



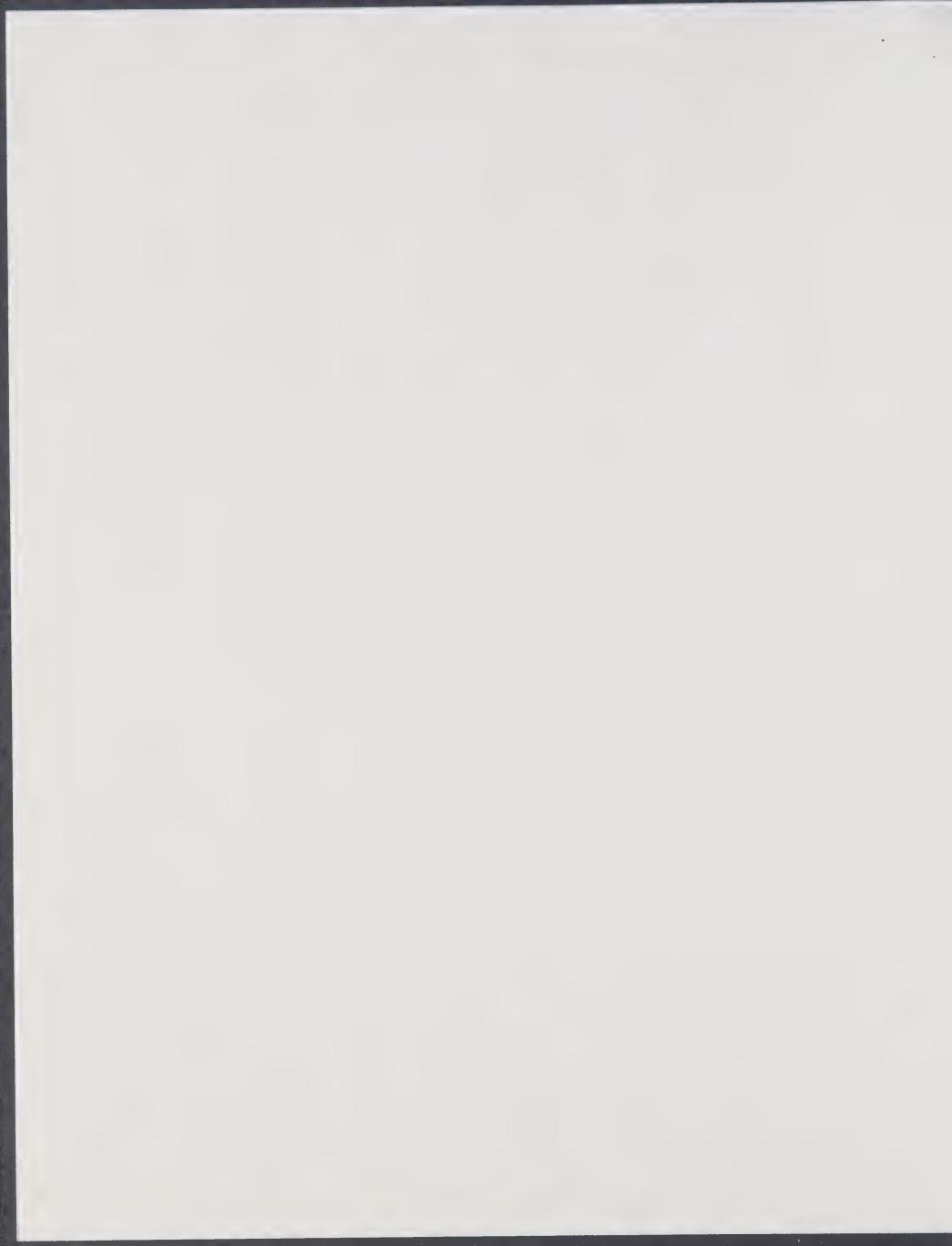
retreat (Lucas).

It cannot be mere coincidence that these images dwell upon the change of heart which the Magdalen supposedly experienced just at the moment that the desirability, even possibility, of such a change was being hotly debated. And again, the new explicitness of these 16th century images removes them from the realm of simple devotion and plants them firmly in the midst of controversy and scepticism.

Many people in the past have looked at images like Cornelisz.'s and Lucas' and felt they showed a new secularism, lack of emphasis on traditional religious subject matter. In fact these images present what might be described as simply a heightened view of the Magdalen story; and they do this for very traditional motives. These new narrative and dramatic scenes are finally very clever ways of re-inforcing traditional Catholic legends.

Incidentally, the same thing should probably be said for the contemporary development of rather accurate portrayals of La Sainte-Baume, the rocky mountain in southern France where the Magdalen supposedly spent her last days. (Lucas van Leyden's engraving is probably meant to reflect this; better examples are found in and around the work of the Flemish landscape artist, Joachim Patinir.) Once the whole legendary apparatus around this saint was questioned, artists apparently felt called upon to be defenders of the faith. What has often been considered a sign of great progress in the visual arts, the desire and ability to portray accurately specific locales, is thus, in this case, developed in part in order to support conservative Catholic opinion.

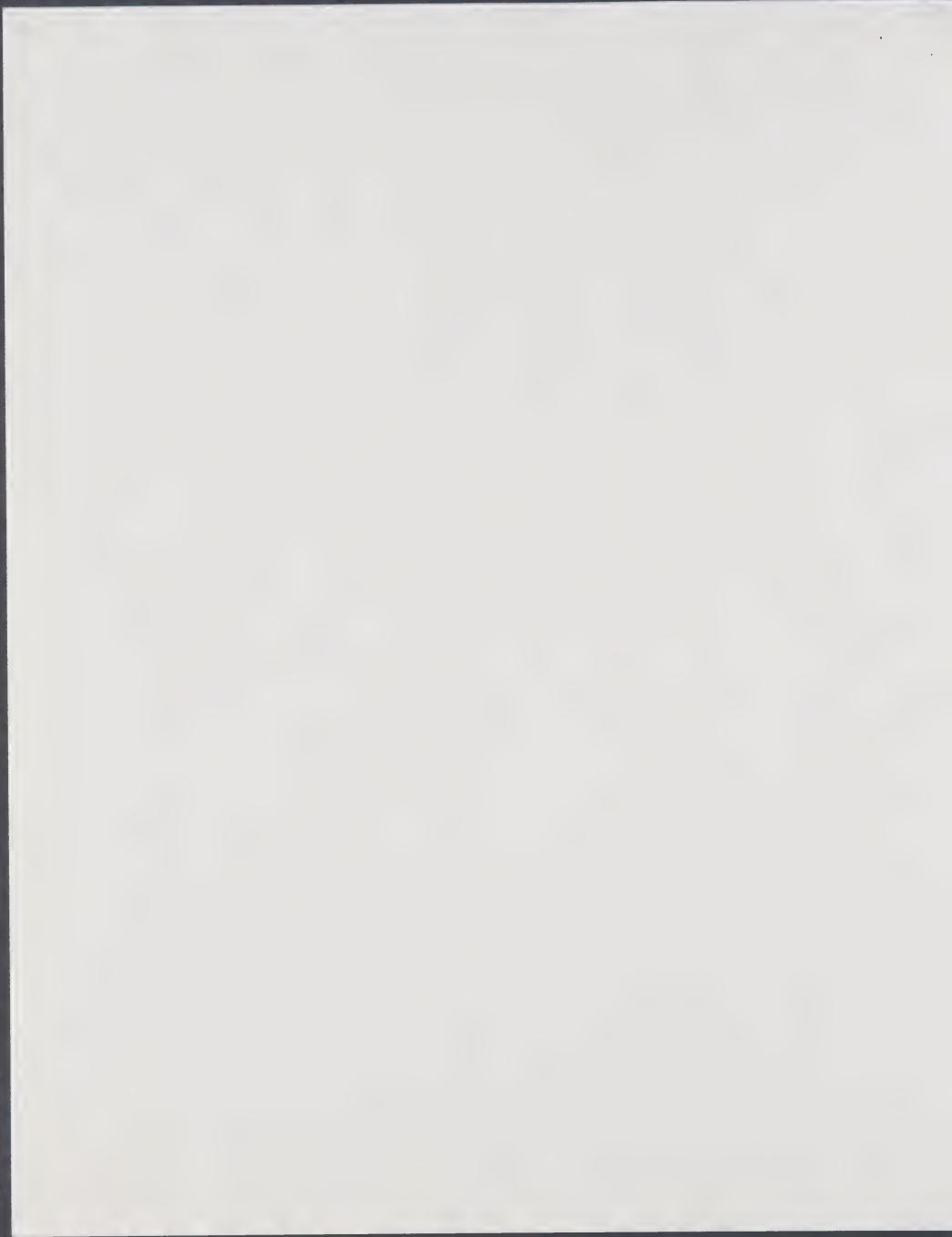
We can explain images like Lucas's and Jacob Cornelisz.'s in terms of Catholic orthodoxy: such complete narratives of the Magdalen's dramatic career were also proposed in words by those who sought to counter



Lefèvre d'Étaples' rationalist views of both text and tradition. But there still are ways in which these images, in entering this dispute, have come loose from their moorings. It would be hard to take their rather disproportionate compositions as straightforward aides to meditation and devotion, in the way that seemed so obvious in the 15th century. In general, we might say that the 16th century did not have great sympathy with the Magdalen as a single-minded or consistent meditative ideal. This was in fact the view of her that Lefèvre was, unsuccessfully, trying to propound. Views like Lefèvre's seemed to have turned popular opinion (and its equivalent in the visual arts) even more toward an image of the Magdalen as a figure of drama and conversion. The theatricality of these images does not indicate an overt loss of faith; but it does, at least indirectly, point to the kind of humanist scepticism which motivated Lefèvre's critique in the first place.

Is it accidental that these 16th century portrayals of the Magdalen inevitably seem to break down the firm devotional purpose of 15th century Flemish imagery? Early Flemish religious art tread a thin line in its avoidance of possible idolatry. At that time the subtle but necessary tension of elements led one beyond the image to the suggestion of a visionary experience. In the face of the later, 16th century images, such meditative piety seems remote, if not out of the question. The image no longer verges on being worshipped, because it seems to have been removed from that process altogether. Those devotional weights do not hold or contain it, as the exegetical and doctrinal controversies associated with the early Reformation assume prominence, commanding both people's minds and eyes.

The Magdalen as a subject of devotional art re-emerges in the 17th century. Consideration of her use in Catholic circles, under the leader-

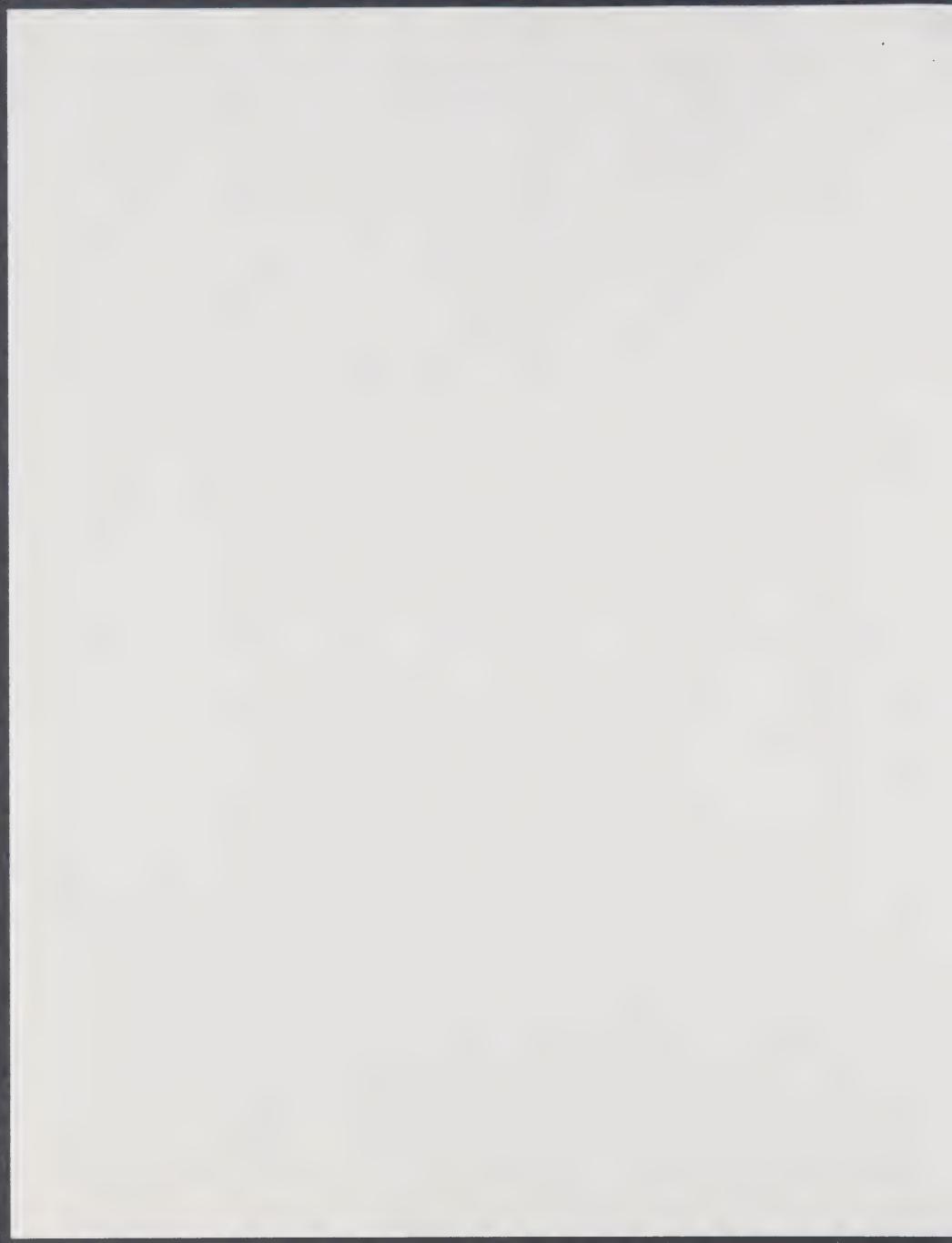


ship of groups like the Franciscans (long some of her staunchest supporters), could take us far afield of the more narrow Dutch and Flemish limits of this talk. I do want to point briefly to the meditative process elicited by Rembrandt from the story of Christ's appearance to the Magdalen.

