

**JAN VAN NOORDT (1624 - after 1676),
"...famous history- and portrait-painter in Amsterdam"**

by

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**A thesis submitted to the Department of Art
in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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ABSTRACT

The Amsterdam painter Jan van Noordt (1624 - after 1676) has until recently been a little-known figure. The main sources on him have been the brief mention in Arnold Houbraken's life of Johannes Voorhout, and a body of surviving paintings, drawings, and prints. More recent documentary evidence indicates that he lived in Amsterdam, and was part of a prominent, if not affluent, musical family. Jan van Noordt evidently did not marry, and he seems to have died or left Amsterdam soon after 1675. His only documented artistic contact is with Abraham van den Tempel, who had studied with Jacob Adriaensz Backer. Van Noordt's works indicate that he too studied under Backer, in their style, and in their choice of subject matter. Two major shifts occurred in his style. Around 1659, he began to pursue a stronger effect of light. Over the 1660s he gradually incorporated greater movement and concentration in his compositions, but around 1672, he adopted a rougher style, in emulation of the late work of Rembrandt. Numerous attributed works must be removed from his oeuvre, including four that can be given to another artist with a similar name. It seems that Van Noordt started by producing history and genre paintings for the open market, and had to wait until around 1659 to achieve his ambition of high-level patronage for portrait and history paintings. The iconography of his history paintings is marked by a preference for scenes showing exemplary action, drawn not just from Roman Republican history, but also from the Old Testament and literature. The literary themes present exemplars of true love, while many of the Old Testament themes present exemplars of virtue, in line with the depictions of history. Van Noordt's

drawing activity seemed to primarily serve his paintings, as the surviving drawings are dominated by figure studies done in preparation for known paintings. The emphasis on the figure, and their technique reflect the influence of Backer. In the 1660s Van Noordt reached the height of his success, with portraits and history paintings, and the large *Juno* in Braunschweig may be evidence that he achieved the fame that Houbraken ascribed to him.

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The most essential resource for information on Dutch seventeenth-century art remains the Netherlands Institute for Art History in The Hague. For the study of Van Noordt's paintings and their provenances, I depended heavily on the consultation of their photographs and literature, but I also profited immensely from the ready help of the staff, for which I am thankful.

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- III. 9. Gabriel Metsu, *Portrait of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen, Leonora Huydecoper, and their Children*, canvas, 72 x 79 cm, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz
- III. 10. Frontispiece, Jan van Arp, *Chimon*, 1639
- III. 11. Salomon Koninck, *Susanna and the Elders*, panel, 45 x 38.5 cm, signed and dated 1649, private collection
- III. 12. Jan Tegnagel, *The Triumph of David*, panel, 55 x 73 cm, present location unknown
- III. 13. Hieronymus Janssens, *A Cabinet of Paintings*, canvas, 60 x 77 cm, Madrid, private collection
- III. 14. Pieter Lastman, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, panel, 85 x 122 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum
- III. 15. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Jupiter and Callisto*, canvas, 68.3 x 57.5 cm, present location unknown
- III. 16. Claes Cornelisz Moyaert, *The Flight of Cloelia Across the Tiber*, Oslo, Nationalmuseum
- III. 17. Cornelis de Vos, *The Magnanimity of Scipio*, canvas, 174 x 242 cm, Nancy, Musée de Beaux-Arts
- III. 18. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Simon and Iphigenia*, canvas, 150 x 230 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum
- III. 19. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Granida and Daifilo*, canvas, 125 x 161.5 cm, ca. 1635, St Petersburg, Hermitage
- III. 20. Copy after Jan van Noordt, *Granida and Daifilo*, canvas, 65 x 83 cm, Berlin, private collection

Ill. 21. Attributed to Nicolas Maes, *Portrait of Hendrick Wijnantsz*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 44.5 x 34 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Ill. 22. Attributed to Nicolas Maes, *Portrait of Aeltje Denijs*, 44.5 x 34 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Ill. 23. Abraham van den Tempel, *Portrait of Cornelis van Groenendyck*, canvas, 125.5 x 100.5 cm, signed and dated 1668, Paris, Fondation Custodia

Ill. 24. Johannes Voorhout, *Still Life with a Woman at an Easel*, canvas, 48.5 x 40.3 cm, signed, Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum

Ill. 25. Pieter van Laer, *The Buck, two Goats and Three Sheep near the Woman with the Reel*, etching, 129 x 175 mm

(illustrations not available for cat. nos. R55, DR2, PR2)

List of Abbreviations Used:

Br. = catalogue number in: Bredius/Gerson

cat. no. = catalogue number

D.B.K. = *Desolate Boedels Kamer* (Chamber of Bankrupt Estates)

D.T.B. = *Doop Ondertrouw Begravenis* (Baptism, Marriage, Burial)

G.A.A. = *Gemeentelijk Archiefdienst Amsterdam* (Amsterdam Municipal Archive)

N.A.A. = G.A.A. 5072, *Notariëel Archief Amsterdam* (Amsterdam Notarial Archive)

(p) = work known only through photographic reproduction

R.K.D. = *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie* (Netherlands Institute for Art History), The Hague

W.K. = *Weeskamer* (Chamber for Orphans)

Introduction

This study undertakes to arrive at an account of the life and work of the seventeenth-century Amsterdam painter Jan van Noordt (1624 - after 1676). To date, a considerable amount of material has accrued on this artist. Many scholars have devoted time and words to the topic, but have not arrived at more than vague conclusions. Recently, Werner Sumowski made an earnest call for a comprehensive study on Jan van Noordt.¹ Sumowski promoted Jan van Noordt on the basis of his flamboyant and experimental style. At the same time, he remained silent on the problem of the contradictory reception Van Noordt has traditionally faced. A number of lavish and fashionable portraits by the artist testify that he did, for a period, command respect, and enjoy high-level patronage. Nonetheless, in the very first mention of Jan van Noordt in the literature on art, in the third book of Arnold Houbraken's *The Great Theatre*, published in 1721, Jan van Noordt is only mentioned once, in passing, cited as the teacher of Johannes Voorhout.²

Jan van Noordt's paintings became the historical documents most important for the preservation of his memory. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, several signed and dated works entered prominent public collections. The first art historian to draw attention to them and to their creator was Cornelis Hofstede de Groot (1863 - 1930), in an article of 1892. Hofstede de Groot could name 24 paintings.³ They included three signed and dated examples (cat. nos. 23, 43, 44) in the recently-opened Rijksmuseum.

In his research Hofstede de Groot followed the scientific principles of art-historical research propounded around mid-century by predecessors such as Scheltema, and amassed as much documentary evidence as he could.⁴ The consultation of documents had gained favour, as a corrective for the existing histories, which were suspected of containing derivative oral legend. Robert Scheller has pointed out that this generation of scholars, in their seeming objectivity, also followed preconceptions and ideals in the search for material, especially in the case of Rembrandt.⁵ In The Netherlands, an image of bourgeois respectability was pursued, that defined a narrow identity of the Dutch people, in service of the intensely nationalist agendas then popular. Hofstede de Groot's approach to Jan van Noordt was also affected by this tendency. This artist had to be distinguished from Rembrandt, as an eclectic who absorbed Flemish influences.⁶ Hofstede de Groot even alluded to, but could not document, evidence of a trip Van Noordt had made to Antwerp. This interpretation played down the international character of Dutch culture in the seventeenth century, and thus also its impact on Jan van Noordt's work. In his lexicon entry on Jan van Noordt of 1910, Alfred von Wurzbach took over much of Hofstede de Groot's data.⁷ Ironically, he called Van Noordt a pupil of Rembrandt, perhaps in a hasty misreading of Hofstede de Groot's statement to the opposite.

Until his death in 1930, Hofstede de Groot continued to collect material on the artist, including literary references, photographs, documentary discoveries, and references to many more paintings. It was part of a comprehensive and life-long study of Dutch seventeenth-century art. This legacy is now deposited in the Institute for Art History in

The Hague. Further notations concerning documents in Amsterdam and other cities, made by Abraham Bredius (1855 - 1946), are kept there as well. Much of this material is being investigated and published for the first time here.

Several subsequent contributions served to add to the number of attributions published by Hofstede de Groot. In 1911, an article by J.O. Kronig appeared, presenting an "unknown Jan van Noordt" in the Royal Museum in Brussels.⁸ His attribution of *A Lady at her Mirror* (cat. no. R32) to this artist was prompted by the weak evidence of a monogram. Kronig took the opportunity to introduce a number of related attributions to the artist, some of them much more convincing. Similarly, in a slightly later article devoted to Jan van Noordt, the painter- art historian Jean Decoen again focused on a single painting, another work in the same museum.⁹ Decoen reviewed a number of known paintings, and added a group of attributions of mixed value. This article, published in the rather obscure journal *Cahiers de Belgique*, was cited only recently.

The connection between Van Noordt and Jacob Adriaensz Backer (1608 - 1651) was first drawn by Kurt Bauch.¹⁰ In his monograph on Backer, which appeared in 1926, Bauch devoted a brief discussion to Backer's impact on students and followers, and there drew attention to the stylistic relationship of Van Noordt's work to that of Backer.

Another artist linked to Van Noordt is Govert Flinck (1615 - 1660). The preeminent position of Govert Flinck in Amsterdam in the 1650s had its impact on Jan van Noordt in

the early and middle phases of his career. This is evident from the confusion of their styles, that had led to the long-standing attribution of the *Susanna and the Elders* in Leipzig (cat. no. 7) to Flinck. A number of such attribution problems, involving the distinction between Van Noordt and Flinck, were dealt with by Wolfgang von Moltke in his monograph on Govert Flinck, of 1965.¹¹ They involved some Rembrandtesque works by Van Noordt, and an example in the style of Backer. Von Moltke explained this situation by proposing that Rembrandt had been Van Noordt's teacher, and that the period of tutelage was a few years after that of Flinck, in the years between 1638 and 1640. However, the associations with Flinck were not as close as with Backer, Von Moltke observed. He made the important initial observation about Van Noordt's figure drawings, noting that their technique of light and dark chalks on blue-coloured paper was the same as that used by Backer and Flinck. In this monograph on Flinck, Von Moltke presented a scattering of new material and some inconsistent reflections on Van Noordt, yielding an inevitably fragmented image of Van Noordt's creative output.

The existence of a school of figure study that included Backer, Flinck, and Van Noordt, was confirmed by Peter Schatborn in a 1979 article on Jan van Noordt's drawings. Schatborn placed Van Noordt among these artists on the basis of their technique.¹² The question of their function is raised in the fifth chapter of the present study, with an eye to the relationship between Van Noordt's drawings and the known paintings.

Van Noordt's relationship with another Rembrandt pupil, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, took the foreground in an article of 1981 by Saskia Nystad. However, the connection proved to receive only weak, indirect documentary support in the inventory of Johannes van de Cappelle.¹³

In the last several decades scholarly interest in Rembrandt has been recast in new modes, among them a focus on Dutch history painting. Already since the 1930s, iconographic specialists had opened the possibilities for studying Dutch art in relation to literature, especially its popular forms. With respect to more elevated forms of literature, the 1980-1981 exhibition *Gods, Saints and Heroes* re-evaluated the contribution made by history painters to Dutch art of the seventeenth century.¹⁴ It rectified the bias against Dutch history painting, reflected in its virtual exclusion from the important Pelican volume by Jacob Rosenberg, Seymour Slive, and E.H. ter Kuile of 1966.¹⁵ Formal analysis began to concede ground to a more complex comprehension of Dutch art. Also the bourgeois image of the Dutch, inherited from the 19th century, gave way to an appreciation of the international roots and character of Dutch culture of the Golden Age, which so strongly affected history painting. The public and scholarly eye turned to the function of this art in its original context. In Dutch society of the Golden Age, with its institutions and ideas, the interpretation of many paintings was bound to texts, of sacred scripture, literature, and history.

In *Gods, Saints and Heroes*, the role of Jan van Noordt as an interpreter of such themes was represented, but not strongly. The early, over-cleaned *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. no. 6) that was included, could only suggest his particular approach. It remained to be indicated that the extreme effects that Van Noordt developed and mastered in the later phases of his career drew on the Rembrandt idiom, as much as Flemish models. Those works reflected a renewed interest in the older master, that was very personal in character. It focused on particular aspects, such as Rembrandt's emphatic modelling of form and the rough, loose handling of the brush in his later works.

Van Noordt inherited his dual interest, in Rembrandt and in Rubens, from Jacob Adriaensz Backer. Because of his connection to Backer, Jan van Noordt found a place in Werner Sumowski's grand series on the school of Rembrandt, which began to appear in 1983.¹⁶ A great number of new attributions to Van Noordt appeared in the initial series and in the subsequent volumes of additions, published between 1983 and 1996.¹⁷ In his chapter on Backer, Sumowski devoted a lengthy digression to Van Noordt. Formal stylistic analysis was Sumowski's priority. The section included a brief sketch of the artistic development of Van Noordt, bringing some cohesion to the existing material on the artist. The iconographic organization of his catalogues showed the repetition of themes in Van Noordt's oeuvre. In the two addenda volumes that followed, in 1985 and 1996, Sumowski treated Jan van Noordt separately, in recognition of the independent position he developed in relation to Flinck and other artists in the group known as the "Rembrandt-school." In

1986 Sumowski also published a separate monographic article on Van Noordt's paintings, which was significant for introducing the artist to English readers.¹⁸

The broad scope of Sumowski's project precluded the direct study of every painting he attributed to Jan van Noordt. Surprisingly, he did not treat very seriously the careful speculations of Hofstede de Groot, and after him Alfred von Wurzbach, that there might be another artist with a similar name.¹⁹ The present study distinguishes the works of this artist, that have traditionally been attributed to Jan van Noordt. It also presents several other important de-attributions, such as the *Juno asks Jupiter to give her Io as a Gift* in the Louvre (cat. no. R24), and the *Jupiter and Mercury in the House of Philemon and Baucis* in Helsinki (cat. no. R22). There are also dozens of other works that are taken out of the oeuvre, comprising an adjustment that changes our picture of the artist significantly. In turn, several works that have hitherto not been published as by Jan van Noordt can be added to his oeuvre. Most important among them is the signed *Cimon and Iphigenia* (cat. no. 24) that appeared at a recent sale in New York, because it confirms the direct role of Jacob Adriaensz Backer in the training of Van Noordt. This painting thus restricts speculation about an "early style," and allows the elimination of related attributions to the early Jan van Noordt.

Sumowski's contributions are the most substantial since the original article by Hofstede de Groot in 1892. With respect to the biography of Jan van Noordt, however, they incorporate no new material. Indeed, none of the studies on Jan van Noordt since 1892

has involved any new archival research. Art historians have therefore made little progress in identifying his *milieu*. However, for some time already, it was known to music historians that the painter belonged to the Van Noordt family of organists and composers. For a century, the boundaries of specialisation kept art and music historians from arriving at this connection, even in speculation. Jan's brother Jacobus was Amsterdam's most prominent organist for several decades. The next-oldest brother, Anthoni, was also an established organist in Amsterdam, and in addition he published a book of improvisations on the Genevan Psalms. Recent research on Anthony and Jacobus has yielded several documents mentioning their brother Jan, which were published in articles by A.G. Soeting in 1980, Jaap den Hertog and Simon Groeneveld in 1987, and Johan H. Giskes in 1989, and in Rein Verhagen's monograph of the same year, on Jacobus's son Sybrandus, an organist and a composer.²⁰ In 1991 these results were first cited in the literature of art history.²¹ They are fully analyzed here for the first time, with respect to their implications for Jan van Noordt's life and his art.

The main issues addressed in the existing literature on Jan van Noordt have been his life and his work. They form the basis for the present study as well. My work on Van Noordt began with research for my Master's Thesis at Queen's University, completed in 1993. Much of the readily-available material on Van Noordt's biography and his stylistic development were presented in two chapters. Even though the thesis focused on only two paintings by Van Noordt (cat. nos. 12, 19), the lack of a comprehensive study required an analysis of his life, and a sketch of his stylistic development, in order to place both

paintings precisely in their context. Because the content of the thesis has been either incorporated or superseded in the present dissertation, references to it will generally not be made.

The present study conforms to the monograph format, and considers all of the available information, and all attributed works, and references to such works. The first chapter returns to the data on Van Noordt's biography, and the second and fifth chapters address the problems of his oeuvre of paintings, and drawings. The third and fourth chapters proceed to place the paintings within the context of their production. The third chapter deals with the market for which Van Noordt worked, approaching the issue of whether Van Noordt's paintings were produced for the open market or for private patrons. The fourth chapter examines the artist's choices of subject matter for history paintings, and places them in their cultural context, especially with respect to interpretations of the themes by other artists and by writers. The patterns that emerge in Van Noordt's iconography are suggestive of his view of the function of art. His systematic return to both specific and general topics speaks of an order and logic, that belie the intense emotion he would pursue in his late works. Van Noordt's preferences in subject matter, as well as style, point to an ambitious, serious, and humane spirit, such as would typically have attracted Houbraken. It makes the biographer's neglect of this artist all the more puzzling.

Introduction: References

1. Sumowski 1986, p. 21: "A monograph on Jan van Noordt is one of the most urgent desiderata of art scholarship."
2. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 224: "*Deze eerste school ontwassen, krom hij [Johannes Voorhout] tot een hooger op, onder het bestier van den beruchten Joan van Noort, Historie- en poutret-schilder t'Amsterdam, onder wien hij vijf jaaren de Konst bleef oeffenen, en daar in zoor veer quam, dat hij voors niet meer als het leven ten voorwerp noodig had.*" (Having grown out of this first school, he climbed up to a higher one, under the direction of the famous Joan van Noort, History- and portrait-painter at Amsterdam, with whom he stayed for five years to practice Art, and advanced so far, that from then on he needed nothing other than nature [itself] to work from). The seventeenth century Dutch use of the word *berucht*, as "famous," has since shifted to its opposite, "infamous." See: P.G.J. van Sterkenburg, *Een Glossarium van zeventiende-eeuws Nederlands*, 3rd ed., Groningen, 1977, p. 27.
3. Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 215-218, nos. 1-24.
4. For the development of the writing of artist's biographies in the Netherlands in the 19th century, see: Scheller 1969.
5. See: Scheller 1961.
6. Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 218: "*Van REMBRANDT en zijn school, is er geen spoor te ontdekken.*" (Of REMBRANDT and his school, there is no trace to be discovered).
7. See: Wurzbach 1906-1910, p. 244.
8. Kronig 1911, pp. 147-149.
9. Decoen, 1931, pp. 9-19.
10. Bauch, 1926, pp. 56, 68 note 92.
11. Von Moltke 1965, p. 49.
12. Schatborn 1979.
13. Nystad 1981, *passim*.
14. Exhibition catalogue Washington, Detroit and Amsterdam 1980-1981.

15. Jacob Rosenberg, Seymour Slive and E.H. ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture: 1600 to 1800*, The Pelican History of Art, Harmondsworth, Baltimore and Ringwood, 1966.
16. Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 139-141.
17. Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, pp. 3111-3113, nos. 2134-2147; vol. 6, pp. 3735-3737, nos. 2396a-2408.
18. Sumowski 1986.
19. See: Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 210; and: Wurzbach 1906-1910, p. 243.
20. Soeting 1980, Den Hertog and Groeneveld 1989, Verhagen 1989.
21. Han Buijs was the first to give the artist's family background. See: exhibition catalogue Lyon and Paris 1991, p. 109.

Chapter One

"Konstrijk schilder te Amsterdam": the Life of Jan van Noordt

The connection between art and life surfaces often in the lives of seventeenth-century artists that were recounted in Arnold Houbraken's *Great Theatre of Netherlandish Painters and Paintresses* (1717 - 1721). It was common lore, that a painter's life showed parallels with his works. For a biographer of artists such as Houbraken, it was a likely device, but he evidently could not use it when he came to Jan van Noordt, in his third volume. The reference there is very brief; it includes no anecdotes, and mentions no paintings. We can only surmise that this artist was not very much in the public eye, even though Houbraken calls him "...the famous Jan van Noordt, history- and portrait painter in Amsterdam."¹ In fact, Houbraken did not devote a separate biography to him, and only mentioned him because he was the teacher of Johannes Voorhout (1647 - 1723), even though he was "famous." Voorhout was one of Houbraken's more important sources, but he did not supply the biographer with much information on his own teacher.² Houbraken's favorite dictum, "his life is like his art and his art is like his life,"³ must be suspended in the case of Jan van Noordt. His paintings were better-known than his life. Today we can intimately study his paintings, but only a few aspects of his life are available to us. The scanty biographical data do not yield a clear idea of his personality.

For a long time thereafter, knowledge of the lives of Dutch artists depended heavily on Houbraken's biographies. They became an extremely influential compendium on Dutch art,

in their original form and through their later transformations in the hands of other writers, most notably Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677 - 1747), Jean Baptiste Descamps (1706 - 1791), Johann Dominik Fiorillo (1748 - 1821).⁴ Archival researchers such as Abraham Bredius and Cornelius Hofstede de Groot were made aware of Jan van Noordt through the one citation quoted above, and could recognize his name in their searches. Just as Houbraken was unable to unearth much information on this artist, so these two scholars would later find only scanty documentary traces of Van Noordt. It seems that he only occasionally made use of legal processes for business or private purposes. In this respect, he contrasts sharply with his unfortunate and legally-embattled brother Jacobus. Jan is more the counterpart of his brother Anthoni, who like him struck a low profile in terms of documents and literary references, and also left an artistic legacy that survives to the present day.

Until recently, there was no evidence even concerning Van Noordt's date of birth. The running estimate had been around 1620, based on two prints which seem to be the work of the artist near the beginning of his career. The inscriptions name Jan van Noordt as the etcher. One is dated 1644, and gives Pieter van Laer (1599 - after 1642) as inventor (cat. no. P1), while the other is dated to the following year, and gives Pieter Lastman (1583 - 1633) as inventor (cat. no. P2). These reproductive prints represent, like some of the paintings (eg. cat. no. 24), Jan van Noordt's beginnings in art. They would have been the work of a late beginner, if Van Noordt had done them at the age of 24 or 25, based on a birthdate of 1620. He was actually around 20 years old at the time. For some time now,

and unknown even to many specialists, a document has been published that indicates the year of Jan van Noordt's birth as 1624. In 1987, the music historian Jaap den Hertog indicated an entry in the record of the Amsterdam Chamber for Orphans in which Jan van Noordt appears as the son of the schoolteacher Sybrand van Noordt and Jannitgen Jacobs, and the brother of Jacobus, Anthoni and Lucas.⁵ On 20 June 1641, Sybrand van Noordt registered his three youngest sons, who had not yet reached the age of majority, as orphans after the death of their mother six months previous.⁶ Jan appeared as Johannes, with his age given as 17.

This evidence points to the milieu into which Jan van Noordt was born, and in which he was raised. Other documents declare that his father Sybrand was not only a schoolteacher but also a musician in the employ of the city of Amsterdam, maintaining the bells of its towers, and playing the *beiaard* (carillon) of the Zuiderkerk tower.⁷ Sybrand is recorded in this post in 1642, only a short while after his earliest appearance in an archival document in Amsterdam. His birth, marriage, and the birth of his children are not recorded in the Amsterdam archive. We are left with the impression that they arrived in the city only a few years before. His son Jacobus's claim to having been born in Amsterdam, made at his marriage in 1648, seems doubtful.⁸ It is likely that Sybrand had previously performed similar functions in another town or city. With such experience he could quickly establish himself in his new location.

Sybrand van Noordt must have attained a respectable level of musicianship. He presumably had a determining role in the training of his sons Jacobus and Anthoni. They subsequently moved into very prominent positions for musicians in the city, those of organist in the Nieuwezijds Kapel, the Oude Kerk, and the Nieuwe Kerk. The music historian Johan Giskes speculates that Jacobus may have started at the Nieuwezijds Kapel as early as 1639, at the age of 23. Giskes also described the amicable relation of Jacobus with the organist who was already established in the city, Willem Jansz Lossy. Lossy may have been responsible for his final training as organist. Jacobus also maintained a more business-like link with the family of Jan Pietersz Sweelinck (d. 1621), the legendary organist and composer known as the "Orpheus of Amsterdam," whose place in the Oude Kerk was taken by his son Dirck upon his death. The person to replace Dirck upon his death in 1652 was Jacobus van Noordt, while brother Anthoni took over the post in the Nieuwezijds Capel.⁹ There remains the question, whether Jan also trained for a similar career, and only later devoted himself instead to the painters' profession. A persistent attachment to the Sweelinck legacy seems to appear in Jan's emulation of Pieter Lastman (1583 - 1633) in particular paintings, long after the older artist had died. Lastman's teacher Gerrit Pietersz was also a member of the Sweelinck family, a brother of the composer, and thus perhaps also one of the many acquaintances of the Van Noordt family.

The two older sons became among the most prominent musicians in the city. In 1659, Anthoni published a volume of improvisations on the Genevan melodies for the Psalms, his *Tablatuur-boeck van Psalmen en Fantasyen*.¹⁰ His application to the States of Holland for

copyright was handled in part by Constantijn Huygens (1596 - 1687), who judged the work's musical qualities and submitted his recommendation for approval. It did not meet a standard of composition comparable to Jan Pietersz Sweelinck, but it did ensure Anthoni a place in the history of Dutch composition.¹¹ In 1664 he succeeded in gaining the more prominent post of organist of the Nieuwe Kerk.¹² His older brother Jacobus also left behind a few compositions, but they betray a lower level of art. Nonetheless he seems to have gained a high social status by means of his position. In 1663 he appears among those appointed as official municipal wine-testers. This job gave him an important supplement to the relatively modest salary he received as organist.¹³ He clearly enjoyed the favour of well-placed citizens in Amsterdam. His position was especially confirmed at the baptism of his son Sybrandus in 1659. Besides uncle Anthoni van Noordt, the second witness to this event was Anna van Erckel, wife of the extremely wealthy merchant Erasmus Scharlaken.¹⁴ Anna is known to art historians for her second marriage, after the death of Erasmus, to the painter Ferdinand Bol (1616 - 1680) in 1669.¹⁵ An alliance with such a fortune allowed Bol to give up his profession at an early age, and turn *rentier*. For Jacobus, Anna's presence at his son's baptism represented a prestigious social connection.

Jan van Noordt embarked on his artistic career in the mid-1640s. His training was, by the few indications that we have of it, unconventional and diffuse. The important question of the identity of his teacher can only be addressed with diverse observations. The earliest dated works that he made, mentioned already, are prints after Pieter Lastman and Pieter van Laer. Both Lastman and Van Laer were already dead by then.¹⁶ These artists would

only exert a piecemeal influence on the younger artist. Around the same time, 1645, Jan van Noordt made one of the earliest of the surviving paintings, the *Cimon and Iphigenia* that appeared at a recent New York sale (cat. no. 24). Like the prints, this painting was also derived from another artist's work; the precedent was a painting of the same theme by Jacob Adriaensz Backer (1608 - 1651) now in Braunschweig.¹⁷ Because this version is of better quality than a second depiction now in Cherbourg, and it is closer to Backer's conception, it was quite likely produced in Backer's studio, with Backer's painting at hand, and with the benefit of the master's guidance. Van Noordt was not emulating the current style of Backer, whose *Cimon and Iphigenia* was painted ten years earlier, and who had since adopted a lighter palette and a smoother *facture*.¹⁸ Therefore, the evidence of this painting is inconclusive. Nonetheless, Backer can be regarded as the most likely master to have taught Van Noordt.

Archival evidence links Jan van Noordt to Backer's studio, albeit indirectly. Van Noordt's only documented artistic association in the 1640s was with Abraham van den Tempel (1622/23 - 1673). In 1646 Van Noordt signed as witness for a testament and codicil related to Van den Tempel's marriage in the same year. Abraham was the son of the Leeuwarden history painter Lambert Jacobsz, and was in Amsterdam studying under his father's pupil Backer, from 1642 to 1646.¹⁹ It seems that Backer attracted many students, from Houbraken's account of Jan de Baen's (1633 - 1702) tutelage in Backer's studio, from 1646 to 1651. De Baen apparently had to endure the envy and abuse of a throng.²⁰ Van Noordt would have preceded that group by about ten years. He would have been a

fellow-pupil of Van den Tempel, who was more his own age. The likely period of tutelage would have begun around 1635/37, when he was 11, and seems to have ended around 1644, when he was 20.²¹

The acquaintance seems to have lasted. Alongside his career as a painter, Abraham van den Tempel conducted trade in cloth together with his brother Jacob van den Tempel, and remained close to him for his entire life. Van Noordt was an acquaintance of Jacob as well. His two signatures on a business agreement of 1646 in Amsterdam suggest that he accompanied Jacob van den Tempel to the notarial office.²² As will be seen, Van Noordt again signed an agreement with Jacob twenty-six years later, in 1673.

Born in 1626, Abraham van den Tempel was Jan van Noordt's contemporary, and evidently his friend. Abraham moved to Leiden in 1646, and there began to attract distinguished history and portrait commissions already late in this decade, some ten to fifteen years before this would happen to Jan van Noordt. In the interim, the work of Jan van Noordt followed the pastoral mode that also dominates the oeuvre of Jacob Backer. Two pastoral subjects that recur in his work, *Granida and Daifilo* and *Cimon and Iphigenia*, were also done by Backer.²⁴ Besides history paintings, the other works from Van Noordt's earlier years are small, and frequently depict shepherds and shepherdesses.

These pieces speak of an artist working for the open market, in the hope of drawing more direct and lucrative patronage. Ambitious paintings, such as would likely be done only on

commission began to appear around 1659. This is the approximate date of the large and highly-finished *Susanna and the Elders* in Leipzig (cat. no. 7).²⁵ A few years later Jan van Noordt counted among his clients the wealthy regents of the city government, or *vroedschap* of Amsterdam. Likely around 1663, he carried out his portraits for Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper, which are mentioned in their testament (cat. no. L38).²⁶ This recently- discovered document only confirms what is clear from the lavish style and opulence of Van Noordt's portraits of the 1660s: they were aimed at the core of Amsterdam's elite. The shift in Van Noordt's market will be examined in greater detail in the third chapter.

The production of Jan van Noordt's workshop leaned towards fashionable portraiture in the profitable decade of the 1660s. Perhaps as much as any other artist, he satisfied the emerging taste for the Flemish style exemplified by Rubens and Van Dyck, and still being carried out by Jordaens. In the previous decade, the 1650s, artists such as Govert Flinck, Ferdinand Bol and Nicolaes Maes had rushed to adapt to the trend. Unlike them, Van Noordt did not bear the imprint of Rembrandt, and had been incorporating Flemish traits in his work from the beginning, an influence mediated by Backer. Before 1660, he worked in a market dominated by Flinck, who had been the uncontested candidate for the large-scale decorative pictures for the new City Hall. Flinck's untimely death that year left a considerable vacuum in the market.

In the following decade, demand for Van Noordt's paintings was high. The history and genre paintings of this period are the finest and most powerful works of Jan van Noordt's career, and were likely made in the times between portrait commissions. A good example is the *Susanna and the Elders* in Winterthur, in which Van Noordt successfully resolved the problems he had encountered in his previous versions (cat. no. 8). The same is true of a recently-rediscovered *Granida and Daifilo*, his second known treatment of this subject (cat. no. 30).

At this time, Van Noordt had the assistance of at least one pupil, the aforementioned Johannes Voorhout. Houbraken cited five years of training at an advanced level with Van Noordt, "after which he (Voorhout) only needed to consult life as his model."²⁷ Hofstede de Groot calculated that this period began in 1664, when Voorhout was 17, and ended in 1669, just before he married and started a workshop of his own.²⁸ During this extremely productive time for Van Noordt, Voorhout likely carried out some of the work on the paintings, even though the evidence of two hands has not yet been detected in them.

Voorhout's association with Van Noordt may also have involved a mutual interest in music. Although there is no direct proof of Jan van Noordt's own musicality, his student Voorhout did leave such traces. In 1674 Johannes Voorhout travelled to Hamburg. Houbraken reports that he fled the troubles of the *Rampjaar*, (the "disaster year," i.e. 1672), when the French invaded the Northern Netherlands. Voorhout went first to Friedrichstadt on the invitation of Jürgen Ovens, and later proceeded to Hamburg in

search of a better market for his art. There he painted a large group portrait, whose sitters included the Hamburg organist Jan Adam Reinken (1623 - 1722) and the Lübeck organist and composer Dietrich Buxtehude (1637 - 1707).²⁹ The six sitters are accompanied by an allegorical figure of Music. Apparently they formed a circle of devotees, and it is possible that Voorhout also knew Reinken as a fellow musician, or perhaps through previously-established contacts with the Van Noordts in the Netherlands, where Reinken had his roots. Two years later Voorhout was back in Amsterdam, where a son was born to him and Grietje Pieters Vos in 1677. Johannes Voorhout the Younger became a painter like his father, albeit less accomplished. In addition, he is recorded in Alkmaar in 1704 as providing instruction in music.³⁰ He possibly reflects the interest of his father. In the absence of better evidence of his own participation, Jan van Noordt's connections to the musical world of Amsterdam in the 17th century remain circumstantial.

During the 1660s, when he was the teacher of Voorhout, Van Noordt became established in Amsterdam. His presence there is confirmed in documents of 1666, 1668 and 1670. In the first two instances, he arranged the purchase of a grave in the Nieuwezijds Kapel for Adriana Kusters of Naarden, who was the daughter of the late Dr Samuel Coster (1579 - 1655), the doctor and playwright. Coster is best known for having founded the *Schouburgh* or Theatre in Amsterdam. Van Noordt's dealing with Adriana is recorded in notarial acts in Amsterdam and Naarden, one of which identifies him as "Johannes van Noordt, artistic painter in Amsterdam."³¹ In the third document, of 1670, Jan and his brother Anthoni appealed to the *Schepenbank* of the city of Amsterdam, to take action

against a certain Arent Brouwer, who was harassing them and their servant Trijntje Bartels, after she rejected Brouwer's proposal for marriage.³² The text of the request implies that the brothers were sharing a residence in Amsterdam, and the services of a maid, which in turn suggests that they were both unmarried.

Jan van Noordt then became involved in the far more serious affair of his brother's bankruptcy, a small fiscal spectacle that took place towards the end of 1671. Giske explains that for some time already, the debts of Jacobus van Noordt and Elsje Corver had been mounting.³³ The family spent lavishly, and seems in addition to have lost money on bad speculations. Their last hope had been the testament of Elsje Corver's mother, but it turned out to be a liability rather than an asset, and the desperate couple was forced to go to the *Desolate Boedels Kamer* (Chamber of Bankrupt Estates). The ensuing claims and actions produced a great number of surviving documents, and thus ironically Jacobus has become the Van Noordt brother about whom the most is known. Jan only appears once along the paper trail, to claim paintings from the estate: apparently he was a preferred creditor, and the works were by him. They included portraits of his father and grandfather, and of two of his brothers, as well as a *Granida and Daiflo*.³⁴ The latter might be one of the two known versions of the subject now attributed to Van Noordt (cat. nos. 38 and 39), but none of the portraits can be identified. There is no evidence to suggest that Jan was further affected by his brother's downfall.

However, Jan van Noordt could not have avoided the consequences of the general economic downturn in the United Provinces after 1672. The *Rampjaar* was the year of the Triple Alliance against the Netherlands, and the nearly-successful invasion by the armies of Louis XIV. The concentration of power in the Dutch seaborne trade dissipated, and while the very wealthy succeeded in protecting their fortunes, many Northern Netherlanders lost their entire capital. As a result, opportunities for entrepreneurs and investment in local industry disappeared. The market for paintings shrank immediately, and from Jan van Noordt's hand only a few paintings from this period have survived. These works are also restricted to a more modest scale than before; the *Magnanimity of Scipio* (cat. no. 23), for example, is his most ambitious and lavish work from 1672 on, but is only about a metre in length: a modest easel painting.

It is possible that at this time Van Noordt went in search of a better market for his talent. In 1673, and then again in the next year, he gave power of attorney to another person, to manage his affairs. In the first case it was Pieter van Hartoghveld, a wine-merchant who was related to him by way of his sister-in-law Elsje Corver.³⁵ The second person to help Van Noordt was Jacob van den Tempel, the person for whom he had stood witness to a business agreement nearly thirty years earlier.³⁶ Jacob had been living in Amsterdam, sharing a house with his brother Abraham and his sister-in-law, until the death of Abraham in 1672. Wijnman observes that Jacob's fortunes in the cloth trade had declined over the years (which he does not connect to the general malaise), indicated by the modest circumstances of his marriage in 1676. His address was given as the Bloemgracht, which

also was where Jan van Noordt was located in 1674.³⁷ Van Noordt may have gone to seek business elsewhere, after facing difficulties with finding business in Amsterdam, and for that reason gave two of his friends power of attorney over his affairs. However, the wording in both of these documents is unspecific and follows a general formula. Such legal devices were frequently used, for a variety of purposes. It is not proof that he left the city; neither of these two acts indicates a reason. Van Noordt may also have been indisposed by illness, or have sought experienced businessmen to handle some of his affairs.

The impression that Jan van Noordt might have departed is given again in the next archival document of only a year later. In May of 1675 a certain Abraham Blanck called in the notary to draw up an inventory of a house on the Egelantiersgracht. Blanck had been renting it to "Mr. Johannes van Noordt, painter, and Mr. Valentijn, eye-doctor."³⁸ Most of the items were left behind by the artist. They include drawing materials, easels, a piece of red tripe (a velvet fabric), a great many drawings, and a number of paintings: a depiction of Christ, a multi-figured painting, and six portraits, one of these being of a "Do(minee) Dankerts." It is significant that his landlord had an inventory drafted. Such a document could be used in making a claim against debts, such as unpaid rent. Jan van Noordt may have been experiencing financial problems, which forced him to move. No later documentation, either in or outside Amsterdam, has come to light. Dudok van Heel has suggested that Van Noordt left Amsterdam for London, because of the scandal that had recently arisen around the art dealer Gerrit Uylenburgh.³⁹ Uylenburgh had negotiated the

sale of a large lot of paintings to the Elector of Brandenburg, which did not go through, because the authenticity of many of the paintings was questioned. Uylenburgh was forced into bankruptcy, and retreated to London, where he went to work for the portraitist Sir Peter Lely.⁴⁰ Because Van Noordt abandoned a house and its contents around the same time, Dudok van Heel has proposed that he may have been involved in Uylenburgh's dealings, and fled with him to London.

It is more likely that Van Noordt stayed in Amsterdam. He seems to have been only using the premises on the Egelantiersgracht as an atelier, actually living elsewhere. The inventory does not list many of the trappings of a household, only a few tables, chairs, and a "secreet" (privy). Five years earlier he had been sharing a residence with his brother Anthoni.⁴¹ In 1674 Jan van Noordt had given his address as the Bloemgracht. He possibly had his residence there, while working in the house on the Egelantiersgracht. These two addresses were only separated by a few small canals. They were both in the *Jordaan*, the neighbourhood established on the city's west flank, outside the grand canals. It was a modest area, populated mostly by the labourers and practitioners of skilled trades who served the city. Many artists also lived there.

A little more than a month before Jan abandoned the house on the Egelantiersgracht, the death of Anthoni is recorded, in March of 1675. This event may have changed Van Noordt's circumstances. In the absence of further evidence concerning the artist's whereabouts after May 1675, we cannot be sure of Jan's reason for moving out of the

house on the Egelantiersgracht. The only further trace of Van Noordt is his signature on a painting of *Mary and the Christ Child* in Gavne, of 1676 (cat. no. 11) There is no evidence of his later activity to be derived from his appearance on a list of members of the St. Luke's guild in 1688, as it is almost certainly spurious; this list also includes the names of deceased persons.⁴² His burial is not recorded in the Amsterdam archive.

Chapter One: References

1. Houbraken, vol. 3, pp. 224-225: "*Deze eerste school ontwassen, krom hij tot een hooger op, onder het bestier van den beruchten Joan van Noort, Historie- en portret-schilder t'Amsterdam, onder wien hij vijf jaren de Konst bleef oefnen, en daar in zoo veer quam, dat hij voorts niet meer als het leven ten voorwerp noodig had.*" (Having grown out of this first school, he climbed up to a higher one, under the guidance of the famous Joan van Noort, History- and portrait-painter in Amsterdam, with whom he stayed for five years to practice Art, and advanced so far, that from then on he needed nothing more than nature [itself] to work from).
2. See: Houbraken; in volume 3, Houbraken cites Voorhout as a source for his information on Theodorus Frerés (1643 - 1693): p. 185; Horatius Paulyn (1644/1645 - 1674): p. 186; Mathias Scheits (ca. 1635/1640 - ca. 1700): p. 147), Ernst Stuvén (ca. 1660 - 1712): p. 372; and Dirk Dalens (1658/1659 - 1688): p. 386.
3. The phrase appears in different forms throughout Houbraken's text. The best-known application appears in Houbraken's life of Jan Steen. See Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 13.
4. Houbraken's remarks on Jan van Noordt were often simply plagiarized by later writers. For the reference to Van Noordt, see: Weyerman, vol. 3, p. 61. See also: Descamps, vol. 3, p. 209; and Fiorillo 1815-1820, vol. 3, p. 233. For a discussion of the *Nachleben* of Houbraken's text, see: Cornelis 1995.
5. See: Appendix (1641, 20 July). First cited in: Den Hertog 1987, pp. 113, 124 note 22.
6. See: Appendix (1640, 19 December).
7. G.A.A. 5024 (Book of Resolutions of the Ruling and Old-Burgomasters), no. 1, fols. 145v and 150r. See: Bijtelaar 1947, pp. 55-56. See also Soeting 1981, pp. 273, 279 note 3; and Giskes 1989, pp. 85, 117 note 11.
8. G.A.A., D.T.B. 675 p. 155, dd 3 January 1648. See: J.A. Alderbringk Thijm, *Bouwsteenen voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis* 3, 1881, p. 15. Bijtelaar does regard the family as born and established in the city: Bijtelaar 1947, p. 113. She points out the possible connection to a builder of clavecembalos, Daniel van Noordt, whom she gives as dying in 1607. She does not cite her source. Such a person does appear in the archive of the Chamber of Orphans in 1607; see: Appendix (1607, 24 July). This may be the same person as the Daniel van Noort who died in 1602; see: Appendix (1602, 19 November). His address is given as "the *Clauisimbel*", which quite likely refers to the product manufactured in that house.

9. Giskes 1989, pp. 94-96. Dirck Sweelinck was the more illustrious connection; the fame of Dirck's father Jan Pietersz Sweelinck was international. His influence spread through his compositions and through his students, who exported his improvisational methods to centres such as Hamburg and Lübeck. On Anthoni's appointment, see: Den Hertog 1987, pp. 113, 124 note 22; Seiffert 1897, pp. 88; Van Biema 1906, pp. 189-191. P. Fischer claims that Anthoni started in 1638: Fischer 1960, p. 41.

10. See: Van Noordt 1659.

11. See: Groeneveld and Den Hertog 1987.

12. This appointment took place on 20 August 1664: G.A.A. 5014, *Stadsrekening*, no. 2, fol. 194r. See: Van Biema 1906, p. 186.

13. Giskes 1989, pp. 102-106, 121 notes 77-81.

14. G.A.A., D.T.B. 9, p. 244 (Oude Kerk: witnesses Anna van Erkel, Anthonij van Noort).

15. For Bol's biography, see: Blankert 1982, pp. 12-22.

16. Lastman died in 1633. Van Laer disappeared after setting out once again from Haarlem for Rome, in 1642: Theodorus Schrevelius, *Harlemum, sive urbis Harleментis. Incunabula, incrementa, fortuna varia, in pace, in bello*, Haarlem, 1647, pp. 290, 384. See: Janeck 1968, pp. 17-19.

17. See cat. no. 24, note 3.

18. On the dating of the Backer painting, see: Thomas Döring, in: collection catalogue Braunschweig 1990, p. 30, no. 14 (with colour illustration).

19. Wijnman 1959, pp. 67-68. Like Van Noordt, Abraham van den Tempel was also neglected by Houbraken, who only mentioned him with respect to his students. This neglect was redressed by the biographer Johan van Gool. Van Gool has Abraham van den Tempel studying with Joris van Schooten in Leiden, and he may have spent some time with Van Schooten after moving to Leiden, and before striking out on his own. See: Van Gool, vol. 1, p. 38. However, it is more likely that Van Gool was wrong. Wijnman carefully pieced together the evidence indicating that Abraham was in Amsterdam, where Backer was, before this move. The work of Van den Tempel points strongly to a link with Backer (even more strongly than does the work of Jan van Noordt), who was also a family friend and the student of Abraham's father Lambert Jacobsz. In contrast, it shows little in common with Van Schooten's work.

20. Houbraken, vol. 2, pp. 304-305.

21. Pupils usually started around the age of eleven or twelve, and typically spent between three and four years with a master, often moving to a second master for a kind of finishing training, for another one or two years. Ronald de Jager arrived at these estimates through the study of apprenticeship contracts: De Jager 1990, pp. 69-70. Similar figures were proposed by Josua Bruyn, in: "Rembrandt's workshop: its function & production," in: exhibition catalogue Berlin, Amsterdam and London 1991-1992, p. 69.

22. See: Appendix (1646, 4 March).

23. See: Appendix (1648, 25 November). The second of these two documents seems to be the one mentioned by Bredius: *Künstler-Inventare*, vol. 7 (addendum) p. 225. The first is recorded in Bredius's annotations deposited at the R.K.D.. See also: Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 211, no. 7; and Wijnman 1959, p. 58.

24. See cat. nos. 25 and 29.

25. A dating of ca. 1659 is based on close stylistic similarities with the signed and dated *Cimon and Iphigenia* in Göttingen (see cat. no. 34).

26. For further discussion of this commission, see Chapter Three, pp. 86-89.

27. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 223.

28. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 223-224. Houbraken states that Voorhout first trained for six years with Constantijn Verhout in Gouda, and then for five years with Jan van Noordt. Hofstede de Groot points out that Voorhout married in 1670 at the age of 23, and that his lengthy period of training must have just ended. He estimates that Voorhout started with Verhout at the usual age of eleven or twelve, and stayed from 1658 to 1664. His period under Jan van Noordt in Amsterdam would have spanned the years 1664-1669. See: Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 212-213, no. 14. Independently, Schneider estimated the period in Van Noordt's *atelier* to be ca. 1670: see Hans Schneider, entry for Johannes Voorhout in: Thieme-Becker, vol. 34, p. 543.

29. See: Jaacks 1978, pp. 56-59; and: Wolff 1983.

30. Hans Schneider, in: Thieme-Becker, vol. 34, p. 543. Voorhout also appeared as the assessor of an estate in Amsterdam in 1682; see: Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, vol. 1, pp. 257, 260.

31. See: Appendix (1666, 18 January; 1668, 25 January; 1668, 3 July). In the second document, Van Noordt is identified as a "*konstrijk schilder*" (artistic painter). Adriana

Kosters was the only child of Dr Samuel Coster. Besides the Schouburg, Coster also founded the "*Neder-duytsch Akademie*" (The Dutch Academy) in Amsterdam.

32. See: Appendix (1670, undated). See: Groeneveld and Den Hertog 1987, pp. 113, 124 note 28. The reference to a person with a similar name appears in the *Kohier* of 1674, a register of the tax levied in 1674 on the net worth of Amsterdam's more affluent citizens: G.A.A 5028, *Thesaurieren Extraordinaris*, inv. no. 622, *Kohier van den 200^e penningh, 1674, Wijk 43*, fol. 403r. A "Jan van Oort" is listed with his wife, and assessed at sixty-five guilders, corresponding to a worth of f13,000, a comfortable level of wealth. He is almost certainly the apothecary who acquired a parcel on the Prinsengracht in 1672: G.A.A 5062, *Kwijtscheldingen*, 2R, fol. 49v, 21 January 1672. He acquired his *Poorterschap*, or citizenship, in Amsterdam in 1665: G.A.A. 5033, no. 5, *Poorterboek*, book 2, p. 561. Another namesake of the artist married a Josijntje Renaarts in Naarden in 1662. The couple came from Amsterdam: Naarden City Archive, D.T.B. 14, p. 25, dd 25 June 1662. However, the record of this marriage in the Amsterdam Archive identifies the bridegroom as a "*Schoenmaeker*", or cobbler, who came from "*Culemborgh*": G.A.A., D.T.B. 482, p. 539, dd 18 March 1662.

33. See: Giskes 1989, pp. 106-109.

34. See: Appendix (1671, 3 December, 1671, 18 December).

35. See: Appendix (1673, July, no specific date). Pieter van Hartochvelt was related to Jan van Noordt. He was a brother of Anthonij van Hartochvelt, who had married Elysabeth Corvers. Elysabeth's sister Elsie was married to Jacobus van Noordt, Jan's brother. For an outline of the genealogy of these families, see: Giskes 1989, pp. 112-115.

36. See: Appendix (1674, 16 April). First cited in: A.D. de Vries, "Biografische Aantekeningen," *Oud Holland* 3, 1885, p. 237.

37. G.A.A., D.T.B. 504, p. 210, dd 28 August 1676. See: Wijnman 1959, p. 93 note 1. Jacob van den Tempel married Maritge Cornelis Witzen (no relation to the regent family of the same name), who only monogrammed the act (i.e. she presumably had not learned to write). Jacob moved in with Maritge, who lived on the Tuinstraat, a rather modest location in the Jordaan; see: Wijnman 1959, p. 93 note 2. His profession was given as "factor" (agent); he was no longer trading independently with his own capital, but was in the employ of another. For Jan van Noordt's location in 1674, see Appendix (1674, 16 April).

38. See: Appendix (1675, 2 May 1675). First published in: Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 213-214.

39. On the Uylenburgh scandal, see: Dudok van Heel 1982, pp. 81-83.

40. Dudok van Heel 1982, p. 90 note 54.
41. G.A.A., D.T.B. 1091 p. 138, dd 23 February 1675 (Zuider Kerk). The first reference to this document was made by: Ch.M. Dozy, "Aantekeningen uit het Archief van Amsterdam," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 2, 1887, p. 221.
42. Roeloff Modeus, for example, was buried on 13 September 1664: G.A.A., D.T.B. 1047 p. 115 (Oude Kerk). For discussion of this list see: Isabella Henrietta van Eeghen, "De Amsterdamse Sint Lucasgilde in de 17de eeuw," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 61, 1969, pp. 68 note 1, 97, 98 addendum 1; and also: Oldewelt 1942. Neither author questions the list's veracity.

Chapter Two

Influences and Initiatives: the Development of Jan van Noordt's painting.

Jan van Noordt was well located for his study of the art of painting. It was around 1635 - 1645, years in which the port and trading city of Amsterdam boasted a diverse market.

Already in 1604, in his *Schilder-Boeck*, Karel van Mander conceived of the Netherlandish world of painting as comprised of many different practices. The variety and range only grew over the course of the intervening years. Even within the particular specializations of history painting and portraiture, there were numerous styles to choose from, for buyers, and for beginning artists. Amsterdam was rich in history and portrait painters, attracting them from all over the Netherlands, and from neighbouring countries as well. In this situation, an apprentice could attend to the work of a number of the prominent artists of his city, in developing his own approach and style.

The study of artists's choices and changes must consider the specific demands of the types of paintings they chose to specialize in, and the market they subsequently faced. The scientifically-accurate description of different flowers in a still-life, for example, was a different practice from the application of stock personages by a specialist in peasant tavern interiors. It would be somewhat ahistorical to ignore the demands of specific content, and instead focus heavily on formal elements, or the level of descriptiveness, in relation to an artist's creative achievement. Hence the following chapter will pay special attention to the

demands of clarity and expression in history paintings, that were less in force with respect to portraits.

A formalist bias has affected the scholarly view of Jan van Noordt. It is true that their formal aspects make some of his works particularly interesting and exciting. They can be very flamboyant, in the rhythms of mass and volume which dominate in his late works, for example, and in the strong light and colour contrasts already present in the products of around 1650. However, Van Noordt's approach, if such may be called style, can also be characterized in terms of his representation of the figure, in portraits and history paintings. He continued to refine both his aesthetic approach and his handling of figures, into the very last years of known activity. Baroque energy changed from being an overall effect, to a device for emotional expression, in his hands.

The tracing of Van Noordt's development is greatly hindered by the fact that there are relatively few signed and dated works. Only ten still bear such an inscription, and another three in the past were reported to have had it.¹ In the latter three cases, the signature was later removed during cleaning or trimming. This was probably the fate of many more currently-unsigned paintings by Van Noordt.

The first article devoted entirely to the work of Jan van Noordt, by Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, included an analysis of its formal elements.² It was the fruit of the author's comprehensive research on Dutch artists of the seventeenth century. He devoted separate

articles to lesser-known figures, including Van Noordt. Hofstede de Groot's approach to the connoisseurship of this artist's paintings was limited to broader characteristics. For example, he repeatedly cited the "warm flesh tones" or the "fiery flesh tones" of paintings he attributed to this artist (it turns out not to have been a consistent trait of his). We do not yet encounter an idea of different manifestations of Van Noordt's hand, let alone a proposed stylistic development linking and explaining these variations.

This task fell to Werner Sumowski, who assigned various paintings to the early and late periods of Van Noordt's activity. Sumowski's main interests lay elsewhere, however, and his strict formalism did not consider Van Noordt's pursuit of history painting and its particular problems. For example, he dated the *Kingston Satyr and the Peasant Family* late, presumably on the basis of its energetic movement (cat. no. 19).³ This painting lacks the vigour of the late works, however. In several of them, a moment of great pathos is heightened by sweeping movement organized through powerful forms of figures and drapery. The Kingston painting is a dark scene, the focus is diffused, with a sharp light falling on the girl, who is not even involved in the story; the action itself is vaguely presented. This work connects more to earlier paintings in which Van Noordt was still approaching problems of the interaction of figures, gestures and expressions. The lively movement he created was not entirely a reflection of his style, but more of the comic slant of the subject matter, an Aesop fable, and its traditional iconography.

The terrain of greatest debate is the early work, as is the case with the study of many artists. Usually the weakest evocations of an artist's style are placed among the artist's earlier works, though they often better deserve to be seen as coming from an artist's circle or their followers. A sounder method of dealing with the early phase is to proceed from the artist's period of learning, with the influence of a teacher, and move forward, rather than beginning with later works and moving back in time. With Van Noordt, however, the identity of his teacher has not yet been convincingly proven. Cornelis Hofstede de Groot could not suggest any names, but dismissed Rembrandt out of hand.⁴ He did not remark upon Van Noordt's penchant for Old Testament biblical themes, which did signal a specific connection to the iconography of the Rembrandt-school. The combination of iconography and style was represented by other artists as well, who may have been his teachers.

Another Amsterdammer who shared the inclination towards Old-Testament themes was Jacob Adriaensz Backer (1608 - 1651). A tradition once linked Backer to Rembrandt, but he has come to be recognized for his independent position.⁵ Backer's starting-point was not Rembrandt, but rather the work of his teacher Lambert Jacobsz (1599 - 1636).

Compared to Rembrandt, Backer generally shows greater elegance and emphasis on the nude, elements that he adopted from Flemish pictorial fashions; elements that also appear in Van Noordt's work. Sumowski has followed Bauch's proposal made in 1926, that Backer is the most likely teacher of Van Noordt. As shown in the previous chapter, Van Noordt's documented link to Backer's pupil Abraham van den Tempel, who was Lambert Jacobsz's son, confirms the stylistic evidence of the paintings.

Compelling evidence of Backer's role in the early stages of Jan van Noordt's career appears in a hitherto-unknown signed painting that recently surfaced on the New York art market. It is a depiction of *Cimon and Iphigenia* (cat. no. 24), bearing the artist's signature, and it shows key similarities to Backer's depiction of the same theme in Braunschweig. The figure to the left, for instance, is taken over almost directly from the prominent figure of Iphigenia in the foreground centre of Backer's painting, with only a change in the position of the lower legs. Even facial features such as the pudgy eyelids and broad cheeks, are the same. The Cupid in the air, and the figure of Cimon, show Backer's smooth, generalizing treatment of the figure. The pose of Cimon was taken not from Backer, but from a print after Rubens that was Backer's source as well.⁶ Significantly, Van Noordt changed many aspects of the figures and their poses in his second version of this painting, in Cherbourg (cat. no. 25). It also shows weaknesses in the modelling of the figures, that suggest that this painting was made without the aid of Backer's example, and his guidance, thus likely after Van Noordt had left the master's workshop.

His surviving signed and dated paintings do not give much guidance in tracing Jan van Noordt's early style. The earliest paintings with certain dates, the *Portrait of a Woman* last with Nystad in The Hague, and the *Cimon and Iphigenia* in Göttingen (cat. nos. 39 and 26), both in 1659, were produced when the artist was already thirty-five, and had been working on his own for some time already. The only earlier dated works are prints, not paintings. They are not original compositions, but copies after works by other artists. *The Gardens at Tivoli* is signed and dated 1645 and gives credit to Pieter Lastman (1583 -

1633), and a monogrammed print of *Goats and Sheep* of 1644 names Pieter van Laer (1599 - after 1642) as the source of its composition (cat. nos. P1 and P2). Amsterdam had at times been home to both of these artists, but neither was available to teach Van Noordt in these years; Lastman had died already in 1633, and there is no trace of Van Laer after 1642.⁷ The two early works are not accomplished, and only show that Van Noordt experimented with etching. Although a nineteenth-century sale catalogue suggests a substantial output, mentioning fifty-one etchings by a "Jan van Noort," they are likely by a later namesake. The surviving body of work gives the opposite impression, that Van Noordt's early foray into this medium ended quickly. Another print after Lastman, a *Judah and Tamar* (cat. no. PR1), has been attributed to him, but without any sound basis. The two signed prints do assert his independence at the time in a medium that he would not have learned from Backer, who is not known to have made prints; Van Noordt was also looking beyond the work of Backer. Elements of the work of Lastman would continue to be quoted by Van Noordt in paintings well into his career. He would also develop his pastoral interests further, albeit with much more emphasis on the figure than shown in the early print after Van Laer.

Jan van Noordt turned his experience at etching to advantage for his painting, when he further developed the composition of his print after Van Laer in an important and hitherto-unpublished painting. His *Shepherdess and Goatsherd in a Landscape with Animals* repeats the placement of farm animals in a landscape that is kept to the foreground, with a hilly rise cutting off the view into the distance (cat. no. 31). The overall conception of a

loosely-composed landscape with scattered figures and animals, does not recur in any known later works by Van Noordt; he seems to have abandoned Van Laer's work as a model. The attribution of this one painting hangs on a number of important aspects of Van Noordt's handling of figures and forms that compare closely to the two versions of *Cimon and Iphigenia*, and the Milwaukee *Caritas* (cat. no. 20), discussed below: he used very soft and smooth gradations of tone to suggest bulging roundness, with reflections adding further emphasis. Heads, bodies, even the landscape forms, tend towards roundedness and curvature, and a conspicuous demonstration of modelling.

A precedent for such smooth yet emphatic chiaroscuro modelling lies close at hand, in the earlier work of Jacob Backer. During the 1630s this artist began to enjoy prominence, working in a style that combined strong modelling of form with a large, monumental figure scale. He had started in a style based on the idiom of his own teacher, Lambert Jacobsz. Although Lambert was based to the north in Leeuwarden, the Frisian capital, he is best understood in relation to Amsterdam, as he had many connections to the city, especially to its Mennonite community, but also to the studio of Hendrick Uylenburgh.⁸ Lambert's figure style furthermore reflects the influence of the prominent Amsterdammer Pieter Lastman, especially in the solidity of modelling in strong chiaroscuro, an approach that had its roots in the Caravaggism of Adam Elsheimer.⁹ Backer went on to synthesize the influential new trends in the painting of his day, of the large figure scale, vulgar types, and the *chiaroscuro* of the Caravaggism current in Utrecht, and the monumental art of Rubens and his circle in Antwerp. These artists were reacting against the decorative

virtuosity of International Mannerism, that had been represented so strongly in Haarlem around the turn of the century. After 1640, a lighter tone took over in Backer's work, reflecting the rising taste for classicism among the Amsterdam patriciate and the court in The Hague, for whom he worked.¹⁰

Van Noordt's earliest paintings seem to take as model Backer's work of around 1640 and earlier. In 1640 Backer painted the *Granida and Daifilo* now in the Hermitage.¹¹ Among the paintings which can be placed in the early stage of Van Noordt's career is the *Granida and Daifilo* in Sydney, Australia (cat. no. 29). It shares much with the Backer, especially the background divided between light sky and shadowy forest, and the rounded and strongly-modelled forms of the figures. These aspects also appear in a third painting by Van Noordt, one that brings with it some evidence of a signature and a date, to testify to an early date for this style. The *Caritas* now in Milwaukee was reported as signed and dated 1645, when it appeared at auctions between 1914 and 1947. In this work Van Noordt placed his side-lighted figures against a dark background, and cast the evening sky in a light glow. The figures show rounded, plump features, similar to those in the Sydney *Granida*, and which Van Noordt would soon abandon in favour of a more elegant elongation. The work has been cut down, but older illustrations show that the group of figures was once middle-scale, placed within a larger picture plane. The trimming changed this relation, and unfortunately also excised the inscription, so that this work cannot be counted among the currently signed and dated paintings. Nonetheless, it gives a reference-point for the dating of the earliest paintings produced independently by Van Noordt. He

made them in the years before 1645, when he was twenty-one. This was an age when most artists were already working on their own, and Van Noordt likely had his training well behind him as well.¹²

Van Noordt chose the same themes as Backer and took over some compositional aspects from his paintings, but moved towards a smaller figure scale. The Cherbourg *Cimon and Iphigenia* (cat. no. 25) shows this transformation of Backer's idiom. Indeed, it so suggested the style of Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621 - 1674), that a previous owner had this better-known artist's signature added, and for a time the painting passed under this identification. The stocky rounded figures, and their medium scale relative to the picture plane, more closely approach the Rembrandtesque style of Van den Eeckhout. It was re-attributed to Van Noordt on the basis of the close connection to the 1659 version of the same theme by Van Noordt in Göttingen. Van Noordt's hand can also be distinguished in the smooth and fluid handling of paint, which contrasts with the dry and crisp style of Van den Eeckhout.

The *Crucifixion* in Avignon is a second Van Noordt bearing a false Gerbrand van den Eeckhout signature (cat. no. 13). Despite Bruyn's judgement in favour of its inscription, the figure style of this work, especially the emphatic roundness of contour and modelling, tends much more towards Van Noordt than Van den Eeckhout.¹³ Van Noordt applied himself to multi-figured compositions, taking up an approach of Van den Eeckhout's master Rembrandt. The influence of Rembrandt's multi-figured compositions is most

explicitly reflected in another of Van Noordt's paintings, the *John the Baptist Preaching* that appeared at a sale in 1993 (cat. no. 9). Van Noordt's clustered grouping of the crowd, and his figure of the Baptist were drawn from Rembrandt's *grisaille* painting of the same theme, of ca. 1634, in Berlin (ill. 1).¹⁴

This interest in Rembrandt's work was likely awakened by a third person, namely Rembrandt's pupil Govert Flinck. Flinck continued to work in the style of Rembrandt, into the 1640s. In 1647 Flinck produced a painting that compares in many aspects to Van Noordt's Avignon *Crucifixion*. A painting by him depicting the same theme, in the museum in Basel, shows the same asymmetry of composition, and the same scattering of lighted figures in the bottom half of the composition.¹⁵ Compared to Rembrandt in the same period, both of these artists lean towards the smooth and thin modelling, and the fluid brushwork, of Backer. They also both create a lively movement in their scenes, using curved edges to create sinuous undulating lines, where Rembrandt favoured an emphasis on the volume and weight of forms.

Van Noordt's earliest period was affected by two of the most prominent artists in Amsterdam, Jacob Backer and Rembrandt. He followed their specializations, of history and portrait painting. Backer was clearly involved in the training of the young artist, most evident in the smoothed treatment of the nude. Backer's role ended before 1644, when Van Noordt started to show a measure of independence. His presentation of figures

absorbed the influence of Rembrandt, especially in its scale, which was smaller than that of Backer.

The stylistic identity of the early Van Noordt: distinguishing a second artist

Our conception of Jan van Noordt's early style had until recently been misled by an anomalous painting, *The Disobedient Prophet* in Gavne (cat. no. R9). It bears a signature and a date of 1653, and seems to demonstrate a hesitant and unpractised hand, in comparison with the contemporary and later works by Van Noordt. The artist allowed the landscape to dominate the scene, and the figures in the centre show a curiously finicky, timid handling, with pointed and fluttering contours that make little sense in relation to form, and generate almost no effect of volume through chiaroscuro modelling. These aspects reappear in a hitherto-unpublished *Peasant Interior*, last with a London dealer, bearing a signature and a date of 1660 (cat. no. R37). By this time the artist had for certain developed a smooth and fluid style on the model of Jacob Backer. These works can thus be excluded from the *oeuvre* of the Amsterdam painter. They were evidently made by a second, unknown Jan van Noort. A third and a fourth painting, a *Shepherds and Shepherdesses at a Fountain* in Rottenburg, and a *Landscape with Shepherd and Shepherdess* in The Hague, can be grouped with the other two, as they also show the same figure style and signature, only no date (cat. nos. R38 and R39). The testimony of style leads us to reconsider the evidence of the signatures: the signatures of both of these pictures are in block letters, unlike the calligraphic form preferred by the Amsterdam artist

born in 1623/4, which appeared already in a codicil deposited in Leiden in 1646, and on the Cherbourg painting of 1649. Furthermore, three out of four times, the last name is spelled without a "d". A small *oeuvre* can thus be given to a Jan van Noort, known to have been active between 1653 and 1660.

The Refinement of Style: 1650 - 1660

The signed and dated *Cimon and Iphigenia* in Göttingen is a benchmark for the development of his style in the period starting around 1650 and ending in 1660 (cat. no. 26). It is a reworking of its predecessor in Cherbourg, of the same theme, done around fifteen years earlier (cat. no. 25). The composition is still recognizable, with Iphigenia and her attendants sprawled on the ground to the left, in front of a fountain, and Cimon perched on his crook, in the upper right quadrant. The major changes affect the poses of Iphigenia and her attendants: the artist adapted the pose of the girl to the left, for the figure of Iphigenia herself, who now embodies more of a sensual nude display in the centre foreground. Equally importantly, the artist has greatly increased the concentration of the work as a whole on her figure. By abandoning the lighted background and casting a strong and focused light on Iphigenia, Van Noordt isolated her against the surrounding darkness. The distribution of areas of light of the earlier works, with its rhythmic effect, has been abandoned, in favour of a greater focus. The figure of Cimon, previously prominent as a second emphasis in the Cherbourg picture, now almost disappears into the trees behind

him, conceding importance to the figure of Iphigenia. Lastly, the figure scale has increased, coming closer to that typical of Backer.

The 1659 picture shows an overall fluidity of brush-work that is only partially evident in its predecessor. In the earlier version in Cherbourg, Van Noordt blocked in some areas evenly, with a slow and careful hand, in the highlights of the white and red fabric under Iphigenia and her friends, and especially in the brown and red garments worn by Cimon. For forms of a soft consistency, such as the ground, flesh, and the sky, he generally resorted to a blotchy, unmodulated application.

One further example remains, to illuminate the transition from the Cherbourg to the Göttingen depictions of *Cimon and Iphigenia*, from the 1640s to 1659. In 1985 Van Noordt's *Cloelia Crossing the Tiber* was purchased in Paris for the Louvre (cat. no. 21). Its composition features a group of female figures, most of them nude, arranged across the horizontal length and drawn in a middle scale. One nude figure in the foreground centre receives a great deal of focus, caught in a strong beam of light, and set against a darker background of shadowy figures behind her, which are silhouetted against an evening glow. This figure serves to anchor the somewhat scattered composition, and so presages the role of Iphigenia in the Göttingen picture. The very softly glazed depiction of flesh and the loose linear brush strokes enlivening the drapery passages harken back to the works of the 1640s, and mark the artist's distinctive approach.

The second painting dated to 1659 is the Nystad *Portrait of a Woman* (cat. no. 39). Some of the traits just cited in relation to the Göttingen *Cimon and Iphigenia* appear here as well. The compositions of a history painting and a portrait are perhaps problematic to compare, but it is notable that the portrait also shows a rather large figure scale, so that the head and shoulders of the sitter fill its space. Other qualities are more straightforward to relate. For example, the portrait takes up a similar effect of strong light, by which the sitter is isolated against the background, much like Iphigenia in the Göttingen picture. The impact of this effect is complemented by the drama of movement in the background, in fluttering drapery and billowing clouds. This energy is only carried through into the sitter in a few details, such as the curving contours of her folded hands. For the rest, she is attired in straight and stiff conservative costume, and exudes almost grandmotherly charm in her puffy features and wan smile, even in her small eyes, so that as a result there is disjunction between her and the grander aspirations of the background. Such disparities would soon be resolved by the artist, by enlivening the figure and its costume in his portraits of only a few years later, suggesting that the work of 1659 was one of his earliest in this category.

Less imposing and ambitious are two portraits that can be placed prior to 1659. They are both of children, a *Portrait of a Boy* in Johannesburg and a *Portrait of a Girl* in Chatsworth (cat. nos. 45 and 46). Both of them incorporate framing motifs: a moulded-wood oval for the boy and a fabric curtain for the girl. She seems to jut out from her background. This informality gives the impression that the image is simply a genre

depiction of a child, and it is possible that this work is not a portrait, but a *tronie*, or character head. There is less doubt about the Johannesburg picture, where the artist chose a formal pose, and carefully executed the entire picture in fluid and smooth brush strokes, in contrast to the occasionally agitated facture in the hair and drapery of the picture in Chatsworth. The strong lighting catches broad areas of the head, collar and the shoulder, an effect strongly reminiscent of Jacob Backer's portraiture. A direct comparison would be with Backer's *Portrait of a Boy* of 1634 in the Mauritshuis (ill. 2).¹⁶ It seems that Van Noordt began to paint portraits in the late 1650s, after concentrating on painting history and genre, and that here too he looked to the model of Backer.

Consolidation of an independent style: 1660 - 1670

In his history paintings after 1659 Jan van Noordt became more self-assured and ambitious, even more so than with the portraits. Soon after the Göttingen picture, he painted the large *Susanna and the Elders* in Leipzig, a composition built up around a just-under-life-size figure of Susanna, engaged in action and emotion (cat. no. 7). Much as in the contemporary *Cimon and Iphigenia* in Göttingen, the nude figure is bathed in light that falls mainly onto the foreground, and is thus strongly isolated against an area of the background cast in shadow. Susanna's form is strongly modelled in chiaroscuro, especially her arms and torso, so that she projects a massive presence. At the same time, the artist's handling of details shows him further refining his approach to light, casting her face in half-shadow and describing its forms and features with reflections. He did much the same

to the left hand, capturing the long shadow of her thumb, for instance. Several still-life objects to the left side are also caught in the same light, and their roundness is emphasized with bright, modulated reflections, especially in the metallic pitcher and bowl, and the glass jug, and above them the fruit behind the pediment, and in the stone bowl. Jan van Noordt would continue to include virtuoso details such as plumply-rounded fruit, in paintings throughout his career.

One consequence of the sharp isolation of Susanna's figure in the Leipzig painting is the separation from the elders behind her. It would be going too far to suggest that Van Noordt had a rhetorical device of alienation in mind. Susanna seems almost to be reacting to something other than the address of the elders, who are cast in shadow and placed off to the right side, and seem almost to be in another space. In another painting of the same time, the Kingston *Massacre of the Innocents*, light also sets off the foreground (cat. no. 12). The artist filled this space with more figures, but continued to experiment with strong patches of light and shadow, so that some of the cohesion is lost. This effect may also be due in part to the increased darkness of the glazed areas of semi-transparent paint in the shadow areas, which would have grown more transparent, and hence darker, in the more than three hundred years since they were painted. There are many figures placed in the middle ground, soldiers and mothers engaged in struggle, that are now so dark as to be barely visible, but were surely originally meant to be seen quite clearly.

The most obvious intention of the artist in the *Kingston Massacre of the Innocents* was an overall impression of powerful and vibrant movement. A foretaste appeared in the Leipzig *Susanna*, in the flowing and twisting highlights of the satiny red fabric on which Susanna is perched, and additionally in her active pose. In the *Massacre*, the same elements are pushed further, partly because the theme calls for mass violence. It does, admittedly, not necessarily call for so much shimmering satin, which seems to have been included for the drama of its sinuous reflections. Loose and twisting strokes of light opaque colour set off the bright highlights, in long lines, along the ridges of its folds. Similar treatment of fabric marks almost all of Van Noordt's paintings from this time on. This trait characterizes the style of his possible teacher Backer, and of Backer's student Abraham van den Tempel, whose long-term social contact with Van Noordt has been documented.

The signed and dated *Granida and Daifilo* of 1663 shows how a larger figure scale began to bring clarity of action and expression to Van Noordt's history paintings (cat. no. 30). Influenced by the later depictions of the theme by Backer, now in Harlingen and Kingston, Van Noordt placed his players in the foreground, eliminating the depth evident in the version in Sydney, not only with respect to the figures, but also the background.¹⁷ He no longer includes a vista into distant space, an important element in his earlier pictures, which he took over from Lambert Jacobsz and Pieter Lastman. With this change Van Noordt brought his image of Granida and Daifilo's first encounter closer to those produced in the 1640s by Jacob Backer. The version by Backer in Kingston, for example, reduces the scene to three-quarter-length figures in the immediate foreground, with some

trees and foliage immediately behind them (ill. 3). In the 1660s, some twenty years after Backer painted his interpretation, Van Noordt was swayed into adopting a similar approach to composition and space in his history paintings. On one occasion he also applied a figure scale so large that the figures were cut off by the bottom edge, in a Caravaggesque manner, as in the now-lost *Sine Libero et Ceres friget Venus* (cat. no. 18), also painted around 1663. Generally, however, he continued to depict figures in full length, in his history paintings.

In his pictures of before 1663, the movement and drama that Van Noordt had evoked was distributed in accents and passages throughout the composition. For example, in the two versions of *Pretioze and Don Jan* (cat. nos. 27, 28), the two main figures are self-contained episodes. *Pretioze* presents sweeping and elegant lines of reflection in the satin fabric of her gown, a busy pattern of swirls in the forward ruffled sleeve, complemented by a lighter wave in her long blond hair. Some stronger lines are established by the band across her bosom, her arms on her lap, and the strongly-lighted bottom edge of her gown set against the shadow below it. With *Don Jan*, the elegantly drooping hands in front of his black jacket, his high hat, and his pointed shoes, set up a rhythmic back-and-forth of diagonals. Beyond these two main foci, the eye is caught by the lighted rectangle of the unfurled letter in the bottom left, and the apple beside it, also the shadowy form of *Majombe*, and lastly by various figures in the background: a young Moorish attendant with a falcon and hunting dogs, and some more gypsies. The two clusters of trees dividing the sky above help to bind these many aspects together into a whole, but not very strongly;

the overall impression is still somewhat diffuse. The strongest unifying device is the tension between the faces of Pretioze and Don Jan created by their exchange of glances. This imaginary line also rhetorically underlines the significance of the chosen moment in the story, of their falling-in-love. This was probably the patron's main interest as well.

The 1663 *Granida and Daifilo* (cat. no. 30) is part of Jan van Noordt's gradual transition to the organization of lines and points of emphasis into larger, sweeping movement in his compositions. It dominates a number of multi-figured paintings that fall in the period between this work and the Amsterdam *Scipio*, of 1672 (cat. no. 23). Around 1667 he composed the complex, tumultuous *Juno* in Braunschweig (cat. no. 14). The goddess's large, life-size figure anchors the composition to the left of centre, while the other figures conform to sweeping arcs that reflect her pose and the position of her limbs and torso. This device is especially applied to the two nymphs, whose poses echo the lines of her arms. With such interrelationships, Van Noordt was working towards a greater overall effect; he was in his own way approaching the grandeur of the Flemish Baroque. This aspiration is spelled out literally in the scale of the *Juno*, which is nearly three metres across. We know of no other works by Van Noordt of such a scale, and it is possible that it was dictated by an unusual commission from a courtly patron.

Around 1667 - 1669 he applied some of the same effects to his usual easel-painting scale again, in the *Venus and the Three Graces* in The Hague (cat. no. 16). Here, too, the pose of the central figure of Venus establishes a motion that is carried through in the other

figures and elements of the setting. The arch in the middle ground continues the circular sweep starting at the bottom left corner and passing through the three allegorical figures of Grace at bottom centre and to the right side. The composition seems to have been rather spontaneously arranged, in contrast to the huge *Juno*, for which he made a preparatory drawing now in Bremen (cat. no. D7). Here, he produced some unusually awkward, sometimes confusing, poses and placements. The artist allowed himself the liberty of creating a frenzied energy, that evidently was meant to conjure up the pagan imagination of antiquity.

By the second half of the 1660s, Van Noordt began to organize this energy to produce a greater overall cohesion. An extreme of concentration and movement is achieved by the late *Susanna and the Elders* in Winterthur (cat. no. 8). The emphatically-lighted body of Susanna arches to the left, and the curve of this brightly-lit form, set against a dark background of architecture and sky, dominates the entire picture. This interpretation was preceded by two, differing, interpretations of exactly the same theme, and the comparison shows how forcefully Van Noordt constructed his effect of overall movement. The Utrecht version (cat. no. 6) features a Susanna who sits upright and leans a little away from the elders, who themselves form a separate cluster and centre of attention, to the upper right. With the picture in Leipzig (cat. no. 7), the large and brilliantly-lit figure of Susanna places much more weight at the centre, but it competes against the figures of the elders, and distracting details such as the delightful still-life, with scissors and flask, on the ground. In the final version, Susanna's figure dominates even more, its scale increased to

nearly fill the frame. The presence of the elders is limited to a shadowy pair of heads to the upper right. The statue of Cupid in the background appears above Susanna's form, and completes its sinuous line. The sweep of her legs is echoed in the red drapery at the bottom right, while the curve of her torso is repeated in the white sash which is draped over her knees. By these changes and refinements her action of turning away from the elders is amplified, to become a grand gesture of revulsion in the face of their immoral entreaty and threats.

These are not merely stylistic changes. They contribute to the function of the image as a history painting, subjugating the elements of the picture to the expression borne out in Susanna's pose. Potentially-distracting elements that only function to set the scene, but have no direct bearing on the event taking place, have been reduced. One result is that there is no longer any evidence of *verscheidenheit* (variety), the quality that Karel van Mander recommended for history paintings, in his *Schilder-boeck*.¹⁸ It is found in Van Noordt's earlier paintings, and can be associated with the influence of the work of Pieter Lastman.

Lastman is perhaps the artist who most fulfilled Van Mander's theoretical proposition for history paintings. An overall effect of variety (*copia et varietas*) was to be produced by incorporating landscape, a variety of figures, architecture, and ancient costume, in a scene where a significant event was taking place.¹⁹ The artist was left with a very difficult problem of organizing all these elements while maintaining an overall focus on the main

action. Virtuosity and complexity were required, tendencies that reflect the Mannerist roots of Van Mander, and his colleague Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem. In his *Lof der Schilder-konst*, Van Mander recommended what Miedema has termed a "market stall" composition of elements, rising through depth, tilted up in order to provide a maximum of "copia et varietas". Lastman's response to this conceit was to create groupings with kneeling figures in front, and mounted figures in the back. Furthermore he gave these groups a pyramidal shape, giving stability, and framing the action at hand, in the midst of so many other elements.²⁰ Pyramid groupings are highly characteristic of his works; the pinnacle is often formed by a mounted rider, or a similarly-elevated figure, as in his *Coriolanus and the Roman Women* in Dublin.²¹ This device was taken over by Rembrandt in a few paintings in which he followed Lastman rather closely, for example the *Baptism of the Eunuch* in Utrecht (Corpus A5), after Lastman's painting in Karlsruhe.²² So it also appeared in some works by Van Noordt, most significantly in his *Triumph of David* and the *Massacre of the Innocents* (cat. nos. 4 and 12), linked to works by Jan Tegnagel and Lastman. It was a curious solution that drew attention to itself, and its own artificiality, and furthermore did not suit the action and emotion of many historical themes. Like Rembrandt, Van Noordt moved in the direction of greater compositional simplicity, with paintings such as the Winterthur *Susanna and the Elders*. More independently, he resorted to creating broad overall movement, to unify his more complex compositions.

The parallel in portraiture: 1660 - 1670

A parallel development can be traced in Van Noordt's portraiture over the course of the 1660s. For the second signed and dated portrait by Van Noordt, the three-quarter length of *Dionijs Wijnands* in the Rijksmuseum, Backer again supplied the model (cat. no. 44). In the lightly-engaged pose, warm expression and in the restrained choice of colour, Van Noordt seemed to be following the lead of Jacob Backer's *Portrait of a Man* in Kassel (ill. 4).²³ The end result was the product of intense study, for which we still have evidence. The Rijksmuseum also owns a small bust-length study (cat. no. 43), painted on copper, for this portrait, which shows considerable movement, and a free touch, and likely functioned as a life study from which the sitter's likeness was taken. It does not suggest the level of restraint which the artist elected to use in the final portrait. This overall effect does characterize a drawn portrait of Wijnands which was auctioned in the 1930s, and which likely served to plan the composition (cat. no. D12).

Despite his efforts to conform to the demand for finish and formality, by which luxury and status could be conveyed, Van Noordt apparently did not attract a large market for male portraits. The only surviving portraits dating later than that of Wijnands are of women or children. The absence of male sitters cannot be explained in terms of extreme demands among patrician males for formality in their portraits, as they continued to patronize Nicolaes Maes (1634 - 1693), whose tone in his portraits was generally spirited and light. Another male portrait, that of the minister *Petrus Proëlius* (known only through a print), which can be dated to around 1661 on the basis of the inscription, shows considerable animation, even in the arrangement of the sitter's costume and pose (cat. no. Copy 2).

Jan van Noordt enjoyed some of his greatest successes in applying his style to portraits of children. After the *Dionijs Wijnands* of 1664, the next dated portrait is the *Portrait of a Young Man and his Dog* in Lyon, of 1665 (cat. 47). The brilliant effect of this work is due partly to the modelling. The sitter's features have been treated broadly and smoothly, with the masterly suggestion of softness of flesh that was particular to Van Noordt. Within the artist's *oeuvre* this is perhaps the most lavish image, presenting a modulated build-up of paint applied even in the costume and the background. More important is the focus that the artist brought to bear on his sitter. Against a light and enlivened background of sky and landscape to the left, the artist framed him with the dark form of a large column swathed in deep red drapery. The sitter himself is brightly lit (the effect borders on severe), and powerfully modelled, against a darker and flatter background. He casts an inky-black shadow to the bottom right, and this dark tone also appears in the deeper folds of the mantle he has draped over his arm. Sweeping movement also plays a role, especially within the figure, chiefly in the dramatic folds and edges of fabric along the arms. These lines are echoed and continued in the drapery behind him. This movement complements the asymmetrical and dynamic pose, with the hat held off to the side, the other hand on the hip, and one foot positioned forward of the other. By this combination of devices and refinements, the artist brought a vibrant power to his image of youth.

In the other portraits of children, and those of women, the artist pursued a similar force of presentation. Examples from the same period include the two paintings of *A Boy with a Falcon* in the Wallace Collection (cat. nos. 48, 49). In the smaller of the two, a large

plumed hat, slashed sleeves, and leather straps at the waist, contribute to the richer effect. The wan smile and the calm pose, with one hand raised to hold a falcon, the other lowered to hold a leash, combine with the sparse landscape background to create an atmosphere of gentle restraint, and great charm. In the second painting in the same collection, greater movement gives reason to date it a little later, in parallel with the development of the history paintings.

The *Portrait of Two Sisters and a Brother* in Zeist dates to around the same time, ca. 1667 (cat. no. 53). Three young and smiling sitters are set against a rich background of architecture and trees and a sky filled with clouds lit sharply by a setting sun. The display is completed by their lavish costumes, whose folds and details provide sweeping movement and scattered highlights. The two younger siblings are actively engaged: the girl embraces a viola and the boy reaches out to hold a falcon. Their presentation supplies vibrant testimony to the energy of youth.

Van Noordt's late approach to movement is more strongly in evidence in the large-scale *Family Portrait* in Dunkerque (cat. no. 56). He took more obvious stylistic liberties in arranging gestures and drapery along larger, sweeping lines. Especially the bright blue drapery covering the mother's chair functions to strategically continue the contours of her figure, while the bright red mantle of the father carries through a diagonal from the bottom right corner, and closes off the top right corner. The many elements, and the spirited poses, are organized to yield a weighty, dynamic overall effect. A comparable single-

figured picture is his *Portrait of a Woman with a London dealer* (cat. no. 42). Because of his ripe, full forms, hard light, and containment of movement, Van Noordt was able to retain a distinctive seriousness, which also characterizes his late histories.

Both of Van Noordt's main specializations, history painting and portraiture, were combined in the *portrait historié*. In such pictures, sitters had themselves included in the depiction of an historical scene, sometimes even as the main characters. Usually, the theme was well-known, such as *The Magnanimity of Scipio*. Instead of the idealized types reserved for history painting, one encounters the individual features of the members of a complete, bourgeois family. The only certain example of this genre in the oeuvre of Jan van Noordt is a painting in Bordeaux, representing *The Widow of Elisha's Servant Imploring the Prophet for Aid* (cat. no. 54). This painting was virtually transformed into a portrait, when it was cut down substantially on the left side, removing much of the figure of the prophet Elisha. What remains are the full-length portraits, of a woman and two boys, presumably a widow and her two sons, acting out the story of II Kings 4:1. The woman addresses the now-absent prophet with an anxious gaze and passive gesture for help, holding her open and empty hand beside her. Her son to her right clasps his hands prayerfully, and leans forward, forming a curve that starts with dog below, and continues through the figure of his mother, towards where Elisha stood watching, at the upper left. It continued through the arm that is now covered, which had been reaching out towards the widow. Compared to the Lyon *Portrait of a Young Man and his Dog*, the artist has even more thoroughly arranged the background to complement the movement and forms

of the foreground figures, with smoothly-abstracted landscape, and figures in a small scale, all conforming to the diagonal terminating at the woman's head. The shadowy rectangular form of a barn placed directly behind her serves, with her black veil, to set off her brightly-lit visage and its calm but pleading expression. Even the vertical reflections in her satiny dress are oriented towards this focus of the composition. The artist emphasized the woman's role, in accordance with the narrative demands of the *portrait historié*. The achievement of concentration places this work around 1670. It shares with the Winterthur *Susanna* a similar handling of the figure, especially in the boy to the right: finished, smooth, with broad and powerful forms. It likely precedes the late works of the 1670s, with their more extreme and varied effects.

The stylistic context for Van Noordt's later paintings

In developing a greater dynamism in his portraiture, Van Noordt conformed to a "fashionable" style cultivated among Amsterdam's patrician patrons. It appears in portraits, and in paintings of other subjects by the prominent artists in Amsterdam who catered to this social class. Around 1660, the turning-point for Van Noordt, the most successful of these painters were Bol and Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613 - 1670). Flinck had also been very prominent in the years up to his death in 1660. Flinck is most closely linked to Jan van Noordt, not only on account of a shared technical approach to drawing, but also because of their mutual tie, by different routes, to Jacob Backer. In the 1620s, (their choice partly motivated by a shared Mennonite faith) Flinck had gone with Backer to train

with Lambert Jacobsz in Leeuwarden. He left to work under Rembrandt, but apparently maintained contact with Backer, who also moved to Amsterdam, by the evidence of the transformation of his style once he struck out on his own.

Backer seems to have introduced to Amsterdam a dynamic style of figure painting over the course of the 1640s, the last decade of his career. The earliest sign of this change in his work is the *Bacchus and Ariadne* last in London, of 1643 (ill. 5).²⁴ Although the figures take rather calm poses, the composition is enlivened by strong diagonals, and the dramatic sinuous lines of bright reflections in the folds of the satiny drapery. The same is true of the better-known *Amaryllis Crowning Mirtillo* formerly in Vienna, of 1646 (ill. 6).²⁵ With the later *Venus, Adonis and Cupid* and *Vertumnus and Pomona*, the figures themselves take on more active poses (ills. 7 and 8).²⁶ Because of their large scale, they engage the whole picture surface in motion. Dating to around 1650, just before his death, these pictures were the final products of a gradual assimilation of the style of the great Flemish masters, especially the robust idiom of Rubens, into an existing aesthetic based on his teacher Lambert Jacobsz and his influential contemporary Rembrandt.

Backer was still alive when Flinck began to adopt an elegantly enlivened style for some of his paintings. The transition is marked by paintings dating towards the end of the 1640s, such as his *Diana* in Kimberley, and his *Venus and Cupid* in Tel Aviv, and also by his pendant portraits of a couple in Raleigh, dating to 1646.²⁷ The effect of movement, generated primarily in sweeping curves of drapery folds, become more dramatic, as seen in

the *Bathsheba asks David to name Solomon as his Successor* of 1651 in Dublin, and reached extremes in paintings such as *Jacob receives the Bloodied Coat of Joseph* of 1655 in Helsinki.²⁸ By the time of his grand work for the City Hall, the *Solomon asks God for Wisdom* of 1658, Flinck was also employing the dramatic fall of light, forceful poses, and clusters of figures arranged in sweeping arcs, to enhance the energy of his composition.²⁹ While it has been suggested that members of the Town Council exercised decisive influence on the style of the cycle of paintings for this most prestigious public building, in favour of the courtly Flemish Baroque, it is apparent that Flinck and Backer had already established a local interpretation on their own. Only specifically in the case of Ferdinand Bol was an artist pressured to adopt the new style. This occurred when he became the favoured candidate for the remaining City Hall paintings, after 1660.³⁰ Flinck had fallen prey to illness in that year and died at the young age of 44. He left the City Hall cycle unfinished, and he also left a vacuum in the market for his style.

Another competitor for the City Hall paintings was Jan Lievens. The talented collaborator of Rembrandt in the 1620s subsequently forged a career, with mixed success, in London, Antwerp and the Hague. Lievens had arrived at his own interpretation of the Flemish idiom, during his stay in Antwerp, and his time in London, where he studied the work of Anthony van Dyck in particular. Largely because of his experience and success abroad, Lievens enjoyed the respect of his Dutch peers, and was also selected to paint part of the *Oranjezaal* in the Huis ten Bosch, the residence of the House of Orange near The Hague. In his *Five Muses*, done in 1650 for the commission, Lievens' choice of a dynamic style

can indeed be linked to courtly tastes, which at that time began to lean towards the Fleming Jacob Jordaens.³¹ The advisors to Amalia van Solms for the *Oranjezaal*, Jacob van Campen and Constantijn Huygens, began to aspire to the grand and international allure of Rubens and his countrymen.³² Up until then they had favoured the classicizing late style of Gerrit van Honthorst.

At the same time, a flamboyant style became a new option for portraiture in Amsterdam. It did not take over, however. Consistent with the choice that people exercised in dress, many sitters preferred greater restraint, and there arose a range from conservative to flashy. Often the age and marital status of the sitter played a role in the choice of style, with older and married persons typically opting for less movement, along with a simple, black costume. The same was true of strict religious adherents of various persuasions including Mennonites, Calvinists and Jews. The style introduced by Flinck and others was evidently suspected as being worldly, liberal, and self-aggrandizing, with good reason.

The dynamic style for portraits realized its most productive interpreter in the Rembrandt pupil Nicolaes Maes. Born in 1634 in Dordrecht, Maes belonged to a generation of Amsterdam painters younger than Van Noordt. After his tutelage with Rembrandt in the 1650s, he began already in the following decade to concentrate on portraiture, and he altered his style as well.³³ A *Portrait of Two Brothers as Hunters*, of 1661 depicts two striding boys in hunting costume *à l'antique* accompanied by frisky dogs. The drapery and poses enliven the picture surface with sweeping lines and flowing undulating curves.³⁴ The

solid forms and plain surfaces of the Rembrandtesque histories and genre scenes have disappeared. The new effect is at first restricted to the centre of the composition. It becomes more comprehensive in a painting of 1664, the *Portrait of a Boy as a Hunter*, and an adaptation of around the same time, the *Portrait of a Boy as Cupid*, and is tempered with elegant restraint in the *Portrait of a Young Woman* of the following year.³⁵ The Dordrecht native was therefore running parallel to Jan van Noordt, in developing his painting style along the lines of the latest work of the recently-deceased Flinck.

Maes was joined by several other prominent portrait and history painters. The phenomenally productive and skilful portraitist Bartholomeus van der Helst began his career by emulating Rembrandt, then Backer, and in the 1650s took up a flamboyant style in portraits, for example in his *Portrait of Abraham del Court and Maria de Keerssegieter* of 1654 in Rotterdam.³⁶ The sheer number of such fashionable portraits by Maes and Van der Helst attest to the acute pressure of demand especially from the elite of Amsterdam. Van Noordt's variation on this fashion was thus oriented towards a ready market, in the years between 1660 and 1670.

The pinnacle of expression and impact: 1670 - 1676

In the last few years of his career, Van Noordt began to develop a rough and unfinished manner. The earliest manifestation of this direction is the Amsterdam *Magnanimity of Scipio* (cat. no. 23), a work that features smoothness and finish in some areas, but a

conspicuous lack of these qualities in other parts. The foreground figures of Scipio, Allucius and his bride are handled rather lavishly and intensely, in the costume, the figure modelling, and the facial expressions. With great assuredness the artist reproduced the reflective surfaces of the polished metal objects at Scipio's feet. The dog on the steps, in the foreground right, exhibits virtuoso handling, with deft brush strokes at once functioning to suggest surface, volume, and to evoke the animal's lively agility. The beautiful calligraphic signature assures the viewer that the artist considered his work to be finished. Thus he made a deliberate choice of a sketchy technique for the figures and architecture in the background. Not far behind the betrothed bride of Allucius stands her father, cast in shadow, sparsely indicated in dark contours and some light and dark strokes. Quick, sweeping strokes indicate the upper body of a mounted rider, appearing above Allucius. At the same time, the brutal-looking pan-faced soldier in the centre displays rather careful description. The varying finish in this scene conforms to the emphasis on significant figures, and effects of aerial perspective. The rougher handling in specific areas does not fully foreshadow the much more dramatic lapses of finish in some of the works that can be dated soon after 1672.

The earliest of several works showing this late development is a now-lost version of *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah* (cat. no. 3), known only through a rather poor reproduction. Van Noordt reserved a loose and direct handling for especially the figure of the field labourer, who stands to the left. He delineated the highlighted folds of the white shirt in quick strokes of light colour. Similar loose dabs, evidently of fluid, thinned white

paint, appear in the lit area of foreground earth, and in the lighted clouds above the group. The dark areas of drapery folds consist of directly-brushed lines of very dark colour. The parts of his torso, legs, and face, and other arm, that fall in shadow, show a single blackish tone. It was not subsequently modulated, or built up with indications of reflected light, as one might expect in such a prominent figure. There even survives a preparatory drawing for this figure (cat. no. D1); the final version is not much more elaborate. More lavish treatment was bestowed, in contrast, on the flesh and drapery of the concubine in the centre foreground. Perhaps the contrast between the different effects was intended to emphasize rhetorically the simple virtue of the swarthy and rustic field-labourer. With the group across from him, the focus is placed on the expression and gesture of need. One large sweeping curve travels through the woman's body, towards the hand of the Levite, open and swept back, in the same gesture of submission as made by the widow to Elisha in the Bordeaux picture. A second line through her body points towards his face, as do lines travelling through his arm and over the back of the donkey behind him. His own gaze across to the left, is echoed by the angle of his turban, and, comically, by the ears of the donkey. The folds of drapery are carefully aligned along these directions of movement, to a powerful effect. The somewhat turbulent effect underscores the emotion of the Levite, whose desperation is clearly expressed in his raised eyebrows and grimacing mouth.

In at least two other paintings, Jan van Noordt carried through his use of movement and of unfinished, disintegrated form, to convey desperate emotion. The *Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert* in Kingston presents Sarah's maid and her son in dire predicament (cat. no. 1).

Hagar's anxiety, expressed in her troubled features, is played up in the agitated movement of her drapery and the wings of the rescuing angel above her. The tension is increased by the striking contrast of the light and opaque colours of the left half, with the sketchy and dark right half. There, Ishmael lies on the ground, near death; the darkness also suggests his sinister state. Emotion is similarly emphasized in the *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt in Milwaukee*, where several separate dramas fill the width of the horizontal frame (cat. no. 2). Joseph sits off to the right side, while to his left three groups of supplicants approach him. Closest to him, a woman gestures towards two infants lying on the ground, whom she apparently offers in exchange for food. In the foreground to the left, a father leads his son towards Joseph, with the same grim intention; the boy is, however, oblivious, and stares naively towards the viewer. At the far left stand figures who are even more helpless, having nothing to offer, and being forced to sell themselves into slavery. They, the worst-off, are also painted in the roughest manner, for the most part in directly-brushed lines of underdrawing, and broadly-brushed highlights. The tie between emotional state and sparse build-up is not comprehensive, however. This technique was also applied to the group of two men at a table in the centre background, apparently negotiating the sale of grain for money. The head of the seated man, apparently the seller, provides a uniquely grotesque accent to the drama taking place.

The loose handling lends an element of wildness to the scene, which is heightened by the patchy effect of broad and direct strokes of colour in the dress of Joseph, the woman to his left, and the man and the boy in the foreground. The composition presents staccato

rhythms, also in the puffy forms of clouds in the sky. In contrast, the Kingston *Hagar* maintains the sweeping movement that was part of the development of Van Noordt's work through the 1660s. The difference is partly explained by iconographic tradition of the theme. As a small- and many-figured work, the Joseph scene follows a tradition represented by paintings by Pieter Lastman and Claes Cornelisz Moyaert.³⁷ Van Noordt laid in his composition and figures rather freely, resulting in some odd passages, such as the oversized foot of the father in the foreground. His conception of the event was thus also independent of his models; he did not, for example, take over the pyramidal compositional scheme of Lastman and Moyaert. Whereas they created the effect of commotion through clusters of busy figures, Van Noordt experimented with bold effects of brush work, in patches of colour and in sketchy lines. As such, it is consistent with the expressive aim of the late depictions of *Hagar* and *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah* (cat. nos. 1 and 3).

A late date of around 1675 can be assigned to the Milwaukee *Joseph Selling Grain* on the basis of a comparison to a signed and dated genre painting of that year, the *Boy with a Dog and a Falcon* (cat. no. 38). There, the rhythmic pattern of patches also appears, in the hat, the dog, the pillow, and in the background trees and sky. In the figure of the boy, this effect can be seen in the hair, and in the hand grasping the spear. These unmodulated areas give the impression of a direct treatment, as do the many visible brushed lines of dark paint that formed an underdrawing. The results of overcleaning distort our present assessment, but even so the overall effect seems to have been sharply dramatic from the

start. Although it has been interpreted as a portrait, this unusual image is more likely a genre depiction along the lines of the early shepherdesses and shepherd-boys. The boy is a general type, and he concedes prominence to the dog; the picture is also laden with other attributes, such as the spear and the falcon. In the lighter category of the character type, here the young hunter at play, the artist sought to apply the lively overall effect that he had developed in his history paintings. The results were mixed; the easel-sized canvas is a riot of colour and movement, but lacks the attractiveness and gentle charm called for by the subject matter.

In a painting of the following year, Jan van Noordt returned to the even and high level of finish that he had pursued in earlier works. *The Mary and the Christ Child in Gavne*, which likely represents *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, is signed and dated 1676, the latest secure date for a Van Noordt painting (cat. no. 11). The modelling of flesh in the two figures placed immediately in the foreground achieves a soft and almost creamy consistency, especially in the features of the child, and in his mother's shoulder and breast. The light effect is emphatic, yielding the same full, ripe forms as in earlier paintings. The drapery is also carefully painted in solid and bulky forms, which also suggests a plain and heavy fabric. In the tree behind them, the foliage is even treated in detail. The composition is generally reduced, even sparse. It is also rather still; the movement enlivening the figures is restrained, and contained within the familiar arcs. These elements set this work in contrast against the sketchy, energetic style of its immediate predecessors.

Rembrandt as model for an *ultima maniera*

This latest painting shows that the spontaneous and less-finished technique of some of the works of the 1670s did not represent a new overall direction, but was but one developing aspect of Van Noordt's style. It must be pointed out that he applied similar effects earlier on, as well. They appear in specific paintings, such as the *Kingston Massacre of the Innocents*, of around 1660 (cat. no. 12). At the same time, in most of his other pictures he pursued greater build-up, modulation, and refinement, as in, for example, the *Leipzig Susanna* (cat. no. 7). Van Noordt apparently cultivated this stylistic option for scenes of extreme emotion, adjusting style and technique to subject matter. His strategy was not without precedent. He was most likely influenced directly by the works of Rembrandt, returning to this artist at a time when he was no longer in fashion. A comparison can be made with two Rembrandt paintings in particular, both in Berlin: the *Moses with the Tablets of the Law* of 1659 (Br. 527) and *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* of ca. 1659 (Br. 528).³⁸ There, elements of the scene are depicted in direct dark lines of drawing, and directly-brushed areas of lighter tone.

It is overly simple to assume that the artist abandoned his projects before completion. Such works seem to have been interpreted as a willful decision on the part of the artist, to leave his work partly finished. Rembrandt was quoted by Houbraken as having stated that "A work is finished when the artist has completed his intention in it".³⁹ While it is difficult to credit Houbraken with reliability here - he cites no source - the quotation reveals

knowledge of, and response to, this special aspect of these late works by Rembrandt. It is thus not surprising that Van Noordt attended to them as well, fifty years earlier.

Van Noordt developed a loose and unfinished style in his years of maturity as an artist. In this respect he also followed Rembrandt. This trend in Rembrandt's work has been connected to Titian, the great Venetian master of the previous century, whose work was well-known in the Netherlands. Titian was avidly collected there, just as he was favoured by the English court of Charles I.⁴⁰ It was known to Dutch artists and collectors, that late in his long career, Titian adopted loose and open techniques for drawing and modelling his figures, and for entire compositions. This development in Titian's style was described and publicised by the Florentine artist and biographer Vasari, in the second edition of his *Lives of the Artists* of 1568.⁴¹ Vasari's text was transmitted to the Netherlands via a very important translation by the Haarlem humanist painter and biographer Karel van Mander, as one of three volumes of artists's biographies. The other two volumes were devoted to painters of antiquity, and to German and Netherlandish painters, the last volume being written by Van Mander himself.⁴² Van Mander was also a painter, and his respect for a rough style seems to find expression in his own work, which delivers a loose and free version of the highly-finished aesthetic of the Mannerism that arose in Haarlem among artists such as Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem and Hendrick Goltzius. In the didactic poem which precedes the artists' lives in Van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck*, the writer himself recommended to young artists that they begin in a careful and fine style, because the rough style of Titian was much more difficult than it looked, and reflected mastery and

experience.⁴³ The likelihood that such a suggestion exerted influence on the mature Rembrandt is high, as Van Mander's text was widely known. Rembrandt could also have been under the direct influence of Titian's paintings, which were making their way into a number of Amsterdam collections. Either way, there were precedents for Netherlandish artists deliberately opting for a loose style, even if they had already been practising a finer and more detailed one.

Having more than one option, as components of a stylistic repertoire, was a common career strategy for artists who specialised in history painting and portraiture. These two categories of painting especially were vulnerable to shifts of fashion, whose demands could vary with subject matter. The highly fashionable and productive Nicolaes Maes, for instance, produced the conservative *Portrait of a Scholar* in New York, and the even more restrained *Portrait of a Widow* in Basel, around the same time as the extravagant *Portrait of a Boy as a Hunter* of 1664.⁴⁴ This aesthetic range was most acutely evident in the work of Maes, for economic reasons; even in his own time, this artist was known for intense pandering to patron's interests.⁴⁵ Evidently, the degree of flamboyance in a portrait was determined by the patron, who could choose the existing tradition of severe black dress and a formal pose, or for a more lavish display of luxurious fabric and the latest fashions. It remains a speculative question, whether the market in Amsterdam put greater pressure on an artist's flexibility, than elsewhere in the Northern Netherlands, in Utrecht and Haarlem, for instance.

Van Noordt also cultivated a range of style. There is a marked difference between the *Gavnø Mary and the Christ Child* of 1676, and near-contemporary works by him. Its qualities contribute to a calm and stable mood, especially compared to the lost *Levite and his Concubine* and the Kingston *Hagar and the Angel* (cat. nos. 3 and 1). The difference likely relates to subject matter. The other paintings feature much more dramatic, emotion-laden themes, the one involving a brutal death, the other a sudden rescue from starvation. The *Gavnø* painting depicts a still moment, characterized by tenderness and intimacy. The gap of one year could not have resulted in a marked change in style. Jan van Noordt maintained a wide stylistic range, his choice of approach affected by content. The anomaly is the 1675 *A Boy with his Dog and a Falcon* (cat. no. 38), a genre painting interpreted in terms of a heavily-charged, dramatic style and daring technique, neither of which had a precedent in earlier genre paintings by the artist.

Throughout his career, Van Noordt partook of the exchange between the native Amsterdam tradition of painting, and its Antwerp counterpart. His first mentor seems to have been Jacob Backer, and he adopted Backer's synthesis of the styles of Rembrandt and Rubens. Later in his career he absorbed elements of the Flemish aesthetic of Rubens and Jordaens more directly. In his last works he appears to attend specifically to Rembrandt's late style, and also to the "unfinished" technique that sometimes accompanied it. He did not accept such influences wholesale, however. He also cultivated a lively handling of drapery and figures, that remained his signature throughout his career (partly compensating the art historian for the lack of signatures on so many of his works). At the

same time, he also maintained a range of stylistic effects, most evident in his latest works. While this kind of variation was part and parcel of fashionable portraiture, with Van Noordt it reflected a responsiveness to the varying content of history paintings, and of the pictorial tradition of each particular historical theme.

Chapter Two: References

1. The paintings that formerly bore signatures include cat. nos. 4, 12, and 20.
2. Hofstede de Groot 1892.
3. Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 142 note 64; vol. 5, p. 3112 with no. 2142; vol. 6, p. 3588.
4. See Introduction, note 2.
5. See: Bauch 1926, pp. 28-35.
6. On the Rubens painting and the print after Rubens, see cat. no. 28 note 4.
7. On Van Laer's disappearance in 1642, see Chapter One note 16.
8. Wijnman 1959, p. 45.
9. For Lastman's debt to Elsheimer, see: Freise 1911, pp. 100-104, 108-109.
10. For some indications of Backer's patronage relationships, see Chapter 3, note 1.
11. See: cat. no. 29, note 2.
12. See Chapter One, note 18.
13. See Bruyn 1984, p. 149. Bruyn was criticising the attribution made by Sumowski, in: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 140.
14. See cat. no. 9, note 2.
15. See cat. no. 13, note 2.
16. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Portrait of a Boy*, canvas, 94 x 71 cm, signed and dated 1634, The Hague, Mauritshuis (inv. no. 747). See: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 134, 200, 255 (with illustration).
17. See cat. no. 29, note 2.
18. Walter Melion's discussion of this term as referring to "specializations," is a forced one, conforming to a concept of Dutch art as descriptive, whereas it is linked to the early

humanist ideal of universality. Instead of being opposed to Italian art tradition, it was derived from it. It was rooted in Alberti's idea that a history painting should be rich, and be filled with many things: in addition to human thoughts and emotions, landscape and architecture as well. Alberti's term for this effect, *copia*, was loosely translated by Van Mander, as *verscheydenheit*. See: Melion 1991, pp. 28-29; and Miedema 1993, p. 153.

19. Van Mander/Miedema 1973, vol. 1, p. 135; vol. 2, p. 473; see: Broos 1975/76, p. 202-203.

20. Van Mander/Miedema 1973, vol. 1, p. 139; vol. 2, p. 476-480; see: Broos 1975/76, p. 203, notes 9 and 10; exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1991, pp. 125-127.

21. Pieter Lastman, *Coriolanus and the Roman Women*, panel, 81 x 132 cm, signed and dated 1625, Dublin, The Provost, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College; see: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1991, pp. 124-127, no. 20 (with colour illustration).

22. Rembrandt, *The Baptism of the Eunuch*, panel, 63.5 x 48 cm, signed and dated 1626, Utrecht, Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent (inv. no. SCH. 380); see: Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 94-103, no. A5 (with illustration). Pieter Lastman, *The Baptism of the Eunuch*, panel, 85 x 115 cm, signed and dated 1623, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle (inv. no. 772). See: Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p. 101 (with illustration); and: Christian Tümpel in: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1991, pp. 59-60 (with illustration).

23. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Portrait of a Man*, canvas, 127 x 100 cm, Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Schloß Wilhelmshöhe (inv. no. M 1984/5). See: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 138, 203, no. 71, 274 (with illustration).

24. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, canvas, 85.1 x 153.7, signed and dated 1643, sale, London (Christie's), 20 July 1973, lot 237; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 194 no. 11, 214 (with illustration).

25. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Amaryllis Crowns Mirtillo*, canvas, 210 x 193 cm, signed and dated 1646, formerly Vienna, Schatzker collection; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 194, no. 13, 216 (with illustration).

26. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Venus, Adonis and Cupid*, canvas, 200 x 237 cm, Schloß Fasanerie near Fulda, Kurhessische Hausstiftung; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 195, no. 14, 217 (with illustration). *Vertumnus and Pomona*, canvas, 132 x 107 cm, formerly The Hague, St Lucas (dealer); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 194, no. 12, 215 (with illustration).

27. Govert Flinck, *Diana*, canvas, 100 x 65 cm, signed and dated 1647, Kimberley, William Humphreys Art Gallery (in 1962); Von Moltke 1965, pp. 83-84, no. 87 (with

illustration); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 1029, no. 647, 1079 (with illustration). *Venus and Cupid*, canvas, 87 x 71.2 cm, signed and dated 1648, Tel Aviv, Art Museum; see: Von Moltke 1965, pp. 86, no. 102a, 87 (with illustration). *Portrait of a Man, Portrait of a Woman*, pendants, canvas, 124.5 x 94 cm, signed and dated 1646, Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art (acc. nos. 58.4.2 and 58.4.3, as portraits of the artist and his wife); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 1039, no. 702 and 703, (with illustrations pp. 1134 and 1135).

28. Govert Flinck, *Bathsheba asks David to name Solomon as his Successor*, canvas, 104 x 152 cm, signed and dated 1651, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland (inv. no. 64); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 1025, no. 633, 1065 (with illustration). *Jacob receives the Bloodied Coat of Joseph*, canvas, 114, x 86 cm, signed and dated 1655, Helsinki, Kunstmuseum Atheneum; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 1026, no. 637, 1069 (with colour illustration).

29. Govert Flinck, *Solomon asks God for Wisdom*, canvas, 465 x 450 cm, signed and dated 1658, Amsterdam, Royal Palace on the Dam; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 1027, no. 640, 1072 (with colour illustration)

30. See: Blankert 1975.

31. Jan Lievens, *The Five Muses*, canvas, 319 x 240 cm, signed and dated 1650, The Hague, Huis ten Bosch, *Oranjezaal* (South Wall); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 3, pp. 1785, no. 1206, 1845 (with illustration). See: Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij 1982, pp. 155 (with illustration fig. 28).

32. See: Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren, "From the "Sea Prince's" Monies": The Stadholder's Art Collection," in: exhibition catalogue The Hague 1997-1998, pp. 52-57.

33. Houbraken, vol. 2, pp. 273-274: "*...de Schilderkonst by Rembrandt geleerd, maar verliet vroeg die wyze van schilderen, te meer toen hy zig tot het schilderen van portretten begaf, en wel zag dat inzonderheid de jonge Juffrouwen meer behagen namen in het wit dan in 't bruin.*" (...learned the art of painting from Rembrandt, but quickly gave up that style of painting, even more so when he turned to the painting of portraits, and saw indeed that especially the young ladies took greater pleasure in white than in brown.)

34. Nicolas Maes, *Portrait of Two Brothers as Hunters*, canvas, 79 x 90 cm, signed and dated 1661, present location unknown; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 6, pp. 3733, no. 2383, 3997 (with colour illustration).

35. Nicolaes Maes, *Portrait of a Boy as a Hunter*, canvas, 88.9 x 69.9 cm, signed and dated 1664, sale, London (Christie's), 12 April 1985, lot 134 (with colour illustration); see

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 3, pp. 2029, no. 1399, 2125 (with colour illustration). *Portrait of a Boy as Cupid*, canvas, 91 x 71 cm, ca. 1664, Ponce, Museo de Arte de Ponce, Louis A. Ferré Foundation (inv. no. D-5-40: N. Maes); see Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 3, pp. 2029, no. 1400, 2126 (with illustration, as once attributed to Jan van Noordt by Kurt Bauch). *Portrait of a Young Woman*, canvas, 90.1 x 73.6 cm, signed and dated 1665, sale, London (Sotheby's) 22 May 1985, lot 2 (with illustration); see Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 3, pp. 2029, no. 1401, 2127 (with colour illustration).

36. Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of Abraham del Court and Maria de Keerssegieter*, canvas, 172 x 146.5 cm, signed and dated 1654, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (inv. no. 1296). J.J. de Gelder dated the shift in Van der Helst's style roughly to 1655; see De Gelder 1921, p. 3.

37. For the painting by Lastman, see cat. no. 2, note 1; for the painting by Moyaert in Kingston, see cat. no. 2, note 5.

38. Rembrandt, *Moses Destroying the Tablets of the Law*, canvas, 168.5 x 136.5 cm, signed and dated 1659, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (inv. no. 811): See Tümpel 1986, pp. 286 (with colour illustration), 392, no. 27. Rembrandt, *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*, canvas, 137 x 116 cm, signed, ca. 1659, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (inv. no. 828); see: Tümpel 1986, pp. 292 (with colour illustration), 392, no. 29. On Rembrandt's approach to finish in his late paintings, see: Van de Wetering 1998, pp. 203-211.

39. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 259: "...een stuk voldaan is als de meester zyn voornemen daar in bereikt heeft...".

40. The admiration for Titian at the English court in the early seventeenth century was already noted by the artist's biographer Tizianello in 1622; see Jeffrey M. Muller, "The Quality of Grace in the Art of Van Dyck," in: exhibition catalogue Washington 1990-1991, pp. 31, 35-36 note 43. On the interest in Titian in the Northern Netherlands, see: Jaap van der Veen, "Liefhebbers, handelaren en kunstenaars. Het verzamelen van schilderijen en papierkunst," in: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1992, pp. 123-124. Titian was collected by the Amsterdam-based merchant Lucas van Uffelen; see: Roelof van Gelder, "Noordnederlandse verzamelingen in de zeventiende eeuw," in: *Verzamelen van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum*, eds. Elinoor Bergvelt, Debora J. Meijers, and Mieke Rijnders, Heerlen, 1993, pp. 127-128. The Reynst brothers Gerard and Jan acquired Titian paintings in Florence, and in Amsterdam from the collection of the Venetian amateur Andrea Vendramin; see: Logan 1979, pp. 67-75, 150-157, nos. 33-36, 171-174.

41. Vasari 1963, vol. 4, pp. 208-209.

42. See: Van Mander/Miedema 1973, and Van Mander/Miedema 1994-1999.

43. Van Mander/Miedema 1973, pp. 260-261/fol. 48v:

"26 *Hier heb ick/ o edel Schilder scholieren/
U voor ooghen willen beelden en stellen
Tweederley/ doch welstandighe manieren/
Op dat ghy met lust u sinnen mocht stieren
Tot het gheen' uwen gheest meest sal versnellen:
Maer soude doch raden u eers te quellen/
En u te wennen / met vlijtighe sinnen/
Een suyver manier/ end' een net beginnen.*

(26. Here have I, oh noble Students of Painting,
pictured and placed before your eyes
Two different, yet respectable manners,
So that with pleasure you could direct your desire
To the one that most quickens your spirit:
But yet I would advise you to temper yourselves,
And to accustom yourselves, with diligent mind,
To a refined manner, and a neat beginning.)

See: Van de Wetering 1991, p. 21, for a discussion of Van Mander's translation of Vasari's biography of Titian, with respect to Rembrandt's late style.

44. Nicolaes Maes, *Portrait of a Scholar*, canvas, 89 x 71 cm, signed and dated 1666, New York, Emile E. Wolf; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 2029 no. 1402, 2128 (with illustration). *Portrait of a Widow*, canvas, 73.6 x 60.1 cm, signed and dated 1667, Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. 1332; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 2029, no. 1403, 2129 (with illustration). For the *Portrait of a Boy as a Hunter*, see note 35.

45. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 276.

Chapter Three

From Open Market to Private Network: buyers and patrons for Jan van Noordt's paintings

The making of Jan van Noordt's art depended not only on his own creativity and bent, but also on the demands and characteristics of the market in seventeenth-century Amsterdam.

The choice of style, subject matter and format belonged partly to the patron or the open market, and not just the artist's autonomous impulse, which has lost the stranglehold it once had on art historical interpretation. To us now, the artist appears in play with various priorities and values of his or her own society, that affected its established uses for art. For Jan van Noordt, this society was Amsterdam, for a period of thirty years, between 1645 and 1675. The ownership of Van Noordt paintings by various persons in this city is documented in notarial inventories. Of these, the inventories taken in the seventeenth century are the most likely indications of the initial buying public for which the artist produced his work. Unfortunately, except for a few portraits, none of the surviving works can be positively linked to its original owner by way of provenance. However, the inventories give some useful evidence about what kind of people bought what kind of painting by Van Noordt. Another potential source of evidence about Van Noordt's clientele is his paintings themselves. Their stylistic development has been constructed in the previous chapter. Quite a few undated paintings thus take a chronological place in Van Noordt's surviving oeuvre. The dating of the paintings according to their type yields an important suggestion as to how Van Noordt's career changed in the late 1650s. It seems

that around this time the artist started to gain private patronage in Amsterdam, which brought with it a demand for portraits, and likely also for history paintings.

Jan van Noordt likely spent his early years as a painter working under the tutelage of Jacob Adriaensz Backer. He would thus have been exposed to that artist's milieu. Backer was one of the most successful painters of the Dutch Golden Age, and enjoyed patronage that ranged from the court in The Hague, to elite collectors and patrons in Amsterdam.¹ Backer's depiction of *Cimon and Iphigenia* in Braunschweig was emulated by Jan van Noordt in his two early versions of the same theme (cat. nos. 24 and 25).² The painting by Backer, or one like it, was praised in a poem by Jan Vos, in which it was reported as being in the collection of Abraham van Bassen (1613 - 1680) in Amsterdam.³ Van Bassen was the scion of a family belonging to Amsterdam's regent class.⁴ It was a likely destination for such a painting, of an historical theme drawn from literature, and including many figures, demanding a high level of skill of the artist, and implying some literary knowledge on the part of both artist and patron. The investment of education and training was often reflected in the higher cost of history paintings, and thus in the relative wealth of those who bought them. This level of patronage was aspired to by Backer's pupil, when he emulated the artistic invention of his master.

At around the same time as Jan van Noordt was following Backer's model, his fellow-pupil Abraham van den Tempel started to attract commissions at a high level, similar to that of his teacher. About 1650, Van den Tempel painted a series of three allegorical

paintings celebrating the city of Leiden and its cloth industry, for the Governor's Chamber of the *Lakenhal*, the Hall of the Weavers' Guild of that city.⁵ He was no doubt helped to this assignment by family and Mennonite friends, many of whom were involved in the cloth trade.⁶ He moved to Amsterdam in 1660 and proceeded directly to forge a career as an ambitious portraitist, competing with Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613 - 1670), Govert Flinck (1615 - 1660), for clients from the Amsterdam regent and merchant classes. The same career trajectory was followed by Jan de Baen (1633 - 1702), another fellow-pupil of Van Noordt in Backer's studio, who enjoyed great success in The Hague, being charged with the portrayal of the Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt (1625 - 1672).⁷

While his fellow-pupils assumed part of Backer's market for portraits, Van Noordt apparently aimed to do the same for history paintings. From the evidence of the surviving works and their dating (albeit in the absence of a dated work), the young artist seems to have concentrated on history paintings, during his early phase from 1645 to 1650, before Backer's death in 1651. Furthermore, he favored Backeresque themes; besides *Cimon and Iphigenia*, he also depicted *Granida and Daifilo* (cat no. 29), and *Diana and Callisto* (cat. no. 15), in these years.⁸ Apparently, this strategy did not yield satisfactory results. Van Noordt's history paintings from the following decade turn away from Backer and take up a variety of other sources. He looked to Cornelis de Vos (1584? - 1651) for his *Magnanimity of Scipio* of ca. 1655 - 1660, and to the Amsterdam painter Claes Cornelisz Moyaert (1590/91 - 1655) for his *Cloelia Crossing the Tiber* of ca. 1655 - 1658 (cat. nos.

22 and 21).⁹ This shift in idiom suggests that Van Noordt was seeking a broader market in the mid-1650s.

It is quite likely that Van Noordt's early style did not meet the expectations of Backer's patrons. Backer's smooth modelling and broad forms yielded a pleasing abstraction, and the older master also consistently achieved cohesiveness and concentration in his large, multi-figured compositions. As has been argued in the previous chapter, Van Noordt began with rather abrupt effects of modelling and colour, and with diffuse arrangements of points of interest. The result was vigorous and lively. These characteristics would persist in his work, through several phases of change.

Van Noordt adapted to this situation by turning to the painting of genre subjects. While virtually none of his genre depictions can be dated to the period 1645-1650, quite a few can be placed in the 1650s, on the basis of their style. This trend can be observed in relation to the production of paintings in the three categories of history, genre, and portrait, over the course of Van Noordt's career:

| Period | 1645-1650 | 1651-1658 | 1659-1671 | 1672-1676 |
|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| History | 6 | 9 | 10 | 5 |
| Genre | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| Portrait | 0 | 3 | 15 | 0 |

Four phases can be constructed, roughly one for each decade. The first chronological division of Van Noordt's career is the estimated point when Van Noordt began painting genre scenes, around 1650. The second division is the beginning of Van Noordt's portraiture activity, and 1672 is the point at which it seems to have ended, in the year of economic disaster. The most important shift takes place around 1659. Van Noordt seems to have relied on the market for genre pictures in the second phase of his career, from 1651 to 1658. In the next, longer period of 1659 to 1671, he continued to produce history paintings, and enjoyed very good patronage for his portraits, while apparently giving up on the genre subjects of the 1650s.

An indication of the way in which these genre pictures found their buyers surfaces in a near-contemporary probate inventory. Paintings of a *Shepherdess* (cat. no. L31) and *The Five Senses* (cat. no. L27) by Van Noordt appear in the inventory of Cornelis Doeck (1616 - 1664), taken after his death.¹⁰ Doeck was an art dealer and erstwhile landscape painter.¹¹ While he built up no reputation as an artist, he remains known for having one of the largest inventories of art in the seventeenth century, counting around 400 paintings. Of his two Van Noordts, only the first, of a shepherdess, could possibly be connected to an existing work: the *Shepherdess with a Basket* in Mänttä, which is datable to the mid-1650s (cat. no. 35). If it was not this painting, it was likely another version of it painted around the same time, a period in which Van Noordt seems to have relied to some extent on dealers for the selling of his paintings. It was, according to Houbraken, a less desirable situation for an artist, than private patronage.¹² Van Noordt's genre paintings seem

generally to be aimed at the dealer trade, as they are small in scale, with few figures, and they depict themes not directly related to literature. Doeck seemed to trade particularly in such smaller, less expensive works.

Another genre work found its way into the collection of the wealthy fabric dyer Hendrik Oly. When Oly died in 1683, he left behind a *Girl with Fruit* by Jan van Noordt (cat. no. L33).¹³ This painting appears in an inventory of his possessions, taken in 1700, after the death of his wife Neeltje Eland.¹⁴ Four decades previously, Oly had established himself in Amsterdam, when he bought the dye-works in the house named the "Blauwe Snoek" (the Blue Pike) on the Bloemgracht, from Jan Claesz Ansloo, in 1656.¹⁵ Around the same time, he married Neeltje Eland, and in the ensuing years had two children, who both died young.¹⁶ The fortune amassed by Hendrik and Neeltje went to other family members. By the evidence of a number of paintings by his own hand, appearing in the inventory, Oly was also a dilettante painter.¹⁷ The large number of works he owned, 75, suggests that Oly may have also traded in art. However, they may simply have graced the walls of his various residences; his inventory includes a number of houses in Amsterdam and Haarlem, and a later document mentions a summer house and garden located between the two cities.¹⁸

The last known example of an individual who was in the possession of a genre subject by Van Noordt, still in the seventeenth century, was someone not as wealthy as Oly, but at the same time more colourful. A "*harderin van van Oort*" (*Shepherdess* by Van

Noordt)(cat. no. L29) was included in the inventory of Jan Westerhoff (? - 1719).¹⁹ When this document was published by Bredius, he also indicated another record, in which Westerhoff was identified as the owner of a hostel named "De Hoop" (The Hope), on the Kloveniersburgwal in Amsterdam.²⁰ A curious manuscript in the library of the Amsterdam *Zoo Natura Artis Magistra* tells much more about Westerhoff. He apparently established a forerunner to the zoo. Jan Velten, a fellow animal enthusiast, created a small volume of drawings devoted to "Blauw-Jan," as Westerhoff was known in his function as nature-showman.²¹ Westerhoff ran a *menagerie* in the garden behind his hostel on the Kloveniersburgwal. There he put a large collection of birds, a number of exotic animals, and even some unusual human beings, on display for the public.²² He was well-known, and could count in his collection a bird received from Prince William III.²³ In the same room as his *Shepherdess* by Van Noordt hung landscapes and animal still-lives, suggesting that the pastoral subject was seen as associated with outdoor and nature subjects. Westerhoff's painting of a bucolic girl by Van Noordt was likely not commissioned from the artist himself. The only surviving painting by him that corresponds to the inventory entry for "A Shepherdess" is the small painting *A Shepherdess with a Basket of Fruit*, of around 1655-1660 (cat. no. 35). Westerhoff only arrived in Amsterdam in 1664, well after Van Noordt (as far as we know) abandoned genre subjects of this type. Westerhoff belongs to the later part of the 17th century, coming from Oldenburg and gaining his *Poorterschap* (Citizenship) in Amsterdam in 1664, where he married Annetje Huggen Schoddenburgh from Heemstede in the same year.²⁴ After her death in 1696 he remarried in 1698, and he

died in his adopted city in 1719.²⁵ His painting by Van Noordt was likely purchased through an intermediary, possibly a dealer.

Van Noordt's genre paintings seem to have been made at least in part on speculation, by the evidence of the inventory of Cornelis Doeck. It is not clear whether Hendrick Oly and Jan Westerhoff acquired their examples through dealers such as Doeck. Oly could possibly have commissioned the artist himself, but Westerhoff almost certainly did not. Generally, genre subjects did not call for personal contact between artist and buyer. Such works tended to be indirect and vague in their references, and aimed at a broad and diverse market. By contrast, direct access to patrons was necessary with portraits, which demanded personal contact for the commission, the sitting, and often also for decisions concerning the specific attributes of the portrait.

1659: Van Noordt's breakthrough in portrait patronage

Van Noordt started to attract clients for portraits around 1659, when he produced the signed and dated *Portrait of a Woman* last in The Hague (cat. no. 39). Before this time, he had already produced two other portraits, which can be dated earlier on the basis of their style: the *Portrait of a Boy* in Johannesburg, and the *Portrait of a Girl* in Chatsworth (cat. nos. 45 and 46). Both of these paintings are of children, and they are also small in scale. In both cases, an informal tone is established by the conceit of a play with the frame. It remains uncertain whether these works were commissioned portraits, or *tronies* destined

for the open market. A more secure testimony for establishment of Van Noordt's career as a portraitist is the woman's portrait of 1659 (cat. no. 39). In the wan smile and the emphatic gesture of clasped hands, some of the genre-like informality of the earlier children's portraits resurfaces. At the same time the artist also strove toward a loftier atmosphere, with the columns and drapery in the background. The resulting conflict of tone suggests that this was Van Noordt's first undertaking in the more lucrative area of commissioned portraits.

Van Noordt quickly gained a good reputation. Only a few years later he attracted a portrait commission from the most elite stratum of Amsterdam society, as is evident from a significant recent documentary find. The testament of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen (1626 - 1666) and Leonora Huydecoper (1631 - 1663), which they had drawn up in 1663, makes special mention of "*de Conterfeijtsels vande Testateuren, oock t Conterfeijtsel van haer Soon selfs geschildert door J. van Oort*" (the portraits of the testamentees, also the portrait of their son, painted by J. van Noordt himself) (cat. nos. L43 and L44).²⁶

Unfortunately there are no surviving pictures by Van Noordt that can be connected to this reference. In the text of the document, these paintings precede another one, of the parents with all of their children, by Gabriel Metsu, a work that has recently been identified by Judith van Gent as the Metsu family portrait in Berlin (ill. 9).²⁷

Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen occupied a powerful position within the regent class of Amsterdam society, a class that controlled all appointments in the city government and the various

institutions of public service in Amsterdam. He was the son of the influential Jacob Jacobsz Hinlopen (1582 - 1629), and he occupied the city posts of *Commissaris* (Commissioner) and *Schepen* (Justice Official), as well as serving as ensign and lieutenant on the city militia.²⁸ Yet his marriage to Leonora in 1657 marked a step up in his social position, establishing a link to perhaps the most prominent family in Amsterdam at the time, that of Leonora's father Joan Huydecoper (1599 - 1661).²⁹ Joan occupied the post of Burgomaster six times, and many other posts as well; he was also able to secure numerous appointments for family and friends.³⁰ One of the most prominent figures of Amsterdam's halcyon days during the stadholderless period of 1650 - 1672, Huydecoper was heavily involved in the city's patronage of art and architecture.³¹ He was an amateur architect, and had a hand in the building project for the Town Hall (now the Royal Palace on the Dam). Not coincidentally, his own favorite, Govert Flinck, was selected to paint the cycle of history paintings and allegories that formed an important part of its interior decoration.

Van Noordt stood on the periphery of this world. He was linked to Flinck by way of Jacob Backer, that artist's erstwhile fellow-pupil. Moreover, after the death of Backer in 1651, Van Noordt's style followed that of Flinck, in a shift towards incorporating rhythms of reflections and undulating lines, especially in drapery folds, bringing liveliness into the broad, smooth forms and flowing lines inherited from Backer. Indeed, Van Noordt produced a number of lavish portraits in the 1660s, that witness to his further success in the application of this style. By catering to the growing elite taste for energetic effects of

movement in paintings, derived ultimately from Rubens, Van Noordt was aiming at the same patronage as Flinck, within the Amsterdam patriciate.

The commission from Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper marks an unusual rise to prominence, that Van Noordt likely owed in part to the position of his brother Anthoni, the organist and composer. In 1659 Anthoni published a volume of Psalms and Fantasias for the organ, and subsequently applied for an increase in salary as organist of the Nieuwezijds Kapel.³² While this appeal was turned down, Anthoni was placated a few years later with an appointment to the Nieuwe Kerk, which brought with it the sought-after salary increase. He was also immediately charged with an extensive expansion of the organ in that church. The city-appointed *Kerkmeester* of the Nieuwe Kerk was Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen.³³ It is likely that Hinlopen knew Anthoni before 1664, the year of the move to the Nieuwe Kerk, and in this way came to know his younger brother, the painter Jan van Noordt, from whom he commissioned a number of portraits, sometime before 1663.

It appears also to have been the upper limit of Van Noordt's status among patrons of portraiture. He did not succeed in retaining the favour of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen. After the death of Leonora Huydecoper in 1663, Hinlopen remarried two years later. In 1666, he turned to the very fashionable Bartholomeus van der Helst, for a double portrait of himself with his young new bride, Lucia Wybrands (1638 - 1719).³⁴ He was returning to the artist from whom he had commissioned a portrait of himself seven years previously, in 1659.³⁵

In the intervening years, Hinlopen had turned to Jan van Noordt for a series of portraits of himself, his wife and their son. This level of success was brief. There are no other firm indications that Van Noordt received similarly prominent commissions afterwards. Van Noordt evidently could not successfully compete against the portrait specialist Van der Helst, for the most elite portrait patronage. However, during the decade of the 1660s, Van Noordt did continue to paint portraits for relatively affluent patrons, from the evidence of the surviving paintings.

The 1660s: the decade of portraiture

A number of Van Noordt's portraits reflect the taste and style favoured by Amsterdam's patricians. The most lavish are perhaps the *Portrait of a Young Man with his Dog* in Lyon, and the *Family Portrait* in Dunkerque (cat. nos. 47 and 56). Unfortunately in these cases the sitters cannot be identified with any certainty. Only one of Van Noordt's portraits has descended to the present day with a concrete indication of who the sitter was. An inscription on the back of a small portrait on copper in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam bears the name of Dionijs Wijnands (1628 - 1673), an Amsterdam manufacturer of silk (cat. no. 43).³⁶ A second version of this portrait, three-quarter-length on canvas, is signed by Van Noordt and dated 1664 (cat. no. 44). Van Noordt's patron for this commission came from a family of merchants. Dionijs's father Hendrik Wijnantsz (1602 - 1676) had been a *craemer*, or vendor.³⁷ He is represented with his wife Aeltje Denijs in pendant portraits in the Rijksmuseum (ills. 21, 22). The social standing of this family was much

lower than that of the Hinlopens and Huydecopers; neither Hendrik nor his son was able to gain entry into the regent class, by way of a city appointment. However, this social status would be reached by Alida (1655 - 1724), the daughter of Dionijs Wijnands and Anna Groessens (1631 - ?), who in 1676 married Hendrik Meulenaer (1651 - 1704)), son of Roelof Meulenaer (1618/19 - 1691), the city's postmaster for Antwerp.³⁸

Dionijs Wijnands occupied a comfortable social position within Amsterdam society, and could leave a modest fortune to his heirs.³⁹ Recently some more information has come to the surface, that places him within the world of literature and theatre in this city. In the records of the literary society *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, preserved in notes made early in the eighteenth century by the poet and playwright Balthasar Huydecoper, and published by Bernardus Dongelmans, Dionijs Wijnands appears as the eleventh member of this exclusive literary society.⁴⁰ *Nil Volentibus Arduum* was founded in 1669 by Lodewijk Meijer and Andries Pels, with the aim of promoting French Classicist ideals in theatre.⁴¹ For the meetings, held every two weeks, one member presented an essay on a set topic. While the group hoped to see the birth of a classical school of theatre-writing in the Netherlands, it managed no more than the publication of theoretical tracts and the translation of French plays.⁴² The painter and art theorist Gerard de Lairese, although he did not become a member, was a prominent supporter and hosted several meetings at his house.⁴³ Dionijs Wijnands did not play a major role in the society. He joined only a few years before his early death in 1673 at the age of 45. He seems to have participated mainly through attending meetings, and making a few presentations. No writings by him are

known. He is recorded in Balthasar Huydecoper's notes as having the title of "Doctor," but there is no indication of his education or his dissertation topic.⁴⁴ Wijnands forms another link, albeit a vague one, between the painter Jan van Noordt and the theatre in Amsterdam, the other one being through Samuel Coster, the founder of the *Schouburg*.⁴⁵

The patrons for Van Noordt's portraiture also included another artist: the marine painter Jan van de Cappelle. Van de Cappelle practised his art while conducting a lucrative family dyeing business (the same trade as that of Hendrick Oly, mentioned above), by which he was able to amass a large collection of art, including paintings and a large number of drawings. The contents of his collection are known through an inventory taken after his death in 1679, which includes a portrait of his late wife Annetje Jans Grotincx (1632 - 1677), by Jan van Noordt (cat. no. L47).⁴⁶ This item immediately follows a portrait of Johannes van de Cappelle himself, by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621 - 1674), an artist who is sometimes connected with Jan van Noordt, on account of shared themes and stylistic traits.⁴⁷ These two entries prompted Saskia Nystad to attempt an identification of two existing pendant portraits, in Amsterdam and in Paris, as Van de Cappelle and Grotincx, by Van den Eeckhout and Van Noordt.⁴⁸ Her identification is unfortunately based on the misattribution of the Paris painting to Van Noordt (cat. no. R45). Nonetheless, she does draw attention to the implication of this inventory, that Van de Cappelle was on friendly terms with Van den Eeckhout and Van Noordt. Curiously, further on in the inventory another portrait of Van de Cappelle is mentioned, as having been made "*van van Noordt's tekening*" (after Van Noordt's drawing) (cat. no. DL4).⁴⁹

Van Noordt seems to have enjoyed a demand for adult male portraits only for a short while. Only one other example can be cited, the *Petrus Proëlius*, which has been lost, but is known through a reproductive print by Joan de Visscher (cat. no. Copy 2). The date on the print, 1661, is that of the sitter's death, and not of the original portrait, which was likely produced shortly before that time, probably in 1660, judging by the harmony between the elegant pose and the restrained arrangement of background elements, which shows an advance from the woman's portrait of 1659, discussed above (cat. no. 39). It can be placed toward the beginning of Van Noordt's activity as a portraitist. His sitter was a *predikant*, or minister in the Reformed Church, as the inscription to the print declares: "*Petrus Proëlius Ecclesiastes Amstelædemensis*".⁵⁰ Van Noordt may have secured this early portrait commission, through his younger brother Lukas, who was also a *predikant*, in nearby Diemen.

Van Noordt attracted only a limited market for his portraiture, possibly through personal or social connections alone. In the 1660s he was competing against artists who focused almost entirely on this specialty: Bartholomeus van der Helst, Nicolaes Maes, and also his own friend Abraham van den Tempel. Nonetheless, a spate of portrait commissions in the decade of the 1660s did permit, or force, Van Noordt to put aside the genre subjects of the 1650s. It is this later time to which Houbraken refers, in the *Great Theatre*, when he identifies Jan van Noordt as a "history- and portrait-painter." Houbraken would have known about Van Noordt through Johannes Voorhout, who was one of his more important sources, and who was, as Houbraken states, the pupil of Van Noordt.⁵¹

Voorhout likely entered Van Noordt's studio around 1664, by which time his master had already begun to concentrate on portraits and history paintings.

A private market for the later history paintings

The access that Van Noordt gained to a private market, through his portraits, would have affected his history paintings. However, there has survived no concrete evidence, such as a contract, of commissions for these works. It is only in the in-between category of the *portrait historié*, that secure examples are found of history paintings that were done specifically for patrons. In such pictures, patrons had themselves and family and friends portrayed in the roles of the main figures in history paintings. Their faces thus bear their own specific features, rather than reflecting idealized general types. In Van Noordt's *Hagar and the Angel* (cat. no. 1) in Kingston, it seems that Hagar is a portrait, and in the *Portrait of a Widow and her two Sons* in Bordeaux, a mother plays the role of the widow of Elisha's servant (cat. no. 56). Both paintings are late works, dating to around 1670. They prove that Van Noordt's patrons also had an eye for his talents as a history painter. However, the documentary evidence concerning the early owners of his history paintings shows a diverse market, and furthermore yields no indication of direct contact with the artist.

No secure pattern of patronage for Jan van Noordt's history paintings can be sketched on the basis of four known appearances in early inventories. They relate to four early owners,

who represent a range of social status that corresponds with that observed with respect to the portraits. The wealth and power of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen was not matched, but it was approached by Elias Nuyts (1614 - 1680), whose daughter Catharina (1662 - 1698) owned one such work, likely a *Granida and Daifilo* (cat. no. L25), which subsequently came into the hands of her mother, Catarina Grebert (1634 - 1714).⁵² Their social position is indicated by the family business, a sugar refinery on the Herengracht, known as "*De Koning van Polen*" (The King of Poland). Run by Elias's father Cornelis, it was one of the largest sugar refineries in the city, and when it burned down on 3 January 1660, the loss was estimated by the writer Melchior Fokkens at "*drie tomen goud*," or three hundred thousand guilders. Nonetheless, the family had sufficient resources to survive the disaster, and was able to rebuild its fortune, chiefly through the East-Indian trade. It subsequently established a sugar-trading house, this time built in white stone, at the same location. There, Cornelis's son Elias would later recommence with sugar refining.⁵³

The daughter of Elias and Catarina, Catharina Nuijts, died young and was survived by her husband, Elias van Valencijn (1632 - 1738).⁵⁴ Valencijn had an inventory of her possessions drafted, which included a "*Stuk met beelden van van Oort*" (a piece with figures by Van Noordt)(cat. no. L25).⁵⁵ This rather vague entry takes on more significance when connected to a work in the inventory of Catharina Nuijts's mother Catarina Grebert, taken after her death in December 1714. It includes "*Een Diana met een Jagthooren door Van Oort*" (A Diana with a Hunting Horn by Van Noordt).⁵⁶ It was almost certainly the same painting, passed on from Catharina Nuyts to her mother after the daughter's death; it

evidently was regarded as belonging to Catharina Nuijts. As she was born only in 1662, and Van Noordt's latest known works date to 1676 and before, Catharina's painting had likely been bought by her mother, to whom it was later returned. This painting could have been a lost work of a mythological theme, but it might also have been one of Van Noordt's depictions of *Granida and Daifilo*. The figure of Granida, idealized, bearing weapons and holding a shell, was perhaps misinterpreted by the notary in 1715 as the goddess of hunting, Diana. The version of *Granida* that Van Noordt painted in 1663, which appeared recently at a London sale, was in like manner misread when it was catalogued for sales in 1788 and 1905 (cat. no. 30).⁵⁷ The likelihood of a misreading in the 1715 inventory is strengthened by the fact that two paintings of *Granida and Daifilo* survive, whereas there are no known depictions by Van Noordt of Diana with a Hunting Horn. In the absence of further evidence, however, the identification of Catharina Nuijts's painting remains uncertain. It is also not possible to date the purchase of the work.

Compared to the wealth of Catharina Nuijts, a lower social status of mere affluence was occupied by the owner of a painting of *Susanna and the Elders* by Jan van Noordt (cat. no. L4): Michiel van Coxie (1649 - 1688). In 1682, an inventory was deposited with the Entrance Registry of the Chamber for Orphans, that indicates an estate valued at *f* 10 953.⁵⁸ Van Coxie's marriage act identified him as a "*koopman*," or merchant, from Amsterdam.⁵⁹ None of the documents indicates the particular trade he conducted, but it seems to have been a family business: it appears as if he stayed in the family residence on the Rosengracht with his parents and his brother Coenraet, who is also identified as a

merchant.⁶⁰ In 1675, Michiel married Johanna Ida de Vos (1655 - 1678), with whom he had two children, before her death only three years later, in 1678. After another three years, he had an inventory drafted of the possessions he had stored at the house of her father, Pieter de Vos. It was an entire household of goods, among them "*de Sussanna van Jan van Oort*" (the Susanna by Jan van Noordt).⁶¹ Of the three known versions of this theme by Van Noordt, only the latest one, presently in Winterthur, can be considered as a possible commission from Michiel van Coxie (cat. no. 8). It dates to ca. 1670, when he would have been around twenty-one years old. However, he may simply have purchased his *Susanna* by some other means, and it could have been a work from earlier in Van Noordt's career.

Van Coxie was only twenty-seven at the time of the first inventory. Besides the painting by Jan van Noordt, he also owned sculptures, maps, and a clavecembalo, as well as a number of other paintings. One of them is given as "an ox by Rembrandt," and there are also marines by Ludolph Backhuysen and Jan Lingelbach.⁶² This list of possessions does not reflect a systematic collection of art and objects, but rather a well-appointed, affluent household. This inventory also did not include everything owned by Van Coxie, as he made his residence with his own family on the Rosengracht, and likely kept many things there as well. The inventory appearance of Van Noordt's painting is not specific enough to indicate whether the young merchant had contact with artists such as Van Noordt, or instead acquired his paintings through less direct channels.

The paintings owned by Catharina Nuyts and Michiel van Coxie cannot be placed decisively in Van Noordt's earlier or later period. Thus they cannot be connected with any certainty to the later phase, during which we know Van Noordt to have enjoyed private patronage. In both cases, the ages of the owners makes such a dating more likely. The themes they chose, *Susanna and the Elders* and quite likely *Granida and Daifilo* were both very popular, not reflecting a particular viewpoint or taste, and suiting both the open market and private commissions.

No more specific is the content of another history painting linked to an early owner. However, on the basis of its connection to a surviving work, it seems to belong to the earlier phase of Van Noordt's career, in which the open market played a significant role. In 1670, a "*schilderij van St. Jan, van Jan van Noordt*" (a painting of St John, by Jan van Noordt) (cat. no. L8) was noted among the possessions of the deceased Jan Wolters (1613 - 1669).⁶³ The subject matter corresponds with that of the painting presently in The Hague, which dates to ca. 1655 (cat. no. 10). However, Wolters's painting may also have been a later version, since lost.

With the *St John*, Jan van Noordt's early work may already have attracted attention from within the highest social class in Amsterdam. Wolters was a German *émigré* from Bremen, who established himself as a merchant in Amsterdam, trading mostly in goods from the East Indies. He enjoyed great success, and with his marriage to Sara de Geer in 1647, he gained entry into Amsterdam's regent class. Sara was the daughter of the wealthy arms

manufacturer Louis de Geer. Elias points to the records of the Exchange Bank in Amsterdam, where in one year, 1669, Wolters is given as carrying out f384 760 in transactions.⁶⁴ He evidently sought a suitable expression of his position when he purchased adjoining lots on the Herengracht in 1665, along the stretch that became known as the "Golden Bend" because of the lavish houses standing there.⁶⁵ His early death prevented his plans, and the land was eventually sold by his son Raymond, to the merchant and real-estate broker Laurens Wittebol.⁶⁶ In the context of such status, the *St John* today in The Hague is not a very ostentatious work, in scale and in style. Its date of ca. 1655 perhaps corresponds to an earlier, more modest period in Wolters's life.

No surviving work can be related to the *Joseph and Mary* (cat. no. L7) mentioned in the inventory taken on the death of the painter Melchior d'Hondecoeter (1635 - 1695), a well-known specialist in game still-lives.⁶⁷ D'Hondecoeter's ownership of a Van Noordt in 1695 does not mark a high social milieu like that of Wolters. Instead D'Hondecoeter compares more closely to the painter-dealer Cornelis Doeck, mentioned above, who owned two genre depictions by Van Noordt. Like many of his profession, D'Hondecoeter likely sold the works of other artists beside his own.

The traces of Jan van Noordt's history paintings among the possession of Amsterdammers in the 17th century delineate a wide range in the market for this part of his output. The scale runs from the wealthy Catharina Grebert and Jan Wolters, through the affluent Michiel van Coxie, to the modest social status of the painter Melchior d'Hondecoeter. To

this list of owners can be added several members of Van Noordt's own family, who also held a relatively low social position.⁶⁸ This variety contrasts with the limited circle patronizing Joannes Vermeer in Delft, as well as with the strictly-elite public for Gerrit Dou's *fijnschilderijen*.⁶⁹ It is perhaps a skewed picture. If we remove family and possible artist-dealers, we are largely left with merchants, who represented an important part of Amsterdam's market for art.⁷⁰

The high point of Van Noordt's prominence as a history painter occurred around 1667-70, when he painted the remarkable *Juno* in Braunschweig (cat. no. 14). It must have been done on commission, given its enormous scale, nearly three metres across. An artist would generally not undertake such a costly investment of time and materials, on speculation. The large size at the same time indicates a wealthy patron, because it could only have fit on the walls of a very large house in Amsterdam, or those of a large country residence outside the city, or in another country. In addition, the picture's theme, the goddess of antiquity, called for a patron who was educated, and could appreciate the correct arrangement of attributes and accompanying figures. Especially the daring level of nudity demanded a certain level of enlightenment from the viewer, in the face of traditional religious objections in the Netherlands, to sensuality in art. The same conditions applied to works like Backer's *Venus and Adonis* in Eichenzell, and Cesar van Everdingen's *Jupiter and Callisto* in Stockholm.⁷¹ These are exceptional cases in Dutch art, and Van Noordt's *Juno* should likewise be regarded as an anomaly in the artist's career. His success in securing such an ambitious commission represents the high point of his status. Within his

oeuvre it is an unusual work. The format and the subject matter of his other history paintings and his *portraits historiques* reflect largely the status and the world of ideas proper to the broad bourgeois public in Amsterdam and other cities in the Northern Netherlands.

Chapter Three: References

1. An example of Backer's work for the House of Orange is his painting of *Freedom*, canvas, 162.5 x 115.8 cm, Berlin, Jagdschloß Grunewald (inv. no. GK I 3073); see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 197, no. 29, 232 (with illustration). It was commissioned as an overmantel of the *Nieuwe Gallerij* of the Castle at Buren. See: C. Willemijn Fock, "The Princes of Orange as Patrons of Art in the seventeenth Century," *Apollo* 110, December 1979, p. 474 (with illustration fig. 21); and: Lunsingh Scheurleer 1987, pp. 44, 45, 46 (with illustration), 49. The high regard for Backer among Amsterdam patricians is reflected by the commission he received for the *Portrait of the Arquebusier's Civic Guard Company of Captain Cornelis de Graeff and Lieutenant Hendrick Lauwrensz*, canvas, 367 x 511 cm, signed and dated 1642, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. C 1174. See: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 203, no. 75, 278 (with illustration). On the commission, see: Willem Martin, "Backer's Korporaalschap uit den Kloveniersdoelen te Amsterdam," *Oud Holland* 50, pp. 220-224 (with illustration fig. 1).
2. See cat. no. 24, note 3.
3. Vos's poem appeared in the collection published in 1662: Vos 1662, p. 541. The poem was later quoted by Houbraken: Houbraken, vol. 1, pp. 336-337. For the most recent discussion of it, see: Weber 1991, p. 217. Abraham Ernst van Bassen: G.A.A. D.T.B. 39 (Baptism) no. 335 (Nieuwe Kerk), 26 November 1613, Abraham, son of Warner Ernst [van Bassen] and Maria Pieters Hollesloot, witness Henrikje Koenen; G.A.A. D.T.B. 1047 (Burial) p. 273 (Oude Kerk), 17 January 1680: Abraham Ernst van Bassen, from the Herengracht.
4. Elias does not include Abraham among the children of Warner Ernst van Bassen (1581 - 1630) and Maria Pieters Hollesloot. See: Elias, vol. 1, p. 303, no. 96. However, he is named among four of their children who were not yet of the age of majority, in an entry in the records of the Amsterdam Chamber for Orphans, made upon the death of their father: G.A.A. 5073 (W.K.), no. 792 (*Inbrenregister*) no. 21, fol. 205v, 17 September 1631. Abraham's father Warner bequeathed his four youngest children, named in the *Weeskamer* entry, thirty-two thousand guilders, part of a fortune that he had amassed through the manufacture of earthenware goods. In a derisory poem, Vondel dubbed him *Malkus* (i.e. Malchus, the High Priest's servant whose ear St Peter severed), in reference to the one-eared goods he sold. Warner had also gained acceptance into the city's elite regent class, and filled several minor posts in the city government. See: Elias, vol. 1, p. 303.
5. All three paintings belong to the Stedelijk Museum "De Lakenhal" in Leiden: Abraham van den Tempel, *Maiden Leiden crowned by Minerva*, canvas, 176 x 221, signed and dated 1650 (inv. no. 425); *Maiden Leiden Welcomes Prosperity*, canvas, 207 x 266.5 cm,

signed and dated 1651 (inv. no. 427); *Prosperity Flees from War*, canvas, 207.5 x 265.5, signed and dated 1651 (inv. no. 426). On the commission, see: Wijnman 1959, p. 64.

6. Upon his marriage, Abraham van den Tempel identified himself as a "laeckendrapier," or cloth merchant. For Van den Tempel's connections to the cloth trade in Leiden, see: Wijnman 1959, pp. 55, 56, and 64.

7. These two portraits are presently known through countless copies, of which two are in the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam: Jan de Baen, *Portrait of Johan de Witt*, canvas, 125 x 98 cm, inv. no. A13; *Portrait of Cornelis de Witt*, canvas, 124 x 97 cm, inv. no. A14.

8. For the relevant paintings by Backer, see cat. no. 29, note 2, and cat. no. 15, note 3.

9. For the relevant paintings by De Vos and Moyaert, see cat. no. 22, note 3, and cat. no. 21, note 4.

10. See: Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, p. 109, no. 170, mentions the second painting, but not the first one, which he did record in notes left at the R.K.D.. Doeck's death is recorded three years earlier: G.A.A. D.T.B. 1091 (Burial) fol. 85v (Zuider Kerk), dd 26 May 1664: "kerck doodt den 26 ditto (maj) Cornelus Doeck onder galerij 15.-.-". Doeck's marriage is recorded in Amsterdam: G.A.A. D.T.B. 447 (Marriage), p. 53 (Church), dd 28 November 1637: "*Cornels Willemsz van A out 21 jaar schilder wonen op de N: Z: achterburghwal out 20 jaar ende Cornelia Rochols van A woon inde Langestraat geass. met haar moeder Cornelia Rocholt hy geen ouders hebbende*" (Cornelis Willemsz of Amsterdam painter living on the Nieuwe Zijds Achterburghwal 20 years old and Cornelia Rochols of Amsterdam living in the Langestraat assisted by her mother Cornelia Rocholt he having no parents).

11. Abraham Bredius, "De Kunsthandel te Amsterdam in de XVII^e eeuw," *Amsterdamsch Jaarboekje*, 1891, p. 56. Bredius claimed that a document of 1639 referred to Doeck as "erstwhile painter" ("*eertijds schilder*"), but gave no reference. Doeck's inventory mentions a number of works by him (see previous note). The earliest references to Doeck in the Amsterdam archive, are the marriage record cited in the previous note, which identifies him as a painter, and an appearance as husband of Cornelia Rocholts (also Rochelt), who claimed her portion of her father's inheritance, presumably shortly after her marriage: G.A.A. 5073 (W.K.) 796 (*Inbrenregister*), no. 21, fol. 112v, dd 12 May 1638. In the following years, the baptisms of four of their children are recorded in the archive: G.A.A. D.T.B. 42 (Baptism), p. 175 (Nieuwe Kerk), dd 15 January 1640: Cornelia (witness Trijntje Roochels); G.A.A. D.T.B. 42 (Baptism) p. 321 (Nieuwe Kerk), dd 2 September 1642: Baefje (witness Dirck Bisschop); G.A.A. D.T.B. 8 (Baptism) p. 33 (Oude Kerk), dd 17 November 1644: Willem (witnesses Dirch Bisschop and Cornelia

Roochelt); G.A.A. D.T.B. 8 (Baptism) p. 120 (Oude Kerk), dd 10 March 1647: Emmerens (witnesses Elsjie Melchiors and Dirck Bisschop).

12. Houbraken frequently spoke disparagingly of dealers, with respect to their treatment of artists, as in the life of the dealer-painter Gerrit Uylenburg (Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 294), and in a digression on the status of artists (Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 232). He twice referred to dealers as "*keelbeulen*," or "headsmen-executioners," in his lives of Philips Wouwerman (Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 74) and Caspar Netscher (Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 74, and vol. 3, p. 94). My thanks to Professor Hendrik Horn for these references.

13. G.A.A. D.T.B. 1074 (Burial) p. 63 (Noorder Kerk), 7 October 1683: "Hendrik Olij."

14. See: Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, p. 2036.

15. G.A.A. 5062, *Kwijtscheldingen*, no. 47, fol. 141, 3 March 1656: Hendrick Oly purchases a house and a dye-works, on the Bloemgracht, near the Bullebackx House, named the Blauwe Snoek, for f4000, from Jan Claesz Anslou.

16. It seems that Oly came from elsewhere, and acquired his *Poorterschap* in the city when he married one of its citizens. G.A.A. 5033, *Poorterboek*, 17 November 1656: "*Henric Olij, Lakenverwer gehuwd met Heijltie Eland dochter van Elbert Claesz Elant Lakenkoper*" (Henric Olij, fabric dyer, married to Heijltie Eland daughter of Elbert Claesz Elant cloth merchant). Their children are recorded in burial notices that do not give names, indicating that they died shortly after birth: G.A.A. D.T.B. 1055 (Burial) fol. 93v (Nieuwe Kerk), dd 6 March 1657: child of Henderick Olij; G.A.A. D.T.B. 1100^b (Burial) p. 167 (Westerkerk), dd 16 June 1659: child of Henderick Olij.

17. See: Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, p. 2035. The two paintings in the inventory that are by Oly himself, No. 19, a *Landscape with Animals*, and no. 67, a *Landscape with figures*, suggest that Oly specialized in landscape.

18. N.A.A. 5970, Notary Christoffel Hellerus (*Afschriften van Testamenten*), fols. 351r-352r, dd 12 December 1699, mentions a garden and a leisure-house on the garden of *Persens Laen* (Persens Lane), along the *Sloterdijk*, on the *Haarlemmer Treckweg*.

19. The inventory was taken on the occasion of Westerhoff's second marriage, to Bejatrix (Beatrice) van Hoften: G.A.A. D.T.B. 529 (Church), p. 138, dd 17 July 1698. Anna van Schoddenburg had died two years earlier: G.A.A. D.T.B. 1057 (Nieuwe Kerk), fol. 58v, dd 11 September 1696. Westerhoff, evidently a Catholic, was buried in the Carthusian Cemetery on 11 April 1719: G.A.A. D.T.B. 1173 (Burial) p. 16.

20. N.A.A. 5790, Notary Cornelis van Buuren (*Minutacten van Testamenten, etc.*), pp. 1025-1026, dd 7 September 1701 (accompanied by a sealed, abbreviated version, included

in the same notarial volume, but not paginated). This document, the testament of Catharina van Papenbroeck, makes specific mention that it was passed in the house of Jan Westerhoff, "*hospes inde Herberg de Hoop staende op de Kloveniers burgwal*" (Keeper of the hostel De Hoop standing on the Kloveniersburgwal).

21. The name was taken over from the name of the house, "*Zum blaauwen Jan*," that had previously been used as a blue-dye-works. It stood on the east side of the Kloveniersburgwal, across from the Slijkstraat. See: Witkamp 1888, p. 313; and: Gustave Loisel, *Histoire des menageries de l'antiquité à nos jours*, Paris, 1912, vol. 2, p. 52, section VII.

22. See: Witcamp 1888, pp. 312-316.

23. D.C. Meijer, jr., "Blauw-Jan," *Amsterdamsche Jaarboekje* 1889, pp. 41-48. Westerhoff's portrait also appears in the book by Velten. See: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1992, p. 139, no. 285a (with illustration).

24. G.A.A. 5033, no. 5, *Poorterboek*, no. 2, p. 522, dd 13 May 1664: "*Jan Barentsz Westerhof Oldenburch*." G.A.A. D.T.B. 485 (Marriage) p. 309, dd 4 April 1664: Jan Barentsz Westerhof and Annetje Huggen.

25. G.A.A. D.T.B. 1057 (Burial) fol. 58v (Nieuwe Kerk), dd 11 September 1696: "*Anna van Schoddenbeurch, vr. v. Jan Westerhof Cloven. burgw.*" (Anna van Schoddenbeurch, wife of Jan Westerhof on the Kloveniersburgwal). G.A.A. D.T.B. 529 (Marriage) p. 138 (Kerk), dd 17 July 1698, Jan Westerhof and "*Bejateris*" (Beatrice) van Hoften. G.A.A. D.T.B. 1173 (Burial) p. 16 (Karthusiers Kerkhof), dd 11 April 1719: "*Jan Westerhof in de Egelantiersstra. bij de baangraft laat 1 kind na*" (Jan Westerhof on the Egelantiersstraat near the [Lijn]baangracht leaving behind one child).

26. Cat. nos. L43 and L44. The testament was first published by Judith van Gent; see: Van Gent 1998, *passim*. For further information on Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper, see: Elias, vol. 1, p. 309, with no. 98.

27. See: Van Gent 1998. The portrait was previously thought to depict the family of Gillis Valckenier; see: Isabella Henrietta van Eeghen, "De familiestukken van Metsu van 1657 en van De Witte van 1678 met vier levensgeschiedenissen," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 68, 1976, pp. 78-82.

28. Elias, vol. 1, p. 309. See also: Dudok van Heel 1996, *passim*.

29. Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper married on 3 April 1657; see: Elias, vol. 1, p. 309.

30. Huydecoper occupied this position in 1651, 1654, 1655, 1657, 1659 and 1660; see: Elias, vol. 1, p. 384, no. 126. His son Joan would occupy it thirteen times; see: Elias, vol. 1, p. 518, no. 191.
31. On Joan Huydecoper as a patron of the arts and architecture, see: Gary Schwartz, "Jan van der Heyden and the Huydecopers of Maarseveen," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11, 1983, pp. 197-220. For a discussion specifically of his patronage of architecture, see: Koen Ottenheym, *Philips Vingboons (1607-1678): architect*, Zutphen, 1989, pp. 37-45.
32. Anthoni van Noordt, *Tablatuur-boeck van Psalmen en Fantasyen*, Amsterdam (published by the author), 1659. For the appointment, see: G.A.A. 5039 (*Thesaurieren Ordinaris*) no. 2 (*Resoluties 1657-1664*), fol. 194, dd 21 August 1664: "*Anthonis van Oort is aengenomen tot organist in de Nieuwe kerck in plaets van Nicolaes Losty*" (Anthonis van Oort is appointed as organist of the Nieuwe Kerk as replacement for Nicolas Lossy): Van Biema 1906, p. 186. Den Hartog drew the connection between the publication of the *Tablatuur-boeck* and Anthoni's appeal for an increase in salary. Anthoni's designs for the post in the Nieuwe Kerk were perhaps signalled by the frontispiece of the *Tabulatuur-boeck*, which borrows numerous elements of the decoration of the Great Organ there. See: Den Hertog and Groeneveld 1987, pp. 109-127.
33. See: Van Gent 1998, p. 130; Elias, vol. 1, p. 309.
34. Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of Jan Jacobszn Hinlopen and Lucia Wijbrants*, canvas, 134 x 160.8 cm, signed and dated 1666, present location unknown; last at: sale, London (Christie's), 11 November 1996, lot 134 (with colour illustration). The identification was first made in: Dudok van Heel 1996, *passim*.
35. Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen*, canvas, 116 x 89.5 cm, signed and dated 1659, Twente, Kasteel Twickel. For the identification of the sitter, see: Dudok van Heel 1996, *passim*.
36. For the documentary evidence concerning the biography of Dionijs Wijnands, see cat. no. 43, notes 1-7. See also: Kolleman 1971, p. 118.
37. G.A.A. D.T.B. 427 (Marriage), p. 365 (Church), dd 30 December 1622: "*Hendrik Wynantsen craemer out 20 jaer gass. met Beerten Frans zijn vader inde Sint Lucien steech ende Aeltien denijs out 23 jaren geass. met Denis Denijsn haer vaeder woon. inde Calverstraet*" (Hendrik Wynantsz age 28 years assisted by Beerten Frans his father in the Saint Lucien Alley and Aeltje Denijs age 23 years assisted by Denis Denijsn her father living in the Calverstraet). Attributed to Nicolaes Maes, *Hendrik Wijnands*, canvas, 45 x 34 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-702. This painting is accompanied by its pendant: *Aeltje Denijs*, canvas, 44.5 x 34 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-703. In 1674, Wijnands' worth was assessed at an affluent *f* 35 000; his sum for the 200th-

penny tax was *f* 175: G.A.A. 5028 *Thesaurieren Extraordinaris*, inv. no. 662, *Kohier van de 200^e penningh*, 1674, fol. 243, in *wijk* 26: "*Hendrik Wijnands f* 175.-.-".

38. G.A.A. D.T.B. 502 (Marriage) p. 378 (Church), 13 February 1676: "*Hendr. Meulenaar van A. out 25 jaar Coopman woon't op watergrachtstrr. met Roelof M. syn wader ende Alida Wijnants van A. out 21 jaar geaß. met Hendrik wynants haar gr. vader*" (Hendrik Meulenaar of Amsterdam, age 25, living on the Watergrachtstraat, with Roelof Meulenaar his father, with Alida Wijnands of Amsterdam, age 21, assisted by Hendrik Wijnantsz, her grandfather). See: Kolleman 1971.

39. His estate was assessed at *f* 25 000 in 1674. G.A.A. 5028 *Thesaurieren Extraordinaris*, inv. no. 662, *Kohier van de 200^e penningh*, 1674, fol. 398, *wijk* 42: "*erven van Denijs Wijnantsz f* 125.-.-" (the heirs of Dionijs Wijnands *f* 125).

40. Wijnands first appeared on 27 January 1671: Dongelmans 1982, p. 310 document no. 859. My thanks to Jonathan Bikker for indicating the appearance of Wijnands in the records of *Nil Volentibus Arduum*.

41. See: De Vries 1998, p. 7. See also: J.W.H. Konst, *Woedende wraakghierigheidt en vruchteloze weklachten. De hartstochten in de Nederlandse tragedie van de zeventiende eeuw*, Assen and Maastricht, 1993, pp. 212-219.

42. On the publication activity of *Nil Volentibus Arduum* see: Dongelmans 1982, pp. 311-423. A chronological list of publications appears on pp. 315-317.

43. De Vries 1998, p. 7.

44. Dongelmans 1982, p. 209, document no. 801.

45. On Van Noordt's dealings with Adriana, the daughter of Samuel Coster, see: Chapter One, p. 21, note 31.

46. See: Bredius 1892, p. 34; and: Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 215. Annetje Jans Grotincx: G.A.A. D.T.B. 471 (Marriage) p. 36 (Church), dd 26 February 1653: "*Compareerden voor den Heer Jacob Hinlopen Comissaris Johannes van der Capelle van A. verwer, out 26 Jaer geassis. met syn vader Franciscus van der Capelle woon. opde Lelygracht ende Annetje Jans Grotincx van A. out 20 Jaer, geaß. met Wopke Jans haer moeder, op de Princegracht*" (Appearing before the Lord Jacob Hinlopen Commissioner Johannes van der Capelle of Amsterdam, dyer, age 26 years assisted by his father Franciscus van der Capelle living on the Lelygracht and Annetje Jans Grotincx of Amsterdam age 20 years, assisted by Wopke Jans her mother, on the Prinsengracht). G.A.A. D.T.B. 1056 (Burial) p. 37 (Nieuwe Kerk), dd 2 September 1677: "*Anna*

Grotingh en kraemkin" (Anna Grotingh with newborn child). This record indicates that she died from a late childbirth at the age of 44.

47. N.A.A. 2262, Notary Adriaen Lock (*Mimutacten van inventarissen*), p. 1190, dd 4 January 1680.

48. See Nystad 1981, *passim*.

49. Wilhelm Valentiner reached the hasty assumption that the drawn portrait referred in Van de Cappelle's inventory was the drawing now identified as being of Dionijs Wijnands (cat. no. D12). See: Valentiner 1941, p. 295.

50. For further discussion of Proëlius, see cat. no. Copy 2.

51. On Voorhout as a source for Houbraken, see Chapter 1, note 39. His period of study with Van Noordt is mentioned by Houbraken in vol. 3, p. 224-225.

52. Elias Nuijts: G.A.A. D.T.B. 39 (Baptism) p. 369 (Nieuwe Kerk), 14 December 1614, Elias, son of Cornelius Nuyts and Emmerens de Raet. Catharina Nuijts; G.A.A. D.T.B. 1069 (Burial), p. 16 (Nieuwe Zijds Kapel), 1 October 1680. Catharina Nuijts: G.A.A. D.T.B. 106 (Baptism), p. 38 (Westerkerk), 10 December 1662; (death indicated in inventory of 1698; see note. 50); Catharina Grebert: G.A.A. D.T.B. 7 (Baptism), p. 8 (Oude Kerk), 24 September 1634; Catarina, daughter of Jean Grebber and Abigail van Ceulen; G.A.A. D.T.B. 1070 (Burial), fol. 150v (Nieuwe Zijds Kapel), 24 December 1714: Catharina Clara Nuijts.

53. Fokkens 1662, p. 73. In 1674, Elias was listed as a "suikerbacker," or sugar refiner: G.A.A. 5028, *Thesaurieren Extraordinaris*, inv. no. 662, *Kohier van de 200^e penningh, 1674*, fol. 373. See: J.F.L. de Balbian Verster, "De Brand van de Koning van Polen," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 16, 1929, pp. 53-54.

54. Elias van Valencijn was 34 years old when he married in 1686, indicating a birth date of ca. 1632: G.A.A. D.T.B. 514 (Marriage), p. 567 (Church); G.A.A. D.T.B. 1104 (Burial), fol. 15v (Westerkerk), 3 April 1738: Elias van Valencijn.

55. See cat. no. L25, note 1.

56. See cat. no. L25.

57. See the provenance for cat. no. 30.

58. G.A.A. 5073 (W.K.) no. 564, (*Inbrenregister*), no. 35, fols. 225v-226r, dd 28 April 1682.

59. G.A.A. D.T.B. 501 (Marriage), p. 491 (Church), dd 9 May 1675. The witnesses were Michiel's brother Coenraet, and Johanna's father Pieter de Vos. Michiel's address was given as "*op de Rosegracht*" (on the Rosengracht).

60. For Michiel's address see note 54. For Coenraet's address: G.A.A. D.T.B. 500 (Marriage), p. 144 (Church), dd 24 March 1674: "...*Coenraet van Coxij van A. (ouders doot), out 21, woont op de rosegracht...*" (...Coenraet van Coxie from Amsterdam, [parents dead], age 21, lives on the Rosengracht...). It was the same address as given for the brothers' father, Michiel van Coxie, on his own marriage to Catharina Metsu twenty-five years earlier: G.A.A. D.T.B. 454 (Marriage) p. 474 (Church), dd 25 October 1640. In 1649, the elder Coxie bought another property on the same *gracht*: G.A.A. 5062, *Kwijtscheldingen*, no. 42, fol. 171, dd 6 May 1649.

61. See cat. no. L4.

62. N.A.A. 4495b, Notary Jacob Matham, (*Minutacten*), pp. 1017-1018, dd 1 January 1680 - 14 April 1681. Gary Schwartz alludes to this document with respect to two surviving depictions of slaughtered oxen by Rembrandt: panel, 73.3 x 51.8 cm, Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum (Br. 458); and: panel, 94 x 69 cm, Paris, Louvre (Br. 457). Surprisingly, Schwartz identifies Van Coxie as an artist, likely confusing him with the 16th-century Flemish history painter Michiel Coxie (1499 - 1592). See: Schwartz 1984, p. 255.

63. G.A.A. D.T.B. 1101 (Burial), p. 91 (Westerkerk), dd 28 August 1669: "*Jan Woltarsz.*". N.A.A. 2853, Notary Dirck Dankerts, p. 335, dd 4 April 1670. Jan Wolters was born in Bremen, and his year of birth can be calculated to 1613 on the basis of his marriage record, which gives him as 34 years old in 1647: G.A.A. D.T.B. 465 (Marriage), p. 58 (Church), dd 2 August 1647.

64. G.A.A. 5077, *Wisselbank, Grootboek*, no. 54 (August - February 1669), p. 206 (*f* 153 458), and 55 (February - August 1669), p. 240 (*f* 231 302). Elias gave the sum of *f* 669 000 for the year 1666, but the one surviving volume, of two for that year, indicates only *f* 64 654: no. 49, p. 228. Elias, vol. 1, p. 516.

65. J.F.L. de Balbian Verster, "De Bocht van de Heerengracht," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 7, 1930, p. 218.

66. Hendrik Frederik Wijnman, in: *Vier Eeuwen Herengracht*, ed. H. de la Fontaine Verwey, Amsterdam, 1976, p. 555.

67. N.A.A. 6257 "d", Notary Cornelis Costerus, dd 19 April 1695 (pagination illegible: damaged by fire). See: Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, p. 1212.

68. One of the paintings, a *Crucifixion*, in the estate of Jacobus van Noordt was given specifically as by his brother Jan; see cat. no. L10. Jan van Noordt claimed several of other paintings from the estate of his brother Jacobus, including portraits of their father and grandfather and of two of his brothers, and a *Granida and Daifilo*: G.A.A. 5072 (D.B.K.) 738, folio 44 (3 December 1671), and folio 49 (18 December 1671). The inventory of Jan's younger brother Lukas also included a number of paintings, without any specific mention of the artist: G.A.A. 5073, *Weeskamer*, no. 981, *Boedelinventarissen*, 1705, Inventory no. 5: drafted in Diemen 19 January 1693, deposited with the Weeskamer of Amsterdam on 2 October 1705.

69. For the patronage of Joannes Vermeer, see: Montias 1989, pp. 246-262; of Gerrit Dou: Houbraken, vol. 2, pp. 3-7, and: exhibition catalogue Leiden 1988, pp. 24-28.

70. Marten Jan Bok pointed out that most of the collectors cited by Van Mander, already in 1604, were affluent merchants and traders. See Bok 1994, pp. 93-94.

71. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Venus and Adonis*, 200 x 237 cm, Eichenzell, Hessische Hausstiftung, Museum Schloß Fasanerie (inv. no. 336); Cesar van Everdingen, *Jupiter and Callisto*, canvas, 165 x 193 cm, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (inv. no. NM1175). For both paintings, see: exhibition catalogue Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999-2000, pp. 160-163, no. 25 (with colour illustration); and: pp. 188-191, no. 188 (with colour illustration).

Chapter Four

Exempla of love and virtue. The choice of subject matter in Jan van Noordt's history paintings.

In the early years of the seventeenth century, many new themes appeared in Dutch history painting. It was a time of change; the flourishing trading economy of the Northern Netherlands brought great prosperity to the merchant traders of its cities, especially Amsterdam. In this milieu, religion and education were high priorities, as reflected in book publishing, and in the rapid expansion of production of history paintings. Many of the themes appearing in these history paintings had been transferred from the print tradition, especially the printed illustrations made for Bibles and volumes on mythology. By mid-century, when Jan van Noordt began to produce history paintings, the market for such works had become dominated by a great many standard themes. Van Noordt himself yielded to the pressure of these already-established traditions within the profession; only a few of his choices of subject matter appear to be novel. Comparatively, he was a greater innovator in the expressive use of stylistic elements.

Jan van Noordt's output of history paintings raises the broader question of the selection of themes. He partook of the preference for particularly dramatic moments, exhibited by Rembrandt and his pupils, especially in the 1630s and 1640s. This phenomenon has drawn the attention of a number of scholars, foremost among them Albert Blankert. In his monograph on the Rembrandt-pupil Ferdinand Bol (1616 - 1680), Blankert hypothesized that Bol and his fellows attempted a visual parallel to the sudden change of fortune typical

of tragic literature.¹ Blankert posited that the poet and playwright Joost van den Vondel (1587 - 1679) had provided an impulse to these artists in his introduction to his play *Jephta* of 1659. There he explained his own setting of the biblical story within the framework of classical tragic poetry. Vondel introduced the term *staetverandering* (change of state), his interpretation of the classical Greek term *peripeteia*, a term most broadly disseminated through Aristotle's famous theoretical tract on poetry.² Blankert's proposition was corrected by Josua Bruyn, who pointed out that Vondel's *apologia* came too late to have influenced the relevant works by Bol, or those by most of the other artists who shared his iconographical preferences.³ In addition, the specific demands of the tragic scenario do not fit with the particular situations conjured by many of the stories depicted by Rembrandt, his followers, and his predecessors. The story of *Jephta*, which does fit well, was only rarely depicted, so that it forms an exception rather than a rule in Dutch Baroque history painting.⁴ Furthermore, drawing attention to such a relatively late publication tends to negate the importance of the longer pictorial traditions for each theme. These traditions have been attracting considerable attention from scholars of Dutch art, among them Christian Tümpel and Volker Manuth in the area of Old-Testament Biblical representations, and Eric Jan Sluijter in the area of mythological depictions.⁵

There remains the question of whether there were critical aspects of certain themes, that recommended them to history painters. The issue was raised again by Sluijter in the concluding remarks to his survey of Dutch mythological depictions, where he noted the prevalence of female nudity and the preference for erotically-charged stories. He drew a

parallel to the popularity of *Susanna and the Elders* among biblical history paintings.⁶ The present chapter will discuss this and other aspects of the themes selected by Jan van Noordt, with special attention to the artist's selection of particular moments out of the story that was their literary source. Consistencies in these selections show that Jan van Noordt interpreted many of his sources in conformity with two favored topics: love and virtue. This inclination of one artist suggests that the broader public of his day also consciously interpreted their literary heritage in terms of courting, marriage, and virtuous behaviour, which were relevant to their own lives. Considerable social investment was placed in the exemplars of virtue and love presented in these paintings.

Love as a Literary and Pictorial Theme

The topic of romantic love took a place in European literature from the emergence of the courtly tradition of the troubadours onwards. In the early Renaissance in Italy, Dante, and especially Petrarch played an important role in entrenching the expression of love in literature, across Europe.⁷ This topic also appeared in plays, stories and novels that were available to Dutch readers in the seventeenth century. While some of this production was native, much of it was foreign, and made accessible by way of translation. Reflecting its courtly origins, this literature emphasized the realization of ideal love, in a Neoplatonic sense. In this context, Boccaccio's *Decameron* represented an important and influential alteration, by introducing into the courtly discourse on love a lighter, more carnal element. In his story of *Cimon and Iphigenia*, which will be further discussed below, he nonetheless

propagated the tradition of ideal love, by conjuring an unlikely meeting between the two lovers, and by having the young male protagonist endure considerable struggle to win, or keep, the hand of his beloved. Traces of the chivalric tradition, and of the epic framework, persisted.

In the context of the Northern Netherlands, this decidedly elite discourse on love should be distinguished from the many moralizing emblems, literary and visual, and paintings, that focused on presenting wisdom and guidelines with respect to love, marriage, and various other amorous pursuits.⁸ This parallel phenomenon was directed at a popular audience, which included the less learned. It was championed by the Dordrecht poet Jacob Cats (1577 - 1660), and reflects the practical manifestation of humanism.

An important platform for the expression of love in literature and art in the Netherlands was the pastoral setting. In the late sixteenth century, a fashion emerged for themes involving shepherds, shepherdesses, and the countryside, sparked by the publication of Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (The Faithful Shepherd) in 1589.⁹ In the Northern Netherlands this mode took hold in 1605 with the publication of the play *Granida*, by Pieter Cornelisz Hooft. A little later it spread to the visual arts, with the earliest depiction of a *Shepherd and a Shepherdess* by Pieter Lastman, of ca. 1610.¹⁰ The unmistakably amorous attitude of Lastman's subject corresponds to the emphasis in Hooft's play, on the bond of love that links the protagonists, the princess Granida and the shepherd Daifilo.

The way in which shepherds and shepherdesses were conjured as amorous figures reveals much about the contemporary view of love. They are figures who stand opposite the civilized world of mores and manners; they are closer to nature, and the instinctive behaviour of the animals that surround them, reflecting the view that natural instinct plays a role in human love. As these fictive personages were largely unrelated to any practice in the tending of animals at the time, they could be moulded into an ideal image. Thus they are inevitably described as youthful and physically attractive, underscoring the view that love was the privilege of the young, and favored the beautiful. The problem of distastefully crude country manners could not be easily harmonized with this perfect world, however, and in many stories the protagonist turns out to be the well-bred child of nobility, who through some twist ended up in the countryside. The tone of the pastoral is thus in the end elevated, and given the setting the language is often conspicuously refined as well. As a type the pastoral managed, often playfully and in an unlikely manner, to resolve the division between low nature and high culture.

Hooft's *Granida* promoted a formula that grew to become a more diffuse phenomenon. In the work of Jan van Noordt, pastoral scenes were also drawn from literary sources that were themselves not part of the new fashion, but instead came out of other contexts, including the fourteenth-century novellas of Boccaccio. Van Noordt also painted a number of pastoral scenes, such as young boys with nests and wreaths, that were not taken from a literary source (cat. nos. 35 and 36). As Peter van den Brink has demonstrated in an exhibition of 1993, such representations should not be categorized separately, but are an

important demonstration of the wider impact of the pastoral.¹¹ The present discussion will, however, concentrate on the depictions of literary themes, and on the artist's interpretation of these sources.

Painting the Moment of True Love: *Granida and Daifilo*

Jan van Noordt drew the subject of two of his surviving paintings from Hooft's play *Granida* (cat. nos. 29 and 30). They both depict the moment in the first scene of the play, when the Persian princess Granida, having strayed from her hunting party, encounters the shepherd Daifilo and his companion Dorilea in the woods. Granida complains of the heat, and Daifilo immediately offers her a drink of water, from a shell. Both of Van Noordt's depictions show Daifilo kneeling and holding the shell up to Granida, with Dorilea taking a subordinate place, further behind in one painting, and off to the side in the other.

Van Noordt interpreted his source much in the same way as his fellow artists had been doing. A number of paintings with this theme were identified for the first time by Sturla Gudlaugsson, in an article in 1949.¹² With a few exceptions, Dutch artists - like Van Noordt - all took up the same particular scene, which falls at the very beginning of the play. The rest of the story was largely neglected by Netherlandish artists of the seventeenth century. A rare exception is a painting by Gerard van Honthorst, in which the soldiers in Granida's hunting party are shown looking for her. The patron for this picture was likely the stadholder Frederick Henry, and it reflects his taste for obscure themes that

had not previously been depicted by artists.¹³ It was the first depiction of Hooft's play, but its example was only seldom followed, and it would not affect the subsequent pictorial tradition for *Granida and Daifilo*.

The conspicuous preference of later artists for the scene of Granida and Daifilo's first meeting was noted by Marleen te Poel.¹⁴ In her analysis, Te Poel linked its popularity to the theoretical concept of *peripeteia* as presented by Vondel, following Blankert's proposal for a theory behind Bol's history paintings, mentioned above. However, as with other historical themes, Vondel's theorizing came too late to have played a role in the tradition for *Granida and Daifilo*, which was already well established long before 1659, the year Vondel published his theorizing prologue. One of the earliest known depictions of the meeting scene is by Claes Cornelisz Moyaert, dating to around 1629.¹⁵

Van Noordt was likely prompted to paint this scene by Jacob Adriaensz Backer. Backer depicted it at least three times, in paintings in Harlingen, St Petersburg, and in Kingston, Canada.¹⁶ They all show the figures in half-length, reflecting the influence of Utrecht artists such as Honthorst, who in turn were following the fashion of presentation sparked in Italy by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571 - 1610). Backer also followed Honthorst in participating in the fashion for pastoral themes, and painted a number of pictures of shepherds and shepherdesses, whose amorous bent puts them in the same category as depictions of the opening scene of *Granida*.¹⁷

Like Backer, Jan van Noordt chose to depict the moment in which Daifilo has fallen in love with Granida. Daifilo forsakes his shepherdess companion Dorilea, apparently the object of his merely casual affection. Not coincidentally, she had just completed a monologue on the fickleness of male desire, and her concern becomes real now that she is at once forsaken for Granida. The latter represents true love for Daifilo, and this scene thus exemplified the same for the contemporary viewer.

The role of the shepherd-nobleman Daifilo should be interpreted in this context. The unlikely platonic interpretation of this change sees Daifilo abandoning the earthly love for the shepherdess Dorilea, for an ideal love, the princess Granida. However, the play does not seem to reflect such an opposition, with its condescending view of shepherdesses and the arcadian life. On the contrary, they were idealized in pastoral literature.¹⁸ The life of the shepherd benefits Daifilo, rather than depriving him. Contact with nature bestows on him an understanding of the spontaneous, unthinking passion of romantic love. The important resulting quality of love that Daifilo embodies is truth.

One of the authenticating characteristics of the relationship represented in Van Noordt's painting is the compatibility between the two new lovers. It at first seems that this criterion is being transgressed when Daifilo, the shepherd, falls in love with the princess Granida. However Daifilo, as it turns out, displays a noble character and refined manners. His decided preference for Granida over Dorilea is inevitable; the latter was an inappropriate

candidate from the beginning. Van Noordt suggests her lower character somewhat by characterizing her as naive and unwitting.

The rest of Hooft's story is not suggested in the painting. He has Daifilo go on to face many obstacles, including imprisonment by a foreign rival for Granida's hand. Daifilo survives and triumphs, and realizes his new-found love by marrying Granida, at the end of the play. He thus proves not only his true love, but also the nobility of his character, as he perseveres through difficulties and challenges. These developments expand upon the initial moment of meeting between Daifilo and Granida, by confirming the truth of Daifilo's feeling for Granida, whose intensity was expressed by his spontaneous gesture of offering her water in a shell, the only vessel to hand (the shell was also an attribute of Venus). Van Noordt's paintings convey the story's emphasis on the psychology of true love.

A Related Theme from Boccaccio

Most of the aspects of true love that are associated with the story of *Granida and Daifilo* are also present in another theme that Van Noordt favoured. His three surviving paintings of *Cimon and Iphigenia* (cat. nos. 24, 25 and 26) depict an episode in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Dating to 1315, this collection of comic stories was one of the most celebrated products of the "Early Italian Renaissance." Boccaccio's text would come to enjoy a great deal of exposure in the sixteenth century in the Netherlands, where Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert (1522 - 1590) published a well-known translation of the first half of

the book, in 1564. The translation of the second half, by Gerrit Hendriksz van Breughel, enjoyed similar popularity, undergoing several reprints.¹⁹ The various stories in the *Decameron* are presented as being told by various members of a group, over a period of ten days. The only part of the *Decameron* that was to enjoy much attention from painters, was the passage relating the first meeting of Cimon and Iphigenia, which belongs to the first story of the fifth day.²⁰ It is also what appears in the three paintings by Van Noordt.

Like Daifilo, Cimon is depicted as he is experiencing true love for the first time. He is introduced in the story as the good-for-nothing son of the Cypriot Nobleman Arristype. His father has given up on him, and has granted him his wish to leave the court for the countryside, to live the carefree life of a shepherd. Cimon is walking in the woods one day when he encounters Iphigenia, a nobleman's daughter, with her attendants, reposing about a fountain. The sight of the beautiful young woman, partly disrobed, inculcates in Cimon not only courtly love but also a befitting demeanour. He returns to his father's court a civilized man, who intends to pursue the hand of Iphigenia, whereupon follows a complicated story-line of misadventures and challenges, and an eventual happy resolution, in which Cimon and Iphigenia are married.

Boccaccio's story was very influential, and is recognizably a forerunner to Hooft's *Granida*. It spelled out the requirement that the shepherd-protagonist put his love to the test with a range of trials, which bear a faint resemblance to the labours of Hercules. These adventures are not only dramatic and entertaining, but they also function to prove to the

reader that Cimon's character has transmuted into something truly noble, and in this way underline a doctrine of class and blood, as it applies to breeding and marriage.

Contemporary Interpretations of *Cimon and Iphigenia*

Cimon's transformation from shepherd to nobleman was also recognized by later Netherlandish interpreters as the most important aspect of Boccaccio's story. When he re-wrote the tale into a piece for the stage of the Amsterdam *Schouburg* in 1639, the playwright Jan van Arp drew attention to this event specifically, in the subtitle on the frontispiece: "Op den reeghel: *Door liefde verstandigh*," (concerning the rule: *Through love [made] wise*).²¹ The accompanying print shows precisely the same scene of first meeting, that was preferred by painters (ill. 10).

Of the many depictions of this scene, perhaps the best-known is the painting in Braunschweig, by Jacob Adriaensz Backer.²² There, Cimon is shown, to the right and further back, peering over a bank of earth, at Iphigenia and her friends, who lie on drapery spread over the ground, in the centre and to the left. The scene of male intrusion harks back to Rubens's depictions of a *Satyr and Nymph*, more so even than to Rubens's own paintings of *Cimon and Iphigenia*.²³ Backer captured some of the humour of Boccaccio's scenario, by giving Cimon a bewildered, wide-eyed expression, and so characterizing him as slow-witted, not knowing what he is seeing, or how to react. Jan van Noordt knew Backer's painting directly, taking over the prominent figure of Iphigenia in the foreground,

with a few changes, for his own depiction of the same theme (cat. no. 24). However, he chose to depict Cimon differently, posing him in the foreground, standing still, leaning on his shepherd's crook. Boccaccio's story emphasizes that after seeing Iphigenia, Cimon takes this position and remains there for awhile, before she awakens. Van Noordt's choice of this particular moment, slightly later than what Backer showed, was likely influenced by the illustration on the frontispiece to Van Arp's play. This choice of pose gave the same comic suggestion of Cimon's character, while making less demand on the young artist's as-yet undeveloped ability to evoke facial expressions.

The same humorous effect was likely also part of the intention behind the rather vulnerable, shocking display of flesh in the figures of Iphigenia and her attendants, in the paintings of both Backer and Van Noordt. It is strong medicine indeed, that eventually cures Cimon of his "problem." A less-sophisticated contemporary commentator such as Jan Vos then fixated on the voluptuousness of Backer's image, and drew a moralizing conclusion, on the arousing effect of seeing such a beautiful, naked woman. Vos's career as a poet is not rated highly, and here it seems as if he did not know the story behind the image (he calls Iphigenia a field-nymph, for instance), which links such an erotic encounter with a positive outcome, namely Cimon's finding of true love and the ennoblement of his character.²²

Boccaccio as Seventeenth-Century Pastoral

The scene of the meeting, early in the story of *Cimon and Iphigenia*, seems to have established the combination of pastoral setting and romantic love, that would also characterize depictions of *Granida and Daifilo*. At the moment of his transformation, Cimon is still a shepherd, and encounters Iphigenia while walking through the woods. Van Noordt's painting shows Cimon standing across from Iphigenia, motionless, leaning over onto his shepherd's staff. The image of the shepherd is not as idyllic as in Hooft's *Granida* and its iconographical tradition; this condescending attitude comes from Boccaccio's text itself. The pastoral life is in this case also not integrated with a romantic atmosphere; indeed, Cimon begins his role as a lover only when he abandons the life of a shepherd. In his pastoral role, he is not an attractive or amorous figure, but possesses a simple mind and displays rough manners. In Hooft's *Granida*, Daifilo presents a rather elegant and refined profile, in his manner of responding to Granida's plea for water: a sharp contrast with Cimon's prolonged staring at Iphigenia. She awakens and sees him, she recognizes him for these characteristics and sends him off with a rebuke laced with mild contempt. Boccaccio, in the fourteenth century, was expressing a real image of pastoral culture, from the viewpoint of the city-dweller. It differed from the fantasy image so enthusiastically cultivated three centuries later. Nonetheless the pastoral setting provided a special platform for depicting a moment of romantic love, and in the case of *Cimon and Iphigenia*, it could even afford a risqué level of erotic voyeurism.

A Third Scenario, from Cervantes' *La Gitanilla*

While the two previously-discussed themes were widely dispersed in seventeenth-century Dutch history painting, a third historical theme involving love was more the special domain of Jan van Noordt. Two large paintings by his hand survive (cat. nos. 27 and 28), that depict a scene from *De Spaensche Heidin* (The Spanish Gypsy), of 1643, by Mattheus Gansneb Tengnagel (1613 - 1652?).²⁵ This play was one of several adaptations that appeared in the Northern Netherlands, of a novella by Miguel de Cervantes (1547 - 1616), *La Gitanilla di Madril*, published in Madrid in 1610.²⁶ The scene takes place early in Cervantes's story, when Don Jan first meets Pretioze. He has been out in the woods hunting, and he and his party have lost their way. Don Jan sees the beautiful young woman, dressed in satin, among a band of Gypsies. He is overwhelmed and confused, and for a moment he thinks that it is Diana, the goddess of the hunt, and that devils have taken her prisoner. He watches for a while, and comes to the realization that she is a young woman, among a band of Gypsies, and he falls in love with her. She sees him, and calls him over. Immediately Majombe, her guardian, intervenes.

Van Noordt's two surviving versions both depict this moment, when Pretioze and Majombe both react to the attention of Don Jan. The two paintings are nearly identical, a unique instance in Van Noordt's oeuvre. The protagonist Don Jan (*don Juan* translated into Dutch) stands to the right side, leaning his elbow on a rock. He turns his head to the left, to look over to Pretioze, who sits on a mound of earth. Behind Pretioze stands the old Gypsy woman Majombe, who moves forward to interject between her charge and the

surprise intruder. The composition is enriched in the distance with other Gypsies, mixing with the hunting party of Don Jan, which includes a young black page holding a falcon.

Cervantes's story provided Jan van Noordt with yet another exemplar of true love. As with the previously-discussed texts by Boccaccio and Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, in *La Gitanilla di Madril* the male protagonist must survive several tests and challenges, that make for a lively and dramatic story, before he can win the hand of his beloved. Don Jan, at the insistence of Majombe, joins the band for two years. A crisis comes when Don Jan faces an accusation of theft from a Spanish woman, whose love he has spurned out of devotion to Pretioze; at his arrest he is insulted by a man, whom he kills. As a result he is condemned to death by the local magistrate. The dénouement of the story features a surprising twist, when it is revealed that Pretioze is actually the daughter of the magistrate and his wife, and that she had been stolen as an infant by the Gypsy Majombe. A birthmark on her breast is the evidence. The love for which Don Jan has sacrificed so much, turns out to have been for a woman of his own high social standing. The authenticity of his feelings is verified by this compatibility of their blood lines, of which he was unaware.

Sturla Gudlaugsson was the first, in 1945, to recognize the subject of Van Noordt's painting (cat. no. 27) and others depicting the same story. He only knew the version presently in New York, which was then in London. It had previously been identified as a genre-like "Cavalier et une jeune Femme," or the classical story of Vertumnus and Pomona.²⁷ Gudlaugsson pointed out the connection to Jacob Cats' *Het Spaense*

Heydinnetje (The Spanish Gypsy Girl) of 1637, a Dutch adaptation in verse poetry, of Cervantes's story. Gudlaugsson placed Van Noordt's painting within the context of comic themes in genre paintings, linking it to Jan Steen's many Doctor's Visits, with their mocking scenarios of naivete and anxiety surrounding unexpected pregnancies. More recently, Peter van den Brink corrected Gudlaugsson by connecting Van Noordt's paintings more specifically to Tegnagel's version of Cervantes's story, and by placing it in the context of pastoral depictions.²⁶ Nonetheless, to a limited extent, the story of *De Spaensche Heidin* does incorporate an element of humour, in Don Jan's extravagant reaction to the sight of Pretioze. Van Noordt played along with this conceit by contriving a languid, limp-wristed, drooped-chin pose for Don Jan, which he studied thoroughly in an elaborate preparatory drawing (cat. no. D8). In his hands Don Jan is a mild caricature of Spanish nobility, aimed at the bourgeois self-image of an Amsterdam audience. The black page also belongs to this Dutch view of the Spanish.

Nonetheless, the mood and intention of this play are not comic, but serious. Van Noordt's painting should be placed among history painting, rather than the genre of Steen. The character of Van Noordt's humour is not sarcastic and raucous, but light and tender, so that it does not negate Don Jan's sincerity. Van Noordt thus responded to the explanation given in the play, that Don Jan was already distraught at the recent death of his mother. The comic element is also subservient to the larger story of the realization of the young nobleman's love for Pretioze. A similarly tender sensibility governed the many current amorous pictorial themes that were placed in a pastoral setting, among which the most

prominent and influential example was Hooft's *Granida and Daifilo*.²⁹ As there, and as with the tradition for *Cimon and Iphigenia*, the artist's choice fell upon the scene in which the fire of love is sparked, and again it takes place in an outdoor, pastoral setting.

The consistent preference among painters for the moment of love has also been noted by Ivan Gaskell.³⁰ Gaskell analyzed both the literary and the pictorial interpretations of Cervantes's novella in the Northern Netherlands. He viewed this choice of artists as a deliberate avoidance of the morally dubious aspects of the original Spanish story, that tread over the boundaries of the more restrictive culture of bourgeois Holland. Gaskell connected this censoring tendency in art to the great effort expended by writers, to justify and alter some of the potentially-offensive elements of the story of *La Gitanilla di Madril*, the most prominent problem being Pretioze's practice of chiromancy.³¹ Tengnagel, for example, went so far as to publish a moralizing summary of the story in a separate prologue to his play. Van Noordt apparently knew this parallel account, as he incorporated parts of the descriptions that appear there, but not in the play itself.³² However, it would be helpful to emphasize instead the moral goals of the poets and painters interpreting Cervantes, over general moral standards for behaviour. The latter likely did not play a significant role in the revisions of the story. There was, after all, surprisingly high tolerance in the Northern Netherlands for the public presentation of morally dubious scenarios in the theatre, as the heritage of the *klucht*, or farce, would indicate.³³ Rather, it is significant that a separate category was chosen by Tengnagel, and

his precursors Cats and Dusart. They sought to create a lofty kind of moral drama, and for this reason felt compelled to tame Cervantes's picaresque plot.

Similarly, Van Noordt created an ideal to recommend to his viewers. He isolated the narrative of an exemplary love affair in Tegnagel's adaptation of Cervantes's novella, when he focused on the decisive moment in the development of Don Jan's love for Pretioze. In doing so, he continued on in the painterly tradition that had already been established in depictions of *Granida and Daifilo* and *Cimon and Iphigenia*, of presenting a moment of true love. The decision was likely as much a social as an artistic one. These paintings functioned to present Dutch viewers, especially young male ones, with exemplars of true love, in a framework that addressed the requirements of steadfastness, personal inclination, and class compatibility.

The context: Exemplars of Virtue in History Paintings

The presentation of morally exemplary behaviour is one of the possible functions of history painting. The depiction of *istoria*, or "history," was conceived as a means to inspire virtuous action in its viewers, already when it was first theorized as a separate category of art. The stage was set by the fifteenth-century Florentine artist and humanist Leon Battista Alberti (1404 - 1472), who alluded to the power of the *istoria* to present moral dramas, in his *Della Pittura* of 1435.³⁴ Alberti's view of history painting was linked by Anthony Blunt to his quasi-republican political orientation, which itself called for

serious involvement and contribution on the part of citizens, and prized *virtú*, or virtuous action.³⁵ Blunt drew a contrast with the contemplative and metaphysical view that Neoplatonism took on art, a view that would gain prominence later in the fifteenth century, especially in the work and thought of Michelangelo (1475 - 1564).

In the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, there was little talk of Neoplatonism, but both the newly-republican state, and the newly-dominant Calvinist religion of this country, brought a great deal of emphasis to bear on the role and responsibility of the individual, in politics and in individual conduct. Furthermore, *virtú* formed an important part of Neostoicism, a Christian adaptation of Stoic thought, which combined its practical aspects with a sincere Christian engagement.³⁶ The new synthesis found many adherents in the Northern Netherlands, especially among the educated elite. They accompanied their peers in Flanders, reflecting the influence in both countries of the humanist scholar Justus Lipsius.³⁷ Stoic principles, especially that of *apatheia* (indifference), offered a rationalist basis amidst the turmoil and tragedy of the religious wars that accompanied the Reformation in the Low Countries.³⁸ Among Flemish artists, Rubens and Van Dyck showed a keen interest in Neostoicism.³⁹

With the exception of Gerrit van Honthorst, none of the artists in the Northern Netherlands, as far as is known, followed this revival of the ancient philosophy so closely.⁴⁰ Instead, it seems to have drawn the interest chiefly of Dutch poets and playwrights, many of whom had come under the influence of Joseph Scaliger, professor in

Leiden. His students included Samuel Coster, who pursued moral edification in his plays, and with whom Jan van Noordt had an indirect personal link.⁴¹ By the second half of the seventeenth century, when Van Noordt was active, Neostoicism had a more diffuse presence in his culture, stimulating interest in the painterly depiction of exemplary actions from history.

The traditional source for themes of this kind was the history of republican Rome. This was the source of subject matter for a number of the paintings decorating the Amsterdam Town Hall, for example.⁴² At the same time, however, a great many other themes for history painting were introduced from the Old Testament. Van Noordt participated in this fashion, selecting many of his themes from this part of the Bible. These themes too could function to present exemplars of virtue. This emphasis is disengaged from the larger redemptive-historical interpretation that these stories have in the Biblical text. Exemplars of virtue dominate Van Noordt's selection of themes from the Old Testament, consistent with his less frequent depictions of Roman history.

Roman Republican Exemplars in Van Noordt's paintings: Scipio and Cloelia

Roman Republican history was one of the prime sources of moral exemplars for the intellectual culture of Europe in the seventeenth century. Indeed, early Rome was characterized by the deeds of its heroes, thanks in great part to Livy, the Latin historian of early Rome. Livy saw one of the most important functions of his own writing of history as

being the presentation of exemplars of good and bad conduct.⁴³ Such *exempla* also inspired Jan van Noordt. Events from this period of Roman history appear in three of his surviving paintings. Two of these take up the famous story of the *Magnanimity of Scipio*, (cat. nos. 22 and 23), and the third painting depicts the flight of Cloelia across the Tiber and back to Rome (cat. no. 21). Both themes feature a remarkable action, taken to further the cause of the Roman republic in a time of conflict.

Early Rome drew the special interest of Northern Netherlanders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They could draw a comparison with the history of their own land, in particular its struggle against the Spanish crown, that had led to independence. The depictions of the stories of Scipio and Cloelia were based on the accounts of the historians Livy and Plutarch. Livy's history of early Rome was widely available in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, having been published in a number of Latin editions, and several translations into Dutch.⁴⁴ Plutarch was also translated, in 1601.⁴⁵ Livy singled out the military commander Scipio, giving special emphasis to his deeds as virtuous and in service of Rome.

The story of the *Magnanimity of Scipio* was also preserved in another account. The version by the Greek historian of Rome, Polybius, was used as a source for the later, better-known version by Livy. The key figure, Publius Cornelius Scipio (235/6 - 183 B.C.), was perhaps the most important military commander of early Rome, leading the successful campaigns against the Carthaginians in Northern Italy and Spain, and the

eventual conquest of Carthage itself.⁴⁶ The event in Van Noordt's painting took place in 210 B.C.; Livy tells how, after taking one of the towns in Spain, Scipio's soldiers encountered an unusually beautiful young woman, and brought her to him as conqueror's booty, for his pleasure. Scipio spoke to her and discovered that she was betrothed to be married, to the young nobleman Allucius. The commander summoned Allucius and his parents, and handed her over to them, untouched. The young woman's parents, upon hearing this news, approached Scipio, and offered him a lavish gift of gold, explaining that they had originally assembled it as the ransom for their captive daughter. Scipio accepted the treasure, only to present it to the young couple as his wedding gift to them. The local people, the Celtiberians, were so impressed by their conqueror's moderation and liberality that they sided with Rome, providing Scipio with a critical strategic aid in his eventual victory against Carthage.

Interpretations of Scipio

Livy's account of the story was much more sympathetic than that of his precursor Polybius. Polybius sketched Scipio as an opportunist who cultivated a supernatural persona. This negative characterization even prompted John Calvin, centuries later, to cast aspersions on Scipio's ambition.⁴⁷ In contrast, the Latin historian Livy presented him as the supreme moral exemplar. In doing so Livy contributed some details that are clearly embellishments, such as giving the young woman a nobleman fiancé named Allucius. Livy also put into Scipio's mouth a speech to Allucius, in which the commander defines his

action as done in duty to Rome, and places the emphasis on his sexual continence.⁴⁸ In his *Foundation of the Art of Painting*, Van Mander presented Scipio to students of painting as an *exemplum* of sexual self-restraint, along with Alexander the Great.⁴⁹ The painter-theorist Gerard Lairesse, writing early in the next century, but reflecting the painterly practice of the previous age, singled out this virtue as well, in calling up the pictorial theme of Scipio's Continence as an example of a "*moreel tafereel*" or scene of morality.⁵⁰ Along the same line, the learned poet Ludolph Smids (1649 - 1720) summoned Scipio as an example of chastity.⁵¹

The emphasis shifted from Scipio to the couple, in those depictions of *The Magnanimity of Scipio* painted as *portraits historiés*. Commissions for such works were typically linked to the occasion of marriage or betrothal, with the young couple depicted along with one set of parents, as in the painting by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout in Toledo, where the couple occupies the foreground centre.⁵² In the *portrait historié* in Budapest attributed to Van Noordt (cat. no. R27), the focus is less on Scipio than the bride, whose sexual innocence and purity is reflected in her conspicuously modest attitude.

This complex episode in history, however, presents other virtues as well, chiefly generosity and justice. The latter quality of leadership weighed heavily in the eyes of those Dutch who remembered the atrocities meted out by Spanish armies during the first bloody decades of the Eighty Years War. Thus the Magnanimity of Scipio was also selected for paintings decorating town halls, the local seats of justice, in the Northern Netherlands.⁵³

At the same time, the particular moment chosen by artists, when Scipio turns the parent's ransom over to the couple as a wedding gift, drew attention to Scipio's generosity, and echoes the praise of Allucius (in Livy's account), who "...filled his countrymen with the well-earned praises of Scipio, saying that there had come a most godlike youth, conquering everything by arms and especially by generosity and favours."⁵⁴ Indeed, Van Noordt's two depictions of this event are most precisely entitled "The Magnanimity of Scipio." This virtue in a ruler was particularly recommended by the sixteenth-century humanist Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert.⁵⁵

Scipio's second gesture, of returning the gift, could also be seen as the application of justice, with Scipio refusing a tribute that was not rightfully his. The composition with the presentation of treasures is loosely parallel to depictions of *Manius Curius Dentatus Refusing the Gifts of the Samnites*, in which a Roman emissary maintains the interests of the state by refusing a gift, a theme that was most strategically selected for the Burgomaster's Chamber in the Amsterdam Town Hall.⁵⁶ There were thus multiple facets to the painterly presentation of Scipio as *exemplum virtutis*.

Cloelia as exemplar of Fortitude

Van Noordt's second Roman republican theme parallels the edifying function of his two treatments of *The Magnanimity of Scipio* (cat. nos. 22 and 23). His *Cloelia Fleeing across the Tiber* in the Louvre (cat. no. 21) similarly presents a moral exemplar, albeit a

more singular, less complex one than Scipio. The artist took up the story of the Roman patrician daughter Cloelia, as told by the Greek historian Plutarch, in his *Life of Publicola*. Plutarch recounted the siege of Rome by the Etruscan king Lars Porsena, an event that took place in 508 B.C.. Porsena had allied himself with Tarquinius Superbus, the deposed king of Rome, who sought to recoup his throne. After suffering several setbacks, Porsena negotiated a truce with the Roman consul Valerius Publicola, and both sides exchanged hostages as a guarantee. Cloelia was among the ten young women and ten young men from the Roman nobility, handed over to Porsena. One day when the women were at the river bathing, and found themselves unattended, Cloelia seized the opportunity and led the group across the Tiber back to Rome. Porsena demanded and secured their return, but had undergone a change of mind. He summoned Cloelia and praised her for her bravery, and relinquished his siege.

This episode also appears in Livy's history of early Rome. However, Van Noordt attended to Plutarch's account, rather than that of the better-known Livy, following the artistic tradition of this story.⁵⁷ Plutarch noted the legend that Cloelia made the crossing on horseback, and the depictions by Rubens and Claes Cornelisz Moyaert (ill. 16) show the group preparing themselves at the river's edge, with a horse waiting.⁵⁸ Similarly, in Van Noordt's painting in Paris, Cloelia stands in front of a mount, amidst her fellow captives who undress for the swim.⁵⁹ The account of Livy omitted the colourful equestrian element, which nonetheless proved irresistible to artists.

This distinction between the two texts seems to have been somewhat softened for the seventeenth-century Dutch reader. The translator of the widely-dispersed 1541 Dutch edition of Livy felt compelled to cite the legend from Plutarch, albeit with skepticism. Nonetheless, the 1614 reprint of the Livy translation included a printed illustration to this story, showing Cloelia on horseback, and her companions as well! The crossing by horse amplified the audacity of Cloelia's action, as it was thought that women never rode.⁶⁰

Contemporary Interpretations of a Painting of Cloelia

The main emphasis in this story fell on the courage of Cloelia's deed, so that she exemplified the virtue of Fortitude.⁶¹ As such, Plutarch included her among his examples of the bravery of women, in his *Moralia*.⁶² In the seventeenth century, the poets Vondel and Vos both wrote epitaphs on a painting by Nicolaes van Helt Stockade (1614 - 1669), which was in the collection of a Mr. Hoogenhuis in the late seventeenth century, but has since been lost.⁶³ Their comments suggest that Van Helt Stockade drew on Livy's version of the story, and showed Cloelia herself swimming the Tiber. Vondel and Vos both focused on Cloelia's daring, in challenging her captors and risking death.⁶⁴ In his earlier poem on a version by Rubens in the Stadholder's collection, Pieter Cornelisz Hooft went further, and made the link between daring and virtue:

"For virtue, no path goes untravelled: so the maidens
teach us, who risked their bodies in the current, for freedom."⁶⁵

The figures in Van Noordt's painting project a severe sobriety, reflecting this special emphasis on the display of courage, and on Cloelia as moral exemplar. The figure of Cloelia, with her eyes cast downwards, seems to contemplate the risk she is about to take. The sombre mood contrasts with that of Rubens' painting, which was in the collection of Amalia van Solms in The Hague at the time.⁶⁶ Rubens followed the printed illustration in the edition of Livy of 1614, in showing everyone mounting or already on horseback, and created a scene of great liveliness and drama. Van Noordt's approach owes much more to the dark cast and stable composition of the Moyaert painting in Oslo. At this early phase in his career, he was careful to avoid masking the serious moral message with a flamboyant style. He started to alloy these two elements only much later, and the result is evident in the second depiction of Scipio, of 1672 (cat. no. 23).

Biblical History as a Source for Moral Exemplars

The integration of Classical thought with Christianity occupied not only Lipsius but also a number of liberal Christian humanists in the Northern Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The views of the Dutch humanist Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert were strongly influenced by Neostoicism, as reflected in his moral treatise *Zedekunst dat is Wellevenkunst*.⁶⁷ Coornhert is best known for advocating tolerance of difference in doctrine, a principle that grew out of his vision of a Christianity based on individual morality.⁶⁸ Comparable principles re-emerged in the Northern Netherlands in the seventeenth century, in the teachings of the Remonstrants, and in the religious practice of

the Collegiants.⁶⁹ Given this context, it is not surprising to see Biblical themes pressed into service by Dutch artists, to present exemplars of virtue, along humanist-Neostoic lines. Such an interpretation applies to a number of Biblical themes in Van Noordt's oeuvre, consistently with his depictions of Roman history.

The Most Popular Biblical Exemplar: Susanna

The single most important theme for Van Noordt was *Susanna and the Elders*. He took it up at least three times, in paintings in Utrecht (cat. no. 6), Leipzig (cat. no. 7), and Winterthur (cat. no. 8), that belong to separate points in his career. Two preparatory drawings by him also survive, one for each of the latter two paintings (cat. nos. D2, D3). These images relate to the scene of Susanna's confrontation with the Elders, as told in the apocryphal section of the book of Daniel (13: 15-25). Susanna was the beautiful wife of the wealthy Joachim, who owned a house with a courtyard, where the two elders of the town were used to holding court during the day, settling disputes. Following their conspiracy, they stayed behind in the court one evening, hiding. When Susanna went to take her evening bath there, they approached her and demanded sex, threatening to accuse her of adultery if she refused, which she did. They followed through, and the assembly condemned her to death. However, the young Daniel (divinely inspired) challenged them, insisting that they testify separately. Their stories conflicted, and the assembly in turn condemned them to death for their false accusation. Susanna's innocence and her virtue

were proven. The biblical story highlights the special prophetic insight of the youthful Daniel, as much as the faithfulness and chastity of Susanna.

Sluijter has observed that Susanna was the most popular Biblical theme among Dutch painters of the seventeenth century.⁷⁰ For an explanation he pointed to the story's potential for the erotic display of female flesh, parallel to the conspicuous choice of themes such as *The Judgement of Paris*, and *Diana and Callisto*, out of classical mythology.⁷¹ Indeed, the artistic tradition for Susanna consistently favored the scene of her in the bath, partly or fully disrobed. The much later, and much more modest scene of Susanna's exoneration by Daniel at the trial was also painted, but only seldom.⁷² Van Noordt conformed to the more prominent tradition; in all three pictures Susanna is being confronted by the elders, while she bathes.

The theme of Susanna did not present eroticism alone, but allied it with a clear, and high, moral example. The special success of the story arose perhaps out of this highly-charged combination of *lering en vermaak* (edification and delight), the same pair of qualities that, on a lighter level, characterized so many genre themes that arose in Dutch painting of the seventeenth century.⁷³ In the case of Susanna, there were several moral messages. The most important was the value of chastity, exemplified by Susanna, who preserved her sexual purity, even in the face of the threat of death. This virtue was singled out by Peter Paul Rubens, in the inscription he composed for a print after his own design, of *Susanna and the Elders*.⁷⁴ There, he dedicated his representation of Susanna to the celebrated

Dutch poet and scholar Anna Roemers Visscher (1583 - 1651), who had preserved her virginity by not marrying:

To the very chosen virgin ANNA ROEMERS VISSCHER,
 for the brilliant eyes of this illustrious Batavian,
 fluent in many of the arts, of Poetry truly erudite,
 celebrated for much more than her feminine beauty,
 here this rare example of chastity.⁷⁵

When Visscher addressed a poem to Rubens, on an unspecified painting, a year later, she did not mention having been associated with the voluptuous image of Susanna, and she seemed not to object.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, to many observers at the time, the sensuality of the many depictions of Susanna and the Elders was problematic. In a poem on a painting of Susanna, Vondel praised the protagonist's beauty and chastity, but closed by reflecting upon the arousing potential of the work; he even referred to Saint Paul's complaints about his "physical weakness," and the "thorn in his flesh."⁷⁷ The pictorial tradition of Susanna gave the Reformed minister Jan Evertsz Geesteranus (1586 - 1622) grounds for his well-known attack on all paintings. It was widely disseminated through its inclusion in Dirck Raphaelsz Camphuysen's *Stichtelyke Rymen* (Edifying Verses), which was the most popular Protestant song-book of the Dutch Golden Age. In the chapter entitled *Idolelenchus*, which Camphuysen first included in his edition of 1647, Geesteranus protested the moral contradiction of artists' depictions of Susanna:

They place a naked woman bathing between suitors
 As a cancer for good morals and evil for the seeing eye
 And it would have to be Susanna, a virtuous woman.⁷⁸

In spite of its sardonic edge, Geesteranus's statement reflects the fact that Susanna's role as moral exemplar was an integral part of the many depictions of her confrontation with the elders.

A second moral message of this theme was the criticism of lust in old men. The print of Susanna after Rubens, mentioned above, served as a commentary on this phenomenon, when it was shown hanging on the wall in a genre scene of *An Old Man in a Brothel* in St Petersburg, attributed to Jan Steen.⁷⁹ This other interpretation was also taken up by Rubens himself, in another print of Susanna after his design, this time by Paulus Pontius, to which Rubens added the inscription "*Turpe senilis amor*" (Shameful is the old man who loves).⁸⁰ Some of the paintings of the subject produced in the Northern Netherlands also drew attention to the morally reprehensible behaviour of the elders. They are given a prominent place, and are characterized as quite old and driven by desperate lust, in the famous depiction of 1647 by Rembrandt (Br. 516), for instance.⁸¹ Rembrandt's follower Salomon Koninck (1609 - 1656), only two years later, also incorporated the double moral message by emphasizing the elders, using expression and gesture, and by placing them in a strong light (ill. 11).⁸²

The Function of Van Noordt's *Susannas* as Exemplars of Chastity

Within this context, Van Noordt's paintings favour the positive moral example of Susanna. Among his three depictions of the theme, the one in Utrecht (cat. no. 6) gives perhaps the

most attention to the elders, but even there they are decidedly secondary in prominence, confined to the upper right corner. In the second known depiction, in Leipzig (cat. no. 7), Susanna is more dominant, through her scale and her energetic pose, which also yield a fleshly display, albeit not idealized. The emphasis on Susanna applies again to the last of the three paintings by Van Noordt, in Winterthur (cat. no. 8). However, there her figure is sharply isolated against the background, by the strong light effect, which is consistent with Van Noordt's style after 1660. The dark visages of the two elders, to the upper right, are an obscure presence. Also, Van Noordt adopted a less ambiguous pose for Susanna, compared to the Leipzig picture, where she seems to be reacting with surprise at the elder's sudden presence, or perhaps turning awkwardly away from them after they have made their proposal a moment later. In the painting in Winterthur, Susanna curls up and turns her back to the two elders, in a clearer, more expressive pose of rejection. These changes underscore her safeguarding of her chastity, and her rejection of the elders' immoral advances. The three known versions thus show Van Noordt refining the representation of the theme as a presentation of Susanna as an exemplar of virtue.

A Field Labourer as Exemplar of Generosity

The one painting by Van Noordt of *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah* (cat. no. 3) forms a parallel to the theme of *Susanna and the Elders*. This picture too isolates an example of morally commendable behaviour, that occurs within a larger and more complex story that has broader historical and theological aspects. The subject was almost

exclusively painted by Dutch artists of the seventeenth century, most of them members of the circle around Rembrandt. To the modern viewer it is at first a puzzling question, why they selected this grisly story to paint. The book of Judges (19: 16-21) tells of a Levite, a man from the priestly tribe of Israel, who is travelling with his concubine. They stop in a Gibeon town thinking that it is safe. Unable to find lodgings for the night, they go to the town square. There, a field labourer sees them, and out of concern for their well-being, invites them to his house. It is of no avail, for the house is besieged by men of the town, who demand the Levite for sex. When the concubine is offered instead, the men abuse her so badly she dies. In outrage, the Levite dismembers her body and sends out the parts to the different tribes of Israel, in an appeal for justice. The townsfolk are slaughtered for their senseless crime.

Out of this tale of rape and violence, artists almost always chose the scene in which the labourer offers the couple hospitality,⁸³ and it also appears in the painting by Jan van Noordt. Hospitality was one of the Seven Acts of Mercy. Furthermore the field labourer's action exemplified the virtue of Generosity, much as the scene of The Magnanimity of Scipio. Van Noordt's painting was in the late 19th century even interpreted simply as a scene of *Generosity*, when it was not yet connected to the story of the Levite.⁸⁴ The other moral messages of the story, such as its warnings against homosexuality, violence and lasciviousness, are ignored in favour of the more positive recommendation of this virtue.