Margaret Carroll has already indicated a similar meditational sequence in the various states of Rembrandt's two great prints, the Ecce Homo and the Three Crosses. Professor Carroll finds a progression in the states of these prints from narrative description to spiritual confrontation, something analogous to what is found in 17th century Protestant poetry and sermons. Indeed, this is admittedly a very general point, and yet it serves to underline the devotional power of Rembrandt's thinking and concomitant creative process.

In all of Rembrandt's early portrayals of the Magdalen scene, emphasis is placed on dramatic, narrative elaboration and disguise (painting of 1638 and drawings of the 1640's; slides 11 and 12). The Magdalen repeatedly questions, and we in turn realize her ignorance and need of grace. In his painting of 1651 (Kassel; slide 13) and subsequent drawing (slide 14), Rembrandt moves on to the woman's confrontation with her Lord. Christ drops his disguise and radiates light, as the Magdalen bows contritely. As Margaret Carroll wrote of Rembrandt's prints, we have proceeded to the final stage of the meditation in which "humanity's need for redemption and the possibility of receiving it are dramatically and emotionally exposed."

But, it might be claimed, Rembrandt's move, literally through the narrative and figuratively through a contemporary devotional process, is rather special, if not unique. I do not in fact know of other Dutch and Flemish artists who elicit such an explicit meditative process from the Magdalens encounter with Christ. But I can point to interesting ways that both Rembrandt and other Dutch and Flemish contemporaries return to

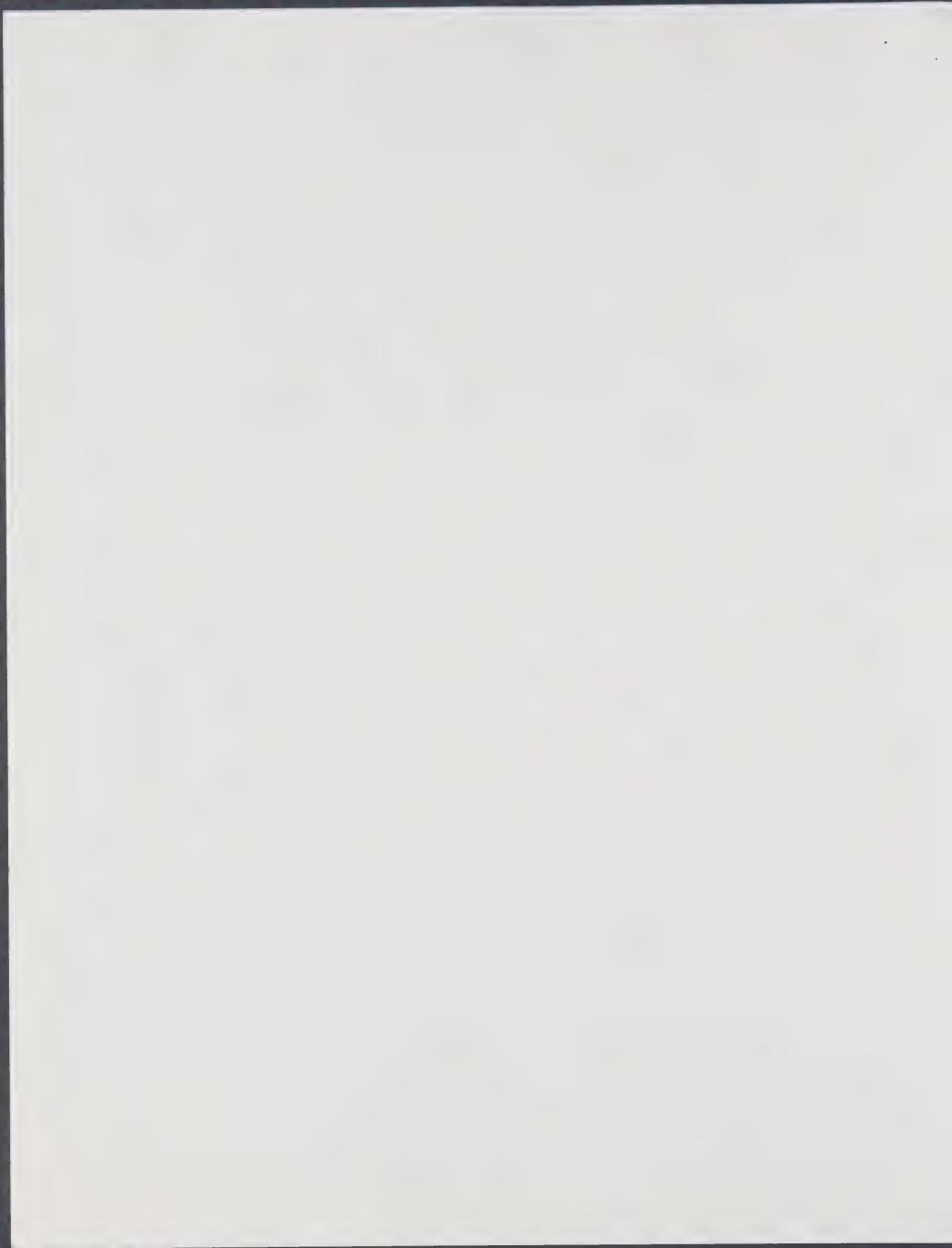


the other "appearance" we have been looking at, that of Christ to his mother Mary, and now for newly effective, and provocative, devotional ends.

Here we should perhaps first notice some basic differences between these two appearances, differences which may help explain their changing popularity as the centuries pass. Christ's appearance to the Magdalen stresses drama and surprise. There is the notion that Christ is in some way disguised: Mary takes him to be the gardener. Visually this suggested to artists the incongruous attributes for Christ of spade and broad-brimmed hat. Thus the trumped-up theatricality of many of these images, such as Rembrandt's own early painting, seems a natural outgrowth of the Biblical narrative. It was perhaps difficult for artists, even for Rembrandt, to see through this theatrical veneer to any more spiritual message beneath.

On the other hand, when the Resurrected Christ supposedly returned to visit his mother, she was in the midst of meditating on the Passion. (Thus she is often shown kneeling at a prie-dieu with the instruments of the Passion before her.) It is as though the vision of Christ was a direct answer to her prayers. As she sorrows and prays over her son, he appears to comfort and reassure her. This perhaps helps explain the popularity of this theme in the 15th century: as the Books of Hours proclaimed, if you say these prayers, you will receive these (consoling) visions.

It is in this sense, too, that the scene of Christ appearing to the Virgin was revived during the Counter-Reformation. The Jesuits, and Ignatius of Loyola first among them, dwelt with renewed interest on this vision. Ignatius made it the subject of the first contemplation in the fourth week of his Spiritual Exercises. "Consider the office of consoler," he wrote, "that Christ our Lord exercises, comparing it with the way that friends are wont to console one another." Here again, as in the 15th century, the

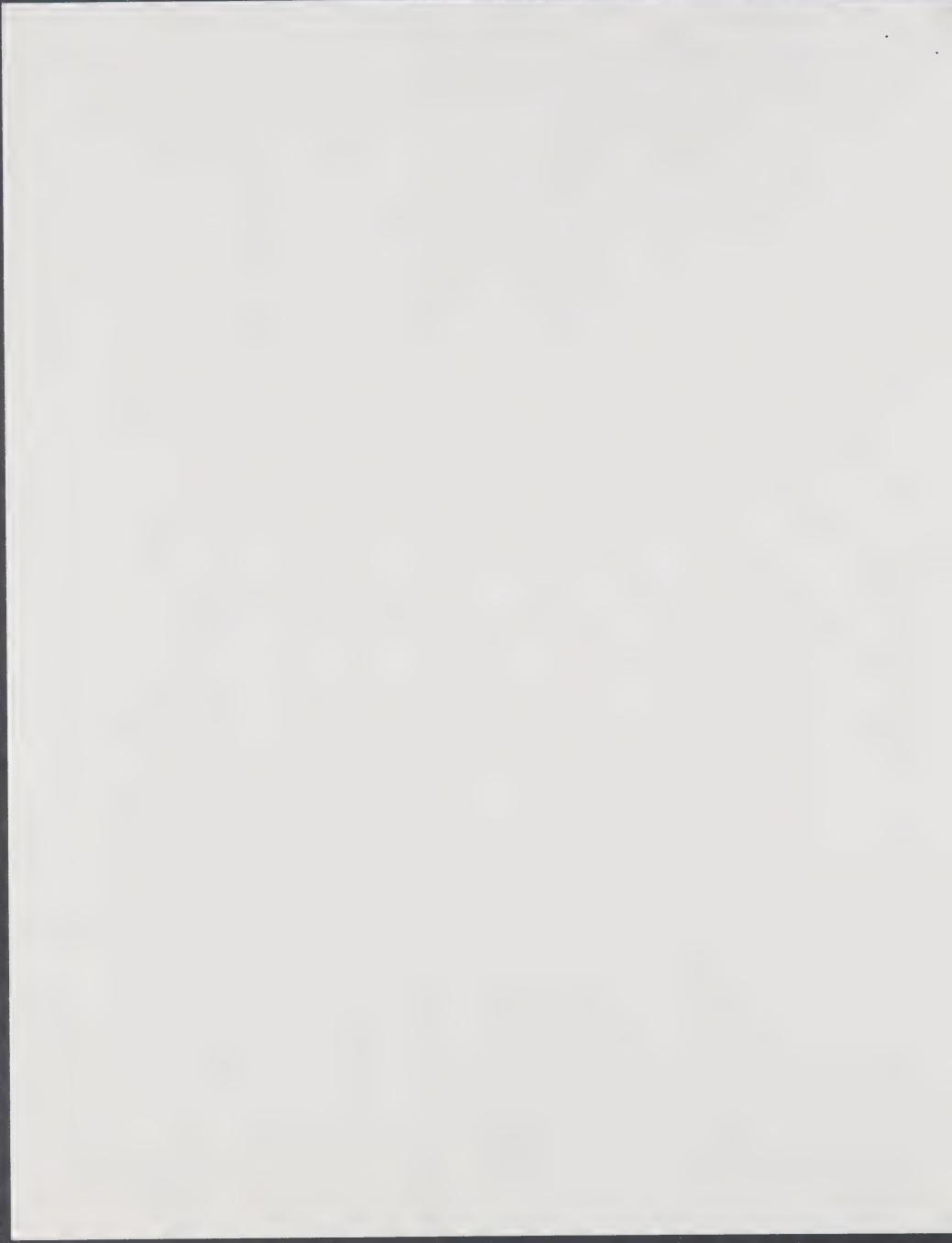


methodical devotional experience approaches a level of common lay understanding and participation.

In a book executed at Ignatius' request, Jerome Nadal also included the scene; this work is Nadal's important Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia first published complete in 1595 (slide 15). This illustrated book of Gospel meditations served above all to solidify for the Jesuits the role of images in stimulating and guiding prayer and meditation. And that it in turn served as a source for artists like Rubens has also been demonstrated. In that sense it can serve as appropriate background to the focus on the theme of Christ's appearance to the Virgin in 17th century religious art.

- ② Artists like the Fleming Gerard Seghers repeatedly portrayed this event, if only in a rather straightforward manner (slide 16). Here the Virgin, kneeling at her prie-dieu, instruments of the Passion before her, turns or lifts her gaze to find Christ and the Old Testaments patriarchs approaching. Two 17th century Dutch artists imagined a more provocative, abbreviated version of this incident. For I take this to be the episode lying behind Rembrandt's etching of the Virgin with the Instruments of the Passion (B. 85; slide 17) and Hendrick Terbrugghen's Mourning Virgin (Bader Collection; slide 18). Rembrandt's Virgin is often related to the general Mater Dolorosa type, a type which does not however, as far as I know, ever include the instruments of the Passion. The identification of Terbrugghen's painting is aided by the presence in the background shadows of Adam and Eve with the Cross to the left, and two prophet-like figures on the right (slides 19 and 20).

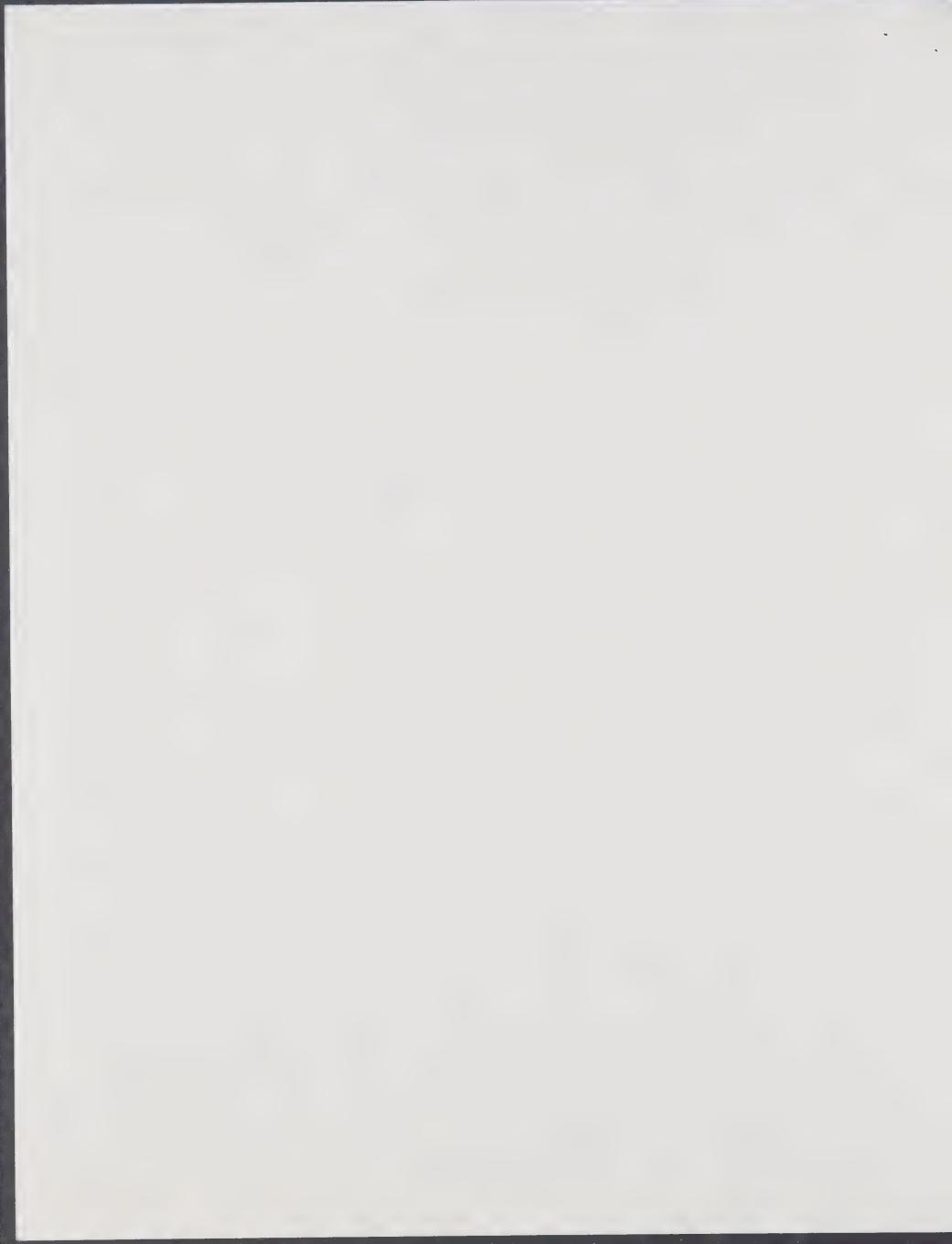
In both Rembrandt and Terbrugghen, the Virgin's vision is not literally presented. Does this indicate that in each case there is a missing half or scene? I think not, partly because there is no evidence



for a lost image of Christ surviving in later copies or versions. More importantly, if indirectly, is the transformed quality of devotional imagery indicated by the positive lack of the vision itself. What we are confronted with is a sorrowing, at the same time meditating, individual who is in the midst of seeing something, having a vision, which the viewer is then deliberately lead to imagine. In order to participate, devotionally, in this scene we must imaginatively recreate the object of the Virgin's meditations. She is a model, but not an ideal or object of worship, as the vision of Christ itself might be.

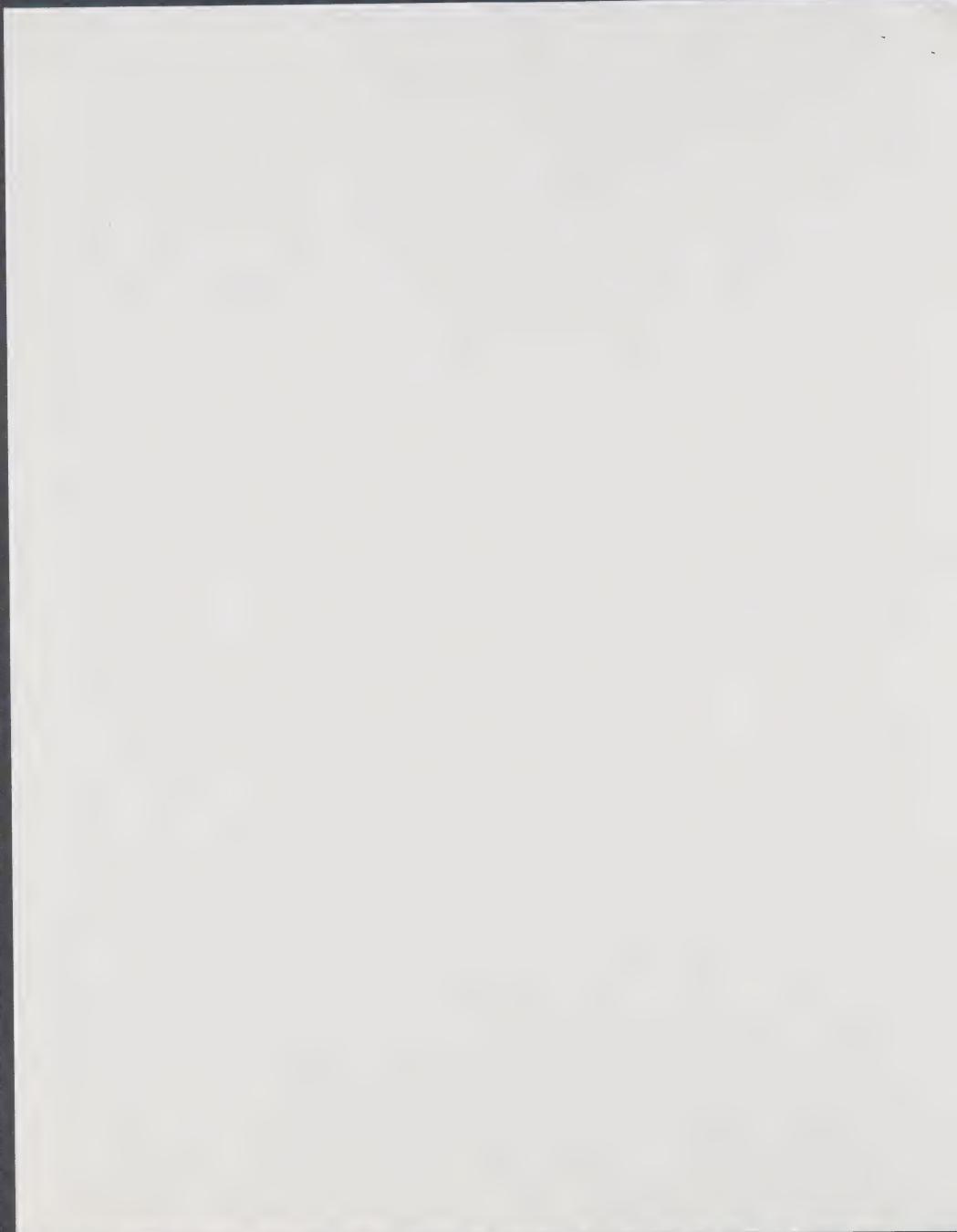
Thus again I think a relevant perspective for understanding this type of imagery is the continued fear of idolatry. At least we can say that the lack of the vision itself skillfully avoids this issue. For here the focus is even more fully on the devotional process itself, not on the devotional object, which one must now imagine for oneself. This kind of work almost uncannily suggests the way a physical image can lead to that elusive ideal, "image-less" devotion. That the fear of image-worship caused such a development in religious art is perhaps too strong a statement. That it conditioned and accompanied it is perhaps closer to the mark.

In the 16th century, distaste for idolatry was so rampant that such methodical meditative images often had to be replaced by other more incidental, less fearful events. But some indication of the 17th century Flemish and Dutch revival of devotional art is found in the preceding century. A series of portraits by Jan Mostaert can serve as a foretaste of Rembrandt's and Terbrugghen's images of the Virgin. In the background of these Mostaert portraits of both men and women (at least nine of them survive today) are scenes of the vision of the Emperor Augustus or that of St. Eustace/Hubert. These small background vignettes are surely not meant to refer to the sitters' names; they rather serve as models for their behavior. As the



sitter piously fingers rosary beads (example in Brussels; slide 21), the object of his meditations appears in archetypal form in the sky behind him. As in the 17th century, the focus here is on a model of experience rather than on the object of worship, the vision. As with the most effective, least idolatrous, devotional art throughout these three centuries, here is an image not meant to be adored. It is, rather, intended to act as a spiritual guide, stimulating the viewer toward interior devotion, away from idolatry.

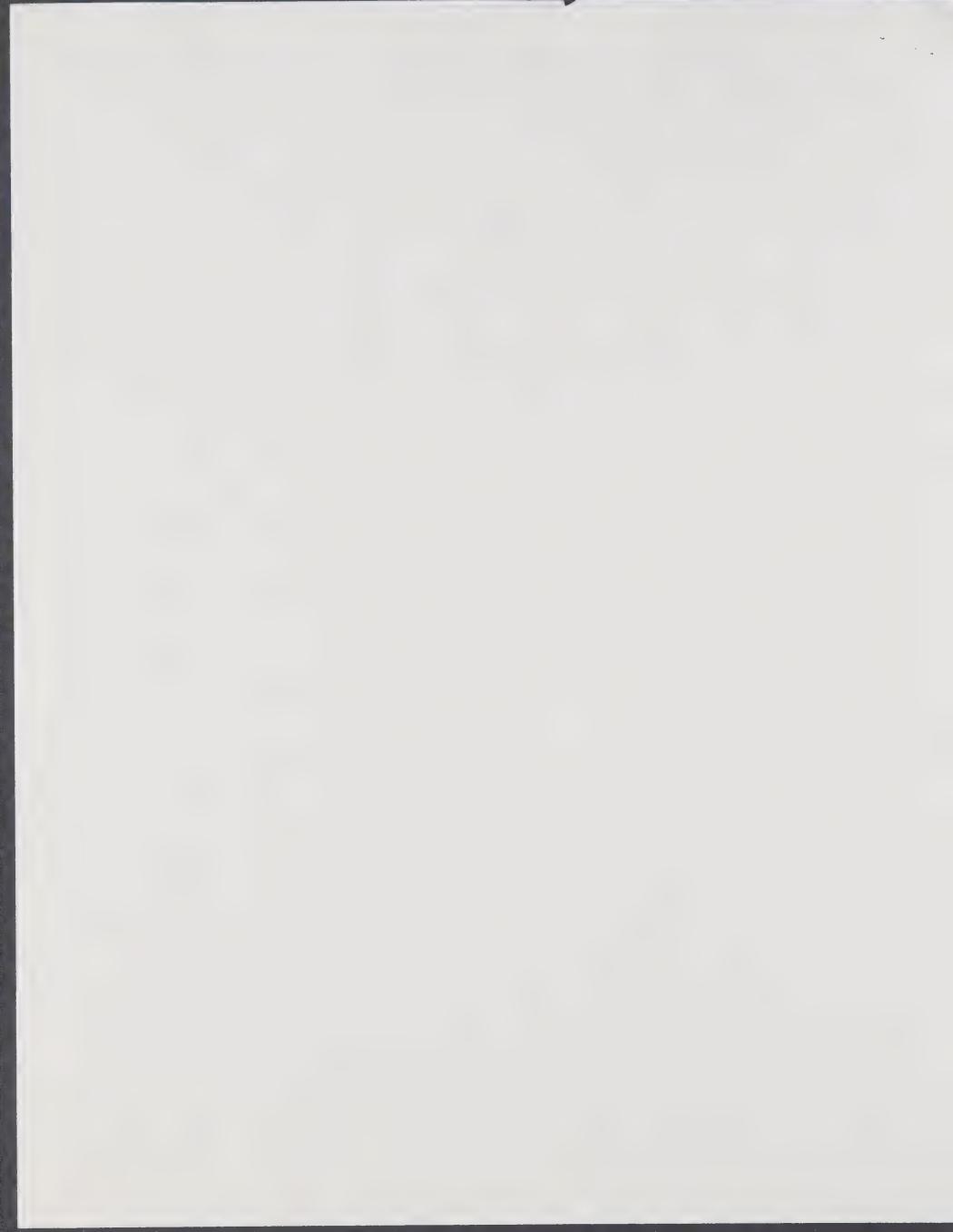
Flemish and Dutch devotional and religious art did survive the strain and controversy of the 16th century. Its emphasis on quiet, personal meditative experience remained intact, perhaps at least in part because it carefully avoided the danger that almost any religious imagery runs: that of being idolized. Thus the works are not so often timeless images of divinity as they are timely records of religious activity. In some cases, in the 16th century, that timeliness was so insistent, in the way that it engaged contemporary polemic, that it amounted to a break in the devotional tradition. But in the 17th century that tradition was revived, with new and personal vigor, by such artists as Rubens, Terbrugghen and Rembrandt.