Van Noordt's *Joseph in Egypt*

With the painting of *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt* in Milwaukee, Jan van Noordt took up the story in Genesis, of Joseph, the son of the Jacob (cat. no. 2). Sold into slavery by his brothers, Joseph rose to a position of great influence in Egypt when he interpreted a dream of the Pharaoh, and prophesied of seven years of famine that would follow seven years of plenty, which came to pass. Joseph was placed in charge of storing up grain during the abundant years, and selling it during the famine. Alfred Bader was the first to recognize that Van Noordt's painting shows the situation during the final year of famine, when the population was driven to the point of selling themselves and their children to the Pharaoh, for food.⁶⁵ In the middle ground, to the right, sits Joseph, accompanied by administrators, including a busy accountant peering over his book at the right. Joseph looks over to the woman in the centre, who offers her two baby children to him. To the left stand a number of men and boys, who from their clothes and expressions are impoverished and desperate. They are about to submit themselves to slavery, in exchange for food. In the background left, a man emerges from the building carrying on his back a sack of grain.

Van Noordt here selected a theme that was even rarer than the story of the Levite and his Concubine, in Dutch Baroque painting. Sumowski counts only seven examples by artists linked to Rembrandt.⁶⁶ Early Amsterdam painters such as Lastman and Moyaert introduced the theme into painting, in the 1620s and Moyaert returned to it as late as ca. 1650.⁶⁷ The most famous depiction was the painting produced by Nicolaes van Helt Stockade (1614 - 1669), which he completed in 1656 as part of the decoration for the

Chamber of the Treasurer, of the City Hall in Amsterdam.⁸⁸ The poem on this painting written by Vondel reveals how Joseph served as moral exemplar for the occupants of the office of Treasurer:

All Egypt brings the governor treasures and possessions.
And has lived seven years off the distributed grain.
The free population driven by need becomes the King's slave.
One man's foresight can sustain thousands.⁸⁹

Vondel's sentiment was characteristically echoed by Jan Vos, in his poem on the same painting.⁹⁰ The treasurers were to avoid depleting the city's resources, in case they should be truly needed later. They could look to Joseph as an example of *Prudentia*, or foresight. Joseph had been interpreted as an exemplar of this classical virtue already in the fourth century, by Ambrosius of Milan.⁹¹ In the seventeenth century, the translators of the States Bible made specific mention of Joseph's foresight, in their margin notes.⁹² John Calvin made a more general reference to Joseph's virtue in his commentary on the story in Genesis.⁹³ He went on to point out the role of Joseph's actions in securing the future of the nation of Israel. This historical implication seems to have played a minimal role in Van Noordt's depiction of the story. The artist and his predecessors selected specifically the moment in which Joseph saves the Egyptians from starvation, which was the true proof of the value of his foresight.

It is well known that the history of the Old Testament nation of Israel did have a special significance for the young nation of the United Provinces.⁹⁴ Yet contemporary Dutch

commentators on depictions of Old Testament themes did not tend to interpret them as reflections of their national identity. As demonstrated above, the selections by Jan van Noordt and other artists of particular moments in the stories of Susanna, the Levite and his concubine, and Joseph selling grain to the Egyptians, show a consistent interest in the example of virtue presented by the chief protagonist in these scenes.⁹⁵ The promotion of virtue related to the concern for individual conduct, that was central to neostoicism, which was disseminated in the Netherlands by figures such as Lipsius, Coornhert, and Scaliger. On a different level, the same concern for individual conduct was popularized by moralists such as Jacob Cats. Interest in Amsterdam theatre, and possibly a friendship with the playwright Samuel Coster, prompted the Amsterdam history painter Jan van Noordt to favour the exemplary function of history paintings. With his scenes from Roman Republican history it was a predictable interpretation, less so with Old Testament subjects. The pattern is mirrored in the artist's selection from literature. He chose moments in the stories such as Cimon and Iphigenia, of the first meeting of lovers, that functioned to present moral exemplars of ideal love.

A number of history paintings by Van Noordt do not relate to the exemplary function outlined in this chapter. The *Crucifixion in Avignon* (cat. no. 13), and the *Massacre of the Innocents* in Kingston (cat. no. 12) adhere to traditional religious iconography. Besides these works, there are several that remain on the margin of the exemplary function. The *Triumph of David* of around 1660 does celebrate a moral exemplar, but not the exemplary action (cat. no. 4). The specific moment that was selected, when David is welcomed into

Jerusalem, instead draws attention to the ensuing conflict between David and Saul, by which David would eventually gain the throne. Lastly, the painting of *Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert* in Kingston presents a dramatic change (cat. no. 1). However, as Hagar has given up hope and abandoned her child, her situation does not present a particularly strong moral example.

The interpretation of many of Van Noordt's themes in terms of moral example does not exclude the possibility of a Dutch Baroque taste for scenes of sudden change of emotions, in the same paintings. All three of Van Noordt's literary exemplars of love, for example, show a sudden turnaround. The depictions of Susanna, Scipio and Cloelia likewise have a dramatic context. However, we never encounter the tragic figure who must endure a change for the worse, the *eventus*, and arrive at the recognition: *anagnorisis*.⁹⁶ The changes are mainly for the better, affirming the positive example of the protagonist. Indeed, Van Noordt's choices, even for moral exemplars, do not conform to any overarching theory. They demand that the present-day observer suppress the all-too-fashionable urge to theory, and factor out the impulse to rationality, system, and order that rose to preeminence in the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. This artist and his works call attention to the specific character of Dutch 17th-century thought, in which unrelated and sometimes even conflicting propositions could co-exist, each one enjoying some importance.

Chapter Four: References

1. Blankert first raised this issue in his essay in the exhibition catalogue *Washington, Detroit and Amsterdam 1981*, pp. 26-27; Blankert 1984, pp. 35-36, s.v. *Peripeteia*.
2. Aristotle, *Poetics*, X and XI; see: Aristotle, pp. 39-43.
3. Bruyn 1984, p. 210.
4. One of the few original compositions of this theme is the painting by Pieter Lastman of ca. 1610: panel, 121 x 200 cm, The Netherlands, private collection; see: exhibition catalogue *Amsterdam 1991*, pp. 86-87, no. 1 (with colour illustration). Esaias van den Velde made a close adaptation in grisaille: panel, 28.5 x 42.5 cm, signed and dated 1625, sale Ingram, London (Sotheby's), 6 May 1964, lot 150 (with illustration); see: Keyes 1984, p. 120, no. 5 (with illustration plate 342).
5. For Christian Tümpel's discussion of the iconography of various themes from the Old Testament, see: Tümpel 1968; Tümpel 1969; and Tümpel 1971. Volker Manuth analysed the iconography of a number of Old Testament themes favoured by Jan Victors (1620 - 1676); see: Manuth 1987a and Manuth 1987b. For Eric Jan Sluijter's overview of Dutch mythological depictions, see: Sluijter 1987. With respect to scenes from history, only a very limited study of particular subjects has been made to date; see: Golan 1995.
6. Sluijter 1987, pp. 268. A similar observation had already been made by Blankert; see: exhibition catalogue *Washington, Detroit and Amsterdam 1981*, p. 26.
7. See: Leslie J. Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love*, Cambridge and New York, 1975. The literature on the representation of love in Italian poetry in the age of Dante is vast. A detailed discussion can be found in: Thomas Hyde, *The Poetic Theology of Love: Cupid in Renaissance Literature*, Newark, London and Toronto, 1986, pp. 13-110.
8. See Eddy de Jongh 1967.
9. Battista Guarini, *Il pastor fido. Tragicomedia pastorale de Battista Guarini*, Venice, 1589. For a discussion of the significance of this book for Dutch pastoral painting, see: McNeil Kettering 1983, p. 21. On its impact on Dutch literature, see: P.E.L. Verkuyll, *Battista Guarini's Il Pastor Fido in de Nederlands Dramatische Literatuur*, Assen, 1971, p. 35. Verkuyll points out that the date appearing on the *editio princeps*, 1590, was inaccurate.
10. Pieter Lastman, *Landscape with Shepherd and Shepherdess*, panel, 38.5 x 54 cm, private collection; see: exhibition catalogue *Amsterdam 1991*, pp. 88-89, no. 2 (with

colour illustration); exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 196-197, no. 34 (with colour illustration).

11. See: Peter van den Brink, "Het Gedroomde Land," in: exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1992, pp. 9-10. Van den Brink sought to widen the scope of the pastoral category, beyond depictions of scenes from pastoral literature considered by Alison McNeil Kettering in her groundbreaking study of Dutch pastoral painting; see: McNeil Kettering 1983.

12. See: Gudlaugsson 1949, *passim*.

13. Gerrit van Honthorst, *Granida and Daifilo surprised by the soldiers of Artabanus*, canvas, 145.2 x 178.5 cm, signed and dated 1625, Utrecht, Centraal Museum (inv. no. 5571); see: exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 172-176, no. 27 (with colour illustration).

14. See: Te Poel 1986, pp. 11-14.

15. Claes Cornelisz Moyaert, *Granida and Daifilo*, panel, 36 x 57 cm, monogrammed, ca. 1629, Stockholm, collection of Knut Tilbug; see: Tümpel 1974, pp. 292 (with illustration, fig. 123), 268, no. 189. See: Te Poel 1986, p. 83, no. 24.

16. For the depictions of *Granida and Daifilo* by Backer, see cat. no. 29 note 2.

17. For pastoral figures by Backer, see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 196-199, nos. 26, 33, 35, 36, 44; vol. 5, p. 3078, nos. 1993, 1994; vol. 6, p. 3690, no. 2179.

18. Te Poel 1986, p. 8. According to A.A. Verdenius and A. Zijdeveld, Hooft was influenced by the Platonic ideals represented in Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*, and Pietro Bembo's *Asolam*. Te Poel sees Hooft as setting up a contrast between the ideal love of Daifilo's for Granida, with his earthly, sensual life of a shepherd, reflected in his love for Dorilea.

19. Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert was the first to produce a translation of a substantial part of Boccaccio's *Decameron* into Dutch; see: Coornhert 1564. It was reprinted several times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in 1583, 1597, 1607, 1612, 1632, and in 1640. The story of Cimon and Iphigenia appears on fols. 54v-58r. Forty years later, Gerrit Hendriksz. van Breughel published a translation of the second half of the *Decameron*: Van Breughel 1604. It was reprinted in 1605, 1613 and 1644. See: exhibition catalogue Leiden 1975, pp. 25-27.

20. See: Von Terey 1919, and: Nicole Spaans, in: exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 211-215. In her thesis on Dutch depictions of *Cimon and Iphigenia*, Nicôle Spaans catalogued 54 depictions of the opening scene: Nicôle Spaans, *Door de Liefde*

Verstandig': een onderzoek naar de picturale ontwikkeling van het thema Cimon en Efigenia en een aanzet tot de interpretatie van voorstellingen met dit onderwerp (1370-1700), Master's thesis, Leiden, 1991.

21. Van Arp 1639, frontispiece. The scene also appears in the background of an emblem published by Jacob Cats in 1635: *Amor docet Musicam*, in: *Spiegel vanden Ouden en Nieuwen Tijd*, 3rd. ed., Dordrecht, p. 19, no. VII. Held discussed Cats's emblem as evidence of the continuing popularity of the theme, after Rubens had depicted it around twenty years earlier; see: Held 1980, vol. 1, pp. 320-321. In the context of Amsterdam, the frontispiece to Van Arp's play is likely to have had a more direct impact on artists, than Cats's emblem.

22. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Cimon and Iphigenia*, canvas, 150 x 230 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum (inv. no. 670). See: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 194, no. 7, 210 (with colour illustration, as datable to the end of the 1630s).

23. Peter Paul Rubens (figures), with Frans Snyders (animals) and Jan Wildens (landscape), *Cimon and Iphigenia*, canvas, 208 x 282 cm, ca. 1617, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (inv. no. 1166); *Cimon and Iphigenia*, panel, 29 x 44 cm, Gosford House (Scotland), collection of the Earl of Wemyss (1948 inv. no. 145, as by or after Rubens). Rubens' composition was reproduced in an engraving by J.A. Prenner: see Voorhelm Schneevogt 1873, p. 131, no. 107 (as "Nymphs surprised by a Shepherd"). This print does not appear in the subsequent literature.

24. Vos 1662, p. 541. Vos's poem was cited by Houbraken: vol. 1, pp. 336-337. The second poem cited by Houbraken in connection with Backer's painting, by Ludolph Smids, took up the familiar approach of praising a painting's deceptiveness, suggesting that Mars would have mistaken Iphigenia for Venus. Smids, who was normally well-informed, apparently also did not know the story well, and thought Iphigenia a "shepherdess." See: Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 337; and "*De schoon IPHIGENIE van Cyprus*," in: Smids 1685, p. 28, and: Smids 1694, pp. 170-171.

25. Tegnagel 1644.

26. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Little Spanish Gipsy*, in: *Exemplary Stories*, trans. Lesley Lipson, Oxford and New York, 1998, pp. 7-70.

27. See cat. no. 27, Provenance.

28. See Peter van den Brink, in: exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 235-236.

29. In recognition of the place of depictions of *De Spaensche Heidin* among other pastoral themes of the period, one of Van Noordt's two versions of it (cat. no. 28) was included in

the exhibition *Het Gedroomde Land*, which was devoted to the broader phenomenon of the pastoral in Dutch seventeenth-century painting. Exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 235-238, no. 45 (with illustration p. 237).

30. Gaskell 1982, p. 267.

31. See: Gaskell 1982, *passim*.

32. The prologue, but not the play, specifies that Pretioze is weaving flowers when Don Jan first sees her.

33. See Van Stipriaan 1996, pp. 15-18.

34. Leonbattista Alberti wrote the Latin edition of *Della Pittura* in Florence in 1435, and produced an Italian edition in the following year. The *editio princeps* of the Latin text of Alberti's book appeared a century later, published in Basel by Thomas Venator in 1540. The first publication in the Northern Netherlands was of the Latin text, by Elsevier in Amsterdam, in 1649.

35. Blunt characterized Alberti's thought as leaning toward republicanism, and emphasizing the role of the individual citizen. See: Blunt 1966, pp. 4-5, 21. Although Alberti does not single out depictions specifically of moral *exempla*, he did cite other kinds of scenes of moral drama, such as the *Calumny of Apelles*. See Alberti 1972, pp. 94-97.

36. See: Bouwsma 1975, *passim*., in particular pp. 59-60.

37. Justus Lipsius spent most of his academic career in Leuven, but also taught at the University of Jena from 1572 to 1574, and the University of Leiden from 1579 to 1591. See: Jason Lewis Saunders, *Justus Lipsius. The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism*, New York, 1955, pp. 11-14, 18-34. For a discussion of his ideas and their impact, see Oestreich 1975.

38. See Bouwsma 1975, p. 31, note 100.

39. For Rubens's friendship with Lipsius, and his interest in Neostoicism, see: Morford 1991. For a discussion of Neostoicism in the work of Van Dyck, see: Stewart 1990.

40. On Neostoical references in several works by Honthorst, see Jonathan Bikker in: exhibition catalogue Kingston 1996, pp. 7-8, and: Morford 1991, p. 186.

41. For the impact of Lipsius on Pieter Cornelisz Hooft and Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel, see: Oestreich 1975, pp. 187-188. On the role of Scaliger as disseminator of Neostoic principles at Leiden, and his influence on Samuel Coster, see: Smits-Veldt 1986, pp. 29,

58-80. Coster identified himself particularly strongly with these ideas, going so far as to adopt a distinctly Neostoic emblem, of a turtle, accompanied by the phrase "*Over al thuyts*" (At home everywhere), referring to the Neostoic principle of carrying ones "house" (i.e. his philosophical grounding) along wherever one goes; see: Smits-Veldt 1986, pp. 4-5. On the link between Jan van Noordt and Samuel Coster, see Chapter One, p. 21, note 31.

42. For the iconography of the paintings made for the Amsterdam *Stadhuis*, or City Hall, see Blankert 1975.

43. Titus Livius, *Historiarum ad urbe condita*, preface, 9-11. See: McGrath 1997, p. 33-43.

44. Titus Livius, *Historiarum ad urbe condita*, XXVI, 50. The Latin editions published in the Netherlands were numerous, especially in the 16th century. There were two main Dutch translations: the one by Jan Gymnicus, published by Florus in Antwerp in 1541, was reprinted numerous times: 1585, 1597, 1614 (four times), 1635, 1646 and 1650. In contrast, the translation by J.H. Glazemaker of 1646, published in Amsterdam by Jacob Lescaille, was not reprinted. See: Geerebaert 1924, pp. 131-132. The edition of 1614 introduced woodcut illustrations: Titus Livius, *De Romeynsche historien ende geschiedenissen. Met fig. verciert ende met nieuwe byvoeghingen verm.*, Amsterdam (Dirck Pietersz), 1614. The scene of Scipio and the Spanish bride appears on folio 102r.

45. Plutarch, *Plutarchus. 'T leven ende vrome daden vande Doorluchtige Griecsche ende Romeynsche mannen/ met haer figueren*, trans. M. Everart, Leiden (Jan Claesz van Dorp), 1601. The story of Cloelia appears on p. 76. Strangely, Everart insisted on the alternative identification, also mentioned by Plutarch, of the heroic maiden as Valeria, the daughter of the consul Publicola, and did not even mention Cloelia. Later interpreters evidently did not follow Everart's choice.

46. For Scipio's career, see: Scullard 1970.

47. On Polybius' view of Scipio, see Scullard 1970, pp. 23-25. On Calvin's citing Scipio as an example of ambition, see Bouwsma 1975, p. 44, note 172.

48. Livy, *Historiarum ad urbe condita*, XXVI, 50, 4-8; "As a young man, I speak to you as a young man- to lessen embarrassment between us in this conversation. It was to me that your betrothed was brought as a captive by our soldiers, and I learned of your love for her- and her beauty made that easy to believe. Therefore, since in my own case, if it were only permitted me to enjoy the pleasures of youth, especially in a proper and legitimate love, and had not the state preoccupied my attention, I should wish to be pardoned for an ardent love of a bride, I favour what is in my power- your love. Your betrothed has been in my camp with the same regard for modesty as in the house of your

parents-in-law, her own parents. She has been kept for you, so that she could be given you as a gift, unharmed and worthy of you and of me." See: Livy, *Livy*, vol. 7, trans. Frank Gardner Moore, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1943, pp. 191-195.

49. See: Van Mander/Miedema 1973, vol. 1, p. 273; vol. 2, p. 612. Van Mander's text was widely known, and would likely have been a reference for Van Noordt.

50. Lairese, vol. 1, pp. 117-118: "*De Moraale Tafereelen zyn waare geschiedenissen of voorvallen, alleen tot stichtinge of leerzaame voorbeelden voorgesteld, te kennen geevende braave daaden of mislagen der menschen, welke daar in hunne rol speelen, door eenige bygevoegde zinbetekenende Beelden uitgedrukt, welke de neigingen, die hen gedreven en vervoerd hebben, uitdrukken: als by voorbeeld, by Alexander, de Eerzucht: by Marcus Aurelius, de Goedertierenheid: by Augustus, de Godvruchtigheid: by Scipio Africanus, de Gemeentigheid; wanneer hy de jonge Ondertrouwde, die hy gevangen had, aan haaren Bruidegom weder overgaf: en meer diergelyke anderen, gelyk Horatius in zyne Zinnebeelden zeer konstig en verstandig heeft vertoond.*" (Moral Scenes are true histories or events, presented exclusively as edifications or instructive examples, telling of virtuous deeds or failures in people, who there play their role, explained with a few complementary symbolic Figures, which express the inclinations that motivated and drove them: as in for example, with *Alexander*, pursuit of honour: with *Marcus Aurelius*, compassion: with *Augustus*, piety: with *Scipio Africanus*, continence; when he returned the young Betrothed, whom he had taken prisoner, to her Bridegroom: and others that are similar, as *Horace* presented with great understanding and art in his *Emblemata*.) For a discussion of Lairese's ideas and their application, see: Snoep 1970, pp. 159-217.

51. Smids 1695, p. 301.

52. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Portrait of Wouter Oorthoorn, Christina van Dien, and Jochen van Dien, as Allucius, his bride, and her father, in The Magnanimity of Scipio*, canvas, 138 x 171.4 cm, signed and dated 1658, Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art (inv. no. 23.3115). For the identification of the sitters, see: Manuth 1999, p. 146.

53. See Golan 1994, pp. 182-200. For a German example, see: Karl Simon, *Abendländische Gerechtigkeitsbilder*, Frankfurt am Main, 1948, pp. 18-20; and: Albert Blankert, in exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1975, pp. 17-18.

54. Livy, *Historiarum ad urbe condita*, XXVI, 50, 13.

55. See Coornhert 1982, pp. 423-424.

56. Govert Flinck, *Manius Curius Dentatus Refusing the Gifts of Samnites*, canvas, 485 x 377 cm, signed and dated 1656, Amsterdam, Koninklijk Paleis, south chimney-piece, Burgomaster's Hall. See: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 1026, no. 638, 1070 (with

colour illustration). For a discussion of the iconography, see: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1975, pp. 15-18 (with illustration no. 7); and The story appears in Plutarch's *Life of Marcus Cato*; see: *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, London and New York, 1914, pp. 307-309, 18.2.

57. Plutarch, *The Life of Publicola*, in: *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. 1, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, The Loeb Classical Library 46, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1914, pp. 551-553; and: Livy, *Livy*, vol. 1, trans. B.O. Foster, The Loeb Classical Library 114, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1919, pp. 261-263. See also: Silvain Laveissière in: exhibition catalogue Dublin 1985, p. 71.

58. Peter Paul Rubens, *Cloelia Crossing the Tiber*, canvas, 236 x 343 cm, formerly Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (now lost: formerly inv. no. KFM 946); Claes Cornelisz Moyaert, *Cloelia Crossing the Tiber*, panel, 41 x 60.5 cm, signed and dated 1642, Oslo, Nationalmuseum (inv. no. 185); see: A. Tümpel 1974, pp. 111, 112 (with illustration), 267, no. 185.

59. Most artists, including Van Noordt, seem to have been unaware of Cloelia's young age. Only Ludolph Smids, at the end of the seventeenth century, pointed out that Silius had placed her age at twelve: Smids 1690, pp. 7-9. See: Silius Italicus, *Punica*, trans. J.D. Duff, 2 vols., The Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950, pp. 86-87, Book X, 488-498.

60. See note 44: fols. 27r-28v. The story of Cloelia, illustrated with a woodcut, appears on fols. 17v-18r.

61. Coornhert devoted a chapter of his moral treatise on conduct, to expounding the virtue of inner strength. See: Coornhert 1982, pp. 316-329.

62. See: Plutarch, *Moralia*, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt, The Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931, vol. 3, pp. 513-517, 250, a-f.

63. Smids 1690, p. 7-9.

64. "*De roomsche Klelia ontswoom, met deed'le maagden, De gijzeling, en 't oog der schildwacht, en de dood...*"

(The Roman Cloelia swam away from, with the noble maidens, captivity, and the eye of the guard, and death...); Joost van den Vondel, cited in: Smids 1690, p. 9, and: Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 367. Jan Vos presented several points of praise in his verse:

"*Schildery van de Roomsche Klelia, door Nikolaas Heldt Stokade geschildert. Hier ziet men Klelia de gyzeling ontzwemmen. Zo wordt een vrouwelist vereent met mannemoedt.*"

Haar zucht tot vryheidt laat zich niet van boeiens klemmen.

Men streeft, om vry te zijn, door wall', door zwaardt en vloedt." (Painting of the Roman Cloelia, painted by Nicolaas van Helt Stokade.

Here one sees Cloelia swimming away from captivity.

So a female intelligence is united with manly courage.

Her desire for freedom will not be bound with shackles.

One strives to be free, over shore, through sword and flood.); Vos 1662, p. 522.

65. "*Geen wegh is ongebaent voor vroomheidt: zo de maeghden*

Ons leeren, die op stroom haar lijf, om vryheidt, waeghden." Hooft 1636, p. 337. Cited, with updated spelling, in: Smids 1690, p. 9.

66. This painting is often identified with a work formerly in Berlin (see note 56); see: Carola van Meeren, "*For the Preservation of her Legacy* The Vicissitudes of Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms' Collection of Paintings," in: exhibition catalogue The Hague 1998, pp. 66 (with illustration no. 5), 67, 255 note 46. Hessel Miedema suggests that it might have been a smaller painting, in the Louvre; see: "De Tiber en de Zwemmende Maagden: een afknapper," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 19, 1968, pp. 137-138. This work is there given to Abraham van Diepenbeeck, after Rubens: canvas, 115 x 145 cm, Paris, Louvre (inv. no. 1210). See collection catalogue Paris 1979, p. 47, (with illustration).

67. Coornhert 1982.

68. For a discussion of Coornhert's religious views, including his particular amalgamation of Stoic and Christian principles, see: Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, "Coornhert, een eigenzinnig theoloog," in: *Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert. Dwars maar recht*, Zutphen, 1989, pp. 18-31.

69. On the Remonstrant controversy and the rise of the Collegiants, see: Israel 1995, pp. 393-395, 460-465. For the history of the Collegiants, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century, see Andrew C. Fix, *Prophecy and Reason. The Dutch Collegiants in the Early Enlightenment*, Princeton, 1991.

70. Sluijter 1986, pp. 280, 517 note 280-1.

71. Sluijter 1986, pp. 290, 526-527 note 290-2. A similar view was put forward by Blankert, in: exhibition catalogue Washington, Detroit and Amsterdam 1981, p. 26.

72. A rare example is: Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Daniel proving the Innocence of Susanna*, canvas, 57.8 x 65.4 cm, Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum (acc. no. 1959.255); see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 739, no. 462, 825 (with colour illustration).

73. See: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1976.

74. Ripa devoted several headings in the *Iconologia* to the virtue of Chastity; see: Ripa-Pers 1644, pp. 262-266 s.v. *Pudicitia* (three headings), *Castita* (two headings), and *Castita Matrimoniale*.

75. Lucas Vorsterman, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*, engraving, 387 x 280 mm; inscribed below left: P.P. Rubens pinxit. Lucas Vorsterman sculp. et excud. An^o. 1620. The inscription across the bottom reads: "*Lectissimae Vergini ANNAE ROEMER VISSCHERS, illustri Bataviae sijderi, niltarum Artium peritissimae, Poetices vero studio, supra sexum celebri, rarum, hoc Pudicitiae exemplar, Petrus Paulus Rubemus. L.M.D.D.*". Voorhelm Schneevogt 1873, p. 10, no. 84; Hollstein, vol. 43, p. 12, no. 4. My thanks to Axel Rüger for his assistance with the translation of the inscription from the Latin. For discussion of this inscription, see: McGrath 1984, pp. 81-90; the inscription is mentioned on pp. 81-84, (with illustration p. 82), 89 note 69. See also: Op de Beeck 1973, pp. 207-221.

76. Anna Roemers, *Alle de gedichten*, ed. Nicolas Beets, Amsterdam, 1881, pp. 81-87. See: Op de Beeck 1973, p. 217-218.

77. Joost van den Vondel, *Op een Italiaensche Schildery van Susanne*, ca. 1650, in: Vondel, vol. 2, pp. 489-494.

78. "*Men doet een naeckte vrouw sich tusschen minnaers baden Tot kancker van goe seen 'en schoubaer ooghen fenijn En dat sal toch Susann'/ een kuyssche vrouwe sijn,*" Johannes Evertsz Geesteranus, *Tegen 't geestig-dom der schilder-konst, straf-rymen ofte anders Idolelenchus*, trans. Dirck Raphaelsz Camphuysen, in: Dirck Raphaelsz Camphuysen, *Stichtelyke Rymen*, Amsterdam, 1647, p. 218. For more information on the history and reception of the *Idololenchus*, see Manuth 1993, p. 246, notes 50 and 51.

79. Attributed to Jan Steen, *An Old Man in a Brothel*, (support and dimensions not known), St Petersburg, Hermitage (as *The Old Sick Man*). See: Paola della Pergola, "P.P. Rubens e il tema della Susanna al bagno," *Bulletin Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 16, 1967, p. 17, fig. 6.

80. Paulus Pontius, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*, engraving, 369 x 286 mm, inscribed bottom center: "*Turpe senilis amore*" (How disgraceful is the old man in love); see: Hollstein vol. 17, p. 148, no. 1. The phrase, provided by Rubens, was taken from Ovid (*Amores*, Book 1, IX, 4). See: Volker Manuth in: exhibition catalogue Braunschweig 1994, p. 232; and: McGrath 1984, p. 83-85 (with illustration).

81. Rembrandt, *Susanna and the Elders*, canvas, 76.6 x 92.7 cm, signed and dated 1647, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatlicher Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (inv. no. 828E). See: Bredius/Gerson, pp. 428 (with illustration), 600, no. 516.

82. Salomon Koninck, *Susanna and the Elders*, panel, 45 x 38.5 cm, signed and dated 1649, private collection; see: exhibition catalogue Braunschweig 1994, pp. 232-233, no. 75 (with colour illustration).

83. Manuth proposed that the motivation behind the selection of this unusual Biblical story was the example it provided of Hospitality, one of the Seven Acts of Mercy; see: Manuth 1987b.

84. See cat. no. 3, Provenance.

85. Bader 1974, no. 19.

86. Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, p. 3403.

87. Pieter Lastman, *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*, panel, 58.4 x 87.6 cm, signed and dated 1618, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland. See: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1991, p. 75, (with illustrations 22 and 23). Astrid Tümpel identifies three versions of the theme by Claes Cornelisz Moyaert: canvas, 136 x 179 cm, ca. 1650, Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre (acc. no. 23-38 [1980]), see: Tümpel 1974, pp. 122 (with illustration no. 167), 253, no. 50; panel, 69 x 103 cm, monogrammed and dated 1633, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, (inv. no. 5259), see: Tümpel 1974, pp. 94 (with illustration no. 126), 252-253, no. 48; and (support not known), 122 x 168, monogrammed and dated 1644, Stockholm, B. Rapp (dealer), in 1956: Tümpel 1974, pp. 114 (with illustration no. 154), 253, no. 49.

88. Nicolas van Helt Stokade, *Joseph Selling Grain*, canvas, 165 x 190 cm, signed and dated 1656, Amsterdam, Royal Palace on the Dam; see: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1987, pp. 36 (with illustration), 38, no 16; and also: Blankert 1982, p. 95, with no. 12 (with illustration fig. 72). Christian Tümpel has interpreted a painting commissioned from Ferdinand Bol for the council chamber of the Zuiderkerk, as representing the same scene. Bol's painting does not conform to the iconography established by Lastman and Moyaert, and followed by Van Helt Stokade, however; the people bring gifts, instead of offering themselves and their children. Furthermore it not clear that some of the figures are carrying sacks of grain out of the building at the right. The traditional reading, supported by Blankert, that Bol depicted *Solomon Collecting Gifts for the Building of the Temple*, remains the more convincing one. See Christian Tümpel in: exhibition catalogue Hamburg 1983-1984, p. 318; Netty van de Kamp in: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam and Jerusalem 1991-1992, pp. 228-229, no. 16 (with colour illustration); and: Albert Blankert in: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1975, pp. 47-49, no. 13 (with illustration fig. 39).

89. "Geheel Egypte brengt den Ryksvoogt schat en have
En leeft nu zeven jaar by't uitgereikte graan.

Het vrye volk door noot word 's Konings eigen slave.

Een mans voorzigtigheid kan duizenden verzaân." Joost van den Vondel, in: Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 367. Vondel also wrote a trilogy on Joseph's story: *Joseph in Dothan. Joseph in Aegypten. Joseph in 't hof*, Amsterdam, (Dominicus van der Stichel), 1640. He was likely inspired by the play written by his relative, and Mennonite friend of the period, Jan Tonnis: *Josephs droef en bly-eynd'-spel...*, 3 vols., Groningen (Augustyn Eissens), 1639; see: H.F. Wijnmann, "De Emders lakenhandelaar Jan Tonnis, schrijver van "Josephs droef en bly-eind spel", een relatie van Vondel," in: Wijnman 1959, pp. 137-148.

90. *De honger dryft het volk naar Josephs schuur om graan.*

De Voorzorg is een burg voor land en onderdaan;

Men zorgt aan't Y, in weeld, tot steun van andre tyen.

De Schatbewaarders zyn tot heil der Burgeryen.

(Hunger drives the people to Joseph's barn for grain.

Foresight is a fortress for a state and its subjects;

One builds up on the Ij, in prosperity, reserves for other times.

The Treasurers are a blessing to the citizenry.) Jan Vos, in: Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 367.

91. Ursula Nilgen, in: *L.C.I.*, vol. 2, col. 423 (s.v. *Joseph von Ägypten*).

92. See: States Bible, 1637, Genesis 41: 16, note 23, which emphasizes that Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream, forecasting years of plenty and famine in Egypt, was divinely inspired. Note 49, to verse 38, further characterizes Joseph as a leader in Egypt: *Verstaet wijsheyt en voorsichticheyt/ die Godt sijne geest desen man op eene bysondere wijze gegeven heeft.* (That is to say wisdom and foresight, which the Spirit of God gave to this man in an extraordinary way).

93. John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Book of Genesis*, vol. 2, trans. John King, Grand Rapids, 1948, pp. 326-327, commentary on Genesis 41: 35: "...prosperity intoxicates men...Joseph advises the king to take care that the country may have its produce laid up in store." and: "Therefore the pride of Pharaoh was so wisely subdued, that he, setting aside ambition, preferred a foreigner just brought out of prison, because he excelled them in virtue."

94. Compare, among others: Schama 1987, pp. 51-125. Volker Manuth presents several caveats against the link typically drawn between Calvinism and the phenomenon of identification with the nation of Israel, most importantly that Calvinism did propagate the idea of the elect with regard to a group, tribe, or nation. See: Volker Manuth, review of exhibition catalogue Amsterdam and Jerusalem 1991-1992, *Kunstchronik* 45, 1992, p. 482.

95. A similar observation about English interpretations of scriptural passages in the seventeenth century has been made by Philip Benedict: "...English Protestant works of devotion encouraged believers to apply the salvific or moral implications of biblical scenes to their own lives, to focus, in other words, not on the scene itself but upon its implications for belief and behaviour." in: "Calvinism as a Culture? Preliminary Remarks on Calvinism and the Visual Arts," in: *Seeing beyond the Word. Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, ed. Paul Corby Finney, Grand Rapids and Cambridge, 1999, p. 33.

96. Aristotle, *Poetics*, X and XI; see: Aristotle, pp. 39-43.

Chapter Five

Jan van Noordt's Drawings: Technique and Function

For most Dutch seventeenth-century painters, the making of drawings was a vital part of their practice. So also for Jan van Noordt, as has become increasingly evident in recent decades. A major problem with respect to his drawings has been the lack of signed examples, that could serve as a touchstone for characterizing his drawing style. For many years, art historians hesitated to venture the attribution of drawings to this artist, sometimes even when there was a direct connection to known paintings by him. Thus the drawing of a *Seated Female Nude* in Hannover (cat. no. D2) was recognized as a study for Van Noordt's *Susanna and the Elders* in Leipzig (cat. no. 7), in the 1960 catalogue of the Hannover collection. Nonetheless, the author maintained the existing attribution of the sheet to Jacob Adriaensz Backer.¹ In 1965, Von Moltke suggested it was by Van Noordt, and only in 1979 did Peter Schatborn conclude decisively in favour of the younger artist.² With this and several related drawings, Schatborn formed the stylistic basis for attributing a number of other drawings to Van Noordt, including some that had been given to Backer (cat. nos. D1, D11, D14). He assembled an oeuvre of 13 drawings, consisting entirely of figure and portrait studies. With the additions and subtractions of the present study, the total rises to 15.

This group is too small to be representative, however. Van Noordt presumably produced many more. The inventory of his studio taken in 1675 lists 23 "bundles" of drawings.³

Even if many of those abandoned drawings were by pupils or other artists, at least some of the bundles would have consisted of his own work, totalling dozens of sheets. The relatively few that have survived allow only very limited conclusions about Van Noordt's practice as a draughtsman. The surviving drawings do show a significant pattern. Many of them connect directly to known paintings by the artist. The link suggests that, in the practice of Jan van Noordt, drawing performed an important function as preparation for painting.

Identifying the Oeuvre of Drawings: Style

The style and technique of Van Noordt's drawings point to Jacob Adriaensz Backer as the likely teacher of Van Noordt, corroborating the evidence of the paintings. A drawing formerly attributed to Backer, has proven to be a key work for the identification of Van Noordt's drawing style.⁴ The *Standing Man Wearing a Hat* in the British Museum (cat. no. D8) was first recognized by J.H.J. Mellaart in 1926 as corresponding directly to the figure of Don Jan in Van Noordt's painting of *Pretioze and Don Jan*, which was then in the London art trade (cat. no. 27).⁵ The agitated effect of loose zigzag hatching, and the occasional use of fine lines, distinguish the style of this sheet from that of Backer. At the same time, it shares with Backer's drawn oeuvre an elegant overall effect, resulting from the use of long, sinuous lines, and clear contours, with efficient, emphatic modelling using both light and dark chalks. A similar style of drawing was also adopted by other artists who were associated with Backer, under his influence. Govert Flinck, who knew Backer

from their days of instruction in the studio of Lambert Jacobsz in Leeuwarden, converted to it in the second half of the 1640s, around the time that Van Noordt was probably studying with Backer.⁶

This connection of the two artists through their drawings must be qualified, however. We lack the evidence to concretely identify Van Noordt's early drawing style, of the 1640s. The London drawing marks the middle-point of Van Noordt's career as an artist. On the basis of its connection to the two painted depictions of *Pretioze and Don Jan*, it can be dated to around 1660. None of the artist's drawings can be placed much earlier. There are two model studies that relate to figures in his painting of *Venus and the Three Graces* in The Hague (cat. no. 16), and on this basis can be dated to around 1655 (cat. nos. D5 and D6). Although it is almost certain that the artist made many earlier drawings, and very likely in a similar style, none are known to have survived from the period between 1645-1650, immediately after Van Noordt started on his own.

The later development of Van Noordt's drawing style is indicated by the comparison of two particular sheets. The drawing in Amsterdam of *Seated Female Nude* (cat. no. D3), is closely related to the painting of *Susanna and the Elders* in Winterthur, allowing for a dating of around 1670 (cat. no. 8). The link between figure study and final painting is much the same as between the above-mentioned drawing in Hannover (cat. no. D2), and the earlier depiction of *Susanna* in Leipzig (cat. no. 7), placing both works around 1659. The two drawings, of the same subject, done at different times, demonstrate the changes

in the artist's approach during the intervening period. The Hannover study is more finished and static than its Amsterdam counterpart, with a variation of contours giving a very subtle impression of form. In the later drawing, in Amsterdam, Van Noordt employed stronger contrasts of line, and dark shadows, to give a more bulging and vigorous sense of the volume and weight of flesh. Also, the lines are more loosely drawn, and the hatching is more open, without any smudging to produce a smoother effect. These qualities give the impression that the artist worked quickly, also in applying the highlights, which are laid down in thicker, more direct strokes of white chalk, which produce a specular effect. In the head, many details have been treated in a cursory way, in contrast with the earlier drawing in Hannover, where Susanna's frightened expression can be read clearly in the drawing, almost more so than in the painting.

The same broader treatment seen in the Amsterdam *Seated Woman* appears in the *Study for the Labourer in Gibeah* in Amsterdam (cat. no. D1). The directly-applied highlights have become very linear and sinuous, and parallel the overall effect of movement in the painting for which this drawing was made, the lost *Levite and his Concubine* formerly in the Ofenheim collection (cat. no. 3), which can be dated to 1673. Lastly, the same distinct use of highlights and contour appears in two male figure studies, in Amsterdam and Rotterdam (cat. nos. D9 and D10). They can also be placed in this last identifiable phase of the artist's development as a draughtsman.

Van Noordt produced almost all of his drawings using the technique of two tones of chalk on greyish paper. As alluded to above, he inherited this technical feature of his drawings from his teacher, Jacob Adriaensz Backer. Whereas a number of Dutch artists applied it occasionally, Backer used it almost exclusively.⁷ He apparently learned it during his period of study under Lambert Jacobsz in Leeuwarden. William Robinson suggests quite plausibly that Rubens's use of this technique for many of his studies provided Lambert Jacobsz with a model for his own drawings.⁸ Unfortunately there are no surviving drawings to demonstrate Lambert Jacobsz's style. Sumowski has suggested that Backer's fellow-pupil Govert Flinck also acquired the technique of light and dark chalks while studying under Lambert Jacobsz. However, since it appears in Flinck's drawings only after 1640, it seems plausible that the younger artist was simply influenced by his older fellow-pupil Backer. Until then his repertoire had consisted largely of techniques learned from Rembrandt, who favoured the traditional combinations of black chalk or ink on white ground, using ink washes to suggest tonalities. For Flinck, and later Van Noordt, the use of light and dark chalks on grey paper provided a painterly range of tones. This technique more closely approximated the modelling of figures in the final painting.

Jan van Noordt's drawings in relationship to his paintings

Van Noordt's painting activity set the criteria for his drawings. The development of his drawing style followed that of his paintings. Drawing was apparently not an independent means of expression for him. An overview of the evidence of the few surviving drawings

indicates that they were closely tied to the production of paintings. Three-fifths of them, nine drawings, can be identified as preparatory drawings for specific paintings. In a number of these cases, Van Noordt took over the figure directly from the drawing, such as with the British Museum drawing of *A Standing Man Wearing a Hat* (cat. no. D8), mentioned above. In other cases he modified the pose in the final painting, as with the female nude studies used for the depictions of Susanna (cat. nos. D2, D3). This pattern of connection permits one to conclude that one of the remaining drawings, of a *Seated Youth* (cat. no. D4), also functioned as a figure study for a now-lost painting, probably of *The Prodigal Son*.

At the same time, Van Noordt seems to have made many of his paintings without the help of preparatory drawn studies. The Kingston painting of *The Massacre of the Innocents* is particularly unresolved in the organization of the figures in the background, which is often confusing, and sometimes illogical (cat. no. 12). An infrared reflectogram study of this painting has revealed that the artist planned his picture quite spontaneously, with the underdrawing consisting of short hatches rather than long flowing contours, and furthermore, that there were many changes and additions at the painting stage. Indeed, the background and setting of most of Van Noordt's paintings were likely designed on the canvas. Most of his drawings do not include these aspects of the composition, but instead concentrate on the figure.

A painting that clearly combined preliminary study and spontaneous composition is Van Noordt's *Pretioze and Don Jan*, represented in two nearly-identical versions (cat. nos. 27 and 28). The study drawing for the figure of Don Jan to the right attests to the artist's care of preparation (cat. no. D8). The background is, however, filled with a more loosely-arranged and drawn crowd of Gypsies, attendants, and hunting hounds. They were apparently drawn directly on the canvas, without the aid of preparatory studies.

For three other drawings, the function with respect to Van Noordt's paintings is less obvious. Sheets in Amsterdam (cat. no. D13) and Mänttä (cat. no. D14), and one last in Paris (cat. no. D15) portray members of families. They were quite likely also made in preparation for multi-figured works, that have since disappeared. We know that Van Noordt was accustomed to painting family portraits, by the evidence of examples in Bordeaux (cat. no. 54), Dunkerque (cat. no. 56), and one that was last at a sale in Paris (cat. no. 55). The closest connection among these pieces is between the dynamic family group in Dunkerque and the lively drawing in Amsterdam.

Van Noordt's drawings in the academic context

While Backer applied many of his drawings to the preparation of paintings, he also produced some that functioned purely as figure studies. He was joined by several other artists in Amsterdam, among them Govert Flinck, in pursuing a semi-academic approach to drawing from the live model. There are nude studies by both artists that show the same

model and pose, from slightly different angles, attesting to their simultaneous production.⁹ These sheets date to the second half of the 1640s, a time during which Flinck is documented to have been drawing from the model.¹⁰ Another document attests to Flinck's continuation of this academic practice, after Backer's death in 1651.¹¹ Among the examples of such studies by Backer, only one can be connected to a painting. They were mainly drawings of women, in languid poses that generate light erotic overtones, not wholly consistently with academic aims.

Backer's example very likely influenced Van Noordt. The surviving drawings by Van Noordt are primarily figure studies, rather than compositional studies. Indeed, during the latter half of the 1660s, his own studio may have been the site for a kind of Academy for drawing from the nude. This can be deduced from the evidence of Houbraken's biographies of Johannes Voorhout, Van Noordt's pupil, and of the Enkhuizen-born painter Dirck Ferreris (1639 - 1693). Ferreris apparently joined Voorhout in attending this "drawing-school" shortly after he returned from Rome, around 1667.¹² This would have occurred during the period of Voorhout's tutelage under Van Noordt, which took place approximately 1664-1669.¹³ The single aspect of Van Noordt's role as a teacher that Houbraken cited, is that he taught Voorhout to work from nature, or life, as his model. Houbraken's scattered references point to an academic approach to artistic training in Van Noordt's workshop, that the master would have taken over from Backer and Flinck.

Only two of the surviving drawings seem to have functioned purely for study, in the academic sense (cat. nos. D10 and D11). They are both drawings of male nudes, convincingly observed. They seem to have been taken from the same model, and so possibly reflect only one session of model study. They do not correspond to any of his paintings, and also do not evoke a figure in any historical theme. As mentioned above, the style of these two drawings dates them to around 1670.

Conclusion: painterly versus academic criteria

Viewed as a whole, the oeuvre of drawings indicates that Van Noordt himself relented in the academic practice of drawing from the model, that was aimed at refining the artist's understanding of anatomy, and cultivating a repertoire of poses. He apparently did not make many drawings that functioned purely as independent studies. Van Noordt seems to have produced most of his drawings with a painting in mind. Some of the drawings, like the *Susanna* study in Hannover (cat. no. D2), seem to have been done without the aid of a live model, to judge by the errors in anatomy. The concentration on the figure in Van Noordt's drawings owed to the influence of Backer, and to the prominent place that he began to give the figure in his later paintings. Yet even in these paintings, Van Noordt's interest was not absorbed by the figure alone. It was balanced with the painterly goal of overall emotional expression, and the iconographic project of exemplary themes, as previous chapters have demonstrated.

Chapter Five: References

1. See collection catalogue Hannover 1960, p. 25, no. 31.
2. Schatborn 1979, pp. 120, 128 note 18.
3. See Appendix (2 May 1675).
4. See collection catalogue London 1915-1930, vol. 4, pp. 7-8.
5. See Mellaart 1926, p. 28; and: collection catalogue London 1915-1930, vol. 4, pp. 7-8 (with illustration plate 15).
6. Although Flinck would continue to develop the hatched style of pen-and-wash drawing that he had acquired under Rembrandt's tutelage, the use of two chalks and grey paper began to dominate his drawn output in the late 1640s, and appears in a number of drawings dating to ca. 1646, including the *Portrait of a Man standing next to a Table*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 390 x 240 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (inv. no. 1975:84); see Sumowski 1981ff., vol. 4, pp. 1908-1909, no. 873 (with illustration).
7. See: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam, Vienna, New York and Cambridge 1981-1982, p. 118.
8. See: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam, Vienna, New York and Cambridge 1981-1982, p. 118 note 1. Held pointed to Goltzius as a possible influence, on Rubens's use of chalk in portraits. See: Held 1959, vol. 1, p. 52.
9. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Seated Female Nude*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 288 x 228 mm, Boston, collection of Maida and George Abrams; Govert Flinck, *Seated Female Nude*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 363 x 249 mm, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 1327); see: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam, Vienna, New York and Cambridge 1981-1982, pp. 118, no. 50, note 7 (with illustrations).
10. See: Dudok van Heel 1982, pp. 74-75.
11. See: Bredius *Künstler-Inventare*, vol. 4, p. 1255.
12. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 185: "...J. Voorhout, die met hem (na dat hy van Rome weder tot Amsterdam was gekeert) op een Oeffenschool naar't leven geteekend heeft,..." (J. Voorhout, who [after he had returned from Rome to Amsterdam] joined him in drawing

from life at a Practice School,...); see: Hofstede de Groot 1893, p. 82; and: Thieme-Becker, vol. 11, p. 474, (*s.v.* Ferreris [Freres], Dirck *oder* Theodorus).

13. On the period of Voorhout's tutelage see: Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 212-213, no. 14, and Chapter One, note 25.

Conclusion

Jan van Noordt is inseparable from the most important centre of art in the Northern Netherlands in his time, Amsterdam. The background of his family is obscure, but it seems that by 1640 he was firmly established in this city, with his father and his brothers. Jacob Adriaensz Backer was also there, and it was through Backer that Van Noordt established his contact with Abraham van den Tempel and his brother Jacob. Van Noordt seems to have also made the acquaintance of the Amsterdam doctor and playwright Samuel Coster. Apparently, Van Noordt did not marry or have children. He stayed in Amsterdam until the end of his known period of activity as an artist.

The earliest of three paintings of *Cimon and Iphigenia* (cat. no. 24) by Van Noordt demonstrates his dependence on the Amsterdam painter Jacob Adriaensz Backer at the beginning of his career, in the mid-1640s. The two prints he produced at that time are isolated instances. He likely studied with Backer. Van Noordt turned to compositions that concentrated on the figure, and emphasized modelling, following Backer's idiom. Around 1659 he changed his style in favour of greater concentration of light. In the decade of the 1660s he adopted smooth forms and flowing lines. The movement of these lines, usually along the edges of forms and in drapery folds, begins to show more organization towards the end of the decade, generating a dynamic overall effect. A second important change occurred around 1672, when Van Noordt adopted a rougher style, incorporating open brush work and unfinished passages. He was apparently emulating the late work of

Rembrandt. In this way he brought a strong expression of pathos to his late works, which were mostly history paintings.

The identification of Van Noordt's style and its development has brought with it the de-attribution of many works. This is an important step towards recognizing the artist's goals and his success in achieving them. He seems to have achieved private patronage, such as Backer had commanded, at the middle point of his career, around 1659. Almost all of his portraits date to after this point. Until around 1660, Van Noordt's output consisted largely of history paintings, and genre scenes, the latter being mostly pastoral themes. An analysis of the appearance of his works in early inventories suggests that these genre scenes were not painted on commission, but were sold through dealers. By 1663 at least, Van Noordt had attracted attention in the most elite strata of Amsterdam society, painting portraits for Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper. His success was, however, apparently limited, as no evidence of other portrait commissions at this level has come to light. Only history paintings by Van Noordt appear in the inventories of a number of affluent Amsterdammers. The same broad stratum of successful merchants, just below the patrician class, is indicated by one of the two identified sitters for portraits, Dionijs Wijnands. After the economic downturn of 1672, Van Noordt seems to have lost his private patronage for portraits, and continued to paint history paintings. Yet it would be speculative to link the new situation with the experimental, expressive direction of his style in these later years.

Some of the concerns of his society are borne out in the choice of subject matter of Jan van Noordt's history paintings. While aesthetic theories linked to tragic theatre have been proposed, it seems that the teaching function of history paintings often depended on the presentation of exemplars of behaviour. This strategy lies behind some of the artist's more puzzling choices of theme, such as the scene of the field labourer offering shelter in the Biblical story of the Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah, and the meeting scene from Pieter Cornelisz Hooft's play *Granida*. These themes relate to two broader categories, that apply to most of the history paintings in the oeuvre, namely, *exempla* of virtue and *exempla* of love. The second of these two provided the context for Van Noordt's most original iconographic contribution to history painting, represented in two depictions of *Pretioze and Don Jan* (cat. nos. 27, 28), based on a contemporary Dutch play version of a novella by Cervantes.

The known surviving drawings by Van Noordt confirm the link to Backer, and the apparent importance of portraiture and history painting. Their technique of light and dark chalks on medium-toned, blue-tinted paper, was borrowed directly from Backer. In contrast with Backer, Van Noordt did not produce many independent figure studies. A high proportion of his drawings connects to figures in known paintings. He seems to have made drawings mainly in preparation for figures in portraits and history paintings.

The surviving pictorial evidence shows that Van Noordt was not the eclectic he was once thought to be. He consistently followed Jacob Adriaensz Backer's example in many

aspects of his artistic career. His absorption of aspects of Flemish style seems to have been mostly through Backer, and only partly through direct exposure to Flemish art. The lack of more solid indicators of this discipleship may be due to special conditions. Van Noordt possibly started painting as an amateur, taking a different direction than his musician brothers. It is possible that he thereupon divided his time between art and business, much like his friend Abraham van den Tempel. His merchant activity would likely have been curtailed when he achieved greater success gaining private commissions toward the end of the 1650s.

In the 1660s in Amsterdam, Jan van Noordt created paintings that combined flamboyance and seriousness in style and in subject matter. He was evidently much inspired by the lofty aspirations and the success of Backer's career, before its premature end in 1651. Van Noordt also seems to have attended to the work of Govert Flinck, who had a dominant position in Amsterdam in the 1650s, and who was closely associated with Backer. Around the time of Flinck's death in 1660, Van Noordt began to produce his most distinctive works. He achieved a resolved approach to light and composition, that lent great force to expression. His work was in demand during the following decade. His reputation during this period remains a point of speculation. The high point of his career probably occurred around 1667-1670, when a patron asked him to paint the *Juno* now in Braunschweig (cat. no. 14). Its grand scale and lofty subject matter point to a very high level of patronage, about which nothing is known for certain. It remains possible that Van Noordt painted this canvas for the large walls of a noble or courtly residence outside of the Netherlands.

Reports of such an illustrious commission may underlie Houbraken's implication that he achieved fame in his own day as a history and portrait painter.

Catalogue

History Paintings

1.

Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert (Genesis 21: 9-21)

Canvas
90.8 x 113 cm

Kingston, Canada, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Drs. Alfred and Isabel Bader in 1997

Provenance:

Purchased by Robert Hannington in England in 1848; Baltimore, collection of Dr. George Reuling; sale Dr George Reuling *et al.*, London (Anderson Galleries), 4-5 November 1925, lot 156; W.W. Price (a niece of Dr. George Reuling); New York, Dr. Frederick Mont, dealer; Raleigh, North Carolina, Chrysler Museum; sale Walter P. Chrysler Jr., New York (Sotheby's), 1 June 1989, lot 49 (with colour illustration); Milwaukee, collection of Drs. Alfred and Isabel Bader

Literature:

Schneider 1931, p. 511; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 142 note 49; vol. 5, pp. 3061, 3064 note 53a, and 3075 (with colour illustration); vol. 6, p. 3737, with no. 2408; Van de Kamp 1994, pp. 31, 49 note 46

Exhibitions:

Birmingham, *et al.* 1957-1958 (not numbered or paginated)

In this work Jan van Noordt depicted the Old Testament story of the banishment of Hagar and Ishmael to the desert. Genesis 21 tells how Abraham expelled Hagar, the Egyptian servant of his wife Sara, and Ishmael, the son he had with Hagar, from his household. Abraham did this at the insistence of Sara, who was angry at Ishmael for insulting her son Isaac. Soon Ishmael began to waste away from heat and starvation, and Hagar abandoned him under a bush, because she could not bear to see him suffer and die. Jan van Noordt chose the moment when her lament gained the ear and the sympathy of God. The angel approaching her from above is about to deliver a divine message of hope, that both of them will live, and furthermore, that Ishmael will go on to father one of the world's great nations. Hagar had been sent away once earlier, when she was pregnant (Genesis 16).

This is the second expulsion, as her son Ishmael is present. He appears as a vulnerable infant. The States Bible left the age of Ishmael in confusion, explaining that the "child" (*kint*) was actually a boy of 17.¹ Van Noordt opted for the traditional depiction of Ishmael as an infant, an element which might have aimed to increase the viewer's sympathy. The figure of Hagar also does not accord with the story, which identifies Hagar as a young woman. Van Noordt has depicted a middle-aged woman, and one who does not have the idealizing, general features typical of history paintings. They are the features of a patron, who commissioned this painting as a *portrait historié*. The sitter may have sought to connect herself with Hagar's specific plight, of having a child in danger, or more generally with the exemplary humility that Hagar showed in her desperate situation.

The significance of the story of Hagar and Ishmael to Northern Netherlanders in the 17th century remains unclear. Perhaps they were attracted to its elements of crisis and compassion. The moment of angelic intervention furthermore provided a female parallel to the scene of *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*. The story of Hagar occurs several times in the work of Rembrandt and his followers.²

The scene conceived by Jan van Noordt is remarkable in Dutch art, for its dramatic force. Rarely does one encounter a composition where the main figures so crowd out the immediate foreground, as Hagar and the angel do here. The angel especially projects into the viewer's space, through the strong foreshortening of his figure. Furthermore, the artist conceived the scene as turbulent and dramatic. Hagar twists away to the right, having cast Ishmael under a bush to the left, while the angel sweeps down from heaven with wings spread, toward the viewer. Elements of this composition came from other artists' depictions of the same subject. Most significant was a drawing by Rembrandt, showing a similar composition in the centre section, which Van Noordt may have had as his source.³ He enlarged the scale of the figure of Hagar, drawing attention to her expression of anxiety and desperation.

To add to the dramatic effect, Van Noordt left the broad contours of the underpainting to show through in the final work, apparently in emulation of the technique of some of Rembrandt's history paintings from around 1660.⁴ Jan van Noordt applied this similar approach in the bottom right area of his painting, where Ishmael lies on the ground. This daring lapse of finish lends his work an element of raw force. The sweeping movement and the loose and direct handling in this picture connects to the genre depiction of *A Boy with a Dog and a Falcon* (cat. no. 38), indicating a date of around 1675.

1. See: States Bible 1637, Genesis 21:15, note 21.

2. For a survey of the iconography of this and related subjects taken from the story, see: Hamann 1936, and Van de Waal 1947.

3. Rembrandt, *Hagar and the Angel*, reed pen and bistre, with corrections in white body-colour, 182 x 252 mm, Hamburg, Kunsthalle (inv. no. 22411); see: Benesch, vol. 5, p. 253, no. 904, (with illustration plate 1179).

4. See: Chapter Two, note 38.

2.

Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt (Genesis 47: 1-26)

Canvas

75 x 118 cm

Formerly monogrammed: GR

Milwaukee, Collection of Drs Alfred and Isabel Bader

Provenance:

Heidelberg, collection of Bankier Fries; Basel, W. Räber Gallery, ca. 1930 (as B. Fabritius); Aarau, collection of Emil Rothpletz, in 1938 (as Aert de Gelder); sale Robert Biedermann-Mantel *et al.*, Lucerne (Fischer), 16-20 June 1964, lot 1594 (as attributed to Aert de Gelder)

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1. pp. 140, 142 note 60, 167 (with colour illustration); vol. 5, p. 3111, with no. 2138; vol. 6, pp. 3588 (as dated 1675), 3737, with no. 2408; Sumowski 1986, pp. 28, 37 note 41; collection catalogue Bordeaux 1990, pp. 226, 227 note 8; exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, p. 241 note 8; Von Moltke 1994, p. 170, no. R 8; Van de Kamp 1994, pp. 47, 53 note 159

Exhibitions:

Kalamazoo 1967, p. 13 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt, *Elisha and the Widow of Obadiah*); Milwaukee 1974, no. 19 (with illustration, as *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*); Milwaukee 1976, p. 60, no. 25, and 61 (with colour illustration); Yokohama *et al.* 1986-1987, pp. 91 (with colour illustration, as ca. 1650), 159, no. 35; Kingston 1984, pp. 74-75, no. 35 (with illustration)

The subject matter of Van Noordt's work was previously thought to be the Census in Bethlehem, but Alfred Bader drew the connection to the story of Joseph and its treatment by Claes Cornelisz Moyaert.² The depiction of this theme is discussed in greater detail in the second chapter. The people of Egypt face starvation after seven years of famine, and appeal to Joseph, who oversees the stores of grain that had been stockpiled during years of plenty. Genesis 47: 1-26 tells how the people of Egypt subjected themselves and their land to state ownership, for food. Joseph, in his role as highest government official, oversees this business. His own brothers will also come to him out of Palestine to buy grain, and so he will be reunited with his family.

The story promoted the virtue of foresight, as a God-given talent required of a ruler.³ This dry political message is not emphasized by Jan van Noordt, who instead created a human

drama. Compared to the depictions by Moyaert, Van Noordt imparted greater pathos. He emphasized the confusion of the children, the desperation of their parents, and the sympathy of Joseph, largely through facial expressions and bodily poses (for example the low bow of the father meekly approaching Joseph), but also through the turbulent movement of his late style. The energetic and bulging figures form several groups, organized in a pulsating rhythm across the horizontal format. The Flemish approach of engaging the entire picture surface, in favour of an overwhelming effect, is here elaborated with a strong focus on a few figures, in whom the moment is encapsulated: the anxious father and his distracted son in the foreground, and Joseph, seated and pondering, in lavish garments and a turban. Unfortunately, the expression of Joseph's own reaction has suffered under the brush of a restorer, who rendered him cross-eyed. Olivier Le Bihan noted that this painting shares a deeply emotional tone with other late paintings by the artist, such as the portrait of a widow and her two sons, in Bordeaux (cat. no. 54).⁴

Van Noordt's interpretation becomes clear when compared to the works that influenced it. In choosing this theme, Van Noordt looked back to the work of the so-called "Pre-Rembrandtists." Paintings by Claes Cornelisz Moyaert and Pieter Lastman depict the same episode in Genesis.⁵ However, their static figures and restrained gestures produce very orderly scenes, that emphasize Joseph's rationality, rather than the crisis faced by the people around him. Van Noordt also looked to the work of Pieter Lastman, for his figure of Joseph, which was taken from Lastman's figure of David in the *David and Uriah* in The Hague.⁶

1. Pieter Lastman, *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*, panel, 58.4 x 87.6 cm, signed and dated 1612, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland (inv. no. 890). See: Kurt Freise, "Rembrandt und Lastman," *Cicerone* 5, 1913, pp. 610-611 (with illustration); and Hermina Tunsina van Guldener, *Het Jozefverhaal in de Nederlandse Kunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, dissertation, Utrecht, 1947, pp. 78-80. See also exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1991, p. 75, ills. 22 and 23.

2. Bader 1974, no. 19.

3. One of the earliest known moral interpretations of Joseph, as an exemplar of Prudence, was by Ambrosius. See: Ursula Nilgen, in: *L.C.I.*, vol. 2, col. 423 (s.v. Joseph von Ägypten). See also: States Bible, 1637, Genesis 41: 16, note 23, which emphasizes that Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream, in terms of years of plenty and famine in Egypt, was divinely inspired. Verse 38, note 49 further characterizes Joseph as a leader in Egypt: *Verstaet wijsheyt en voorsichticheyt/ die Godt sijne geest desen man op eene bysondere wijze gegeven heeft.* (Meaning wisdom and foresight, which God gave this man through his spirit in a special way).

4. Exhibition catalogue Bordeaux 1990, pp. 226-227.

5. Astrid Tümpel lists three versions of the theme by Claes Cornelisz Moyaert: canvas, 136 x 179 cm, ca. 1650, Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre (acc. no. 23-38 [1980]), see: Tümpel 1974, pp. 122 (with illustration no. 167), 253, no. 50; panel, 69 x 103 cm, monogrammed and dated 1633, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, (inv. no. 5259), see: Tümpel 1974, pp. 94 (with illustration no. 126), 252-253, no. 48; (support not known), 122 x 168, monogrammed and dated 1644, Stockholm, B. Rapp (dealer), in 1956: Tümpel 1974, pp. 114 (with illustration no. 154), 253, no. 49.

6. Pieter Lastman, *David and Uriah*, panel, 41.5 x 62.5 cm, signed and dated 1619, The Hague, Mauritshuis, on loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland (inv. no. NK 2834); see exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1991, pp. 108-109, no. 12 (with colour illustration).

3. (p)

The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah (Judges 19: 16-21)

Canvas

48 x 60 cm

Formerly signed and dated 1673

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale Paul Mantz, Paris, 10 May 1895 (Lugt 53522), lot 72 (as *Generosity*, by Jan van Noordt, 48 x 60 cm, signature partially effaced: "*Un homme richement costumé à l'orientale est assis à droite. Une jeune femme s'appuie sur ses genoux. Derrière ce groupe, un mulet chargé de bagages. À gauche, un vieillard debout semble inviter les voyageurs à pénétrer dans sa maison. La femme placée au premier plan est celle que figure dans la Contenance de Scipion de musée d'Amsterdam.*" [A richly dressed man in oriental dress is seated to the right. A young woman bows on her knees. Behind the group a mule loaded with baggage. At the left, an old man standing seems to invite the travellers into his house. The woman in the foreground is the same as the one who appears the Contenance of Scipio in the museum in Amsterdam]); Vienna, collection of Wilhelm Ofenheim, in 1930

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 213, no. 17, 217, no. 18 (as an historical subject with three figures in a landscape, signed "J. ...rt" and dated 1673); Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Kronig 1911, p. 156; Poglayen-Neuwall 1930, p. 130 (with illustration fig. VI, as a *Biblical Scene* by Barent Fabritius); collection catalogue Louvre 1929-1933, vol. 3, p. 42, with no. 1233 (as the Levite in Gibeah, by Van Noordt); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 142 note 49; Manuth 1987b, p. 114, note 387

Judges 19 tells of a Levite travelling with his concubine through the area of Gibeah, and stopping in a town square to rest for the night. They are offered a place to stay by a field labourer, who is concerned for their safety. That evening his house is assaulted by men of the town, who demand the Levite, for sex. They are placated by the offer to be given the mistress, whom they then abuse to death. In reaction, the Levite dismembers her body and sends out the parts throughout the tribes of Israel, in an appeal for justice. The town is in turn wiped out, in revenge for its crime. It is a gruesome story, that delivers several moral messages: warnings against homosexuality, infidelity, and recommendations of hospitality. A rarely-depicted theme in the art of any period, it was taken up almost exclusively by Rembrandt and his pupils. An important article by Volker Manuth addresses the difficult question of the meaning and interest of the theme of the Levite in Gibeah.¹ Manuth points

out that the cruel fate of the concubine was over-interpreted in the States Bible translation, as divine punishment for her unfaithfulness to her partner.² The depictions by seventeenth-century Dutch artists mainly take up a positive message; they focus on the kind and concerned offer of the field labourer in the square, and project the importance of showing hospitality to one's neighbour and to travellers from elsewhere. The figure group is even similar to that found in allegorical scenes of Hospitality. The scene of Hospitality was traditionally included in printed and painted series of the Seven Acts of Mercy, derived from Christ's Sermon on the Mount.³

Van Noordt's depiction of the theme of the Levite and his Concubine bears the stamp of his late style. The main figures are large in scale, and they occupy the immediate foreground. Drapery and figures are arranged in broad, sweeping movements. These aspects generate a powerful energy that enlarges the emotions of the figures: the desperation of the two travellers and the warm sympathy of the field labourer who offers them shelter and protection. These characteristics link this work with *A Boy with a Dog and a Falcon*, a modest-sized genre piece that Van Noordt painted in 1675 (cat. no. 38). Another work from the same period, the *Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert* in Kingston, pursues the same vigorous motion (cat. no. 1). As in that work, areas of the present painting are left rather unfinished, with dark painted lines of the underdrawing showing through. There is evidence from writers such as Houbraken that an unfinished style of painting could express a crude and comic mood, or the fresh and unvarnished conception of the artist. In the present painting, however, its most likely effect was to contribute to the drama of the predicament of the Levite and his girlfriend seeking refuge in an unfamiliar place. Its stark rawness complements the tumbling energy of the forms and brush work.

The drawn study of a man in poor clothing, clearly the Gibeon field-labourer, in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam, corresponds almost exactly to this representation (cat. no. D1). The figure faces left, and points away from us. The vigorous rhythms of bulging forms in the drawing are also only reflected in the style of Van Noordt's paintings of around 1675. The date of 1673 reported by Hofstede de Groot in 1892 is entirely plausible.⁴

1. Manuth 1987a.

2. States Bible, 1637, Judges 19: 1 note 1: "*Hier uyt onstanden mede de ongebondenheyt van des Levijten bywijf/ (die noch in Ephraim/ noch in Juda gestraft wert)* (Also came about because of the looseness of the Levite's concubine (who was punished in neither Ephraim nor in Judah); Judges 19: 2: "*Maer zijn wywijf hoereerde/ by hem zijnde/ ende tooch van hem wech nae haers vaders huys* (but his concubine whored when she was with him, and left him for her father's house). Note 5 elaborates: *Ofte/ tegens hem: D. tegen de trouwe des houwelijcx/ die sij hem beloof hadde/ bedreef sij overspel met anderen. Want*

of wel de bywijven in't oude Testament van alsulcke eere ende weerdicheyt niet en waren/ also de opperste vrouwen ende moeders des huys-gesins/ so waren sy nochtans echte vrouwen/ ende hare kinderen echte kinderen... (Or against him: this against the vow of marriage which she had promised him, she committed adultery with others. Because even though the concubines of the Old Testament did not have the honour and status as did the head wives and mothers of the family, yet they were still true wives, and their children true children...). See: Manuth 1987a, pp. 20-21. Manuth points out that the translators arrived at the same interpretation of the guilt of the concubine as did Martin Luther in his translation. This similarity was no coincidence, as the States' commission urged that the currently-used translation be preserved wherever possible; this would have been the Bietskens translation, of Luther's text into Dutch. See De Bruin 1993, p. 234.

3. Manuth 1987a, pp. 21-22.

4. See Literature.

4.

The Triumph of David (I Samuel 18: 6-7)

Canvas

135 x 176 cm

Indistinctly signed and dated bottom left: *JvanN* (in ligature) /166-

Present location unknown

Provenance:

London, Shaper collection; sale, Ludwig-Peter von Pölnitz *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Sotheby's), 12 December 1973, lot 55 (as indistinctly signed); sale, London (Christie's), 8 July 1977, lot 83 (with illustration); sale London (Christie's), 15 February 1980, lot 103 (with illustration); London, Trafalgar Galleries (as signed and dated bottom left); sale, New York (Sotheby's), 6 October 1995, lot 231 (with illustration)

Literature:

Bénézit 1976, p. 750; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1., pp. 140, 142 note 64, 170 (with illustration); vol. 6, p. 3588; exhibition catalogue Paris 1987, p. 87 (with illustration)

Exhibitions:

Listed in the 1980 sale cat. as having been exhibited in the Singer Museum in Laren

Van Noordt created a theatrical and festive welcome for the Biblical hero David returning home from his famous confrontation with the Philistine giant Goliath. The young shepherd-warrior leads an entourage of soldiers and prisoners, and bears the head and sword of his victim. They approach from the left, and are greeted by a group of women and girls at the right side of the scene, who sing and present flowers to David.

The reception David received is described in some detail in the Biblical text, I Samuel 18: 6-7, including the gathering of the women from all the Israelite tribes, the playing of music, and the singing of a two-part response song praising David over King Saul.¹ It was a charged moment, because the jealousy of Saul was sorely provoked by this comparison, sending him into depression and giving grounds for his eventual war against David, by which David eventually gained the throne. The head of Goliath and his sword, being carried by David, do not actually belong to this event, but are a conflation with the earlier presentation by David of these items to Saul (I Samuel 17: 57).

Van Noordt thus chose a moment that brought with it an atmosphere of foreboding. Jan van Noordt had not yet fully mastered the painted expression of emotions in faces by the time of this painting, around 1660. However the visages here show a distinct

apprehension, as opposed to the expected jubilation at victory, and suggest the coming troubles that will accompany David's rise to power.

The Triumph of David was traditionally regarded as a prefiguration of Christ's entry into Jerusalem.² It was occasionally depicted by Netherlandish artists. Van Noordt's precedent was a painting by Jan Tegnagel (ill. 12), which was the source for the stage-like arrangement in the direct foreground, with the two main groups across from each other.³ The rich print tradition for the story focused not on David's triumph, but instead on the scene in which David with the Head of Goliath before Saul, which is also the subject of an early painting by Rembrandt (Br. 488).⁴ One of Rembrandt's sources had been a print that appeared in a series on the life of David by Phillips Galle published in a Bible edition by Plantin in Antwerp in 1575.⁵ David's Triumph is included as a background vignette in the scene of *The Meeting of David and Jonathan*, which may have been the inspiration for Tegnagel.

1. The musical instruments shown do not correspond with the States Bible, I Samuel 19: 6, note 11, which refers to a specific musical instrument, not known to the translators, who could only give "musical instruments". They speculate that it was a three-stringed instrument.

2. The typological connection to Christ's Entry into Jerusalem was already drawn in the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, the most important Medieval collections of typological interpretations: see: R.L. Wyss, in: L.C.I., vol. 1, col. 486, s.v. *David*.

3. Jan Tegnagel, *The Triumph of David*, panel, 55 x 73 cm, London, Katz (dealer), in 1991. It was there given to Lastman. Astrid Tümpel has recently reattributed it to Tegnagel, but interprets the theme as *The Return of Jephtha*: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1991, pp. 43-45 (with illustration no. 33).

4. Rembrandt, *David with the Head of Goliath before Saul*, panel, 27.2 x 39.6 cm, signed and dated 1627, Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlungen Basel (inv. no. G 1958.37); see: Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 129-136, no. A 9 (with illustration).

5. See: Montanus 1575.

5. (p)

David

Canvas
64 x 53 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 5 November 1963, lot 4 (with illustration, as J.A. Backer)

The subject at first seems to be a young cavalier. The half-length format seen here was favored for *tronies*, or character heads, but also for images of saints, especially in series. The figure is dressed *à l'antique*, placing it in Antiquity, or in Biblical times. The youthful visage and the prominent display of the huge sword leads to the conclusion that the young David is shown here with Goliath's sword, after his battlefield victory over the Philistine champion.

Like the *St John the Evangelist* (cat. no. 10), this work combines flamboyant movement of clothing and accessories. Both works additionally share a strong chiaroscuro reminiscent of the early compositions of Jacob Backer. Backer's broad-featured idealized type of male head is also taken up here, moreso than in the former work. The inaccessibility of this picture prevents any further assessment of its attribution to Jan van Noordt. The focus on curling edges and the reflections in the hilt of the sword are comparable to the painting of *St John* and point to a date of around 1650-1655.

6.

Susanna and the Elders (Daniel 13)

Canvas
113 x 93.5 cm

Utrecht, Museum het Catharijneconvent, on loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland (inv. no. NK 1700)

Provenance:

Amsterdam, collection of F. Schmidt-Degener; Amsterdam, Fa. Fetter (dealer), ca. 1940; sale, Amsterdam (Fa. Fetter), 1941, lot 17 (with illustration); sale M.C.Ph. De Vassy *et al.* (anonymous section), Amsterdam (Frederik Muller & Co.), 20-23 October 1942, lot 69; Amsterdam, W. Paech (dealer); Amsterdam, Eduard Plietzsch (dealer, in service to the German occupying force); Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, in 1945; lent to Utrecht Kunsthistorisch Instituut; returned to The Hague, Dienst voor 's-Rijks verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen in 1965 for restoration (now the Instituut Collectie Nederland)

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 143 note 70, vol. 6 pp. 3736, no. 2403, 4020 (with illustration); exhibition catalogue The Hague 1992, p. 260 (with illustration fig. 35b)

Exhibitions:

Amsterdam 1939, no. 69a (with illustration no. 16); Washington, Detroit and Amsterdam 1980-1981, pp. 212, no. 55, and 213 (with illustration, as ca. 1660); Utrecht 1989, pp. 92-95, no. 20 (with illustration); Amsterdam and Jerusalem 1991-1992, p. 253, no. 33 (with colour illustration)

Collection catalogues:

The Hague 1992, p. 227 (with illustration)

The Apocryphal book of Daniel tells how Susanna, the beautiful wife of Joachim, is confronted by two elders, who are used to holding court at the wealthy Joachim's house. They demand sex, threatening to accuse her of adultery if she refuses, which she does. They accuse her, but she is vindicated by the youthful prophet Daniel, who shows their testimony to be false. The story valorizes Susanna's steadfastness and Daniel's perceptiveness and cleverness, and condemns the adulterous lust and perjury of the elders.¹ It is also, however, erotically charged; the elders' obsession over Susanna's incomparable beauty is especially emphasized.

The immense pictorial popularity of Susanna's infamous bath was due to the combination of moralization and voyeurism. The tension between these two disparate concerns usually leads artists to emphasize one over the other. Van Noordt's three known Susannas all show different emphases. The Leipzig picture indulges most in fleshly display, while the Winterthur painting, in contrast, focuses intensely on Susanna's rejection of the unwelcome proposition (cat. nos. 7 and 8). The present work shares with Rembrandt's *Susanna in Berlin* (Br. 340) a sophisticated emphasis on Susanna's experience of moral dilemma, more so than of her eventual firm resolve.² Indeed, the present work is reminiscent of Rembrandt's interpretation, presenting Susanna in a stilled pose; later the artist would invest her figure with the movement typical of Rubens and Van Dyck.³ Van Noordt would also go on to attempt greater extremes of expression in his faces. Here he maintains the restraint typical of his history paintings before 1660, when he was beginning to develop this aspect of his art. The *Cimon and Iphigenia* of 1659 in Göttingen (cat. no. 26) was likely made a few years after this *Susanna*, which dates to around 1655.

1. Rembrandt, *Susanna and the Elders*, canvas, 76.6 x 92.7 cm, signed and dated 1647, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (inv. no. 828E).

2. For further discussion of the interpretation of Susanna as a moral exemplar, see Chapter Four, pp. 137-141.

3. Peter Paul Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*, panel, 198 x 218 cm, ca. 1610, Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando; Anthony Van Dyck, *Susanna and the Elders*, canvas, 194 x 144 cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (inv. no. 595).

7.

Susanna and the Elders (Daniel 13)

Canvas
168 x 146 cm

Leipzig, Museum der Bildende Künste (inv. no. 1636)

Provenance:

Leipzig, collection of Johann Thomas Richter (1728 - 1773); by descent to his son Johan Friedrich Richter; sale Richter, Leipzig (Rost and Wiegel), 15 January 1787 (Lugt 4122)¹; Leipzig, Fischer collection; sale Fischer, Leipzig, 8 May 1820 (Lugt 9791), lot 68 (to Lehmann, as 72z x 62.5z [169.8 x 147.4 cm]); Leipzig, Lehmann collection; Lützschena, collection of the Baron Max Speck von Sternburg; by descent to his son the Baron Alexander Speck von Sternburg; acquired by the Museum der Bildende Künste in 1945; returned to the Speck von Sternburg family, and subsequently donated to the museum in 1997

Literature:

Richter 1775, p. 314 (as Flinck); Parthey 1863, p. 441; Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 216-217, no. 17 (as Jan van Noordt); Becker 1904, no. XXX (with illustration, as Joan van Noordt); Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Kronig 1911, p. 156; Plietzsch 1915, p. 51; Decoen 1931, p. 18; "Deutscher Privatbesitz stellt aus," *Weltkunst* XI, no. 22/23, 6 June 1937, p. 2; collection catalogue Hannover 1960, p. 25, no. 3; Von Moltke 1965, p. 229 (with illustration); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 143 note 70; vol. 6, pp. 3736, with no. 2403; Prêtre 1990, pp. 88-89 (with illustration fig. 112); Heiland 1989, p. 156, note 50; Sumowski 1998, pp. 78, 79 note 22

Selected collection catalogues:

Speck von Sternburg 1827, no. 3 (as Govert Flinck); Speck von Sternburg 1889, p. 17, no. 141; Leipzig 1942, pp. 61-100; Leipzig 1967, p. 144, no. 1636; Leipzig 1979, p. 172, no. 1636; Leipzig 1995, pp. 138, no. 1636, 336 (with illustration no. 484)

Exhibitions:

Leipzig 1914, no. 218; Leipzig 1937, no. 54; Leipzig 1998, pp. 157-159, no. 1/84 (with colour illustration)

The theme is discussed in the previous entry for the Utrecht version of the theme. In the present painting, Susanna is shown facing toward the viewer, and striking an awkward pose, as if in the middle of moving away from the elders. They are taking Susanna by surprise as she bathes, and she is in the process of recognizing the sudden turn of events.

The painting emphasizes the clash between her state of innocence, and the sinister intentions of the elders. The comparison with the other two paintings indicates that they represent a different moment than the present picture. Both of those paintings have Susanna curling away; in the Utrecht painting she listens to the elders' proposition, and in the Winterthur painting she firmly signals her rejection of it. These two versions present the subsequent dilemma of the extortion. The emphasis shifts to Susanna's experience of agony, her resolve to behave virtuously, and her contempt of the proposition she faces.

At this point in his career, Jan van Noordt drew heavily from other Amsterdam artists in developing his approach to history painting. For a long time, this picture was thought to be by Govert Flinck, likely because the nude figure was similar to the style Flinck initially adopted from Rembrandt. Indeed, an eighteenth-century observer set up the comparison of this figure with a *Danae* by Titian also in the Richter collection, as an opposition of prosaic reality versus ideal beauty.² Such a characterization of the Rembrandtesque style was by then a commonplace. Yet this painting also shows the impact of the Flemish Baroque on Van Noordt, especially in the large figure scale and emphasis on movement. In adopting elements from Rubens and Jordaens, Van Noordt was also following the later Flinck and Backer. The emphasis on the nude reflects the approach of Van Noordt's two forebears. The connection to both of these artists in Van Noordt's work is further borne out by his figure drawings, in their use of black and white chalk on blue paper. One such drawing in Hannover was made by Van Noordt in preparation for the figure of Susanna in this painting (cat. no. D2).

1. Unfortunately the only known copy of this catalogue, the one cited by Lugt, in Berlin, perished in the war.

2. See: Richter 1775, p. 314.

8. (p)

Susanna and the Elders (Daniel 13)

Canvas
124 x 86 cm

Winterthur (Switzerland), collection of Gino Comuzzi

Provenance:

Sale M. Baron de Bankheim, Paris, 12 April 1747 (Lugt 662), (*grandeur naturelle, tableau rempli de passions, par Jean van Noort, de l'école de Rembrandt, h. de 3p 11po l. de 3p 3po* [127.1 x 105.5 cm]); sale Freifrau von und zu Brenken, Cologne (Heberle), 1 April 1886 (Lugt 45591), lot 90 (as Gottfried Schalcken, signed "G. Scalken" and dated 1673; to Baitzke); Munich, collection of A. Rupprecht, in 1889; sale H.Th. Höch, Munich (Joseph Albert), 19-20 September 1892 (Lugt 51022), lot. 192 (with illustration, as 126 x 102 cm, signed and dated G. Schalcken 1673); Paris, Demotte Gallery, 1925 - 1928

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1907-1928, vol. V, p. 327, no. 5 (as Schalken); Schneider 1931 (as Jan van Noordt), p. 511; Thieme-Becker, vol. 29, p. 570 s.v. Gottfried Schalcken; Bernt, vol. 2, p. 925 (with illustration); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 140, 142 note 50, 143 note 70, and 176 (with illustration); vol. 6, p. 3589, 3736, with no. 2403; Sumowski 1986, pp. 28, 37 note 41; exhibition catalogue Paris 1987, p. 85

Exhibitions:

Munich 1889, no. 152

For a discussion of the theme and its interpretation, see the entry for the painting in Utrecht (cat. no. 6). With the third known depiction of the confrontation between Susanna and the Elders, Jan van Noordt arrived at yet another interpretation. In Rembrandt-like fashion, he isolated the figure of Susanna, by placing it in strong light, and by having it fill the foreground space of his composition. The recent, unfortunate, trimming of the sides has served to heighten this effect. Her dynamic pose expresses powerfully her rejection of the Elders' advances, and of their proposition. Van Noordt developed another pose of this figure, in a drawing now with the P. de Boer Foundation in Amsterdam (cat. no. D3).¹ It is also a further development of his own conception in the painting in Utrecht, where the energy of her movement is still more restrained. He abandoned the rather awkward and titillating display of the interim version, the painting now in Leipzig.

This painting can be identified with an entry in the catalogue of a sale in Paris in 1747, which described the work as "life size, a picture filled with emotion, by Jan van Noordt, of

the school of Rembrandt." Indeed, this painting shows the artist at the height of his power to imbue his figures and compositions with emotional expression. By the late 1660s, Van Noordt started to reduce the distracting details by which he sought to enrich his earlier works, for example the Leipzig *Susanna*. The rendering of form, especially in the body of Susanna, starts to achieve the powerful bulging roundness typical of works after 1665. The artist began to exploit sweeping movement in figures and fabric, a characteristic element of works done from around 1670 onwards. Especially the organization of Susanna's pose shows Van Noordt's exploitation this expressive element in his painting. On the basis of style this work can be dated to around 1670.

1. Schatborn 1978, p. 120.

9. (p)

St John the Baptist Preaching (Matthew 3: 1-12; Mark 1: 4-8; Luke 3: 1-20)

Panel
86 x 116 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Augsburg, Galerie Gebrüder Veith, in 1786; Munich, collection of the Freiherr von Aretin; Würzburg, collection of Dr. F. von Rinecker (as Rembrandt); sale F. Von Rinecker, Cologne, 30 October 1888, lot 27 (with illustration, as Rembrandt van Rijn); Munich, Abt (dealer), in 1924; Stuttgart, L. Schaller, dealer, in 1941; Stuttgart, Nagel Collection, (as Rembrandt-school); sale, London (Christie's), Francis Phillimore *et al.* (anonymous section), 24 July 1987, lot 61 (with colour illustration); sale, London (Phillips), 6 July 1993, lot 256 (with colour illustration)

Literature:

Bauch 1926, pp. 31, 76, no. 8 (with illustration plate 23, as Backer); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 142 note 54, 162 (with illustration), vol. 6, p. 3588

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke relate the ministry of John the Baptist, the Hebrew prophet who devoted himself to the impending ministry of Jesus Christ. The life of John forms a New Testament type for the life of Christ, complete with miraculous birth and innocent, violent death. Most importantly, John preached a message of personal repentance and reform, in open areas outside of cities, and cultivated a following prepared to hear the message of Christ. The pictorial theme of John's preaching called for a densely-populated composition, with crowds of listeners. One of the first notable depictions was by Pieter Breughel, whose treatment of crowds it well suited.¹ In the seventeenth century, Rembrandt created an important interpretation of this theme (Br. 555).² Jan van Noordt's composition is reminiscent of Rembrandt's, in its state after it had been enlarged by the artist himself (ill. 1).³ To the right stands John the Baptist, identified by his dress, a poor garment of hair, specified in the Gospels.⁴ Van Noordt followed Rembrandt's method of separating the crowd into smaller groupings, in which people are distracted by each other so that many do not attend to the important message being delivered.

Van Noordt created another similar image in his early style, of around 1645, the Crucifixion in Avignon (cat. no. 13). An early strategy was to emphasize the landscape setting, outside of a city, seen here in the distance to the left. The mounds and hollows of the hillside also serve to isolate visually the different clusters of listeners. The basis for the attribution of this scene to Van Noordt, however, rests on the style of the figures, which

corresponds especially to another early history painting, the *Caritas* in Milwaukee (cat. no. 20).⁵ The faces show the same rounded modelling in translucent paint, with an emphasis on strong light and reflections. Van Noordt evidently sought in this way to dramatise the otherwise-static event.

1. Pieter Breughel the Elder, *John the Baptist Preaching*, panel, 95 x 160.5 cm, signed and dated 1566, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (inv. no. 51.2829); see: collection catalogue Budapest 1968, vol. 1, p. 101-2; vol. 2 (with illustration plate 95).

2. Rembrandt, *The Preaching of John the Baptist*, canvas on panel, 62.7 x 81.1 cm (enlarged from 39.8 x 49.5 cm), ca. 1634-1635, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (inv. no. 828K). Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 70-88, no. A 106 (with illustration). Kurt Bauch cites several variations on this theme in the work of Rembrandt and his followers. See Bauch 1957, p. 205.

3. See: Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, p. 82. The depiction of the same theme in the museum in Oldenburg, that has been attributed to Jan van Noordt, is based on Rembrandt's composition before he enlarged it. See cat. no. R17.

4. Matthew 3:4 and Mark 1:6.

5. Sumowski 1983-1995, vol. 1, p. 142 note 54. Sumowski reports that the initial attribution by Albert Blankert was based on the figures.

10.

St John the Evangelist

Canvas
70 x 50 cm

Private Collection, The Hague

Literature:

Sumowski 1986, pp. 25 (with illustration fig. 5), 26, 36 note 30

Van Noordt painted John the Evangelist as a half-length figure, drawing emphasis to his youthful visage, and to two important attributes, the chalice and the dragon. They refer to a story about an attempt on John's life by Aristodemus, after the evangelist interfered with the worship of Diana at Ephesus. John was given a chalice to drink from, but he saw a snake or dragon emerge from it, and recognized that it was poisoned.¹ Van Noordt chose a curious presentation for the dragon, placing it as a tiny creature on top of an enormous gold cup.

The gold cup itself is an free evocation of the famous *Nautilus Cup* created by the silversmith Adam van Vianen. Van Noordt changed the features and abstracted the figures and left out the lid. The original was not actually made of gold, but was only gilt. Its material was actually silver, formed through the technique of chasing, for which Van Vianen was famous. Van Vianen's cup was initially in the possession of the Silversmith's Guild in Amsterdam, having been commissioned by them in 1614.²

The *St John the Evangelist* shares with Van Noordt's early *Satyr and the Peasant Family* strong chiaroscuro with deep shadows, and a smooth and flowing handling (cat. no. 19). Much of the paint appears translucent, except for the bright red that Van Noordt distributed in various areas, such as the lips, the reflections in the golden Nautilus cup, and in the wrist and knuckles of the nearer hand that holds the cloak at the chest. The sash at the neck is also painted thickly in opaque white. The overall predominance of dark and restrained colours, especially in the clothing, places this work with history paintings done between 1650 and 1655.

Van Noordt's painting apparently soon found its way to Antwerp, where it was included as one of the works hanging on the wall in a Cabinet of Paintings by Hieronymus Janssens (ill. 13).³ The representation there, among works with varying subject matter, suggests that this painting was not made as part of a series, a typical arrangement with paintings of the evangelists. Like the *David*, of a different size and in a later style, it is an independent presentation, done for the open market, like the *tronies* of Rembrandt and his students.

1. L.C.I. vol. 7, col. 119. A concise summary of the story appears in: Hall 1974, p. 115.
2. Adam van Vianen, *Nautilus Cup*, silver, gilt, height 25.5 cm, width 13.2 cm, depth 10.9 cm, signed and dated 1614, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Van Vianen's celebrated creation made its way into numerous Dutch seventeenth-century paintings. See: Duyvené de Wit-Klinkhamer 1966, pp. 79-103. See also: exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1984, p. 75, no. 61 (with illustration); Ter Molen 1984, vol. 2, no. 409; and exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1993, pp. 452-452, no. 112 (with illustration).
3. Hieronymus Janssen, *View of a Gallery of Paintings*, canvas, 60 x 77 cm, Madrid, private collection. See: exhibition catalogue Madrid 1992, pp. 234-237, no. 33 (with illustration). My thanks to Albert Blankert for this information.

11. (p)

Mary and the Christ Child

Canvas

88 x 124 cm

Signed and dated lower left: Jv Noordt A° 1676

Gavnø, Gavnø Castle Foundation (inv. no. 5413-1)

Provenance:

Gavnø, collection of the Baron Redz-Thott, from 1785; transferred to the Foundation

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 214, no. 21, 218, no. 24; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Decoen 1931, p. 18; Christine S. Schloss, in: collection catalogue Hartford 1978, p. 168 note 4; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 74, 180 (with illustration); vol. 5, pp. 3111, with no. 2136, 3112, with no. 2141

Collection catalogues:

Gavnø 1785, no. 112; Gavnø 1876, p. 40, no. 112; Gavnø 1914, p. 35, no. 120

The artist has shown a mother, seated, with her child on her lap. Given the setting, in a wilderness, with the woman seated on the ground, and a basket at her side, Van Noordt almost took up the pictorial tradition of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt. Notably, Joseph and the donkey are absent. Van Noordt took one step further the traditional emphasis on the pair of Mary and the Infant Jesus. In doing so he transformed the traditional iconography of "The Rest on the Flight into Egypt," which usually included all three figures. By only depicting these two figures in the story, usually in a still moment and freed from the narrative context, the artist brought the viewer's attention to bear on their experience and their thought processes, and thus defined the event anew, in purely human terms. This approach appears more frequently in the work of Rembrandt, providing a platform for his particular genius in facial expression. The same facility was much more slowly developed by Van Noordt, over the course of his career. He often preferred a restrained suggestion of facial expression, as seen in this image.

The restful composition and handling here show Van Noordt adapting his style to his theme. This composition is not as dynamic as the others from Jan van Noordt's late period, where its date of 1676 firmly places it. In *The Kingston Hagar* (cat. no. 1) and the *Bordeaux Portrait of a Widow and her two Sons* (cat. no. 54), the artist had been developing the effect of movement by creating sweeping lines and linear waves in the contours of figures and drapery. He built up energy by emphasizing the robust mass of

these volumes. What links these two images with the present one is their demonstration of the artist's long-sought mastery of the depiction of human emotion. The other two examples present passionate extremes of feeling. In the Gaunø picture he is much more moderate, achieving an atmosphere of restful tenderness. The mother, reclines against a tree, her slack features attesting to fatigue, but perhaps also to her devotion to her remarkable child. He smiles and playfully reaches for her breast. Their stillness is further underlined by the choice of a horizontal format.

1. My thanks to Albert Blankert for pointing out the connection to this approach in Rembrandt's work, which has been discussed most extensively by Christian Tümpel. Tümpel coined the term *herauslösung* (freeing-out-of) for it: Tümpel 1968, pp. 161-187.

12.

The Massacre of the Innocents (Matthew 2: 16-18)

Canvas
91 x 110 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Drs Alfred and Isabel Bader

Provenance:

Sale C. Sherston *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 29 October 1948, lot 150 (as signed and dated: J. van Noordt 166-); London, collection of Dr. E. Schapiro, in 1953; from there acquired for the Agnes Etherington Art Centre in 1980 by Dr Alfred Bader

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 61, 169 (with colour illustration), vol. 6, p. 3588; De Witt 1993, *passim*.

Exhibitions:

Kingston 1988, pp. 106-109, no. 26 (with illustration)

The story depicted in this painting appears in only one of the four gospels, Matthew, who tells of the mass infanticide of baby boys in Bethlehem, ordered by the ruler under the Romans, Herod. Herod had earlier been informed, by the three Magi, of the presence of a future king in Israel. Worried about an insurrection, he attempted to eliminate the young Jesus Christ, by having all young boys in the town put to the sword.

The Massacre of the Innocents is not a common theme in Dutch seventeenth-century art. The most direct precedent for Jan van Noordt's depiction of this theme is a work by Pieter Lastman, in Braunschweig (ill. 14). Jan van Noordt took over the motif of soldiers throwing babies from a building.¹ Van Noordt seems to have independently chosen to include a prominent obelisk, which could be a proleptic reference to the Flight into Egypt, by which the young Jesus escaped this violence.² In terms of style, however, Jan van Noordt drew heavily on Flemish Baroque for this painting, which is pitched in its emotions and movement. Rapid sinuous lines of reflections in drapery are only the accent to a surface mobilised with overall sweeping lines, powerful gestures of struggle, and expressions of panic, anguish, and brutality. A few other paintings by the artist also generate a turbulent atmosphere, through similar effects; a good example is the *Nymphs and a Satyr* with the Instituut Collectie Nederland in The Hague (cat. no. 17). The present work can likewise be dated to around 1660, consistent with the traces of a date reported in sale entry of 1948.³ Such paintings most strongly evoke the style of the Fleming Jacob

Jordaens, an artist who was held in high regard by many regent patrons of art in Amsterdam, and also by the House of Orange in The Hague. Van Noordt did not use a grand scale, one of the most important devices of Jordaens and his fellow artists in Antwerp. A depiction by Rubens, published in a print by Paulus Pontius, was likely a direct example for him.⁴ Such an energetic overall effect was also common for the Mannerist painters of the late sixteenth century, and is also to be seen in the depiction by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562 - 1638), which at the time hung in the Prinsenhof in Haarlem, and which Van Noordt likely knew, as it was described by Van Mander.⁵ Van Noordt developed a range of approaches, from simpler, more monumental figure arrangements, to more crowded groupings, such as also seen in the Rijksmuseum *Scipio* of 1672 (cat. no. 23).

The central figure of the mounted soldier reappears in modified form in a painting by Van Noordt's pupil Johannes Voorhout. One of the soldiers tormenting Christ in Voorhout's *Crowning with Thorns*, formerly with Bob Jones University, swings his forearm across in front of him, to strike a similar pose.⁶ He also wears a similar costume of armour. It is a rare sign of the master-pupil relationship between these two artists. Voorhout studied with Van Noordt from 1664 to 1669, a few years after this painting was likely made. Voorhout may have seen this work still in Van Noordt's studio, or at the place of a buyer or dealer. His own painting is early and probably dates to his period of study.

1. Pieter Lastman, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, panel, 85 x 122 cm, 1607-1608, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum (inv. no. 209).

2. My thanks to J. Douglas Stewart to suggesting this interpretation.

3. See Provenance.

4. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, canvas, 199 x 302 cm, ca. 1636-1638, Munich, Alte Pinakothek (inv. no. 752); see: exhibition catalogue Kingston 1988, p. 108; collection catalogue Munich 1998, pp. 314-317 (with colour illustration); Paulus Pontius, after Rubens, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, etching, in two sheets, 62.2 x 44.7 and 47.2 cm.: Hollstein, vol. XVII, p. 149, no. 5; Voorhelm Schneevoogt 1873, pp. 24, 25, no. 107. I am grateful to J. Douglas Stewart for signalling the importance of Pontius's etching.

5. Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, panel, 270 x 255 cm, signed and dated 1591, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum, on loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland. See: exhibition catalogue Detroit, Washington and Amsterdam, p. 78. For Van Mander's description, see: Van Mander/Miedema 1994-1999, vol. 1, pp. 430-431, fol. 293r..

6. Johannes Voorhout, *The Crowning with Thorns*, canvas, 77.5 x 63.5 cm, sale, New York (Christie's), 21 May 1992, lot 119 (with illustration, as signed J. Voorhout); formerly Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina.

13.

The Crucifixion

Canvas

105 x 94 cm

Inscribed in a later hand: *G.v.EeckHoudt*

Avignon, Musée Calvet, acquired in 1833

Provenance:

Possibly: sale C.A. de Court, widow of J. Meerman, Leiden (P. van der Eyk), 25 October 1754 (Lugt 846), lot 31 (as Gerbrand van den Eekhout, for f 61.-); possibly: sale Diderick Smith, Amsterdam, 13 July 1761 (Lugt 1165), lot 15 (f 150.- to Lafrens); sale Dr Johan Pieter Wierman, Amsterdam (Van der Land), 18 August 1762 (Lugt 1237), lot 2 (f 530.- to Hogenberg); sale, Amsterdam, 30 November 1772 (Lugt 2082), lot 1; sale Jan Tak, Soeterwoude, 5 September 1781 (Lugt 3295), lot 5 (f 499.- to Delfos); sale M. van Leyden, Paris, 10 September 1804 (sale postponed to 15 November), lot 30 (as 40 x 35 *pouces* [108 x 94.5 cm], 400f to Mr. La Roche)¹

Literature:

Roy 1972, pp. 165-166 and 220, no. 61 (as G. van den Eekhout, ca. 1655); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 142 note 55, 149, 165 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt), vol. 6, pp. 3588, 3735, with no. 2396a; Bruyn 1984, p. 149 (as Gerbrand van den Eekhout); exhibition catalogue Paris 1987, p. 86 (as Jan van Noordt); exhibition catalogue Basel 1987, p. 114 (with illustration 31a, as Jan van Noordt)

Van Noordt placed the crucified Christ to the right of centre with Mary at the foot of the cross. In front of it, one of the two thieves is being bound to a cross lying on the ground, while the other thief is being prepared for execution at the left side. The soldier with the long staff to the left probably refers to the moment just before Christ's death, when he is offered a sponge with vinegar for his thirst. This depiction bears many similarities to Govert Flinck's *Crucifixion* of 1647, now in Basel. They both have Christ's cross caught in light, standing to the right of centre, and clustered groups below.² The present work bears a Gerbrand van den Eekhout signature, whose atypical form marks it as false. The attribution to Van den Eeckhout was likely inspired by the Rembrandtesque use of light, and Van den Eekhout's reputation as a follower of Rembrandt, disseminated most prominently by Houbraken.³ Bruyn accepts the attribution to Van den Eekhout, however the many-figured composition is atypical for Eekhout, as Roy has pointed out.⁴ In this respect it bears greater similarity to Van Noordt's depiction of *John the Baptist Preaching* (cat. no. 9), and is properly placed in this artist's oeuvre. There are many correspondences with the figures there and in his other early paintings, especially the *Caritas* in Milwaukee

(cat. no. 20). The soft and glowing light, illuminating several areas against the surrounding darkness, yields a rounded modelling of form that is typical for the early Van Noordt. His authorship is also indicated by the curved edges and forms that generate agitated movement. The patchy modelling in translucent paint, and the diffusion of focus indicate an early date of ca. 1645.

1. My thanks to Volker Manuth for indicating these references.

2. Govert Flinck, *The Crucifixion*, panel, 119.2 x 89.2 cm, signed and dated 1647, Basel, Kunsthalle (inv. no. 212); see: Von Moltke 1965, pp. 31, 77, no. 57, (with illustration plate 15); see also Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 1024, no. 630, 1062 (with colour illustration); and: exhibition catalogue Basel 1987, p. 114.

3. Houbraken mentions that Van den Eeckhout was a close friend of Rembrandt, and also states that he was one of the best pupils of Rembrandt, and could approach his master's power to evoke the expression of emotions. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 174; vol. 2, p. 100.

4. For Bruyn's comment, see: *Rembrandt Corpus*, vol. 1, pp. 70-88, no. A 106. Roy maintained the attribution to Van den Eeckhout; see: Roy 1972, pp. 165-166, 220, no. 61.

14.

Juno in the Clouds

Canvas
275 x 287 cm

Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum (inv. no. 1373)

Provenance:

Impounded by the state in 1740 ("*kaufgericht*"); transferred to Schloß Braunschweig, Ducal collection, in 1820; transferred to the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in 1945

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, pp. 3112, no. 2140, 3287 (with illustration); exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, p. 241 note 8

Collection catalogues:

Braunschweig 1983, p. 156, no. 1373 (with illustration); Braunschweig 1990, pp. 54-55, no. 26 (with colour illustration)

The formidable female figure in this painting is the goddess of classical antiquity, Juno. An abundance of attributes makes the identity unmistakable. A summary of Juno's iconography appeared in Carel van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* of 1604, which was well-known among artists.¹ Corresponding to his description, her crown and scepter, purple cloth and robe, a chariot and horses, and her many jewelled trappings here complete her regal splendour. The obligatory peacocks are also present. Off to the left, Juno's husband Jupiter can be identified by the eagle with bolts of lightning in his beak, and by his crown. He is seated and looks on, holding his head in wonder. Another powerless spectator is the old woman appearing above to the right, with sagging breasts and snakes for hair; she represents *Invidia*, or envy. Juno is joined by six *putti*, who play with Juno's jewels and treasures.

The other accompanying figures are less conventional for representations of Juno. Immediately to the left of the goddess, a female figure holds a mirror before her, an attribute that identifies her as *Prudentia*.² Foresight, or intelligence, is one of Juno's qualities. The goddess also presides over fertility in Nature, which is referred to by the two figures in the distance to the right of the goddess. There, Bacchus, god of wine, raises his cup, and Ceres, goddess of grain, holds ears of corn.³ Van Noordt depicted this pair in his painting of *Sine Libero et Ceres, friget Venus* (cat. no. 18), in similar poses, but from different angles.

The three female figures to the right, who drape Juno's peacocks with pearls, are the *Horae* (the Hours), who attend to Juno.⁴ The *Horae*, children of Zeus and Themis, are goddesses of the seasons, and were traditionally linked to blooming (*Thallo*, Spring), growing (*Auxo*, Summer) and ripening (*Carpo*, Autumn) in Nature. Their connection to fertility linked them in turn to Juno.⁵ One of them holds an ear of corn, which may refer to Summer. Their ethical names were given to them by Hesiod: Spring became known as Eunomia (law and order), Autumn as Dike (Justice), and Summer as Eirene (Peace). Another role of the *Horae*, that seems to be represented here, was as wardens of the sky; they rolled the clouds back from the gates of Olympus, whenever the gods went forth in their chariots. The *Horae* were only rarely depicted in art, and there is no precedent for Van Noordt's representation of them as attendants to Juno. Van Noordt seems to have been lead directly by the antique reference, in Homer's *Iliad* (VIII, 479).

By presenting a deity with her attributes, not in the context of a particular story, Van Noordt's painting follows the approach applied by Hendrick Goltzius, who produced numerous prints of mythological figures, usually in series.⁶ Rembrandt's two depictions of *Flora* in St Petersburg and London (Br. 102 and 103), similarly function as portraits of deities, which form a marginal category of history painting.⁷ Themes drawn from classical literature reflected humanistic aspirations of the artist or patron, and remind us of Jan van Noordt's father, who was a schoolteacher as well as a carillonneur. He may have sparked his son's interest in learned subjects.⁸

Juno's features do not accord with Van Noordt's typical idealizations, and this painting may be a *portrait historié*. Sumowski has suggested that the sitter might represent a member of the House of Orange, because the colour takes special prominence.⁹ However, we have no other evidence of a link between the artist and the House of Orange. During the period of this painting, there was no stadholder, nor was there anyone at the court in The Hague who could have sat for such a portrait. The *risqué* pose is highly unusual and does not speak specifically in favour of a courtly patron for this work. Van Noordt may have taken as model someone from his circle, as had Rembrandt for the paintings mentioned above, for which Saskia was the sitter.

1. Van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghen*, fol. 126b (s.v. *Juno*).

2. One of Ripa's personifications of Prudence is a woman holding a mirror, by which she can recognize her own faults and shortcomings. See: Ripa 1644, pp. 622-623 (s.v. *Prudenza, of Wijsheid*).

3. For the iconography of Bacchus and Ceres, see cat. no. 18.

4. For a discussion of the roles of the *Horae* and their connection to Juno, or Hera, see: Pauly 1979, vol. 2, cols. 1216-1217 (s.v. *Horai*).

5. Thomas Döring first proposed the identification of these three figures as the *Horae*, linking them to Juno by way of their associations with Justice, and with fertility in Nature. See: collection catalogue Braunschweig 1990, p. 54.
6. Jan Saenredam, after Hendrick Goltzius, *Juno*, engraving, 317 x 247 mm, monogrammed and dated 1596; Bartsch 64; Hollstein, vol. 23, pp. 48-49, no. 65.
7. Rembrandt, *Flora*, canvas, 125 x 101 cm, signed and dated 1634, St Petersburg, Hermitage, (inv. no. 732); see: Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 2, pp. 495-503, no. A 93 (with illustration). Rembrandt, *Flora*, canvas, 123.5 x 97.5 cm, falsely signed and dated 1635, London, National Gallery, (inv. no. 4930); see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 148-160, no. A 112 (with illustration).
8. On Van Noordt's family, see Chapter One, pp. 13-16.
9. See: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, p. 3112.

15. (p)

Jupiter and Callisto (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II, 401-440)

Panel

77 x 107 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Amsterdam, Enneking Gallery, in 1965,; sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 11 December 1989, lot 409 (with colour illustration, as Jan van Noordt); sale, Paris (Drouot: Étude Tajan), 9 April 1990, lot 90 (with colour illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

Literature:

Moltke, 1965, p. 275, addendum (with illustration, as not by Govert Flinck); exhibition catalogue Delft, 1965 (with illustration, as Flinck); Sumowski 1979-1985, vol. 5, p. 1958; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 69, 174 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); Sluijter 1986, pp. 128, 129, 462 note 128-6

The subject of this picture is the seduction of Callisto, as told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*.¹ Callisto was one of Diana's nymphs, who were supposed to remain virgins, like the goddess herself. Callisto, the most beautiful among them, caught the eye of Jupiter, and in order to approach her, he changed into the shape of the goddess Diana, to whom she was devoted. In this guise he approached Callisto as she was resting from the hunt. When he asked her how the hunt had gone, she began to tell him about it, until he embraced her. The ensuing pregnancy outraged Diana, who turned the hapless nymph into a bear, and she was pursued by her own son, the hunter Arcas. The setting is created in Van Noordt's painting by the quiver and arrows lying on the ground in the foreground, and the two dogs to the left. Van Noordt showed the moment right before Jupiter's advance. Callisto is seen from the back, her hand raised in a gesture that emphasizes how innocently engrossed she is in the description of the action of the hunt, to her goddess. We see the face of Jupiter in Diana's guise, crowned with a half-moon, smiling with pleasure at Callisto's beauty before him, his eyes looking desirously into hers. The upper half of Callisto seen from the back, and the figure and face of Jupiter, correspond closely to a painting by Backer of the same theme, which is likely only a fragment of a larger composition (ill. 15). Van Noordt was evidently influenced by his teacher's work, just as with his early depictions of Cimon and Iphigenia.²

Sluijter has traced the evolution of the iconography of this scene in Dutch paintings.³ The illustration by Bernard Salomon to an important Ovid edition of 1557 was widely influential.⁴ Of greater importance for seventeenth-century artists was the depiction by

Rubens, now in Vienna, which emphasised the sensual figure of Callisto, reclining nude across the foreground, and the affectionate gesture of Jupiter, in Diana's guise.⁵ This painting seems to have been the source for Backer.