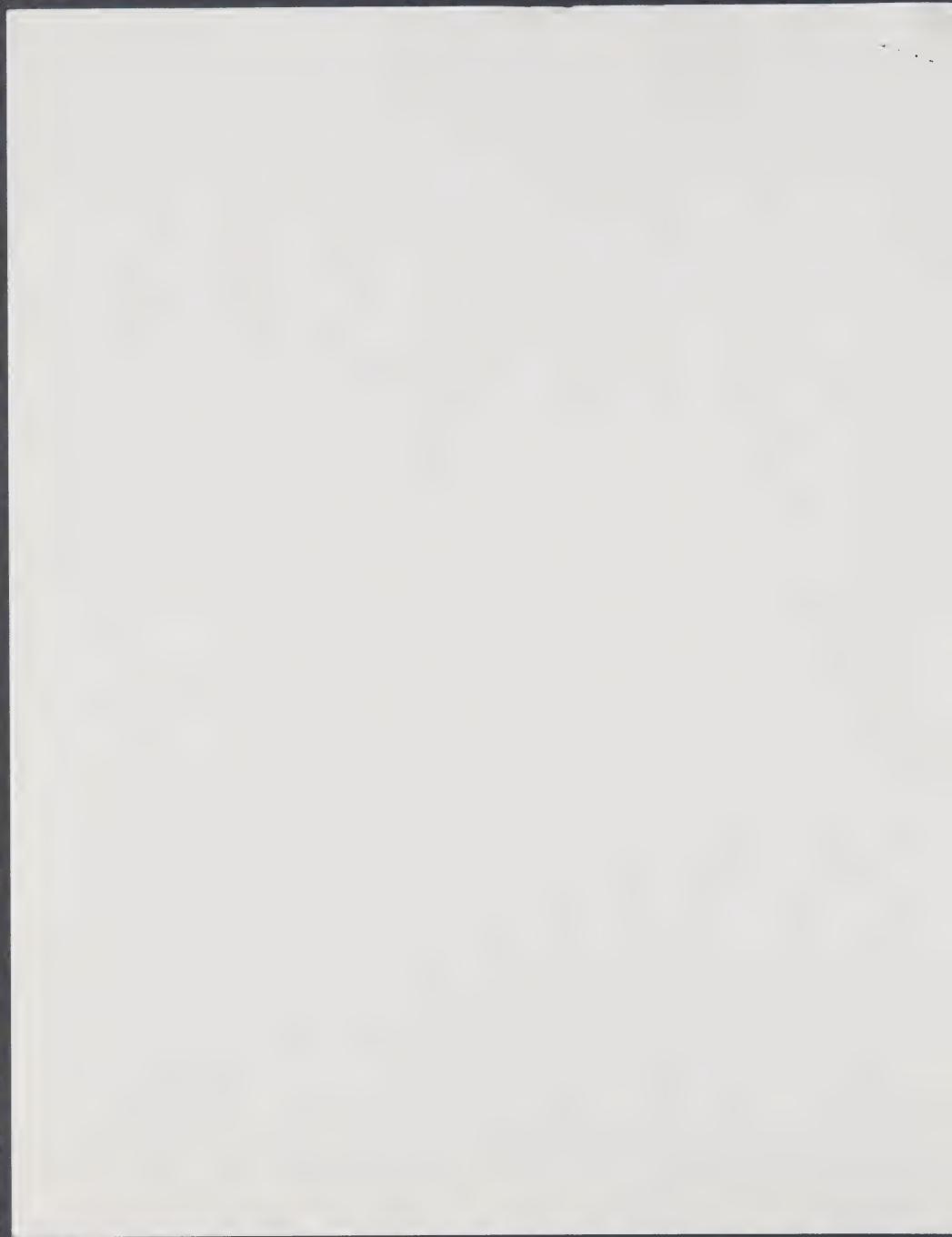
The Fear of Idolatry
Craig Harbison

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Dr. Alfred R. Bader

2961 North Shepard Avenue

Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Klemann:

Unser Freund, Prof. Rauh-Kemp-Bogemann
fragt mir gestern, dass Sie sich in Werken
Tiebruggens interessieren, und so lege ich
Photos von zwei Bildern in meine Sammlung
bei.

Das Marienbild gehöre nächster Monat
zu einer kanadischen Ausstellung, und ich
habe gerade den "Rough Draft" des Katalog-
begehrtigung erhalten, und lege diese bei.

Mit grosser Freude habe ich Ihren
Lieben Katalog (1979) gesehen, und pünktlich
wiederholte Malc (wirklich!) darauf zurück-
griffen, um das eine oder andere Detail
zu vergleichen. Nur der Titel - "im Schatten
R's" erweckt immer ein Fragezeichen. Pünktlich
habe ich weder Lieben gefehlt, oder seine Zeit-
genossen ihm im Schatten R's gefunden.

Ich befülle drei Bilder die ich für Lievens
wolle, und eine Studie wo ich nicht pilzen bin.
Photos aller 4 liegen bei.

- (1) Die Käthe Pausa. Später hergerau überraschte
mich einmal, als er mir sagte, dass dieses Früh-
werk sein Lieblingsbild in seiner Sammlung ist.
Chacun son gout — meines ist es nicht.
- (2) Die Aufführung des Könige. Es monogrammiert
und 1644 datiert - d.h. im Jahre als Lievens
von Antwerpen nach Amsterdam ging, und das
Geburtsjahr seines Sohnes. Cf. Schröder S 350.
So glücklich, dass es später Rubens und
Jordi van der Venne zugeschrieben wurde!
- (3) Die Paradiesgruppe im Tempel. Das Bild
gehört der Lionel Cust vor ca. 80 Jahren, und
war damals wesentlich größer. Es wurde durch
Warren (?) beschnitten worden sein, wurde
beschnitten, und Simeon mit dem Kind ganz
ausgesetzt. Nur der Lichtschein ist in dieser
Gruppe links unten original. Die Sphinxen
sind wunderschön, mit leuchtenden Bildern, und

Dr. Alfred R. Bader

2961 North Shepard Avenue

Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

-3-

so entschloss ich mich doch, diese Reihe zu kaufen.
Der schlechtere Zustand kleine Farbplakts wird
dienen einer Idee über die Farben geben.

Wie datieren Sie dieses Bild? Als ich es in
London kaufte, dachte ich an ca. 1630.
Professor Pernawski meinte aber, dass es nach
1650 sein muss, da Lievens das nach dem
dunklen Stich Rembrandt's (Ming 240)
gewollt haben muss, wo der Stich stammt
sicher aus den 50er Jahren. Ist es aber wirklich
unmöglich, dass Rembrandt's Stich nach
einer älteren Idee Lievens' stammt? Heute
Künftig spreche ich darüber mit Dr. Christopher
Brown in der National Gallery in London,
und er sagte mir, dass die Dame, die mir
das Bild verkauft, ihm das Bild gezeigt
hatte, und er es einzige Zeit bei sich hatte,
und ihr dann sagte, dass diese Reihe picke
von Lievens um 1630 stammt. Mir gefällt das

Bild Holz allein, aber ich möchte gern wissen,
ob 1630 oder 1655 wahrscheinlicher ist.

(4) Ein Selbst (?) portrait des jungen
Liebhabers. Sicher alt, aber so schmeichelhaft, dass ich
nicht sicher bin, ob es eine eigenhändige Kopie
oder Kopie nach dem Portrait im Kopenhagener
Museum ist. Es ist nicht einer der unter Schneiders 240
genannten Kopien, sondern stammt aus englischem
Privatbesitz, wo er schon mindestens drei
Generationen gewesen ist.

Herrn würde ich für einen Tages
gesönliche Kenner bitten, und Ihnen meine
Sammlung zeigen. Kommen Sie gelegentlich
nach Amerika?

Freundliche Grüße.

The.

C. F. d. Boa

Aug. 21. 80.



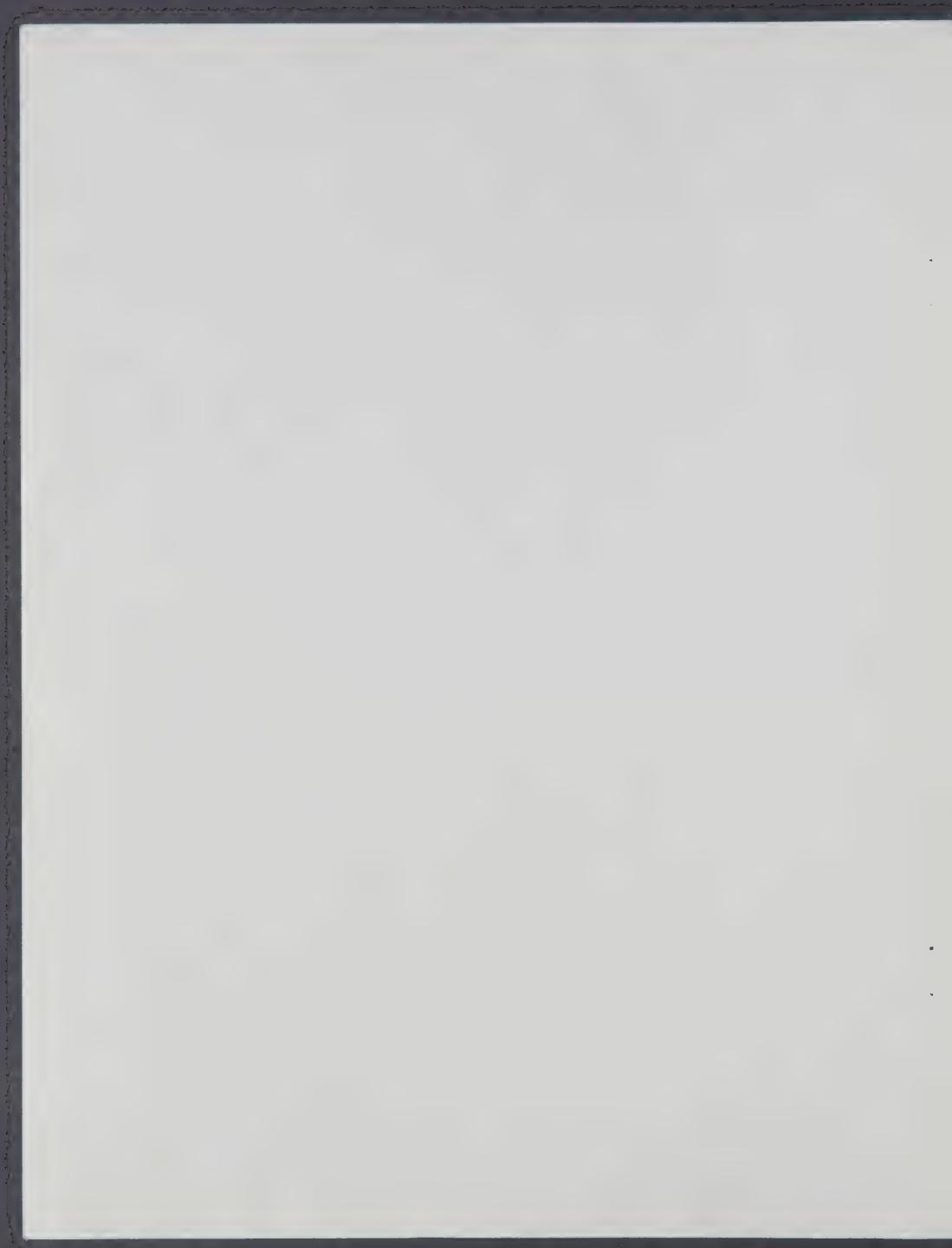


BENEDICT NICOLSON

Terbrugghen Since 1960

OVERDRUK UIT/OFFPRINT FROM

ALBUM AMICORUM J. G. VAN GELDER
THE HAGUE 1973



Terbrugghen Since 1960

Every monograph on an artist is out of date within a few years, and mine on Terbrugghen¹ will prove no exception. Wherever cracks appear in the structure, for a time one desperately applies fresh cement, as I did when I composed my 'Second Thoughts on Terbrugghen' in 1960.² But the time comes when patching up no longer works, and one has to demolish and rebuild – or rather somebody else has to, because one no longer has the heart, or the objectivity, to do the job oneself, having meanwhile passed on to other things. This is likely to be my last venture into Terbrugghen territory, still patching away, and I would never have reentered it on this occasion, had not Jan van Gelder helped me so considerably over my book, and had not some fascinating Terbrugghen material turned up in the interval.