The attribution of this easel-size panel to Van Noordt was first made by Willem van de Watering. The back view of the figure of Callisto, with its broad and rounded shoulder, is typical for Van Noordt's depictions of female figures out of classical mythology. The swelling form of her hand, raised in the air, further shows Van Noordt's characteristic approach to anatomical form, especially in the use of the underdrawn contour line to strengthen the effect of roundness. The strong dark-light contrast distinguishes this painting as a Van Noordt, compared to the paler palettes Backer and Flinck typically applied to such subjects. A patchy quality, resulting from distributed highlights and flat areas of lighter tones, with abrupt transitions from light to dark, places this painting around the same time as the Cherbourg *Cimon and Iphigenia*, thus circa 1650. Von Moltke has identified as a study for the figure of Callisto, a drawing now with the De Boer Foundation in Amsterdam.⁶ The poses do not correspond closely, however, and the painting was likely made independently of this drawing.

1. See: Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, in: *Ovid*, vol. 1, trans. Frank Justus Miller, Loeb Classical Library 43, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1916, pp. 89-91.

2. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Jupiter and Callisto*, canvas, 68.3 x 57.5 cm, sale, London, Christie's, 29 October 1993, lot 57 (with colour illustration, as Gerrit van Honthorst).

3. Sluijter 1987, pp. 128-132.

4. See Borluit 1557.

5. Peter Paul Rubens, *Jupiter and Callisto*, panel, 126 x 184 cm, signed and dated 1613, Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen (inv. no. GK 86).

6. Attributed to Govert Flinck, *Reclining Female Nude*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 240 x 390 mm, Amsterdam, P. & M. de Boer Foundation. See: Von Moltke, 1965, p. 219, no. D220; and: Sumowski 1979-1985, vol. 5, pp. 1958-1959, no. 898 (with illustration). The match is not very close, especially not in the form of the back and shoulder, and in the isolation of the figure against a broad and open background.

16.

Venus and the Three Graces

Canvas
79 x 65.5 cm

The Hague, Instituut Collectie Nederland (inv. no. NK 1697)

Provenance:

Amsterdam, F. Rothman, dealer, in 1927; The Hague, collection of A.C. Baron van Heerdt; acquired by the Dienst voor 's-Rijks verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen in 1946 (now the Instituut Collectie Nederland)

Literature:

Bloch 1927, p. 605 (with illustration); Schneider 1931, p. 511; Staring 1946, p. 47 (with illustration 1, plate XVI); Von Moltke 1965, p. 272; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 143 note 68; vol. 5, p. 3112, with nos. 2140 and 2141; exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, p. 241 note 8

Exhibitions:

Exhibition catalogue The Hague 1936-1937, p. 39, no. 150

Collection catalogues:

The Hague 1992, pp. 226 (with illustration)

Van Noordt sought to capture the spirit of pagan mythology with a vibrant energy, and this picture can be grouped with the *Nymphs and a Satyr* also in The Hague (cat. no. 17). The goddess of Love is seated further back, and is joined by the three Graces, Agleia, Euphrosyne and Thaleia, seated and reclining in the foreground. The Graces, or Charities, were the daughters of Jupiter and Eurynome, and one of their traditional roles was to attend to Venus, preparing her for the Feast of Love, arousing her with their dancing and music.¹ Here, she is also joined at her right side by Cupid, who leans against her, holding an arrow in his fingers. The group of figures forms an arc around the centre, a motion echoed in the arch behind them, a piece of garden architecture consisting of trimmed shrubbery flanked by square pillars topped with vases. The motion is repeated again in the silhouette of a dome, further back. Four putti cavort about with a long festoon, and swathes of drapery continue the motion with its sweeping and rippling folds. This turbulent composition had its precedents in the work of the great Flemish masters. Van Noordt achieved a similar overall effect in his *Massacre of the Innocents* in Kingston (cat. no. 12). The present work, with its less-resolved composition, likely dates a little earlier, to around 1655.

Van Noordt was in the process of developing his representation of nude figures, at the time of this painting. Jordaens' vigorous and robust female deities are the likely model for the broad and round-shouldered figure in the centre foreground, who also appears, in a different pose, in the *Nymphs and Satyr*. For the figure of one of the Graces to the right, the artist seems to have adapted the pose of a drawing in Rennes of just the head and shoulders of a female model (cat. no. D6). The figure of Venus is more compact and smooth, and bears many similarities to the *Susanna* in Utrecht, and to the drawn figure study in Munich (cat. nos. 6 and D2).

1. See Roscher 1884-1937, vol. 1, col. 875-876 (s.v. *Charis, Chariten*).

17.

Nymphs and a Satyr

Canvas
83 x 67 cm

The Hague, Instituut Collectie Nederland (inv. no. 3260)

Exhibitions:

The Hague 1946, p. 20, no. 41; Utrecht 1946, p. 32, no. 75

Collection catalogues:

The Hague 1992, p. 227 (with illustration)

Several aspects of this image strongly suggest that the artist depicted a specific story, one not well known, and without an iconographic tradition. The various female figures to the right side are likely nymphs. The figure in the centre received more emphasis, caught directly in the fall of light, and oriented toward the viewer. She is possibly a goddess, and if so, she would likely be Diana, who was traditionally accompanied by *Dryads*, or wood-nymphs.¹ However, Diana's distinctive attributes of hunting gear, and the crescent-moon at her forehead, are not present. The wood-nymphs were also traditionally accompanied by the satyrs, their brothers, and approaching the nymphs from the left side is an ithyphallic satyr.² He seems to have his hands in the fire, perhaps alluding to his aroused state and its hazards. He also seems to be entreating the nymphs; an erotic proposition would be consistent for him. One of the nymphs at the far right, leaning forward over the shoulder of the prominent nymph standing at the centre, menaces him with a snarl, clenching her fist over her head. Such specific narrative clues suggest that a specific event is represented here, but it has not been possible to identify the scene. It is possible that Van Noordt simply made use of Classical personages in a genre-like fashion.³

The artist conjured a sinister, mysterious atmosphere in which to place these figures of classical antiquity. An eerie flickering light illuminates the faces of the two nymphs farther back, harshly, so that they look somewhat grotesque. The central figure is more lavishly and smoothly painted, but her features are in turn a little androgynous: especially her waist and breasts are unpronounced, the unconventionality adds to the mysterious atmosphere.

This painting can be grouped with several others by Van Noordt, including the *Venus and the Three Graces* also in The Hague, which feature many-figured compositions and a swirling overall movement (cat. no. 16). Even the trees and foliage in the background, and the illuminated edge of a cloud, are engaged. The effect is similar to the *Massacre of the*

Innocents, indicating a date of ca. 1660. The use of light to emphasize certain figures also emerged in Van Noordt's paintings of around this time.

1. See: Roscher 1884-1937, vol. 3, part 1, col. 522.
2. See: Roscher 1884-1937, vol. 3, part 1, col. 520-521.
3. Eric-Jan Sluiter has suggested that similar scenes by Cornelis van Poelenburg were free inventions, developed from the theme of Diana and Actaeon. Sluiter 1986, p. 76.

18. (p)

Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus (Terence, *Eunuchus* 4, 5, 732)

Canvas

Dimensions unknown

(Photo in the file of the Statens Fotografisamling pan Charlottenborg, Copenhagen)

Literature:

Decoen 1931, p. 18

This remarkable fragment is only known through a single photo preserved in Copenhagen. It shows the god of wine, Bacchus, decorated with grape leaves and holding a bunch of grapes in his right hand. He raises a bowl of wine in his left hand, as other figures watch. Behind him to the left is a Satyr, and across from him to the right is Ceres, the goddess presiding over grain, cradling a sheaf in her right arm. Further back, wearing a tiara and a large pearl, is Venus, goddess of Love, accompanied by Cupid. She raises an orange in one hand, while suggestively pinching her nipple with the other. This group was commonly depicted together, forming an emblem-like reminder that love does not thrive where basic needs such as food and drink are not provided as well. The saying "Without Bacchus and Ceres, Venus turns Frigid," which circulated widely in Antiquity, was best known from a line in a play by the late Classical writer Terence, to which Van Mander also made reference.¹

The pose of Bacchus relates indirectly to a depiction of the same subject by Hendrick Goltzius. In his pen drawing on canvas, now in St Petersburg, Goltzius in turn modified the pose of the sculpture of *Bacchus* by Michelangelo in the Bargello.² Goltzius showed Bacchus raising a cluster of grapes above his head, whereas Van Noordt had him raise a bowl of wine before his eyes. The same print by Goltzius may have influenced Van Noordt: his Venus is farther back, but faces the viewer instead of looking over to Bacchus, and his figure of Ceres is also nearest the viewer, but turns more to the side. Van Noordt evidently saw Goltzius's work of sixty years previous and created his own version, with freer and more spontaneous poses, and a more haphazard arrangement, in which Ceres partly blocks our view of Venus.

This mythological scene can be grouped with the *Nymphs and a Satyr* and *Venus and the Three Graces*, both in The Hague (cat. nos. 16 and 17). Like them, it combines several figures in a spirited composition. With its broadly-brushed, agitated forms of drapery in the foreground, and its more fully-formed volumes built up in opaque lighted areas and strong reflections in the shadows, it likely dates a little later, to around the middle of the 1660s.

1. See: Terence, *The Eunuch*, in: *Terence*, vol. 1, trans. John Sargeant, Loeb Classical Library 22, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989, p. 311. Van Mander referred to the proverb in Terence, in his discussion of Venus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. See Van Mander, *Witlegginge*, fol. 29v.

2. Hendrick Goltzius, *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus*, pen and brown ink on grounded canvas, 228 x 170 mm, St Petersburg, Hermitage (inv. no. 18983). See: Reznicek 1961, vol. 1, pp. 284-286, no. 128; vol. 2, p. 387 (with illustration). Michelangelo, *Bacchus*, marble sculpture, height 183.8 cm without base, ca. 1496-7, Florence, Museo Nazionale (Bargello); see: Hartt 1969, pp. 70-77, no. 5 (with illustrations).

19.

The Satyr and the Peasant Family

Canvas
80 x 96.5 cm

Kingston, Canada, Agnes Etherington Art Centre

Provenance:

Sale C.E. Vertue *et al.*, London, 18 July 1910, lot 59 (as Barent Fabritius, 31 x 37.5 in. [78.7 x 94.3 cm]); £31.10 to Grant); collection of Sir Charles Newton Robinson; sale J.C. Robinson *et al.*, Berlin (Lepke), 31 March 1914, lot 48 (with illustration, as B. Fabritius); Melchet collection; sale Lady Gwen Melchett, London (Sotheby's), 23-24 May 1951, lot 11 (with illustration, as B. Fabritius); sale, London (Christie's), 18 December 1953, lot 93 (B. Fabritius, 31 x 38 in. [78.7 x 96.5 cm]); sale Dr Max Welti *et al.*, Lucerne (Fischer), 22 June 1954, lot 2309; Milwaukee, Dr Alfred Bader; given to the Agnes Etherington Art Centre by Drs Alfred and Isabel Bader

Literature:

Van Braam 1951, p. 208, no. 1339 (with illustration, p. 29, as Barent Fabritius); Pont 1958, p. 131, cat. B, no. 15 (as Joan van Noordt?); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 142 note 64; vol. 5, pp. 3062 note 2, 3112, with no. 2142; vol. 6, p. 3588; Sumowski 1986, pp. 27, 28 (with illustration fig. 8), 36 note 34

With this painting Jan van Noordt took up Aesop's Fable of The Satyr and the Peasant. The Fables represented classical literature at its most popular; they were brief stories enacted by animals and commoners, with moralizing conclusions aimed at teaching the reader. They were part of the education of children, and had enjoyed this use since Antiquity.¹ In the present instance, the story begins with a satyr, found in a hollow in the woods by a passing peasant, who takes him home, because he is freezing and starving. Set near the fire while the family is at supper, the satyr gradually revives, and he notices that the peasant first blows into his hands to warm them, and then blows into his soup to cool it. He is alarmed by this person who "blows hot and cold," and takes flight. The lesson is that one should never trust those who voice contradictory views.

The tradition for depicting this Fable was rather young. The Flemish artist Jacob Jordaens was the best-known artist to have taken it up, and he did so several times.² In the painting by Jordaens in Brussels, the Satyr actually strikes an admonitory pose, facing the view and raising his finger. Jordaens' painting, and the print by Vorstermans after it, were well-known, and were singled out for mention by Arnold Houbraken, writing Jordaens' biography in 1717.³ In the North, the Rembrandt-pupil Barent Fabritius returned to this

theme repeatedly, and fellow-pupil Gerbrand van den Eeckhout also painted it.⁴ The seminal image seems to have been the illustration print in the edition of the *Fables* published in Bruges by Pieter de Clerck in 1567. In the Northern Netherlands, it was re-used for the translation by Joost van den Vondel, published in 1617 as the *Royal Animal Park (Vorstelijke Warande der Dieren)*.⁵ The engraver Marcus Gheeraerts depicted the satyr rising up from the table, looking up at the peasant sitting across from him, who is blowing into his soup. In Van Noordt's painting the story has progressed a little further, as the satyr has already left the table, and is making his way off to the right.

The interpretations by Jan van Noordt, as well as those by Barent Fabritius, function much more as narratives than didactic moralizations. The Dutch paintings draw attention to the event and its actions and emotions. Van Noordt emphasized the surprised reaction of the satyr, by placing his dark figure, posed in an awkward back-step, against the light background sky. The others are set against the shadowy, ramshackle dwelling. The peasant and his wife look over in astonishment, while their daughter sits under the table, oblivious to the drama above. The expressions are not clearly articulated, an aspect that is consistent with the artist's early work, which shows a rather timid handling of facial features, in thin and semi-transparent paint. In this respect the present work is similar to the *Cimon and Iphigenia* in Cherbourg (cat. no. 25), especially in its handling of the silhouetted figure of Cimon. Looser in handling and technique, it was likely done around 1650.⁶ The paint has almost certainly become more transparent with age, and a large reclining figure in the centre, that had been painted over, has become visible again.

1. See: Henryson 1987, pp. 6-7. Gopen relates the wide use in England of Aesop's *Fables* and Ovid's *Metamorphosis* as school texts. Most educated persons would have been very familiar with them. This pedagogical practice continued unabated from the days of the Roman Empire, and was quite likely common in the seventeenth-century Netherlands as well.

2. Jacob Jordaens, *The Satyr and the Peasant Family*, canvas, 185 x 168 cm, Brussels, Museum van Oude Kunst (inv. no. 6179); see: d'Hulst 1982, pp. 97, no. 62, 98 (with colour illustration). Canvas, 174 x 205 cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (inv. no. 425); see: d'Hulst 1982, pp. 97, 99, no. 63 (with colour illustration). Canvas, 190 x 159 cm, Göteborg, Konstmuseum; see: exhibition catalogue Antwerp 1993, pp. 106-107, no. A 25 (with colour illustration). Canvas, 172 x 194 cm, Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen (inv. no. 101); see: d'Hulst 1982, pp. 94, no. 59, 97 (with colour illustration). Canvas, (dimensions not known), Moscow, Pushkin Museum (inv. no. 2615); see: exhibition catalogue Ottawa 1968, p. 243, with no. 296.

3. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 157. Houbraken even included a note explaining the fable. Vorstermans's print reproduced the version in Munich (see note 1): Lucas Vorstermans

Jr., after Jordaens, *The Satyr and the Peasant Family*, engraving, 408 x 399 mm: Hollstein, vol. 43, pp. 92, no. 97, 93 (with illustration); see: exhibition catalogue Ottawa 1968, p. 242, no. 293, 404 (with illustration). A version in the Kunstmuseum in Göteborg is a close variation on this composition; see: exhibition catalogue Ottawa 1968, p. 242, no. 293.

4. The versions are: Barent Fabritius, *The Satyr and the Peasant Family*, canvas, 50.8 x 63.5 cm, Hartford, Wadsworth Athenaeum, (Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection); see: Pont 1958, pp. 32-33, 113, no. 26. Pont dates this picture to 1653-4. See also Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 910, 915, no. 549, 929 (with illustration). Canvas, 194 x 95 cm, signed and dated 1662, Bergamo, Accademia Carrara; see: Pont 1958, pp. 49, 113, 114, no. 27.; and Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 910, 912, 920, no. 568, 946 (with illustration). Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *The Satyr and the Peasant Family*, canvas, 57 x 76 cm, signed, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (inv. no. 418); see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 721, 731, no. 421, 784 (with illustration). Another version was on the art market in 1950: canvas, 56 x 65 cm, signed and dated 1653; see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 721, 730, no. 416, 779 (with illustration).

5. See: Vondel 1617, no. 67.

6. Sumowski viewed it as a late picture, and compared it to the Mänttä *Shepherdess* (cat. no. 35). See: Sumowski 1986, p. 27.

20.

Caritas

Canvas
62.2 x 61.5 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Mr. and Mrs. William C. Treul

Provenance:

Possibly: sale, Amsterdam, 16 September 1739 (Lugt 507; Hoet I, p. 599), lot 131 (as Van Noort, *Een Vrouw met Kindertjes, Verbeeldende de Liefde, heel konstig* (A Woman with Children, representing Love, very artistic) for f.10)¹; sale John R. Clayton, Esq. *et al.*, London (Christie's), 30 January 1914 (Lugt 73722), lot 98 (as The Madonna and Child, with the infant Saint John, and 2 children in a Landscape, by J. van Noordt, signed and dated 1695, 47½ x 41 in. [120.6 x 104.1 cm], to Leger); London, Leger Gallery; New York, Ehrich Gallery, in 1924; sale Robert Cluett, Jr. *et al.*, New York (Parke-Bernet) 24-11-1939, lot 72 (with illustration, signed and dated lower right: JAN V. NOORDT 1645, 48.5 x 42 in. [123.2 x 106.7 cm]); sale Henry Rogers Benjamin *et al.*, New York (Parke-Bernet), 15-17 May 1947, lot 235 (with illustration, signed and dated 1645, 48.5 x 41.5 in. [123.2 x 105.4 cm])

Literature:

Willem L. van de Watering, in exhibition catalogue Washington, Detroit and Amsterdam 1980-1981, p. 212; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, pp. 3112, no. 2141, 3288 (with colour illustration); vol. 6, p. 3737, with no. 2403a; Sumowski 1986, pp. 21, 34 note 4

Copies:

Panel, 90 x 71 cm, sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 29 May - 1 June 1990, lot 2025 (with colour illustration, as a copy after Jan van Noordt)

With this picture Jan van Noordt engaged the allegorical tradition for representing Charity, as Sumowski recently recognized. Since its appearance at a sale in 1914, it had been interpreted as a "Madonna and Child, with St John the Baptist." The youth in the bottom left, bowing forward with his back to the viewer, was originally a complete figure before the painting was cut down at all sides. He was thought to be St John the Baptist as a youth, honouring the infant Jesus on his mother's lap. The woman and child closely follow the tradition for the Virgin and Child. However, this image diverges from the Christian theme through the inclusion of two other children to the right side. As early as in 1739, a sale catalogue listed "*A Woman with Children, representing Love, by Van Noordt,*" which may well be the present picture, already interpreted as a *Caritas*.

Van Noordt produced a rather pastoral rendition of this allegorical theme, by adapting the shepherd and shepherdess types he was accustomed to painting at this early stage in his career. They bear similarities to the *Shepherd-Boy with a Bird's Nest* recently with Sotheby's, and the *Shepherdess and Goatsherd* with Leger in 1960 (cat. nos. 37 and 31). The stylistic similarity is significant as well; as in these pictures, the present painting has a very strong light from the right, and translucent glazing that builds up a smooth and rounded modelling of flesh, especially in the nude child. Reflections help to complete the impression of volume. Undulating contours carry a rhythmic motion through the foreground, complemented by the arrangement of rounded forms of bodies and faces. The date of 1645 reported in the sale catalogues of 1939 and 1947 is quite plausible, given the style. This date places it contemporary to several of the depictions of this and similar themes by Jürgen Ovens, suggesting that there was contact and mutual influence between these two artists.²

1. Cat. no. L20. See: Hoet, vol. I, p. 606.

2. The earliest painting by Ovens with a similar theme is: *Allegory of Mother Nature*, panel, 82 x 67.4 cm, signed and dated 1646, Schloß Gottorf, Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 3, pp. 2218, 2222 note 9, 2224 (with colour illustration). Four depictions of *Caritas* by him are known: *Caritas*, canvas, 118 x 102 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. A 1257); see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 3, pp. 2227, no. 1498, 2253 (with illustration). *Caritas*, canvas, 130 x 115 cm, Schloß Dyck, collection of Cecilie Fürstin zu Salm-Reifferscheidt; see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 3, pp. 2227, no. 1493, 2248 (with colour illustration). *Caritas*, canvas, 89 x 74 cm, signed and dated 1657, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (inv.no. 191); see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 3, pp. 2226, no. 1490, 2245 (with colour illustration). *Caritas*, canvas, 83 x 106 cm, New York, collection of Dr D.B. Biegun, in 1957; see: *Die Weltkunst*, 1 December 1957, p. 7.

21.

Cloelia Crossing the Tiber (Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, II, 13; Plutarch, *Life of Publicola* XIX, 2-5)

Canvas
86 x 107 cm

Paris, Louvre (inv. no. R.F. 1985-25)

Provenance:

Sale, Paris (Hôtel Drouot, Étude Laurin-Guilloux Buffertaud-Tailleur), 29 May 1985, lot 56 (as Jacob van Loo); Paris, Galerie Chéreau

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 6, pp. 3736, no. 2401, 4018 (with illustration); Louvre 1986, p. 140 (as Jan van Noordt)

Exhibitions:

Paris 1987, pp. 85-87, no. 56 (with illustration)

The theme of this painting, and its sources, are discussed in detail in the chapter on iconography.¹ Van Noordt depicted the Roman girl Cloelia on the bank of the Tiber, about to lead her fellow-hostages across the river in an escape from the Etruscan King Lars Porsena. Cloelia's bravery prompted her captor to break off his siege of Rome. The source for the iconography of Cloelia for most depictions was Plutarch's *Life of Publicola*, which specifies that Cloelia crossed the river on horseback.² Dutch artists only seldomly depicted this story of feminine bravery out of Roman history. The literary source that they likely would have consulted was not Plutarch, but the translation of Livy first published in 1541, and reprinted several times.³ The translator added a dismissive reference to the legend of the equestrian crossing. A revised edition of this text, published in 1614, supplied a woodcut illustration, giving the story emphasis and accessibility for artists; surprisingly, Cloelia is shown mounted.

The inspiration for Van Noordt was likely the depiction of the theme by Claes Moyaert, which adopted a similarly static, pyramidal composition (ill. 16).⁴ It is also possible that Van Noordt was aware of the large depiction by Rubens that was in the collection of Amalia van Solms, widow of the Stadholder Prince Frederik Hendrik. However, Van Noordt followed Moyaert in showing only Cloelia crossing on horseback, whereas Rubens showed several women mounting horses. Also the squat figure proportions and smaller overall figure scale chosen by Van Noordt more closely approach the Moyaert.⁵

A date of around 1655 - 1658 is supported by the style of Van Noordt's painting. It shares with other early paintings, the Cherbourg *Cimon and Iphigenia* (cat. 25) for example, the use of translucent glazes for the darker areas. Van Noordt could be spare in his build-up of opaque colours, and thus in his description of figures and faces as well. The foreground figures, cast in light, show a strong modelling of their round and fleshy bodies, but the figures farther back are thinly painted, and shadowy. The depiction of expressions is also quite restrained, and unengaged features of Cloelia suggest a grim sobriety on her part, as she embarks on her risky undertaking.

1. See Chapter Four, pp. 133-136.

2. See: Plutarch, *The Life of Publicola*, in: *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. 1, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, The Loeb Classical Library 46, Cambridge, Massachusetts, pp. 551-553; and: Livy, *Livy*, vol. 1, trans. B.O. Foster, The Loeb Classical Library 114, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1919, pp. 261-263. See also: Silvain Lavessière in: exhibition catalogue Dublin 1985, p. 71.

3. See Chapter 4, note 42: in the edition of 1541, the story appears on fols. 27r-28v. Significantly, this text was revised and new illustrations were added in 1614, and four reprints of it were carried out in that year: Titus Livius, *De Romeynsche historien ende geschiedenissen. Met fig. verciert ende met nieuwe byvoeghingen verm.*, Amsterdam (Dirck Pietersz), 1614. The story of Cloelia, illustrated with a woodcut, appears on fols. 17v-18r. For the edition of 1646 published in Amsterdam by Jan Jacobsz Schipper, this illustration was copied, and the image thus reversed: fol. 24v. Jacques Foucart has pointed out the publication of a lengthy conversation novel by Madeleine de Scudéry in Paris in 1654-1661. A translation into Dutch followed shortly. This work attested to the popularity of the theme, but it had little impact on artists, as it appeared rather late. Furthermore its endless text functioned primarily as a platform for refined conversation. Madeliene de Scudéry (given as "Mr. de Scudery,") *Clelie, Roomsche historie*, 10 vols., Dordrecht (vol. 1: Jasper and Ioannes Goris, 1664; vols. 2-10: the widow of Jasper and Dirk Goris), 1664-1676 (The Hague, Royal Library). The text is a Dutch translation of: *Clelie, histoire romaine*, 10 vols., Paris (Courbe), 1658-1663: see Jacques Foucart, in: exhibition catalogue Paris 1987, pp. 85-87.

4. Claes Claesz Moyaert, *Cloelia Crossing the Tiber*, panel, 41 x 60.5 cm, signed and dated 1642, Oslo, Nationalmuseum (inv. no. 185); see: A. Tümpel 1974, pp. 111, 112 (with illustration), 267, no. 185.

5. Peter Paul Rubens, *Cloelia Crossing the Tiber*, canvas, 236 x 343 cm, formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (now lost: formerly inv. no. KFM 946). See: Carola van Meeren, "'Tot reddinge van hare naarlatenschap' De lotgevallen

van de schilderijenverzameling van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia," in: exhibition catalogue
The Hague 1998, pp. 66 (with illustration no. 5), 67, 255 note 46.

22. (p)

The Magnanimity of Scipio (Livy, *Historiarum ad urbe condita*, XXVI, 50; Polybius, *The Histories* X, 19, 3-7)

Canvas
130 x 167 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale The Harewood Charitable Trust *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 12 July 1985, lot 217 (with illustration); collection of Yves Stey, Lyon, Dr Jean-Claude Anaf (dealer) in 1988; sale Dr Jean-Claude Anaf, Paris (Hôtel Sofitel), 31 May - 1 June 1988; Cusset, *Tempera Achat-Vente*, in 1992; sale, Brussels (Paleis voor Schone Kunsten), 14-17 February 1995, lot 1179 (with colour illustration, p. 120)

Literature:

Advertisement in *La Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot* 97, no. 21, 1988, p. 99 (with illustration); exhibition catalogue Perth, Adelaide and Brisbane 1997, p. 110 note 2

Jan van Noordt depicted the story of the Roman commander Scipio Africanus, best known through the accounts of the Roman historian Livy and his Greek predecessor Polybius.¹ The theme and its interpretation have been discussed in detail in Chapter Four.² Scipio had returned a beautiful young girl, who had been brought to him by his soldiers as a gift for his pleasure, untouched to her betrothed. Her parents then came and offered him the ransom they had gathered for her, out of gratitude. Scipio is here shown presenting the treasures to the couple as a wedding gift. By these deeds Scipio exemplified the virtues of sexual continence, and of generosity. The second of these two is presented in Van Noordt's painting, which shows Scipio giving away the parents' gift.

Van Noordt placed the Roman commander on a raised platform under a canopy, to the left side. He holds out a commander's baton in his left hand, a gesture of command to give away the silver and gold objects in the foreground left. To the right of centre, Allucius and his betrothed approach him, meekly kneeling. Rising up behind them are the figures of her parents, whose gestures express astonishment and humble gratitude. Jan van Noordt adopted the composition from the interpretation of the same theme by the Fleming Cornelis de Vos (ill. 17).³ Like De Vos, Van Noordt placed the action entirely in the foreground. He took over the figure of the kneeling slave to the left, handing a gold vase, but he added the negro page to the right, who holds Allucius's hat and cloak.⁴ Spruyt attributed the invention to Rubens. However Rubens's painting of the same theme, best known through his oil sketch, differs from the works by De Vos, and Van Noordt, in that

it places Allucius in the foreground left, separated from his bride.⁵ Also, Rubens divided the area of sky to the upper right with columns, rather than leaving it open. Spruyt was evidently mistaken, and Van Noordt perhaps thought that he was following the famous Flemish master as well, with this picture.

Van Noordt's painting reflects his style of around 1660. He began to leave behind the restrained description of figures and expressions, and succeeds in suggesting emotions such as the desperation of the parents and the gratitude of the couple. Furthermore, the stiff opaque forms of the early 1650s have given way to a looser elegance, involving flowing strokes of the brush, which reaches refinement in the satin gown of Allucius' bride. The artist made use of semi-transparent layers of paint, leaving some forms vague and insubstantial; this effect can especially be seen in darker areas, for example the left-hand side, where Scipio sits in the shade of a canopy. This work dates to around the same time as the *Kingston Massacre of the Innocents*, around 1660, a period when Van Noordt was still accustomed to borrowing directly from works by other artists.

1. See: Livy, *Livy*, vol. 7, trans. Frank Gardner Moore, The Loeb Classical Library 367, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1943, pp. 191-195; and: Polybius, *The Histories*, vol. 4, trans. W.R. Paton, The Loeb Classical Library 64, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1925, p. 149. For further discussion of the iconography of this theme, see Manuth 1998, pp. 145-146; Sutton 1982, p. 14 note 12; and Lepper-Mainzer 1982.

2. See Chapter Four, pp. 129-133.

3. Cornelis de Vos, *The Magnanimity of Scipio*, canvas, 174 x 242 cm, Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts. See: Czobor 1967, *passim* (with illustration fig. 29).

4. Van Noordt was likely influenced by the original painting, rather than a print of this composition by Philippe Lambert Joseph Spruyt: etching, 297 x 324 mm. One copy of this rare etching is in the collection of the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam: inv. no. OB 59 800. See: Voorhelm Schneevooft 1873, p. 140, no. 37. It does not include the figure with the vase, and so follows the oil sketch of the composition: panel, 47.2 x 53 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (inv. no. 1489); see: Czobor 1967.

5. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Magnanimity of Scipio*, panel, 31.3 x 49.7 cm, Bielefeld, collection of Professor A. Oetéke; see: McGrath 1997, vol. 2, pp. 265-267, no. 49c (with illustration fig. 177).

23.

The Magnanimity of Scipio (Livy, *Historiarum ad urbe condita*, XXVI, 50)

Canvas

103 x 88 cm

Signed and dated, bottom right: *Joan v. Noordt An^o 1672*

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. 1762)

Provenance:

Sale Hendrick Muilman Banderheer van Naamstede, Amsterdam (Van der Schley and De Vries), 12-13 April 1812 (Lugt 8345), lot 112; acquired by Mogge Muilman; Amsterdam, H. van der Poll collection; given to the Rijksmuseum in 1880

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 213, no. 16, 216, no. 13; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Kronig 1911, p. 157; Bauch 1926, p. 68 note 92; Decoen 1931, p. 17 (with illustration), no. 11; Pigler 1955, p. 184 (with illustration no. 12); Pigler 1956, p. 409; Czobor 1967, p. 351 note 5; collection catalogue Budapest 1968, p. 493; Bénézit 1976, p. 750; Christine S. Schloss in: collection catalogue Hartford 1978, p. 168; Schatborn 1979, pp. 123, 126 (detail illustration, ill. 16); Bernt 1980, p. 926 (with illustration); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 72, 178 (with illustration); vol. 5, p. 3112, with no. 2141; vol. 6, pp. 3736, with no. 2403; Haak 1984, p. 489 (with illustration no. 1085); collection catalogue Bordeaux 1990, pp. 226 note 2, 227 note 12; exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, p. 241 note 8; Golan 1994, p. 204

Selected collection catalogues:

Amsterdam 1885, p. 38, no. 256a; Amsterdam 1976, p. 419, no. A708 (with illustration)

Exhibitions:

Amsterdam 1950 p. 73, no. 216; Perth, Adelaide and Brisbane 1997, pp. 110-111, no. 42 (with colour illustration)

The theme of this painting is discussed in the previous entry, and in detail in Chapter Four.¹ Van Noordt has depicted Scipio on the right side, standing on a *dais*, under a vaulted portico, with his commanders behind him. On the steps at the bottom left kneel Allucius and his bride, and behind them stand her parents. Scipio stands and raises his right hand, to address his audience. Van Noordt made important changes from his previous version, placing Scipio on the opposite side, and elevating him above his audience (cat. no. 22). With his composition here he adopted the classical tradition of *adlocutio*, which in antiquity was used for scenes of emperors addressing their soldiers.¹

Compared to the earlier version by Jan van Noordt (cat. no. 22), this one is more finished, and achieves the more powerful expression and mood. The artist attended to the various intense emotions, and the thought of Scipio arriving at his decision. He captured, to a far greater extent, the expressions of the abject couple and pleading parents, to the calmness and compassion of Scipio, and the admiration of his commanders. Van Noordt re-used the most prominent and expressive figure in the previous version, namely Allucius's bride. The bride's mother is also borrowed from an earlier paintings by Van Noordt, of *Pretioze and Don Jan*, where she takes the role of Majombe (cat. nos. 27, 28).

1. Van Noordt may have been familiar with the scene of *adlocutio* in the painting by Pieter Lastman of *Coriolanus and the Roman women* in Dublin, which was based in part on a famous Italian renaissance evocation of the classical tradition: the fresco of *The Vision of Constantine* by Giulio Romano and Rafaellino, in the Sala di Constantino in the Vatican; see: Broos 1975/76, p. 200.

24. (p)

Cimon and Iphigenia (Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, fifth day, first story)

Canvas

104.8 x 149.2 cm

Signed bottom centre: Joan V. Noordt

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, New York (Sotheby's), 28 January 1999, lot 229 (with colour illustration)

With this early painting Jan van Noordt partook of the contemporary fashion for the pastoral. The scene is taken from the fourteenth-century Italian erotically-tinged comedy of Boccaccio's story of *Cimon and Iphigenia*, in the *Decamerone*.¹ This theme and its interpretation are discussed in detail in Chapter Four.² Van Noordt's painting depicts the moment when Cimon first encounters Iphigenia resting with her companions near a fountain in the woods, and falls in love with her. He then transforms his manner, from that of a crude and simple shepherd to that of a courtier. As such it forms part of a pictorial tradition of the first meeting of lovers. Van Noordt favoured a number of themes that similarly presented exemplars of true love.

This painting is the earliest of three known versions by Van Noordt. He was directly influenced by Backer's depiction of the same theme in Braunschweig (ill. 18).³ The figure of the woman in the foreground left is a reworking of Backer's figure of Iphigenia. Only the position of the legs has been changed. The modelling of this figure and of Cupid above and Cimon to the right, closely emulates Backer's style. These similarities give a strong indication that Van Noordt was working in Backer's studio when he made this picture. The second depiction of the same theme, the painting in Cherbourg (cat. no. 25), departs from the smooth modelling of Backer, and introduces further changes to the poses of the figures, giving the impression that it was made after Van Noordt left Backer's studio, and could not benefit from having the example in front of him as he worked.

The figure of Cimon is Van Noordt's own invention. In Backer's interpretation, he enters as an intruder from the background. Van Noordt posed Cimon in the foreground, standing still, leaning on his shepherd's crook. His choice lay closer to Rubens's own interpretation of *Cimon and Iphigenia*.⁴ Boccaccio's story emphasizes that Cimon take this position and remain there for a while, before Iphigenia awakens and tries to send him away. This aspect of the text was also presented in the frontispiece to a version of the story set as a play. Jan van Arp published his *Chimon* in Amsterdam, and had it presented in the Schouburg, in 1639, ten years before the present painting.⁵ The print shows the same scene of Cimon's

realization of love, as he dreamily leans on his staff, and it may have prompted Jan van Noordt's revision of Backer's model.

1. Boccaccio 1972, pp. 406-417.
2. See Chapter Four, pp. 118-122.
3. Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, *Cimon and Iphigenia*, canvas, 150 x 230 cm, Braunschweig, Hertog Anton Ulrich-Museum (inv. no. 670). See: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 194, no. 7, 210 (with colour illustration, as ca. 1635).
4. Peter Paul Rubens, *Cimon and Iphigenia*, canvas, 208 x 282 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (inv. no. 1166). *Cimon and Iphigenia*, panel, 29 x 44 cm, Gosford House (Scotland), collection of the Earl of Wemyss (inv. no. 145, as by or after Rubens); see: Held 1980, vol. 1, pp. 320-322; vol. 2, (with illustration plate 247). Rubens' composition was reproduced in an engraving by J.A. Prenner: see Voorhelm Schneevogt 1873, p. 131, no. 107 (as "Nymphs surprised by a Shepherd"). The standing pose also appears in a drawing attributed to Govert Flinck, which dates to ca. 1655, after Van Noordt's earliest painted versions, which may have influenced Flinck: *Cimon and Iphigenia*, black chalk, pen, washed with bistre, with small corrections in white, 464 x 405 mm, Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. [21.295] 272); see: Moltke 1965, p. 176, no. D28 (with illustration).
5. Van Arp 1639, frontispiece. See: exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, p. 212.

25.

Cimon and Iphigenia (Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, fifth day, first story)

Canvas

94 x 122 cm

Inscribed on the stretcher: "*Adam van Noort/ maître de Rubens*"

Cherbourg, Musée Thomas Henry

Provenance:

Possibly: sale D. Ietswaart, Amsterdam, 22 April 1749 (Lugt 704; Hoet II, p. 253), lot 227 (f.31-0 to G. Morel): "Een stuk daar Hymen de drie Naakte Nimfen leggende vind, door Jan van Noord (A piece in which Hymen finds the three reclining nymphs, by Jan van Noord); Budapest, Friedrich Glück collection, 1914; Gyöngyös, collection of Joseph Pásztor; sale Count Peter Vay de Vaja *et al.*, Budapest (Steiner), 15 April 1918, lot 122 (with illustration, vol. 2, cover and pl. III; as Gerbrand van den Eeckhout); sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 27 June 1974, lot 65 (with illustration, as by G.v. Eekhout); sale The Earl of Haddington *et al.*, London (Christie's), 30 November 1979, lot 62 (with illustration); sale Broadhead *et al.*, London (Christie's), 31 October 1980, lot 149 (with illustration; as Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, possibly by Johannes van Noordt); sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 29 May 1986, lot 150 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); Amsterdam, John H. Schlichte Bergen (dealer); acquired by the Musée Thomas Henry, Cherbourg, in 1986

Literature:

Von Térey 1919, p. 248, ill. fig. 4, p. 246 (as G. van den Eeckhout); Roy 1972, p. 224, no. 93, (as G. van den Eeckhout); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 67, and 172 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); vol. 6, p. 3589, 3736, with no. 2401; Sumowski 1986, p. 36 note 16; Blankert 1989, p. 15 (with colour illustration)

Exhibitions:

Paris 1987, pp. 85, 86 (with illustration); Kobe and Tokyo 1993, pp. 220, 221 (with colour illustration)

Collection catalogues:

Cherbourg (Musée Thomas Henry), 1993 (not paginated)

For at least eighty years, a layer of overpaint covered much of this painting. The alterations were removed in a recent cleaning, which uncovered a Cupid above, an open background of sky. The original composition would prove to be very close to the signed painting of the same theme that later surfaced at a sale in New York (cat. no. 24). Cimon stands to the right, a dark figure against a light, open sky. Below to the left, Iphigenia and

her attendants lie on the ground. There are many significant differences of detail, however, especially in the prominent nude figure in the foreground left. Van Noordt moved her right arm, draping it over her head. Her left arm is not stretched out, but folded under her head, with only the hand emerging. In the New York painting, this figure corresponded very closely to the depiction of the same theme by Jacob Adriaensz Backer, in Braunschweig. The present painting moves further away from this original model, and must therefore have been done later than the New York painting. It does not include the male attendant present in the New York version, and in the Backer as well. Also Cupid, and the hunting paraphernalia in the foreground, are reduced in prominence. Van Noordt produced a less complex image with more concentration on the main figures. Van Noordt also chose a slightly later moment, showing Iphigenia after she has awakened, whereas in the version in New York, he followed Backer and showed Iphigenia and her company still asleep. Here she leans up and turns toward Cimon, to address him.

One of the additions made by the unknown retoucher, which was later removed, was a false Gerbrand van den Eeckhout signature. Nonetheless, even before the cleaning, the painting was already long recognized to be by Van Noordt.¹ The fluid, semi-transparent application of paint, and the spare, restrained handling of faces and expressions connect to a number of early paintings by him, such as the *Caritas* in Milwaukee (cat. no. 20). The abrupt transitions from light to dark, evident in the earliest paintings of around 1645, are present here as well. However, the laborious building-up of the surface has diminished. Areas have been brushed in rather broadly, resulting in a patchy quality, also seen in Van Noordt's depiction of the story of *Callisto* (cat. 15). There is evidence that the present painting was at one time signed by him, in the form of an erroneous inscription on the stretcher.²

1. Sturla J. Gudlaugsson (1913 - 1971) was the first to recognize Van Noordt as the artist, in a note preserved at the R.K.D..

2. The inscription on the stretcher attributes the painting to Adam van Noordt, the teacher of Rubens. The writer of this inscription probably based it on a now-vanished signature, but connected it to the name of the better-known Flemish master. See: Jacques Foucart in: exhibition catalogue Paris 1987, p. 85.

26.

Cimon and Iphigenia (Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, fifth day, first story)

Canvas

77.5 x 96.5 cm

Signed and dated, lower left: *JvNoordt f1659*, and inscribed in a later hand: *VNoordt.P.1659 T.E.V.J. 1750* (several other paintings in the museum show this inscription as well)

Göttingen, Art Collection of Göttingen University (inv. no. 130)

Provenance:

Possibly: sale D. Ietswaart, Amsterdam, 22 April 1749 (Lugt 704; Hoet II, p. 253), lot 227 ("*Een stuk daar Hymen de drie Naakte Nimfen leggende vind, door Jan van Noord* [A piece in which Hymen finds the three nymphs reclining, by Jan van Noord; f.31-0 to G. Morel]); Celle, collection of Johann Wilhelm Zschorn; bequeathed to the University in 1796

Literature:

Fiorillo 1815-1820, vol. 3, p. 233; Parthey 1863, vol. 2, p. 195, no. 1; Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 212, no. 9, 216, no. 16; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Bauch 1926, p. 68 note 12; Pigler 1955, p. 184; Pigler 1956, p. 343; Bénézit 1976, p. 750; Christine S. Schloss, in: collection catalogue Hartford 1978, p. 168 note 4; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 143 note 67; exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 239, 241 note 4

Exhibitions:

Braunschweig 1983, 86, no. 33, 87 (with illustration); Dortmund 1984, p. 12

Collection catalogues:

Celle 1789ff., no. 60; Göttingen 1806, p. 7, no. 5; Göttingen 1905 p. 32, no. 74; Göttingen 1926, no. 130; Göttingen 1987, pp. 106-107, no. 62 (with illustration)

This painting is the latest known depiction by Van Noordt of the meeting of Cimon and Iphigenia, from the story in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The theme is discussed in the entry to Van Noordt's earliest version (cat. no. 24), and in detail with respect to its interpretation in Chapter Four.¹ The nobleman-turned-shepherd Cimon appears to the right, standing, leaning over his shepherd's crook. The young daughter of nobility, Iphigenia, who has been resting with her companions, is shown in the foreground left, lying on the ground, nude. Cupid appears in the sky above, having loosed an arrow on Cimon. He has fallen in love with the beautiful Iphigenia, and will successfully pursue her

hand in marriage. This scene belongs to a group of paintings in Van Noordt's surviving oeuvre, that present exemplars of true love.

Boccaccio's story was a favourite theme with Van Noordt, who depicted it three times. The present painting clearly followed upon the composition in Cherbourg (cat. no. 25). The central figure of Iphigenia is derived from the corresponding figure in the Cherbourg painting, a figure that is not present in the version in New York. This painting also continues the move toward simplification and concentration, that was observed with respect to the Cherbourg painting. Van Noordt introduced a focused light effect, illuminating the figure of Iphigenia against a darker surrounding area. She is further emphasized through a larger figure scale, as her figure is now brought forward into the immediate foreground. These effects of light and composition were part of the sharp transition of Van Noordt's style in the late 1650s.

1. See Chapter Four, pp. 110-114.

27.

Pretioze and Don Jan (De Spaensche Heidin)

Canvas
132 x 170 cm

New York, Adam Williams Fine Art

Provenance:

Collection of T. Ockley; sale C. Fairfax Murray *et al.*, London (Christie's), 20 January 1920, lot 353 (as Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Vertumnus and Pomona, canvas 52 x 67½ inches [132 x 171.3 cm]; to Tooth); London, A. Tooth & Sons, dealer, advertised in *Burlington Magazine* 66, October 1924, p. xxxi, November 1924, p. xxxiii, December 1926, January 1927; sale, London (Christie's), 15 February 1929, lot 81 (as J. van Noordt, *Cavalier and a Young Lady, with sporting figures and gypsies*, canvas, 52 x 67 in. (132 x 170 cm), for £136.10s); London, J. Leger & Son, advertised in *Burlington Magazine* 73, April 1931, p. xi; United States, Private collection; sale, Genoa (Boetto), 23-24 February 1998 (as French School, 17th century, "scène allégorique")

Literature:

Gudlaugsson 1945, p. 33 (with illustration no. 25); Staring 1946, p. 74; Cats 1966; Gudlaugsson 1975, p. 29 (with illustration no. 25), 33; Bénézit 1976, p. 750; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 142 note 64; vol. 6, pp. 3534 note 88, 3576; Schatborn 1979, pp. 119-120 (with illustration no. 3); Gaskell 1982, pp. 263, 267, (with illustration 46a); exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 22, 235 and 238 note 1 (conflates the present picture and the second copy, given below); Sumowski 1998, p. 79 note 15

Copies:

- 1) Canvas, 117 x 188 cm, sale S. Eckman Jr. *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Sotheby's), 18 October 1967, lot 11 (as *A Hunting Party Resting*, by J. van Noort: "with a woman in elegant dress, an attendant and a negro holding a hawk and dogs in middle distance, four figures conversing in the background; in a rocky setting with trees")
- 2) Canvas, 128 x 179 cm, sale, London (Sotheby's), 15 December 1976, no. 17 (as *Vertumnus and Pomona*, by Jan van Noordt: "Pomona, in blue seated in the left foreground, Vertumnus disguised as an old woman covered by a brown shawl behind, a young man in black with a black hat to the right, dogs and a servant with a falcon behind.")

To the right stands a man leaning against a large rock. He turns to the left, and looks across to a young woman in a satin gown, seated on a mound near the centre, who returns his gaze. Behind her is an old hag, draped in a rough cloak with a hood. Further back are

some more figures, including a young black man holding a falcon. Previously, it had been identified as a genre-like "Cavalier et une jeune Femme," or the classical story of Vertumnus and Pomona. Gudlaugsson pointed out the connection to Jacob Cats' *Het Spaense Heydinnetje* (The Spanish Gypsy Girl) of 1637, a Dutch adaptation in verse poetry of Cervantes's *La Gitanilla di Madril*, first published in 1610.¹ More recently it has become clear that Van Noordt's painting follows an adaptation of this story for the stage, published in 1643 by Mattheus Gansneb Tengnagel.² Especially the roses in Pretioze's hair and hands, and her luxurious white gown, are explicitly mentioned by Tengnagel, in his monologue of Don Jan as he spies on the gypsy band, with Pretioze in their midst.³

But heavens, what do I see! This is beyond my understanding!
 It is a gypsy band of men and of women!
 People strew flowers about! They must be holding a wedding!
 Or it is a preliminary for a similar feast.
 And if someone was married, then it was the one,
 Who in white clothing sits in the middle preening.
 I wish that she would just look around! There she turns to look!
 what sparkle [...]

Because she is dressed splendidly, Don Jan at first mistakes her for the goddess Diana. It is an aspect not reflected in Cats's earlier version of the story. Cats's poem was published with print illustrations by Adriaen van de Venne, including one of the scene of the first meeting. There, the figure of Pretioze wears rather plain clothing.⁴

The somewhat affected pose of Don Jan is explained by reference to the play, which indicates that he is already saddened by the recent loss of his mother, and that he has taken great fright at the voices of the Gypsy band deep in the forest. He is a little crazed, and first thinks that Pretioze is the goddess Diana, taken prisoner by a band of devils. It is in this rather helpless state that he is then smitten with love for her. Van Noordt paid special attention to the figure of Don Jan, devising a limp-wristed gesture to project his emotional state. The artist arrived at this invention in a lavish and careful preparatory study drawing, in the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet (cat. no. D8).

Van Noordt painted this picture around 1660. Its composition does not relate to previous depictions by other artists, but rather to his own painting of *The Triumph of David*, likely done a few years earlier (cat. no. 4). It shows the same approach of placing of important figures at some distance across from each other, in the foreground. Perhaps a theatrical device, to create tension between them, is reflected here.

1. Cats 1637; see: Gudlaugsson 1945.

2. The frontispiece to Tegnagel's text mentions the play's performance at the Schouburg in that year. See: Tegnagel 1643, frontispiece.
3. Tegnagel 1643, p. 76. Tegnagel's text has two parts, the first a heavily-moralizing prose recounting of the story of Don Jan and Konstance/Pretioze, and the second a play version of the same story. The prose section contains greater description, going so far as to specify that Pretioze's white dress shows blue reflections, and that her white skin is blue-veined. On the other hand, the play mentions the wreathes of flowers being woven by Pretioze, that also appear in the painting, but are not cited in the prose text.
4. Gaskell observed that the luxurious costume of Pretioze in Van Noordt's painting discounted the connection drawn by Gudlaugsson to Van de Venne's print. Gaskell, who only knew the London sale picture, thought that Pretioze wore a diadem in her hair, referring to Don Jan's mistaking her for Diana; it is, however, a rose, as Van den Brink has pointed out. See: Gaskell 1982, p. 263; Gudlaugsson 1945, p. 33; Peter van den Brink, in exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 236, 238 note 5.

28.

Pretioze and Don Jan (De Spaensche Heidin)

Canvas
130 x 167.5 cm

Linschoten, Huis Linschoten, Ribbius Pelletier Foundation

Provenance:

Cuyk, Collection of the Jonkheer Adriaan Cornelis Snoek; Rottevalle, Collection of Davina A.J.A. Snoek (1836 - 1892) and Ds. Henderykus Wijbelingh (? - 1881), by inheritance; Utrecht, Adriana Louisa Wijbelingh (1863 - 1939) and Gerlacus Ribbius Pelletier (1856 - 1930), by inheritance; Linschoten, Gerlacus Ribbius Pelletier Jr. (1887 - 1969); after his death the painting was transferred to the ownership of the foundation

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 6, p. 3534 note 88

Exhibitions:

Utrecht 1993, pp. 22, 235-238, no. 45 (with colour illustration p. 237)

The two versions of *Pretioze and Don Jan* present the only known example of exact repetition in the oeuvre of Jan van Noordt.¹ It seems that they were done at around the same time, as they show no significant differences, except slightly with respect to their measurements and the positions of the borders. The present work, which is in bad condition, has been cut down at the top and bottom edges.

1. For a discussion of the theme and its sources, see the previous catalogue entry, and Chapter Four, pp. 122-127.

29. (p)

Granida and Daifilo

Canvas
94.6 x 85.7 cm

Sydney, Art Gallery of New South Wales (inv. no. 1.1973)

Provenance:

Collection of Mrs. Vera Gascoigne Murray; bequeathed to the Gallery in 1973

Literature:

Gazette des Beaux-Arts, series 6 vol. 83 (supplement), 1974, p. 75, (with illustration no. 241); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 142 note 57, 166 (with illustration); vol. 5, p. 3111, with no. 2137; vol. 6, pp. 3735, with no. 2397, 3736, with no. 2402; Sumowski 1986, pp. 27, 28, 31 (with illustration fig. 10), 37 note 36; Le Bihan 1990, p. 226 note 7; exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, p. 241 note 9; exhibition catalogue Perth, Adelaide and Brisbane, p. 110 (with illustration)

In an article in 1949, Sturla Gudlaugsson identified this literary source for a number of Dutch paintings.¹ It is discussed in greater detail with respect to its interpretation in Chapter Four.² With a few exceptions, artists consistently took up the moment in the first scene of the play, when the Persian princess Granida, having strayed from her hunting party, encounters the shepherd Daifilo and his companion Dorilea in the woods. Granida complains of the heat, and Daifilo immediately offers her a drink of water, from a shell. He has fallen in love with her. His shepherdess companion Dorilea is at once forsaken for Granida, who represents true love for Daifilo. In the ensuing story Daifilo must overcome obstacles and competition at the Persian court, to realize his new-found love. The consistent choice for the "falling-in-love" moment for a painting was less an aesthetic, than a philosophical-moral preference, for promoting the pursuit of true love in relationships, rather than sensuality.

Van Noordt was undoubtedly lead to this theme by the work of his own teacher, Jacob Adriaensz Backer, one of the artists to have treated it most frequently. Surprisingly, it was not Backer's later depictions of the 1640s, when he taught Van Noordt, that seems to have most influenced his pupil, but rather his earliest-known version in St Petersburg, of around 1635 (ill. 19).³ Its smaller figure scale and stronger chiaroscuro modelling more closely approach Van Noordt's painting.

This is one of Jan van Noordt's earliest paintings. It even contains two distinctive motifs also present in the *Shepherd and Shepherdess with Goats and Sheep* last with Leger in

London (cat. no. 31), namely the sheep to the left, lying behind Granida, and the milk can lying in front of Daifilo to the right. Both works also show similarities in style; in both, the rolling landscape is meticulously modelled in the light falling sharply from the left side. Another work of the same period, the *Caritas* in the Treul collection (cat. no. 20) compares closely in the handling of the figures. It shows the same emphasis on volume and chiaroscuro modelling, the stocky proportions of the figures. Compositionally, both works also display Van Noordt's early approach of distributing highlighted areas.

Equally significant for Jan van Noordt's *oeuvre* is the careful, restrained pursuit of expression through the figures in this painting. Granida, heavily-laden in her royal garb, exudes an *hauteur*, a characterization enhanced by her strident pose and the subtly-bemused expression that the artist was able to convey in her features. Across from her, Daifilo's long face, and wide-eyed stare betray the wave of emotion that has gushed over him. Van Noordt developed the grace and expression even further in his second known version, of 1663, around eighteen years later (cat. no. 30).

1. See: Gudlaugsson 1948a, Gudlaugsson 1948b, and Gudlaugsson 1949.

2. See Chapter Four, pp. 115-118.

3. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Granida and Daifilo*, canvas, 125 x 161.5 cm, ca. 1635, St Petersburg, Hermitage; see Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 135, 193, no. 6, 209 (with illustration). *Granida and Daifilo*, canvas, 126 x 162 cm, ca. 1640-1645, Harlingen, Museum het Hannemahuis (inv. no. 1179); see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 137, 194, no. 10, 213 (with illustration). *Granida and Daifilo*, canvas, 133 x 162, monogrammed, ca. 1645-1650, Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre; see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 991, 1006 note 4, 1008 (with illustration).

30.

Granida and Daifilo

Canvas laid onto panel

137 x 117 cm

Signed and dated: *Jan v. Noort f 1663*

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale Jonkvrouw M.J. Cosson *et al.*, Leiden, 21 October 1772 (Lugt 2070), lot 1 (as canvas laid onto panel, signed and dated 1665, 52 x 38 duim [133.6 x 97 cm]: Een kapitaal schilderij, verbeeldende Granida en Daiphilo, en verder bijwerk, alles wonderlyk fix en kragtig geschildert [a fine painting, representing Granida and Daifilo, and other accessories, everything wonderfully solidly and powerfully painted], *f*27 to v. Leyden); sale "Deux Amateurs", Leiden (Delfos), 26 August 1788 (Lugt 4343), lot 107 (as canvas laid onto panel, 52 x 38 duim [133 x 97 cm]), signed and dated 1663: *Drie Beelden waar van twee zitten aan de Voet van een Boom, waar voor een Vrouw staat, pragtig gekleed in't satyn, en twee jachthonden, zij houd in haar hand een sort van Schulp; het schynt te zijn de Historie van Granida en Daifilo* [Three figures of which two sit at the foot of a tree, in front of which a woman stands, splendidly dressed in satin, and two hunting dogs, she holds in her hand a sort of shell; it seems to be the History of Granida and Daifilo]; *f*7.5 to H. Hoogstraten); sale Prince Tatarsky (also: Koudacheff), Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 27 June 1905 (Lugt 63555), lot 22 (with illustration, as "Composition Mythologique"); Berlin, collection of Frau Ida von Schubert, in 1914; sale, London (Phillips), 7 July 1998, lot 78 (with colour illustration)

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 215, no. 10; collection catalogue Semenov 1906, p. 254; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Kronig 1911, p. 157; Bauch 1926, p. 68 note 12; Stechow 1929, p. 185 (as *Granida and Daifilo*, a painting neglected by Budde); Decoek 1931, p. 18 (as *Diana and a Shepherd*); Gudlaugsson 1949, pp. 38 (with illustration), 40; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 71, 177 (with illustration); vol. 5, p. 3111, with no. 2138, p. 3112, with no. 2140; Te Poel 1986, pp. 32, 61, no. 28, 94 (with illustration); Sumowski 1986, pp. 27, 32 (with illustration fig. 11), 37 note 37; exhibition catalogue The Hague 1992, pp. 268-269 (with illustration fig. 37b); Giskes 1989, p. 93 (with illustration); Le Bihan 1990, pp. 226 note 1, 227; exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 238, 239 note 10, 241 note 7

Exhibition catalogues:

Berlin 1914, p. 32, no. 112

Copies:

Canvas, 65 x 83 cm, Berlin, private collection, in 1961 (photo received by the R.K.D. from W. Paul, the restorer at Charlottenburg in Berlin, in 1961)(ill. 20)

This second known version of *Granida and Daifilo* followed the first one by about eighteen years (cat. no. 29). The chosen moment is the same one, of the initial meeting of the two protagonists in Hooft's play, which takes place in the first scene: Granida to the right graciously accepts the shell of water from the kneeling and enamoured Daifilo in the centre. His despondent shepherdess-companion Dorilea sits off to the left and turns her glance away from the scene. Remarkably, Daifilo makes exactly the same spread-fingered gesture as in the previous depiction; what strikes us as awkward must have seemed at the time an elegant and fitting gesture of devoted servitude.

Van Noordt's composition differs strongly from that of the version in Sydney. The scene is reversed from left to right. Their scale is also larger, suggesting the influence of Jacob Adriaensz Backer later depictions of the theme, in *Harlingen* and *Kingston*.¹ The influence of these two versions is also reflected in the lighter tonality of the present picture, compared the Sydney painting. Another contrast is the space; in the picture in Sydney, the action and its setting recedes from right to left, whereas here they occupy roughly the same foreground plane. Some depth is preserved, with the indistinct open landscape behind the figures. Between Daifilo and Granida, a mound juts out from the sloping hillside. Its form sweeps towards Granida, forming a rhetorical emphasis of Daifilo's loving gaze.

These landscape elements contribute to an overall effect of movement which was by then characteristic of Van Noordt's style, and it occurs throughout in this picture. The half-comic sprig of roses rising above Dorilea continues the sweeping curve of her body, propped up against a rock. The artist also organized the fall of Granida's satin gown into long curving forms, that carry through a motion into the form of her arm, extended in the action of accepting Daifilo's gift of water. The goal was to build up drama, also through the strong use of pinks and blues in the elegant figure of Granida, and warm oranges and yellows in the shepherdess Dorilea. A dashing spray of direct brush strokes comprises Dorilea's rough costume, and her face, cast in dark shadow, lit only by reflected light, is coloured a bright orange. The orchestration of such effects generates an exciting brilliance, contained within a masterfully-balanced arrangement which lends elegance and repose. Backer's synthesis of Flemish movement and Rembrandt's stability and force, was here given flamboyant charm. While drawn contour lines attest to a careful preparation, translucent paint layers also point to later additions, for example the dogs at the bottom right, and also the outer fold of Granida's mantle.

The exciting reappearance to the public eye of this important work brought with it some disappointment. It has been overcleaned, something which had been only barely discernible

in the old reproduction in the catalogue of the Tatarsky collection sale in 1905. Granida's translucent veil fluttering in the breeze, reduced to wispy traces, was even mistaken for smoke from the shell, by Hofstede de Groot, who did not recognize the subject matter. Nevertheless, the balance of motion and the elegant grace of the figure of Granida remain in evidence. Another strength is the overall focus on Granida's face. There, Van Noordt successfully conveyed a calm and composed expression of noble gratitude.

1. See cat. no. 29, note 2.
2. See: Chapter Four, pp. 108-112.

Genre

31. (p)

A Shepherdess and a Goatsherd in a Landscape with Animals

Canvas

83 x 115 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

London, Leger Gallery, in 1960

Literature:

Schneider 1931, p. 511

This hitherto-unpublished painting was first attributed to Jan van Noordt by Sturla Gudlaugsson.¹ It relates in its composition and subject matter to the signed and dated print by Van Noordt, after a now-lost drawing by Pieter van Laer (cat. no. P1). Van Laer (1592/95 - 1642) was an Italianate genre painter, who spent much of his career in Italy, and played a leading role among the *Bamboccianti*, the group of painters in Rome who specialized in low-life genre. Another Italianate painter, Jan Baptist Weenix (1621 - 1663), also produced a painting similar to the present one in content and composition, the *Milkmaid with Farm Animals* in Lund.² Within Van Noordt's *oeuvre*, however, this painting occupies a separate category. He took his own print as his starting point for the composition. The painting likely dates shortly after 1644, the date on the print. This is thus one of the earliest known paintings of Van Noordt's career.

The artist loosely composed some figures and animals in a rural landscape. A shepherdess-girl is seated on a mound to the right, with her hat and a flute on the ground before her. Further back and to the left side, a shepherd-boy crouches beside a goat, milking it with one hand, into a bowl held in the other. A sheep lies on the ground to the left of them, partly hidden behind a large copper jug. The space between the two figures gives a view into the distance featuring a waterfall and a building with a tower. Framing this opening to the right is an embankment, with two trees jutting into the sky, dividing the composition at its centre axis. The landscape is wild and rolling, and there are more trees to the left side, in the distance. The eye is drawn from the foreground to the right, into the distance at the left.

The suggestion of space is just one way in which Van Noordt transformed the scene in his own print after Van Laer. He also distributed areas of light over the dark area of landscape in the bottom half. He incorporated two prominent figures, taking the place of the vague background figure of the milkmaid in the composition by Van Laer. The modelling in both, but especially the nearer girl, is soft and fully rounded, a quality the artist pursued from the beginning of his career. Already the girl's dress shows the dramatic movement in curving folds of fabric, that marked this artist's work throughout his career. The lively movement is carried through in other passages of this work, such as the forms of landscape, and even the puffy clouds above. Thus Van Noordt struck a light tone, to match his low subject matter. The humour is underlined by the smiling shepherd boy awkwardly milking a patient goat, and the grinning girl who naively concentrates on installing a flower in her cleavage.

1. Annotation with the photograph at the RKD.

2. Jan Baptist Weenix, *Milkmaid with Farm Animals*, canvas, 66 x 79 cm, Lund, collection of Hugo Engelson; formerly St Petersburg, Hermitage, collection catalogue St Petersburg 1895, p. 407, no. 1707.

32.

Musical Company on a Terrace

Canvas
75 x 61 cm

Berlin, Jagdschloß Grunewald (inv. no. GK I 2238)

Provenance:

Paris, Solly Collection; Berlin, Collection of Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770-1840), in 1821; Berlin, Berliner Schloß; Potsdam, Bildergalerie Sanssouci; Berlin, Jagdschloß Grunewald, since 1932

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 217, no. 20; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243

Exhibitions:

Berlin 1890, p. 69, no. 320 (as Jan Baptist Weenix)

Collection catalogues:

Grunewald 1933, p. 17; Grunewald 1964, p. 109, no. 144 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

A group of flamboyantly-dressed young people engage in merry-making and amorous play, in the open space of a terrace. This painting belongs to the pictorial tradition of the "Merry Company," which was established around 1610 by Haarlem artists such as Esaias van de Velde, Dirck Hals and Willem Buytewech. They had transformed the image of the "Courtly Garden of Love", which had lived a long life in late medieval manuscript illumination, paintings, and later on in printed illustrations.¹ A second source for the "Merry Company" had been the two related traditions of the "Garden of Fools" and the biblical parable of The Prodigal Son, both of which moralized against lasciviousness and drink.²

In the second half of the seventeenth century, in Amsterdam, the Rembrandt-pupil Gerbrand van den Eeckhout painted a considerable number of elegant companies at leisure, as well as similar scenes, of soldiers in inns, often playing cards. Among these works in particular, the *Merry Company on a Terrace* of 1652, in Worcester, Massachusetts, most likely provided the inspiration for the present picture.³ Van Noordt's painting dates a little later, towards the end of the same decade. It approaches the Göttingen *Cimon and Iphigenia* of 1659 in its emphatic and resolved modelling (cat. 29).

Other close comparisons include Van Noordt's undated *Shepherdess with a Basket of Fruit* in Mänttä, and the *Cloelia Crossing the Tiber* in Paris, in the slender hands and fingers, the facial type of the women with large foreheads and small eyes, and more generally in the rounded forms (cats. 35 and 21). The Grunewald painting is more lavish, in the flamboyant treatment of drapery and costume, appropriate to the image of affluent society associated with the "Merry Company." Exotic trappings abound, including a peacock above the arch, a masked entertainer entering from the left, a young black page to the right, and small dog sporting a rather wild coiffure in the foreground. The dog casts a knowing glance at the viewer, underlining the traditional moral of this type of scene.

1. The standard studies on the Dutch pictorial tradition of the Merry Company are: Würtenburger 1937, and Renger 1970. See: Haverkamp Begemann 1959, pp. 23-24, and Keyes 1984, pp. 77-80. The theme of the Garden of Love has been examined by Roberta Smith Favis: *The Garden of Love in Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish and German Engraving*, dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1974, and more recently in: Thea Vignau Wilberg-Schuurman 1983. A significant seventeenth-century example of the genre is: *Cupido's Lusthof ende der amoureusen boogaert* (Cupid's Country Retreat and the amorous orchard), Amsterdam (Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch), 1613. This tradition occasionally surfaced in seventeenth-century paintings, for example in the background of Frans Hals's *Portrait of Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen*: canvas, 140 x 166.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. A 133); see: exhibition catalogue Haarlem 1986, p. 128, no. 20. On the history of the Italian Courtly Garden of Love, see Watson 1979.

2. See: Keyes 1984, p. 78.

3. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Merry Company on a Terrace*, 53.5 x 66.1 cm, signed and dated 1652, Worcester Art Museum, inv. no. 1922.208. See Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 747, no. 501, 864 (with colour illustration).

33. (p)

A Shepherd and a Shepherdess with a Bird's Nest (Allegory of Fertility)

Canvas
50 x 39 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, Paris (Drouot-Richelieu), 28 June 1996, lot 50 (with illustration, as having once been larger); sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 6 May 1997, lot 3 (with colour illustration)

Literature:

Sumowksi 1983-1996, vol. 6, pp. 3737, no. 2403a, 4021 (with colour illustration)

This is the first of two amorous pastoral pairs that survive from the hand of Van Noordt. In both, a young shepherdess is approached from behind by a young shepherd. The two are shown in waist-length, and fill the frame. There is a slight difference in subject matter, with the shepherdess in the present painting holding a bird's nest containing some eggs, instead of a basket of fruit. Also, the shepherd pushes further into the foreground, adding emphasis to his grinning expression of glee.

The nest and eggs form an obvious reference to the couple's love and the hope of fertility. It does not even amount to hidden symbolism, such as the erotic references of birds and cages in popular genre depictions.¹ Pastoral themes such as this one comprised a rare platform for explicit expression of eroticism in Dutch seventeenth-century painting. They circulated among a relatively elite audience, and it seems that social privilege protected patrons and artists from ecclesiastical criticism and censure.

This work can be dated a little earlier than the second pastoral pair by Van Noordt (cat. no. 34), largely on the basis of the handling of the figures. The shepherd's ruddy and expressive face is treated rather sparsely, which is more consistent with earlier works. It is contrasted with the very soft, almost pudgy rounded features of the woman. A similar treatment of a woman's head appears in the latest known version of *Cimon and Iphigenia* by Van Noordt (cat. no. 26), a connection which speaks for a dating close to 1659.

1. For a discussion of aviary erotic references in Dutch seventeenth-century genre representations, see: De Jongh 1968.

34. (p)

Shepherd and Shepherdess with a Basket of Fruit (Allegory of Fertility)

Reported by Hofstede de Groot at a sale in Germany, in a note with the photograph at the R.K.D.

This painting presents an amorous exchange between a shepherd and a shepherdess. He stands behind her to the left side, grasping her shoulder with one hand, and peers across to the basket of ripe fruit which she cradles in the left arm. She turns to look at him, smiles, and with her other hand reaches for an apple. The visual joke of the comparison between round fruit and her exposed breast, sets a playful tone for this encounter.

Van Noordt painted a number of related pictures, treating amorous and pastoral themes. A similar work, in composition and content, is *A Shepherdess and Shepherd with a Bird's Nest* (cat. no. 33), except that the basket of fruit is replaced by a bird's nest with eggs. Van Noordt's treatment of the theme was already reported in the inventory of the Amsterdam dealer-painter Cornelis Doeck in 1664, which includes "A Shepherd and a Shepherdess by Van Noordt" (cat. no. L31). Neither of the two is a more likely candidate, because both can be dated to before 1664 on the basis of style. In the present work, the smoothly-modelled flesh and drapery, and the elegant features of the shepherdess, bear close comparison to the signed and dated *Granida and Daifilo* of 1663 (cat. no. 30).

35. (p)

A Shepherdess with a Basket of Fruit

Canvas
75 x 63 cm

Mänttä, Finland, Gösta Serlachius Museum of Fine Arts (inv. no. 321)

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, pp. 3112, no. 2142, 3289 (with illustration); Sumowski 1986, pp. 26, 27 (with illustration fig. 7), 36 note 32 (as an *Allegory of the Seasons*, after 1660)

Exhibitions:

Mänttä 1980, p. 61, no. 282

Collection catalogues:

Mänttä 1965, no. 279 (with illustration); Mänttä 1978, p. 76 no. 315 (with illustration)

Copies:

Canvas, 89.5 x 60 cm (with rounded corners), sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 15 March 1990, lot 18 (with illustration); sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 29 May 1986, lot 90 (with illustration)

This painting adopts a simple composition. A young shepherdess, wearing a large hat and carrying a basket of fruit in front of her, faces the viewer. Not a large figure, she leaves space around her, where the landscape background can be seen. There may have been other figures at her side; there exists a copy of this work in which appear a Satyr with a tambourin to the left, and two cows and two sheep in the background right. In the present painting the shepherdess's pose, leaning back and to the left, is a little inexplicable, but in the copy it is balanced by the figure of the satyr. However, no technical research has been done, to confirm whether these extra figures were once present.

Another comparable work is in the collection of the Uffizi in Florence, there attributed to Jacob Backer.¹ It is similar in theme, and in the waist-length presentation of the figure. While it is likely not by Backer, its attribution to Van Noordt also cannot be supported. The handling of flesh and fabric are much broader and yield less volume than typical of Van Noordt, as seen in the present work. Strangely, however, even the facial features resemble those of Van Noordt's shepherdess, which may have been its model.

The handling of forms in the figure points to an early date. The strong reflections, in particular at the right elbow, the forehead, and the underside of the large brim of the hat, produce the same rounded modelling as seen in the Milwaukee *Caritas*, and reappears in the Cherbourg *Cimon and Iphigenia* (cat. nos. 20, 25). The distinctive pointed shape of the Shepherdess's fingers is also familiar, from the Milwaukee and Cherbourg paintings. Van Noordt likely painted this Shepherdess a little after 1645. The basket shows the artist's considerable skill at still-life. In turn, however, some of the drapery passages are weak, particularly in the skirt, where stylized folds unconvincingly suggest the heavy weight of coarse fabric. This same stiff treatment characterizes some of Van Noordt's early Biblical history paintings. Sumowski makes an appropriate comparison to the Kingston *Satyr and the Peasant Family* (cat no. 19), but places both of these works late, whereas I believe that they characterize Van Noordt's style between 1650 and 1655.

1. Attributed to Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Shepherdess with a Basket of Grapes*, panel, 71 x 59 cm, Florence, Uffizi (inv. no. P108); see: Marco Chiarini, *I dipinti olandese del seicento e del settecento*, collection catalogue, Florence (Gallerie e Musei Statali di Firenze), 1990, pp. 31, 32 (with colour illustration).

36. (p)

A Shepherd Boy with a Wreath of Flowers

Panel
61 x 53 cm

Lund, Sweden, Collection of Hugo Engelson, in 1964

Provenance:

Stockholm, E. Burg-Berger Gallery, in 1937; Stockholm, collection of Mr. Nasiell, 1937; sale, Stockholm (H. Bukowski) 11-14 November 1959, lot 173 (with illustration plate 20, as Albert Cuyp); sale, Stockholm (H. Bukowski), 6-9 November 1963, lot 152 (with illustration plate 21, as Benjamin Gerritz. Cuyp)

Copies:

Panel, 56.5 x 48 cm, sale, London (Christie's), 14 March 1903 (Lugt 60937), lot 7 (as: *Portrait of a young girl, in green dress, with a wreath of flowers*). Panel, 57.5 x 49 cm, Leipzig, Kunstsalon Franke, in 1933; Collection of Mrs. J. Vuyk, in 1941; see: Hofstede de Groot 1907-1928, vol. 2, p. 52, no. 155a (as Albert Cuyp).

This young shepherd is one of Jan van Noordt's earliest treatments of an amorous pastoral theme. The persona of Cupid from classical mythology has been transplanted, as it were, to that fantasy realm of shepherds and shepherdesses that was evoked by numerous literary works and paintings in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century. A boy wears a simple, loose rustic costume with a large-brimmed hat, and is accompanied by a sheep whose head pops up at the bottom left. Besides his beckoning gaze, somewhat melodramatic, it is the wreath of flowers he holds in one hand and the single rose in the other that make explicit his role as inspirer to love. Such wreaths appear in numerous amorous mythological paintings, especially of *Amarillis and Mirtillo*, produced in the same context, and pinks and roses were included in many portraits to indicate engagement or marriage.¹ This painting, with its modest scale and unspecific subject matter was likely not produced for such a specific occasion, but rather for the open market.

This painting dates to around the same time as the Sydney *Granida and Daifilo*, and a little later than the genre scene of a *Shepherd Boy and Girl* last with Leger (cat. nos. 31). These works share a translucent modelling that yields a soft modelling of flesh. These areas are set against heavier, stiffer forms of fabric, where the paint is thicker, more opaque, and more directly modelled. The patchy effects in some passages is reminiscent of the 1649 *Cimon and Iphigenia*. The curving forms of the drapery folds are also characteristic of Van Noordt's style around 1650. With respect to the composition, the distributed highlights are typical of the early works, and create an overall liveliness. Here,

the atmosphere especially complements the amorous subject matter and the affable, charming visage of the figure.

1. For carnations as symbols of engagement, see Smith 1978, pp. 62-63. For roses as symbols of marriage, see: De Jongh 1967, pp. 25-34. Sluiter has also observed the erotic connotation of floral wreaths in mythological scenes; see Sluiter 1993b, p. 50. It is most explicit in a painting of a pastoral couple by Govert Flinck; see: McNeil Kettering 1977, pp. 41-42 (with illustration fig. 24). The English traveller Fynes Moryson, in the early 17th century, noted the marital symbolism of wreaths of roses in Holland at the time: "On Friday in the beginning of the Month of July, at five a clock in the evening, I tooke ship, upon the mast whereof was a garland of Roses, because the master of this ship then wooed his wife, which ceremony the Hollanders used." see: Moryson 1907, vol. 1, p. 114.

37. (p)

A Shepherd Boy with a Bird's Nest

Panel

73 x 56.5 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale Mrs. Ruddle Brown and others (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 25 July 1952, lot 113 (as De Noordt, 29 x 24 in. [73.6 x 61 cm], support not given, for £5.5, to Dent); sale R.V. Sutton and others (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 8 January 1971, lot 122 (as Van Noordt, *Portrait of a Boy Holding a Bird's Nest*, 76.3 x 59.6 cm, for £ 140, to Drumond); sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 7 May 1993, lot 34 (with colour illustration, as signed Flinck)

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 6, pp. 3737, no. 2403a, 4021 (with colour illustration)

A young and grinning boy carries a bird's nest in his hands. His forward lean gives the impression that he is running, and that he has apparently stolen the nest and is making off with his egg-filled prize. This picture has its precedents in a Flemish print tradition of nest-thieves. Such images usually show a group of young men taking a nest out of a tree, and are based on a drawing by David Vinckboons, which was in turn inspired by the painting by Pieter Breughel the Elder in Vienna.¹ Van Noordt seems to have adapted this type for his painting, possibly influenced by a painting attributed to Backer.² Around the same time, Jürgen Ovens depicted a variation on the theme, a *Girl and a Boy with a Bird's Nest*.³

This odd theme involving a bird's nest is possibly a reference to fertility, much like the painting of a pastoral couple recently at a sale in Amsterdam (cat. no. 33). The moral attached to Breughel's painting, stated that obtaining a bird's nest was not just a matter of knowing where it was, but also of fetching it.⁴ While such wisdom can be broadly applied, a later version of the emblem makes a specific reference to amorous pursuits, stating that success in love demands action, and not just knowledge. This message was likely implied in the original. Here, the boy plays the same Cupid-like role that is taken up by his counterpart who holds a wreath in the painting last in the Engleson collection (cat. no. 36). He has taken action, and thus he also spurs the viewer on, in the pursuit of love.

1. Hessel Gerritsz (after a drawing by David Vinckboons), *The Nest Thief: Autumnus, with a view of Maersen Castle*, etching, 263 x 349 mm; see: Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 53, p. 399, no. 3 (with illustration); Hollstein, vol. 7, p. 107, no. 19 (after David Vinckboons); exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1997, pp. 108-110, no. 16. Pieter Breughel the Elder, *The Nest Thief*, panel, 59 x 68 cm, signed and dated 1568, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
2. Attributed to Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *A Boy with a Bird's Nest*, canvas, 76 x 63 cm, sale, Amsterdam (Paul Brandt), 2-8 November 1965, lot 3 (with illustration, p. VII). Its provenance is given in the sale catalogue: sale, London (Sotheby's), 10 February 1965, lot 9 (to Hoogsteder); Duntreath, Stirlingshire, collection of Sir Archibald Edmonstone; Northington, Hampshire, collection of L.C. Wallach.
3. Jürgen Ovens, *A Girl and a Boy with a Bird's Nest*, panel, 74 x 60.5 cm, sale, Berlin (Lepke), 10 May 1921, lot 149 (with illustration plate 27, as D.D. Santvoort).
4. Exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1997, p. 110. The author concedes that amorous themes, no matter how disguised as other, more mundane themes, almost inevitably showed some firm indication of the underlying erotic message. The emblem cited here, however, is explicit.

38.

A Boy with a Dog and a Falcon

Canvas

81.3 x 65.4 cm

Signed and dated bottom left: *J. van Noordt 1675*

Private collection

Provenance:

Sale L. Stockbroo van Hoogwoud en Aartswoud, Amsterdam, 13-14 November 1855 (Lugt 22627), lot 28 (as 84 x 66 duim [85 x 66 cm]; f15, to Manvis, dealer); sale L. Stockbroo van Hoogwoud en Aartswoud, Hoorn, 3 September 1867 (Lugt 29948), lot 577 (as: *Een meisje met een hond, gemerkt Jan van Noordt* [A girl with a dog, signed Jan van Noordt], for f80, to Bourgeois); New York, collection of Dr. John E. Stillwell; sale Dr. John E. Stillwell, New York (Anderson Galleries), 1 December 1927, lot 238 (with illustration, as dated 1645); New York, Bucher Galleries, in 1931; Sale Dr. Leon Lilienfeld and others, New York (Sotheby Parke-Bernet), 17-18 May 1972, lot 113 (with illustration); collection of Albert Parreno; New York, Bob Haboldt & Co.; sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 July 1998, lot 189 (with colour illustration); Maastricht, Noortman (dealer)

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 210; Schneider 1931, p. 511; advertisement in *Art News*, 5 December 1931; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 142 note 50; vol. 6, pp. 3588, 3737, no. 2408, 4026 (with colour illustration); Sumowski 1986, pp. 21, 34 note 5; collection catalogue Lyon 1993, p. 110 note 2 (as 1645)

Exhibitions:

Paris Habolt 1991, pp. 52, no. 21, 53 (with colour illustration)

A young boy poses as a hunter, accompanied by his dog. He is equipped with a spear, and a hooded falcon. The part of his costume that is visible, seems to identify it as the kind of hunting costume *à l'antique*, that is seen more often in Dutch paintings of the period. The small animal is a pug, also known as a Dutch mastiff, an exclusive breed of hunting dog imported from the East.¹ The luxury and leisure aspects of the sport are here emphasized, especially in the rather pretentious setting. The scene takes place in a monumental courtyard, with a classical column swathed in drapery in the background, behind which appear open sky and a wood. The boy and his dog sit on some stone steps, one of which bears the artist's calligraphic signature and the date of 1675. There are flowers behind them and fruit in the foreground. The stylish display is completed by the bright red cushion under the dog.

The festive mood and the many attributes suggest that this is a genre depiction rather than a portrait. The boy competes with the other elements for attention. Furthermore, he strikes a rather informal pose, and his smiling expression lacks the usual restraint found in portraits. His puffy cherub-like features do not seem to be those of a particular person. Most importantly, however, the open and loose style applied by the artist seems inconceivable as applied to a portrait produced in Amsterdam in 1675. In the years leading up to this picture, Van Noordt had been applying this style mostly to scenes of history with a heavy emotional overtone. Here he attempted to conjure a jovial atmosphere with the same means. Directly-applied patches of light colour create a strong rhythm. This energy is carried through in the cutting diagonals of the spear, the dog, and the feathers of the boy's hat. The harsh contrasts and colours make an uncomfortable match with the light subject matter. In comparison, Van Noordt treated his young hunters of the mid-'sixties with greater smoothness and gentleness (cat. nos. 48 and 49). Here, the result is somewhat chaotic, without a binding action or focus, as there had been in the earlier history paintings, by which the viewer can interpret the dramatic effects.

1. See: Secord 1992, pp. 78-81.

Portraits: Women

39. (p)

Portrait of a Woman Wearing a Plain Kerchief and a Coif

Canvas

73.7 x 54.5 cm

Signed and dated bottom left, under the vase: *JvNoordt ft 1659*

The Hague, Nystad Gallery, in 1952

Provenance:

Sale David Balfour and others (R.A. Bethell section), London (Christie's), 21 December 1951, lot 51 (with illustration, for £42, to W. Sabin)

Literature:

Nystad 1981, p. 711 (with illustration)

Van Noordt seems to have made a late beginning as a portraitist by the evidence of this signed and dated work of 1659. There are only a few portraits in his oeuvre that can be dated earlier. His work up to this point includes mainly genre and history paintings. In those works he was able to develop an approach to the figure, that he here applied to the single sitter: smooth and strongly-rounded modelling, and a restraint in expression. It also shows his typically lively energy achieved in swelling forms and curving edges. This movement is carried through in the background, where draperies hang from classical columns, a pretentious setting adapted from the grand portrait fashion entrenched by Anthony van Dyck. It is somewhat incongruous with the more modest presentation of the sitter. Her sober dress, which does not feature any lace or cuffs, even leads to the suggestion that she might have been a Mennonite. The artist did achieve a convincing characterization of her, as unassuming, warm, and graceful. The slight smile and the glance to the side lend a touch of humour consistent with the artist's early genre depictions. The mismatch with her surroundings lends credence to the notion that Van Noordt was at the time only starting to develop an approach to portraiture.

40. (p)

Portrait of a Woman on the Steps of a Terrace

Canvas

113.5 x 91 cm

Falsely signed, bottom left: *F. Bol*

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 10-12 February 1942, lot 4 (with illustration, with dimensions of 116 x 92 cm, as Ferdinand Bol, signed bottom left: *F. Bol*); The Hague, Vermeulen Gallery, 1943-1945; sale, Lucerne (Galerie Fischer), 3-7 December 1963, lot 1639 (with illustration no. 55, as Jan van Noordt)

Literature:

Collection catalogue Hartford 1978, p. 168, no. 104, note 5; Blankert 1982, p. 186, no. R220 (as Jan van Noordt)

A young girl poses in a glittering satin dress, and is adorned with strings of pearls around her neck and wrists. Her hair is arranged in long falling "*pijp-crullen*" (pipe-curly). The lavish display is completed behind her with a classical column, and drapery suspended above, framing the view to a garden. This portrait had previously been given to Ferdinand Bol, however the liveliness of the piled folds of her clothing indicates the late style of Jan van Noordt, as do the swelling forms of her hands. Staccato rhythms in the fabric, and an overall organization into a longer, sweeping line through the figure, connect this work more specifically to the portraits and history paintings of around 1670. These elements create a busy energy, that is typical of Van Noordt's depictions of children. The naive, wide-eyed expression, at the same time serious, further characterizes the sitter as youthful.

41.

Portrait of a Woman

Canvas

81.2 x 64.5 cm

Angmering, West Sussex, collection of Peter and Susan Holland

Provenance:

Munich, Drey (dealer), in 1914¹; England, collection of H. de Vere-Clifton; London, Ch. Duits (dealer), in 1965; sale, London (Christie's), 30 July 1976, lot 90 (with illustration); The Hague, S. Nystad (dealer); Voorschoten, collection of J.A. van Rossem; sale, London (Phillips), 5 December 1989, lot 24 (with colour illustration)

Literature:

Nystad 1981, p. 711 (with illustration no. 4, as attributed to Jan van Noordt); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 79, 184 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); vol. 6, p. 3589; Bruyn 1984, pp. 150 and 187 (as not by Jan van Noordt, but reminiscent of G. van den Eeckhout)

A mature woman directs a calm, strong gaze towards the viewer. Her hands are folded, and her lightly-smiling lips and slightly-lowered eyelids further project control and self-assuredness. Jan van Noordt flattered his sitter by smoothly abstracting her likeness. The artist furthermore invested lavish care in this picture, to the point of including the detailed architecture of a country house and moat in the background left. These possessions affirm her privileged social position. Her sober dress suggests that she is the matron of a patrician family. The rather formal pose and simple composition were perhaps also demanded by the commission; they are enlivened by the movement imbued throughout, in the swelling forms of the fingers, the undulating bottom edge of her collar. The characteristically vigorous approach of Jan van Noordt after 1665, evident in these passages, is extended to the background sky with its billowing clouds dramatically lit at the horizon by a strong orangish evening glow, a colour also reflected in the shadow side of the sitter's neck and face.

1. Reported by Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, in a fiche kept at the R.K.D. in The Hague.

42.

Portrait of a Woman

Canvas
78 x 64 cm

London, Hall and Knight Gallery

Provenance:

Sale Mme. G. and others (anonymous section), Paris (Drouot: Maurice Rheims), 12-13 November 1952, lot 73 (with illustration plate V, as C. Netscher); Paris, private collection, in 1962; Bergamo, Steffanoni, dealer, in 1973 (as Janssen); sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 June 1998, lot 30 (with colour illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 6., pp. 3737, no. 2406, 4024 (with illustration)

Jan van Noordt was at the height of his late-starting career as a portraitist, when he painted the present work, around 1670. Over the course of the 1660s he moved towards a smooth and broad treatment of flesh and drapery. It seems that he came under the influence of Abraham van den Tempel, one of the few artists whose contact with him is documented. Van Noordt even adopted Van den Tempel's abstraction, and in this way could flatter his young sitter, who is dressed in costly satin fabric and pearl jewelry, even further. Van Noordt's own hand remains very much in evidence, as Jacques Foucart was the first to recognize.¹ The painting especially displays the artist's approach to drapery, in which modelling with chiaroscuro and reflections achieve strong and distinct volumes, and also bring added emphasis to his characteristically waving lines of edges and folds. The pursuit of such a vigorous drama reflects the artist's parallel activity as a history painter. A technical aspect further links this work to the late history paintings. The area beside the figure in the bottom right corner, which shows a stone vase resting on a balustrade, has been left unfinished, to the degree that it shows the lines of the underdrawing, contrasting with the lavish painting in other areas, especially in the figure.

1. Note with the photograph at the Centre du Documentation of the Louvre, Paris.

Portraits: Men

43.

Portrait of Dionijs Wijnands (1628 - 1673)

Oil on copper

20.5 x 16 cm

Inscribed on the reverse: *Dionijs Wijnands 1664*

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. A710)

Provenance:

Amsterdam, Jhr. J.S.H. van de Poll; bequeathed to the Rijksmuseum in 1880

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 216, no. 14 (as not likely by Van Noordt); Moes 1897, vol. 2, p. 655, no. 9335; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Decoen 1931, p. 17; Staring 1946, p. 75; Kolleman 1971, p. 120; Bénézit 1976, p. 750; Schatborn 1979, p. 118; Bernt 1980, vol. 2, p. 924 (with illustration); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 77, 182 (with illustration); vol. 5, p. 3112, with no. 2145

Selected collection catalogues:

Amsterdam 1885, p. 38, no. 256c; Amsterdam 1976, p. 419, no. A710 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

The inscription in a 17th-century hand on the back surface of this painting's copper support identifies the sitter as "Dionijs Wijnands." It is the same person who appears in a large, three-quarter length portrait, and also in a drawing, all taking the same pose (cat. nos. 44, D12). Staring expressed some doubt about Van Noordt's authorship of the small copper panel, in his article of 1946, but did not put forward any relevant observations. The close match of colour, and the lively bulging forms, especially of the hand, are strong stylistic links to the large painted version on canvas, which is signed and dated. The painting on copper was likely made in preparation for it. This delightful small image, with its vivacious effect of loose and quick brush-strokes, gives the impression of having been taken from life. Its composition includes only the head and torso, suggesting that the artist used this sitting to capture a likeness. He later translated it into the form of a large three-quarter portrait including a background of architecture, drapery and a vista.

This group of works suggests that the artist took his portrait commission very seriously. It appears to have been an important step towards elite patronage for Van Noordt. Although

it was known for some time, G. Kolleman was the first to publish further information on the identity of the sitter, in 1971.¹ Wijnands was born in 1628, the son of the *kraemer* (vendor) Hendrick Wijnantsz and Aeltje de Nijs, who are depicted in portraits in the collection of the Rijksmuseum (ills. 21, 22).² Dionijs's marriage to Anna Groessens is recorded on 27 February 1654.³ The couple was able to build up a small fortune through the manufacture of silk fabrics in Amsterdam. In 1663 Dionijs was listed as one of the members of the city's new committee of silk manufacturers.⁴ On his early death in 1673, he was given as living on the Bloemgracht, which is where his wife had been living before their marriage, and also where Jan van Noordt was recorded as living in 1674.⁵ The couple likely spent their nineteen years together at this address. Their social success is indicated by their daughter's marriage to Hendrik Meulenaer, the son of the prominent Amsterdam merchant and regent Roelof Meulenaer, and his wife Maria Rey, who are known through their portraits by Ferdinand Bol, of 1650, hanging in the Rijksmuseum.⁶ Indeed, the pose struck by Meulenaer, with one hand on the hip, is quite similar to the one taken by Wijnands, fourteen years later. It adheres to a formula used often by Bol.

In addition to his social standing, Wijnands also enjoyed literary status. In 1671 he became one of the eleven members of the group *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, led by Andries Pels, and advocating a Classical approach to theatre, based on French models.⁷ Neither the two painted portraits or the drawing, however, include any references to this aspect of Wijnands's life as it manifested itself seven years earlier in 1664. Van Noordt's special attention to this portrait may have stemmed from his own apparent enthusiasm for the theatre. This interest is reflected in his depiction of themes appearing on stage in Amsterdam, and may have grown out of social connections, such as to Dr. Samuel Coster (1579 - 1665), the founder of the Amsterdam *Schouwburg*, or city theatre.⁸

1. Kollemans 1971, p. 118.

2. G.A.A. D.T.B. 40 (Baptism) p. 440 (Nieuwe Kerk), 5 March 1628.

3. G.A.A. D.T.B. 473 (Marriage) p. 210 (Church) 27 February 1654. Attributed to Nicolaes Maes, *Portrait of Hendrick Wijnantsz*, canvas, 45 x 34 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. A 703); *Portrait of Aeltje Denijs*, canvas, 44.5 x 34 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. A 702); see: collection catalogue Amsterdam 1976, p. 359, s.v. copy after Nicolaes Maes.

4. G.A.A. 5020 (*Privilegiën en Keurboeken*) no. 16, *Keurboek "O,"* fol. 34v, dated 17-24 April 1663. See: Leonie van Nierop, "De zijdenijverheid historisch geschetst," *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 46, 1931, p. 43.

5. His death was reported in the annals of *Nil Volentibus Arduum*; see: Dongelmans 1982, p. 209 (document no. 801), where he was given as having died 11 September 1673.

G.A.A. D.T.B. 1056 (Burial) p. 87 (Nieuwe Kerk), 15 September 1673. On Jan van Noordt's location in 1674, see Chapter One, note 32.

6. Alida Wijnands was baptized on 12 February 1655, as the child of Dionijs Wijnands and Anna Groesens: G.A.A. D.T.B. 105 (Baptism) p. 28 (Westerkerk). For her marriage, see chapter 3, note 32.

7. Dongelmans 1982. He first appeared as a group member on 27 January 1671: p. 310, no. 859.

8. See Chapter One, p. 20, and note 31, concerning Adriana Kusters, daughter of Samuel Coster and granddaughter of Adriaen Lenaertsz.

44.

Portrait of Dionijs Wijnands (1628 - 1673)

Canvas

124 x 103.5 cm

Signed and dated middle right: Joan van Noordt f A°1664

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. A709)

Provenance:

Amsterdam, Collection of Jhr. J.S.H. van de Poll; given to the Rijksmuseum in 1880

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 212 nos. 12, 14 and 16; Moes 1897, vol. 2, p. 655, no. 9335; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Decoen 1931, p. 17; Staring 1946, pp. 74-75 (with illustration no. 2); Kolleman 1971, p. 120; Bénézit 1976, p. 750; Schatborn 1979, p. 119 (with illustration no. 2); Bernt 1980, vol. 2, p. 924 (with illustration); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 78

Selected collection catalogues:

Amsterdam 1885, p. 38, no. 256b; Amsterdam 1976, p. 419, no. A709 (with illustration)

The sitter is discussed in the previous catalogue entry. This three-quarter-length portrait closely follows the small study on copper in pose, and also in the the red drapery swathed above, and the stylized bulging form of the sitter's hand below to the right. In this large version Van Noordt added a tall hat on a table, and a view out a window, onto buildings and a dramatic cloudy sky, lit red by a sunset. The ripe, heavy forms, and the predominance of black and red, lend a serious air to the warm smiling expression and lively movement of this depiction. The display of emotion relates to the portraits of Jacob Backer; it compares closely to his *Portrait of a Man* in Kassel (ill. 4).¹

1. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Portrait of a Man*, canvas, 127 x 100 cm, Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Schloß Wilhelmshöhe (inv. no. M 1984/5); see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 138, 203, no. 71, 274 (with illustration).

Portraits: Children

45. (p)

Portrait of a Boy

Canvas

63.5 x 48.5 cm

Falsely monogrammed lower right: *AB*

Johannesburg, Johannesburg Art Gallery (inv. no. 9)

Provenance:

Amsterdam, Bernard Houthakker collection, in 1929 (as signed by Flinck); Johannesburg, Eduard Houthakker collection; given to the Johannesburg Art Gallery in 1949

Literature:

Bax 1952, pp. 23, 134 (as Jacob Adriaensz Backer); Von Moltke 1965, p. 253, no. R136 (with illustration, as Jacob Adriaensz Backer); exhibition catalogue Chicago 1969, p. 47; Marais 1971, pp. 6-7; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 83, 186 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); vol. 4, p. 3737, with no. 2407; Sumowski 1986, pp. 26 (with illustration fig. 6), 36 note 31; Carman 1994, p. 53 (with illustration)

Exhibitions:

Amsterdam 1929, p. 14, no. 48 (as G. Flinck); Delft 1950 (as Jacob Adriaensz Backer)

Collection catalogues:

Johannesburg 1988, pp. 20 (with illustration fig. 11), 92 - 94, no. 31

This portrait of a boy wearing a mantle and a broad collar was formerly attributed to Flinck and Backer, before Kurt Bauch suggested Jan van Noordt.¹ It relates closely to Backer's *Portrait of a Boy* of 1634 in the Mauritshuis, showing a similarly strong side lighting, which falls evenly on broad areas of the head and the heavy fabric.² Especially the bold shape of the white collar points to Backer's influence, as do the reduced form and folds of the mantle. The attribution to Jan van Noordt rests partly on the emphatic modelling, achieved through the strong reflections in the head and hands. This mild exaggeration also occurs in the hair, where reflections suggest a shine. Another characteristic touch is the treatment of the eyes, where the artist highlighted the eyelids and made the eyes somewhat small, producing a hard effect. It is a modification of Backer's own distinct, but softer, handling of this feature. Van Noordt evidently sought a strong and dramatic effect in his early portraits. He introduced a lively energy through the

undulating lines of edges and folds, in the figure, but even more so in the fabric. These aspects tie this work to paintings such as the Cherbourg *Cimon and Iphigenia* and the Kingston *Satyr and the Peasant Family* (cat. nos. 25, 19). It can be dated to around the same time, between 1650 and 1655.

1. Note on the back of the photo at the Rembrandthuis Study Centre in Amsterdam.
2. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Portrait of a Boy*, canvas, oval, 94 x 71 cm, signed and dated 1634, The Hague, Mauritshuis; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 200, no. 52, 255 (with colour illustration).

46. (p)

Portrait of a Young Girl Wearing a Beret

Panel

55.5 x 41.7 cm

Chatsworth, Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement (inv. no. 466)

Literature:

Von Moltke 1965, p. 250, no. R117 (as perhaps by Jan van Noordt?); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 84, 188 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); vol. 5, p. 3112, with no. 2144

This fanciful image lends itself to comparison with Van Noordt's *Portrait of a Boy* in Johannesburg (cat. no. 45). Both feature young sitters, and a framing device within the rectangular format of the painting. Here the artist has gone a step further, displaying virtuosity in describing curtains of satiny cloth, that hang behind the sitter, fall over her shoulder, and wrap over a balustrade in front of her. Caught in a strong light from the upper left, she casts a shadow on the fabric to the right, enhancing the illusion of space. The light and fluid brush work suggests a later date than the Johannesburg portrait, as does the smoothly-glazed modelling of the sitter's features. There is carefully-painted detail as well, especially in the jewellery at her neck and shoulder. The combination of loose and detailed handling also appears in works such as the Leipzig *Susanna and the Elders*, pointing more specifically to a date of around 1660 (cat. no. 7). The painting in Leipzig, like this one, had formerly been attributed to Govert Flinck.

The sitter wears a beret, which was not a common item of headwear in the seventeenth century. It did enjoy some continuing popularity among artists, however, which gives reason to believe that this painting might not be a portrait, but simply a *tronie*, or character head. This type of painting was popular among Rembrandt and his pupils, and especially Ferdinand Bol liked to portray such general types wearing berets. If this painting is a portrait, it is an informal one. The light atmosphere is also indicated by the pose of the sitter, who sticks her head through the opening between two curtains, drawing the left one aside with a casual gesture of her hand. This latter portion of the painting had been covered up, likely to make the painting more formal in tone. It was revealed in a cleaning in 1932.

47.

Portrait of a Young Man with his Dog

Canvas

154 x 121 cm

Signed and dated, at the base of the column: *Joan v. Noordt f./A° 1665*

Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (inv. no. B 577)

Provenance:

Paris, F. Kleinberger (dealer), in 1894; Paris, A. Fréret (dealer); acquired by the Lyon Museum in 1897

Literature:

Gonse 1900, p. 168; *L'art et les artistes* 19, 1914, p. 263 (with illustration); Decoen 1931, p. 17 (with illustration figure 12, p. 15); Schneider 1931, p. 511; Staring 1946, p. 75 (with illustration plate 4, p. 76); Boucher 1965, p. 259 (with illustration); Foucart and Lacambre 1968, p. 193; collection catalogue Wallace Collection 1968, p. 224; exhibition catalogue Paris and Amsterdam 1970, p. 274; exhibition catalogue Lille, Arras and Dunkerque 1972, p. 83; Bénézit 1976, p. 750; exhibition catalogue Dunkerque 1983, with no. 30; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 143 note 76; vol. 6, pp. 3737, no. 2404 (and with no. 2405), 4022 (with illustration); exhibition catalogue Paris 1987, p. 86; exhibition catalogue Bordeaux 1990, p. 227 note 11; exhibition catalogue Lyon, Bourg en Bresse and Roanne 1992, no. 95; Sutton 1992, p. 735

Exhibitions:

Lyon and Paris 1991, pp. 109-111, no. 35 (with colour illustration)

Collection catalogues:

Lyon 1912, p. 44 (with illustration plate 73); Lyon 1993, p. 154, 155 (with illustration)

Jan van Noordt summoned his full powers to paint this young man and his little companion. He was able to apply his facility for very smooth modelling of flesh, cast in a strong light, which he developed under the influence of Backer, to great advantage. Van Noordt did not follow the change of Backer's style around 1645, but kept his backgrounds dark, heightening the overall impact. A number of like depictions survive, done in the artist's style of the mid-1660s. A similarly sumptuous full-length in Brussels portrays a young boy in the guise of a drummer; two half-length pictures in the Wallace collection feature idealized types, holding hunting falcons (cat. nos. 48, 49). The number of pictures of children in Van Noordt's *oeuvre* suggests that his fetching style was recognized in its

own day as especially applicable to younger sitters. This identity even generated a small fashion for misattributions to this artist earlier in our own century.¹

The sitter wears an elaborate hunting costume. The leather jacket and boots are appropriate for retreat to country estates. Country houses even appear in the backgrounds of two portraits by Van Noordt.² The large scale, and the lavish description of setting and costume, prove not only the mastery of the artist but also his success in attracting affluent patronage.

1. See cat. no. R58.

2. *Portrait of a Brother and Two Sisters*, in Zeist (see cat. no. 53), and *Portrait of a Woman*, in Angmering, West Sussex (see cat. no. 41).

48.

Portrait of a Boy with a Falcon

Canvas
82 x 66 cm

London, Wallace Collection (inv. no. P20)

Provenance:

London, collection of Sir Richard Wallace, inv. p. 48 l. 5, N

Literature:

Staring 1946, pp. 75-77 (with illustration no. 5); Bénézit 1976, p. 750; Christine S. Schloss, in: coll. cat. Hartford 1978, p. 168; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 76, 183 (with colour illustration); Le Bihan 1990, p. 227 note 9

Selected collection catalogues:

Wallace Collection 1901, p. 61, no. 20 (as Nicolas Maes); Wallace Collection 1968, p. 224, no. P20 (with illustration); Wallace Collection 1979, p. 174, no. P20 (with illustration); Wallace Collection 1992, p. 247-249 (with illustration P20)

Exhibitions:

Bethnal Green 1872-1875, p. 6, no. 82; or: p. 13, no. 181, p. 72

Copies:

Canvas, 72.5 x 61 cm, collection of G.R.F. Tompkins, in 1970 (provenance: Collection of Lady Nancy Vivian, in 1968; sale The Duke of Beaufort and others, 25 November 1970, London (Sotheby's), lot 120 (with illustration)); see: collection catalogue Wallace Collection 1968, p. 224; Bénézit 1975, vol. 7, p. 750

A young boy poses as a hunter. He holds up a falcon in the left hand, and grasps a leash in the right, of a pet outside of the frame. The setting is the open countryside, and in the background to the right walks a traveller, a tiny figure appearing just below the boy's hand. The sitter wears a lavish costume that reflects his high social status. It accords with the association, for Netherlanders of the seventeenth century, of the sport of hunting with wealth and the ownership of land. The doublet with slashed sleeves is fitted with gold and red straps at the bottom. The display is completed with a flamboyant hat, decked with ostrich feathers. The long red strap swaying behind the boy is an ornamental version of a leading string, a feature of the costume of younger children, by which they were supported while learning to walk.¹

This painting relates closely to Van Noordt's *Portrait of a Young Man and his Dog* in Lyon (cat. no. 47). The modelling is similarly smooth and sensual, without the movement and brushwork seen in later works, to which the second Wallace Collection painting belongs (cat. no. 49). The present work shows more detail, especially in the metallic reflections of the stripes on the red doublet. Van Noordt's accomplished modelling of flesh is demonstrated in the plump round features of this young visage. The wan smile of the boy underscores this image's incomparable charm, while the dark background and the strong chiaroscuro lighting lend it an air of gravity.

A copy of this painting shows squatter dimensions. The figure is cut off a little higher, but more of the right hand is showing. Especially the right hand suggests that the original picture has been trimmed at the right edge. The copy does not show any of the landscape background that Van Noordt characteristically included.

I. My thanks to Marieke de Winkel for pointing out this feature and its special function.

49.

Portrait of a Boy with a Falcon

Canvas
62 x 53 cm

London, Wallace Collection (inv. no. P96)

Provenance:

Neufchatel, collection of George, 10th Earl Marischal (1694-1778); sale Count Perregaux, Paris (George Ridet & Seigneur), 8-9 December 1841 (Lugt 16388), lot 17 (as Maes, for Fr. 4001, to Duchatel; otherwise as to Lord Yarmouth); collection of the Baron Delessert, in 1842; London, Wallace Collection, (inv. p. 20, l. 40, as Maes)

Literature:

Smith 1842, supplement, p. 579; Decoen 1931, p. 18; Staring 1946, p. 75; Bénézit 1976, p. 750; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 143 note 76; Buijs 1991, p. 110 note 4

Selected collection catalogues:

Wallace Collection 1901, p. 69, no. 96 (as Nicolas Maes); Wallace Collection 1968, pp. 224-225, no. P96 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); Wallace Collection 1979, p. 174, no. P96 (with illustration); Wallace Collection 1992, pp. 249-250 (with illustration P96)

This depiction of a young man with a hunting falcon joins three others in the oeuvre of Jan van Noordt (cat. nos. 38, 48, 53).¹ The formula is the same as that of the other painting in the Wallace Collection: a youthful figure in a bright red costume holds up a bird of prey, which dramatically spreads its wings. Other artists who portrayed sitters in a similar way include Van Noordt's own friend Abraham van den Tempel (ill. 23).² The liveliness of Van Noordt's interpretation reflects the spontaneity of the sitter's youthful age. Compared to the other young falconer by Van Noordt in the same collection, some details differ: there is no leash, and the falcon is held up in the sitter's proper left hand. The forms are treated softly and smoothly, but there is some loose, fluid brush work in the figure, and especially in the vague background landscape and sky. The costume seems a little less lavish, with no plumed hat to cover the sitter's long falling locks. The sitter also takes a more active pose, leaning to the left. The composition as a whole is organized along this diagonal, with the falcon, the band across the front of the boy's costume, and the slope of the background landscape following it. This overall movement places this picture among Van Noordt's later works, of towards 1670. It compares to the *portrait historié* in Bordeaux (cat. no. 54), and can be dated to around the same year.

1. Hans Buijs draws the connection to the pose of the boy in the *Portrait of a Brother and two Sisters* in Zeist (cat. no. 53). See: exhibition catalogue 1991, p. 110 note 4.

2. Abraham van den Tempel, *Portrait of Cornelis van Groenendyck*, canvas, 125.5 x 100.5 cm, signed and dated 1668, Paris, Fondation Custodia, on loan from the Haags Historisch Museum, The Hague (inv. no. 41-1870); see: Wijnman 1959, pp. 72b (with illustration), 75, no. 12. A painting by Rembrandt in Pasadena has long been thought to depict a boy with a falcon, but such an identification of the bird cannot be reached on the basis of vague indications in the painting, which is unfinished: Rembrandt, *Portrait of a Boy Holding a Bird*, canvas, 64.8 x 55.9 cm, ca. 1655-1660, Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Museum; see: Tümpel 1986, p. 430, no. 1799. For a discussion of the problems related to the Pasadena painting, see: Manuth 1998a, pp. 330 (with illustration no. 9), 331, 335 note 67.

50.