Already Van Thiel³ has made a promising start at rebuilding the structure. The acquisition of the marvellous *Adoration of the Magi* by the Rijksmuseum, the restoration of which in Amsterdam has entirely transformed its format and character, as well as bringing out a semi-illegible date, supposedly 1619 stimulated Van Thiel to reexamine the early work from 1616(?), the putative date on the Utrecht *St Peter* (Nicolson D90), until 1623. I shall only comment briefly on his more revolutionary proposals which make hay of my early chronology and attributions, but in a reasonably intelligent and useful fashion. Naturally I agree that the suggestion of Terbrugghen as the author of the *Crowning with Thorns* (1960, fig. 1 in colour), which turned out to be a copy of a Valentin, and of the Turin *St John* (A68) which now looks as though it will have to be returned to Serodine, cannot be his. I have done enough breast-beating about both

errors of connoisseurship. But Van Thiel also rejects a number of other works, and generally I find myself unable to follow him. I admit to sharing his doubts about two of them: the Lille *Crowning with Thorns* (1960, fig. 8) and the baffling Vienna *Emmaus* (A73) which I had described never very satisfactorily as a collaboration between Terbrugghen and a North Italian painter because I was unable to account for the quite un-Terbrugghen-like features of some of Christ's attendants. But on these two problematic works, it is safer for the time being to reserve judgement. The Edinburgh *St John* (A28) is also a puzzle, and is rejected by Longhi⁴ as well as by Van Thiel, but I am inclined to retain it until some explanation is found for the unobtrusive monogram, seemingly genuine. Could it be that it is earlier than we thought? I put it before 1620, but it could be quite a few years before then.

Van Thiel cannot accept the *Pilate washing his hands* in Kassel (A13) and others have had difficulty with it, but he does not discuss the other four versions, and I can hardly blame him since they are not easily accessible. We can safely leave out of account the one on panel I noted on the London art market. Judging only from photographs the version in Lublin (fig. 1) without background figures or an arch looks at least as good as the Kassel picture, but one would have to study it to be certain. The versions in Gateshead (which Longhi⁵ now wants as an original) and in a private collection in Madrid (unpublished) look cruder, and I believe them both to be studio. But this whole problem of Terbrugghen's replicas is not to be settled by a mere acceptance or rejection, much to the annoyance of the art trade which wants things cut and dried. It is infinitely complicated, and lacking as we do all knowledge of the

organisation of his studio, it is sometimes beyond our powers to establish precisely how much responsibility the master himself took for any design. The signed pictures, the prime originals, are entirely his own. Presumably a model was kept in the studio, perhaps in the form of a cartoon, and whenever any design became popular, it would be prepared by assistants for other clients, but Terbrugghen (to judge by a number of excellent pictures in this category) would do most of the work himself. There may have been a signed original of the *Pilate* composition. The Kassel and Lublin versions may have been prepared by another hand, and touched in by the master. He may even have supervised the production of other versions. This is pure guesswork, but it will have to remain so until we discover his diary in an attic in Utrecht.

Over Van Thiel's other rejections, I find myself in even sharper disagreement. I am amazed that he should not accept the *Christ at Emmaus* which has again turned up at Potsdam (A59),⁶ which strikes me as typical. I have at last seen the *Laughing Man* (A33) on the New York art market (1971) and found it entirely convincing. What is puzzling is that it is rather large for a fragment, and we may have to accept it as a complete picture 'without a subject'. There is no sign under X-ray and infra-red of the right arm, which one would have expected also to be dimly discernible on the surface, had the composition once been the same as Nicolson, fig. 38b.⁷ Van Thiel underestimates the quality of the Harrach *Mater Dolorosa* (A75), judging I suspect from reproductions, and failing to take account of the poor state of preservation. He complains of the 'swollen' draperies and the 'drabness' of the folds, but a copy on the Viennese art market (1971) (fig. 2) gives a clearer idea of what the sleeves once looked like, though in other respects this version is coarser. The attribution of A75 to Terbrugghen is confirmed in my opinion by the subsequent appearance of a similar work, this time on panel (fig. 3)⁸ in the collection of Dr Bader, Milwaukee, which Van Thiel refers to when it was on the London art market. Except for the startlingly red lips, the picture is almost monochrome. The iconography has still to be worked out, now that the background figures have emerged quite clearly since the cleaning. An over-exposed photograph of the left background (fig. 4) shows the Raising of the Cross, and the full-

length figure behind the tearful Mary or Magdalen could be St Peter. But I am at sea as far as the interpretation of the subject is concerned, and can only point to the affinities of style with the strange posturing figures in the Philosophers' globe (B79, now on the London art market and an undoubtedly original, to be discussed later).

Van Thiel adds one picture which I had rejected: the *St Peter* mentioned above (D90), now in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht. Admittedly I have not seen this again since the latest cleaning and I am told it has improved, but on previous, long sessions in front of it in Antwerp, I have never found it acceptable. If it turns out to be an original, then it is our earliest dated work, since the last '0' of the date can only be imagined as a '6', not as a '9', as Van Thiel points out.

I would like to add three pictures to Terbrugghen's *œuvre* among those not definitely accepted as originals in my book or in 1960, having now had the opportunity to study them: the version of the *King David Harping* in the Wadsworth Atheneum (described as copy with possible intervention of the master, under No. A77);⁹ the *Luteplayer* (B78) formerly in the Kaplan Collection, Chicago about which I remained doubtful, never having seen it; and the *Luteplayer and Singer* in the Gunning Sale 1933¹⁰, referred to under A56 as an adaptation by a feeble hand of the Louvre masterpiece. This was acquired at the sale by Joseph M. Shapiro as Honthorst and now belongs to Mrs Shapiro in New York (fig. 5). It may not be up to the standard of the signed version, but it comes into the category of the Kassel *Pilate* - that is, an autograph replica that may have been 'prepared' by assistants in the studio. X-rays have revealed the luteplayer's accompanist as in the Louvre *Concert*. There is no trace of her on the surface but she seems to be more or less intact underneath (fig. 6). When the picture is restored, the landscape will disappear and reveal a flat background as in the Louvre. A third good version, but probably a studio replica, was in a Roman private collection in 1963,¹¹ which I have still to inspect.

The most striking of the new pictures that have emerged is a *Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna* on the Lausanne art market (fig. 7). The young Roman Mucius had made an attempt on the life of the Etrurian King Porsenna who had been besieging Rome, by gaining access to

the camp and the King's own tent, but had mistakenly murdered his secretary, stabbing him to the heart. Terbrugghen shows Mucius after he had been seized by soldiers and brought before the King. To prove his fortitude he thrusts his right hand on to a burning altar. Porsenna is so much impressed by this and by other exploits of young Romans that he makes peace with Rome and retires from the city. Under No. A9 I cited a document which must refer to this picture: a '*Marcus Mutius, Romeyn*' in a sale of 19th March 1625, the earliest record we have of a Terbrugghen on the market; and though I have heard the picture spoken of as an example of his Italian period (which incidentally still eludes us), I cannot believe that it was executed long before the sale. The treatment of the soldiers on the right reminds me of the Rijksmuseum *Incredulity* (c. 1623-25) and the Utrecht *Lazarus* (1625), and the foolish expression of bewilderment on Porsenna's face can be paralleled in the head of St Peter in the Mauritshuis *Liberation* (1624). The picture had been cut in two places below by a Genoese dealer to whom it belonged in order to eliminate the 'disagreeable' corpse of the secretary dripping with blood and the blood-stained weapon propped against the step, reducing the composition to three-quarter-length figures. Mercifully the discarded strips were rescued, and the picture has now been restored to its original format. It is painted, like the *St Catherine* (A45; Walter P. Chrysler Collection), in my opinion though not in Van Thiel's of about the same date, with astonishing freedom: seen especially in the King's red striped sleeves and maroon dress; in the courtier on the extreme right wearing an ochre robe, like the *St Catherine* echoing Saraceni; in the two brilliantly conceived heads half perceived behind the King's; and in the leather strap binding the armour of the soldier on the left which strays across the face of a youth peering over his shoulder - a Terbrugghen signature in the absence of any more obvious one.

The corpse of the secretary (detail, fig. 8) is surely a direct quotation in reverse from the corpse of one of the Philistines in Guido Reni's *Triumph of Samson*¹² (detail, fig. 9); the upturned palm in particular is difficult to dismiss as a coincidence. The Reni always used to be dated about 1611, but Stephen Pepper¹³ who has been revising his chronology on the evidence of Reni's account book, places it about 1619 when the artist had

settled in Bologna - naturally without being aware of the crucial importance for Terbrugghen of this shunting of a date from one side of 1614 to the other. For if I am right in supposing he knew Reni's picture, this raises again the possibility of a second Italian journey in the early 1620's. The resemblances with Serodine of the early 1620's had already led students to imagine such a journey, and now Ward Bissell¹⁴ has come forward with further arguments in favour of Terbrugghen's return South in 1621-22 by noting resemblances to the Genoese period of Gentileschi. Perhaps on this occasion the melancholy artist from Deventer pushed as far south as Bologna, and this would also account for Reni-like features in the contemporary Metropolitan *Crucifixion* (A49).

I do not propose to say much more about a beautiful *Annunciation* on the London art market in 1966 and now in the United States, because this has already been published by Bloch,¹⁵ except to add that we now have a second candidate besides the Diest picture (A25) for the provenance of an *Annunciation* from Deventer in 1638. I would date it about 1622-23 in view of its connections with the late Baburen; that is six or seven years before Diest. A *Crowning with Thorns* (fig. 10) in a collection in Washington D.C. in 1969 is even earlier, associated as it is with the graphic work of Lucas van Leyden, as often in his first pictures, and in Terbrugghen's own *oeuvre* with the Copenhagen *Mocking* of 1620. It has none of the masterly refinement of the Copenhagen picture, nor of the new *Annunciation*, but nevertheless falls into the category of those secondary Terbruggghens of which I spoke earlier, where one guesses that pressure of work compelled the artist to leave some of the execution to assistants. A *Singer* in a collection in Cologne in 1966 (fig. 11) approximately in the same pose of the boy in Boston (A27) should be placed in category 3, that is studio possibly under Terbrugghen's supervision; there was surely a more refined version of this work, now lost.¹⁶

On the other hand I am quite convinced of the auto-graph quality of a *Mocking of Christ* recently exhibited in Paris, lent by the Musée de l'Assistance Publique,¹⁷ and I only wish I felt so positive about two other versions which I reproduce here (figs. 12 and 13). All I can say is that they appear from photographs to be no less satisfactory than the Paris version, but photographs are

notoriously deceptive. The first (fig. 12) is in a collection in Palma, Majorca,¹⁸ the second (detail, fig. 13) in a collection in Haus Stapel, Germany. Since the latter is more or less identical with the other two versions, I only show a detail of the devilish mocker with his wall eye, one of Terbrugghen's lute players turned nasty, which is sufficient to show how superb this version is as well. The stick held by the mocker stops in the two versions illustrated at the level of the old man's wrist, instead of continuing as in Paris above his head, and they are both narrower. As is pointed out in the Paris catalogue, the figure of Christ is taken directly from the frontispiece in the *Large Passion* by Dürer (1511) who proved so popular in melancholy Caravaggesque circles - witness the book held up by the young man in a portrait given to Pietro Paolini (Agnew's, 1960) - but in spite of the Dürer derivation which puts one in mind of Terbrugghen's earliest works, I agree with Van Thiel in dating the design nearer 1625 than 1620, in view of the luscious handling, and of the close stylistic parallels with musicians of the middle 'twenties, in the young mocker.

Among the 'doubtful' works in my book I listed and illustrated a *Heraclitus and Democritus* (B79) as formerly in a Copenhagen collection. This now belongs to the Trafalgar Galleries, London and turns out to be an indisputable original. The background is painted thinly in light green over a red ground. The dress worn by Democritus has lost a lot, but could have been dull olive green. Heraclitus on the right has a beautifully preserved mauve dress. A curious feature is the scene within the half-globe they share, which shows people feasting, drinking, dancing, playing musical instruments and making love - evidently a moralistic episode of the follies of mankind over which the two philosophers gloat or brood. Normally in art (and in Terbrugghen's own work) the philosophers are accompanied by celestial or terrestrial globes, but occasionally globes are represented as transparent bubbles within which scenes of violence and lust take place. A comparable example is the scene within the globe in Christiaan van de Passe's engraving inscribed '*Vanitas et Vanitatis*' where every disaster imaginable is going on.¹⁹ The caption makes clear that it is a warning against the folly of giving way to the uglier human instincts. By an odd coincidence, the Trafalgar Galleries have

since acquired at a Wynnstay sale²⁰ a second picture by Terbrugghen, a duplicate of *Heraclitus* alone, where he is shown pointing not at a globe but at a skull, with the idea of associating the gloomy philosopher with St Jerome (fig. 14). However, he retains his book propped up on a bone. This cannot be a truncated replica of the double picture because it has never been relined. It shows no sign of having been added to at the top (the empty space above being a most unusual feature for Terbrugghen), or of the transformation of a globe into a skull. Unlike the double picture which bears no inscription, it is signed in full and dated illegibly upside down on the open page of the book below the philosopher's left hand. The date must have been just before the middle 1620's.

I shall conclude my survey with the following miscellaneous notes on pictures.

Under A7, version of *Esau* on the New York art market, 1953. Now Bob Jones University.

A11. Another version of the Beckmann picture in the Museo de Ponce, Puerto Rico. Slatkes is perhaps correct in describing it as partly by the painter's hand (see catalogue cited in note 9, No. 8).

A14, A15. See the remarks of Mirimonde²¹ on the relation between the two boys and their playing. I only refer to this passage by an historian of music as an argument against Van Thiel's contention that the two Kassel fluteplayers might not have been pairs originally. The picture mentioned under A15 as being photo A. C. Cooper 199547 is now in the Robert Lehman Collection, New York.²²

A17. I have now seen at the Shickman Gallery, New York the *Bagpipe Player* formerly in the Kling Collection, Stockholm, and it proves as I supposed a coarse copy, 88 by 81 cm. It is squarer in composition than the Cologne picture because the pipes continue at the top. It was acquired by Dennis Vanderkar, London (1967) from a member of the Kling family (having been bought in at the 1935 Sale). It was on The Hague market in 1969.

A30. Now in the Chicago Art Institute, it has been enormously improved by cleaning.

A47. This lost picture has now reappeared at Galleria Poletti, Milan (1967), and is as beautiful as the old photograph suggested. She wears a red cloak, green drapery over her knee, and a white and red turban with light blue stripe.

A50, A51, A52, A57, A65. At Raleigh, Dayton, Minneapolis, Knoedler's and Acquavella respectively.

A54. The very close parallels between the Terbrugghen *St Sebastian tended by Irene* of 1625 and a recently discovered Baburen on the same theme (before 1624) in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg are brought out for the first time by Richard Spear.²³ There can be no doubt that the Baburen is the most relevant of all the comparisons that have been made with the Oberlin masterpiece. B81, B82. The *Heraclitus* and *Democritus* formerly in the Spiridon collection and at the time of writing in another Roman collection, have had their landscape backgrounds removed, which as I suspected (Nicolson, 1960, figs. 4, 5) proved to be much later. They are both autograph.

1. Benedict Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen*, London 1958. (Referred to from now onwards as 'Nicolson' followed where necessary by catalogue No. or page reference.)

2. Benedict Nicolson, 'Second Thoughts about Terbrugghen', *The Burlington Magazine* CII (1960), 465 ff. (Referred to as Nicolson, 1960.)

3. P. J. van Thiel, 'De aanbidding der Koningen en ander vroeg werk van Hendrick ter Brugghen', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 19 (1971), 91-116. The Bulletin itself only reached me after this essay had been completed, but Dr van Thiel was kind enough to let me see his manuscript in advance. (Referred to from now onwards as 'Van Thiel'.) His essay is followed (pp. 117 ff.) by a useful analysis of the restoration of the Rijksmuseum. *Adoration* by L. Kuiper.

4. Roberto Longhi, 'Una Cosa giovanile del Ter Brugghen', *Paragone* 20 (1966), 72.

5. I.c., 72. For illustrations of the Gateshead version, see Roberto Longhi, *Saggi e Ricerche 1925-1928*, Florence 1967, figs. 137-140.

6. Recorded at Potsdam in the summary catalogue of 1964, no. 102. A version, probably a copy, brought to my attention by Gerson, is in the church of Mariäfeind, near Castle Gripsholm, Sweden.

7. Some details can now be added about the recent history of A33. It was acquired at the Dorotheum Sale, Vienna in April 1943 for a collection in Brno where it remained until 1967, was then in Prague on offer to the National Gallery. It was sold at Weinmüller, Munich, 28th-29th October 1970 (813). I am much indebted to the Director of the National Gallery, Prague for X-ray and infra-red photographs (1968). The restoration department in Prague also maintained there was no evidence of cutting.

8. Mak van Waay Sale, Amsterdam, February 1969, as Delft School, bt. Han Jüngeling, The Hague. Attributed by Bernt to Caesar van Everdingen.

9. Accepted as an original by J. Richard Judson, *The Art Bulletin* (1961), 348, and by the compiler of the catalogue *Hendrick Terbrugghen in America*, Dayton Art Institute and Baltimore Museum of Art 1965-66, no. 15.

10. Our illustration (fig. 5) shows it as it appeared in 1933 (and still appears) with a single male figure against a landscape background.

11. Canvas, 108 by 82 cm. Photograph kindly supplied by Giuliano Brigantti. I am uncertain whether this was the version that appeared at Sotheby's, 21st June 1961 (27), but my notes tell me this was a disagreeable copy.

E106. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

Nicolson, 1960, 466, 469, fig. 2. *A Violinist with a Glass* known from two versions in Munich and the Museum at Boulogne-sur-Mer. I described both as studio works. In 1967 the Munich picture was offered on the Swiss art market, and later reached London. It proves to be better than I thought at first at Schleissheim, and deserves to be upgraded to 'Category 1'. A third version was at Sotheby's, 16th March 1966 (65), bt. in. Under infra-red the area between the glass and the face in the latter revealed a fragmentary date 1627, and the usual monogram which may have been completed by a full signature. It is now in a collection in Bournemouth (see *La Revue du Louvre* 1972, 137).

12. For a convenient illustration, see Cesare Gnudi and Gian Carlo Cavalli, *Guido Reni* 1955, plate 51.

13. I am most grateful for the assistance of D. Stephen Pepper, who informs me that he dates the Samson c. 1619, and knows of no engraving of it (which might have accounted for its reflection in Terbrugghen's work) before 1625. According to Malvasia the painting was commissioned by Conte Francesco Maria Zambecari (*Felsina Pittrice* II, 31, ed. 1841). Malvasia reports that it remained in this collection until acquired by Archbishop Boncompagni in the 1670's. Terbrugghen could therefore have seen it in the Zambecari Palace, decorating (as Malvasia says) a chimney piece.

14. R. Ward Bissell, 'Orazio Gentileschi: Baroque without rhetoric', *The Art Quarterly* (Autumn 1971), see especially 290.

15. Vitale Bloch, *Michael Sweerts*, The Hague 1968, plate 1 (see also 16), as in a New York collection.

16. Offered by Lempertz, Cologne, 1962.

17. *Le Siècle de Rembrandt*, Paris (Petit Palais) 1970-71, no. 32, illus.

18. Nicolson, 112 mentioned the Majorca picture without then knowing what it looked like. I am indebted to Bernard de Montgolfier, Musée Carnavalet, for a photograph, and also to Klaus Driessens for photographs and notes on his picture.

19. See A. Blankert, 'Heraclitus en Democritus in het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1967, plate 42, cat. no. 87. This essay (31 ff.) is an exhaustive treatment of the *Heraclitus* and *Democritus* theme of the greatest usefulness.

20. Sir Watkin Williams Wynn [and others] sale, 12th May 1971 (489) at Winterton Auction Galleries, Wrexham, as anon., illus. catalogue: 'A man reading with human skull at side'. Unfortunately it cannot be identified with any picture among those Winnyston documents that have been examined at the National Library of Wales.

21. A.-P. de Mirimonde, 'L'Accord Retrouvé de Gerrit van Honhorst', *La Revue des Arts* 1960, 114.

22. Catalogued by Leonard J. Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen*, Utrecht 1965, no. E40.

23. Richard Spear, *Caravaggio and His Followers*, Cleveland 1971, no. 68.

Louis Savot's 'Nova-antiqua' Color Theory, 1609

Louis Savot, from Saulieu, was 30 years old and a medical student at Paris when, in 1609, he wrote a little octavo in Latin and gave it the title, *Nova, seu verius Nova-antiqua de causis colorum sententia* (fig. 1). The title alone evokes a host of questions.¹

Born about 1579, Savot came to Paris around 1600 to study surgery, then turned to medicine, taking a bachelor's degree in the Faculty of Paris in 1604. He completed a thesis in 1609, and obtained his license in 1610. Nonetheless, he then forsook medicine and turned to research in other subjects, mostly scientific. He threw himself into a study of mines and from there went to coins and medals, eventually publishing on this subject in 1627. Among his other works a book he wrote on French architecture (1624) brought him the greatest fame, and for it he was later eulogized by Blondel who also annotated this work. During his student days, in 1603, he had published a translation from classical sources, Galen's *de sanguinis missione*, and before he was finished with his medical preparations he also wrote, as you realize, the book on the causes of color here under discussion. Described as 'un homme de bien et respectable par sa vertu, dont l'air étoit simple, bas et mélancolie', Savot died in Paris about 1640, in poverty.²

In his chapters I-III Savot reviews carefully but rather generally, the history of the science of colors from ancient times to his own day; from Plato to Johann Kepler. This section deals largely with the nature of color in relationship to light, recognizing that there are differences between prismatic colors and reflected color. In general Savot is satisfied by the arguments with which the Peripatetics contend that colors cannot be lights, but that color is 'nothing else but light variously

affected', subscribing in general to the opinion of the late Peripatetics (he names Avicenna, Avempace, Alpharabius, Albertus Magnus and Fractatorius) that 'before the coming of light there was no color in the body, but with the coming of light colors were made, which were nothing else but light itself received from various bodies or surfaces, and when it departs the colors do not remain, except potentially'.

Savot alleges 'all our knowledge depends on what has gone before' so naturally, we expect, and we find, his propositions regarding color all derived from antecedent sources.

In ensuing chapters, beginning with Chapter IV, he does not put aside this historical approach, but takes it into the studios of painters and the shops of dyers 'and other artificers of this kind who deal in colors (and) put their trust in daily experience' in actual experiments. Indeed, after one description of a color phenomenon he adds, 'we may prove this not only by the art of dyers and painters, but we may demonstrate it clearly by a more pleasing and readier artifice', that is by an actual experiment, which he then describes (Chapter XIII).

The essence of the chapters which embody his empirical color observations and his theory of color (Chapters IV-XIV) is as follows: There are two 'extreme' colors, black and white; and there are two other colors, red and blue, which are called 'first' or 'simple' colors 'because they are compounded neither of themselves nor of others, but all the rest are compounded from them', - '...colorum omni genera, species et gradus componi posse' (fol. 11r). However, Savot explains in Chapter VIII and IX, red has a 'double nature'. Not only may a red tend toward violet, or alternatively toward



1



2



3



4

1. H. Terbrugghen (?), *Pilate washing his hands*
Canvas 100.7 x 128.7 cm. Lublin, Muzeum
2. After H. Terbrugghen, *Mater Dolorosa*
Canvas 72 x 57.5 cm. Vienna, Art Market
3. H. Terbrugghen, *Magdalen or Mater Dolorosa*
Panel 77 x 62 cm. Milwaukee, Dr Alfred Bader
4. Detail from the Terbrugghen in fig. 3
(overexposed)

BENEDICT NICOLSON



5



6

5. H. Terbrugghen. *Luteplayer and singer*
Canvas. New York, Mrs. Edward A. Shapiro
6. X-ray photograph of the accompanist in *Luteplayer and singer*
illustrated in fig. 5
8. H. Terbrugghen. *Mutius Scaevola before Porsenna*
Detail of the secretary's body
9. G. Reni. *The Triumph of Samson*
Detail (reversed) of a dead Philistine, Bologna, Pinacoteca



8



9

BENEDICT NICOLSON

7. H. Terbrugghen. *Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna*
Canvas 183 x 222 cm. Lausanne, Art Market

7



BENEDICT NICOLSON



10

10. H. Terbrugghen. *Crowning with Thorns*
Canvas 95,2 x 125,7 cm. Washington, D. C., private collection

BENEDICT NICOLSON



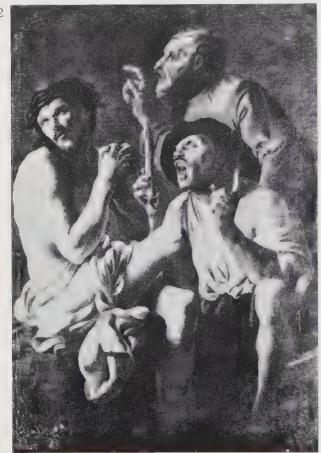
11
11. Studio of H. Terbrugghen. With possible assistance by the artist.
Man Singing
Canvas 105 x 85 cm. Cologne, private collection, 1966



14
14. Probably by H. Terbrugghen. *Mocking of Christ*
Detail, canvas, whole picture 150 x 105 cm. Haus Stapel, Germany,
Collection Klaus Drössen.

12. Probably by H. Terbrugghen. *Mocking of Christ*

Canvas dimensions not known. Palma, Majorca, collection Marques de
Vivot



12



13

BENEDICT NICOLSON

AD
NOBILISSIMVM

VIRVM GOTO FRIDVM
DE PONTAC LIBELLORVM SVP.
plicum in Regiā Magistrum clarissimum.

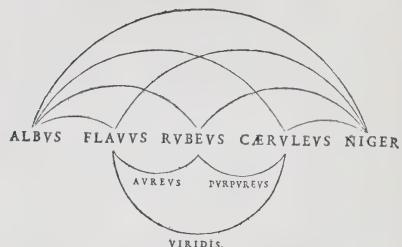
*Nova, seu verius Nova-antiqua de causis
colorum sententia.*

Auctore Ludouico Sauotio in Academiā Pa-
ritenī Medicinae Baccalaureo.