Portrait of a Boy with a Drum

Canvas

120 x 103 cm

Brussels, Museum van Oude Kunst (inv. no. 699)

Provenance:

Sale Princess Mathilde, Paris, 17 May 1904 (Lugt 62314), lot 25 (as Nicolas Maes, for Fr. 5000); acquired by the Brussels Museum in 1904

Literature:

Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Kronig 1911, p. 156; P. Colin, *Vues de Villes, Châteaux, Monastères et Monuments publiques dans la collection des Musées royaux de Peinture et de Sculpture*, Brussels, 1916, p. 2, no. 11; *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 2, 1929, p. 20¹; Decoen 1931, p. 17; Staring 1946, p. 48; Bénézit 1976, p. 750; Blankert 1982, p. 143 note 5; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 143 note 76; vol. 6, pp. 3737, no. 2405, 4023 (with illustration); exhibition catalogue Lyon and Paris 1991, p. 110 note 4; collection catalogue Lyon 1993, p. 110 (with illustration 35a)

Exhibitions:

Bordeaux 1990, p. 227 note 10; Brussels 1995

Selected collection catalogues:

Brussels 1906, p. 134, no. 699; Brussels 1913, p. 65, no. 699 (with illustration pl. 119); Brussels 1927, p. 172, no. 699; Brussels 1984, p. 212, no. 699 (with illustration)

This portrait of a richly-dressed boy incorporates both military and civic references. The sitter poses beside a drum and in front of an ensign's banner, and is armed with a dagger, and thus plays the role of the young drummer of an armed company, much like the young Oscar van der Waeyen in the well-known portrait by Bol.² The scene is itself set explicitly in the city of Amsterdam: to the left, a window gives a view of rooftops and of two identifiable features of the Amsterdam cityscape: the cupola and dome of the Stadhuis (now the Royal Palace on the Dam), and the Herring-Packer's Tower.³ These references suggest that the sitter is playing a role in the civic guard of this city, and not in a standing army, which is the allusion of the Polish costume in Bol's portrait.⁴ Van Noordt portrays his sitter in luxurious clothes, including a leather jacket flamboyantly trimmed with ribbons, an item worn by boys in a number of portraits of affluent Netherlanders in the 1660s, including the ones by Van Noordt in Lyon and in the Wallace Collection in London (cat. nos. 47, 48, 49).

This complex display of luxury and social status is enlivened by the artist's handling of the brush. Van Noordt departed from the smooth modelling of surfaces in works of the mid-1660s, by leaving visible brush strokes. They are loose and fluid in the front and sleeves of the boy's jacket, and especially in the wall and the background vista. Broad, direct touches can be seen in the part of the standard in shadow, in the bottom left. Soft daubs of light colour indicating highlights in the hands and costume produce a specular effect. Such painterly flair connects this work to the Amsterdam *Magnanimity of Scipio* of 1672, and indicate a date of ca. 1670-1672. This portrait is thus one of the latest to survive from the hand of Van Noordt.

1. The catalogue entry mentions the cleaning of this picture, carried out by M.M. Vergote and De Heuvel.
2. Ferdinand Bol, *Oscar van der Waeyen*, canvas, 158 x 120 cm, signed and dated 1656, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. 1701: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 307, no. 146, 385 (with colour illustration); Blankert 1982, pp. 59, 66b (with colour illustration plate 150), 142, no. 139.
3. The Herring-Packer's Tower stood at the opening of the Singel on the Ij. It was taken down in 1829. See: collection catalogue Van Eeghen 1988, pp. 146-147, no. 100, 213, no. 213.
4. Blankert draws a connection between Oscar van der Waeyen's military costume and the Polish wars against the Turks that were taking place around the same time. See note 2.

51. (p)

Portrait of an Infant Girl with Symbols of Love

Dimensions and support unknown

Collection of Lady Jamieson

Provenance:

London, R. Holland-Martin Collection

Literature:

Wishnevsky 1967, pp. 85, 176, no. 33, 312 (with illustration fig. 19); exhibition catalogue Lyon and Paris 1991, p. 110 note 2

An infant girl poses with various symbolic attributes of love. Cupid's bow and quiver of arrows lie in front of her, the doves of Venus play beside her, and she places a hand on an apple, the prize offered to Venus by Paris. Her costume consists of loose drapery, and she is adorned with a pearl necklace and pearl bracelets, an armband of precious metal, and a small coif set with flowers. While her features appear to be those of a particular person, the many trappings give her the abstract identity of an allegorical figure, so that this painting functions as an allegorical portrait.

Frits Lugt was the first to recognize Van Noordt's hand in this picture.¹ Indeed, the bulging forms of infant flesh, and the energetic flowing lines of drapery folds belong to the late phase of Van Noordt's development, when he was at his most distinctive. The overall conformity to a diagonal, from lower left to upper right, and the loose, visible brush strokes in the drapery and the clouded sky, also help to place this work late in the oeuvre. It compares to the *A Boy with a Dog and a Falcon* of 1675 (cat. no. 38), and can be dated to around the same time.

1. Note with the photograph at the Witt library.

52. (p)

Portrait of a Girl with a Fan

Canvas
58.5 x 49.4 cm.

Private Collection

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, pp. 3112, no. 2144, 3291 (with illustration)

A young woman clasps her hands and holds a fan between her fingers. She poses in an antique costume with a white shirt with ample sleeves and modest *décolleté*, adorned with a rich string of pearls and precious stones. It is accented by a rather large teardrop-shaped pearl. The fanciful dress places this picture in the tradition of the *tronie*, or character-head, established by Rembrandt in the 1630s. Such paintings were not portraits in the strict sense, and the present work was likely not taken from a sitter. Rather, it was likely done after an existing painting, the *Head of a Young Woman* by Jacob Adriaensz Backer, with which it compares closely in the features of the sitter and in the strong chiaroscuro modelling.¹ Van Noordt likely produced the present painting shortly after his contact with Backer, as the style belongs to his early period. The strong light effect, and the dramatic curves and curls in the fabric, link this work with the Sydney *Granida and Daifilo*, and the Treul collection *Caritas* (cat. nos. 29, 20), indicating a date of around 1650.

1. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Head of a Young Woman*, panel, 59 x 44 cm (oval), Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NM 591; see: collection catalogue Stockholm 1990, p. 291; and: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 200, no. 53, 256 (with illustration). A copy of this work, attributed by Bredius to Rembrandt, but since rejected as such, is in Leipzig: panel, 56 x 42 cm, Leipzig, Museum der Bildende Künste, inv. no. 1054 (as after Rembrandt); see: collection catalogue Leipzig 1995, p. 153, no. 1054.

Portraits: Groups

53.

Portrait of Two Sisters and a Brother

Canvas

160 x 117 cm

Zeist, Slot Zeist, on loan from A. baron Baud

Provenance:

Zeist, Slot Wulperhorst, Collection of Jhr. H.M. Huydecoper; Soestdijk, Collection of Mr. Jean Chrétien baron Baud (by succession)

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 216, no. 15; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Decoen 1931, p. 18; Staring 1946, pp. 75, 77 (with illustration); Pigler 1955, pp. 165-166 (with illustration no. 14); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, p. 142 note 49; vol. 6, p. 3737, with no. 2405; exhibition catalogue Lyon and Paris 1991, p. 110, note 4

Exhibitions:

Amsterdam 1910, p. 8, no. 28; Amsterdam 1952, pp. 57-58, no. 119

Three children gather in the garden of a country estate. The eldest takes the most prominent place, seated on a chair in the foreground centre. She leans her arm on the backrest, and turns to look to the right, where her brother stands behind her. He takes a striding pose, and shows himself ready for the hunt, holding up a falcon in the right hand, and keeping a hound on a leash with the left. To the left appears the second sister, leaning against a stone pillar, and playing a lute. These siblings enjoy the activities and relaxation associated with summer retreat to country estates, part of the life of affluent *burgers* of cities such as Utrecht, The Hague and Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. The most prominent example was perhaps Joan Huydecoper, who built the estate *Goudesteijn* on the Vecht River near Utrecht, which also permitted him to take the title of Lord of Marseveen and so join the landed nobility. Here, the wealth and the leisure of the sitters is especially declared by their lavish clothing, with its encumbering excess of costly reflective fabric. In the distance stands a large country house, which has unfortunately not yet been identified. The scene is completed by a fountain with a statue of a *Venus Pudica*. A second antique sculpture, the flamboyant bust of an Emperor, rests at the base of a large column to the right. These two pieces attest to the rising interest in classical sculpture in the Netherlands in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹

This is one of the more dramatic and vibrant portraits in Van Noordt's oeuvre. The overall impact is strengthened by the setting of the lighted foreground group against a dark sky filled with billowing clouds and accented with the red of an evening glow. A sweeping movement is defined by the diagonal through the figure of the seated girl. Jan van Noordt evidently studied this pose by means of a drawing, now in Rotterdam (cat. no. D11). It is complemented by the active poses of the two other figures behind. The boy with his falcon seems to be a later development of the smaller of the two young falconers in the Wallace Collection (cat. no. 49).² This relationship points to a date after 1665, which is further attested to by the loose brush work in some passages, especially the fabric. At the same time, the attention to detail in the foreground and costume links this work with that done before 1670, so that a date of ca 1667 is plausible.

1. On the role of various members of the Deutz family, in importing sculpture from Italy to the Netherlands, see: Bikker 1999, pp. 281, 287-290; and Henk Th. van Veen, "Uitzonderlijke verzamelingen. Italiaanse kunst en klassieke sculptuur in Nederland," in: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1992, pp. 108-109.

2. Hans Buijs was the first to draw the connection of the older girl's pose to the Boijmans drawing, and that of the boy to the Wallace collection painting. See: exhibition catalogue Lyon and Paris 1991, p. 110 note 4.

54.

A Widow with her Two Sons (The Widow of Elisha's Servant Implores his Aid)

Canvas
118 x 99 cm

Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts (inv. no. Bx 1988.3.1)

Provenance:

London, collection of Miss Emily Leslie; collection of the First Duke of Westminster; Paris, collection of Ad. S. Schloss; Brussels, Myrtil-Schleisinger collection (by succession); sale Smallegange (Myrtil-Schleisinger section), Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 6 May 1913, lot 76 (with illustration, as 115 x 199 cm[sic], by J. van Noordt); sale, Brussels (Giroux), 15 March 1926 (with illustration, as N. Maes); Munich, Collection Point, in 1947; sale, Paris (Vente des Domaines), 25 May 1950, lot 65; sale, Paris (Palais d'Orsay), 28 March 1979, lot 196 (with illustration); sale, Paris (Drouot), 19 June 1981 (as attributed to Nicolaes Maes); The Hague, Hoogsteder Gallery (as Jan van Noordt), from there acquired by the Bordeaux museum in 1988

Literature:

Decoen 1931, p. 16; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 141, 143 note 87, 191 (with illustration); vol. 6, pp. 3589, 3645 (with colour illustration); *Revue du Louvre*, 1988, no. 4 (announcement of the acquisition)

Exhibitions:

Bordeaux 1990, pp. 225-227, no. 65 (with colour illustration); Brussels 1924, no. 105 (as Nicolas Maes); Bordeaux and Pau 1995, p. 27, no. 4 (with illustration)

The original subject matter of this painting was only recently made evident. It had been thought to be a portrait of a mother and her two children. However, the orientation of two of the figures gave the strong suggestion that the canvas was once larger and included more figures to the left side. Also, the dramatic poses and passionate expressions gave grounds to suspect that a history was being enacted. These indications were borne out when the painting underwent restoration, after it was acquired by the museum in Bordeaux in 1988. After the removal of overpaint, part of a standing male figure appeared at the left edge. He had been cut off and overpainted before the painting went to auction in 1913.¹ His appearance and rough costume marks him as a Biblical figure, whereas the woman's dress and pose identifies her as a widow accompanied by her two sons.

They enact the Old-Testament story of the widow of Elisha's servant (2 Kings 4: 1-7). Facing pressure from creditors after the death of her husband, she appealed to the prophet

for aid. By miraculously causing a large quantity of oil to materialize, he provided her with the means to prevent her creditors from taking her two children into slavery. Rembrandt portrayed this theme in a drawing now in Vienna, that became the starting-point for a painting by Barent Fabritius.² Although Van Noordt's conception shows some similarities, it rather reflects the influence of Jacob Adriaensz Backer on his style, with its large figure scale and movement generated by curved and flowing lines. The figures are also oriented more towards the viewer. The unidealized and specific features of the woman lead to the conclusion that she sat for a *portrait historié*, accompanied by her two sons, one of whom looks up to the figure of the prophet, while the other looks out to the viewer. The scenario refers to the particular circumstances of the patron for this work, who must have been herself a widow. Ironically, it is a lavish work, dating to the height of Van Noordt's career and fashionability among Amsterdam's elite, and thus cannot reflect poverty on the part of the widow. It perhaps does refer to a situation in which the three sitters, bereft of father and husband, receive support from a third party, who plays the role of "Elisha" in their lives. Unfortunately it has not yet been possible to identify the threesome portrayed here.

Van Noordt's picture fits into a broader pictorial tradition of "pleading women." The same basic group of figures could function as a framework for several similar themes. Van Noordt drew directly from paintings that participated in this tradition, for his distinctive figure of the widow, and her dramatic pose, kneeling, with arms down and drawn back, with open hands, making a pleading gesture. He was likely looking at the *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* by Jacob Adriaensz Backer, and took over Backer's figure of the Samaritan woman to the left. Backer in turn adopted this figure from earlier sources. It appears to the right side of a painting by Pieter Lastman of 1625, of *Coriolanus and the Roman Women*, for which Lastman also made a drawing.⁴

The present painting belongs to the beginning of a late phase in Van Noordt's work. He began to conceive of his compositions in terms of overall movement and organization. This tendency can be observed here in the sweeping line running from the dog at the bottom right, through the figures of the boy and his mother. It originally continued to the arm of the prophet at the left, which is now obscured, but was revealed during the recent restoration. A date of around 1670 is also indicated by the confident, fluid brush work, which looks ahead to the 1672 *Magnanimity of Scipio* in Amsterdam (cat. no. 23). The smooth and broad modelling of the figures is nonetheless closer to that seen in earlier works of the mid-1660s, such as the *Young Man and his Dog* in Lyon (cat. no. 47).

1. The catalogue to the 1913 sale (see provenance) illustrated the picture in its present format, but gave a width of 199 cm, which is likely an error, and should instead read 99 cm, the present width.

2. Barent Fabritius, *Elisha and the Widow of his Servant*, canvas, 104.5 x 97 cm, sale, London (Phillips) 6 December 1988, lot 42 (with colour illustration, as Elijah and the Widow of Zarephath). The composition matches the middle section of the drawing by

Rembrandt: *Elisha and the Widow of his Servant*, pen and black ink, 172 x 254 mm, Washington, D.C., collection of Dr. Felix Somary: {Benesch, vol. 1, p. 1024 (with illustration no. 1240).}

3. See: exhibition catalogue Bordeaux 1990, pp. 226. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, Middelburg, Nieuwe Kerk; see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 194, no. 9, 212 (with illustration).

4. Pieter Lastman, *Coriolanus and the Roman Women*, panel, 81 x 132 cm, signed and dated 1625, Dublin, the Provost, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College. See: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1991, pp. 124-127, no. 20 (with colour illustration). A preparatory drawing also survives: *A Kneeling Woman and a Boy*, red chalk, heightened with white, on orangish-prepared paper, 265 x 196 mm, Hamburg, Kunstalle (inv. no. 23980); see exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1991, pp. 158-159, no. 31 (with illustration). This same figure was also studied in two drawings in Amsterdam: Pen in brown ink, over a sketch in black chalk, 175 x 165 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet; see: collection catalogue Amsterdam 1998, vol. 1, pp. 127, 128, no. 278 (as Jacob Simonsz Pynas); vol. 2, p. 152 (with illustration no. 278); and: black chalk, 236 x 190 mm; see: collection catalogue Amsterdam 1998, vol. 1, p. 197, no. 445 (as anonymous); vol. 2, p. 219 (with illustration no. 445r).

55. (p)

Portrait of a Mother and Three Children

Canvas
106 x 87.5 cm

Sale, Paris (Hôtel George V: Étude Ader Tajan) 15 December 1993, lot 45 (with colour illustration)

Provenance:

{Sale, Genoa (Galeria Vitelli) 7-12 November 1938, lot 46 (with illustration)}; Furst zu Schwarzenberg; sale, Lucerne (Galerie Fischer), 20-26 November 1962, lot 2326 (with illustration plate 55, as Jürgen Ovens); sale, Fermor-Hesketh and others (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 8 July 1988, lot 37 (with colour illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

Literature:

Exhibition catalogue Lille, Arras and Dunkerque 1972, pp. 82-83 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, p. 3112, with no. 2141

This unusual group portrait bears allusions to a theme originating in the Classical iconographical tradition. A mother, with her three children around her, sits on a fanciful gilded throne, carved in *kwabstijl*, also known as the auricular style, which was pioneered at the beginning of the century by the Utrecht silversmith Adam van Vianen. Its flamboyant movement lends the scene an exotic, otherworldly air, which suits the iconography. Furthermore, the sitters are all dressed *à l'antique*, and the mother's costume even incorporates the daring element of an open bosom. It is especially this element that defines her pose as the allegorical figure of *Caritas*, or the Christian virtue of Love.² She exemplifies this virtue by devoting herself to nurturing children, in particular by the giving of her mother's milk.¹ Van Noordt's choice of this allegorical framework for a portrait followed upon other paintings, including one by Paulus Moreelse, of 1621.³ This meaning is amplified in the decoration of the throne, which adds an extra, sculpted child. In the context of a scene laden with allegory, the carved flower in the backrest of the throne could be identified as a sunflower, which was a common symbol of loving devotion.⁴ A second Virtue, that of Hope, is also represented in the statue in the background left, of a woman holding an anchor.⁵ The combination of these two virtues follows a recommendation in the Dutch version of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*.⁶

This conceit borders on the category of *portrait historié*, which Van Noordt engaged in a number of pictures. The classical reference here relates most closely to the painting by Van Noordt in Braunschweig, where the sitter poses as the goddess Juno. In that painting

the reference is made even more explicit by the inclusion of numerous attributes, and by an even more *risqué* level of nudity (cat. no. 14).

Jacques Foucart was the first to recognize the hand of Van Noordt in this painting. The very smooth and broad modelling of flesh places its style among the works of 1665-1672. The sweeping movement points to a later date, as does the organization of the poses of the children in a diagonal line. Van Noordt probably painted it around 1670, in the same period as the similarly lively family portrait in Dunkerque (cat. no. 56). The present work is much more closely cropped, suggesting that it might have been trimmed down.

1. Dirck Pers's influential translation of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* gave examples of how to represent *Caritas*, as a woman clothed in red, a flame rising from her head, holding a child under her right arm and suckling it, with two other children at her feet. See: Ripa 1644, pp. 292 s.v. *Carita* (with illustration), 293.

2. The Apostle Paul cites the three virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity in I Corinthians 13:13.

3. Paulus Moreelse, *Portrait of Sophia Hedwig, duchess of Nassau Dietz, as Charity, with her Three Children*, canvas, 140 x 122 cm, signed and dated 1621, Apeldoorn, Rijksmuseum Paleis Het Loo; see: exhibition catalogue Haarlem 1986, pp. 312-315, no. 78 (with illustration).

4. This carved sunflower echoes the one appearing in the frame to Ferdinand Bol's latest *Self Portrait*, which Eddy de Jongh has demonstrated to be a symbol of nonsensual love, repeating the meaning of the sleeping Cupid in the painting. It referred to the mature love of the artist's second marriage: canvas, 128 x 104 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. A 42). See: Eddy de Jongh, "Bol vincit amorem," *Simiolus* 12, 1981-1982, pp. 158-161.

5. The catalogue of the 1988 sale (see Provenance) described the statue behind as representing Faith. However, the Pers edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* (see note 1) prescribed the figure of Hope, and not Faith, as a maiden holding an anchor. See Ripa 1644, pp. 147, s.v. *Geloof*, 205, s.v. *Hope*.

6. Ripa's second figure for Hope takes on some of the attributes for *Caritas*, with the explanation that these two virtues are inseparable from each other. See: Ripa 1644, p. 205, s.v. *Hope*.

Portraits: Groups

56.

Portrait of a Family

Canvas
160 x 192 cm

Dunkerque, Musée des Beaux-Arts (inv. no. 732)

Provenance:

Collection of the Duchesse de Rochechouart; sale, Paris (Palais Galliera), 7 December 1967, lot 148 (with illustration, as attributed to N. Maes); Paris, Legenhoek (dealer), (as Jan van Noordt); acquired by the museum in 1967

Literature:

Foucart and Lacambre 1968, pp. 193 (with illustration fig. 10), 194; exhibition catalogue Paris and Amsterdam 1970, p. 274

Exhibitions:

Lille, Arras and Dunkerque 1972, pp. 82 (with illustration), 83, no. 45; Dunkerque 1983, no. 30 (with illustration)

Collection catalogues:

Dunkerque 1974, no. 50; Dunkerque 1976, p. 49, no. 363

Given the size of this large, multi-figured painting, its condition is surprisingly good. Only a few areas show wear, in particular at the bottom right, in the parrot and the hat of the boy holding it. Also, the drapery on which the mother sits is finished in a bright blue glaze which seems to have given the artist some difficulty, as it is very uneven and roughly painted, especially in comparison to the confident and fluid handling in the rest of this work. Most of the painting is finished to a high level, leaving very little vulnerable dark underpaint.

Van Noordt portrayed a family of six gathered on a terrace. Trees and foliage in the background place the scene in a country estate. The setting is somewhat ostentatious, with massive stone columns wrapped in drapery, and in the middle distance a pool with a swan and a fountain topped with a classical sculpture. The high social status of the sitters is also declared in their lavish dress, which tends towards an excess of fabric, especially in the silver satin dress of the mother, and the bright red cape of the father. The loose-fitting

designs are suited for the country recreation that occupies this group. The young son at the bottom right attends to two pets, a green, yellow and red Amazon Parrot in his hand, and a hound in front of him.¹ The young boy to the right holds a riding crop aloft, for the decorative hobby horse he rides; he is appropriately shod with small riding-boots. His sister standing behind her crowns him with a wreath of flowers. The light and playful mood is emphasized by the father holding an apple in front of his infant daughter, seated on her mother's lap, and by her gesture of reaching out with both hands to grab it. The artist also seems to have positioned this fruit so as to create a visual pun on the breasts of the child's mother, directly adjacent, revealed by the deep *décolleté* of her dress. The casual atmosphere is associated with country leisure of wealthy urban dwellers, which became increasingly popular in late seventeenth century Holland. Some of the group portraits by Jürgen Ovens incorporate spontaneous interactions to convey a similarly relaxed mood, and likely inspired Van Noordt here.² A drawn family portrait by Van Noordt shows a similar attitude in the poses of the sitters, and may have been an early form of the composition of the present painting (cat. no. D13).

Van Noordt painted this large and flamboyant family portrait a few years after the *Portrait of a Young Man and his Dog* in Lyon, of 1665 (cat. no. 47). It shows the strong, brilliant light and full smooth modelling that the artist developed in this period. The head of the mother is the focal point, modelled with bright, creamy highlights, blackish shadows, and strong glowing reflections. The composition retains the rhythmic liveliness of Van Noordt's earlier works. The placement of five sitters' heads along a weaving diagonal from the bottom left to the top right corners points to the development of the artist's later tendency to organize movement along larger, sweeping lines.

1. My thanks goes to Volker Manuth for providing the specific identification of this bird.
2. Compare with Ovens's *Portrait of Colonel Hutchinson and his Family*, canvas, 132 x 170 cm, signed and dated 1659, Munich, K.O. Bernheimer (dealer), in 1997; and: *Portrait of a Family*, canvas, 150 x 213 cm, signed and dated 165), Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum, (inv. no. 229), see: Schlüter-Göttsche 1978, p. 12 (with illustration fig. 4); exhibition catalogue Haarlem 1986, pp. 244-245, no. 56.

Paintings known only through copies

Copy 1. (p)

A Couple Playing Chess

Panel

55 x 46 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Paris, Benedict (dealer), in 1957 (as Gerbrand van den Eeckhout)

A flamboyantly-dressed couple is absorbed in a game of chess. This scene of young men and women at leisure belongs to the larger category of the "Merry Company," whose tradition and interpretation is discussed in greater detail with respect to Van Noordt's *Musical Company on a Terrace* in Berlin (cat. no. 32). Such images were linked primarily to moralization against lasciviousness. This message seems to have been pushed into the background in the picture by Van Noordt.

In his choice of theme, Van Noordt was evidently influenced by the Amsterdam painter Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, who painted a number of scenes of card- and backgammon-playing. The composition of the present picture, with the symmetrical arrangement of the two figures sitting across from one another at the table, is particularly close to a now-lost painting of *Two Officers Playing Cards*, last in Amsterdam, and attributed to Van den Eeckhout.¹

The stylistic link of this picture to Van Noordt was first recognized by Willem van de Watering.² The most comparable example in his oeuvre is the Berlin *Company*. The characteristic traits of Van Noordt's style of around 1655-1660 have here been transmitted, for example the emphatic suggestion of volume in the figures through reflections and soft modelling, and elegantly swelling forms and curving contours. However, these aspects occur here with some exaggeration, combined with weaknesses not typical of the artist. Particularly the cursory manner in which facial features have been described speak against his authorship. This is evidently not an original work, but a copy of one by Van Noordt that has since been lost.

1. Attributed to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Tric-trac Players*, panel, (41 x 33 cm), signed and dated 1673, collection of R. Laubinger, in 1953; see: exhibition catalogue Matthiesson 1953, (not paginated) no. 26; Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, p. 748 no. 516 II.

2. Note of 23 July 1969 with the photo of this painting at the R.K.D.. My thanks to Volker Manuth for referring me to this picture.

Copy 2.

Portrait of Petrus Proëlius (1615 - 1661)

Known only through the print by Joan de Visscher:

Engraving

390 x 280 mm

Inscribed: Joan de Visscher sculpsit/ obiit 19 Augusti 1661/ Ætatis 45/ Joan van Noort pinxit/ Nicolaus Visscher excudit; with a poem given in Latin and in Dutch by Jacobus Heiblocq:

Iam fatis in tenebris latuit, cui gratia lumen
Præbuit e gremio commiserante Dei.
Nuper in Amsteliis sonitu penetrante cathedris
Hoc gravitas vultu conspicienda fuit!
Putet humi, patet in superis, etinare, suisque,
Simpliciterque latens, tripliciterque patens.
Hæc tibi picturæque fluunt, o amice! tuæque
Fudimus, hev gemitus et pia justa neci.

't Is lang genoeg in't graf, en achter 't kleed geschuilt,
Dat nu al ruim een jaar zijn aangezicht bedekte,
Waarom zoo meenig oog zoo bitter heeft gehuilt,
Hy heeft voor 't sterffelijk het eeuwige geruilt,
De VOORZON die aan 't Y een lichte star verstreckte,
Waar toe hem d'Hemelvoocht zoo gunstelijk verwekte.
Dit pronkbeeld hebt gij by uw Amstelaars verdient;
Dus leeft g'ook na uw doot, mijn trouwe harten vriend!

Jacobus Heiblocq.

(It's long enough in the grave, and hidden behind the cloth,
That has hid his face now for around a year,
Why has so many an eye shed bitter tears,
He has exchanged the mortal for the eternal,
The BREAKING SUN that gave to the Y a bright star,
For which the Guardian of Heaven so favourably created him.
Among your Amsterdammers, you have earned this lavish portrait;
So you also, my faithful bosom friend, live on after dying.)

Literature:

Nagler 1832-1852, vol. 10, p. 265; Muller 1853, p. 205, no. 4298; Wessely 1866, pp. 10, 11, no. 12; Le Blanc 1889, vol. 4, p. 135, no. 12; Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 212, no. 10, 215, no. 12; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Hollstein, vol. 41, pp. 96-97 (with illustration)

The inscription on this print after a portrait by Jan van Noordt identifies the sitter as Petrus Proëlius, minister in Amsterdam. Proëlius's father Henricus (1566 - 1643) was also a Reformed Church *predikant*, and his brother Jacobus (1619 - 1652) followed the same profession.¹ Van Lieburg traced the career of Petrus, through stays in his native town of Pijnacker, and Gouda, to a final period in Amsterdam. It was there that he commissioned a portrait from Jan van Noordt. The date of 1661 on the print does not refer to the original portrait, but to the year of Proëlius's death. The print itself dates to a year later, 1662, according to the poem in the inscription, which states that the sitter died a year previous.

Proëlius draws his right hand up to his heart, a gesture seen in earlier portraits of ecclesiastics by Rembrandt, that of Joannes Uytenbogaert in 1633, and of Johannes Elison in 1634. These sitters all adopt the posture of the confessor, which descended from the iconography of St Jerome in the desert. However, the print reverses the original painting, as seen in the fall of light from the right, whereas it was always shown coming from the left in the original painting. There, the gesture would have been shown as made by left hand. However, it is quite possible that Jan van Noordt had a reproductive print in mind when making the painting, and may have purposely engaged the wrong hand, so that the print would correctly convey the symbolic gesture.

The printed reproduction communicates many characteristic elements of Jan van Noordt's style. The strong light thrown against the column behind the sitter helps to emphasize him, and partakes of the greater focus that begins to appear in Van Noordt's work around 1660. Tendency towards puffy swelling forms of the hands, however, only enters the artist's work around 1659, and can be seen in the Nystad *Portrait of a Woman*. The original portrait thus likely dates only a few years before the sitter's death. The sweeping lines of drapery folds, in the background and in Proëlius's own clothing, are a more general aspect of Van Noordt's style.

The inscription attests to Proëlius's popularity and status in Amsterdam. Jacob Heyblocq (1623 - 1690), its writer, was a teacher of French and Latin in Amsterdam, and is best known for his famous *album amicorum*.² The books in the right background assert the sitter's learning, as does the skull cap he wears, an item long favoured by ecclesiastics and academics.³

1. Van Lieburg 1996, p. 197.

2. See: Heyblocq 1998.

3. The prominent theologian Joannes Uytenbogaert, for example, wears a skull cap in the portrait of 1633 by Rembrandt, in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum. See Volker Manuth in: exhibition catalogue Kingston 1996, p. 35, no. 2.

Paintings, which cannot with any certainty be said to be by Jan van Noordt or not by him

U1. (p)

Flora (Ovid, *Fasti* V, 183-387)

Canvas
89 x 70 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale Hulin de Loo, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 29 October 1947, lot 98 (with illustration plate XIII, as Govert Flinck, *Pomona*); sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby- Mak van Waay), 15-17 June 1982, lot 19 (with illustration, as Govert Flinck)

Literature:

Von Moltke 1965, p. 233, no. R43 (as probably by Jan van Noordt or Jacob van Loo)

A wanly-smiling young woman holds a basket full of flowers in her arms. She wears a floral wreath on her head, and a simple dress with a low décolleté, held up by a jewelled leather strap. The garment relates to the costumes in Van Noordt's depictions of allegorical figures or goddesses of Antiquity, such as Caritas (cat. no. 20), Venus (cat. nos. 16, 18), and Juno (cat. no. 14). The attributes and dress in this picture point to an identification as Flora, the goddess of flowers and gardens, who was associated with the blooming of plants in springtime. She had been Chloris, nymph of the fields, but was transformed after her rape by Zephyr, god of the west wind. The most elaborate reference to Flora in classical literature is a passage in Ovid's *Fasti*, in which the poet relates a sudden encounter with the goddess, in which she describes herself to him.¹

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Van Mander provided artists with a brief description of Flora in his *Grondt der Edel vrij Schilder-const*, the didactic poem at the beginning of his *Schilderboeck*.² With her many flowers, she served as an example to illustrate the compositional principle of *copia* or richness. Van Noordt would also have had access to the description of Flora provided in the 1644 translation of Ripa's *Iconologia*, which drew more directly from the passage in Ovid:

Off to the side stands a young virgin,
Who often dances, or plays, or hunts,
This is the season, clad in green,
Decked with red, white, yellow flowers.
Her cheeks blush with Milk and Roses,
Her teeth are white as pearls.

Coral sways about her lips:
 She is decorated with a floral wreath.
 And devotes herself to playfulness,
 In which lustful Passion avoids her.³

Van Noordt may have been influenced by Rembrandt's painting of the same subject in St Petersburg (Br. 102).⁴ The pose of the goddess, turned toward the left, and holding up flowers in the nearer arm, is similar to the Rembrandt.

The modelling of form, smooth, yet with strong transitions, relates to the earliest works by Jan van Noordt, especially the *Caritas* in Milwaukee (cat. no. 20) and the two earliest depictions of *Cimon and Iphigenia* (cat. nos. 24, 25). Several details, such as the elongated, squared-off fingers, and the soft, spongy handling of background foliage, confirm the connection to these pictures, and point to a date between 1645 and 1650. Unfortunately, this painting is known only through photographs, and a direct examination would be required to confirm the attribution to Van Noordt.

1. See: Ovid, *Fasti*, in: *Ovid*, vol. 5, trans. Sir James George Frazer, 2nd. ed., rev. G.P. Gould, Loeb Classical Library 253, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989, pp. 273-287. For a discussion of the theme in the work of Titian and other artists, see: Held 1961.

2. Flora is mentioned briefly as an example of a rich painting, in Van Mander, *Grondt der Schilder-const*, fol. 17v, 32:

"Oock als Zephirus Flora comt ontmoeten/
 Daer sy hen voortijts meerder ondercusten/
 En ghevlerckte Sanghers Aurora groeten/
 Jae daer de nieu Blomkens de Lucht versoeten/
 De heunich soeckers/ die nae soetheyt lusten/
 Connen niet altijt op Adonis rusten/
 Corcus en Smilax sillen sy niet missen/
 Ajaxen, Hiacinten, noch Narcissen."

(Also when *Zephirus* comes to meet *Flora*
 Where she repeatedly kissed him
 And Singers wearing flowers greet *Aurora*
 Yea where the new flowers sweeten the air
 The seekers of honey, who yearn for sweetness
 Cannot always stay with *Adonis*
Crocus and *Smilax* they will not pass by
Ajax, *Hyacinths*, nor *Narcissi*).

3. Flora appears in Ripa's *Iconologia*, under the heading of the season of Spring; see: Ripa-Pers 1644, p. 506, (s.v. *De Lente. Saysoen des Jaers*): "Oock wort de Lente by Flora, die met bloemen rontom besteecken is, afgebeeld, hebbende oock de handen vol. Waer van Ovidius in't 2 boeck *Metamorph. gewagh maeckt, 't welck van Anguillare aldus is uytgebreyt* (Spring is also represented as *Flora*, who is stuck all around with flowers,

and has her hands full as well. To which *Ovid* in the second book of his *Metamorphoses* also aspires, which is thus elaborated by *Anguillare*):

*"Ter sijden staet een jonge Maeghd,
Die dickwijls danst, of speelt, of jaeght.
Dees is 't Saysoen, in 't groen gekleet,
Met root, wit geel gebloemt bespreeet.
Van Melck en Roosen bloost haer wangh,
Haer tanden zijn als peerlen blanck.
't Korael rontom haer lippen swiert:
S' is met een bloeme-krans geciert.
En boert self om de dartelheyt,
Waer geyle Min haer in vermeyt."*

4. Rembrandt, *Flora*, canvas, 124.7 x 100.4 cm, St Petersburg, Hermitage (inv. no. 732); see: Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 2, pp. 495-503, no. A 93 (with illustration).

U2.

Profile Portrait of a Woman

Panel
55 x 42 cm.

Lier, Museum Wuyts-van Campen, (inv. no. 66, as Jan Lievens)

Collection catalogues:
Lier, 1946, no. 50 (as Rembrandt)

The profile head in this portrait is very similar to ones that appear in several history paintings of around 1660 by Jan van Noordt. The tall forehead, curved bridge of the nose, receding chin and protruding upper lip reappear in the falling woman in the foreground right of the Kingston *Massacre of the Innocents* (cat. no. 12), and also in the closest of the singing women to the right in the *Triumph of David* last in New York (cat. no. 5). Willem van de Watering was the first to draw the connection, and reattribute the present work to Van Noordt, instead of Lievens, the label it currently bears (it was earlier catalogued as a Rembrandt). In addition, the soft modelling of flesh and the loose and movemented fabric of the dress are consistent with Van Noordt's style. However, some uncertainty is raised by other elements, especially the striated description of hair, so unlike Van Noordt's suggestion of overall masses, and indeed more characteristic of Lievens. The painting of the features also yields an uncharacteristically soft effect, whereas Van Noordt often defined such forms with crisp edges. Lastly, the strong light effect of chiaroscuro, that adds drama to so many of Van Noordt's works, portraits as well, is not present here. It remains a possibility, then, that this work is by another artist.

U3. (p)

Portrait of a Woman with a Fan

Canvas
116 x 88 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale M.P. Mersch, Paris (Drouot: Henri Baudoin), 8 May 1908, lot 47 (with illustration, as Nicolas Maes)

The growing demand, in the 1660s, for spirited liveliness and lavishness in portraits, is reflected in this portrait of a richly-appointed young woman holding a fan. It must be kept in mind that her level of flamboyance likely reflects not only her wealth, but also her unmarried state; portraits of married persons, produced in the same context, are typically much more sober. Among Van Noordt's own works, the most appropriate comparison is with the *Portrait of Three Children* now in Zeist (cat. no.), where the girl in the foreground is comparably resplendent, and takes a similarly dramatic, engaged pose. Both sitters wear a satin gown, a pearl necklace, a tiara set with pearls, and armbands of precious metal set with stones. In the present work a chain adorns the bodice, rather than another string of pearls. Another small difference is the dress, which has clasps at the front. The similarities point to a near-contemporary date, likely around 1665 - 1667.

At the sale appearance of this painting in 1908, it was attributed to Nicolaes Maes, undoubtedly on the basis of the movement in the pose. Aspects that point instead to Van Noordt, include the strong light effect, the solid masses of drapery, and the characteristically bulging forms of the nearer hand. The background is severely plain, however, giving only a faint suggestion of a column or drapery. It departs from the richness typical of Van Noordt in the 1660s, casting a measure of doubt on any re-attribution to him.

U4. (p)

Still Life with Musical Instruments

canvas
87.6 x 81.9 cm

New York, collection of Richard Kitchin, in 1956

Exhibitions:

Raleigh 1956, no. 49 (with illustration, as Samuel van Hoogstraten)

A still-life of musical, scholarly and painterly objects is arranged on a table in the foreground. A songbook, with the distinctive horizontal format peculiar to the type, hangs over the front edge, partly covering a study drawing of a nude female. A little further back, sheets of music and a small sculpture of a child rest atop a heavy volume in a lavish leather binding. To the right lie a watch, and a palette with its thumb-hole crammed with *penceelen*, or artist's brushes. Behind them, a violin is propped up at an angle, against a globe which is cut off by the right edge. This collection is contemplated by a young man, who rests his head on his elbow, at a window in the background left. He wears a beret, which was outmoded by the middle of the seventeenth century but retained its popularity among artists.

The three spheres of music, art, and learning are mixed together, and they are linked to the young man. This painting may be a portrait, in which the sitter expresses his interests or his profession. It is not clear from the figure whether his features are individual or not, and this scene could also be interpreted as a genre-like still-life devoted to the the three mentioned themes. More significantly, this combination was embodied by Jan van Noordt, who came from a musical family and pursued learned themes in his history paintings. It is remotely possible that he proffered himself here, in the same way as had Samuel van Hoogstraten, with a still-life. Unfortunately, the attribution to Van Noordt cannot be judged on the basis of the reproductions available.

If it is by him, a date of around 1655 is plausible, judging from the broad handling of the figure. Van Noordt would have been around thirty years old, a not-unlikely age for the sitter in this painting.

Several decades later, a painting was produced by Van Noordt's pupil Johannes Voorhout, with a foreground still life incorporating references to art (ill. 24). Although the figure there is a woman, occupied with painting, the scene seems to reflect the influence of the present picture, lending some support to its connection (direct or indirect) to Van Noordt.¹

1. Johannes Voorhout, *Still Life with a Woman at an Easel*, canvas, 48.5 x 40.3 cm, signed lower right, "J. voorh", Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum (inv. no. 1923.209); see: collection catalogue Worcester 1974, vol. 1, pp. 148-149, no. 1923.209; vol. 2, p. 566 (with illustration); and: Kuretsky 1979, pp. 102, no. D-10, 208 (with illustration, as Johannes Voorhout).

Rejected Paintings

R1. (p)

The Flight of Lot and his Daughters (Genesis 19: 30-36)

Panel

32 x 57 cm

Monogrammed bottom left

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, Berlin (Lepke), 15 May 1928, lot 72, (as Jan van Noordt, *Heroische Landschaft*, panel, 32 x 57 cm, signed: "*Hinter ein baumbestandenem Hügel der Brand von Sodom und Gomorrha; vorn Loth mit seinen Töchtern auf der Flucht.*" [*Heroic Landscape*, Behind a woody hill the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah; in the foreground Lot and his daughters in flight], for 140 M); sale, Berlin (Lepke), 5 February 1929, lot 11 (as Jan van Noordt, signed, for 300 M); sale Professor van Esmard *et al.*, Berlin (Lepke), 10/11 December 1929, lot 43 (as Jan van Noordt, signed); sale Mme Berall de Siret *et al.*, Brussels, 15 December 1930, lot 58 (with illustration, plate XXI, as Jan van Noort, *Paysage avec épisode Biblique représentant la fuite de Loth et ses Filles*, monogrammed bottom left); sale Paul Frenkel Charnowitz, The Hague (Van Marle & Bignell), 8 December 1931, lot 81 (as Jan van Noort [Antwerp 1587 - 1626 Madrid], panel, 33 x 56 cm, monogrammed bottom centre, for f 150); sale, Paris, 21 December 1941, lot 83a (as Jan van Noordt)

The monogram, the figure scale and the use of landscape show no links to Van Noordt's painted oeuvre.

R2. (p)

Hagar and the Angel (Genesis 21: 9-21)

Canvas
130 x 114 cm

Present location unknown

Sale, Paris (Drouot-Richelieu), 27 April 1989, lot 16 (with colour illustration, as attributed to Jan van Noordt)

The very large figure scale, and the smooth, broad treatment of form bear no relation to Van Noordt's style.

R3. (p)

The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah (Judges 19: 16-21)

Canvas
69 x 115 cm

Hamburg, private collection

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 5, pp. 3111, no. 2136, 3283 (with illustration)

The attribution of this painting to Van Noordt was first made by Christian Tümpel. It is supported by Sumowski, who draws comparisons to *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah* in Budapest (cat. no. R6), and to the *Mary and the Christ Child* in Gavne (cat. no. 11). The small figure scale, the soft handling of form, and the attention to small detail, cannot be linked to Van Noordt's style.

R4. (p)

The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah (Judges 19: 16-21)

Canvas
81 x 95 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, London (Phillips), 10 December 1991, lot 202 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); London, Trafalgar Gallery, in 1989; sale, London (Christie's), 19 March 1991, lot 92 (with illustration); sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 6 December 1997, lot 1201 (with illustration plate 23, with the report that Sumowski has changed his mind, and now regards the painting as a later autograph version of the Budapest painting, rather than as a variation by an unknown artist)

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 6, p. 3753, no. 2510, 4133 (with illustration, as anonymous variant of *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah* in Budapest, here cat. no. R6)

The artist has pursued a suggestion of light through chiaroscuro, without achieving the strong sense of form typical of Van Noordt. Particularly vague are the building and the donkey to the left.

R5.

The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah (Judges 19: 16-21)

Canvas

64.7 x 90.5 cm

New York, Gutekunst & Co.

Provenance:

Collection of Mrs. de Beaumont, Cambridge; sale, London (Christie's), 12 March 1926, lot 45 (as *Laban, Rebecca and Jacob*, by G. Flinck, £60.18, to Asscher); sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 1 December 1927, lot 215 (with illustration, as an *Italian Folk Scene*, by Victors); Belgium, private collection; sale Sir Francis Dashwood *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Christie's) 4 July 1986, lot 1 (with colour illustration); London, Alan Jacobs Gallery

Literature:

Collection catalogue Louvre 1929-1933, vol. 3, p. 42, with no. 1233 (as the Levite in Gibeah, by Flinck); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, pp. 3111, no. 2134, 3281 (with colour illustration); Sumowski 1986, pp. 24 (with illustration, fig. 3), 25, 36 note 27; Manuth 1987b, p. 114, note 387; Tableau, November 1986, p. 71 (with illustration); Van Gent and Pastoor 1994, pp. 83, 87 note 58, 138 (with colour illustration plate 10)

Exhibitions:

Fall 1986 Catalogue, London, Alan Jacobs Gallery, 1986, no. 8 (with colour illustration); *Pictura*, Maastricht, 1987; The European Fine Art Fair, Maastricht, 1993, p. 88 (with colour illustration)

The attribution of this painting to Van Noordt by Willem van de Watering (according to a note with the photograph at the R.K.D.) has stood for some time. However, the generally even thickness and opacity of the paint speaks strongly against the hand of Van Noordt, who typically used semi-transparent underlayers, that remained as part of the final image. Furthermore, this picture places a strong emphasis on the articulation of deep space; the vista to the left includes a convincing plunge to the lower level of the town. This secondary focus is not developed as much in the one known depiction of the same subject by Van Noordt (cat. no. 3). In the present painting, it reflects the influence of a version painted by Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout of 1658 in Moscow.¹

1. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah*, canvas, 225 x 232 cm, signed and dated 1658, Moscow, Pushkin Museum (inv. no. 1676). See: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 721, 732, no. 426, 789 (with illustration).

R6. (p)

The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah (Judges 19: 16-21)

Canvas
90 x 114 cm

Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (inv. no. 9822)

Literature:

Pigler 1956, vol. I, p. 128 (as attributed to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 142 note 59, 164 (with illustration); vol. 5, p. 3111, Sumowski 1986, pp. 24 (with illustration), 25, 36 note 27; Manuth 1987a, p. 114, note 384

The absorption of detail in figures and landscape is quite unlike Van Noordt's style. There are several links to another rejected painting, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in St Petersburg (cat. no. R15). The donkey standing behind the field labourer is nearly identical to the beast standing behind Joseph, in the St Petersburg painting. That painting bears further similarities with the present one, including the broad, heavy handling of drapery, and the suggestion of rounded form through broad highlights and reflections. Also, the seated woman wears a similar flat, low-brimmed hat. The two works are quite likely by the same artist. The present work also incorporates a borrowing from the work of Jacob Adriaensz Backer. The artist adapted the head of the field labourer from the figure of Hippocrates in Backer's painting of *Hippocrates visiting Democritus in Abdera*, in Milwaukee.¹

1. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Hippocrates visiting Democritus in Abdera*, canvas, 94 x 64 cm, Milwaukee, collection of Drs. Alfred and Isabel Bader; see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 193, no. 3, 206 (with colour illustration).

R7.

The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah (Judges 19: 16-21)

Panel
89 x 93 cm

Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts (inv. no. P 1397, as Gijsbert Jansz Sibilla [ca 1598 - after 1657])

Provenance:
Collection of Alexandre Leleux, bequeathed to the museum in 1873

Literature:
Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 6, pp. 3736, no. 2398, 4015 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); Manuth 1987a, p. 114 note 385 (as Gijsbert Jansz Sibilla)

Collection catalogues:
Lille 1875, p. 28, no. 75 (as Bramer); Lille 1893, p. 32, no. 100 (as "Genre de Bramer");
Lille 1984, p. 28

Exhibitions:
Lille 1974, p. 84, no. 59 (with illustration, as Gijsbert Jansz Sibilla)

The scene is set on a hilltop, with figures projecting against the sky. The artist has used background architecture to establish a strong diagonal. In these aspects this painting is similar to the *Ruth and Boaz* formerly in the Butôt collection (cat. no. R10). They are perhaps by the same artist.

R8. (p)

Nabal Refuses to Give Food to David and his Men (I Samuel 25)

Canvas
122 x 85 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, Zürich (G&L Bollag), 21 April 1934, lot 71 (with illustration no. XIX, as J. Jordaens)

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 6, pp. 3736, no. 2400 (and with no. 2399), 4017 (with illustration); Exhibition catalogue The Hague 1992, pp. 264 note 6, 265 (with illustration fig. 36c)

The 1934 sale catalogue cites an expertise by Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, attributing this painting to Jan van Noordt. His view has more recently been supported by Paul Huys Janssen.¹ However, this unfocused and turbulent composition cannot be placed within Van Noordt's oeuvre. It contains some elements of Jan van Noordt's early figure style and some of the energetic movement of his late works. The bravery in its depiction of facial expressions is greater than is typical for Van Noordt's early works. In contrast, it shows none of the rounded volumes that he began to emphasize thereafter. Even by 1660 he was building up form with emphatic modulation of tone and colour, and strong reflections in the shadows. Other aspects, such as the angular formation of drapery and edges, show no connection with the style of Van Noordt, and speak strongly against the attribution to him.

1. See exhibition catalogue The Hague 1992, p. 264 note 6.

R9. (p)

The Disobedient Prophet (I Kings 13:24)

Canvas

115 x 154 cm

Signed and dated: ian. V. Noort f.1653

Gavnø, Gavnø Castle Foundation (inv. no. 5413-2)

Provenance:

Gavnø, collection of the Baron Redz-Thott

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, pp. 212, no. 8, 217-218, no. 23 (as possibly by another J. van Noort); Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Bauch 1926, p. 68 note 92; Decoen 1931, p. 18; Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 1, pp. 140, 142 note 63, 168 (with illustration); vol. 5, p. 3113, with no. 2147

Collection catalogues:

Gavnø 1876, no. 85; Gavnø 1914, no. 119

The small figure scale, and the emphasis on landscape, tie this picture stylistically to two other paintings that have been attributed to Jan van Noordt: *The Shepherds at a Fountain* in the Joseph Steiner collection in Rottenburg (cat. no. R39), and the *Landscape with Shepherd and Milkmaid* (cat. no. R38). It also shows the same block-lettered signature, spelled without the "d." These works can be reattributed to a second artist, identifiable as Jan van Noort.¹

1. See Chapter Two, pp. 42-43.

R10. (p)

Ruth and Boaz (Ruth 2: 10)

Oil on copper
32.2. x 38 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 4-7 December 1973, lot 91 (with illustration, as Claes Cornelisz Moeyaert); St. Gilgen, collection of F.C. Butôt; sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 16 November 1993, lot 91 (with colour illustration)

Literature:

Butôt 1981, pp. 18, 204, no. 83, 205 (with colour illustration, as Jan van Noordt); Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 6, pp. 3736, no. 2399 (also with no. 2398), 4016 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

The attribution of this painting on copper to Jan van Noordt was first made by Willem van de Watering (in a note with the photograph at the R.K.D.). The composition and the setting are similar to the painting of *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah* in Lille (cat. no. R7). The stiff, angular folds of drapery are quite unlike Van Noordt's style. The figure and facial types, and also the distinctive use of a pinkish-red colour, point instead in the direction of the Haarlem painter Hendrick Heerschop (1620/21 - after 1672).¹

1. This attribution was suggested to the author by Albert Blankert, in an oral communication.

R11.

Esther at her Toilette (Esther 5:1)

Panel
105.5 x 78 cm

Private Collection, Europe

Provenance:

Possibly: sale Van den Branden, Brussels, 13 April 1801 (Lugt 6234), lot 227 (as Govert Flinck, *Une femme qui se fait coiffer par sa chambrière*, panel, for Fr 70=0, to Deroij); London, Hallsborough Gallery; sale, Milan (Finarte), 24 October 1989, lot 29 (with colour illustration, as circle of G. Flinck); The Hague, Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder Gallery, in 1992

Literature:

Sumoski 1983-1986, vol. 5., pp. 3111, no. 2135, 3282 (with illustration); Sumowski 1986, pp. 22 (with illustration fig. 1), 23, 36 note 23; Boonen 1994, p. 118 note 9

Exhibitions:

The Hague 1992, pp. 54, 258-261, no. 35 (with colour illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

This strongly-lit scene borrows some of its strength of composition from Rembrandt's painting of the same theme, in Ottawa.¹ The artist adopted the strong pyramidal grouping of Esther and her servant, and balanced it with a table to the left. He further elaborated the scene by placing the bed behind, and on the table a lavish still-life, which includes Adam van Vianen's famous Nautilus Cup of 1614.² The meaning of this scene was for a time concealed by a restorer's alterations. The background with the bed was overpainted, and Esther's gaze was redirected towards the mirror. An historical scene was thus converted into an allegorical genre scene of *Vanitas*.

The setting and light of this scene are related to the *Susanna and the Elders* in Leipzig (cat. no. 7). It features the same pattern of seams in a stone floor, and a comparable concentration of light on the main figure. The handling of figure and drapery nonetheless differ noticeably. The present picture contains none of the sinuous lines of drapery folds, dramatically accented by strong chiaroscuro. The modelling of the face and figure is also done in a consistent neutral white colour, unlike the contrasts of cool and warm tones typical of Van Noordt. The handling of paint is dry and stiff in areas of shadow, which Van Noordt usually brushed in fluidly, in semi-transparent paint. The present picture cannot be attributed to Van Noordt, but it can be placed in the circle of artists around Flinck and Backer.

1. Rembrandt, *Esther*, canvas, 108.5 x 92.5 cm, signed and unclearly dated 1633, Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada (inv. no. 6089); see: Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 2, pp. 266-275, no. A64 (with illustration).

2. See cat. no. 10, note 2.

R12. (p)

A Priest Before a King

Panel

86.5 x 142.5 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale Metropolitan Museum of Art *et al.* (anonymous section), New York (Christie's), 10 June 1983, lot 113 (with illustration, as Johannes van Noordt)

To judge by the many-figured composition and the emphasis on classical architecture, this painting perhaps belongs to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

R13. (p)

Tobias is Frightened by the Fish (Tobit 6: 2-3)

Canvas
80 x 100 cm

Present location unknown

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 6, pp. 3736, no. 2402, 4019 (with illustration)

Sumowski based his attribution to Van Noordt on a comparison with the *Granida and Daifilio* in Sydney (cat. no. 29). However, it does not display the same full modelling of the figures. Although it was previously known as a Govert Flinck, it perhaps stems from an artist from the group around Lastman. The composition of this painting is indebted to Lastman's depiction of the same theme, in Leeuwarden.¹

1. Pieter Lastman, *Tobias pulling the Fish from the Water*, Panel transferred to canvas, 78 x 101.5 cm, signed and dated 16(?)3, Leeuwarden, Stichting Museum het Pincessehof, Ottema-Kingma collection; see: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1991, pp. 90-91, no. 3 (with colour illustration).

R14.

The Departure for the Flight into Egypt

Canvas

72 x 63 cm

Munich, Staatliche Gemäldesammlungen (inv. no. Rembrandt-Schule no. 197)

Provenance:

Düsseldorf, Collection of Johann Wilhelm von Pfalz-Neuburg Elector Palatinate (1658-1716), in 1716 (as J. Jordaens); Munich, in 1822 (as Bartolommeo Schiadone)

Literature:

Van Gool 1750, vol. 2, p. 536 (as Jordaens); Decoen 1931, p. 18; Peltzer 1937, pp. 269-270, 275-276, no. 22 (suggested attribution to Paudiss, under the influence of Rembrandt in the 1650s), 279 (with illustration no. 17); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, pp. 3111, with nos. 2137 and 2138, 3284 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

Collection catalogues:

Düsseldorf 1716; Düsseldorf 1719, p. 16 (not paginated), no. 64 (as Jordaens, 2 Fuß 6 Zoll x 2 Fuß 2 Zoll [78.5 x 68.3 cm]); Düsseldorf 1778, vol. 1, p. 348, no. 343; vol. 2 (with illustration, plate XXV, engraving by Chr. von Mechel, as Jordaens, 2 p 2 po x 1 p 11 po [68.3 x 60.2 cm]); Munich 1845, p. 310, no. 612 (as Bartolomeo Schidone [ca. 1570 - 1615]); Munich 1885, p. 73, no. 334 (as Rembrandt school)

This scene is mostly painted in dark, translucent colour. The areas of highlights, reflecting the light cast from the lantern in the foreground, and by the hearth in the hut to the right, are painted in a flat, pasty technique, quite atypical for Van Noordt. The red mantle of Mary contrasts with, for example, Van Noordt's fluid modelling with sharp reflections, in the red dress of the girl in the *Kingston Satyr and the Peasant Family* (cat. no. 19). The head of Mary, with its thick and unmodulated application of highlights, gives a flat effect, also seen in the head of the child. The limited range of colour, with only some orange, red and blue distributed sparsely in the figures and the foreground details, is also unlike Van Noordt, who typically capitalized on sharp colour effects.

R15. (p)

The Rest on the Flight into Egypt

Canvas
92 x 68.8 cm

St Petersburg, Hermitage (inv. no. 3072)

Provenance:
St Petersburg, Semenov collection

Literature:

Sumowski 1956, pp. 256, 268 (with illustration no. 5, as Barent Fabritius); Sumowski 1959, p. 290 (as not by Barent Fabritius); Blankert 1976, pp. 97, 153, with no. A 20 (as Jan van Noordt, attribution by Willem van de Watering); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 142 note 65, 171 (with illustration); Sumowski 1986, pp. 23 (with illustration fig. 2), 36 note 25

Selected collection catalogues:

Semenov 1906, pp. XCII, 67, no. 157 (with illustration, as Barent Fabritius); Hermitage 1958, p. 284, no. 3072 (as possibly by Barent Fabritius)

A number of aspects link this painting with the *Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah* in Budapest (cat. no. R6). The donkey is nearly identical, and the figures of the Mary and the concubine bear many resemblances to one another. The two paintings also share stylistic elements, such as a tendency towards rounded contours of figures and forms, giving a soft effect, and a penchant for attention-drawing foliage and still-life detail. In these respects, both works can also be distinguished from Van Noordt's oeuvre. Sumowski rightly draws a comparison to two other attributions to Van Noordt, the *Esther at her Toilette* last in The Hague (cat. no. R11), and the *Departure for the Flight into Egypt* in Munich (cat. no. R14), which are here rejected.

R16.

Mary, Elizabeth, and St John

Canvas

73.7 x 56.5 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Collection of A.L. Finlayson; sale Edward Dent *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 14 March 1930, lot 21 (as Gerbrand van den Eeckhout); sale The Earl of Bradford *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 18 December 1980, lot 188 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); sale Angus Acworth *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 19 March 1982, lot 22 (with illustration, as Johannes van Noordt); The Hague, Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder Gallery, in 1992

Literature:

Sumowksi 1983-1996, vol. 3, pp. 2227, no. 1495, 2250 (with colour illustration)

Exhibitions:

The Hague 1992, pp. 60, 272-275, no. 38 (with colour illustration, as Jürgen Ovens)

The facial types, the abrupt transitions of tone and colour in the modelling, and the distinct use of yellow ochre are more reminiscent of Jürgen Ovens than Van Noordt, and support the reattribution to Ovens, by Paul Huys Janssen.¹

1. See: exhibition catalogue The Hague 1992, pp. 272-275.

R17. (p)

St John the Baptist Preaching

Panel

49.5 x 65 cm

Oldenburg, Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte (inv. no. 15.649, as Backer)

Literature: Bauch 1926, p. 31, no. 9 (with illustration plate, as Backer); Schatborn 1979, p. 125 (with illustration fig. 10); Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, p. 82 (with illustration fig. 11, as Jan van Noordt); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 142 note 53, p. 162 (with illustration), vol. 4, p. 3588

Collection catalogues:

Oldenburg 1966, p. 87 (with illustration, as Backer)

The starting point for this conception of the Sermon of John the Baptist was the composition of the famous painting by Rembrandt of the same theme, now in Berlin, which was well-known in its own time.¹ The artist took over from Rembrandt's painting the pose of John the Baptist and his placement on a hillside to the right, the group of Pharisees in the foreground, and the river and waterfall in the background. Most telling is the appropriation of the expressive, cursory handling of John the Baptist, evoking his simple desert existence and his raw emotion in admonishing his audience. Rembrandt began his painting around 1634, and finished it shortly thereafter. The Rembrandt Research Project has speculated that this painting perhaps reflects the original composition of Rembrandt's grisaille before he enlarged it.² Not taken into consideration was the implication that this painting, attributed to Van Noordt, must have been made in 1634. Van Noordt was only ten years old at the time, so that his authorship can be dismissed.

1. Canvas, 62.7 x 81.1 cm (enlarged from 39.8 x 49.5 cm), Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz; see: *Rembrandt Corpus*, vol. 1, pp. 70-88, no. A 106 (with illustration). The fame of this work is indicated by its appearance in near-contemporary texts; see: Hoogstraten 1678, p. 183; and: Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 261.

2. *Rembrandt Corpus*, vol. 1, p. 82.

R18. (p)

The Baptism of Christ

Canvas
69 x 85.5 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 7-8 November 1991, lot 278 (with colour illustration);
Milwaukee, Collection of Drs. Alfred and Isabel Bader; sale, London (Christie's), 4 July
1997, lot 242 (with colour illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 6, pp. 3735, no. 2396a, 4013 (with colour illustration, as Jan
van Noordt)

The thick, impasto application of paint, and flatly-modelled areas, are unrelated to Van
Noordt's work.

R19. (p)

Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well

Panel

51 x 64 cm

Present location unknown

Sale, Lucerne (Galerie Fischer), November-December 1967, lot 2299 (with illustration plate 50, as Jan van Noordt); sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 2 June 1981, lot 477 (with illustration)

The broad modelling and abstracted forms differ strongly from Van Noordt's figure style.

R20.

Christ and the Canaanite Woman

Panel

75.5 x 123.5 cm

Signed "v. Oort"

Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent (inv. no. SCCs. 12)

Provenance:

Greenville, South Carolina, Bob Jones University Collection (as H. ter Brugghen); The Hague, Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder Gallery

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1986, vol 6, pp. 3526, 3531 note 54; Dirkse 1980, p. 76-78 (with colour illustration, as Jan van Noordt); Dirkse 1997, pp. 13-16 (with illustration)

Exhibitions:

Utrecht 1989, pp. 88-91, no. 19 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt, ca. 1650, an uncharacteristic work)

This painting has been reattributed convincingly by Paul Dirkse, to the Utrecht painter Willem van Oordt. Dirkse based his reattribution on a comparison of the figure style with several signed drawings by this artist.¹

1. See: Dirkse 1997, *passim*.

R21. (p)

The Crucifixion

Canvas
82 x 70 cm

Amersham, Buckinghamshire, England, collection of Ms. H.C.W. Dally

Provenance:

Sale The Right Honourable The Countess of Southesk *et al.*, London (Christie's), 19 June 1942, lot 124 (as Carel Fabritius); London, collection of Dr Ephraim Schapiro, in 1953; sale, London (Christie's), 18 May 1979, lot 212 (as Jan van Noordt, 90.8 x 69.8 cm); sale, London (Christie's), 15 December 1976, lot 34 (with illustration plate 18, as Jan van Noordt, 90.1 x 69.9 cm)

The angular quality of the drapery folds, the facial types, and the broad, flat lighting of the figure of Christ, suggest that this painting was not done by Jan van Noordt. At the R.K.D. this work is also placed under the name of Egbert van Heemskerck (ca. 1634 - 1704), which is also unlikely.

R22. (p)

St Agnes

Canvas
116 x 91 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

With an Amsterdam dealer in 1935; Lucerne, in 1945; Zürich, Bruno Meissner Gallery, in 1991

Literature:

Staring 1946, p. 81 (as Jan van Noordt); Wishnevsky 1967, pp. 68, 169, no. 24

The abstracted facial features, the soft effect of light and the broad modelling of the figure point to the possibility that this painting was produced by a Haarlem artist, under the influence of classicizing painters such as Pieter Fransz de Grebber (1600 - 1651/52). At the R.K.D., this work is also placed under the name of Isaac Luttichuys (1616 - 1673).

R23. (p)

Jupiter and Mercury in the House of Philemon and Baucis (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8, 630-724)

Canvas

80 x 67 cm

Falsely signed, bottom left: Jordaens P.

Helsinki, Sinebrychoff Museum (inv. no. A I 1377, as Jan van Noordt)

Provenance:

Göhle collection

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 5, pp. 3111, no. 2139, 3286 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); Sumowski 1986, pp. 31, 32, 37 note 45; exhibition catalogue Bordeaux 1990, p. 226 note 4; exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 239, 241 note 5

Collection catalogues:

Helsinki 1988, p. 85 (with illustration)

The composition of this painting is adapted freely from the depiction of the same theme by Adam Elsheimer.¹ The artist apparently knew the reproductive print by Hendrick Goudt, and followed its left-to-right orientation.² The false signature indicates that the artist was once thought to be Jacob Jordaens. This painting also cannot be attributed to Jan van Noordt. His style has little in common with the hard, exaggerated musculature, and the pursuit of detail, in this picture. Another work showing these characteristic, the *Juno asks Jupiter for Io as a Gift* in Paris (cat. no. R25), can tentatively be given to the same, anonymous, artist.

1. Adam Elsheimer, *Jupiter and Mercury in the House of Philemon and Baucis*, oil on copper, 16.9 x 22.4 cm, ca. 1608/09, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen; see: Andrews 1977, pp. 34-36, 153-154, no. 24 (with illustration plate 87)

2. Hendrick Goudt, after Adam Elsheimer, *Jupiter and Mercury in the House of Philemon and Baucis*, engraving, 164 x 220, dated 1610; see: Hollstein, vol. 8, p. 156, no. 6 (with illustration).

R24. (p)

The Judgement of Paris (Homer, *Iliad*, 24, 25-30)

Canvas

146.5 x 114 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, Paris (Hôtel Drouot, Étude Tajan), 23 June 1997, lot 76 (with colour illustration, as Jan van Noordt [Amsterdam 1562 - 1641])

The sale catalogue entry attributes this Italian-looking picture to an artist who lived in Amsterdam from 1562 to 1641, reflecting some confusion about his identity.

R25.

Juno asks Jupiter to give her Io as a Gift (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1, 616)

Canvas
113 x 108 cm

Paris, Louvre (inv. no. RF 1973-3)

Provenance:

Paris, collection of A. Stein (dealer); given to the Museum in 1973

Literature:

Sumowski, 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 73, 179 (with illustration); Sluiter 1986, pp. 55, 394-395 note 10; Sumowski 1986, pp. 31, 37 note 44; exhibition catalogue Paris 1990, p. 226 note 5; exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 239, 241 note 6

Collection catalogues:

Paris 1979, p. 98 (with illustration)

The composition of this painting is indebted to a depiction by Pieter Lastman, of the same theme, in London.¹ As with the *Jupiter and Mercury in the House of Philemon and Baucis* in Helsinki (cat. no. R23), the hard muscularity of the figure, and the attention to detail, distinguish this work from the style of Van Noordt.

1. Pieter Lastman, *Juno asks Jupiter to give her Io as a Gift*, panel, 53 x 76 cm, signed and dated 1618, London, National Gallery (inv. no. 6272); see: collection catalogue London 1973, p. 359, no. 6272 (with illustration).

R26. (p)

Bacchus and Ariadne (Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines*, 1, 15)

Canvas
81.5 x 67.5 cm

Warsaw, Museum Narodowe

Provenance:

Amsterdam, collection of "M.D."; sale, Amsterdam (A. Mak), 23 April 1929, lot 63 (as Jan van Noordt, *Bacchus et Ariane*, canvas, 80.5 x 68 cm: "*Dans un site boisé, Ariane en train de se déshabiller pour prendre un bain, est surprise par Bacchus. Le jeune dieu entièrement nu, les reins couverts de pampres s'adresse à Ariane qui s'empresse de s'envelopper le corps d'un manteau en velours pourpre. Par terre, un manteau vieil or et un châle vert anglais.*" f 210.- to Van Diemen); Vienna, Schmit Collection; sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 6 October 1942, lot 4 (with illustration no. 17, as Jacob Adriaensz Backer)

Literature:

Janina Michałkova, "Nouvelles Acquisitions du Département de la Peinture Européenne 1963-1969," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie XI*, 1970, pp. 30, no. 2, and 31 (with illustration); Murdzeńska 1970, pp. 97-106; Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 1, pp. 140, 142 note 66, 173 (with illustration); vol. 6, pp. 3735, with no. 2397; Sumowski 1986, pp. 23, 36 note 25

The attribution of this picture to Jan van Noordt was first made by Kurt Bauch.¹ The alternative attribution by Cornelius Hofstede de Groot (in a note with the photograph at the R.K.D.) to Jacob Adriaensz Backer, was adopted by Janina Michalkowa.² Backer is a more likely candidate for the authorship of this painting, given the loose fluid handling of the fabric on the ground and draping Ariadne, and the heavy-eyelids of both figures.

1. Bauch suggested Van Noordt in a note with the photograph of this painting at the R.K.D..

2. See Literature.

R27. (p)

The Magnanimity of Scipio (Livy, *Historiarum ad urbe condita*, 26, 50)

Canvas

198 x 325 cm

Monogrammed "I.W." on the bundle carried by the black servant in the bottom right

Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum

Provenance:

Budapest, collection of Dr. Béla Hermann

Literature:

Művezet 4, 1915. p. 311 (as Victor Wolfoet); Pigler 1955, pp. 169-186 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); Pigler 1956, pp. 407 (with illustration), 409; Czobor 1967, p. 351 note 5; Wishnevsky 1967, pp. 95, 223, no. 140; Golan 1994, pp. 204-207, 290 (with illustration fig. 48, as Jan van Noordt); exhibition catalogue Perth, Adelaide and Brisbane 1997, p. 110 note 2

Collection catalogues:

Budapest 1968, p. 493 (as Jan van Noordt)

Andor Pigler based his attribution of this painting to Jan van Noordt on a reading of the monogram as "I V N."¹ It should rather be read as "I W." The difference between its style and that of other paintings by Jan van Noordt was not lost on Pigler, who explained it by characterizing the artist as lacking a strong personality. However, and Pigler's attribution to Van Noordt must be discarded. The diffuse composition, the distinctive facial types, and the awkward poses do not connect to Van Noordt's style.

The two figures in the centre are quite likely portraits, despite Pigler's surprising assertion that bourgeois Dutch patrons would not have deigned to be portrayed as prisoners of war.²

1. See Pigler 1955, p. 184.

2. See Pigler 1955, p. 184.

R28.

Hippocrates visiting Democritus in Abdera

Canvas
80.5 x 63 cm

Europe, Private Collection

Provenance:

Reported as with a dealer in Berlin, 1932; Duisburg, Henle Collection; sale, Lempertz, (Cologne), 21 June 1990, lot 107 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); The Hague, Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder (dealer)

Literature:

Blankert 1967, p. 41 note 2 (as Jan Pynas); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 6, pp. 3735, no. 2397, 3736, with no. 2399, 4014 (with colour illustration, as Van Noordt); Sumowski 1992, p. 54

Exhibitions:

Cologne 1964, no. 29 (with illustration, as Jan Pynas, ca. 1650-1610); exhibition catalogue The Hague 1992, pp. 262-265, no. 36 (with colour illustration)

The composition of this painting follows the interpretation of the same theme by Pieter Lastman.¹ In both paintings the scene is set at the bottom of a hill, which rises to the edge of a town in the background, where onlookers are gathered. The artist of the present work evoked the unstable, leaning pose that Lastman devised for Hippocrates, about to address his subject. He also went a step further, by having the doctor raise his finger in a gesture of address.

One of the motifs of the present painting, the profile head of Democritus, came from a work by Lambert Jacobsz, the teacher of Backer who spent most of his time in the Frisian capital Leeuwarden. The artist adapted the head of the aged prophet in *The Disobedient Prophet* now in Amsterdam.²

These influences suggest that this painting was likely made in the first half of the seventeenth century. It was at this time that the subject matter reached its greatest popularity in the circle of Lastman and Moyaeart.³ This period precedes Van Noordt's activity as an artist. There are also stylistic reasons for dismissing Jan van Noordt as the author of this work. The artist emulated Lastman's light tonality and his use of opaque colours mixed with white throughout his scenes. In contrast, Van Noordt tended to build up his pictures with underlayers in dark, translucent paint, much of which remained in the final image. Here, the lighted forms in the foreground show an especially heavy application of impasto paint, painted directly, without the modulation typical of Van Noordt. In the figure of Democritus, this manner of handling yields a hard, stiff effect. In particular, the

face and hands do not show the soft modelling that Van Noordt reserved for flesh, even in his earliest pictures. Another feature distinguishing this work from Van Noordt's oeuvre is the heavy use of yellow ochre, distributed throughout the landscape.

The sheep in the foreground, one of the painting's most salient details, had been covered up by a previous owner or dealer, evidently to help sell the painting to a public with sensitive taste. It was uncovered during a recent restoration.

1. Pieter Lastman, *Hippocrates visiting Democritus in Abdera*, canvas, 111 x 114.5 cm, signed and dated 1622, Munich, Berkheimer Gallery. See: A. Tümpel 1991, pp. 110-111, no. 13 (with colour illustration).
2. Lambert Jacobsz, *The Prophet from Bethel meets the Man of God*, canvas, 82.5 x 111 cm, signed and dated 1629, Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis, on loan from the Rijksmuseum (inv. no. 1293a).
3. For paintings by Lastman and other Amsterdam artists of his generation, and the most incisive discussion of the textual sources for this theme, see Broos 1991.

R29. (p)

Nero Fiddling During the Burning of Rome

Panel

90 x 54.5 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, London (Philips), 27 October 1980, lot 17 (as Jan van Noordt)

The exaggeratedly muscular physique of Nero does not accord with Van Noordt's approach to the male figure. The abrupt transitions of tone in the modelling produces a flattening of forms, at variance with the ripe, rounded forms typical of Van Noordt.

R30. (p)

Caritas

Canvas
98 x 76 cm

Sale Smith Barry *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Sotheby's), 12 July 1972, lot 83 (as Jan van Noordt, *The Madonna and Child with Children*: "The Madonna in blue, kissing the hand of the Child standing on a cushion before her in a pink tunic, a child on either side of her.")

This painting is a copy of Jürgen Ovens's *Caritas* of 1657 in Budapest.¹

1. Jürgen Ovens, *Caritas*, canvas, 89 x 74 cm, signed and dated 1657, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (inv. no. 191); see: Sumowksi 1983-1996, vol. 3, pp. 2226, no. 1490, 2245 (with colour illustration).

R31.

Granida and Daifilo

Canvas

178 x 194 cm

Europe, Private Collection

Provenance:

Sale, London (Sotheby's), 4 April 1984, lot 52 (with colour illustration, as Jan Cossiers); The Hague, Hoosteder & Hoogsteder Gallery; Germany, private collection

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 5, pp. 3111, no. 2138, 3285 (with colour illustration); Te Poel 1986, pp. 32, 62, no. 29, 95 (with illustration no. 37); Sumowski 1986, pp. 27-33 (with colour illustration p. 29 fig. 9), 36 note 35

Exhibitions:

The Hague 1992, pp. 266-269, no. 37 (with colour illustration); Utrecht 1993, pp. 236, 239-241, no. 46 (with colour illustration)

Sumowski's 1996 article on Van Noordt's paintings focused on his reattribution of this large-scale depiction of *Granida and Daifilo*, from the Antwerp painter Jan Cossiers (1600 - 1671) to Jan van Noordt. However, it does not display Van Noordt's fluid handling of semi-transparent paint, and his rounded modelling of forms. Especially the two figures to the right show a dry, stiff technique. Other aspects that speak against the attribution to Van Noordt include the large figure scale, which has the figures crowd the frame, as well as the unresolved modelling of drapery, in particular in the costume of Granida. The former attribution to Cossiers is also not satisfactory.

R32. (p)

A Lady at her Toilet (Allegory of Vanitas)

Canvas
82 x 74.5 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

St Petersburg, Semenov Collection, before 1932; Berlin, collection of the Elector Schaumburg-Lippe; sale, Berlin (Herman Ball & Paul Graupe), 10 December 1932, no. 140 (with illustration plate 25, as Jan van Noort); sale, Berlin (R. Lepke), 15 March 1935, no. 272 (with illustration plate 9, as J. v. Noort, possibly by S.v. Hoogstraten); Berlin, A. Freiherr Ritter von Riedenau, in 1938; sale, Zürich (Koller), 5-21 November 1974, lot 2801 (with illustration plate 2, as Jan van Noordt); sale, London (Phillips), 14 December 1999, lot 185 (with illustration)

Literature:

Kronig 1911, p. 157

Collection catalogues:

Semenov 1906, p. 121, no. 298

The dominance of still-life detail, the angular treatment of drapery, and the flat modelling of the figure, bear no connection to Van Noordt's style. The attribution to him was originally based on a comparison with the *Lady at her Mirror* in Brussels (cat. no. R33), a painting that is here also rejected as by Van Noordt.¹

1. See collection catalogue Semenov 1906, p. 121, no. 298.

R33.

A Lady at her Toilet (Allegory of Vanitas)

Canvas

75.5 x 62.5 cm

Monogrammed and dated (vague): JN 1670 f.

Brussels, Museum van Schone Kunsten (inv. no. 616)

Provenance:

Munich, Hanfstaengl Collection; Brussels, Thys Collection, as Jan Baptiste Weenix (inv. no. 1327.1A); from there acquired by the museum, in 1812

Literature

Kronig 1911, pp. 156-158; ; Schneider 1931, p. 511; Decoen 1931, p. 18; Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 1, p. 142 note 49; vol. 5, pp. 3112, no. 2143, 3290 (with illustration)

Selected collection catalogues:

Brussels 1889, no. 495 (as J.B. Weenix); Brussels 1900, no. 616 (as "unknown Netherlandish master"); Brussels 1906 (as P. Janssens Elinga); Brussels 1927, p. 172, no. 616; Brussels 1984, p. 212-213, no. 616 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

The most striking aspect of this picture that distinguishes it from Van Noordt's style is colour. The predominance of pinks and purples is quite unlike Jan van Noordt's use of colour. The flat and stiff modelling, and the emphasis on detail in this picture link it to the depiction of the same subject that last appeared at a sale in Zürich (cat. no. R32).

Unfortunately these two pictures cannot yet be linked to a known artist.

R34. (p)

Women in an Interior

Canvas
57 x 74 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Paris, collection of Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove; Paris, collection of Charles L. Cardon; Paris, collection of E. Lorenz; New York, Kleinburger & Co. (dealer); sale Mrs. Louis Colwell *et al.*, New York, (Parke-Bernet), 18 November 1957, lot 40 (as Jan van Noort); Mexico City, San Carlos Museum, on loan from Dr. Franz Mayer, in 1964

Exhibitions:

Hartford 1949, p. 20, no. 32 (as Jan van Noordt); Mexico City 1964, p. 16, no. 72 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

The attribution of this painting to Van Noordt may have been based on the *Vanitas* painting in Brussels (cat. no. R32), here rejected. They were done by different artists. This image is likewise elegant and restrained but is richer in detail and composition. Nonetheless, it lacks the movement and liveliness of Van Noordt. The flat modelling and the calm organization of drapery also diverge from Van Noordt's more vigorous approach.

R35. (p)

The Music Lesson

Canvas

100 x 76 cm

Bonogrammed, upper middle: HB interlocked

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Berlin, De Vries & Co., Berlin (as Jan Lijs)¹; Amsterdam, Gebroeder Douwes Gallery, in 1930; sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby- Mak van Waay), 13-15 June 1933, lot 30 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt, *La leçon de musique*, 105 x 84 cm); sale E.A. Iordens, The Hague (Van Marle & Bignell), 27-28 February 1935, lot 937 (with illustration, as Joh. van Noordt, canvas, 85 x 105 cm); sale, Brussels, 25 October 1938 (for Bfr. 3400)²; Dieren, D. Katz Gallery, in 1938 (as H. ter Brugghen); Almelo, Hedeman Collection; sale, Amsterdam (Paul Brandt), 22-25 October 1963, lot 7 (with illustration, as H. ter Brugghen, 100 x 76 cm)

Literature:

Bénézit 1976, vol. 7, p. 750

Exhibitions:

The Hague 1936, p. 105, no. 575 (as Jan van Noordt, *Musiceerende Family* [A Family Making Music], canvas, 105.5 x 85 cm)

The attribution to Jan van Noordt was suggested by Hans Schneider.³ Rather crudely painted, it shows none of the organized movement in the drapery, and the curving lines of drapery folds, typical of Van Noordt.

1. Note with the fiche on the painting, by Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, at the R.K.D..
2. Bénézit 1976, p. 750 (no lot number is given).
3. Note with the photograph at the R.K.D..

R36. (p)

Head of a Man: Homo Bulla

Canvas

59.5 x 51.5 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, Cologne, 11-12 March 1938, lot 129 (with illustration, as Nicolaes Maes, *Portrait of a Princess in a Park, with her Son*, canvas, 117 x 103 cm); Cologne, Abels Gallery, 1938; collection of Major Höhne (as a *Homa Bulla*); Amsterdam, J. Goudstikker, 1943 catalogue no. 5951

The present genre scene was cut down from a portrait of a woman. To the left of that painting stood a young man, evidently a servant, carrying an orange tree. The alteration took place after 1938, when the painting was in Cologne. The tree was then painted over, and the bubble, and the pipe were added, as were details of fabric and foliage. The original portrait of the woman was admittedly unattractive. It showed a dry handling of light impasto, that yielded a hard effect, unlike the softer modelling in translucent glazes, typical of Van Noordt.

R37. (p)

Peasant Interior

Support not known

12.5 x 10.75 inches/ 30.5 x 26.3 cm

Signed and dated, on the wall: Jan Noordt f.1660

Brentwood, England, collection of E. Stowers Johnson

The hesitant, rough execution of this picture bears similarities to *The Disobedient Prophet* in Gavnø (cat. no. R9), and the *Shepherds and Shepherdesses near a Fountain* in the Joseph Steiner collection in Rottenburg (cat. no. R39). These paintings also bear similar signatures. Notably, the signature of the present work includes a "d," not present in the signatures of the other two. These block-lettered signatures do not remotely resemble the calligraphic one used by Jan van Noordt. It can be seen already on the document he signed as witness in 1646, and on the New York *Cimon and Iphigenia* of ca. 1645 (cat. no. 24).¹ This work can be attributed to the artist identified as "Jan van Noort."²

1. See Chapter One, note 22.
2. See Chapter Two, pp. 42-43.

R38. (p)

Landscape with a Shepherd and a Milkmaid

Panel

23.1 x 74.4 cm

Signed bottom right: J. Noort

The Hague, collection of P.M. Zetz

Provenance:

Sale Dr J.J. Merlo, Cologne, 9-10 December 1891 (Lugt 50318), lot 129 (as 54 x 75 cm, signed bottom right: J. VAN NOORT, to Neumans, for 100M); sale Van Oudshoorn *et al.*, Amsterdam (Roos), 24 November 1896 (Lugt 54764), lot 60 (as 25 x 72 cm, for f 76, to Roos); sale F. de Wildt, van Alphen-Hovy, Cremers, *et al.*, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 30 November 1920 (Lugt 81289), lot 1066 (as 23 x 74 cm, signed left: J. van noort)

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 217, no. 21; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243

This work is by the same "Jan van Noort" who painted three other known pictures (cat. nos. R9, R37, R39).¹ The cow is nearly identical to the one in the Steiner collection painting in Rottenburg (cat. no. R39).

1. See Chapter Two, pp. 42-43.

R39. (p)

Shepherds in a Landscape with a Fountain

Panel

74 x 61 cm

Signed on a stone: J. Noort

Rottenburg, collection of Josef Steiner

Provenance:

Bregentved, Adam Gottlob Count Moltke (1709-1792); Copenhagen, Count J.G. von Moltke collection; sale Von Moltke, Copenhagen, 1-2 June 1931, lot 97; sale, Copenhagen (Rasmussen), 5 December 1973, lot 5 (with illustration); sale, Copenhagen (Rasmussen) 8-9 November 1977, lot 275 (with illustration); sale, Zürich (Koller), 15-16 May 1981, lot 5018 (with illustration)

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 217, no. 22; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243; Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 5, pp. 3113, no. 2147, 3294 (with illustration, as possibly by another J. van Noort)

Selected Collection catalogues:

Moltke 1756, no. 102; Moltke 1780, no. CXLIV; Moltke 1818, p. 148, no. 141 (as Jan van Ort); Moltke 1841, p. 57, no. 99; Moltke 1885, p. 52, no. 99; Moltke 1900, p. 51, no. 99

Sumowski connects this picture to the early etching after Van Laer (cat. no. P1), and to the paintings of the landscapist Jan Both (ca 1615 - 1652). It is more closely related to a painting by Willem Schellinks (1627 - 1678), however.¹ On account of the signature, the rural subject matter, and the small figure scale, this painting can be attributed to the artist identified as "Jan van Noort", who painted three other known pictures (cat. nos. R9, R37, R38).²

1. Willem Schellinks, *Shepherds and Shepherdesses at a Fountain*, panel, 63.5 x 52 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (inv. no. 225); see: exhibition catalogue Milan 1995, pp. 168-169 (with colour illustration).

2. See Chapter Two, pp. 42-43.

R40.

A Girl with a Basket of Fruit

Panel

75 x 60 cm

The Hague, Galerij Willem V, on loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland (inv. no. NK 1742)

Provenance:

Amsterdam, collection of the dealer Joseph M. Morpurgo, in 1929; Haarlem, collection of M. de Ridder; Amsterdam, Emmeric collection; Munich, Collecting Point, in 1945; returned to The Netherlands

Literature:

Von Moltke 1965, p. 238, no. 59 (with illustration, as probably by Jürgen Ovens); Schlüter-Göttsche 1971, p. 88 (with illustration no. 10); Schlüter-Göttsche 1978, p. 33 (with illustration no. 41); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 75, 181 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); vol. 5, p. 3112, with no. 2144; vol. 6, pp. 3737, with no. 2403a; Sumowski 1986, pp. 27, 36 note 33

Exhibitions:

Amsterdam 1929, no. 1302 (as Jacob Adriaensz Backer)

Collection catalogues:

The Hague 1992, p. 227 (with illustration)

The subject matter and the light mood of this painting point to the circle of Jacob Adriaensz Backer. Van Noordt's penchant for rounded forms and curving lines is evident, however, his fluid handling is not. Many passages display a dry, careful handling, such as the brim of the hat, the dress, the near hand, and the breast. This aspect relates to the early style of Jürgen Ovens, when he was still under the influence of his teacher Govert Flinck. Also, the face bears a resemblance to that of Ovens's wife Maria. However, the attribution to Ovens must remain tentative in the absence of a more closely comparable painting from his hand.

R41.

Portrait of Anna Susanna van den Bempden de Neufville

Canvas

Dimensions not known

Amsterdam, Six Collection

Literature:

Staring 1946, pp. 79-80

Staring did not provide specific observations to support his speculative attribution of this elegant picture to Van Noordt. The rather monochrome colouring of flesh, highlighted with red in the cheeks, points rather to Jürgen Ovens, who formed his own portrait style by adapting that of Govert Flinck. Another trait thus adopted is the jagged highlights in the drapery, a dramatic touch developed by Flinck in the 1650s, and simultaneously taken up by Ovens. The extreme stylization of the hands, however, is uncommon for most formal portraits by Ovens, although it can occasionally be found in his history paintings. The sharp features of the eyes is particularly atypical for Van Noordt, but can be seen in Ovens' *Portrait of a Woman* in a private collection.¹

1. Jürgen Ovens, *Portrait of a Woman*, canvas, 113 x 87, present location unknown, Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 6, pp. 3738, no. 2412, 4030 (with colour illustration).

R42. (p)

Portrait of Cornelis de Jonge van Oosterland? (1645 - 1694)

Canvas

Dimensions not known

Falsely signed: *N. Maes fec.*

Lisse, Keukenhoff

Literature:

Staring, 1946, p. 77-78 (with illustration)

This portrait is unusual for showing the light coming from the right side. It may be based on a print. The flat modelling and the broad, flat drapery speak against Staring's attribution to Van Noordt, which has not been accepted in subsequent scholarship.

R43.

Portrait of a Young Woman wearing a Black Shawl

Canvas
41 x 37 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Drs Alfred and Isabel Bader

Provenance:

New York, Fearon Gallery, in 1925; Montreal, collection of R.W. Reford; Montreal, Elsie Stephen Reford (widow of the preceding); by descent to L. Eric Reford of Montreal, in 1984; sale, New York (Sotheby's), 19 January 1984, lot 1 (with illustration, as Haarlem School, 17th Century)

Literature:

David McTavish, *Pictures from the Age of Rembrandt. Selections from the Personal Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader*, ex. cat. Kingston (Agnes Etherington Art Centre), 1984, no. 27 (with illustration, as Dutch, 17th Century); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, pp. 3112 no. 2145, 3292 (with colour illustration); vol. 6, pp. 3737, with no. 2407

A number of stylistic aspects point to the later style of Jürgen Ovens. Most distinct are the wavy, linear highlights in the black dress, the neutral-black shadow area on the right side of the face, and the dramatic catch-light in the eyes. The same traits appear in Ovens's signed and dated *Portrait of a Family* in Schloß Gottorf, in the dress and the face of the mother to the right.¹

1. Jürgen Ovens, *Portrait of a Family*, canvas, 152 x 191 cm, signed and dated 166-; see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 3, pp. 2237, no. 1548, 2303 (with colour illustration).

R44.

Portrait of a Woman

Canvas

74.4 x 57.5 cm

Paris, Fondation Custodia (inv. no. 8835)

Literature:

Nystad 1981, pp. 710-712 (with illustration p. 710, as Van Noordt); Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 1, p. 143 note 81; Bruyn 1984, p. 150

Collection catalogues:

Paris 1983, pp. 95-97, (with illustration plate 61)

The face of the sitter in this portrait shows a dry, careful handling. The soft modelling, and the overall pinkish glaze applied to flesh, yield a relatively flat impression of form, quite uncharacteristic of Van Noordt.

R45. (p)

Portrait of a Woman

Panel

76.9 x 84.2 cm

Chicago, Chicago Art Institute, Lax and Leola Epstein Collection (inv. no. 1954.284, as attributed Jan van Noordt, *Portrait of Annetje Jans Grotincx*, ca. 1655)

Literature:

Nystad 1981, p. 712 note 1 (as Van Noordt); Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 80, 185 (with illustration); Bruyn 1984, p. 150 (as Jan van Noordt)

This painting is possibly a copy of the *Portrait of a Woman* with the Fondation Custodia in Paris (cat. no. R44). Although the likenesses differ slightly, details such as the highlights in the clouds to the left have been preserved. The dry, careful handling has little in common with Van Noordt's more fluid style. This painting has also been attributed to Jacobus Levecq, whose handling it more closely approaches.¹

1. Note with the photograph at the R.K.D..

R46. (p)

Portrait of a Lady Holding Roses

Canvas

114 x 90 cm

Falsely signed bottom left: F. Bol

Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum (inv. no. 1912.1)

Provenance:

Sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 10-12 February 1942, lot 4 (with illustration, as Ferdinand Bol); The Hague, Vermeulen (dealer), 1943-1945

Collection catalogues:

Hartford 1978, pp. 76 (with illustration plate 89), 168, no. R219

The sitter's hairstyle indicates a date towards the end of the seventeenth century. The flat modelling and the restraint in the drapery and the pose do not relate to Van Noordt's oeuvre of portraits.

R47. (p)

A Lady attended by a Moor with a Dog

Canvas
112 x 98 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, Amsterdam, 31 March 1914, lot 23 (as G. Flinck); sale, The Hague (P.H. Holman), 6 June 1916, lot 134 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt); Berlin, C. Benedict Gallery, ca. 1928

Literature:

Cicerone, 2 September 1931, cover illustration; Staring 1946, p. 79; Von Moltke 1965, p. 255, no. 147 (as not by Flinck)

Copies:

Canvas, 27 x 22.2 cm, sale Harriet Gray Blackwell *et al.* (Walters Art Gallery section), New York (Christie's), 26 March 1987, lot 66 (with illustration, as School of Jan van Noordt)

The simplified handling of facial features, and the flat modelling, speak against the attribution of this weak picture to Van Noordt.

R48. (p)

Portrait of a Woman Holding an Orange

Canvas

81.5 x 64.5 cm

Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (inv. no. 1645)

Literature:

Wurzbach 1906 - 1910

Collection catalogues:

Budapest 1968, pp. 767-768

Exhibitions:

Milan 1995, pp. 112-113, no. 39 (with colour illustration)

This work is a copy of a painting by Govert Flinck, that recently resurfaced at a New York sale.¹ The artist is quite likely Jürgen Ovens.

1. Govert Flinck, *Portrait of a Young Woman Holding an Orange*, canvas, 74.6 x 60.3 cm, sale, New York (Sotheby's), 14 January 1994, lot 24 (with colour illustration).

R49.

Portrait of a Man

Canvas

74.6 x 57.5 cm

Signed and dated: *G.V Eeckhout 1653*

Amsterdam, Amsterdam Historisch Museum (inv. no. A 40424, as Gerbrand van den Eeckhout)

Provenance:

Private collection, Amsterdam; acquired by the Museum in 1988

Literature:

Haak 1969, p. 183 (with illustration no. 295, as Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, signed and dated 1656); Nystad 1981, p. 710 (with illustration no. 2, as G. van den Eeckhout, signed and dated 1653); Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 82, 187 (with illustration); vol. 6, p. 3899 (as not Van Noordt, but G. van den Eeckhout); Bruyn 1984, p. 150 (as Gerbrand van den Eeckhout)

The traditional attribution to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout is convincing.

R50.

Portrait of a Man Wearing a Beret and a Chain

Canvas

61.5 x 51.5 cm

Schwerin, Staatliches Museum (inv. no. 3089)

Literature:

Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, "Kritisch Bemerkungen zu einigen Niederländern in der Schweriner Galerie," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* XVII, 1894, p. 180, no. 92 (as an early work by Bol); Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 86, 190 (with illustration); vol. 6, p. 3589

Selected collection catalogues:

Schwerin 1882, pp. 59-60, no. 93 (as Ferdinand Bol); Schwerin 1891, p. 12 (as Ferdinand Bol, ca. 1647); Schwerin 1951, p. 59 (as Ferdinand Bol or Carel Fabritius)

Copies:

Canvas, 61 x 50 cm, private collection

The broad, heavy treatment of the drapery does not relate to Van Noordt's approach. This work can be placed in the circle of Ferdinand Bol, on account of the flat areas of pale, sharp flesh tones in the face. Although it is attributed to Bol at the museum, it is likely by a follower.

R51. (p)

Portrait of a Young Man in a Beret

Canvas

76 x 73 cm

Falsely signed bottom left: *Bol*

Mostyn Hall, collection of Lord Mostyn

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 85, 189 (with illustration); vol. 5, p. 3113, with no. 2146; vol. 6, p. 3589; Von Moltke 1994, p. 190

Exhibitions:

London 1952, p. 54, no. 262 (as Ferdinand Bol)

Copies:

(Without the Beret) canvas, 70 x 61.5 cm, Switzerland, private collection; see: Von Moltke 1994, p. 190, no. R 92 (as not by Bol); (Without the Beret) canvas, 76 x 67 cm, The Hague, Instituut Collectie Nederland, see: collection catalogue The Hague 1992, p. 47, no. NK 2542 (with illustration, as manner of Ferdinand Bol)¹

The traditional attribution of this painting to Ferdinand Bol rests largely on Bol's known penchant for tronies of male character heads sporting berets. The beret was already in the seventeenth century an archaic item of dress, but as such it enjoyed a special status among artists, as it still does today.² Bol took it over as an attribute from Rembrandt, and included it in a number of paintings, including his self-portrait. Nonetheless, it may be a later addition to this work, since both known copies do not include it. The present work fits among Bol's tronies, though it is not by his hand.

1. My thanks to Professor J. Douglas Stewart for directing my attention to this second copy.

2. See: Marieke de Winkel, "The Interpretation of Dress in Vermeer's Paintings," in: *Vermeer Studies*, Studies in the History of Art 55, 1998, pp. 327-339, p. 332.

R52. (p)

Portrait of a Young Man in a Beret

Canvas
82 x 65.5 cm

St Petersburg, Hermitage

Provenance:

Acquired by Empress Catherine II (reigning from 1762 to 1796); entered the Hermitage gallery in 1797

Literature:

Van Dyke 1923, p. 55 (with illustration plate VIII, as Bol); Van Hall 1963, p. 30, no. 5 (as Bol, self-portrait); Linnik 1980, p. 127 (with illustration no. 165, as Samuel van Hoogstraten?, Portrait of Carel Fabritius); Blankert 1982, p. 174, no. R110, (with illustration fig. 113, as not by Bol, but reminiscent of Gerbrand van den Eeckhout and Jan Baptist Weenix); Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, pp. 3113, no. 2146, 3292 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

Selected collection catalogues:

St Petersburg 1828, p. 138 (as Bol: "Quelques portraits"); St Petersburg 1863, p. 188, no. 850; St Petersburg 1895, p. 24, no. 85; St Petersburg 1958, vol. 2, pp. 140 (with illustration no. 133, as Ferdinand Bol), 142, no. 761

This picture is an adaptation of Carel Fabritius's *Self-Portrait* in Rotterdam.¹ The artist, who unfortunately cannot be identified, has dressed the figure in a much richer costume, producing a *tronie*. The broad handling of forms gives a flattening effect in some areas, which differs from the rounded modelling applied by Van Noordt.

1. Carel Fabritius, *Self-Portrait*, panel, 65 x 49 cm, signed, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (inv. no. 1205); see: Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 2, pp. 985, no. 603, 990 (with colour illustration).

R53. (p)

Portrait of a Young Girl Holding Flowers

Canvas

131.9 x 88.9 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, London (Christie's), 9 July 1976, lot 49 (with illustration plate 16, as Jan van Noordt)

This delicate portrait shows a smooth, flat modelling of the face, and a hard, crisp handling of details such as the eyes, aspects that do not surface in Van Noordt's portraiture.

R54. (p)

Portrait of a Girl at a Fountain

Canvas
87.5 x 70 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, Bern (Galerie Dobiachofsky), 23-23 October 1971, lot 341 (with cover illustration in colour, as Nicolaes Maes)

Literature:

Decoen 1931, p. 10 (with illustration figure 3, as Jan van Noordt)

The modelling in strong light is harsh and inept, showing a flattening and simplification of features that are uncharacteristic of Van Noordt.

R55. (p)

Portrait of a Young Girl as a Shepherdess

Panel
57 x 50.5 cm

London, Johnny van Haeften Gallery

Provenance:

Sale Freiherr von Ketteler from Schloß Schwarzenraben, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 21
November 1995, lot 29 (with colour illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

The facial type and the soft modelling are more reminiscent of Govert Flinck, than Van
Noordt.

R56. (p)

Portrait of a Seated Girl with a Carnation and a Poodle

Canvas
77.5 x 61 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Dillington House, Ilminster, Somersetshire, R.H.Y. Vaugh-Lee; Boston, Vose Gallery, in 1954; Boston, collection of Caroline G. Doty; sale, New York (Christie's), 11 January 1989, lot 157 (with colour illustration, as attributed to Jan van Noordt)

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 6, p. 3529 note 19 section XII

Sumowski rightly characterized this picture as: "In every respect, exquisite, but certainly not by Jan van Noordt."¹

1. See Literature.

R57. (p)

Portrait of a Girl with a Feathered Beret

Panel

45.7 x 34.8 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale, London (Christie's), 13 July 1928 (as Pieter de Grebber); sale F. van Braam, Amsterdam, 1 July 1943, lot 9 (with illustration, as Govert Flinck); The Hague, Van Marle & Bignell Gallery, in 1944; sale, Turin (Caretto), lot 32 (with colour illustration); sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 18 November 1993, lot 128 (with illustration); sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 15 October 1996, lot 136 (with colour illustration)

Literature

Exhibition catalogue, The Hague, A.J. Boer Gallery, 1951 (as Jan de Bray); Von Moltke 1965, p. 249, no. 112 (with illustration, as perhaps by Jan van Noordt); Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 6, pp. 3526, 3535 note 89, and 3577 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

The fabric is too stiffly and dryly painted, and the shadow area of the head is too flatly modelled, for this painting to be considered as a Van Noordt.

R58. (p)

Portrait of a Girl with a Bird

Canvas
82 x 61 cm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale Dr. James Hasson *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 15 December 1961 lot 16 (as Van Noordt, *Portrait of a Girl*, 33½ x 25½ in. [85 x 64.8 cm]: "..., in a white and grey dress and feathered hat, holding a Rooster."); London, collection of M.W.T. Leatham Esq.; sale, London (Christie's), 30 March 1979, lot 3 (with illustration)

Literature:

H.G. van Gelder, review of exhibition London 1952, in: *Burlington Magazine*, 95, 1953, p. 34 (as not by Jan van Noordt); Robert Melville, review of exhibition Liverpool 1956, in: *Architectural Review* 120, November 1956, pp. 332-334 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

Exhibitions:

Amsterdam 1952, p. 57, no. 118; London 1952, no. 641; Liverpool 1956, p. 15, no. 31

Copies:

Canvas, 89 x 71 cm; sale, Munich (Weinmüller), 19-20 June 1974, lot 839 (with illustration, as attributed to Jan van Noordt)

The crisp, detailed treatment of fabric and the bird contrasts with Van Noordt's more fluid handling. The face does not show Van Noordt's typical emphasis on rounded forms.

R59. (p)

Portrait of a Girl with Fruits before her, an Angel at her Side

Canvas

120.5 x 86.5 cm

Sale, New York (Sotheby's), 13 March 1985, lot 103 (with illustration, as attributed to Jan van Noordt and Frans van Everbroek)

The entry for this painting in the sale catalogue of 1985 attributed it to two painters, Jan van Noordt and Frans van Everbroek. Presumably the figures were thought to have been painted by Van Noordt. However, the soft modelling, in broad light from the front is more strongly reminiscent of Haarlem painters such as Pieter de Grebber.

R60. (p)

Portrait of a Girl with a Dog

Support and dimensions unknown

New York, L. Hirsch collection (as Maes)

Literature:

Decoen 1931, p. 16 (with illustration fig. 2, as Jan van Noordt)

The pale and puffy visage, and the figure, show a stiff, hard treatment of form, that is quite unlike Van Noordt's approach to portraiture.

R61. (p)

Portrait of a Boy

Support and dimensions not known

Present location unknown

Literature:

Decoen 1931, p. 16 (with illustration fig. 5, as Jan van Noordt, in the Antwerp Museum)

The soft light yields a flat effect of modelling, in contrast to the rounded modelling favoured by Van Noordt. The costume of the boy also does not reflect Van Noordt's penchant for curving lines of drapery folds.

R62. (p)

Portrait of a Boy with a Pony

Support and dimensions not known

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Munich (Galerie Helbig), in 1911 (as a Dutch master of the seventeenth century)

Literature:

Decoen 1931, p. 17 (with illustration fig. 10, as Jan van Noordt)

The effect of light, and the modelling of forms, are inconsistent, especially in the costume and the horse. The hands are very indistinct forms. These aspects do not compare to Van Noordt's work.

R63. (p)

Portrait of a Young Man

Panel

148.5 x 116.3 cm

inscribed on a coat of arms to the right: AET.9 A°1654

Krakow, Wawel Museum (inv. no. 1, as Jan van Noordt)

Provenance:

Collection of the Count Leon Pimiriski; acquired by the museum in 1935

Literature:

Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 6, pp. 3737, with no. 2405 (as not by Van Noordt)

Collection catalogues:

Krakow 1935, no. 28; Krakow 1994, p. 20

The abstracted features and the blackish background give the impression that this picture was painted by a Spanish artist.

R64. (p)

Portrait of a Seated Boy with his Dog

Canvas
75.5 x 62.5 cm

Provenance:

Sale, Brussels (Giroux), 12 March 1927, no. 75 (with illustration plate 54); sale, Brussels, 17 December 1928, lot 64 (as Jan van Noordt, *L'enfant au chien*, canvas, 75 x 63 cm)

Literature:

Decoen 1931, p. 17 (with illustration fig. 7, as Jan van Noordt)

The soft modelling of this evocative portrait is much closer to Van Dyck than to Van Noordt's more forceful modelling. It contrasts with the handling of drapery, where bright pastose highlights yield a hard effect.

R65. (p)

Portrait of a Boy with a Falcon

Canvas
150 x 112 cm

Mexico City, collection of C.H.E. Phillips

Exhibitions:
Mexico City 1964, p. 16, no. 73 (with illustration)

The broad, flat forms of drapery, and the even, soft modelling of the head, do not reflect Van Noordt's preference for movement and a strong modelling of form in light.

R66. (p)

Portrait of a Six-Year-Old Boy

Panel

109.2 x 72.2 cm

Inscribed *Aetatis 6 A° 1641*

Sale R.M. Broadhead *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 18 July 1980, lot 113 (with illustration)

The angular, flat forms of drapery in this weak portrait speak against the attribution to Van Noordt.

R67. (p)

Portrait of a Boy Raising his Hat

Canvas

71 x 60 cm

Munich, Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, in 1994

Provenance:

London, Leger Gallery, in 1945; Halma Wellin, Luxembourg, collection of Max F. Masson, in 1952 (as Barent Fabritius)

Literature:

Advertisement in the Burlington Magazine 86, 1945, April, page III (as B. Fabritius, dated 1665); Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 6, pp. 3737, no. 2407, 4025 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt, panel, 66 x 47.5 cm)

Exhibitions:

Munich 1995, no. 6 (with colour illustration); Munich 1995, pp. 6-7, no. 2 (with colour illustration)

This picture was not taken up by Daniel Pont in his monograph on Barent Fabritius. Aspects that speak against Gudlaugsson's attribution to Van Noordt include the flat modelling of the face, the broad handling of fabric, with the pastose highlights at the shoulder, that show traces of the brush hairs.¹

1. The attribution to Jan van Noordt by Sturla Gudlaugsson is recorded in a note with the photograph of the painting at the R.K.D..

R68. (p)

Portrait of a Boy carrying a Feathered Cap

Canvas
65 x 52 cm

Petworth, collection of the Lord Leconfield

Literature:

Collection cat. 1920, page 102, no. 119, as School of Rembrandt.

The attribution of this attractive portrait to Jan van Noordt was originally made by Sturla Gudlaugsson.¹ The face and the drapery shows a smooth, soft modelling, at odds with the strong light effects favoured by Van Noordt.

1. Note with the photograph of the painting at the R.K.D..

R69. (p)

Portrait of a Boy in a Feathered Cap

Panel

27 x 32 cm (a fragment)

Donkerbroek, collection of J.M. Dijkstra, in 1964

Provenance:

Groningen, S.J. Medema Gallery, 1945-1955 (as B. Fabritius); Groningen, Technische Opsporing Dienst, in 1955

The features of the face are articulated in a hard, crisp manner. The modelling of the face is broad and flat, and likewise uncharacteristic of Van Noordt.

R70. (p)

Portrait of a Six-Year-Old Boy with an Apple

Canvas

53.5 x 42.5 cm

Inscribed: *AETAT: 6 1656*

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Amsterdam, Gebroeder Douwes (dealer), in 1976 (as Jan van Noordt)

The flat treatment of drapery does not accord with Van Noordt's typically lively handling of such materials. The modelling of the face, though soft, presents flat surfaces and angles, in contrast to Van Noordt's emphasis on rounded volumes.

R71. (p)

Portrait of a Child with a Basket of Flowers

Canvas

71.8 x 56.5 cm

Amsterdam, Gebroeder Douwes Fine Art

Provenance:

Shrewsbury, England, collection of Colonel Dugdale; New York, David M. Koetser Gallery, in 1952; New York, Hirsch & Adler Gallery, until 1957; Columbus, Georgia, Columbus Museum; sale, New York (Sotheby's), 22 May 1997, lot 106 (with illustration)

Literature:

Van Fossen 1969, p. 270, no. 75 (with illustration fig. 78, as Arent de Gelder); Von Moltke 1994, p. 194, no. R 110 (with illustration fig. 115, as not by De Gelder)

The dry handling has left visible traces of brush work, an effect closer to the style of Arent de Gelder, than to Van Noordt. The flowers are by a second artist.

R72.

Portrait of a Family

Canvas

137 x 107 cm

Brussels, Museum van Oude Kunst (inv. no. 4056)

Provenance:

Sale B. de Harde Swart *et al.*, Amsterdam, 16 November 1847, lot 88 (as N. Maas, to Thyssen); Paris, Kleinburger Gallery; acquired by the Museum in 1913

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1907-1928, vol. 6, p. 602, no. 550 (as Maes); Van Dyke 1914, p. 35, no. 803 (as Maes); Decoen 1931, p. 16; Schneider 1931, p. 511 (as Jan van Noordt); Bénézit 1976, p. 750; Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 1, pp. 141, 143 note 87, 191 (with illustration); vol. 6, p. 3589; Bruyn 1984, p. 160 note 17 (as by an Italianate Landscapist, perhaps Karel Dujardin)

Selected collection catalogues:

Brussels 1957, p. 63, no. 803 (as Nicolas Maes); Brussels 1984, p. 182, no. 803 (with illustration, as Nicolaes Maes)

Exhibitions:

Brussels 1962-1963, no. 121

Strong reflections create a glowing effect of light which, combined with the sharp edges of forms, evokes the figure style of the Italianate landscape painter Karel Dujardin (1622 - 1678), who also painted a number of portraits and history paintings.¹ However, the abstracted forms and the weak background details do not allow an attribution to this artist.