Euīdem.

*De Tetragoni Hippocratici significazione contra
Chymicos obseruatorum*

FRANCISCI AGVILONII



PARISIIS,
Ex officina Plantiniana, Apud
HADRIANVM PERIEK.
M. DC. IX.

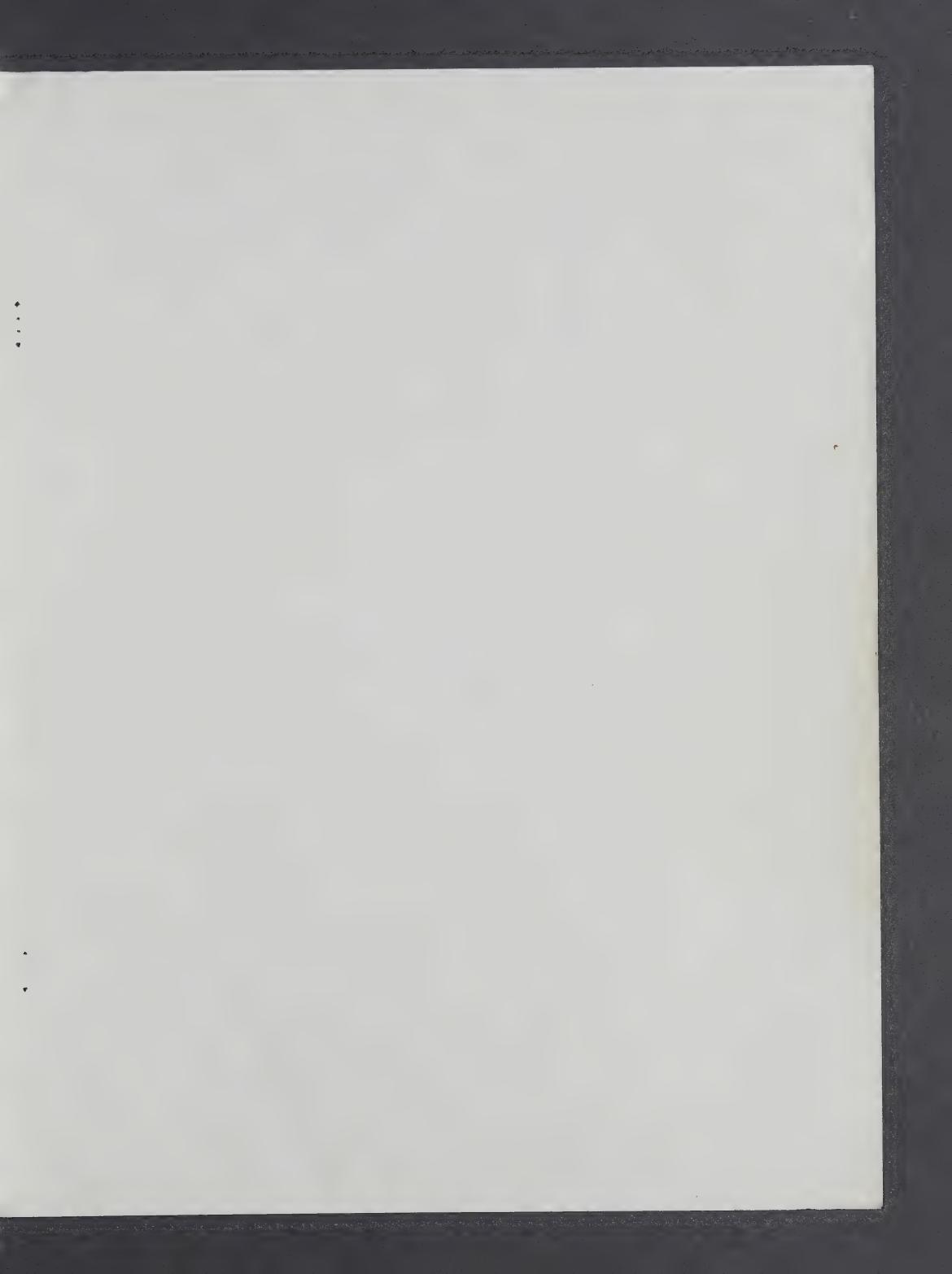
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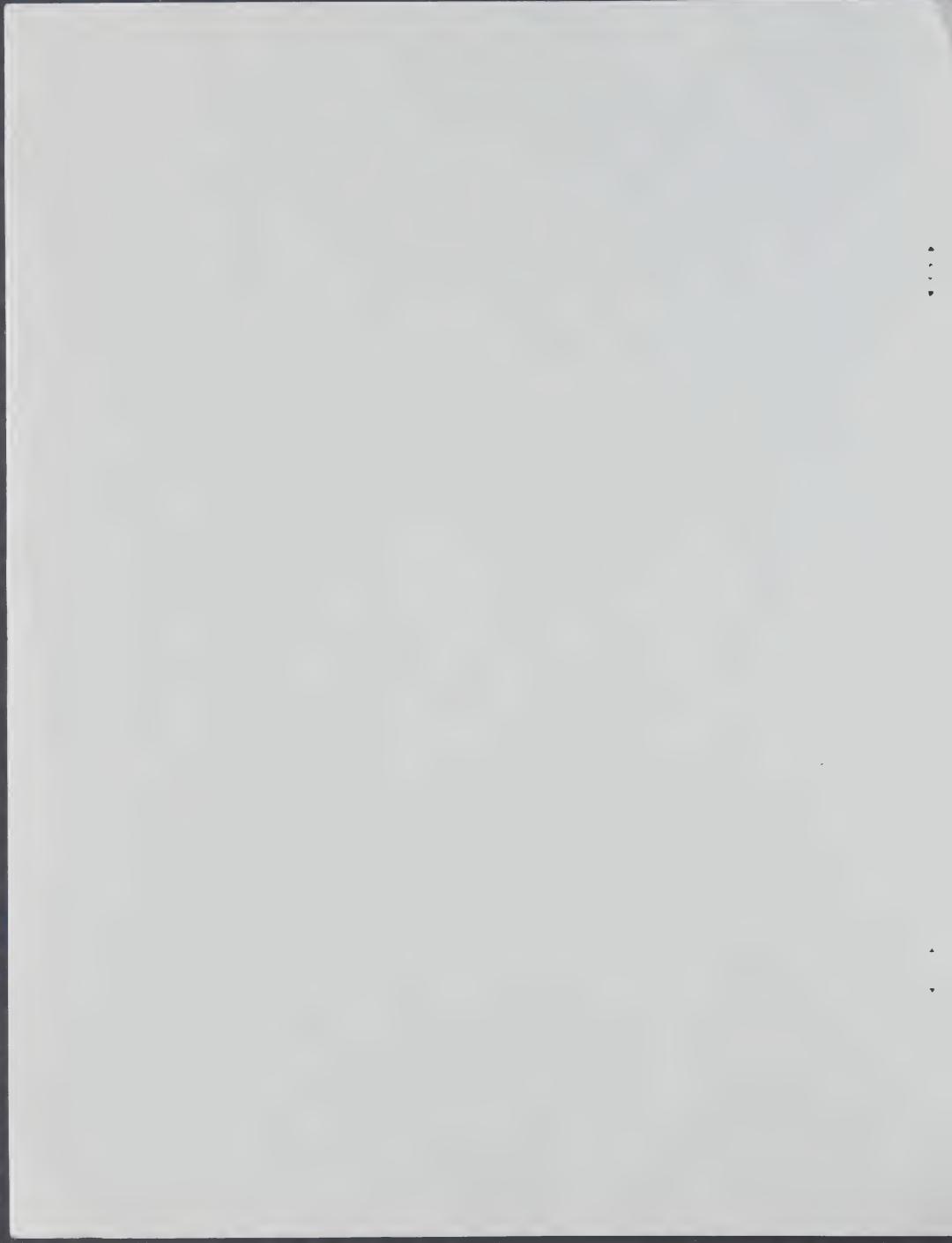


3

CHARLES PARKHURST

1. Title page of Louis Savot, *Nova, seu verius Nova-antiqua de causis colorum sententia*, Paris 1609
2. F. d'Aguilon, color relationship diagram from *Opticorum*, 1613, Book I, Proposition 39
3. A. Elsheimer. *Minerva as Patroness of Arts and Sciences*, 1600-1605
Copper 86 x 146 mm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum





f Spicer
the Northern
Europe Speculator
at UofT and
brought her
graduacate class
to Kingston to
see the
exhibition.
I had not met
her before.
Warm
regards.
David

World - Will send you a photocopy of the adverst seven -
U of T Quarterly - a Journal of the Bananahui (to appear summer 1985)
I'll send Dr. Bader a copy also.

David McTavish. Pictures from the Age of Rembrandt:
Selections from the Personal Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred
Bader. Catalogue of the exhibition held at the Agnes
Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 13 October - 25
November 1984. 85, 37 plates of which 3 in colour

The exhibition and the accompanying catalogue offer an opportunity to consider an extremely interesting if eclectic group of thirty-six paintings by Dutch masters of the 17th century. Though selections from this collection have been shown on various occasions in the United States, this is their first exhibition in Canada.

To have launched this exhibition is very much to the credit of the organizers, in particular Prof. David McTavish of Queen's University and of course Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader. Though a citizen and resident of the United States, Dr. Bader has nurtured his attachment to Queen's University since taking his degrees there during World War II; his generosity has been exemplary. In his preface Dr. Bader writes of his desire to foster the understanding and discussion of old master art, an activity obviously dear to his heart. His enthusiasm has been met in Prof. McTavish whose appreciation of the importance of these aims provided the impetus for this exhibition. This is especially commendable as McTavish, though a well respected scholar, is properly at home in the field of Italian art.

The selection is not meant to provide an encyclopedic survey of Dutch art nevertheless the catalogue encompasses many illustrious names : Ruisdael, Lievens, Terbrugghen, Rembrandt; indeed nearly half the exhibited works are from

Rembrandt's extended circle. There are, however, excellent pictures here with less of a nominal tap on our attention: for example a splendid painting by the Rembrandt follower W. Droost, a *Portrait of a Woman*, in my view characterized as a sibyl. Even more remarkable is the painting justly chosen for the cover illustration, the astonishingly subtle *Joseph Interpreting the Baker's Dream* for which no satisfactory attribution has been recorded. The lucid catalogue entries seek first of all to assemble the expressed views of specialists in the field. As the author is here working outside his own, this conservative approach is quite understandable.

These paintings, particularly in juxtaposition, raise significant issues of interpretation and context. As two thirds of them involve either religious or more generally moral themes, the selection might well have been chosen with a thematic bias that would have lent the catalogue a greater attraction for those outside art history, closer to the lines of the 1976 exhibition in Milwaukee of selections from the Bader collection *The Bible through Dutch Eyes*. More precisely, it is thought provoking to note that over a third of the works are susceptible to a reading as commentaries on the workings of fate. Others' subjects reflect related themes of the contemplation of death and human frailty or the preoccupation with the transient sensate pleasures of this life - this in a society largely guided by Protestant assumptions and attuned

to the acceptance of a world pregnant with meaning for the enlightened.

Fascinating issues are raised by individual paintings. The ethereal beauty of Terbrugghen's *Weeping Virgin* magnificently complements its intense spirituality. ^{Most probably} Surely this Virgin painted ca. 1625 in Utrecht, where a Catholic presence was still felt, had as her companion not a crucified Christ but a blessing, resurrected Christ as Saviour ,a *Salvator Mundi*, addressing the viewer while she, as traditionally in such paired images, is in left profile facing Him with hands clasped, the ultimate prototype of Christian compassion and final intercessor for the penitent sinner. Just perceptible in the dusky mist beyond her to the right, the old men in sweeping garments are most likely old testament prophets who fix their gaze on the nude figures raising an empty cross - New Testament sign of the conquest of death - beyond the Virgin to the left (and thus between her and Christ). These are surely descendants of the wingless angels bearing up an empty cross in Michealangelo's Last Judgement in the Sistine Chapel. While the understanding of fate and salvation manifested here is Catholic, the poignant episode from Genesis of Joseph telling the baker in Pharaoh's prison that the latter's dream foretells his execution three days hence (while his fellow prisoner the butler will be freed) is not only a popular subject in Rembrandt's circle, as the catalogue indicates, but, more interestingly, one particularly susceptible to a Protestant reading as a timeless truth. Why

God decrees that one man die and the next be saved is beyond the merits or knowing of man. The noted popularity of Jacob's encounter with the angel, represented in two fine paintings by Eckhout and Uyttenbroeck, and the *Sacrifice of Isaac* here represented by Maas's recently identified painting, manifest similarly Protestant interpretations. The frailty of human life is highlighted variously as in Luttichuys' *Portrait of a Gentleman* turning from the plate of a medical text of a flayed man holding up his own skin, a not infrequent motif of spiritual contemplation. Here the arrangement of objects on the desk pointedly including a celestial globe brings the human microcosm into balance with the macrocosm. A Protestant preoccupation with the dangers of the senses would influence the reading not only of depictions such as the anonymous *Susanna and the Elders* or Pynas's *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife* but also Lievens' *Man Singing*, surely a representation of 'Hearing'.