1. Bruyn has tentatively suggested Dujardin as the author. See: Bruyn 1984, p. 160 note 17.

R73. (p)

Portrait of the Artist and his Family

Canvas

121 x 110.5 cm

Gdansk, Museum Pomorskie (inv. no. MI 443)

Provenance:

Collection of H.M. Clark, in 1921; London, Colnaghi Gallery, in 1939; sale Goudstikker *et al.*, Berlin (Lange), 12 March 1941, lot 71 (with illustration plate 59, as Jan van Noordt)

Collection catalogues:

Gdansk 1969, no. 56 (with illustration)

Exhibitions:

Dieren 1939, no. 65 (with illustration plate 59); Warsaw 1950, p. 19, no. 172, (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt)

To judge by the known documents, Jan van Noordt did not marry or have any children. Therefore it is highly unlikely that this portrait, evidently a self-portrait of an artist with his family, is by him. Furthermore, the simple compositional organization along a diagonal, and the awkward pose of the woman to the left, do not accord with Van Noordt's approach to group portraiture.

R74. (p)

Marriage Portrait

Canvas

122 x 104 cm

Monogrammed: *JN*

Sale, Nuremburg (Klinger), 8 March 1975, no. 813 (with illustration)

Provenance:

Berlin, Dr. F. Rothman Gallery, in 1925-1926; sale, Brussels, P. Bézine *et al.*, 14 June 1927, lot 213 (with reversed illustration); sale, Berlin (Lepke), 30 April 1929, lot 68 (with illustration, plate 28); New York, private collection; sale, London (Parke-Bernet), 29 March 1965, lot 30 (with illustration); sale William C. Cornell *et al.* (anonymous section), New York (Sotheby Parke-Bernet), 6 December 1973, lot 108 (as Jan van Noordt, 122 x 104 cm)

Literature:

Pantheon III, 1929, pp. 235 (with illustration, as signed "*Ioan van Noort*"), XXII;
Schneider 1931, p. 511

In contrast to Van Noordt's emphasis on rolling drapery folds and emphatic modelling, the costumes here show flat surfaces and an emphasis on texture.

R75.

Still Life with Candlestick

Canvas
82 x 90 cm

Paris, Louvre, (inv. no. M.I. 937, as attributed to Nicolas Maes)

Provenance:

Paris, collection of Louis La Caze; bequeathed to the Louvre in 1869

Literature:

F. Reiset, *Notice des tableaux légués au Musée impérial du Louvre par M. Louis La Caze*, Paris, 1871, p. 25, no. 76 (as Willem Kalf, 83 x 102 cm); Sumowski 1983-1986, vol. 1, pp. 654, no. 352 (as Heymen Dullaert), 664 (with illustration); vol. 5, p. 3112, with no. 2143 (as Jan van Noordt); vol. 6, p. 3505

Collection catalogues:

Paris 1922, p. 100, no. 2437 (as J. van Streek); Paris 1979, p. 84 (with illustration, as attributed to N. Maes)

This painting lacks the colour and the use of reflections that are present even in early Van Noordt paintings. The flat, powerful impasto treatment gives a hard effect, especially in the white cloth draped over the front of the table, contrasting with the free and fluid handling of Van Noordt. The fabric and the transmitted image of the lemon through the glass are both masterfully handled in softly-applied layers of paint, but these passages are entirely too regular and methodical to be by Van Noordt. Sumowski bases his attribution largely on the candlestick, which also appears in the Brussels *Vanitas* (cat. no. R33), a painting rejected on the basis of its stiff and minute style, and shrill colouring.¹ The two paintings are in turn not by the same artist.

1. See Sumowski 1983-1996, vol. 5, p. 3112, with no. 2143.

Paintings known only from literary sources

L1.

The Sacrifice of Isaac

Canvas

132 x 106.5 cm

Sale, J.B. Alston-Roberts-West *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Christie's) 8 May 1931, lot 83 (as J. van Noordt, canvas, 52 x 42 in., for £ 4.4, to Turner)

L2.

Judah and Thamar

Sale, Rotterdam, 6 June 1810 (Lugt 7802), lot 84 (as Jan van Oort, *Juda en Thamar*, canvas, "*ongemeen krachtig en stout geschildert*" [Unusually powerfully and solidly painted], for *f* 8.-10.-)

L3.

Samson and Delilah

Canvas

114 x 161 cm

Sale, Mrs. G.F. Blackwell *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Sotheby's), 10 January 1973, lot 102 (as Van Noort, *Samson apprehended by the Philistines, Delilah sitting to the left*)

L4.

Susanna and the Elders

Inventory of Michiel van Coxie (1649 - 1688), N.A.A. 4495b, Notary Jacob Matham (*Mimutacten*), p. 1018, dd 14 April 1681: "*de Sussanna van Jan van Oort*" (the Susanna by Jan van Noordt)

L5.

The Nativity

Inventory of the artist and dyer Jan van de Cappelle, N.A.A. 2262, Notary Adriaen Lock, *Minuutacten van Inventarissen*, dd 4 January 1680, p. 1190, no. 97: "*een Kersnacht Jan van Noort*" (A Christmas Eve by Jan van Noort)

Literature:

Bredius 1892, p. 34; Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 215 no. 2

L6.

The Holy Family

Sale Herman ten Kate, Amsterdam, 10 June 1801 (Lugt 8262), lot 127 (as J. van Noort, canvas, 44 x 32 *duim* [113.2 x 82.4 cm]); "*Deeze Ordonantie stelt voor een Heilige Familie; men ziet Maria met het Kindje, nevens haar Joseph: alles meesterlyk en fyn van penceels behandeling.*" [This composition presents the Holy Family, one sees Mary with the little Child, beside her Joseph; everything masterly and fine in the handling of the brush], for *f* 11.- to Reyers)

L7.

Joseph and Mary

Inventory of Melchior d'Hondecoeter (1636 - 1695), N.A.A. 6257 "d", Notary Cornelis Costerus (pagination illegible due to fire damage), dd 14 April 1695: "*Joseph en Maria van van Oort*" (Joseph and Mary by Van Noordt)

Literature:

Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, p. 1212.

L8.

St John

Inventory of Jan Wolters, N.A.A. 2853, Notary Dirck Dankerts, p. 335, dd 4 April 1670: "*een dito (schilderij) van St. Jan, van Jan van Noordt F.10.-.-*" (a ditto [painting] of St John, by Jan van Noordt)

This could be the painting now in a private collection in The Hague (cat. no. 10).

L9.

Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well

Panel

52.1 x 38.7 cm

Sale Mrs. C.M. Crichton-Maitland *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Sotheby's), 23 February 1966, lot 124 (as Van Noordt, *Christ and the Woman of Samaria at the Well in the foreground of a landscape*, panel, 20½ x 15¼ in., for £ 160, to Mrs. Johann)

L10.

The Crucifixion

Inventory of Jacobus van Noordt, G.A.A. 5072 (D.B.K.) no. 376, fol. 247v, dd 19-20 November 1671: "*een kruisiging Christij van Van Noort*" (A Crucifixion by Van Noordt)

Literature:

Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 215 no. 5; Giskes 1989, pp. 92, 119 note 36

This may be the painting currently in the museum in Avignon (cat. no. 13)

L11.

The Resurrection

Sale Jan Steen, Alkmaar, 12 August 1750 (Lugt 733), lot 6 (as: Jan van Noort, *Een verbeeld de verrysing Christi* [One represents the resurrection of Christ])

L12.

Noli me Tangere

Panel

59.7 x 44.5 cm

Sale, Christopher Lorimer *et al.* (anonymous section), London, (Sotheby's), 4 May 1966, lot 138 (as Van Noort, *Noli me Tangere*, panel, 23½ x 17½ in.: "...with Christ in the right foreground, a town before mountains in the distance.")

L13.

Mary Magdalene

Sale, Amsterdam, 4 May 1706 (Lugt 199), lot 2 (as: J. van Noort, *Maria Magdalena*, for f 11.-, to W. Reyers)

Literature:

Hoet, vol. 1, p. 78; Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 215 no. 9

L14.

Diana and Actaeon

Oil on copper

75 x 105 cm

Sale, Paris (Martin Laporte), 27 April 1801 (Lugt 6246), lot 50 (as Van Oort, oil on copper, 30 x 42 *pouces*: "*Paysage richement compsé, ou l'on voit Diane et ses Nymphes qui s'amuse à danser. A la gauche, est un jeune homme qui paroît changé en arbre. Près delà sont des troupeaux, ensuite des chiens et les attributs de la déesse. Dans le fond, sont encore des nymphes, dont une lance des flèches.*" [Richly-composed landscape, in which Diana and her nymphs amuse themselves by dancing. To the left is a young man who seems to be changing into a tree. Close by are animals, and dogs, and the attributes of the goddess. In the background are more nymphs, one of whom shoots arrows.])

L15.

Diana and Actaeon

Canvas

155 x 189 cm

Sale, London (Sotheby's), 31 January 1968, lot 49 (as J. van Noordt, *A Hunting Party with a young man as Actaeon*)

L16.

Nymphs Sacrificing Before a Statue of Pan

Canvas

129.5 x 102.8 cm

Sale, Sir Dennis Stucley *et al.* (anonymous section), London, Sotheby, 9 October 1968, lot 119 (as Van Noort, canvas, 51 x 40½ in.)

L17.

Cupid

Canvas

91.4 x 71.1 cm

Sale John List Crawford *et al.*, New York (Parke-Bernet) 20/21 February 1946, lot 174 (as: J. van Noordt, Cupid, 36 x 28 in., "Depicted as a boy in rose tunic with multicolored wings, in movement to the left, holding his bow and drawing an arrow from a quiver at his side. Sky background.")

L18.

Venus, Diana and Juno

Canvas

205.7 x 152.4 cm

Sale, Earl of Albemarle *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Sotheby's), 7 November 1951, lot 66 (as: J. van Noordt, *Three Young Girls posing as Venus, Diana and Juno*, canvas, 81 x 60 in.)

L19.

Silemus

Sale Catton, London (Greenwood), 11 March 1802 (Lugt 6375a), (first day), lot 78 (as Van Noordt, *Silemus*)

L20.

Caritas

Sale, Amsterdam, 16 September 1739, lot 131 (as Van Noort, *Een Vrouw met Kindertjes, Verbeeldende de Liefde, heel konstig* [A Woman with Children, representing Charity, very artistic], for f.10)

This reference possibly relates to one of the two surviving depictions of the theme by Van Noordt (cat. nos. 20, 55).

L21.

A Horn of Plenty (Allegory of Abundance)

Inventory of the artist and dyer Jan van de Cappelle, N.A.A. 2262, Notary Adriaen Lock, *Minuutacten van Inventarissen*, 4 January 1680, p. 1190, no. 84: "*een cornicopia van Jan van Noort*" (a cornucopia by Jan van Noort)

Literature:

Bredius 1892, p. 34; Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 215 no. 1

L22.

Cleopatra and the Pearl

Canvas

161 x 118 cm

Sale Major R.A. Carnegie *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Sotheby's), 20 October 1971, lot 107 (as Noordt: "Anthony in a red cloak to her right, and other figures behind her," to Chitton Gallery, for £ 400)

L23.

Cimon and Iphigenia

Panel

85 x 64 cm

Monogrammed bottom right: W.H.

Sale J. Nanninga Uitterdijk, Kampen, 11/12 September 1917 (Lugt 77093), lot 15 (as: *Bad na de jacht; "In een bergachtig landschap zit eene naakte vrouwenfiguur op een rood kleed; peilen, blauwe kokers ende bogen liggen op den grond, daarbij is een beeld en een bron, terwijl een mannenfiguur met de eene hand rustende op een lans, met de andere hand de vrouwenfiguur opricht."* [*Bath after the Hunt; In a mountainous landscape, a nude woman sits on red drapery; arrows, blue quivers, and bows lie on the ground, next to them there are also a statue and a spring, while a male figure with one hand on a lance, points to the female figure with the other hand*])

The mountainous landscape setting and the pointing gesture of Cimon distinguish this painting from the known versions by Van Noordt (cat. nos. 24, 25). The description may refer to another, unknown version.

L24.

Cimon and Iphigenia

Sale D. Ietswaart, Amsterdam, 22 April 1749 (Lugt 704), lot 227 (as Jan van Noord; "*Een stuk daar Hymen de drie Naakte Nimfen leggende vind, door Jan van Noord*") [A piece in which Hymen finds the three reclining nymphs, by Jan van Noord]; for f 31-0, to G. Morel)

Literature:

Hoet, vol. 2, p. 253; Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 215 no. 8

This painting could be one of the three surviving known versions of the theme by Van Noordt (cat. nos. 24, 25, 26).

L25.

Granida and Daifilo?

Inventory of Catharina Grebert (1634 - 1714), N.A.A. 5442, Notary Livinius Meijer, document no. 92, dd 2 October 1715: "*Een Diana met een Jagthooren door Van Oort*: 24:-:-" (A Diana with a hunting horn by Van Noordt)

Provenance:

Amsterdam, collection of Catharina Nuyts (1662 - 1698)¹

1. N.A.A. 4604a (*Mimmutacten*), p. 288, dd 6 August 1698, Notary Johannes Backer: "*Een Stuk met beelden van van Oort*" (A piece with figures by Van Noordt).

Catharina Grebert survived her daughter, and the painting given in her inventory as by Van Noordt is quite likely the same as the one appearing in the estate of her daughter seventeen years earlier. There it is described less specifically. The title "Diana with a Hunting Horn" refers to a theme that is atypical for Van Noordt. It is possibly a mistaken reference to the figure of Granida, in a depiction of *Granida and Daifilo*, in which she is would be shown holding a shell in her hand.

L26.

A History

Sale, Rotterdam, 15 September 1834 (Lugt 13762), lot 108 (as Van Noordt, *Een historieel*)

L27.

The Five Senses

Canvas

Inventory of the painter and dealer Cornelis Doeck (? - 1664), N.A.A. 2733, Notary Jan Hendrick Leuven, *Mimutacten*, 13 July 1667, p. 1623, no. 297: "*De Vijf Sinnen van Van Oort 12 st[uivers] doeck*" [The Five Senses by Van Oort 12 stuivers canvas]. The same inventory appears a second time in the archive, in a more legible version: N.A.A. 2741, p. 673.

Literature:

Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, p. 109; Dirkse 1997, p. 16, note 11

Owing to the spelling of the name, Paul Dirkse has suggested that this painting was by Willem van Oordt. However, the subject matter fits better among the genre depictions by Jan van Noordt, than the New Testament biblical scenes by Van Oordt. Furthermore, the following painting in the inventory (cat. no. L31), missed by Bredius, and unknown to Dirkse is a pastoral given to the same artist, a work whose theme relates even more specifically to known paintings by Jan van Noordt.

L28.

Musical Company

Sale, Amsterdam 10 June 1705, (Lugt 193), lot 24 (as *Een Muziek in een Kamer*, for f 42.-)

Literature:

Hoet, vol. 1, p. 79

L29.

A Shepherdess

Inventory of Jan Westerhoff (? - 1719), N.A.A. 4448, Notary Michiel Bockx, not paginated), dd 16 July 1698: "*Een harderin van van Oort*" (A Shepherdess by Van Noordt)

This could be the painting of the same theme presently in the museum in Mänttä (cat. no. 35).

L30.

A Shepherd and a Shepherdess Making Music

Sale, Amsterdam (Beukelaer), 15 April 1739 (Lugt 503), lot 159
(as Van Noord, *Een spelende Herder en zingende Herderin*, for f.13-10-)

This painting does not appear in Hoet's transcription of the catalogue.

L31.

A Shepherd and a Shepherdess

Inventory of the painter and dealer Cornelis Doeck (? - 1664), N.A.A. 2733, Notary Jan Hendrick Leuven (*Minuutacten*), 13 July 1667, p. 1623, no. 298: "*een harder en een harderin van van Oort*." The same inventory appears a second time in the archive, in a more legible version: N.A.A. 2741, p. 673.

The subject matter of this painting fits well among Van Noordt's pastoral scenes, which emphasized the figure. It is possibly the identical with one of the two known depictions of pastoral pairs by him (cat. nos. 33, 34). It is less likely that this inventory entry refers to the artist known as "J. van Noordt," since his pastoral depictions invariably emphasize the landscape setting, and include only small-scale figures (cat. nos. R9, R37, R38, R39).

L32.

A Shepherd Sleeping in a Stall

Sale Jan Maul *et al.*, Leiden, 28 September 1782 (Lugt 3464), lot 122 (as Van Noorth: "*Een Slapende Herder in een stal, benevens twee Gijten, en meer bijwerk, zeer goed*," for f 14.-, to Fouquet)

This work is possibly by the second artist known as "Jan van Noordt," who specialized in rural genre, in contrast to the pastoral mode favoured by Jan van Noordt.

L33.

A Girl with Fruit

Inventory of the dyer and painter Hendrik Oly, N.A.A. 5970, Notary Christoffel Hellerus, *Minuutacten*, document no. 51, dd 30 January 1700, fol. 10r: "*N^o 56 Een dito (stuck) sijnde een Meijsje met vrugten, door Jan van Noordt*" (No. 56 A ditto [piece] being a Girl with fruit, by Jan van Noordt)

Literature:

Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, p. 2036

This is possibly the painting of a *Shepherdess with a Basket of Fruit* in Mänttä (cat. no. 35).

L34.

Peasant Interior with a Pig on the Ladder

Canvas
54 x 74 cm

Sale J.F. Signault Chz. & J.J.v. Limbeek. Amsterdam, 12 Mei 1834 (Lugt 13672), lot 466 (as J. van Noort, *Een Binnehuis met een varken op de leer* [An Interior, with a Pig on the Ladder], for f 9.-, to de Pré)

Provenance:

Sale, Amsterdam, 1 April 1833 (Lugt 13261), lot 134 (as J. van Noort, *Een Binnehuis, met een varken op de ladder* [An Interior, with a pig on the ladder], canvas, 5 poids 4 doux x 7 poids 4 doux, for f 18.-, to Van Delden)

L35.

An Inn with Peasants

Support and dimensions not known

Sale, London, 27 April 1925 (Lugt 88483), lot 39 (as Van Noort, *An Interior, with Italian peasants music-making and conversing*)

L36.

A Musical Company in a Landscape

Sale, Amsterdam (Beukelaer), 15 April 1739 (Lugt 503), lot 160 (as Jan van Noordt, *Een Musicerent Gezelschap in een Landschap*, for f.9-10-)

L37.

A Hawking Party

Canvas
108 x 99 cm

Sale H.M. Robinson *et al.*, London (Christie's), 13 April 1927, lot 137 (as Van Noort, 49½ x 39 in., for £ 16.16, to Seger)

L38.

Three Boys tasting Stew

Canvas
77.5 x 106 cm

Sale C.C. Hutchinson *et al.* (anonymous section), London Christie's, 3 March 1916 (Lugt 75531), lot 79 (as Van Noordt, canvas, 30½ x 41 3/4 in.: *Three Boys, one of whom is tasting food from a stew-pan*, for £ 6.6, to Weekes)

L39.

Two Boys

Support not known
49.5 x 59.7 cm

Sale, London.(Christie's), 27 January 1950, lot 125 (as Van Noordt, 19½ x 23½ in.)

L40.

A Boy with a Bird's Nest

Support and dimensions not known

Sale, London, 27 April 1925 (Lugt 88483), lot 39 (as Van Noort)

This painting could possibly be the same one as cat. no. 37.

L41.

A Happy Couple

Sale Masson, Paris (D.P Puillet, Gaudissart), 21-24 December 1818 (Lugt 9487), lot 120 (as J. van Noort, *Femme qui fait de la dentelle auprès d'une cavalier qui tient sa pipe*, [Woman making lace, while next to her a cavalier holds his pipe], for Fr 46.50)

L42.

An Interior with a Woman and a Child

Canvas
54 x 62 cm

Sale Smith, Rotterdam, 26 April 1830 (Lugt 12330), lot 122 (as Van Noorth, *Een Binnenhuis met eene vrouw, kind en verder bijwerk, zeer goed* [An interior with a woman, a child, and other accessories, very good], for f.41.-, to Hopman)

L43.

Portrait of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper

Testament of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper, N.A.A. 1147, Notary Justus van de Ven, folio 58r, dd 16 October 1663. The Van der Meulen family archive in Utrecht contains a copy of this testament, dated 29 December 1673: Rijksarchief Utrecht, Archive R57, no. 295: "...de Conterfeijtsels vande Testateuren,...selfs geschildert door J. van Oort..." (the Portraits of the Testamentees...painted by J. van Noordt himself)

L44.

Portrait of Jacob Hinlopen

Testament of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper, N.A.A. 1147, Notary Justus van de Ven, fol. 58r, dd 16 October 1663: "...oock t Conterfeijtsel van haer Soon selfs geschildert door J. van Oort..." (also the portrait of their son, painted by J. van Noordt himself)

A portrait of Jacob Hinlopen, the son of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper, appear in the testament drawn up for his parents in 1663, cited in the previous catalogue entry.

L45.

Portrait of Cornelis Dankerts (1620/24 - 1693)

Inventory of Jan van Noordt, N.A.A. 4370, Notary Silas van Jaerlant (*Mimutacten*), fol. 195v, dd 2 May 1675

The inventory of the contents of Jan van Noordt's studio mentioned several paintings that were left behind, including the portrait of the Reverend Dankerts. The only person with

whom this reference can be identified is Cornelis Dankerts, who began his ministry in Amsterdam in 1665 (he appears in Van Lieburg 1996, p. 46).

L46.

Portrait of Caspar Netscher (1635/36 - 1684)

Panel

12 x 11 cm

Sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts: Jan de Mul), 21-22 June 1951, lot 280 (as attributed to Jan van Noort, *Portrait présumé de Netscher*)

L47.

Portrait of Annetje Jans Grotincx (1632 - 1677)

Inventory of the artist and dyer Jan van de Cappelle, N.A.A. 2262, Notary Adriaen Lock (*Mimmutacten van Inventarissen*), 4 January 1680, p. 1190, no. 103: "*een dito (conterfijtsel) zijnde des overledenis vrouw Zal. van Jan van Noort*," (a ditto [portrait] of the deceased's late wife by Jan van Noort)

Literature:

Bredius 1892, p. 34; Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 215, no. 3; Russell 1975, p. 12; Nystad 1983, *passim*.

L48.

Portrait of a Lady

Canvas

120 x 99 cm

Sale Galerie van Diemen & Dr. Otto Burchardt, Berlijn (Achenbach) 13 October 1937, lot 67 (as Jan van Noordt, *Damenbildnis: "Hüftbild. Die vor Draperie stehende Dargestellte trägt ein weißes Gewand und reichen perlschmuck. Am rechten Bildrand Steinvase."*

[Waist-length portrait. The sitter, standing in front of drapery, wears a white garment and rich pearl jewelry. To the right a stone vase.], for RM 800)

Provenance:

Sale A. Taxinge-Nasby *et al.* (anonymous section) Stockholm (H. Bukowski), 25-27 April 1934, lot 97 (as Joan van Noordt, *Dampporträtt*, canvas, 120 x 99 cm: "*Stående knästycke*,

gace något åt h. kroppen åt v. Hon bär vit låghalsad siderdräkt och parlband. I bgr. drapen och t.v. utsikt över en park.")

L49.

Portrait of a Man

Canvas

201.8 x 139.6 cm

Sale R.J.R. Arundell *et al.* (anonymous section) London (Christie's), 9 February 1973, lot 98 (as Jan van Noordt, *Portrait of a Gentleman*, canvas, 201.8 x 139.6 cm: "...full length, wearing a black and white slashed doublet and hose decorated with ribbons standing in an interior with his hat on a table beside him and a hilly landscape in the distance.")

L50.

Portrait of a Young Man with a Hawk

Canvas

114.3 x 80 cm

Sale, London (Christie's), 22 December 1920 (Lugt 81457), lot 84 (as Van Noordt, *Portrait of a Cavalier*, canvas, 45 x 31½: "...in black dress and white collar, a hawk by his side.", for f 14.-)

L51.

Portrait of a Boy

Canvas

101.6 x 86.4 cm

Sale Henry Wellcome *et al.* (Mrs. E.M. Bourlet section), London (Sotheby's), 23 June 1943, lot 93 (as Jan van Noordt, canvas, 40 x 34 in.: "...half-length, elaborate costume: red shirt, hat in his right hand.")

L52.

Portrait of a Boy Falconer in a Landscape

Canvas

116.7 x 88.9 cm (cartouche shaped)

Sale David Astor *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 15 October 1971, lot 89

This painting is perhaps a copy after one of the two depictions of the same theme in the Wallace Collection (cat. nos. 48, 49).

L53.

Portrait of a Boy with a Hawk

150 x 111.8 cm

Sale The Wauchope Settlement Trust (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 12 May 1950, lot 77 (as A. van Noordt, *A boy, in dark coat and buff breeches, standing on a terrace holding a hawk on his right hand*, canvas, 59 x 44 in., for £ 36.15, to Adams)

The subject matter relates to several paintings (featuring a falcon instead of a hawk) by Jan van Noordt (cat. nos. 48, 49).

L54.

Portrait of a Boy with a Hawk

Canvas

109.2 x 83.8 cm

Sale Sir George Harvey *et al.* (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 28 January 1916 (Lugt 75433), lot 20 (as Jan van Noordt, *A Boy, Standing in a Landscape, holding a Hawk*, canvas, 43 x 33 in.)

L55.

Portrait of a Boy with a Parakeet

Panel

59.7 x 49.5 cm

Sale Lady Somerset *et al.*, London (Christie's), 29 November 1920 (Lugt 81272), lot 70 (as Jan van Noordt, 23½ x 19½ in.)

This painting may be related to one of the two paintings of the same theme in the Wallace Collection (cat. nos. 48, 49).

L56.

Portrait of a Boy with a Gun

Panel

21.6 x 12.7 cm

Sale Henry Haes, London (Christie's), 16 June 1916 (Lugt 75867), lot 151 (as Van Noort, *A Youth Carrying a Gun*, 8½ x 5 in., for £ 9.19.6, to Duncan)

L57.

Portrait of a Boy with his Dog

Support not known

114.7 x 101.6 cm

Sale Lucy Wothan James *et al.*, New York (Parke-Bernet), 28-30 November 1940, lot 307 (as John van Noordt, *Boy with Dog*, canvas, 49 x 40 in.: "Full-length figure of a child in saffron tunic and scarlet mantle, holding an arrow, a running dog at his side. Landscape background.")

Drawings

D1.

Study for the Labourer in Gibeah

Black and white chalk on grey paper
293 x 159 mm

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (inv. no. A 676)

Literature:

Schatborn 1979, p. 121, 123, 125 (with illustration no. 10, as *A Pilgrim*), 128 note 24;
Sumowski 1983-1995, vol. 1, pp. 140, 142 note 53

A middle-aged man with wild, curly hair and a beard stands in profile to the right, his head turned slightly towards the viewer. He gestures with his right hand, pointing into the distance. In his other hand he holds a staff or the handle of a spade, and on his back he carries a water-gourd and a large, wide-brimmed hat. This figure has until now been identified only as a pilgrim. However, illustrations of the painting formerly in the Ofenheim collection allow for a more precise identification (cat. no. 3). That work depicts the disturbing story of the Levite and the Concubine in Gibeah (Judges 19: 16-21). The present drawing corresponds, even in details, to the figure of the field labourer, who welcomes the Levite and the concubine into his home, out of concern for their safety. The attention paid to the field labourer in this drawing reflects the prominent position he takes in the painting, and underlines Volker Manuth's conclusion about the possible contemporary interpretations of this otherwise-unlikely theme.¹ The the field labourer presents an exemplar of hospitality, which was one of the Seven Acts of Mercy. The connection with the Ofenheim *Levite* allows for a dating of this drawing to ca. 1673.

1. See chapter 4, p. 134, and note 83.

D2.

Seated Female Nude: Study for Susanna and the Elders

Black and white chalk on grey-blue paper
319 x 222 mm

Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover (collection no. 134, as Jacob Adriaensz Backer)

Provenance:
Nitzscher collection (as Antoine Watteau)

Literature:
Von Moltke 1965b, p. 126, no. 2 (as Jan van Noordt?); Schatborn 1979, p. 120, 128 note 18 (as Jan van Noordt); Sumowski 1998, pp. 78, 79 note 22

Collection catalogues:
Hannover 1960, p. 25, no. 31 (with illustration pl. 10, as Jacob Backer)

This forceful figure study relates directly to Jan van Noordt's painting of *Susanna and the Elders* in the museum in Leipzig (cat. no. 7). The seated figure lunges to the left, while turning to look to the right, a pose that closely matches that of the painted Susanna, with only minor disparities in the position of her left foot and hand, and the missing right hand. Other small differences occur in the drapery and hair.

Among his surviving drawings this one shows a high degree of finish, not only in the differentiated contours, but also in the smooth and soft modelling of flesh. The medium, of black and white chalk on blue-tinted paper, had likely prompted the attribution of this drawing to Jacob Adriaensz Backer, which rested until Wolfgang von Moltke in 1965 suggested Van Noordt as the artist, which was confirmed by Peter Schatborn in 1979. Unlike Backer and Govert Flinck, who created similar figure studies on blue paper for the market, Van Noordt seems to have applied this technique largely to the preparation for his paintings, as is the case with the present drawing. It was likely made at the same time as the painting, around 1659.

D3.

Seated Female Nude: Study for Susanna and the Elders

Black, white and red chalk on grey paper
345 x 218 mm

Amsterdam, P. & N. de Boer Foundation

Literature:

Von Moltke 1965b, p. 126 no. 4; Schatborn 1979, p. 120, 123 (with illustration); 128 note 20; Sumowski 1986, pp. 28, 32 (with illustration no. 13); 37 note 40

Exhibitions:

Laren 1966, p. 28 no. 162 (as formerly attributed to Flinck, now Jan van Noort)

As with a number of Jan van Noordt's surviving drawings, this one relates to one of his known paintings. The pose of the figure corresponds to that of Susanna in the *Susanna and the Elders* now in Winterthur (cat. no. 8). Her body is turned to the left, and is arched inwards. In the painting this is her gesture of rejection against the elders, who approach from the right side. Van Noordt made some changes when he included the figure in the Winterthur painting. There, the head is tilted further up, the left arm is curled upwards, the legs are beside each other rather than wrapped around one another, and they are turned more towards the viewer. The hatching underneath her suggests the form of rough earth, rather than the stone block on which she sits in the painting. These differences suggest a process of adjustment and refinement in arriving at Susanna's painted pose.

Van Noordt seems to have adapted the figure from a now-lost painting of the same subject by Rubens, known only through an engraving by Lucas Vorsterman.¹ In this print, the figure of Susanna takes a similar pose in Van Noordt's drawing. Only it is reversed from left to right, as it would have been in the original design by Rubens. The picture may have been in Amsterdam at the time, for Van Noordt to have seen it. The position of the legs in his drawing, with one foot tucked in behind the other ankle, is another distinctive borrowing, as is the lock of hair falling over the forehead.

Van Noordt achieved a powerful, bulging suggestion of flesh in his drawn study. The heavy contour is dramatically varied to indicate swelling form, and curved hatching and bright highlights and shadows further emphasize volume. This effect points to the direct influence of Rubens. Elsewhere, Van Noordt knew the Flemish master as he was interpreted in the work of Jacob Adriaensz Backer. The technique of this drawing still speaks of Backer's impact on Van Noordt, as Backer led a small fashion for figure studies in black and white chalk on blue-tinted paper.

Van Noordt made a number of small corrections to his drawing. He began with a light contour line. Just above the legs, the artist left such a contour line, and drew another one

lower down, which he then strengthened in the same heavy tone used for the rest of the figure. The lower hand has been changed significantly, with light black lines, indicating straight fingers, erased, and replaced by heavier red lines showing curled fingers. This change looks ahead to the final painting, in which the entire arm is curled, conforming the closed circular sweep of Susanna's body.

1. For Vorsterman's print, see: Chapter Four, note 72. The inscription refers to a painting by Rubens.

D4.

Seated young man: Study for the Prodigal Son?

Black and white chalk, and oiled chalk, on green-grey paper
324 x 231 mm

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (inv. no. 1977:31)

Provenance:

De Girard de Milet van Coehoorn collection; London, Kate de Rothschild Gallery, in 1977

Literature:

Schatborn 1979, pp. 120, 121, 124 (with illustration no. 9), 128 note 21

Exhibitions:

London 1977, no. 20

A young man is shown seated on the ground. He scratches his head in confusion, his closed eyes suggesting that he is exhausted. His clothes are worn out and disheveled, although they seem to have once been part of an expensive costume, as they include a long doublet, breeches, stockings, and boots. In particular the loose, puffy shirt that billows out of the opening of his jacket and at the ends of its sleeves suggest that this young man is not a shepherd, as Peter Schatborn has proposed, but rather someone who was once well-to-do, but is now in desperate straits.¹ The hands and legs are also soft and fleshy, suggesting a lifestyle free of hard labour or hardship.

Van Noordt seems to have produced this elaborate full-length figure study in preparation for a now-lost painting of *The Parable of the Prodigal Son*. The parable appears in Luke 15 (11-32), where Jesus tells of a young man who claims his inheritance from his father, and runs off and squanders the fortune on loose living, so that he ends up destitute. Famine conditions in the foreign country bring him to the point of starvation, and he is forced to become a swineherd, until he reconciles with his father. Van Noordt's drawing possibly shows the moment of reflection, when the prodigal son changes his attitude, and considers an appeal to the father he spurned.

The function as a study seems to be indicated by the correction in the bottom right corner. There was not enough room for the foot, and so this part was included in a separate passage, a little higher, suggesting that it needed to be studied for inclusion in a painting. The entire figure was studied elaborately, so that this is one of the artist's most finished drawings. Areas of flesh are drawn in soft, thick strokes, with soft, rounded highlights in white chalk, differentiating its consistence with that of fabric, which is drawn in harder, crisper lines. Heavy lines in a different, oiled black chalk, appear in the shadow areas, and give emphasis to the effect of light. The facial features are given in very broad, smooth description, except for the thin, sharp line for the closed eyelids. The rich overall effect

relates to Van Noordt's paintings of 1665-1670, and gives reason to date this drawing to that period.

1. Schatborn 1979, pp. 121, 128 note 23. Schatborn related this figure to one of the figures in the painting of *Shepherds and Shepherdesses at a Fountain* in the Rottenhammer collection (cat. no. R39), which was not done by Jan van Noordt, but by the lesser-known "Jan van Noort," the author of three other known paintings as well (cat. nos. R9, R37, R38).

D5.

Seated Female Nude: Study for Venus

Black and white chalk on blue-grey paper
192 x 152 mm

Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung (inv. no. 13622, as Jacob Adriaensz Backer)

Literature:

Bauch 1926, p. 107, no. 53 (as Backer, a copy of a drawing in Leiden); Sumowski 1998, pp. 78 (with illustration fig. 5, mistakenly as in Hannover, Kestner Museum), 79 note 21 (as 348 x 185 mm)

Collection catalogues:

Munich 1973, p. 44, no. 219, (with illustration plate 369, as Jacob Adriaensz Backer, attribution by J. Byam Shaw)

Jan van Noordt made this study on thin and fragile blue-tinted paper, which over time has undergone several horizontal creases across the centre. Some large ink blotches mar the image, on both sides of the figure. Lively and only partly finished, with lacunae in the contours, it seems to have been taken directly from the model. Her figure is shown from the waist up, and, from the vague indication of her hips, she is seated and leans over to the right side. Her elbow is propped against a large rounded form to the right, which is only shown vaguely, while the other hand is drawn up to her shoulder. The model, with her broad, puffy cheeks and rounded eyebrows, seems to have posed for Van Noordt's drawing in Hannover as well (cat. no. D2).

This drawing was made in preparation for the artist's depiction of Venus, in a painting of *Venus and the Three Graces* now in The Hague (cat. no. 16). Both figures show the same arch of the torso, tilt of the head, and positioning of the model's proper left arm and hand. Especially the drooping hand corresponds closely to that of Venus in the painting. She also has the same smallish breasts, and lightly smiling expression. Van Noordt changed the pose in some aspects as well, turning the head and torso slightly to the left, and moving the proper right arm down, so that it falls at Venus's side. He likely produced both around 1667-69. The pose was adapted from the figure of Susanna in the painting in Utrecht (cat. no. 6).

D6.

Bust of a Woman with a Feathered Headdress: Study for one of the Three Graces

Black, white, red and yellow chalk on blue paper
oval, 236 x 200 mm

Rennes, Musées de Rennes (inv. no. C 78-3)

Literature:

Schatborn 1979, pp. 123, 124, 127 (with illustration no. 17), 128 note 31

A young woman poses in a feathered headdress and drapery that falls off her shoulder. With these exotic trappings, she could possibly be taking the role of a figure in classical mythology. Indeed, this drawing may be a study for one of the three Graces in the painting of *Venus and the Three Graces* in The Hague (cat. no. 16). The pose, with the head tilting forward and turned more to the viewer than the shoulders, and the unusual headdress correspond to those of the figure of the nymph seated in the foreground right of the painting of *Venus and her Nymphs* in Rijswijk; only, the drawn figure is clothed. Her face shows the same bright and smiling expression as in the painting. Both works show a strong chiaroscuro. Furthermore, the sketchy quality of this drawing, especially in the hair and drapery, give this drawing a lively spontaneity that evokes the charged atmosphere of the painting, with its energetic, free composition.

In the context of Jan van Noordt's many figure studies for paintings, this drawing is unusual in that it only studies the nymph's head and shoulders. As most lines trail off before the edge, the sheet has evidently not been trimmed down from a larger drawing. The only exception is the bottom right corner, where the lines describing the arm and the back are cut off by rounded edge. The drawing was probably originally rectangular, and later reduced to an oval shape.

D7.

Juno in the Clouds

Black, white and red chalk on green-grey paper

410 x 448 mm

Inscribed, bottom right: Élève de Rubens

Bremen, Kunsthalle (inv. no. 1953/4)

Jan van Noordt planned the middle and left section of his imposing painting of *Juno* in Braunschweig (cat. no. 14), in this detailed study. It shows the goddess accompanied by amoretti to either side. Behind her to the left, a female figure holds a mirror to her; she must represent *Prudentia*, and here she underscores Juno's wisdom.¹ Further back stands Juno's gilt throne, which formed in the same flamboyant, auricular style as the frame of the mirror. Off to the left side, seemingly places further back, Juno's husband Jove appears seated in profile, looking upon the scene of her triumph, his bewonderment suggested by his gesture of holding his chin. Even Jove's eagle seems to be cowed by the spectacle, as he peers out from under the god's ample robe.

Peter van den Brink was the first to connect this drawing to Van Noordt, by way of the Braunschweig painting.² It matches the respective part of the painting closely, presenting most of the details of the figures and attributes. The close correspondence raises the question as to whether this drawing is perhaps simply a copy after the finished painting, done by another artist. Its technique, however, follows that of Van Noordt's drawings rather closely. Most of them are done in black and white chalk on blue-green paper, and several of them also include passages in red chalk.³ Furthermore, the sweeping, emphatic contour lines and softly-modulated highlights also strongly correspond with his drawing style. The careful finish here, higher than in most of his other drawings, may be explained by the special character of the painting to which it is related. The Braunschweig *Juno* is Van Noordt's largest, most ambitious work, and he almost certainly engaged assistants in its execution, who used this drawing as a guide. The artist likely had to present the patron with this drawing as a *modello* of the composition, before embarking on such an expensive commission.

1. For the identification of this figure, see cat. no. 14, note 2.
2. Written communication with the author.
3. Red chalk was also used in four other drawings: cat. nos. D3, D6, D8 and D15.

D8.

Study for Don Jan

Black, white and red chalk on grey paper
363 x 227 mm

London, British Museum (inv. no. 1852-5-19-6)

Literature:

Mellaart 1926, p. 28, no. 13 (with illustration, as Jan van Noordt, formerly attributed to Gabriel Metsu); Schneider 1931, p. 511; Von Moltke 1965b, p. 126, no. 1; Schatborn 1979, pp. 119, 120, 127 note 12 (with illustration no. 4); Sumowski 1998, pp. 77, 79 note 15

Collection catalogues:

London 1915-1932, vol. 4, pp. 7-8, no. 1 (with illustration pl. 5)

A rather elegantly dressed man takes a languid standing pose, cocking his head to the left side, and timidly hooking his finger over the button at his collar. His cloak is draped over a large rock, against which he leans. His fashionable costume features breeches, stockings, and a doublet, and is topped off with a tall pointed hat. This figure was evidently drawn in preparation for Jan van Noordt's painting of "De Spaensche Heidin" (The Spanish Gypsy), which exists in two versions (cat. nos. 27, 28), and several copies. It thus likely dates to around 1657-1660. The pose and the costume match those of Don Jan to the right side in both paintings, and Van Noordt evidently took great care to refine his image of the dapper, romantically-infatuated Spanish nobleman. Already in this drawing he had conceived of Don Jan's rather affected gesture of hooking his finger over the button of his doublet. Indeed, the artist created a rather finished study with sensitively-varied contours, but also with loose scrawls that lend it liveliness. The fluid contours are handled with surety, but the overall grace is somewhat deminished by the flat, rapid hatching in shadow areas.

D9.

Study of a Nude Male, Seated on the Ground

Black and white chalk on blue paper
360 x 240 mm

Amsterdam, collection of Paul Russell

Provenance:

Sale, London (Phillips), 2 July 1990, lot 33 (with illustration); sale, London (Phillips), 7 July 1993, lot 74 (with illustration)

Literature:

Sumowski 1998, pp. 78, 79 note 20

A nude young man is shown seated on the ground, leaning back on his elbows, which are propped against a mound of earth behind him. His body is angled off to the left, but his head is turned to face the viewer. There is some foliage below to the right, and behind the figure is some piled-up drapery. His pose cannot be clearly connected with a particular figure in a history painting, and this drawing may have simply been made as a nude figure study, in the classical academic tradition.

Van Noordt used a varied contour line and modelling in smooth highlights and hatched shadows to achieved a strong sense of the volume and consistency of flesh. He especially conveyed the tension of the awkward pose, clearly articulating the rotation at the waist, even using some fine lines, applied loosely and spontaneously. Some other areas are more broadly drawn, with less clarity, such as the neck and chin, and the left shoulder. The flowing movement and the patchy effect of the highlights, compare closely to the female nude study in Amsterdam (cat. no. D3), drawn in preparation for the *Susanna* in Winterthur (cat. no. 8). They can be dated to the same period, of ca. 1670, late in Van Noordt's career. This drawing also compares closely to the figure study of a nude male in Rotterdam (cat. no. D10), and the similarities with the model in both drawings suggest that they were made in the same session.

D10.

Study of a Reclining Male Nude

Black and white chalk on blue paper
264 x 377 mm

Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (inv. no. MB 1978/T6, as Jacob Adriaensz Backer)

Provenance:

Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby-Mak van Waay), 3 April 1978, lot 130 (with illustration p. 118, as Backer)

Literature:

Sumowski 1998, pp. 77 (with illustration fig. 4), 78, 79 note 17

Collection catalogues:

Rotterdam 1988, pp. 120, no. 39, 121 (with illustration, as Jacob Adriaensz Backer, ca. 1640-50)

A young reclining nude male raises himself up on his hands, and turns his head to face the right. From his long, flowing hair, and the evidence of a beard, he is the same model as appears in the drawing in Amsterdam (cat. no. D9). Here as well, his pose does not seem to be for a particular figure in a history painting. Both drawings seem to have been made in the same session of drawing from the model, in the academic tradition. They share the dramatic effect of varied contour lines and specular highlights with the female figure study with the De Boer Foundation (cat. no. D3), and likely date with it, to around 1670. The present drawing is more finished, with more regular contour lines and hatching, and completed details of hands and feet.

D11.

Portrait Study of a Seated Woman

Black and white chalk on blue-grey paper
283 x 190 mm

Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (inv. no. J.O.1, as J. Ochterveld)

Literature:

Schatborn 1979, pp. 123, 126 (with illustration no. 15), 128 note 29

A young woman, who seems to be seated in a chair and resting her arm over its back, turns to face the viewer. She is sumptuously dressed in a satin gown and a full, loose-fitting blouse with sleeves to just below the elbow. Only her head and torso are shown, and the lesser detail at the bottom and left edges suggest that this was the complete drawing, not cut off. The formal pose and the costume identify this drawing as a portrait study. The face is surprisingly unfinished, so that the artist may have painted it directly from life, or used another study. The figure closely approximates the young woman to the right in Van Noordt's *Portrait of Two Sisters and a Brother* now in Zeist (cat. no. 53), a connection which confirms the attribution of this drawing to Van Noordt, first made by Schatborn.¹ However, the costume differs in several aspects, particularly the décolleté, which is much deeper on the painted figure. The drawing's style, with strong, sweeping contour lines and highlights, and vigorous modelling, is closely related to later drawings dating to around 1670, such as the study for Susanna in Amsterdam (cat. no. D3), which is also the approximate date of the painting in Zeist.

1. See Literature.

D12.

Dionijs Wijnands

Black and white chalk on grey paper
390 x 287 mm

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale Carl Schöffner, Amsterdam, 30 May 1893 (Lugt 51799), lot 289 (as *Portrait d'un jeune homme distingué, aux deux crayons, sur papier gris, Hauteur 39, largeur 28 cent.*); sale Jhr. Alfred Boreel and others, Amsterdam, 15 June 1908 (Lugt 66680), lot 439 (as J. van Noordt, black and white chalk on grey paper, 40 x 29 cm); sale F. Adema van Scheltema, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 11 June 1912 (Lugt 71448), lot 533 (with illustration plate 46; f50.- to F.M.); sale, Amsterdam (Mensing), 27-29 April 1937, lot 494 (for f110.-, to Colnaghi)

Literature:

Valentiner 1941, pp. 291, 293 (with illustration fig. 15), 295; Staring 1948, p. 48, note 4; Schatborn 1979, p. 118-119, 127 note 5 (with illustration no. 1)

Copies:

Black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 240 x 266 mm, Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts; see: collection catalogue Paris 1950, p. 53, no. 427 (as a copy after Jan van Noordt)

At the sale appearance of this drawing in 1911, it was immediately linked to the larger of two painted portraits of the Amsterdam silk manufacturer Dionys Wijnands (cat. nos. 43, 44), by Jan van Noordt. As in the painting, Wynands is shown in three-quarter length, standing beside a table bearing his hat and gloves, on which he rests his proper left hand. Behind him a curtain is drawn to the left side to reveal a mantelpiece in the centre, and to the right an open window gives a view to a building in the distance. The painting shows these elements as well, only adding more houses and foliage to the view out the window.

The function of this drawing in relation to the painting is not exactly clear. It is an elaborately finished drawing, right down to the drapery description in the background, and ruled lines for the interior architecture. More significantly, the artist pursued painterly effects in the drawing, in the build-up of a rich tonal scale, especially in the shirt and mantle worn by the sitter, where a network of hatching in black chalk defines its dark colour. This technique is not evident in many of Jan van Noordt's other drawings. The difference might lead to the speculation that the drawing was done after the painting, perhaps even by another artist. However, peculiar elements of Jan van Noordt's drawing style, especially his use of flowing contours, do appear here, for example in the drapery at to the upper right. Similarly this sheet shows his characteristic softly-modulated highlights

in white chalk, suggesting round forms, in the hands and in the tablecloth to the right. These elements support the longstanding attribution to Van Noordt. The artist likely produced this finished drawing as a *modello* to show Wijnands, his patron, as part of intense preparations for an important portrait commission.

D13.

Pastoral Family Portrait

Black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, with a vertical seam 139 mm from the left
203 x 362 mm

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (inv. no. A 675)

This lively portrait of a young couple and their two children has been remarkably well preserved. The surface, and the open background, are marred only by a vertical seam to the left of centre. The technique is more sketchy than many of Van Noordt's drawings, which typically functioned as studies for paintings. Nonetheless, the strong contours, reflection in shadows, and the rubbed-in highlights indicate the hand of Van Noordt, as Peter Schatborn was the first to recognize.¹ The loose and direct marks in black and white chalk give the impression of having been taken from life. The poses of the parents are informal and relaxed, the father holding his one leg crossed over the other, the mother with a fruit in each hand, one in her lap, the other held up to the viewer. In contrast, the two children at the left are in full flight, their tilting bodies, broad smiles and flailing arms giving a dynamic impression of children at play. This pair compares to Van Noordt's own drawn portrait group of three children, last in Paris (cat. no. D15), but the present drawing shows even greater freedom of action. Van Noordt advantageously applied a sketchy handling in conjuring a recreational atmosphere. More specifically, it is a pastoral setting, partaking of the fashion for idyllic representations of shepherds and the countryside that became so fashionable in seventeenth century literature and images.² This interpretation, suggested by the mother holding fruit, is firmly defined by the sheep poking its head out between the two children. The mood and setting come close to Van Noordt's large family portrait in Dunkirk (cat. no. 56), and the present drawing may have functioned as a study for a similar portrait.

1. See Literature.

2. On the phenomenon of pastoral imagery in the Netherlands, see: Kettering 1983, and: exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993.

D14.

Portrait of a Seated Woman with two Children

Black and white chalk on grey paper
410 x 260 mm

Mänttä, Gosta Serlachius Museum of Fine Arts

Provenance:

Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), 11 June 1912 (Lugt 71448), lot 166 (to Hofstede de Groot); The Hague, collection of Cornelis Hofstede de Groot; sale, Leipzig (Boerner), 4 November 1931, lot 10 (as attributed to Jacob Adriaensz Backer)

Literature:

Bauch 1926, p. 111, no. 10 (as by an unknown follower of Jacob Adriaensz Backer); Bernt 1957, vol. 1, no. 19 (with illustration, as Jacob Adriaensz Backer); Trautscholdt 1958, p. 364 (as not by Jacob Adriaensz Backer); Sumowski 1992, pp. 76 (with illustration fig. 3, as Jan van Noordt), 77, 79 note 13

Exhibitions:

The Hague 1930, p. 6, no. 13; Helsinki 1936, p. 25 (as Johannes van Noordt)

Collection catalogues:

Hofstede de Groot 1923, no. 2 (with illustration, as Jacob Adriaensz Backer)

Copies:

Black and white chalk, with ink wash, 375 x 262 mm, sale, Berlin (Henrici), 21 June 1919 (Lugt 79114), lot 164 (as J. Toorenvliet)

Van Noordt made an elaborate study of this intimate domestic scene of a wet nurse accompanied by two children. Her role here is indicated by her costume, especially the hairpiece, and by the blouse, opened to expose her breast to the infant child sitting on her lap. Both of these figures look over to the left, towards a second, older child, who holds up an apple to her younger sibling. Only her head and arms are shown; the artist left the drawing without completing her figure. In contrast, the other two figures are described in detail, with emphasis on the flowing folds of their dresses.

The expressions on their faces: the patient attention of the woman, the earest appeal of the older sister, and especially the wide-eyed wonder of the baby, have been differentiated with subtlety. When this drawing was in the collection of the Dutch art historian Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, the attribution rested under the name of Jacob Adriaensz Backer. In a recent article, Werner Sumowski revised this judgement in favour of Jan van Noordt. The technique of black and white chalk on blue-tinted paper is common to both of these artists. However, the busy effect of rythmically undulating contours in drapery folds points to Van

Noordt, as does the vigorous effect of volume achieved through modelling, and the curiously swelling forms of the fingers. The lively interaction between the figures compares closely to several large group portraits by Van Noordt of around 1670, for example the Dunkirk *Portrait of a Family* (cat. no. 56), which also features a baby who is being offered an orange. The present drawing was perhaps a study for a similar multi-figured portrait of the same period, which has since been lost.

D15.

Portrait of Four Children on a Goat Cart

Black, white and red chalk on blue-grey paper
316 x 230 mm

Present location unknown

Provenance:
Paris, Gallery J. Kraus

Literature:
Barbara Ann Scott, "Voltaire, the European Traveller," *Apollo*, July 1978, p. 68 (with illustration no. 4, as Jan van Noordt)

Four children are crowded in, and around, a small coach. There are two brothers and two sisters, ranging in age from around two to around eight years old. The boys are to the left, the traditional side for males in family portraits. The boy at the back is dressed in a tall, wide-brimmed hat, and a doublet with a wide flat collar and a tassel, and loose, billowing sleeves, a features that compare closely to the costume of a young man traditionally identified as Cornelis van Groenendyck, in Abraham van den Tempel's portrait of 1668.¹ The younger boy wears a floppy beret sporting large feathers. To the right, both girls wear tight bodices and billowing sleeves; the older girl to the front has decorative leading straps, and her younger sister wears a loose cap over her hair. The younger girl keeps a small pug on her lap, who playfully turns and springs up to her face. She sits in an elaborately carved cart, the sides of which can be seen to the right. It is drawn by the goat that stands at the bottom left; its eyes and horns barely visible at the left edge. The animal is under the control of the older boy farther back, who holds a riding crop aloft.

Van Noordt's drawing compares to a number of paintings of children in and around a cart, usually showing one or more goats in front. One of the earliest examples of this type of portrait is by Ferdinand Bol; other examples include paintings by Jürgen Ovens, Nicolaes Maes and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout.² Like them, Van Noordt has shown the children busily enjoying country recreation. The setting is an estate, with trees in the background, and to the right a stone pillar topped with a sculpture, of which we can see only the bottom. The lower half of the composition is filled with life, and expresses the artist's vision of youth, much as in the family portrait in Amsterdam (cat. no. D13).

Compared to the drawing in Amsterdam, the present sheet is much more highly finished, giving many details of costume. The composition goes into depth, extends to the outside edges. The bottom and sides appear to have been trimmed, as many forms have been cut off. A few elements remain vague, in particular the bottom right corner, which appears to be part of the coach. Also it is not clear whether the girl to the right has something in her hands. The near-completeness of this drawing suggests that it was intended to be a

finished work. It seems to have been made as a drawn portrait drawing, like that of *Dionijs Wijnands* (cat. no. D12), very likely in connection with the preparation for a painting.

1. See cat. no. 49, note 2.

2. Ferdinand Bol, *Four Children on a Goat Cart*, canvas, 211 x 249 cm, Paris, Louvre (inv. no. 1062); and: Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Portrait of Willem Woutersz Oorthoorn on a Goat Cart*, canvas, 95 x 120 cm, Germany, private collection. For a discussion of these two paintings, and other examples, see: Manuth 1999, pp. 139-142.

Rejected Drawings

DR1.

Reclining Female Nude

Black and white chalk on brown-grey paper
317 x 227 mm

London, Courtauld Galleries (inv. no. 4002)

Literature:

Von Moltke 1965, p. 214, cat. no. D202 (with illustration, as Govert Flinck); Schatborn 1978, note 20 (as Jan van Noordt)

The regular hatching, the soft modelling, the staccato rhythm of drapery folds, and the facial type with heavy eyelids, are reminiscent of the style of Jacob Adriaensz Backer's later drawings. The drama of movement in line and the suggestion of strong light, typical of Van Noordt, are not in evidence.

DR2.

Seated Female Nude

Black, white, and red chalk on blue-grey paper
227 x 360 mm

Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (inv. no. H58, as Barent Graat)

Literature:

Von Moltke 1965, p. 272, with no. 224 (as Jan van Noordt); Von Moltke 1965b, p. 126,
no. 3

DR3.

Study of a Seated Woman with a Child on her Lap

Black and white chalk on blue-grey paper
Dimensions not known

Hamburg, Kunsthalle

Literature:

Von Moltke 1965b, p. 126, no. 5 (as Jan van Noordt)

DR4.

Study for a Portrait of a Woman

Black and white chalk on blue-grey paper
290 x 207 mm

Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts

Literature:

Schatborn 1979, pp. 122, 126 (with illustration no. 13, as Jan van Noordt), 128 note 27

Collection catalogues:

Paris 1950, p. 46, no. 372 (with illustration plate XLIV, as Gabriel Metsu?)

The pose duplicates that of the *Portrait of a Woman* in Paris (cat. no. R44), which has been rejected as by Van Noordt. Like the painting, the drawing's technique shows a stiff carefulness not typical for the artist.

DR5.

Study for a full-length Portrait of a Woman

Black and white chalk on blue-grey paper
347 x 220 mm

London, British Museum (inv. no. 1912-12-14-16)

Literature:

Schatborn 1979, pp. 122, 123, 126 (with illustration no. 14), 128, no. 28

Collection catalogues:

London 1915-1932, vol. 3, p. 11, no. 2 (with illustration plate IV)

The sitter's dress corresponds exactly to that which is worn by the sitter in the *Portrait of a Woman* appearing at Sotheby's in 1951, which is signed and dated 1659 (cat. no. 39), indicating a date for this drawing of around the same time.

DR6.

Study for a Portrait of a Woman

Black and white chalk on blue-grey paper
273 x 217 mm

Madrid, Museo Cerralbo (inv. no. 4759)

Collection catalogues:

Madrid 1976, p. 140, no. 123 (with illustration, as Johannes van Noordt)

DR7.

A Woman with a Flower

Black and white chalk on brown paper
257 x 135 mm

Frankfurt, Städelisches Kunstinstitut

Literature:

Van Regteren Altena 1963, p. 16 (with illustration plate 10, as by Jan van Noordt);
Schatborn 1979, p. 128 note 31

The subtle effects of very thin contours and hatched lines contrast with the vigour of line and form characteristic of Van Noordt's figure drawings, and places this drawing closer to the style of Gabriel Metsu.

DR8.

Portrait of a Standing Man

Black and white chalk on grey paper
346 x 230 mm

Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. R74 (as Abraham van den Tempel)

Literature:

Exhibition catalogue Rotterdam 1969, p. 50 (with illustration no. 98, as Govert Flinck);
Schatborn 1979, pp. 121, 122, 125 (with illustration fig. 11, as Jan van Noordt)

DR9.

Portrait of a Standing Man

Black and white chalk on blue paper
362 x 240 mm

Vienna, Albertina (inv. no. 17.585, as Metsu)

Literature:

Meder and Schönbrunner 1893-1908, vol. 4 (not paginated) s.v. Metsu, no. 427 (with illustration no. 427, as Gabriel Metsu); Van Regteren Altena 1963, p. 16 (with illustration pl. 9b); Schatborn 1979, pp. 121, 122, 125 (with illustration no. 12, as Jan van Noordt), 128 note 26

Collection catalogues

Joseph Meder, *Handzeichnungen vlämischer und holländischer Meister des XV.-XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Albertina- Facsimile, Vienna (Albertina), 1923, pp. 8, 15 (with illustration plate 32)

The use in this drawing of thin lines, occasionally even delicately twisted and wispy, is closer to the style of Metsu than the more vigorous handling of Van Noordt.

DR10.

A River Landscape with Ships

Brush and ink wash, over an older underdrawing
270 x 195 mm
Monogrammed and dated 1688

Present location unknown

Provenance:

Sale F.A.C. Prestel, Frankfurt am Main, 26-28 May 1930, lot 297 (as Jan van Noordt, *Flusslandschaft mit hohem Felsen, im Vordergrund eine Fähre mit mehreren Rindern* [River landscape with high rocks, in the foreground a sailing ship with some cattle], 27 x 19.5 cm)

Collection catalogues:

Dealer catalogue, Bern (Gutekunst & Klipstein), Spring 1924, no. 112 (as Jan van Noordt, *Flusslandschaft mit hohem Uferfelsen und einer Schiffsfähre* [River landscape with high rocky shores and a sailing ship], 27 x 19.5 cm)

DR11.

A Landscape

Sale Diderik Baron van Leyden, Amsterdam (Van der Schley *et al.*), 13 May 1811 (Lugt 7991), lot 48, folder "W"

Judging by the subject matter and the spelling of the artist's name, this drawing is quite likely not by Jan van Noordt, but by the artist identified by the author as "Jan van Noort."¹

1. See Chapter Two, pp. 39-40.

Drawings known only from literary sources

DL1.

The Entombment

Pen and wash
285 x 246 mm

Exhibitions:
Paris (Férault), 1930, no. 25

DL2.

Seated Female Nude with Index Finger to her Lips

Black and white chalk on grey paper
430 x 255 cm

Sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 19 October 1946, lot 305 (as Jan van der Noort, *Das Schweigen*: "sitzender Frauenakt mit dem Zeigefinger auf den Mund weisend." [*Silence*: "seated female nude pointing with her index finger to her lips"])

DL3.

Seated Female Nude

Black and white chalk
430 x 260 mm

Sale, Atherton Curtis *et al.*, Bern (Klipstein), 28 April 1955, lot 363 (as Jan van Noort, *Sitzender Mädchenakt*)

DL4.

Portrait of Jan van de Cappelle (1626 - 1679)

Inventory of the artist and dyer Jan van de Cappelle, N.A.A. 2262, Notary Adriaen Lock, (*Minuutacten van Inventarissen*), dd 4 January 1680, p. 1191: "*een Conterfijtsel van de overleden van van oorts tekeningh*" (a portrait of the deceased after Van Noordt's drawing)

Literature:

Bredius 1892, p. 34; Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 215 no. 3; Russell 1975, p. 12; Nystad 1983, p. 712; exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1999, p. 141

Prints

P1.

Landscape with Farm Animals and a Milkmaid, after Pieter van Laer

Etching

157 x 216 mm

Inscribed: "PETRUS VAN LAER inv. J.V.N. fecit 1644"

Literature:

Kramm, vol. 2, p. 1208; Le Blanc 1888, vol. 3, p. 105, no. 1; Heller 1854, p. 98; Bartsch, vol. 1, pp. 16, 17; Nagler, vol. 4, p. 610, nos. 2, 3; Dutuit, vol. 5, p. 205, no. 2; Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 210; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 243 (s.v. *Radierungen*), no. 1; Hollstein, vol. 14, p. 182, no. 1 (with illustration)

In this print Jan van Noordt took up the genre of rural animal scenes. In the centre and to the left are four sheep, three lying on the ground, and one standing and facing the viewer. Interspersed among them are three goats, one of which stands. To the right stand two cattle, and in front of them a dog. These animals occupy the top of a mound of earth. Behind them is a milkmaid, wearing a simple dress and a tall, wide-brimmed hat, and carrying pails of milk on a yoke over her shoulders. She walks up the other side of the hill towards the viewer, and is situated further back, so that only the upper part of her body is visible over the crest of the hill. Her figure is also shown more vaguely than the animals, emphasizing the distance from the viewer by suggesting the intervening atmosphere. A strong light falls on the group from the right side, suggesting dawn or dusk.

The scene is characteristic of the work of animal painters in the Netherlands, the most prominent among them being Paulus Potter (1625 - 1654). The inscription identifies the inventor as the Italianate painter Pieter van Laer (1599 - after 1642). Unfortunately, there does not survive any work by Van Laer that matches this scene. However, it does come close to the prints of farm animals that Van Laer produced in a series, in Rome, for Ferdinando Afan de Ribera.¹ The closest similarity is with *The Buck, two goats, and three sheep near the woman with the reel* (ill. 25). It shares with the present print a glowing Italianate light effect, and the grouping of different-coloured animals, placed in the foreground. The claim of the inscription here, crediting Van Laer with the composition, is thus quite plausible.

The subject matter of this print is unusual for Van Noordt. It relates to only one other work in his oeuvre, the *Shepherdess and a Goatsherd in a Landscape with Animals*, formerly in London (cat. no. 31). The composition of that painting was likely derived from the present print. After studying the work of Van Laer, Van Noordt proceeded to develop a similar composition of his own invention. He abandoned the type quickly, and his later

pastoral depictions place much less emphasis on animals and landscape, than on the figure, reflecting the work of Jacob Adriaensz Backer.

The theme of rural animals also surfaces in two of the four known paintings by the other "Jan van Noort," (cat. nos. 39, 41). There does not seem to be any connection to the present print, however. The other artist used a distinctly different signature, in block letters, and spelling the last name without a "d." Here, the initials are written calligraphically, and correspond exactly to the first three letters of the signature on Van Noordt's second print, after Lastman (cat. no. P2). There, he signed with his full last name, which includes the "d." Furthermore, the signature on that later print is similar to the one that Jan van Noordt used when he witnessed a business transaction for Jacob van den Tempel, in 1646.² In the second state of this print, the inscription was removed, and replaced by the name of "H. Pot" which likely referred to Hendrick Pot (ca. 1585 - 1657) as the publisher. The only other aspect distinguishing the later state is the fainter background detail.

1. Etching, 129 x 175 mm; see: Hollstein, vol. 10, p. 4, no. 5. This print was part of a series of eight; see: Hollstein, vol. 10, p. 10, nos. 1-8.

2. See Chapter One, note 22.

P2.

Landscape with the Temple of the Sybil at Tivoli, after Pieter Lastman

Etching

165 x 217 mm

Inscribed bottom centre, on the rock: "P. Lastm: inv JVNoort fecit 1645,"

Literature:

Kramm, vol. 2, p. 1208-1209; Carl Vosmaer, *Rembrandt, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, 1877, p. 478, no. 50; Le Blanc 1888, vol. 3, p. 105, no. 2; Bartsch, vol. 1, p. 16; Heller 1854, p. 98; Nagler, vol. 10, p. 264; Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, vol. 4, p. 610; Dutuit, vol. 5, p. 205; Kramm, vol. 4, p. 1208; Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 210; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, pp. 17 (*s.v. Pieter Lastman, Radierungen, nach ihm gestochen*), no. 5, 243 (*s.v. Johannes van Noordt IV, Radierungen*), no. 2; vol. 3, p. 106; Freise 1911, p. 86, no. 124 (with illustration fig. 9); Schneider 1931, p. 511; {Oud-Holland 1948, p. 168 (with illustration): also Hollstein, wrong}; Hollstein, vol. 10, p. 37, no. 6; vol. 14, p. 182, no. 2 (with illustration); Larsen 1957, p. 111; Broos 1975/76, pp. 205-206 (with illustration fig. 6); exhibition catalogue Utrecht 1993, pp. 196, 198 note 7

This landscape scene is dominated by the form of a large hill to the right side. It occupies the middle distance, and fills nearly half the composition. At its top stands the ruin of an ancient circular temple, which can be identified as the Temple of the Sybil, part of the Villa complex built by the Roman emperor Hadrian at Tivoli, near Rome. Other parts of this complex can also be seen. At the bottom of the hill are the remains of two vaults that have been built into its side. The setting also includes some later houses built among the ruins to the right and left sides, and to the left a vista with another hill, which is topped with a round domed temple. The scene is completed by staffage, in the form of some figures in the foreground and middle distance.

Besides inscribing his own name as maker of this print, on a rock in the centre foreground, Jan van Noordt also included that of Pieter Lastman as its inventor. His etching transmitted some of the characteristic traits of Lastman's style, evident in his paintings, such as the use of diagonal slopes in the background landscape, and the strong effect of light. Van Noordt evidently followed one of the landscape drawings that Pieter Lastman made during his stay in Rome from 1603 to 1607.¹ Unfortunately only one of these drawings has survived, and the specific drawing used by Van Noordt for his print has been lost.² These drawings provided Lastman with motifs for the landscape backgrounds of his history paintings, for the rest of his career. The background in his painting of *The Flight into Egypt* in Rotterdam shows a temple and a hill similar to those in the present print.³ Lastman's original composition for this print seems to have influenced Pieter Groenewegen (active 1623-1657), whose painting of the ruins of the Palatine Hill shows a striking similarity to the the present print, only reversed from left to right, as Lastman's drawing would have been.⁴ Ben Broos has also pointed out the similarity to the background of Rembrandt's *Stoning of St Stephen* in Lyon.⁵ Lastman's drawing was

evidently well-known among artists, and so presented itself to the young Van Noordt as a likely model for an etching.

This etching exists in two known states, that differ little from one another. The second state contains passages that have been partially burnished out, and subsequently reworked. This change is most evident in the foreground rock, where the signature is placed.

1. Kurt Freise cites 13 literary references to landscape drawings by Pieter Lastman. See: Freise 1911, pp. 192-193, nos. 57-68 (including no. 61a).

2. Pieter Lastman, *View of the Palatine Hill in Rome*, Pen with brown ink, brown and grey wash over a sketch in black leadpoint, 164 x 230 mm, private collection. For a discussion of the place of this sheet in Lastman's stylistic development as a draughtsman, see: exhibition catalogue Amsterdam 1991, pp. 146-147, no. 26 (with illustration).

3. Pieter Lastman, *The Flight into Egypt*, panel, 29 x 25.5 cm, signed and dated 1608, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (inv. no. 1442); see: collection catalogue Rotterdam 1972, p. 42; Freise 1911, pp. 54-55, no. 58 (with illustration fig. 6).

4. Pieter Anthonisz Groenewegen, with figures by Esaias van den Velde, *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine and the Forum Romana*, canvas, 56 x 90.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. A3965); see: collection catalogue Amsterdam 1976, p. 249 (with illustration). On the authorship of the figures, see: Keyes 1984, p. 179, no. XXIX (with illustration plate 375).

5. Rembrandt, *The Stoning of St Stephen*, panel, 89.5 x 123.5 cm, signed and dated 1625, Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (inv. no. A 2735); see: Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 67-73, no. A1 (with illustration). On the connection to Van Noordt's print, see Broos 1975/76, pp. 205-206.

Rejected Prints

PR1.

Judah and Tamar (Genesis 38: 14-18)

Etching

214 x 176 mm

Inscribed: PL

Literature:

Van der Kellen 1866, vol. 2, p. 16 (as Jan van Noordt); Kramm, vol. 2, p. 1209; Vosmaer 1877, pp. 480-481, no. 1 (as attributed to Lastman); Bartsch {vol. , p. ?}, no. 74; Rovinski {year, vol., p. ?}, no. 432; Wurzbach 1906-1910, vol. 2, p. 17 (*s.v. Lastman, Radierungen*), no. 1; vol. 3, p. 106 (*s.v. Pieter Lastman*, as attributed to Jan van Noordt); Freise 1911, pp. 213, 218-224 (as Van Noordt); Hollstein, vol. 10, p. 35, no. 1 (with illustration); vol. 14, p. 169, with no. 3; Cornelius Müller, in: Thieme-Becker, vol. 22, p. 413; Larsen 1957, p. 111, 112 (with illustration fig. 1), 113 note 1; exhibition catalogue Milwaukee 1976, p. 50; Blankert 1982, p. 31 note 5; Sluijter 1986, pp. 110, 446, note 5; Manuth 1987, pp. 92 note 307

Exhibitions:

Berlin 1989, pp. 751-752, no. 8/18 (with illustration)

This print follows closely Lastman's painting of the same theme, last sold out of the Arnon collection in New York.¹ There exists a drawing of the same composition, but the present print was clearly not based on it. Instead the print follows the painting in its elaborate detail.² The attribution of the print to Jan van Noordt, first made by Johan Philip van der Kellen, has not been adopted by all scholars.³ Van der Kellen was probably prompted by knowledge of Van Noordt's landscape etching after Lastman (cat. no. P2). Freise also drew the link between that print and the present one. He pointed to the handling of foliage as evidence, however, in the present print these parts achieve far greater volume and suggestion of softness.⁴ The present print is generally much more accomplished than the landscape etching, which shows some rough hatching, and a much weaker suggestion of form. The landscape print was likely made after a drawing, not a painting.

There is a strong possibility that this accomplished print was made by Lastman himself, as the characteristic monogram suggests. The style is not far removed from Lastman's manner of pen drawings. This print was well-known. It became the basis for a painting in the collection of Ephraim Schapiro, with the same reversed composition.⁵ A second print after Lastman's painting, which greatly expands the background scenery, was made by Pieter Nolpe (1613/14 - 1652/53).⁶

1. Pieter Lastman, *Judah and Thamar*, panel, 123.2 x 92.7 cm, sale David Arnon *et al.*, London (Christie's), 12 December 1959, lot 83. For a discussion of the painting, with respect to the prints after it, see: Larsen 1957.
2. Attributed to Pieter Lastman, *Judah and Thamar*, red chalk, 260 x 200 mm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum; as mentioned and illustrated in: *Handzeichnungen alter Meister in der Albertina und andere Sammlungen*, Schönbrunner und Meder, vol. 3, no. 258; see: Freise 1911, pp. 213-214 (as not by Lastman).
3. See Literature.
4. See: Freise 1911, pp. 218-219.
5. *Anonymous*, panel, 42.4 x 35.6 cm, London, collection of Dr. Ephraim Schapiro; see: exhibition catalogue Milwaukee 1976, pp. 50-51, no. 20 (with illustration); provenance: sale, Berlin (Lepke), 6 March 1906, lot 244 (as Judah and Thamar, after Lastman).
6. Pieter Nolpe, after Pieter Lastman, *Judah and Tamar*, etching, 412 x 510 mm, Bartsch 74, W. 4; Hollstein, vol. 14, p. 169, no. 3. For a discussion of the relationship between this print and Lastman's painting, see: Freise 1911, pp. 219, 220 (with illustration plate 12, no. 41).

PR2.

The Adoration of the Shepherds

Etching

Hollstein, vol. 14, p. 183, no. 6

PR3.

Head of an Old Man (after Rembrandt)

Etching
169 x 125 mm

Nagler, vol. 4, p. 610, Rovinsky, vol. 2, p. 67; Schneider 1931, p. 511, no. 3; Hollstein, vol. 14, p. 183, no. 9 (with illustration)

Prints known only from literary sources

PL1.

51 etchings

Sale Jan Yver, Amsterdam, 25 March 1816 (Lugt 8845), (as "*Het eigen geëtste werkje van J. van Noort, 51 stuks*" [The autograph etched work by J. van Noort, 51 pieces])

Literature:

Kramm, *p. 1209*; Hofstede de Groot 1892, p. 210 (as by an 18th-century J. van Noort, active in Leiden); Groenevelt and Den Hertog 1987, p. 126 note 44 (as perhaps by Van Noort)

As Hofstede de Groot suggested, these prints are likely by a later namesake of the artist.

Appendix: Documents pertaining to the life of Jan van Noordt

1602, 19 November: G.A.A. D.T.B. 1144 (Burial), p. 60. Burial of Daniel van den Oort, living "*inde Clausingel*" (in the clavecembalo) in the Carthusian Cemetery.

1607, 24 July: G.A.A. 5073 (W.K.) no. 546, (*Inbrenregister* 14), fol. 315v. Jacques de la Verdure, son of Marijken Cornelisdr van Roosendael, and Jacques de la Verdure, receives items out of the estate of his mother, from the house of her deceased second husband, Daniel van Oort, who had been a builder of clavecembalos.

1640, 19 December: G.A.A. 5004 (Burial Register of the W.K.), no. 20 (*Zuiderkerk and kerkhof*). Burial of Jannitgen Jacobs, wife of Sybrandus van Noordt, and mother of Jan van Noordt. "*Jannitgen Jacobs bij Rusland op d'hoeck van Slijkstraet Schoolmeesters vrou*" (Jannitgen Jacobs at Rusland on the corner of the Slijkstraet , Schoolteacher's wife).

1641, 20 June: G.A.A. 5073 (W.K.) no. 796, (*Inbrenregister* [Entrance Register] no. 25), folio 44. Sybrandus van Noordt registers the inheritance of his three children who are not of the age of majority, from their mother, with the Chamber of Orphans. They are to receive 1200 guilders, or 400 guilders each.

"Den 20 Juny 1641 heeft Sijbrant van Noort schoolmr. bewesen zij drie kindr. als Anthoni out 22 Jaren, Johannes out 17 Jaren ende Lucas out 13 Jaren daer moeders aft was Jannitgen Jacobs van haer moeders erf tesamen de somme van Twaelfhondert gulden ens daer voren hij beloofd borge te stellen. Ende zal zijn voorzg. kindr. houden met belovde goede ende onder verbant ende de zal hij voors blijven Sitten ende te behaechde Jacobus van Noort de mondige broeder van kinde. present Frederic de Vrijende Mr. Albert Bas WeesMrs."

(The 20th June 1641 Sijbrant van Noort Schoolteacher presented his three children, being Anthoni 22 years old[,] Johannes 17 years old and Lucas 13 years old whose deceased mother was Jannitgen Jacobs[,] promises to post a deposit for their inheritance from their mother together a sum of twelve hundred guilders. And shall keep the aforementioned children with the promised goods and within strictures and shall furthermore remain where he is and to the approval of Jacobus van Noordt the brother of the children who has reached the age of majority, Frederic de Vrij and Mr. Albert Bas Orphan-Officers present.)

1646, 4 March: N.A.A. 993, Notary Jan Bosch, document no. 19, fol. 9r. Jan van Noordt witnesses to a note drawn up for the Portugese Jew Jacob Ferro, naming the Leiden merchant Jacob van den Tempel and the dyer Jacob Uytenhove as creditors, for goods purchased from Isaac Rocamora of Leiden. The margin notes record the subsequent payment. The first note, dated 4 June 1646, records the collection by the sheriff from Ferro, for Rocamora, at the request of Van den Tempel. It also cites an obligatory note, to Jacob van den Tempel, drafted in Leiden, dated 30 May 1646, to which Jan van Noordt bears witness, in Amsterdam. The second note, at the bottom, confirms that Ferro has paid Rocamora.

1648, 25 November. Leiden City Archive 506 (Old Notarial Acts) no. 754, Notary Arendt Joachimsz Raven (*Minutacten*) document nos. 198 and 199. Jan van Noordt signs as witness to a codicil to the testament of the painter and cloth merchant Abraham van den Tempel, in Leiden.

1666, 18 January: Naarden City Archive, Old Notarial Archive no. 3678 3, Notary Jacob Atten. Jan van Noordt acts on behalf of Adriana Kusters, the only child of Dr Samuel Coster. Van Noordt is authorized to transfer to Adriana the ownership of a double grave in the Nieuwe Zijds Capel in Amsterdam. She is entitled to this grave, being the only daughter of the only son of its occupant, Adriaen Lenaartsz.

"Comparerende voor mij Jacob Atten van d'eed. Heere van Holland geadmitteert openbaer Notaris binnen Naerden ende getuigen nagenoemt de Eerb. Joffr. Aertjen Kusters, dochter van de Eerb. Heere Dr Samuel Koster za: inwoon. ende erve deser stede voorn., verklaert geconstitueert ende gemachticht te hebben gelijk sij constitueert ende macht mits dese d'E: Mr Joannes van Noort burger tot Amsterdam, omme in den name ende van wege haer comparant te procureren ende bevorderen dat bij de heeren Kerkmeesteren van de Nieuwe Sydt Capel aldaer seker graf leggende in deselve kerke achter de preekstoel gekomen van Adriaen Lenaerts' haer Comparantes voornoemde Vaders Vader za: op de naem van haer Comparantes overgedragen ende gestelt mede alsoo sij verklaert te wesen, een eenigh kint en erfgenaem van gemelde haer Vader Samuel Koster Za: de welke mede een eenigh kind en erfgenaem van Adriaen Lenaerts geweest is. Belovende voorgoed ende van waerde te houden tgene dese aengaen by den Geconstitueerde gedaenende verricht sal werden. Gepasseert binnen Naerden ten compoire mijns Notarij ter presentie van Eers. Jan Storm ende Jan Atten als getuigen die dese minute neffen mij Notaris get. hier te verricht sijnde getekent hebben op de 18 jan. a^o 1668

Welk getuige ik

J. Storm
 Jan Atten
 J. Atten Nots. 1668 1/18"

(Appearing before me Jacob Atten Public Notary in Naarden admitted by the Honourable Lords of Holland and witnesses, hereafter named the Honourable Miss Aertjen[sic] Kosters, daughter of the late Honourable Dr Samuel Koster, dwelling and property in this city abovenamed, declares to have appointed and empowered, just as she appoints and empowers herein, the Honourable Mr Joannes van Noort burger of Amsterdam, in the name and according to the will of her the party to procure and proceed with the Lord Churchmasters of the Nieuwe Zijds Capel there a certain grave lying in the same church behind the pulpit coming from Adriaen Lenaerts¹ the party aforementioned her late father's father, be transferred to and placed under the name of the party, such as she declares to be, an only child and heir of aforementioned father Samuel Coster, deceased, who was the only child and heir of Adriaen Lenaerts. Promising to hold as true and good, everything that pertains to this according to the party shall be carried out. Passed in Naarden at the office of my Notary in the presence of the honourable Jan Storm and Jan Atten who have signed along with me the Notary as witnesses to this minute having been drawn up on the 18th of January 1668)

1. In the margin: "*In syn leven stadts timmer man*" (During his life city carpenter).

1668, 25 January: Naarden City Archive, Old Notarial Archive no. 3679 A30, Notary Jacob Atten. Jan van Noordt is authorized by Adriana Kosters to sell the double grave in the Nieuwe Zijds Capel, occupied by her deceased grandfather Adriaen Lenaertsz. Van Noordt is specifically mentioned as a "*Konstrijk Schilder*" (artful painter).

"Comparerende voor mij Jacob Atten Bij d'Ed. Hove van Hollt geadmitteerde openbaer Notaris binnen Naerden ende de getuigen nagenoemt e'Eerb. Juffr. Adriana Kosters inwoonder te deser voorn. Stede Verclaert, geconstitueert ende gemagtigt te hebben gelijk sij sulks doet bij dese - d'Ed: Jan van Noort konstrijk Schilder t'Amsterdam, omme in't den name ende van wegh haer constituante te verkopen, voor soodanigh somma van pennighen als hem de constitueerde goe duncken ende geraden achter sal, seker haer constituantes Grafstede leggende inde Capel genaemde Heijligestede, haer als eenige kint ende erfgenaem van d'Eer: Hr. Samuel Koster za: competerende 'tselve te cederen ende trans: porteren daer ende soo't behoren sal, eigendom ende quitinghe te passereren, voor d'evictie te causeren haer persoon ende goederen daernvoor te verbinden - de kooppenningh t'ontfangen, somma alles ende in alle gevalle dese aengaende te doen ende laten geschieden al gene sij constiuante self somme present sijnde soude de komme doen ende laten geschieden, belovende voor goeddende van waerde te houden ende doen houde hetgene hij Hem Geconstitueerde dese aengaende gedaen ende verrichte sal

werden, onder verbant als na rechten, Gedaen binnen Naerden te comptoire mijnes Notarij ter presentie van d'Ed.B. Mr. Jan van Schagen ende Jan Atten als getuigen op den 25 Januarij d' 1668-

Jan van Schaghen
Jan Atten

Welk getuige ik
J. Atten Not:
1668 1/25"

(Appearing before me Jacob Atten public Notary in Naarden admitted to the Honourable Court of Holland and the witnesses named hereafter the honourable Miss Adriana Kusters inhabitant of this aforementioned city declares to have appointed and empowered as she does herein - the honourable Jan van Noordt artful painter in Amsterdam, in her name and according to her wish to sell, for whatever sum of money as he the appointed thinks good and advise, specifically her the appointer's grave lying in the Chapel called the Heilige Stede, she as only child and heir of the Honourable Samuel Koster, deceased, to complete the surrender and transfer there as shall be appropriate, to pass on ownership and receipt, to bring about the removal[,] to bind her goods and person- to collect the sale price, in sum to carry out everything in every case pertaining to this, promising to hold and have others hold in truth and respect that which he the Appointed shall carry out concerning this, under agreement and according to right, Carried out in Naarden at the office of my Notary in the presence of the Honourable Mr. Jan van Schagen and Jan Atten as witnesses on the 15th of January in the year 1668.)

1668, 3 July: N.A.A. 3607, Notary Antonij van de Ven (*Minuutacten*) folio 10r,v. The third document related to Adriana Kusters is an Amsterdam record of the sale of the grave, by Jan van Noordt, to a Mr. Gerrit Luijks.

"Op Huijden den Derden Julij 1668- Compareerden voor mij Antonij van de Ven bij den H. Nots. P. ende de nagenoemde getuijgen, Hr. Jan van Noordt konst schilder wonende hier ter stede als procuratie hebbende van Juff. Adriana Kusters in dato den 25 Januarij 1668 voordien Notaris Jacob Atten ende seker getuijgen- tot Naarden gepaseert, ende verclaerde in dien qualiteijt vercocht, getransporteert, ende (in vollen eijgendom) overgegaen te hebben, geen hij doet bijdesen - aen ende te behoeve Hr. Gerrit Luijks - Coopman alhier en dubbelt grafstede liggende achter de predickstoel in de Nieuwe Sijts Cappel N^o. 35 & 36 - en dat om ende voor Seecker somme van penningh daerom den vecoper bekent voldan ende betaelt te zijn den eersten penningh, metten laesten, den voorgn. Coper daarvan niet alleen quiterende, en vercocht oock dit voor een dubbelt grafstede tallen dage jegens eenen tegelijcken ter vrijen ende vrij te waren, maer oock

om te causeren hij Compt. de Heren Kerckmr. van den Nieuwe Zijds Capel voorn. om de gemelte dubbelt grafstede op de boecken van den naer (en op sijne) van de voorn. Juffw. Costers namens voorall sijne verbint hij Compt. qualitate qua sijn persoon ende goederen roerend en anstaend hebbende ende getuijgend, alle de selve ende den keur van dien submitterende ten Gedwongen van alle Rechten ende Gerechten Ten goed vertrouwen Ende consisterde mij Nots: hier van te horen op dese date Gepasseerd binnen Amsterdam ter presentie van Abram Theunemans ende Abraham van Bergman als getuigen - - -"

A. Teunemans Joan: v. Noordt
 A. van Ven
 Not

(Today the Third of July 1668 before me Antonij van de Ven Notary [in Amsterdam] with the Court and the witnesses named hereafter, appeared Mr Jan van Noordt painter living in this city as having authorization from Miss Adriana Kusters dating to 25 January 1668 passes before the Notary Jacob Atten and certain witnesses in Naarden, and declared in this capacity to have sold, transferred, and (in complete ownership) surrendered, which he does herein, to and to the discretion of Mr. Gerrit Luijks- merchant in this place a double grave lying behind the pulpit in the Nieuwe Zijds Capel No. 35 & 36 and that by and for a certain sum of money which is known to the seller has been completed and paid the first penny together with the last, the aforementioned Buyer not only receiving, and buying also this for a double grave for all time against and opposition, as free and being free, but also that he the party cause the Lord Churchmasters of the Nieuwe Zijds Capel abovementioned to record the double grave of hers of the according to (and on his) the aforementioned Miss Coster's name. Above all he commits accordingly his person and goods portable and real estate having and witnessing, submitting all the same to the discretion of the Power of all Rights and Judgements in good Faith and I Notary assert to have heard on this daypassed in Amsterdam in the presence of Abram Theunemans and Abraham van Bergman as witnesses)

1670 (no date). G.A.A. 5026, *Requesten*, 370a, third folder, fol. 789. Jan van Noordt and his brother Anthoni request that the Justices of Amsterdam take action against a certain Arent Brouwer. Brouwer had courted the maid of the Van Noordt brothers, Trijntje Bartels, and had been rejected. For seven months already, he has been harassing the three of them on the street.

"Aen de Ad. Heeren van den Gerechte der stadt Amsterdam.

Geven eerbiedelijck te kennen, mr. Anthoni van Noort, organist van de Nieuwe Kercke alhier ende Jan van Noort, sijn broeder, hoe dat hun supplianten dinstmaaght Trijntjen

Bartels een tijdt langh door eenen Arent Brouwer, sijderedersgesel, gevrijt sijnde, deselve haar dienstmaacht de voors. Arent Brouwer heeft affgeslagen; 't is nu sulx, Edele Achtebare Heeren dat de voors. Arent Brouwer nu al seven maanden herwaartz dagelijcx groote insolentie end moetwillicheit ontrent hun supplianten huys heeft gepleeght ende dat deselve, wanneer hij de voors. Trijntjen Bartels oft hun supplianten op de straat rescontreert, telckenmaalen in presentie van eerlijcke luyden aerant, scheldende de suppliante ende hun voors. dienstmaacht sulx uyt dat sich de luyden met meenichten daarentrent vergaderen, 't welck nu veele maalen is geschiet; dat mede de supplianten hun uur gunt voors. hebben geaderesseert gehad aen wijlen den Ed. Heer Dr. Cornelis Witsen, in zijn leven hooftofficier deser stede die de voors. Brouwer al heeft gedaen interdiceren, doch evenwel in zijn boosheit voortvarende, sulx dat sij supplianten' dagelijcx de straat met vrede niet konnen gebruycken; derhalven keren hun de supplianten tot U. Ed. Achtbaerheiden, eerbidelijck versoeckende dat deselve, regart nemende in desen, gelieven den voors. Arent Brouwer te gelasten dat hij van sijn voos. insolentie ende gewelt sal affstandt doen, oft mijnheer den officer de saack inhanden te stellen ende de voortz daarover te disponeren sulx als U, Ed. Achtbaerheiden naar recht, reden, ende billicheit verstaen sullen te behoren. 't Welck doende etc." (My thanks to S.A.C. Dudok van Heel for his transcription of this document.)

(To the Honourable Lords of Justice of the city of Amsterdam)

Make known in all due respect, Mr. Anthoni van Noordt, organist of the Nieuwe Kerk here and Jan van Noordt, his brother, how the plaintiffs' maidservant having been courted for a time by one Arent Brouwer, silk weaver, their maid rejected the aforementioned Arent Brouwer; 'tis now so, Honourable Esteemed Sirs that the aforementioned Arent Brouwer for seven months already has perpetrated great insult and contempt against the plaintiffs, whenever he encounters the aforementioned Trijnten Bartels or the plaintiffs on the street, repeatedly in the presence of respectable persons about, cursing the plaintiffs and their aforementioned maidservant, such that people gather around in a crowd, which has now happened many times; that also the plaintiffs have addressed their concern to the Honourable deceased Sir Dr Cornelis Witsen, in his life chief officer of this city who already reprimanded the aforementioned Arent Brouwer, nonetheless, continuing on with his abuses, so that the plaintiffs¹ daily were unable to use the streets in peace, therefore the plaintiffs turn to you, Honourable Esteemed Sirs, with all due respect seek that the same, consider this, please order the aforementioned Arent Brouwer that he desist in his aforementioned insults and violence, or place the matter in the hands of my Lord the Officer and proceed with it as your Honourable Esteemed Sirs deem according to justice, reason, and efficiency, which shall be done etc.)

1. In the margin: "*noch oock hun gemelte dinstmaaght*" (nor their aforementioned maidservant).

1671, 3 December. G.A.A. 5072 (D.B.K.) 738, folio 44. Jan van Noordt is named as a creditor to the estate of his brother Jacobus van Noordt, who has declared bankruptcy.

1671, 18 December. G.A.A. 5072 (D.B.K.) 738, folio 49 (18 December 1671). Jan van Noordt, as creditor, claims items from the house of his brother Jacobus, including portraits of his father and grandfather and of his two brothers, and a *Granida and Daifilo*. Although the paintings are likely by him, he is not mentioned as their author.

"Johannes van Noort eyscher Contra de curateurs van de boedel van Jacob van Noort, Gedagen

Commissarisen admitteren eyscher als sijn eygen saeken te moogenemen de schilderijen hiernaer gespecificeert berustende inde boedel van Jacob van Noort, als naementlyck een schilderij van de eyschers beste vader en van syn vaeder twee van syn broeders, ende een schilderij van Granida en Deyfilo. Bij aldus de eysscher by eede sal willen verclaeren van deselve schilderijen eygen toe behoren welckx eed hij geconsenteert by eed te doen, Actum et presentibus utsupre."

(Johannes van Noordt plaintiff against the trustees of the estate of Jacob van Noordt, summoned.

The commissioners allow the plaintiff to take as his own property the paintings hereafter specified in the estate of Jacob van Noordt, namely a painting of the plaintiff's dear father and of his grandfather[,] two of his brothers, and a painting of Granida and Daifilo. The plaintiff wishes herein to declare under oath that the same paintings belong to him which he consented to do under oath.)

1673 July (no specific date). N.A.A. 3032, Notary Henrik Venkel, (not paginated). Jan van Noordt empowers the wine merchant Pieter van Hartochvelt to collect his debts for him.

"Heeden den [] Julij 1673 compareerde voor mij Henrik Venkel, Nots. Pb. in presentie van naergen. getn. Hr. Johannes van Noort, won. binnen deser stadt, verbleken bij desen verclaerde te constitueren Hr. Pieter van Hartochvelt, wijnkoper alhier, omme van alle hijgel. sijne debieturen t'eijsschen en ontfangen, sodanige sommen van penn., als Edln der seven bevonden sal werden aen hem const. schuldich te zijn, volgen die reken ende bescheijden daer en zijnde, der geconst. ten hande gestelt, en. ontfn. quitantie te veragteren, ende voor naermaninge (ist noot) te causeren, alle opposanten ende weijgenaers tot betalen bij behooven middelen gerechten te constiugeren ter dien eijnde van dEhr Schepen Extrs, dHrn. Commisse van. desolate Boedels, zee, en kleijne saken, ende voor hoedanige andere heren, hoven gerechten, ende rechteren, Daert. ende

eijsschen sal, ende commiseren aldaer op ende jegens eenen tegen t'ageren ende recht te spreken, so wel eijsschen, als verwensn. in omnibus ad lites in communis forma. ende voorts te Beloven, aldus gedaen t'Amst. punt."

(Today the [] July 1673 before me Henrik Venkel, Notary Public in the presence of witnesses mentioned below, appeared Mr Johannes van Noort, living in this city, and herewith declares to appoint Mr Pieter van Harochvelt, wine buyer here, to collect and demand from all the debtors named by him, such sums of money as the Honourable Seven shall deem to be owed to him the party, according to the relevant figures and documents that have been given to the Appointee and to undertake to secure the receipt and to issue a warning (if necessary) to bring to payment all those who resist and refuse using the appropriate legal means to this end with the Honourable Justices Extraordinary, the Committe of Bankrupt Estates, Sea and Small Affairs and before such other Lords, courts of justice, and judges, shall claim against them and submit there to and against to act against and to demand justice, demands, as much as requests, in everything according to the usual way, and furthermore to promise, thus done in Amsterdam etc.)

1674, 16 April. N.A.A. 373 1a, Notary Pieter Sas (*Mimutacten*), fol. 115r,v: Jan van Noordt appoints the merchant Jacob van den Tempel (brother of the artist Abraham van den Tempel) to collect debts for him.

"Op Huijden den 16de April a^o 1674 compareerde voor mij Pieter Sas Notaris publicq ende in presentie van de naebest. getuijgen Hr. Johannes van Noort woonende op de blomgracht binnen deser stede, ende verclaerde den voorn. comparant geconstitueert ende machtigh gemaect te hebben sulcx doende mits desen d'eersame Jacob van den Tempel, mede wonende alhier, om uijt sijn comparants naem ende van sijn nent wegen alle sijnne saeken waer te nemen - alle schulden actien en pretentien die bij sijn voorn:- geconstitueerde alrede opgegeven heeft en noch bekent maken sal te innen vordern ende te ontfangen, van allen ontfangen quitantie te passeren ende voor naermaningh, ist noot, te causeren - alles inde min en vrintschap ist doenelijck, indien met door middelen van Justitie, tot dien eijnde te compareren voor alle heeren gerechten ende rechteren als vereijsschen ende requireren sal ende aldaer op ende tegens reparij gelijcken der Hr: debiteuren, ende alle andere hen parthijie makende te ageren ende recht te spreken soo int eijsschen als verweren in omnibus ad lites in communi forma: sententien te versoeken, te hooren promuntieren, die to doen executeren ende de saecken ten uijte eijnde toe te vervolgen, authoriserende hij comparant sijn voorn. geconstitueerde mede: om met een ijgelijck te mogen accorderen, compromisseren ende verdragen, tot dien eijnde in te gaen tijkenen ende passeren soodanige compromissen accorderen ende andere actein met ofte sonder pena onder ofte sonder condemnatie van soodanigen heren hoven ende gerechten als requireren sal, ende voorts noch in desen soo in als buijten rechten alles meer te doen ende ten laten sals hij comparant selfs present sijnde soude konnen often mogen doen,

alwart ook soo dat de sake nader ofte speciaelder last vereijsschen dan voorn: staet, Beloovende ende: alles oprecht gedaen t/ Amsterdam ter presentie van Gijsbert ende Johannes Tenchinck als get. ende"

Joan: V. Noordt
 gijsbert tenchinck
 johannes tenchinck
Quod attestor
 Pieter Sas
 Nots

(Today the 16th of April 1674 appeared before me Pieter Sas Notary Public and in the presence of witnesses mentioned below Mr Johannes van Noort living on the Bloemgracht in this city, and the abovenamed party declared to have appointed and empowered herewith the honourable Jacob van den Tempel, also living here, to take account of all his affairs in his name and at his behest, to collect all debts such as the abovementioned party has already submitted and will disclose[,] to demand the payment and to collect, to cause receipt of all that is collected, and to issue warning if necessary, everything in love and friendship as is common, if necessary by means of Justice, to this end to appear before all Lords of Justice and judges as will be demanded and required[,] and there to act to and against restitution just as the Lord debtors and all others who take stand[,] to act and demand justice in demanding as well as in claiming in everything according to the usual way: to seek sentences, to declare, and to see done, and to pursue every case as far as is possible, the party authorizes the aforementioned Appointee also, to make arrangements, settle compromises with everyone, and other acts with or without penalty such as the Lord Justices and Judges shall require, and furthermore in these as well as out of court to do and to have done just as if the party would be able to do if he himself were present, even if the affair requires greater special trouble than aforementioned: Promises and everything done rightfully in Amsterdam in the presence of Gijsbert and Johannes Tenchinck as witnesses etc.)

1675, 2 May. N.A.A. 4370, Notary Silas van Jaerlant (*Mimutacten*), fols. 195r,v. At the behest of a certain Abraham Blanck, an inventory is drawn up of the contents of a house on the Egelantiersgracht. It had been occupied by the painter Jan van Noordt and the "Eye-master" (possibly an spectacle-maker) Mr. Valencijn, who had vacated it recently. Even though the document claims that the two men had been living there, the goods left behind more closely reflect use as an atelier, than as a residence.

"Op huijden den 2 Maij 1675 hebbe ick Silas van Jaerland nots. publ. de. mij uijten name en van wegen Abraham Blanck neffens den selven gemelt sijn huys staende eijnde Egelantiers gracht alwart voor desen, soo mij geseijt een, Mr. Valenteijn oogmeester

ende Johannes van Noort schilder gewont hadden ende eergisteren daer uijt vertrocken waren en aldaer de naervolgende goederen, mij in het voorn. hujs bevonden , geinventariseert ende opgest. door mij, het meeste ende kleijnde (zoo het niet wegende) goet op het achterkamertje boven de keucken geslag ende versegelt

*omtrent 25 stux tijkengoet
drie en twintige boecken ofte
bondels soo kljn als groot tijken
werck gebonden in een bondel
linnen deeckens, en secreet koffertje
ende een kussen
drie houten doosjens en twee boeckjes
een stuck root trijp [~~crossed out~~]
een (portret en eenige blommen) [~~crossed out~~] hoofd van een man
eenige bloemen
een portraict van een vrou
twee kleyne hoofjes
een begonne stuck met drie tro.
een portret van do. danckerts
twee paneelen
een stuk root trijp met een
satijne rock
eenige boecken
een lantaren*

in de (binnen kamer [~~crossed out~~]) keuken

*twee tafels [~~crossed out~~]
een hout tafeltje
twee stoelen*

op de solder

*9 peeneelen
2 stoelen
2 tafeltjes
2 esels om op te schilderen*

in't voorhujs

*een christus
een contrefeijtsel van een out man
een bort met den turckxsen oogmeester*

*Aldus desen geïnventarisert op wes en
dato — present Daniel Luycken en
Johannes Martini als getuigen*

IJaarland
not publ.

JMartini
D: Luycken

(Today the 2nd of May, I, Silas van Jaarland notary public, in the name of and at the behest of Abraham Blank beside the same aforementioned his house standing at the end of the Egelantiersgracht where previously, so I am told, a Mr. Valentijn eye-master and Johannes van Noort painter had lived and vacated the day before yesterday; and the following goods there, found by me in the aforementioned house, inventoried and drawn up by me, the most and the small goods, that were not heavy, stored in the back room and sealed.

- 25 pieces of drawing material
- 23 books or bundels of large and small drawings, bound in bundels
- linen blankets, a privy-chest,
and a small pillow
- 3 wooden boxes and 2 small books
- a head of a man
- some flowers
- a piece of red tripe [crossed out]
- a (portrait and some flowers [crossed out]) head of a man
- a portait of a woman
- 2 small heads
- a work just begun, with 3 heads
- a portrait of Do.[minee] Danckerts
- 2 panels
- a piece of red imitation velvet, and a satin skirt
- some books
- a lantern
- In the (inside room [crossed out]) kitchen,
- 2 tables [crossed out]
- a small wooden table
- 2 chairs
- In the attic,
- 9 panels
- 2 chairs
- 2 small tables

- 2 painting easels
- In the front room,
- a Christ
- a portrait of an old man
- a panel with a Turkish Eyemaster [?]

In sum these inventoried on the aforementioned date as present Daniel Luycken and Johannes Martini as witnesses)

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Hartford 1949

Pictures Within Pictures, Hartford, Connecticut (Wadsworth Atheneum), 1949

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Kingston 1984

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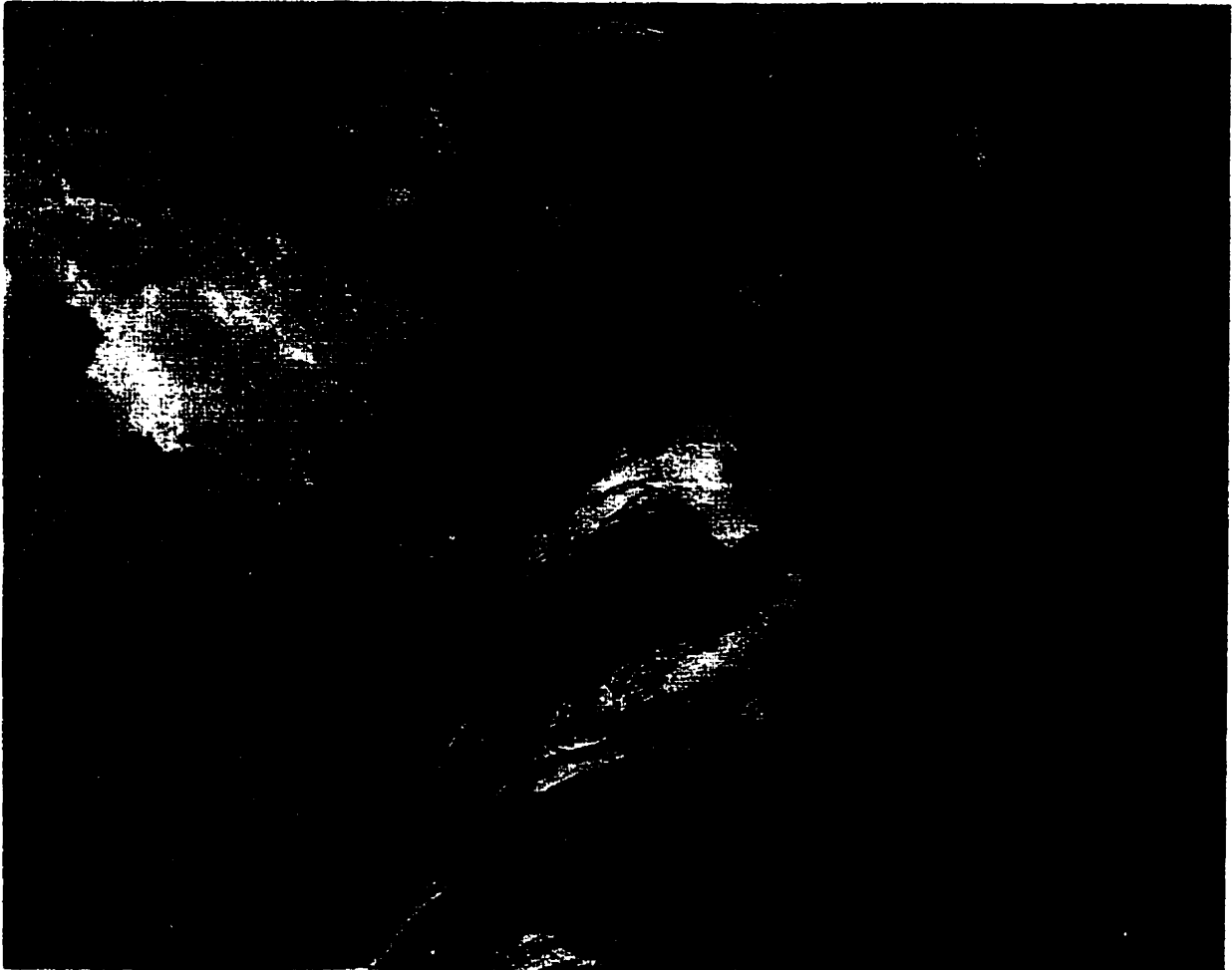
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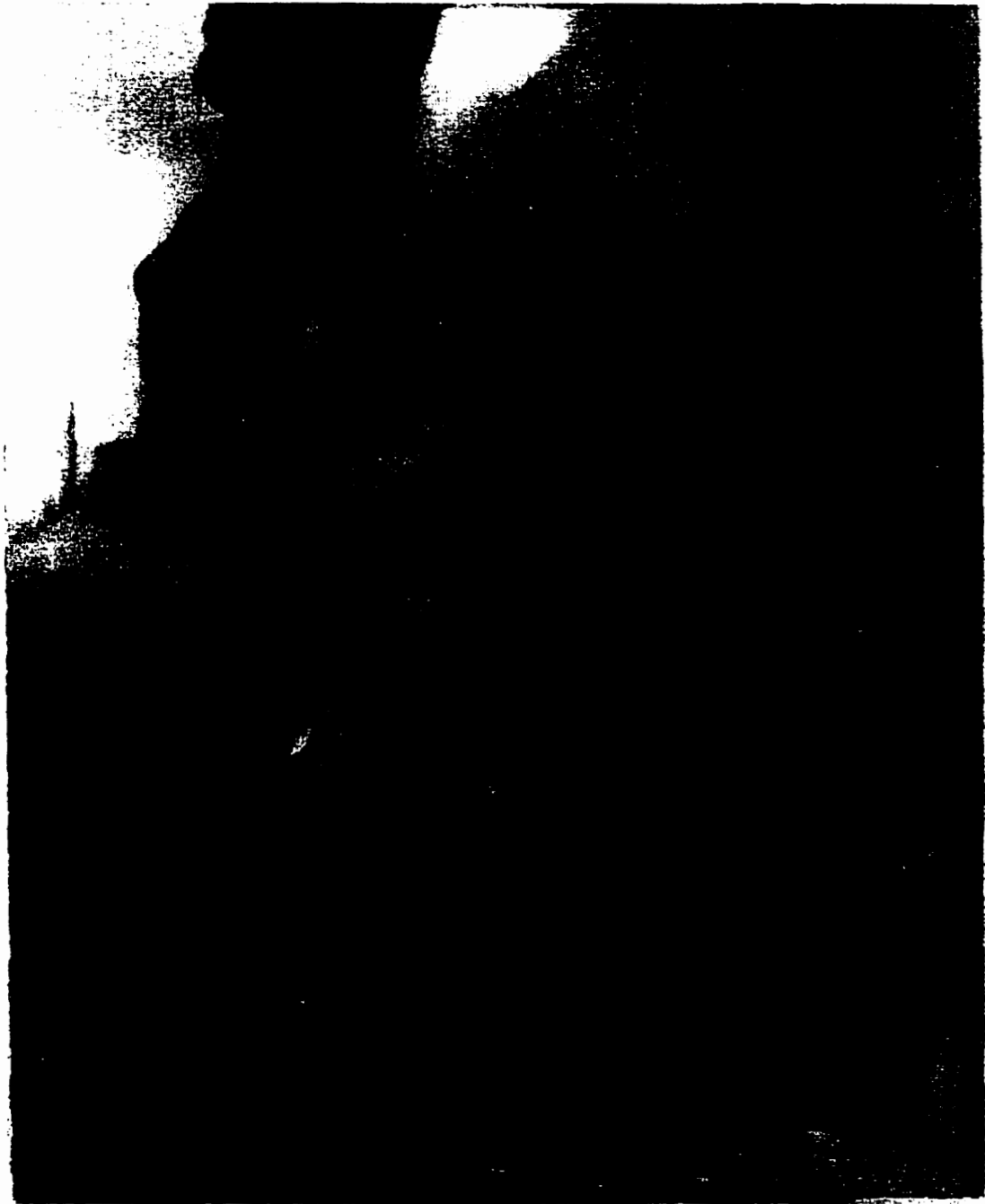
Cat. no. 3. *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah*, canvas, 40 x 60 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. 4. *The Triumph of David*, canvas, 135 x 176 cm, signed and dated 166-, present location unknown



Cat. no. 5. *David*, canvas, 64 x 53 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. 6. *Susanna and the Elders*, canvas, 113 x 93.5 cm, Utrecht, Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent



Cat. no. 7. *Susanna and the Elders*, canvas, 168 x 146 cm, Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste



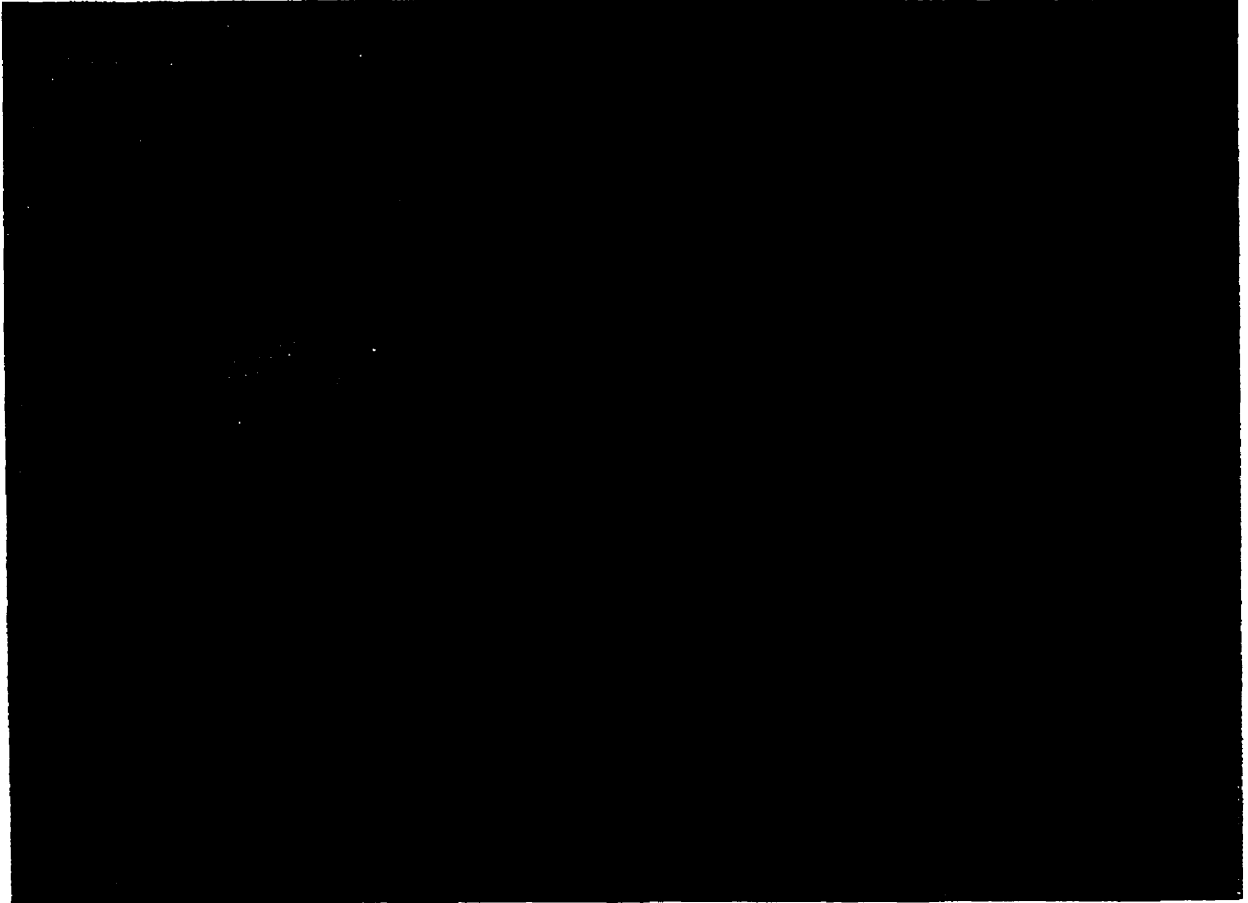
Cat. no. 8. *Susanna and the Elders*, canvas, 124 x 86 cm, Winterthur, collection of Gino Comuzzi



Cat. no. 9. *St John the Baptist Preaching*, canvas, 86 x 116 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. 10. *St John the Evangelist*, canvas, 70 x 50 cm, The Hague, private collection



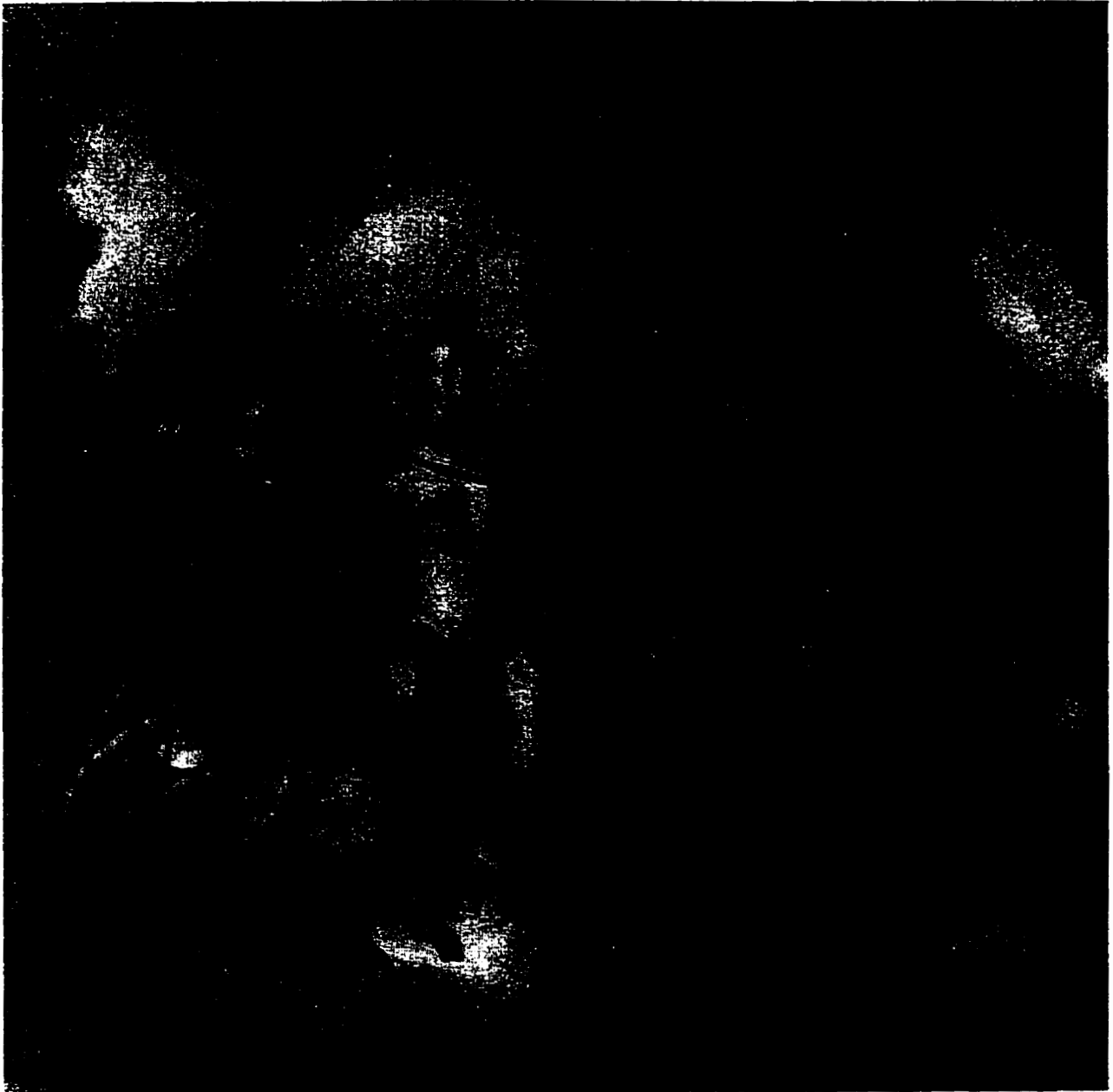
Cat. no. 11. *Mary and the Christ Child*, canvas, 88 x 124 cm, signed and dated 1676, Gavnbø, Gavnbø Castle Foundation



Cat. no. 12. *The Massacre of the Innocents*, canvas, 91 x 110 cm, Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre



Cat. no. 13. The Crucifixion, canvas, 105 x 94, Avignon, Musée Calvet



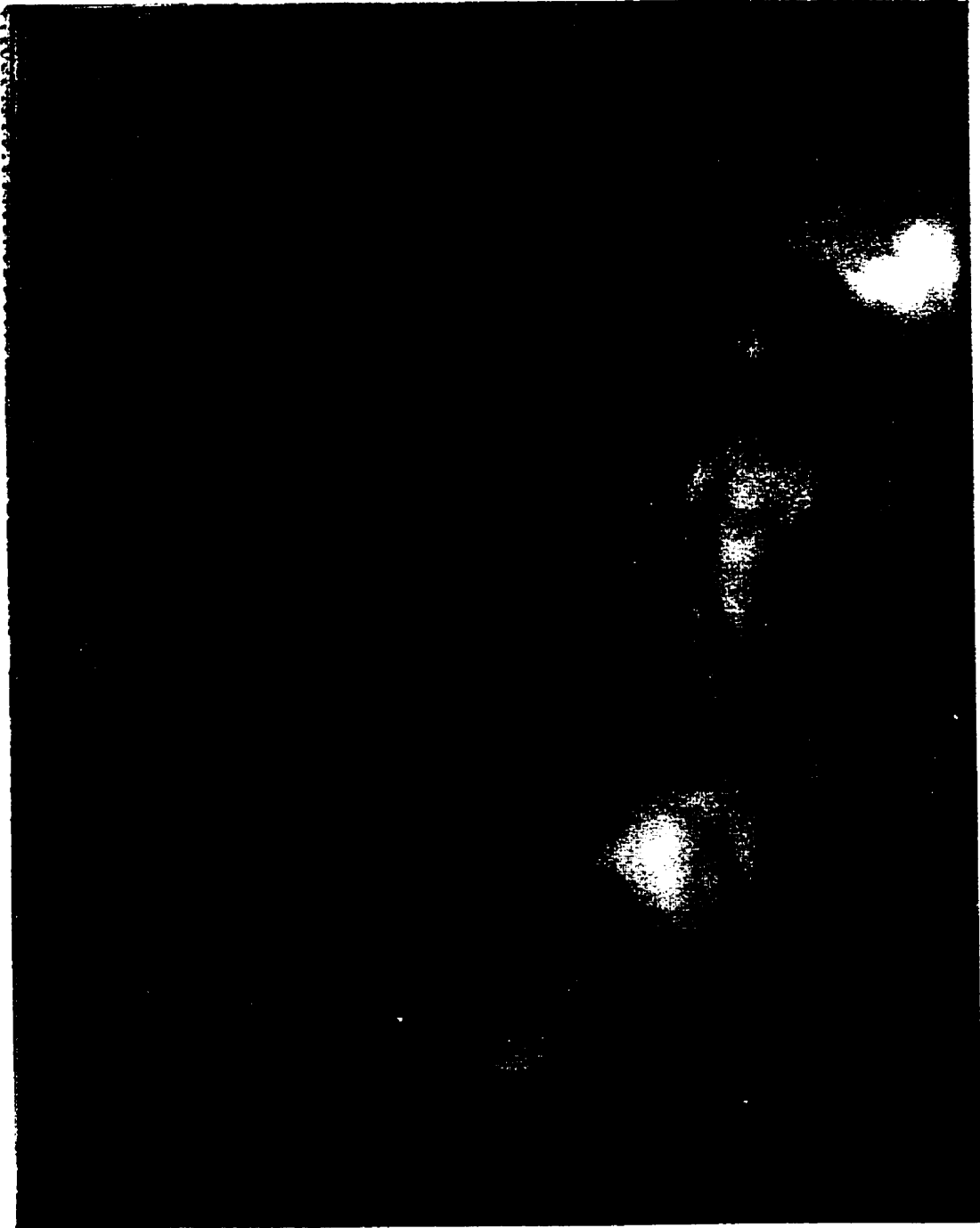
Cat. no. 14. *Juno in the Clouds*, canvas, 275 x 287 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

Cat. no. 15. *Jupiter and Callisto*, panel, 77 x 107 cm, present location unknown

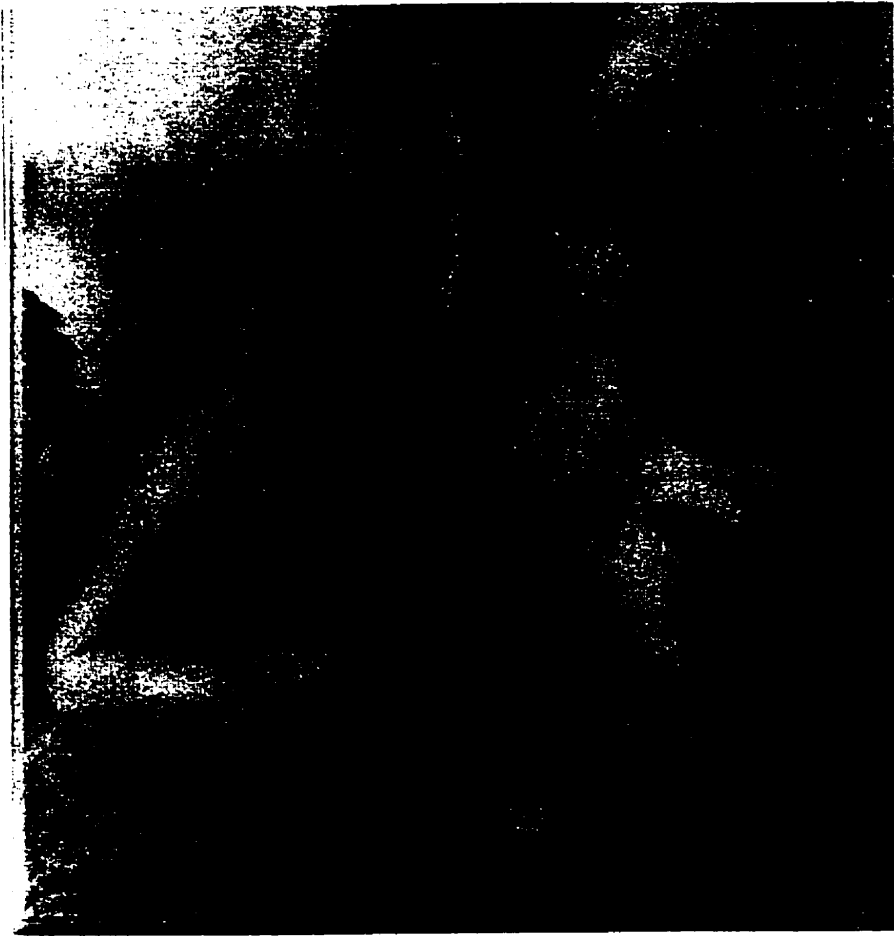




Cat. no. 16. *Venus and the Three Graces*, canvas, 79 x 65.5 cm, The Hague, Instituut Collectie Nederland



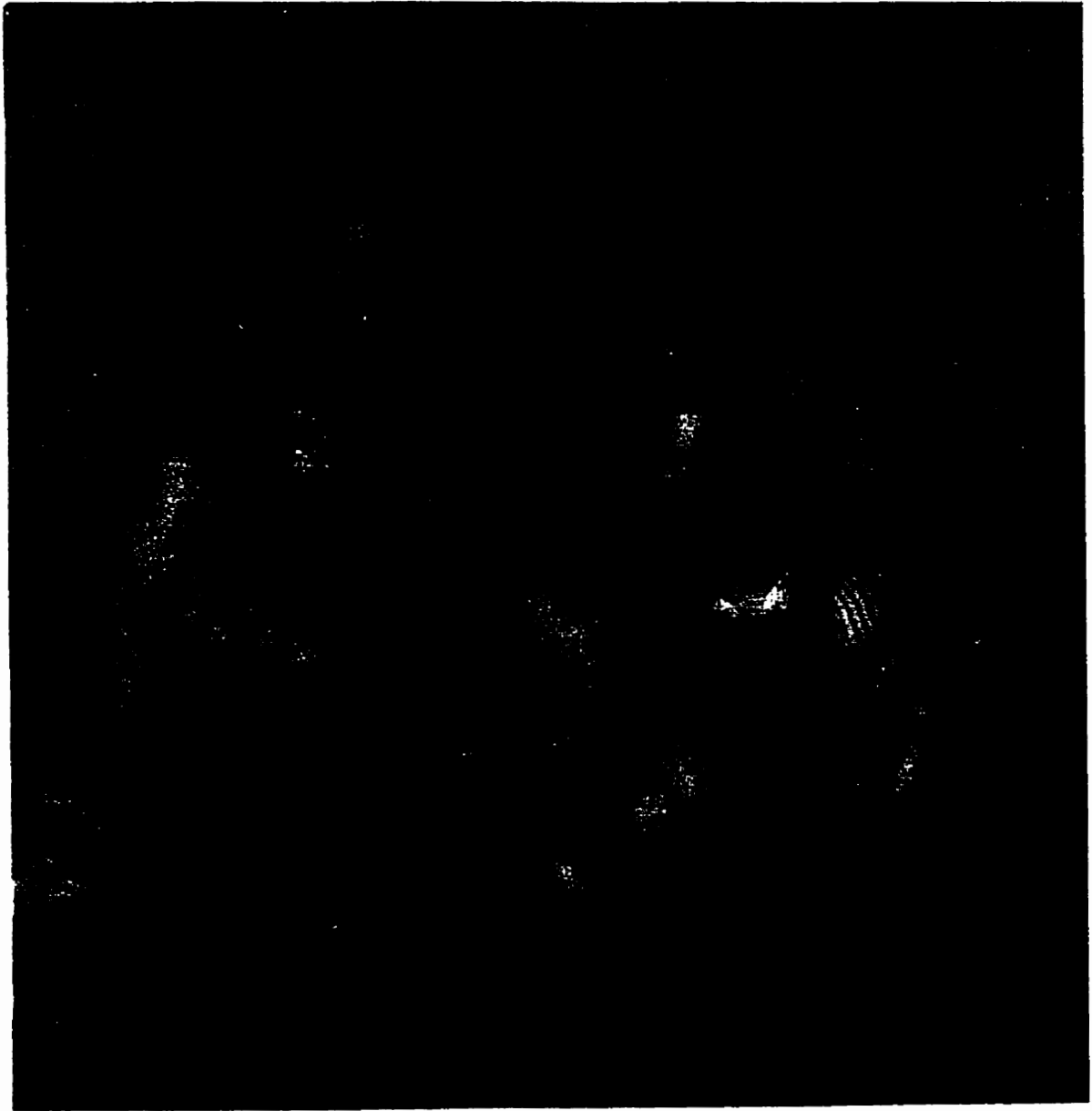
Cat. no. 17. *Nymphs and a Satyr*, canvas, 83 x 67 cm, The Hague, Instituut Collectie Nederland



Cat. no. 18. *Sine Ceres et Libero friget Venus*, present location unknown



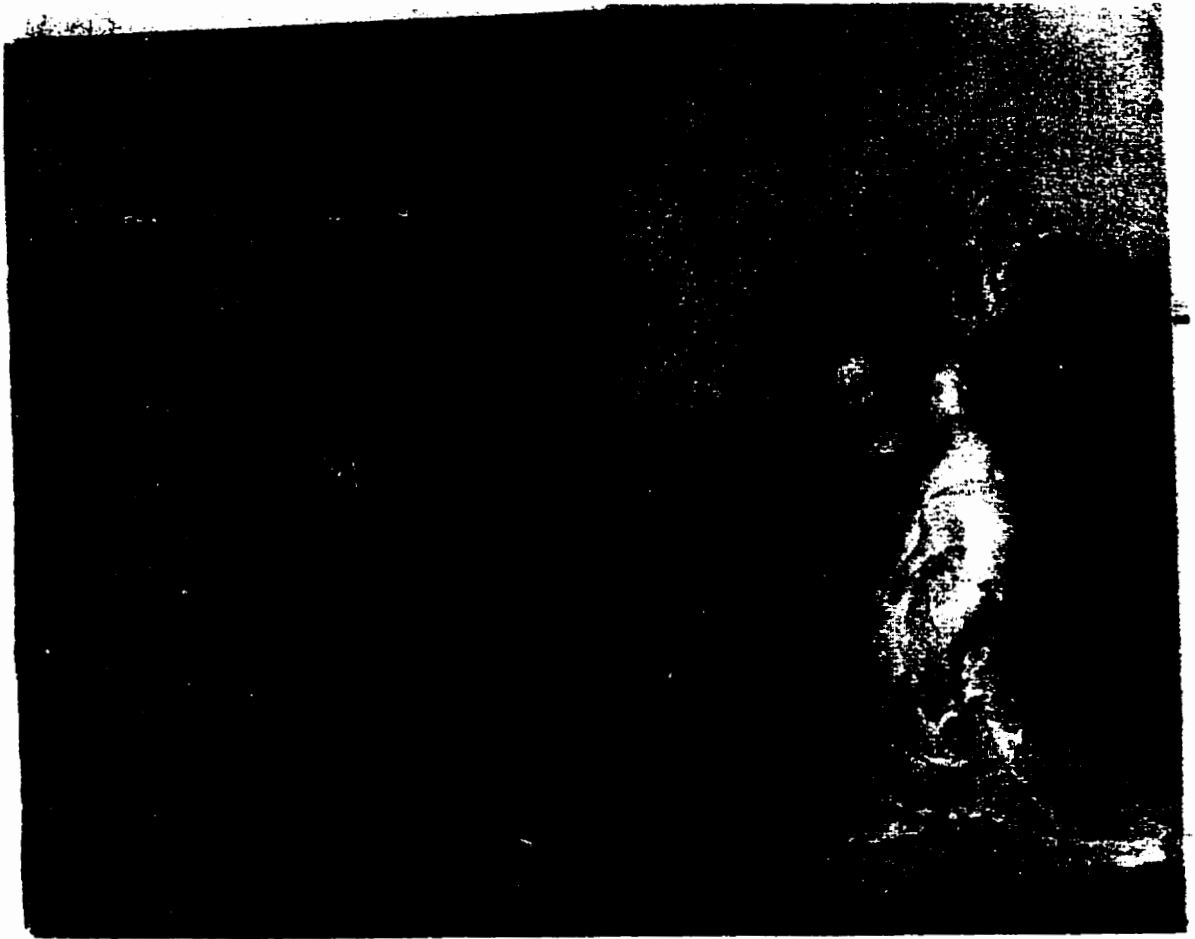
Cat. no. 19. *The Satyr and the Peasant Family*, canvas, 80 x 96.5 cm, Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre



Cat. no. 20. *Caritas*, canvas, 62.2 x 61.5 cm, Milwaukee, collection of Mr. and Mrs. William C. Treul



Cat. no. 21. *Cloelia Crossing the Tiber*, canvas, 86 x 107 cm, Paris, Louvre



Cat. no. 22. *The Magnanimity of Scipio*, canvas, 130 x 167 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. 23. *The Magnanimity of Scipio*, canvas, 103 x 88 cm, signed and dated 1672, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Cat. no. 24. *Cimon and Iphigenia*, canvas, 104.8 x 149.2 cm, signed, present location unknown.



Cat. no. 25. *Cimon and Iphigenia*, canvas, 94 x 122 cm, Cherbourg, Musée Thomas Henry



Cat. no. 26. *Cimon and Iphigenia*, canvas, 77.5 x 96.5 cm, signed and dated 1659, Göttingen, Art Collection of Göttingen University



Cat. no. 27. *Pretioze and Don Jan*, canvas, 132 x 170 cm, New York, Adam Williams Fine Art



Cat. no. 28. *Pretioze and Don Jan*, canvas, 130 x 167.5 cm, Linschoten, Huis Linschoten Foundation



Cat. no. 29. *Granida and Daifilo*, canvas, 94.6 x 85.7 cm, Sydney, Art Gallery of New South Wales



Cat. no. 30. *Granida and Daifilo*, canvas, 137 x 117 cm, signed and dated 1663, present location unknown



Cat. no. 31. *A Shepherdess and a Goatsherd in a Landscape with Animals*, canvas, 83 x 115 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. 32. *Musical Company on a Terrace*, canvas, 75 x 61 cm, Berlin, Jagdschloß Grunewald



Cat. no. 33. *A Shepherd and a Shepherdess with a Bird's Nest*, canvas, 50 x 39 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. 34. *A Shepherd and a Shepherdess with a Basket of Fruit*, present location unknown



Cat. no. 35. *A Shepherdess with a Basket of Fruit*, canvas, 75 x 63 cm, Mänttä, Gosta Serlachius Museum of Fine Arts



Cat. no. 36. *A Shepherd Boy with a Wreath of Flowers*, panel, 61 x 53 cm, Lund, collection of Hugo Engelson



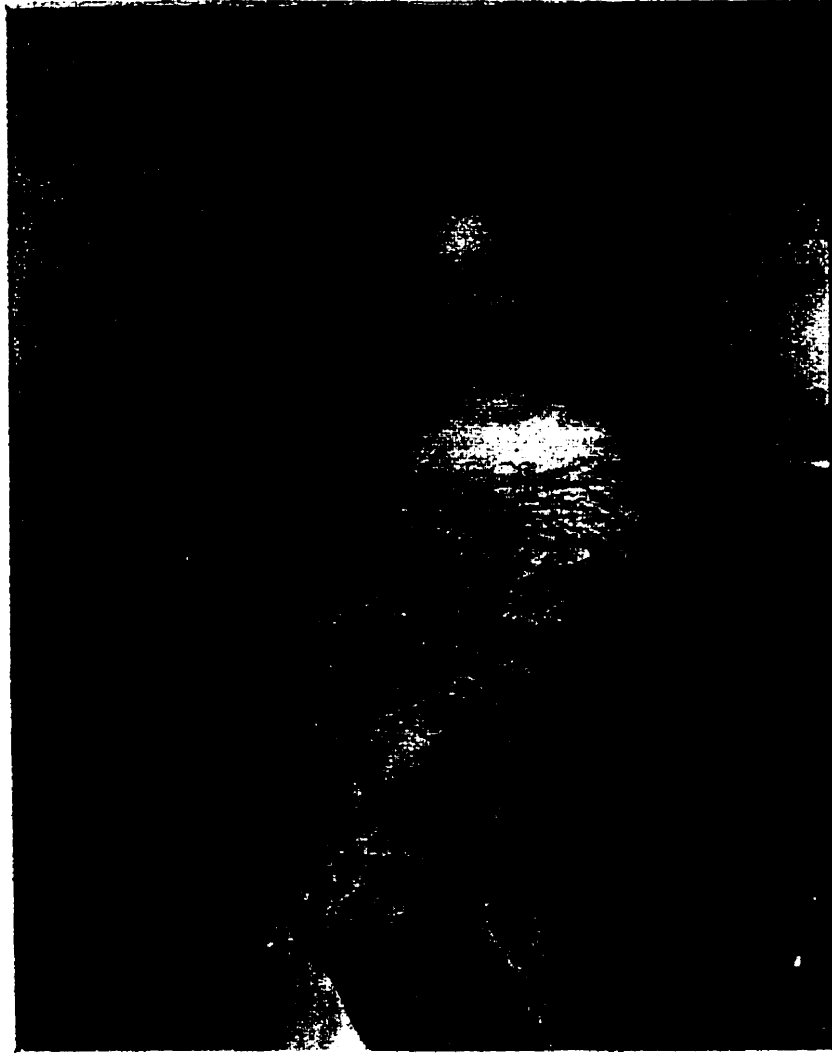
Cat. no. 37. *A Shepherd Boy with a Bird's Nest*, panel, 75 x 56.5 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. 38. *A Boy with a Dog and a Falcon*, canvas, 81.3 x 65.4 cm, signed and dated 1675, private collection



Cat. no. 39. *Portrait of a Woman wearing a Plain Kerchief and a Coif*, canvas, 73.7 x 54.5, signed and dated 1659, present location unknown



Cat. no. 40. *Portrait of a Woman on the Steps of a Terrace*, canvas, 113.5 x 91 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. 41. *Portrait of a Woman*, canvas, 81.2 x 64.5 cm, Angmering, West Sussex, collection of Peter and Susan Holland



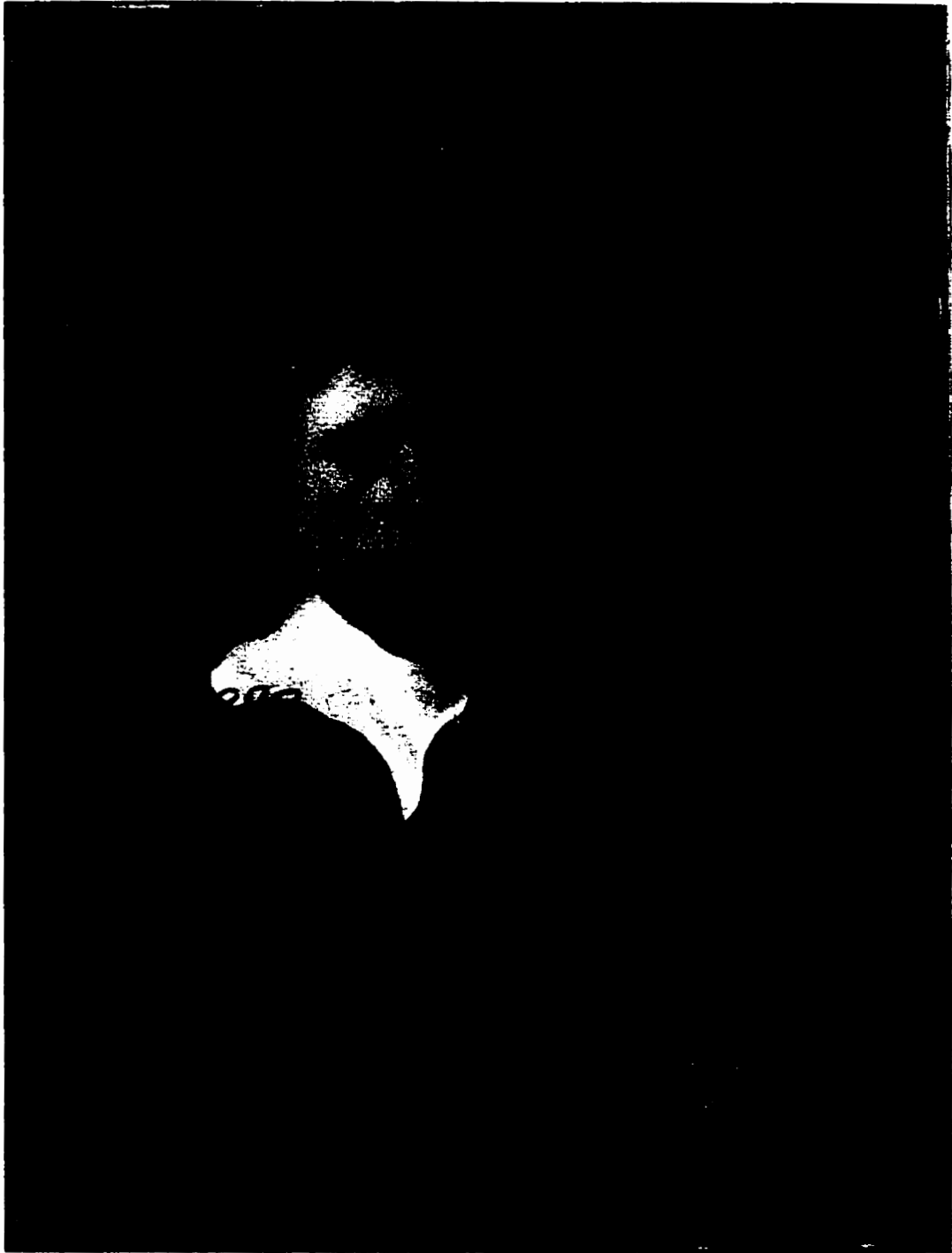
Cat. no. 42. *Portrait of a Woman*, canvas, 78 x 64 cm, London, Hall and Knight Gallery



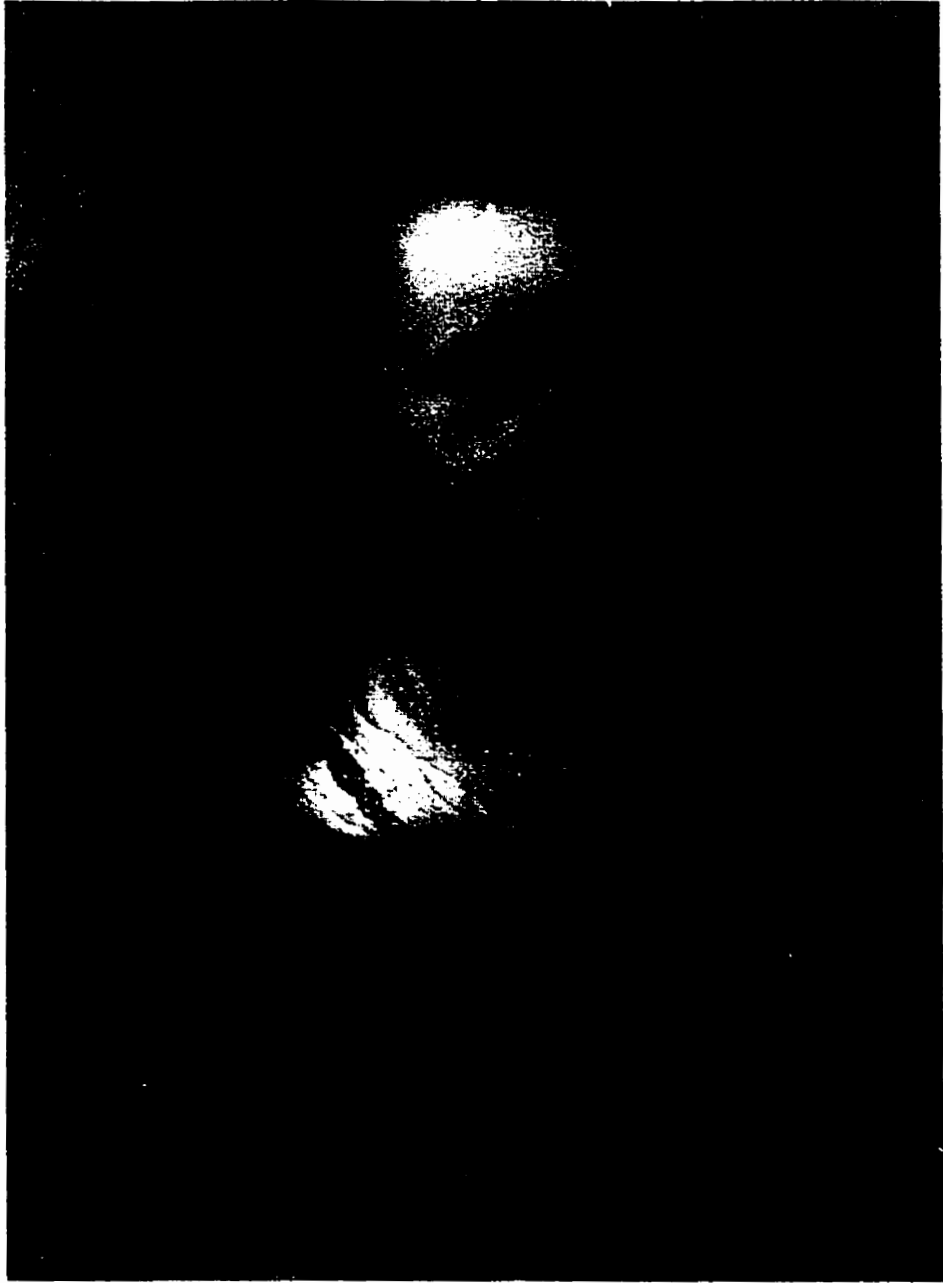
Cat. no. 43. *Portrait of Dionijs Wijnands*, copper, 20.5 x 16 cm, inscribed 1664, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Cat. no. 44. *Portrait of Dionijs Wijnants*, canvas, 124 x 103.5 cm, signed and dated 1664, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Cat. no. 45. *Portrait of a Boy*, canvas, 63.5 x 48.5 cm, Johannesburg, Johannesburg Art Gallery



Cat. no. 46. *Portrait of a Young Girl wearing a Beret*, canvas, 55.5 x 41.7 cm, Chatsworth, Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement



Cat. no. 47. *Portrait of a Young Man with his Dog*, canvas, 154 x 121 cm, signed and dated 1665, Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts



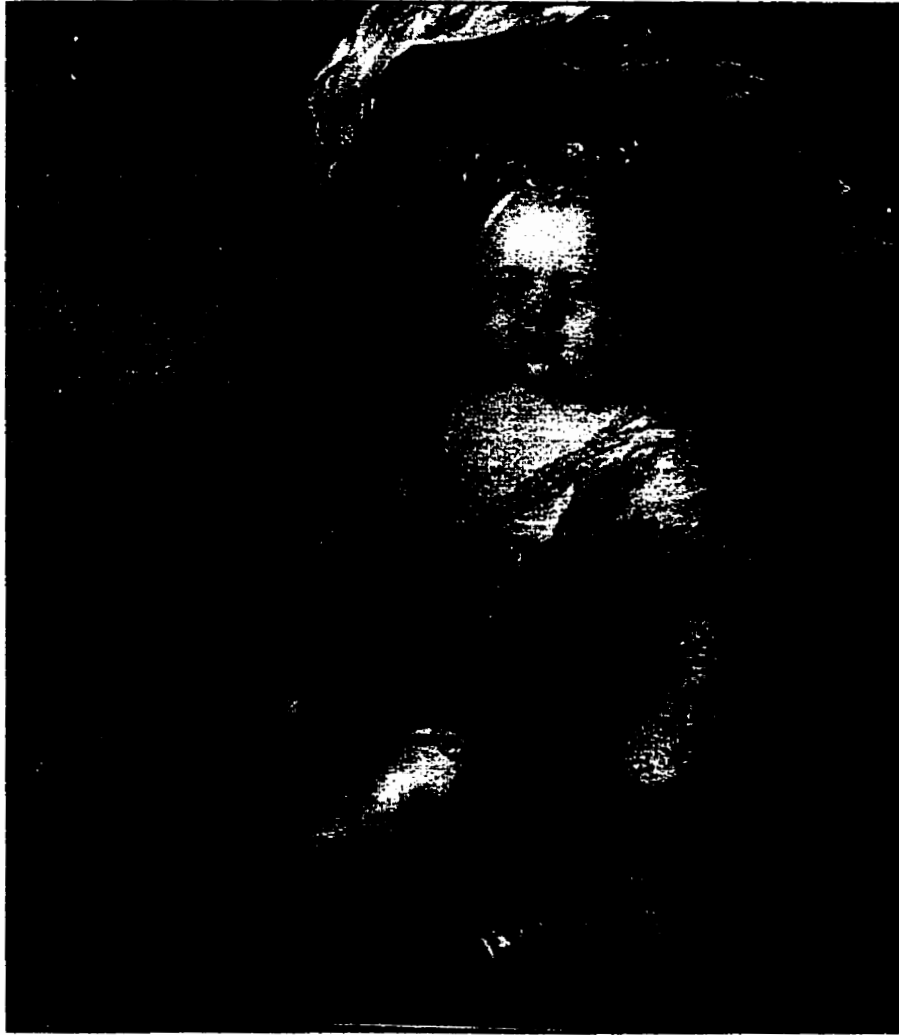
Cat. no. 48. *Portrait of a Boy with a Falcon*, canvas, 82 x 66 cm, London, The Wallace Collection



Cat. no. 49. *Portrait of a Boy with a Falcon*, canvas, 62 x 53 cm, London, Wallace Collection



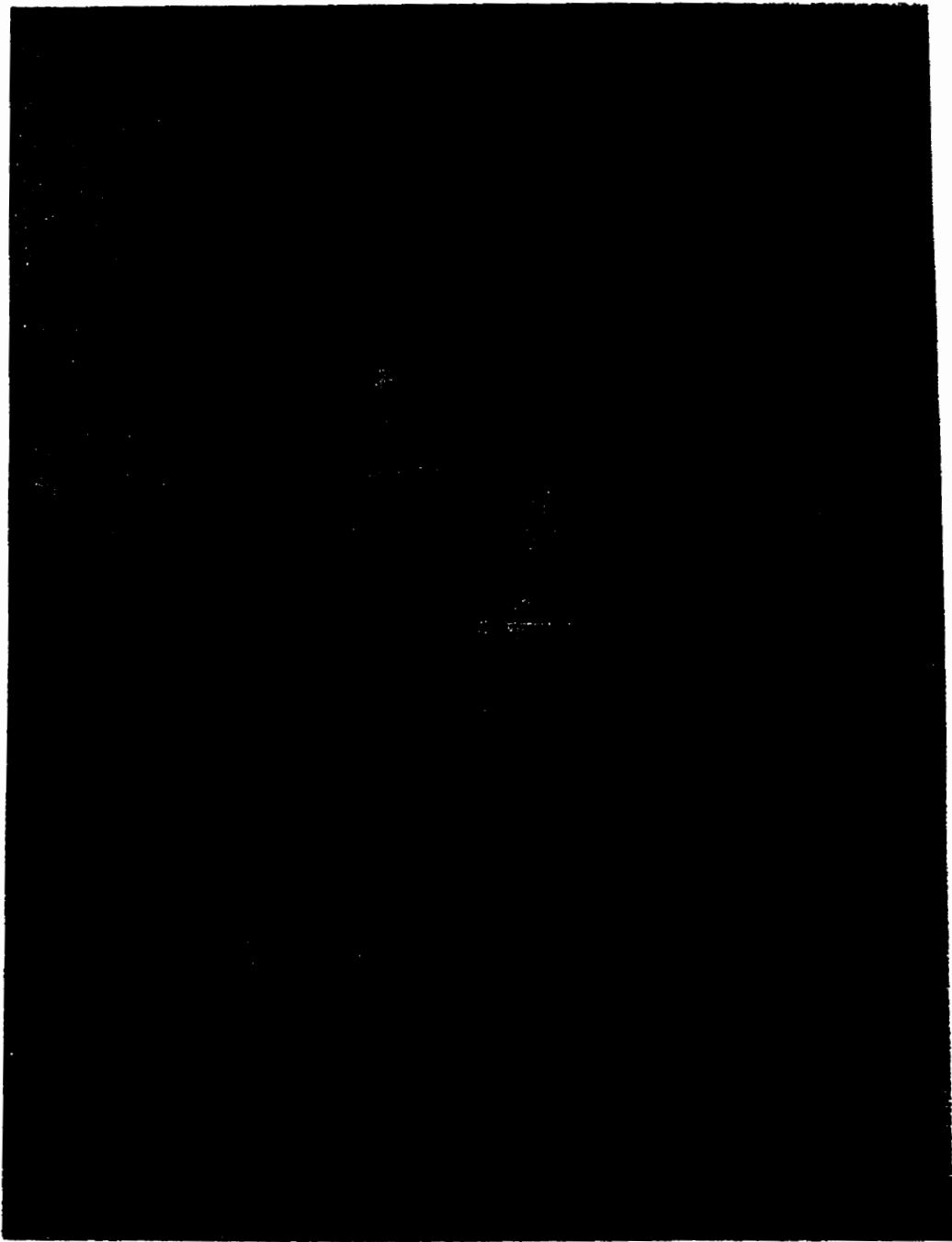
Cat. no. 50. *Portrait of a Boy with a Drum*, canvas, 120 x 103 cm, Brussels, Museum van Schone Kunsten



Cat. no. 51. *Portrait of an Infant Girl with Symbols of Love*, collection of Lady Jamieson



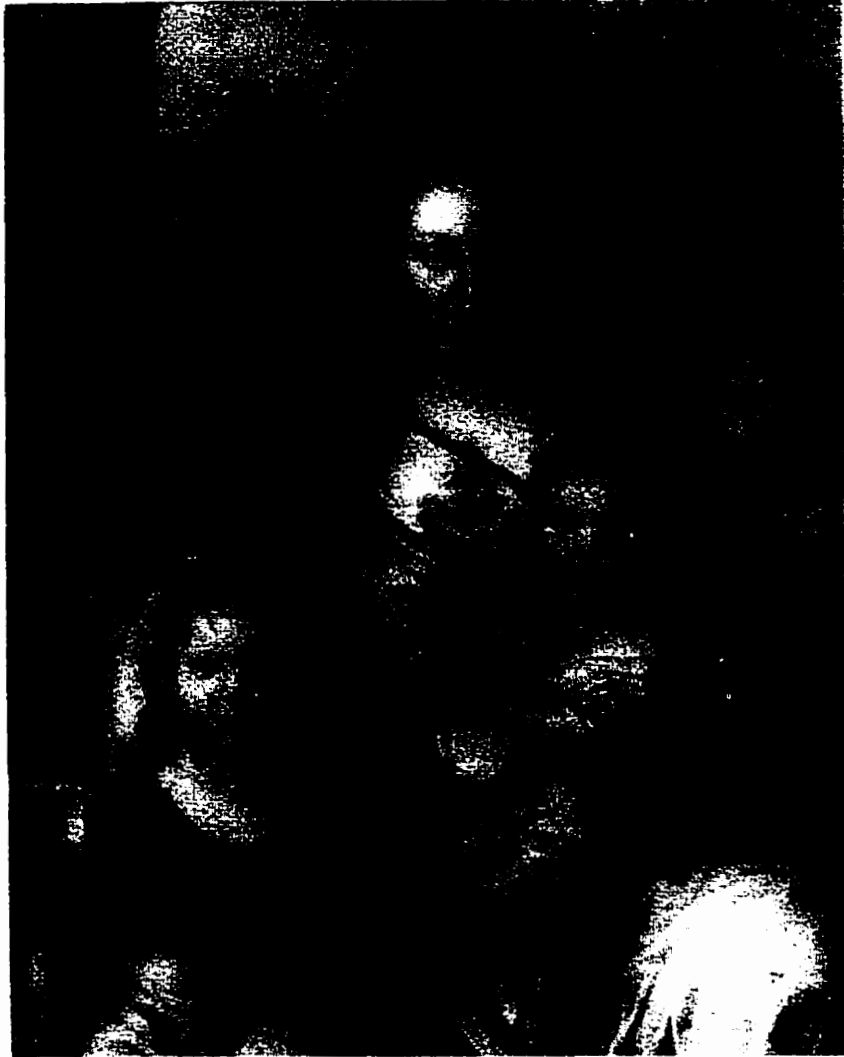
Cat. no. 52. *Portrait of a Girl with a Fan*, canvas, 58.5 x 49.4 cm, private collection



Cat. no. 53. *Portrait of Two Sisters and a Brother*, canvas, 160 x 117 cm, Zeist, Slot Zeist



Cat. no. 54. *Portrait of a Widow with her Two Sons*, canvas, 118 x 99 cm, Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Cat. no. 55. *Portrait of a Mother and her Three Children*, canvas, 106 x 87.5 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. 56. *Portrait of a Family*, canvas, 160 x 192 cm, Dunkerque, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Copy 1. *A Couple Playing Chess*, panel, 55 x 46 cm, present location unknown

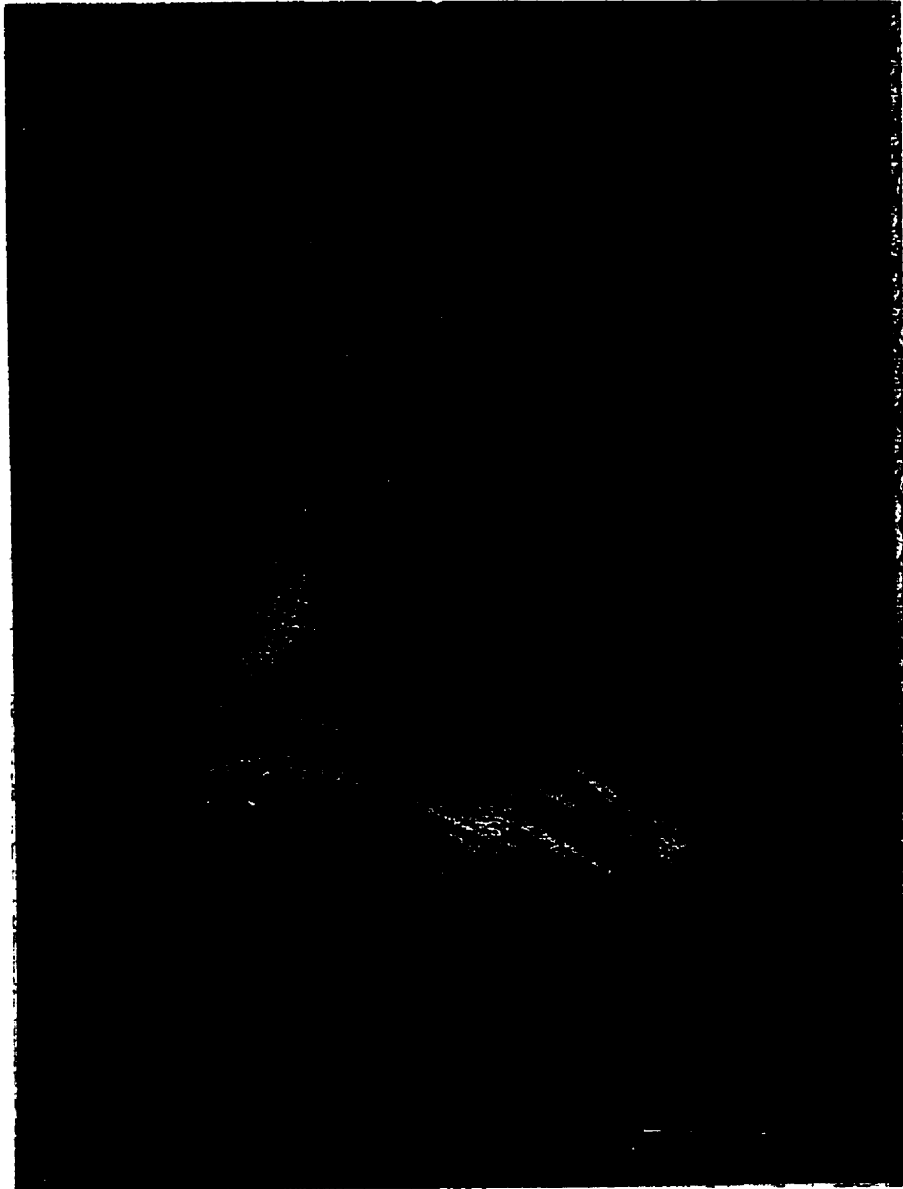


PETRUS PROELIUS ECCLESIASTES AMSTELÆDAMENSIS

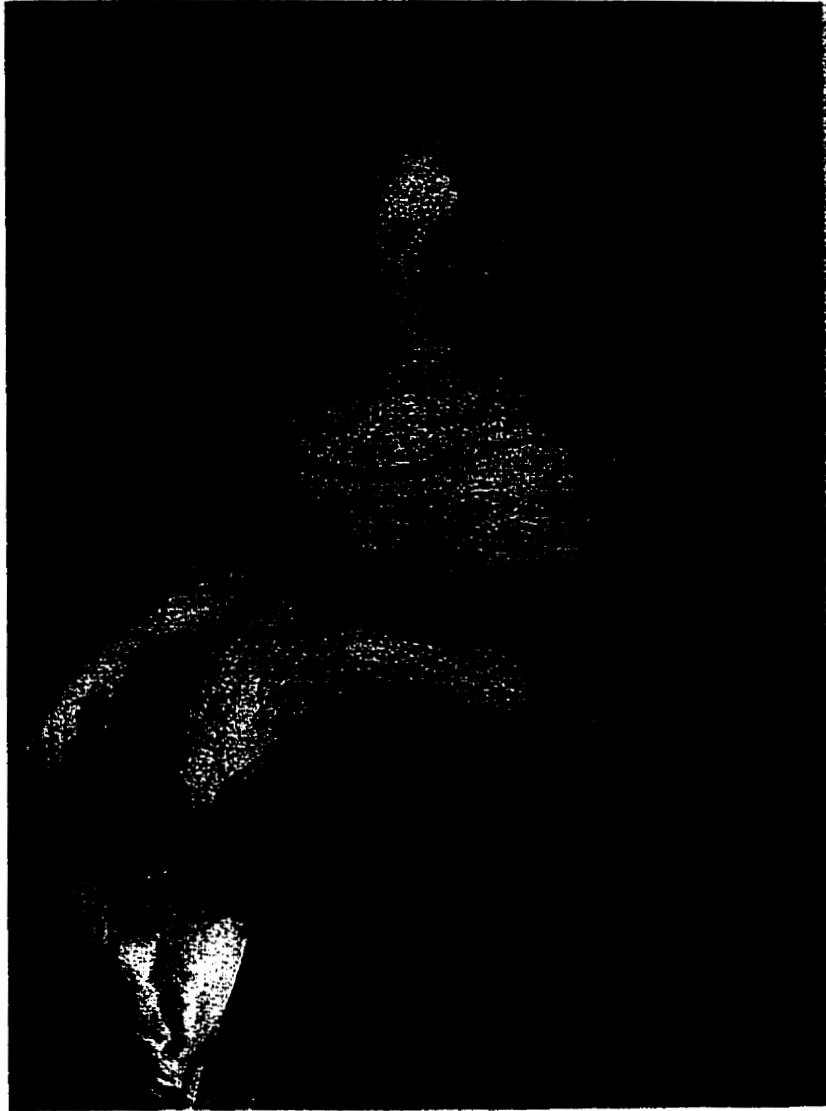
[Two columns of handwritten text in Latin script, likely a dedication or inscription.]



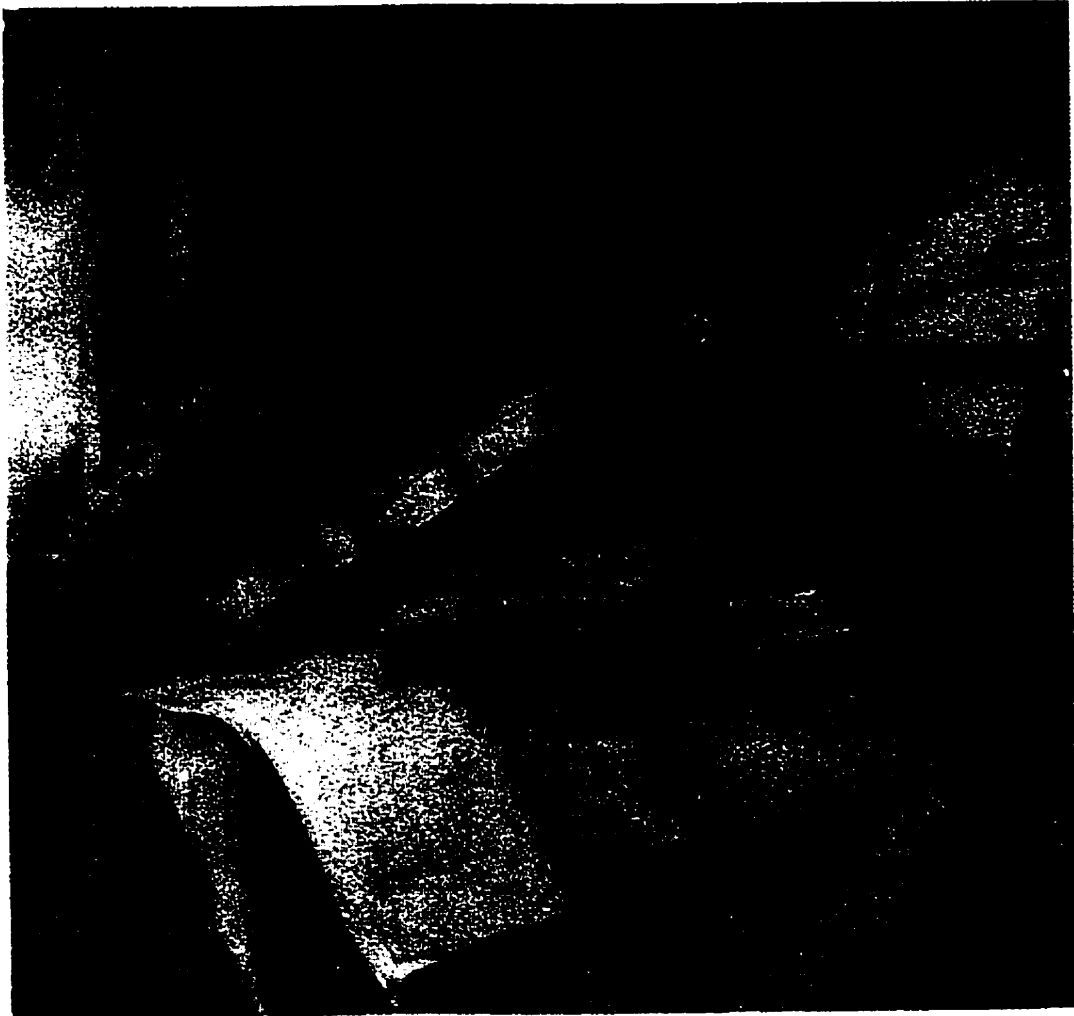
Cat. no. U1. *Flora*, canvas, 89 x 70 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. U2. *Profile Portrait of a Woman*, panel, 55 x 42 cm, Lier, Museum Wuyts- Van Campen



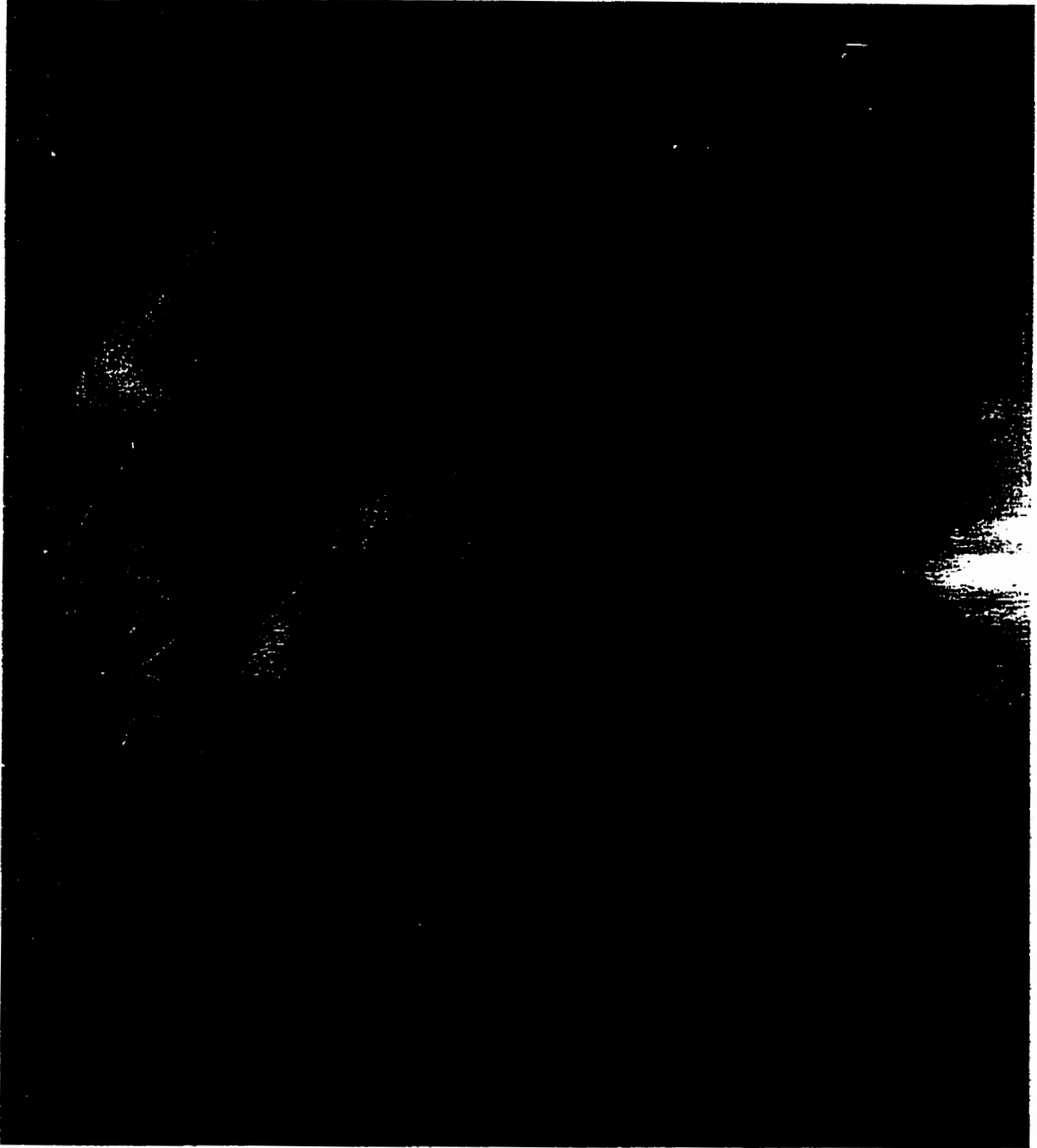
Cat. no. U3. *Portrait of a Woman with a Fan*, canvas, 116 x 88 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. U4. *Still Life with Musical Instruments*, canvas, 87.6 x 81.9 cm, New York, collection of Richard Kitchin



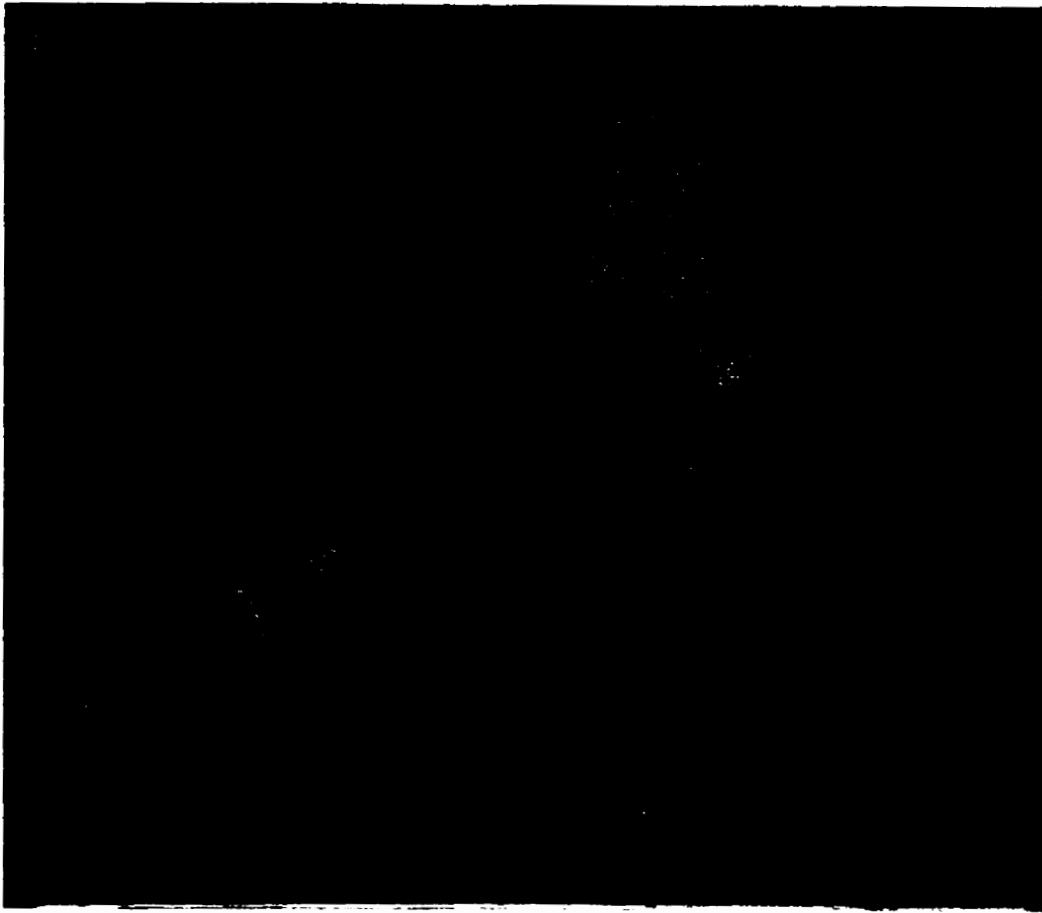
Cat. no. R1. *The Flight of Lot and his Daughters*, panel, 32 x 57 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R2. *Hagar and the Angel*, canvas, 130 x 114 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R3. *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah*, canvas, 69 x 115 cm, Hamburg, private collection



Cat. no. R4. *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah*, canvas, 81 x 95 cm, present location unknown



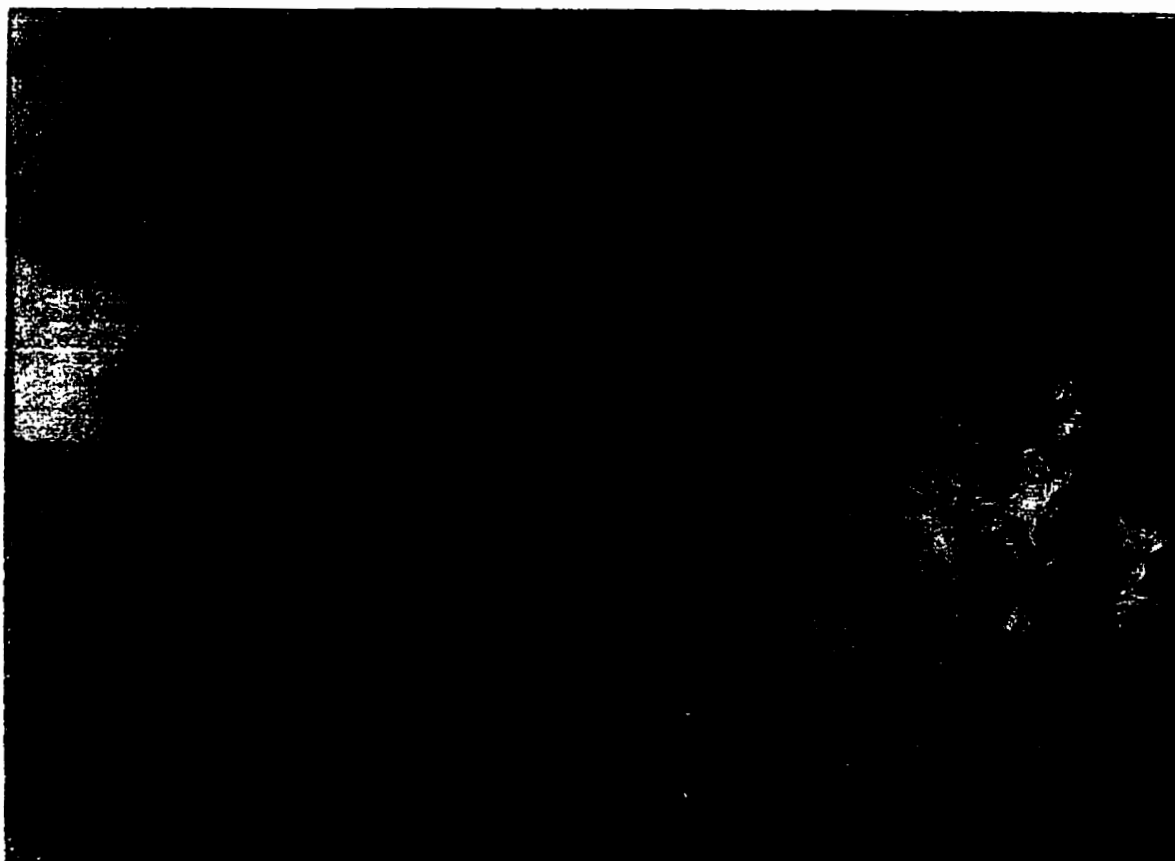
Cat. no. R5. *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah*, canvas, 64.7 x 90.5 cm, New York, Gutekunst & Co.



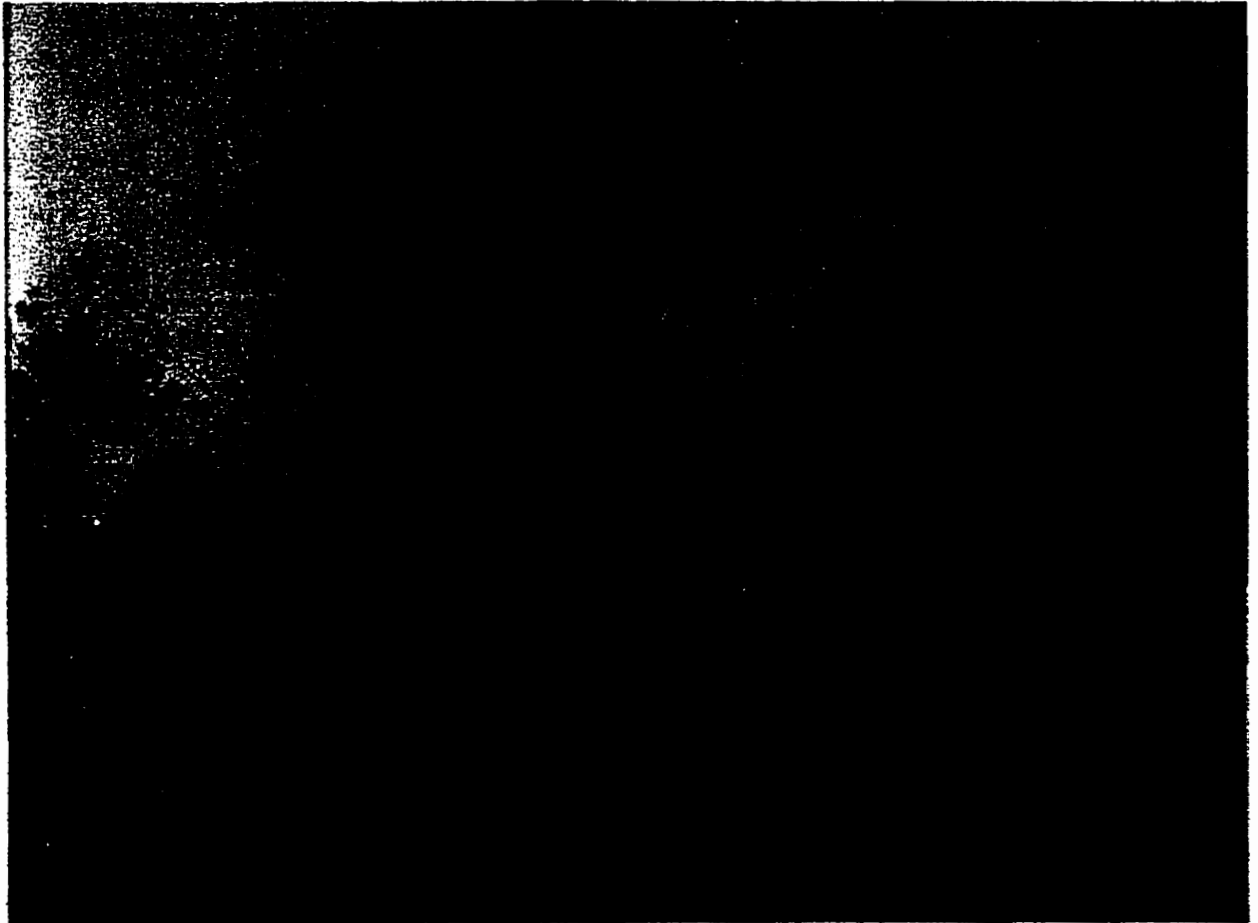
Cat. no. R6. *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah*, canvas, 90 x 114 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum



Cat. no. R7. *The Levite and his Concubine in Gibeah*, panel, 89 x 93 cm, Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts



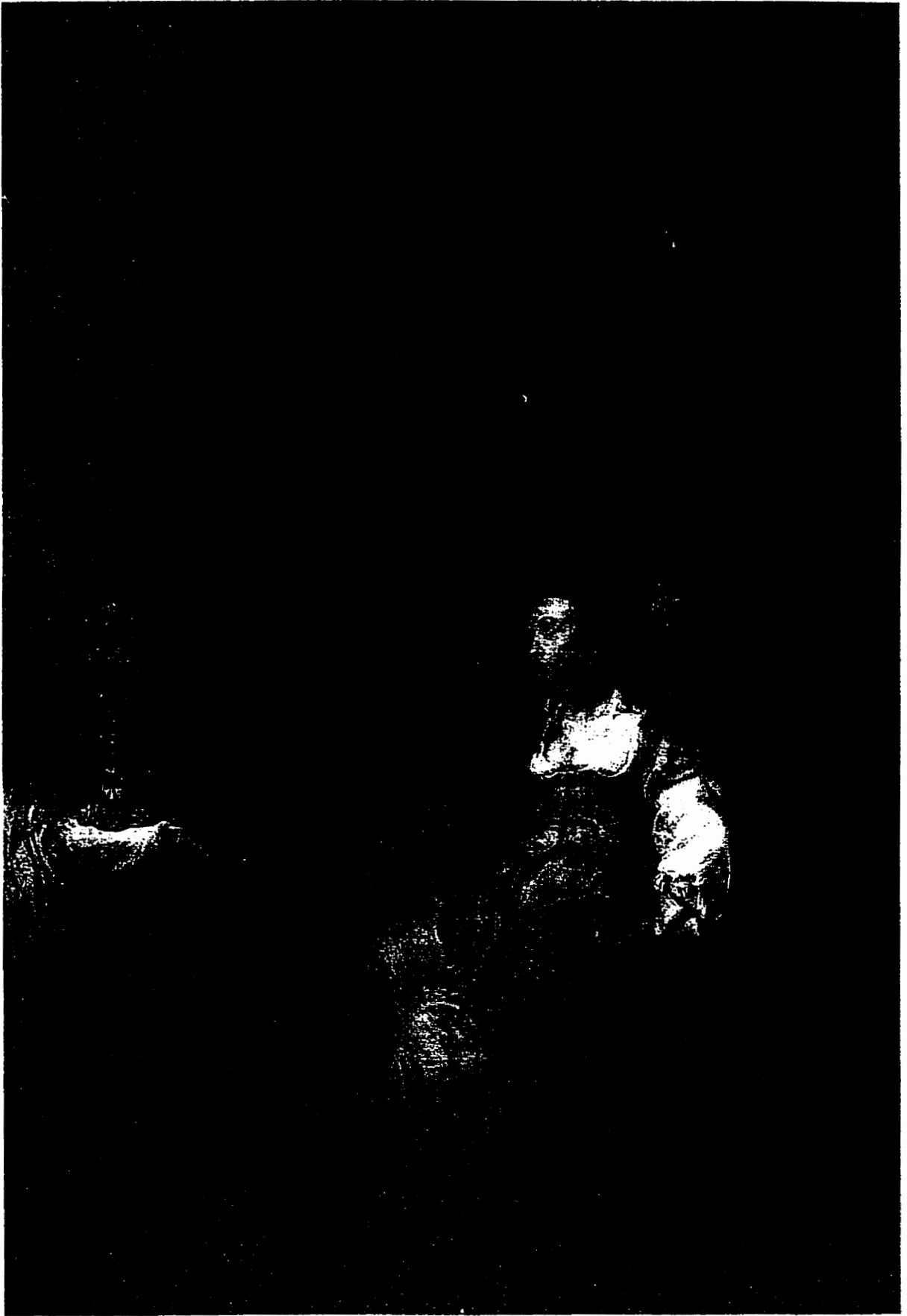
Cat. no. R8. *Nabal Refuses to Give Food to Nabal and his Men*, canvas, 122 x 85 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R9. Jan van Noort, *The Disobedient Prophet*, canvas, 115 x 154 cm, signed and dated 1653, Gavne, Gavne Castle Foundation



Cat. no. R10. *Ruth and Boaz*, copper, 32.2 x 38 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R11. *Esther at her Toilet*, panel, 105.5 x 78 cm, Europe, private collection



Cat. no. R12. *A Priest before a King*, 86.5 x 142.5 cm, present location unknown

Cat. no. R13. *Tobias is Frightened by the Fish*, canvas, 80 x 100 cm, present location unknown





Cat. no. R14. *The Departure for the Flight into Egypt*, canvas, 72 x 63 cm, Munich, Staatliche Gemäldesammlungen



Cat. no. R15. *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, canvas, 92 x 68.8 cm, St Petersburg, Hermitage



Cat. no. R16. Jürgen Ovens, *Mary, Elizabeth, and St John*, canvas, 73.7 x 56.5 cm, Europe, private collection



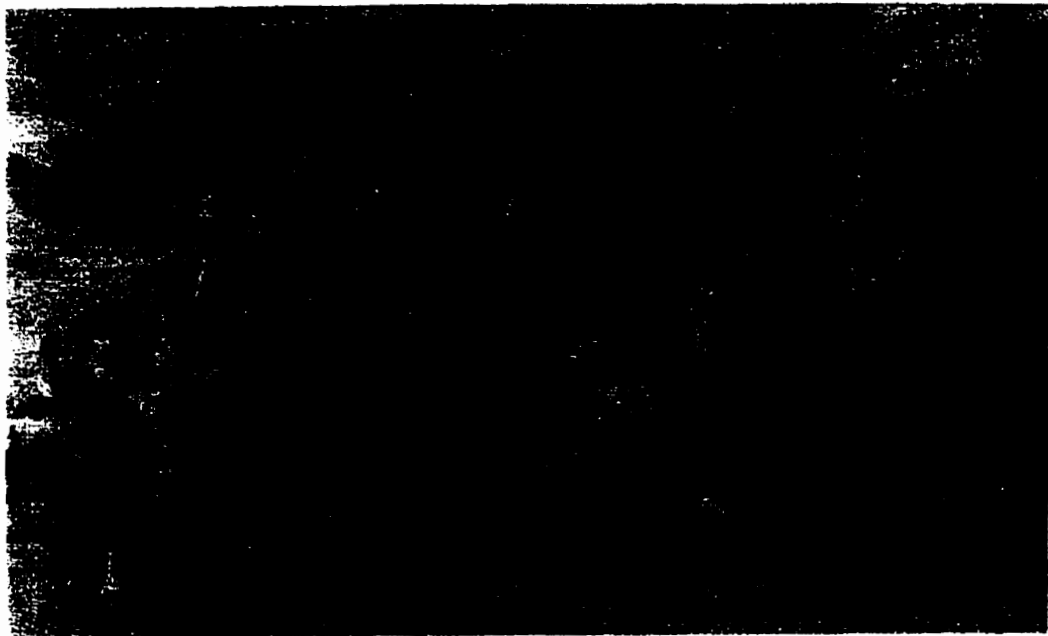
Cat. no. R17. *St. John the Baptist Preaching*, panel, 49.5 x 65 cm, Oldenburg, Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte



Cat. no. R18. *The Baptism of Christ*, canvas, 69 x 85.5 cm, present location unknown



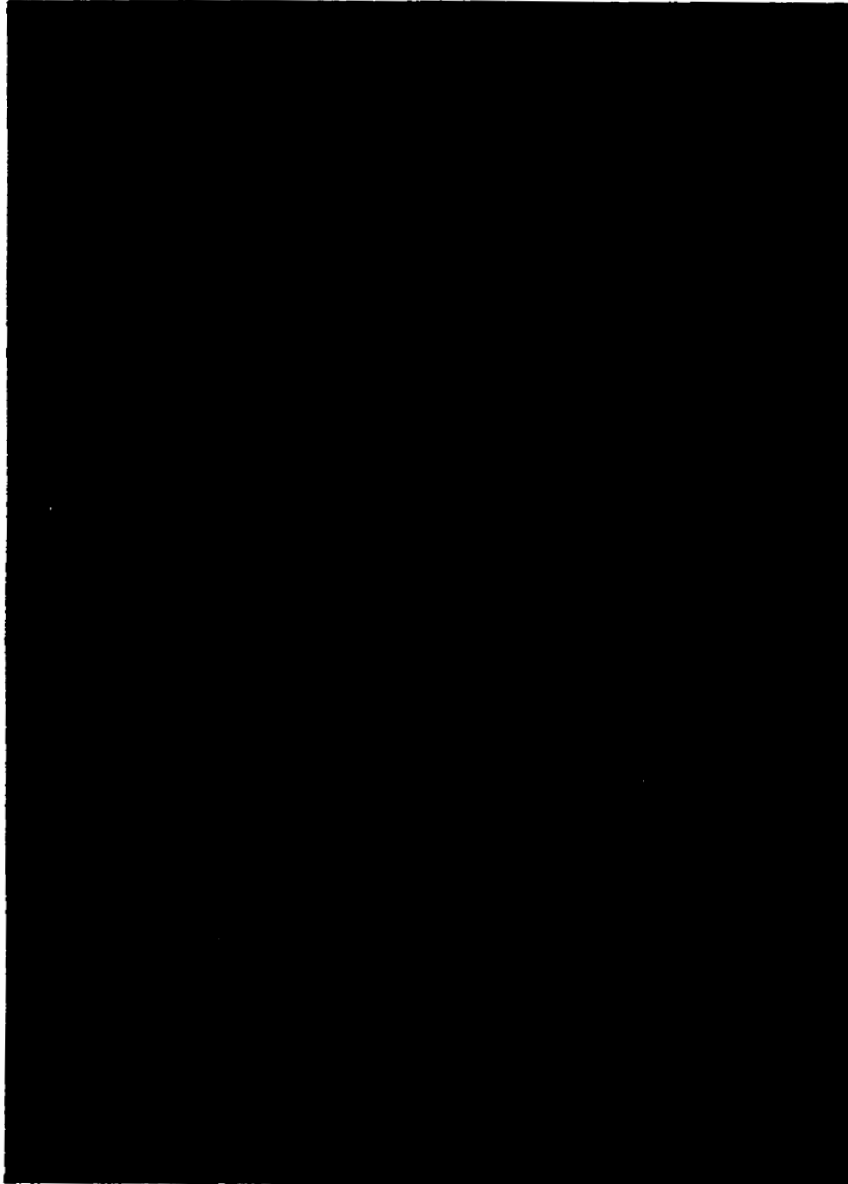
Cat. no. R19. *Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well*, panel, 51 x 64 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R20. Willem van Oort, *Christ and the Canaanite Woman*, panel, 75.5 x 123.5 cm, Utrecht, Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent



Cat. no. R21. *The Crucifixion*, canvas, 82 x 70 cm, Amersham, collection of Ms. H.C.W. Dally



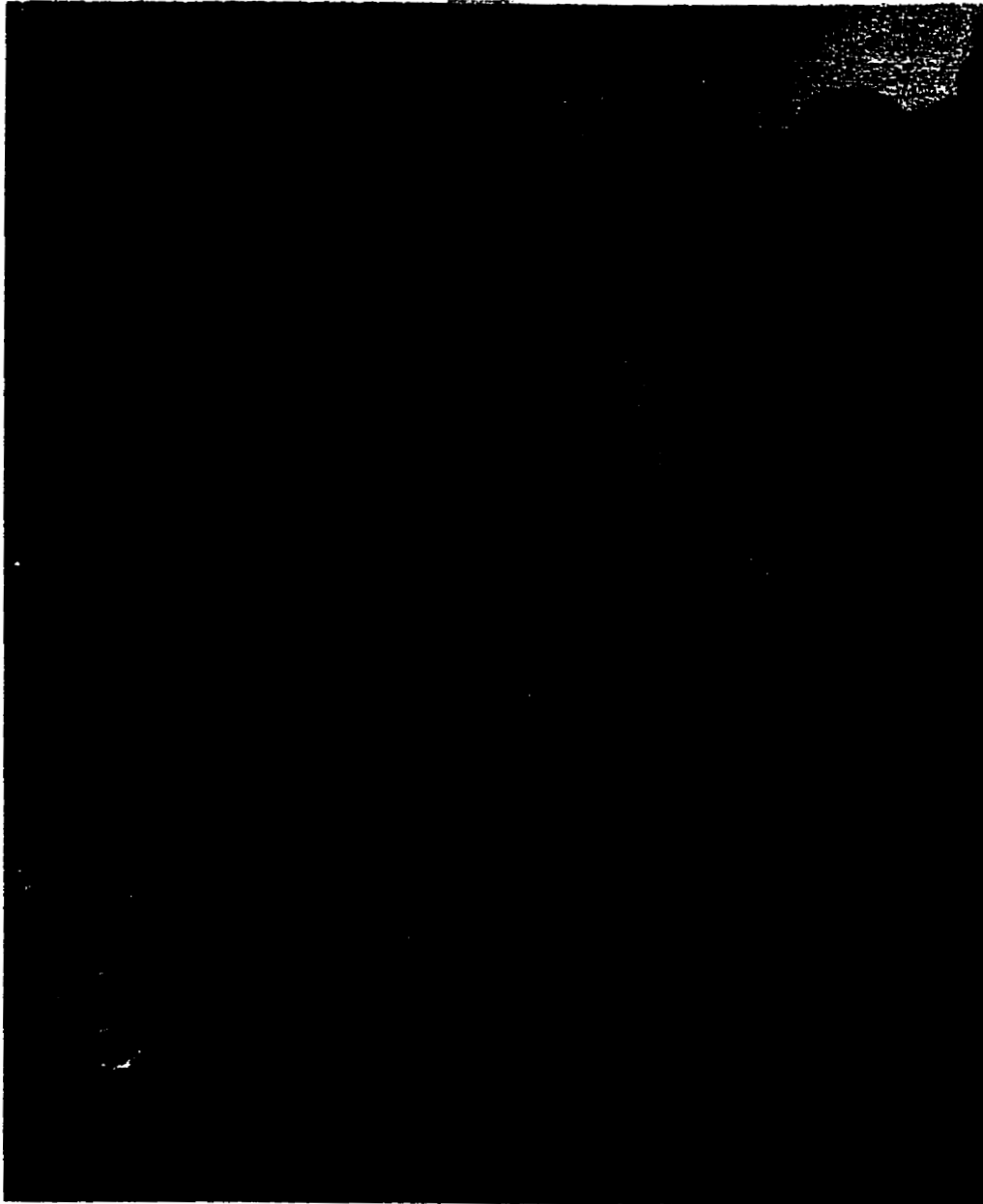
Cat. no. R22. *St Agnes*, canvas, 116 x 91 cm, present location unknown



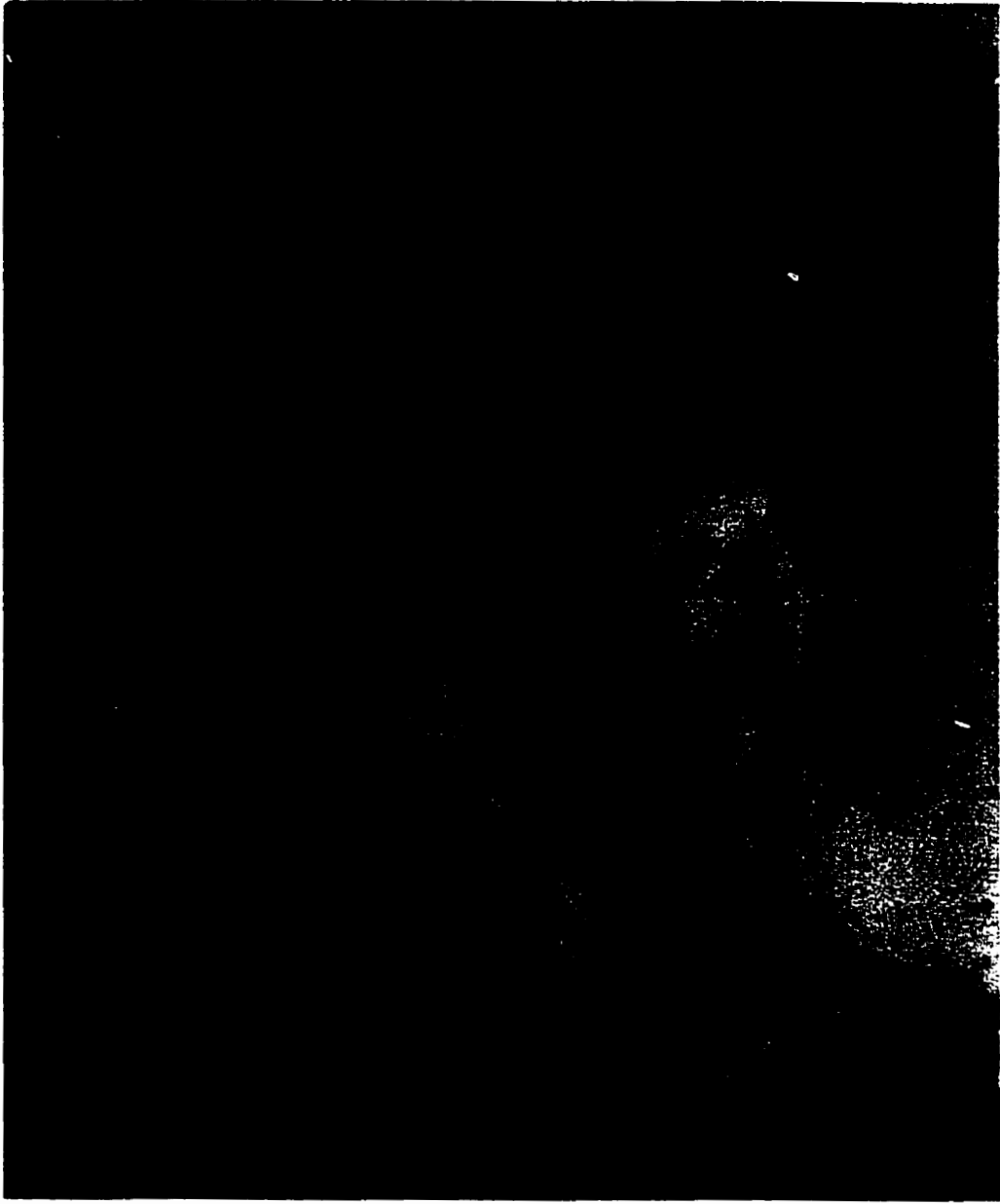
Cat. no. R23. *Jupiter and Mercury at the house of Philemon and Baucis*, canvas, 89 x 67 cm, Helsinki, Sinebryhoff Museum



Cat. no. R24. *The Judgement of Paris*, canvas, 146.5 x 114 cm, present location unknown



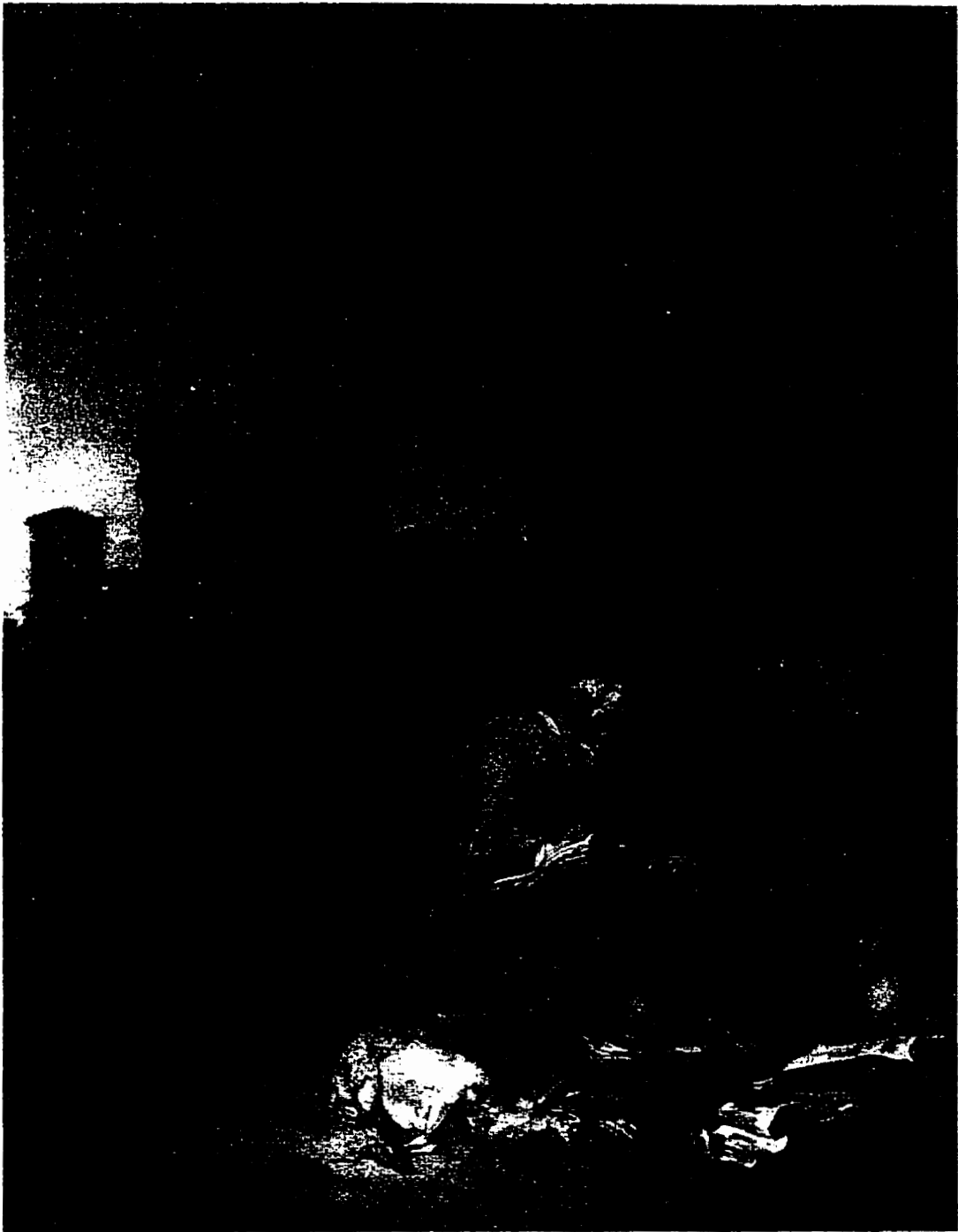
Cat. no. R25. *Juno asks Jupiter to give her Io as a Gift*, canvas, 113 x 108 cm, Paris, Louvre



Cat. no. R26. *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 81.5 x 67.5 cm, Warsaw, Museum Narodowe



Cat. no. R27. *The Magnanimity of Scipio*, canvas, 198 x 325 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum



Cat. no. R28. *Hippocrates visiting Democritus in Abdera*, canvas, 80.5 x 63 cm, Europe, private collection



Cat. no. R29. *Nero Fiddling during the Burning of Rome*, panel, 90 x 54.5, present location unknown



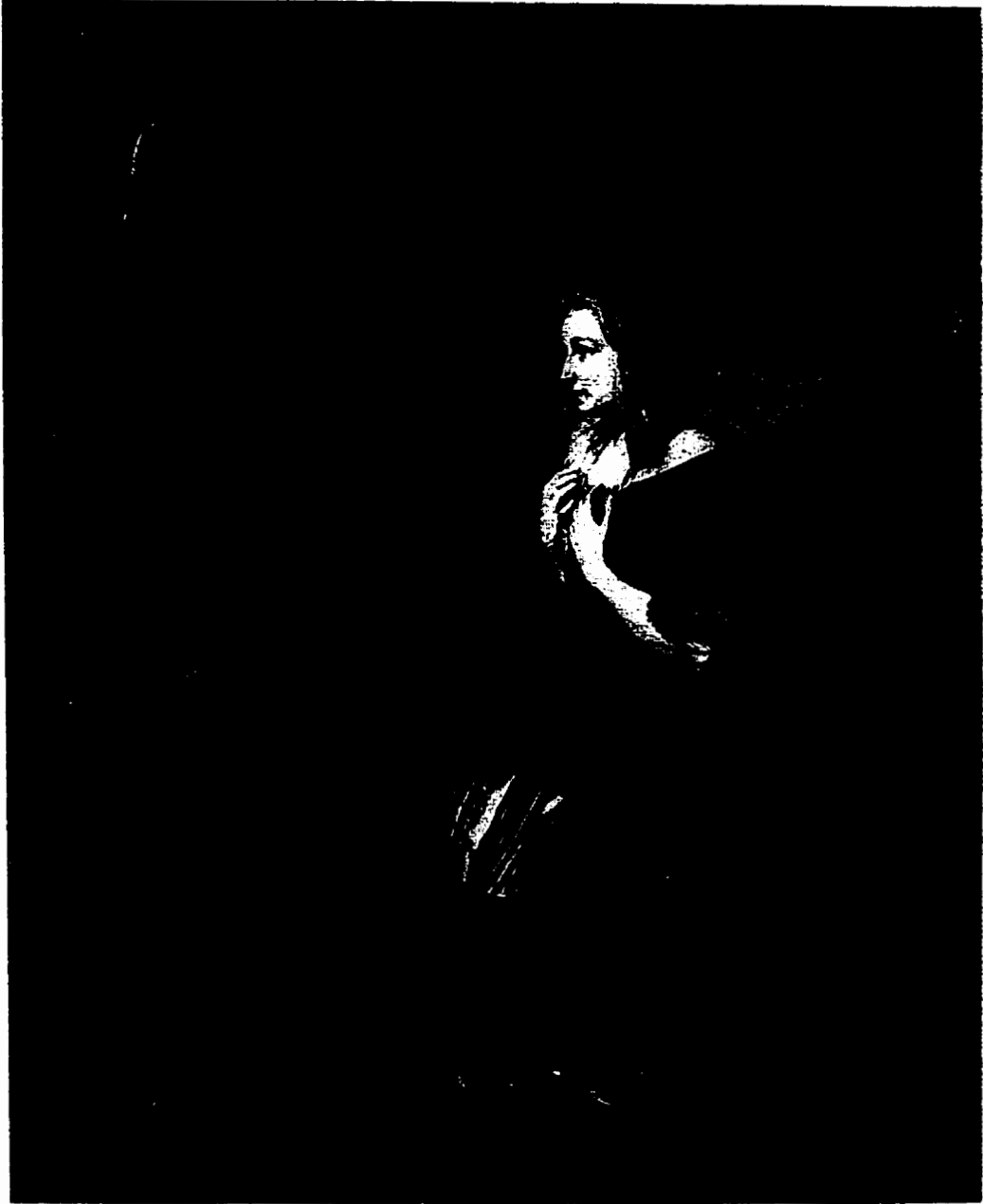
Cat. no. R30. *Caritas*, canvas, 98 x 76 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R31. *Granida and Daifilo*, canvas, 187 x 194, Europe, private collection



Cat. no. R32. *A Lady at her Toilet*, canvas, 82 x 74.5 cm, present location unknown



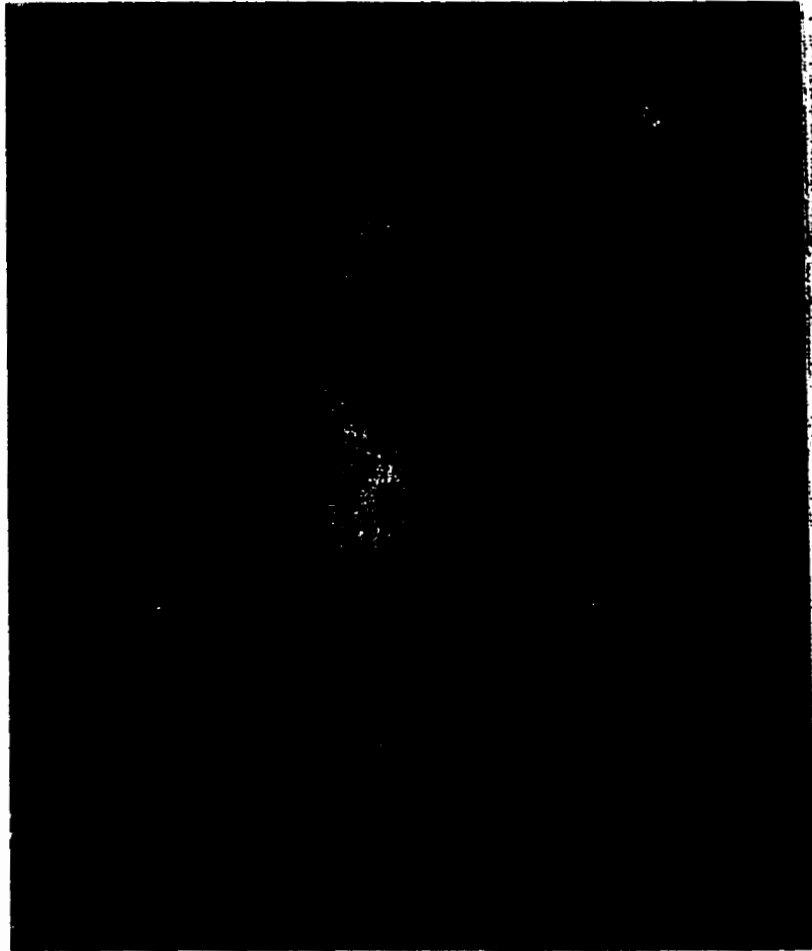
Cat. no. R33. *A Lady at her Toilet*, canvas, 75.5 x 62.5 cm, Brussels, Museum van Schone Kunsten



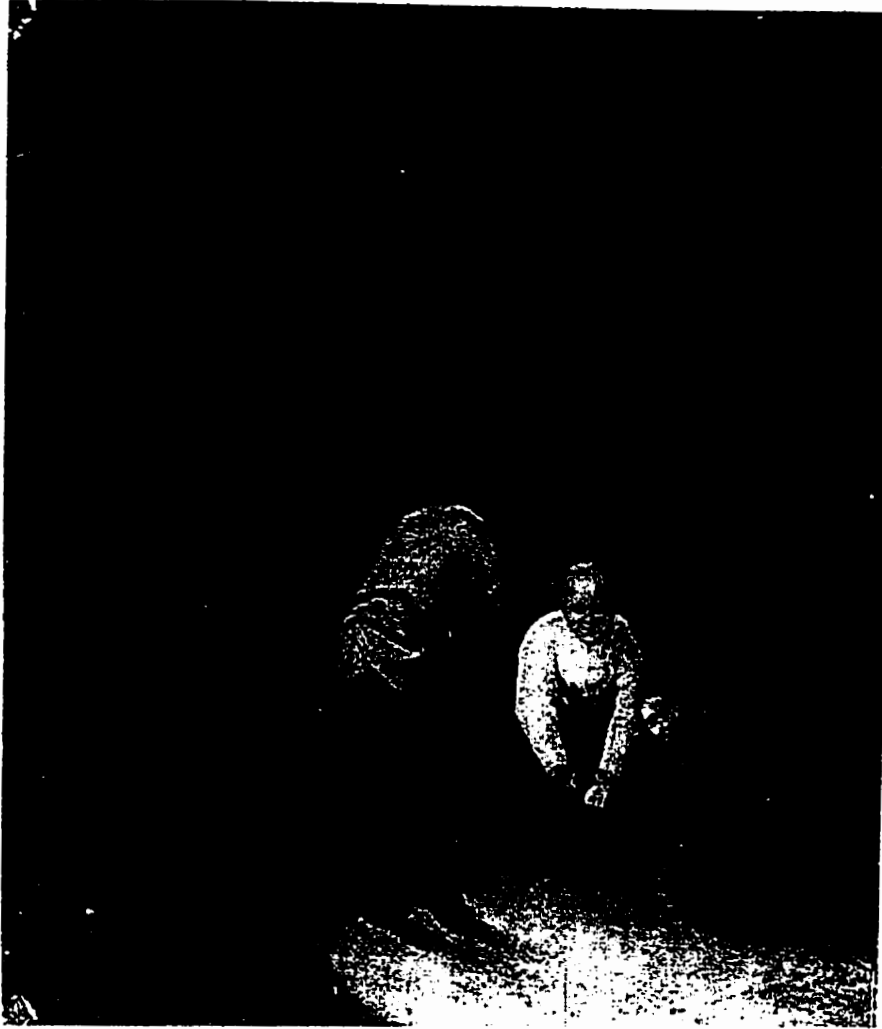
Cat. no. R34. *Women in an Interior*, canvas, 57 x 74 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R35. *The Music Lesson*, canvas, 100 x 76 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R36. *Head of a Man: Homo Bulla*, canvas, 59.5 x 51.5 cm, present location unknown



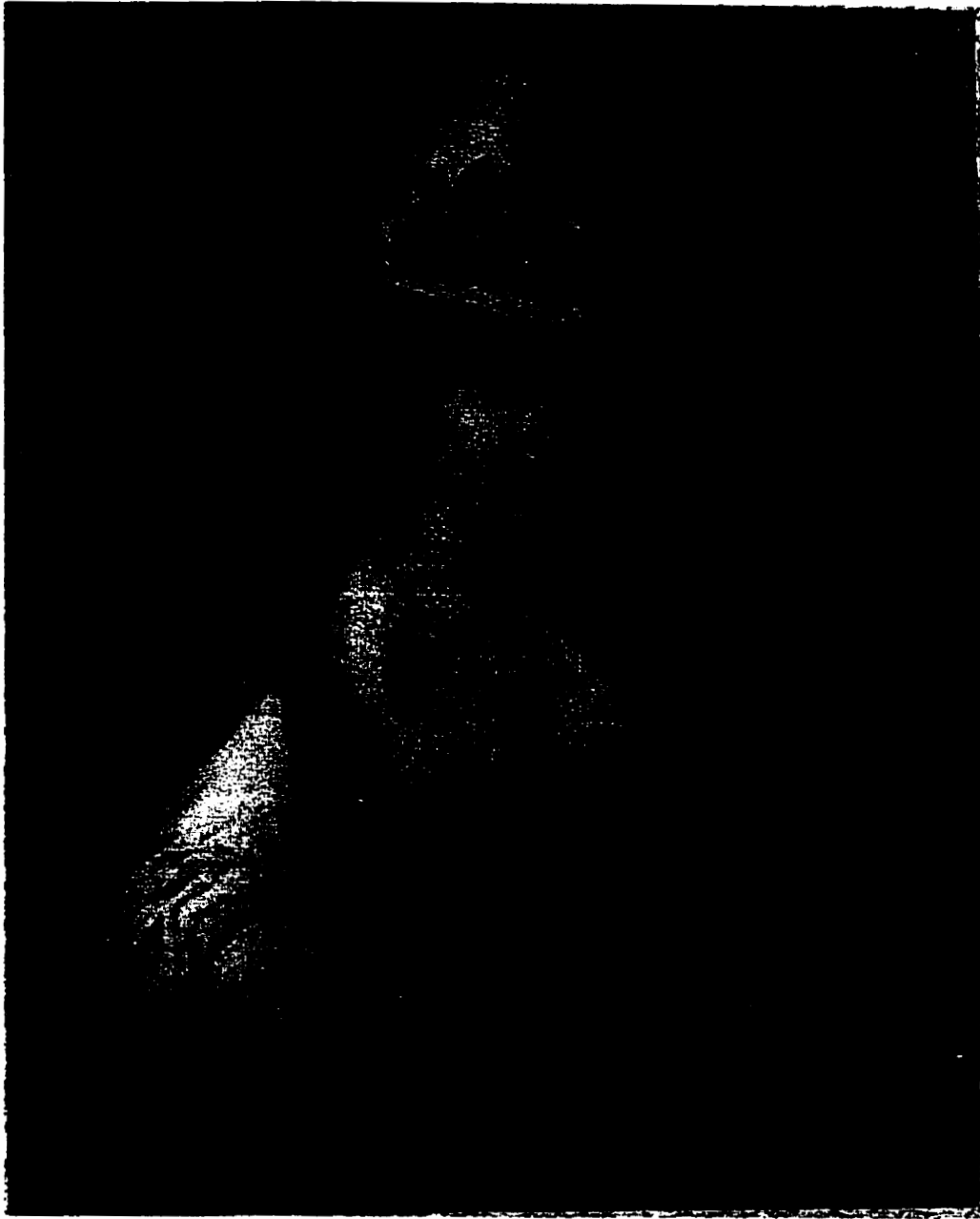
Cat. no. R37. Jan van Noort, *Peasant Interior*, signed and dated 1660, Brentwood, collection of E. Stowers Johnson



Cat. no. R38. Jan van Noort, *Landscape with a Shepherd and a Milkmaid*, panel, 23.1 x 74.4 cm, signed, The Hague, collection of P.M. Zetz