Certainly there is a range of achievement reflected here and one might debate with the author the interpretation or attribution of various paintings, but these are basic issues of art history and frankly constitute part of the attraction of the works exhibited.

Joaneath Spicer
University of Toronto



Joaneath A. Spicer
Assistant Professor

Department of Fine Art
University of Toronto
Toronto, Canada
M5S 1A1

(416) 978-3290



often. Too frequently in *Art at the Service of War* one wonders if the author is not caught up in the same rhetoric that, as a cultural historian, we should expect her to puncture. She writes, for example: 'For Eric Brown [Director of the National Gallery of Canada] it was important to show that loyalty, patriotism, sacrifice and the dignity of labour could be found in war work at home as well as in the trenches.' And this: 'Florence Wyle and Frances Loring were certainly much concerned to demonstrate the nobility of Canadian women through sculptures of munitions workers.' Surely the words 'loyalty', 'patriotism', 'nobility', etc., mobilized as they are here, are hollow – at least in the absence of inverted quotation marks. As A.Y. Jackson said later, 'The old heroes, the death and glory stuff, were obsolete.'

Tippett's principal focus is the Canadian War Memorials Fund, established in November 1916. It was the brainchild of Sir Max Aitken (soon to be elevated to Lord Beaverbrook) in conjunction with his friend Lord Rothermere and it grew out of Aitken's activities as chief of the Canadian War Records Office in London. Its purpose was to put artists on the front lines, as well as in camps and factories, in order to have them record the Canadian contribution to the war effort first-hand – as eye-witnesses. Those commissioned by the Fund were an assortment of British and Canadian painters and sculptors, including, significantly, many who were committed to a modern idiom – Wyndham Lewis, Paul Nash, and David Bomberg from Britain, David Milne, James Wilson Morrice, A.Y. Jackson, and F.H. Varley from Canada. By the time the Fund was wound up in 1920, something over one hundred artists had produced almost nine hundred works, all destined to come to Canada. Moreover, nearly half the works had been exhibited to substantial audiences in England, the United States and Canada.

It is Tippett's considerable achievement to have investigated the broader structural implications of the Fund. Using evidence from an impressive body of research, she puts forward the hypothesis – convincingly, I believe – that the Fund acted as a decisive catalyst – in the development of Canadian culture following the war. 'It brought Canada's critics, artists, and art gallery officials together for the first time,' Tippett writes, 'after the war Canada had an infrastructure of artists, patrons, and critics, which enabled a national school of art to flourish.' It is notoriously difficult to gather the sort of information that Tippett offers for our consideration, and were we to disagree with some of her conclusions, we could not do without her research. Nor does Tippett overlook the analysis of individual works in the collection. Her account of the controversy sparked by *Canada's Golgotha* by Derwent Wood, a bronze sculpture representing a Canadian soldier crucified to a barn door and surrounded by German soldiers, is a case study in art as propaganda. Later the Nazis would use the sculpture as an example of Allied distortion; in other words, would use it as propaganda at the service of propaganda.

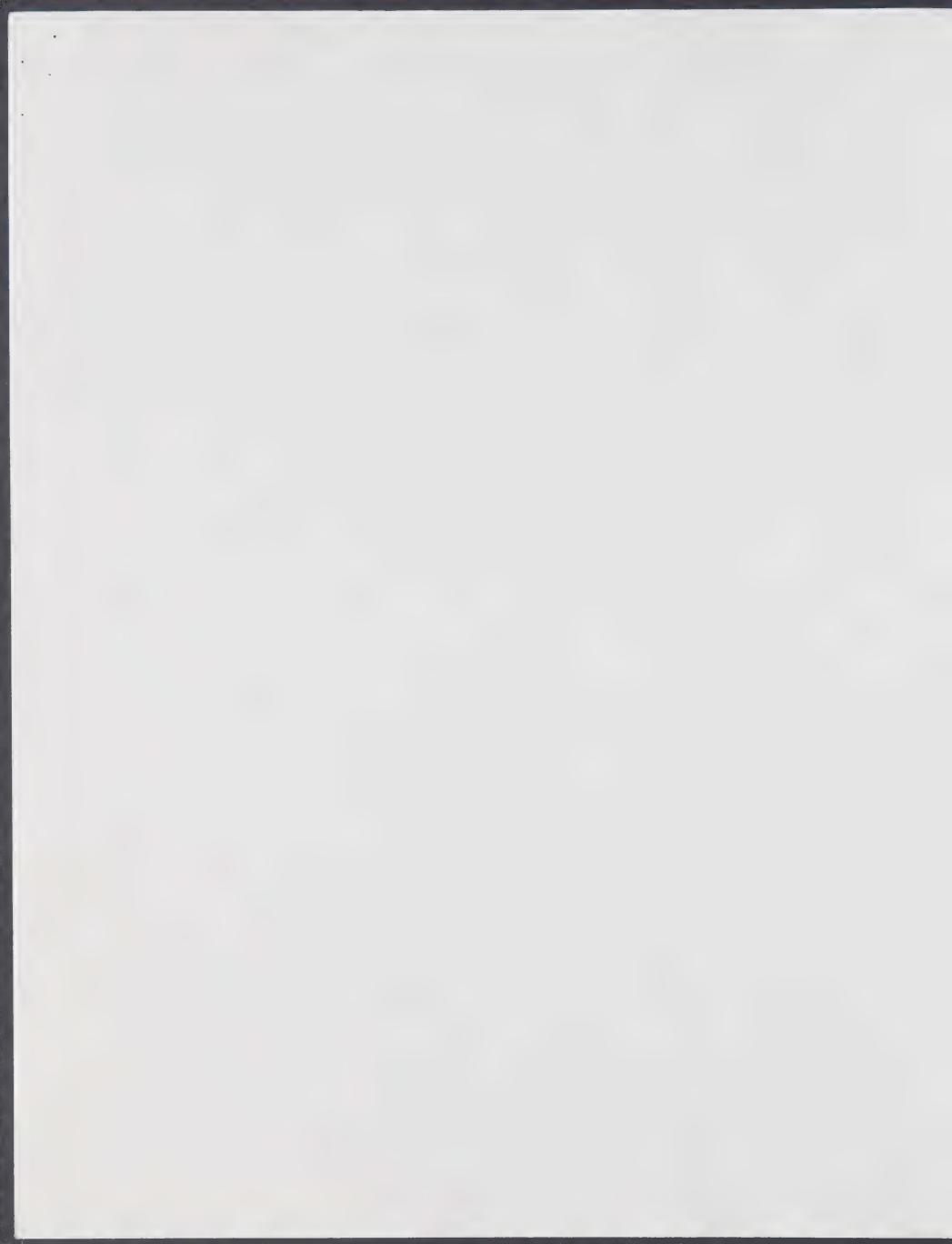
David McTavish, *Pictures from the Age of Rembrandt: Selections from the Personal Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader*

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If there seems to be little enough irony in Tippett's book, there is even less in Blair Laing's *Morrice*. For Laing's book is a self-confessed – one might almost say, self-confessional – panegyric on the artist he has pursued as dealer, collector, and now author for over fifty years. In 1934 Laing Galleries in Toronto organized an exhibition of thirty of Morrice's canvases and *pochoires* (small panel paintings) along with twenty-one of his late watercolours. 'The emotional impact on me [of the exhibition] was such that in the half-century since,' writes Laing, 'I have increasingly pursued works by James Morrice, and have been haunted by visions of the man himself – a statement that I hope this book bears out.' In order to write the volume, Laing visited many of the studios and locations where Morrice painted – in Paris, Normandy, Brittany, Venice, Capri, North Africa, the Caribbean, and Quebec – and tracked down, with the help of researchers in Canada and abroad (for some reason not acknowledged in the book), the minutiae of Morrice's friendships and peregrinations. The results is a curious mixture of hagiography and hard detail. The best parts, I think, are those that recount the circumstances under which Laing purchased works by Morrice. Here he is on the familiar ground of his previous books, *Memories of an Art Dealer* (2 vols). As in those earlier publications, he illustrates many of the works that have come into his hands. Opposite each page of text is an excellent colour plate of a painting or a drawing by Morrice – fully three-quarters of which, it should be said (as the book unaccountably does not), are drawn from Laing's own personal collection. Jean Sutherland Boggs contributes a short, lyrical introduction to the book to the artist's work. (JOHN O'BRIAN)



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Istvan Anhalt, Alternative Voices:
Essays on Contemporary Vocal and Choral Composition
University of Toronto Press, 336. \$32.00

Istvan Anhalt is a composer who came to Canada from Hungary in 1949, and has recently retired after a long and distinguished career as a teacher and administrator, first at McGill and more recently at Queen's University. *Alternative Voices* is the fruit of many years of study, reflection, and practical experience in the technical, aesthetic, and ideological implications of the innovative use of the voice in composition. The richness of his active and passive involvement is abundantly displayed in the appended List of Compositions (308 pieces by 120 composers), and Bibliography (410 items). The references in the latter, which range from Ancient Greek magic through linguistics, phonetics, psychology, and music both Western and non-Western, give a fair idea of the author's breadth of knowledge and sympathies. The full extent of Anhalt's commitment to the subject is best conveyed by the observation that he has composed no music without voices since 1967.



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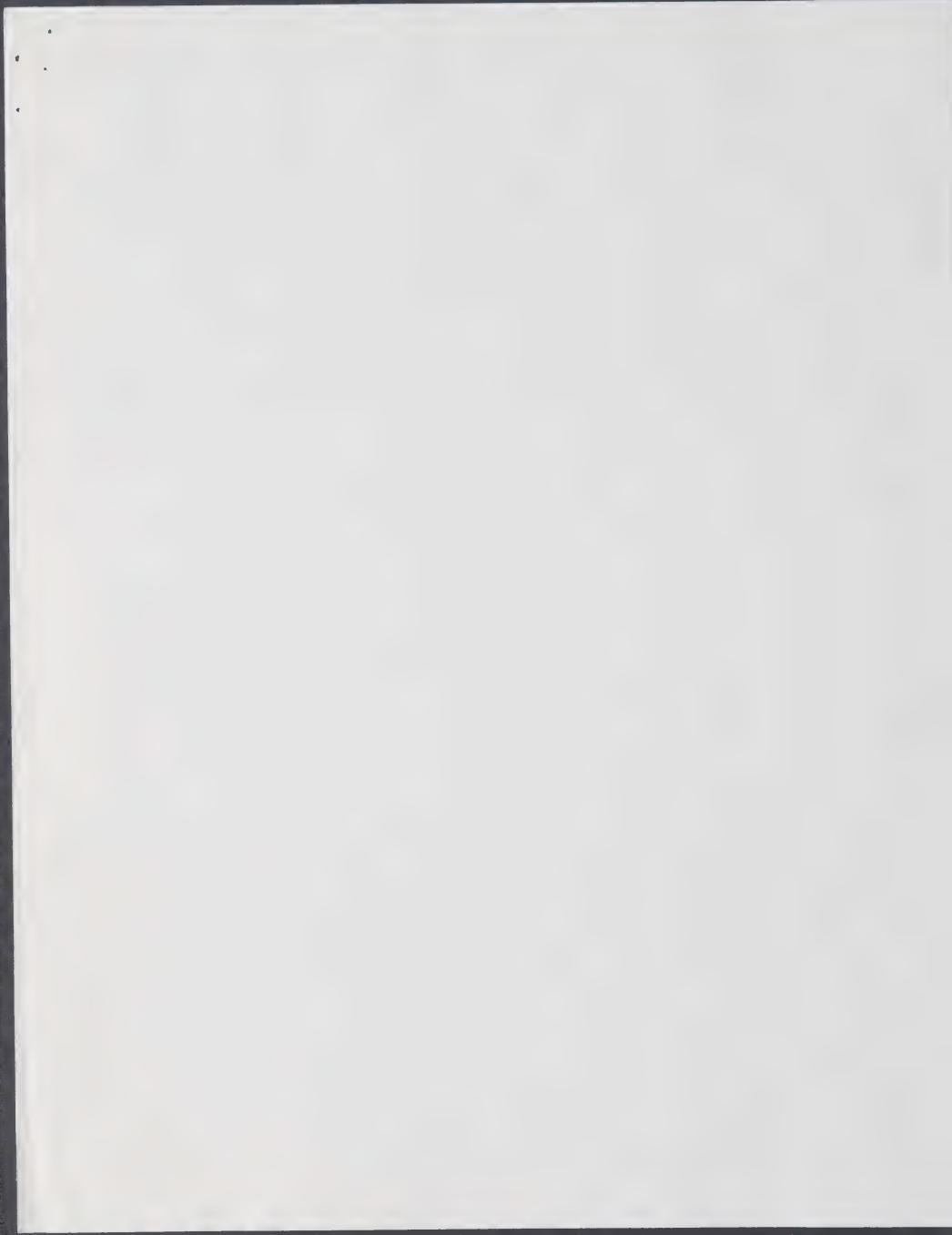
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