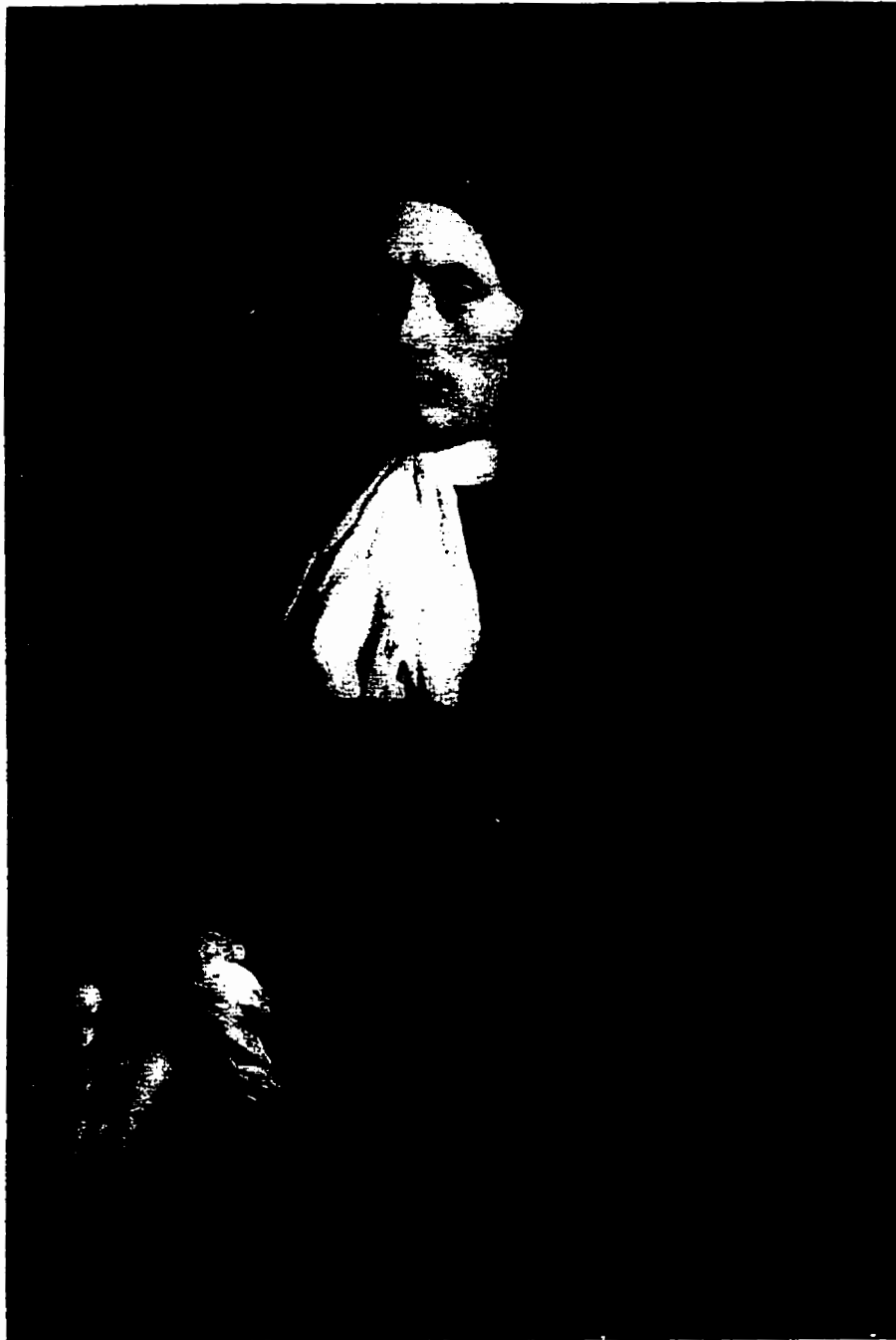
Cat. no. R39. Jan van Noort, *Shepherds in a Landscape with a Fountain*, panel, 74 x 61 cm, signed, Rottenburg, collection of Josef Steiner



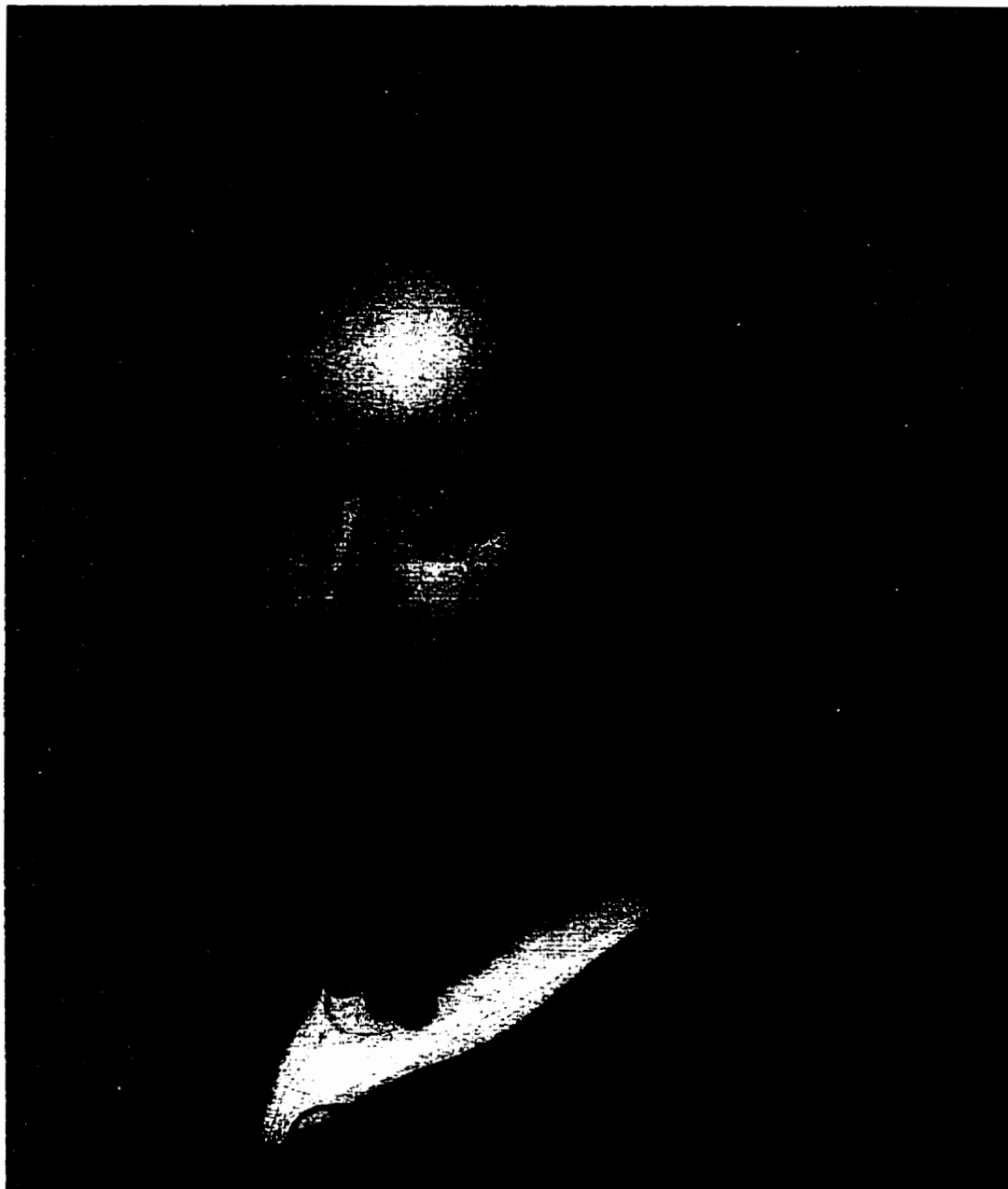
Cat. no. R40. *A Girl with a Basket of Fruit*, panel, 75 x 60 cm, The Hague, Gallerij Willem V



Cat. no. R41. *Portrait of Anna Susanna van den Bempden de Neufville, Amsterdam, Six Collection*



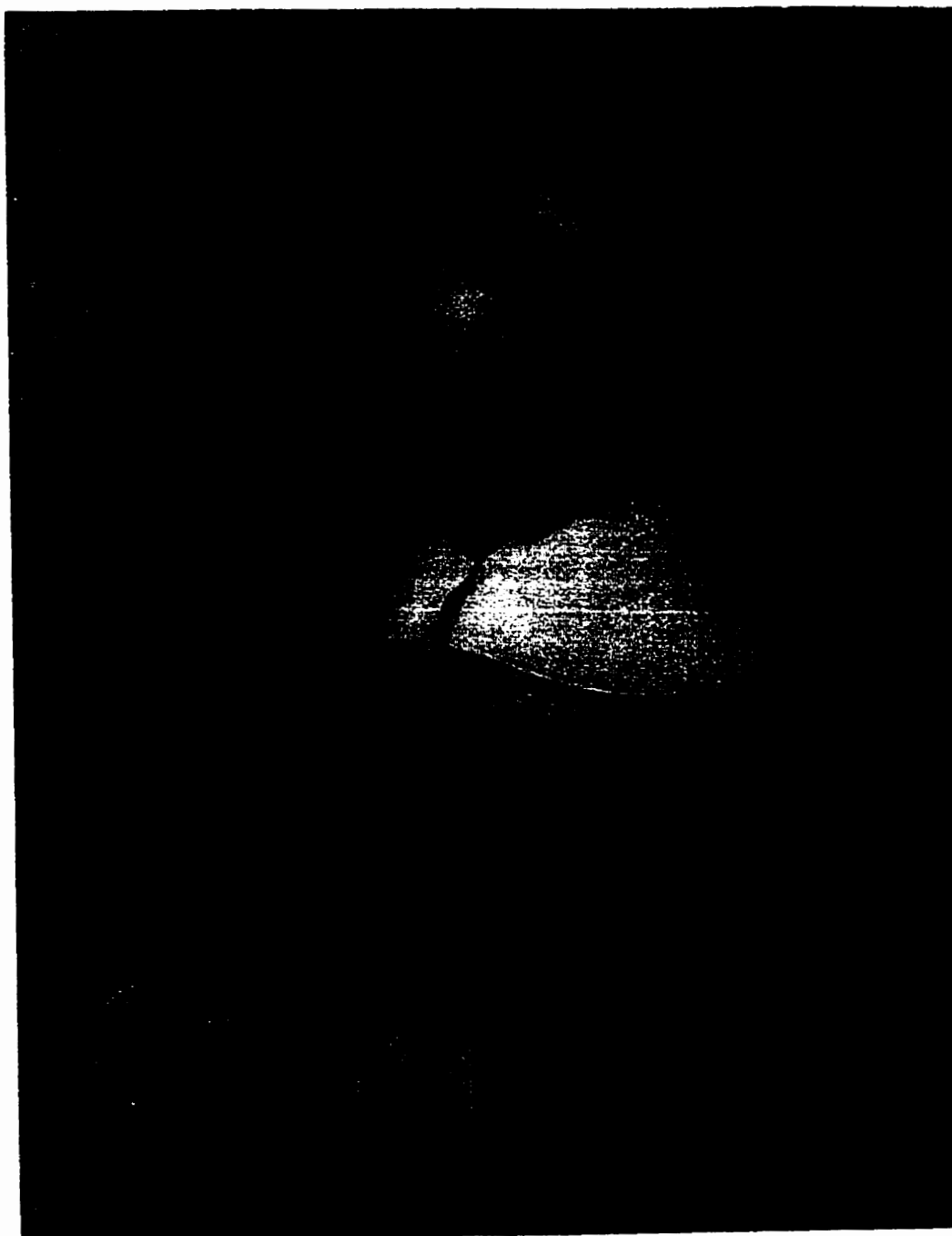
Cat. no. R42. *Portrait of Cornelis de Jonge van Oosterland?*, canvas, Lisse, Keukenhof



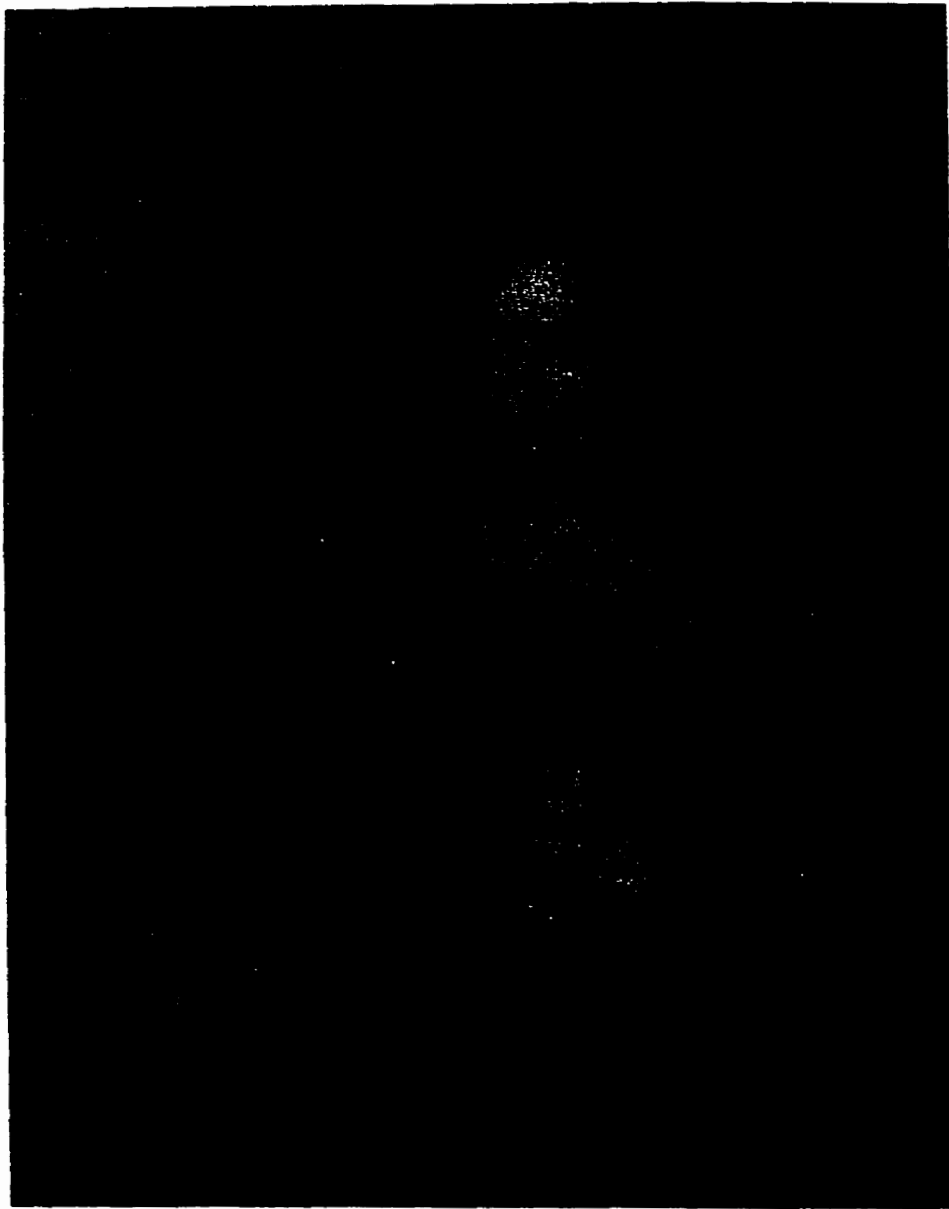
Cat. no. R43. Jürgen Ovens, *Portrait of a Young Woman wearing a Black Shawl*, 41 x 37 cm, Milwaukee, collection of Drs Alfred and Isabel Bader



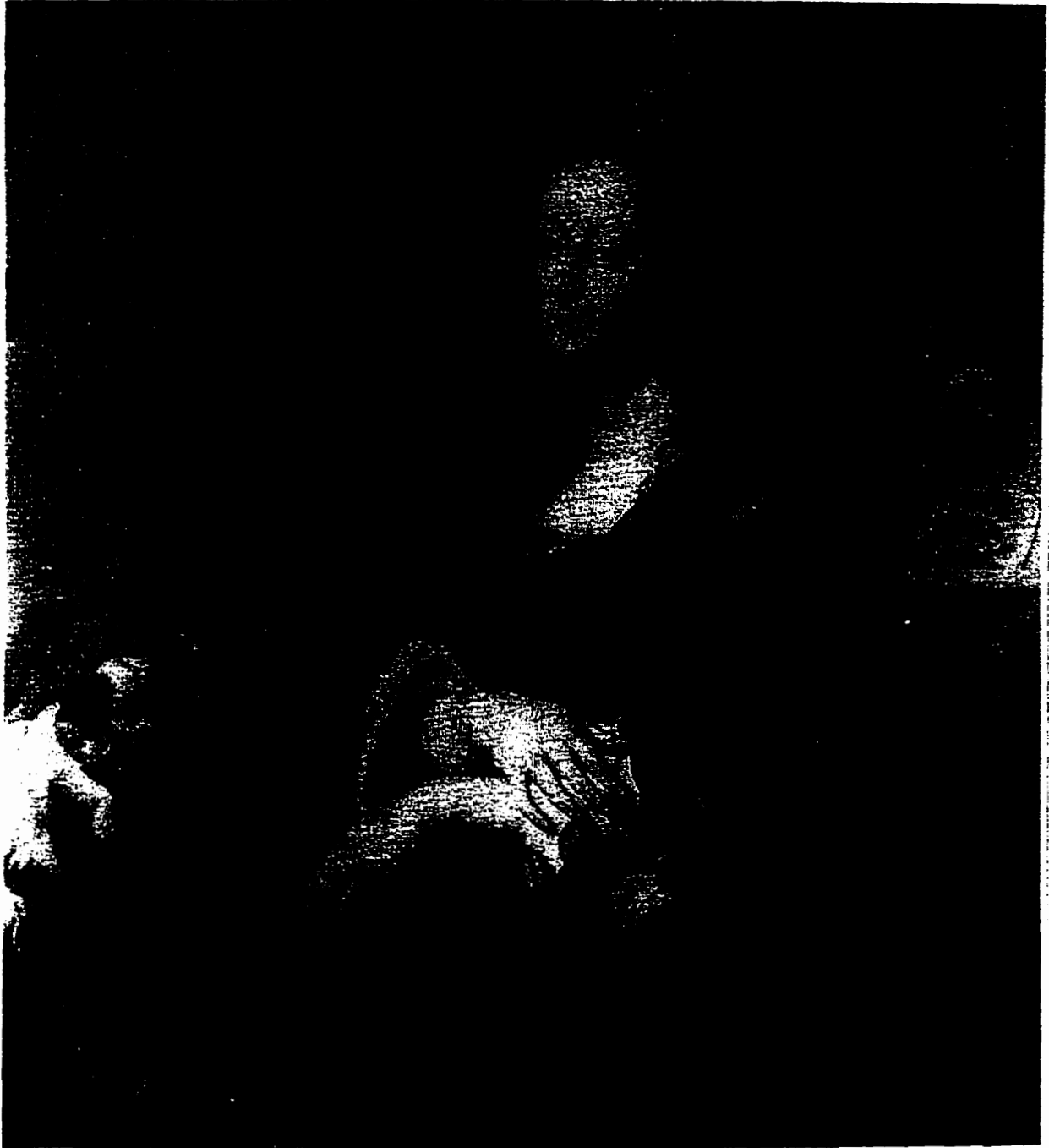
Cat. no. R44. *Portrait of a Woman*, canvas, 74.4 x 57.5 cm, Paris, Fondation Custodia



Cat. no. R45. *Portrait of a Woman*, panel, 76.9 x 84.2 cm, Chicago, Chicago Art Institute



Cat. no. R46. *Portrait of a Lady Holding Roses*, canvas, 114 x 90 cm, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum



Cat. no. R47. *A Lady Attended by a Moor with a Dog*, canvas, 112 x 98 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R48. Jürgen Ovens, *Portrait of a Woman Holding an Orange*, canvas, 81.5 x 64.5 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum



Cat. no. R49. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Portrait of a Man*, canvas, 74.6 x 57.5, signed and dated 1653, Amsterdam, Amsterdam Historisch Museum



Cat. no. R50. *Portrait of a Man Wearing a Beret and a Chain*, canvas, 61.5 x 51.5, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum



Cat. no. R51. *Portrait of a Young Man in a Beret*, canvas, 76 x 73 cm, Mostyn Hall, collection of Lord Mostyn



Cat. no. R52. *Portrait of a Young Man in a Beret*, canvas, 82 x 65.5 cm, St Petersburg, Hermitage



Cat. no. R53. *Portrait of a Young Girl Holding Flowers*, canvas, 131.9, x 88.9 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R54. *Portrait of a Girl at a Fountain*, canvas, 87.5 x 70 cm, present location unknown



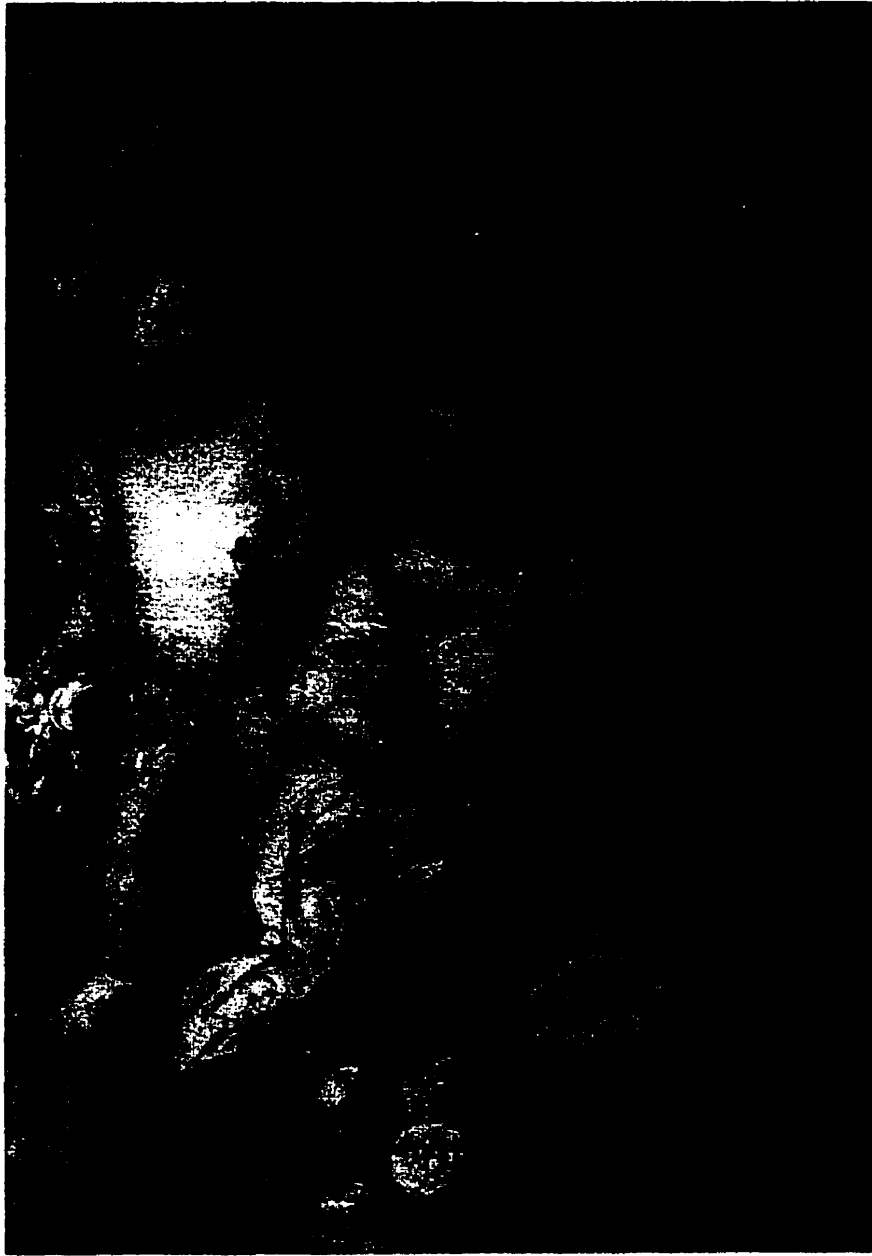
Cat. no. R56. *Portrait of a Seated Girl with a Carnation and a Poodle*, canvas, 77.5 x 61 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R57. *Portrait of a Girl in a Feathered Beret*, panel, 45.7 x 34.8 cm, present location unknown



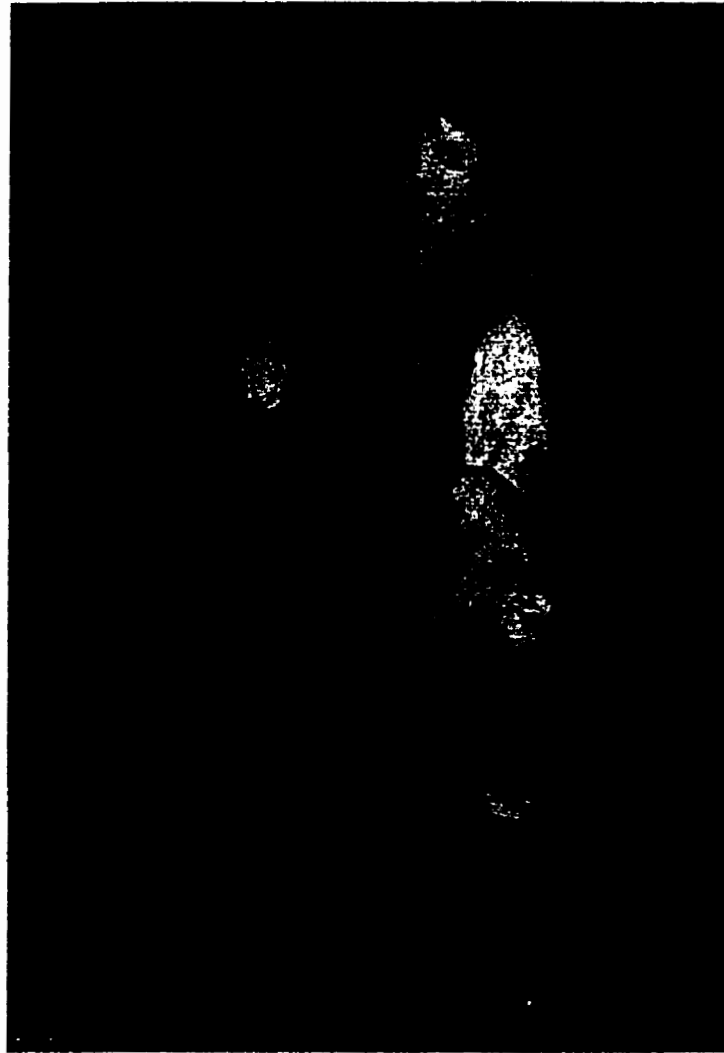
Cat. no. R58. *Portrait of a Girl Holding a Bird*, canvas, 82 x 61 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R59. *Portrait of a Girl with Fruits before her, an Angel at her Side*, canvas, 120.5 x 86.5 cm, present location unknown



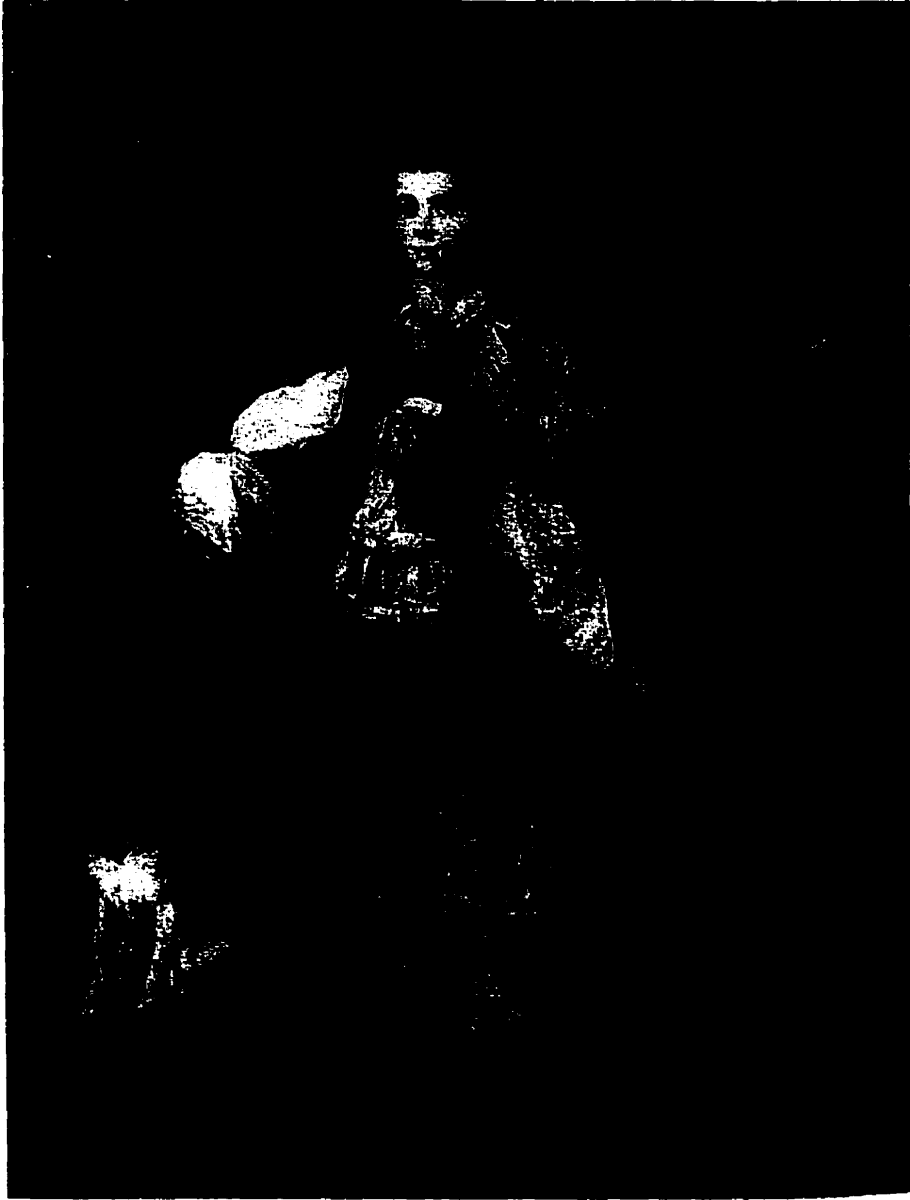
Cat. no. R60. *Portrait of a Girl with a Dog*, New York, L. Hirsch Collection



Cat. no. R61. *Portrait of a Boy*, present location unknown



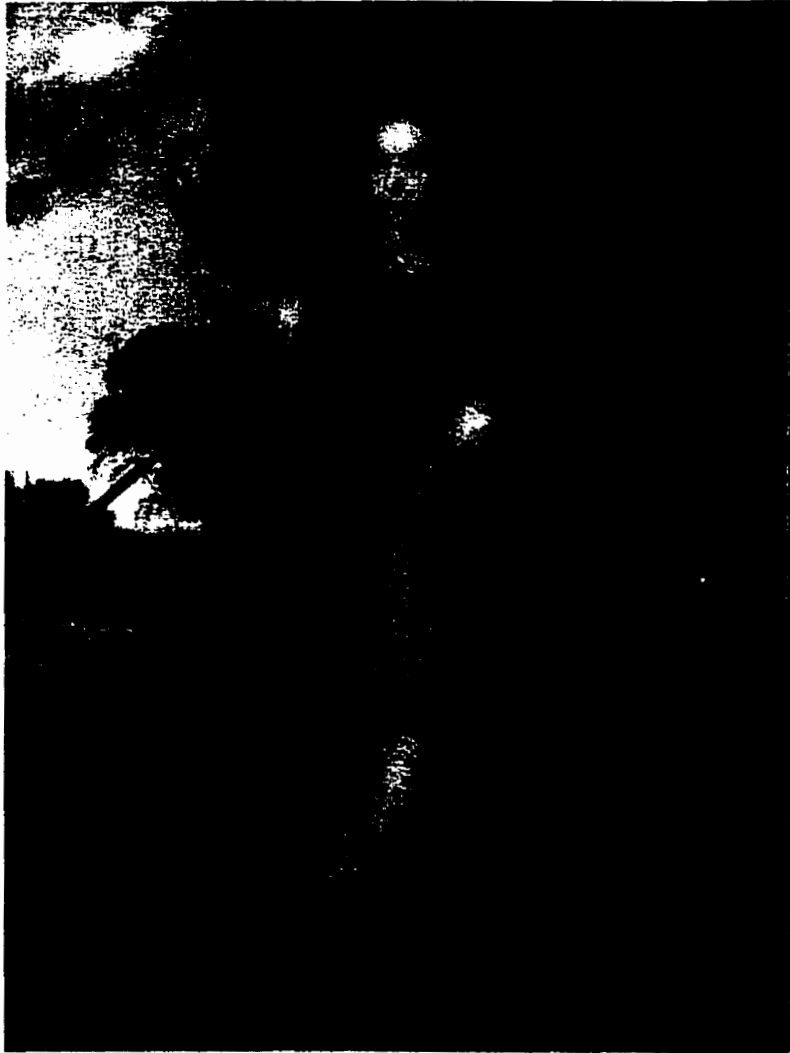
Cat. no. R62. *Portrait of a Boy with a Pony*, present location unknown



Cat. no. R63. *Portrait of a Young Man*, panel, 148.5 x 116.3 cm, Krakow, Wawel Museum



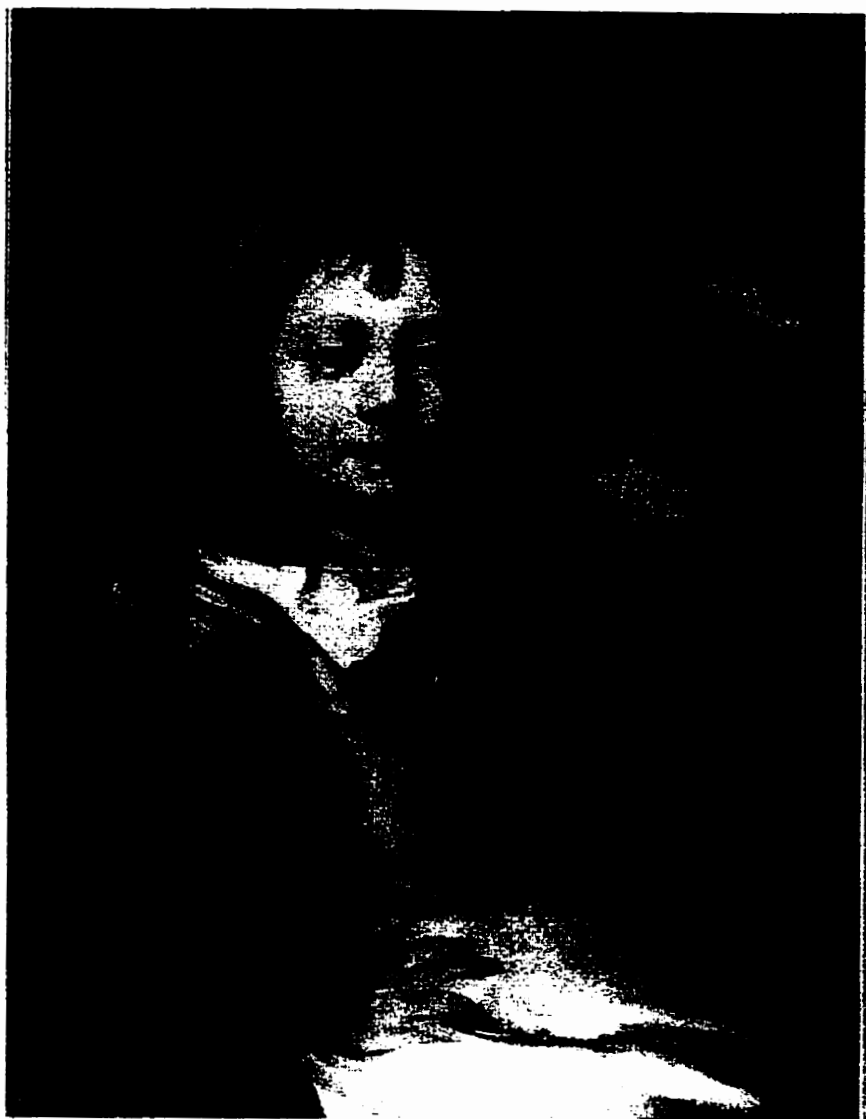
Cat. no. R64. *Portrait of a Seated Boy with his Dog*, canvas, 75.5 x 62.5 cm, present location unknown



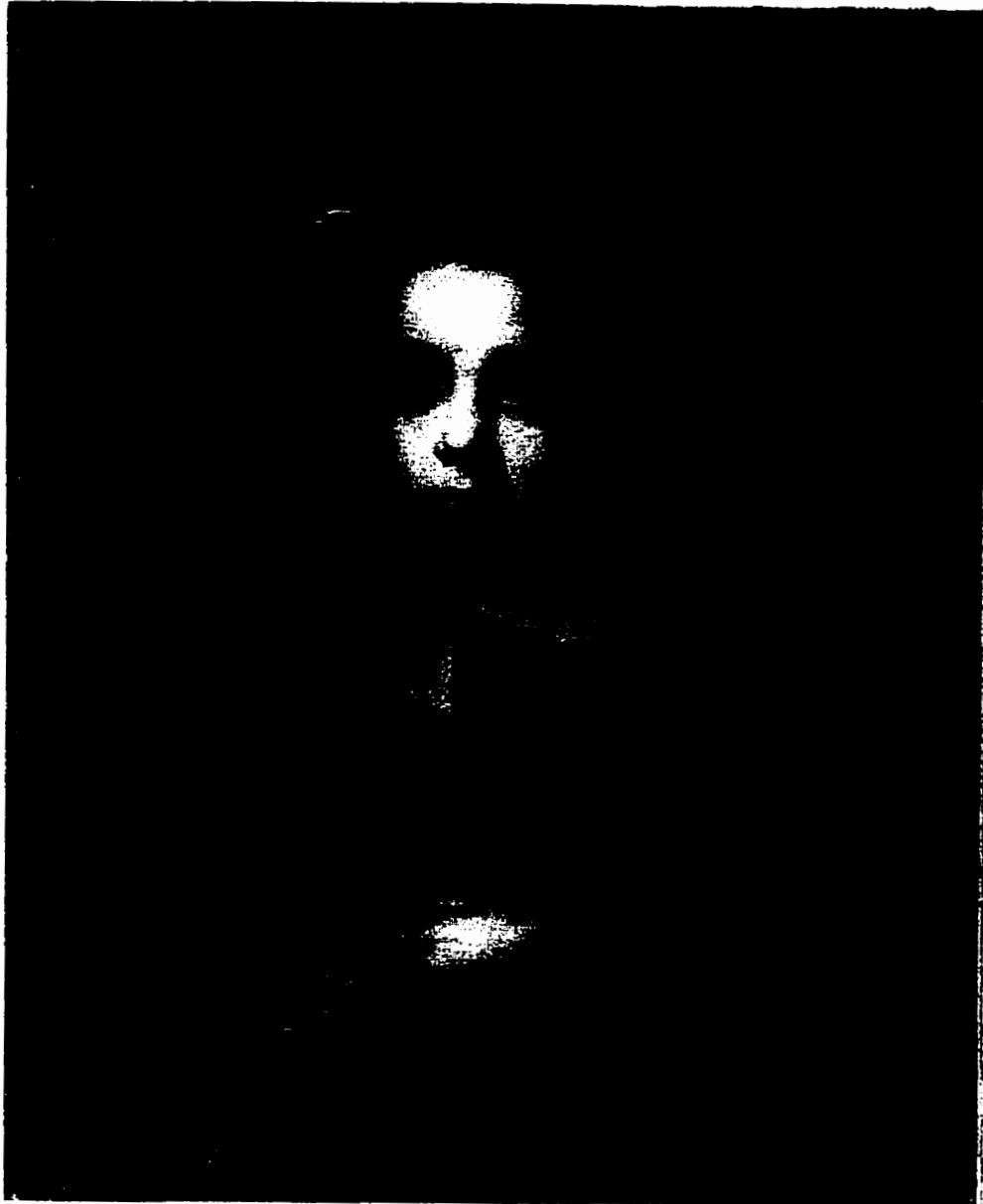
Cat. no. R65. *Portrait of a Boy with a Falcon*, canvas, 150 x 112 cm, Mexico City, collection of C.H.E. Phillips



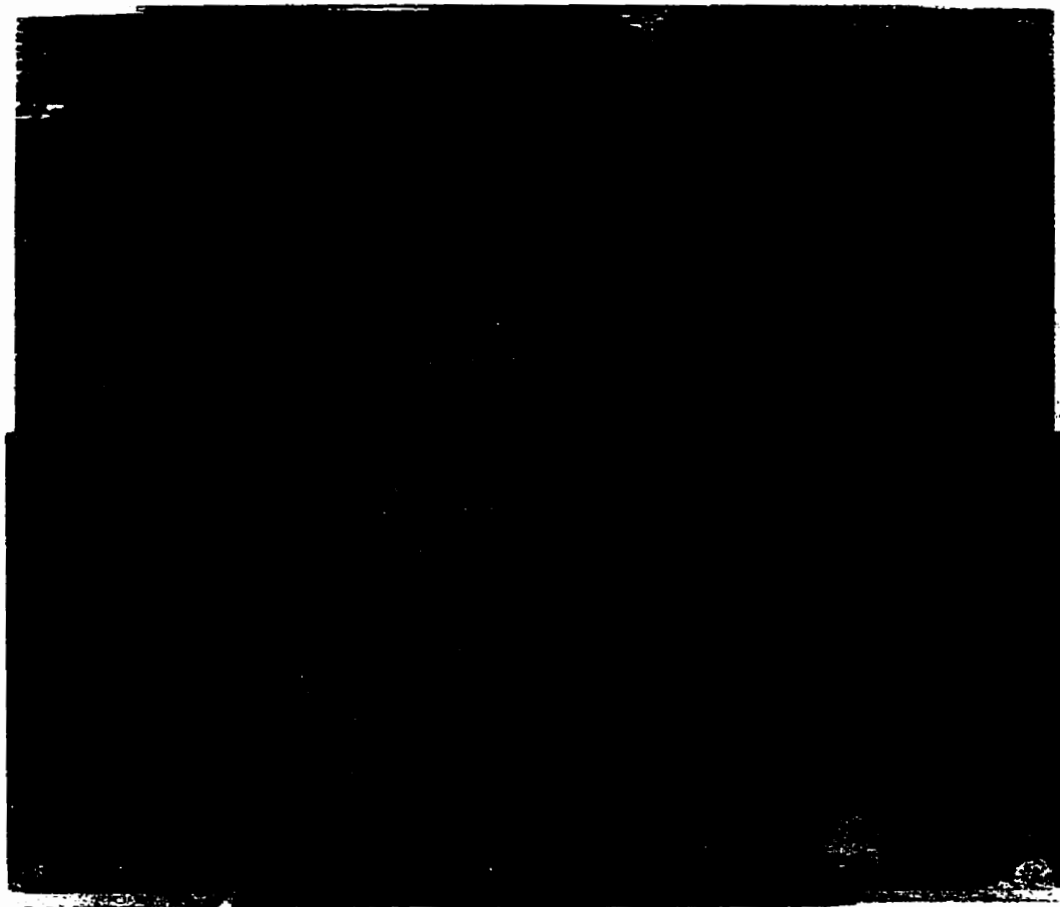
Cat. no. R66. *Portrait of a Six-year-old Boy*, panel, 109.2 x 72.2 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R67. *Portrait of a Boy Raising his Hat*, canvas, 71 x 60 cm, Munich, Galerie Arnoldi-Levie



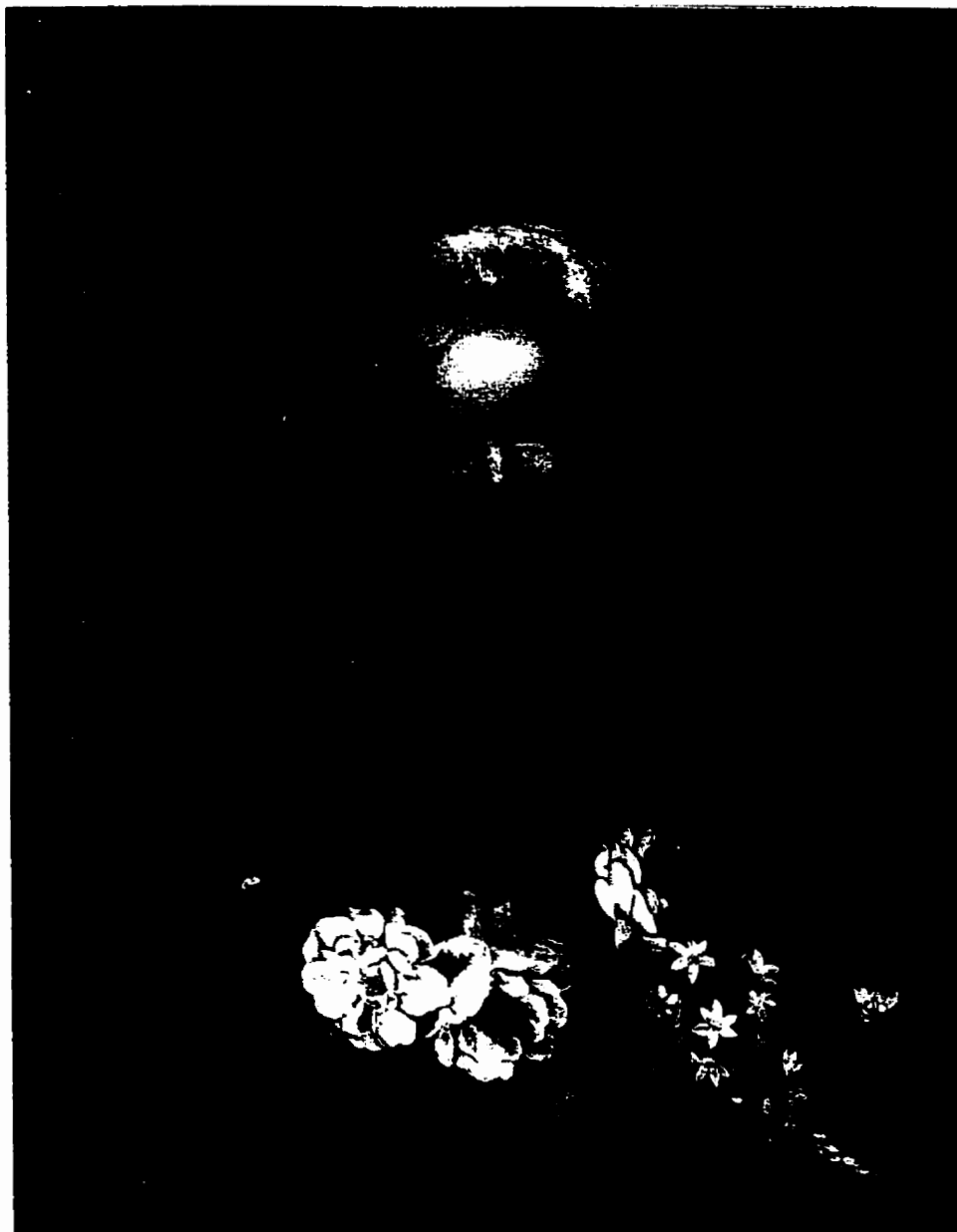
Cat. no. R68. *Portrait of a Boy Carrying a Feathered Cap*, canvas, 65 x 52 cm, Petworth, collection of Lord Leconfield



Cat. no. R69. *Portrait of a Boy in a Feather Cap*, panel, 27 x 32 cm, Donkerbroek, collection of J.M. Dijkstra



Cat. no. R70. *Portrait of a Six-Year-Old Boy with an Apple*, canvas, 53.5 x 42.5 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R71. *Portrait of a Child with a Basket of Flowers*, canvas, 71.8 x 56.5 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R72. *Portrait of a Family*, canvas, 137 x 107 cm, Brussels, Museum van Schone Kunsten



Cat. no. R73. *Portrait of the Artist and his Family*, canvas, 121 x 110.5, Gdansk, Museum Pomorskie



Cat. no. R74. *Marriage Portrait*, canvas, 122 x 104 cm, present location unknown



Cat. no. R75. *Still Life with Candlestick*, canvas, 82 x 90 cm, Paris, Louvre



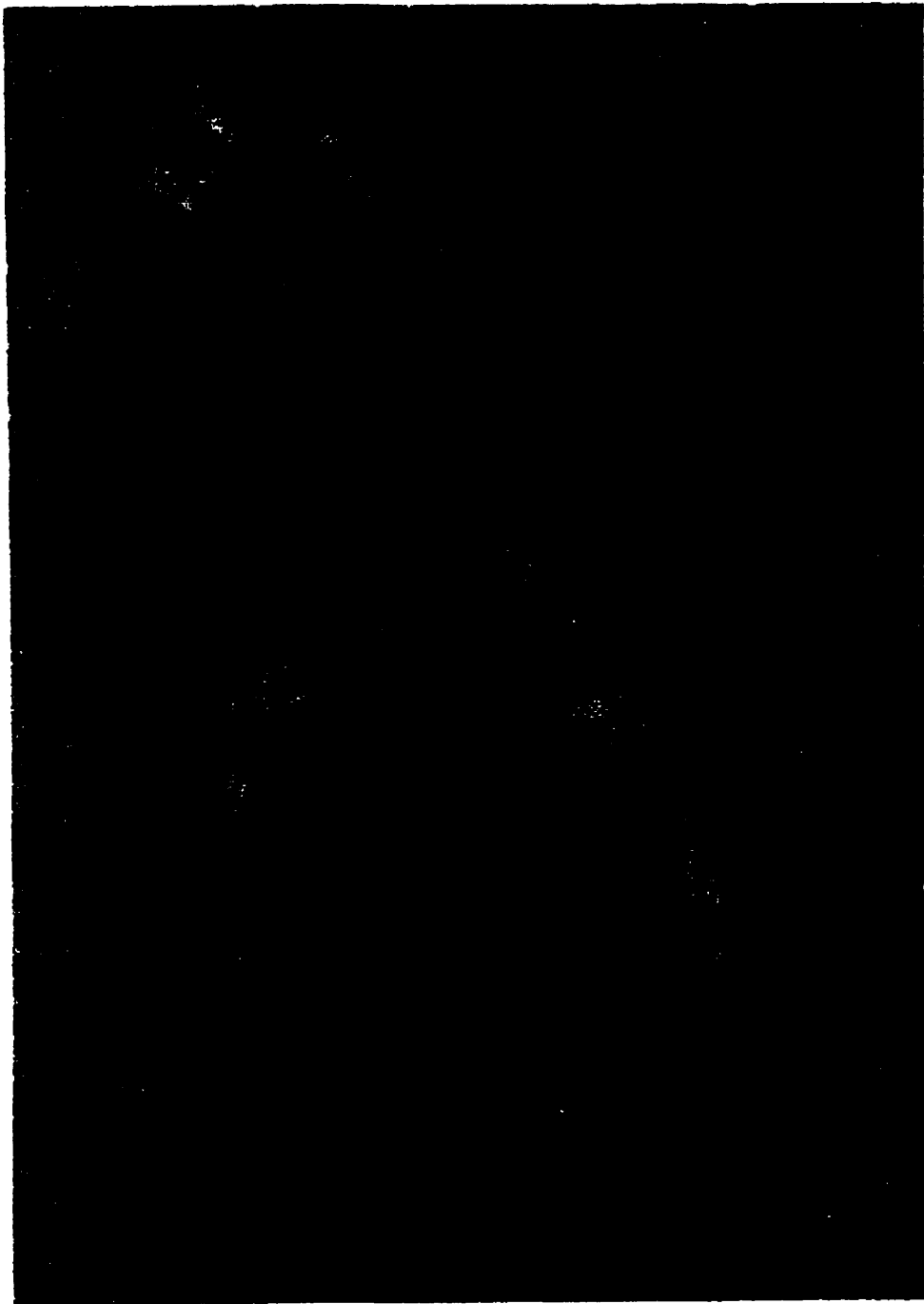
Cat. no. D1. *Study for the Labourer in Gibeah*, black and white chalk on grey paper, 293 x 159 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



Cat. no. D2. *Seated Female Nude: Study for Susanna and the Elders*, black and white chalk on grey-blue paper, 319 x 222 mm, Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover



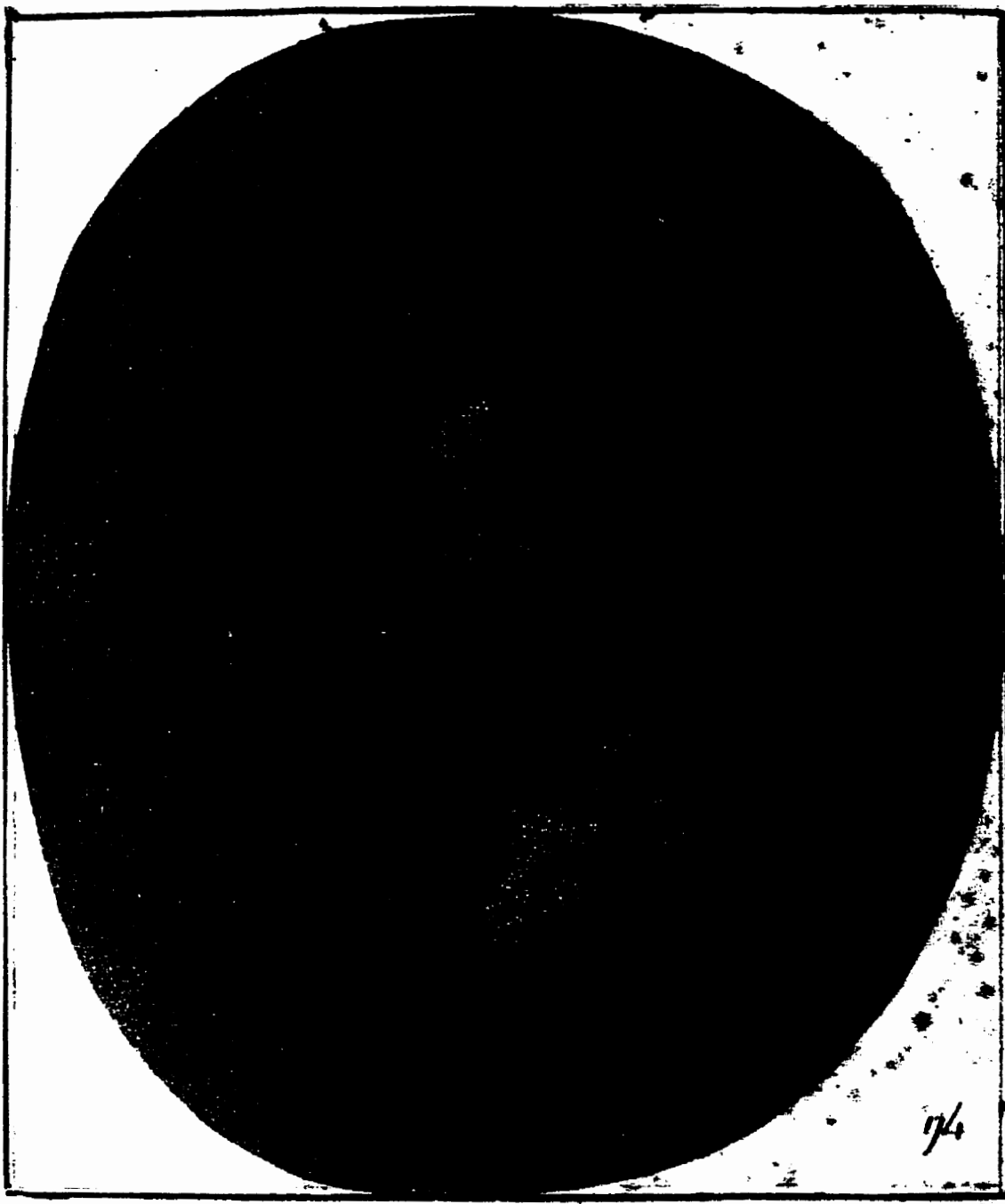
Cat. no. D3. *Seated Female Nude, Study for Susanna*, black, white, and red chalk on grey paper, 345 x 218 mm, Amsterdam, P. & N. de Boer Foundation



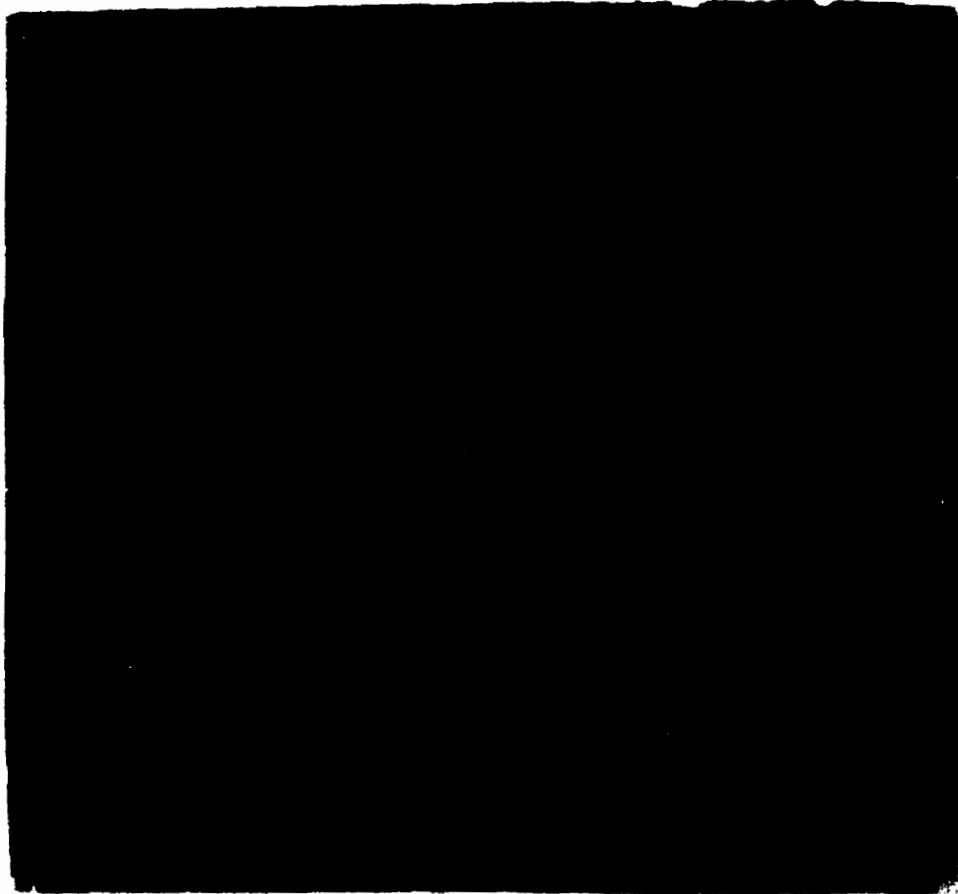
Cat. no. D4. *Seated Young Man: Study for The Prodigal Son?*, black and white chalk, and oiled chalk, on green-grey paper, 324 x 231 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



Cat. no. D5. *Seated Female Nude, Head and Torso, Study for Venus*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 192 x 152 mm, Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung



Cat. no. D6. *Bust of a Woman with a Feathered Headdress*, black, white, red, and yellow chalk on blue-grey paper, 236 x 200 mm, Rennes, Musées de Rennes



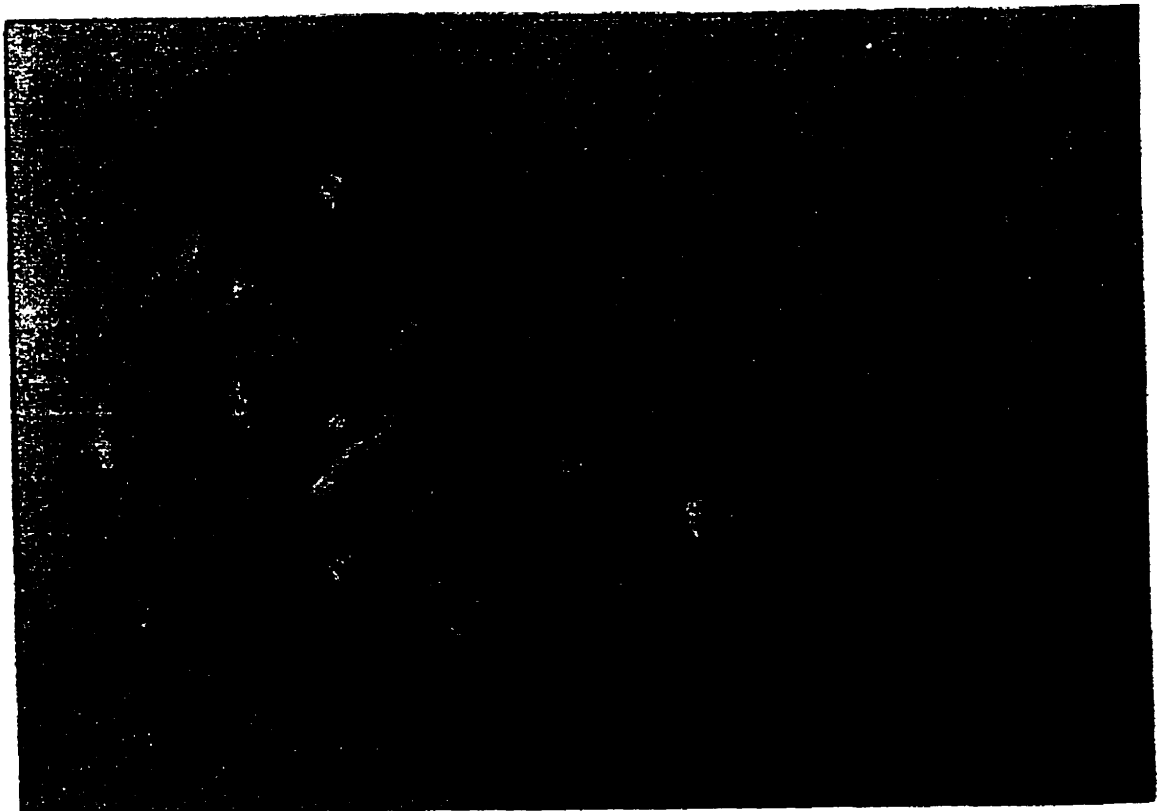
Cat. no. D7. *Juno in the Clouds*, black, white, and red chalk on green-grey paper, 410 x 448 mm, Bremen, Kunsthalle



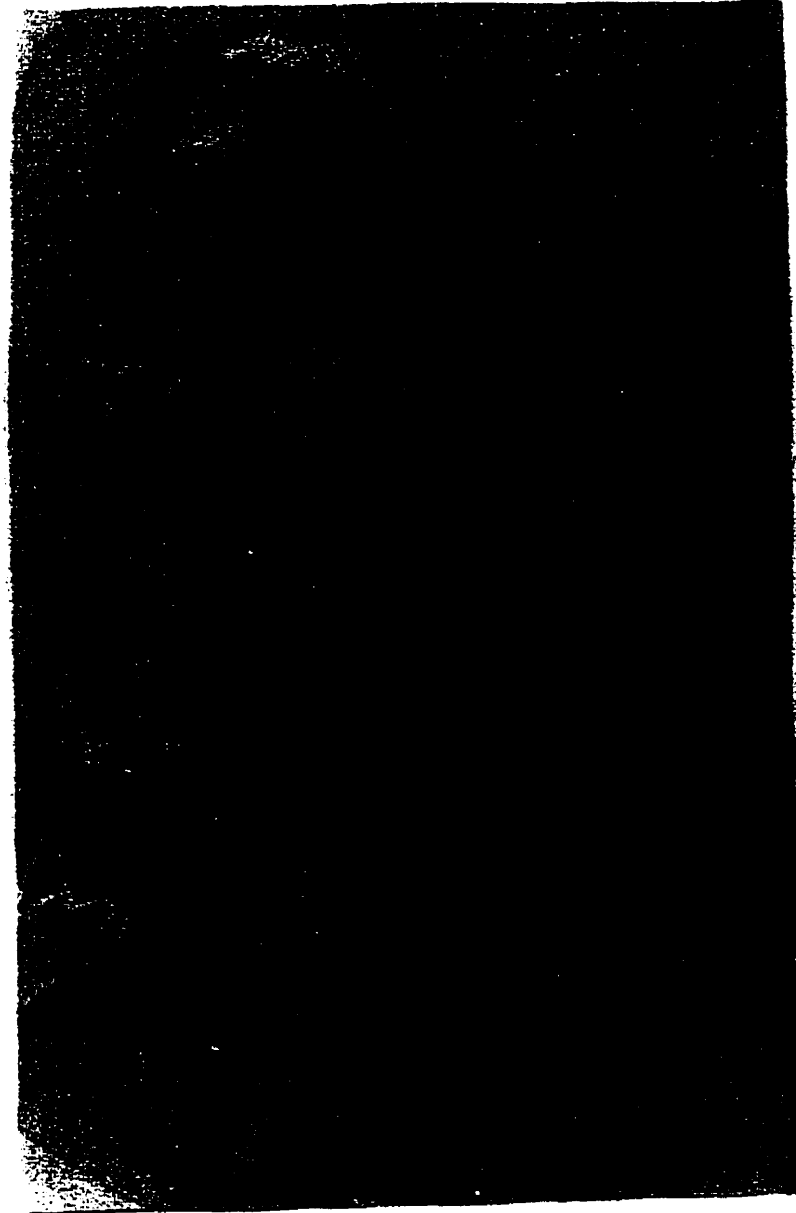
Cat. no. D8. *Study for Don Jan*, black, white, and red chalk on grey paper, 363 x 227 mm, London, British Museum



Cat. no. D9. *Study of a Male Nude, seated on the Ground*, black and white chalk on blue paper, 360 x 240 mm, Amsterdam, collection of Paul Russell



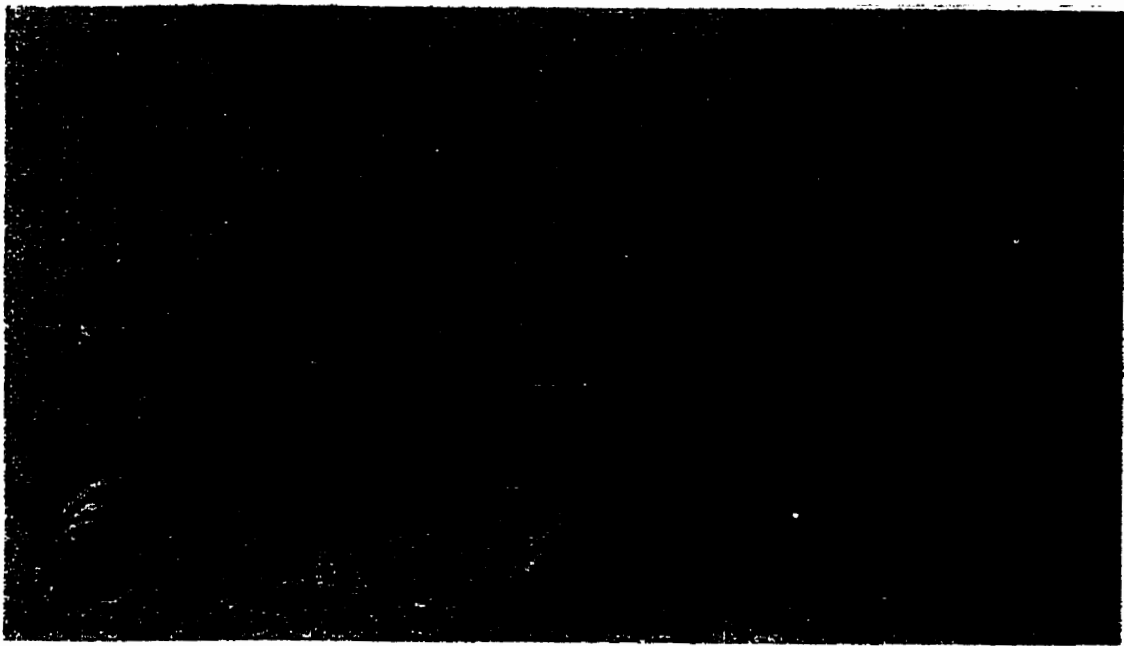
Cat. no. D10. *Study of a Reclining Male Nude*, black and white chalk on blue paper, 264 x 377 mm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



Cat. no. D11. *Portrait Study of a Seated Woman*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 283 x 190 mm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



Cat. no. D12. *Portrait of Dionijs Wijnands*, black and white chalk on grey paper, 390 x 287 mm, present location unknown



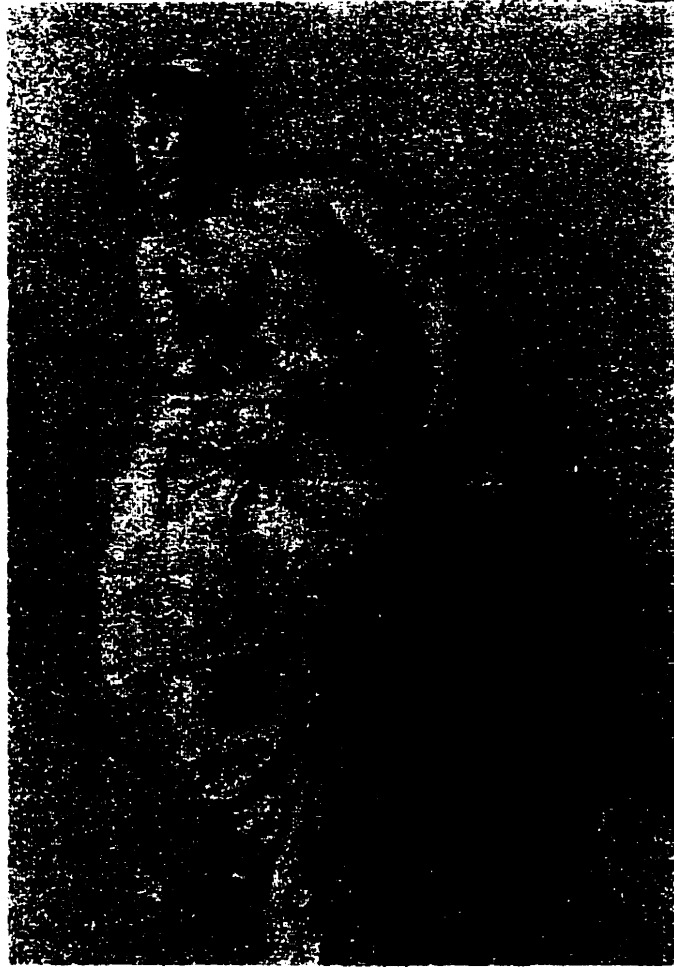
Cat. no. D13. *Pastoral Family Portrait*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 203 x 362 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



Cat. no. D14. *Portrait of a Seated Woman with two Children*, black and white chalk on grey paper, 410 x 260 mm, Mänttä, Gosta Serlachius Museum of Fine Arts



Cat. no. D15. *Portrait of Four Children on a Goat Cart*, black, white, and red chalk, on blue-grey paper, 316 x 230 mm, present location unknown



Cat. no. DR1. *Reclining Female Nude*, black and white chalk on brown-grey paper, 317 x 227 mm, London, Courtauld Galleries



Cat. no. DR3. *Study of a Seated Woman with a Child on her Lap*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, Hamburg, Kunsthalle



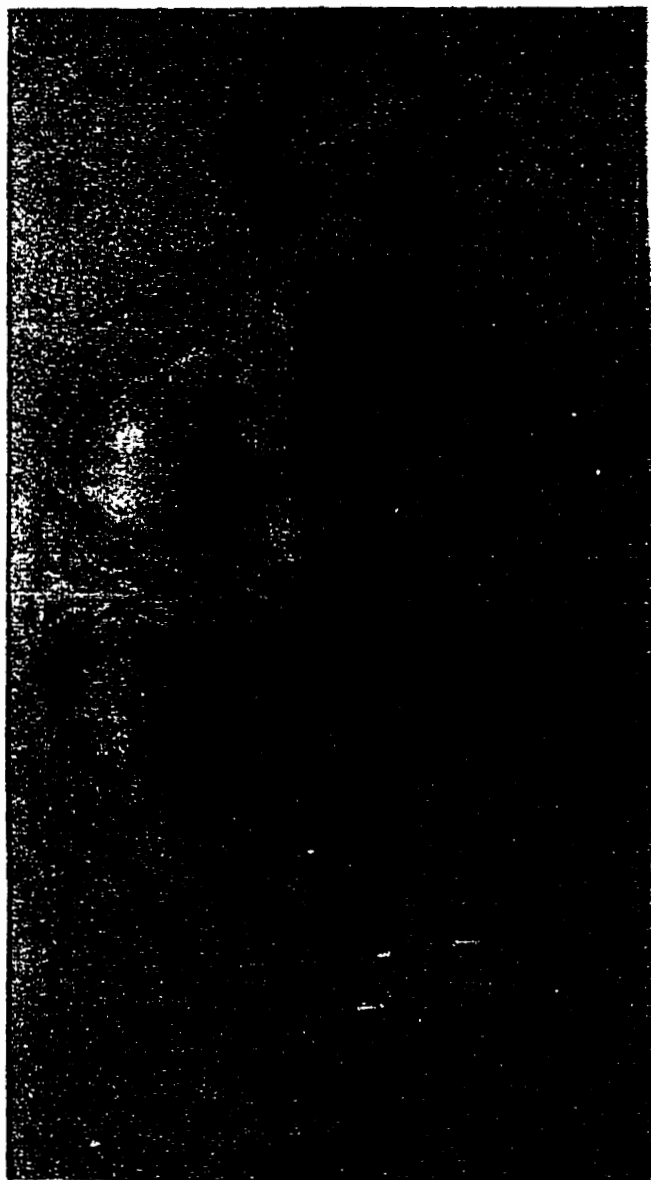
Cat. no. DR4. *Study for a Portrait of a Woman*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 290 x 207 mm, Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



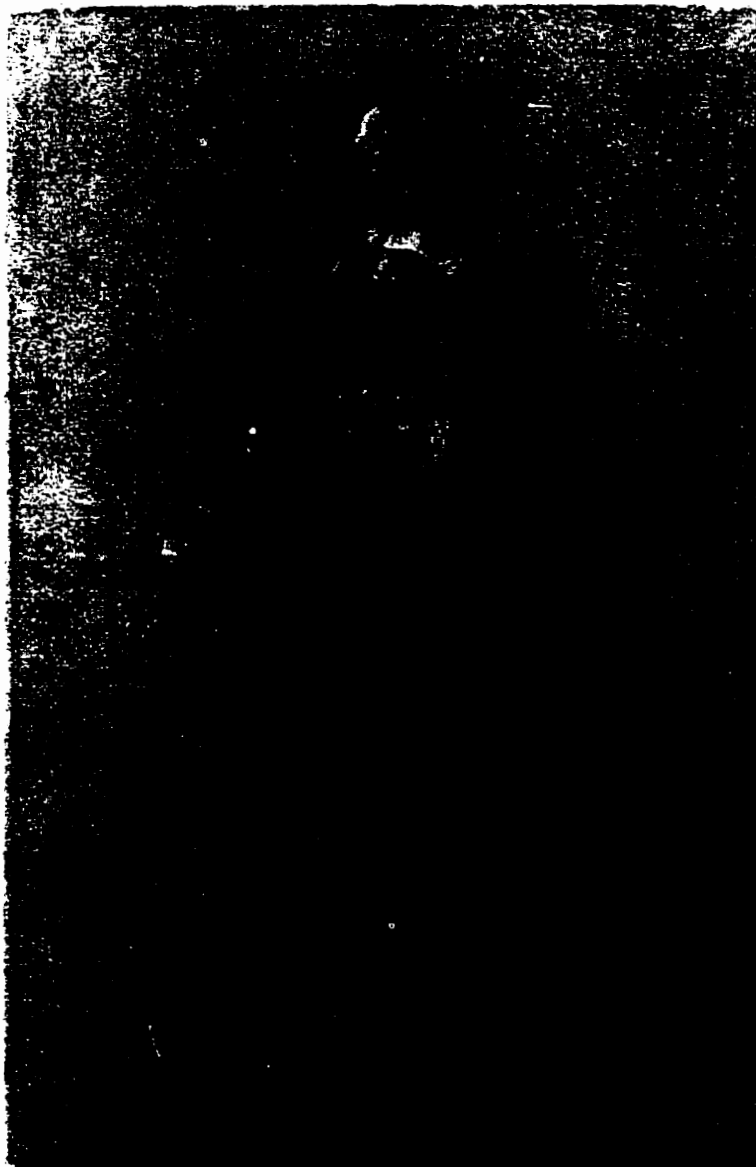
Cat. no. DR5. *Study for a Full-Length Portrait of a Woman*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 347 × 220 mm, London, British Museum



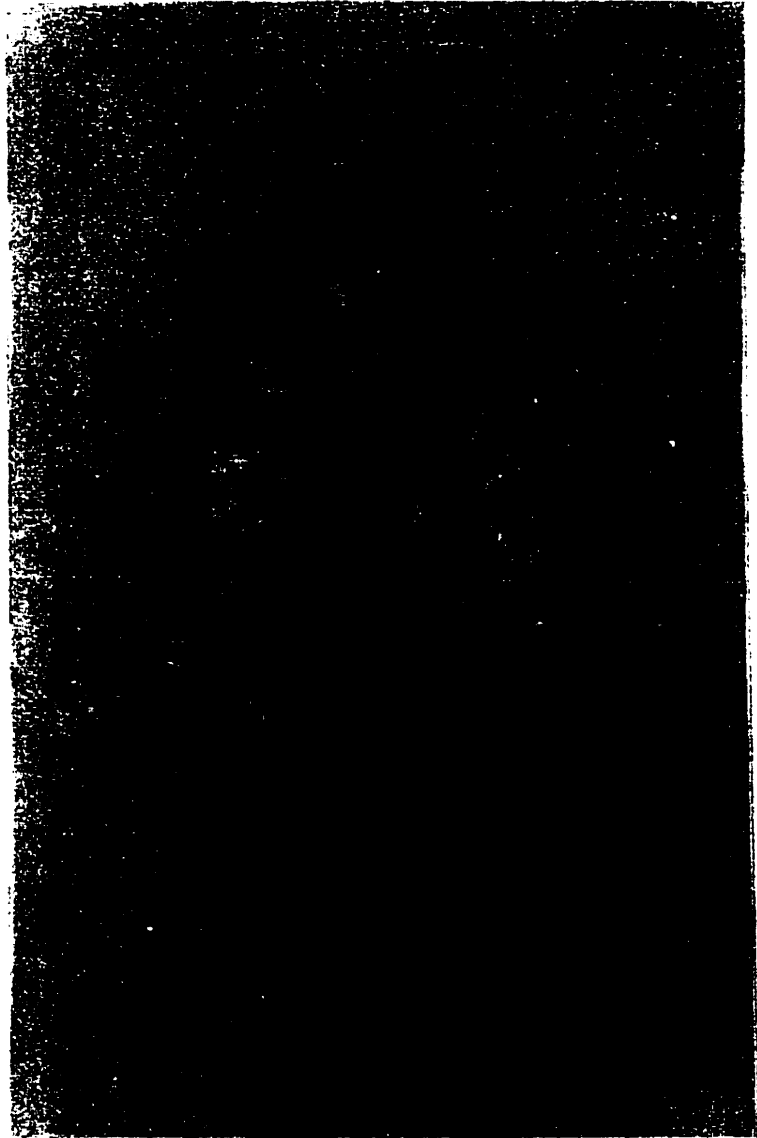
Cat. no. DR6. *Study for a Portrait of a Woman*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 273 x 217 mm, Madrid, Museo Cerralbo



Cat. no. DR7. *A Woman with a Flower*, black and white chalk on blue-grey paper, 257 x 135 mm, Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut



Cat. no. DR8. *Portrait of a Standing Man*, black and white chalk on grey paper, 346 x 230 mm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



Cat. no. DR9. *Portrait of a Standing Man*, black and white chalk on blue paper, 362 x 240 mm, Vienna, Albertina



Cat. no. P1. *Landscape with Farm Animals and a Milkmaid*, etching, first state, 157 x 216 mm



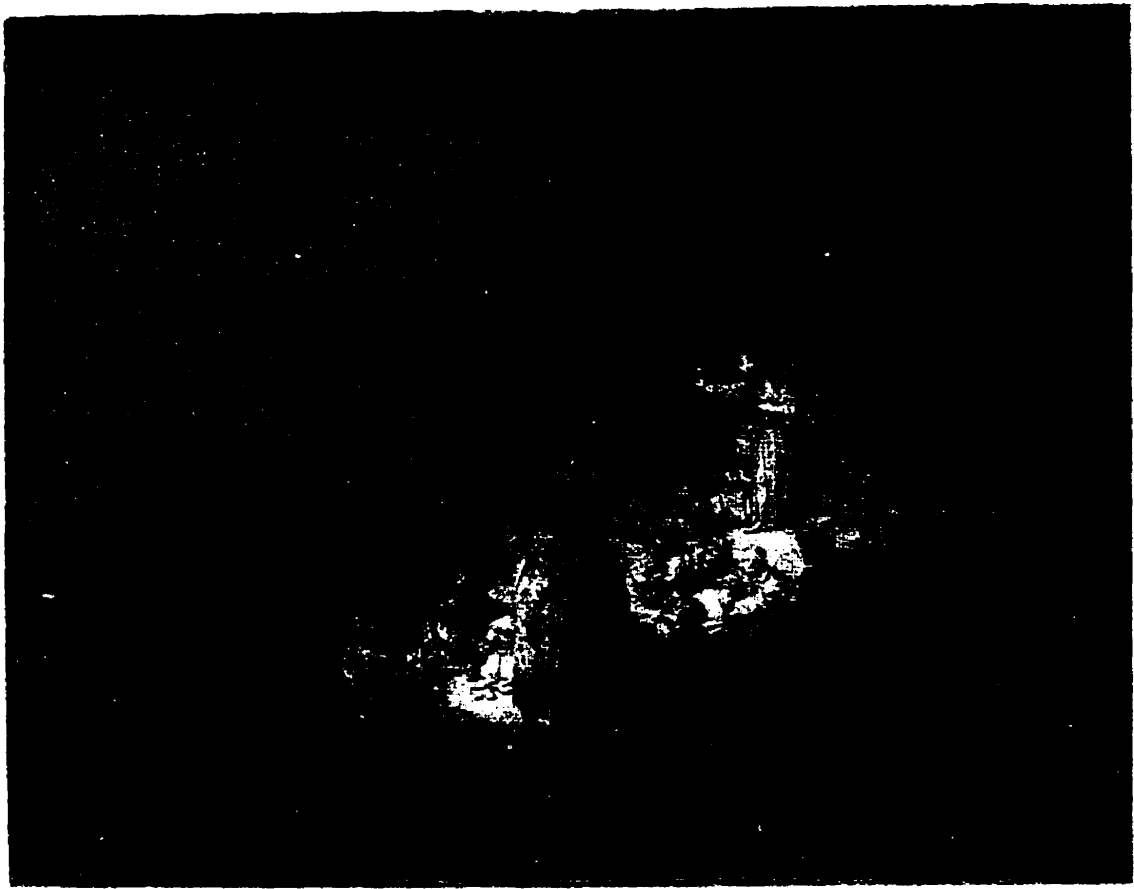
Cat. no. P2. *Landscape with the Temple of the Sybil at Tivoli*, etching, second state, 165 x 217 mm



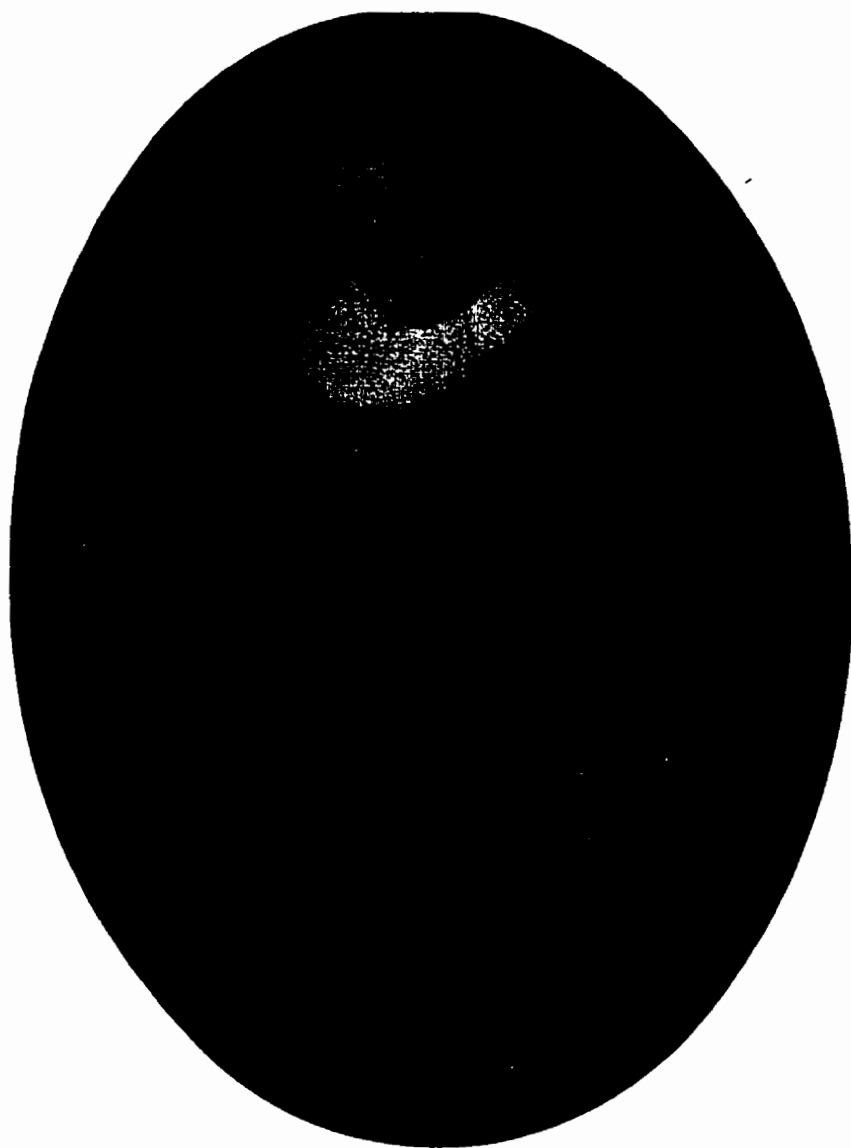
Cat. no. PR1. *Judah and Tamar*, etching, 214 x 176 mm



Cat. no. PR3. *Head of an Old Man* (after Rembrandt), etching, 169 x 125 mm



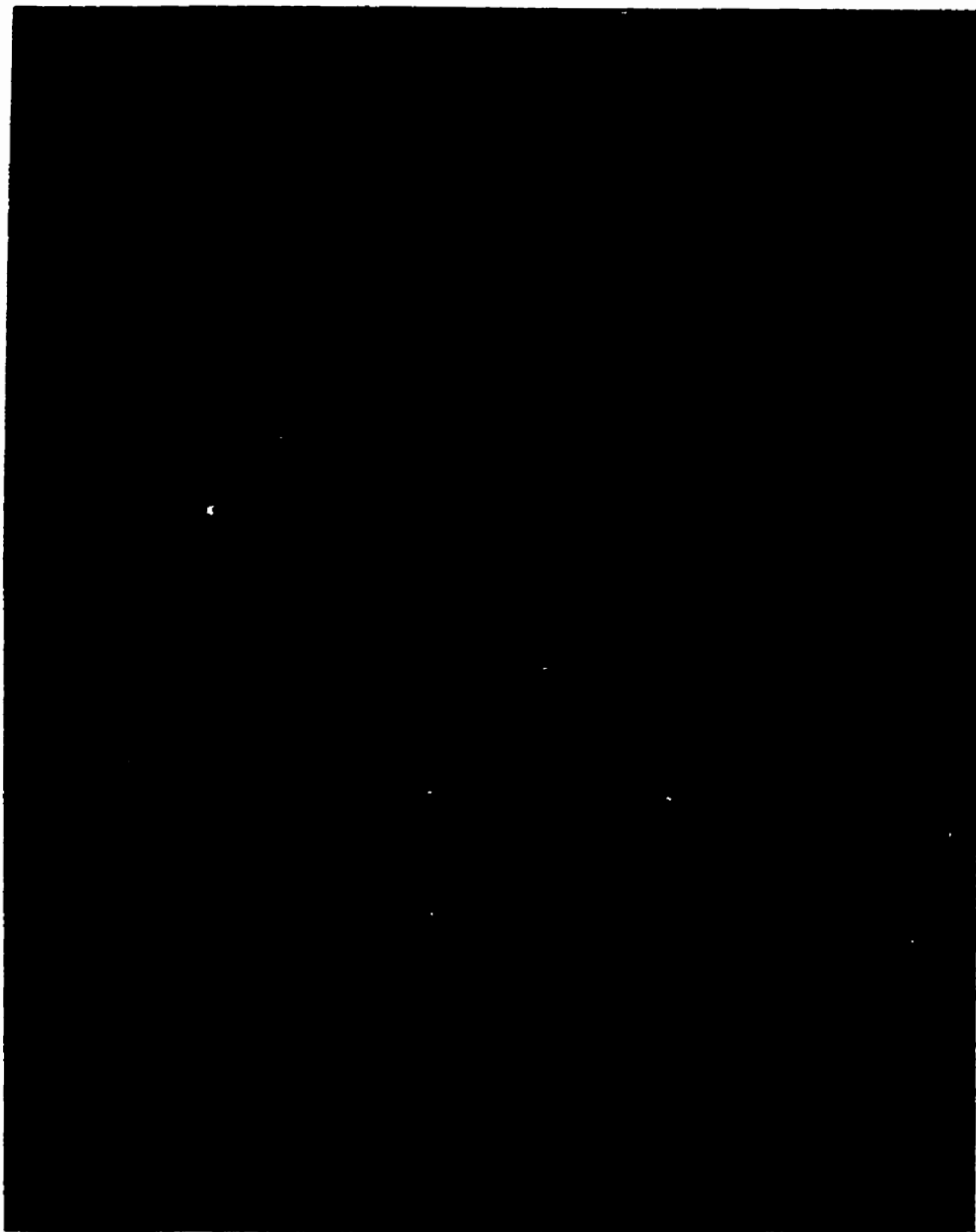
Ill. 1. Rembrandt, *St John the Baptist Preaching*, canvas on panel, 62.7 x 81.1 cm, ca. 1634, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz



III. 2. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Portrait of a Boy*, canvas, 94 x 71 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis



III. 3. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Granida and Daifilo*, canvas, 133 x 162 cm, Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre



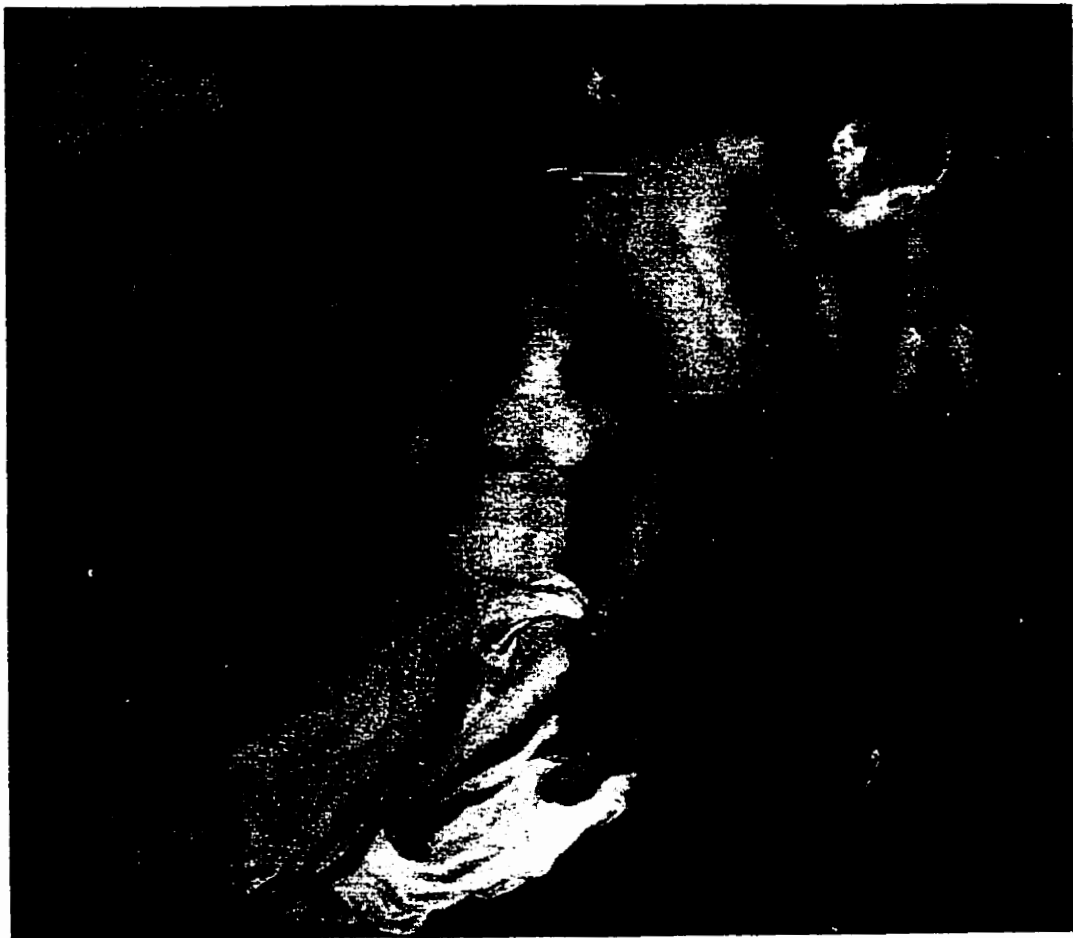
III. 4. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Portrait of a Man*, canvas, 127 x 100 cm, Kassel, Gemäldegalerie



III. 5. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, canvas, 85.1 x 153.7 cm, sale, London (Christie's)



Ill. 6. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Amaryllis Crowns Mirtillo*, canvas, 210 x 193 cm, formerly Vienna, Schatzker collection



III. 7. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Venus, Adonis and Cupid*, canvas, 200 x 237 cm, Schloß Fasanerie, Kurhessische Hausstiftung



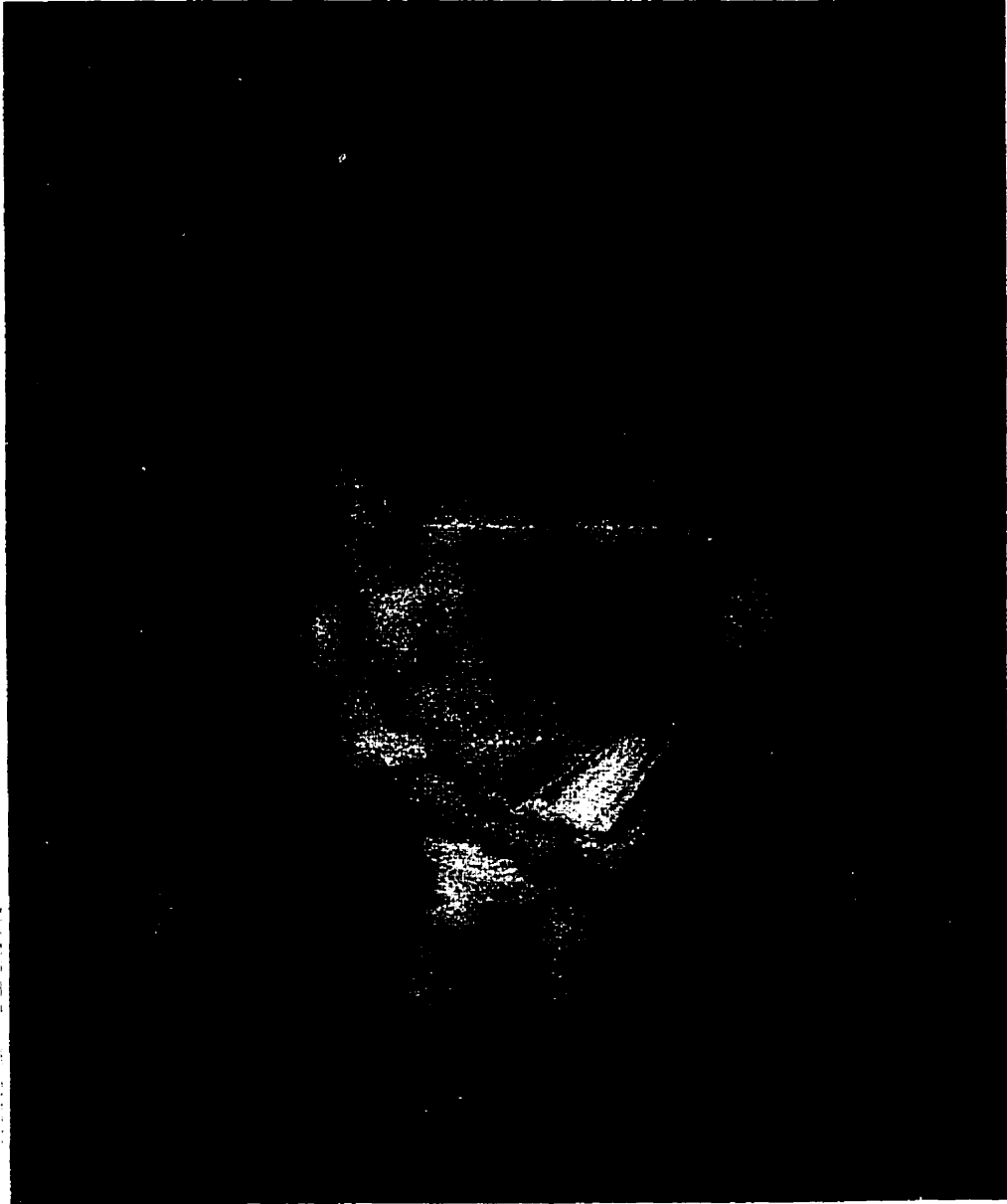
Ill. 8. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, canvas, 132 x 107 cm, formerly The Hague, St Lucas



III. 9. Gabriel Metsu, *Portrait of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen, Leonora Huydecoper, and their Children*, canvas, 72 x 79 cm, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz



III. 10. Frontispiece, Jan van Arp, *Chimon*, 1639



III. 11. Salomon Koninck, *Susanna and the Elders*, panel, 45 x 38.5 cm, signed and dated 1649, private collection



Ill. 12. Jan Tegnagel, *The Triumph of David*, panel, 55 x 73 cm, present location unknown



Ill. 13. Hieronymus Janssens, *A Cabinet of Paintings*, canvas, 60 x 77 cm, Madrid, private collection



Ill. 14. Pieter Lastman, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, panel, 85 x 122 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum



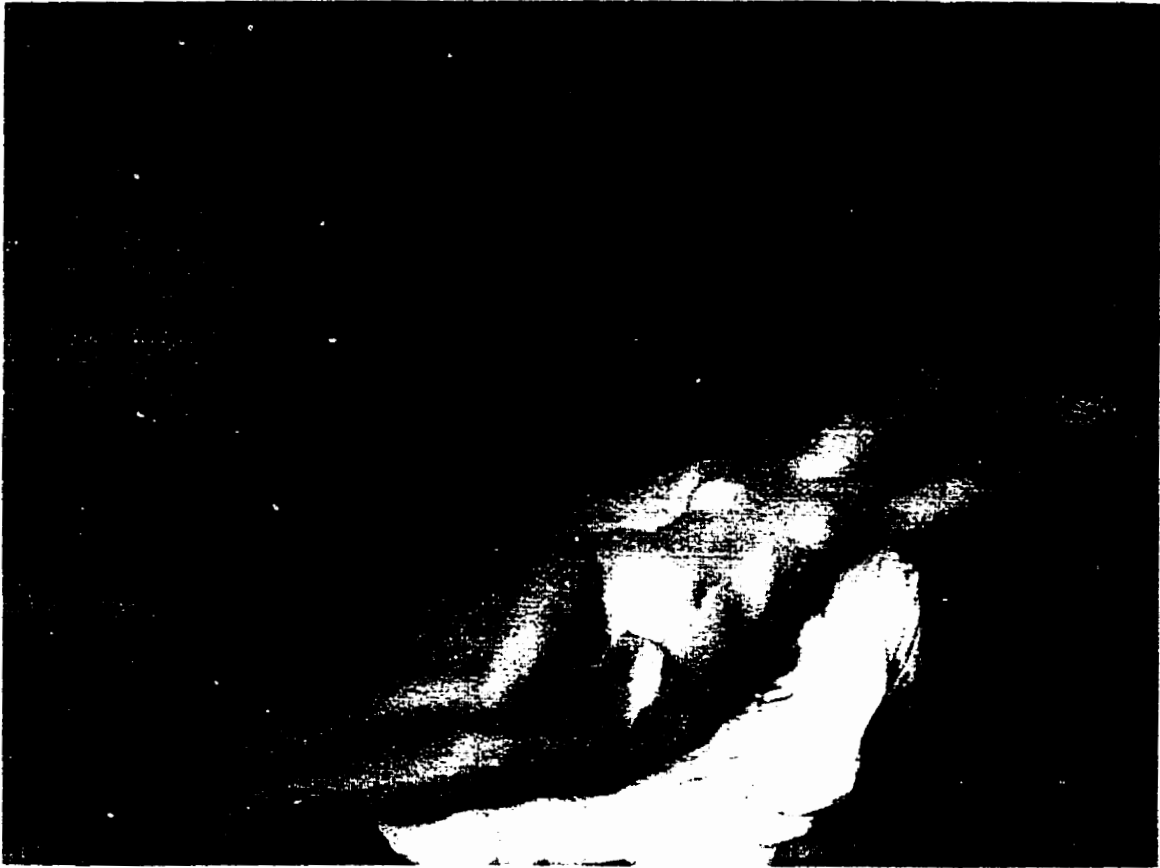
III. 15. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Jupiter and Callisto*, canvas, 68.3 x 57.5 cm, present location unknown



III. 16. Claes Cornelisz Moyaert, *The Flight of Cloelia Across the Tiber*, Oslo, Nationalmuseum



III. 17. Cornelis de Vos, *The Magnanimity of Scipio*, canvas, 174 x 242 cm, Nancy, Musée de Beaux-Arts



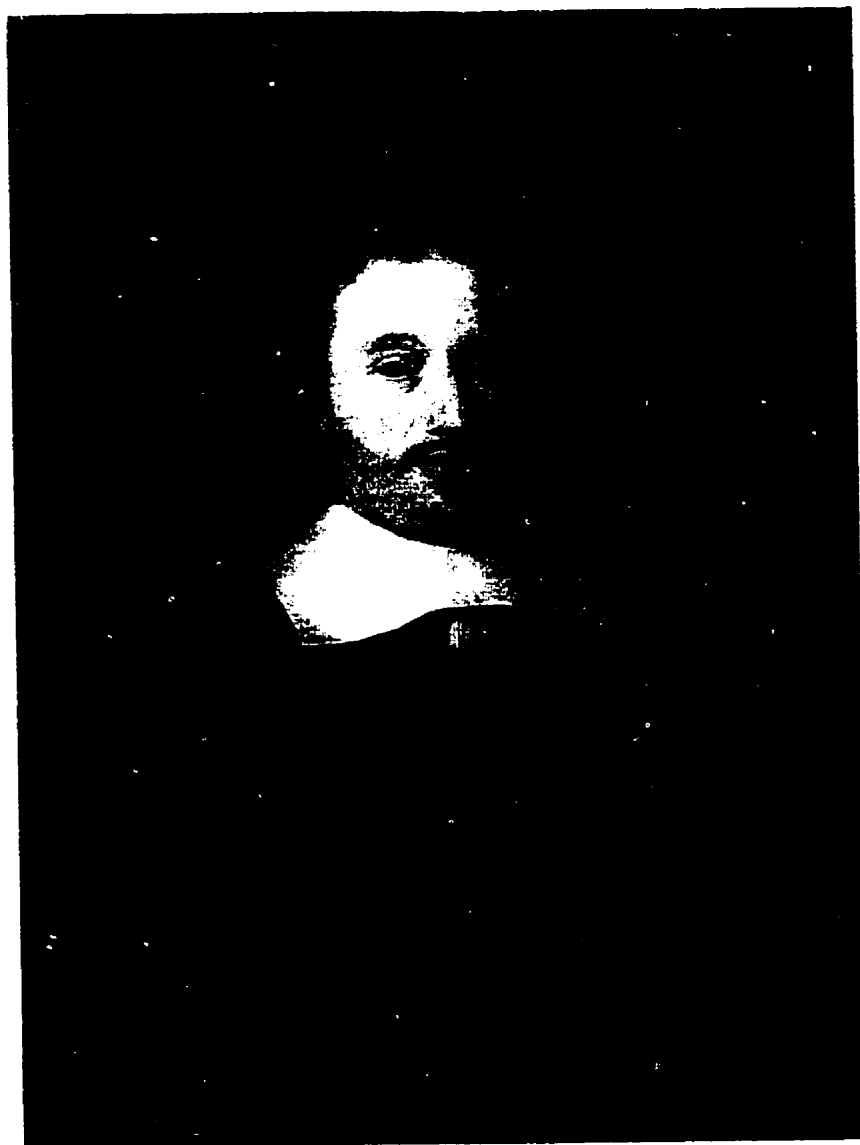
Ill. 18. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Cimon and Iphigenia*, canvas, 150 x 230 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum



III. 19. Jacob Adriaensz Backer, *Granida and Daifilo*, canvas, 125 x 161.5 cm, ca. 1635, St Petersburg, Hermitage



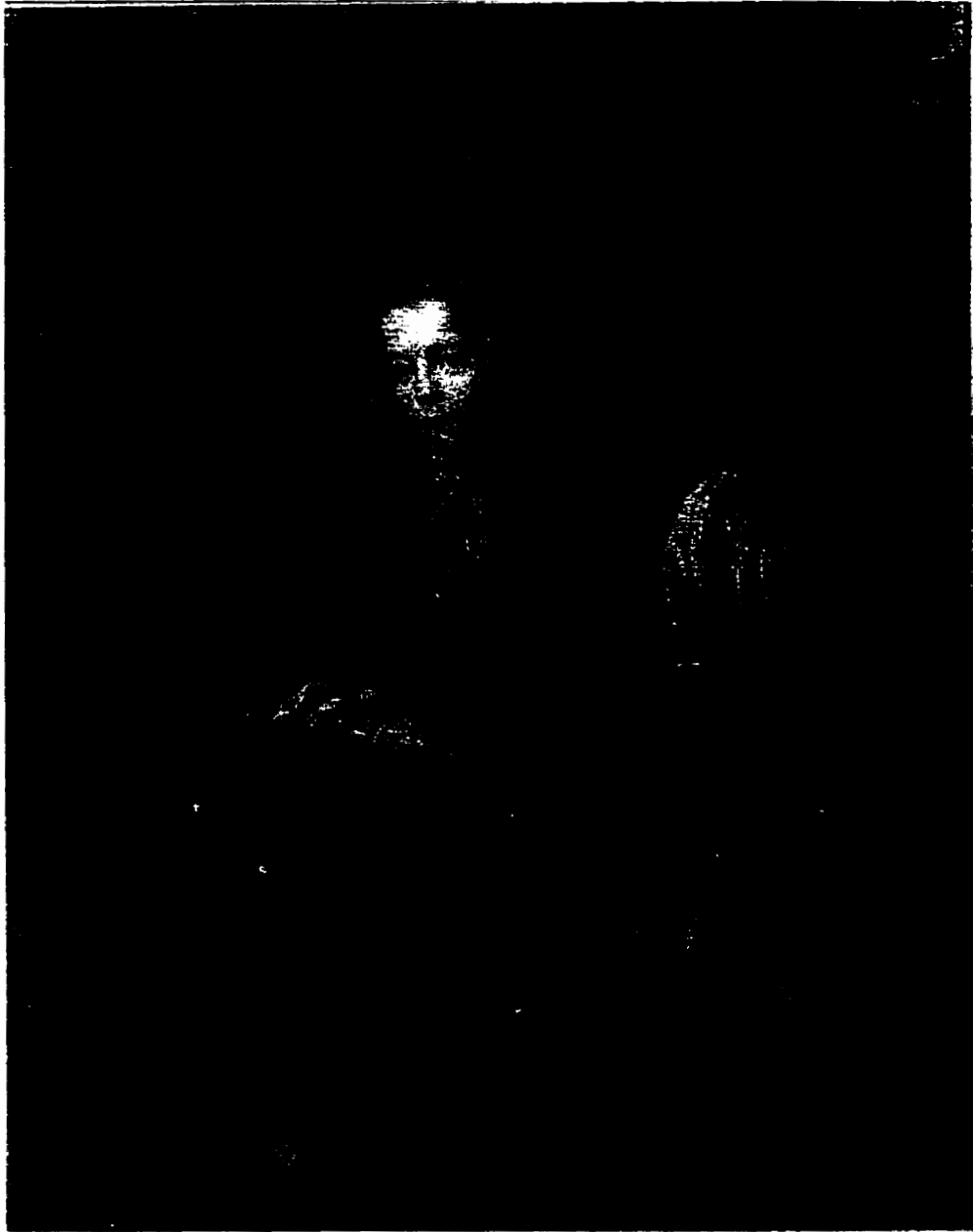
III. 20. Copy after Jan van Noordt, *Granida and Daifilo*, canvas, 65 x 83 cm, Berlin, private collection



III. 21. Attributed to Nicolas Maes, *Portrait of Hendrick Wijnantsz*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 44.5 x 34 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Ill. 22. Attributed to Nicolas Maes, *Portrait of Aeltje Denijs*, 44.5 x 34 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



III. 23. Abraham van den Tempel, *Portrait of Cornelis van Groenendyck*, canvas, 125.5 x 100.5 cm, signed and dated 1668, Paris, Fondation Custodia



Ill. 24. Johannes Voorhout, *Still Life with a Woman at an Easel*, canvas, 48.5 x 40.3 cm, signed, Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum



Ill. 25. Pieter van Laer, *The Buck, two Goats and Three Sheep near the Woman with the Reel*, etching, 129 x 175 mm